

The Makassar annals

William Cummings



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translated and edited by

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*Cover:* Creja ontwerpen, Leiderdorp

*Cover photo:* Gowa's main mosque, c. 1925 (KITLV 34239)

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## Preface

Beginning in perhaps the 1630s, a series of annalists at the main courts of Makassar began keeping a novel form of historical record. *Lontaraq bilang*, or 'counting manuscripts', contained carefully dated and chronologically ordered entries recording significant or surprising events. They were a clear departure in form and function from the genealogically-structured chronicles being composed about the ruling families of Gowa and Talloq in the same era. Most significant, perhaps, whereas Makassarese chroniclers ceased their work with (or at least by the time of) the conquest of Gowa and Talloq by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and their Bugis allies in the 1660s, the annalists continued to make entries in their manuscripts. The Makassarese annals translated here continue unabated until the close of 1751. Moreover, the genre itself flourished in South Sulawesi and similar annals became a common form of record keeping among Makassarese and Bugis into the twentieth century.

The greatest obstacle to historical investigations into the events and dynamics of premodern Southeast Asia has long been the availability of sources. Manuscripts are too few, and too subject to the vagaries of chance and the depredations of a harsh tropical climate. Often we have little more than the impressionistic or inconsistent observations of European voyagers whose descriptions of Southeast Asian shores yield frustration at unasked questions as often as they do kernels of insight. The Makassar annals are a welcome refuge for historians accustomed to working with fragments like so many scattered tea leaves. Over the course of nearly a century and a half a series of annalists recorded 2360 entries – an average of 19.1 entries per year beginning in 1631. Moreover, these entries are carefully dated and the vast majority appear factually accurate as well as chronologically precise.

A textual lode of 2360 historical entries describing seventeenth and eighteenth-century events is a rare and precious resource for scholars of Southeast Asia. This translation is an invitation to scholars to use this rich resource in as many ways as possible to shed light on a fascinating part of the Indonesian archipelago. There are many possibilities here whether our interest is in biographical accounts of nobles and notables, the scaffolding



of significant events to write narrative accounts of Makassarese and early colonial history, prosopographical analysis of distinct social groups and their dynamics over time, quantitative studies of entries to answer demographic questions, or any other approach to the multitude of subjects that captured the attention of generations of annalists at the courts of Makassar. We have an opportunity to repay their diligent efforts with our own.

My labors in translating and analyzing the *lontaraq bilang* have been considerably eased by friends, colleagues, and family. I owe Michael Decker for a thousand espressos, and John Belohlavek for nearly that many glasses of wine. Such friends make the solitary work of pondering and puzzling archaic historical entries bearable. Campbell Macknight and Anthony Jukes offered suggestions on this manuscript at different stages, no doubt too few of which I have followed. I would also like to express my ongoing appreciation to my teachers at the University of Hawai'i: Leonard Andaya, Barbara Watson Andaya, and Robert Van Niel. Portions of the Introduction were previously published in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* and *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. I owe a great debt to my Makassarese tutor, the late Djohan Daeng Salengke. Maile and Sophie were also much in my thoughts as this project came to fruition. My greatest obligation and thanks, however, belong to Sharon. How someone who can make all this seem so irrelevant and yet still encourage me is a wonderful mystery I have yet to fully untangle.

## Abbreviations

ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
VT	Miscellaneous languages collection [Verschillende Talen], Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta



# I

## Introduction

The Makassarese genre of historical writing known as *lontaraq bilang*, or 'counting manuscripts,' contain specific and dated information about a wide variety of topics, including the births and deaths of notable individuals, the actions of rulers, the spread of Islam, trade and diplomacy, the built environment, ritual activity, warfare, internal political struggles, social and kinship relations, eclipses and comets, and more.

These texts are what are commonly called 'annals'. They are records of year-by-year events set down serially. *Lontaraq bilang* have been useful indeed to historians of South Sulawesi. More than other available writings, they have been seen as supremely factual, reliable, and uncontaminated by mythical or controversial elements. Historians have trusted the facts in these texts as by and large referential and accurate. Cense (1966:418) described *lontaraq bilang* as 'pre-eminently [*sic*] characterized by a sober conciseness, and which, as far as I know, is met with in Indonesia only in South Celebes [South Sulawesi] and a few other areas which have undergone influence from the Macassarese and Bugis'. Based on this assessment, Cense and other historians (Noorduyn 1965; Omar 2003; Tol 1993) have considered *lontaraq bilang* reliable sources of factual historical information. This is how the Makassar annals have typically been used: historians have looked in them for facts about wars, political successions, inaugural events, and so forth, attempted to determine their veracity through comparison with other indigenous sources and Western accounts, and then used these facts as scaffolding on which to build historical narratives. But collectively we have only begun to make use of this rich archive and its possibilities for yielding insight into South Sulawesi's past. In part this is because of how we approach annals.

Historians have commonly seen annals like *lontaraq bilang* on their own as being incomplete, inferior, or quasi-historical forms of record-keeping because they do not contain the causal chains of reasoning that transforms a collection of facts into a coherent story with a definable plot and outcome. As Hayden White writes of the medieval *Annals of Saint Gaul*,

What is lacking in the list of events to give it a similar regularity and fullness is a notion of a social center by which to locate them with respect to one another and to charge them with ethical or moral significance. It is the absence of any consciousness of a social center that prohibits the annalist from ranking the events he treats as elements of a historical field of occurrence. And it is the absence of such a center that precludes or undercuts any impulse he might have had to work up his discourse into the form of a narrative. (White 1987:11.)

However, this may not be accurate in the case of the Makassar annals. The inferred textual position of the rulers of Makassar provides precisely such a social center, making this text rather more complex than White's example.

This social centrality is also conveyed spatially. The *lontaraq bilang* are written from what is nearly, but not quite, a geographical location: Gowa and Talloq, and the Gowa and Talloq courts in particular. Ships and people are recorded arriving and departing. But in reality this is done because this is where the ruler dwells. He is the true spatial anchor of the text and its entries during any given reign. The effort to record the construction, repair, and fate of the various royal palaces (Tamaqrappo, Tamalate, Macciniq danggang) of the rulers of Gowa are important not just because they are significant structures, but also because they textually locate the presence of the ruler. The perambulations of rulers are followed closely as they made war, supervised construction or irrigation projects, attended meetings with other rulers, or simply went to live elsewhere while palaces were renovated. In all but a few cases, no other events are recorded in *lontaraq bilang* before the ruler returns. The exceptions involve notations about the births of high-ranking offspring of Gowa nobles. For the most part, however, activity stops when the ruler is absent. More precisely, history and activity revolves around the ruler, and where he goes they follow. *Lontaraq bilang* are not apolitical and objective, but have a subject and a politics.

There are other contexts too that have influenced the annalists who wrote these manuscripts and which make them more promising than Hayden White's description indicates. The social context in which rank and status-rivalry motivated behavior and shaped events; the political context in which Gowa's empire first expanded, then collapsed, and finally gave way to renewed struggles for pre-eminence; the religious context as Islam spread and transformed Makassar into a Muslim society tied to the Islamic networks across the archipelago; even the temporal context in which later annalists made determinations about which early entries needed to be copied and preserved and which did not changed dramatically from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century – all of these contexts and more besides make the *lontaraq bilang* a far more complex historical source than 'annals' have customarily received. This introduction will briefly explore some of these contexts and

illustrate a few of the many analytical paths that scholars might follow in examining and making use of this unique body of material. We can begin by considering the nature of the genre and how it grew within the historical context of early seventeenth century Makassar.

### *The lontaraq bilang genre; Origins and development*

In appearance, Roger Tol described this genre as ‘more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern executive diary’ (Tol 1993:618). The annalist typically wrote the year at the top of each page, placed a vertical column for the names of months and days (both Gregorian and Hijri or Islamic dating) along one side of the page, thus making horizontal spaces for entries. On those days in which events judged significant take place, the annalist notes what occurred. Many, and in some cases most, days are left blank. Early *lontaraq bilang* had very few entries each year, suggesting that when the genre began this preformatted grid was not yet used. The seventeenth-century Makassarese annal entries tend to be shorter than the equivalent Bugis *sureq bilang* entries reviewed by Cense (1966), who described them as containing much longer and more detailed descriptions of events.

There are clues to the origins, purpose, initial date, and social context in which the first Makassarese annalist inscribed his text from the initial entries. Six of the first seven entries are marked with the term ‘purportedly’, *kutaeng* or *bedeng* in Makassarese. The first writer put these entries in retrospectively (presumably at the same time) based on personal memory, oral report, or calculated backdating. The death of Tunijalloq is recalled precisely, for it was a decisive moment that did not need to be estimated. The 1602 entry for the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, undoubtedly dates from a later period, and was interpolated into the *lontaraq bilang* because of its significance to later Makassarese history combined with Makassarese convictions about the significance of origins.

The next entry is the famously erroneous dating for the 22 September 1605 conversion of Karaeng Matoaya of Talloq and Sultan Ala’uddin of Gowa (Noorduyn 1956). It is risky to read too much into what after all could simply be scribal error, but it is nevertheless hard to imagine that the writer would have gotten the date wrong by two years if he was recording contemporaneously. The first fully dated and presumably reliable entry is for the birth of Ala’uddin’s son and later successor Malikussaid, on 11 December 1607. The next entry comes from the same year, and apparently took place slightly before Malikussaid’s propitious birth. On 9 November 1607 Friday prayers were begun in Talloq and, purportedly, a war was fought in Tamappalo. We also read that the people of Soppéng embraced Islam after their defeat

in battle, an undated event that probably took place in 1609. The improper chronology and use of *kutaeng* or *bedeng* suggest that these events too were recorded by the writer afterwards rather than contemporaneously. It is when Gowa and Talloq forced the people of Wajoq to accept Islam on 10 May 1610 that the *lontaraq bilang* entries become more chronologically ordered, carefully dated, and freer of the tentativeness of purported events.

The momentousness of this date is worth underscoring, for it is clear that entries related to Islam are a prominent feature of the early *lontaraq bilang*. This was a landmark event marking a new chapter in the tumultuous rivalry for dominance between Gowa and the major Bugis states of Wajoq, Soppéng, and Boné. From this perspective, the *lontaraq bilang* were initiated within a specific historical context involving the spread of Islam and the concomitant expansion of Gowa's empire. Indeed, the second contemporary entry on 23 November 1611 records Gowa's defeat of Boné in their war of Islamization (*bunduq kasallannganna*). Historically, it is quite possible that the 1607 war at Tamappalo also involved the spread of Islam by force of arms. For that matter, historiographically it is conceivable that the entry describing the 1609 defeat of Soppéng and their forced embrace of Islam was recorded in 1610 as well. However, the recordings of these specific events probably pre-date the creation of the *lontaraq bilang* genre, as becomes clear from other evidence within the text.

Considered together with the entries describing Matoaya and Ala'uddin's initial conversion and the formal marking of the beginning of Friday prayer services in Talloq, it is remarkable how the *lontaraq bilang* written later focused on marking watershed dates in the history of Islam's spread. This is an essential clue to understanding the genre's origins. The early decades of the seventeenth century were a time when Gowa and Talloq's rulers were active in recreating the social and political landscape around them in the image of an Islamic society. The function of *lontaraq bilang* became in part to commemorate this transformation and to mark the expansion of Islam.

It is also noteworthy that Makassarese historically wrote using a modified form of Arabic script known as *serang* when they wished to emphasize or impart an aura of religiosity to a text. Using *serang* itself connoted that a text is Islamic. From this perspective it should be mentioned that VT 25 – which is the main text used in this translation and edition – is written in the *serang* script. While this suggests a connection between the genre and Islam, other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts were written in the conventional Makassarese script. Unfortunately we do not have access to original seventeenth-century manuscripts which could confirm the suspicion that the first *lontaraq bilang* texts employed *serang* and thus in appearance were 'Islamic'.

With this historical context in mind, we can also consider the historiographical dimension of *lontaraq bilang*'s early development. In Makassarese

eyes all histories, by definition, began with accounts of origins (Bellwood, Fox, and Tryon 1995; Fox and Sather 1996). Thus in addition to focusing on turning points in the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi, the contents of the early entries also deal extensively with the births and deaths of rulers. This genealogical component comes as no surprise given the central importance of rulers in the lives of Makassarese and their pivotal role in historical chronicles. *Patturioloang* were structured as elaborate genealogies relating the history of Gowa and Talloq's chains of kings. It was the lives of rulers that defined eras and marked the passage of time. This conception of the past dominated Makassar at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The writer of the *lontaraq bilang* incorporated this reverential, genealogical aspect of Makassarese historical thought by adding the births of seven of the most prominent Makassarese (all but Karaeng ri Barombong were rulers of either Gowa or Talloq) and the death of one.<sup>1</sup> While *patturioloang* and *lontaraq bilang* have substantial differences in form and purpose, the perception that the lives of rulers are an inescapable structural feature of the past is an important continuity between the two genres. Nor should we forget that conversion to Islam itself was a practice initiated and encouraged by Gowa and Talloq's rulers.

We can gain a sense of the genre's development by examining the entries that over the next two decades recorded significant moments in the history of this Muslim kingdom. As a glance at the entries for the 1610s and 1620s makes evident, adjudicating between the Gregorian and Hijri calendars used by the *lontaraq bilang* annalist is difficult. It is not possible to conclude that one or the other calendrical system is accurate. On balance the Hijri dates are more reliable. Six entries have no Gregorian date; only two have no Hijri date. In terms of chronology, in numerous cases the Hijri dates seem more dependable because they better match the sequential order of the entries, but again this is not always so. For several entries there is no obvious reason to prefer one date over the other. Overall, however, there seems to be a tendency for the annalist to prefer the Islamic calendar. The more important considerations are what this tendency and the high frequency of contradictory dates tells us about Makassarese society in the early seventeenth century.

To answer these questions, let us assume that we are not dealing with calendrical incompetence on the part of our annalist. A few mistakes are easily understood, but the steadfast inconsistency witnessed here suggests another explanation. I think the annalist did not consider getting the date

<sup>1</sup> It is also worth considering whether the inclusion of these moments within what was a text concerned primarily with Islam was in itself a subtle act of incorporation that implicitly and retroactively Islamicized Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin's predecessors. Such an act would have been in keeping with what we know of Makassarese desires to claim the earliest possible link to Islam.



precisely correct very important. That is to say, in the early years of this genre what was significant about the events chosen for inclusion in the text was not their precise position along a time line. Chronological accuracy was less valued than we might expect when first viewing these premodern executive diaries. To put this still another way, the column with Gregorian and Hijri dates was not the focus of the text; that honor belonged to the information about people and events. So what was the writer of the *lontaraq bilang* accomplishing by recording this information and why was he doing it?

I believe what we witness over the early decades of the seventeenth century is a changed perception of dating and time and, in particular, the relationship between Makassarese and universal systems of marking time. We do not need to argue that this is a cognitive change of the sort suggested by Eviator Zerubavel (2003). The perception that concerns me is a social one about how Makassarese converts viewed their connection to the Muslim umma as a whole. Rulers remained the lodestone of their communities, but alongside this heroic conception of history developed a sense that the place of Makassarese Muslims in the umma and in Islamic history needed articulation.<sup>2</sup>

Muslims and Christians both reckoned time by universal calendars that, theoretically, could locate any and all events along a linear path. The world now possessed a Beginning and an End. The decision of the early *lontaraq bilang* writers to employ both of these calendrical systems was a deliberate choice that evidences their desire to place events and people in Makassar within a wider context. It was this intent that is striking. This is an example, I think, of how the form of a text can be deceptive to modern eyes. We should not mistake the appearance of accuracy and specificity – columns of dates – for accuracy and specificity. Including an event such as the 28 Zulkaedah 1028 (5 November 1619) feasting at Tamaqrappo or even the explicitly Islamic circumcision of Tumamenang ri Papambatuna that same year within the text was itself a means of locating it within the context of universal, calendrical time. Its precise location was less important than the fact of its inclusion. Precise dates aside, we can even legitimately question the importance of sequential accuracy in the entries as well. After all, *patturioloang* reign narra-

<sup>2</sup> We see this trend in Makassarese chronicles as well. As reign accounts progress in the Gowa and Talloq *patturioloang* there is increasing concern to provide specific dates. Indeed, there is a dramatic change in the amount of calendrical information over the course of Ala'uddin's reign in particular. While at the beginning we are not told the date of his birth, at the end of the account of his reign we read, 'This *karaeng* lived to age fifty-three. For forty-six years he ruled then died. Above in Cikkoang, while inside Jongaya, illness came to him on the ninth night of the month of Safar, on the tenth night of June, on Sunday night. Once it was day on Sunday he was brought down to his home. On the twelfth of the [Islamic] month, on the fifteenth night of the Christian month, on Wednesday, at the stroke of one in the night, he died, 1639 of the Christian calendar, 1049 of the Islamic calendar' (Cummings 2007a:45).

tives do not relate events in chronological order, and this was the dominant historiographical style when the *lontaraq bilang* were begun.

The genealogical entries of births and deaths help make this point. Being granted a textual place within the *lontaraq bilang* was recognition that an individual was of high status. It meant they were considered likely to have a decisive influence on the Makassarese around them because of their social position. Inclusion marked status and potential significance. The entries between 1611 and 1630 included many more non-rulers than did the first entries. All were important figures, usually close kin of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq, and their appearance in the *lontaraq bilang* presents us with a social map of the pre-eminent figures that dominated Makassarese society. The three instances of 'purportedly' that we encounter during these two decades are best interpreted as later additions to the text estimating the birth dates of individuals who had achieved prominence. Shaykh Yusuf, born around 1626, is a perfect example of this, for it was only toward the end of the century that this Sufi master gained fame as an Islamic scholar and enemy of the Dutch throughout the archipelago.

In an analogous fashion what events and which people were inscribed in the *lontaraq bilang* was a politically aware decision rather than a neutral judgment of historical significance. It was only later that the fit between Gregorian and Hijri dates became closer. The apparent confusion and inconsistency of dates is a clue to how Makassarese adopted textual practices from (most likely) the Portuguese and the Malays and put them to uses which were not entirely novel or removed from the original, but which clearly were adapted to local needs and purposes. Makassarese found use in these imported calendars and systems of temporal reckoning for integrating their society into the global community of believers. They did not import Islamic genres of historical writing from the Middle East wholesale with the possible exception of the Makassarese compilations of guidelines from renowned ancestors known as *rapang* which resemble Arabic *hadith* and *akhbar* (Cummings 2002; Khalidi 1994; Robinson 2003).

In addition to what this examination of dates and calendrical systems reveals, several themes also emerge from a consideration of the contents of these entries that indicates the presence of shaping contexts that charged the entries with special significance. The genealogical expansion of the text to include a somewhat wider array of individuals has already been noted. A second evident theme is overseas conquest. In particular, Makassarese naval expeditions brought the islands of Buton and Sumbawa into the ambit of Gowa's expanding empire. In early 1626 Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin personally led a voyage eastwards to Buton. Buton was an important source of slaves traded in the archipelago and occupied a strategic position athwart the shipping lanes leading to the spice islands of Maluku.

Matoaya and Ala'uddin conquered the island and accepted the formal submission of its local rulers. Soon afterward they departed Buton and sailed south and west to the island of Sumbawa. Four main kingdoms on the island— Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkulu [Tambora] – all succumbed quickly to the Makassarese forces. But this was not the first time that Matoaya and Ala'uddin had conquered Bima. Nearly a decade earlier Sumbawa had been the first overseas target of Gowa after its defeat of the Bugis lands of Soppéng, Wajoq, and Boné. In roughly 1618 'I Luqmuq ri Mandalleq went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine vessels' and then again in 1619 'Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa'. There is uncertainty about the dates, but clearly it took three wars and the personal attention of Matoaya and Ala'uddin before the kingdom of Bima accepted Gowa's overlordship.

Entries describing the defeat of Bima in the *lontaraq bilang* are particularly important because the explicit purpose of the conquest was to spread Islam. This was the first extension of Gowa and Talloq's wars of Islamization (*bunduq kasallannganna*) outside of South Sulawesi. We know a considerable amount about this effort from other Makassarese historical texts and European sources that have been analyzed by J. Noorduyn (1987). One such Makassarese text describes how the kingdoms on Sumbawa 'were defeated as infidels, were made to embrace Islam, and were all enslaved by the karaeng except for Sanggar, which the karaeng freed because it had been the first to allow them to land'. It was after the second expedition that Islamic practices began to be enforced. There was significant resistance to the Makassarese proselytizers and internal political divisions between those who accepted the new faith and those who refused. The same Makassarese text describes the tribute obligations of the defeated kingdoms. It also describes how Makassarese established *mokkeng*, from the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning 'inhabitant' in Bima. This referred to people the ruler of Gowa appointed to attend the Friday prayer service, ensuring that the minimum number of forty people demanded by Shafi'ite doctrine were present for the service to be valid. The text relates, 'He [Karaeng Matoaya] established the Friday service in those overseas countries. The karaeng hope to gain reward by appointing *mokkeng* and then setting them free. Just those people called *mokkeng* were free, and the commoners were slaves.'

Gowa's expanding empire certainly had many motivations, and we would be remiss if we failed to acknowledge the political and economic benefits that accrued to Matoaya and Ala'uddin, but there is no doubt that the extension of Gowa's authority was conceived of as a fundamentally Islamic act of faith. Having joined the umma, Matoaya and Ala'uddin took seriously their religious obligation to extend the community of believers. The author of the Talloq *patturioloang* praised Matoaya for precisely this, recording that

'This *karaeng* Islamicized the people of Makassar until they became Islamic. Except for Luwuq, he Islamicized the Bugis throughout the Bugis lands, except only for the unbelievers [highland groups]' (Cummings 2007a:87-8). Their conquests stemmed from religious certainty. Empire and Islam were two sides of the same coin, and they came together both in the expeditions to Sumbawa and in the entries of the *lontaraq bilang* recording these expeditions. It is also in this context that it became important to enter into the annals events related to the VOC, Gowa's chief adversary in the eastern archipelago and a representative of Islam's own rival Christianity. It would be fascinating indeed to know when the 2 March 1602 entry about the founding of the VOC was interpolated into the annals.

By 1631 Gowa had become a very different place than it was two decades before when the *lontaraq bilang* was initiated. In 1610 Sultan Ala'uddin was a seventeen year old young man dependent on his uncle and patron Karaeng Matoaya; in 1631 he was now a mature ruler sure of his grip on power, confident in his abilities, and possessed of a remarkable history of victories in expanding Gowa's authority and influence. Karaeng Matoaya, though still alive, had abdicated Talloq's throne and his position as *tumabicarabutta* or chief advisor of Gowa in favor of his equally capable son Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. Reading the *Talloq Chronicle* makes clear the extraordinary changes that took place under Matoaya and Ala'uddin: there is a long list of communities that had been conquered and now acknowledged Gowa and Talloq's supremacy, a long list of military innovations in such areas as building ships and forging firearms, and a long list of advances in areas as diverse as writing and woodcarving. What had begun as a fairly unpromising reign by a young boy following the expulsion of his elder brother and successor Tunipasuluq flourished beyond what anyone could have expected. By 1631 Ala'uddin and Gowa had reached the pinnacle of their influence in eastern Indonesia.

The *lontaraq bilang* changed by 1631 as well. After averaging 1-2 entries per year for the preceding two decades, beginning in 1631 we see large numbers of entries recorded. There are sixteen entries for 1631 alone. Whether this can be explained by simply positing that a new, more dedicated annalist succeeded one much stingier with his words is difficult to determine. It may be that something changed in Makassarese society that encouraged a more intensive interest in recording significant events. In addition, beginning in late 1629 the annalist's use of Gregorian and Hijri calendars consistently coincides or matches. In no cases do the dates differ by more than a month; most refer to the same day or are but a few days apart. In all likelihood, then, the *lontaraq bilang* genre as we know it dates to 1631.

One possible theory is that Datoq Hafid, who died on 13 November 1629, was the annalist in charge of the *lontaraq bilang* and that he was succeeded by a more diligent writer who began, fittingly, by recording his predeces-

sor's death. Lacking other evidence this can be no more than conjecture. If true it indicates that the *lontaraq bilang* genre either originated with or at least was influenced by Datoq Hafid's Malay background. There was a thriving Makassarese Malay community in Makassar during Sultan Ala'uddin's reign that had close links to the ruling families of Gowa, Talloq, and other coastal Makassarese communities. The 29 October 1631 conflagration in the Javanese quarter refers to this Malay community, for Makassarese used the term 'Javanese' to refer to all those from the western archipelago, primarily Malays. It would be a diffusionist error, and sloppy scholarship, to simply argue that this genre was imported by Malays to Gowa, however. Neither Makassarese annals nor chronicles resemble Malay historical genres such as *hikayat* and *syair*. What is intriguing and suggestive about this theory is that Malays certainly are well known for their role in spreading Islam to Makassar. The presence of a Malay community was impetus for Tunijalloq (r. Gowa 1565 to 1590) to build the first mosque in Mangallekana and encourage Muslims to make the *hajj*, for example. It was a Mingangkabau Malay named Katte Tungallaq who led Karaeng Matoaya and Sultan Ala'uddin in their profession of faith in 1605. Malays frequently served as religious officials and teachers in seventeenth-century Makassar as well. This would at least provide contextual support for the argument that *lontaraq bilang* represent an Islamicized genre of Makassarese historical writing. If Datoq Hafid indeed was a *lontaraq bilang* annalist this is best interpreted as testament to the deep connections between Malays and Makassarese and the two-way process of acculturation taking place during Ala'uddin's reign.

From their beginning *lontaraq bilang* displayed an interest in marking the births and deaths of powerful nobles because history was conceptualized and society organized genealogically. But births and deaths began to take on an added significance, for they now also marked the boundaries of the growing Muslim community in Makassar. We see an increase in the quantity and quality of genealogical information recorded. Instead of children simply 'appearing' we now get information on genealogical relationships. For example, on 3 June 1631 'a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days' and on 25 June 1631 the 'wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq'. It is difficult to be certain, but in a society where Islam spread through kinship and patron-client ties, these details about relationships may have gained in importance during the course of Ala'uddin's reign. Important relationships with kingdoms such as Mataram did make their appearance in the annals as Gowa and Talloq forged ties with other Muslim kingdoms. Later entries from Ala'uddin's reign contain a growing number of entries marking these relationships as envoys and messengers from Aceh, Maluku, Banten, and elsewhere arrive and depart Gowa. Annals entries recorded and in so doing affirmed the significance of

Gowa within the network of Muslim kingdoms spanning the archipelago.

Linked to this concern with the boundaries of the umma was a growing concern with how Makassarese Muslims should behave. We can begin to sense around this time interest in and possibly debate over the role of Islamic practices, requirements, and prohibitions in Makassarese society. Christian Pelras (1994) posited that there were elements of Islamic doctrine that rulers from South Sulawesi judged incompatible with indigenous beliefs, delaying conversion to Islam until the beginning of the seventeenth century. While this is unlikely to explain the timing of Matoaya and Ala'uddin's conversion, he is correct that Makassarese had to find ways to overcome potential conflicts and incorporate Islamic requirements into existing practices. For example, maritime trade played an important role in providing revenue sustaining Gowa's empire. We know this from a variety of sources, including the entries here noting that Ala'uddin had a royal hall constructed near where these transactions took place named 'Watching Trade' or Macciniq danggang. Yet Islamic law's concern over usury also prompted Ala'uddin and Matoaya to decide that it would be forbidden to pay interest on debts. The inscription of this decision on 24 May 1631 recorded Ala'uddin's desire to further Islamicize Makassar and was an instrumental textual act that itself helped achieve this end.

By 1631 we can consider the *lontaraq bilang* genre mature. The style of entries and broad range of concerns that annalists would record had become established. There would be no more significant transformations of the genre in either form or content until the tribulations of defeat in the Makassar War in 1669 made themselves felt in these pages. During this 'classical' period in Makassarese historical discourse the textual influence of Gowa as a powerful Islamic empire would remain strong.

For example, there was great concern on the part of the annalist to mark important steps in Gowa and Talloq's Islamization. This particularly involved tracking the adoption of what was considered proper religious practices. Most obviously, it was for this reason that the 1605 conversion of Matoaya and Ala'uddin was included. This was also true for the commencement of Friday prayer services in Talloq in 1607, Tumamenang ri Papambatuna's circumcision in 1619, the use of Islamic wedding rites beginning in 1626, and the forbidding of interest on debts in 1631. All of these are in addition to the multiple entries tracing the advances in the wars of Islamization to spread the faith in and beyond South Sulawesi. This steady progress of Islamization clearly continued during this period. In rapid succession in 1632 there apparently was a public declaration about how tobacco interfered with Islamic teachings about sobriety, the first Makassarese man (that we know of) was encouraged to embark on the pilgrimage to Mekka, and people were pointedly assembled for Friday prayer services. We read the



first reference to an 'Arabic name' given to a newborn, and indeed Muslim names make ever more frequent appearances. The construction of new mosques, initial Friday prayer services, and the arrival of Islamic shayks from overseas would become standard features of the annals. In short, it was intensely important to the text's annalists to make explicit Gowa's Islamic character and identity. The Makassar annals was not simply a neutral record, but an interested account or argument that through its entries demonstrated commitment to Islam.

So too Makassarese annalists closely tracked events related to Gowa's empire. Uprisings overseas on Bima and efforts to subdue the recalcitrant rebels are noted with regularity. A 1632 revolt against Gowa's rule took place not long after the third Makassarese conquest of Bima recorded earlier in the *lontaraq bilang*. We know from Dutch harbor records from Batavia that a Makassarese armada of some 400 vessels devastated the kingdom, destroying houses and sending people fleeing into the hills. So thoroughly was the revolt crushed by Karaeng ri Buraqne, and so in awe of Gowa's power was the ruler of Bima, that he forbid the VOC to trade in Bima (*Dagh-Register* 1631-1634:174-5). Even the formal act of submission by envoys from Bima on 21 June 1633 did not end the desire of many to escape Gowa's overlordship, for shortly after Ala'uddin's death news arrived of another impending revolt. In subsequent years dozens of entries track the efforts of Sultan Ala'uddin and Tumammaliang ri Timoroq to maintain or extend their authority over South Sulawesi. Armed expeditions to Toraja, Kabaena, and Mandar; envoys from major kingdoms in the archipelago such as Maluku, Mataram, and Aceh; and messengers from the Sula and Banggae islands, Luwu, Mandar, Boné, and Ambon all find their place in the text. In short, Makassarese annalists continued to feel that marking Gowa's empire and the status of its relations with other polities was essential. Just as it was a record as well as a manifestation of Gowa and Talloq's Islamic identity, it was a record and a manifestation of Gowa's imperial ambitions.

To return to Hayden White's bleak assessment of annals, we can in contrast identify in the early *lontaraq bilang* entries strong unifying social contexts and centers of attention that relate events together and give them at least the sense of a narrative that White found so lacking in the annals of medieval Europe. Analyzing the origins and development of the *lontaraq bilang* reveals much about when and why they were composed in the early seventeenth century. Through a similar close reading we can also establish where they were kept and by who as the annals evolved over the course of the next century.

Based on internal evidence, it appears that the Gowa court was where the annalists worked, at least until the Makassar War of the 1660s and probably for the remainder of the seventeenth century. The best indication of this is

the paucity of entries about Talloq's rulers compared to those about Gowa's rulers during this period. Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, who ruled Talloq from 1623 until 1641, and his brother and successor Karaeng Pattingalloang, who ruled until 1654, make relatively few appearances in the *lontaraq bilang*. The year of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq's purported birth is included, and one marriage in 1637, but the next we hear is that he refused to return to Gowa on 25 December 1640. His voyage and return from Timor the following year, and his subsequent death are recorded, but of his actions as ruler of Talloq nothing is written. Pattingalloang too is only mentioned incidentally before his 15 September 1654 death. Pattingalloang's succession to the throne is not noted, nor is the succession of his nephew Harrunarasyid (which took place in either late 1654 or possibly early 1655). These omissions are striking both because Tumammaliang ri Timoroq and Karaeng Pattingalloang were such important figures and because this scant treatment contrasts strongly with the quantity and quality of entries about Gowa's rulers during this period.

Sultan Ala'uddin, who ruled Gowa from 1593 to 1639, his son and successor Sultan Malikussaid, who ruled until 1653, and in turn his son and successor Sultan Hasanuddin appear frequently in the annals. During the 1630s when we hear of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq once we hear of Ala'uddin sixteen times. The same discrepancy exists with Malikussaid. We are told of when he first received his karaeng-title, two of his marriages (along with one reconciliation and a divorce), the ritual establishing him as *patimatarang* or heir designate, his installation as ruler of Gowa, his precise actions in war (once to the hour), his movement while one royal hall was rebuilt and later his occupation of a new one, how word reached him of events elsewhere, his departures and returns from trips, and his anger at being disobeyed. Hasanuddin is afforded the same careful attention from his birth, circumcision, and teeth filing to his deliberations in war and pronouncements at court before his own death in 1670. In short, the preponderance of internal evidence suggests that the early annalists lived at the Gowa court and were far more concerned about events there than those in nearby Talloq.

If this conclusion is accurate, it means that the *lontaraq bilang* were being composed at a different court than the Makassarese royal chronicles being written at the same time. The internal evidence, albeit suggestive rather than definitive, for the *patturioloang* suggests that they were composed at the behest of the rulers of Talloq (Cummings 2007a:22-3). The historiographical differences between the two genres and the surprisingly few instances in which people mentioned in one genre also appear in the other are discussed below. At some point, however, the *lontaraq bilang* began to be kept at the Talloq court. This probably took place around the turn of the eighteenth century. The overall pattern of entries (see Figure 1) in VT 25 and the existence of several *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts such as ANRI 16/6 (which ends in 1682)



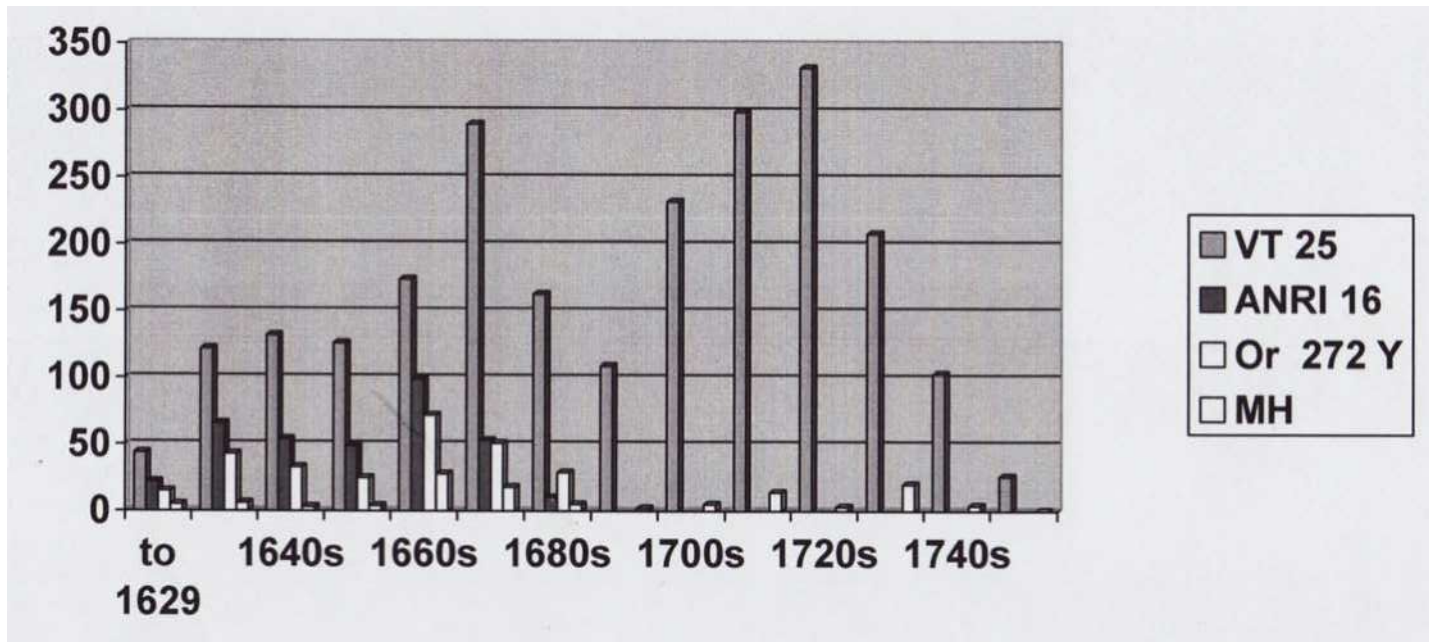


Figure 1. *Lontanaraq bilang* manuscript entries by decade

and Or. 272Y (which ends in 1689) that only cover the seventeenth century fit this hypothesis. It is during the early eighteenth century that the annals seem to recover from their nadir in the 1690s. Politically, it was also during the early eighteenth century that Talloq's rulers 'captured' the throne of Gowa through marriage, installing a son of Sultan Abdul Kadir of Talloq as Gowa's ruler in 1709. Moreover, it is shortly after this that we get definitive proof that the Makassar annals were now being composed by a Talloq noble.

The one annalist whose identity we know was Karaeng Lempangang, who was born on 7 December 1709. He was a son of the newly-crowned ruler of Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin, and himself succeeded a brother as ruler of Talloq in 1739. When Karaeng Lempangang became an annalist is uncertain, as is exactly how long he performed this duty. It may have only been a few years, but he performed the important work of making a new copy of the annals and in so doing inscribed his identity into the text. He did so by using the first person, identifying other nobles as 'my younger uncle', 'my grandparent', 'my mother', or 'my friend'. His recopied 18 December 1714 entry describing when he gained his karaeng-title reads, 'the people of Lempangang went to myself'. He was not always consistent at this, however, for a 1 December 1722 entry using his personal name reads 'I Mappaingaq Syafiuddin circumcised'. But in numerous entries from 1713 to 1731 Karaeng Lempangang used the first person to describe his kinship relations with those whose actions were recorded in the annals. After this period, however, all later references to Karaeng Lempangang are in the customary third person, beginning 15 June 1733. This indicates that he had passed on the *lontaraq bilang* duties to another annalist in the early 1730s. In the manuscript that Ligtvoet (1880:3) copied and used, a change in paleography coupled with the entries about Karaeng Lempangang convinced Ligtvoet that after 1731 a new annalist took over. It seems likely that sometime in 1731 Karaeng Lempangang made a complete copy of the *lontaraq bilang* manuscript that he had inherited and which he bequeathed to a new annalist shortly thereafter.<sup>3</sup>

The kind of editorial changes that Karaeng Lempangang made were not unusual. Numerous writers replaced names or titles of individuals in a given entry with posthumous or other titles that the subject had received later. The proliferation of titles and the inconsistency of annalists sometimes makes it difficult to determine whose actions are being recorded, especially because many karaeng-titles in particular were held by several people over the

<sup>3</sup> A second annalist who refers to himself by name is Makkaraeng Zainuddin, who recopied the entry noting his birth on 26 December 1722 using the first person. His 27 January 1748 entry suggests he had taken over the duties of annalist by that point. The only other annalist to use the first person was an unknown successor to Karaeng Lempangang who on 16 June 1751 wrote 'I hear of the death of I Puaq Ninaq across on Sumbawa.'

course of a century or more. Even more problematic are entries describing people in terms of kinship relations from a much later period. For example, a 1626 entry reads, 'a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa born who was only four months older than the mother of Karaeng ri Balloq'. In some cases we can determine the names of such individuals, and in other cases we cannot. These entries do mark the importance of, in this case, Karaeng ri Bontoa and Karaeng ri Balloq in the eyes of the annalist copying the text, which opens up other analytical possibilities even as it complicates identifying individuals in the text. Annalists also interpolated events they considered of special importance into the manuscript, such as the 2 March 1602 founding of the VOC, Arung Palakka's 25 December 1660 flight from Boné to Buton, and Shaykh Yusuf's death at the Cape of Good Hope on 22 May 1699.

There was clearly no sense among annalists that the text was inviolate and needed to be preserved verbatim. But overall the changes they made were cosmetic, at least when they were making a new copy of the *lontaraq bilang* to replace an older (and probably decaying) manuscript. But as the section below describing other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts indicates, writers were free to create new texts that were extracted from the main court manuscript that VT 25 represents. In these texts, Makassarese could pick and choose the entries for inclusion they considered relevant based on criteria far different from those annalists used many decades earlier.

Whether Karaeng Lempangang and other annalists decided on their own which events were worthy of recording, or whether they entered events into *lontaraq bilang* at the instruction of the ruler of Gowa (or Talloq) is unknown. Given the political implications of the choices it seems certain that at least some events were entered at the command of the ruler. But other events may have been at the discretion of the annalist.

We also have no way of knowing how Makassarese read, consulted, or used *lontaraq bilang* during the seventeenth or eighteenth century. We can speculate that Makassarese at the Gowa and Talloq courts may have turned to them for examples of how past rulers confronted different situations, but whether this was with practical, pedagogical, or pleasurable intent is uncertain. It is quite likely that they were important as tangible incarnations of a sacred past, the paper equivalent of the genealogical ties that linked Gowa and Talloq's rulers to an illustrious past. From this perspective, simply having the manuscript may have been more important than actually reading it. It may have been enough to charge a court annalist with the crucial symbolic task of adding new entries to the text, thereby linking the current court and ruler with his chain of predecessors. We simply do not know.

The *lontaraq bilang* are usefully contrasted with the *patturioloang*, or royal chronicles, of Gowa and Talloq. From the outset it is clear that these two genres represent quite different historiographical projects. The chronicle

tradition evolved from oral tales about past rulers and the sacred origins of communities; the annals tradition was borrowed from foreigners, probably Portuguese. Chronicles were genealogically-structured accounts of individual reigns; annals were chronologically-structured accounts of events. Segments of the chronicles were composed at the end of a ruler's life; the annals were progressively composed and events entered as they occurred. It is likely that different individuals were responsible for these two different historiographical genres, for we have no good evidence that *lontaraq bilang* were a source used by chroniclers, or vice versa. For example, very few individuals named in a given reign of the Gowa or Talloq chronicle are also found in the annals, and the annal entries contain abundant historical information not incorporated into the chronicles. This intriguing fact is further indication of the wide gulf that separates modern historiographical sensibilities from those that influenced the practices of Makassarese historians of the seventeenth century.

#### *Lives, deaths, and other analytical possibilities*

The simplest way that scholars have used the *lontaraq bilang* is to search among the entries for information about the lives of individuals (especially rulers) or about a particular historical subject such as the establishment of Islamic practices or the construction of fortifications. The sheer quantity of entries also allows us to analyze them in other ways, and this section explores some (but by no means all) of these further analytical possibilities.

As noted previously, we do not know how Makassarese read, consulted, or used *lontaraq bilang*. But the wealth of genealogical information VT 25 contains allows us to follow the lives of prominent individuals whose birth, experiences, marriages, children, and death were recorded. This biographical perspective on individuals also yields insights into the social dynamics that shaped the lives of the Makassarese nobility. *Lontaraq bilang* mapped the lives of prominent individuals. Who was deemed worthy of inclusion by the annalists of *lontaraq bilang* depended on two main factors: rank and political favor. The more closely related an individual was to the ruler at the time that entries were made, the greater the chance that the events of his or her life (and even the fact that he or she existed) would be judged significant. But politics played its inevitable role too.

Not all births, marriages, and deaths were recorded by annalists, even among those closely related to the ruler. The *Gowa Chronicle*, for example, tells us that X married X times, but only X of his marriages to these wives is commemorated in VT 25. In general, those whose children's births were recorded represent those who were politically in favor at the Gowa court at

that moment. As court factions contested for influence, gaining or losing the favor of the ruler, the political significance of any one figure would thus wax and wane over time. With the exception of the rulers of Gowa in the seventeenth century, and the rulers of Talloq later, no figure's presence in the *lontaraq bilang* remained consistent. Reading when a given person appears in the annals, and when they do not, provides insight into the never-ending contests for status and influence that permeated Makassarese political and social life.

An excellent and dramatic example of this is the controversial Makassarese noble Karaeng Karunrung, a central figure at Sultan Hasanuddin's court in the 1650s and 1660s. *Lontaraq bilang* entries inform us that Karunrung, a son of the ruler of Talloq Karaeng Pattingalloang, was born on 4 September 1631. In 1654 he became *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land', the chief advisor and minister of Sultan Hasanuddin, and in 1660 helped in the fight to put down a major Bugis rebellion. Dutch sources indicate that Karunrung favored war with the VOC and that his advice carried much weight, though it appears that by 1661 he had been replaced as *tumabicarabutta* by his chief rival, Karaeng Sumannaq (Andaya 1981:60-1). Another political enemy was Sultan Harrunarasid, the ruler of Talloq who had succeeded Karunrung's father, and the two convinced Sultan Hasanuddin to exile Karunrung in 1664 and then again in 1666. The Makassar annals dutifully record his changing fortunes, including his first exile and loss of possessions on 26 May 1664, his return from banishment on 17 February 1666, his second exile nine months later on 28 November 1666, and his subsequent return to Gowa and to favor on 20 July 1667.

Karaeng Karunrung's turbulent career in Makassarese politics would continue unabated until his death on 27 January 1685. It is particularly noteworthy that while in exile Karaeng Karunrung for all intents and purposes ceased to exist. Dropping off the page and dropping off the face of the earth were much the same thing, it seems. For Karaeng Karunrung, and for other figures in the *lontaraq bilang* as well, social and textual exile were identical. His presence or absence in the text indicates the changing nature of his relationship to Sultan Hasanuddin, the ruler of Gowa during its most turbulent years. Biographically, then, the Makassar annals can be read as a 'who's who' that assigns significance based on blood rank and political status.

We are not confined to tracking such obvious luminary figures as Karaeng Karunrung, however. Selecting other figures can often shed the most light on Makassarese society and politics. Consider, for example, the role of powerful women in Makassarese politics, something only hinted at in the royal chronicles and the fragmentary Dutch sources of the time. One of the noble women about whom we can learn a substantial amount from her many appearances in the Makassar annals is Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq.

During her lifetime Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq married and divorced four times, twice to rulers of overseas kingdoms within Gowa's political ambit

(Bima and Sumbawa) and twice to Karaenta ri Jarannika, one of the foremost nobles in Gowa. The motives for these marriages and divorces are not transparent, but their overall effect is clear: they placed Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq along the lines linking future generations with powerful forebears. The rulers of Bima would trace their ascent through her, and had the marriage not failed, the same might have been true of later rulers of Sumbawa and even Gowa through her daughter's marriage to Tuammenang ri Lakiung. Though they produced no children, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's two marriages to Karaenta ri Jarannika were strategic and potentially of enormous significance. In fact, Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was apparently active in court politics, forcing her brother Sultan Hasanuddin to temporarily exile her in 1662. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq also supervised politically important marriages of her daughters from her first marriage. One married a son of Karaeng Karunrung, the dominant figure at the Gowa court and in Makassarese politics for over two decades. Another daughter was married to a son of Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq's brother Sultan Hasanuddin. Offspring from this marriage of first cousins would have been influential and high-ranking figures at the Gowa court, but the marriage failed shortly before Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq died. Undaunted, her daughter married the ruler of Talloq three months later.

The expansion of a political and social order in which marriage and descent were critical shaped how noble Makassarese women sought influence both in the present and in the future by becoming ancestors linking later generations with influential forebears. Historical records are often made with an eye toward how those in the future will read the past. While this sense of acting for posterity may be increasingly rare in the modern world, it was of the utmost significance in seventeenth-century Makassar. This was a world in which ancestors provided the social rank of their descendants. It was from their blood that one's potential for greatness flowed. Makassarese viewed notable ancestors as the source of their most important values and traditions, and for centuries handed down their words unchanged, seeing them as repositories of ancient, unimpeachable wisdom. The social heights that ancestors occupied was therefore a resource to which later Makassarese were eager to demonstrate connections. Makassarese charted their histories along genealogical lines, passing from one ancestor to the next, tracing their ascent back to the high-ranking and most ancient ancestor possible. It is no surprise that to some day be remembered as an important ancestor was a potent stimulus for Makassarese.

With their ability to marry numerous prominent men, and to bear high-ranking offspring from more than one noble, Makassarese women such as Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq maximized their chances to become revered ancestors even as they positioned themselves as formidable individuals wielding great influence at court. Karaenta ri Bontojeqneq was not the only



Makassarese woman to manipulate the politics and possibilities of marriage, offspring, and divorce. Throughout *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts there are women who astutely maneuver themselves into positions of influence, aligning first with one noble and then another. Examining their lives as recorded in *lontaraq bilang* brings into sharp focus perspectives on status, success, and political life of high-ranking women in seventeenth-century Makassar.

One final figure whose life and unusual presence within the *lontaraq bilang* is also worth examining, both for his historical importance and for what he illustrates about the analytical possibilities in these annals. Yusuf was a Makassarese purportedly born, the annals tell us, in 1626. The fact of his birth was no doubt interpolated into the text at a later date when the significance of his life had become clear. Subsequent entries report with precision that Yusuf requested permission from Gowa's ruler Sultan Malikussaid to go on the haj to Mecca on 22 September 1644 and set sail a month later on October 20th. He likely never returned to Makassar, but occasional entries indicate his importance to annalists. Finally, an entry on 22 May 1699 reports that this was, 'the night of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf's death overseas at the Cape at the age of 74.' Indeed, it is only then that the curious story of Shaykh Yusuf's posthumous influence over Makassar begins to unfold in earnest.

What followed over the next few years was considerable debate over what to do with Yusuf's corporal remains. We know from other sources that Gowa's ruler Abdul Jalil formally requested that his remains be returned to Makassar, and that this was the subject of much debate among VOC officials. The Makassarese even presented 2000 *rijksdaalders* on 11 May 1689 to President Hartsink to pay for the expense of returning Shaykh Yusuf (Andaya 1981:276-7). Suspicion over Abdul Jalil's motives and the possible impact of such a repatriation meant that years were to pass before anything happened. Of this diplomatic wrangling the annalists have nothing to say, though it is likely that the 15 June 1699 entry reporting that three moons were seen and the 25 July 1699 entry reporting that two suns were seen were portents connected to Yusuf's death.

Eventually, on 5 April 1705, 'the remains of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf (may Allah bless him) arrived and was buried in Lakiung the next day.' Burials were elaborate affairs in premodern Makassar (Gervaise 1701:140-7) and locating Yusuf's grave in Lakiung in close proximity to the royal graves of the rulers of Gowa was an indication of his significance in both life and death. It is from this date that the tradition of Shaykh Yusuf's grave as a site of spiritual pilgrimage dates. Subsequent entries confirm Shaykh Yusuf's importance in Makassar. His descendants married into the royal families of South Sulawesi, and an entry from 3 July 1747 specifically describes the completion of a domed structure over his grave. In other words, with the case of Shaykh Yusuf we have a range of textual clues about Makassarese attitudes toward the death of exceptional individuals and the development

of religious practices within a contested colonial environment.

The lives of individuals like Karaeng Karunrung, Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq, and Shaykh Yusuf are a rich province for historical analysis. As one would expect in a genre centered on royal courts inhabited by an ever-changing cast of nobles and notables concerned with the omnipresent struggles for social status and political influence, the social maps we can sketch are by and large concerned with the pre-eminent figures of their time. Tracking such luminaries as they jockeyed for power, moved in and out of the textual record, or in other ways cast a long shadow over the Makassarese historical landscape is one of the most obvious ways historians can tap these records. But there are other ways to analyze the Makassar annals that move beyond simple biographies or tracking events.

For example, a coherent body of 2360 entries is ripe for demographic and quantitative analysis. One way to begin mining this enormously rich vein of information is by asking which of these diverse topics most consistently captured the attention of annalists. From this perspective, it is clear that the greatest concern of Makassarese annalists was death. For over a century, the deaths of their fellow nobles, close relatives, and even notables far from Makassar were the events annalists were most inclined to preserve. From the first entries in the early seventeenth century until the last entry at the close of 1751, successive annalists recorded 768 deaths in the 2360 dated entries in the text. In other words, a third of all entries dealt with the fact of death. This is over twice the number of entries dealing with the other great social and demographic concerns of premodern Makassar: births are noted in 342 entries (14%), marriages of one sort or another in 327 entries (14%), and divorces in 155 entries (7%).

Death forces us to find meaning in tragedy (or triumph) and to order social relationships with those already dead and those still living. For Makassarese, memorializing deaths was a means to grapple with the dominant social and political themes of their era, such as the spread of Sufi Islamic brotherhoods and the existential threat posed by the advent of Dutch colonial rule in the late seventeenth century. It was also a chance for individual annalists to ponder more personal questions about their own identities and systems of belief.

Demographics and the lives of individuals like SY with his life, death, and subsequent career can also be a starting point for other kinds of analysis. We can calculate a wide array of demographic information of which for most of Southeast Asia during this period we have only impressionistic evidence. For example, we can calculate the average age at which such rituals as circumcisions and teeth filings were performed, the age of men and women at their first marriage, the frequency of divorce, lifespan among noble men and women, and so forth. These examples are but the proverbial tip of the iceberg. The richness of these entries to historians is limited only by our imagination in putting them to creative analytical use.



*The lontaraq bilang manuscripts*

There is no canonical *lontaraq bilang* text. In 1880 A. Ligtvoet published a transcription and Dutch translation of a Makassarese *lontaraq bilang* manuscript currently catalogued as Or. 236 in KITLV. He made his copy of the manuscript in the mid-nineteenth century, but noted that it was not the only *lontaraq bilang* manuscript (Ligtvoet 1880:1-2). Or. 236 is nearly identical to and seems to be a copy of VT 25, an Indonesian National Library manuscript dated 1874 that may itself be the manuscript Ligtvoet used or another copy of it. Ligtvoet's 'Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello' is the standard text that subsequent scholars have consulted, preferring it to an Indonesian translation of the same manuscript published more recently (Kamaruddin et al. 1985-1986). Yet Kamaruddin et al. (1985-1986) contains numerous entries not found in Ligtvoet, who stated clearly that he was only publishing extracts rather than a complete transcription and translation of the manuscript. For example, there are 122 entries in VT 25 for the 1630s, all of which are in Kamaruddin et al. but 27 of which are not found in Ligtvoet. There is also the problem that sometimes the Makassarese text is given but no translation provided in Ligtvoet, which makes this edition problematic for scholars working only with the Dutch translation. Furthermore, some entries contained in VT 25 are found in neither Ligtvoet nor Kamaruddin, with the result that important information has not been available to historians of the period. Indeed, an entire manuscript page of seventeen entries from 1721-1722 is missing in Kamaruddin and reduced to seven entries in Ligtvoet. In total, while VT 25 contains 2360 entries, Kamaruddin's Indonesian translation contains 2320 entries (98%) and Ligtvoet's Dutch translation only 1241 entries (53%).

Figure 1 represents the total number of entries per decade in VT 25 and three other *lontaraq bilang* manuscripts. Two of these additional manuscripts contain only seventeenth-century entries. VT 25 stands out for both its chronological breadth and its quantity of entries. VT 25 has 175 manuscript pages containing 2360 individual entries. There are only 46 entries from 1545 to 1630, and then 2314 entries (an average of 19.1 per year) from 1631 to 1751. Some decades are comparatively rich with entries (the 1720s average 33.2 entries per year) and some are comparatively poor (the 1690s average 10.9 entries per year). The number of entries begins to decline in the early 1740s, though there are 16 entries for the final year of 1751. The first spikes in entries during the 1670s, followed by a decline in annalist activity before another period of intense recording in the 1710s and 1720s, indicate that this was by no means a static or consistent tradition. The paucity of entries in the last decade of the seventeenth century may well be a reflection of the chaos and despair that gripped Gowa in the wake of the Makassar War (1666-1669). The tradition moved to Talloq's court in the eighteenth century, and the upswing

in entries beginning in the 1710s no doubt reflects the personal diligence of Karaeng Lempangang.

The following additional manuscripts were consulted in preparing this edition:

1. ANRI 16/6 (a copy is held at the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit Leiden under catalog number Cod. Or. 14,450 and is described as a manuscript owned by Andi Ijo, former *karaeng* of Gowa) has a section of *lontaraq bilang* entries on pages 47-65 that cover years 1605 to 1682. It is written in the *lontaraq beru* script. The text does not give days of the week for entries, and it omits much of the genealogical information about births, marriages, and deaths found in VT 25. Yet it does contain valuable information not found in VT 25. This includes details within entries and complete entries not found in VT 25. The unique entries in this manuscript are provided in chapter III.

ANRI 16/6 is the most fascinating of the *lontaraq bilang* texts because of its striking uniqueness.

The variations in phrasing, word choice, and word order within parallel entries are evidence that this text is not a simple copy of VT 25's ancestor. Coupled with the presence of entries either not found or substantially different from those in VT 25 and the differences in dates for the same events (such as the initial conversion to Islam in 1605), it is highly likely that the ancestor of ANRI 16/6 represents a separate *lontaraq bilang* tradition. It may well have been written contemporaneously with the ancestor of VT 25. A good example of the differences in perspective that suggest this possibility are the entries for 9 December 1632. VT 25 stresses that an envoy from Banten arrived bearing the body of Tumatea ri Banten, while ANRI 16/6 notes that this envoy was from Mataram and brought a text written on slats of bamboo that had been woven together. Despite the discrepancy in understanding about where on Java the envoy arrived from, both may be correct and represent the different perceptions of two annalists about what most important to record (or simply what they individually witnessed) about the envoy's arrival. On other occasions, relatively long entries such as 29 February 1636 have the same wording, which may simply mean that the two annalists listened to the same report about what transpired. A good example of simple differences is the entry for 11 August 1663: VT 25 has 'namaqballaq taua ri Jongaya' (people built houses in Jongaya) and ANRI 16/6 has 'paqballaqballakangi ri Jongaya' (houses were built in Jongaya). Frequently too different titles are used to describe the same person in parallel entries.

One of the most striking differences between VT 25 and ANRI 16/6 is the latter's indifference to the noble births, deaths, marriages, and divorces that attracted the attention of VT 25's annalist. In this ANRI 16/6 resembles Or. 272Y and the c. 1795 translation in 'Makasaarsche Historiën'. Whether ANRI

16/6 underwent a culling process by which entries deemed no longer significant is not clear.

The same text contains (with no breaks or other visual clues after the last dated entry to mark a transition) a list of the names and ages of 8 of Gowa's and 4 of Talloq's rulers. The list does not contain Tunipasuluq (not surprising given his reputation) or Pattingalloang (which is surprising and may be a simple omission), but it is more noteworthy that the last rulers in mentions both died in 1709: Tumamenang ri Lakiung of Gowa and Tumamenang ri Passiringanna of Talloq. This helps us approximately date the text; either the original or a very early copy was probably written shortly after 1709.

2. MH – 'Makasaarsche Historiën'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 4 (1855):111-45. This article consists of an edited Dutch translation of a 1795 historical manuscript owned by an old man named Ince' Timor living in Maros. The Makassarese text is not provided. Ince' Timor was presumably of mixed Malay-Makassar descent. We do not know if he was from Maros or if the text was authored there. He did have access to the royal court in order to copy extracts of existing Makassarese texts and the education to author new sections. Part of the manuscript is a *lontaraq bilang* text containing 117 entries, the first dated 1602 and the last 2 April 1747. Virtually all entries from the seventeenth century are found in VT 25, though the number of entries is much smaller. Many of the eighteenth-century entries that also are found in VT 25 are consistently misdated: generally events took place three years earlier than this text states.

3. Or. 272Y of KITLV contains 16 pages of *lontaraq bilang* entries covering the years 1600 to 1689. It is written in the *lontaraq беру* script. It has 253 entries, about 25% as many as VT 25 during the same years. It has no unique entries and few noteworthy differences in the content of its individual entries. It is, in other words, highly derivative.

Examination of the similarities and differences between these and VT 25 can reveal much about the *lontaraq bilang* genre and more general changes taking place in South Sulawesi during this period. To begin, it is striking how the annalist-editors of both MH and Or. 272 judged the significance of the entries in the royal court annals tradition represented by VT 25. Both MH and Or. 272 are the textual results of an annalist with access to an earlier *lontaraq bilang* text who selected the entries he or she wished to include. The author of Or. 272Y (or subsequent owners of the manuscript) was apparently content simply with preserving his selection of entries from the seventeenth century. The author of MH (or, again, subsequent holders of the manuscript) went on from that foundation to continue adding entries to the annals. Both the selection of events concerning the seventeenth century and the nature of the new

entries in MH from the eighteenth century provide insight into Makassarese perceptions of their past and present.

Broadly speaking, MH and Or. 272 represent an eighteenth-century perspective on seventeenth-century Makassarese history. A social, political, and historical re-evaluation took place which derived from the central event in seventeenth-century Makassarese history: the Makassar Wars (1666-1669) and the accompanying fall of the rulers of Gowa and rise of Arung Palakka. The implications for eighteenth-century Makassarese is evident in their choices of initial entries.

The first seven entries in VT 25 cover the years 1545 to 1600. They record the birthdates of Tunijalloq (ruled Gowa 1565 to 1590), Karaeng ri Barombong (a prominent Gowa noble, father of Karaeng Sumannaq), Karaeng Matoaya (ruled Talloq 1593-1623), Tuammenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Ala'uddin, ruled Gowa 1593 to 1639), Tumammaliang ri Timoroq (ruled Talloq 1623 to 1641), and Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng (Karaeng Pattingalloang, ruled Talloq 1641 to 1654), calculated by backdating from their ages the year they died, and the death of Tunijalloq in 1590. These six births and one death register the lives and significance of some of the most prominent figures in Gowa and Talloq's history. The eighth entry, dated 2 March 1602 though obviously added much later, registers the creation of the VOC. It is telling that of these eight events, only the 2 March 1602 entry about the VOC is found in Or. 272Y and MH. In fact, it is the first entry in both of these texts. None of the births or deaths of six towering figures in Makassarese history were seen as worthy of inclusion. This is remarkable because the inaugural entries in an annals manuscript are paradigmatic signs of the themes and events deemed most historically significant.

VT 25's seventeenth-century entries are fundamentally concerned with the births, deaths, marriages, and divorces of Makassar's nobility, as Figures 2 and 3 indicate. Nearly two-thirds of VT 25's entries address these four kinds of events; they are the sinews of the text. But from the outset this was deliberately and drastically changed by the creators of MH and Or. 272Y. Indeed, not a single one of the 72 seventeenth-century entries in MH commemorates a marriage or divorce. Three births are mentioned, but one of these is of a non-Makassarese shaykh (12 March 1680), and the other two may only have been included because they are embedded in entries discussing the spread of Islam (23 November 1611; 19 April 1632). Or. 272Y has 253 seventeenth-century entries, and thus represents a less rigorous culling on the past of its analyst, but here too the same pattern is evident. The births of only seven Makassarese notables are included, along with three of their marriages and two divorces. Deaths are mentioned frequently in both texts largely because they recorded deaths in battles against the Dutch, but deaths of royal children commonly mentioned in VT 25 are omitted in both MH and Or. 272Y. In other words, Or. 272Y or MH considered genealogical informa-

	to 1629	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	total
# entries	44	122	132	126	174	290	163	109	232	299	332	208	103	26	2360
births <sup>1</sup>	18 (41%)	20 (16%)	26 (20%)	33 (26%)	15 (9%)	42 (14%)	35 (21%)	18 (17%)	24 (10%)	30 (10%)	46 (14%)	10 (5%)	11 (11%)	4 (15%)	342 (14%)
deaths <sup>2</sup>	6 (14%)	32 (26%)	43 (33%)	27 (21%)	45 (26%)	84 (29%)	39 (24%)	43 (39%)	70 (30%)	92 (31%)	147 (44%)	98 (47%)	32 (31%)	10 (38%)	768 (33%)
marriages <sup>3</sup>	2 (5%)	6 (5%)	14 (11%)	20 (10%)	17 (10%)	75 (26%)	37 (23%)	10 (9%)	44 (19%)	39 (13%)	35 (11%)	13 (13%)	13 (13%)	2 (8%)	327 (14%)
divorces <sup>4</sup>	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	12 (10%)	12 (7%)	38 (13%)	21 (13%)	3 (3%)	26 (11%)	19 (6%)	11 (3%)	6 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (12%)	155 (7%)

<sup>1</sup> Includes reports of births elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Includes reports of deaths elsewhere and infants who died soon after birth.

<sup>3</sup> 'Marriages' refers here to all types of recognized relationships established between men and women, including 'married' (*sikalabini*, which is by far the most common), 'wed' (*bunting*), 'wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]' (*nikka*), 'returned to each other' (*sipolei*), 'engaged' (*parekang*), 'proposed to', (*nipassuroi*), 'eloped' (*loriang*), 'pledged to each other' (*pasibayuang*), and 'slept with' (*lusereq*).

<sup>4</sup> 'Divorces' likewise refers to several ways of ending relationships, including 'divorced' (*sipelaq*, by far the most frequent), 'broke off' (*tappuki*), 'forcibly separated' (*sisallaqlaq*), and 'severed' (*katto*).

Figure 2. Number of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces per decade (absolute and as percentage of entries)

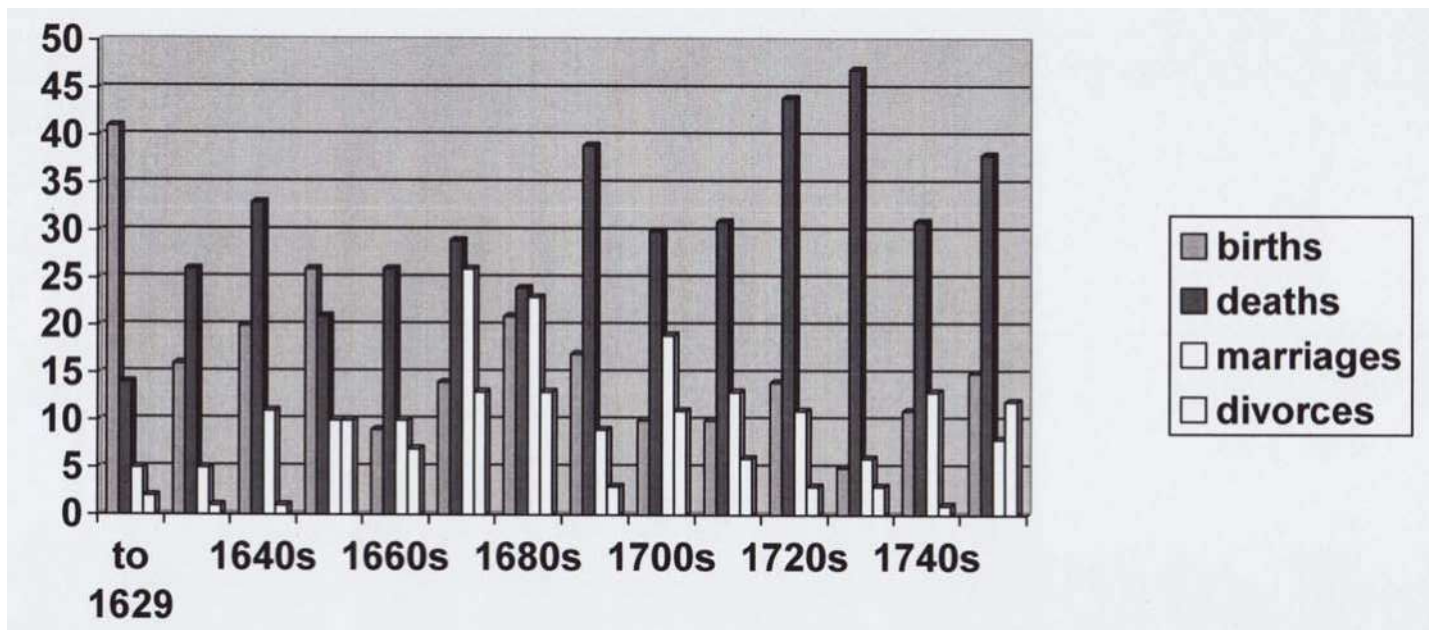


Figure 3. Percentage of entries per decade containing births, deaths, marriages, and divorces

tion about the rulers of Gowa no longer significant in an eighteenth-century Makassar these rulers no longer controlled.

What did concern the writers of MH and Or. 272Y was Islamic practices and innovations, the life and deeds of Arung Palakka, natural and supernatural portents, and war with the VOC. Following the first entry noting the establishment of the VOC, the next five entries in Or. 272Y (and the next four entries in MH) all concern Islam. Matoaya and Ala'uddin's conversion to Islam, the first Friday prayer service in Talloq (Or. 272Y only), and the wars of Islamization against Soppéng, Wajoq, and Boné are dutifully chronicled. That is to say, these were judged as being of the utmost historical importance. This attention to Islamic practices and foundational events in Islam's spread in South Sulawesi is evidence of the degree to which Makassarese conceptualized themselves as living in a Muslim society whose past needed to recount the story of how that happened. The writers of MH and Or. 272Y in essence Islamicized Makassar's past to a much greater degree than we see in either VT 25 or the royal chronicles of Gowa and Talloq.

MH and Or. 272Y were also much concerned with Arung Palakka and the war with the VOC that brought Arung Palakka to political power in South Sulawesi. In MH, 16 entries record his movements, actions, wounds, and finally his death on 6 April 1696. So too the turbulent decades of the 1660s (28 entries) and 1670s (18 entries) are well represented in this *lontaraq bilang*. The annalist of this text judged the events of the Makassar War and the tumultuous upheaval that followed the overthrow of the rulers of Gowa and Talloq by Arung Palakka and the VOC of enduring significance. Undoubtedly this is because these decades marked the fundamental watershed that led to the world that eighteenth-century Makassarese experienced. The tremendous uncertainty that this produced is recorded in another way as well.

Far more frequently than VT 25, MH and Or. 272Y record all manner of wondrous events and supernatural omens, from two suns appearing in the sky to comets eight consecutive nights to dead men coming back to life. In the years before 1667 only three such events are noted (an average of one every 22 years) in MH, while for the years after 1667 nineteen such events are registered (an average of one every four years). Or. 272Y shows the same pattern. These entries record a perception of a world that had changed fundamentally and that was filled with ambiguous happenings. These two annals are an acknowledgment of how much Makassar had been transformed by the events set in motion by the Makassar War. In this new presentation of the past, the lives of Makassarese rulers textually disappeared, while the presence of Arung Palakka, the momentous events he caused, and the uncertain world in which Makassarese now found themselves remained.

What Or. 272Y or MH represent is a shift from an annalist recording what was socially significant at the time to an annalist selecting entries for inclu-



sion based on what was judged historically significant. This is a considerable change. What separates the two writers is of course time's passing and, perhaps more importantly, colonialism. Once Gowa and Talloq had lost not simply their pre-eminence within South Sulawesi but their independence after the 1669 conquest by the VOC and their Bugis allies the social order built upon dense layers of kinship and status relationships that sustained and defined these two kingdoms crumbled. It no longer made a difference when the nobles of a bygone age had married, had children, and died. That world no longer existed, and its commemoration served no purpose. In contrast, entries related to Islam, conquests, wars with the Dutch, and unusual or supernatural events did still matter. The shift in mentality is revolutionary, and a comparison of annals like MH and Or. 272Y with the royal court *lontaraq bilang* tradition that VT 25 preserved allows us to bring it into sharp and dramatic focus.

We can also gain a useful perspective on this shift in mentality by collating the entries from the five manuscripts that cover the same period of the seventeenth century. In particular, we can better appreciate what might have been the 'core' themes of the annals tradition by examining the common entries found in all five manuscripts. The following are the dates of the entries from the seventeenth century found in VT 25, ANRI 16/6 (up to 1682), Or. 272Y (up to 1689), and 'Makasaarsche Historiën' (to 1700).

	22 September 1605
1600s	1609
	10 May 1610
1610s	23 November 1611
	14 January 1641
	16 May 1642
1640s	13 January 1649
	25 November 1651
	23 October 1655
1650s	13 December 1656
	12 June 1660
	21 September 1660
	11 October 1660
	24 November 1660
	2 December 1660
	20 August 1663
	16 August 1666
	19 December 1666
	18 December 1666



23 December 1666  
 25 December 1666  
 13 July 1667  
 1 August 1667  
 19 August 1667  
 4 September 1667  
 18 November 1667  
 21 November 1667  
 29 December 1667  
 6 March 1668  
 14 April 1668  
 8 November 1668  
 13 November 1668  
 16 June 1669  
 24 June 1669  
 28 July 1669  
 1660s 28 October 1669  
  
 28 March 1670  
 29 March 1670  
 28 May 1670  
 22 April 1674  
 27 Sep 1675  
 28 March 1676  
 3 April 1676  
 11 April 1676  
 27 April 1676  
 13 May 1676  
 17 April 1677  
 3 May 1677  
 23 May 1677  
 27 July 1677  
 7 October 1678  
 1670s 21 October 1679  
  
 12 March 1680  
 15 June 1680  
 24 July 1683  
 3 February 1687  
 1680s 8 February 1689  
  
 6 April 1696  
 15 June 1699  
 1690s 25 July 1699

There are 60 common entries through 1700. The early common entries from the 1600s and 1610s are few in number, but all concern the adoption and spread of Islam in Gowa's wars of Islamization. They are thus crucial moments in the history of a Muslim society whose inclusion in all five of the texts is to be expected. The six entries from the 1640s and 1650s all deal with foreigners in one way or another, either as bringers of rare gifts such as an elephant or tiger, or as dangerous foes whose conquests and activities were important to mark.

The vast bulk of the common entries concern the 1660s and 1670s. It is not surprising that the 26 entries from the 1660s deal almost exclusively with Gowa's wars against the VOC and Arung Palakka. Similarly, the 16 entries from the 1670s deal almost exclusively with the actions of Arung Palakka, who from the perspective of these common entries is clearly the historical protagonist dominating this decade. Of the remaining eight entries, two again concern Arung Palakka, while the other six describe unusual portents from the natural world such as eclipses and sightings of multiple moons and suns.

Like the editorial judgments about past events made by the writers of MH and Or. 272Y as they selected what to copy, the nature of the common entries are a window onto the mentality of Makassarese living in an era in which old certainties had evaporated. The rulers of Gowa and Talloq before 1669 had anchored Makassarese society. They had provided the social and political center around which others moved in orbit and by which they judged themselves. Neither the Bugis after the death of Arung Palakka or the Dutch in their Makassar factory dominated Makassarese society to any significant degree. But as the events in the annals make clear, neither could the subsequent rulers of Gowa and Talloq recapture or recreate the glory of the past.

Karaeng Bontolangkasaq's rebellion and brief capture of Gowa came close, but his death was in many ways the end of dream that Makassar's golden age could be captured. As one elderly Makassarese warrior reportedly said when he surrendered his sword to the Dutch,

I have seen this city of Gowa in her greatest splendor, when it was master of the whole island of Celebes; also [I saw her] in her first debasement when we were defeated by the Company; however she remained habitable and respected, despite the loss of her greatest splendor; but now she appears brought to ruin. The first time I [surrendered] my dirk at Sombaopu, the second time at Surabaya, and now for the third time I surrender [it] to the victorious weapons of the Company. Nothing remains for me, except to gain forgiveness and to die in peace (Blok 1848:24).

Sporadic rebellions and millenarian movements flared frequently in the second half of the eighteenth century (and beyond), but Makassar was in grievous decline. That the post-conquest era would fixate the people of

Makassar's attention on portents and omens on the one hand, and on the origins and practices of Islam and on other is ultimately not surprisingly.

In many ways, then, the nearly 2400 entries translated here have much to tell us about Makassarese history. They can be used to learn about specific people and events, broader historical processes and developments, and even provide evidence of more subtle shifts in thinking and culture. Without further ado, let us turn to the annals themselves.

## II

### The annals Transliteration, translation, and notes

- 1545  
955 this year Tunijalloq purportedly born; he reached age 45  
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Tunijalloq 45 umuru-  
qna
- 1572  
982 this year Karaeng ri Barombong<sup>1</sup> purportedly born; he  
reached age 70  
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaengta ri  
Barombong umuruqna 70
- 1573  
983 this year Karaeng Matoaya purportedly born; he reached  
age 63  
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaeng Matoaya  
umuruqna 63
- 1586  
996 this year Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna [Ala'uddin]  
purportedly born; he reached age 53  
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaenga  
Tuammenang ri Gaukanna umuruqna 53

<sup>1</sup> A son of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang and half-brother of Karaeng Matoaya, he was a figure whose importance is in part concealed by the fact that he never became a ruler and thus does not feature prominently in the chronicles of Gowa and Talloq.

- 1590
- 3 Muh 1002<sup>2</sup> Karaeng Tunijalloq cut down; he reached age 45  
nanijalloq Karaenga Tunijalloq umuruqna 45
- 1593
- 1008 this year Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Mudhaffar  
purportedly born; he reached age 43  
maka ia anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Karaenga  
Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Mudhaffar umuruqna 43
- 1600
- Aug 1009 this year Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Patingalloang]  
purportedly born; he reached age 54  
maka anne kutaeng kaanakkanna Tuammenang ri  
Bontobiraeng umuruqna 54
- 1602
- 2 Mar (W) the Dutch company [Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie]  
established; 73 people amassed 2,640,000 reals<sup>3</sup>  
namappareq kompania Balandaya 73 tau namappasseqre  
realaq 2640000
- 1605
- 22 Sep (R eve) the two brother-karaengs [Matoaya and Ala'uddin]  
embraced Islam
- 9 Jawl 1015<sup>4</sup> namantama Islam karaeng rua sisariqbattang
- 1607
- 11 Dec (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna Muhammad Said  
[Malikussaid] born
- Raj 1016<sup>5</sup> naanaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Papangbatuna  
Muhammad Said

<sup>2</sup> The Hijri date converts to 28 Sep 1593. Discrepancies will only be mentioned in the notes if the two dates differ by more than a week. In all other cases readers may assume a close correspondence between the two calendrical systems. If an entry contains only a Hijri date, the equivalent Gregorian date is found in the notes.

<sup>3</sup> This entry is certainly a later interpolation into the text. A real was a Spanish silver coin widely used in Asia. Its value tended to vary, but normally was worth about 2,5 Dutch guilders (Andaya 1981:footnote 317).

<sup>4</sup> The Hijri date converts to 12 Sep 1606. Though this entry gives a Gregorian date of 22 Sep 1603, this is incorrect and has been changed to 22 Sep 1605. Noorduynd (1956) concluded that this was the correct date, and in fact is the date given in ANRI 16/6.

<sup>5</sup> The Hijri date is approximately one month earlier. ANRI 16/6 places this birth in 1606.

- 9 Nov (F) Friday public prayers first established in Talloq; we were first Muslim; this year purportedly took place the war at Tamappalo<sup>6</sup>
- 18 Raj 1017<sup>7</sup> nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Talloq uru sallanta ia anne bedeng bunduka ri Tamappalo
- 1609<sup>8</sup>
- the people of Soppéng embrace Islam [after] battle at Pakenya  
namantama Islam tuSoppenga bunduka ri Pakenya
- 1610
- 10 May the people of Wajoq embrace Islam  
10 Saf 1019 namantama Islam tuWajoka
- 1611
- 23 Nov (T) Boné defeated in the war of Islamization; this year I Amboq purportedly born<sup>9</sup>
- 23 Ram 1020 nabeta Bone ri bunduq kasallanganga ia anne bedeng nakaanakkang I Amboq
- 1615
- 28 Apr *sabannaraq* Anciq Using taken by the Dutch<sup>10</sup>  
28 Rawl 1024 nianialle Anciq Using sabannaraka ri Balandaya
- 12 Dec (S) Karaeng ri Tangallaq Sitti Maradiah<sup>11</sup> born  
20 Zulk 1024 naanaq Karaengta ri Tangallaq Sitti Maradiah
- 1616
- Nov Karaeng ri Kassiqlala born  
Syaw 1025 naanaq Karaengta ri Kassiqlala

<sup>6</sup> Presumably this refers to a major battle in Gowa's first war of Islamization (*bunduq kasallannanganna*) against Boné, Soppéng, and Wajoq.

<sup>7</sup> The Hijri date for this momentous event converts to 27 Oct 1608, nearly a year later than the Gregorian date.

<sup>8</sup> No date is provided for this entry, but based on Bugis sources Ligtvoet (1880:footnotes 86 and 87) concludes that this must have taken place in 1609. ANRI 16/6, however, records that it was in 1608.

<sup>9</sup> I Amboq's purported birth is almost certainly a later interpolation.

<sup>10</sup> The Dutch capture of two Makassarese notables in April 1615 is discussed in IJzerman 1922:344. ANRI 16/6 adds that the name of the second captive was Karaeng ri Kotengang.

<sup>11</sup> A daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. This name is spelled Sitti Maralia in the *Talloq Chronicle*.

	1618
Apr <sup>12</sup>	I Loqmoq ri Mandalleq went over to Bima and conquered Bima with only nine <sup>13</sup> vessels; this purportedly was the year Karaeng Matea ri Bima born nantaqle ri Dima I Loqmoq ri Mandalleq nanabeta Dima salapangji batunna maka ia anne kutaeng taunga nakaanakkang Karaengta Matea ri Dima
1 Oct 1618 (M)	ritual with the bamboo <sup>14</sup> held; something was seen resembling a banner
16 Syaw 1027 <sup>15</sup>	kaparekanga ri pattonga naniaq niciniq kuntu bate
	1619
30 May (R)	the Dutch first occupied Jakattaraq <sup>16</sup>
2 Zulk 1028 <sup>17</sup>	nauru naempoi Jakattaraq Balandaya
June (F)	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] circumcised <sup>18</sup> ; Karaeng ri Maroanging went over to Bima and conquered Bima and Sumbawa <sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Unusually, no Hijri date is given for this entry. The text does not write the year, which gives the impression that this also took place in 1616, but the graphic arrangement of the text makes it likely that this was a simple omission. While at first glance one would assume the correct year is 1617 – and this is in fact the year given in ANRI 16/6. Based on other sources Noorduyt (1987) concluded that the more likely date is Apr 1618.

<sup>13</sup> ANRI 16/6 records that only seven ships were involved.

<sup>14</sup> The nature of the ritual described by the phrase '*kaparekang* ri pattonga' is unknown.

<sup>15</sup> VT 25 has the Hijri year as 1028, but this is likely a copyist error. The same Hijri date for 1027 converts to 5 Oct 1618, which closely matches the Gregorian date and best follows the graphic patterns the writer of the text used to indicate separate years.

<sup>16</sup> This is the Makassarese spelling of Jayakarta (Jakarta), which Jan Pieterszoon Coen conquered from the Bantenese and which came to be called Batavia after the VOC trading post there.

<sup>17</sup> The writer of the text mistakenly wrote 1618 in place of 1619 for the Gregorian date. The Hijri date converts to 10 Oct 1619. The correct date is 30 May 1619. Makassarese would have learned of this date later and interpolated it into the text, apparently making the simple mistake of writing the wrong year. Less likely, but possibly, the discrepancy can be explained if the annalist learned of it by 10 Oct 1619, which indeed was a Thursday, and the date 2 Zulkaedah 1028 corresponds to its moment of inscription. In this case, the annalist was using the two calendrical systems to record two separate moments: the event itself and the date it was entered into the text.

<sup>18</sup> ANRI 16/6 records that he was 'engaged' (*nanikaparekanga*) rather than circumcised. Given his age (12) this is entirely plausible.

<sup>19</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'again' (*pole*), correctly clarifying that this was not the first conquest of Bima and Sumbawa.



- Zulk 1028<sup>20</sup> nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna namantaqle ri Dima Karaenga ri Maroangin nanabeta Dima Sambawa
- 26 Zulk 1028<sup>21</sup> Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Patingalloang] and I Bissu Caqdi divorced; Karaeng ri Sumannaq<sup>22</sup> then called her his wife; this the year Tamalate<sup>23</sup> was built nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng I Bissu Caqdi Karaengta ri Sumannaq bainea nikana maka ia anne taunga nanibangung Tamalate
- 28 Zulk 1028<sup>24</sup> there was feasting at Tamaqrappo<sup>25</sup> napakkaqdokang Tamaqrappo
- 1620
- 1030<sup>26</sup> in the winds there were people who went amuk; this year I Daeng ri Kasammeng purportedly born<sup>27</sup> panirikang naniaq tumaqjalloq ia anne bedeng kaana-kkana I Daeng ri Kasammeng

<sup>20</sup> As in the previous entry, the copyist error of writing 1618 for 1619 has been corrected. The Hijri date converts to Oct 1619. No day was supplied either because the conquest did not take place on a single day or because the annalist's informant did not know the precise date when it was recorded later. This may be a case too where the Hijri date corresponds to the date the annalist recorded the news that arrived from Bima.

<sup>21</sup> The Hijri date converts to 3 Nov 1619.

<sup>22</sup> A son of Karaeng Barombang and grandson of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang, he later became *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa.

<sup>23</sup> A royal hall of Gowa.

<sup>24</sup> The Hijri date converts to 5 Nov 1619.

<sup>25</sup> A royal hall of Gowa.

<sup>26</sup> The Hijri date converts to late 1620 or 1621. No more precise date is given, possibly because people went amuk over the extended period of the monsoon season. This entry apparently was written at the end of 1620 and represents the annalist's summation of what took place rather than a contemporary observation.

<sup>27</sup> After this entry the copyist mistakenly wrote a portion of the 23 Mar 1623 entry regarding the Portuguese galley. It has been omitted here.

- 1622
- 8 May (S) earthen works<sup>28</sup> first established in Borongloe  
 16 Jakr 1031<sup>29</sup> uru panambungiana ri Boronglowe
- 12 Aug 1622 I Daeng ri Takka died  
 22 Ram 1031<sup>30</sup> namate I Daeng ri Takka
- 1623
- 23 Mar (T) the Portuguese ship known as a galley raced  
 1 Jawl 1032<sup>31</sup> nanilumba jalleaya biseang Paranggi nikana
- 1624
- 17 Mar Karaeng ri Maroanging<sup>32</sup> died  
 14 Jawl 1033<sup>33</sup> namate Karaengta ri Maroanging
- 18 Aug<sup>34</sup> water first taken from irrigation canals in Pareq  
 nauru nialle jeqneq panaika ri Pareq
- 28 Ram 1033<sup>35</sup> Samanggi opposed; those living there were unprepared  
 nabali Samanggi naempoi tumaqlaqbe-laqbe

<sup>28</sup> The meaning of '*panambungiang*' is unclear here. The most likely possibility is that it is a version of '*pattumbungang*,' which means a place where something is piled up, typically earth. Borongloe was one of the communities that made up the original core of Gowa's federation. Located along the Jeqneqberang River some 10 km from the coast, this entry probably refers to building the first levees that made this a rich agricultural area, but also could mean rebuilding the community on higher ground or possibly even constructing earthen fortifications. The surrounding entries provide no contextual indications of its meaning, nor are there clues in the Gowa and *Talloq Chronicles* to assist interpretation.

<sup>29</sup> The Hijri date converts to 27 Apr 1622, a discrepancy of less than two weeks. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1621.

<sup>30</sup> The Hijri date converts to 31 Jul 1622, a discrepancy of less than two weeks.

<sup>31</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1622 in place of 1623. The corrected Hijri date converts to 3 Mar 1623. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1621.

<sup>32</sup> A son of Karaeng Patteqne and a *tumailalang* of Gowa, he had inherited this post from his father, who had been granted it by Tunipasuluq. Karaeng ri Maroanging was succeeded as *tumailalang* by his nephew Karaeng ri Suli.

<sup>33</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1623 in place of 1624. The Hijri date converts to 4 Mar 1624, a discrepancy of approximately two weeks.

<sup>34</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1623 in place of 1624. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1623.

<sup>35</sup> The Hijri date converts to 14 Jul 1624, which is a month prior to the previous entry and may indicate that the news from Samanggi was received later and then added to the text. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1623.

	1625
12 Apr (F) 22 Jawl 1034 <sup>37</sup>	there was a council in Malang <sup>36</sup> paqruppa-ruppanga ri Malang
13 Aug	Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] first titled Karaeng ri Lakiung
16 Muh 1035 <sup>38</sup>	nauru nikana Karae Lakiun Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna
Aug Muh 1035 <sup>39</sup>	nine ships arrived nabattu kappalaq salapanga
	1626
(M)	east to Buton went Karaeng Matoaya with the karaeng [Ala'uddin] for the conquest of Buton; this conquest was the first
2 Jakr 1035 <sup>40</sup>	namanraiq ri Butun Karaenga Matoaya siagang karaenga lanabetana Butun beta riolona
(W eve)	a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa <sup>41</sup> born who was only four months older than the mother of Karaeng ri Balloq <sup>42</sup>
18 Raj 1035 <sup>43</sup>	naanaq toana Karaengta ri Bontoa patambulanji katoanna ayana Karaengta ri Balloq anne
3 Jul	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] returned from Buton, having stopped in Bima and conquered Bima, Dompu, Sumbawa, and Kengkulu [Tambora]; people wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]; this purportedly the year that Shaykh Yusuf was born

<sup>36</sup> This is probably found in Tanete or Agangnionjoq.

<sup>37</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625, though ANRI 16/6 does place this event in 1624. The Hijri date converts to 2 Mar 1625.

<sup>38</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625, though ANRI 16/6 does place this event in 1624. The Hijri year in the text is 1034, but 1035 is presumably correct, for that date converts to 18 Oct 1625.

<sup>39</sup> The copyist erroneously wrote 1624 in place of 1625. The Hijri date converts to October 1625. ANRI 16/6 places this event in 1626.

<sup>40</sup> Ligtoet (1880:footnote 89) suggested and Noorduy (1987:327) confirmed that based on other evidence a copyist probably mistakenly wrote 1036 in place of 1035 for this and the next two entries. The corrected Hijri date converts to 1 Mar 1626.

<sup>41</sup> Ligtoet (1880:footnote 89) correctly deduces that this grandparent was Ralle Daeng Paikaq, a daughter of Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa Karaeng Cenrana and full-sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq.

<sup>42</sup> This was Daeng Talarra, who gained the title Karaeng Tabaringang after 1636. She had four husbands: Karaeng Kotengang, Karaeng Sanrabone (with whom she had four children), Karaeng Patteqne (with whom she had one child), and Karaeng Katinting, with whom she had Karaeng ri Balloq on 22 Jan 1646.

<sup>43</sup> The Hijri date converts to 15 Apr 1626.

8 Syaw 1035<sup>44</sup> nabattu ri Butun karaenga nasumengka ri Dima nanabeta  
Dima Dompu Sambawa Kinkelu taua maqnikkah ia anne  
bedeng taunga nakaanakkang I Tuang Syaikh Yusuf

1627

Oct  
1 Syaw 1037<sup>45</sup> Karaeng ri Tabaringang died  
namate Karaengta ri Tabaringan

4 Syaw 1037<sup>46</sup> Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died; Karaeng Tamasongoq<sup>47</sup>  
born  
namate Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya naanaq Karae  
Tamasongoq

14 Oct (N)  
5 Rawl 1037<sup>49</sup> Karaeng ri Lengkeseq<sup>48</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq

7 Aug (W)  
2 Saf 1037<sup>51</sup> Karaeng ri Katinting<sup>50</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Katinting

1628

7 Aug (M eve)  
16 Zulh 1038<sup>53</sup> Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq<sup>52</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq

<sup>44</sup> The Gregorian date matches Ligtvoet's corrected Hijri date.

<sup>45</sup> The Hijri date converts to 6 Apr 1628. Beginning with this entry and continuing through the next six (through the entry marking the introduction of lead coinage) the dates are uncertain. The Gregorian and Hijri dates cannot easily be reconciled, nor does either series proceed chronologically. Scribal errors may be involved, but they are not simple ones that we can deduce and correct. Beginning with the 13 Nov 1629 entry marking the death of Datoq Hafid the two calendrical systems come into close alignment.

<sup>46</sup> The Hijri date converts to 7 Jun 1628.

<sup>47</sup> I Manguqrangi, a daughter of Karaeng Sumannaq and granddaughter of Karaeng Barombong.

<sup>48</sup> Mammaliang Daeng Pole, a son of *tumailalang* Karaeng Cenrana.

<sup>49</sup> The Hijri date converts to 13 Nov 1627.

<sup>50</sup> A son of Ala'uddin from a lower-ranking wife and the father of Karaeng Balloq.

<sup>51</sup> The Hijri date converts to 12 Oct 1627.

<sup>52</sup> I Saniq Daeng Nisakking, a daughter of Malikussaid.

<sup>53</sup> The Hijri date converts to 6 Aug 1629.

1629

4 Jun marriage of Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid]  
6 Syaw 1039<sup>54</sup> pakkawinganna Karaenga ri Lakiung

Feb lead coins [introduced]  
6 Jakr 1039<sup>55</sup> jugaraq tumberiia

13 Nov (T) Datoq Hafid died  
26 Rawl 1039 namate Datoq Hafid

1630

13 Aug (N) Matinroa ri Talloq<sup>56</sup> died  
6 Muh 1040 namate Matinroa ri Talloq

21 Aug (N) Arung Matoa I Toali<sup>57</sup> expelled [as ruler of Wajoq]; a deci-  
sion was requested regarding their land by the people of  
Ponreq  
15 Muh 1040 nanipasuluq Arung Matoa I Toali nanipalappalaq bicara  
ri buttana tuPonreka

1631

12 Jan (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Hasanuddin  
born  
7 Jakr 1040 naanaq Karaenga Tumenanga ri Ballaq Pangkana  
Hasanuddin

15 Jan (W) birth of Karaeng ri Panaikang<sup>58</sup>  
10 Jakr 1040 nanianakkang Karaengta ri Panaikang

30 Mar (N) I Daeng Kalling<sup>59</sup> died below in Segeri; she was known as  
the mother of Karaeng ri Tangallaq  
26 Syab 1040 namate I Daeng Kalling irawa ri Segeri ayana Karaengta  
ri Tangallaq nikana

<sup>54</sup> The Hijri date converts to 19 May 1630.

<sup>55</sup> The Hijri date converts to 20 Jan 1630. ANRI 16/6 gives the Gregorian date as 4 Jun 1629.

<sup>56</sup> La Tenripale, he ruled Boné from 1608 to 1626.

<sup>57</sup> The father-in-law of La Maqdaremmeng, the ruler of Boné who succeeded Matinroa ri Talloq in 1626.

<sup>58</sup> Daeng Niaq, a daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq by a slave wife.

<sup>59</sup> A daughter of Karaeng Barombong and wife of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

- 2 May (S)                    there was rain like thread<sup>60</sup>  
30 Ram 1040                naniaq bosu kontu banning
- 14 May (R)                birth of I Tamammempo, a child of Tumatea ri Banten<sup>61</sup>  
12 Syaw 1040              nanianakkang I Tamammempo anaqna Tumatea ri Banten
- 24 May (S)                it was forbidden to pay interest on debts<sup>62</sup>  
21 Syaw 1040              natanipaqbiangga maqjeqneq inranga
- 3 Jun (T)                    a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq gave birth to his oldest son  
   named I Liba who lived just twenty-nine days  
2 Zulk 1040                namamanaq Karaengta ri Popoq bainea buraqnea nikana  
   I Liba uluana ruampulo banngiji assalapang umuruqna
- 25 Jun (R)                a wife of I Daeng Kalula had a daughter named I Taniq  
25 Zulk 1040              namamanaq bainenna I Daeng Kalula baine nikana I  
   Taniq
- 22 Aug (F)                a wife of the ruling karaeng [Ala'uddin] died  
2 Muh 1041<sup>63</sup>              namate karaenga bainea sombaya
- 4 Sep (W eve)            Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana Abdul Hamid<sup>64</sup> born  
6 Saf 1041                naanaq Tuammenanga ri Juntana Abdul Hamid
- 15 Sep (M)                Macciniqdanggang built<sup>65</sup>; sixty-five nights after it was  
   built the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into it  
17 Saf 1041                nanibangun Macciniqdanggang annangpulo banngi alli-  
   ma leqbaqna nibangun nanapanaike karaenga
- 28 Oct (T)                word came of the death of Matinroa ri Bantaeng<sup>66</sup>  
2 Rokr 1041                nabattu nipabiritta matenna Matinroa ri Bantaeng

<sup>60</sup> Or 272Y has that rain fell like stones (*batu*) not thread (*banning*).

<sup>61</sup> Daeng Mangemba, a son of Karaeng Matoaya.

<sup>62</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'to charge interest in rice or gold' (*ajeqneq aseya bulaenga*).

<sup>63</sup> The Hijri date converts to 31 Jul 1631.

<sup>64</sup> Karaeng Karunrung, a son of Karaeng Pattingalloang who would become *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa.

<sup>65</sup> Macciniqdanggang or 'Watching Trade' was a hall built for the ruler to stay in and reflects royal participation in and oversight of commerce.

<sup>66</sup> La Tenrirua, who ruled Boné from 1607 to 1608.

- 29 Oct (W)<sup>67</sup> the 'Javanese'<sup>68</sup> area burned to the ground; 556 houses were consumed
- 3 Rokr 1041 namaqkanre papparaq Jawaya 556 ballaq nakanre
- 13 Nov (R) Anciq Sumaileq arrived from Mataram bringing I Maisanangga
- 18 Rokr 1041 nabattu ri Mataran Anciq Sumaileq angerangi I Maisanangga
- 17 Nov (N eve)  
22 Rokr 1041 the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up into Macciniq danggang namanaiq karaenga ri Macciniq danggang
- 3 Dec (W) Karaeng ri Lakiung [Malikussaid] and Karaeng ri Tangallaq returned to each other [after having divorced]
- 8 Jawl 1041 nasipolei Karaenga ri Lakiun Karaengta ri Tangallaq
- 1632
- 14 Jan (R)  
20 Jakr 1041 I Tamammempo, a child of Tumatea ri Banten, died namate I Tamammenpo anaqna Tumatea ri Banten
- 19 Apr (M) tobacco intoxicating; this the birth year of Daengta Daeng Tuna, a grandparent of the karaeng<sup>69</sup>
- 28 Rum 1041 namammengo tambakau taun kaanakkanna Daengta Daeng Tuna toana karaenga
- 20 May (R)  
29 Syaw 1041 Tumatea ri Banten went overseas on the hajj<sup>70</sup> namaqlampa kalauq haqqi Tumatea ri Banten
- 14 Aug (S) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] left after dwelling in Macciniq danggang so it could be bricked

<sup>67</sup> The annalist incorrectly wrote the 13th, but it is in fact the 29th. This corresponds to the Hijri dating and is also the date given in ANRI 16/6. Splitting the difference, the translated *lontaraq bilang* text in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) gives the date as 23 October.

<sup>68</sup> 'Javanese' is an umbrella term Makassarese used to refer to peoples from the western archipelago, and usually indicated Malays. This entry testifies to the size of the Malay community in Makassar.

<sup>69</sup> It is unclear which ruler of Gowa this refers to, but most likely Abdul Jalil (b. 1652). This entry is an example of how annalists added information to the entries at a later date. They seem to have done so without considering that future generations of readers would not know who was ruling when the entry was made.

<sup>70</sup> He died on the trip on 27 Sep 1632 in Banten, from which an envoy returned with his body on 9 Dec 1632.



- 22 Muh 1042      namassuluq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq  
Macciniqdanggang nipandeqdeqang bata
- 17 Aug (W)      Karaeng ri Lempangang<sup>71</sup> and Karaeng ri Garassiq<sup>72</sup> married
- 1 Saf 1042      nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lempangang Karaengta ri  
Garassiq
- 20 Aug (F)  
3 Saf 1042      birth of I Pangalaq  
nanianakkang I Pangalaq
- 24 Aug (R)  
7 Saf 1042      an envoy from Maluku named Uthman arrived  
nabattu surona Malukua nikanaya Uthman
- 16 Sep (R)      I Lasebauq [a royal banner] ritually blooded<sup>73</sup>; people  
mustered and called up for Friday public prayers<sup>74</sup>
- 29 Saf 1042      naniceraq I Lasebauq namarewangan taua nanipatambaq  
taua maqjumaq
- 17 Sep (F)  
1 Rawl 1042      people mustered [for Friday public prayers]  
namarewangang taua
- 18 Sep (F)  
2 Rawl 1042      the envoy from Maluku departed  
namaqlampa surona Malukua
- 27 Sep (M)  
12 Rawl 1042      Karaeng ri Ujung Tana<sup>75</sup> died; his subjects numbered 1584  
namate Karaengta ri Juntana bilanna pangatainna 1584

<sup>71</sup> A daughter of Ala'uddin, she was also known as I Saqbe and I Daeng Tamaga.

<sup>72</sup> A son of Karaeng Buluq Sipong (who was a full brother of Ala'uddin) and grandson of Tunijalloq.

<sup>73</sup> As Ligtvoet (1880:92) notes, royal banners were often smeared with blood as part of a ceremony in which Makassarese prepared for war. In this case, it presumably refers to rising tension with the VOC, which sought to blockade Makassar beginning in 1634. There were sporadic outbreaks of violence (and another banner smeared with blood at Ujung Pandang on 15 Nov 1634) followed by periods of inactivity until the conflict ended in 1637. An interesting question arising from this entry is whether this pre-Islamic tradition relying on existing cultural notions about the sacramental potency of blood was incorporated into or linked with the preparations for Islamic Friday public prayer services.

<sup>74</sup> This may be a reference to a deliberate effort to assemble the 40 *mokkeng* needed to make the Friday public prayer service valid according to Shafi'ite doctrine. See Noorduyn 1987:317-8.

<sup>75</sup> A son of Tunijalloq. The *Gowa Chronicle* records that 'his personal name, may I not be cursed, was I Kelo. His royal name was I Daeng Uruga. His *karaeng*-title was Karaeng Ujung Tana. He had no children, but Karaeng ri Patukangang was adopted. [I Kelo] died. Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng received all his possessions except those already given [to his adopted heir].'

- 28 Sep (T) those from Ujung Tana went to Tumamenang ri  
Bontobiraeng [Patingalloang]
- 13 Rawl 1042 nanipamange tuJuntanaya ri Tuammenanga ri  
Bontobiraeng
- 22 Oct (F) Antoni da Costa died  
2 Rakr 1042 namate Antoni di Kosta
- 27 Sep (M) Tumatea ri Banten died  
11 Rawl 1042<sup>76</sup> namate Tumatea ri Banten
- 22 Oct (F) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] sailed to go into Toraja  
20 Rakr 1042<sup>77</sup> namamise karaenga mantama ri Toraja
- 13 Nov (M) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] arrived from Toraja having  
conquered Bolong; it was reported that the Bimanesse  
revolted
- 19 Jawl 1042<sup>78</sup> nabattu ri Toraja karaenga anbetai Bolong nanikana  
marotasaki Dimaya
- 25 Nov (R) Karaeng ri Buraqne sailed over to Bima to put out the  
revolt<sup>79</sup>
- 11 Jawl 1042 namamise Karaenga ri Buraqne taqle ri Dima makkaruru
- 9 Dec (R) an envoy from Banten arrived bearing Tumatea ri Banten;  
45 nights after his death he was brought back<sup>80</sup>
- 25 Jawl 1042 nabattu surona Banteng angerangi Tumatea ri Banten 45  
bannginna matena nabattu nierang
- 24 Dec (S) people were called up to plant rice in Karebosi  
10 Jakr 1042 nanipatambaq taua mannanang ri Karebosi
- 27 Dec (M) it is said that a dead person came back to life  
13 Jakr 1042 nanikana niaq tumate tallasaq pole

<sup>76</sup> Presumably this entry is out of chronological order because his death was recorded when word arrived from Banten.

<sup>77</sup> The Hijri date converts to 3 Nov 1632.

<sup>78</sup> The Hijri date converts to 2 Dec 1632. ANRI 16/6 has the Gregorian date as 22 Nov 1632.

<sup>79</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds that Karaeng ri Buraqne went 'with I Kare Laling' (*siagang* I Kare Laling).

<sup>80</sup> His body actually arrived some 73 days after his death. Possibly the annalist meant that his body departed Banten 45 days after his death, indicating that the journey to Gowa took another 28 days.

1633

- 27 Jan (M) an envoy from Mataram announced his desire to unite [Mataram and Gowa in an alliance]; Ki Ngabei Saradulla was his name
- 6 Raj 1042<sup>81</sup> nanakana-kana surona Mataranga eroqna mattauseqre Ki Ngabei Saradula arena
- 2 Mar (W) at the stroke of 8 was the birth of I Maqmiq; her Arabic name was Syafiah; she was called Daengta Daeng Sannging<sup>82</sup>
- 23 Syab 1042 8 garigantaya nanianakkang I Maqmiq arenga Araqna Shafia Daengta Daengta Sannging nikana
- 7 Apr (R) Karaeng ri Buraqne arrived from Bima<sup>83</sup>  
28 Rum 1042 nabattu ri Dima Karaenga ri Buraqne
- 5 Jun (N) Karaeng Galesong died  
27 Zulk 1042 namate Karae Galesong
- 21 Jun (T) the Bimanese came in person; the karaeng [Ala'uddin] spoke and they agreed
- 14 Zulh 1042 nabattu kalenna Dimaya makkanami karaenga ammi-ommi
- 11 Sep (N) I Daeng Tasannging<sup>84</sup> and I Daeng Niaq married  
2 Rawl 1043 nasikalabini I Daeng Tasannging I Daeng Niaq
- 16 Sep (F) Karaeng ri Pattunga died; he and I Tamaqlili, from the same family, killed each other<sup>85</sup>
- 12 Rawl 1043 namate Karaenga ri Pattunga sibunoi sipamanakang I Tamaqlili

<sup>81</sup> The Hijri date converts to 17 Jan 1633.

<sup>82</sup> A daughter of Karaeng Patingalloang and wife of Hasanuddin. Maqmiq is short for Maqminasa.

<sup>83</sup> ANRI 16/6 again adds that Karaeng ri Buraqne traveled 'with I Kare Laling' (*siagang* I Kare Laling).

<sup>84</sup> A son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq named I Lita, he was also titled Karaeng Bontosunggu.

<sup>85</sup> According to the *Gowa Chronicle*, Karaeng ri Pattunga married a daughter of Tunijalloq named Karaeng Pacelleq. I Tamaqlili was their third child.

17 Oct (M)	I Daeng Mangamaraq departed and went over to Kabaena to make war along with I Daeng Mangalle
14 Rokr 1043	namaqlampa I Daeng Mangamaraq taqle ri Kabaena maqbunduq siagang I Daeng Mangalle
	1634
13 Feb (M)	Dutch ships arrived, twelve in number including the small ones <sup>86</sup>
13 Syab 1043	nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya sampulo anrua batunna siagang macaqdia
19 Feb (N)	the [Dutch] ships that neared Paqnakkukang were fired upon
19 Syab 1043	nanibaqdiliq kappalaq mannyeppeka ri Paqnakkukang
9 Mar (R)	a manuscript arrived from Buton commemorating their oath at Bau-Bau <sup>87</sup>
9 Ram 1043	nabattu lontaraqna Butunga anguqurangi talliqna ri Bau-Bau
4 [Apr] (R)	the mother of I Mamangkasi died
5 [Syaw] 1043 <sup>88</sup>	namate ayana I Mamangkasi
23 [May] (T)	Karaeng Matoaya was shaded with the royal umbrella again; people worked on an earthen wall from Ujung Tana to Somba Opu
24 [Zulk] 1043	nanilaqlangi pole Karaenga Matoaya namanjama taua bata butta sanggenna Juttana nasanggenna Somba Opu
28 [May] (N)	Lae-Lae destroyed
26 [Zulk] 1043	nanilala Lae-Lae

<sup>86</sup> This marks the beginning of the VOC effort to blockade Makassar and thereby deny it access to Maluku and the spice trade which the Dutch were seeking to control (Stapel 1922:26-34).

<sup>87</sup> This oath probably took place after Matoaya and Ala'uddin's 1626 conquest of Buton.

<sup>88</sup> The Gregorian and Hijri months for this and the next four entries are omitted in VT 25. However, the *lontaraq bilang* text in ANRI 16/6 gives May as the month for the second and third of these entries; assuming the entries are chronologically ordered, the preceding entry can be presumed to have been recorded in April and the subsequent entries in June. The Hijri dates are similarly reconstructed based on sequence and the Gregorian dates.

- 22 [Jun] (S eve) an Englishman sailed; he shot someone and was charged  
4000 [reals] and a bloodprice
- 7 [Zulh] 1043<sup>89</sup> nasimonbalaq Anggarrisika namanaba baqdiliqna nani-  
passala 4000 manyapuqtongi
- 22 [Jun] (N) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Pagang died  
7 [Zulh] 1043 namate I Daeng Pagang sabannaraka
- 17 Jul (M) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up<sup>90</sup> to Popoq [in Takalar]  
to take the burned galley
- 20 Muh 1044 namanaiq ri Popoq karaenga angallei galle nisussuluka
- 29 Jul (S) [Ala'uddin] went over to Paqnakkukang to dwell as its  
stonework was rebuilt
- 3 Saf 1044 nataql ri Paqnakkukang maballaq-ballaq nibatana pole
- 9 Aug (W) Ujung Pandang first fortified with stone  
14 Saf 1044 nauru nibata Ujung Pandang
- 23 Aug (T) Karaeng Balambaru arrived bringing declarations from  
[the islands of] Sula and Banggae
- 27 Saf 1044 nabattu Karaeng Balambaru angerangi kananna Sulaya  
Banggaea
- 10 Sep (N) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya had a child who was named I  
Siqra
- 12 Rawl 1044 naanaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya iami nikana I Siqra
- 15 Sep (F) at midday Matinroa ri Bontoalaq Saqaduddin [La  
Tentritatta Arung Palakka] born
- 22 Rawl 1044 tangalloi alloya naanaq Matinroa ri Bontoalaq Saaduddini
- 10 Nov (F) gunpowder exploded on the bastion<sup>91</sup>  
18 Jawl 1044 namakkaqdoq ubaka ri salekoya

<sup>89</sup> The reconstructed Hijri date for this and the next entry converts to 3 Jun 1634.

<sup>90</sup> Makassarese adverbs indicating spatial orientation may puzzle readers familiar with the geography of South Sulawesi. In English, 'up' is associated with north and 'down' with south. These are arbitrary conventions. In Gowa, 'up' (*naiq*) generally corresponds to south and 'down' (*naung*) to north. Popoq, for example, is south of Gowa. See Liebner 2005 for a detailed discussion of these complex systems of spatial orientation.

<sup>91</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds details about casualties from the explosion: 'Karaeng Layu was burned by the powder; eleven *anaq karaeng* from Turatea were burned by the powder' (*nanaqaqdo ubaka Karaeng Layu sampulo asseqre anaq karaeng Turate nakaqdo ubaq*).

15 Nov (W) 23 Jawl 1044	banner ritually blooded at Ujung Pandang naniceraq batea ri Ujung Pandang
	1635
6 Jan (S) 6 Raj 1044 <sup>93</sup>	Karaeng ri Suli <sup>92</sup> entered Darombo [because] it is said that Luwuq is hostile namantama ri Darombo Karaengta ri Suli nikananna bali Luwuka
19 Feb (M) 2 Ram 1044	Karaeng ri Buluq Sipong <sup>94</sup> died namate Karaengta ri Buluq Sipong
30 Apr (M) 12 Zulk 1044	stonework at Barombong strengthened; the number of people [defending] Somba Opu total 855 nanipakajareq bataya ri Barombong bilana tuSombopuya 855
13 Jun (T eve) 27 Zulh 1044	the Dutch fired up at Galesong; the karaeng [Ala'uddin] overnighted at Bebaq [north of Galesong] namamaqdiliq Balandaya manaiq ri Galesong ri Bebaki karaenga maqbanngi
23 Jun (S) 7 Muh 1045	the people at Somba Opu laid stones [in a wall] at the gate namallonjoq bata tuSombopuya ri timunganga
25 Aug (S) 11 Rawl 1045	the people of Boné ask permission to strengthen Pallette namappalakkana tuBonea ampakajarreki Pallatte
17 Sep (M) 3 Rokr 1045	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went down <sup>95</sup> to fulfill a vow in Laqbakkang namanaung karaenga amole tinjaq ri Laqbakkang
10 Nov (S) 1 Jawl 1045	a mosque constructed in Bontoalaq nanilonjoq masigika ri Bontoalaq

<sup>92</sup> A *tumailalang* of Gowa from the family of Karaeng Patteqne, who was originally appointed to the post by Tunipasuluq.

<sup>93</sup> The Hijri date converts to 27 Dec 1634.

<sup>94</sup> A son of Tunijalloq and father of Karaeng ri Garassiq.

<sup>95</sup> Makassarese terms of spatial orientation are discussed in the note for entry 17 Jul 1634; Laqbakkang is north of Gowa.

- 24 Nov (S) Karaeng Matoaya first stricken with illness  
15 Jakr 1045 nauru nabattui garring Karaenga Matoaya
- 3 Dec (T) birth of I Mappaseppeq; known as Karaeng  
22 Jakr 1045 Beroanging, he was a child of Karaeng ri Kassiqlala  
nanianakkang I Mappaseppeq Karae Beroanging nikana  
anaqna Karaengta ri Kassiqlala
- 1636
- 20 Jan (N) Karaeng ri Majannang and Daengta Daeng Marannu  
married  
13 Syab 1045 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Majannang Daengta Daeng  
Marannu
- 29 Feb (F) the Dutch hoped to turn the people of Bulo-Bulo [against  
Gowa] and pledged that in 300 days and nights we would  
be attacked [by the VOC, but the Dutchmen] were killed  
by the people of Bulo-Bulo<sup>96</sup>  
22 Ram 1045 Balandaya eroq ampapalisiki tuBulo-Buloa namassare  
allo 300 banginna kinabunduuq nanibuno ri tuBulo-Buloa
- 2 May (F) a Mandar envoy arrived reporting that their ruler was  
beheaded by the people of Sawitto  
26 Zulk 1045 nabattu surona Mandaraka angkana-kanai nijalloqna  
karaenna ri tuSawittoa
- 1046 this year an epidemic struck many people<sup>97</sup>  
anne taunga mapuai taua

<sup>96</sup> This is also described in Stapel 1922:30-1.

<sup>97</sup> Note that this entry is at the beginning of the year, which by the Gregorian calendar lasted from June 1636 to May 1637. It may have been interpolated here by a later annalist. *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) has this entry for year 1637. The *Dagh-Register* (1637:290) mentions a pestilence that left much of the land uninhabited, and Karaeng Matoaya's 2 Jul 1636 pronouncement also indicates the virulence of the epidemic.

4 Jun (W)	the arumpone [La Maqdaremmeng] arrived and spoke with his mother <sup>98</sup>
1 Muh 1046	nabattu arungpone nasiagaang makkana anronna
2 Jul (W)	spoke Karaeng Matoaya, 'We must all protect ourselves from raging epidemics and starvation'
29 Muh 1046	nanakana Karaenga Matoaya massinga kiliongi kalenta mapuajaki mapaqrejaki
4 Aug (M)	the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went down to dwell at Bontoalaq <sup>99</sup>
3 Rawl 1046	namanaung ri Bontoalaq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq
1 Oct (W)	at midday we were left by Karaeng Matoaya at the age of 63
1 Jawl 1046	tangalloi alloa kinapilari Karaenga Matoaya umuruqna 63
29 Oct (W)	word came from Karaeng Galesong known as Maruttaki <sup>100</sup>
29 Jawl 1046	nabattu nipabiritta Karae Galesong nikana maruttaki
19 Nov (W)	I Daeng Taduq had a child, a girl named I Roking
20 Jakr 1046	namamanaq I Daeng Taduq baine nikana I Roking
21 Dec (N)	I Mallelei Jaqfar, known as Karaeng ri Babanga <sup>101</sup> , born

<sup>98</sup> La Maqdaremmeng's mother was Datu Pattiro We Tenrisoloreng, a sister of the ruler of Boné Matinroa ri Talloq who died in 1630. This discussion must have been important to merit note in the *lontaraq bilang*. It is likely that it concerned Islam. As Andaya (1981:39-41) notes, La Maqdaremmeng enforced a stricter version of Islamic practice in Boné after becoming ruler in 1630, but his mother strongly preferred a form of Islam tolerant of pre-Islamic practices and led opposition to her son's actions. Ultimately this conflict would lead to war between Gowa and Boné in 1643, Boné's defeat, and La Maqdaremmeng's expulsion from the kingdom.

<sup>99</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'reciprocating with Karaeng Matoaya' (*maqbalasaqna Karaeng Matoaya*).

<sup>100</sup> This is the most likely reading, though if Maruttaki is not a name the entry could read 'word came saying that Karaeng Galesong maruttaki'. However, the meaning of 'maruttaki' is uncertain. If it is a variant of '*rutu*' it may refer to Karaeng Galesong 'exploding' or 'erupting', which would indicate the outbreak of a quarrel or violence, or it could refer to the physical symptoms of disease contracted during this year of epidemics. If it is related to '*rottoq*' it may refer to Karaeng Galesong 'bending', perhaps meaning that he broke his word. Local traditions state that the reign of an unnamed ruler of Galesong ended in 1636, which if true would presumably be the result of this incident (Ibrahim et al. 1985:122, 164).

<sup>101</sup> A son of Ala'uddin, the *Gowa Chronicle* records his *karaengship* of Bawangang (or in some texts Bambangang), not Babanga. This is a question of spelling and transcription rather than a mistake or a reference to different locations.



- 2 Raj 1046<sup>102</sup> naanaq I Mallelei Jaqfar Karaengta ri Babanga nikana
- 27 Dec (S) the day of the ruler of Aceh named Mahkota Alam's death<sup>103</sup>
- 25 Raj 1046 allo nakamateanga karaenga ri Aceh nikanaya Makutta Alam
- 29 Dec (M) Karaeng ri Tabaringang died  
1 Syab 1046 namate Karaengta ri Tabaringang
- 1637
- 10 Jan (S) I Marajalang<sup>104</sup> arrived from Ambon  
18 Syab 1046 nabattu I Marajalaan ri Ambong
- 13 Feb (F) the day of I Tuang ri Dima's<sup>105</sup> birth  
17 Ram 1046 allo kaanakkanna I Tuan ri Dima
- 1 Mar (N) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died  
7 Syaw 1046 namate Karaenga ri Ballaq Jawaya
- 22 Jun (M) the Dutch anchored at Somba Opu; the Acehnese went to their ships; we raised a white banner; we both met and agreed to the decision of the karaeng [Ala'uddin] that they not place an official [in Makassar]<sup>106</sup>
- 27 Saf 1047<sup>107</sup> namalabu Balandaya ri Sombopu namange ri biseanna Acea kimappanaiq bate keboq kisitabamo naiomi kananna karaenga tamappaempoa petoroq
- 5 Jul (S eve) Karaeng ri Kasuarrang died  
11 Saf 1047 namate Karaengta ri Kasuarrang

<sup>102</sup> The Hijri date converts to 30 Nov 1636.

<sup>103</sup> Mahkota Alam was the name of an Acehnese royal line and Iskandar Muda the name of the ruler who died in 1636.

<sup>104</sup> Kamaruddin and Ligtoet describe I Marajalang as a merchant. ANRI 16/6 states that he was 'known as an *anaq karaeng* from Ambon' (*anaq karaeng ri Ambong nikana*).

<sup>105</sup> An Arab also known as Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmahtullah. He first arrived in Makassar on 21 Apr 1684 and was an important religious figure in Gowa until his death on 8 May 1694.

<sup>106</sup> The cease fire deliberations are described at length in the contemporaneous *Dagh-Register* (1937:280-92) and in Stapel (1922:32-4). ANRI 16/6 adds 'that they not place the Dutch official known as Anthonie [in Makassar]' (*tamappaempoi petoroq Balandaya nikanaya Ontoni*). This refers to Anthonie Caen, a Malay-speaker whom the Council of the Indies wished to place in Makassar.

<sup>107</sup> The Hijri date converts to 20 Jul 1637, but this is incorrect.

12 Jul (S) 18 Saf 1047	I Loqmoq <sup>108</sup> , the mother of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq, died namate I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
20 Jul (N eve) 26 Saf 1047	I Kurru Karaeng Mangallekana, known as Zakaria, born naanaq I Kurru Karae Mangallekana nikana Zakaria
22 Aug (S eve) 1 Rakr 1047	Daengta Daeng Taqduq died namate Daengta Daeng Taqduq
13 Sep (T) 17 Rakr 1047	Datu ri Luwuq died, cut down by a slave; [he was named] Matinroa ri Somba Opu namate Datua ri Luwuq nijalloki ri atanna Matinroa ri Sombopu
2 Oct (F) 12 Jawl 1047	Datu ri Soppéng who was titled Beyoa died namate Datua ri Soppeng nigallaraka Beyoa
17 Oct (F eve) 27 Jawl 1047	Karaeng ri Paqbineang Maemuna <sup>109</sup> born naanaq Karaengta ri Paqbineang Maemuna
26 Oct (N eve) 6 Jakr 1047	Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq slept with Karaeng ri Lempangang; I Daeng Maqbayaraq died [and after his death] I Daeng Lompo became <i>anrongguru</i> of the <i>tumakkajannang</i> ; he was succeeded by Daengta Daeng Ago [after 29 Feb 1643] and Daengta Daeng Ago was suc- ceeded by Karaeng ri Popoq <sup>110</sup> [on 25 May 1663] namaqlusereq Karaenga Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Karaengta ri Lempangang namate I Daeng Maqbayaraq I Daeng Lompo anronggurunna tumakkajananganga iaminne nisambeang ri Daengta Daeng Ago naDaengta Daeng Ago nisambeang ri Karaengta ri Popoq
	1638
12 Feb (F) 24 Ram 1047	Mandarese give Gorontalo to the karaeng [Ala'uddin] nanapassareang Mandaraka ri karaenga Bolongtaloa

<sup>108</sup> A wife of Malikussaid, she was also the mother of Hasanuddin. The title *loqmoq* was commonly held by non-noble wives of rulers.

<sup>109</sup> A daughter of Pattingalloang, wife of Hasanuddin, and mother of the future ruler of Gowa Amir Hamzah.

<sup>110</sup> A son of Matoaya.

- 25 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Garassiq went into Luwuq to marry<sup>111</sup>  
10 Zulh 1047 namantama ri Luwuq Karaengta ri Garassiq maqbaine
- 30 May (N) Karaeng ri Paqbineang Maemuna put up in a sling [at  
about age 7 months]  
15 Muh 1048 nanipanaiq ri toeng Karaengta ri Paqbineang
- 26 Aug (R) a rice barn built in front of Macciniqdanggang  
18 Rawl 1048<sup>112</sup> nanibangung ballaq asema ri dallekannaya  
Macciniqdanggang
- 18 Aug (F) the karaeng [Ala'uddin] went up to Turatea, to Naung  
2 Rokr 1048 namanaiq ri Turatea karaengta ri Naun
- 20 Oct (W) people mustered for the seating of the future Karaeng ri  
Bontojeqneq  
11 Jakr 1048 namarewangang taua lamamempona kaparekanna  
Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 22 Oct (R eve) the mother of I Kalula died  
13 Jakr 1048 namate ayana I Kalula
- 23 Oct (S) ears pierced of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and Daengta  
Daeng Naratang; this was the birth of Daengta Daeng, the  
younger sibling of Aminah  
14 Jakr 1048 nanitinting Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq siagaang Daengta  
Daeng Naratang iaminne kaanakkanna Daengta Daeng  
anrinna Aminah
- 4 Nov (R) Daeng I Taniciniq<sup>113</sup> and Karaeng Bulu-Bulu married  
26 Jakr 1048 nasikalabini Daengta I Taniciniq Karaeng Bulu-Bulu
- 24 Dec (F) I Daeng Mau died  
17 Syab 1048 namate I Daeng Mau
- 25 Dec (S) it is said that a boy, I Mattenai Karaeng ri Panjallingang,  
was born

<sup>111</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds '[and] married Opu Peso' (*ambaineangi* Opu Peso). This detail is also mentioned by Matthes 1883:footnote 54.

<sup>112</sup> The Hijri date converts to 30 Jul 1638.

<sup>113</sup> A daughter of a ruler of Sanrabone by Karaeng Tabaringang.

- 18 Syab 1048      naanaq I Mattenai Karaengta ri Panjallingang buraqnea  
nikana
- 1639
- 17 Feb (R)      there was word that Karaeng Laqbakkang was besieged  
by his subjects
- 12 Syaw 1048      nanipabiritta Karae Laqbakkang niliungang ri atanna
- 8 Mar (T)      I Topasonriq asked permission to strengthen Boné and it  
was allowed
- 2 Zulk 1048      namappalakkana I Topasonriq ampakajarreki Bone nani-  
paqbeang
- 3 Apr (S eve)  
29 Zulk 1048      I Daeng ri Bulekang went over to Buton  
nantaqle ri Butun I Daeng Bulekang
- 28 Apr (R)  
23 Zulh 1048      I Daeng Massikkiq died  
namate I Daeng Massikkiq
- 8 Jun (W)      I Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora Karaeng ri Panjallingang  
born, a girl
- 5 Saf 1049      naanaq I Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora Karaenta ri  
Panjallingang baine
- 15 Jun (T eve)  
12 Saf 1049      at the stroke of one we were left by Karaeng  
Tumamenang ri Gaukanna Sultan Ala'uddin<sup>114</sup>  
tetteq seqrena garigantaya kinapilari Karaenga  
Tuammenanga ri Gaukanna Sultan Ala'uddin
- 24 Jun (F)  
21 Saf 1049      Gallarrang Cambaya died<sup>115</sup>  
namate Gallarrang Cambaya
- 3 Jul (N)      the *patimatarang* [Malikussaid] shaded with the royal  
umbrella<sup>116</sup>
- 1 Rawl 1049      nanilaqlangi patimataranga

<sup>114</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'he reached age 53' (*umuruqna* 53).

<sup>115</sup> This is a rare entry mentioning a *gallarrang*, a title borne by local lords ranked below *karaeng*. It is likely that Gallarrang Cambaya was well known to the annalist.

<sup>116</sup> *Patimatarang* is a title signifying an heir designated as successor to the throne. Interestingly, the term is not found in the *Gowa* or *Talloq Chronicles*. This ritual recognition that Malikussaid would indeed succeed Ala'uddin culminated in his formal installation as Gowa's sultan on 19 Dec 1639.

26 Jul (T)	agreements were inscribed anew in front of Tamalate <sup>117</sup>
24 Rawl 1049	naniukiriq ulukanaya niberuya ri dallekanna Tamalate
12 Aug	news arrived that the Bimanese intended to fight
11 Rakr 1049	nabattu kana-kanna Dimaya eroq bali
26 Sep (N eve)	I Manjagai died
26 Jawl 1049	namate I Manjagai
28 Sep (F)	Karaeng Bulo-Bulo and Daeng I Taniciniq divorced
29 Jawl 1049	nasipelaq Karaeng Bulo-Bulo Daengta I Taniciniq
20 Nov (N)	an envoy arrived from Datu [ri Luwuq] announcing that he wanted to be removed [as ruler]
23 Raj 1049	nabattu surona ratua ampabirittai eroqna nipasuluq
19 Dec (N eve)	the <i>patimatarang</i> [Malikussaid] installed [as ruler of Gowa]
23 Syab 1049	nanilantiq patimataranga
1640	
12 Jan (R)	the people of Luwuq agree to recognize the datu as their ruler <sup>118</sup>
17 Ram 1049	namammio Luwuka angkaraengangi ratua
14 Mar (W)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] issued <i>bila-bila</i> <sup>119</sup> [summoning vassals for his entourage] for one month hence
20 Zulk 1049	namappalele bila-bila karaenga sibulan
13 Apr (F)	the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go into Luwuq and straight east to Tiworo [islands near Buton]
20 Zulh 1049	namamise karaenga mantama ri Luwuq natulusuq man-raiq ri Tiworo

<sup>117</sup> This entry describes the writing down of ritual oaths taken by vassals of Gowa before the royal hall of their new ruler Malikussaid. Like the ritual in which a royal umbrella was raised over his head, this action was another element in the months-long drama that collectively made Malikussaid Gowa's ruler.

<sup>118</sup> With this act of recognition an apparent dispute between Sultan Ahmad Nazaruddin Matinroa ri Gowa and his nobles was resolved. He had wanted to step down, but continued to rule Luwuq until 1662.

<sup>119</sup> *Bila-bila* refers to cords made from lontar palm leaves that rulers sent via messengers to their vassals summoning them for war, celebrations, or other formal occasions such as the procession to witness the formal installation of the ruler of Luwuq described here. The number of knots on the cord indicated the number days before those summoned should appear.

21 May (M) 29 Muh 1050	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Luwuq nabattu ri Luwuq karaenga
18 Jun (T) 28 Saf	those of Dompou made personal slaves <sup>120</sup> by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] nanipareq ata ri kale Dompua ri Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Papanbatuna
2 Jul (T) 13 Rawl 1050	teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq naniariq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
13 Jul (F) 23 Rawl 1050	the mother <sup>121</sup> of Karaeng ri Garassiq died namate ayana Karaengta ri Garassiq
23 Sep (N) 6 Jakr 1050	<i>bila-bila</i> issued [summoning vassals for war] for 33 nights hence <sup>122</sup> nanipalele bila-bilaya 33 bannginna
27 Oct (S) 10 Raj 1050	from Somba Opu the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go into Walinrang [near Toraja] to make war namamise ri Sombopu karaenga mantama ri Walinrang maqbunduq
3 Nov (S) 17 Raj 1050	Tumamenang ri Lampana Harrunarasyid <sup>123</sup> born naanaq Tuammenang ri Lampana Harunarrasyid
24 Nov (S) Syab 1050	Walinrang conquered nabeta Walinrang
15 Dec (S) 1 Ram 1050	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Walinrang and the conquest and mastering of Bolong [in Toraja] nabattu ri Walinrang karaenga nabetana napasombai Bolong

<sup>120</sup> The term '*ata ri kale*' is translated as 'personal slaves' but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that the English translation may imply. The people of Dompou could not easily escape their bonds of obligation to Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, but they were as much subjects as thralls.

<sup>121</sup> I Tadumai, a daughter of Karaeng Barombong who married one of Tunijalloq's sons.

<sup>122</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'to go into Balera' (*mantamaya ri Balera*). In this and subsequent entries about the expedition, ANRI 16/6 consistently has 'Balera' for 'Walinrang.'

<sup>123</sup> A son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, he would succeed as ruler of Talloq after his uncle Patingalloang's death in 15 Sep 1654. The precise date of his accession to the throne is not recorded in the *lontaraq bilang*, which is perhaps evidence that the gaining of sovereignty was a process rather than a single moment.

- 22 Dec (S) Karaeng ri Bungaya died; the father of I Ambela<sup>124</sup> died also
- 8 Ram 1050 namate Karaenga ri Bungaya namate todong aenna I Ambela
- 25 Dec (M eve) the *patimatarang* [Hasanuddin] went up to Kalakongkong [in Bulukumba] to call back Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, but he refused<sup>125</sup>
- 11 Ram 1050 namanaiq patimataranga ri Kalakongkong angkalliki Tuamalliana ri Timoroq natea
- 1641
- 14 Jan (M) Melaka conquered by the Dutch
- 1 Syaw 1050 nanibeta Malaka ri Balandaya
- 15 Jan (T) Karaeng ri Talloq [Tumammaliang ri Timoroq] sailed from Kalakongkong east to Timor<sup>126</sup>
- 2 Syaw 1050 namamise ri Kalakongkong Karaenga ri Talloq manraiq ri Timoroq
- 20 Jan (N) Karaeng Cenrana sailed from Somba Opu following Karaeng ri Talloq [Tumammaliang ri Timoroq]
- 7 Syaw 1050 namamise ri Sombopu Karaenga Cenrana ampinawangi Karaenga ri Talloq
- 23 Feb (N eve) Karaeng ri Karuwisi died
- 13 Zulk 1050 namate Karaengta ri Kariwisi

<sup>124</sup> I Ambela's father was Abdul Kahir, the first sultan of Bima. I Ambela succeeded his father under the title Sultan Abil Khair. Often referred to as Sirajuddin, he ruled from 1640 to 1682 (Noorduyn 1987:323-5).

<sup>125</sup> This intriguing incident suggests that Tumammaliang ri Timoroq was acting independently of Sultan Malikussaid, who presumably sent his son and designated successor to summon Tumammaliang ri Timoroq back to Gowa (though in ANRI 16/6 it is Malikussaid himself who pursues Tumammaliang ri Timoroq). Shortly thereafter Tumammaliang ri Timoroq departed for Timor. He was followed by Karaeng Cenrana, a *tumailalang* of Gowa, again presumably on the command of Malikussaid, but this mission too is a matter of mystery. Karaeng Cenrana could have been sent either to aid or restrain Tumammaliang ri Timoroq. Tumammaliang ri Timoroq's voyage to Timor involved its conquest, for ANRI 16/6 adds in the entry for 15 Jan 1641 that he went to Timor to make war. This accomplishment is also referred to in the *Talloq Chronicle*. After a short stay on Timor, Tumammaliang ri Timoroq returned and died soon after on 18 May 1641. It is perhaps noteworthy that the writer of the *Talloq Chronicle* memorializes Tumammaliang ri Timoroq as brave rather than knowledgeable.

<sup>126</sup> ANRI 16/6 clarifies matters, adding that he went to Timor 'to make war' (*maqbunduq*).

- 28 Mar (R) I Daeng Anne had a son named I Manuruki Muhammad; he was known as the younger brother of Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung]
- 15 Zulh 1050 namamanaq I Daeng Anne buraqne nikana I Manuruki Muhammad arinna Tuammenang ri Juntana nikana
- 21 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Jarannika Abdul Gafar born<sup>127</sup>  
9 Muh 1051 naanaq Karaengta ri Jaranika Abdul Gafar
- 7 May (T) Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq arrived from Timor<sup>128</sup>  
25 Muh 1051 nabattu ri Timoroq Karaenga Tumammalianga ri Timoroq
- 18 May (S) we were left by Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Timoroq Sultan Mudhaffar; 11 nights after arriving he died  
7 Saf 1051 kinapilari Karaenga Tumammalianga ri Timoroq Sultan Mudhaffar 11 bannginna battu namate
- 19 May (N) I Biba, the mother of I Saqbi, died  
8 Saf 1051 namate I Biba anronna I Saqbi
- 2 Oct (W) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Daengta Daeng Naratang wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]  
26 Jakr 1051 nanipaqnikkah Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Daengta Daeng Naratang
- 30 Oct (W) I Daeng Sassang died  
24 Raj 1051 namate I Daeng Sassang
- 11 Nov (M) Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] first went up to Somba Opu<sup>129</sup>  
7 Syab 1051 nauru manaiq ri Sombopu Tuammenang ri Lampana

<sup>127</sup> A son of *tumailalang* Karaeng Cenrana and brother of Karaeng Lengkeseq, he also became a *tumailalang* and after his death in 1700 was known as Tumatea ri Salaparang.

<sup>128</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'and the conquest of Timor; eleven nights after arriving he died at age 43' (*nanabeta Timoroq sampulo assegre banngina battu namate umuruqna 43*).

<sup>129</sup> The significance of this act is uncertain. At the time Harrunarasyid was only a year old, but this may have been a ritual in which as the ruler of Talloq's son he took symbolic possession of this strategic location. ANRI 16/6 is more explicit but perhaps not more enlightening, as it reads 'at his age Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] was gently brought [?] and laid down at Somba Opu' (*naumuruna nunyu [nunnuq?] menangi*).



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- 23 Jan (W) the people mustered who will be going east to Ambon  
21 Syaw 1051 namarewangang tulamanraika ri Ambong
- 3 Feb (M) I Baliung and I Daeng Battu<sup>130</sup> sailed from Somba Opu  
east to Ambon  
2 Zulk 1051 namamise ri Sombopu I Baliung siagaang I Daeng Battu  
manraiq ri Ambong
- 31 Mar (N eve) Karaeng ri Sanrabone died  
29 Zulh 1051 namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone
- 28 Apr (M) I Daeng Maingaq died  
27 Muh 1052 namate I Daeng Maingaq
- 16 May (F) I Wiherah came bringing an elephant  
15 Saf 1052 naniaq I Wiherah mangerang gaja
- 16 Jun (M) Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] circum-  
cised  
16 Rawl 1052 nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
- 22 Jun (N) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] circumcised  
22 Rawl 1052 nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Juntana
- 13 Jul (S eve) Karaeng ri Sanrabone Malolo<sup>131</sup> died  
15 Rokr 1052 namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone Maloloa
- 14 Aug (W eve) Karaeng ri Barombong died at the age of 70  
16 Jawl 1052 namate Karaengta ri Barombong umuruqna 70
- 27 Sep (S) the karaeng [Malikussaid] went out to dwell [elsewhere]  
so damaged wall(s) could be repaired [at his hall]  
1 Raj 1052 nassuluq karaenga maqballaq-ballaq lanitampengina bata  
gesaraka

<sup>130</sup> Also known as Karaeng Butta Toa.

<sup>131</sup> Known as Karaeng Malolo, according to the *Gowa Chronicle* he was the son of the ruler of Sanrabone I Pammusurang and Karaeng Tabaringang, a daughter of Tunijalloq. Alternatively, this is simply an awkward way of stating that Karaeng ri Sanrabone was young or new to the position at the time he died (see the similar entry on 3 Aug 1648). The wording led Ligetvoet (1880:footnote 104) to speculate that this may have been a formal position.

- 31 Oct (F) Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] and Karaeng ri Tangallaq divorced<sup>132</sup>
- 8 Syab 1052 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna Karaengta ri Lempangang
- 1643
- 24 Jan (S) I Daeng Marannu<sup>133</sup> married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
- 3 Zulk 1052 nanibaineang I Daeng Marannu ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
- 30 Jan (F) I Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang Gafarullah died  
9 Zulk 1052 namate I Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang Gafarullah
- 29 Jan (W eve) Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] and a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa<sup>134</sup> married  
8 Zulk 1052 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Papanbatuna toana Karaengta ri Bontoa
- 29 Feb (S eve) I Daeng Lompo died  
10 Zuhl 1052 namate I Daeng Lompo
- 2 May (S) I Daeng Tuna<sup>135</sup> had a child  
12 Saf 1053 namamanaq I Daeng Tuna
- 3 May (S eve) I Taniuqrangi had a son named Salahuddin Karaeng ri Bungaya  
14 Saf 1053 namamanaq I Taniuqrangi buraqne nikana Shalahuddin Karaengta ri Bungaya
- 9 May (F eve) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Maqlaqbaq died  
21 Saf 1053 namate sabannaraka I Daeng Maqlaqbaq

<sup>132</sup> VT 25 reads that Malikussaid divorced Karaeng ri Lempangang, but this is a scribal error (Karaeng ri Lempangang was a sister of Malikussaid). As Ligtvoet (1880:footnote 104) and Kamaruddin (1985:104) indicate, the woman he divorced must have been Karaeng Tangallaq.

<sup>133</sup> This was a common royal name, and we cannot be certain if this woman was the same as the Daeng Marannu who married Karaeng ri Majannang on 20 Jan 1636. No divorce is recorded of this latter couple in the *lontaraq bilang*, but very few divorces were entered until the 1650s.

<sup>134</sup> Also known as Ralle Daeng Paikaq and titled Karaeng Bontoa (see the note for entry 18 Raj 1035 [1626]).

<sup>135</sup> Almost certainly not the same person as the Daengta Daeng Tuna born on 19 Apr 1632.

12 May (T) 24 Saf 1053	I Daeng Riolo installed as <i>sabannaraq</i> nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Riolo
1 Jul (W) 15 Rakr 1053	Dutch ships arrive from Ambon and report that they killed the <i>kimalaha</i> <sup>136</sup> with his siblings and his mother nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya ri Ambong nanakana nabunoi kimalaha sisariqbattang siparanrongang
31 Aug (N eve) 16 Jakr 1053	Karaeng ri Bontomajannang Syaifulmuluq <sup>137</sup> born naanaq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang Saifulmuluq
23 Sep (T eve) 9 Raj 1053	Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq died namate Karaengta ri Bontolangkasaq
8 Oct (W) 23 Raj 1053	the karaeng [Malikussaid] went down to Agangnionjoq [in Tanete] readying [for battle]; he came to Pancana at <i>asar</i> [about 4 PM]; the ships accompanying him num- bered 125 namanaung ri Agangnionjoq karaenga makkaruru asa- raki nari Pancana biseanga niaganga pada-pada 125
19 Nov (R) 6 Ram 1053	the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived after conquering Boné in the Pare-Pare war; I Tobalaq installed as <i>kadi</i> <sup>138</sup> [of Boné] <sup>139</sup> nabattu karaenga nabetana Bone ri bunduq Pare-Parea I Tobelaq nitannang kadi
30 Nov (M) 17 Ram 1053	I Daeng ri Pacellekang died; the mother of I Mallalannang died namate I Daeng ri Pacellekang namate ayana I Mallalannang

<sup>136</sup> This title refers to a community leader in Luhu on Seram in Maluku. On 17 Jun 1643 VOC troops publicly beheaded Kaicili Luhu, his mother, sister, and stepbrother in a display of force intended to intimidate the local population and ensure their loyalty to the VOC's ally Sultan Hamzah of Ternate (Andaya 1993:161).

<sup>137</sup> A son of Malikussaid.

<sup>138</sup> *Kadi* (or *kali*) was the title given to the chief Islamic official and religious advisor to the ruler. This war against La Maqdaremmeng and I Tobalaq's position afterwards are discussed in Andaya (1981:40-3).

<sup>139</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds the following: 'the people returning with him were counted: thirty-one thousand, three hundred and sixty men and three hundred and sixteen ships' (pamoterana taua nanibilang taua tallu cokkoang lompoi assicokkoang keke antallu bilanga angannang pulo bilanna biseanga tallu bilangangi assampulo angannang). If this is accurate, why Malikussaid returned with a much larger army than the one he left with is unclear.

- 24 Dec (R)           teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana  
[Hasaunddin]
- 12 Syaw 1053       naniariq Tuammenanga ri Ballaq Pangkana
- 26 Dec (F eve)     Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga Muhammad Syafie<sup>140</sup>  
born
- 14 Syaw 1053       naanaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga Muhammad  
Syafie
- 1644
- 24 Jan (N)           Tumamenang ri Taenga adopted by Karaeng ri Majannang  
13 Zulk 1053       nanialle Tuammenang ri Taenga nikatuo ri Karaengta ri  
Majannang
- 28 Jan (R)           a grandparent of I Lumbaq died  
16 Zulk 1053       namate toana I Lumbaq
- 18 Mar (F)           I Daeng Kapetta, a wife of Karaeng ri Katapang, died  
8 Muh 1054       namate I Daeng Kapetta bainena Karaengta ri Katapang
- 8 May (N)           I Daeng Buraqne replaced I Daeng Riboko as *sabannaraq*<sup>141</sup>  
1 Rawl 1054       naI Daeng Buraqne assambeangi sabannaraka I Daeng  
Riboko
- 23 Jul (S)           Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng, the defeated  
ruler of Boné] brought out here to Makassar
- 18 Jawl 1054       naipantaraqmo mae ri Mangkasaraq Matinroa ri Bukaka
- 22 Sep (W)           I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf asked permission to go overseas on  
the haj
- 27 Raj 1054       namappalaq kana I Tuan Syaikhu Yusuf kalauq haqji
- 3 Oct (M)           word reached the karaeng [Malikussaid] of Karaeng  
Patteqne's departure; I Daeng Mabela replaced him<sup>142</sup>
- 1 Syab 1054       nanipabiritta ri karaenga paqlampana Karae Patteqne naI  
Daeng Mabela assambeangi

<sup>140</sup> A son of Pattingalloang, he was also known as Karaeng Bontosunggu and Daeng Tasannging, he must not be confused with the much older son of Pattingalloang's brother Tumammaliang ri Timoroq, who was also known as Daeng Tasannging and Karaeng Bontosunggu.

<sup>141</sup> There were thus two *sabannaraq* in Gowa by this time, but whether they had different duties or were responsible for different communities of traders is uncertain.

<sup>142</sup> Karaeng Patteqne died later on Buton, and Daeng Mabela replaced him as karaeng of Patteqne and as a *tumailalang* of Gowa.

- 20 Oct (W eve) Karaeng Paranggi set sail from Galesong overseas to  
Banten carrying I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf]  
18 Syab 1054 namammeloq ri Galesong Karae Paranggi kalauq ri  
Bantan nadongkokia I Tuan
- 31 Oct (M eve) I Cabaq died  
30 Syab 1054 namate I Cabaq
- 7 Dec (T eve) I Bayang married by Karaeng ri Popoq  
6 Syaw 1054 nanibaineang I Bayang ri Karaengta ri Popoq
- 16 Dec (F) I Nampa died  
15 Syaw 1054 namate I Nampa
- 1645
- 8 Jan (S eve) I Bissu<sup>143</sup> had a daughter named Daengta Daeng  
Naratang<sup>144</sup> I Sungguminasa Rabiah, called Karaeng ri  
Sanggiringang  
8 Zulk 1054 namamanaq I Bissu baine nikana Daengta Daeng  
Naratang I Sungguminasa Rabia Karaengta ri  
Sanggiringan nikana
- 10 Jan (T) Karaeng ri Bontosunggu [Tumamenang ri Taenga] and  
Karaeng ri Sanggiringang were engaged to each other  
11 Zulk 1054 nanipasiparekanngang Karaengta ri Bontosunggu  
Karaengta ri Sanggiringan
- 3 Feb (F) I Tija had a daughter named I Nampa Syahribanung  
5 Zulh 1054 namamanaq I Tiji baine nikana I Nampa Syahribanun
- 12 Feb (N) Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] and  
Daengta Daeng Sannging married  
14 Zulh 1054 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Daengta  
Daeng Sannging
- 25 Feb (S) I Daeng Niaq died  
27 Zulh 1054 namate I Daeng Niaq

<sup>143</sup> A wife of Malikussaid.

<sup>144</sup> The *Gowa Chronicle* gives Daeng Nisanga rather than Daeng Naratang as their daughter's royal name.

- 16 Mar (R) Karaeng ri Majannang said<sup>145</sup>, “We send the compassion of the faith to those of Bima and Selayar”<sup>146</sup>
- 20 Muh 1055 nanikana Karaengta ri Majannang kisuro kamaseang sadaq ri Dimaya ri Silayaraka
- [21] Mar (S) Karaeng ri Bone<sup>147</sup> died  
22 Muh 1055 namate Karaenga ri Bone
- 17 Mar (F) Karaeng ri Katinting and Karaeng ri Tabaringang<sup>148</sup> married  
28 Muh 1055 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Katinting Karaengta ri Tabaringan
- 20 Jun (M eve) at the stroke of 1 Karaeng ri Naung<sup>149</sup> died  
23 Rokr 1055 tetteq 1 garigantaya namate Karaengta ri Naun
- 15 Jul (S) the father of the *kadi* I Karaeng<sup>150</sup> Tappaq went overseas on the haj  
19 Jawl 1055 nakalauq haqji manggena kadia I Karae Tappaq
- 30 Oct (M) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] had a daughter by Tanang named Nurulmahalli  
9 Ram 1055 namamanaq Tuammenang ri Juntana baine ri Tanang nikana Nurulmahalli
- 10 Dec (N) the ruler of Agangnionjoq<sup>151</sup> and I Tumbuq married  
20 Syaw 1055 nasikalabini Karae Agangnionjoq I Tumbuq
- 1646
- 22 Jan (M) I Daeng Talarra had a son named I Mappatambaq Abdul Gaffur, known as Karaeng ri Ballaq

<sup>145</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds that he spoke ‘to the karaeng [Malikussaid]’ (*ri karaenga*).

<sup>146</sup> This declaration of solidarity refers to the *shahadah* or Islamic profession of faith (‘There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah’), but the historical context inspiring this statement is unclear.

<sup>147</sup> This refers to the title of a female Makassarese karaeng, not a ruler of the Bugis kingdom of Boné.

<sup>148</sup> Daeng Talarra.

<sup>149</sup> She was a daughter of Tunijalloq, widow of Karaeng Matoaya, and mother of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

<sup>150</sup> ANRI 16/6 gives his title as Kare, a lower-ranking title than Karaeng.

<sup>151</sup> Ibrahim (or Borahima) Daeng Matiring Matinroe ri Buliana.

- 4 Zulh 1055      namamanaq I Daeng Talarra buraqne nikana I  
Mappatambaq Abdul Gaffur Karaengta ri Ballaq nikana
- 26 Feb (T)      a strong earthquake purportedly struck Manila and its  
many stone buildings
- 10 Muh 1056      nanataba bedeng ronrong sarro Manila puaraki ballaq  
batua
- 18 Apr (W)      the karaeng [Malikussaid] sailed to go into Boné for the  
Passempaka War<sup>152</sup>
- 1 Rawl 1056      namamise karaenga mantama ri Bone ri Bunduq  
Passempaka
- 25 May (F)      the karaeng [Malikussaid] arrived from Boné; he con-  
quered Boné
- 8 Rahr 1056      nabattu ri Bone karaenga ambetai Bone
- 15 Jun (R)  
7 Jawl 1056      I Tija had a daughter named Ummu Kalsum  
namamanaq I Tija baine nikana Ummu Kalsum
- 19 Jun (T)      Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] went down to  
live in Siang
- 4 Jawl 1056      nanipanaung ri Siang mammempo Matinroa ri Bukaka
- 10 Aug (R)  
5 Jakr 1056      Daengta Daeng Naratang I Laji<sup>153</sup> died below in Maranaq  
namate Daengta Daeng Naratang I Laji irawa ri Maranaq
- 31 Aug (F)      Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng  
Tamasongoq married
- 19 Raj 1056      nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Juntana Karae Tamasongoq
- 3 Sep (M)      the ruler of Bima I Ambela [Sirajuddin] and Karaeng ri  
Bontojeqneq<sup>154</sup> wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
- 22 Raj 1056      namaqnikkah karae Dima I Ambela Karaengta ri  
Bontojeqneq

<sup>152</sup> This was the third battle in a conflict that began in 1643 and ended with this defeat of La Maqdaremmeng's brother La Tenriaji Tosenrime.

<sup>153</sup> ANRI 16/6 omits 'Daengta Daeng Naratang', but does add that I Laji's 'posthumous name was Pawelayie ri Maranaq' (*areng matena nikana Pawelayie ri Maranaq*).

<sup>154</sup> A daughter of Malikussaid.

- 30 Sep (N) I Tumbuq had a child by the ruler of Agangnionjoq, a son  
named Ibrahim
- 19 Syab 1056 namamanaq I Tumbuq ri Karae Agangnionjoq buraqne  
nikana Ibrahim
- 2 Nov (F) I Tanriwela died  
23 Ram 1056 namate I Tanriwela
- 15 Nov (R) the karaeng [Malikussaid] sunk near Mangindara [in  
Takalar] while returning from Kalakongkong  
6 Syaw 1056 natallang karaenga ri tujunna Mangindara battu ri  
Kalakongkong
- 23 Dec (F eve) Karaeng ri Lempangang died  
14 Zulk 1056 namate Karaengta ri Lempangang
- 27 Dec (W) I Dodi and I Daeng Malluq married  
18 Zulk 1056 nasikalabini I Dodi I Daeng Malluq
- 1647
- 25 Jan (R eve) Karaeng ri Jipang died  
18 Zulh 1056 namate Karaengta ri Jipang
- 28 Feb (R) Daengta Daeng Masiang born  
22 Muh 1057 naanaq Daengta Daeng Masiang
- 31 Mar (S eve) Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq Mahmud<sup>155</sup> born  
23 Saf 1057 naanaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompo Mahmud
- 30 Apr (T) I Daeng ri Pannampuq died  
23 Rawl 1057 namate I Daeng ri Pannampuq
- 6 May (M) it is said that a great wind struck Selayar, blowing down  
houses and trees  
5 Rokr 1057 nanikana natabai angin lombo Silayaraq punggangi bal-  
laka kayua
- 10 May (T eve) Karaeng Masale died  
3 Rokr 1057 namate Karae Masale

<sup>155</sup> A son of Karaeng Popoq who in 1663 succeeded his father as *anrongguru* of the *tumakkajannang*.



12 May (F) 5 Rahr 1057	Friday public prayers established this Friday in Garassiq namamenteng jumaka ri Garassiq jumaq
11 Jun (T) 7 Jawl 1057	Haji Neting installed as <i>kadi</i> , assisting Haji Kare <sup>156</sup> Singaraq nanitannang kadi Haji Neting aqbali Haji Karae Singaraq
28 Jun (F) 24 Jawl 1057	Daengta Daeng Naratang <sup>157</sup> had a son named I Tataraq, known as Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong who died in Kelo [on Sumbawa] namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang buraqne nikana I Tataraq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong matea ri Kelo nikana
2 Jul (W) 29 Jawl 1057	I Kare Ampaq killed in the stone house in Ujung Pandang nanibuno I Kare Ampaq ri ballaq batua ri Jumpandang
13 Jul (S) 10 Jakr 1057	a stone meeting hall built nanibangun baruga batua
1 Aug (R) 28 Jakr 1057	I Kare Kanjaraq had a son named Ahmad namamanaq I Kare Kanjaraq buraqne nikana Ahmad
12 Aug (R) 10 Raj 1057	Untaya died namate Untaya
31 Aug (S) 19 Raj 1057 <sup>158</sup>	Tamalate [a royal hall] torn down nanigesaraq Tamalate
5 Oct (F eve) 6 Ram 1057	war leaders sailed over to Sumbawa: [the karaengs of] Layuq [in Binamuq] and Bangkalaq namamise dulun taqle ri Sambawa Layuq siagang Bangkalaq
12 Nov (T)	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Paqbineang

<sup>156</sup> Unlike VT 25, ANRI 16/6 gives his title as Kare, a lower-ranking title than Karaeng. I believe this is the correct reading, as this title appears again in an entry concerning him on 14 Oct 1655.

<sup>157</sup> A wife of Mammaliang Karaeng Lengkeseq. She must not be confused with the daughter of Malikussaid of nearly the same name who was born on 8 Jan 1645, nor with the woman of nearly the same name who died on 10 Aug 1646.

<sup>158</sup> The Hijri date converts to 20 Aug 1647. This small difference can easily be explained if a copyist wrote 31 August in place of 21 August.

- 14 Syaw 1057      nanitinting Karaengta ri Paqbineang
- 12 Nov (T eve)    Karaeng ri Sanrabone died  
14 Syaw 1057      namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone
- 12 Dec (R)        [Karaeng] Ballaq Jawaya<sup>159</sup> and [Karaeng]  
Bontomarannu<sup>160</sup> married  
14 Zulk 1057      nasikalabini Ballaq Jawaya Bontomarannu
- 25 Dec (W)        birth of I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq  
27 Zulk 1057      nanianakkang I Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
- 1648
- 2 Feb (N)         Karaeng Paqbundukang died  
7 Muh 1058        namate Karae Paqbundukang
- 20 Mar (T eve)    a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq died<sup>161</sup>  
25 Saf 1058        namate Karaengta ri Popoq bainea
- 5 Apr (F eve)     Karaenta ri Tamasongoq had a son by Tumamenang ri  
Ujung Tana [Karunrung] named I Manginara Majduddin,  
known as Daengta Daeng Mattiro  
10 Rawl 1058      namamanaq Karaengta ri Tamasongoq ri Tuammenang ri  
Juntana buraqne nikana I Manginara Majduddin Daengta  
Daeng Mattiro nikana
- 12 May (N eve)    Karaeng ri Bontoa, the mother of the karaeng  
[Hasanuddin], died  
18 Rakr 1058      namate Karaengta ri Bontoa ayana karaenga
- 14 Jun (F eve)    at the stroke of [unknown] Daengta Daeng Naratang had  
a daughter named Habibah  
20 Jawl 1058      tette garigantaya namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang  
baine nikana Habibah

<sup>159</sup> Speelman reported that she was a sister of Mammaliang Karaeng Lengkeseq (Ligtvoet 1880:95). The woman bearing this title must not be confused with two previous title-holders who died in 1627 and 1637 respectively.

<sup>160</sup> Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng Sumannaq (Ligtvoet 1880:108).

<sup>161</sup> Presumably but not necessarily the unnamed wife who gave birth to a son on 3 Jun 1631.

- 3 Aug (N eve)      the young Karaeng Jipang<sup>162</sup> died  
13 Raj 1058<sup>163</sup>      namate Karae Jipang maloloa
- 11 Oct (N)          I Maqminasa, known as Daengta Daeng Sannging, died  
24 Ram 1058<sup>164</sup>      namate I Maqminasa Daengta Daeng Sannging nikana
- 30 Oct (F)          Friday public prayers first established this Friday in  
Bontoalaq  
12 Syaw 1058<sup>165</sup>      nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Bontoalaq jumaq
- 30 Nov (M)          the child of the ruler of Silaparang [on Lombok] named  
Ammasa Pamayan became ruler of Sumbawa  
14 Zulk 1058          nakaraeng ri Sambawa anaqna Karae Silaparang nikana  
Ammasa Pamayan
- 8 Dec (W)           a building constructed for the great bell [for chiming the  
hour]  
24 Zulk 1058          nanibangun ballaqna gariganta lompoa
- 9 Dec (R)           I Assing<sup>166</sup> died  
25 Zulk 1058          namate I Assing

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- 13 Jan (W)          a tiger arrived, brought by an English ship  
29 Zulh 1058          nabattu macang kappalaq Anggarrisiq mangerang
- 21 Feb (N)          I Tumbuq<sup>167</sup> had a son named Kasim, the ruler of  
Agangnionjoq, known as Puanna I Tikkaq<sup>168</sup>

<sup>162</sup> The other way to interpret this entry is to read Maloloa as Karaeng Jipang's name, which is quite possible. See the similar entry for 13 Jul 1642.

<sup>163</sup> A copyist incorrectly wrote Ramadan instead of Rajab for the Hijri month.

<sup>164</sup> There is considerable confusion in both the Hijri and Gregorian dating for this and the following entry. The most likely corrected sequence is given here, but it is not certain. VT 25 gives the dates as 11 Oct (W) and 12 Ram 1058.

<sup>165</sup> Like the previous entry, there is confusion in both the Gregorian and Hijri months here. In the corrected months given here October replaces VT 25's Sepember and Syawwal VT 25's Ramadan. ANRI 16/6 gives the Gregorian date as October 11th, which matches VT 25's Hijri date for the previous entry (and which converts to 29 Sep 1648).

<sup>166</sup> A child of Malikussaid.

<sup>167</sup> A wife of the ruler of Agangnionjoq Matinroe ri Buliana. According to Dutch sources from 1750, I Tumbuq was a daughter of a ruler of Gowa and *karaeng* of Panaikang-Ciniq, Laci, Kaci, and Rappociniq (Ligtvoet 1880:109).

<sup>168</sup> He was also known as Mappajanji Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba.

- 8 Saf 1059            namamanaq I Tumbuq buraqne nikana Kasim Karaengta  
ri Agangnionjoq nikana Puanna I Tikkaq
- 25 Feb (R)            I Daeng Pole, known as Karaeng ri Lengkeseq, slept with  
Karaeng ri Tangalloq
- 12 Saf 1059            namaqlusereq Karaengta ri Tangallaq I Daeng Pole  
Karaengta ri Lengkeseq nikana
- 13 Mar (F eve)  
28 Saf 1059            Karaeng ri Lakiung Sitti Shafur<sup>169</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Lakiun Sitti Shafur
- 17 Mar (T eve)  
3 Rawl 1059            the mother of the ruler of Agangnionjoq died  
namate ayana Karae Agangnionjoq
- 9 Apr (R eve)  
16 Rawl 1059<sup>170</sup>       a grandparent of I Daeng died  
namate toana I Daeng
- 10 Jul (S)            the child of Karaeng ri Sumannaq named I Mappaonoq  
Daeng Mammaliang died
- 29 Jakr 1059            namate anaqna Karaengta ri Sumannaq nikana I  
Mappaonoq Daeng Mammaliang
- 10 Sep (R eve)        Daengta Daeng Naratang had a son named Ali, known as  
Karaeng Lambengi
- 2 Ram 1059            namamanaq Daengta Daeng Naratang buraqne nikana Ali  
Karae Lambengi nikana
- 18 Oct (N eve)  
10 Syaw 1059            I Daeng Leqleng died  
namate I Daeng Leqleng
- 21 Oct (R)            Karaeng ri Tamasongoq had a daughter named Sittu  
Anisuh
- 13 Syaw 1059            namamanaq Karaengta ri Tamasongoq baine nikana Sittu  
Anisuh
- 19 Nov (T)            Karaeng ri Kassiqlala had a daughter named Aisyah,  
known as Karaeng Mawajang

<sup>169</sup> A daughter of Malikussaid and I Ralle Daeng Paikaq, she was also known as I Manneratu and I Daeng Niasseng.

<sup>170</sup> The Hijri date converts to 30 Mar 1649.

- 24 Zulk 1059<sup>171</sup> namamanaq Karaengta ri Kassiqlala baine nikana Aisyah  
Karae Mawajang nikana
- 19 Dec (N)  
14 Zulh 1059 Karaeng ri Garassiq and I Daeng Singaraq married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Garassiq I Daeng Singaraq
- 1650
- 6 Jan (R) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng ri  
Tamasongoq divorced
- 3 Muh 1060 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Juntana Karaengta ri  
Tamasongoq
- 29 Jan (S) Karaeng ri Cenrana and Daeng ri Mangeppeq divorced<sup>172</sup>
- 26 Muh 1060 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Cenrana Daengta ri Mangeppeq
- 3 Feb (W eve)  
30 Muh 1060 Karaeng ri Katinting died at the age of 23  
namate Karaengta ri Katinting umuruna 23
- 11 Mar (F) I Bayang had a child by Karaeng ri Popoq, a son named  
Ibrahim
- 7 Rawl 1060 namamanaq I Bayang ri Karaengta ri Popoq buraqne  
nikana Ibrahim
- 4 Apr (Sun eve) the mother of the karaengs<sup>173</sup> was married by Karaeng  
Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]; before  
becoming ruler he married
- 2 Rakr 1060 nanibaineang puanna karaenga ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq  
Pangkana takaraengapi nanibaineang
- 17 Jun (W eve) the Datu [ri Luwuq] wed [in accordance with Islamic  
custom] I Manguqrangi Karaeng ri Tamasongoq; Datu ri  
Luwuq was known as Matinroa ri Gowa
- 16 Jakr 1060 namaqnikka ratua I Manguqrangi Karaengta ri  
Tamasongoq nikana Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa

<sup>171</sup> The Hijri date converts to 29 Nov 1649.

<sup>172</sup> Karaeng ri Cenrana, or Mallewai Daeng Maqnassa, was a *tumailalang* of Gowa, Daeng ri Mangeppeq was a daughter of Karaeng Matoaya and sister of Karaeng ri Popoq.

<sup>173</sup> This refers to I Daeng Nisali, who was the mother of two sultans of Gowa, Muhammad Ali (r. 1674 to 1677) and Abdul Jalil (r. 1677 to 1709).

- 27 Jul (T) gunpowder exploded, killing I Sinse  
29 Raj 1060 nanakaqdoq ubaq I Sinse matei
- 10 Aug (T) Macciniqdanggang torn down  
11 Syab 1060 nanigesaraq Macciniqdanggang
- 26 Aug (R) Macciniqsombalaq constructed; by midday it was all  
erected; 20 bore bosaraq armbands; 181 bore sipappaq  
27 Syab 1060 armbands<sup>174</sup>; vassals arrived to see it  
nanibangun Macciniqsombalaq tangalloi alloa natapen-  
teng ngaseng tumapponto bosaraq 20 tumapponto sipap-  
paq 181 battui palilika macciniq-ciniq
- 2 Sep (R eve) Karaeng ri Majannang died  
4 Ram 1060 namate Karaengta ri Majannang
- 27 Sep (T) a sister of Karaeng ri Lempangang's mother<sup>175</sup> died who  
had married a Mandar man  
30 Ram 1060 namate sariqbattanna ayana Karaengta ri Lempangan  
leqbaka maqburaqne Mandaraq
- 2 Nov (M eve) I Sinukuq, the mother of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri  
Bontopanno, was wed [in accordance with Islamic cus-  
tom] by Karaeng ri Popoq  
7 Zulk 1060 naninikkai ri Karaengta ri Popoq I Sinukuq anronna  
*tumailalang* Karaengta ri Bontopanno
- 4 Nov (R eve) the child of Karaeng ri Popoq named Ibrahim died  
9 Zulk 1060 namate anaqna Karaengta ri Popoq nikanaya Ibrahim
- 13 Nov (N) the karaeng [Malikussaid] went up into  
Macciniqsombalaq; eighty-six nights after it was built the  
karaeng went up into it  
17 Zulk 1060 namanaiqmo karaenga ri Macciniqsombalaq 80 pulo  
banngi angannang leqbaq nibangung nanapanaiiki kara-  
enga

<sup>174</sup> *Bosaraq* armbands were made of several gold rings and *sipappaq* armbands were single heavy armbands. This entry refers to the processions, feasting, and ritual acts that accompanied the construction of a royal hall for the ruler of Gowa.

<sup>175</sup> ANRI 16/6 omits 'mother' (*ayana*), making it a sister of Karaeng Lempangang who died.

- 28 Nov (T) I Maqdaeng died  
2 Zulh 1060 namate I Maqdaeng
- 24 Dec (S) the wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammas  
Pamayan] and Karaeng ri Panaikang  
29 Zulh 1060 nabunting karae Sambawa ri Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 1651
- 6 Feb (M) birth of I Manjawakkang, an older sibling of Karaeng  
Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]; he lived only nine  
months<sup>176</sup>
- 14 Saf 1061 nanianakkang I Manjawakkang kakanna Karaenga  
Tuammenang ri Lakiun salapang bulanji tallasaqna
- 22 Feb (W) the *anaq karaeng* and the *anaq gallarrang* went to Karaeng  
ri Bontomangape<sup>177</sup>  
1 Rawl 1061 nanipamange ri Karae Bontomangape anaq karaenga sia-  
gang anaq gallarranga
- 20 Apr (W eve)<sup>178</sup> there were earthquakes three times in one night  
27 Rakr 1061 naronrong pintallung sipatang
- 15 May (M) a judge for the Portuguese established  
24 Jawl 1061 nanipatanannngang tumaqbicara Paranggia
- 22 May (M) birth of Karaeng ri Tomponga  
1 Jakr 1061 nanianakkang Karaengta ri Tomponga
- 29 Jun (R) Daeng Tasannging, known as Karaeng ri Bontosunggu  
of Talloq, broke off his relationship with Daengta Daeng  
Naratang<sup>179</sup>

<sup>176</sup> The *Gowa Chronicle* reports that this son of Sultan Hasanuddin died at age seven, but given the entry below for 19 Sep 1651 he died after seven months.

<sup>177</sup> This indicates that Karaeng Bontomangape (later Sultan Hasanuddin) was given authority over these two groups. *Anaq karaeng* refers to noble offspring and *anaq gallarrang* refers to children of local lords. Like the term *anaq buraqne*, it is not clear the degree to which these represented distinct groups with duties and privileges or was simply a term of reference to social strata.

<sup>178</sup> VT 25 and *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:121) have 2 Apr for the Gregorian date, but this is incorrect. ANRI 16/6 has the 20th, which is close to the Hijri date (which converts to 18 Apr).

<sup>179</sup> This is a challenging entry to interpret because there are two sets of individuals with these names to whom it could refer. Most likely, it describes the end of an engagement between two children: Daengta Daeng Naratang [3] was six years old at the time (b. 8 Jan 1645), and Tumamenang ri Taenga, who was a son of Karaeng Pattingalloang, eight years old (b. 26 Dec

- 10 Raj 1061            nanitappuki Daengta Daeng Naratang ri Daeng  
Tasannging Karaengta ri Bontosunggu ri Talloq nikana
- 18 Aug (F)            the karaeng [Malikussaid] was furious at the servants who  
did not follow him to Agangnionjoq
- 1 Ram 1061            nanikalarroi ri karaenga bembeng kaqdoqka tamanaunna  
mamminawang ri Agangnionjoq
- 19 Sep (T)  
3 Syaw 1061            I Manjawakkang died at the age of 9 months  
namate I Manjawakkang umuruqna 9 bulan
- 18 Oct (R)  
4 Zulk 1061            I Daeng Tuna and Barombong Karaeng Alluq married  
nasikalabini I Daeng Tuna Barombong Karae Alluq
- 8 Nov (T)            I Daeng Patalo and I Kare Teqne, a child of I Daeng  
Kalula, married
- 23 Zulk 1061            nasikalabini I Daeng Patalo I Kare Teqne anaqna I Daeng  
Kalula
- 25 Nov (S)            the Dutch asked for Ambon from the karaeng  
[Malikussaid]
- 12 Zulh 1061            nanapalaq Balandaya Ambong ri karaenga
- 29 Nov (N)            a child of I Toalaq and the ruler of Binongko [an island  
southeast of Buton] married
- 14 Zulh 1061            nasikalabini anaqna I Toalaq karae Binongko
- 6 Dec (T eve)  
22 Zulh 1061            Karaeng Batupute died  
namate Karae Batupute
- 13 Dec (S)  
29 Zulh 1061            the ruler of Bima I Mapparabung Nuruddin born<sup>180</sup>  
naanaq karaenga ri Dima I Mapparabung Nuruddini

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1643). They were promised to each other on 10 Jan 1645. However, it is conceivable that it describes the end of a relationship between an older Karaeng Bontosunggu (also named Daeng Tasannging, a son of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq), and an older Daengta Daeng Naratang [2].

<sup>180</sup> Also known as Daeng Matalliq Karaeng Panaragang. He was a son of the ruler of Bima Sultan Abil Khair, also known as I Ambela and Sirajuddin, by Malikussaid's daughter Karaeng Bontojeqneq.



1652

- 4 Apr (W eve) Karaeng ri Suli died  
23 Rokr 1062 namate Karaenga ri Suli
- 14 Apr (S eve) *tumailalang* Karaeng Bontopanno Abdul Gafur<sup>181</sup> born  
4 Jawl 1062 naanaq *tumailalang* Karae Bontopanno Abdul Gafur
- 31 May (F) Karaeng ri Bontokamase Abdurrahman born  
21 Jakr 1062 naanaq Karaengta ri Bontokamase Abdurrahman
- 27 Jun (R) a carved house<sup>182</sup> built in Bontoalaq  
19 Raj 1062 nanibangun ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 5 Jul (F) Karaeng ri Katapang<sup>183</sup> went down to Mandar to set up  
fortifications  
24 Raj 1062 namanaung ri Mandaraq Karaengta ri Katapang mattan-  
nang benteng
- 18 Aug (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung Abdul Jalil<sup>184</sup> born  
12 Ram 1062 naanaq karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Abdul Jalil
- 2 Sep (N eve) Daengta Daeng Onjoq and Daengta Daeng Naratang<sup>185</sup>  
married  
27 Ram 1062 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Onjoq Daengta Daeng  
Naratang

<sup>181</sup> A son of Karaeng Popoq.

<sup>182</sup> *Ballaq ukiriq* or 'carved house' refers to a building that is ornately decorated, but the purpose or meaning of this structure is uncertain. A 1739 entry in 'Makasaarsche historiën' (1855:130) states that this was the house of the ruler of Boné, but when this became so is unknown. ANRI 16/6 indicates its size, adding that it was built in six sections on pillars (*annang paqdaserang*) lengthwise.

<sup>183</sup> Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng ri Dataq, who was a son of Tunibatta (Ligtvoet 1880:111). The *Gowa Chronicle* too notes that this Karaeng ri Dataq had a son named Karaeng ri Katapang and also records that Karaeng ri Dataq was one who did not flee during Tunipasuluq's disastrous reign in the early 1590s. Karaeng ri Katapang must have been born late in Karaeng ri Dataq's life or have enjoyed exceptional health to lead this expedition 60 years later.

<sup>184</sup> A son of Hasanuddin by I Daeng Nisali, his personal name was I Mappadulung, his royal name I Daeng Mattimung, his *karaeng*-title before he became sultan was Karaeng ri Campagaya, and once the people of Sanrabone expelled their *karaeng* he became their lord and was thus also known as Karaeng ri Sanrabone.

<sup>185</sup> Presumably this refers to the girl of this name whose engagement to was ended on 29 Jun 1651.

- 13 Sep (F) I Manna had a girl named Aisyah  
9 Syaw 1062 namammanaq I Manna baine nikana Aisyah
- 21 Nov (R) people mustered around the manuscript from Ternate<sup>186</sup>  
19 Zulh 1062 namarewangan taua niuluna lontaraqna Taranate
- 29 Nov (F) I Daeng ri Bulekang went east to Ambon  
27 Zulh 1062 namanrai q ri Ambong I Daeng ri Bulekang
- 1653
- 18 Jan (S) I Bunduq died  
17 Saf 1063 namate I Bunduq
- 20 Jan (M) I Mappasepeq and the child of Karaeng ri Garassiq named  
I Sitti married  
19 Saf 1063 nasikalabini I Mappasepeq anaqna Karaengta ri Garassiq  
nikanaya I Sitti
- 23 Jan (R) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq<sup>187</sup> had a daughter named Sitti  
Aminah  
22 Saf 1063 namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana Sitti  
Aminah
- 9 Apr (T eve) Anciq Majjah, *anrongguru* for Tumamenang ri  
Papambatuna [Malikussaid], died  
10 Jawl 1063 namate Anciq Majjah anronggurunna Tuammenang ri  
Papangbatuna
- 23 Apr (R) I Kammissiq and I Radin married  
24 Jawl 1063 nasikalabini I Kammissiq I Radin
- 5 Jun (W eve) a grandparent of I Tija died  
8 Raj 1063 namate toana I Tija

<sup>186</sup> This muster was in response to events in Maluku. In 1648 Mandar Syah became sultan of Ternate. He was an unpopular choice, but had the support of the VOC and shared their goal of reducing Makassarese influence in Maluku. On 2 Aug 1650 local Ternate notables revolted against Sultan Mandar, rallying behind his brother Kaicili Manilha. With the aid of a VOC fleet the following year, Mandar was returned to the throne, though resistance continued for several years (Andaya 1993:163-5). The next entry suggests that Malikussaid sent a fleet to Maluku under I Daeng ri Bulekang to aid those opposed to Mandar Syah.

<sup>187</sup> The wife of the ruler of Bima I Ambela Sirajuddin.

12 Jun (R) 15 Raj 1063	Karaeng ri Taipaya died namate Karaenga ri Taipaya
4 Jul (R eve) 9 Syab 1063	I Loqmoq Daeng died namate I Loqmoq Daeng
25 Aug (M) 1 Syaw 1063	<i>bila-bila</i> issued to go east to Ambon for 71 nights hence nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Ambong 71 bannginna
1 Oct (W) 9 Zulk 1063	people mustered at Baroqbosoq; the total number of those who assembled was 9413 namarewangan taua ri Baroqbosoq bilang pampanna tumarewanganga 9413
8 Oct (W) 16 Zulk 1063	the ritual was held in Talloq in which the teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] kaparekanga ri Talloq niariqna Tuammenang ri Lampanna
5 Nov (T eve) 13 Zulh 1063	we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Papambatuna [Malikussaid] <sup>188</sup> kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Papanbatuna
16 Dec (T) 26 Muh 1064	Daengta I Daeng Kalau died namate Daengta I Daeng Kalau
27 Dec (S) 6 Saf 1064	Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Tulolo Tajuddin <sup>189</sup> born naanaq Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Tulolo Tajuddini
	1654
7 Jan (T eve) 18 Saf 1064	Datu [ri Luwuq] and Karaeng ri Tamasongoq divorced nasipelaq ratua Karaengta ri Tamasongoq
4 Feb (T eve) 15 Rawl 1064	I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng Galesong, married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] nanibaineang I Loqmoq anronna Karae Galesong ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana

<sup>188</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds '[at the age of] 47' (47).

<sup>189</sup> Speelman reported that he was a son of Karaeng Karunrung. His mother was Loqmoq Galorang, a title which indicates non-noble status (Ligtvoet 1880:113).

- 16 Feb (N)  
26 Rawl 1064 I Minaq had a daughter named Maryam  
namamanaq I Minaq baine nikana Maryam
- 25 Feb (W)  
7 Rakr 1064 Karaeng ri Patukangang died  
namate Karaengta ri Patukangan
- 22 Apr (W)  
3 Jakr 1064 Karaeng ri Bontopaqja Maemuna<sup>190</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Bontopaqja Maemuna
- 27 Apr (M)  
8 Jakr 1064 a wife of the ruler of Agangnionjoq had a son  
namamanaq bainenna karae Agangnionjoq buraqne
- 21 May (R)  
3 Raj 1064 Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] and  
Karaeng ri Paqbineang<sup>191</sup> married  
nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Karaengta  
ri Paqbineang
- 2 Jul (R)  
17 Syab 1064 I Loqmoq Maroangi died  
namate I Loqmoq Maroangi
- 8 Jul (R eve)  
23 Syab 1064 the mother of Karaeng ri Mangalliq<sup>192</sup> divorced by  
Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]  
nanipelaq ri Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana anronna  
Karaengta ri Mangalliq
- 15 Sep (R eve)  
6 Zulk 1064 we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng  
[Pattingalloang]  
kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Bontobiraeng
- 22 Oct (R)  
10 Zulh 1064 it was announced to the vassals that the karaeng  
[Hasanuddin] would speak for the land<sup>193</sup>  
nanikanakanaang palilika karaenga ampakkanangi but-  
tana

<sup>190</sup> Ligtoet (1880:113) noted and Kamaruddin (1985:116) concurred that she was probably a daughter of ruler of Bima I Ambela and Karaeng Bontojeqneq.

<sup>191</sup> A daughter of Karaeng Pattingalloang.

<sup>192</sup> Karaeng ri Mangalliq was also known as I Manrurungang and I Kare Gappa. His mother's name was I Loqmoq Dayang.

<sup>193</sup> In other words, following the death of Karaeng Pattingalloang, the new ruler of Gowa decided that he would not appoint a *tumabicarabutta*, the chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'. This was a major departure from the practices of his predecessors, who had appointed their counterparts ruling Talloq as *tumabicarabutta*.

- 12 Nov (R) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga<sup>194</sup> circumcised  
1 Muh 1065 nanisunnaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga
- 29 Nov (N) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Muhammad Ali<sup>195</sup> born  
18 Muh 1065 naanaq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Muhammad Ali
- 16 Dec (W) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] declared, 'What do you think,  
should we go out [to meet them in battle] or should we  
stay and strengthen [our fortifications]? The Dutch will  
come up here again.'
- 7 Saf 1065 nanakana karaenga antekamma keqngang maqlampakiq  
deq mamattangkiq mappakajarreq namanaiq mae pole  
Balandaya
- 1655
- 13 Jan (F eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq<sup>196</sup> born; Daeng Tommaq died  
20 Rawl 1065<sup>197</sup> naanaq Karaengta ri Mangalliq namate Daeng Tommaq
- 2 Feb (T) Karaeng ri Tangallaq<sup>198</sup> and Karaeng ri Lengkeseq  
divorced<sup>199</sup>
- 26 Rawl 1065 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Tangallaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq
- 15 Feb (N eve) I Manuruki, the younger sibling of Tumamenang ri Ujung  
Tana [Karunrung], died at fifteen years of age
- 7 Rakr 1065 namate I Manuruki arinna Tuammenang ri Juntana umu-  
ruqna sampulo taung allima
- 21 Mar (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]  
sailed east to Buton<sup>200</sup>
- 11 Jawl 1065 namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana  
manraiq ri Butun

<sup>194</sup> Also known as Karaeng Bontosunggu and Daeng Tasannging, he was a son of Karaeng Patingalloang.

<sup>195</sup> Also known as Karaeng Bisei, he was a son of Hasanuddin and would become sultan of Gowa in 1674.

<sup>196</sup> A son of Hasanuddin.

<sup>197</sup> The Hijri date converts to 28 Jan 1655.

<sup>198</sup> A daughter of Tumammaliang ri Timoroq.

<sup>199</sup> Though they apparently reconciled, for they divorced again on 7 Sep 1655, after which he married on 14 Feb 1656.

<sup>200</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'after eleven nights of travel he conquered Tobeá' (*nasampulo banngi asseqre lampana nanabeta Tobeá*).

- 29 Mar (M) Karaeng Galesong I Maninrori<sup>201</sup> born  
19 Jawl 1065 naanaq Karae Galesong I Maninrori
- 18 Apr (N) Buton fined for their offense 888 kati  
12 Jakr 1065 naniloqrosoq salana Butunga 888 katina
- 14 May (F) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Buton and the  
conquest of Tobeia [islands near Buton]; his journey lasted  
sixty-four nights  
7 Raj 1065 nabattu karaenga ri Butun nabetana Tobeia 60 banngi  
angappaq lampana
- 13 Aug (F) the corpse of I Daeng Battu<sup>202</sup> was brought back  
12 Syaw 1065 nabattu nierang bakkena I Daeng Battu
- 21 Aug (S) the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri  
Panaikang divorced  
20 Syaw 1065 nasipelaq karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 27 Aug (R eve) a grandparent of I Kacung [I Loqmoq] married by  
Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid]  
24 Syaw 1065 nanibaineang toana I Kacung ri Tuammenang ri  
Lampanna
- 7 Sep (M eve) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Karaeng ri Tangallaq divorced  
7 Zulk 1065 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Karaengta ri Tanngallaq
- 14 Oct (M)<sup>203</sup> Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Naba died; I Kare Singaraq  
replaced him [as lord of Mangasa]  
13 Zulh 1065 namate Galarrang Mangasa I Kare Naba naI Kare  
Singaraq assambeangi
- 23 Oct (S) the Dutch were attacked in Bontocoiq by Karaeng ri  
Popoq and sunk<sup>204</sup>  
22 Zulh 1065 nanipirumpaki Balandaya ri Bontocoiq ri Karaengta ri  
Popoq na tallang

<sup>201</sup> A son of Hasanuddin.

<sup>202</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds that he was also known as Karaeng Butta Toa.

<sup>203</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 4th instead of the 14th for the Gregorian day.

<sup>204</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'one sloop was overrun' (*sibatu soqlloq niluqluka*).

8 Dec (W)	Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq arrived from Bima
11 Saf 1066	nabattu ri Dima Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
	1656
9 Jan (M eve)	I Daeng had a daughter named I Radiah
5 Rawl 1066	namamanaq I Daeng baine nikana I Radiah
14 Feb (N eve)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Daengta Daeng Maingaq married
18 Rokr 1066	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Daengta Daeng Maingaq
24 Feb (M)	ears pierced of Karaeng ri Sanggiringang <sup>205</sup>
2 Jawl 1066	nanitinting Karaengta ri Sanggiringang
31 Mar (R eve)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq Amir Hamzah <sup>206</sup> born
4 Jakr 1066	naanaq Tumammalianga ri Alluq Amir Hamza
29 May (M)	Karaeng ri Langeloq Latifah <sup>207</sup> born
4 Syab 1066	naanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Latifah
6 Aug (N)	Tumamenang ri Taenga [Karaeng ri Bontosunggu] and
14 Syaw 1066	Karaeng ri Sanggiringang married nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Taenga Karaengta ri Sanggiringan
8 Aug (T)	I Daeng Mattukung, mentor of the envoy Uthman, born <sup>208</sup>
16 Syaw 1066	naanaq I Daeng Mattukung anronggurunna suroa Uthman

<sup>205</sup> A daughter of Malikussaid.

<sup>206</sup> A son of Hasanuddin and Karaeng Paqbineang. His personal name was I Mappasomba and his royal name was I Daeng Uraga, but he had not yet received a *karaeng*-title when he unexpectedly succeeded his father as ruler of Gowa in 1669

<sup>207</sup> A daughter of Hasanuddin. According to the *Gowa Chronicle*, she was also known as I Sunggu and I Daeng Talebang.

<sup>208</sup> This entry is more confounding than it appears. An envoy of the same name arrived from Maluku on 24 Aug 1632 and then departed on 18 Sep 1632. Either there coincidentally were two envoys of the same name, which seems unlikely, or this entry needs to be read in another way. The most likely reading may be 'I Daeng Mattukung was born to the mentor of the envoy Uthman' if we add the preposition *ri* to the entry.

- 5 Sep (T) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] was in Kalakongkong when the ruler of Maluku Kaicili Kalamata arrived<sup>209</sup>
- 15 Zulk 1066 ri Kalakongkongi karaenga nabattu karaeng Maluku Kacili Kalimata
- 29 Sep (F) I Kare Pate, a wife of Karaeng ri Popoq, had a daughter  
10 Zulk 1066 namamanaq I Kare Pate bainenna Karaengta ri Popoq baine
- 11 Nov (F eve) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq had a daughter named I Cinra  
23 Muh 1067 namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq baine nikana I Cinra
- 13 Dec (W) Ceylon<sup>210</sup> conquered by the Dutch; the Bantaneses  
advanced on Jakattaraq
- 16 Saf 1067<sup>211</sup> nanibeta Selon ri Balandaya nanipanaiki Jakattaraq ri Bantanga
- 1657
- 10 Jan (W) Karaeng ri Talloq [Harrunarasyid] arrived from Mandar  
23 Rawl 1067 nabattu ri Mandaraq Karaengta ri Talloq
- 12 Feb (M) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and Karaeng ri Tangallaq returned  
to each other [after having divorced twice]
- 27 Rakr 1067 nasipolei Karaengta ri Lengkeseq Karaengta ri Tangallaq
- 24 Feb (N eve) [future] *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle Abdul Wahid had a  
child<sup>212</sup>
- 11 Jawl 1067 naanaq sabannaraka Daeng Makkulle Abdulwahid
- 2 Mar (F) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq and I Daeng Maingaq divorced  
15 Jawl 1067 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lengkeseq I Daeng Maingaq

<sup>209</sup> Kaicili Kalamata was a brother of the VOC-supported ruler of Ternate, Sultan Mandar Syah, with a reputation as an able ruler knowledgeable about Islam. After first supporting, and then turning against Mandar, Kalamata ultimately was defeated by the Dutch and forced to flee several times before seeking refuge in Gowa (Andaya 1993:164-5). See entries on the events of Nov 1652 for further information. Kalamata would stay and marry Karaeng ri Panaikang.

<sup>210</sup> ANRI 16/6 has Sula (islands in Maluku) in place of Ceylon, but this is incorrect. The VOC began its conquest of Portuguese Ceylon in 1656 and completed in by 1658.

<sup>211</sup> The Hijri date converts to 3 Dec 1656.

<sup>212</sup> The Makassarese appears to read that Daeng Makkulle was born on this date, but that is incorrect. He became *sabannaraq* on 28 Apr 1661 and died on 7 Sep 1677 at the age of 62.



- 7 Apr (M) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] put up in a sling  
[at about age one year]  
23 Jakr 1067 nanipanaiq ri toeng Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 19 Apr (R) Karaeng ri Bontosunggu and Karaeng ri Sanggiringang  
divorced  
5 Raj 1067 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu Karaengta ri  
Sanggiringan
- 29 May (T eve) the younger sibling of Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir  
Hamzah] known as Ahmad born  
15 Syab 1067 naanaq arinna Tumammaliang ri Alluq nikanaya Ahmad
- 17 Sep (N eve) I Daeng Mangemba I Kasim, a child of Karaeng ri  
Lengkeseq, born  
8 Zulh 1067 naanaq I Daeng Mangemba I Kasim anaqna Karaengta ri  
Lengkeseq
- 19 Oct (F) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] went down to Maros to dig  
irrigation works in Dulang  
11 Muh 1068 namanaung ri Marusuq karaenga makkekeseq jeqneq  
panaiq ri Dulan
- 8 Nov (R) Karaeng ri Sanggiringang and Karaeng ri Bungaya mar-  
ried  
2 Saf 1068 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Sanggiringan Karaengta ri  
Bungaya
- 1658
- 5 Feb (T) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] faced someone  
running amuk  
1 Jawl 1068 namamuntuli tumaqjalloq Tuammenang ri Juntana
- 27 Mar (W) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and the ruler of Bima [Sirajuddin]  
divorced  
22 Jakr 1068 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq karaenga ri Dima
- 5 May (N) birth of the younger sibling of Karaeng ri Langeloq  
named Ismail  
1 Syab 1068 nanianakkang arinna Karaengta ri Langeoq nikanaya  
Ismail

- 20 Jun (W eve) Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq married
- 2 Ram 1068<sup>213</sup> nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 5 Aug (M)  
5 Zulk 1068 Daengta Daeng Mangaungi Hasan born  
naanaq Daengta Daeng Mangaungi Hasan
- 12 Aug (N eve)  
12 Zulk 1068 Daengta Daeng Mangalle Abdul Hamid born  
naanaq Daengta Daeng Mangalle Abdul Hamid
- 30 Aug (R eve) a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa<sup>214</sup> and the ruler of  
Bima married
- 30 Zulk 1068 nasikalabini toana Karaengta ri Bontoa karaenga ri Dima
- 21 Sep (S)  
22 Zuhl 1068 the day of Shaykh Nuruddin's death in Aceh  
allo nakamateanga Syekhu Nuruddini ri Aceh
- 18 Oct (R eve)  
21 Muh 1069 I Kammissiq had a daughter named Halimah  
namamanaq I Kammissiq baine nikana Halimah
- 19 Nov (T)  
22 Saf 1069 the elephant died<sup>215</sup>  
namate gajaya
- 23 Nov (S) the ruler of Sanrabone<sup>216</sup> went down to Talloq as he was  
going to be expelled [as ruler]
- 26 Saf 1069 namanaung ri Talloq karaenga ri Sanrabone lanipasulu-  
qna
- 28 Nov (W) the ruler of Sanrabone was bound<sup>217</sup>

<sup>213</sup> The Hijri date converts to 4 Jun 1658; this discrepancy is most likely the result of a copyist error.

<sup>214</sup> Not to be confused with the Karaeng ri Bontoa who died a decade earlier on 12 May 1648.

<sup>215</sup> It was brought to Gowa on 16 May 1642.

<sup>216</sup> ANRI 16/6 also gives his name, Puanna I Jenalaq. A chronicle from Sanrabone has this to say about him: 'This ruler was deposed. He went over to Bali. Over there he died a death from disease. His personal name was I Kase. His royal name was I Daeng Talebang' (Cummings 2002:138). Speelman reported that he was named Abdul (Ligtvoet 1880:116).

<sup>217</sup> This gives the impression that he was deposed by being bound with ropes, but given the fact that he had already fled to Talloq the wording in ANRI 16/6 makes more sense. It adds the word 'kalena' to indicate that 'the ruler of Sanrabone bound himself.' Exactly what this means is not clear, but it does make more contextual sense as an action he undertook to remove himself from power.

- 2 Rawl 1069      nanisikkoq karaenga ri Sanrabone
- 4 Dec (W)      Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila Ibrahim<sup>218</sup> born  
9 Rawl 1069      naanaq Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila Ibrahim
- 1659
- 10 Jan (F)      I Cacong divorced by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq  
Pangkana [Hasanuddin]
- 15 Rakr 1069      nanipelaq I Cacong ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq  
Pangkana
- 26 Feb (W)      Karaeng Bintang, a child of Karaeng ri Garassiq, died  
3 Jakr 1069<sup>219</sup>      namate Karae Bintang anaqna Karaengta ri Garassiq
- 21 Apr (M)      the karaeng [Hasanuddin] sailed from Somba Opu down  
to Mandar; his ships numbered 1183
- 27 Raj 1069      namamise ri Sombopu karaenga manaung ri Mandaraq  
bilanna biseanga 1183
- 29 May (R)      the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Mandar; this the  
year of Daengta Daeng Majannang's birth<sup>220</sup>
- 7 Ram 1069      nabattu ri Mandaraq karaenga iaminne taunga kaana-  
kkanna Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 14 Jun (F eve)      Karaeng ri Pattunga died  
23 Ram 1069      namate Karaengta ri Pattunga
- 25 Aug (M)      Karaeng ri Lembaya<sup>221</sup> died  
6 Zulh 1069      namate Karaengta ri Lembaya
- 1 Sep (N eve)      Karaeng Balambaru died below in Majeqneq  
15 Zulh 1069      namate Karaeng Balambaru irawa ri Majeqneq

<sup>218</sup> Dutch sources from 1681 and 1712 report that, like I Tulolo Tajuddin, who was also titled Karaeng Mandalleq and born 27 Dec 1653, he was a son of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:117).

<sup>219</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadilawal for Jumadilakhir, which converts correctly to the Gregorian date.

<sup>220</sup> The lack of precision indicates that this birth was interpolated into the text at a later date. She only became important enough to mention in the annals after her marriage to Amir Hamzah on 13 Jul 1671. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Or 272Y contains only the first half of this entry.

<sup>221</sup> A son of Matoaya, he was also known as I Manibang (or Mannimang) and I Daeng Matutu.

- 10 Sep (W) Daengta Daeng Takontu Fatimah<sup>222</sup> born  
22 Zulh 1069 naanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu Fatimah
- 29 Sep (N eve)<sup>223</sup> Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq<sup>224</sup> born  
11 Muh 1070 naanaq Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
- 20 Dec (F eve) Karaeng Bulu-Bulo and Karaeng ri Tamasongoq married  
6 Rokr 1070 nasikalabini Karaeng Bulu-Bulo Karaengta ri Tamasongoq
- 1660
- 3 Jan (F eve) Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq  
divorced  
21 Rokr 1070 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri  
Bontojeqneq
- 15 Jan (R) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Daeng Marannu I  
Pandiq married  
3 Jawl 1070 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Daeng  
Marannu I Pandiq
- 26 Jan (M) I Loqmoq ri Mangeppeq died  
14 Jawl 1070 namate I Loqmoq ri Mangeppeq
- 4 Feb (W) the mother of I Mininrori had a daughter named  
Shafiatuddin, known as I Daeng Rikong<sup>225</sup>  
21 Jawl 1070 namamanaq anronna I Mininrori baine nikana  
Shafiatuddini I Daeng Rikong nikana
- 17 Feb (T) I Datoq, *kadi* Abdul Maula, died  
5 Jakr 1070 namate I Datoq kadi Abdulmaula
- 10 Mar (T eve) Karaeng ri Bontomarannu and Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya  
divorced  
28 Jakr 1070 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomarannu Karaengta ri Ballaq  
Jawaya

<sup>222</sup> A daughter of Hasanuddin also known as Karaeng Campagaya.

<sup>223</sup> This entry and the next are placed in correct chronological order here, but in VT 25 are reversed. Presumably a copyist accidentally skipped an entry while copying a source text and then corrected his error.

<sup>224</sup> A son of Hasanuddin, also known as I Makkarurung and I Daeng Mattulu.

<sup>225</sup> A daughter of Hasanuddin, in the *Gowa Chronicle* her personal name is rendered as I Sapia. A 9 Mar 1673 entry gives her personal name as simply Shafiah.

18 Mar (W eve) 5 Raj 1070	the interpreter I Dododi died namate I Dododi jurubasa
1 Apr (W eve) 19 Raj 1070	the people of Sanrabone were brought back down to Talloq <sup>226</sup> nanibaliangang tuSanrabonea manaung ri Talloq
5 Apr (M) 24 Raj 1070	Karaeng ri Pasiq <sup>227</sup> born naanaq Karaengta ri Pasiq
12 Jun (S) 2 Syaw 1070	Paqnakkukang advanced on by the Dutch; the karaengs of Batu-Batu, Tompoqbalang, and Bontomanompoq killed nanipanaiki Paqnakkukang ri Balandaya naniposo karae Batu-Batu Tompoqbalang Bontomanompoq
20 Jun (N) 10 Syaw 1070	teeth filed of Karaeng ri Lakiung naniariq Karaengta ri Lakiun
5 Jul (M) 26 Syaw 1070	Karaeng ri Popoq sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to ransom Paqnakkukang namamise Karaengta ri Popoq kalauq ri Jakattaraq ambal-li Paqnakkukang
7 Aug (F eve) 30 Zulk 1070	I Tobalaq fled <sup>228</sup> namalari I Tobalaq
10 Aug (T) 3 Zulh 1070	Karaeng ri Talloq [Harrunarasyid], Karaeng ri Sumannaq, Karaeng ri Cenrana, and Karaeng ri Karunrung went to go into Boné to put out the revolt of I Tobalaq; 37 servants traveled [with them] namaqlampa Karaenga ri Talloq Karaengta ri Sumannaq Karaengta ri Cenrana Karaengta ri Karunrung mantama ri Bone makkaruru balina I Tobalaq 37 bembeng kaqdoq maqlampa

<sup>226</sup> This is presumably in connection with the abdication of their ruler eighteen months before.

<sup>227</sup> A daughter of Harrunarasyid (Ligtvoet 1880:117).

<sup>228</sup> I Tobalaq was the Gowa-appointed leader of Boné and was responsible for ensuring that thousands of Bugis would dig a canal separating Dutch-held Paqnakkukang from the mainland. This onerous task was greatly resented by the Bugis, and Tobalaq and Arung Palakka revolted and fled. This event and the subsequent defeat of Boné is discussed in Andaya (1981:51-6).

- 7 Sep (T) I Tuang Anciq Jenalaq, the *kadi* of Somba Opu, died  
1 Muh 1071 namate I Tuan Anciq Jenalaq kadi ri Sombopu
- 2 Oct (S) installed as the *kadi* of Somba Opu was *pakki*<sup>229</sup> Dambo  
26 Muh 1071 Abdurrahim, replacing I Tuang Anciq Jenalaq  
nanitannang kadi ri Sombopu pakkih Dambo Abdurrahim  
I Tuan Anciq Jenalaq nasambeang
- 21 Sep (T) Boné conquered; Karaeng ri Sumannaq was commander;  
the number of people from Boné beheaded was 269; this  
was called the Defeat of Tobalaq  
15 Muh 1071<sup>230</sup> nabeta Bone Karaengta ri Sumannaq punggawa bilanna  
tuBone nibattaya 269 iaminne nikana beta Tobalaq
- 11 Oct (M) the day of I Tobalaq's beheading  
5 Saf 1071 allo nibattangai I Tobalaq
- 18 Oct (M) Karaeng ri Sumannaq arrived from conquering Boné  
12 Saf 1071 nabattu Karaengta ri Sumannaq ambetai Bone
- 24 Nov (W) Karaeng ri Popoq arrived from Jakattaraq  
20 Rawl 1071<sup>231</sup> nabattu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Popoq
- 11 Nov (R) spoke the 'Javanese', '[We] were given what is known as  
the treasury by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gaukanna'<sup>232</sup>  
7 Rawl 1071 nanakana Jawaya nisareangkang ri Karaenga  
Tuammenang ri Gaukanna nikanaya baitaalmaal
- 2 Dec (R) we went to speak with the Dutch and together we agreed  
28 Rawl 1071 nakiagaang makkana Balandaya kisitabamo

<sup>229</sup> From the Arabic *fakih*, this term refers to someone knowledgeable about Islamic canon law.

<sup>230</sup> Either this entry was accidentally put after the preceding entry by a copyist, or it was recorded later because word did not arrive of the conquest of Boné until between the 2nd and the 11th of October.

<sup>231</sup> Other than a copyist error, there is no clear reason why this and the following entry are not in chronological order.

<sup>232</sup> This entry serves as a reminder that the Malay community since it first settled in Gowa during the reign of Tunipalangga had carefully spelled out rights and obligations vis-à-vis their Makassarese hosts and that the Malay commercial expertise essential to the rulers of Gowa and Talloq extended to fiscal affairs. Possibly the arrangement made with Tumamenang ri Gaukanna was being affirmed at this time because of financial pressures associated with the war against the VOC.

- 11 Dec (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] sailed down to Malang to put out the revolt of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] in Lisu [Tanete]
- 8 Rokr 1071 namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana manaung ri Malan makkaruru balina Tunisombaya ri Lisu
- 25 Dec (S) the day of Tunisombaya's [Arung Palakka's] journey from Campalagi [in Boné] east to Buton<sup>233</sup>
- 22 Rokr 1071 allo napaqlampaga Tunisombaya ri Campalagi manraiq ri Butun
- 1661
- 8 Jan (F eve) now Karaeng ri Bontosunggu arrived from Jakattaraq and his overseas trip with Karaeng ri Popoq
- 7 Jawl 1071 nanampa battu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu kalauqna siagaang Karaengta ri Popoq
- 11 Jan (T) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from conquering Boné and his trip down to Malang
- 9 Jawl 1071 nabattu karaenga ambetai Bone manaunna ri Malan
- 18 Jan (M eve) now Karaeng ri Jarannika arrived also from Jakattaraq
- 17 Jawl 1071 nanampa todong battu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Jarannika
- 29 Jan (S) teeth filed of Padukka Domp<sup>234</sup>
- 27 Jawl 1071 naniariq Padukka Domp<sup>234</sup>
- 18 Apr (M) an earthen wall built high up [around] Paqnakkukang<sup>235</sup>
- 18 Syab 1071 nanibata butta ri manaianna Paqnakkukang
- 19 Apr (T) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq and Karaeng ri Jarannika divorced
- 19 Syab 1071 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq Karaengta ri Jarannika

<sup>233</sup> Like several later entries about Arung Palakka, this entry must have been interpolated into the annals after he had conquered Makassar with the VOC in 1669 and subsequently become the pre-eminent figure in South Sulawesi for the remainder of the century.

<sup>234</sup> A daughter of the ruler of Bima I Ambela and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq.

<sup>235</sup> This key fort had fallen to the Dutch and only recently been regained by Gowa, so this must have been an effort to improve its defenses against future Dutch attacks.

- 28 Apr (R) I Daeng Makkulle installed as *sabannaraq*  
28 Syab 1071 nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Makkulle
- 28 May (S) Karaeng ri Tangallaq died at the age of 47  
28 Ram 1071 namate Karaengta ri Tangallaq umuruqna 47
- 2 Jun (R) Karaeng ri Cenrana was ordered to live down in Mariso  
[north of Somba Opu] with his subjects<sup>236</sup>  
4 Syaw 1071 nanisuro manaung ri Mariso mamempo Karaengta ri  
Cenrana siagaang loliqna
- 25 Jun (S) a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang had a daughter  
27 Syaw 1071 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang  
baine
- 6 Aug (S) I Daeng Riboko installed as *sabannaraq* [alongside I Daeng  
Makkulle]<sup>237</sup>  
10 Zulh 1071 nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Riboko
- 17 Aug (W) Karaeng ri Beroanging Muhiddin<sup>238</sup> born  
21 Zulh 1071 naanaq Karaengta ri Beroanging Muhiddini
- 19 Sep (M) *mincara*<sup>239</sup> I Kare Kanjaraq died  
25 Muh 1072 namate Mincaraya I Kare Kanjaraq
- 1 Oct (F eve) Daengta Daeng Jipaliq Halimah born, the great grandpar-  
ent of I Nibbang  
7 Saf 1072 naanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaliq Halimah boena I Nibbang
- 9 Oct (S eve) a wife<sup>240</sup> of Karaeng ri Sumannaq died

<sup>236</sup> The nature of his task is unclear from this entry, but as a *tumailalang* of Gowa it must have been of considerable importance. It may have had to do with organizing defenses in the region against expected Dutch attacks. Another possibility is that it involved religious matters, for six months later on 30 Dec we are told that Karaeng ri Cenrana established Friday public prayer services in nearby Baroqboq.

<sup>237</sup> This was the second time he served as *sabannaraq*; he had been removed from this position on 8 May 1644.

<sup>238</sup> Dutch sources from 1679 and 1681 report that he was a son of Karaeng ri Sanggiringang and Karaeng ri Bungaya (Ligtvoet 1880:120). But this appears to be incorrect. The annals note that his mother died on 23 Aug 1673 but do not give her name or title, while Karaeng Sanggiringang died on 17 Mar 1765.

<sup>239</sup> A title used in Luwuq.

<sup>240</sup> I Bissu Caqdi, who Karaeng ri Sumannaq married in 1619.



- 15 Saf 1072           namate Karaengta ri Sumannaq bainea
- 23 Nov (W)           Daengta Daeng Masiang married by the karaeng  
[Hasanuddin]
- 2 Rokr 1072           nanibaineang ri karaenga Daengta Daeng Masiang
- 30 Dec (F)           Friday public prayers established by Karaeng ri Cenrana  
this Friday in Baroqbosoq
- 7 Jawl 1072           namappapenteng jumaq Karaengta ri Cenrana ri  
Baroqbosoq jumaq
- 1662
- 5 Apr (T eve)        Karaeng ri Balloq<sup>241</sup> and Karaeng ri Lakiung married; she  
was 13 when she took a husband
- 15 Syab 1072        nasikalabini Karaengta ri Balloq Karaengta ri Lakiun  
umuruqna namaqburaqne 13
- 18 Apr (T)  
30 Syab 1072        the day of Karaeng ri Mamampang Bahauddin's<sup>242</sup> birth  
allo kaanakkanna Karaengta ri Mamampang Bahauddini
- 6 May (S)           Karaeng ri Panjallingang swore an oath that he did not  
desire the wife of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang<sup>243</sup>
- 17 Ram 1072        namassapatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang angkaeroki  
bainena Karaengta ri Bontomajannang
- 4 Jun (N)           Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq banished down to the kersasaq  
house<sup>244</sup>
- 17 Syaw 1072        nanicinde Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq manaung ri ballaq  
kersasaq
- 15 Jul (S)  
28 Zulk 1072        the people went out to dwell in Tamaqlekkko to fire bricks  
namassuluq taua maqballaq-ballaq ri Tamaqlekkko mand-  
eqdeq bata

<sup>241</sup> A son of Karaeng Katinting and Karaeng Tabaringang. He was 18 years old at the time.

<sup>242</sup> According to Ligtoet 1880:169, he was a son of the former Karaeng Garassiq.

<sup>243</sup> This wife was probably I Daeng Marannu, whom Karaeng ri Bontomajannang divorced on 8 Mar 1663.

<sup>244</sup> The meaning of *ballaq kersasaq* is not certain, but the name implies that Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq was detained there because of an unmet or unpaid demand. Equally possible is the spelling in ANRI 16/6 – *ballaq kirasaq* – which is simply a house made from the wood of the *kirasaq* tree (*garcinia celebica*) found in eastern Indonesia. The significance of using this wood is unknown.

- 9 Aug (W)            Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa died  
23 Zulh 1072        namate Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Gowa
- 15 Aug (W)            the people of Barombong first laid stones [in a defensive  
wall]  
1 Muh 1073            nauru mallonjoq bata tuBarombonga
- 7 Sep (R)             Karaeng ri Katapang had a son by a 'sunting'<sup>245</sup>  
23 Muh 1073        namamanaq Karaengta ri Katapang ri sunting buraqne
- 18 Sep (M)            the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri  
Bontojeqneq married  
6 Saf 1073            nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 1 Nov (W)             the people returned from dwelling in Tamaqlekk  
19 Rawl 1073        namamonoq taua maqballaq-ballaq ri Tamalakko
- 29 Dec (F)            Karaenga Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]  
went down to Maros for a conference; the number of  
ships that could be counted was 239  
17 Jawl 1073        namanaung Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana  
ri Marusuq maqruppa-ruppa bilanna biseang nigappaya  
nibilang 239
- 1663
- 3 Feb (S)             the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasa Pamayan] and Karaeng ri  
Bontojeqneq divorced  
26 Jakr 1073        nasipelaq karae Sambawa Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 10 Feb (S)            Daengta Daeng Mattiro<sup>246</sup> wed Padukka Dompu; at age 13  
this was her first husband  
1 Raj 1073            nabunting Daengta Daeng Mattiro ri Padukka Dompu uru  
buraqnenna umuruqna 13
- 8 Mar (R)             Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Daeng Marannu I  
Pandi q divorced  
29 Raj 1073        nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Daeng Marannu  
I Pandiq

<sup>245</sup> The term *sunting* means ornament or flower, and is usually applied to a young girl.

<sup>246</sup> A son of Karaeng Karunrung and Karaenta ri Tamasongoq.

- 21 Mar (T eve) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang and I Caucung married  
10 Syab 1073 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomajannang I Caucung
- 13 Apr (R eve) *sabannaraq* Karaeng Baroqbosoq died  
4 Ram 1073 namate Karae Baroqbosoq sabannaraka
- 2 May (T eve) Karaeng Patteqne I Daeng Mabela died  
25 Ram 1073 namate Karae Patteqne I Daeng Mabela
- 25 May (R eve) Daengta Daeng Ago died; Karaeng ri Popoq replaced him  
[as *anrongguru* of the *tumakkajannang*]  
17 Syaw 1073 namate Daengta Daeng Ago naKaraengta ri Popoq assa-  
mbeangi
- 26 Jun (T) Karaeng ri Lakiung had a daughter named Sitti Hadijah;  
after forty-nine nights she died  
19 Zulk 1073 namamanaq Karaengta ri Lakiun baine nikana Sitti  
Hadijah patampulo banngi assalapang namate
- 1 Jul (S eve) the mother of I Maninrori [Karaeng Galesong] had a son  
named Suleman  
24 Zulk 1073 namamanaq anronna I Maninrori buraqne nikana  
Sulemana
- 23 Jul (T) Karaeng ri Balloq went into Bulo-Bulo to install I Daeng  
Tatea<sup>247</sup> as Karaeng ri Bulo-Bulo  
17 Zulh 1073 namantama ri Bulo-Bulo Karaengta ri Balloq antannangi  
Karaeng ri Bulo-Bulo I Daeng Tatea
- 11 Aug (S) people built houses in Jongaya  
7 Muh 1074 namaqballaq taua ri Jongaya
- 20 Aug (M) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went overseas to  
Jakattaraq; from Buton in the east he went overseas  
16 Muh 1074 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Tunisombaya irayai ri Butun  
kalauq
- 7 Sep (F) the back swelled of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq  
Pangkana [Hasanuddin]; the palm wine maker died

<sup>247</sup> Wennangpute, a daughter of Massiyajeng, the ruler of Bulo-Bulo, and I Taniciniq.

- 4 Saf 1074            namakkambang bokona Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana namate pangantin balloq
- 6 Dec (R)            Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Padukka Dompu married<sup>248</sup>
- 6 Jawl 1074            nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Padukka Dompu
- 1664
- 16 Jan (W)            Karaeng ri Cenrana died and [his son] Karaeng ri Lengkeseq replaced him [as *tumailalang*]
- 17 Jakr 1074            namate Karaengta ri Cenrana naKaraengta ri Lengkeseq assambeangi
- 27 Jan (N)            the karaeng [Hasanuddin] came down to the ground with his swelling healed
- 27 Jakr 1074            namanaungmo ri butta karaenga mapiana kambangna
- 6 Feb (W)            Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Datu ri Luwuq quarreled and were found guilty; no fine was taken by the karaeng [Karunrung]; this year Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle purportedly born
- 8 Raj 1074            namaqbesereq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Datua ri Luwuq nanipassala nataniallea salana ri karaengta iaminne bedeng taunga nakaanakkang Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle
- 5 Mar (T eve)        Karaeng ri Patteqne, who [later] died on Buton<sup>249</sup>, arrived from his journey
- 7 Syab 1074            nabattu ri lampanna Karaengta ri Patteqne matea ri Butun
- 17 Apr (R)  
20 Ram 1074        Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] circumcised nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 26 May (M)            Tumamenang ri Juntana [Karunrung] banished and his belongings seized; he went overseas to Banten; this was his early banishment
- 29 Syaw 1074        nanicine nanirappung Tuammenang ri Juntana nakalauq ri Bantang nicinde rioloanna

<sup>248</sup> Her divorce from Daengta Daeng Mattiro was not recorded in the *lontaraq bilang*.

<sup>249</sup> ANRI 16/6 has that he 'died in battle' instead of 'died on Buton' (*matea ri bunduqna*). Either reading may be correct.

- 5 Jun (R)                   teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontomateqne<sup>250</sup>  
10 Zulk 1074               naniariq Karaengta ri Bontomateqne
- 9 Jun (N eve)             Kaicili Kalamata and Karaeng ri Panaikang divorced  
14 Zulk 1074               nasipelaq Kacili Kalimata Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 25 Aug (M)               seventy warriors went to Karaeng ri Talloq  
[Harrunarasyid]  
2 Saf 1075                 nanipamange ri Karaenga ri Talloq joaq tujupuloa
- 13 Sep<sup>251</sup> (N eve)       a great grandparent of Tumamenang ri Lakiung died  
22 Saf 1075               namate boena Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 8 Nov (S)                 Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]  
sailed down to Lanrisang [in Sawitto] for a conference  
19 Rakr 1075               namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana  
manaung ri Lanrisang maqruppa-ruppa
- 16 Nov (N eve)          unusual stars seen by Karaeng ri Popoq; the comets last-  
ed 2 months and 8 nights then were no longer seen  
27 Rakr 1075               namacciniq bintoeng maraqmaraeng-maraeng Karaengta  
ri Popoq bintoeng makkidong 2 bulangi 8 banngi nan-  
ampa tena niciniq
- 24 Nov (N eve)          birth of I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang, a child of  
Karaeng ri Bontomajannang by Caucung  
5 Jawl 1075               nanianakkang I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang  
anaqna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang ri Caucung
- 25 Nov (T)               Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng ri  
Bontomateqne married  
6 Jawl 1075               nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta ri  
Bontomateqne
- 30 Nov (N)               Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and Karaeng ri  
Mandalleq<sup>252</sup> circumcised

<sup>250</sup> A daughter of the ruler of Bima Sirajuddin and Karaeng Bontojeqneq.

<sup>251</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote August for September.

<sup>252</sup> Presumably Tulolo Tajuddin, the older of the two sons of Karaeng Karunrung who had this title and was born on 27 Dec 1653. He also had his teeth filed on the same day as Tumatea ri Jakattaraq on 24 Sep 1665. Such shared rituals were intended to forge a lifelong bond.

- 11 Jawl 1075 nanisunnaq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq siagaang Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 2 Dec (M eve) the ruler of Dompu [on Sumbawa] and Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong divorced
- 28 Jawl 1075<sup>253</sup> nasipelaq karaengta ri Dompu Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
- 1665
- 15 Jan (R) I Dewa sold to Siamese<sup>254</sup> for three kati [of gold]<sup>255</sup>; this year we were struck by an epidemic
- 28 Jakr 1075 nanibalukang I Dewa ri Sianga tallu kati niballiangi iaminne taunga kinataba pua
- 30 Jan (R eve) Karaeng ri Jarannika and Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq divorced
- 13 Raj 1075 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq
- 2 Apr (W eve) people again saw a comet
- 15 Ram 1075 namacciniq pole taua bintoeng makkidong
- 4 Apr (F eve) Karaeng ri Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah<sup>256</sup> born
- 17 Ram 1075 naanaq Karaengta ri Bontoa Sitti Muthiatullah
- 7 Apr (T) Karaeng ri Ujung Pandang died
- 20 Ram 1075 namate Karae Jumpandang
- 26 Apr (N) the ruler of Majeqneq [in Mandar] was besieged and Karaeng ri Bungaya [thus] avenged
- 10 Syaw 1075 naniliungang Karae Majeqneq nanipuiang Karae Bungaya
- 3 Jul (F) *bila-bila* issued to go east to Sula [islands in Maluku]
- 10 Zulh 1075<sup>257</sup> nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Suli

<sup>253</sup> The Hijri date converts to 16 Dec 1664.

<sup>254</sup> Kamaruddin et al. (1985-86:129) believe this refers to Siang (north of Makassar) and not Siamese.

<sup>255</sup> The Dutch translation of the *lontaraq bilang* in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:122-3) states that the ruler of Gowa sold his lucky horse to Siamese for 3,000,000 [reals?]. ANRI 16/6 gives no price for the transaction.

<sup>256</sup> A daughter of Karaeng ri Balloq and Karaeng ri Lakiung.

<sup>257</sup> The Hijri date converts to 24 Jun 1665.

- 18 Jul (F eve) Padukka Dompu had a son by Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong  
4 Muh 1076 named I Mappaqngara I Daeng Mallulungang  
namamanaq Padukka Dompu ri Karaengta ri  
Lekoqboqdong buraqne nikana I Mappaqngara I Daeng  
Mallulungang
- 30 Jul (W eve) Karaeng ri Bontomarannu slaughtered by his wife  
17 Muh 1076 nanisamballe ri bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomarannu
- 13 Aug (R) an earthen wall was built by the people beneath [i.e. to  
1 Saf 1076 the north of] Ujung Pandang  
namaqbata butta bilang taua irawanganna Jumpandang
- 24 Sep (R) teeth filed of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and  
14 Rawl 1076 Karaeng ri Mandalleq  
naniariq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq siagaang Karaengta ri  
Mandalleq
- 30 Sep (T eve) *sabannaraq* Karaeng Bantaeng died  
20 Rawl 1076 namate Karaeng Bantaeng sabannaraq
- 7 Oct (W) people mustered [for the attack on Sula]; the total number  
27 Rawl 1076 of those who assembled was 10662; this was called the  
Muster at Gowa  
namarewangan taua bilang pampanna tumarewanganga  
10662 iaminne nikana parewanganggang ri Gowa
- 12 Oct (M) the war leaders sailed east to Sula  
2 Rakt 1076 namamise dulun manraika ri Suli
- 26 Nov (R) Karaeng ri Balloq and I Amuq married  
18 Jawl 1076 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Balloq I Amuq
- 25 Dec (F) Friday public prayers established again this Friday in  
17 Jakr 1076 Garassiq  
namamenteng pole jumaka ri Garassiq jumaq

1666

- 7 Jan (W eve) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna Abdul Kadir<sup>258</sup> born  
1 Raj 1076 naanaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Abdulqadir
- 17 Feb (W) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga and Karaeng ri  
Sanggiringang divorced; Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana  
[Karunrung] arrived from his banishment
- 12 Syab 1076 nasipelaq Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga Karaengta ri  
Sanggiringan nabattu Tuammenang ri Juntana nicindena
- 17 Mar (W) the war leaders arrived from going east to Sula and their  
conquest of Sula
- 10 Ram 1076 nabattu dulun manraika ri Sula nabetana Sula
- 24 May (M) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang went into Soppéng to  
marry a daughter of Datu ri Soppéng named Macallaka  
Kanukunna<sup>259</sup>
- 19 Zulk 1076 namantama ri Soppeng Karaengta ri Bontomajannang  
ambaineangi anaqna Datua ri Soppeng nikanaya  
Macallaka Kanukunna
- 29 Jun (T) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya and Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana  
[Karunrung] divorced
- 26 Zulh 1076 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya Tuammenang ri  
Juntana
- 4 Jul (N) *bila-bila* issued to go east to Ambon in Maluku  
1 Muh 1077 nanipalele bila-bila manraika ri Ambong ri Maluku
- 16 Aug (M) the day of Tunisombaya's [Arung Palakka's] overseas trip  
to Pariaman [Sumatra]
- 15 Saf 1077 allo nanakalaukanga ri Pariaman Tunisombaya

<sup>258</sup> A son of Sultan Harrunarasyid, he would succeed his father at a young age as Talloq's ruler in 1673. A Dutch source from 1709 reports that his personal name was Mappajanji (Ligtvoet 1880:124).

<sup>259</sup> Her name refers to her painted fingernails. Speelman reported that she was named Dassou and had first married Karaeng ri Bontomarannu, but they divorced when her father (La Tenribali Matinroa ri Datunna) was defeated and exiled after allying himself with I Tobalaq against Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 124-5). See also Andaya 1981:58-9.



- 23 Sep (W eve) the male<sup>260</sup> Karaeng ri Sumannaq died; Daeng I Taniciniq died
- 23 Rawl 1077 namate Karaengta ri Sumannaq buraqnea namate Daengta I Taniciniq
- 23 Oct (S) the war leaders sailed east to Buton; Karaeng ri Bontomarannu was commander
- 24 Rakr 1077 namamise dulun manraika ri Butun Karaengta ri Bontomarannu punggawa
- 5 Nov (R eve) I Daeng Maingaq died
- 8 Jawl 1077 namate I Daeng Maingaq
- 23 Nov (N eve) Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq Fatimah born
- 15 Jawl 1077<sup>261</sup> naanaq Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq Patimah
- 28 Nov (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] banished again and went over to Saburo; this was his later banishment
- 1 Jakr 1077 nanicinde pole Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana namantaqle ri Saburo nicinde ribokona
- 13 Dec (M) the mother of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf died
- 17 Jakr 1077 namate anronna I Tuan Syeku Yusupu
- 19 Dec (N) Dutch ships were sighted, 21 in number
- 23 Jakr 1077 nakacinikang kappalaqna Balandaya 21 batunna
- 18 Dec (S) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] captured the Bajo in Tanakeke
- 22 Jakr 1077<sup>262</sup> namanjakkalaq Bayo Tunisombaya ri Tanakeke
- 23 Dec (F) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] set fire to Kalumpang-keke
- 27 Jakr 1077 nanisussuluq Kalumpang-keke Tunisombaya

<sup>260</sup> An annalist apparently was distinguishing him from a later, female holder of this title (for example, the woman mentioned in the 2 Aug 1731 entry).

<sup>261</sup> The Hijri date converts to 12 Nov 1666.

<sup>262</sup> Presumably word of this reached Gowa after December 19th, which explains why this entry is not in chronological order. Or 272Y and *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:123) do not have this as a separate entry, instead incorporating this information into the previous entry.

- 25 Dec (S) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] set fire to Bantaeng and wounded by a spear  
29 Jakr 1077 nanasussuluq Bantaeng Tunisombaya namalokoq poke
- 1667
- 3 Jan (M) the war leaders<sup>263</sup> taken on Buton  
8 Raj 1077 nanialle dulunga ri Butun
- 25 Jan (T) I Amaq, the younger sibling of Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah], died  
25 Raj 1077 namate I Amaq arinna Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 7 Feb (M) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went into Boné bringing Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] to install as the ruler of Boné<sup>264</sup>  
12 Syab 1077 namantama ri Bone Karaengta ri Lengkeseq angerangi Matinroa ri Bukaka antannangi karaeng ri Bone
- 12 Mar (S) Aeng [north of Galesong] and Mandalleq given to Karaeng ri Mandalleq  
15 Ram 1077 nanisareang Karaengta ri Mandaleq Aeng siagaang Mandaleq
- 13 Mar (N) the treaty went to Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali]<sup>265</sup>; the people of Tino [Binamuq] went to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]  
16 Ram 1077 nanipamange cappaya ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq tuTinoa nipamange ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 22 Mar (M) the people of Alluq were given to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]  
25 Ram 1077 nanisareang tuAlluq Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 23 Mar (W) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and Daengta

<sup>263</sup> Karaeng Bontomarannu led the expedition and he, the ruler of Bima, and the ruler of Luwuq all surrendered to Admiral Speelman.

<sup>264</sup> La Maqdaremmeng had ruled Boné previously, but was defeated by Gowa in 1643 and removed from power and taken to Makassar the following year. As Andaya (1981:80) notes, this was a failed effort to neutralize Boné in the war against the Dutch.

<sup>265</sup> This is a common indication in the *lontaraq bilang* that someone formally was recognized as *tumabicarabutta* of Gowa. It suggests that the keeping and maintenance of relationships between Gowa, Talloq, and other polities was a task performed by the *tumabicarabutta*.

- Daeng Talarra I Makku wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
- 26 Ram 1077 nanipaqnikkah Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Daengta Daeng Talarra I Makku
- 17 Apr (N)  
23 Syaw 1077 Karaeng ri Bontomajannag went up to guard Bantaeng namanaiq Karaengta ri Bontomajannang angkammiki Bantaeng
- 30 May (M)  
6 Zulh 1077 Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] and Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went into Boné to quash Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] namantama ri Bone Tuammenang ri Lampanna Karaengta ri Lengkeseq angkarurui Matinroa ri Bukaka
- 6 Jun (N eve)  
13 Zulh 1077 Daengta I Kare Maqnassa died namate Daengta I Kare Maqnassa
- 6 Jul (W)  
13 Muh 1078 all of the *anaq karaeng* of the people of Sanrabone and the gallarrang arrived before Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] bringing all the *gaukung* of Sanrabone<sup>266</sup> nabattu ngaseng anaq karaeng tuSanrabonea siagaang gallaranna ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun angerangangi lol-long gaukung ri Sanrabone
- 8 Jul (F)  
15 Muh 1078 an envoy from Karaeng ri Bontomajannang arrived saying that he was advanced on by the Dutch and defeated in Bantaeng nabattu surona Karaengta ri Bontomajannang angkana nipanaiki ri Balandaya nanibeta ri Bantaeng
- 13 Jul (W)  
20 Muh 1078 the Dutch dropped anchor: 17 ships in number, 20 prauws in number, 10 sloops in number, and 41 small ships namaqlabu kappalaqna Balandaya 17 batunna juangan 20 batunna soqlloq 10 batunna biseang caqdi 41
- 20 Jul (W) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] arrived from his later banishment

<sup>266</sup> *Gaukung* usually refers to sacred stones that mark the heart of a community, but it is used here to describe the prized regalia of a community, typically called *kalompoang* (Cummings 2002:55-6). This ceremonial act meant that the people of Sanrabone recognized Abdul Jalil as their ruler.

29 Muh 1078	nabattumo Tuammenang ri Juntana nicinde ribokona
1 Aug (M)	the Dutch went up to Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen were beheaded
12 Saf 1078	namanaiq ri Manalo Balandaya namaqbunduqmo taua 34 Balanda nibatta
19 Aug (F)	Galesong conquered by the Dutch
28 Saf 1078	nanibeta Galesong ri Balandaya
4 Sep (N)	the Dutch went up to Batu-Batu and built fortifications in Aeng
14 Rawl 1078	namanaiq ri Batu-Batu Balandaya namaqbenteng ri Aeng
18 Nov (F)	together we agreed at Bungaya <sup>267</sup>
3 Jakr 1078	kisitabamo ri Bungaya
21 Nov (M)	Ujung Pandang occupied by the Dutch
6 Jakr 1078	nanaempoi Jumpandang Balandaya
29 Dec (R)	Karaeng ri Lengkeseq went over to the Dutch <sup>268</sup>
14 Raj 1078	namantaqla ri Balandaya Karaengta ri Lengkeseq
1668	
12 Jan (R)	teeth filed and ears pierced of Karaeng ri Langelog
26 Raj 1078	naniariq nanitinting Karaengta ri Langelog
17 Feb (F)	Matinroa ri Bontoalaq [Arung Palakka] went to Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin] to grasp hands
3 Ram 1078	namae ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana Matinroa ri Bontoalaq maqjabat tangan
29 Feb (T eve)	Haji Bulu-Bulu died and was buried in Bayaoa
15 Ram 1078	namate Haji Bulu-Bulu niawang ri Bayaoa

<sup>267</sup> ANRI 16/6 incorporates the subsequent entry here, stating 'three nights after people met, the Dutch occupied Ujung Pandang' (*natalu banngi lebaq sitaba tauwa nanaempoi Jungpandang Balandaya*).

<sup>268</sup> Speelman reported that in response to this betrayal Hasanuddin seized his lands of Cenrana and Siwa and Larompong on the Bay of Boné (Ligtvoet 1880:128). It is not surprising that the *Sj'air Perang Mengkasar* describes Karaeng ri Lengkeseq as 'a harsh *karaeng*, whose conduct was wicked and unbecoming a Muslim' (Skinner 1963:190).

- 6 Mar (T) something white was seen toward the sea standing stiffly;  
on three occasions it was seen
- 21 Ram 1078 naniaq anu makeboq niciniq ilauq tappenteng kontu bata  
tallung sawe niaki niciniq
- 13 Mar (M eve) all the *anaq karaeng* and *tumakkajannang* swore oaths to the  
karaeng [Hasanuddin]
- 27 Ram 1078 nanitalliq ngaseng ri karaenga anaq karaenga siagaang  
tumakkajannanganga
- 16 Mar (R eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] and Karaeng ri Ballaq  
Jawaya married
- 3 Syaw 1078 nasikalabini Tunisombaya Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya
- 28 Mar (W) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] installed as  
Karaeng ri Sanrabone
- 15 Syaw 1078 nanitannang Karaeng ri Sanrabone Tuammenang ri  
Lakiun
- 14 Apr (F eve) the Dutch fired as a result of a quarrel
- 2 Zulk 1078 namammaqdiliq Balandaya sisala ribokota
- 21 May (M) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] was brought east to  
Gowa and a sunshade raised over his head, an embossed  
sunshade<sup>269</sup>
- 9 Zulh 1078 nanierang manraiq ri Gowa nipirangkaki laqlang  
Tuammenang ri Lakiun laqlang nicaka
- 9 Jun (S) Karaeng ri Garassiq died
- 28 Zulh 1078 namate Karaengta ri Garassiq
- 20 Jun (T eve) Karaeng ri Tamalaqba died
- 9 Muh 1079 namate Karaengta ri Tamalaqba
- 23 Jul (M) Daeng ri Sampulungan died
- 13 Saf 1079 namate Daengta ri Sampulungan
- 31 Jul (M eve) Karaeng ri Katapang died
- 21 Saf 1079 namate Karaengta ri Katapang

<sup>269</sup> This ceremony recognized his new status as Karaeng ri Sanrabone.

- 13 Aug (M) Karaeng ri Panjallingang beheaded below in Maros<sup>270</sup> at  
the age of 31  
5 Rawl 1079 nanibatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang irawa ri Marusuq  
umuruqna 31
- 27 Aug (M) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang struck  
19 Rawl 1079 nanitaba Karaengta ri Bontomajannang
- 10 Sep (M) Karaeng ri Bontomajannang died at the age of 26  
3 Rokr 1079 namate Karaengta ri Bontomajannang umuruqna 26
- 27 Sep (R) Daengta I Karaeng Sallang died  
20 Rokr 1079 namate Daengta I Karae Sallang
- 12 Oct (F)<sup>271</sup> I Tosaqdang killed<sup>272</sup>  
6 Jawl 1079 naniposo I Tosaqdang
- 14 Oct (N) Karaeng ri Tomponga beheaded  
8 Jawl 1079 nanibatta Karaengta ri Tomponga
- 27 Oct (S) Paccocconga killed  
19 Jawl 1079 naniposo Paccocconga
- 8 Nov (R) there was fierce rain  
3 Jokr 1079 naniaq bosu maqdonteng
- 13 Nov (T) there was wood felled that raised itself again toward the  
uplands in Lataq<sup>273</sup>  
8 Jokr 1079 naniaq kayu nitaqbang mambangunna pole iraya ri Lataq
- 14 Nov (W) *pakki* Dambo Abdurrahim died  
9 Rokr 1079 namate paqqih Dambo Abdurrahim

<sup>270</sup> According to ANRI 16/6 he was killed in Barasaq, not Maros.

<sup>271</sup> This and the following entry appear in reverse order in VT 25.

<sup>272</sup> Arung Belo, a son of the ruler of Soppéng La Tenribali Matinroa ri Datunna. ANRI 16/6 adds 'spaced two nights apart Karaeng ri Panjallingang was beheaded at the age of 18' (*ruwa banngi allaqna nanibatta Karaengta ri Panjallingang umuruqna 18*), but this in fact refers to Karaeng ri Tomponga.

<sup>273</sup> Coupled with the mysterious white object that appeared toward the sea earlier in the year, this was certainly interpreted as heralding great change by Makassarese and is evidence of the uncertainty and trepidation that marked the war years.

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- 21 Jan (M) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] circumcised  
18 Syab 1079 nanisunnaq Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 4 Feb (M) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng ri  
Bontomateqne divorced, then Tumamenang ri Lampana  
[Harrunarasyid] divorced I Loqmoq, a grandparent of I  
Kacung  
2 Ram 1079 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta ri  
Bontomateqne nanipelaq I Loqmoq toana I Kacung ri  
Tuammenang ri Lampanna
- 8 Feb (F) Karaeng ri Bontojeqneq died at the age of 41  
6 Ram 1079 namate Karaengta ri Bontojeqneq umuruqna 41
- 1 Mar (R eve) Karaeng ri Kabbalokang<sup>274</sup> and Karaeng ri Langeloq mar-  
ried; I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang,  
proposed to by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]  
26 Ram 1079 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kabbalokang Karaengta ri  
Langeloq nanipassuroi I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri  
Patukangang ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 10 May (R eve) Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] Karaeng ri  
Bontomateqne wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]  
and left immediately<sup>275</sup>  
10 Zulh 1079 namaqnikkah Tuammenang ri Lampanna Karaengta ri  
Bontomateqne mange memang tommi
- 1 Jun (S) Karaeng ri Lakiung died; she reached age 21  
2 Muh 1080 namate Karaengta ri Lakiun umuruqna 21
- 3 Jun (N eve) Karaeng ri Tabaringang died  
4 Muh 1080 namate Karaengta ri Tabaringan

<sup>274</sup> He was a son of Karunrung also known as Mamminawang Daeng Mangalliki (Ligtvoet 1880:130). He must not be confused with either I Daeng Mamangkasi I Mamminawang, a child of Karaeng ri Bontomajannang by Caucung born on 24 Nov 1664, or Karaeng ri Mangalliq I Manrurungang I Kare Gappa, a son of Hasanuddin born on 13 Jan 1655.

<sup>275</sup> They went to Bima. Karaeng ri Bontomateqne died there on 13 Mar 1671, and a few months later on 5 Aug 1671 Karaeng Galesong arrived there to invite Harrunarasyid to return to Makassar.

16 Jun (S eve)	the bastion of Somba Opu breached <sup>276</sup>
17 Muh 1080	nanibangka salekoa ri Sombopu
24 Jun (M)	Somba Opu conquered
25 Muh 1080	nabeta Sombopu
29 Jun (S)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] had a sunshade raised over his head <sup>277</sup>
30 Muh 1080	nanipirangkaki laqlang Tumammaliang ri Alluq
7 Jul (S eve)	Daengta Daeng Naratang died
8 Saf 1080	namate Daengta Daeng Naratang
28 Jul (N)	people agreed by the new river <sup>278</sup>
29 Saf 1080	nasitaba taua ri binanga berua
16 Sep (M)	Karaeng ri Paqbineang and Addatuang Sidénréng <sup>279</sup> married
21 Rokr 1080	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Paqbineang Aqdatuanga
28 Oct (M)	Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid], [the karaengs of] Bisei, Mandalleq, Balloq, Palembang <sup>280</sup> , [and the gal-larrang of] Mangasa and Tomboloq went overseas to Jakattaraq
4 Jakr 1080	nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Tuammenang ri Lampanna Bisei Mandalleq Balloq Palembang Mangasa Tomboloq
23 Nov (F eve)	Karaeng ri Pattunga died
23 Jakr 1080	namate Karaengta ri Pattunga

<sup>276</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds more information, explaining how 'a hole was dug and as night fell the gunpowder was then lit' (*nikekkeseki nibanggiangi ubaq nanisussuluq*). Andaya (1981:130-1) describes in detail this explosive-filled tunnel and its crucial role in the fall of Somba Opu.

<sup>277</sup> With this act, Hasanuddin stepped down and his son became Sultan Amir Hamzah, ruler of Gowa. ANRI 16/6 notes that his father Hasanuddin raised the sunshade over him.

<sup>278</sup> Thus the Makassar War came to an end beside the canal that Bugis workers dug in 1660 to separate Paqnakkukang from the mainland.

<sup>279</sup> Arung Ujumpuluq, known as La Tenritippaq ToWalenaë, who later became ruler of Sidénréng.

<sup>280</sup> In Dutch archival sources he is known as Karaeng Mamu or Mamut (Ligtvoet 1880:131).



- 26 Nov (M eve) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Daengta Daeng Talarra<sup>281</sup> married
- 1 Raj 1080 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Daengta Daeng Talarra
- 1670
- 10 Jan (R eve) the ruler of Akkotengang died
- 17 Syab 1080 namate karaenga ri Akkotengang
- 27 Feb (W eve) I Daeng Manyikkoq I Shadiq, a child of Karaeng ri Palembang, born
- 6 Syaw 1080 naanaq I Daeng Manyikkoq I Shadiq anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang
- 10 Mar (M) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq Abdul Muqmin<sup>282</sup> born
- 18 Syaw 1080 naanaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq Abdulmuqmin
- 28 Mar (R eve) Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] arrived from Jakattaraq
- 3 Zulk 1080 nabattu ri Jakattaraq Tuammenang ri Lampanna
- 29 Mar (S) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Jakattaraq bringing his wife [Daeng Talele]
- 8 Zulk 1080 nabattu ri Jakattaraq Tunisombaya angerangi bainenna
- 13 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Mandalleq and I Daeng Maingaq, [later known as] Karaeng Balua<sup>283</sup>, married
- 21 Zulk 1080 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Maingaq Karaengta Balua
- 16 Apr (W) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Daengta Daeng Talarra divorced
- 25 Zulk 1080 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Lakiun Daengta Daeng Talarra
- 21 May (T eve) the younger sibling of I Kaiq died

<sup>281</sup> She had married Abdul Jalil's older brother Muhammad Ali on 23 Mar 1667, but their divorce is not recorded in the annals. This marriage lasted less than four months, after which she would marry Sultan Harrunarasyid of Talloq on 3 Jul 1670.

<sup>282</sup> Dutch sources from 1709 reported that he was a son of Abdul Jalil's sister, thus probably a son of Karaeng Langeloq from her marriage to Karaeng Kaballokang (Ligtvoet 1880:132).

<sup>283</sup> This *karaeng*-title does not reflect a toponym, but indicates that she was a widow (*balu*) of the ruler.

- 1 Muh 1081      namate arinna I Kaiq
- 28 May (M)      something was seen resembling a rainbow that spanned  
the earth
- 6 Muh 1081      naniaq niciniq kuntu tarahuwe taqbannyang ri buttaya
- 2 Jun (M)      the walls of Talloq torn down  
13 Muh 1081      nanigesaraq bataya ri Talloq
- 3 Jun (T)      the walls of Gowa torn down  
14 Muh 1081      nanigesaraq bataya ri Gowa
- 12 Jun (R)      we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ballaq  
Pangkana [Hasanuddin] at the age of 41  
23 Muh 1081      kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Ballaq Pangkana  
umuruqna 41
- 3 Jul (R eve)      Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] and Daengta  
Daeng Talarra married  
7 Rawl 1081<sup>284</sup>      nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lampanna Daengta Daeng  
Talarra
- 1 Aug (R eve)      Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and I Taniq  
married  
14 Rawl 1081      nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Juntana I Taniq
- 7 Aug (R)      Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into Wajoq to make  
war<sup>285</sup>  
20 Rawl 1081      namantama ri Wajoq Tunisombaya maqbundug
- 28 Aug (T eve)      birth of Daengta Daeng Mami Ruqiah<sup>286</sup>  
11 Rokr 1081      nanianakkang Daengta Daeng Mami Ruqiah
- 29 Aug (R eve)      I Sunggu, a child of Karaeng ri Panjallingang, died, killed  
from a blow by a wife of the ruler of Talloq  
22 Rokr 1081<sup>287</sup>      namate I Sunggu anaqna Karaengta ri Panjallingang nibu-  
no pattunrung ri karaenga bainea ri Talloq

<sup>284</sup> The Hijri date converts to 24 Jul 1670.

<sup>285</sup> The ruler of Wajoq's refusal to submit to Arung Palakka and his war against it and the similarly recalcitrant Lamuru is discussed in Andaya (1981:138-40).

<sup>286</sup> A daughter of Hasanuddin by I Loqmoq Toboq.

<sup>287</sup> The Hijri date converts to 7 Sep 1670.

- 12 Sep (R eve) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] and I Sitti Karaeng ri Kampong Beru<sup>288</sup> married; Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Tumbuq<sup>289</sup> married
- 27 Rakr 1081 nasikalabini Tumatea ri Jakattaraq I Sitti Karaenga ri Kampongberu Karaengta ri Mangalliq sikalabini I Tumbuq
- 30 Oct (W eve) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] went over to Bima
- 15 Jakr 1081 namaqlampa Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lampanna taqle ri Dima
- 19 Dec (F) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Wajoq and the conquest of Tosora
- 9 Syab 1081 nabattu ri Wajoq Tunisombaya nabetana Tosora
- 1671
- 10 Jan (S) there were those who saw two suns
- 27 Syab 1081<sup>290</sup> naniaq anciniki rua matanna alloa
- 26 Jan (R) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya divorced by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]
- 17 Syaw 1081<sup>291</sup> nasipelaq Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya ri Tunisombaya
- 9 Mar (N eve) I Daeng Maingaq<sup>292</sup> died
- 26 Syaw 1081 namate I Daeng Maingaq
- 13 Mar (F) the day of Karaeng ri Bontomateqne's death across in Bima at the age of 18
- 1 Zulk 1081 allo nakamateanga Karaengta ri Bontomateqne ibaqla ri Dima umuruqna 18

<sup>288</sup> Also known as Daeng Talele, but she must not be confused with the Daeng Talele who was Arung Palakka's wife.

<sup>289</sup> Presumably not the same I Tumbuq who married the ruler of Agangnionjoq on 10 Dec 1645.

<sup>290</sup> These dates do not match as the result of a copyist error. It is most probable that a copyist mistakenly wrote Ramadan instead of Syaban for the Hijri month, and this correction is made here, but also possible that the Gregorian month should be February rather than January.

<sup>291</sup> These dates also do not match as the result of a copyist error. It is most probable that a copyist mistakenly wrote Syawwal instead of Ramadan for the Hijri month, and this correction is made here, but also possible that the Gregorian month should be February rather than January.

<sup>292</sup> Clearly this does not refer to Karaeng Balua, Karaeng ri Mandalleq's wife of the same name.

- 14 Mar (S) I Shafiah and Karaeng Tumaqdanggang married  
2 Zulk 1081 nasikalabini I Shafiah Karae Tumaqdanggang
- 19 Mar (R) the day of I Daeng Onjoq's death across in Bima  
6 Zulk 1081 allo kamateanga I Daeng Onjoq ibaqla ri Dima
- 17 Apr (R eve) Karaeng ri Jarannika and the mother of Karaeng ri Pasiq  
7 Zuhl 1081 married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika puanna Karaengta ri Pasiq
- 20 May (W) the father of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] and his  
11 Muh 1082 mother married<sup>293</sup>  
nasikalabini aenna Matinroa ri Nagaulang ayana
- 14 Jun (M) Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq circumcised  
7 Saf 1082 nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
- 21 Jun (N) Karaeng ri Jarannika and the mother of Karaeng ri Pasiq  
14 Saf 1082 divorced  
nasipelaq Karaengta ri Jarannika puanna Karaengta ri Pasiq
- 23 Jun (M eve) Daengta Daeng Jipaling had a son  
16 Saf 1082 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling buraqne
- 13 Jul (M) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] and Daengta  
6 Rawl 1082 Daeng Majannang married; Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq  
and Daengta Daeng Masiang married  
nasikalabini Tumammaliang ri Alluq Daengta Daeng  
Majannang nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq  
Daengta Daeng Masiang
- 5 Aug (T eve) Karaeng Galesong<sup>294</sup> went over to Bima to request [the  
29 Rawl 1082 return of] Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid]  
namantaqla ri Dima Karaeng Galesong ambuntuli  
Tumammenang ri Lampanna

<sup>293</sup> La Patau's father was Pakkokoe Arung Timurung Matinroe ri Timurung (a son of the ruler of Boné La Maqdaremmeng) and his mother was We Mappolobombang Da Upi (a full sister of Arung Palakka). La Patau would succeed his uncle Arung Palakka. The political context of this marriage is discussed in Andaya (1981:243-5).

<sup>294</sup> A son of Hasanuddin also known as I Maninrori and I Kare Tojeng.

- 9 Aug (N) Karaeng Bontokappong<sup>295</sup> died  
4 Rokr 1082 namate Karae Bontokappong
- 10 Aug (M) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] and Daengta  
5 Rokr 1082 Daeng Majannang divorced; they were married 27 nights  
nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Majannang Tumammaliang ri  
Alluq 27 bannginna sikalabini
- 11 Aug (T) I Daeng Nisimba Rabiah born  
6 Rokr 1082 naanaq I Daeng Nisimba Rabiah
- 13 Aug (W eve) I Daeng Talarra married by Tumammaliang ri Alluq  
7 Rokr 1082 [Amir Hamzah]  
nanibaineang I Daeng Talarra ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 20 Aug (R) Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] had a son by Karaeng ri  
14 Rokr 1082 Mandalleq: Muhammad Said  
namamanaq Karaengta Balua ri Karaengta ri Mandalleq  
buraqne Muhammad Said
- 21 Sep (M) Karaeng ri Bontosunggu had a son by Karaeng ri  
16 Jawl 1082 Sanggiringang named I Manggaukang  
namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontosunggu ri Karaengta ri  
Sanggiringang buraqne nikana I Manggaukang
- 21 Sep (F) Karaeng Bangkalaq died  
21 Jawl 1082 namate Karae Bangkalaq
- 6 Oct (T) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar  
1 Jakr 1082 with Karaeng ri Bontosunggu [Tumamenang ri Taenga]  
namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang  
Karaengta ri Bontosunggu
- 19 Oct (M) Karaeng Tumaqdanggang and I Shafiah divorced  
15 Jakr 1082 nasipelaq Karae Tumaqdanggang I Shafiah
- 21 Oct (T eve) Karaeng ri Langeloq had twins, two girls; the one born  
later died 2 [nights] after; the one born earlier died 3  
nights after

<sup>295</sup> The father of I Daeng Maingaq Karaeng Balua.

- 17 Jakr 1082      namamanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq kambaraq baine rua  
ribokoanga lassuq 2 namate rioloanga lassuq 3 banngi  
namate
- 13 Nov (F)      Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] changed the rul-  
ing in which fathers have no share of their children<sup>296</sup>
- 10 Raj 1082      nanilesang ri Tuammenang ri Juntana bicara ilangta  
tamanabai anaq manggea
- 15 Nov (N)  
12 Raj 1082      Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Mandar  
nabattu ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya
- 18 Nov (T eve)  
15 Raj 1082      Karaeng ri Parang-Parang Khadijah<sup>297</sup> born  
naanaq Karaengta ri Parang-Parang Khadijah
- 7 Dec (M)      the people of Cenrana swore oaths to Tunisombaya  
[Arung Palakka]
- 5 Syab 1082      nanitalli q tuCenranaya ri Tunisombaya
- 1672
- 5 Jan (M eve)  
4 Ram 1082      Haji I Daeng Tappaq and Karaeng Tamasongoq married  
nasikalabini Haqjia I Daeng Tappaq Karae Tamasongoq
- 20 Jan (W)      Daengta Daeng Tamemang<sup>298</sup> born in the same house  
with Karaeng Panaikang Khadijah
- 19 Ram 1082      naanaq Daengta Daeng Tamemang siballaqna Karae  
Panaikang Khadijah
- 28 Jan (W eve)      Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq set foot on the ground<sup>299</sup>

<sup>296</sup> This decision is likely the origin of several *rapang* (guidelines from renowned ancestors) that describe the rights of fathers and mothers to children. See Cummings 2002:176-7.

<sup>297</sup> A daughter of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq (Muhammad Ali) and Karaeng ri Kampong Beru (Daeng Talele). See Ligetvoet (1880:footnote 135) for a discussion of this identification.

<sup>298</sup> Dutch sources from 1684 report that she was a sister of Karaeng Lengkeseq (Ligetvoet 1880:154).

<sup>299</sup> This ritual act was performed for children at a young age, before which they were carried for their protection. Gervaise (1701:134) referred to this practice in the context of an Islamic ceremony for boys in which their feet were placed on a scimitar to ensure their bravery as warriors and they received an Islamic name. He noted that Makassarese parents, 'would think themselves guilty of a very great crime, should they be so indulgent as to let him set his feet upon the ground, before they had been sanctify'd by touch of the saber'. Born 10 Mar 1670, at this time Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq was less than two years old, and Gervaise is no doubt exaggerating or was misinformed when he goes on to say that, 'The same scruple of conscience also will not

27 Ram 1082	nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
19 Feb (R eve)	I Kare Tulolo and I Punngaq Karaeng Tamalingu divorced
19 Syaw 1082	nasipelaq I Kare Tulolo I Punngaq Karae Tamalingu
1 Mar (M eve) 30 Syaw 1082	a child of Karaeng Mandalleq died at the stroke of 3 namate anaqna Karaeng Mandalleq 3 garigantaya
23 Mar (W)	Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Taniq, a child of the <i>tumailalang</i> <sup>300</sup> who died on Salaparang, married
22 Zulk 1082	nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Taniq anaqna <i>tumailalang</i> matea ri Salaparang
12 Apr (M eve)	I Daeng Makaqbang, the father of I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru, died
13 Zulh 1082	namate I Daeng Makaqbang manggena I Daeng Manyamppaq Balambaru
18 Apr (M)	Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] first performed a Maluku war dance; after sunset it ended and people went out
19 Zulh 1082	nauru makkanjaraq Maluku Tumammaliang ri Alluq saqrappi alloa nalaqbusuq taua massuluq
1 May (S eve) 2 Muh 1083	a child of Karaeng Mandalleq died at the stroke of 7 namate anaqna Karae Mandalleq 7 garigantaya
30 Jun (W eve)	at the stroke of 1 I Uru had a son named Muhammad Shaleh
4 Rawl 1083	1 garigantaya namamanaq I Uru buraqne nikana Muhammad Shaleh
22 Jul (F) 26 Rawl 1083	Sitti Aminah born naanaq Sitti Aminah
25 Jul (M) 29 Rawl 1083	I Daeng Maqgeaq died namate I Daeng Maqgeaq

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suffer them to let children of quality go, before they are eight or nine years of age; and therefore their nurses or their governors always carry them in their arms, or at their backs.'

<sup>300</sup> This *tumailalang* was Karaeng Jarannika, who died on 14 May 1700.

- 14 Aug (S eve) I Asseng married by the ruler of Maluku [Ternate]  
30 Rokr 1083<sup>301</sup> nanibaineang I Asseng ri Karae Maluku
- 5 Sep (M) a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq had a son purport-  
edly named I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq<sup>302</sup>  
12 Jawl 1083 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq  
buraqne I Daeng Mamangun I Karisaq kutaeng
- 12 Sep (N eve) I Timoroq and I Sitti married  
19 Jawl 1083 nasikalabini I Timoroq I Sitti
- 16 Sep (S)<sup>303</sup> I Taniq divorced by Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana  
[Karunrung]  
24 Jawl 1083 nanipelaq I Taniq ri Tuammenang ri Juntana
- 21 Sep (W eve) Daengta Daeng Majannang and Karaeng ri Mandalleq  
married; the very same day I Sitti<sup>304</sup> divorced by Aqduluq  
28 Jawl 1083 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Majannang Karaengta ri  
Mandalleq julu alloji nipelaqna I Sitti ri Aqduluq
- 21 Oct (R eve) Sitti Lambengi married by Tumatea ri Jakattaraq  
[Muhammad Ali]  
29 Jakr 1083 nanibaineang Sitti Lambengi ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
- 22 Oct (S) I Daeng Nisimba married by Tumammaliang ri Alluq  
[Amir Hamzah]  
30 Jakr 1083 nanibaineang I Daeng Nisimba ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 28 Oct (R eve) I Daeng Maingaq Karaeng Balua and Tumammaliang ri  
Alluq [Amir Hamzah] married  
6 Raj 1083 nasikalabini I Daeng Maingaq Karaengta Balua  
Tumammaliang ri Alluq

<sup>301</sup> The Hijri date converts to 24 Aug 1672.

<sup>302</sup> Whether the annalist was uncertain of both of his names or just whether his personal name was I Karisaq is not clear.

<sup>303</sup> A copyist wrote 12 Sep for the Gregorian date (probably looking at the previous entry as he began this one), but the correct date is 16 Sep.

<sup>304</sup> Sitti is a common name, and given the pattern of brief marriages in the annals it is by no means certain that this is the same Sitti who married only nine days beforehand; if so Aqduluq and Timoroq are the same person.



- 3 Nov (F)<sup>305</sup>      Matinroa ri Nagaulang Idris [La Patauq] born  
12 Raj 1083      naanaq Matinroa ri Nagaulang Idris
- 17 Nov (W eve)    Karaeng ri Langeloq had a son named Abdul Rasyid  
26 Raj 1083      namamanaq Karaengta ri Langeloq buraqne nikana  
Abdulrrasyid
- 8 Dec (R)          I Sitti, a wife of I Japaraq, had a son  
17 Syab 1083      namamanaq I Sitti bainenna I Japaraq buraqne
- 11 Dec (N)        I Daeng Nisimba divorced by Tumammaliang ri Alluq  
20 Syab 1083      [Amir Hamzah]; they were married only 54 nights  
nanipelaq I Daeng Nisimba ri Tumammaliang ri Alluq 50  
banngiji angappaq sikalabini
- 13 Dec (T)        I Sitti Lambengi divorced by Tumatea ri Jakattaraq  
22 Syab 1083      [Muhammad Ali]; they were married 54 nights  
nanipelaq I Siti Lambengi ri Tumatea ri Jakattaraq 50  
angappaq sikalabini
- 17 Dec (S)        Daengta Daeng Nisali Sitti Sarah, the widow of Karaeng  
26 Syab 1083      ri Mandalleq<sup>306</sup>, born  
naanaq Daengta Daeng Nisali Sitti Sarah balunna  
Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 26 Dec (M)        I Daeng Manangaraq, a child of Karaeng Ujung Pandang,  
6 Ram 1083        died  
namate I Daeng Manangaraq anaqna Karae Jumpandang
- 1673
- 2 Jan (N eve)      I Daeng Manangaraq Assang died  
3 Ram 1083<sup>307</sup>    namate I Daeng Manangaraq Assang
- 7 Jan (F eve)      the child of Karaeng ri Langeloq named Abdul Rasyid  
18 Ram 1083      died  
namate anaqna Karaengta ri Langeloq nikanaya  
Abdulrrasyid

<sup>305</sup> ANRI 16/6 has this date as 3 Jan 1672, but this does not match the Hijri date, which is likely correct.

<sup>306</sup> Which Karaeng Mandalleq this refers to is uncertain.

<sup>307</sup> The Hijri date converts to 23 Dec 1672.

- 17 Jan (M eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliḡ and I Mamo divorced  
28 Ram 1083 nasipelaa Karaengta ri Mangalliḡ I Mamo
- 21 Jan (F eve) the mother of the karaeng named Talebang died  
2 Syaw 1083 namate anronna karaenga nikanaya Talebang
- 9 Mar (R) I Daeng Mangemba, the ruler of Siang<sup>308</sup>, and I Daeng  
Rikong I Shafiah<sup>309</sup>, the older sibling of Daengta Daeng  
Mami, married  
16 Zulk 1083 nasikalabini I Daeng Mangemba Karae Siang I Daeng  
Rikong I Shafiah kakanna Daengta Daeng Mami
- 31 Mar (F) a child of Karaeng ri Palembang died  
11 Zulk 1083 namate anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang
- 6 Apr (R) Karaeng ri Mandalleḡ I Daeng Sisila and Daengta Daeng  
Takontu married; Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng ri  
Langeloḡ divorced  
17 Zulk 1083 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleḡ I Daeng Sisila  
Daengta Daeng Takontu nasipelaa Karaengta ri  
Kaballokang Karaengta ri Langeloḡ
- 21 Apr (F) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana Fatimah<sup>310</sup> born  
3 Muh 1084 naanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana Fatimah
- 27 Apr (R) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Massepe to  
make war<sup>311</sup>  
9 Muh 1084 namanaung ri Massepe Tunisombaya maqbunduḡ
- 9 May (T) Sitti Lambengi married by Karaeng ri Kaballokang  
21 Muh 1084 nanibaineang Siti Lambengi ri Karaengta ri Kaballokang
- 13 May (S) birth of I Daeng Tapallaḡ I Piḡdaq  
26 Muh 1084 nanianakkang I Daeng Tapallaḡ I Piḡdaq

<sup>308</sup> Dutch sources report that Daeng Mangemba was also named Pakampi and was a son of the Boné leader Arung Tanette Matowa. Speelman called Daeng Mangemba Gallarang Tosawa (Ligtvoet 1880:159).

<sup>309</sup> A daughter of Hasanuddin. In the *Gowa Chronicle* her personal name is rendered as I Sapia.

<sup>310</sup> A daughter of Karaeng Bisei Tumatea ri Jakattaraq and Daeng Talele Karaeng Kampongberu. This identification is discussed in Ligtvoet (1880:footnote 136).

<sup>311</sup> This war concluded Arung Palakka's efforts to establish himself as overlord of South Sulawesi in the wake of the 1669 conquest of Gowa and is discussed in Andaya (1981:148-51).

- 25 May (R eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and [I Taniq,] a child of Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika] divorced  
8 Saf 1084 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Mangalliq anaqna Tumatea ri Salaparang
- 8 Jun (R) the head of Karaeng Masepe brought back  
21 Saf 1084 nabattu nierang ulunna Karae Masepe
- 13 Jun (M eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived and with him brought I Sarampa  
28 Saf 1084 nabattumo Tunisombaya niaqmi I Sarampa naerang
- 16 Jun (R eve) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lampana [Harrunarasyid] across on Sumbawa at the age of 34  
29 Saf 1084 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lampanna ibaqla ri Sambawa umuruqna 34
- 19 Jun (M) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Memang I Munaq divorced  
3 Rawl 1084 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng Memang I Munaq
- 20 Jun (M eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Sitti married  
4 Rawl 1084 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Sitti
- 2 Jul (S eve) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Karaeng ri Langeloq married  
6 Rawl 1084<sup>312</sup> nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Karaengta ri Langeloq
- 20 Jul (R) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into marry Datu ri Watu<sup>313</sup>  
5 Rakr 1084 namantama Tunisombaya ambaineangi Datua ri Watu
- 20 Jul (R) I Kare Loqmoq, I Sarampa, and I Minaq divorced by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]

<sup>312</sup> The Hijri date converts to 21 Jun 1673.

<sup>313</sup> We Adda Matinroe ri Madello, a daughter of Datu Soppéng La Tenribali. ANRI 16/6 adds 'in Soppéng' (ri Soppeng).

- 5 Rokr 1084 nanipelaq I Kare Loqmoq I Sarampa I Minaq ri Tunisombaya
- 17 Aug (R) a child of the ruler of Laikang and a child of I Daeng Niaq married
- 4 Jawl 1084 nasikalabini anaqna Karae Laikang anaqna I Daeng Niaq
- 23 Aug (T eve) the mother of Karaeng Beroanging died  
10 Jawl 1084 namate ayana Karae Beroangin
- 4 Sep (N eve) Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng Mateqne married  
22 Jawl 1084 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kaballokang Karae Mateqne
- 4 Sep (M)<sup>314</sup> after the clock struck Sitti Fatimah had a daughter named Zalikha  
22 Jawl 1084 leqbaki tetteq garigantaya namamanaq Sitti Fatimah baine nikana Zalikha
- 13 Sep (W) I Malung, a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq, had a son named I Mangellai  
1 Jokr 1084 namamanaq I Malung bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne nikana I Mangellai
- 23 Sep (F eve) I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq and I Kare Alle married  
11 Jokr 1084 nasikalabini I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq I Kare Alle
- 30 Sep (F eve) a child of Daengta Daeng Majannang died  
18 Jokr 1084 namate anaqna Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 20 Oct (F) ears pierced of Karaeng ri Bontorambaq<sup>315</sup>  
8 Raj 1084 nanitinting Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
- 22 Oct (N) Karaeng Tamaqdanggang and I Daeng Talarra I Mene, a child of Karaeng Laikang, married  
10 Raj 1084 nasikalabini Karae Tamaqdanggang I Daeng Talarra I Mene anaqna Karae Laikang
- 30 Oct (M) I Daeng Singaraq, a child of the ruler of Sula, died

<sup>314</sup> The discrepancy is not large, but the Gregorian date for this and the previous entry has been corrected; a copyist mistakenly wrote the 9th.

<sup>315</sup> A daughter of Karunrung and Karaeng Ballaq Jawaya (Ligtvoet 1880:142).

18 Raj 1084	namate I Daeng Singaraq anaqna Karaengta ri Sula
31 Oct (T)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed down to Mandar to make war <sup>316</sup> ; Karaeng Tompoqbalang accompanied him
19 Raj 1084	namammise Tunisombaya manaung ri Mandaraq maqbunduq Karae Tompoqbalang naaganga
29 Nov (W)	Karaeng Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] ended performing of the Maluku war dance
19 Syab 1084	kaleqbakkang makkanjaraq Malukuna Karaenga Tumammaliang ri Alluq
4 Dec (M)	Karaeng ri Beroanging circumcised along with I Makkaraeng
24 Syab 1084	nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Beroangin siagaang I Makkaraeng
30 Dec (F eve)	Sitti Maradiah had a son at the stroke of 3
21 Ram 1084	namamanaq Sitti Maradiah buraqne 3 garigantaya
1674	
3 Jan (W)	Daengta Daeng Rikong I Shafiah, the older sibling of Daengta Mami, died giving birth
25 Ram 1084	namate Daengta Daeng Rikong I Shafiah kakanna Daengta Mami mate mamanaki
31 Jan (T eve)	Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and Karaeng ri Langeloq divorced
23 Ram 1084	nasipelaq Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong Karaengta ri Langeloq
4 Feb (N)	I Jaga advanced on by the karaeng [Amir Hamzah] and the people of Bone <sup>317</sup> ; this was called the Tinangga Uproar <sup>318</sup>

<sup>316</sup> On this expedition see Andaya 1981:152-3.

<sup>317</sup> In place of 'the people of Bone' (rituBonea) ANRI 16/6 has 'Tunisombaya' (Arung Palakka), which makes rather more sense.

<sup>318</sup> In the wake of Arung Palakka's victory over Gowa, several Makassarese noblemen insulted and shamed Arung Palakka by kidnapping, molesting, or having illicit sexual relations with his wives and concubines. This was a particularly damaging insult because Arung Palakka was childless. Kare Jaga was one such offender. He kidnapped one of Arung Palakka's women and refused to surrender her. Under pressure to resolve the situation, Amir Hamzah was unable to

- 27 Syaw 1084 nanipanraiki I Jaga ri karaenga siagaang rituBonea  
iaminne nikana gegereq Tinanggaya
- 9 Feb (F) Karaeng ri Patukangang Maryam<sup>319</sup> born  
1 Zulk 1084 naanaq Karaengta ri Patukangan Maryam
- 13 Feb (T) Tumammaliang ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] arrived from [his  
attack] on Jaga<sup>320</sup>  
6 Zulk 1084 nabattu ri Jaga Tumammaliang ri Alluq
- 15 Feb (W eve) I Tinangga killed  
8 Zulk 1084 nanibuno I Tinangga
- 21 Feb (W eve) I Daeng Talebang and Karaeng ri Kaballokang married  
15 Zulk 1084 nasikalabini I Daeng Talebang Karaengta ri Kaballokang
- 27 Feb (T) I Daeng Manyallang died  
20 Zulk 1084 namate I Daeng Manyallang
- 1 Mar (R) Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq and I Daeng Taloqmoq mar-  
ried  
22 Zulk 1084 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq I Daeng Taloqmoq
- 24 Mar (S) Karaeng ri Patukangang put up in a sling [at about age 6  
weeks]  
15 Zulk 1084 nanipanaiki ri toeng Karaengta ri Patukangan
- 25 Mar (N) *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong<sup>321</sup> born  
16 Zulk 1084 naanaq *tumailalang* Karae Lekoqboqdong
- 29 Mar (R) Karaeng ri Mandalleq and I Daeng Nisayu I Dara married  
20 Zulk 1084 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Nisayu I  
Dara

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capture I Jaga, though he was able to capture and kill Tinangga, who may have been the woman stolen, on Feb 15th. The personal animosities during this tense period led to a brief war in 1677 between Arung Palakka and Gowa, Gowa's defeat, and the abdication of Muhammad Ali in favor of Abdul Jalil as Gowa's sultan (Andaya 1981:168-76, 180-6). See the note accompanying the entry for 28 Mar 1676.

<sup>319</sup> A daughter of Abdul Jalil.

<sup>320</sup> ANRI 16/6 incorporates the subsequent entry, adding, 'two nights [after Amir Hamzah] returned I Tinangga was killed' (*rua banngi battu nanibuno I Tinangga*).

<sup>321</sup> Though he is consistently referred to as *tumailalang* in subsequent entries as well, he did not become *tumailalang* until 24 Jun 1717 at the age of 41.

- 4 Apr (T eve) Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Singaraq, the  
26 Zulh 1084 older sibling of Karaeng ri Bontokamase, married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng  
Singaraq kakanna Karaengta ri Bontokamase
- 22 Apr (N) the Dutch cloth warehouse consumed [by fire]  
15 Muh 1085 namakkaqdoq gaqdong topena Balandaya
- 7 May (N eve) at the stroke of 1 we were left by Karaeng Tumammaliang  
ri Alluq [Amir Hamzah] at the age of 19  
30 Muh 1085 tetteq 1 garigantaya kinapilari Karaenga Tumammaliang  
ri Alluq umuruqna 19
- 14 May (N eve) I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Nisayu<sup>322</sup>, the mother of  
7 Saf 1085 *tumailalang* [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong, divorced  
nasipelaq I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Nisayu ayana  
*tumailalang* Lekoqboqdong
- 21 May (N eve) Karaeng Jipammana<sup>323</sup> and I Daeng Manyiwi married  
14 Saf 1085 nasikalabini Karae Jipammana I Daeng Manyiwi
- 24 Jun (S eve) Daengta Daeng Talebang and Karaeng ri Palembang  
divorced  
19 Rawl 1085 nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Talebang Karaengta ri Palembang
- 17 Jul (T) Karaeng Lambengi and Sitti Fatimah divorced  
12 Rokr 1085 nasipelaq Karae Lambengi Sitti Fatimah
- 29 Jul (N) I Daeng Niasseng had a daughter named Habibah  
24 Rokr 1085 nammanaq I Daeng Niasseng baine nikana Habibah
- 3 Aug (R eve) I Cocuq and *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle married  
29 Rokr 1085 nasikalabini I Cocuq sabannaraka Daeng Makkulle
- 4 Aug (F eve) Karaeng Lambengi and Daengta Daeng Takontu married  
1 Jawl 1085 nasikalabini Karae Lambengi Daengta Daeng Takontu

<sup>322</sup> Dutch sources from 1678 recording Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu's remarriage (18 Apr 1678) allow us to conclude that this I Daeng Nisayu was a daughter of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:139). She is not the I Dara who married on 29 Mar 1674.

<sup>323</sup> He was the ruler or Datu of Pammana, south of Wajoq (Ligtvoet 1880:139).

- 28 Aug (M eve) I Taniq and Karaeng Bangkalaq married  
25 Jawl 1085 nasikalabini I Taniq Karae Bangkalaq
- 5 Sep (T eve) the mother of Karaeng Lekoqboqdong [Daeng Nisayu]  
4 Jakr 1085 and the ruler of Agangnionjoq<sup>324</sup> married  
nasikalabini ayana Karae Lekoqboqdong Karae  
Agangnionjoq
- 11 Sep (T) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar  
10 Jakr 1085 with the karaengs of Palembang, Manjalling, and  
Bontopaqdinging  
namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang Karae  
Palemba Manjalling Bontopaqdinging
- 12 Sep (W) ears pierced of Sitti Sarah  
11 Jakr 1085 nanitinting Sitti Sarah
- 3 Oct (W) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] had a sunshade  
2 Raj 1085 raised over his head, a golden sunshade<sup>325</sup>; Tunisombaya  
[Arung Palakka] arrived from Mandar  
nanipirangkaki laqlang Tumatea ri Jakattaraq laqlang  
bulaeng nabattu ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya
- 9 Oct (F eve) Daengta Takontu and Karaeng Lambengi divorced; [they  
19 Raj 1085 were married] only 2 months and sixteen nights then  
divorced<sup>326</sup>; after twenty nights returned to each other  
nasipelaq Daengta Takontu Karae Lambengi 2 bulanji  
assampulo banngi angannang nasipelaq naruampulo  
banngi nasipolei
- 30 Oct (T) I Daeng Tapallaq, the mother of I Jaga Azizah, born<sup>327</sup>  
24 Raj 1085 naanaq I Daeng Tapallaq anronna I Jaga Azizah
- 13 Nov (T) I Sitti and Karaeng ri Mangalli q divorced

<sup>324</sup> Mappatuntu Daeng Mattulung Matinroe ri Segeri, a son and successor of Ibrahim Daeng Matiring Matinroe ri Buliana.

<sup>325</sup> Thus replacing his brother Amir Hamzah as ruler of Gowa.

<sup>326</sup> This entry is interesting because it suggests that the Hijri calendar was the preferred one used by annalists.

<sup>327</sup> Not to be confused with the I Daeng Tapallaq I Piqdaq born on 13 May 1673. Kamaruddin et al. (1985:149) reads this entry as intending 'I Daeng Tapallaq born whose mother was I Jaga Azizah.' This is also possible, though I think it less likely.



- 14 Syab 1085      nasipelaq I Sitti Karaengta ri Mangalliq
- 3 Nov (F eve)  
4 Syab 1085      I Opu and I Saidah married  
nasikalabini I Opu I Saidah
- 15 Nov (W eve)  
16 Syab 1085      Daengta Daeng Talebang had a son named Abdul Karim  
namamanaq Daengta Daeng Talebang buraqne nikana  
Abdulkarim
- 22 Nov (W eve)  
23 Syab 1085      Karaeng Baroqbosoq and I Daeng Tuna married  
nasikalabini Karae Baroqbosoq I Daeng Tuna
- 23 Nov (R eve)  
24 Syab 1085      I Kare Loqmoq married by Karaeng ri Palembang  
nanibaineang I Kare Loqmoq ri Karaengta ri Palembang
- 26 Nov (M)  
27 Syab 1085      Karaeng ri Beroanging and I Daeng Tamemang I  
Maqminasa married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Beroangin I Daeng Tamemang I  
Maqminasa
- 27 Nov (T)  
28 Syab 1085      Karaeng ri Mangalliq and I Taniq returned to each other  
nasipolei Karaengta ri Mangalliq I Taniq
- 10 Dec (M)  
12 Ram 1085      Haji I Kare Takko died  
namate Haqqi I Kare Takko
- 18 Dec (M eve)  
20 Ram 1085      the child of Karaeng ri Balloq known as I Mangellai died  
namate anaqna Karaengta ri Balloq nikanaya I Mangellai
- 21 Dec (R eve)  
23 Ram 1085      I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Talele, a child of I Daeng  
ri Jonggoa, married  
nasikalabini I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Talele anaqna I  
Daeng ri Jonggoa
- 22 Dec (F eve)  
24 Ram 1085      Karaeng ri Tana-Tana set foot on the ground<sup>328</sup>  
nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 26 Dec (T eve)  
28 Ram 1085      I Daeng Majannang died  
namate I Daeng Majannang

<sup>328</sup> See the explanatory note for 28 Jan 1672.

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- 15 Jan (T) Karaeng ri Kaballokang and I Daeng Talebang divorced  
18 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Kaballokang I Daeng Talebang
- 16 Jan (W) I Tahiriq and I Daeng Talele divorced  
19 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq I Tahiriq I Daeng Talele
- 17 Jan (R) I Daeng Maqruppa and I Daeng Talele divorced  
20 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq I Daeng Maqruppa I Daeng Talele
- 21 Jan (M) Karaeng Baroqbosoq and I Mamo divorced  
24 Syaw 1085 nasipelaq Karae Baroqbosoq I Mamo
- 13 Feb (T eve) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng Balua  
17 Zulk 1085 [Daeng Maingaq] married 282 nights after she widowed  
nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta Balua 282  
bannginna leqbaq balu
- 3 Mar (N) Karaeng ri Kaballokang and Karaeng Suriwaq married  
5 Zulk 1085 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Kaballokang Karae Suriwaq
- 17 Mar (S eve) Karaeng ri Sanggiringang died at the age of 30  
19 Zulk 1085 namate Karaengta ri Sanggiringan umuruqna 30
- 23 Mar (F eve) the mother of I Daeng Tuna died  
25 Zulk 1085 namate anronna I Daeng Tuna
- 26 Apr (F eve) Karaeng Barrung and Daengta Daeng Takontu wed [in  
29 Muh 1086 accordance with Islamic custom]  
nanikka Karae Barrung Daengta Daeng Takontu
- 1 May (W) Karaeng Barrung and Daengta Daeng Takontu married<sup>329</sup>  
5 Saf 1086 nasikalabini Karae Barrung Daengta Daeng Takontu
- 3 May (F) Haji Kare Gappa died  
7 Saf 1086 namate Haqqi Kare Gappa
- 7 May (M eve) I Manngallei died

<sup>329</sup> This pair of entries makes it clear that Makassarese distinguished between what we might term customary and Islamic weddings. This is the only case in which two individuals are recorded as participating in both types of ceremonies.

- 11 Saf 1086           namate I Manngallei
- 11 May (S)            I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang, had a son named Jaqfar Shadiq<sup>330</sup>
- 15 Saf 1086           namamanaq I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Patukangang buraqne nikana Jaqfar Shadiq
- 15 May (W)  
19 Saf 1086           I Daeng Mamaro and I Sarah divorced  
nasipelaq I Daeng Mamaro I Sarah
- 27 Jun (R)  
5 Rakt 1086           Arung Teko<sup>331</sup> and Karaeng ri Langeloq married  
nasikalabini Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq
- 14 Jul (S eve)  
20 Rakt 1086         I Cocuq had a child by *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle  
namamanaq I Cocuq ri Daeng Makkulle sabannaraka
- 25 Jul (W eve)  
1 Jawl 1086          I Minnah married by Karaeng Pamolikang; the brideprice was 40 [reals]  
nanibaineang I Minnah ri Karae Pamolikang 40 sunranna
- 8 Aug (M eve)  
13 Jawl 1086         I Tuang Anciq Baru died  
namate I Tuan Anciq Baru
- 18 Aug (S eve)  
25 Jawl 1086         the female Karaeng Lekoq Alaq died  
namate Karae Lekoq Alaq bainea
- 22 Aug (W eve)  
29 Jawl 1086         Sitti Fatimah had a son  
namamanaq Sitti Fatimah buraqne
- 4 Sep (W)  
13 Jakt 1086          Karaeng Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] went into Boné, to Wawodataq to enclose a deer-hunting preserve  
namantama ri Bone Karaenga Tumatea ri Jakattaraq nari Wawodataq maqbara jonga
- 12 Sep (W eve)  
21 Jakt 1086         Sitti Hajar, a child of Toadaeng, died  
namate Sitti Hajar anaqna Toadaeng
- 20 Sep (R eve)        I Salamah married by Karaeng Bontotannga

<sup>330</sup> His father was Abdul Jalil.

<sup>331</sup> A Boné noble and one of Arung Palakka's lieutenants.

- 29 Jakr 1086 nanibaineang I Salamah ri Karae Bontotannga
- 25 Sep (W) ears pierced of I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq, a child of Arung Kaju
- 5 Raj 1086 nanitinting I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq anaqna Aruq Kayu
- 27 Sep (R eve) something shining was seen in the sky  
7 Raj 1086 naniaq niciniq maqrinra ri langika
- 1 Oct (T) a child of Karaeng Lambengi that had been adopted by Karaeng Buqdia died  
11 Raj 1086 namate anaqna Karae Lambengi nikatuoa ri Karae Buqdia
- 11 Oct (F) the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] arrived from Boné  
21 Raj 1086 nabattu ri Bone karaenga
- 21 Oct (N eve) Daengta Daeng Massuro and Daeng Jipaling married  
1 Syab 1086 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Massuro Daeng Jipaling
- 8 Nov (F) I Mappakana, a child of the ruler of Agangnionjoq, circumcised  
19 Syab 1086 nanisunnaq I Mappakana anaqna Karae Agangnionjoq
- 25 Nov (N eve) I Daeng Ngaseng I Bataq and Karaeng ri Patukangang were engaged to each other [by their parents]  
7 Ram 1086 nanipasisiparekanngang I Daeng Ngaseng I Bataq Karaengta ri Patukangang
- 2 Dec (N eve) a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq had a son  
14 Ram 1086 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne
- 6 Dec (R eve) I Sarampa married by Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung]; I Daeng Anrenne and Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq married  
18 Ram 1086 nanibaineang I Sarampa ri Tuammenang ri Juntana nasi-kalabini I Daeng Anrenne Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
- 9 Dec (N eve) I Bayang married by Karaeng Bontotannga  
21 Ram 1086 nanibaineang I Bayang ri Karae Bontotannga
- 12 Dec (R) Karaeng Tammattuq died  
24 Ram 1086 namate Karaeng Tammattuq

- 16 Dec (N eve) Karaeng ri Patukangang set foot on the ground<sup>332</sup>  
27 Ram 1086 nanipaonjoq ri butta Karaengta ri Patukangang
- 1676
- 3 Jan (F) a grandparent of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna  
[Abdul Kadir] died  
16 Syaw 1086 namate toana Karaenga Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
- 16 Jan (R) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] circumcised  
30 Syaw 1086 nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
- 20 Jan (N eve) Karaeng Pamolikang and I Munaq, a child of Karaeng  
Batu-Batu, married  
4 Zulk 1086 nasikalabini Karae Pamolikang I Munaq anaqna Karae  
Batu-Batu
- 1 Feb (S) Karaeng ri Jarannika and I Daeng Jinne, an older sibling  
of the widow [Daeng Maingaq], married  
16 Zulk 1086 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Jarannika I Daeng Jinne kakan-  
na balua
- 23 Feb (N) Kaicili Kalamata died  
9 Zulh 1086 namate Kacili Kalimata
- 24 Feb (N eve) a child of Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] named  
Jaqfar Shadiq died  
10 Zulh 1086 namate anaqna Tuammenang ri Lakiun nikanaya Jaqfar  
Shadiq
- 12 Mar (R) Karaeng Bontokeke<sup>333</sup> and I Daeng Singaraq<sup>334</sup> divorced  
27 Zulh 1086 nasipelaq Karae Bontokeke I Daeng Singaraq
- 27 Mar (R eve) Daeng ri Mangeppeq died  
12 Muh 1087 namate Daengta ri Mangeppeq

<sup>332</sup> See the note for the 28 Jan 1672 entry.

<sup>333</sup> A son of Karaeng Jarannika.

<sup>334</sup> Presumably the same I Daeng Singaraq who had married Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong on 4 Apr 1674.

- 28 Mar (S) we were opposed by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] after  
the first quarrel in Gowa<sup>335</sup>
- 13 Muh 1087 kinasongkaang ri Tunisombaya sisala rioloanta ri Gowa
- 3 Apr (F) people battled and Daengta Daeng Mamo was killed<sup>336</sup>  
19 Muh 1087 namaqbanduqmo taua naniposo Daengta Daeng Mamaro
- 11 Apr (S) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went from Gowa  
and over to Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]  
27 Muh 1087 namaqlampa ri Gowa Tuammenang ri Lakiun taqle ri  
Tunisombaya
- 27 Apr (M) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] wounded in his left thigh  
13 Saf 1087 namalokoq Tunisombaya bongga kairinna
- 30 Apr (R) Karaeng Pamolikang and I Munaq divorced  
26 Saf 1087<sup>337</sup> nasipelaq Karae Pamolikang I Munaq
- 13 May (W) the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] and Tunisombaya [Arung  
Palakka] were brought to an agreement by the Dutch;  
40 [nights] after quarreling they agreed and Karaeng  
Lambengi was brought seawards to Ujung Pandang  
29 Saf 1087 nanipasitaba ri Balandaya karaenga Tunisombaya 40 sisa-  
la nanipasitaba nanierang kalauq ri Jumpandang Karae  
Lambengi
- 29 May (R eve) the child of Karaeng ri Popoq that had been adopted by  
Karaeng Mandalleq died  
15 Rawl 1087 namate anaqna Karaengta ri Popoq nikatuoq ri Karae  
Mandalleq
- 9 Jun (T) the child of Karaeng ri Palembang that had been adopted by  
a wife of Karaeng Mandalleq died

<sup>335</sup> This quarrel and the subsequent conflict stemmed from the illicit sexual relations that three Makassarese nobles (Karaeng Lambengi, Daeng Mamara, and Sultan Muhammad Ali) had with Arung Palakka's women during Muhammad Ali's trip to Boné to enclose a deer-hunting preserve the previous year. See the note to the 4 Feb 1674 entry and Andaya 1981:168-76.

<sup>336</sup> The *lontaraq bilang* entry in *Makasaarsche historiën* 91855:125) states that this battle was between Arung Palakka and Gowa.

<sup>337</sup> The Hijri date converts to 9 May 1676.

- 26 Rawl 1087<sup>338</sup> namate anaqna Karaengta ri Palembang nakatuo**a** bainenna  
Karae Mandalleq
- 16 Jun (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] went  
from Gowa down to Talloq
- 3 Rakr 1087 namaqlampa ri Gowa Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana  
manaung ri Talloq
- 17 Jun (W) teeth filed of Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]  
5 Rakr 1087 naniariq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna
- 19 Aug (T eve) Datu ri Soppéng<sup>339</sup> died  
9 Jakr 1087 namate Datua ri Soppeng
- 20 Aug (W eve) Karaeng ri Bontosunggu and the mother of the kara-  
engs<sup>340</sup> married
- 10 Jakr 1087 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontosunggu puanna Karaenga
- 27 Aug (R) word arrived that Haji I Kare Lumu died across on  
Sumbawa
- 17 Jakr 1087 nabattu erang kananna Haqjia I Kare Lumu matei baqle ri  
Sambawa
- 2 Sep (W) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed to go into Luwuq to  
make war<sup>341</sup>
- 23 Jakr 1087 namammise Tunisombaya mantama ri Luwuq maqbun-  
duq
- 5 Sep (S) teeth filed of Karaeng ri Bontorambaq  
26 Jakr 1087 naniariq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
- 19 Sep (F eve) I Makkaraeng and I Kare Sallang, the mother of I  
Saqbaraq, married
- 10 Raj 1087<sup>342</sup> nasikalabini I Makkaraeng I Kare Sallang anronna I  
Saqbaraq

<sup>338</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Rabi'ul-akhir for the Hijri month.

<sup>339</sup> La Tenribali Matinroe ri Datunna.

<sup>340</sup> 'Puanna' can be a challenging term to interpret. It means royal mother or father (or an aunt or uncle of the same generation), as in this case, but was sometimes part of a name as well, as in Puanna I Mattaq (La Padangsajati).

<sup>341</sup> This expedition is discussed in Andaya 1981:177-9.

<sup>342</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadilakhir for the Hijri month.

- 27 Sep (N) the mother of Karaeng Tamalingu died  
18 Raj 1087 namate anronna Karae Tamalingu
- 29 Sep (M eve) I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq born  
20 Raj 1087 naanaq I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
- 3 Oct (S) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, who died in Salaparang  
[Lomboq], born<sup>343</sup>  
24 Raj 1087 naanaq Karae Bontolangkasaq matea ri Salaparang
- 13 Nov (R eve) I Daeng Rikong, a grandparent of I Mene, died  
6 Ram 1087 namate I Daeng Rikong toana I Mene
- 16 Dec (R eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Luwuq  
11 Syaw 1087 nabattu ri Luwuq Tunisombaya
- 27 Dec (N) Daengta Daeng Jipaling and Daengta Daeng Massuro  
divorced  
20 Syaw 1087 nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling Daengta Daeng  
Massuro
- 1677
- 27 Jan (T eve) I Sitti, a wife of I Daeng Maqruppa, died  
22 Zulk 1087 namate I Sitti bainenna I Daeng Maqruppa
- 13 Feb (F eve) Haji Bantaeng died  
10 Zulh 1087 namate Haqqi Bantaeng
- 11 Mar (R) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and  
Karaeng ri Bontorambaq married  
6 Muh 1088 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri  
Bontorambaq
- 31 Mar (T eve) I Shaleh, a child of Karaeng Lambengi, died  
26 Muh 1088 namate I Shaleh anaqna Karae Lambengi
- 3 Apr (S) Tuammenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went down to live  
in Talloq

<sup>343</sup> Dutch sources from 1698 reported that he was a son of a sister of the sultans of Gowa Muhammad Ali and Abdul Jalil (Ligtvoet 1880:143).



29 Muh 1088	namanaung ri Talloq mammempo Tuammenang ri Lakiun
8 Apr (R) 5 Saf 1088	Karaeng ri Palembang killed in Bontoalaq <sup>344</sup> nanibunno Karaengta ri Palembang ri Bontoalaq
15 Apr (R) 11 Saf 1088	the people of Cenrana were made vassals by the karaeng [Muhammad Ali] nanipalilikang tuCenranaya ri karaenga
17 Apr (S) 14 Saf 1088	Gowa was attacked by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] as a result of the quarrel nanaosongi Gowa Tunisombaya sisala ribokota
3 May (N eve) 30 Saf 1088	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] wounded by a spear in the flesh of his buttock namalokoq poke Tunisombaya rappo pajama
22 May (S) 19 Rawl 1088	a child of Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] named Sitti Aminah died at 5 years of age namate anaqna Tuammenang ri Lakiun nikanaya Sitti Aminah umuruqna 5 taung
23 May (N) 20 Rawl 1088	Bisei overrun and Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq killed nanibangka Bisei naniposo Karaengta ri Agangjeqneq
2 Jun (W) <sup>345</sup> 1 Rokr 1088	I Daeng Maqruppa died namate I Daeng Maqruppa
12 Jun (F eve) 11 Rokr 1088	Karaeng Suriwaq died below in Agangnionjoq namate Karae Suriwaq irawa ri Agangnionjoq
25 Jul (N) 24 Jawl 1088	I Makkaraeng was struck and died after nightfall nanitaba I Makkaraeng nabanngipa namate
27 Jul (T)	Gowa conquered; Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad

<sup>344</sup> Also known as Karaeng Mamu, he was killed by Bugis. This was another episode in the growing conflict between Makassarese nobles and Arung Palakka in the wake of the interference with Arung Palakka's wives and concubines. See Andaya 1981:182-3.

<sup>345</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Friday eve from the following entry in place of Wednesday, the correct day.

- 26 Jawl 1088 Ali] expelled by the Dutch and Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] put in as Karaeng ri Gowa<sup>346</sup>  
nabeta Gowa nanipasuluq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq ri Balandaya naTuammenang ri Lakiun nipantama Karaeng ri Gowa
- 7 Aug (F eve) Karaeng Lambengi brought overseas to Jakattaraq with I Daeng Mattuju and his sibling<sup>347</sup>
- 7 Jakr 1088 nanierang kalauq ri Jakattaraq Karae Lambengi siagaang I Daeng Mattuju sisaqribatang
- 11 Aug (W) Arung Maroangi and I Daeng Nisayu, mother of *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong, married
- 11 Jakr 1088 nasikalabini Aruq Maroangi I Daeng Nisayu ayana *tumailalang* Karae Lekoqboqdong
- 16 Aug (M) I Daeng Mamo I Nampa, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Balloq, died
- 16 Jakr 1088 namate I Daeng Mamo I Nampa arinna Karaengta ri Balloq
- 23 Aug (N eve) I Kare Ago I Timoroq and I Daeng Nisayu Andoqpoaq married
- 23 Jakr 1088 nasikalabini I Kare Ago I Timoroq I Daeng Nisayu Andoqpoaq
- 7 Sep (M eve) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle died at the age of 62
- 9 Raj 1088 namate sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle umuruna 62
- 22 Sep (T eve) I Ali died
- 23 Raj 1088 namate I Ali
- 24 Sep (R eve) I Sitti, a child of Faqqia, died
- 25 Raj 1088 namate I Sitti anaqna Faqqia

<sup>346</sup> Thus a brief war ended with Abdul Jalil installed as sultan in place of his brother, with whom he had quarreled. Abdul Jalil had gone over to the side of Tunisombaya on 11 Apr 1676. The war is discussed in Andaya 1981:184-7.

<sup>347</sup> Karaeng Lambengi was exiled for his role in the affair with Arung Palakka's women. Daeng Mattuju was the deposed ruler of Luwuq defeated by Arung Palakka the previous year and held prisoner in Fort Rotterdam by the Dutch. The sibling and fellow prisoner who accompanied Daeng Mattuju was Daeng Mattola.

25 Oct (M) 27 Syab 1088	Rabiah, a child of Karaeng ri Mangalliq, died namate Rabiah anaqna Karaengta ri Mangalliq
31 Oct (N) 4 Ram 1088	Daengta Daeng Nisayu, a grandparent of Karaeng Tanasanga, and Arung Teko married nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Nisayu toana Karae Tanasanga Aruq Teko
2 Nov (T) 6 Ram 1088	a child of Karaeng Junggo died namate anaqna Karaeng Junggo
16 Nov (M eve) 20 Ram 1088	Karaeng Baroqbosoq died namate Karae Baroqbosoq
19 Nov (R eve) 24 Ram 1088	Karaeng Tamaqdanggang and I Sitti Lambengi married nasikalabini Karae Tamaqdanggang I Siti Lambengi
26 Nov (F) 1 Syaw 1088	the name of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] was praised in the sermon and he was named Saqaduddin <sup>348</sup> naarena Tunisombaya nipuji ri khutbaya nikana Saaduddini
4 Dec (S) 9 Syaw 1088	I Daeng Situju and Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Situju Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
22 Dec (W) 28 Syaw 1088	I Manggaukang, a child of Tumamenang ri Taenga, died at the age of 6 years, 5 months, and 8 nights <sup>349</sup> namate I Manggaukang anaqna Tuammenang ri Taenga umuruqna 6 taung 5 bulan 8 banngi
	1678
7 Jan (F) 14 Zulk 1088	I Raba, a child of Karaeng Bidara, died namate I Raba anaqna Karaeng Bidara
2 Feb (W) 9 Zuhl 1088	I Daeng Talebang and I Daeng Manjarreki married nasikalabini I Daeng Talebang I Daeng Manjarreki

<sup>348</sup> Thus Arung Palakka began to be honored instead of the ruler of Gowa, who traditionally had been praised in the Friday sermon.

<sup>349</sup> This careful reckoning from I Manggaukang's birth on 21 Sep 1671 indicates that the annalist primarily used the Hijri calendar, for 28 Syaw 1088 is 6 years, 5 months, and 8 days from 21 Jawl 1082.

- 5 Feb (S) a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila died  
12 Zulh 1088 namate anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisila
- 6 Feb (S eve) a child of Arung Teko named I Tanisunggu died  
13 Zulh 1088 namate anaqna Aruq Teko nikanaya I Tanisunggu
- 8 Feb (T) Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Langeloq returned to each  
15 Zulh 1088 other and [Arung Teko] divorced Daengta Daeng Nisayu  
nasipolei Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq nanapelaq  
Daengta Daeng Nisayu
- 10 Feb (R) I Makkaruru, a child of Arung Teko, died  
17 Zulh 1088 namate I Makkaruru anaqna Aruq Teko
- 20 Feb (N) I Manappakki, a child of Karaeng Banyuanyaraq, died  
27 Zulh 1088 namate I Manappakki anaqna Karae Banyuanyaraq
- 2 Mar (W) I Tuang Rappang arrived; Abdul Bashir [as he was also  
7 Muh 1089 known] first arrived from Banten  
nabattu I Tuan Rappan uru battuna ri Bantan Abdulbashir
- 20 Mar (N) Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Langeloq divorced  
25 Muh 1089 nasipelaq Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Langeloq
- 25 Mar (F) I Toaq Daeng died  
1 Saf 1089 namate I Toaq Daeng
- 4 Apr (M) Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Ruppa died  
11 Saf 1089 namate Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Ruppa
- 4 Apr (M) I Daeng Maingaq, a grandparent of I Sarah, died in  
11 Saf 1089 Agangnionjoq  
namate I Daeng Maingaq toana I Sarah ri Agangnionjoq
- 8 Apr (R eve) I Sitti, a wife of I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq, died  
15 Saf 1089 namate I Sitti bainenna I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq
- 18 Apr (M) the mother of *tumailalang* [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong had a  
25 Saf 1089 son by Arung Maroangi; Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu  
returned to each other  
namamanaq ayana *tumailalang* Lekoqboqdong ri Arung  
Maroangi buraqne nasipolei Aruq Teko I Daeng Nisayu

- 22 Apr (R eve) Daengta Daeng Takontu had a daughter by Karaeng Barrung named Hadijah  
29 Saf 1089 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu ri Karae Barrung baine nikana Hadijah
- 26 Apr (N) I Mamminawang circumcised by his grandparent  
2 Rawl 1089 nanisunnaq I Mamminawang ri toana
- 6 May (F) the mother of *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong died; she was buried in Talloq; 18 nights after giving birth she died  
13 Rawl 1089 namate ayana *tumailalang* Karae Lekoqboqdong ri Talloki niawang 18 bannginna leqbaq mamanaq namate
- 17 May (N eve) I Callaq, a child of Arung Maroangi, died and was buried in Talloq  
24 Rawl 1089 namate I Callaq anaqna Aruq Maroangi ri Talloki niawang
- 5 Aug (R eve) it is said that Matinroa ri Bukaka [La Maqdaremmeng] died  
16 Jakr 1089 nanikana matei Matinroa ri Bukaka
- 9 Aug (M eve) I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng ri Patukangang, and Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil], divorced  
29 Jakr 1089<sup>350</sup> nasipelaq I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Patukangan Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 19 Aug (F) a child of Karaeng Pamolikang died  
30 Jakr 1089 namate anaqna Karae Pamolikang
- 8 Sep (R) Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Daeng Maingaq married  
20 Raj 1089 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Massuro I Daeng Maingaq
- 16 Sep (F) Tumatea ri Jakattaraq [Muhammad Ali] was brought overseas to Jakattaraq; 411 Makassarese traveled with him  
28 Raj 1089 nanierang kalauq ri Jakattaraq Tumatea ri Jakattaraq Mankasaraq naagaang sidongkokang 411

<sup>350</sup> The Hijri date converts to 17 Aug 1678.

- 7 Oct (R eve)      Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed overseas to  
Jakattaraq  
20 Syab 1089      nasimombalaq Tunisombaya kalauq ri Jakattaraq
- 28 Oct (F)          the people of Kampong Beru went up to Sanrabone  
requesting Sudanga from Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul  
Jalil]<sup>351</sup>  
12 Ram 1089      namanaiq ri Sanrabone tuKampong Berua ampalaki  
Sudanga ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 7 Nov (T)          the ship carrying Karaeng ri Popoq sailed over to Bima  
22 Ram 1089      nasimombalaq kappalaq nadongkokia Karaengta ri Popoq  
taqle ri Dima
- 24 Dec (F eve)    I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga and I Daeng Tuna I Salamah  
married  
10 Zulk 1089      nasikalabini I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga I Daeng Tuna I  
Salamah
- 1679
- 29 Jan (S eve)    I Daeng Mamuntuli Arung Kaju Ahmad born<sup>352</sup>  
16 Zulk 1089      naanaq I Daeng Mammuntuli Aruq Kayu Ahmad
- 7 Feb (M eve)    I Daeng Sisala, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died in  
Malakaya<sup>353</sup>  
25 Zulk 1089      namate anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq I Daeng Sisala ri  
Malakaya
- 12 Feb (N)        Karaeng ri Beroanging and I Daeng Tamemang I  
Maqminasa divorced

<sup>351</sup> One of Gowa's most sacred *kalompoang* (regalia) was a sword named Sudanga. According to the *Gowa Chronicle* it was brought to Gowa by Lakipadada, brother of Karaeng Bayo who married the *tumanurung* ('the person who descended', this was a heavenly ancestor of pure white blood). Their offspring established the ruling line of Gowa, and Sudanga was kept in trust by Gowa's *karaeng*. During this period Abdul Jalil had little support among Makassarese because of his alliance with Arung Palakka; many remained loyal to Abdul Jalil's deposed brother Muhammad Ali. The 'people of Kampong Beru' refers to Muhammad Ali and his allies living in exile in this new community next to Fort Rotterdam. They sent a letter to Abdul Jalil offering to let him live in peace if he would surrender Sudanga to them. This would have amounted to abdicating as ruler in the eyes of Makassarese. ANRI 16/6 notes Abdul Jalil's refusal, adding that 'it was not given by the karaeng [Abdul Jalil]' (*natanisareanga ri karaenga*). See Andaya 1981:198-201.

<sup>352</sup> A son of Arung Teko and I Daeng Tonji I Saenaq, a daughter of Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:146).

<sup>353</sup> Presumably this is a community in Makassar, but could conceivably refer to Malaka.

- 30 Zulh 1089      nasipelaq Karaengta ri Beroangi I Daeng Tamemang I Maqminasa
- 19 Feb (S eve)    Daengta Daeng Mangemba and I Daeng Anrenne, a grandparent of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, married
- 7 Muh 1090        nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Mangemba I Daeng Anrenne toana Kara Bontolangkasaq
- 18 May (R)        Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and Daengta Daeng Masiang divorced
- 7 Rakr 1090        nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq Daengta Daeng Masiang
- 24 May (S eve)    a wife of Karaeng ri Balloq had a son [named] I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi
- 17 Rakr 1090        namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Balloq buraqne I Daeng Mabela I Mangasengi
- 4 Jun (S eve)     I Matti and I Daeng Maliq divorced
- 24 Rakr 1090        nasipelaq I Matti I Daeng Maliq
- 15 Jul (F eve)    I Maqminasa died giving birth<sup>354</sup>
- 6 Jakr 1090        namate mamanaq I Maqminasa
- 16 Jul (N)        Daengta Daeng Singaraq, an older sibling of Karaeng ri Bontokamase, had a child, a son
- 7 Jakr 1090        namamanaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq kakanna Karaengta ri Bontokamase buraqne anaqna
- 2 Aug (W)        the day of Karaeng ri Ujung's death above in Kalakongkong
- 24 Jakr 1090        allo nakamateanga Karaengta ri Ujung irate ri Kalakongkong
- 26 Aug (F eve)    I Daeng Tummamo Abdul Jalil born
- 18 Raj 1090        naanaq I Daeng Tummamo Abdul Jalili
- 5 Sep (M eve)     Daengta Daeng Massuro had a daughter by Daeng Maingaq named Latifah

<sup>354</sup> Presumably this is I Daeng Tamemang, who recently divorced Karaeng ri Beroanging.

- 28 Raj 1090      namamanaq Daengta Daeng Massuro ri Daeng Maingaq  
baine nikana Latifah
- 26 Sep (T)  
20 Syab 1090      a grandparent of I Sallang named Pirannuang died  
namate toana I Sallang Pirannuang nikana
- 15 Oct (S eve)      I Daeng Mabela I Gacung born; born overseas in Keper  
[East Java]
- 9 Ram 1090      naanaq I Daeng Mabela I Gacung ilauka ri Kapparaq anaq
- 21 Oct (S)  
15 Ram 1090      Keper conquered by Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]<sup>355</sup>  
nanibeta Kapparaq ri Tunisombaya
- 14 Nov (T)  
10 Syaw 1090      Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke mar-  
ried<sup>356</sup>  
nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke
- 22 Nov (T eve)  
18 Syaw 1090      Karaeng Galesong died overseas in Banten  
namate Karae Galesong ilauq ri Bantan
- 26 Nov (S eve)  
22 Syaw 1090      Karaeng ri Mandalleq<sup>357</sup> and Daengta I Kare Pate married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mandalleq Daengta I Kare Pate
- 24 Dec (S eve)  
20 Zulk 1090      I Daeng Iji I Siqra and *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle<sup>358</sup>  
married  
nasikalabini I Daeng Iji I Siqra I Daeng Makkulle saban-  
naraka
- 1680
- 18 Feb (N)      a wife of Daengta Daeng Manina died

<sup>355</sup> Keper was the site of a Makassarese stronghold in eastern Java and an important battle-ground in the VOC-Amangkurat II alliance against Trunajaya. Makassarese who fled Sulawesi after the Makassar War were an important part of Trunajaya's army. With the assistance of Arung Palakka the Makassarese were defeated at Keper. See Andaya (1981:213-23) and Ricklefs (2001:95-9) for discussions of this conflict. ANRI 16/6 adds 'opposing [them] all the way to Maros' (*mabali anggana ri Marusiq*), but this is most likely a mistake and probably refers to Madura rather than Maros, for Arung Palakka did continue to pursue the Makassarese and their Madurese allies after the fall of Keper.

<sup>356</sup> They had married previously and then divorced on 12 Mar 1676.

<sup>357</sup> We cannot be certain which Karaeng Mandalleq this refers to, most likely it is Tulolo Tajuddin.

<sup>358</sup> Presumably the son and successor to the *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle who died on 7 Sep 1677.



- 17 Muh 1091      namate bainenna Daengta Daeng Manina
- 27 Feb (M eve)    a child of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq named I Okong died
- 26 Muh 1091      namate anaqna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq nikanaya I Okong
- 4 Mar (N)  
2 Saf 1091        I Mamo<sup>359</sup> divorced by Karaeng ri Jarannika nanipelaq I Mamo ri Karaengta ri Jarannika
- 7 Mar (W eve)    the night of Karaeng ri Popoq's death across in Bima at the age of 67<sup>360</sup>
- 5 Saf 1091        banngi nakamateanga Karaengta ri Popoq ibaqla ri Dima umuruqna 67
- 12 Mar (T)        Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] arrived from Keper and its conquest; this the day of I Shaykh's birth; 13 nights after [the conquest] he arrived
- 10 Saf 1091       nabattu ri Kapparaq Tunisombaya nabetana iaminne kaanakkanna I Syeh 13 bannginna battu
- 18 Mar (N eve)    Karaeng ri Balloq died in Kampong Beru but was buried in Gowa at the age of 36
- 16 Saf 1091        namate Karaengta ri Balloq ri Kampong Beru ri Gowaji niawang umuruqna 36
- 23 Apr (M eve)    Daengta Daeng Sangging I Sarah, a child of Tumamenang ri Taenga, died
- 23 Rawl 1091      namate Daengta Daeng Sangging I Sarah anaqna Tuammenang ri Taenga
- 23 May (W eve)    a wife of Karaeng ri Rappociniq had a son who was taken and adopted by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]
- 24 Rakr 1091      namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Rappociniq buraqne nianialle nikatuo ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 15 Jun (F eve)    three were seen shining

<sup>359</sup> Presumably the same woman who had previously divorced from both Karaeng ri Mangalliq (17 Jan 1673) and Karaeng Boroqboq (21 Jan 1675).

<sup>360</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:148) surmised that is probably he who Makassarese called Karaeng Matea ri Bima.

- 18 Jawl 1091<sup>361</sup> naniciniq tallu baribaria
- 27 Jun (W eve)  
30 Jawl 1091 Karaeng ri Panaikangciniq<sup>362</sup> died across in Bima namate Karaengta ri Panaikangciniq ibaqla ri Dima
- 13 Jul (W)<sup>363</sup> in Ujung Tana a house was built for the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] which he then occupied
- 16 Jakr 1091 nanibangun ri Ujungtana ballaqla karaenga lanaempoina
- 23 Jul (M eve)  
26 Jakr 1091 Karaeng Bungaya I Daeng Mattalliq Jusuf born naanaq Karae Bungaya I Daeng Mattalliq Jusupu
- 6 Aug (T)  
10 Raj 1091 Sitti Maryam had a daughter namamanaq Sitti Maryam baine
- 8 Aug (R)  
12 Raj 1091 I Kare Pate I Sarampa<sup>364</sup> married by Karaeng ri Rappociniq<sup>365</sup> nanibaineang I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri Rappociniq
- 13 Aug (T)  
17 Raj 1091 Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Karaeng ri Bontorambaq divorced nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri Bontorambaq
- 15 Aug (R) Karaeng ri Langeloq and the ruler of Agangnionjoq<sup>366</sup> married

<sup>361</sup> *Bariq-bariq* refers to something stripped, spotted, or flaming. Kamaruddin et al. (1985:162) interpreted this as referring to objects twinkling in the sky, particularly Venus. More explicitly, the entry in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:126) describes how three morningstars were seen instead of the usual one (Venus).

<sup>362</sup> Speelman reported that she was a sister of the mother of the ruler of Bima I Ambela Sirajuddin and a great aunt of Hasanuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 148). She first married a noble from Luwuq, and then the ruler of Bulu-Bulo. Her daughter had a son named Ibrahim.

<sup>363</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 3rd instead of the 13th.

<sup>364</sup> One of Arung Palakka's former wives.

<sup>365</sup> Dutch sources report that he accompanied Karaeng Galesong to Java and fought with Trunajaya against Mataram and the VOC. But according to Speelman he was actually a Boné noble named Mappa Arung Tonra loyal to Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:148-9).

<sup>366</sup> Mappajanji Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba. He was also known as Kasim and Puanna I Tikkaq. Dutch sources report that he replaced his half-brother as regent of Segeri on the recommendation of Arung Palakka. He had previously been married to a sister of Arung Palakka, with whom he had a child named Arung Patiro before they divorced (Ligtvoet 1880:149, 210).

- 19 Raj 1091            nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Karae Agangnionjoq
- 26 Aug (T)  
1 Syab 1091            Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Daeng Maingaq divorced  
nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Massuro I Daeng Maingaq
- 6 Sep (R eve)  
12 Syab 1091            the child of Karaeng ri Rappociniq who was adopted by  
Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] died  
namate anaqna Karaengta ri Rappociniq nakatuo  
Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 19 Oct (F eve)  
25 Ram 1091            I Daeng Buraqne I Siang<sup>367</sup> died  
namate I Daeng Buraqne I Siang
- 29 Oct (F eve)  
3 Syaw 1091            I Daeng ri Samata died  
namate I Daeng ri Samata
- 31 Oct (W)  
7 Syaw 1091            Arung Teko and Daengta Daeng Nisayu divorced  
nasipelaq Aruq Teko Daengta Daeng Nisayu
- 4 Nov (M)  
12 Syaw 1091            Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Maros to  
dig irrigation works  
namanaung ri Marusuq Tunisombaya makkekkeseq  
jeqneq panaiq
- 3 Dec (T)  
11 Zulk 1091            Karaeng Bidara died and was buried in Talloq  
namate Karaeng Bidara ri Talloki niawang
- 29 Dec (S eve)  
8 Zulh 1091            Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and I Daeng Marannu, a  
child of I Pakkemba, divorced  
nasipelaq Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq I Daeng  
Marannu anaqna I Pakkemba
- 1681
- 1 Jan (W)  
11 Zulh 1091            Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke  
divorced, but returned to each other later  
nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke sip-  
oleiji salla

<sup>367</sup> Possibly the same Daeng Buraqne who became *sabannaraq* on 8 May 1644.

9 Jan (R) <sup>368</sup>	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed down to Galinggang [Sawitto] <sup>369</sup>
19 Zuh 1091	namammise Tunisombaya manaung ri Galinggang
12 Jan (S eve)	a comet was seen
22 Zuh 1091	naniaq niciniq bintoeng makkidong
14 Jan (T)	Galinggang overrun
24 Zuh 1091	nanibangkamo Galinggang
10 Feb (N eve)	Arung Tanete Malolo and I Daeng Memang married
21 Muh 1092	nasikalabini Aruq Tanete Malolo I Daeng Memang
11 Feb (T)	the day Addatuang Matinroe ri Salemo <sup>370</sup> was killed
22 Muh 1092	allo nibunona Aqdatuan Matinroa ri Salemo
13 Feb (W eve)	Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Pasiq married
24 Muh 1092	nasikalabini Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Pasiq
9 Mar (S eve)	I Isa had a son at the stroke of 1
18 Saf 1092	namamanaq I Isa buraqne 1 garigantaya
11 Mar (T)	I Daeng Singaraq had a son named I Baraq Karaeng
	Bontopattongkoq <sup>371</sup>
25 Saf 1092	namamanaq I Daeng Singaraq buraqne nikana I Baraq Karae Bontopattongko
15 Mar (F eve)	the night of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq's [Muhammad Ali's] death <sup>372</sup>
29 Saf 1092	banngi nakamateanga Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
24 Mar (M)	I Boe died and was buried in Karuwisi
3 Rawl 1092	namate I Boe ri Karuwisi niawang

<sup>368</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 19th instead of the 9th, though ANRI 16/6 gives the 7th.

<sup>369</sup> This expedition was launched against Arung Bakke, a former close companion and ally of Arung Palakka who had now become a rival. Arung Bakke dominated the lands around Ajattappareng, but quickly was defeated and after a short flight to Mandar killed on February 11th and his head presented to Arung Palakka. This affair is discussed in Andaya 1981:228-42.

<sup>370</sup> Arung Bakke. He was killed on Salemo, an island across from Segeri.

<sup>371</sup> His father was Karaeng Bontokeke.

<sup>372</sup> ANRI 16/6 adds 'at the age of 28' (*umuruqna* 28). Or 272Y first calls him by the title 'Tumamenanga ri Carabo.'

- 26 Mar (W) I Kare Pate I Sarampa had a daughter by Karaeng ri Rappociniq named Hadijah  
5 Rawl 1092 namamanaq I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri Rappociniq baine nikana Hadijah
- 13 Apr (N) I Kare Pate I Sarampa divorced by Karaeng ri Rappociniq  
23 Rawl 1092 nanipelaq I Kare Pate I Sarampa ri Karaengta ri Rappociniq
- 27 Jun (R eve) Karaeng ri Bontokamase and Daengta Daeng Jipaling married  
10 Jakr 1092 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontokamase Daengta Daeng Jipaling
- 11 Jul (R eve) Tanipaccoq died  
24 Jakr 1092 namate Tanipaccoq
- 13 Jul (S eve) Karaeng Tamalingu died and was buried in Talloq  
26 Jakr 1092 namate Karaeng Tamalingu ri Talloki niawang
- 8 Aug (F) Karaeng ri Mandalleq<sup>373</sup> departed from Makassar; no one knew of his journey  
23 Raj 1092 namaqlampa ri Mankasaraq Karaengta ri Mandalleq tani-assengai lampana
- 22 Oct (M) I Guru Kare Panaiq died  
20 Syaw 1092<sup>374</sup> namate I Guru Kare Panaiq
- 23 Nov (N) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq circumcised  
12 Zulk 1092 nanisunnaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
- 28 Nov (R eve)<sup>375</sup> Karaeng Bontotannga and I Daeng Rikong divorced  
17 Zulk 1092 nasipelaq Karae Bontotannga I Daeng Rikong
- 5 Dec (R eve) Karaeng Lauq<sup>376</sup> and Daengta Daeng Takontu married  
24 Zulk 1092 nasikalabini Karae Lauq Daengta Daeng Takontu

<sup>373</sup> Again, presumably this refers to Tulolo Tajuddin, and not his younger brother Daeng Sisila Ibrahim who later bore the same title.

<sup>374</sup> The Hijri date converts to 1 Nov 1681.

<sup>375</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote December for November.

<sup>376</sup> This was the title of an important Sanrabone noble (Ligtvoet 1880:151).

- 26 Dec (F) Karaeng Bontokeke and Daengta Daeng Singaraq divorced, but returned to each other later [for the second time]
- 15 Zulh 1092 nasipelaq Karae Bontokeke I Daeng Singaraq sipoleiji salla
- 27 Dec (F eve) the interpreter I Jan Jappon died<sup>377</sup>
- 16 Zulh 1092 namate jurubasaya I Yanjappong
- 1682
- 7 Jan (W) Karaeng ri Pasiq had a daughter by Arung Teko named Aminah
- 27 Zulh 1092 namamanaq Karaengta ri Pasiq ri Aruq Teko baine nikana Aminah
- 9 Jan (F) I Daeng Maingaq and I Mappabangka divorced
- 29 Zulh 1092 nasipelaq I Daeng Maingaq I Mappabangka
- 2 Feb (N eve) Daengta Daeng Singaraq and Karaeng Bontokeke returned to each other
- 23 Muh 1093 nasipolei Daengta Daeng Singaraq Karae Bontokeke
- 3 Feb (T) I Mappabangka and I Sitti divorced
- 24 Muh 1093 nasipelaq I Mappabangka I Sitti
- 19 Feb (W eve) I Daeng Manyampakki I Mamminawang I Pakki born
- 10 Saf 1093 naanaq I Daeng Manyampakki I Mamminawang I Pakki
- 21 Feb (F eve) Karaeng ri Langeloq and the ruler of Agangnionjoq divorced
- 12 Saf 1093 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Karae Agangnionjoq
- 13 Mar (F) I Daeng Iji I Siqra, a wife of *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle, had a child; Daengta [?] proposed to by Daeng Mangitung
- 3 Rawl 1093 namamanaq I Daeng Iji I Siqra bainenna Daeng Makkulle sabannaraka nanipassuroi Daengta ri Daeng Mangitung
- 19 Mar (R) ears pierced of Daengta Daeng Mami
- 9 Rawl 1093 nanitinting Daengta Daeng Mami

<sup>377</sup> He was an interpreter for the VOC. Speelman refers to him as Jan Jappon and notes that he spoke good Malay and the language of Ternate well, but not a word of the local languages of South Sulawesi.

- 20 Mar (R eve) Karaeng ri Mangalliq and Daengta Daeng Majannang married  
10 Rawl 1093 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Mangalliq Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 24 Mar (M eve) Daengta Daeng Singaraq had a daughter named I Takkikkiq  
14 Rawl 1093 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq baine nikana I Takkikkiq
- 29 Mar (N) the coffin of Tumatea ri Jakattaraq was brought back  
19 Rawl 1093 nabattu nierang allunna Tumatea ri Jakattaraq
- 11 May (M) I Daeng Maliq and I Sitti divorced  
3 Jawl 1093 nasipelaq I Daeng Maliq I Sitti
- 27 May (W) Karaeng ri Bontorambaq and Karaeng Barrung married  
19 Jawl 1093 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontorambaq Karae Barrung
- 22 Jul (W) the day of the elder ruler of Bima's death<sup>378</sup>  
17 Raj 1093 allo nakamateanga karaenga ri Dima matoaya
- 27 Jul (N eve) Daengta Daeng Jipaling had a daughter named Shafiah  
22 Raj 1093 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Jipaling baine nikana Shafiah
- 6 Aug (R) the people going into Lettaq to make war departed; after  
2 Syab 1093 36 nights journey they arrived<sup>379</sup>  
namaqlampa tumantamaya ri Littaq maqbunduq 30  
banngi angannang lampana nabattu
- 28 Sep (N eve) I Ali and I Sitti married  
25 Ram 1093 nasikalabini I Ali I Sitti
- 13 Dec (R) a child of the younger Arung Tanete and a niece [or nephew] of the elder Arung Tanete married  
1 Muh 1094<sup>380</sup> nasikalabini anaqna Aruq Tanete malolo kamanakanna

<sup>378</sup> Sultan Abil Khair, also known as I Ambela and Sirajuddin.

<sup>379</sup> This refers to an expedition sent to punish the ruler of Lettaq, who eighteen months beforehand aided Arung Bakke in his flight from Arung Palakka's men.

<sup>380</sup> The Hijri date converts to 30 Dec 1682.

## Aruq Tanete matoa

1683

- 6 Jan (W) Daengta Daeng Takontu had a daughter by Karaeng Lauq named Aisyah
- 7 Muh 1094 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu ri Karae Lauq baine nikana Aisyah
- 10 Jan (N) I Daeng Manaqgalaq died  
11 Muh 1094 namate I Daeng Manaqgalaq
- 11 Feb (R) Sayyid<sup>381</sup> Biringkassiq and Sayyid Husain arrive  
14 Saf 1094 nabattu Sayyid Biringkassiq Sayyid Husain
- 14 Mar (N) teeth filed of Karaeng ri Parang-Parang; Karaeng ri Bontorambaq had a son named I Mattuppuang Abdul Wahab
- 15 Rawl 1094 naniariq Karaengta ri Parang-Parang namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq buraqne nikana I Mattuppuang Abdul Wahhab
- 20 Mar (S)<sup>382</sup> Karaeng [Bontokeke and Daengta] Daeng Singaraq had a son named Abdul Karim Karaeng Batupute
- 21 Rawl 1094 namamanaq Karaengta Daeng Singaraq buraqne nikana Abdul Karim Karae Batuputeh
- 31 Apr (T eve) Daengta Daeng Massuro and I Mami divorced  
1 Rokr 1094<sup>383</sup> nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Massuro I Mami
- 5 May (N eve) I Mamminawang and I Paleng married  
7 Jawl 1094 nasikalabini I Mamminawang I Paleng
- 7 May (R eve) Anciq Ajang and Daengta Daeng Massuro married  
9 Jawl 1094 nasikalabini Anciq Ajang Daengta Daeng Massuro
- 27 May (R) Karaeng ri Langeloq and Addatuang ri Sawitto Arung Kaballangang<sup>384</sup> married

<sup>381</sup> Sayyid is an honorific borne by male descendants the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>382</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 20th.

<sup>383</sup> The Hijri date converts to 30 Mar 1683.

<sup>384</sup> Ligtoet (1880:153) believed this was the man referred to in Dutch sources from the period as Totanre.



- 30 Jawl 1094      nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Aqdatuanga ri Sawitto Aruq Kaballangang
- 13 Jun (F eve)  
22 Jakr 1094      I Loqmoq, the mother of Karaeng Panaikang, died<sup>385</sup>  
namate I Loqmoq anronna Karae Panaikang
- 27 Jun (N)  
2 Raj 1094      Arung Balusu and I Mami married  
nasikalabini Aruq Bilusu I Mami
- 16 Jul (R eve)  
21 Raj 1094      Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Mutti married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Mutti
- 24 Jul (S)  
29 Raj 1094      darkness fell at the stroke of 8<sup>386</sup>  
napattang mattunruq ri 8 garigantaya
- 12 Aug (T eve)  
18 Syab 1094      I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Jamali and I Daeng Maeja married  
nasikalabini I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Jamali I Daeng Maeja
- 21 Aug (R eve)  
26 Syab 1094      Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaiq<sup>387</sup> married  
nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaiq
- 28 Aug (S eve)  
28 Syab 1094      Arung Teko and Karaeng ri Pasiq divorced  
nasipelaq Aruq Teko Karaengta ri Pasiq
- 4 Sep (S)  
12 Ram 1094      the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] went to go into Sangallaq [in Toraja] to make war; after 40 nights journey he arrived<sup>388</sup>  
namaqlampa karaenga mantama ri Sangallaq maqbunduq 40 banngi lampana nabattu
- 18 Nov (W eve)  
28 Zulk 1094      Daengta I Kare Pate had a daughter by *sabannaraq* Daeng Makkulle  
namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri Daeng Makkulle  
sabannaraka baine

<sup>385</sup> I Loqmoq was also known as Daeng Niaq. Karaeng Panaikang's father was Tumammaliang ri Talloq. Speelman reported that she also married Arung Atakka La Tomparima, also known as Arung Pattojo (Ligtvoet 1880:153).

<sup>386</sup> An eclipse.

<sup>387</sup> Dutch sources report that he was a son of Karunrung (Ligtvoet 1880:153).

<sup>388</sup> This refers to an expedition by Arung Palakka to extend his mastery over the only part of South Sulawesi that lay outside his influence. The ruler of Gowa and other nobles accompanied him on this campaign. See Andaya 1981:257-62.

- 26 Dec (S eve) Daengta Daeng Takontu had a child named I Makkaraeng  
Karaeng Manjalling
- 7 Muh 1095 namamanaq Daengta Daeng Takontu nikana I  
Makkaraeng Karae Manjalling
- 1684
- 11 Jan (M eve) General Speelman who conquered Somba Opu died  
23 Muh 1095 namate Jinrala Ispilman ambetayai Sombopu
- 21 Jan (R eve) Karaeng Jonggoa died  
3 Saf 1095 namate Karae Jonggoa
- 5 Feb (F eve) I Syoga had a son  
18 Saf 1095 namamanaq I Syoga buraqne
- 9 Mar (R) I Mappajanji, a child of Karaeng Mawajang, circumcised  
22 Rawl 1095 nanisunnaq I Mappajanji anaqna Karae Mawajang
- 15 Mar (W) I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq circumcised  
28 Rawl 1095 nanisunnaq I Daeng Mamangung I Karisaq
- 22 Mar (W) a ship arrived bringing a companion of I Tuang [Shaykh  
Yusuf] overseas from Cirebon<sup>389</sup>
- 5 Rokr 1095 nabattu kappalaq angerangi aganna I Tuang ilauq ri  
Carabong
- 5 Apr (W) I Sitti, a wife of I Mangambari, had a daughter  
19 Rokr 1095 namamanaq I Siti bainenna I Mangambari baine
- 10 Apr (N eve) Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaiq  
divorced first and then Karaeng ri Langeloq and  
Addatuanga ri Sawitto [Arung Kaballangang] divorced
- 24 Rokr 1095 nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaiq  
rioloa nasipelaq Karaengta ri Langeloq Aqdatuanga ri  
Sawitto
- 21 Apr (F) I Tuang ri Dima Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmatullah  
first set foot in Makassar
- 6 Jawl 1095 nauru naonjoq Mankasaraq I Tuan ri Dima Syeku Umar  
Bamahsuna Rahmatullah

<sup>389</sup> He was known as Tuang ri Dima.

- 1 May (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] quarreled
- 16 Jawl 1095 nasisala-sala Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana
- 7 May (N) Daengta Daeng Tamemang and the ruler of Bima I Alasaq [Karaeng] Panaragang<sup>390</sup> married
- 22 Jawl 1095 nasikalabini Daengta Daeng Tamemang karaenga ri Dima I Alasaq Panaragang
- 23 May (T) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq married
- 8 Jawl 1095 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri Bulu-Bulu
- 22 Jun (R) I Daeng ri Karuwisi died
- 9 Raj 1095 namate I Daeng ri Kariwisi
- 29 Jun (R) Karaeng ri Tanisanga<sup>391</sup> and the ruler of Sumbawa Datu Lokaq<sup>392</sup> married
- 16 Raj 1095 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Tanisanga karae Sambawa Datu Lokaq
- 15 Jul (F eve) Daengta Daeng Mami and Karaeng Bontomanaiq divorced
- 2 Syab 1095<sup>393</sup> nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Mami Karae Bontomanaiq
- 10 Jul (M) Heer Kopas took his post
- 27 Raj 1095 namammempo jagana Her Kopas
- 9 Aug (T eve) I Mangalle, a child of Karaeng ri Rappociniq by Kare Sali, born
- 27 Syab 1095 naanaq I Mangalle anaqna Karaengta ri Rappociniq ri Kare Sali

<sup>390</sup> He was also known as Mapparabung Nuruddin Abu Bakar Ali Syah Daeng Mattalliq.

<sup>391</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Harrunarasyid by Karaeng Bontomateqne, a daughter of the ruler of Bima I Ambela, and was also known as Halimah (Ligtvoet 1880:154-5).

<sup>392</sup> Also known as Mas Banten, he ruled Sumbawa from 1676 to 1701.

<sup>393</sup> This and the following entry are in reverse chronological order, presumably because of a copyist error.

- 9 Aug (T eve) Karaeng Balaqsari Zainab<sup>394</sup> born  
27 Syab 1095 naanaq Karae Balaqsari Zainab
- 7 Sep (F) Karaeng Mateqne died  
27 Ram 1095 namate Karae Mateqne
- 14 Sep (W eve) I Daeng Marannu<sup>395</sup>, a child of I Pakkemba, married by  
4 Syaw 1095 Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]  
nanibaineang I Daeng Marannu anaqna I Pakkemba ri  
Tunisombaya
- 27 Sep (W) a house for Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul  
Jalil] was built in Mangallekana and then occupied by  
him<sup>396</sup>
- 17 Syaw 1095 nanibangun ballaqa Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun ri  
Mangallekana lanaempoinna
- 21 Oct (F eve) Arung Belo<sup>397</sup> and Daengta Daeng Mami married  
16 Zulk 1095 nasikalabini Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
- 17 Nov (F) Friday public prayers first established in Mangallekana as  
it is first occupied [by Abdul Jalil]
- 9 Zulh 1095 nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Mangallekana uru niem-  
poinna
- 18 Nov (S) Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq and Karaeng Tumamenang ri  
Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] divorced; [they were mar-  
ried] only 7 months then divorced
- 10 Zulh 1095 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq Karaenga  
Tuammenang ri Passiringanna 7 bulanji nasipelaq

<sup>394</sup> A daughter of Arung Teko by Daeng Nisayu, sister of Arung Kaju, and future wife of Sirajuddin.

<sup>395</sup> Dutch sources report that by 1692 she had become ruler of Laikang (Ligtvoet 1880:155).

<sup>396</sup> Mangallekana is located south of Fort Rotterdam. Dutch sources report that he desired this new residence because too many Bugis were living close to Fort Rotterdam and Abdul Jalil's residence, with the result that there were too many fires in this densely populated area as well as too many quarrels between Bugis and Makassarese (Ligtvoet 1880:155). A mosque was built in Mangallekana in 1691.

<sup>397</sup> Arung Belo, also known as Towappaq, was a son of the former ruler of Soppéng La Tenribali by a lesser wife. A brother of the ruler of Soppéng Toesang Matinroe ri Salassana (Ligtvoet 1880:156).

- 27 Nov (M eve) Karaeng ri Parang-Parang proposed to by Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]; the brideprice was 88 [reals]
- 21 Zulh 1095 nanipassuroi Karaengta ri Parang-Parang ri Tuammenang ri Passiringanna sunranna 88
- 1685
- 7 Jan (M) I Daeng Rapanna I Manuruki, a child of Karaeng ri Mangalliq by Daengta Daeng Majannang, born
- 1 Saf 1096 naanaq I Daeng Rapanna I Manuruki anaqna Karaengta ri Mangalliq ri Daengta Daeng Majannang
- 27 Jan (S) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] at the age of 55
- 21 Saf 1096 kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Juntana umuruqna 55
- 22 Jun (F) a ship arrived bringing I Daeng Buraqne
- 19 Raj 1096 nabattu kappalaq angerangi I Daeng Buraqne
- 13 Aug (M) the ruler of Terasaq<sup>398</sup> killed by one of his slaves
- 12 Ram 1096 nanibuno karaeng Terasaq ri atanna
- 3 Sep (W eve) President Willem Hartsink took his post [in Fort Rotterdam]
- 6 Syaw 1096 namammempo jagaya ri Parsidenti Welom Harsin
- 1686
- 13 Jan (N) the people going into Baroko [in Toraja] to make war departed
- 17 Saf 1097 namaqlampa tumantamaya ri Baroko maqbunduq
- 18 Mar (N eve) Karaeng ri Panaikang died at the age of 105<sup>399</sup>
- 22 Rokr 1097 namate Karaengta ri Panaikang umuruqna 105
- 19 Mar (T) Karaeng ri Rappociniq<sup>400</sup> died

<sup>398</sup> Terasaq is located in Boné.

<sup>399</sup> This refers to Daeng Niaq, the widow of Kaicili Kalamata, but her age is incorrect. She was born 15 Jan 1631 and thus had reached the age of 55 (or 57 according to the Hijri calendar), not 105.

<sup>400</sup> Possibly a Bugis named Mappa Arung Tonra. See the note for the 8 Aug 1680 entry.

- 23 Rokr 1097      namate Karaengta ri Rappociniq
- 25 Apr (W eve)    Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] arrived from  
Cenrana [in Boné] and went straight down to Luwuq  
1 Jakr 1097      nabattu ri Cenrana Tuammenang ri Lakiun natulusuki  
manaung ri Luwuq
- 11 May (F eve)    I Daeng Talarra and a child of the ruler of Dompur mar-  
ried  
17 Jakr 1097      nasikalabini I Daeng Talarra anaqna karae Dompur
- 23 May (R)        Karaeng ri Jipang died  
30 Jakr 1097      namate Karaengta ri Jipang
- 18 Jul (R)        Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and  
Karaeng ri Parang-Parang married  
26 Syab 1097      nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri  
Parang-Parang
- 7 Aug (R)<sup>401</sup>      a younger aunt of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] died and  
was buried in Talloq  
17 Ram 1097      namate ayana Tunisombaya ri Talloki niawang
- 26 Nov (T)        Daengta I Daeng Massuro beheaded to the east in  
Borongloe  
10 Muh 1098      nanijalloq Daengta I Daeng Massuro iraya ri Bontoloe
- 17 Dec (T)        Haji Barania died  
2 Saf 1098        namate Haqqi Barania
- 1687
- 26 Jan (N)        Haji Abdullah Zamzami died  
11 Rawl 1098      namate Haqqi Abdullah Zamzami
- 3 Feb (M)        two suns were seen by Karaeng ri Bontosunggu  
19 Rawl 1098      naniciniq rua matanna alloa ri Karaengta ri Bontosunggu
- 7 Mar (F)        I Daeng Majannang had a son  
8 Rokr 1098<sup>402</sup>    namamanaq I Daeng Majannang buraqne

<sup>401</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote August 17th instead of August 7th.

<sup>402</sup> The Hijri date converts to 21 Feb 1687.

- 16 Mar (N)  
24 Rakr 1098 I Daeng Mallulungang installed as *sabannaraq*  
nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Mallulungang
- 4 Apr (F)  
20 Jawl 1098 Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] and Karaeng ri  
Patukangang wed  
nabunting Matinroa ri Nagaulang ri Karaengta ri  
Patukangan
- 17 Jun (T)  
2 Syab 1098 it is said that the people of Duri embraced Islam<sup>403</sup>  
nanikana mantamami Islam tuDuria
- 3 Jul (R)  
22 Syab 1098 Arung Teko and I Daeng Nisayu divorced<sup>404</sup>  
nasipelaq Aruq Teko I Daeng Nisayu
- 23 Jul (T eve)  
13 Ram 1098 the ruler of Bima Karaeng Panaragang died  
namate karaenga ri Dima Karae Panaragang
- 25 Jul (F)  
14 Ram 1098 Daengta I Kare Pate had a son by Karaeng ri Mandalleq  
namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri Karaengta ri  
Mandalleq buraqne
- 17 Sep (W)  
9 Zulk 1098<sup>405</sup> I Daeng Manangaraq Ahmad, a younger sibling of  
Karaeng Garassiq, born  
naanaq I Daeng Manangaraq Ahmad arinna Karae  
Garassiq
- 10 Sep (W)  
2 Zulk 1098 Karaeng ri Bontorambaq had a daughter<sup>406</sup>  
namamanaq Karaengta ri Bontorambaq baine
- 20 Oct (M)  
13 Zulh 1098 Karaeng ri Langeloq and Datu ri Soppéng<sup>407</sup> married  
nasikalabini Karaengta ri Langeloq Datua ri Soppeng
- 24 Oct (R eve) Karaeng ri Ballaq Kiria and Tumamenang ri Taenga  
married

<sup>403</sup> Duri was a Torajan group whose conversion to Islam followed their submission to an army sent by Arung Palakka (Andaya 1981:262).

<sup>404</sup> For the second time; they divorced on 31 Oct 1680 as well. The date of their second marriage is not listed.

<sup>405</sup> This and the following entry are in reverse chronological order, presumably because of a copyist error.

<sup>406</sup> Almost certainly Karaeng Agangjeqneq. See the note to the entry for 29 Nov 1702.

<sup>407</sup> Towesa Matinroa ri Salassana.

- 17 Zulh 1098      nasikalabini Karaengta ri Ballaq Kiria Tuammenang ri Taenga
- 11 Nov (N eve)    Karaeng ri Bontoa<sup>408</sup> and Karaeng ri Mandalleq married  
5 Muh 1099      nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontoa Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 17 Nov (N eve)    birth of the ruler Sultan Sirajuddin<sup>409</sup>  
11 Muh 1099      nanianakkang karaenga Sultan Sirajuddin
- 7 Dec (N)<sup>410</sup>      it is said that the young ruler of Banten<sup>411</sup> died  
2 Saf 1099      nanikana matei karaenga ri Bantan maloloa
- 1688
- 7 Jan (T eve)      Arung Maroangi died  
3 Rawl 1099      namate Arung Maroangi
- 20 Mar (S)        the ruler of Sumbawa I Ammasaq<sup>412</sup> born  
17 Jawl 1099      naanaq karae Sambawa I Ammasaq
- 2 Apr (F)         Friday public prayers first established in Bantaeng; I  
Tuang ri Dima initiated them
- 1 Jakr 1099        nauru mammenteng jumaka ri Bantaeng I Tuan ri Dima  
ampapentengi
- 12 Apr (T eve)    Daengta I Kare Pate and I Daeng Makkulle married  
20 Jakr 1099<sup>413</sup>    nasikalabini Daengta I Kare Pate I Daeng Makkulle

<sup>408</sup> She was a daughter of Karaeng Balloq (Ligtvoet 1880:174).

<sup>409</sup> A son of Abdul Kadir and Karaeng Parang-Parang, he was also known as Mappauqrangi, Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Karaeng Kanjilo, and Tumammaliang ri Talloq. He became ruler of both Gowa and Talloq in 1712 but had a turbulent career as sultan before his death in 1739.

<sup>410</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of December.

<sup>411</sup> This refers to Sultan Haji, who the VOC called the 'young sultan' when he was crown prince of Banten. He wielded considerable power during the reign of his father, Sultan Ageng, and the Bantenese court split into two factions. Sultan Haji turned to the VOC for support against his father, who was supported by more strident Muslims. Sultan Ageng initially had the support of many Makassarese who had fled South Sulawesi after 1669, but disagreements over women and their unruly behavior led them to flee. Sultan Ageng did have the vocal support of Shaykh Yusuf, however. Yusuf was a famed Makassarese teacher who settled in Banten in 1672 and became an active leader in fighting against the VOC. Sultan Haji deposed his father in 1680, but having alienated so many Bantenese nobles depended on the support of the VOC until his 1687 death (Ricklefs 2001:102-4).

<sup>412</sup> Mas Madina, a son of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten and Karaeng Tanisanga.

<sup>413</sup> The Hijri date converts to 21 Apr 1688. A copyist may simply have transposed two numbers in the Gregorian date.



- 17 May (M)  
16 Raj 1099 Karaeng Campagaya Sitti Hibatullah<sup>414</sup> born  
naanaq Karae Campagaya Sitti Hibatullah
- 6 Jun (N) *tumailalang* Karaeng Jarannika went to go into Toraja to  
make war  
7 Syab 1099 namaqlampa *tumailalang* Karae Jarannika mantama ri  
Toraja maqbunduq
- 4 Jul (S eve) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and  
Karaeng ri Parang-Parang divorced  
5 Ram 1099 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Karaengta ri  
Parang-Parang
- 5 Aug (R) the ruler of Bima<sup>415</sup> and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana wed  
8 Syaw 1099 nabunting karaenga ri Dima Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 6 Aug (F) I Daeng Manggappa I Mommiq born  
9 Syaw 1099 naanaq I Daeng Manggappa I Mommiq
- 16 Sep (R) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and  
Daengta Daeng Tamemang married  
20 Zulk 1099 nasikalabini Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Daengta  
Daeng Tamemang
- 19 Sep (N) Karaeng Bontorambaq and I Daeng Mangemba married  
23 Zulk 1099 nasikalabini Karae Bontorambaq I Daeng Mangemba
- 8 Oct (R eve) I Daeng Mamangkasi Mamminawang, a child of Karaeng  
ri Bontomajannang, stabbed; Daeng Mamangkasi molest-  
ed<sup>416</sup> a child of Karaeng ri Balloq  
12 Zulh 1099 nanitoboq I Daeng Mamangkasi Mamminawang anaqna  
Karaengta ri Bontomajannang Daeng Mamangkasi nonoq  
anaqna Karaengta ri Balloq
- 1689
- 2 Jan (N) Karaeng Paqbineang Sitti Rahimah<sup>417</sup> born  
9 Rawl 1100 naanaq Karae Paqbineang Sitti Rahimah

<sup>414</sup> A daughter of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang.

<sup>415</sup> Jamaluddin, son and successor to Mapparabung Karaeng Panaragang.

<sup>416</sup> Nonoq means 'to shake', but here it refers to masturbating or otherwise sexually molesting one of Karaeng ri Balloq's young sons.

<sup>417</sup> A daughter of Abdul Kadir and Karaeng Parang-Parang.

- 1 Feb (M eve) birth of I Daeng Mangago Karaeng Paranggi  
10 Rakr 1100 nanianakkang I Daeng Mangago Karae Paranggi
- 8 Feb (M eve) a strong earthquake rocked houses  
17 Rakr 1100<sup>418</sup> naronrong sarro taqlewaki ballaka
- 5 Jun (N) Daengta I Kare Pate had a daughter by *sabannaraq* [Daeng  
Makkulle]  
17 Syab 1100 namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate ri sabannaraka baine
- 9 Jun (W eve) Karaeng ri Bontopanno sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to  
21 Syab 1100 request I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf [be returned to Makassar]  
nasimombalaq Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauq ri  
Jakattaraq ampalaq-palaki I Tuan Syekhu Yusupu
- 13 Jun (M) Karaeng ri Parang-Parang died at the age of 18  
25 Syab 1100 namate Karaengta ri Parang-Parang umuruqna 18
- 14 Jun (T) I Daeng Majannang had a son who after just 7 nights died  
26 Syab 1100 namamanaq I Daeng Majannang buraqne 7 banngiji  
namate
- 9 Jul (S eve) a wife of the Karaeng ri Talloq [Abdul Kadir] had a son  
22 Ram 1100 who after just 5 nights died  
namamanaq bainenna Karaenga ri Talloq buraqne 5  
banngiji namate
- 7 Sep (T eve) the ruler of Bima I Mappatalliq Syaad Syah<sup>419</sup> born  
22 Zulk 1100 naanaq karaenga ri Dima I Mappatalliq Syaad Syah
- 21 Sep (W) Karaeng ri Mangalliq went to go into Toraja to make war  
6 Zulh 1100 namaqlampa Karaengta ri Mangalliq mantama ri Toraja  
maqbanduq
- 15 Oct (S) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went east to Pariq [location  
unknown] with Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul  
Jalil]

<sup>418</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Rabi'ul-awal instead of Rabi'ul-akhir. The text in *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:126) gives the date for this as 1 Dec 1690.

<sup>419</sup> A son of the ruler of Bima Jamaluddin and Karaeng Tana-Tana, he was later known as Hasanuddin Muhammad Syah.

- 1 Muh 1101 namanraiq ri Pariq Tunisombaya siagaang Karaenga  
Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 1690
- 18 Jan (W) Karaeng Anaq Moncong Ismail<sup>420</sup> born; just after he  
arrived it was announced
- 5 Rokr 1101 naanaq Karae Anaq Moncong Ismail battunaji nipabiritta
- 8 Mar (W) I Daeng Rikasammeng arrived  
27 Jawl 1101 nabattu I Daeng Rikasammeng
- 9 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Mandalleq died at the age of 37  
29 Jakr 1101 namate Karaengta ri Mandalleq umuruna 37
- 4 Oct (W) angrily going [to help], Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka]  
went down to Lamboko [in Soppéng] bearing arms<sup>421</sup>
- 30 Zulh 1101 naturung rakka-rakka Tunisombaya manaung ri  
Lamboko angerangi ewanganna
- 17 Nov (F) birth of I Daeng Tapallaq I Diqdaq  
15 Muh 1102<sup>422</sup> nanianakkang I Daeng Tapallaq I Diqdaq
- 1691
- 6 Jan (S) Daengta I Kare Pate had a son  
6 Rokr 1102 namamanaq Daengta I Kare Pate buraqne
- 23 Feb (R eve) Karaeng ri Lekoq Alaq died  
24 Jawl 1102 namate Karaengta ri Lekoq Alaq
- 15 Mar (R) an Arab from Madina named Shaykh Abdullah Qussyasyi  
arrived
- 15 Jakr 1102 nabattu Arab tuMadinaya nikanaya Syekhu Abdullah  
Qussyasyi

<sup>420</sup> A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang and also named Tosappewali, he would later be known as Matinroe ri Somba Opu or Tumamenang ri Somba Opu. He ruled Gowa after his grandfather Abdul Jalil died in 1709, but was deposed in 1712. He then ruled in both Boné and Soppéng.

<sup>421</sup> This refers to an incident in which an irate Arung Palakka felt that his authority was being challenged by Arung Lampoko ('Lamboko' to Makassarrese). In response to this defiance Arung Palakka had 'Arung Lampoko's lips sliced off for having uttered offensive words against Arung Palakka and then had him chased into the forest like a wild animal' (Andaya 1981:272).

<sup>422</sup> The Hijri date converts to 18 Oct 1690.

- 19 Jun (M eve) Karaeng ri Bontokeke and Karaeng ri Bontoa wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
- 21 Ram 1102 nanipaqnikkah Karaengta ri Bontokeke Karaengta ri Bontoa
- 6 Jul (F) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq and I Daeng Singaraq divorced  
9 Syaw 1102 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq I Daeng Singaraq
- 29 Jul (N) I Loqmoq, the mother of I Sandiq, died<sup>423</sup>  
3 Zulk 1102 namate I Loqmoq anronna I Sandiq
- 3 Sep (N eve)<sup>424</sup> the people of Garassiq went to Daeng Manarai, known as Karaeng Mamampang  
9 Zulh 1102 nanipamange tuGarassika ri Daeng Manarai nikana Karae Mamampang
- 23 Sep (N) Puanna I Mattaq Suleman [La Padangsajati]<sup>425</sup> born  
29 Zulh 1102 naanaq Puanna I Mattaq Sulemana
- 15 Oct (N eve) a celebration took place for Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq]<sup>426</sup> in Paggentungang  
22 Muh 1103 namammempo jagana Karaengta Balua ri Paggentungan
- 31 Oct (W) a mosque built in Mangallekana  
9 Saf 1103 nanibangun masigika ri Mangallekana
- 1692
- 15 Feb (F) I Daeng Mangemba<sup>427</sup>, the ruler of Siang, died overseas in Jakattaraq  
27 Jawl 1103 namate I Daeng Mangemba Karae Siang ilauq ri Jakattaraq

<sup>423</sup> Given that Loqmoq was such a common title, it is impossible to know if this refers to a woman already mentioned in the annals or if she is only mentioned this one time.

<sup>424</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of September.

<sup>425</sup> A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, he was also known as La Padangsajati and bore the titles Arung Palakka and Karaeng Katangka. He ruled Boné from 1715 to 1720.

<sup>426</sup> A wife of Abdul Jalil, 'Karaeng Balua' refers to her status as a widow of Amir Hamzah. The nature of this celebration is unknown.

<sup>427</sup> This name is probably either incorrect or refers to a different Daeng Mangemba than the one also known as Arung Tanete who married Karaeng Bontorambaq. The latter pair had a daughter named Zainab on 2 Aug 1693, but obviously the Daeng Mangemba mentioned here could not be her father.

- 12 Mar (M eve) the mother of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] died  
23 Jakr 1103 namate ayana Matinroa ri Nagaulang
- 16 May (R eve) Karaeng Panaikang I Mappasaqbi Muhammad Said born  
29 Syab 1103 naanaq Karae Panaikang I Mappasaqbi Muhammad Said
- 8 Jun (S eve) Karaeng Mamampang I Daeng Manarai died and was  
buried in Somba Opu  
22 Ram 1103 namate Karae Mamampang I Daeng Manarai ri  
Sombopui niawang
- 11 Jul (R eve) a grandparent of Karaeng ri Bontoa<sup>428</sup> died and was bur-  
ied in Somba Opu at the age of 67  
25 Syaw 1103 namate toana Karaengta ri Bontoa ri Sombopui niawang  
umurukna 67
- 22 Aug (R eve) after living together Karaeng Alluq and Karaeng ri  
Pangkajeqneq married  
9 Zulh 1103 nanibaineang siballaqna Karae Alluq ri Karaengta ri  
Pangkajeqneq
- 28 Aug (F) the elder Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and the mother of  
Karaeng Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq married<sup>429</sup>  
16 Zulh 1103 nasikalabini Karae Bontolangkasaq matoaya anronna  
Karae Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq
- 29 Sep (W eve) birth of I Daeng Mangalliq I Dondiq  
7 Muh 1104<sup>430</sup> nanianakkang I Daeng Mangalliq I Dondiq
- 23 Sep (M) it is said that the elder ruler of Banten<sup>431</sup> died  
11 Muh 1104 nanikana matei Karae Bantan matoaya
- 21 Oct (T) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went down to Mandar  
with Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] to celebrate

<sup>428</sup> Ralle Daeng Paikaq.

<sup>429</sup> I Mappaseppeq's unnamed mother was a daughter of Daeng Anrenne and either Karaeng ri Agangjeqneq or Daeng Mangemba. Dutch sources report that the elder Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, who was killed on Lombok in 1700, was a nephew of Abdul Jalil, though Ligtvoet notes that because of conflicting sources it is difficult to determine the precise genealogical connection between them (Ligtvoet 1880:162).

<sup>430</sup> The Hijri date converts to 18 Sep 1692. A copyist probably wrote the 29th instead of the 19th for the Gregorian date.

<sup>431</sup> Sultan Ageng. See the note accompanying the entry for 7 Dec 1687.

10 Saf 1104	namanaung ri Mandaraq Tunisombaya siagaang Tuammenang ri Lakiun maqjaga
	1693
5 Jan (N eve)	Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] had very strong stomach pains
27 Rakr 1104	nanabattui paqrisiq battang sarro dudu Tunisombaya
14 Mar (S)	I Daeng Manaqqalaq and I Daeng Maingaq married
6 Raj 1104	nasikalabini I Daeng Manaqqalaq I Daeng Maingaq
25 Apr (S)	I Papoq I Daeng Mamaro died
18 Syab 1104	namate I Papoq I Daeng Mamaro
29 Apr (T eve)	Padukka Dompū died at the age of 62 <sup>432</sup>
22 Syab 1104 <sup>433</sup>	namate Padukka Dompū umurūqna 62
5 May (M eve)	<i>canning</i> killed by Datu ri Luwuq <sup>434</sup>
28 Syab 1104	nanibunō canninga ri Datua ri Luwuq
22 May (R eve)	Gallarrang I Kare Tulusuq died
15 Ram 1104	namate Gallarrang I Kare Tulusuq
5 Jul (N)	I Daeng Nisimba and Daengta I Daeng Mallulungang divorced
2 Zulk 1104	nasipelaq I Daeng Nisimba Daengta I Daeng Mallulungang
14 Jul (M eve)	Karaeng Taliwang <sup>435</sup> cut down by Raden Sanggalea, who escaped
11 Zulk 1104	nanijalloq Karae Taliwan ri Raden Sanggalea lappasaki

<sup>432</sup> She was killed at Kambu on the north coast of Dompū. While the rulers of Bima and Dompū each claimed the other was responsible, the nobles of South Sulawesi felt that the ruler of Bima was to blame (Ligtvoet 1880:162-3).

<sup>433</sup> The Hijri day is missing but must be the 22nd.

<sup>434</sup> *Canning* (the Bugis spelling) was a title born by the crown prince of Luwuq. In this case it refers to Umar Tomallinrunge, a son of the exiled ruler of Luwuq Daeng Mattuju and nephew of his successor Daeng Massuro, also known as Sultan Muhammad Muhidin and Matinroe ri Tompotikkaq. According to Ligtvoet (1880:163), Dutch sources report that Umar Tomallinrunge also married a daughter of Daeng Massuro, but was killed by his uncle for having sexual relations with one of Arung Palakka's concubines (who was also killed for this offence).

<sup>435</sup> He was a brother of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten and killed with the assistance of an unnamed Sumbawa noble (Ligtvoet 1880:163).

- 21 Jul (T) Karaeng ri Tanasanga Halimah died  
18 Zulk 1104 namate Karaengta ri Tanasanga Halimah
- 22 Jul (W) Karaeng Bisei Abdullah Manshur<sup>436</sup> born; Raden Sanggalea arrived to surrender himself  
19 Zulk 1104 naanaq Karae Bisei Abdullah Manshur nabattu Raden Sanggalea angerang kalenna
- 23 Jul (R) Karaeng Alluq Shalahuddin born  
20 Zulk 1104 naanaq Karae Alluq Shalahuddin
- 24 Jul (F) Raden Sanggalea died now; the ruler of Sumbawa [Datu Lokaq] ordered him strangled  
21 Zulk 1104 namatetommo Raden Sanggalea nisuro jarroki ri Karae Sambawa
- 26 Jul (S eve) Karaeng ri Patukangang died at the age of 21<sup>437</sup>  
23 Zulk 1104 namate Karaengta ri Patukangan umuruqna 21
- 2 Aug (N) I Sammaraq died; Puanna I Mattaq's [La Padangsajati] wife Zainab born<sup>438</sup>  
29 Zulk 1104 namate I Sammaraq naanaq Puanna I Mattaq bainea Zainab
- 21 Aug (W) the ruler of Bima [Karaeng Panaragang] was sentenced by the Dutch, who said he killed Padukka Domp<sup>439</sup>  
17 Zulh 1104 nanabicara Karaenga ri Dima ri Balandaya nikana ia anbunoi Padukka Domp<sup>439</sup>
- 23 Aug (S eve) Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle installed as speaker [of the land, or *tumabicarabutta*]; I Kare Tulusuq was replaced  
21 Zulh 1104 nanitannang maqbicara Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle I Kare Tulusuq nasambeang

<sup>436</sup> A son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, he was also known as Arung Mampu and La Panaungi Topawawoi.

<sup>437</sup> In fact, she was 19 years old at the time of her death.

<sup>438</sup> She was a daughter of Daeng Mangemba and Karaeng Bontorambaq and later married La Padangsajati (Puanna I Mattaq).

<sup>439</sup> This episode involving Padukka Domp<sup>439</sup>'s murder and the subsequent investigation is discussed in Andaya (1981:281-9).

- 27 Aug (R)<sup>440</sup> the ruler of Bima taken into the fort  
25 Zulh 1104 nanipantamamo ri kotaya Karaenga ri Dima
- 27 Sep (N) Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] first set foot in  
Mangallekana [at about age 2]  
26 Muh 1105 nauru naonjoq Mangallekana Puanna I Mattaq
- 25 Sep (R eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went into Soppéng to cel-  
ebrate  
24 Muh 1105<sup>441</sup> namantama Tunisombaya ri Soppeng jaga
- 10 Oct (S) Abdul Mukmin, *pakki*<sup>442</sup> of Bontoalaq, died  
10 Saf 1105 namate paqgia ri Bontoalaq Abdul Mukmin
- 16 Nov (M) war leaders I Daeng Buraqne and I Kare Bangung sailed  
east to Sandao  
17 Rawl 1105 namammise dulun manraika ri Sandawo I Daeng Buraqne  
siagaang I Kare Bangun
- 19 Dec (F eve) a wife of Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]  
had a daughter named Sitti Aisyah Karaeng Pasiq  
21 Rakr 1105 namamanaq bainenna Tuammenang ri Passiringanna  
baine nikana Sitti Aisyah Karae Pasiq
- 25 Dec (F) I Boe Jawa died  
27 Jakr 1105 namate I Boe Jawa
- 1694
- 7 Jan (W eve) a grandparent of I Jabbing died  
10 Jawl 1105 namate toana I Jabbing
- 17 Jan (S eve) I Kare Leoq died  
20 Jawl 1105 namate I Kare Leoq
- 24 Feb (W) Karaeng Bontotannga died at the age of 63  
29 Jakr 1105 namate Karae Bontotannga umuruna 63

<sup>440</sup> The Gregorian day is missing but must be the 27th.

<sup>441</sup> This entry presumably was recorded after the previous entry because it took time for word of Arung Palakka's movements to reach Makassar.

<sup>442</sup> A position occupied by one knowledgeable about Islamic canon law.



- 5 Mar (W eve) Karaeng Binamuq died  
7 Raj 1105 namate Karae Binamuq
- 5 Mar (R eve) President Prins<sup>443</sup> died  
8 Raj 1105 namate Parsidinta Parinsi laqnatullah
- 10 Mar (M eve) I Sutting wed [in accordance with Islamic custom] by  
12 Raj 1105 Karaeng ri Jarannika; the brideprice was 80 [reals]  
naninikkahi I Sutting ri Karaengta ri Jarannika sunranna  
80
- 14 Mar (S) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq<sup>444</sup> born  
16 Raj 1105 naanaq Karae Bontolangkasaq I Mappaseppeq
- 8 May (S) I Tuang ri Dima Shaykh Umar died at the age of 60  
12 Ram 1105 namate I Tuan ri Dima Syekhu Umara umuruqna 60
- 14 May (F) it is said that [I] Loqmoq divorced by [Karaeng] Jarannika  
18 Ram 1105 nanikana nipelaqmi Loqmoq Jarannika
- 1 Jun (T) I Daeng Buraqne banished east to Parigi; I Kare Bangung  
6 Syaw 1105 expelled from his position<sup>445</sup>  
nanicinde I Daeng Buraqne manraiq ri Parigi I Kare  
Bangun nipasuluki ri empona
- 25 Aug (W) Karaeng ri Kassiqlala died at the age of 81  
3 Muh 1106 namate Karaengta ri Kassiqlala umuruqna 81
- 7 Sep (M eve) Shaykh Yusuf Ipani<sup>446</sup> went to Karaeng Tumamenang ri  
16 Muh 1106 Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] upon his first arrival  
namae ri Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Syekhu  
Yusuf Ipani uru battuna
- 2 Nov (T) Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went east to Gowa  
to mark out the space for a house that he could then  
occupy in Gowa

<sup>443</sup> A former chief merchant of the VOC, François Prins had succeeded Willem Hartsink as President in Makassar.

<sup>444</sup> Daeng Mamaro, son of the Karaeng Bontolangkasaq killed on Lombok in 1700.

<sup>445</sup> As the war leaders assigned to the expedition against Sandao the previous year, this must have been punishment for their failure there.

<sup>446</sup> This is not Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari, known as Tuanta ri Salamaka, who was exiled by the VOC and arrived in the Cape of Good Hope on 2 Apr 1694.

- 14 Rawl 1106 namanraiq mae ri Gowa Tuammenang ri Lakiun mamate passiringanna lanaempoinna Gowa
- 17 Dec (R eve) the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] went east to Gowa to live; 10 years, six months, and seven nights he had lived in Mangallekana
- 29 Rakr 1106 namanraiq mae ri Gowa karaenga mammempo 10 taungi angannang bulan antuju banngi niempoi Mangallekana
- 19 Dec (N)  
2 Jawl 1106 house(s) built in Dataq  
nanibangun ballaka ri Dataq
- 22 Dec (T eve) it is said that I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf] was banished overseas to the Cape<sup>447</sup>
- 5 Jawl 1106 nanikana nipelaki I Tuan kalauq ri Kaq
- 24 Dec (F) Friday public prayers established in Gowa were first attended
- 7 Jawl 1106 namammenteng jumaka ri Gowa uru niempoinna
- 1695
- 12 Mar (S) Karaeng ri Beroanging died at the age of 35
- 26 Raj 1106 namate Karaengta ri Beroangi umuruna 35
- 10 Apr (N eve) Karaeng ri Lengkeseq died and was buried in Talloq at the age of 69
- 25 Syab 1106 namate Karaengta ri Lengkeseq ri Talloki niawang umuruna 69
- 13 May (R eve) I Raluq born
- 27 Ram 1106 naanaq I Raluq
- 16 Jun (T) thin coins replaced by stamped coins<sup>448</sup>
- 3 Zulk 1106 nanisambei pitisiq bayanga pitisiq nipanralaq

<sup>447</sup> It must be on this date that news of Shaykh Yusuf's arrival in the Cape of Good Hope reached Makassar.

<sup>448</sup> Until the VOC conquest of Gowa Makassar's rulers minted lead coins. Speelman described that after the conquest the VOC issued similar coins, 80 of which had the value of a double *stuiver*, while a Makassarese *kupang* was valued at three double *stuivers*. The VOC coins became thinner and by 1692 a single double *stuiver* was worth 300 or 400 of these coins that now lacked a stamped face. The new coins referred to in this entry were stamped with the VOC's mark and were valued at 48 to a double *stuiver* (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 165-6).

- 27 Aug (S) a great meeting hall built in Gowa  
16 Muh 1107 nanibangun baruga loea ri Gowa
- 30 Aug (T) the ship bearing the ruler of Bima sailed overseas to  
Jakattaraq  
19 Muh 1107 nasimombalaq kappalaq angerangi Karaengta ri Dima  
kalauq ri Jakattaraq
- 17 Sep (S) war leaders sailed over to Kengkelu [Tambora]: Arung  
Tosiada, the commander [of Boné's troops] I Tojumaat,  
and [Karaeng] Jarannika<sup>449</sup>  
8 Saf 1107 namamise dulun taqlea ri Kinkelu Aruq Tassiada pung-  
gawa I Tojumaq Jarannika
- 26 Oct (W) a mosque built in Gowa<sup>450</sup>  
17 Rawl 1107 nanibangun masigika ri Gowa
- 15 Dec (R) Karaeng Bontopattongkoq and I Daeng Nisakking  
Shafiah married  
8 Jawl 1107 nasikalabini Karae Bontopattongkoq I Daeng Nisakking  
Shafiah
- 20 Dec (M eve) Karaeng Patteqne Fathuddin born  
13 Jawl 1107 naanaq Karae Patteqne Fathuddini

## 1696

- 21 Jan (F) it is said that Shaykh Abd al-Ra'uf died in Aceh<sup>451</sup>  
16 Jakr 1107 nanikana matei Syekhu Abdurrauf ri Aceh
- 22 Mar (R) word arrived that Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong died across  
on Bima<sup>452</sup> at 50 years of age  
17 Syab 1107 nabattu erang kanana Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong mate  
ibaqle ri Dima umuruqna 50 taun

<sup>449</sup> Arung Palakka sent this expedition to assist the Dutch in its conflict with the ruler of Kengkelu (Tambora) on Sumbawa, who was trying to master the whole island and in the process both wreaked havoc in Bima, Dompur, and Pekat and attacked the Dutch fort in Bima (Andaya 1981:289-91).

<sup>450</sup> The building of this mosque and the great meeting hall two months before followed in the wake of Abdul Jalil's move from Mangallekana back to Gowa the previous year.

<sup>451</sup> The exact date of his death is unknown, but the last evidence that he was alive dates from 1693. See Riddell 2001:125-8.

<sup>452</sup> According to the entry for 28 Jun 1647, he died in Kelo on Sumbawa.

- 6 Apr (F)                    Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] died at the age of 73  
3 Ram 1107                    namate Tunisombaya umuruqna 73
- 13 Apr (F)                    the name of the karaeng of Gowa [Abdul Jalil] praised in  
the sermon<sup>453</sup>  
10 Ram 1107                    naarennamo karaenga ri Gowa nipuji ri kuqbaya
- 29 Apr (N)                    Arung Tosiada and I Tojumaat arrived from Kengkulu  
without gaining [victory over Tambora]  
26 Ram 1107                    nabattumo Aruq Tassiada siagaang I Tojumaq ri Kinkelu  
tanakullei
- 6 Jul (R eve)                the ruler of Bima I Alasaq died overseas in Jakattaraq at  
the age of 23  
5 Zulh 1107                    namate karaenga ri Dima I Alasaq ilauk ri Jakattaraq  
umuruqna 23
- 27 Aug (N eve)              Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq and a great grandparent of I  
Makkaraeng married  
28 Muh 1108                    nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq boena I  
Makkaraeng
- 28 Aug (T)                    people built houses in Tete in order to dredge a river there  
29 Muh 1108                    namaqballaq-ballaq taua ri Tete laniekkeseqna binangaya
- 15 Oct (M)                    Soppéng attacked by Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La  
Patauq]<sup>454</sup>  
18 Rawl 1108                    nanibunduq Soppeng ri Matinroa ri Nagaulan
- 1697
- 19 Mar (T)                    Arung Timurung, the father of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La  
Patauq], died  
29 Syab 1108                    namate Aruq Timurung aenna Matinroa ri Nagaulan

<sup>453</sup> Beginning 26 Nov 1677 Arung Palakka's name had been ritually praised in the Friday sermon, but with his death that honor returned to the ruler of Gowa.

<sup>454</sup> This war was to uphold Arung Palakka's policies regarding Soppéng, a Bugis kingdom with which Arung Palakka had numerous difficulties. He had made his former wife and sister of Datu ri Soppéng, We Adda Datu ri Watu, the effective ruler of Soppéng (Andaya 1981: 272, 278). But following Arung Palakka's death the people of Soppéng installed We Adda's brother Toesang as their ruler, so La Patauq launched a war to restore We Adda – and his own authority – over Soppéng (Ligtvoet 1880:167).

26 Oct (S) 10 Rokr 1109	teeth filed of Karaeng Bontomateqne naniariq Karae Bontomateqne
13 Dec (R eve) 29 Jawl 1109	Karaeng ri Paqbineang died inside Massepe at the age of 36 <sup>455</sup> namate Karaengta ri Paqbineang ilalang ri Massepe umuruqna 36
6 Feb (R) 24 Raj 1109	1698
	Arung Pattiro <sup>456</sup> and Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Langkanana <sup>457</sup> married
	nasikalabini Aruq Pattiro Datua ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Langkanana
11 Mar (T) 28 Syab 1109	I Rakhiah born naanaq I Rakhiah
30 Apr (T eve) 18 Syaw 1109	I Paciq born naanaq I Paciq
21 May (T) 29 Syaw 1109 <sup>458</sup>	Karaeng Bontotannga I Bebuq born naanaq Karae Bontotannga I Bebuq
16 Aug (F eve) 9 Saf 1110	Taqbiq Jawa died namate Taqbiq Jawa
20 Oct (M) 15 Rokr 1110	teeth filed of Karaeng Campagaya naniariq Karae Campagaya
3 Nov (N)	I Kare Passeqre I Jaga advanced on in Bantaeng by the people of Boné <sup>459</sup>

<sup>455</sup> This was the widow of Hasanuddin and Arung Ujumpuluq, a ruler of Sidénréng. But she died at age 62 according to the Hijri calendar, having been born on 27 Jawl 1047 (or 17 Oct 1637).

<sup>456</sup> Also named Patekkaqtana, she was a daughter of the ruler of Tanete Mappajanci Daeng Matajang Matinroe ri Sumpangpoba and We Tenrilekke Da Emba, a sister of Arung Palakka (Ligtvoet 1880:168).

<sup>457</sup> A son of Daeng Massuro Matinroe ri Tompotikkaq, he was also named Topalaguna and succeeded his father as Sultan Muhammad.

<sup>458</sup> The Hijri date converts to 10 May 1698.

<sup>459</sup> Dutch sources report that this killing followed several years of poor relations between the rulers of Gowa and Boné. The VOC had given authority over Bantaeng to Arung Palakka's widow Daeng Talele, but I Kare Passeqre I Jaga and Daeng Mangalliki (brother of the regent of Bantaeng) took control of Bantaeng with the tacit approval of Abdul Jalil. Learning of this,

- 29 Rakr 1110 nanipanaiki I Kare Passeqre I Jaga ri Bantaeng ri tuBonea
- 29 Nov (S) we erupted at the killing of Sanro Paqlangisang; we faced each other but we did not let loose our weapons<sup>460</sup>
- 25 Jawl 1110 kigegereq nibunona Sanro Paqlangisan sidallekangjaki tasibuangiaki ewangan
- 4 Dec (R) Karaeng Boqdia circumcised  
1 Jakr 1110 nanisunnaq Karae Boqdia
- 13 Dec (S) it is said that Daengta Daeng Mangalle died  
10 Jakr 1110 nanikana matei Daengta Daeng Mangalle
- 1699
- 5 Jan (N eve) a strong earthquake purportedly struck Jakattaraq; many stone buildings fell; many people died; a great flood [tidalwave] struck also
- 3 Raj 1110 nanataba bedeng ronrong sarro Jakattaraq majai ballaq batu runtung majai tau mate nataba tongi aqba lombo
- 18 Apr (F eve) I Daeng Mabela I Gacung died at the age of 20  
17 Syaw 1110 namate I Daeng Mabela I Kacung umuruqna 20
- 1 May (F) a wife of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq had a daughter  
1 Zulk 1110 namamanaq bainenna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq baine
- 11 May (M) Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq sailed over to Sandao to make war
- 11 Zulk 1110 namamise Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq taqle ri Sandao maqbanduq
- 22 May (R eve) the night of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf's death overseas at the Cape at the age of 74

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the VOC Governor in consultation with the ruler of Boné sent a military expedition to drive the Makassarese usurpers from Bantaeng. Before they arrived, however, Bugis under Arung Cello attacked I Kare Passeqre I Jaga, and it is this event to which this entry refers (Ligtvoet 1880:168-9).  
<sup>460</sup> Sanro Paqlangisang was killed in Mangallekana by Boné Bugis in retaliation for Makassarese raids against them. More violence between the two sides was avoided when the Governor ordered the Bugis to retreat (Ligtvoet 1880:169).

- 22 Zulk 1110      banngi nakamateanga I Tuan Syekhu Yusup ilauq ri Kaq umuruqna 74
- 28 May (W eve)<sup>461</sup>    Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq fled<sup>462</sup>  
28 Zulk 1110      namalari Karaengta ri Bontolangkasaq
- 15 Jun (N eve)      three moons were seen by Daengta Daeng Tauq  
17 Zulh 1110      naniciniq tallu matanna bulanga ri Daengta Daeng Tauq
- 22 Jun (T eve)<sup>463</sup>    I Raluq died at the age of 5  
24 Zulh 1110      namate I Raluq umuruqna 5
- 25 Jul (S)            two suns were seen  
27 Muh 1111      naniciniq rua matanna alloa
- 28 Jul (M eve)      Pangerang Aria<sup>464</sup> and I Daeng Nisayu<sup>465</sup>, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, married  
1 Saf 1111          nasikalabini Pangeran Aria I Daeng Nisayu anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 12 Aug (N)<sup>466</sup>        Karaeng ri Manyioi died in Talloq at the age of 56  
16 Saf 1111        namate Karaengta ri Manyioi ri Talloq umuruqna 56
- 28 Aug (R eve)      Karaeng ri Tana-Tana and Karaeng ri Mamampang married  
2 Rawl 1111        nasikalabini Karaengta ri Tana-Tana Karaengta ri Mamampang
- 13 Sep (S eve)      Karaeng Campagaya died at the age of 12  
18 Rawl 1111      namate Karae Campagaya umuruqna 12
- 30 Sep (W)          I Cacoq Paqrapoang went amuk inside the fort<sup>467</sup>

<sup>461</sup> A copyist omitted the day of the week, but given that it was an evening it must be Wednesday.

<sup>462</sup> He went to Sumbawa where he joined Karaeng Pamolikang who 'plundered friend and foe' (Ligtvoet 1880:169).

<sup>463</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote July instead of June.

<sup>464</sup> The ruler of Pamukang on the eastcoast of Borneo.

<sup>465</sup> This seems to be a different Daeng Nisayu from those already mentioned in the annals.

<sup>466</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 12th.

<sup>467</sup> Dutch sources report that at Gowa's instigation Daeng Tulolo, a former ruler of the Mandar community of Paqrapoang (Pamboang), found the opportunity to make himself ruler

6 Rokr 1111	namaqjalloq I Cacoq Paqrappoang ilalang ri kotaya
2 Oct (F)	I Bewi died
8 Rokr 1111	namate I Bewi
29 Oct (R)	Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq arrived from Sandao
5 Jawl 1111	nabattu Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq ri Sandao
31 Oct (S)	I Baku Sitti Abidah born
7 Jawl 1111	naanaq I Baku Sitti Abidah
	1700
18 Mar (R eve)	Karaeng Bontotannga and Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq married
27 Ram 1111	nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq
30 Apr (F eve)	Sayyid Zain wed [in accordance with Islamic custom] I Daeng Tapallaq
11 Zulk 1111	naninikkah Sayyid Zainu I Daeng Tapallaq
1 May (N)	Arung Balusu <sup>468</sup> ordered killed by Arung Teko
12 Zulk 1111	nanisurobuno Aruq Balusu ri Aruq Teko
7 May (F eve)	I Kare Passeqre I Jaga arrived to surrender himself to the arumpone [La Patauq]
18 Zulk 1111	nabattu angerangi kalenna I Kare Passeqre I Jaga ri arumpone
14 May (S)	the day of Karaeng ri Jarannika's killing by 'Javanese' <sup>469</sup> from Bali along with his relative [his son, Karaeng

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of Balanipa when its lawful ruler Daeng Buraqne was visiting the ruler of Boné in Bontoalaq. In response, after the expedition against I Kare Passeqre I Jaga was complete in Bantaeng, another expedition of Bugis troops led by Daeng Situju and Arung Mampu went to restore Daeng Buraqne to his throne. Daeng Tulolo fled into the mountains, but his son I Cacoq remained to defend Paqrappoang and was captured. Taken to Makassar, on 30 Sep 1699 he was sentenced to be exiled to the Cape. But as he was about to be put in chains he went amuk and killed a Dutch corporal. For this he was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, after which he would be bound to a pole and krissed, a verdict carried out on 10 Oct 1699 (Ligtvoet 1880:170).

<sup>468</sup> Though the spelling of his name is inconsistent in Ligtvoet, this was apparently Toesang, also known as Daeng Mambani, and a half brother of the ruler of Soppéng We Adda Datu ri Watu, Matinroe ri Madello. See the note accompanying the entry for 15 Oct 1696.

<sup>469</sup> This term does not refer to Javanese but to inhabitants of the archipelago to the west of Makassar. The annalist explains here that he specifically means Balinese.



- Bontokeke] and Karaeng Bontolangkasaq across on Salaparang [Lombok]<sup>470</sup>
- 25 Zulk 1111 allo nibunoangai ri Jawa Balia Karaengta ri Jarannika sipamanakang siagaang Karae Bontolangkasaq ibaqla ri Salaparang
- 25 May (W)  
7 Zulh 1111 Karaeng Mangallekana died at the age of 65 namate Karae Mangallekana umuruqna 65
- 2 Jun (R)  
15 Zulh 1111 Karaeng Bontopattongkoq I Baraq installed at *tumailalang*, replacing his grandparent<sup>471</sup> nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Bontopattongkoq I Baraq toana nasambeang
- 18 Jun (S)  
2 Muh 1112 I Jaga killed by the Dutch; he was hung nanibunomo I Jaga ri Balandaya nigentungi
- 18 Aug (R)  
4 Rawl 1112 Karaeng Anaq Moncong circumcised nanisunnaq Karae Anaq Moncong
- 3 Nov (R)  
22 Jawl 1112 the karaeng Sultan Sirajuddin circumcised nanisunnaq karaenga Sultan Sirajuddin
- 15 Dec (R)  
5 Raj 1112 I Daeng Mallimpo and I Daeng Nisannging<sup>472</sup> I Shafiah married nasikalabini I Daeng Mallimpo I Daeng Nisannging I Shafiah
- 1701
- 21 Jan (S)  
12 Syab 1112 Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Biba married nisikalabini Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Beba
- 6 Feb (N eve)  
27 Syab 1112 Daengta Daeng Manena died in Talloq at the age of 87 namate Daengta Daeng Manena ri Talloq umuruqna 87
- 22 May (N eve) I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami I Takkiq married

<sup>470</sup> The 3 Mar 1707 entry suggests that after this expedition Karaeng Jarannika intended to continue on the haj to Mekka.

<sup>471</sup> The grandparent he replaced as *tumailalang* was Karaeng Jarannika, who was killed on Lombok a few weeks before along with Karaeng Bontopattongkoq's father Karaeng Bontokeke.

<sup>472</sup> Presumably this is the same woman referred to as Daeng Nisacking on 15 Dec 1695.

14 Zulh 1112	nasikalabini I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami I Takkiq
7 Jul (F) 2 Saf 1113	I Baronang born naanaq I Baronang
13 Jul (R)	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] and Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] were brought to see each other by the Dutch inside the fort
8 Saf 1113	nanipasiciniqmo ri Balandaya Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun Matinroa ri Nagaulan ilalang ri kotaya
28 Sep (R)	we first went down from all over Gowa to visit [the grave of] Datoq ri Bandang
26 Saf 1113 <sup>473</sup>	kiuru manaung siGowa anggunjungi ri Datoq ri Bandan
14 Oct (S) 13 Jawl 1113	Arung Teko went into the fort namantamamo ri kotaya Aruq Teko
18 Dec (M) 19 Raj 1113	Karaeng Panaikang circumcised nanisunnaq Karae Panaikang
21 Dec (R) 22 Raj 1113	I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq born naanaq I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq
1702	
18 Jan (W eve) 20 Syab 1113	Datu ri Mari-Mari <sup>474</sup> died namate Datua ri Mari-Mari
21 Jan (N)	Karaeng Bontomateqne and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] married
23 Syab 1113	nasikalabini Karae Bontomateqne karaeng
12 Feb (N eve) 15 Ram 1113	Ballaq Kiria built <sup>475</sup> nanibangun Ballaq Kiria

<sup>473</sup> The Hijri date converts to 1 Aug 1701.

<sup>474</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a sister of Arung Palakka (Ligtvoet 1880:172).

<sup>475</sup> 'Ballaq Kiria' literally means 'left house' and was a royal hall used by the *karaeng* of Gowa. 'Kiri' is a Malay and not a Makassarese term meaning 'left'. This is a good example of the increasing use of Malay words in the *lontaraq bilang*, and the scope and nature of this linguistic evolution merit further analysis.

- 6 Apr (F) Daengta Daeng Mayiro died  
9 Zulk 1113 namate Daengta Daeng Mayiro
- 7 Apr (F eve) Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir] and  
Daengta Daeng Tamemang divorced  
10 Zulk 1113 nasipelaq Tuammenang ri Passiringanna Daengta Daeng  
Tamemang
- 8 Apr (S eve) Karaeng ri Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana  
divorced for the second time  
11 Zulk 1113 nasipelaq Karaengta ri Mamampang Karaengta ri Tana-  
Tana makapinruanna
- 16 May (T eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Karaeng Paqbineang wed  
19 Zulh 1113 nabunting Karae Anaq Moncong Karae Paqbineang
- 4 Jun (N) Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Buluq-Buluq I Rusiah mar-  
ried  
9 Muh 1114 nasikalabini Karae Boqdia Karae Buluq-Buluq I Rusiah
- 4 Jul (W) Arung Teko brought overseas to Jakattaraq  
9 Saf 1114 nanierangmo kalauq ri Jakattaraq Aruq Teko
- 12 Jul (W eve) Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Buluq-Buluq divorced  
17 Saf 1114 nasipelaq Kare Boqdia Karaeng Buluq-Buluq
- 9 Aug (R) I Daeng Manaqqalaq was cut down by Kare Manjakkalaq  
I Uqdung but did not die  
19 Rawl 1114 nanijalloq I Daeng Manaqqalaq ri Kare Manjakkalaq I  
Uqdung tamate
- 10 Sep (M) *orang kaya*<sup>476</sup> Kare Gappa died  
8 Rokr 1114<sup>477</sup> namate orangkaya Kare Gappa
- 19 Sep (W) I Daeng ri Bulekang died  
27 Rokr 1114 namate I Daeng ri Bulekang
- 1 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Massese and Daengta Daeng Tamemang married

<sup>476</sup> *Orang kaya* is a Malay term that literally means 'rich person' but generally refers to nobles who achieved their wealth through trade.

<sup>477</sup> The Hijri date converts to 1 Sep 1702.

- 10 Jawl 1114 nasikalabini I Daeng Massese Daengta Daeng Tamemang
- 6 Oct (S) those who were ordered to accompany Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] into Makele to make war sailed: [Karaeng] Pangkajeqneq, [Karaeng] Lekoqboqdong; [Karaeng] Bidara
- 15 Jawl 1114 namammise tunisuroa ampinawangi Matinroa ri Nagaulan mantama ri Makale maqbunduq Pangkajeqneq Lekoqboqdong Bidaraiya
- 10 Oct (W) Daengta Daeng Tumammo died  
19 Jawl 1114 namate Daengta Daeng Tumammo
- 1 Nov (R) walls torn down that were constructed during our struggle<sup>478</sup>
- 12 Jakr 1114 nanigesaraq bata nilonjoka ri gegereqta
- 29 Nov (R) the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq]<sup>479</sup> and Karaeng Agangjeqneq<sup>480</sup> married
- 10 Raj 1114 nasikalabini Karae Sambawa Karae Agangjeqneq
- 3 Dec (M) those who went into Toraja arrived; 173 people from Toraja was the portion of the karaeng [Abdul Jalil]
- 14 Raj 1114 nabattumo tumantamaya ri Toraja 173 tau Toraja tawana karaenga
- 5 Dec (W) *nayaka*<sup>481</sup> I Punbinduq died and I Loqmoq Rannu replaced him
- 16 Raj 1114 namate nayakayya I Punbinduq naLloqmoq Rannu assambeangi

<sup>478</sup> This refers to walls that were constructed in violation of the terms of the Bungaya Treaty.

<sup>479</sup> Mas Madina, who succeeded his father Mas Banten after the latter's abdication in 1701.

<sup>480</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Karaeng Bontorambaq and Karaeng Barrong (Ligtvoet 1880:173). It is probably Karaeng Agangjeqneq's birth that is referred to in the entry for 10 Sep 1687.

<sup>481</sup> *Nayaka* was the title of the head of the *bissu*, the transvestite ritual specialists who officiated at a number of royal ceremonies even after conversion to Islam. To this point in the *lontaraq bilang* there has been no mention of *bissu*, possibly because of the Islamic context in which the genre developed (Cummings 2007b).

19 Dec (T eve) 1 Syab 1114	Datu ri Citta <sup>482</sup> died namate Datua ri Citta
	1703
20 Feb (T eve) 5 Syaw 1114	I Bauwaq born naanaq I Bauwaq
12 Mar (M eve) 25 Syaw 1114	<i>papuq</i> <sup>483</sup> Daeng Numalo died namate I Papuq Daeng Numalo
19 Mar (T) 2 Zulk 1114	it is said that Arung Kaju <sup>484</sup> died nanikana matei Aruq Kaju
3 Apr (W) 16 Zulk 1114	Karaeng Garassiq and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga married nasikalabini Karae Garassiq I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
12 Apr (R eve) 26 Zulk 1114	I Daeng Maqleaq I Sumang and I Daeng Takenna I Jaing married nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleaq I Suman I Daeng Takenna I Jaing
16 Apr (T) 1 Zulh 1114	I Mangerangi I Daeng Mattalliq [Karaeng Bungaya] born naanq I Mangerangi I Daeng Mattalliq
24 May (F) 9 Muh 1115	Sayyid Muhammad came east here to Gowa to live namanrai q mae ri Gowa mammempo Sayyid Muhammad
15 Jun (S) 1 Saf 1115	Karaeng Barong Patola Mutipatullah born naanaq Karae Barong Patola Mutipatullah
17 Jun (M) 3 Saf 1115	I Daeng Makkulle Ahmad installed as <i>papuq</i> by his family nanitannang Papuq ri pamanakanna I Daeng Makkulle Ahmad

<sup>482</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a sister of Arung Palakka and widow of the ruler of Sidénréng Matinroe ri Salemo (Ligtvoet 1880:173).

<sup>483</sup> *Papuq* was a title of the head of the Bajo community that traditionally had been loyal to the rulers of Gowa.

<sup>484</sup> An important Bugis noble who was one of Arung Palakka's lieutenants during and after the Makassar War.

- 25 Jul (R) I Loqmoq Saja died  
11 Rawl 1115 namate I Loqmoq Saja
- 21 Aug (T eve) Karaeng Bontopattongkoq expelled as *tumailalang*  
9 Rokr 1115 nanipasuluq *tumailalang* Karaeng Bontopattongkoq
- 2 Sep (M) Karaeng Garassiq and I Daeng Rikong divorced  
21 Rokr 1115 nasipelaq Karae Garassiq I Daeng Rikong
- 8 Sep (S eve) I Daeng Massese and Daengta Daeng Tamemang divorced  
27 Rokr 1115 nasipelaq I Daeng Massese Daengta Daeng Tamemang
- 8 Sep (N) it is said that Arung Meru<sup>485</sup> died  
27 Rokr 1115 nanikana matei Arung Meru
- 3 Oct (R) Karaeng Bontopattongkoq and Karaeng Manjalling were  
reconciled  
22 Jawl 1115 nanipaqbajikang Karae Bontopattongkoq Karae  
Manjalling
- 4 Oct (F) Karaeng Anaq Moncong went into Cenrana [in Boné] with  
his wife [Karaeng Paqbineang]  
23 Jawl 1115 mantama Karae Anaq Moncong ri Cenrana sikalabini
- 7 Oct (M) house(s) built in Sero  
26 Jawl 1115 nanibangun ballaka ri Seroq
- 24 Oct (R) Karaeng ri Bontoa and Karaeng ri Mamampang married  
14 Jakr 1115 nasikalabini Karaengta ri Bontoa Karaengta ri  
Mamampang
- 3 Nov (S eve) Daengta I Puwaq's belongings seized [by] Karaeng  
Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir]; it is said he  
was shamed  
24 Jakr 1115 nanirappung Daengta I Puwaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri  
Passiringanna nikana nabiqnnnyaraq
- 10 Nov (N) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to  
go into Cenrana for the circumcision of Karaeng Bisei

<sup>485</sup> A sister of Arung Palakka.

- 1 Raj 1115            namamise Karaeng Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri Cenrana lanisunnaqna Karae Bisei
- 14 Dec (S)            Sudanga and Latea ri Duni<sup>486</sup> placed side by side in Latimojong [a royal hall]; many people swore oaths to each other; for the first time they were placed side by side<sup>487</sup>
- 2 Syab 1115            nanipasiempoang Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri Latimojong nasitalliq lombo taua uru nipasiempoanna
- 20 Dec (F)            Karaeng Bisei circumcised; many people were at the ritual
- 12 Syab 1115            nanisunnaq Karaeng Bisei kaparekang lompoi taua
- 1704
- 8 Jan (W)            the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana
- 1 Ram 1115            nabattumo ri Cenrana karaenga
- 10 Feb (N eve)        Gallarrang I Kare Mangalliq died
- 5 Syaw 1115            namate Gallarrang I Kare Mangalliq
- 10 Feb (M)            I Daeng Takenna died giving birth
- 5 Syaw 1115            namate mammanaq I Daeng Takenna
- 8 Mar (S eve)        Daengta Daeng Tuna, a grandparent of the karaeng [Abdul Jalil], died at the age of 74
- 2 Zulk 1115            namate Daengta Daeng Tuna toana karaenga umuruqna 74
- 18 Mar (W)            Daengta I Kare Pate died at the age of 41
- 12 Zulk 1115            namate Daengta I Kare Pate umuruqna 41

<sup>486</sup> Sudanga, a sword, was a *kalampoang* or piece of sacred regalia from Gowa and Latea ri Duni was a sword from the regalia of Boné. More than simple accoutrements or objects, these swords were believed to embody the sovereignty of their respective communities and provided tangible links to the *tumanurung* who founded Gowa and Boné. This ritual was a potent demonstration of the equal importance of the two kingdoms and an effort to assert that they were now closely bound together as allies. The oaths that the nobles of Gowa and Boné swore were witness to this potent piece of political dramaturgy.

<sup>487</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:174) notes that the swords actually first were placed side by side during the reign of Tumpaqrtsiq Kallonna when he made a treaty with the ruler of Boné. This ritual is not mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle*.

- 16 Apr (R) Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq sailed east with the people of Boné to Sandao to make war
- 12 Zulh 1115 namamise Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq manraiq ri Sandawo maqbunduq siagang tuBonea
- 11 May (M) it is said that Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq died
- 8 Muh 1116 nanikana matei Ratuwa ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq
- 3 Jun (W) it is said that Arung Amali<sup>488</sup> died 13 nights [ago]
- 1 Saf 1116 nanikana matei Arung Amali 10 banngimi antallu
- 17 Jun (W) the shipment to the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] from the ruler of [the islands of] Sulu<sup>489</sup> arrived: a clock
- 13 Saf 1116 nabattu pikatunna karaenga ri karaenga ri Suluq goyang sibatu
- 25 Jun (R) Karaeng Taruq, a child of Karaeng ri Pasiq, died
- 23 Saf 1116 namate Karae Taruq anaqna Karaengta ri Pasiq
- 29 Jun (N eve) Karaeng Agangjeqneq and the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] divorced
- 27 Saf 1116 nasipelaq Karae Agangjeqneq karae Sambawa
- 14 Jul (T) Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq arrived from Sandao
- 12 Rawl 1116 nabattumo ri Sandawo Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq
- 19 Jul (N) Karaeng Agangjeqneq had a child I Sugi<sup>490</sup> by the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq]
- 17 Rawl 1116 namammanaq Karae Agangjeqneq ri karae Sumbawa I Sugi
- 29 Jul (W) I Dasunting, a wife of I Tuang [Rappang], died giving birth
- 27 Rawl 1116 namate mammanaq I Dasunting bainenna I Tuan

<sup>488</sup> As (Ligtvoet 1880:175) notes, this Arung Amali must not be confused with the confidant of Arung Palakka by the same name, for he became known as 'the elder Arung Tanete' (Arung Tanete Matoa) and died in 1707.

<sup>489</sup> The Sulu islands link Borneo and Mindanao. The annalist may have meant the Sula islands in Maluku, an area that long had connections to Makassar.

<sup>490</sup> Probably Karaeng Bontoa (Ligtvoet 1880:203).



6 Aug (R) 12 Rokr 1116 <sup>492</sup>	I Markus died; he was hung <sup>491</sup> nanibunno I Markus nigentungi
31 Aug (M) 1 Jawl 1116	Karaeng Garassiq and I Limaraq married nasikalabini Karae Garassiq I Limaraq
10 Sep (R) 11 Jawl 1116	people begin to clear the land in Buluq-Buluq namappakaramula tauaya maqbelaq ri Buluqburuq
23 Sep (W) 24 Jawl 1116	Daenga Daeng Niaq died in Sanrabone namate Daenga Daeng Niaq ri Sanrabone
10 Oct (S) 12 Jakr 1116	people withdraw from clearing land [in Buluq-Buluq] namammonoqmo tauaya ri belaka
1 Nov (S eve) 4 Raj 1116	Arung Belo and Daengta Daeng Mami returned to each other nasipolei Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
9 Nov (N eve) 12 Raj 1116	I Tuang [Rappang] and I Daeng Nisayu <sup>493</sup> married nasikalabini I Tuan I Daeng Nisayu
10 Nov (T) 13 Raj 1116	Daeng Mamuntuli and his wife <sup>494</sup> arrived nabattu Daeng Mammuntuli sikalabini
16 Nov (M) 19 Raj 1116	Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to go into Centana for the wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] namamise Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri Cenrana ri paqbuntinganna karae Sambawa
21 Nov (S) 24 Raj 1116	it is said that Karaeng Pamolikang died, killed by the Kengkelu [Tambora on Sumbawa] nanikana matei Karae Pammolikang nibunoi ri Kenkelua

<sup>491</sup> A former VOC council secretary in Makassar, Markus Santbeek was accused of a variety of illegal practices by local nobles (Ligtvoet 1880:175).

<sup>492</sup> The Hijri date converts to 13 Aug 1704.

<sup>493</sup> This is not the same I Daeng Nisayu as the wife of Pangerang Aria, who left for Borneo with him on 17 Jul 1707.

<sup>494</sup> Karaeng Barong Patola, a daughter of the former ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten.

5 Dec (F eve) 8 Syab 1116	Karaeng Bontomateqne had a daughter namammanaq Karae Bontomateqne baine
11 Dec (R eve) 14 Syab 1116	I Jamuq died namate I Jamuq
16 Dec (W) 19 Syab 1116	wedding of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] to Arung Timurung [Datu ri Citta] <sup>495</sup> nabunting karae Sambawa ri Aruq Timurun
1705	
1 Jan (F) 5 Ram 1116	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana nabattu ri Cenrana Karaeng Tuammenang ri Lakiun
13 Jan (W) 17 Ram 1116	Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq divorced nasipelaq Sayyid Zainu I Daeng Tapallaq
24 Jan (N) 28 Ram 1116	it is said that I Daeng Mamuntuli and Karaeng Barong Patola divorced nanikana sipelaki I Daeng Mamuntuli Karae Borong Patola
24 Feb (W) 1 Zulk 1116	Taqbi Sattu died namate Taqbi Sattu
31 Mar (W) 2 Zulh 1116	Karaeng ri Taruq's arrival from Jakattaraq took place naniaqmo Karaengta ri Taruq battu ri Jakattaraq
1 Apr (R) 7 Zulh 1116	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami divorced nasipelaq I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami
5 Apr (N eve) 11 Zulh 1116	the remains of I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf (may Allah bless him) arrived and was buried in Lakiung the next day nabattu mayaqna I Tuan Syekhu Yusupu Radiallahuanhu naniawang ri Lakiun ammuko
15 Apr (R) 21 Zulh 1116	Karaeng Bontopattongkoq I Baraq died namate Karae Bontopattongkoq I Baraq

<sup>495</sup> Also known as Bataritoja, she was a daughter of La Patauq and Opu Larompong, a sister of Matinroe ri Langkanana (Ligtvoet 1880:176, 196).

- 22 Apr (W eve) I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami returned to each other  
22 Zulh 1116<sup>496</sup> nasipolei I Daeng Manyampaki I Daeng Tasami
- 1 May (S) Karaeng Kanjilo's belongings seized by Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil]  
8 Muh 1117 nanirappung Karae Kanjilo ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun
- 5 May (S) Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq returned to each other  
15 Muh 1117 nasipolei Sayyid Zain I Daeng Tapallaq
- 17 May (M) the female ruler Datu ri Soppéng<sup>497</sup> died  
24 Muh 1117 namate Datua ri Soppeng datu bainea
- 4 Jun (F) Karaeng ri Buluq-Buluq died at 40 years of age  
13 Saf 1117 namate Karaengta ri Buluq-Buluq umuruqna 40 taun
- 12 Jun (S) I Daeng ri Kasammeng died at the age of 87 on just the same day as the birth of Muhammad Ali  
21 Saf 1117 namate I Daeng ri Kasammeng umuruqna 87 julu alloji kaanakkanna Muhammad Ali
- 18 Jun (S) Karaeng Boqdia and I Daeng Tongi Sapiah divorced  
28 Saf 1117 nasipelaq Karae Boddia I Daeng Tongi Sapiah
- 21 Jun (N eve) Ratu Agung died  
30 Saf 1117 namate Ratu Agung
- 2 Jul (R eve) Anciq Daeng and I Jamilah married  
11 Rawl 1117 nasikalabini Anciq Daeng I Jamilah
- 22 Aug (N) Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Biba divorced  
3 Jawl 1117 nasipelaq Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Biba
- 1 Sep (W) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] came east to Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] bringing Karaeng Kanjilo to ask forgiveness  
13 Jawl 1117 namanraiq mae Matinroa ri Nagaulan ri Tuammenang ri Lakiun angerangi Karae Kanjilo ampappalaq popporangi

<sup>496</sup> The Hijri date converts to 16 Apr 1705.

<sup>497</sup> We Adda Datu ri Watu, Matinroe ri Madello.

- 5 Sep (S eve) I Daeng Tasami had a daughter  
17 Jawl 1117 namammanaq I Daeng Tasami baine
- 23 Sep (R) Daengta I Puaq died  
5 Jakr 1117 namate Daengta I Puaq
- 25 Sep (S) I Daeng Mamuntuli eloped with Karaeng Barong Patola  
7 Jakr 1117 from the house of [her father] Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten]  
and was fined 888 reals and her brideprice of 88 [reals]  
nanilariang ri Daeng Mamuntuli Karae Barong Patola ri  
ballaqla Datu Lokaq nanipassala 880 realaq passunrana  
88
- 30 Sep (R) people mustered for the installation of [VOC governor]  
12 Jakr 1117 Erbervelt  
namarewangan taua nilantiqla Erbelpel
- 2 Oct (F eve) the [body of the] wife of [I Tuang Shaykh Yusuf] was  
14 Jakr 1117 dug up above in Bontobiraeng and brought down here to  
Lakiung and buried  
nanikekkeseq bainenna irate ri Bontobiraeng nierang  
manaung mae ri Lakiun niawang
- 8 Oct (R eve) I Kamboja and a step child of I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq  
20 Jakr 1117 married  
nasikalabini I Kamboja anaq aona I Daeng Manyampaq  
Alluq
- 9 Oct (S) the merchant I Kare Uppa died  
21 Jakr 1117 namate pabandangang I Kare Ruppa
- 11 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Manruppai and I Yakung I Daeng Tommi mar-  
23 Jakr 1117 ried  
nasikalabini I Daeng Manruppai I Yakung I Daeng Tommi
- 13 Oct (W) the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] and Arung Timurung  
25 Jakr 1117 [Datu ri Citta] divorced  
nasipelaq karae Sambawa Aruq Timurun
- 15 Oct (R eve) Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq mar-  
27 Jakr 1117 ried  
nasikalabini Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq

- 18 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Baine died  
1 Raj 1117 namate I Daeng Baine
- 22 Oct (F) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] sailed to go into  
5 Raj 1117 Toraja with Karaeng Anaq Moncong  
namamise Matinroa ri Nagaulan mantama ri Toraja sia-  
gaang Karae Anaq Moncong
- 28 Oct (R) it is said that Kartasura, the seat of the ruler of Mataram,  
11 Raj 1117 was conquered by the Dutch<sup>498</sup>  
nanikana nibetami Kartasura naempoia Karae Mataran ri  
Balandaya
- 31 Oct (S eve) Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten]<sup>499</sup> and the ruler of Sumbawa  
14 Raj 1117 [Ammasaq] sailed over to their homeland [on Sumbawa]  
namamise Datu Lokaq siagaang karae Sambawa taqle ri  
paqrasanganna
- 1 Nov (T) I Jamilah and Anciq Daeng divorced  
15 Raj 1117 nasipelaq I Jamilah Anciq Daeng
- 21 Nov (N) Ratu Hayati died  
5 Syab 1117 namate Ratu Hayati
- 4 Dec (F eve) the night of I Kare Taqgalaq the brave warrior's death  
18 Syab 1117 inside Toraja  
banngi nakamateang I Kare Taqgalaq tubarani ilalang ri  
Toraja
- 5 Dec (N) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq circumcised  
19 Syab 1117 nanisunnaq Karae Bontolangkasaq

<sup>498</sup> This was a key moment in the First Javanese War of Succession (1704-1708). With VOC support and an army that included Bugis and Makassarese Pakubuwana I occupied Kartasura in September 1705 with little resistance from his nephew Amangkurat III, the new ruler of Mataram (Ricklefs 2001:110). It is quite possible that word of this event reached Makassar a month later via the Bugis or Makassarese warriors participating in the campaign. Word reached Makassar about a month after the September occupation of Kartasura.

<sup>499</sup> Datu Lokaq was the title of the former ruler of Sumbawa Mas Banten. He abdicated in 1701 and was succeeded by his son, Mas Madina.

- 13 Dec (M) I Kamariah<sup>500</sup>, a wife of the elder Ratu Bagus<sup>501</sup>, had a daughter
- 27 Syab 1117 namammanaq I Kamariah bainenna Ratu Bagusu matao baine
- 20 Dec (M) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] arrived from Toraja without gaining [victory]
- 4 Ram 1117 nabattu ri Toraja Matinroa ri Nagaulan tanakulleai
- 22 Dec (W) Karaeng Anaq Moncong arrived also
- 6 Ram 1117<sup>502</sup> nabattutommo Karae Anaq Moncong
- 1706
- 13 Jan (W eve) I Daeng Tapallaq had a son, Sayyid Husain
- 28 Ram 1117 namammanaq I Daeng Tapallaq buraqne Sayyid Husin
- 28 Jan (F) I Kare Battu expelled from his supervisory position for freeing people who were imprisoned; I Daeng Talesang replaced him<sup>503</sup>
- 13 Syaw 1117 nanipasuluq I Kare Battu ri panjannanginna napalari tau nirante nalDaeng Talesang assambeangi
- 8 Feb (M eve) Karaeng Tabaringang Nafisah<sup>504</sup> had a child on just the same day as the death of I Kare Sitaba, an expert builder
- 24 Syaw 1117 naanaq Karae Tabaringan Nafisah julu alloji matena I Kare Sitaba panrita ballaq
- 13 Feb (N) I Kare Basse died and I Kare Taqgalaq I Parampang replaced him
- 1 Zulk 1117 namate I Kare Basse nalKare Taqgalaq I Parampang assambeangi
- 3 Mar (R) I Manguluang circumcised
- 19 Zulk 1117 nanisunnaq I Manguluang

<sup>500</sup> She was also called Daeng Nisanga.

<sup>501</sup> Ratu Bagus was a title borne by children of lower-ranking wives or concubines of the sultans of Banten.

<sup>502</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 2nd instead of the 6th.

<sup>503</sup> *Tumakkajannang*, the supervisory position referred to here, was the title of those charged with overseeing groups of people who performed specific tasks.

<sup>504</sup> She was a daughter of Sirajuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:178).

21 Mar (M) 7 Zulh 1117	I Totammaq died namate I Totammaq
10 Apr (S eve) 27 Zulh 1117	Daengta Daeng Tuna Bulukumba died namate Daengta Daeng Tuna Buluq Kumba
28 Apr (R) 16 Muh 1118	Arung Belo and Daengta Daeng Mami divorced nasipelaq Aruq Belo Daengta Daeng Mami
8 May (S) 26 Muh 1118	I Daeng Mambani Dulang and I Sayedah married nasikalabini I Daeng Mambani Dulan I Sayedah
16 Jun (R) 6 Rawl 1118	I Cammaq and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga divorced nasikalabini I Cammaq I Daeng Rikong I Jaka
18 Jun (S) 8 Rawl 1118	Karaeng Manjalling and I Nanuq Daeng Nisanga divorced nasipelaq Karae Manjalling I Nanuq Daeng Nisanga
28 Jul (R) <sup>505</sup> 18 Rakr 1118	the younger Ratu Bagus and I Kare Teqne I Jambang mar- ried nasikalabini Ratu Bagus Malolo I Kare Teqne I Jambang
6 Aug (F eve) 27 Rakr 1118	Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] had great sores in his thigh nanabattui sakkaq lompo bongganna Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun
11 Sep (S eve) 4 Jakr 1118	Karaeng Bontomateqne and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] divorced nasipelaq Karae Bontomateqne karaenga
29 Oct (S) 22 Raj 1118	Tuammenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] went down to the ground after [healing from] the swelling [in his thigh] and was lavished with offerings namanaungmo ri butta Tuammenang ri Lakiun leqbaq- na makambang nanikiori
12 Nov (F eve)	there were thieves went up into [a house or royal hall] and stabbed each other in Ujung

<sup>505</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote August instead of July.

- 7 Syab 1118      naniaq palukkaq appanaiki sitoboki para palukkaq ri Ujung
- 14 Nov (N eve)    Ratu Bagus and I Kare Teqne divorced  
9 Syab 1118      nasipelaq Ratu Bagusu I Kare Teqne
- 2 Dec (R eve)     Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Sitti Labibah<sup>506</sup> married  
27 Syab 1118     nasikalabini Karae Anaq Moncong Sitti Labibah
- 2 Dec (F)         Friday public prayers first established this Friday in Taenga  
27 Syab 1118     nauru mamenteng jumaka ri Taenga jumaq
- 12 Dec (N eve)    I Mammaq and I Daeng Nisimba married  
7 Ram 1118       nasikalabini I Mammaq I Daeng Nisimba
- 16 Dec (R eve)    I Daeng Nisoqna had a son  
11 Ram 1118      namammanaq I Daeng Nisoqna buraqne
- 1707
- 1 Jan (S eve)     Karaeng Balaqsari and the karaeng [Sirajuddin] married  
27 Ram 1118      nasikalabini Karae Balassari karaenga
- 2 Jan (M)         I Cammaq and I Daeng Rikong divorced [again]  
28 Ram 1118      nasipelaq I Cammaq I Daeng Rikong
- 4 Jan (W)         Sayyid Muhammad was stabbed beneath the glands in his neck but did not die  
30 Ram 1118      nanitoboq Sayyid Muhammad irawanganna kulanrereqna tamateai
- 6 Jan (R eve)     I Kare Onoq Gallarang Aeng died  
2 Syaw 1118      namate I Kare Onoq Gallarang Aeng
- 16 Feb (R)         Karaeng Majannang Abdul Kadir I La Sanresang<sup>507</sup> born

<sup>506</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf and a woman known as Kare Kontu (Ligtvoet 1880:178). As a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf, her marriage into the Gowa ruling family represents a significant moment in the carefully cultivated association between the rulers of Gowa and the Sufi movement that spread in eighteenth-century Sulawesi following the repatriation of Shaykh Yusuf's remains.

<sup>507</sup> A son of Karaeng Bontosinggu and future sultan of Talloq also known as Tumamenang ri Buttana.



- 14 Zulk 1118      naanaq Karae Majannang Abdul Kadir I La Sanresang
- 3 Mar (F)          Haji Abdurrahman arrived bringing the haj payment of  
Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika]
- 29 Zulk 1118      nabattumo Hajji Abdurrahman angerangi pamalli hajjina  
Tumatea ri Salaparang
- 26 Mar (N)  
22 Zulh 1118      Daengta Daeng Tuang died at the age of 82  
namate Daengta Daeng Tuang umuruna 82
- 24 Apr (M)        Karaeng Anaq Moncong went into Cenrana bringing [his  
wife] Sitti Labibah
- 22 Muh 1119      namantama ri Cenrana Karae Anaq Moncong angerangi  
Sitti Labibah
- 23 May (T)        Datu ri Soppéng [Matinroe ri Salassana], former spouse  
of Karaeng ri Langeloq, died at the age of 53
- 22 Saf 1119      namate Datua ri Soppeng pallaloanna Karaengta ri  
Langeloq umuruna 53
- 20 Jun (M eve)  
20 Rawl 1119      I Daeng Tapallaq had a daughter by Sayyid [Zain]  
namammanaq I Daeng Tanpallaq ri Sayyidka baine
- 24 Jun (S)  
24 Rawl 1119      I Kamariah had a daughter  
namammanaq I Kamariah baine
- 26 Jun (M)  
26 Rawl 1119      Karaeng ri Mangaraqbombang died in Talloq  
namate Karaengta ri Mangaraqbombang ri Talloq
- 3 Jul (M)  
4 Rokr 1119      Haji Jaqfar died  
namate Hajji Jaqpar
- 5 Jul (W)  
6 Rokr 1119      I Daeng Talesang I Coce died in Talloq<sup>508</sup>  
namate I Daeng Talesang I Coce ri Talloq
- 13 Jul (W eve)  
14 Rokr 1119      Anciq Terengganu and I Sayedah Sanrabone married  
nasikalabini Ancet Tarangganu I Sayedah Sanrabone
- 14 Jul (F)        Gallarrang Mangasa went with the ruler of Agangnionjoq  
to go into Toraja to summon Pati Manjawari

<sup>508</sup> Presumably the same Daeng Talesang who became *tumakkajannang* on 28 Jan 1706.

- 15 Rokr 1119 namaqlampa Gallarang Mangasa siagaang karaengta ri Agangnionjoq mantama ri Toraja angkioki Pati Manjawari
- 17 Jul (M) Pangerang Aria went over to his homeland [Pamukang on Borneo] bringing his wife [I Daeng Nisayu]
- 18 Rokr 1119 namaqlampa Pangerang Aria taqle ri paqrasanganna angerangi bainenna
- 21 Jul (F) Daengta Daeng Singaraq and *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle divorced but returned to each other later
- 22 Rokr 1119 nasipelaq Daengta Daeng Singaraq I Daeng Makulle sabannaraq sipoleiji salla
- 25 Jul (M eve) Karaeng Balua, a great grandparent of I Padang, died
- 26 Rokr 1119 namate Karaengta Balua boena I Padang
- 8 Aug (W) Karaeng Boqdia and I Daeng Tongi returned to each other
- 10 Jawl 1119 nasipolei Karae Boqdia I Daeng Tongi
- 23 Aug (W) the ruler of Agangnionjoq and Gallarrang Mangasa arrived from Toraja
- 25 Jawl 1119 nabattumo ri Toraja Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq Gallarang Mangasa
- 3 Sep (N) Gallarrang Mangasa again went with the ruler of Agangnionjoq to go into Toraja
- 7 Jakr 1119 namaqlampa pole Gallarang Mangasa siagaang Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq mantama ri Toraja
- 4 Sep (M) work done to repair the mosque in Talloq
- 8 Jakr 1119 nanijama nipakabajiki masigika ri Talloq
- 15 Sep (R eve) the younger Ratu Bagus and I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq married
- 19 Jakr 1119 nasikalabini Ratu Bagus malolo I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
- 1 Oct (N) the day of Sayyid Muhammad's death across on Bima
- 5 Raj 1119 allo nakamateanga Sayyid Muhammad ibaqla ri Dima
- 4 Oct (W) I Daeng Nisayu, [a wife of] I Tuang [Rappang], had a daughter named Sitti Malikhah
- 8 Raj 1119 namammanaq I Daeng Nisayu I Tuan baine nikana Sitti Malikhah

- 14 Oct (S)                   teeth filed of Karaeng Bontojeqneq  
18 Raj 1119               naniariq Karae Bontojeqneq
- 15 Oct (N)                I Baronang died at six years and six months of age  
19 Raj 1119               namate I Baronang umuruna 6 taun 6 bulan
- 3 Nov (R eve)            I Daeng Tongi had a son  
9 Syab 1119               namammanaq I Daeng Tongi buraqne
- 13 Nov (M)               the day of the elder Arung Tanete's death inside Cenrana  
19 Syab 1119              allo nakamateanga Aruq Tanete matoa ilalang ri Cenrana
- 4 Dec (M)                the ruler of Agangnionjoq with Gallarrang Mangasa  
                                  arrived from Toraja; with them too was Pati Manjawari  
10 Ram 1119               nabattu ri Toraja Karaengta ri Agangnionjoq siagaang  
                                  Gallarang Mangasa niaqtommi Pati Manjawari
- 22 Dec (F)                I Loqmoq, a grandparent of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri  
                                  Lekoqboqdong, died  
28 Ram 1119               namate I Loqmoq toana *tumailalang* Karaengta ri  
                                  Lekoqboqdong
- 30 Dec (S)                Karaeng Balaqsari had a daughter, Karaeng Tanasanga  
                                  Mahbubah Mamuncaragi  
6 Syaw 1119               namammanaq Karae Balassari baine Karae Tanasanga  
                                  Mahbubah Mamuncaragi
- 1708
- 24 Jan (W)                word arrived of the death of Dala Lemo Apa<sup>509</sup>  
2 Zulk 1119               nabattu nipabiritta matena Dala Lemo Apaq
- 14 Feb (T eve)           Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Karaeng Paqbineang  
                                  divorced  
23 Zulk 1119               nasipelaq Karae Anaq Moncong Karae Paqbineang
- 24 Mar (N)                Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] sailed to  
                                  go into Cenrana bringing Pati Manjawari  
2 Muh 1120                namamise Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun mantama ri  
                                  Cenrana anggerangi Pati Manjawari

<sup>509</sup> A wife of La Patauq whose low rank is indicated by the title Dala, similar to the Makassarese title Loqmoq.

- 11 Apr (R)            the karaeng [Abdul Jalil] arrived from Cenrana  
20 Muh 1120           nabattu ri Cenrana karaenga
- 29 Apr (N eve)      Karaeng Bontomateqne and Arung Lalolang<sup>510</sup> married  
9 Saf 1120           nasikalabini Karae Bontomateqne Arung Lalolang
- 13 May (M)           I Daeng Manruppai and I Yakung I Daeng Tommi  
                                 divorced  
23 Saf 1120           nasipelaq I Daeng Manruppai I Yokung I Daeng Tommi
- 22 May (W)           the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] and Karaeng Pasiq  
                                 married  
2 Rawl 1120           nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karae Pasiq
- 6 Jun (W eve)        Pati Manjawari went to go into Toraja to his wife  
17 Rawl 1120        nampaqlampa Pati Manjawari mantama ri Toraja ri  
                                 bainenna
- 17 Jun (N eve)      I Daeng Majannang I Daenne died  
28 Rawl 1120        namate I Daeng Majannang I Daenne
- 24 Jun (M)           I Mappaq, a child of Daengta Daeng Ngaseng, and I  
                                 Singayah married  
6 Rokr 1120           nasikalabini I Mappaq anaqna Daengta Daeng Ngaseng I  
                                 Singayah
- 2 Jul (T)              I Daeng Marannu I Mamo died at the age of 61 namate I  
14 Rokr 1120        Daeng Marannu I Mamo umuruna 61
- 7 Jul (S eve)        I Durra and a child of Karaeng ri Bontokamase died, hav-  
                                 ing stabbed each other  
19 Rokr 1120        namate I Durra anaqna Karaengta ri Bontokamase sito-  
                                 boki
- 16 Jul (T)            Daengta Daeng Singaraq and *sabannaraq* I Daeng  
                                 Makkulle divorced [again]  
28 Rokr 1120        nasipelaq Daengta I Daeng Singaraq I Daeng Makkulle  
                                 sabannaraq

<sup>510</sup> He was a Tanete noble (Ligtvoet 1880:180).

- 5 Aug (M)            Karaeng Jawere<sup>511</sup> and Karaeng Bontojeqneq wed  
19 Jawl 1120        nabunting Karae Jawere Karae Bontojeqneq
- 1 Sep (N)            I Sandewi killed from a blow by the arumpone [La  
17 Jakr 1120        Patauq] inside Cenrana  
                          nanibuno patunrung I Sandewi ri arungpone ilalang ri  
                          Cenrana
- 20 Oct (N)           it is said that the Susuhunan of Mataram [Amangkurat  
6 Syab 1120        III] was brought to Jakattaraq overseas<sup>512</sup>  
                          nanikana nierangmi kalauq ri Jakattaraq Susununga ri  
                          Matarang
- 4 Nov (N eve)        the remains of Haji Barahing Abdulgaffar were brought  
21 Syab 1120        back  
                          nabattu nierang mayaqna Hajji Barahin Abdulgappar
- 4 Dec (W)            it is said that the Susuhunan of Mataram [Amangkurat  
21 Ram 1120        III] was brought overseas to Ceylon with Daeng Masepe  
                          nanikana nierang kalauq ri Selang Susunanga ri Mataran  
                          siagaang Daeng Masepe
- 23 Dec (M)           Tumamenang ri Jawaya Najamuddin I Manrabia<sup>513</sup> born  
21 Syaw 1120<sup>514</sup>    naanaq Tuammenanga ri Jawiya Najmuddin I Manrabia
- 1709
- 3 Jan (F)            Karaeng Patukangang Zainab<sup>515</sup> born  
22 Syaw 1120        naanaq Karae Patukangan Zainab
- 8 Jan (W)            we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Passiringanna  
27 Syaw 1120        [Abdul Kadir] at the age of 44  
                          kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Passiringanna umu-  
                          ruqna 44

<sup>511</sup> Dutch sources report that this brother of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina was also known as Palembang (Ligtvoet 1880:180).

<sup>512</sup> The First Javanese War of Succession ended with the VOC breaking its assurances to Amangkurat III that he would be allowed to govern part of Java if he negotiated. He was instead arrested and exiled to Ceylon (Ricklefs 2001:110), an event recorded on 4 Dec 1708.

<sup>513</sup> A son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari.

<sup>514</sup> The Hijri date converts to 3 Jan 1709.

<sup>515</sup> She was a daughter of Karaeng Anaq Moncong and Sitti Labibah (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

- 23 Jan (R) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] first stricken with illness; he was unable to move himself
- 12 Zulk 1120 nauru nabattui garrinna Karaenga Tuammenanga ri Lakiun tanakulleai nagioq kalenna
- 25 Feb (T) I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah had a daughter
- 15 Zulk 1120 namammanaq I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah baine
- 26 Mar (M) Karaeng Panaikang and I Daeng Rikong I Jaga married
- 28 Zulh 1120<sup>516</sup> nasikalabini Karae Panaikang I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
- 26 Mar (W) Karaeng Lambengi and I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq divorced
- 15 Muh 1121 nasipelaq Karae Lambengi I Daeng Marannu I Bokuq
- 22 Jun (F) Arung Palakka Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] arrived here in Gowa after fleeing from Cenrana<sup>517</sup>
- 20 Rakr 1121 nabattu mae ri Gowa Aruq Palakka Puanna I Mattaq malarina ri Cenrana
- 14 Jul (N eve) Karaeng Bontorambaq<sup>518</sup> eloped with her husband<sup>519</sup> who brought her into Toraja
- 8 Jawl 1121 nanilariang Karae Bontoramba ri buraqnenna nierang mantama ri Toraja
- 22 Jul (N eve) Karaeng Tompoqbalang died
- 16 Jawl 1121 namate Karae Tompoqbalang
- 2 Aug (S) I Mattaq Abdurrahman I Mappatawang<sup>520</sup> born
- 26 Jawl 1121 nanaq I Mattaq Abdurrahman I Mappatawan

<sup>516</sup> The Hijri date converts to 10 Mar 1709.

<sup>517</sup> Dutch sources report that he fled Boné because he would not divorce his (pregnant) wife, a daughter of Daeng Mangemba, as his father La Patauq wished (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

<sup>518</sup> It is unlikely that the Karaeng Bontorambaq who eloped here was the daughter of the Karaeng Karunrung who had previously married Daeng Mangemba. Dutch sources make it clear that the Karaeng Bontorambaq who had married Daeng Mangemba at this time was in Kutai, where she was married to the ruler (Ligtvoet 1880:159). Her *karaeng*-ship passed to another young woman, most likely a close relative, in her absence. The couple who eloped would not return to Makassar until 1715.

<sup>519</sup> Daeng Mangemba, also known as Arung Tanete.

<sup>520</sup> He was a son of La Padangsajati (Puanna I Mattaq) and a daughter of Daeng Mangemba (Ligtvoet 1880:181).

- 4 Aug (N eve) Karaeng ri Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana returned to each other  
29 Jawl 1121 nasipolei Karaengta ri Mamampang Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 8 Aug (F) I Daeng Ngilauq Bantang died  
3 Jakr 1121 namate I Daeng Ngilauq Bantan
- 12 Aug (T) Karaeng ri Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin had a sunshade raised over his head<sup>521</sup>  
7 Jakr 1121 nanipirangkakki laqlang Karaenga ri Talloq Sultan Sirajuddin
- 1 Sep (N eve) Karaeng Lambengi and I Kare Teqne I Jambang married  
27 Jakr 1121 nasikalabini Karae Lambengi I Kare Teqne I Jambang
- 17 Sep (W) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil] at the age of 59  
14 Raj 1121 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Lakiun umuruqna 59
- 21 Sep (N) Sudanga and Baraya<sup>522</sup> were ordered brought to Sultan Ismail<sup>523</sup> by our karaeng [*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng Bontosunggu]  
18 Raj 1121 nanisuro erang Sudanga siagaang baraya ri karaengta mange ri Sultan Ismail
- 30 Sep (T) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] went down to Mandar to make war  
27 Raj 1121 namanaung ri Mandaraq Matinroa ri Nagaulan maqbunduq
- 4 Oct (S) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq ordered overseas to Jakattaraq  
1 Syab 1121 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq nisuro

<sup>521</sup> Succeeding his father Sultan Abdul Kadir who died on 8 Jan 1709, he thus formally became the ruler of Talloq.

<sup>522</sup> Like Sudanga, Baraya was one of Gowa's chief *kalompoang* or sacred regalia. It was a waistband worn by the ruler of Gowa on ritual occasions.

<sup>523</sup> Karaeng Anaq Moncong, a son of La Patauq and Karaeng Patukangang, a daughter of Abdul Jalil. He thus succeeded his grandfather on his mother's side as ruler of Gowa.

7 Oct (M eve)	Daengta Daeng Nisayu, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Balloq, died
4 Syab 1121	namate Daengta Daeng Nisayu arinna Karaengta ri Balloq
8 Oct (W)	Sayyid Zain and I Daeng Tapallaq divorced
5 Syab 1121	nasipelaq Sayyid Zain I Daeng Tapallaq
20 Oct (N eve)	the karaeng [Ismail] and Karaeng Paqbineang returned to each other
17 Syab 1121	nasipolei karaenga Karae Paqbineang
16 Nov (N)	Sulengkaya's covering replaced; people mustered to perform aru <sup>524</sup>
14 Ram 1121	nanisambei lekoqna Sulengkaya marewangangi taua mangarui
20 Nov (W eve)	Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] and Karaeng ri Bontoa wed [in accordance with Islamic custom]
18 Ram 1121	naninikkah Datu Lokaq Karaengta ri Bontoa
26 Nov (T eve)	I Daeng ri Jonggoa died
24 Ram 1121	namate I Daeng ri Jonggoa
27 Nov (R)	I Daeng Majannang Manrepe died
25 Ram 1121	namate I Daeng Majannang Manrepe
7 Dec (M)	birth of Syafiuddin I Mappaingaq <sup>525</sup>
5 Syaw 1121	nanianakkang Syafiuddin I Mappaingaq
21 Dec (S eve)	<i>sabannaraq</i> I Daeng Buraqne died
19 Syaw 1121	namate sabannaraka I Daeng Buraqne
25 Dec (R)	I Daeng Manyampakki and I Daeng Tasami divorced
23 Syaw 1121	nasipelaq I Daeng Manyampakki I Daeng Tasami

<sup>524</sup> *Aru* were oaths of loyalty chanted while performing an aggressive, martial dance. Here this indicated their obedience and service to Sultan Ismail, Gowa's new ruler. The ceremonial act of replacing the cloth covering Sulengkaya, a banner that troops followed in war and another of Gowa's foremost *kalompoang*, was here connected to the elevation of a new *karaeng*. Sulengkaya was one of what the *Gowa Chronicle* called the 'Three Gaukang' first mentioned during Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's c. 1530s pivotal war against Talloq, Maros, and Polombangkeng.

<sup>525</sup> A son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari, he later became titled Karaeng Lempangang and succeeded his brother as ruler of Talloq in 1739. He also became one of the annalists of the *lontaraq bilang*, and first identifies himself as such on 8 Feb 1713.



- 29 Dec (M) Karaeng ri Mangalliq died at the age of 56  
27 Syaw 1121 namate Karaengta ri Mangalliq umuruna 56
- 1710
- 11 Jan (N) I Callaq Belo was forcibly expelled and departed from  
Gowa; two of his companions were killed
- 11 Zulk 1121 nanicindei ewangan I Callaq Belo maqlampa ri Gowa rua  
aganna nibuno
- 27 Jan (T) I Daeng Makkulle installed as *sabannaraq*, replacing I  
Daeng Buraqne
- 27 Zulk 1121 nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Makkullu assambeangi  
I Daeng Buraqne
- 9 Feb (M) I Daeng Rapanna installed to oversee the lesser *anaq kara-*  
*eng*<sup>526</sup>
- 10 Zulh 1121 naIDAeng Rapanna nitannang anjannanngi anaq karaeng  
salaya
- 16 Feb (M) the karaeng [Ismail] inaugurated on the installation  
stone<sup>527</sup>
- 17 Zulh 1121 nanitogasaq karaenga ri batu palantikanga

<sup>526</sup> This refers to a lower rank of nobles who were children of nobles (thought not though of the highest rank) and a slave or free (but non-noble) parent (Friedericz 1933:9, 14-5)

<sup>527</sup> The nature of the ritual described in this entry is uncertain. Ligtoet 1880:183 explained this ceremony as an event in which the new ruler was freed from the influence of evil spirits. Cense and Abdurrahim (1979:857) remarked that the next to last ruler of Gowa reported that this term (*nitogasaq*) described a simpler ceremony than the formal installation rite (*nilantiq*), while noting that the verb *annogasaq* described an inauguration in which the ruler stood under the staircase leading into a royal hall specially constructed for the occasion. The installation stone was a sacred spot marking where the *tumanurung* first descended in Tamalate and one of several ritually important locations in the center of Gowa (Van Eerde 1930). By taking part in this ceremony Sultan Ismail affirmed his direct descent from the *tumanurung* and thus took his place in the chain of *karaeng* who ruled Gowa. Like the moment on 21 Sep 1709 when the regalia were brought to him, this occasion was one of several that a new ruler of Gowa underwent as part of the process of becoming *karaeng*. Indeed, the *lontaraq bilang* entries suggest there was no single transformative moment in which someone became Gowa's ruler. No consistent ceremonial pattern emerges at each succession, and in general there seems to have been several sets of ritual proceedings that collectively and publicly affirmed the new ruler's status. This inauguration rite may have been of special importance because Ismail's father was the ruler of Boné La Patauw and he may have felt there was political value in emphasizing his right to the position through his maternal grandfather Abdul Jalil.

- 7 Mar (S)<sup>528</sup> I Daeng Manaqqalaq Caqdi died in Talloq  
6 Muh 1122 namate I Daeng Manangalaq Caqdi ri Talloq
- 19 Mar (R) I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad circumcised  
18 Muh 1122 nanisunnaq I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad
- 24 Mar (T) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq dropped anchor at Ujung  
Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq  
23 Muh 1122 namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq  
battu ri Jakattaraq
- 12 Apr (N) Karaeng ri Pangkajeqneq installed as *tumailalang*  
13 Saf 1122 nanitannang *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Pangkajeqneq
- 13 Apr (M) Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] sailed from Mangasa over to his  
homeland [on Sumbawa] bringing Karaeng ri Bontoa  
14 Saf 1122 namamise ri Mangasa Datu Lokaq taqle ri paqrasanganna  
anngerangi Karaengta ri Bontoa
- 4 May (M) Governor Heer van Toll arrived  
6 Rawl 1122 nabattu Guranadur Heer Pantul
- 16 May (S) Daengta Daeng Masiang died at the age of 65  
18 Rawl 1122 namate Daengta Daeng Masiang umuruna 65
- 21 May (R) I Loqmoq, a wife of our karaeng [*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng  
Bontosunggu] had a daughter Sitti Hawa, a younger sib-  
ling of Karaeng Majannang  
23 Rawl 1122 namammanaq I Loqmoq bainenna karaengta baine Sitti  
Hawa arinna Karae Majannang
- 4 Jul (S) Sulengkaya smeared with blood<sup>529</sup> as we opposed the  
people of Boné  
8 Jawl 1122 naniceraq Sulengkaya kinasongkaang tuBoneya
- 13 Jul (T) the arumpone [La Patauq] advanced from Bontoalag; we  
faced each other but did not fight

<sup>528</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote February instead of March.

<sup>529</sup> The banner was strengthened before battle by being consecrated with sacrificial blood, strength that would flow to the warriors who fought beneath Sulengkaya.

- 17 Jawl 1122      naosong arungpone ri Bontoalaq sidallekanngiaki  
tamaqbundukapaki
- 17 Jul (W)        we fought at Pangkajeqneq  
18 Jawl 1122      kimaqbunduqmo ri Pangkajeqneq
- 20 Jul (N)        a blowdart wounded the karaeng [Ismail] by his nipple  
24 Jawl 1122      namalokoq sappuq batoran susunna karaenga
- 25 Jul (S)        Dutch fired heavily from their fortifications in  
Bontomanaiq  
29 Jawl 1122      namamaqdiliq lompo Balandaya ri bentenna ri  
Bontomanaiq
- 8 Aug (S)        Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsajati] brought seawards to  
the fort with his wife  
13 Jakr 1122      nanierang kalauq ri kotaya Karae Katangka sikalabini
- 14 Aug (F)        the arumpone [La Patauq] retreated from Jonggaya  
19 Jakr 1122      namamonoqmo ri Jonggaya arungpone
- 19 Aug (W)        the Dutch and the Tallu Boccoa [Boné, Wajoq, and  
Soppéng] retreated from their fortifications  
24 Jakr 1122      namamonoqmo Balandaya Tallung Boccoa ri bentenna
- 20 Aug (R)        Karaeng ri Tana-Tana had a daughter Zainab<sup>530</sup>  
25 Jakr 1122      namammanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana baine Zainab
- 22 Aug (S)        I Daeng Talele<sup>531</sup> and Puanna I Daeng Mallimpo died  
27 Jakr 1122      namate I Daeng Talele Puanna I Daeng Mallimpo
- 24 Aug (M)        I Jamboq, a grandparent of I Papuq, died at 102 years of  
age  
29 Jakr 1122      namate I Jamboq toana I Papuq umuruqna 102 taung
- 8 Oct (R)        Karaeng ri Bontopanno sailed overseas to Jakattaraq to  
ask forgiveness from the [governor] general<sup>532</sup>

<sup>530</sup> Ligtoet (1880:184) notes that it is probably this Zainab who was later titled Karaeng Sumannaq.

<sup>531</sup> Probably but not necessarily the Daeng Talele who was Arung Palakka's wife.

<sup>532</sup> For fighting against the Bugis and the VOC.

- 16 Syab 1122 nasimombbalaq Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauq ri  
Jakattaraq mapalaq popporoq ri jinarala
- 1711
- 16 Jan (S) a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsjati] had a  
daughter Sitti Rahmah Malimbassanna
- 27 Zulk 1122 namammanaq bainenna Karae Katangka baine Sitti  
Rahmah Malimbassanna
- 28 Feb (N) 37 from Selayar, including women, went amuk inside the  
fort; three escaped
- 11 Muh 1123 Silayaraq 37 nasiagang baine maqjalloq ilalang ri kotaya  
tallu lappasaq
- 9 Apr (F) Karaeng ri Bontopanno arrived from Jakattaraq  
21 Saf 1123 nabattu ri Jakattaraq Karaengta ri Bontopanno
- 23 Apr (F) Daengta Daeng Tonji died in Lengkeseq  
7 Rawl 1123 namate Daengta Daeng Tonji ri Lengkeseq
- 9 May (N) Amirah I Tanitaja, also named I Manengratu<sup>533</sup>, born  
21 Rawl 1123 naanaq Amirah I Tanitaja nikanatodong I Manengratu
- 29 Jun (T) I Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq<sup>534</sup> born  
13 Jawl 1123 naanaq I Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq
- 19 Jul (M) Gallarrang Talloka I Kare Tulusuq died  
4 Jakr 1123 namate Gallarang Talloka I Kare Tulusuq
- 17 Aug (T)<sup>535</sup> Gallarrang Saumata died  
3 Raj 1123 namate Gallarang Saumata
- 2 Sep (R) the karaeng [Ismail] and the arumpone [La Patauq] were  
brought to an agreement by the Dutch
- 19 Raj 1123 nanipasitabamo ri Balandaya karaenga arungpone

<sup>533</sup> She was a daughter of Ismail and Karaeng Paqbineang and would later be titled Arung Palakka.

<sup>534</sup> A son of Ismail and Sitti Labibah, he was known as Arung Sumaling Matinroe ri Luwuq and was a commander (*punggawa*) of Boné's troops.

<sup>535</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote July instead of August.

24 Sep (F) 12 Syab 1123	birth of Karaeng Tangallaq Sitti Arifah I Tanripadaq <sup>536</sup> nanianakkang Karae Tangallaq Sitti Arifah I Tanripadaq
27 Sep (M) 15 Syab 1123	people mustered for the installation of [VOC governor] Heer van Toll namarewangan taua nilantiqna Heer Pantul
19 Oct (T) 7 Ram 1123	the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng Garassiq overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karae Garassiq kalauq ri Jakattaraq
10 Dec (F) <sup>537</sup> 30 Syaw 1123	Gallarrang Paceqnongang died namate Gallarrang Paceqnongan
1712	
20 Jan (W eve) 12 Zulh 1123	the karaeng [Ismail] seized Karaeng ri Bontoa's belong- ings nanirappun ri karaenga Karaengta ri Bontoa
23 Jan (N) 15 Zulh 1123	the people of Boriqsallo, the people of Manuju, the people of Sudiang were given the right to make decisions in their lands nanisareang tuBoriqsalloa tuManujua tuSudiang bicara ri buttana
1 Mar (T eve) 23 Muh 1124	I Yabu went amuk in front of a house in Dataq namaqjalloq I Yabu ri dallekanna ballaka ri Dataq
26 Mar (N) 19 Saf 1124	the people were asked by the karaeng [Ismail] for one real per house nanipappalakki taua ri karaenga sirealaq sibatu ballaq
13 Apr (W eve)	Tumamenang ri Taenga sailed from Taenga up to Bantaeng, letting go of what he had [brought there] <sup>538</sup>

<sup>536</sup> A daughter of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari.

<sup>537</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of December.

<sup>538</sup> This apparently refers to some of Gowa's *kalompoang* and is a clear indication that Tumamenang ri Taenga (*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng Bontosunggu) sought Sultan Ismail's removal as ruler of Gowa and believed that the influence of La Patauq (to whom he brought the regalia in

7 Rawl 1124	namamise ri Taenga Tuammenanga ri Taenga manaiq ri Bantaeng tittiq laling-lalingi
14 Apr (R eve)	I Daeng Pabila and a child of Gallarrang Mangasa married
8 Rawl 1124	nasikalabini I Daeng Pabila anaqna Gallarrang Mangasa
22 May (R eve)	Karaeng Garassiq dropped anchor at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq
6 Rokr 1124 <sup>539</sup>	namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karae Garassiq battu ri Jakattaraq
25 May (R)	Karaeng Bidara expelled <sup>540</sup> and I Daeng Talarra replaced him
19 Rokr 1124	nanipasuluq Karaeng Bidara naI Daeng Talarra assambeangi
6 Jun (T)	Governor Heer van Toll died
2 Jawl 1124	namate Gurnadura Heer Pantul
29 Jun (R)	Karaeng ri Sanrabone Tumamenang ri Rateqna <sup>541</sup> died; no one replaced him [as ruler of Sanrabone until December]
25 Jawl 1124	namate Karaenga ri Sanrabone Tuammenang ri Rateqna tenapa assambeangi
7 Aug (M)	Sayyid Zain died and was buried in Barrang
5 Raj 1124	namate Sayyid Zain niawang ri Barrang
20 Aug (N)	Tumamenang ri Taenga arrived from Bantaeng with the arumpone [La Patauq]
18 Raj 1124	nabattumo ri Bantaeng Tuammenanga ri Taenga siagaang arumpone

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Bantaeng) would allow him to succeed. Nor was he incorrect, for a few days after they returned to Gowa in August Ismail was deposed. Tumamenang ri Taenga had been instrumental in overseeing Ismail's installation in 1709, and the cause of their fallout is not evident from the *lontaraq bilang* alone.

<sup>539</sup> The Hijri date converts to 12 May 1712.

<sup>540</sup> In what capacity is not certain, though probably not as one of the two *tumailalang*.

<sup>541</sup> This individual is not mentioned elsewhere in the *lontaraq bilang*, but presumably replaced Abdul Jalil as Sanrabone's ruler when the former died in 1709. His posthumous name refers to his Islamic devotion, for *rateq* is the Makassarese pronunciation of the Arabic *ratib*, the collective recitation of Islamic prayers such as *zikir*.

- 24 Aug (R)  
23 Raj 1124 Karaeng Anaq Moncong expelled [as ruler of Gowa]  
nanipasuluq Karae Anaq Moncong
- 29 Aug (T) the people of Boné, the people of Soppeng, the people  
of Wajoq arrived and took Karaeng Anaq Moncong and  
also brought Sudanga and the sunshade over [the river  
to Taenga] to our karaeng [*tumabicarabutta* Karaeng  
Bontosunggu]
- 27 Raj 1124 nabattu tuBoneya tuSoppenga tuWajoka angallei Karae  
Anaq Moncong nanierangtommo Sudanga laqlang taqle  
ri karaengta
- 31 Aug (R) the Karaeng ri Talloq [Sirajuddin] installed as Karaeng ri  
Gowa, replacing Karaeng Anaq Moncong
- 29 Raj 1124<sup>542</sup> naKaraenga ri Talloq nitannang Karaeng ri Gowa assam-  
beangi Karaeng Anaq Moncong
- 4 Sep (T) Gallarrang Cambaya I Kare Kanjaraq died  
4 Syab 1124 namate Gallarrang Cambaya I Kare Kanjaraq
- 10 Sep (N) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] first shaded with the sunshade  
of Gowa
- 10 Syab 1124 nauru nilaqlangi karaenga laqlang ri Gowa
- 14 Sep (W eve) I Daeng Manangaraq Layuq died  
14 Syab 1124 namate I Daeng Manangaraq Layuq
- 15 Sep (R eve) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and I Eja married  
15 Syab 1124 nasikalabini Karae Bontolangkasaq I Eja
- 16 Sep (F eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong was brought into Cenrana [in  
Boné]
- 16 Syab 1124 nanierang mantama ri Cenrana Karae Anaq Moncong
- 21 Sep (R) Sudanga and Latea ri Duni renewed [our relationship] by  
being placed side by side in Ballaq Kiria<sup>543</sup> for the second  
time

<sup>542</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 21st instead of the 29th.

<sup>543</sup> This royal hall was first built on 12 Feb 1702 and must be connected to *tumabicarabutta* Tumamenang ri Taenga, who married a Karaeng ri Ballaq Kiria on 24 Oct 1687 and recently played the key role in expelling Sultan Ismail by forging a closer relationship with the ruler of Boné La Patau.

- 21 Syab 1124 naniberui nipasiempoang pole Sudanga Lateariduni ri Ballaq Kiria pinruangmi
- 8 Oct (S) the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng ri Bontpanno overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship; it said they had taken the karaeng [of Talloq, Sirajuddin] as Karaeng ri Gowa
- 7 Ram 1124 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karaengta ri Bontopanno kalauqna ri Jakattaraq angkana-kanai nial-lena karaeng ri Gowa karaenga
- 2 Nov (W)<sup>544</sup> the karaeng [Sirajuddin] sailed with his wife [Karaeng Balaqsari] up to Bantaeng for the circumcision of I La Useq<sup>545</sup>
- 2 Syaw 1124 namamise karaenga sikalabini manaiq ri Bantaeng ala nis-unnaqna I La Useq
- 12 Nov (F eve) a celebration of the arumpone [La Patauq] first took place in Bantaeng
- 12 Syaw 1124 nauru mammempo jagana arungpone ri Bantaeng
- 14 Nov (M) I La Useq circumcised
- 14 Syaw 1124 nanisunnaq I La Useq
- 28 Nov (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Bantaeng
- 28 Syaw 1124 nasore karaenga battu ri Bantaeng
- 11 Dec (N) Datu ri Pammana [in Wajoq] taken as karaeng by the people of Sanrabone<sup>546</sup>
- 12 Zulk 1124 naDatua ri Pammana naalle karaeng tuSanrabonea
- 15 Dec (R) I Tarawe ordered killed by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]; I Daeng Talarra's belongings seized and he was ordered confined to his house by the *sabannaraq* [Daeng Makkulle]
- 16 Zulk 1124 nanisuro buno ri karaenga I Tarawe nanirapping I Daeng Talarra nisuro ballaki ri sabannaraq

<sup>544</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 7th instead of the 2nd.

<sup>545</sup> A son of La Patau.

<sup>546</sup> This is testament to the growing importance of the Wajorese community during the period that Amanna Gappa was their *matoa* or leader in Makassar (see Noorduyn 2000). Wajorese were a Bugis immigrant merchant community living in an autonomous settlement in Makassar, and the selection of one of their members as Sanrabone's ruler must have solidified Sanrabone's maritime trading connections.



22 Dec (R)	I Daeng Talarra ordered brought east to Sandao
23 Zulk 1124	nanisuro erang manraiq ri Sandawo I Daeng Talarra
1713	
12 Jan (W eve)	Daengta Daeng Nganrenne Datu Doka died
14 Zulk 1124	namate Daengta Daeng Nganrenne Datu Doka
12 Jan (W)	teeth filed of I Sugi, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, with
14 Zulk 1124	those of I Nannuq, a child of I Daeng Mangalliq naniariq I Sugi anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq siagaang I Nannuq anaqna I Daeng Mangalliq
21 Jan (S)	there was unusual thunder once and just after it boomed
23 Zulk 1124	like a cannon; at night it happened again naniaq gunturuq maraqmaraeng sikali leqbaqji mangu- lappaq kamma mariang banngi niaq pole
24 Jan (W)	a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsjati] had a son
27 Zulk 1124	named I Andi Andi Muhammad Yusuf namammanaq bainenna Karae Katangka buraqne nikana I Andi Andi Muhammad Yusupu
8 Feb (T eve)	my <sup>547</sup> younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne and I Mindaq
12 Muh 1125	married nasikalabini putoku Karae Patteqne I Mindaq
10 Feb (F)	my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq and I Patimaq married
14 Muh 1125	nasikalabini putoku Karae Alluq I Patimaq
17 Feb (R eve)	my younger uncle I Mappatangaraq died and was buried
21 Muh 1125	in Tamalate namate potoku I Mappatangaraq ri Tamalatei niawang
1 Mar (T eve)	Dala Bantaeng <sup>548</sup> died inside Cenrana
3 Saf 1125	namate Dala Bantaeng ilalang ri Cenrana

<sup>547</sup> Here a *lontaraq bilang* annalist identifies himself for the first time. The writer is Syafiuddin, a son of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari who later became titled Karaeng Lempangang and in 1739 became ruler of Talloq.

<sup>548</sup> Dutch sources report that she was a concubine of La Patauq named Rugiah and known as Dala Bantaeng because that was where she was from (Ligtvoet 1880:187-8).

- 3 Mar (F) Sitti Labibah died inside Cenrana  
5 Saf 1125 namate Sitti Labibah ilalang ri Cenrana
- 31 Mar (F) Karaeng ri Bontopanno dropped anchor at Ujung  
Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq  
3 Rawl 1125 namaqlabu ri Jumpandang Karaengta ri Bontopanno battu  
ri Jakattaraq
- 7 Apr (R eve) the mother of a great grandparent of I Nimbang died  
10 Rawl 1125 namate anronna boena I Nimbang
- 25 Apr (T) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and his wife [Karaeng Balaqsari]  
sailed to go into Cenrana  
28 Rawl 1125 namamise karaenga sikalabini mantama ri Cenrana
- 31 May (W) it is said that Datu Lokaq [Mas Banten] died  
5 Jawl 1125 nanikana matei Datu Lokaq
- 10 Jun (S) Sudanga and Latea ri Duni again placed side by side in  
Latimojong [a royal hall]; people performed aru for the  
third time  
15 Jawl 1125 nanipasiempoang pole Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri  
Latimojong mangarui taua pintallungmi
- 21 Jun (W) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Cenrana  
26 Jawl 1125 nasore karaenga battu ri Cenrana
- 15 Jul (S) *nayaka* I Loqmoq Rannu died  
21 Jakr 1125 namate nayakaya I Loqmoq Rannu
- 21 Aug (M)<sup>549</sup> teeth filed of my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola  
28 Raj 1125 naniariq ayaku Karae Barong Patola
- 22 Aug (T)<sup>550</sup> my younger uncle I Pallaq circumcised  
29 Raj 1125 nanisunnaq putoku I Pallaq
- 1 Sep (F) I Daeng Nganrenne, the mother of I Daeng Masseqre I  
Papippiq, died  
10 Syab 1125 namate I Daeng Nganrenne anronna I Daeng Masseqre I  
Papippiq

<sup>549</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of August.

<sup>550</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote October instead of August.

- 10 Sep (N) I Daeng Maqleeq I Dulla and Sitti Lele married  
19 Syab 1125 nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleeq I Dulla Sitti Lele
- 10 Oct (T) I Daeng Tonji died  
19 Ram 1125 namate I Daeng Tonji
- 17 Oct (T) I Nenuq and I Manyanreri married  
26 Ram 1125 nasikalabini I Nenuq I Manyanreri
- 7 Nov (T) I Manyaq, a child of Karaeng Bontosiamaq<sup>551</sup>, circum-  
cised  
17 Syaw 1125 nanisunnaq I Manyaq anaqna Karae Bontosiamaq
- 18 Nov (S) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] revealed to our karaeng  
[Tumamenang ri Taenga] that Tumanenang ri Jawaya  
[Najamuddin] would be Karaeng ri Talloq<sup>552</sup>  
28 Syaw 1125 nanapappasaqbiang karaenga ri karaengta Tuammenang  
ri Jawaya napataja Karaeng ri Talloq
- 8 Dec (F) I Daeng Manyipi I Uang died  
19 Zulk 1125 namate I Daeng Manyipi I Uan
- 9 Dec (S) a wife of Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong died  
20 Zulk 1125 namate bainenna Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
- 22 Dec (F) I Mandaq<sup>553</sup>, a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng  
Patteqne, had a daughter I Bunga Suttaraq  
4 Zulh 1125 namammanaq I Mandaq bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne  
baine I Bunga Suttaraq
- 31 Dec (N) I Saidi, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq by Sayyid [Zain], cir-  
cumcised  
13 Zulh 1125 nanisunnaq I Saidi anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Sayyidka
- 1714
- 5 Jan (R eve) I Kare Mami, a child of our great lord [Shaykh Yusuf],  
died

<sup>551</sup> Karaeng Bontosiamaq, also known as Mappakana Daeng Majanji, was a daughter of Karaeng Beroanging and one of his wives, a daughter of Karaeng ri Bulu-Bulo I Daeng Tatea (Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 188, 200).

<sup>552</sup> Tumanenang ri Jawaya was only about five years old at the time.

<sup>553</sup> This name was previously spelled Mindaq.

- 18 Zulh 1125      namate I Kare Mami anaqna tuan loeta
- 8 Jan (W)          I Daeng Makkappa and my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I  
Thaibah married
- 23 Zulh 1125      nasikalabini I Daeng Makkappa toaku I Daeng Nisali I  
Thaibah
- 15 Jan (M)  
28 Zulh 1125      Karaeng Balambaru I Daeng Riboko died  
namate Karae Balambaru I Daeng Riboko
- 18 Jan (W eve)    the night of Karaeng ri Bontoa's death across on Reok [on  
Flores] at the age of 51
- 1 Muh 1126        banngi nakamateanga Karaengta ri Bontoa ibaqla ri Rouq  
umuruqna 51
- 1 Mar (R)          a child of I Todattia by Kare Tonji I Maqmiq was cut  
down by a slave of his
- 13 Saf 1126        nanijalloq ri atanna anaqna I Todattia ri Kare Tonji I  
Maqmiq
- 2 Mar (F)  
14 Saf 1126        a child of I Todattia cut down yesterday died  
namatemo anaqna I Todattia nijalloki sabanngi
- 9 Mar (F)  
21 Saf 1126        Daengta Daeng Marannu I Pandiq died  
namate Daengta Daeng Marannu I Pandiq
- 11 Mar (S eve)  
23 Saf 1126        I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru died  
namate I Daeng Manyampaq Balambaru
- 20 Mar (T)        a karaengship given to I Sugi, now called Karaeng  
Bisangpole
- 3 Rawl 1126        nanisare pakkaengang I Sugi nikana Karae Bisangpole
- 12 Apr (R)        the people of Alluq went to my younger uncle Karaeng  
Alluq
- 26 Rawl 1126      nanipamange tuAlluka ri putoku Karae Alluq
- 3 May (R)  
18 Rokr 1126      the coffin of Karaeng ri Bontoa was brought back  
nabattu nierang allunna Karaengta ri Bontoa
- 19 May (S)        the people of Talloq revealed to the Dutch Tumamenang  
ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] as Karaeng ri Talloq

- 4 Jawl 1126 nanapappasaqbiang tuTalloka ri Balandaya Tuammenang ri Jawaya Karaeng ri Talloq
- 29 May (T) I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi died; the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] arrived to marry [Karaeng Bisangpole]
- 14 Jawl 1126 namate I Daeng Mabela I Mangasengi nabattu karaenga ri Dima ala maqbaine
- 21 Jun (W eve) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana had a son named Muhammad Baki  
8 Jakr 1126 namammanaq Karaengta ri Tana-Tana buraqne nikana Muhammad Baki
- 15 Aug (W eve) a child of my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq named Ummu Kalsyum died
- 4 Syab 1126 namate anaqna putoku Karae Alluq nikanaya Ummu Kalsyum
- 1 Sep (F eve) Karaeng ri Pasiq died at the age of 56  
21 Syab 1126 namate Karaengta ri Pasiq umuruqna 56
- 13 Sep (W eve) the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] slept with Karaeng Bisangpole
- 3 Ram 1126 namaqlusereq karaenga ri Dima Karae Bisangpole
- 16 Sep (N eve) Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] died at the age of 43; he was placed in a coffin and buried in Bontoalaq
- 7 Ram 1126 namate Matinroa ri Nagaulan umuruqna 43 nibenei ri allung naniawang ri Bontoalaq
- 19 Sep (R) Karaeng ri Mamampang taken as karaeng by the people of Sanrabone
- 10 Ram 1126 naKaraengta ri Mamampang naalle karaeng tuSanrabonea
- 15 Oct (M) a karaengship given to Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin], now called Karaeng Kanjilo
- 5 Syaw 1126 nanisare pakkarang Tuammenanga ri Jawaya nikana Karae Kanjilo
- 6 Nov (T) my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son  
27 Syaw 1126 namammanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne

- 8 Nov (R) the coffin of Matinroa ri Nagaulang [La Patauq] was dug up and brought into Cenrana
- 29 Syaw 1126 nanikekesseq allunna Matinroa ri Nagaulan nierang mantama ri Cenrana
- 18 Dec (T) the people of Lempangang went to myself [Syafiuddin]  
10 Zulh 1126 nanipamae ri nakke tuLempanganga
- 19 Dec (W) Daengta Daeng Majarreq Camme died  
11 Zulh 1126 namate Daengta Daeng Majarreq Camme
- 20 Dec (R) it is said that the arumpone<sup>554</sup> and Datu ri Ulawang<sup>555</sup> divorced  
12 Zulh 1126 nanikana sipelaki arungpone Datua ri Ulawang
- 21 Dec (R eve) I Kare Rannu, a widow of Puanna I Daeng, died  
13 Zulh 1126 namate I Kare Rannu balunna Puanna I Daeng
- 31 Dec (M) a karaengship given to my mother, now called Karaeng Balaqsari  
23 Zulh 1126 nanisare pakkaraengang ayaku nikana Karae Balassari
- 1715
- 8 Mar (F) a wife of Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsajati] had a son named Madyan I Mappasonriq  
2 Rawl 1127 namamanaq bainenna Karae Katangka buraqne nikana Madyan I Mappasonriq
- 15 Mar (F) the people of Soppéng arrived to take Karaeng Katangka [La Padangsajati] as ruler  
9 Rawl 1127 nabattu tuSoppenga angallei karaeng Karae Katangka
- 17 Mar (N) two suns were seen  
11 Rawl 1127 naniciniq rua matanna alloa
- 19 Mar (F eve) I Daeng Maqleq I Dulla and Sitti Lele divorced  
13 Rawl 1127 nasipelaq I Daeng Maqleq I Dulla Sitti Lele

<sup>554</sup> Batari Toja Matinroe ri Tippulunna, La Patau's daughter who briefly succeeded him as ruler of Boné.

<sup>555</sup> He was a Boné noble named Pabukajuwe (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

- 23 Mar (S) I Judda, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died  
17 Rawl 1127 namate I Judda anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 2 Apr (T) Arung Tanete<sup>556</sup> and his wife<sup>557</sup> arrived from Toraja  
27 Rawl 1127 nabattu ri Toraja Aruq Tanete sikalabini
- 7 Apr (S eve) I Sitti and Karaeng Tallampuang married  
3 Rokr 1127 nasikalabini I Sitti Karae Tallampuang
- 10 Apr (T eve) Gallarrang Talloka I Biqduq died; the following day  
6 Rokr 1127 Karaeng Lambengi died  
namate Gallarang Talloka I Biqduq ammuko ri alloya  
namate Karae Lambengi
- 13 Apr (S) I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq died  
9 Rokr 1127 namate I Kare Tonji I Maqmiq
- 19 Apr (R eve) I Salamah died  
15 Rokr 1127 namate I Salamah
- 4 May (F eve) Karaeng Bulukumba and I Daeng Nisoqna married  
30 Rokr 1127 nasikalabini Karaeng Bulukumba I Daeng Nisoqna
- 6 May (M) I Ninuq and Watanglipua married  
3 Jawl 1127 nasikalabini I Ninuq Watanglipua
- 15 May (W) Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] sailed from Ujung  
12 Jawl 1127 Pandang to go into Soppéng  
namamise ri Jumpandang Datua ri Soppeng mantama ri  
Soppeng
- 20 May (M) I Daeng Nisayu, a wife of I Tuang Rappang, died  
17 Jawl 1127 namate I Daeng Nisayu bainenna I Tuan Rappan
- 23 May (W eve) I Daeng Maqleq and Sitti Lele returned to each other  
20 Jawl 1127 nasipolei I Daeng Maqleq Sitti Lele
- 27 May (N eve) a wife of I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq had a daughter  
24 Jawl 1127 namamanaq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo I Mangiq baine

<sup>556</sup> Daeng Mangemba, grandfather of La Padangsajati.

<sup>557</sup> Karaeng Bontorambaq.

- 1 Jun (S) my grandparent<sup>558</sup> I Daeng Maqleq I Sumang [begins to] oversee the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 29 Jawl 1127 natoaku I Daeng Maqleq I Suman anjannanngi anaq karaeng salaya
- 3 Jun (M) a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq had a son
- 1 Jakr 1127 namamanaq bainenna putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq buraqne
- 18 Jun (T) I Sumailiq, a grandchild of Karaeng ri Taruq, circumcised
- 16 Jakr 1127 nanisunnaq I Sumailiq cucunna Karaengta ri Taruq
- 9 Jul (T) my older uncle<sup>559</sup> arrived from Pulo Laut [an island off the southeast coast of Borneo]
- 7 Raj 1127 nabattu puangku ri Lauq-pulo
- 18 Jul (R) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia installed as lord in Talloq<sup>560</sup>
- 16 Raj 1127 nanitannang malompo ri Talloq puangku Karae Boqdia
- 5 Aug (M) Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] made ruler of Boné by [his half-sister] Datu ri Citta, taking back the rulerships of Citta along with Timurung
- 4 Syab 1127 naDatua ri Soppeng nipakakaraeng ri Bone ri Datua ri Citta mamotereqmia mange ri kakaraenganna ri Citta sia-gaang ri Timurung
- 8 Aug (W) I Daeng Tamami died
- 7 Syab 1127 namate I Daeng Tamami
- 10 Aug (S) I Paciq<sup>561</sup> and I Sugi married
- 10 Syab 1127 nasikalabini I Paciq I Sugi

<sup>558</sup> Makassarese frequently use kinship terms as honorifics. In the *lontaraq bilang* entries written by Karaeng Lempangang this is often the case with 'my grandparent' (*toaku*). His grandparents were Sultan Abdul Kadir and Karaeng ri Parang-Parang on one side, and Arung Teko and Daeng Nisayu I Thaibah on the other. Yet a wide variety of elders, beginning with I Daeng Maqleq in this entry, are called 'grandparent' as a sign of respect and kinship. In general Karaeng Lempangang uses the kinship terms for uncles, aunts, and siblings with more precision.

<sup>559</sup> This was Daeng Mammuntuli Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

<sup>560</sup> Dutch sources report that he became the formal guardian of the young ruler of Talloq Tumamenang ri Jawaya, and it is apparently this to which this entry refers (Ligtvoet 1880:190).

<sup>561</sup> Also or later known as Daeng Manassaq.



- 15 Aug (R) Karaeng Majannang circumcised; this the day that the arumpone [La Padangsajati] had a sunshade raised over his head
- 15 Syab 1127 nanisunnaq Karae Majannang iaminne alloya nanipirang-kaki payung arungpone
- 2 Sep (N eve) I Patimaq had a son by my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq  
3 Ram 1127 namamanaq I Patimaq ri putoku Karae Alluq buraqne
- 6 Sep (F) a karaengship name given to my younger<sup>562</sup> uncle  
[Fathuddin], now called Karaeng Patteqne  
7 Ram 1127 nanisare areng pakkaraengang puangku nikana Karae Patteqne
- 10 Oct (W eve) I Saidi, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq by Sayyid [Zain], died  
11 Syaw 1127 namate I Saidi anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Sayyidka
- 29 Oct (T) a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne had a son  
1 Zulk 1127 namamanaq bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne buraqne
- 10 Nov (N) I Kare Mamo, a child of our great lord I Daengta [Shaykh Yusuf] died  
13 Zulk 1127 namate I Kare Mamo anaqna Tuang Loeang I Daengta
- 16 Dec (M) I Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, and a child of I Daeng Mattulung married  
19 Zulh 1127 nasikalabini I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi naanaq I Daeng Mattulung
- 19 Dec (W eve) Karaeng ri Manuruki died  
22 Zulh 1127 namate Karaengta ri Manuruki
- 1716
- 15 Jan (M eve) Karaeng Ujung I Daeng Nisanga and I Poqdo married  
19 Muh 1128 nasikalabini Karae Ujung I Daeng Nisanga I Poqdo
- 17 Jan (R eve) Karaeng Bontotannga and I Ranti married; after only twenty-five nights they divorced  
22 Muh 1128 nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga I Ranti ruampulo banngi-ji allima nasipelaq

<sup>562</sup> A writer mistakenly wrote 'older uncle' (*puang*) for 'younger uncle' (*puto*).

- 11 Feb (T) I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoroq died  
17 Saf 1128 namate I Daeng Manyampaq Sengoro
- 18 Feb (T) the arumpone [La Padangsjati] went down to and  
24 Saf 1128 attacked Peneki [in Wajoq]  
nanipanaungi Peneki nibunduq ri arungpone
- 20 Feb (R) people warred briefly and Peneki was burned  
26 Saf 1128 namaqbanduq taua sinampereq nanisussuluqmo Peneki
- 21 Feb (F) I Daeng Manaiq killed by the arumpone [La Padangsjati]  
27 Saf 1128 nanibuno I Daeng Manaiq ri arungpone
- 19 Mar (R) the day a great grandparent of the karaeng [Sirajuddin]  
24 Rawl 1128 died across on Bima  
allo nakamateanga boena karaenga ibaqla ri Dima
- 5 Apr (S eve) my grandparent I Daeng Nisali had a son  
12 Rokr 1128 namamanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali buraqne
- 14 Apr (T) the arumpone [La Padangsjati] landed, arriving from  
21 Rokr 1128 Cenrana for the first time as ruler of Boné  
nasore arungpone battu ri Cenrana uru karaenna ri Bone
- 20 Apr (M) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and I Eja  
27 Rokr 1128 divorced  
nasipelaq putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq I Eja
- 22 Apr (W) the suns rays were shaded as if one wanted to [with ones  
29 Rokr 1128 hand]; darkness fell at the stroke of 5 and lasted one hour;  
Karaeng Alluq and I Patimaq divorced  
nakasapukang singaraqna matanna alloya kammai tueroq  
pattang mattunruq ri 5 garigantaya makaraqgai sijaang  
nasipelaq Karae Alluq I Patimaq
- 8 May (F) Karaeng ri Tuang Pandiq died  
16 Jawl 1128 namate Karaengta ri Tuan Pandiq
- 9 May (S) Karaeng ri Batangnionjoq [in Tanete] Matinroa ri  
Sumpangpoba<sup>563</sup> died

<sup>563</sup> Mappajanci Daeng Matajang.

- 17 Jawl 1128      namate Karaengta ri Batangnionjoq Matinroa ri Sumpangpoba
- 15 May (R eve)    I Pande and I Ranti married  
22 Jawl 1128      nasikalabini I Pande I Ranti
- 23 May (F eve)    my mother [Karaeng Balaqsari] divorced by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]  
1 Jakr 1128        nanipelaq ayaku ri karaenga
- 28 May (R)        my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne and I Mindaq divorced  
6 Jakr 1128        nasipelaq putoku Karae Patteqne I Mindaq
- 18 Jun (R)        my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and I Maimunah married  
27 Jakr 1128      nasikalabini puangku Karae Boqdia I Maimunah
- 18 Jun (R)        the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne,<sup>564</sup> the mother of I Manimbang, married  
27 Jakr 1128      nasikalabini karaenga ayana I Manimbang Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne
- 16 Jul (R)        the coffin of a great grandparent of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] was brought back  
26 Raj 1128        nabattu nierang alunna boena karaenga
- 20 Jul (M)        Sudanga and Latea ri Duni again placed side by side in Ballaq Kiria for the fourth time  
30 Raj 1128        nanipasiempoang pole Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri Ballaq Kiria makapingappaqna
- 21 Jul (T)        work begun on the walls of a mosque  
1 Syab 1128        nanipakaramula nijama batana masigika
- 24 Aug (M)        Karaeng Binoang was cut down by a slave of his seawards in Ujung Pandang; after the next day he died  
6 Ram 1128        nanijalloq Karae Binoang ri atanna ilauq ri Jumpandang ammukopa namate

<sup>564</sup> Dutch sources report that Sirajuddin's wife was a daughter of Karaeng Bontomanompo (Ligtvoet 1880:192).

- 1 Sep (T) I Sitti, a wife of Karaeng Tallampuang, had a child  
14 Ram 1128 namamanaq I Sitti bainenna Karae Tallampuang
- 8 Sep (T) my mother Karaeng Balaqsari and Arung Ujung married  
21 Ram 1128 nasikalabini ayaku Karae Balassari Arung Ujung
- 11 Sep (F) I Loqmoq [Dayang], the mother of Karaeng ri Mangalliq,  
24 Ram 1128 died  
namate I Loqmoq anronna Karaengta ri Mangalliq
- 12 Sep (S) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong and I Daeng Tasami  
25 Ram 1128 divorced  
nasipelaq *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong I Daeng  
Tasami
- 17 Sep (R) a wife of Karaeng Batupute had a son  
30 Ram 1128 namamanaq bainenna Karae Batuputeh buraqne
- 28 Sep (N eve) Karaeng Bontomateqne taken as Karaeng ri Jipang  
11 Syaw 1128 naKarae Bontomateqne niallei karaeng ri Jupang
- 1 Oct (R) it is said that I Daeng Manruppai I Okang killed across on  
14 Syaw 1128 Bima  
nanikana nibunoi I Daeng Manruppai I Okang ibaqla ri  
Dima
- 8 Oct (R) people mustered for the installation of [VOC] Governor  
21 Syaw 1128 Sipman  
namarewangan taua nilantiaqna Gurnadur Sipman
- 23 Oct (F) it is said that my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang and I  
7 Zulk 1128 Daeng ri Ekong divorced  
nanikana sipelaki putoku Karae Panaikang I Daeng ri  
Ekong
- 17 Nov (T) I Maimunah, a wife of my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia,  
2 Zulh 1128 died  
namate I Maimunah bainenna puangku Karae Boqdia
- 28 Nov (S) I Pande and I Ranti divorced  
14 Zulh 1128 nasipelaq I Pande I Ranti

1717

- 11 Jan (M) my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne married my younger aunt I Patimaq; Karaeng ri Kaballokang died
- 28 Muh 1129 nasikalabini putoku Karae Patteqne ayaku I Patimah namate Karaeng ri Kaballokang
- 20 Jan (W) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqdoqdong and I Daeng Tasami divorced<sup>565</sup>
- 7 Saf 1129 nasipelaq *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Lekoqdoqdong I Daeng Tasami
- 24 Jan (S eve) Sitti Lele died  
11 Saf 1129 namate Sitti Lele
- 25 Jan (M)<sup>566</sup> a replacement 'carved house' built in Bontoalaq<sup>567</sup>  
12 Saf 1129 nanibangun sambenna ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 28 Jan (R) Arung Mampu and I Tuguq married  
15 Saf 1129 nasikalabini Arung Mampu I Tuguq
- 30 Jan (F eve) a child of a slave of Karaeng Garassiq named Abdul Muqmin died<sup>568</sup>  
17 Saf 1129 namate anaq ri atanna Karae Garassiq nikanaya Abdul Muqmin
- 18 Feb (R) I Mattayang and my grandparent I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti<sup>569</sup> married  
6 Rawl 1129 nasikalabini I Mattayang toaku I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
- 23 Feb (T) I Mappapoke, a child of Karaeng Alluq, died  
11 Rawl 1129 namate I Mappapoke anaqna Karae Alluq
- 26 Apr (M) I Kare Parampang I Caccaq and I Saidah married  
14 Jawl 1129 nasikalabini I Kare Parampang I Caccaq I Saidah

<sup>565</sup> They previously divorced on 12 Sep 1716 and must have returned briefly to each other.

<sup>566</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 15th instead of the 25th.

<sup>567</sup> The original structure was built on 27 Jun 1652.

<sup>568</sup> Karaeng Garassiq was presumably the father.

<sup>569</sup> This is apparently not the Daeng Mateqne named Sitti Abidah who married Sirajuddin on 18 Jun 1716.

- 3 May (M)           teeth filed of I Aciq  
21 Jawl 1129       naniariq I Aciq
- 5 May (W)           my great grandparent I Daeng Nisimba I Rabiah died  
23 Jawl 1129       namate boeku I Daeng Nisimba I Rabbiah
- 13 May (R)          I Maqdaung and my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola  
                          married  
2 Jakr 1129         nasikalabini I Maqdaun ayaku Karae Barong Patola
- 31 May (N eve)     Karaeng Alluq and I Daeng Tongi married  
20 Jakr 1129       nasikalabini Karae Alluq I Daeng Tongi
- 11 Jun (F)          *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Mandalleq died  
2 Raj 1129         namate *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Mandalleq
- 14 Jun (M)          coverings of the banners replaced<sup>570</sup>  
5 Raj 1129         nanisambei lekoqna cindea
- 21 Jun (M)          the people of Mandalleq went to Kapparaq<sup>571</sup>, now called  
                          Karaeng Tumaqlalang  
12 Raj 1129         nanipamange tuMandalleka ri Kapparaq nanikana Karae  
                          tumaqlalang
- 24 Jun (R)          Karaeng Lekoqboqdong installed as *tumailalang*  
15 Raj 1129         nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Lekoqboqdong
- 25 Jun (F)          Karaeng Sanrabone [Karaeng Mamampang] and Karaeng  
                          ri Tana-Tana divorced  
16 Raj 1129         nasipelaq Karae Sanrabone Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 26 Jun (S)          Gurudaya<sup>572</sup> smeared with blood and the people of Gowa  
                          mustered for the karaeng's [Sirajuddin's] journey into  
                          Baroko [in Toraja]  
17 Raj 1129         naniceraq Gurudaya namarewangan tuGowaya lamanta-  
                          mana karaenga ri Baroko

<sup>570</sup> On 16 Nov 1709 this ceremonial practice was tied to the installation of a new ruler of Gowa, and here it may be connected to the death of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Mandalleq.

<sup>571</sup> A son of Karaeng Mandalleq.

<sup>572</sup> Like Sulengkaya, this was a banner mentioned first mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle* during the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna as one of Gowa's 'Three Gaukang'.

- 29 Jun (T) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] sailed to go into Toraja with the arumponne [La Padangsajati]
- 20 Raj 1129 namamise karaenga mantama ri Toraja siagaang arumponne
- 16 Jul (N) in Panaikang people mustered in great numbers again  
1 Syab 1129 nari Panaikang taua marewangan lompole
- 7 Aug (S) a cave in Tungko collapsed  
29 Syab 1129 nanabangka leanga ri Tungko
- 10 Aug (T) I Parukka, *maqdika*<sup>573</sup> of Baroko, submitted  
2 Ram 1129 namanyomba I Parukka Maqdikaya ri Baroko
- 3 Sep (F) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] landed, arriving from Baroko  
26 Ram 1129 nasore karaenga battu ri Baroko
- 13 Sep (M) Karaeng ri Kampong Beru died  
7 Syaw 1129 namate Karaengta ri Kampong Beru
- 17 Sep (F) word arrived of the death of Daengta Daeng Talebang  
below in Binoang  
11 Syaw 1129 nabattu nipabiritta matena Daengta Daeng Talebang  
irawa ri Binoang
- 20 Sep (M) Karaeng Parangbone went over to Bima; Karaeng  
Bontomateqne too  
14 Syaw 1129 namaqlampa Karae Parangbone taqle ri Dima Karae  
Bontomateqne tong
- 28 Sep (T) I Daeng Tasannging I Taloq died  
22 Syaw 1129 namate I Daeng Tasannging I Taloq
- 27 Oct (W) I Mattaq<sup>574</sup> and my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga<sup>575</sup>  
were pledged to each other

<sup>573</sup> This chiefly title was used by some Central Sulawesi and Malukuan groups, those that Ligtvoet (1880:193) termed 'Alfur'.

<sup>574</sup> A son of La Padangsajati also known as Abdurrahman I Mappatawang. I Mattaq's mother may have been Zainab, a daughter of Karaeng Bontorambaq and Daeng Mangemba born on 2 Aug 1693. Four children of La Padangsajati are mentioned in the *lontaraq bilang*, but their mother (or mothers) are not named.

<sup>575</sup> A daughter of Sirajuddin and Karaeng Balaqsari also known as Mahbubah Mamuncaragi.

- 22 Zulk 1129      nanipasibayuannan I Mattaq daengku Karae Tanasanga
- 31 Oct (S eve)      my mother [Karaeng Balaqsari] died at the age of 34  
26 Zulk 1129      namate ayaku umuruqna 34
- 3 Nov (T eve)      I Kare Mangalle, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*<sup>576</sup>, died  
29 Zulk 1129      namate I Kare Mangalle anrongguru anaq buraqne
- 8 Nov (M)          I Daeng Manassaq Paciq and I Sugi divorced  
4 Zulh 1129      nasipelaq I Daeng Manassaq Paciq I Sugi
- 23 Nov (M eve)    the karaeng [Sirajuddin] celebrated [fulfilling] his vow on  
his arrival from Toraja  
20 Zulh 1129      najaga karaenga tinjaqna battuna ri Toraja
- 2 Dec (R)          my grandparent I Daeng Maingaq and my grandparent I  
Daeng Mangagaang divorced  
29 Zulh 1129      nasipelaq toaku I Daeng Maingaq toaku I Daeng  
Mangagaang
- 7 Dec (T)          a house was built for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] down here  
in Katangka so Ballaq Kiria could be torn down  
4 Muh 1130      nanibangun ballaqna karaenga irawa mae ri Katangka  
lanigesaraqna Ballaq Kiria
- 11 Dec (S)        I Patimaq, a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne,  
had a son named I Mappabangung Abdul Aziz  
8 Muh 1130      namamanaq I Patima bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne  
buraqne nikana I Mappabangung Abdul Aziz
- 1718
- 11 Jan (T)        Muhammad Saleh, a child of the elder Ratu Bagus, cir-  
cumcised  
9 Saf 1130      nanisunnaq Muhammad Saleh anaqna Ratu Bagusq  
matoa
- 27 Jan (W eve)    I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq died  
25 Saf 1130      namate I Daeng Manyampaq Alluq
- 4 Feb (F)          the arumpone [La Padangsajati] went up into his new  
house

<sup>576</sup> See the note accompanying the 22 Feb 1651.



- 3 Rawl 1130      namanaiqmo ri ballaq beruna arungpone
- 14 Feb (N eve)    I Loqmoq Galorang, the mother of the elder Karaeng ri Mandalleq, died
- 12 Rawl 1130      namate I Loqmoq Galorang anronna Karaengta ri Mandalleq motoaya
- 15 Feb (W)  
14 Rawl 1130      I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad and I Sugi married nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad I Sugi
- 2 Mar (W)          a ship landed bringing my grandparent Arung Teko, arriving after being exiled from Ceylon
- 29 Rawl 1130      nasore kappalaq angerangai toaku Aruq Teko battuna nipelaq ri Selang
- 4 Mar (R eve)     I Daeng Maingaq, an older sibling of the *sabannaraq* [Daeng Makkulle], died; I Daeng Nisanga I Puqdo<sup>577</sup> had a son
- 2 Rokr 1130        namate I Daeng Maingaq kakanna sabannaraka namamanaq I Daeng Nisanga I Puqdo buraqne
- 5 Mar (F)          my younger uncle I Kalingkeriq circumcised by Karaeng ri Taruq
- 3 Rokr 1130        nanisunnaq putoku I Kalingkeriq ri Karaengta ri Taruq
- 6 Mar (F eve)     Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and his wife fled seawards to Kampong Beru
- 3 Rokr 1130        namalari Karae Bontolangkasaq sikalabini kalauq ri Kampong Beru
- 14 Apr (R)         I Maimunah, a child of Daengta Daeng Mangaungi by a child of an *orang kaya*, died
- 14 Jawl 1130      namate I Maimunah anaqna Daengta Daeng Mangaungi ri anaqna orangkaya
- 4 May (W)  
4 Jakr 1130        Anciq Jenalaq died in Talloq  
namate Anciq Jenalaq ri Talloq
- 18 May (W)        Sayyid Husain, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq, circumcised

<sup>577</sup> Possible but not necessarily the Daeng Nisanga mentioned on 18 Jun 1706.

- 18 Jakr 1130 nanisunnaq Sayyid Husin anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq
- 24 May (T) teeth filed of my elder sibling Karaeng Tabaringang by the arumpone [La Padangsjati]<sup>578</sup>
- 24 Jakr 1130 naniariq daengku Karae Tabaringan ri arungpone
- 25 May (T eve) a wife of the arumpone [La Padangsjati] had a son who after just one night died
- 25 Jakr 1130 namamanaq bainenna arungpone buraqne sipattangji namate
- 28 May (S) it is said that a great wind struck Selayar  
28 Jakr 1130 nanikana natabai angin lombo Silayaraq
- 3 Jun (R eve) a karaengship given to my elder sibling, now called Karaeng Tabaringang
- 5 Raj 1130 nanisare pakkaraengang daengku nikana Karae Tabaringan
- 8 Jun (W) it is said that Karaeng Barong Patola<sup>579</sup> died across on Sumbawa
- 10 Raj 1130 nanikana matei Karae Barongpatola ibaqla ri Sambawah
- 24 Jun (R eve) my grandparent Arung Teko died  
26 Raj 1130 namate toaku Aruq Teko
- 24 Jun (F) I Shaykh installed as *kadi*  
26 Raj 1130 nanitannang kadhi I Syeikh
- 18 Jul (N eve) I Daeng Mangewai I Wasing and I Kare Tonji I Baedah married
- 19 Syab 1130 nasikalabini I Daeng Mangewai I Wasing I Kare Tonji I Baedah

<sup>578</sup> Karaeng Tabaringang was a daughter of Sirajuddin and his wife Karaeng Majannang, and thus this ceremony was one of several during these years intended to strengthen the political relationship between the rulers of Gowa and Boné. The engagement of La Padangsjati's son I Mattaq and Sirajuddin's daughter Karaeng Tanasanga on 27 Oct 1717 should be viewed in the same light, as should Sirajuddin's participation in La Padangsjati's expedition to Toraja the same year and the periodic rituals in which the regalia swords Sudanga and Latea ri Duni were placed side by side in testament to the two kingdom's unity.

<sup>579</sup> This is not Karaeng Lempangang's younger aunt, but the previous holder of this *karaengship*.

- 18 Jul (M) it is said that I Mangiq, a child of I Daeng Mabela I Mangassengi, died across on Sandao
- 19 Syab 1130 nanikana matei I Mangiq anaqna I Daeng Mabela I Mangasengi ibaqla ri Sandao
- 24 Jul (N) Daengta Daeng Talele, a child of Karaeng ri Taruq, died  
25 Syab 1130 namate Daengta Daeng Talele anaqna Karaengta ri Taruq
- 31 Jul (S eve) I Daeng Kenna, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Laikang, died  
3 Ram 1130 namate I Daeng Kenna arinna Karaengta ri Laikang
- 5 Aug (F) birth of I Mappatimung Wajihuddin  
8 Ram 1130 nanianakkang I Mappatimung Wajihuddin
- 22 Aug (M) it is said that I Opu, widow of Datu ri Luwuq Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq, died  
25 Ram 1130 nanikana matei I Opu balunna Datuya ri Luwuq Matinroya ri Tompoqtikkaq
- 25 Aug (W eve) my grandparent I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son who reached just 12 nights of age  
28 Ram 1130 namamanaq toaku I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne 10 bannggi anrua umuruqna
- 31 Aug (W) Karaeng Sanrabone [Karaeng Mamampang] was brought by the arumpone [La Padangsajati] here to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] as he went to the Dutch<sup>580</sup>  
4 Syaw 1130 nanierang ri arungpone mae ri karaenga Karae Sanrabone mangena ri Balandaya
- 4 Sep (N) teeth filed of I Mangeranngi, a child of I Daeng Mallimpo, who was then celebrated  
8 Syaw 1130 naniariq I Mangeranngi anaqna I Daeng Mallimpo nipaqqangani
- 9 Sep (R eve) I Daeng Tommi and Karaeng Batupute divorced but returned to each other later

<sup>580</sup> La Padangsajati brought Karaeng Mamampang, the ruler of Sanrabone, to Sirajuddin to ask forgiveness because Karaeng Mamampang earlier had sought Dutch intervention against Sirajuddin in a political struggle involving Sirajuddin and the Sanrabone noble Karaeng Lauq and his son Karaeng Manjalling (Ligtvoet 1880:194-5).

- 13 Syaw 1130      nasipelaq I Daeng Tommi Karae Batuputeh sipoleiji salla
- 17 Sep (F eve)  
21 Syaw 1130      my grandparent I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti had a son  
namamanaq toaku I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti buraqne
- 26 Sep (N eve)  
2 Zulk 1130      the karaeng [Sirajuddin] gave a celebration after I  
Mappatimung was fed<sup>581</sup>  
namamempo jagana karaenga leqbaqna nipaemuq I  
Mappatimung
- 28 Sep (T eve)  
3 Zulk 1130      I Simba, a chambermaid, stabbed outside the grounds of  
Ballaq Kiria  
nanitoboq I Simba turibiliq ipantaranna embana Ballaq  
Kiria
- 2 Oct (N)  
7 Zulk 1130      a manuscript arrived from my younger uncle Karaeng  
Panaikang on Sumbawa saying that my younger aunt  
Karaeng Pasiq had been divorced [by the ruler of  
Sumbawa, Ammasaq]  
nabattu lontaraqna putoku Karae Panaikang ri Sambawah  
angkana nipelaqmi ayaku Karae Pasiq
- 7 Oct (F)  
12 Zulk 1130      I Mattaq and my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga sepa-  
rated [after having been pledged to each other]  
nanipasisala I Mattaq daengku Karae Tanasanga
- 20 Oct (W eve)  
25 Zulk 1130      my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne sailed over to  
Sumbawa to fetch my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq  
namamise putoku Karae Patteqne taqle ri Sambawa angal-  
lei ayaku Karae Pasiq
- 23 Oct (S eve)  
28 Zulk 1130      the arumpone [La Padangsajati] sailed down to Mandar  
namamise arumpone manaung ri Mandaraq
- 4 Nov (R eve)  
11 Zulk 1130      my younger uncle [Karaeng Panaikang] arrived from  
Sumbawa and fetching my younger aunt  
nabattu ri Sambawa putoku angallei ayaku
- 13 Nov (N)      I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq and I Nannuq married

<sup>581</sup> This ritual (*paemuq*) marked took place some weeks (in this case a little under two months) after the child's birth. The child first tasted a small amount of mashed food placed in its mouth.

- 20 Zulh 1130 nasikalabini I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq I Nannuq
- 16 Nov (W) the arumpone [La Padangsajati] arrived from Mandar with pustules<sup>582</sup>
- 22 Zulh 1130 nabattu ri Mandaraq arungpone apurui
- 25 Nov (M) I Daeng Mamo, formerly Karaeng ri Katapang, died  
4 Muh 1131 namate I Daeng Mamo leqbaka Karaeng ri Katapang
- 8 Dec (N eve) I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq and I Boaq married  
14 Muh 1131 nasikalabini I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq I Boaq
- 20 Dec (T) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] occupied his house  
26 Muh 1131 naniempoimo ballaqna karaenga
- 22 Dec (R) I Daeng Nisabeng and I Habibah married  
28 Muh 1131 nasikalabini I Daeng Nisabeng I Habibah
- 1719
- 2 Jan (M) my aunt I Daeng Tacuah I Patimaq, a wife of my younger  
uncle [Karaeng Patteqne], had a son  
10 Saf 1131 namamanaq ayaku I Daeng Tacuah I Patimaq bainenna  
putoku buraqne
- 26 Jan (R) I Sumailiq and I Banri married  
4 Rawl 1131 nasikalabini I Sumailiq I Banri
- 14 Feb (T) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq ordered expelled overseas  
23 Rawl 1131 nanikalauq nisuro pasuluq Karae Bontolangkasaq
- 19 Feb (N) I Daeng Tulolo and I Aciq married  
28 Rawl 1131 nasikalabini I Daeng Tulolo I Aciq
- 20 Feb (M) I Dorra and I Mida Bungko married  
29 Rawl 1131 nasikalabini I Dorra I Mida Bungko
- 1 May (N eve) I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq and I Salira married  
11 Jakr 1131 nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq I Salira

<sup>582</sup> Probably smallpox.

- 13 May (F eve) I Alija, a sibling of I Daeng Majannang, died  
23 Jakr 1131 namate I Alija saqribattanna I Daeng Majannang
- 14 May (S eve) I Arapa, a child of I Daeng Mami, died  
24 Jakr 1131 namate I Arapa anaqna I Daeng Mami
- 19 May (R eve) a wife of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong had a son  
29 Jakr 1131 namamanaq bainenna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri  
Lekoqboqdong buraqne
- 25 May (W eve) a wife of the arumpone [La Padangsajati] had a son I  
5 Raj 1131 Mappasussung who reached just 6 months of age  
namamanaq bainenna arungpone buraqne I  
Mappasussung umuruqna 6 bulanji
- 4 Jun (N) teeth filed of my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga  
15 Raj 1131 naniariq daengku Karae Tanasanga
- 19 Jun (N eve) I Daeng Nganne I Manguq died  
1 Syab 1131 namate I Daeng Nganne I Manguq
- 21 Jun (W) it is said that Batara Tungkaq<sup>583</sup> was expelled as Datu ri  
3 Syab 1131 Luwuq  
nanikana nipasuluki Datu ri Luwuq Bataratungkaq
- 26 Jun (M) I Mappatimung died at 11 months of age  
8 Syab 1131 namate I Mappatimung umuruqna 11 bulanna
- 28 Jun (W) [the people of] Luwuq arrived to take as ruler Datu ri  
10 Syab 1131 Citta  
nabattu Luwuka angallei karaeng Datuya ri Citta
- 1 Aug (T) I Cucung died above in Sanrabone  
14 Ram 1131 namate I Cucung irate ri Sanrabone
- 7 Aug (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] moved east to the house of  
20 Ram 1131 Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq to live  
namaqletteq karaenga manraiq ri ballaqa Karaengta ri  
Bontomanompoq mamempo

<sup>583</sup> A daughter of the ruler of Luwuq Topalaguna Matinroe ri Langkanana and Pateekketana Arung Pattiro of Tanete (Ligtvoet 1880:196).

- 10 Aug (W eve) Arung Tanete I Maninrori died below in Bontoalag and was buried in Tamalate
- 23 Ram 1131 namate Aruq Tanete I Maninrori irawa ri Bontoalag ri Tamalatei niawang
- 22 Aug (T) I Mattayang and I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti divorced  
6 Syaw 1131 nasipelaq I Mattayang I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
- 27 Aug (N) I Mida, a wife of I Dorra, died  
11 Syaw 1131 namate I Mida bainenna I Dorra
- 1 Oct (S eve) Karaeng ri Bontopanno went down to Lempangang to marry Karaeng Bontomasugi  
17 Zulk 1131 namanaung ri Lempangang Karaengta ri Bontopanno ambaineang Karae Bontomasugi
- 9 Oct (M) I Buaq had a daughter  
25 Zulk 1131 namamanaq I Buaq baine
- 16 Oct (M) birth of Sitti Halimah  
3 Zulh 1131 nanianakkang Sitti Halimah
- 30 Oct (M) teeth filed and ears pierced of I Sitti, a younger sibling of my elder brother Karaeng Majannang  
17 Zulh 1131 nanikesoq nanitinting I Sitti arinna daengku Karae Majannang
- 5 Nov (N) a karaengship given to Daengta Daeng Takontu<sup>584</sup>, now called Karaeng Campagaya  
23 Zulh 1131 nanisare pakkaraengang Daengta Daeng Takontu nikana Karae Campagaya
- 6 Nov (N eve) Gallarrang Rappokalling died  
24 Zulh 1131 namate Gallarang Rappokalling
- 10 Nov (F) I Alija and I Mappasanrang married  
28 Zulh 1131 nasikalabini I Alija I Mappasanrang
- 13 Nov (M) I Daeng Nisoqna, a child of *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle, died

<sup>584</sup> A wife of Karaeng Lauq of Sanrabone, daughter of Hasanuddin, and mother of Karaeng Manjalling (Ligtvoet 1880:196).

- 1 Muh 1132      namate I Daeng Nisoqna anaqna sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle
- 14 Nov (T)      my grandparent I Daeng Nisoqna and Karaeng Bulukumba divorced
- 2 Muh 1132      nasipelaq toaku I Daeng Nisoqna Karaeng Buluqkumba
- 22 Nov (W)      the arumpone [La Padangsjati] sailed from the pier [at Makassar] to go into Cenrana and stopped in Gowa [on the way]
- 10 Muh 1132      namamise arumpone ri jambatanga mantama ri Cenrana nasumengka ri Gowa
- 11 Dec (N eve)    my grandparent I Kare Tonji I Baedah died; she died giving birth
- 29 Muh 1132      namate toaku I Kare Tonji I Baedah mate mamanaki
- 13 Dec (T eve)    I Daeng Nisomba I Okung and I Daeng Mangewai I Dandeq married
- 1 Saf 1132      nasikalabini I Daeng Nisomba I Okung I Daeng Mangewai I Dandeq
- 26 Dec (T)  
14 Saf 1132      Muhammad Ali circumcised  
nanisunnaq Muhammad Ali
- 27 Dec (W)      I Guru Kasing, *anrongguru* of the *mokkeng*<sup>585</sup>, died in Talloq
- 15 Saf 1132      namate I Guru Kasing anrongguru mukkinga ri Talloq
- 1720
- 15 Jan (M)  
4 Rawl 1132      I Daeng Memang died in Jonggoa  
namate I Daeng Memang ri Jonggoa
- 16 Jan (T)      I Sitti, a younger sibling of my elder sibling Karaeng Majannang, died at 10 years of age
- 5 Rawl 1132      namate I Sitti arinna daengku Karae Majannang umuruna 10 taungi

<sup>585</sup> This Islamic official was charged with assembling the 40 *mokkeng* – from the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning ‘inhabitant’ – needed to make the Friday public prayer service valid according to Shafi’ite doctrine.



- 21 Jan (S eve) an envoy of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] arrived from Luwuq saying that I To Sappaileq<sup>586</sup> had been taken as Datu ri Luwuq  
10 Rawl 1132 surona karaenga battu ri Luwuq angknana I To Sappaileq nialle Datu ri Luwuq
- 22 Jan (M) the arumpone Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsjati] expelled by the people of Boné; Karaeng Anaq Moncong replaced him  
11 Rawl 1132 nanipasuluq arungpone Puanna I Mattaq ri tuBonea naKarae Anaq Moncong assambeangi
- 7 Feb (T eve) Daengta Daeng Makkalle Cilallang died  
27 Rawl 1132 namate Daengta Daeng Makkalle Cilallang
- 11 Feb (N) Ballaq Kiria torn down  
2 Rokr 1132 nanigesaraq Ballaq Kiria
- 19 Feb (M) my younger aunt Mutiatullah with her parent-in-law arrived, brought by the people of Boné who were ordered to do so  
9 Rokr 1132 nabattu nisuro erang rituBonea ayaku Matiatullahi sia-gaang matoanna
- 20 Feb (W) the elder *tumailalang* [Karaeng Bontopanno] and Karaeng Bontomasugi divorced  
12 Rokr 1132 nasipelaq *tumailalang* matoaya Karae Bontomasugi
- 1 Mar (F eve) my younger aunt I Daeng Tacuah<sup>587</sup> I Patimaq, a wife of my younger uncle [Karaeng Patteqne], had a daughter  
22 Rokr 1132 namamanaq ayaku I Daeng Tacuaq I Patimaq bainenna putoku baine
- 10 Mar (N) a child of Karaeng Batupute died  
30 Rokr 1132 namate anaqna Karae Batuputeh

<sup>586</sup> A son of the *ceming* of Luwuq, killed 5 May 1693, and husband of Batara Tungkaq (Ligtvoet 1880:196-7).

<sup>587</sup> This name was first spelled with a final 'h' rather than a glottal stop 'q' but they are essentially interchangeable. Similarly, a final 'h' is often simply dropped. These and other minor differences in spelling are the inevitable result of different writers employing the *serang* script to transcribe Makassarese.

- 13 Mar (W) I Mutaq, a younger sibling of my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq, died  
3 Jawl 1132 namate I Mutaq arinna putoku Karae Alluq
- 28 Mar (R)<sup>588</sup> I Kare Pole, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*, died  
18 Jawl 1132 namate I Kare Pole anrongguru anaq buraqne
- 11 Apr (R) a Wajorese was driven amuk in front of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] below in the market<sup>589</sup> and I Kare Lewa clashed with and killed him; I Kare Lewa was wounded  
2 Jakr 1132 nanipajalloki dallekana karaenga irawa ri pasaraq tuWajoka naI Kare Lewa anruppai ambunoi namalokoq I Kare Lewa
- 22 Apr (W) a karaengship given to my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne  
13 Jakr 1132 nanisare pakkaraengang putoku Karae Patteqne
- 26 Apr (R eve) I Pandi, a child of Daengta I Daeng Manjijiliq, died  
17 Jakr 1132 namate I Pandi anaqna Daengta I Daeng Manjijiliq
- 3 May (R eve)<sup>590</sup> I Kare Lewa I Sule died; his wound brought him to this  
24 Jakr 1132 namate I Kare Lewa I Sule lokoqnaji angerangi
- 4 May (S) I Kare Mangalle I Maliq installed as *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*, replacing I Kare Pole  
25 Jakr 1132 nanitannang anrongguru anaq buraqne I Kare Mangalle I Maliq I Kare Pole nasambeang
- 6 May (M) Karaeng ri Laikang [Daeng Marannu], a widow of Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka], died above in Laikang  
27 Jakr 1132 namate Karaengta ri Laikang balunna Tunisombaya irate ri Laikang
- 11 May (S) I Kare Mambani I Jamila installed as *anrongguru* in Kamanakang [in Gowa], replacing his father  
3 Raj 1132 nanitannang anrongguru Kamanakang I Kare Mambani I Jamila manggenna nasambeang

<sup>588</sup> The Hijri day is missing but must be the 28th.

<sup>589</sup> This is the first mention in the *lontaraq bilang* of a market (*pasaraq*, from Malay).

<sup>590</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 8th instead of the 3rd.

- 18 May (S) Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq]<sup>591</sup> went to go into  
Cenrana  
10 Raj 1132 namaqlampa Karaengta Balua mantama ri Cenrana
- 23 May (R) teeth filed of I Kundaq  
15 Raj 1132 naniariq I Kundaq
- 8 Jun (S) my grandparent I Daeng Tongi had a daughter Latifah  
by my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq  
2 Syab 1132 namamanaq toaku I Daeng Tongi ri putoku Karae Alluq  
baine Latifah
- 17 Jun (N eve) I Daeng Manangaraq and my grandparent I Daeng  
Tamami married  
11 Syab 1132 nasikalabini I Daeng Manangaraq toaku I Daeng Tamami
- 29 Jun (S) Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] circumcised  
23 Syab 1132 nanisunnaq Tuammenang ri Jawaya
- 16 Jul (T) Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq] arrived from Cenrana  
10 Ram 1132 nabattu ri Cenrana Karaengta Balua
- 9 Aug (R eve) I Daeng Nisayu Junggo died  
4 Syaw 1132 namate I Daeng Nisayu Junggo
- 15 Aug (R) a child of Sayyid Bukhari named Kiamuddin circumcised  
10 Syaw 1132 nanisunnaq anaqna Sayyid Bukhari nikanaya Kiamuddini
- 1 Sep (S eve) I Daeng Marannu I Sugi had a child by Daeng Manassaq  
I Muhammad, a boy Jamaluddin  
27 Syaw 1132 namamanaq I Daeng Marannu I Sugi ri Daeng Manassaq  
I Muhammad buraqne anaqna Jamaluddin
- 27 Sep (R eve) birth of I Manimbang-gauq Muhiiddin<sup>592</sup>  
24 Zulk 1132 nanianakkang I Manimbanggauq Muhiiddini

<sup>591</sup> 'Karaeng Balua' refers to her status as a widow of both Amir Hamzah and Abdul Jalil.

<sup>592</sup> A son of Sirajuddin and Sitti Abidah Daeng Mateqne. His personal name is spelled Manimbang in the 18 Jun 1716, 20 Sep 1722, and 7 Dec 1731 entries and Nimbang in the 5 Mar 1724 entry.

- 6 Oct (N) part of Boriqsallo made a vassal<sup>593</sup>  
4 Zulh 1132 nanipareq paliliq Boriqsallo sipue
- 10 Oct (R) the manuscript that would be brought by Karaeng ri  
Bontopanno overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the  
ship; it offered thanks for giving us Topejawa<sup>594</sup>  
8 Zulh 1132 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Karaengta ri  
Bontopannoh kalauq ri Jakattaraq antarimakasihi nasar-  
eanta Topejawa
- 11 Oct (F) I Daeng Tatonji I Talluq died  
9 Zulh 1132 namate I Daeng Tatonji I Talluq
- 16 Oct (W) my grandparent I Thaibah [Daeng Nisali] had a son  
14 Zulh 1132 namamanaq toaku I Thaibah buraqne
- 24 Oct (R) I Saenaq, former spouse of Karaeng Tamaqlaqlang I  
Kapparaq, had a daughter  
22 Zulh 1132 namamanaq I Saenaq pallaloanna Karae Tamaqlaqlang I  
Kapparaq baine anaqna
- 15 Nov (F) Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] came seawards to  
Kampong Beru, arriving after he fled out of there [Boné]  
to the Dutch after being expelled [as arumpone]  
14 Muh 1133 naniaq ilauq ri Kampong Beru Puanna I Mattaq battu  
malaria suluq mae ri Balandaya leqbaqna nipasuluq
- 18 Nov (M) the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq Moncong] landed, arriving  
from Cenrana with his wife  
17 Muh 1133 nasore arumpone battu ri Cenrana sikalabini
- 10 Dec (T) I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah, a wife of the elder Ratu  
Bagus, died  
9 Saf 1133 namate I Daeng Nisanga I Kamariah bainenna Ratu  
Bagusuq matoa

<sup>593</sup> As Ligtvoet (1880:197-8) notes, this probably was a punishment of some sort. Boriqsallo was one of the original communities that came together to form Gowa and there is no other reason why it should be demoted to the status of vassal (*paliliq*).

<sup>594</sup> The VOC had given Topejawa to Karaeng Laikang, a widow of Arung Palakka, but after her death on 6 May 1720 gave it back to Sirajuddin as a token of friendship (Ligtvoet 1880:198).

- 11 Dec (W) I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad and I Daeng Marannu I Sugi divorced  
10 Saf 1133 nasipelaq I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad I Daeng Marannu I Sugi
- 15 Dec (N) my grandparent I Daeng Maqleaq's belongings were seized and he was expelled  
14 Saf 1133 nanirapping nanipasuluq toaku I Daeng Maqleaq
- 17 Dec (T) I Aciq, a wife of I Daeng Tulolo, had a son  
16 Saf 1133 namamanaq I Aciq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo buraqne
- 18 Dec (W) I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq installed to supervise the lesser *anaq karaeng*  
17 Saf 1133 naI Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq nipantama anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 22 Dec (N) there arrived from Sandao my grandparent I Daeng Talarra, arriving from exile  
21 Saf 1133 naniaqmo battu ri Sandao toaku I Daeng Talarra battu nicinde
- 1721
- 9 Jan (R) I Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, died  
10 Rawl 1133 namate I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi
- 13 Jan (M) Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] and the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq Moncong] were reconciled by the Dutch  
14 Rawl 1133 nanipaqbajikang Puanna I Mattaq arumpone ri Balandaya
- 18 Jan (S) my elder sibling Karaeng Majannang and my elder sibling Karaeng Tabaringang wed  
19 Rawl 1133 nabunting daengku Karae Majannang daengku Karae Tabaringan
- 11 Feb (M eve) Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya died at the age of 89  
13 Rokr 1133 namate Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya umuruna 89
- 19 Feb (T eve) I Daeng Rikong I Jaga had a son  
21 Rokr 1133 namamanaq I Daeng Rikong I Jaga buraqne

- 21 Feb (R eve) Karaeng Bontotannga and I Salira married  
23 Rakr 1133 nasikalabini Karae Bontotannga I Salira
- 5 Mar (T eve) the ship carrying Karaeng ri Bontopanno dropped anchor,  
arriving from Jakattaraq  
5 Jawl 1133 namaqlabu kappalaq nadongkokia Karaengta ri  
Bontopannoh battu ri Jakattaraq
- 14 Mar (R eve) I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad and I Saenaq, a child of I  
Papuq, married  
14 Jawl 1133 nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq Muhammad I Saenaq  
anaqna I Papuq
- 17 Mar (M) a child of I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq by [his former wife]  
Salira died  
17 Jawl 1133 namate anaqna I Daeng Manassaq I Paciq ri Salira
- 26 Mar (W) the day of the elder Addatuanga ri Masepe's [Arung  
Ujumpuluq]<sup>595</sup> death  
26 Jawl 1133 allo nakamateanga Aqdatuang ri Masepe matoaya
- 4 Apr (F) I Maqrumai, a wife of Karaeng Mangesuq, died  
6 Jakr 1133 namate I Maqrumai bainenna Karae Mangesuq
- 19 May (M) I Daeng Manassaq and I Papuq went over to Sandao, sent  
to advance against Toring [on Flores]  
22 Raj 1133 namantaqle ri Sandao I Daeng Manassaq I Papuq nisuro  
ampanaiki Tarin
- 20 May (W) I Daeng Tamami, a wife of I Daeng Manangaraq, had a  
son  
23 Raj 1133 namamanaq I Daeng Tamami bainenna I Daeng  
Manangaraq buraqne
- 7 Jun (T) ears pierced and teeth filed of Karaeng Patukangang;  
then she and Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] were  
engaged to each other

<sup>595</sup> La Tenritippaq ToWalena, the ruler of Sidénréng whom Speelman called Arung Ujumpuluq and who posthumously was known as Matinroe ri Pamantingang (Ligtvoet 1880:199).

- 11 Syab 1133 nanitinting nanikesoq Karae Patukangang nanipasiparekanngang Tuammenang ri Jawaya
- 22 Jun (N) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang and my younger aunt I Daeng Ningai married
- 26 Syab 1133 nasikalabini putoku Karae Panaikang ayaku I Daeng Ningai
- 25 Jun (W) the envoy I Kare Takko died  
29 Syab 1133 namate suroa I Kare Takko
- 3 Jul (R) my great grandparent I Kare Loqmoq, the mother of Daengta Daeng Singaraq, died
- 7 Ram 1133 namate boeku I Kare Loqmoq anronna Daengta Daeng Singaraq
- 29 Aug (F) it is said that a horse gave birth to a water buffalo above in Sengka; the day of the mother of Datu ri Citta's<sup>596</sup> death
- 6 Ram 1133<sup>597</sup> nanikana niaq jarang amanaq tedong irate ri Sengka allo nakamateanga ayana Datua ri Citta
- 11 Jul (W eve) I Daeng Manassaq arrived from Sandao  
19 Ram 1133 nabattu ri Sandao I Daeng Manassaq
- 9 Oct (W eve) I Nannuq, a wife of I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq, had a daughter
- 17 Zulh 1133 namamanaq I Nannuq bainenna I Daeng Makkulle I Mappaq baine
- 9 Oct (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq ordered brought to our karaeng [Bontosunggu] to ask the karaeng's [Sirajuddin's] forgiveness
- 17 Zulh 1133 nanisuro erang ri karaengta putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq nipappalaq popporang ri karaenga
- 24 Oct (F) Karaeng Bontomateqne arrived from Sumbawa  
3 Muh 1134 nabattu ri Sambawa Karae Bontomateqne

<sup>596</sup> Known as Opu Larompong, Datu ri Citta was her daughter by La Patau.

<sup>597</sup> This entry is chronologically out of order, possibly because news of the unusual event in Sengka arrived later.

- 28 Oct (T) I Halimah died at the age of 2 years, one month, and five nights  
7 Muh 1134 namate I Halimah umuruqna 2 taun assibulan allimang banngi
- 1 Nov (S) I Bangung, a child of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne, died  
11 Muh 1134 namate I Bangun anaqna putoku Karae Patteqne
- 27 Nov (R) a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne died  
7 Saf 1134 namate anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
- 28 Nov (F) there arrived from Bima Karaeng ri Bontopaqja  
8 Saf 1134 naniaqmo Karaengta ri Bontopaqja battu ri Dima
- 12 Dec (R eve) birth of I Punca Patula Sitti Hawa  
22 Saf 1134 nanianakkang I Punca Patula Sitti Hawa
- 12 Dec (F) I Salira, a wife of Karaeng Bontotannga, had a son  
22 Saf 1134 namamanaq I Salira bainenna Karae Bontotannga buraqne
- 16 Dec (T) the Malay Captain Anciq Cukka<sup>598</sup> died  
26 Saf 1134 namate Kapitan Malayu Anciq Cukka
- 23 Dec (T) I Daeng Tonji I Ummi died  
3 Rawl 1134 namate I Daeng Tonji I Ummi
- 1722
- 19 Jan (M) the people of Mandalleq went to Karaeng  
Bontomajannang  
1 Rakr 1134 nanipamange tuMandalleka ri Karae Bontomajannang
- 4 Feb (T eve) *makkedangetana*<sup>599</sup> Arung Ujung died  
17 Rakr 1134 namate makkadangatana Arung Ujung
- 13 Feb (F) the people of Tallumpuang went to Bebuq, now called  
Karaeng Bontotannga

<sup>598</sup> He was the first Malay Captain in Makassar (Ligtvoet 1880:199).

<sup>599</sup> Arung Palakka created this position in Boné. *Makkedangetana* was a translation of the Makassarese title *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land' and as in Gowa was occupied by a person second only in power to the ruler (Andaya 1981:footnote 322).



- 26 Rokr 1134 nanipamange tuTallumpuwanga ri Bebuq nikana Karae Bontotannga
- 22 Feb (N eve) Karaeng Bontosiamaq and her husband came here to entrust themselves to her Makassarese [relatives]
- 7 Jawl 1134 namae ri kamangkasaranna Karae Bontosiamaq sikalabini antambung kalenna
- 4 Mar (W)  
16 Jawl 1134 the mother of Karaeng Bidara died  
namate anronna Karaeng Bidara
- 17 Mar (T)  
29 Jawl 1134 a wife of I Daeng Mangago died  
namate bainenna I Daeng Mangago
- 24 Mar (T) I Massanira<sup>600</sup> and I Anisah, a child of [Karaeng] Bontosiamaq, married
- 6 Jakr 1134 nasikalabini I Massanira I Anisah anaqna Bontosiamaq
- 25 Mar (W)  
7 Jakr 1134 I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah had a son  
namamanaq I Daeng Nisali I Thaibah buraqne
- 7 Apr (T) my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq and my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq married
- 20 Jakr 1134 nasikalabini putoku Karae Alluq ayaku Karae Pasiq
- 13 Apr (N eve)  
26 Jakr 1134 I Saenaq, a wife of I Daeng Manassaq, had a daughter  
namamanaq I Saenaq bainenna I Daeng Manassaq baine
- 25 Apr (S)  
9 Raj 1134 I Punca taken and adopted by Karaeng Balua [Daeng Maingaq]  
nanialle I Punca nikatua ri Karaengta Balua
- 28 May (W eve)  
12 Syab 1134 I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti had a daughter  
namamanaq I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti bainea
- 30 May (S)  
14 Syab 1134 I Maqjuq, a child of I Daeng Memang, died  
namate I Maqjuq anaqna I Daeng Memang
- 31 May (N) I Daeng Tamami had a daughter

<sup>600</sup> A son of Pabukajuwe Datu Ulaweng of Bulo-Bulo, he was known as ToWappamole Datu Ulaweng (Ligtvoet 1880:200).

- 15 Syab 1134      namamanaq I Daeng Tamami baine
- 19 Jun (F)  
5 Ram 1134      my grandparent I Daeng Nisanga I Nanuq died  
namate toaku I Daeng Nisanga I Nanuq
- 3 Jul (F)  
19 Ram 1134      Friday public prayers first established in Takalar this  
Friday  
nauru mammenteng jumaq ri Takalaraq jumaq
- 30 Jul (W eve)  
16 Syaw 1134      Karaeng ri Taruq died at the age of 95  
namate Karaengta ri Taruq umuruna 95
- 31 Aug (M)<sup>601</sup>  
18 Zulk 1134      my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola and I Daeng  
Maqrappo divorced  
nasipelaq ayaku Karae Baron Patola I Daeng Maqrappo
- 10 Sep (R)  
28 Zulk 1134      I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq and I Unnaq married  
nasikalabini I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq I Unnaq
- 15 Sep (T)  
4 Zulh 1134      I Manranuang killed a grinder in the market  
namamuno pakantisiq I Manranuang ri pasaraka
- 20 Sep (S eve)  
9 Zulh 1134      I Manimbang set foot on the ground  
nanipaonjoq ri butta I Manimbang
- 26 Sep (S)  
15 Zulh 1134      I Nannuq, a child of Karaeng Bontorambaq, died  
namate I Nannuq anaqna Karae Bontorambaq
- 17 Oct (S)  
7 Muh 1135      war leaders sailed eastward to Sandao to make war;  
Karaeng Batupute was commander with I Daeng  
Manassaq  
namamise dulun manraika ri Sandao maqbunduq Karae  
Batuputeh punggawa siagaang I Daeng Manassaq
- 21 Oct (T eve)  
11 Muh 1135      I Bidoq, a younger sibling of I Paceq, stabbed himself and  
died the next morning  
nanatoboq kalenna I Bidoq arinna I Paceq nabariqbasaqpa  
namate

<sup>601</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote September instead of August.

- 9 Nov (M) Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] and Karaeng Patukangang separated [after having been pledged to each other]
- 30 Muh 1135 nanipasisala Tuammenang ri Jawaya Karae Patukangan
- 16 Nov (M) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] occupied his house; the house was seawards of the mosque in Paqbineang
- 7 Saf 1135 naniempoimo ballaqa karaenga ballaq ilaukannaya masigika ri Paqbineang
- 1 Dec (T) I Mappaingaq Syafiuddin circumcised<sup>602</sup>
- 22 Saf 1135 nanisunnaq I Mappaingaq Syafiuddini
- 14 Dec (N eve) I Daeng Pabila, a child of I Tuang Rappang, died
- 5 Rawl 1135 namate I Daeng Pabila anaqna I Tuan Rappan
- 26 Dec (F eve) birth of myself, I Makkaraeng Zainuddin [Karaeng Tamasongoq]<sup>603</sup>
- 17 Rawl 1135 kunianakkang I Makkaraeng Zainuddini
- 30 Dec (T eve) I Maidah Arung Tanete and I Callaq married
- 21 Rawl 1135 nasikalabini I Maidah Aruq Tanete I Callaq

## 1723

- 21 Jan (R) Karaeng Batupute landed, arriving from Sandao; he warred and conquered Toring and Wangka [on Flores]
- 14 Rakr 1135 nasore Karae Batu Puteh battu ri Sandao maqbunduq ambetai Toring siagaang Wangka
- 22 Jan (F) a karaengship given to I Daeng Mattalli, now called Karaeng Bungaya
- 15 Rakr 1135 nanisare pakkaraengang I Daeng Mattalli nikana Karae Bungaya
- 25 Jan (N eve) my younger aunt Karaeng Pasiq had a son who reached just 9 nights of age

<sup>602</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:200) notes that in the manuscript he used the writer – Karaeng Lempangang – referred to himself as 'I' in this entry. This is not found in VT 25. See note for 7 Dec 1709.

<sup>603</sup> Also known as I Temasongeng, Karaeng Katangka, and Tumamenang ri Matoanging, he was later *tumabicarabutta* and then ruler of Gowa from 1770-1778 (Patunru 1993:78-9). This makes him the second *lontaraq bilang* annalist who identifies himself by name.

- 18 Rakr 1135      namamanaq ayaku Karae Pasiq buraqne 9 banngiji umu-  
ruqna
- 8 Mar (M)          Taluqmuq, a child of Karaeng ri Patteqne, died, killed on  
Buton
- 1 Jakr 1135        namate Taluqmuq anaqna Karaengta ri Patteqne niposoa  
ri Butun
- 5 May (T eve)      death of I Tuang [Rappang] inside Rappang [in  
Sidénréng]
- 29 Raj 1135        nakamateang I Tuan ilalang ri Rappan
- 21 May (S)         teeth filed of I Mattaq by the arumpone [Karaeng Anaq  
Moncong]
- 17 Syab 1135      nanibariq I Mattaq ri arungpone
- 25 May (M)         I Mangeranngi and I Caciq married
- 20 Syab 1135      nasikalabini I Mangeranngi I Caciq
- 9 Jun (T eve)      I Daeng Mami, a younger sibling of Daengta I Daeng  
Marimang, died
- 5 Ram 1135        namate I Daeng Mami arinna Daengta I Daeng Marimang
- 23 Jun (W)         I Yunnaq had a daughter
- 19 Ram 1135      namamanaq I Yunnaq baine
- 27 Jun (S)         it is said that Datu ri Ulawang died inside his homeland
- 22 Ram 1135      nanikana matei Ratua ri Ulawang ilalang ri paqrasangan-  
na
- 25 Jul (N)         the coffin of I Tuang [Rappang Abdul Bashir] brought  
back
- 21 Syaw 1135      nabattu nierang alunna I Tuan
- 28 Jul (W)         I Kare Manaqqalaq replaced I Shaykh as *kadi*
- 24 Syaw 1135      naI Kare Manaqqalaq assambeangi kadi I Syeh
- 31 Jul (F eve)     a younger sibling of Karaeng Garassiq named I  
Muhammad died
- 27 Syaw 1135      namate arinna Karae Garassiq nikanaya I Muhammad

- 7 Sep (T) I Saqdaq, a child of my grandparent Karaeng Manjalling, circumcised  
7 Zulh 1135 nanisunnaq I Saqdaq anaqna toaku Karae Manjalling
- 14 Oct (R) I Biqbuq, a child of Karaeng Manjalling, and I Saodah, a child of Karaeng Bontomajannang, married  
14 Muh 1136 nasikalabini I Biqbuq anaqna Karae Manjalling I Saodah anaqna Karae Bontomajannang
- 18 Oct (M) Tumamenang ri Jawaya [Najamuddin] had a sunshade raised over his head  
18 Muh 1136 nanipirangkakki laqlang Tuammenang ri Jawaya
- 10 Nov (T eve) I Daeng Tasami, former spouse of Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong, had a daughter  
12 Saf 1136 namamanaq I Daeng Tasami baine pallaloanna Karaengta ri Lekoqboqdong
- 18 Nov (R) Karaeng Laikang proposed to by Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin]; 88 [reals was the brideprice]  
20 Saf 1136 nanipassuroi Karae Laikang ri Karaenga ri Talloq 88
- 24 Nov (W) the people of Bontolangkasaq again went to Daeng Mamaro  
26 Saf 1136 nanipamange pole ri Daeng Mamaro tuBontolangkasaka
- 29 Nov (M) teeth filed of Karaeng Tangallaq  
1 Rawl 1136 naniariq Karae Tangallaq
- 20 Dec (M) Jineli Safi<sup>604</sup> died seawards in Kampong Beru  
22 Rawl 1136 namate Jineli Safi ilauq ri Kampong Beru
- 1724
- 8 Jan (F eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong expelled by the people of Boné and Arung Mampu taken by the people of Boné [as arumpone]; Puanna I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] taken by the people of Soppéng [as ruler]; the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went seawards to get [La Padangsajati]

<sup>604</sup> A Bima noble.

- 11 Rakr 1136 nanipasuluq ri tuBonea Karae Anaq Moncong naArung Mampu nialle rituBonea Puanna I Mattaq naalle tuSop-penga nakalauq karaenga angallei
- 11 Jan (M eve) I Cinrana, a child of I Tuang ri Dima, died  
14 Rakr 1136 namate I Cinrana anaqna I Tuan ri Dima
- 28 Jan (R eve) I Bunga Suttaraq, a child of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne, died  
2 Jawl 1136 namate I Bunga Suttaraq anaqna putoku Karae Patteqne
- 1 Feb (M eve) Karaeng Pattallassang died  
6 Jawl 1136 namate Karaeng Pattallassang
- 22 Feb (T) the arumpone [Arung Mampu] sailed to go into Cenrana  
27 Jawl 1136 namamise arungpone mantama ri Cenrana
- 5 Mar (S eve) Karaeng Bainea [Daeng Mateqne], the mother of I Manimbang, died at the age of 25  
9 Jakr 1136 namate Karaeng Bainea ayana I Nimbang umuruqna 25
- 16 Mar (R) Karaeng Anaq Moncong had sore(s) on his right cheek  
2 Jakr 1136<sup>605</sup> nanabattui sakkaq pilisiq kananna Karae Anaq Moncong
- 1 Apr (F eve) Karaeng Anaq Moncong died; he lived to 35  
7 Raj 1136 namate Karae Anaq Moncong 35 tallasaqna
- 3 Apr (N eve) Anciq Sammaq died  
9 Raj 1136 namate Anciq Sammaq
- 27 Apr (R) my younger aunt I Daeng Tacoa, a wife of my younger uncle Karaeng Patteqne, had a child, a daughter  
3 Syab 1136 namamanaq ayaku I Daeng Tacoa bainenna putoku Karae Patteqne baine anaqna
- 3 May (T eve) I Daeng Mangalle died while asleep  
9 Syab 1136 namate I Daeng Mangalle tinro-tinro

<sup>605</sup> This date is incorrect. 2 Jakr 1136 converts to 27 Feb 1724. A copyist may have mistakenly written the 2nd instead of the 22nd, which converts to 18 Mar 1724; the 2nd in place of the 12th, which converts to 8 Mar 1724; or 2 Raj 1136, which converts to 27 Mar 1724.

- 12 May (R eve) Daengta Daeng Mami died  
18 Syab 1136 namate Daengta Daeng Mami
- 16 May (T) I Massallomo circumcised; teeth filed of Amirah  
22 Syab 1136 nanisunnaq I Massanglomo naniariq Amirah
- 26 May (F) Karaeng ri Bontokamase died at the age of 74  
2 Ram 1136 namate Karaengta ri Bontokamase umuruna 74
- 6 Jun (T) the people of Somba Opu went to Daeng Makkulle I  
Kare, now called Kare Palembang  
13 Ram 1136 nanipamange tuSombopua ri Daeng Makkulle I Kare  
nikana Kare Palembang
- 11 Jun (S eve) I Daeng Maqleq<sup>606</sup> and I Saidah married  
18 Ram 1136 nasikalabini I Daeng Maqleq I Saedah
- 16 Jun (R eve) I Daeng Mannyikkoq ri Kassiq died; during the day this  
Friday I Buang Nanang died  
23 Ram 1136 namate I Daeng Mannyikkoq ri Kassiq ri allonna anne  
jumaka namate I Buang Nanang
- 22 Jun (R) Daeng Sitaba received I Kare Battu's supervisory position  
because he was infirm  
29 Ram 1136 nanipamange ri Daeng Sitaba jannanganna I Kare Battu  
kamadodongmi
- 28 Jun (W) an envoy arrived from the people of Boné stating that  
they had expelled their ruler Arung Mampu and again  
taken Datu ri Citta [as arumpone]  
6 Syaw 1136 nabattu surona tuBonea angkana-kanai napasuluqna  
karaenna Arung Mampu naDatua ri Cittasang naalle
- 4 Jul (T) I Sumailiq, a child of Daeng Malliongang, went amuk and  
was killed by the Dutch; he was hung  
12 Syaw 1136 namaqjalloq I Sumailaq anaqna I Daeng Malliongang  
nanibuno ri Balandaya nigentung

<sup>606</sup> I believe this and subsequent references to this Daeng Maqleq refer to I Sumang, but this is not certain.

- 17 Jul (N eve) my grandparent I Kare Kontu stabbed in the calf from beneath the floor; Daengta Daeng Tapallaq died below in Talloq<sup>607</sup>
- 25 Syaw 1136 nanisoqlloroq toaku I Kare Kontu bitisiqna namate Daengta Daeng Tapallaq rawa ri Talloq
- 10 Aug (W eve) I Daeng Manassaq and a child of Gallarrang Mangasa<sup>608</sup> who was a widow of I Daeng Pabila married
- 20 Zulk 1136 nasikalabini I Daeng Manassaq anaqna Gallaran Mangasa balunnaya I Daeng Pabila
- 14 Aug (M) Karaeng Bontomateqne had a daughter  
24 Zulk 1136 namamanaq Karae Bontomateqne baine
- 24 Aug (R) I Aciq, a wife of I Daeng Tulolo, had a son; the Chinese Captain died
- 5 Zuhl 1136 namamanaq I Aciq bainenna I Daeng Tulolo buraqne namate Kapitan Sanggalea
- 2 Oct (M) ears pierced of I Jaenaq  
14 Muh 1137 nanitinting I Jaenaq
- 3 Oct (T) I Muhammad [Baki], just the second of Karaeng ri Tana-Tana's children, circumcised
- 15 Muh 1137 nanisunnaq I Muhammad anaqna ruaji Karaengta ri Tana-Tana
- 14 Oct (S) I Kondaq died above in Lengkeseq and was brought down here
- 26 Muh 1137 namate I Kondaq irate ri Lengkeseq nanierang manaun-mae
- 16 Oct (M) Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] and Karaeng Patukangang married
- 28 Muh 1137 nasikalabini Karaenga ri Talloq Karae Patukangang
- 19 Oct (R) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Makkulle died

<sup>607</sup> Possibly this entry is intended to be read as meaning that I Kare Kontu died, but then what happened involving Daengta Daeng Tapallaq in Talloq is unclear. Kamaruddin (1986:176) attempts to resolve this by stating that I Kare Kontu Daengta Daeng Tapallaq was one person, but this interpretation is not likely.

<sup>608</sup> This individual is twice mentioned but never named in the annals (see 14 Apr 1712).



- 1 Saf 1137            namate sabannaraka I Daeng Makkulle
- 29 Oct (S eve)  
11 Saf 1137            I Umaraq, a child of Gallarrang Mangasa, died  
                              namate I Umaraq anaqna Gallarang Mangasa
- 1 Nov (W)  
14 Saf 1137            Daengta Daeng Maingaq died in Talloq  
                              namate Daengta Daeng Maingaq ri Talloq
- 16 Nov (R)  
29 Saf 1137            now the Chinese Captain was buried  
                              nanampa nitarawang Kapitan Sanggalea
- 27 Nov (M)            I Daeng Mangewai<sup>609</sup> installed as *sabannaraq*; he replaced  
                              his older uncle<sup>610</sup> [I Daeng Makkulle]
- 10 Rawl 1137            nanitannang sabannaraq I Daeng Manngewai puanna  
                              nasambeang
- 3 Dec (N)  
16 Rawl 1137            I Sumailiq circumcised by Karaeng Majannang  
                              nanisunnaq I Sumailiq ri Karae Majannang
- 7 Dec (R)  
20 Rawl 1137            I Kare Bangung I Biding died  
                              namate I Kare Bangun I Biding
- 27 Dec (T eve)  
11 Rakr 1137            I Daeng ri Nakke died  
                              namate I Daeng ri Nakke

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- 19 Jan (F)  
4 Jawl 1137            I Salira had a son  
                              namamanaq I Salira buraqne
- 23 Jan (T)  
8 Jawl 1137            my grandparent Karaeng Lauq died  
                              namate toaku Karae Lauq
- 28 Jan (F)  
11 Jawl 1137            I Daeng Taiji, a child of Daengta Daeng Talele, died  
                              namate I Daeng Taiji anaqna Daengta Daeng Talele
- 11 Feb (N)  
27 Jawl 1137            I Molla [Kare Manginruru] and I Maemunah, a grand-  
                              child of Anduq Puaq, married  
                              nasikalabini I Molla I Maemunah cucunna Anduq Puaq

<sup>609</sup> This was a different Daeng Mangewai than either I Wasing (18 Jul 1718) or I Dandeq (13 Dec 1719).

<sup>610</sup> It is unlikely but possible that Daeng Makkulle was his father.

- 12 Feb (M) there came a manuscript from Sumbawa reporting to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] the death of the ruler of Sumbawa [Ammasaq] and his sibling, slain by 'Javanese'<sup>611</sup> from Bali
- 28 Jawl 1137 niaq lontaraq battu ri Sambawa angkana-kanai ri karaenga matena Karae Sambawa sisaqribattang niputtai ri Jawa Balia
- 13 Feb (M eve) it is said that Datu ri Lamuru<sup>612</sup> and Arung Gowa-Gowa were killed by Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsjati]; they were strangled<sup>613</sup>
- 29 Jawl 1137 nanikana nibunoi ri Datua ri Soppeng Datua ri Lamuru siagaang Aruq Gowa Gowa nijarroki
- 17 Feb (F eve) the elder *kadi* I Kare Tappaq died  
4 Jakr 1137 namate qadia matoaya I Kare Tappaq
- 18 Feb (N) I Saidah, a wife of I Daeng Maqleq, had a daughter; I Manrewakki, a child of I Pappi, died<sup>614</sup>  
5 Jakr 1137 namamanaq I Saidah bainenna I Daeng Maqleq baine namate I Manrewakki anaqna I Pappi
- 25 Feb (N) I Daeng Majannang I Salamah died  
12 Jakr 1137 namate I Daeng Majannang I Salamah
- 2 Mar (F) I [Syafiuddin] went up to recite the sermon in the mosque  
17 Jakr 1137 kumanaiq mamaca khutbah ri masigika
- 22 Mar (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang sent over to Sumbawa to fetch Datu Tannga, Karaeng Bontoa<sup>615</sup>, and Karaeng Buluq-Buluq  
7 Raj 1137 nanisuro taqle ri Sambawa putoku Karae Panaikang angallei Datu Tannga Karae Bontoa Karae Buluq-Buluq

<sup>611</sup> That is, inhabitants of the archipelago to the west of Makassar, in this case Balinese. Ligtvoet (1880:203) reports that the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina and his brother were killed trying to recapture Salaparang, which since 1693 had been under the control of the Balinese.

<sup>612</sup> La Cella Matinroe ri Tengana Soppéng (Ligtvoet 1880:203).

<sup>613</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:203) reports they were killed because they were accused of slandering La Padangsjati.

<sup>614</sup> This was the second young child of I Pappi named Manrewakki to die young; see the entry for 9 Jan 1721.

<sup>615</sup> Probably I Sugi who was born on 19 Jul 1704. All three were summoned back to Makassar in the wake of the death of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina the previous month (Ligtvoet 1880:203).

- 27 Mar (T) I Kare Jarreq I Yokong installed as *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*, replacing I Kare Mangalliki I Jalaq  
12 Raj 1137 nanipantama anrongguru anaq buraqne I Kare Jarreq I Yokong asambeangi I Kare Mangalliki I Jalaq
- 9 Apr (N eve) I Salahu, a nephew<sup>616</sup> of Karaeng Mangesuq, died  
25 Raj 1137 namate I Salahu kamanakanna Karae Mangesuq
- 14 Apr (F eve) Daengta Daeng Marimang died  
1 Syab 1137 namate Daengta Daeng Marimang
- 15 May (T) I Sadiq, a child of a Tamboran [on Sumbawa] and Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika], died  
2 Ram 1137 namate I Sadiq anaq Tamboran Tumatea ri Salaparan
- 24 May (R) a child of I Yunnaq died  
11 Ram 1137 namate anaqna I Yunnaq
- 7 Jun (R) Muhammad Ali, a grandchild of I Tuang<sup>617</sup>, and I Bole<sup>618</sup>  
25 Ram 1137 stabbed each other above in Galesong after arriving together from Sumbawa with Karaeng Bontomajannang nasitoboq Muhammad Ali cucunna I Tuan I Bole sipoleangi irate ri Galesong battui ri Sambawa siagaang Karae Bontomajannang
- 8 Jun (F) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang arrived from fetching Karaeng Buluq-Buluq and Karaeng Bontoa but not Datu Tannga  
26 Ram 1137 nabattu putoku Karae Panaikang angallei Karae Buluq-Buluq Karaeng Bontoa tenai Datu Tang
- 17 Jun (N) Daengta Daeng Manaqgalaq, a younger sibling of the widow<sup>619</sup>, died  
5 Syaw 1137 namate Daengta Daeng Manaqgalaq arinna balua
- 22 Jun (R eve) Daengta Daeng Talele, a younger sibling of Karaeng ri Ballaq Jawaya, died

<sup>616</sup> Or niece, as no gender is indicated.

<sup>617</sup> This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.

<sup>618</sup> Alternately, these names could be read as Muhammad Ali and a grandchild of I Tuang I Bole.

<sup>619</sup> Presumably Daeng Maingaq, also known in the *lontaraq bilang* as Karaeng Balua.

- 10 Syaw 1137      namate Daengta Daeng Talele arinna Karaengta ri Ballaq Jawaya
- 6 Jul (F)            my [step]mother I Sapiah, a wife of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] had a son Syarfuddin Manngambu Jawa
- 24 Syaw 1137      namamanaq anrongku I Sapiah bainenna Karaenga buraqne Syarfuddin Manngambu Jawa
- 9 Aug (W eve)     Daenga Daeng Tamemang, who lived with my younger uncle<sup>620</sup>, died
- 29 Zulk 1137      namate Daenga Daeng Tamemang siballaqna putoku
- 13 Aug (N eve)    Karaeng Boriqsallo died
- 4 Zulh 1137        namate Karaeng Boriqsallo
- 23 Aug (R)        I Mattaenai and I Sabirah, a child of Karaeng Batupute by Minaq, married
- 14 Zulh 1137      nasikalabini I Mattaenai I Sabirah anaqna Karae Batuputeh ri Minaq
- 16 Sep (N)        it is said that the new ruler of Sumbawa died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Zulhijah<sup>621</sup>
- 8 Muh 1138        nanikana matei Karae Sambawa berua ri 15 Zulhijah
- 1 Oct (M)         an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived bringing news of the death of Arung Jalieng<sup>622</sup> below in Luwuq; I Mappaq, a child of Karaeng Mangesuq, circumcised
- 23 Muh 1138      nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai matena Aruq Jalieng irawa ri Luwuq nanisunnaq I Mappaq anaqna Karae Mangesuq
- 6 Oct (S)         I Tipa had a daughter by the karaeng [Sirajuddin] named Hasanah
- 28 Muh 1138      namamanaq I Tipa baine ri karaenga nikana Hasanah
- 7 Oct (N)         Arung Tanete I Callaq arrived here in Gowa
- 29 Muh 1138      nabattu Aruq Tanete I Callaq maei ri Gowa

<sup>620</sup> Either Karaeng Panaikang, Alluq, or Patteqne.

<sup>621</sup> Quite possibly he too died fighting the Balinese in Salaparang like his predecessor.

<sup>622</sup> Ruler of Sidénréng and Datu ri Citta's third husband (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

- 12 Oct (R eve)  
5 Saf 1138 I Saodah, a wife of I Biqbuq, had a daughter Latifah namamanaq I Saodah bainenna I Biqbuq baine Latifah
- 30 Oct (T)  
24 Saf 1138 Karaeng Patukangang had a son Muhammad Jamala; I Mappatollaq was his Makassarese name<sup>623</sup> namamanaq Karae Patukangan buraqne Muhammad Jamala I Mappatollaq aren Mankasaraqna
- 3 Nov (S)  
27 Saf 1138 Amirah and I [Syafiuddin] married kusikalabini Amirah
- 12 Nov (M)  
6 Rawl 1138 a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne died namate anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
- 21 Nov (W)  
15 Rawl 1138 a child of Karaeng Bontotannga died namate anaqna Karae Bontotannga
- 1 Dec (S)  
25 Rawl 1138 I Maemunah, a wife of I Kare Manginruru I Molla, died namate I Maemunah bainenna I Kare Manginruru I Molla
- 9 Dec (S eve)  
3 Rakr 1138 *nayaka* I Yasing died namate nayakaya I Yasing
- 29 Dec (S)  
24 Rakr 1138 Karaeng Bontoa had a son Abdul Gafur; he lived just 9 months namamanaq Karae Bontoa buraqne Abdul Gafur 9 bulanji tallasaqna
- 1726
- 13 Jan (N)  
9 Jawl 1138 I Daeng Memang, a grandparent of I Daeng Rikong I Jaga, died namate I Daeng Memang toana I Daeng Rikong I Jaga
- 16 Jan (W)  
12 Jawl 1138 a child of I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq died in Buaq namate anaqna I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq ri Buaq

<sup>623</sup> He was later titled Karaeng Kanjilo (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

- 19 Jan (M eve)<sup>624</sup> my [step]mother I Saidah, a wife of the karaeng [Sirajuddin] had a daughter Aminah Sarimba Raja  
15 Jawl 1138 namamanaq anrongku I Saidah bainenna karaenga baine Aminah Sarimba Raja
- 31 Jan (W eve)  
27 Jawl 1138 Daengta Daeng Mangaungi died at 70 years of age namate Daengta Daeng Mangaungi umuruna 70 taun
- 8 Feb (R eve)  
5 Jakr 1138 I Daeng Tonji Balambaru died namate I Daeng Tonji Balambaru
- 11 Feb (M)  
8 Jakr 1138 I Mangeranngi and I Malikah married nasikalabini I Mangerang I Malikah
- 15 Feb (S)  
13 Jakr 1138 a child of I Papuq who was a wife of I Dadi died namate anaqna I Papuq nabaneanga I Dadi
- 25 Feb (M)  
22 Jakr 1138 I Salama, a child of I Daeng Bonang, divorced by the karaeng [Sirajuddin], repudiated three times [in accordance with Islamic custom] nanipelaq I Salama anaqna I Daeng Bonang ri karaenga nitallaq tallui
- 16 Mar (S)  
12 Raj 1138 I Kare Sallo, a child of Tumatea ri Salaparang [Karaeng Jarannika], died namate I Kare Sallo anaqna Tumatea ri Salaparang
- 19 Mar (T)<sup>625</sup>  
15 Raj 1138 the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and Karaeng Agangjeqneq<sup>626</sup> married nasikalabini karaenga Karae Agangjeqneq
- 22 Mar (R eve)  
18 Raj 1138 it is said that my older uncle Arung Kaju and the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] married nanikana sikalabinimi puangku Aruq Kayu arumpone
- 30 Mar (S) my younger aunt Karaeng Bontojeqneq arrived from Kaju; she said she had been divorced by my older uncle [Arung Kaju]

<sup>624</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 29th instead of the 19th.

<sup>625</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 16th instead of the 19th.

<sup>626</sup> A former wife of the ruler of Sumbawa Mas Madina and, according to Dutch sources, of Arung Jalieng as well (Ligtvoet 1880:204).

- 26 Raj 1138 nabattu ayaku Karae Bontojeqneq ri Kayu nikana nipelaq-mi ripuangku
- 29 Apr (T) Karaeng Bisei<sup>627</sup>, ordered brought by the arumpone [Datu ri Citta], arrived
- 26 Syab 1138 nabattu Karae Bisei nisuro eran ri arungpone
- 2 May (R) a child of a slave of Karaeng Bisei died<sup>628</sup>
- 29 Syab 1138 namate anaq ri atanna Karae Bisei
- 8 May (W) my grandparent I Daeng Nganrenne, a grandparent of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, died
- 5 Ram 1138 namate toaku I Daeng Nganrenne toana Karae Bontolangkasaq
- 19 May (N) I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq expelled from supervising the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 16 Ram 1138 nanipasuluq I Daeng Maseqre I Papippiq anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 10 Jun (N eve) I Capoaq, a widow of Tumamenang ri Rateqna, died
- 9 Syaw 1138 namate I Capoaq balunna Tuammenang ri Rateqna
- 3 Jul (T eve) we were left by [*tumabicarabutta*] Karaeng Tumamenang ri Taenga at the age of 85
- 3 Zulk 1138 kinapilari Karaengta Tuammenang ri Taenga umuruqna 85
- 6 Jul (S) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang installed to supervise the lesser *anaq karaeng*
- 6 Zulk 1138 napatoku Karae Panaikang nipantama anjannangi anaq karaeng salaya
- 9 Jul (T) I Dorra and a grandchild of I Daeng Maseqre stabbed each other above in Maradekaya and after one night died<sup>629</sup>

<sup>627</sup> A former ruler of Boné for a brief time in 1724. He was also known as Arung Mampu and La Panaungi Topawawoi.

<sup>628</sup> Karaeng Bisei was presumably the father.

<sup>629</sup> I believe the intent of this is that I Dorra died, but it could mean that they both died from their wounds.

- 9 Zulk 1138      nasitoboki I Dorra cucunna I Daeng Masseqre irate ri Maradekaya sipatangpi namate
- 17 Jul (W)  
17 Zulk 1138      Karaeng Balambaru died below in Baru-Baru namate Karae Balambaru irawa ri Baru-Baru
- 2 Aug (F)  
4 Zuh 1138      the karaeng [Sirajuddin] would speak for the land<sup>630</sup> nakaraenga ampakkanangi buttana
- 10 Sep (T)  
13 Muh 1139      the karaeng [Sirajuddin] given the 3 communities of Gantaq, Kassi, and Sangkala<sup>631</sup> nanisareang karaenga Gantaq Kassi Sangkala 3 paqras-angan
- 9 Sep (M)  
12 Muh 1139<sup>633</sup>      Gallarrang Camba I Kare Parampang installed as speaker<sup>632</sup> nanitannang maqbicara Gallarrang Camba I Kare Parampang
- 7 Oct (M)  
11 Saf 1139      my grandparent I Daeng Mangewai I Waseq<sup>634</sup>, a younger sibling of Karaeng Manjalling, died namate toaku I Daeng Mangewai I Waseq arinna Karae Manjalling
- 17 Oct (R)  
21 Saf 1139      the manuscript that would be brought by my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq overseas to Jakattaraq was taken down to the ship; it said we had been left by our karaeng [Tumamenang ri Taenga] nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga putoku Karae Alluq kalauq ri Jakattaraq angkana-kanai napilarinta Karaengta
- 23 Oct (W)  
27 Saf 1139      I Daeng Taiji, a wife of Karaeng Garassiq, died namate I Daeng Taiji bainenna Karae Garassiq

<sup>630</sup> In other words, following the death of Karaeng Bontosunggu Tumamenang ri Taenga, Sirajuddin decided that he would not appoint a new *tumabicarabutta*, the chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'. Sultan Hasanuddin had done this once before in 1654.

<sup>631</sup> By the arumpone Datu ri Citta and her husband Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:205).

<sup>632</sup> This either means that he became *tumabicarabutta* or that he was given some of those duties performed by the *tumabicarabutta* before Sirajuddin decided he would do this himself.

<sup>633</sup> It is not clear why this and the preceding entry are in reverse chronological order.

<sup>634</sup> Elsewhere spelled I Wasing.



- 30 Oct (T eve) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung married  
4 Rawl 1139 nasikalabini puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung
- 6 Nov (W) the ruler of Bima [Mappatalli] and his wife [Karaeng Bisangpole] arrived  
11 Rawl 1139 nabattu Karae Dima sikalabini
- 26 Nov (T) a Selayarese named I Pundamaq installed as *nayaka* of the bissu  
1 Rokr 1139 nanipantama nayaka bissu Silayaraka nikanaya I Pundamaq
- 10 Dec (T) the *nayaka* [Pundamaq] conducted a great exorcism ritual  
15 Rokr 1139 namakkawaru lombo nayakaya
- 14 Dec (S) birth of I Cumaq Sitti Salehah Rimba Bulaeng<sup>635</sup>  
19 Rokr 1139 nanianakkang I Cumaq Sitti Salehah Rimba Bulaeng
- 15 Dec (N) my grandparent I Daeng Maqleoq killed to the east in Pareq by his companion he had gone to find  
20 Rokr 1139 nanibunotoaku I Daeng Maqleoq iraya ri Pareq ri aganna manglea naboya
- 16 Dec (M) [I Daeng Maqleoq] was brought seawards here, then across to Taenga and buried  
21 Rokr 1139 nanierang kalauq mae naibaqler ri Taenga niawan
- 1727
- 7 Jan (T) it is said that I Daeng Mattara died in Jakattaraq  
13 Jawl 1139 nanikana matei I Daeng Mattara ri Jakattaraq
- 13 Jan (N eve) all the people of Dompua fled overseas from Kampong Beru as they were about to be given to their ruler  
19 Jawl 1139 namalaringaseng Dompua ilauka ri Kampong Beru lanipamangen ri karaengna
- 17 Jan (F) there was a very great flood [tidalwave] in the river like never before

<sup>635</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:205) speculated that this might be the later ruler of Talloq Karaeng Karuwisi.

- 23 Jawl 1139      namalompo dudu aqbaya ri binangaya tinang kammai
- 19 Jan (S eve)  
25 Jawl 1139      the ruler of Dompu I Daeng Manombong died  
namate Karae Dompu I Daeng Manombong
- 31 Jan (F)  
8 Jakr 1139      Anduq Puaq died  
namate Anduq Puaq
- 8 Feb (S)      Sudanga and Latea ri Duni were placed side by side in  
the house in Paqbineang [Sirajuddin's new royal hall] for  
the 5th time; the people of Takalar, whose overseer was I  
Bagusuq, were given to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] with all  
that belonged to their community<sup>636</sup>
- 16 Jakr 1139      nanipasiempoang Sudanga Latea ri Duni ri ballaka ri  
Paqbineang maka 5 nanisareang karaenga tuTakalaraka  
jannangannaya I Bagusuq lolong paqrasanganna
- 16 Feb (N)      the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] and her husband [Arung  
Kaju] sailed from Ujung Tana down to Padang-Padang  
[Pare-Pare] to suppress what was said to be Datu ri  
Soppéng [La Padangsajati] inside Boné inciting the people  
of Boné [to revolt]
- 24 Jakr 1139      namamise arumpone sikalabini ri Juntana manaung ri  
Padang-Padang makkaruru nikananna niaki Datua ri  
Soppeng ilalang ri Bone ampakewai tuBonea
- 20 Feb (R)      I [Syafiuddin] went also with my friend Karaeng Garassiq  
I Daeng Mattulung to follow the arumpone [Datu ri  
Citta]; the Patambirang<sup>637</sup> were ordered to accompany  
[us]
- 28 Jakr 1139      kumaqlampa todong siagaang belaku Karae Garassiq I  
Daeng Mattulung ampinawang arumpone Patamberanga  
nisoro ampinawangaq
- 24 Feb (M)      my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung  
divorced

<sup>636</sup> Like Gantaq, Kassiq, and Sangkalaq the previous year, the arumpone and Arung Kaju gave Takalar to Sirajuddin (Ligtvoet 1880:206).

<sup>637</sup> Patambirang refers to a collection of communities north of Gowa established by Bugis nobles who, according to oral tradition, settled there with the ruler of Talloq's permission after they returned from Boné bearing the body of Gowa's ruler Tunibatta in 1565. These lords were given special honors and (at least originally) freed from paying tribute to Gowa (Friedericzy 1929:425-7; Ligtvoet 1880:footnote 206).

- 2 Raj 1139            nasipelaq puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrun
- 4 Mar (T)            it is said that Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] was in Batangnionjoq [Agangnionjoq] and was ordered guarded because it was said he was going to the Dutch
- 10 Raj 1139        nanikana niaki Datua ri Soppeng ri Batangnionjoq nanisuro kammiq kanikana alamaei ri Balandaya
- 10 Mar (M)        I Laiqjiq arrived here with his blood relatives<sup>638</sup>, saying that all the people went from the Datu [ri Soppéng], who also was brought down to the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]
- 16 Raj 1139        nabattu I Laiqjiq mae ri katuguana nakana maqlampa ngasengmi taua ri Datua nieran tommi manaung ri arumpone
- 13 Mar (R)        it is said that Datu ri Soppéng [La Padangsajati] was there beside the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]
- 19 Raj 1139        nanikana niaqmi Datua ri Soppeng irawa ri arumpone
- 20 Mar (W eve)    I Cocoq, a wife of I Kare Mangalle, died
- 26 Raj 1139        namate I Cocoq bainenna I Kare Mangalle
- 22 Mar (S)        I arrived from following the arumpone [Datu ri Citta]; it is said that my older uncle I Mattaq [La Padangsajati] and his wife and family were exiled down beneath [i.e. to the north side of] Luwuq<sup>639</sup>
- 28 Raj 1139        kubattumo ampinawangi arumpone nanikana nicindei puanna I Mattaq sikalabini sipamanakang manaung irawanganna Luq
- 5 Apr (S)        my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga and Bumi Partiga<sup>640</sup> married
- 17 Syab 1139      nasikalabini daengku Karae Tanasanga Bumi Partiga
- 9 Apr (T eve)     my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung returned to each other
- 21 Syab 1139      nasipolei puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung

<sup>638</sup> 'Blood relatives' is Ligetvoet's (1880:207) translation of 'katuguana'.

<sup>639</sup> This was his punishment for attempting to foment revolt in Boné.

<sup>640</sup> The appointed successor or crown prince of Bima bore this title, which here referred to Ala'uddin Muhammad Syah, a son of Mappatalliq Hasanuddin.

- 26 Apr (F) my younger uncle Karaeng Alluq landed at Ujung Pandang, arriving from Jakattaraq  
3 Ram 1139 nasore ri Jumpangandang putoku Karae Alluq battu ri Jakattaraq
- 3 May (F eve) the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] went with his wife [Karaeng Bisangpole] over to his homeland [on Sumbawa]  
10 Ram 1139 namaqlampamo Karae Dima sikalabini taqle ri paqrasangana
- 7 May (W) Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] asked that I Kare Lesang be installed as gallarrang [of Talloq]  
14 Ram 1139 nanapalaq Karaenga ri Talloq I Kare Lesang natannang gallarrang
- 13 Jul (S eve) I Saidah, a wife of I Daeng Maqleqq, had a daughter  
23 Zulk 1139 namamanaq I Saidah bainenna I Daeng Maqleqq baine
- 31 Jul (W eve) I Daeng Nisimba, former spouse of Karaeng ri Bontopanno, died  
12 Zulh 1139 namate I Daeng Nisimba pallaloanna Karaengta ri Bontopannoh
- 13 Aug (W) an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived bringing news of the death of my older uncle I Mattaq and his wife and family; they were cut down  
25 Zulh 1139 nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai matena puanna I Mattaq sikalabini sipamanakang nijalloki
- 25 Aug (M) Amirah had a son Manshur I Mallawang Gauq<sup>641</sup>  
8 Muh 1140 namamanaq Amirah buraqne Manshur I Mallawang Gauq
- 2 Sep (T) my younger aunt Karaeng Barong Patola and I Daeng Makkulle I Tipu married  
16 Muh 1140 nasikalabini ayaku Karae Barong Patola I Daeng Makkulle I Tipu
- 14 Oct (T) a house for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] built outside of Mallengkeri  
28 Saf 1140 nanibangun ballaqla karaenga ipantaraq ri Mallengkeri

<sup>641</sup> A son of Karaeng Lempangang also known as Tumamenang ri Gowa (Ligtvoet 1880:207).

- 24 Oct (R) I Mattenai and a child of I Daeng Ngago [Isa] married  
30 Saf 1140<sup>642</sup> nasikalabini I Mattenai anaqna I Daeng Ngago
- 2 Nov (N) I Mattayang and I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti divorced  
17 Rawl 1140 nasipelaq I Mattayang I Daeng Mateqne I Sitti
- 10 Nov (M) I Mandi, a grandchild of Daengta I Daeng Talarra, cir-  
cumcised  
25 Rawl 1140 nanisunnaq I Mandi cucunna Daengta I Daeng Talarra
- 23 Nov (N) I Sitti, former spouse of I Mattayang, had a daughter  
9 Rokr 1140 namamanaq I Sitti palloloanna I Mattayang baine
- 26 Nov (W) my older uncle Karaeng Boqdia and Karaeng Barrung  
divorced again  
12 Rokr 1140 nasipelaq pole puangku Karae Boqdia Karae Barrung
- 15 Dec (M) I Maliq, a child of Puaq Ikkuq, died  
1 Jawl 1140 namate I Maliq anaqna Puaq Ikkuq
- 17 Dec (W) there arrived an Arab from Bait al Faqih [in Yemen]  
named Abu Bakar Ibnu Muhammad Syaibi  
3 Jawl 1140 niaq Arab Baitalfaqih battu nikana Abu Bakar Ibnu  
Muhammad Syaibi
- 21 Dec (N) teeth filed of I Didaq, a child of Karaeng Bontomateqne  
5 Jawl 1140 naniariq I Didaq anaqna Karae Bontomateqne
- 27 Dec (S) Daengta I Daeng Ngampa, a child of Karaeng  
Rappociniq, died  
13 Jawl 1140 namate Daengta I Daeng Ngampa anaqna Karaengta  
Rappociniq
- 1728
- 29 Jan (W eve) Karaeng ri Bontopaqja<sup>643</sup> died at the age of 76  
17 Jakr 1140 namate Karaengta ri Bontopaqja umuruqna 76

<sup>642</sup> The Hijri date converts to 16 Oct 1727.

<sup>643</sup> Probably a daughter of the ruler of Bima Ambela Sirajuddin and Karaeng Bontojeqneq (Ligtvoet 1880:207-8).

- 7 Feb (S) there were 13 Torajans, people from Tallung Lipu, brought into Islam by Shaykh  
26 Jakr 1140 niaq Toraja tuTallung Lipu 13 nipantama Islam ri Syekh
- 9 Feb (N eve) I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad died at 30 years of age  
28 Jakr 1140 namate I Daeng Manassaq I Muhammad talassaqna 30 taun
- 15 Feb (N) the day I Ninuq<sup>644</sup>, a child of Karaeng Bontorambaq, died below in Batangnionjoq  
4 Raj 1140 allo nakamateanga I Ninuq anaqna Karae Bontorambaq irawa ri Batangnionjoq
- 21 Feb (F eve) I Daeng Marewa and I Karimah married  
10 Raj 1140 nasikalabini I Daeng Marewa I Karimah
- 22 Feb (N) I Daeng Mateqne, a child of Daengta Daeng Marimang, died  
11 Raj 1140 namate I Daeng Mateqne anaqna Daengta Daeng Marimang
- 26 Feb (W eve) I Saqdaq and I Mindaq married  
15 Raj 1140 nasikalabini I Saqdaq I Mindaq
- 26 Feb (R) Karaeng Bulo-Bulo I Rimba died, having lived to be 19  
15 Raj 1140 namate Karae Bulo-Bulo I Rimba tallasaqna 19
- 21 Mar (F eve) I Dadiq killed, recognized as having a kris hilt [that belonged to another]  
8 Syab 1140 nanibuno I Dadiq nipanrupai pangulu
- 21 Mar (S) I Abu, a grandchild of Anro Malole, killed by the Dutch along with the child of I Jakuq  
8 Syab 1140 nanibuno I Abu cucunna Anro Malole ri Balandaya sia-gaang anaqna I Jakuq
- 31 Mar (T eve) Karaeng Patukangang had a son Abdul Gafur who lived 3 nights  
19 Syab 1140 namamanaq Karae Patukangang buraqne Abdul Gafur 3 banngi tallasaqna

<sup>644</sup> Not the I Ninuq who married on 6 May 1715.

- 21 Apr (W)      Sayyid Alwi died  
10 Ram 1140      namate Sayyid Alwi
- 26 Apr (M)      I Malukah and I Mangeranngi divorced  
15 Ram 1140      nasipelaq I Malukah I Mangeranngi
- 27 Apr (M eve)    my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga had a daughter  
named Rante Patola Sitti Rabiah  
16 Ram 1140      namamanaq daengku Karae Tanasanga baine nikana  
Rante Patola Sitti Rabiah
- 1 May (S)        I Daeng Ngaseng I Saqbaraq died  
20 Ram 1140      namate I Daeng Ngaseng I Saqbaraq
- 7 May (F)        the day of Arung Pattojo's death  
26 Ram 1140      allo nakamateanga Aruq Pattojo
- 8 May (F eve)    the karaeng [Sirajuddin] grew a beard<sup>645</sup>  
27 Ram 1140      namaqjanggoq karaenga
- 10 May (N eve)    birth of Ratu Bulaeng Sitti Radiah  
29 Ram 1140      nanianakkang Ratu Bulaeng Sitti Radiah
- 25 May (M)      I Manrewakki, a child of Karaeng Batupute, circumcised  
and then adopted by Karaeng Manjalling  
15 Syaw 1140      nanisunnaq I Manrewakki anaqna Karae Batu Puteh  
nakatuoq Karae Manjalling
- 31 May (N eve)    my great grandparent I Daeng Ngantu I Yociq died  
21 Syaw 1140      namate boeku I Daeng Ngantu I Yociq
- 6 Jun (N)        Karaeng Barrung had a son named I Callaq  
27 Syaw 1140      namanaq Karae Barrung buraqne nikana I Callaq
- 18 Jun (R eve)    Gallarrang Parangloe I Laddin died  
10 Zulk 1140      namate Gallarang Parangloe I Laddin
- 10 Jul (S)        my grandparent I Daeng Masseqre I Jaga died and I  
Daeng Manjakkalaq I Luddin replaced him<sup>646</sup>

<sup>645</sup> A sign of Islamic devotion.

<sup>646</sup> In what capacity is not clear. It is not likely that this entry refers to the I Daeng Masseqre I Papippiq who was expelled from supervising the lesser *anaq karaeng* on 19 May 1726.

- 3 Zulh 1140      namate toaku I Daeng Maseqre I Jaga naIDaeng  
Manjakkalaq I Luddin assambeangi
- 28 Aug (S)      I Manrannuang and I Buba married  
22 Muh 1141      nasikalabini I Manrannuang I Buba
- 29 Aug (N)      Karaeng Balambaru and I Danruq married  
23 Muh 1141      nasikalabini Karaeng Balambaru I Danruq
- 11 Sep (S)      Karaeng ri Talloq [Najamuddin] came himself on account  
of what Monnoq did  
7 Saf 1141      nanaerang kalenna Karaenga ri Talloq lanri gauka ri  
Monnoq
- 17 Sep (F)      Addatuanga ri Masepe<sup>647</sup> and Karaeng Tangallaq mar-  
ried  
13 Saf 1141      nasikalabini Aqdatuan ri Masepe Karae Tangallaq
- 8 Oct (F)      the ship carrying Bumi Partiga, who was bringing his wife  
[Karaeng Tanasanga] over to Bima, briefly went down to  
Kampong Beru  
4 Rawl 1141      namaqdongkoq ri biseang Bumi Partiga angerangi bainen-  
na taqle ri Dima manaungiji ri Kampong Beru
- 9 Oct (S)      my younger aunt Karaeng Bontojeqneq was seawards  
in Kampong Beru; my older uncle [Arung Kaju] went  
to bring her [his former wife] up to Talloq; he and the  
arumpone [Datu ri Citta] also divorced  
5 Rawl 1141      ilauki ri Kampong Beru ayaku Karae Bontojeqneq  
namange puangku angallei manraiq ri Talloq nasipelaq  
tommo arumpone
- 18 Oct (N eve)      I Kare Nassa, a child of I Tuang<sup>648</sup>, died  
14 Rawl 1141      namate I Kare Nassa anaqna I Tuan
- 22 Oct (R eve)      I Daeng Tacoa I Alimah died  
18 Rawl 1141      namate I Daeng Tacoa I Alimah
- 4 Nov (R)      I Bimbang installed as *nayaka*, replacing the Selayarese  
*nayaka* [I Pundamaq]

<sup>647</sup> Towapo Matinroe ri Sumpangminangaé (Ligtvoet 1880:208).

<sup>648</sup> This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.



- 2 Rokr 1141 nanitannang nayaka I Bimbaga assambeangi nayaka Silayaraka
- 5 Nov (F)  
3 Rokr 1141 Isa, a child of I Daeng Ngago, had a son namamanaq Isa anaqna I Daeng Ngago buraqne
- 13 Nov (S)  
11 Rokr 1141 people mustered for the installation of Governor Josua van Arrewijne  
namarewangan taua nilantiqna Gurnadur Josawapan Arwin
- 6 Dec (M)  
4 Jawl 1141 belongings seized of Karaeng Bontojeqneq by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]; his Makassarese possessions [were taken]  
nanirapping Karae Bontojeqneq ri karaenga panguang Mankasaraqna
- 9 Dec (R)  
7 Jawl 1141 I Mappaq and I Yakiah married  
nasikalabini I Mappaq I Yakiah
- 21 Dec (S)  
19 Jawl 1141 I Mammaq, a child of the younger Ratu Bagus, circumcised  
nanisunnaq I Mammaq anaqna Ratu Bagusq malolo
- 1729
- 10 Jan (M)  
10 Jakr 1141 I Tappaq, a child of Karaeng Palembang, circumcised  
nanisunnaq I Tappaq anaqna Karae Palembang
- 28 Jan (R eve)  
28 Jakr 1141 Karaeng ri Campagaya died at the age of 73  
namate Karaengta ri Campagaya umuruna 73
- 29 Jan (F eve)  
29 Jakr 1141 I Kare Jannang, a widow of the *kadi*, died  
namate I Kare Jannang balunna qadia
- 5 Feb (S)  
6 Raj 1141 I Karimah, a wife of I Daeng Marewa, had a son Muhammad Rajab  
namamanaq I Karimah bainenna I Daeng Marewa buraqne Muhammad Rajab
- 12 Feb (S)  
13 Raj 1141 I Nuh circumcised; Karaeng ri Mangaraqbombang died  
nanisunnaq I Nuh namate Karaengta ri Mangaraqbombang

- 25 Feb (F) I Kare Sitaba I Jalani, a child of I Tuang<sup>649</sup>, died  
26 Raj 1141 namate I Kare Sitaba I Jalani anaqna I Tuan
- 14 Mar (M) Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle died but his child  
named I Kasing replaced him  
13 Syab 1141 namate Gallarrang Mangasa I Kare Mangalle anaqnaji  
nikanaya I Kasing assambeangi
- 15 Mar (T) Gallarrang Bontoalaq, *zakat*<sup>650</sup> official, died  
14 Syab 1141 namate Gallarrang Bontoalaq suro pajakkoq
- 20 Mar (N) I Buba and Muhammad Ali married  
19 Syab 1141 nasikalabini I Buba Muhammad Ali
- 29 Mar (T) I Liasaq, a child of I Daeng Mami Dalang, died  
28 Syab 1141 namate I Liasaq anaqna I Daeng Mami Dalang
- 5 Apr (M eve) Gallarrang Tomboloq I Mangemba died  
5 Ram 1141 namate Gallarrang Tomboloq I Mangemba
- 24 Apr (N) we were left by Karaeng ri Talloq Tumamenang ri  
Jawaya<sup>651</sup> [Najamuddin]  
24 Ram 1141 kinapilari Karaenga ri Talloq Tuammenanga ri Jawaya
- 25 Apr (M) Karaeng ri Gowa [Sirajuddin] again took hold of the land  
of Talloq<sup>652</sup>  
25 Ram 1141 naKaraenga ri Gowa pole antaqgalaki buttana ri Talloq
- 5 May (W eve) I Daeng Maniqgalli, a younger sibling of Karaeng Bidara,  
died  
6 Syaw 1141 namate I Daeng Maniqgalli arinna Karaenga Bidara

<sup>649</sup> This probably refers to Tuang Rappang.

<sup>650</sup> *Zakat* refers to the tithing required of observant Muslims. Since a mosque was first constructed in Bontoalaq (completed on 10 Nov 1635) and Friday prayers established (30 Oct 1648), it had been the center of Islam in Makassar, and the comparatively few references to Islamic officials (such as the *pakki* mentioned on 10 Oct 1693) in the annals are generally tied to this location.

<sup>651</sup> His posthumous name indicates that he died in Jawaya, a settlement just south of the Talloq river.

<sup>652</sup> Following the death of his son Najamuddin Tumamenang ri Jawaya.

- 15 May (N) I Daeng Maingaq's belongings seized and she was banished east to Moncongang; I Daeng Manyampakki banished; I Daeng Sangging left to go east to Sandao
- 16 Syaw 1141 nanirapping nanicindei I Daeng Maingaq manraiq ri Moncongangan I Daeng Manyampakki nicindei maqlampa I Daeng Sangging lanipanraiq ri Sandao
- 16 May (M) I Kapparaq, a child of Karaeng ri Mandalleq, killed by La Maqdiq<sup>653</sup> seawards in Ujung Pandang
- 17 Syaw 1141 nanibunno I Kapparaq anaqna Karaengta ri Mandalleq ri Lamaqdiq ilauq ri Jumpandang
- 18 May (W) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq arrived, followed, and killed I La Maqdiq
- 19 Syaw 1141 nabattu Karae Bontolangkasaq ampinawangi ambunoi I Lamaqdiq
- 10 Jun (R eve) I Maqmiq, a child of I Daeng Mattulung, died
- 12 Zulk 1141 namate I Maqmiq anaqna I Daeng Mattulung
- 9 Jul (S) I Mappaq, a grandchild of I Daeng Talarra, and a niece of Karaeng Bidara married
- 12 Zulh 1141 nasikalabini I Mappaq cucunna I Daeng Talarra kamana-kanna Karaeng Bidara
- 16 Jul (S) the Dutch rice storehouse inside the fort burned
- 19 Zulh 1141 namakanre gaqdon berasaqna Balandaya ilalang kota
- 29 Jul (R eve) I Maidah had a daughter
- 2 Muh 1142 namamanaq I Maidah baine
- 19 Aug (F) it is said that [Governor] General Mattheus de Haan died in Jakattaraq
- 23 Muh 1142 nanikana matei Jenrala Matihus Dihana ri Jakattaraq
- 20 Aug (S) Amirah had a daughter named I Danradatu Sitti Napisah<sup>654</sup>
- 24 Muh 1142 namamanaq Amirah baine nikana I Danradatu Sitti Napisah

<sup>653</sup> A son of La Patauq (Ligtvoet 1880:209).

<sup>654</sup> Karaeng Langeloq.

- 12 Sep (M) teeth filed of a child of I Daeng Maqruppa I Tinting  
18 Saf 1142 naniariq anaqna I Daeng Maqruppa I Tinting
- 5 Oct (W) Abdussalam, a child of Karaeng Tallampuang Suluka, cir-  
cumcised  
12 Rawl 1142 nanisunnaq Abdussalam anaqna Karae Tallampuang  
Suluka
- 10 Oct (M) I Nunnig, a wife of I Daeng Ngago, died  
17 Rawl 1142 namate I Nunnig bainenna I Daeng Ngago
- 14 Oct (R eve) Karaeng Patukangang had a daughter named I Sugiratu  
Sitti Aminah<sup>655</sup>  
21 Rawl 1142 namamanaq Karae Patukangan baine nikana I Sugiratu  
Sitti Aminah
- 15 Oct (S) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] goes to live in his house outside  
Mallengkeri; 2 years and two months [after being built] he  
will live in it  
22 Rawl 1142 nanaempoimo ballaqa karaenga ipantaraka ri  
Mallengkeri 2 taun anruambulan nanaempo
- 13 Nov (N) I Daeng Marannu I Sugi had a daughter by Dadiq  
21 Rakr 1142 namamanaq I Daeng Marannu I Sugi ri Dadiq baine
- 27 Nov (S eve)<sup>656</sup> the interpreter I Jakuq died  
6 Jawl 1142 namate juru basaya I Jakuq
- 28 Nov (M)<sup>657</sup> the day of Datu ri Mario's<sup>658</sup> death below in  
Batangnionjoq  
7 Jawl 1142 allo nakamatenga Datua ri Mario irawa ri Batangnionjoq
- 29 Dec (R) at the sun's setting Karaeng Tangallaq had a daughter  
who was already dead when she came out  
8 Jakr 1142 ambanimi saqraq alloa namamanaq Karae Tangallaq baine  
mate memange battu suluq

<sup>655</sup> Later known as Arung Teko and Arung Kaju.

<sup>656</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 17th instead of the 27th.

<sup>657</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 18th instead of the 28th.

<sup>658</sup> Arung Patiro, a daughter of the ruler of Tanete Daeng Mattajang Matinroe ri Sumpampoba (Ligtvoet 1880:210).

1730

- 5 Feb (N) I Sumang, a child of I Tuang Abu Bakar, and I Sarimba married
- 17 Raj 1142 nasikalabini I Suman anaqna I Tuan Abu Bakar I Sarimba
- 26 Feb (F eve) I Daeng Sitaba and I Cinra married  
8 Syab 1142 nasikalabini I Daeng Sitaba I Cinra
- 10 Mar (F) I Sabirah, a child of Karaeng Batupute, died  
25 Syab 1142<sup>659</sup> namate I Sabirah anaqna Karae Batuputeh
- 11 Mar (N) I Thahirah and I Mangiq, a child of Abu Bakar, married<sup>660</sup>; yesterday during the night I Buba had a daughter  
22 Syab 1142 nasikalabini I Thahirah I Mangiq anaqna Abu Bakar sibanngi ri banngia namamanaq I Buba baine
- 12 Apr (W) the envoy I Daeng Maqruppa arrived bringing news of the death of his wife across in Bontotalo 4 months [ago]  
23 Ram 1142 nabattu surona I Daeng Maqruppa ampabirittai matena bainenna ibaqlle ri Bontotalo 4 bulanmi
- 14 Apr (F) I Congaq arrived from Buton, ordered brought by the ruler of Buton here to the Dutch<sup>661</sup>  
25 Ram 1142 nabattu ri Butong I Congaq nisuro erang ri karae Buton mae ri Balandaya
- 23 Apr (S eve) Karaeng ri Langeloq died at the age of 70 and four months<sup>662</sup>  
4 Syaw 1142 namate Karaengta ri Langeloq umuruqna 70 ampatambulan

<sup>659</sup> The date appears to be out of chronological order, but the correct Hijri date is probably the 21st.

<sup>660</sup> Abu Bakar was an Arab who arrived in Makassar on 17 Dec 1727, and the marriages of two of his children in rapid succession and their commemoration in the annals evidence his incorporation into the lower ranks of elite Makassarese society.

<sup>661</sup> I Congaq is a short version of I Tamasongaq, La Temasonge in Bugis. This was Datu Baringang Matinroe ri Malimongeng, later ruler of Boné. In 1727 he and two brothers had fled to Buton to escape their half-sister Datu ri Citta, the arumpone of Boné and her husband Arung Kaju (Ligtvoet 1880:210).

<sup>662</sup> Though precise, this reckoning is incorrect; she was born 29 May 1656, which means she died at almost age 74 according to the Gregorian solar calendar and 76 according to the Hijri lunar calendar. Annalists typically used the Hijri calendar to calculate ages.

- 9 May (T) I Doqdiq, a younger sibling of I Daeng Ningai, died  
20 Syaw 1142 namate I Doqdiq arinna I Daeng Ningai
- 20 May (S) the day of my grandparent's<sup>663</sup> death across on Bima; my  
younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang sailed [over to Bima] to  
fetch my elder sibling Karaeng Tanasanga  
2 Zulk 1142 allo nakamateanga toaku ibaqla ri Dima namamise  
putoku Karae Panaikang ambuntuli daengku Karae  
Tanasanga
- 18 Jun (S) a child of a slave of Karaeng Bisei died from smallpox<sup>664</sup>  
2 Zulh 1142 namate mapuru anaq ri atanna Karae Bisei
- 26 Jun (T) I Karimah had a daughter Shafiah  
10 Zulh 1142 namamanaq I Karimah baine Shafiah
- 12 Jul (W) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang arrived from Bima  
bringing my elder sibling [Karaeng Tanasanga]  
26 Zulh 1142 nabattumo ri Dima putoku Karae Panaikang angerangi  
daengku
- 5 Aug (S) Karaeng Bontoa had a son named I Lotteng Salahuddin  
20 Muh 1143 namamanaq Karae Bontoa buraqne nikana I Lotteng  
Salahuddin
- 20 Aug (N) a child of Karaeng Bulukumba named I Nojeng died, just  
suddenly dying outside Bontomanaiq  
6 Saf 1143 namate anaqna Karaeng Bulukumbba nikanaya I Nojeng  
ipantaraq ri Bontomanaiq tiqring mateji
- 6 Sep (W) I Daeng Mangasa Jipang died  
23 Saf 1143 namate I Daeng Mangasa Jipang
- 14 Sep (W eve) I Mattenai and a child of I Daeng Ngago married  
1 Rawl 1143 nasikalabini I Mattenai anaqna I Daeng Ngago
- 2 Oct (M) the [royal] banners were smeared with blood as people  
[warriors] went over to Sandao  
19 Rawl 1143 naniceraq batena tumantallea ri Sandao

<sup>663</sup> Ligtoet (1880:210) believed this grandmother was Daengta Daeng Nisayu, widow of Arung Teko and grandmother of Karaeng Tanasanga; however, Daengta Daeng Nisayu is recorded as having died on 7 Oct 1709.

<sup>664</sup> 'Mapuru' means to have sores or pustules, but probably indicates smallpox.

- 5 Oct (R) Karaeng Bontomajannang sailed with Karaeng  
22 Rawl 1143 Bontotannga over to Sandao to make war  
namamise Karae Bontomajannang taqle ri Sandao  
maqbanduq siagaang Karae Bontotannga
- 9 Oct (M) the coffins of I Daeng Mateqne I Sipaya with his child  
26 Rawl 1143 were brought back  
nabattu nierang allunna I Daeng Mateqne I Sipaya sia-  
gaang anaqna
- 13 Oct (F) Amirah had a daughter named I Rida Sitti Rahmah  
1 Rokr 1143 namamanaq Amirah baine nikana I Rida Sitti Rahmah
- 16 Oct (N eve) I Yakiah, a child of Karaeng Lembang, died at the age of  
4 Rokr 1143 18 and seven months  
namate I Yakiah anaqna Karae Lembang umuruqna 18  
antuju bulan
- 3 Nov (F) I Daeng Manangaraq arrived from Masepe [in  
22 Rokr 1143 Sidénréng], sent to request the consent of I Tanri<sup>665</sup> for the  
Addatuanga [ri Masepe] to sever [his marriage to her]  
nabattu I Daeng Manangaraq ri Masepe nisuro ampap-  
palaq katuang I Tanri ri Aqdatuangi kattomi
- 12 Nov (N) my younger uncle I Daeng Maqruppa I Sajaq died  
1 Jawl 1143 namate putoku I Daeng Maqruppa I Sajaq
- 17 Nov (F) I Daeng Mattulung, *anrongguru* of the envoys, died  
6 Jawl 1143 namate I Daeng Mattulung anronggurunna suroa
- 18 Nov (S) I Mappaq, a child of I Daeng Tapallaq, circumcised by  
7 Jawl 1143 Arung Panaikang<sup>666</sup>  
nanisunnaq I Mappaq anaqna I Daeng Tapallaq ri Aruq  
Panaikang
- 28 Nov (M eve) a wife of I Kare Jarreq, *anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne*,  
17 Jawl 1143 died  
namate bainenna I Kare Jarreq anrongguru anaq buraqne

<sup>665</sup> Karaeng Tangallaq, whose personal name was Tanripadaq.

<sup>666</sup> Presumably this refers to Karaeng Panaikang, a prominent figure in Makassar at the time who was supervisor of the lesser *anaq karaeng* and an envoy of the ruler Sirajuddin.

- 30 Nov (R) ears pierced of a child of I Monnoq in Bantaeng  
19 Jawl 1143 nanitinting anaqna I Monno ri Bantaeng
- 3 Dec (N) a karaengship given to I Daeng Ngago, now called  
Karaeng Paranggi  
22 Jawl 1143 nanisare pakkaraengang I Daeng Ngago nikana Karae Paranggi
- 7 Dec (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and Karaeng  
Bontoa divorced  
27 Jawl 1143 nasipelaq putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq Karae Bontoa
- 1731
- 5 Jan (F) I Mappaq, a child of Karaeng Mangisuq, and I Patimaq, a  
child of Karaeng Paranggi, married  
26 Jakr 1143 nasikalabini I Mappaq anaqna Karae Mangisuq I Patimaq anaqna Karae Paranggi
- 6 Jan (F eve) this was purportedly when a royal hall<sup>667</sup> in Massepe and  
3 houses burned  
27 Jakr 1143 ia anne bedeng namakkanre salassaka ri Massepe 3 batu ballaq
- 23 Jan (T) this was purportedly the day the ruler of Bima  
[Mappatalliq] died across in Bima  
14 Raj 1143 ia anne bedeng alloa nakamateang Karaenga ri Dima ibaqla ri Dima
- 24 Jan (W) I Mattayang cut down I Mammaq, a child of I Daeng  
Mipati; one of his slaves went amuk<sup>668</sup>; I Mattayang died  
15 Raj 1143 namaqjalloq I Mattayang I Mammaq anaqna I Daeng Mipati najalloq sitaumi atanna namate I Mattayang
- 25 Jan (R) I Mammaq died too  
16 Raj 1143 namatetommo I Mammaq
- 26 Jan (R eve) I Sarimba, a wife of I Sumang, had a daughter  
17 Raj 1143 namamanaq I Sarimba bainenna I Suman baine

<sup>667</sup> The term *salassaq* can also refer to a palisade.

<sup>668</sup> This could also be read as meaning that Mattayang then cut down one of I Mammaq's slaves.



- 6 Feb (M eve) *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Bontopanno died at the age of 81  
28 Raj 1143 namate *tumailalang* Karaengta ri Bontopannoh umuruqna 81
- 10 Feb (F eve) Karaeng Bontomajannang arrived from Sandao and conquering Poma [on Flores]  
3 Syab 1143 nabattumo ri Sandao Karae Bontomajannang ambetai Poma
- 18 Feb (S eve) I Saodah, a child of Karaeng Bontomajannang, died  
11 Syab 1143 namate I Saodah anaqna Karae Bontomajannang
- 1 Mar (W eve) I Dandung, a wife of my grandparent I Daeng Manggappa<sup>669</sup>, died  
22 Syab 1143 namate I Dandung bainenna toaku I Daeng Manggappa
- 3 Mar (S) a Bimanese envoy arrived bringing news of the death of the ruler of Bima [Mappatalliq] 1 month and 8 nights [ago]  
24 Syab 1143 nabattu surona Dimaya ampabirittai matena Karae Dima1 bulanmi 8 banngi
- 5 Mar (M eve) my younger uncle Karaeng Panaikang broke off his relationship with [his wife] I Daeng Ningai  
26 Syab 1143 nanitappuki I Daeng Ningai ri putoku Karae Panaikang
- 14 Mar (T eve) I Asiah, a child of Daengta Daeng Ngaseng by Maradiah, died  
5 Ram 1143 namate I Asiah anaqna Daengta Daeng Ngaseng ri Maradiah
- 30 Mar (F) Tuang Abu Bakar broke off his relationship with I Daeng Tamemang  
21 Ram 1143 nanitappuki I Daeng Tamemang ri Tuan Abu Bakkar
- 12 Apr (W eve) I Gacong, *anrongguru*<sup>670</sup> of the people of Takalar, was killed; it is not known who killed him  
4 Syaw 1143 nanibuno I Gacong anronggurunna tuTakalaraka taniassengai tuambunoai

<sup>669</sup> Probably but not necessarily the Daeng Manggappa was born on 6 Aug 1688.

<sup>670</sup> Here the term *anrongguru* simply means a chief or leader.

- 18 Apr (T eve) I Sitti, a child of the elder Ratu Bagus, died  
10 Syaw 1143 namate I Sitti anaqna Ratu Bagusq matoa
- 21 Apr (S) word arrived from Sumbawa reporting that the ruler  
of Sumbawa<sup>671</sup> died; gunpowder exploded and he was  
blown into the air with his house
- 13 Syaw 1143 niaq kana battu ri Sambawa nikana matei Karae Sambawa  
nakanrei ubaq nipasiriqbakangi ballaqa
- 30 Apr (N eve) I Daeng Mambani I Bambiꦑ and I Sapinah married  
22 Syaw 1143 nasikalabini I Daeng Mambani I Bambiꦑ I Sapinah
- 30 Apr (M) the people of Kadatong went to Mappatanre, now called  
Karaeng Masale
- 22 Syaw 1143 nanipamange tuKadatonga ri Mappatanre nikana Karae  
Masaleh
- 1 May (T) my grandparent I Daeng Talarra I Jaleka died  
23 Syaw 1143 namate toaku I Daeng Talarra I Jaleka
- 9 May (W) the Bimanese arrived to take as ruler Bumi Partiga  
2 Zulk 1143 nabattu Dimaya angallei karaeng Bumi Partiga
- 7 Jun (R) the people of Katapang went to Daeng Talarra because it  
was he they wanted, not Karaeng Bidara
- 1 Zulk 1143 nanipamange tuKatapanga ri Daeng Talarra kaia nakaero-  
ki teami ri Karaeng Bidara
- 28 Jul (F eve) Karaeng Majannang brought to the karaeng [Sirajuddin];  
his kris was taken away
- 22 Muh 1144 nanierang ri karaenga Karae Majannang nipalelei toboqna
- 2 Aug (R) my younger uncle Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and Karaeng  
Sumannaq<sup>672</sup> married
- 27 Muh 1144 nasikalabini putoku Karae Bontolangkasaq Karae  
Sumannaq
- 16 Aug (R) I Karimah, a wife of Daeng Marewa, had a son  
Abdurrasyid

<sup>671</sup> Jalaluddin.

<sup>672</sup> Probably Zainab, a daughter of Karaeng ri Tana-Tana and the ruler of Sanrabone Karaeng Mamampang (Ligtvoet 1880:213).

- 12 Saf 1144      namamanaq I Karimah bainenna I Daeng Marewa  
buraqne Abdurrasyid
- 23 Aug (R)  
19 Saf 1144      my younger uncle I Kalingkeriq died below in Talloq  
namate putoku I Kalingkeriq irawa ri Talloq
- 2 Sep (N)  
29 Saf 1144      I Karimah and Daeng Marewa divorced  
nasipelaq I Daeng Marewa I Karimah
- 10 Sep (N eve)  
8 Rawl 1144      I Niba, a child of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri Lekoqboqdong,  
died  
namate I Niba anaqna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri  
Lekoqboqdong
- 26 Sep (W)  
24 Rawl 1144      I Manyanreri, a child of *tumailalang* Karaeng ri  
Lekoqboqdong, died  
namate I Manyanreri anaqna *tumailalang* Karaengta ri  
Lekoqboqdong
- 3 Oct (T eve)  
1 Rokr 1144      I Taba acted as a thief above in the karaeng's  
[Sirajuddin's] house here inside Gowa, stabbing the ban-  
ner bearer guarding the house; he was swarmed and  
brought down; only once it was morning did they knew  
it was I Taba; the thief was summoned, ordered bound,  
and made to speak; he confessed and also identified the  
one who was with him, saying I Kauji, a child of I Kare  
Mambani, was guilty; then he was ordered surrounded  
and searched by I Taba for weapons  
namaqgauq palukkaq I Taba irate ri ballaqa karaenga  
ilalang mae ri Gowa anoboki paerang bate angkammikai  
ballaq nanipangerrukang naniturungi bariqbasaqpa nani-  
asseng I Tabaji makkioq palukkaq nanisuro sikkoq nipa-  
kana-kana nanaanimomangerang tommitau naagaanga  
nakana I Kauji anaqna I Kare Mambani naani nanisuroli-  
ungangmo naia I Taba nipappaboya-boyangi toboq
- 5 Oct (F)  
3 Rokr 1144      Karaeng Garassiq installed as *tumailalang*, replacing  
Karaeng ri Bontopanno  
nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Garassiq assambeangi  
Karaengta ri Bontopannoh

- 27 Oct (F eve) a house was built for Karaeng Paqbineang  
25 Rokr 1144 nanibangun ballaqlna Karae Paqbineang
- 28 Oct (N) I Muhammad<sup>673</sup> taken as karaeng by the people of  
Sanrabone  
26 Rokr 1144 naI Muhammad naalle karaeng tuSanrabonea
- 7 Dec (F) I Manimbang circumcised  
7 Jokr 1144 nanisunnaq I Manimbang
- 14 Dec (R eve) I Kare Mambani, *anrongguru* of the *dammaq*<sup>674</sup>, died  
14 Jokr 1144 namate I Kare Mambani anronggurunna Dammaka
- 22 Dec (S) I Patimaq, a wife of I Mappaq, had a son  
22 Jokr 1144 namamanaq I Patimaq bainenna I Mappaq buraqlne
- 31 Dec (N eve) I Syehu slept with I Saja  
2 Raj 1144 namaqlusereq I Sehu I Saja
- 1732
- 20 Jan (S eve) a great flood [tidalwave] in the river reached Mallengkeri  
22 Raj 1144 namalompo aqbaya ri binangaya naalle Mallengkeri
- 22 Jan (T) Gallarrang Rappo-Rappo Jawa I Kare Malliongi died  
23 Raj 1144 namate Gallarang Rappo-Rappo Jawa I Kare Malliongi
- 30 Jan (W) I Daeng Manassaq fined one kati and one tai for opposing  
a decision<sup>675</sup>  
2 Syab 1144 nanipassala I Daeng Manassaq sikati assitaiq annumpaki  
bicara
- 31 Jan (R) I Balingkasaq fed<sup>676</sup> and shorn; Karaeng ri Paqbineang  
gathered her family for her vow after her skin sores<sup>677</sup>  
were gone and ordered a recitation [from the Qur'an]; I

<sup>673</sup> Also known as Muhammad Baki and Karaeng Barombong, he was a son of the former ruler of Sanrabone Karaeng Mamampang and Karaeng ri Tana-Tana.

<sup>674</sup> They were black-clad guards who protected the ruler of Gowa.

<sup>675</sup> The penalty is fairly mild, but the nature of the decision (*bicara*) is uncertain. The decision in question could have been made by Sirajuddin himself, but more likely was made by the *tumabicarabutta* or Gallarang Camba (if in fact he was not *tumabicarabutta* – see the 9 Sep 1726 entry).

<sup>676</sup> See the note for the 26 Sep 1718 entry.

<sup>677</sup> Probably smallpox.

- Kare Mangewai was surrounded seawards in Jawaya; he and two of his children died
- 3 Syab 1144 nanipaemuq I Balingkasaq nikattereq nanapasseqre pamanakanna Karaengta ri Paqbineang tinjaqna leqbaqna puru assurō maca naniliungang I Kare Mangewai ilauq ri Jawaya tallui sipa[a]nakang mate
- Mar (M)<sup>678</sup> the ruler of Bima [Ala'uddin] and his wife [Karaeng Tanasanga] went over to their homeland
- Ram 1144 nataqle ri paqrasanganna karae Dima sikalabini
- 18 Mar (T) I Saidah Kare Rimang died; I Sumang and I Sarimba divorced
- 21 Ram 1144 namate I Saida Kare Rimang nasipelaq I Suman I Sarimba
- 2 Apr (W) I Rukiah, a child of I Daeng Mangitung, stabbed herself and died
- 6 Syaw 1144 nanatoboq kalenna I Rukiah anaqna I Daeng Mangitung matei
- 17 Apr (R) I Kare Mangalle ordered to go to Mangaseng, bringing the people of Mangasa
- 21 Syaw 1144 nanisuro I Kare Mangalle mange ri Mangasengi anger-anngangi tuMangasaya
- 19 Apr (S) Karaeng Paranggi sent over to Sandao with Karaeng Bontotannga by the karaeng [Sirajuddin]
- 23 Syaw 1144 nataqle ri Sandao Karae Paranggi siagaang Karae Bontotannga nisuro karaenga
- 9 Jun (N eve)<sup>679</sup> birth of I Sinddoq
- 15 Zulh 1144 nanianakkang I Sinddoq
- 18 Jun (W) I Daeng Marannu and I Dadiq divorced but returned to each other later
- 24 Zulh 1144 nasipelaq I Daeng Marannu I Dadiq sipoleanji salla
- 19 Jun (R) I Syehu arrived from Selayar

<sup>678</sup> The dates are incomplete in VT 25, but based on the next entry can be identified as the 20th, 13th, or 6th of Ramadan and the 17th, 10th, or 3rd of March.

<sup>679</sup> The date is omitted but based on the next entry must be the 9th.

25 Zulh 1144	nabattu ri Silayaraq I Syehu
27 Jun (F)	I Sumang, Gallarrang Bontomanaiq, and I Dadiq stabbed each other; the three died together
4 Muh 1145	nasitoboq I Suman Gallarrang Bontomanaiq I Dadiq tallu sikamateang
11 Sep (R)	I Mappatimung killed by the ruler of Agangnionjoq <sup>680</sup>
21 Rawl 1145	nanibuno I Mappatimung ri karae Agangnionjoq
14 Sep (N)	I Malikah proposed to by Tappaq
24 Rawl 1145	nanipassuroi I Malikah ri Tappaq
10 Oct (F)	Karaeng Tabaringang died
20 Rakr 1145	namate Karae Tabaringang
17 Oct (M) <sup>681</sup>	a house was built for the karaeng [Sirajuddin] outside Mallengkeri in 6 sections on pillars
29 Rakr 1145	nanibangun ballaqla karaenga ipantaraq ri Mallengkeri 6 paqdaserang
27 Nov (R)	Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] had a sunshade raised over his head
9 Jakr 1145	nanipirangkaki laqlang Karae Sanrabone
30 Nov (N)	this was when I Borahima died across on Bima; he was a child of the ruler of Bima
12 Jakr 1145	ia anne nakamateang I Borahima ibaqla ri Dima anaqla karae Dima
11 Dec (R)	Karaeng Tamasongoq circumcised with I Mammiq and a child of Karaeng Bontotannga; I Pattah died
23 Jakr 1145	nanisunnaq Karae Tamasongoq siagaang I Mammiq sia-gaang anaqla Karae Bontotannga namate I Pattah
19 Dec (F)	Karaeng Manilingi died

<sup>680</sup> I Mappatimung was probably the Bugis name of Arung Pattojo, known after his death as Matinroe ri Dunina. Ligtoet (1880:213) explains the background to this killing. Tenrilele, the ruler of Luwuq, was raised and then married off by the ruler of Boné Batari Toja to the Soppéng noble Muhammad Arung Pattojo (who was also Arung of Lalolang, in Tanete). Because Arung Pattojo was of lesser birth rank than Tenrilele, her brother the ruler of Agangnionjoq (La Tenriodang Matinroe ri Musuna) shot and killed him and then married his sister to the Datu of Mario ri Awa La Samanglangiq, known as Tolaoé Sapirie.

<sup>681</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote November instead of October.

2 Raj 1145	namate Karae Manilingi
31 Dec (W) 14 Raj 1145	Karaeng Taipa died namate Karaeng Taipa
	1733
22 Jan (W eve)	we were left by Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq at the age of 88, five months, and 13 nights
6 Syab 1145	kinapilari Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq umuruqna 88 alima bulan 13 banngina
1 Jun (M) 18 Zulh 1145	Karaeng Laikang died and was buried in Bontotannga namate Karae Laikang ri Bontotanngai niawan
10 Jun (W)	Karaeng Tanasanga arrived from Bima bringing one of her children
27 Zulh 1145	nabattu ri Dima Karae Tanasanga sitau anaqna naerang
15 Jun (N eve) 3 Muh 1146	Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] went up to Sanrabone with Karaeng Lempangang [Syafiuddin] namanaiq ri Sanrabone Karae Barombong siagaang Karae Lempangang
15 Jun (M) 3 Muh 1146	the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went up to Sanrabone, angrily going [to help] the people of Gowa <sup>682</sup> namanaiq ri Sanrabone karaenga turung rakka-rakkai tuGowaya
23 Jun (T) 11 Muh 1146	the ruler of Sumbawa died nabattu karae Sambawa
15 Aug (N eve) 5 Rawl 1146	Sayyid Bukhari died namate Sayyid Bukhari
29 Aug (S) 19 Rawl 1146	Gallarrang Tomboloq removed himself; I Sammiq replaced him nanapasuluq kalenna Gallarang Tomboloq I Sammiq assambeangi
1 Nov (S eve)	Daeng Mangalle I Laijiq died

<sup>682</sup> What was happening in Sanrabone is unclear, but it was in the wake of the installation of Muhammad Baki as their new *karaeng*.

- 23 Jawl 1146 namate Daeng Mangalle I Laijiq
- 7 Nov (S) the ruler of Sumbawa and Karaeng Bontoa married; a child of I Bebboq died
- 29 Jawl 1146 nasikalabini karae Sambawa Karae Bontoa namate anaqna I Bebboq
- 17 Nov (M eve) *sabannaraq* I Daeng Mangewai Jannatulfirdaus died  
10 Jakr 1146 namate sabannaraka I Daeng Mangewai Jannatulfirdaus
- 26 Dec (F eve) Daengta Daeng Ngantu, the older uncle of *tumailalang* Karaeng Garassiq, died
- 19 Raj 1146 namate Daengta Daeng Ngantu puanna *tumailalang* Karae Garassiq
- 27 Dec (S eve)<sup>683</sup> birth of I Mappabaqbasaq<sup>684</sup>  
20 Raj 1146 nanianakkang I Mappabaqbasaq
- 1734
- 3 Jan (N) Karaeng Alluq fined himself five tai for nearly killing his sibling in Arung Kaju's house
- 27 Raj 1146 nanapassala lima taiq kalenna Karae Alluq natarawanna saqribatangna ri ballaqa Aruq Kayu
- 17 Jan (N) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq brought by the two *tumailalang* [Karaeng Garassiq and Karaeng Lekoqboqdong] up to the karaeng [Sirajuddin] to ask forgiveness
- 11 Syab 1146 nanierang ri *tumailalang* ia rua Karae Bontolangkasaq manaiq ri karaeng nipappalaq popporang
- 26 Jan (T) an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived bringing news of the presence of Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] inside Cenrana
- 20 Syab 1146 nabattu surona arungpone ampabirittai niaqna Karae Barombong ilalang ri Cenrana
- 1 Mar (M) Karaeng Parang-Parang went into Cenrana  
24 Ram 1146 namantama ri Cenrana Karae Parang-Parang  
2 Mar (M eve) I Muhammad Saleh died and was buried in Talloq

<sup>683</sup> The Gregorian date is incomplete but based on the Hijri date must be the 27th.

<sup>684</sup> Sultan Abdul Kudus, ruler of Gowa from 1742-1753.



- 24 Ram 1146      namate I Muhammad Saleh ri Talloki niawang
- 29 Mar (N eve)    Karaeng Bisei died at the age of 42  
23 Syaw 1146      namate Karae Bisei umurugna 42
- 11 Apr (S eve)    we were left by [Karaeng] Balua [Daeng Maingaq], the  
widow of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil],  
at the age of 81
- 6 Zulk 1146      kinapilari Balua balunna Karaenga Tuammenang ri  
Lakiun umurugna 81
- 23 May (S eve)    there was a house burned in Katangka; the clock broke<sup>685</sup>  
19 Zulh 1146      naniaq ballaq makkaqdo ri Katangka nareppeq goyanga
- 13 Jul (T)        the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went up to Pareq  
12 Saf 1147      namanraiq ri Pareq karaenga
- 16 Jul (F)        commissioner<sup>686</sup> Laqnatullah died  
15 Saf 1147      namate gumisarisiq Laqnatullahi
- 27 Aug (F)        the people of Sanrabone arrived to inform the karaeng  
[Sirajuddin] that they had taken Karaeng Alluq as  
Karaeng ri Sanrabone
- 27 Rawl 1147      nabattu tuSanrabonea angkana-kanai ri karaenga naal-  
lena Karaeng ri Sanrabone Karae Alluq
- 6 Sep (M)        the karaeng [Sirajuddin] and his wife [Karaeng  
Agangjeqneq] went up to Lekokang to dwell and erect  
irrigation works
- 8 Rokr 1147      namanraiq ri Lekokang karaenga ia kalabini aqballaq-  
ballaq appanai jeneq-jeneq panai
- 18 Sep (S)        I Tahira, a child of I Syehu, died  
20 Rokr 1147      namate I Tahira anaqna I Syehu
- 25 Oct (M)        work was completed in Lekokang  
27 Jawl 1147      naleqbbaq jamanga ri Lekokang

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<sup>685</sup> This clock was a gift to Abdul Jalil on 17 Jun 1704.

<sup>686</sup> The nature of this position is unclear.

- 2 Mar (W) Sulengkaya was brought out to Mallengkeri; people performed aru  
6 Syaw 1147 nanierang massuluq ri Mallengkeri Sulengkaya mangarui taua
- 12 Apr (M eve) I Papoq Daeng Mamangung died  
18 Zulk 1147 namate I Papoq Daeng Mamangung
- 16 Apr (S) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went down to Datoq ri Paccелеkang to fulfill a vow  
22 Zulk 1147 namanaung ri Datoq ri Paccелеkang karaenga amole tinjaq
- 15 Jun (W) I Daeng Muntuq died  
23 Muh 1148 namate I Daeng Muntuq
- 7 Sep (T eve) the mother of I Syehu died  
19 Rakr 1148 namate anronna I Syehu
- 26 Sep (M) we advanced on I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq]; we were in Pattallassang and we watched, waiting  
8 Jawl 1148 nakipanraiki I Daeng Mamaro kiri Pattallassang nakitigara taroan
- 13 Oct (R) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] retreated seawards here to Mallengkeri and in Pakkato settled  
25 Jawl 1148 namamonoqmo karaenga kalau mae ri Mallengkeri nari Pakkato mattaroang
- 23 Oct (N) Karaeng ri Mamampang arrived from Bantaeng  
6 Jakr 1148 nabattu ri Bantaeng Karaengta ri Mamampang
- 24 Oct (N eve) I Guru Daeng Manaqqalaq died  
7 Jakr 1148 namate I Guru Daeng Manaqqalaq
- 5 Nov (F eve) the karaeng [Sirajuddin] went down to Talloq, removing himself [from power as ruler of Gowa]  
19 Jakr 1148 namanaungmo ri Talloq karaenga napasuluq kalenna

- 5 Nov (S) the people of Gowa all went to Mallawanggauq<sup>687</sup>, bringing him the collection of royal regalia and taking him as karaeng [Abdul Khair of Gowa]
- 19 Jakr 1148 namange ngaseng tuGowaya ri Mallawanggauq anger-anngangi lullung gaukanga naiamo assambeangi karaenga
- 6 Nov (N) the treaties went to Karaeng Majannang<sup>688</sup>; [Karaeng] Bontotangga was *anrongguru* of the *tumakkajannang*; I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa were the two *sabannaraq*
- 20 Jakr 1148 nanipamange ri Karae Majannang ulukanaya Bontotangga anrongguru tumakkajanannanga I Daeng Manangaraq I Daeng Manggappa sabannaraq ruai
- 7 Nov (M) Sulengkaya was brought in here to the house of the karaeng [Abdul Khair]
- 21 Jakr 1148 nanipaletteqmo Sulengkaya mantama mae ri ballaqla karaenga
- 9 Nov (W) I Mallawanggauq titled *patimatarang*<sup>689</sup>
- 23 Jakr 1148 naniareng patimatarang I Mallawanggauq
- 10 Dec (F eve) Karaeng Masale died
- 24 Raj 1148 namate Karae Masale
- 15 Dec (R) the child of I Syehu named I Dorra died
- 29 Raj 1148 namate anaqla I Syehu nikanaya I Dorra
- 28 Dec (W) Karaeng Baine<sup>690</sup> died in Talloq at the age of 48
- 13 Syab 1148 namate Karaeng Bainea ri Talloq umururuqla 48
- 1736
- 12 Feb (N) I Daeng Ningai died and was buried in Bontobiraeng

<sup>687</sup> Sultan Abdul Khair Almansur Tumamenang ri Gowa, a son of Karaeng Lempangang and grandson of the recently abdicated Sirajuddin. He ruled Gowa from 1735 until his death in 1742, though he was briefly deposed by Karaeng Bontolangkasaq in 1739.

<sup>688</sup> Signifying that he was *tumabicarabutta* for the new ruler.

<sup>689</sup> *Patimatarang* was a title used by an heir designated as successor to the throne. Here it was briefly used to mark that even though he had already been chosen as Gowa's ruler, I Mallawanggauq had not yet been formally installed as Sultan Abdul Khair.

<sup>690</sup> Sirajuddin's wife Karaeng Agangieqneq.

- 29 Ram 1148      namate I Daeng Ningai ri Bontobiraeng niawang
- 14 Feb (M eve)  
1 Syaw 1148      I Pappi died and was buried in Bontobiraeng  
namate I Pappi ri Bontobiraeng niawang
- 25 Feb (S)      *patimatarang* [I Mallawanggauq, Abdul Khair] had a  
sunshade of gold raised over his head<sup>691</sup>; I Tanisamaang  
weighed; it measured two kati and several tahils that  
measured 8 [to one real]<sup>692</sup>
- 12 Syaw 1148      nanipirangkaki laqlang nibulaengi patimataranga nani-  
taiq I Tanisamaan battalaqna rua kati assiapa taiqna 8 bat-  
talaqna
- 16 Mar (F)      it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kahir] that Karaeng  
Majannang be brought a sunshade; he also wished [that  
Karaeng Majannang] be paid homage, but he would not  
be paid homage<sup>693</sup>
- 3 Zulk 1148      nanisuro pangeranngang laqlang ri karaenga Karae  
Majannang nikellai tongi nisomba natea ia nisomba
- 18 Mar (S eve)      the Dutch ordered I Tuassah<sup>694</sup> advanced on<sup>695</sup> with 6  
ships: 1 cutter and 5 sloops
- 5 Zulk 1148      nanisuropanaiki ri Balandaya I Tuassah 6 batu 1 kotaq 5  
solloq
- 23 Mar (F)      the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went out to Tuang with the  
speaker of the land<sup>696</sup> [Karaeng Majannang] to order the  
supporting of Gallarrang Mangasa

<sup>691</sup> This was the final ceremony in which I Mallawanggauq became fully invested with the sovereignty due to the ruler of Gowa, but the process began months before when the nobles of Gowa approached and took him as *karaeng*, brought him the royal regalia, and recognized him with the title *patimatarang*.

<sup>692</sup> This is the first recorded instance of the golden chain Tanisamaang, bequeathed to Gowa's rulers by the *tumanurung* as recorded in the *Gowa Chronicle*, being weighed. This became a common practice later. Records were kept of the annual weighings, and it was believed that if Tanisamaang was heavier than the previous year that augured well, whereas if it weighed less that was a bad omen (Eerdmans 1897; Friedericy 1929).

<sup>693</sup> These acts are perhaps indications of Abdul Khair's uncertainty and need for Karaeng Majannang's support. Royal sunshades (*laqlang*) were indications of sovereignty, and to be ceremonially paid homage (*nisomba*) a mark of exalted status hitherto reserved for the ruler of Gowa.

<sup>694</sup> An ally of La Maddukelleng Arung Singkang, who in 1737 seized power in Wajoq and attempted but ultimately failed to expel the Dutch from South Sulawesi.

<sup>695</sup> *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:128) adds in this entry that I Tuassah was at Batu-Batu.

<sup>696</sup> That is *tumabicarabutta*.

- 10 Zulk 1148      namassuluq ri Tuang karaenga siagaang tuampak-  
kanangai buttaya assuro binting ri Gallarang Mangasa
- 31 Mar (S)  
18 Zulk 1148      the [royal] banners were smeared with blood  
naniceraq batea
- 1 Apr (N eve)  
19 Zulk 1148      Arung Singkang went to Batu  
namaqlampa ri Batu Aruq Singkaang
- 1 Apr (M)  
19 Zulk 1148      I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] went to  
Panakkukang  
namaqlampa ri Pannakukang I Daeng Mamaro
- 12 Apr (R)  
1 Zulh 1148      the [royal] banners were raised  
nanipanaiq batea
- 26 Apr (R)  
15 Zulh 1148      the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went down  
to Datoq to visit [the grave of] Datoq ri Bandang  
namanaung ri Datoq mangunjungi tuampakkanangai  
buttaya ri Datoq ri Bandang
- 5 May (F eve)  
24 Zulh 1148      the mother of I Sarimba died  
namate anrongnna I Sarimba
- 12 May (S)  
1 Muh 1149      the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went out to Tinggimae with  
Karaeng Majannang to plead for rain  
namassuluq ri Tinggimae karaenga siagaang Karae  
Majannang appalaq-palaq bosì
- 31 May (W eve)  
20 Muh 1149      Matoanging burned  
namakaqdo Mattoangin
- 17 Jun (S eve)  
8 Saf 1149      Daengta Daeng Ngaseng died  
namate Daengta Daeng Ngaseng
- 5 Jul (R)      an envoy from the *makkedangetana* [Arung Barrang]  
arrived, saying that the people of Boné were fighting  
Arung Singkang in Paniki [in Wajoq]<sup>697</sup>

<sup>697</sup> Arung Singkang was a Bugis noble who returned from the east coast of Borneo to Sulawesi and quickly seized power in Wajoq. Even before his arrival the stage was set for confrontation with the pre-eminent Bugis power, Boné, and by August 1737 he successfully defeated Boné, as the *lontaraq bilang* notes (see Noorduy 1953).

- 26 Saf 1149 nabattu surona makkadangatana nikana maqbunduqmi  
tuBonea Aruq Singkaang ri Paniki
- 26 Jul (R) I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] went down  
to Maros with Arung Kaju
- 17 Rawl 1149 nanamanaung ri Marusuq I Daeng Mamaro siagaang  
Aruq Kayu
- 30 Aug (R) Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] and Karaeng  
Bontoparang married
- 23 Rakr 1149 nasikalabini Karae Barombong Karae Bontoparang
- 6 Sep (R) I Didi had a son
- 30 Rakr 1149 namamanaq I Didi buraqne
- 13 Sep (W eve) Karaeng Mangisuq died
- 7 Jawl 1149 namate Karae Mangisuq
- 10 Oct (W) Karaeng Katinting died<sup>698</sup>
- 5 Jakr 1149 namate Karae Katingting
- 25 Oct (R) Karaeng Lempangang [Syafiuddin] arrived from Cenrana
- 20 Jakr 1149 nabattu ri Cenrana Karae Lempangang
- 7 Dec (R eve) Arung Kaju died below in Maros
- 4 Syab 1149 namate Aruq Kayu irawa ri Marusuq
- 11 Dec (W) the *makkedangetana* [Arung Barrang] arrived from Segeri  
saying that I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq]  
had fled Segeri
- 8 Syab 1149 nabattu ri Segeri makkadangatana nikana nipilarimi  
Segeri I Daeng Mamaro
- 1737
- 2 Jan (W) Sayyid Umar and a child of I Daeng Maseqre<sup>699</sup> married
- 30 Syab 1149 nasikalabini Sayyid Umara anaqna I Daeng Maseqre
- 24 Jan (W eve) Karaeng Bungaya died
- 22 Ram 1149 namate Karae Bungaya

<sup>698</sup> Karaeng Mangisuq and Karaeng Katinting in all likelihood died in battle.

<sup>699</sup> This could refer to Jaga, Papippiq, or another Daeng Maseqre.

5 Feb (M eve) 4 Syaw 1149	a wife of I Syehu died namate bainenna Syekhu
27 Jul (F eve)	a <i>sabannaraq</i> , <sup>700</sup> envoy <sup>701</sup> , and I Daeng Mangalle I Mammaq went into Cenrana to fetch Arung Palakka [Amirah]
28 Rawl 1150	namantama ri Cenrana sabannaraka suroa I Daeng Mangalle I Mammaq anbungtuli Aruq Palakkah
30 Jul (T) 2 Rokr 1150	I Galesong circumcised nanisunnaq I Galesong
14 Aug (W)	an envoy from the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] arrived, informing the governor <sup>702</sup> that war between Wajoq and Boné had ended; the people of Boné had surrendered valuables [to the victorious Wajorese]
17 Rokr 1150	nabattu surona arungpone angkana-kanangi tumalompoa leqbaqnamo bunduqna Wajoq naBone leqbaqmi annyorong barang-barang tuBonea
20 Aug (T)	I Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq] advanced on by the governor with Datu ri Baringang <sup>703</sup>
23 Rokr 1150	nanipanaungi I Daeng Mamaro ri tumalompoa siagaang Datua ri Baringang
Dec (F eve) <sup>704</sup>	I Tuang Dima died above in Sanrabone and was buried in Dengkang <sup>705</sup>
Syab 1150	namate I Tuan Dima irate ri Sanrabone ri Dengkang niawang

<sup>700</sup> Either (or both) I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa.

<sup>701</sup> Probably Kare Gappa.

<sup>702</sup> Previous annalists used a Makassarese transcription of the word 'governor' but he was now referred to as tumalampo, literally 'big man'. This refers to either Johan Sautijn, the outgoing governor for much of 1737, or Adriaan Hendrik Smout, the incoming governor.

<sup>703</sup> *Makasaarsche historiën* (1855:129) adds that the governor's goal was to recapture Maros, which he did, and that Karaeng Bontolangkasaq fled when he heard of their approach.

<sup>704</sup> The dates are incomplete in VT 25, but can be identified as the 7th, 14th, or 21st of December and, correspondingly, the 14th, 21st, or 28th of Syaban.

<sup>705</sup> Kamaruddin et al. (1985-86:206) believe this should be 'Sengkang'.

1738

- 7 Jan (T) I Jijaq and I Dadaq had lesbian relations and were  
drown<sup>706</sup>
- 15 Ram 1150<sup>707</sup> I Jijaq I Dadaq attampaki nanilabu
- 4 Mar (T) a wife of Karaeng Batupute died to the east in Bontokeke  
12 Zulk 1150 namate bainenna Karae Batupute iraya ri Bontokeke
- 10 May (S) it is said that Danradatu<sup>708</sup> became ruler of Boné  
20 Muh 1151 nikana Danraya karaeng ri Bone
- 16 Jun (M) the karaeng's [Abdul Khair's] sword fell; two of his  
wounded fingers were sprinkled [with medicinal powder]  
27 Saf 1151 nanabubusi paq dang karaenga ruampappaq karemenna  
malokoq nikiori
- 19 Jun (W eve) Daengta Daeng Masingaraq died  
1 Rawl 1151 namate Daengta Daeng Masingaraq
- 24 Jun (T) I Sendoq fell from a house and was treated [with medi-  
cinal powder]  
6 Rawl 1151 natuqguruq ri ballaq I Sendoq nikiori
- 25 Aug (M) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and Karaeng Majannang went  
seawards to the fort; the Malay imam recited Yasin, then  
Karaeng Majannang swore an oath, as the karaeng [Abdul

<sup>706</sup> This is an extraordinary entry which may reflect the increasing presence of orthodox Islamic norms regarding sexual morality. The term translated as 'drown' (*nilabu*) literally means 'sunk' and usually refers to ships. It may be that they were simply drown, or it may mean that they were punished by having their limbs bound and being thrown overboard (*nisikkoq bangkeng*). This royal punishment is mentioned in the *Gowa Chronicle* when a young Tunijalloq committed some kind of sexual impropriety with a daughter of Gallarrang from Polombangkeng. 'Discovered by Karaeng Tunipalangga, who was angered' the chronicler reports, 'the woman was bound and thrown into the sea', after which Tunijalloq fled to Boné. Neither I Jijaq nor I Dadaq are mentioned elsewhere in the *lontaraq bilang*.

<sup>707</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Syaban instead of Ramadan.

<sup>708</sup> A daughter of Amirah Arung Palakka and Karaeng Lempangang. She was not yet nine years old. In September 1737 La Tenrioddang (the ruler of Agangnionjoq posthumously known as Matinroe ri Musuna) drove Batari Toja from the throne of Boné, after which she came to live in Bontoalaq under the protection of the VOC. La Tenrioddang acted as arumpone until La Maddukelleng Arung Singkang objected and managed to have Boné's nobles put the young Danradatu on the throne. Yet she had limited support and lived in Wajoq. La Tenrioddang returned the following January to Boné to install himself as *arumpone*, but was expelled by La Maddukelleng's troops. With the aid of the VOC Batari Toja again became ruler of Boné and Soppéng (Patunru 1989:212-3).



- Khair] was said to be too small; his hand was covered with a handkerchief then placed on the Qur'an and thrice raised to his head; he then drew out his kris and submerged it in water, which he drank; to all the banners was given a handful of rosewater each
- 9 Jawl 1151 nakalauq ri kotaya karaenga Karae Majannang nanabaca Yasi imanna Malayua nanampa nitalliq Karae Majannang karaeng nakana macaqdiji nalampakki limanna pasapu nanampa najama kurannga nanapanaiq ri tulunna 3 nanampa nabuqbuq toboqna nanapanaung ri jeqneq nanainung nisarengasengi bate-batea jeqneq mawaraq tassipontona
- 27 Aug (W) word was sent to the arumpone [Danradatu] that a child of the *maqdanrang*<sup>709</sup> was there in Gowa
- 11 Jawl 1151 nanisuro kana-kanaang arungpone niaqna ri Gowa anaqna maqdanrranga
- 13 Oct (N eve) I Daeng Jannang died  
29 Jakr 1151 namate I Daeng Jannang
- 2 Nov (N) the *sabannaraq*,<sup>710</sup> gallarrangs Mangasa and Bontomanaiq, envoy Kare Gappa, and interpreter Kare Mangewai went overseas to Jakattaraq
- 20 Raj 1151 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq sabannaraka Gallarang Mangasa Bontomanaiq suro Kare Gappa jurubasa Kare Mangewai
- 30 Nov (N) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and Karaeng Majannang went up to Takalar
- 18 Syab 1151 namanaiq ri Takalaraq karaenga Karae Majannang
- 1739
- 11 Jan (N) it is said that the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] took the royal sunshade [of Boné] and Samparajaya<sup>711</sup>; it is also said that Arung Kaju died<sup>712</sup>

<sup>709</sup> An official – in this case it was Arung Kajuwara – who ranked lower than the *makkedang-etana* but higher than the *tumarilengs* of Boné (Ligtvoet 1880:219).

<sup>710</sup> Again, either (or both) I Daeng Manangaraq and I Daeng Manggappa.

<sup>711</sup> Samparajaya was a banner that was the foremost regalia of Boné. By this act La Tenrioddang proclaimed himself *arumpone*.

<sup>712</sup> Dutch sources report that the well-known Arung Kaju (Daeng Mamuntuli) had already died and the Arung Kaju mentioned here was probably his nephew and successor Daeng Mangeppe Arung Jokko (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

- 30 Ram 1151 nanikana naallei payunga Samparajaya karae  
Agangnionjoq nikana tong matei Aruq Kayu
- 22 Jan (R) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Pasiq at the age  
of 52 years, 10 months; he was Sultan Sirajuddin<sup>713</sup>
- 11 Syaw 1151 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Pasiq umuruqna  
taun 52 10 bulan Sultan Sirajuddin
- 19 Feb (R) an envoy from Wajoq arrived saying that there our sibling  
Arung Matoaya [Arung Singkang] with the arumpone  
Datu ri Soppéng [Danradatu] twice recited together the  
Qur'an<sup>714</sup>
- 10 Zulk 1151 nabattu surona Wajoq nakana niaqminjo mae saqribat-  
tangta Arung Matoaya siagaang arungpone Datua ri  
Soppeng passiajinga 2
- 2 Mar (T) we heard of the death of I Bunda<sup>715</sup>, cut down by a person  
from Camba; Karaeng Balambaru<sup>716</sup> wounded
- 21 Zulk 1151 nakilanngereq mate I Bunda nijalloki ri tuCambaya  
Karaeng Balambaru malokoq
- 24 Mar (T) we heard of the conquest of Macconggi by the people of  
Wajoq
- 13 Zulh 1151 nakilanngereq beta Macconggi ri tuWajoka
- 6 Apr (N eve) the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went down  
to Kampong Beru; he brought his wife; he brought  
Sudanga; Baraya, the two Panyangga Loe, I Buqle, Kulau  
Nagaya, Pamongko Kalapa, Kallang Bodo, and Butoa fol-  
lowed<sup>717</sup>

<sup>713</sup> He was succeeded by Syafiuddin (Karaeng Lempangang), former annalist and a son of Tumamenang ri Pasiq, but the date of his succession is not noted in the annals. However, it most likely took place in connection with the journeys of Makassar notables to Talloq in April or June.

<sup>714</sup> Thus forming an alliance against La Tenrioddang.

<sup>715</sup> A son of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

<sup>716</sup> According to Dutch sources he was a European soldier who joined Karaeng Bontolangkasaq (Ligtvoet 1880:220).

<sup>717</sup> These items were all among the foremost regalia of Gowa. Sudanga was a sword, Baraya a waistband, the two Panyangga Loe a spear and a kris, I Buqle a blowpipe, Kulau Nagaya a stone, Pamongko Kalapa a gold ring, Kallang Bodo a kris, and Butoa a testicle of a water buffalo named Tamalaulung ('Makasaarsche historiën' 1855:135-6).

- 26 Zulh 1151 namanaung ri Kampong Beru tuampakkanangai buttaya naerang bainenna naerang Sudanga Baraya Panyangga Loweya iaruppa I Buqle Kulau Nagaya Pamongko Kalapaya Kallang Bodoi Butoya ribokopi
- 9 Apr (R) the karaeng [Abdul Khair], Karaeng ri Paqbineang, the younger *tumailalang* [Karaeng Garassiq], and Karaeng Sanrabone [Karaeng Alluq] went down to Talloq; they continued down to Kampong Beru; Karaeng Sanrabone did not go
- 29 Zulh 1151 namanaung ri Talloq karaenga Karaengta ri Paqbineang *tumailalang* maloloya Karae Sanrabone natulusuq man-aung ri Kampong Beru tamangeami Karae Sanrabone
- 10 Apr (F) Karaeng Bontolangkasaq taken as Karaeng ri Gowa<sup>718</sup>  
1 Muh 1152 nanialle Karaeng ri Gowa Karae Bontolangkasaq
- 16 May (S) the people of Wajoq pushed down to Baraya, Karaeng ri Bontolangkasaq seawards to Jongaya; they clashed [with the Dutch] at Maricaya [northeast of the VOC fort]; [Karaeng] Bontotannga wounded
- 8 Saf 1152 nasossong tuWajoka manaung ri Baraya Karaenga ri Bontolangkasaq kalauq ri Jongaya namaqruppa ri Maricaya Bontotannga malokoq
- 15 Jun (M) the *tumailalang*<sup>719</sup> and karaengs of Batupute, Bontomajannang, Palembang, Tompobalang, Balambaru<sup>720</sup>, and Katangka went down to Talloq
- 8 Rawl 1152 namanaung ri Talloq *tumailalang* Batuputeh Bontomajannang Palembang Tompobalang Balambaru Katangka
- 20 Jun (S) *anrongguru* I Kare Jarreq died  
13 Rawl 1152 namate I Kare Jarreq anrongguru

<sup>718</sup> This investiture took place with the royal regalia, which days before had been taken by the fleeing nobles of Gowa to Talloq and then to Kampong Beru where they sought the protection of the Dutch.

<sup>719</sup> More likely Karaeng Garassiq, but possibly the elder *tumailalang* Karaeng Lekoqboqdong.

<sup>720</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:221) believed this to be a different Karaeng Balambaru than the European soldier of the same title wounded on March 2nd, possibly because that individual sided with Karaeng Bontolangkasaq, but he may simply have changed loyalties again.

- 21 Jun (S eve) Daengta Daeng Iji, a child of Karaeng ri Mangallekana, died  
14 Rawl 1152 namate Daengta Daeng Iji anaqna Karaengta ri Mangallekana
- 8 Jul (T eve) the carved house<sup>721</sup> in Bontoalaq was burned  
6 Rokr 1152 nanisussuluq ballaq niukirika ri Bontoalaq
- 20 Jul (T) Arung Matoaya [Arung Singkang] went with Daeng Mamaro [Karaeng Bontolangkasaq], fleeing Gowa  
14 Rokr 1152 namaqlampa Arung Matoaya siagaang Daeng Mamaro napilarimi Gowa
- 21 Jul (T) Gowa overrun, burned and plundered by the Dutch; Daeng Maqleq I Dulla was beheaded; there was a lunar eclipse Monday evening<sup>722</sup>  
15 Rokr 1152 nanibangkah Gowa nisussuluki namaqrappa Balandaya nanibatta Daeng Malleq I Dulla namaqkaqdoq lekoka ri banngi Salasaya
- 28 Jul (T) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] went east here to Taenga  
22 Rokr 1152 namanraiq mae ri Taenga karaenga
- 3 Aug (M) one living with Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] died  
28 Rokr 1152 namate siballaqna Karae Sanrabone
- 20 Aug (W eve) Karaeng ri Tana-Tana died at the age of 68 and four months  
15 Jawl 1152 namate Karaengta ri Tana-Tana umuruqna 68 ampatang-bulan
- 22 Aug (S) I Daeng Ngiji I Sitti died  
17 Jawl 1152 namate I Daeng Ngiji I Sitti
- 22 Aug (S) I Sugi, the mother of I Nona, died; a child of Daeng Maqleq died

<sup>721</sup> Built on 27 Jun 1652. See the note accompanying that entry for more information.

<sup>722</sup> This heavenly portent was certainly interpreted as recognition of the tumultuous events taking place in the wake of Karaeng Bontolangkasaq's defeat and Abdul Khair's pending restoration to power in Gowa.

- 17 Jawl 1152      namate I Sugi anrongnna I Nona namate anaqna Daeng Maqleoq
- 27 Aug (R)  
22 Jawl 1152      I Jitaq, a child of Daeng Maqleoq, died  
namate I Jitaq anaqna Daeng Maqleoq
- 28 Aug (F)  
23 Jawl 1152      I Loqmoq ri Taenga died  
namate I Loqmoq ri Taenga
- 3 Sep (R)              the governor [Smout] and the people of Boné withdrew seawards to Ujung Pandang, then the Dutch and Arung Sumaling went into Gowa to guard Gowa
- 29 Jawl 1152      namamonoqmo kalauq ri Jumpandang tumalompoa tuBonea namantamamo ri Gowa Balandaya Aruq Sumaling angkammiki Gowa
- 4 Sep (F eve)  
1 Jakr 1152      *tumailalang* Karaeng Garassiq died  
namate *tumailalang* Karae Garassiq
- 27 Sep (S eve)  
23 Jakr 1152      a great grandparent of Karaeng Beroanging and Kare Singaraq died  
namate boena Karae Beroangin Kare Singaraq
- 4 Oct (S eve)  
1 Raj 1152      I Muhammad died  
namate I Muhammad
- 8 Oct (R)  
5 Raj 1152      a child of I Tuang Abu Bakar named Rahimah died  
namate anaqna I Tuan Abu Bakar nikanaya Rahimah
- 22 Oct (R)  
19 Raj 1152      I Saleh, a grandchild of I Daeng Rikasammeng, died  
namate I Saleh cucunna I Daeng Rikasammen
- 26 Oct (N eve)  
23 Raj 1152      I Sitti, a child of I Daeng Marannu Karaeng Bontoa, died  
namate I Sitti anaqna I Daeng Marannu Karae Bontoa
- 28 Nov (S)  
26 Syab 1152      I Mappatolla circumcised  
nanisunnaq I Mappatolla
- 29 Nov (N)  
27 Syab 1152      Gallarrang Talloq Kare Lesang died  
namate Gallarrang Talloq Kare Lesang

- 4 Dec (R eve) the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] arrived from Kampong Beru bringing the collection of royal regalia [back to Gowa]
- 3 Ram 1152 nabattu ri Kampong Beru tuampakkanangai buttaya naerangmi lullung gaukanga
- 21 Dec (M) the people of Boné caught people in Allaq Tappampang; they were brought down and all their weapons taken
- 20 Ram 1152 tuBonea anjakkalaq tau ri Allaq tappamppang niturungi niallengaseng ewangannga
- 1740
- 19 Jan (T) Karaeng Patukangang died and was buried in a kampong in Lakiung at the age of 32
- 19 Syaw 1152 namate Karae Patukangang ri kampong ri Lakiung niawang 32 umuruqna
- 26 Jan (M eve) Karaeng Taruq died at the age of 18
- 26 Syaw 1152 namate Karae Taruq umuruqna 18
- 29 Jan (F) Gallarrang Camba died
- 29 Syaw 1152 namate Gallarrang Cambah
- 13 Feb (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gowa [Abdul Khair] circumcised
- 15 Zulk 1152 nanisunnaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Gowa
- 8 Mar (T) this [day Karaeng] Bontomasugi died
- 10 Zulk 1152 ianne nakamateang Bontomasugi
- 19 Mar (S) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] married Karaeng Tanasanga
- 21 Zulk 1152 namakkalabini karae Agangnionjoq Karae Tanasanga
- 28 Mar (M) I Patimah, a child of [Karaeng] Bontomajannang, died
- 30 Zulk 1152 namate I Patimah anaqna Bontomajannang
- 30 Mar (W) Sayyid Husain died and was buried in Tinggimae
- 6 Muh 1153 namate Sayyid Husaini niawan ri Tinggimaeng
- 28 May (F eve) a widow of Karaeng ri Bontomanompoq died below in Tambasaq

- 6 Rawl 1153      namate balunna Karaengta ri Bontomanompoq irawa ri  
Tambasaq
- 17 Jun (R eve)      Karaeng Beroanging died  
22 Rawl 1153      namate Karae Beroangin
- 19 Jun (N)          Haji Bainea died  
24 Rawl 1153      namate Haqji Bainea
- 12 Jul (T)          I Puaq died above in Sanrabone  
18 Rakr 1153      namate I Puaq irate ri Sanrabone
- 29 Jul (F)          the *nayaka* [Bimbang] conducted an exorcism ritual<sup>723</sup>  
5 Jawl 1153      namakkawaru nayakkaya
- 25 Aug (R)          Karaeng Sanrabone [Muhammad Baki] and Karaeng  
Sumannaq married  
2 Jakr 1153      nasikalabini Karae Sanrabone Karae Sumannaq
- 8 Oct (S)          the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and the speaker of the land  
[Karaeng Majannang] went seawards to the fort and  
swore oaths again<sup>724</sup>
- 16 Raj 1153      nakalauq ri kotaya karaenga tuampakkanangai buttaya  
nanitalliq pole
- 11 Oct (T)          the karaeng [Abdul Khair] and the speaker of the land  
[Karaeng Majannang] went into Gowa; a representa-  
tive [from the VOC], the *maqdanrang* [Arung Kajuwara],  
Arung Sumaling, and Gallarang Bontoalaq confer on the  
karaeng [Abdul Khair] the land of Gowa; all the Dutch  
and people of Boné go seawards to Ujung Pandang
- 19 Raj 1153      namantama ri Gowa karaenga tuampakkanangai but-  
taya gumitir Maqdanranga Aruq Sumaling Gallarang  
Bontoalaq ampitaqgalliangi karaenga buttaya ri Gowa  
nakalauq ngasengmo Balandaya tuBonea ri Jumpandang
- 1 Nov (T)          Karaeng Majannang with Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin]

<sup>723</sup> Presumably this was to purify the land after the chaos and destruction of the war with Karaeng Bontolangkasaq and to prepare for the formal re-installation of Abdul Khair as Gowa's ruler.

<sup>724</sup> See the description of this ceremony in the 25 Aug 1738 entry.

- 11 Syab 1153 followed the way to Balang Puqrrung; the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] arrived  
namange mangaga-agaan Karae Majannang siagaang Karaenga ri Talloq ri Balang Puqrrung nabattu karae Agangnionjoq
- 18 Nov (F) I Aluq and Karaeng Tamasongoq married  
28 Syab 1153 nasikalabini I Aluq Karae Tamasongoq
- 5 Dec (N eve) Karaeng Palembang died  
15 Ram 1153 namate Karae Palembang
- 1741
- 14 Jan (S) *kadi* Kare Manaqqalaq died  
25 Syaw 1153 namate kadia Kare Manaqqalaq
- 9 Feb (W eve) I Syehu and I Daeng Marannu married  
22 Zulk 1153<sup>725</sup> nasikalabini I Syehe I Daeng Marannu
- 17 Mar (F) Karaeng Majannang went seawards to Rappoalaka to build a house  
28 Zulh 1153<sup>726</sup> nakalauq ri Rappoalaka Karae Majannang mamangung ballaq
- 23 Mar (R) the envoy I Daeng Manjarreki I Mammaq arrived from Tosora [in Wajoq] to see the governor [Smout]  
5 Muh 1154 nabattu suroa I Daeng Manjarreki I Mammaq ri Tosora anciniki tumalompoa
- 20 Apr (R) the admiral<sup>727</sup> arrived from making war in Tosora  
4 Saf 1154 nabattu ri Tosora aqbunduq Amarala
- 17 Jun (S) Karaeng Sumannaq had a son  
3 Rokr 1154 namamanaq Karae Sumannaq buraqne
- 10 Aug (R) I Daeng Talele I Masiq died; Daeng Nisayu I Alima born  
28 Jawl 1154 namate I Daeng Talele I Masiq naanaq Daeng Nisayu I Alima

<sup>725</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Syawwal instead of Zulkaedah.

<sup>726</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Zulkaedah instead of Zulhijah.

<sup>727</sup> Ligtoet (1880:223) believed this referred to Governor Smout, though in other entries he is referred to simply as 'governor' (*tumalampo*).



- 25 Oct (W) the manuscript that would be brought by [Karaeng] Garassiq, [Karaeng] Mangisuiq, and *sabannaraq* Daeng Manggappa was taken down to the ship
- 15 Syab 1154 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq naeranga Garassiq Mangisuiq sabannaraq Daeng Manggappa
- 31 Oct (T) I Syehu and I Daeng Marannu divorced  
21 Syab 1154 nasipelaq I Syehu I Daeng Marannu
- 2 Nov (R) the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] went seawards to Rappoalaka  
23 Syab 1154 nakalauq ri Rappoalaka tuampakkanangai buttaya
- 18 Dec (M) Karaeng ri Katapang died at the age of 84  
9 Syaw 1154 namate Karaengta ri Katapang umuruqna 84
- 30 Dec (F eve) Karaeng Langeloq I Danradatu died  
21 Syaw 1154 namate Karae Langeloq I Danrra
- 1742
- 2 Jan (T) I Daeng Jinne, a wife of I Syehu, died  
24 Syaw 1154 namate I Daeng Jinne bainenna I Syehu
- 26 Feb (M) seawards in Rappoalaka the speaker of the land [Karaeng Majannang] ascended into his house  
20 Zulh 1154 nakalauq ri Rappoalaka tuampakkanangai buttaya manaiqna ri ballaqla
- 20 Mar (T) the remains of Karaeng Garassiq arrived from overseas in Jakattaraq<sup>728</sup>  
12 Muh 1155 nabattu mayaqna Karae Garassiq ilauq ri Jakattaraq
- 10 May (R) the karaeng [Abdul Khair] landed, arriving from Bima bringing his wife with I Rante Patola<sup>729</sup>  
5 Rawl 1155 nasoremo karaenga battuna ri Dima angerangi bainenna siagaang I Rante Patola

<sup>728</sup> Obviously he died on his journey to Batavia as one of three representatives sent to the Dutch bearing the important manuscript mentioned in the 25 Oct 1741 entry.

<sup>729</sup> His wife was a daughter of the ruler of Bima Alauddin Muhammad Syah and Karaeng Tanasanga; I Rante Patola was her sister (Ligtvoet 1880:223).

- 28 May (N eve) Karaeng Majannang slept with Karaeng Bonto-Bonto  
23 Rawl 1155 namaqlusereq Karae Majannang naKarae Bonto-Bonto
- 29 Jun (T) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] went over-  
seas to Jakattaraq  
26 Rakr 1155 nakalauq ri Jakattaraq karae Agangnionjoq
- 28 Jul (F eve) we were left by Karaeng Tumamenang ri Gowa [Abdul  
Khair] at the age of 15, five months, and 16 nights; his  
own younger sibling<sup>730</sup> replaced him as ruler  
26 Jawl 1155 kinapilari Karaenga Tuammenang ri Gowa umuruqna 15  
allimang bulan 10 angannang banginna aringnaji assam-  
beangi maqgauq
- 28 Jul (S) Karaeng ri Mamampang died at the age of 82, 9 months,  
and 4 nights  
26 Jawl 1155 namate Karaengta ri Mamampang umuruqna 82 9 bulan 4  
banngi
- 19 Sep (W) the karaeng [the late Abdul Khair] had a daughter who  
just died as a baby  
19 Raj 1155 namamanaq karaenga baine mate memangi anaqna
- 3 Oct (W) Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] arrived with Karaeng  
Bontotannga; a ruling had been made during the reigns  
of Karaeng Tumamenang ri Lakiung [Abdul Jalil],  
Tumamenang ri Passiringanna [Abdul Kadir], and  
Tumamenang ri Taenga [Karaeng Bontosunggu] that if  
there was one who came between [Gowa and Talloq], we  
concur and we declare them wrongdoers<sup>731</sup>  
3 Syab 1155 nabattu Karaenga ri Talloq siagaang Karae  
Bontotannga nanipareq pangempang ri rewasanna  
Karaenga Tumammenang ri Lakiun Tumammenang ri

<sup>730</sup> Mappababasaq Abdul Kudus Tumamenang ri Kalaqbiranna.

<sup>731</sup> This pronouncement of the relationship between Gowa and Talloq recalls Karaeng Matoaya's famous declaration in the *Talloq Chronicle* that they were 'Only one people, but two karaeng. Death to those who dream or speak of making Gowa and Talloq quarrel' (*seqreji ata narua karaeng nibunoi tumassoqnaya angkanaya sisalai Gowa Talloq*). More precisely, it appears that this was a reference to the practice during that golden age whereby the ruler of Talloq served as *tumabicarabutta* for the ruler of Gowa. Its intentional memorializing now was a prelude to the appointment of Talloq's ruler Karaeng Lempangang – the father of Gowa's young new ruler Abdul Kudus – as *tumabicarabutta* in May the following year.

	Passiringanna Tumammenang ri Taenga punna niaq angagangi allaqna kiparipaqmaiki kikana tumannyala
4 Oct (R)	the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went into Gowa with the collection of royal regalia to live
4 Syab 1155	namantamamo ri Gowa karaenga mammempo siagaang lullung gaukanga
27 Oct (F eve)	Karaeng ri Paqbineang died at the age of 55
27 Syab 1155	namate Karaengta ri Paqbineang umuruna 55
	1743
24 Mar (N)	I Syehu arrived; Karaeng Tanasanga arrived with I Rante Patola
27 Muh 1156	nabattu I Syehu nabattu Karae Tanasanga siagaang I Rante Patola
16 Apr (T)	I Baciq, former spouse of Karaeng Paqgannakkang, died
21 Saf 1156 <sup>732</sup>	namate I Baciq pallaloanna Karae Paqgannakkang
5 May (N)	the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went over to Taenga; the governor [Smout] came up here to Taenga; he stopped in Gowa and was given people [slaves], one by Karaeng Majannang and one by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] too
10 Rawl 1156	nataql ri Taenga karaenga namanaiq mae tumalompoa ri Taenga nasumengka ri Gowa nisarei tau sitau ri Karae Majannang karaeng sitau todong
18 May (S)	Karaeng Majannang expelled as speaker of the land
24 Rawl 1156	nanipasuluq Karae Majannang ampakkanangai buttana
28 May (T)	Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] brought the treaties <sup>733</sup>
4 Rokr 1156	nanieranngang Karaenga ri Talloq ulukanaya
4 Jun (T)	Karaeng Batupute <sup>734</sup> installed as <i>tumailalang</i> , given the position of the karaengs of Patteqne <sup>735</sup>

<sup>732</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Ramadan instead of Safar.

<sup>733</sup> Signaling his replacement of Karaeng Majannang as *tumabicarabutta* or 'speaker of the land'.

<sup>734</sup> An annalist mistakenly wrote Karaeng Bontopute, but this is incorrect.

<sup>735</sup> This does not mean that he succeeded Karaeng Patteqne (a *tumailalang* who was given the post by Tunipasuluq in the 1590s) but rather that he occupied one of the two *tumailalang* posts that traditionally was held by a descendant of Karaeng Patteqne.

- 11 Rakr 1156 nanitannang *tumailalang* Karae Bontopute empoana Karaengta ri Patenne nisareangi
- 15 Oct (T) I Sugiratu slept with Arung Ujumpulug<sup>736</sup>; the *maqdanrang* [Arung Kajuwara] expelled<sup>737</sup>
- 26 Syab 1156 namaqlusereq I Sugiratu Arung Ujungpuluq nanipasuluq Maqdanranga
- 21 Nov (R) Karaeng Bonto-Bonto died  
3 Syaw 1156 namate Karae Bonto-Bonto
- 1744
- 29 Jan (W) Karaeng ri Bontomateqne died  
13 Zulh 1156 namate Karaengta ri Bontomateqne
- 15 Apr (W) the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] arrived from Java<sup>738</sup>  
2 Rawl 1157 nabattu ri Jawa karae Agangnionjoq
- 27 Apr (M) I Ninruq, a child of Karaeng Paqgannakkang, died  
14 Rawl 1157 namate I Ninruq anaqna Karae Paqgannakkang
- 1 May (F) Karaeng Lembaya died  
18 Rawl 1157 namate Karae Lembaya
- 31 Jul (F) an Arab died  
21 Jakr 1157 namate Araka
- 29 Aug (S) I Sugiratu had a male child  
21 Raj 1157 namamanaq I Sugiratu buraqne anaqna
- 8 Oct (R) the manuscript that would go overseas to Jakattaraq, brought by the karaengs of Paranggi and Paqbundukang, taken down to the ship

<sup>736</sup> According to Bugis informants he was a brother of the ruler of Sidénréng Toampo Matinroe ri Sumpangminangaé and was known posthumously as Matinroe ri Tanamanridié (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

<sup>737</sup> According to Dutch sources Datu Baringeng La Temmassongeq Matinroe ri Mallimongeng and later ruler of Boné, was behind his expulsion (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

<sup>738</sup> There he had been aiding the VOC in war against Javanese rebels (Ligtvoet 1880:225).

- 1 Ram 1157 nanipanaung ri biseang lontaraq kalauqna ri Jakattaraq  
naerang Karaengta ri Paranggi Paqbundukang
- 1745
- 28 Mar (N) there overseas in Jakattaraq people saw a star as asar<sup>739</sup>; it  
sank and a white cloud took its place
- 25 Saf 1158 niaq ilauq ri Jakattaraq tumacciniq bintoeng ri asaraka  
tallangi rammang keboq seng assambeangi
- 2 Apr (F) a half-blackened sun was seen<sup>740</sup>  
30 Saf 1158 naniciniq aleqleng sipue matanna alloa
- 9 Nov (T) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Kalaqbiranna [Abdul Kudus]  
circumcised
- 14 Syaw 1158 nanisunnaq Karaenga Tuammenang ri Kalaqbirangna
- 18 Nov (R) a child of I Daeng Macoa was shorn and a water buffalo  
with gilded horns butchered
- 23 Syaw 1158 nanikattereq anaqna I Daeng Macoa nipattunuangi  
tedong attanruq bulaeng
- 1746
- 21 Feb (M) I Daeng Mangalliq<sup>741</sup> was caught, trusted by the Dutch  
30 Muh 1159 nanijakkalaq I Daeng Mangalliki tappaq ri Balandaya
- 14 Mar (N eve) Karaeng ri Talloq [Syafiuddin] and Karaeng  
Mangaraqbombang married
- 21 Saf 1159 nasikalabini Karaenga ri Talloq Karae Mangaraqbombang
- 19 Mar (S) Daeng Mamuntuli brought by the younger arung<sup>742</sup> to  
proceed to the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] to ask forgive-  
ness<sup>743</sup>
- 26 Saf 1159 nanierang I Daeng Mamuntuli ri Arung Maloloa mange ri  
karaenga matoaya nipappalaq popporang

<sup>739</sup> The late afternoon prayer at about 4 PM.

<sup>740</sup> A partial solar eclipse.

<sup>741</sup> Probably the Daeng Mangalliq named Dondiq born 29 Sep 1692.

<sup>742</sup> That is, the designated heir of the arumpone of Boné; here it refers to Datu ri Baringang (Ligtvoet 1880:226).

<sup>743</sup> Daeng Mamuntuli had eloped with Karaeng Barong Patola over four decades before 25 Sep 1705, and it may be this to which the entry refers.

- 22 Mar (W eve) Karaeng Lembaya and Karaeng Tanasanga married  
30 Saf 1159 nasikalabini Karae Lembaya Karae Tanasanga
- 21 May (S) Karaeng Tangallaq died at the age of 35  
30 Rokr 1159 namate Karae Tangallaq umuruna 35
- 17 Jun (R eve) Karaeng Bontoparang and Karaeng Jarannika married  
27 Jawl 1159 nasikalabini Karae Bontoparang Karae Jarannika
- 3 Sep (S) the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went east to Pakkatto  
17 Syab 1159 namanrai ri Pakkatto karaenga matoaya
- 10 Sep (S) Dutch begin stonework  
24 Syab 1159 nanajamamo batua Balandaya
- 15 Oct (F eve) a royal hall was built in Talloq  
29 Ram 1159 nanibangung ballaq lompoa ri Talloq
- 8 Dec (R) birth of I Mannawarri Abdulhadi<sup>744</sup>  
24 Zulk 1159 nanianakkang I Manawarri Abdulhadi
- 14 Dec (W) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] returned from the work  
30 Zulk 1159 namamonoq ri jamanga karaenga
- 1747
- 8 Jan (N) a house was built for I Syehu; the elder karaeng  
[Syafiuddin] came up here  
25 Zulh 1159 nanibangung ballaqa I Syehu manaiki mae karaenga  
matoaya
- 16 Jan (M) the people of Kadundungang went to Manyanreri<sup>745</sup>, now  
called Kare Bontopanno  
4 Muh 1160 nanipamange tuKadundunganga ri Manyanreri nikana  
Kare Bontopanno
- 16 Feb (R) it was ordered by the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] that a  
karaengship be brought to I Daeng Manassaq, now called  
Karaeng Maroanging

<sup>744</sup> Tumamenang ri Lambusuqna, he was a son of Karaeng Tamasongoq and ruled Gowa from 1781 to 1810.

<sup>745</sup> Possibly the same Manyanreri who married on 17 Oct 1713.

- 4 Saf 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang I Daeng Manassaq ri karaeng matoaya nikana Karae Maroanging
- 28 Mar (M eve) Karaeng Karuwisi<sup>746</sup> had a child, a daughter  
15 Rawl 1160 namamanaq Karae Karuisi baine anaqna
- 11 May (R) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a karaengship be brought to Daeng Marannu, now called Karaeng Bontoa
- 1 Jawl 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang Daeng Marannu nikana Karae Bontoa ri karaenga
- 14 May (N) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a karaengship be brought to Daeng Ningai, now called Karaeng Somba Opu
- 4 Jawl 1160 nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang Daeng Ningai ri karaenga nikana Karae Sambopu
- 27 Jun (T) we hear that the ruler of Agangnionjoq [La Tenrioddang] was killed as he advanced on Nepo; Karaeng Loqmoq I Baeda died
- 18 Jakr 1160 nakilanngereq niposo karae Agangnionjoq napanaiкин Nepo namate Karae Loqmoq I Baeda
- 3 Jul (M) I Syehu fulfilled a vow with the completion of a dome for [the grave of] I Tuang [Shaykh Yusuf]
- 24 Jakr 1160 nanapole tinjaqna I Syehu leqbaqna kobbangnna I Tuan
- 16 Oct (M) [Karaeng] Bontomajannang, [Karaeng] Paqbundukang, *anaq karaeng*, and envoy(s) went over to Bima to fetch I Tajuq<sup>747</sup>; the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went over here to Taenga; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went east to Bianreng to work on a ferry raft
- 11 Syaw 1160 nataqle ri Dima Bontomajannang Paqbundukang anaq karaeng suro antaqle ambuntuli I Tajuq nataqle mae ri Taenga karaenga namanraiq ri Bianreng karaenga matoaya anjamai pappalimbangang rakika

<sup>746</sup> A future ruler of Talloq and Taenga (Ligtvoet 1880:226).

<sup>747</sup> Karaeng Balaqsari, a daughter of the ruler of Bima Ala'uddin and Karaeng Tanasanga (Ligtvoet 1880:226). They failed to return with her, or possibly had to return early, for others departed again on 16 May 1748 to make the same voyage.

- 31 Dec (N) Sayyid Syarifah proposed to by Sayyid Husain; the bride-price was 5 taiq; the sayyid slept with her
- 28 Zulh 1160 nanipassuroi Syayyid Syarifa ri Sayyid Husain sunrangn-na 5 lima taiq namaqlusereq sayyidka
- 1748
- 27 Jan (S) I<sup>748</sup> went for the naming of the house of I Syehu with the karaeng [Abdul Kudus]
- 26 Muh 1161 kutaqle aqrenngeq ri ballaqla I Syehu siagaang karaenga
- 11 Apr (R) Arung Sumaling and Karaeng Lempangang<sup>749</sup> married
- 12 Rakr 1161 nasikalabini Aruq Sumaling Karae Lempangang
- 16 May (R) Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] sailed with Karaeng Paqbundukang over to fetch I Tajuq; *anaq karaeng* and envoy(s) went over with them
- 18 Jawl 1161 namamise Karae Barombong siagaang Karae Paqbundukang taqle ambuntuli I Taju anaq karaeng suro naagaang taqle
- 20 Jul (S) a clock was given by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to Karaeng Majannang
- 24 Raj 1161 nanisareang karaenga goyangnna Karae Majannang
- 15 Aug (R) I Buqle<sup>750</sup> was brought over here by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus]; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went up from here to Mangasa fully armed
- 20 Syab 1161 nanierang taqle mae ri karaenga I Buqle namanaiq mae karaeng matoaya ri Mangasa sangkaq ewangang
- 26 Aug (M) I Buqle was ordered brought by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to Karaeng Majannang
- 1 Ram 1161 nanisuro eranngang ri karaenga I Buqle Karae Majannang

<sup>748</sup> Probably Karaeng Tamasongoq, the second annalist mentioned by name in the *lontaraq bilang*.

<sup>749</sup> Not the ruler of Talloq Syafiuddin, but his daughter by Amirah. Her name before receiving this title was probably I Rida Sitti Rahmah, whose birth is recorded in the *lontaraq bilang* on 13 Oct 1730.

<sup>750</sup> This blowpipe was part of Gowa's regalia and believed to make its bearer capable of defeating any enemy (Cummings 2002:131-3).



- 7 Sep (F eve) Karaeng Kalukuang I Tola died  
13 Ram 1161 namate Karae Kalukuang I Tola
- 16 Sep (M) Karaeng Barombong [Muhammad Baki] arrived from  
Bima bringing I Tajuq  
22 Ram 1161 nabattu Karae Barombong ri Dima angerangi I Tajuq
- 13 Dec (F) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] slept with Karaeng Balaqsari  
[Tajuq]; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] fell from a horse  
while escorting the karaeng [to meet his bride]  
22 Zulh 1161 namaqlusereq karaenga Karae Balassari natuqguruq ri  
jarang karaenga matoaya nilekkaqna karaenga
- 24 Dec (R eve) birth of I Manappuki Ahaq  
3 Muh 1162 nanianakkang I Manappuki Ahaq
- 1749
- 12 Jan (S eve) Daeng Takontu and Karaeng Paqgannakkang married  
22 Muh 1162 nasikalabini Daeng Takongtu Karae Paqgannakkang
- 3 Apr (R) it was ordered by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] that a  
karaengship be brought to Daeng Manginruru, now  
called Karaeng Baroqbosoq  
14 Rakr 1162<sup>751</sup> nanisuro pangeranngang pakkaraengang ri karaenga  
Daeng Manginruru nikana Karae Baroqbosoq
- 21 Apr (M) carried by ship, the arumpone [Datu ri Citta] went to go  
into Boné  
3 Jawl 1162 namaqdongkoq ri biseang arungpone lamantama ri Bone
- 27 May (T)<sup>752</sup> birth of I Mannapoi Mansur<sup>753</sup>  
10 Jakr 1162 nanianakkang I Mannapoi Mansur
- 10 Jun (M eve)<sup>754</sup> Karaeng Lempangang had a male child Abdurrahman<sup>755</sup>;  
*anrongguru* of the *anaq buraqne* I Kare Mambani I Umaraq  
died

<sup>751</sup> The Hijri month is omitted but must be Rabi'ul-akhir.

<sup>752</sup> The day is missing but is probably the 27th.

<sup>753</sup> Karaeng Data, a son of Karaeng Tamasongoq (Ligtvoet 1880:227).

<sup>754</sup> The Gregorian month is omitted but must be June.

<sup>755</sup> Probably the son who was later known as Karaeng Bisei and was insane (Ligtvoet 1880:228).

- 24 Jakr 1162      namamanaq Karae Lempangang buraqne anaqna  
Abdurrahman namate anrongguru anaq buraqnea I Kare  
Mambani I Umaraq
- 25 Aug (M)      Karaeng Mannyiori, [Karaeng] Balloq, *papuq*<sup>756</sup> Daeng  
Manggappa, Daeng Maqruppa, and a wife of Daeng  
Malliongang arrived from Sandao
- 11 Ram 1162      nabattu ri Sandao Karae Mannyiori Balloq papuq  
Daeng Manggappa Daeng Maqruppa bainenna Daeng  
Malliongang
- 15 Oct (W)  
3 Zulk 1162      Karaeng Jarannika arrived from Boné  
nabattu ri Bone Karae Jarannika
- 8 Nov (S)      we hear of the death of the arumpone [Datu ri Citta];  
the younger arung [Datu Baringeng] replaced her; this  
Saturday night was the arumpone's death
- 27 Zulk 1162      nakilanngereq matena arungpone arung maloloa assam-  
beangi banngi Ahaq anne nakamateang arungpone
- 9 Nov (N)<sup>757</sup>  
28 Zulk 1162      birth of Batara Gowa<sup>758</sup>  
nanianakkang Batara Gowa
- 9 Dec (N)      Karaeng Baine [the ruler of Talloq's wife Karaeng  
Mangaraqbombang] had a male child I Mappatunruq  
Abdurrauf<sup>759</sup>
- 28 Zuh 1162<sup>760</sup>      namamanaq Karaenga Bainea buraqne anaqna I  
Mappatunruq Abdurrauf
- 1750
- 14 Feb (F eve)      Karaeng Panaikang died at the age of 59, 6 months, 7  
nights
- 7 Rawl 1163      namate Karae Panaikang umuruna 59 6 bulan 7 banngi

<sup>756</sup> *Papuq* was a title of the head of the Bajo community traditionally loyal to the rulers of Gowa. This is apparently the same Daeng Manggappa who was *sabannaraq*.

<sup>757</sup> The date is omitted but must be the 9th.

<sup>758</sup> A son of Abdul Kudus and Karaeng Balaqsari.

<sup>759</sup> A son of Karaeng Lempangang, he was known as Karaeng Lembangparang Tumamenang ri Katangka and ruled Gowa from 1816 to 1825.

<sup>760</sup> There are two possibilities for the date of this entry. I believe that the omitted Hijri month is most likely Zulhijah, in which case the day of the week should read Tuesday instead of Sunday. Ligtvoet (1880:footnote 228) prefers to read this as having the same date as the previous entry, which would mean that a copyist mistakenly wrote December instead of November.

- 12 Jun (F eve)  
7 Raj 1163<sup>761</sup> birth of I Gundah Bulaeq Dzuhariah  
nanianakkang I Gungdah Bulaeq Dzuhariah
- 16 Jul (R) Datu ri Ulawang<sup>762</sup> died, was placed in a coffin, and  
brought into his homeland; I Daeng Tasannging expelled  
as Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq
- 11 Syab 1163 namate Datua ri Ulawang nibonei ri allung nani-  
erang antama ri paqrasanganna nanipasuluq I Daeng  
Tasannging Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq
- 22 Jul (W) I Mannyaurang arrived, sent by the elder karaeng  
[Syafiuddin] to formally bring a sunshade to Karaeng  
Majannang and shelter him with it; he was then given  
Tangke Jangang [in Talloq] with all its high ground and  
low ground
- 17 Syab 1163 nabattu I Mannyaurang nisuro ri karaenga matoaya  
ampangerannangi laqlang Karae Majannang siagaang  
pallaqllanngi nanisareang Tangke Jangang lollong bon-  
tona kappoqna
- 30 Jul (R) I Daeng Manangaraq expelled as *sabannaraq*; the ruler of  
Agangnionjoq<sup>763</sup> was brought east to the arumpone [Datu  
Baringeng]; the chief interpreter brought her<sup>764</sup>
- 25 Syab 1163 nanipasuluq sabannaraq I Daeng Manangaraq nanierang  
karae Agangnionjoq anraiq ri arungpone jurubasa lom-  
poa angerangi
- 20 Aug (R) a child of I Syehu adopted by Arung Palakka [Amirah]  
died
- 17 Ram 1163 namate anaqna I Syehu nakatuoA Aruq Palakka
- 29 Sep (M eve)  
27 Syaw 1163 the arumpone [Datu Baringeng] came east here to Syehu  
namanraiq mae arungpone ri Syehu

<sup>761</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote the 17th instead of the 7th.

<sup>762</sup> Dutch sources indicate that this must be Mappasawe, son of Towappamole who died in 1736 (Ligtvoet 1880:229).

<sup>763</sup> Tenrilele Matinroe ri Soreyang (Ligtvoet 1880:229).

<sup>764</sup> The two rulers met to reconcile, for Boné and Agangnionjoq had had poor relations since La Tenrioddang, brother of the ruler of Agangnionjoq Tenrilele Matinroe ri Soreyang, had seized the banner Samparajaya and forcibly taken control of Boné in 1739.

- 7 Oct (W) a karaengship given by the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] to I Muqmin<sup>765</sup>, now called Karareng Bontomateqne
- 6 Zulk 1163 nanisare pakkaraengang I Muqmin ri karaenga nikana Karae Bontomateqne
- 22 Nov (N) Datu ri Soppéng<sup>766</sup> and Karaeng Bontomateqne married
- 22 Zuh 1163 nasikalabini Datua ri Soppeng Karae Bontomateqne
- 29 Nov (N) a nephew<sup>767</sup> of Gallarang Tamamangung was shot seawards of Masale; the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] angrily went [to Masale]; the wife of Datu ri Soppéng [Karaeng Bontomateqne] was escorted [to her marriage house]
- 29 Zuh 1163 nanibaqdiliq kamanakanna Gallarang Tamamangung ilaukanna Masale naturung rakka-rakka karaenga nanilekkaq bainenna Datua ri Soppeng
- 1751
- 13 Feb (F eve) Arung Sumaling and Karaeng Lempangang divorced
- 16 Rawl 1164 nasipelaq Aruq Sumaling Karae Lempangang
- 14 Mar (N) a wife of Karaeng Mangalliq died
- 15 Rakr 1164 namate bainenna Karae Mangalliq
- 25 Mar (R eve)<sup>768</sup> birth of Putiri Raannakumala<sup>769</sup>
- 28 Rakr 1164 nanianakkang Putiri Raannakumala
- 23 Apr (R eve) Inciq Daeng died
- 26 Jawl 1164 namate Icciq Daeng
- 26 Apr ( N eve) the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] and Karaeng Mangaraqbombang divorced
- 29 Jawl 1164 nasipelaq karaeng matoaya Karae Mangaraqbombang
- 16 Jun (F) I hear of the death of I Puaq Ninaq across on Sumbawa
- 22 Raj 1164 nakulanngereq matena I Puaq Ninaq ibaqlé ri Sambawa

<sup>765</sup> Ligtoet (1880:229) believed I Muqmin was probably a daughter of Karaeng Barombong.

<sup>766</sup> La Tongeng Arung Panyili, brother of the ruler of Boné (Ligtoet 1880:229).

<sup>767</sup> Or niece, as no gender is indicated.

<sup>768</sup> The day is missing but must be the 25th.

<sup>769</sup> Karaeng Tabaringang, a daughter of Abdul Kudus and Karaeng Balaqsari (Ligtoet 1880:229-30).

- 1 Aug (T eve) Karaeng ri Bontomanaiq, older uncle<sup>770</sup> of Karaeng Mangaraqbombang, died
- 9 Ram 1164 namate Karaengta ri Bontomanaiq puanna Karae Mangaraqbombang
- 25 Aug (T) Karaeng Lembaya died; the elder karaeng [Syafiuddin] went down to Talloq
- 2 Syaw 1164<sup>771</sup> namate Karae Lembaya namanaung ri Talloq karaeng matoaya
- 26 Aug (W) the karaeng [Abdul Kudus] went down to Talloq; someone went amuk on the grounds beneath [i.e. to the north side of] the karaeng's meeting hall
- 3 Syaw 1164 namanaung ri Talloq karaenga niaq tumaqjalloq ri embaya nairawa ri barugaya karaenga
- 3 Sep (F) Kare Ruppa, a child of I Tuang Rappang, died
- 12 Syaw 1164 namate Kare Ruppa anaqna I Tuan Rappang
- 10 Sep (R eve) Karaeng Bontomateqne had a child and died; only the child, a son, lived<sup>772</sup>; Allah grant him long life
- 19 Syaw 1164 namananaq Karae Bontomateqne matei anaqna ia tallasajji buraqne tulla Allahu umur
- 3 Oct (W) a house was built for Arung Palakka [Amirah]
- 14 Zulk 1164 nanibangun ballaqna Aruq Palakkah
- 4 Oct (R) news arrived of the death of Arung Guna<sup>773</sup>; it is said he died three nights [ago]
- 15 Zulk 1164 nabattu nipabiritta matenna Aruq Guna nikana tallung banngimi matena
- 1 Nov (T) Arung Taq<sup>774</sup> and his sibling who were together incestu-

<sup>770</sup> Possibly father.

<sup>771</sup> The month is missing but must be Syawwal.

<sup>772</sup> Ligtvoet (1880:230) notes that if Karaeng Bontomateqne was indeed a daughter of Karaeng Barombong, because she only had this one child from her marriage to the ruler of Soppéng La Tongeng Arung Panyili, this son can be none other than Karaeng Beroanging, who according to Dutch sources participated in the revolt of Sangkilang.

<sup>773</sup> A Boné noble and close relative of the rulers of Ulawang (Ligtvoet 1880:230).

<sup>774</sup> La Rukka, a son of the ruler of Boné Datu Baringeng later known as Arung Lakasi. According to Dutch sources, his sister was named Sidajang or I Dajang in Buginese. She died in

- ously were separated by the people of Boné and the people of Soppéng<sup>775</sup>
- 13 Zulh 1164 nanipasissaqlaq rituBonea tuSoppenga Aruq Taq saqrib-attangna nagaang sioppoki
- 20 Nov (N) I Leppang and I Tipah married  
2 Muh 1165 nasikalabini I Leppang I Tipah
- 25 Dec (S) Sayyid Hamid circumcised Friday night; birth of Indundaq
- 5 Saf 1165 nanisunnaq Sayyid Hamid banngi Sattu nanianakkang Indundaq

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Batavia under the protection of the VOC (Ligtvoet 1880:230).

<sup>775</sup> This is the second reference late in the annals to what Makassarese considered deviant sexual behavior; see also the 7 Jan 1738 entry.



### III

## A further annals ANRI 16/6

As noted in the Introduction, ANRI 16/6 is a manuscript owned by the former karaeng of Gowa Andi Ijo. This text is unique and especially valuable because unlike the other manuscripts with entries from the seventeenth century, this text contains unique entries that provide valuable information beyond that contained in VT 25. This chapter transcribes and translates the thirty-two unique entries or substantially different entries found in ANRI 16/6. The text as a whole has 290 entries dating from 1605 to 1682; the thirty-two entries below span the years from 1632 to 1679.

1632

- 9 Dec (R) an envoy from Mataram, Ki Bangei, arrived bearing a manuscript, a manuscript with writing on long slats of bamboo woven together<sup>1</sup>
- 25 Jawl 1042 nabattu surona Matarama Ki Bangei mangerang lontaraq sasaq lobaq kaqdoq lontaraq

1633

- 7 Nov (M) Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Patingalloang] went into Pakenya [in Soppéng] to fulfill a vow
- 4 Jawl 1043 namantama ri Bakenya Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng mamole tinjaq

1634

- 19 Mar (F) the Dutch left
- 19 Ram 1043 namaqlampao Balandaya

<sup>1</sup> VT 25 contains this entry, but it states that the envoy was from Banten and brought the body of Tumatea ri Banten, not a manuscript.



- 28 Mar (T) the people of Boné arrived  
27 Ram 1043 nabattu tuBoneya
- 10 Nov (F) gunpowder exploded on the bastion; Karaeng Layu was  
burned by the powder; eleven anaq karaeng from Turatea  
were burned by the powder<sup>2</sup>
- 18 Jawl 1044 namakkaqdoq ubaka ri salekoa nanakaqdo ubaka Karaeng  
Layu sampulo asseqre anaq karaeng Turate nakaqdo ubaq
- 1637
- 30 Aug (N) a gleaming house built in Somba Opu on five rows of pil-  
lars  
[10] Rakr 1047 nanibangung ballaka caya ri Sombopu 4 paqdaserang
- 1639
- 18 Jun (S) Karaeng Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng [Pattingalloang]  
spoke for the land
- 18 Saf 1049 naKaraengta Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng ampakkanangi  
buttaya
- 1640
- 4 Apr (W) Gallarrang Saumata fled into Boné  
11 Zulh 1049 namalari Gallarrang Samata mantama ri Bone
- 1644
- 2 Jan (S) Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana [Karunrung] and Karaeng ri  
Panaikang divorced
- 21 Syaw 1053 nasipelaq Tumamenang ri Jungtana Karaengta ri Panaikang
- 1655
- 14 Apr (W) when we were at Buton we fired at the Dutch in their cutter  
[7] Jakr 1065 kiriButung kinabadiliq Balandaya ri kotaqna
- 16 Apr (F) the Dutch cutter's hull was ruptured; thirty three Dutchmen  
were beheaded; forty-one Butonese men were killed and  
seventy-two wounded
- [9] Jakr 1065 nanibangka kotaqna Balandaya tallumpulo antallu Balanda  
nibatta Butung patampulo asseqre tumatena tujupulo  
anruwa tumalokoq

<sup>2</sup> VT 25 contains an abbreviated version of this entry, stating only that 'gunpowder exploded on the bastion'.

- 14 May (F) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] arrived from Buton; at this time [tribute? religious?] requirements were renewed; all were taken ashore; some were not held if their [obligation] was just about fulfilled; those who did not repay were held for payment and their possessions taken; the karaeng [Hasanuddin] returned after his trip of 64 [nights]<sup>3</sup>
- 7 Raj 1065 nabattu ri Butung karaeng iaminne rewasaya nanipole saraya nisore allengasemmi tananitaqgalaka punna kira-kira lappasaqmo taqgalaqna ri simana tanipapoleammi nanaalle patanna 64 lampana karaeng battu
- 24 Dec (F) a Dutch ship arrived bringing Karaeng Bijai  
25 Saf 1066 nabattu kappalaqna Balandaya angerangi Karaengta Bijai
- 27 Dec (M) we met with the Dutchman named Willem van der Beeck [?]<sup>4</sup>
- 28 Saf 1066 kisitaba Balandaya nikanaya aala panadaribe
- 1658
- 10 Jul (R) I Daengta Leqleng I Coco was married by Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana [Hasanuddin]  
[9] Syaw 1068 nanibaineang I Daengta Leqleng I Coco ri Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana
- 1659
- [4 May] (M) the Karaeng of Talloq [Harrunarasyid] was attacked when entering Abopada [in Mandar]; eighty-three men [were killed] and he set fire to Abopada
- 12 Syab 1069<sup>5</sup> rinaKaraenga ri Talloq naosong taua mantama ri Abopada sagantuju antallu nanisusuluq Abopada

<sup>3</sup> This entry is difficult to interpret and translate. The sense of it seems to be that Hasanuddin held a reckoning, presumably on Buton, but this is not certain. Payment or tribute, possibly phrased as a religious duty owed the sultan, was assessed and those freed who had met the bulk of their obligations. Those who had not had what they owned confiscated. VT 25 contains an entry for his journey on this date as well, but it is brief.

<sup>4</sup> This identification is not certain. ANRI 16/6 p. 54 has this name in *serang* script that is not easily deciphered, then provides the awkward *lontaraq beru* script transliteration *aala padarabele*. Stapel (1922:53) mentions that Willem van der Beeck along with an Armenian named Chodja Soliman had peace talks in Makassar on 28 Dec 1655.

<sup>5</sup> Where the Gregorian month is written this entry has *nanayebaso*, the meaning of which is unclear.

- 23<sup>rd</sup> (F)<sup>6</sup> Gallarrang Mangasa<sup>7</sup> was ordered to enter Langi<sup>8</sup> and uproot it  
nanisuro Gallarrang Mangasa antama ri Langi manyokkaq
- 1 Jun (N) the Portuguese burned Baroqbosoq; 13 houses were consumed by flames
- 10 Ram 1069 namakanre Boroqbosoq ri Paranggia 13 ballaq nakaqdo pepeq
- 1660
- 1660 I Wera's ships, two in number, were set fire to by someone rash; his ships were both slashed, one was taken<sup>9</sup>
- 1070 kappalaqna I Wera ruwa batuna sussuluq sitatujong-jonga kappalaqna padereka sibatu nialle
- 13 Jun (F) the interpreter went down to the ship bringing the blood-price for the Dutchman killed at Sape [Bima]; it was eleven kati [of gold]<sup>10</sup>
- [5] Syaw 1070 namanaung ri kappalaka jurubasaya angerangi sapuqna Balanda nibunoa ri Sape sampulo asseqre katina
- 17 Jun (S) the interpreter arrived saying that in Mangindara [in Takalar] there were 32 ships; many ships were seen that went up to Patukangang and then conquered Panakukkang; we asked calmly to seek our deaths
- [9] Syaw 1070 nabattu jurubasaya akkana ri Mangindarami kappalaqna 32 batuna nakacinika kappalaq jaiya nanapanaike Patukangang nanabeta Panakukkang kimappalaq panaqnaki allena mate-na

<sup>6</sup> A copyist did not record the date, noting of the source text that he 'could not get it' (*tani-kullei*). He was only able to record that it was the 23rd of the Hijri month and a Friday. This is either incorrect, or the entry is out of chronological order and the two most likely dates are 23 Muh 1070 (which converts to 10 Oct 1659) or 23 Jakr 1070 (which converts to 5 Mar 1660).

<sup>7</sup> Probably Kare Singaraq, who became the ruler of Mangasa on 14 Oct 1655.

<sup>8</sup> This location is uncertain, but may be Lange-Lange in Bulukumba, or possibly Langga in Sawitto.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of this entry is vague and the identity of I Wera unknown, but must refer to a fierce fight off Tanakeke between Portuguese and Dutch ships described in Stapel (1922: 64). Two of the Portuguese vessels were driven aground. One was captured and added to the Dutch fleet and its Portuguese crew sent ashore. The Makassarese watched this transpire from the shore with dismay and began to fire on the Dutch ships, though without effect.

<sup>10</sup> Stapel (1922:65) notes that Makassarese made payment in gold and cloth for Dutchmen who were robbed on Bima.

- 14 Jun [M] a wife of the ruler went up to the mountains  
[6] Syaw 1070 namanraiq ri monconga karaeng bainea
- 1667
- 8 Jul (F) Karaengta ri Bontomajannang's fort in Bantaeng was  
breached<sup>11</sup>
- 15 Muh 1078 nanibanka bentenna Karaengta ri Bontomajannang ri  
Bantaeng
- 26 Jul (T) Daengta Daeng Manyeppeq was beheaded above in  
Pongoro
- 4 Saf 1078 nanibatta Daengta Daeng Manyeppeq irate ri Pongoro
- 7 Nov (M) the karaeng [Hasanuddin] ordered 4000 reals sent over to  
the Dutch<sup>12</sup>
- 21 Jawl 1078 namasuro karaeng taqle ri Balandaya mange releala patam-  
cikkoanga bilanga
- 1668
- 29 May (W) the people of Talloq came here to us [in Gowa]  
[18] Zulh 1078 namae tuTalloka ri katte
- 1669
- 7 Oct (N) Admiral Speelman and Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] went  
overseas to Jakattaraq
- [11] Jawl<sup>13</sup> 1080 nakalauqmo ri Jakattaraq Amaralae Sepelemang siangang  
Tunisombaya
- 1678
- 3 Sep (F) Friday public prayers begin in Kampong Beru; living in  
Kampong Beru are the people of Gowa who serve Karaeng  
Assuluka [Muhammad Ali]
- Raj 1089 namamenteng jumaka ri Kampong Beru mamemponamo ri  
Kampong Beru tuGowaya angatalai Karaeng Assuluka
- 4 Oct (T) Karaeng Assuluka [Muhammad Ali] went up from Gowa  
to Jakattaraq; eight nights [later] he was summoned by the

<sup>11</sup> VT 25's version of this event is slightly more detailed.

<sup>12</sup> Andaya (1981:97) notes that on this day envoys from Gowa brought 3394 reals and a letter requesting a three-day ceasefire.

<sup>13</sup> A copyist mistakenly wrote Jumadeleq-aheraq instead of Jumadeleq-awalaq.

- Governor-General [?] and asked forgiveness; he was forgiven and then lived in Jakattaraq<sup>14</sup>
- 17 Saf 1089<sup>15</sup> nanipanaiq ri Gowa ri Jakattaraq Karaeng Assuluka sagan-tuju banngi nanikioq ri janolaka (?) namappalaq popporo-qna nipammopporaq namamempomo ri Jakattaraq
- 1679
- 22 Feb (W) a great fish was found in Tamalaba; it was five arm-spans in length and one arm-span and four fingers wide in its body
- Muh 1090 naniaq jukuq lompo rampe ri Tamalaba lima rappa laqbuna sirappa apatambatang karemeng batana
- 11 Mar (S) payment was taken from (?) the notables and the little people in Gowa; 230 large and small
- Muh 1090 nanisorong alle ri tumalompoa tucaqdiawanganga ri Gowa malompoa macaqdia 230
- 1 Jul (S eve) Tunisombaya [Arung Palakka] sailed from Jakattaraq east to Keper
- Jakr 1090 nasimombalaq Tunisombaya ri Jakattaraq manraiq ri Kapparaq

<sup>14</sup> Apparently this entry records Muhammad Ali's arrival in Jakattaraq and his formal audience before who must be Governor-General Rijkloff van Goens (though difficult paleography coupled with Makassarrese transliteration of Dutch makes this uncertain).

<sup>15</sup> The Hijri date converts to 9 Apr 1678.

## IV

### Index of personal names

An index of names is an important tool in using the annals. However, numerous obstacles have had to be overcome in the preparation of this index. Writers of the annals could refer to individual noble Makassarese by more than one name, and were not always consistent. Moreover, later copyists might replace a name with a later title, meaning that one individual could in different entries be referred to by the personal name they were given at birth, the *karaeng*-title they achieved as adults, or the posthumous title granted them upon their death. A further problem is the fact that over the course of the period covered by this text more than one person held major titles, meaning that it can be difficult to determine if a given annal entry refers to an earlier or later title-holder. In addition, some noble names were fairly common, such as 'Daing Maingaq', while other personal names such as 'Sitti' were born by several dozen Makassarese women. On occasion Makassarese annalists were themselves aware of the confusion that could result and made a point of distinguishing between two title-holders by including their personal name. Unfortunately, there is simply not enough consistency on the part of annalists for us to always be certain who is being discussed in a given entry. A certain amount of guess-work and inference is inevitable. Cross-checking entries can resolve some uncertainties, and at other times age, gender, positions, and kinship relations provide clues to distinguish between possible individuals. Dates marked with an asterisk are from entries found only in ANRI 16/6 (chapter III).

Abdul Gafur [1] 29 Dec 1725

Abdul Gafur [2] 31 Mar 1728

Abdul Jalil (Tumamenang ri Lakiung) 6 Feb 1651; 18 Aug 1652; 6 Feb 1664; 17 Apr 1664; 25 Nov 1664; 13 Mar 1667; 22 Mar 1667; 6 Jul 1667; 28 Mar 1668; 21 May 1668; 4 Feb 1669; 1 Mar 1669; 26 Nov 1669; 16 Apr 1670; 13 Feb 1675; 24 Feb 1676; 11 Apr 1676; 3 Apr 1677; 22 May 1677; 27 Jul 1677; 9 Aug 1678; 28 Oct 1678; 23 May 1680; 13 Jul 1680; 6 Sep 1680; 4 Sep 1683; 1 May 1684; 27 Sep 1684; 25 Apr 1686; 15 Oct 1689; 21 Oct 1692; 7 Sep 1694; 2 Nov 1694; 17 Dec 1694; 13 Apr 1696; 13 Jul 1701; 3 Dec 1702; 10 Nov 1703; 8 Jan 1704; 8 Mar 1704; 17 Jun 1704; 16 Nov 1704; 1 Jan 1705; 1 May 1705; 1 Sep 1705; 6 Aug 1706; 29 Oct 1706; 24 Mar 1708; 11 Apr 1708; 23 Jan 1709; 17 Sep 1709; 11 Apr 1734; 3 Oct 1742

Abdul Kadir (Tumamenang ri Passiringanna) 7 Jan 1666; 3 Jan 1676; 16 Jan 1676; 17 Jun 1676; 11 Mar 1677; 13 Aug 1680; 23 May 1684; 27 Nov 1684; 18 Jul 1686; 4 Jul 1688; 16 Sep 1688; 9 Jul 1689; 19 Dec 1693; 7 Apr 1702; 3 Nov 1703; 8 Jan 1709; 3 Oct 1742

- Abdul Karim 15 Nov 1674
- Abdul Khair (Mallawanggauq, Tumamenang ri Gowa) 5 Nov 1735; 7 Nov 1735; 9 Nov 1735; 25 Feb 1736; 16 Mar 1736; 23 Mar 1736; 12 May 1736; 16 Jun 1738; 25 Aug 1738; 30 Nov 1738; 9 Apr 1739; 28 Jul 1739; 13 Feb 1740; 8 Oct 1740; 11 Oct 1740; 10 May 1742; 28 Jul 1742; 19 Sep 1742
- Abdul Kudus, Sultan (Mappabaqbasaq) 27 Dec 1733; 28 Jul 1742; 4 Oct 1742; 5 May 1743; 9 Nov 1745; 14 Dec 1746; 11 May 1747; 14 May 1747; 16 Oct 1747; 27 Jan 1748; 20 Jul 1748; 15 Aug 1748; 26 Aug 1748; 13 Dec 1748; 3 Apr 1749; 7 Oct 1750; 29 Nov 1750; 26 Aug 1751
- Abdul Mukmin 10 Oct 1693
- Abdul Muqmin 30 Jan 1717
- Abdul Rasyid 17 Nov 1672; 7 Jan 1673
- Abdullah, Haji (Zamzami) 26 Jan 1687
- Abdurrahman 10 Jun 1749
- Abdurrahman, Haji 3 Mar 1707
- Abdurrasyid 16 Aug 1731
- Abil Kahir, Sultan (Ambela, Sirajuddin) 22 Jul 1682
- Abu Bakar Ibnu Muhammad Syaibi 17 Dec 1727; 5 Feb 1730; 11 Mar 1730; 30 Mar 1731; 8 Oct 1739
- Abu 21 Mar 1728
- Aciq 3 May 1717; 19 Feb 1719; 17 Dec 1720; 24 Aug 1724
- Addatuang ri Massepe 17 Sep 1728
- Aeng, Gallarrang (Kare Onoq) 6 Jan 1707
- Agangjeqneq, Karaeng [1] 29 Sep 1659; 14 Jun 1671; 1 Mar 1674; 6 Dec 1675; 23 May 1677
- Agangjeqneq, Karaeng [2] 10 Sep 1687; 29 Nov 1702; 29 Jun 1704; 19 Jul 1704; 19 Mar 1726; 6 Sep 1734; 28 Dec 1735
- Agangnionjoq, Karaeng (Kasim, Puanna I Tikkaq) 21 Feb 1649
- Ageng, Sultan (ruler of Banten) 23 Sep 1692
- Ago, Daenta Daeng 26 Oct 1637; 25 May 1663
- Ago, Kare (Timoroq) 23 Aug 1677
- Ahmad [1] 1 Aug 1647
- Ahmad [2] 29 May 1657
- Aisyah [1] 13 Sep 1652
- Aisyah [2] 6 Jan 1683
- Ala'uddin (ruler of Bima) Mar 1732
- Ala'uddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Gaukanna) 1586, 22 Sep 1605; 1626; 3 Jul 1626; 22 Aug 1631; 15 Sep 1631; 17 Nov 1631; 14 Aug 1632; 22 Oct 1632; 13 Nov 1632; 21 Jun 1633; 17 Jul 1634; 29 Jul 1634; 13 Jun 1635; 17 Sept 1635; 4 Aug 1636; 22 Jun 1637; 12 Feb 1638; 18 Aug 1638; 15 Jun 1639; 11 Nov 1660
- Ali [1] 22 Sep 1677
- Ali [2] 28 Sep 1682
- Alija 13 May 1719; 10 Nov 1719
- Alle, Kare 23 Sep 1673
- Alluq, Daeng (Manyampaq) 27 Jan 1718
- Alluq, Karaeng [1] (Barombong) 18 Oct 1651
- Alluq, Karaeng [2] 22 Aug 1692

- Alluq, Karaeng [3] (Shalahuddin) 23 Jul 1693; 10 Feb 1713; 12 Apr 1714; 15 Aug 1714; 2 Sep 1715; 22 Apr 1716; 23 Feb 1717; 31 May 1717; 13 Mar 1720; 8 Jun 1720; 7 Apr 1722; 17 Oct 1726; 26 Apr 1727; 3 Jan 1734; 27 Aug 1734; 9 Apr 1739
- Aluq 18 Nov 1740
- Amangkurat III (ruler of Mataram) 20 Oct 1708; 4 Dec 1708
- Amaq 25 Jan 1667
- Amboq 1611
- Aminah [1] 7 Jan 1682
- Aminah [2] (Sarimba Raja) 19 Jan 1726
- Amir Hamzah, Sultan (Tumammaliang ri Alluq) 31 Mar 1656; 7 Apr 1657; 29 May 1657; 25 Jan 1667; 21 Jan 1669; 29 Jun 1669; 13 Jul 1671; 10 Aug 1671; 13 Aug 1671; 18 Apr 1672; 22 Oct 1672; 28 Oct 1672; 11 Dec 1672; 29 Nov 1673; 4 Feb 1674; 13 Feb 1674; 7 May 1674
- Amirah (Tanitaja, Manengratu) 9 May 1711; 16 May 1724; 3 Nov 1725; 25 Aug 1727; 20 Aug 1729; 13 Oct 1730; 27 Jul 1738; 20 Aug 1750; 3 Oct 1751
- Ammasa Pamayan (ruler of Sumbawa) 30 Nov 1648; 24 Dec 1650; 21 Aug 1655; 18 Sep 1662; 3 Feb 1663
- Ammasaq (Mas Madina, ruler of Sumbawa) 20 Mar 1688; 29 Nov 1702; 29 Jun 1704; 19 Jul 1704; 16 Dec 1704; 13 Oct 1705; 31 Oct 1705; 22 May 1708; 12 Feb 1725
- Ampaq, Kare 2 Jul 1647
- Amuq 26 Nov 1665
- Anaq Moncong, Karaeng (Ismail, Tumamenang ri Somba Opu) 18 Jan 1690; 18 Aug 1700; 16 May 1702; 4 Oct 1703; 22 Oct 1705; 22 Dec 1705; 2 Dec 1706; 24 Apr 1707; 14 Feb 1708; 21 Sep 1709; 20 Oct 1709; 16 Feb 1710; 20 Jul 1710; 2 Sep 1711; 20 Jan 1712; 26 Mar 1712; 24 Aug 1712; 29 Aug 1712; 31 Aug 1712; 16 Sep 1712; 22 Jan 1720; 18 Nov 1720; 13 Jan 1721; 21 May 1723; 8 Jan 1724; 16 Mar 1724; 1 Apr 1724
- Anciq Ajang 7 May 1683
- Anciq Baru (Tuang) 8 Aug 1675
- Anciq Cukka 16 Dec 1721
- Anciq Daeng 2 Jul 1705; 1 Nov 1705
- Anciq Jenalaq 4 May 1718
- Anciq Majjah 9 Apr 1653
- Anciq Sammaq 3 Apr 1724
- Anciq Sumaileq 13 Nov 1631
- Anciq Terengganu 13 Jul 1707
- Anciq Using 28 Apr 1615
- Andi (Andi Muhammad Yusuf) 24 Jan 1713
- Anduq Puaq 11 Feb 1725; 31 Jan 1727
- Anisah 24 Mar 1722
- Anne, Daeng 28 Mar 1641
- Anrenne, Daeng 6 Dec 1675; 19 Feb 1679
- Anro Malole 21 Mar 1728
- Arapa 14 May 1719
- Arrewijne, Governor Josua van 13 Nov 1728
- Arung Amali 3 Jun 1704



- Arung Balusu 27 Jun 1683; 1 May 1700  
 Arung Barrang 5 Jul 1736; 11 Dec 1736  
 Arung Belo 21 Oct 1684; 1 Nov 1704; 28 Apr 1706  
 Arung Gowa-Gowa 13 Feb 1725  
 Arung Guna 4 Oct 1751  
 Arung Jalieng 1 Oct 1725  
 Arung Kaballangang (ruler of Sawitto) 27 May 1683; 10 Apr 1684  
 Arung Kaju [1] 25 Sep 1675; 19 Mar 1703  
 Arung Kaju [2] (Daeng Mammuntuli, Ahmad) 29 Jan 1679; 9 Jul 1715; 22 Mar 1726;  
 30 Mar 1726; 16 Feb 1727; 9 Oct 1728; 3 Jan 1734; 26 Jul 1736; 7 Dec 1736  
 Arung Kaju [3] 11 Jan 1739  
 Arung Kajuwara 27 Aug 1738; 11 Oct 1740; 15 Oct 1743  
 Arung Lalolang 29 Apr 1708  
 Arung Mampu 28 Jan 1717; 8 Jan 1724; 22 Feb 1724; 28 Jun 1724;  
 Arung Maroangi 11 Aug 1677; 18 Apr 1678; 17 May 1678; 7 Jan 1688  
 Arung Matoa (Toali) 21 Aug 1630  
 Arung Meru 8 Sep 1703  
 Arung Palakka (Tunisombaya, Matinroa ri Bontoalag) 15 Sept 1634; 11 Dec 1660;  
 25 Dec 1660; 20 Aug 1663; 16 Aug 1666; 18 Dec 1666; 23 Dec 1666; 25 Dec  
 1666; 17 Feb 1668; 16 Mar 1668; 7 Oct 1669\*; 29 Mar 1670; 7 Aug 1670; 19  
 Dec 1670; 26 Jan 1671; 6 Oct 1671; 15 Nov 1671; 7 Dec 1671; 27 Apr 1673;  
 13 Jun 1673; 20 Jul 1673; 31 Oct 1673; 11 Sep 1674; 3 Oct 1674; 28 Mar  
 1676; 11 Apr 1676; 27 Apr 1676; 13 May 1676; 2 Sep 1676; 16 Dec 1676; 17  
 Apr 1677; 3 May 1677; 26 Nov 1677; 7 Oct 1678; 1 Jul 1679\*; 14 Nov 1679;  
 12 Mar 1680; 4 Nov 1680; 9 Jan 1681; 14 Sep 1684; 7 Aug 1686; 15 Oct 1689;  
 4 Oct 1690; 21 Oct 1692; 5 Jan 1693; 25 Sep 1693; 6 Apr 1696; 6 May 1720  
 Arung Pattiro 6 Feb 1698  
 Arung Pattojo 7 May 1728  
 Arung Singkang 1 Apr 1736; 5 Jul 1736; 19 Feb 1739; 20 Jul 1739  
 Arung Sumaling 3 Sep 1739; 11 Oct 1740; 11 Apr 1748; 13 Feb 1751  
 Arung Tanete [1] 13 Dec 1682; 13 Nov 1707  
 Arung Tanete [2] (Daeng Mangemba, Maninrori) 14 Jul 1709; 2 Apr 1715; 10 Aug  
 1719  
 Arung Tanete [3] (Maidah) 30 Dec 1722  
 Arung Tanete [4] (Callaq) 7 Oct 1725  
 Arung Tanete Malolo 10 Feb 1681  
 Arung Taq 1 Nov 1751  
 Arung Teko 27 Jun 1675; 31 Oct 1677; 6 Feb 1678; 8 Feb 1678; 10 Feb 1678; 20 Mar  
 1678; 18 Apr 1678; 31 Oct 1680; 13 Feb 1681; 7 Jan 1682; 28 Aug 1683; 3 Jul  
 1687; 1 May 1700; 14 Oct 1701; 4 Jul 1702; 2 Mar 1718; 24 Jun 1718  
 Arung Timurung 19 Mar 1697  
 Arung Tosiada 17 Sep 1695; 29 Apr 1696  
 Arung Ujumpulug (La Tenritippaq, ruler of Sidénréng) 16 Sep 1669; 26 Mar 1721;  
 15 Oct 1743  
 Arung Ujung 8 Sep 1716; 4 Feb 1722  
 Asiah 14 Mar 1731  
 Asseng 14 Aug 1672  
 Assing 9 Dec 1648

- Babanga, Karaeng (Mallelei Jafar) 21 Dec 1636  
 Baciq 16 Apr 1743  
 Bagusuq 8 Feb 1727  
 Baine, Daeng 18 Oct 1705  
 Baine, Karaeng 9 Dec 1749  
 Bainea, Haji 19 Jun 1740  
 Baku Sitti Abidah 31 Oct 1699  
 Balambaru, Daeng (Manyampaq) 12 Apr 1672  
 Balambaru, Karaeng [1] 23 Aug 1634; 1 Sep 1659  
 Balambaru, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Riboko) 15 Jan 1714  
 Balambaru, Karaeng [3] 17 Jul 1726  
 Balambaru, Karaeng [4] 29 Aug 1728; 2 Mar 1739; 15 Jun 1739  
 Balaqsari, Karaeng (Zainab) 9 Aug 1684; 1 Jan 1707; 30 Dec 1707; 31 Dec 1714; 2  
 Nov 1712; 25 Apr 1713; 31 Dec 1714; 23 May 1716; 8 Sep 1716; 31 Oct 1717  
 Balingkasaq 31 Jan 1732  
 Baliung 3 Feb 1642  
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [1] 1627  
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [2] 10 Sep 1634; 1 Mar 1637  
 Ballaq Jawaya, Karaeng [3] 12 Dec 1647; 10 Mar 1660; 29 Jun 1666; 16 Mar 1668; 26  
 Jan 1671; 11 Feb 1721; 22 Jun 1725  
 Ballaq Kiria, Karaeng 24 Oct 1687  
 Ballaq, Karaeng (Mappatambaq, Abdul Gaffur) 22 Jan 1646  
 Balloq, Karaeng [1] (Daeng Talarra, Karaeng Tabaringang) 1626; 5 Apr 1662; 23 Jul  
 1663; 26 Nov 1665; 13 Sep 1673; 18 Dec 1674; 2 Dec 1675; 16 Aug 1677; 24  
 May 1679; 18 Mar 1680; 8 Oct 1688; 7 Oct 1709  
 Balloq, Karaeng [2] 25 Aug 1749  
 Balua, Karaeng 25 Jul 1707  
 Banging 1 Nov 1721  
 Bangkalaq, Karaeng [1] 21 Sep 1671  
 Bangkalaq, Karaeng [2] 28 Aug 1674  
 Bangung, Kare 16 Nov 1693; 1 Jun 1694; 7 Dec 1724  
 Banri 26 Jan 1719  
 Bantaeng 13 Feb 1677  
 Bantaeng, Karaeng 30 Sep 1665  
 Banyuanyaraq, Karaeng 20 Feb 1678  
 Barahing, Haji Abdulgaffar 4 Nov 1708  
 Barania, Haji 17 Dec 1686  
 Barombong, Karaeng [1] 1572; 14 Aug 1642  
 Barombong, Karaeng [2] *see* Muhammad Baki  
 Baronang 7 Jul 1701; 15 Oct 1707  
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [1] [Mutipattulah] 15 Jun 1703  
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [2] 10 Nov 1704; 24 Jan 1705; 25 Sep 1705; 8 Jun 1718  
 Barong Patola, Karaeng [3] 21 Aug 1713; 13 May 1717; 31 Aug 1722; 2 Sep 1727  
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [1] 13 Apr 1663  
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [2] 22 Nov 1674; 21 Jan 1675; 16 Nov 1677  
 Baroqbosoq, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Manginruru) 3 Apr 1749  
 Barrung, Karaeng [1] 26 Apr 1675; 1 May 1675; 22 Apr 1678; 27 May 1682

- Barrung, Karaeng [2] 30 Oct 1726; 24 Feb 1727; 9 Apr 1727; 26 Nov 1727; 6 Jun 1728  
 Basse, Kare 13 Feb 1706  
 Batangnionjoq, Karaeng (Matinroa ri Sumpangpoba) 9 May 1716  
 Batara Gowa 9 Nov 1749  
 Battu, Daeng 13 Aug 1655  
 Battu, Kare 28 Jan 1706; 22 Jun 1724  
 Batu-Batu, Karaeng 12 Jun 1660; 20 Jan 1676  
 Batupute, Karaeng [1] 6 Dec 1651  
 Batupute, Karaeng [2] (Abdul Karim) 20 Mar 1683; 17 Sep 1716; 9 Sep 1718; 10 Mar 1720; 17 Oct 1722; 21 Jan 1723; 23 Aug 1725; 25 May 1728; 10 Mar 1730; 4 Mar 1738; 15 Jun 1739; 4 Jun 1743  
 Bauwaq 20 Feb 1703  
 Bayang [1] 7 Dec 1644; 11 Mar 1650  
 Bayang [2] 9 Dec 1675  
 Bebboq 7 Nov 1733  
 Beeck, Willem van der 27 Dec 1655\*  
 Beroanging, Karaeng [1] (Mappaseppeq) 3 Dec 1635  
 Beroanging, Karaeng [2] (Muhiddin) 17 Aug 1661; 23 Aug 1673; 4 Dec 1673; 26 Nov 1674; 12 Feb 1679; 12 Mar 1695  
 Beroanging, Karaeng [3] 17 Jun 1740  
 Beroanging, Karaeng [3] 27 Sep 1739  
 Bewi 2 Oct 1699  
 Biba 19 May 1641  
 Bidara, Karaeng [1] 7 Jan 1678; 3 Dec 1680  
 Bidara, Karaeng [2] 6 Oct 1702; 25 May 1712; 4 Mar 1722; 5 May 1729; 9 Jul 1729  
 Bidoq 21 Oct 1722  
 Bijai, Karaeng 24 Dec 1655\*  
 Bimbang 4 Nov 1728; 29 Jul 1740  
 Binamuq, Karaeng 5 Mar 1694  
 Binoang, Karaeng 24 Aug 1716  
 Bintang, Karaeng 26 Feb 1659  
 Biqbuq 14 Oct 1723; 12 Oct 1725  
 Bisangpole, Karaeng (Sugi) 12 Jan 1713; 20 Mar 1714; 13 Sep 1714; 6 Nov 1726; 3 May 1727  
 Bisei, Karaeng (Abdullah Manshur, Arung Mampu) 22 Jul 1693; 10 Nov 1703; 20 Dec 1703; 29 Apr 1726; 2 May 1726; 18 Jun 1730; 29 Mar 1734  
 Bissu Caqdi 1619  
 Bissu 8 Jan 1645  
 Boaq 8 Dec 1718  
 Boe Jawa 25 Dec 1693  
 Boe 24 Mar 1681  
 Bole 7 Jun 1725  
 Bonang, Daeng 25 Feb 1726  
 Bone, Karaeng 21 Mar 1645  
 Bontoa, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Muthiatullah, Ralle, Daeng Paikaq) 1626; 29 Jan 1643; 30 Aug 1658; 4 Apr 1665; 11 Nov 1687; 19 Jun 1691; 24 Oct 1703; 20 Nov 1709; 13 Apr 1710; 20 Jan 1712; 18 Jan 1714; 3 May 1714  
 Bontoa, Karaeng [2] 12 May 1648

- Bontoa, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Marannu, Sugi) 11 Jul 1692; 19 Jul 1704; 10 Aug 1715; 8 Nov 1717; 15 Feb 1718; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725; 29 Dec 1725; 5 Aug 1730; 7 Dec 1730; 7 Nov 1733; 26 Oct 1739
- Bontoa, Karaeng [4] (Daeng Marannu) 11 May 1747
- Bontoalaaq, Gallarrang [1] 15 Mar 1729
- Bontoalaaq, Gallarrang [2] 11 Oct 1740
- Bonto-Bonto, Karaeng 28 May 1742; 21 Nov 1743
- Bontojeqneq, Karaeng [1] (Saniq, Daeng Nisakking) 7 Aug 1628; 12 Jul 1637; 20 Oct 1638; 23 Oct 1638; 2 Jul 1640; 3 Sep 1646; 23 Jan 1653; 8 Dec 1655; 11 Nov 1656; 27 Mar 1658; 20 Jun 1658; 3 Jan 1660; 19 Apr 1661; 4 Jun 1662; 18 Sep 1662; 3 Feb 1663; 30 Jan 1665; 8 Feb 1669
- Bontojeqneq, Karaeng [2] 14 Oct 1707; 5 Aug 1708; 30 Mar 1726; 9 Oct 1728; 6 Dec 1728
- Bontokamase, Karaeng (Abdurrahman) 31 May 1652; 4 Apr 1674; 16 Jul 1679; 27 Jun 1681; 7 Jul 1708; 26 May 1724
- Bontokappong, Karaeng 9 Aug 1671
- Bontokeke, Karaeng 12 Mar 1676; 14 Nov 1679; 1 Jan 1681; 26 Dec 1681; 2 Feb 1682; 20 Mar 1683; 19 Jun 1691; 14 May 1700
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [1] 23 Sep 1643
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [2] 3 Oct 1676; 19 Feb 1679; 28 Aug 1692; 28 May 1699; 14 May 1700
- Bontolangkasaq, Karaeng [3] 28 Aug 1692; 14 Mar 1694; 5 Dec 1705; 15 Sep 1712; (Mappaseppeq, Daeng Mamaro) 3 Jun 1715; 20 Apr 1716; 6 Mar 1718; 14 Feb 1719; 9 Oct 1721; 8 May 1726; 18 May 1729; 7 Dec 1730; 2 Aug 1731; 17 Jan 1734; 26 Sep 1735; 1 Apr 1736; 26 Jul 1736; 11 Dec 1736; 20 Aug 1737; 10 Apr 1739; 16 May 1739; 20 Jul 1739
- Bontomajannang, Karaeng [1] (Syaifulmuluq) 31 Aug 1643; 15 Jan 1660; 25 Jun 1661; 6 May 1662; 8 Mar 1663; 21 Mar 1663; 24 Nov 1664; 24 May 1666; 17 Apr 1667; 8 Jul 1667; 8 Jul 1667\*; 27 Aug 1668; 10 Sep 1668; 8 Oct 1688
- Bontomajannang, Karaeng [2] 19 Jan 1722; 14 Oct 1723; 7 Jun 1725; 5 Oct 1730; 10 Feb 1731; 18 Feb 1731; 15 Jun 1739; 19 Mar 1740; 16 Oct 1747
- Bontomanaiq, Gallarrang 27 Jun 1732; 2 Nov 1738
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [1] 21 Aug 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 15 Jul 1684
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [2] see Tasannging, Daeng [2]
- Bontomanaiq, Karaeng [3] 1 Aug 1751
- Bontomangape, Karaeng 22 Feb 1651
- Bontomanompoq, Karaeng [1] (Mahumd) 31 Mar 1647; 12 Jun 1660
- Bontomanompoq, Karaeng [2] 13 Jul 1671; 5 Sep 1672; 18 May 1679; 27 Feb 1680; 29 Dec 1680; 27 Aug 1696; 1 May 1699; 11 May 1699; 29 Oct 1699; 16 Apr 1704; 14 Jul 1704; 7 Aug 1719; 22 Jan 1733; 28 May 1740
- Bontomarannu, Karaeng 12 Dec 1647; 10 Mar 1660; 30 Jul 1665; 23 Oct 1666
- Bontomasugi, Karaeng 1 Oct 1719; 20 Feb 1720; 8 Mar 1740
- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [1] 5 Jun 1664; 25 Nov 1664; 4 Feb 1669; 10 May 1669; 13 Mar 1671
- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [2] (Karaeng Jipang) 26 Oct 1697; 21 Jan 1702; 5 Dec 1704; 11 Sep 1706; 29 Apr 1708; 28 Sep 1716; 20 Sep 1717; 24 Oct 1721; 27 Nov 1721; 14 Aug 1724; 12 Nov 1725; 21 Dec 1727; 29 Jan 1744

- Bontomateqne, Karaeng [3] (Muqmin) 7 Oct 1750; 22 Nov 1750; 29 Nov 1750; 10 Sep 1751
- Bontopanno, Karaeng (Abdul Gafar) 2 Nov 1650; 14 Apr 1652; 9 Jun 1689; 8 Oct 1710; 9 Apr 1711; 8 Oct 1712; 31 Mar 1713; 1 Oct 1719; 20 Feb 1720; 10 Oct 1720; 5 Mar 1721; 31 Jul 1727; 6 Feb 1731; 5 Oct 1731
- Bontopaqdinging, Karaeng 11 Sep 1674
- Bontopaqja, Karaeng 22 Apr 1654; 28 Nov 1721; 29 Jan 1728
- Bontoparang, Karaeng 30 Aug 1736; 17 Jun 1746
- Bontopattongkong, Karaeng (Baraq) 11 Mar 1681; 15 Dec 1695; 2 Jun 1700; 21 Aug 1703; 3 Oct 1703; 15 Apr 1705
- Bontorambaq, Karaeng [1] 20 Oct 1673; 5 Sep 1676; 11 Mar 1677; 13 Aug 1680; 27 May 1682; 14 Mar 1683; 10 Sep 1687; 19 Sep 1688
- Bontorambaq, Karaeng [2] 14 Jul 1709; 2 Apr 1715; 26 Sep 1722; 15 Feb 1728
- Bontosiamaq, Karaeng 7 Nov 1713; 22 Feb 1722; 24 Mar 1722
- Bontosunggu, Karaeng (Daeng Tasannging, Tumamenang ri Taenga) 11 Sep 1633; 26 Dec 1643; 24 Jan 1644; 10 Jan 1645; 29 Jun 1651; 12 Nov 1654; 6 Aug 1656; 19 Apr 1657; 8 Jan 1661; 17 Feb 1666; 21 Sep 1671; 6 Oct 1671; 20 Aug 1676; 22 Dec 1677; 23 Apr 1680; 3 Feb 1687; 24 Oct 1687; 21 Sep 1709; 21 May 1710; 13 Apr 1712; 20 Aug 1712; 29 Aug 1712; 18 Nov 1713; 9 Oct 1721; 3 Jul 1726; 17 Oct 1726; 3 Oct 1742
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [1] 20 Sep 1675; 9 Dec 1675; 28 Nov 1681; 24 Feb 1694
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [2] (Bebuq) 21 May 1698; 13 Feb 1722; 21 Nov 1725; 5 Oct 1730; 19 Apr 1732; 6 Nov 1735; 16 May 1739; 3 Oct 1742
- Bontotannga, Karaeng [3] 18 Mar 1700; 17 Jan 1716; 21 Feb 1721; 12 Dec 1721; 11 Dec 1732
- Boqdia, Karaeng 4 Dec 1698; 4 Jun 1702; 12 Jul 1702; 18 Jun 1705; 8 Aug 1707; 18 Jul 1715; 18 Jun 1716; 17 Nov 1716; 30 Oct 1726; 24 Feb 1727; 9 Apr 1727; 26 Nov 1727
- Borahima 30 Nov 1732
- Boriqsallo, Karaeng 9 Aug 1725
- Buang Nanang 16 Jun 1724
- Buaq 9 Oct 1719
- Buba 28 Aug 1728; 20 Mar 1729; 11 Mar 1730
- Bulekang, Daeng 3 Apr 1639; 29 Nov 1652; 19 Sep 1702
- Bulo-Bulo, Haji 29 Feb 1668
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [1] 4 Nov 1638; 28 Sep 1639; 20 Dec 1659
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Tatea) 23 Jul 1663
- Bulo-Bulo, Karaeng [3] (Rimba) 26 Feb 1728
- Bulukumba, Karaeng 4 May 1715; 14 Nov 1719; 20 Aug 1730
- Buluq Sipong, Karaeng 19 Feb 1635
- Buluq-Buluq, Karaeng [1] (Fatimah) 23 Nov 1666; 23 May 1684; 18 Nov 1684; 18 Mar 1700; 4 Jun 1705
- Buluq-Buluq, Karaeng [2] (Rusiah) 4 Jun 1702; 12 Jul 1702; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725
- Bumi Partiga 5 Apr 1727; 8 Oct 1728; 9 May 1731
- Bunda 2 Mar 1739
- Bunduq 18 Jan 1653
- Bunga Suttaraq 22 Dec 1713

- Bunga Suttaraq 28 Jan 1724  
 Bungaya, Karaeng [1] 22 Dec 1640; 26 Apr 1665  
 Bungaya, Karaeng [2] (Salahuddin) 3 May 1643; 8 Nov 1657  
 Bungaya, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Mattalliq, Jusuf) 23 Jul 1680  
 Bungaya, Karaeng [4] (Daeng Mattalliq, Mangeranngi) 16 Apr 1703; 22 Jan 1723; 24  
 Jan 1737  
 Buqdia, Karaeng 1 Oct 1675  
 Buraqne, Daeng [1] (Siang) 8 May 1644; 19 Oct 1680  
 Buraqne, Daeng [2] 22 Jun 1685; 16 Nov 1693; 1 Jun 1694; 21 Dec 1709; 27 Jan 1710  
 Buraqne, Karaeng 25 Nov 1632; 7 Apr 1633
- Cabaq 31 Oct 1644  
 Caciq 25 May 1723  
 Cacong 10 Jan 1659  
 Cacoq Paqrappoang 30 Sep 1699  
 Callaq [1] 17 May 1678  
 Callaq [2] 30 Dec 1722  
 Callaq [3] 6 Jun 1728  
 Callaq Belo 11 Jan 1710  
 Camba, Gallarrang 29 Jan 1740  
 Cambaya, Gallarrang [1] 24 Jun 1639  
 Cambaya, Gallarrang [2] (Kare Kanjaraq) 4 Sep 1712  
 Cammaq 16 Jun 1706; 2 Jan 1707  
 Campagaya, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Hibatullah) 17 May 1688; 20 Oct 1698; 13 Sep 1699  
 Campagaya, Karaeng [2] 28 Jan 1729  
 Capoaq 10 Jun 1726  
 Caucung 21 Mar 1663; 24 Nov 1664  
 Cenrana, Karaeng 20 Jan 1641; 29 Jan 1650; 10 Aug 1660; 2 Jun 1661; 30 Dec 1661; 16  
 Jan 1664  
 Cinra [1] 11 Nov 1656  
 Cinra [2] 26 Feb 1730  
 Cinrana 11 Jan 1724  
 Cocoq 20 Mar 1727  
 Cocuq 3 Aug 1674; 14 Jul 1675  
 Congaq 14 Apr 1730  
 Costa, Antoni da 22 Oct 1632  
 Cucung 1 Aug 1719  
 Cumaq (Sitti Salehah, Rimba Bulaeng) 14 Dec 1726
- Dadaq 7 Jan 1738  
 Dadi 15 Feb 1726  
 Dadiq [1] 21 Mar 1728  
 Dadiq [2] 13 Nov 1729; 18 Jun 1732; 27 Jun 1732  
 Daeng Battu (Karaeng Butta Toa) 3 Feb 1642  
 Daeng 9 Apr 1649; 9 Jan 1656  
 Daenta Daeng 23 Oct 1638  
 Dala Bantaeng 1 Mar 1713  
 Dala Lemo Apaq 24 Jan 1708

- Dambo Abdurrahim 2 Oct 1660; 14 Nov 1668  
 Dandung 1 Mar 1731  
 Danradatu (Sitti Napisah) 20 Aug 1729; 10 May 1738; 27 Aug 1738; 19 Feb 1739  
 Danruq 29 Aug 1728  
 Daru ri Baringang 20 Aug 1737; 19 Mar 1746; 8 Nov 1749; 30 Jul 1750; 29 Sep 1750  
 Dasunting 29 Jul 1704  
 Datoq (Abdul Maula) 17 Feb 1660  
 Datoq Hafid 13 Nov 1629  
 Datoq ri Bandang 28 Sep 1701; 26 Apr 1736  
 Datoq ri Paccелеkang 16 Apr 1735  
 Datoq ri Paqjeqnekang (Gafarullah) 30 Jan 1643  
 Datu Lokaq (Mas Banten, ruler of Sumbawa) 29 Jun 1684; 24 Jul 1693; 25 Sep 1705;  
 31 Oct 1705; 20 Nov 1709; 13 Apr 1710; 31 May 1713  
 Datu Pattiro (We Tenrisoloreng) 4 Jun 1636  
 Datu ri Citta [1] 19 Dec 1702  
 Datu ri Citta [2] (Batari Toja, Datu ri Luwuq) 16 Dec 1704; 13 Oct 1705; 5 Aug 1715;  
 28 Jun 1719; 29 Aug 1721; 28 Jun 1724; 1 Oct 1725; 22 Mar 1726; 29 Apr  
 1726; 16 Feb 1727; 20 Feb 1727; 10 Mar 1727; 13 Mar 1727; 22 Mar 1727; 13  
 Aug 1727; 9 Oct 1728; 26 Jan 1734; 14 Aug 1737; 21 Apr 1749; 8 Nov 1749  
 Datu ri Lamuru 13 Feb 1725  
 Datu ri Luwuq [1] (Matinroa ri Somba Opu) 13 Sep 1637  
 Datu ri Luwuq [2] (Sultan Ahmad Nazaruddin, Matinroa ri Gowa) 20 Nov 1639; 12  
 Jan 1640; 7 Jan 1654; 6 Feb 1664  
 Datu ri Luwuq [3] (Matinroa ri Langkanana) 6 Feb 1698  
 Datu ri Luwuq [4] (Matinroa ri Tompotikkaq) 11 May 1704; 22 Aug 1718  
 Datu ri Luwuq [5] (Batara Tungkaq) 21 Jun 1719  
 Datu ri Mari-Mari 18 Jan 1702  
 Datu ri Mario (Arung Patiro) 28 Nov 1729  
 Datu ri Pammana 11 Dec 1712  
 Datu ri Soppéng [1] (Beyoa) 2 Oct 1637  
 Datu ri Soppéng [2] (We Adda Datu ri Watu) 17 May 1705  
 Datu ri Soppéng [3] (Towesa, Matinroa ri Salassana) 23 May 1707  
 Datu ri Soppéng [4] (La Tongeng, Arung Panyili) 22 Nov 1750; 29 Nov 1750  
 Datu ri Ulawang [1] 20 Dec 1714; 27 Jun 1723  
 Datu ri Ulawang [2] 16 Jul 1750  
 Datu Tannga 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725  
 de Haan, Governor General Mattheus 19 Aug 1729  
 Didaq 21 Dec 1727  
 Didi 6 Sep 1736  
 Dodi 15 Nov 1646  
 Dododi 18 Mar 1660  
 Doqdiq 9 May 1730  
 Dorra [1] 20 Feb 1719; 27 Aug 1719; 9 Jul 1726  
 Dorra [2] 15 Dec 1735  
 Durra 7 Jul 1708  
  
 Eja 15 Sep 1712; 20 Apr 1716  
 Ekong, Daeng 23 Oct 1716  
 Erbervelt, Governor 30 Sep 1705

- Faqqia 24 Sep 1677
- Gacong 12 Apr 1731
- Galesong 30 Jul 1737
- Galesong, Karaeng [1] 5 Jun 1633
- Galesong, Karaeng [2] 29 Oct 1636
- Galesong, Karaeng [3] (Maninrori) 4 Feb 1654; 29 Mar 1655; 1 Jul 1663; 5 Aug 1671; 22 Nov 1679
- Gappa, Kare 3 May 1675; 10 Sep 1702
- Gappe, Kare [2] 27 Jul 1737; 2 Nov 1738
- Garassiq, Karaeng [1] 17 Aug 1632; 25 Apr 1638; 13 Jul 1640; 19 Dec 1649; 20 Jan 1653; 26 Feb 1659; 9 Jun 1668; 17 Sep 1687
- Garassiq, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mattulung) 3 Apr 1703; 2 Sep 1703; 31 Aug 1704; 19 Oct 1711; 22 May 1712; 30 Jan 1717; 31 Jul 1723; 23 Oct 1726; 20 Feb 1727; 5 Oct 1731; 26 Dec 1733; 17 Jan 1734; 9 Apr 1739; 15 Jun 1739; 4 Sep 1739; 20 Mar 1742
- Garassiq, Karaeng [3] 25 Oct 1741
- Gundah Bulaeq (Dzuhariah) 12 Jun 1750
- Guru Kasing 27 Dec 1719
- Habibah [1] 14 Jun 1648
- Habibah [2] 29 Jul 1674
- Habibah [3] 22 Dec 1718
- Hadijah 22 Apr 1678
- Halimah [1] 18 Oct 1658
- Halimah [2] 28 Oct 1721
- Harrunarsyid (Tumamenang ri Lampana) 3 Nov 1640; 11 Nov 1641; 8 Oct 1653; 27 Aug 1655; 10 Jan 1657; 4 May 1659\*; 10 Aug 1660; 25 Aug 1664; 30 May 1667; 4 Feb 1669; 10 May 1669; 28 Mar 1670; 3 Jul 1670; 30 Oct 1670; 5 Aug 1671; 16 Jun 1673
- Hartsink, Willem 3 Sep 1685
- Hasanah 6 Oct 1725
- Hasanuddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana) 12 Jan 1631; 25 Dec 1640; 16 Jun 1642; 24 Jan 1643; 24 Dec 1643; 12 Feb 1645; 4 Apr 1650; 4 Feb 1654; 21 May 1654; 8 Jul 1654; 22 Oct 1654; 16 Dec 1654; 21 Mar 1655; 14 May 1655; 14 May 1655\*; 5 Sep 1656; 19 Oct 1657; 10 Jul 1658\*; 10 Jan 1659; 21 Apr 1659; 29 May 1659; 11 Dec 1660; 11 Jan 1661; 23 Nov 1661; 29 Dec 1662; 7 Sep 1663; 27 Jan 1664; 8 Nov 1664; 7 Nov 1667\*; 17 Feb 1668; 13 Mar 1668; 12 Jun 1670
- Ibrahim [1] 30 Sep 1646
- Ibrahim [2] 11 Mar 1650; 4 Nov 1650
- Iji, Daeng (Siqra) 24 Dec 1679; 13 Mar 1682
- Iji, Daengta Daeng 21 Jun 1739
- Inciq Daeng 23 Apr 1751
- Indunaq 25 Dec 1751
- Isa [1] 9 Mar 1681



Isa [2] 24 Oct 1727; 5 Nov 1728

Ismail 5 May 1658

Ismail, Sultan see Anaq Moncong, Karaeng

Jabbing 7 Jan 1694

Jaenaq 2 Oct 1724

Jaga Azizah 30 Oct 1674

Jaga 18 Jun 1700

Jakuq 21 Mar 1728; 27 Nov 1729

Jamaluddin 1 Sep 1720

Jamboq 24 Aug 1710

Jamilah 2 Jul 1705; 1 Nov 1705

Jamuq 11 Dec 1704

Jannang, Daeng 13 Oct 1738

Jannang, Kare 29 Jan 1729

Japaraq 8 Dec 1672

Jappon, Jan 27 Dec 1681

Jaqfar Shadiq 11 May 1675; 24 Feb 1676

Jaqfar, Haji 3 Jul 1707

Jarannika, Karaeng [1] (Abdul Gafar, Tumatea ri Salaparang) 21 Apr 1641; 20 Jun 1658; 3 Jan 1660; 18 Jan 1661; 19 Apr 1661; 30 Jan 1665; 17 Apr 1671; 21 Jun 1671; 25 May 1673; 1 Feb 1676; 6 Jun 1688; 10 Mar 1694; 14 May 1694; 17 Sep 1695; 14 May 1700; 3 Mar 1707; 15 May 1725; 16 Mar 1726

Jarannika, Karaeng [2] 17 Jun 1746; 15 Oct 1749

Jarreq, Kare (Yokong) 27 Mar 1725; 28 Nov 1730; 20 Jun 1739

Jawere, Karaeng 5 Aug 1708

Jijaq 7 Jan 1738

Jineli Safi 20 Dec 1723

Jinne 1 Feb 1676

Jinne, Daeng 2 Jan 1742

Jipaling, Daeng 21 Oct 1675; 27 Dec 1676

Jipaling, Daengta Daeng 23 Jun 1671; 27 Jun 1681; 27 Jul 1682

Jipaliq, Daengta Daeng (Halimah) 1 Oct 1661

Jipamma, Karaeng 21 May 1674

Jipang, Karaeng [1] 25 Jan 1647

Jipang, Karaeng [2] 3 Aug 1648

Jipang, Karaeng [3] 23 May 1686

Jitaq 27 Aug 1739

Jonggoa, Daeng 21 Dec 1674; 26 Nov 1709

Jonggoa, Karaeng 21 Jan 1684

Judda 23 Mar 1715

Junggo, Karaeng 2 Nov 1677

Kaballokang, Karaeng 1 Mar 1669; 6 Apr 1673; 9 May 1673; 4 Sep 1673; 21 Feb 1674; 15 Jan 1675; 3 Mar 1675; 11 Jan 1717

Kacung 27 Aug 1655; 4 Feb 1669

Kaicili Kalamata 5 Sep 1656; 9 Jun 1664; 23 Feb 1676

Kaiq 21 May 1670

- Kalau, Daengta Daeng 16 Dec 1653  
 Kalingkeriq 5 Mar 1718; 23 Aug 1731  
 Kalling, Daeng 30 Mar 1631  
 Kalukuang, Karaeng (Tola) 7 Sep 1748  
 Kalula 22 Oct 1638  
 Kalula, Daeng 25 Jun 1631; 8 Nov 1651  
 Kamariah (Daeng Nisanga) 13 Dec 1705; 24 Jun 1707; 25 Feb 1709  
 Kamboja 8 Oct 1705  
 Kammisiq 23 Apr 1653; 18 Oct 1658  
 Kampong Beru, Karaeng (Sitti) 12 Sep 1670; 13 Sep 1717  
 Kanjaraq, Kare 1 Aug 1647; 19 Sep 1661  
 Kanjilo, Karaeng 1 Sep 1705  
 Kapetta, Daeng 18 Mar 1644  
 Kapparaq 16 May 1729  
 Kare Kontu 17 Jul 1724  
 Karimah 21 Feb 1728; 5 Feb 1729; 26 Jun 1730; 16 Aug 1731; 2 Sep 1731  
 Kariwisi, Karaeng 23 Feb 1641  
 Karunrung, Karaeng (Abdul Hamid, Tumamenang ri Ujung Tana) 4 Sep 1631; 28  
 Mar 1641; 22 Jun 1642; 2 Jan 1644\*; 30 Oct 1645; 31 Aug 1646; 5 Apr 1648;  
 6 Jan 1650; 15 Feb 1655; 5 Feb 1658; 10 Aug 1660; 6 Feb 1664; 26 May 1664;  
 17 Feb 1666; 29 Jun 1666; 28 Nov 1666; 20 Jul 1667; 1 Aug 1670; 13 Nov  
 1671; 16 Sep 1672; 6 Dec 1675; 16 Jun 1676; 1 May 1684; 27 Jan 1685  
 Karuwisi, Daeng 22 Jun 1684  
 Karuwisi, Karaeng (Tumamenang ri Lambusuqna) 28 Mar 1747  
 Kasammeng, Daeng 1620; 12 Jun 1705  
 Kasing 14 Mar 1729  
 Kassiqjala, Karaeng Nov 1616; 19 Nov 1649; 25 Aug 1694  
 Kasuarrang, Karaeng 5 Jul 1637  
 Katangka, Karaeng 15 Jun 1739  
 Katapang, Karaeng [1] 18 Mar 1644; 5 Jul 1652; 7 Sep 1662; 31 Jul 1668  
 Katapang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mamo) 25 Nov 1718  
 Katapang, Karaeng [3] 18 Dec 1741  
 Katinting, Karaeng [1] 7 Aug 1627; 17 Mar 1645; 3 Feb 1650  
 Katinting, Karaeng [2] 10 Oct 1736  
 Kauji 3 Oct 1731  
 Kenna, Daeng 31 Jul 1718  
 Ki Ngabei Saradulla 9 Dec 1632\*; 27 Jan 1633  
 Kiamuddin 15 Aug 1720  
 Kondaq 14 Oct 1724  
 Kopas, Heer 10 Jul 1684  
 Kundaq 23 May 1720  
  
 La Maqdaremmeng (Matinroa ri Bukaka) 4 Jun 1636; 23 Jul 1644; 19 Jun 1646  
 La Maqdiq 16 May 1729; 18 May 1729  
 La Padangsajati (Arung Palakka Puanna I Mattaq, Karaeng Katangka, Datu ri  
 Soppéng) 23 Sep 1691; 2 Aug 1693; 27 Sep 1693; 22 Jun 1709; 8 Aug 1710;  
 16 Jan 1711; 24 Jan 1713; 8 Mar 1715; 15 Mar 1715; 15 May 1715; 5 Aug

- 1715; 15 Aug 1715; 18 Feb 1716; 21 Feb 1716; 14 Apr 1716; 29 Jun 1717; 4 Feb 1718; 24 May 1718; 25 May 1718; 31 Aug 1718; 23 Oct 1718; 16 Nov 1718; 25 May 1719; 22 Nov 1719; 22 Jan 1720; 15 Nov 1720; 13 Jan 1721; 8 Jan 1724; 13 Feb 1725; 16 Feb 1727; 4 Mar 1727; 10 Mar 1727; 13 Mar 1727; 22 Mar 1727
- La Patauq (Matinroa ri Nagaulang) 20 May 1671; 3 Nov 1672; 4 Apr 1687; 12 Mar 1692; 15 Oct 1696; 19 Mar 1697; 7 May 1700; 13 Jul 1701; 6 Oct 1702; 1 Sep 1705; 22 Oct 1705; 20 Dec 1705; 1 Sep 1708; 30 Sep 1709; 13 Jul 1710; 14 Aug 1710; 2 Sep 1711; 20 Aug 1712; 12 Nov 1712; 16 Sep 1714; 8 Nov 1714
- La Tenrioddang 11 Jan 1739; 19 Mar 1740; 1 Nov 1740; 29 Jun 1742; 15 Apr 1744; 27 Jun 1747
- La Useq 2 Nov 1712; 14 Nov 1712
- Laikang, Karaeng [1] 22 Oct 1673
- Laikang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Marannu) 31 Jul 1718; 6 May 1720
- Laikang, Karaeng [3] 18 Nov 1723; 1 Jun 1733
- Laiqjiq 10 Mar 1727
- Lakiung, Karaeng (Sitti Shafur, Daeng Niasseng, Manneratu) 13 Mar 1649; 20 Jun 1660; 5 Apr 1662; 26 Jun 1663; 13 Sep 1664; 1 Jun 1669
- Lambengi, Karaeng (Ali) 10 Sep 1649; 17 Jul 1674; 4 Aug 1674; 9 Oct 1674; 1 Oct 1675; 13 May 1676; 31 Mar 1677; 7 Aug 1677; 21 Jan 1701; 22 Aug 1705; 15 Oct 1705; 26 Mar 1709; 1 Sep 1709; 10 Apr 1715
- Langeloq, Karaeng (Danradatu) 30 Dec 1741
- Langeloq, Karaeng (Latifah) 29 May 1656; 5 May 1658; 12 Jan 1668; 1 Mar 1669; 21 Oct 1671; 17 Nov 1672; 7 Jan 1673; 6 Apr 1673; 2 Jul 1673; 31 Jan 1674; 27 Jun 1675; 8 Feb 1678; 20 Mar 1678; 15 Aug 1680; 21 Feb 1682; 27 May 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 20 Oct 1687; 23 May 1707; 23 Apr 1730
- Laqbakkang, Karaeng 17 Feb 1639
- Laqnatullah 16 Jul 1734
- Latifah [1] 5 Sep 1679
- Latifah [2] 8 Jun 1720
- Latifah [3] 12 Oct 1725
- Lauq, Karaeng 5 Dec 1681; 6 Jan 1683; 23 Jan 1725
- Layu, Karaeng 10 Nov 1634\*
- Lekoq Alaq, Karaeng 18 Aug 1675; 23 Feb 1691
- Lekoqboqdong, Karaeng [1] (Tataraq) 28 Jun 1647; 6 Dec 1663; 2 Dec 1664; 18 Jul 1665; 19 Jun 1673; 2 Jul 1673; 31 Jan 1674; 4 Apr 1674; 4 Dec 1677; 16 Jul 1683; 22 Mar 1696
- Lekoqboqdong, Karaeng [2] (tumailalang) 25 Mar 1674; 14 May 1674; 5 Sep 1674; 11 Aug 1677; 18 Apr 1678; 6 May 1678; 6 Oct 1702; 22 Dec 1707; 9 Dec 1713; 12 Sep 1716; 20 Jan 1717; 24 Jun 1717; 19 May 1719; 10 Nov 1723; 10 Sep 1731; 26 Sep 1731; 17 Jan 1734;
- Lembang, Karaeng 16 Oct 1730
- Lembaya, Karaeng [1] 25 Aug 1659
- Lembaya, Karaeng [2] 1 May 1744
- Lembaya, Karaeng [3] 22 Mar 1746; 25 Aug 1751
- Lempangang, Karaeng [1] (Saqbe, Daeng Tamaga) 17 Aug 1632; 26 Oct 1637; 23 Dec 1646; 27 Sep 1650
- Lempangang, Karaeng [2] see Syafiuddin

- Lempangang, Karaeng [3] 11 Apr 1748; 10 Jun 1749; 13 Feb 1751  
 Lengkeseq, Karaeng (Mammaliang Daeng Pole) 14 Oct 1627; 2 Oct 1641; 25 Feb 1649; 2 Feb 1655; 7 Sep 1655; 14 Feb 1656; 12 Feb 1657; 2 Mar 1657; 17 Sep 1657; 16 Jan 1664; 7 Feb 1667; 30 May 1667; 29 Dec 1667; 10 Apr 1695  
 Leoq, Kare 17 Jan 1694  
 Leppang, 20 Nov 1751  
 Leqleng, Daeng [1] 18 Oct 1649  
 Leqleng, Daeng [2] (Coco) 10 Jul 1658\*  
 Lesang, Kare 7 May 1727; 29 Nov 1739  
 Lewa, Kare (Sule) 11 Apr 1720; 3 May 1720  
 Liasaq 29 Mar 1729  
 Liba 3 Jun 1631  
 Limaraq 31 Aug 1704  
 Lompo, Daeng 26 Oct 1637; 29 Feb 1643  
 Loqmoq [1] 12 Jul 1637  
 Loqmoq [2] 4 Feb 1654  
 Loqmoq [3] 27 Aug 1655; 4 Feb 1669  
 Loqmoq [4] 1 Mar 1669; 11 May 1675; 9 Aug 1678  
 Loqmoq [5] 13 Jun 1683  
 Loqmoq [6] 29 Jul 1691  
 Loqmoq [7] 14 May 1694  
 Loqmoq [8] 22 Dec 1707  
 Loqmoq Daeng 4 Jul 1653  
 Loqmoq Dayang 8 Jul 1654; 11 Sep 1716  
 Loqmoq Galorang 14 Feb 1718  
 Loqmoq Maroangi 2 Jul 1654  
 Loqmoq Saja 25 Jul 1703  
 Loqmoq Taenga 28 Aug 1739  
 Loqmoq, Karaeng (Baeda) 27 Jun 1757  
 Loqmoq, Kare 20 Jul 1673; 23 Nov 1674; 3 Jul 1721  
 Lotteng Salahuddin 5 Aug 1730  
 Lumbaq 28 Jan 1644  
 Lumu, Kare 27 Aug 1676
- Mabela, Daeng [1] (Mangassengi) 24 May 1679; 29 May 1714; 18 Jul 1718  
 Mabela, Daeng [2] (Gacung) 15 Oct 1679; 18 Apr 1699  
 Macallaka Kanukunna 24 May 1666  
 Macoa, Daeng 18 Nov 1745  
 Madyan Mappasonriq 8 Mar 1715  
 Maeja, Daeng 12 Aug 1683  
 Maemunah 11 Feb 1725; 1 Dec 1725  
 Mahkota Alam 27 Dec 1636  
 Maidah 29 Jul 1729  
 Maimunah [1] 18 Jun 1716; 17 Nov 1716  
 Maimunah [2] 14 Apr 1718  
 Maingaq, Daeng [1] 28 Apr 1642  
 Maingaq, Daeng [2] 2 Mar 1657; 5 Nov 1666

- Maingaq, Daeng [3] (Karaeng Balua) 13 Apr 1670; 20 Aug 1671; 28 Oct 1672; 13 Feb 1675; 1 Feb 1676; 15 Oct 1691; 18 May 1720; 16 Jul 1720; 25 Apr 1722; 17 Jun 1725; 15 May 1729; 11 Apr 1734
- Maingaq, Daeng [4] 9 Mar 1671
- Maingaq, Daeng [5] 4 Apr 1678
- Maingaq, Daeng [6] 8 Sep 1678; 5 Sep 1679; 26 Aug 1680; 9 Jan 1682; 14 Mar 1693; 2 Dec 1717; 4 Mar 1718
- Maingaq, Daengta Daeng 14 Feb 1656; 1 Nov 1724
- Maisanannga 13 Nov 1631
- Majannang, Daeng [1] (Daenne) 17 Jun 1708
- Majannang, Daeng [2] (Manrepe) 27 Nov 1709
- Majannang, Daeng [3] (Salamah) 25 Feb 1725
- Majannang, Daengta Daeng 29 May 1659; 13 Jul 1671; 10 Aug 1671; 21 Sep 1672; 30 Sep 1673; 26 Dec 1674; 20 Mar 1682; 7 Jan 1685; 7 Mar 1687; 14 Jun 1689
- Majannang, Karaeng [1] 20 Jan 1636; 24 Jan 1644; 16 Mar 1645; 2 Sep 1650
- Majannang, Karaeng [2] (Abdul Kadir La Sanresang) 16 Feb 1707; 21 May 1710; 15 Aug 1715; 13 May 1719; 30 Oct 1719; 16 Jan 1720; 18 Jan 1721; 3 Dec 1724; 28 Jul 1731; 6 Nov 1735; 16 Mar 1736; 23 Mar 1736; 26 Apr 1736; 12 May 1736; 25 Aug 1738; 30 Nov 1738; 6 Apr 1739; 4 Dec 1739; 8 Oct 1740; 11 Oct 1740; 1 Nov 1740; 17 Mar 1741; 2 Nov 1741; 26 Feb 1742; 28 May 1742; 5 May 1743; 18 May 1743; 20 Jul 1748; 26 Aug 1748; 22 Jul 1750;
- Majarreq, Daengta Daeng (Camme) 19 Dec 1714
- Majawang, Karaeng (Aisyah) 19 Nov 1649
- Makaqbang, Daeng 12 Apr 1672
- Makkalle, Daengta Daeng (Cilillang) 7 Feb 1720
- Makkappa, Daeng 8 Jan 1714
- Makkaraeng [1] 4 Dec 1673; 19 Sep 1676; 25 Jul 1677
- Makkaraeng [2] 27 Aug 1696
- Makkaruru 10 Feb 1678
- Makkulle, Daeng [1] (Abdul Wahid) 24 Feb 1657; 28 Apr 1661; 3 Aug 1674; 14 Jul 1675; 7 Sep 1677
- Makkulle, Daeng [2] (Ahmad) 24 Dec 1679; 13 Mar 1682; 18 Nov 1683; 12 Apr 1688; 5 Jun 1689; 17 Jun 1703; 21 Jul 1707; 16 Jul 1708; 27 Jan 1710; 15 Dec 1712; 4 Mar 1718; 13 Nov 1719; 19 Oct 1725; 27 Nov 1725
- Makkulle, Daeng [3] (Mappaq) 13 Nov 1719; 9 Oct 1721
- Makkulle, Daeng [4] (Kare, Kare Palembang) 6 Jun 1724
- Makkulle, Daeng [5] (Tipu) 2 Sep 1727
- Malikah 11 Feb 1726; 26 Apr 1728; 14 Sep 1732
- Malikussaid, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Papambatuna, Karaeng ri Lakiung) 11 Dec 1607; Jun 1619; 13 Aug 1625; 4 Jun 1629; 3 Dec 1631; 3 Jul 1639; 19 Dec 1639; 14 Mar 1640; 13 Apr 1640; 21 May 1640; 18 Jun 1640; 27 Oct 1640; 15 Dec 1640; 27 Sep 1642; 31 Oct 1642; 29 Jan 1643; 8 Oct 1643; 19 Nov 1643; 3 Oct 1644; 18 Apr 1646; 25 May 1646; 15 Nov 1646; 12 May 1648; 13 Nov 1650; 18 Aug 1651; 9 Apr 1653; 5 Nov 1653
- Maliq 15 Dec 1727
- Maliq, Daeng 4 Jun 1679; 11 May 1682
- Mallalanngang 30 Nov 1643
- Mallimpo, Daeng 15 Dec 1700; 4 Sep 1718

- Malliongang, Daeng 4 Jul 1724; 25 Aug 1749  
 Malliongi, Kare (Gallarrang Rappo-Rappo Jawa) 22 Jan 1732  
 Mallulungang, Daeng (Mappaqngara) 18 Jul 1665; 16 Mar 1687; 5 Jul 1693  
 Malluq, Daeng 15 Nov 1646  
 Malung 13 Sep 1673  
 Mamampang, Karaeng [1] (Bahauddin) 18 Apr 1662; 3 Sep 1691; 28 Aug 1699; 8 Apr 1702; 24 Oct 1703; 4 Aug 1709; 19 Sep 1714; 25 Jun 1717; 31 Aug 1718; 23 Oct 1735; 28 Jul 1742  
 Mamampang, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Manarai) 8 Jun 1692  
 Mamangkasi 4 Apr 1634  
 Mamangkasi, Daeng (Mamminawang) 24 Nov 1664; 8 Oct 1688  
 Mamangung, Daeng [1] (Karisag) 5 Sep 1672; 15 Mar 1684  
 Mamangung, Daeng [2] (Papoq) 12 Apr 1735  
 Mamaro, Daeng [1] (Papoq) 15 May 1675; 25 Apr 1693  
 Mamaro, Daeng [2] 24 Nov 1723  
 Mambani, Daeng [1] (Dulang) 8 May 1706  
 Mambani, Daeng [2] (Bambiq) 30 Apr 1731  
 Mambani, Kare [1] (Jamila) 11 May 1720; 3 Oct 1731; 14 Dec 1731  
 Mambani, Kare [2] (Umarag) 10 Jun 1749  
 Mami 27 Jun 1683  
 Mami 31 Apr 1683  
 Mami, Daeng [1] 14 May 1719  
 Mami, Daeng [2] 9 Jun 1723  
 Mami, Daeng [3] (Dalang) 29 Mar 1729  
 Mami, Daengta Daeng [1] (Rukiah) 28 Aug 1670; 19 Mar 1682; 21 Oct 1684; 1 Nov 1704; 28 Apr 1706; 12 May 1724  
 Mami, Daengta Daeng [2] 9 Mar 1673; 3 Jan 1674; 21 Aug 1683; 10 Apr 1684; 15 Jul 1684  
 Mami, Kare 5 Jan 1714  
 Mammaliang, Daeng (Mappaonoq) 10 Jul 1649  
 Mammaq [1] 12 Dec 1706  
 Mammaq [2] 21 Dec 1728  
 Mammaq [3] 24 Jan 1731; 25 Jan 1731  
 Mamminawang 26 Apr 1678  
 Mamminawang 5 May 1683  
 Mammiq 11 Dec 1732  
 Mamo 17 Jan 1673; 21 Jan 1675; 4 Mar 1680  
 Mamo, Daeng (Nampa) 16 Aug 1677  
 Mamo, Daengta Daeng 3 Apr 1676  
 Mamo, Kare 10 Nov 1715  
 Mamuntuli, Daeng 10 Nov 1704; 24 Jan 1705; 25 Sep 1705; 19 Mar 1746  
 Managgalaq, Daeng [2] (Jamali) 12 Aug 1683  
 Manaiq, Daeng 21 Feb 1716  
 Manangaraq, Daeng [1] 26 Dec 1672  
 Manangaraq, Daeng [2] (Assang) 2 Jan 1673  
 Manangaraq, Daeng [3] (Ahmad) 17 Sep 1687; 17 Jun 1720; 20 May 1721; 3 Nov 1730; 6 Nov 1735; 27 Jul 1737; 30 Jul 1750

- Manangaraq, Daeng [4] (Layuq) 14 Sep 1712  
 Manappakki 20 Feb 1678  
 Manappuki Ahaq 24 Dec 1748  
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [1] 10 Jan 1683  
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [2] (Caqdi) 14 Mar 1693; 9 Aug 1702; 7 Mar 1710  
 Manaqgalaq, Daeng [3] (Guru) 24 Oct 1735  
 Manaqgalaq, Daengta Daeng 17 Jun 1725  
 Manaqgalaq, Kare 28 Jul 1723; 14 Jan 1741  
 Manassaq, Daeng [1] (Muhammad) 19 Mar 1710; 15 Feb 1718; 1 Sep 1720; 11 Dec 1720; 14 Mar 1721; 19 May 1721; 11 Jul 1721; 13 Apr 1722; 17 Oct 1722; 10 Aug 1724; 9 Feb 1728  
 Manassaq, Daeng [2] (Paciq) 10 Aug 1715; 8 Nov 1717; 1 May 1719; 17 Mar 1721; 30 Kan 1732; 16 Feb 1747  
 Mandalleq, Karaeng [1] (Tulolo Tajuddin) 27 Dec 1653; 30 Nov 1664; 24 Sep 1665; 7 Feb 1667; 13 Apr 1670; 20 Aug 1671; 1 Mar 1672; 1 May 1672; 21 Sep 1672; 29 Mar 1674; 29 May 1676; 9 Jun 1676; 5 Feb 1678; 7 Feb 1679; 26 Nov 1679; 8 Aug 1681; 25 Jul 1687; 11 Nov 1687; 9 Apr 1690; 14 Feb 1718  
 Mandalleq, Karaeng [2] (tumailalang, Daeng Sisila Ibrahim) 4 Dec 1658; 6 Apr 1673; 12 Jan 1713; 23 Mar 1715; 11 Jun 1717; 16 May 1729  
 Mandalleq, Luqmuq Apr 1618  
 Mandi 10 Nov 1727  
 Manena, Daengta Daeng 6 Feb 1701  
 Mangagaang, Daeng 2 Dec 1717  
 Mangago, Daeng 17 Mar 1722  
 Mangalle 9 Aug 1684  
 Mangalle, Daeng [1] 17 Oct 1633  
 Mangalle, Daeng [2] 3 May 1724  
 Mangalle, Daeng [3] (Laijiq) 1 Nov 1733  
 Mangalle, Daeng [4] (Mammaq) 27 Jul 1737  
 Mangalle, Daengta Daeng (Abdul Hamid) 12 Aug 1658; 13 Dec 1698  
 Mangalle, Kare [1] 3 Nov 1717  
 Mangalle, Kare [2] (Maliq) 4 May 1720; 20 Mar 1727; 17 Apr 1732  
 Mangallekana, Karaeng (Kurru, Zakaria) 20 Jul 1637; 25 May 1700; 21 Jun 1739  
 Mangalliki, Kare (Jalaq) 27 Mar 1725  
 Mangalliq, Daeng (Dondiq) 29 Sep 1692; 21 Feb 1746  
 Mangalliq, Gallarrang 10 Feb 1704  
 Mangalliq, Karaeng 8 Jul 1654; 13 Jan 1655; 12 Sep 1670; 23 Mar 1672; 17 Jan 1673; 25 May 1673; 20 Jun 1673; 13 Nov 1674; 27 Nov 1674; 25 Oct 1677; 20 Mar 1682; 7 Jan 1685; 21 Sep 1689; 29 Dec 1709; 12 Jan 1713; 11 Sep 1716; 14 Mar 1751  
 Mangamaraq, Daeng 17 Oct 1633  
 Mangambari 5 Apr 1684  
 Mangaraqbombang, Karaeng [1] 26 Jun 1707; 12 Feb 1729  
 Mangaraqbombang, Karaeng [2] 14 Mar 1746; 9 Dec 1749; 26 Apr 1751; 1 Aug 1751  
 Mangasa, Daeng (Jipang) 6 Sep 1730  
 Mangasa, Gallarrang [1] (Kare Naba) 14 Oct 1655  
 Mangasa, Gallarrang [2] (Kare Mangalle) 6 Feb 1664; 23 Aug 1693; 14 Jul 1707; 23 Aug 1707; 3 Sep 1707; 4 Dec 1707; 14 Apr 1712; 29 Oct 1724; 14 Mar 1729; 23 Mar 1736; 2 Nov 1738

- Mangasa, Gallarrang [3] (Kare Ruppa) 4 Apr 1678  
 Mangaungi, Daengta Daeng (Hasan) 5 Aug 1658; 31 Jan 1726  
 Mangaungi, Daengta Daeng 14 Apr 1718  
 Mangellai 13 Sep 1673; 18 Dec 1674  
 Mangemba, Daeng [1] (Kasim) 17 Sep 1657  
 Mangemba, Daeng [2] 9 Mar 1673  
 Mangemba, Daeng [3] 19 Feb 1679  
 Mangemba, Daeng 19 Sep 1688; 15 Feb 1692  
 Mangeppeq, Daeng 29 Jan 1650; 27 Mar 1676  
 Mangeppeq, Loqmoq 26 Jan 1660  
 Mangeranngi 4 Sep 1718; 25 May 1723; 11 Feb 1726; 6 Apr 1728  
 Mangesuq, Karaeng 4 Apr 1721; 9 Apr 1725; 1 Oct 1725  
 Mangewai, Daeng [1] (Wasing) 18 Jul 1718; 7 Oct 1726  
 Mangewai, Daeng [2] (Dandeq) 13 Dec 1719  
 Mangewai, Daeng [3] (Jannatulfirdaus) 27 Nov 1724; 17 Nov 1733  
 Mangewai, Kare 31 Jan 1732; 2 Nov 1738  
 Manggappa, Daeng (Mommioq) 6 Aug 1688; 1 Mar 1731; 6 Nov 1735; 27 Jul 1737; 25 Oct 1741; 25 Aug 1749  
 Manggaukang 21 Sep 1671; 22 Dec 1677  
 Manginruru, Kare (Molla) 11 Feb 1725; 1 Dec 1725  
 Mangiq [1] 18 Jul 1718  
 Mangiq [2] 11 Mar 1730  
 Mangisuq, Karaeng [1] 5 Jan 1731; 13 Sep 1736  
 Mangisuq, Karaeng [2] 25 Oct 1741  
 Mangitung, Daeng 13 Mar 1682; 2 Apr 1732  
 Manguluang 3 Mar 1706  
 Manilingi, Karaeng 19 Dec 1732  
 Manimbang 18 Jun 1716; 20 Sep 1722; 5 Mar 1724; 7 Dec 1731  
 Manimbang-gauq (Muhiiddin) 27 Sep 1720  
 Manina, Daengta Daeng 18 Feb 1680  
 Maniqgalli, Daeng 5 May 1729  
 Manjagai 26 Sep 1639  
 Manjakkalaq, Daeng (Luddin) 10 Jul 1728  
 Manjakkalaq, Kare (Uqdung) 9 Aug 1702  
 Manjalling, Karaeng [1] (Makkaraeng) 26 Dec 1683  
 Manjalling, Karaeng [2] 11 Sep 1674  
 Manjalling, Karaeng [3] 3 Oct 1703; 18 Jun 1706; 7 Sep 1723; 14 Oct 1723; 7 Oct 1726; 25 May 1728  
 Manjarreki, Daeng (Mammaq) 23 Mar 1741  
 Manjarreki, Daeng 2 Feb 1678  
 Manjawakkang 6 Feb 1651; 19 Sep 1651  
 Manjijjiliq, Daengta Daeng 26 Apr 1720  
 Manna 13 Sep 1652  
 Mannapoi Mansur 27 May 1749  
 Mannawarri (Abdulhadi) 8 Dec 1746  
 Mannallei 7 May 1675  
 Mannyaurang 22 Jul 1750  
 Mannyikkoq ri Kassi, Daeng 16 Jun 1724  
 Mannyiori, Karaeng 25 Aug 1749



- Manombong, Daeng 19 Jan 1727  
 Manrannuang 15 Sep 1722; 28 Aug 1728  
 Manrewakki [1] 16 Dec 1715; 9 Jan 1721  
 Manrewakki [2] 18 Feb 1725  
 Manrewakki [3] 25 May 1728  
 Manruppai, Daeng (Okang) 11 Oct 1705; 13 May 1708; 1 Oct 1716  
 Manshur (Mallawang Gauq) 25 Aug 1727  
 Manuruki (Muhammad) 28 Mar 1641; 15 Feb 1655  
 Manuruki, Karaeng 19 Dec 1715  
 Manyallang, Daeng 27 Feb 1674  
 Manyampakki, Daeng (Mamminawang Pakki) 19 Feb 1682; 22 May 1701; 1 Apr 1705; 22 Apr 1705; 25 Dec 1709; 15 May 1729  
 Manyampaq, Daeng [1] (Alluq) 23 Sep 1673; 8 Oct 1705  
 Manyampaq, Daeng [2] (Sengoroq) 8 Apr 1678; 11 Feb 1716  
 Manyampaq, Daeng [3] (Balambaru) 11 Mar 1714  
 Manyanreri [1] 17 Oct 1713; 16 Jan 1747  
 Manyanreri [2] 26 Sep 1731  
 Manyaq 7 Nov 1713  
 Manyeppeq, Daengta Daeng 26 Jul 1667\*  
 Manyikkoq, Daeng (Shadiq) 27 Feb 1670  
 Manyioi, Karaeng 12 Aug 1699  
 Manyipi, Daeng (Uang) 8 Dec 1713  
 Manyiwi, Daeng 21 May 1674  
 Mappabangka 9 Jan 1682; 3 Feb 1682  
 Mappabangung (Abdul Aziz) 11 Dec 1717  
 Mappajanji 9 Mar 1684  
 Mappakana 8 Nov 1675  
 Mappapoke 23 Feb 1717  
 Mappaq [1] 24 Jun 1708  
 Mappaq [2] 1 Oct 1725  
 Mappaq [3] 9 Dec 1728  
 Mappaq [4] 9 Jul 1729  
 Mappaq [5] 18 Nov 1730  
 Mappaq [6] 5 Jan 1731; 22 Dec 1731  
 Mappasanrang 10 Nov 1719  
 Mappasepeq 20 Jan 1653  
 Mappasussung 25 May 1719  
 Mappatalliq (Hasanuddin Syaad Syah, ruler of Bima) 7 Sep 1689; 29 May 1714; 13 Sep 1714; 6 Nov 1726; 3 May 1727; 23 Jan 1731; 3 Mar 1731  
 Mappatangaraq 17 Feb 1714  
 Mappatimung [1] (Wajihuddin) 5 Aug 1718; 26 Sep 1718; 26 Jun 1719  
 Mappatimung [2] (Arung Pattojo) 11 Sep 1732  
 Mappatolla 28 Nov 1739  
 Mappatunruq (Abdurrauf) 9 Dec 1749  
 Maqbayaraq, Daeng 26 Oct 1637  
 Maqdaeng 28 Nov 1650  
 Maqdaung 13 May 1717  
 Maqgeaq, Daeng 25 Jul 1672

- Maqujuq 30 May 1722  
 Maqlaqbaq, Daeng 9 May 1643  
 Maqleoq, Daeng [1] (Sumang) 12 Apr 1703; 1 Jun 1715; 15 Dec 1720; 11 Jun 1724; 18 Feb 1725; 15 Dec 1726; 16 Dec 1726; 13 Jul 1727; 22 Aug 1739; 27 Aug 1739  
 Maqleoq, Daeng [2] (Dulla) 10 Sep 1713; 19 Mar 1715; 23 May 1715; 21 Jul 1739  
 Maqminasa 15 Jul 1679  
 Maqmiq [1] (Syafiah, Daeng Sannging) 2 Mar 1633  
 Maqmiq [2] 10 Jun 1729  
 Maqnassa, Daengta Kare 6 Jun 1667  
 Maqrappo, Daeng 31 Aug 1722  
 Maqrumai 4 Apr 1721  
 Maqruppa, Daeng [1] 14 May 1674; 21 Dec 1674; 17 Jan 1675; 27 Jan 1677; 2 Jun 1677  
 Maqruppa, Daeng [2] (Tinting) 12 Sep 1729; 12 Apr 1730; 25 Aug 1749  
 Maqruppa, Daeng [3] (Sajaq) 12 Nov 1730  
 Maradiah 14 Mar 1731  
 Marajalang 10 Jan 1637  
 Marannu, Daeng [1] (Pandi) 25 Dec 1647; 15 Jan 1660; 8 Mar 1663; 9 Mar 1714  
 Marannu, Daeng [2] 29 Dec 1680; 14 Sep 1684  
 Marannu, Daeng [3] (Biba) 21 Jan 1701; 22 Aug 1705  
 Marannu, Daeng [4] (Bokuq) 15 Oct 1705; 26 Mar 1709  
 Marannu, Daeng [5] (Mamo) 2 Jul 1708  
 Marannu, Daeng [6] (Sugi) 1 Sep 1720; 11 Dec 1720; 13 Nov 1729; 18 Jun 1732; 9 Feb 1741; 31 Oct 1741  
 Marannu, Daenta Daeng 20 Jan 1636; 24 Jan 1643  
 Marewa, Daeng 21 Feb 1728; 5 Feb 1729; 16 Aug 1731; 2 Sep 1731  
 Marimang, Daengta Daeng 9 Jun 1723; 14 Apr 1725; 22 Feb 1728  
 Maroanging, Karaeng Jun 1619; 17 Mar 1624  
 Maryam 16 Feb 1654  
 Masale, Karaeng [1] 10 May 1647  
 Masale, Karaeng [2] (Mappatanre) 30 Apr 1731; 10 Dec 1735  
 Masiang, Daengta Daeng 28 Feb 1647; 23 Nov 1661; 13 Jul 1671; 18 May 1671; 16 May 1710  
 Masingaraq, Daengta Daeng 19 Jun 1738  
 Massallomo Muhammad Syadik Manriogauq 29 Jun 1711  
 Massallomo 16 May 1724  
 Massanira (Datu Ulaweng) 24 Mar 1722  
 Massepe, Daeng 4 Dec 1708  
 Massepe, Karaeng 8 Jun 1673  
 Masseqre, Daeng (Jaga) 24 Dec 1678; 9 Jul 1726; 10 Jul 1728  
 Masseqre, Daeng (Papippiq) 1 Sep 1713; 8 Dec 1718; 18 Dec 1720; 10 Sep 1722; 16 Jan 1726; 19 May 1726  
 Massese, Daeng 1 Oct 1702; 8 Sep 1703  
 Massikkiq, Daeng 28 Apr 1639  
 Massuro, Daengta Daeng 21 Oct 1675; 27 Dec 1676; 8 Sep 1678; 5 Sep 1679; 26 Aug 1680; 31 Apr 1683; 7 May 1683; 26 Nov 1686  
 Matea ri Bima, Karaeng 1618  
 Mateqne, Daeng [1] (Sitti Abidah) 18 Jun 1716; 5 Mar 1724

- Mateqne, Daeng [2] (Sitti) 18 Feb 1717; 17 Sep 1718; 22 Aug 1719; 28 May 1722; 2 Nov 1727; 23 Nov 1727
- Mateqne, Daeng [3] 22 Feb 1728
- Mateqne, Daeng [4] (Sipaya) 9 Oct 1730
- Mateqne, Karaeng 4 Sep 1673; 7 Sep 1684
- Matinroa ri Bantaeng 28 Oct 1631
- Matinroa ri Bukaka (La Maqdaremmeng) 7 Feb 1667; 30 May 1667; 5 Aug 1678
- Matinroa ri Buliana (Ibrahim Daeng Matiring, ruler of Agangnionjoq) 10 Dec 1645; 30 Sep 1646
- Matinroa ri Datunna (La Tenribali, ruler of Soppéng) 24 May 1666; 19 Aug 1676
- Matinroa ri Gowa (Datu ri Luwuq) 17 Jun 1650; 9 Aug 1662
- Matinroa ri Salemo (Addatuang) 11 Feb 1681
- Matinroa ri Talloq 13 Aug 1630
- Matinroa ri Tippulunna (Batari Toja) 20 Dec 1714
- Matoaya, Karaeng (Sultan Abdullah, Karaeng Kanjilo, Karaeng Segeri, Tumamenang ri Agamana) 1573, 22 Sep 1605; 1626; 23 May 1634; 24 Nov 1635; 2 Jul 1636; 1 Oct 1636
- Mattaq (Abdurrahman, Mappatawang) 2 Aug 1709; 27 Oct 1717; 7 Oct 1718; 21 May 1723; 13 Aug 1727
- Mattara, Daeng 7 Jan 1727
- Mattayang 18 Feb 1717; 22 Aug 1719; 2 Nov 1727; 23 Nov 1727; 24 Jan 1731
- Mattenai 23 Aug 1725; 24 Oct 1727; 14 Sep 1730
- Matti 4 Jun 1679
- Mattiro, Daengta Daeng (Manginara Majduddin) 5 Apr 1648; 10 Feb 1663
- Mattuju, Daeng 7 Aug 1677
- Mattukung, Daeng 8 Aug 1656
- Mattulung, Daeng 16 Dec 1715; 10 Jun 1729; 17 Nov 1730
- Mattupuang (Abdul Wahid) 14 Mar 1683
- Mau, Daeng 24 Dec 1638
- Mawajang, Karaeng 9 Mar 1684
- Mayiro, Daengta Daeng 6 Apr 1702
- Memang, Daeng [1] (Munaq) 19 Jun 1673; 10 Feb 1681; 15 Jan 1720; 30 May 1722
- Memang, Daeng [2] 13 Jan 1726
- Mene 13 Nov 1676
- Mida (Bungko) 20 Feb 1719; 27 Aug 1719
- Minaq 16 Feb 1654; 20 Jul 1673; 23 Aug 1725
- Mindaq 8 Feb 1713; 22 Dec 1713; 28 May 1716; 26 Feb 1728
- Mininrori 4 Feb 1660
- Minnah 25 Jul 1675
- Mipati, Daeng 24 Jan 1731
- Monnoq 11 Sep 1728; 30 Nov 1730
- Muhammad [1] 31 Jul 1723
- Muhammad [2] 4 Oct 1739
- Muhammad Ali [1] (Tumatea ri Jakattaraq, Karaeng Bisei) 29 Nov 1654; 30 Nov 1664; 24 Sep 1665; 13 Mar 1667; 23 Mar 1667; 12 Sep 1670; 21 Oct 1672; 13 Dec 1672; 3 Oct 1674; 4 Sep 1675; 11 Oct 1675; 13 May 1676; 15 Apr 1677; 27 Jul 1677; 3 Sep 1678\*; 16 Sep 1678; 4 Oct 1678\*; 15 Mar 1681; 29 Mar 1682

- Muhammad Ali [2] 12 Jun 1705; 26 Dec 1719; 7 Jun 1725; 20 Mar 1729  
 Muhammad Baki (Karaeng Barombong, Karaeng Sanrabone) 21 Jun 1714; 3 Oct 1724; 28 Oct 1731; 27 Nov 1732; 15 Jun 1733; 26 Jan 1734; 30 Aug 1736; 3 Aug 1739; 25 Aug 1740; 16 May 1748; 16 Sep 1748  
 Muhammad Jamala (Mappatollaq) 30 Oct 1725  
 Muhammad Rajab 5 Feb 1729  
 Muhammad Said 20 Aug 1671  
 Muhammad Saleh 11 Jan 1718; 2 Mar 1734  
 Muhammad Shaleh 30 Jun 1672  
 Munaq 20 Jan 1676; 30 Apr 1676  
 Muntuq, Daeng 15 Jun 1735  
 Mutaq 13 Mar 1720  
 Mutiatullah 19 Feb 1720  
 Mutti 16 Jul 1683
- Najamuddin, Sultan (Marrabia, Karaeng Kanjilo, Tumamenang ri Jawaya) 23 Dec 1708; 18 Nov 1713; 19 May 1714; 15 Oct 1714; 29 Jun 1720; 7 Jun 1721; 9 Nov 1722; 18 Oct 1723; 18 Nov 1723; 16 Oct 1724; 7 May 1727; 11 Sep 1728; 24 Apr 1729  
 Nakke, Daeng 27 Dec 1724  
 Nampa [1] 16 Dec 1644  
 Nampa [2] (Syahrabanung) 3 Feb 1645  
 Nannuq [1] 12 Jan 1713; 13 Nov 1718; 9 Oct 1721  
 Nannuq [2] 26 Sep 1722  
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [1] (Laji) 10 Aug 1646  
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [2] 23 Oct 1638; 2 Oct 1641; 28 Jun 1647; 14 Jun 1648; 10 Sep 1649  
 Naratang, Daengta Daeng [3] (Sungguminassa Rabiah, Karaeng ri Sanggiringang) 8 Jan 1645; 29 Jun 1651; 2 Sep 1652; 7 Jul 1669  
 Nassa, Kare 18 Oct 1728  
 Naung, Karaeng 20 Jun 1645  
 Nenuq 17 Oct 1713  
 Neting, Haji 11 Jun 1647  
 Ngago, Daeng (Karaeng Paranggi) 24 Oct 1727; 5 Nov 1728; 10 Oct 1729; 14 Sep 1730; 3 Dec 1731; 19 Apr 1732; 5 Jan 1731; 8 Oct 1744  
 Ngampa, Daengta Daeng 27 Dec 1727  
 Nganne, Daeng (Manguq) 19 Jun 1719  
 Nganrenne, Daeng [1] 1 Sep 1713  
 Nganrenne, Daeng [2] 8 May 1726  
 Nganrenne, Daengta Daeng (Datu Doka) 12 Jan 1713  
 Ngantu, Daeng (Yociq) 31 May 1728  
 Ngantu, Daengta Daeng 26 Dec 1733  
 Ngaseng, Daeng [1] (Bataq) 25 Nov 1675  
 Ngaseng, Daeng [2] (Saqbaraq) 1 May 1728  
 Ngaseng, Daengta Daeng 24 Jun 1708; 14 Mar 1731; 17 Jun 1736  
 Ngiji, Daeng (Sitti) 22 Aug 1739  
 Ngilauq, Daeng (Bantang) 8 Aug 1709

- Niaq, Daeng 11 Sep 1633; 25 Feb 1645; 17 Aug 1673  
 Niaq, Daengta Daeng 23 Sep 1704  
 Niasseng, Daeng 29 Jul 1674  
 Niba 10 Sep 1731  
 Nibbang 1 Oct 1661  
 Nimbang 7 Apr 1713  
 Ningai, Daeng [1] 22 Jun 1721; 9 May 1730; 5 Mar 1731; 12 Feb 1736  
 Ningai, Daeng [2] 14 May 1747  
 Ninruq 27 Apr 1744  
 Ninuq [1] 6 May 1715  
 Ninuq [2] 15 Feb 1728  
 Nisabeng, Daeng 22 Dec 1718  
 Nisakking, Daeng (Shafiah) 15 Dec 1695; 15 Dec 1700  
 Nisali, Daeng [1] 4 Apr 1650  
 Nisali, Daeng [2] (Thaibah) 8 Jan 1714; 6 Nov 1714; 5 Apr 1716; 25 Aug 1718; 16 Oct 1720; 25 Mar 1722  
 Nisali, Daengta Daeng (Sitti Sarah) 17 Dec 1672  
 Nisanga, Daeng [1] (Nanuq) 18 Jun 1706; 19 Jun 1722  
 Nisanga, Daeng [2] (Puqdo) 4 Mar 1718  
 Nisanga, Daeng [3] (Kamariah) 10 Dec 1720  
 Nisayu, Daeng [1] (Dara) 29 Mar 1674  
 Nisayu, Daeng [2] 14 May 1674; 5 Sep 1674; 11 Aug 1677  
 Nisayu, Daeng [3] (Andoqpoaq) 23 Aug 1677  
 Nisayu, Daeng [4] 28 Jul 1699; 17 Jul 1707  
 Nisayu, Daeng [5] 9 Nov 1704; 4 Oct 1707; 20 May 1715  
 Nisayu, Daeng [6] (Junggo) 9 Aug 1720  
 Nisayu, Daeng [7] (Alima) 10 Aug 1741  
 Nisayu, Daengta Daeng 31 Oct 1677; 8 Feb 1678; 18 Apr 1678; 31 Oct 1680; 3 Jul 1687; 7 Oct 1709  
 Nisimba, Daeng [1] (Rabiah) 11 Aug 1671; 5 May 1717  
 Nisimba, Daeng [2] 22 Oct 1672; 11 Dec 1672; 5 Jul 1693; 12 Dec 1706  
 Nisimba, Daeng [3] 31 Jul 1727  
 Nisomba, Daeng (Okung) 13 Dec 1719  
 Nisoqna, Daeng [1] 16 Dec 1706; 4 May 1715; 14 Nov 1719  
 Nisoqna, Daeng [2] 13 Nov 1719  
 Nojeng 20 Aug 1730  
 Nona 22 Aug 1739  
 Nuh 12 Feb 1729  
 Numalo, Daeng 12 Mar 1703  
 Nunnig 10 Oct 1729  
 Nuruddin, Shaykh 21 Sep 1658  
 Nuruddin (Mapparabung, Karaeng Panaragang) 13 Dec 1651  
 Nurulmahalli 30 Oct 1645
- Okong 27 Feb 1680  
 Onjoq, Daengta Daeng 2 Sep 1652; 19 Mar 1671  
 Opu [1] 3 Nov 1674  
 Opu [2] 22 Aug 1718

- Pabila, Daeng 14 Apr 1712; 14 Dec 1722; 10 Aug 1724  
 Paccocconga 27 Oct 1668  
 Pacellekang, Daeng 30 Nov 1643  
 Paceq 21 Oct 1722  
 Paceqnongang, Gallarrang 10 Dec 1711  
 Paciq 30 Apr 1698  
 Padang 25 Jul 1707  
 Padukka Dompu 29 Jan 1661; 10 Feb 1663; 6 Dec 1663; 18 Jul 1665; 29 Apr 1693; 21 Aug 1693  
 Pagang, Daeng 22 Jun 1634  
 Pakkemba 29 Dec 1680; 14 Sep 1684  
 Palembang, Karaeng [1] 27 Feb 1670; 31 Mar 1673; 24 Jun 1674; 11 Sep 1674; 23 Nov 1674; 9 Jun 1676; 9 Jun 1677  
 Palembang, Karaeng [2] 10 Jan 1729; 15 Jun 1739; 5 Dec 1740  
 Paleng 5 May 1683  
 Pallaq 22 Aug 1713  
 Pamolikang, Karaeng 25 Jul 1675; 20 Jan 1676; 30 Apr 1676; 19 Aug 1678; 21 Nov 1704  
 Panaikang, Karaeng [1] (Daeng Niaq) 15 Jan 1631; 2 Jan 1644\*; 24 Dec 1650; 21 Aug 1655; 9 Jun 1664; 18 Mar 1686  
 Panaikang, Karaeng [2] (Khadijah) 20 Jan 1672; 13 Jun 1683  
 Panaikang, Karaeng [3] (Mappasaqbi, Muhammad Said) 16 May 1692; 18 Dec 1701; 26 Mar 1709; 23 Oct 1716; 4 Nov 1718; 22 Jun 1721; 22 Mar 1725; 8 Jun 1725; 6 Jul 1726; 20 May 1730; 12 Jul 1730; 18 Nov 1730; 5 Mar 1731; 14 Feb 1750  
 Panaikangciniq, Karaeng 27 Jun 1680  
 Panaiq, Kare (Guru) 22 Oct 1681  
 Panararang, Karaeng (Alasaq, ruler of Bima) 7 May 1684; 23 Jul 1687; 21 Aug 1693; 27 Aug 1693; 30 Aug 1695; 6 Jul 1696  
 Pande 15 May 1716; 28 Nov 1716  
 Pandi 26 Apr 1720  
 Pangalaq 20 Aug 1632  
 Pangerang Aria 28 Jul 1699; 17 Jul 1707  
 Pangkajeqneq, Karaeng (Abdul Muqmin) 10 Mar 1670; 28 Jan 1672; 23 Nov 1681; 6 Jul 1691; 22 Aug 1692; 6 Oct 1702; 4 Oct 1709; 24 Mar 1710; 12 Apr 1710  
 Panjallingang, Karaeng [1] (Mattenai) 25 Dec 1638; 6 May 1662; 13 Aug 1668; 29 Aug 1670  
 Panjallingang, Karaeng [2] (Manguqrangi Sitti Shapora) 8 Jun 1639  
 Pannampuq, Daeng 30 Apr 1647  
 Pappi 16 Dec 1715; 9 Jan 1721; 18 Feb 1725; 14 Feb 1736  
 Papuq [1] 24 Aug 1710; 14 Mar 1721; 19 May 1721  
 Papuq [2] 15 Feb 1726  
 Paqbineang, Karaeng [1] (Maemuna) 17 Oct 1637; 30 May 1638; 12 Nov 1647; 21 May 1654; 16 Sep 1669; 13 Dec 1697  
 Paqbineang, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Rahimah) 2 Jan 1689; 16 May 1702; 4 Oct 1703; 20 Oct 1709; 27 Oct 1731; 31 Jan 1732; 9 Apr 1739; 27 Oct 1742  
 Paqbundukang, Karaeng [1] 2 Feb 1648

- Paqbundukang, Karaeng [2] 27 Apr 1744; 16 Oct 1747; 16 May 1748  
 Paqgannakkang, Karaeng 16 Apr 1743; 27 Apr 1744; 12 Jan 1749  
 Parampang, Kare (Caccaq) 26 Apr 1717; 9 Sep 1726  
 Parangbone, Karaeng 20 Sep 1717  
 Paranggi, Karaeng [1] 20 Oct 1644  
 Paranggi, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mangago) 1 Feb 1689  
 Paranggi, Karaeng [3] see Ngago, Daeng  
 Parangloe, Gallarrang (Laddin) 18 Jun 1728  
 Parang-Parang, Karaeng [1] (Khadijah) 18 Nov 1671; 14 Mar 1683; 27 Nov 1684; 18 Jul 1686; 4 Jul 1688; 13 Jun 1689  
 Parang-Parang, Karaeng [2] 1 Mar 1734  
 Parukka 10 Aug 1717  
 Pasiq, Karaeng [1] 5 Apr 1660; 17 Apr 1671; 21 Jun 1671; 13 Feb 1681; 7 Jan 1682; 28 Aug 1683; 25 Jun 1704; 1 Sep 1714  
 Pasiq, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Aisyah) 19 Dec 1693; 22 May 1708; 2 Oct 1718; 20 Oct 1718; 4 Nov 1718; 7 Apr 1722; 25 Jan 1723;  
 Passeqre, Kare (Jaga) 3 Nov 1698; 7 May 1700  
 Pate, Daengta Kare 26 Nov 1679; 18 Nov 1683; 25 Jul 1687; 12 Apr 1688; 5 Jun 1689; 6 Jan 1691; 18 Mar 1704  
 Pate, Kare [1] 29 Sep 1656  
 Pate, Kare [2] (Sarampa) 8 Aug 1680; 26 Mar 1681; 13 Apr 1681  
 Pati Manjawari 14 Jul 1707; 4 Dec 1707; 24 Mar 1708; 6 Jun 1708  
 Patimah 28 Mar 1740  
 Patimaq [1] (Daeng Tacuah) 10 Feb 1713; 2 Sep 1715; 22 Apr 1716; 11 Jan 1716; 11 Dec 1717; 2 Jan 1719; 1 Mar 1720  
 Patimaq [2] 5 Jan 1731; 22 Dec 1731  
 Patolo, Daeng 8 Nov 1651  
 Pattah 11 Dec 1732  
 Pattallassang, Karaeng 1 Feb 1724  
 Patteqne, Karaeng [1] 3 Oct 1644; 5 Mar 1664  
 Patteqne, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Mabela) 3 Oct 1664; 2 May 1663  
 Patteqne, Karaeng [3] (Fathuddin) 20 Dec 1695; 8 Feb 1713; 22 Dec 1713; 6 Sep 1715; 29 Oct 1715; 28 May 1716; 11 Jan 1717; 11 Dec 1717; 20 Oct 1718; 4 Nov 1718; 2 Jan 1719; 1 Mar 1720; 22 Apr 1720; 1 Nov 1721; 8 Mar 1723; 28 Jan 1724; 27 Apr 1724;  
 Patingalloang, Karaeng (Sultan Mahmud, Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng) 1600; 1619; 28 Sep 1632; 7 Nov 1633\*; 18 Jun 1639\*; 15 Sep 1654  
 Pattunga, Karaeng [1] 16 Sep 1633  
 Pattunga, Karaeng [2] 14 Jun 1659  
 Pattunga, Karaeng [3] 23 Nov 1669  
 Patukangang, Karaeng [1] 25 Feb 1654  
 Patukangang, Karaeng [2] (Maryam) 1 Mar 1669; 9 Feb 1674; 24 Mar 1674; 11 May 1675; 25 Nov 1675; 16 Dec 1675; 9 Aug 1678; 4 Apr 1687; 26 Jul 1693  
 Patukangang, Karaeng [3] (Zainab) 3 Jan 1709; 7 Jun 1721; 9 Nov 1722; 16 Oct 1724; 30 Oct 1725; 31 Mar 1728; 14 Oct 1729; 19 Jan 1740  
 Pirannuang 26 Sep 1679  
 Pole, Kare 28 Mar 1720; 4 May 1720

- Popoq, Karaeng 3 Jun 1631; 26 Oct 1637; 7 Dec 1644; 20 Mar 1648; 11 Mar 1650; 2  
 Nov 1650; 4 Nov 1650; 23 Oct 1655; 29 Sep 1656; 5 Jul 1660; 24 Nov 1660; 8  
 Jan 1661; 25 May 1663; 16 Nov 1664; 29 May 1676; 7 Nov 1678; 7 Mar 1680
- Poqdo 15 Jan 1716
- Prins, François 5 Mar 1694
- Puanna I Daeng (Mallimpo) 21 Dec 1714; 22 Aug 1710
- Puanna I Jenalaq 23 Nov 1658; 28 Nov 1658
- Puanna I Mattaq see La Padangsajati
- Puaq Ikkuq 15 Dec 1727
- Puaq Ninaq 16 Jun 1751
- Puaq 12 Jul 1740
- Puaq, Daengta 23 Sep 1705
- Punbinduq 5 Dec 1702
- Punca Patula (Sitti Hawa) 12 Dec 1721
- Punca 25 Apr 1722
- Pundamaq 26 Nov 1726; 10 Dec 1726; 4 Nov 1728
- Putiri Raannakumala (Karaeng Tabaringang) 25 Mar 1751
- Raba 7 Jan 1678
- Rabiah 25 Oct 1677
- Raden Sanggalea 14 Jul 1693; 22 Jul 1693; 24 Jul 1693
- Radiah 9 Jan 1656
- Radin 23 Apr 1653
- Rahimah 8 Oct 1739
- Rakhiah 11 Mar 1698
- Raluq 13 May 1695; 22 Jun 1699
- Rannu, Kare 21 Dec 1714
- Rannu, Loqmoq 5 Dec 1702; 15 Jul 1713
- Rante Patola (Sitti Rabiah) 27 Apr 1728; 10 May 1742; 24 Mar 1743
- Ranti 17 Jan 1716; 15 May 1716; 28 Nov 1716
- Rapanna, Daeng (Manuruki) 7 Jan 1685; 9 Feb 1710
- Rappociniq, Karaeng [2] 27 Dec 1727
- Rappociniq, Karaeng[1] 23 May 1680; 8 Aug 1680; 6 Sep 1680; 26 Mar 1681; 13 Apr  
 1681; 9 Aug 1684; 19 Mar 1686
- Rappokalling, Gallarrang 6 Nov 1719
- Ratu Agung 21 Jun 1705
- Ratu Bagus (elder) 13 Dec 1705; 11 Jan 1718; 10 Dec 1720; 18 Apr 1731
- Ratu Bagus (younger) 28 Jul 1706; 14 Nov 1706; 15 Sep 1707; 21 Dec 1728
- Ratu Bulaeng (Sitti Radiah) 10 May 1728
- Ratu Hiyati 21 Nov 1705
- Riboko, Daeng 8 May 1644; 6 Aug 1661
- Rida (Sitti Rahmah) 13 Oct 1730
- Rikasammeng, Daeng 8 Mar 1690; 22 Oct 1739
- Rikong, Daeng [1] (Shafiatuddin or Shafiah) 4 Feb 1660; 9 Mar 1673; 3 Jan 1674; 28  
 Nov 1681
- Rikong, Daeng [2] 13 Nov 1676
- Rikong, Daeng [3] (Jaga) 3 Apr 1703; 2 Sep 1703; 16 Jun 1706; 2 Jan 1707; 26 Mar  
 1709; 19 Feb 1721; 13 Jan 1726



- Rimang, Kare (Saidah) 18 Mar 1732  
 Riolo, Daeng 12 May 1643  
 Roking 19 Nov 1636  
 Rukiah 2 Apr 1732  
 Ruppa, Kare 3 Sep 1751  
  
 Sabirah 23 Aug 1725; 10 Mar 1730  
 Sadiq 15 May 1725  
 Saenaq 24 Oct 1720; 14 Mar 1721; 13 Apr 1722  
 Saidah [1] 3 Nov 1674  
 Saidah [2] 26 Apr 1717  
 Saidah [3] 11 Jun 1724; 18 Feb 1725; 13 Jul 1727  
 Saidah [4] 19 Jan 1726  
 Saidi 31 Dec 1713; 10 Oct 1715  
 Saja 31 Dec 1731  
 Salahu 9 Apr 1725  
 Salama 25 Feb 1726  
 Salamah 20 Sep 1675; 19 Apr 1715  
 Saleh 22 Oct 1739  
 Sali, Kare 9 Aug 1684  
 Salira 1 May 1719; 21 Feb 1721; 17 Mar 1721; 12 Dec 1721; 19 Jan 1725  
 Sallang 26 Sep 1679  
 Sallang, Daengta Karaeng 27 Sep 1668  
 Sallang, Kare 19 Sep 1676  
 Sallo, Kare 16 Mar 1726  
 Samata, Daeng 29 Oct 1680  
 Sammaraq 2 Aug 1693  
 Sammiq 29 Aug 1733  
 Sampulungan, Daeng 23 Jul 1668  
 Sandewi 1 Sep 1708  
 Sandiq 29 Jul 1691  
 Sangging, Daeng 15 May 1729  
 Sangging, Daengta Daeng [1] (Maqminasa) 12 Feb 1645; 11 Oct 1648  
 Sangging, Daengta Daeng [1] (Sarah) 23 Apr 1680  
 Sanggiringang, Karaeng 10 Jan 1645; 24 Feb 1656; 6 Aug 1656; 19 Apr 1657; 8 Nov 1657; 17 Feb 1666; 21 Sep 1671; 17 Mar 1675  
 Sanrabone Malolo, Karaeng 13 Jul 1642  
 Sanrabone, Karaeng [1] 31 Mar 1642  
 Sanrabone, Karaeng [2] 12 Nov 1647  
 Santbeek, Markus 6 Aug 1704  
 Saodah 14 Oct 1723; 12 Oct 1725; 18 Feb 1731  
 Saumata, Gallarrang [1] 17 Aug 1711  
 Saumata, Gallarrang [2] 4 Apr 1640\*  
 Sapiah 6 Jul 1725  
 Sapinah 30 Apr 1731  
 Saqbaraq 19 Sep 1676  
 Saqbi 19 May 1641  
 Saqdaq 7 Sep 1723; 26 Feb 1728

- Sarah 15 May 1675; 4 Apr 1678  
 Sarampa 13 Jun 1673; 20 Jul 1673; 6 Dec 1675  
 Sarimba 5 Feb 1730; 26 Jan 1731; 18 Mar 1732; 5 May 1736  
 Sassang, Daeng 30 Oct 1641  
 Sayedah [1] 8 May 1706  
 Sayedah [2] (Sanrabone) 13 Jul 1707  
 Sayyid Alwi 21 Apr 1728  
 Sayyid Biringkassiq 11 Feb 1683  
 Sayyid Bukhari 15 Aug 1720; 15 Aug 1733  
 Sayyid Hamid 25 Dec 1751  
 Sayyid Husain [1] 11 Feb 1683  
 Sayyid Husain [2] 13 Jan 1706; 18 May 1718; 30 Mar 1740; 31 Dec 1747  
 Sayyid Muhammad 24 May 1703; 4 Jan 1707; 1 Oct 1707  
 Sayyid Syarifah 31 Dec 1747  
 Sayyid Umar 2 Jan 1737  
 Sayyid Zain 30 Apr 1700; 13 Jan 1705; 5 May 1705; 20 Jun 1707; 8 Oct 1709; 7 Aug  
 1712; 31 Dec 1713; 10 Oct 1715  
 Sendoq 24 Jun 1738  
 Shafiah [1] 14 Mar 1671; 19 Oct 1671  
 Shafiah [2] 27 Jul 1682  
 Shafiah [3] 26 Jun 1730  
 Shaleh 31 Mar 1677  
 Shaykh Abd al-Ra'uf 21 Jan 1696  
 Shaykh Abdullah Qussyasyi 15 Mar 1691  
 Shaykh Yusuf [1] 22 Mar 1684; 9 Jun 1689; 22 Dec 1694; 22 May 1699; 5 Apr 1705; 2  
 Oct 1705; 5 Jan 1714; 10 Nov 1715; 3 Jul 1747  
 Shaykh Yusuf [2] (Ipandi) 7 Sep 1694  
 Shaykh 12 Mar 1680; 24 Jun 1718; 28 Jul 1723; 7 Feb 1728  
 Simba 28 Sep 1718  
 Sinddoq 9 Jun 1732  
 Singaraq, Daeng [1] 19 Dec 1649  
 Singaraq, Daeng [2] 30 Oct 1673  
 Singaraq, Daeng [3] 6 Jul 1691  
 Singaraq, Daengta Daeng 4 Apr 1674; 12 Mar 1676; 16 Jul 1679; 14 Nov 1679; 1 Jan  
 1681; 11 Mar 1681; 26 Dec 1681; 2 Feb 1682; 24 Mar 1682; 20 Mar 1683; 21  
 Jul 1707; 16 Jul 1708; 3 Jul 1721  
 Singaraq, Kare Haji 11 Jun 1647; 14 Oct 1655; 1659\*  
 Singaraq, Kare 27 Sep 1739  
 Singayah 24 Jun 1708  
 Sinukuq 2 Nov 1650  
 Sipman, Johannes 8 Oct 1716  
 Siqra 10 Sep 1634  
 Sirajuddin (Sultan Abil Khair, Ambela) 22 Dec 1640; 3 Sep 1646; 27 Mar 1658; 30  
 Aug 1658; 22 Jul 1682  
 Sirajuddin, Sultan (Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Tumammaliang ri Talloq) 17 Nov 1687; 3  
 Nov 1700; 21 Jan 1702; 11 Sep 1706; 1 Jan 1707; 12 Aug 1709; 31 Aug 1712;  
 10 Sep 1712; 8 Oct 1712; 2 Nov 1712; 28 Nov 1712; 15 Dec 1712; 25 Apr

1713; 21 Jun 1713; 18 Nov 1713; 19 Mar 1716; 23 May 1716; 18 Jun 1716; 16 Jul 1716; 26 Jun 1717; 29 Jun 1717; 3 Sep 1717; 23 Nov 1717; 7 Dec 1717; 31 Aug 1718; 26 Sep 1718; 20 Dec 1718; 7 Aug 1719; 21 Jan 1720; 11 Apr 1720; 9 Oct 1721; 16 Nov 1722; 8 Jan 1724; 12 Feb 1725; 6 Jul 1725; 6 Oct 1725; 19 Jan 1726; 25 Feb 1726; 19 Mar 1726; 2 Aug 1726; 10 Sep 1726; 8 Feb 1727; 14 Oct 1727; 8 May 1728; 6 Dec 1728; 25 Apr 1729; 15 Oct 1729; 28 Jul 1731; 3 Oct 1731; 19 Apr 1732; 17 Oct 1732; 15 Jun 1733; 17 Jan 1734; 13 Jul 1734; 27 Aug 1734; 6 Sep 1734; 16 Apr 1735; 13 Oct 1735; 5 Nov 1735; 22 Jan 1739

Sisila, Daeng 7 Feb 1679

Sitaba, Daeng [1] 22 Jun 1724; 26 Feb 1730

Sitaba, Daeng [2] (Jalani) 25 Feb 1729

Sitaba, Karaeng 8 Feb 1706

Sitti [1] 20 Jan 1653

Sitti [10] 5 Apr 1684

Sitti [11] 7 Apr 1715; 1 Sep 1716

Sitti [12] 30 Oct 1719; 16 Jan 1720

Sitti [13] 18 Apr 1731

Sitti [14] 26 Oct 1739

Sitti [2] 12 Sep 1672; 21 Sep 1672; 20 Jun 1673; 13 Nov 1674

Sitti [3] 8 Dec 1672

Sitti [4] 27 Jan 1677

Sitti [5] 24 Sep 1677

Sitti [6] 8 Apr 1678

Sitti [7] 3 Feb 1682

Sitti [8] 11 May 1682

Sitti [9] 28 Sep 1682

Sitti Aminah [1] 23 Jan 1653

Sitti Aminah [2] 22 Jul 1672; 22 May 1677

Sitti Anisuh 21 Oct 1649

Sitti Fatimah 4 Sep 1673; 17 Jul 1674; 22 Aug 1675

Sitti Hadijah 26 Jun 1663

Sitti Hajar 12 Sep 1675

Sitti Halimah 16 Oct 1719

Sitti Hawa 21 May 1710

Sitti Labibah 2 Dec 1706; 24 Apr 1707; 3 Mar 1713

Sitti Lambengi 21 Oct 1672; 13 Dec 1672; 9 May 1673; 19 Nov 1677

Sitti Lele 10 Sep 1713; 19 Mar 1715; 23 May 1715; 24 Jan 1717

Sitti Maradiah 30 Dec 1673

Sitti Maryam 6 Aug 1680

Sitti Rahmah Malimbassanna 16 Jan 1711

Sitti Sarah 12 Sep 1674

Situju, Daeng 4 Dec 1677

Smout, Adriaan Hendrik 14 Aug 1737; 3 Sep 1739; 23 Mar 1741; 20 Apr 1741; 5 May 1743

Speelman, Cornelis 7 Oct 1669\*; 11 Jan 1684

Sugi [1] (Karaeng Bontoa) see Bontoa, Karaeng [3]

Sugi [2] 22 Aug 1739

- Sugiratu (Sitti Aminah) 14 Oct 1729; 15 Oct 1743; 29 Aug 1744  
 Suleman 1 Jul 1663  
 Suli, Karaeng 6 Jan 1635; 4 Apr 1652  
 Sumailiq [1] 18 Jun 1715; 26 Jan 1719; 4 Jul 1724  
 Sumailiq [2] 3 Dec 1724  
 Sumang 5 Feb 1730; 26 Jan 1731; 18 Mar 1732; 27 Jun 1732  
 Sumannaq, Karaeng [1] 1619; 10 Jul 1649; 10 Aug 1660; 21 Sep 1660; 18 Oct 1660; 9 Oct 1661; 23 Sep 1666  
 Sumannaq, Karaeng [2] 2 Aug 1731; 25 Aug 1740; 17 Jun 1741  
 Sunggu 29 Aug 1670  
 Suriwaq, Karaeng 3 Mar 1675; 12 Jun 1677  
 Sutting 10 Mar 1694  
 Syafiuddin (Mappaingaq, Karaeng Lempangang) 7 Dec 1709; 18 Dec 1714; 1 Dec 1722; 2 Mar 1725; 6 Jul 1725; 3 Nov 1725; 20 Feb 1727; 15 Jun 1733; 25 Oct 1736; 1 Nov 1740; 3 Oct 1742; 28 May 1742; 14 Mar 1746; 19 Mar 1746; 3 Sep 1746; 8 Jan 1747; 16 Feb 1747; 16 Oct 1747; 15 Aug 1748; 13 Dec 1748; 3 Apr 1749; 22 Jul 1750; 26 Apr 1751; 25 Aug 1751  
 Syarfuddin (Manngambu Jawa) 6 Jul 1725  
 Syehu 31 Dec 1731; 19 Jun 1732; 18 Sep 1734; 7 Sep 1735; 15 Dec 1735; 5 Feb 1737; 9 Feb 1741; 31 Oct 1741; 2 Jan 1742; 24 Mar 1743; 8 Jan 1747; 3 Jul 1747; 27 Jan 1748; 20 Aug 1750; 29 Sep 1750  
 Syoga 5 Feb 1684
- Taba 3 Oct 1731  
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [1] Oct 1627  
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [2] 29 Dec 1636  
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [3] (Daeng Talarra) 17 Mar 1645; 22 Jan 1646; 3 Jun 1669  
 Tabaringang, Karaeng [4] (Nafisah) 8 Feb 1706; 24 May 1718; 3 Jun 1718; 18 Jan 1721; 10 Oct 1732  
 Tocoa, Daeng (Alimah) 27 Apr 1724; 22 Oct 1728  
 Tadumai 13 Jul 1640  
 Taduq, Daeng 19 Nov 1636  
 Taenga, Tumamenang ri see Bontosunggu, Karaeng  
 Tahira 18 Sep 1734  
 Tahiriq 16 Jan 1675  
 Taiji, Daeng [1] 28 Jan 1725  
 Taiji, Daeng [2] 23 Oct 1726  
 Taipa, Karaeng 31 Dec 1732  
 Taipaya, Karaeng 12 Jun 1653  
 Tajuq (Karaeng Balaqsari) 16 Oct 1747; 16 May 1748; 16 Sep 1748; 13 Dec 1748  
 Takenna, Daeng (Jaing) 12 Apr 1703; 10 Feb 1704  
 Takka, Daeng 12 Aug 1622  
 Takkikkiq 24 Mar 1682  
 Takko, Kare 10 Dec 1674; 25 Jun 1721  
 Takontu, Daeng 12 Jan 1749  
 Takontu, Daengta Daeng (Fatimah, Karaeng Campagaya) 10 Sep 1659; 6 Apr 1673; 4 Aug 1674; 9 Oct 1674; 26 Apr 1675; 1 May 1675; 22 Apr 1678; 5 Dec 1681; 6 Jan 1683; 26 Dec 1683; 5 Nov 1719

- Talarra, Daeng [1] (Mene) 22 Oct 1673  
 Talarra, Daeng [2] 11 May 1686; 25 May 1712; 15 Dec 1712; 22 Dec 1712; 9 Jul 1729;  
 7 Jun 1731  
 Talarra, Daeng [3] (Jaleka) 22 Dec 1720; 1 May 1731  
 Talarra, Daengta Daeng (Makku) 23 Mar 1667; 26 Nov 1669; 16 Apr 1670; 3 Jul 1670;  
 13 Aug 1671  
 Talarra, Daengta Daeng 10 Nov 1727  
 Talebang 21 Jan 1673  
 Talebang, Daeng 21 Feb 1674; 15 Jan 1675; 2 Feb 1678  
 Talebang, Daengta Daeng 24 Jun 1674; 15 Nov 1674; 17 Sep 1717  
 Talele, Daeng [1] 29 Mar 1670; 22 Aug 1710  
 Talele, Daeng [2] 21 Dec 1674; 16 Jan 1675; 17 Jan 1675  
 Talele, Daeng [3] (Masiq) 10 Aug 1741  
 Talele, Daengta Daeng [1] 24 Jul 1718; 28 Jan 1725  
 Talele, Daengta Daeng [2] 22 Jun 1725  
 Talesang, Daeng (Coce) 28 Jan 1706; 5 Jul 1707  
 Taliwang, Karaeng 14 Jul 1693  
 Tallampuang Suluka, Karaeng 5 Oct 1729  
 Tallampuang, Karaeng 7 Apr 1715; 1 Sep 1716  
 Talloka, Gallarrang [1] (Kare Tulusuq) 19 Jul 1711  
 Talloka, Gallarrang [2] (Biqduq) 10 Apr 1715  
 Taloqmoq, Daeng 1 Mar 1674  
 Taluqmuq 8 Mar 1723  
 Tamalaqba, Karaeng 20 Jun 1668  
 Tamalingu, Karaeng (Punngaq) 19 Feb 1672; 27 Sep 1676; 13 Jul 1681  
 Tamamangung, Gallarrang 29 Nov 1750  
 Tamami, Daeng [1] 8 Aug 1715  
 Tamami, Daeng [2] 17 Jun 1720; 20 May 1721; 31 May 1722  
 Tamammempo 14 May 1631; 14 Jan 1632  
 Tamaqdagang, Karaeng 22 Oct 1673; 19 Nov 1677  
 Tamaqlaqlang, Karaeng (Kapparaq) 24 Oct 1720  
 Tamaqlili 16 Sep 1633  
 Tamasongoq, Karaeng [1] (Manguqrangi) 1627; 31 Aug 1646; 5 Apr 1648; 21 Oct  
 1649; 6 Jan 1649; 17 Jun 1650; 7 Jan 1654; 20 Dec 1659; 5 Jan 1672  
 Tamasongoq, Karaeng [2] (Sultan Zainuddin, Tumamenang ri Matoanging,  
 Makkaraeng) 26 Dec 1722; 11 Dec 1732; 18 Nov 1740; 27 Jan 1748  
 Tamemang, Daeng (Maqminasa) 26 Nov 1674; 12 Feb 1679  
 Tamemang, Daeng 30 Mar 1731  
 Tamemang, Daengta Daeng 20 Jan 1672; 7 May 1684; 16 Sep 1688; 9 Aug 1725  
 Tamemang, Daengta Daeng 7 Apr 1702; 1 Oct 1702; 8 Sep 1703  
 Tammattuq, Karaeng 12 Dec 1675  
 Tanang 30 Oct 1645  
 Tanasanga, Karaeng [1] (Halimah) 21 Jul 1693  
 Tanasanga, Karaeng [2] (Mahbubah Mamuncaragi) 31 Oct 1677; 30 Dec 1707; 27 Oct  
 1717; 7 Oct 1718; 4 Jun 1719; 5 Apr 1727; 27 Apr 1728; 8 Oct 1728; 20 May  
 1730; 12 Jul 1730; Mar 1732; 10 Jun 1733; 19 Mar 1740; 24 Mar 1743; 22 Mar  
 1746

- Tana-Tana, Karaeng (Fatimah) 21 Apr 1673; 22 Dec 1674; 5 Aug 1688; 28 Aug 1699; 8 Apr 1702; 4 Aug 1709; 20 Aug 1710; 21 Jun 1714; 25 Jun 1717; 3 Oct 1724; 20 Aug 1739
- Tangallaq, Karaeng [1] (Sitti Maradiah) 12 Dec 1615; 30 Mar 1631; 3 Nov 1631; 31 Oct 1642; 25 Feb 1649; 2 Feb 1655; 7 Sep 1655; 12 Feb 1657; 28 May 1661
- Tangallaq, Karaeng [2] (Sitti Arifah Tanripadaq) 24 Sep 1711; 29 Nov 1723; 17 Sep 1728; 29 Dec 1729; 3 Nov 1730; 21 May 1746
- Taniciniq, Daeng 4 Nov 1638; 28 Sep 1639; 23 Sep 1666
- Tanipaccoq 11 Jul 1681
- Taniq 25 Jun 1631; 1 Aug 1670; 23 Mar 1672; 16 Sep 1672; 25 May 1673; 28 Aug 1674; 27 Nov 1674
- Tanisanga, Karaeng 29 Jun 1684
- Tanisunggu 6 Feb 1678
- Taniuqrangi 3 May 1643
- Tanriwela 2 Nov 1646
- Tapallaq, Daeng [1] (Piqdaq) 13 May 1673
- Tapallaq, Daeng [2] 30 Oct 1674
- Tapallaq, Daeng [3] (Diqdaq) 17 Nov 1690; 30 Apr 1700; 13 Jan 1705; 5 May 1705; 13 Jan 1706; 20 Jun 1707; 8 Oct 1709; 31 Dec 1713; 10 Oct 1715; 18 May 1718; 18 Nov 1730
- Tapallaq, Daengta Daeng 17 Jul 1724
- Tappaq 10 Jan 1729; 14 Sep 1732
- Tappaq, Daeng 5 Jan 1672
- Tappaq, Karaeng 15 Jul 1645
- Tappaq, Kare 17 Feb 1725
- Taqbi Sattu 24 Feb 1705
- Taqbiq Jawa 16 Aug 1698
- Taqduq, Daengta Daeng 22 Aug 1637
- Taqgalaq, Kare [1] 4 Dec 1705
- Taqgalaq, Kare [2] (Parampang) 13 Feb 1706
- Tarawe 15 Dec 1712
- Taruq, Karaeng [1] 25 Jun 1704
- Taruq, Karaeng [2] 31 Mar 1705; 18 Jun 1715; 5 Mar 1718; 24 Jul 1718; 30 Jul 1722
- Taruq, Karaeng [3] 26 Jan 1740
- Tasami, Daeng (Takkiq) 22 May 1701; 1 Apr 1705; 22 Apr 1705; 5 Sep 1705; 25 Dec 1709; 12 Sep 1716; 20 Jan 1717; 10 Nov 1723
- Tasanning, Daeng [1] (Taloq) 28 Sep 1717
- Tasanning, Daeng [2] (Karaeng Bontomanaiq) 16 Jul 1750
- Tatonji, Daeng (Talluq) 11 Oct 1720
- Tauq, Daengta Daeng 15 Jun 1699
- Tenrilele (Matinroe ri Soreyang) 30 Jul 1750
- Teqne, Kare [1] 8 Nov 1651
- Teqne, Kare [2] (Jambang) 28 Jul 1706; 14 Nov 1706; 1 Sep 1709
- Thahirah 11 Mar 1730
- Tija 3 Feb 1645; 15 Jun 1646; 5 Jun 1653
- Tinangga 15 Feb 1674
- Tipa 6 Oct 1725

- Tippa 20 Nov 1751  
 To Sappaileq 21 Jan 1720  
 Toadaeng 12 Sep 1675  
 Toalaq 29 Nov 1651  
 Toaq Daeng 25 Mar 1678  
 Tobalaq 19 Nov 1643; 7 Aug 1660; 10 Aug 1660; 21 Sep 1660; 11 Oct 1660  
 Todattia 1 Mar 1714; 2 Mar 1714;  
 Tojumaat 17 Sep 1695; 29 Apr 1696  
 Toll, Governor van 4 May 1710; 27 Sep 1711; 6 Jun 1712  
 Tomboloq, Gallarrang [1] (Mangemba) 5 Apr 1729  
 Tomboloq, Gallarrang [2] 29 Aug 1733  
 Tommaq, Daeng 13 Jan 1655  
 Tommi, Daeng [1] (Yakung) 11 Oct 1705; 13 May 1708  
 Tommi, Daeng [2] 9 Sep 1718  
 Tomponga, Karaeng 22 May 1651; 14 Oct 1668  
 Tompoqbalang, Karaeng [1] 12 Jun 1660  
 Tompoqbalang, Karaeng [2] 31 Oct 1673; 22 Jul 1709; 15 Jun 1739  
 Tongi, Daeng (Sapiah) 18 Jun 1705; 8 Aug 1707; 3 Nov 1707; 31 May 1717; 8 Jun  
 1720  
 Tonji, Daeng [1] (Saenaq) 25 Sep 1675; 10 Oct 1713  
 Tonji, Daeng [2] (Baedah) 18 Jul 1718; 11 Dec 1719  
 Tonji, Daeng [3] (Ummi) 23 Dec 1721  
 Tonji, Daeng [4] (Balambaru) 8 Feb 1726  
 Tonji, Daengta Daeng 23 Apr 1711  
 Tonji, Kare (Maqmiq) 29 Sep 1676; 15 Sep 1707; 1 Mar 1714; 13 Apr 1715  
 Topasonriq 8 Mar 1639  
 Tosaqdaq (Arung Belo) 12 Oct 1668  
 Totammaq 21 Mar 1706  
 Tuang Anciq Jenalaq 7 Sep 1660; 2 Oct 1660  
 Tuang Dima Dec 1737  
 Tuang Pandiq, Karaeng 8 May 1716  
 Tuang Rappang (Abdul Bashir) 2 Mar 1678; 29 Jul 1704; 9 Nov 1704; 4 Oct 1707; 20  
 May 1715; 14 Dec 1722; 5 May 1723; 25 Jul 1723; 7 Jun 1725; 18 Oct 1728;  
 25 Feb 1729; 3 Sep 1751  
 Tuang ri Dima (Shaykh Umar Bamahsuna Rahmahtullah) 13 Feb 1637; 22 Mar 1684;  
 21 Apr 1684; 2 Apr 1688; 8 May 1694; 11 Jan 1724  
 Tuang, Daengta Daeng 26 Mar 1707  
 Tuassah 18 Mar 1736  
 Tuguq 28 Jan 1717  
 Tulolo, Daeng (Mangiq) 21 Dec 1701; 27 May 1715; 19 Feb 1719; 17 Dec 1720; 24  
 Aug 1724  
 Tulolo, Kare 19 Feb 1672  
 Tulusuq, Kare Gallarrang 22 May 1693; 23 Aug 1693  
 Tumamenang ri Jawaya see Najamuddin, Sultan  
 Tumamenang ri Lampana see Harunarrasyid  
 Tumamenang ri Passiringanna (Sultan Abdul Kadir) see Abdul Kadir  
 Tumamenang ri Rateqna 29 Jun 1712; 10 Jun 1726  
 Tumamenang ri Taenga see Bontosunggu, Karaeng

- Tumammaliang ri Timoroq (Mudhaffar) 1593; 26 Oct 1637; 25 Dec 1640; 15 Jan 1641; 20 Jan 1641; 7 May 1641; 18 May 1641
- Tumammo, Daengta Daeng 10 Oct 1702
- Tumaqdanggang, Karaeng 14 Mar 1671; 19 Oct 1671
- Tumaqlalang, Karaeng (Kapparaq) 21 Jun 1717
- Tumatea ri Banten (Daeng Mangemba) 14 May 1631; 20 May 1632; 27 Sept 1632; 9 Dec 1632
- Tumatea ri Jakattaraq see Muhammad Ali
- Tumbuq [1] 10 Dec 1645; 30 Sep 1646; 21 Feb 1649
- Tumbuq [2] 12 Sep 1670
- Tummamo, Daeng (Abdul Jalil) 26 Aug 1679
- Tuna, Daeng [1] 2 May 1643; 18 Oct 1651
- Tuna, Daeng [2] 22 Nov 1674; 23 Mar 1675
- Tuna, Daeng [3] (Salamah) 24 Dec 1678
- Tuna, Daengta Daeng [1] 19 Apr 1632; 8 Mar 1704
- Tuna, Daengta Daeng [2] (Bulukumba) 10 Apr 1706
- Tunijalloq 1545, 1590
- Ujung Pandang, Karaeng 7 Apr 1665; 26 Dec 1672
- Ujung Tana, Karaeng (Kelo, Daeng Uraga) 27 Sep 1632
- Ujung, Karaeng [1] 2 Aug 1679
- Ujung, Karaeng [2] (Daeng Nisanga) 15 Jan 1716
- Umaraq 29 Oct 1724
- Ummu Kalsum 15 Jun 1646
- Ummu Kalsyum 15 Aug 1714
- Unnaq 10 Sep 1722
- Untaya 12 Aug 1647
- Uppa, Kare 9 Oct 1705
- Uru 30 Jun 1672
- Uthman 24 Aug 1632; 18 Sep 1632; 8 Aug 1656
- Watanglipua 6 May 1715
- Wera 1660\*
- Wiherah 16 May 1642
- Yabu 1 Mar 1712
- Yakiah 9 Dec 1728; 16 Oct 1730
- Yasing 9 Dec 1725
- Yunnaq 23 Jun 1723; 24 May 1725
- Yusuf, Shaykh 1626; 22 Sep 1644; 20 Oct 1644; 13 Dec 1666
- Zainab [1] 2 Aug 1693
- Zainab [2] 20 Aug 1710
- Zalikha 4 Sep 1673





## Glossary

anaq buraqne	a term applied to sons of nobles, it may have referred to a distinct group of young warriors
anaq karaeng	a term applied to refer to noble offspring
anrong guru	leader/teacher; a common term for a chief of a community or religious authority, it was also the title given to the one in charge of the <i>tumakkajannang</i>
ata mateqne	a group or class of people translated as 'favored servants,' they were often entrusted with important tasks
ata ri kale	this term is translated as 'bound followers' and describes a group or class of people. It literally means 'personal slaves' but does not carry the same connotations of ownership and powerlessness that this translation implies
ata ballaq lompoa	a group or class of people translated as 'slave' meaning 'great house,' this refers to a ruler's home and is used as a proper name for the Gowa royal palace
bembeng kaqdoq	a group or class of people translated as 'servants'
bilang tau	a general term describing commoners translated as 'people'
dacing	a kind of portable scale with two arms of unequal length separating fixed and moveable weights
daeng	a title distinguishing nobles from commoners, usually chosen to reflect a physical or mental characteristic of the person named
gallarrang	a title of local rulers beneath the level of karaeng
gantang	a unit of measurement equal to 20 katti, or 1/20th of a pikul
jangang-jangang	the oldest Makassarese script
kali	the chief Islamic official in the land and religious advisor to the ruler
kalompoang	meaning 'greatness', it denotes sacred objects or regalia possessed by many Makassarese <i>paqrasangang</i>
karaeng	a title granted to high-ranking nobles, usually but not always based on the toponym of a <i>paqrasangang</i> which became the appanage of the title-holder
koyang	a unit of measurement. Cense notes (1979: 338) that in Makassar a 'small koyang' ( <i>koyang caqdi</i> ) was equal to thirty pikul (1 pikul equaled approximately 60 kg), and a 'large koyang' ( <i>koyang lompo</i> ) was equal to one hundred pikul, implying that a 'regular' koyang would be equal to sixty-five or so pikul

laqlang sipue	literally meaning 'half-umbrellas,' this refers to a sunshade made from lontar palm leaves that was held above the heads of rulers as a mark of their loftiness
lontaraq	this term is used in several different senses, but in this work usually refers to a physical manuscript (as they were originally written on lontar palm leaves)
lontaraq beru	meaning 'new lontar', it refers to the most common Makassarese script
lontaraq bilang	meaning 'counting manuscript', a genre of Makassarese writing. A court record of important events, dated and in chronological order
pajama	a group or class of people translated as 'laborers'
pakaiq	this term refers to a slave of the lowest rank, translated as 'thrall' to distinguish it from the more common word for 'slave'(ata)
paqrasangang	settlement, village, community, polity, kampung
patturioloang	a genre of Makassarese writing. Literally 'that which is about the ancestors', it is usually translated as 'chronicle'
patung	a unit of measurement equal to a <i>gantang</i> or 20 katti
rapang	a genre of Makassarese writing containing advice, guidelines, and declarations from renown ancestors
raqba bate	like <i>saqbu kati</i> , a fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished
sabannaraq	a title meaning 'harbourmaster'
saqbu katti	a substantial fine imposed by the victor on the vanquished, usually paid in gold
serang	Makassarese written in Arabic script
Sudanga	the sacred regalia-sword of Lakipadada given to the rulers of Gowa
taikang	a balance with two equal scales
Tallumbocco	an alliance formed by Boné, Wajoq, and Soppéng in an effort to withstand Gowa's rising power in the sixteenth century
Tanisamaang	the sacred golden chain the <i>tumanurung</i> gave to her son and later rulers of Gowa
tau taballaq	a group or class of people translated as 'household followers'
timbaq sareong	a war indemnity or payment, but comprised of various valuables instead of gold
tumabicarabutta	chief advisor and minister of Gowa known as 'The Speaker of the Land'
tumailalang	title of ministers that acted as intermediaries within Gowa
tumakkajannang	a term or title describing those charged with supervising others who had specific tasks
tumalompo	a term used to refer to important persons
tumanurung	literally 'the person who descended', it refers to a heavenly ancestor of pure white blood who was recognized and installed as the first ruler of a new kingdom by the people of the land

## Reign lists for the rulers of Gowa and Talloq

### *Rulers of Gowa to 1753*

- |    |                                       |  |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1  | Tumanurung                            | early 14th century                           |
| 2  | Tumassalangga Baraya (son)            |  |
| 3  | I Puang Lowe Lembang (son)            |  |
| 4  | Tuniatabanri (son)                    |  |
| 5  | Karampang ri Gowa (son)               |  |
| 6  | Tunatangkalopi (son)                  |  |
| 7  | Batara Gowa (son)                     |  |
|    | Tumamenang ri Paralakkenna            |  |
| 8  | Tunijalloq ri Passukkiq (son)         | late 15th century to late 1510 or early 1511 |
| 9  | Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (son)           | ruled late 1510 or early 1511 to late 1546   |
|    | Karaeng Manngutungi, Gallarrang Loaya |  |
| 10 | Tunipalangga (son)                    | ruled late 1546 to early 1565                |
|    | Karaeng Lakiung                       | lived 1511 to 1565                           |
| 11 | Tunibatta (brother)                   | ruled 40 days in 1565                        |
|    | Karaeng Dataq                         | lived 1517 to 1565                           |
| 12 | Tunijalloq (son)                      | ruled 1565 to 1590                           |
|    | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq                | lived 1545 to late 1590                      |
| 13 | Tunipasuluq (son)                     | ruled late 1590 to early 1593 (deposed)      |
|    | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq                | lived 1575 to 5 July 1617                    |
| 14 | Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (brother)      | ruled 1593 to 15 June 1639                   |
|    | Sultan Alau'ddin                      | lived 1586 to 15 June 1639                   |
| 15 | Tumamenang ri Papambatuna (son)       | ruled 1639 to 5 Nov 1653                     |
|    | Sultan Malikussaid (Muhammad Said)    | lived 11 Dec 1607 to 5 Nov 1653              |
|    | Karaeng Ujung, Karaeng Lakiung        |  |
| 16 | Tumamenang ri Ballaq Pangkana (son)   | ruled 1653 to 17 June 1669 (abdicated)       |
|    | Sultan Hasanuddin                     | lived 12 Jan 1631 to 12 June 1670            |
|    | Karaeng Bontomangape                  |  |
| 17 | Tumammaliang ri Alluq (son)           | ruled 29 June 1669 to 7 May 1674             |
|    | Sultan Amir Hamzah                    | lived 31 Mar 1656 to 7 May 1674              |
| 18 | Tumatea ri Jakattaraq (brother)       | ruled 3 Oct 1674 to 27 July 1677             |
|    | Sultan Muhammad Ali, Karaeng Bisei    | (deposed)                                    |
|    |                                       | lived 29 Nov 1654 to 15 Mar 1681             |

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 19 | Tumamenang ri Lakiung (brother)<br>Sultan Abdul Jalil, Karaeng Sanrabone                               | ruled 27 July 1677 to 17 Sept 1709<br>lived 18 Aug 1652 to 17 Sept 1709            |
| 20 | Tumamenang ri Sombaopu (grandson)<br>Sultan Ismail, Karaeng Anaq Moncong                               | ruled 21 Sept 1709 to 24 Aug 1712<br>(deposed)<br>lived 18 Jan 1690 to 1 Apr 1724  |
| 21 | Tumamenang ri Pasiq (son of T11)<br>Karaeng Kanjilo<br>Sultan Sirajuddin, Tumamaliang<br>ri Talloq     | ruled 31 Aug 1712 to 5 Nov 1735<br>(abdicated)<br>lived 17 Nov 1687 to 22 Jan 1739 |
| 22 | Tumamenang ri Gowa<br>(grandson of G21, son of T14)<br>Sultan Abdul Khair Almansyur<br>I Mallawanggauq | ruled 5 Nov 1735 to 28 July 1742<br>lived 12 Feb 1727 to 28 July 1742              |
| 23 | Karaeng Bontolangkasaq<br>lived 14 Mar 1694 to 8 Sept 1739   | ruled 10 April 1739 to 8 Sept 1739   |
| 24 | Tumamenang ri Kalabiranna<br>(brother of G22)<br>Sultan Abdul Kudus                                    | ruled 28 July 1742 to 1753<br>lived Dec 1733 to 1753                               |

*Rulers of Talloq to 1760*

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1  | Karaeng Lowe ri Sero (son of G6)  | mid to late 15th century                                       |
| 2  | Tunilabu ri Suriwa (son)  | late 15th century to 1500s                                     |
| 3  | Tunipasuruq, Karaeng ri Passiq (son)  | 1500s to 1540 or 1543  |
| 4  | Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (son)<br>Karaeng Patingalloang  | ruled 1540 or 1543 to 1576<br>lived 1520 to 1576               |
| 5  | Karaeng Bainea (daughter)<br>Karaeng Patingalloang  | late 1576 to 1590  |
| 6  | Tunipasuluq (son)   | late 1590 to early 1593  |
| 7  | Karaeng Matoaya (son of T4)<br>Sultan Abdullah, Tumamenang<br>ri Agamana<br>Karaeng Kanjilo, Karaeng Segeri | ruled 1593 to 1623 (advised son to 1636)<br>lived 1573 to 1636 |
| 8  | Karaeng Kanjilo (son)<br>Sultan Mudhaffar<br>Tumammaliang ri Timoroq  | ruled 1623 to 18 May 1641<br>lived 1598 to 18 May 1641         |
| 9  | Karaeng Patingalloang (brother)<br>Sultan Mahmud<br>Tumamenang ri Bontobiraeng                              | ruled 1641 to 15 Sept 1654<br>lived Aug 1600 to 15 Sept 1654   |
| 10 | Tumamenang ri Lampana (son of T8)<br>Sultan Harrunarysid  | ruled 1654 to 16 June 1673<br>lived 3 Nov 1640 to 16 June 1673 |
| 11 | Tumamenang ri Passiringanna (son)<br>Sultan Abdul Kadir   | ruled 1673 to 8 Jan 1709<br>lived 7 Jan 1666 to 8 Jan 1709     |
| 12 | Tumamenang ri Pasiq, Karaeng<br>Kanjilo (son)<br>Sultan Sirajuddin, Tumamaliang                             | ruled 12 Aug 1709 to 1714<br>ruled 25 Apr 1729 to 1739         |

- |    |                              |                                  |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|    | ri Talloq                    | lived 17 Nov 1687 to 22 Jan 1739 |
| 13 | Tumamenang ri Jawaya (son)   | ruled 1714 to 24 Apr 1729        |
|    | Sultan Najamuddin            | lived 23 Dec 1708 to 24 Apr 1729 |
| 14 | Karaeng Lempangang (brother) | ruled 1739 to 1760               |
|    | Syafiuddin                   | lived 7 Dec 1709 to 1760         |



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