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Concepts of *Wanua* and *Palili*: The Buginese Political Geography in Confederation of *Ajatappareng* in South Sulawesi

ABSTRACT: This working paper will discuss the concepts of “wanua” and “palili” in the structure of the kingdoms united in the confederation of “ajatappareng” in South Sulawesi. “Wanua” and “palili” were the two terms used by the central kingdom on its subordinate regions. The research used the content analysis on the local manuscripts known as “Lontaraq”. The research indicates that “wanua” is a concept concerning the geography whose inhabitants have a very closed to kinship relationship. On the other hand, “palili” is a concept concerning the authority relationship between the central kingdom and all “wanua” under it. To avoid being subjected by a powerful kingdom, several neighbouring “wanuas” have an agreement to unite to establish a bigger kingdom. All “wanuas” which have firstly united to establish the kingdom called “palili passeajingeng”. All the heads of “palili passeajingeng” must become the members of the customary council in the central kingdom. One of the tasks of the council is to inaugurate and fire the king. The research discusses more profoundly the concepts of “wanua” and “palili” to comprehend more deeply the political geography in the confederation of “ajatappareng” in South Sulawesi.

KEY WORD: Structure of kingdom, “ajatappareng”, authority relationship, confederation, “wanua”, “palili”, and South Sulawesi.

IKHTISAR: “Konsep ‘Wanua’ dan ‘Palili’: Geografi Politik Bangsa Bugis dalam Konfederasi ‘Ajatappareng’ di Sulawesi Selatan”. Makalah ini akan membahas konsep “wanua” dan “palili” dalam struktur kerajaan yang bersatu dalam konfederasi “ajatappareng” di Sulawesi Selatan. “Wanua” dan “palili” adalah dua istilah yang digunakan oleh kerajaan pusat terhadap daerah bawahnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis isi pada naskah lokal yang dikenal sebagai “Lontaraq”. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa “wanua” adalah sebuah konsep mengenai geografi yang penduduknya memiliki hubungan kekerabatan yang sangat tertutup. Di sisi lain, “palili” adalah sebuah konsep mengenai hubungan kewenangan antara kerajaan pusat dan semua “wanua” di bawahnya. Untuk menghindari menjadi sasaran oleh kerajaan yang kuat, beberapa tetangga “wanua” memiliki kesepakatan untuk bersatu untuk membangun sebuah kerajaan besar. Semua “wanua” yang telah terlebih dahulu bersatu dan membangun kerajaan disebut “palili passeajingeng”. Semua kepala “palili passeajingeng” harus menjadi anggota dewan adat di kerajaan pusat. Salah satu tugas dari dewan tersebut adalah untuk meresmikan dan melengserkan raja. Penelitian ini membahas lebih mendalam konsep “wanua” dan “palili” untuk memahami lebih jauh tentang geografi politik dalam konfederasi “ajatappareng” di Sulawesi Selatan.

KATA KUNCI: Struktur kerajaan, “ajatappareng”, hubungan otoritas, konfederasi, “wanua”, “palili”, dan Sulawesi Selatan.

INTRODUCTION

The confederation of *Ajatappareng* was established in 1582 by five kingdoms situated in the west of Tempe,

Sidenreng, and Buaya lakes. As noted that three lakes could only be seen in the dry season; so, if the rainy season came, the three lakes would become one

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lake. The five kingdoms were: Sidenreng, Sawitto, Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta (Mappasanda, 1992; and Andaya, 2004). Geographically, *Ajatappareng* region included the vast fertile plain in South Sulawesi, starting from the south direction to the middle of the region. Many mountains were in the north of Sawitto and Sidenreng.

A Portuguese adventurer, named Manuel Pinto, reported that in 1540s, Sidenreng was very rich with the agricultural products, i.e. paddy and rice (cited in Harvey, 1989:18; and Druce, 2009:24). The governmental structure in the confederation of *Ajatappareng* was simple, namely the central kingdom and its subordinate kingdoms. The autonomous subsequent regions carried out their governmental affairs called *wanua*, whereas *wanua* should carry out the acts of the central kingdom called *palili*.

There were three types of *palili* in the confederation of *Ajatappareng*, namely: *palili passeajingeng*, *palili bassi*, and *palili napanoq rakkalana*. The question is “why were there the terms of *wanua* and *palili*, and why should also *palili* be distinguished into three categories?”

CONFEDERATION OF AJATAPPARENG

Oral tradition and *lontaraq* sources¹ explaining *Ajatappareng* confederation told the story that in the beginning the confederation was established by five siblings. There was a version saying that the oldest child ruled in Sidenreng, the second child ruled in Sawitto, and the youngest child ruled in Alitta. The other version saying that the oldest child ruled in Sawitto, the second child ruled in Sidenreng, the youngest child rule in Alitta. Both versions explained that the third child ruled in Rappang, and the fourth child ruled in Suppa (Druce, 2009:166-167).²

¹*Lontaraq* was the local manuscript used by Buginese and Makassarese people to write down various experiences, including to write the history in *lontaraq*.

²In the era of British authority (1812-1814) and in the era when the Dutch regain their authority in

Worth estimating that both versions above began to appear in the oral tradition and *lontaraq* sources in the end of 17th century, or maybe in the 20th century. In the century, Sidenreng and Sawitto possessed the strategic role in the political constellation in South Sulawesi. In the same century, Suppa also did not have an important role in the political dynamics in South Sulawesi. Precisely, in the oral tradition, Suppa was only in fourth position in the political role in *Ajatappareng*. Nevertheless, in the 16th century or the previous century, Suppa had the important role in the political and economic dynamics in South Sulawesi. Even, in *Lagaligo* mythology, it had been told that Suppa was a great and very important kingdom in the west side of Makassar straits.³

Based on the mythology, there was the possibility that *Ajatappareng*

the year 1824, Sidenreng became the loyal alliance of both foreign authorities. *Lontaraq* source explained that when the five kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* were subjected by Gowa kingdom in 16th century, if the kings in *Ajatappareng* intended to meet Gowa King in Makassar, they should obey the rule that the oldest was given precedence and the youngest was given the last opportunity. The rule was that Sidenreng was the oldest, followed by Sawitto, Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta as the youngest. See, for further information, also “*Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng*”, *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.178.

³Christian Pelras described the important role of Suppa in the 16th century. The geography of South Sulawesi described in *Lagaligo* story that there was a straits between Bone bay and Makassar straits, which enabled people to sail from Tempe’s lake to Suppa. The shipping from Bone bay to the west bow passed the narrow stripe to Solo’, then widened again to become the wide lake, where the water flowed from the lake which so far has been called Tempe’s lake through the narrow straits, so that it brought about the dangerous whirlpool. In the range of hills spreading out to the south and south east starting from the region, which so far has been called Pammana to Cina – perhaps Cina that was told in *Lagaligo* was Cina situated in Wajo, not Cina located in Bone. In the north range of hills, there were Tempe and Paccing which later were known as Singkang. Moving forward to the west, in the region which so far has been full with the rice fields spreading out surrounding Tempe and Sidenreng lakes, there was a “fresh water sea” covering all the plains up to Soppeng in the south, and in the west to range of high mountains, which were in a row with the west coast. From the “fresh water sea”, the water flowed to valley, which Saddang river and then had emptied into the west coast near Suppa (Pelras, 2006:71-72).

confederation could be realized, because of the presence of the initiative from Suppa. In that era, the five siblings, the authorities of the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng*, held a discussion in Suppa to make contracts related to the economy, war, and defense. Their contracts were symbolized with a house having five rooms. Each ruler and the people of the five kingdoms might enter any room, which they wanted to (Pabitjara, 2006:17).⁴

There was not any source mentioning the names of the five siblings, which had discussion to realize *Ajatappareng* confederation. There was another source explaining that the discussion was held in Suppa by the rulers of five kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* in the middle of the 16th century. In that era, Suppa was represented by Suppa King named La Makkarawi; Sawitto was represented by Sawitto King named La Paleteang; Sidenreng was represented by Sidenreng King named La Pateddungi; Rappang was represented by Rappang King named La Pakallongi; and Alitta was represented by La Pakallongi, because at that time he also ruled in Alitta (Rasyid, 1985:88).

If the oral tradition sources frequently exchanged between Sidenreng and Sawitto, as the most influential kingdom and was considered the most important kingdom in *Ajatappareng*, however, these sources did not answer the question whether the discussion to establish *Ajatappareng* confederation was carried out in Sidenreng or in Sawitto. For sure, the discussion location was important to find out, because if not any of both kingdoms became the discussion location, worth estimating that both kingdoms were not kingdoms initiating the concept of establishment of *Ajatappareng* confederation.

Based on the Portuguese records, in 1538, they had the commercial contact and spread over the Christian

religion in Buginese kingdoms. Buginese region, which was firstly visited by the Portuguese missionaries, was Suppa whose king at that time named La Makkawari (Mattulada, 2011:27-28). Based on the Portuguese record, also worth estimating that *Ajatappareng* confederation was established in the hegemony of La Makkawari in 1582 (Rasyid, 1985:88; and Pabitjara, 2006:125). Possibly, this confederation was established after Bajeng, Lengkesse, Polombangkeng, Lamuru, Soppeng, Maros, Wajo, Suppa, Sawitto, Bacukiki, Alitta, Duri, Panaikang, dan Bulukumba were subjugated by Gowa Kingdom.

Gowa King at that time was Tunipallangga Ulaweng (1546-1565), who required very much the support from Buginese kingdoms to carry out the trade activities in Sombaopu Town, which began being built in the era of his father's hegemony named Tumaparisi Kallona. After the subjugation, Malay people who dwelled in Sawitto, Suppa, and who primarily dwelled in Bacukiki were transferred to Gowa.

The question is why were these people specifically transferred to Gowa? Why were all the people of all kingdoms that were subjugated not transferred to Gowa, too? Perhaps, these could elaborate the importance of Bacukiki as the harbour town in the 15th and 16th centuries, obtaining some support from the surrounding kingdoms primarily Sawitto, Suppa, and Sidenreng, which were rich of the agricultural commodities.

After Malaka had been subjugated by the Portuguese in the year 1511, the Malay people, in groups, had trade to Bacukiki, which was well known at that time. In that era, Gowa required the experience and expertise of the Malay people to maintain the defence and trade activities in Makassar. At this era, Gowa was famous as the expert in changing the traditional shield from the big one to the small one, shortening Makassarese spear handle from the

⁴See also "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Suppa", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.47.

long one, and producing Palembang's bullets. Gowa kings were also famous as the experts of war strategies (Andaya, 2004:32-34).

THE PEDIGREE OF THE KINGDOMS IN AJATAPPARENG CONFEDERATION

The origin of the kingdoms in South Sulawesi was more mythological. In the local manuscript, it was described that the kingdoms were established by a prince or a princess whose name and origin were anonymous. If the person appeared from a heaven above, he/she was called *Tomanurung*; however, if the person appeared from below (the sea bottom), he/she was known as *Totompoq* (Mukhlis ed., 1986:35).

Tomanurung's appearance, as the first king, was usually preceded by the conflict between *wanua* was difficult to be reconciled. In *Lontaraq* source, it was described that only *Tomanurung* who could settle all the conflicts happening. The establishment of Gowa Kingdom started from the conflict among *wanuas*. The conflict was, then, settled by a female figure whose name and origin were anonymous; therefore, the community named her *Tomuanurung* (cited in Mattulada, 1995:4-6).

Not too different from *Tomanurung* presence in Gowa, *Tomanurung* presence in Bone also had the mythological nature and was preceded by the conflict among seven *wanuas* happening in the long era. The seven *wanuas* were Ujung, Tibojong, Ta', Tanete ri Attang, Tanete ri Awang, Ponceng, and Macege. When the conflict happened violently, suddenly the rain down poured together with the whirlwind, the lightning occurred continuously accompanied by the thunder which struck continuously, the thunder cannonaded and flash of lightning occurred interchangeably, as if the earth would be shattered. The event happened for seven days and nights (cf Mukhlis ed., 1986; and Mattulada, 1995).

When the situation calmed down again, suddenly the crowd saw a person

in white clothes standing in the middle of the pitch. The crowd assumed that he was a *Tomanurung*, because his name and origin were not known. Immediately, the intended to respect him because he was regarded as *Tomanurung*; however, he did not want to be respected and he proposed the crowd to go to Matajang to meet the real *Tomanurung*. In Matajang, the crowd saw someone in yellow clothes sitting on a big flat stone. There were four people sitting on the big stone, three of them were the bodyguards of *Tomanurung*. One of them protected *Tomanurung* with an umbrella and the other two carried a plate for betel for *Tomanurung* (Daeng Patunru, 1989:10-13).⁵

The sources of the oral and written traditions, called *Lontaraq*, quoted that the leading figure establishing Gowa and Bone was a mythological figure named *Tomanurung*, whose name and origin were not known (*ibidem* with footnote 5). There were two possibilities why both traditional sources quoted that Gowa and Bone were founded by the mythological figure. *First*, the mythological figure was intentionally presented to reconcile *wanua* groups, which were in conflict. All *wanua* chiefs were in conflict maybe because they possessed the same status and legitimacy source. *Second*, the mythological figure was intentionally presented to describe that since from the beginning, Gowa and Bone possessed the more democratic and sophisticated political system than the establishment of the other kingdoms in South Sulawesi.

The sources of the oral and written traditions, called *Lontaraq*, described that Sidenreng, as one of the primary kingdoms in *Ajatappareng*, was established by a figure whose name and origin were obvious namely King Sangallaq in Tanah Toraja, who had nine children. The children named La

⁵See also "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Bone", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, pp.0-1.

Maddaremmeng, La Wewangriwu, La Togellipu, La Pasampoi, La Pakolongi, La Pabbari, La Panaungi, La Mappasessu, and La Mappatunru (Daeng Patunru, 2004:75).⁶

Each child had control over one *wanua* with approximately one thousand people in each *wanua*. La Maddaremmeng had a daughter named Bolongpatinna. When King Sangallaq passed away, he was substituted by La Maddaremmeng as the eldest son. At that time, La Maddaremmeng was always successful to win the wars against the other kings in Tanah Toraja. Even his younger brothers were fought too, the seven younger brothers did not want to fight against La Maddaremmeng, so the seven brothers left Tanah Toraja by being accompanied by their people.

Days and nights they walked to explore the new areas, which were appropriate to become the group villages. Not knowing how long they walked, they arrived on a hill. On the hill, when they saw down to the north, there was wide flat land. They also saw that there was a lake in the flat land. They continued their journey until they got to the edge of the lake. They also “*sirrenreng-renreng*” (walked hand in hand) went down to the lake to take a bath.⁷ From the words “*sirrenreng-renreng*”, which underwent a morphological process, to become “*sirenreng*”, which eventually became “*sidenreng*”.

Lontaraq source described that La Maddaremmeng had a daughter named Bolongpatinna got married to a duke from Patilang. The marriage bore a daughter and a son named La

Mallibureng. Because the eldest child was a princess, she was delegated to become the queen in Sidenreng, and the prince was delegated to become the king in Rappang. However, Sidenreng people did not want to be ruled by the princess, Sidenreng people and Rappang people exchanged both the queen and the king, namely the prince of La Mallibureng became Sidenreng king and the princess became Rappang queen (Druce, 2009:178; and *ibidem* with footnote 7, pp.17-18).

The eight brothers, who came from Tanah Toraja, agreed to inaugurate La Wewangriwu to become the chairman in carrying out the authority and government administration (Caldwell, 1988:144). He was given the title *addaoang*.⁸ In the era of the fifth generation coinciding the ruling era of We Tappalangi, a *Tomanurung* was found in Bulu Lowa. This *Tomanurung* was then agreed by Sidenreng people to become their king to replace We Tappalangi. This *Tomanurung* did not want to use the title *addaoang*, because he was not the king delegated by the king from the other kingdom (Daeng Patunru, 2004:80).

The *Lontaraq* also described that the eight brothers firstly exposed and established Sidenreng. In the era of the second generation coinciding the ruling era of La Makkara or La Kasi, the very simple authority and government system was designed. La Makkara ruled in the central kingdom, whereas the other seven brothers or their descendants ruled in every *wanua*. If

⁶See also, for example, “Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng”, *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1; and “Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng”, *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.16.

⁷See “Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng”. *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, pp.1-2.

⁸*Addaoang* literally means the shading place or embracing palce. *Addituang Sidenreng* was supposed to be a big tree, a place where people shaded or embraced. Then *addaoang* term changed to *addituang* term, based on the story that once upon a time there was no king in Sidenreng. Therefore, Sidenreng requested to Bone King. Based on the request, Bone King sent his son to become a king in Sidenreng. The word “to send” in Bugenese is known as *addituang*. The story was not appropriate with historical facts. Consequently, Sidenreng people comprehended that the word *addituang* was derived from the word *addaoang*, not from the word “to send”. See, for further information, Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru (2004:80).

La Makkara intended to make a policy, he had to have the discussion with all *wanua*'s chairperson. However, this *lontaraq* did not put La Wewangriwu and his descendants until We Tappalangi in the list (family tree) of Sidenreng kings.⁹ This *lontaraq* was similar with *Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng* and the oral tradition source placed *Tomanurung* in Bulu Lowa as the first king or *Addituang Sidenreng*.

The question is why did many sources concerning the list of Sidenreng kings placed *Tomanurung* as the first *addituang*, not La Wewangriwu? Maybe this matter had the relationship with *lontaraq* writing tradition in South Sulawesi, starting in the 16th century. The writing underwent several times of copying from one century to then centuries, even not fewer that *lontaraq* was written in 20th century. All *lontarqs* concerning the origin of the kingdoms in South Sulawesi always described that the kingdom was opened and established by *Tomanurung*.

The first mythological king did not show that the kingdom described was as the earlier kingdom established. The tradition of writing and copying *lontaraq*, which placed *Tomanurung* as the first king, was meant that the kingdom described had the divine source authority. His authority source was not from the ordinary human being, but he was derived from the divine (godly) human, namely *Tomanurung*, someone whose name and origin were not known.

The origin of the person who found Sidenreng and Rappang came from Sangallaq in Tanah Toraja. The sources of oral tradition and *lontaraq* source described that the first person finding Sawitto, for example, was a person coming from Simbuang in Tanah Toraja. In the past time, the people from eight *wanuas* had discussion in Sidenreng.

The eight *wanuas* were Simbuang, Saddang, Mamasa, Rantebulahan, Sawitto, Gallangkallang, Balanipa, and Matangnga. They made the agreement concerning the war and defense. Each *wanua* chose its own title to reflect its status. Sawitto named itself *datu*¹⁰ (king); Rantebulahan named itself *pattawa mana* (heritage divider); Mamasa had the title *limbong kalua* and would assist the other *wanua* if necessary; Gallangkallang had the title *eran bulan* (messenger of golden message) and gave the information to Sawitto; Matangnga had the title *tikana tiring karu*, which would give the information to other *wanuas* if a war happened. Then, Simbuang had the title *neneq*,¹¹ because it was regarded as the oldest in the alliance (Druce, 2009:18-183).

The alliance maybe was based on the historical, economic, and military relationships; and maybe also indicated that there was the kinship relationship between Sawitto and seven other *wanuas* which merged. Eight *wanuas* were situated in the north-west of South Sulawesi. One of *wanua* merged was Gallangkallang, *palili* from Sawitto, and had the role to give the message to Sawitto. There was the possibility that the alliance was established before Arung Palakka subjugated Tanah Toraja in the end of 17th century; because after the subjugation, Arung Palakka made Simbuang as *palili* of Sawitto.¹²

Another source described Simbuang as *neneq* (grandfather) and Sawitto as *appo* (grandchild). There was also another source which connected Sawitto and Simbuang, namely *Bonggakaradeng*. There was a story that *Bonggakaradeng* was a blacksmith who urinated a fallen tree. The urine

¹⁰The title of *datu* indicated that Sawitto was stronger and more powerful than the other *wanua* leaders.

¹¹The title of *neneq* indicated that Simbuang was older and had the right to propose the way of settling if the conflict among *wanua* chairpersons which merged.

¹²After the Dutch subjugated South Sulawesi in the beginning of the 20th century, the Dutch made Simbuang as a *wanua*, which was formerly under the rule of Tanah Toraja.

brought about a pig to be pregnant and, then, the pig gave birth the twin male babies. The source described the way of both boys to make a golden sword in *Bonggakaradeng* and its case was kept in Sawitto. At first both boys lived together with *Bonggakaradeng* or their father; however, both were reprimanded because they wanted to eat pork. Then, they went to sail with their mother through Masuppu river. Not long, they arrived in Sawitto (Druce, 2009).

Arriving in Sawitto, the mother transformed into a stone. In Sawitto, they bewitched the sky, so that it became dark. The sun would shine again if Sawitto people respected them and did not eat pork and meat of the other animals, which were not slaughtered. At the end of the story, both young men married to Sawitto royal princesses, who then gave birth all Sawitto kings (Druce, 2009:183).

Another story concerning Sawitto origin that it did not have any relationship with Simbuang. This source described that Sawitto origin was closely related to Bone. A princess of Bone duke, named I Witto and her bodyguards, arrived to a place whose was not known. The area that they just visited was very fertile. Therefore, I Witto ordered her bodyguards to establish a settlement, rice fields, and plantations. The harvesting products of their rice fields and plantations were abundant, which were in Buginese called "sawe". Therefore, many people from the other *wanuas* came and became the people of I Witto. The combination of the words *sawe* (abundant) and *witto* (the princess from Bone) became *Sawitto* (Rasyid, 1985:78-79; Kila, 1995:53; and Druce, 2009:191).

Another story described that the first who established Sawitto was not the princess from Bone, but a princess from named Batara Tungke. She was well-known as a brave person. Batara Tungke married to a big house lizard or small house lizard, which then

transformed into a very beautiful woman (Rasyid, 1985:79; and Druce, 2009:191). Not obvious how the governmental form in Sawitto in the ruling era of I Witto and Batara Tungke. Several oral sources described that after the ruling era, Batara Tungke came a person named Uwa Campu from Belokka.¹³

Uwa Campu was assisted by seven *Tomanurung* siblings, six brothers, and one sister; and subjugated all *wanuas* existing in Sawitto. After the subjugation, Uwa Campu made all *wanuas* as *palili* from Sawitto. Uwa Campu was very cruel on her people and forgot all the assistance from the seven siblings. The opportunity was utilized by the seven siblings assisted all *arung* or *wanua* heads, who opposed Uwa Campu's authority. They were successful to win the conflict and expelled Uwa Campu out of Sawitto. Seven *Tomanurung* siblings together with all *arungs* agreed to inaugurate female *Tomanurung* to become Sawitto *Addituang* with the title *Puang ri Sompae*, whereas her six brothers were inaugurated to become *Arung Palili*. Tolengo became *Leppangeng Arung*, Tokipa became *Malae Arung*, Tomarra became *Arawa Arung*, Topanroko became *Bua Arung*, Towase became *Massikki Arung*, and Tomaddampang became the administrator of *Puang ri Sompae* (Rasyid, 1985:80-83; Kila, 1998:13; and Druce, 2009:191-192).

The story that the first person who opened Sawitto coming from Simbuang in Tanah Toraja had the similarity with Sidenreng, who was opened by a person who came from Sangallaq in Tanah Toraja. Similar story also concerning *Tomanurung* in Gowa, who got married with Karaeng Bayo, was the adventuring mate of La Kipadada who left Tanah Toraja to discover the new areas in the southern peninsula of South Sulawesi. The story about Simbuang or Tanah Toraja as the origin

¹³Belokka was *palili* of Sidenreng.

of the founders of several kingdoms in South Sulawesi indicated that Sawitto also possessed the story legitimacy, which could connect itself with Tanah Toraja. Therefore, Sawitto should have the important role in the political constellation in South Sulawesi.

The story concerning I Witto, who came from Bone as the first person to open Sawitto, could be ensured that the oral tradition source concerning this started to appear in the 17th century and maybe in the 18th century. In the middle of 17th century, Bone allied with the Dutch to subjugated Gowa, which at that time was superior in the political supremacy in South Sulawesi. After subjugating Gowa, Bone subjugated all kingdoms in South Sulawesi. In that era, Bone dukes also started to carry out marriages with all the dukes outside Bone. Therefore, it could be comprehended if the oral tradition source of Sawitto and several other kingdoms tried to connect themselves with Bone.

The oral tradition source describing Batara Tungke, who came from Luwu, indicated that Sawitto possessed the story version which connected the kingdom with Luwu. The relationship with Luwu was important in the royal legitimacy in South Sulawesi. This was because several research results proved that Luwu was the oldest kingdom in South Sulawesi (Caldwell, 1988; Mappasanda, 1992; Moenta *et al.*, 2003; and Pelras, 2006).

The story concerning Uwa Campu from Belokka in Sidenreng reflected that from the beginning, the authority relationship had been established between Sawitto and Sidenreng. The authority relationship placed the status of Sidenreng above Sawitto, in which Belokka representing Sidenreng *palili* became the place where Uwa Campu came from. The status under Sidenreng, of course, was not accepted by Sawitto. Therefore, the oral tradition described the seven *Tomanurung* siblings, who defeated Uwa Campu in the conflict.

After the conflict, the governmental system was then composed in Sawitto by inaugurating *Tomanurung*'s sister to become *Puang ri Sompae* and her brothers became *arung palili*.¹⁴

Although the four versions above, only the story described the first person who opened Sawitto, the four versions did not describe the list of Sawitto kings, from the first king to the last king. The source which described the list of Sawitto kings from the first king to last king could be found in *Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto*.¹⁵ This *lontaraq* described that La Bengenge was a *Tomanurung* in Bacukiki who married to *Tomanurung* in Akkajang. After the marriage, La Bengenge was inaugurated to become Sawitto King. La Bengenge also married to *Tomanurung* in Suppa named We Teppulinge. The marriage bore two sons and a daughter. The first son named La Tedduloppo who then substituted his father to become Sawitto King and substituted his mother to become Suppa King. The second son named La Botillangi and, then, went to Soppeng and married to *Arung* Mario Riawo.¹⁶ The marriage bore the female offspring named We Tappatana who substituted her mother to become *Arung*

¹⁴See, for example, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; and "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

¹⁵The superiority of *Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto* was because this *lontaraq* could explain the list of Sawitto kings until the last Sawitto king, named We Rukiya Bau Bocco Karaeng Balla Tinggi (1942-1960). Besides, this *lontaraq* could elaborate the kinship and authority relationships between Sawitto and several other kingdoms in South Sulawesi. See, for further information, "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

¹⁶The mentioned source did not express himself. In another source, it was described that before La Botillangi married to *Arung* Mario Riawo, he had got married with *Arung* Balusu, a *palili* from Soppeng. The marriage bore a son named Sappe Walie. See, for further information, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.5; and "Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.20.

Mario Riwawo.

The last child of La Bengenge was a daughter named We Pawawoi. We Pawawoi substituted her father to become *Arung* Bacukiki. We Pawawoi married to Songko Ulawengnge, a Sidenreng King. The marriage bore one male offspring named La Batara. La Batara married to *Arung* of West Bulu Cenrana named We Cinadiyo. The marriage bore two male children and one female child. The first son named La Pasampoi later substituted his grandfather to become Sidenreng King. The second son named La Mariase' substituted his mother to become *Arung* of West Bulu Cenrana. The daughter, whose name was We Yabeng, then became the first *arung* in Massepe.¹⁷ La Pasampoi went to Soppeng and married to We Tappatana, the daughter of La Botillangi.

La Tedduloppa married to the closed relative who dwelled in Bacukiki named We Patoling *Arung* Cempa. The marriage bore four children. The first child named La Putebulu who then substituted the father to become Sawitto King and Suppa King. La Putebulu got married three times. The first wife was a duchess from Sidenreng whose name was not known. The first wife bore a son named La Paleteang. The second wife was a princess of *Arung* Lowa,¹⁸ who bore a daughter named We Gempo and a son named La Cella. The third wife named We Tappatana *Arung* Mario Riwawo, the daughter of La Botillangi. After La Putebulu passed away, he was substituted by the first son from the first wife namely La Paleteang. At the time La Paleteang became Sawitto King, the one who became Suppa King was La Makkawari, the first son of La Putebulu from the third wife named We Tappatana.

Alitta also knew the figure *Tomanurung*, named We Bungkobungko. *Lontaraq* source described that once

upon a time, We Bungkobungko together her six sisters went down from the heaven to have a bath in the well in the forest. In the forest, there were seven wells, and each angel had a bath in the different well. While they were having a bath, came a group of deer hunters and saw them having a bath. Six sisters of We Bungkobungko soon took their clothes and flew to the sky. When the deer hunters saw such situation, they immediately took the clothes of We Bungkobungko who was still having a bath. We Bungkobungko, who saw her clothes being taken by the deer hunters, was crying because she realized that she could not fly to the sky without the clothes. We Bungkobungko was, then, taken by the deer hunters to Alitta King named La Massora. People of Alitta were very happy seeing the arrival of We Bungkobungko who was very beautiful. Alitta people agreed to marry La Massora to We Bungkobungko (Druce, 2009:175).¹⁹

La Massora was the third Alitta King because before he ruled Alitta, there had been two kings in Alitta, namely: We Cella who was then substituted by La Gojeng. We Cella was the daughter of La Cella Mata, Sawitto King, and We Lampeweluwa, Suppa King. La Cella Mata was the son of La Paleteang, Sawitto King, and We Lampeweluwa was the daughter of La Makkarawi, Suppa King. We Cella married to La Massaolangi, the son of La Pateddungi, Sidenreng King, and We Gempo, Sawitto King. The marriage bore a son named La Massora. At that time, La Massora was still a small boy, when Gowa subjugated Suppa, Sawitto, and Alitta. At that time, La Massora was captured in Gowa. Therefore, when his mother passed away, the one who substituted her to become Alitta King was his brother named La Gojeng. La Gojeng never got married (*ibidem* with footnote 19, p.11);

¹⁷Massepe was a *wanua* in Sidenreng.

¹⁸Lowa was also a *wanua* in Sidenreng.

¹⁹See also "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Alitta", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, pp.2-8.

when La Gojeng passed away, Gowa permitted La Massora to return to Alitta to become a king there.

The story concerning We Cella as the first king in Alitta indicated how closed the relationship of marriage and authority among Alitta, Sawitto, and Suppa. The story also had the intention to legitimize that Alitta was younger and its position was under Sawitto and Suppa. The story concerning We Bungkobungko was intentionally presented either in the oral tradition source or in *lontaraq* source to legitimize that all Alitta kings also had the relationship with the figure *Tomanurung*. Therefore, their royal blood could not be underestimated in the royal political constellation in South Sulawesi.

CONCEPT OF WANUA

The word of *wanua*, like the words of *desa*, *negeri*, and *nagari*, is derived from Sanskrit word meaning village of origin or village of birth. The word of *desa* is used in Java, Madura, and Bali. The word of *dusun* is used in South Sumatera, and the Moluccas recognize the name *dusun-dati*. In Batak, North Sumatera, the word of *dusun* is used for the name of the cluster of hamlets. The words of *gampong* and *meunasah* are used in Aceh, Sumatera, to name the lowest political unit. In Batak, again the political unit which is similar with *desa* in Java is known as *kuta*, *uta*, or *huta*. The cluster of hamlets is called *dusun sosor* or *pagaran*. The cluster of hamlets representing the agricultural community is called *banjar* or *jamban*. If these villages ally, the alliance is called *hundulan*. In south Batak, the word of *kuria* is used to describe the alliance of several villages in one governmental system. In Minangkabau, the word of *nagari* is used; however, there is also the alliance of several villages called *luhu'*. In Moluccas, the word of *negory* or *dati* is used. Then, the word of *wanua* in Minahasa and Bugis (Kartohadikoesoemo, 1984:15-16).

Every *wanua* is a regional unit and a governmental unit. The size of the region is different between one *wanua* from the other. There is the small one and there is only one settlement;²⁰ however, commonly it has many settlements and is divided into sub-regions. In fact, *wanua* represents the social unit having its own government, but the government is not the same as the governmental systems in Java and Bali. *Wanua* is the alliance of several villages. In the past several centuries, used to be only 10 to 20 houses in one village. The houses were usually located in a row to face south or west. If there was a river in the village, the houses were usually built to back the river. The village centre of the original village represented the sacred place, which in the local language was called *possi tana* (world centre). In the original place, there was also a big banyan tree and sometimes there was a worship place, which in the local language was called *saukang*, or a small house of the worship place to the ancestors (cf Mattulada, 1982:264; and Pelras, 2006:199).

In the past, one original village was led by a *matowa* (a person was considered the oldest) and was assisted by two persons called *sariang* or *perennung*. The village alliance was called *wanua* in Buginese language, and *pa'rasangang* or *bori'* in Makassarese language. The title for *wanua* head followed the local tradition, for examples, *arung*, *sullewatang*, and *matowa* in Buginese language, *gallarang* or *karaeng* in Makassarese language. All the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation used the term *arung* for *wanua* head. The authority relationship between *wanua* head and village head was hierarchical (Mattulada, 1982:264).

If the inhabitants of a village started

²⁰At first *Kulo'* was a village, however, because it did not want to ally with its neighbour in the west, namely Malimpung representing *palili* of Sawitto; or its neighbour in the east namely Maiwa representing *palili* of Sidenreng. *Kulo'* mostly chose to be enhanced its status to become *wanua*, then it allied with Rappang.

to be crowded, the village head used to divide the village based on the number of brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters, who would be inaugurated to become the heads of the new villages. The alliance of the original villages with several new villages was called *wanua*. The head of the original village had to have the closed kinship relationship with all the heads of the new villages. The head of the original village could also hold the position of the head of *wanua* or *arung*, but he could also not hold double positions. The political dynamics determined very much who would become *arung*. If the political dynamics happening gave the opportunity to the head of the new village, he might be inaugurated to become *arung*. *Arung* might also come from the other *wanua*, even from the other kingdoms.

The very closed kinship relationship among the heads of the neighbouring *wanua* enabled to realize one non-binding *wanua* alliance. There was no *arung* who led *wanua* alliance;²¹ however, all *arungs* were usually bound by the same custom and tradition. There were five *wanua* alliances in Sawitto: Tirowang, Lolowang, Rangamea, and Langnga; and they were as one alliance. Leppangeng, Paleteang, Bailu, and Salo were as one alliance. Talabangi, Urung, and Malimpung were as one alliance. Peso, Bulu, and Sekka were as one alliance. Madello, Paria, Tampio, and Buwa were as one alliance (Druce, 2009:256-257).²²

There were four *wanua* alliances in Sidenreng: (1) Liseq, Guru, Teteaji, Massepe, Allakuang, Aratang, and Aliwuwu were as one alliance; (2)

Amparita, Corawali, Wanio, Wettae, and Bilokka were as one alliance; (3) Otting, Ugi, Jampu, Bulu, Cenrana, Bilulang, and Bila were as one alliance; and (4) Batu, Betao, Kalompang, Paraja, Lamarang, Barang Mamase, and Barukku were as one alliance (Daeng Patunru, 2004:76-77).²³

It is interesting to note here that *Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng* and Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru did not mention Maiwa as one of primary *wanua* in Sidenreng, because after the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation and the kingdoms in *Massenrempulu* alliance had been subjugated by Bone in the end of 17th century, Bone declared the independence and enhanced the status of Maiwa to become a kingdom, which then became a kingdom of the member of *Massenrempulu* alliance (cf Daeng Patunru, 2004:77; and Druce, 2009:256).²⁴

Bone did this to substitute the position of Letta in *Massenrempulu* alliance. Letta then became *palili* of Bone, which was entrusted to Sawitto (Andaya, 2004:169-191). Then, *palilina* of Suppa was Nepo, Palanro, and Maluba. *Napanoq rakkalana*²⁵ was Bojo, Bacukiki, Parengki, Belawa, and Soreang. In Nepo, there was also *napanoq rakkalana*, they were Sadussu, Attapang, Cekkengang, Kutae, Marempang, Mari-mario, Mallawa, and Pakka (van Braam Morris, 1893b:203-

²³See also "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p. 1.

²⁴Maiwa had *wanua* or village which became *palili* or under its authority influence were Roa, Matakali, Pasang, Limbuang, Lullung, Paladang, Labaniq, Bakka, Sito, Bulo, Bungin, and Tallang. *Palili napanoq* was Tappong, Kadeppang, and Kaluppang. See, for further information, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p. 1; and "Lontaraq Attorionlong", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p. 455.

²⁵*Napanoq rakkalana* was a *palili* which was compulsory to provide all the logistic necessities needed by the central government. *Napanoq rakkalana* was also compulsory to cultivate the rice fields and other fields possessed by the central kingdoms without getting wages.

²¹*Wanua* alliance in *lontaraq* was called *loleq* = collection, or *loleqna* = the collection, *siloleqran* = a collection of. See, for example, "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

²²See also, for example, "Lontaraq Attorionlong", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p. 455; and "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, pp. 1-2.

204; and Druce, 2009:257-258).²⁶ *Paliliqna* was Kulo', *Napanoq Rakkalana* in Rappang was Benteng, Baranti, Panrong, Manisa, Dea, and Simpo (Druce, 2009:258; and *ibidem* with footnote 26, p.455). The source which described *wanua* alliance in Alitta had not been found. Nevertheless, D.F. van Braam Morris mentioned *wanua* names existing in Alitta were Alitta, Bompatue, Bottae, Dolangangnge, Sumpang Lamorange, Kariango, and Pao (van Braam Morris, 1893b:455).

Usually, the internal political dynamics in a *wanua* could be well maintained, because all village heads had very closed kinship relationship, even the people inhabiting all the villages in *wanua* knew one another well. The political dynamics, which was usually difficult to maintain, was the political relationship between one *wanua* and the other *wanuas*. The conflict between one *wanua* and the other *wanuas* was usually terminated by establishing one kingdom representing the alliance of several *wanuas*, either those which were involved in the conflict or those which were not involved in the conflict (Pelras, 2006:200).

Another example of the kingdom being established by the alliance of several conflicting *wanuas* was Gowa (Daeng Patunru, 1993:1-2). The other examples of the kingdom being established by the alliance of several *wanuas* without conflict were Bone, Wajo, Sidenreng, Rappang, and Alitta (Zainal Abidin, 1985).²⁷ The oral tradition source and the other sources described that Sawitto was established

by seven siblings who allied with the heads of *wanua* and was successful to defeat Uwa Campu, the ruler of Sawitto who was very cruel (*cf* Rasyid, 1985:80-83; Kila, 1998:13; Druce, 2009:191-192; and *ibidem* with footnote 27).

If *wanua* represented the alliance of several villages, which were allied based on the kinship relationship closeness, several *wanua* were also allied based on the geographical closeness, the traditional custom similarities, and mainly the kinship relationship. Different from those, all kingdoms in South Sulawesi were established based on the agreement between all heads of *wanua* or all *arungs* representing their people and *Tomanurung* or the person who was firstly inaugurated as the king.

CONCEPT OF PALILI

If *wanua* referred to the geographical condition of a region, which possibly represented the alliance of several villages being allied by the traditional custom and the kinship relationship of the inhabitants; then, *palili* referred to the political and authority relationships between *wanua* and the central kingdom (van Braam Morris, 1893c:225-226). The form of the authority relationship between certain *wanua* and the central government determined the type of *palili* or *wanua* in the view of the central kingdom. The kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation used three terms to determine the types of *palili* and the authority relationship between *wanua* and the central kingdom. The three terms were: *palili passeajingeng*, *palili napanoq rakkalana*, and *palili bassi*. *Palili* different types determined the differences of *palili* origin and obligations to the central kingdom.

There were two types of *wanua* in *palili passeajingeng*. The first type was *wanua-wanua* which had the agreement together to establish a kingdom; and the second type was *wanua-wanua* which were subjugated or *wanua-wanua* which willingly asked the protection and ready

²⁶See also "Lontaraq Attoriolong", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.455.

²⁷See also, for further information, "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Alitta", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Bone", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; and "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Suppa", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

to become the subordinates of certain kingdoms.²⁸ This second type was usually valid if the war happened either between *wanua* and *wanua*, or between several *wanuas* and certain kingdom. *Wanua-wanua* which firstly made the agreement to establish Sidenreng Kingdom were Lisuji, Pupuru, Teteaji, Massepe, Allaukang, Aratang, and Aliwuwu (Daeng Patunru, 2004:77).²⁹

In 1810, Nepo had the conflict against Palanro; *Arung* Nepo went to Sidenreng to ask for assistance and protection. Consequently, Nepo could avoid itself becoming *palili napanoq rakkalana* of Palanro, and choose to become *palili passeajingeng* of Sidenreng, because Sidenreng assisted Nepo to win the conflict (Daeng Patunru, 2004:77). In 1825, Sidenreng allied with the Dutch to fight Suppa. Suppa was defeated in the war; so, Bacukiki, Bojo, Nepo, and Palanro which at first were *palili* of Suppa chose to ally and became *palili passeajingeng* of Sidenreng (van Braam Morris, 1893a:204). Then, which at first made the agreement to establish Sawitto Kingdom were Tirowang, Rangamea or Jampue, Lolowang, and Langnga.³⁰

²⁸Mukhlis has distinguished between *wanua* being subjugated and *wanua* asking for protection. *Wanua* being subjugated was called *palili ata ri kale* (Makassarese language) or *napatudang ata* (Buginese language). *Wanua* asking for protection was called *palili ata mate'ne* (Makassarese language) or *napatudang palili* (Buginese language). See, for further information, Mukhlis (1971:65).

²⁹Lisuji, Pupuru, Teteaji, Massepe, Allaukang, Aratang, and Aliwuwu were seven *wanuas*, which at first grown and established by seven siblings who came from Sangallaq. Therefore, the seven *wanuas*, then, became the head *wanua* compared with Sidenreng. See, for further information, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1; and "Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, pp.3-8.

³⁰The villages and *wanua* subsumed in Sawitto centre were: Tanreasona, Pasareng, Ulutedong, Pacongng, Sengae, Tallang, Patobong, Lapalopo, Uncue, Lurac, Lestana, Paliae, Dolangnge, Pao, Rubae, Sarempo, Awang-awang, Purung, Kecampi, Soroe, Ulo, Barana, Kanarie, Labalakang, Ujungnge, Paladang, Salo0, Gucie, Libukang, Liku, Sililie, Lalatieng, Bila, Tallang, Penrang (*wanua*), Lamani, Bonging, and Totenana. See, for further information, D.F. van Braam Morris (1893a:214-215); and "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na

It had not been found the source which elaborated *wanua-wanua* were establishing Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta kingdoms.

All *arungs* of *palili passeajingeng*, particularly all *arungs* of *wanua* which at first established the kingdoms, besides becoming the autonomous rulers of *wanua*, in carrying out the governmental affairs, the concerned *arung* should also be included in the structure of customary board in the central kingdom. In Sawitto, Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta, they became the members of *bate-bate* or banner owners. Then, in Sidenreng, one person became *Tellu Lette* (Daeng Patunru, 2004:79),³¹ and the other became the members of *bate-bate* or the banner owners. Besides, *arung* of *palili passeajingeng* might also become *pabbicara*.³²

In relation to that, all *arungs* coming from *palili passeajingeng* possessed two main roles, besides becoming the ruler and the catalyst of the government affairs in *wanua* under his authority, he also became the member of the customary board in the central kingdom (Mukhlis, 1971:65-66).³³ All *arungs* coming from the other *palili* types might become *pabbicara* if needed, but

Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1.

³¹*Tellu Lette* was the position name for the administrator. *Tellu Lette* also became the head of the customary board; and before 1905, *Tellu Lette* also became army commander. In that era, Sumange Rukka became Sidenreng King, married to Simatana *Arung* Nepo. Sumange Rukka inaugurated his wife to become *Tellu Lette* Sidenreng. By this way, Sumange Rukka could rule Nepo, Palanro, Bacukiki, Bojo, and Soreang.

³²*Pabbicara* was the court judge who sentenced the legal cases. All *pabbicaras* had the different fields of tasks, *pabbicara pakkajae* (the judge in the fields of marine and fishery), *pabbicara paasarie* (the judge of forestry), *pabbicara pabbalu' balu'e* (the judge in economic and trade fields), and *pabbicara palloang* (the judge in agricultural field). See, for further information, "Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.7.

³³Different for Gowa, Gowa King delegated someone from the central government to be inaugurated as the head in *palili passeajingeng*, which was subjugated by the way of war. Then, the head together with his family and the guards were taken to the central kingdom to become the servants of the certain royal families.

they could not become the members of the customary board in the central kingdom.

In Sidenreng, the customary board's discussion was led by Sidenreng King, sometimes was led by *Arung Malalo* (the prince) or was led by the kingdom administrator (*Tellu Lette*). In Sawitto, if the customary board's discussion³⁴ had not found the settlement solution of a problem, the customary board's discussion was held to involve all *arungs* existing in the central kingdom region. If the discussion had not found the solution way, the discussion was held by involving all *arungs* coming from *palili passeajingeng*, *palili napanoq rakkalana*, and *palili bassi*.³⁵

Palili passeajingengs were also compulsory to attend all the celebrations, feasts, and festivals held by the central kingdoms. *Palili passeajingengs* were also obligatory to become the mediators if the conflict happened among *wanuas* and the conflict among the dukes in the central kingdom. If Sawitto had a war with the other kingdoms, *palili passeajingengs* were compulsory to assist *palili bassi* to defend the kingdom's sovereignty (Gising, 2002:18-28).³⁶

³⁴The members of the customary board in Sawitto were *Sullewatang* (administrators), *Kadi* (the officials of Islamic religion), *pabbicara*, *panggulu maradeka* (the head of independent people), and *panggulu jowa* (the head of all slaves. See, for example, "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.2. The members of the customary board in Sidenreng were *Tellu Lette* and four *pabbicaras*. If there was a big problem difficult to solve, the problem had to be discussed by the great customary board, namely Sidenreng King or he was represented by *Arung Malolo*, *Tellu Lette*, four *pabbicara*, eight heads of *wanua* (Watang Sidenreng, Massepe, Guru, Teteaji, Liwuwu, Liseq, Arateng, and Allakuang), and *palili lima* (Amparita, Corawali, Belokka, Wettae, and Wanio). See also, for example, Abdurrazak Daeng Patuneru (2004:78-79).

³⁵See, for example, "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.2.

³⁶When attacked Tanete, Sawitto's army was directly led by Sawitto King, who was helped by all the heads of *arung palili passeajingeng*. When Sawitto and Sidenreng were subjugated by Bone in the middle of 17th century, Bone made Sawitto and Sidenreng as *palili passeajingeng*. If Bone fought against the

At the beginning, the kings in *Ajatappareng* confederation came from *wanua-wanua passeajingeng* or came from one of the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation. The person who firstly opened Sidenreng, of course, came from Sangallaq, and the person who firstly opened Sawitto perhaps came from Simbuang, but the persons who became the first rulers in Sidenreng and Sawitto were the person who came from *wanua* or *palili passeajingeng*. The same things happened on the first rulers in Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta.

To maintain the primary role and blood purity of the royal rulers, they got married with the women or men of same status, i.e. the rulers. Such a marriage in *Ajatappareng* confederation was firstly carried out among the kingdoms in the alliance, possibly started in the end of 17th century; the marriage was carried out with the kingdoms or also with *wanua* outside of the confederation. Possibly, the only marriage carried out with the kingdoms outside of the confederation before the 17th century was the marriage between La Patiroi, the 6th Sidenreng King (1582-1612) with the princess of Gowa King which happened perhaps in 1547.³⁷

other kingdoms, Sidenreng was obligatory to lead the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation to assist Bone. Then Sawitto's obligation was to provide the logistic and military forces. Sawitto was compulsory to lead the kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation to provide the logistic (rice) to assist Bone and were behind Sidenreng if Bone fought against the other kingdoms. See also, for further information, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.2; "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1; and "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1.

³⁷See, for example, "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Alitta", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Suppa", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia; and "Lontaraq Bicaranna Mula Timpaengngi Sidenreng Najaji Engka Wanua ri Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Palili bassi were *wanua-wanua* who had the obligation to provide the regular army for the kingdoms' sovereignty and for the escorting of the kingdoms' elites. When Sidenreng, or then Sawitto, fought against the other kingdoms, the regular army coming from *palili bassi* had the priority to face the enemies. The army who came from the other *palili* were obligatory to assist the regular army coming from *palili bassi*. When Sawitto fought against the other kingdoms, the defensive fortress was assisted by all *palili bassis*. Then, *palili bassis* of Sawitto were Kadokkong, Gallangkallang, Pangaparang, Kabbang Langnga, Kaluppang, and Lome.³⁸ Then, Kabbang, Langnga, and Lome had the additional obligation, namely they were compulsory to assist the central kingdom if Sawitto King planned to establish a palace.³⁹

There was no source explaining which *wanua* was subsumed in *palili bassi* of Sidenreng, Suppa, Rappang, and Alitta. However, there was a source explaining that when Sidenreng fought against the other kingdoms, *wanua-wanua* which mainly provided the regular armies were Amparita, Corawali, Belokka, Wettae, and Wanio (Daeng Patunru, 2004:79).

Palili napanoq rakkalana were *wanua-wanua* which had to provide the logistic for the palace and central kingdom's necessities. It was so important about the position of *palili napanoq rakkalana* that the central kingdom called them *lilie ri laleng* or the very closed authority region (van Braam Morris, 1893a:214-

215).⁴⁰ Only the people in *palili napanoq rakkalana* were obligatory to work in the rice fields or plantations belonging to the palace or central kingdom. The palace or the central kingdom's rice fields and plantations were sometimes situated in *palili napanoq rakkalana*, and they were sometimes located in *palili passeajingeng* too.

Palili napanoq rakkalana of Sidenreng were Massepe, Allakuang, Teteaji, Liseq, Watang Sidenreng, Wala, Soreang, Liuwuwu, Aratang, Wengeng, and Tallang (Druce, 2009:255-256).⁴¹ *Palili napanoq rakkalana* of Maiwa were Tappong, Kadeppang, and Kaluppang. Before the middle of 17th century, Sidenreng obtained the logistic support from Maiwa, which at that time was under the influence of Sidenreng hegemony. After Sidenreng and Maiwa had been subjugated by Bone in 1673, the logistic support disappeared together with the independence of Maiwa being carried out by Bone to become the independent kingdom in *Massenrempulu* alliance. *Palili napanoq rakkalana* of Sawitto were Cempa, Madallo, Paria, Talabangi, Urung, Malimpung, Padakkalawa, Kabbang, Punnia, Peso, Sekkang, Bulu, Salo, Tampio, Paleteang, and Leppangeng (van Braam Morris, 1893c:214-215).⁴² *Palili napanoq rakkalana* of Suppa were Bojo, Baculkilki, Parangki, Belawa, and Soreang (*ibidem* with footnote 42).

In the beginning of 19th century, Suppa lost Bojo, Bacukiki, Parangki,

⁴⁰The very close authority region did not have to mean that the location was close to the central kingdom, but had to mean that these types of *palili* were badly needed to support the logistic availability in the central kingdom. The other meaning that the people who had the position in this type of *palili* were the servants, who worked in the rice fields and plantations belonging to the palace or the central kingdom without wages.

⁴¹See also "Lontaraq Attoriolong", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.455.

⁴²It is interesting to note here that sources from "Lontaraq Attoriolong", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.455; and Stephen C. Druce (2009:257) included Tanresona and Paggeroang as *palili napanoq rakkalana* of Sawitto.

³⁸The other sources described that Sawitto's *palili bassi* were Kadokkong, Gallangkallang, and Pangaparang. *Palili bassis* were three *wanuas*, they were called *tellu lembang*. These sources also explained that the governments in *palili bassi* were carried out autonomously. These sources also explained that then *palili bassi* only its weaponry was dominated by Sawitto, whereas the people might not be ruled by Sawitto King. See for, esample, "Lontaraq Ade'-ade'na Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. p.1.

³⁹See "Lontaraq Akkarungeng Sawitto", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.1.

and Soreang, because four *palilis* allied with Sidenreng. *Palili napanoq rakkalana* of of Rappang were Benteng, Baranti, Panrong, Manisa, Dea, and Simpo (*ibidem* with footnote 42). Of seven *wanuas* becoming *palili* of Rappang, only Kulo' did not become *palili napanoq rakkalana*. Perhaps it was because Kulo' was the neighbor to Maiwa, which became the primary *palili* of Sidenreng, was also the neighbor of Malimpung which became the primary *palili* of Sawitto.

After Bojo, Bacukiki, Parangki, and Soreang allied with Sidenreng, obviously Suppa lost its very important logistic source in the four *wanuas*. In that time, Suppa only had one *wanua* of *palili napanoq rakkalana*, namely Belawa. On the other hand, Sidenreng had 11 *wanuas* of *palili napanoq rakkalana* to increase into 15 *wanuas* by the alliance of 4 *wanuas* of *palili napanoq rakkalana*, which were derived from Suppa.

The condition, besides narrowed the region of Suppa's authority influence, Suppa also became much poorer by losing four *wanuas* as the primary logistic source of *wanua napanoq rakkalana*. The only Suppa's economic source still left was Parepare port. The economic source was then seized by Britain assisted by Sidenreng in 1814. After the port was successfully seized, Britain handed it over to the loyal counterpart namely Sidenreng.⁴³

CONCLUSION ⁴⁴

There were four *lontaraqs* used in the research, namely: *Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng*, *Lontaraq Akkarungeng*

Sawitto, *Lontaraq Akkarungeng Suppa*, and *Lontaraq Akkarungeng Alitta*. Based on studying *lontaraqs*, the unpublished local manuscripts in South Sulawesi, it showed that *Ajatappareng* confederation was the name for five kingdoms situated in the west of Tempe lake, Sidenreng lake, and Buaya lake. The five kingdoms were Sidenreng, Rappang, Sawitto, Suppa, and Alitta. In 16th century, the five kingdoms established a confederation to support one another in the political and economic interests in *Ajatappareng* confederation. Supporting one another in the two interests were very important to encounter the rivalry of the authority influence of the strong kingdoms around them, namely: Luwu in the north, Gowa in the south, and Bone in the east of South Sulawesi. The three great kingdoms in the different eras had ever implanted their authority influences in *Ajatappareng* confederation to obtain the logistic support in the form rice representing the primary product of *Ajatappareng* confederation.

Lontaraq sources also described that the first king in each kingdom of *Ajatappareng* confederation was *Tomanurung*. He was a figure whose origin and name was not positively known. Nevertheless, in the oral tradition, it was described that Sidenreng and Sawitto were two primary kingdoms in *Ajatappareng* confederation, which at first were opened by the figures who came from Tanah Toraja located in the north of *Ajatappareng* confederation. Why were there different versions between the written tradition, called *lontaraq*, and the oral tradition concerning all the first kings in *Ajatappareng* confederation? In choosing *Tomanurung* of the figures, having the divine characteristics as the first kings, seemed to have become the main phenomena in Nusantara, particularly in South Sulawesi in that era. The conflict situation happening in the communities became the primary

⁴³See "Lontaraq Addituang Sidenreng", *Unpublished Local Manuscript* in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, p.2.

⁴⁴**Acknowledgements:** The Editorial Board would like to thanks to the wife of author (Dr. Abd Latif) who gives permission to publish this article. Before the author passed away on Tuesday, 2nd December 2014, according to his wife, he always asked in order this article can be published by scholalrly journals organized and published by Minda Masagi Press in Bandung. However, all contents and interpretations about this article were solely rested to the author's responsibility academically.

cause why *Tomanurung* figures were chosen to become the first kings. The conflict between one *wanua* and another *wanuas* could be reconciled by the figures who had the stronger legitimacy than the legitimacy possessed by the heads of *wanua* being in conflict.

Tomanurung myth was the political and authority legitimacy source in *Ajatappareng* confederation. Before a king was inaugurated, at first, he had to be assessed and well recognized how pure the *Tomanurung* blood content, which was possessed the king candidate. A king candidate had to possess purer *Tomanurung* blood content than all dukes and *arung* or *wanua* heads. If the blood content was not pure, it might happen the insubordination of certain dukes or all *wanua* heads, whose blood content was pure. If the insubordination failed, the dukes concerned together with their supporting people could transform their sovereignty to the other kingdoms or they could establish one community of new *wanua*. Usually, the new *wanua* such as this, at first was autonomous; however, if the central kingdom was successful to subjugate it, the new *wanua* also became *palili*. Such political culture, in this research, was called “evacuating politics”. The culture of evacuating politics gave the opportunity to the primary figures and their bodyguards to transform their sovereignty, even to establish one political community to compete with the other political communities.

The community’s organization in the level of *wanua* had existed before the coming a figure called *Tomanurung*. Therefore, basically, the community’s organization in the level of *wanua* was autonomous. Nevertheless, the political and economic interests guaranteed the authority stabilization of *Tomanurung* and their generation in the central kingdom was partly determined by how many *wanuas* were under the authority influence. The interest of the

central kingdom in *wanua* level mostly determined the form of the authority relationship between the central kingdom and *wanua*.

The research indicates that there are two political terminologies used in *Ajatappareng* confederation to describe the authority relationship among the political units existing in one kingdom. Both terminologies were *wanua* and *palili*. The term of *wanua* refers to one place related to the geographical and demographical conditions. Therefore, *wanua* has very obvious geographical border, the language used is only one, the inhabitants’ social relationship are derived from the same descendant, and the governmental system is very simple. If *arung* or *wanua* head has several sons and daughters who are married, *wanua* head divides *wanua* into several villages, or even *wanua* of each is chaired by the son or the daughter.

Then, the term of *palili* refers to the form of the authority relationship between *wanua* and the central kingdom. *Wanua*, which firstly establish the kingdom become *palili passeajingeng* or *palili* whose presence, is given priority in the process of decision-making in the central kingdom. *Wanua* providing the army to keep and maintain the kingdom’s sovereignty is called *palili bassi*. Then, *wanua* having the obligation to provide the logistic needed by the central kingdom is called *palili napanoq rakkalana*. If the war happening between one kingdom and another kingdom, *palili napanoq rakkalana* of the defeated kingdom can change into *palili passeajingeng*, when it transform its sovereignty to kingdom which wins the war. The transfer of the sovereignty means the loss of the logistic source for the kingdom, which is defeated in the war.⁴⁵

⁴⁵**Statement:** The author (late Dr. Abd Latif) had also declared that this article was his original work; so, it was not product of plagiarism and not yet also be reviewed and published by other scholarly journals.

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