



Figure 1. Simplified genealogy of the I La Galigo Dynasty.

(Sources: R. A. Kern, Catalogus . . . van die in andere Europeesche bibliotheken, p. 814 ff. and details supplied by A. Z. Abidin.)

# THE I LA GALIGO EPIC CYCLE OF SOUTH CELEBES AND ITS DIFFUSION

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The *I La Galigo* epic cycle is one of the most remarkable works of literature to be found in Indonesia. It consists of a large body of poetry written in an old form of the Buginese language and recounting a series of linked stories. This paper introduces the cycle and traces some of the results of its diffusion into areas beyond its point of origin in South Celebes. In particular, variations in the role of its chief character, Sawērigading, are described in some detail. This diffusion is probably associated with the dispersal of Buginese people themselves, and in some cases this can be historically demonstrated.

The bulk of the known manuscripts of *I La Galigo* material is to be found in European libraries, particularly the library of Leiden University. There is also a collection of about 600 pages in the library of the Cultural Foundation of South and Southeast Celebes (Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, formerly the Matthesstichting), which combined with the European collections of about 5,400 pages, makes a total of some 6,000 pages.<sup>1</sup> An unknown amount still remains in the hands of people in South Celebes,<sup>2</sup> although in the nineteenth century, Matthes, who had at his disposal a collection of over 2,000 pages of this material written down by Colli'pujiē, the queen of Tanētē, thought this about a third of the whole corpus.<sup>3</sup> As R. A. Kern has pointed out, it is most remarkable that the pre-Islamic Buginese people, who were still very few in number, have produced one of the world's most extended bodies of literature.<sup>4</sup>

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\* The translator wishes to thank Dr. Virginia Matheson, Dr. L. Y. Andaya, Professor E. Koch Emmery, Dr. J. Noorduyn and the author for advice and assistance. The consonants of Buginese names have the values given them in the new Indonesian spelling: thus, Colli'pujiē, not Tjolli'pudjiē.

1. See R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek alsmede van die in andere Europeesche bibliotheken (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1939); Catalogus van de Boeginese, tot de I La Galigo-cyclus behorende handschriften van Jajasan Matthes (Matthesstichting) te Makassar (Indonesië) (Makassar: Jajasan Matthes, 1954).
2. In 1972 Dr. Macknight photographed several privately owned *I La Galigo* manuscripts in South Celebes. Copies of the microfilm have been lodged with the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, Jakarta, and in the library of the Australian National University.
3. B. F. Matthes, Aanteekeningen op de Boeginesche Chrestomathie (Amsterdam and Makassar: Bijbelgenootschap, 1864-1872), p. 251.
4. R. A. Kern, Catalogus . . . van Jajasan Matthes, p. v.

As properly understood, this material is not termed *lontara'*,<sup>5</sup> the term commonly used for Buginese and Macassarese writings. It provides a legendary description only of events before the fourteenth century, that is before the foundation of the historical kingdoms in South Celebes: Gowa, Bonē, Soppēng, Wajo', Suppa', Luwu' and others. The chronicle *lontara'* known as *attoriolong* in Buginese or *pattorioloang* in Macassarese do extend back before the fourteenth century, but almost all begin with a passage such as the following: "When the kings mentioned in the *I La Galigo* cycle had been completely swallowed up after attending a great festival in Luwu', for seven *pariamang*,<sup>6</sup> there was no king; there was no law; there was no focus of unity; then each was greedy for himself, like fish; the strong were successful; the weak were trampled on; . . . hunger was everywhere." Subsequently there emerged the first king of Luwu', Simpurusyang, and his queen, Patyang-jala.<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterwards the first kings of Gowa, Bonē, Soppēng and Suppa' appeared. The influence of the *I La Galigo* literature is clearly apparent in the early parts of these *lontara'*, of which there are many examples, though they are usually quite short, about twenty to fifty pages in length.<sup>8</sup> In the *I La Galigo* stories, the kings are depicted as absolute rulers who may not be challenged, while in the *lontara'* their power has been limited.

The cycle begins with the creation. When this world (that is South Celebes) was still empty, the King of Heaven, La Patiganna,<sup>9</sup> called a conference of families from various kingdoms, including Senri-jawa<sup>10</sup> and Pērētiwi (the Underworld), and decided that the first king of Alēkawa (Earth) would be his eldest son, La Toge'langi', with the title Batara Guru. Batara Guru was then married to his first cousin, Wē Nyili'timo', the daughter of Guru ri Selleng, the king of the Underworld, but before Batara Guru became king, he had to undergo an initiation period of forty days and forty nights. Soon after that, he descended to his people, reputedly near Ussu', in the district of Luwu' at the head of the Gulf of Bonē. Batara Guru was succeeded by his son, La Tiuleng, with the title Batara Lattu'. He in turn was the father of twins: a son, Lawē or La Ma'dukelleng or Sawērigading, Prince of Ware' (to give only two of the many alternative names and titles by which he is known) and a daughter Wē Tenriyabēng. The twins did not grow up together and later Sawērigading, imagining his sister

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5. See A. Zainal Abidin, "Notes on the Lontara' as Historical Sources," *Indonesia*, No. 12 (October 1971), pp. 159-61.
  6. *Pariamang* may mean a generation, or it may be a *windu*, the Javanese cycle of eight years.
  7. The names are given in this form in the versions from Bonē, Soppēng, Wajo' and Sidēnrēng-Rappang. The Luwu' version reverses them.
  8. For details of one much longer example, see A. Zainal Abidin, "Notes on the Lontara'," p. 161, n. 9; p. 164, n. 18.
  9. The names given here are a considerable simplification of the full range of nomenclature and title attached to the more important figures in the cycle. Similarly, Figure 1 shows only the most basic outline of the highly complex web of family relationships. Minor discrepancies also occur between different versions of the stories even within South Celebes.
  10. Possibly Srivijaya.

to be unrelated, wanted to marry her. Since this was forbidden, he left Luwu' and swore never to return. On his journey to the kingdom of Cina<sup>11</sup> he had several victories over warriors such as the ruler of Jawa Wolio called Setia Bonga. In Cina, which consisted of West Cina with its capital Alangkanangngē ri Latanētē<sup>12</sup> and East Cina,<sup>13</sup> Sawērigading succeeded in marrying Wē Cudai, the daughter of the Datu Cina.

Sawērigading is depicted as an invincible sea captain, and many of the places he visited are mentioned by name, such as Taranatē (Ternate in the Moluccas), Gima (perhaps Bima or Sumbawa), Jawa Rilau' and Jawa Ritengnga (probably East and Central Java), Sunra Rilau' and Sunra Riaja (probably East and West Sunda) and Malacca. He is even said to have journeyed to heaven and the underworld. Many place names in Celebes also occur: Menro' (a form of Mandar), Balannipa (now the Polewali-Mamasa district), Cēnrana (in either Mandar or Bonē), Pujananti (possibly Barru), Kalling (possibly Rappokalling near Macassar), Wēwangriu (perhaps in Bonē), Tompo'tikka' (possibly the southeast peninsula of Celebes or the Luwuk area on the eastern arm and the nearby Banggai Islands), Siang (now the Pangkep district), the Toraja area, Tanatekko, Soppēng, Sēgēri, and others. In Southeast Celebes the place called Jawa Wolio is on Butung. Sawērigading's followers consisted mainly of his relatives drawn from different regions, and his party was always preceded by various strange people: dwarfs, pygmies, men with black skins and men with hairy chests. Hayam Wuruk, ruler of Majapahit (1350-89) had a similar retinue.

Sawērigading was the father of I La Galigo, entitled Datunna Kelling, who was also a sea captain, a wanderer, a skilled warrior and an incomparable hero. His four wives were drawn from a variety of kingdoms. In addition to his other virtues, I La Galigo was also a first-class "play-boy" and lover, a great deer-hunter and a skillful gambler. He embodied his age's ideal of manhood. Like his father, he never became king, but is said to have been content to wander.

I La Galigo's son, La Tenritatta' was the last in that epoch to be crowned in Luwu' (literally, invested with the royal umbrella). Between this legendary age and the time of the lontara', there was anarchy and disorder for seven pariamang, as described above.

The situation described in the cycle refers to a time when the Buginese people were settled on the coast of Celebes and had not yet penetrated the interior. The picture of each individual kingdom conforms to a regular pattern. It was centered around the mouth of a river where large boats could anchor and with a "capital" some little distance away. A "capital" consisted of a palace surrounded by a fence or earth wall and beyond this were scattered the houses of the nobility. Near the palace was a *baruga* or council house for the nobles, meeting-place for adult men and reception area for foreign visitors. The arrival of a trading vessel from distant parts caused great excitement. After paying their dues and taxes, the foreign merchants could begin to trade. The ruler had priority in purchasing, or more correctly bartering for goods. He was followed by the nobles and then the

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11. Now Pammana in Wajo'.

12. The name is still current in the district of Pammana.

13. Some people locate this second area in the part of Bonē now called Cina.

general populace. Contact between rulers was always by sea, and young nobles were urged to travel as widely as possible before assuming any responsibility. Their leader and tutor was Sawērigading who possessed a large boat called *Wēlenrēngngē*.

### The Cycle in Central Celebes

The names Sawērigading and I La Galigo are well known in Central Celebes. This strongly suggests that this area might once have been ruled or come under the aegis of the ancient Buginese kingdom of Luwu', at the head of the Gulf of Bonē. Adriani and Kruyt<sup>14</sup> relate the visit of Sawērigading or Lasaēo to Pamona in the Poso area in which he is depicted as a hero from heaven. They conclude from the folk-tales about him in this East Toraja region that the kings of Luwu', Waibunta and Pamona shared a common origin.

In the Palu valley on the west coast, Sawērigading and his son, I La Galigo, arrived together with their dog named Buri'. This fierce black animal managed to chase away the sea when I La Galigo quarrelled with his aunt, Nili Nayo, the Ratu of Sigi. Consequently, the sea near Loli in Palu Bay is called Tasi' Buri' or the Lake of Buri'.

In the nearby Donggala area, the following story is found: Bunga Manila, the Ratu of Makubakulu, invited Sawērigading to a cockfight. When Sawērigading's cock was defeated, war broke out. Bunga Manila asked for help from her brother in Luwu', but when the Luwu' army arrived, Bunga Manila's brother declared that she and Sawērigading were first cousins,<sup>15</sup> thus stopping the battle. Although hostilities had ceased, Bunga Manila still bore a grudge against her cousin and instructed her dog I Buri' (the Black One) to follow Sawērigading. The dog chased Sawērigading barking continuously, and all the country they traversed became level ground.

Still in the same area, I La Galigo is reputed to have engaged in a cockfight with the people of Tawali. In Biromaru, he arranged a cockfight against Ngginaye or Nili Nayo. Nili Nayo's cock was called Calabae while its opponent was Baka Cimpolo. When I La Galigo's cock was defeated, he sought help from his father, Sawērigading in Soppēng. However it became evident on Sawērigading's arrival that Nili Nayo and I La Galigo were related, since the kings of Sigi and Ganti were of the same family.

In South Sakidi, the figures of Sawērigading and I La Galigo are known as the bearers of civilization and innovation. Sawērigading is sometimes seen as the creator and apportioner of rice. Other names familiar from the *I La Galigo* cycle are that of Sawērigading's sister Yabe (Buginese: Wē Tenriyabēng), his wife Sedai (Buginese: Wē Cudai), his second wife I Cimpeo (Buginese: Wē Cimpau) and his cousin Lama-karumpa'.

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14. N. Adriani and A. C. Kruyt, De Bare'e Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Mij., 1950), deel I, pp. 23-25.

15. Bunga Manila's father was Sawērigading's mother's brother.

### The Cycle in Southeast Celebes

The first Ratu of the kingdom of Wolio on Butung was called Wakaka, who according to legend emerged from an ivory-colored bamboo (*bambu gading*).<sup>16</sup> There is another story which states that the Ratu came with her relative, Sawērigading. Yet another version says that Sawērigading often came to Wolio to visit Wakaka. He always arrived in his boat called *Halmahera*<sup>17</sup> and landed in Malaoge Bay, Lasalimu.

On the adjacent island of Muna, the former rulers also acknowledged descent from Sawērigading or his twin sister, Wē Tenriyabēng. One story has it that the first ruler of Muna was a descendant of Sawērigading called Bēlamo Netombulē, also known as Zulzaman. Another story says that the first ruler of Muna came from Java, perhaps Majapahit. His queen was called Tendiabē. This name is very similar to Wē Tenriyabēng, who, in the *I La Galigo* story, married Remmangrilangi', He Who Sits in Heaven. Alternatively, Tendiabē may be a descendant of Wē Tenriyabēng. The second ruler, whether the son of Bēlamo Netombulē or Tendiabē or both, was called La Patola Kagua Bangkēno Fotu.<sup>18</sup> The third ruler was Sugi Ambona; the fourth, Sugi Patani; the fifth, Sugi Laēndē; the sixth, Sugi Manuru, who married Wa Tumbapala. One of their sons was La Pasusu, the seventh ruler of Muna, and another Murhum, also called Lakilaponto or Halu Oleo. He was Sultan of Butung from 1427 to 1473 A.D. and in 1447 was the first of those sultans to embrace Islam. His grave can still be seen in the fort at Wolio on Butung. His authority throughout Southeast Celebes is remembered in a story from Kendari in which he appears as the son of Wē Koila, who is either Sawērigading's sister or a descendant of his sister. She is said to have been a brave Ratu of the Tolaki people.

The names of some of the former rulers in Southeast Celebes resemble the names of people in Tompo'tikka', as mentioned in the *I La Galigo* cycle. An example is Baubesi which in the cycle is Urempessi'. An exact parallel is the name Satia Bonga, ruler of Wolio, who in the *I La Galigo* material is called Setia Bonga, the ruler of Jawa Wolio. He was betrothed to Wē Cudai in Cina, but according to the *I La Galigo* story, this led to his fleet being put to flight by Sawērigading in the Gulf of Bonē.

### The Cycle in Gorontalo

The legend of Sawērigading and his sister, Rawē, is closely connected with the development of various kingdoms in this area.<sup>19</sup> The legend says that once upon a time, Sarigadē, the son of the king of Luwu' in the land of the Bugis, came to visit his sister who had moved away from their parents. His fleet of several dozen large vessels

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16. See A. Zainal Abidin, "Mitos Asal-mula Keradjaan Buton," Bingkisan Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Th. II, No. 1 (1968), pp. 16-38.

17. In the *I La Galigo* cycle it is called Wēlenrēngngē.

18. In this name, Kagua means bone, Fotu means head. In the following names, Sugi means ruler.

19. The following account is based on an unpublished manuscript by S. R. Nur S. H., "Mythos Sawerigading dalam sejarah pertumbuhan keradjaan-keradjaan di Gorontalo."

came to land at a cape called Bayolamilate in the country of Padengo. There, Sarigadē discovered his sister, Rawē, married to a local king, the ruler of Hulontalangi. Together, the brothers-in-law agreed to attack various states around the Gulf of Tomini, and then to divide their conquests. Sarigadē took those people who carried a thrusting blade (*keris*): the ruler of Hulongtalangi took those who carried a slashing blade (*kelewang*). Afterwards Sarigadē bade farewell to his brother-in-law and went to the country of Cina to search for a beautiful girl who was said to be the exact twin of his sister in Luwu'. He took with him a fingernail, a lock of hair and measurements of the height and width of his sister. His fleet consisted of one large vessel and two hundred smaller ones, crowded with thousands of crewmen. In Cina he did in fact find the beauty he was seeking and her name was Cu Da In.

Another story explains Rawē's situation when found by Sawērigading. One day, King Matoladula saw in the house of Wadibuhu, the ruler of Padengo, a foreign girl who had been washed ashore.<sup>20</sup> Matoladula proposed to the girl and was accepted. It turned out that the girl was a Bugis called Rawē, the daughter of the rulers of Luwu'. She gave the name Lasandenpapang to her husband. Princess Rawē was taken by him to Hulontalangi in the Tilongkabila mountains while some of her followers from Luwu' remained in Padengo which they subsequently re-named Wadeng.

The details of these stories cannot, of course, be accepted at face value. In particular the implication of the contemporaneity between the epoch of Sawērigading and the existence of the states in Gorontalo is unacceptable. However it is of interest to note the acknowledgment of South Celebes influence in the formation of the local aristocracy. The belief in descent from Sawērigading has often been used as a matter of prestige and appears in many forms. For example, the ruler of Panipi who was deposed by the Dutch in 1870 was called Dukelleng, after Sawērigading. In 1871, his son, Bobihu led a revolt, but was captured and imprisoned by the Dutch in Fort Rotterdam in Macassar. However he put it about that he was a descendant of Sawērigading and the guard, acknowledging this, quietly released him and he fled back to Gorontalo. In Buol on the north coast of Celebes, there is a legend of descent from Sawērigading and other characters from the *I La Galigo* epic which is strikingly similar to that found in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* discussed below.

A comparison between the above stories from Gorontalo and the *I La Galigo* material on some points of detail is also of interest. In the latter, the name Wadeng is known as one of the places visited by Sawērigading in his travels. Its ruler, La Tenripeppang Datunna Wadeng was married to Wē Tenrirawē or Wē Rawē, the daughter of the ruler of Tompo'tikka'. She had been exiled to Wadeng because it was feared that she would marry her twin brother. La Tenripeppang's father was called Topawawol, that is, He Who Overcomes. After his marriage, La Tenripeppang visited his parents-in-law in Tompo'tikka'. Sawērigading also visited Wadeng and took with him on his travels through various countries La Tenripeppang Pallawagau' who was La Tenripeppang's brother-in-law, and La Maddaremmeng Toalapua, the ruler of the Moluccas. Thus Wē Tenrirawē is not Sawērigading's sister, as in the Gorontalo version, but his first cousin, since their mothers were sisters. Also the *I La*

20. Liputo M., Sedjarah Gorontalo (Gorontalo: Pertjetakan Rakjat, 195-?), III.

*Galigo* version says that La Tenripeppang and La Maddaremmeng Toalapua were cousins of Sawērigading. The Gorontalo name Lasandenpapang resembles La Tenripeppang, which means He Who Cannot Be Obstructed. Similarly the Gorontalo Cu Da In seems to be the *I La Galigo* character Wē Cudai, Sawērigading's wife from Cina.

### The Cycle in Malaysia and Riau

The story of Sawērigading and his son I La Galigo holds great interest for those Malaysians of Buginese and Macassarese descent. The story seems to have been taken there by Buginese and Macassarese who visited Riau and Malacca from the earliest times. There were subsequent elaborations from Malay and Arab sources.

The historical connection between South Celebes and the area of the Malay Peninsula and Riau can be amply demonstrated. This dates from as early as the fifteenth century. During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (1459-77), Malacca is said to have been attacked by "Keraing Semerluki" from Macassar.<sup>21</sup> This Semerluki may have been Karaēng Tunilabu ri Suriwa, son of the first ruler of Tallo'. According to the diary of the kingdom of Tallo', his original name was Sumange'rukka' and he intended to attack Malacca, Banda and finally Manggarai. However as his posthumous name indicates, he was killed by his crew in the Suriwa Sea, near Salayar. However, I do not know of any identification for the city of Balului which is said to have been ruled by Semerluki's father. Dr. Christian Pelras has suggested to me that Semerluki may have been a Buginese-Bajau leader of a roving band of Bajau or sea nomads. Another possible sign of contact around 1500 is the similarity between the maritime code operating in Malacca at that date and the Buginese maritime code as later codified.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, as Tomé Pires tells us,<sup>23</sup> there was trade between the two areas about this date.

However the most significant links were established later. In 1667 the Dutch compelled the ruler of Gowa to acknowledge defeat by signing the treaty of Bungaya. In this struggle, Gowa had been helped by the Arung Matowa of Wajo', La Tenrilai' To Sengngeng and in the following year, his fort at Tosora was destroyed by the forces of the Dutch and their ally, La Tenritatta' Arung Palakka of Bonē. These defeats precipitated a widespread dispersal of many Bugis and Macassarese. For example, a group of Bugis arrived in Selangor under the command of Daēng Lakani. In 1681 there were 150 Bugis living in Kedah. In the early eighteenth century Daēng Matokko' from Pēnēki in the district of Wajo' lived in Johore. About 1714 or 1716, he was followed

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21. Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals, an annotated translation by C. C. Brown with a new introduction by R. Roolvink (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 90-92. On pages xxii-xxv Roolvink discounts the connection between Hang Tuah and Macassar.
  22. Compare M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962), pp. 36-59, with Ph. O. L. Tobing, Hukum Pelajaran dan Perdagangan Amanna Gappa (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1961).
  23. A. Cortesão, ed. and trans., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 (2 vols.; London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), I, p. 226.



by his younger brother, La Ma'dukelleng Arung Singkang, called the Pirate King by the Dutch, who were thoroughly afraid of him.

The most notable of these Bugis in the west was Opu Tenriburong Daēng Rilakka'. His brother, whose name in Malay is Pancong, is said to have been the Datu Luwu'. In fact the name seems to be a title used by the rulers of Luwu', Pajung (Umbrella) Luwu'. There is also a connection with Luwu' through Opu Tenriburong's father called La Maddusalat. In a genealogy compiled by Andi Paramata in Sengkang, the father, with the title Towappangēwa, appears as the ruler of Tanētē. However his mother, Wē Tenrilēlāng, that is Opu Tenriburong's grandmother, was queen of the Luwu' and Tanētē.

The family of Opu Tenriburong were important in establishing successful settlements at Kuala Selangor and Kuala Kelang, and the present sultans of Selangor and Johore are descended from him. In fact all his five sons eventually played significant roles in the area's history. Daēng Marēwa became Yangdipertuan Muda of Riau; Daēng Parani married the daughters of the rulers of Johore, Kedah and Selangor and was the father of Opu Daēng Kamboja, the third Yangdipertuan Muda of Riau; Opu Daēng Menabung became Sultan of Mempawah and Matan; Opu Daēng Cella' married the sister of the Sultan of Sambas and his descendants became rulers there. Any of these family connections could have served to bring the *I La Galigo* stories to Malaysia and Riau.<sup>24</sup>

The nineteenth century Malay text, the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* contains many echoes of these stories.<sup>25</sup> It derives the origin of the Buginese rulers from Princess Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, and there is no story of a heavenly descent as in the *I La Galigo* material. Her daughter, the first Ratu of Selangi, that is, the ancient name for the island of Celebes, was Sitti Mallangke', who married the Datu Luwu'. This is also not mentioned in the *I La Galigo* cycle. However their son, Datu Palinge' is possibly the same as a number of characters in the *I La Galigo* cycle. Continuing the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* story, his son was the third Datu Luwu', Pa'tolok, who is the *I La Galigo* figure, Patotoē or La Patiganna, the Supreme Ruler of Heaven. He, in turn, was the father of the fourth Datu, Batara Guru, *I La Galigo*'s La Toge'langi' Batara Guru who became the first ruler on earth. The next three generations are exactly comparable: Batara Guru's son is Batara Lattu', his son is Paduka Sawērigading, and his son, La Galigo. According to both the Buginese and the Malay versions, Sawērigading and I La Galigo were famous because they both loved to roam even to Malacca and beyond. As the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* puts it, "At that time there was no other ruler to compare with them in greatness and valor."

The *I La Galigo* cycle finishes with his son La Tenritatta', the last Datu Luwu', but the Malay story continues for another thirty generations. The names given are clearly Buginese, but they do not

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24. Roolvink has suggested that a version of the *Sejarah Melayu* may also have been brought from Celebes by these immigrants. See his comments on page xxv of the edition mentioned above in note 21.
25. A romanized edition of one version of this text has been published by Inche Munir bin Ali (Singapore: Malaysia Publications, 1965). For further details see Virginia Matheson, "Mahmud, Sultan of Riau and Lingga (1823-1864)," *Indonesia*, No. 13 (April 1972), pp. 119-20. Dr. Matheson is currently preparing a new edition of the text.

accord with the genealogy of the recent Datu Luwu', Andi Jemma. This is not surprising as this Luwu' genealogy does not tally with those from Wajo', Soppeng and Boné. The reason is probably that Luwu' lost almost all its manuscripts and royal regalia in the wars against the Dutch in 1905 and 1946, or in later troubles. Some of these manuscripts may be found in European libraries.

### Conclusion

The stories set out above are clearly variations on a common theme. The greatest discrepancies are between the *I La Galigo* cycle and the stories from Malaysia. In particular the connection with Heaven is not made in Malaysia. However they all acknowledge Sawerigading as an outstanding royal figure and a famous wanderer. He and his son are the archetypes of those Bugis who, in more recent centuries, have sought their fortune outside their homeland; enterprising, brave, reckless and lusty. In Celebes, this story of the past acts as a unifying and integrating agent, which lessens conflict between groups. The Macassarese manuscripts of Gowa also say that Batara Guru was the first ruler of Gowa, thus forming a connection with the Buginese traditions. It is hoped that this comparative sketch may lay the foundations for a thorough analysis of the stories by anthropologists of Indonesia.