

The lands west of the lakes

A history of the Ajattappareng
kingdoms of South Sulawesi
1200 to 1600 CE



Stephen C. Druce

THE LANDS WEST OF THE LAKES

For

Itut, Zalikah and sADIE

V E R H A N D E L I N G E N
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

261

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KITLV Press
Leiden
2009

Published by:

KITLV Press

Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

(Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)

PO Box 9515

2300 RA Leiden

The Netherlands

website: www.kitlv.nl

e-mail: kitlvpress@kitlv.nl

KITLV is an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)

Cover: Creja ontwerpen, Leiderdorp

ISBN 978 90 6718 331 4

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Printed in the Netherlands

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Abbreviations

aSS	attoriolong Suppaq and Sawitto
ANRIM	Makassar branch of the Indonesian National Archives Bugis language
B.	Bugis
CE	Common Era
cf.	confer
CKA	manuscript copied by Cassakka
E.	Enrekang language
HP	manuscript written by Haji Paewa
KITLV	Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
M.	Makasar language
Ma.	Maiwa language
Mal.	Malimpung language
NBG	Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap
Sidrap	Sidenreng-Rappang
TS.	Toraja-Saddan language
UNHAS	Hasanuddin University

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the help, support and encouragement provided by many people. First I wish to thank Ian Caldwell, who was my supervisor at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull University, where this book began as a doctoral thesis. I am grateful for his constant support, advice and constructive criticism on both thesis and book. I also thank those lecturers at the Centre who taught me as an undergraduate. Thanks also to David Bulbeck for his detailed and constructive comments on the manuscript and for advice on my archaeological survey data. Campbell Macknight provided encouragement and advice, and identified a rare Yuan period incense burner foot from photographs while I was carrying out fieldwork in South Sulawesi. I also thank Terry King and Heather Sutherland for their comments on the manuscript. Raquel Losekann and Ricardo Tomaz provided assistance with Portuguese language sources.

In South Sulawesi I have many debts. I thank Puang Muhammad and Mustari, whose house in Lapalopo, Pinrang, I used as a base from which to carry out much of my fieldwork. I am indebted to Puang Muhammad and Mustari, their children, Sawedi, Suma, Sia and Ompe, for the generous hospitality and good company they afforded me on each occasion I stayed with them.

In Lapalopo I met Alimuddin, who accompanied me on many occasions during the early stages of fieldwork in Pinrang. His knowledge of Pinrang and its people and languages proved to be of great value. Abunawas and his family of Lautang Salo in Suppaq also deserve special mention. Abu's interest in my research made trips to Suppaq all the more enjoyable. I am very grateful to him and his family for their hospitality, not just on the many times that I stayed with them, but also for housing and feeding my archaeological survey team. Other people in South Sulawesi I wish to thank for their hospitality are: Iwan Sumantri and Muli, Budi and family, Bampe and Yammi, Mulianti and family, Jamaluddin and family, Suri and Mira, Maesar and family, Puwattiro and Muhammad Nasir and family. I also thank Haris, Adi, Kumare, Bahrir Haffid, Ote, Abu, Muhlis and Andi Rijaya for accompanying me at various times during fieldwork.

I express my deepest gratitude to all those people who told oral traditions

to me or provided historical data. Their information is crucial to this book. The names of these informants are set out in Appendix F.

Muhlis Hadrawi, who first taught me to read Bugis manuscript texts when I was an undergraduate at Hasanuddin University (UNHAS), assisted me in transcribing and translating Bugis texts and accompanied me on a trip to Népo. Muhammad Salim also gave assistance and advice in transcribing and translating Bugis texts and provided several photocopies of manuscripts. I also thank Haji Djirong Basang for checking my understanding and interpretation of several sections of the Gowa chronicle.

I thank my archaeological survey team, who consisted of Karaeng Demanari, Irfan Mahmud, Muhammad Nur, Mansjur and Hamsa. They laboured tirelessly in difficult conditions and provided many fruitful discussions on my research.

I would like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council in the United Kingdom for their financial support, the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia for sponsoring my research, and Edward Poelinggomang of UNHAS for kindly agreeing to act as my sponsor in South Sulawesi.

I am also grateful to the staff of the following institutions who allowed me to access their collections: the Makassar branch of the Arsip Nasional Indonesia, the Universiteits Bibliotheek and the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, Hull University Library, Cambridge University Library, the British Library, Hasanuddin University Library and the Yayasan Kebudayaan South Sulawesi. The Centre for Remote Imaging, Sensing and Processing (CRISP) at the National University of Singapore allowed me access to their image catalogue and I thank them for giving me permission to use the satellite image in Chapter I.

I also thank my parents, John and Glenda Druce, for their encouragement and support, and my family in Makassar for their hospitality.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Rachmawati, who provided help with French language sources and accompanied me on several occasions during fieldwork. She also provided constant support and encouragement.

The site maps in Appendix B were drawn up by Mansjur and me in Makassar and later digitized in the United Kingdom. All other figures, tables and photographs, unless otherwise stated, are entirely my own work

System of transliteration and spelling conventions

This book presents Romanized transliterations and English translations of 15 manuscript texts written in the Bugis script. The system of transliteration I follow, with two exceptions, is that used by Caldwell (1988). This system is based on the one developed by Noorduyn (1955) from the work of Cense. The first of these modifications concerns the *aksara* ீ which is represented by the letter *e*. This distinguishes it from the *aksara* ு which is presented as *é*. The second modification concerns the glottal stop, a common feature of the Bugis language but not represented by the Bugis script. This glottal stop is represented by the letter *q*.

These modifications are represented in the examples given below:

ᵛᵛᵛᵛ *maqbotting* (to marry); ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ *siwéreng* (to give each other); ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ *letté* (thunder); ᵛᵛᵛᵛ *peqjé* (salt); ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ *ritiwiq* (to be taken)

I have retained the glides, which are a common feature in Bugis manuscript texts, in the main body of the transliteration. This makes it possible to reproduce all the essential features of a Bugis text and enables its reproduction. Outside the transliteration, the glides are omitted in order to avoid inconsistent spelling.

These conventions, where applicable, are applied to words derived from other South Sulawesi languages that appear in the main text. The language each word belongs to is indicated as follows: B. Bugis; E. Enrekang; M. Makasar; Ma. Maiwa; Mal. Malimpung; TS. Toraja-Saddan. Bahasa Indonesia and European languages are unmarked.

I have used these spelling conventions for historical place names but not the names of modern administrative units or topographical features. For example, the kingdom of Suppaq, kecamatan (subdistrict) Suppa; the kingdom of Énrékang, kabupaten (regency) Enrekang; the kingdom of Sidénréng, Lake Sidenreng. The spelling of South Sulawesi language names follows conventions used by linguists, as found in Grimes (2000).

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Ajattappareng ('the lands west of the lakes', B.) is a political and geographical term that relates to a former confederation of five kingdoms, located to the west and north of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng on the southwest peninsula of the Indonesian island of Sulawesi (figure 1).¹ These kingdoms were Sidénréng, Sawitto, Suppaq, Rappang and Alitta. Today, the people who inhabit the areas of Suppaq, Rappang and Alitta are, with the exception of recent migrants, all of the Bugis ethnic group. In Sidénréng and Sawitto, the Bugis are the most numerous ethnic group, but various non-Bugis peoples who speak one of three Massenrempulu languages inhabit low hill and mountain areas in the northern parts of these two kingdoms.

This book has two main objectives. The first is to write a history of the rise and development of the Ajattappareng kingdoms from about 1200 to 1600 CE using oral, textual, archaeological, linguistic data and geographical information and analysis. The upper date shortly predates the arrival of the Dutch in South Sulawesi in 1605, and the *musuq selleng* (wars of Islamization, B.) of 1608 to 1611 in which the Makasar kingdom of Gowa defeated and Islamized the neighbouring Bugis kingdoms.² The lower date immediately precedes the emergence of the lowland South Sulawesi kingdoms at about 1300.

The second objective of the book, which is intrinsic to the first, is an inquiry into oral tradition of a historical nature in South Sulawesi. This inquiry runs throughout the book and encompasses its functions, processes

¹ A Bugis, Makasar or Massenrempulu kingdom is a political unit occupying a defined geographic territory within which there exists one primary settlement with a paramount ruler chosen from the highest-ranking nobles of the ruling family and a varying number of secondary settlements, each with their own paramount rulers, laws and government. The name of the kingdom is derived from the primary settlement, to which are attached all other settlements through tributary relationships. This definition also appears applicable to many of the small Toraja settlements briefly described by Hetty Nooy-Palm (1979:58-63) and the Mandar kingdoms (Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman, personal communication, 2001).

² The first South Sulawesi ruler to convert to Islam was La Patiwareq of Luwuq in January 1605, who took the name Sultan Muhammad Wali Mu'z'hir al-din. The rulers of the Makasar kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq followed as Sultan Ala'uddin and Sultan Abdullah in August of the same year.

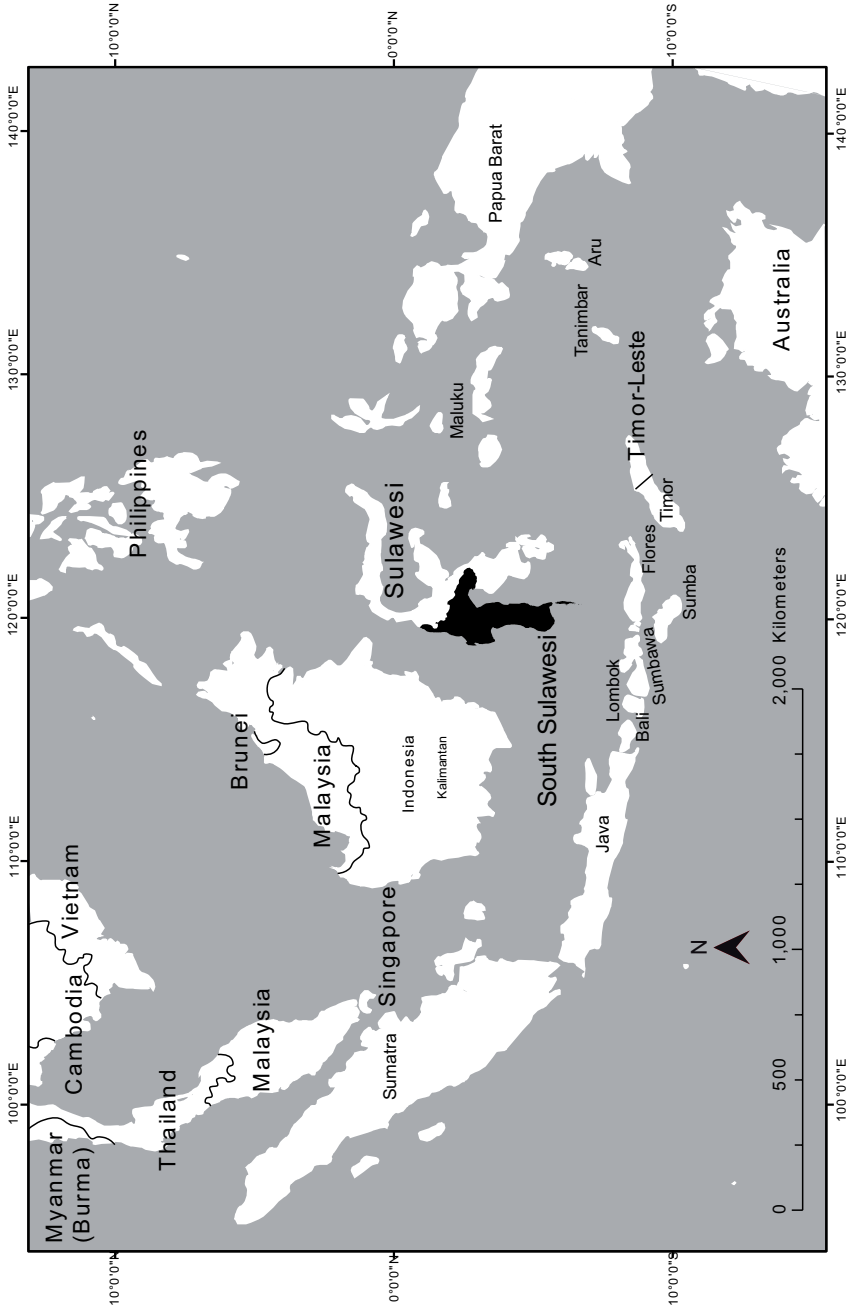


Figure 1. Sulawesi in Indonesia

of transmission and transformation and its uses in writing history. In South Sulawesi there is a close relationship between oral tradition and indigenous written texts (Pelras 1979). Indeed, as will be shown, most texts of a historical nature are derived from oral tradition. Any inquiry into the nature of South Sulawesi oral traditions must therefore take into account the close relationship between the oral and written registers. This second objective aims to build upon the previous work of Jacobus Noorduyn (1955, 1961, 1965), Campbell Macknight (1984, 2000), Ian Caldwell (1988) and Macknight and Caldwell (2001) in order to provide a greater understanding of the nature of South Sulawesi historical sources, particularly those which claim to tell us something about the period before 1600.

Outline of the book

Of the remaining sections of this introductory chapter, the first sets out the methodology and primary sources used in the book. This is followed by an overview of South Sulawesi, its languages and peoples and some background on the Ajattappareng kingdoms. The political structures of the South Sulawesi kingdoms are then discussed and explained. The final section of the chapter sets out a theoretical perspective on the rise and development of the lowland South Sulawesi kingdoms from about 1300 CE.

The focus of Chapter II is South Sulawesi oral and written traditions of a historical nature. After discussing these oral traditions, I turn to their transmission and ask why, how, and by whom oral traditions in South Sulawesi have, and continue to be, passed on from one generation to another. The following section examines their functions and transformations, and demonstrates how the importance, meaning and function of an oral tradition during its transmission will be continually affected as a consequence of socio-cultural and political changes within a community; how one tradition may become conflated with another tradition, and how anachronisms appear. I then turn to the written tradition, which begins with an overview of South Sulawesi manuscripts and scripts, followed by an investigation into the origins of the written tradition. The chapter then focuses on South Sulawesi writings of a historical nature and discusses the anomaly of the chronicle tradition and its origins. The following sections discuss the relationship between oral and written tradition and concludes that any distinction between the two forms is largely irrelevant, and that oral and written information collectively make up a large corpus of knowledge that can be recalled, or referenced, whenever the need may arise. The final section of the chapter presents five related oral and written traditions that not only emphasize the close relationship between the oral and written register but

also provide further examples of the dynamic processes of transmission and transformation in the South Sulawesi context.

Chapter III provides a historical perspective on the geography and peoples of the Ajattappareng region. I first examine, and then refute, Christian Pelras's argument that during the sixteenth century a vast, deep single lake occupied the central area of the South Sulawesi peninsula. The chapter then investigates several important changes in the physical geography of the Ajattappareng region, which were suggested by early twentieth-century Dutch geologists. The most important of these changes concerns the Saddang river, which was fundamental to the political and economic development of the western part of the Ajattappareng region. I reconstruct the former course of the river and discuss the relationship between rivers, trade and settlement patterns in the region before 1600.

In the second half of Chapter III, I focus on the peoples and languages of Ajattappareng. The chapter aims not just to emphasize the pre-modern linguistic and cultural diversity of Ajattappareng, but through a combination of oral and written traditions, archaeology and linguistic data to argue that the ruling elite in some highland areas were influenced by Bugis cultural practices in the period before 1600. It is further argued that there was a southward movement of highland peoples down to the low hills and lowland areas of the Ajattappareng region as a consequence of increased economic and cultural interaction with the lowland Bugis after 1300. I show how some of these highland people founded settlements in lowland areas and that several multi-ethnic polities emerged in the Sawitto region.

Chapter IV explores the concepts of origin and precedence in Ajattappareng and South Sulawesi in general in a historical context. I first discuss how notions of origin and precedence function in South Sulawesi on two basic levels: between rulers and commoners and between the ruling families of South Sulawesi's settlements. The chapter then turns to origin and precedence in Ajattappareng and discusses a number of origin traditions and written genealogies from the Ajattappareng region. These traditions show how precedence between the Ajattappareng kingdoms has changed over time as a consequence of changing political and economic circumstances. This chapter aims to bring to light some of the early histories of the individual Ajattappareng kingdoms. Based on an analysis of oral traditions and written genealogies, I argue that Sawitto was the last of the five kingdoms to join the Ajattappareng confederation. Chapter IV also supports conclusions made in Chapter III concerning a southward movement of highland people into the lowland areas of Ajattappareng.

Chapter V presents a history of Ajattappareng from about 1200 to 1600 CE. I begin the chapter with a speculative overview of the Ajattappareng region, and South Sulawesi in general, in the period immediately before 1300.

The remainder of the chapter endeavours to explain ‘what happened’ in the Ajattappareng region up to the conversion to Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The conclusions of the book follow Chapter V.

Sources and methods

The primary written sources for this book are Bugis and, to a lesser extent, Makasar *lontaraq* texts (indigenous writings in the Bugis script). Both Bugis and Makasar *lontaraq* texts include short stories derived from oral tradition, genealogies, treaties, tributary and domain lists and a small number of chronicles.³ Some, such as the chronicles of Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.), Talloq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975), Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955; Abidin 1985) and Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.), have been translated into Indonesian, Dutch or English with accompanying Romanized transliterations of the original texts.⁴

Initial archival research to locate relevant *lontaraq* texts was carried out at the Library of the University of Leiden and the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) in Leiden. The Library of the University of Leiden houses the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society) (Matthes 1875, 1881) collection, as well as manuscript collections from later years and copies of the 24 microfilm rolls made by Campbell Macknight in 1974 of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Institute of Culture) collection.⁵ The KITLV houses a small collection of manuscripts from South Sulawesi collected in the twentieth century.

In South Sulawesi, archival research was carried out at the Makassar branch of the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (Indonesian National

³ By chronicle, I mean a methodological account of past events which took place under successive rulers. Chronicles, and the tradition of chronicle writing, are discussed in Chapter II.

⁴ As Noorduyn (1991) has pointed out, the Gowa and Talloq chronicles edited for publication were not the best versions available. Noorduyn critically examined ten versions of each chronicle and outlined several philological weaknesses and typographical errors in the published versions. I have taken Noorduyn’s comments into account when using these sources and used the Makasar-Dutch dictionary compiled by A.A. Cense and Abdoerrahim (1979) to verify relevant sections.

⁵ The Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (former Matthes Stichting) collection of manuscripts was established in the 1930s under the direction of A.A. Cense. The collection has been re-catalogued several times but no record was kept of the original catalogue numbers (Muhammad Salim, personal communication, 2003). Today, the collection consists mainly of photocopied Bugis and Makasar manuscripts. All remaining manuscripts in this collection were microfilmed as part of the Arsip Nasional project (below) but photocopies of the manuscripts can be obtained from the Yayasan Kebudayaan.

Archives), which holds an extensive microfilm collection of South Sulawesi manuscripts. This collection is the result of a project funded by the Ford Foundation and directed by Mukhlis Paeni, the former head of the Makassar branch of the Indonesian National Archives. The project located and micro-filmed over 4,000 manuscripts from South Sulawesi, the majority of which are in the Bugis language. A rudimentary catalogue, which provides details of 3,049 of these manuscripts, was published in 2004 by the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: there are plans to publish a further catalogue of the remaining 1,000 manuscripts. During the course of my research in South Sulawesi, I also consulted numerous privately owned manuscripts.

Some original material was found during the course of archival research, mainly in the Arsip Nasional microfilm collection, but *lontaraq* texts relevant to the study of the Ajattappareng kingdoms before 1600 are few in number, particularly in comparison to the Bugis kingdoms located in the eastern part of the South Sulawesi peninsula, such as Boné and Wajoq. The tradition of chronicle writing, which probably dates to the mid- or late seventeenth century, appeared to have been confined to a small number of South Sulawesi's kingdoms (Chapter II).⁶ It is therefore not surprising that no chronicles appear to exist for the Ajattappareng kingdoms. Texts that I located include genealogies of Sidénréng, Sawitto and Suppaq; a number of tributary and domain lists; several versions of a story derived from oral tradition which tells of the Makasar kingdom of Gowa's attack on Sawitto and Suppaq in the mid-sixteenth century; a tradition relating the origins of Sawitto's ruling family; a tradition setting out the relationship between Suppaq and Népo; several texts setting out the borders between kingdoms; and a work entitled the *hikajat* Sawitto, written in the Indonesian language but which uses the pre-1972 spelling convention. Most of the texts located related to Sidénréng, Suppaq or Sawitto; for Rappang and Alitta, the two smallest Ajattappareng kingdoms, hardly any material of relevance was located.

The only texts I located that contained reliable historical information dating to before 1600 were genealogies of Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto. The Sidénréng and Suppaq genealogies contain reliable historical information dating from about the beginning of the sixteenth century, while the Sawitto genealogy contains reliable historical information dating from the early to mid-sixteenth century (Chapter IV). With the exception of tributary and domain lists, the remaining *lontaraq* texts located appear to be oral traditions that had been written down in the Bugis script some time after the events they purport to speak of took place.

Most of the *lontaraq* texts used in this book are previously unexamined

⁶ A chronicle of sorts, written in the 1960s by Haji Paewa, was located during research in the Ajattappareng region and is discussed in Chapter II.

texts that I located in the Arsip Nasional microfilm collection. Referencing of *lontaraq* texts from this collection follows the numbering system used in the Arsip Nasional catalogue. For example, ANRIM 14 / 27, pp. 39-40, refers to a *lontaraq* text found on pages 39 and 40 of the twenty-seventh manuscript on microfilm roll 14.

Other catalogued *lontaraq* texts used in this book are from the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society) (Matthes 1875, 1881) collection, which are referenced as follows: NBG 99, pp. 13-5 refers to a *lontaraq* text found on pages 13 to 15 of manuscript number 99.

I have also used two privately owned South Sulawesi manuscripts. The first is a photocopy of a manuscript concerned with Sawitto that was written by the late Haji Paewa in the 1960s. HP pp. 11-8 refers to a *lontaraq* text found on pages 11 to 18 of this manuscript. The second is a photocopy of a manuscript copied by Cassakka in 1990 (given to me by Muhlis Hadrawi), which is mainly concerned with Sawitto. In this book the designation of CKA pp. 2-8 refers to a text found on pages 2 to 8 of this manuscript.

Fieldwork in the Ajattappareng region focused on the spatial identification and surveying of historical habitation sites and pre-Islamic burial grounds, the recording of oral tradition of a historical nature from village elders, the local ethnolinguistic perceptions of the inhabitants of each village visited; the collection of oral history from local villagers relating to recent geographical changes, land and river usage, and looted pre-Islamic burial grounds. I also examined the physical geography of the region in order to find evidence for topographical changes that had occurred in the period after 1600.

The places visited during fieldwork were chosen on the evidence of the numerous toponyms named in each kingdom's tributary and domain list, other relevant *lontaraq* texts, and information provided by local informants and former grave robbers. Tributary and domain lists functioned as particularly useful guides for fieldwork in the Ajattappareng region. These texts list the core lands that formed the domain of a kingdom itself and the tributary lands that were attached to the domain. While it remains uncertain which period in history is referred to by the traditions set out in tributary and domain lists, their value for the study of pre-1600 South Sulawesi has been convincingly demonstrated (Caldwell 1995; Druce 1997a, 1997b; Caldwell and Druce 1998). Locating local *keramat* (a sacred place where offerings and requests to ancestors are made) also proved a productive way of finding historical sites dating to before 1600. *Keramat* are scattered across the South Sulawesi landscape and found in or close to most villages; some are pre-Islamic graveyards, abandoned villages and palace centres, or places where the first ruler or rulers of a settlement are believed to have appeared; others are oddly shaped natural rock formations, or springs associated with a water deity. While some *keramat* are probably quite ancient, others were established



Photograph 1. *Keramat* at Wéngeng (Sidénréng domain land)

as recently as 30 to 40 years ago and include Islamic graves.

Modern 1:50,000 scale toponymic maps and 1:250,000 scale land use maps published by Bakosurtanal (Indonesian Government Mapping Agency in Bogor) were used to help locate toponyms and to examine the physical features of the region. The location of each site visited was recorded with a handheld Garmin GPS 12 Global Positioning System (GPS) receiver and checked against a map.

For two reasons, it was important to visit as many historical sites named in *lontaraq* texts as possible. Firstly, some place names, such as Bélawa, Madelloq and Paria, are relatively common in South Sulawesi and attempting to identify their location from maps alone can result in misidentification. Secondly, many villages have also moved some distance from their pre-1600 locations, often moving closer to main roads. Locating the original site of the named village is important not only to the spatial analysis of a particular area but also to confirm whether a particular village existed before 1600 or was established at a later date in history.

Evidence that a particular village was established before 1600 can be derived from the presence of Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian ceramic

and stoneware tradeware sherds (hereafter, ceramics⁷) dating to before the early seventeenth century.⁸ Other factors in determining pre-1600 occupation can be derived from information provided by former grave robbers or by local farmers. Grave robbers have systematically looted the region's pre-Islamic burial grounds in search of ceramic tradewares and other valuable items that were interred with the dead in the pre-Islamic period, while local farmers have found pre-Islamic burial sites when clearing land to make new rice fields or to dig out fish and prawn farms.⁹ Data from such individuals is important in locating and identifying some pre-1600 sites, particularly those long since abandoned or destroyed, which may have left little material evidence of their former existence. It is reasonable to conclude that sites where grave robbers and farmers have found ceramics associated with burials were populated at some time between 1300, a date which marks the initial large-scale import of ceramics to the region, and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the people of Ajattappareng converted to Islam and ceased to inter ceramic grave goods with the dead.

Throughout my research in South Sulawesi, I used the Bugis language in addition to the Indonesian language to communicate with respondents.¹⁰ In Massenrempulu-speaking areas of Ajattappareng, communication with elderly informants proved a minor problem on several occasions, as some could speak neither Bugis or Indonesian fluently.¹¹ However, local residents had no difficulty in translating for me.

For much of my time in the Ajattappareng region, I was assisted by local residents from the particular village I was staying in at the time. I found that their local knowledge of an area was often fundamental in locating historical sites and finding informants who could relate oral traditions. On other occasions, I was assisted by students or staff from Hasanuddin University in Makassar (UNHAS), or by my wife, Rachmawati.

Informants who related oral tradition or oral history are listed in alphabetical order in Appendix F, together with the name of the *kecamatan* (sub-district) where they live and their reported age. Each has a number placed before their name, which is cited in the main text to reference information

⁷ In Indonesia, the term *keramik* is used to refer to all ceramic and stoneware tradewares; the term excludes earthenwares.

⁸ Much of what I know about identifying Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese ceramic sherds was learned from Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makassar.

⁹ The first recorded looting of pre-Islamic graves in South Sulawesi dates to the seventeenth century. Nicolas Gervaise (1701:120) reports that looters ransacked the grave of one of the greatest Makasar lords, where they found a large quantity of dishes, cups, bracelets, chains and ingots of gold.

¹⁰ I first began to learn Bugis under the tutorship of Muhlis Hadrawi while studying at Hasanuddin University (UNHAS) in Makassar for a year as an undergraduate in 1996-97.

¹¹ In many Massenrempulu-speaking areas Bugis functions as a second language.

related by them. For example, I.15 refers to informant number 15 on the list of informants in Appendix F. However, if the name of an informant appears in the main text no reference number is given. Informants who participated in the looting of pre-Islamic burial grounds remain anonymous.

During the last stage of research in South Sulawesi, I organized a number of archaeological surveys in collaboration with Balai Arkeologi Makassar (the Makassar Archaeological Office).¹² These surveys focused on the recovery of ceramic tradeware sherds from habitation sites and pre-Islamic burial grounds. Sixteen sites were surveyed: eight in central Suppaq, five in Sidénréng, two in Sawitto, and one in Alitta.¹³

No archaeological survey was carried out in Rappang because no suitable sites were located. Three places in Rappang were considered for archaeological survey, Bénténg, Baranti and Simpo, where I found small numbers of Vietnamese, Sawankhalok and Chinese Ming sherds on the edge of rice fields dating to the fifteenth, fifteenth to sixteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴ However, after talking to local informants it was evident that Bénténg, Baranti and Simpo's pre-Islamic burial grounds and pre-1600 habitation sites had been looted and destroyed when the areas were opened up for rice farming. I therefore decided that little could be learned from surveying peripheral scraps of land.

Each surveyed site was carefully mapped and the collected sherds were taken to Balai Arkeologi Makassar where they were cleaned and examined

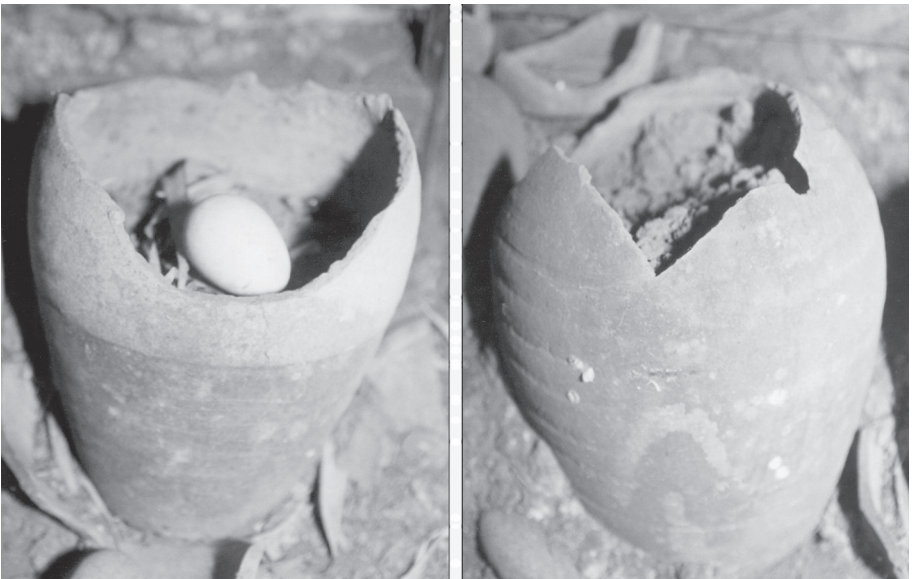
¹² Members of the survey team were Irfan Mahmud, Karaeng Demmanari, Pak Hamsah and Pak Mansjur of Balai Arkeologi Makassar, Muhammad Nur of UNHAS and myself. Iwan Sumantri of UNHAS also participated for part of the first series of surveys.

¹³ Two additional sites scheduled for surveys in Sawitto did not take place as the local *kantor camat* (subdistrict office) refused permission for the team to survey the site known as Tomaruli (called Temmaruling by some informants), where the pre-Islamic palace of Sawitto was located. However, given that much of Tomaruli was destroyed when the area was cleared for wet-rice farming, potential survey finds may have been relatively small. The second site in Sawitto the survey team was denied access to was Bulu, which contained many almost whole martavans (large stoneware jar), some of which still contained cremated human remains (see photographs 2 and 3). La Side, the owner of the land where this site is located, had given permission for the site to be surveyed but was away on business when the survey team arrived. In his absence, his family would not allow the survey team to disturb or remove any of the sherds for examination. The team was thus reduced to noting down observations and mapping the site.

¹⁴ At Simpo, I found two Ming blue-and-white sherds (sixteenth century), three Sawankhalok martavan sherds (fifteenth to sixteenth century) and one Sawankhalok celadon sherd (fifteenth to sixteenth century). At Baranti, I located two Sawankhalok martavan sherds (fifteenth to sixteenth century), one sherd from a Sawankhalok covered box (sixteenth century), one Swatow sherd (mid-sixteenth to seventeenth century) and three (probably Chinese) undatable martavan sherds. At Bénténg, the site of Rappang's pre-Islamic palace centre, I found one Vietnamese sherd (fifteenth century), two sherds from a Sawankhalok covered box (sixteenth century) two Ming blue-and-white sherds (sixteenth century) and four undatable martavan sherds.



Photograph 2. Broken martavans at Bulu, *kabupaten* Pinrang



Photograph 3. Two broken martavans containing cremated remains at Bulu, *kabupaten* Pinrang

under laboratory conditions.¹⁵ Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makassar undertook classification of the sherds, with assistance from me.¹⁶ We also consulted standard references, notably Guy (1986) and Harrison (1990, 1995). The dates applied to these classifications in the South Sulawesi context are mainly derived from the detailed research of David Bulbeck, whose pioneering archaeological work laid the foundations for modern archaeological survey work in South Sulawesi focusing on ceramic tradeware sherds. The most recent refinement of these dates is set out in Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000).

During the course of writing this book important new research concerning the dating of these ceramics became available. Roxanna Brown's (2004) research on shipwreck data from Southeast Asia examines the extent of Chinese trade ceramic shortages in Southeast Asia from the early Ming period (the 'Ming gap') and describes how Southeast Asian trade ceramics took their place. Her work has revealed that Thai and Vietnamese trade ceramics are first found in shipwreck cargoes during the reign (or very shortly thereafter) of the Chinese Emperor Hongwu (1368-1398), and that from this period until the sixteenth century no single cargo of any shipwreck contains 100% Chinese ceramic tradewares.¹⁷ From circa 1368 to 1430, Chinese wares make up only about 30 to 40% of cargoes and no more than 2% between 1430-1487. During these periods, Thai and Vietnamese tradewares made up the bulk of cargoes. In the reign of Hongzhi (1488-1505), however, Chinese tradewares increased to make up 90% of cargoes. Brown discovered that Vietnamese tradewares disappear from shipwrecks after about 1510 and do not return until after 1600. Brown termed this gap in Vietnamese trade ceramic exports the 'Mac gap', in contrast to the 'Ming gap', after the Mac dynasty which ruled Vietnam between 1527 to 1592. Her work also suggests that the Sawankhalok covered boxes, the sherds of which are heavily represented at pre-1600 South Sulawesi sites, began to be exported only in the sixteenth century.¹⁸

In the light of Brown's work, I have dated sherds from Sawankhalok cov-

¹⁵ After classification, all sherds were placed in bags or boxes with labels and stored at Balai Arkeologi Makassar.

¹⁶ Most difficult to classify and date are sherds from Chinese martavans (used to hold the cremated remains of the deceased) which were found in large numbers at pre-Islamic burial sites. Most of these sherds probably date to no later than the seventeenth or earlier centuries, before the Bugis converted to Islam. As neither Karaeng Demmanari or myself were able to date many of these sherds with confidence they are marked as '?' in Tables B.1 to B.16 in Appendix B.

¹⁷ While Southeast Asian ceramic exports appear during the years of the official Ming ban on private trade, Brown cautions that as yet there is no 'conclusive proof' that it was the Ming ban that caused the rise of these exports (Brown 2004:6).

¹⁸ My survey data from the Ajattappareng region generally correlates with Brown's findings. For example, the number of pre-sixteenth century Ming sherds found in the surveys was consistently small in number, while there were large quantities of sixteenth century Ming sherds.

ered boxes to the sixteenth century and all non-martavan sherds classified as 'Vietnam' in Appendix B to the fifteenth century. However, martavan sherds classified as 'Vietnam' in Appendix B were dated by Karaeng Demmanari to either the fifteenth century, the fifteenth to sixteenth century, or the sixteenth century. Some of his identifications of martavan sherds that were classified as Vietnam may, with hindsight, be from the Guangdong border or Champa wares (Go Sanh). On the advice of David Bulbeck, I have therefore decided to retain Karaeng Demmanari's dates for these martavan sherds rather than give them a fifteenth century date.

The results of these surveys, together with site maps, are set out in Appendix B. Pak Mansjur of Balai Arkeologi undertook the mapping of sites during the survey and the maps in Appendix B were drawn in collaboration with me.

Overview of South Sulawesi

Sulawesi is the fourth largest island in Indonesia and covers an area of 227,654 square kilometres, including adjacent islands. The island, which is surrounded by the Philippines to the north, Maluku to the east, Flores and Timor to the south and Borneo (Kalimantan) to the west, consists of four distinct peninsulas that form three major gulfs: Bone on the south, Tolo on the east and Tomini in the northeast. The island comprises four of Indonesia's 30 provinces: North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi and South Sulawesi (figure 1.1).¹⁹

South Sulawesi has a population of 8,336,965 million people²⁰ and covers an area of 72,781 square kilometres, which includes adjacent islands, the largest of which is Selayar. The region is divided into 22 *kabupaten* (regencies) and two *kota madya* (municipalities) (figure 1.2). Most of the modern *kabupaten* boundaries, and the names of the *kabupaten* themselves, are based on the territories of the former kingdoms as they existed in the mid-twentieth century. Other *kabupaten*, such as Pinrang and Jenepono, were formed through an amalgamation of two or more kingdoms. The names of these *kabupaten* are derived from small, relatively unimportant settlements that were part of these kingdoms.

The province comprises the narrow southwestern peninsula of the island and the highlands north of Palopo. In the southern part of the province, the eastern and western areas have alternate wet seasons, from late November to March in the west and April to October in the east. The area around

¹⁹ Administrative divisions are as of 2003.

²⁰ Badan Pusat Statistik Sulawesi Selatan Online: <http://sulsel.bps.go.id>.

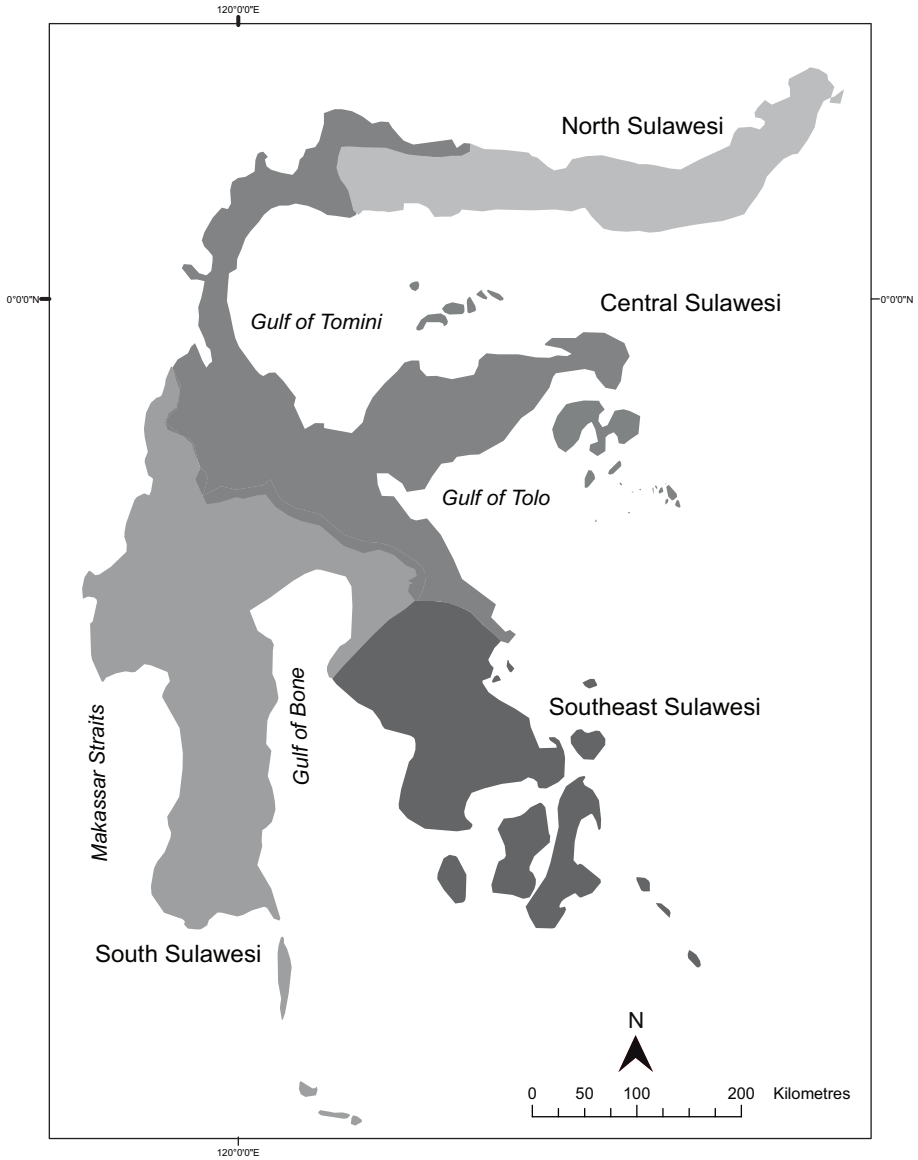


Figure 1.1. Provincial boundaries of Sulawesi

Jenepono on the south coast has a shorter wet season, from December to March, and is often the driest part of the province. Much of the northern part of the province has rainfall all year round, while the thin coastal strip in the southern parts of *kabupaten* Polmas and Majene has a dry season from July to October.

From the southern end of the province two igneous rock cordilleras stretch northwards from the extinct volcanoes of Mounts Bawakaraeng and Lompobattang (2,871 metres), running parallel with the west and east coasts. The longest is the western cordillera, which extends for about 160 kilometres from Mounts Bawakaraeng and Lompobattang to just north of the city of Parepare. It is flanked to its west by an alluvial plain, most extensive in the southwestern part of the province, and gradually narrows to a low ridge that runs parallel to the seashore just south of Parepare. To the north, east and southeast of Parepare are extensive alluvial central plains, which lie in the Walannae and Saddang depressions and they stretch across to the east coast of the peninsula.

The shallow fresh water lakes Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya lie in these central plains.²¹ These lakes are part of the same lacustrine system and ecologists have generally regarded them as a single entity, mainly because during the wet season they merge into a single lake and can cover an area of 35,000 hectares (Whitten et al. 1987:255). Local residents generally regard the lakes as three separate entities, a convention which I follow in this work. Two other significant lakes in the province are Lake Matano and Lake Towuti, which are located in Luwu Utara.

North of the central plains, the terrain changes to low hills which gradually lead up to the highlands. With the exception of thin coastal strips in *kabupaten* Polmas, Majene, Luwu and Luwu Utara, the northern part of the province is characterized by a rugged mountainous terrain with the highest peak, Mount Latimojong, at 3,455 metres. Most rugged is the northwestern area where there are several uninhabited expanses of land (see figure 1.3).

The major rivers of the province that drain into the Makassar Straits are the Karaja, Karama, Mamasa, Jeneberang and the Saddang, which has many affluents. Those rivers that drain into the Gulf of Bone are the Kalena, Malili and Walannae, which in the wet season flows into Lake Tempe and from there continues to the Gulf of Bone as the Cenrana river. Another important river is the Bila river, which drains into Lake Tempe.

As can be seen in Table 1, population density outside of the cities of Makassar and Parepare is greatest in the southern *kabupaten* of Jenepono, Sinjai, Bulukumba, Bantaeng and Takalar and at its lowest in *kabupaten* Mamuju and Luwu Utara.

²¹ Buaya is the smallest of these lakes and is dry for much of the year.

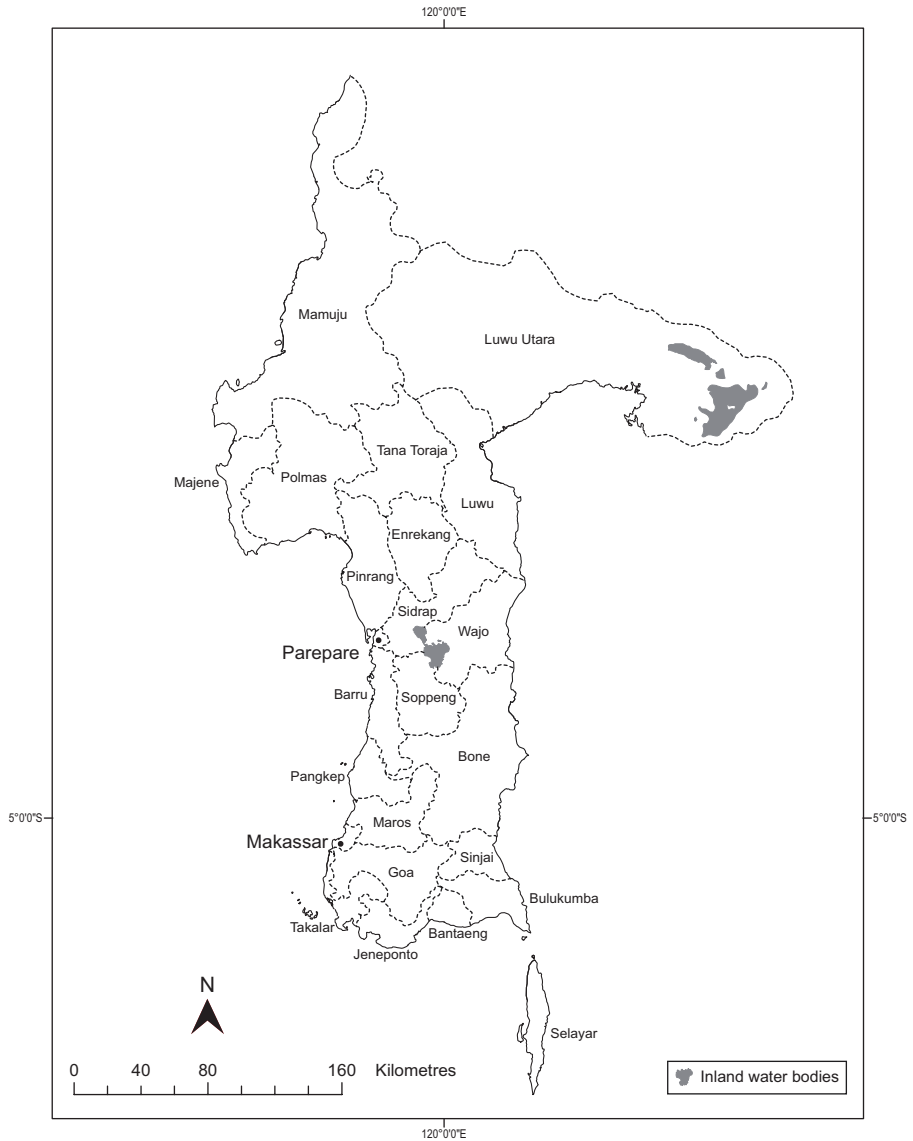


Figure 1.2. South Sulawesi *kabupaten* and *kota madya* boundaries

Table 1. *Kabupaten/kota madya* size, population and density²²

<i>Kabupaten</i>	Area (km ²)	Population	Density per km ²
Bantaeng	39.583	169.102	427
Barru	117.472	158.500	135
Bone	455.960	694.320	152
Bulukumba	115.467	379.371	328
Enrekang	178.601	182.174	102
Gowa	188.333	575.295	305
Jeneponto	74.979	331.848	443
Luwu and Luwu Utara	1.779.142	936.344	52
Majene	94.784	136.321	144
Mamuju	1.105.781	279.194	25
Maros	161.912	296.336	183
Pinrang	196.977	335.551	170
Pangkep	111.229	279.801	252
Polmas	418.153	426.752	102
Selayar	90.335	111.220	123
Sidrap	188.325	246.993	132
Sinjai	81.996	220.141	268
Soppeng	150.000	229.292	153
Takalar	57.262	248.162	433
Tana Toraja	320.577	427.286	133
Wajo	250.619	364.290	145
<i>Kota Madya</i>			
Makassar	17.579	1.193.451	6.789
Parepare	9.933	115.221	1.153

The languages and people of South Sulawesi

The languages spoken in South Sulawesi belong to one of four stocks of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family; namely, the South Sulawesi stock, the Central Sulawesi stock, the Muna-Buton stock and the Sama-Bajaw stock.²³ Speakers of Muna-Buton stock languages inhabit the area of Wotu in Luwu Utara, the southern tip of Selayar island and the

²² Area (km²) and population figures are from Badan Pusat Statistik Sulawesi Selatan Online: <http://sulsel.bps.go.id>. Population density per km² figures are my own calculations.

²³ Much of the early ground breaking work on the languages of Central and South Sulawesi was carried out by Adriani and Kruyt (1912-14), Van der Veen (1929) and Esser (1938). Later studies of importance are by Mills 1975; Ü. Sirk 1975, 1983, 1988, 1989; Y.K. Sirk 1981; Sneddon 1983. Here I focus only on the most recent studies of Grimes and Grimes (1987), Friberg and Laskowske (1989) and the Ethnologue database edited by Grimes (2000), which contains the most up-to-date published information on South Sulawesi languages.

small islands of Kalao, Bonerate, Kalaotoa and Karompa, all of which are located to the southeast of Selayar. Speakers of Central Sulawesi stock languages inhabit the northern half of *kabupaten* Mamuju and the northern and eastern parts of *kabupaten* Luwu Utara (figure 1.3). Sama-Bajaw speakers are scattered in a few coastal areas of Bone and Luwu and around the islands of Selayar and Pangkep.²⁴ Here I will focus only on those languages that make up the South Sulawesi language group, which are spoken by the vast majority of the province's inhabitants.

Charles and Barbara Grimes (1987) tentatively identified about 20 distinct languages of the South Sulawesi stock, which they placed into ten related family or subfamily groupings.²⁵ Timothy Friberg and Thomas Laskowske (1989) revised this identification to 28 distinct languages within eight family or subfamily groupings. A further revision by B.F. Grimes (2000) now identifies 29 distinct languages within eight family or subfamily groupings.

The eight linguistic families and subfamilies, their 29 distinct languages and approximate number of speakers are set out below (after Grimes 2000):

- 1 The Bugis family, which consists of two languages: Bugis (3,500,000 speakers) and Campalagian (30,000 speakers).
- 2 The Lemolang language (2,000 speakers).
- 3 The Makasar family, which consists of five languages: Bentong (25,000 speakers), Coastal Konjo (125,000 speakers), Highland Konjo (150,000 speakers), Makasar (1,600,000 speakers) and Selayar (90,000 speakers).
- 4 The Northern South Sulawesi family, which consists of two languages, Mandar (200,000 speakers) and Mamuju (60,000 speakers), and three subfamilies (below, 5, 6 and 7).
- 5 The Massenrempulu subfamily, which consists of four languages: Duri (95,000 speakers), Enrekang (50,000 speakers), Maiwa (50,000 speakers) and Malimpung (5,000 speakers).
- 6 The Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily, which consists of five languages: Aralle-Tabulahan (12,000 speakers), Bambam (22,000 speakers), Dakka (1,500 speakers), Pannei (9,000 speakers) and Ulumanda' (30,000 speakers).
- 7 The Toraja-Saddan subfamily, which consists of six languages: Kalumpang (12,000 speakers), Mamasa (100,000 speakers), Tae' (250,000 speakers), Talondo' (500 speakers), Toala' (30,000 speakers) and Toraja-Saddan (500,000 speakers).

²⁴ Grimes and Grimes (1987) left Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in South Sulawesi as unclassified because of insufficient data. In Grimes (2000), the Bajaw languages spoken in South Sulawesi are now classified, albeit tentatively, as Bajao Indonesian: one of three languages that make up the Borneo coast Bajaw subfamily, which belongs to the Sulu-Borneo family of Sama-Bajaw stock languages.

²⁵ A subfamily is a subgroup of languages within a language family.

- 8 The Seko family, which consists of four languages: Budong-Budong (70 speakers), Panasuan (900 speakers), Seko-Padang (5,000 speakers) and Seko-Tengah (2,500 speakers).

The spatial distribution of these languages is shown in figure 1.3.

The most divergent of the South Sulawesi languages are those that make up the Makasar family, sharing an average of just 43% lexical similarity with the other members of the South Sulawesi stock.²⁶ Earlier linguistic work by Roger Mills (1975:491) also shows Makasar languages to be the most distinct of the South Sulawesi languages. Both Mills (1975:503-4) and Grimes and Grimes (1987:25) conclude that Makasar was the first language to break off from the Proto South Sulawesi language.

Of the remaining language families, the Northern South Sulawesi family is of particular interest because of the large number of languages that make up this family. The 17 languages have lexical similarities with one another ranging from 52% to 72%.²⁷ The Bugis family shares a relatively high percentage of lexicostatistical similarities with the Northern South Sulawesi family languages, averaging over 52%. By comparison, the average shared lexical similarity between the two languages that make up the Bugis family and the four languages that make up the Makasar family is just 45% (Grimes and Grimes 1987:23).

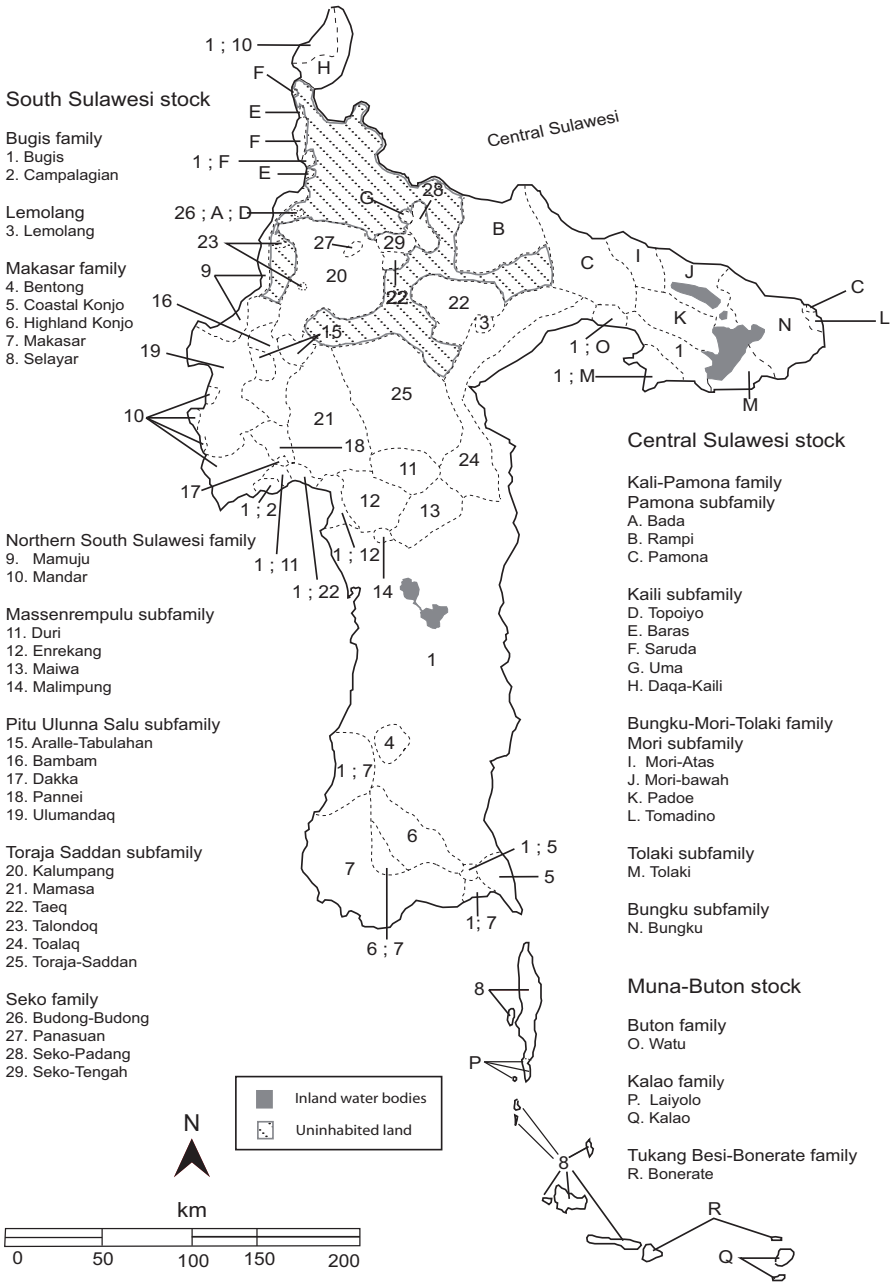
How many of the 29 South Sulawesi stock languages are today commensurate to individual ethnic groups is uncertain, as no studies to date have addressed local ethnic perceptions in the province in any detail. Most of the academic and tourist literature mention only the four largest of South Sulawesi's ethnic groups, the Bugis, Makasar, Toraja and Mandar. Smaller groups are either ignored or considered to belong to one of the four ethnic groups above, which in the Ajattappareng region at least stands in opposition to local ethnolinguistic perceptions.²⁸ The linguistic data, at least from a historical and archaeological perspective, can be considered as a basic guide to understanding ethnic diversity and ethnic boundaries in South Sulawesi.

The most numerous ethnic group of South Sulawesi are the Bugis. The Bugis occupy almost the entire eastern half of the peninsula, much of the

²⁶ Grimes and Grimes 1987:25. There is also significant divergence within the Makasar family itself: the Makasar language shares 75%, 76% and 69% lexical similarities with Highland Konjo, Coastal Konjo and Selayar respectively (Grimes 2000). Wayne Bougas (2007:131) also notes that there are cultural and religious differences between Makasar communities, which are often localized with regional variations.

²⁷ Grimes and Grimes 1987:19. Grimes (2000) provides lexical similarity data for only a small number of South Sulawesi languages.

²⁸ In Chapter III, I examine the linguistic data and local ethnolinguistic perceptions in the Ajattappareng region from a historical perspective.



Based on Grimes (2000) with additions by the present author

Figure 1.3. South Sulawesi language map

western half of the peninsula (from around *kabupaten* Pangkep to the central-northern parts of *kabupaten* Pinrang and Sidrap²⁹), the central fertile plains and the coastal plain in *kabupaten* Luwu. Small pockets of Bugis are also found in *kabupaten* Luwu Utara, Polmas and Mamuju. Next largest numerically are speakers of Makasar languages, who inhabit the southwestern part of the peninsula, most of the peninsula's southern coast and all but the southern tip of Selayar island. With the exception of the fertile area in the southwestern part of the province and the area around Maros, the Makasar occupy less fertile land than the Bugis and are consequently less prosperous.

The Bugis and Makasar peoples are often stereotyped as sailors, traders and even, occasionally, as pirates. While some Bugis and Makasar are traders and sailors this stereotypical image has been created from the activities of a relatively small number of individuals. This reputation appears to date to no earlier than the seventeenth century (Lineton 1975:177-85; Abu Hamid 1987:2-17). Both the Bugis and Makasar are primarily farmers, whose main occupation for centuries has been intensive wet-rice cultivation together with other minor crops. Indeed, the emergence of the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms after 1300 was directly linked to the expansion of wet-rice agriculture (Macknight 1983; Caldwell 1988).

The Bugis and Makasar are often considered the most closely related of South Sulawesi's ethnic groups, despite the evident linguistic divergence. Some local scholars even use the compound term 'Bugis-Makasar' when writing about South Sulawesi culture and history.³⁰ While there are common cultural traits between these two ethnic groups, the term 'Bugis-Makasar' appears to have been born, at least in part, from a desire for a common Islamic identity. Today, Islam is an important expression of ethnic identity for both the Bugis and Makasar, but they have also retained many elements of their pre-Islamic beliefs. As Friberg and Laskowske (1989:3) note, however, where Bugis and Makasar languages overlap in *kabupaten* Maros and Pangkep, each language remains distinct and individuals clearly identify themselves as either Bugis or Makasar. At the same time, Bugis and Makasar genres of indigenous writings closely correspond with each other, as do their oral traditions, and from about 1300 the two ethnic groups shared similar historical experiences (see below).

Another ethnic group often associated with the Bugis and Makasar are the Mandar, who also converted to Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Mandar inhabit the narrow coastal strip and hill areas in the

²⁹ Pangkep is a transitional area between Bugis and Makasar speakers.

³⁰ In my experience, the term 'Bugis-Makasar' is unpopular with Bugis living outside of Makassar, who often cite a list of unpleasant cultural traits they believe pertain to the Makasar but not themselves.

northwestern part of the peninsula in *kabupaten* Majene and Polmas. Of all the peoples of South Sulawesi, it is the Mandar whose life is most closely linked to the sea. The main occupation of the Mandar is fishing but they also cultivate cacao, copra, maize and cassava.

Speakers of Toraja-Saddan languages are spread over a relatively wide area in the northern half of the province. The majority inhabit *kabupaten* Tana Toraja and are often referred to as the Saddan-Toraja, after the name of the river which flows through Tana Toraja. The Saddan-Toraja began to convert to Christianity in the early part of the twentieth century as a result of the work of Dutch missionaries. Today, about 87% are Christian; 9% are Muslim while the small remainder still follow the pre-Christian religion known as *aluaq to dolo* (way of the ancestors, TS.) (Waterson 1990:111). While wet-rice is grown in river valleys, the Saddan-Toraja mainly practice garden cultivation, the most lucrative crop being coffee.

To the east of the Saddan-Toraja in *kabupaten* Polmas are speakers of the Mamasa language, often called the Mamasa-Toraja. As with the Saddan-Toraja most of the Mamasa-Toraja are Christian. Despite this, both the Mamasa-Toraja and Saddan-Toraja consider themselves to be ethnically and culturally distinct to one another, which is evident in their complicated architecture and burial practice, and the absence of the famous cliff-face graves of Tana Toraja.

Speakers of Toraja-Saddan languages also inhabit large areas of Luwu and Luwu Utara, where they make up at least one third of the population of these two *kabupaten*. Small pockets of Toraja-Saddan speakers also inhabit the northern tip of *kabupaten* Pinrang and the southeastern part of Mamuju. Many of those who inhabit Luwu and Luwu Utara (mainly speakers of Tae' and Toala' languages) are Muslim, which tends to exaggerate cultural differences between them and their Saddan-Toraja neighbours.

Massenrempulu-speaking ethnic groups occupy the low hills and mountain areas in *kabupaten* Enrekang, and the northern parts of *kabupaten* Pinrang and Sidrap, the area between the Bugis and Saddan-Toraja. Most speakers of Massenrempulu languages converted to Islam in the seventeenth century. Partly because of a shared Islamic identity, Massenrempulu ethnic groups are often associated with their Bugis neighbours and are even thought by many people inhabiting lowland areas to belong to the Bugis ethnic group. However, Massenrempulu-speaking groups themselves claim to be ethnically distinct from the Bugis and also from one another (Chapter III). Although some wet-rice is grown in Massenrempulu-speaking areas, most Massenrempulu-speaking peoples practice garden cultivation.

Speakers of Pitu-Uluna-Salo languages inhabit the hill and mountain areas to the north and east of the Mandar, with whose people they have had a long economic and cultural relationship (George 1996). The majority of Pitu-Uluna-

Salo-speakers are now Muslim but there is a sizeable Christian minority. As with speakers of Toraja-Saddan languages, the religious divergence of Pitu-Uluna-Salo-speakers has created some divisions as some of the Muslim majority have begun to develop a greater affinity with their Mandar neighbours.

Speakers of the Mamuju language inhabit the coastal plain and foothills in the most northerly part of the South Sulawesi province, where they practice garden cultivation and fishing. To the south and southeast of the Mamuju are speakers of Seko languages, who inhabit the rugged terrain in central areas of *kabupaten* Mamuju and Luwu Utara.

The smallest ethnic group that speaks a South Sulawesi stock language is the Lemolang; only about 2,000 people who live in the foothills in Baebunta and Sabbang in Luwu Utara speak this language. While the small number of speakers suggests that Lemolang is in danger of disappearing, Grimes (2000) reports that of 25 children questioned in 1990, 76% said that they spoke the language well.

In spite of the evident cultural, religious and ethnic diversity of South Sulawesi language speakers, there are a number of cultural concepts shared by all groups, which perhaps crystallized in prehistory and reflect their common origin.³¹ These include the importance given to ascriptive status, the position of women as status markers for a kin group, the concept of *siriq* (self-worth, shame)³² and the concept of a white-blooded ruling elite, many of whom are believed to be descendents of *tomanurung* (beings descended from the Upperworld to rule over the common people).³³ While there are significant differences in architecture, the traditional houses of all South Sulawesi language speakers have a central post around which house ceremonies are conducted.

The Ajattappareng kingdoms in South Sulawesi

The five Ajattappareng kingdoms as they existed before about 1700 are today divided into four *kabupaten* and one *kota madya*.³⁴ Sawitto, Alitta and the northern-central part of Suppaq make up much of *kabupaten* Pinrang,

³¹ I am uncertain whether the following cultural concepts apply to speakers of languages belonging to the Sekko language family and the Mamuju language.

³² The concept of *siriq* in South Sulawesi has been addressed by numerous studies, for example, Salombe 1977; La Side 1977; Volkman 1980; Andaya 1981; Abidin 1985; Hamid 1985; Mattulada 1985; Marzuki 1995; Chabot 1996; Pelras 1996. A good introduction to *siriq* among the Bugis, Makasar, Mandar and Saddan-Toraja is found in Mohammad Yahya Mustafa et al. 2003.

³³ The Makasar and Toraja-Saddan equivalents of *tomanurung* are *tumanurung* and *tomanurun* respectively.

³⁴ The geographic extent of the Ajattappareng kingdoms before 1700 is mainly based on the tributary and domain lists of the respective kingdoms, supplemented by other textual sources.

which is also home to a number of settlements that were not part of any Ajattappareng kingdom before 1600. These settlements include Batu Lappaq, Kassaq and Letta, which were once part of a Massenrempulu-speaking confederation known as the Lima Massenrempulu (the five lands on the edge of the mountains), and a number of other small independent settlements, one of which, Supirang, is inhabited by people who are linguistically, culturally and ethnically related to the Mamasa-Toraja.

Letta came under Sawitto's jurisdiction after it was attacked by Boné in 1685 for killing an envoy of Boné (Van Braam Morris 1892:215). In the twentieth century, the Dutch placed Batu Lappaq and Kassaq in the Dutch *onderafdeeling* of Pinrang, together with Sawitto, Alitta and northern-central Suppaq. Pinrang, the name chosen by the Dutch for the *onderafdeeling*, is derived from a minor tributary of Sawitto.

The southern part of central Suppaq is now located in *kota madya* Parepare and the northern tip of *kabupaten* Barru. The former tributaries of Suppaq lie in the northern part of *kabupaten* Barru. Most of Sidénréng, and the whole of Rappang, make up *kabupaten* Sidenreng-Rappang (Sidrap). One of Sidénréng's former tributaries, Maiwa, today exists as the largest and most southerly of the five *kecamatan* that make up *kabupaten* Enrekang.

The Ajattappareng region is geographically and ethnically diverse, encompassing extensive fertile plains in the southern and central parts and hill and mountain areas in the northern parts of Sidrap and Pinrang. Some of South Sulawesi's most productive wet-rice growing areas are found in this region. Wet-rice farming is the major occupation for the majority of inhabitants of the region and has probably been so for centuries; Manuel Pinto, a Portuguese adventurer who claimed to have visited Sidénréng in the 1540s, stated that Sidénréng was rich in rice and other foodstuffs (Schurhammer 1980:628). Sidrap and Pinrang are two of South Sulawesi's largest producers of rice, with the former producing some 500,000 tons of unhulled rice per year (*Fajar*, 12 March 2003) and the latter some 358,702 tons (*Kompas*, 12 October 2001).

Since the 1960s, rice production in Ajattappareng (as in other parts of South Sulawesi) has increased as a consequence of concerted efforts made by the Indonesian government to raise rice productivity through the application of 'green revolution' technologies. Efforts to raise yields have also included the creation of numerous new rice fields, which has led to the destruction of many important archaeological sites, in particular pre-Islamic burial grounds. The continuing expansion of fish and prawn farms around the coastal areas of Ajattappareng, particularly in central Suppaq and the coastal areas of central and southern Sawitto, has also destroyed many archaeological sites.³⁵ One

³⁵ When world prawn prices rose in the early 1980s, villagers began to expand fish and prawn farms further and further inland, sometimes converting rice fields, and used pumps to mix sea-

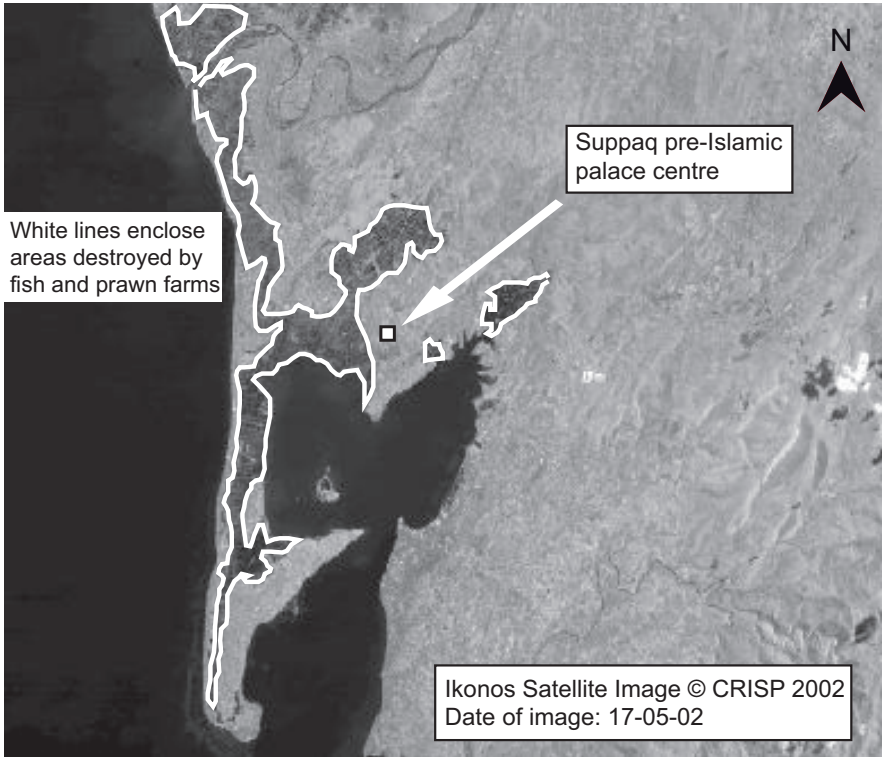


Figure 1.4. Satellite image of central Suppaq showing the extent of destruction caused by fish and prawn farms

of the sites is the pre-Islamic port of Suppaq, which was located around the Marauleng river to the southwest of the pre-Islamic palace centre (see Chapter III). The satellite image of central Suppaq (figure 1.4) gives some indication of the destruction caused by these fish and prawn farms. The top left hand corner also shows some of the destruction in southwestern Sawitto, around the area where the old Saddang delta was located.

In addition to encompassing extensive wet-rice growing land, both Sidénréng and Sawitto include substantial hill and mountain areas, much of which are suitable only for garden cultivation. Lucrative cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, palm oil and cloves are today cultivated in many of these

water and irrigation water to help the fish and prawns thrive. *Kabupaten* Pinrang produces some 337,912 tons of prawns a year, about 40% of South Sulawesi's total annual production (*Kompas*, 12 October 2001; *Fajar*, 3 April 2003).

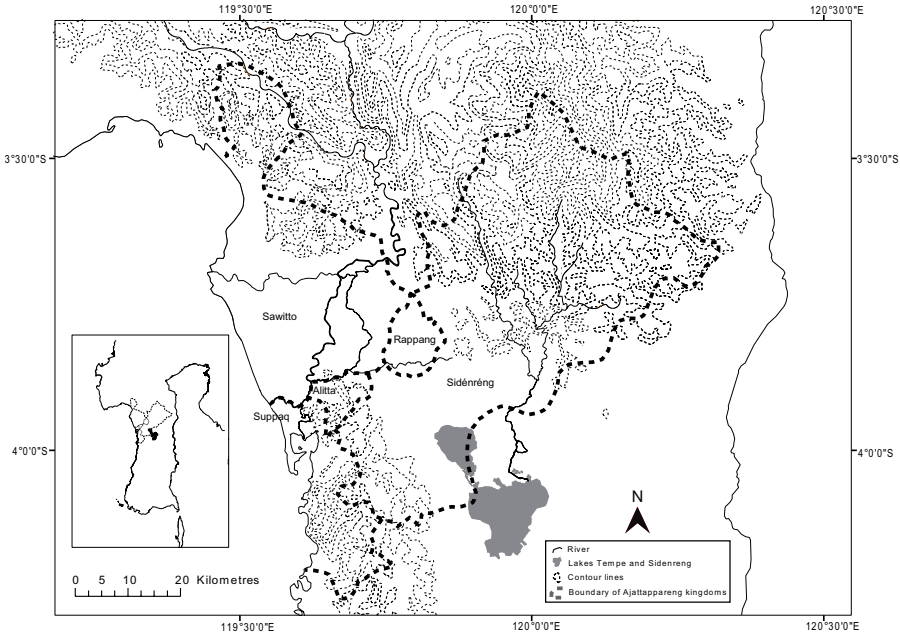


Figure 1.5. Geographic extent of Ajattappareng

areas. In the recent past, however, many of these hill and mountain areas produced various forest produce that were exported via the ports of Suppaq and Sawitto.

Figure 1.5 shows the approximate extent of Ajattappareng in the sixteenth century. (Note that the northeastern parts of Sidénréng, which are remote and rugged, are sparsely populated.)

Kingdoms, tributaries and domains: the political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms

One of the striking characteristics of the South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged after about 1300 was their multi-centred, decentralized political structure.³⁶ A

³⁶ The following discussion applies mainly to Bugis, Makasar and Massenrempulu kingdoms. Much is also relevant to the Mandar kingdoms, which appear to have had a similar political structure (Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman, personal communication, 2001) and a number of the *lembang* (*adat* community) of Tana Toraja, particularly those in the southern part of that *kabupaten* such as Sangallaq, Makale and Mengkendeq. It is clear from the work of Heather Sutherland

kingdom comprised of one primary settlement with a hereditary paramount ruler and a varying number of secondary settlements, each with their own ranked hereditary rulers, laws and government. Each settlement that made up a kingdom appears to have had reasonably well-defined territorial boundaries, often determined by geographical features, such as streams, rivers, hills or mountains. The kingdom's name was usually derived from the name of its primary settlement, to which the remaining settlements were attached through tributary relationships. Some settlements became tributaries for reasons of trade or military protection, while others were forced into tributary relationships through military conquest. The primary settlement's position was achieved partly because it controlled the most productive agricultural land, trade routes or external trade outlets; however ambitious leadership must also have been important to political success. In terms of multilinear cultural evolution (Fagan 1995:28-30), the South Sulawesi kingdoms were complex chiefdoms.³⁷

This basic political structure of South Sulawesi's kingdoms is reflected in the Tributary and Domain Lists, which can be found for all Bugis kingdoms, some Makasar kingdoms, all Mandar kingdoms, several Massenrempulu-speaking kingdoms and the Bugis-ruled kingdom of Luwuq. Most of these lists probably date to the late seventeenth century but the relationships they convey almost certainly date back to before 1600 (Druce 1997a; Caldwell and Druce 1998; Caldwell and Bougas 2004).

These lists appear to provide us with a record of the political and geographical boundaries of power and influence achieved by a kingdom at some period in its past. To my knowledge, all tributary and domain lists share certain similarities in design, structure and language and are divided into three basic sections: kingdom, tributaries, and the domains of the kingdom itself. The text indicates the first of these divisions by stating the name of the kingdom. This is then followed by the expression *paliliqna* (tributaries of)³⁸ thus informing the reader that the subsequent list of settlements, the number of which can vary considerably, are of tributary status to the kingdom. The third of these divisions is introduced by the phrase *napononqé*

(1983) that the decentralized nature of the South Sulawesi kingdoms was not just characteristic of the period before 1600 but was still evident in the nineteenth century.

³⁷ The term complex chiefdom does not apply to the Makasar Empire of Gowa-Talloq from the late sixteenth century until its fall in 1667. Bulbeck has shown that during this period the Gowa-Talloq Empire clearly qualifies as a state in the terminology of multilinear cultural evolution (Bulbeck 1992:469-72). It was the only South Sulawesi polity to make this transition.

³⁸ *Paliliqna* is derived from the root *liliq*, 'around'. When the prefix *pa-* is added, a noun is formed meaning 'something which is around [a centre]'. The suffix *-na* is possessive, thus Sidénréng *paliliqna*, something (tributaries) around Sidénréng which pertain to Sidénréng, or Sidénréng's tributaries.

rakkalana (directly ruled by),³⁹ which signifies that the following lands form the domain (a cluster of villages) of the kingdom itself and are directly supervised by members of the kingdom's ruling family or subordinates, such as head-men, who report directly to the paramount noble of the kingdom or settlement. Some tributary and domain lists, such as the Sidénréng list, while containing these three basic sections, also incorporate formulaic expressions which divide the tributaries and domain lands in order of their importance (see Appendix A).⁴⁰ Most tributary and domain lists do not contain these additional formulaic expressions, but the order in which the tributaries are listed often appears to indicate their importance in relation to the kingdom of the list.⁴¹

Each tributary named in a particular tributary and domain list was an independent political unit ruled by its own paramount noble chosen from its own ruling family. Some tributaries that made up a kingdom were allied with each other as confederations, which had been formed before they became incorporated into the kingdom. Two examples of this are Pituriawa (the 'Seven Below') and Pituriaséq (the 'Seven Above'), which were two economically related Bugis and Massenrempulu confederations that became tributaries of Sidénréng.

Many of these tributaries were themselves minor kingdoms, which at some stage in their past, perhaps for reasons of trade, defensive alliances or military conquest, became incorporated into the larger and more powerful kingdom which the tributary and domain list records. A number of the tributaries which appear in a particular tributary and domain list may also possess tributary and domain lists of their own, which provide a picture of their individual political boundaries of power and influence within the primary kingdom. One such example is Maiwa (a Massenrempulu-speaking kingdom which became a tributary of Sidénréng), whose tributary and domain list names twelve tributaries and three domain lands (see Appendix A). Other tributaries, or small settlements not part of any kingdom, may possess what can be termed as a domain list. A domain list is similar in structure to a tributary and domain list but omits the term *paliliq*. The focal settlement of the list is simply stated and immediately followed by the phrase *napanoqé rakkalana*,

³⁹ The literal meaning of this expression is: 'the plough [of the kingdom] goes down to them'.

⁴⁰ Transliterations and translations of the tributary and domain lists of the five Ajattappareng kingdoms and, where available, the lists of their tributary lands, are given in Appendix A together with maps showing the spatial distribution of all identified lands.

⁴¹ For example, the first two tributaries to be named on the Soppéng tributary and domain list (NBG 112, pp. 133-4) are Lamuru and Marioriwawo, which were the two largest and most powerful of Soppéng's tributaries (Druce 1997b:6-16).

and a list of the personal domains of that settlement.⁴² Some tributaries possess neither a tributary and domain list nor a domain list, and appear to have existed as single settlements.

From other indigenous oral and written sources it is evident that the tributaries that appear in a particular tributary and domain list had substantial autonomy in law and government (Druce 1997a, 1997b; Caldwell and Druce 1998). At the same time, any tributary that refused to participate in a war when called upon by the kingdom would face military reprisal.⁴³ Some tributaries had certain responsibilities set out that they were expected to fulfil. For example, six of Sawitto's tributaries were known as the Paliliq Bessi, a term which literally means the 'Iron Tributaries' (B.) and serves to convey that their role was to provide soldiers for Sawitto. Three of these tributaries, Kabelangeng, Lomé and Kaluppang, were expected to provide men to guard the wealth of the kingdom, while in the event of war the three remaining Paliliq Bessi, Kadokkong, Pangamparang and Gallang-kallang, formed the front line of the army (ANRIM 14/27, p. 38).

There also appears to have been a degree of fluidity in the system as a tributary could change its allegiance to another kingdom. A tributary defeated in war by a rival kingdom was often forced to swear an oath that renounced its earlier tributary relationship and established a new one with the victorious kingdom. Such a process could be reversed in the event of further warfare. Some tributaries also appear to have changed their allegiance whenever it suited their needs, as is suggested by oral tradition from the Soppéng tributary of Citta. Citta was located close to where the borders of Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng met, and whenever relations with Soppéng turned sour Citta would side with Boné or, less frequently, with Wajoq (Druce 1997b:39). There are also several examples of tributaries being transferred from one kingdom to another. For example, the tributary and domain list of Baringeng (which was itself a tributary of Soppéng) names just one tributary, Palangiseng, which according to oral tradition from Baringeng, was given to the *datu* (ruler, B.) of Baringeng as a wedding present by a ruler of Boné (Druce 1997b:25). Other examples of tributaries being transferred from one kingdom to another date to the time of the *tellumpoccoé* alliance between Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng,

⁴² The Soppéng *paliliq* Citta (NBG 112, p. 57) is one such example.

⁴³ A kingdom called upon its tributary lands to participate in a war or attend a festival by sending a *bila-bila*. According to B.F. Matthes (1874:211), a *bila-bila* is a *lontar* leaf with a number of knots in it and was sent to *paliliq* or *pasaeajingeng* (allies, B.) requesting them to attend a festival or war. The number of knots in the leaf indicated the number of days before the recipient was expected to assemble in a specified location. In the event of being asked to participate in war, a *paliliq* which failed to attend without good reason was punished; this did not apply to a *pasaeajingeng*. T.S. Raffles (1817:Appendix F:clxxv) gives a similar description and states that a ruler receives the *bila-bila* while 'seated in the midst of his head people, with his right hand on the handle of his *kris*' and swears an oath to be faithful.

which was concluded in 1582 in an attempt to halt the military expansion of Gowa. At the time the alliance was concluded, Boné and Wajoq agreed to transfer a number of lands to Soppéng because it was the smallest of the three kingdoms. One of the tributaries transferred to Soppéng from Boné was Lamuru, which remained a tributary of Soppéng until 1710.⁴⁴ However, Lamuru never appears to have fully accepted its tributary status to Soppéng, and in 1710, shortly after the *datu* of Lamuru was executed by strangulation on the order of the *datu* of Soppéng, Lamuru once again became a tributary of Boné at the request of the people of Lamuru (Muttalib 1978:39-40).

In some kingdoms, certain tributaries also appear to have had a degree of influence in deciding who should succeed as ruler, as was the case with the Eppa Baté-baté (the 'Four Flags', B.) tributaries of Sawitto, Rangaméa, Tiroang, Langnga and Loloang. According to one tradition, when the ruler of Sawitto died the Eppa Baté-baté would sit together with the ruling nobles of central Sawitto and discuss who would succeed as ruler (ANRIM 2/2, p. 11).

Several factors underpinned, maintained and developed these tributary relationships. One of the most important of these was strategic marriage, which played a key role in strengthening existing tributary relationships and establishing new relationships. Rulers of kingdoms often attempted to marry their sons and daughters to the children of a tributary ruler or a potential tributary ruler (Caldwell 1995:401). This strengthened, or initiated, kinship ties between the ruling families of kingdoms and tributaries and one of the offspring from such marriages could be a leading contender to succeed as the tributary land's ruler.

Another important factor in maintaining tributary relations was strategic control of elite goods, such as imported ceramic tradewares and cotton textiles, and elite foodstuff to highland communities, such as rice. Elite goods served as important symbols of rank and political authority for the ruling elite of settlements. Strategic distribution of these goods by rulers of kingdoms helped to maintain the loyalties of tributary rulers and attract new tributaries, which extended a kingdom's boundaries of political and geographic influence. As numerous studies on chiefdoms and emerging kingdoms have shown (Earle 1977, 1997; Junker 1993, 1994, 1999), strategic distribution of elite goods, whether of foreign or local manufacture, is one of several impor-

⁴⁴ Lamuru appears to have been a relatively early kingdom (its own tributary and domain list names thirteen tributaries and seven domain lands (NBG 112, p. 57)), as is attested by the large number of ceramics looted from its centre's pre-Islamic graveyard. A few of the looted ceramics, together with small and large ceramic sherds, are housed in a museum close to its impressive Islamic graveyard, which is located next to the pre-Islamic burial ground. In the mid-fifteenth century, Lamuru was defeated by Gowa and, some years later, transferred to Wajoq from Gowa. Following a later war between Boné and Gowa, which ended with the Caleppa peace agreement sometime in the 1570s, Lamuru became a tributary of Boné (Muttalib 1978:19-20).

tant means by which a ruling elite maintains and expands political power.

In addition to strategic marriage and control of elite goods distribution, another factor that helped to ensure the loyalty of a tributary was the ever-present threat of military force, which was unleashed by the kingdom on a tributary that failed to fulfil an obligation, whether economic or military, or if the loyalty of a tributary wavered.⁴⁵ Timothy Earle (1997:105-42) shows that in chiefdoms the strategic use of force, often as a last resort, played a key role in both integration and resistance to integration.⁴⁶

The political structure of the Soddan-Toraja *lembang* described by Hetty Nooy-Palm (1979:58-105) is similar to the Bugis, Makasar and Massenrempulu kingdoms.⁴⁷ According to Nooy-Palm, a *lembang* was a geographical territory comprised of a varying number of independent settlements known as *buaq* or *penanian* communities. A *buaq* community was a territorial area which encompassed one or more villages. Each *lembang* had a hereditary leading noble of varying title, such as *maqdika* or *puang*, and the name of the *lembang* was derived from the most high status of the *buaq* communities which made up the *lembang*. Each *lembang* also had a council, which was led by the ruling noble of the *lembang* and included other lower ranking nobles, elders and leaders from the communities which made up the *lembang*. The *lembang* council also presided over disputes that arose within individual *buaq* communities which their own councils were unable to solve independently.

How much political authority the leading *buaq* community of a *lembang* had over the remaining *buaq* communities is unclear. In the northern parts of Tana Toraja, where the terrain is most rugged and communities more isolated, political integration between the *buaq* communities of a particular *lembang* was probably more limited. In the southern part of Tana Toraja, where settlements are located in fertile river valleys and capable of supporting larger populations, there was a greater degree of political integration, particularly in the *lembang* of Makale, Mengkendeq and Sangallaq, which formed a three-*lembang* confederation known as the Tallu Lembangna. Each of the Tallu Lembangna lands established a degree of political control over the communities that made up the three *lembang*. Sangallaq had several cat-

⁴⁵ According to Leonard Andaya (1981:46), Gowa had the right to one-tenth of whatever products its tributaries produced.

⁴⁶ Two of these factors, strategic marriage and military force, can be likened to what the Bugis call *tellu cappaq* (the three tips, B.): the tongue, blade and penis. The tongue is first used as a means of persuasion in order to achieve or obtain something. If this does not work then the blade (force) is used. The third tip, which the Bugis say is the preferred method of integration, is marriage.

⁴⁷ When the Dutch finally gained control over Tana Toraja in 1906, they maintained the 32 existing *lembang* and their ruling elite by making them administrative districts in order to facilitate control (Nooy-Palm 1979:58).

egories of *liliq*, which can be equated with the term tributary, that had to fulfil certain obligations.

Looking further afield, the political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms are comparable with the general picture of pre-modern Southeast Asian kingdoms presented by Barbara Andaya (1999:65), who describes them as typically being 'a coalescence of localized power centres, ideally bound together not by force but through a complex interweaving of links engendered by blood connections and obligation.' Caldwell (1995:401) draws a comparison between the political structure of the Bugis kingdom of Soppéng and the kingdom of Srivijaya, which similarly to the South Sulawesi kingdoms, was made up of numerous settlements that were ruled by their own district chiefs with only the centre of the kingdom directly ruled by the king of Srivijaya. Parallels in political structure can also be found between South Sulawesi kingdoms and the Philippine polities described by Junker (1999); like the Philippine polities, the South Sulawesi kingdoms appear to have developed largely uninfluenced by Indic ideas, and what few Indic elements there are appear superficial and were probably adopted and adapted via contact with Javanese traders. We can perhaps therefore regard the decentralized multi-centred nature of the South Sulawesi kingdoms as typical of political structures that emerged in Austronesian-speaking societies within island Southeast Asia once they began to develop in complexity.

The rise and development of the lowland South Sulawesi kingdoms: a theoretical perspective

The basic theoretical perspective of this book is that the advent of regular external trade with other parts of island Southeast Asia from about 1300, and its increase in subsequent centuries, provided the major stimulus for the rise and development of the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms. Rice appears to have been the major product that the lowland kingdoms of South Sulawesi exchanged with foreign traders, and the demand for this appears to have stimulated a major expansion and intensification of wet-rice agriculture. This perspective is drawn from a number of historical and archaeological studies carried out in the last twenty years or so, which I will discuss shortly.

The date 1300 does not mark the beginning of trade between South Sulawesi and other parts of Southeast Asia. The origins of trade date back some centuries earlier, as is attested by the 2,000-year-old Dongson drum from Selayar (Kempers 1988:17, 411), the Amaravati style bronze Buddha image dating from about the second to fifth century found near the mouth of the Karama river (Bosch 1933) in *kabupaten* Mamuju and a number of early

bronze figurines found along the south coast of the peninsula.⁴⁸ As the small number of finds dating to before 1300 and their wide spatial distribution show, external trade between South Sulawesi and other areas of Southeast Asia before 1300 was sporadic, small in volume and scattered around a few coastal areas.

The lack of archaeological evidence for any significant external trade before about 1300 seriously undermines Christian Pelras's arguments (1996:56) for an 'Age of Galigo' lying between approximately 1100 and 1300, followed by a short 'Age of Chaos' which ended at about 1400 with the rise of new kingdoms based on agriculture. Pelras's arguments are based on the La Galigo epic poem, in which the political economy of the kingdoms (principally Luwuq and Cina) is based on trade with other parts of the Indonesian archipelago.⁴⁹ Historical and archaeological research in Luwuq and the western Cenrana valley provides absolutely no evidence of an 'Age of Galigo' or 'Age of Chaos', and demonstrates that these two kingdoms emerged only in the late thirteenth century. From that time onwards there is clear evidence of regular trade with other parts of Southeast Asia (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000).

⁴⁸ These include several bronze statues, perhaps dating to the seventh or eighth century, from Bantaeng (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:111-3) and two bronze dog figures found south of Makassar city that have been dated to between 2,155 to 1,670 and 1,770 to 1,400 years old (Glover 1997:218-9). Other evidence of pre-1300 trade in South Sulawesi are carnelian beads found in Bantaeng dating to about the late first millennium (Bulbeck and Ali Fadilah 2000) and glass beads from Katue in Luwu Utara, which date to about the same period (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:40). There are also a few reported (but unconfirmed) finds of T'ang dynasty (618-907) pieces, such as the phoenix-headed ewer reportedly found in Maros (Orsoy de Flines 1969: plate 8). However, sherds from T'ang wares have never been reported from any archaeological surveys carried out in South Sulawesi. This casts doubt on the authenticity of the phoenix-headed ewer: Orsoy de Flines is said to have bought as Indonesian finds Chinese ceramics sourced by dealers on the Hong Kong market (Ian Caldwell, personal communication). Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000:84) report finding a possible eleventh to twelfth-century martavan sherd from Cina ri Aja in *kabupaten* Wajo, but the vessel it represents may have been brought to the site in the thirteenth century or later.

⁴⁹ Pelras attempts to support his hypothesis with archaeological evidence and cites a ceramic table produced by the Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan in the 1970s and later published by Hadimuljono and Macknight (1983:77). The table, which includes classifications of ceramics in private collections, those authorized for export and general finds (but no information on where any of the ceramics were found), lists about 14,000 ceramics, almost 10% of which are assigned to the Sung dynasty (960-1297 CE). However, both local and foreign scholars have long since recognized that the table's ceramic classifications, which even include a 'Korean category', are inaccurate, and have discarded it as a historical and archaeological source. Outside of Selayar, Sung wares are hardly ever found in South Sulawesi and those that have been recorded are Southern Sung (1127-1297) wares, almost all of which date to the thirteenth century (personal communication, Karaneg Demanari, 2003). Despite this, Pelras persists in using the table in the revised version of his 2006 book (published in Indonesian) while ignoring the wealth of hard archaeological data that refutes his arguments. This table has likewise misled Thomas Gibson (2005:46).

Similarly, the earlier sections of Thomas Gibson's (2005) recent study in which he claims that in the early second millennium CE there were several major historical developments in South Sulawesi as a consequence of external influence are not supported by archaeological evidence. For example, Gibson (2005:60-90) argues that during the 'La Galigo period', when Luwuq dominated South Sulawesi, it modelled itself on the Javanese empire of Kediri and that the La Galigo poem itself is simply a variant of the Panji tales and therefore 'evidence of extensive external contact with Java during the Kediri period' (1037-1222 CE).⁵⁰ However, the archaeological record shows that before about 1300 there were no major political developments in South Sulawesi, and its inhabitants lived in small-scattered settlements, or simple chiefdoms, of a few hundred to perhaps a thousand or so people.

From about 1300, the archaeological record reveals major changes in the pattern of external trade, and documents the advent of regular and sustained trade between South Sulawesi and other parts of island Southeast Asia. The archaeological record further reveals that participation in this trade was not confined to coastal communities but involved most lowland communities and a number of highland communities. Indeed, the heartland of many major kingdoms that emerged after 1300 were located away from coastal areas in fertile wet-rice growing regions.

The evidence for the advent of regular external trade is mainly in the form of Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian ceramic and stoneware trade goods, which date from about the thirteenth century, from which time they became key elements in the South Sulawesi political economy. Ceramic trade-ware sherds dating from this period have now been recorded in archaeological surveys carried out in many Bugis and Makasar-speaking areas of South Sulawesi (see, for example, Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000; Ali Fadilah and Irfan Mahmud 2000; Druce 2001) and reported from highland Massenrempulu-speaking communities (this book).⁵¹ The other important trade good that was imported to South

⁵⁰ Gibson (2005) provides numerous anthropological and historical insights into eighteenth through to twentieth century South Sulawesi and his description of Ara's recent history and ethnography is impressive, as is his emphasis on Islamic ideological movements and their effects on South Sulawesi politics. However, the empirical evidence for the pre-Islamic period (see in particular Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000)) dictates that the earlier sections of his book require revision.

⁵¹ To my knowledge no surveys have yet been carried out in Mandar-speaking areas but according to Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman (personal communication, 2001) pre-1600 ceramics are present in several Mandar-speaking areas in *kabupaten* Majene and Polmas. Likewise, there have been no surveys in Toraja-Saddan-speaking areas outside of *kabupaten* Luwu and Luwu Utara. In 1998, I saw several sixteenth century Ming bowls and a fourteenth or fifteenth century Vietnamese monochrome bowl for sale in souvenir shops in Rantepao, *kabupaten* Tana Toraja, which the sellers claimed were found in Tana Toraja. In 2005, I identified one fifteenth century

Sulawesi from this time were textiles, such as Indian cottons. The perishable nature of textiles dictates they are mostly invisible in the archaeological record. However, a number of Gujarat textiles dating to before 1600 have been found in South Sulawesi, two of which were carbon dated by Ruth Barnes of the Ashmolean Museum to 1340 ± 40 years and 1370 ± 40 years (Guy 1998:104-5, 110-2).

The advent of regular external trade appears to have been synonymous with a major expansion of settled agriculture. In a pioneering article, Campbell Macknight (1983) proposed that at around 1400 there was an intensification and expansion of settled agriculture, and that agriculture became the basis of economic power in the peninsula:

Very approximately about 1400, there was a perceptible growth in the population of areas away from the coast. [...] Increasing numbers of small agricultural communities established themselves on a permanent basis. This does not, of course, represent the first agriculture in the area: that lay back some thousands of years. Rather, it is an intensification of agriculture, especially perhaps a move from swidden to more or less continuous cultivation. In particular, it is tempting to see this in terms of some concentration on rice at the expense of other crops and the extension of wet rice agriculture. [...] There were, no doubt, well-developed ideas of status in the society, along the lines of other Austronesian-speaking groups, and those with high status (or acquiring high status) were able to control and encourage surplus food production. Control was not just a matter of obtaining a portion of the crop; it also involved some direction over the whole process of production not only in practical matters, but perhaps even more significantly, in seeing to it that the necessary ritual was observed. A corollary of this control and encouragement was power over the men concerned for military purposes. It is important to note the interaction of the several factors: population, geography, the technology of food-production, social status, religious function, and military power.

Once such a system has been set up, there is advantage in expansion. A wider area under control means more food, and perhaps more efficient production because of economies of scale and the elimination of disputes, thus more men, more power and more status. The location of nodal points around which such growth occurs may be influenced to some degree by accidents of personality and fate, but it is hard to escape too far from the inexorable constraints of geography. (Macknight 1983:99-100.)

Macknight's arguments for this expansion of settled agriculture are drawn mainly from Bugis historical texts, in particular the chronicle of Boné, which relates stories about the expansion of Boné from a few villages to a large and powerful kingdom. As Macknight illustrated, the geographic expansion was

Vietnamese stoneware jar and a sixteenth century Ming blue-and-white bowl at museum Buntu Kalando in Sangalla, Tana Toraja, which are said to be heirlooms handed down by former rulers of Sangallaq.

closely associated with control of agricultural land and the expansion of wet-rice agriculture under the direction of Boné's rulers.

Subsequent studies, which have synthesized archaeological data, oral tradition and textual sources, have strongly supported Macknight's arguments for an expansion of agriculture in South Sulawesi (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). These studies present additional evidence, mainly in the form of ceramic data, which suggests that this agricultural expansion dates from about 1300, a century or so earlier than proposed by Macknight, and appears to have been driven by an external demand for rice; the main produce exchanged for ceramics tradewares and textiles. Other South Sulawesi products traded to international traders probably included a similar array of items that were traded at Philippines coastal centres (Junker 1999:196), such as wax, resins, gums, gold, hardwoods, bird's nests, honey, animal skins and cinnamon.⁵² The Portuguese merchant Antonio de Paiva, who visited Suppaq in 1544, mentions iron, slaves, sandalwood, cloths and ivory among the items traded in Sulawesi at this time and that the island was rich in rice, meat and fish (Jacobs 1966:285). However, it was the external demand for rice in exchange for elite imported trade wares that appears to have provided the main stimulus for the rise and development of South Sulawesi's kingdoms and ultimately transformed the political and geographical landscape of the region.

The above studies, and that of Bulbeck and Clune (2003), suggest that the early traders who brought these tradewares to South Sulawesi were associated with the southern Philippines and the Javanese kingdoms of Majapahit and (its predecessor) Singhasari. Toponymic and recent archaeological evidence suggests that some of the Javanese traders settled in a number of coastal areas of South Sulawesi.

⁵² Cinnamon: probably cassia (*cinnamomum cassia*), which like cinnamon is a member of the laurel family but its bark is thicker than cinnamon bark.

CHAPTER II

Oral and written traditions in South Sulawesi

Introduction

The Bugis, Makasar and, to a lesser extent, the Mandar peoples of South Sulawesi are well known among historians of Indonesia for their extensive and varied corpus of written literature. A tradition of writing also existed in some Massenrempulu-speaking areas but examples of texts are rare and, to my knowledge, always written in the Bugis rather than in a Massenrempulu language. The local name for all written texts is *lontaraq*, a word derived from the Javanese (and Malay) word *lontar* (palm-leaf), the material originally used to record an indigenous script of Indic origin (De Casparis 1975:67). Narrow strips of palm-leaf were sewn together and the script incised on these strips with a sharp instrument before being wound around two wooden spools, creating a mechanism that Campbell Macknight likens to a cassette tape (Macknight 1986:222). Today, only a handful of these palm-leaf manuscripts exist.¹ All other writings are preserved in thousands of paper manuscripts. A small number of these manuscripts date to the late seventeenth century but the vast majority date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and a few from the eighteenth century. These paper manuscripts, which range from a few pages to several thousand pages, contain an exceptional variety of writings such as, poetry, wise sayings, magic spells, religious stories, traditional medicines, epic literature, diaries and historical texts.

In South Sulawesi, literature is by no means confined to written texts. The literature of the Bugis, Makasar, Mandar and Massenrempulu peoples has for long, and continues today to be, transmitted in oral as well as in written form. The interaction between these two forms has been explored in detail by Christian Pelras (1979), who has shown how 'texts' move backwards and

¹ According to Sirtjo Koolhof (1999:362), just ten palm-leaf manuscripts are known to be extant today. During the course of my research in South Sulawesi, I located a further two palm-leaf manuscripts, one in *kabupaten* Barru and one in *kabupaten* Pinrang (photographs 4, 5 and 6).



Photograph 4. Haji Abu Bakar (owner, left) and Abdul Kadir with the palm-leaf *lontaraq* Balusu

forwards between the oral and written registers. Pelras concludes that any distinction between oral and written literature is for the most part irrelevant. In his study, Pelras was concerned with oral and written literature in a very general sense and used a wide variety of genres, such as poetry, sayings, folktales and epic literature. Below I examine the relationship between the oral and written historical material in South Sulawesi.

Another aspect of this complementary relationship between the written and the oral is the use of *lontaraq* texts to supplement oral knowledge, particularly when a ceremony or ritual needs to be performed. Sirtjo Koolhof (1999) has demonstrated that when knowledge on something is required it is first sought from the oral sphere, and *lontaraq* texts are only consulted if oral knowledge is found to be insufficient. Pelras (1979:297) is probably correct in stating that orality is no less prestigious than writing in Bugis society. In my experience such a statement is equally applicable to Makasar and Massenrempulu societies.

Given this interaction between the oral and written spheres, it is clear that anyone who wishes to use oral or written sources from South Sulawesi cannot simply focus their attention on just one form or the other but must take both into consideration. This is especially true in relation to *lontaraq*

texts that purport to tell us something about the period before the acceptance of Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In many of these texts, the relationship between the oral and written is not simply that information moves backwards and forwards between the two registers, but that the texts are derived from oral traditions that were recorded in written form at various points in the past, some time after the event, or events, of which they purport to speak.² Any analysis of these texts must therefore take into consideration the dynamic processes of transmission and transformation that these traditions went through in the oral register before they were written down. Many of those oral traditions recorded in writing continued to circulate in oral form. Some are still extant in the oral register today but have undergone various transformations through time and reflect the concerns of more recent historical times (see below). In addition, these texts may contain a single oral tradition, two or more oral traditions that have been written down one after the other, or several oral traditions dating from different periods that have become combined (either before or after being written down), into a single story.

Some oral traditions were written down in the early sections of long written historical works termed chronicles, which can be found for a few major Bugis and Makasar kingdoms. These works provide chronological accounts of events that took place under successive rulers.³ This tradition of chronicle writing dates to no earlier than the seventeenth century, and the chronicles themselves are evidently based on diverse oral and written sources. These chronicles, together with shorter *lontaraq* texts concerned with past events of a historical nature, are known locally by the very general terms *attoriolong* (Bugis), *patturioloang* (Makasar) and *pattodioloang* (Mandar), all of which literally mean '[writing] concerning the people of former times', and comprise a wide variety of stories from different periods in history.

My main, but by no means exclusive, concern in this chapter is with those oral and written sources which claim to tell us something about South Sulawesi societies prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The oral sources that I draw upon in this chapter are predominantly derived from those which I have collected myself in Bugis, Makasar and Massenrempulu speaking areas, and in the Luwuq region. These are supplemented by a small number of oral traditions that have been translated and published by foreign or local researchers.

² This is also true for numerous *lontaraq* texts of a historical nature that speak for later periods.

³ The term 'work' is used here in the sense described by Macknight (1984) as an original written or oral composition which represents a body of text that, at one time, held a certain unity in the mind of its creator.

Oral tradition in South Sulawesi

In this work I follow Jan Vansina (1985) in making the important distinction between the terms 'oral tradition' and 'oral history'. The term oral history refers to oral information related by informants about past events or situations in the era in which they lived. Information derived from oral history is thus the product of those generations contemporaneous with the events or situations that they relate or describe. The term oral tradition refers to an oral message, which can be either sung, spoken or chanted, based on an earlier oral message that has been transmitted 'beyond the generation' which gave rise to it (Vansina 1985:3, 13). In contrast to oral history, oral tradition is not the product of any one generation but of many generations. The generation that gave rise to the initial oral message, those generations who have participated in its transmission, and the generation that utters the message in the present have all played a role in shaping the form and function of the oral message as it exists today. Indeed, oral traditions are only ever uttered in the present, and the continued existence of any oral tradition is dependent upon whether it can fulfil a function in the many presents through which it travels. We will return to these complex but important problems of transmission and transformation below, after briefly outlining the types of oral tradition that are found in South Sulawesi today.

I have divided the most common types of oral traditions that I have encountered in Bugis, Makasar and Massenrempulu speaking areas and among the peoples of Luwuq into six broad groupings. These six groupings are by no means definitive and simply serve as a general guide to the great variety of oral traditions that can be found throughout these areas. My six groupings are: folktales, religious stories, epic, memorized speech, precepts and sayings, and, most important in the context of this work, oral historical traditions.⁴ Folktales, the first of these six groups, are almost exclusively found in the oral register.⁵ Folktales, such as those known as *pao-pao ri kadong* by the Bugis, are not believed to be true, and are subject to artistic licence, with names and places changing at will. While such stories are often humorous and entertaining, they may also contain educational or moral messages.⁶

⁴ I do not include oaths of allegiance (*aru*, B., M.) to rulers previously uttered before engaging in warfare as I have never encountered any (see Pelras 1979). According to R. Anderson Sutton (1995:695), these oaths are uttered today in some modern dance dramas.

⁵ Most folktales first appear to have been written down at the request of Western scholars (Koolhof 1999:363).

⁶ For examples of Bugis *pao-pao ri kadong*, see Nurdin Yusuf (1997), who has published eight short volumes of Bugis *pao-pao ri kadong* translated into the Indonesian language. A number of similar stories from Massenrempulu-speaking areas also appear in Muhammad Sikki et al. (1986). The Makasar refer to such stories as either *pao-pao* or *rupama*, see Sahabuddin Nappu (1986) and Ansaar (1999/2000) for examples.

Religious stories tell the life and deeds of important Islamic persons. Many of these stories are derived from the Middle East or from Persia and came to South Sulawesi via Malay literature, where they were transplanted into local settings (Hadrawi 1993; Hadrawi et al. 1996:25-8). Other religious stories tell of important local religious figures, the most important being Syekh Yusuf.⁷ The term epic refers to the La Galigo cycle, which exists largely in written form. The broad outline of this epic cycle is well-known in most Bugis areas, some Massenrempulu areas and very occasionally in Makasar areas.⁸ Memorized speech includes poetry, of which there are various types (Muhammad Salim et al. 1989-90; Tol 1991, 2000), magical formulas known by *sanro* (traditional medical practitioners) and some ordinary people, and pre-Islamic chants uttered by *bissu* (pre-Islamic transvestite ritual specialists).⁹ Precepts and sayings are concerned with correct behaviour, principles, laws and customs and are often attributed to former advisors of rulers, or former rulers themselves. They are found in written as well as oral form.¹⁰

Oral historical traditions, the last of these six groupings, are the most important in the context of this work and form the basis of our oral material in this and subsequent chapters. What distinguishes oral historical traditions from other types of oral tradition is that they are perceived to be true accounts of a community's past. The term 'oral historical tradition' thus reflects local present-day perceptions of what constitutes the past. Oral historical traditions are sometimes referred to locally as *curita to riolo*, or *pao-pao to riolo* (stories about people of a former time) in the Bugis, Massenrempulu and (*curita tu riolo*) Makasar languages and can be equated with the *attoriolong*, *patturioloang*, and *pattodioloang* written texts.

There are four main types of oral historical traditions. The most common and most important of these are origin traditions. Origin traditions are predominantly mythical accounts that tell of the origins of the ruling group, a kingdom, a settlement or confederation of kingdoms, and serve to explain the origin of the contemporary social order and to legitimize the position of

⁷ See Cense (1950), Hamid (1994), and Tudjimah (1997) for Indonesian translations of seven texts written in Arabic by Syekh Yusuf in the latter part of the seventeenth century, six of which are religious works and the seventh a letter.

⁸ Kern 1989; Muhammad Salim et al. 1995, 2000; Enre 1999; Koolhof 1999.

⁹ On the *bissu* see Harmonic (1975) and Lathief (2004).

¹⁰ Most precepts and saying are derived from the oral register and were written down at various points in the past. During their transmission, the names of revered legendary and historical figures appear to have become attached to many of these traditions, particularly those known as *pappaseng* by the Bugis and *rapang* by the Makasar. Indeed, one commonly finds a tradition in one manuscript which attributes a passage simply to ancestors (*to riolo*, B., *tu riolo*, M.), while in a different manuscript the same passage may be attributed to a legendary or historical figure. Pelras (1979) reports that in Kajang precepts are still passed on orally as instructions to children.

the former ruling groups in society.¹¹ While such accounts are mostly mythical, they may still carry historical information of interest and value. Another type of origin tradition, which can be found for a small number of settlements, tells of the place of origin for the community as a whole. Linguistic evidence suggests that in some cases such traditions have historical basis and reflect past movements of people (see Chapter III).

The second type of oral historical tradition comprises of oral narratives about past events and circumstances. These traditions are of varying length and may be as short as a single sentence, while others may take several hours to relate. Some may be based upon actual past events or situations, while others are aetiological and evidently came into being in order to explain the name of a settlement, the existence of a natural rock formation, or an inanimate object. Some developed in order to provide answers to questions that later arose from indigenous written accounts, or to clarify and modify indigenous written accounts to explain them in terms that were more meaningful and understandable to subsequent generations.

The third type of oral historical tradition is cumulative traditions, namely oral genealogies or lists of rulers. Cumulative traditions can still be found for most kingdoms and tributary lands. For the larger, and most of the smaller, kingdoms cumulative traditions exist also in written form.

The fourth type of oral historical tradition is historical gossip, information in the form of hearsay and news. Such information has been passed on because it continues to retain a passing interest to people within a community, such as information about changes in burial practices, geographical changes, or the memory of where a particular village or palace once stood.

Each of these subcategories of oral historical traditions may be transmitted independently of each other, as is often the case with oral genealogies and ruler lists, or together, as a complex of traditions. Some may contain direct speech in the form of words believed to have once been spoken by ancestors. The characteristics shared by these four subsets is that they were, and in some cases still are, believed to be true, and are related in a simple narrative form in the local dialect. As with Rotinese oral narrative accounts that purport to relate the past (Fox 1979:15), ritual language is inappropriate for those South Sulawesi oral traditions concerned with the political formation and past events of a particular settlement. This is because the use of local dialect helps to locate the traditions firmly in the setting in which they are told and thus supports their authenticity. From here on, except where indi-

¹¹ I use the term myth here in reference to the supernatural elements found in those origin traditions which tell of how the founding rulers of settlements were white-blooded *tomanurung* or *totompoq*, beings who descended from the Upperworld or ascended from the Underworld to rule over the common people.

cated, the term oral tradition refers to one or more of the four subsets of oral historical tradition outlined above.

The transmission of oral tradition

We may reasonably assume that an oral tradition containing information derived from an actual historical event or situation, either transmitted independently or contained within a larger body of oral tradition, began with an observation by one or more people. As Vansina (1985:29) points out, a link of some kind must be maintained between this initial observation and the point in time when the message is recorded by a modern researcher for an oral tradition to contain any historical truth. This link may be in the form of what Vansina (1965:20-1, 1985:29-30) has termed a 'chain of transmission'. This term refers to a hypothetical process where an initial observation or account of an event is related orally to others, some of whom transmit what they have heard to subsequent generations who in turn continue the transmission of the message for as long as it remains of interest or importance to their community. In such a process of transmission, a message can be regarded 'as a series of historical documents all lost except for the last one and usually interpreted by every link in the chain of transmission' (Vansina 1985:29). From his work in the Busoga region of Uganda, David Cohen (1977:8) found that the process of transmission, or circulation of historical information, is not so much an orderly 'chain of transmission' but rather takes place 'across and through the complex networks of relationship, association, and contact that constitute social life'. A person may have received several primary oral messages of an event or occurrence but may fuse these messages into a single new unit or simply condense them into a single statement, rather like a summary. Such a process of transmission may go on for as long as the oral message remains of interest.

Not all oral traditions are, of course, derived from an initial observation. Many accounts of origin are of a predominantly mythical nature that arose out of local speculation, or were developed in order to legitimize rulers or ruling groups and political offices. Such messages are nevertheless subject to the same process of transmission as any other oral message. Furthermore, the evident mythical nature of such traditions does not necessarily preclude the possibility of them containing historical information of interest or value. For example, the tradition that serves to legitimize kingship in the former Bugis kingdom of Soppéng, which exists in both written (Caldwell 1988:110-2) and oral form,¹² tells of the descent of a *tomanurung* followed by a social contract

¹² I was told several versions of this story in *kabupaten* Soppéng in 1997, while studying at

made between the *tomanurung* and representatives of the common people, who subsequently build a house for the *tomanurung* on the hill at Tinco. Archaeological evidence, derived from surveys focusing on the recovery of ceramic shreds, confirms conclusively the tradition's claim that Tinco was the original palace site of West Soppéng (Kallupa et al. 1989). Thus, part of this tradition does indeed derive from an initial observation dating back to at least the seventeenth century, when Tinco was abandoned. Ian Caldwell and Wayne Bougas (2004) have likewise shown how similar traditions of origin from the former Makasar kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkalaq contain important historical information, which can be used to reconstruct the early history of these lands.

Oral knowledge not repeated aloud disappears (Ong 1982:41). As researchers who have collected oral traditions in modern day South Sulawesi will be aware, the processes of oral transmission of historical traditions is in decline. Oral traditions, and the functions they serve, have become progressively less relevant in the modern world where they must compete with radio, television and print. In some cases an informant will explain that they can only remember fragments of a longer oral tradition told to them by an older relative who has since passed away.¹³

The South Sulawesi kingdoms were formerly abolished in the 1950s. Although the former ruling families continue to be highly respected throughout South Sulawesi today, their importance has declined with the demise of the kingdoms, and with them the oral traditions that tell of their ancestors and which serve to legitimize their former position in society. The effects of nation building, at both the local and national level, have also affected the relevance of oral traditions. This is especially for younger generations as school curricula in modern Indonesia have focused on national and local heroes who played a part in the struggle against the Dutch rule, in order to foster a feeling of Indonesian nationalism and identity. For example, almost every child of school age in *kabupaten* Pinrang knows the story of La Sinrang, the ruler of Sawitto who opposed Dutch colonial rule in the early twentieth century, which is taught in schools and re-enacted in modern plays (*Fragmen perjuangan* 1996).

The Islamic religion, which has been practised by the Bugis, Makasar and the Mandar peoples for nearly 400 years, and about 300 years for most Massenrempulu peoples, has also had an effect on oral tradition through time. In some cases, one finds that Islamic elements have been woven into

Hasanuddin University as part of my undergraduate degree. Ian Caldwell (personal communication, 2002) also reports being told the story orally on more than one occasion while carrying out research in Soppéng.

¹³ Many Indonesian publications that present modern day oral traditions collected in South Sulawesi make this point (see, for example, Suradi Yasil 2000:2).

traditions of origin. Other, more conscious, effects on oral tradition come from local religious leaders who frown upon and discourage the continuation of un-Islamic oral traditions that tell of the appearance of legendary rulers descending from the Upperworld to rule over the common people. The violent and destructive 1950s Islamic rebellion led by Kahar Muzakkar, who preached a form of 'Islamic socialism' and aimed to eradicate feudalism, aristocratic titles and pagan beliefs (Pelras 1996:284) also had an effect on oral tradition, in that during this period many villages were abandoned and their oral traditions forgotten.

Despite the decline in the relevance of oral tradition, Pelras's observation (1979) that the Bugis are not readers but listeners holds true today for most rural societies in South Sulawesi. Oral traditions remain widely known among a few older members of most communities, most of whom are pleased to transmit their knowledge to interested parties.

In some societies, the transmission and preservation of oral traditions of a historical nature was dependent upon a specific official such as a professional or semi-professional performer or storyteller. Those of Tikopia and Timor are two such examples (Firth 1961:15-6; Spillet 1998:63-5). In others societies, such as the Busoga region in Uganda and among the Bali Aga of highland Bali, no official position directly concerned with the preservation and transmission of oral tradition appears to have existed (Cohen 1989:12; Reuter 2006:78). From the available evidence, it seems that no official position for the preservation and transmission of oral historical traditions ever existed in South Sulawesi. The handful of sources from western visitors, dating from the seventeenth through to the twentieth century, that refer to oral traditions, or present them in an edited form, make no mention of any official oral specialist. Admiral Cornelis Speelman (1670) in his extensive report used both oral and written sources in his account of the region's history but does not refer to any particular oral specialist. William Marsden, cited in John Stavorinus (1798:185-6), informs us that the laws of the people of Sulawesi are administered according to old customs, which have been handed down from their ancestors and retained in the memory of their old men (*cran tuo = karaeng tua*), but in some places have been put into writing. B.F. Matthes (Van den Brink 1943) provides a number of legends derived from oral tradition but gives little background about the tellers, although it is clear that many of Matthes's informants were elderly aristocratic women. H.J. Friedericy collected some oral traditions in Makasar areas but makes no mention of an oral specialist (*Adatrechtbundels* 1929). Hendrik Chabot (1996:122, n. 53), who carried out anthropological work in Makasar-speaking areas in the 1930s and 1950s, simply informs us that a few men or women in a particular kin group knew oral traditions, while Raymond Kennedy (1953:81) writes that he was told a story about the *tumanurung* of Gowa by an old man while he

was walking around Kale Gowa (a low hill where the *tumanurung* of Gowa descended).

Pelras (1979) writes that those who tell oral traditions are not considered professionals and story-telling itself requires no special circumstances. Muhlis Hadrawi, who has collected oral traditions in Bugis- and Makasar-speaking areas of South Sulawesi, is of the opinion that there has never been a person in Bugis or Makasar society charged with the specific role of story-telling and ensuring the continued transmission of oral tradition to future generations.¹⁴

In modern day South Sulawesi, the only professional oral specialists that I have encountered are the *bissu* and the *sanro*, neither of whom is concerned with oral historical traditions. In my experience, only a few older men or women in a particular community generally know oral historical traditions. Some of these people are well-known for their knowledge of these traditions, but at the same time are not regarded as professional storytellers or 'keepers' of oral traditions, whose role and obligation is to ensure the preservation and transmission of the oral tradition. Nor have I found, from my conversations and interviews with those who know oral traditions, any memory of such a role or position ever existing in South Sulawesi.

What is generally evident, however, is that most people who have knowledge of oral traditions are descendents of the former ruling families, and less frequently, descended from families with a long tradition of members holding the position of headman in a particular village. It is not surprising that oral traditions that tell of the past and serve to explain how the present social order came into being remain best known within this section of society. Most of these traditions served to support the former ruling families, and still provide their descendents with prestige today, despite the social changes that have taken place following Indonesian independence. Descendents of former ruling families therefore have an interest in the continuity of oral historical traditions. Many of these descendents are often from the middle or lower echelons of the former nobility, although in the case of smaller tributary lands those directly descended from the last ruler of the land are often most knowledgeable.¹⁵ One piece of evidence from the chronicle of Talloq, which can be dated to about the mid-seventeenth century, suggests those of noble descent were most knowledgeable of oral traditions. After relating an oral tradition about *karaeng* Loe, the first ruler of Talloq, the writer of this chronicle then informs us that the tradition had been related by the *daeng* of Buloa

¹⁴ Personal communication, 2002.

¹⁵ This is not to say that people of common descent do not know oral historical traditions. Some descendents of commoners within a community will generally know something of a particular tradition of origin, such as the name of the first ruler, where the ruler may have come from and is believed to be buried, as such sites remain of ritual importance to a community.

(the title of a low ranking Makasar noble), who was called I Karebajiq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:6).

Some informants who could recall oral traditions told me that they had heard them just once and could remember only fragments. Some of the oral traditions which they recited to me were clearly just fragments of once longer stories. Others who could relate longer oral traditions said that they had been told them, or had heard them, on several occasions from their parents, grandparents or other relatives. In both cases, informants believed that these traditions had been passed down from the ancestors of their own kin group. Those who knew longer narrative traditions said that they had remembered them because they considered the traditions to be of importance to their families and communities. According to informants, the acquisition of this knowledge did not involve any form of 'rote-learning'. These informants also considered that the tradition that they had related to me was more-or-less a correct representation of the tradition that had been transmitted to them. At the same time, they acknowledged that they had not necessarily used the same words as the person from whom they had heard the tradition, with the exception of some direct speech contained in the tradition; this informants did not consider to be of importance. Some informants also made it known when they had forgotten the name of a person that had appeared in the tradition. It is not possible to be certain that this present-day situation reflects how oral historical traditions were transmitted in South Sulawesi several hundred years ago, although I suspect that it does tell us something of a past reality.

Chabot (1996:122, n. 53), who explains how an oral tradition was used to solve a present day problem in a Makasar village, writes:

The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text [in the sense of an oral 'text'] or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historical facts.

One may speculate that the recording of oral traditions in writing, which we examine below, came to have a gradual but profound effect on the transmission of oral historical traditions. Amin Sweeney (1987) argues that writing in the Malay world led to a shift away from purely oral performance of traditions from memory to a situation in which the performance was based on a written text. This may possibly be true of some genres of oral tradition in South Sulawesi, such as the La Galigo material, but it is unlikely to be the case for historical material. Written historical material is not orally performed in South Sulawesi today, and there is little evidence to suggest that it was

ever performed in the past. I will return to the question of whether historical texts were ever performed publicly below.

Transformation and functions of oral historical traditions

Oral traditions are not the product of any one individual but of many individuals. Oral traditions exist in the present and must remain of importance in the present, or serve a purpose, for the process of transmission to continue. As socio-cultural and political changes take place within a community, the importance, meaning and function of a tradition during its transmission through time will be continually affected. The interests of a particular generation will not necessarily be the same as preceding generations, or for that matter, future generations (Finnegan 1996). An oral tradition may become irrelevant and thus discarded, or information that no longer 'fits' with a changed worldview may disappear as it loses importance, or be replaced by information more in keeping with current socio-cultural and political conceptions of the world. Interpolation may occur from later speculation which attempts to provide logical reasons for a particular event contained within the oral message or to explain the message in terms which are more meaningful, satisfying or understandable for a particular community.

Over time an oral message may become telescoped or simplified. A once longer oral narrative story may be reduced to a few sentences, especially if it becomes less relevant to a community. In Rotinese oral narratives, a series of events is often reduced to a single incident, 'a simple vignette about previous occurrences' (Fox 1979:23). The longer an oral message has been transmitted through time, the greater the transformations are likely to be.

The processes of transformation are further complicated by the appearance of new oral traditions entering the corpus. Messages may become conflated with other messages, or a later message may simply become attached to an earlier one. Anachronisms appear, especially if a later oral message becomes more significant to a community and is consequently shifted backwards in time to a more prestigious period, generally a period of origin.

In most societies oral traditions are not fixed within a chronological time-frame leading neatly from past to present.¹⁶ What often occurs is that the

¹⁶ A possible exception to this is found in Rotinese society (Fox 1971, 1979). James Fox (1979:17) describes how oral narratives about the past are tied to Rotinese lists of rulers: 'an ordered succession of names beginning with the apical ancestor and proceeding in a direct line to the name of the father of the person for whom the genealogy is intended'. With one exception, Fox was able to verify the list of Rotinese rulers from 1662 by identifying them in Dutch records. Fox (1979:22) also identified some of the historical incidents contained in the narratives that are linked to the list of rulers but notes that these narratives are neither factual nor accurate records

corpus of oral tradition as a whole telescopes into a shallow three-tier time depth, as Vansina (1985:168-9) describes:

There are many accounts for very recent times, tapering off as one goes farther back until one reaches the time of origin for which, once again, there are many accounts. This profile has been compared to an hourglass. At the junction of times of origin and the very sparse subsequent records, there usually is a chronological gap. It is called [a] 'floating' [gap] because over time it tends to advance towards the present, that is, the oldest accounts of later times tend to be forgotten or else amalgamated with later or earlier times.

The chronological gap, described by Vansina, is often very evident in the corpus of South Sulawesi oral tradition. Traditions of origin about the first ruler or rulers and their children can be detailed, as can oral traditions relating to more recent times (the late nineteenth century and particularly the early twentieth century) when the Dutch brought the peninsula under their full control. Oral traditions that may have once lain between these periods can become amalgamated with the period of origin, more recent times, or forgotten when they have outlived their usefulness.

A good example of how a later oral tradition can be shifted backwards in time comes from Népo, a former tributary of Suppaq. An oral tradition contained in a *lontaraq* text about Népo claims that the first ruler was a son of the *datu* of Suppaq. This story is well-known in Népo but no-one that I spoke to had ever seen this *lontaraq* text. Most people who know this story, however, first tell of a female ruler, the first ruler of Népo, who had supernatural powers and could make the flora come alive and form an army. She was called I Sima Tana and had the title *tellulatteq* (the three panels, B.).¹⁷ According to this oral tradition, one day I Sima Tana disappeared leaving Népo with no ruler. Then there were 40 *arung* of Népo but no ruler (I.3; I.52). The written oral tradition begins with the 40 *arung* of Népo and, although much longer and more elaborate than the version transmitted in oral form today, tells the same story. One of the *arung* is suspected of taking more than his fair share of the harvest by the other *arung*; this results in a decision by the 40 *arung* of Népo to go to the *datu* of Suppaq and request that one of his children rule over them. The first part of the oral tradition that claims that I Sima Tana was the first ruler of Népo is, however, an anachronism that came to be placed before the earlier tradition of the 40 *arung*. I Sima Tana was in fact a nineteenth century ruler of Népo who married Sumangrukku, the *aqdatuang* (ruler, B.) of Sidénréng. It was Sumangrukku who gave I Sima Tana the title

but rather reflect the Rotinese image of themselves.

¹⁷ The panels set out before the doorway of a ruler's house were a visible sign of status. The rulers of larger kingdoms had as many as seven panels.

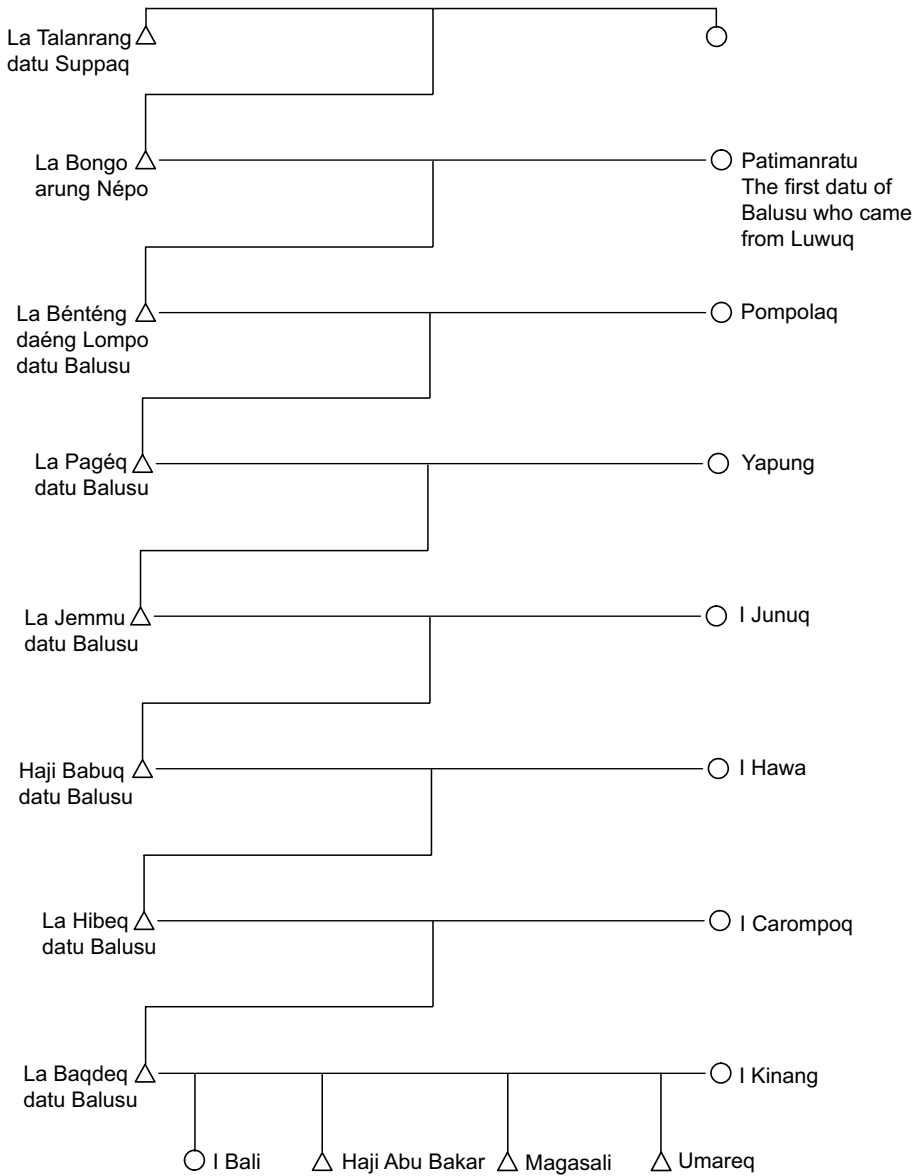


Figure 2. Oral genealogy from Balusu

tellulatteq and also supervisory authority over Palanro, Bacukiki, Bojo and Soréang, lands that Sidénréng acquired from Suppaq during Sumangrukku's reign. What appears to have happened is that the prestige of I Sima Tana as the wife of Sumangrukku and the importance that Népo attained under her rule has served to shift her name back in time to the most prestigious period in time, the period of origin.

Some of the most complex types of oral tradition are oral genealogies and ruler lists. As cumulative traditions, oral genealogies have to be continually updated, which makes them particularly difficult to recall in detail. Consequently, oral genealogies become simplified and are telescoped, a process which refers to the omission of names from the middle levels of oral genealogies and can be likened to Vansina's notion of a 'floating gap'. Robert Wilson writes that names are rarely omitted from the lower sections of oral genealogies while at the other extreme the name of a founder and his family are also remembered as they are often entrenched in the mythology that sets out the origin of the ruling lineage. Names from the middle reaches of oral genealogies are, however, prone to omission (Wilson 1977:200). Given these factors, it is not surprising that detailed and reliable genealogies in South Sulawesi lie firmly in the written domain.

Oral genealogies can still be collected for most kingdoms and tributary lands in South Sulawesi today. As with oral genealogies found in most societies, those of South Sulawesi serve two main functions: to set out social and political relationships between groups and to provide proof of continuity for the present day descendants of the former ruling elite. Indeed, the last name spoken will often be that of the person who relates the oral genealogy. As South Sulawesi kingdoms were abolished over 40 years ago, it is possible that the degree of telescoping has increased during more recent times.

An oral genealogy that I collected for Balusu is representative of South Sulawesi oral genealogies. This genealogy contains just nine generations: members of the last four generations all have Islamic names. The first name of this oral genealogy, La Talanrang, is said to have been a *datu* of Suppaq, whose son married Patimanratu, the first ruler of Balusu. The following six generations each contain just two individuals: the rulers of Balusu and their spouse. The final generation contains contemporary individuals, the four children of the last *datu* of Balusu. The person who related this genealogy, Haji Abu Bakar, was one of these children and the continued transmission of this genealogy serves as proof of his noble descent (figure 2).

In some settlements, one finds only oral lists of rulers rather than genealogies, although some of these lists name as many as 20 rulers. A list I collected from Marioriawa in Soppéng names 17 rulers (Druce 1997b:32), while another I collected from the Makasar kingdom of Binamu names as many as 20 rulers (Caldwell and Druce 1998:34).

While the omission of names in oral genealogies may be obvious to a researcher, it is rarely evident to the person who relates the genealogy. For those who relate oral genealogies, of fundamental importance is to connect the present to the founding ruler of the settlement.

While Vansina's 'floating gap' is often evident in the corpus of South Sulawesi oral traditions, in some cases it is still possible to collect oral traditions that do not belong to the period of origin or to more recent times. These oral traditions simply float within the middle period. In most cases, however, those who relate these floating oral traditions will still place them into one of two broad historical divisions: before the coming of Islam or after the acceptance of Islam. Conversion to Islam had a profound effect upon South Sulawesi society and called for major changes in traditional burial practice, rituals and numerous prohibitions such as eating pork, which was rigorously enforced.¹⁸ Archaeological evidence from several historical sites in South Sulawesi, such as central Suppaq (Appendix B) and Malangke in Luwuq (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000), also indicates that a number of palace centres and ritual areas were abandoned shortly after conversion to Islam.

The pre-Islam and post-Islam division for oral traditions is well illustrated by oral tradition from Kadokkong in northern Pinrang, a former hill settlement of Massenrempulu-speaking people with no tradition of writing. I recorded four independent oral traditions about Kadokkong, which my informants placed in the pre-Islamic period. The first is a detailed tradition of origin which tells of a male and female *tomanurung* who descended at Kadokkong to rule over the common people, the names of six of their seven children, the place of marriage of their children and some anecdotal information about the same three children. The primary function of this oral tradition is to set out the relationship between Kadokkong, Sawitto and Simbuang, which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

The second oral tradition focuses on Sawitto. It consists of an oath of agreement or alliance between Kadokkong and Sawitto in which Kadokkong acknowledges itself to be a tributary of Sawitto and agrees to send troops to fight for Sawitto. Despite this acknowledgement of Kadokkong's tributary status, the third oral tradition claims that Kadokkong has precedence over

¹⁸ Pelras 1996:138. The practice of eating pork is remembered in a number of South Sulawesi oral traditions. For example, oral tradition from the Makasar settlement of Tino in Jeneponto tells how the army of Gowa stopped in Tino on its way to Boné and ordered the people of Tino to become Muslims. However, the people of Tino loved to eat pigs and did not want to give up their favorite food. Eventually it was decided that Gowa would proceed to Boné and return to Tino later. This decision was taken in order to allow the people of Tino to eat all their pigs before converting to Islam. When Gowa returned to Tino the pigs had been eaten and the people of Tino accepted Islam (Caldwell and Druce 1998:38).

Sawitto by way of being older than Sawitto.¹⁹ The fourth of the oral traditions placed by informants in the pre-Islamic period tells of how Gowa attacked Kadokkong but was defeated by the bravery and cunning of the people of Kadokkong, who had placed a number of bees' nests in the earthen walls of their fort. As is the case in many South Sulawesi oral traditions, the conflict was resolved by a marriage between a child of the ruler of Kadokkong and a child of the ruler of Gowa, whose name has been retained in the tradition (I.61; I.182).

For the period after conversion to Islam, there are also four oral traditions. Three of these focus on local conflicts while the fourth is about the defeat of Kadokkong by the Dutch, which led to the abandonment of the original settlement and the resettlement of its population on lower land.

Traditions of origin which tell of the founding rulers, and in some cases of their children, are common throughout South Sulawesi. These traditions are predominantly mythical accounts that serve to legitimize the position of the ruling elite by providing them with a separate origin to that of the common people. Similar traditions in various guises can be found throughout the Austronesian-speaking world (see, for example, Sahlins 1985 and Fox 1995). In South Sulawesi, this important distinction is commonly manifested in the appearance of a *tomanurung* from the Upperworld or a *totompoq* (one who ascends) from the Underworld. In some cases, one can find traditions of seven *tomanurung* descending together.

In some settlements, this fundamental distinction between commoners and the ruling class is defined by the arrival of a princess or prince from another settlement. Typically, these first rulers enter an established settlement inhabited by people who request that the *tomanurung*, or foreign prince, or princess, becomes their ruler. This acceptance of this request then marks the beginnings of laws and other forms of administration.

In some settlements one can even find opposing traditions of origin. For instance, there may be both a tradition that tells of a *tomanurung* and one that tells of the arrival of a prince or princess from a more prestigious settlement. In other settlements one can find two traditions, each of which claims a different settlement as the place of origin for the first ruler. In both cases, the existence of opposing traditions of origin for a particular settlement reflects later historical developments and relationships. The importance and degree of precedence that was achieved by the kingdom of Boné following the Makassar wars in the late seventeenth century, has led to Boné emerging as the place of origin for the ruling families of some former polities. In the former territory of Sawitto, this process can be seen at work as new traditions

¹⁹ I use the term 'precedence' in the sense meant by Fox (1996:131-2). Notions of precedence are discussed in Chapter IV in relation to the Ajattappareng lands.

of a Boné origin have begun to compete with the older and well-known tradition that claims that the ruling family of Sawitto originate from the former Toraja polity of Simbuang. For younger generations, however, the appeal of a Boné origin for the first rulers of Sawitto goes beyond being simply more prestigious. Modern-day Bugis-Toraja relations are characterized by inter-ethnic rivalry and religious differences, while the Bugis themselves are quick to point out that Tana Toraja was once a source of slaves. A Boné origin for the rulers of Sawitto is today therefore more acceptable for younger generations who feel they have little in common with their Toraja neighbours. Consequently, the older tradition of a Simbuang origin will probably disappear altogether within a few generations. This is, of course, all part of the transformation of oral tradition.

While the place of origin of the first ruler may change over time, the name of the first ruler is often remembered. Even in settlements that have retained little of their past significance in the modern world, one can still find remnants of such traditions relating to the first ruler; generally just a name and very occasionally an anecdote. One of the reasons why these fragments have remained is because the site where the first ruler is believed to have been buried, descended, or disappeared, often remains of ritual importance to a community, particularly during the periods of rice planting and harvesting. The prevalence of such traditions also reflects the deeply ingrained practice of ancestor worship and the fundamental concept of foundership, so common to Austronesian societies and so evident throughout South Sulawesi. Many of the oral traditions in South Sulawesi that tell of the origins of ruling families are linked to a specific location in a settlement. In many old settlements that have a tradition of a *tomanurung*, people can still show the place where they believe the *tomanurung* descended, and later disappeared, or where the first ruler is believed to be buried. These physical features, which may be hills, mountains, natural rock formations or graves, serve as proof of a tradition's authenticity and help maintain its transmission through time. Such physical features do not, of course, preclude the possibility of a tradition being transformed during the process of transmission. In some cases the site that a tradition is tied to can even shift in response to religious and cultural changes.

For example, the people of Malimpung, who believe themselves to be distinct from their Bugis and Massenrempulu neighbours (see Chapter III), when relating a tradition about their first ruler point to the grave where she is believed to be buried. This grave is located together with four other Islamic graves that were maintained when the area was cleared for rice farming. At the time of clearance, a number of north-south orientated skeletons were found with no burial goods whatsoever, which shows that the burial ground dates to after the conversion to Islam. The pre-Islamic burial ground of the

people of Malimpung is located some 5 kilometres away on a hill called Puaqтта Sinompa, where an abundance of ceramic and stoneware sherds can be found dating from the fifteenth through to the seventeenth century, together with a large martavan partially buried in the ground that still contains human ash from a pre-Islamic cremation. The martavan is also known as *puaqтта* (our lord/lady, Mal.) Sinompa, which was probably the name of an important pre-Islamic ruler of Malimpung. While this pre-Islamic site retains some ritual importance to the people of Malimpung they no longer consider this pre-Islamic burial ground, and in particular, the cremated remains in the martavan, to represent their ancestors. Rather, the burial ground is considered to have belonged to people who once lived in Malimpung, who, as they cremated their dead and buried them with grave goods, are believed to have been foreigners. While the martavan is visited prior to rice planting in order to make requests, the main centre of ritual activity is the Islamic grave believed to be that of the first ruler, where a buffalo, goats and chicken are slaughtered prior to the commencement of rice planting. Here, present day religious practice has transformed theological conceptions of past burial practices and shifted the oral tradition about the first ruler of Malimpung from its former pre-Islamic setting to a site that reflects present day religious and cultural practices.

Oral traditions can also come into being with the discovery of a physical object, such as a natural rock formation. In Malimpung I was informed that the people in a neighbouring village, Padang Lowang, believe a natural rock formation to be the upturned ship of Sawarigading, the popular hero of the La Galigo epic. On my visit to Padang Lowang the inhabitants there showed me the rock formation and related a story about how Sawarigading's ship had run aground in that place. Further investigation, however, revealed that Padang Lowang was in fact a new settlement that was opened up for agriculture by people from *kabupaten* Enrekang, Tana Toraja and Sidrap in the 1960s. It was at that time when the rock formation was discovered and it has since become a very important *keramat* site for the people of Padang Lowang. Such iconatrophic traditions are common in South Sulawesi and the present example shows how easily traditions about culture heroes can migrate from one area to another.

Similarly, oral traditions may develop in order to explain the existence of inanimate objects. Oral tradition in Selayar attributes the arrival of the island's famous Dongson drum, which was discovered by a farmer in the late seventeenth century, to the children of Sawarigading (Saleh 2000).

In some old settlements, one can find oral traditions that make exaggerated claims about the settlement's past. This is true of Cempa, which was formally an independent settlement but later became absorbed into the kingdom of Sawitto (Chapter IV). Oral tradition claims that Cempa was once

an independent kingdom that was much larger than the area covered by the present-day *kecamatan* Cempa and that it once shared borders with Boné, Gowa and Luwuq. This tradition also claims that the ruler of Cempa was inaugurated under a large tamarind tree, from which the name Cempa is derived, with the rulers of Boné, Gowa and Luwuq in attendance (I.37).

This tradition probably has no historical basis but exists to serve a particular purpose. This purpose is to make known that Cempa was once a polity of some significance, which is achieved by placing it on a par with Boné, Gowa and Luwuq, the three historically most powerful kingdoms in South Sulawesi. An oral tradition collected from Siang by Christian Pelras (1977:253), which claims that Siang was formerly the principal kingdom in all South Sulawesi, serves a similar function and has no historical basis.

Oral traditions can also develop in order to clarify, explain and modify earlier written accounts contained in *lontaraq* texts. A good example of this is an oral tradition presented in Abdur Razak Dg. Patunru's *Sedjarah Gowa* (1969:147) concerning the origins of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, an early sixteenth century ruler of Gowa. This tradition appears to have developed in order to counter an account of his mother's origin given by the chronicle of Gowa. The chronicle of Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25) informs us that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's mother was in fact a slave. After being bought at Kaluku Bodoa, she was given to Batara Gowa, ruler of Gowa, and later gave birth to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. The oral tradition presented by Abdurrazak Dg. Patunru was related to him by Andi Ijo *karaeng* Lalolang, the last ruler of Gowa, who had been told the tradition by his father and uncle. This tradition counters the tradition given by the chronicle of Gowa with an elaborate story of how Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's mother was in fact a daughter of the ruler of Balainipa in Mandar. When she was just a few years old, someone ran amok during a cockfight that was taking place outside the palace of the ruler of Balainipa. The princess then went and hid herself by the river and was subsequently found by a trader who took her to Talloq. Eventually it was known that she was the child of the ruler of Balainipa and, when she was older, she was married to the ruler of Gowa.

The written tradition

With the exception of a few palm-leaf manuscripts, South Sulawesi's written traditions are contained in thousands of manuscripts, the majority of which are in the form of imported European paper in bound book form. A manuscript may contain just a single *lontaraq* text but more typically will contain an extensive assortment of texts on a variety of topics. A photocopied manuscript in my possession, which is 266 pages in length, contains 104

different *lontaraq* texts. In some manuscripts, one finds that many of the *lontaraq* texts bear some collective relationship, such as a concern with a particular kingdom or the Islamic religion, while in other manuscripts the texts have no obvious relationship with each other. In some cases, one even finds manuscripts that contain *lontaraq* texts written in the Bugis language mixed together with other texts written in the Makasar or Mandar languages. As Macknight (1984) remarks, scribes appear simply to have copied texts that interested them.

Many *lontaraq* texts exist in multiple copies, sometimes in a single codex. Most of these appear to be faithful copies of earlier texts, despite inevitable scribal errors. Most can be defined as a work in the sense of Macknight (1984), that is an original composition which represents a body of text that, at one time, held a certain unity in the mind of its creator. This is not to say that a work was necessarily composed of wholly original material. The creator may have drawn upon previously independent written or oral sources, which were then brought together within a single framework to produce an entirely new composition. One must also be aware that at the time of its conception a work may have been an oral creation, which was written down at a later date, or a written creation which was later transmitted orally.

Four different scripts can be identified in these manuscripts: the Bugis script (sometimes referred to locally as the Bugis-Makasar script) the *jangang-jangang* script (also referred to as the old Makasar script), and the Arabic and Latin scripts. Both the Bugis and the *jangang-jangang* script are derived from an Indic model and are related to other Indic scripts of island Southeast Asia.²⁰ The most widely used of these scripts though history has been the Bugis script, which appears to have first developed around 1400 (see below) and was used to write the majority of Bugis, Makasar and Mandar manuscripts extant today. By comparison, only a small number of manuscripts written in the *jangang-jangang* script exist, the earliest of which date to the end of the seventeenth century. There is a general assumption that the *jangang-jangang* script was the first script that the Makasar used, and that it was displaced by the Bugis script around the end of the seventeenth century. Fachruddin Ambo Enre (1999:40) suggests that the *jangang-jangang* script was displaced by the Bugis script because of pressure from La Tenritatta (more commonly known as Arung Palakka), following his ascendancy as the most powerful ruler in South Sulawesi. However, Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim (1996:67) report the existence of a large number of Makasar manuscripts written in the *jangang-jangang* script dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth

²⁰ These scripts are structurally deficient for recording the language as not all elements of speech can be indicated. These deficiencies have been outlined in detail by Noorduyn (1955, 1993) and Macknight and Caldwell (2001).

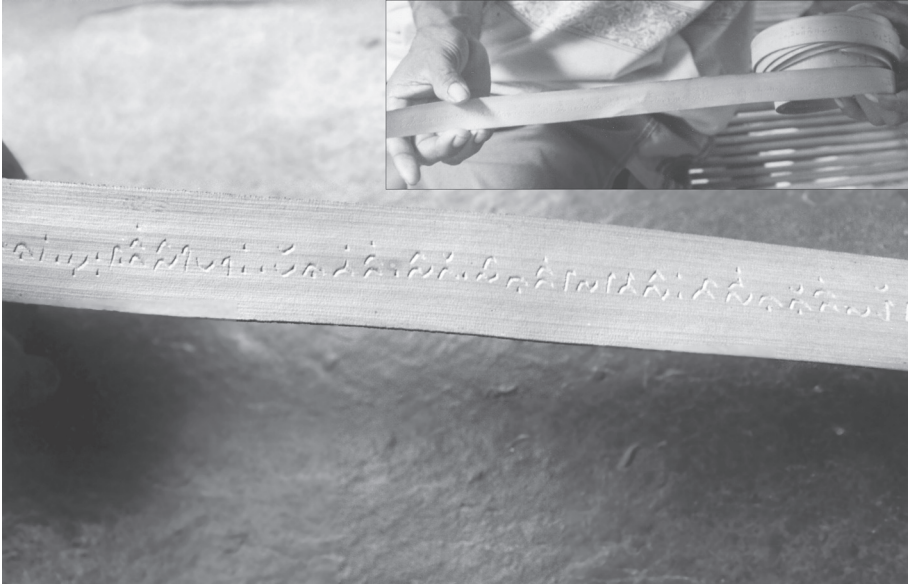


Photograph 5. The *lontaraq* Balusu

centuries. In my own opinion, it remains debatable as to whether the *jangang-jangang* script was in use before the seventeenth century. This script is full of curls, curves, bridges and much more suited to being written with ink on paper rather than inscribed on palm-leaf. It is worth noting that R.A. Kern (1939:580-3) writes that curved letters in the Bugis script one finds written on paper do not appear to have been used in the palm-leaf Bugis manuscripts he examined. This is also true of two Bugis palm-leaf manuscripts I have examined, where the form of the letters was more straight and rigid than one finds in paper manuscripts. The *jangang-jangang* script may thus have been a later innovation, which was developed from the Bugis script after paper had become available in the early seventeenth century.

The Arabic script is often used together with the Bugis script in the same text to write specific Arabic words that function as visual markers, such as *fasal* (paragraph, passage of writing) to introduce a piece of writing and *tamat* (end) to conclude a story. There are also numerous religious texts written solely in the Arabic script.

The Latin script is sometimes used (in my experience) to write names of European origin in a few texts of a historical nature. Some manuscripts also contain writings in the Indonesian language as well as the Bugis, Mandar



Photograph 6. Palm-leaf *lontaraq* from Padakalawa, *kabupaten* Pinrang

and Makasar languages, such as the *hikajat* Sawitto (see below).

In modern-day South Sulawesi, some owners of manuscripts regard them as sacred and symbolic and will not allow the manuscript to be opened unless a ceremony is first performed. Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim (1996:47-51), reporting on the *Arsip Nasional* microfilm project, give several examples of the difficulties encountered in borrowing manuscripts to microfilm in cases where the owners believed them to be sacred. On one occasion, the owner of a Bugis manuscript from Sinjai even insisted that his manuscript be carried under an umbrella to the hotel where the microfilm equipment was set up. However, many owners of South Sulawesi manuscripts do not regard them as sacred, as Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim note, and will willingly allow them to be photocopied.²¹

Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim (1996:51-3) consider that the sacred and symbolic meanings some owners attach to their manuscripts are essentially a modern development brought about by social change. They

²¹ Like many other researchers who have carried out historical or literary work in South Sulawesi, I have numerous photocopies of Bugis and Makasar manuscripts made for me from the original manuscript by the owners. Koolhof (2004) also reports that an informant in South Sulawesi interested in La Galigo literature did all he could to collect photocopies of manuscripts.

argue that originally only nobles owned manuscripts and those manuscripts were considered sources of information. By contrast, modern-day owners of manuscripts are descended from high-ranking nobles, low ranking nobles and commoners, few of whom can read their manuscripts and consequently have no knowledge of the contents. Most owners also believe their manuscript was once owned by a ruler or other high-ranking noble, ownership of a manuscript can serve as proof of a person's ties to a noble family and thus function as a status symbol. Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim conclude that in modern-day South Sulawesi, manuscripts are not simply wrapped in cloths of various colours but have also become wrapped in myth.²²

The origins of the written tradition

Some 40 years ago, Jacobus Noorduyn (1961:31) pointed out that the Bugis script must have been in use before the introduction of Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century, otherwise the Arabic script would have been adopted. Noorduyn later suggested that writing in South Sulawesi may have developed in the early sixteenth century. This notion was derived from a passage in the chronicle of Gowa which claims the script was first used by Daeng Pametteq, the *sabanaraq* (harbour master, M.) of Gowa during the first half of the sixteenth century.²³ This oral tradition about Daeng Pametteq was probably first written down in the mid-seventeenth century but does appear to retain a memory of when writing was first used by the Makasar (see below).

Caldwell has since presented convincing evidence to show that writing first developed in South Sulawesi at about 1400 and that its first effective application, for which there is any evidence, was to record the ruling elite in genealogical form.²⁴ A date of 1400 is derived from Caldwell's detailed analysis of Bugis genealogies from Cina and Soppéng, which shows that the historicity of individuals named in these two genealogies who can be back-

²² In contrast to Ahmad Rahman and Muhammad Salim, William Cummings (2002) claims that the Makasar have always regarded manuscripts containing *lontaraq* texts as sacred and powerful objects. However, this claim appears to be based solely on the modern day veneration of manuscripts by some Makasar people, most of whom cannot read their manuscripts.

²³ Noorduyn 1965:153. *Sabanaraq* is derived from the Persian-Arabic word *shahbandar*, probably via the Malay language. The Bugis equivalent is *sabenmaraq*.

²⁴ Caldwell 1988. The development of writing was probably linked in some way to commerce. A date of 1400 broadly corresponds with the advent of regular trading links, which are archaeologically attested by the large quantities of Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian stoneware and ceramic tradewares dating from the thirteenth century and found throughout Bugis and Makasar speaking areas (Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). At the same time, however, there is no evidence to suggest that writing was used to record any kind of commercial activity.

dated to before 1400 is much less certain than for individuals named for the period after 1400.²⁵ The pre-1400 sections of these genealogies are evidently derived from oral tradition and must therefore be viewed with caution. Each pre-1400 generation rarely consists of more than two individuals and the marriages that appear in these sections appear to have little historical basis.²⁶ By contrast, there is a marked increase in information, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, for those sections dated to after about 1400. The average number of individuals recorded for a generation increases dramatically to as many as eight. Marriages also begin to reveal indigenous concerns relating to the internal cohesion and the political expansion of a kingdom, as the children of ruling families marry with the children of the rulers of tributary lands, or potential tributary lands. The political offices held by the children of rulers are also often given together with their place of marriage and their marriage partners. From the early to mid-fifteenth century, it is possible to cross-reference individuals with other genealogies. Significant anecdotal information for some individuals also appears from about 1400, although some of this information may be derived from oral tradition and may have been added to the texts during their transmission. The post-1400 sections of the Soppéng and Cina genealogies therefore appear to have been based on contemporary records and the individuals named in these sections can be termed as historical. By contrast, the individuals named in the pre-1400 sections of the Soppéng and Cina genealogies can be termed as legendary. Figure 2.1 presents the first seven generations of the Soppéng genealogy.

My own examination of genealogical data from other parts of South Sulawesi suggests that a date as early as 1400 for the development of writing in South Sulawesi appears largely confined to the central eastern part of the peninsula, around the Cenrana and Walannae valleys, where Cina and Soppéng were located.²⁷ The only kingdoms where reliable genealogical data attains a comparable depth to the Soppéng and Cina genealogies are Boné and Wajoq, which are also located in the Cenrana/Walannae region. The first historical ruler of Boné was probably La Umasaq, who started the expansion of Boné and can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century. For Wajoq, the first historical ruler can be identified as La Tenribali, who can be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.

In other parts of the South Sulawesi peninsula, writing appears to have

²⁵ Caldwell's method of backdating was to take a securely dated individual from the seventeenth century and then calculate backwards using a standard reign length of 25, or 15 years in case of one sibling succeeding another.

²⁶ This is supported by my own analysis, which draws on textual and archaeological evidence, of claims made in the Soppéng genealogy concerning early relationships between the rulers of Soppéng and Suppaq (Druce 2001).

²⁷ This analysis followed the principles established by Caldwell (1988).

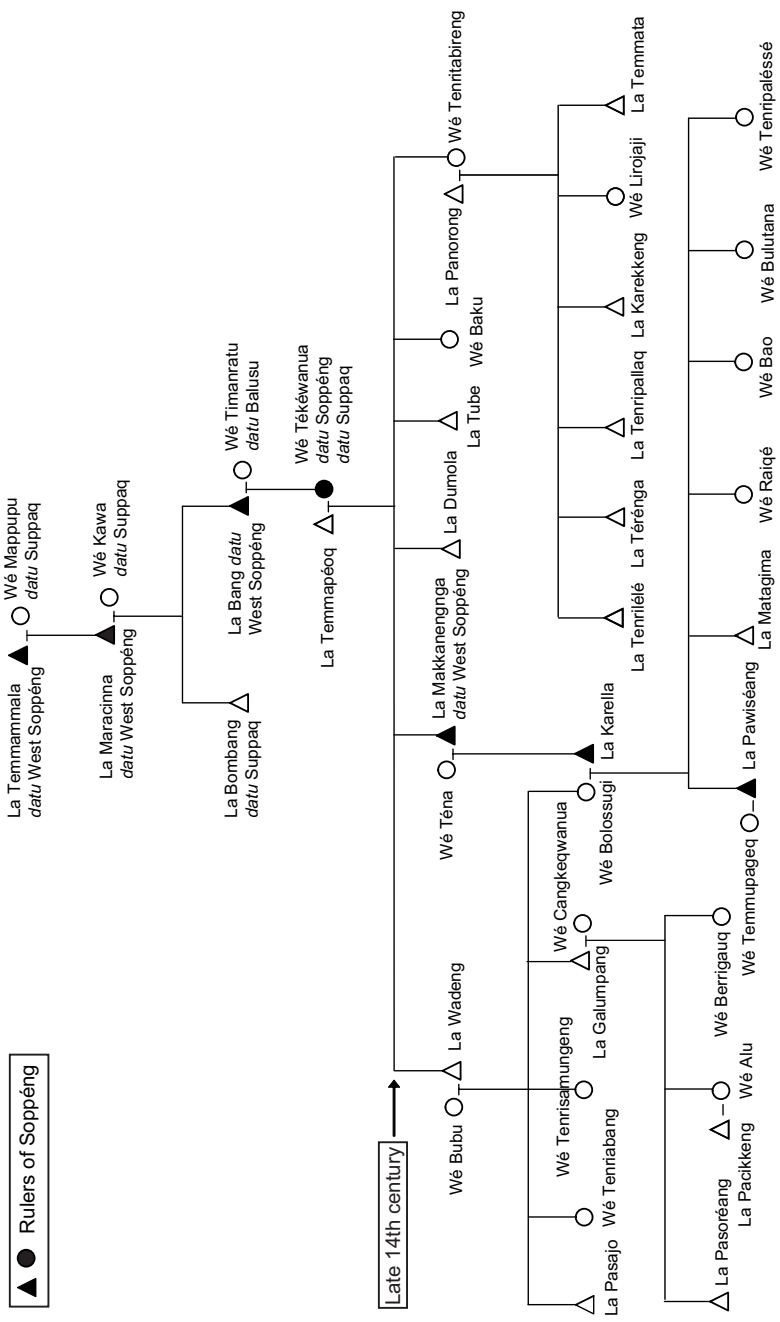


Figure 2.1. First seven generations of the Soppéng genealogy. Source: Adapted from Caldwell (1988:128-9).

been adopted at a later date. Caldwell (1988) has examined written sources for Luwuq in detail. His work shows that the earliest written material for Luwuq is a genealogy, which contains reliable information from the end of the fifteenth century. From the work of Bougas (1998) and Caldwell and Bougas (2004) on the south coast Makasar kingdoms of Bantaeng, Binamu and Bangkaraq, the earliest written sources appear to be lists of rulers dating from about the late fifteenth century.

Turning to the west coast of the peninsula, the Gowa chronicle provides us with a particularly good example of a shift from orally derived genealogical data to reliable written genealogical data (figure 2.2). The earliest reliable written information for Gowa is genealogical information concerning the children of Batara Gowa, a late fifteenth century ruler of Gowa. Noorduy (1965:151) considers one of these children, Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, to have been the first historical ruler of Gowa. The development of writing in Talloq can also be dated to this period.

Written sources for the Ajattappareng lands are particularly disappointing. The earliest reliable written data are the genealogies of Sidénréng and Suppaq, in which genealogical rulers date to no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Reliable genealogical data for Sawitto and Rappang dates to the mid-sixteenth century and for Alitta the end of the sixteenth century.²⁸ Apart from these sources, written texts for the Ajattappareng region that purport to speak for the period before 1600 are derived solely from oral tradition.

Writing in South Sulawesi thus appears to have first developed in the Cenrana-Walannae region at about 1400. Writing may have spread to other parts of the South Sulawesi from this region, but the possibility of independent developments cannot be dismissed. What is evident is that the earliest written records for which there is any evidence were genealogical. That writing was so closely associated with the concerns of the ruling elite is of no surprise given the fundamental importance of ascriptive status for South Sulawesi societies, and the Austronesian-speaking world as a whole. Macknight (1993:11) argues that the very motive for the development of writing in South Sulawesi was to record elite genealogical information and, in a society where status was ascribed rather than achieved, the ability to demonstrate descent would have been of fundamental importance. This concern with genealogies, whether in oral or written form, is a characteristic of Austronesian-speaking societies.

In his study of Makasar texts, William Cummings (2002) has argued that the advent of detailed written genealogies among the Makasar in the sixteenth century allowed descent to be traced with greater accuracy, and

²⁸ Genealogical sources for the Ajattappareng lands are discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

that this created a greater divide between nobles and commoners. While Cummings is probably correct in pointing out that writing enabled descent to be traced with greater accuracy, his assertion that 'literacy' was the catalyst for the complex ranked social order seen as a 'classical' feature of Makasar society is surely mistaken. The driving force in any heightened social stratification probably grew from Makasar cultural precepts crystallized in prehistory, while the development of writing would have been just one of a number of social factors, such as increased economic prosperity, at work in Makasar society at that time. Archaeological evidence shows that social stratification began to increase among the Makasar from about 1300; the fuel for this was a shift from swidden to wet-rice agriculture and the importation of elite goods, which served as important symbols of social rank and political authority for existent ruling classes (Bulbeck 1996-97; Bougas 2007).

South Sulawesi writings of a historical nature

There are several categories of *lontaraq* texts that can tell us about the past in South Sulawesi. These include royal diaries, which were kept by some rulers and high officials, historical poems, such as *toloq* (Bugis) and *sinriliq* (Makasar), *attoriolong*, *patturioloang* and *pattodioloang* texts and the tributary and domain lists that were discussed in the previous chapter. While historical and literary studies have shown the diaries and historical poems can provide accurate accounts of the past (Tol 2000; Omar 2003), unlike *attoriolong*, *patturioloang* and *pattodioloang* texts they do not contain historical information dating to before 1600.

The attoriolong, patturioloang and pattodioloang texts

The local terms used to refer to *lontaraq* texts that relate an event or events believed to have taken place in the past are *attoriolong* (Bugis), *patturioloang* (Makasar) and *pattodioloang* (Mandar) (hereafter collectively referred to as *attoriolong*), all of which literally mean 'about the people of former times'. The term *attoriolong*, and its Makasar and Mandar equivalents, are often translated to mean 'chronicle' but this is misleading as these terms encompass a wide variety of written texts of a historical nature. The vast majority of these texts are genealogies, often concerned with the pre-Islamic rulers, and short stories that provide little sense of a narrator. These stories can be about the origin of a ruling family or a kingdom, a treaty between two or more kingdoms, a war, an agreement between a kingdom and tributary, or a story that sets out the border between two lands. Typically, these texts are

between one and three manuscript pages in length. Most are derived from oral tradition, while others appear to be simple transcripts of what was spoken. Some *attoriolong* texts are longer in length, such as a 13-page text from Sidénréng, which purports to tell of the founding of Sidénréng and the establishment of laws and government by eight founding brothers (Druce 1999). This particular work, however, is simply a collection of oral traditions placed one after the other with little attempt to integrate the traditions.²⁹ As with South Sulawesi *lontaraq* texts in general, *attoriolong* texts state the subject of the story to be told at the beginning of the text.

The chronicles

The terms *attoriolong* and *patturioloang* also encompasses a very small number of much longer texts that can be described as chronicles. These chronicles can be found for a few kingdoms only, the best known of which are those of Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.), Talloq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975), Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955; Zainal Abidin 1985) and Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.), which have been translated into Indonesian, Dutch or English with accompanying Romanized transcriptions.³⁰ The word chronicle is an appropriate term for these four works. In contrast to more typical *attoriolong* texts, each of these chronicles has a clear sense of narrator and the work itself can be described as a methodological account of past events which took place under successive rulers.

The main focus of these chronicles is the rulers of each kingdom, around whose reigns the chronicles are structured, and their most important kin relations. Indeed, the greater parts of these chronicles are comprised of genealogical information about the ruling elite. Justification for the position of the ruling elite in society is provided in the opening sections of these chronicles by a *tomanurung* (Makasar – *tumanurung*) story. Other events told of include the expansion of their respective kingdoms, wars, treaties and

²⁹ Another example of a longer *attoriolong* text with little sense of narrator is the *Lontara' 1; pattodioloang Mandar*, published by Azis Syah (1991), much of which consists of a series of unconnected oral traditions written down one after the other.

³⁰ Other works that can appropriately be described as chronicles are those of Tanété (Niemann 1883; Basrah Gisang 2002) (written in the nineteenth century), Sawitto (below) (written in the mid-twentieth century), and Maros (Cummings 2000) (written at the end of the nineteenth century). However, while their writers perhaps drew inspiration from the four chronicles above, each of these four named chronicles were the product of later and very different historical times. Cummings (2002:138-44) also presents several very short works that he refers to as chronicles. These texts are not chronicles but simply short genealogies. Moreover, two texts he presents on pages 141 and 143 are characteristic of oral genealogies that can be found in Makasar-speaking areas today and are clearly oral traditions that have been committed to paper.

alliances with other kingdoms and in some cases, innovations that took place under a particular ruler. The chronicle of Talloq, and the earliest of the Wajoq chronicles (Noorduyn 1955:143), close with events dating to the mid-seventeenth century, while those of Gowa and Boné close with late seventeenth century events. Numerous versions of each of these chronicles exist but, with the exception of the Wajoq chronicles, it is clear that these versions are derived from, and constitute, a single work. The Wajoq chronicles are an exception for several reasons. Wajoq is the only one of these four kingdoms where the tradition of chronicle writing continued until recent times. This continuation of chronicle writing in Wajoq led to several revisions and the re-writing of earlier chronicles. For example, the Wajoq chronicle translated into Indonesian by Zainal Abidin (1985) is called the *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (the complete chronicle of Wajoq, B.). This chronicle was first written by La Sangajo Puanna La Sengngeng, the *ranreng* (regent, B.) of Bettempola, by order of La Mappajung Puanna Salowong, the ruler of Wajoq from 1764 until 1767. Writing was continued by subsequent nobles who held the position of *ranreng* Bettompola, the last of whom was Andi Makkaraka.

One of the most important characteristics of these chronicles, which sets them apart from more typical *attoriolong* texts, is that their authors reveal that data have been deliberately selected, and in some cases rejected, from previously independent sources and then assimilated with other such data to write the chronicle. The most important of these independent sources are genealogies, which form the backbone of the chronicles. In a section of the Gowa chronicle that sets out the names of the children of *karaeng* Mapeqdaka (a daughter of the Gowa ruler Tunibatta), the writer shows selective use of genealogical sources by informing us that there were many other children but that they will not be mentioned (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:36). Likewise, the writer of the chronicle of Boné reveals only the names of the first two children of Boné's first ruler and then informs the reader that the names of the others remain 'rolled up' in other writings (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). Boné genealogies independent of this chronicle provide the names of five children for this ruler of Boné; the two names given by the chronicle and three others that were once rolled up, presumably in *lontar* leaf spools (Macknight 1998:44). The quantity of genealogical material found for these four kingdoms which is independent of the chronicles cannot be over emphasized. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that it was the keeping of genealogies that made the writing of these chronicles possible.

Other sources used to write these chronicles were oral traditions, short *attoriolong* texts, oral histories and, for those sections of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles dating from about 1630, royal diaries.³¹ All of these sources have

³¹ The oldest diary is that of Gowa and Talloq, which contains contemporary information

been capably integrated in each chronicle to produce a new work. The most evident use of oral traditions are the *tomanurung* stories in the opening sections that relate the origins of the ruling family. These stories are also found independently of the chronicles as individual *attoriolong* texts and versions continue to be transmitted in the oral register today.³² Whether the writers of the chronicles used earlier written versions of such works or took the stories directly from the oral register is impossible to say. Other use of oral tradition is evident in some of the stories related by these chronicles, such as the story in the Wajoq chronicles that relates how an argument over a tortoise that could excrete gold led to a war between Luwuq and Sidénréng (Noorduyn 1955:188-97; Zainal Abidin 1985:228-37). The use of the word *garéq* (so the story goes, B.), which is found in several sections of the Boné and Wajoq chronicles, is a further indication of oral stories being incorporated into the chronicles. On occasions, the writer of a chronicle may also inform the reader that the sources available to them are lacking in detail. For example, in a section of the Gowa chronicle about Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (early sixteenth century to 1546), the writer reports that no details of the wars waged by Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna were put down in writing (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:21-2). This section of the Gowa chronicle also includes a list of settlements that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna is said to have defeated in these wars. Whether this evidently rudimentary written source used by the writer was itself derived from oral tradition and written down at a later date is difficult to tell, although I suspect that this was the case. Alternatively, the names of the settlements said to have been defeated by Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna may simply have been inscribed alongside genealogical information and elaborated by the writer of the chronicle, and perhaps supplemented with oral tradition.

Other sources used to write the chronicles were treaties with other kingdoms. Some of these treaties appear to have existed in oral form while others existed in written form. The well-known *tellumpoccoé* agreement of 1582 between Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng is one such example that was drawn upon by the writers of the Boné and Wajoq chronicles. Independent texts that relate the *tellumpoccoé* agreement can be found in at least nine different manuscripts. According to Noorduyn (1961:32), treaties for Gowa were kept in a manu-

from the beginning of the seventeenth century. A transcription and Dutch translation of this diary was published by A. Ligvoet (1880). A transcription and Indonesian translation of this diary covering the period up to 1751 have also been published by Kamaruddin et al. (1985-86) and Sjahrudin Kaseng et al. (1986-87). The earliest Bugis diary is that of Arung Palakka of Boné, which dates to the late seventeenth century (Cense 1966:422). There are no known diaries from Wajoq, or any other Bugis or Makasar kingdoms (Omar 2003:27).

³² Abdur Razak Dg. Patunru (1969:2-6) summarizes a more elaborate version of the Gowa *tumanurung* story than the version written down in the Gowa chronicle, which is derived from a separate *patturioloang* text. I have been told oral versions of the Gowa *tumanurung* story on several occasions in Kale Gowa and Barombong, a former Gowa-Talloq domain land.

script by the chancellor of the kingdom.³³ However, as Noorduyn remarks, these treaties can only be dated by the names of the rulers they mention.³⁴

Later sections of the chronicles provide examples of the writers using oral history (information obtained from people contemporaneous with events). The first evident use of oral history in the Gowa chronicle is found in a section about Tunipasuluq (1590-1593), who was deposed as ruler of Gowa because of his many cruel deeds. The writer of the chronicle informs us that, according to people who lived at the same time as Tunipasuluq, there were many other actions of his that were bad, 'but we do not know, and it would not be good to tell of them' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:56). The writer of the chronicle was thus able to obtain oral information about Tunipasuluq from people who had lived through his reign. This is the first occasion that the writer, or writers, of the Gowa chronicle use oral history, which provides a clue as to when this chronicle was written, a matter that we shall return to below.³⁵

The purpose in writing the chronicles, as Macknight (2000:326) puts it, 'was to set down a statement of the status of the rulers and the ruling group more generally'. Such statements are found in the opening section of the Boné and Gowa chronicles:

This work tells of the land of Boné and the ruling of Boné. (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.)

The recording is done only because it was feared that the old kings might be forgotten by their posterity; if people were ignorant about these things, the consequences might be that either we would consider ourselves too lofty kings or on the other hand foreigners might take us only for common people. (After Noorduyn 1965:143-4.)

There is general agreement among scholars that the chronicles of Gowa, Talloq, Boné and Wajoq were written in the seventeenth century. Noorduyn (1961:36, 1965:143) writes that for reasons of style and unity of composition, the oldest chronicles appear to have been written during the course of the seventeenth century. Noorduyn (1955:143) dates the earliest of the Wajoq chronicles to the latter part of the seventeenth century. Macknight

³³ It is not clear from Noorduyn's essay what period this manuscript dates from.

³⁴ According to Cummings (2002:42), the chronicle of Gowa says that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna was the first ruler to make 'written laws and written declarations of war'. However, this section of the chronicle of Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:18) gives no indication that laws or declarations of war were written but simply informs the reader that 'this was the first karaeng [Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna] to make laws and declarations of war' (*iapa anne karaeng uru mappareq rapang-bicara timu-timu ri bunduka*).

³⁵ My understanding and interpretation of this section of the Gowa chronicle is confirmed by Drs Haji Djirong Basang, South Sulawesi's foremost Makasar *lontaraq* scholar, who currently works at the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Institute of Culture).

(2000:325-6) argues that the writing of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles dates to shortly after 1669, following the defeat of these two kingdoms by the Dutch-Bugis alliance, and the chronicle of Boné to the reign of Arung Palakka (1672-1696). Macknight has also pointed out that certain sections of the Boné chronicle mirror the chronicle of Gowa, particularly the accounts of sixteenth century wars between these two kingdoms. He argues that the Boné chronicle may have been stimulated by, or was a riposte to, the Gowa chronicle. According to Mukhlis (1975:15-8), the Gowa chronicle was written by *karaeng* Kanjilo in 1670 but he provides no evidence for this claim, while Wolhoff and Abdurrahim (n.d.:5) consider the chronicle of Gowa to have been written in the eighteenth century. William Cummings (2002), on the other hand, suggests that the writing of the Gowa and Talloq chronicles began in the sixteenth century, shortly after the Makasar adopted writing, and that they were updated after the end of each reign.

A sixteenth century date for the initial composition of these two chronicles is, however, improbable. One must remember that these chronicles are very different to more typical short *attoriolong* texts and show a degree of sophistication in writing and editorial skills. As the Makasar only adopted writing in the sixteenth century, it is difficult to envisage how these chronicles could have been produced so quickly in the absence of some form of model. Another factor, which would have restricted the length of such works, was the absence of paper, which was only available from the early seventeenth century.³⁶

While I agree with Macknight's argument that the Boné chronicle was written after those of Gowa and Talloq, I would argue that the Gowa and Talloq chronicles themselves were first composed before the defeat of these two kingdoms in 1669 by the Dutch-Bugis alliance. We have noted that the first evident use of oral history by the writer of the Gowa chronicle was information collected from people who had lived during the reign of Tunipasuluq (1590-1593), which suggests the chronicle was written some time after 1593. In a later section of this chronicle, the writer informs us that not all the wives of Sultan Ala'uddin, the ruler of Gowa from 1593 to 1639

³⁶ Cummings (2002) further argues that written histories spread out from Gowa to other Makasar communities, which came to see Gowa as a yardstick for their own past and modelled their own written histories on the chronicle of Gowa. This argument is flawed by Cummings's failure to recognize that many of the texts he calls 'chronicles' are simply oral traditions of independent origin that were recorded in writing after several centuries of transmission and transformation in the oral register. For example, the short passage (14 book lines) presented on page 141 that he claims is a 'chronicle' of Binamu is comprised of two independent oral pericopes, each of which makes a different claim regarding the origins of Binamu's ruling family. According to the first, Binamu was founded by *karaeng* Binamu Pesoka, the second pericope claims a son of the king of Bantaeng founded Binamu. See Caldwell and Bougas (2004) for examples of other traditions relating to Binamu.

will be mentioned. The writer then goes on to say that he (or she) was told by Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng, who was the ruler of Talloq from 1641 to 1654,³⁷ that Sultan Ala'uddin married a Bugis woman, numerous Javanese women, and a woman from the west. Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng also told the writer that Sultan Ala'uddin had more than 40 wives (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:60). In a section of the Talloq chronicle about the Talloq ruler *karaeng* Matoaya, who lived from 1573 until 1636, the writer relates detailed information regarding *karaeng* Matoaya's observance of Islamic prayer, of which the writer had been told by I Loqmoq ri Paotereka (a Bugis wife of *karaeng* Matoaya from Sawitto) (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:19).

These uses of oral history, which are not evident in earlier sections of these two chronicles, suggest that the Gowa and Talloq chronicles were written no earlier than 1639 (the date of Sultan Ala'uddin's death) and probably during the 1640s and 1650s, either during the lifetime of *karaeng* Patingalloang (Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng) or shortly after his death in 1654.

It is not surprising that of all the indigenous written historical sources of South Sulawesi these few chronicles have received the greatest attention from both local and Western scholars. They are remarkable historical works which impart a wealth of seemingly reliable historical data as they relate the expansion of their respective kingdoms, wars, treaties and alliances, and the births, marriages and deaths of ruling families. Indeed, these chronicles have largely shaped Western perceptions of South Sulawesi historical writings as being straightforward, terse and matter-of-fact in nature, truly unique qualities among written Indonesian historical traditions, as Noorduyn (1961, 1965) has emphasized. Cense (1951:51) writes that it is only with the advent of chronicles, where oral traditions, communications (*mededelingen*) and historical notes have been brought together in a single work that historical writing begins. Primarily because of the deliberate selection and rejection of material, Macknight (2000:322) considers these chronicles to represent the appearance of a true historical consciousness in indigenous South Sulawesi historiography.

Noorduyn (1961:35, 1965:154) considers the development of these chronicles and their matter-of-fact, terse nature to have been an independent indigenous phenomenon, as does Cummings (2002:45-6) for the Gowa and Talloq chronicles. While these chronicles are unique in the Indonesian archipelago, Noorduyn's supposition that this genre of historical writing appears to be an

³⁷ Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng is the posthumous title of the influential Talloq ruler *karaeng* Patingalloang, who was effective ruler of both Gowa and Talloq during this period. The use of his posthumous name in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim's (n.d.) version of the Gowa chronicle does not necessarily indicate that Patingalloang had died when this section of the chronicle was written as later copyists often replaced a deceased ruler's name with the posthumous title (Noorduyn 1991:474).

independent phenomenon raises the questions of why these chronicles exist for such a small number of kingdoms and why this genre of historical writing appears to have developed in the mid-seventeenth century? There are no known chronicles for other kingdoms, such as Luwuq, Soppéng, Sidénréng, Suppaq, Bantaeng, Binamu and Bangkalaq, but simply short *attoriolong* texts, such as genealogies, origin myths, short stories and treaties. That most of the former Bugis and Makasar kingdoms do not possess historical works in the form of a chronicle suggests that the chronicles of Boné, Wajoq, Gowa and Talloq, rather than being representative of traditional South Sulawesi historical writing, are in fact the exception.

The earliest chronicles appear to have been written about half a century after a permanent European presence had been established in Makassar. Bulbeck (1992:24, n.7) has suggested that the Makasar historical tradition was profoundly influenced by European ideas, and a more recent, although cautious, paper by Macknight (2000) has explored the possibility of European influence in relation to both Makasar and Bugis historical traditions. In this paper, Macknight explores the intellectual world of Makassar during the seventeenth century and, while he does not ignore a possible influence from Malay or Muslim literature, he suggests that the strongest influence on Makasar historical writing traditions may have come from the Portuguese.³⁸ He points out that *karaeng* Pattingalloang (1641-1654) was known to be fluent in Portuguese and could read with ease both Portuguese and Spanish (Boxer 1967:4-5). His son, *karaeng* Karunrung, was also fluent in Portuguese, and in 1667 Portuguese was also used in negotiations between the Makasar court and the Dutch (Skinner 1963:27). As Macknight observes, during the mid-seventeenth century period the Makasar court became increasingly familiar with Portuguese and other European materials. *Karaeng* Pattingalloang had a library of European books, which impressed visitors and, according to the Portuguese missionary Alexander Rhodes, *karaeng* Pattingalloang had even 'read with curiosity all the chronicles of our European kings' (Hertz 1966:208 cited by Macknight 2000:329).

The relationship between oral and written traditions

In the last 40 years or so, there has been considerable research on the relationship between orality and writing and the differences between oral and literate cultures. Some of the most influential studies that set the theoretical foundations of this research are by Jack Goody and Ian Watt (1968), David Olson (1977, 1994), Walter Ong (1982) and Jack Goody (1986, 1987). These

³⁸ The remainder of this paragraph is drawn from Macknight's paper (2000).

studies have been labelled 'Great-Divide theories' as they emphasize opposition between orality and literacy. They argue, though from different perspectives, that writing transforms the way people think, bringing about cognitive, social and institutional changes.

Criticisms of the 'Great-Divide theories' have come from cultural anthropologists and social linguists, such as Brian Street (1984), Ruth Finnegan (1988), James Gee (1990) and James Collins (1995) who have rejected the universalist models of the 'Great-Divide theories'. Finnegan (1988:143) writes that rather than a great divide, there continues to be dynamic interaction between orality and literacy and that the co-existence of these two forms of communication is a normal and frequent aspect of human cultures. Gee (1990:61) further notes that literacy only has consequences when it acts together with a large number of other social factors, while Collins (1995) points out that, rather than looking for universalist theories of the effects of literacy, each society should be considered individually, and that we should therefore focus on 'literacies', not literacy, as a universal phenomenon. Likewise, I would add that there is no universal 'oral mentality'.

Turning our attention back to South Sulawesi, it is clear that orality and literacy do not exist in opposition. Furthermore, the term literacy itself is somewhat problematic when applied to South Sulawesi in a historical context, in that it implies that the majority of the population have reading and writing skills. The term is perhaps better suited for societies where there is printing technology. Print makes written material available to a wide audience and encourages literacy. Although Matthes did publish a number of Bugis and Makasar texts in the nineteenth century, few were available in South Sulawesi, and printed texts are a comparatively recent development in South Sulawesi, dating to the twentieth century.

For the period before 1600, knowledge of writing in South Sulawesi appears to have been confined to local high status elites, and early writings were primarily concerned with genealogical matters. In the seventeenth century, the large permanent presence of non-Sulawesi people in Makassar, in particular the presence of Europeans, brought new written materials and influences that stimulated the development of chronicle writing and diary keeping among the ruling elite living around the city. While knowledge of writing appears to have become more widespread in the eighteenth century (Pelras 1996:293), for the vast majority of the population, whether of common or noble birth, the primary means of obtaining, retaining and disseminating knowledge, whether about the past or present, remained oral. The predominantly oral nature of South Sulawesi society is reflected in a number of historical texts that refer to the role of the *suro* (messenger, B., M.), whose function was to orally communicate messages from one kingdom to another, and within the kingdom itself. A historical text from Sidénréng informs us

that in this kingdom only the government of Sidénréng could instruct the *suro*, and that those who called the *suro* a liar would be punished. This text also sets out the punishment for a *suro* when 'the words that he has spoken were not the words he was given: then his throat will be cut, or his mouth sliced off, or removed from his post'.³⁹

The relationship between oral and written literature in present day South Sulawesi has been explored in detail by Christian Pelras (1979). Pelras demonstrates that written versions of a work often contain features of oral expression, while orally transmitted versions of the same work can likewise contain features of written expression. Many works are found in both oral and written form, and information moves freely between the two registers. Pelras considers writing to be the more effective medium for conserving certain types of information, particularly when dates are used, but orality by far the more productive means of dissemination. Orality can reach large numbers of people in one telling, which is especially important when information is derived from handwritten texts which most of the population cannot read. Pelras concludes that any distinction between oral and written literature is for the most part irrelevant and that oral material is considered no less prestigious than written material. It is not that the boundaries between orality and writing are blurred, but that there is no boundary.

In his study, Pelras was concerned with oral and written literature in general and used a wide variety of genres, such as poetry, the La Galigo epic, folktales and sayings to substantiate his arguments. Here I am primarily concerned with the relationship between oral and written material that claims to tell us about the past in South Sulawesi. Pelras's pioneering study provides a valuable insight into understanding the complex nature of this relationship in both a modern-day and historical context. However, the relationship between oral and written historical material is not as straightforward as Pelras suggests.

Oral historical tradition in written form

From the earlier discussion, we have seen that many *attoriolong* and *patturioloang* texts that exist today are derived from oral tradition, and this book presents numerous examples. As oral traditions were used to write sections of the chronicles, we may assume that the practice of committing them to paper had begun by at least the mid- to late seventeenth century. How widespread this practice was in the seventeenth century is difficult to determine,

³⁹ Druce 1999:35. For the role of the *suro* in Wajoq, see Noorduyin (1955:55) and Abidin (1985).

as most manuscripts that contain oral traditions date to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Oral traditions may have first been written down in significant numbers in the eighteenth century, when knowledge of writing became more widespread (Pelras 1996:293). What is evident is that the practice of writing down oral traditions in the Bugis script was a process that continued until the mid-twentieth century. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Dutch scholars in South Sulawesi also wrote down oral traditions but used the Latin script.⁴⁰ Today, South Sulawesi oral traditions continue to be recorded by both local and foreign researchers.⁴¹

In written form, these oral traditions are removed from the social settings in which they are told. Body gestures, lowering or heightening of the voice by the storyteller in certain parts of the story become lost in writing. How closely the written text containing the oral tradition corresponds to the oral performance from which it is derived is impossible to know. Some traditions may have been told under special circumstances, such as a specific recording session to enable a scribe to write down the tradition.

Written down on paper, these oral traditions are records of performances from different periods in time, their form and continued transmission no longer subject to socio-cultural and political changes in the communities within which they circulate. Having entered the written register, transmission and changes in form and content of a tradition become dependent on the skill of a scribe, who may copy the newly written tradition to another manuscript if it is considered to be of interest.

Some traditions that were written down may fill several manuscript pages, while others may take up just a few lines, such as a tradition about La Botilangiq, who appears in the genealogies of Sidénréng and Suppaq:

This story tells of our lord La Botilangiq, at the time that he was angry and left for Marioriwawo, taking his sadness with him. [This was] because his siblings made war against him. He left with his people, there were as many as eight-hundred people. Each took their possessions and swords adorned with gold [with them]. He stopped in Balusu and married the *arung* of Balusu. A son was born called Sappaé Walié. He later left for Mario[riwawo?] [where he] stayed and married the *arung* of Mario[riwawo?]. His child was Wé Tappatana (ANRIM 50 / 10, p. 53).

After they were recorded in writing, these traditions did not die out but continued to be transmitted for as long as they served a function in society. Some oral traditions that were written down on paper are still transmitted orally today, such as the tradition from Népo. Another example is the oral

⁴⁰ See, for example, Friedericy 1933; Van den Brink 1943; Chabot 1996.

⁴¹ See, for example, Muhammad Sikki et al. 1986; Suradi Yasil 2000; Druce 1997b; Bougas 1998; Caldwell and Druce 1998.

tradition about the *tomanurung* of Boné that was used to write the opening section of the chronicle of Boné. In the version written down by the chronicler, the *tomanurung* who descends at Matajang is male and later marries a female *tomanurung* who descends at Toroq (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). In another version transmitted orally today, the *tomanurung* who descends at Matajang is female, while the *tomanurung* of Toroq is male (Jemmain et al. 2001:63-5, 143-5).

What was the impetus for writing down oral traditions in the Bugis script? The most probable explanation was a desire to preserve them in a more permanent form. This desire to preserve oral knowledge in writing was not confined to historical traditions but extended to other forms of oral knowledge, such as customary law, traditional medical formulas, house building, boat building, how to recognize the best type of horse to use in war, and even putting up a fence.⁴²

Oral dissemination of the written word and the interaction between the oral and written registers

Movement of oral historical traditions from the oral register to the written register, is a repeated phenomenon that has been taking place for over three hundred years. Written historical material also moves from the written to the oral register, but the processes are not as direct as the movement from oral to written. Moreover, written historical information which is disseminated orally may have originated from the oral register. Today, the relationship between the oral and written registers is further complicated by the existence of printed historical material in the Latin script, which is sometimes fed into the oral register.

Earlier in this chapter, we saw that in South Sulawesi there were no professional performers or storytellers to ensure the transmission and preservation of oral historical material. This is not true of the written register, where writing and copying *lontaraq* texts, expertise in the contents of manuscripts and the dissemination of written material is closely associated with a group of specialists, called *palontaraq* in both the Bugis and Makasar languages. The existence of specialists connected with the written register is unsurprising because, unlike speaking and hearing, reading and writing are skills only acquired through a conscious and deliberate learning process. Until recently, most people had little opportunity to learn such skills.

⁴² A detailed *lontaraq* text that explains how to build a boat was translated by Macknight and Mukhlis (1979), but South Sulawesi boat builders have always worked from oral knowledge and no written material is ever referred to when building a boat (Horridge 1979:1).

In the past, the *palontaraq* appear to have been connected to ruling elites. Many *palontaraq* are themselves lower ranking nobles, but as Pelras (1979:280) cautions, one cannot necessarily speak of *palontaraq* as a distinct social category as some are of common birth. The term *palontaraq* appears in the chronicle of Gowa during the reign of Tunijalloq, a late sixteenth century ruler of Gowa, which Noorduyn (1961:31) suggests may indicate that they had the role of noting down some contemporary information. Today, there are few *palontaraq* left in South Sulawesi and these are of advanced age. Their skills are today less in demand: *lontaraq* are no longer written and interest in the contents of manuscripts has declined. Expertise in reading, but not in writing, *lontaraq* is increasingly confined to a few university lecturers, who are becoming the new, modern-day experts. Nevertheless, outside of Makassar, the remaining *palontaraq* continue to provide access to the contents of manuscripts, whose owners can often not read them.

A *palontaraq* usually owns a number of manuscripts that contain a wide variety of *lontaraq* texts, including material of a historical nature. They may also borrow manuscripts from other *palontaraq* in order to copy texts of interest to them (Pelras 1979:280). Previously, copying was by hand but today the photocopier is often used to reduplicate a manuscript in whole or part. In the past, *palontaraq* also composed new written works from a variety of sources, mostly other *lontaraq* texts, but also oral traditions and, in more recent times, even printed material has been used. To my knowledge, the practice of writing new works did not continue after the 1960s. Some of the last works written by *palontaraq* were probably Andi Makkaraka's additions to the *Lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (Complete chronicle of Wajoq) and a few works about the Ajattappareng region written by Haji Paewa in the 1950s and 1960s (see below).

Today, the role of a *palontaraq* is largely as a consultant. People may visit him to inquire about genealogical matters, customs, ceremonies or the history of a particular kingdom or settlement. Some *palontaraq* will even copy out genealogies, usually in the form of a genealogical tree using the Latin script, for interested parties who will pay for this service. University students may also go to a *palontaraq* to seek information in order to write a *skripsi* (dissertation). In such cases, and if information is available, a *palontaraq* will usually relate the information orally without reference to a manuscript; at other times, the *palontaraq* will refer directly to a text, usually summarising the information and occasionally reading out a specific passage considered important. A *palontaraq* may also relate historical information that he heard orally.

Not all people who can read, or who own, *lontaraq* are *palontaraq*. During the course of my research in South Sulawesi, I interviewed numerous elderly

people who related historical and other information that they had read in *lontaraq* texts. Many of these people were middle and lower ranking nobles who had lived or spent time in the house of a former ruler or high ranking noble, where they had gained the opportunity to read manuscripts. Occasionally, these informants related a story they had read in a text but in most cases, information was communicated in a concise and casual manner. As for example in the utterance: 'I once read in *lontaraq* that there were four *liliq baté-baté* of Sawitto.' Many of these informants had also acquired historical information from the oral register, which they related alongside information derived from written texts. Most informants made a distinction between orally acquired and textually acquired information only if specifically asked to do so, while some could not remember whether information they related derived from the oral or the written register. In general, the question of whether information was derived from the written or the oral register was seen as irrelevant by most informants, who regarded their information as part of a large corpus of knowledge about the past, customary laws and ceremonies that could be called upon should the need arise. At the same time, many informants considered that there was probably a good deal of knowledge written in *lontaraq* texts which had been forgotten.

To summarize, in South Sulawesi, written historical material is transmitted alongside oral historical material. Any distinction between these two forms is considered unimportant, and oral and written information make up a large corpus of knowledge that can be recalled, or referenced, should the need arise.

Two examples of how oral and written information are transmitted alongside each other come from Bulucénrana and Alitta. In Bulucénrana, a man of noble birth showed me a genealogy concerned with the early rulers of Bulucénrana and Sidénréng, which we consulted together. My informant then related three oral traditions about Bulucénrana that did not, to his or my knowledge, exist in written form; two of these oral traditions concerned individuals in the written genealogy, while the third was concerned with the origins of the Pituriawa confederation. In this case, the written genealogy appears to have unconsciously functioned as an aide-memoire for the retention and transmission of the two oral traditions about individuals in the written genealogy.

In Alitta, a group of elders of noble birth related information about the kingdom's past. Much of this information was from a manuscript that all three had read; other information was derived from the oral register. At the end of the interview, my informants offered to provide me with a photocopy of the manuscript, in case some of its contents had slipped their memory. While my informants regarded the manuscript as authoritative, they were careful to point out that the manuscript was by no means the source of all information

about Alitta's past and that I should not forget to take into account the oral information they had provided which was not in the manuscript.

Another example of the close relationship between oral and written information is found in an anonymous work about Sawitto written in the Indonesian language and entitled, *Hikajat Sawitto: Jang saja dengar pada Matowa Depang dan Owa' Dadi* (The story of Sawitto: that I heard from *matoa* Depang and *owaq* Dadi) (hereafter *hikajat* Sawitto).⁴³ This work presents a number of oral traditions and also relates information that the writer had read in *lontaraq* texts. It is clear that the most important information for the writer of the work are the oral traditions he or she was told about a number of legendary and historical rulers of Sawitto. In the latter pages of this work, the writer mixes oral and written information freely and attempts to construct a ruler list of Sawitto through a combination of oral and written sources.

Another aspect of the relationship between written texts and orality in South Sulawesi that requires comment is the question of whether historical texts were ever performed publicly, either read out in full or adapted for performance. Today, public performance of any written material is rare and largely confined to ceremonial occasions, such as before the building of a house, circumcision, prior to rice planting in a *mappaliliq* (agricultural rites) ceremony, or the *macceraq tappareng* (propitiation of the spirit of the lake) which takes place annually on Lake Tempe. Today, the written material read out on such occasions are mostly in the form of Islamic prayers, rather than a *lontaraq* text. Even the La Galigo material, which was performed on certain occasions in Amparita in the nineteenth century (Matthes 1872:251), is no longer performed today.⁴⁴

No texts read out on these occasions are historical and, as far as I am aware, there are no public performances of historical texts in South Sulawesi today. There is also little evidence to suggest that historical texts were performed to a wide audience in the past. Muhammad Salim and Haji Djirong Basang both state that various kinds of material written in the Bugis script, including letters, were once read out in palaces at the request of a ruler but this was because most rulers could not read themselves. According to these two informants, these texts were simply read out word for word and not adapted for performance. Whether this was the case several centuries ago

⁴³ The *hikajat* Sawitto is a 12-page typed text placed in a nineteenth century 79-page manuscript (ANRIM 2/2). This manuscript contains a number of short works written in the Bugis language and script. As the *hikajat* Sawitto is written with the old Indonesian spelling we may assume that it dates to before 1972.

⁴⁴ Koolhof 2004. Rahayu Salam (2000:37) writes that at the *macceraq tappareng* a *sanro* formerly read out magical formulas but today a local religious official reads Islamic prayers. In larger *mappaliliq* ceremonies, such as that of Segiri, the *bissu* may chant a text. In most *mappaliliq* ceremonies carried out today, mostly by groups of local farmers, an *imam* reads Islamic prayers.

is not certain. Zainal Abidin (1983:203-4) writes that the social contracts made between the first rulers and the common people, found in the *tomanurung* myths, were read out in the Dutch period when a ruler was installed, although this may have been a recent innovation. Writing in 1888, Van Braam Morris informs us that *latoa* texts were read aloud at the installation of the ruler of Luwuq but he does not mention the reading of historical texts (Van Braam Morris 1992:43).⁴⁵

Despite the lack of evidence, it is conceivable that some written material of a historical nature was once performed orally. We should not forget that knowledge of reading and writing in South Sulawesi was limited to a few specialists, most of whom were connected with courts. For the majority of people, whether of noble or common descent, knowledge was obtained solely from the oral register. The earliest written material, and the purpose behind writing itself, would have been circumscribed by an oral mentality. As few people could read, what was written would have been of little use unless it was activated by speech. The type of material that may have been performed orally were perhaps genealogies, during the installation of a ruler, and treaties, that may have been read out on certain occasions in order to reinforce ties with other kingdoms and tributary lands. Pelras (1979) and Macknight (1998) have also suggested that the chronicles may have been adapted for oral performance. As Macknight (1998:45-6) notes in relation to the Boné chronicle, stylistically these works have no characteristics of texts associated with oral performance. The terse and matter-of-fact nature of these works would also require major transformations by a performer in order to have any public effect or to entertain an audience. Macknight (1998:45) points to the word *ripau* (for hearing, B.), which is used several times in earlier sections of the Boné chronicle and suggests the word is used in a literal sense. The use of the word *ripau*, however, may simply be indicative of the oral sources drawn upon by the writer in the instances it is used. Sweeney's (1987) argument that pre-modern writing in the Indonesian archipelago was primarily written to be heard may not be true of South Sulawesi chronicles. This aspect of the relationship between the oral and the written requires further research.

⁴⁵ The *latoa* is a collection of instructions (much of it probably derived from oral tradition) concerning the correct behaviour of rulers towards the people and the people among themselves. See Mattulada (1985).

Stories about Suppaq, Sawitto and Gowa: from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century

In the mid-sixteenth century, Gowa attacked and defeated Suppaq and Sawitto. This victory radically changed the balance of power along the west coast of the peninsula and paved the way for Gowa to become the dominant power in South Sulawesi (Chapter V).

Stories people told about this tumultuous event have been transmitted from generation to generation and can still be found today in a variety of forms. Two versions of oral traditions born from this event are written down in eighteenth century paper manuscripts, another version is written down in a twentieth century paper manuscript, one is found in a printed local government publication, while other stories exist in the minds of a small number of people living in *kabupaten* Pinrang.

These traditions tell us something about the relationship between the oral and the written registers in South Sulawesi and reveal something about Suppaq, Sawitto and Gowa, and their relations with each other, in the sixteenth century. Five traditions are discussed and presented below.

Tradition 1: The attoriolong Suppaq and Sawitto

The longest of these traditions, the *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto (*aSS*), is preserved in two versions in two eighteenth century manuscripts.⁴⁶ Both are derived from an earlier text and the differences between them are confined to copying errors. The story itself appears to have developed from two separate events that probably took place within a relatively short time of each other. The first of these events was the defeat of Suppaq and Sawitto by Gowa in the mid-sixteenth century. The second appears to be from a subsequent conflict, or perhaps conflicts, between Sawitto and Gowa about 20 to 30 years after the initial defeat. As people would have been telling stories about these events in roughly the same period, it is not surprising that these traditions became combined into a single story during their transmission. The story was probably first written down on paper in the eighteenth century.

The story itself is easily recognizable as an oral tradition but it is worth taking a moment to highlight some of these oral features. Like most *attoriolong* texts, the style and the language used throughout, though archaic in places, is simple. The formulaic expression, which begins 'one Boné in the west, one Sawitto in the east', appears three times in the tradition, and serves to emphasize close historical links with Boné. Repetition of this expression in

⁴⁶ This title is derived from the opening passage of the text: *Pannessaengngi attoriolongngé ri Suppaq ri Sawitto*.

the oral register would have been important during the eighteenth century after Boné had become the most powerful kingdom in South Sulawesi.

Confusion of order is evident in several places, such as in the fifth paragraph where the two traditions become combined:

Then, on the seventh occasion, Suppaq and Sawitto were defeated. Only La Cellaq Mata together with La Pancai who went to Boné and hid themselves. He (La Pancai) only appeared after he had found his kris that was called ula daun-raunggé. La Pancai went up to Boné, to the arung Boné, and reminded [him] of the agreement [between Sawitto and Boné]. La Pancai was seen by the arung Boné. Eighty people of the palaces of Suppaq and Sawitto had been captured and taken to Makassar. Our lady Wé Lampé Wéluaq had been captured by the karaeng and he tortured her with all manner of tortures. Now our lord La Pancai had arrived in Boné to follow the treaty [between Sawitto and Boné, which is] spoken as 'one Sawitto in the east, one Boné in the west'.

After announcing the defeat of Suppaq and Sawitto, the story briefly jumps to the escape of La Pancai and La Cellaq Mata to Boné before briefly returning to inform us of the plight of Wé Lampé Wéluaq. From this point on, La Cellaq Mata disappears from the story without trace and La Pancai becomes the focus of the story. The fate of La Cellaq Mata appears to have been forgotten by the storyteller but is explained in a related tradition presented below. In my experience of collecting oral traditions in South Sulawesi, it is not uncommon for a storyteller to temporarily forget part of a story but upon realizing the mistake, attempt to reintegrate the section into the story, which results in confusion of order.⁴⁷ In this case, however, the storyteller appears simply to have forgotten a section of the story.

Further confusion is evident in the tenth paragraph with the appearance of the expression *rékkuwa sisala winru adakkuq*. An English equivalent of this expression would be 'unless my words are wrong'. This is a direct reference to the storyteller's own memory. The storyteller uses this expression in order to inform the listener that he or she is not certain whether this part of the story is correct. Some people who relate oral traditions today continue to use this expression when they are unsure whether they have remembered a story correctly. It is feasible that the storyteller uttered these words as the tradition was related to a scribe, who wrote down the words as part of the tradition. This expression can sometimes be found in other *lontaraq* texts derived from oral tradition.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ A storyteller may make this known in conversation after telling the story. If the story is recorded, either in writing or by a tape-recorder, one can note down this error. However, as such traditions were transmitted orally, long before any such recording took place, confusion of order is likely to have already occurred at various times in the transmission of the tradition.

⁴⁸ Muhlis Hadrawi, personal communication, 2002.

Translation

This [story] tells of a time in the past in Suppaq and Sawitto when they were still great.⁴⁹ Out lord, Makaraié went and met with the *karaeng* of Gowa who was called Tunipalangga.

This is what the *karaeng* said: 'What is your purpose here, brother?' Makaraié replied: 'Just visiting, brother, to look around at the land that follows my land of Suppaq.' The *karaeng* asked: 'Do you have a daughter, [my] brother?' Makaraié's reply was: 'yes'.

Then the *karaeng* Tunipalangga said: 'It would be good, brother, if we become parents-in-law, so that the lands of Suppaq and Makassar become allied.' Makaraié nodded his head, [then returned] to his land in Suppaq. The *karaeng* then ordered the bride-price to be taken [to Suppaq] together with attendants [for the daughter of Makaraié]. The bride-price was received and our lady Wé Lampé Wéluaq became betrothed.

Our lady Wé Lampé Wéluaq had grown to adolescence and was to be given a ring for her arm as a mark of her betrothal. This was spoken of to the Ajattappareng. Then our lord Palétéang came from Sawitto and said: 'Oh my friend, it is we who will marry our children together so that Suppaq and Sawitto will become one. What of the Makasar whose smoke and fire⁵⁰ [we] do not know.' Makaraié said: 'What will we say to the *karaeng*?' Palétéang said: 'It is I who will answer the words of the *karaeng*.'

Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata were married. The bride-price of the *karaeng* was returned together with the attendants. The messenger of the *karaeng* was heading north to Suppaq bringing wedding gifts [and he] met with the boat of Makaraié's messenger taking back the bride-price of the *karaeng*. The messenger of Gowa and the messenger of Makaraié returned to the south together, to the *karaeng*. The messenger of Makaraié said [to the *karaeng*]: 'There is the bride-price that has been ordered returned. Your brother has waited a long time [but] you did not [come]. [He] said: Return the bride-price of the *karaeng* and I will find another husband for my child in order to cover my feeling of shame⁵¹ because for too long I have waited [but you] did not come.' The *karaeng* became angry. His army swore an oath⁵² and descended on Suppaq and Sawitto. [But] it was not able to defeat them. As many as seven times they went down [to attack Suppaq and Sawitto]. Only the years in between were counted [?]. Then, on the seventh time, Suppaq and Sawitto were defeated. Only La Cellaq Mata together with La Pancai who went to Boné and hid themselves. He (La Pancai) only appeared after he found his *kris* that was called *ula daunraungngé*. He (La Pancai) went up to Boné, to the *arung* Boné, and reminded [him] of the agreement [between Sawitto and Boné]. La Pancai was seen by the *arung* Boné. Eighty people of the palaces of Suppaq and Sawitto had been captured and taken to Makassar. Our lady Wé Lampé Wéluaq had been captured by the *karaeng* and he tortured her with all manner of tortures.

⁴⁹ A transliteration of the text is given in Appendix C.

⁵⁰ Smoke and fire: *rumpu api*; origins [of people].

⁵¹ Feeling of shame: *siriq*.

⁵² Swore an oath: *mangaruq* (from *aru*); an oath formerly uttered to rulers by their followers before engaging in warfare.

Now our lord La Pancai had arrived in Boné to follow the treaty [between Sawitto and Boné, which is] spoken as 'one Sawitto in the east, one Boné in the west.'

The Makasar people came [to Boné] to seek their runaways. [They] requested La Pancai, requested him from the *arung* Boné together with [the other] people of Sawitto and Suppaq [who were also in Boné]. The people of Boné would not surrender them. The *karaeng* said: 'Why do you not surrender the people that I have defeated, my birds which have flown?' The *arung* Boné said: 'You may not take the people of Sawitto [and Suppaq] because they have arrived in Boné and the treaty [with the lands of Sawitto and Suppaq and the] land of Boné is [spoken as] one Boné in the west, one Sawitto in the east, children are not divided, goodness is not split [as] bamboo [into two pieces], [and we] do not cut iron together.'

Then Boné was attacked by the *karaeng* and the people of Boné were defeated. They (La Pancai and his people) went again to Sawitto. The *karaeng* again searched for his runaways in Sawitto. Again the treaty between Sawitto [and Boné] was spoken, the treaty that is spoke, 'one Boné in the west, one Sawitto in the east, children (the people) are not divided, the land is not split as bamboo [into two pieces], [and we] do not cut iron together.'

Again the *karaeng* departed to search for the runaways. The *karaeng* searched. Now this search of the *karaeng* was a search that had a good purpose. The people of Boné heard that the search of the *karaeng* had a good purpose. Only then did the people of Boné reveal La Pancai. To Atuju was ordered to go and collect him. The *karaeng* said: 'Oh messenger, go and collect your child.' The messenger went to collect La Pancai. La Pancai came together with the people of Boné who had brought him. The people of Boné said: 'The custom of the lands of Boné, of Sawitto, and of Suppaq, is [that if] a person of Sawitto [or Suppaq] goes to Boné then he is subject [to the laws of Boné]. [If] a person of Boné goes to Sawitto [or] to Suppaq then he is subject [to the laws of Sawitto and Suppaq].' The *karaeng* said: 'Oh messenger, take La Pancai back to Sawitto and you install him [as ruler] to carry out service to Gowa.' Then La Pancai was taken down [to Sawitto] by the messenger, who was called To Atuju. After they arrived in Sawitto, he was installed as *arung* of Sawitto. The messenger returned. Then La Pancai took [some of] the people who lived in Sawitto up [to Gowa] to give service. The group was as many as seventy [people].

The *karaeng* asked: 'Oh, *aqdatuang*, how is it with the people of Sawitto?' The *aqdatuang* replied: '[They are] few. If assembled there are only three-hundred people of Sawitto. The people remain afraid and are still scattered about.' Then the messenger was ordered to go north again with the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. After they arrived in the north, in Sawitto, they gathered all the people of Sawitto who were scattered about. Then there were many people in Sawitto again, all of them returned. Even those people [of Sawitto] who were in Makassar also returned [to Sawitto].

The people of Sawitto and Suppaq again experienced suffering. Again they wanted to oppose [Gowa]. They went around and took [people] to become troops, and they took the contents of the houses [as wealth to pay for the war]. La Pancai went up [to Gowa] and wanted to fight with⁵³ the *karaeng*, 'unless my words are

⁵³ Fight with: *sallo-salloi*; literally, 'to play with'.

wrong.⁵⁴ When [La Pancai] arrived in Makassar [he] went up before the *karaeng*. He was called to sit by the *karaeng*. [The *karaeng* said]: ‘What is your purpose here, *aqdatuang* Sawitto?’ The *aqdatuang* of Sawitto said: ‘There is still something that I wish to speak about.’ The *karaeng* said: ‘What is it that you wish to speak about?’ The *aqdatuang* of Sawitto said: ‘What I request, *karaeng*, is that you do not catch my birds and you do not grasp my eggs.’⁵⁵ The *karaeng* agreed to the words of Sawitto. The *aqdatuang* left to go to the north to Sawitto [and to Suppaq]. The *aqdatuang* arrived in the north, in Sawitto and Suppaq. Many people of Sawitto who lived in Makassar also followed the *aqdatuang* [back to Sawitto] as it became known and [the news was] was spread around that the *aqdatuang* had finished his bird hut.⁵⁶ Large numbers of people of Sawitto who lived in Makassar called to each other to go north to Sawitto and Suppaq. Then there were few people of Sawitto left in Makassar.

The *karaeng* asked: ‘Why is this so?’ The people of Gowa said: ‘Because the people of Sawitto have been allowed to hang up their bird huts.’⁵⁷ The messenger was then ordered to take the people of Sawitto who lived in Makassar back to Sawitto. *Karaeng* Madelloq was also taken down to [Sawitto] and was made as the *péttau*.⁵⁸ Now originally *karaeng* Madelloq was a person of Sawitto and Suppaq but behind him was Makassar. He lived permanently in Makassar. Before *karaeng* Madelloq only people of Suppaq and Sawitto ruled. Now behind *karaeng* Madelloq was Makassar. (ANRIM 76/19, pp. 157-160.)

Tradition 2: The fate of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata

The second tradition, which is just a few manuscript lines in length, was written down in the same manuscript as a version of the *aSS*. The function of this tradition, appears simply to set out what happened to Wé Lampé Wéluaq and her husband, La Cellaq Mata, and to explain the latter’s posthumous name: ‘our lord who has no jar’. This tradition also conveys a degree of anger at what happened to Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, which is evident to a Bugis reader.⁵⁹

As noted above, there is confusion in the *aSS* at the point where the two traditions combine. It is possible that the information contained in the tradition presented below, was part of an earlier version of the *aSS*.⁶⁰

54 Unless my words are wrong: *rékkuwa sisala winru adakkuq*.

55 To rule without interference.

56 Now held power.

57 Have been given back their authority.

58 *Péttau*: literally, ‘the bund between the rice fields’.

59 Muhlis Hadrawi, personal communication, 2002.

60 A transliteration of the text is given in Appendix C.

Translation

This explains about Wé Lampé Wéluaq and what happened with the *karaeng* of Gowa, who was called Tunipalangga and who only had one tooth at the top of his mouth and one tooth at the bottom. [His mouth] looked like a forked branch and was opened wide [in anger] by the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, called La Cellaq Mata.

The *karaeng* of Gowa was angry and he attacked Suppaq and Sawitto. Suppaq and Sawitto were defeated. Then the *karaeng* of Gowa took our lady Wé Lampé Wéluaq and then he crushed her [like rice flour]. The *karaeng* also captured the husband of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and made him into food for his war dogs. That is why [people] tried to find and to keep those war dogs. For this reason, [La Cellaq Mata] was given the title 'our lord who has no jar', because his grave was the stomach of dogs. (ANRIM 30/16, p. 116.)

Tradition 3: Haji Paewa's tradition

The third of these traditions has also made the transition from oral to written form. As opposed to the two traditions presented above, we know who recorded this oral tradition (or perhaps traditions), and perhaps also his purpose for doing so. It was recorded by Haji Paewa, a well-known *palontaraq*, who used it as source material in the 1960s to write a chronicle of Sawitto, from the kingdom's origins through to the 1950s. As with the writers of the chronicles of Gowa, Talloq, Boné and Wajoq in the seventeenth century, Haji Paewa used oral traditions, *attoriolong* texts, and oral history to create his work. Writing in the 1960s, Haji Paewa also had printed sources available to him, which enabled him to include a brief reference to Antonio Paiva's visit to Suppaq, and to use recently printed sources about the war of independence against the Dutch. At the same time, it is evident that Haji Paewa was not aware of the *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto, or perhaps did not have access to it.

Unlike the *aSS*, Haji Paewa's tradition does not appear to have been directly committed to paper in its spoken form but was edited in order to integrate the tradition into the overall work. Whether he collected more than one version is not known. Haji Paewa also used his knowledge, which may have been derived from either manuscripts or printed sources, to write out the names of certain individuals in full, such as I Manriogawu *daeng* Bonto Tonipalangga (Tunipalangga) Ulaeng *daeng* Bonto, who would normally appear in such texts simply as Tunipalangga.

What is evident is that when Haji Paewa collected this tradition its form and function had been transformed. The tradition still told of Sawitto's (though not Suppaq's) defeat by Gowa, but its functions reflected mid-twentieth century concerns, the most important of which was to explain the origin of the name Pinrang. Before the early twentieth century, Pinrang had been a

settlement of little significance. However, following the defeat of Sawitto by the Dutch in 1905, Pinrang was made the capital of the *onderafdeeling*, which was created from Sawitto, Alitta, central Suppaq, Batu Lappaq and Kassaq. After Indonesian independence, Pinrang continued to be the capital of the *kabupaten*. The tradition serves to legitimize this position in the present by making specific historical claims.

Some traces of the tradition found in the *aSS*, and the story of the fates of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, are still recognizable in Haji Paewa's version. As in the *aSS*, the boat of the *karaeng* still brings riches from Gowa, but no longer as a gift for Wé Lampé Wéluaq. The content of the boat is now money, which is used to lure the people of Sawitto, in particular the two champions of Sawitto, Toléngo and Tokippang, from their fort. Likewise, the ruler of Sawitto (who in this version is Palétéang) and his wife still suffer, but in Haji Paewa's version this has been reduced to simple humiliation: the *aqdatuang* was forced to chop wood, and his wife to pound rice, rather than herself being pounded. The capture of the *aqdatuang*, his torture and the eventual return, have remained because they are able to serve twentieth century functions. When the *aqdatuang* returns to Sawitto, the people observe a change in his appearance because of his ordeal in Gowa. The *aqdatuang* decrees that the place where this change was first observed by the people be called Pinra-pinraé (a change, B.), which later became shortened to Pinrang. The settlement is therefore inferred with a long historical standing born from a heroic event. Haji Paewa's tradition also serves to provide origins for other important places in Sawitto, such as Lérang-lérang and Corawali. The former is of importance because it was the last site of the capital of Sawitto before Dutch rule, and the regalia of Sawitto is kept there today. The latter is the site of Sawitto's pre-Islamic palace centre (known as Tomaruli), which would have been the capital at the time the kingdom's defeat by Gowa. Today it is an important *keramat*. Toléngo and Tokippang, the champions of Sawitto who play a prominent role in this tradition, can be found in other unrelated stories found today in Pinrang. Some traditions claim that these two champions fought with the ruler of Sawitto, La Sinrang, against Dutch rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. In other traditions they appear as brothers of the first ruler of Sawitto (see Chapter IV).⁶¹

Translation

The *karaeng* of Gowa, who was called I Manriogawu *daeng* Bonto Tonipalangga Ulaweng *daeng* Bonto, wanted to go and attack the lands on the edge [of the sea].⁶² He wanted to defeat them and make them slaves, or make them tributaries.

⁶¹ The original text contains no paragraphs; a transliteration is given in Appendix C.

⁶² Suppaq and Sawitto.

[Now] because Sawitto's army was so strong in its fort, the army of Gowa could not defeat them directly. [The army of Gowa] tried several different ways [to defeat the army of Sawitto], but the fort of the people of Sawitto could not be overcome because there were two champions of Sawitto [in the fort], called Toléngo and Tokippang. The enemies could not defeat these two champions of the people of Sawitto.

Two or three times Gowa attacked but they could not be defeated. [Then] Bontolempangang⁶³ said: 'It may be [a] good [idea] *karaeng*, if money is scattered [around] the fort of the people of Sawitto.' So the *karaeng* departed and later returned to Sawitto, bringing money in his boat. When [the *karaeng* and his army] arrived in Sawitto it was midnight. By chance, it was the night of the market in Sawitto. The *karaeng* ordered money to be scattered in front of the fort of the people of Sawitto, then went down and returned to his boat.

The crowds of people who bustled their way to the market stopped to pick up the money because they wanted to buy things. This went on until the fort was also overcome [by the Gowa army]. Then the fort was flattened [by Gowa's army]. There was no one inside the fort because they all had gone to the market to spend the money. Even Toléngo and Tokippang had gone to the market. When the Makasar people knew that the fort of the people of Sawitto was empty then they also flattened it. The *karaeng* ordered [his army] to go inside [the fort]. The Makasar people went straight up into the fort, took the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, and brought him to the *karaeng*. It happened that Sawitto was made as a tributary of Gowa. When Toléngo and Tokippang returned, the *aqdatuang* was not found because he had been taken by the *karaeng*. Toléngo and Tokippang then endeavoured to pursue [the Makasar people]. They called some soldiers who would be comrades in life or death [in the attempt] to save the *aqdatuang*.

That is the reason why the people of Sawitto do not want to carry out any official functions on the day of the market in Sawitto.

So, Toléngo together with Tokippang went to Gowa, and were followed by the group of soldiers. After they had arrived in Gowa they saw the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto chopping wood in the yard [of the palace of Gowa]. They also saw his wife pounding rice in the rice barn. Toléngo and Tokippang felt sadness as they saw the *aqdatuang* and his wife made to do this by the Makasar people.

Toléngo and Tokippang then went up before the *karaeng somba* and requested mercy for the land of Sawitto. Their request was received by the *karaeng* and Sawitto was made a tributary. The *karaeng* took tribute [from Sawitto]. Toléngo and Tokippang, together with the group of soldiers, also never stopped seeking a way to free the *aqdatuang* and his wife. After Toléngo, Tokippang and their group had acknowledged the defeat and status [of Sawitto], and this had been received by the *karaeng*, Toléngo then asked the *karaeng*: 'What is that object in front of the *karaeng*?' The *karaeng* replied: 'It is called the parents-in-law killer. This other one is called the son/daughter-in-law killer.' Toléngo and Tokippang each borrowed one of the knives and attached them to their waists, for they were just very ordinary knives. Toléngo and Tokippang used these knives to make holes in all of the boats of the *karaeng*. That was how the two champions of [Sawitto] deceived the *karaeng somba*.

⁶³ An advisor to the ruler of Gowa.

They were also trusted [by the *karaeng*] because they had drunk palm wine, which had been stirred with a dagger,⁶⁴ and the *karaeng* had already taken tribute.

After all was ready, Tokippang and Toléngo collected the *aqdatuang* and escaped, taking [him] back [to Sawitto]. After the *karaeng* learned of this, he ordered [his men] to pursue the two of them. But there was not one boat of the *karaeng* that could pursue, for when they reached the open sea they all sank together with their crews. After the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto had arrived [in Sawitto], after the escape back to Sawitto by boat, the people of Sawitto were filled with joy and came together to express their happiness to the *aqdatuang*. [But] they saw a change in him; his appearance had changed and had become pale. They said: 'The appearance of our *aqdatuang* has changed greatly.' The *aqdatuang* said: 'Give this place the name Pinra-pinraé.⁶⁵ The *aqdatuang* and his wife had changed greatly and they were like people who had been very sick. So the people of Sawitto agreed to make their lord and lady rest. Pinra-pinraé is called Pinrang to this day. The people of Sawitto took their lord and lady to another place. They took them across the river. The people of Sawitto cried out, saying: 'Do not let tears trickle down [your cheeks], *aqdatuang*.' The *aqdatuang* said: 'Give this place the name Lérang-lérang.'⁶⁶ Not one person shed tears when they saw the *aqdatuang*. So the *aqdatuang* stayed and was looked after by the people of Sawitto. After the *aqdatuang* had recovered his health, his appearance once again shone. The *aqdatuang* said again about the place he was in: 'Give this place the name Cora-coraé.' This [place] became [known as] Corawali.⁶⁷ After the health of the *aqdatuang* had returned the people of Sawitto made an agreement to inaugurate their lord as their *arung* again. That [place] where the inauguration [of the *aqdatuang*] by the people took place was given the name Mallékana.⁶⁸ When the *aqdatuang* was old, he made a request, [saying]: 'Make the name of this place the same as my name so that I will be remembered by my descendants, so there will be a memorial.'⁶⁹ (HP pp. 11-3.)

Tradition 4: A story from the oral register

The tradition about the defeat of Suppaq and Sawitto by Gowa can still be found in the oral register (see also below). This oral tradition, although just a few sentences in length, shows a closer association with the version of the story in the *aSS* than with the version collected by Haji Paewa. The broad outline of the story is still recognizable but the main function of the tradition appears to be to explain the origins of the title of the ruler of Sawitto, *aqdatuang*.

⁶⁴ This act implies that the two champions had sworn an oath of allegiance to the *karaeng*.

⁶⁵ The origin of the name Pinrang.

⁶⁶ *Lérang-lérang*: 'to trickle' or 'to roll down'.

⁶⁷ *Cora*: 'to have light' or be 'bright'. *Macorawali*: 'light all around'.

⁶⁸ *Mallékana*: 'inauguration' or 'installation' [of a ruler]. Presumably the place where the rulers of Sawitto were inaugurated in the nineteenth century.

⁶⁹ The text is referring to the place Palétéang (crossing, B.), which is located a few kilometres north of the town Pinrang.

The storyteller, who was from the northern part of Pinrang, had received this tradition orally. While he considered it possible that it may have been written down in a *lontaraq* text, he had never seen, nor was he aware of, a written version. However, it is possible that this tradition is derived from a spoken summary of a written text, such as the *aSS*.

Translation

The *karaeng* of Gowa was angry with the ruler of Sawitto because he would not let the *karaeng* marry his daughter. Gowa attacked Sawitto and Suppaq, and they were defeated. The *karaeng* tortured and murdered the ruler of Sawitto. Later, the *karaeng* sent the son of the ruler of Sawitto back to Sawitto to become king. After that the rulers of Sawitto were called *aqdatuang*, which means to have been sent.⁷⁰ (I.68.)

Tradition 5: Modern print and oral dissemination of tradition

Some 20 years after Haji Paewa had written down the version, or versions, of the tradition he had collected, the local government of Pinrang published a book entitled *Sejarah lahirnya kabupaten daerah tingkat II Pinrang* (The origin and history of the Pinrang regency). One of the sources used to write the early sections of this book was the *lontaraq* about Sawitto written by Haji Paewa. The oral tradition collected by Haji Paewa plays a very important role in this book and is summarized under a section entitled *Asal usul nama Pinrang* (the origins of the name Pinrang). The book itself is little known in *kabupaten* Pinrang but has been read by a few local government officials who have an interest in local history. While carrying out fieldwork in *kabupaten* Pinrang, I was told the tradition of the origin of the name Pinrang by eleven different informants; two of these were government officials who had read *Sejarah lahirnya kabupaten daerah tingkat II Pinrang*, while the remaining nine had received the tradition orally. Of these nine, just two were aware that the tradition they had heard came from a book, while the other seven believed the tradition had been transmitted from the oral register, an oral tradition. Through further inquiry, with one exception, I was able to trace back the telling of each tradition to local government officials who, having read this section of the book, had re-disseminated the tradition orally. This demonstrates that whether a tradition is written down in *lontaraq* or printed in Latin script, the most effective means of dissemination is still the oral register.

⁷⁰ The word *aqdatuang* actually means 'to become a *datu*' and the storyteller has assumed that the title of the ruler of Sawitto is derived from the word *aqdituang*, which can mean '[something] that has been sent'.

CHAPTER III

A historical perspective on the geography and peoples of the Ajattappareng region

Introduction

Since 1600, there have been important changes in the physical geography of the Ajattappareng region. Some have been relatively recent, such as the dramatic increase in the number of commercial fish and prawn farms in coastal areas, and the opening up of more land for wet-rice farming, both of which have destroyed important archaeological sites. However, the most important change in the physical geography of the Ajattappareng region concerns the River Saddang, which two early twentieth century Dutch sources correctly argue underwent a change of course at some time in the nineteenth century. The evidence for this change in the course of River Saddang is presented in detail below.

The River Saddang played a major role in agriculture, trade and communication, and functioned as a waterway that connected the lowland coastal areas of the Ajattappareng region to the hill and mountainous areas to the north. Identifying and reconstructing its former course is central to understanding the pre-seventeenth century settlement patterns and political and economic organization and development of the western part of the Ajattappareng region. The political and economic role of the River Saddang, and other rivers in the Ajattappareng region, such as the Binagakaraeng and Bila rivers, will also be examined.

Other features of the physical geography that require investigation are the central lakes, namely Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng. Christian Pelras (1996:63) argues that in the sixteenth century, a vast, deep single lake occupied the central area of the South Sulawesi peninsula. Had such a lake existed in the sixteenth century, much of central Sidénréng and most of Rappang, areas where (as I will show) pre-sixteenth century settlements were located, would have been inundated with water.

The second half of this chapter focuses on the peoples and languages of Ajattappareng. The region is home to a number of culturally and linguisti-

cally diverse peoples, the most populous and culturally dominant being the Bugis. The cultural and ethnic diversity of this region today is much less pronounced than it would have been in the period before 1600. I attempt to convey something of the pre-modern linguistic and cultural diversity of the region by using a variety of sources, such as linguistic studies, local ethnolinguistic perceptions, archaeological data and oral and written traditions. These sources are further used to argue that in the period before 1600, the ruling elite in some highland areas were profoundly influenced by Bugis cultural practices, and that there was a southward movement of highland peoples down to the low hills and lowland areas of the Ajattappareng region as a consequence of increased economic and cultural interaction with the lowland Bugis after 1300.

The central lakes

Christian Pelras (1996:61-2) argues that before the thirteenth century the east coast of the South Sulawesi peninsula was connected to the west coast by way of a waterway that enabled sea-going vessels to sail directly from the Gulf of Bone to the Makassar Straits. The two points of entrance and exit for this waterway would have been around the present-day mouth of the Cenrana river on the east coast and just above Suppaq on the west coast. The central area of this waterway would have covered a vast area, occupying much of the Walannae and Saddang depression, and would have placed most of present-day *kabupaten* Soppeng, Sidrap, Pinrang and much of *kabupaten* Wajo under water.

The evidence Pelras presents for this hypothetical waterway is based on his reading of the La Galigo epic literature, in which boats (he maintains) sail from one side of the peninsula to the other, and on a well-known oral tradition that does indeed tell of an ancient waterway connecting the east and west coasts of the peninsula. Variants of this tradition can be found in many Bugis and Massenrempulu areas of South Sulawesi. I myself have collected many: some are simple statements such as: 'According to older people, all of this area was once sea'; others are more elaborate, and have become combined with various origin traditions.

The existence of oral traditions that tell of an ancient waterway may, just possibly, be derived from the time when the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of South Sulawesi first arrived in the peninsula, about 3,500 years ago (Bellwood 1997:229). At this time sea levels were perhaps 5 to 7 meters higher measured at the eastern edge of Lake Tempe.¹ However, geomor-

¹ Whitten et al. 1987:29; Caldwell and Lillie 2004:265. Pollen analysis of two parallel cores

phological work by Ian Caldwell and Malcolm Lillie (2004) on the western edge of Lake Tempe found no evidence of a permanent lake bed beyond the present lake's boundary, which suggests that the present-day fluctuations of the lake's water level has long been established, and that from this point westward the landscape was much as it is today. Furthermore, Lake Tempe is not a permanent lake but a floodplain for the river Bila when its exit to the sea is blocked in May by high water levels in the Walennae river, which shares the former river's exit to the sea via the River Cenrana.²

Pelras (1996:63-5) argues that after the thirteenth century this putative waterway began gradually to disappear and, by the sixteenth century, there remained a single, deep and very large lake, an 'inner sea', that occupied the Tempe/Walannae depression. Over time, this single large lake of the sixteenth century was transformed into three smaller and shallower lakes, Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya, as a consequence of large quantities of alluvial silt being deposited by the Cenrana, Walannae and Saddang rivers.

Pelras's evidence (1996:63) for this post-1300 scenario is derived from scattered European sources dating from the mid-sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. The earliest is a letter from a Portuguese adventurer Manuel Pinto, who in 1545, sailed to Suppaq together with Vicente Viegas, a Portuguese priest, as part of a mission that aimed to instruct several South Sulawesi rulers in Christian teachings and to spread the Catholic faith. In 1546, the mission had to make a hurried departure to avoid conflict with local Bugis rulers, who had discovered that a daughter of the *datu* of Suppaq was aboard the Portuguese ship and intended to elope with a Portuguese officer (see Chapter V). Pinto, who may have been sick at the time the mission departed (Schurhammer 1980:252 n. 21), was left behind. In a letter to the Bishop of Goa, India, dated 1548,³ Pinto states that having remained in Suppaq for about eighteen months, he travelled to Sidénréng, where he stayed for eight months as a guest of the ruler (Schurhammer 1980:628). He says that the city of the ruler of Sidénréng was located on the shores of a lake on which were 'many large and small *praus*'.⁴ He estimated the size of the lake to have been about 20 leagues in length and 4 to 5 leagues in width (about 110 kilometres in length and 22 to 27.5 kilometres in width),⁵ and claimed that a river flowed

taken just east of Singkang reveals that mangrove vegetation, and therefore saline intrusion, extended as far inland as the eastern shores of Lake Tempe between about 7,100 to 2,600 years ago (Gremmen 1990:129).

² Personal communication, Ian Caldwell, 2007.

³ Georg Schurhammer (1980:627-9) presents a full English translation. Presumably Pinto felt it apposite on his return to Malacca to explain his actions to the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa.

⁴ In the Malay and Indonesian languages, *perahu* is a general word for boat, often inferring a small wooden river or coastal boat.

⁵ According to Schurhammer (1980:672), a Portuguese maritime league (*legua marítima*) before 1835 was equivalent to 5.5 kilometres. An ordinary Portuguese league was 6.1 to 6.6 kilometres.



Photograph 7. The channel between Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng
(end of dry season)

from this lake for a month before emptying in the Bamda Sea to the east. Pinto's estimate of the length of the lake is a wild exaggeration, as it would place much of Sidénréng, Rappang, and the central area of Soppéng under water. His estimate of the lake's width is, however, more reasonable, and broadly corresponds with Pinto's approximation of Sidénréng being located 6 leagues (33 kilometres) within the interior of the land. The distance from the pre-Islamic capital of Suppaq to Watang Sidénréng is about 27 kilometres when measured in a straight line, while the distance to Watang Sidénréng from the western coastline is 31 kilometres. Figure 3 shows Pinto's estimate of the lake's size and his estimate of the distance to Sidénréng in relation to the central lakes as they are found today.⁶ The river Pinto referred to is identifiable as the Cenrana river, which, as Caldwell and Lillie (2004:262) have noted, takes a day to reach the sea, rather than a month.

Caldwell and Lillie (2004) conclude that Pinto may have witnessed the annual expansion of lakes Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya, which takes place

⁶ It is not clear from Pinto's estimate of the lake whether its length was orientated north-south and its breadth east-west, as depicted in figure 3. This is, however, the most probable orientation as during the annual wet season expansion of the lakes (see figures 3.1 and 3.2), the major points of expansion are to the north and the south. A north-south length and east-west breadth also corresponds with Pinto's estimation of the distance from Suppaq to Sidénréng.

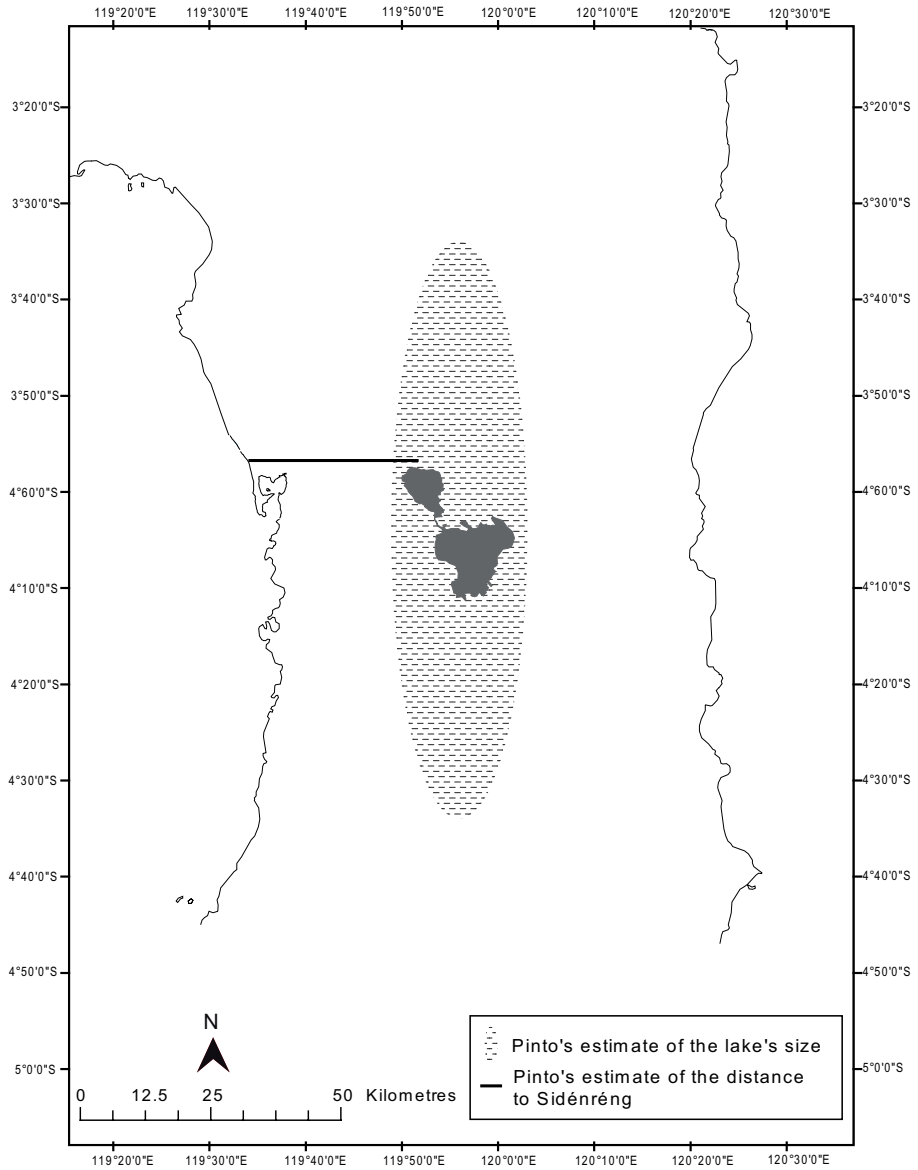


Figure 3. Manuel Pinto's estimate of the lake

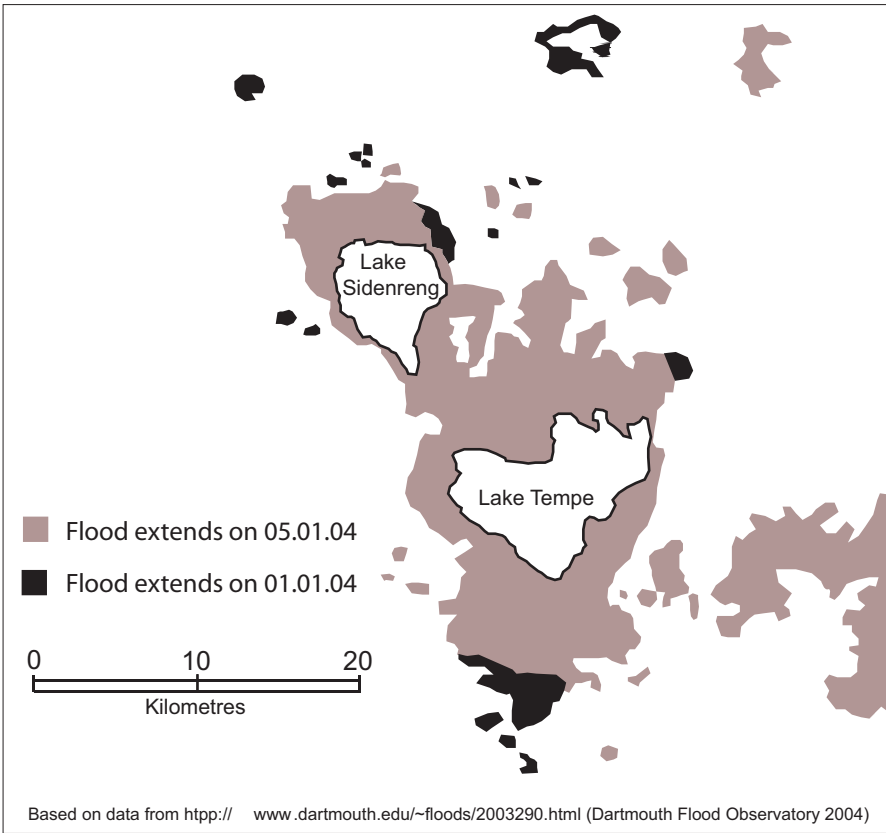


Figure 3.1. Extent of flooding around lakes Tempe and Sidenreng in December 2003 and January 2004

during the wet season from April to June. During these months these three lakes can merge into a vast, single body of water, spreading over an area of 35,000 hectares (Whitten et al. 1987:255) (see figures 3.1 and 3.2). As a resident of Wetteq in southern Sidrap explained to me, 'it becomes just like a single great lake' (I.64). This is, in fact, how ecologists view the Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya lakes. In the dry season, the contraction is equally astonishing, as the surface area of Lake Tempe can shrink to just 1,000 hectares (Whitten et al. 1987:255). Between August and February, the average size is about 14,500 hectares.⁷ Lakes Tempe and Sidenreng are connected all year round via a

⁷ *Suara Publik*, Edisi Januari 2003, 'Selamatkan Danau Tempe sekarang', http://www.suara-publik.org/Cetak/Edisi_11/index.html.

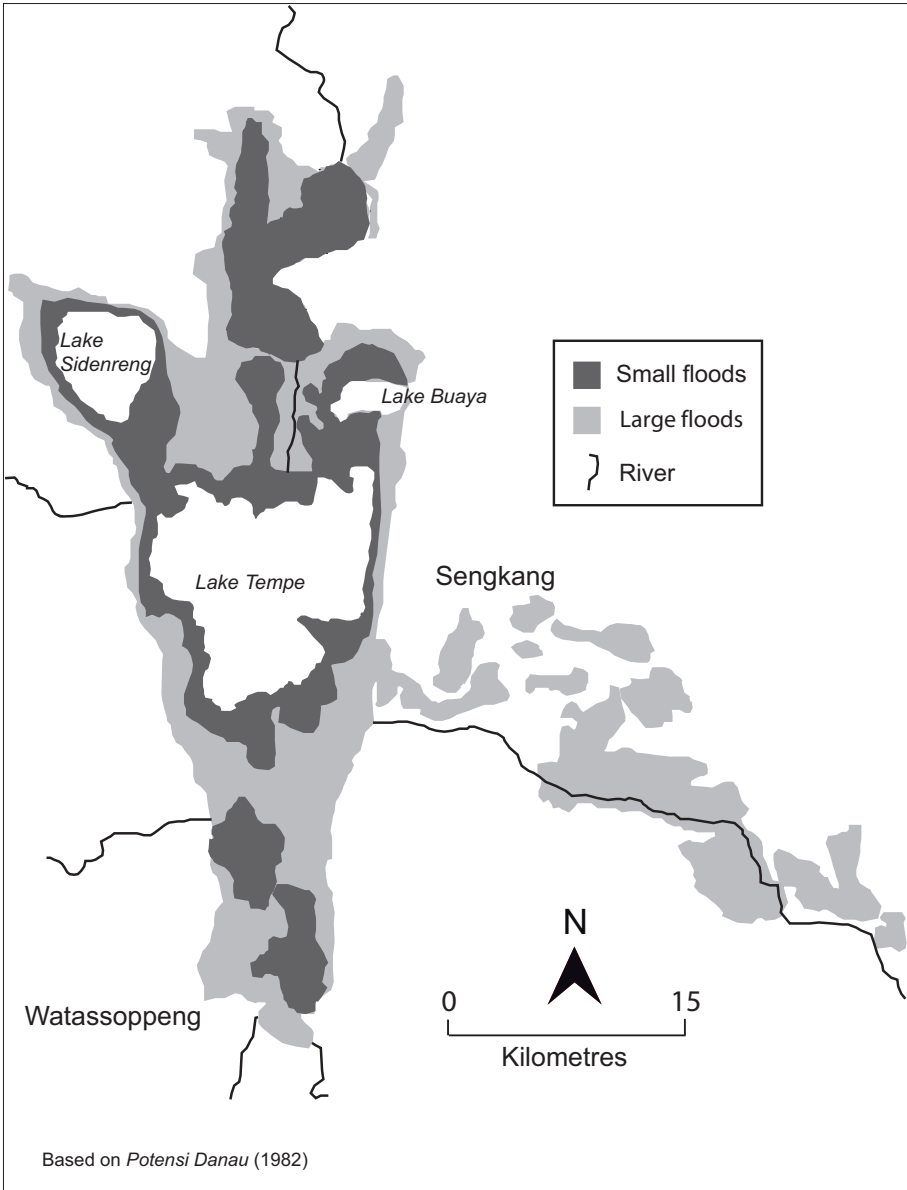


Figure 3.2. Small and large wet season floods around lakes Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya

channel, which (even in the driest months) is a constant zone of activity as small boats transport people and goods between *kabupaten* Sidrap, Wajo and Soppeng. The Austrian traveller Ida Pfeiffer travelled along this channel on the 3 May 1853, as part of a nine hour journey from Sidénréng to Wajoq. She estimated the channel to be a mile and a half long (2.4 kilometres).⁸ On figures 3 and 3.3, the length of the channel is about 2.8 kilometres.

Recent archaeological evidence suggests that the annual expansion and contraction of lakes Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya has changed little since the thirteenth to fourteenth century. In 2001, I located five historical burial grounds and habitation sites in central Sidénréng containing ceramic and stoneware sherds dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, all of which lay within 1.5 to 7.5 kilometres of Lake Sidenreng's shores (see figure 3.3).

The existence of these habitation and burial sites dating from as early as the thirteenth to fourteenth century show conclusively that Lake Sidenreng could have been little larger in the fourteenth century than it is today. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the annual wet season expansion of the lakes today covers a greater surface area than was the case some 600 years ago, as Caldwell and Lillie suggest (2004:269). Residents of Watang Sidénréng say that in recent years the annual expansion of Lake Sidenreng has extended beyond the pre-Islamic burial ground in Watang Sidénréng. This burial ground, which dates to the thirteenth to fourteenth century, would have been an important centre of ritual activity, and one may assume that the people who first interred their dead here would have ensured that the site lay beyond the furthest point of the lake's annual wet-season expansion.

Another piece of evidence that suggests the wet season expansion of Lake Sidenreng has increased in recent times is the abandonment of the historical settlement of Guru. According to local residents in Pokkoto, Guru was abandoned some 50 years ago because the village had become subject to increased flooding from Lake Sidenreng. Following its abandonment, the inhabitants of Guru established a new village called Pokkoto, several kilometres to the west.

The increase in the annual expansion of the lakes is most probably a consequence of a build up of silt, which has made the lakes shallower over time. The result is that excess water is spread over a wider surface area, and in recent times this inundation has increasingly become a problem. In 2002, eight people were killed and 15,795 houses and 7,669 hectares of rice fields were inundated. In 2003, 1,097 hectares of rice land were lost because of the flooding (*Jakarta Post* online, 16 July 2002; *Fajar* online, 25 May 2003).

In conclusion, the lake that Pinto claims to have seen in the mid-sixteenth

⁸ Pfeiffer 1855:6-7. The journey took her across lakes Sidenreng and Tempe and then along the Cenrana river in a vessel she describes as 'a hollowed trunk of a tree'.

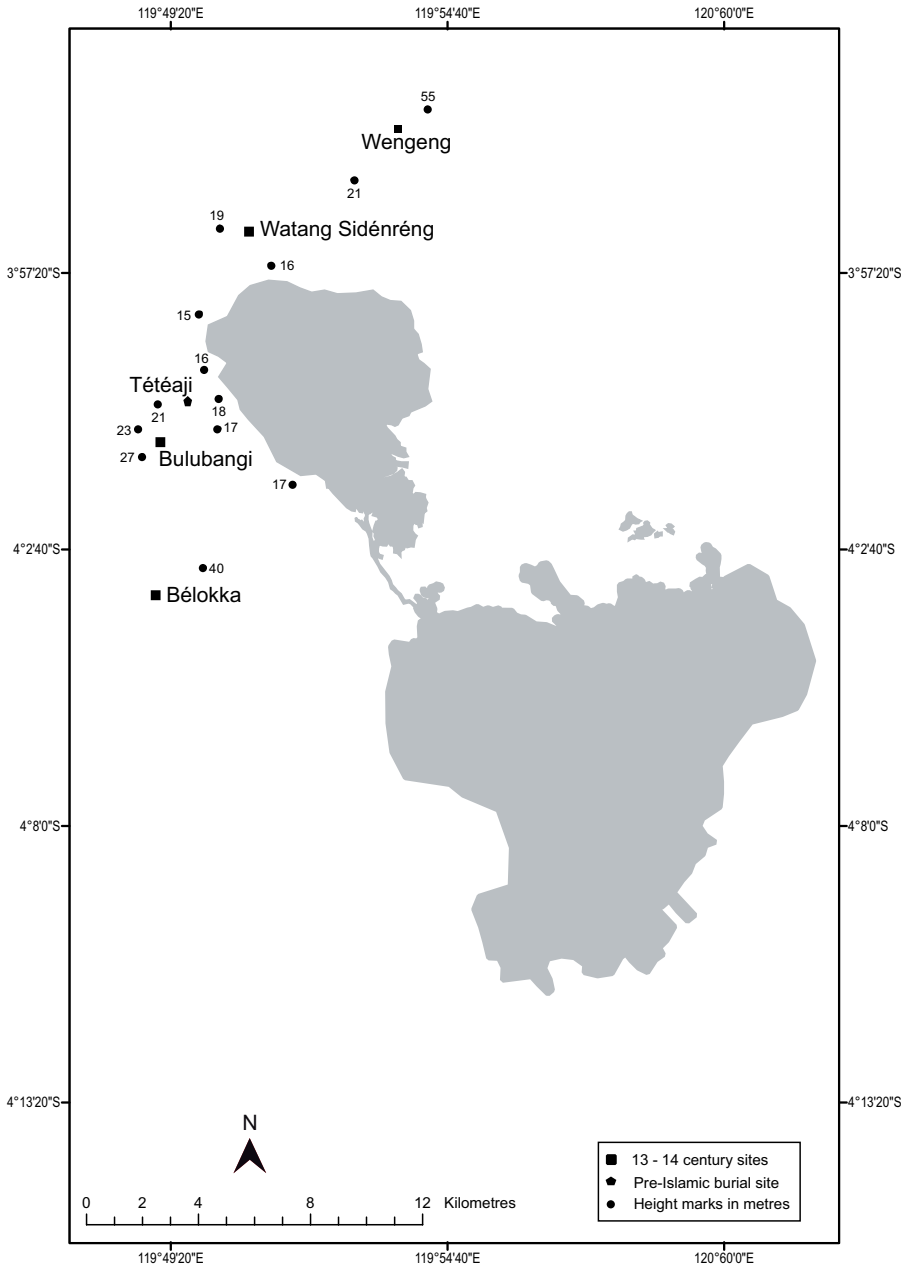


Figure 3.3. Pre-1600 archaeological sites in central Sidénréng

century was unlikely to have been any larger (or in the dry season smaller) than that it is today. As the lake system was deeper in the past, some of the 'many *praus*' that he says sailed upon this lake may possibly have been larger than those of today. Lakes Tempe and Sidenreng still function as waterways for transporting goods and people between *kabupaten* Sidrap, Wajo and Soppeng, and prior to the advent of roads and modern modes of transportation were probably utilized to a much greater degree. Oral history, dating to the first half of the twentieth century tells us that small boats, of the type still found on the lakes today, sailed from Lake Tempe up the Bila river in order to trade at the Bila market (see below).

The Saddang river system

The last several hundred years has seen a number of important changes in the Saddang river system in *kabupaten* Pinrang. The catalyst for these was a shift in direction of the River Saddang itself. As a consequence of this change of course, a number of important anabranches and a distributary of the River Saddang were also affected, and a fresh water lake in Alitta, which was fed by the Saddang dried up.⁹ In the first half of the twentieth century, Dutch colonial engineering works that aimed to improve irrigation and agriculture further affected the Saddang river system. In the 1970s, an irrigation canal was constructed to take water from the Saddang to *kabupaten* Sidrap for the purpose of irrigation and agriculture, which further reduced the volume of water passing through the Saddang river system.

Reconstructing the former course of the River Saddang is fundamental to understanding settlement patterns in the western part of Ajattappareng and the political and economic development of the Ajattappareng region.

The River Saddang

The Saddang is one Sulawesi's longest rivers and flows for about 150 kilometres. Rising in Rantepao in *kabupaten* Tana Toraja, it flows southwest through *kecamatan* Bonggakaradeng where it joins the Masupu river. The Saddang then continues southwards through *kabupaten* Enrekang, to be joined by the Mamasa river. At Kabere, the Saddang turns to the west and continues its course through *kabupaten* Pinrang before breaking up and flowing into the Makassar Straits at several points, the largest outlet being at Salimpolo, just south of Paria (figure 3.4).

⁹ An anabranch is a diverging branch of a river that re-enters the main stream. A distributary is a branch of a river that flows away from the main stream and does not rejoin it.

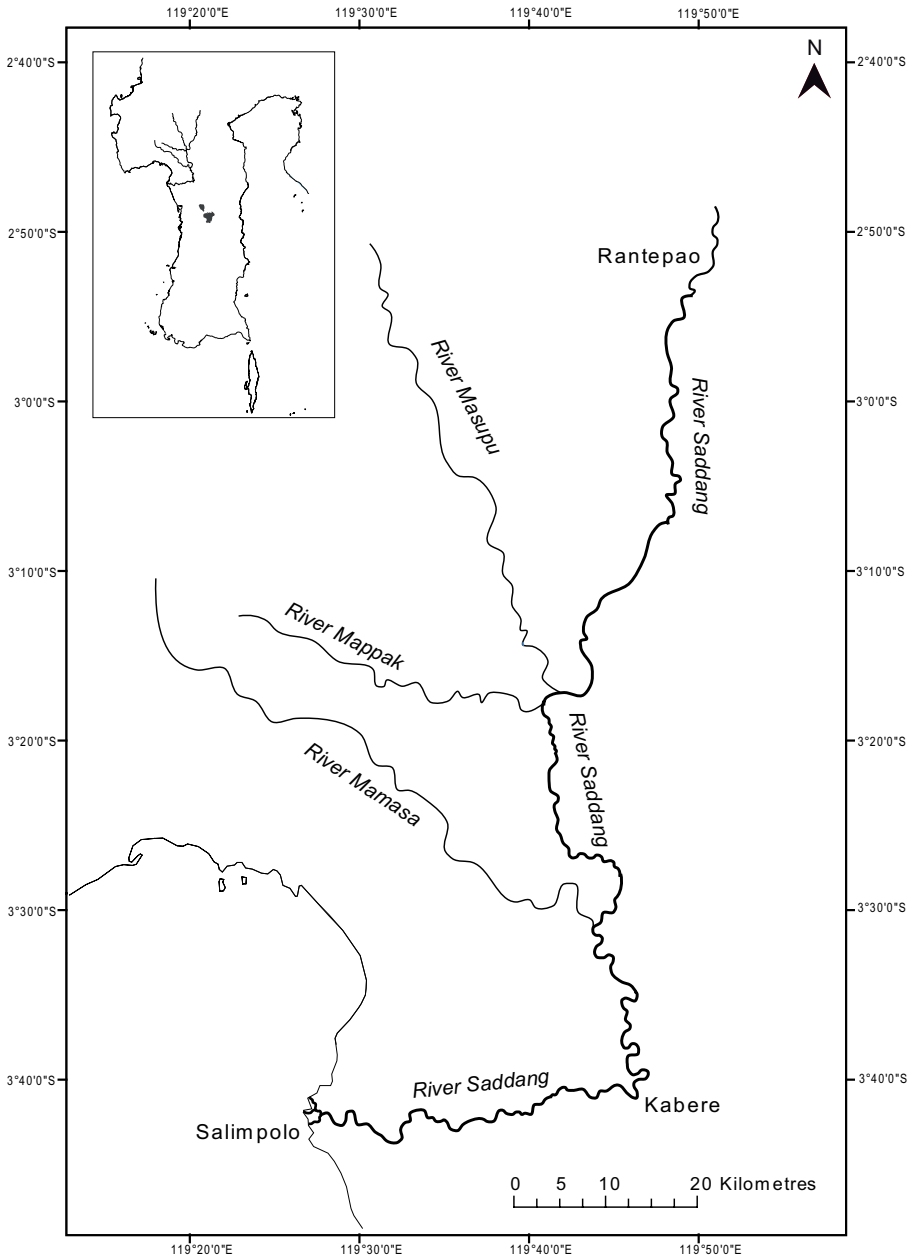


Figure 3.4. The present-day course of the River Saddang

There is a body of evidence that shows conclusively that about 150 years ago, the Saddang flowed through central Sawitto, and that its delta was about 25 kilometres south of Salimpolo, below Jampue, at a place called Sumpang Saddang. The evidence, presented below, is derived from European cartographic and geological sources dating from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, as well as my own geographic surveys of the region, and on oral history, oral tradition and written tradition. These show that the River Saddang formerly broke into two main branches, referred to here as the Saddang-Sawitto branch and the Saddang-Tiroang branch (after the Dutch geologist Eduard Abendanon (1915:927)). Both branches flowed southwards through *kabupaten* Pinrang.¹⁰ A third branch, which appears to have once functioned as a flood channel, travelled westwards along the present-day course of the Saddang. The third branch is referred to here as the Salimpolo branch.

The larger of the two south-flowing branches was the Saddang-Sawitto, which travelled through central Sawitto; the smaller Saddang-Tiroang flowed through eastern Sawitto and Alitta. Just north of Madimen was an anabranch of the Saddang-Tiroang, called the Madimen river, which flowed southwards before rejoining the Saddang-Tiroang just north of Alitta. At Alitta, the Saddang-Tiroang fed the former lake of Alitta, either flowing directly into the lake or simply feeding the lake via a natural channel. Six kilometres west of Alitta, at Pao, the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches remerged, and flowed westwards to Sumpang Saddang; the stretch of the river from Pao to Sumpang Saddang will be referred to as the Pao-Sumpang Saddang. Just east of Poliwali in Suppaq, a small distributary broke off from the Pao-Sumpang Saddang and flowed southwards. Together with several streams from the mountains to the west, it fed the Marauleng river, which emptied into the Bay of Suppa to the east of Marabombang in Suppaq. At Garesi, the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course split into two branches for about half a kilometre. The most southerly of these branches was known as the Garesi river. From Garesi, the river continued on to Sumpang Saddang, a name which translates as 'the mouth of the Saddang', where a delta formerly existed (see figure 3.12).

Much of the course followed by the Saddang-Sawitto, Saddang-Tiroang branches and their distributaries are still extant today but the volume of water that passes through these branches is negligible compared to the volume that they carried in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰ The account of the flow of the Saddang is written in the past tense; as will become clear below, most of these river branches still exist but are now merely distributaries.

The evidence for the Saddang's change of course

The earliest evidence that the Saddang once flowed through central Sawitto, and that its delta was once located about 25 kilometres south of its present position, comes from a sketch map drawn by T.H. Aubert, dated 1752. This map covers part of the western half of the peninsula, from Tanete to Mandar, and marks out the approximate territory of the kingdoms of Tanété, Barru, Suppaq, Sawitto, Alitta, the Mandar kingdoms, the western areas of Sidénréng and Soppéng, and part of the area known today as *kabupaten* Tana Toraja. Some of the data are evidently inaccurate, such as the position of Letta to the north of Mamasa, and the presence of a fresh water lake in Toraja, where there is none. For the Ajattappareng region, however, with one or two exceptions, Aubert's map contains fairly accurate toponymic information, and is more detailed than most nineteenth century maps (see figure 3.5).¹¹

Aubert's map shows just one branch of the Saddang, which travels southwards from the Enrekang region into Sawitto. On the map, the river passes between the capital of Sawitto and Alitta and then continues southwest, its course passing close to the lands of Beeloe (Bulu), Belawa (Béla-bélawa), Bangamea (Rangaméa), and Leerrung (probably Lérang), before flowing out into the Makassar Straits just below a settlement called Saddang, which can be equated with the present-day village of Sumpang Saddang. The settlements of Bulu, Rangaméa (now abandoned) and Lérang all appear on the tributary and domain list of Sawitto, while Bélawa is named by the Suppaq tributary and domain list. Aubert's sketch map locates these lands, with the exception of Bélawa, approximately where they are found today.¹²

Aubert's map also shows what is clearly the Marauleng river breaking off from the Saddang and flowing south to Suppaq. However, his map depicts this river as having two outlets: one to the south flowing into the Bay of Suppa (where it can be found today) and the other flowing westwards into the Makassar Straits, near to Perangki. This second outlet appears to be an error, as there is no physical evidence, or memory, of a river flowing into the Makassar Straits in this part of Suppaq. The Marauleng does have a second outlet into the Bay of Suppa about 600 metres north of its main outlet, and it is possible that Aubert has misplaced this branch.¹³

¹¹ All maps in this section and Appendix D are enlarged reproductions of European maps presented by Abendanon (1915, 1917-18: figures 71, 124, 131, 140, 141, 143, 145). In this section only the geographic areas of immediate interest are reproduced; the full maps are presented in Appendix D.

¹² Rangaméa was abandoned in the 1950s: its identification is based on information from local informants and ceramic evidence.

¹³ This outlet is drawn on figure B.18 in Appendix B. Today it is hardly visible, as most of its banks have been destroyed by fish and prawn farms. The mouth of the outlet is about 15 metres wide; there is no memory of it ever being navigated.

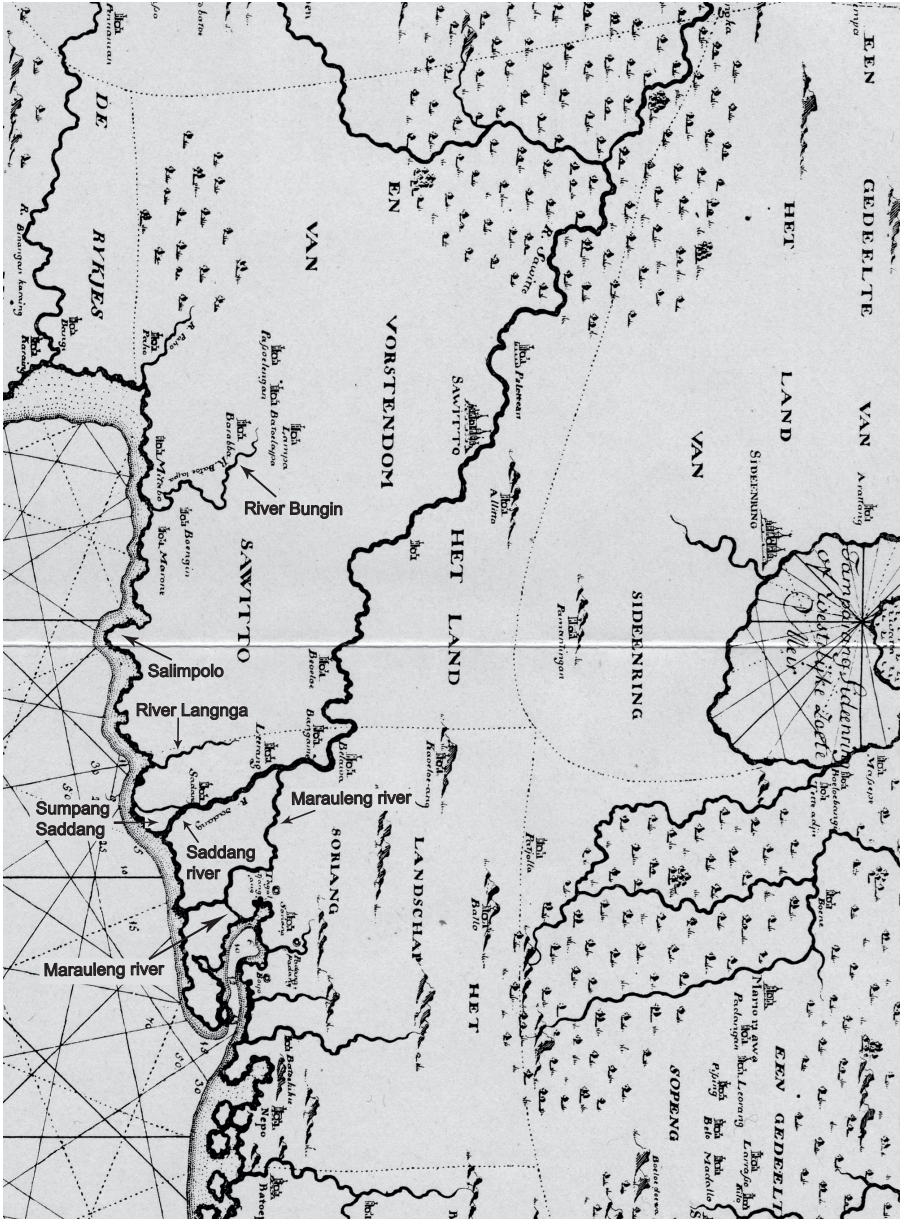


Figure 3.5. Aubert's sketch map

Just north of the Saddang, Aubert's map shows a small river, or stream, which is probably the Langnga river. Further to the north, the map's next two rivers are the Bungin and Binagakaraeng. The Salimpolo branch – the present-day course the River Saddang follows – does not appear on the map.

Later eighteenth century maps also show the Saddang flowing through central Sawitto and flowing into the Makassar Straits near Sumpang Saddang. A 1759 French map of the island of Sulawesi (figure 3.6) shows the river flowing into the Makassar Straits above Suppaq. As with Aubert's map, just one branch of the river is evident, and there is no river in the region of Salimpolo. Likewise, a late eighteenth century map also shows the mouth of the Saddang just above Suppaq, but no river at Salimpolo. On this map, the mouth of the Marauleng river is also clearly marked (figure 3.7).

Nineteenth century maps of Sulawesi, which are generally more accurate, depict a similar geographic terrain. A map dated 1842 (figure 3.8)¹⁴ shows the Saddang flowing southwards from the Toraja highlands to the Enrekang region, where it is joined by its tributary, the Mamasa. The Saddang is then depicted as travelling through central Sawitto before turning southwest and breaking into three branches (which appear to represent a delta) just below the settlement of Saddang. This map also shows the Marauleng river at Suppaq. As with those discussed above, the 1842 map does not show any river in the area of Salimpolo.

Two nineteenth century maps, dated 1848 and 1854, also show the Saddang flowing into the Makassar Straits just above Suppaq (figures 3.9 and 3.10). The 1854 map marks Lanriseng, a tributary of Sawitto that roughly corresponds to the position of the present-day settlement of that name. The map also shows a small river, or perhaps a stream, in the area of Salimpolo; this is probably the Salimpolo branch of the Saddang. To the north are shown the Binagakaraeng and Bungin rivers.

These cartographic sources all show just one branch of the River Saddang, the course of which appears to have followed the Saddang-Sawitto branch. Sources discussed below, however, inform us that the Saddang-Tiroang branch was an important waterway. The reason why these above maps do not show the Saddang-Tiroang branch are probably because it was the smaller of the two branches and located further inland.

It is not until the twentieth century that European maps begin to show the Saddang flowing along the course it follows today. This contrast with earlier maps can be seen in a Dutch map dating to 1916-1917 (figure 3.11).

To summarize, eighteenth and nineteenth century European cartographic sources consistently show the main course of the Saddang flowing

¹⁴ The name Sawitto on this map does not represent a single settlement but refers to the territory of Sawitto.



Figure 3.6. 1759 French map

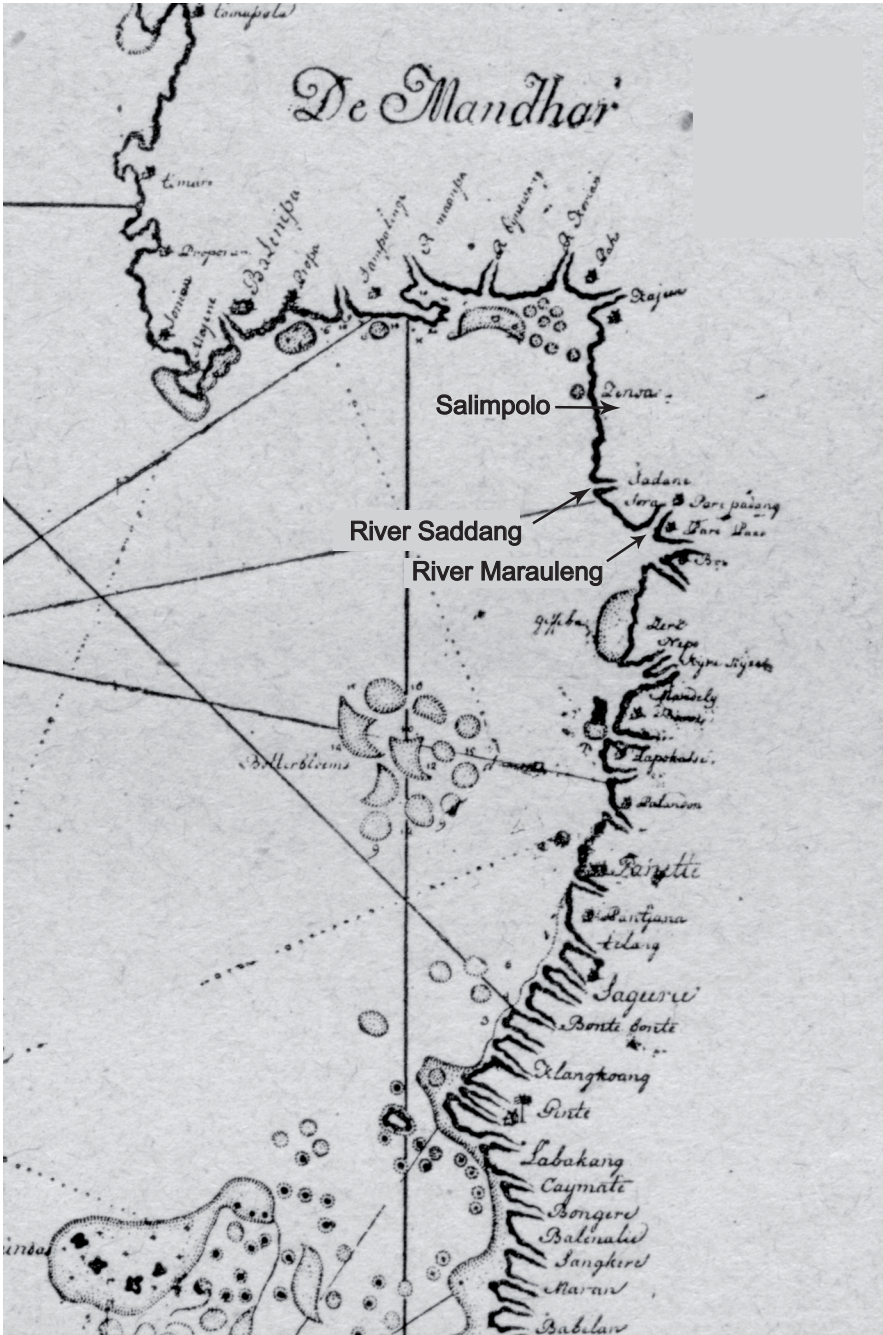


Figure 3.7. Late eighteenth-century Dutch map



Figure 3.8. 1842 Dutch map



Figure 3.9. 1848 Dutch map



Figure 3.10. 1854 Dutch map

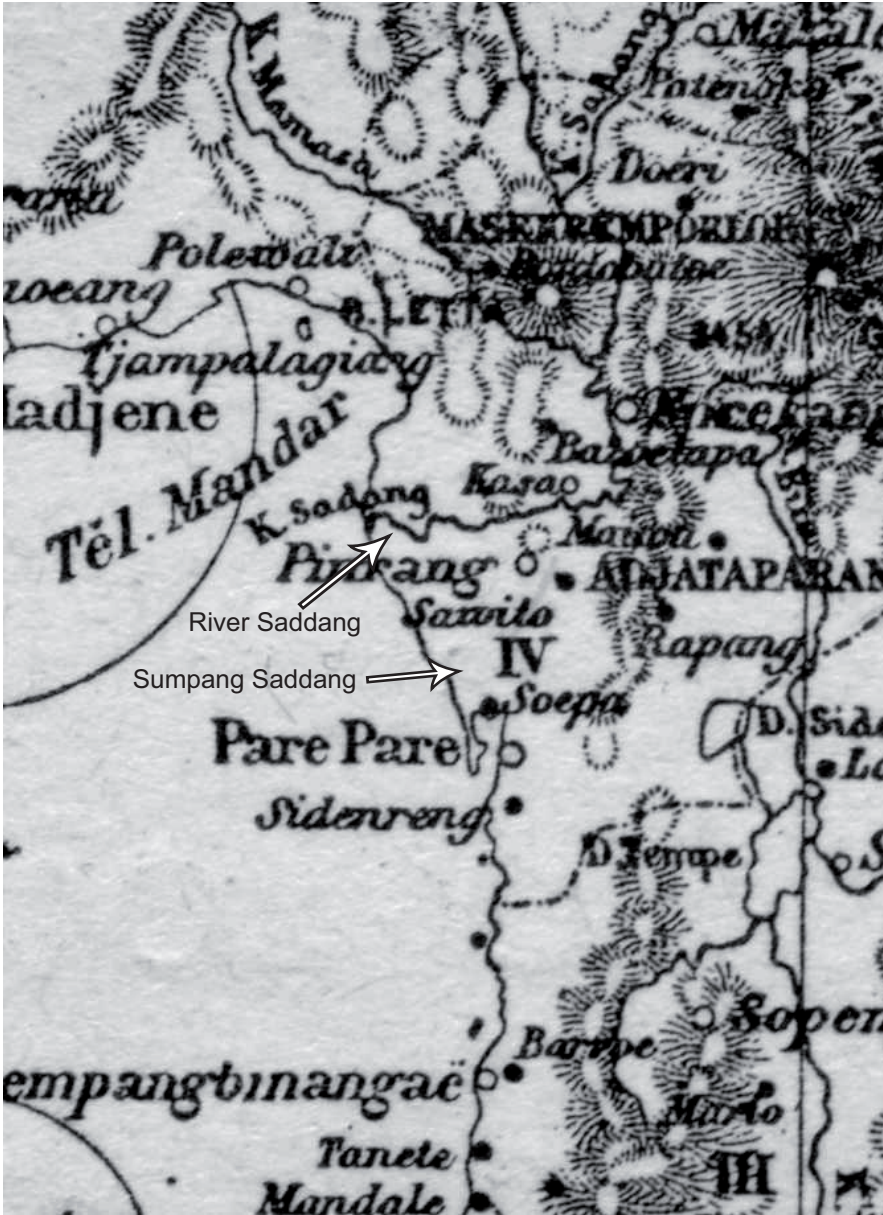


Figure 3.11. 1916-1917 Dutch map

through central Sawitto, and do not depict a large river flowing westwards to Salimpolo. These data correspond with oral information that Abendanon (1915:927-30) collected from the *arung* of Alitta in the early twentieth century. About 50 years before his conversation with Abendanon, the *arung* of Alitta had travelled to Paria to visit relatives. He told Abendanon that the only large river that he crossed during this journey was the Saddang-Sawitto branch of the River Saddang. He stated that the Salimpolo branch was at that time just a small stream for much of the year, through which a sizeable body of water flowed at times of flood. This information leads us to conclude that the course the Saddang follows today was little more than a flood channel in the mid-nineteenth century.

Present-day oral tradition from Lome, Lépangang and Paria also tell of a time when there was no large river flowing to Salimpolo. In Lome, which is located close to the northern bank of the present course of the Saddang, elderly informants recalled that their parents told them there was no large river until shortly before the Dutch brought the area under control at the beginning of the twentieth century (I.30; I.60). In Lépangang and Paria, located just above Salimpolo, elderly informants tell a similar story (I.33; I.89). Traditions that tell of the River Saddang flowing through central Sawitto are also well-known in the former territory of Sawitto.

Reconstruction of the former course of the Saddang river

The old Saddang delta

According to the *arung* of Alitta (Abendanon 1915:928, 930), the delta of the River Saddang near Jampue (the region in which the Sumpang Saddang is located) covered an area of about 200 metres). The former delta of the Saddang at Sumpang Saddang was studied by the Dutch geologist L. van Vuuren (1920:191-3), who found evidence to support the information provided by the *arung* of Alitta.

Since the 1970s, the area where the old Saddang delta was located has been transformed by the creation of commercial fish and prawn farms (see figure 1.4). During their construction, the excavator machines uncovered the remains of two boats, and a four-metre long anchor, about 500 metres north of the present river mouth at Sumpang Saddang.¹⁵ Eyewitnesses state that both boats were of South Sulawesi design, and that the largest was estimated to have been 30 metres long, similar in size to the boats which continue to arrive in the modern-day port of Suppa from as far away as Kalimantan.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, this anchor was melted down to make *parang* (bush knives) and was thus unavailable.

Further back from the area where the boats were found, the excavators also uncovered large pre-Islamic and Islamic burial grounds.¹⁶

The Saddang-Sawitto branch

Abendanon thought that the probable point where the Saddang-Sawitto branch turned to the south lay near the settlement of Benteng (Abendanon 1915:figure 70, p. 934). According to his reconstruction, this branch flowed southwards from Benteng, passing close to the lands of Ongkoe, Untoe and Pinrang before reaching Pao.

The junction at Benteng, where the Saddang-Sawitto branch would have turned southwards, no longer exists; according to elderly local residents, the branch was blocked off in the 1930s when the Dutch colonial government built a dam at Benteng (I.81). Parts of the branch to the south were also infilled at this time, while some stretches were used in the creation of an irrigation canal, called the *saluran induk* Sawitto (the main Sawitto irrigation canal), which stretches southwards from the Benteng dam to near Ongkoe, where it joins the Sawitto river, which was once the Saddang-Sawitto branch of the River Saddang.¹⁷ Early twentieth century Dutch maps dating to before the Benteng dam was built show a small river flowing southwards from Benteng, which appears to be a remnant of the Saddang-Sawitto branch of the river. From near Ongkoe, where the *saluran induk* Sawitto ends, to Pao, this branch is today called the Sawitto river.

In order to confirm that this river was once the main branch of the Saddang, and to ascertain something of the river's former size, I carried out surveys along several stretches of the Sawitto river's course. For much of the year, most of the Sawitto river is between 10 to 15 metres wide with a depth of between 1 to 2 metres.¹⁸ In many places the steep banks of the old Saddang-Sawitto branch are still visible, revealing that it was once a large deep river over 100 metres wide.¹⁹ Much of the former riverbed has been used by farmers, who plant cocoa and other crops in the rich alluvial soil. Oral tradition in Pinrang refers to this river as the *salog karaja* Sawitto (the great river of Sawitto, B.).

According to oral history, there were a number of branches that spread westwards from the Saddang-Sawitto branch. One of these branches, said to have been the largest, evidently flowed southwestwards close to a settlement

¹⁶ Despite the destruction of this area, some ceramic and stoneware sherds were recovered in a survey (see Appendix B).

¹⁷ The Benteng dam and irrigation canals were probably part of the large irrigation system under construction in this area in the 1930s, designed to irrigate 60,000 hectares of wet-rice land (Pelzer 1945:225).

¹⁸ This estimate of the river's depth is based on information from local informants.

¹⁹ At Sekkang, I measured the width of the old banks of the river at 112 metres.



Photograph 8. The old Saddang-Sawitto river bed, Sekkang, *kabupaten* Pinrang

called Saloq (river, B.). According to local informants, this river was 60 to 70 metres wide in the Saloq area and flowed southwest through Punia before rejoining the lower course of the Pao-Sumpang-Saddang just below Lérang (I.8; I.22). In Saloq, the course along which the river flowed is now used for wet-rice cultivation. In several places the river's banks are faintly visible, as are several wooded mounds that once formed islands as a consequence of braiding, and which are still referred to today as *libukang* (island, B.). The lower reaches of this branch is today known as the Jampue river, while the upper reaches around Saloq and Punia are little more than ditches which have been redirected in places for the purpose of irrigation. In Punia, the *kepala desa* (village head) Pak Musliman pointed out the course that this branch of the river had once followed.²⁰

The Saddang-Tiroang branch

Abendanon considered that the most probable point where the Saddang-Tiroang branch broke off from the main river was Libukang, located just above Barombong, some 5 kilometres east of Benteng. The Saddang-Tiroang then flowed southwest to Urung before joining another river branch that

²⁰ A *desa* is an administrative area, generally encompassing several settlements.

broke off from the Saddang further to the east, called the Malimpung river. The Saddang-Tiroang then flowed southwards to Tiroang, Bokki and Alitta where it flowed into the Alitta lake (Abendanon 1915:928, 941).

My own surveys in the Malimpung area reveal that the source of the Malimpung river is not the Saddang; instead, it rises in Batu Mila, the mountainous area to the east of Malimpung. Furthermore, there is no visible evidence, or memory, to suggest that the Malimpung river once joined the Saddang-Tiroang branch.

According to oral history from Urung and Benteng, there was a second branch of the river at Benteng, said to have been larger than the branch from Libukang, which flowed southeast and merged with the Libukang branch at Urung. Elderly local informants in Benteng and Urung, who considered this branch once to have been the main source of the Saddang-Tiroang branch, say that this southeast flowing branch was blocked off at Benteng in the 1930s, together with the Saddang-Sawitto branch, when the Benteng dam was constructed (I.34; I.81). The Dutch colonial authority later filled in the blocked branch, and a road was built along much of its former course. This branch from Benteng to Urung can be seen on Dutch maps dating to the early nineteenth century; the road that stands where this river once flowed is today flanked in several places by marshland.

From Urung, the Saddang-Tiroang appears to have travelled along the same course as the *saluran pembuang* Tiroang (the Tiroang drainage canal), a second irrigation canal built by the Dutch colonial government in the 1930s. This canal travels southwards from Urung and just south of Takalae connects to the Tiroang river, which flows through Libukang, Tonrong Saddang, Tiroang, then southeast to Bokki, where it is joined by the River Rappang, and Alitta. At Alitta, the Tiroang river formerly fed the old Alitta lake, before merging with the Saddang-Sawitto branch at Pao.

Just above Madimen, an anabranch of the Saddang-Tiroang, called the Madimen river, broke off, and flowed southwards through Madimen, before rejoining the Saddang-Tiroang just below Bokki. According to oral tradition, the Madimen river was once much larger, and I was shown a place where boats were said to have docked (I.23). Today, the Madimen river is between 8 to 10 metres wide for much of its length, but it is evident that further to the south it was once a larger river; local residents state that formerly it had a depth of about 10 metres.

My own surveys of the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the river found evidence to show that a greater volume of water once flowed through this branch. At Libukang (island, B.) the Saddang-Tiroang formerly broke into three branches for a short distance, which was perhaps caused by excessive sediment loading. As the name Libukang suggests, this created two islands before remerging. Today, water flows through just one of these branches all

year round. In the wet season water may flow through a second branch, but the third has been dry for as long as anyone can remember. In several places, such as Tonrong Saddang (which means 'the land between the Saddang'), residents stated that the Saddang-Tiroang was formerly over 50 metres wide, compared to about 20 metres today.

As a consequence of reduced water flowing through the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the river, the old Alitta lake has dried up. Van Braam Morris, who collected information about Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta in 1890, writes that the former lake of Alitta had been dry for almost ten years because of changes in the course of the River Saddang. According to Van Braam Morris (1892:194), the local population had already begun to plant rice in the now dried out lake basin, which at that time was the only area in Alitta where wet-rice was cultivated. Van Braam Morris estimated that the lake covered an area of about 50 *palen*.²¹ Assuming Van Braam Morris meant square *palen*, this converts to about 11,350 hectares and can be dismissed as either a wild speculation of the lake's former size or a typing error.²² According to information collected by Abendanon (1915:927), the Alitta lake was situated in a 4 metre deep depression, and before that lake dried up winds could cause large waves, resulting in boating accidents in which people had drowned.

Abendanon states that the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the river formerly flowed into Lake Alitta. However, his illustration, which shows the lake covering about 1,200 hectares, places the lake just north of the Saddang-Tiroang branch, which is outside the territory of Alitta (Abendanon 1915:934).

My own survey of Alitta and the surrounding area found that most of the depression where the former lake of Alitta would have been located is south of the Saddang-Tiroang branch in the territory of Alitta. This depression is about 3 kilometres in length and about 500 metres wide, covering an area of about 165 hectares. About 500 metres of this depression extends northwards over the Saddang-Tiroang branch, but the deepest part lies south of this river branch in Alitta and is bounded to the west and south by mountains.

Before the Saddang's change of course, the Saddang-Tiroang branch probably flowed through the northern part of Lake Alitta for much of the year. However, during the driest months of the year, the part of the lake that lay north of the Saddang-Tiroang branch may have dried up for a month or more, while the southern part of the lake was perhaps fed through one or more natural channels from the river. This process can still be seen at work today at the height of the wet season when water pours into the area south of the Saddang-Tiroang where the lake was once situated via several natural channels. At this time of the year, the lake reappears for a week or so, as

²¹ A square *paal* is about 227 hectares. One *paal* is equivalent to 1,50694 kilometres.

²² By contrast, Lake Sidenreng on figures 3 and 3.3 covers an area of about 4,660 hectares.



Photograph 9. The bed of former Lake Alitta

much of the lake bed fills with water.

Today, the lake bed is used for wet-rice cultivation, and is still the only part of Alitta where wet-rice is grown. The settlement of Alitta itself was located about 150 metres or so east of the lake's shores.

Pao to Sumpang Saddang

After the two branches merged at Pao, the Saddang flowed westwards past Rangaméa and Bélawa before forming a delta at Sumpang Saddang. This course of the river here was wider and deeper than the Saddang-Sawitto branch. In several places along this course of the river braiding occurred, most notably at Rangaméa and Garesi. At Rangaméa, the westerly, braided channel, which is now marshland for most of the year, is over 60 metres wide. Figure 3.12 is a reconstruction of the river's former course and an estimate of the size of the former Alitta lake.

Causal factors for the Saddang's change of course

Van Vuuren (1920:190) suggests that the change in the direction of the River Saddang took place in about 1895. Van Braam Morris's information (1892:194) about the Alitta lake, however, suggests that this change happened some years earlier, in about 1880. A late nineteenth century date for the Saddang's change of course is also supported by information given to Abendanon by an

elderly local informant (Abendanon 1915:927, 930) who said that in his youth he had navigated along the old course of the Saddang, but that over time the river filled up with silt and, as a consequence, more and more water began to flow through the Salimpolo branch.²³ According to Abendanon's informant, these changes had taken place about 25 years previously, which would place the event about 1890.

To fully understand the causes of the Saddang's change in course would require a scientific study, which is beyond the scope of this work. Abendanon considered the most likely causal factor to be tectonic activity. This conclusion is drawn largely from his discovery that the points where he believed the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches turned to the south are 2 metres higher than the water surface of the Salimpolo branch. He concluded that there had been tectonic uplift between Central and South Sulawesi that had raised the upper reaches of the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches, leading to the river shifting its course to the Salimpolo branch, and breaking through the basalt rock at Masolo.

According to local informants, over the years there has been a steady decrease in the volume of water passing through the Saddang-Sawitto, Saddang-Tiroang branches and the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, a decline that continues to the present day. At Lapalopo and Bulu in southern Pinrang, I walked along the banks of the river with Puang Muhammad and several other elderly farmers, who pointed out how the river had changed and become increasingly smaller over the last 50 years. These more recent changes are probably due to the fact that more and more water from these branches has been redirected for irrigation purposes, including the construction in the 1970s of a large irrigation canal at Benteng which channels water to *kabupaten* Sidrap. These later changes are also of significance, as up to the 1950s the Saddang-Tiroang branch and Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river still appear to have been navigable (see below).

The relationship between rivers, trade and settlement patterns in the Ajattappareng region before 1600

The River Saddang

Oral history tells us that in the 1950s sea-going vessels still navigated the course of the old Saddang from Sumpang Saddang to as far up-river as Kariango, close to where the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches

²³ Unfortunately, Abendanon gives no indication of the size or type of boat that this informant had used.

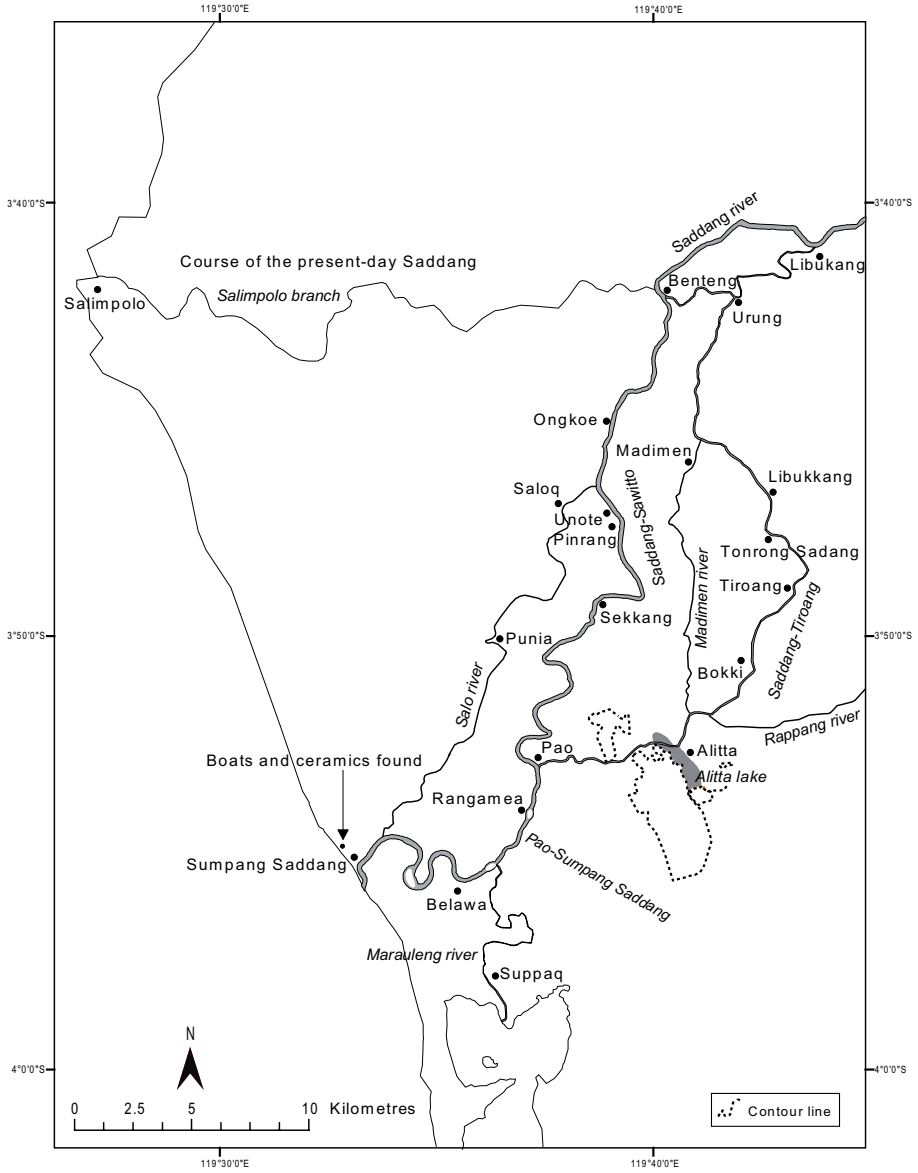


Figure 3.12. Reconstruction of the Saddang's former course

remerge. I Tangga, who claims to be 65 years old, recalls *pinisi* (schooner, B., M.) from Makassar sailing up the river from Sumpang Saddang and docking at the settlement of Rangaméa, once one of Sawitto's most important tributaries. The crew of these boats exchanged earthenwares for rice, bananas and coconuts before continuing eastwards. Many other local informants who live in the Kariango area also remember seeing *pinisi* sailing up the river from Makassar to Kariango in the 1950s and docking close to the Kariango bridge, which formed an obstacle to further progress up-river (figure 3.13).

Oral history from Garesi, in northwestern Suppaq, also claims that the Garesi river (a branch of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course that breaks off the main branch of the river for just over 1 kilometre before rejoining it) was also navigable by sea-going vessels in the 1950s. According to local informants, these boats could sail eastwards to Sumpang Saddang or westwards to Kariango. Garesi is a Javanese toponym (Gresik), and oral history about boats navigating the Garesi river should be considered together with an oral tradition from Sumpang Saddang, located 2 kilometres northeast of Garesi, which tells of Javanese and Malay traders settling at Sumpang Saddang and marrying with the local population (I.70).

There is no oral history of sea-going vessels continuing northwards along the Saddang-Sawitto branch towards central Sawitto, but the Labalakang



Photograph 10. The old river port of Rangaméa (the westerly, braided channel)

bridge would have formed an effective barrier. Oral history does tell of small river craft which could travel past Benteng along this branch of the river and on to the Enrekang area. Considering the size of the Saddang-Sawitto branch before the Saddang's change in course, it is conceivable that sea-going vessels did once sail northwards into central Sawitto, perhaps even as far as Talabangi. An oral tradition found in a twentieth-century manuscript from Énrékang claims that boats once travelled from Sawitto as far as the kingdom of Énrékang. This story tells of an agreement between Sawitto and Énrékang at the time Tomaruli was *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, in which it was decided that the two kingdoms would come to one another's aid in times of need.²⁴ According to this tradition, some time after the agreement Énrékang was struck by fire. When the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto learned of this, he ordered all the people of Sawitto who lived by the sea to make thousands of *bakkawenang* (thatched roof of palm leaves, B.) to be taken up to Énrékang. This tradition then tells us that: 'Everyday, boats went up [to Énrékang] taking *bakkawenang*' (ANRIM 20/7, p. 51). The story of the fire in Énrékang is unlikely to be a true account of a past event, but functions as a motif to demonstrate the close relationship between the two kingdoms, and Sawitto's loyalty to Énrékang.²⁵ Nevertheless, the part of the story that tells of boats travelling up to Énrékang is believable and probably reflects a past reality, the memory of which has been retained in the tradition. People from *kabupaten* Enrekang still travel down to the Benteng area of Pinrang by small boats today.

There is no oral history or oral tradition of boats travelling along the branch that passed by Saloq and rejoined the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course just below Lérang. At Loloang, however, which is located near the lower reaches of this river, the remains of a canoe was found by farmers, which suggests that this branch may have been navigable by small river craft.

The Saddang-Tiroang, the smaller of the two branches, was also navigable by small river craft in the first half of the twentieth century, and appears still to have functioned as an important waterway at this time. Haji Kanbolong recalls wooden boats about 10 metres long and 1 metre wide arriving at Urung from the Enrekang region, via Benteng, before the Benteng dam was built and the Benteng to Urung branch closed off. Slightly larger boats also travelled from Urung to Alitta; Haji Kanbolong, who once made this journey as a girl in the 1930s, recalls that these boats passed through Libukang and Tiroang before reaching Alitta.

²⁴ Tomaruli is Temmaruling, the posthumous name of La Pancai, a late sixteenth century ruler of Sawitto (see Chapter II). In Pinrang, the names Tomaruli and (to a lesser extent) Temmaruling are used by people to refer to the former palace centre of Sawitto.

²⁵ A similar motif is found in a story from Sidénréng, in which the ruler of Rappang decides to burn down her own place after learning that a fire that had destroyed the palace of Sidénréng (Caldwell 1988:146).

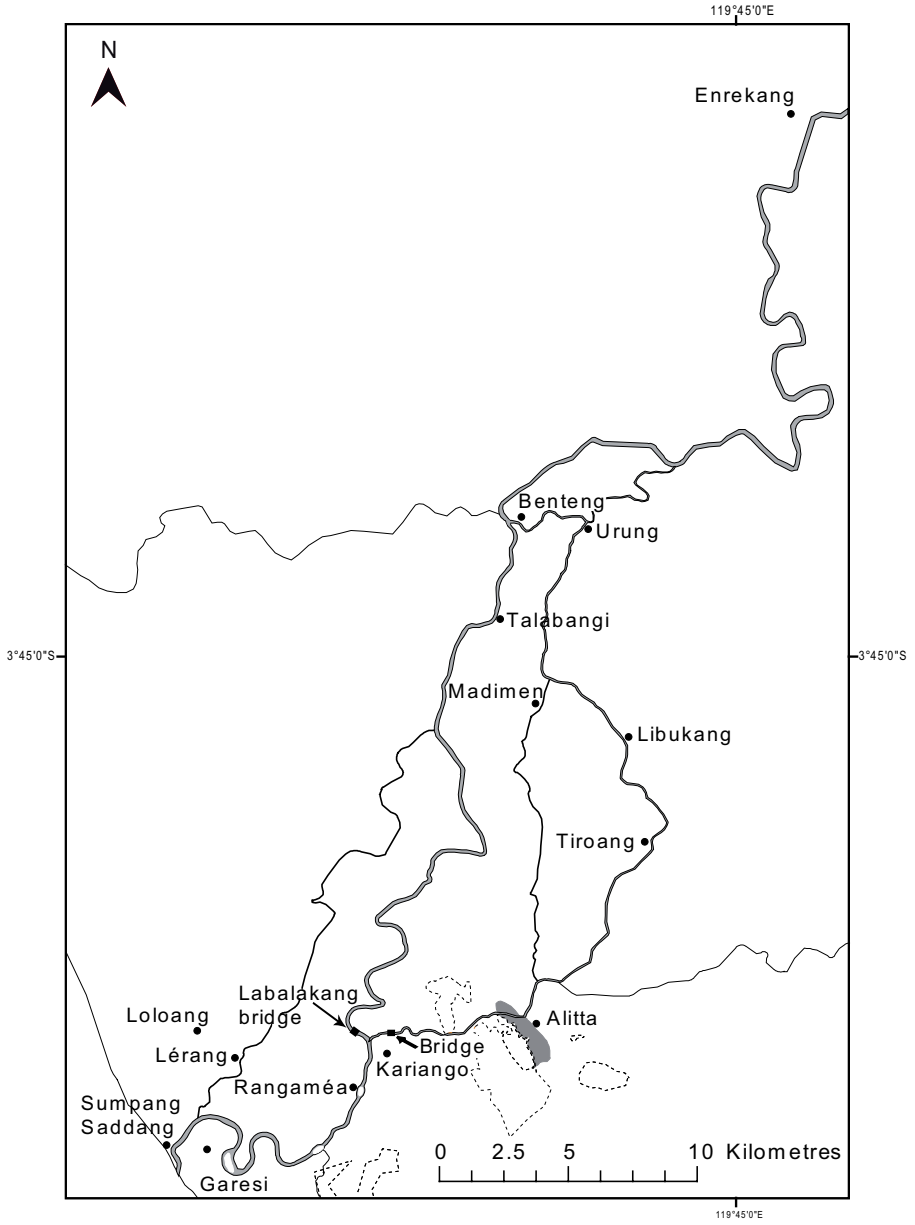


Figure 3.13. Settlements formerly connected by riverine navigation

There is no oral history of any boats navigating the Madimen river, but oral tradition claims that boats once travelled along this river and docked at Madimen. According to this tradition, the place where these boats docked in Madimen once functioned as a port and today is an important *keramat* for local inhabitants (figure 3.13).

The River Saddang was a major determinant of settlement patterns in Sawitto, Alitta and, to a lesser extent, Suppaq. Of the thirteen identified tributaries named by the Sawitto tributary and domain list, seven are located within 3 kilometres of the Saddang-Sawitto, the Saddang-Tiroang, or the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, while ten of the 14 identified domain lands lie within less than 3 kilometres of the Saddang-Sawitto branch. One of Suppaq's domain lands named on its tributary and domain list is located within 1 kilometre of the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course, and another, Matanré, (not named on the Suppaq tributary and domain list, but archaeologically dated to between the thirteenth to fourteenth century) is also located within 1 kilometre of the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course (figure 3.14). The two main reasons for this high concentration of settlements within close proximity to the old course of the Saddang are undoubtedly agriculture and access to trade goods.

The extensive alluvial plains to the east and west of the Saddang's former course are ideal for wet-rice cultivation, and today constitute some of South Sulawesi's most productive wet-rice land.²⁶ Annual flooding of the Saddang's course still takes place today along some stretches of the river at the height of the wet season, between December and January, but the level of inundation would have been far greater before the Saddang's change of course in the late nineteenth century. Archaeological data show that settlements have been located in this area and connected to a wider regional trade network since the thirteenth to fourteenth century, indicating an early realization of this area's rich agricultural potential. That so many of Sawitto's domain lands are clustered close to the river suggests an organized expansion of wet-rice agriculture from the thirteenth century.

In addition to the agricultural benefits that the Saddang conferred, the river also functioned as an important waterway connecting the coastal areas to the central plains and highlands. As noted above, in the first half of the twentieth century small river craft still travelled from Énré kang to Sumpang Saddang, via either branch of the river, while sea-going trade vessels from Makassar sailed upstream as far as Kariango. Before the Saddang's change in course, sea-going vessels would probably have been able to sail up-river, at least as

²⁶ In 2000, *kabupaten* Pinrang alone produced some 358,702 tons of padi (*Kompas* Online 12 October 2001).

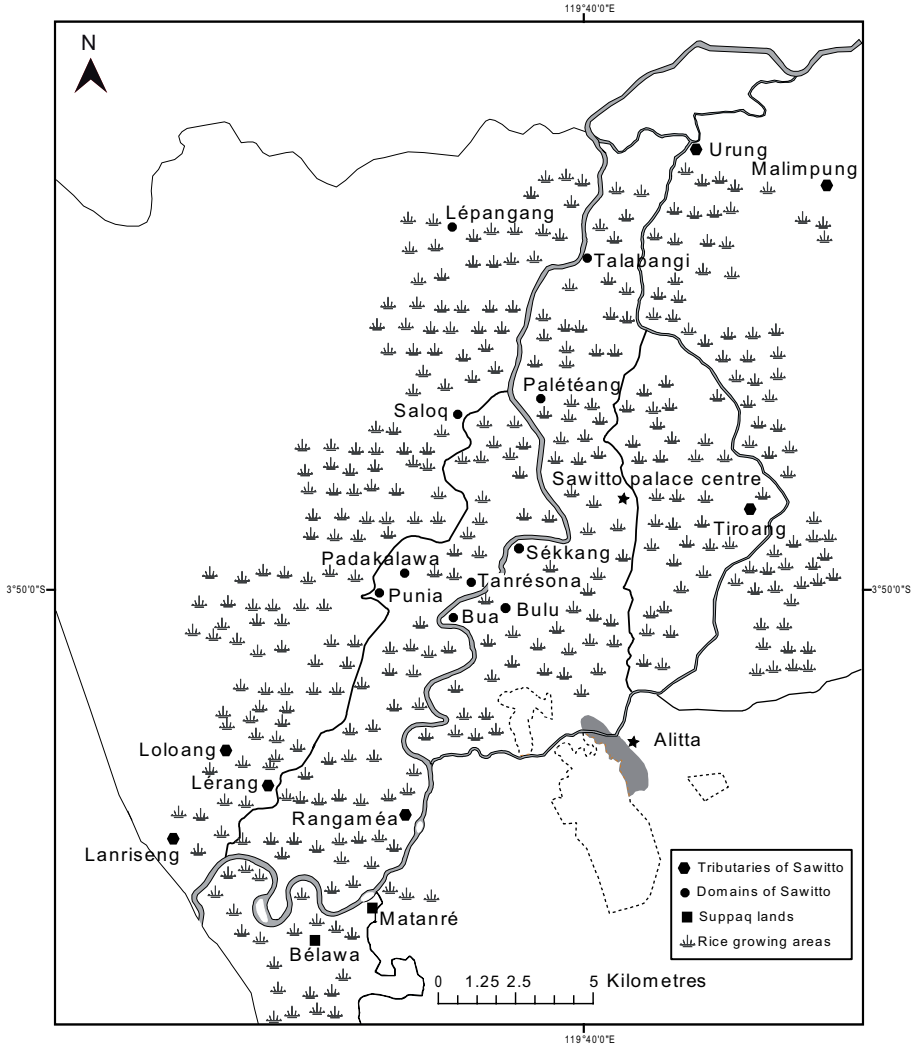


Figure 3.14. Relationship between settlement patterns and the Saddang

far as central Sawitto, to the area where Sawitto’s pre-Islamic capital was located.

The location of the palace centre (Tomaruli) where the early rulers of Sawitto established their capital illustrates the relationship between agriculture and trade. The palace centre was strategically located between the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches of the river, a location

which secured a large area of rich agricultural land and ensured some control over the movement of goods along both branches of the river. Another major advantage of this location was its defensive qualities, as the two river branches would have acted as natural barriers against any hostile force.

The area known as Tomaruli remained the palace centre of Sawitto until the nineteenth century, when a palace centre was established at Lalle Lama, about 4.5 kilometres west of Tomaruli. Most of the area has been opened up for rice farming but the remains of a *benteng* (fort), said to have covered an area of about 14 hectares, are still visible. Within this area lies the grave of La Kunne, an eighteenth century ruler of Sawitto just outside the remains of a mosque, as is conveyed by his posthumous title *matinroé ri masiqina* (he who sleeps in the mosque, B.). To the west of this area is an important *keramat*, which is said to be where Tomaruli (La Pancai) is buried. The area around Tomaruli's grave, which is now rice fields, has been subject to intense looting and is said to have yielded richer finds than any other part of the former territory of Sawitto. One looter I interviewed showed me two thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan celadon plates he had taken from this area (figure 3.15).

A number of Sawitto's tributary lands also occupy strategic positions along the old course of the River Saddang, in particular, Rangaméa and Tiroang. According to oral and written tradition and a late nineteenth century Dutch source (Van Braam Morris 1892:214), Rangaméa, Tiroang, Loloang and Langnga were the foremost tributaries of Sawitto and known as the Eppa Baté-baté (the 'Four Flags', B.). The rulers of these four lands had the right to sit with the ruler of Sawitto and give counsel on important decisions (Van Braam Morris 1892:224). According to oral tradition collected by the author of the *hikajat* Sawitto, the corpse of the ruler of Sawitto was formerly kept for 100 days, during which time ceremonies were carried out and the Eppa Baté-baté sat and discussed who should succeed as ruler of Sawitto together with the nobles of central Sawitto (ANRIM 2/2, p. 11).

The influence that these four lands evidently held in the kingdom of Sawitto was probably a reflection of their geographic locations. Rangaméa was located along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, just under 2 kilometres west of where the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches merge. From the perspective of trade, this location would have allowed the rulers of Rangaméa to control access to both the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches. Evidence for this trade is attested to by the large quantity of ceramic and stoneware tradewares looted from Rangaméa and its three domain lands, Pénrang, Lalating and Madelloq, two of which were situated in the fertile rice-growing areas to the west of Rangaméa.²⁷

²⁷ Pénrang and Madelloq were abandoned some 40 years ago, while Lalating was abandoned some 20 years ago. The position of these domain lands in Figure 3.16 is based on information provided by I Tangnga.

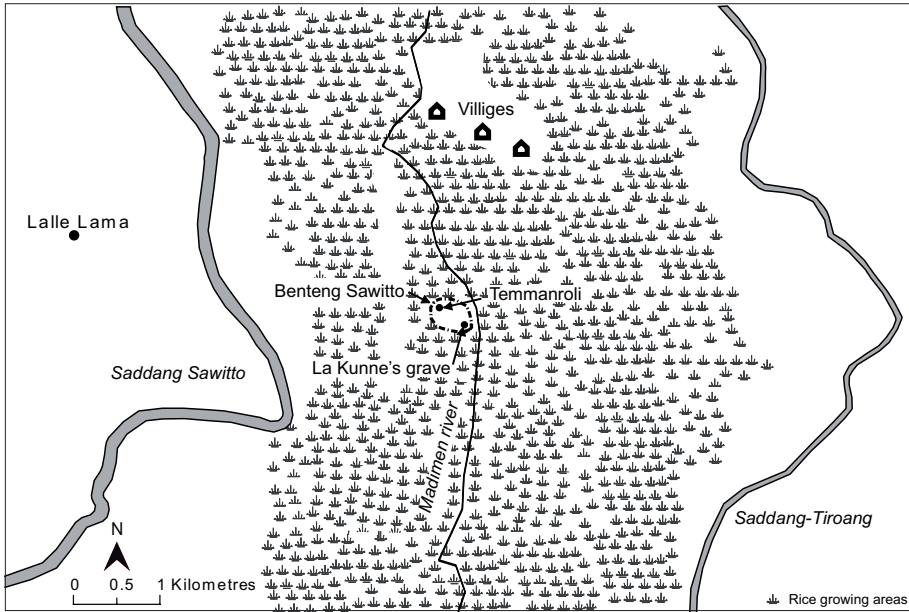


Figure 3.15. Centre of Sawitto

Tiroang is located close to the west bank of the Saddang-Tiroang branch, while its domain land, Marawi, is located on the east bank, just a few kilometres west of Rappang. This location would have allowed Tiroang to control the middle reaches of the Saddang-Tiroang branch, which are ideally situated to engage in trade exchanges with Rappang, Urung, and Malimpung to the north. As with Rangaméa, Tiroang was also well located to exploit rich rice-growing areas to the east and west of the Saddang-Tiroang branch.

The settlement of Loloang, which was abandoned prior to Indonesian independence, was located 6 kilometres northwest of Rangaméa, just over 3 kilometres north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course. As with Tiroang and Rangaméa, Loloang was favourably located to take advantage of both trade and agriculture, which would have been facilitated by the anabranch of the Saddang-Sawitto from Saloq. Loloang has also provided looters in Pinrang with rich pickings: one looter showed me the foot of a rare fourteenth century Yuan incense burner.

Langnga is located on the west coast of the peninsula, approximately 8.5 kilometres north of Sumpang Saddang. Its two tributary lands, Makuring and Patobong, lie about 3 kilometres east of the coast, in a rice-growing

region close to the Langnga river. Langnga has no port to speak of, but Van Braam Morris (1892:219) writes that trade boats from Makassar, the Spermundes and Mandar came to Langnga to trade in the nineteenth century. As with the other Eppa Baté-baté lands, large quantities of ceramic and stoneware tradewares have also been found in Langnga and its two domain lands, in particular Makuring, where the foot of another fourteenth century Yuan incense burner was found.

Two other Sawitto tributaries located within several kilometres of the Saddang-Sawitto course's northern bank are Lanriseng and Lérang. Lanriseng is under 2 kilometres north of Sumpang Saddang, which its former ruling family claims lay within Lanriseng's territory, while Lérang is a further 4 kilometres northeast east of Sumpang-Saddang. As is the case with the other Sawitto tributaries above, both of these lands are situated in fertile rice-growing areas. They were also ideally located, in particular Lanriseng, to control the delta at Sumpang Saddang and access to the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river (figure 3.16).

A striking finding which emerges from the distribution of Sawitto tributaries in the western part of the kingdom is that the rulers of central Sawitto did not have direct control over the coastal areas and river ports linked to the sea. This is in contrast to the pre-sixteenth century situation in Makasar-speaking areas located in the southwestern corner of the peninsula, where

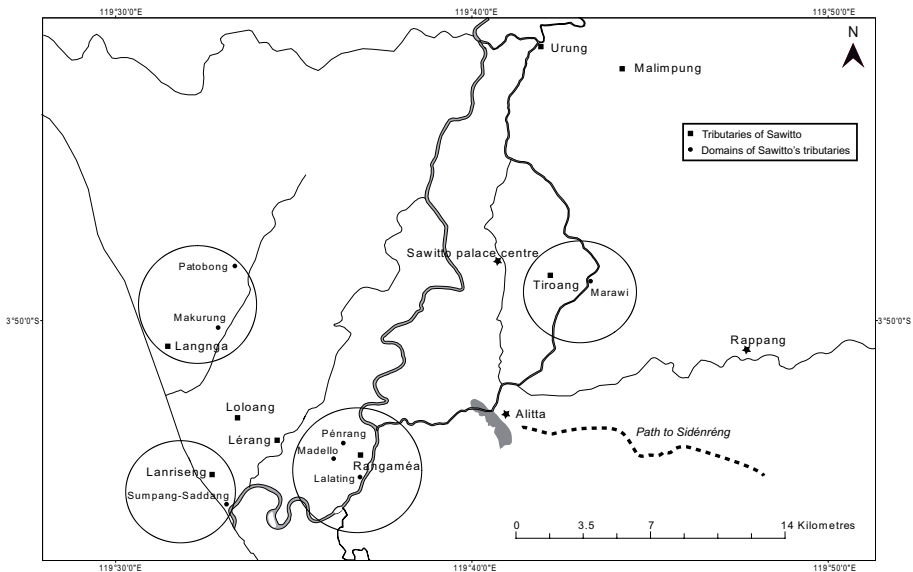


Figure 3.16. Sawitto tributaries

several polities competed for control over the port of Garassiq (Bulbeck 1992). This geographic situation suggests that political and economic power in Sawitto was perhaps even more decentralized than other South Sulawesi kingdoms.

To the south of Tiroang is Alitta, the smallest of the five Ajattappareng kingdoms. In contrast to the other kingdoms, Alitta has never produced rice in any quantity. In fact, wet-rice cultivation only appears to have been practiced in Alitta since the late nineteenth century on the dried out basin of the Alitta lake. The quantity of rice grown in this area in the late nineteenth century was insufficient to meet the needs of the local population and had to be supplemented by imports from Sidénréng and Suppaq (Van Braam Morris 1892:195). Archaeological surveys in Alitta recovered large quantities of early ceramic and stoneware tradeware sherds, which indicate that, despite its small size, Alitta appears to have been a wealthy kingdom. The quantity of ceramic sherds recovered was somewhat surprising given that wet-rice agriculture, which was the economic basis of the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms, was not practiced in Alitta before the late nineteenth century. Alitta's evident wealth can perhaps in part be explained by a number of other economic activities referred to by Van Braam Morris (1892:195): sesame cultivation, earthenware production (which continues today), forest produce such as rattan and bamboo and the weaving of baskets and sarongs.²⁸ The most probable explanation of Alitta's wealth, however, was its control over the lower course of the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the river and its close proximity to Sidénréng, which would have allowed Alitta to act as a collector and distributor of goods to Sidénréng. In this context, it is worth noting that linguistic studies show that the Bugis language spoken in Alitta is a subdialect of the Bugis-Sidrap dialect (Friberg and Friberg 1988).

The Marauleng river

So much of the Marauleng river has been destroyed by fish and prawn farms that in places it is impossible to tell where the former banks were located. According to local informants, the farms first began to be dug about 50 years ago, but most were created within the last 30 years. These fish and prawn farms now cover a vast area, spreading for over 1 kilometre (see figure 1.4 and figure 3.17).

Informants in Suppaq recall that up to the 1960s sea-going vessels frequently sailed up the Marauleng river for over 1 kilometre, to the area called La Kessi. Most of these boats were apparently of a similar size or larger

²⁸ In the nineteenth century sesame was grown in Sawitto for export as well as local use (Van Braam Morris 1892:216).

than the boats that arrive in the port of Suppa today. One informant, Petta Wanreng, said that the sea-going vessels he remembers were up to about 33 metres in length and varied from 50 to 150 tons. In his notes on Suppaq, Van Braam Morris (1892:203) states that native boats with small draught could navigate the Marauleng river.

The importance of accounts that tell of sea-going vessels navigating the Marauleng river became increasingly evident during the course of my research in Suppaq. In attempting to locate the pre-Islamic capital and port, I had initially focused my attention on the area around Majennang, where local informants said a palace had stood in the nineteenth century, as well as the modern-day port of Suppa to the south of the palace. The port is sheltered from the winds and has ample space for a large number of vessels, from as far away as Kalimantan, which dock there today. However, I could find little evidence of pre-seventeenth century habitation or trade in these two areas, and an archaeological survey carried out seven months later produced mainly seventeenth and eighteenth century Qing sherds, small quantities of sixteenth century Ming sherds, and four sherds dating to between the fifteenth and sixteenth century. These data suggest that the importance of this palace and the modern-day port post-date the conversion of the rulers of Suppaq to Islam. In a later visit, I located a large pre-Islamic graveyard



Photograph 11. The modern-day port of Suppa

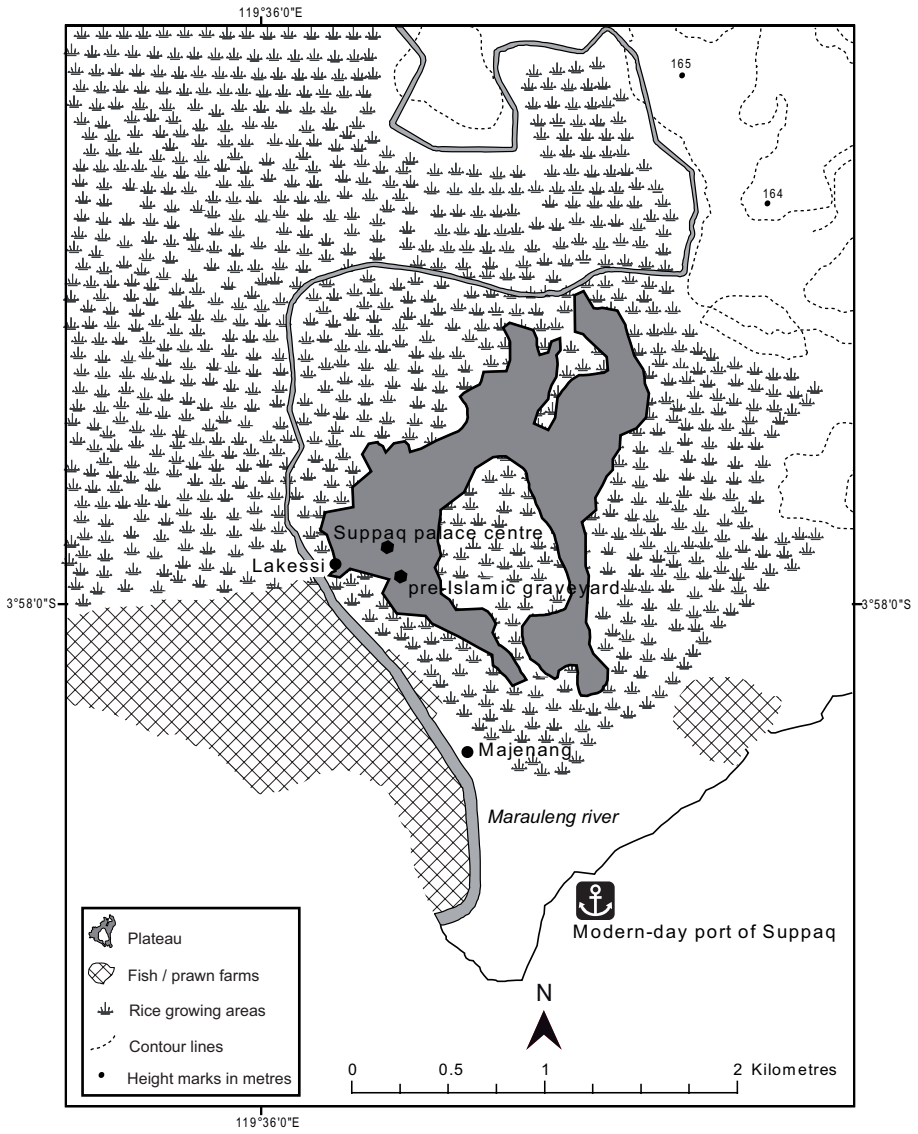


Figure 3.17. Centre of Suppaq

on a plateau surrounded by extensive rice fields, about 400 metres east of the Marauleng river. An archaeological survey later discovered that the pre-Islamic palace centre of Suppaq was also located about 160 metres northwest of the burial ground.²⁹ A Survey of the pre-Islamic burial ground produced a higher concentration of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds than any other site surveyed in the Ajattappareng region, with the exception of Gucié, in eastern central Suppaq.³⁰ The archaeological data further show that the pre-Islamic centre was abandoned in the seventeenth century, shortly after the rulers of Suppaq converted to Islam, and a new palace established at Majennang (figure 3.17).

The rulers of Suppaq had numerous locations to choose from at which to establish their palaces.³¹ Establishing the pre-Islamic palace centre on this plateau provided protection against attack from any hostile force, and at the same time linked the palace centre to the sea via the Marauleng river, access to which could easily have been controlled.³² For trading ports such as Suppaq, attack from competing ports was an ever-present threat, particularly in the sixteenth century, a time when the volume of trade increased dramatically and Suppaq and its allies became engaged in war with the Makasar kingdom of Gowa for control of trade along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi.

The Binagakaraeng river

The Binagakaraeng river is located in northeastern Pinrang and the lower reaches mark the border with *kabupaten* Polmas. The name derives from the Makasar words *binaga* (river) and *karaeng* (lord) – ‘the river of the *karaeng*’, which oral tradition in this region attributes to a pre-Islamic ruler of Gowa.³³ Interest by the Makasar may have been related to sea trade, which

²⁹ Much of the area where the place centre was located was used as an Islamic graveyard from about the mid-seventeenth century and is now heavily overgrown.

³⁰ A total of 67 thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds were found in the Gucié survey and 56 in the survey of the Suppaq pre-Islamic graveyard. However, the large quantity of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds from Gucié is exaggerated by the fact that 63 of these sherds were from Yuan incised brownware jars. Examination of these sherds shows that all 63 are evidently from either three or four individual jars. By contrast, the thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found in the survey of the Suppaq pre-Islamic graveyard were spread throughout the surveyed area.

³¹ I found a small number of sixteenth century Ming sherds on the narrow walkways between the fish and prawn farms to the west of the Marauleng river’s mouth, which suggests that this part of this river may also have been used for trade.

³² According to Horst Liebner (personal communication, 2007), the Bay of Suppa is an excellent location for a port: its calm waters would have provided ships with protection from bad weather and allowed traders to stay for several months and carry out repairs to their ships.

³³ This story claims that a *karaeng* of Gowa was sailing north to Mandar and asked what was

was still conducted in this area in the nineteenth century (Van Braam Morris 1892:219). Today, the Binagakaraeng river is navigable by small sea-going vessels for about 1 kilometre of its length.

Close to the mouth of this river lies the village of Pajalele, which was part of Pangamparang, a tributary of Sawitto. Pangamparang, the centre of which lies nearly 4 kilometres west of the mouth of this river, formed a three-kingdom confederation together with two other Sawitto tributaries, Gallang-kallang and Kadokkong, known collectively as the Tellu Lembang (the 'Three Lembang'). Gallang-kallang and Kadokkong are fortified mountain settlements located to the north of Pangamparang. Oral tradition from



Photograph 12. The Binagakaraeng river at Pajalele

Kadokkong also tells of Makasar interest in this area during the pre-Islamic period (see Chapter II). The leading member of the Tellu Lembang is said by local informants to have been Pangamparang, which would have been ideally situated to act as an intermediary between traders from outside the region and Kadokkong and Gallang-kallang. Some of the goods produced in this region in the recent past, which may have been exported from an earlier

up ahead. The reply was *binaga, karaeng* (a river, my lord) (I.78; I.82).

period, include cinnamon, candlenut, rattan, fragrant woods and dammar, which is still produced in this region today (figure 3.18).

The Bila river

Oral history dating to the 1930s tells us of the importance of the Bila river and provides an illuminating picture of trade and markets in Bila. The river springs from the mountainous area of northern Sidrap around Langgaratunga and flows southwards to Bila. About 5 kilometres below Bila it is joined by its tributary the Bulucenrana river and from there continues southwest before

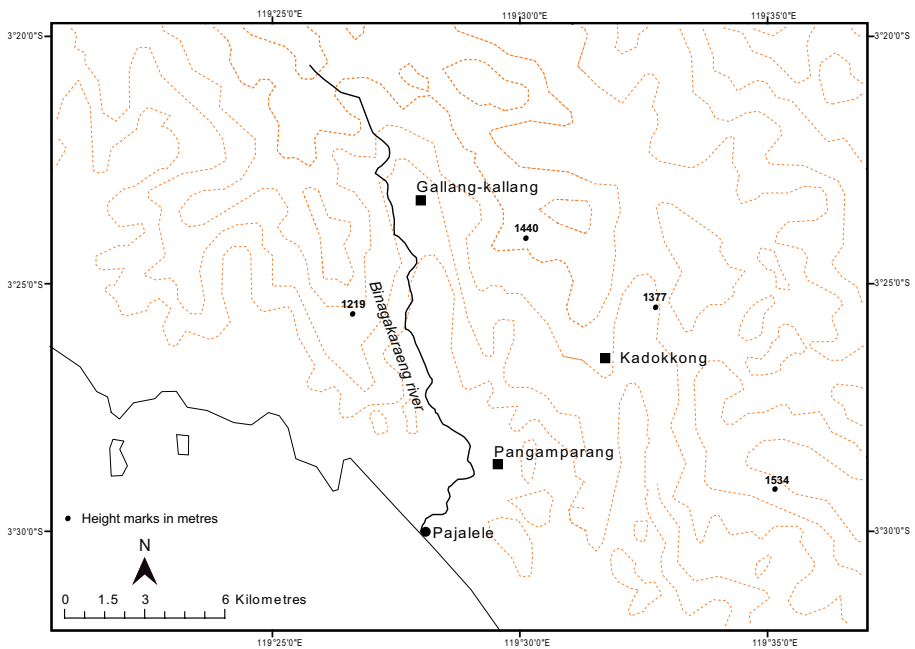


Figure 3.18. Binagakaraeng river and the Tellu Lembang

emptying into Lake Tempe (figure 3.19). The Bila river functioned as an important waterway that facilitated trade and communication between Bila and other lowland areas to the south. One elderly informant, Muhammad Saleikhlis, described how in the 1930s small boats, usually about 30 in number and of the type seen in Lakes Tempe and Sidenreng today, arrived in Bila from Lake Tempe in order to trade at the Bila market. These boats bought earthenware products from the Wetteqé-Bélokka-Wanio-Ciroali area

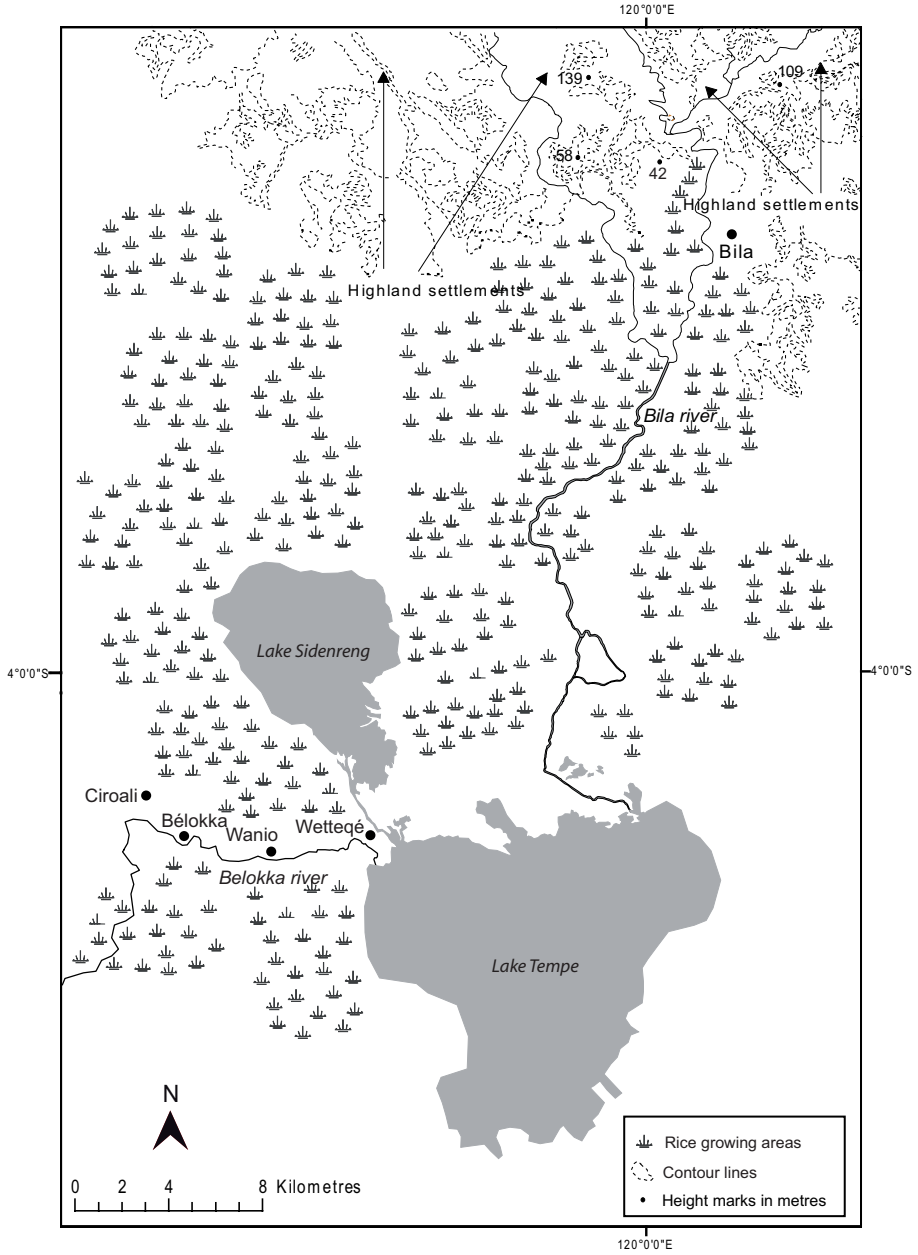


Figure 3.19. The Bila river

in Sidénréng and other goods, such as salt and salted fish, to trade at the Bila market. The boats arrived in Bila throughout the year; during the dry season bamboo punts were used to propel them up the river. In addition to the boats from Lake Tempe, lowland traders also came to the Bila market on horseback, bringing fish and salt. Many of the goods were traded with people who arrived on foot from the hill and mountain areas to the north and brought rattan, palm sugar and dammar, which they sold in order to buy earthenwares, salt and salted fish.

Large quantities of ceramic and stoneware tradewares are reported to have been looted from a pre-Islamic burial ground in Bila.³⁴ Ceramic and stoneware tradewares are also reported to have been looted from pre-Islamic burial grounds in a number of non-Bugis-speaking settlements in the highland areas to the north; in one of these settlements, Bétao, local informants found earthenware goods buried close to ceramic and stoneware tradewares, which appear to represent grave goods (see below). It is conceivable that in the period before 1600, some of the ceramic, stoneware and earthenware goods found in highland areas to the north were exchanged for highland produce in Bila. The Bila market itself may have been an ancient locale of economic exchange and communication between highland and lowland communities, the development of which would have been facilitated by the River Bila.

The languages and people of the Ajattappareng region

The largest ethnic group of the Ajattappareng region are the Bugis, who inhabit the areas of Suppaq, Rappang and Alitta and the southern parts of Sawitto and Sidénréng. Northern Sidénréng and central and northern Sawitto are inhabited by diverse peoples who speak Massenrempulu languages and share close cultural and linguistic similarities with the peoples of *kabupaten* Enrekang and, to a lesser extent, *kabupaten* Tana Toraja. In addition to language and culture, two other features which distinguish the Bugis from Massenrempulu-speakers are geography and agriculture. The Ajattappareng Bugis, like the Bugis in other parts of the peninsula, are predominantly rice farmers and occupy the region's fertile lowlands. The Massenrempulu-speakers inhabit the low hill and mountain areas to the north of the lowlands, with a small number scattered along the northeastern coastal areas of Sawitto. Some Massenrempulu-speakers engage in wet-rice cultivation but

³⁴ In the original settlement of Bila, a number of looters' holes are still visible. Close by, I found a number of fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok and Ming sherds and a repaired fifteenth century Vietnamese jar full of coconut juice placed beside a *keramat*.

the majority inhabit areas suitable only for garden cultivation or less productive dry-rice agriculture.

Ethnic and cultural differences between the Bugis and Massenrempulu-speakers of the Ajattappareng region (and other parts of South Sulawesi) have become blurred in recent centuries. This is partly a consequence of the development of a common Islamic identity, which can transcend ethnic and cultural differences, Islam being practiced by all but a small minority of the region's inhabitants. A shared religion has also facilitated intermarriage between the Bugis and Massenrempulu-speakers and, as the Bugis are by far the most numerous ethnic group, their culture has become increasingly dominant throughout the region.

These factors have led many outsiders to regard the Massenrempulu-speaking people who inhabit the Ajattappareng region and other parts of South Sulawesi as part of the Bugis ethnic group. Another reason for this perception is that official government publications (often repeated in tourist and academic literature) state that there are just four main ethnic groups in South Sulawesi: the Bugis, Makasar, Mandar and Toraja. This rudimentary classification of South Sulawesi ethnic groups stands in strong opposition to linguistic studies and local ethnolinguistic perceptions. As one young informant from Rajang in northeastern Pinrang stated, 'We are different from the Bugis and the language that we speak is Pattinjo, but as there are just four ethnic groups in South Sulawesi I suppose that we must be part of the Bugis ethnic group' (I.94).

The Massenrempulu-speaking peoples of the Ajattappareng region continue to draw ethnic and linguistic distinctions between themselves and their Bugis neighbours. Many Massenrempulu-speaking communities also make ethnic and linguistic distinctions between themselves and other Massenrempulu peoples, but at the same time acknowledge historical and linguistic ties with other Massenrempulu-speaking communities. For example, when talking about these ties, in a single sentence the people of Kabelangeng will refer to themselves as *to* (people [of], B., E., Ma., Mal.) Kabelangeng, the people of Maiwa as *to* Maiwa and the Bugis as *to* Ugi.

Archaeological, linguistic and oral evidence, presented below, shows that cultural and ethnic differences between the Bugis and Massenrempulu-speakers, and between Massenrempulu-speakers themselves, were much more pronounced in the period before 1600 than today. Archaeological evidence also shows that interaction between the Bugis and the Massenrempulu-speakers of the region in the period before 1600 has led to cultural changes among some Massenrempulu-speaking peoples, some of whom have imitated Bugis cultural and religious practices. Linguistic, oral and archaeological data further show that there was a southward movement of Massenrempulu-speaking people into the Ajattappareng region, probably as a consequence of

developing economic opportunities that arose mainly from increased interaction with the Bugis. Some of these people evidently migrated to in areas in which the Bugis had settled and over time acquired their language.

Linguistic studies and local ethnolinguistic perceptions in the Ajattappareng region

Bugis dialects of the Ajattappareng region

Timothy and Barbara Friberg (1988) identify 11 dialects of the Bugis language (figure 3.20). Of these, three are spoken in the Ajattappareng region; namely, the Sidrap dialect, the Sawitto dialect and the Barru dialect. According to their linguistic map of Bugis dialects, the Sidrap dialect is spoken in central and southern Sidrap, part of central-northern Pinrang (from below Bungin to just south of Salimpolo), *kecamatan* Suppa, Parepare, and the southwestern Pinrang *kecamatan* of Matiro Bulu (which includes the lands of Bulu, Alitta, Kariango and Punia) (figure 3.21). However, according to informants in *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, the only areas of this *kecamatan* where the Bugis dialect spoken is similar to the Sidrap dialect is Alitta and Kariango. Local informants state that in the remaining areas of this *kecamatan* the dialect spoken is the same as that spoken in *kota* Pinrang (*kecamatan* Watang Sawitto), namely the Sawitto dialect.³⁵

Friberg and Friberg's (1988:320) linguistic map also shows that the Sidrap dialect spoken in northern Pinrang extends westwards as far as the border with *kabupaten* Enrekang and, with the exception of the Malimpung area, is spoken throughout the Pinrang *kecamatan* Duampanua and Patampanua.³⁶ However, this does not correlate with local ethnolinguistic perceptions of the people inhabiting the areas away from the coast. Informants in Kabelangeng, Lome, Kaluppang, which are located in *kecamatan* Duampanua, state that their language is not Bugis and that they are not of the Bugis ethnic group (see below). From my own surveys in these areas, I found that the Bugis Sidrap dialect spoken in *kecamatan* Duampanua is spoken only in the areas within about 6 to 7 kilometres of the west coast, from around Paria to around Pekabatu. Further to the east are low hills leading up to the mountains where

³⁵ Friberg and Friberg collected their data for this part of Pinrang from Kariango (in *desa* Alitta) and applied them to the whole of *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, which explains why their dialect map does not correspond to the areas north of Kariango and Alitta. This is not a criticism of Friberg and Friberg's important work; the present author is well aware of the difficulties in determining language and dialect boundaries, especially in the modern world where there has been increasing intermarriage between ethnic groups.

³⁶ Friberg and Friberg collected data for these two *kecamatan* from Pekkabata (*kecamatan* Duampanua), Teppo and Malimpung (both in *kecamatan* Patampanua).

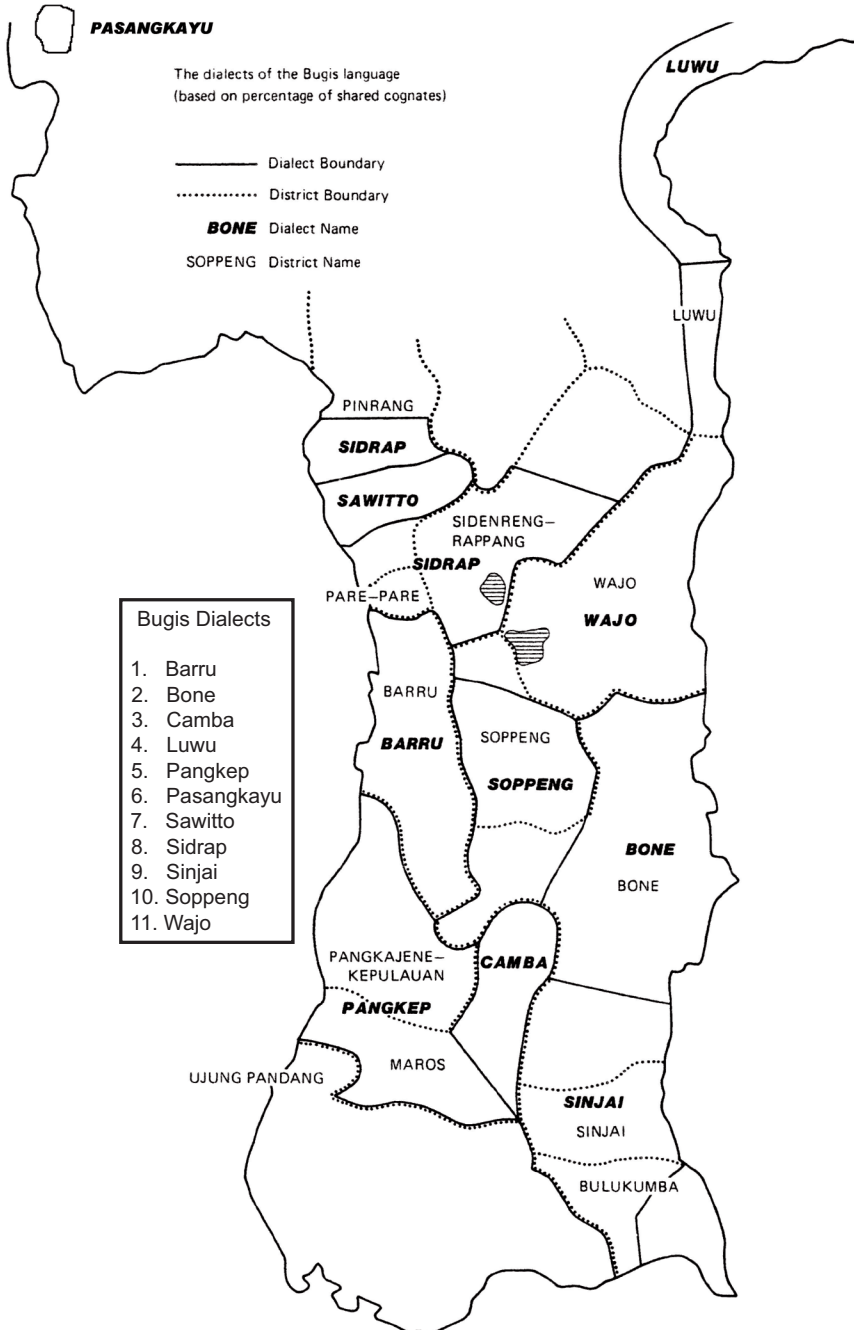


Figure 3.20. Bugis dialect map. Source: Friberg and Friberg (1988:319).

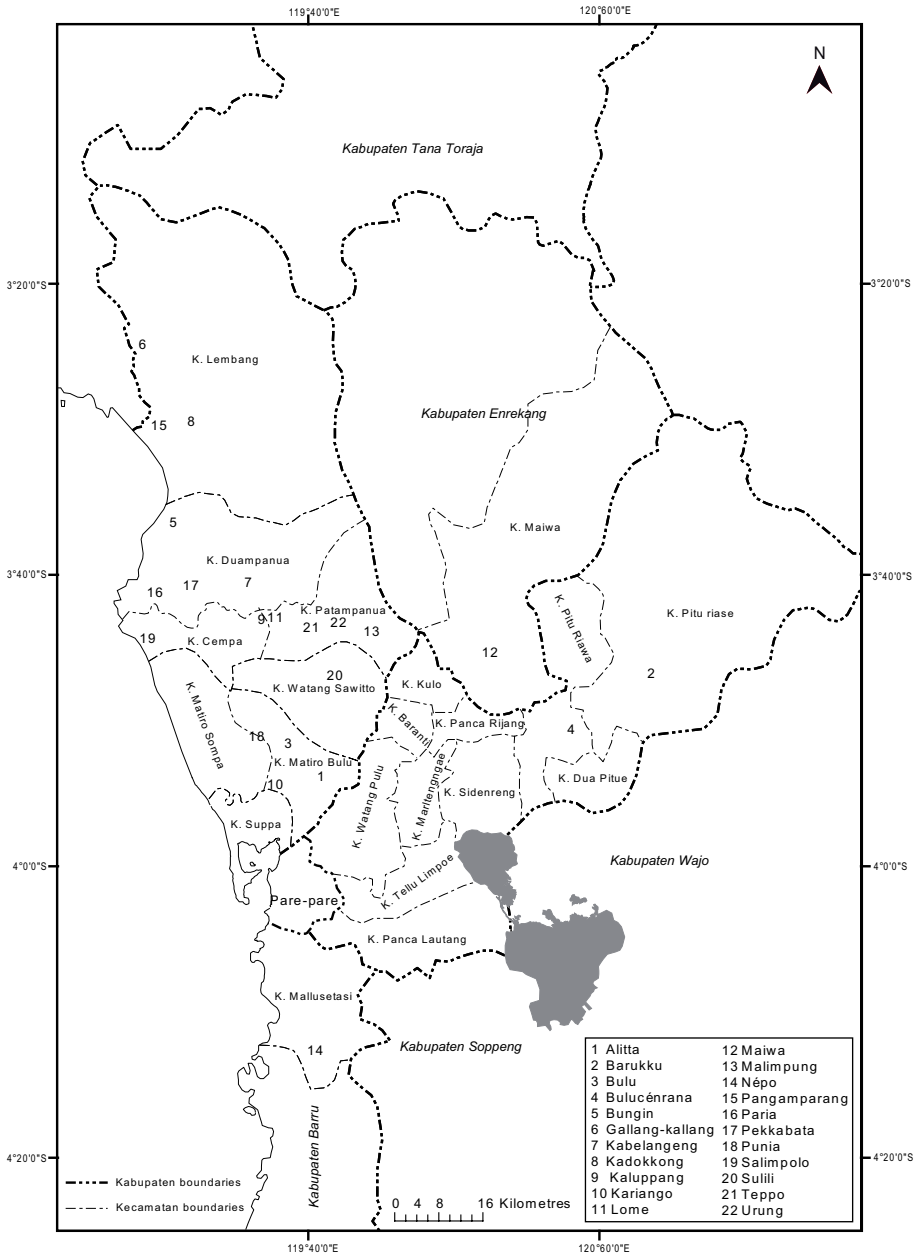


Figure 3.21. Ajattappareng kecamatan boundaries

Massenrempulu languages are spoken. In *kecamatan* Duampanua, the Sidrap dialect is spoken only in the area around Teppo, just south of where the Saddang-Sawitto branch begins.

The existence of the Sidrap dialect in these northeastern areas of Pinrang is surprising as the dialect is not spoken by their immediate neighbours to the south, who instead speak the Bugis-Sawitto dialect. Friberg and Friberg (1988:307) found that the closest linguistic relationship between this area and other areas where the Sidrap dialect is spoken was with *kecamatan* Suppa. They suggest that the Sidrap dialect spoken in northern Pinrang either originated in Suppa or that there was continuing contact between this area and Suppa by way of the sea.

The Sawitto-Bugis dialect, as noted by Friberg and Laskowske (1989:5), is regarded by Bugis-speakers as the most divergent of all Bugis dialects. The Sawitto dialect has just 74% shared cognates of Friberg and Friberg's 200 word-list with the Bone dialect, 77% with the Barru dialect, 78% with the Soppeng dialect and 84% with the Sidrap dialect spoken in Kariango (Friberg and Friberg 1988:315). According to speakers of Massenrempulu languages who speak Bugis as a second language, the Bugis-Sawitto dialect has more similarities with Massenrempulu languages than do other Bugis dialects.

The Sawitto dialect is spoken in the central part of Pinrang, from about west of Kariango and north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course, including *kecamatan* Cempa.³⁷ The Pao-Sumpang-Saddang course of the Saddang appears to mark a linguistic boundary between the Sawitto dialect and the Sidrap dialect spoken to the south of this river.

The Bugis-Barru dialect is spoken in the southwestern part of the Ajattappareng where the former Suppaq tributaries of Népo, Manuba and Palanro are located. These three settlements are today located in *kecamatan* Mallusetasi in the most northerly part of *kabupaten* Barru. According to Friberg and Friberg (1988:307), the language spoken in *kecamatan* Mallusetasi is a sub-dialect of the Bugis-Barru dialect, which they call the Népo sub-dialect.

Massenrempulu languages of the Ajattappareng region

Three Massenrempulu languages are spoken in the Ajattappareng region: Maiwa, Malimpung and Enrekang, the latter of which is represented by the Pattinjo dialect. The Maiwa language is spoken throughout *kecamatan* Maiwa

³⁷ Friberg and Friberg collected no data from *kecamatan* Cempa but according to informants, the dialect spoken in *kecamatan* Cempa is the Sawitto dialect. Their data on the Sawitto dialect were taken from *kecamatan* Matiro Sempa, Watang Sawitto and Patampanua.

in *kabupaten* Enrekang³⁸ and in the northeastern part of *kabupaten* Sidrap, from around Bulucénrana to the north (figure 3.21). Bulucénrana appears to be a transitional area between Bugis and Maiwa speakers, as people in Bulucénrana consider themselves to be ethnically Bugis but at the same time claim their language, which they refer to as *basa* Maiwang, shares similarities with the language spoken by the people of Maiwa. Oral tradition in Bulucénrana also claims that Bulucénrana and Maiwa were once a united kingdom ruled by two brothers, which suggests there have long since been close historical and cultural ties between the people of Bulucénrana and Maiwa (I.83).

Current linguistic data on the distribution of the Maiwa language in *kabupaten* Sidrap is limited, as recognized by Friberg and Laskowske (1989:9), who state the need for further linguistic study on the Maiwa language in Sidrap. My information on the Maiwa language spoken in this area is drawn from interviews with local residents who inhabit the former tributary lands of Sidénréng.³⁹ These informants consistently stated that their language was distinct from Bugis and was mutually intelligible with the Massenrempulu languages spoken in *kabupaten* Enrekang and *kecamatan* Duampanua and Patampanua in Pinrang. According to these informants, the closest linguistic relationship is with the Maiwa language, which is of little surprise as this area borders *kecamatan* Maiwa. People in some parts of north Sidrap had their own name for the language they spoke, such as those in Barukku who refer to their language as *basa cammaq* (*cammaq* language).⁴⁰ Most of the Massenrempulu-speakers of northern Sidrap speak Bugis as a second language, which is used in communication with the Bugis inhabiting the lowland areas of Sidrap.⁴¹

Pattinjo (formerly classified as a separate Massenrempulu language by linguists but now recognized as a dialect of Enrekang⁴²) is spoken in much of northern Pinrang in the areas to the north of Bungin and west of Pekkabata.

³⁸ *Kecamatan* Maiwa corresponds to the territory of the former small kingdom of Maiwa, which until the late seventeenth century was a tributary of Sidénréng (Druce 1997a:16-26).

³⁹ Further linguistic work in the rugged and largely inaccessible northeasterly parts of *kabupaten* Sidrap may reveal more Massenrempulu languages or dialects. This area borders *kabupaten* Enrekang and the mountainous part of *kabupaten* Luwu where the Toala' language (a Toraja-Saddan subfamily language) is spoken and studies may shed more light on the relationship and movement of speakers of South Sulawesi languages.

⁴⁰ The language spoken in Barukku may be closely related to Toraja-Saddan languages. According to one informant from *kabupaten* Tana Toraja who lives in Barukku, it had not been difficult for him to learn the language spoken in Barukku as the language was very similar to that spoken in Tana Toraja.

⁴¹ Some of the older people in this area can understand Bugis but not speak the language fluently.

⁴² Grimes and Grimes (1987) classify Pattinjo as a separate language. Further linguistic work (Friberg and Laskowske 1989; Grimes 2000) classifies Pattinjo as a dialect of the Enrekang Massenrempulu language.

This area includes Kabelangeng, Lome, and Kalupang, which are located in *kecamatan* Duampanua. In Kabelangeng (figure 3.21) people claim their language is distinct from Bugis and also different from the Pattinjo dialect. They refer to their language as *bahasa* Kabelangeng (Kabelangeng language); nevertheless, it was acknowledged that *bahasa* Kabelangeng is similar to the Enrekang language. Some informants also considered the Kabelangeng area to be a transitional area between the Bugis language and Pattinjo and stated that they can speak Bugis, Pattinjo and all the languages spoken in *kabupaten* Enrekang fluently, in addition to *bahasa* Kabelangeng. This may, however, reflect the fact that many Bugis-speakers and Massenrempulu-speakers from other areas have moved into this region. The ruler of Kabelangeng had the title *maq̄dika*, which is common in parts of Luwuq (see Caldwell and Druce 1998) and much of Tana Toraja (Nooy-Palm 1979).

The people who inhabit the area of *kecamatan* Lembang, which includes the Sawitto tributaries of Pangamparang, Kadokkong and Gallang-kallang, also consider themselves distinct from the Bugis.⁴³ The people of this area consider that they share greater cultural similarities with the peoples of Enrekang and, according to some informants, Tana Toraja. Pak Parita, the former head of the Kantor Kebudayaan (Cultural Office), considered that the difference between the people of this region and the Saddan-Toraja was simply the religion that they practiced. According to local informants, the language spoken in this area is Pattinjo. Most people who inhabit this area speak Bugis as a second language but some of the older people can understand Bugis but cannot speak it with fluency. As with Kabelangeng, the former title of the rulers of these lands was *maq̄dika*.

The fourth language of the Ajattappareng region, Malimpung, is spoken by about 5,000 people (Grimes 2000), most of whom live in Malimpung and Urung and a small number in Sulili, to where many Bugis-speakers have moved in recent times. Informants in the Malimpung area (as also noted by Friberg and Friberg (1985:27)) claim that their language is distinct from Bugis and the Massenrempulu languages spoken by their neighbours. These informants further claim that speakers of the Malimpung language are a distinct ethnic group.

Friberg and Friberg (1985:26-7) initially considered Malimpung to be a subdialect of the Sawitto-Bugis dialect, despite finding significant divergence between Malimpung and the Bugis language. This was later modified by Friberg and Laskowske (1989:5, 16), who changed the classification of the Malimpung language to a separate language within the Bugis language

⁴³ The linguistic map in Chapter I (figure 1.3) indicates that Bugis, as well as the Enrekang language, is spoken in the southwestern part of *kecamatan* Lembang. According to local informants, Bugis-speakers in this area are relatively recent immigrants and descendants of original inhabitants are speakers of the Pattinjo dialect of Enrekang.

family (together with Bugis and Campalagian). It is now recognized that the Malimpung language is of Massenrempulu speech form and has been classified as one of four distinct languages that make up the Massenrempulu sub-family (Grimes 2000). Despite these differences, the people of Malimpung, Urung and Sulili share more similarities with the Bugis than the other Massenrempulu-speaking peoples of Pinrang (see below).

Figure 3.22 presents an illustration overlaying figure 3.21 of the languages and dialects spoken in Ajattappareng and *kabupaten* Pinrang. The distribution of Mamasa language speakers in northern Pinrang is an estimate based on information from local informants. For the eastern part of Sidrap I am uncertain whether all inhabitants speak the Maiwa language; some may be Toala'-speakers. In keeping with the historical aims of this book, I ignore the existence of Bugis-speakers in areas where they have moved into in recent times, such as in Sulili, where they now form the majority of the population, and northwest Pinrang.

Figure 3.23 is a graphic illustration which shows topographic features in relation to the languages and dialects of the Ajattappareng region. As can be seen, the westernmost section of the linguistic boundary between the Sawitto and Sidrap dialects is marked by the Pao-Sumpang Saddang branch of the River Saddang. Speakers of Massenrempulu languages mainly inhabit the foothills and mountainous areas of the region, while the Bugis dominate the lowland area, where wet-rice cultivation is practiced.

Pre-Islamic mortuary practice in the Ajattappareng region

Bugis and Makasar mortuary practices

Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud (2005) draw attention to the contrast between mortuary practices documented from Bugis- and Makasar-speaking areas of South Sulawesi dating to between 2000 to 1000 years ago and mortuary practices dating from about the fifteenth to sixteenth century. For the former period, the archaeological data show considerable variation in mortuary practices in Bugis and Makasar speaking areas.⁴⁴ By contrast, mortuary practices in Bugis and Makasar areas dating to the fifteenth to sixteenth century are notable for their uniformity. By at least the fifteenth century, Bugis mortuary practice was cremation (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000), with the bones evidently subject to intense heat, and calcinated ashes placed in imported stoneware *martavan* or, in many cases, locally made earthenware jars. Some

⁴⁴ These mortuary practices are discussed in Bulbeck (1996-97) and Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud (2005).

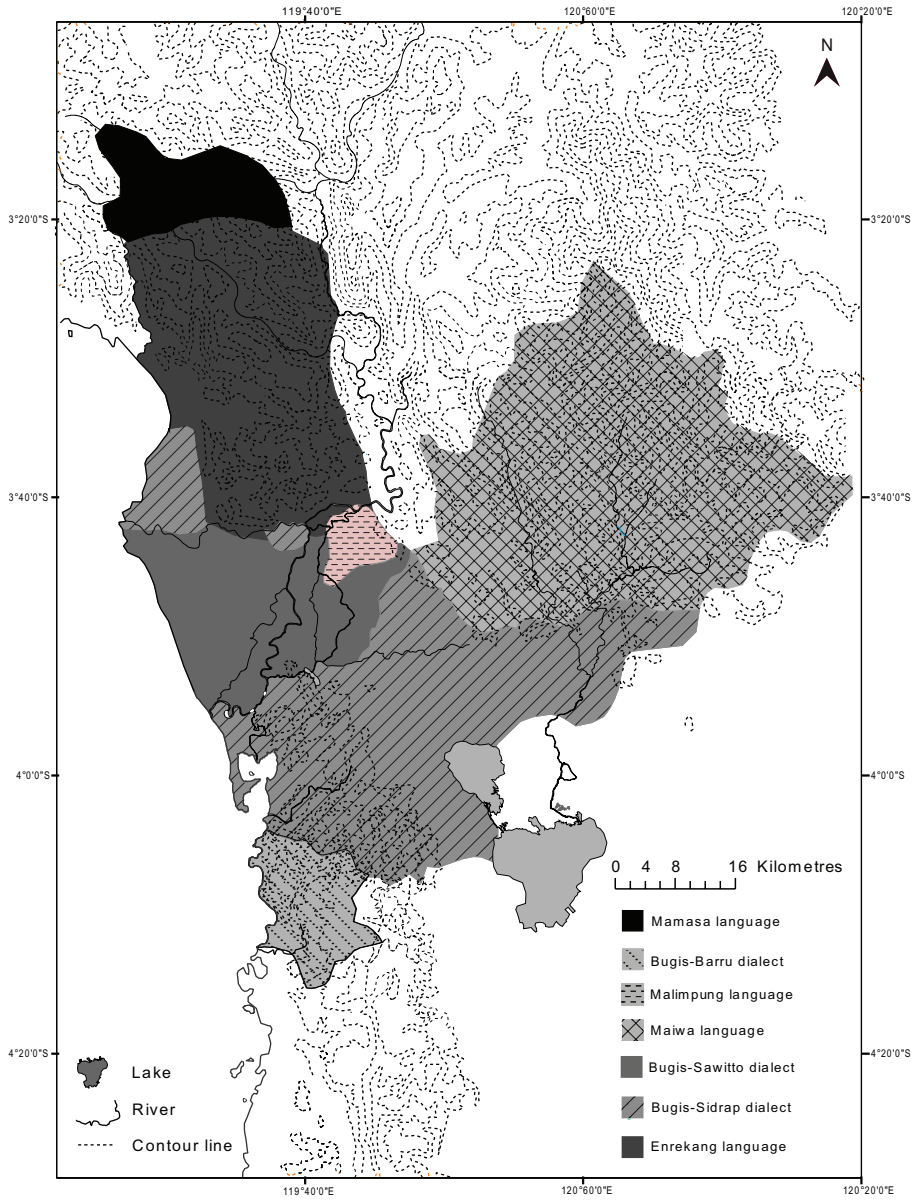


Figure 3.22. Languages of Ajattappareng

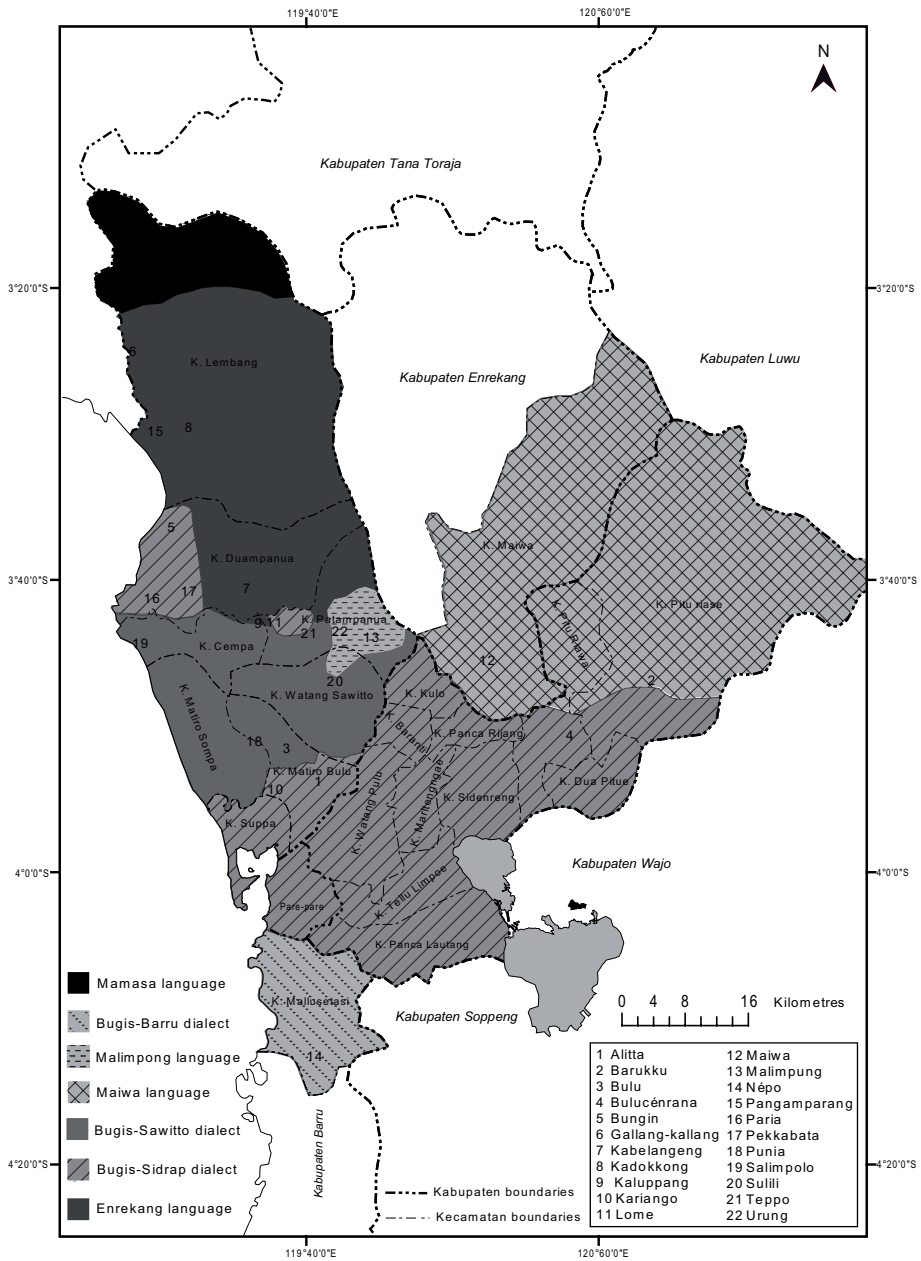


Figure 3.23. Languages and topography of Ajattappareng

of these martavan burial jars had grave goods placed beside them, and in some cases inside, such as ceramic bowls and plates, gold, *kris* (long doubled edged daggers), *badiq* (short daggers, B.) and spearheads.

The practice of cremation was probably an imitation of Javanese practices following the establishment of regular trading relationships between South Sulawesi and East Java. Evidence for a Javanese presence in South Sulawesi has now been strengthened with the apparent discovery of a Javanese burial ground in Luwuq (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:72-3; Bulbeck and Bagyo Prasetyo 2000:132). Javanese toponyms, such as Garesi and Garassiq, (Gresik), Surobaya (Surabaya) and Jiapang, are also found in coastal areas of South Sulawesi. According to an oral tradition written down in *lontaraq*, the palace of Sawitto was called Mancapai, which appears to be imitative of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (ANRIM 60/7, p. 140).

Some coastal Makasar communities also appear to have practiced cremation in about the thirteenth century, but by about 1400 the standard Makasar mortuary practice was extended inhumation, with the head directed eastwards and ceramic and stoneware plates and bowls covering parts of the corpse, such as the skull, rib cage, hips and feet (Bulbeck 1992, 1996-97). Golden death masks and golden eye and mouth covers dating from about the fourteenth century to 1600 have also been found in numerous pre-Islamic Makasar graves but were probably restricted to the ruling elite.⁴⁵

By at least the sixteenth century, cremation had become universal among Bugis-speaking societies, while Makasar-speaking societies evidently inhumed the corpse in an extended position with the head directed eastwards. This association between a common language and shared religion, which is reflected in burial practices, appears to represent a statement of ethnic identity (Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud 2005:15-7).

Mortuary practice in the Ajattappareng region

A variety of pre-Islamic mortuary practices are found in the Ajattappareng region, many of which can be dated to between about 1300 to 1600 by way of association with imported ceramic and stoneware tradewares. In the Bugis-speaking areas of Sidénréng, Suppaq, Rappang and Alitta the only pre-Islamic mortuary practice reported by looters and evident in surveys, is cremation. These cremations can be dated to between about 1400 to 1600 based on association with ceramic and stoneware tradewares. Cremations

⁴⁵ Bougas (2007) shows how such funerary items, and gold jewellery, were widespread in areas speaking Makasar languages. The greatest number of items appear to have been found in the Gowa area, with one looter reporting that he found seven gold masks weighing 40-70 grams each in pre-Islamic (probably ruling elite) graves at Kale Gowa, the old palace centre of Gowa before its move to Somba Opu in the first half of the sixteenth century (Bougas 2007:123).

are also found throughout Bugis-speaking areas of Sawitto but in a number of these areas there are also reports of several other types of mortuary practice which are often found together with cremations, such as extended inhumations, bones associated with ceramics and, in two places *mayat kering* (dried corpse). These mortuary traditions were practiced by some of the Massenrempulu-speaking peoples who inhabit the hill and mountainous regions to the north of the lowland areas of Sawitto. The occurrence of these Massenrempulu burial practices in what are today Bugis-speaking areas suggests that Massenrempulu-speaking people moved down to these lowland areas in the period before 1600.

Massenrempulu mortuary practices

To date, there has been little information published on Massenrempulu mortuary practices. Hetty Nooy-Palm (1979) and Nani Somba (1999) have commented on the Toraja style cave burials formerly practiced in some parts of Enrekang, while Darmawan et al. (1994) have presented a detailed report on *mayat kering* found in *kabupaten* Enrekang, Polmas, Tana Toraja and Luwu. Most of the information presented below concerning Massenrempulu burial practice in the Ajattappareng region is derived from interviews with looters and other local informants. From this information it is clear that, unlike the Bugis, the Massenrempulu-speaking peoples of the Ajattappareng region shared no common burial practice prior to the conversion to Islam.

In northern Sidénréng, imported tradewares have been looted from pre-Islamic graves in the Sidénréng tributaries of Kalémpang, Bétao, Paraja and Baraqmamasé (figure 3.24). Informants in Barukku reported significant imported tradeware finds in the now abandoned mountainous settlement of Baraqmamasé; no martavans were found but only plates and bowls buried together with human bones, which suggests the practice of inhumation.

In Paraja, one informant found three small plain cream-coloured jars, which, from his description, appear to have been stoneware. Two of these jars were approximately 15 centimetres in height with a large mouth of between 9 to 10 centimetres in diameter; the third was a slightly larger version of the other two. All three jars were found about 5 to 6 centimetres below the ground. The two smaller jars both contained burnt human bones (according to informants) but no cremation ash; most of these bones were about 5.5 to 6 centimetres in length, with the remaining bones about 1.5 centimetres in length.

Informants in Bétao also provided interesting information on pre-Islamic burial practice. One informant uncovered a large fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok martavan inside of which had been placed a small blue



Photograph 13. Kalémpang, northern Sidrap

and white ceramic jar about 25 centimetres in height with a lid.⁴⁶ Like the small stoneware jar found in Paraja, the blue-and-white ceramic jar contained fragments of burnt human bones, which averaged about 7 centimetres in length. The ceramic jar and martavan found in Bétao contained no cremation ash but ash was present at the site where these wares were found. According to informants, when these two imported wares, and several others like them, were unearthed, large amounts of ash, similar to burnt wood, was always found about 10 centimetres below the surface; the wares were found about 40 centimetres below this ash. Informants in Bétao have also found earthenwares, in the form of small jars, plates and bowls, buried close to where tradewares have been found and appear to represent grave goods. According to local informants, earthenware vessels have never been produced in these highland areas and were evidently imported from lowland areas together with the ceramic and stoneware tradewares. One may speculate that some of these early earthenwares grave goods in Bétao were obtained from the Bila

⁴⁶ When the informant lifted the martavan from the ground it broke in several large pieces, two of which remain at the site and allowed me to identify the martavan as Sawankhalok. The ceramic jar found inside the martavan was sold some years before and cannot be classified from the informants' description.

market, or other similar markets in the region.

An elderly informant in Barukku related an interesting oral tradition concerning burial practices that had been passed down to him by his grandmother. She told him that in former times some of the people who inhabited the northern parts of Sidénréng simply exposed the corpse of a relative on a large stone. According to his grandmother, this practice continued, albeit rarely, in some areas during her lifetime (I.2). In Bétao, another informant related an oral tradition he had been told by his parents concerning pre-Islamic burial practices. According to this story, when a person died their body was kept in the loft of the house and, after some time, simply disappeared when the wind blew. At a later time, this practice changed and the body was no longer kept in the loft of the house but was burnt. After people became Muslims, they buried their dead immediately in the ground (I.92).

The information on mortuary practices in northern Sidénréng suggests that earlier mortuary practices of the Massenrempulu-speaking people in northeastern Sidénréng, such as inhumations and exposure of the corpse, were influenced by the Bugis practice of cremation in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The cremated remains described by informants show that these cremations were not as technically sophisticated as those of the Bugis, as the intensity of the heat applied to the bones was not sufficient to reduce them to the small fragments of about 3 to 10 millimetres, which are typically found in looted pre-Islamic Bugis graveyards.⁴⁷ Furthermore, only a few cremated remains have been found in Massenrempulu-speaking areas of *kabupaten* Sidrap, which suggests that these crude cremations reported by informants were restricted to a small number of people, probably the highland ruling class who may have adopted the practice cremation in imitation of the Bugis.

In Kabelangeng, in central-northern Pinrang, detailed reports from looters reveal that the standard pre-Islamic mortuary practice of the people of Kabelangeng was extended inhumation. Informants report finding extended inhumations with the head directed to the east and the head, chest, groin and feet of the corpse closed over with ceramic and stoneware plates and bowls. Other grave goods, such as a porcelain statue about 25 centimetres in height, earthenware bracelets and numerous spearheads, *badiq* and *kris* were often placed next to the corpse.

In Kaluppang, I was shown a small coarse Chinese stoneware jar, probably dating to before the seventeenth century. These jars, and eight others like it, were reportedly found associated with unburnt whole human bones about

⁴⁷ A range of 3 to 10 millimetres is based on my experience of surveying pre-Islamic looted Bugis graveyards. Three to 10 millimetres was also the size of most bone fragments found in and around a martavan containing cremated human remains excavated at Bulubangi, reported in Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud (2005).

30 years ago by a local farmer. A small number of ceramic plates and bowls have also been found by farmers in old Lomé (about 6 kilometres northwest of modern Lomé) together with human bones. According to these farmers, no martavan were found at this site.

Further to the north, in Pangamparang, extended inhumations and significant finds of ceramic plates and bowls have also been reported. Active looting in the mountainous areas to the north and east, where Kadokkong and Gallang-kallang were located, appears to have been limited. This is probably because the original settlements, which were abandoned in the early twentieth century, are now overgrown with vegetation and difficult to locate. In the Gallang-kallang region there are reports of a number of cliff-face graves similar to those of the Saddan-Toraja. According to informants, there are also several such graves in Letta, to the east, which was not part of Sawitto in the period before 1600 but is accorded a high regional status in oral tradition from northern Pinrang. In Kadokkong, a number of east-west orientated graves are still visible in the abandoned settlement, which may indicate inhumations.

In the Malimpung area the pre-Islamic mortuary practice was cremation. Unlike the crude cremations found in parts of northern Sidénréng, the Malimpung cremations appear similar to those of the Bugis. The bones were evidently subject to intense heat and the ashes collected and placed in imported stoneware martavan. On Puaqta Sinompa, a hill in Malimpung, stands a large martavan which still contains ash from a past cremation. About a third of the martavan is buried in the ground, while the exposed part is covered by a wooden structure.⁴⁸ Close by are large numbers of sherds from stoneware martavan and ceramic plates and bowls, mostly dating to between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and small fragments of burnt bone which are characteristic of looted pre-Islamic Bugis graveyards.⁴⁹ There are also numerous reports of martavans containing cremated remains and ceramic and stoneware finds from Urung and Sulili, two other Malimpung-speaking lands.

The information on mortuary practices from the Malimpung region suggests that the Malimpung-speakers, notwithstanding their claim to be distinct from the Bugis, were strongly influenced by Bugis cultural and religious practices in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. As well as cremation, other elements of Bugis culture evidently adopted by Malimpung-speakers from the Bugis were titles. The rulers of Malimpung and Urung used the title *arung*, the only non-Bugis settlements of Sawitto to do so, whereas in

⁴⁸ The martavan was too badly weathered to make a confident identification of its type and origin.

⁴⁹ According to local informants, the sherds found on this hill are not a result of looting but have been dug up by wild pigs.



Photograph 14. Partially exposed martavan containing cremated human remains, Malimpung

Sulili (which does not appear on the Sawitto tributary and domain list) the title *matoa* was used by the headman. The pronounal gender indicators *la* and *wé*, which precede the name of nobles in the Bugis language, were also used in Malimpung and Urung. At the same time, however, Malimpung also shares mythical ancestral figures with Kadokkong and several areas of *kabupaten* Tana Toraja and Polmas. The relationship between speakers of the Malimpung language and the Bugis is discussed further below and forms part of a wider argument for a southward movement of highland people.

A movement of people

As we have seen from the linguistic data, the Malimpung language has now been classified as a Massenrempulu language but is evidently more closely related to Bugis, in particular the Sawitto Bugis dialect, than are the three other Massenrempulu languages. Friberg and Friberg (1988:307) suggest that the Malimpung language can be seen as a bridge between the Bugis language and the Massenrempulu languages spoken in Enrekang, and can be regarded as a separate language that was formed through a mixing of the Bugis and a Massenrempulu language.

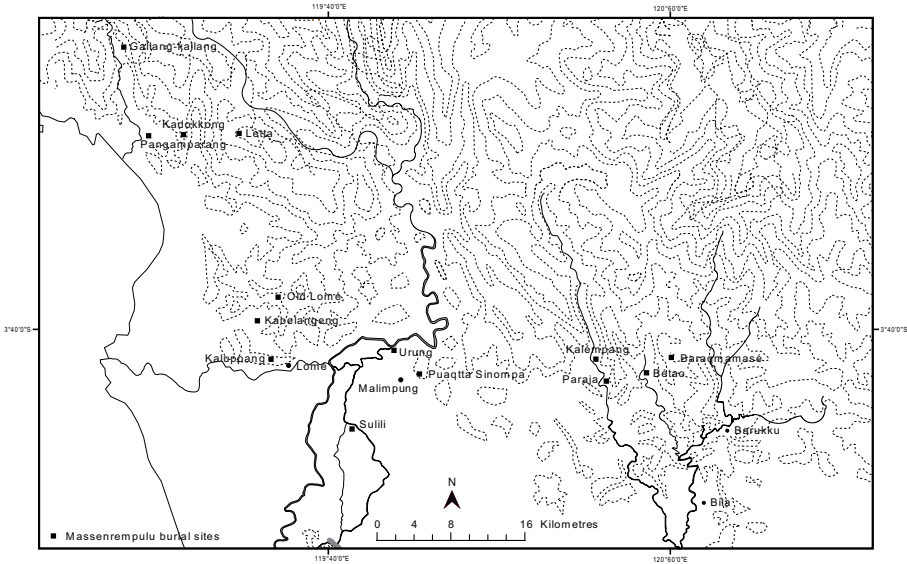


Figure 3.24. Locations of pre-Islamic Massenrempulu burial sites

Linguistic and archaeological data suggest that the ancestors of the Malimpung-speakers moved downwards into the Malimpung, Urung and Sulili region where they began to mix with the Bugis, and consequently adopted Bugis cultural and religious practices. Oral tradition from Malimpung and Urung claims that the ancestors of the present-day Malimpung-speakers moved down to this region from areas further north. In Malimpung, oral tradition claims that the founders of Malimpung came from the Enrekang region; the name of the first ruler, who is believed to be buried in Malimpung, is said to have been *Wé Lampésusu* (long breasts, Mal.). This origin figure is also found in other parts of Sawitto and in Tana Toraja and Polmas as *Lambeqsusu*. In Kadokkong, *Lambeqsusu* is one of the children of the first rulers and in Tana Toraja as a *dewi* with long breasts and a female ancestor in the Tikala region (Nooy-Palm 1979:158). In Pitu Ulunna Salu-speaking areas of Polmas, *neneq* *Lambeqsusu* is a male ancestral figure who has the ability to aid people (Koubi 1978).

An oral tradition I collected from Urung, a summary of which is presented below, claims that the rulers of Urung and the settlement of Urung itself, were indeed born from a union between Bugis and Massenrempulu-speakers:

The *datu* of Sawitto, who was called La Palancoi, went hunting with his friends. They reached Letta, where the *datu* met a beautiful girl. She was called Ibungaja and was the child of the *arung* of Letta.

The *datu* told his friends to go hunting with the *arung* of Letta so he could be alone with the girl. While alone in the house with the girl, the *datu* ordered her to cut open a papaya because he was hungry. As she cut open the papaya she sliced her hand. The *datu* examined the drops of blood on her hand and saw that it was white, like coconut milk. The *datu* decided to marry the girl.

The *datu* and his wife lived together in Letta. After some time, his wife became pregnant but the *datu* decided to return to Sawitto before the child was born. Before he left, the *datu* said that if the child is born a boy to call it La Patiroi *daéng* Masita and if born a girl to call her I Mannennungeng. The *datu* also said to tell the child to come and make a request from him and to follow him.

A boy was born and given the name La Patiroi. He became the *arung* of Letta. Some time later, La Patiroi went to see the *datu* and told him that he is his son, which the *datu* acknowledged. La Patiroi then requested some land from the *datu*, enough for three buffalo holes, that will show he is a person of Sawitto. The *datu* pointed to an area where his banana trees were and told La Patiroi that if he liked the area then he could take it. La Patiroi liked the area because there were many buffalo, a field, a vast forest and marshland.

La Patiroi rounded up the buffalo then chose a large one, which he slaughtered. He cut off the buffalo's skin (in strips) and spread it out. Then asked the *datu*: 'Where is the boundary of what I can take, lord?' The *datu* answered that he could take wherever it is that he wished to take. La Patiroi spread out the skin of the buffalo taking all of Bulu Pécakeng and Bulu Dua. He spread it to the north, to Urung, then as far as Bulu Jampu. He wanted to reach as far as Lémó-lémó but the buffalo skin he was using as a measure was not enough so he used the bones of the buffalo as extra length and reached Lémó-lémó. When he finished measuring that was the origin of Urung.

The *datu* told him that the area he had taken was vast but La Patiroi answered that he had taken only one buffalo, and when its skin was finished he used its bones. Eventually the *datu* told him to take the land he had measured out and to give the place a name so that it would be known by people. La Patiroi said that he would call his land Uru. The *datu* said: 'Why Uru?' La Patiroi answered: '[Because] I wanted to take enough to make a place for buffalo (*uru-ngeng tédong*).'⁵⁰ (I.34.)

Oral tradition from other Massenrempulu parts of the Ajattappareng region also claim that people moved down from mountainous areas to the low hills bordering the fertile rice-growing plains. In parts of northern Sidénréng, such as Botto and Paraja, present-day inhabitants claim that their ancestors moved down to these areas from the mountainous areas to the north. These oral traditions simply tell of the origin of settlements and inhabitants and are more likely to contain historical truth than origin myths, which serve to explain the origin of the present social order and legitimize the position of

⁵⁰ The etymology of the name Urung.

the ruling elite. In parts of Sidénréng and Sawitto, there are also a number of other oral traditions which tell of people moving down from highland areas to lowland Bugis-speaking areas of the region. An oral tradition from Maiwa, which tells of how the warriors of Maiwa helped Boné attack Luwuq at the request of Sidénréng, contains the following passage, purportedly spoken by the ruler of Maiwa to his brother:

'You are more worthy [as ruler] my brother. Return to Maiwa and take my place, also give positions to all those who attacked Luwuq together with you. I have decided to go down to live in the land of the Bugis and open rice fields.' (Muhammad Sikki et al. 1986:320.)

This tradition contains a common Austronesian theme of sibling conflict and the departure of the disaffected party. Nevertheless, the reference to opening rice fields in the Bugis lowlands may have historical bases and reflects a movement of high status nobles to lowland areas in search of economic opportunities.

This image of highland nobles seeking economic opportunities in lowland areas is also found in an oral tradition that explains the origin of the Sawitto tributary of Langnga, which can be summarized as follows:

The child of the *arung* of Énrékang often went down to the lowland areas of Sawitto but was always called back to Énrékang by his parents. His parents asked him why he liked the land of Sawitto so much and he replied that in Sawitto there was nothing to impede his view. Then one day his father said to him: 'If you like the land of Sawitto so much, you may go to live there and open some land.' Before he left, his father gave him some sesame (*langnga*, B.) and tuber seeds to take with him to plant in his new land. He arrived in Langnga, where he opened rice fields and planted the sesame and tuber seeds. Boats sailing past Langnga saw the sesame and tubers growing and stopped to ask what the plants were called. The child of the *arung* of Énrékang told them that they were called *langnga* (sesame) and *lamé*. From that time on his land was known as Langnga. (I.40; I.43.)⁵¹

Many people in Langnga believe that the present population are derived from a mix between Bugis and people from the Enrekang region. Informants in Langnga told me that in the 1930s descendants of nobles in Énrékang still laid claim to about 150 hectares of wet-rice land in Langnga based on ancient ancestral ties. This claim was acknowledged in Langnga and financial compensation was paid to the Énrékang nobles (I.9; I.40).

An oral tradition from Sumpang Saddang also tells of an Énrékang presence in the area. This oral tradition serves to explain the origin of a *keramat* in Sumpang Saddang, where the people of Sumpang Saddang and surrounding

⁵¹ This tradition also explains the origin of Palaméang (*lamé*: tuber, B.), a coastal village within the Langnga area.

area make requests. Today, this *keramat* is in the form of an Islamic grave, which has been renovated on several occasions, housed inside a small concrete structure. According to oral tradition, beneath the Islamic grave lies an east-west orientated *duni* (wooden coffin) which contains the remains of an Énrékang noble who came to live in Sumpang Saddang (I.70). A tradition related to me by an informant from outside Sumpang Saddang, claims that the *duni* contains the remains of the grandfather of an Énrékang noble who became ruler in the Sumpang Saddang-Lanriseng area. This tradition states that the grandfather wanted to be buried close to his grandson and came to Sumpang Saddang shortly before his death (I.43).

Looters and local farmers describe finding what appear to be pre-Islamic Massenrempulu burials in Bugis-speaking parts of Sawitto, which suggest that these stories of Massenrempulu-speaking peoples moving down and settling in lowland areas have substance. In Saloq, at least five east-west orientated extended inhumations with ceramic plates and bowls covering the skeleton were found close to large numbers of martavan containing cremated remains. In Punia, looters also report finding several extended inhumations close to the former river, which again were east-west orientated with ceramics placed over the skeleton. This area, which was cleared for rice farming in the 1970s, also contained large numbers of martavan containing cremated remains and other ceramic and stoneware vessels. In Lérang, human bones associated with ceramic plates and bowls have been found. As with the two sites mentioned above, cremated remains in martavan were also present at the site.

The greatest number of reported extended inhumations in Bugis-speaking areas comes from Paria. The original settlement of Paria, which was abandoned prior to Indonesian independence and a new village established 3 kilometres to the east, was subject to looting when the area was cleared for rice farming. When this land was cleared, a large number of martavan containing ash were found together with a great number of east-west orientated extended inhumations, with varying quantities of ceramic plates and bowls placed over the head, knees, groin and chest of the skeletons. The people who participated in this looting are adamant that these inhumations and cremations were mixed together in the same area with no evident dividing line, which indicates that these two different burial systems appear to have coexisted. One small patch of garden land remains close to the looted area, where a few graves can be found. Some of these graves are clearly Islamic, while others are marked by single *nisan* (stone grave markers) which average about 50 centimetres in height and are megalithic in appearance. According to local informants, the looted area once had a number of similar *nisan* but they were removed by local people who used them for building work some time before the looting took place. These *nisan* may have marked the east-west inhumations.

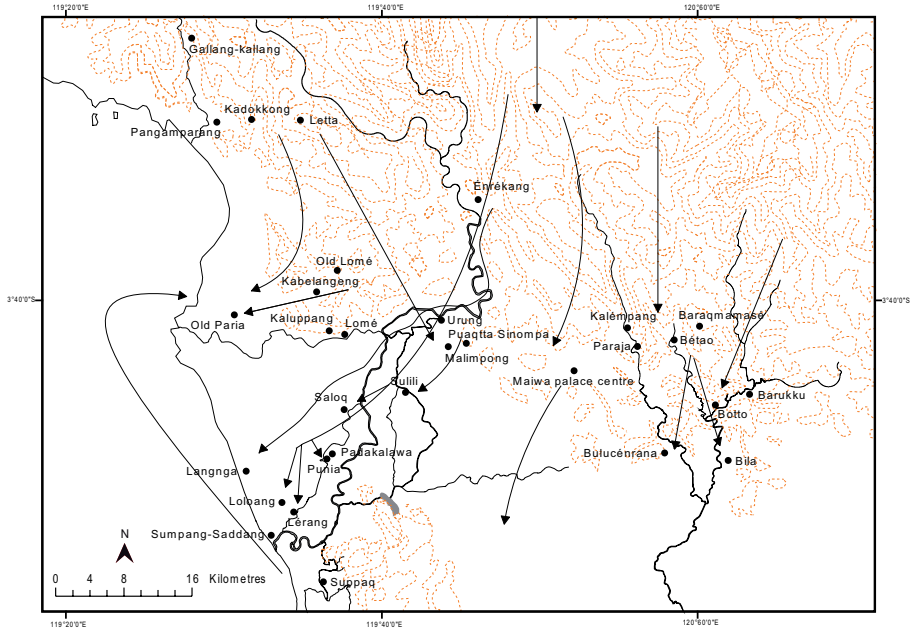


Figure 3.25. Proposed movement of people in Ajattappareng before 1600

The people of Paria are ethnically Bugis and one could speculate that the two different burial systems that appear to have coexisted in Paria may be evidence of a transition in Bugis burial practice from extended inhumations to cremations. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Bugis-speakers ever practiced extended inhumations in this region, or indeed in any Bugis-speaking area. The most probable explanation for the large number of extended inhumations in Paria is that they represent graves of Massenrempulu-speaking peoples who moved down from the hill and mountainous areas to the east of Paria, perhaps to work rice fields, and mixed with the Bugis of Paria who, according to the linguistic data, may themselves have moved up to this region from Suppaq.

In addition to extended inhumations, there are also several reports of *mayat kering* being found in several lowland areas of Sawitto. *Mayat kering* have been found in caves in *kabupaten* Enrekang, Tana Toraja, Polmas and Luwu (Darmawan et al. 1994), and according to local informants, in several areas of *kabupaten* Pinrang, mainly in the highlands, where people actively search for them because they can be sold for large sums of money to certain individuals who believe supernatural powers can be obtained from them. In the lowland area of Sawitto, there are several second-hand reports of *mayat*

kering found in Padakalawa, Lérang, and two eyewitness accounts from Loloang. One of these eyewitnesses stated that he had seen several *mayat kering* found in *duni* in Loloang, all of which were associated with ceramic tradewares.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges from the archaeological, linguistic and oral data presented in the second half of this chapter, is one of diverse groups of highland people moving down and settling the hill and lowland areas of Sawitto and Sidénréng, where they interacted and mixed with Bugis communities. Small groups from highland communities had probably been moving down to these areas for millennia but the pre-Islamic Massenrempulu burials associated with ceramic tradewares that are found in Bugis-speaking areas suggest that there was an intensification of this process in the period after 1300.

The impetus which lay behind this intensified movement of people was probably linked to the advent of regular external trade in lowland areas from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. As shown in Chapter I, this was closely related to a major expansion of wet-rice agriculture. Rice appears to have been the main product the lowland kingdoms exchanged for ceramic tradewares and other elite goods but highland produce was also in demand by foreign traders. The source of many such items was outside the control of the lowland ruling elite and demand for these goods would have stimulated interaction between the Bugis and their highland neighbours, leading to trade alliances and the development of tributary relationships. Lowland kingdoms also required labour to work rice fields and fighting men for protection against competitors, which was a function filled by the Tellu Lembang confederation (Chapter I), and to bring new areas under their control. Indeed, stories written down in the chronicles of Boné, Wajoq, Gowa and Talloq remember this period of agricultural expansion as one of fierce competition and warfare for control of agricultural land.

Increasing economic interaction between highland and lowland groups would have provided economic opportunities for ambitious high-ranking nobles from highland communities. This increasing economic interaction would have provided an incentive for ambitious members of the highland elite to move closer to lowland areas and establish new settlements in strategic locations where highland-lowland exchanges could be controlled. This was perhaps why Massenrempulu-speaking people moved into the Urung-Malimpung-Sulili region, in that Urung controlled the upper reaches of the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the river and the route leading into the more mountainous areas to the north.

Other highland groups evidently moved into the lowlands and established new settlements in areas with rich agricultural potential where they began to practice wet-rice agriculture and mix with the Bugis communities. At the same time, Bugis communities were also expanding into new regions with agricultural potential such as Paria, which the linguistic data suggest was settled by Bugis from Suppaq. The archaeological, linguistic and oral evidence suggests that these developments were most prominent in the Sawitto region, particularly the area to the west of the Saddang-Tiroang branch and to the north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course where the Bugis-Sawitto dialect is spoken. This may explain why this dialect is the most divergent of all Bugis dialects. Indeed, it is in the Sawitto region that we find evidence for the development of several multiethnic polities, most notably in Paria.

Facilitating this movement of people, trade, agriculture and the economic and political development of the Ajattappareng region was the River Saddang, which connected the coastal areas to the highland regions and provided irrigation for wet-rice agriculture. Another important waterway was the Bila river, which connected lowland areas to the foothills around Bila in northern Sidénréng, where economic and cultural exchanges took place between highland communities and Bugis-speakers at the Bila market.

Some of the highland communities that moved southwards appear to have maintained some affiliation, and certainly retained genealogical links in oral traditions, with their ancestral homelands to the north (see Chapter IV). As places of origin, some of these originator highland settlements would have been accorded precedence by their descendants. This, in part at least, helps to explain origin traditions in Sawitto and Sidénréng which claim that the founders of these kingdoms came from the Toraja highlands. These are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Origin and precedence in Ajattappareng A historical perspective

Introduction

This chapter explores the concepts of 'origins and precedence' in the Ajattappareng region, and South Sulawesi in general, through an examination of origin traditions. This examination begins with an overview of Austronesian ideas of origin and precedence, which are of fundamental importance to most Austronesian-speaking societies and can provide an important understanding of social relationships between political groupings in these societies. Peter Bellwood (1996) has even suggested that these ideas may have been important cultural factors which played a role in the expansion of Austronesian-speaking peoples. The chapter then examines these notions in the South Sulawesi context considered at two levels: between rulers and ruled, and between individual settlements. The following section examines origin traditions from the Ajattappareng region, which encompass written genealogies, oral traditions that tell of the origin of ruling families, traditions which claim to tell of the origin of the Ajattappareng confederation itself, and traditions from the former Toraja polity of Simbuang, which tell of ties with Sawitto.

The purpose of this examination is to see what can be learnt from oral and written traditions about the early history of the Ajattappareng region, and of relationships between the Ajattappareng kingdoms. Some traditions shed light on the origins of the Ajattappareng kingdoms, while others reveal information that dates to later periods in their past. In addition, I examine how traditions relating to origin and precedence function in a historical context, and how perceptions of the past have changed through history.

Austronesian ideas of origin and precedence

In most Austronesian-speaking societies, 'origins' are of paramount social and political importance. Ideas of origin among these societies are found in a wide variety of forms which are expressed through complex origin traditions. These origin traditions may tell of a journey made by predecessors in which a sequence of place names is recited (known as topogeny); the founding of a particular settlement by an ancestor, or ancestors; stories of contests between different social groups or individuals in order to establish certain rights; or the arrival of a 'stranger king'.¹ Whatever form these traditions take, their main function is to establish social difference between individuals, social groups or individual polities through recourse to origin. It is this social difference that forms the basis to claims of precedence: a priority, seniority or superiority in various matters that can relate to rights over land, resources, political offices or, in some cases, simply the ritual seniority of one group over another which may not necessarily translate into any political or economic ascendancy. As opposed to the term hierarchy, particularly in the sense of Louis Dumont (1980), precedence in Austronesian-speaking societies is not an all-encompassing fixed concept but can be disputed, with competing claims calling upon different traditions and ancestors.

Origin and precedence in South Sulawesi

In South Sulawesi, ideas of origin and precedence function on two basic levels. The first of these levels concerns claims of social differentiation and precedence made by the ruling families of individual settlements in relation to the common people who inhabit those settlements. The second level relates to the wider political landscape of South Sulawesi where an individual settlement may claim precedence over another settlement, generally by claiming to have been founded at an earlier point in time. In some examples, a settlement may relate a tradition that claims that the ruling line of the settlement over which it claims precedence is descended from its own ruling family. This second level can be construed as claims relating to orders of precedence between the ruling families of South Sulawesi's settlements.

While the first level, social difference between rulers and commoners, provides ideological justification for rights to political offices, land and resources, the second level is not necessarily indicative of any political or economic ascendancy. Indeed, a seemingly unimportant settlement may claim precedence over a much larger and more powerful settlement through

¹ See, for example, Sahlins 1985; Fox 1995, 1997; Fox and Sather 1996.

recourse to origin. Such a claim may be acknowledged or rejected by the more powerful settlement. In addition, political and economic achievement by a particular settlement may lead to that settlement making new claims of origin and precedence in relation to other settlements.

Rulers, commoners and blood

The ruling families of South Sulawesi's settlements claim social differentiation and precedence over the common people by tracing their ancestry, through oral or written genealogies, to apical founding rulers. These founding rulers are most commonly *tomanurung* (one who descends from the Upperworld; generally a male) or *totompoq* (one who ascends from the Underworld; generally a female). Alternatively, the founding ruler can be a prince or princess from another settlement who is a white-blooded descendant of the founding *tomanurung* or *totompoq* of the place from where they came.² The stories that tell of the arrival of these founding rulers follow a common theme and many contain similar formulaic expressions spoken by them and the ordinary people. Typically, the founding ruler appears, or arrives, in a settlement made up of a varying number of villages. The people of these settlements, represented by their *matoa* (headmen, B.), request that the *tomanurung*, *totompoq*, or foreign prince or princess become their ruler. In the dialogue that follows, the obligations and position of both parties are set out. The obligation of the founding ruler is the welfare and prosperity of the people, which includes the agricultural fertility of the settlement.³ In return, the people promise to follow, obey and not to act treacherously towards the ruler, and provide him or her with a palace, land and servants. The following example is an agreement made between the *tomanurung* of Soppéng and the 60 *matoa* of Soppéng:

'We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not go away. We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold and [you lead us] near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' Our lord who descended said, 'How will it be, headmen, if I come up to Soppéng, for I do not have a house.' The sixty headmen replied together, 'We will build you a house, O blessed one.' Our lord said, 'Will you headmen fill the house? For I have no servants of my own.' The headmen said, 'We will send over our children and

² In most stories, the founder later marries someone of the same status from another settlement. In other stories, a male *tomanurung* and female *totompoq* arrive together, as is the case with most Massenrempulu stories.

³ The relationship between rulership and agricultural fertility is reflected in the former practice whereby the rulers of settlements began the ploughing of the land before rice planting by placing a sacred plough on the ground of a sacred rice field.

grandchildren.' Our lord who descended said, 'How will I feed the people of my house?' The headmen who comprised West [and] East [Soppéng] replied together, saying, 'We will go and open fields.' Our lord who descended at Sékkanili said, 'You will not all act treacherously towards me? You will not wrongfully depose me?' So they said simply, 'Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them.' (Caldwell 1988:99.)

Some origin traditions make it clear that if the ruler acts unkindly towards the people then he or she can be removed. An example is an origin tradition I collected from Manuba, a tributary of Suppaq:

The people of Manuba said: 'We wish to make you *arung* of this place.' The person who was to be made *arung* said: 'I have a condition, which must be accepted first, people of Manuba. You, people of Manuba, must have no other lord, none among you must act as a lord, I alone am your lord.'

The people of Manuba said: 'We accept your condition, lord, but you must also accept our condition.' The person who was to be made *arung* said: 'What is also your condition, people of Manuba?' The people of Manuba said: 'We will establish *paqbicara*, lord.'⁴ If the disposition of the *arung* becomes unkind towards the people then the *arung* can be removed by the council and we will take back our wealth.' (I.54.)

In the above tradition, the prospective ruler is the son of a *datu* of Suppaq; that he can be removed may relate to the relationship between Manuba and Suppaq, implying that Manuba will renounce its tributary status if Suppaq acts in a dictatorial manner. However, there are a number of instances in South Sulawesi historical sources where rulers have been removed. In the early 1590s, Tunipasuluq, a ruler of Gowa, was removed by the nobles of Gowa and Talloq and replaced by his brother because of his despotic rule, which had led to a number of foreign traders leaving the kingdom (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:54-56). Another example is that of La Samaléwa, an early seventeenth century ruler of Wajoq, who was deposed by Wajoq nobles and the people of Wajoq because of arbitrary actions (Abdurrazak Dg. Patunru 1983:53).

Origin traditions can also set out a ruler's exclusive right to certain resources. The following extracts are taken from agreements said to have been made between the first ruler of Sidénréng and the representatives of the people (Druce 1999:31-4):

The *aqdaoang* of Sidénréng said: 'What will you give me to show that you are surrendering your authority?' The eight *matoa* said: 'We give you the right to establish monopolies.' The *aqdaoang* of Sidénréng said: 'I will own the salt, I will own the *sirih* (betel leaves). I will also own the transvestites and the dwarfs.'

⁴ In the traditional Bugis political systems, *paqbicara* (literally, 'someone who talks') were responsible for upholding the law and administering fines.

'I have more to request', said the *aqdaoang*. 'What else do you request', replied the eight *matoa*. The *aqdaoang* said: 'When you have acquired goods of value, send them up to the palace. When you have paid four old *riél* [as tax] you may take [the goods].'⁵

The monopolies on salt and *sirih* set out in this origin tradition from Sidénréng are referred to in early twentieth century Dutch sources.⁶ In the Sidénréng origin tradition, these monopolies are given the highest legal authority by claiming that they were agreed with the first ruler of Sidénréng.

In most origin stories, the *tomanurung*, *totompoq* or foreign prince or princess marries a partner who also has white-blood. This notion is particularly important as the ruling elite were ranked according to their degree of white-blood and, at least in theory, only those who had the purest white-blood could succeed as a kingdom's ruler.⁷ 'Blood-blending' occurred when a man of high rank took secondary wives from commoner or slave classes, which resulted in a complex ranking system in which the rank of an individual was determined by their level of white-blood.⁸ Women were forbidden to marry below their rank and acted as status markers for their individual kin group. In reality, there appears to have been some opportunity for lower ranking individuals within the ruling elite to rise in rank through personal qualities and achievements, although this would be interpreted as recognition or re-evaluation of status rather than an acquisition of status.⁹

In most settlements, just one origin tradition for the ruling elite can be found in various versions. A few settlements, however, have more than one origin tradition, which may reflect successive historical developments, such as changing political and economic alliances. For example, a new tradition may come into being which traces the origin of a settlement's founding rulers to another settlement that later came to be seen as more prestigious, as appears to have been the case for a Sidénréng origin tradition (below). An

⁵ *Riél*: from *rial*, a Spanish silver coin imported by English and Dutch traders.

⁶ Vogel 1908:176. Royal monopolies on salt appear to have been common in inland kingdoms. The rulers of Alitta (Van Braam Morris 1892:196) and Rappang (Vogel 1908:178) also had monopolies on salt.

⁷ The concept of white-blood is found among all ethnic groups in South Sulawesi who speak languages belonging to the South Sulawesi language group (see Chapter I).

⁸ Mattulada (1985:25-9) sets out these ranking systems for both the Bugis and Makasar. On ranking systems in Bugis society, see also Pelras (1996:169-70). Similar ranking systems existed among other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi who speak South Sulawesi languages, most notably the Mandar and speakers of Massenrempulu and Toraja-Saddan languages.

⁹ Millar 1989:29. In his exhaustive analysis of sixteenth and seventeenth century Makasar genealogies, Bulbeck (1996:301) shows how ascribed status for male Makasar nobility was continually reassessed in accordance with individual achievement: 'A man who failed to earn the required status lost his (potential) natal membership and either started a new status lineage or married into a lesser status lineage.'

origin tradition may also be modified in order to accommodate later political and economic relationships, by claiming that the founding rulers of both settlements married each other. Wajoq has at least five origin traditions for its ruling elite (Abdurrazak Dg. Patunru 1983:8-12), which probably reflects the changing political and economic relationships in the region over time. In other instances, however, the existence of opposing traditions of origin for the ruling elite reflects what appears to have been competition between different groups, either within a kin group or between different kin groups. In either case, different ancestors might be called upon in order to support these claims.

Origin traditions are occasionally found for domain lands. Such traditions indicate that the domain was once an independent settlement but became integrated into the central kingdom, probably through force. An example of this appears to be Cempa, which became incorporated into the kingdom of Sawitto in this manner and is discussed later in this chapter.

Precedence between settlements

Claims of precedence between settlements can vary in their purpose and can be contested. Oral traditions exist for most tributary lands which set out relations of precedence between themselves and the kingdom to which they are attached. Some tributary lands, such as Urung (Chapter III) and Manuba (above) acknowledge the precedence of the kingdoms to which they are attached through origin traditions that claim that the tributary's founding ruler, or a parent of the founding ruler, is descended from one of the kingdom's rulers.

Many other tributary lands in South Sulawesi, however, claim precedence over the kingdom to which they are attached by claiming to have been founded at an earlier period in time, sometimes stating that it was an ancestor, or ancestors, from the tributary land who founded the kingdom. At the same time, these oral traditions will acknowledge the tributary status of the land in relation to the kingdom. An example is the Sawitto tributary of Kabelangeng, which oral tradition claims was founded before Sawitto. The relationship between Kabelangeng and Sawitto is embodied in the phrase *macowa* Kabelangeng *kakaq* Sawitto (Kabelangeng is older [but] Sawitto is the elder sibling (B., E.) (I.55). This phrase serves to set out Kabelangeng's precedence over Sawitto while acknowledging Sawitto as the more powerful of the two.¹⁰

¹⁰ Power relations between allied settlements were often expressed in terms of sibling relations. An example of this is the 1582 *tellumpoccoé* agreement between Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng

Another example of a tributary claiming precedence over the kingdom to which it is attached is Umpungeng, a fortified mountain settlement located in the southwestern part of *kabupaten* Soppéng. Umpungeng claims precedence over Soppéng in an oral tradition which highlights the former's earlier origin, while at the same time acknowledging its tributary status. This claim is acknowledged today by the descendants of the ruling family of Soppéng, who state that when the *datu* of Soppéng met the *arung* of Umpungeng, the *datu* could not be seated above him. If the *arung* of Umpungeng was seated on the floor then the *datu* of Soppéng would also seat himself on the floor. Furthermore, a new *datu* of Soppéng could not be inaugurated were the *arung* of Umpungeng not present at the ceremony.¹¹

In some cases, the purpose behind a tributary's claim to be older than the kingdom may have been a way of affirming its independence and resisting further integration. However, many of these claims appear to contain some historical truth, in particular when the precedence of the tributary is acknowledged by the kingdom. What is most striking about such traditions is that they appear to contain a memory of a time before the emergence of kingdoms in South Sulawesi, when the largest political entities were simple chiefdoms (*wanua*, B., *banoa*, *banua*, M.). In Sidénréng and Sawitto, many hill and highland settlements claim to be older than these two kingdoms, which perhaps reflects some memory of highland people moving down to the lowland areas where they established settlements that were later to become more powerful.

The order of precedence between tributary lands within the kingdom is often contested, as is the case between the Malimpung-speaking lands of Urung and Malimpung. Urung claims that the rulers of Malimpung were descended from Urung's first ruler, La Patiroi (see Chapter III) and that Urung once ruled Malimpung. This claim is rejected in Malimpung, where oral tradition claims that their rulers are descended from Wé Lampésusu, the first ruler of Malimpung (see Chapter II). Urung's claim of precedence over Malimpung appears, in part at least, to be driven by its position in the modern administrative units. Following the establishment of Dutch rule in the region at the beginning of the twentieth century, Urung was placed in *district* Malimpung and today is part of *desa* Malimpung. The people of Urung claim that its present-day position as one of several settlements that make up *desa* Malimpung does not reflect Urung's historical importance. Today, Urung's claim to precedence over Malimpung is quoted by several local figures in an

in which Boné was the older sibling, Wajoq the middle sibling and Soppéng the younger sibling (Macknight and Muhlis n.d.). In other instances, kinship terms such as mother and child were employed in order to set out even greater inequalities in power.

¹¹ Druce 1997b:43. Some oral traditions concerning Umpungeng also claim that the rulers of Soppéng originated from Umpungeng.

attempt to have the name of the *desa* changed to Urung. This present-day dispute emphasizes how traditions of origin and precedence continue to function in the twenty-first century.

Kingdoms that became more powerful over other kingdoms attempted to claim precedence. For example, an oral tradition from Boné claims that Sidénréng's first ruler was sent by the ruling family of Boné. The tradition further claims that this is the reason why the title of Sidénréng's rulers was *aqdatuang*, which, according to the Boné tradition, is derived from the word *aqdituang* (to be sent, B.) (1.77). This attempt by Boné to assert precedence over Sidénréng is rejected by people in Sidénréng.¹²

Origin and precedence in Ajattappareng

In this section, I examine traditions of origin for the Ajattappareng kingdoms. These traditions encompass written and oral genealogies as well as narratives. The first is an oral tradition that sets out an order of precedence between the kingdoms. This is followed by an examination of written genealogies. Much of the remaining sections focus on origin traditions for Sidénréng and Sawitto, which tell a different story to those of the Ajattappareng genealogies.

An order of precedence among the Ajattappareng kingdoms

I am aware of several versions of oral tradition which sets out an order of precedence between the five Ajattappareng kingdoms by telling of an agreement that took place between the five kingdoms. This tradition states that the rulers of the five kingdoms who made this agreement were five brothers of the same parents. It is the order in which the brothers are born that is important as this determines each of the brother's, and their respective kingdom's, precedence; the names and origin of the parents are rarely mentioned or considered important.

When these traditions are told in Sidénréng, Suppaq, Rappang or Alitta, the oldest of the five brothers becomes the ruler of Sidénréng, and the second oldest becomes ruler of Sawitto. When the tradition is told in the Sawitto region, however, the order is often reversed, with the oldest brother becoming ruler of Sawitto and the second oldest ruler of Sidénréng, perhaps

¹² This Boné tradition is also cited by Abdurrazak Dg. Patunru (1968:47), who writes that the people of Sidénréng refute this claim by pointing out that before Islam the rulers of Sidénréng had the title *aqdaoang*.

reflecting competition for leadership between the two largest members of the Ajattappareng confederation. In all versions of the tradition, the third child became ruler of Rappang, and the fourth the ruler of Suppaq. After some time, another brother is born but there is no land for him to rule. One of the brothers points out that there is some land at the foot of a mountain and suggests that the youngest brother become ruler of that place.¹³ One day, one of the four older brothers asks after the youngest brother, saying: 'What is the work of *anritta*?' (our younger brother/sibling, B.), which explains the origin of the name Alitta, and serves to confirm Alitta's position as the lowest ranking member of the Ajattappareng confederation.

Following this, the brothers build a house with five rooms, where they could meet. This is followed by the swearing of an oath, the content of which varies among people who tell this tradition. Most versions state that the brothers agreed that there was one house (the Ajattappareng confederation) divided into five parts (the five Ajattappareng kingdoms). The children (the people of the five lands) could enter and leave whichever part they wished, but must remain loyal to their own ruler (I.13; I.27; I.64; I.75; I.76; I.95).¹⁴

These traditions probably have some historical basis, in that it is reasonable to conclude that there were agreements between the five kingdoms that encompassed economic co-operation and matters relating to war and defence, which were probably reiterated on ceremonial occasions and, by at least the sixteenth century, reinforced through marriage. The orders of precedence set out in these traditions, however, date to no earlier than the mid- to late sixteenth century, and perhaps even as late as the nineteenth century. Written genealogies for the Ajattappareng kingdoms, which are examined in the following section, indicate that an earlier order of precedence, dating to at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, placed Suppaq before Sidénréng. Suppaq's less important position in the tradition summarized above, is probably a reflection of its nineteenth century decline, which saw Sidénréng take over its tributaries of Népo, Manuba and Palanro.

¹³ In another version, the four older brothers each give some land to the younger brother.

¹⁴ According to Burhanuddin Pabbijara (1974:42-4), this agreement took place in a small village in Suppaq called Ajattappareng and was made by the *aqdaoang* of Sidénréng La Patequngi, the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto Palétéang, the *datu* of Suppaq La Makaraié, and the *arung* of Rappang, La Pakkollongi, who was also the *arung* of Alitta. While it is possible that an agreement once took place in Suppaq between the five lands, it is unlikely to have been between the four rulers mentioned by Burhanuddin as both Palétéang and Makaraié were probably dead when La Patequngi and La Pakkollongi became rulers of their respective kingdoms (see figures 4, 4.1 and 4.2).

Written Ajattappareng genealogies

The earliest reliable historical information for the Ajattappareng kingdoms can be backdated no earlier than about 1500. This information is found in a number of closely related written genealogies, some of which claim to speak for either Sidénréng, Suppaq or Sawitto (figures 4, 4.1 and 4.2) and provide additional information concerning the ruling lines of their respective kingdoms. Other genealogies have no obvious orientation towards any of the Ajattappareng kingdoms. Nor do there do not appear to be any written genealogies that speak for Rappang and Alitta before 1600. Several rulers of Rappang do, however, appear in the genealogies that speak for Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto, the earliest of whom can be dated to the mid- to late sixteenth century. One ruler of Alitta, who dates to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, appears in the genealogy of Suppaq, while two rulers of Alitta appear in the Sawitto genealogy, the first of whom dates to the late sixteenth century. There are short ruler lists for Rappang and Alitta, which are presented in Appendix C, but little can be learnt from these about political relationships in Ajattappareng.

A striking feature of the pre-seventeenth century sections of all these genealogies is the consistent record of intermarriages between the ruling nobles of Sidénréng, Suppaq, Sawitto, Rappang and, by the end of the sixteenth century, Alitta, which gives the impression of a single large family ruling in Ajattappareng. The usefulness of these genealogies are limited in that they can tell us nothing of political ties between the five kingdoms before about 1500. However, archaeological surveys and information provided by grave robbers provides clear evidence of external trade from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries onwards, and further suggest that there was economic integration between the coastal and inland areas of Ajattappareng from about 1300 (see Chapter V). The short time depth of these genealogies perhaps reflects a later use of writing in the western half of the peninsula than in the eastern half (see Chapter II).

Regardless of their functions, all Ajattappareng genealogies begin with the same two individuals, Wé Tépuŋgé and La Bangénggé, who serve as origin figures and sources of precedence for all subsequent individuals named in them. There are, however, four main variations between those genealogies that claim to speak for Sawitto and those that claim to speak for Suppaq and Sidénréng. These variations do not concern the names of individuals that appear in the genealogies but to claims concerning the ancestry and place of rule of four individuals found in the first four generations of the genealogies.

The first of these variations concerns La Bangénggé, the *tomanurung* who descended at Bacukiki. The Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies state that he

ruled in Bacukiki; the Sawitto genealogy acknowledges that La Bangénggé descended in Bacukiki but claims that he was not the ruler of Bacukiki but the first ruler of Sawitto, where he went to open a settlement:

This *lontaraq* tells about the rulers of a former time in Sawitto.¹⁵ Now concerning the rulers of a former time in Sawitto, [this is] connected with [other] writings about the ones who descended in Ajattappareng. For no *tomanurung* descended in Sawitto but a *tomanurung* went there and became the ruler. [...] La Bangénggé is said to have been the first *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. He was the one who descended at Bacukiki, Cempa,¹⁶ but he was not the ruler of the place where he descended. [...] Our lord La Bangénggé went [to Sawitto] and opened a settlement. Instantly people came from all around, from where they came is not known. So, the settlement he opened was called Sawéto and became known as Sawitto (HP p. 9).¹⁷

The second and third variations concern La Teqdullopo (son of Wé Tépulingé and La Bangénggé) and La Putébulu (son of La Teqdullopo). The Sawitto genealogy claims that La Teqdullopo was the second ruler of both Sawitto and Suppaq and La Putébulu the third ruler of Suppaq and Sawitto. In the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies, they are named only as rulers of Suppaq.

The fourth variation concerns the ancestry of Palétéang, who is the first ruler of Sawitto in the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies. From these two genealogies we learn nothing of Palétéang's ancestry or gender, only that he/she was the *aqdatuang ri sompaé* (the *aqdatuang* who is revered, B.). According to the Sawitto genealogy, however, Palétéang was the son of La Putébulu. The Sawitto genealogy also identifies Palétéang as male by placing 'La' before his name.

The Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies are found in numerous manuscript versions dating from the eighteenth to twentieth century. While different writing styles and minor additions are evident between versions, they are nevertheless consistent in the individuals they record. By contrast, Sawitto genealogies that contain information dating to before about 1600 are to my knowledge found only in *lontaraq* texts written by Haji Paewa. This suggests that, at least in their written form, the pre-seventeenth century sections of Sawitto genealogies are twentieth century creations based on the genealogies of Suppaq and Sidénréng. La Bangénggé, La Teqdullopo and La Putébulu were not rulers of Sawitto, but appear to have been arrogated as its rulers

¹⁵ Here I have translated *attoriolong* as 'rulers (rather than people) of a former time', as it is the rulers who are the subject of the text.

¹⁶ The Cempa to which the text refers is part of Bacukiki.

¹⁷ An etymology of the name Sawitto, derived from either *sawé* (many, B.) and *to* (people, B.) or *sawé* and *to* (also, B.). This oral tradition is still found today in *kabupaten* Pinrang, usually associated with a female ruler of Sawitto who is from an earlier ruling line (see below).

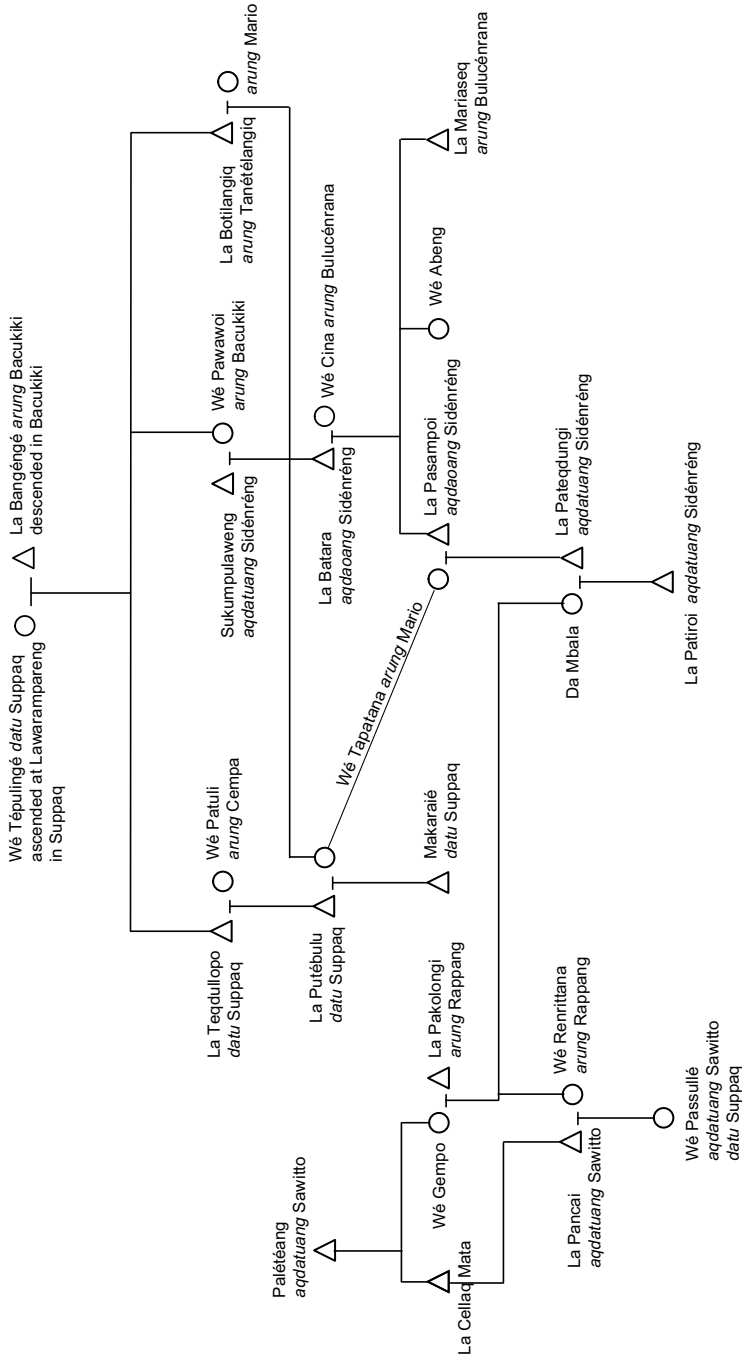


Figure 4. Genealogy of Sidénréng. Source: Caldwell (1988:157).

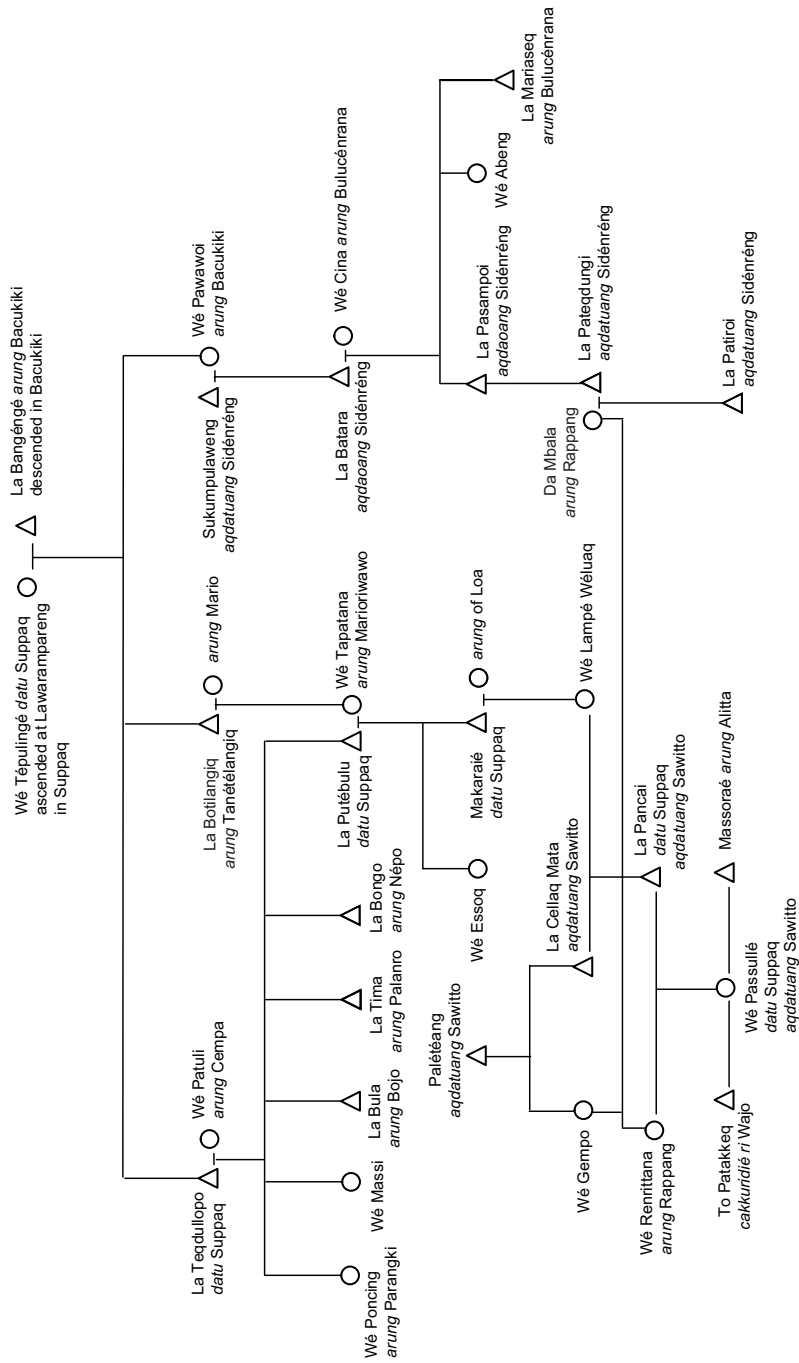


Figure 4.1. Genealogy of Suppaq. Source: ANRIM 30 / 16P.110.

in order to account for the lack of early written genealogical records, and to provide the rulers of Sawitto with the same origin as those of Suppaq and Sidénréng. Nor was Palétéang the son of La Putébulu, but rather an indeterminate figure with no apparent genealogical relationship with the rulers of Suppaq and Sidénréng. If it was Haji Paewa who created these genealogies, it is reasonable to assume that he consulted people knowledgeable in local history. This would suggest that the tradition of a common origin for the rulers of Sawitto and the rulers of Suppaq and Sidénréng had been created, perhaps initially in the oral register, before the mid-twentieth century.

Several historical inferences concerning the early sixteenth century relationship between Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto can be drawn from the foregoing examination of the variations between the genealogies. Firstly, as the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies do not include in the first two generations any ruler of Sawitto we may assume that the compilers of these two genealogies did not consider that the three kingdoms shared a common origin. Secondly, as no ruler of Sawitto appears in the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies before Palétéang, it seems either that the compilers of the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies had no genealogical knowledge of earlier rulers, or that no earlier ruler was considered important because he/she had no genealogical ties with Suppaq and Sidénréng.

These inferences suggest that Sawitto only became firmly allied with Suppaq and Sidénréng during, or shortly before, the rule of Palétéang. However, as no Ajattappareng genealogy can be backdated to before about 1500, we have no way of knowing whether there were marriages between the rulers of Sawitto, Suppaq and Sidénréng before 1500. At the same time, we should not ignore the linguistic data, which divide the Bugis of Suppaq and Sidénréng (who speak the Sidrap dialect) from the Bugis of central Sawitto, suggesting a long relationship between the peoples of Suppaq and Sidénréng and perhaps even a common origin.

While some polities in the Sawitto region, such as those located along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, may have had relations with Suppaq before 1500 (and perhaps also with Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta), I believe that the kingdom of Sawitto itself only emerged as the dominant polity in the Sawitto region sometime in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. I present further arguments for the late development of the kingdom of Sawitto and the lateness of its ties with the other Ajattappareng kingdoms in a later section of this chapter, where origin traditions of Sawitto are discussed.

The Ajattappareng genealogies also present us with a different order of precedence between Suppaq and Sidénréng than the oral tradition summarized above, which placed Sidénréng first in the order of precedence between the Ajattappareng kingdoms, while Suppaq was placed fourth. In the Ajattappareng genealogies, it is the *totompoq* and *tomanurung* of Suppaq

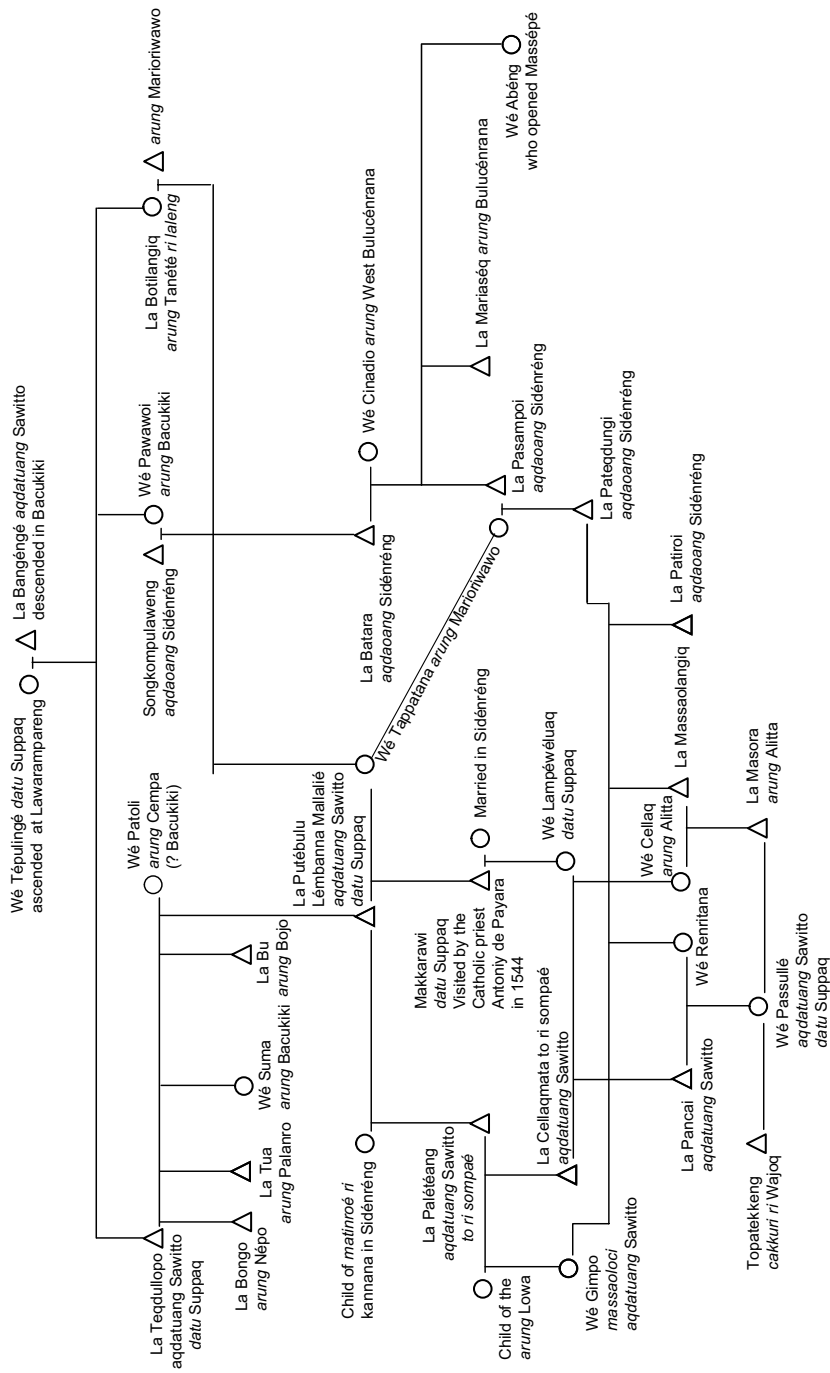


Figure 4.2. Genealogy of Sawitto. Source: HIP p. 9-16.

and Bacukiki (Wé Tépulingé and La Bangénggé) who function as sources of precedence for the rulers of Sidénréng. Indeed, the Sidénréng genealogy is explicit in its claim that its ruling family originated from the Suppaq-Bacukiki area:

May I not swell, may I not weaken for mentioning the names of the *tomanurung* of Sidénréng, he who descended at Bacukiki, and she who arose at Lawaramparang. La Bangénggé was the name of the one who descended. He ruled at Bacukiki. [...] He married the one who arose at Lawaramparang. [...] She was called Wé Tépulingé and she ruled at Suppaq. (Caldwell 1988:153.)

The importance of Suppaq and Bacukiki is further made evident by the Sidénréng genealogy in a section which tells of a marriage between Wé Pawawoi (a daughter of Wé Tépulingé and La Bangénggé) and Sukumpulaweng, named in this genealogy as the first ruler of Sidénréng. In this section, the Sidénréng genealogy informs us that it was Wé Pawawoi, rather than Sukumpulaweng, who ruled at Sidénréng.

That the genealogy of Sidénréng looks to Suppaq-Bacukiki as a source of precedence for its ruling line is an indication of the early importance and influence of the Suppaq region, and that Sidénréng's position as the leading Ajattappareng kingdom was a later development. The early importance of Suppaq is supported by evidence from archaeological surveys, which recorded a much higher concentration of thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic tradeware sherds at sites surveyed in Suppaq than at those surveyed in Sidénréng (Chapter V, Appendix B). Furthermore, there seems little doubt that those ceramic tradeware sherds found in archaeological surveys in Sidénréng arrived there via the port of Suppaq, which by the fourteenth century had become one of South Sulawesi's most important and prestigious kingdoms.

Origin traditions of individual kingdoms

The only origin tradition from Suppaq known to me is that contained in the Ajattappareng genealogies, which tells us that Wé Tépulingé ascended at Lawaramparang in Suppaq and that she was the first *datu* of Suppaq. The coastal kingdom of Suppaq is important in the early sections of the genealogy of Soppéng, one of the longest written genealogies in South Sulawesi (see figure 2.1, Chapter II). This genealogy claims that the first four generations of West Soppéng's rulers had political ties with Suppaq through marriage, which if backdated using a 25 year reign length would date the first of these marriages to the late thirteenth century. As I have argued (Druce 2001), there is no historical basis for the relationship this genealogy sets out between West Soppéng and Suppaq. Instead, its claim is an indication of the importance and

prestige achieved by Suppaq as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁸ Furthermore, this Soppéng tradition is unknown in Suppaq.

For Alitta, there is a short origin tradition, which continues to be transmitted in Alitta today. However, it is of limited use in that it simply relates the appearance of Wé Bungkokungu who arose from a place called Bujung Pitué (the seven wells, B.) and married a noble of Alitta.

For Sidénréng and Sawitto, the two largest, Ajattappareng kingdoms, there are a number of origin traditions which tell a different story to the *tomanurung* myths found in the Ajattappareng genealogies. The Sidénréng origin tradition, which also sets out the origin of Rappang's ruling line, claims that the rulers of these kingdoms originate from the former Toraja polity of Sangallaq. Most present-day Sawitto origin traditions also claim that the rulers of Sawitto originate from the Toraja region, in this case Simbuang. There are also four versions of an origin tradition from Sawitto which claim that the present rulers of Sawitto moved down from the highland areas to the north and displaced an earlier ruling line, although none of the four versions name Simbuang as the place of origin for this ruling line. Much of the following sections thus focus on origin traditions from Sawitto and Sidénréng.

The Sidénréng origin tradition

Two versions of a story that tell of the origin of Sidénréng and its ruling line are extant in two separate *lontaraq* texts derived from oral tradition.¹⁹ Other versions of this tradition continue to be transmitted today by a number of elderly people in *kabupaten* Sidrap.²⁰ All versions claim that Sidénréng was founded by a group of brothers, whose father was the ruler of Sangallaq.²¹ After the death of their father, these brothers decide to leave Sangallaq because of the oppression of their eldest brother, who had succeeded their

¹⁸ At least one *lontaraq* text has been created by a *palontaraq* who combined these Ajattappareng and Soppéng traditions concerning Suppaq in order to create a ruler list for Suppaq (ANRIM 30/16, p. 313).

¹⁹ Caldwell (1988:140-8); Druce (1999:11-47). Both these *lontaraq* texts contain the same origin traditions, with some variation, which tell of the opening of Sidénréng. In both, the story is followed by a varying number of short unconnected traditions, derived from the oral register. In the longer text (Druce 1999), these traditions tell of the position of the ruler in relation to the people of Sidénréng, the right of the ruler to a monopoly on certain goods, various laws, correct social and sexual behaviour and the punishment applied to people who fail to conform to these regulations, and the official offices of the kingdom and their respective functions and status.

²⁰ Another version of this tradition is briefly summarized by Abdurrazak Dg. Patunru (1968).

²¹ Sangallaq was one of the most developed polities of Toraja and formed a confederation with Makale and Mengkendeq. It had its own tributaries (called *liliq*) (see Nooy-Palm 1979:85-7) and had close ties with the Bugis-ruled kingdom of Luwuq.

father as ruler of Sangallaq. In one version of this tradition, eight brothers and their followers arrive in Sidénréng, where they open a settlement and elect the eldest amongst them as ruler (Caldwell 1988:144). In another version, seven brothers and their followers establish a settlement in Watang Sidénréng but are later followed by the oldest brother, who has repented of his ways and is made the first ruler of Sidénréng by his seven younger siblings.²² In both *lontaraq* versions, and in the versions transmitted orally today, the number of brothers who arrive in Sidénréng is consistently eight.

Both *lontaraq* versions state that the brothers and their followers were called by the people of Boné and the people of Soppéng, the ‘Toraja who lived by the lake’ (*nasengngi toBoné toSoppéng toraja mattapparengngé*, B.). The tradition thus states that neighbouring Bugis communities considered the people of Sidénréng to be ethnically distinct. This passage also implies that the neighbouring Bugis communities had already established themselves in their respective regions before Sidénréng was founded.

The tradition goes on to tell of how the rice fields and gardens the brothers opened flourished and Sidénréng was divided into eight parts:

They harvested the yields of their gardens and rice fields. They took the padi and divided Sidénréng into eight parts [...] They also divided their many people into eight [groups] and ordered them to work the gardens and open rice fields. After one *pariama*²³ the rice fields and gardens they had opened flourished and the buffalo and horses which they had brought with them from Toraja had multiplied. (Druce 1999:28-9.)

This tradition of the original polity of Sidénréng being divided into eight parts is well-known in Sidrap today, and the eight parts are believed to represent the eight core domain lands from which the original Sidénréng developed.²⁴ The division into eight lands equates with the number of brothers who arrive in Sidénréng and, as the *lontaraq* tradition progresses, the descendants of the brothers become the eight ploughmen and then the eight *matoa* of the eight lands.

²² Druce (1999:27-30). Several present-day versions of this tradition claim that it was Neneq Mallomo (a legendary culture hero in the Sidrap region who was an advisor to the ruler of Sidénréng) who led the brothers from Sangallaq. Other sources claim that Neneq Mallomo exchanged ideas with Puang ri Maqqalatung (an early sixteenth century ruler of Wajoq) concerning correct governance, was responsible for Sidénréng’s acceptance of Islam in 1609, effected an agreement that allowed the Towani Tolotang from Wajoq to stay in Sidénréng in 1649, that he died in 1654, and that his grave lies in Alakkuang. Any reference to Neneq Mallomo must therefore be viewed with caution.

²³ According to Matthes (1874:133) a period of 8 or 12 years. According to Mills (1975:794), who lists *pariama* in his proto-South Sulawesi language word list, in the Soddan-Toraja language *pariama* is the name of a constellation.

²⁴ The tradition of the original Sidénréng consisting of eight domain lands is also cited by Vogel (1908:175) and Patunru (1968:43).

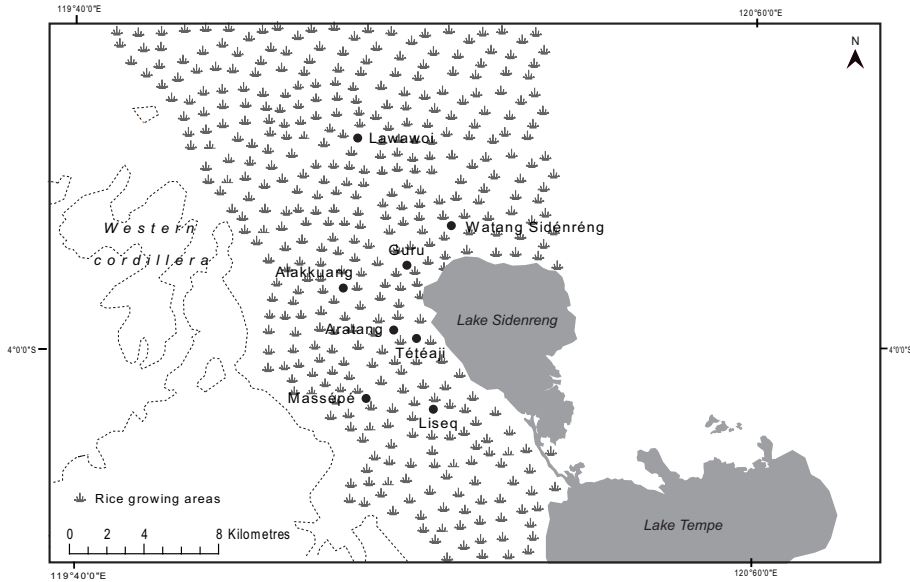


Figure 4.3. The eight original domain lands of Sidénréng

The two versions of the Sidénréng origin tradition extant in *lontaraq* texts does not name the eight parts, but oral tradition transmitted today in Sidrap claims that the original eight lands were Tétéaji, Watang Sidénréng, Massapé, Alakkuang Liseq, Aratang, Guru and Lawawoi.²⁵ Each of these settlements are located in fertile wet-rice growing areas to the north and west of Lake Sidenréng (figure 4.3). What this Sidénréng origin tradition appears to imply, is that Sidénréng was formed from a peaceful union of eight agricultural lands, each with its own chief, one of whom became the ruler of the domain that was to emerge as the kingdom of Sidénréng.²⁶

Caldwell (1988:203) has argued that the emergence of Sidénréng was relatively late, and that before the early sixteenth century it was a small and relatively unimportant chiefdom. Some support for this argument is found in the above tradition, which suggests that it was founded after Boné and Soppéng. However, the archaeological evidence, which we examine in the following chapter, reveals that Sidénréng emerged no later than Boné or

²⁵ Vogel (1908) and Abdurrazak (1968) name the same eight lands and state that these lands formed the original Sidénréng.

²⁶ Traditions of kingdoms growing from a varying number of original core lands are common in South Sulawesi. Similar stories can be found for Boné, which is said to have grown from seven core lands, while Gowa is said to have emerged from nine core lands.

Soppéng, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was producing agricultural surpluses for trade.

Both *lontaraq* versions of the Sidénréng origin tradition are followed by a second related tradition, which sets out the origins of Rappang's ruling family. According to this, Bolopatina, a daughter of La Maqderemmeng (the oldest of the brothers), married the *datu* of Pantilang and came down with him to Rappang, where they became the rulers of Rappang.²⁷ Their daughter became the ruler of Sidénréng and her younger brother, who was called La Malibureng, became ruler of Rappang. However, the people of Sidénréng were said to be 'hard of heart' and exchanged her for La Malibureng. In addition to setting out the origins of Rappang's ruling line, this part of the tradition also serves to explain the close relationship between the rulers of Sidénréng and Rappang.

Variants of this oral tradition were told to me in Rappang, where informants consistently claimed that the rulers of Rappang had the same origin as the rulers of Sidénréng. According to Muhammad Salim, the tradition about Bolopatina and the *datu* of Pantilang is the accepted account of the origin of Rappang's ruling line.²⁸

That the tradition claims a Toraja origin for the ruling lines of Sidénréng and Rappang is surprising given the historical animosity and present-day relationship between the Bugis and Toraja, which is characterized by religious differences, inter-ethnic competition, mistrust and, at times, conflict.²⁹ The Bugis are quick to point out that the Toraja region was once a source of slaves, and that as many Toraja willingly accept employment as servants in the city of Makassar (a job most Bugis would be reluctant to accept), it is an indication of their lower status.

Sidénréng is also linked to Sangallaq through at least two other oral traditions. The first of these is from the specialist Bugis iron working village of Massépé in central Sidénréng, where oral tradition attributes the origins of iron working to a Toraja noble from Sangallaq (Pelras 1996:249; Druce

²⁷ Pantilang is a Toraja settlement situated just inside *kabupaten* Luwu. According to oral traditions collected in Pantilang and Tana Toraja (Caldwell and Druce 1998:49-50), Pantilang was the main settlement of a small confederation that consisted of four settlements. Following a war between Sangallaq and Luwuq this confederation was ceded to Luwuq and became a 'buffer zone' between these two lands. The people who inhabited this area were thus referred to as *maqtau ri Sangallaq maqpadang ri Luwu* 'the people of Sangallaq [but] the land of Luwuq' (TS.).

²⁸ Personal communication, 2005.

²⁹ According to Van Braam Morris (1992:24), the Bugis of Luwuq stated that the usefulness of the Toraja people was simply to be taken and to be sold as slaves. In an interview with a Bugis from Boné in the early 1980s, David Brawn (1993:48) was told that the purpose of the braided grass headband once worn by the Toraja was so a Bugis could catch them by it and say 'come here, you are mine'.

1997a:39). The second concerns one of Sidénréng's most important tributaries, Bulucénrana, which claims that the ruling families of Bulucénrana and other lands of the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations originate from Sangallaq (Druce 1997a:37).

How are we to interpret this tradition of a Toraja origin tradition for the rulers of Sidénréng and what can it tell us about the past? Firstly, the motif of younger siblings moving off to establish their own senior lines in new settlements is a common theme found in many oral traditions from Austronesian-speaking societies. The oral tradition which tells of the founding of Sidénréng by a group of younger siblings is perhaps reflective of a continuous process of Austronesian exploration and expansion propelled in part by cultural concepts that Bellwood (1996) has termed 'founder-focused ideology' and 'founder rank enhancement', together with population growth and the availability of uninhabited tracts of land with agricultural potential.

One can probably dismiss the possibility that the ruling family of Sidénréng originates directly from Sangallaq itself.³⁰ Nobles from Sangallaq appear in numerous South Sulawesi origin traditions, in which they function as sources of status for the rulers of a particular settlement. However, to my knowledge, stories of a Sangallaq origin are found only in Massenrempulu and Toraja settlements, a number of non-Bugis settlements in Luwuq, and in one oral tradition from Sawitto.³¹ Origin traditions from Bugis and Makasar-speaking settlements often tell of a foreign prince or princess from Luwuq becoming ruler, while others claim that the first ruler came from Gowa or Boné, because of the importance these three kingdoms achieved in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively. In the case of a tributary land, the first ruler may be provided by the primary kingdom. Why then does this Sidénréng origin tradition look to Tana Toraja as a source of precedence for the ruling family of a Bugis kingdom, instead of using Luwuq or a *tomanurung* story? While one cannot dismiss the possibility that Sidénréng had historical ties with Sangallaq, the answer to this question can perhaps be found in the arguments presented in Chapter III, where evidence was presented for a southward movement of people from highland areas into the Sidénréng

³⁰ The Sidénréng origin tradition is unknown in Sangallaq, nor does Sangallaq claim any ancient historical ties with Sidénréng (Lasso Sombolingge, grandson of the last *puang* of Sangallaq, personal communication, 1999).

³¹ Notwithstanding the oral traditions about Lakipadada: in Toraja oral traditions (Nooy-Palm 1979:145-151), he is the founder of the ruling lines of Sangallaq, Makale and Mengkendek, three important Toraja settlements that formed a confederation, while his offspring became the rulers of Luwuq and Gowa. Oral traditions about Lakipadada are also found in many parts of lowland South Sulawesi, particularly in Makasar speaking areas, such as Bantaeng (Yunus Hafid 1994:44-7) and Gowa, where he appears in an early section of the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:10). However, these Makasar traditions do not associate Lakipadada with Tana Toraja.

and Sawitto regions in the years preceding conversion to Islam. Some of the groups that moved down from the highlands may have once had kinship ties with Sangallaq but it is more probable that the tradition reflects a memory of Sangallaq's importance in the highland areas of South Sulawesi.

The origins of the Sangallaq tradition for Sidénréng probably lie in the pre-Islamic period, as it is difficult to envisage the creation of this tradition after the rulers of Sidénréng converted to Islam. The Sangallaq origin tradition therefore appears to pre-date the claim found in the Ajattappareng genealogies, which looks to Suppaq-Bacukiki as a source of precedence for the rulers of Sidénréng. The compilers of the Sidénréng genealogy themselves appear to have rejected this Sangallaq tradition in exchange for what they saw as a more prestigious origin for the ruling line of Sidénréng, and to have provided a common origin for the rulers of Sidénréng and Suppaq.

Traditions concerning Sawitto

Most present-day oral traditions claim the ruling family of Sawitto originated from Simbuang, which is located in the western part of Tana Toraja and has more historical and cultural ties with the Mamasa region than with Tana Toraja (Lanting 1926:19; Nooy-Palm 1979:7). The tradition of a Simbuang ancestry for the rulers of Sawitto is well-known throughout the former territory of Sawitto and is well known to descendants of Sawitto's former ruling family and to people of common origin.³² This tradition is not transmitted as a story, but as a simple statement that the rulers of Sawitto originate from Simbuang. Among the older generations of the Sawitto region there is less stigma attached to the Toraja people; some even claim that the ethnonym Toraja is not derived from *to ri aja* (people to the west, B.) but *to karaja* (great people, B.) and that it is in Toraja where the purist white-blood in all of South Sulawesi can be found.

Unlike the Sangallaq tradition from Sidénréng, the Sawitto-Simbuang tradition appears to have some basis in historical relationships between these two lands, a relationship which in Sawitto's case continued up to the late 1960s. Dating the origin of this relationship and understanding its nature is, however, problematic. In addition to this tradition which claims the rulers of Sawitto originated from Simbuang, there are four versions of an oral tradition which relate how seven siblings moved down to Sawitto from the mountainous area to the north and displaced an earlier ruling line. None of the

³² Traditions of a Simbuang ancestry are not popular with everyone. When I asked the head of a particular *camat* in Pinrang about this tradition he replied that it was untrue, and that the rulers of Sawitto came from Boné. The *camat* head, himself related to the former ruling family of Boné, stated that while many of the old people say that the rulers of Sawitto came from Simbuang they were wrong, and only knew about the war of independence against the Dutch.

four versions claim that the new ruling line originated from Simbuang, but one version does set out genealogical ties between Sawitto and Simbuang. There are also a number of oral traditions from Kadokkong (a tributary of Sawitto) and Simbuang itself which tell of relationships between Sawitto and Simbuang.

Oral tradition from Simbuang

The Dutch *controleur* H.T. Lanting (1926:19-20) summarizes a tradition which tells of a relationship between Simbuang, Sawitto and six other settlements:³³

In the past, the people of eight lands gathered in Simbuang. These lands were Simbuang, Saddang, Mamasa, Rantebulahan, Sawitto, Gallang-kallang, Balainipa and Matangnga.³⁴ These eight made an agreement concerning war and defence. Each of the lands chose a title for themselves, which reflected their position.

Sawitto called itself *datu* (ruler); Rantebulahan named itself *patawa mana* (the divider of things); Mamasa called itself *limbong kalua* and would aid people in times of need; Gallang-kallang took the name *eran bulan* (the golden messenger) and would take news to Sawitto; Matangnga took the name *tikana titing karu* and would take news to the others in the event of war. Simbuang declared itself *neneq* (grandparent/ancestor), because it was regarded as the elder of the group.

Sawitto was opposed to Simbuang being called *neneq*, but Simbuang provided proof of its superior wisdom and cleverness and eventually Sawitto conceded.

Lanting goes on to say that three small stones were erected in Simbuang as a mark of this agreement and that a sword is shown called *to* Sawitto ([sword of the] people of Sawitto), which was given to Simbuang by Sawitto.

The titles chosen by Simbuang and Sawitto in this tradition, *neneq* and *datu*, serve to set out their respective positions in the above alliance as the two most prominent settlements. The title *datu* reflects the fact that Sawitto was the more powerful of the group while the title *neneq* conveys Simbuang's precedence over Sawitto and the six other members of the alliance by way of being older. That Sawitto first challenges but eventually acknowledges Simbuang's position as the elder in this alliance appears to symbolize power acceding to age and ancestry.

The alliance itself may have historical basis and reflect economic, military

³³ In the following summary, I have altered the spelling of place names in accordance with local convention.

³⁴ All of these lands are located in the northwestern part of South Sulawesi. Rantebulahan and Matangnga were two members of confederation of seven lands called Pitu Ulunna Salu (the Seven Headwaters) that were located to the east of Mandar. Saddang is probably Ulu Saddang in northern Pinrang. Mamasa is located to the northwest of Simbuang. Balainipa was the leading settlement of the Mandar confederation. Gallang-kallang was a tributary of Sawitto and located in the mountainous area of north Pinrang.

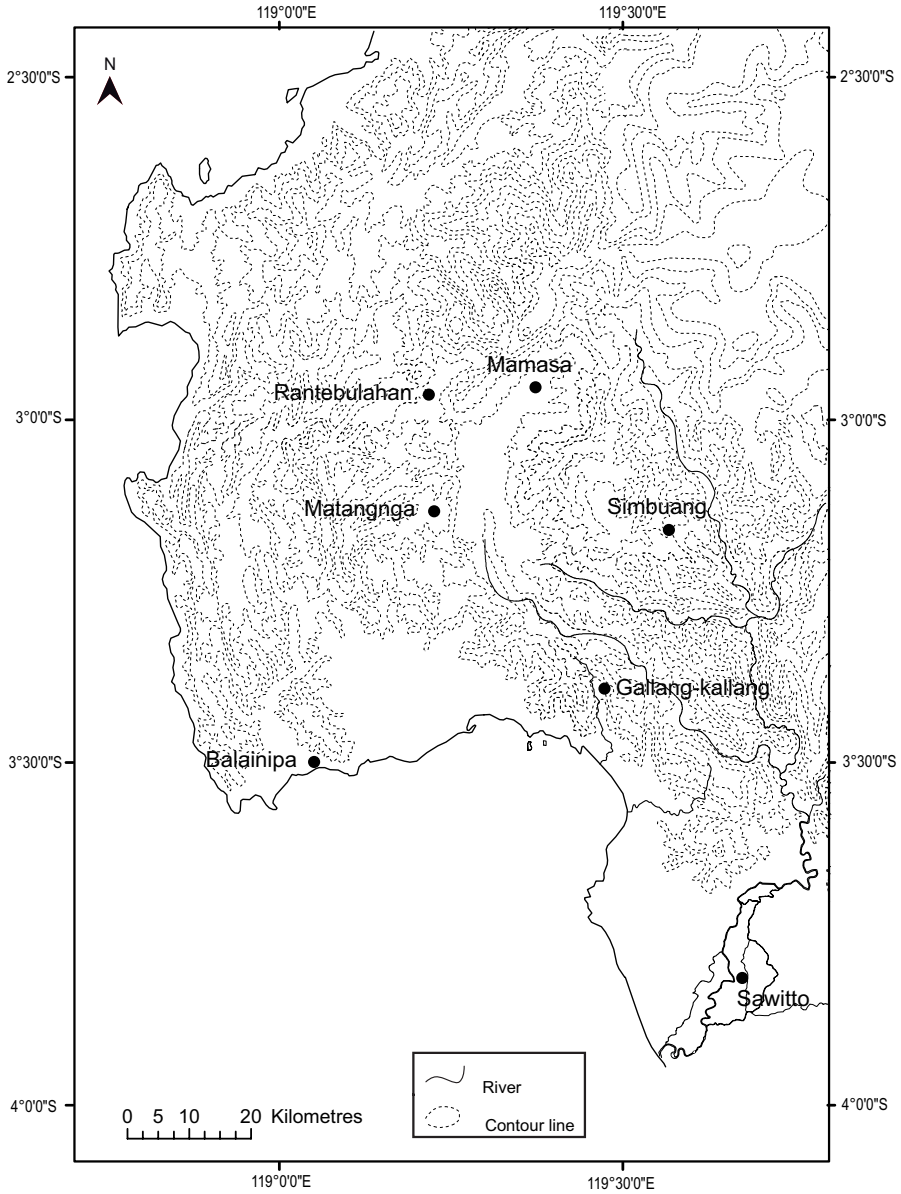


Figure 4.4. Location of the lands named in Lanting's tradition

and perhaps kinship ties between Sawitto and the seven other members. These lands are located in the northwestern part of South Sulawesi, and communication between the five most northerly lands would have been possible via river valleys (figure 4.4).³⁵ One of these lands, Gallang-kallang (the golden messenger) was itself a tributary of Sawitto, and in the alliance has the role of taking messages to Sawitto. Lanting suggests that the alliance set out in this tradition dates to before Arung Palakka's attempted invasion of Toraja in the late seventeenth century, and that following Arung Palakka's invasion of the Toraja region, Simbuang was placed under the jurisdiction of Sawitto, together with a neighbouring settlement called Mappaq, and entered into a tributary relationship with Sawitto (Lanting 1926:20-1). On account of Sawitto's resistance to the Dutch under La Sinrang from 1905 to 1906, the Dutch disregarded the historical relationship between Sawitto and Simbuang, which was placed in the subdivision of Makale (Bigalke 1981:25).

Nooy-Palm (1993:290) also writes of a sword called *sawitto*, which is divided into two pieces because of a bond between Simbuang and Sawitto. According to the tradition she collected, the blade is kept in *tongkonan* Simbuang, while the sheath is kept in Sawitto.

According to Roxana Waterson, by means of various ancestors, a relationship of priority over Sawitto is claimed in Simbuang. This claim is set out in the phrase *neneq Simbuang, appo Sawitto* (Simbuang is the grandparent and Sawitto the grandchild). The three small erect stones mentioned by Lanting and said to be the site of an oath sworn between Simbuang and Sawitto, were also seen by Waterson at *tongkonan tua* in Simbuang.³⁶

Other oral traditions, which connect Sawitto and Simbuang, concern Bonggakaradeng, an origin figure from the southwestern part of Tana Toraja, from whom the noble families of Simbuang believe themselves to be descended.³⁷ Waterson (1997:68-9) relates traditions in which Bonggakaradeng is an ironsmith, who, by urinating on a fallen tree, impregnated a pig spirit, who later gave birth to twin boys. One version of this tradition tells how the two boys made a gold sword in Bonggakaradeng's forge, the sheath of which was later kept in Sawitto. The children lived with Bonggakaradeng for a time, but were offended by his persistence in eating pork, so they left by boat down the Masupu river taking their mother with them.³⁸ Eventually they reached Sawitto, where their mother turned into stone. In Sawitto they made the sky go dark with magic and would only bring the sunlight back if the local peo-

³⁵ I was unable to locate the settlement Saddang, which is omitted from Figure 4.4.

³⁶ Personal communication, 2002.

³⁷ Koubi (1982:51). Bonggakaradeng is today used as the name of a *kecamatan* in Tana Toraja, which encompasses the former territory of Simbuang, and Bua, a smaller polity located to the southeast of Simbuang (Koubi 1982:51).

³⁸ A tributary of the River Saddang.

ple agreed to show them respect by not eating pork or the meat of any other animal that died without being slaughtered. The two brothers married the daughters of the noble family.³⁹

As Waterson points out, these stories about Bonggakaradeng and his descendants serve to explain why the neighbours of the Toraja no longer eat pork.⁴⁰ The traditions also claim that the noble family of Sawitto are, as with the nobles of Simbuang, descended from Bonggakaradeng through their association with his two sons.

Oral tradition from Kadokkong

Bonggakaradeng also appears in an oral tradition from Kadokkong, a tributary of Sawitto that together with Gallang-kallang (above) and Pangamparang, formed the Tellu Lembang confederation. This tradition sets out relations of precedence between Simbuang, Sawitto and Kadokkong. While this oral tradition claims Kadokkong has precedence over Sawitto by way of being the elder settlement, at the same time it acknowledges the precedence of Simbuang, which is believed to be the older settlement. The phrase *neneq Simbuang, appo Sawitto* (Simbuang is the grandparent and Sawitto the grandchild) is well-known in Kadokkong.

A male and female *tomanurung*, called Simpajolangiq and Talibananngbulawan, descended in Kadokkong. These founding rulers had seven children. One of the seven children was an ironsmith called Bonggakaradeng,⁴¹ who went to marry in Simbuang with the grandchild of the *tomanurung* of Simbuang.⁴² The child from this marriage was called Dadabulaweng, who became ruler of Simbuang. Bonggakaradeng married again in Kadokkong. This marriage produced two children: Sarambuallu and Pajungalloq. Sarambuallu became ruler of Kadokkong. Pajungalloq went to Sawitto, where he married, and his descendants became the rulers of Sawitto. His half-sister from Simbuang, Dadabulaweng, often came down to Sawitto to see her half-brother but always returned to Simbuang (I.61) (Figure 4.5).

As in the tradition related by Waterson, this oral tradition also claims that the ruling line of Sawitto is descended from the ironsmith Bonggakaradeng,

³⁹ Koubi (1982:42-52) also provides French translations of Toraja traditions about Bonggakaradeng collected from the Simbuang area; they make no mention of Sawitto.

⁴⁰ Toby Alice Volkman (1980:45-6) also relates a tradition from Tana Toraja which explains why pork is no longer eaten in Luwuq. In this tradition, a female *datu* of Luwuq falls for a handsome Toraja man whose mother is a spirit in the shape of a large white pig. The mother lives with them in Luwuq, but when it becomes known that the mother-in-law of the *datu* is a pig the *datu* feels shamed and angered and, after several days of feasting on pigs, the remaining swine are let loose in the forest, and the *datu* declares that there will be no more eating of pigs.

⁴¹ The other children named in the oral tradition are given in figure 4.5.

⁴² This passage thus acknowledges that Simbuang is at least a generation older than Kadokkong.



Photograph 15. Where the *tomanurung* of Kadokkong are believed to have descended

who in this story is the son of the founding rulers of Kadokkong. The tradition of Dadabulaweng often going down to see her half brother, Pajungalloq, in Sawitto perhaps serves to convey that there was a continuing relationship between Sawitto and Simbuang.⁴³ One of the children of Kadokkong's *tomanurung* was called Lambeqsusu, a figure who appears in Toraja and Massenrempulu-speaking areas (see Chapter III) and in one tradition from Sawitto.

These oral traditions from Simbuang and Kadokkong appear to be derived from real historical ties between Sawitto and Simbuang, as is attested by the oral history presented below. How far back in history these ties extend is impossible to determine with certainty, but it seems reasonable to assume that they date to before the coming of Islam. I believe that these traditions are derived from ancient ties of kinship between Simbuang, Sawitto and other settlements located in the northwestern part of South Sulawesi, ties which have been maintained until recent times.

Many people in the former territory of Sawitto know the oral tradition about the sword and scabbard related by Lanting, Nooy-Palm and Waterson

⁴³ As I will show below, nobles of Simbuang did indeed go down to Sawitto to visit their 'grandchildren', but this was in the twentieth century.

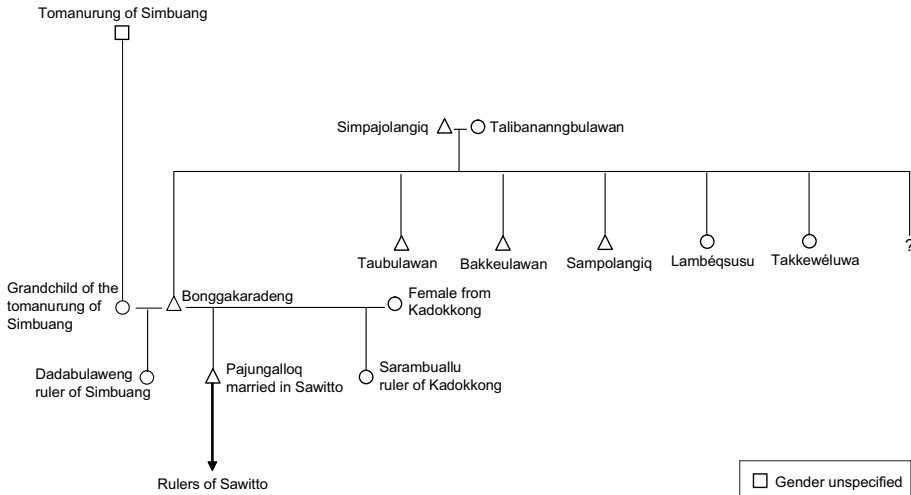


Figure 4.5. Oral Kadokkong origin genealogy

(I.9; I.20; I.21; I.38; I.60; I.82). One informant related a short tradition which told of an agreement between Simbuang and Sawitto in which it was agreed that each would aid the other in times of need. According to him, this agreement was symbolized by the sharing of a sword: Sawitto took the scabbard and Simbuang took the blade. If either land was in danger, the sword and scabbard-Sawitto and Simbuang-would be reunited (I.38). A number of informants in Sawitto also recited the phrase *neneq Simbuang appo Sawitto*. One Sawitto noble simply said: 'Here we say that Simbuang is our *neneq*, and we believe that we originate from there' (I.12).

Oral history from Sawitto

Relations between the noble families of Sawitto and Simbuang have continued until at least the 1960s. Numerous informants in Sawitto remember seeing a person that they referred to as the 'ruler' of Simbuang in Sawitto at different times between the 1930s to 1960s.⁴⁴ One of these informants, Pak Sada Bagenda, once travelled to Simbuang together with the ruler of Sawitto in the 1930s. These eyewitness accounts indicate that the rulers of Sawitto acknowledged Simbuang's (or at least the ruler of Simbuang's) precedence

⁴⁴ These informants consistently used the Indonesian word *raja* (ruler, king, queen) for this person, a practice that I follow in my summaries of their stories. However, as Waterson (personal communication, 2002) points out, there was probably no 'ruler' as such in Simbuang. One may assume that the person these informants refer to as *raja* was the leading noble of a particular *tongkonan* in Simbuang, probably Simbuang Tua.

over the rulers of Sawitto.

In the 1930s, Sada Bagenda, the *kepala* (head of a) *dusun* of Lepangang (who is today over 80 years old) went to Simbuang with the ruler of Sawitto.⁴⁵ On arrival the ruler of Simbuang is reported to have said: *appota polé* (our grandchildren have come, B., TS.). The ruler of Sawitto then acknowledged himself as the grandchild of the ruler of Simbuang.

Ambo Muli of Langnga related what he saw at the funeral of the former *arung* Langnga in the 1960s, which was attended by the former nobles of Sawitto, nobles from other parts of South Sulawesi and the ruler of Simbuang, who Ambo Muli said had the title *parengi*. The ruler of Simbuang arrived by horse, wearing only a type of white sarong that went down to his ankles, and a white shoulder sash. Upon entering the house, the ruler of Simbuang immediately sat down and placed his feet on the table. This act, Ambo Muli said, was to indicate his precedence over all people of royal blood in Sawitto, and the royal families from other parts of South Sulawesi, including Boné and Luwuq, when they were in Sawitto.

I Tangnga also gave an account from the 1960s about the ruler of Simbuang in Sawitto. According to I Tangnga, the ruler of Simbuang was known as *ambeq datu* (the father of the *datu*, B., TS.). He arrived at the house of Andi Makkulau, the highest ranking noble in Sawitto, who was asleep. The ruler of Simbuang ordered a servant to wake him; when Andi Makkulau came out of his room he embraced the ruler of Simbuang and said *neneqta polé* (my grandfather has come, B.). Andi Makkulau then sat below the ruler of Simbuang, who stretched out his legs and said: 'I am tired, massage my legs and feet.' That the ruler of Simbuang could order the ruler of Sawitto to massage his legs and feet is well-known throughout Sawitto.

Again in the 1960s, a different informant attended the wedding of the *arung* of Padakalawa's child. Three nobles from Simbuang also attended this wedding. During the wedding, the nobles of Sawitto always used the word *puang* when addressing the nobles from Simbuang. In reply, the Simbuang people used only the ordinary names of their hosts. Throughout the wedding festivities, the people from Simbuang were accorded with greater respect than were any of the other guests (I.94).

Another connection between Simbuang and Sawitto is the reputed grave of Tomaruli (also known as Temmaruling), close to the former palace centre of Sawitto. Temmaruling is the posthumous name of La Pancai, who was the last non-Islamic ruler of Sawitto.⁴⁶ Until quite recently, this grave, which

⁴⁵ A *dusun* is an administrative area within a *desa*. A *kepala dusun* reports to the *kepala desa*.

⁴⁶ The name Tomaruli, or Temmaruling, is well-known by people throughout the former territory of Sawitto. It is possible that he represents a historical individual commemorated as the last non-Islamic ruler of Sawitto. This appears to be the case with several other last non-Islamic rulers of other South Sulawesi kingdoms. An oral tradition about La Pateqdungi, the last non-Islamic

is simply a large boulder, attracted large numbers of people from Tana Toraja. According to Pak Patudai, the *kepala lingkungan*⁴⁷ of Corawali (where Tomaruli's grave is located), these visitors held a *badong* dance and sacrificed a pig and a black buffalo at the grave.⁴⁸ Some of these people were from Supirang but most were from Simbuang and believed Tomaruli to have been an ancestor. According to I Tangnga, in the past the descendants of the ruler of Sawitto use to meet these people and go with them to Tomaruli's grave. She also said that gold chains were draped from the horns of the buffalo after the head had been severed from the body, and the head was then buried at the site, the gold chains having been removed.

A further connection between Sawitto and Toraja can also be seen in the shape of the *baruga* (a structure built on to the front of a house when a marriage takes place, B.) that is used by those of royal blood. For the Sawitto nobles the *baruga* is a similar shape to the saddle roofs of Toraja *tongkonan* (origin house, TS.). People of common descent in Sawitto may only erect a *baruga* with an ordinary roof of the type commonly found throughout other Bugis areas. The nobles of Sawitto thus appear to be using symbols of nobility derived from the Toraja as visible markers of their status.

Oral tradition from Sawitto

There are four versions known to me of an oral tradition from Sawitto that relate the origin of its ruling family. This tradition tells how the ancestors of the present ruling family of Sawitto moved down to Lamadimen (now called Madimen) (see figure 3.12) and displaced an earlier ruling line. One of the versions is contained in a Bugis language manuscript copied by the Yayasan Kebudayaan (Institute of Culture) in the twentieth century (hereafter referred to as V.1). Another version of the tradition was collected by the compiler of the *hikajat* Sawitto (V.2). The two remaining versions were transmitted to me orally by informants in *kabupaten* Pinrang (V.3 and V.4 respectively). None of the versions claim that this new ruling line came from Simbuang but V.3 does set out genealogical ties between Sawitto and Simbuang, while in V.4 the name Bonggakaradeng appears. In all versions the new ruling line is associated with the mountainous area to the north of Sawitto. V.1 and V.2 are broadly similar but V.1 also serves to set out the political structure of the kingdom of Sawitto, which is claimed was established by the new ruling line. V.3 and V.4 relate genealogies of varying length, which serve to connect the

ruler of Sidénréng states that he will return if Sidénréng ever faces great danger. In Marioriawa, a tributary of Soppéng, a *bissu* dance is occasionally performed around the grave of Marioriawa's last non-Islamic ruler, La Temmu (Druce 1997b:30).

⁴⁷ The head of an area within a *desa*.

⁴⁸ A chant for the deceased, which is sung by a group of people attending a mortuary feast who, as they sing, perform a round dance (Nooy-Palm 1979:164).



Photograph 16. The *baruga* of a Sawitto noble, reminiscent of a Toraja *tongkonan*,
Matiro Bulu, Pinrang

founders of the new ruling line with the last rulers of Sawitto.

Accounts of an earlier ruling line being displaced by another ruling line are at variance with more typical South Sulawesi origin traditions, in which a community of common people without a ruler simply request a *tomanurung*, *totompoq* or a foreign prince or princess to rule over them. At the same time, the Sawitto traditions are consistent with South Sulawesi ideas concerning the importance of a ruler to the stability and order of a kingdom, in that it is the new ruling line that re-establishes order and stability in Sawitto. I will first summarize V.1 of this tradition while noting any significant variations in V.2 with footnotes. This will be followed by summaries of V.3 and V.4.

V.1

A male *tomanurung* descends inside some bamboo and a female ascends from foamy water in a neighbouring settlement.⁴⁹ These two figures are known as the *manurunggé ri walappana awoé* (the one who descended inside bamboo) and the *totmopoqé ri busa uwwaé* (the one who ascended from water foam). These two marry

⁴⁹ The version found in the *hikajat* Sawitto relates that the ruler of Sangallaq found a boy inside some bamboo while he was out chopping wood; and that his wife found the girl in a river eddy while collecting water.

and have eight children; the eldest and youngest are girls.⁵⁰ The eldest girl marries in Ulu Saddang and her descendants become the rulers of Énrékang and Batulappaq.⁵¹ After some time, the wife says to the husband: 'It would be good if we decide where we will send our children.' He replies: 'It would be good if we send them to the land of Sawitto.' The father then tells the seven siblings that when they arrive in Sawitto to go and live in a place called Lamadimen, which, he informs them, lies northwest of the settlement of Sawitto and east of Palétéang. After the seven siblings have lived in Lamadimen for three years, a war breaks out between the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto and several settlements in Sawitto, in particular Palétéang.⁵² Eventually, the seven siblings wage war on the recalcitrant areas on behalf of the ruler of Sawitto in exchange for rewards. The brothers are successful, but the ruler of Sawitto fails to keep his promises. The seven siblings are angry and meet with the people of Palétéang and other lands which have been at war with the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto and they agree to wage war on the ruler of Sawitto. They defeat Sawitto and its tributaries and the *aqdatuang* is driven out.⁵³ The youngest of the seven siblings, the sister, is made *aqdatuang* of Sawitto and her brothers become rulers of *anaqbanua*.⁵⁴ The new *aqdatuang* then calls a meeting and together with her brothers they organize the lands of Sawitto into groupings (ANRIM 14/27, pp. 39-40).

V.3

The first ruler of Sawitto was called Besseq Sitto and came from Luwuq.⁵⁵ According to the story, Besseq Sitto only ruled the southern part of Sawitto, which at that time was divided in two. Seven siblings came down from the mountains to live here in Madimen. They fought with Besseq Sitto and defeated her. The youngest of the seven was a girl called Saraq Lampésusu. She became the new *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. Saraq Lampésusu married with Landarundan, the ruler of Simbuang. Landarundan's second wife was called Sangallaq Bonden, who was the daughter of Bataru Mallong, the ruler of Sangallaq. Saraq Lampésusu and Landarundan had a child called Rundung Alloq, who became *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. Rundung Alloq's child was called Parengi Mataséq. All later *aqdatuang* of Sawitto were descended from Parengi Mataséq, until Andi Makkulau and Andi Rukiah (I.23) (figure 4.6).⁵⁶

Version V.4 of this tradition tells of three unrelated rulers of Sawitto before the present ruling line. The teller of this tradition also recited a genealogy

⁵⁰ In the *hikajat* Sawitto version, there are just seven children; six boys and a girl, who is the youngest of the seven.

⁵¹ Ulu Saddang is in northern Pinrang, close to *kabupaten* Enrekang.

⁵² According to the version in the *hikajat* Sawitto, the war is because these lands refuse to submit to the ruler of Sawitto.

⁵³ In the *hikajat* Sawitto's version, the former ruler flees to BÉlokka, which was a tributary of Sidénréng.

⁵⁴ The literal meaning of *anaqbanua* is 'child settlement', which can be equated with a domain.

⁵⁵ V.3 was told to me in Madimen.

⁵⁶ Andi Rukiah was the last *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. Her husband, Andi Makkulau, became the first *bupati* (regent) of Pinrang in 1960. According to the informant, this genealogy was once longer but most of it has now been forgotten.

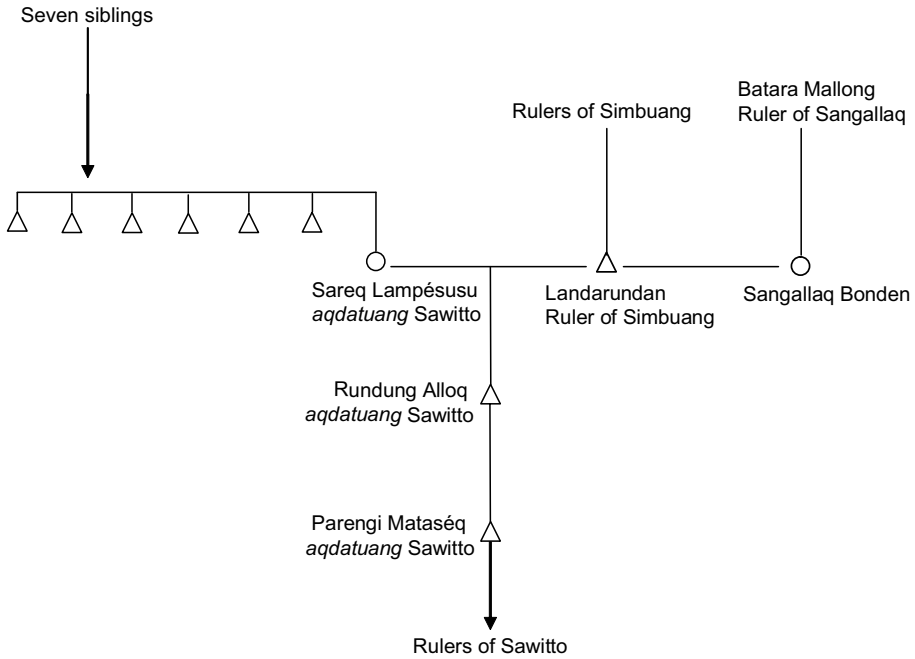


Figure 4.6. Madimen origin tradition: Origin of the rulers of Sawitto

which, although confused in places, reveals interaction between the oral and written registers.

V.4

The first ruler of Sawitto was a woman, called I Witto. She came to Sawitto, perhaps from Boné, together with her followers. I Witto opened a settlement, rice fields and gardens, and people came from all around.⁵⁷ After I Witto, another ruler came from Luwuq, called Batara Tungké. Batara Tungké married a gecko, who then turned into a beautiful woman. After Batara Tungké, came Wa Campu from Bélékka in Sidrap. Wa Campu waged war on all the settlements in Sawitto and made himself *arung* of Sawitto. Some of these settlements rebelled against Wa Campu, who was aided by seven siblings, six men and one female, who came from the mountains to the north and were descended from *tomanurung*. Later they fought with Wa Campu and defeated him. The youngest of the siblings was a girl who became the first *aqdatuang* of Sawitto and was called *puang ri sompaé*.⁵⁸ Three of the brothers were

⁵⁷ This oral tradition was incorporated by Haji Paewa in his genealogy of Sawitto (see above). Here the name Sawitto is said to be derived from the words *sawé* (many, B.) and the name of this ruler, I Witto.

⁵⁸ This is the title given to Palétéang, the ruler of Sawitto in the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies.

called Toléngo, Tokippang and Latolélé.⁵⁹ One of the brothers married the *arung* of Palétéang. The other brothers also married the *arung* of other lands in Sawitto. *Puang ri sompaé* had a child called Tomaruli.⁶⁰ Tomaruli had eleven children. One was called *ratu ri* Parung, who went down in the water and became a crocodile. Another was called La Katu Bonggakaradeng, who became *aqdatuang* of Sawitto.⁶¹ La Katu Bonggakaradeng had a child called Palétéang. Palétéang had a child called La Cellaq Mata. La Cellaq Mata married Wé Lampé Weluaq. They had four children: one went into the water and became a crocodile. Another was called *datu* Bissué. Another was called *matinroé ri* Mala.⁶² Another was called La Pancaitana,⁶³ who became *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. La Pancaitana married I Tenritana and their child was I Passullé who married La Massora, the *arung* of Alitta (I.38) (figure 4.7).

The function of the three oral traditions summarized above is to set out the origin of the rulers of Sawitto and provide them with appropriate status. In V.1, V.2 and V.4, the rulers are descended from *tomanurung*, while in V.3, from Madimen, the rulers are simply said to have come down from the mountains. Unlike more typical South Sulawesi oral traditions for the ruling elite, these traditions claim that Sawitto already had a ruler; in this instance, justification is through conquest, albeit of an unpopular ruler who did not keep his promise. None of the versions of this oral tradition claim that the place of origin of the seven siblings was Simbuang itself, but given that the tradition of a Simbuang ancestry for the rulers of Sawitto is widely known this claim was probably assumed by both teller and listener. In V.3 from Madimen, however, genealogical connections with Simbuang are made through origin genealogies, while in V.4 the name Bonggakaradeng appears (as La Katu Bonggakaradeng) as an *aqdatuang* of Sawitto who was a descendent of the seven siblings. In addition to the name Bonggakaradeng, another ancestral name found in these present-day oral traditions from Sawitto is Lampésusu, who appears (as Lombéqsusu) in origin myths from several places in

⁵⁹ Toléngo and Tokippang also appear in the oral tradition collected by Haji Paewa, where they rescue La Palétéang from Gowa (see Chapter II).

⁶⁰ Tomaruli (Temmaruling) is the posthumous name for La Pancai (who is named in a later section of this oral genealogy as La Pancaitana), a late sixteenth century ruler of Sawitto whose daughter, Wé Passullé, was the first Muslim ruler of Sawitto.

⁶¹ Abdul Djalil Faisal (1978:22) also relates an oral tradition in which a female called *puang ri sompaé* was the first ruler of Sawitto and had eleven children. He names the eleven children as follows: *karaeng ri* Talloq, who went to Soppéng, Songko Payung who went to Boné, La Katu who stayed in Sawitto, *daeng* Mamata who went to Énré kang, Sambulawang who went to Duri, a Malay who went to Luwuq, La Salandung who went to Rante Bulawang, *arung* Kabena who went to Simbuang, La Soppa who went to Mandar, Samparangi ri Langiq who went to Binaga, and *ratu ri* Parung who became a crocodile.

⁶² *Datu* Bissu was a title of Wé Passullé, while *matinroé ri* Mala was Wé Passullé's posthumous name. She is named in the section of the genealogy that follows.

⁶³ The La Pancai of the *aSS*.

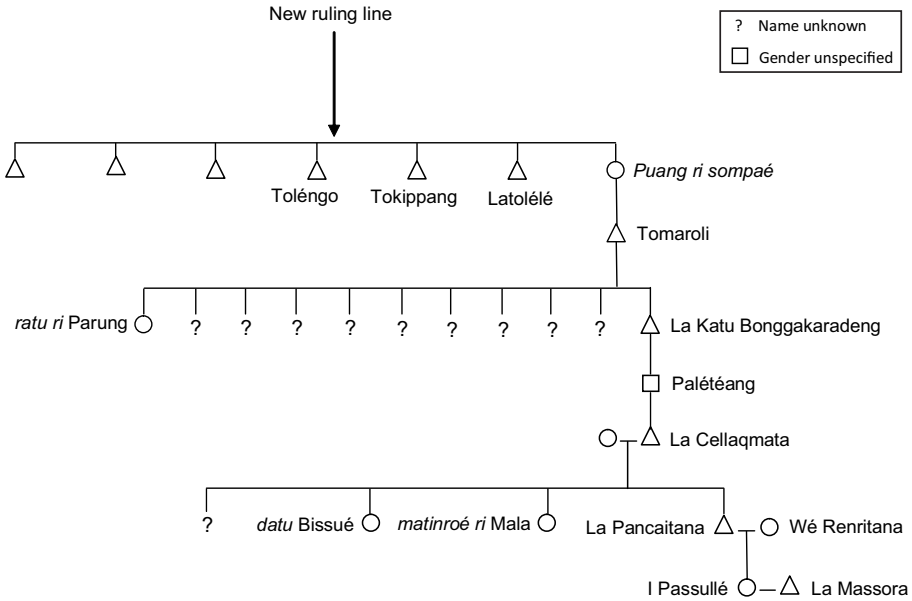


Figure 4.7. Origin of the rulers of Sawitto

northwest South Sulawesi, including Matangnga and Rantebulahan (see Lanting’s tradition) (Arianus Mandadung 1999:35-41), as well as Malimpung, Kadokkong and parts of Tana Toraja.⁶⁴ These traditions reveal a trail of shared ancestral figures leading down from the highlands that became transplanted in the lowlands of Sawitto.

It is tempting to conclude from the three oral traditions summarized above that an earlier Bugis ruling line (through the association with Luwuq, Boné and Bélokka) was defeated and replaced by a competing group who had moved down into the region from the highland areas to the north. However, too much should not be read into the references to Boné, Luwuq and Bélokka, as these place names may have simply become attached to the traditions during their transmission. Moreover, it is not where the former ruling line originated from that is important to the function of the tradition, but that there was an earlier ruling line. However, I do believe that these stories are, in part at least, derived from a conflict, or conflicts, between different groups for ascendancy in the Sawitto region. Some of these groups had cultural and

⁶⁴ Lampésusu, Lombéqsusu and Lambéqsusu all mean ‘long breasts’ in their respective languages.

kinship ties with highland areas to the north and, as the oral history and oral tradition from Sawitto and Simbuang suggest, continued to maintain political, economic, and perhaps ritual, ties with this region over time. The River Saddang, together with the Masupu, Mappak and Mamasa river valleys, would have facilitated communication and movement between these highland areas and Sawitto. These oral traditions suggest that the processes which led to the development of Sawitto as a kingdom were not the result of peaceful alliances between small polities, as may have been the case with Sidénréng, but of conflict for ascendancy.

The prominence, in two of the three oral traditions, of Palétéang, where the seven siblings are said to have come down to live, appears to be significant. Palétéang is just 3 kilometres southwest of Madimen. In the first tradition, Palétéang was the most prominent land in opposing the former ruling line, and in the third tradition, one of the brothers marries the ruler of Palétéang.⁶⁵ In these traditions, Palétéang is depicted as an independent settlement before the victory of the new ruling line, but on the tributary and domain list of Sawitto is named as a domain land. This suggests that Sawitto was born from a coalition formed with Palétéang and several other settlements, which succeeded in defeating previously dominant competitors.

It is plausible that there is a connection between the genealogical figure Palétéang, the place name Palétéang and the prominence of Palétéang in the oral traditions. This would suggest that the traditions summarized above date to about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sawitto's emergence around this time as the dominant polity in the region that came to be known by that name, and its ties with the other Ajattappareng lands, is suggested by the Ajattappareng genealogies. The Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies indicate that written genealogical records for Sawitto begin with the appearance of Palétéang, who dates to the first half of the sixteenth century. These genealogies give no indication of Palétéang's origins but what is clear is that his (or her) origins are considered to be different from those of the ruling lines of Suppaq and Sidénréng, which suggests that Sawitto was not closely allied with these two kingdoms when the early sections of the genealogies were recorded in writing.

This argument is supported by the settlement pattern of Sawitto's tributary and domain list, which shows that Sawitto did not have direct control over the main trade outlet in the Sawitto region at Sumpang Saddang. Three of Sawitto's tributaries, Lanriseng, Lérang and Rangaméa occupy strategic locations along the course of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang, which enabled them to control the flow of goods to and from

⁶⁵ Several informants in Pinrang claim that the ruler Palétéang came from the settlement of Palétéang, hence his name, which means 'crossing' in the Bugis language (I.27; I.38).

Sumpang Saddang. The main concern of the Sawitto rulers in the early period of the kingdom's development would therefore have been political integration, either through strategic marriage or by force, with the settlements located along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, rather than forging ties with Suppaq and Sidénréng.

One small polity which probably competed with Sawitto for ascendancy was Cempa, which oral tradition claims was once an independent kingdom that was later absorbed into the kingdom of Sawitto.

Oral tradition from Cempa

Cempa appears to have been the leading settlement of a small confederation of independent lands located around the fertile plains in central western Sawitto to the west of the Saddang-Sawitto branch of the River Saddang. Other members of this confederation were Paqqéroang, Madelloq, Barubaru, Kaliang, Kappa and Ménréq, all of which are located within a few kilometres of Cempa (figure 4.8). Of these seven lands, Madelloq, Kappa and Paqqéroang all appear as domains on the Sawitto tributary and domain list. Cempa itself is not named on the Sawitto tributary and domain list, but is named as a domain of Sawitto in two other texts which set out the tributaries and domains of Sawitto (ANRIM 14/27, p. 40; CKA p. 2).

Oral traditions make a number of claims regarding the origin of these lands. One of these, recorded in a *lontaraq* text found in a twentieth century manuscript, speaks of a relationship between Cempa and Mandar.⁶⁶ According to this tradition, one of the nine *tomanurung* of Cempa marries in Mandar. The child from this marriage, La Basoq Balannipa, later arrives in Cempa at the time of an agreement of friendship between Sawitto and the Pitu Baqbamminaga (The Seven River-mouths).⁶⁷ At this time, the ruler of Cempa was É Padauleng, a cousin of La Basoq Balainipa. La Basoq Balainipa requests some land on the edge of the sea in order to chop down some trees to build huts for the Pitu Baqbamminaga. The *aqdatuang* of Sawitto also arrives and requests some land from the *arung* of Cempa, which he wishes to use for hunting. The *aqdatuang* is given Salimpolo, the place where the River Saddang today flows into the Makassar Straits.⁶⁸ La Basoq Balannipa remains in Cempa and requests other land from his cousin to be used as a through-way to the sea for the people of Madelloq. This land is cleared and houses and a palace are built on it. La Basoq Balainipa also orders wet-rice fields to

⁶⁶ This text is found in manuscript ANRIM 40/7, pp. 237-40.

⁶⁷ The Pitu Baqbamminaga was a Mandar confederation made up of seven lands each located close to a river-mouth. The leading kingdom was Balainipa; the other six were Binuang, Banggae, Pamboang, Sedana Tapalang and Mamuju (George 1996:29).

⁶⁸ This information thus suggests that the Salimpolo area was woodland before the River Saddang's change in course.



Photograph 17. The grave of Matjina, Cempa

be opened in Paqgéroang. The tradition concludes by saying that the *arung* of Cempa was buried in Coppeng-coppeng, a pre-Islamic burial ground.

Present-day oral traditions claim that Cempa was once a large independent kingdom, equal in status to Luwuq, Boné and Gowa. These traditions claim precedence over Sawitto by claiming that Cempa is older than Sawitto but lost its independence when its lands were divided up and taken by Sawitto. Some oral traditions even claim that Sawitto was once part of Cempa.

Oral tradition traces the origin of Cempa's ruling family to a female *tomanurung*, who descended with seven mosques, seven palaces and numerous servants. This *tomanurung*, who is said to have had two husbands, is known by one of three names, Matjina, *petta* Matingasoé or *petta* Coppeng-coppeng (I.37).⁶⁹ The latter of these names appears to be posthumous, as Coppeng-coppeng was where the *arung* of Cempa were said to have been buried. Most of the area known as Coppeng-coppeng has been cleared for rice farming and only a patch of land remains that contain several Islamic graves, the most important of which is said to be that of Matjina.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Several informants from Cempa and other places in Pinrang who knew this tradition also stated that Matjina had two husbands, *karaeng* Baru-baru and *karaeng* Kaliang, at the same time, a practice which they claim was permissible before conversion to Islam.

⁷⁰ That this area was a pre-Islamic burial site is attested by reports from farmers who found

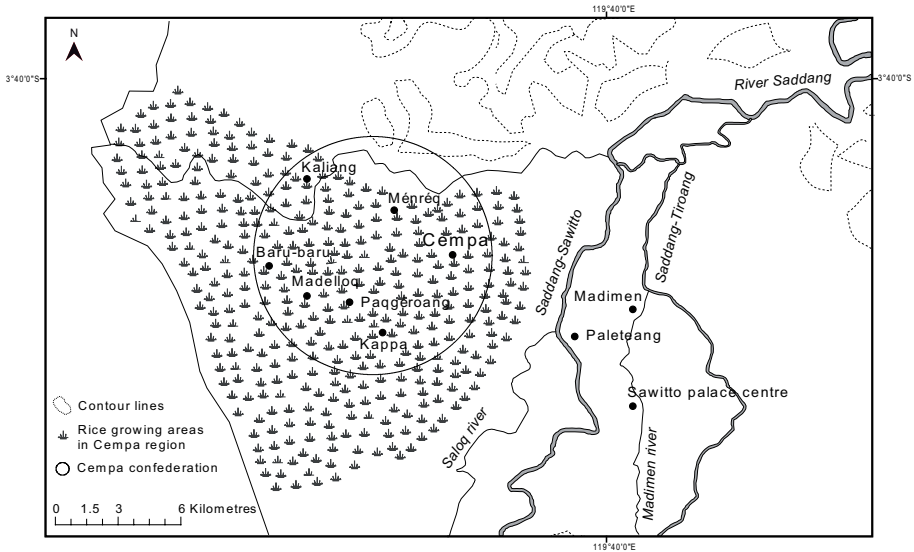


Figure 4.8. The Cempa confederation

Several of the other lands associated with Cempa trace their origin to Matjina. Paqgéroang (today called Akkajeng) acknowledges that it was formerly part of Cempa and traces the origin of the former noble family to Matjina. One of Matjina's sons is said to have become the *arung* of Paqgéroang after Paqgéroang's first ruler, Talawaé, disappeared (I.29). Two other sons of Matjina are said to have become the *arung* of Baru-baru and Kalliang. In Baru-baru, informants acknowledge the tradition of a son of Matjina becoming *arung* of Baru-baru, but state that he was not the first ruler. As with Paqgéroang, Baru-baru also claims that it had its own founding rulers before its association with Cempa, who were called *puang* Langiq Makkraton (lord or lady of the sky who owned a palace) and *puang* Basoq. According to the story, *puang* Langiq Makkraton was a *tomanurung* while her husband, *puang* Basoq, came to Baru-baru from Karangaeng in Letta to open rice fields (I.67). The word *makkraton* (to have a palace) is not in Matthes's dictionary and is probably derived from the Javanese word *kraton* (palace).⁷¹

large numbers of tradewares when clearing the land, including burial jars containing cremated remains. I located a small number of fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok and sixteenth century Ming sherds which were scattered close to Matjina's reputed grave. Matjina's grave itself is Islamic, but has been renovated and probably rebuilt in an Islamic style on numerous occasions, most recently in 1988.

⁷¹ Ceramic tradewares have been looted from pre-Islamic burial grounds in both Paqgéroang

The Cempa confederation was perhaps one of a number of emerging agricultural polities which competed with Sawitto for ascendancy in the region. As a number of the lands associated with Cempa are named as domains and not tributaries of the Sawitto tributary and domain list, it is probable that the absorption of Cempa into the kingdom of Sawitto was achieved through armed conquest.

An oral tradition from Alitta

Alitta origin tradition claims that the first ruler of Alitta, a female called Wé Bungkokungu, arose from a place called Bujung Pitué (the seven wells, B.), located close to the shore of Alitta's former lake.⁷² According to this tradition, Wé Bungkokungu married a noble of Alitta and later ascended to the Upperworld. She descended to earth every Monday at the well, which was the only time that her husband ever saw her.

Today, people from Alitta and other parts of South Sulawesi visit Bujung Pitué on Mondays and Thursdays in order to bathe in the well and, after drinking of its water three times, make a request to Wé Bungkokungu. Before the planting season, when people living in Alitta bath and drink there in order to ensure the success of the planting season.

Origin, precedence and history

In South Sulawesi, as with many other Austronesian-speaking societies, traditions of origin and precedence continue to be of social and political importance in the societies in which they circulate. For many of South Sulawesi's peoples, these traditions represent continuity with the past and provide a fundamental link between the origins of their societies and the present-day.

For historians, traditions of origin and precedence can provide an important understanding of relationships between political groupings and give an insight into early political developments of emerging kingdoms. Traditions of origin and precedence can and do change over time as a consequence of social, political and economic changes in the societies in which they are told, and anyone attempting to use such traditions as historical sources must be aware of these transformations. The tradition that tells of the origin of the Ajattappareng confederation, for example, provides Sidénréng with precedence over Suppaq and

and Baru-baru, with huge quantities reportedly found in Paqqéroang. Other places in Cempa where ceramics have been looted are Madelloq and Ménréq; rice farmers in Madelloq report finding at least ten martavan filled with what they believed to be cremated human remains. In Ménréq, I located a sixteenth century Ming sherd, two seventeenth century Swatow sherds and several sherds from Chinese stoneware martavans, of the type commonly found in pre-Islamic Bugis burial grounds.

⁷² Only one well exists today but according to tradition there were seven.

the other Ajattappareng kingdoms, but an earlier tradition in the Ajattappareng genealogies sets out Suppaq's precedence over Sidénréng.

One of the striking features of some of these origin traditions is that they do appear to contain memories of a time before the major kingdoms emerged, which in most instances can be dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The oral traditions from Cempa and the lands associated with it present us with a different political landscape to that found in the tributary and domain list of Sawitto and appear to tell us about the time when Cempa was an independent land competing with Sawitto. The continued transmission of this tradition (some 400 years after the Cempa confederation lost its independence) emphasizes the importance the people of South Sulawesi attach to the idea of 'place' and the origin of their individual communities.

The Cempa tradition suggests that Sawitto's emergence as the dominant polity in its region was relatively late. This inference can also be drawn from the traditions which tell of the origin of Sawitto's ruling family, which claim that the present ruling line overthrew and replaced earlier ruling groups. The traditions from Kadokkong and Kabelangeng, both of which claim precedence over Sawitto by recourse to an earlier origin, also suggest the late emergence of Sawitto. The Kadokkong tradition further claims that the ruling line of Sawitto is descended from its own ruling family. At the same time, the oral tradition from Kadokkong acknowledges the precedence of Simbuang, as do the people and former ruling family of Sawitto today.

The oral history from Sawitto, which presents a remarkable picture of relations of origin and precedence between ruling families of Sawitto and Simbuang, suggests that these relations of precedence have some basis in fact and perhaps reflect ancient kinship ties that continued following movements of people from the highlands to the lowlands. Similarly, the Sidénréng origin tradition also suggests a highland presence in the lowlands of Sidénréng. Unlike Sawitto, however, there is no tradition of conflict in early Sidénréng but an apparently peaceful union of agricultural lands.

This chapter has also provided a further insight into the relationship between the oral and written registers. The three Ajattappareng genealogies examined in this chapter are written traditions which begin with two origin figures, Wé Tépuŕingé and La Bangéngngé, who provide justification for the position of all subsequent individuals named in the Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto (figures 4, 4.1 and 4.2 respectively) genealogies. The tradition about Wé Tépuŕingé and La Bangéngngé are told in Suppaq and Bacukiki today, and were almost certainly incorporated into the genealogies from the oral register. However, in Sidénréng and Sawitto, it is not this tradition that people refer to when telling of the origin of their ruling families. Rather, it is those earlier oral traditions that tell of a Simbuang and Sangallaq ancestry that continue to be transmitted. This not only emphasizes the durability of oral tradition but also suggests that the notion of 'textual authority' has little relevance to South Sulawesi.

CHAPTER V

Ajattappareng 1200 to 1600

Introduction

Before about 1300, the people inhabiting South Sulawesi lived in small-scattered settlements. As in most other Austronesian-speaking societies they had well developed ideas of social stratification and settlements were probably ruled by hereditary chiefs chosen from the highest-ranking families of each settlement. Population density was low and even the largest settlements probably only numbered a thousand or two people. Archaeological evidence on burial practices suggests that cultural identities had yet to extend much beyond the bounds of local communities. Among the Bugis and speakers of Makasar languages at least, evidence of shared religious beliefs that are concomitant with their respective languages can, at present, be dated to about the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud 2005).

Before 1300 much of South Sulawesi was covered in forest, which made communication between settlements difficult. The main centres of habitation in the lowland areas of the peninsula were around the central lakes (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000), and along the major rivers and coastal areas where natural resources, such as marine life, fish, salt and several protein-rich vegetables which grow naturally on the shores of the lakes, were more plentiful.¹ For many communities, rivers functioned as channels of movement and communication between settlements, in particular the major rivers, such as the Saddang, Bila, Cenrana and Jeneberrang.

A significant advantage of living within close proximity to lakes and rivers was the annual flooding during the wet season, which provided nutrients for agriculture, in particular flood retreat rice cultivation. How much forest had

¹ One story of the origin of Sidénréng recalls how the founding brothers and their followers caught fish and collected *lareq* (a leafy vegetable which grows around the shores of Lake Sidénréng, B.) immediately after arriving at Lake Sidenreng (Druce 1999:27-8).

been cleared for rain-fed rice cultivation before 1300 is at present unknown as there has been little paleobotanical research carried out to address this question. Nor do we know how developed rice cultivation techniques were before 1300. It is possible that there was some basic irrigation for wet-rice cultivation, such as water directed from rivers and lakes to flood low-lying fields. However, unlike Java, where relatively sophisticated wet-rice cultivation had developed by about the eighth century (Van Setten van der Meer 1979), it is unlikely that any large-scale damming or bunding or drainage of low-lying areas had taken place in South Sulawesi before 1300. Natural flood plains may have been utilized by some communities for rice cultivation and it is possible that broadcasting (seeds scattered on flood plains as the waters retreated) was practiced. However, most rice cultivated before 1300 was probably grown by swidden farming, with different patches of forest cleared and burned in rotation.

Before 1300, rice was probably just one of a number of staple food crops cultivated; other staples were probably millet, bananas, jackfruit, coconut and various root crops, such as taro. Sources of animal protein were poultry, eggs, fish, shellfish, deer, wild and domesticated pigs, domesticated buffalo, and perhaps dogs, with the former two animals mainly consumed at festivals such as death feasts following their sacrificial slaughter, a practice that continues today among Soddan-Toraja speakers.²

Trade prior to 1300 was restricted to small-scale local networks, through which agricultural produce, salt and salted fish from coastal areas, locally manufactured earthenware and precious metals, such as gold from highland areas could be exchanged. Iron ore and finished iron tools may have been traded in small quantities before 1300; a significant trade in iron developed shortly after this date following Bugis settlement of Malangke in Luwuq.³

Local trade networks probably followed river valleys, in particular the major rivers of the region, some of which would have facilitated relatively long distance trade networks. This may have been true of the two major rivers in the Ajattappareng region, namely the Soddang and (perhaps to a lesser extent) the Bila. These rivers probably facilitated small-scale trade networks,

² Deer were introduced to South Sulawesi about 4000 years ago. By about 1300 they had become a major game animal and wild buffalo had been extirpated everywhere except the remote highlands (Simons and Bulbeck 2004).

³ Iron ore was processed from the middle to late first millennium CE around the northern shores of Lake Matano in *kabupaten* Luwu Utara. The settlement of Matano, which is located to the west of Lake Matano, appears to have been a way station for traders carrying ironstone and perhaps prills and pig iron from the late first millennium before becoming the main iron smelting and working area after 1600 (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:27, 33, 96). Bulbeck et al. (2001:80) report the presence of an iron spearhead among the assemblage from Willems and McCarthy's 1937 excavation at Leong Codong in Soppéng, dated to the first millennium, which suggests a regional trade in iron before 1300.

communication and movements of people from the highlands to the lowland areas of Sawitto and Sidénréng long before 1300. Oral tradition from Sawitto and Sidénréng suggests that kinship ties between highland and lowland communities are of considerable antiquity, particularly those of lowland Sawitto and settlements further to the north. The Bugis of Suppaq, Sidénréng, Alitta and Rappang speak a common dialect (the Sidrap-Bugis dialect), which suggests that small-scale trade networks between these peoples, perhaps comprising fish, salt, agricultural produce, forest produce and earthenware goods, may also be of some antiquity.⁴

External trade before 1300, as shown in Chapter I, was sporadic and touched only a few coastal communities of South Sulawesi, mainly the Makasar-speaking areas along the south coast. This trade was of little relevance to the majority of South Sulawesi's inhabitants who had no contact with (and presumably no knowledge of) the handful of foreign traders who intermittently came to the region.

From about 1300, the political and geographic landscape of South Sulawesi began to change. Traders from other parts of island Southeast Asia began to arrive in coastal areas, seeking rice and forest produce in exchange for ceramic and stoneware trade goods, cotton from India and perhaps Chinese silks. Toponymic evidence, oral tradition and archaeological data, suggest that some of these traders were associated with the Javanese kingdoms of Singhasari and Majapahit and that they settled in coastal areas, where they presumably married into local populations.⁵

From about 1300, the ruling elite of South Sulawesi began to respond to the new opportunities presented by external trade. There was a gradual shift away from swidden farming to wet-rice cultivation and a major focus on the cultivation of rice at the expense of other crops. Forests slowly began to be cleared in order to create new rice fields and irrigation systems constructed and expanded.

Clearing forest, damming rivers and building banded fields are long and arduous tasks, which require leadership and substantial investment in labour. There are also a number of risks involved in focusing on rice at the expense of other crops, such as insect infestations, incursions by rodents, birds and other wild animals, and disease.⁶ However, these risks were clearly outweighed

⁴ Irfan Mahmud and I have carried out an initial analysis of a selection of earthenware sherds from the Ajattappareng surveys and a publication of the results is planned. It is possible that some of the earthenware vessels traded before 1600 were produced in Alitta, BÉlokka, or Wanio, which are the only settlements in the Ajattappareng region that produce earthenware goods today.

⁵ Research by Bulbeck and Clune (2003) on decorated Makasar earthenware shows that there was also an important trading relationship with the Philippines.

⁶ A fear that birds would devour the rice crop before harvest is found in the *attoriolonna* Soppéng in the dialogue between the people of Soppéng and the *tomanurung*: 'We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we do not lack food.' (Caldwell 1988:99.)

by potential increases in wealth and political power for the ruling elite and provided attractive economic prospects for their followers. As Macknight (1983) observes, once such a system has been set up, continued expansion is not simply advantageous but also inevitable, limited only by the availability of settled land and people to work it. Rice has long been a high status food in Southeast Asia and surpluses may have been used to attract followers from the surrounding area to provide additional labour for further land clearance. Surpluses could also be exchanged with the ruling elite of highland settlements in exchange for produce and possibly even manpower in order to work existing rice fields and to open new rice fields. Such exchanges would have further strengthened highland-lowland alliance networks and encouraged the development of tributary relationships. Highland areas also provided fighting men who could be used for military expansion and to protect existing rice fields from competing settlements which were also in the process of territorial expansion.

The rise of the Ajattappareng kingdoms: archaeological evidence from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

The earliest agricultural intensification and developments in political complexity in Ajattappareng were probably on the coastal plains in central Suppaq and along the lower reaches of the old course of the River Saddang. Settlements in these areas were probably the first in the Ajattappareng region to have regular contact with archipelagic traders. They are located on fertile coastal plains close to the floodplains of the Saddang and Marauleng rivers, providing conditions which would have facilitated the development of wet-rice agriculture. The area to the south of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang was part of central Suppaq, while to the north of the river lay the settlements of Lérang, Lanriseng, Loloang, and a few kilometres further east, Rangaméa. In the centuries that followed, these settlements were to become tributaries of Sawitto.

The most important of these early coastal polities was Suppaq, which on archaeological evidence emerged as the major port in the Ajattappareng region perhaps as early as the thirteenth century. Surveys in central Suppaq revealed six sites dating to the thirteenth century and one to the fourteenth century lying within relatively close proximity of one another. Of all the ceramic sherds recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys assigned to the thirteenth century, 88% were found in central Suppaq.⁷ For the fourteenth century, the figure drops to 66% as an increasing number of ceramics were

⁷ All ceramic data, associated statistics and site maps are set out in Appendix B.

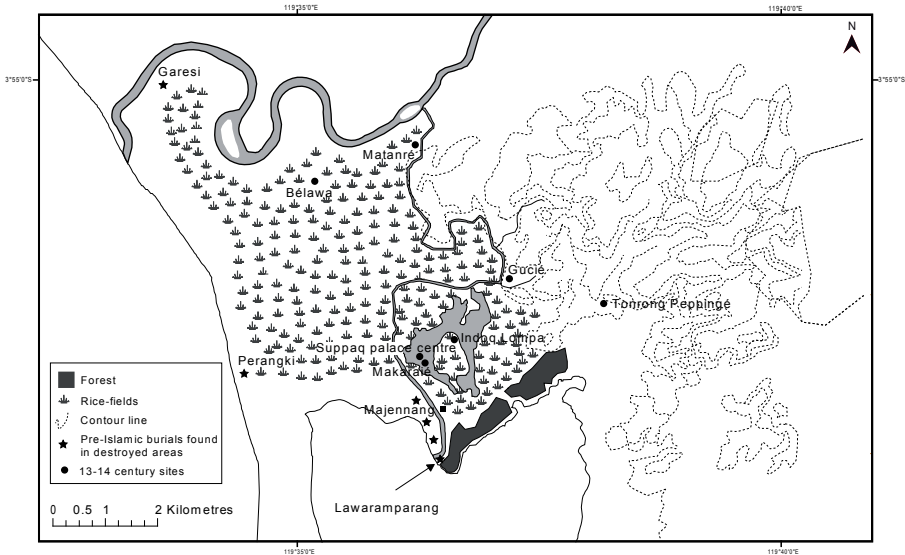


Figure 5. Central Suppaq archaeological sites

passed on to inland agrarian kingdoms, such as Sidénréng, which began to produce greater surpluses of rice to trade for ceramics. These data suggest that from the thirteenth century people were increasingly attracted to central Suppaq, which emerged as the region's major commercial and agricultural centre (figure 5).

The highest concentrations of sherds dating to this period were found at the former palace centre of Suppaq, its adjacent graveyard known as Makaraié,⁸ and at Matané and Gucié. Fourteen ceramic sherds dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries were found at the site of Suppaq's former palace centre; due to difficult survey conditions these were all recovered from a relatively small area.⁹ Makaraié produced 55 sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including two iron-painted Jizhou martavan sherds, which are a status marker *par excellence* (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:84). With the exception of a single sherd (Wéngeng, below), every one of the 88 Jizhou sherds recorded in South Sulawesi have been found at the pre-Islamic palace

⁸ The name of a mid-sixteenth century ruler of Suppaq.

⁹ Much of the plateau (where the palace centre and Makaraié are located) is heavily wooded. After it was abandoned in the seventeenth century the area where the pre-Islamic palace centre was located began to be used as an Islamic graveyard, now heavily overgrown and difficult to survey.

centres of historically important kingdoms.¹⁰

Matanré, which is located close to the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang, produced 31 sherds dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, the majority of which were from Yuan celadon plates and bowls. Matanré was evidently not just an important early rice-growing area but was also engaged in trade exchanges along the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river.

Gucié, a large pre-Islamic and Islamic graveyard (which remained in use until the nineteenth century), produced 67 sherds dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century. However, all but four of these sherds were from three or four Yuan-period incised brownware jars. The graveyard is located on a hill at the edge of a rice-growing area, but the survey team could not locate the site of the village with which it was associated; it is possible that any surviving archaeological remains were destroyed by the creation of rice fields in recent times.

The remaining three sites in central Suppaq where thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sherds were found, albeit in smaller quantities, are Tonrong Peppingé, Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa. The first of these, Tonrong Peppingé, a small pre-Islamic graveyard located on the western cordillera, produced just two fourteenth-century sherds. Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa, which are both located in wet-rice growing areas, produced one and four thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds respectively. The small number of early sherds found in these latter two sites is mainly a reflection on poor survey conditions, as large parts of both Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa have been destroyed by the creation of new rice fields. In Béla-bélawa farmers have found ceramics over a wide area, but our survey was limited to a few patches of garden land in between the rice fields. Likewise, only a small area of Indoq Lompa remains today and the survey of this site was further hampered by the presence of a thick carpet of cocoa leaves. The small number of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found in these two sites therefore under-represents these individual lands in the early phase of Suppaq's development.

Ceramic tradewares have also been found in five other sites in this area of central Suppaq, namely at Majennang, Perangki, Garesi, the area to the

¹⁰ These include Tinco Tua (the West Soppéng palace site), Kale Gowa (the original Gowa palace site), Benteng Talloq (the palace site of Talloq), Karaeng Loe, Jeneponto (associated with the Makasar kingdom of Binamu), Pattimang Tua in Malangke (the pre-Islamic palace site of Luwuq), and Allangkanangngé ri La Tanété (the palace site of the kingdom of Cina). In the Ajattappareng region, Jizhou sherds have also been found in Makaraié, Watang Sidénréng, Wéngeng and Bélokka (below). McKinnon (1995:3) notes that Jizhou wares are relatively rare in Indonesia and generally found only in major power centres in the archipelago, such as Trowulan (capital of Majapahit) and *kampung* Muara Ciaretun in West Java (associated with the kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java).

west of the Marauleng river (now converted to fish and prawn farms), and what appears to have been a small pre-Islamic graveyard north of Lawaramparang.¹¹ The only one of these sites surveyed was Majennang, which produced a few fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds and much larger quantities of seventeenth and eighteenth century sherdage. Whether any of the four remaining areas contained thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds is impossible to know as the sites have also been destroyed by the creation of fish farms.¹² Nevertheless, the survey data from central Suppaq suggest that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a relatively large number of people began to concentrate in this area.¹³

Finds of thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic sherds are not confined to central Suppaq but are found in smaller numbers throughout lowland areas of the Ajattappareng region. In the areas to the north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river it is difficult to assess the extent of trade in these ceramics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as many former occupation sites have been destroyed by the creation of fish and prawn farms and rice fields. A survey was carried out at Loloang, where looters and farmers reported extraordinarily large finds of ceramics over a wide area. As much of Loloang's archaeological record has been destroyed by the creation of rice fields, the survey team were restricted to surveying a few patches of garden land between the rice fields. Nevertheless, five thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds were found in Loloang, and a farmer showed me the foot of a large rare fourteenth century Yuan incense burner (photograph 19) that he found while digging an irrigation ditch. Given the poor survey conditions in Loloang, the small quantity of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds recovered are an indication that the settlements located close to the northern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river were important early agricultural and commercial areas. Grave robbers and fish and prawn pond excavators also reported large finds of ceramics

¹¹ Lawaramparang is the name of an important *keramat* in Suppaq, where an underwater stream rises close to the seashore and gives the appearance of a natural well (photograph 18). According to the Ajattappareng genealogies, Wé Téputingé (the first ruler of Suppaq) arose from Lawaramparang. Today, local inhabitants regard Lawaramparang as the most important, potent and dangerous *keramat* in Suppaq and many local people consciously keep their distance from it.

¹² Local residents report finding martavans that contained cremated human remains at Perangki, Garesi and the site to the north of Lawaramparang when they were dug out by excavators to create fish farms. The survey team visited Perangki and found a few sherds dating from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries along the walkways between the farms. In the area to the west of the Marauleng river, we also found several Sawankhalok stoneware martavan sherds and Ming blue-and-white sherds along the walkways between the fish and prawn farms.

¹³ This forms a contrast with the area south of central Suppaq, where the Suppaq domain lands of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo lay. No thirteenth or fourteenth century sherds have been found in these lands. The reasons for the relatively late development of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo are discussed later in this chapter.



Photograph 18. Lawaramparang: where the first ruler of Suppaq is said to have ascended



Photograph 19. Foot from a fourteenth-century Yuan incense burner found at Loloang

from Sumpang-Saddang, Lanriseng, Lérang and Rangaméa. Despite the fact that their reported finds cannot be dated, on the basis of ceramic data from Loloang it seems reasonable to assume that some of the tradewares found in these lands date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Further to the north in Makuring (a domain land of the Sawitto tributary Langnga), a foot from a fourteenth century Yuan incense burner, almost identical to that found at Loloang, was found by a looter who showed it to me when I visited his house.¹⁴

In central Sawitto, thirteenth to fourteenth century tradewares have been found in at least two sites, namely Tomaruli (the former palace centre of Sawitto) and Saloq.¹⁵ In *kota* Pinrang a looter showed me two broken thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan celadon plates from Tomaruli. Grave robbers who have systematically searched the former territory of Sawitto for pre-Islamic burial grounds consistently state that the greatest quantity of tradewares came from Tomaruli. In Saloq, one thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan martavan sherd of the same type of those found in Makaraié was shown me by Amad Siangka.¹⁶ No sherds dating to before the fifteenth century were evident when the survey team examined the site at Bulu, but this is not to say that thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds would not have been found had the survey team been allowed to carry out a more extensive survey (see Chapter I).

Other sites in central Sawitto where looters have found imported ceramic tradewares are Padakalawa, Punia, Palétéang, Sékkang, Lépanjang, Paria and a majority of the lands that formed the Cempa confederation, namely Cempa, Paqgéroang, Madelloq, Baru-baru, Kaliang, and Ménréq.¹⁷ Detailed descriptions by grave robbers of tradewares found at the above sites suggest that some may date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

About ten ceramic sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were found during the Alitta survey, where relatively good conditions

¹⁴ Yuan incense burners are rare in South Sulawesi and none of the survey team had seen one before. Nor have fragments been found in surveys of Soppéng, Gowa, Talloq or Luwuq, although David Bulbeck (personal communication, 2002) was shown a similar foot some years ago in Wajo-wajo, *kabupaten* Wajo.

¹⁵ Four sites in Sawitto were originally scheduled for survey: Tomaruli, Bulu, Sumpang-Saddang and Loloang (see Chapter I).

¹⁶ Amad Siangka and I visited the site where this sherd was found, but recovered only fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds, one of which was from a Ming Sancai vessel. After I left, Amad Singka continued sifting through the cocoa leaves and found the Yuan sherd, which he brought the following day to show me together with a handful of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds. Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makasar later confirmed the identification of the sherd as Yuan (1279-1368).

¹⁷ A feature of central Sawitto sites is that looters report finding greater quantities of gold than in other areas of the Ajattappareng region. This perhaps reflects the proximity of central Sawitto to highland areas.

allowed the survey team to cover a wide area and divide the site into three zones. Alitta's total share of ceramics assigned to the thirteenth century is just 1.5%. However, this rises to 6% for the fourteenth century, which suggests that Alitta played an important role in the regional and international trade network from about 1300 onwards.

In Sidénréng, of the five sites surveyed, Watang Sidénréng, Wéngeng, Bulubangi and BÉlokka produced thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds.¹⁸ These four sites account for about 10% of all sherds assigned to the thirteenth century and 24% of fourteenth century sherds. The most impressive of these sites in terms of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds was a pre-Islamic graveyard in Watang Sidénréng, which produced 15 sherds dating to that period, including three Jizhou martavan sherds. Most of the graveyard was destroyed when it was cleared for rice farming, and all that remains today is an area about 50 metres in length and 25 metres in width. Local informants state that the remaining graveyard represents about 25% of its original extent. According to oral tradition, the village of Watang Sidénréng was originally located northwest of the graveyard in an area where wet-rice is now cultivated (I.49). Given the difficult survey conditions in Watang Sidénréng, the 15 thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found there are significant: indeed, they represent 50% of all sherds assigned to the thirteenth century found in Sidénréng and about 31% for the fourteenth century. The survey data thus appear to support oral tradition (Chapter IV); both suggest that Watang Sidénréng was where the early palace centre of Sidénréng's rulers was established.

Wéngeng, which is located to the northeast of Watang Sidénréng, produced just one fourteenth century sherd and one fourteenth to fifteenth century Jizhou sherd. The latter suggests that Wéngeng may have been of early importance, although conversely the small number of finds from the survey, which covered a relatively large area, suggests that Wéngeng was a relatively small village with little land suitable for wet-rice cultivation. Wéngeng therefore appears to be an exception to the apparent rule that Jizhou sherds are found only in historically important palace centres.

The survey of Bulubangi (Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud 2005) recovered over 4,000 sherds, a larger number than any other site surveyed in the Ajattappareng region. The quantity of sherds recovered is partly a reflection of excellent survey conditions that allowed the team to survey six separate zones encompassing pre-Islamic burial grounds and habitation areas. Despite the extensive survey, no Jizhou sherds were found, and only 11 of

¹⁸ The fifth site surveyed was Posiq Tana Sidénréng at Watang Sidénréng, a small ritual area centred around a stone that is said to mark the centre of Sidénréng. Survey finds from Posiq Tana date from the fifteenth through to nineteenth century.

the recovered sherds can be dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The sherds from Bulubangi represent 22% of all thirteenth century sherds recorded for Sidénréng and 26% for the fourteenth century. Given the comparatively large area surveyed and the absence of Jizhou sherds, the ceramic data suggest that Bulubangi was significantly less important than Watang Sidénréng in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹

The fourth site surveyed in Sidénréng that produced thirteenth and fourteenth century sherds is a large looted pre-Islamic graveyard at BÉlokka, a tributary of Sidénréng located close to the border with Soppéng. BÉlokka was the leading settlement of a confederation of four lands; the others were Ciroali, Wanio and Wetteqé. Excellent survey conditions allowed the team to survey the entire site and 3,225 sherds were recorded. Just seven of these sherds date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries but 17 Jizhou martavan sherds dating to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries were also found. Examination of the Jizhou sherds revealed that 11 of them came from two martavans; each of the remaining six appear to represent an individual martavan. Despite the excellent survey conditions, the number of Jizhou sherds found in the BÉlokka survey is impressive and indicates that in the fourteenth century it was an important political centre. I was unable to locate pre-Islamic burial grounds for Wetteqé, Wanio and Ciroali, which suggests that the pre-Islamic graveyard at BÉlokka may also have functioned as a burial ground for the people of all four lands.

The evident importance of BÉlokka in the fourteenth century reflects not just the fact that it is located in a fertile wet-rice growing region, but also that it had access to trade. BÉlokka, Wetteqé, Wanio and Ciroali all had direct access to both Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng, which suggests they traded over a wide geographical area, not just with Sidénréng but also with settlements in Soppéng and Wajoq.

In Rappang, grave robbers and farmers have reportedly found ceramics at Bénténg (the former palace centre of Rappang), Baranti, Simpo, Déa, and Patué hill in Kulo, Rappang's sole tributary land. According to the officials at the Kantor Kebudayaan in Pangkajene (*kabupaten* Sidrap), many of the ceramics found in Baranti in the 1970s, were examined by experts from Makassar, who identified some as Yuan wares. From the accounts of grave robbers and my own observations of looted areas in Rappang, including its former palace centre at Bénténg, the quantities of tradewares appear to have been smaller in number than in other parts of Ajattappareng.

¹⁹ Other sites in central Sidénréng where ceramics have been looted from pre-Islamic graves include Tétéaji, Guru, Liseq and Lawawoi. The areas in which most of these ceramics were found are now rice fields.

Early trade networks and the spread of wet-rice agriculture

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were early phases of agricultural and political development in Ajattappareng, as forests slowly began to be cleared for rice cultivation and people began to concentrate in emerging political, economic and agricultural centres. It was during these centuries that the political structure of the kingdoms described in Chapter I began to take shape.

A notable feature of the archaeological survey data is that thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic sherds are found throughout lowland areas of Ajattappareng. Some of these early ceramics may have been stored for a time by the ruling elite of coastal polities before they were exchanged with the rulers of inland settlements. However, sufficient quantities of these sherds have been found at places 30 kilometres inland from the coast (at Watang Sidénréng, for example) to suggest that they were traded to inland settlements not long after they were obtained from foreign traders. This not only indicates an early realization of the Ajattappareng region's rich agricultural potential, but also suggests that these ceramics were passed along existing small-scale local trade routes that had developed before 1300. One of these trade networks ran from the area around Sumpang Saddang to the central Sawitto region via the Saddang river. Another network probably ran from Suppaq to Alitta, either via the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, or via the pass which runs from the northern tip of the western cordillera, and from there to Sidénréng and Rappang. From about 1300 these networks began to expand into major trade routes as the region became integrated into a wider maritime economy.

The most important Ajattappareng polity during this early phase of political, economic and agricultural development was Suppaq, which began to attract a growing number of people from the surrounding area. Increasing contact and trade between Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta, would have probably been driven by Suppaq as demand for exportable produce rose. This would have stimulated agricultural expansion and political centralization in these inland areas. By the fourteenth century, Suppaq had become prosperous and powerful, and the most prestigious of the Ajattappareng kingdoms.

The coastal settlements located close to the Pao-Sumpang course of the Saddang river in the Sawitto region were among the earliest places in Ajattappareng to exchange agricultural produce with foreign traders. Increased contact and trade after 1300 between these riverine and coastal settlements stimulated agricultural intensification. Highland produce perhaps played a more important role in trade than in other regions as the Saddang provided an important waterway connecting the coastal areas to the central

plains and highlands. However, unlike Suppaq, none of the small settlements located close to the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river developed into major political centres.

The fifteenth century: expansion, alliance and agricultural intensification

The fifteenth century was a period of major political and agricultural expansion throughout lowland South Sulawesi, partly stimulated by the international 'trade boom' described by Anthony Reid (1988, 1993). Archaeological data reveal a large-scale increase in ceramic tradewares arriving in South Sulawesi, the opening of new land for rice cultivation, and sustained population growth in agricultural regions, most notably inland rice-growing areas (Kallupa et al. 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). These data can be correlated with the stories written down in the Bugis chronicles of Boné and Wajoq. These present a picture of competition and warfare between emerging inland polities for control over agricultural land and populations, the opening up of new land for rice cultivation under the direction of ruling elites, and the establishment of tributary ties by emerging centres over less successful settlements, some voluntarily and some through force.

In the Ajattappareng region, the fifteenth century marks the appearance of ceramic tradewares in hill and highland areas of Sidénréng and Sawitto, the Suppaq domain lands of Bacukiki, Soréang, Bojo, and the Suppaq tributaries of Népo, Palanro and Manuba. While Suppaq probably remained the most important of the fifteenth century Ajattappareng kingdoms, archaeological data reveal that the greatest growth in ceramic tradewares for this century was in inland rice producing regions. This indicates that the region's agricultural potential was increasingly realized during the fifteenth century. For example, the five Sidénréng sites surveyed account for 38% of all ceramic sherds assigned to the fifteenth century, while those of central Suppaq fall to 52%.

The archaeological evidence further suggests that during the fifteenth century there was increased economic integration between coastal and inland areas of Ajattappareng. Despite the absence of reliable genealogical data for the Ajattappareng region before about 1500, it is probable that increasing economic integration was accompanied by strategic marriages, particularly between Suppaq and Sidénréng, which served to strengthen alliances.

For much of the fifteenth century, Sawitto probably stood apart from the four other Ajattappareng kingdoms. The main concern of its rulers was to establish their settlement as the dominant polity in this ethnically diverse region of Ajattappareng. Furthermore, while political and economic ties with Suppaq were fundamental to the political and economic evolution of

Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta, this was not true for Sawitto; its main international trade outlet for agricultural and highland produce was at Sumpang Saddang, which could be reached by sailing along the Saddang river.

The southward expansion of Suppaq and its emergence as a maritime power

In comparison to the thirteenth and fourteenth century, archaeological data for Suppaq for the fifteenth century show increases in ceramic tradewares at all but one of the sites surveyed, ranging from about 250 to 600% at most sites.²⁰ Matanré, however, experienced only moderate growth (63%) and its share of ceramic sherds recorded from central Suppaq sites drops from just under 20% for the fourteenth century to about 3.5% for the fifteenth century. Matanré is located in a fertile rice-growing area about 500 metres from the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river. The absence of any significant fifteenth century growth at Matanré may reflect increasing competition with emerging polities in the Sawitto region for trade along the Pao-Sumpang course of the Saddang river, perhaps accompanied by warfare.

The fifteenth century also marks the appearance of tradewares in the Suppaq domain lands to the south of its port at Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo.²¹ Given its importance in the Ajattappareng genealogies as the place where La Bangénggé descended and ruled, it is surprising that Bacukiki appears to have emerged as an important land about two centuries after the port area of Suppaq. However, the probable explanation for the relatively late importance of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo is because these lands are located in areas unsuitable for wet-rice cultivation, and had little to contribute, with the possible exception of labour, during the early phase of Suppaq's development. Soréang and Bojo are located on the narrow coastal strip where the western cordillera runs close to the seashore, while Bacukiki is situated on

²⁰ No Ming blue-and-white were found at Indoq Lompa and Tonrong Peppingé, which suggests that their main developmental phase was the fifteenth century.

²¹ The Makassar branch of Balai Arkeologi surveyed Bacukiki and Soréang in 2001 (Muhaeminah and Mahmud 2001). The surveys recovered a relatively small quantity of ceramic sherds, a few of which date to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The vast majority of sherds, however, dated to the seventeenth century. The museum Labangengge in the city of Pare-pare has on display two fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok wares, three sixteenth century Ming plates and two Swatow wares (identified by the author during a visit to the museum) that were said to have been found at Bacukiki. Grave robbers report finding sixteenth century Sawankhalok covered boxes on Mount Aroanggé in Bacukiki, where La Bangénggé is said to have descended. On a visit to Soréang, I located nine sherds from Ming blue-and-white vessels, while at a small looted pre-Islamic graveyard at Bojo I found two Sawankhalok martavan sherds, six sherds from Chinese stoneware martavan and numerous sherds from Ming-blue-and white plates and bowls.

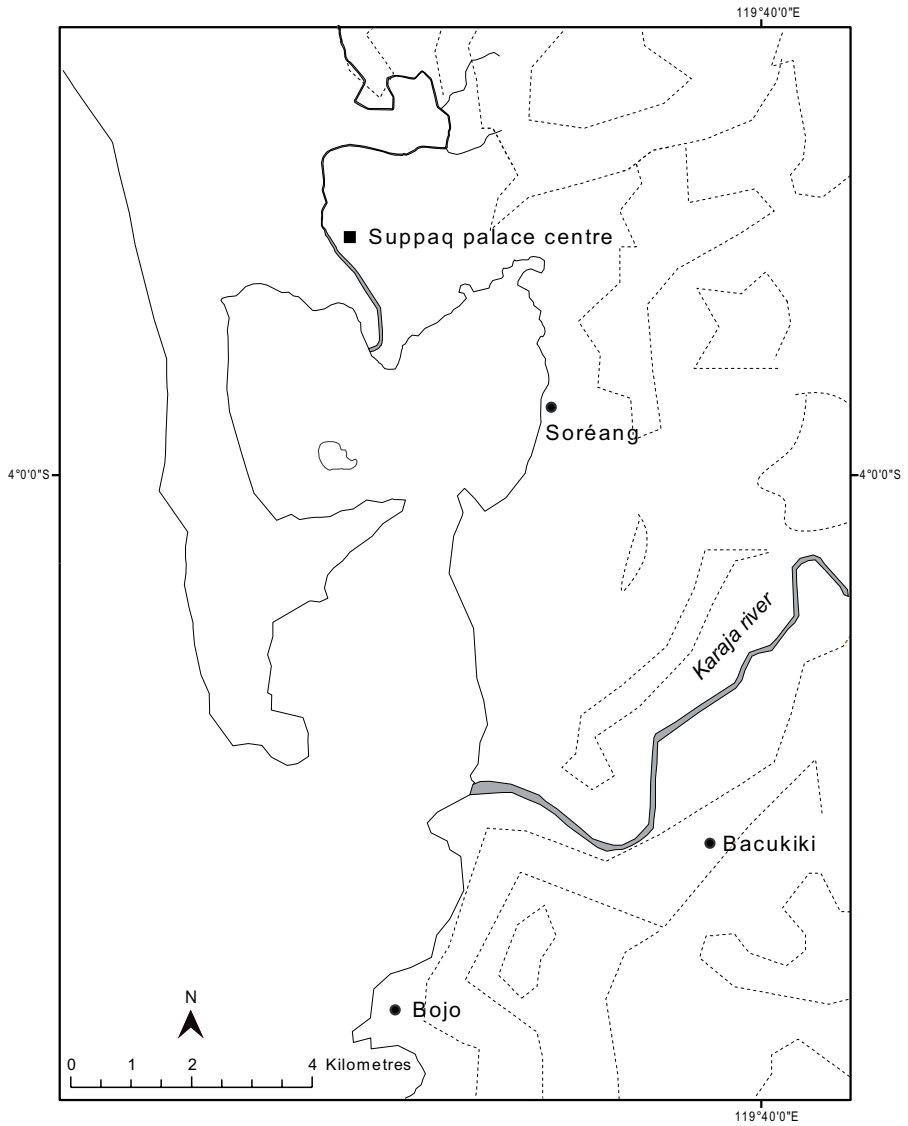


Figure 5.1. Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo

the western cordillera, about 4 kilometres from the sea but can be reached via the Karaja river by small sea-going vessels (figure 5.1). Informants from these three lands state that the main economic activities have always been fishing and trade, with garden cultivation also practiced in Bacukiki.²²

Oral tradition from Suppaq claims that Bacukiki and Soréang were founded by children of a *datu* Suppaq (I.85; I.98). This suggests, when considered together with the archaeological data, that the ruling elite of Suppaq began to take a direct interest in the areas immediately to the south of the pre-Islamic port during the fifteenth century. This interest was probably related to the increasing development of Suppaq as a major west coast port in the fifteenth century. As numerous studies of Southeast Asia trading polities have shown, the ability to create a conducive environment for foreign traders was fundamental to their success.²³ This did not just encompass port facilities, but also meant that the ruling elite of these trading polities had to guarantee foreign traders a safe passage through the sea-lanes leading to the port.

One of the main functions of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo from the fifteenth century onwards may have been to ensure the safe passage of ships travelling to the port of Suppaq and to direct them through the narrow passage into the sheltered Bay of Suppa, perhaps also ensuring that the port was not bypassed.²⁴ Another function of the three domain lands would have been to protect the port from raids by rival settlements. The entrance to the bay of Suppa is about 900 metres wide at its narrowest point and in the event of an attack could have been closed off by boats from Soréang.

In addition to facilitating trading conditions and protecting the port, Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo may also have formed the backbone of Suppaq's naval power, which itself may have been employed in raids against competitors. Suppaq's emergence in the fifteenth century as a major maritime power along the west coast of Sulawesi is suggested by two versions of an oral tradition found in *lontaraq* texts, each little more than half a manuscript page in length. The longer of the two makes a number of claims regarding the former greatness of Suppaq and, to a lesser extent, Sawitto. It depicts Suppaq as an aggressive maritime power that exerted political influence beyond the Ajattappareng region to mainly small coastal polities located along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi. The function of the tradition is to make known the former greatness of Suppaq and Sawitto before its defeat by Gowa in the mid-sixteenth century. I discuss these traditions more fully in a later sec-

²² Until the mid-twentieth century, small sea-going vessels sailed up the Karaja river to the market of Bacukiki at Lontonggé, where seventeenth and eighteenth century sherds have been found together with coins with Arabic script and colonial coins (Muhaeminah and Mahmud 2001:14-5). Soréang also has a small harbour where small ships still dock today.

²³ See, for example, Hall 1999:201-2.

²⁴ It is possible that Bacukiki functioned as a second subordinate port, although there is little support for this from the archaeological data.



Photograph 20. Selection of Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese sherds found at Puang Pitué, Manuba

tion of this chapter; transliterations and translations are given in Appendix C.

The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century ceramic sherds at Népo, Palanro and Manuba, Suppaq's tributary lands to the south, suggests that these ties date to the fifteenth century.²⁵ The most important of the three is Népo, which has its own domain list of seven lands, two of which are located on the west coast and four located at the foot of the western cordillera (figure 5.2).²⁶ Palanro is located on the west coast between the Népo domain lands of Mallawa and Dusung, while Manuba lies just over six kilometres from the coast on the western cordillera. Before the advent of modern roads, these lands could only be reached overland with difficulty; the easiest way would have been by sea, which further suggests that Suppaq's development as a maritime power dates from the fifteenth century.²⁷

Some wet-rice is grown in Népo along the narrow coastal plain which separates the western cordillera from the sea. But most people in Népo and

²⁵ These sherds include Sawankhalok, Vietnamese and Ming sherds (See photograph 20 of a selection of ceramic sherds taken at Puang Pitué in Manuba.)

²⁶ I could not locate the seventh Népo domain land, Kutaé.

²⁷ Until recently, people travelling to Parepare from Palanro still travelled by boat (Muhammad Nur, personal communication, 2002).

Manuba practice garden cultivation, while the people of Palanro are mainly fishermen. Oral tradition from Népo and Manuba depicts the people of these lands as great fighters, which suggests that it was from these lands that Suppaq drew a part of its army. A tradition that Népo provided soldiers for Suppaq as part of the agreement with Suppaq is mentioned in a *lontaraq* text which derives from oral tradition (ANRIM 75/14, p. 204). As with Suppaq's domain lands to the south of the port, the people of Népo, Manuba and Palanro probably played an important role in the maritime development of Suppaq.

Oral tradition from Manuba suggests that these lands may have provided agricultural labour during the harvesting and planting season. One tradition from Manuba says that the people of Manuba and Népo would go to Suppaq to help during the planting season, if called by the *datu* of Suppaq, and that the rulers of these settlements attended the Suppaq *mappaliliq* ceremony (I.54). An oral tradition found in the same *lontaraq* text as that which tells of Népo providing soldiers for Suppaq also relates how the people of Népo were summoned to Suppaq to help plant rice (ANRIM 75/14, p. 205). However, in this story the people of Népo say that this was not part of their agreement with Suppaq, and deliberately make a mess of the job so that they

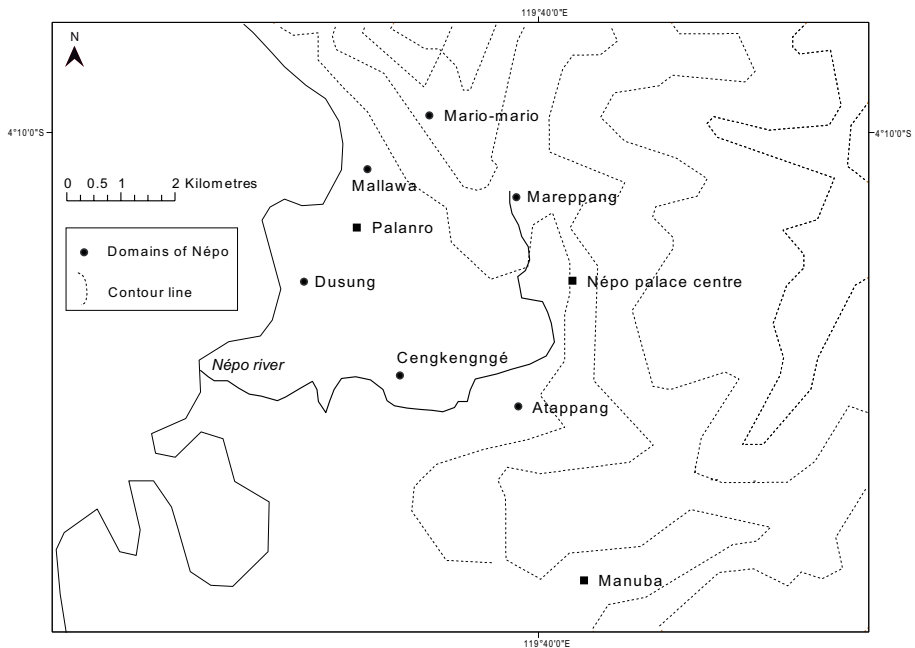


Figure 5.2. Népo, Palanro and Manuba

will not be summoned to plant rice again.

Another area of expansion for Suppaq in the fifteenth century may have been in the region of Paria in western Sawitto, which linguistic data suggest was settled by Bugis-speakers from Suppaq. Rather than being centrally planned, this expansion was probably carried out by high-status individuals, perhaps the brothers or children of a ruler.

The fifteenth century expansion of Sidénréng

In the fifteenth century, the rich agricultural potential of central Sidénréng was increasingly realized. Greater surpluses of rice were produced for export, and tributary ties were established with settlements located to the north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng. Evidence for this is attested by the archaeological data, which record large-scale increases in ceramic tradewares arriving in central Sidénréng in the fifteenth century. In Watang Sidénréng the increase was almost 1,200%; in Wéngeng 800%; in Bulubangi 1,700%; and in the Sidénréng tributary of Bélokka 2,700%.²⁸ Collectively, these four sites account for almost 38% of all ceramic sherds assigned to the fifteenth century.

Sidénréng expanded its influence into the fertile rice-growing areas to the north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng, and established tributary relationships with Otting and Bulucénrana.²⁹ These settlements were the most important of the Pituriawa (the 'Seven Below') confederation; the five other members would almost certainly have come under Sidénréng's influence at around the same time. Another important member of this confederation was Bila, which could be reached from lakes Tempe and Sidenreng via the River Bila. This settlement functioned as a locale of economic exchange and communication between highland and lowland communities.

Any kingdom which succeeded in establishing tributary ties with the Pituriawa confederation would have gained influence over a second related confederation called Pituriaséq (the 'Seven Above'), a predominantly Massenrempulu-speaking confederation situated in the mountainous area directly to the north of the Pituriawa confederation.³⁰ The close relation-

²⁸ While the archaeological data record greater fifteenth century growth at Bulubangi than Watang Sidénréng, the period counts in Appendix B, show that more fifteenth century sherds were recorded for the latter than for Bulubangi.

²⁹ A fifteenth century date for Sidénréng's expansion into this area is supported by the Wajoq chronicles, which inform us that at the start of the sixteenth century Otting and Bulucénrana were already tributaries of Sidénréng.

³⁰ While there were traditionally seven main lands of each confederation, oral tradition claims that each confederation encompassed numerous other lands scattered throughout the northern mountainous areas of *kabupaten* Sidrap (I.83).

ship between these two confederations is emphasized by oral tradition, which claims that the first rulers of the leading lands of each confederation, Bulucénrana (Pituriawa) and Barukku (Pituriaséq), were two brothers sent by their father, the ruler of Sangallaq (I.83).³¹

As their names suggest, the 'Seven Below' and the 'Seven Above' were separated along topographical lines. A characteristic of this upper-lower divide is that the lands of the southern confederation are situated in wet-rice producing areas, while the lands of the northern are mainly located in hill and mountainous regions suitable only for garden cultivation or less productive dry-rice agriculture. The relationship between the two confederations appears to have been symbiotic and was probably based upon the exchange of their respective resources. The 'Seven Below' would have supplied rice and other produce such as salt and fish to supplement the upland diet. Earthenware goods, cloth and ceramics were also supplied by the lowland communities. In return, the forested uplands would have supplied products such as dammar, camphor, rattan and also perhaps, slaves and manpower to work rice fields. The main routes connecting the two confederations were the Bila and Bulucénrana river valleys, which were controlled by the settlements of Bulucénrana and Bila.

Fifteenth century economic ties between lowland areas and the Pituriaséq confederation are confirmed by the presence of ceramic sherds in at least four Pituriaséq settlements: Kalémpang, Bétao, Paraja and Baraqmamasé (see Chapter III). Some of these tradewares are physically associated with simple cremations, which suggests that as a result of increasing interaction between lowland Bugis and highland communities the highland elites of these areas began to imitate Bugis cultural and religious practices. During the fifteenth century, led by ambitious high-ranking nobles, highland people from the Pituriaséq region began to move down to foothills as a consequence of increasing contact and economic interaction with lowland areas. Here they established new settlements in strategic locations where highland exchanges with lowland communities could be controlled. Other groups moved further down onto the plains where they opened rice fields. Some highland communities may have provided temporary labour during the planting and harvesting season, as traditions from Manuba and Népo claim their people did for Suppaq.

The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds at Maroanging, Maiwa's palace centre, suggests that Sidénréng's tributary ties over Maiwa

³¹ Druce 1997a:37. These two traditional leading lands do not appear to have exerted any real authority over the other members of the respective confederations; each member appears to have been an independent settlement. This is evident from the tributary and domain list of Sidénréng, where the *bila-bila* of Sidénréng is sent to each land of the two confederations, not just Bulucénrana and Barukku.

also date to the fifteenth century. As opposed to the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations, which appear to have been confederations of independent lands, Maiwa was a small kingdom with its own tributaries and domains (see figure 5.3). Maroanging sits in the foothills just above the plains and is ideally situated to control the flow of trade from the rugged mountainous area to the north, where its tributary lands are located, and the lowland communities to the south. Increasing interaction between Maiwa and Sidénréng from the fifteenth century would have provided the rulers of Maiwa with the opportunity to control the movement and distribution of elite goods, including rice, salt and fish, and to establish tributary relationships with mountain settlements to the north of Maroanging.

Oral tradition from Maiwa (Muhammad Sikki et al. 1986), summarized in Druce (1997a:16-26) suggests that Maiwa's role within the kingdom of Sidénréng was to supply fighting men and military assistance for Sidénréng. The traditions tell how Maiwa was summoned several times by Sidénréng to participate in various wars. After receiving Sidénréng's summons, Maiwa called upon its own tributaries to prepare for war. During the fifteenth century the ability to summon men for warfare, as well as for agricultural labour, became increasingly important as settlements began to expand their territory.

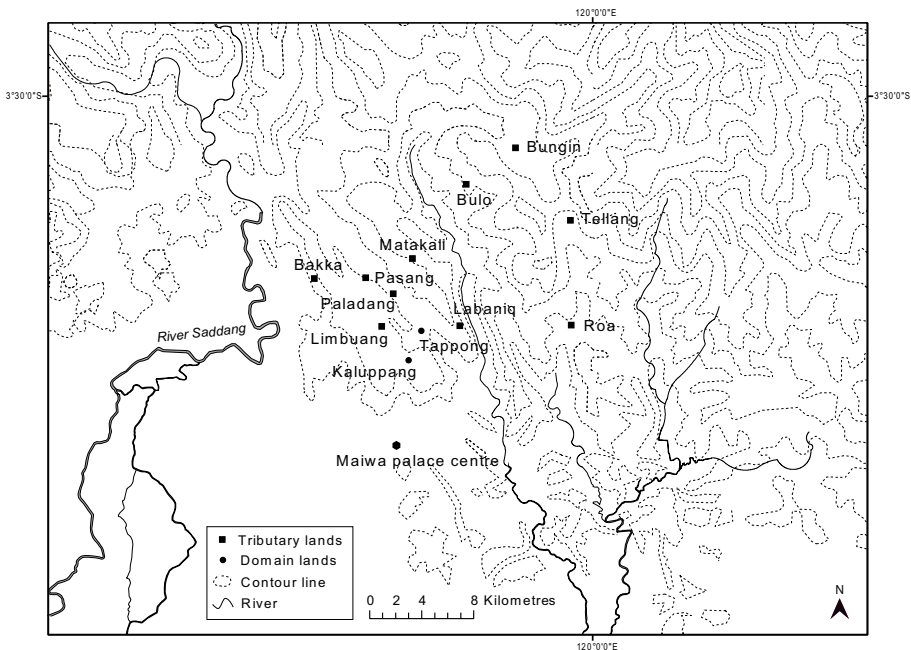


Figure 5.3. Maiwa and its tributaries and domains

Protection from attack by competing settlements must have been of increasing concern to the ruling elite.

A further area of expansion for Sidénréng in the fifteenth century was across Lake Sidenreng to Bélawa, today part of *kabupaten* Wajo. Whether Bélawa was a tributary of Sidénréng, or whether it had simply aligned itself with an increasingly powerful Sidénréng, is uncertain; the Wajoq chronicles simply refer to Bélawa as *paq dangengenna* Sidénréng (one who sits with Sidénréng, B.).³²

In conclusion, Sidénréng's fifteenth century expansion appears to have been little short of spectacular. The estimated extent of its influence at the end of this century is shown in figure 5.4. The two main reasons for Sidénréng's rise were the increasing realization of its agricultural potential and its relationship with Suppaq, which provided a market for agricultural and highland produce in exchange for imported elite goods. These elite goods not only served as important symbols of rank but also were strategically distributed to the rulers of Sidénréng's tributary lands in order to maintain loyalties. However, Sidénréng's expansion into the areas north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng and its influence over Bélawa, was to bring it into conflict with Wajoq and Luwuq in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Agricultural intensification in Rappang

The presence of fifteenth and fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds at Bénténg, Baranti and Simpo suggests that Rappang also produced increasing surpluses of rice during the fifteenth century. However, unlike the case of its more powerful neighbour, Rappang does not appear to have expanded its territory during the fifteenth century. Rappang's tributary and domain list names just one tributary land, Kulo, which sits in the foothills leading up to *kabupaten* Enrekang. This suggests that, like Sidénréng, Rappang was also attracting highland produce for export, but on a much smaller scale.

The success of Sidénréng was probably a major factor in Rappang's gener-

³² The Bélawa origin tradition, an oral tradition written down in a *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60/7, pp. 16-9), claims that the first ruler of Bélawa was the sixth son of a marriage between To Appanangi, a late fourteenth century ruler of Luwuq, and Massaolocié of Sidénréng. The eldest child of this union became the *aqdatuang* of Sidénréng and the *aqdatuang* of Luwuq. The second child became the *datu* of Suppaq, the third the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, the fourth the *arung* of Rappang and the fifth the *arung* of Alitta. The sixth child, La Wéwanriwu, was born after the land constituting the five Ajattappareng kingdoms had been divided between the five older siblings. After some time, La Wéwanriwu established his own land across the lake at Bélawa. However, after a disagreement with his brothers, war broke out between Bélawa and the five Ajattappareng kingdoms. The Bélawa origin tradition thus appears to acknowledge the early relationship with Sidénréng; the story of the war between La Wéwanriwu and his brothers accounts for Bélawa's separation from the Ajattappareng lands, an event that took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century when it was defeated by Wajoq (see below).

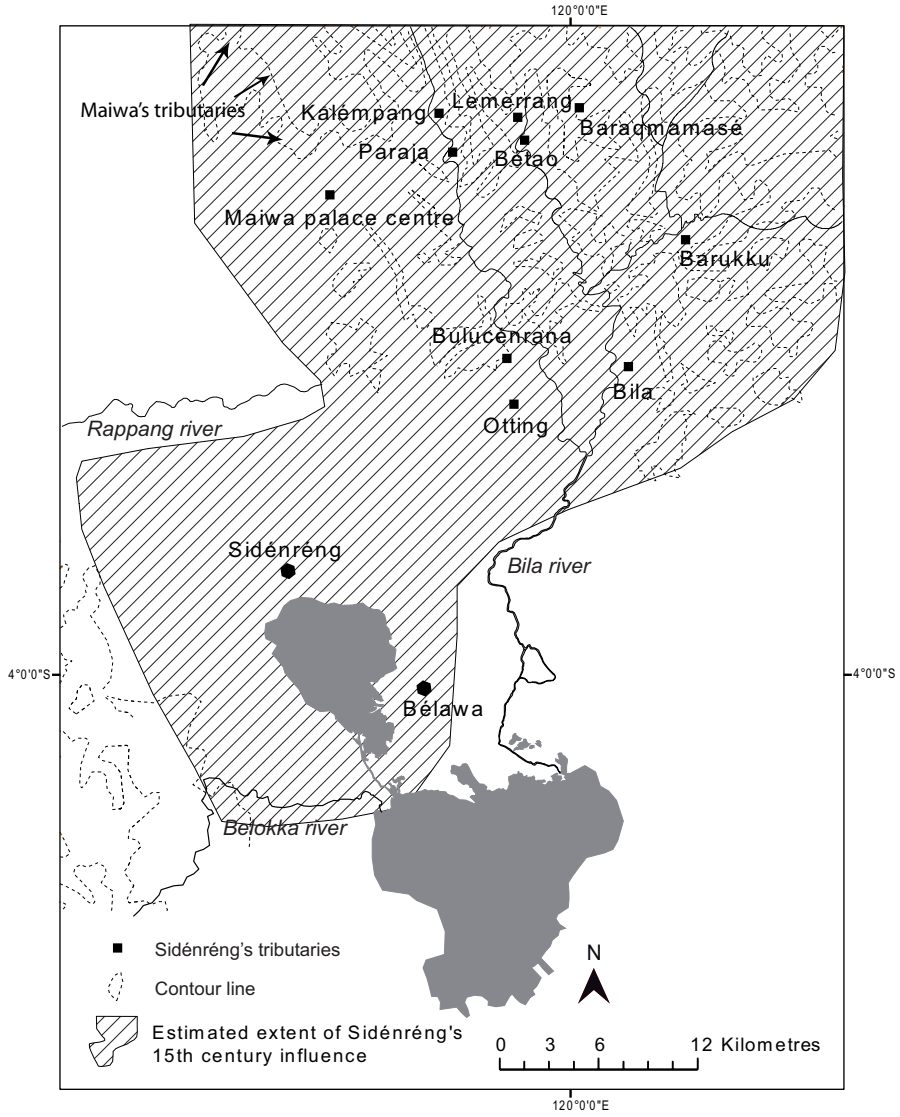


Figure 5.4. The estimated extent of Sidénréng's influence in the fifteenth century

al lack of territorial expansion in the fifteenth and later centuries. Sidénréng dominated the areas to the south and east of Rappang; to the north was Maiwa, which had entered into a tributary relationship with Sidénréng, while to the west was the diverse Sawitto region. As there are no major physical boundaries separating Rappang from Sidénréng, it is somewhat surprising that Rappang was not forced into a tributary relationship by Sidénréng during the fifteenth century as emerging kingdoms vied for control of valuable agricultural lands and their populations. Despite this Rappang remained a separate kingdom within the Ajattappareng confederation right through to the twentieth century.

Between the plains and the coast: Alitta in the fifteenth century

Archaeological evidence from Alitta shows a large-scale increase in trade-wares during the fifteenth century of over 1,100% while its proportion of ceramics from the Ajattappareng surveys rise to 7%. Unlike its larger neighbours, Suppaq and Sidénréng, Alitta did not expand its territory during the fifteenth century, nor did it do so in later centuries. Situated on the northern tip of the western cordillera, Alitta had small opportunity for expansion or to establish tributary relationships with other settlements. The area to the south was uninhabited and unsuitable for rice cultivation. To the east and west lay the increasingly powerful kingdoms of Suppaq and Sidénréng, while to the north was the politically and ethnically fragmented Sawitto region.

While geography may have offered few opportunities for the territorial expansion of Alitta, it was also fundamental to its success. Because of the kingdom's location the rulers of Alitta were able to control the lower course of the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the River Saddang, and the main trade routes to Suppaq, Sidénréng and Rappang. During the fifteenth century, Alitta began to play an increasingly important role as a collector and distributor of goods between Suppaq, Sidénréng and Rappang. As trade increased, Alitta may have begun to function as a market area where goods were exchanged between the western and eastern parts of the Ajattappareng region.

The emergence of Sawitto

Despite the limited survey data from the Sawitto region, there is little doubt that the general fifteenth-century pattern of increased trade, large-scale agricultural expansion and increased prosperity, evident throughout much of lowland South Sulawesi, was taking place also in the Sawitto region. This is evident in sherdage counts from the Loloang survey, which record an increase of 600% for the fifteenth century in comparison to the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries. This increase conforms with observations made by the survey team at Bulu, where large quantities of fifteenth and sixteenth century tradewares were present.³³ However, for much of the fifteenth century, Sawitto probably stood apart from the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms.

Sawitto was the most ethnically diverse region in Ajattappareng and appears to have witnessed the greatest influx of people, mainly from highland areas. Facilitating this movement of people was the Saddang river, which linked highland areas to the central plains and coastal areas. Some settlements in this region appear to have been founded by Massenrempulu-speaking groups, others by Bugis and some perhaps by speakers of Toraja-Saddan languages. Even the ruling family of the kingdom of Sawitto itself appears to be descended from highland communities.

As external trade increased during the fifteenth century, movements of people into the Sawitto region, which may have begun as early as 1300, probably intensified. Some highland groups, led by ambitious high-ranking nobles, moved down into the lowlands and opened land for rice cultivation, while others established new settlements in hill areas where they could control the flow of highland produce such as woods, rattan, wax, resin, gold and perhaps iron ore. The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds at Malimpung and Urung suggests that it was in this century that speakers of the Malimpung language moved down into the Sawitto region and began to interact with Bugis communities, and to take on elements of Bugis cultural and ritual practices.

A glance at the settlement pattern of Sawitto's tributary and domain list (figure A.3) reveals that Sawitto did not have direct control over the main trade outlet in the region at Sumpang-Saddang. Several tributaries of Sawitto such as Lanriseng, Lérang, Loloang and Rangaméa occupied strategic locations along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river. It was probably contact with those tributaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth century that stimulated agricultural expansion in central Sawitto. Furthermore, oral and written traditions and archaeological and linguistic data from Sawitto suggest that there were numerous independent settlements, some of which were multi-ethnic, competing for ascendancy in the lowland rice-growing areas of Sawitto.

For much of the fifteenth century, the main concern of the rulers of Sawitto was to establish Sawitto as the region's dominant polity rather than to forge ties with the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms. The oral traditions summarized in Chapter IV suggest that military force was used against competitors such as the Cempa confederation, while alliances were formed with emerg-

³³ The reported large find of ceramics by grave robbers at Tomaruli, Padakalawa and many other rice-producing areas in Sawitto are further indications of an increase in trade in the region during the fifteenth century.

ing polities such as Palétéang. Despite the fact that there are no genealogical records for Sawitto that go back earlier than the early sixteenth century, strategic marriages almost certainly played an important role in Sawitto's emergence as the dominant polity in its region, in particular with the lands along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river that became tributaries of Sawitto, possibly in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Sawitto's emergence as the dominant polity in this ethnically diverse region appears due mainly to the location of its palace centre between the Sawitto and Tiroang branches of the Saddang river. These river branches were not simply fundamental to the agricultural development of Sawitto, but also allowed its rulers to control the flow of agricultural and highland produce to coastal areas. The direct access that the Saddang gave the rulers of Sawitto to highland areas also provided opportunities to form alliances with highland settlements and to develop tributary relationships. These relationships ensured a regular supply of exportable highland produce and also encompassed military obligations which provided Sawitto's rulers with fighting men, a factor that was fundamental to its emerging as the dominant polity in the northwestern part of Ajattappareng. Facilitating this relationship were Sawitto's own kinship ties with ruling highland families, which continued well into the twentieth century.

Probably towards the end of the fifteenth century Sawitto succeeded in becoming the dominant polity in its region. In the century that followed, it joined Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta as the fifth member of the Ajattappareng confederation.

The sixteenth century

The sixteenth century in South Sulawesi saw further large-scale increases in trade and the continuation of agricultural expansion. As the century progressed, the major kingdoms that had emerged after 1300, such as Boné, Wajoq, Luwuq, Gowa and Sidénréng, Sawitto and Suppaq came into increasing contact and conflict with one another as they competed for control of trade, agricultural land and their populations. Warfare was endemic and alliances between the major kingdoms shifted continually. Warfare became more technologically advanced towards the end of the century as muskets and cannons were introduced to the region. Or as the chronicle of Boné puts it, 'and then there began to be guns.'

From the early to mid-sixteenth century, the Ajattappareng genealogies present us with a picture of consistent intermarriage between the kingdoms and give the impression of a single large ruling family. However, for the Ajattappareng kingdoms, the sixteenth century was a century of upheavals,

as it was for many of the other Bugis kingdoms. The beginning of the century saw the decline of Sidénréng following its defeat by Wajoq and Luwuq and the loss of its tributary lands to the north and northwest of the lakes. In about the middle of the century, Suppaq and Sawitto, who together had formed a powerful maritime alliance along the west coast of Sulawesi, were defeated by Gowa. This effectively marked the end of Suppaq as an important kingdom. Alitta also fell to the military might of Gowa about the same time as Suppaq and Sawitto; only Sidénréng and Rappang escaped Gowa's military onslaught. In the second half of the century Sidénréng re-emerged as an important kingdom after entering into a mutually beneficial alliance with Gowa.

Conflict for control of the central plains and the defeat of Sidénréng

To the east of Sidénréng, the polity of Wajoq had begun to expand its territory, a development that was to have direct consequences for Sidénréng. The Wajoq chronicles indicate that for much of the fifteenth century Wajoq was subject to Luwuq and that Luwuq was the major power in the Cenrana region. Indeed, the *arung matoa* of Wajoq, La Oqbiq Settiriwaréq (c. 1481-1486 (Abidin 1985:575)), had accepted the status of child to Luwuq in an oath concluded in the latter part of the fifteenth century (Noorduyn 1955:166; Abidin 1985:151-2). Luwuq's own ancestral homeland was in fact located in the Cenrana region (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:103-4). The Wajoq chronicles inform us that in the fifteenth century Singkang, Tampangeng, Wagé and Témpe, located close to the southeastern shore of Lake Tempe, were still part of Luwuq.³⁴ In the latter half of the fifteenth century, after the loss of these lands to Wajoq, Luwuq established a settlement close to the mouth of the Cenrana river in order to control trade flowing down the river (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:80).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Puang ri Maqgalatung (c. 1491-1521 (Abidin 1985:575)) became *arung matoa* of Wajoq. Under his leadership, Wajoq emerged as a major power in the South Sulawesi peninsula and began to challenge Luwuq's authority in the Cenrana region. Puang ri Maqgalatung rejected Wajoq's status of child to Luwuq and refused to participate in the mourning of Déwaraja's father, who died in about 1511.³⁵ Shortly after, Wajoq seized Singkang, Tampangeng, Wagé and Témpe from Luwuq (Noorduyn 1955:178; Abidin 1979:274-7).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Wajoq started to expand its

³⁴ The Wajoq chronicles refer to these lands, in reference to Luwuq, as 'the lands which come down from Majapahit' (*tana polé ri Mancapai*, B.) and as 'the lands that are kept' (*tana ritaroé*, B.) (Noorduyn 1955:178-9; Abidin 1985:202), which suggests that they were among the oldest of Luwuq's lands.

³⁵ Déwaraja ruled from about 1511 until 1536.

influence into the fertile rice-growing area to the north and northeast of Lake Tempe. Under the leadership of Puang ri Maqgalatung, Wajoq attacked a number of settlements located directly to the east of the Pituriawa confederation, such as Gilireng, Loaq and Anaqbanua, and forced them into tributary relationships (Noorduyn 1955:172, 176; Abidin 1985:169, 199-200). Genealogical information incorporated into the Wajoq chronicles shows that Wajoq also extended its influence into the Pituriawa region. One of the Wajoq chronicles records no less than three marriages between high-ranking Wajoq nobles and rulers of Otting, dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century (Noorduyn 1955:160-3, 166-7).³⁶ Oral tradition from Bila claims that its first ruler, La Pétorá, was a son of an *arung mataoa* of Wajoq, which further suggests Wajoq influence in the Pituriawa region.

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Wajoq chronicles tell of a second oral treaty concluded between Luwuq and Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955:192-4; Abidin 1985:230-2). On this occasion, however, Wajoq was acknowledged as a younger brother of Luwuq; an indication that the latter had been forced to reassess its relationship with its increasing powerful neighbour. After concluding the treaty, the *datu* Luwuq asked Puang ri Maqgalatung for Wajoq's help in attacking Sidénréng, a request to which he agreed.

The Wajoq chronicles claim that the alliance to attack Sidénréng was the result of a quarrel between the rulers of Sidénréng and Luwuq over the sale of a tortoise which, it was said, could excrete gold.³⁷ The real reason for the Wajoq-Luwuq alliance against Sidénréng was likely a response to Sidénréng's successful fifteenth century expansion into the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq regions, and across Lake Sidenreng to Bélawa. Given Wajoq's own expansion into the areas directly to the east of the Pituriawa region and the marriages recorded between high-ranking Wajoq and Otting nobles, it is conceivable that Sidénréng and Wajoq had already come into conflict as they competed for ascendancy in this region. If they had, then Sidénréng had been the winner.

Luwuq's reason for an alliance with Wajoq against Sidénréng was probably related to trade. The most likely outlet for agricultural surpluses and

³⁶ These marriages do not appear in the Wajoq chronicle translated by Zainal Abidin (1985). However, Zainal Abidin, whose translation and transliteration covers the origin of Wajoq to the death of Puang ri Maqgalatung, does not translate every section of the chronicle.

³⁷ Noorduyn 1955:188-191; Abidin 1985:228-230. According to the story, the tortoise was coveted by the *aqdatuang* of Sidénréng who wished to buy it from the *datu* Luwuq. The *datu* refused to sell the tortoise, but because the *aqdatuang* was persistent he eventually gave it to him as a gift. However, in Sidénréng the tortoise failed to live up to its promise and the disgruntled new owner returned it. The *datu* refused to accept it back and sent the tortoise back to Sidénréng. The tortoise went backwards and forwards several times until the *datu* Pammana (*datu* Limpuaq in Noorduyn's chronicle) agreed to preside over the disagreement. However, the *datu* Luwuq travelled to Pammana prepared for war; on hearing this, the *aqdatuang* turned back to Sidénréng, which was attacked and defeated.

highland produce from the Wajoq region and, potentially, the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations, was via Luwuq's settlement at Cenrana, close to the mouth of the river of that name. Furthermore, as discussed earlier in this chapter, Sidénréng had greatly expanded its territory in the fifteenth century. As the alliance with Bélawa across Lake Sidenreng suggests, by the beginning of the sixteenth century Sidénréng had emerged as a major threat to the ambitions of both Wajoq and Luwuq.

According to the Wajoq chronicles, the armies of Luwuq and Wajoq met at the settlement of Témpé on an agreed day in order to launch a surprise attack on Sidénréng.³⁸ Wajoq's troops advanced on Bélawa, (referred to by the chronicles as 'one who sits with Sidénréng' [*paq dang engenna* Sidénréng, B.]). Bélawa was defeated and forced to accept the status of a child of Wajoq. Wajoq's army then attacked Otting which, after a heroic stand led by Puang ri Maqgalatung, was defeated. The ruler and people of Otting then swore to serve Wajoq, whose army then advanced on Rappang and Bulucénrana, defeating them and putting them to torch, and making their leaders made to swear to serve Wajoq. In Wéngeng, Sidénréng's troops were confronted by the combined armies of Wajoq and Luwuq, and (as the chronicles indicate) appear to have surrendered without a fight.³⁹

Sidénréng's fate was sealed by the *datu* Luwuq and Puang ri Maqgalatung in the village of Mojong. The defeated Sidénréng lands of Bélawa, Otting, Rappang and Bulucénrana were officially transferred from Sidénréng to Wajoq.⁴⁰ Sidénréng also paid *seqbukkati* (a thousand *kati*; a sum of money or its value, B.) to Luwuq, and was forced to acknowledge itself as a child (a tributary) of the latter.

Finally, the *datu* Luwuq ordered the people of Bélawa to burn down the palace of the ruler of Sidénréng. The palace probably stood at Watang Sidénréng; archaeological data suggest that following this act of destruction subsequent rulers of Sidénréng built their palaces at Bulubangi, some 8 kilometres south of Watang Sidénréng. Sherdage counts from Watang Sidénréng for the sixteenth century show an increase of just 59% in comparison to the preceding century, which by sixteenth century standards is a negligible

³⁸ Noorduyn 1955:194-7; Abidin 1985:233-7. The story of this war is also found in a separate *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60/7, pp. 19-21), which corresponds closely to that in the Wajoq chronicles.

³⁹ The fact the Sidénréng troops were in Wéngeng at the time of Sidénréng's surrender suggests that they may have been in the process of advancing to Rappang in support of the Rappang troops, or alternatively had just retreated to Wéngeng following the defeat of Rappang.

⁴⁰ The writers of the Wajoq chronicles have interpreted the relationship between Sidénréng and Rappang at the beginning of the sixteenth century as one of kingdom and tributary, which is incorrect. While it is possible that this interpretation tells us something of the influence that Sidénréng had over Rappang in the sixteenth century, it more likely reflects a late seventeenth century Wajoq perception of this relationship.

increase. The ceramic data further shows that for the first 50 years of the sixteenth century Watang Sidénréng's share of ceramics found in the Sidénréng surveys drops to less than 10%. For the following fifty years its share is just under 8%. By contrast, sherdage counts from the Bulubangi survey show an increase of over 1,000% for the sixteenth century and its share of ceramics found in Sidénréng is 43% for 1500-1550 and 50% for 1550-1600. While Watang Sidénréng would have remained an important agricultural centre, the archaeological data suggest that both the rulers of Sidénréng and much of Watang Sidénréng's population relocated to Bulubangi in the early sixteenth century.⁴¹ Wajoq now became the major power in the region to the north of the lakes. However, the Wajoq chronicles suggest that Sidénréng was made subject to Luwuq following its defeat, and it is possible that for a time some agricultural produce from Sidénréng was redirected to the east coast of the peninsula and traded to overseas markets via Luwuq's outlet at the mouth of the Cenrana. But it is unlikely that Luwuq was able to exercise any real political or economic influence over Sidénréng for more than a few years, as Luwuq itself was facing challenges to its position in the Cenrana valley. Shortly after the defeat of Sidénréng, Luwuq attacked the kingdom of Boné in a precipitate attempt to punish its ruler but lost the battle (Noorduyn 1955:200-1; Abidin 1985:237-8; Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). Like Sidénréng and Wajoq, Boné was an agricultural kingdom that had been expanding its territory from about 1400 onwards. A manuscript peace treaty from the fifteenth century portrays Boné as a child of Luwuq, and the latter's attack, described in detail in the chronicle of Boné, was presumably an attempt to maintain that relationship.⁴² After at least one unsuccessful attack on Luwuq's fortifications at Cenrana, Boné finally drove Luwuq from the Cenrana valley around the 1560s (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:102).

It is difficult to gauge the position of Rappang following the defeat of Sidénréng. The Wajoq chronicles claim that Rappang was made a tributary of Wajoq following the war but as they make no further reference to Rappang as a tributary this relationship was probably short lived. Nor do they mention Maiwa in their account of the war against Sidénréng. We may therefore assume that Sidénréng's tributary ties over Maiwa continued following its

⁴¹ The second site surveyed at Watang Sidénréng was Posiq Tana, a small ritual area centred around a stone said to be the centre of Sidénréng. Unlike the surveyed graveyard at Watang Sidénréng, no thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds were found at Posiq Tana; the site's main phase is clearly from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. This suggests that Posiq Tana was established as a ritual centre after the defeat of Sidénréng by Luwuq and Wajoq and the relocation of Sidénréng's palace centre to Bulubangi, perhaps in order to commemorate the location of the original palace centre.

⁴² Ian Caldwell, personal communication, 2007.

attack by Luwuq and Wajoq.⁴³

News of Sidénréng's defeat must have resonated throughout the Ajattappareng region, and perhaps nowhere more strongly than in Suppaq and Alitta. By the sixteenth century, Sidénréng's two allies to the west had perhaps become reliant on export produce from Sidénréng and Rappang. Their loss of exports from the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations following the defeat of Sidénréng by Wajoq and Luwuq and, perhaps for a time, the redirection of agricultural produce from Sidénréng and Rappang to the east coast of the peninsula, would have affected their economies. However, given that our ceramic chronologies only allow us to make century-by-century comparisons with reasonable accuracy, it is difficult to be certain. Archaeological data from Suppaq for the sixteenth century does reveal a decline of 47% in ceramic sherds counts at Indoq Lompa, no growth whatsoever at Tonrong Peppingé, and a negligible increase of 14% at Gucié. However, these downturns are more likely to be related to events in the mid-sixteenth century. Other sites surveyed in Suppaq continue to show a growth in ceramic tradewares during the sixteenth century in comparison to the fifteenth, although, with the exception of Matanré, this growth is less than impressive by sixteenth century standards. Ceramic sherds counts from Suppaq's palace centre and Makaraié increase by over 200%; at Béla-bélawa by 66%, while the fifteenth century decline of Matanré is reversed with an increase of over 600%. In Alitta, the sixteenth century increase is some 800% in comparison to the fifteenth century.

Suppaq's main sixteenth century economic downturn at several sites was undoubtedly related to its defeat by Gowa in the mid-sixteenth century, which probably also had a significant bearing on the apparent limited growth in ceramics counts at most other Suppaq sites. Another important factor was the continued economic growth and importance of Sidénréng, which, with the exception of Watang Sidénréng, appears to have been little affected by its defeat at the hands of Wajoq and Luwuq. The archaeological data for Sidénréng records large-scale increases in ceramics for this century, which indicates that its rulers and growing population continued to exploit and

⁴³ The *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (Abidin 1985) mentions Maiwa in a separate section during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalutung. It claims that Maiwa came to Wajoq together with three other Massenrempulu lands, Énrékang, Kassaq and Batu Lappaq, and asked to become part of Wajoq. However, in the chronicle translated by Noorduyn (1955:200-1) only Énrékang came to Wajoq to make this request. The Wajoq chronicles list a large number of lands that voluntarily attached themselves to Wajoq during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalutung. Wajoq may indeed have been an influential kingdom during the early sixteenth century but the chronicles appear to exaggerate its influence during the reign of the Wajoq culture hero, Puang ri Maqqalutung. Furthermore, Maiwa's political association with Énrékang, Kassaq and Batu Lappaq as part of the Massenrempulu confederation dates to the late seventeenth century (ANRIM 60/7, p. 268; Van Braam Morris 1892), which suggests that later Wajoq chroniclers (those who produced the *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq*) were not aware of this fact.

expand the kingdom's rich agricultural potential throughout the sixteenth century to produce increasing surpluses of rice for export. Consequently, Sidénréng's share of ceramics imported into Ajattappareng increased considerably in this century to 53.5%, while that of Suppaq's fell to 27.5%. Alitta's share also increased to 17% as its role of collector and distributor of goods between the plains and the coast expanded in this century. The century thus marked a critical juncture in the relationship between Sidénréng and Suppaq as the latter lost its economic ascendancy in Ajattappareng to the former.

The emergence of a five-kingdom confederation

The analysis of the genealogies and oral tradition in Chapter IV suggests that it was in the early sixteenth century that Sawitto became allied with the four other Ajattappareng kingdoms. It is possible that some of the increases in ceramic sherds at most sites surveyed in central Suppaq and in Alitta reflect an expansion of the regional trading network to include Sawitto. The impressive sixteenth century growth of Matanré following its fifteenth century downturn may be an indication that it once again began to trade along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river as a consequence of relations established with Sawitto, and perhaps even served as an economic exchange zone between Suppaq and Sawitto.

There are perhaps three main factors which led to Sawitto's sixteenth century alliance with Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta. Firstly, by about 1500 Sawitto had emerged as the dominant polity in its region and was thus less concerned with its internal cohesion. Secondly, Suppaq may have initiated ties with Sawitto shortly after the defeat of Sidénréng in order to compensate for the possible reduction in exportable produce from Sidénréng, particularly as there appears to have been rising external demand for South Sulawesi goods in the sixteenth century. Thirdly, during the sixteenth century there was increasing competition between the major South Sulawesi kingdoms for control of trade, agricultural land and their populations, which may have encouraged the five kingdoms to co-operate more. In addition, the increasing influence of the Makasar kingdom of Gowa along the west coast of the peninsula may have been an important consideration in the formation of an alliance between Suppaq and Sawitto.

The maritime influence of Suppaq and Sawitto in the first half of the sixteenth century

Whatever the reasons for the alliance between the five kingdoms, during the sixteenth century Suppaq and Sawitto formed a formidable and influential maritime alliance along the west coast of Sulawesi. Evidence for this is found

in two versions of an oral tradition contained in *lontaraq* texts found in an eighteenth- and a twentieth-century manuscript.

Both versions of the tradition give the impression that Sawitto was a junior partner in this alliance. The longer of the two, which is barely more than half a page in length, begins by stating that the subject is the great flag of Suppaq, called *lasigalung* (the rice field, B.), which appears to function in the tradition as a symbol for the army of Suppaq. The flag travels to a number of settlements over a wide geographical area, which the tradition claims were conquered by Suppaq and Sawitto, and that *seqbukhati* was demanded from these lands. There are also several references to the *lasigalung* becoming weak as Suppaq declined, as set out in the following quotation:

It was also *lasigalung* that took *seqbukhati* from Bonto-bonto, Bantaeng, Ségéri, and Passokkoreng. Later *lasigalung* became weak and left all the lands that it had once ordered.

The tradition ends by stating that Suppaq and Sawitto achieved a sphere of authority that stretched from the mountainous areas of South Sulawesi as far as the most easterly part of Central Sulawesi and established a border with Luwuq in Tamala and Toli. The latter of these two toponyms is associated in the tradition with Kaili, a Central Sulawesi settlement, which suggests that the Toli of the tradition is Toli-toli, a coastal settlement located northeast of Kaili (figure 5.5).

The second version of this oral tradition, just three manuscript lines in length, names no settlements but simply states that every land the *lasigalung* travelled to was defeated, and that the flag was later taken and burnt by the Makasar people when they defeated Suppaq. Consequently, Suppaq and Sawitto became small kingdoms.

The longer version also includes a short passage which refers to boats and palaces being made by craftsmen. This appears to be a separate tradition that became combined with the *lasigalung* tradition during its transmission, probably because both were concerned with maritime activities. Another version of the boat and palace tradition is found in a separate *lontaraq* text independent of the *lasigalung* tradition. This version states that these craftsmen were from Mandar and that they made boats for Makaraié, the *arung* of Perangki and Palatéang and the palaces of the five Ajattappareng kingdoms.⁴⁴

The toponyms listed in this tradition as defeated by Suppaq and Sawitto are Léworeng, Lémo-lémo, Bulu Kapa, Bonto-Bonto, Bantaeng, Ségéri and Passokkoreng, Baroko, Kaili, Kali and Toli (Toli-toli). Of these eleven toponyms, eight can be identified with reasonable confidence and are marked on figure 5.5. They cover a wide geographical area, stretching from the northern

⁴⁴ A transliteration and translation of this text is given in Appendix C.

parts of Central Sulawesi, southwards into the mountainous area around Enrekang, along the west coast of South Sulawesi and along the south coast of South Sulawesi. With the exception of Baroko and Lómo-lómo, those identified are all coastal settlements.

How much historical truth can we attribute to this tradition? Firstly, with the exception of Bantaeng (if that identification is correct), the identified lands listed by the tradition were all minor polities, which suggests that these claims were not simply constructed in order to invent a glorious past, as is the case with oral traditions from Cempa and Siang (Chapter II). It would seem that they do tell us something of a past reality. Secondly, all the coastal polities named in the tradition can be reached from Suppaq and Sawitto by small coastal vessels. We also know from a sixteenth century Portuguese account (discussed below) that the ruler of Suppaq could organize a fleet of about twenty ships with between 70 to 80 men per ship in a short space of time, and sail about 100 kilometres southwards along South Sulawesi's west coast.⁴⁵

Accepting that the tradition reflects something of a past reality, the picture of Suppaq and Sawitto that emerges from the tradition is one of aggressive maritime kingdoms attempting to assert their authority, and perhaps control of trade, along the west coast of Sulawesi. Whether Suppaq and Sawitto exerted any political control over the lands the tradition claims they defeated is uncertain. It is probable that for a time some of these brought tribute to Suppaq and Sawitto and acknowledged their status as tributaries. Other conquests set out in the tradition may represent a memory of maritime raiding in order to acquire wealth, and force, albeit temporarily, other rulers to acknowledge their lands as tributaries. Such a scenario would appear to parallel some of the maritime victories recorded in the Gowa chronicle whereby the same coastal polity was repeatedly conquered (Bulbeck 1992:121). The inclusion in the tradition of the Central Sulawesi lands of Kaili, Toli-toli and Kali is perhaps an indication of just how far-reaching Suppaq's and Sawitto's authority and influence was along the west coast of Sulawesi. The tradition further suggests that the coastal South Sulawesi kingdoms were not just competing with one another but were directly linked to, and competing with, other coastal kingdoms located about 800 kilometres away by sea.

The first European visitors and conversion to Christianity

In the mid-sixteenth century, South Sulawesi welcomed its first European visitors, the Portuguese, who have left three main accounts of their brief

⁴⁵ The oral genealogy from Balusu (Chapter II) begins with a *datu* of Suppaq, which is further evidence of Suppaq's influence along the west coast of South Sulawesi.

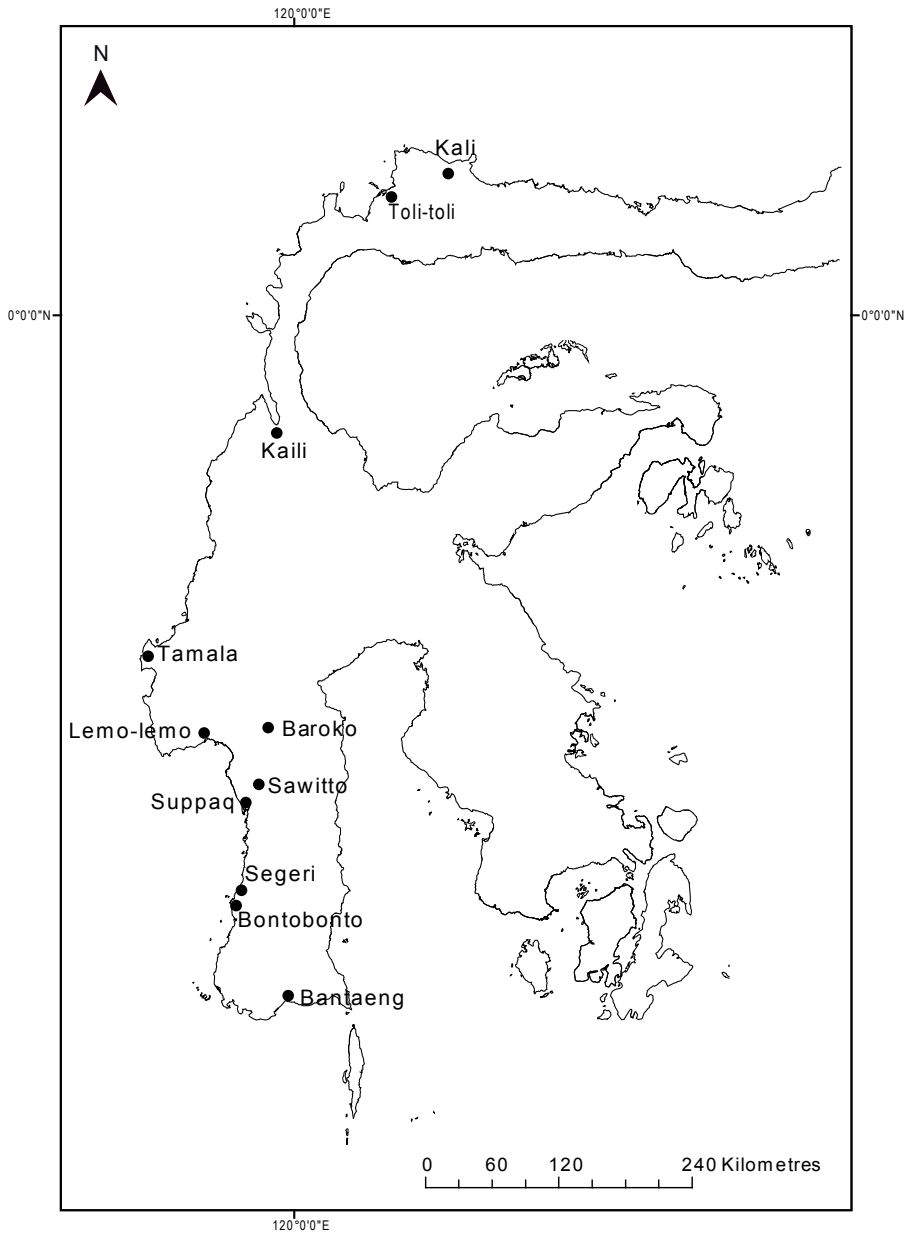


Figure 5.5. Identified toponyms named in the *lasigalung* tradition

experiences. The earliest of these accounts is that of Atonio de Paiva (Jacobs 1966). This comprises a letter written to the Bishop of Goa, India, between 1544 and 1545, which provides incidental information on trade commodities and prices.⁴⁶ Paiva also informs us that Muslim Malay traders had been present in South Sulawesi since about 1490. The second comprises three short works by Manuel Godinho de Eredia, a son of Dona Elena Vesiva, the Bugis princess who eloped with João de Eredia in 1546 (Chapter III) (Mills 1930). As Schurhammer (1980:248, note 2) points out, Manuel Godinho de Eredia's accounts are 'swarming with errors' and should be used with caution.⁴⁷ The third account is that left by Manuel Pinto (Chapter III) (Schurhammer 1980:627-9). From these accounts we learn little about the political situation in South Sulawesi, which are mainly concerned with the conversion of several rulers to Catholicism. However, as the main geographical focus of these Portuguese visitors was coastal areas of Ajattappareng I have decided to include them in this work.

My brief analysis of these accounts also helps to dispel several myths that have been built around them. In particular, Christian Pelras has drawn a number of unsupported historical claims from these Portuguese accounts, mainly that of Paiva, concerning the small Makasar coastal settlement of Siang (modern-day *kabupaten* Pangkajene). In his boldest statement about Siang's former importance Pelras (1996:127) claims: 'From Paiva's writings we learn that Siang had recently been at war with, and defeated, rebel seignories and that it still held sway over the Mandar coast, the Gulf of Kaili and, further, the north-west coast of Sulawesi, then rich in sandalwood and gold.' We learn nothing of the sort from Paiva's writings. Nowhere in his letter does Paiva make any connection whatsoever between Siang and Central Sulawesi. Rather, from Paiva's writings Siang appears to have been a relatively small settlement, which is confirmed by recent archaeological evidence (Fadilah and Mahmud 2000). Furthermore, the archaeological evidence from Siang shows that from 1300 to 1600 it was relatively insignificant in comparison to Suppaq and Gowa. At only two of the sites surveyed in Siang was there any significant concentration of ceramic sherds, Sengkae and Kassi-kassi, but most of these sherds dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and

⁴⁶ The letter itself appears to be a copy made between 1560 and 1584 in Portugal from an earlier copy made from the original in Goa, India, in 1545 (Jacobs 1966:254). Jacobs (1966) reproduces the letter in full in the original Portuguese. Baker (2005) has recently published an excellent English translation of the letter.

⁴⁷ The longest of these works is a copy of a document reputedly made by Eredia's brother, Domingos Godinho de Eredia, presumably derived from a story told by his parents (Mills 1930:55-6). In this work, we are told that Dona Elena Vesiva was the daughter of the ruler of Suppaq, who was a cousin of the ruler of Bacukiki. However, in Manuel Godinho de Eredia's summary of his life, he claims that Dona Elena Vesiva was in fact 'Mistress of the State of Machoquique (Bacukiki); and on her departure the ruling power was assumed by her parents.'

were small in number by comparison to sites surveyed in Suppaq.⁴⁸

In his letter, Paiva explains several uncommissioned baptisms made by him in South Sulawesi (Jacobs 1966). Paiva had been sent to Sulawesi to buy sandalwood by Ruy Vaz Pereira, the captain of Melaka. In 1544, he sailed into the port of Suppaq on his way to a settlement called Durate (which he also calls the 'sandalwood island'), which appears to have been located in Central Sulawesi, close to Toli-toli.⁴⁹ On arrival, Paiva was received by the king of Suppaq, whom he describes as being about seventy years old and white-haired, the king's fifteen year-old son, and thirty women wearing gold bracelets. As Pelras (1977:250) points out, this king was probably the *datu* Suppaq, La Putébulu (white-hair, B.). Paiva also describes the king of Suppaq as being warlike and feared in the surrounding area, a description that correlates with the tradition about *lasigalung*.

In Suppaq, Paiva was informed that there was some kind of armed conflict in Durate at the time and consequently decided not to continue his journey.⁵⁰ He does not say who informed him of the problem in the 'sandalwood island' but as he makes no mention of speaking to anyone other than the king of Suppaq it seems probable that he was his source of information.⁵¹

The king of Suppaq, who was evidently well informed of the Portuguese presence in insular Southeast Asia and of their conflict with the Islamic faith, asked Paiva why the Portuguese wage war against the Muslims. Paiva replied that it was because the religion of Muhammad was false and morally wrong. Paiva then attempted to convince the king that Christianity was the true path to salvation and offered him a piece of cloth woven with gold that had a religious image on it. However, the king of Suppaq showed little interest, and the following day Paiva left for Siang, which he had visited on his first trip to Sulawesi in 1542, when he had fallen ill and stayed as a guest of the ruler of Siang.

In Siang, the king mentioned the conversation about Christianity he

⁴⁸ Irfan Mahmud, personal communication, 2003. I have addressed the myth of Siang in a forthcoming article entitled 'A reassessment of three mid-sixteenth century Portuguese sources for the west coast of South Sulawesi in the light of recent archaeological evidence', which takes into consideration geographical and maritime factors.

⁴⁹ At least ten early European maps dating from 1611 until 1759 mark a toponym called Durate or, on later maps, Turate. The four earliest maps place Durate to the west of Toli-toli and are reproduced in Appendix E. Alternatively, Campbell Macknight (personal communication, 2005) points out that the Malay word for sandalwood is *cedana* and suggests that the 'sandalwood island' Paiva refers to may have been the Mandar polity of Sendana, about 30 kilometres north of Majene.

⁵⁰ Jacobs 1966:286. Paiva simply uses the Portuguese word *alevantada*, which can mean 'at arms', in 'a state of rebellion' or 'at war' with another polity.

⁵¹ That Paiva learnt the news about the problem in Durate while in Suppaq is evidence of contact between Durate and Suppaq, even if the news had come from other (presumably non-European) traders.

had had with Paiva on his previous visit and expressed interest in becoming a Christian. However, he was concerned that prominent people in Siang would oppose conversion and he needed to consult them first.⁵² While the king of Siang was away consulting leading nobles on his desire to convert to Christianity, a fleet of about 20 ships appeared, which caused unease in Siang. As the fleet approached Paiva's junk, it became evident that it was led by the king of Suppaq, who had come to see Paiva. After learning of the consultation going on in Siang, the king of Suppaq declared that he himself had already decided to become a Christian. He was then baptized on Paiva's boat together with several members of his family; the ruler of Siang was baptized some days later.

The following year, Simão Botelho, the new captain of Melaka, sent a mission to Suppaq led by a Portuguese priest, Father Vicente Viegas, which was intended to instruct the converts in Christian teachings and to further spread the Catholic faith. According to Eredia, the mission stayed at Bacukiki.⁵³ Eredia briefly describes the 'official' baptism of the rulers of Suppaq, Alitta and Bacukiki, which he says took place at a hermitage the Portuguese built at Bacukiki. Eredia gives no description of the ruler of Suppaq. He tells us that he took the name Dom Juan, and refers to him as Dom Juan Tubinaga (Mills 1930:55-6). Pelras (1977:250) may be correct in arguing that the change in baptism name indicates that the king of Suppaq whom Paiva baptized must have died within the year and been succeeded by a son. However, the name, 'Tubinaga', does not correspond to any Ajattappareng genealogical records.⁵⁴ Eredia gives the non-Christian names of three other nobles baptized by Vicente Viegas, but none of these can be identified with individuals in the Ajattappareng genealogies.⁵⁵

Eredia briefly describes the flight of the Portuguese from Bacukiki (Mills 1930:56): 'there occurred a disturbance and a riot in which weapons were dis-

⁵² According to Paiva (Jacobs 1966), the king of Siang asked him to explain the Ten Commandments to him and some other prominent people in Siang.

⁵³ Eredia refers to Bacukiki as a sea-port but neither of the two contemporary accounts, those of Paiva and Pinto, make any mention of Bacukiki. Eredia's reference appears solely responsible for the misconception that Bacukiki was the pre-Islamic port of Suppaq (Pelras 1977; Andaya 1981). Whether this mission did stay at Bacukiki is debatable. A more likely location is Perangki, a place name derived from the Malay *feranggi* (foreigner) which was originally applied to the Portuguese.

⁵⁴ The name Tubinaga is reminiscent of names of Gowa rulers, such as Tunipalangga and Tunibatta. It is possible that Eredia has confused the king of Suppaq with the king of the Makasar settlement of Siang, who took the name Dom Juan when baptized by Paiva.

⁵⁵ These three non-Christian names are: Lapiduo and Tamalina of Bacukiki, and Pasapio, whom Eredia refers to simply as a king. Working from several genealogical trees written in the Latin script, Pelras (1977:250-1) has attempted to identify these individuals named by Eredia. He associates the name Tamalina with Wé Tappatana (the wife of La Putébulu and La Pasampoi), Lapiduo with La Cellaq Mata (the ruler of Sawitto who married Wé Lampé Wéluaq) and Pasapio with La Pasampoi, a ruler of Sidénréng (see figures 4, 4.1 and 4.2).

played, because Dona Elena Vesiva had secretly embarked in the junk in the company of Juan de Eredia [...] against the wishes of her parents.' The longest of Eredia's works closes with a statement that the Portuguese in Melaka lost the friendship of the baptized kings. He claims that the rulers remained Christians but on their death were succeeded by 'strangers' who conquered Suppaq, Alitta and Bacukiki. Whether the rulers remained Christian cannot be verified, but Eredia is correct in stating that strangers conquered the lands.

As we learnt in Chapter III, one Manuel Pinto was left behind because of the hurried Portuguese departure. Pinto states that he stayed on in Suppaq for a time, then went to Sidénréng, where he claims to have spent a further eight months with the ruler. Considering the length of time Pinto claims to have spent in South Sulawesi, he tells us very little save for his information on the central lakes and a brief description of Sidénréng. Pinto's information also suggests that the ruler of Sidénréng was La Batara (Great Lord, B.), which other sources indicate ruled at about this time (below).

[From Suppaq] I went to another king, a very great lord, who is called *emperador* [...] He lives five or six leagues within the interior of the land in a city called Sedemre. [...] his land is the best that I have seen in this world for it is completely flat and has much rice, meat, fish, and fruit. His city is located on the shores of a lake on which there are many large and small *praus*.

The question of interest that arises from these Portuguese accounts is why the rulers of Suppaq, Alitta, Bacukiki and Siang were so quick to convert to Christianity, particularly in the light of the fact that Islam had been present in South Sulawesi for at least fifty years, during which time no local ruler appears to have converted to that faith. Pelras suggests that the ruling elite of South Sulawesi resisted Islam for so long because they feared it would threaten the traditional social order and jeopardize their own position. He further argues that interest in Christianity was perhaps derived from an initial misunderstanding of the Christian faith, particularly the dogma of the Trinity, which may have been seen as compatible with the *tomanurung* myths. A further misunderstanding may have been the role of the Catholic priests, which may have been associated with that of the *bissu*, the transvestite ritual specialists closely associated with the ruling elite (Pelras 1985:116-8).

While Paiva informs us in his letter that he discussed theological issues with the ruler of Siang, he does not appear to have had any significant theological discussion with the king of Suppaq, who, in his first meeting with Paiva, showed little interest in Christianity. While one cannot rule out the possibility that the king of Suppaq was genuinely interested in Christianity, the speed of his decision, and the general lack of theological discussion, suggests that his motives were not religious. The king of Suppaq was probably

well aware of the Portuguese conquest of Melaka, which may have been perceived as a major military feat, and that the Portuguese appeared to have established themselves as a permanent fixture in island Southeast Asia. In the mid-sixteenth century, as Suppaq and its allies came into increasing conflict with the Makasar kingdom of Gowa, the military power of the Portuguese was probably the main incentive for conversion to Christianity. Furthermore, the king of Suppaq had probably learnt enough from Malay traders resident in South Sulawesi to know that an attempt at alliance with the Portuguese would be facilitated by conversion to their religion.

War with Gowa and the decline of Suppaq and Sawitto

As the sixteenth century progressed, Gowa, in partnership with Talloq, increasingly challenged Suppaq and Sawitto's influence along the west coast of Sulawesi. The sensational rise of Gowa from 1300 until its fall in the latter part of the seventeenth century has been archaeologically documented by David Bulbeck.⁵⁶ Like most of the major South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged after about 1300, Gowa's success was derived from its agrarian base; its original capital at Kale Gowa was located about eight kilometres from the mouth of the Jeneberrang river in a fertile rice-growing region. The rulers of Talloq were descended from the same ruling line as Gowa but following a succession dispute in Gowa they appear to have established a rival kingdom close to the mouth of the Talloq river at about 1500.⁵⁷ In the early sixteenth century, Gowa became increasingly ambitious and, after defeating Talloq, Maros, Polombangkeng and the important port of Garassiq, began to look beyond the southwestern part of the peninsula. Talloq re-emerged alongside Gowa as a junior partner in an alliance that would prove to be one of the most successful in the history of South Sulawesi.

Gowa's major territorial expansion outside of the southwestern part of the peninsula took place during the reign of Tunipalangga, who had succeeded his father, Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna in about 1546.⁵⁸ It was during the reign of

⁵⁶ Bulbeck 1992. The chronicle of Gowa provides us with little information about Gowa before the early sixteenth century. Historians (Andaya 1981; Reid 1983) have generally interpreted this to mean that Gowa was a kingdom of little significance before the early sixteenth century. However, Bulbeck's detailed archaeological work shows that Gowa emerged at about 1300 and was an important kingdom from 1400 onwards, and not, as Cummings (2002:23) has recently stated a 'relatively isolated backwater'.

⁵⁷ Compare Bulbeck 1992. Bulbeck's archaeological evidence for the establishment of Talloq at 1500, correlates with the story of this succession dispute found in the Talloq chronicle (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:5-6).

⁵⁸ Among the settlements the Gowa chronicle claims were defeated during the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna is a 'Sidenre'/'Sidenreng' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:18). The other settlements named together with Sidenre/Sidenreng as defeated by Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (Garassiq, Katingang, Parigi, Siang, Lembangang, Bulukumba and Selayar) are all Makasar

the latter ruler that Suppaq and Sawitto clashed with Gowa.

The chronicle of Gowa briefly relates the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta together with other Gowan victories during the reign of Tunipalangga (1546-1565). The chronicle provides no details of the defeat of these lands but informs us that people from Suppaq, Sawitto and Bacukiki were brought back to Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25). The chronicle makes no mention of people brought back to Gowa from any of the other lands defeated by Gowa, and gives no reason why the people of Suppaq, Sawitto and Bacukiki were singled out. Leonard Andaya (1981:26) suggests that these people may have been Malay traders and equates this information with a separate passage in the Gowa chronicle, which tells of a number of rights that the Malay trading community were granted by Tunipalangga when they settled at Gowa.⁵⁹ However, during the sixteenth century Malay traders were probably spread throughout many coastal and near coastal areas of South Sulawesi and Bulbeck's archaeological evidence suggests that Gowa would have been one of the major centres where foreign traders were concentrated, long before the war against Suppaq and Sawitto. The *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto (*aSS*) also contains a memory of people from Suppaq and Sawitto being taken to Gowa and states that they were members of the ruling families of Suppaq and Sawitto. Among them was Wé Lampé Wéluaq, who, according to the tradition which tells of her fate, was tortured then pounded to death 'like rice flour', while her husband, La Cellaq Mata, was fed to the war dogs of the *karaeng* (Chapter II). An account of the aftermath of this war, including the atrocities committed on Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, was told to Admiral Cornelis Speelman in the late seventeenth century (Speelman 1670). It is clear from this that these people were not Malays but the people of Suppaq and Sawitto, many of whom were enslaved and sold. Some were taken to Gowa, others to Turatea, Poelebanky (Polombangkeng?) and Wello.⁶⁰ Indoq Lompa and Tonrong Peppingé in Suppaq are two lands which appear to have particularly suffered at the hands of Gowa at this time. The archaeological data indicates that both were depopulated in the sixteenth century and, in the light of Speelman's information, it appears probable that Gowa removed and enslaved their populations.⁶¹ As Gibson

lands, which suggests this information does not relate to the Bugis kingdom of Sidénréng but is derived from the memory of a raid on the Makasar settlement of Sidenre, a tributary of Binamu located on the south coast of the peninsula (Caldwell and Druce 1998:34; Caldwell and Bougas 2005:471).

⁵⁹ In the sense of 'greater Gowa', which included the city of Makassar.

⁶⁰ The 'Wello' mentioned by Speelman may be related to the *karaeng* Madelloq of the *aSS* Suppaq and Sawitto.

⁶¹ No Ming blue-and-white sherds were recorded at either site and their seventeenth century period counts in Appendix B are based on one Wanli (1550-1650) and two Swatow (1550-1700) sherds for Indoq Lompa and a solitary Wanli sherd for Tonrong Peppingé. The absence of Ming

(2005:152) points out, during Tunipalangga's reign Gowa did not simply loot defeated lands but often enslaved whole populations and used them as labourers to build irrigation works and fortifications.⁶²

The *aSS* also presents an explanation of the origin of the war. In a reported conversation between Tunipalangga and Makaraié, who has come to Gowa 'to look around at the land that follows' his 'land of Suppaq', Tunipalangga forcefully suggests a marriage between his son and Makaraié's daughter so that Suppaq and Gowa will become allies. Makaraié reluctantly agrees. However, Palétéang, a mid-sixteenth century ruler of Sawitto, opposes the marriage and tells Makaraié that it is their children who should marry, so that Suppaq and Sawitto will be united. The bride-price is returned to the *karaeng*, and Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, the children of Makaraié and Palétéang, marry. Furious at this rejection, Tunipalangga seeks retribution and his army descends on Suppaq and Sawitto.

Typical of many South Sulawesi oral traditions that explain the cause of a particular war, the rejection of Tunipalangga's son by Makaraié evokes the pan-South Sulawesi concept of *siriq*. This provides a readily understandable explanation of the war's origin for people who listened to this tradition during its transmission in the oral register. However, while the origins of the war ultimately lie in competition for ascendancy along the west coast of Sulawesi, the *aSS* perhaps tells us something about the background to the conflict. The subject of the conversation between the two rulers, a proposed marriage between their children, is conceivable, and may reflect Tunipalangga's initial strategy against Suppaq.⁶³ That Makaraié later decided to reject the proposal perhaps explains the brutality of Tunipalangga's retribution against his daughter, Wé Lampé Wéluaq, and her husband, La Cellaq Mata, the memory of which is found in numerous oral and written traditions.

We should not, however, view the war as one in which Suppaq and Sawitto were simply passive victims defending themselves against the aggressive expansionist ambitions of Gowa. As the tradition about *lasigalung* suggests, Suppaq and Sawitto were also aggressive and expansionist. According to Paiva, the ruler of Suppaq was warlike and much feared in the surrounding area. An oral tradition written down in the nineteenth century chronicle of

blue-and-white suggests that the main phase of both lands was the fifteenth century and that most sherds dated to the fifteenth to sixteenth century in Appendix B arrived at these lands during the fifteenth century.

⁶² For detailed descriptions of Gowa and Talloq fortifications built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Bulbeck (1998).

⁶³ It is possible that relations between Gowa and Suppaq were cordial in 1544, towards the end of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's reign. We know from Paiva's account that following his baptism in 1544 the ruler of Suppaq sailed to Gowa's port of Garassiq with Paiva. It is not entirely clear from Paiva's account why they made the journey to Garassiq; it is possible that it was engineered by the ruler of Suppaq as a show of strength against its main competitor.

Tanété tells a story of how a ruler of Sawitto stopped at Tanété on his way to wage war on Gowa (Niemann 1883:15-23; Basrah Gising 2002:18-29). This suggests that Suppaq and Sawitto may themselves have carried out attacks on Gowa.

The conflict between Suppaq, Sawitto and Gowa was probably the culmination of years of competition between these major west coast powers as each vied to become the most powerful kingdom along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi. It is no coincidence that the chronicle of Gowa lists Kaili and Toli-toli among the lands defeated by Gowa during Tunipalangga's reign (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:29). These are two of the Central Sulawesi coastal settlements that the *lasigalung* tradition claims were incorporated into Suppaq and Sawitto's sphere of influence. Gowa's victory over Suppaq and Sawitto radically changed the balance of power along the west coast of Sulawesi and paved the way for it to become the most dominant power in South Sulawesi.

The story found in the *aSS* about La Pancai's escape to Boné is corroborated by the chronicle of Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.) and the account related to Speelman. The Boné chronicle does not name La Pancai but simply informs us that when Bongkangngé ruled in Boné (late 1550s to early 1580s), an *aqdatuang* of Sawitto was driven out and came to Boné. Speelman (1670) states that La Pancai lived in exile in Boné and only returned to succeed his parents as ruler of both Sawitto and Suppaq at the beginning of Tunijalloq's reign (1565-1590), following the death of Tunipalangga and his brother, Tunibatta.⁶⁴ After the death of Tunibatta, a treaty was concluded between Boné and Gowa which recognized their respective spheres of influence. During the fifteen years or so that followed, there appears to have been a period of peace, perhaps facilitated by the relationship between Bongkangngé and Tunijalloq, who as a young man had lived in Boné for two years, and the influence of the Talloq ruler, Tumamenang ri Makkoayang.⁶⁵

It was perhaps the agreement between Boné and Gowa and the ensuing peace that enabled La Pancai to return to Suppaq and Sawitto and to succeed his parents, some 10 to 15 years after their death. It is possible that the agreement specifically encompassed La Pancai's return to Suppaq and Sawitto. As the *aSS* suggests, his lands may have been administered by the *karaeng* Madelloq under the authorisation of Gowa following their defeat. The *aSS* tells us that it was on the order of the *karaeng* of Gowa that La Pancai was installed as ruler and that he acknowledged the authority of Gowa. That La

⁶⁴ Tunibatta had succeeded Tunipalangga and immediately continued the war against Boné. However, just 40 days after becoming ruler of Gowa he was captured and beheaded in Boné. Tunijalloq was the son of Tunibatta.

⁶⁵ According to the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:41), Tunijalloq had fled to Boné to escape the wrath of his uncle, Tunipalangga, after committing an indiscretion.

Pancai became ruler of both Suppaq and Sawitto was perhaps the decision of the Gowa and Talloq rulers in order to facilitate their authority over the two kingdoms. The *aSS* claims that he later challenged Gowa's authority over Sawitto and Suppaq and the people of the area began to return.

The frequent references in textual sources to the defeat of Suppaq and Sawitto by Gowa, and in oral traditions which are still told today, is an indication of just what a tumultuous event this was for the people of these lands. Indeed, as the *aSS* informs us, when La Pancai went back to Sawitto, the people remained afraid and were still 'scattered about'.

Sidénréng's alliance with Gowa

The chronicle of Gowa makes no mention of Sidénréng, or Rappang, in the section that relates the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta. This is surprising given the alliance between the five kingdoms and, the degree of intermarriage between their ruling families during the sixteenth century. One would have expected Sidénréng and Rappang to provide their allies with military assistance against Gowa and perhaps see their names listed in the Gowa chronicle alongside the defeated. However, it appears that neither Sidénréng nor Rappang came to the aid of their allies in the war Gowa waged against them. The reason for Sidénréng's absence from the west-coast wars is perhaps related to its defeat by Wajoq and Luwuq at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it lost its tributary lands to the north of the lakes.

In the same section that tells of the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta, the Gowa chronicle informs us that Gowa, in alliance with Sidénréng, defeated Wajoq and subjugated Bulucénrana and Otting (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:24). This information can be correlated with the Wajoq chronicles, which tell of a war between Sidénréng and Otting in the mid-sixteenth century. According to the chronicles, Wajoq fought on the side of Otting, while Gowa fought on Sidénréng's side (Noorduyn 1955:226-7).

The politics surrounding the Gowa-Sidénréng alliance were undoubtedly more complex than we shall ever learn from our sources. What is clear is that Sidénréng entered into an alliance with Gowa, and that this alliance enabled Sidénréng to regain the tributary lands it had lost at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At the same time, Sidénréng played a role in the defeat of its bitter enemy Wajoq, which was subsequently made a slave of Gowa. We will probably never know if this alliance was forged before, or perhaps even during, Gowa's war against Suppaq and Sawitto and whether it included an agreement that Sidénréng would play no part in the war that Gowa waged against Sidénréng's allies. However, I suspect the rulers of Sidénréng came to the conclusion that resistance against Gowa was futile and, rather than risk losing their own independence, decided to acknowledge Gowa as an over-

lord while using the situation to regain former tributaries.

Whatever the reasons for the alliance with Gowa, there is little doubt that the ruler of Sidénréng at this time was La Batara, who was probably responsible for rebuilding Sidénréng after its defeat by Luwuq and Wajoq at the beginning of the sixteenth century and leading the kingdom to economic ascendancy in Ajattappareng. All Ajattappareng genealogies record a marriage in the mid-sixteenth century between La Batara and Wé Cina (the *arung* of Bulucénrana), which would have taken place shortly after the Gowa-Sidénréng victory over Wajoq, and Bulucénrana's reincorporation as a tributary of Sidénréng. As a result of its alliance with Gowa, Sidénréng was drawn into the wars Gowa waged in the eastern part of the peninsula, and together with Luwuq, Wajoq and Soppéng, Sidénréng fought in Tunipalangga's war against Boné (above) (Noorduyn 1955:240-1).

Resistance to Gowa and the Islamization of Ajattappareng

In the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the period of peace that had prevailed from the beginning of Tunijalloq's reign (1565-1590) came to an end. Both Wajoq and Soppéng appear to have rejected the ties of allegiance to Gowa that they had been forced to accept in the preceding decades and instead aligned themselves with Boné. In about 1582, Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng formed the *tellumpoccoé* alliance in an attempt to halt further military expansion by Gowa (Noorduyn 1955:250-3; Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). Consequently, Gowa launched a campaign against the three kingdoms.

Genealogical records in the Wajoq chronicles (Noorduyn 1955:256-9) during the reign of the *arung matoa* of Wajoq, La Mungkacé (1567-1607 (Abidin 1985:575)) record several marriages between nobles from Wajoq and Rappang that suggest that relations between Wajoq and the Ajattappareng kingdoms also moved closer during this period. The Ajattappareng genealogies also record the marriage of La Pancai's daughter, Wé Passullé, to To Patakkeq of Wajoq. These marriages probably reflect moves by the Bugis kingdoms to form a wider pan-Bugis alliance against Gowa. A short passage in the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:53) during the reign of Tunijalloq suggests that the Ajattappareng kingdoms did indeed form some kind of alliance with the *tellumpoccoé* lands at this time, informing us that Gowa had agreements with Sawitto and Sidénréng, but these were retracted and those lands aligned themselves with the people of Soppéng.

However, resistance against Gowa's military power was short-lived. About eight months after La Patiwareq of Luwuq became South Sulawesi's first Muslim ruler, taking the title Sultan Muhammad Wali Mu'z'hir al-din in January 1605, the rulers of Talloq and Gowa, converted to Islam. Sultan

Abdullah and Sultan Ala'uddin then invited the remaining South Sulawesi kingdoms to follow. This invitation was refused and Gowa then launched what became known as the *musuq sellang* in Bugis and *bundug kasallannganna* in Makasar (wars of Islamization). Gowa's armies were victorious throughout; in 1609, Sidénréng was the last of the Ajattappareng kingdoms to fall.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

The history of Ajattappareng between 1200-1600 has received little attention from either local or foreign scholars. Most of those scholars who have studied this period in South Sulawesi's past, in part or in whole, have focused on Boné, Wajoq, Gowa and Talloq. Comparatively few have looked beyond these four major kingdoms, all of which have chronicles that were created from a miscellaneous array of sources in the seventeenth century. Not surprisingly, these chronicles have tended to shape the picture of early South Sulawesi history and have perhaps led to the historical significance of the kingdoms that possess them being overstated at the expense of others. These chronicles have also shaped the perception, or rather misconception, of South Sulawesi historical writings as being characteristically terse and matter-of-fact. While this may be true of the four named chronicles, and the diaries that were kept by some South Sulawesi rulers, this is not true of the vast majority of South Sulawesi historical writings.

This book has shed light on the history of a region of South Sulawesi for which comparatively few written sources exist for the period before 1600. It has demonstrated the advantages of combining a variety of different methods and sources in order to better understand the past in South Sulawesi than would be possible from a study of written texts alone.

Oral tradition has played a central role in this enquiry. The importance of oral tradition to the writing of South Sulawesi history is not, of course, confined to those traditions that continue to be transmitted in the oral register today. Most *lontaraq* texts that claim to speak for the period before 1600 are derived from oral tradition. This is true also of parts of the chronicles, as a significant amount of the information used by their compilers was obtained from the oral register. From about the seventeenth century onwards, there appears to have been a movement of oral historical tradition and other forms of oral knowledge from the oral to the written register, the main impetus of which was a desire to preserve knowledge in a more permanent form. The ease with which this could be done was facilitated by the increasing availability of European paper from the seventeenth century onwards. Since that time, the movement of information has not simply been in one direction;

dynamic interaction between the oral and written registers has continued to the present day.

Before the seventeenth century, written texts of a historical nature appear to have been mostly confined to elite genealogical records. Indeed, the very motive for the development of writing, as Caldwell (1988) argues, was to record the genealogies of the ruling elite, beginning about 1400 among the Bugis in the eastern half of the peninsula. Apart from these early genealogical records, there is little evidence to suggest that written texts of a historical nature played an important role in South Sulawesi society before the seventeenth century. Nor is there sufficient evidence to suggest that historical texts were performed publicly. The terse and matter-of-fact style of the chronicles, which have few characteristics of texts associated with oral performance, would have demanded major transformations by a performer in order to entertain an audience. To my mind this reflects the fact that this particular textual tradition was primarily written to be read, not heard.

Contrary to Cummings (2002), I do not believe that there is evidence to suggest that writing fundamentally transformed the nature, form and content of stories that the Makasar, or any other South Sulawesi peoples, told about the past. Differences in form and content are found only in the chronicles, which form a small and unique class of writings based upon Portuguese models, as Macknight (2000) has argued. The large majority of writings of a historical nature are little different to oral traditions, which suggests that they are derived from the oral register. Oral traditions present today in South Sulawesi are a witness to how the past is conceived and transmitted some 500 years after the development of writing. It follows that the oral traditions collected by B.F. Matthes in the nineteenth century, or by Dutch colonial officials in the first half of the twentieth century, as well as those written down in dated or datable *lontaraq* texts, can in some instances be used to examine the stability or mutability of these traditions over time.

From a historian's perspective, the period 1200-1600 is perhaps the most challenging and rewarding in South Sulawesi's history. It was a time of great change which saw the rise and development of the major kingdoms that came to dominate the political landscape in later centuries, and which were fully formed when the first European visitors arrived. Speakers of Bugis and Makasar languages played the major role in the rise of these kingdoms, but highland peoples speaking Massenrempulu and perhaps Toraja-Saddan languages also played an important part. Like the Bugis and Makasar, they responded to the new opportunities presented by the advent of regular external trade from about 1300. Continuous contact and interaction between the lowland and highland areas of South Sulawesi appears to be a particular feature of the region's past. Future archaeological work in highland areas may further illuminate the extent of economic and cultural interaction between

highland and lowland communities from 1300 onwards, while more extensive linguistic research which takes into account historical and archaeological studies may provide clues to the historical movements of South Sulawesi language speakers.

The kingdoms that emerged in South Sulawesi from 1300 appear to share few parallels with those of Java, as put forward by Benedict Anderson in his influential article 'The idea of power in Javanese culture', presented in 1972 as an initial step towards further inquiry and understanding of pre-colonial Indonesian societies. In South Sulawesi there is no evidence of high-ranking officials of common origin, the transference of divine favour, or an emphasis on ascetic practices as a means of obtaining power to rule. In South Sulawesi, the possibility to rule or to obtain high office was determined by an individual's status, which was ascribed at birth, while achievement of power depended on the personal qualities of the high status individual concerned. The system thus restricted claims to power while ensuring sufficient choice from a small number of suitably qualified individuals. In addition, the social contracts found in numerous South Sulawesi oral and written sources which set out a limited formal reciprocity between the ruler and ruled appear to be absent from Java. A ruler who mistreated his people could be removed from office, or even on occasions killed, without unduly disturbing the stability of the realm.

Anderson's depiction of the Javanese polity as 'a cone of light cast downwards by a reflector lamp' also has limited relevance to the South Sulawesi landscape. His metaphor is used to emphasize how power in the traditional Javanese polity was heavily focused upon the centre, usually realized in the ruler, while away from the centre the power of the lamp gradually faded and merged along the peripheries with the fading light of similar centres. At first glance, this depiction appears similar to the political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms in that outside the central domain the power of the ruler was limited. However, Anderson's claim that Javanese thought 'implicitly denies' autonomy at each of its various levels and seeks 'a single persuasive source of power' sits uncomfortably with the highly decentralized political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms. A ruler's power derived from his office of *arung* (or *karaeng*) of the kingdom's central polity and as leader, or *primus inter pares*, of the kingdom's numerous other *arung*. Thus both conceptually and in reality power did not reside wholly at the centre but was effectively fragmented between dozens of internally autonomous polities. Furthermore, there is evidence that some tributary rulers, such as the Eppa Baté-baté of Sawitto (Chapter I), played a role in deciding who would succeed as ruler of a kingdom. In other kingdoms, the inauguration of a ruler could not take place unless the rulers of certain tributary lands attended his installation (Chapter IV).

The differences between Anderson's model for Java and South Sulawesi is perhaps in part due to the fact that the South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged from 1300 onwards did so largely uninfluenced by Indic ideas. These kingdoms developed from small existing chiefdoms, and the driving force behind their evolution appears to have been indigenous cultural and political precepts which had crystallized in prehistory. These precepts were fuelled by the advent of regular external trade with other parts of the Indonesian archipelago and a transition from swidden cultivation to wet-rice agriculture. Trade provided ruling elites with status-enhancing goods, such as Indian cloths and Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian ceramics that served as important symbols of rank and increased their wealth and political power. Strategic distribution of these goods by rulers of kingdoms played an important role in attracting tributaries and maintaining their loyalties, thus extending a kingdom's boundaries of political and geographic influence. They also stimulated the transition to wet-rice agriculture and its intensification and expansion in the centuries that followed as more rice-growing land was opened-up, and fought over, in order to produce ever-increasing surpluses of rice for trade and to feed growing populations. Oral and written traditions suggest the ruling families of early kingdoms largely sponsored and directed the shift to wet-rice cultivation and its subsequent expansion. It is reasonable to assume that their followers were willing participants in this process, as they too reaped the benefits of surplus food production and foreign trade.

The shift away from swidden to wet-rice cultivation was a long-term process that demanded the clearing of forests in order to create new rice fields and the construction and expansion of irrigation systems. In Ajattappareng, the longevity of this process is evident in the rise of Sidénréng, which had (and still has) the most productive rice land in the region. In the thirteenth century, Sidénréng's proportion of ceramics from the Ajattappareng surveys was just 10% but following some 300 years of agricultural intensification and expansion rose to 53.5% in the sixteenth century as it replaced Suppaq as the region's dominant economic power. This pattern of inland, or near-coastal, kingdoms with large agrarian bases rising to prominence in the sixteenth century is one repeatedly found throughout lowland South Sulawesi, most notably in Boné, Wajoq, Soppéng and Gowa. Indeed, the roots of Gowa's domination of lowland South Sulawesi at the beginning of the seventeenth century lie firmly in its extensive and productive rice fields located in the southwest corner of the peninsula.

Historical and archaeological research carried out in South Sulawesi over the last twenty years or so provides us with well-documented examples of the transformation of several Austronesian-speaking societies from simple

chiefdoms to large political entities constructed largely around indigenous concepts. This makes South Sulawesi, with its extensive written and archaeological sources, of fundamental importance in understanding the historical evolution of Austronesian societies in Indonesia and beyond.

APPENDIX A

The tributary and domain lists of Ajattappareng

Sidénréng tributary and domain list

Transliteration

Sidénréng \ paliliqna \ Mawoiwa¹ \ Bulucénrana \ Otting \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ bab² Bila \ tellu arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Wala \ Botto \ Ugi \ Jampubatu \ duwa arung déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Barukku \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Baraqmamasé \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bétao \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Kalémpang \ tellu arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Lamerrang \ Paraja \ Ampirita³ \ Wawanio⁴ \ duwa arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bélokka \ dua arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Cirowali \ Wetteqé \ tammat Sidénréng \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Massépé \ Alekkuwang⁵ \ Tétéaji \ Liseq \ Sidénréng \ Guru \ engka arunna \ mapanoqtosia ri wanuanna \ Wala \ Séréang \ Liwuwu⁶ \ Arateng⁷ \ engka arung \ temmapanoqsa ri pabanuwanna \ Wéngeng \ Tellang tammat (NBG 112, p. 59).

Translation

Sidénréng's [first three] tributaries are: Maiwa, Bulucénrana and Otting, there are two great lords of these lands. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Bila, there are three great lords of Bila. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next are] Wala, Botto, Ugi and Jampu Batu, there are two great lords of these lands. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng

¹ Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

² *Bab* is written in Arabic.

³ Ampirita read Amparita.

⁴ Wawanio read Wanio.

⁵ The modern spelling of Alakkuang is followed in the translation.

⁶ Liwuwu read Lawowoi.

⁷ The modern spelling of Aratang is followed in the translation.

calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Barukku, there are two great lords of Barukku. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Baraqmamasé, there are two great lords of Baraqmamasé. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Bétao, there are two great lords of Bétao. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Kalémpang, there are three great lords of Kalémpang. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Following are] Lamerrang and Paraja. [Now come] Amparita and Wanio, there are two great lords of these lands, so two summons to attend from Sidénréng. [Next is] Bélokka, there are two great lords of Bélokka, so two summons to attend from Sidénréng. [Following are] Ciroali and Wetteqé. These lands are directly ruled by Sidénréng. [The first six are]: Massépé, Alakkuang, Tétéaji, Liseq, Sidénréng, and Guru. There are lords of these lands. These lords preside over these lands. [Next are] Wala, Séréang, Lawawoi and Aratang There is a lord of these lands. This lord does not preside over the people of these lands. [Last are] Wéngeng and Tellang.

Maiwa tributary and domain list

Transliteration

Mawoiwa⁸ \ paliliqna \ Roa \ Matakali \ Pasang \ Li[m]buang \ Lullung \ Paladang \ Labaniq \ Bakka \ Sitto \ Bulu \ Bungin \ Tellang \ bab napanoqe rakkalana Mawoiwa⁹ \ Tapping \ Kadeppang \ Kaluppang tammat (NBG 112, p. 59).

Translation

Maiwa's tributaries are: Roa, Matakali, Pasang, Limbuang, Lullung,¹⁰ Paladang, Labaniq, Bakka, Sitto,¹¹ Bulu, Bungin and Tellang. These lands are directly ruled by Maiwa: Maiwa, Tapping, Kadeppang¹² and Kaluppang.

Sawitto tributary and domain list

Transliteration

Sawitto Paliliqna \ Tirowang \ Malempung¹³ \ Kabelangngeng [\] Lolowang

⁸ Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

⁹ Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

¹⁰ Not located.

¹¹ Not located.

¹² Not located.

¹³ Malempung read Malimpung.

\ Lengnga¹⁴ \ Pénrang \ Rangaméa \ Urung \ Kadokkong \ Galangkalang
 \ Panga[m]parang \ Malo \ Lanriseg \ Lérang \ bab napanoqé rakalanna \
 Kaqba¹⁵ \ Puniu¹⁶ \ Padakalawa \ Tanrésona \ Buwa \ Bulu [\] Sékkang
 \ Péso \ Saloq \ Paqqéroang \ Paria \ Nampio \ Madelloq \ Palétéang \
 Talabangi \ Béulu \ wanutengnga \ Lépanjang¹⁷ tammat Rangaméa \
 anaq banuwana \ Pénrang \ Lalating \ Madelloq tammat Lengnga \ anaq
 banuwana \ Makaring¹⁸ \ Patobong \ tammat Tiroang \ anaqbanuwana \
 Marowai¹⁹ bab Kabelangeng \ anaq banuwana \ Kalom[p]é²⁰ \ tammat
 (NBG 112, p. 60).

Translation

Sawitto's tributaries are: Tiroang, Malimpung, Kabelangeng, Loloang, Langnga, Pénrang, Rangaméa, Urung, Kadokkong, Gallang-kallang, Pangamparang, Malo,²¹ Lanriseng, Lérang. These lands are directly ruled by Sawitto: Kappa, Punia, Padakalawa, Tanrésona, Bua, Bulu, Sékkang, Péso,²² Saloq, Paqqéroang, Paria, Na[m]pio,²³ Madelloq, Palétéang, Talabangi, Béulu,²⁴ [and the] central wanua is Lépanjang.

Rangaméa directly rules Pénrang, Lalating and Madelloq. Langnga directly rules Makuring and Patobong. Tiroang directly rules Marawi. Kabelangeng directly rules Palompé.

Suppaq tributary and domain list

Transliteration

Suppaq \ paliliqna \ Népo \ Pala[n]ro \ Maluba²⁵ \ napanoqé rakalanna \
 Bojo \ Bacukiki \ Parangki²⁶ \ Bélawa²⁷ \ Soréang \ (NBG 100, p. 118).

Translation

Suppaq's tributaries are: Népo, Palanro and Manuba. These lands are directly ruled by Suppaq: Bojo, Bacukiki, Perangki, Bélawa and Soréang.

¹⁴ The modern spelling of Langnga follows in the translation.

¹⁵ Kaqba read Kappa.

¹⁶ Puniu read Punia.

¹⁷ The modern spelling of Lépanjang is followed in the translation.

¹⁸ Makaring read Makuring.

¹⁹ Marowai read Marawi.

²⁰ Kalompé read Palompé.

²¹ Not located.

²² Not located, thought to have been located close to Tomaruli (I.27).

²³ Not located.

²⁴ Not located.

²⁵ Maluba read Manuba.

²⁶ The modern spelling of Perangki follows in the translation.

²⁷ Béla-bélawa according to local informants.

*Népo domain list**Transliteration*

Népo \ napanoqé rakalanna \ Sadusung²⁸ \ Atappang \ Cengkengé \ Kutaé \ Mareppang \ Marimario²⁹ \ Mallawa tammat (NBG 112, p. 60).

Translation

Népo directly rules Dusung, Atappang, Cengkengé, Kutaé,³⁰ Mareppang Mario-mario and Mallawa.

*Rappang tributary and domain list**Transliteration*

Rappeng³¹ \ paliliqna \ Kulo \ bab napanoqé rakalanna \ Bé[n]téng \ Bara[n]ti \ Panrong³² \ Manisa \ Déa \ Simpo \ tammat (NBG 112, p. 60).

Translation

Rappang's tributary is Kulo. These lands are directly ruled by Rappang: Bénténg, Baranti, Ponrong, Manisa, Déa and Simpo.

*Alitta**Transliteration*

Alitta \ aléalénamua \ tammat (NBG 112, p. 60).

Translation

Alitta stands alone.

²⁸ Sadusung read Dusung.

²⁹ Marimario read Mario-mario.

³⁰ Not located.

³¹ The modern spelling of Rappang is followed in the translation.

³² Panrong read Ponrong.

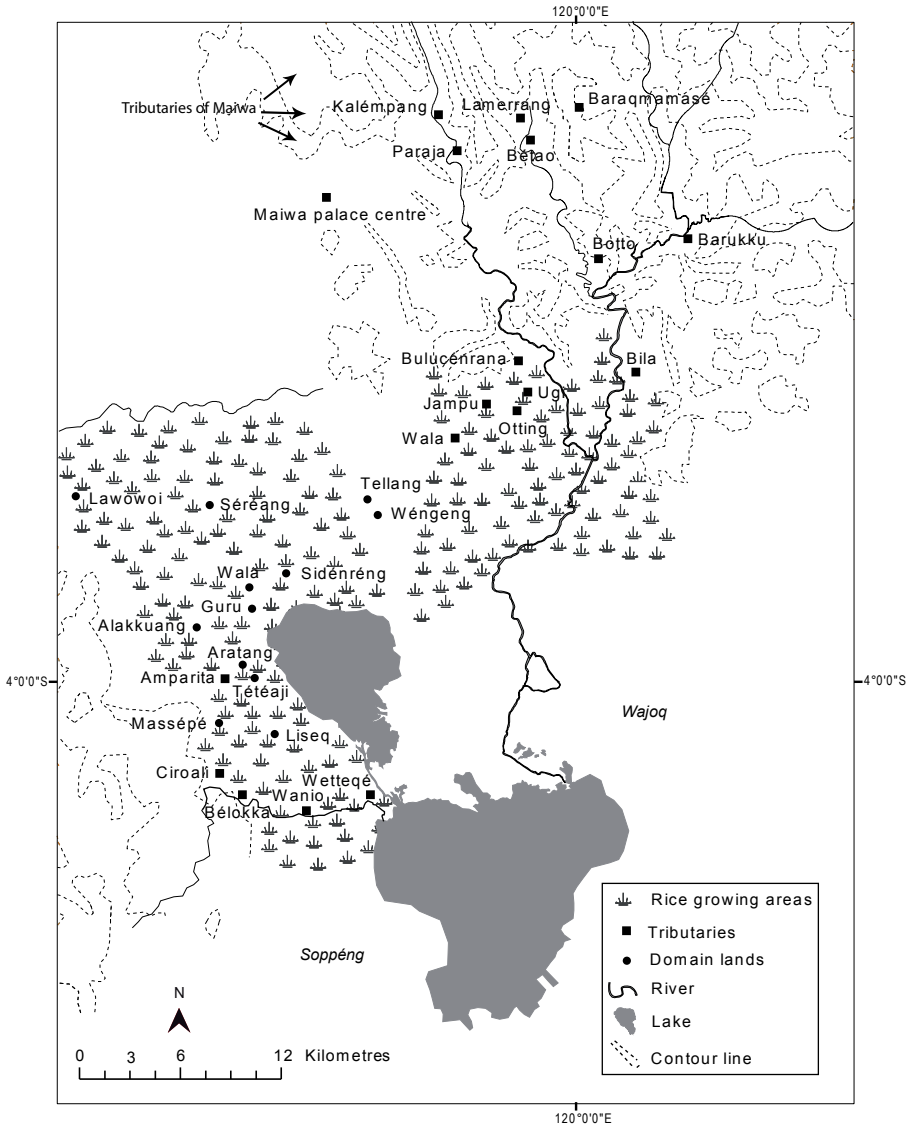


Figure A.1. The lands of the Sidénréng tributary and domain list

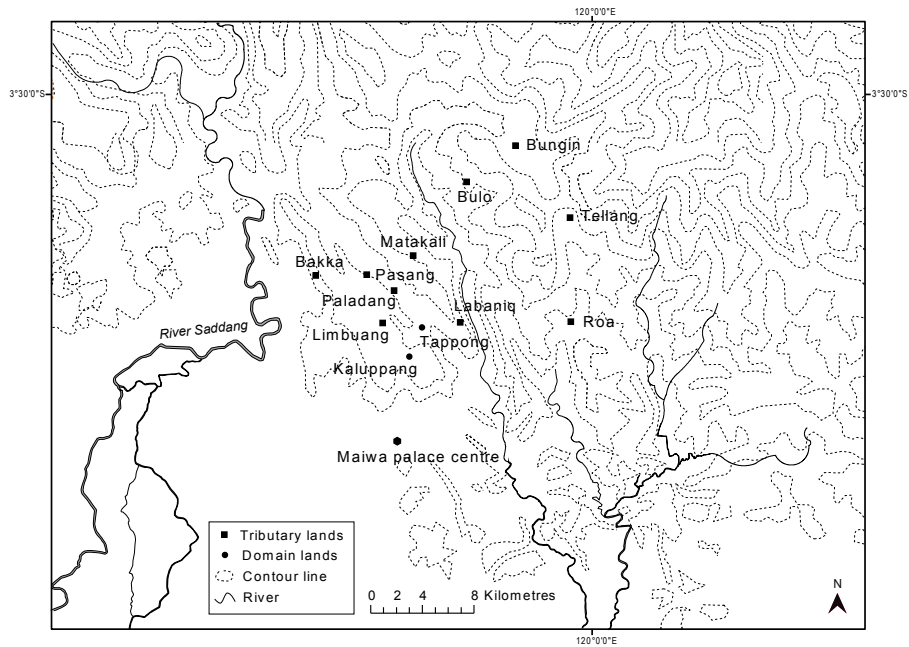


Figure A.2. The lands of the Maiwa tributary and domain list

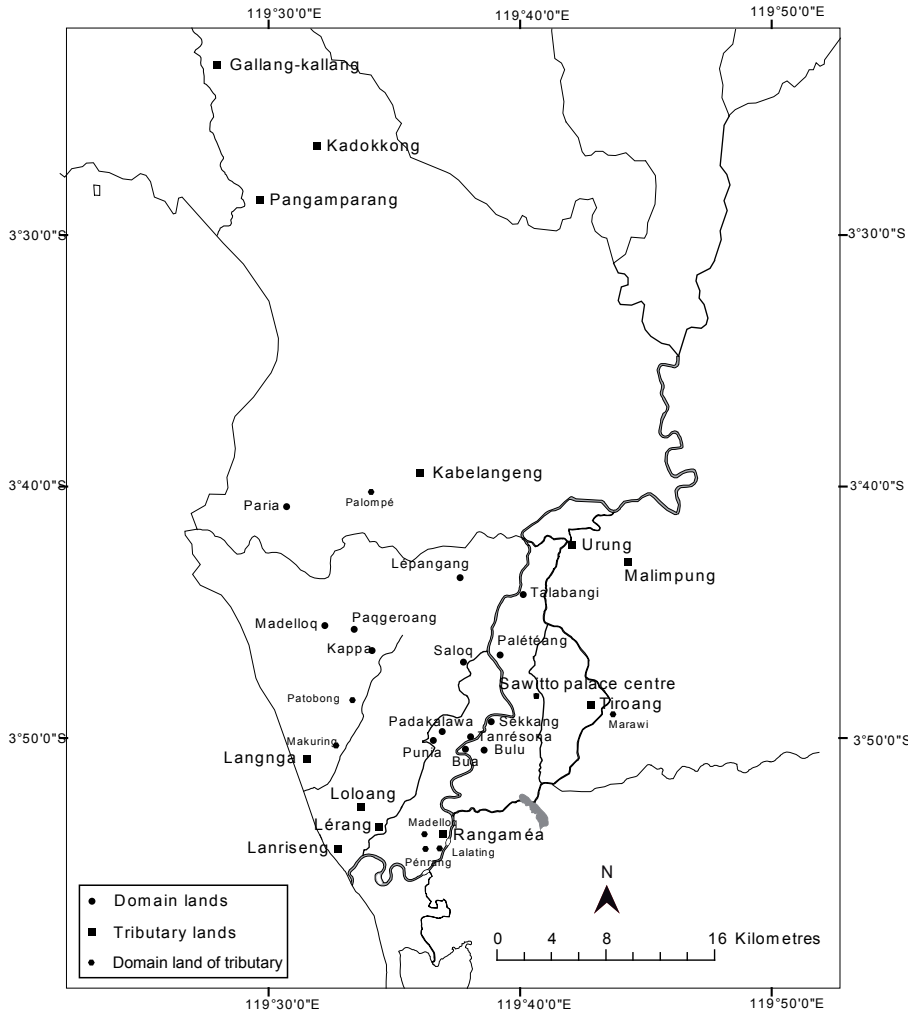


Figure A.3. The lands of the Sawitto tributary and domain list

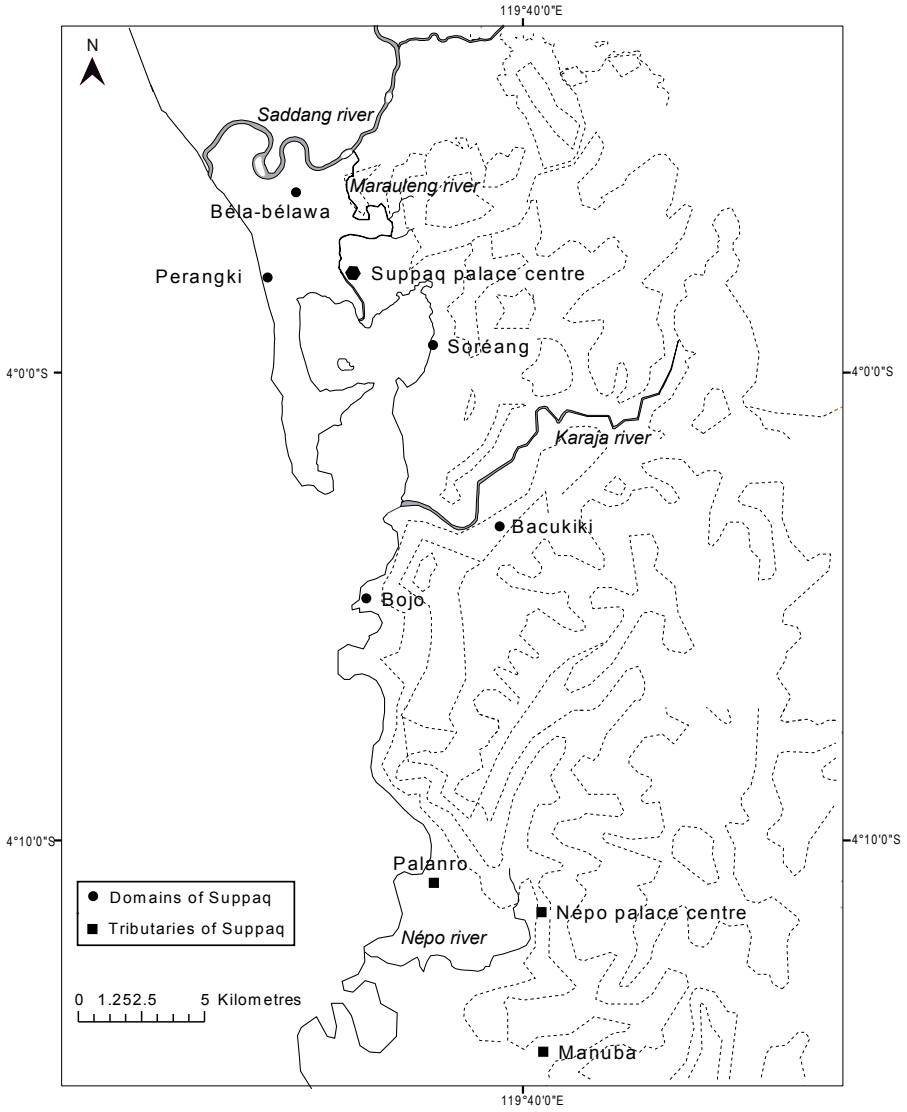


Figure A.4. The lands of the Suppaq tributary and domain list

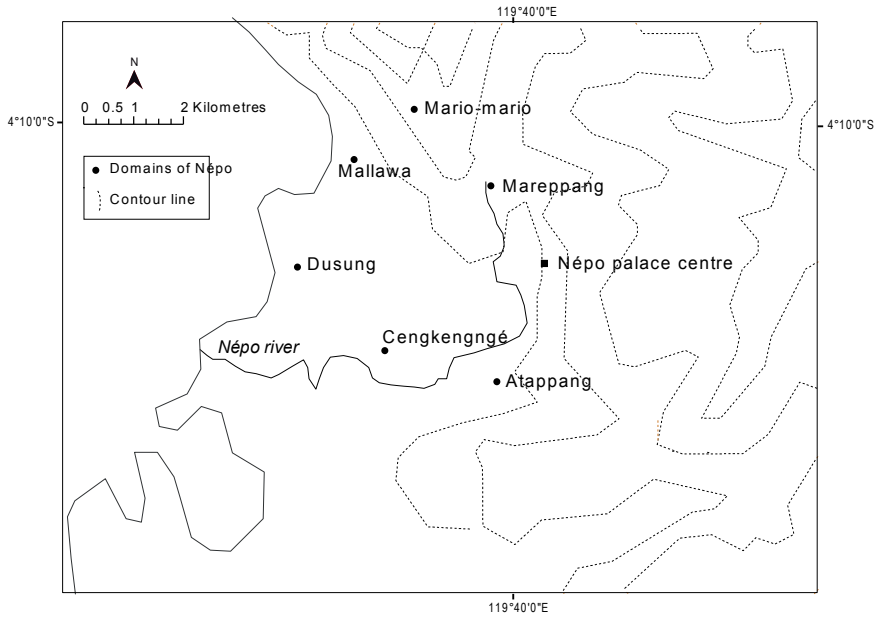


Figure A.5. The lands of the Népo tributary and domain list

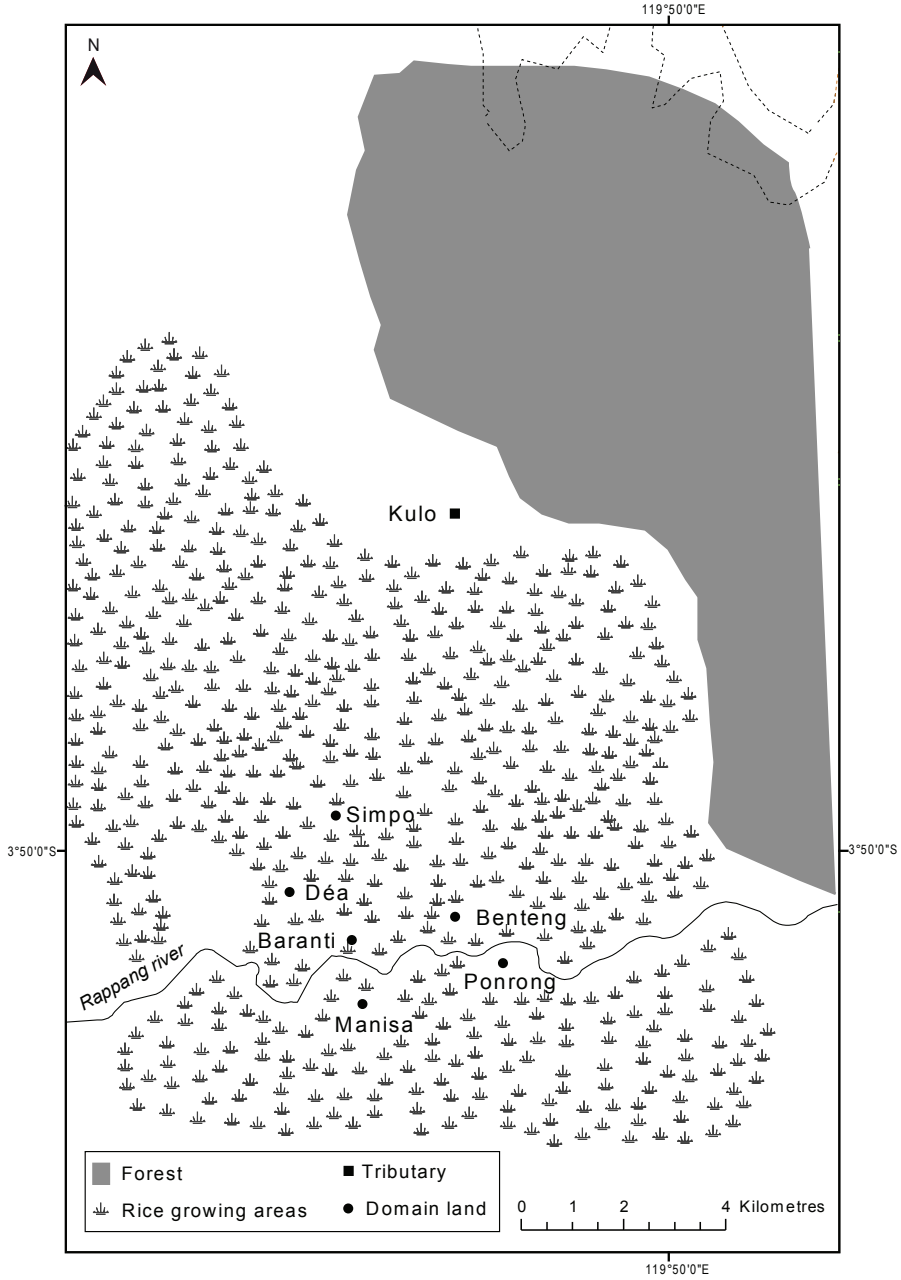


Figure A.6. The lands of the Rappang tributary and domain list

APPENDIX B

Archaeological survey data

Tables B.1 to B.16 set out all 16,368 ceramic sherds recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys by site. Undated Chinese stoneware martavan sherds marked as '?' in these tables are omitted from all following figures and tables. Figures B.1 to B.4 are histograms with accompanying period count tables that show the distribution of recorded ceramic sherds from the Ajattappareng surveys at each site by century or half-century intervals. Following Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000), I have aggregated total counts by 100-year intervals between the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and by half-century intervals between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These figures show increases, or decreases, in ceramics at a particular site in a given period. Figure B.5 is a line chart and table that presents the total datable ceramic sherds (11,052) recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys by century or half century intervals. The figure provides a graphic illustration of the constantly increasing quantity of ceramics imported into the Ajattappareng region, beginning in the thirteenth century and peaking in the mid-sixteenth century.

Figures B.6 to B.12 are standardized chronological histograms with tables, based on the methods described by Bulbeck (1992:608-10). These histograms track the relative increases and decreases over time in the quantity of ceramics that reached a site or group of sites in a given period. For any period, the numerator is the number of sherds found at the site, or group of sites, and the denominator is the number of sherds found at all surveyed sites or a particular group of sites. Figures B.6 to B.9 show the percentages of ceramics that reached each individual surveyed site from the thirteenth through to the nineteenth century. In figure B.10, Suppaq, Alitta, Sidénréng and Sawitto are considered as single blocs. Figure B.11 focuses on the eight surveyed sites in Suppaq, the denominator being the total number of sherds recorded in each period from the eight sites. Figure B.12 performs the same exercise for the five sites surveyed in Sidénréng.

Given the limited survey data for Sawitto, and that Alitta existed as a single settlement, the main point of comparison in figure B.10 is between Suppaq and Sidénréng. The figure provides a clear demonstration of Suppaq's early

importance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when it received 88% and 66% respectively of all ceramics recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys, in comparison to Sidénréng's 10% and 24% for the same periods. The figure further shows that from the thirteenth century Suppaq continually retained a declining percentage of ceramics as a greater proportion were passed to inland rice producing kingdoms, primarily Sidénréng. As figure B.10 illustrates, Sidénréng's growth, based on wet-rice agriculture, was a long-term process that began in the thirteenth century and peaked in the sixteenth century when it replaced Suppaq as the major economic power in Ajattappareng.

Several factors should be considered when viewing the ceramic data. The first of these is the widely differing survey conditions for each site, which were discussed in chapter V and are to some extent evident on the site maps in figures B.13 to B.26. For example, at BÉlokka and Bulubangi survey conditions were excellent, at Gucié they were good, at Watang Sidénréng and Suppaq's pre-Islamic palace centre they were poor, and at Sumpang Saddang conditions were atrocious.

Secondly, the limited data from Sawitto should not be interpreted as meaning that the region was poor in ceramics. Data from looters indicates that the Sawitto region was particularly rich in ceramics and this would have been evident had the survey team been permitted to survey Tomaruli and Bulu. One rice farmer who carried out looting in the Sawitto domain land of Padakalawa in the 1970s described how his haul of ceramics enabled him to buy fifteen cows, a house, pay a bride-price and get married. He reports that a friend had equally profitable ceramic finds from Padakalawa.

Finally, it should be noted that the sharp reduction in ceramic counts at most sites during the seventeenth century should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence of economic decline in the region. Rather, it more reflects the aims of the research in locating pre-1600 archaeological sites. Sites where ceramics found dated from the seventeenth century onwards were not surveyed. Furthermore, the reduction in seventeenth century ceramic counts may reflect a decreasing demand for them following conversion to Islam and people ceased to inter ceramic grave goods with the dead.

Table B.1. Ceramic sherds recorded at Suppaq pre-Islamic palace centre

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Total
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Yuan brownware	13th-14th	-	-	-	-	10	-	10
Yuan B & W*	14th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Dehua whiteware	14th	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Ming celadon	15th	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Vietnam B & W	15th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sawankh. celadon**	15th-16th	3	5	-	-	-	-	8
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	42	-	42
Ming B & W	15th-16th	36	-	-	-	-	-	36
Ming B & W	16th	55	3	1	12	-	1	72
Ming whiteware	16th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Ming Swatow	16th	12	-	-	4	-	-	16
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	35	-	35
Wanli	1550-1650	8	-	-	4	-	-	12
Swatow	1550-1700	128	-	-	11	-	-	139
Qing	1650-1800	1	-	-	3	-	-	4
Total		255	9	1	35	87	1	388

* B & W stands for 'blue-and-white'.

** Sawankh. Stands for 'Sawankhalok'.

Ming Swatow	16th	19	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	20
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	-	610	-	-	610
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	28
Wanli	1550-1650	9	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	18
Swatow	1550-1700	107	5	2	26	4	-	-	-	144
Qing B & W	1650-1800	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Qing	1650-1800	3	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	14
Total		308	67	89	133	1017	43	1	7	1665

* Blk. & W stands for 'black-and-white'.

** B/B stands for 'brown/black'.

Table B.3. Ceramic sherds recorded at Matanré

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Spoon	Total
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	11	-	-	14	-	-	25
Dehua	14th	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
Qingbai	14th	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Vietnam greyware	15th	5	-	-	3	-	-	8
Ming celadon	15th	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	19	-	-	-	-	-	19
Sawankh. grey	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	17	-	17
Sawankh. grey	16th	-	15	-	-	-	-	15
Sawankh. celadon	16th	99	-	-	17	-	-	116
Ming B & W	16th	39	2	-	6	-	-	47
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	504	-	504
Swatow	1550-1700	44	-	-	8	-	-	52
Qing B & W	1650-1800	6	-	-	1	-	1	8
Qing	1650-1800	24	-	-	10	-	1	35
Qing celadon	18th	-	-	-	17	-	-	17
Japanese	19th	-	-	2	18	-	-	20
European	19th	10	-	-	3	-	-	13
Total		257	20	4	101	521	2	905

Table B.4. Ceramic sherds recorded at Gucié

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Cerek	Jarlet	Total
Dehua whiteware	13th-14th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yuan IBW*	13th-14th	-	-	-	-	-	63	-	-	63
Yuan celadon	14th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
Vietnam B & W	15th	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69
Vietnam greyware	15th	11	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	20
Vietnam	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	218	-	-	-	218
Sawankh. B/B	15th-16th	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sawankh. grey	15th-16th	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	12
Sawankh. Blk. & W	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	70
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	255	-	-	-	255
Sawankhalok	15th-16th	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	30
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming celadon	15th-16th	13	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	22
Sawankhalok	16th	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
Sawankh. brown	16th	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	10
Sawankh. celadon	16th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming B & W	16th	75	-	1	18	-	-	-	-	94
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	534	-	15	-	549
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Swatow	1550-1700	32	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	36
Total		317	29	23	70	1087	63	15	2	1606

* IBW stands for 'incised brownware'.

Table B.5. Ceramic sherds recorded at Béla-bélawá

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Kendi	Total
Yuan brownware	13-14th	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Ming sancai	15th	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Vietnam	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	20	-	20
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	2	-	-	1	-	1	4
Ming B & W	15th-16th	15	-	-	4	-	-	19
Sawankh. grey	16th	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Ming B & W	16th	2	-	6	-	-	-	8
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	15	-	15
Late Ming whiteware	1550-1650	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Wanli	1550-1650	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Swatow	1550-1700	8	-	-	-	-	-	8
Qing B & W	1650-1800	17	-	-	-	-	-	17
Total		50	4	7	5	39	1	106

Table B.6. Ceramic sherds recorded at Indoq Lompa

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Total
Longquan Yuan	13th-14th	2	–	–	–	–	2
Dehua	14th	–	2	–	–	–	2
Ming celadon	15th	4	–	–	–	–	4
Vietnam greyware	15th	5	–	–	6	–	11
Vietnam	15th-16th	–	–	–	–	13	13
Sawankh. grey	15th-16th	–	–	3	2	–	5
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	13	–	–	1	–	14
Chinese stoneware	?	–	–	–	–	58	58
Ming Swatow	16th	4	–	–	–	–	4
Wanli	1550-1650	1	–	–	–	–	1
Swatow	1550-1700	2	–	–	–	–	2
Total		31	2	3	9	71	116

Table B.7. Ceramic sherds recorded at Tonrong Peppingé

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Bowl	Martavan	Total
Dehua	14th	–	2	–	–	2
Ming celadon	15th	–	–	2	–	2
Sawankh. B/B	15th-16th	–	–	–	5	5
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	–	–	2	–	2
Vietnam	15th-16th	–	–	–	21	21
Sawankh. celadon	16th	2	–	–	–	2
Chinese stoneware	?	–	–	–	414	414
Wanli	1550-1650	1	–	–	–	1
Total		3	2	4	440	449

Table B.8. Ceramic sherds recorded at Majennang

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Bowl	Martavan	Spoon	Total
Vietnam	15th	–	1	–	–	–	1
Sawankh. black.	15th-16th	–	–	–	2	–	2
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	–	–	1	–	–	1
Ming B & W	16th 7	–	5	–	–	12	
Wanli	1550-1650	18	–	–	–	–	18
Swatow	1550-1700	6	–	3	–	–	9
Qing B & W	1650-1800	18	–	45	–	3	66
Qing celadon	18th	–	–	1	–	–	1
European	19th	6	–	9	–	–	15
Total		55	1	64	2	3	125

Table B.9. Ceramic sherds recorded at Alitita

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Jar	Balubu	Bird figure	Total
Dehua whiteware	13th-14th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yuan celadon	14th	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Dehua	14th	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming celadon	14th-15th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ming celadon	15th	14	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	18
Ming sancai	15th	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	11
Vietnam B & W	15th	14	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Vietnam greyware	15th	3	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	13
Ming sancai	15th-16th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ming blueware	15th-16th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	64
Sawankh. grey	15th-16th	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11
Sawankh. Blk & W	15th-16th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	22	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	27
Sawankh. grey	16th	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	61
Sawankh. Blk & W	16th	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sawankh. celadon	16th	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	14
Sawankh. brown	16th	-	-	-	-	517	-	-	-	517
Sawankhalok	16th	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Ming B & W	16th	175	2	12	13	-	-	19	1	222
Ming whiteware	16th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming Swatow	16th	19	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	24
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	367	-	-	-	367
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	140	1	2	15	-	-	-	-	158
Wanli	1550-1650	11	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	20
Wanli whiteware	1550-1650	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
Swatow	1550-1700	105	2	-	9	-	-	-	-	116

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Jar	Balubu	Bird figure	Total
Qing B & W	1650-1800	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	33
Qing	1650-1800	42	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	57
Qing celadon	18th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Qing grey	18th-19th	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6
Qing celadon	19th	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Japanese	19th	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5
European	19th	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	11
Total		575	82	16	151	965	3	19	1	1812

Table B.10. Ceramic sherds recorded at Watang Sidénréng

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Cerek	Total
Yuan brownware	13th-14th	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
Qingbai	14th	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
Jizhou	14th-15th	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Ming celadon	14th-15th	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Ming celadon	15th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Vietnam	15th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Vietnam B & W	15th	4	17	-	2	5	-	28
Vietnam brownware	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	117	-	117
Sawankh. black.	15th-16th	-	-	3	-	98	-	101
Sawankh. grey	15th-16th	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	63	-	3	1	-	-	67
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	-	-	-	6	-	-	6
Sawankh. Blk & W	16th	-	11	-	-	-	-	11
Ming blueware	16th	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ming B & W	16th	45	1	5	66	-	-	117
Ming whiteware	16th	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	464	-	464
Swatow	1550-1700	6	-	-	10	-	-	16
Qing B & W	1650-1800	3	-	2	22	-	-	27
Japanese	19th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total		129	29	15	113	696	1	983

Table B.11. Ceramic sherds recorded at Posiq Tana Sidénréng

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Bottle	Balubu	Spoon	Total
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sawankh. grey	16th	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Ming B & W	16th	12	-	1	9	-	-	2	-	24
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Wanli	1550-1650	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Swatow	1550-1700	20	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	26
Qing	1650-1800	26	-	-	11	-	-	-	1	38
Japanese	19th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
European	19th	10	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	17
Total		79	4	1	32	6	2	2	1	127

Table B.12. Ceramic sherds recorded at Bulubangi

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Spoon	Total
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Yuan Dehua	14th	-	3	2	2	-	-	7
Ming celadon	15th	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam B&W	15th	14	5	2	-	-	-	21
Vietnam greyware	15th	-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Vietnam	15th	1	6	-	-	-	-	7
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	181	3	-	-	-	-	184
Sawankh. Blk. & W	15th-16th	-	-	8	-	-	-	8
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
Sawankh. Blk. & W	16th	-	132	-	-	-	-	132
Sawankh. celadon	16th	24	-	8	3	-	-	35
Sawankhalok	16th	-	-	-	-	254	-	254
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	677	-	677
Ming B&W	16th	465	15	18	103	1	-	602
Ming whiteware	16th	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ming Swatow	16th	119	-	-	3	-	-	122
Late Ming B&W	1550-1650	48	-	-	49	-	-	97
Late Ming white	1550-1650	-	-	-	-	12	-	12
Wanli	1550-1650	27	-	-	14	-	-	41
Swatow	1550-1700	603	4	4	78	-	-	689
Qing B&W	1650-1800	766	18	22	121	-	7	934
Qing greyware	1650-1800	8	-	11	-	-	-	19
Qing B&W	18th	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Qing B&W	18th-19th	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Qing celadon	18th-19th	29	-	1	9	-	-	39
Japanese	19th	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
European	19th	203	-	-	77	-	-	280
Total		2496	190	76	474	944	7	4187

Table B.13. Ceramic sherds recorded at Wéngeng

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Total
Dehua	14th	–	1	–	–	–	1
Jizhou	14th-15th	–	–	–	–	1	1
Vietnam B & W	15th	–	2	–	1	–	3
Vietnam	15th	1	–	–	–	–	1
Vietnam celadon	15th	–	–	–	1	–	1
Ming sancai	15th	1	–	–	–	–	1
Ming celadon	15th	1	–	–	–	–	1
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	16	–	–	–	–	16
Sawankhalok	15th-16th	–	–	–	–	7	7
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	–	–	–	1	–	1
Sawankh. grey	16th	–	2	–	–	–	2
Sawankhalok	16th	–	9	–	–	–	9
Ming B & W	16th	36	6	1	13	–	56
Chinese stoneware	?	–	–	–	–	33	33
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	11	–	–	2	–	13
Wanli	1550-1650	3	–	–	–	–	3
Swatow	1550-1700	90	3	–	19	–	112
Chinese stoneware	17th-18th	–	–	–	1	–	1
Qing	1650-1800	29	–	1	31	–	61
Total		188	23	2	69	41	323

Table B.14. Ceramic sherds recorded at Bélokka

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Jarlet	Total
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Yuan brownware	14th	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Dehua Yuan	14th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Jizhou	14th-15th	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	17
Vietnam B & W	15th	17	14	1	-	-	-	-	32
Vietnam celadon	15th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Vietnam greyware	15th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Ming celadon	15th	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
Sawankh. B/B	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	123	-	-	123
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	66	-	-	66
Sawankh. Incised	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	149	1	1	1	-	-	1	153
Sawankh. Blk. & W	15th-16th	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	5
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	7
Vietnam	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	68	-	-	68
Sawankh. grey	16th	-	49	-	-	-	-	-	49
Sawankh. Blk & W	16th	-	111	-	-	-	-	-	111
Sawankh. Incised	16th	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sawankh. brown	16th	-	-	3	-	210	-	-	213
Sawankh. black	16th	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	53
Sawankh. celadon	16th	21	-	6	-	-	-	1	28
Ming B & W	16th	249	24	2	100	-	1	1	377
Ming whiteware	16th	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	6
Ming Swatow	16th	54	-	-	6	-	-	-	60
Vietnam brownware	16th	-	-	-	-	56	-	-	56
Vietnam stoneware	16th	-	-	-	-	41	-	-	41
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	1542	-	-	1542
Wanli B & W	1550-1650	10	1	-	14	-	-	-	25

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Jarlet	Total
Wanli	1550-1650	3	-	4	18	-	-	-	25
Wanli whiteware	1550-1650	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Swatow	1550-1700	51	-	-	8	-	-	-	59
Transitional B & W	17th	19	-	-	10	-	-	-	29
Transitional	17th	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Qing <i>famille rose</i>	17th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Qing B & W	1650-1800	16	-	-	15	-	-	-	31
Qing greyware	1650-1800	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
Qing BM*	1650-1800	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Qing celadon	19th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
European	19th	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Total		610	211	17	201	2179	2	5	3225

* BM stands for 'brown monochrome'.

Table B.15. Ceramic sherds recorded at Loloang

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Basin	Foot	Total
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dehua Yuan	14th	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	4
Yuan Incense burner	14th	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ming celadon	15th	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam B & W	15th	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	7
Vietnam greyware	15th	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	11
Vietnam brownware	15th	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	11
Ming celadon	15th-16th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sawankh. Blk.	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	7
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	8
Sawankhalok	15th-16th	-	-	-	10	5	-	-	15
Sukothai Blk. & W	15th-16th	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
Sawankhalok	16th	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Ming B & W	16th	43	-	2	4	-	-	-	49
Ming Swatow	16th	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	41	1	-	42
Wanli	1550-1650	7	-	-	3	-	-	-	10
Swatow	1550-1700	48	-	-	14	-	-	-	62
Qing B & W	1650-1800	-	-	2	29	-	-	-	31
Qing	1650-1800	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Total		139	7	4	81	64	1	1	297

Table B.16. Ceramic sherds recorded at Sumpang Saddang

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Bowl	Martavan	Basin	Total
Sawankh. black	15th-16th	–	–	7	–	7
Ming B & W	16th	3	4	–	–	7
Chinese Stoneware	?	–	–	–	12	12
Qing B & W	1650-1800	2	5	–	–	7
Japanese	19th	–	2	–	–	2
European	19th	19	–	–	–	19
Total		24	11	7	12	54

Histogram of the distribution of classified ceramic sherds and period counts

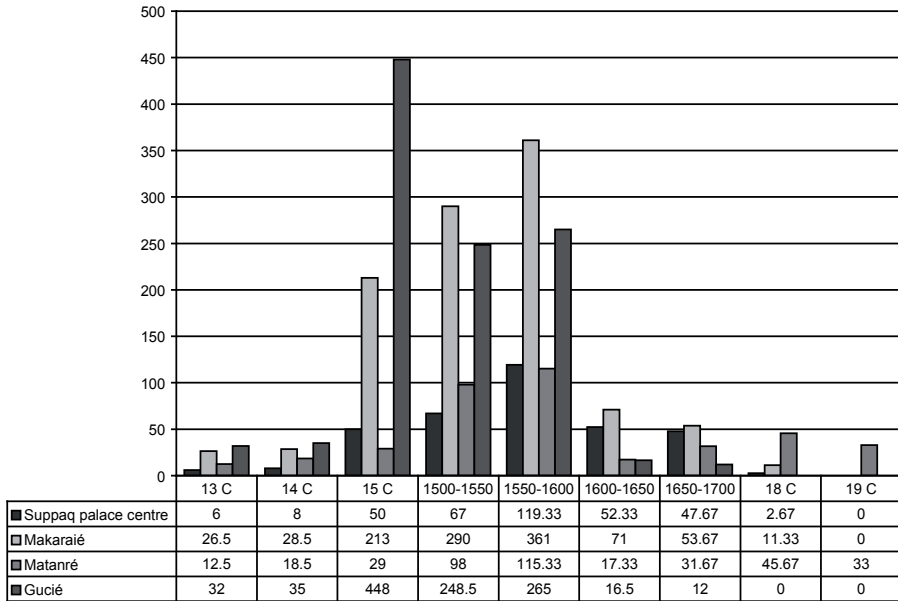


Figure B.1. Suppaq palace center, Makaraié, Matanré and Gucié

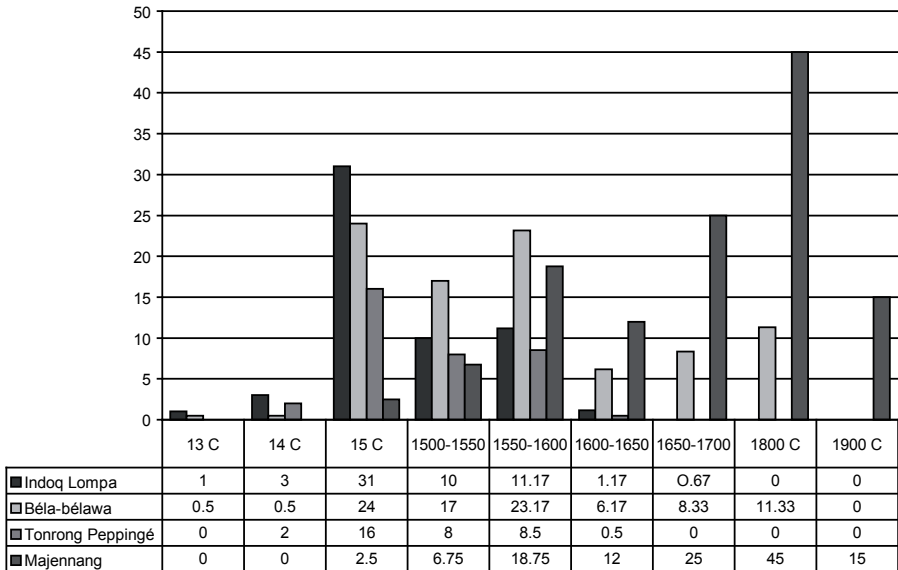


Figure B.2. Indoq Lompa, Béla-bélawa, Tonrong Peppingé and Majennang

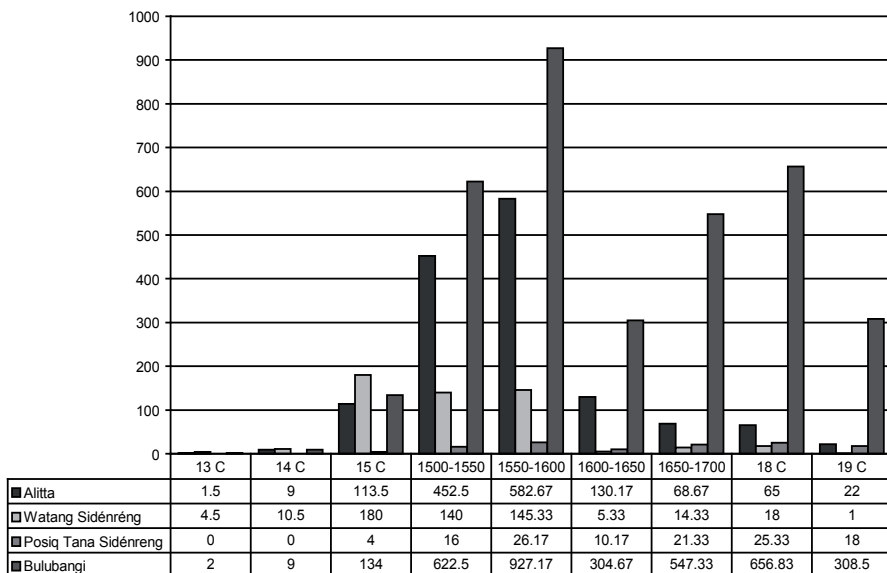


Figure B.3. Alitta, Watang Sidénréng, Posiq Tana Sidénréng and Bulubangi

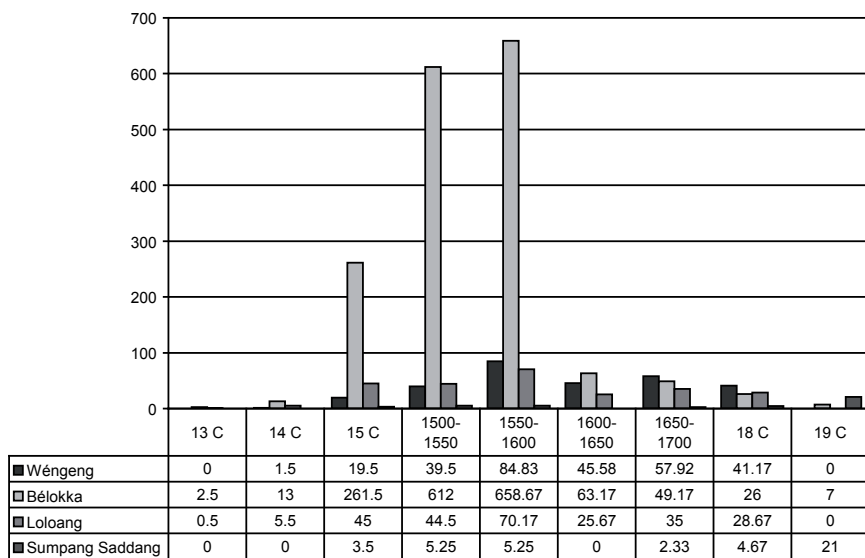


Figure B.4. Wéngeng, Bélokka, Loloang and Sumpang Saddang

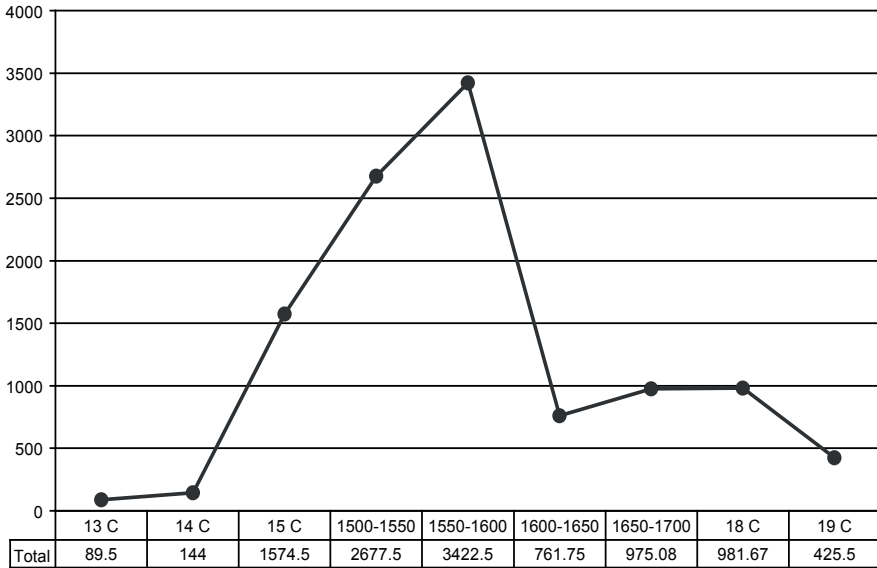
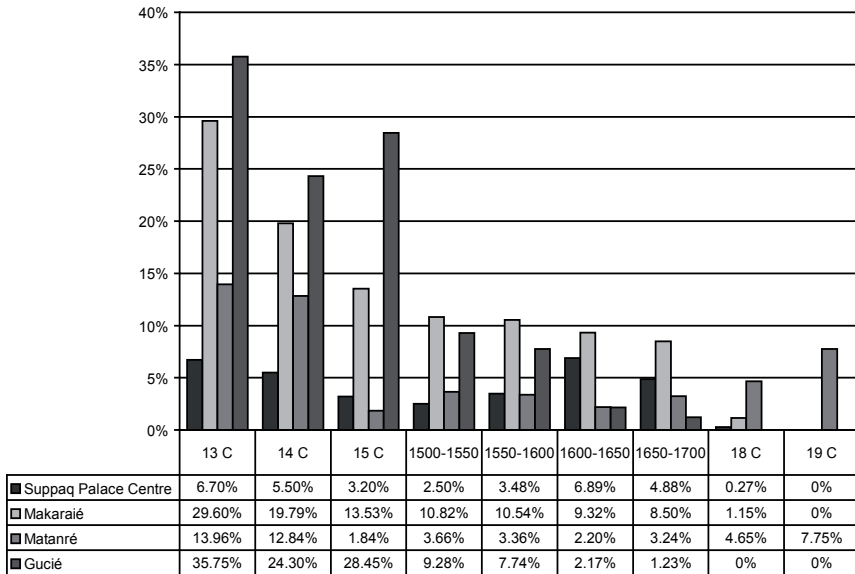


Figure B.5. Total classified ceramic sherds recorded in Ajattappareng by century and half-century intervals

Standardized chronological histograms showing percentages of ceramic sherds recorded at each site by century and half-century intervals



B.6. Suppaq palace centre, Makaraié, Matanré and Gucié

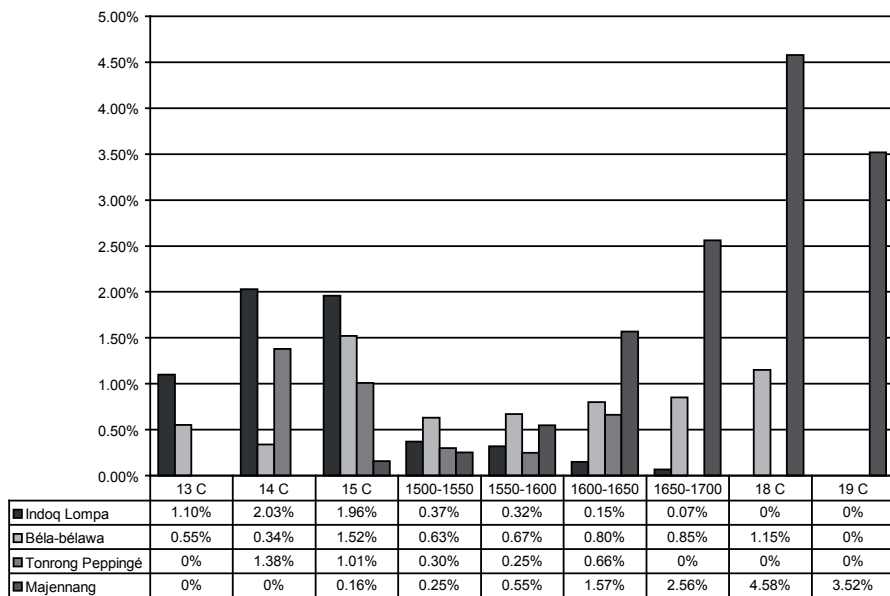


Figure B.7. Indoq Lompa, Béla-bélawa, Tonrong Peppingé and Majennang

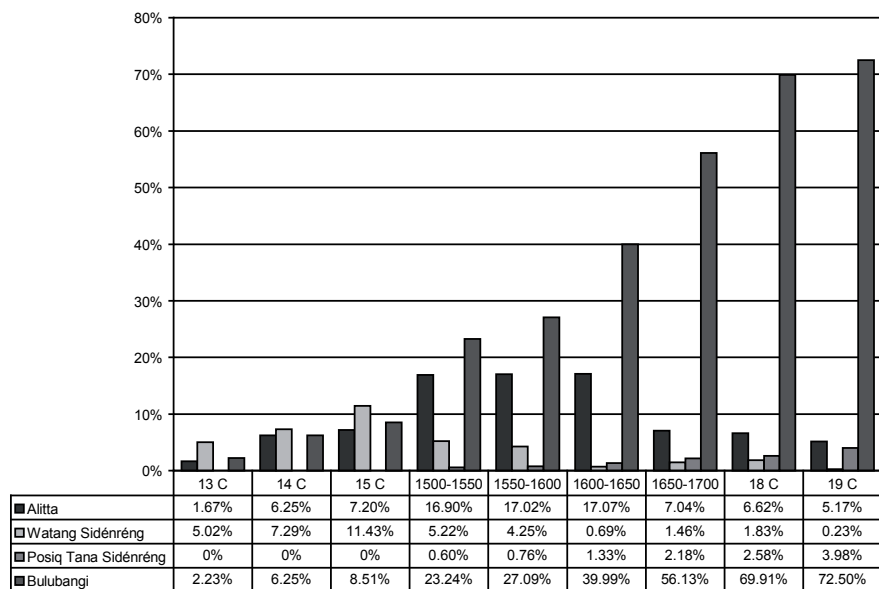


Figure B.8. Alitta, Watang Sidénréng, Posiq Tana Sidénréng and Bulubangi

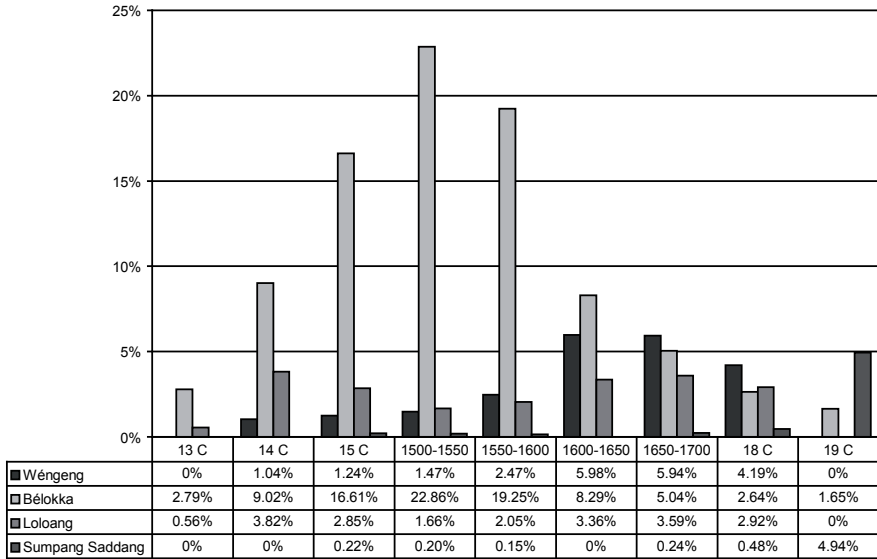


Figure B.9. Wéngeng, Bélokka, Loloang and Sumpang Saddang

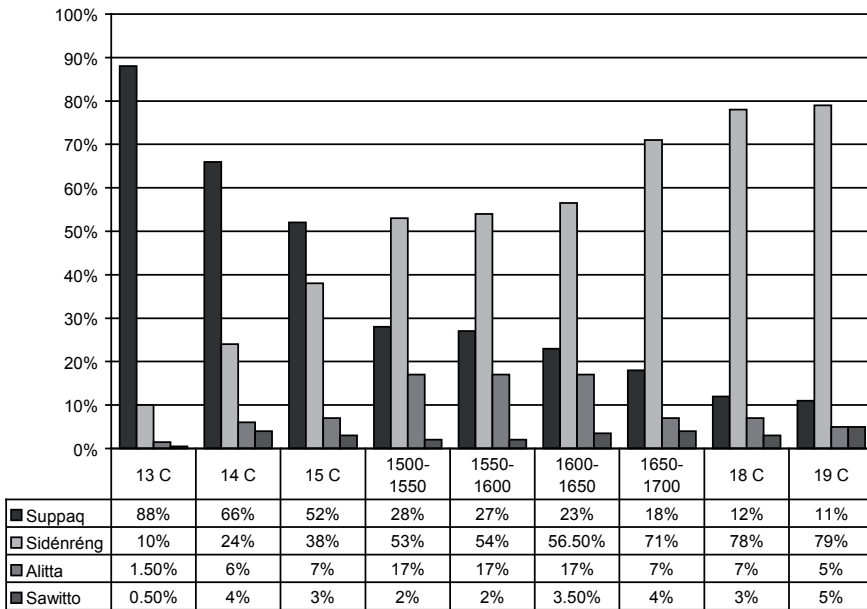


Figure B.10. Standardized chronological histogram showing percentages of total classified ceramic sherds recorded at Suppaq, Alitta, Sidénréng and Sawitto

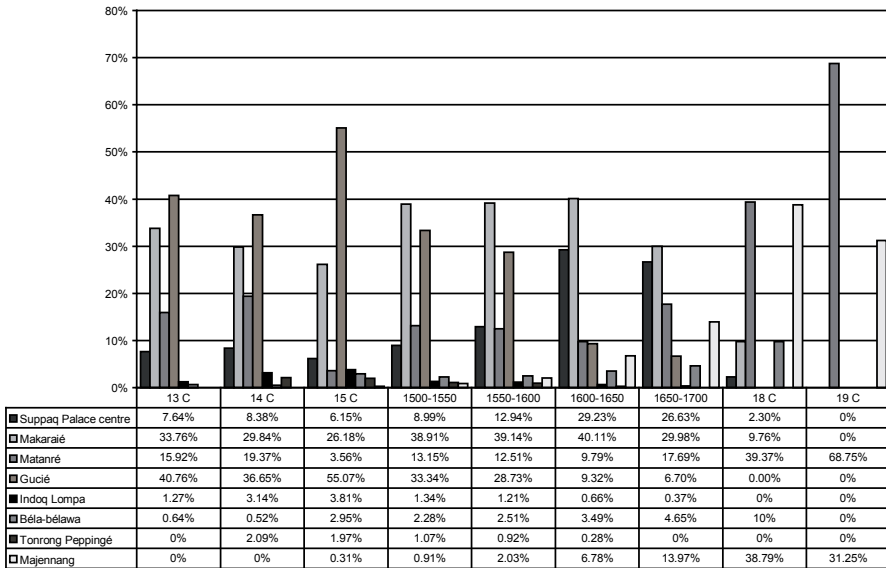


Figure B.11. Standardized chronological histogram showing percentages of classified ceramic sherds recorded at surveyed sites in Suppaq

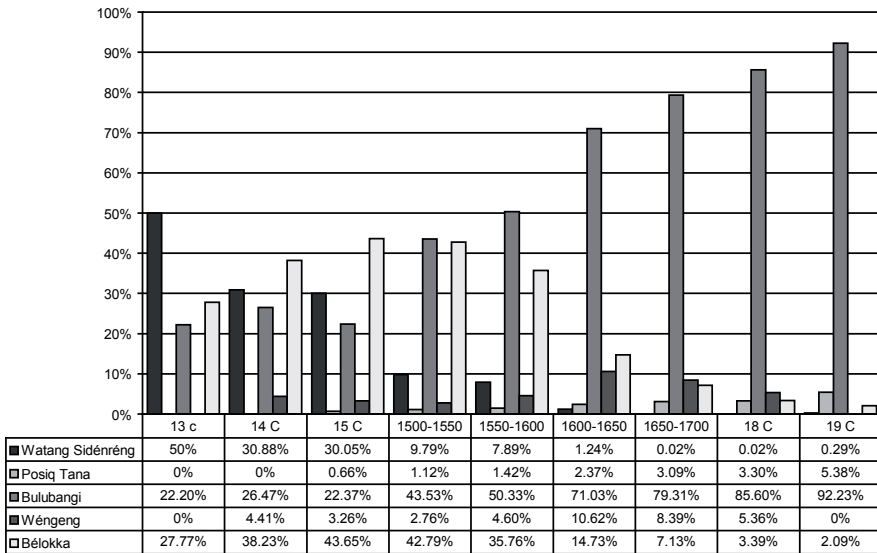


Figure B.12. Standardized chronological histogram showing percentages of classified ceramic sherds recorded at surveyed sites in Sidénréng

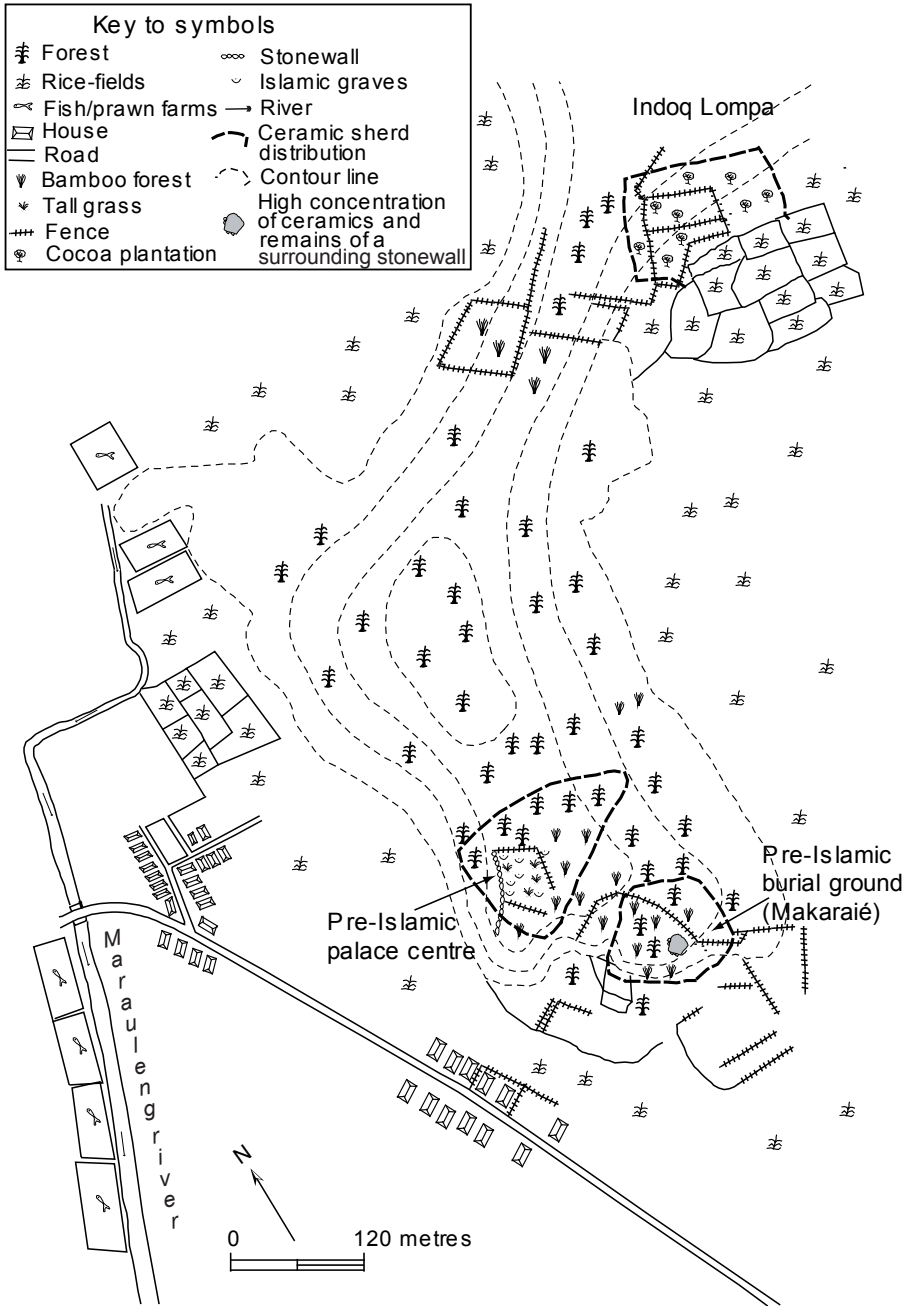


Figure B.13. Suppaq palace centre, Makaraié and Indoq Lompa site map

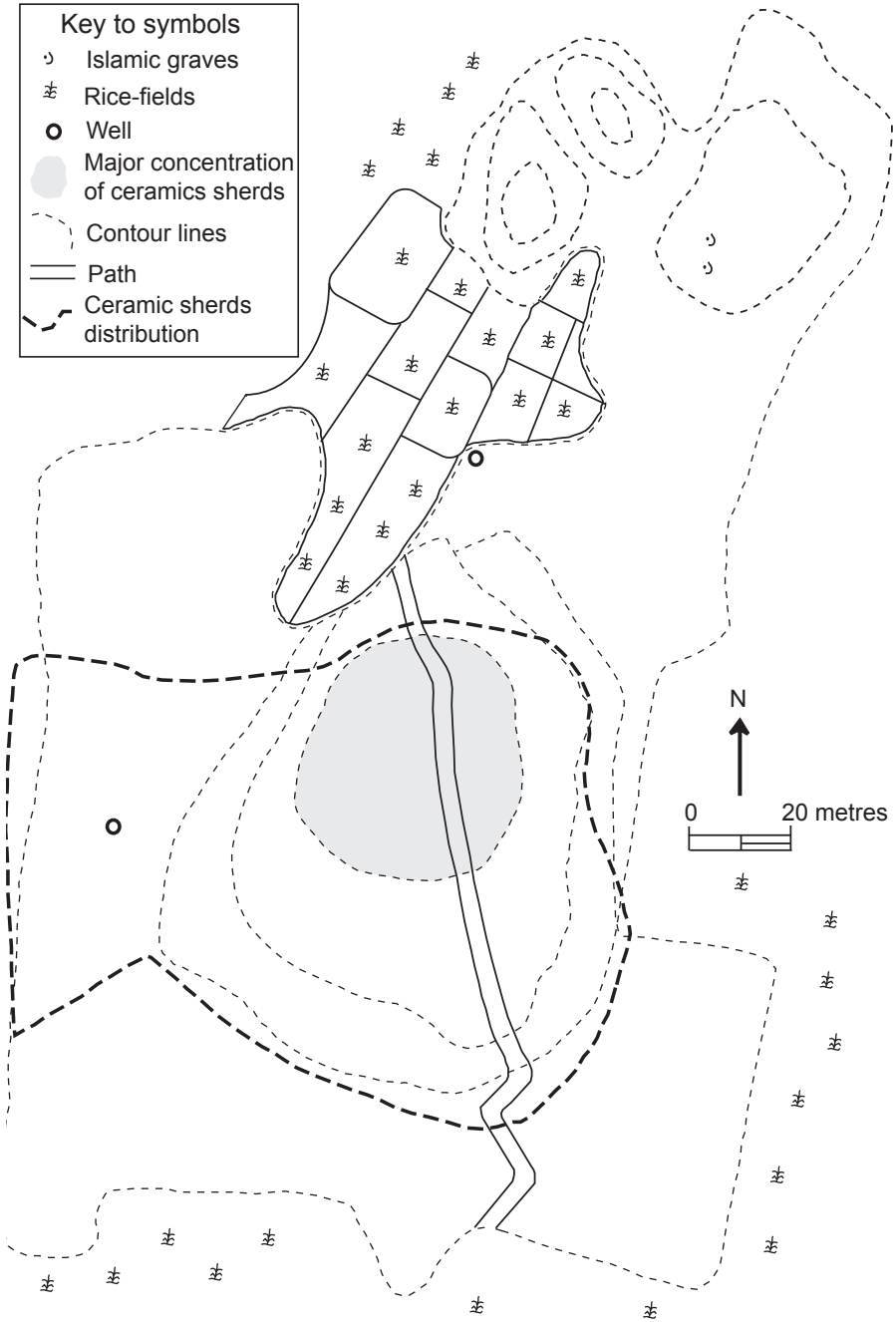


Figure B.14. Matanré site map

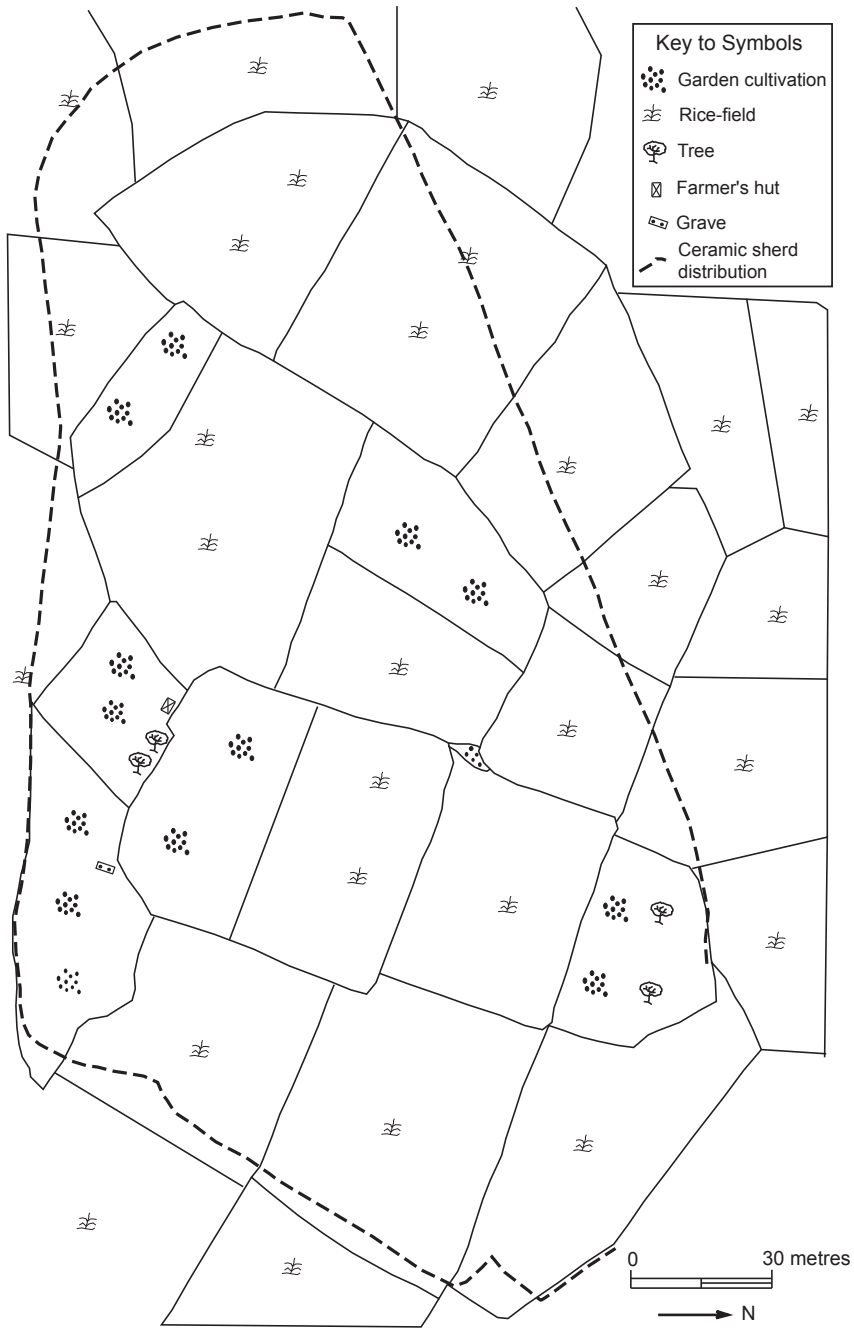


Figure B.15. Béla-bélawa site map

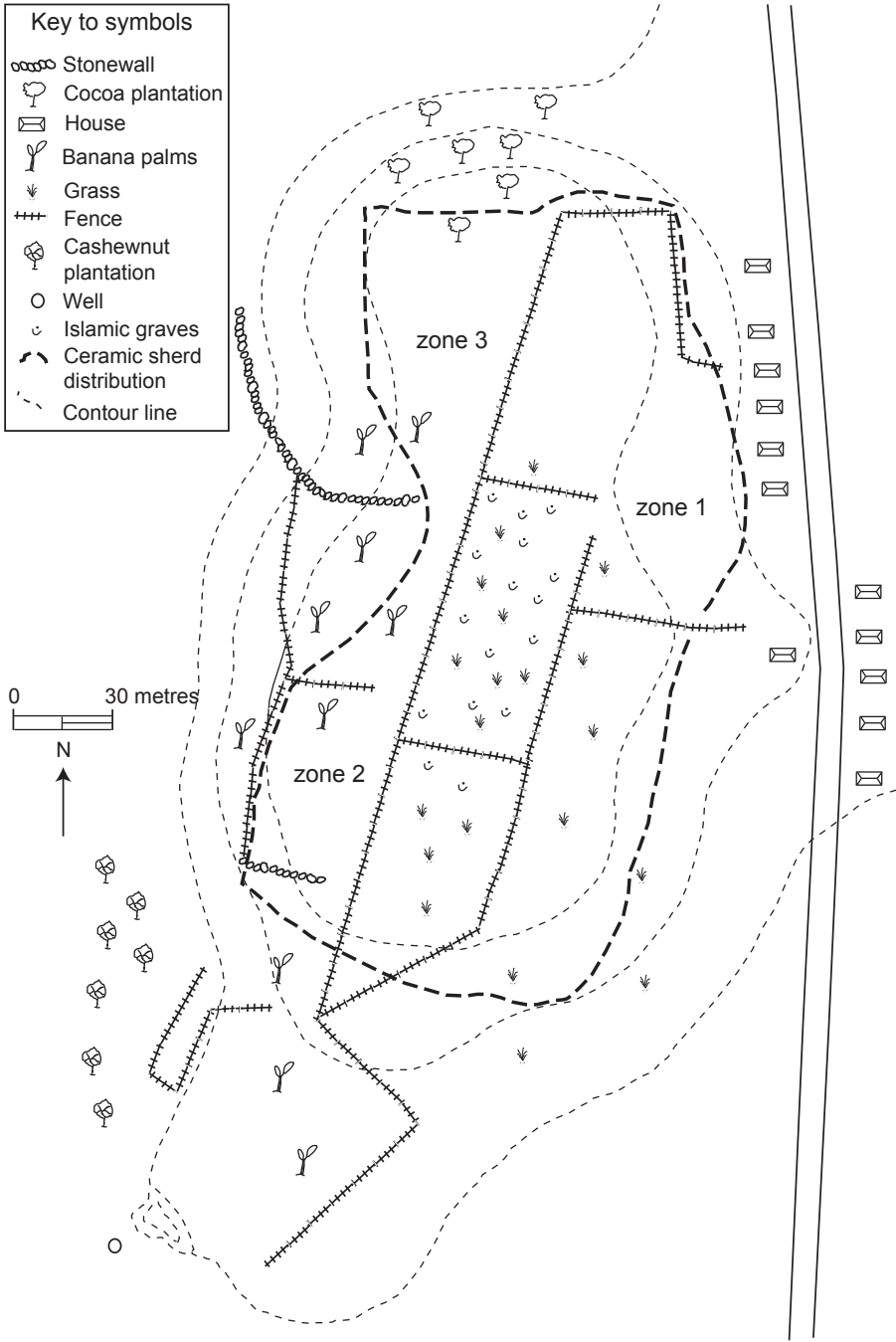


Figure B.16. Gucié site map

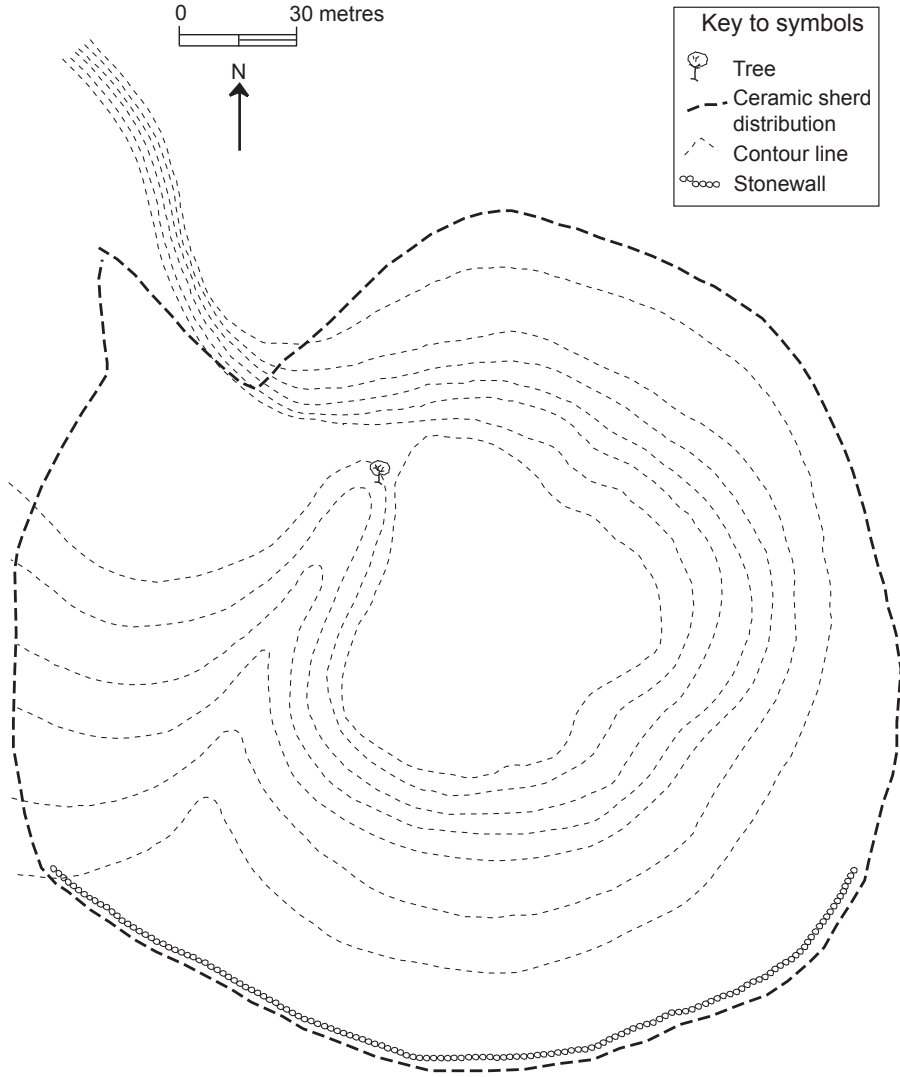


Figure B.17. Tonrong Peppingé site map

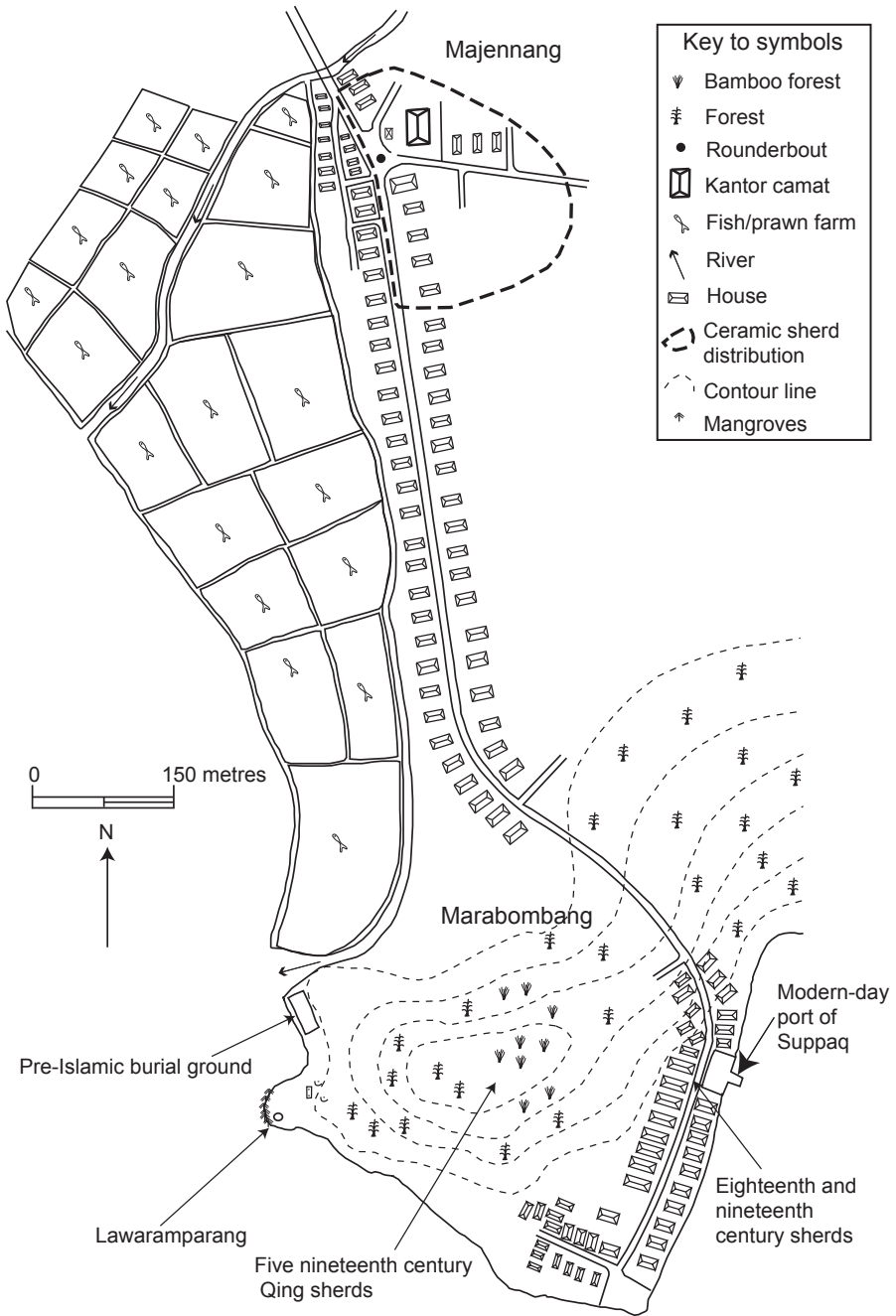


Figure B.18. Majennang, Marabombang and Lawaramparang site map

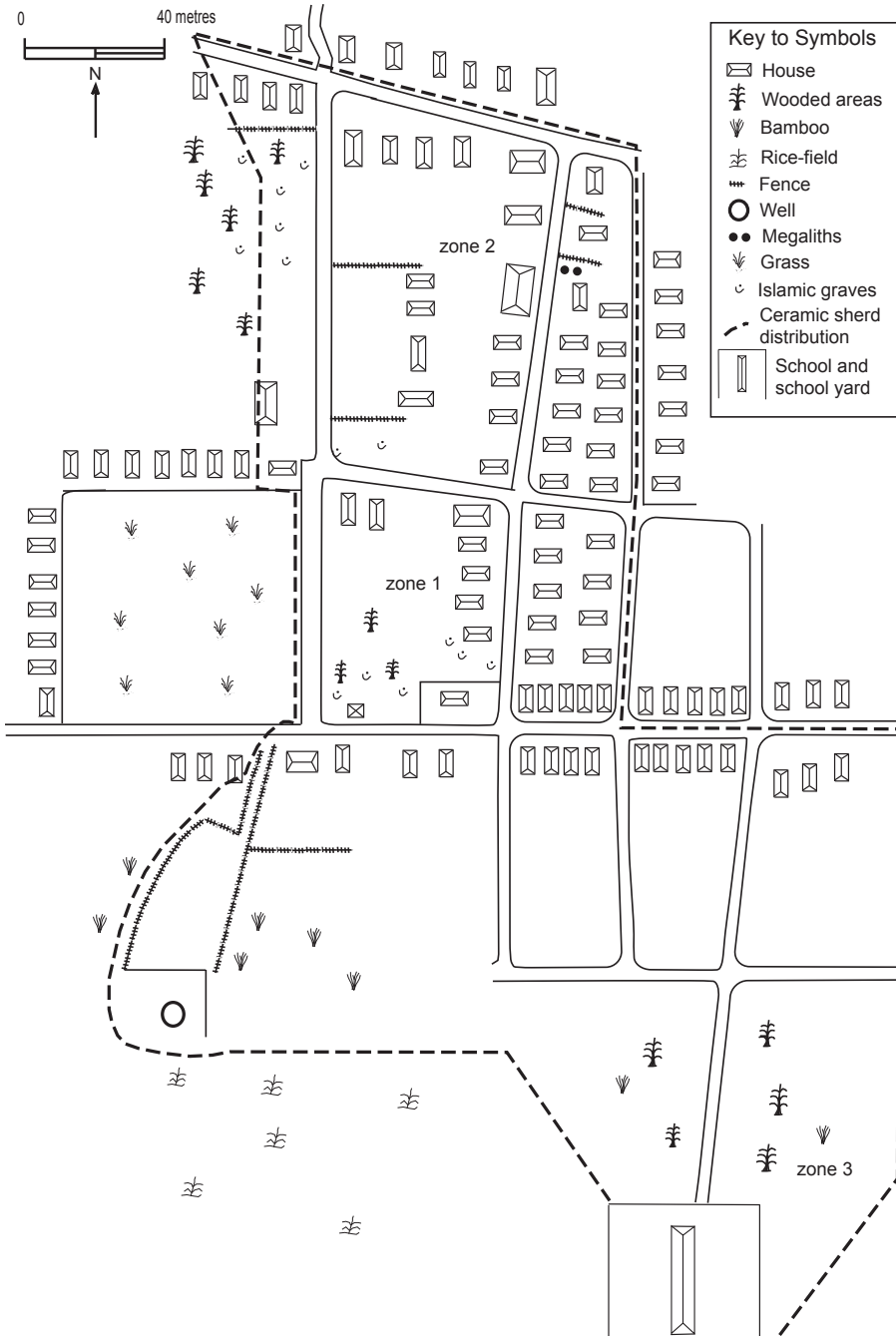


Figure B.19. Alitta site map

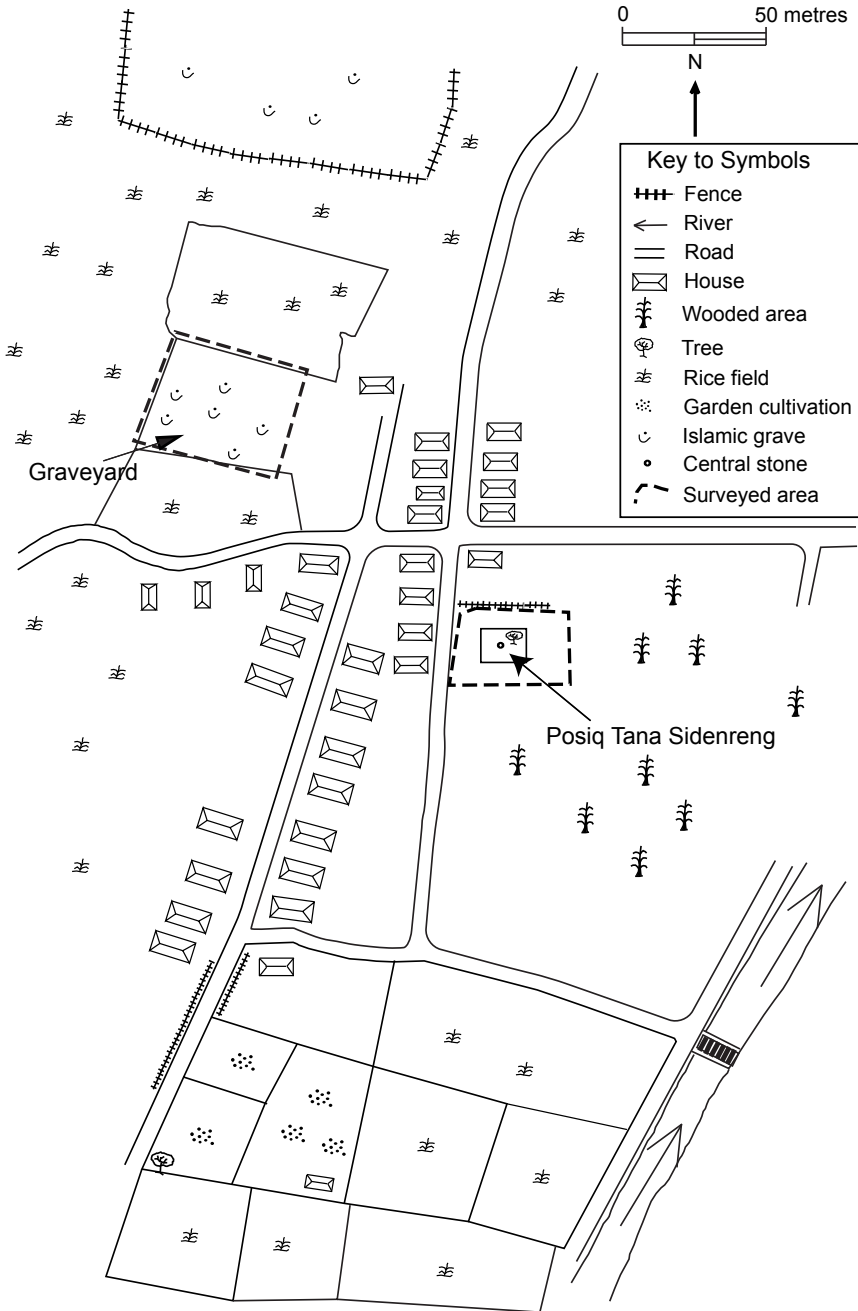


Figure B.20. Watang Sidénréng and Posiq Tana Sidénréng site map

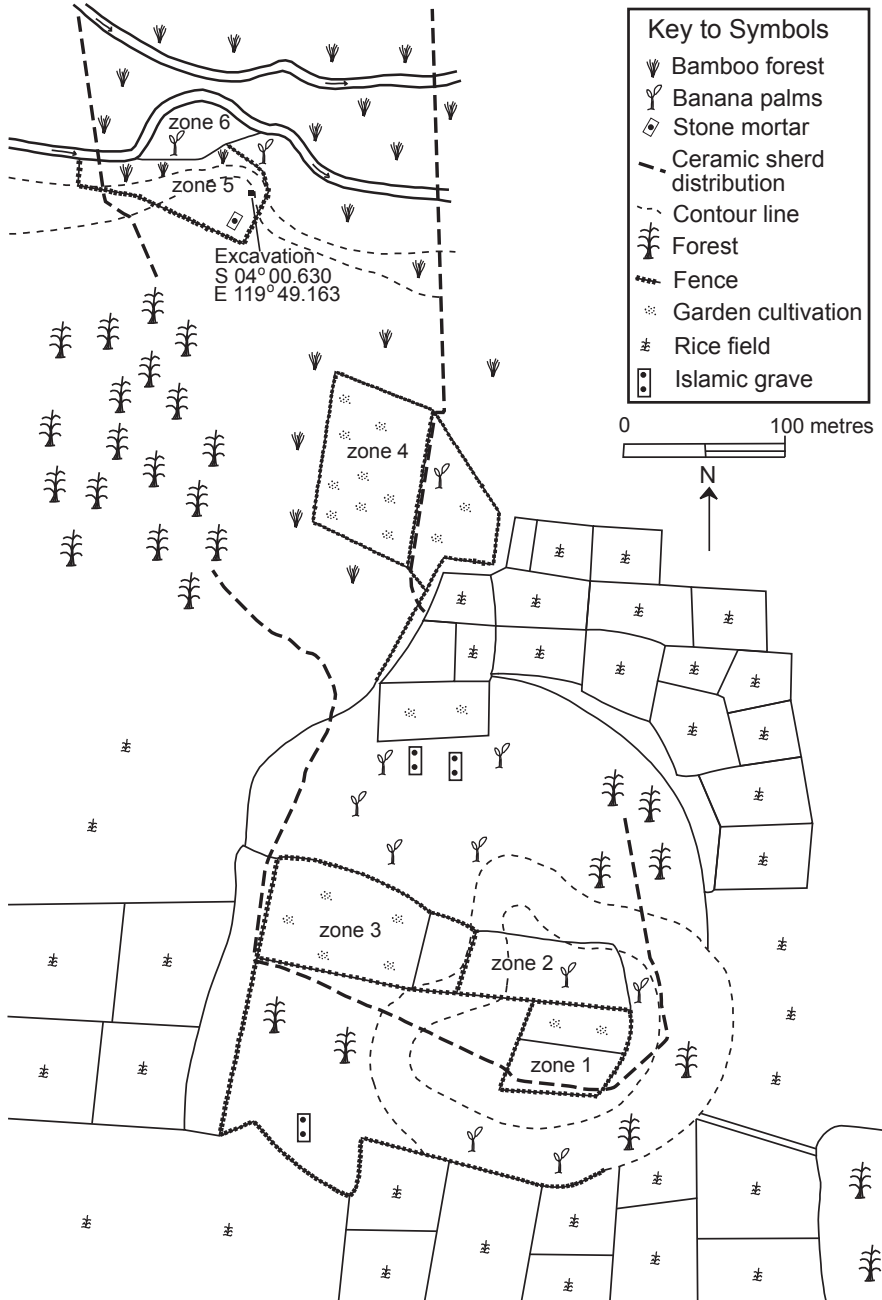


Figure B.21. Bulubangi site map

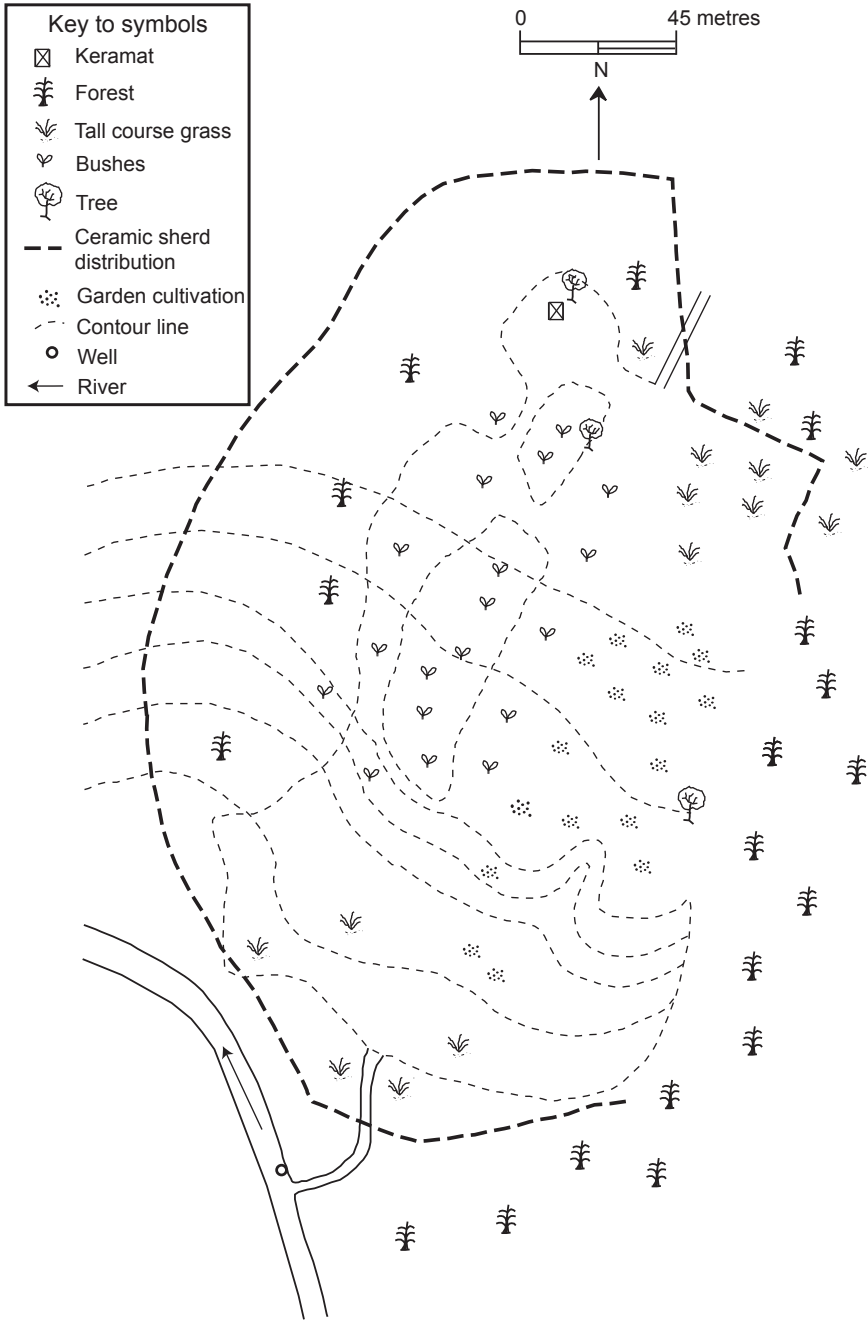


Figure B.22. Wéngeng site map

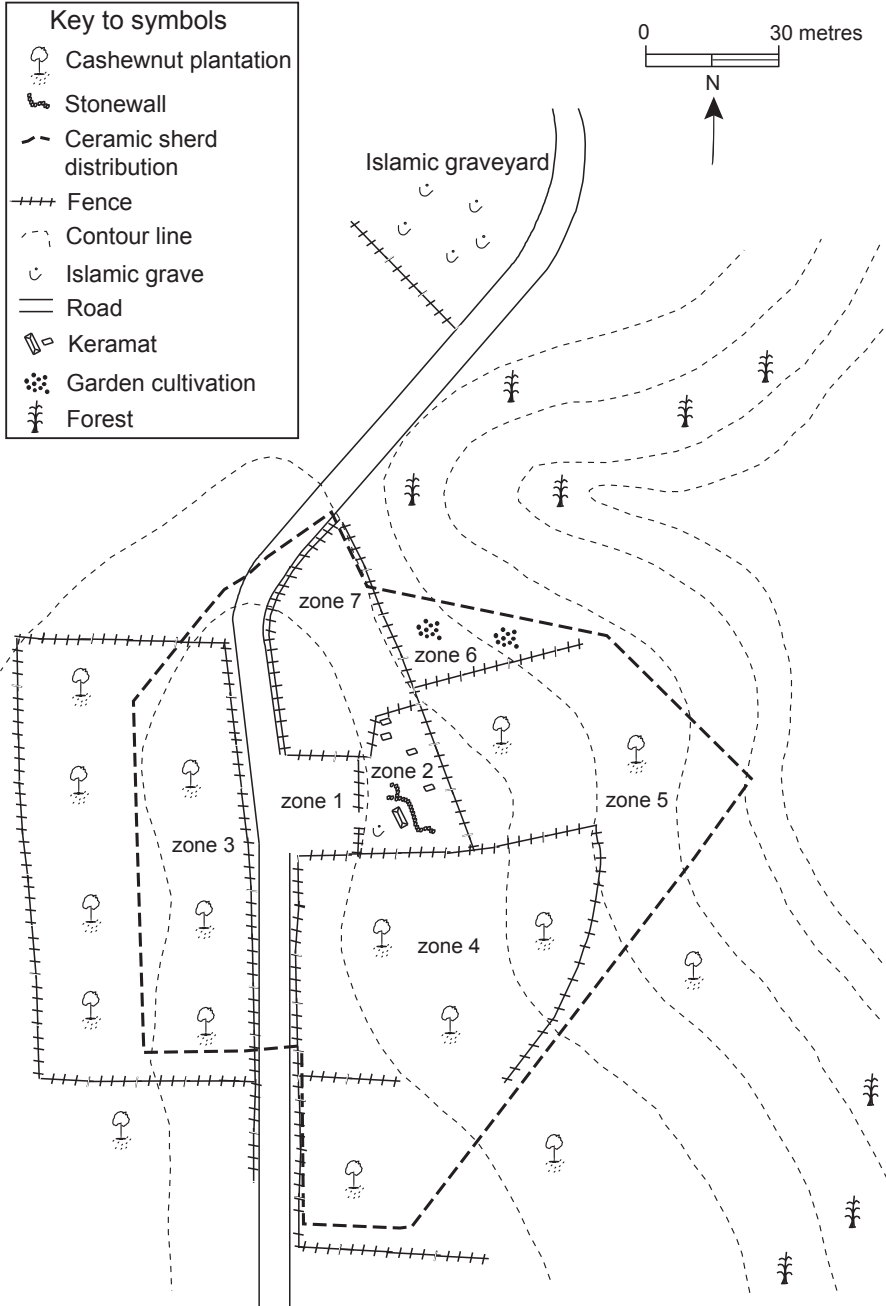


Figure B.23. Békloka site map



Figure B.24. Loloang site map



Figure B.25. Sumpang Saddang site map

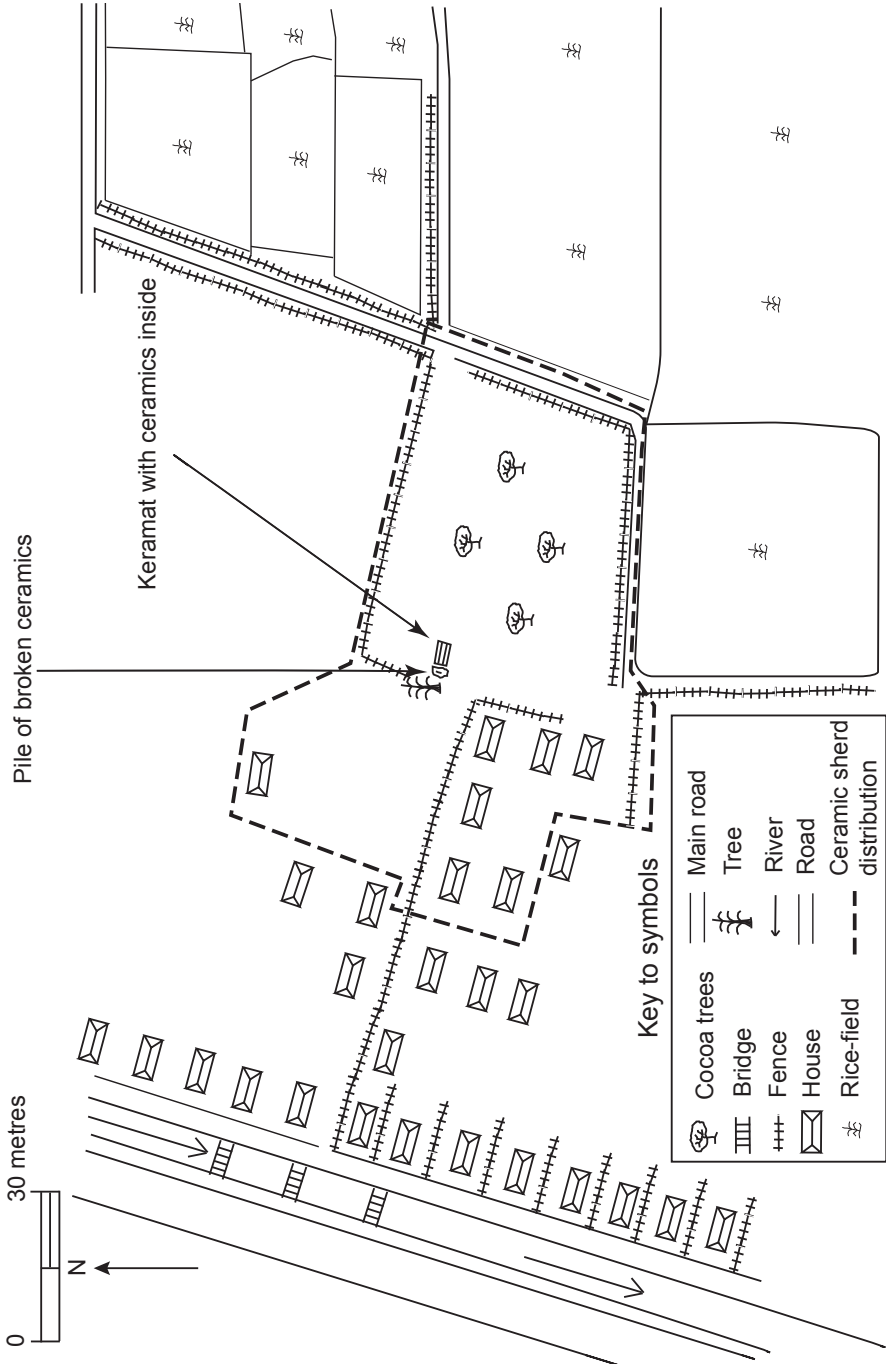


Figure B.26. Bulu site map



Photograph 21. Vietnamese sherds found in the Gució survey



Photograph 22. Ming Sancai sherds found in the Alitta survey



Photograph 23. Yuan martavan sherds found in the Watang Sidénréng survey



Photograph 24. Dehua sherds found in the Watang Sidénréng survey



Photograph 25. Jizhou sherds found in the Bélokka survey



Photograph 26. The survey team at Makaraié



Photograph 27. Tonrong Peppingé



Photograph 28. Loloang



Photograph 29. Wéngeng

APPENDIX C

Transliterations and translations of *lontaraq* texts

Transliterations in Appendix C follow each text's own division into 'sections'. Manuscript page-breaks are marked in the text.

La Botilangiq tradition

Transliteration

Ianaé / sureq / powadaéngngi / puwattaq / La Botillangi / magellinna / nalao ri Marioriwawo / nawawa / essé babuwa / rimusuna / ri padaworowanéna/ na eppa datui siaqdessureng / pada matti maneng rojongeng / kaliawo / pada maqbado[m]pulaweng maneng / alamenna / naléppang / maqbawiné / ri Balusu / siala arung Balusu / najajiang nganaq / siqdi worowané/ riaseng / Sappaé Walié / nainappana / llao ri Mario / mmo[n]ro maqbawiné / siala arung Mario / najajianni / We Tappatana / (ANRIM 50/10, p. 53).

The Attoriolong Suppaq and Sawitto

Transliteration

pannessaengngi attoriolongngé ri Suppaq ri Sawitto riwettu marajana mupa toha / nalaona puwattaq Makaraié / nasitana karaéngngé ri Gowa riasengngé Toripalangga¹ /

yina napoada karaéngngé / aga muengkang séajing / makkedai Makaraié / lao muaq lolang / lolang / séajing / mita itai tana marolaé ri tanamu / ri Suppaq / makkutanasi karaéngngé / engkaga anaqmu / makkunrai séajing / yina napoada Makaraié / engka /

yina napoada karaéngngé Toripalangga² / madécéngngiq / maqbaiseng / séajing / baraq kuammengngi / nasséajing / tanaé ri Suppaq ri Mangkasa / kkadoni / Makaraié / ri wanuwanna ri Suppaq / massuroni / karaéngngé

¹ Toripalangga read Tunipalangga.

² Toripalangga read Tunipalangga.

mpawa / pattuméya / napasiottonni / pango[n]rowang / ritamani / nalani alé [m]pureнна / tangkeq puwattaq / Wé La[m]pé Wéluwaq / [m]pekkeq wekkeqni / puwattaq Wé La[m]pé Wéluwaq / maéloni ripakennai / oki so[n]ra / limanna / ripoadanni / Ajattappareng / (page 158) / poléni puwattaq Palétyangngé ri Sawitto makkeda / oé sellao / idiqsi pasialai anaqtaq / nakkalépu / Suppaq-Sawitto / riaginna Mangkasaé te[n]rissengngé / ru[m]pu apinna / makkedai Makaraié / agana ripoadangngi / karaéngngé / makkedai Palétyangngé / yipaq baliwi / adanna / karaéngngé /

sialani Wé La[m]pé Wéluwaq / La Cellaq Mata / ripareweqni so[m]pana karaéngngé / kuwaé pango[n]rowanna / siduppani / surona karaéngngé / llao manoq / ri Suppaq [m]pawa wara[m]parang / pattumaéna / siduppani lopinna surona / Makaraié / wara[m]parang / pattumaéna / karaéngngé / [n]reweq siréwekeng / mmuni / mmuling / suroé ri Gowa / surona Makaraié / lattuqni manaiq / ri karaéngngé / makkedai surona / Makaraié / engkairo / so[m]paé / nassuro ppareweq / séajittaq / mattajéng / tadéq / nakkeda / palisuangngi / so[m]pana / karaéngngé / kupallakkaiwi sia / anaquq ri laingngé / nallarungiang / sirikuq / rimalalé [m]pennikkuqna / mattajeng / nadéq / macaini karaéngngé / mangngaruqni baté-baténa / rinorini Suppaq / Sawitto / te[n]ri ullé bbéta / wékkapitui / rinori / taungngé mua / ribilang / pallawangenna / narinorisi / wekka pitu mani / naribéta / Suppaq / Sawitto / La Cellaq Mata mani / silaong / La Pancai / llao ri Boné / suqbu aléna / ia mani / natalélé / nalolongeng / mani / gajanna / riasengngé / ula sau[n]raungngé / me[n]réqni ri Boné / ri aru[m]poné / paingeq-i / aséajingénna / naritana ri aru[m]poné / La Pa[n]cai / rilalittoni / toSuppaqé / toSawittoé / aruwa pulona / to rialé / rilaling llao ri Mangkasa / rilalittoni / puwattaq Wé La[m]pé Wéluwaq / ri karaéngngé / ripakkasi-asi / sakkeq pakkasi-asi / nayi puwattaq La Pa[n]cai / lattuqni ri Boné / tuttungiwu / uluadaé / makkedaé / séuwwa Sawitto alu / séuwwa Boné / ri aja /

Aga natuttu ttoni manuuq-manuuq ripaluttuna / Mangkasaé / riellauni La Pa[n]cai / riéllauni ri aru[m]poné / silaong toSawittoé toSuppaqé / Te[n]riaqbéréanni / ri toBoné / makkedai karaéngngé / magi temmuwéréngngaq / to ribétakuq / manuuq-manuuq / ripaluttukuq / makkedai aru[m]poné / temmualani toSawittoé / apaq lattuqni ri Boné / apaq / yi / uluadanna / tanaé ri Boné / (page 159) séuwwa Boné / rija / séuwwa Sawitto rilau / te[n]ritawi anaqé / temmapuéq bulo / aleqbirengngé / tessiparetekeng bessi / aga rimususi Boné / ri karaéngngé / ribétasi toBoné / maruttussi llao Sawitto / massappasi / karaéngngé / ri Sawitto / manuuq-manuuq ripaluttuna / napoadasi uluadanna Sawitto / uluada makkedaé / séuwwa Boné wuraiq / séuwwa Sawitto / alau / te[n]ritawa / anaqé / temmapueq bulo tanaé / tessiparetekeng bessi / luttusi karaéngngé / passappana / manuuq-manuuq ripaluttuna / aga massappani karaéngngé / nayi passappana / karaéngngé / passappa / pappédécémua /

naengkalingani / toBoné / décéngngé mua / passappana / karaéngngé / napaubbani toBoné / La Pa[n]cai / risuroni To Atuju / llao mmalai / makkedai karaéngngé / oé suro / lao mualai anaqmu / laoni suroé mmalai / La Pa[n]cai / engkani / La Pa[n]cai / engkatoni toBoné / [m]pawai / makkedai toBoné / adeq tanammengngi ri Boné / ri Sawitto/ ri Suppaq / toSawittoe llao ri Boné / Sawitto napoléi / Boné llao ri Suppaq / ri Sawitto / Boné napoléi / makkedai karaéngngé / oé suro / pareweqi / La Pa[n]cai / ri Sawitto / mutanengngi makkasiwiyang / ri Gowa / aga ripanoni La Pa[n]ca i/ ri suroé / riasengngé To Atuju / lattuqni ri Sawitto / ritanenni arung Sawitto / rewéqni paiméng suroé / aga nalani tau mo[n]rona ri Sawitto / mé[n]réqni / makkasiwiyang / La Pa[n]cai / masagéna mua / pituppulo siti[n]ro /

makkutanani karaéngngé / oé aqdatuwang / pékkua toSawittoé / makkedai aqdatuwangngé / madodong / engka mua mattellu ratu / ripasipilu-ppu-lungngi / toSawittoé / matauq mopi tauwwé / tasséa-séa mupi / aga risurosi suroé lao manoq siti[n]ro aqdatuwang Sawitto / aga lattuqni manoq ri Sawitto / jajini / mallili maneng toSawittoé / tasséa-séaé / maégana / tau ri Sawitto / reweq manénni / tauwwé / mau mo[n]roé / ri Mangkasa / engka tona/ [n]reweq /

mapeqdisi toSawittoé / toSuppaqé / maélosi / mméwa / paimeng / nariléna riala jowa / riala liseq bola / me[n]réqni / ri Alapani³ / maélo sallo-salloi / karaéngngé / rékkuwa sisala wi[n]runa / adakkuq / aga lattuqni ri Mangkasa/ mé [n]réqni ri karaéngngé / rita[m]paini ttudang / ri karaéngngé / aga muengkang (page 160) aqdatuwang Sawitto / engka mupa maélo upoada / makkedai / aqdatuwang Sawitto / engka mupa maélo upoada / makkedai karaéngngé / aga mumaélo mupoada / makkedai aqdatuwang Sawitto / yina uwéllau / karaéng / temmutikkengngé manuq-manuqkuq / tenri ottié / ittel-lokuq / nakadoiwi / karaéngngé / adanna / Sawitto / laoni manoq ri Sawitto / aqdatuwangngé / lattuqni manoq / ri Sawitto / ri Suppaq / maéga tona / toSawitto / mo[n]roé / ri Mangkasa / marola / aqdatuwangngé / kaleqbani ripau / riasengngéngngi / tépu tarataqni / aqdatuwang Sawitto / maruruni / toSawittoé / mo[n]roé / ri Mangkasa/ lao manoq ri Sawitto / ri Suppaq / aga mappangarani / tauwwé / ri Mangkasa / madodonna / toSawittoé /

makkutanani / karaéngngé / magi nakkuwa / makkedai / toGowaé / yinag-atu natarataq / toSawittoé / risuroni / suroé / paréweqi / toSawittoé / risuroni / suroé / paréweqi / toSawittoé mo[n]roé / ri Mangkasa / yinoqé ri Sawitto / temmapaccippa / rosiratu / naripanoqna / karaéng Madelloq / nayina riala pétawu / nayi riyolona / karaéng Madelloq / yi[na] toSuppaq / to Sawitto / nayi rimu[n]rinna / yina Mangkasa / namau kuwa / ri Mangkasa / maraqdeq / mo[n]ro / na riolona / karaéng Madelloq / toSuppaq / toSawitto mui sia/ nayi rimu[n]rinnaé / karaéng Madelloq / Mangkasa mani sia / tammat (ANRIM 76 / 19, pp. 157-160).

³ Alapani read La Pancai.

*The fate of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata**Transliteration*

yinaé / sureq pannyaengngi petta Wé La[m]pé Wéluaq / riattakkarena ri karaénggé ri Gowa / riasenggé Tonipalangga / siqdimi isinna ri wawoé siqdi toi isi ri yawaé / pada laleppi ajué nariala takkéna / ri aqdatuangngé ri Sawitto / riyasenggé La Cellaq Mata mécaiq karaénggé ri Gowa / ritérini Suppaq / Sawitto / riru[m]paqni / rialani petta Wé La[m]pé Wéluaq / ri karaénggé / ri Gowa / naripiqjana / ritikkenni lakkainna ri karaénggé / ri Gowa nariappanéang asu balambangeng / makkoniro kisappai / asu balambangeng / kiatuwo / aga nariaseng puwattaq déqé gocinna apaq okkoniro ri babuwana asuwé makkuburuq // (ANRIM 30 / 16, p. 116.)

*Haji Paewa's tradition**Transliteration*

nengkatoniro manganro karaénggé ri Gowa riyasenggé I Manriogawu daéng Bo[n]to Tonipalangga Ulaweng daéng Bo[n]to maélonoq tériwi tana paqbiring \ maéloqi napanganro napuwatai \ iyaréqga nalai lilié passéajingeng \ nasabaq mateqdeqna bé[n]ténna passiuona Sawitto \ nadéq naullé⁴ passiuona Gowa sisengiwi \ dua telluni uraga nagaukengngi nadéq naullé rumpaqi bé[n]ténna toSawittoé \ apaq engkato towaraninna toSawittoé riyaseng Toléngo sibawa Tokippang \ ia naro duwaé to waraninna Sawitto déq narullé balié saui \ wékkaduwa \ wékkatelluni ritéri ri Gowa \ natennaullé panganroi \ nakkedana Bo[n]tolémpangeng ri karaénggé \ madécéngngi narékko naowangiwi karaénggé bé[n]ténna toSawittoé \ aga naténa paimeng karaénggé nanoriwi Sawitto naparilopiyangngi owang \ naia lettunna ri Sawitto narapina tenga beni (page 12) wenni pasa Sawitto nassuro karaénggé ma[m]poriwi owang olona bé[n]ténna toSawittoé \ innappa pada lisuno parimeng no ri lopinna Mangkasaé \ napada laloni tauwé lao ri pasae naléppanna mappulung owang \ apaq maéloqi llaomaqbalanca \ gangkanna mau bé[n]ténggé naruttung tona \ nalappana bé[n]ténggé \ nadéqto tau liseqna bé[n]ténggé apaq pada laoni balancai owanna \ namau Toléngo sibawa Tokippang lao toni ri passae napaisenna Mangkasaé makkeda loqbanni bé[n]ténna Mangkasaé toSawittoé \ puratoni napalappa \ massuroni karaénggé ménréq tamaiwi \ matterruni Mangkasaé ménréq ri laleng bé[n]téng nalalingngi aqdatuwatta ri Sawitto nabawai lao manai silaowang karaénggé naripanajina paliliq bessi ritunruwana Gowa Sawitto \ naia lisunna Toléngo sibawa Tokippang polé ri pasae \ déqni aqdatuwatta napoléi \ apaq purani rilaling ri karaénggé \ aga

⁴ Naullé read naulléi.

nakkuragana Toléngo sibawa Tokippang marola \ naollina \ dua tellu jowa maqbolébolé weqdingngé riéwa siyamatéyang maréwangengngi aqdatuwatta \ makkoniro sabaqna nadéq nalaowangngi \ toSawitto pasa Sawitto \ naénrona ri Gowa Toléngo sibawa Tokippang marola sipaqjowareng \ lattuqi ri Gowa napoléini aqdatuwangngé ri Sawitto massila-sila ajuri songkokengng \ naitatoni bainéna mannumpuq asé ri lanrangngé \ namesséna wettanna Toléngo sibawa Tokippang tuju matai aqdatuwatta mallaibiné ripakkuwa ri Mangkasaé \ naénréqna Toléngo sibawa Tokippang mangolo ri karaéng so[m]baé \ anganrowangngi \ tanaé ri Sawitto naritarimana ri karaéng so[m]baé \ anganrowanna \ aga naripancajina liliq passéjingeng Sawitto \ nariyalana seqbukkatinna ri karaéngngé \ nadéqmuto napaja sappa pakkuraga Toléngo Tokippang massipaqjowareng \ maéloq paleppeqi aqdatuwatta mallaibiné \ Naia purana ritarima anganrowanna Toléngo Tokippang massipaqjowareng \ takkoq makkutana muni Toléngo ri karaéngngé makkeda \ sélé agaru ri yolona karaéngngé makkedani karaéngngé \ ianaé sélé-éwé riaseng paqbuno matuwaé \ naiaé séqdié riaseng paqbuno manittué (page 13) nainrenni Toléngo sibawa Tokippang bangkungngé tassépena maélo natappi apaq bangkung biyasa muwa \ ianaro séléqéro nakkuragang Toléngo sibawa Tokippang \ napaéwa seqboki manengngi lopinna karaéngngé \ makkuniro pakkuragana to warani duwaéro \ polé ri séséna karaéng so[m]baé riasaléwangitoni apaq purani ripainungeng tuwaq rigaru alameng ri olona so[m]baé \ puratoni riyala seqbukkatinna ri karaéngngé \ naia saniyasana nalani Tokippang sibawa Toléngo nalariyangngi aqdatuwatta nabawai llisu \ naia maqdisenna karaéngngé riassuromolaini to duwaéro \ iyakiya déq engka maqdapi lopinna Mangkasaé \ apaq mattengnga dolangengngi nakkalabu-labuwang lollong liseq \ naia latuqnana aqdatuwang Sawitto polé rilariyang narisompereng lisu ri Sawitto \ marennu manenni toSawittoé napada polé pakkerru sumangeqi aqdatuwatta \ naitani pinra maneng lanroaléna \ pinra rupanna mawéya \ napada makkedana \ malanréq sennaktu pinra rupanna aqdatuwatta \ nakkedana aqdatuwatta \ asengngi onrongngé Pinra-pinraé \ apaq malanreq tongeng pinra aqdatuwatta duwa mallaibiné pada mani to puraé malasa serro \ nasamaiona toSawittoé pasau-sauwi puwana \ ianaro Pinra-pinraé matterru makkokkowé riaseng Pinrang \ natiwini massala puwana toSawittoé \ nabé[m]béngenni malliweng salo \ napada sellaqna toSawittoé makkeda \ ajaq mumpalérang-lérangngi aqdatuwatta \ nakkedana aqdatuwatta ri Sawitto asengngi onrongngé Lérang-lérang \ apaq déq tau déq nalérang-lérang uwaé matanna mitai aqdatuwatta \ naonrona koromai aqdatuwatta \ tianyuma ri toSawittoé \ naia madisingdisinana aqdatuwatta naitani macora-cora paimeng rupanna \ nakkedasi aqdatuwatta ri onrong natudangié ritu \ asengngi onrongngé Cora-coraé \ iana matterru mancaji Corawali naia polé onronana aléna aqdatuwatta sama yiosi toSawittoé lékkeqi puwana \ napattamai arung paimeng \ ianaro

lalo muttamaq ri bulué ri Toraja / gangkanna Mamuju lalo manoaq / na men-reqéna mmusui Kaili / Kali / Toli[-toli] / aga na idiqna potanai makkasésénna / Luwuq gangkanna Tamala / Toli[-toli] / (ANRIM 60/7, p. 40).

Translation

This passage tells of the great flag of Suppaq. The great flag of Suppaq was called *lasigalung* and it had four feet. At the time Suppaq and Sawitto were great kingdoms [*lasigalung*] took *seqbukkati* from Léworeng. When the kingdom declined, *lasigalung* became weak. It was also [*lasigalung*] that took *seqbukkati* from Lémo-lémo, Bulu Kapa. Later *lasigalung* became weak. It was also [*lasigalung*] that took *seqbukkati* from Bonto-bonto, Bantaeng, Ségéri and Passokkoreng. Later *lasigalung* became weak and left all the lands that it had once ordered.⁹ Now the garden lands [?] this was the house builders. [Now] the boat builders, they made [the boat] Soena Gading in Suppaq, the boat called I Lapéwaja in Perangki, the boat called Lapéniki in Lowang.¹⁰ It was also they [the house builders] who made the palace of Suppaq and the palace of Sawitto called Lamancapai. A thread was wound from Lamancapai and the palace of Suppaq. The thread wound as far as Lémo-lémo, it went up to Bulu Kapa, until Léworeng and up to Baroko and into the mountains of the Toraja as far as Mamuju and continued further [north]. Suppaq and Sawitto went up and attacked Kaili, Kali and Toli-toli so that Suppaq and Sawitto held authority in these areas. In Tamala and Toli-toli a border was established with Luwuq.

The second lasigalung tradition

Transliteration

Ianaé / sureq poadadaéngngi / baté / ri Suppaq / riolo / laségalung¹¹ / asenna / iana wanuwa / natingara / iami nabéta / nayi rajana / pada timbawoé / eppa / ajna / naéq nalani / Mangkasaé / natunui api / ri wettu / riru[m] paqna / Suppaq / ri Mankagsaé / sikotoniro / nabaiccuqna / Suppaq / Sawitto / (ANRIM 50/10, p. 52).

Translation

This writing tells of the flag of Suppaq in the past, which was called *lasigalung*. Every land it went to it defeated. Now [the flag] was big like a great robe and had four feet. The Makasar [people] took it and burned it when Suppaq was defeated by [the] Makasar [people]. [After that] Suppaq and Sawitto became small [kingdoms].

⁹ Ordered, from *perintaq* (to order).

¹⁰ Perhaps Loloang.

¹¹ *Laségalung*; read *lasigalung*.

*Mandar craftsmen in Ajattappareng**Transliteration*

Ianaé / sureq / powadaéngngi / arolanna / riolo / Me[n]reqé / ri Ajattappareng / riléléi / Me[n]reqé / pa[n]ré lopi / pa[n]ré bola / iana ppi[n]rui / lopinna / Makaraiyé / riasengngé / soéna / gading / lopinna / arungngé ri Parengki¹² / riasengngé / lapéwajo / lopinna Palétéangngé / ri Sawitto / riasengngé / lapénikkeng / iatona / ppi[n]rui / langkanaé / ri Suppaq / riasengngé / lamalakka / iatona / ppi[n]rui / salassaé / ri Sawitto / riasengngé / lama[n] capai / saworajaé / ri Alitta labéama / ri Rappeng¹³ / sawolocié / ri Sidé[n] réng / nai sabaqna nariaseng / langkanaé / ri Suppaq / lamalakka / alliri maliq / polé ri Malaka / nakua sсорé ri Ujung Lero / napannippiyangngi / aléna / nalaona / toSuppaqé / mmalai / angka séngona / paleppéng / silaong paq / narialana posi langkanaé / ri Suppaq / tammat (ANRIM 50/10, p. 52).

Translation

This writing tells of the service Mandar people gave to Ajattappareng in the past. The Mandar boat builders and house builders were called [by Ajattappareng]. It was the boat builders who made the boat of Makaraié called Soéna Gading, the boat of the *arung* of Perangki called Lapaéwajo and the boat of Palétéang of Sawitto called Lapénikkeng. It was they [the house builders] who made the palace of Suppaq called Lamalakka, they who also made the palace of Sawitto called Lamancapai, the palace of Alitta called Labéama, the palace of Rappang and Sawolocié [the palace] of Sidénréng. Now the reason why the palace of Suppaq was called Lamalakka was because a house post that had been washed away from Melaka ran aground in Ujung Lero and caused [people] to dream it was there. The people of Suppaq came and took it with tools. It was used as a post for the palace of Suppaq.

¹² Parengki read Perangki.

¹³ The modern spelling of Rappang follows in the translation.

APPENDIX D

European maps from Chapter III

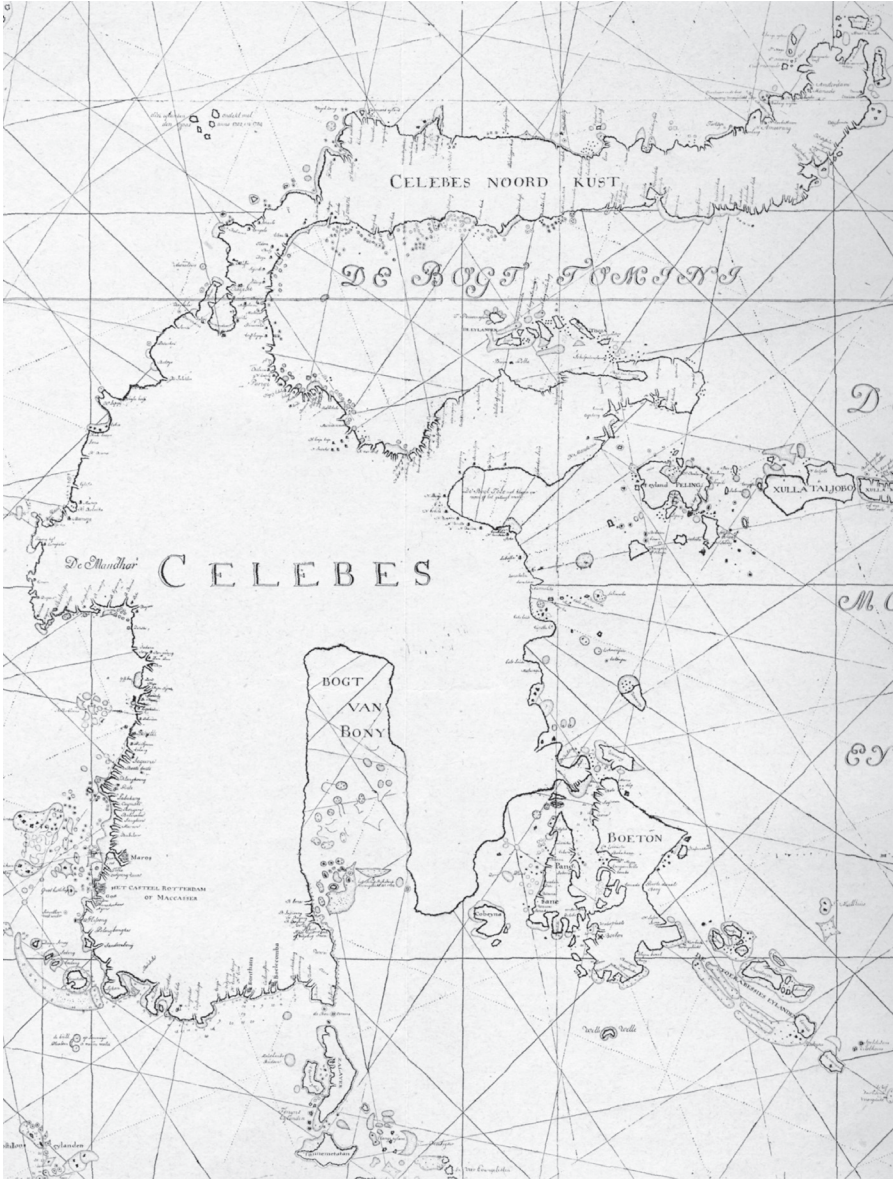


Figure D.3. Late eighteenth-century Dutch map



Figure D.4. 1842 Dutch map



Figure D.5. 1848 Dutch map



Figure D.6. 1854 Dutch map

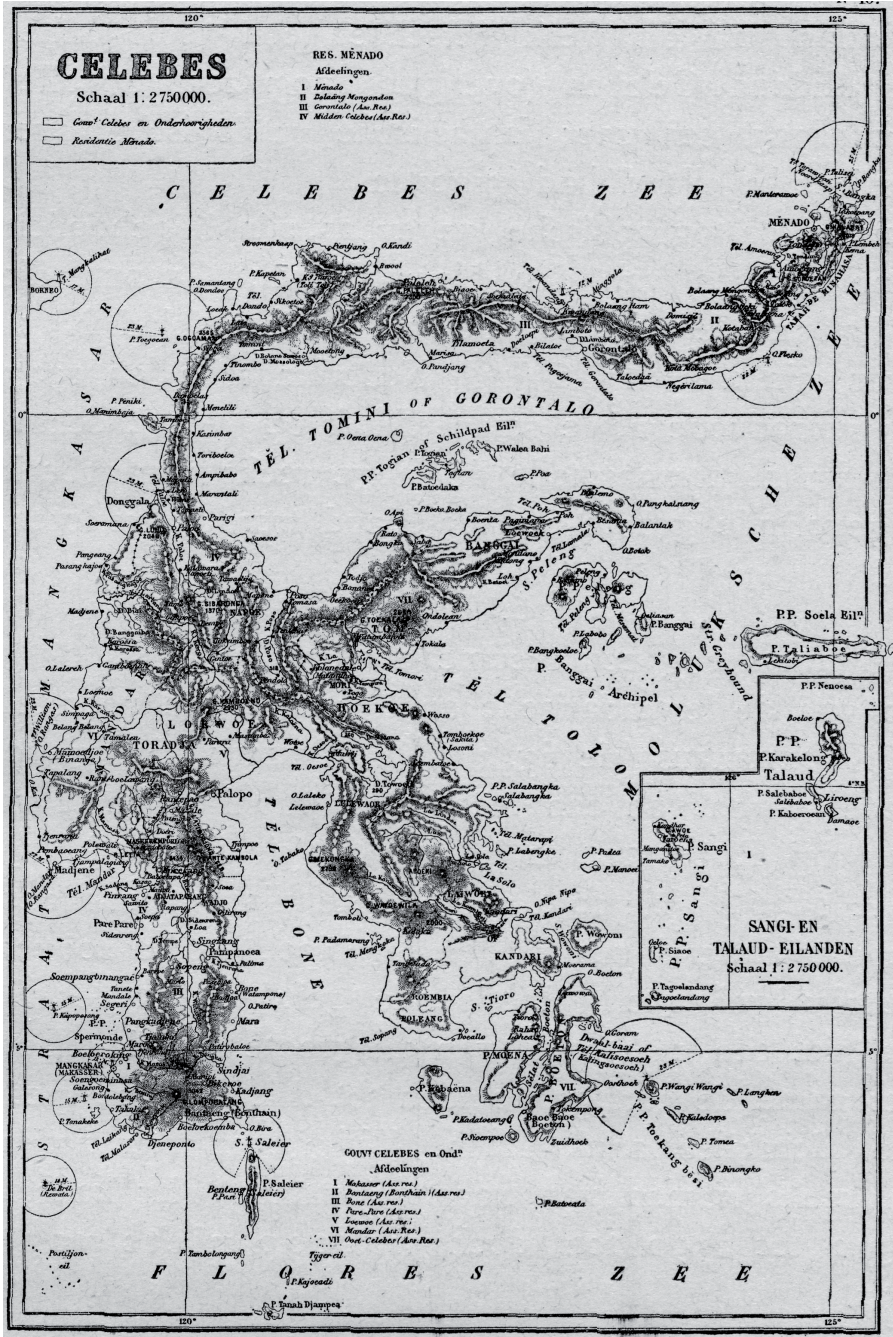


Figure D.7. 1916-1917 Dutch map

APPENDIX E

Four European maps showing Durate

The four maps presented here are adapted from Abendanon (1917-18: figures 116, 117, 118, 120).



Figure E.1. 1611 Portuguese map

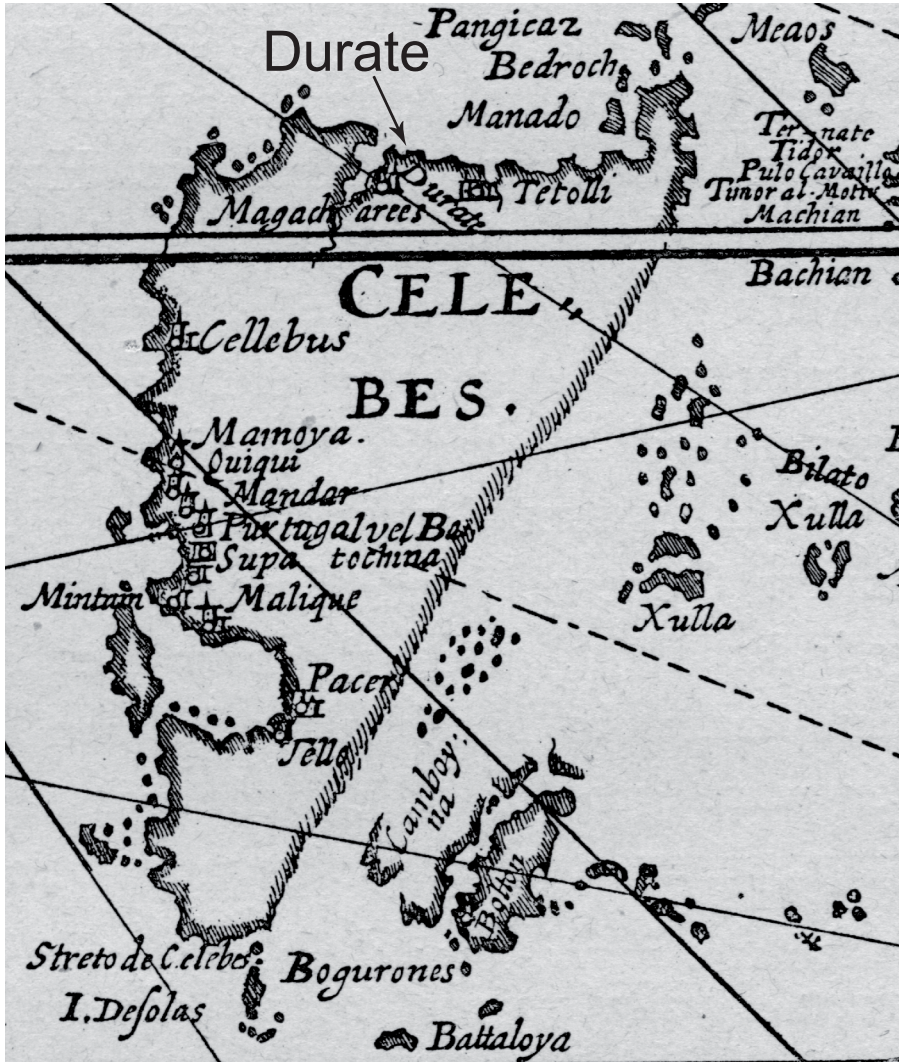


Figure E.2. 1619 Dutch map



Figure E.3. 1633 Portuguese map



Figure E.4. 1670 Dutch map

APPENDIX F

List of informants

The age given for each informant is as of 2005.

- I.1 Abas, 66, *kecamatan Suppa, Pinrang*
- I.2 Abdul Badu, 69, *kecamatan Pitu Riase, Sidrap*
- I.3 Abdul Hane, 60s, *kecamatan Mallusetasi, Barru*
- I.4 Abdulah Anin, 47, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu, Pinrang*
- I.5 Abdul Samat, 67, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto, Pinrang*
- I.6 Abunawas, 36, *kecamatan Suppa, Pinrang*
- I.7 Alimuddin Sakta, 36, *kecamatan Matirobulu, Pinrang*
- I.8 Amad Singka, late 60s, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto, Pinrang*
- I.9 Ambo Muli, 65, *kecamatan Matiro Somp, Pinrang*
- I.10 Andi Ansarullah, 51, *kecamatan Suppa, Pinrang*
- I.11 Andi Azas, 54, *kecamatan Matiro Somp, Pinrang*
- I.12 Andi Lapatau, 56, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu, Pinrang*
- I.13 Andi Sulaiman bin Mappangara, 68, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu, Pinrang*
- I.14 Andi Tolla, 41, *kecamatan Maritengae, Sidrap*
- I.15 Andi Wahid, 60s, *kecamatan Maiwa, Enrekang*
- I.16 Andi Wawo, 68, *kecamatan Kulo, Sidrap*
- I.17 Baddu, late 60s, *kecamatan Cempa, Pinrang*
- I.18 Baharuddin, 46, *kecamatan Matiro Somp, Pinrang*
- I.19 Bahrir Haffid, 45, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu, Pinrang*
- I.20 Bukkapuanna Madiwa, 80s, *kecamatan Lembang, Pinrang*
- I.21 Dalle Pegala, 53, *kecamatan Patampanua, Pinrang*
- I.22 Drs Haji M. Tahir Mangopo, 68, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto, Pinrang*
- I.23 Dullah, 72, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto, Pinrang*
- I.24 Enge, 48, *kecamatan Mallusitasi, Barru*
- I.25 Ferdos, 60s, *kecamatan Mallusitasi, Barru*
- I.26 Gode, 71, *kecamatan Suppa, Pinrang*
- I.27 Halim Baco, 57, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto, Pinrang*
- I.28 Haji Abu Bakar, 63, *kecamatan Soppeng Riaja, Barru*
- I.29 Haji Abdul, 58, *kecamatan Cempa, Pinrang*
- I.30 Haji Akas, 60s, *kecamatan Duampanua, Pinrang*

- I.31 Haji Andi Padu, 60s, *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.32 Haji Assan, 61, *kecamatan* Watang Pulu, Sidrap
- I.33 Haji Bakkarang, late 70s to early 80s, *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.34 Haji Kanbolong, 80s, *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.35 Haji Lahdahin, 56, *kecamatan* Pitu Riawa, Sidrap
- I.36 Haji Muhammad Adam, 57, *kecamatan* Panca Lautang, Sidrap
- I.37 Haji Pale Sida, 75, *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.38 Haji Palemari, 70s, *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.39 Haji Patimang Hamzah, 67, *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.40 Haji Paweroi, 60s, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.41 Haji Puang Pasebo, late 70s, *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.42 Haji Saharuddin, early 70s, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.43 I Tangnga, 65, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.44 I Tasebbe, early 70s, *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.45 I Cabe, early 70s, *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.46 Jamaluddin P., 59, *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.47 Joharni Badu, 33, *kecamatan* Pitu Riase, Sidrap
- I.48 Karman, 47, *kecamatan* Soppeng Riaja, Barru
- I.49 Kartini, 43, *kecamatan* Sidenreng, Sidrap
- I.50 Kepala Desa Kaluppang, late 50s, *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.51 La Banna, 85, *kecamatan* Pitu Riawa, Sidrap
- I.52 La Comma, 72, *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.53 La Huda, mid to late 70s, *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.54 La Mueleng, 88, *kecamatan* Soppeng Riaja, Barru
- I.55 La Pasondrong, 60s, *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.56 La Pole, 70s, *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.57 La Sidde, 60s, *kecamatan* Tellu Limpoe, Sidrap
- I.58 La Sidde, 65, *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.59 La Tanda, 60s, *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.60 La Toha, 67, *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.61 Lahaming, 80s, *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.62 Langulu, 60s, *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.63 Lauddini, late 60s, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.64 Wasnawi, 73, *kecamatan* Panca Lautang, Sidrap
- I.65 Maesar, 50s, *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.66 Mahkmud, late 60s, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.67 Manggoro bin Nambu, 60s, *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.68 Mappaturisi, 66, *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.69 Marwia, 45, *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.70 Muhammad Arif, 65, *kecamatan* Matiro Somp, Pinrang
- I.71 Muhammad Fisel, 66, *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang

- I.72 Muhammad Jafar, 57, *kecamatan Duampanua*, Pinrang
I.73 Muhammad Saenong, 57, *kecamatan Cempa*, Pinrang
I.74 Muhammad Saleikhlis, 80s, *kecamatan Pitu Riase*, Sidrap
I.75 Muhammad Said bin Palantei, late 60s, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu*,
Pinrang
I.76 Muhammad Tajuddin, 58, *kecamatan Baranti*, Sidrap
I.77 Muhlis Hadrawi, 37, Makassar
I.78 Mustafa Syah, 64, *kecamatan Lembang*, Pinrang
I.79 Mustari, 60s, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu*, Pinrang
I.80 Musliman, 55, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu*, Pinrang
I.81 Pappatari, 80s, *kecamatan Patampanua*, Pinrang
I.82 Paritta, 66, *kecamatan Lembang*, Pinrang
I.83 Patta Padu, 61, *kecamatan Pitu Riase*, Sidrap
I.84 Patudai, 57, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto*, Pinrang
I.85 Petta Andi Wanrang, 66, *kecamatan Suppa*, Pinrang
I.86 Puang Muhammad, 73, *kecamatan Matiro Bulu*, Pinrang
I.87 Pumundek, late 70s, *kecamatan Cempa*, Pinrang
I.88 Puwattiro, 57, *kecamatan Lembang*, Pinrang
I.89 Sada Bagenda, late 80s to early 90s, *kecamatan Patampanua*, Pinrang
I.90 Samsuddin, 48, *kecamatan Mallusetasi*, Barru
I.91 Sirajuddin, 70s, *kecamatan Matiro Somp*a, Pinrang
I.92 Tanre, 70s, *kecamatan Pitu Riase*, Sidrap
I.93 To Aha, 61, *kecamatan Maiwa*, Enrekang
I.94 Umar, 31, *kecamatan Lembang*, Pinrang
I.95 Wa Badula, 70s, *kecamatan Tellu Limpoe*, Sidrap
I.96 Wa Pasi, 80s, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto*, Pinrang
I.97 Ye Bidding, 70s, *kecamatan Watang Sawitto*, Pinrang
I.98 Zainuddin Jafar, 63, *kecamatan Suppa*, Pinrang

Glossary

Ajattappareng anabbranch	the lands west of the lakes (B.) a diverging branch of a river that re-enters the main stream
<i>aqdaoang</i>	title of the pre-Islamic rulers of Sidénréng
<i>aqdatuang</i>	title of the ruler of Sidénréng and Sawitto
<i>arung</i>	title of lord / lady or noble of Bugis
<i>attoriolong</i>	written Bugis traditions concerning the people of former times
Balai Arkeologi Makassar <i>baruga</i>	the Makassar archaeological office structure built on to the front of a house when a marriage takes place
<i>benteng</i>	fort / fortified settlement
<i>bila-bila</i>	a <i>lontar</i> leaf with a number of knots in it that was sent to tributaries or allies requesting them to attend a festival or war (B., M.)
<i>bissu</i>	transvestite ritual specialist (B.)
<i>buaq</i>	a Sattan Toraja territorial area which encompasses one or more villages
<i>bunduq kasallannganna</i>	wars of Islamization (M.)
<i>bupati</i>	district officer
<i>camat</i>	subdistrict officer
<i>daeng</i>	title of a low ranking Makasar noble
<i>datu</i>	title of the rulers of Suppaq, Lanriseng, Luwuq, Balusu and Soppéng
<i>desa</i>	village; an administrative unit
distributary	a branch of a river that flows away from the main stream and does not rejoin it
<i>duni</i>	wooden coffin
Eppa Baté-baté	The 'Four Flags' (Rangaméa, Tiroang, Langnga and Loloang); Sawitto's most important tributaries
<i>kabupaten</i>	regency; an administrative unit
<i>karaeng</i>	title for the ruler of Gowa or nobles of Makasar
<i>kecamatan</i>	subdistrict; an administrative unit
<i>kepala desa</i>	village head
<i>keramat</i>	sacred place, possessing supernatural qualities
<i>kota madya</i>	municipality
<i>kris</i>	dagger with a straight or wavy blade

<i>lembang</i>	a Sattan Toraja geographical territory comprised of a varying number of independent settlements known as <i>buaq</i> or <i>penanian</i> communities
<i>lontar</i>	palm-leaf
<i>lontaraq</i>	indigenous writings in the Bugis or Makasar script, written on palm-leaf or paper (B., M.)
<i>lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq</i>	the complete chronicle of Wajoq
Makasar	ethnic group living in southwest South Sulawesi; their language
Makassar	capital of South Sulawesi, formerly Ujung Pandang
<i>mappaliliq</i>	agricultural rites performed before ploughing the rice-fields (B.)
<i>martavan</i>	large jar
<i>matinroe ri</i>	'he / she who lies at [x]' (B.)
<i>matoa</i>	traditional title for head of a village; elders (B.)
<i>mayat kering</i>	dried corpse
Ming	Chinese dynasty 1368-1644
<i>musuq selleng</i>	wars of Islamization (B.)
<i>napononqé rakkalana</i>	'directly ruled by [x]' (B.)
<i>nisan</i>	stone grave marker
<i>onderafdeling</i>	subdivision
oral history	information related by people about events in their life-time
oral tradition	an oral message (sung, spoken or chanted) based on an earlier oral message that has been transmitted beyond the generation which gave rise to it
<i>paliliq</i>	tributary (B., M.)
Paliliq Bessi	the 'Iron Tributaries' of Sawitto (Kadokkong, Pangamparang, Gallang-kallang Kabelangeng, Lomé and Kaluppang)
<i>palontaraq</i>	person skilled in reading, writing and understanding Bugis and Makasar manuscripts (B., M.)
<i>pattodioloang</i>	written Mandar traditions concerning the people of former times
<i>patturioloang</i>	written Makasar traditions concerning the people of former times
<i>pinisi</i>	schooner (B., M.)
Pituriaséq	the 'Seven Above' (confederation of seven Massenrempulu-speaking lands that were tributaries of Sidénréng)
Pituriawa	the 'Seven Below' (confederation of seven mainly Bugis-speaking lands that were tributaries of Sidénréng)
<i>prahu / prau</i>	small boat
<i>puang</i>	lord / lady (B.)
Quing	Chinese dynasty 1644-1911
<i>sanro</i>	traditional medical practitioners (B.)
<i>seqbukhati</i>	a thousand <i>kati</i> ; a sum of money or its value (B.)

<i>sirih</i>	betel nut prepared for chewing with areca-nut, gambier and lime
<i>siriq</i>	self-worth, shame, dignity (concept found among all ethnic groups that speak South Sulawesi languages)
<i>suro</i>	messenger (B., M.)
<i>tellumpoccoé</i>	refers to an alliance between the kingdoms of Boné, Soppéng and Wajoq in 1582
<i>tomanurung</i>	'he or she who descended [from the Upperworld]', a term applied to the founding rulers of kingdoms (B., E., Ma., Mal.)
<i>tongkonan</i>	origin house of Toraja nobles
<i>totompoq</i>	'he or she who ascends [from the Underworld]', a term applied to the founding rulers of kingdoms (B.)
<i>tumanurung</i>	Makasar spelling of <i>tomanurung</i> (above)
Wanli	Chinese ruler 1573-1620
Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan	South Sulawesi Institute of Culture
Yuan	Chinese dynasty 1279-1368

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