

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**The lands west of the lakes: The history of Ajattappareng,
South Sulawesi, AD 1200 to 1600**

**being a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
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Abstract

The period AD 1200-1600 was a time of great change in South Sulawesi, which saw the rise and development of the major kingdoms that came to dominate the political landscape in later centuries. The advent of regular external trade with other parts of the Indonesian archipelago 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.

In this thesis I focus on five South Sulawesi kingdoms, collectively known as Ajattappareng. Through a combination of oral, textual, archaeological, linguistic and geographical sources, I explore their rise and development from about 1200 to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Makasar kingdom of Goa defeated and Islamised the neighbouring Bugis kingdoms.

I also present an inquiry into oral traditions of a historical nature in South Sulawesi, encompassing their functions, processes of transmission and transformation, their uses in writing history and their relationship with the written register. I argue that any distinction between oral and written traditions of a historical nature 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. I also argue that the South Sulawesi chronicles, which can be found for a few kingdoms only, are an anomaly in the corpus of indigenous South Sulawesi historical sources.

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List of abbreviations

ASS	<i>attoriolong</i> Suppaq and Sawitto
AD	<i>anno domini</i> (Christian era)
anon.	anonymous
ANRIM	Makassar branch of the Indonesian National Archives
B.	Bugis
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
<i>cf.</i>	<i>confer</i>
CKA	manuscript copied by Cassakka
E.	Enrekang
ha	hectare
HP	manuscript written by Haji Paewa
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land,- en Volkenkunde
M.	Makasar
Ma.	Maiwa
Mal.	Malimpung
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap
Sidenreng-Rappang	Sidrap
TS.	Toraja-Saddan
UNHAS	Hasanuddin University

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System of transliteration and spelling conventions

This thesis 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:

 maqbotting (to marry);  siwérenq (to give each other);

 letté (thunder);  peqjé (salt);  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. Miwa; 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, the regency of Enrekang. The spelling of South Sulawesi language names follows conventions used by linguists, as found in Grimes (2000).

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Aims and objectives

Ajattappareng ([‘the lands] west of the lakes’, B.) is a political and geographical term that relates to a former five-kingdom confederation 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 five 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.

The first objective of this thesis is to write a history of the rise and development of the Ajattappareng kingdoms from about AD 1200 to 1600 based on oral, textual, archaeological, linguistic and geographical sources. The date 1600 shortly predates the arrival of the Dutch in South Sulawesi at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the *musuq selleng* (Islamic wars, B.) of 1608 to 1611 in which the Makasar kingdom of Goa defeated and Islamised the neighbouring Bugis kingdoms.²

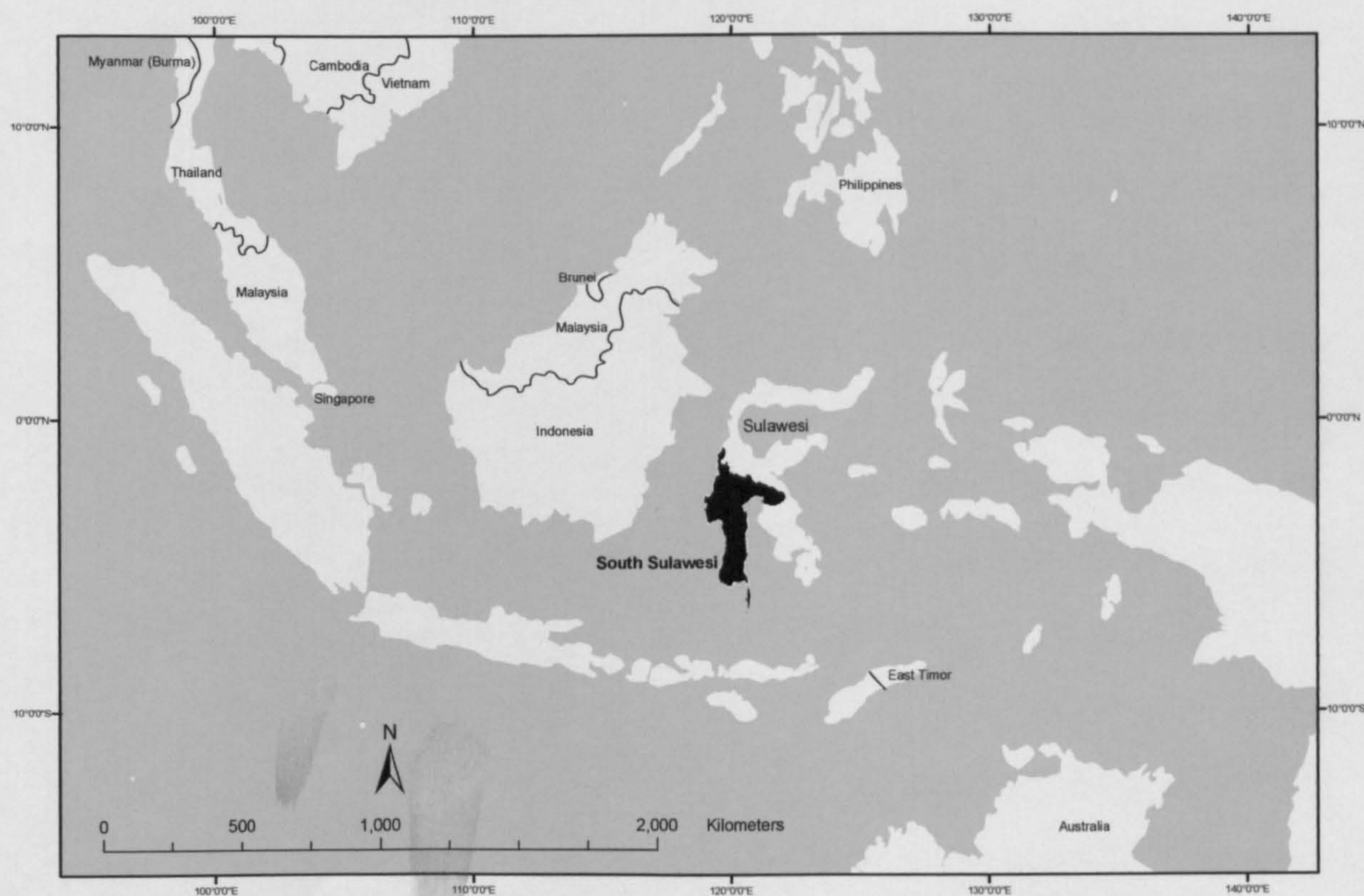
A second objective of the thesis, which is intrinsic to the first, is an inquiry into oral tradition of a historical nature in South Sulawesi, encompassing their functions,

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 hereditary paramount ruler and a varying number of secondary settlements, each with their own ranked hereditary 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 (Chapter One, 1.5). This definition also appears applicable to many of the small Toraja settlements briefly described by Nooy-Palm (1979:58-63) and the Mandar kingdoms (pers.comm., Darmawan Mas’ud Rahman).

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 Goa and Talloq followed as Sultan Ala’uddin and Sultan Abdullah in August of the same year.

processes of transmission and transformation and their uses in writing history. In South Sulawesi there is a close relationship between oral tradition and indigenous written texts (Pelras 1979). Indeed, 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 of the thesis aims to build upon the previous work of Noorduyn (1955, 1961, 1965), Macknight (1984, 2000), Caldwell (1988) and Macknight and Caldwell (2001) and to advance our understanding of the nature of South Sulawesi historical sources.

Figure 1: Sulawesi in Indonesia



1.1 Structure and layout of thesis

There are five remaining sections of this introductory chapter. Section 1.2 sets out the methodology and primary sources used in the thesis. Section 1.3 provides an overview of South Sulawesi, which includes the geography and languages and peoples of the province. Section 1.4 provides some background on the Ajattappareng kingdoms in South Sulawesi. In section 1.5, I discuss and explain the political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms. The final section of the chapter sets out a theoretical perspective on the rise and development of the lowland South Sulawesi kingdoms from AD 1300.

The focus of Chapter Two is South Sulawesi oral and written traditions of a historical nature. After discussing South Sulawesi 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. I demonstrate 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. I then turn to South Sulawesi writings of a historical nature and discuss 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. In the final section of the chapter I present five related oral and written traditions that not only emphasise 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 Three provides a historical perspective on the geography and peoples of the Ajattappareng region. I first examine, and then refute, Christian Pelras' argument that during the sixteenth century a vast, deep single lake occupied the central area of the South Sulawesi peninsula. I then investigate 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. In section 3.2.3 I reconstruct the former course of the river and in section 3.3 I discuss the relationship between rivers, trade and settlement patterns in the region before 1600.

In the second half of Chapter Three I focus on the people and languages of Ajattappareng. In this chapter I aim not just to emphasise 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. I further argue 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 further argue that some of these highland people founded settlements in lowland areas and that several multi-ethnic polities emerged in the Sawitto region.

Chapter Four 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. I then turn to origin and precedence in Ajattappareng and discuss 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. In this chapter I aim 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 Four also supports conclusions made in Chapter Three concerning a southward movement of highland people into the lowland areas of Ajattappareng.

Chapter Five presents a history of Ajattappareng from about AD 1200 to 1600. I begin the chapter with a speculative overview of the Ajattappareng region, and South Sulawesi in general, in the period immediately before 1300. In the remainder of the chapter I endeavour to explain ‘what happened’ in the Ajattappareng region up to the conversion to Islam at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

1.2 Sources and methodology

The primary written sources for this thesis 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 of these *lontaraq* texts, such as the chronicles of Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.), Talloq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975), Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955; Zainal Abidin 1985) and Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation), have been translated into Indonesian, Dutch or English with accompanying romanized transliterations of the original texts.

Initial archival research to locate *lontaraq* texts relevant to this study was carried out at the University of Leiden library and the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology) in Leiden. Leiden University houses the Nederlandsch 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

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 section 2.2.2 of Chapter Two.

Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Institute of Culture) collection.⁴ 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 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 microfilmed over 4,000 manuscripts from South Sulawesi, the majority of which are Bugis. A rudimentary catalogue, which provides details of 3,049 of these manuscripts, was recently published in 2004 by the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, and there are plans to publish a further catalogue containing details on the remaining 1,000 manuscripts. During the course of my research, I also consulted numerous privately owned manuscripts in South Sulawesi.

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 Two).⁵ It is therefore not surprising that no chronicles appear to exist for the Ajattappareng kingdoms. Texts that I located include genealogies

⁴ The Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (former Matthes Stichting) collection of manuscripts was established in the 1930s under the direction of A.A Cense. The original catalogue numbers were lost years ago (pers.comm., Muhammad Salim) and 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.

⁵ A chronicle of sorts, written in the 1960s by Haji Paewa, was located during fieldwork and is discussed in Chapter Two.

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 Goa'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 Four). 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 thesis are previously unexamined 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 p. 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 thesis are from the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society) (Matthes 1875, 1881) collection, which are referenced as follows: NBG 99 p. 13-15 refers to a *lontaraq* text found on pages 13 to 15 of manuscript number 99.

Two privately owned South Sulawesi manuscripts are also used in this thesis. The first is a photocopy of a manuscript concerned with Sawitto that was written by the late Haji Paewa in the 1960s. HP p. 11-18 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 thesis the designation of CKA p. 2-8 refers to text found on pages 2 to 8 of this manuscript.

Field-work 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 during field-work, 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 grave robbers. Tributary and domain lists functioned as particularly useful guides in fieldwork. These texts list the core lands that formed the domain of a kingdom itself and the tributary lands that were attached to the domain (Chapter One, 1.5). 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, Druce 1997b; Caldwell and Druce 1988). 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 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 B elawa, 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 location, often closer to main roads, and locating the site of the original 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 trade ware sherds (hereafter, ceramics⁶) dating to before the early seventeenth century.⁷ Other factors in determining pre-1600 occupation can be derived from information related to me by grave robbers or local farmers. Grave robbers have systematically looted the region's pre-Islamic burial grounds in search of ceramic trade wares and other valuable items that were interred with the dead in the pre-Islamic period, while local farmers

⁶ In Indonesia, the term *keramik* is used to refer to all ceramic and stoneware trade wares; the term excludes earthenwares.

⁷ Much of what I know about identifying Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese ceramic sherds was learned from Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makassar.

have found pre-Islamic burial sites when clearing land to make new rice-fields or to dig out fish and prawn ponds. Data from such individuals is important in locating and identifying some pre-1600 sites, particularly those sites long since abandoned or destroyed, leaving little material evidence. 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 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 fieldwork in South Sulawesi, I used the Bugis language in addition to the Indonesian language to communicate with respondents.⁸ 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.⁹ However, local residents had no difficulty in translating for me.

For much of the 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, as well as 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 G, together with the name of the *kecamatan* (subdistrict) 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 related by these informants. For example, I.15 refers to informant number 15 on the list of informants in Appendix G. However, if the

⁸ 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 1996-7.

⁹ In many Massenrempulu-speaking areas Bugis functions as a second language.

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 fieldwork in South Sulawesi, I organised a number of archaeological surveys in collaboration with Balai Arkeologi Makassar (The Makassar archaeological office).¹⁰ These surveys focused on the recovery of ceramic trade ware sherds from habitation sites and pre-Islamic burial grounds. Sixteen sites were surveyed: eight in central Suppaq, five in Sidénréng, two in Sawitto and Alitta.¹¹

Each surveyed site was carefully mapped and the collected sherds were taken to Balai Arkeologi Makassar where they were cleaned and examined under laboratory conditions.¹² Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makasar undertook classification of the sherds, with limited assistance from me.¹³ 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 trade-ware sherds.

¹⁰ Members of the survey team were Irfan Mahmud, Karaeng Demmanari, Pak Hamsah and Pak Mansjur of Balai Arkeologi Makassar, Muhammad Nur of UNHAS and the present author. Iwan Sumantri of UNHAS also participated for several days in the first series of surveys.

¹¹ Two additional sites scheduled for surveys in Sawitto did not take place. The survey team was denied permission by the local *kantor camat* (subdistrict office) to survey the site known as Temmanroli (or Tomanroli by some informants), which is where the pre-Islamic palace of Sawitto was located. However, given that much of Temmanroli 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 martavan (large stoneware jar), some of which still contained cremated human remains (photographs 1 and 2, Appendix F). 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.

¹² After classification, all sherds were placed in bags or boxes with labels and stored at Balai Arkeologi Makassar.

¹³ 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 1-16 in Appendix B.

During the course of writing 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 (1368-98), and that from this period until the sixteenth century no single cargo of any shipwreck contains 100 per cent Chinese ceramic trade wares.¹⁴ From *circa* 1368 to 1430, Chinese wares make up only about 30 to 40 per cent of cargoes and no more than 2 per cent between 1430-1487. During these periods, Thai and Vietnamese trade-wares made up the bulk of cargoes. In the reign of Hongzhi (1488-1505), however, Chinese trade wares increased to make up 90 per cent of cargoes. Brown discovered that Vietnamese trade wares 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.¹⁵

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

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ 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.

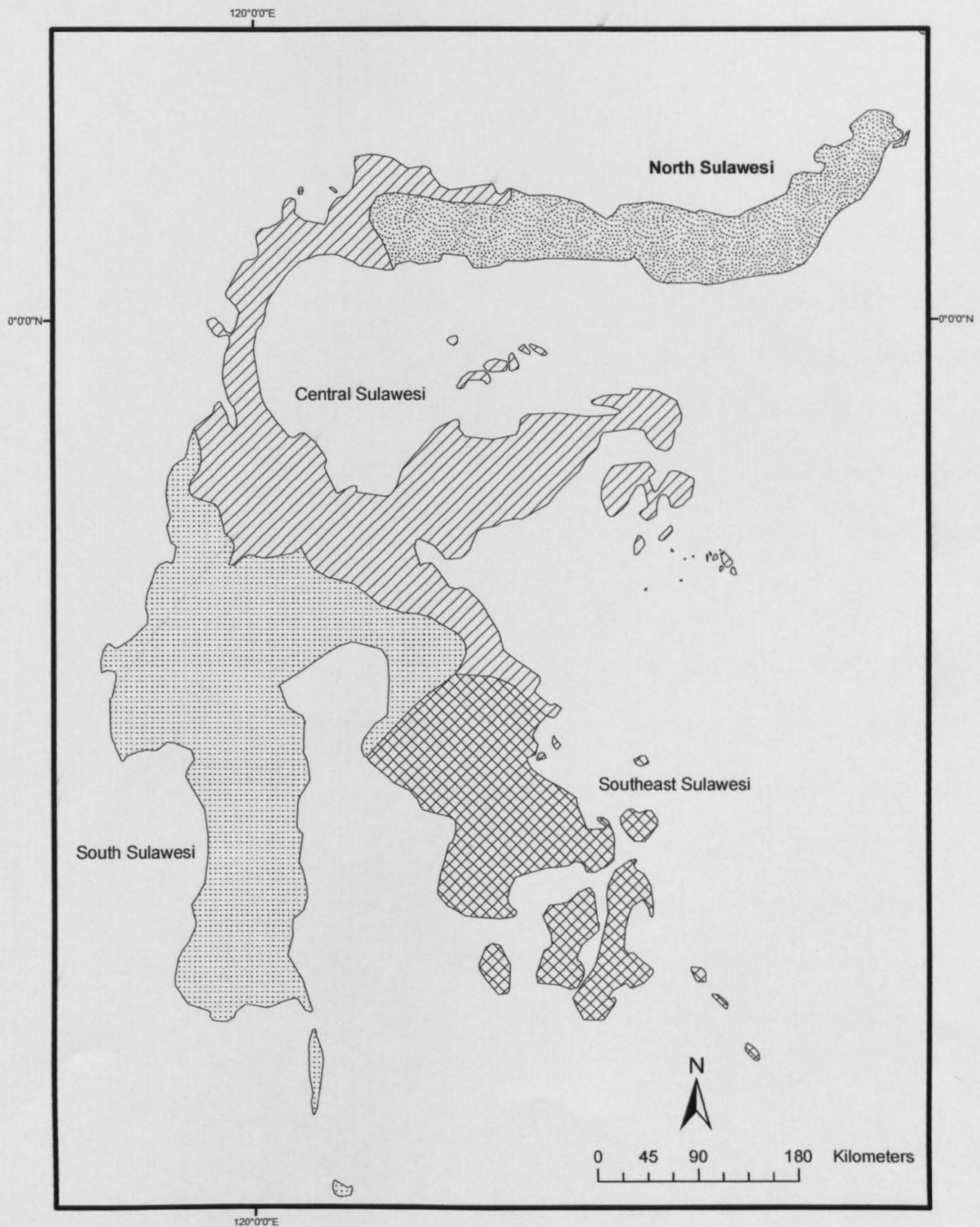
Guangdong border or Champa wares (Go Sanh). On the advice of David Bulbeck, I have therefore decided to retain Karaeng Demmanari's dates for these martavan sherds rather than give them a fifteenth century date.

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.

1.3 Overview of South Sulawesi

Sulawesi is the fourth largest island in Indonesia and covers an area of 227,654 square kilometres, including adjacent islands. It 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 thirty provinces: North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi (figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Provincial boundaries of Sulawesi



The province of South Sulawesi, which has a population of 8, 213, 864 million people,¹⁶ covers an area of 72,781 square kilometres, which includes adjacent islands, the largest of which is Selayar.

The province of South Sulawesi is divided into 22 *kabupaten* (regencies) and 2 *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 *kabupaten* Pinrang and Jeneponto, 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 Jeneponto 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 southwest 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

¹⁶ Badan Pusat Statistik Sulawesi Selatan Online: <http://sulsel.bps.go.id>

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.¹⁷ 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 ha (Witten *et al.* 1981). Local residents generally regard the lakes as three separate entities, a convention which I follow in this thesis. 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 characterised 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.

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.

¹⁷ 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

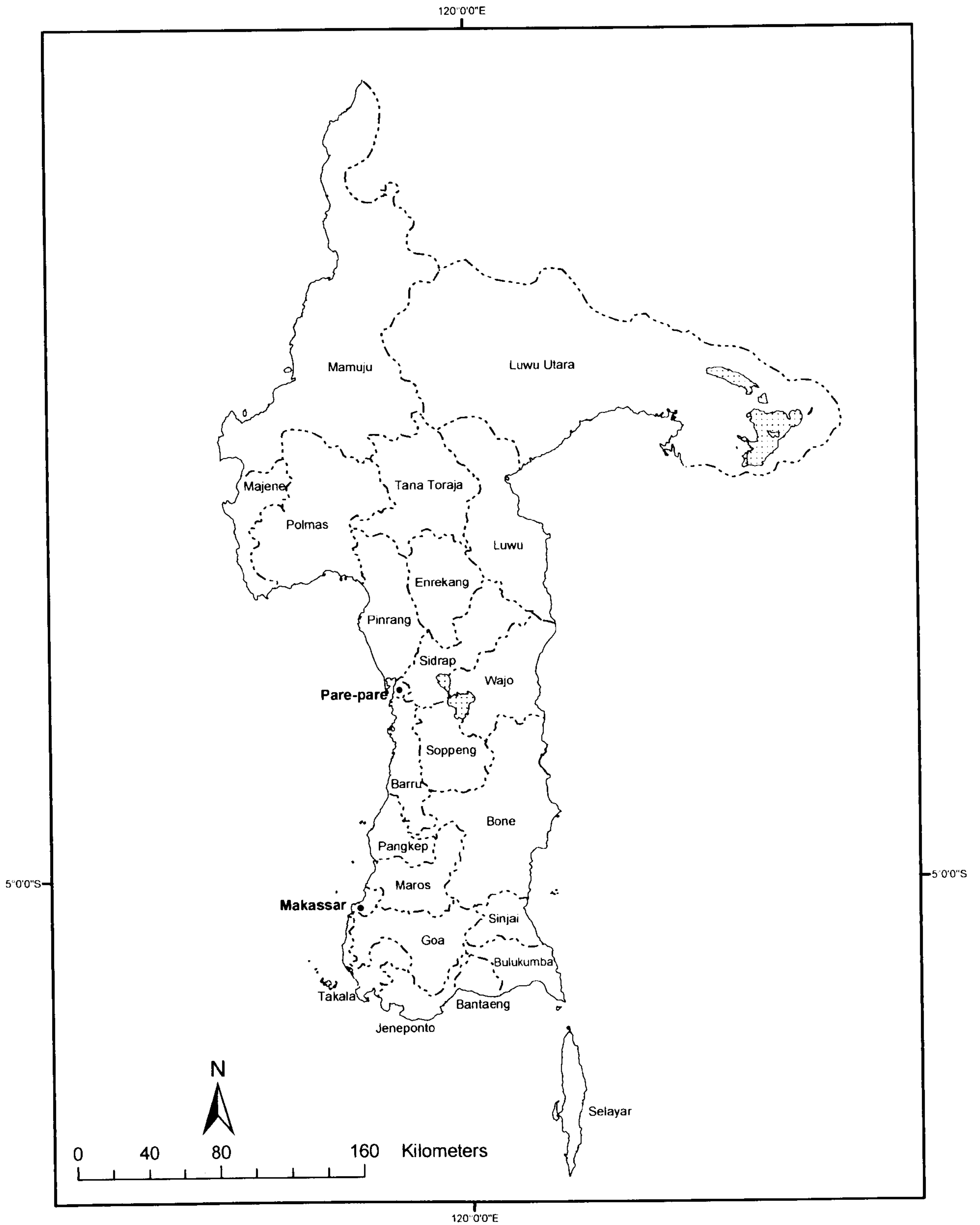


Table 1: *Kabupaten/kota madya* size and population

Kabupaten	Area (km²)	Population
Bantaeng	39,583	150,105
Barru	117,472	150,818
Bone	455,960	625,109
Bulukumba	115,467	347,177
Enrekang	178,601	150,668
Gowa	188,333	474,407
Jeneponto	74,979	309,163
Luwu and Luwu Utara	1,779,142	786,587
Majene	94,784	135,321
Mamuju	1,105,781	278,194
Maros	161,912	250,968
Pinrang	196,977	306,054
Pangkep	111,229	262,959
Polmas	418,153	425,749
Sidrap	188,325	240,282
Sinjai	81,996	199,950
Soppeng	150,000	232,642
Takalar	57,262	218,598
Tana Toraja	320,577	382,264
Wajo	250,619	411,909
Selayar	90,335	101,060
Kota Madya	Area (km²)	Population
Makassar	17,579	1,252,245
Parepare	9,933	103,038

Adapted from UNHAS, Island Sustainability, Livelihood and Equity Program (1999): <http://www.nsaac.nsa.ca/pas/courses/ifs/ssulawesi/southdoc.htm>
 Note: the area of each *kabupaten* in the data above does not appear to include adjacent islands.

1.3.1 The languages and people of South Sulawesi¹⁸

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.¹⁹ Speakers of Muna-Buton stock languages inhabit the area of Wotu in Luwu Utara, the southern tip of Selayar island and the 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 1.4 and Table 1.1). Sama-Bajaw speakers are scattered in a few coastal areas of Bone and Luwu and around the islands of Selayar and Pangkep. 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.

Grimes and Grimes (1987) tentatively identified about 20 distinct languages of the South Sulawesi stock, which they placed into 10 related family or subfamily groupings.²⁰ Friberg and Laskowske (1989) revised this identification to 28 distinct languages within 8 family or subfamily groupings. A further revision by Grimes (2000) now identifies 29 distinct languages within 8 family or subfamily groupings.

¹⁸ Much of the early ground breaking work on the languages of Central and South Sulawesi was carried out by Adriani and Kruyt (1912-1914), Veen (1929) and Esser (1938). Later studies of importance are by Mills (1975) Sirk (1975, 1981, 1983, 1988, 1989) and Sneddon (1981). 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.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ A subfamily is a subgroup of languages within a language family.

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 & 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).
- (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 key to this figure is Table 1.1 on page 22.

Figure 1.3: South Sulawesi language map

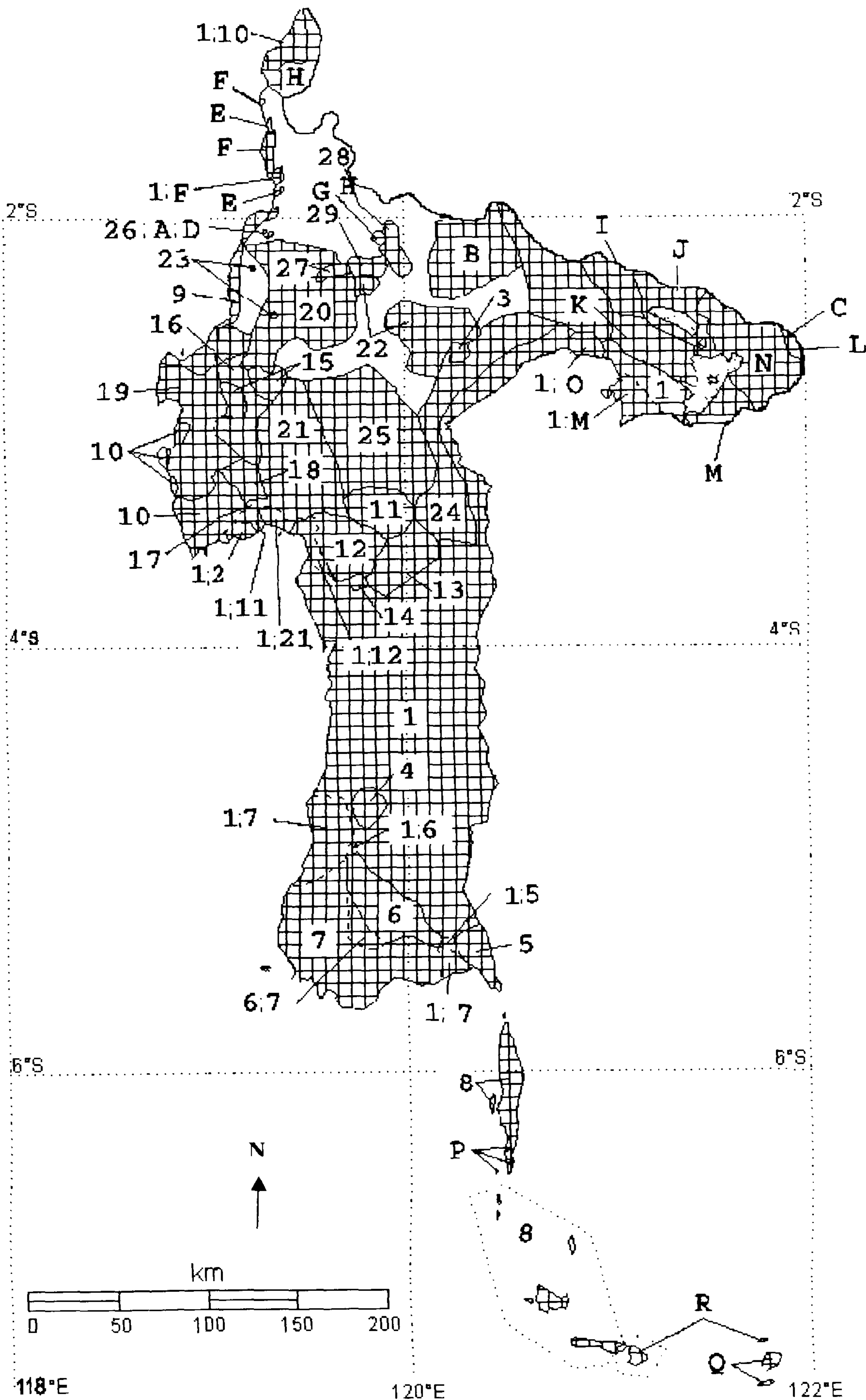


Table 1.1: Key to Figure 1.4

<u>South Sulawesi stock</u>	<u>Central Sulawesi stock</u>	<u>Muna-Buton stock</u>
Bugis family	Kaili-Pamona family	Buton family
1. Bugis		O. Watu
2. Campalagian	Pamona subfamily	Kalao family
	A. Bada	P. Laiyolo
Lemolang	B. Rampi	Q. Kalao
3. Lemolang	C. Pamona	
	Kaili subfamily	Tukang Besi- Bonerate family
Makasar family	D. Topoiyo	R. Bonerate
4. Bentong	E. Baras	
5. Coastal Konjo	F. Sarudu	
6. Highland Konjo	G. Uma	
7. Makasar	H. Da'a-Kaili	
8. Selayar		
	Bungku-Mori-Tolaki family	
Northern South Sulawesi family	Mori subfamily	
9. Mamuju	I. Mori-Atas	
10. Mandar	J. Mori-Bawah	
	K. Padoe	
Massenrempulu subfamily	L. Tomadino	
11. Duri		
12. Enrekang	Tolaki subfamily	
13. Maiwa	M. Tolaki	
14. Malimpung		
	Bungku subfamily	
Pitu Uluna Salu subfamily	N. Bungku	
15. Aralle-Tabulahan		
16. Bambam		
17. Dakka		
18. Pannei		
19. Ulumanda'		
Toraja Saddan subfamily		
20. Kalumpang		
21. Mamasa		
22. Tae'		
23. Talondo'		
24. Toala'		
25. Toraja-Saddan		
Seko family		
26. Budong-Budong		
27. Panasuan		
28. Seko-Padang		
29. Seko-Tengah		

The most convergent of the 29 languages are those that make up the Northern South Sulawesi family. These have lexical similarities with one another ranging from 52 per cent to 72 per cent (Grimes and Grimes 1987:19).²¹ The Bugis family shares a relatively high percentage of lexicostatistical similarities with the Northern South Sulawesi family languages, averaging over 52 per cent. The most divergent of the South Sulawesi languages are those that make up the Makasar family, sharing an average of just 43 per cent lexical similarity with the other members of the South Sulawesi stock (Grimes and Grimes 1987:25).²² Earlier linguistic work by Mills (1975:491) also shows Makasar languages to be the most distinct of the South Sulawesi languages. Both Mills and Grimes and Grimes (1987:25) conclude that Makasar was the first language to break off from the Proto South Sulawesi language.

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.²³ 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 western half of the peninsula

²¹ Grimes (2000) provides lexical similarity data for only a small number of South Sulawesi languages.

²² There is also significant divergence within the Makasar family itself: the Makasar language shares 75 per cent, 76 per cent and 69 per cent lexical similarities with Highland Konjo, Coastal Konjo and Selayar respectively (Grimes 2000).

²³ In Chapter Three, I examine the linguistic data and local ethnolinguistic perceptions in the Ajattappareng region from a historical perspective.

(from around *kabupaten* Pangkep to the central-northern parts of *kabupaten* Pinrang and Sidrap²⁴), 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, occasionally, even as pirates. While some Bugis and Makasar are great 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 (cf. Lineton 1975:177-185; 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).

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.²⁵ 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

²⁴ Pangkep is a transitional area between Bugis and Makasar speakers.

²⁵ 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.

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 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 per cent are Christian; 9 per cent are Muslim while the remainder still follow the pre-Christian religion known as *aluq to dolo* (way of the ancestors, TS.) (Waterson 1990a:111). While wet-rice is grown in river valleys, the Saddan-Toraja mainly practice garden cultivation, with 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 speakers 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 Three). 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 per cent 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 crystallised in prehistory and reflect their common origin.²⁶ 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) and the concept of a white-blooded ruling elite, many of whom are believed to be descended from *tomanurung* (beings descended from the Uperworld to rule over the common people).²⁷ While there are significant differences in architecture, the traditional houses of all South Sulawesi language speakers (to my knowledge) have a central post around which house ceremonies are conducted, and houses are traditionally built facing north.

²⁶ I am uncertain whether the following cultural concepts apply to speakers of Sekko-Padang languages and the Mamuju language.

²⁷ The concept of *siriq* in South Sulawesi has been addressed by numerous studies, for example, Salombe (1977); La Side (1977); Volkman (1980); Andaya (1981); Zainal Abidin (1985); Abdul Hamid (1985); Mattulada (1985, 1998); Mohamad Laica Marzuki (1995); Chabot (1996); Pelras (1996). A good introduction to *siriq* among the Bugis, Makasar, Mandar and Sattan-Toraja is found in Mohammad Yahya Mustafa *et al.* (2003).

1.4 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*.²⁸ Sawitto, Alitta and the northern-central part of Suppaq make up much of *kabupaten* Pinrang, 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 a Boné envoy to Letta (Braam Morris 1892:215). In the twentieth century, the Dutch placed Batu Lappaq and Kassaq in the Dutch *onderafdeling* of Pinrang, together with Sawitto, Alitta and northern-central Suppaq. Pinrang, the name chosen by the Dutch for the *onderafdeling*, 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 is located in this region. Rice farming is the major occupation for the

²⁸ The geographic extent of the Ajattappareng kingdoms before 1700 is mainly based on the tributary and domain lists of the respective kingdoms and supplemented by other textual sources.

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, noted that Sidénréng was rich in rice and other food-stuffs (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 of rice 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 shrimp 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.²⁹ One of the sites in these areas destroyed by fish and prawn farms is the pre-Islamic port of Suppaq, which was located around the Marauleng river (see Chapter Three). The satellite image of Central Suppaq (below, 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 areas. In the recent past, however, many of these hill and

²⁹ When world prawn prices rose in the early 1980s, villagers began to expand fish farms further and further inland, sometimes converting rice-fields, and used pumps to mix seawater and irrigation water to help the fish and prawns thrive. *Kabupaten* Pinrang produces some 337,912 tons of prawns a year, about 40 per cent of South Sulawesi's total annual production (*Kompas*, 12 October 2001; *Fajar*, 3 April 2003).

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.)

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

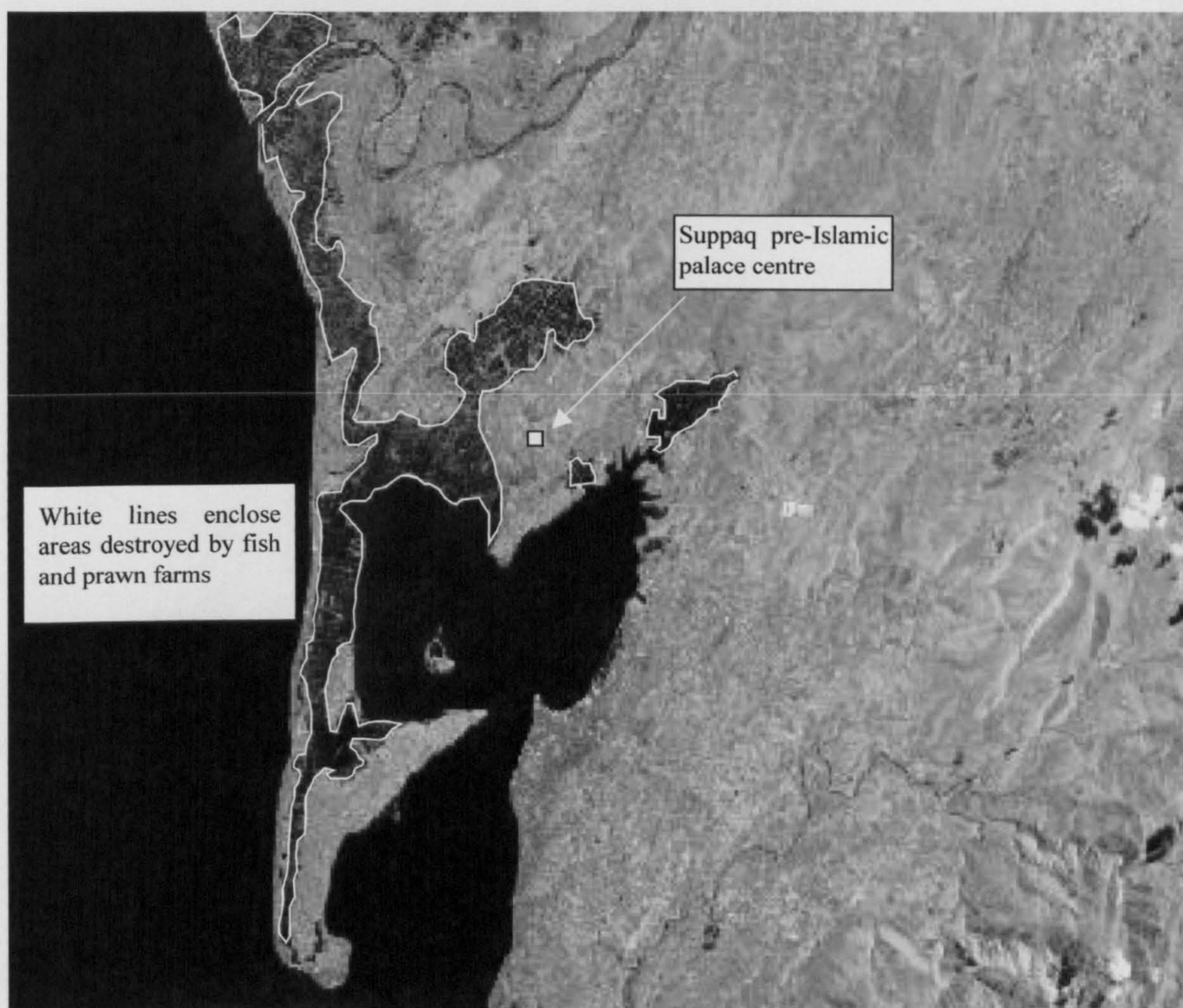


Image courtesy of CRISP - IKONOS Catalogue, National University of Singapore:
http://crisp.nus.edu.sg/crisp_cat.html

Date of image: 17-05-02

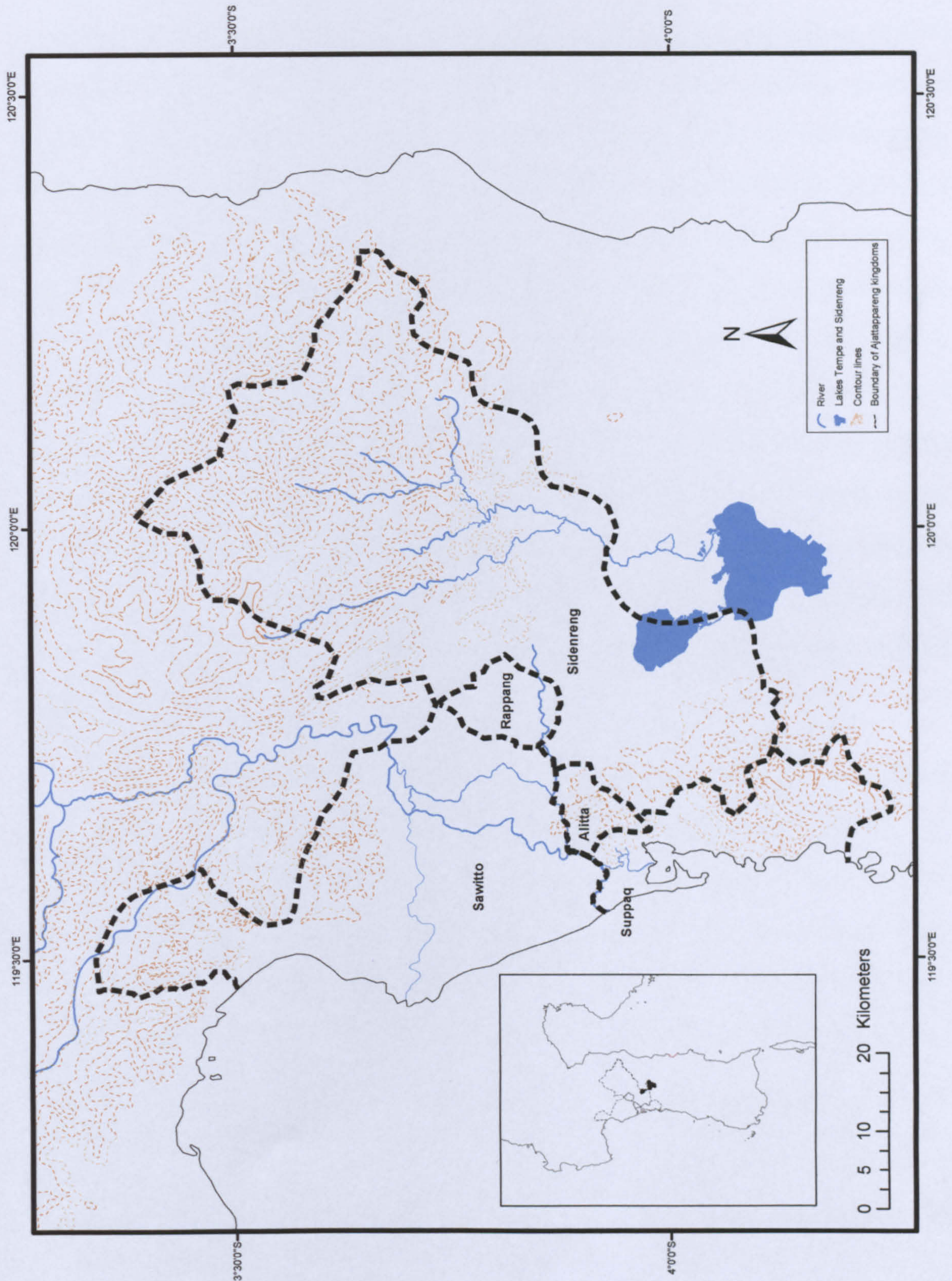
Latitude/Longitude

Centre : -3°58'36" / 119°37'30"

Top left : -3°54'28" / 119°30'24" Top right : -3°54'24" / 119°42'35"

Bottom left : -4°02'48" / 119°32'28" Bottom right : -4°02'46" / 119°44'32"

Figure 1.5: Geographical extent of Ajattappareng



1.5 Kingdoms, tributaries and domains: The political structure of the South Sulawesi kingdoms³⁰

One of the most striking characteristics of the South Sulawesi kingdoms and smaller polities that emerged after about 1300 was their multi-centred, decentralised political structure. A 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.³¹

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 and many smaller Bugis settlements, 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).

³⁰ 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 (pers.comm., Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman) 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.

³¹ It is clear from the work of Sutherland (1983) that the decentralised nature of the South Sulawesi kingdoms was not just characteristic of the period before 1600 but was still evident in the nineteenth century.

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 of³²) 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 *naponocé rakkalana* (directly ruled by³³), which signifies that the following lands form the core or 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).³⁴ 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.³⁵

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

³² *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 (i.e. tributaries) around Sidénréng which pertain to Sidénréng, or Sidénréng's tributaries.

³³ The literal meaning of this expression is: 'the plough [of the kingdom] goes down to them'.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ For example, the first two tributaries to be named on the Soppéng tributary and domain list (NBG p. 133-134) are Lamuru and Marioriwawo, which were the two largest and most powerful of Soppéng's tributaries.

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*, and a list of the personal domains of that settlement.³⁶ 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

³⁶ The Soppéng *paliliq* Citta (NBG 112 p. 57) is one such example.

military reprisal.³⁷ 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, 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 Gallangkallang, 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 Bone, Wajoq and Soppéng met, and whenever relations with Soppéng turned sour Citta would side with Bone or, less frequently, with Wajoq (Druce 1977b: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, which was concluded in

³⁷ A kingdom called upon its tributary lands to participate in a war or attend a festival by sending a *bila-bila*. According to Matthes (1874: 211), a *bila-bila* is a *lontar* leaf with a number of knots in it and was sent to tributaries or *passeajingeng* (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 *passeajingeng*

1582 in an attempt to halt the military expansion of Goa. 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 1710.³⁸ 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 (Abdul 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

³⁸ 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 Goa and, some years later, transferred to Wajoq from Goa. Following a later war between Boné and Goa, which ended with the Caleppa peace agreement sometime in the 1570s, Lamuru became a tributary of Boné (Abdul Muttalib 1978:19-20).

land's ruler.

Another important factor in maintaining tributary relations was strategic control of elite goods, such as imported ceramic trade wares 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 important 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.³⁹ Earle (1997:105-142) 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.⁴⁰

The political structure of the Saddan-Toraja *lembang* described by Nooy-Palm (1979:58-105) is similar to the Bugis, Makasar and Massenrempulu kingdoms.⁴¹ According

³⁹ According to Andaya (1981:46), Goa had the right to one-tenth of whatever products its tributaries produced.

⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ 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).

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 *maqдика* 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 categories 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, 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” (1999:65). 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 decentralised 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.

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

The basic theoretical perspective of this thesis is that the advent of regular external trade with other parts of the Indonesia archipelago 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, the Amaravati style bronze Buddha image dating from about the second to fifth century found near the mouth of the Karama river (Bosch 1933) and a number of early bronze figurines found along the south coast of

the peninsula.⁴² 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.

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 the Indonesian archipelago. 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

⁴² These include several bronze statues, perhaps dating to the seventh or eighth century, from Bantaeng (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:111-113) and two bronze dog figures found south of Makassar city that have been dated to between 2,100 and 1,500 years old (Glover 1997:218-219). 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 finds of T'ang dynasty (618-907) pieces, such as the phoenix-headed ewer reportedly found in Maros (Osroy de Flines 1969: plate 8). However, sherds from T'ang wares have never been recorded in any archaeological surveys carried out in South Sulawesi. Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000:84) report finding one eleventh to twelfth-century martavan sherd from Cina ri Aja in *kabupaten* Wajo, but this could have been deposited in the thirteenth century or later.

reported from highland Massenrempulu-speaking communities (this thesis).⁴³ The other important trade good that was imported to South 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 to 1340 ± 40 years and 1370 ± 40 years (Guy 1998:104-105, 110-112).

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

⁴³ To my knowledge no surveys have yet been carried out in Mandar-speaking areas but according to Darmawan Mas'ud Rahman (pers.comm.) 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 century Vietnamese monochrome bowl for sale in souvenir shops in Rantepao, *kabupaten* Tana Toraja, which the sellers claimed were found in Tana Toraja.

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, this expansion was 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 synthesised 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 trade wares 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.⁴⁴ The Portuguese merchant Antonio de Paiva, who visited Suppaq in 1544, mentions iron, slaves, sandalwood, cloths and ivory among the items traded in

⁴⁴ Cinnamon: probably cassia (*Cinnamomum cassia*), which like cinnamon is a member of the laurel family but its bark is thicker than cinnamon bark.

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 further suggest that the early traders who brought these trade wares to South Sulawesi were associated with the Javanese kingdoms of Majapahit and its predecessor Singhasari. Toponymic and recent archaeological evidence suggests that some of these traders settled in some coastal areas of South Sulawesi. In addition to trade with Java, Bulbeck and Clune (2003:99) have recently provided evidence of trade between South Sulawesi and the Philippines.

Chapter Two

Oral and Written Traditions in South Sulawesi

2.0 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 (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

¹ According to 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* (see photographs 3, 4 and 5).

'texts' move backwards and 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. In section 2.3 of this chapter, 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. 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

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

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 (see section 2.2.2). 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.

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.

2.1 Oral tradition in South Sulawesi

In this work I follow 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, memorised 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

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

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 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 (Muhlis Hadrawi 1993; Muhlis Hadrawi *et al.* 1996:25-28). 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 Memorised speech includes poetry, of which there are various types,⁹ magical formulas known by *sanro* (traditional medical practitioners) and some ordinary people, and pre-Islamic chants uttered by *bissu* (pre-Islamic transvestite ritual specialists). Precepts and sayings are concerned with correct behaviour, principles and laws 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

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*.

⁷ On Syekh Yusuf see Abu Hamid (1994), Cense (1985) 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 See Fachruddin (1983), Kern (1989), Salim *et al.* (1995, 2000), and Koolhof (1999).

⁹ See Salim *et al.* (1989-1990) and Tol (1991, 1996, 2000).

¹⁰ Pelras (1979) reports that in the Kajang area precepts are still passed on orally as instructions to children.

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 legitimise the position of 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 3).

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.

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.

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

2.1.1 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 oral tradition, began with an observation by one or more people. As Vansina points out (1985:29), 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 (1965:20-21, 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, 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 legitimise 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 legitimise kingship in the former Bugis kingdom of Soppéng, which exists in both written (Caldwell 1988:110-112) and oral¹² form, tells of the descent of a *tomanurung* followed by a social contract made between the *tomanurung* and representatives of the

¹² I was told several versions of this story in *kabupaten* Soppéng in 1997, while studying at Hasanuddin University as part of my undergraduate degree. Caldwell (pers.comm.) also reports being told the story orally on more than one occasion while carrying out research in Soppéng.

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 (Bahru 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. Caldwell and 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 legitimise their former position in society. The effects of nation building, at both the local and national level, has 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

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

Dutch colonial rule in the early twentieth century, which is taught in schools and re-enacted in modern plays (Pemerintah Daerah Pinrang 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 traditions of origin. Other, more conscious, effects on oral tradition come from local religious leaders who frown upon and discourage the continuation of unIslamic 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' (1979) observation 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 1961:15-16; Spillet 1998:63-65). In others societies, such as the Busoga region in Uganda, no official position directly concerned with the preservation and transmission of oral tradition appears to have existed (Cohen 1989:12). 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. 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. Marsden, cited in Stavorinus (1798:185-186), 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. 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' informants were elderly aristocratic women. Friedericy collected some oral traditions in Makasar areas but makes no mention of an oral specialist (Adatrechtbundels 1929). 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 Kennedy (1953:81) writes that he was told a story about the *tumanurung* of Goa by an old man while he was walking around Kale Goa (a low hill where the *tumanurung* of Goa descended).

Pelras (1979) writes that those who tell oral traditions are not considered professionals and story-telling itself requires no special circumstances. Muhlis Hadrawi (pers.comm.), 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.

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 as 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.¹⁴ 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 (the title of a low ranking Makasar noble), who was called I Kare Bajiq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:6).

Some who could recall oral traditions informed 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

¹⁴ 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.

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 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 (Sweeney 1987). 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 in section 2.3.2 of this chapter.

2.1.2 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 1984:113). 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 timeframe leading neatly from past to present.¹⁵ What often occurs is that the corpus of oral tradition as a whole telescopes into a shallow three-tier time depth, as Vansina (1985:168-169) describes:

“There are many accounts for very recent times, tapering off as one goes father 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

¹⁵ An exception to this is found in Rotinese society (Fox 1971 & 1979). 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 but rather reflect the Rotinese image of themselves.

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.).¹⁶ 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) of Sidénréng. It was Sumangrukku who gave I Sima Tana the title *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.

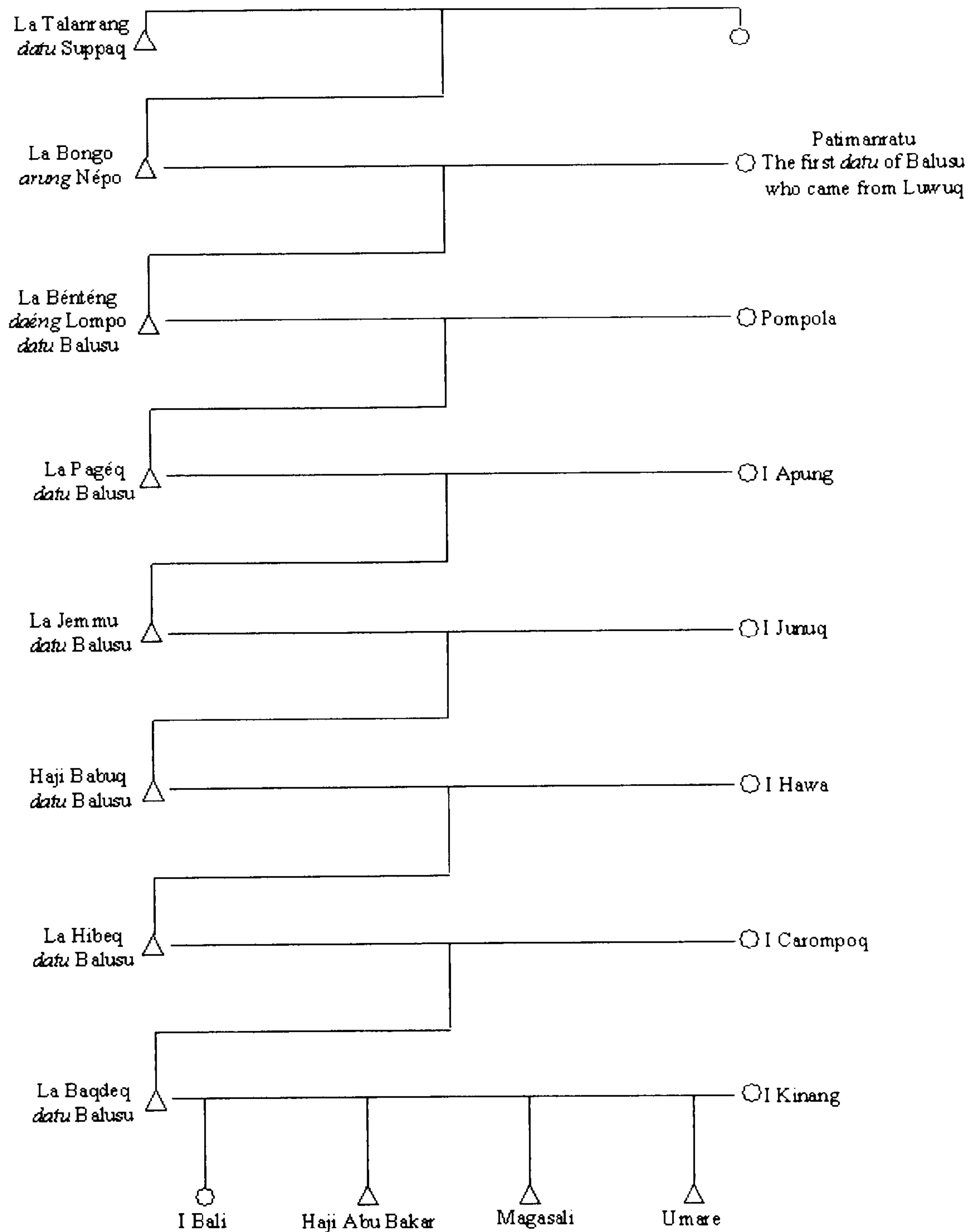
¹⁶ The panels set out before the doorway of a ruler's house were a visible sign of status. The rulers of larger kingdoms had as many as seven panels.

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'. 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 Abubakar, was one of these children and the continued transmission of this genealogy serves as proof of his noble descent (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Oral genealogy from Balusu



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 (Pelras 1996:138).¹⁷ 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-

¹⁷ 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 Goa 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 Goa 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 Goa returned to Tino the pigs had been eaten and the people of Tino accepted Islam (Caldwell and Druce 1998:38).

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 Four.

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 Sawitto by way of being older than Sawitto.¹⁸ The fourth of the oral traditions placed by informants in the pre-Islamic period tells of how Goa 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 Goa, whose name has been retained in the tradition (I.61, I.182).

For the period after conversion to Islam period, 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 legitimise the position of the ruling elite by providing them with a separate origin to that of the common people. Similar traditions

¹⁸ I use the term 'precedence' in the sense meant by Fox (1996: 131-132). Notions of precedence are discussed in Chapter Four in relation to the Ajattappareng lands.

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 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 notion of a Boné origin for the first rulers of Sawitto is not simply more prestigious. Modern-day Bugis-Toraja relations are characterised 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 Three), 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 five kilometres away on a hill called Puaqta 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 (photograph 6). The martavan is also known as *puaqta* (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 (Nur Alam 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 Four, section 4.3.3.2.5). 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, Goa 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, Goa 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, Goa 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 Abdurrazak's *Sejarah Goa* (1969:147) concerning the origins of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, an early sixteenth century ruler of Goa. This tradition appears to have developed in order to counter an account of his mother's origin given by the

chronicle of Goa. The chronicle of Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25) informs us that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's mother was in fact a slave. After being bought by Kauku Bodoa, she was given to Batara Goa, ruler of Goa, and later gave birth to Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna. The oral tradition presented by Abdurrazak was related to him by Andi Ijo *karaeng* Lalolang, the last ruler of Goa, who had been told the tradition by his father and uncle. This tradition counters the tradition given by the chronicle of Goa 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 Goa.

2.2 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) has remarked, 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 the scripts of Sumatra and the Philippines.¹⁹ 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 (1983:32-42) 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 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 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

¹⁹ 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).

being written with ink on paper rather than inscribed on palm-leaf. It is worth noting that Kern (1939:580-583) 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 *tammal* (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 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 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 and will willingly allow them to be photocopied.²⁰

²⁰ 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

Ahmad Rahman and Salim (1996:51-53) consider that the sacred and symbolic meanings some owners attach to their manuscripts are essentially a modern development brought about by social change. They 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 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.

2.2.1 The origins of the written tradition

Some forty 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 Goa which claims the script was first used by Daeng Pametteq, the *sabanaraq* (harbour master, M.) of Goa during in the first half of the sixteenth century (Noorduyn 1965:153). 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

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.

which there is any evidence, was to record the ruling elite in genealogical form (Caldwell 1988).²¹ 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 backdated to before 1400 is much less certain than for individuals named for the period after 1400.²² 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.²³ 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

²¹ 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 trade wares 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.

²² 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.

²³ This is supported by my own analysis, which draws on textual and archaeological evidence, of claims made in Soppéng genealogy concerning early relationships between the rulers of Soppéng and Suppaq (Druce 2001).

sections can be termed as genealogical. 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.²⁴ 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 genealogical 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 genealogical 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 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 Bangkalaq, 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 Goa 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 Goa is genealogical information concerning the children of Batara Goa, a late fifteenth century ruler of Goa. Noorduyn (1965:151) considers one of these children,

²⁴ This analysis followed the principles established by Caldwell (1988).

Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna, to have been the first historical ruler of Goa. 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.²⁵ 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.

²⁵ Genealogical sources for the Ajattappareng lands are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

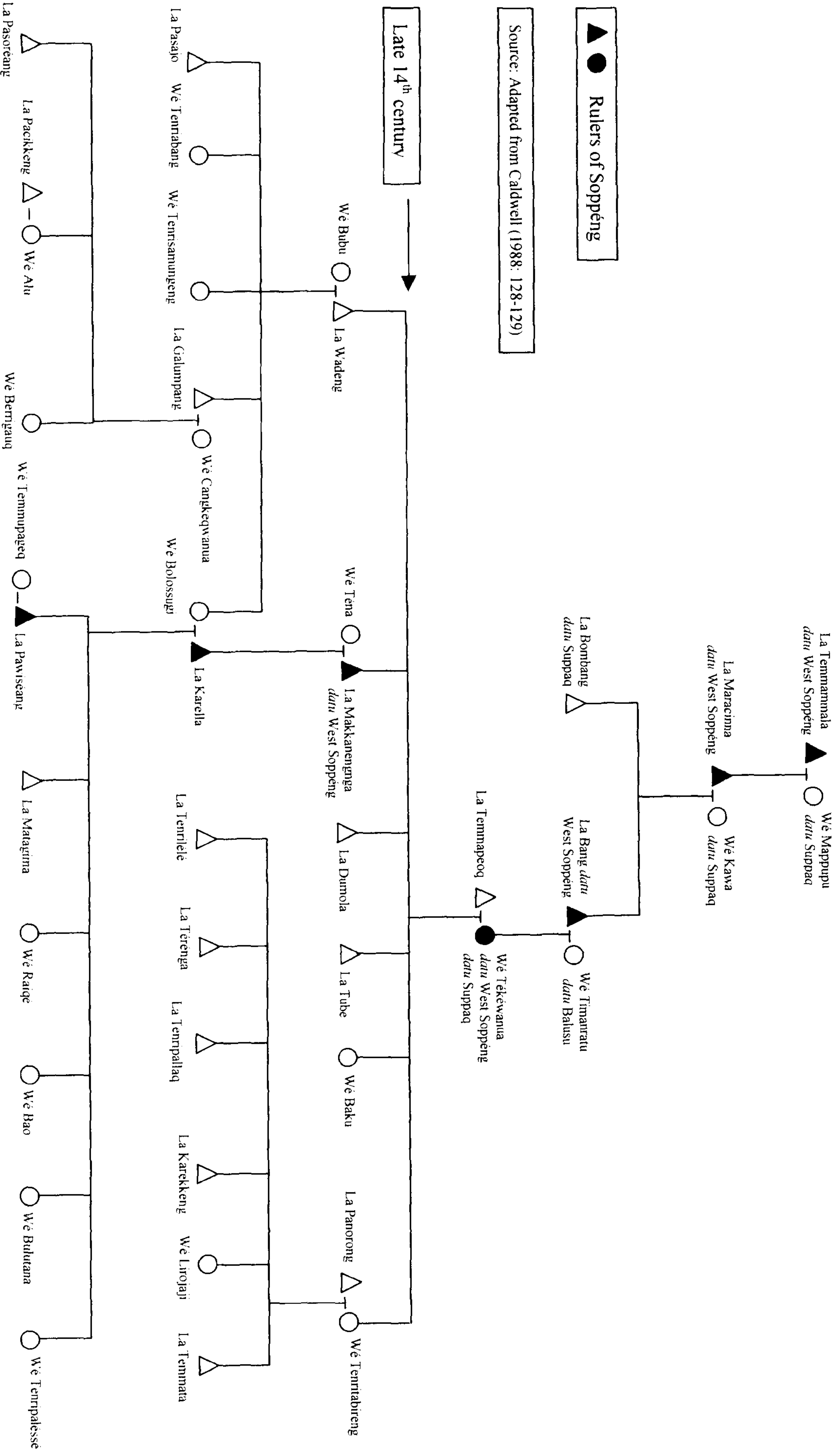


Figure 2.1: First seven generations of the Soppeng genealogy

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.

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 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 would have been Makasar culture itself 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.

2.2.2 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 *tolloq* (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 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. 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 Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.), Talloq (Rahim and Ridwan 1975), Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955; Zainal Abidin 1985) and Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation), which have been translated into Indonesian, Dutch or English with accompanying Romanised transcriptions.²⁶ 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, whose reigns the chronicles are structured around, 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 (see section 2.1.2 of this chapter). Other events told of include the expansion of their respective kingdoms, wars, treaties and 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 Goa 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

²⁶ Other works that can appropriately be described as chronicles are those of Tanété (Niemann 1883; Basrah Gisang 2002) (written in the nineteenth century), Sawitto (see section 2.4) (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 (2002:138-144) 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 142 are characteristic of oral genealogies that can be found in Makasar-speaking areas today and appear to be oral traditions that have been committed to paper.

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 Indonesia by Zainal Abidin (1985) is called the *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (the complete chronicle of Wajoq). 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 Goa chronicle that sets out the names of the children of *karaeng* Mapeqdaka (a daughter of the Goa ruler Tunibata), 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 old writings (Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation). 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 emphasised. 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 Goa and Talloq chronicles dating from

about 1630, royal diaries.²⁷ All of these sources have 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.²⁸ 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 1955:188-197; Zainal Abidin 1985:228-237). 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 Goa 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.:21-22). This section of the Goa 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.

²⁷ The oldest diary is that of Goa and Talloq, which contains contemporary information from the beginning of the seventeenth century. A transcription and Dutch translation of this diary was published by Ligtoet (1880:1-259). A transcription and Indonesian translation of this diary covering the period up to 1751 have also been published by Kamaruddin *et al.* (1985-1986) and Sjahrudin Kaseng *et al.* (1986-1987). 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).

²⁸ Abdurrazak (1969:2-6) summarises a more elaborate version of this story than the version written down in the Goa chronicle, which is derived from a separate *patturioloang* text. I have been told oral versions of the Goa *tomanurung* story on several occasions in Barombong and Kale Goa.

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 Goa were kept in a manuscript by the chancellor of the kingdom.²⁹ Although as Noorduyn remarks, the dating of these treaties, especially the older ones, can only be done by the names of the rulers mentioned in them.³⁰

Later sections of the chronicles provide examples of the writers using oral history. The first evident use of oral history in the Goa chronicle is found in a section about Tunipasuluq (1590-1593), who was deposed as ruler of Goa 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 Tunipasuluq’s reign. This is the first occasion that the writer of the Goa chronicle uses oral history (information obtained from people contemporaneous with events), which provides a clue as to when this chronicle was written, a matter that we shall return to below.³¹

²⁹ It is not clear from Noorduyn’s essay what period this manuscript dates from.

³⁰ According to Cummings (2002:42), the chronicle of Goa says that Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna was the first ruler to make ‘written laws and written declarations of war’. However, this section of the chronicle of Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:18) gives no indication that laws or declarations of law 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*).

³¹ My understanding and interpretation of this section of the Goa 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).

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 Goa chronicles:

“This work tells of the land of Boné and the ruling of Boné.”
(Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation.)

“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 1965:143-144.)

There is general agreement among scholars that the chronicles of Goa, 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 (2000:325-326) argues that the writing of the Goa 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 Goa, 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 Goa chronicle. According to Mukhlis (1975:15-18), the Goa 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 Goa to have been written in the eighteenth century. William Cummings (2002), on the other hand, suggests that the writing of the Goa 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.

While I agree with Macknight's argument that the Boné chronicle was written after those of Goa and Talloq, I would argue that the Goa 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 Goa 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 Goa from 1593 to 1639 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 1654,³² 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).

³² Tumenanga ri Bontobiraeng is the posthumous title of the influential Talloq ruler *karaeng* Patingalloang, who was effective ruler of both Goa and Talloq during this period. The use of his posthumous name in Wolhoff and Abdurrahim's (n.d) version of the Goa 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 1991a:474).

These uses of oral history, which are not evident in earlier sections of these two chronicles, suggest that the Goa and Talloq chronicles were written no earlier than 1639 (the date of Sultan Ala'uddin's death) and probably during the 1640 and 1650s, either during the lifetime of *karaeng* Pattingalloang (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 emphasised. 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 (2002:45-46) for the Goa 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 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 Bangkaraq, 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, Goa 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.³³ 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).

³³ The remainder of this paragraph is drawn from Macknight's paper (2000).

2.3 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 Goody and Watt (1968), Olson (1977, 1994), Ong (1982) and Goody (1986, 1987). These studies have been labelled ‘Great-Divide theories’ as they emphasise 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 Street (1984) Finnegan (1988) Gee (1990) and Collins (1995) who have rejected the universalist models of the ‘Great-Divide theories’. Finnegan 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 (1988:143). 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 population, whether of common or noble birth, the primary means of obtaining, retaining and disseminating knowledge, whether about 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.” (Druce 1999:35.)³⁴

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

³⁴ For the role of the *suro* in Wajoq, see Noorduyin (1955:55) and Zainal Abidin (1979:648).

far the most 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' 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' work suggests it to be.

2.3.1 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 thesis presents numerous examples (see in particular, section 2.4 below). 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, as most manuscripts that contain oral traditions date to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Oral traditions may have first been written down in any significant number in the eighteenth century, as knowledge of writing appears to have become more widespread at this time (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 (see, for example, Friedericy 1929; van Brink 1943; Chabot 1996). Today, South Sulawesi oral traditions continue to be recorded by both local and foreign researchers (see, for example, Muhammad Sikki *et al.* 1986; Suradi Yasil 2000; Bougas 1998; Caldwell and Druce 1998).

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 (see section 2.1.2). Another example is the oral 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, in preparation). In another version transmitted orally today, the *tomanurung* who descends at Matajang is female, while the *tomanurung* of Toroq is male (Atika Sja'rani 2001:63-65, 143-145).

What was the impetus for writing down oral traditions in the Bugis script? The most probable explanation is 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, how to recognise the best type of horse to use in war, house building, boat building and even putting up a fence. A detailed *lontaraq* text that explains how to go about building a boat was translated by Macknight and Mukhlis (1979), although 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).

2.3.2 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 common 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.

In section 2.1.1, 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.

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 Goa during the reign of Tunijalloq, a late sixteenth century ruler of Goa, which Noorduynd suggests may indicate that they had the role of noting down some contemporary information (1961:31). 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

copy 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 Makaraka'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 a *palontaraq* 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 fieldwork, 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 which 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 that had been forgotten.

To summarise, 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 whenever the need may 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 a memory aid 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 Alitta's past. Much of this information was from a manuscript about Alitta, which 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*).³⁵ 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 1872b:251), is no longer performed today (Koolhof 2004).³⁶

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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

No texts read out on these occasions are historical and, as far as I am aware, there are no public performances of historical texts today. There is also little evidence to suggest that historical texts were performed to a wide audience in the past. Drs Muhammad Salim and Drs 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 is not certain. Zainal Abidin (1983:203-204) 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. Braam Morris (1889:43), in his description of the installation of the ruler of Luwuq, informs us that written texts were read out on this occasion, but that these texts were taken from the *latoa* material.³⁷

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

by groups of local farmers, an *imam* reads Islamic prayers.

³⁷ The *latoa* material 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).

chronicles may have been adapted for oral performance. As Macknight (1998:45-46) 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 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. Sweeny'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.

2.4 Stories about Suppaq, Sawitto and Goa: From the sixteenth century to the twentieth-first century

In the mid-sixteenth century, Goa defeated Suppaq and Sawitto in war. Goa's victory over these two kingdoms radically changed the balance of power along the west coast of the peninsula and paved the way for Goa to become the most dominant power in South Sulawesi (see Chapter Five).

The stories that people told about this tumultuous event were 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 few people living in *kabupaten* Pinrang.

All of 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 Goa, and their relations with each other, in the sixteenth century. Five traditions are discussed and presented below.

2.4.1 Tradition 1: The *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto

The longest of these traditions, the *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto (ASS),³⁸ is preserved in two eighteenth century manuscripts. Both versions are evidently 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 Goa in the mid-sixteenth century. The second of these events appears to be from a subsequent conflict, or perhaps conflicts, between Sawitto and Goa 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 recognisable 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 emphasise close historical links with Boné. Repetition of this expression in 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*

³⁸ This title is derived from the opening passage of the text: *Pannessaengngi attoriolongngé ri Suppaq ri Sawitto*.

that was called *ula daunraungngé*. 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 realising the mistake, attempt to reintegrate the section into the story, which results in confusion of order.³⁹ In this case, however, the storyteller appears simply to have forgotten part 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

³⁹ 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.

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 that are derived from oral tradition (Muhlis Hadrawi, pers.comm.).

Translation⁴⁰

This [story] tells of a time in the past in Suppaq and Sawitto when they were still great. Our lord, Makaraié went and met with the *karaeng* of Goa 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 fire⁴¹ [we] do not know.” Makaraié said: “What will we say

⁴⁰ From ANRIM 76 / 19 p. 157-160. A transliteration of the text is given in Appendix C.

⁴¹ Smoke and fire: *rumpu api*; origins [of people].

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 Goa 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 shame⁴² because for too long I have waited [but you] did not come." The *karaeng* became angry. His army swore an oath⁴³ and descended on Suppaq and Sawitto. [But] they were 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 Makasar. 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

⁴² Feeling of shame: *siriq*.

⁴³ Swore an oath: *mangaruq* (from *aru*); an oath formerly uttered to rulers by their followers before engaging in warfare.

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 Goa.” 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 Goa] 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 [Goa]. 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 Goa] and wanted to fight with⁴⁴ the *karaeng*, “unless my words are wrong.”⁴⁵ When [La Pancai] arrived in Makassar [he] went up before the *karaeng*. He was

⁴⁴ Fight with: *sallo-salloi*; literally, ‘to play with’.

⁴⁵ Unless my words are wrong: *rékkuwa sisala winru adakkuq*.

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.”⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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 Goa said: “Because the people of Sawitto have been allowed to hang up their bird huts.”⁴⁸ The messenger was then ordered to take back the people of Sawitto who lived in Makassar to go down to Sawitto. *Karaeng* Madelloq was also taken down to [Sawitto] and was made as the *pétau*.⁴⁹ 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 p. 157-160)

⁴⁶ i.e. to rule without interference.

⁴⁷ i.e. now held power.

⁴⁸ i.e. have been given back their authority.

⁴⁹ *Pétau*: literally, ‘the bund between the rice fields’.

2.4.2 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 inform of what happened to Wé Lampé Wéluaq and her husband, La Cellaq Mata, and to explain the posthumous name of La Cellaq Mata, ‘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 most evident to the Bugis reader (Muhlis Hadrawi, pers.comm.).

As we noted above, there is some 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 any earlier version of the ASS.

Translation⁵⁰

This explains about Wé Lampé Wéluaq and what happened with the *karaeng* of Goa, 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 Goa was angry and he attacked Suppaq and Sawitto. Suppaq and Sawitto were defeated. Then the *karaeng* of Goa 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).

⁵⁰ A transliteration of the text is given in Appendix C.

2.4.3 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, his purpose, and roughly when he wrote down the tradition on paper in the Bugis script. This tradition was recorded by a well-known *palontaraq* called Haji Paewa, 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 Goa, 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 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 at least did not have access to that particular work.

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 of the tradition 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 simply as Tunipalangga in such texts.

What is evident is that when Haji Paewa collected this tradition (or traditions) its form and function had been transformed. The tradition still told of Sawitto's (though not Suppaq's) defeat by Goa, but its functions reflected mid-twentieth century concerns. The most important of these functions was to explain the origin of the name Pinrang. Before the early twentieth century, Pinrang had been a settlement of little significance. Following the defeat of Sawitto by the Dutch in 1905, the settlement was made the capital of the *onderafdeeling* Pinrang, which was created from Sawitto,

Alitta, central Suppaq, Batu Lappaq and Kassaq. After Indonesian independence, Pinrang continued to be the capital of the *kabupaten* of the same name. The tradition serves to legitimise this position in the present by making specific historical claims.

Some traces of the tradition found in the ASS and the story about the fate of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata are still recognisable in Haji Paewa's version. As in the ASS, the boat of the *karaeng* still brings riches from Goa 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 humiliation: the *aqdatuang* was forced to chop wood, while his wife is found pounding rice, rather than being herself pounded. The capture of the *aqdatuang*, the torture and the eventual return of the *aqdatuang*, 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 Goa. The *aqdatuang* decrees that the place where this change was first observed by the people be called Pinra-pinraé (a change, B.), which, came to be known as Pinrang and is still called Pinrang to this day. Pinrang 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. Lérang-lérang 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. Corawali is where the site known as Temmanroli (Sawitto's pre-Islamic palace centre) is located and is an important *keramat*. Indeed, Corawali would have been the capital the *aqdatuang* occupied at the time of the defeat by Goa. The two champions of Sawitto who play a prominent role in this tradition, Toléngo and Tokippang, can be found in other unrelated stories found 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 (Chapter Four).

Translation⁵¹

The *karaeng* of Goa, who was called I Manriogawu *daeng* Bonto Tonipalangga Ulaweng *daeng* Bonto, wanted to go and attack the lands on the edge [of the sea].⁵² He wanted to defeat them and make them slaves, or make them tributaries.

[Now] because the Sawitto army were so strong in their fort, the army of Goa could not defeat them directly. [The army of Goa] 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], who were called Toléngo and Tokippang. The enemies could not defeat these two champions of the people of Sawitto.

Two or three times Goa attacked but they could not be defeated. [Then] Bontonlempangang⁵³ 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

⁵¹ The original text contains no paragraphs; those in the present text are my own. A transliteration is given in Appendix C.

⁵² i.e. Suppaq and Sawitto.

⁵³ An advisor to the ruler of Goa.

until the fort [of Sawitto] was also overcome. Then the fort was flattened [by the Goa 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 Goa. 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 Goa, and were followed by the group of soldiers. After they had arrived in Goa they saw the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto chopping wood in the yard [of the palace of Goa]. 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*. They were also trusted [by the *karaeng*] because that had drunk palm wine, which had been stirred with a dagger,⁵⁴ and the *karaeng* had already taken tribute.

After all was ready, Tokippang and Toléngo collected the *aqdatuang* and escaped, taking [the *aqdatuang*] back [to Sawitto]. After the *karaeng* learned of this [escape], 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, all 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.”⁵⁵ 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

⁵⁴ This act implies that the two champions had sworn an oath together with the *karaeng*.

⁵⁵ The origin of the name Pinrang.

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.”⁵⁶ There was not one person who shed tears when they saw the *aqdatuang*. So the *aqdatuang* stayed [in Sawitto] 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.”⁵⁹ (HP p. 11-13)

2.4.4 Tradition 4: A story from the oral register

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

⁵⁶ *Lérang-lérang*: ‘to trickle’ or ‘to roll down’.

⁵⁷ *Cora*: ‘to have light’ or be ‘bright’. *Macorawali*: ‘light all around’.

⁵⁸ *Mallékana*: ‘inauguration’ or ‘installation’ [of a ruler]. Presumably the place where the rulers of Sawitto were inaugurated in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁹ 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 be written down in a *lontaraq* text, had never seen nor was 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 Goa was angry with the ruler of Sawitto because he would not let the *karaeng* marry his daughter. Goa 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.⁶⁰ (1.68)

2.4.5 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 produced 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* written by Haji Paewa about Sawitto. The oral tradition collected by Haji Paewa plays a very important role in this book and is summarised 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 with 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 informants were government officials who had read the tradition in *Sejarah lahirnya kabupaten daerah tingkat II Pinrang*, while the remaining nine had

⁶⁰ 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'.

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. With one exception, through further inquiry 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. Whether a tradition is written down in *lontaraq* or printed in Latin script, the most effective means of dissemination is still the oral register.

Chapter Three

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

3.0 Introduction

There have been important changes in the physical geography of the Ajattappareng region since 1600. Some of these changes have been relatively recent, such as the dramatic increase in the number of commercial fish farms in coastal areas, and the opening up of more land for wet-rice farming, both of which have destroyed important archaeological sites. Perhaps the most important change in the physical geography of the Ajattappareng region concerns the River Saddang, which two early twentieth century Dutch sources 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 the former course of the River Saddang is central to understanding the pre-seventeenth century settlement patterns and political and economic organisation and development of the western part of the Ajattappareng region. The political and economic roles played by other rivers in the Ajattappareng region, such as the Binagakaraeng and Bila rivers, are also examined below.

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 I will show pre-sixteenth century settlements were located, would have been inundated with water.

The Ajattappareng region is home to a number of culturally and linguistically diverse peoples, the most populous and dominant of which are 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. Section four of this chapter attempts 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 the ruling elite in some highland areas became profoundly influenced by Bugis cultural practices in the period before 1600, 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.

3.1 The central lakes

Christian Pelras 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 (Pelras 1996:61-62). 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, where boats appear to 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 oral tradition can be found in many Bugis and Massenrempulu areas of South Sulawesi; I myself have collected numerous versions. Some of these traditions are simple statements such as: “According to older people, all of this area was once sea”. Other stories are more elaborate and have become combined with origin traditions.

The existence of these 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, between about 4,500 to 3,500 years ago (Bellwood 1997:229). At this time sea levels were higher (Witten *et al.* 1987:20). As the pollen analysis of two parallel cores taken just east of Singkang reveal, 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). Recent geomorphological work by Caldwell and Lilie (2004) at Lake Tempe found no evidence of a permanent lake bed beyond the present lake’s boundary, which suggests that the present-day boundary of the lake has long been established. It is therefore just possible that early Austronesian arrivals in South Sulawesi would have found the southern peninsula divided into two halves as late as perhaps 3,000 years ago. There is, however, no scientific evidence to suggest that this channel still existed as recently as the tenth to thirteenth century, the period to which Pelras believes the La Galigo epic literature refers.

Pelras argues that after the thirteenth century this ancient waterway began to gradually 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 1996:63-65).

The evidence Pelras presents for the existence of a single, large deep lake in the sixteenth century is derived from scattered European sources dating from the mid-sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries (Pelras 1996:63). The earliest, and by far the most important, of these sources is a letter from a Portuguese adventurer Manuel Pinto, to the Bishop of Goa, dated to 1548.¹ In 1545, Pinto 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 spread the Catholic faith. In 1546, the mission was forced 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 5). Pinto, who may have been sick at the time the mission departed (Schurhammer 1980:252 n. 21), was left behind. Having remained in Suppaq for about eighteen months, he claims then to have travelled to Sidénréng, where he stayed for eight months as a guest of the ruler (Schurhammer 1980:628). In his letter, Pinto 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*”.² He estimated the size of this lake to have been about 20 leagues long and 4 to 5 leagues wide (about 110 kilometres in length and 22 to 27.5 kilometres in width³) and further claimed that a river flowed from this lake for a month before emptying in the Bamda Sea to the east. Pinto’s estimate of the lake’s length appears to be a wild exaggeration, as this would have

¹ Schurhammer (1980:627-629) presents a full English translation.

² In the Malay and Indonesian languages, *perahu* is a general word for boat, often inferring a small wooden river or coastal boat.

³ According to Schurhammer (1980:672), a Portuguese maritime league (*legua maritima*) before 1835 was equivalent to 5.5 kilometres. An ordinary Portuguese league was 6.1 to 6.6 kilometres.

placed 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 six leagues (33 kilometres) within the interior of the land. The distance from the pre-Islamic capital of Suppaq to Watang Sidénréng is about 26 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. The river Pinto referred to is identifiable as the Cenrana river, which, as Caldwell and Lilie (2004) have noted, takes a day to reach the sea, rather than a month.

Caldwell and Lilie (2004) conclude that Pinto may have witnessed the annual expansion of lakes Tempe, Sidenreng and Buaya, which takes place during the wet season from April to June. During these months these three lakes can merge into a single vast lake spreading over an area of 35, 000 ha (Whitten *et al.* 1987:255) (see figure 3.1). As one local resident from Wetteq in southern Sidrap informed me, at that time of the year, "it is just like a single great lake." (1.64) This single lake 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 can shrink to just 1,000 ha (Witten *et al.* 1987:255). Between August and February, the average size is about 14,500 ha (Suara Publik 2003⁴). Lakes Tempe and Sidenreng are connected all year round via a 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 (Photograph 7).

⁴ Edisi Januari 2003, 'Selamatkan Danau Tempe sekarang', http://www.suarapublik.org/Cetak/Edisi_11/index.html

Figure 3: Manuel Pinto's estimate of the lake

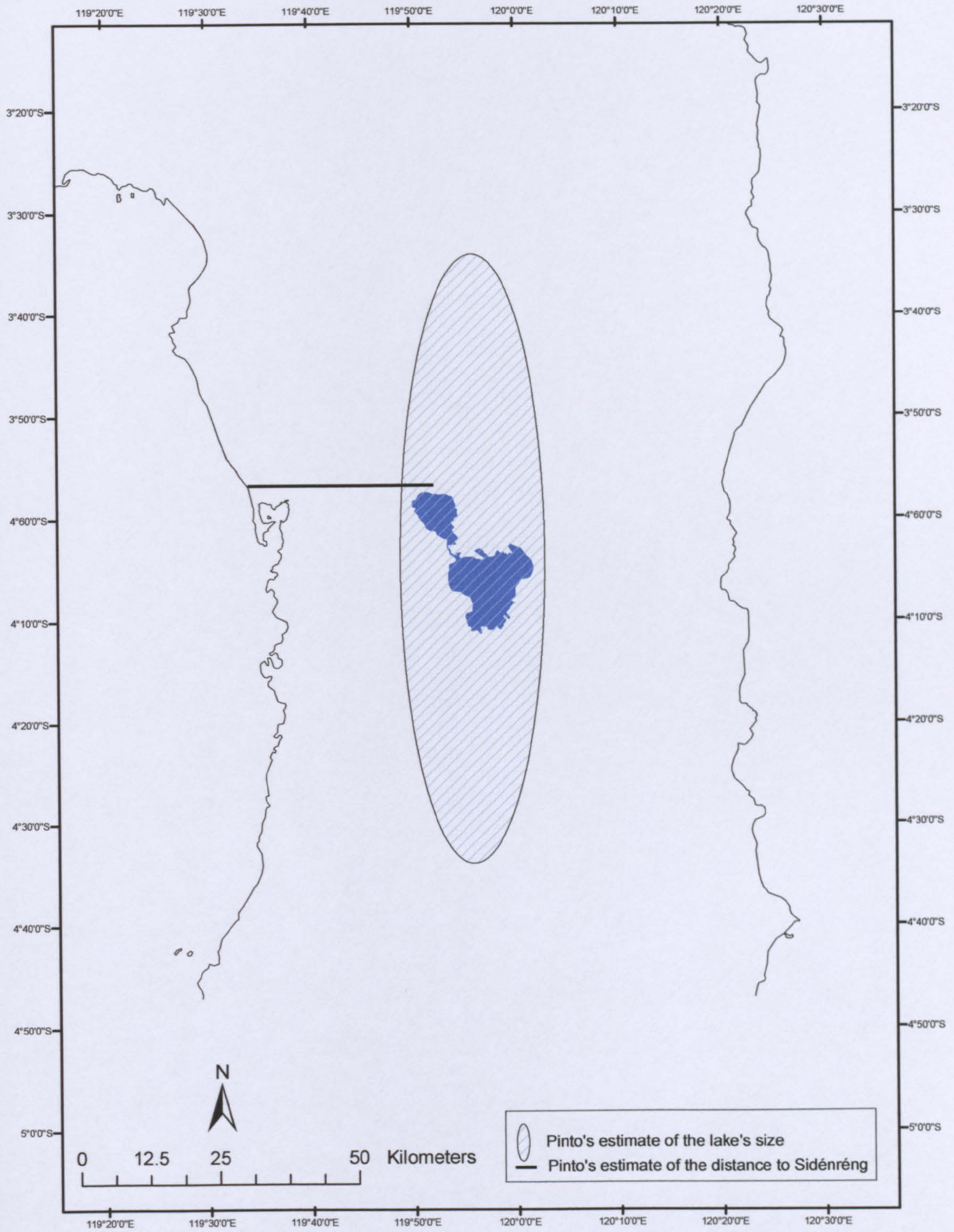
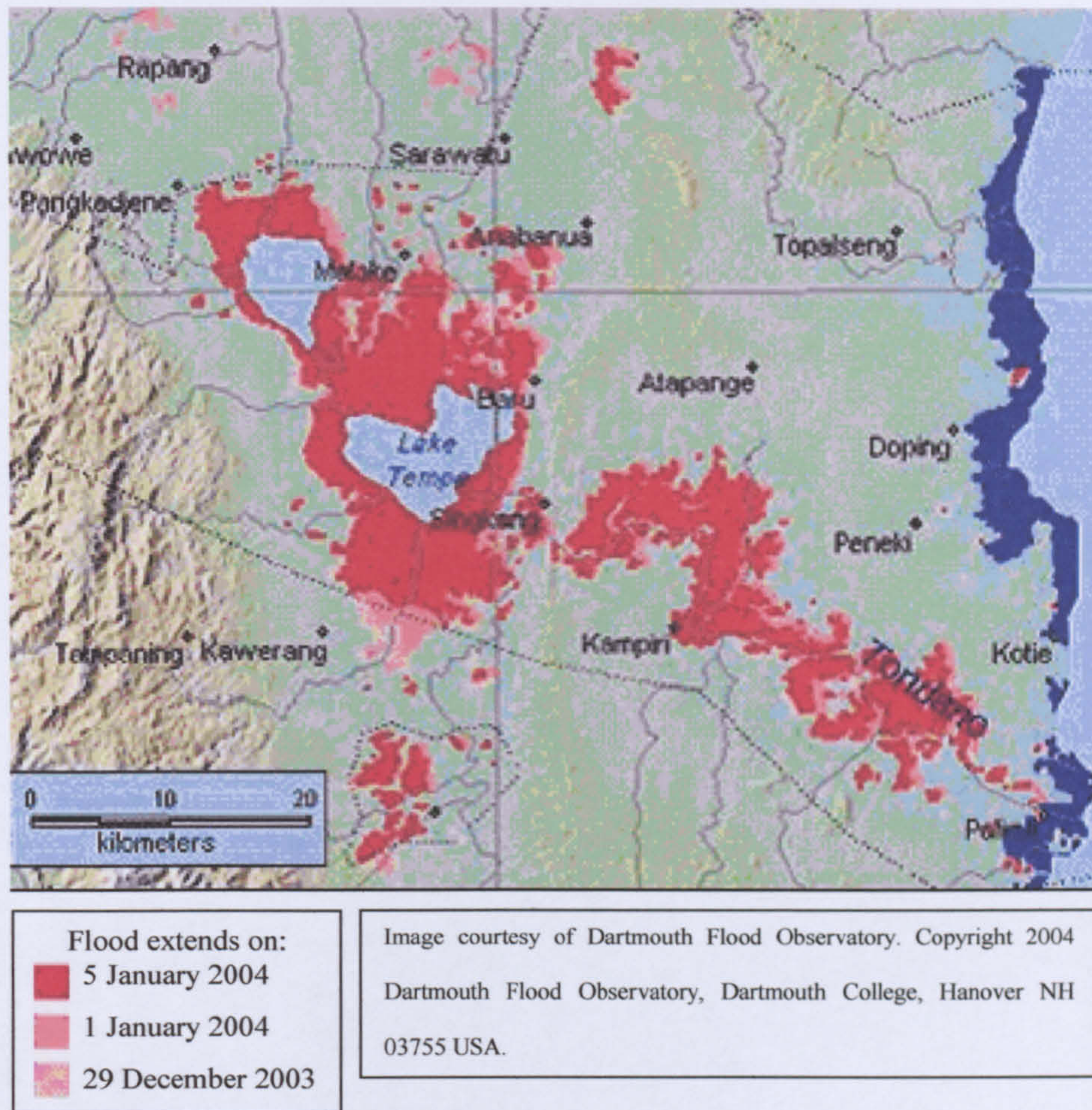
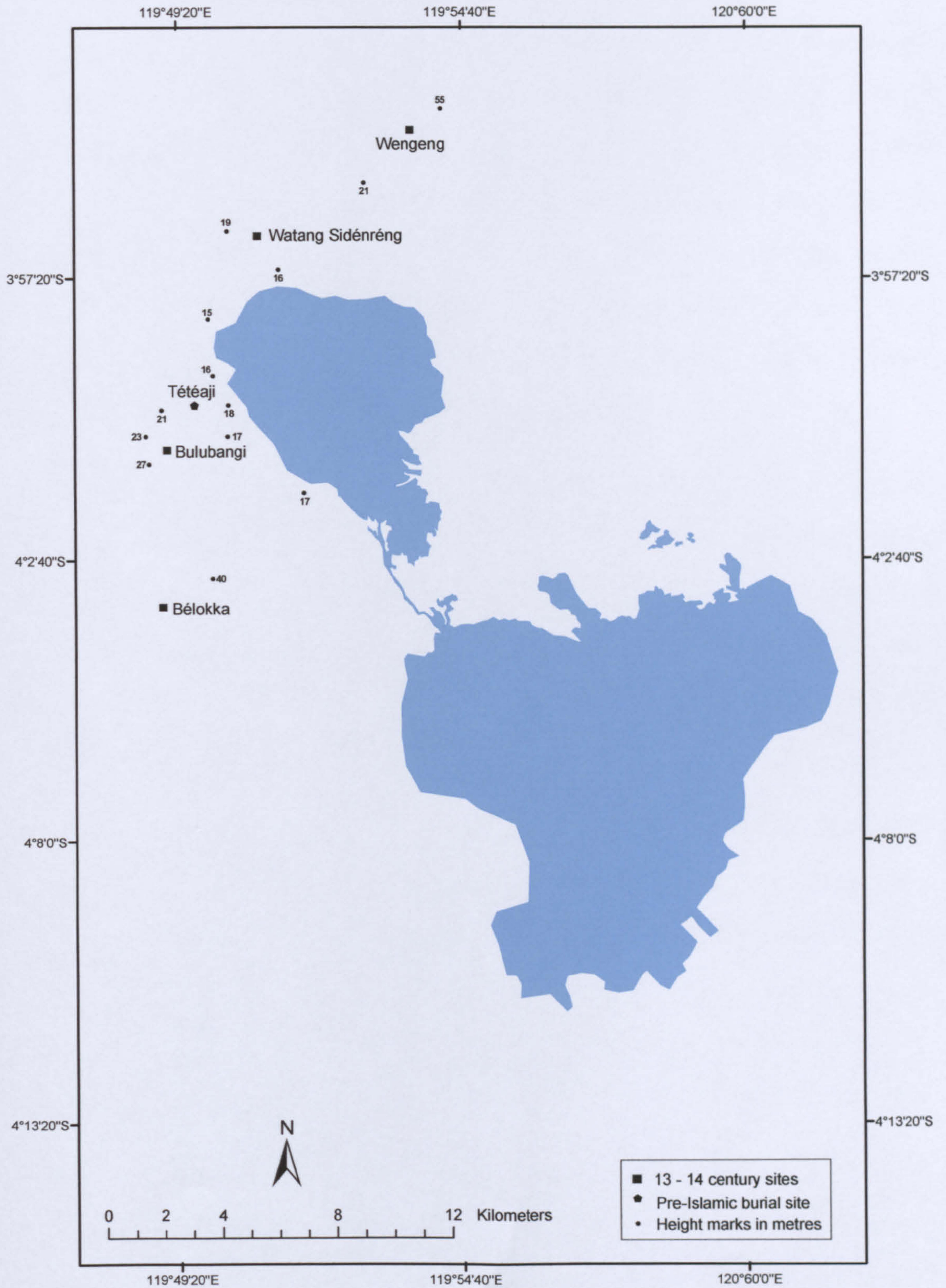


Figure 3.1: Extent of flooding around lakes Tempe and Sidenreng in December 2003 and January 2004



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 which lay within 1.5 to 7.5 kilometres of Lake Sidenreng's shores (see figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Pre-1600 archaeological sites in central Sidénréng



The existence of these habitation and burial sites dating from as early as the thirteenth to fourteenth century show conclusively that Lake Sidenreng was no larger 700 years ago than 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 700 years ago, as Caldwell and Lillie suggest (2004). Local residents in 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 buried their dead in this area would have ensured that graves were dug beyond the furthest point of the lake's 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. At that time, many of Guru's inhabitants decided to establish a new village called Pokkoto, which is located several kilometres to the west of where Guru was located.

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, and means that in the wet season the additional load of water is spread over a wider surface area. In recent times this inundation has become an increasing problem. In 2002, eight people were killed and 15,795 houses and 7,669 hectares of rice fields inundated with water. In 2003, 1,097 hectares of rice land were lost because of the flooding (*Jakarta Post* online, July 16, 2002; *Fajar* online, May 25, 2003).

In conclusion, the lake that Pinto claims to have seen in the mid-sixteenth century was very unlikely to have been any larger than that it is today. As the lake was deeper in the

past, some of the ‘many *paru*’ that he says sailed upon this lake were probably 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 utilised 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 section 3.3.4).

3.2 The Saddang river system

In the last 150 years or so, there have been a number of important changes in the Saddang river system in *kabupaten* Pinrang. The catalyst for these changes was a change 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.⁵ 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 the Ajattappareng region and the political and economic development of the Ajattappareng region.

⁵ 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

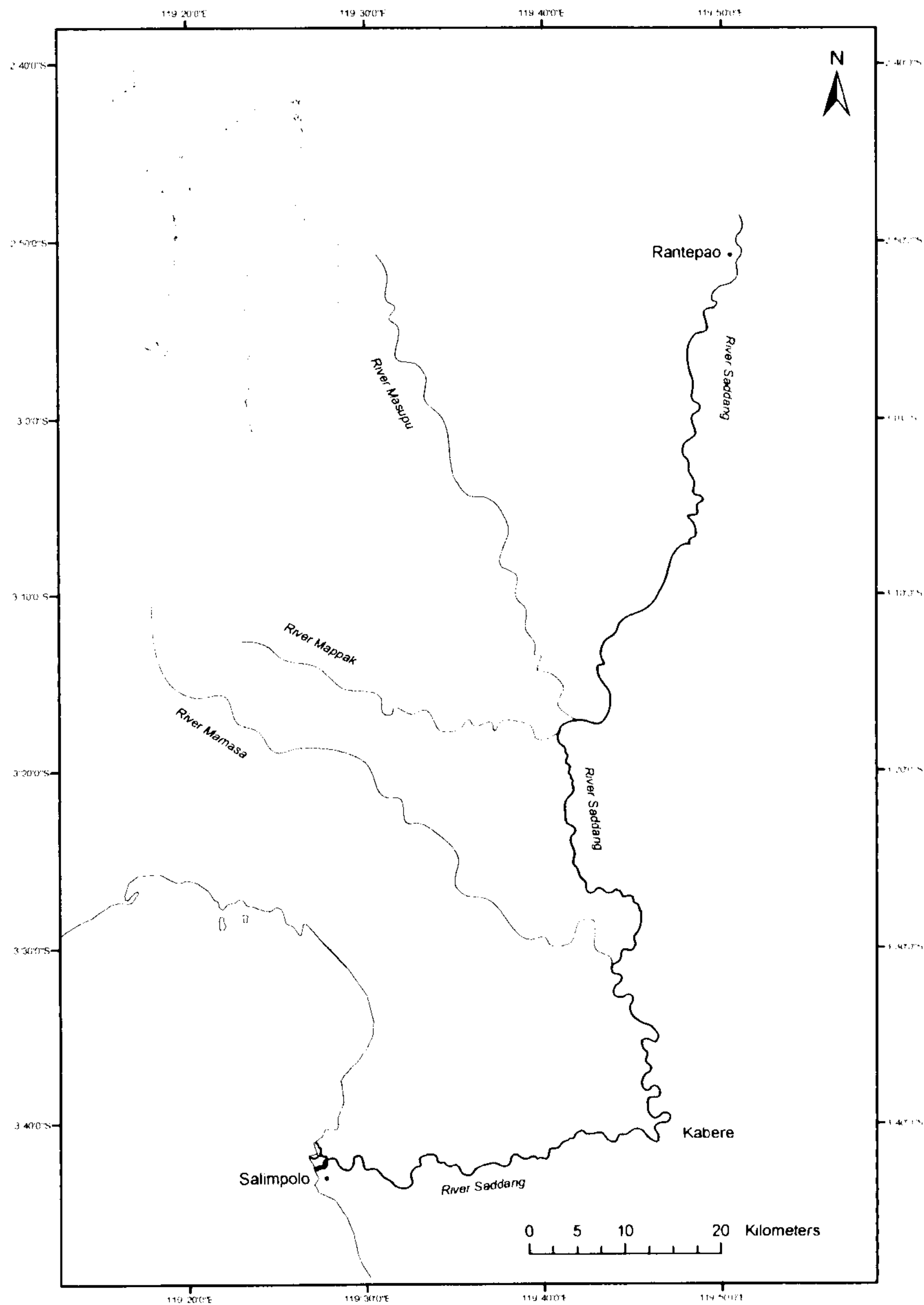
3.2.1 The River Saddang

The River Saddang is one Sulawesi's longest rivers and flows for about 150 kilometres. The Saddang rises around Rantepao in *kabupaten* Tana Toraja and flows southwest through *kecamatan* Bongkaradeng where it is joined by the Mesupu river. The Saddang then continues southwards through *kabupaten* Enrekang, where it is 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 (see fig 3.3).

There is a body of evidence which, to my mind, shows conclusively that about 150 years ago, the delta of the River Saddang was not at Salimpolo but lay about 25 kilometres further to the south, just below Jampue, at a place called Sumpang Saddang. This 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 sources 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 Abendanon [1915:927]), both of which flowed southwards through *kabupaten* Pinrang.⁶ A third branch of the river, which appears to have once functioned as a flood channel, travelled westwards along the course the Saddang takes today. This third branch is referred to here as the Salimpolo branch.

⁶ The account of the flow of the Saddang is written in the past tense but as will become clear below, most of these river branches still exist but are now merely distributaries.

Figure 3.3: The present-day course of the River Saddang



The larger of the two south-flowing branches was the Saddang-Sawitto branch, which travelled through central Sawitto; the smaller Saddang-Tiroang branch 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 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 course. Just east of Poliwali in Suppaq, a small distributary broke off from the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course and flowed southwards that, together with several streams from the mountains to the west, fed the Marauleng river that emptied into the Bay of Parepare 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 once existed.

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.

3.2.2 The evidence for the Saddang’s change of course

The earliest evidence for the delta of the River Saddang once being located at Sumpang Saddang 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 this map presents 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,

Aubert's map contains reasonably accurate toponymic information and is more detailed than most nineteenth century maps (see figure 3.4).⁷

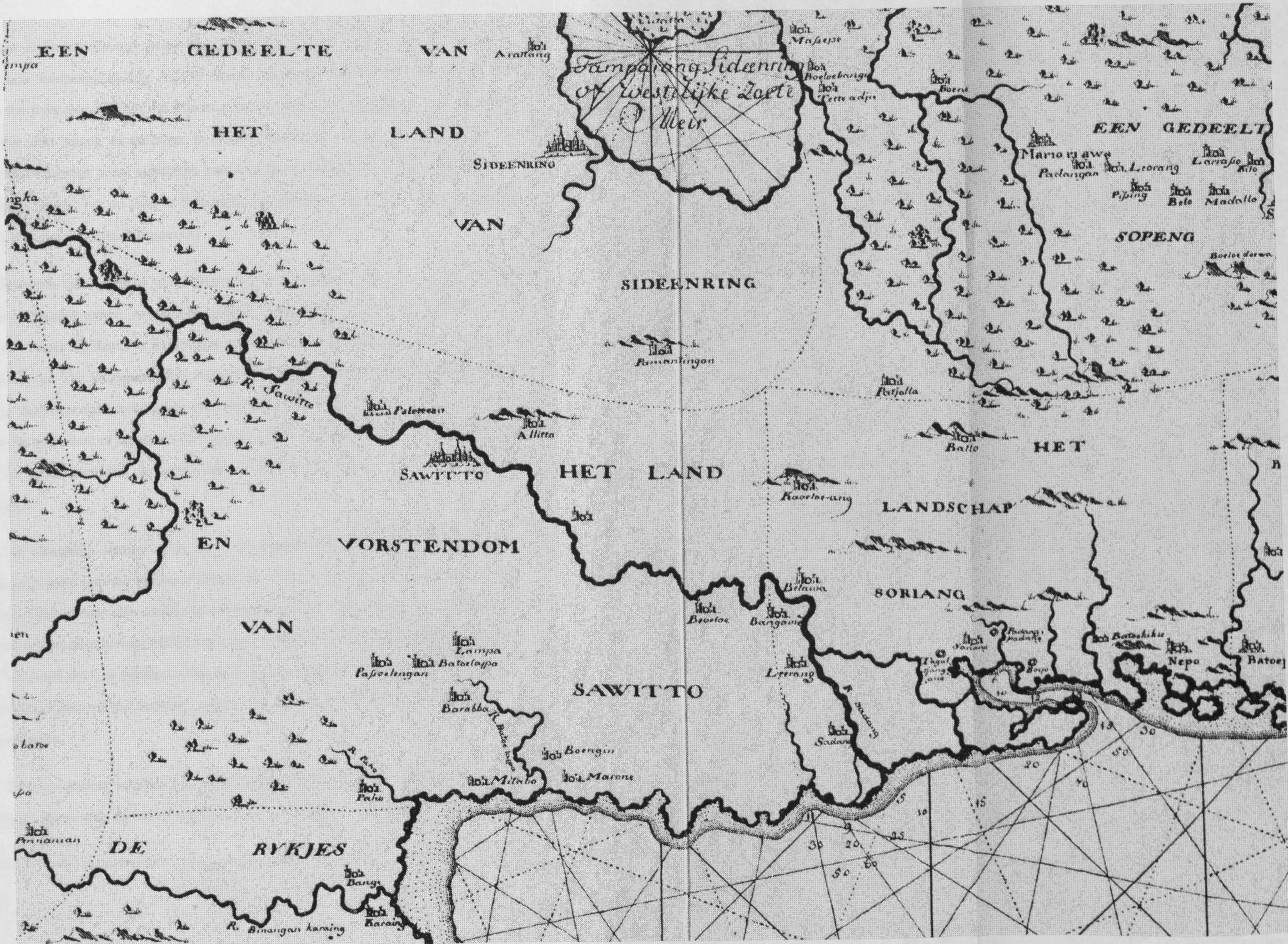
Aubert's map shows just one branch of the Saddang, which travels southwards from the Enrekang region into Sawitto. On this map, this river passes between the capital of Sawitto and Alitta and then continues southwest, its course passing close to the lands of Beeloe (Bulu), Belawa (Béla-bélawa), Bangamea (Rangaméa), and Leerrung (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. Bulu, Rangaméa (now abandoned) and Lérang all appear on the tributary and domain list of Sawitto, while Bélawá is named by the Suppaq tributary and domain list. Aubert's sketch map locates these lands approximately where they are found today.⁸ Aubert's map also shows a branch of the river breaking off and flowing southwards towards Suppaq, feeding what appears to be the Marauleng river.

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

⁷ All maps in section 3.2.2 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 on A3 size paper; the full maps are presented in Appendix D on A4 size paper.

⁸ Rangaméa was abandoned in the 1950s and the identification is based on information from local informants and ceramic evidence.

Figure 3.4: Aubert's sketch map



Later eighteenth century maps also show the Saddang flowing into the Makassar Straits near Sumpang Saddang. A 1759 French map of the island of Sulawesi (figure 3.5) shows the river flowing into the Makassar Straits just 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 3.6).

Nineteenth century maps of Sulawesi, which are generally more accurate, depict a similar geographic terrain. An 1842 map (fig 3.7⁹) shows the Saddang flowing southwards from the Toraja highlands to the Enrekang region, where it is joined by its tributary, the Mamasa river. 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 the maps discussed above, this 1842 map does not show any river in the area of Salimpolo.

Two nineteenth century maps, dated 1848 and 1854 respectively, again show the Saddang flowing into the Makassar Straits just above Suppaq (figures 3.8 and 3.9). The second of these maps also marks the settlement of Lanriseng, a tributary of Sawitto that corresponds to the position of the present-day settlement of that name. The 1854 map also shows a small river, or perhaps a stream, in the area of Salimpolo, which is probably the Salimpolo branch of the Saddang, and to the north are shown the Binagakaraeng and Bungin rivers.

The cartographic sources presented above all show just one branch of the River Saddang, the course of which appears to have followed the Saddang-Sawitto branch.

⁹ The name Sawitto on this map does not represent a single settlement but refers to the territory of Sawitto.

Other sources discussed below, however, inform us that the Saddang-Tiroang branch was an important waterway. The reasons why these 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 can be seen in a Dutch map dating to 1916-1917 (figure 3.10).

Figure 3.7: 1842 Dutch map

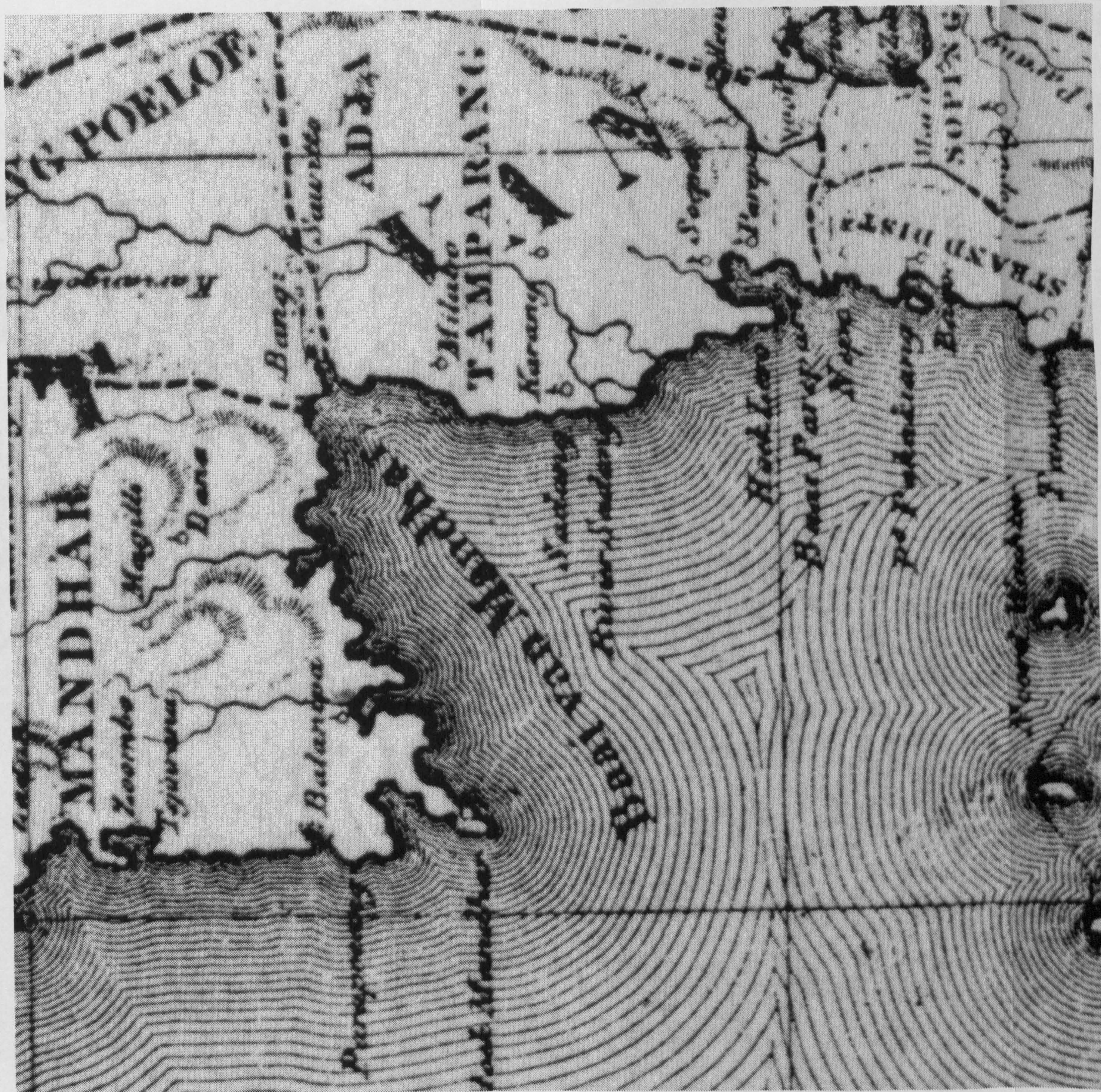


Figure 3.10: 1916-1917 Dutch map



These eighteenth and nineteenth century European cartographic sources consistently show the main course of the Saddang flowing through central Sawitto with no large river flowing westwards to Salimpolo. These data correspond with oral information that Abendanon (1915:927-930) collected from the *arung* of Alitta in the early twentieth century. About 50 years before his conversation with Abendanon, in about the 1860s, 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 there 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, which is located just above Salimpolo, elderly informants today 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.

3.2.3 Reconstruction of the Saddang's former course

The old Saddang delta

According to the *arung* of Alitta, the delta of the River Saddang near Jampue (the region in which Sumpang Saddang is located) covered an area of about 200 metres (Abendanon 1915-18:928, 930). The former delta of the Saddang at Sumpang

Saddang was studied by the Dutch geologist van Vuuren (1920:191-193), 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 fishponds (see figure 1.5, Chapter One). During their construction, the excavator machines uncovered the remains of 2 boats and a 4 metre long anchor about 500 metres north of the present river mouth.¹⁰ Eyewitnesses state that both boats were of South Sulawesi design, and the largest was estimated to have been about 30 metres long, similar in size to the boats which continue to arrive in the modern-day port of Suppaq from as far away as Kalimantan (see photograph 8). Further back from the area where the boats were found, the excavator machines also uncovered large pre-Islamic and Islamic burial grounds.¹¹

The Saddang-Sawitto branch

Abendanon considered that the probable point where the Saddang-Sawitto branch turned to the south was close to 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, 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 in the Benteng area, the branch of this river was blocked off in the 1930s when the Dutch colonial government built a dam at Benteng (1.81). Parts of this branch to the south were also in-filled at this time, while some stretches were used in the creation of an irrigation canal, today called the *saluran induk* Sawitto (the main Sawitto irrigation canal), which stretches southwards

¹⁰ Unfortunately, this anchor was melted down to make *parang* (bush knives) and was thus unavailable.

¹¹ Despite the destruction of this area, some ceramic and stoneware sherds were recovered in a survey (see Appendix B).

from the Benteng dam to near Ongkoe, where it joins the Sawitto river, which was once the Saddang-Sawitto branch of the River Saddang.¹² 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 ten to fifteen metres wide with a depth of between one to two metres.¹³ 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 (photograph 9).¹⁴ 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 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 this river flowed is now used for wet-rice cultivation, but in several places the remains of its banks are just

¹² The Benteng dam and irrigation canals were probably part of the large irrigation system under construction in this area in the 1930s, which was designed to irrigate 60,000 hectares of wet-rice land (Pelzer 1945:225).

¹³ This estimate of the river's depth is based on information from local informants.

¹⁴ At Sekkang, I measured the width the old banks of the river at 112 metres.

about 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 irrigation 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.

The Saddang-Tiroang branch

Abendanon considered that the most probable point where the Saddang-Tiroang branch broke off from the river was Libukang, which is located just above Barombong, some five kilometres east of Benteng. The Saddang-Tiroang then flowed southwest to Urung before joining another river branch that broke off from the Saddang further to the east, which was 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, but that it rises from the mountainous area Batu Mila 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 to once 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 built (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 by marshland in several places.

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, southeast to Bokki where it is joined by the Rappang river, and on to 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 in Madimen, the Madimen river was once much larger; I was shown a place where boats were said to have once docked (I.23). Today, the Madimen river is between eight to ten metres wide for much of its length but further to the south it is evident that it was formerly a larger river, where local residents state that it has a depth of about ten 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 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 dried up. 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 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. Braam Morris estimated that the lake covered an area of about 50 *palen*.¹⁵ This converts to 7,534.7 hectares and can be dismissed as either a wild speculation of the lake’s former size or a typing error.¹⁶ According to information that Abendanon (1915:927) collected, the Alitta lake was situated in a four 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 the Alitta lake. However, his illustration (Abendanon 1915:934), 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.

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 only. About 500 metres of this

¹⁵ One *paal* is equivalent to 1.50694 kilometres.

¹⁶ By contrast Lake Sidenreng on figure 3.11 covers an area of about 4,660 hectares.

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 the Alitta lake 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 Alitta lake reappears for a week or so, as much of the lake bed fills with water.

Today, the whole area where this lake was located 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 from 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 3.11 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. Braam Morris' (1892:194) information 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 over time the river filled up with silt and, as a consequence, more and more water began to flow through the Salimpolo branch.¹⁷ According to Abendanon's informant, these changes had taken place about 25 years previously, which would date to about 1890.

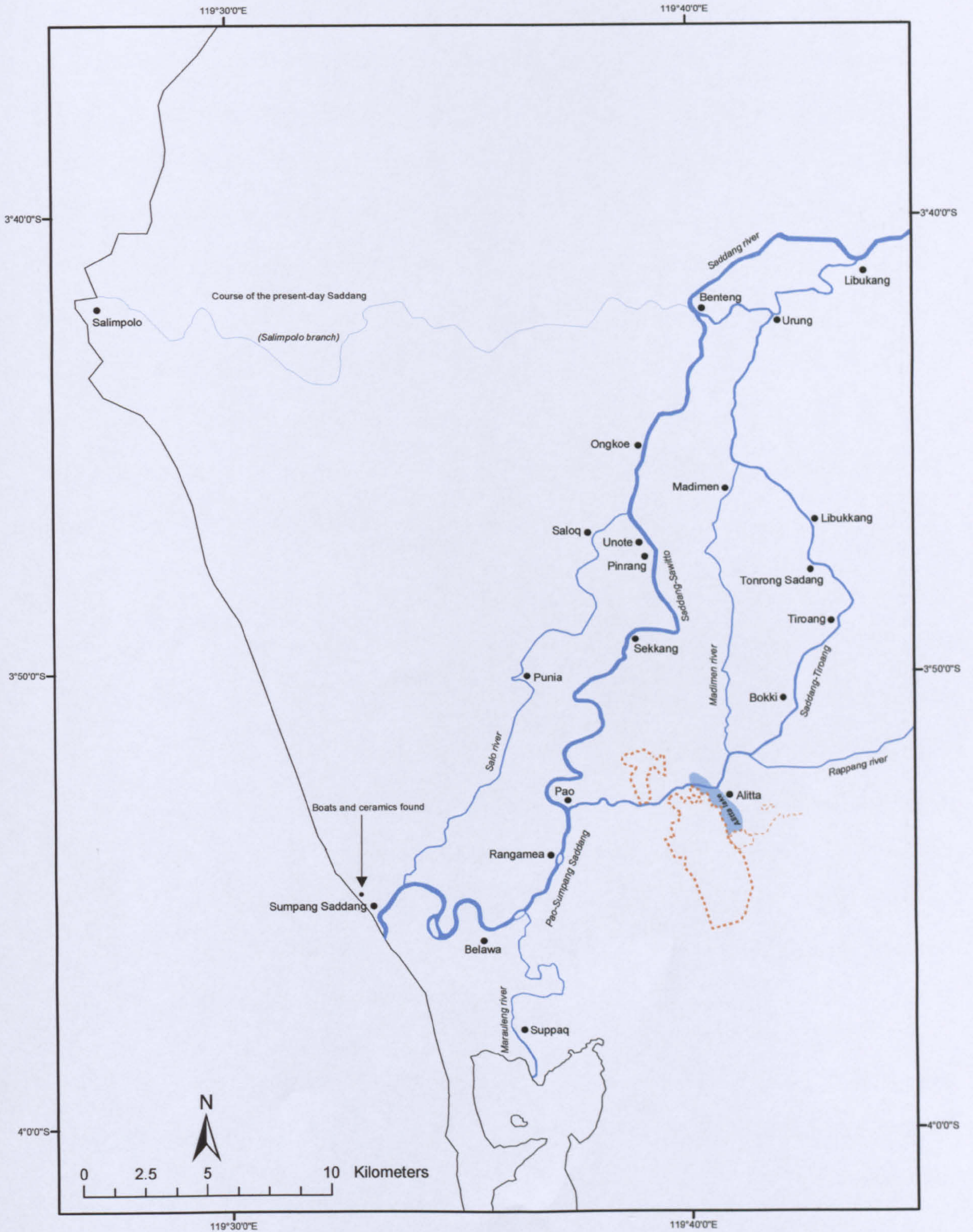
To fully understand the causal factors that lay behind the Saddang's change in course would require a thorough scientific study, which is beyond the scope of this work. Abendanon considered the most likely causal factor to be tectonic activity. This conclusion is drawn largely from his discovery that the points where he believed the Saddang-Sawitto and Saddang-Tiroang branches turned to the south are two metres higher than the water surface of the Salimpolo branch. He considered that there had been tectonic uplift between Central and South Sulawesi which 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 phenomenon 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

¹⁷ Unfortunately, Abendanon gives no indication of the size or type of boat that this informant had used.

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).

Figure 3.11: Reconstruction of the Saddang's former course



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

3.3.1 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 remerge. I Tangga, claimed 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, which was 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 3.12).

Oral history from Garesi, which is located 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 one 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 two kilometres northeast of Garesi, which tells of Javanese and Malay traders settling at Sumpang Saddang and marrying with the local population.

There is no oral history of sea-going vessels continuing northwards along the Saddang-Sawitto branch towards central Sawitto but the Labalakang bridge would have formed an effective barrier. Oral history does tell of small river craft being used along this branch of the river which could travel past Benteng and up to the Enrekang area.

Considering the size of the Saddang-Sawitto branch before the Saddang's change in course it is quite 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 Enrekang claims that boats once travelled from Sawitto as far as the kingdom of Énré kang. This story tells of an agreement between Sawitto and Énré kang at the time Tomanroli was *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, in which it was decided that the two kingdoms would come to one another's aid in times of need.¹⁸ According to this tradition, some time after the agreement Énré kang 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 Énré kang. This tradition then tells us that: "Everyday, boats went up [to Énré kang] taking bakkawenang" (ANRIM 20 / 7 p. 51). The story of the fire in Énré kang is, of course, not 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 Énré kang.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the part of the story that tells of boats travelling up to Énré kang 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.

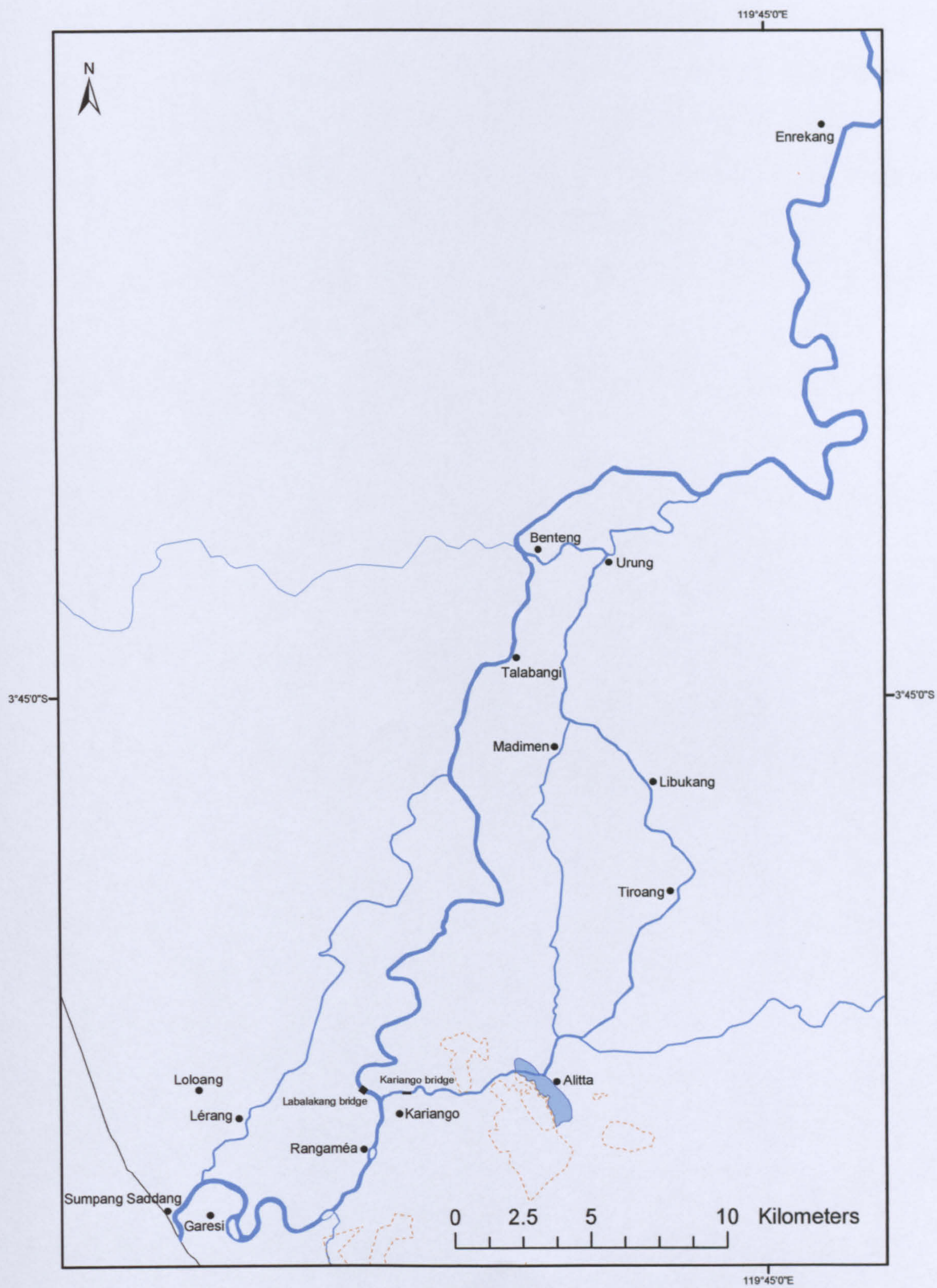
¹⁸ Tomaroli is Temmaroli, the posthumous name of La Pancai, a late sixteenth century ruler of Sawitto (see Chapter Two). In Pinrang his name is used to refer to the former palace centre of Sawitto.

¹⁹ A similar motif is used 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).

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 ten metres long and one 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.

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 3.12).

Figure 3.12: Areas of former navigation

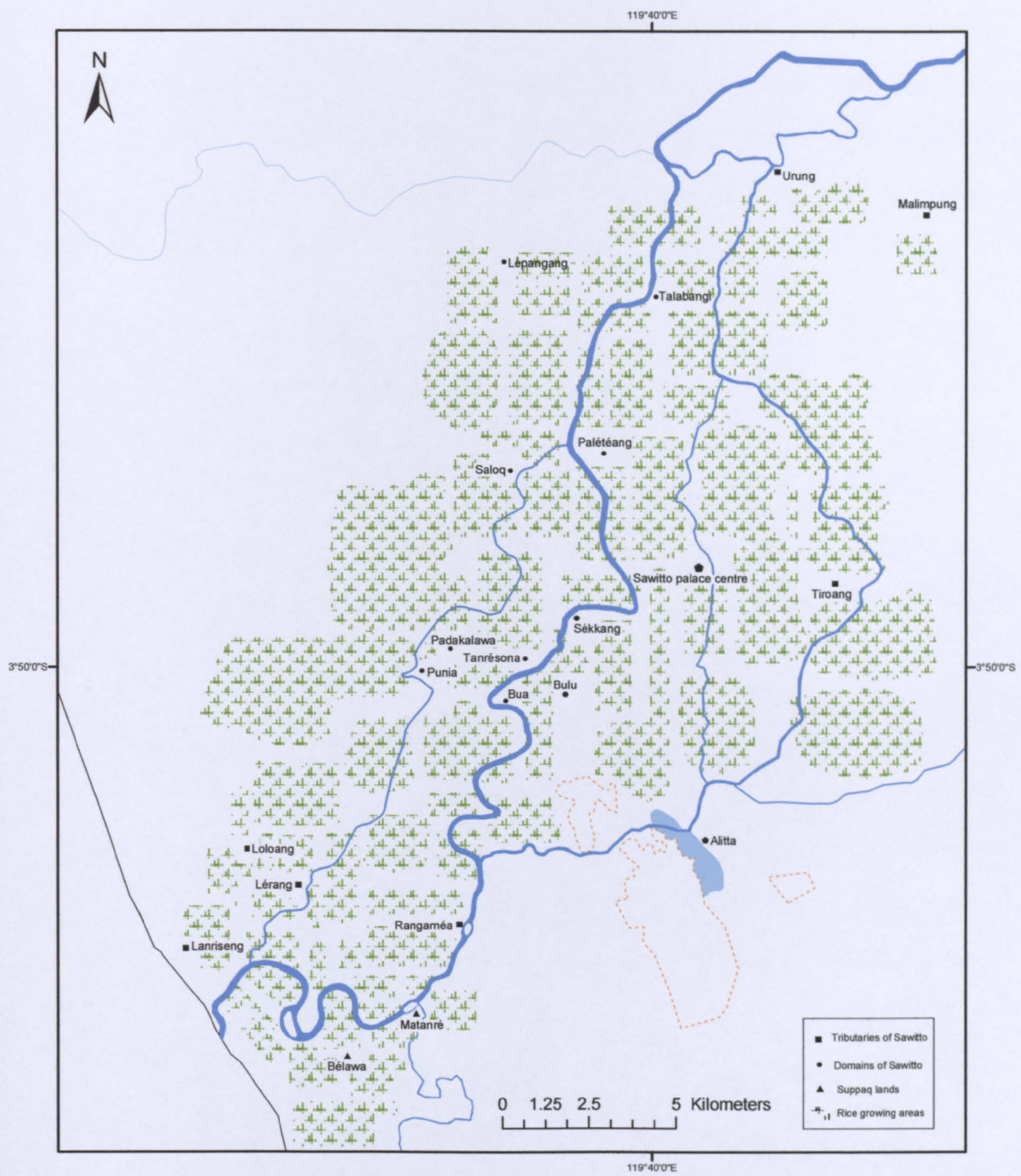


The River Saddang was a major determinant of settlement patterns in Sawitto, Alitta and, to a lesser extent, Suppaq. Of the thirteen identified tributaries named by the Sawitto tributary and domain list, seven are located within three kilometres of the Saddang-Sawitto, the Saddang-Tiroang, or the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, while ten of the fourteen identified domain lands lie within less than three kilometres of the Saddang-Sawitto branch. One of Suppaq's domain lands named on its tributary and domain list is located within one kilometre of the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course. Another of Suppaq's lands, Matanré, not named on the Suppaq tributary and domain list but archaeologically dated to between the thirteenth to fourteenth century is also located within one kilometre of the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course (figure 3.13). 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.²⁰ 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, which indicates an early realisation of this area's rich agricultural potential. That so many of Sawitto's domain lands are clustered close to the river suggests an organised expansion of wet-rice agriculture from the thirteenth century.

²⁰ In 2000, *kabupaten* Pinrang alone produced some 358,702 tons of padi (*Kompas* Online 12 October, 2001).

Figure 3.13: Relationship between settlement patterns and the Saddang



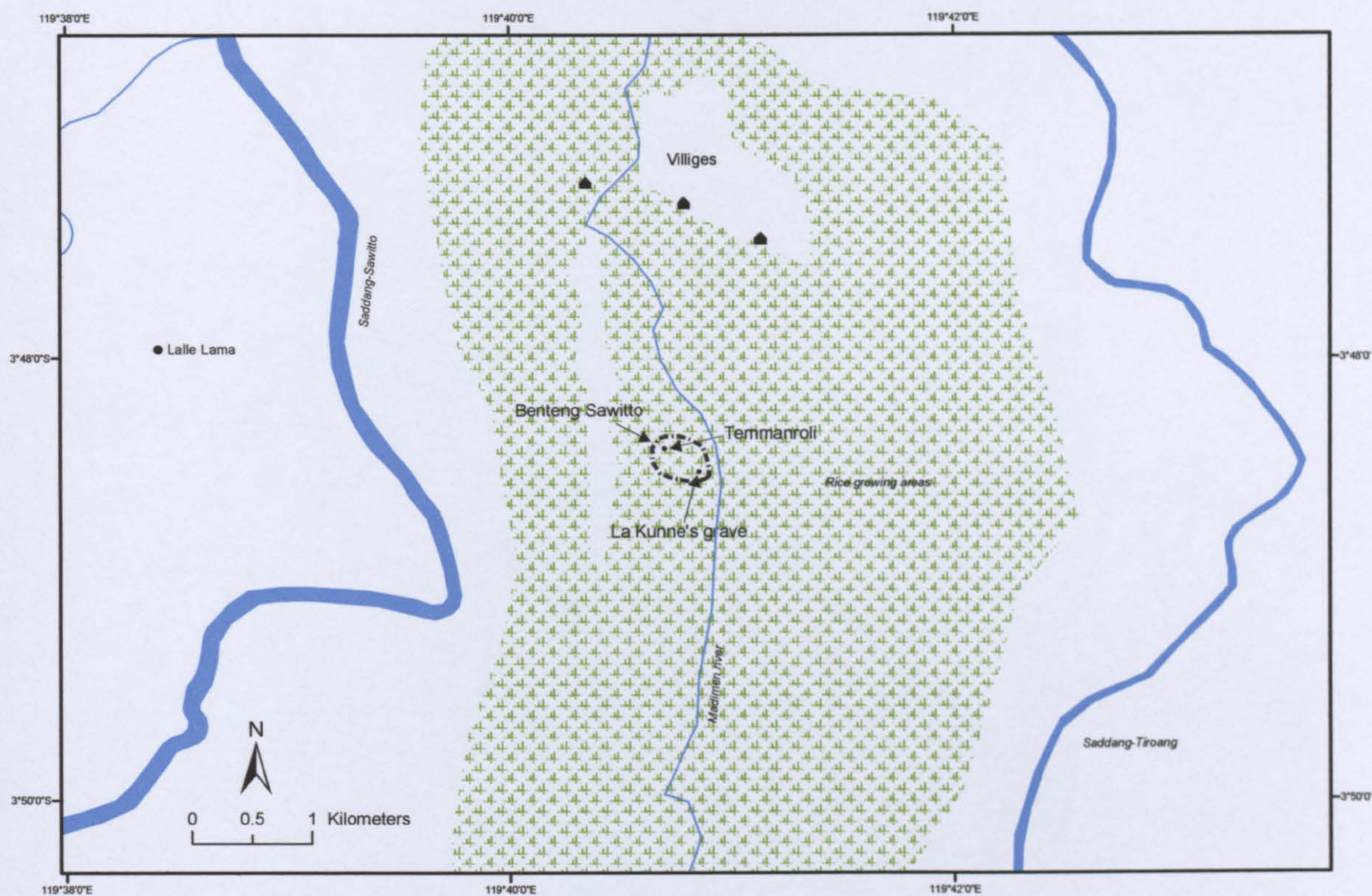
In addition to the agricultural benefits the Saddang brought, the river also functioned as an important waterway connecting the coastal areas to the central plains and highlands. As we have seen, in the first half of the twentieth century small river craft still travelled from Énré kang to Sumpang Saddang, 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 far as central Sawitto, to the area where Sawitto's pre-Islamic capital was located.

The location of the palace centre (Temmanroli) 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 Temmanroli remained the palace centre of Sawitto until the nineteenth century, when a palace centre was established at Lalle Lama, about four and a half kilometres west of Temmanroli. 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 masigiqna* (he who sleeps in the mosque, B.). To the west of this area is an important *keramat*, which is said to be where Temmanroli (La Pancai) is buried. The area around Temmanroli'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 3.14).

Figure 3.14: Centre of Sawitto



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 (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 (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 Sadding course of the river, just under two kilometres west of where the Sadding-Sawitto and Sadding-Tiroang branches merge. From the perspective of trade, this location would have allowed the rulers of Rangaméa to control access to both the Sadding-Sawitto and Sadding-Tiroang branches. Evidence for this trade is attested to by the large quantity of ceramic and stoneware trade wares 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.²¹

Tiroang is located close to the west bank of the Sadding-Tiroang branch, while its *anaq banua*, 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 Sadding-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 Sadding-Tiroang branch.

Loloang, which was abandoned prior to Indonesian independence, was located six kilometres northwest of Rangaméa and just over three kilometres north of the Pao-Sumpang Sadding course. As with Tiroang and Rangaméa, the settlement of Loloang was favourably located to take advantage of both trade and agriculture, which would have been

²¹ 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 3.15 (below) is based on information provided by I Tangnga.

facilitated by the anabranch of the Sadding-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 (photograph 10).

Langnga is located on the west coast of the peninsula, approximately eight and a half kilometres north of Sumpang Sadding. Its two tributary lands, Makuring and Patobong, are located about three kilometres east of the coast in a rice-growing region close to the Langnga river. Langnga has no port to speak of but 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 trade wares have also been found in Langnga and its two domain lands, particularly Makuring, where the foot of another (Loloang, above) fourteenth century Yuan incense burner was found.

Two other Sawitto tributaries located within several kilometres of the Sadding-Sawitto course's northern bank are Lanriseng and Lérang. Lanriseng is under two kilometres north of Sumpang Sadding, which its former ruling family claims lay within Lanriseng's territory, while Lérang is a further four kilometres northeast east of Sumpang-Sadding. 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 Sadding and access to the Pao-Sumpang Sadding course of the river (figure 3.15).

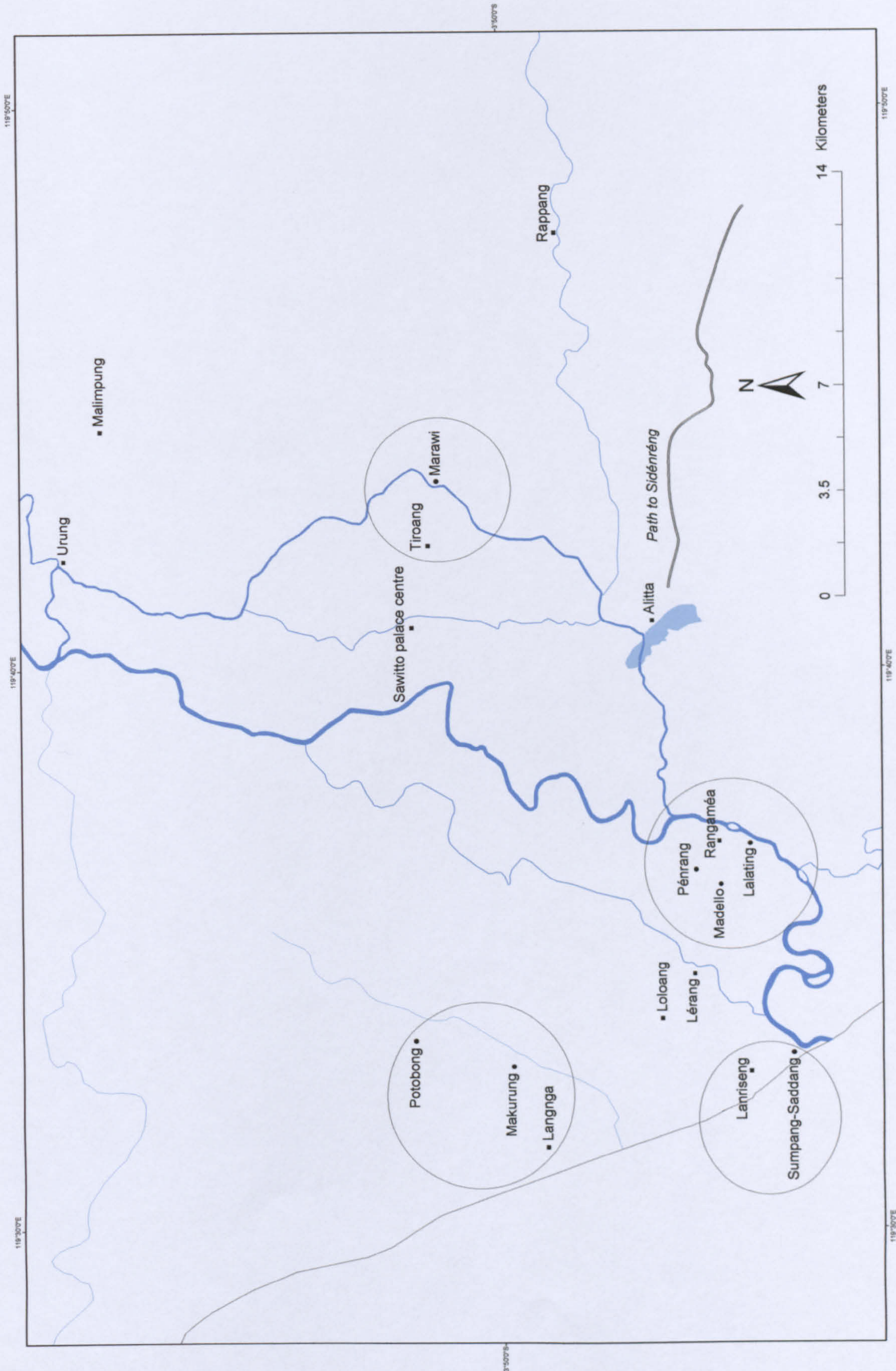
A striking finding which emerges from the distribution of Sawitto tributaries in the western part of the kingdom is that the rulers of central Sawitto did not have direct control over the coastal areas and river ports linked to the sea. This is in contrast to the pre-sixteenth century situation in Makasar-speaking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

(Bulbeck 1992). This geographic situation suggests that political and economic power in Sawitto was perhaps even more decentralised 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 (Braam Morris 1892:195). Archaeological surveys in Alitta recovered large quantities of early ceramic and stoneware trade ware 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 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.²² 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).

²² In the nineteenth century sesame was grown in Sawitto for export as well as local use (Braam Morris 1892:216).

Figure 3.15: Sawitto tributaries



3.3.2 The Marauleng river

Much of the Marauleng river has been destroyed by fish farms and in places it is impossible to tell where the former banks were located. According to local informants, fish farms first began to be dug about 50 years ago, but most were created within the last 30 years. These fish farms now cover a vast area, spreading for over one kilometre (see figure 1.4 and figure 3.16).

Informants in Suppaq recall that up to the 1960s, sea-going vessels frequently sailed up the Marauleng river for over one kilometre, to the area called La Kessi. Most of these boats were apparently of a similar size or larger than the boats that arrive in the modern-day port of Suppaq today (photograph 8). One of these informants, 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. Braam Morris (1892:203), in his notes on Suppaq, states that native boats with small draught could navigate the Marauleng river.

The importance of these 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 of Suppaq, I had initially focused my attention on the area around Majennang, where local informants said a palace had once stood in the nineteenth century, and the modern-day port of Suppaq to the south of this palace. This port is sheltered from the winds and has ample space for a large number of vessels, which dock there today from as far away as Kalimantan. 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 to Suppaq, I located a large pre-Islamic graveyard 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.²³ 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, which is located in eastern central Suppaq.²⁴ The archaeological data further show that the pre-Islamic centre was abandoned shortly after the rulers of Suppaq converted to Islam and a new palace established at Majennang (figure 3.16).

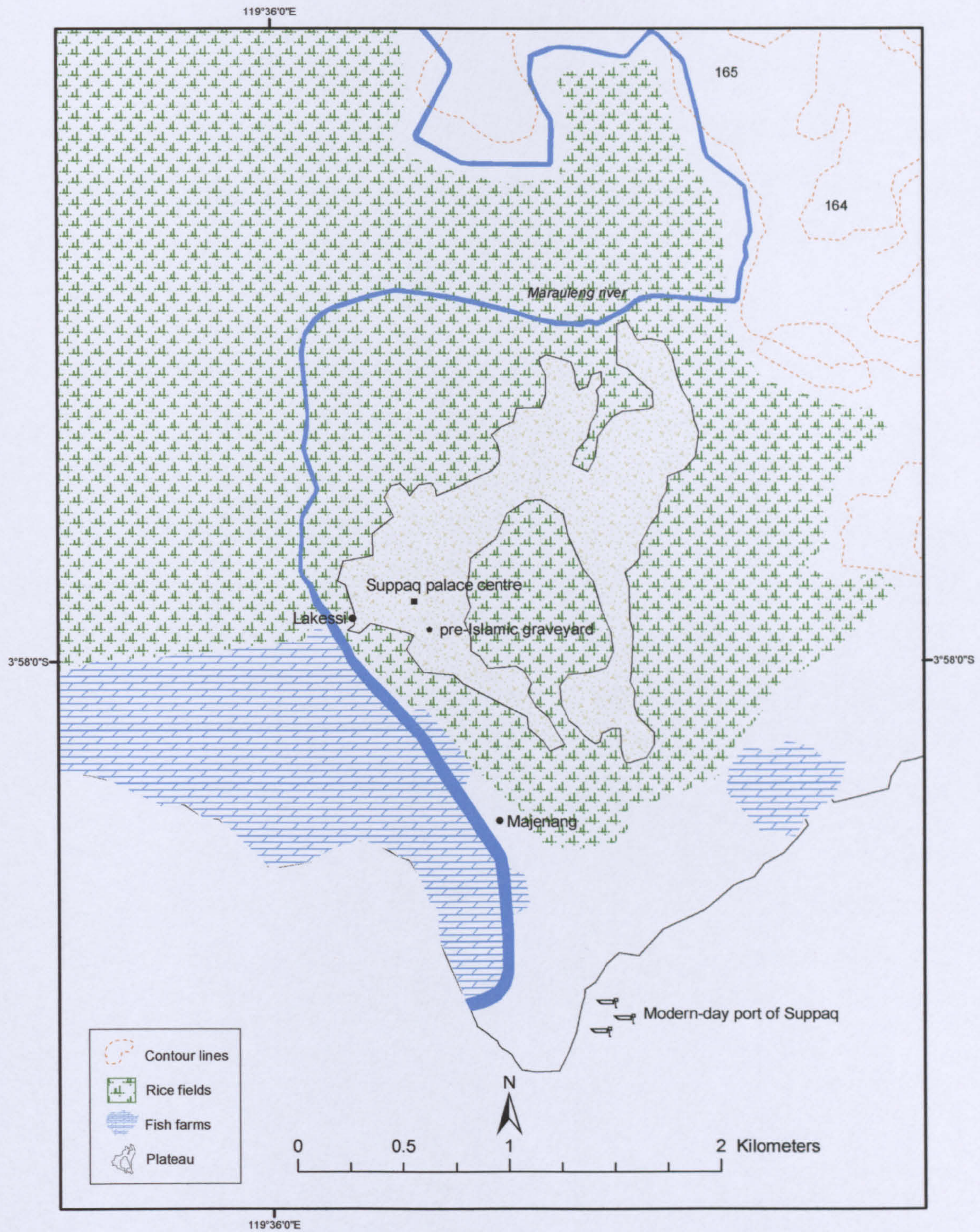
The rulers of Suppaq had numerous locations to choose from at which to establish their palaces.²⁵ Establishing the pre-Islamic palace centre on this plateau provided protection against attack from any hostile force and at the same time linked the palace centre to the sea via the Marauleng river, access to which could have been easily controlled. 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 Goa for control of trade along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi.

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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 3 or 4 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.

²⁵ I found a small number of sixteenth century Ming sherds on the narrow walkways between the fish 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.

Figure 3.16: Centre of Suppaq



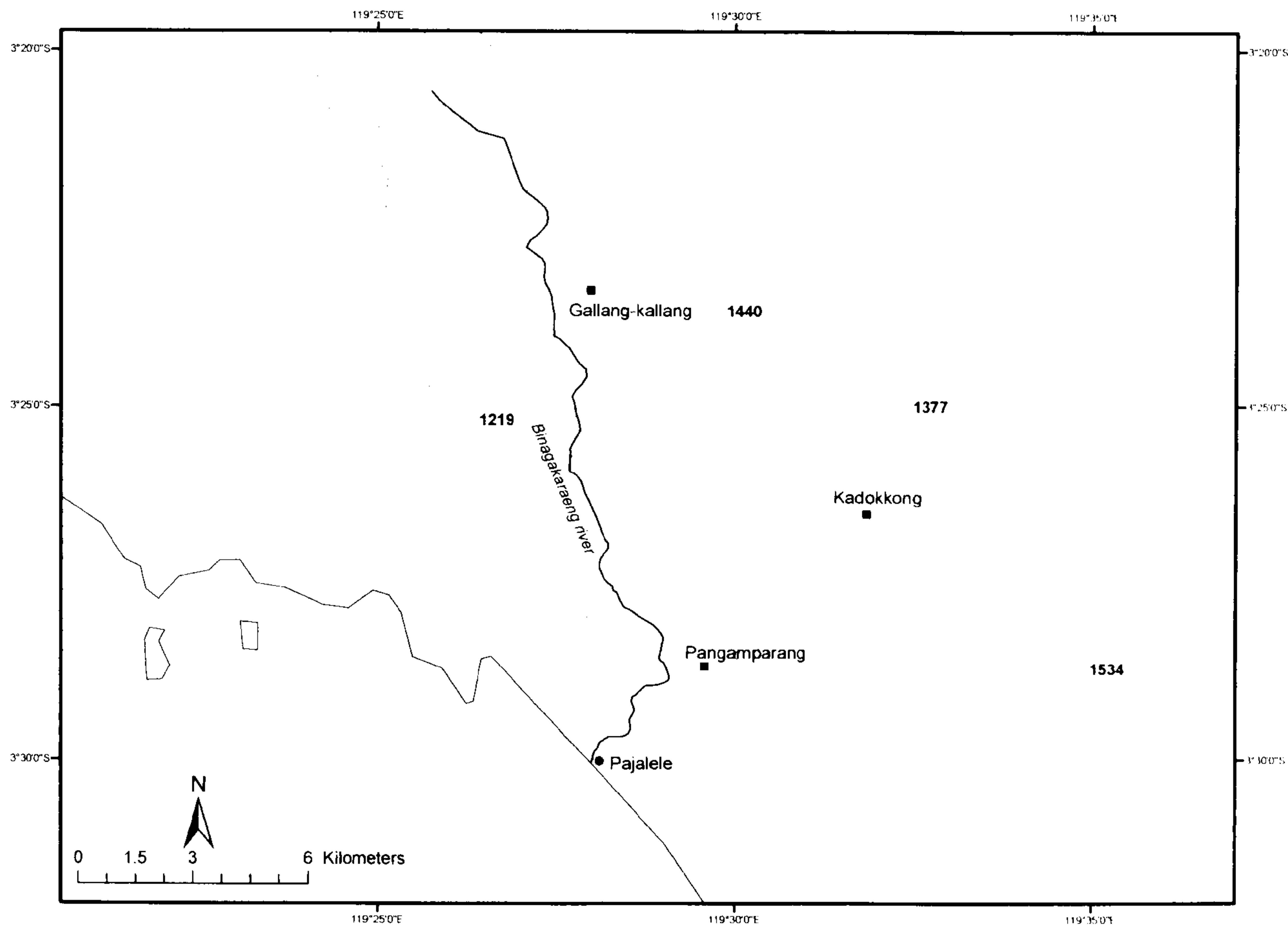
3.3.3 The Binagakaraeng river

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 Goa.²⁶ Makasar interest in this area may have been related to sea trade, which was still conducted in this area in the nineteenth century (Braam Morris 1892:219). Today, the Binagakaraeng river is navigable by small sea-going vessels for about one 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 four 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 Kadokkong also tells of Makasar interest in this area during the pre-Islamic period (see Chapter Two, section 2.1.2). 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 period, include cinnamon, candlenut, rattan, fragrant woods and dammar, which is still produced in this region today (figure 3.17).

²⁶ This story claims that a *karaeng* of Goa was sailing north to Mandar and asked what was up ahead. The reply was *binaga, karaeng* (a river, my lord) (1.78, 1.82).

Figure 3.17: Binagakaraeng river and the Tellu Lembang



3.3.4 The Bila river

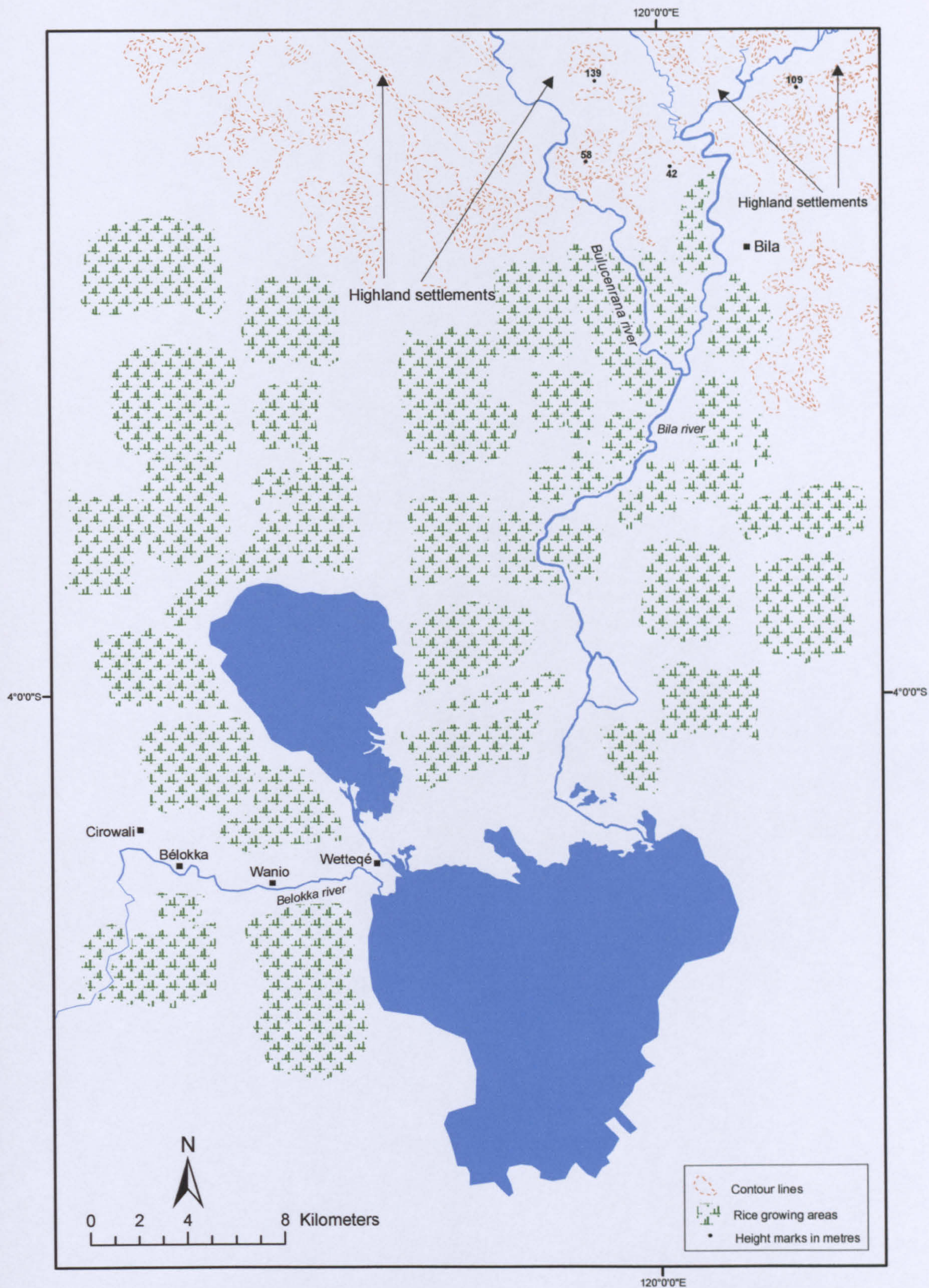
Oral history, dating to the 1930s, tells us of the importance of the Bila river and provides an illuminating picture of trade and markets in Bila. The Bila river springs from the mountainous area of northern Sidrap around Langgaratungga and flows southwards to Bila. About five kilometres below Bila it is joined by its tributary the Bulucenrana river and from there continues southwest before emptying into Lake Tempe (figure 3.18). 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 in Bila,

Muhammad Saleikhlas, 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 area 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 the boats 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, *kapur*, palm sugar and dammar, which they sold in order to buy earthenwares, salt and salted fish.

Large quantities of ceramic and stoneware trade wares are reported to have been looted from a pre-Islamic burial ground in Bila.²⁷ Ceramic and stoneware trade wares 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 of Bila. In one of these settlements, Bétao, local informants found earthenware goods buried close to ceramic and stoneware trade wares, 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 of Bila 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 Bila river.

²⁷ 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*.

Figure 3.18: The Bila river



3.4 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 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, it is their culture which 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 literature, which is often repeated in tourist and academic literature, states 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 opposition to linguistic studies and local ethnolinguistic perceptions. One young informant from Rajang in northeastern Pinrang even 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 they appear today. At the same time, the archaeological evidence also shows that interaction between the Bugis and the Massenrempulu-speakers of the region in the period before 1600 led to cultural changes among some Massenrempulu-speaking peoples, some of whom began to imitate Bugis cultural and religious practices. The linguistic, oral and archaeological data further show that there was a southward movement of Massenrempulu-speaking people into the Ajattappareng region, which was probably a consequence of developing economic opportunities which arose mainly from increased interaction with the Bugis. Some of these people evidently settled in areas that are today Bugis-speaking and mixed with Bugis communities.

3.4.1 Linguistic studies and local ethnolinguistic perceptions in the Ajattappareng region

3.4.1.1 Bugis dialects of the Ajattappareng region

Friberg and Friberg (1988) identify 11 dialects of the Bugis language (figure 3.19). Of these, three are spoken in the Ajattappareng region; namely the Sidrap dialect, the Sawitto dialect and the Barru dialect. According to Friberg and Friberg's 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 3.20). According to local informants in *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, however, 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.²⁸

Friberg and Friberg's (1988:319) 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.²⁹ 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

²⁸ 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 meant as 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.

²⁹ Friberg and Friberg collected data for these two *kecamatan* from Pekkabata (*kecamatan* Duampanua), Teppo and Malimpung (both in *kecamatan* Patampanua).

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 six to seven kilometres of the west coast, from around Paria to around Pekabatu. Further to the east are low hills leading up to the mountains where 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 per cent shared cognates of Friberg and Friberg's 200 word-list with the Bone dialect, 77 per cent with the Barru dialect, 78 per cent with the Soppeng dialect and 84 per cent 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 with other Bugis dialects.

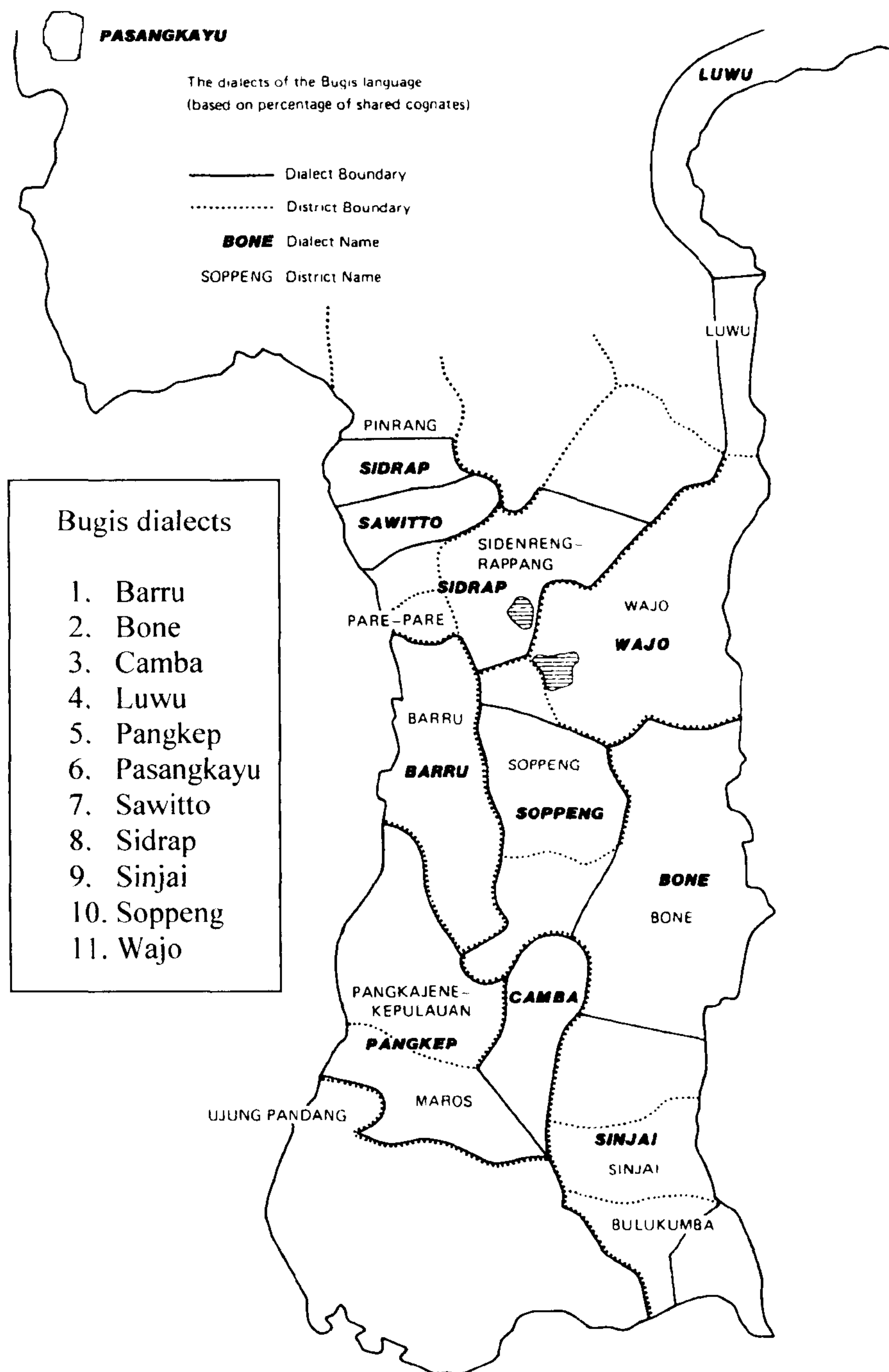
The Sawitto dialect is spoken in the central part of Pinrang, from about west of Kariango and north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course, including *kecamatan* Cempa.³⁰

³⁰ Friberg and Friberg collected no data from *kecamatan* Cempa but according to local 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.

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.

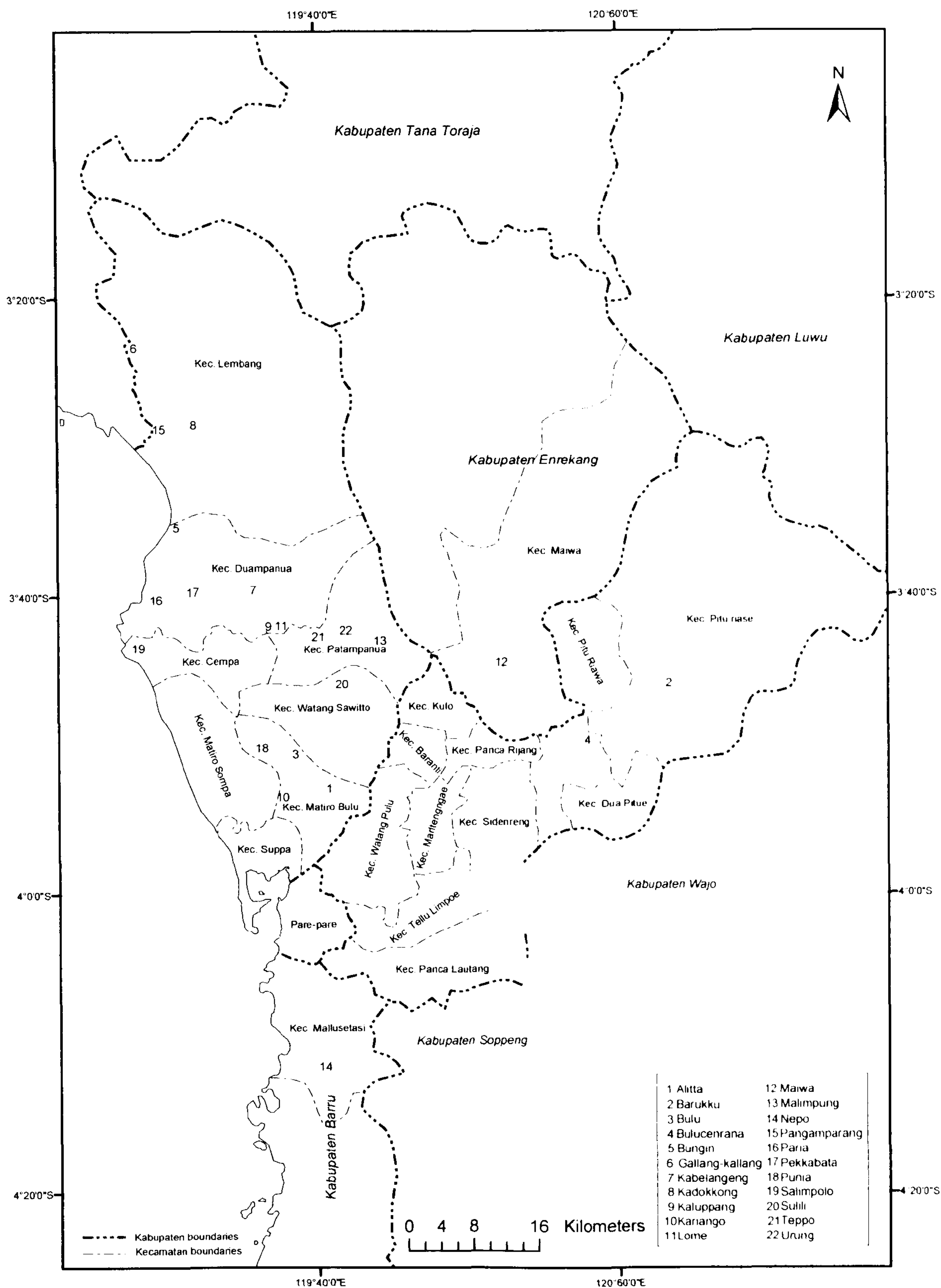
Figure 3.19: Bugis dialect map



Source: Friberg and Friberg (1988:319)³¹

³¹ The Bugis-Pasangkayu dialect, which is discussed in their work, does not appear on Friberg and Friberg's original map, probably because of the limitation of map size. I have therefore added this dialect to their Bugis dialect map in Figure 3.19.

Figure 3.20: Ajattappareng *kecamatan* boundaries



3.4.1.2 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 in *kabupaten* Enrekang³² and in the northeastern part of *kabupaten* Sidrap, from around Bulucénrana to the north (figure 3.20). 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 recognised by Friberg and Laskawske (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.³³ 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. Local

³² *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)

³³ 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.

people in some parts of north Sidrap had their own name for the language they spoke, such as people in Barukku who refer to their language as *basa cammaq* (*cammaq* language).³⁴ Most of the Massenrempulu-speakers of northern Sidrap also speak Bugis as a second language, which is used in communication with the Bugis inhabiting the lowland areas of Sidrap.³⁵

Pattinjo (formerly classified as a separate Massenrempulu language by linguists but now recognised as a dialect of Enrekang³⁶) is spoken in much of northern Pinrang in the areas to the north of Bungin and west of Pekkabata. This area includes Kabelangeng, Lome, and Kaluppang, which are located in *kecamatan* Duampanua. In Kabelangeng (figure 3.20) 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, in addition to *bahasa* Kabelangeng, they can speak Bugis, Pattinjo and all the languages spoken in *kabupaten* Enrekang fluently. 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 *maqdika*, 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

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ Some of the older people in this area can understand Bugis but not speak the language fluently.

³⁶ Grimes and Grimes (1987) classify Pattinjo as a separate language. Further linguistic work (Friberg and Laskawske 1989; Grimes 2000) classifies Patinjo as a dialect of the Enrekang Massenrempulu language.

distinct from the Bugis.³⁷ 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* in this area, considered that the difference between the people of this region and the Soddan 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 *maqdiika*.

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, where many Bugis-speakers have moved into 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 (1985:26-27) 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 family (together with Bugis and Campalagian). It is now recognised 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).

³⁷ Grimes' (2000) linguistic map (figure 1.3, Chapter One) 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.

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 section 3.4.2.3).

Figure 3.21 presents a colour illustration overlaying figure 3.20 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 thesis, 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 3.22 is a colour graphic illustration which shows topographic features in relation to the languages and dialects of the Ajattappareng region. As can be seen from this figure, the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang represents a linguistic boundary between speakers of the Sawitto dialect and those of the Sidrap dialect. 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.

Figure 3.21: Languages of Ajattappareng

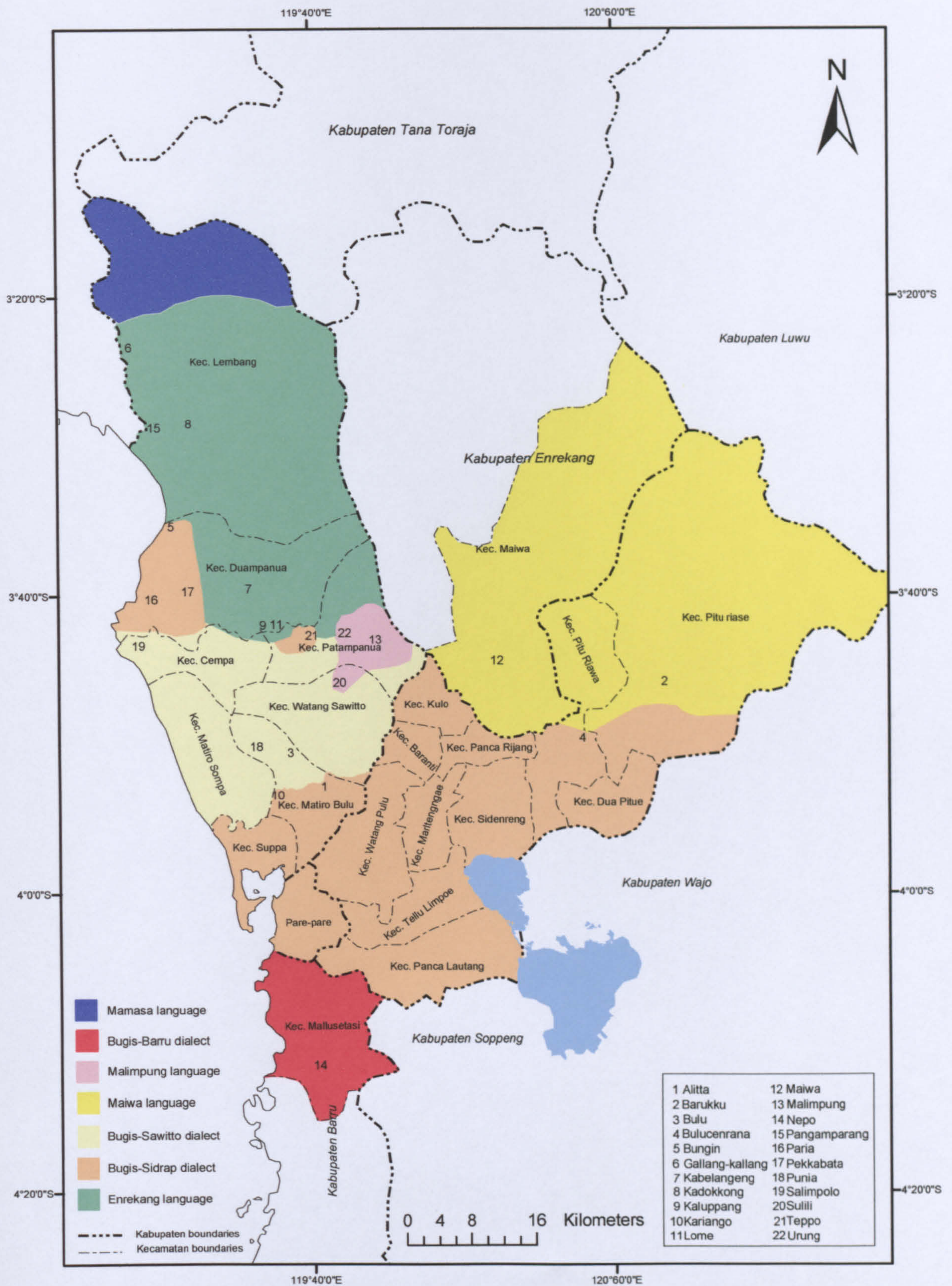
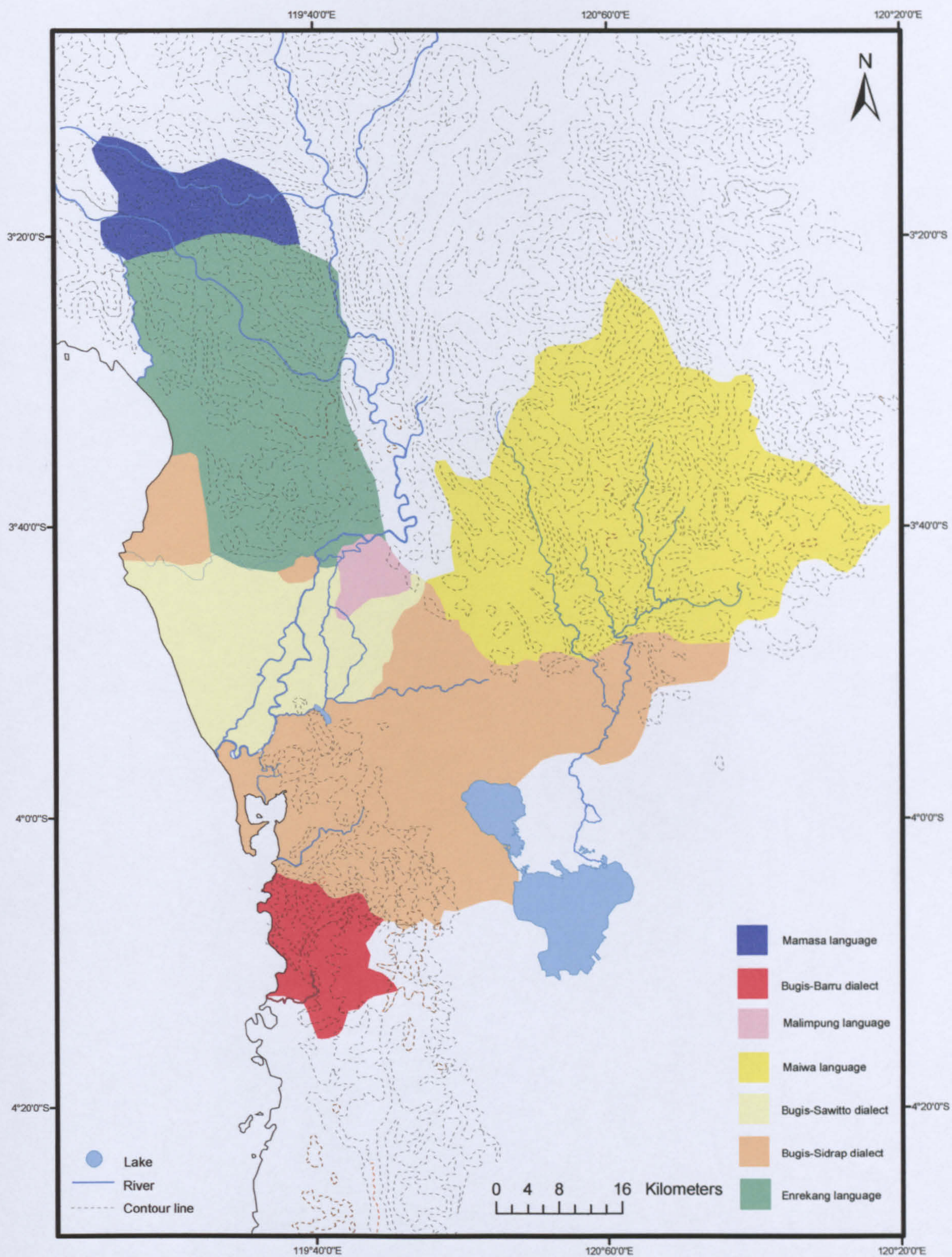


Figure 3.22: Languages and topography of Ajattappareng



3.4.2 Pre-Islamic mortuary practice in the Ajattappareng region

3.4.2.1 Bugis and Makasar mortuary practices

In a forthcoming article, Druce, Bulbeck and Irfan Mahmud draw attention to the contrast between mortuary practices documented from Bugis- and Makasar-speaking areas of South Sulawesi dating to between 1000 to 2000 years ago and mortuary practices dating from about the fifteenth to sixteenth century. For the period between 1000 to 2000 years ago, the archaeological data show that there was considerable variation in mortuary practices in Bugis and Makasar speaking areas.³⁸ 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 of these *martavan* burial jars had grave goods placed beside them, and in some cases inside, such as ceramic bowls and plates, gold, *kris*, daggers and spearheads.

The practice of cremation was probably in 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 2000:72-73). Javanese toponyms, such as Garesi (Gresik), Surobaya (Surabaya) and Jiapang, are also common 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).

³⁸ These mortuary practices are discussed in Bulbeck (1996-7) and Druce, Bulbeck and Irfan Mahmud, forthcoming.

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: 1996-7).

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, forthcoming).

3.4.2.2 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 trade wares. 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 trade wares. Cremations 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.

3.4.2.3 Massenrempulu mortuary practices

To date, there has been little information published on Massenrempulu mortuary practices. 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 trade wares have been looted from pre-Islamic graves in the Sidénréng tributaries of Kalémpang, Bétao, Paraja and Baraqmamasé (figure 3.23). Informants in Barukku reported significant imported trade ware finds in the now abandoned mountainous settlement of Baraqmamasé; no martavan 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 five to six 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 five

and a half to six centimetres in length, with the remaining bones about one and a half 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 and white ceramic jar about 25 centimetres in height with a lid.³⁹ Like the small stoneware jar found in Paraja, the blue-and-white ceramic jar contained fragments of burnt human bones, which averaged about seven 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 trade wares, and several others like them, were unearthed, large amounts of ash, similar to burnt wood, was always found about ten centimetres below the surface; the trade 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 trade wares 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 trade wares. One may speculate that some of these early earthenwares *grave goods* in Bétao were obtained from the Bila 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

³⁹ 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.

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 three to ten millimetres, which are typically found in looted pre-Islamic Bugis graveyards. 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, daggers 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 30 years ago by a local farmer. A small number of ceramic plates and bowls have also been found by farmers in old Lomé (located about six 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

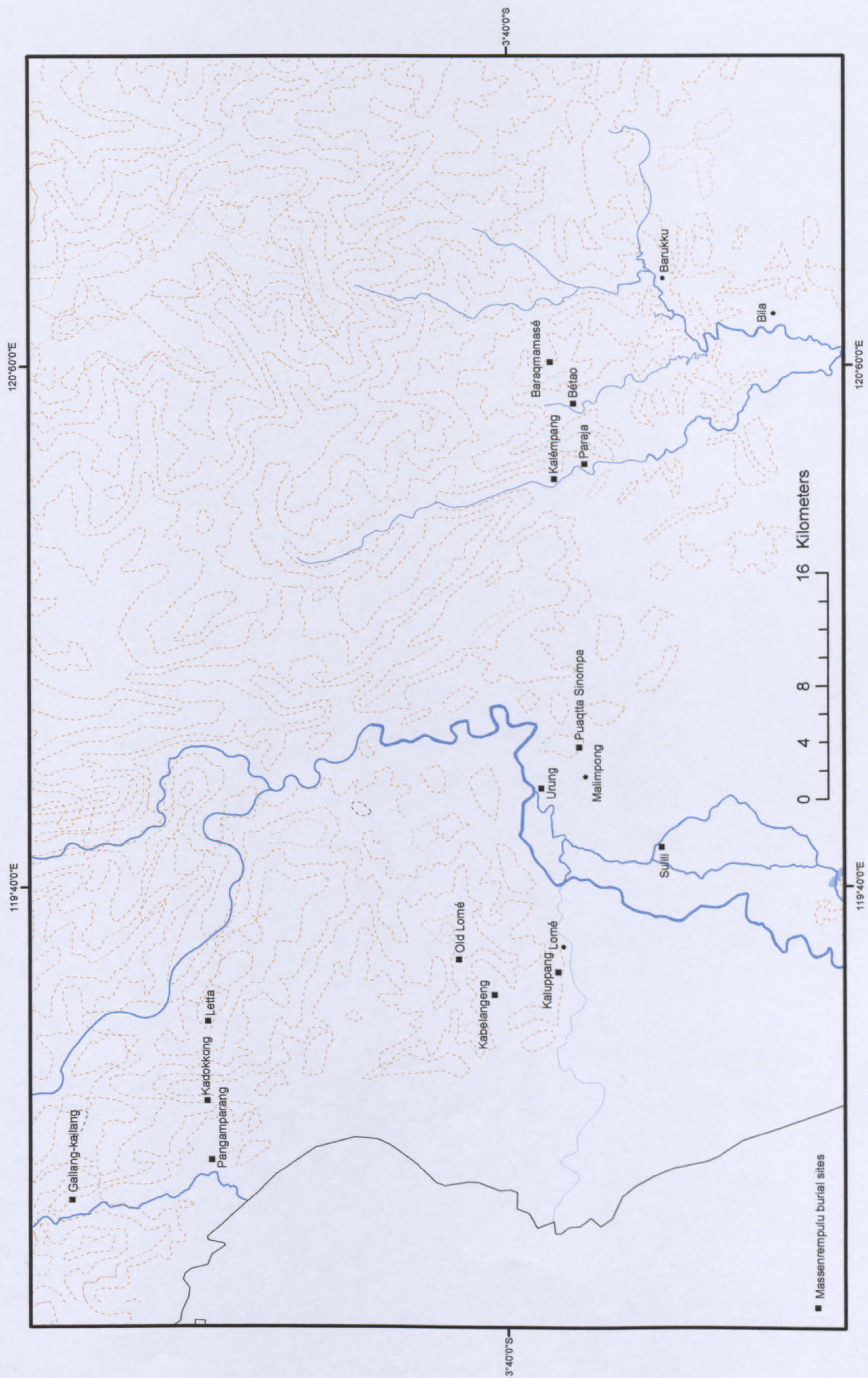
wooden structure (photograph 6).⁴⁰ Close by are large numbers of sherds from stoneware martavan and ceramic plates and bowls, mostly dating to between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and small fragments of burnt bone which are characteristic of looted pre-Islamic Bugis graveyards.⁴¹ There are also numerous reports of martavan 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. 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 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.

⁴⁰ The martavan was too badly weather beaten to make a confident identification of its type and origin.

⁴¹ According to local informants, the sherds found on this hill are not a result of looting but have been dug up by wild pigs.

Figure 3.23: Locations of pre-Islamic Massenrempulu burial sites



3.5 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.

The 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* (long breasts). 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 many 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, was 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 that 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 you wish 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 Lómo-lómo but that 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 Lómo-lómo. 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*)."⁴² (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 legitimise the position of the ruling elite. In parts of Sidénréng and Sawitto, there are also a number of other oral traditions which

⁴² The etymology of the name Urung.

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 reportedly 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 summarised 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 the ubi. Boats sailing past Langnga saw the sesame and ubi

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).⁴³

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 Enrekang 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 Enrekang nobles (I.9, I.40).

An oral tradition from Sumpang Saddang also tells of an Enrekang 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 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 Enrekang 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

⁴³ This tradition also explains the origin of Palaméang (*lamé*: ubi, B.), a coastal village within the Langnga area.

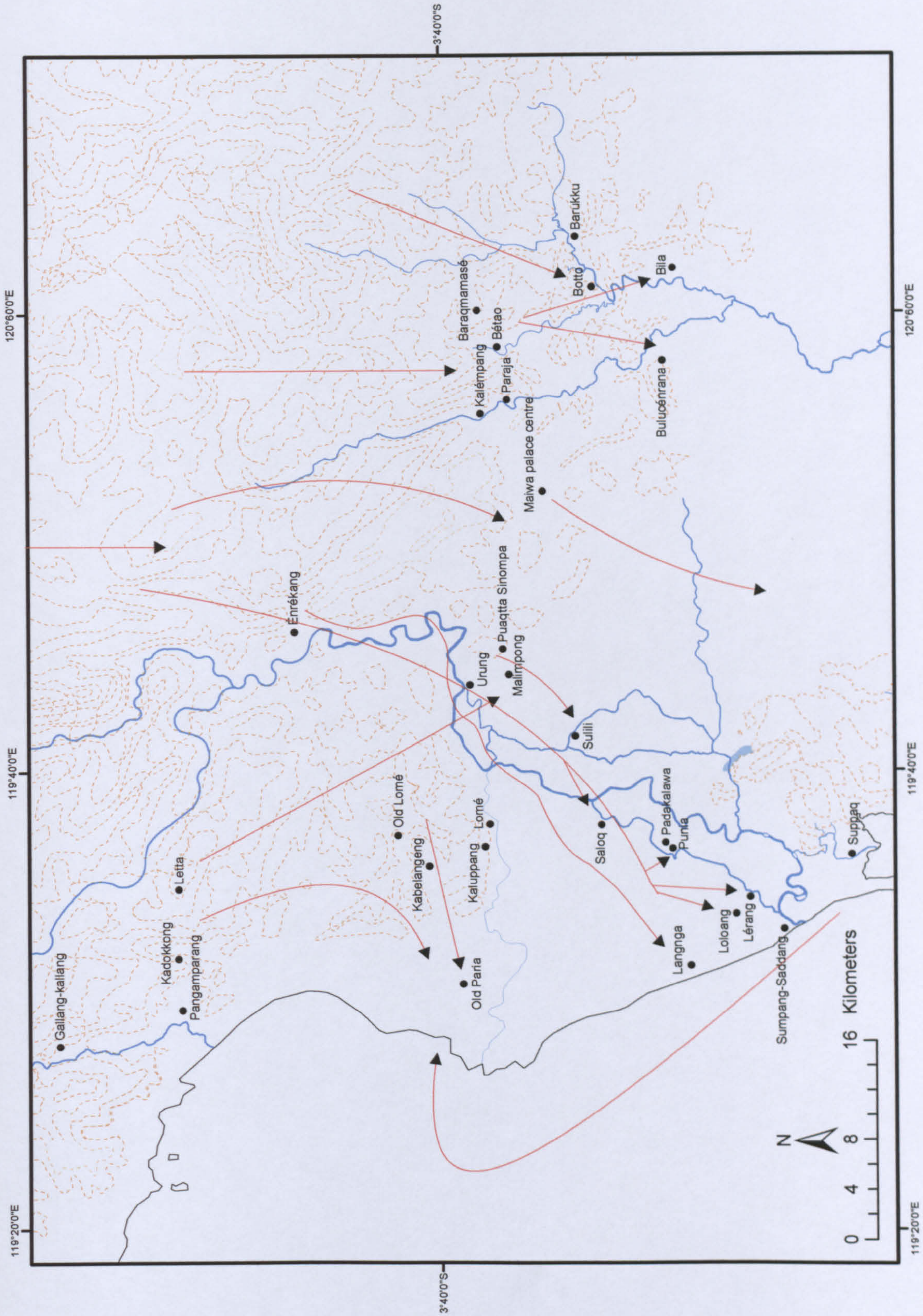
have substance. In Saloq, at least five east-west orientated extended inhumations with ceramic plates and bowls covering the skeleton were found close to large numbers of martavan containing cremated remains. In Punia, looters also report finding several extended inhumations close to the former river, 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 three 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 gravestones 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* (stone grave markers) 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.

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, which are not found in other Bugis-speaking areas. 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 trade wares.

Figure 3.24: Proposed movement of people in Ajattappareng before 1600



3.6 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 trade wares 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 has been shown in Chapter One, 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 trade wares 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 One, 1.5), and to bring new areas under their control. Indeed, stories written down in the chronicles of Boné, Wajoq, Goa 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 Four). 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 and are discussed in section 4.3.3 of the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Origin and precedence in Ajattappareng: A historical perspective

4.0 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. 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 main 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 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.

4.1 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' (see, for example, Sahlins 1985; Fox 1995, 1997; Fox and Sather 1996). Whatever form these traditions take, their main function is to establish social difference through recourse to origin between individuals, social groups or individual polities. 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 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.

4.2 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 recourse to origin. Such a claim may be acknowledged or rejected by the more powerful settlement. At the same time, 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.

4.2.1 Rulers, commoners and blood

The ruling families of South Sulawesi's settlements claim social differentiation and precedence over the common people who inhabit the settlements 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) or *totompoq* (one who ascends from the Underworld). 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 whence they came.¹ The stories that tell of the arrival of these founding rulers follow a common theme and many contain similar formulaic expressions spoken by the founding ruler and commoners. Typically, the founding ruler appears, or arrives, in a settlement made up of a varying number of villages inhabited by common people. It is the common people, often represented by their *matoa* (headmen, B.), who then request that the *tomanurung*, *totompoq*, or foreign prince or

¹ 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.

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.² 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 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 also make known 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

² 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.

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.³ 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.” (1.54)

In the above tradition, the prospective ruler is the son of a *datu* of Suppaq. That the tradition states 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. There are a number of instances in South Sulawesi historical sources where rulers have been removed. In the early 1590s, Tunipasuluq, a ruler of Goa, was removed by the nobles of Goa 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 1983:53).

³ In the traditional Bugis political systems, *Paqbicara* (literally, ‘someone who talks’) were responsible for upholding the law and administering fines.

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 1999:31-34):

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*. I will also own the transvestites and the dwarfs."

"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]."⁴

The monopolies on salt and *sirih* that are set out in this origin tradition from Sidénréng are referred to in early twentieth century Dutch sources (Vogel 1908:176).⁵ 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. The notion of white-blood 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 ruler.⁶ 'Blood-blending' occurred when a man of high rank took secondary wives from commoner or slave classes.

⁴ *Riél*: from *rial*, a Spanish silver coin imported by English and Dutch traders.

⁵ Royal monopolies on salt appear to have been common in inland kingdoms. The rulers of Alitta (Braam Morris 1892:196) and Rappang (Vogel 1908:178) also had monopolies on salt.

⁶ The concept of white-blood is found among all ethnic groups in South Sulawesi who speak languages belonging to the South Sulawesi language group (Chapter One, section 1.3.1).

which resulted in a complex ranking system in which the rank of an individual was determined by their level of white-blood.⁷ 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 (Millar 1989:29).

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 a settlement that came to be seen as more prestigious, as appears to have been the case for a Sidénréng origin tradition (section 4.3.3.1). An 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 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

⁷ Mattulada (1985:25-29) sets out these ranking systems for both the Bugis and Makasar. On ranking systems in Bugis society, see also Pelras (1996:169-170). 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.

incorporated into the kingdom of Sawitto in this manner and is discussed in section 4.3.3.2.5 of this chapter.

4.2.2 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 Three) and Manuba (above) acknowledge the precedence of the kingdoms to which they are attached through origin traditions that claim that the founding ruler, or a parent of the founding ruler, is descended from the kingdom 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 state that it was ancestors from their lands who founded the kingdom. At the same time, these oral traditions will acknowledge the tributary status of their settlement in relation to the kingdom. An example of this 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 kakuaq 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.⁸

⁸ 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 in which Boné was the older sibling, Wajoq the middle sibling and Soppéng the younger sibling (Macknight and Muhlis, in preparation). In other instances, kinship terms such as mother and child were employed in order to set out even greater inequalities in power.

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 Umpungeng'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 (Druce 1997b:43).⁹

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 oral 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.) of a few hundred or more complex chiefdoms to a few thousand individuals. 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

⁹ Some oral traditions concerning Umpungeng also claim that the rulers of Soppéng originated from Umpungeng.

(Chapter Three) and that Urung once ruled Malimpung. This claim is rejected in Malimpung, where oral tradition claims their rulers are descended from Wé Lampésusu, the first ruler of Malimpung (Chapter Two). 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.¹⁰ 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 attempt to have the name of the *desa* changed to Urung. This present-day dispute emphasises how traditions of origin and precedence continue to function in the twenty-first century.

Kingdoms that became more powerful attempted to claim precedence over other kingdoms in South Sulawesi. For example, 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.¹¹

4.3 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 of these traditions of origin I examine is an oral tradition that sets out an order of precedence between the five kingdoms. This is followed by an examination of written genealogies for

¹⁰ A *desa* is an administrative area encompassing several villages

¹¹ This Boné tradition is also cited by Abdurrazak (1968b: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*.

the Ajattappareng kingdoms. Much of the remaining sections focus on origin traditions for Sidénréng and Sawitto, which tell a different story to that of the Ajattappareng genealogies

4.3.1 An order of precedence among the Ajattappareng kingdoms

There are several versions known to me of an oral tradition which functions to set out an order of precedence between the five Ajattappareng kingdoms by telling of an agreement that took place between the five kingdoms. This oral tradition states that the rulers of the five kingdoms who made this agreement were five brothers of the same parents. In this tradition, 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 these five brothers becomes the ruler of Sidénréng and the second oldest becomes the 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 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 (in several versions this land is called Paqbola-batué) and suggests that the youngest brother become ruler of that place.¹² 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.

¹² In another version, the four older brothers each give some land to the younger brother, which becomes Alitta.

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 (1.13, 1.27, 1.64, 1.75, 1.76, 1.95).¹³

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 summarised above, is probably a reflection on its nineteenth century decline, which saw Sidénréng take over its tributaries of Népo, Manuba and Palanro.

¹³ According to Burhanuddin (1974:42-44), this agreement took place in a small village in Suppaq called Ajattappareng and was made by the *aqdaoang* of Sidénréng La Pateqdunggi, the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto Palétéang, the *datu* of Suppaq La Makarié, 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 Makarié were probably dead when La Pateqdunggi and La Pakkollongi became rulers of their respective kingdoms (see figure 4.1 & 4.2).

4.3.2 Written Ajattappareng genealogies

The earliest reliable historical information for the Ajattappareng kingdoms can be backdated to 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. There do not appear to be any written genealogies which speak for Rappang and Alitta dating to before 1600. Several rulers of Rappang do, however, appear in the genealogies that speak for Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto, the earliest of whom dates 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 lists 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 the beginning of the sixteenth century. 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 (Chapter Five). The short time depth of these genealogies perhaps reflects a late development of writing in the western half of the peninsula in comparison to the eastern half (Chapter Two).

Regardless of their functions, all genealogies begin with the same two individuals, Wé Tépulingé and La Bangéngngé, who serve as origin figures and sources of precedence for all subsequent individuals named in these genealogies. For this reason, all such genealogies can be considered collectively as Ajattappareng genealogies. 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 Bangéngngé, the *tomanurung* who descended at Bacukiki. The Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies state that he ruled in Bacukiki; the Sawitto genealogy acknowledges that La Bangéngngé 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.¹⁴ 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 Bangéngngé is said to have been the first *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. He was the one who descended at Bacukiki, Cempa,¹⁵ but he was not the ruler of the place where he descended. [...] Our lord La Bangéngngé went [to Sawitto] and opened a settlement. Instantly people came from all

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ The Cempa to which the text is refers is part of Bacukiki.

around, from where they came is not known. So, the settlement he opened was called Sawéto and became known as Sawitto (HP p. 9).¹⁶

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 as rulers of Suppaq only.

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, but 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 some 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, in their written form at least, 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 rulers of Sawitto in order to account for the lack of early written genealogical records for the rulers of Sawitto and to provide the rulers

¹⁶ 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 (section 4.3.3.2.4).

of Sawitto with the same origin as the rulers 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 other 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.

There are several historical inferences concerning the early sixteenth century relationship between Sidénréng, Suppaq and Sawitto that can be drawn from the foregoing examination of the variations between the genealogies. Firstly, as the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies do not include any ruler of Sawitto in the first two generations (which sets out the origins of Suppaq's and Sidénréng's rulers), we may assume that the compilers of these two genealogies did not consider that the rulers of Sawitto shared a common origin with the rulers of Suppaq and Sidénréng. 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, which suggests 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 section 4.3.3.2.4, 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 summarised in section 4.3.1. This oral tradition placed Sidénréng first in the order of precedence between the Ajattappareng kingdoms, while Suppaq was placed fourth. In the Ajattappareng genealogies, however, it is the *totompoq* and *tomanurung* of Suppaq and Bacukiki (Wé Tépuilingé and La Bangéngngé) 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:

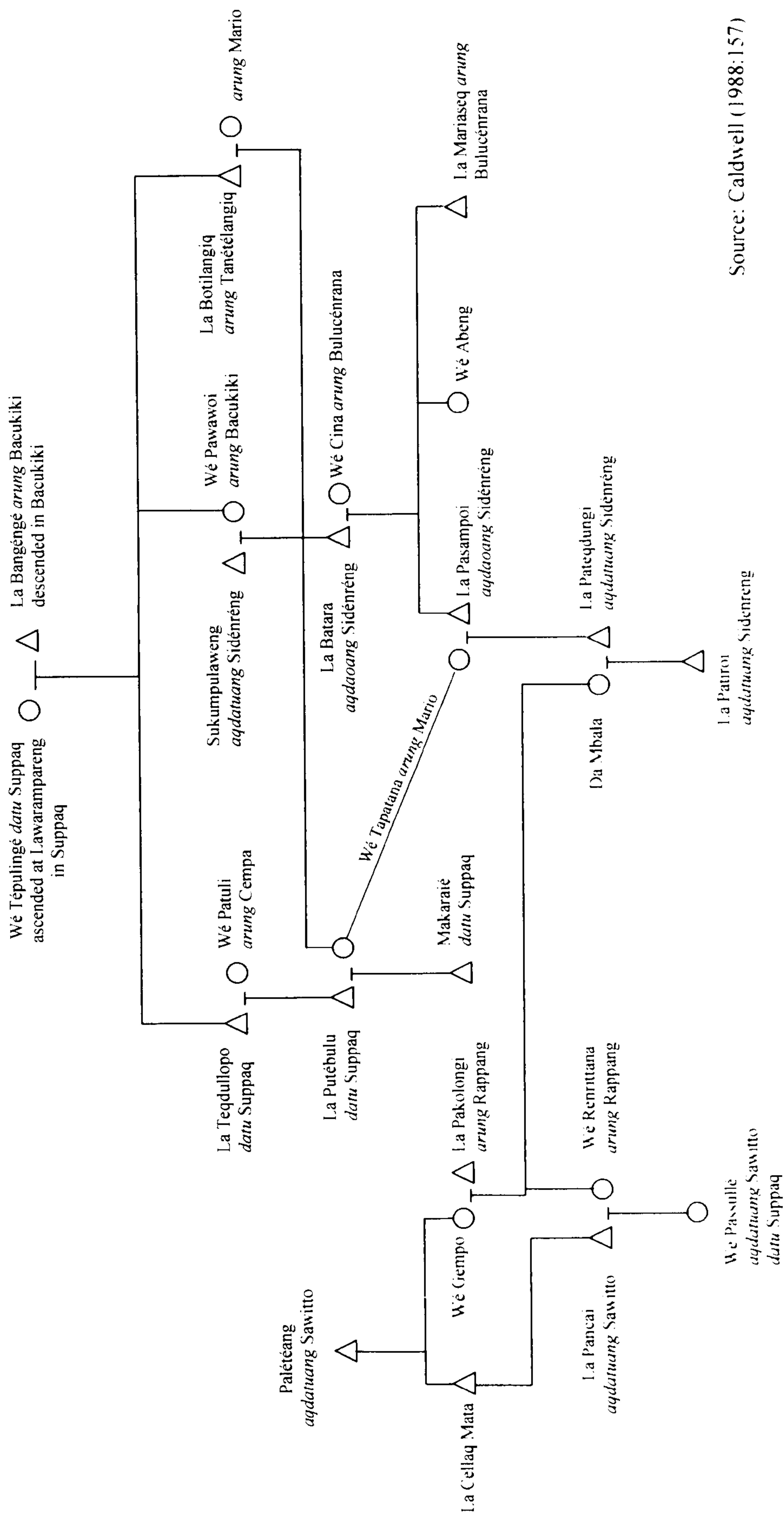
May I not swell, may I not weaken for mentioning the names of the *tomanurung* of Sidénréng, he who descended at Bacukiki, and she who arose at Lawaramparang. La Bangéngngé was the name of the one who descended. He ruled at Bacukiki. [...] He married the one who arose at Lawaramparang. [...] She was called Wé Tépuilingé 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, the first ruler of Sidénréng named in this genealogy. In this section, the Sidénréng genealogy informs us that it was Wé Pawawoi, rather than Sukumpulaweng, who ruled at Sidénréng.

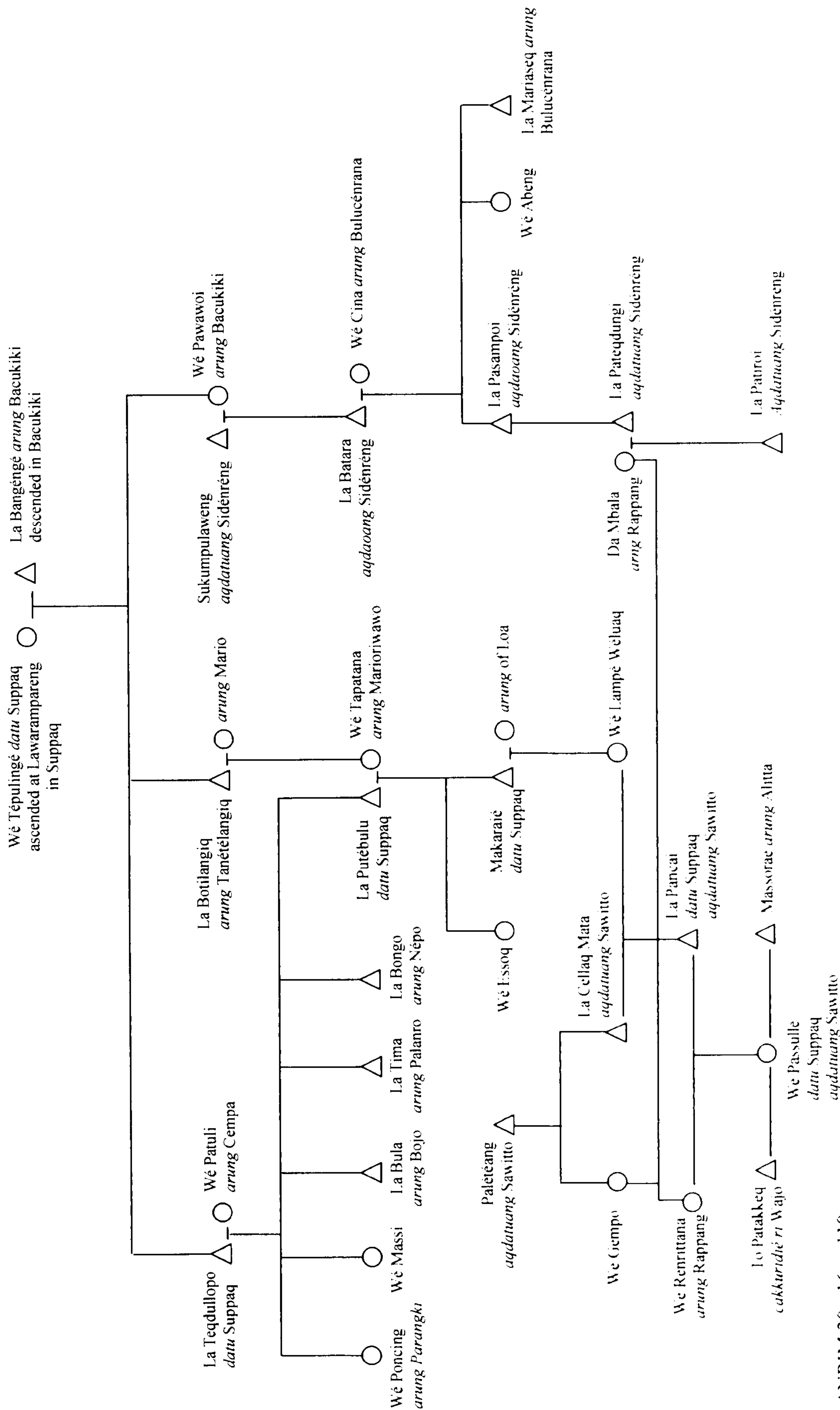
That the genealogy of Sidénréng looks to Suppaq-Bacukiki as a source of precedence for its ruling line is an indication of the early importance and influence of the Suppaq region and that Sidénréng's position as the leading Ajattappareng kingdom was a later development. The early importance of Suppaq is supported by evidence from archaeological surveys, which recorded a much higher concentration of thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic trade ware sherds at sites surveyed in Suppaq than those surveyed in Sidénréng (Chapter Five). Furthermore, there seems little doubt that those ceramic trade ware 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.

Figure 4: Genealogy of Sidénréng



Source: Caldwell (1988:157)

Figure 4.1: Genealogy of Suppaq



4.3.3 Origin traditions of individual kingdoms

The only origin tradition from Suppaq known to me is of the Ajattappareng genealogies, which informs us that Wé Tépuŕingé ascended at Lawaramparang in Suppaq and was the first *datu* of Suppaq. 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 Two). This genealogy claims that the first four generations of West Soppéng's rulers had political ties with Suppaq through marriage, which if backdated would date the first of these marriages to about the late thirteenth century.¹⁷ However, as I have argued elsewhere (Druce 2001), there is no historical basis that this genealogy sets out between West Soppéng and Suppaq but its claim is rather 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 *hujung 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

¹⁷ This is using a standard reign length of 25 years (see Chapter Two, section 2.2.1).

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).

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.

4.3.3.1 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 (Caldwell 1988:140-148; Druce 1999:11-47).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 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 (Druce 1999:27-30).²² In both *lontaraq*

¹⁹ Both these *lontaraq* texts contain the same origin traditions, with some variation, which tell of the opening of Sidénréng. In both texts, the story is followed by a varying number of short unconnected traditions, derived from the oral register. In the longer of these texts (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 did not 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 summarised by Abdurrazak (1968b).

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 1979:85-87) and close ties with the Bugis ruled kingdom of Luwuq.

²² 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 Maqgalutang (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 and that he

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 these 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 1999:28-29).

This tradition of the original 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 This division of Sidénréng into eight lands

died in 1654 and 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 Abdurrazak (1968b:43).

equates with the number of brothers who arrive in Sidénréng and as the tradition progresses the descendants of the brothers become the eight ploughmen and then the eight *matoa* of the eight lands.

The 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, Massépé, Alakkuang Liseq, Aratang, Guru and Lawawoi.²⁵ Each of these eight lands are located in fertile wet-rice growing areas to the north and west of Lake Sidénréng (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 Sidénréng 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 Soppéng, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was producing agricultural surpluses for trade.

Both versions of the Sidénréng origin tradition found in *lontaraq* texts are followed by a second related tradition, which sets out the origins of Rappang's ruling family. According to this tradition, 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

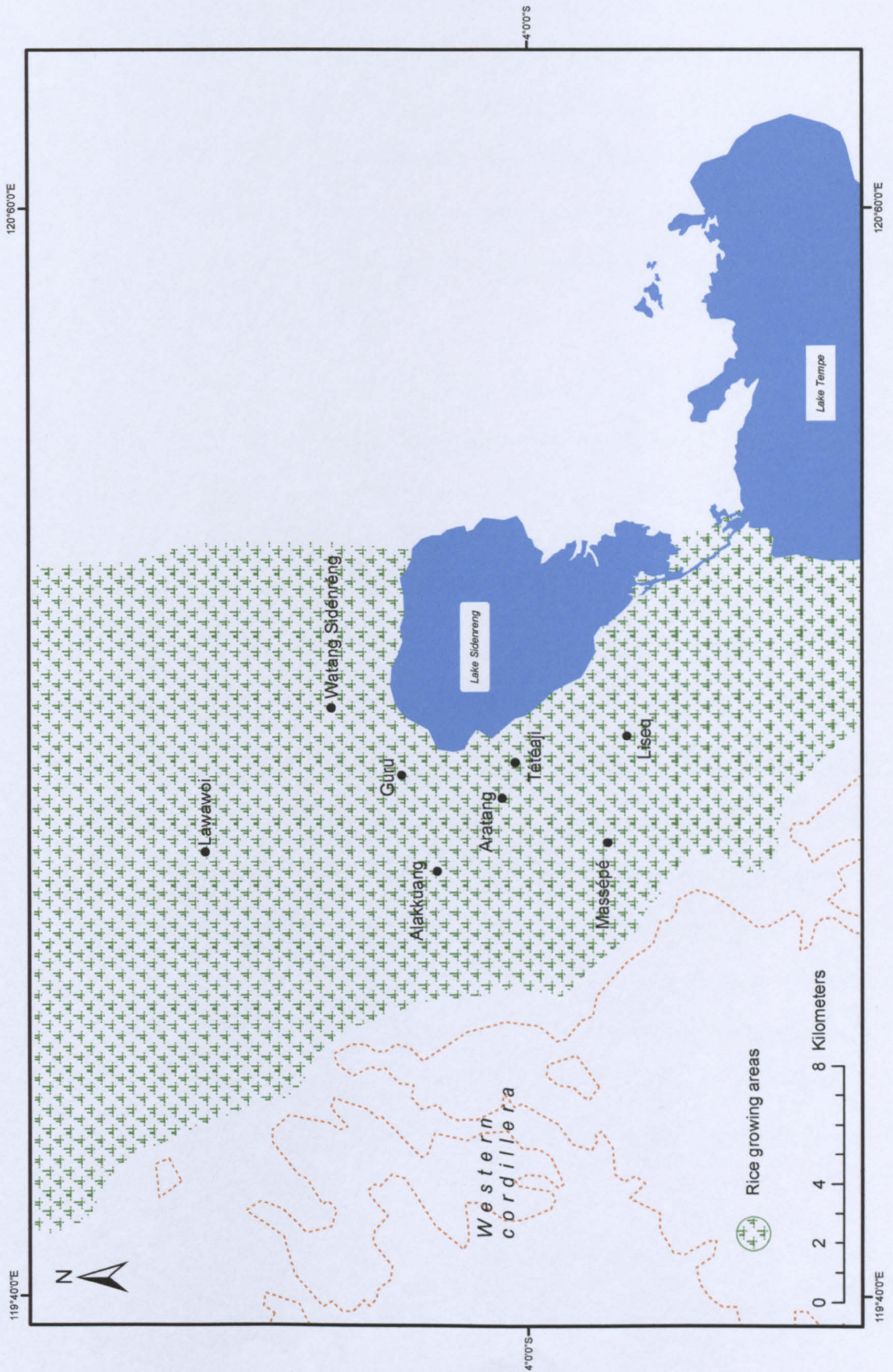
²⁵ Vogel (1908) and Abdurrazak (1968b) name the same eight lands and state that these lands formed the original Sidénréng.

²⁶ Traditions of kingdoms growing from a varying number of original core lands are common in South Sulawesi. Similar stories can be found for Bone, which is said to have grown from seven core lands, and Goa, said to have emerged from nine core lands.

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.

²⁷ Pantilang is a Toraja settlement situated just inside *kabupaten* Luwuq. 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.).

Figure 4.3: The eight original domain lands of Sidénréng



That the tradition claims a Toraja origin for the ruling lines of Sidénréng and Rappang is somewhat surprising given the historical animosity and present-day relationship between the Bugis and Toraja, which is characterised by religious differences, inter-ethnic competition, mistrust and, at times, conflict.²⁸ 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 a Bugis would be reluctant to so) 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 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.

²⁸ According to Braam Morris (1889:24), 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 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".

One can probably dismiss the possibility that the ruling family of Sidénréng originates directly from Sangallaq itself. 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.²⁹ 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 feature in one oral tradition from Sawitto.³⁰ Many origin traditions from Bugis and Makasar-speaking settlements that tell of a foreign prince or princess becoming ruler claim Luwuq as the place of origin for their rulers, while others claim that the first ruler came from Goa or Boné, mainly because of the importance these two kingdoms achieved in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively. In the case of a tributary land, the primary kingdom may be the provider of the first ruler. Why then does this Sidénréng origin tradition look to 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 Three, where evidence was presented for a southward movement of people from highland areas into the Sidénréng 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.

²⁹ The Sidénréng origin tradition is not known in Sangallaq; nor does Sangallaq claim any ancient historical ties with Sidénréng (pers.comm., Lasso Sombolingge, a grandson of the last *puang* of Sangallaq).

³⁰ This is notwithstanding the oral traditions about Lakipadada. In Toraja oral traditions (Nooy-Palm 1979:145-151), Lakipadada 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 Goa. Oral traditions about Lakipadada are also found in many parts of lowland South Sulawesi, particularly Makasar speaking areas, such as Bantaeng (Yunus Hafid 1994:44-47) and Goa, where he appears in an early section of the Goa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:10). However, these Makasar traditions do not associate Lakipadada with Toraja.

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 also show a common origin for the rulers of Sidénréng and Suppaq.

4.3.3.2 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 consistently repeated by both descendents of Sawitto's former ruling family and people of common origin.³¹ 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.

³¹ These 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, then 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.

As opposed to the Sangallaq tradition from Sidénréng, the Sawitto-Simbuang tradition appears to have some basis in historical relationships between these two lands, a relationship which continued up to the late 1960s. Dating the origin of this relationship and understanding its nature is, however, more 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 four versions claim 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.

4.3.3.2.1 Oral tradition from Simbuang

Lanting (1926:19-20) summarises a tradition which tells of a relationship between Simbuang, Sawitto and six other settlements.³²

In the past, the people of eight lands gathered in Simbuang. These lands were Simbuang, Saddang, Mamasa, Rantebulahan, Sawitto, Gallangkallang, Balainipa and Matangnga.³³ These eight made an agreement concerning war and defence. Each of the lands chose a title for themselves, which reflected their position.

³² In the following summary, I have altered the spelling of place names in accordance with local convention.

³³ 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. Gallangkallang was a tributary of Sawitto and located in the mountainous area of north Pinrang.

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; Matangah 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.

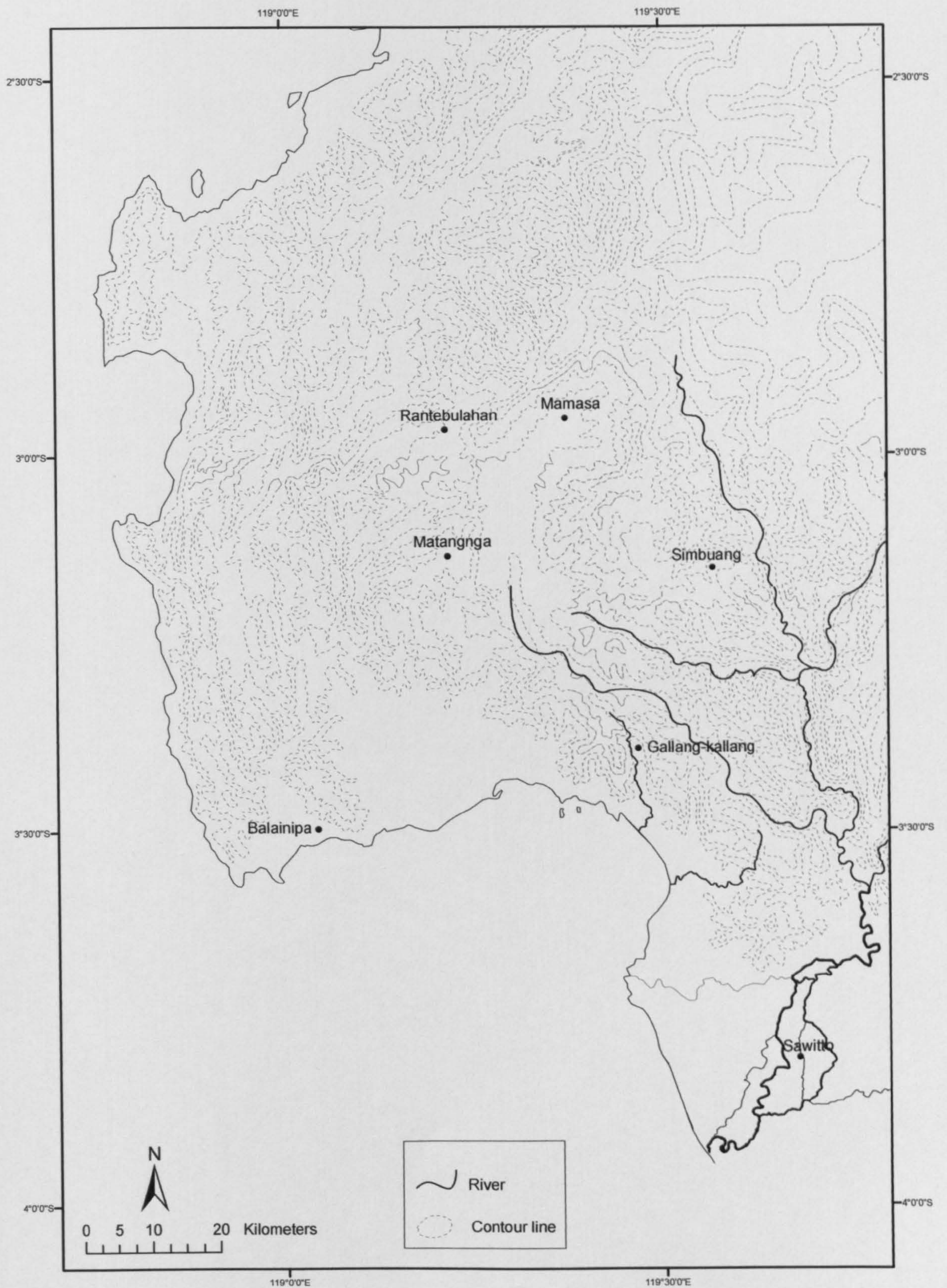
The titles chosen by Simbuang and Sawitto in this tradition, *neneq* and *datu*, serve to set out their respective positions in the above alliance as the two most prominent settlements. The title *datu* reflects the fact that Sawitto was the more powerful of the group while the title *neneq* conveys 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 symbolise power acceding to age and ancestry.

The alliance itself may have historical basis and reflect economic, military 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).³⁴ One of these members, 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. According to Lanting (1926:20-21), 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. On account of Sawitto's resistance to the Dutch under La Sinrang, the Dutch disregarded the historical relationship between Sawitto and Simbuang, which was placed in the subdivision of Makale (Bigalke 1981:25).

³⁴ I was unable to locate the settlement Saddang, which is omitted from Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Location of the lands named in Lanting's tradition



Nooy-Palm (1991:290) 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 Waterson (pers.comm.), 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.

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 (Koubi 1982:51).³⁵ Waterson (1997:68-69) 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 Masuppu river taking their mother with them.³⁶ 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 people 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.³⁷

³⁵ 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).

³⁶ A tributary of the River Saddang.

³⁷ Koubi (1982:42-52) also provides French translations of Toraja traditions about Bonggakaradeng collected from the Simbuang area; they make no mention of Sawitto.

As Waterson points out, these stories about Bonggakaradeng and his descendants serve to explain why the neighbours of the Toraja no longer eat pork.³⁸ 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.

4.3.3.2.2 Oral tradition from Kadokkong

Bonggakaradeng also appears in an oral tradition from Kadokkong, a tributary of Sawitto, which 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 older, 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,³⁹ who went to marry in Simbuang with the grandchild of the *tomanurung* of Simbuang.⁴⁰ The child from this marriage was called Dadabulaweng, who became ruler of Simbuang. Bonggakaradeng married again in Kadokkong. This marriage produced two children: Sarambuallu

³⁸ Volkman (1980:45-46) 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 pig feasting, the remaining pigs are let loose in the forest and the *datu* declares that there will be no more eating of pigs.

³⁹ The other children named in the oral tradition are given in figure 4.5.

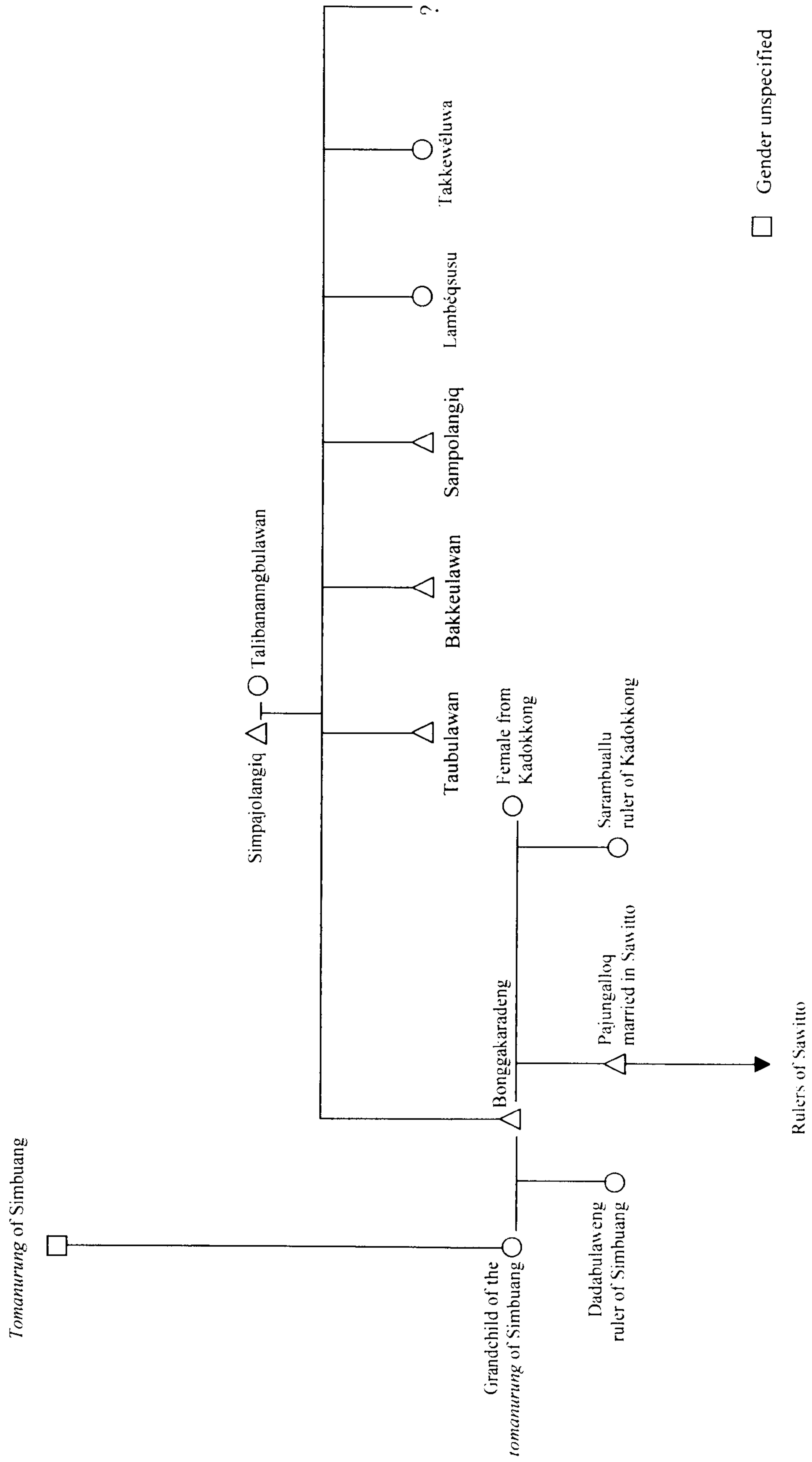
⁴⁰ This passage thus acknowledges that Simbuang is at least a generation older than Kadokkong.

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 (1.61) (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, 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.⁴¹ One of the children of Kadokkong's *tomanurung* was called Lambeqsusu, a figure who appears in Toraja and Massenrempulu-speaking areas (see Chapter Three) and in one tradition from Sawitto.

⁴¹ 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



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 any 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 (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 the informant, this agreement was symbolised 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.).

4.3.3.2.3 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.⁴² One of these informants, Pak Sada Bagenda, once travelled to Simbuang together

⁴² These informants consistently used the Indonesian word *raja* (ruler, king, queen) for this person, which I follow in my summaries of their stories. However, as Waterson (pers.comm.) points out, there was probably no ‘ruler’ as such in Simbuang and 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.

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 over the rulers of Sawitto.

In the 1930s, Sada Bagenda, the *kepala dusun* of Leppangaeng (who is today over 80 years old) went to Simbuang with the ruler of Sawitto. 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 Makkulao, the highest ranking noble in Sawitto. Andi Makkulao was asleep but the ruler of Simbuang ordered a servant to wake him; when Andi Makkulao came out of his room he embraced the ruler of Simbuang and said *neneqta polé* (my grandfather has come, B.). Andi Makkulao 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 (1.94).

Another connection between Simbuang and Sawitto is the reputed grave of Temmanroli, close to the former palace centre of Sawitto. Temmanroli is the posthumous name of La Pancai, who was the last non-Islamic ruler of Sawitto.⁴³ Until quite recently, this grave, which is simply a large boulder, attracted large numbers of people from Tana Toraja. According to Pak Patudai, the *kepala lingkungan*⁴⁴ of Corawali (where Temmanroli's grave is located), these visitors held a *badong* dance and sacrificed a pig and a black buffalo at the grave.⁴⁵ Some of these people were from Supirang but most were from Simbuang and believed Temmanroli 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 Temmanroli'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.

⁴³ The name Temmanroli (some informants say Tomanroli) is well-known by people throughout the former territory of Sawitto. It is possible that he has been remembered and is 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 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).

⁴⁴ The head of an area within a *desa*.

⁴⁵ 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 1979:1 64).

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.) (photograph 11). 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.

4.3.3.2.4 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 3.11) 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 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 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 summarise V.1 of this tradition while noting any significant variations in V.2 with footnotes. This will be followed by summaries of V3 and V4.

V.1

A male *tomanurung* descends inside some bamboo and a female ascends from some foamy water in a neighbouring settlement.⁴⁶ These two figures are known as the *manurunggé ri walappana awoé* (the one who descended inside bamboo) and the *manurunggé ri busa uwwaé* (the one who descended from foamy water⁴⁷). These two figures marry and have eight children; the eldest and youngest are girls.⁴⁸ The eldest girl marries in Ulu Saddang and her descendants become the rulers of Enrékang and Batulappaq.⁴⁹ 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 that, 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

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ *Manurunggé ri busa uwwaé* (the one who descended from foamy water) should be *totmpoqé ri busa uwwaé* (the one who ascended from foamy water).

⁴⁸ In the *hikajat* Sawitto version, there are just seven children; six boys and a girl, who is the youngest of the seven.

⁴⁹ Ulu Saddang is in northern Pinrang, close to *kabupaten* Enrekang.

Sawitto and several settlements in Sawitto, most notably Palétéang.⁵⁰ 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 the *aqdatuang* and his remaining tributaries and the former ruler is driven out of Sawitto.⁵¹ The youngest of the seven, the sister, is then made *aqdatuang* of Sawitto and her brothers become rulers of *anaqbanua*.⁵² The new *aqdatuang* then calls a meeting and together with her brothers they organise the lands of Sawitto into groupings (ANRIM 14 / 27 p. 39-40).

V.3⁵³

The first ruler of Sawitto was called Besseq Sitto and came from Luwuq. 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. Landarundun's second wife was called Sangallaq Bonden, who was the daughter of Batara Mallong, the ruler of Sangallaq. Saraq Lampésusu and Landarundun had a

⁵⁰ According to the version in the *hikajat* Sawitto, the war is because these lands refuse to submit to the ruler of Sawitto.

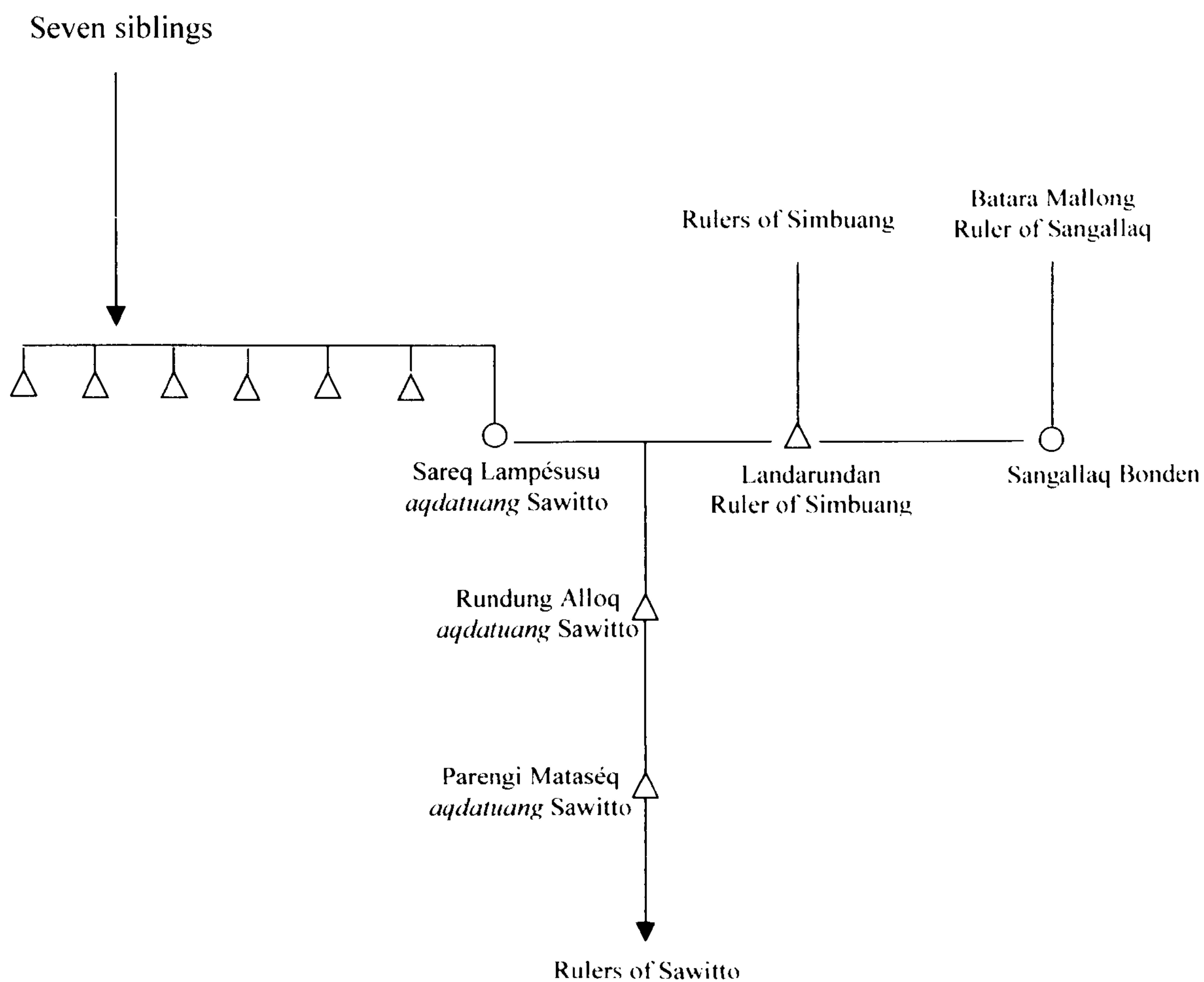
⁵¹ In the *hikajat* Sawitto's version, the former ruler flees to BÉlokka, which was a tributary of Sidénréng.

⁵² The literal meaning of *anaqbanua* is 'child settlement', which can be equated with a domain.

⁵³ V.3 was told to me in Madimen.

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).⁵⁴

Figure 4.6: Madimen origin tradition: Origin of the rulers of Sawitto



⁵⁴ 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.

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 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.⁵⁵ 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 Békoka 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*.⁵⁶ Three of the brothers were called To Léngo, To Kippang and La Tolélé.⁵⁷ 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 Tomanroli.⁵⁸ Tomanroli had eleven children. One was called *ratu ri* Parung, who went down in the water and became a crocodile.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ This is the title given to Palétéang, the ruler of Sawitto in the Suppaq and Sidénréng genealogies.

⁵⁷ To Léngo and To Kippang also appear in the oral tradition collected by Haji Paewa, where they rescue La Palétéang from Goa (see Chapter Two).

⁵⁸ Tomanroli (Temmanroli) 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.

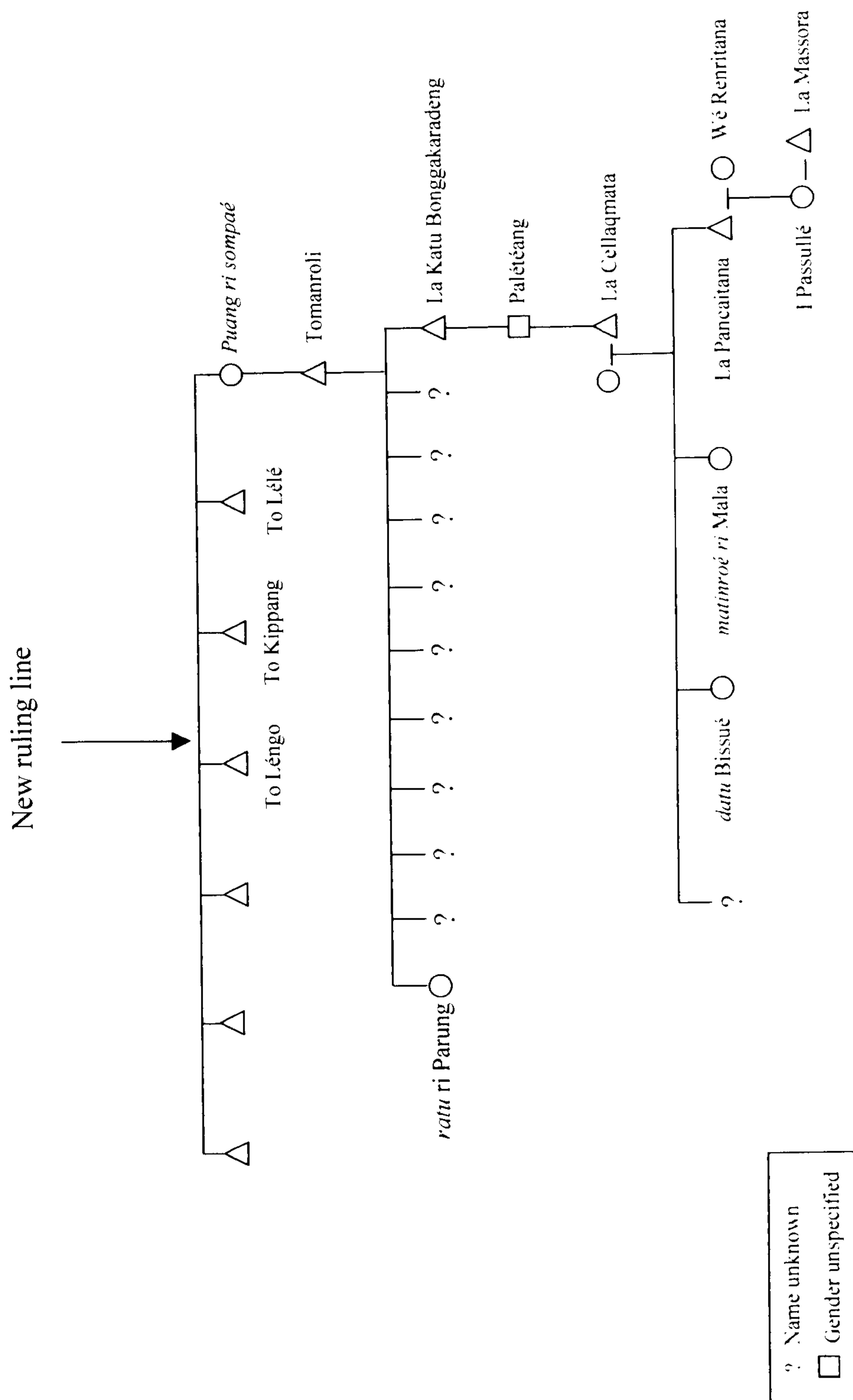
Another was called La Katu Bonggakaradeng, who became *aqdatuang* of Sawitto.⁵⁹ La Katu Bonggakaradeng had a child called Palétéang. Palétéang had a child called La Cellaq Mata. La Cellaq Mata married Wé Lampé Weluaq. They had four children: one went into the water and became a crocodile. Another was called *datu* Bissué. Another was called *matinroé ri* Mala.⁶⁰ Another was called La Pancaitana,⁶¹ who became *aqdatuang* of Sawitto. La Pancaitana married I Tenritana and their child was I Pasullé who married La Massora, the *arung* of Alitta (1.38) (figure 4.7).

⁵⁹ 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 Énrékang, 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.

⁶⁰ *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.

⁶¹ The La Pancai of the ASS.

Figure 4.7: Origin of the rulers of Sawitto



The function of the three oral traditions summarised 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) in an oral genealogy 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 in origin myths (as Lombéqsusu) from several places in 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.⁶² 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 summarised 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

⁶² Lampésusu, Lombéqsusu and Lambéqsusu all mean 'long breasts' in their respective languages.

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 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 through history. 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 of the land Palétéang in two of the three oral traditions, which is just three kilometres southwest of Madimen, where the seven siblings are said to have come down to live appears to be significant. 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.⁶³ 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, which perhaps reveal that the three oral traditions summarised above date to about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sawitto's emergence around this time as the dominant polity in the

⁶³ 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).

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 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.

4.3.3.2.5 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 Paqgeroang, Madelloq, Baru-baru, 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 Paqgeroang 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 traditions, which is recorded in a *lontaraq* text found in a twentieth century manuscript, relates a tradition of a relationship between Cempa and Mandar.⁶⁴ According to this tradition, one of the nine *tomanurung* of Cempa marries in Mandar. The child from this marriage, La Basoq Balainipa, later arrived in Cempa at the time of an agreement of friendship between Sawitto and the Pitu Baqbamminaga (The Seven River-mouths).⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ La Basoq Balainipa 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 be opened in Paqgeroang. The tradition concludes by saying that the *arung* of Cempa was buried in Coppeng-coppeng, a pre-Islamic burial ground.

⁶⁴ This text is found in manuscript ANRIM 40 / 7, p 237-240.

⁶⁵ 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).

⁶⁶ This information thus suggests that the Salimpolo area was woodland before the River Saddang's change in course.

Present-day oral traditions claim that Cempa was once a large independent kingdom, equal to Luwuq, Boné and Goa. These traditions further 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).⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

Several of the other lands associated with Cempa trace their origin to Matjina. Paqgeroang (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 Paqgeroang after Paqgeroang's first ruler, Talawaé, disappeared (I.29). Two other sons of Matjina are said to have become the *arung* of Baru-baru and Kaliang. 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 Paqgeroang, Baru-baru

⁶⁷ 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.

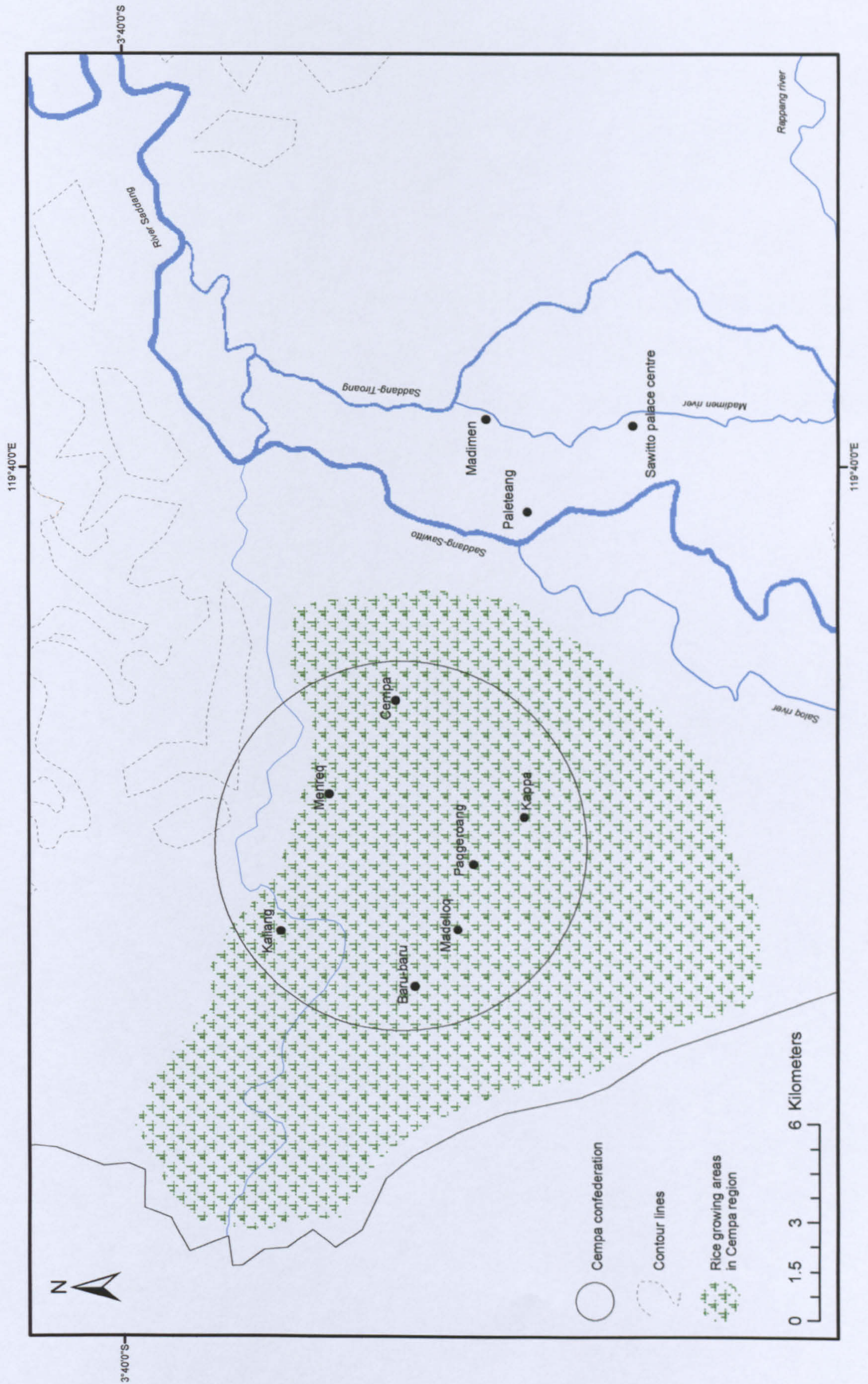
⁶⁸ That this area was a pre-Islamic burial site is attested by reports from farmers who found large numbers of trade wares when clearing the land, including burial jars containing cremated remains. I located a small number of fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok and sixteenth century Ming sherds 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.

also claims that it had its own founding rulers before its association with Cempa, who were called *puang* Langiq Makkaraton (lord or lady of the sky who owned a palace) and *puang* Bassoq. According to the story, *puang* Langiq Makkaraton 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), which is not in Matthes' dictionary, is probably derived from the Javanese word *kraton* (palace).⁶⁹

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 probably achieved through armed conquest.

⁶⁹ Ceramic trade wares have been looted from pre-Islamic burial grounds in both Paqgeroang and Baru-baru, with huge quantities reportedly found in Paqgeroang. 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.

Figure 4.8: The Cempa confederation



4.3.3.3 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.⁷⁰ 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 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.

4.4 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

⁷⁰ Only one well exists today but according to tradition there was seven.

Suppaq and the other Ajattappareng kingdoms, but an earlier tradition in the Ajattappareng genealogies sets out Suppaq's precedence over Sidénréng.

One of the most 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 presents us with a different political landscape to that found in the tributary and domain list of Sawitto, and appears 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) emphasises 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 section 4.3.2, are written traditions which begin with two origin figures, Wé Tépuŕingé and La Bangénggé, 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 Bangénggé 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 emphasises the durability of oral tradition but also suggests that the notion of 'textual authority' has little relevance to South Sulawesi.

Chapter Five

Ajattappareng: 1200 to 1600

5.0 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. Current archaeological evidence on burial practices suggests that cultural identities had yet to extend 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 Irfan Mahmud, forthcoming).

Before 1300 much of South Sulawesi was probably covered in forest. This made communication between settlements difficult. The main centres of habitation in the lowland areas of the peninsula were probably around the central lakes, 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 probably functioned as channels of movement and communication between settlements, particularly the major rivers, such as the Saddang, Bila, Cenrana and Jeneberrang.

An 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 rice

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 1999:27-28).

cultivation. How much forest had been cleared for rice cultivation before 1300 is at present unknown as there has been no 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 (Setten van der Meer 1979), it is unlikely that any major damming or bunding or drainage of low-lying areas had taken place in South Sulawesi before 1300. Natural flood plains may have been utilised by some communities for rice cultivation and it is possible that broadcasting (seeds scattered on the plains just before inundation) was practiced. However, most rice cultivated before 1300 was probably grown through 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, wild and domesticated pigs and buffalo, 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 Sattan-Toraja speakers.

Trade immediately before 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, but any major trade in iron probably developed shortly after this date following Bugis settlement of Malangke in Luwuq.²

² Iron ore was probably processed from the middle to late first millennium AD around the northern shores of Lake Matano in *kabupaten* Luwu Utara (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). 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

Many local trade networks were probably centred around river valleys or followed 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 Saddang and (perhaps to a lesser extent) the Bila. These rivers had probably facilitated small-scale trade networks, communication and movements of people from the highlands to the lowland areas of Sawitto and Sidénréng long before 1300. As oral tradition from Sawitto and Sidénréng suggests, kinship ties between highland and lowland communities may be of considerable antiquity, in particular those of lowland Sawitto and settlements further to the north. The people 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.³

External trade before 1300, as shown in Chapter One, 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. Foreign traders, who appear to have been associated with the Javanese kingdoms of Singhasari and Majapahit, 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

area after 1500 (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:27,33). 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 trade in iron before 1300.

³ 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.

silks. Toponymic evidence, oral tradition and archaeological data, suggest that some of these traders settled in coastal areas, where they presumably married into local populations.⁴

From about 1300, the ruling elite of South Sulawesi's settlements began to respond to the new opportunities presented by foreign 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.⁵ However, these risks were clearly outweighed 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 highland produce and 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

⁴ Recent research by Bulbeck and Clune (2003) on decorated Makasar earthenware suggests that there was also an important trading relationship with the Philippines.

⁵ 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.)

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 (sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2).

5.1 The rise of the Ajattappareng kingdoms: Archaeological evidence from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

The earliest agricultural intensification and developments in political complexity 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 foreign 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. These settlements were to become tributaries of Sawitto in the centuries that followed.

The most important of these early coastal polities was Suppaq, which, starting from about 1300, emerged as the major port in the Ajattappareng region. The early importance of Suppaq, which is suggested by the Ajattappareng genealogies in Chapter Four, is supported by archaeological evidence. Surveys in central Suppaq revealed seven sites dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries lying within relatively close proximity of one another. This suggests that from about 1300 people were increasingly attracted to the area, which from that time emerged as a 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,⁶ and at Matanré and

⁶ The name of a mid-sixteenth century ruler of Suppaq.

Gucié (Appendix B). 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 all came from a relatively small area.⁷ Makaraié produced 55 sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including 2 iron-painted Jizhou martavan sherds. Jizhou martavan are a status marker *par excellence* that, with one exception (see Wéngeng, below), have been recorded only at the early pre-Islamic palace centres of important kingdoms (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:84).⁸

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 was used 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 to which it was attached; presumably it was destroyed by the creation of new rice fields in recent times.

⁷ 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.

⁸ These include Tinco Tua (the West Soppéng palace site), Kale Goa (the original Goa palace site), Benteng Talloq (the palace site of Talloq), Pattimang Tua in Malangke (the pre-Islamic palace site of Luwuq), and Allangkananggé ri La Tanété (the palace site of the kingdom of Cina). In the Ajattappareng region, Jizhou sherds have also been found in 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 Trawulan (capital of Majapahit) and *kampung* Muara Ciaretun in West Java (associated with the kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java).

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 trade wares have also been found in five other sites in this area of central Suppaq, namely at Majennang, Perangki, Garessi, the area to west of Marauleng river (now converted to fish ponds), and what appears to have been a small pre-Islamic graveyard north of Lawaramparang.⁹ 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

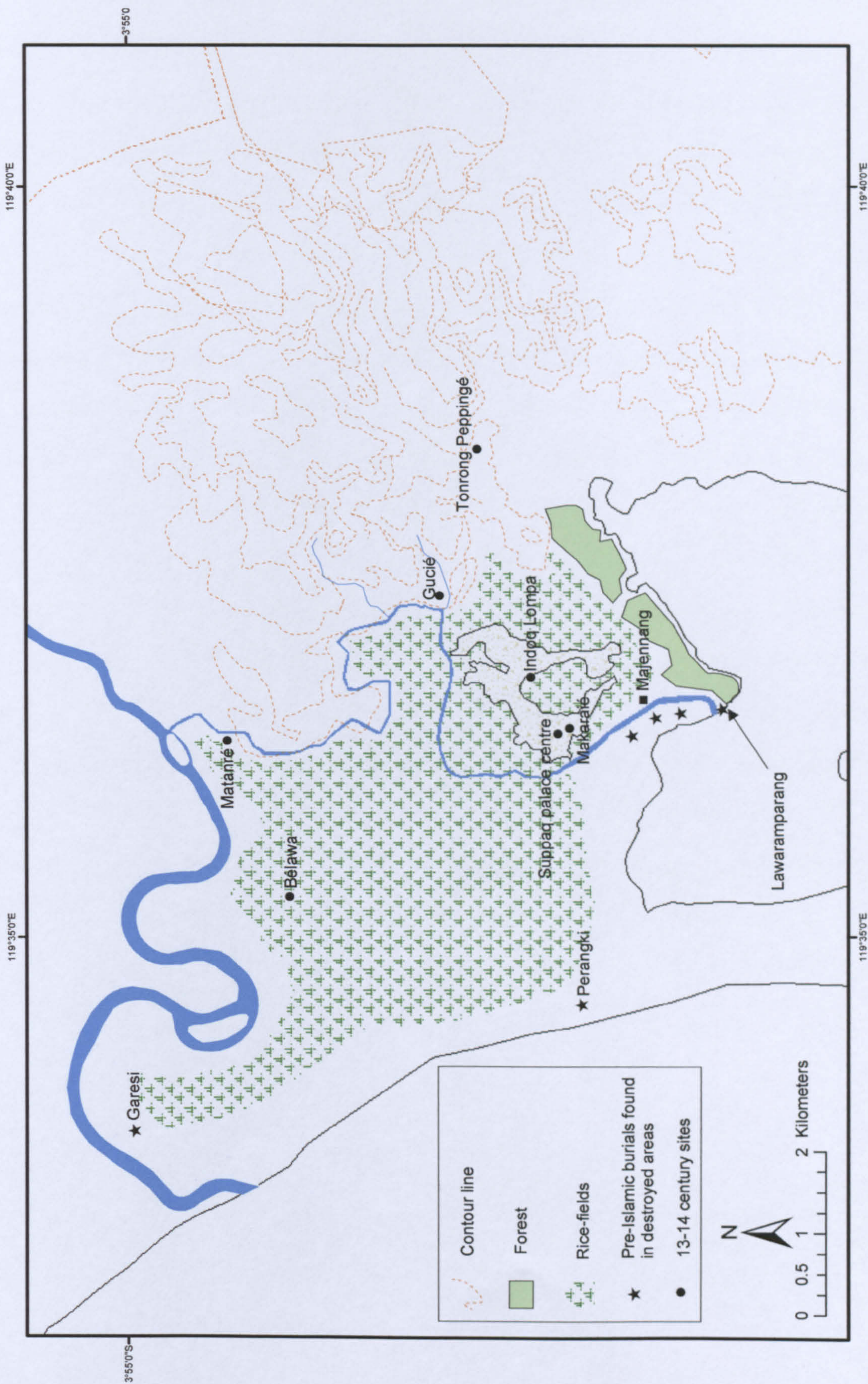
⁹ Lawaramparang is the name of an important *keramat* in Suppaq, where an underwater stream rises close to the seashore and gives the appearance of a natural well (photograph 12). According to the Ajattappareng genealogies, Wé Tépulingé (the first ruler of Suppaq) arose from Lawaramparang. Today, local inhabitants regard Lawaramparang as the most important, potent and dangerous *keramat* in Suppaq and many local people consciously keep their distance from it.

been destroyed by the creation of fish farms.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the survey data from central Suppaq suggests that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a relatively large number of people began to concentrate in this area.¹¹

¹⁰ Local residents report finding martavan that contained cremated human remains at three of these areas when they were dug out by excavators to create fish farms: Perangki, Garessi and the site to the north of Lawaramparang. The survey team visited Perangki and found a few sherds dating from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries along the walkways between the fish farms. In the area to the west of the Marauleng river, I found several Sawankhalok stoneware martavan sherds and Ming blue-and-white sherds along the narrow walkways between the fish ponds.

¹¹ This forms a contrast with the area south of central Suppaq, where the Suppaq domain lands of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo were located. 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 in section 5.2.1.

Figure 5: Central Suppaq archaeological sites



Thirteenth and 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 ponds and new 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 has been destroyed by the creation of new 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 10) that he found while digging an irrigation ditch (included in Appendix B).¹² 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 fishpond excavators also reported large finds of ceramics from Sumpang-Saddang, Lanriseng, Lérang and Rangaméa. Despite the fact that their reported finds cannot be dated, it seems reasonable to assume that some of the trade wares found in these lands date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.¹³ 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

¹² I would like to thank Campbell Macknight for identifying this foot from a photograph.

¹³ A survey was carried out at Sumpang Saddang at the one remaining patch of garden land (see Appendix B).

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, Goa, Talloq or Luwuq, although David Bulbeck (pers.comm.) reports that he was shown a similar foot some years ago in Wajo-wajo, *kabupaten* Wajo.

In central Sawitto, thirteenth to fourteenth century trade wares have been found in at least two sites, namely Temmanroli (the former palace centre of Sawitto) and Saloq.¹⁵ In *kota* Pinrang I was shown two broken thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan celadon plates by a looter who had taken them from Temmanroli. Grave robbers who have systematically searched the former territory of Sawitto for pre-Islamic burial grounds consistently state that the greatest quantity of trade wares came from Temmanroli. In Saloq, one thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan martavan sherd of the same type of those found in Makaraié was shown to 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 permitted to carry out a more extensive survey (see Chapter One, footnote 11).

Other sites in central Sawitto where looters have found imported ceramic trade wares are Padakalawa, Punia, Palétéang, Sékkang, Lepingang, Paria and a majority of the lands that formed the Cempa confederation, namely Cempa, Paqgeroang, Madelloq, Baru-baru, Kaliang, and Ménréq.¹⁷ Detailed descriptions by grave robbers of trade wares found at the above sites suggest 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, which covered a wide area and included three zones (Appendix B). Survey conditions in Alitta were relatively good, and the ten sherds found represent less than one per cent of total sherds dated to 1600 or earlier. Nevertheless, the survey data do

¹⁵ Four sites in Sawitto were originally scheduled for survey: Temmanroli, Bulu, Sumpang-Saddang and Loloang (see Chapter One).

¹⁶ I visited the site where this sherd was found together with Amad Siangka but found 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. Pak Karaeng of Balai Arkeologi Makasar later confirmed the identification of the sherd as thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan.

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.

suggest that Alitta played an important role in the regional and international trade network from about 1300 onwards.

In Sidénréng, four of the five sites surveyed produced thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds: Watang Sidénréng, Wéngeng, Bulubangi and Bélokka.¹⁸ 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 3 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 wide. Local informants state that the remaining graveyard represents about 25 per cent 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 particularly significant. The survey data thus appear to support oral tradition (Chapter Four); 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 but the small number of finds from the survey, which covered a relatively large area (Appendix B), suggests that Wéngeng was a relatively small village with little land suitable for wet-rice cultivation. The single Jizhou sherd from Wéngeng can therefore be dismissed as an exception.

The survey of Bulubangi (reported in detail in Druce, Bulbeck and Irfan Mahmud, forthcoming) recovered over 4,000 sherds, a larger number than any other site surveyed in

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 Ajattappareng region. The quantity of sherds recovered is partly a reflection of good survey conditions that allowed the team to survey six separate zones encompassing pre-Islamic burial grounds and habitation areas. Despite the extensive survey of Bulubangi, no Jizhou sherds were found, and only 11 of the 4,000 odd sherds can be dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These 11 sherds represent less than 1 per cent of total sherds dated to 1600 or earlier. By comparison, thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds from Watang Sidénréng made up over three per cent of the total sherds dated to 1600 or earlier. 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. Good survey conditions allowed the team to survey the entire site and 3,225 sherds were recorded. Just 7 of these sherds dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries but a further 17 Jizhou martavan sherds dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth century were also found. Examination of the Jizhou sherds revealed that 11 of them came from 2 martavan; each of the remaining 6 appear to represent individual martavans. Despite the excellent survey conditions, the number of Jizhou sherds found in the Bélokka survey is impressive and indicates that in the fourteenth century Bélokka 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 these three lands.

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.

The evident importance of B elokka 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. B elokka, Wetteq , Wanio and Ciroali all had direct access to both Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng. This would have allowed B elokka to trade over a wide geographical area, not just with Sid nreng but also with settlements in Sopp ng and Wajoq.

In Rappang, grave robbers and farmers have reportedly found ceramics at B nt ng (the former palace centre of Rappang), Baranti, Simpo, D a, and Patu  hill in Kulo, Rappang's sole tributary land. According to the officials at the Kantor Kebudayaan (Cultural Office) 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 B nt ng, the quantities of trade wares found in Rappang appear to have been smaller in number than other parts of Ajattappareng.

5.1.1 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 One 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 Sid nreng, for example) to conclude that they were traded to inland settlements not

long after they were obtained from foreign traders. This not only indicates an early realisation 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 was probably from the area around Sumpang Saddang to the central Sawitto region via the Saddang river. Another was from Suppaq to Alitta, either via the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river or 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 and transform into major trade routes as the region became integrated into a wider maritime economy.

The most important polity in the Ajattappareng region 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 to become a major agricultural and commercial centre. Increasing contact and trade between Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta, would have probably been initiated by Suppaq as demand for exportable produce rose. This would have stimulated agricultural expansion and political centralisation in these inland areas. By the fourteenth century, Suppaq had become powerful, rich and prosperous 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, and settlements further to the north in central Sawitto, stimulated agricultural intensification in central Sawitto. 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.

5.2 The fifteenth century: Expansion, alliance and agricultural intensification

The fifteenth century was a period of major political and agricultural expansion throughout lowland South Sulawesi. Archaeological data reveal a large-scale increase in ceramic trade wares 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 (Bahru 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 kingdoms over less successful settlements, some voluntarily and some through force.

In the Ajattappareng region, the fifteenth century marks the appearance of ceramic trade wares 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 trade wares for this century was in inland rice producing regions such as Sidénréng. This indicates that the region's agricultural potential was increasingly realised during the fifteenth century.

The archaeological evidence further suggests that during the fifteenth century there was increased economic integration between coastal and inland areas of Ajattappareng, especially between Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta. 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 between them.

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 the 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.

5.2.1 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 trade wares at all but one of the sites surveyed, ranging from about 250 to 600 per cent at most sites.²⁰ At Matanré, however, which produced a relatively large number of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds, the archaeological data record only a moderate growth for the fifteenth century (Appendix B). 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 trade wares in the Suppaq domain lands to the south of its port at Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo.²¹ Given its importance in the

²⁰ No Ming blue-and-white were found at Indoq Lompa and Tonrong Peppingé, which suggests that their main phase was the fifteenth century.

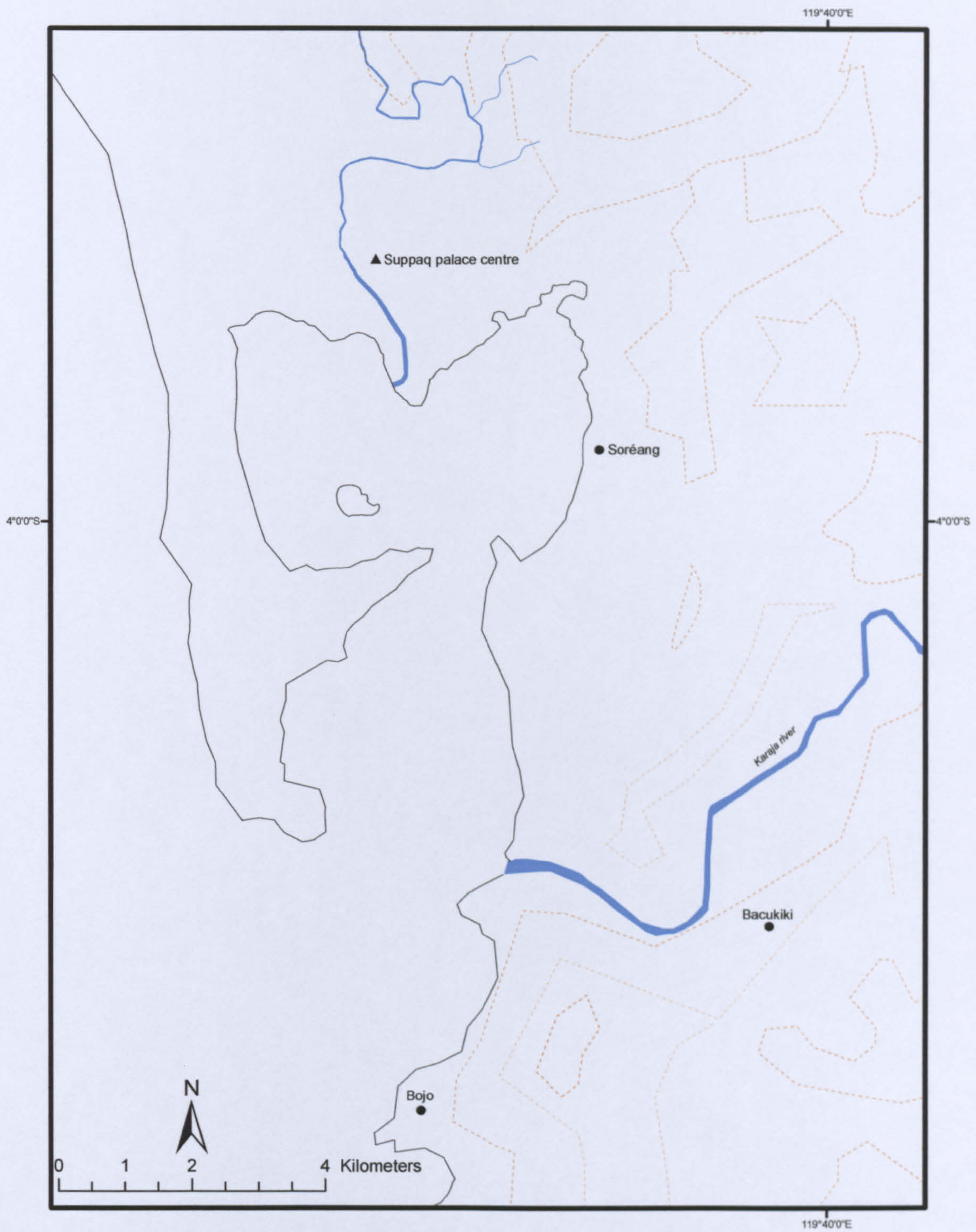
²¹ The Makassar branch of Balai Arkeologi surveyed Bacukiki and Soréang in 2001 (Muhaeminah and Irfan Mahmud 2001). The surveys recovered a relatively small quantity of ceramic sherds, the earliest of which date to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The vast majority of sherds, however, dated to the 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 present

Ajattappareng genealogies as the place where La Bangénggé descended and ruled, it is surprising that Bacukiki appears to have emerged as an important land more than a century after the port area of Suppaq. However, the relatively late importance of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo is probably 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 the western cordillera, about four 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

author during a visit to the museum) that were said to have been found at Bacukiki. Grave robbers report finding numerous 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.

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 Irfan Mahmud 2001:14-15). Soréang also has a small harbour where small ships still dock today.

Figure 5.1: Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo



Oral tradition from Suppaq claims that Bacukiki and Soréang were founded by children of a *datu* Suppaq (I.85, I.98). What this suggests, when considered together with the archaeological data, is 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 (see, for example, Hall 1999:201-202), the ability to create a conducive environment for foreign traders was fundamental to their success. This did not just encompass port facilities, but also meant that the ruling elite of 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 Suppaq, perhaps also ensuring that the port was not bypassed.²³ 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 Suppaq 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

²³ It is possible that Bacukiki functioned as a second subordinate port, although there is little support for this from the archaeological data.

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 Goa in the mid-sixteenth century. I discuss these traditions more fully in section 5.3.3 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.²⁴ 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).²⁵ 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.²⁶

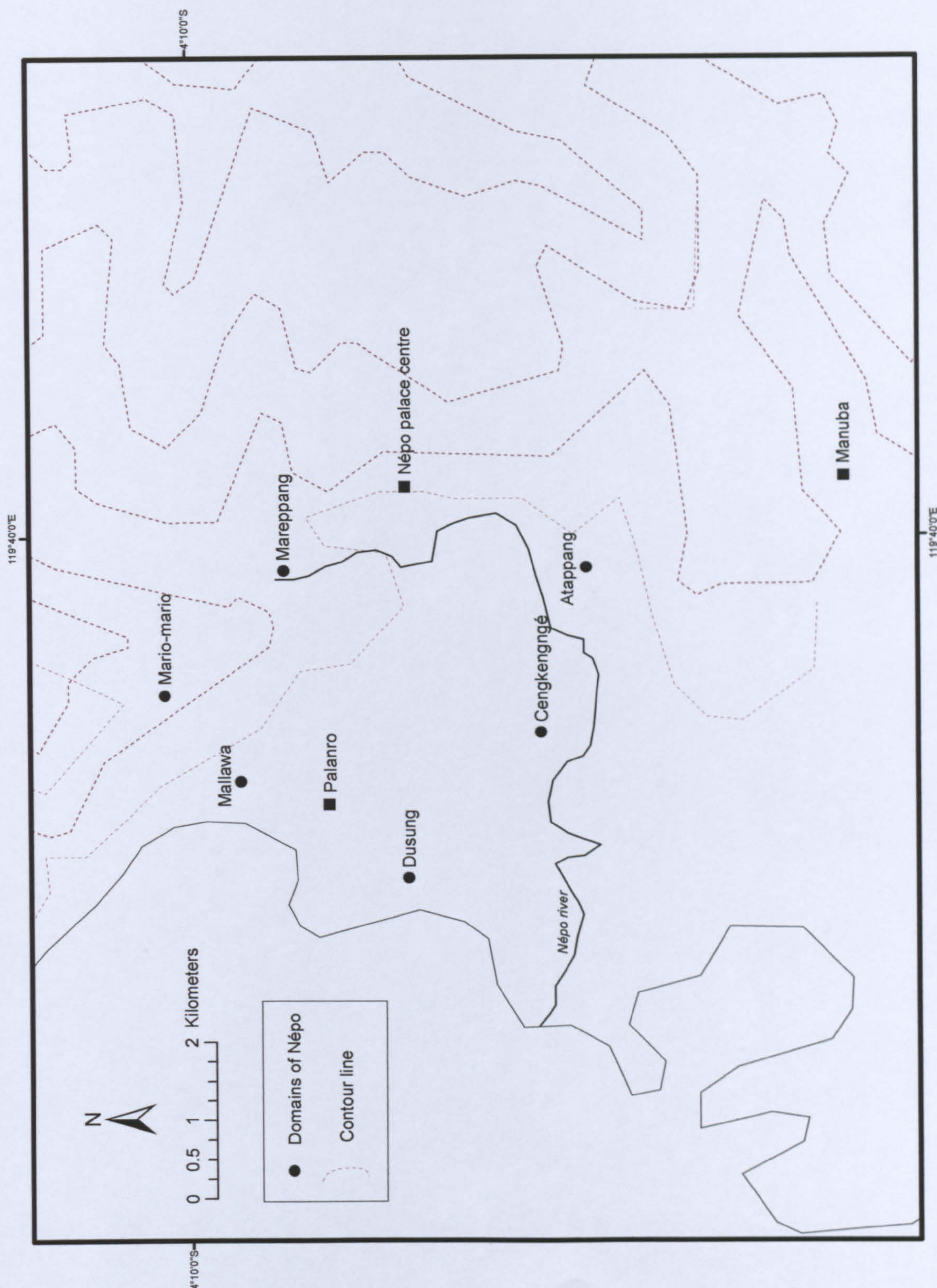
Some wet-rice is grown in Népo along the narrow coastal plain which separates the western cordillera from the sea. But most people in Népo and Manuba practice garden cultivation, while the people of Palanro are mainly fishermen. Oral tradition from Népo and Manuba depicts the people of these lands as 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.

²⁴ These sherds include Sawankhalok, Vietnamese and Ming sherds (See photograph 13 of a selection of ceramic sherds taken at Puang Pitué in Manuba.)

²⁵ I could not locate the seventh Népo domain land, Kutaé.

²⁶ Until recently, people travelling to Parepare from Palanro still travelled by boat (pers.comm., Muhammad Nur).

Figure 5.2: Népo, Palanro and Manuba



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 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, a common theme throughout much of the Austronesian-speaking world.

5.2.2 The fifteenth century expansion of Sidénréng

In the fifteenth century, the rich agricultural potential of central Sidénréng was increasingly realised. 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 trade wares arriving in central Sidénréng in the fifteenth century. In Watang Sidénréng the increase is almost 1,200 per cent; in Wéngeng 800 per cent; in Bulubangi 1,700 per cent; and in the Sidénréng tributary of Bélokka 2,700 per cent.²⁷

²⁷ 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.

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.²⁸ 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 Bila river, and 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.²⁹ The close relationship between these two confederations is emphasised 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.) (Druce 1997a:37).³⁰

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

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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).

³⁰ These two traditional leading lands do not appear to have exerted any real authority over the other members of the respective confederations, and each member appears to have existed as 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, and not just Bulucénrana and Barukku.

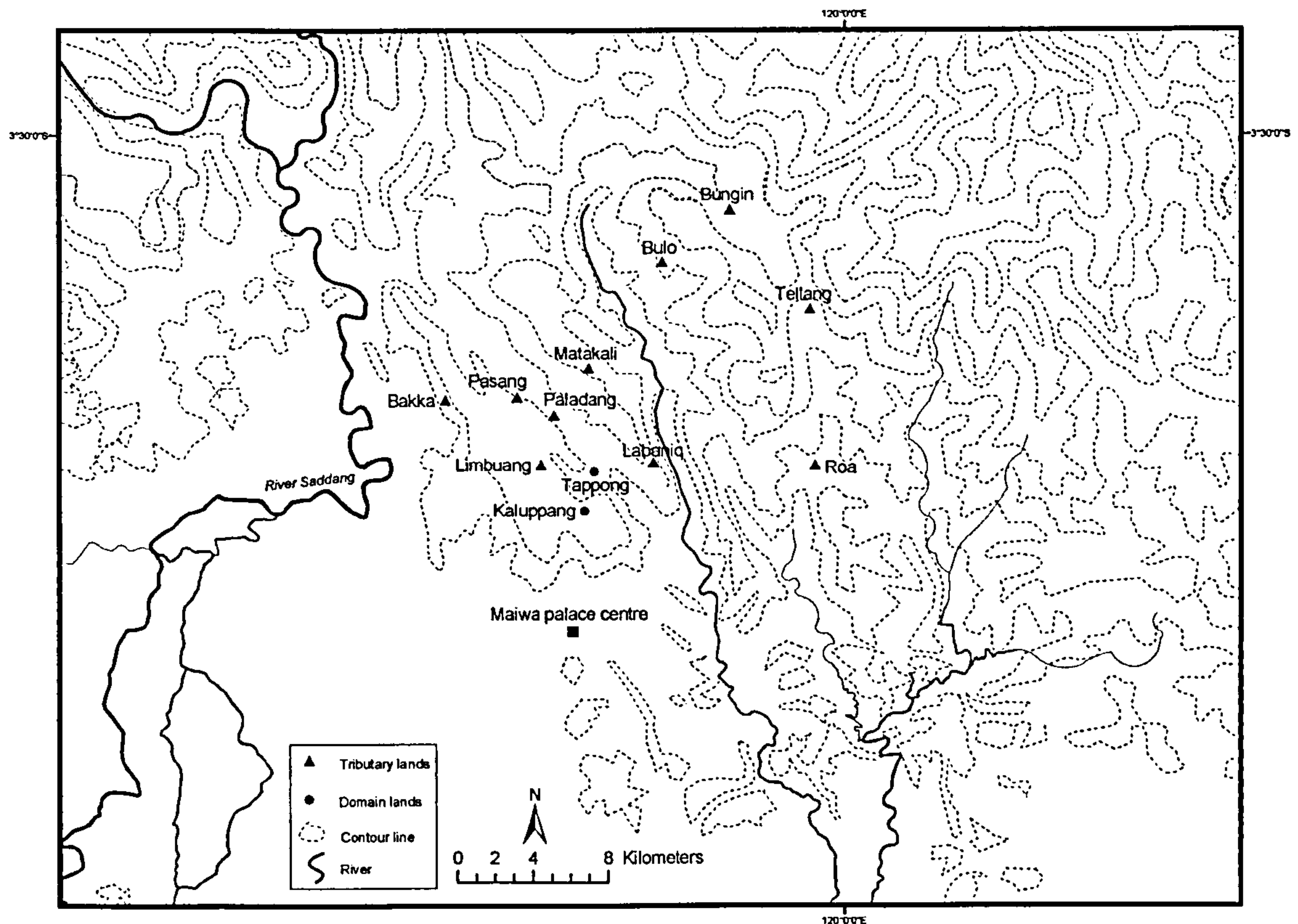
northern are mainly located in hill and mountainous regions suitable only for garden cultivation or less productive dry rice agriculture. The relationship between the two confederations appears to have been symbiotic and was probably based upon the exchange of their respective resources. The 'Seven Below' 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 Bulucenrana 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 (Chapter Three, section 3.4.2.3). Some of these trade wares 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, highland people from the Pituriaséq region, led by ambitious high-ranking nobles, 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 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.

Figure 5.3: Maiwa and its tributaries and domains



Oral tradition from Maiwa (Muhammad Sikki *et al.* 1986), summarised 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. Protection from attack by competing settlements must have been of increasing concern to the ruling elite.

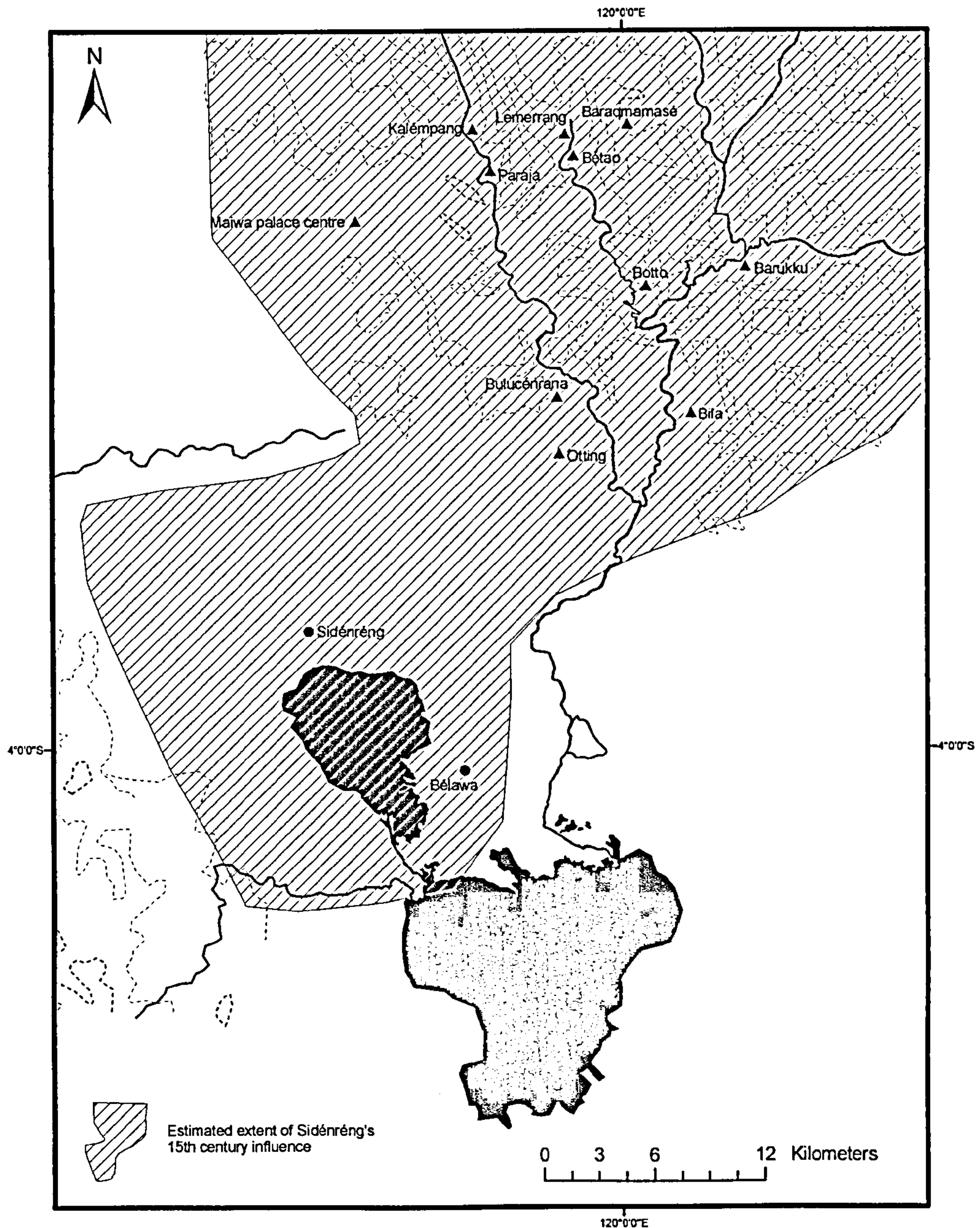
A further area of expansion for Sidénréng in the fifteenth century was across Lake Sidenreng to Bélawa, which is today part of *kabupaten* Wajoq. Whether Bélawa was a tributary of Sidénréng, or whether it had simply aligned itself with an increasingly powerful Sidénréng, is uncertain; the Wajoq chronicles simply refer to Bélawa as *paqdangengenna* Sidénréng (one who sits with Sidénréng, B.).³¹

In conclusion, Sidénréng's fifteenth century expansion appears to have been little short of spectacular. The estimated extent of its influence in this century is shown in figure 5.4. The two main reasons for Sidénréng's rise were the increasing realisation 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

³¹ The Bélawa origin tradition, an oral tradition written down in a *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60 / 7 p. 16-19), 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 section 5.3.1).

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.

Figure 5.4: The estimated extent of Sidénréng's influence in the fifteenth century



5.2.3 Agricultural intensification in Rappang

The presence of fifteenth century Vietnamese and fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok 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 general 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. Rappang remained a separate kingdom within the Ajattappareng confederation right through to the twentieth century.

5.2.4 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. Thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found at Alitta make up less than one per cent of all sherds dated to 1600 or earlier, for the fifteenth century the figure rises to almost ten per cent. 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.

5.2.5 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 per cent 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 trade wares were present.³² However, for much of the fifteenth century, Sawitto probably stood apart from the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms.

³² The reported large find of ceramics by grave robbers at Temmanroli, Padakalawa and many other rice-producing areas in Sawitto are further indications of an increase in trade in the region during the fifteenth century.

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 appear 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 religious 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 summarised in Chapter Four suggest that military force was used against competitors such as the Cempa confederation, while alliances were formed with emerging 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 not only ensured a regular supply of exportable highland produce but 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 region. 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, Sawitto, Rappang and Alitta as the fifth member of the Ajattappareng confederation.

5.3 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, Goa 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 as muskets and cannons were introduced to the region.

The fifteenth century also saw the emergence of the five-kingdom confederation, Ajattappareng (west of the lakes, B.), as Sawitto allied itself with Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta. 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 Goa. This effectively marked the end of Suppaq as an important kingdom. Alitta also fell to the military might of Goa about the same time as Suppaq and Sawitto; only Sidénréng and Rappang escaped Goa'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 Goa.

5.3.1 Conflict for control of the central plains and the decline 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 [Zainal 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; Zainal Abidin 1985:151-152). Luwuq's own ancestral homeland was in fact located in the Cenrana region (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:103-104). 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.³³ 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 Cenrana river (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:80).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Puang ri Maqqalatung (c. 1491-1521 [Zainal 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 Maqqalatung rejected Wajoq's status of child to Luwuq and refused to participate in the mourning of Déwaraja's father (*datu* Luwuq c. 1490-1520 [Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:80]). Shortly after, Wajoq seized Singkang, Tampangeng, Wagé and Témpe from Luwuq (Noorduyn 1955:178; Zainal Abidin 1979:274-277).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Wajoq started to expand its influence into the fertile rice growing area to the north and northeast of Lake Tempe. Under the leadership of Puang ri Maqqalatung, Wajoq attacked a number of settlements located directly to the east

³³ 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 1955:178-179; Zainal Abidin 1985:202), which suggests that they were among the oldest of Luwuq's lands.

of the Pituriawa confederation, such as Gilireng, Loaq and Anaqbanua, and forced them into tributary relationships (Noorduyn 1955:172, 176; Zainal 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 1955:160-163, 166-167).³⁴ Oral tradition from Bila claims that its first ruler, La Pétora, was a son of an *arung matoa* 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 1955:192-194; Zainal Abidin 1985:230-232). 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, according to the story, could excrete gold (Noorduyn 1955:188-191; Zainal Abidin 1985:228-230).³⁵ The real reason for the Wajoq-Luwuq alliance against Sidénréng was more likely a response to Sidénréng's successful fifteenth century expansion into the

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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 so 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; hearing this, the *aqdatuang* turned back to Sidénréng, which was then attacked and defeated.

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 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 was discussed in section 5.2.2, Sidénréng had expanded its territory greatly 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 (Noorduyn 1955:194-197; Zainal Abidin 1985:233-237).³⁶ Wajoq's troops advanced on Bélawa, referred to by the chronicles as 'one who sits with Sidénréng' [*paqdangengenna Sidénréng, B.*]. Bélawa was defeated and forced to accept the status of a child of Wajoq. Wajoq's army then attacked Otting which, after heroic leadership during the battle by Puang ri Maqgalatung, was defeated. The ruler and people of Otting then swore to serve Wajoq. Its army then advanced on Rappang and Bulucénrana, which were defeated and put to the torch, and their leaders made to swear to serve Wajoq. In Wéngeng, the troops of

³⁶ The story of this war is also found in a separate *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60 / 7 p. 19-21), which corresponds closely to that in the Wajoq chronicles.

Sidénréng were confronted by the combined armies of Wajoq and Luwuq, and (as the chronicles indicate) appear to have surrendered without a fight.³⁷

Sidénréng's fate was sealed by the *datu* Luwuq and Puang ri Maqqalatung in the village of Mojong. The defeated Sidénréng lands of Bélawa, Otting, Rappang and Bulucénrana were officially transferred from Sidénréng to Wajoq.³⁸ Sidénréng also paid *seqbukhati* (a thousand *kati*; a sum of money or its value, B.) to Luwuq, and was forced to acknowledge itself as a child of Luwuq (i.e. a tributary). Finally, the *datu* Luwuq ordered the people of Bélawa to burn down the palace of the Sidénréng ruler.

The palace ordered to be burned down by the *datu* Luwuq probably stood at Watang Sidénréng. Archaeological data suggest that following this act of destruction the rulers of Sidénréng did not rebuild the palace at Watang Sidénréng but at Bulubangi, some eight kilometres to the south. Sherdage counts from Watang Sidénréng for the sixteenth century show an increase of just 59 per cent in comparison to the preceding century, which by sixteenth century standards is a negligible increase. By contrast, sherdage counts from the Bulubangi survey show an increase of over 1,000 per cent for the sixteenth century. While Watang Sidénréng would have remained an important agricultural centre, the archaeological data suggest that the rulers of Sidénréng and some of Watang Sidénréng's population relocated to Bulubangi in the early sixteenth century.³⁹ Following the defeat of

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ 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.

Sidénréng by Wajoq and Luwuq, Wajoq became the major power in the region to the north of the lakes. Located just north of Lake Sidenreng, Watang Sidénréng would have been vulnerable to further attack by Wajoq. 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. However, 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 was itself defeated by the kingdom of Boné after a precipitate attempt to punish its ruler (Noorduyn 1955:200-201; Zainal Abidin 1985:237-238; Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation). Like Sidénréng and Wajoq, Boné was an agricultural kingdom that had been expanding its territory from about 1400. A manuscript peace treaty from the fifteenth century portrays Boné as a child of Luwuq (Ian Caldwell, pers.com.), and the latter's attack, described in detail in the chronicle of Boné, was presumably an attempt to maintain that relationship. After at least one unsuccessful attack on Luwuq's fortress at Cenrana, Boné finally drove Luwuq from the Cenrana valley in about 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 shortlived. 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 attack by Luwuq and Wajoq.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (Zainal Abidin 1985) mentions Maiwa in a separate section during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalatung. It claims that Maiwa came to Wajoq together with three other Massenrempulu lands, Énrékang, Kassaq and Batulalappaq, and asked to become part of Wajoq. However, in the chronicle translated by Noorduyn (1955:200-201) only Énrékang came to Wajoq to make this request. The Wajoq

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 reveal a decline of 47 per cent in ceramic sherdage counts at Indoq Lompa, no growth whatsoever at Tonrong Peppingé, and a negligible increase of 14 per cent 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 trade wares 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 sherdage counts from Suppaq's palace centre and Makaraié increase by over 200 per cent; Béla-bélawa by 66 per cent, and the fifteenth century decline of Matanré is reversed with an increase of over 600 per cent. In Alitta, the sixteenth century increase is some 800 per cent in comparison to the fifteenth century. As the main economic downturn in Suppaq probably dates to its defeat by Goa in the second half of the sixteenth century, the archaeological data thus suggest that the economies of Suppaq and Alitta in the first half of the sixteenth century may not have been greatly affected by Sidénréng's defeat.

chronicles list a large number of lands that voluntarily attached themselves to Wajoq during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalatung. 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 Maqqalatung. Furthermore, Maiwa's political association with Énré kang, Kassaq and Batulalappaq as part of the Massenrempulu confederation dates to the late seventeenth century (ANRIM 60 / 7 p. 268; Braam Morris 1892), which suggests that later Wajoq chroniclers (those who produced the *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq*) were not aware of this fact.

5.3.2 The emergence of a five-kingdom confederation

The analysis of the genealogies and oral tradition in Chapter Four 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 Goa along the west coast of the peninsula may have been an important consideration in the formation of an alliance between Suppaq and Sawitto.

5.3.3 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. This is suggested by 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 of the tradition 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 traditions were concerned with maritime activities. Another version of the tradition about boats and palaces being built by craftsmen 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 Palétéang and the palaces of the five Ajattappareng kingdoms.⁴¹

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 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 Lémo-lémo, the identified toponyms are all coastal settlements.

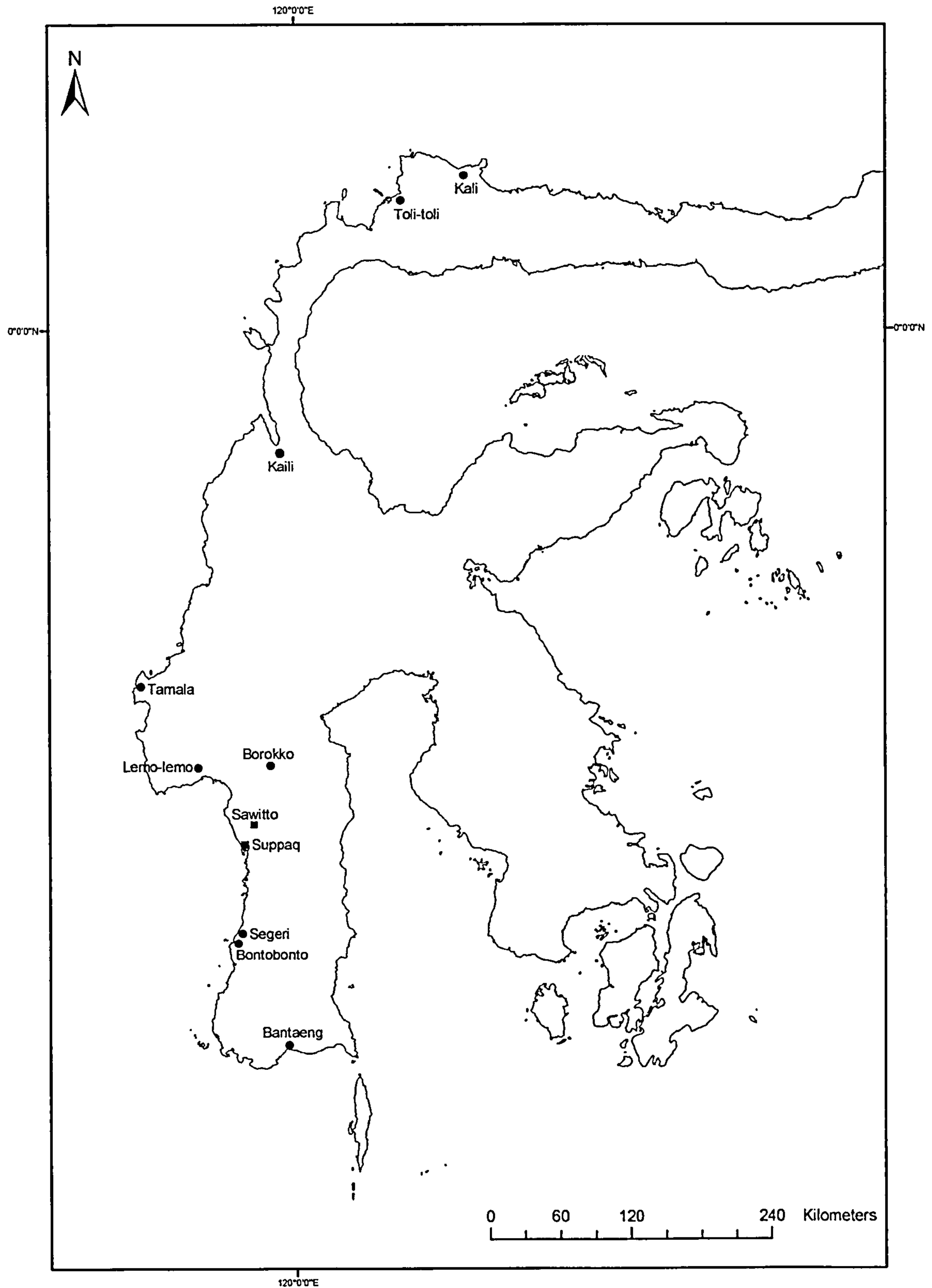
How much historical truth can we attribute to this tradition? Firstly, with the exception of Bantaeng (if that identification is correct), the identified lands listed by the tradition were all minor polities, which suggests that these claims were not simply constructed in order to invent a glorious past, as is the case with oral tradition from Cempa and Siang (Chapter Two, section 2.1.3). 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

⁴¹ A transliteration and translation of this text is given in Appendix C.

Sawitto by small coastal vessels. We also know from a sixteenth century Portuguese account (section 5.3.4) that the ruler of Suppaq could organise a fleet of about twenty ships in a short space of time, and sail about 100 kilometres southwards along South Sulawesi's west coast.⁴²

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 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, with the aim of disrupting and plundering rival trading centres and ultimately discourage foreign traders from visiting these ports. 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.

⁴² The oral genealogy from Balusu (Chapter Two) 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

5.3.4 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 experiences. The earliest of these accounts, that of Atonio de Paiva (Jacobs 1966), in a letter written to the Bishop of Goa, India, between 1544 and 1545, provides interesting information on trade commodities and prices.⁴³ Among other things, Paiva informs us that Muslim Malay traders had been present in South Sulawesi since about 1490. 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. 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 (Ali Fadilah and Irfan Mahmud 2000). Furthermore, according to Irfan Mahmud (pers.comm.), the archaeological evidence from Siang shows that from 1300 to 1600 it was relatively insignificant in comparison to Suppaq and Goa. At only two of the sites surveyed in Siang was there any significant

⁴³ 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.

concentration of ceramic sherds, Sengkae and Kassi-kassi, but most of these sherds dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were small in number by comparison to sites surveyed in Suppaq.⁴⁴

In his letter, Paiva explains several uncommissioned baptisms made by him in South Sulawesi (Jacobs 1966). Paiva was 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.⁴⁵ 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* (section 5.3.3).

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 (Jacobs 1966:286).⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ I have addressed the myth of Siang in a forthcoming article entitled 'A re-evaluation of three mid-sixteenth century Portuguese sources for the west coast of South Sulawesi in the light of recent archaeological evidence', which also takes into consideration geographical and maritime factors.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ Paiva simply uses the Portuguese word *alevantada*, which can mean 'at arms', in 'a state of rebellion' or was 'at war' with another polity.

⁴⁷ 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.

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 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.⁴⁸ 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. However, the fleet was that of the king of Suppaq. 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 baptised on Paiva's boat together with several members of his family. The ruler of Siang was baptised 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. Short accounts of the mission appear in three works by Manuel Godinho de Eredia, a son of Dona Elena Vesiva, the Bugis princess who eloped with João de Eredia in 1546 (Chapter Three, section

⁴⁸ 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.

3.1). As Schurhammer points out, Manuel Godinho de Eredia's accounts are "swarming with errors" and should be used with caution (Schurhammer 1980:248 n.2).⁴⁹

According to Eredia, the mission stayed at Bacukiki.⁵⁰ 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 1930:55-56). Pelras (1977:250) may be correct in arguing that the change in baptism name indicates that the king of Suppaq whom Paiva baptised must have died within the year and been succeeded by a son. However, the name, 'Tubinaga', does not correspond to any Ajattappareng genealogical records.⁵¹ Eredia gives the non-Christian names of three other nobles baptised by Vicente Viegas, but none of these can be identified with individuals in the Ajattappareng genealogies.⁵²

Eredia briefly describes the flight of the Portuguese from Bacukiki (Mills 1930:56): "there occurred a disturbance and a riot in which weapons were displayed, because Dona Elena Vesiva had secretly embarked in the junk in the company of Juan de Eredia [...]"

⁴⁹ The longest of these accounts (Mills 1930:55-56) is reputedly a copy of a lost document made by Eredia's brother, Domingos Godinho de Eredia (presumably derived from a story told by his parents), which was given to Eredia by another brother, Francisco Luis. In this account, 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."

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ The name Tubinaga is reminiscent of names of Goa 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 baptised by Paiva.

⁵² These three non-Christian names are: Lapituo and Tamalina of Bacukiki, and Pasapio, who Eredia simply refers to as a king. Working from several genealogical trees written in the Latin script, Pelras (1977:250-251) has attempted to identify these individuals named by Eredia. He associates the name Tamalina with Wé Tapatana (the wife of La Putébulu and La Pasampoi), Lapituo 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).

against the wishes of her parents.” Eredia’s main account closes with a statement that the Portuguese in Melaka lost the friendship of the baptised 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 Three, 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 did indeed rule at about this time (section 5.3.6).

[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 jeopardise 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 1985:116-118).

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 Goa, 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 any alliance with the Portuguese meant conversion to their religion.

5.3.5 War with Goa and the decline of Suppaq and Sawitto

As the sixteenth century progressed, Goa, in partnership with Talloq, increasingly challenged Suppaq and Sawitto's influence along the west coast of Sulawesi. The sensational rise of Goa from 1300 until its fall in the latter part of the seventeenth century has been archaeologically documented by David Bulbeck (1992).⁵³ Like most of the major South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged at about 1300, Goa's success was derived from its agrarian base; its original capital at Kale Goa was located about eight kilometres from the mouth of the Jeneberrang river mouth in a fertile rice-growing region. The rulers of Talloq

⁵³ The chronicle of Goa provides us with little information about Goa before the early sixteenth century. Historians (Andaya 1981; Reid 1983) have generally interpreted this to mean that Goa was a kingdom of little significance before the early sixteenth century. However, Bulbeck's detailed archaeological work shows that Goa 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".

were descended from the same ruling line as Goa but following a succession dispute in Goa they appear to have established a rival kingdom close to the mouth of the Talloq river at about 1500 (c.f. Bulbeck 1992).⁵⁴ In the early sixteenth century, Goa 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 Goa as a junior partner in an alliance that would prove to be one of the most successful in the history of South Sulawesi.

Goa'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 1546.⁵⁵ It was during the reign of the latter ruler that Suppaq and Sawitto clashed with Goa.

The chronicle of Goa briefly relates the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta together with other Goan 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 Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25). The chronicle makes no mention of people brought back to Goa from any of the other lands defeated by Goa, and gives no reason why the people of Suppaq, Sawitto and Bacukiki were singled out. Andaya (1981:26) suggests that these people may have been Malay traders and equates this information with a separate passage in the Goa chronicle which tells of a number of rights that the Malay trading community were granted, by

⁵⁴ 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).

⁵⁵ Among the settlements the Goa 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 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.

Tunipalangga when they settled at Goa.⁵⁶ 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 Goa 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 Goa 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 and pounded like rice flour, while her husband, La Cellaq Mata, was fed to the dogs of the *karaeng* (Chapter Two, section 2.3.3). 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 Goa, others to Turatea, Poelebanky (? Polombangkeng) and Wello.⁵⁷

The ASS also presents an explanation of the origin of the war. In a reported conversation between Tunipalangga and Makaraié, who has come to Goa "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 Goa will become allies. Makaraié reluctantly agrees. However, Palétéang 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.

⁵⁶ In the sense of 'greater Goa', which included the city of Makassar.

⁵⁷ The Wello mentioned by Speelman may be related to the *karaeng* Madelloq of the *attoriolong* 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.⁵⁸ 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 Goa. As the tradition about *lasigalung* (section 5.3.3) 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 Tanété tells a story of how a ruler of Sawitto stopped at Tanété on his way to wage war on Goa. This suggests that Suppaq and Sawitto may themselves have carried out attacks on Goa (Niemann 1883:15-23; Basrah Gising 2002:18-29).

The conflict between Suppaq, Sawitto and Goa was probably the culmination of years of competition and conflict between these major west coast powers as each vied to become

⁵⁸ It is possible that relations between Goa 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 Goa's port of Garassiq with Paiva. However, 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.

the most powerful kingdom along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi. It is no coincidence that the chronicle of Goa lists Kaili and Toli-toli among the lands defeated by Goa during Tunipalangga's reign (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:29). These are two of the Central Sulawesi coastal settlements that the tradition discussed in section 5.3.3 claim had been incorporated into Suppaq and Sawitto's sphere of influence. Goa'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, in preparation) and the account related to Speelman. The Boné chronicle does not name La Pancai but simply informs us that when Bongkanggé 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 (1565-1690), following the death of Tunipalangga and his brother, Tunibatta.⁵⁹ After the death of Tunibatta, a treaty was concluded between Boné and Goa which recognised 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 Bongkanggé and Tunijalloq, who as a young man had lived in Boné for two years, and the influence of the Talloq ruler, Tumamenang ri Makkoayang.⁶⁰

It was perhaps the agreement between Boné and Goa and the ensuing peace that enabled La Pancai to return to Suppaq and Sawitto and to succeed his parents, some ten to fifteen 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

⁵⁹ Tunibatta had succeeded Tunipalangga and immediately continued the war against Boné. However, just 40 days after becoming ruler of Goa he was captured and beheaded in Boné. Tunijalloq was the son of Tunibatta.

⁶⁰ According to the Goa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:41), Tunijalloq had fled to Boné to escape the wrath of his uncle, Tunipalangga, after committing an indiscretion.

administered by the *karaeng* Madelloq under the authorisation of Goa following their defeat. The ASS tells us that it was on the order of the *karaeng* of Goa that La Pancai was installed as ruler and that he acknowledged the authority of Goa. That La Pancai became ruler of both Suppaq and Sawitto was perhaps the decision of the Goa and Talloq rulers in order to facilitate their authority over the two kingdoms. The ASS claims that he later challenged Goa'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 Goa, 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.

5.3.6 Sidénréng's alliance with Goa

The chronicle of Goa 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 Goa and perhaps see their names listed in the Goa chronicle alongside the defeated. However, it appears that neither Sidénréng nor Rappang came to the aid of their allies in the war Goa waged against them. The reason for Sidénréng's conspicuous absence from the west-coast wars is perhaps related to its defeat by Wajoq and Luwuq at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Sidénréng 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 Goa chronicle informs us that Goa, 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 Goa assisted Sidénréng (Noorduyn 1955:226-227).

The politics surrounding the Goa-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 Goa, 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 Goa. We will probably never know if this alliance was forged before, or perhaps even during, Goa's war against Suppaq and Sawitto and whether it included an agreement that Sidénréng would play no part in the war that Goa waged against Sidénréng's allies. However, I suspect the rulers of Sidénréng came to the conclusion that resistance against Goa was futile and, rather than risk losing their own independence, decided to acknowledge Goa as an overlord while using the situation to their advantage.

Whatever the reasons for the alliance with Goa, 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. 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 victory over Wajoq, and Bulucénrana's reincorporation as a tributary of Sidénréng. As an ally of Goa, Sidénréng was drawn into the wars Goa waged in the eastern part of the peninsula. Together with Luwuq, Wajoq and Soppéng, Sidénréng fought on the side of Goa in Tunipalangga's war against Boné (above) (Noorduyn 1955:240-241).

5.3.7 Resistance to Goa and the Islamisation 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 came to an end. Both Wajoq and Soppéng appear to have rejected their ties of allegiance to Goa, which they had been forced to accept in the preceding decades after being defeated by Goa, 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 Goa (Noorduyn 1955:250-253; Macknight and Mukhlis, in preparation). Consequently, Goa launched a campaign against the three kingdoms.

Genealogical records in the Wajoq chronicles (Noorduyn 1955:256-259) during the reign of the *arung matoa* of Wajoq, La Mungkacé (1567-1607 [Zainal Abidin 1985:575]) record several marriages between nobles from Wajoq and Rappang, which 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 Goa. A short passage in the Goa 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 Goa had agreements with Sawitto and Sidénréng, but they were retracted and these lands were drawn over to the people of Soppéng

However, resistance against Goa'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 Goa, converted to Islam. Sultan Abdullah and Sultan Ala'uddin then invited the remaining South Sulawesi kingdoms to follow. This invitation was refused and Goa then launched what became known as the *musuq sellang* in Bugis and *bunduq kasallannganna* in Makasar

(Islamic wars). Goa's armies were victorious throughout; Sidénréng was the last of the Ajattappareng kingdoms to fall in 1609.

5.4 Conclusion

The history of Ajattappareng between 1200-1600 has received little attention from either local or foreign scholars. Most scholars who have studied this period in South Sulawesi's past, in part or in whole, have focused on Boné, Wajoq, Goa and Talloq. Comparatively few have looked beyond these four major kingdoms, all of which have chronicles which 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 study 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 both Caldwell (1988) and Macknight (1993:11) argue, was to record the ruling elite in genealogical form, 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 sufficient 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 entire 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', which he 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 emphasise how power in the traditional Javanese polity was heavily focused upon the centre, usually realised 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 decentralised 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 One, section 1.5), 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 Four, section 4.22).

The differences between Anderson's model for Java and South Sulawesi is perhaps, at least 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 crystallised in prehistory. 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

A.1 Sidénréng tributary and domain list¹

A.1.1 Transliteration

Sidénréng \ paliliqna \ Mawoiwa² \ Bulucénrana \ Otting \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ bab³ 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 \ Ampirita⁴ \ Wawanio⁵ \ duwa arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bélokka \ dua arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Cirowali \ Wetteqé \ tammat Sidénréng \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Massépé \ Alekkuwang⁶ \ Tétéaji \ Liseq \ Sidénréng \ Guru \ engka arunna \ mapanoqtosia ri wanuanna \ Wala \ Séréang \ Liwuwu⁷ \ Arateng⁸ \ engka arung \ temmapanoqsa ri pabanuwanna \ Wéngeng \ Tellang tammat

¹ According to NBG 112 p. 59.

² Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

³ *Bab* is written in Arabic.

⁴ Ampirita read Amparita.

⁵ Wawanio read Wanio.

⁶ The modern spelling of Alakkuang is followed in the translation.

⁷ Liwuwu read Lawowoi.

⁸ The modern spelling of Aratang is followed in the translation.

A.1.2 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 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.

A.2 Maiwa tributary and domain list⁹

A.2.1 Transliteration

Mawoiwa¹⁰ \ paliliqna \ Roa \ Matakali \ Pasang \ Li[m]buang \ Lullung \ Paladang \ Labaniq \ Bakka \ Sitto \ Bulu \ Bungin \ Tellang \ bab napanoqe rakkalana Mawoiwa¹¹ \ Tapping \ Kadeppang \ Kaluppang tammat

A 2.2 Translation

Maiwa's tributaries are: Roa, Matakali, Pasang, Limbuang, Lullung,¹² Paladang, Labaniq, Bakka, Sitto,¹³ Bulu, Bungin and Tellang. These lands are directly ruled by Maiwa: Maiwa, Tapping, Kadeppang¹⁴ and Kaluppang.

A.3 Sawitto tributary and domain list¹⁵

A.3.1 Transliteration

Sawitto Paliliqna \ Tirowang \ Malempung¹⁶ \ Kabelangngeng [N] Lolowang \ Lengnga¹⁷ \ Pénrang \ Rangaméa \ Urung \ Kadokkong \ Galangkalang \ Panga[m]parang \ Malo \ Lanriseg \ Lérang \ bab napanoqé rakalanna \ Kaqba¹⁸ \ Puniu¹⁹ \ Padakalawa \ Tanrésona \ Buwa \ Bulu [N] Sékkang \ Péso \ Saloq \ Paqqéroang \ Paria \ Na[m]pio \ Madelloq \ Palétéang \ Talabangi \ Béulu \ wanuwatengnga \ Lépanjangngeng²⁰ tammat Rangaméa \ anaq banuwana \ Pénrang \ Lalating \ Madelloq tammat Lengnga \ anaq

⁹ According to NBG 112 p. 59.

¹⁰ Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

¹¹ Mawoiwa read Maiwa.

¹² Not located.

¹³ Not located.

¹⁴ Not located.

¹⁵ According to NBG 112 p. 60.

¹⁶ Malempung read Malimpung.

¹⁷ The modern spelling of Langnga follows in the translation.

¹⁸ Kaqba read Kappa.

¹⁹ Puniu read Punia.

²⁰ The modern spelling of Lépanjang is followed in the translation.

banuwana \ Makaring²¹ \ Patobong \ tammat Tiroang \ anaqbanuwana \ Marowai²² bab
Kabelangeng \ anaq banuwanna \ Kalom[p]é²³ \ tammat

A.3.2 Translation

Sawitto's tributaries are: Tiroang, Malimpung, Kabelangeng, Loloang, Langnga, Pénrang, Rangaméa, Urung, Kadokkong, Galangkalang, Pangamparang, Malo,²⁴ Lanriseng, Lérang. These lands are directly ruled by Sawitto: Kappa, Punia, Padakalawa, Tanrésona, Bua, Bulu, Sékkang, Péso,²⁵ Saloq, Paqqéroang, Paria, Na[m]pio,²⁶ Madelloq, Palétéang, Talabangi, Béulu,²⁷ [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.

A.4 Suppaq tributary and domain list²⁸

A.4.1 Transliteration

Suppaq \ paliliqna \ Népo \ Pala[n]ro \ Maluba²⁹ \ napanoqé rakalanna \ Bojo \ Bacukiki
\ Parangki³⁰ \ Bélawa³¹ \ Soréang \

A.4.2 Translation

Suppaq's tributaries are: Népo, Palanro and Manuba. These lands are directly ruled by Suppaq: Bojo, Bacukiki, Perangki, Bélawa and Soréang.

²¹ Makaring read Makuring.

²² Marowai read Marawi.

²³ Kalompé read Palompé.

²⁴ Not located.

²⁵ Not located, thought to have been located close to Temmanruli (I.27).

²⁶ Not located.

²⁷ Not located.

²⁸ NBG 100 p. 118.

²⁹ Maluba read Manuba.

³⁰ The modern spelling of Perangki follows in the translation.

³¹ Béla-bélawa according to local informants.

A.5 Népo tributary and domain list³²

A.5.1 Transliteration

Népo \ napanoqé rakalanna \ Sadusung³³ \ Atappang \ Cengkengé \ Kutaé \ Mareppang \ Marimario³⁴ \ Mallawa tammat

A.5.2 Translation

Népo directly rules Dusung, Atappang, Cengkengé, Kutaé,³⁵ Mareppang Mario-mario and Mallawa.

A.6 Rappang tributary and domain list³⁶

A.6.1 Transliteration

Rappeng³⁷ \ paliliqna \ Kulo \ bab napanoqé rakalanna \ Bé[n]téng \ Bara[n]ti \ Panrong³⁸ \ Manisa \ Déa \ Simpo \ tammat

A.6.2 Translation

Rappang's tributary is Kulo. These lands are directly ruled by Rappang: Bénténg, Baranti, Ponrong, Manisa, Déa and Simpo.

A.7 Alitta³⁹

A.7.1 Transliteration

Alitta \ aléalénamua \ tammat

A.7.2 Translation

Alitta stands alone.

³² According to NBG 112 p. 60.

³³ Sadusung read Dusung.

³⁴ Marimario read Mario-mario.

³⁵ Not located.

³⁶ NBG 112 p. 60.

³⁷ The modern spelling of Rappang is followed in the translation.

³⁸ Panrong read Ponrong.

³⁹ According to NBG 112 p. 60.

Figure A-1: The lands of the Sidénréng tributary and domain list

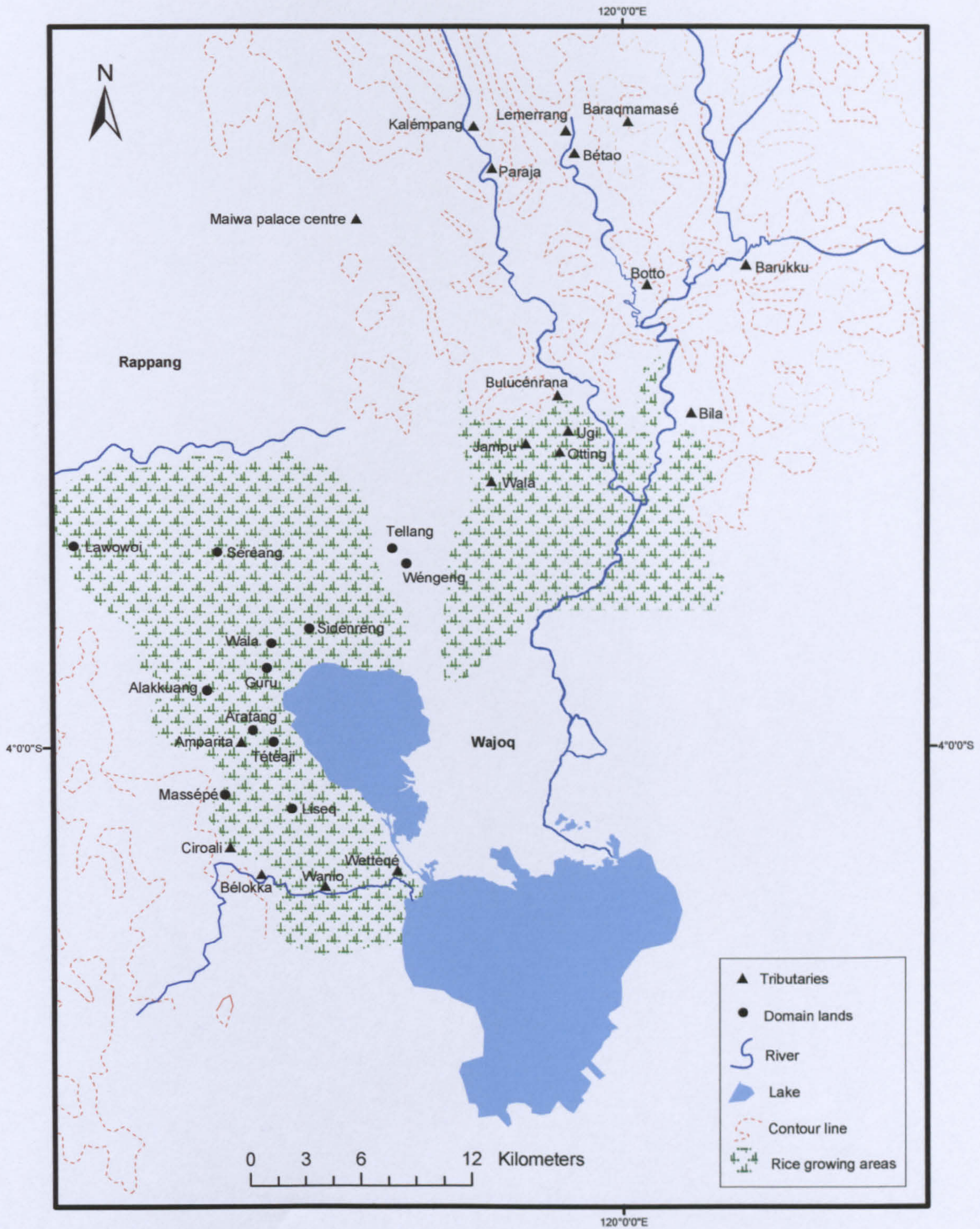


Figure A-2: The lands of the Maiwa tributary and domain list

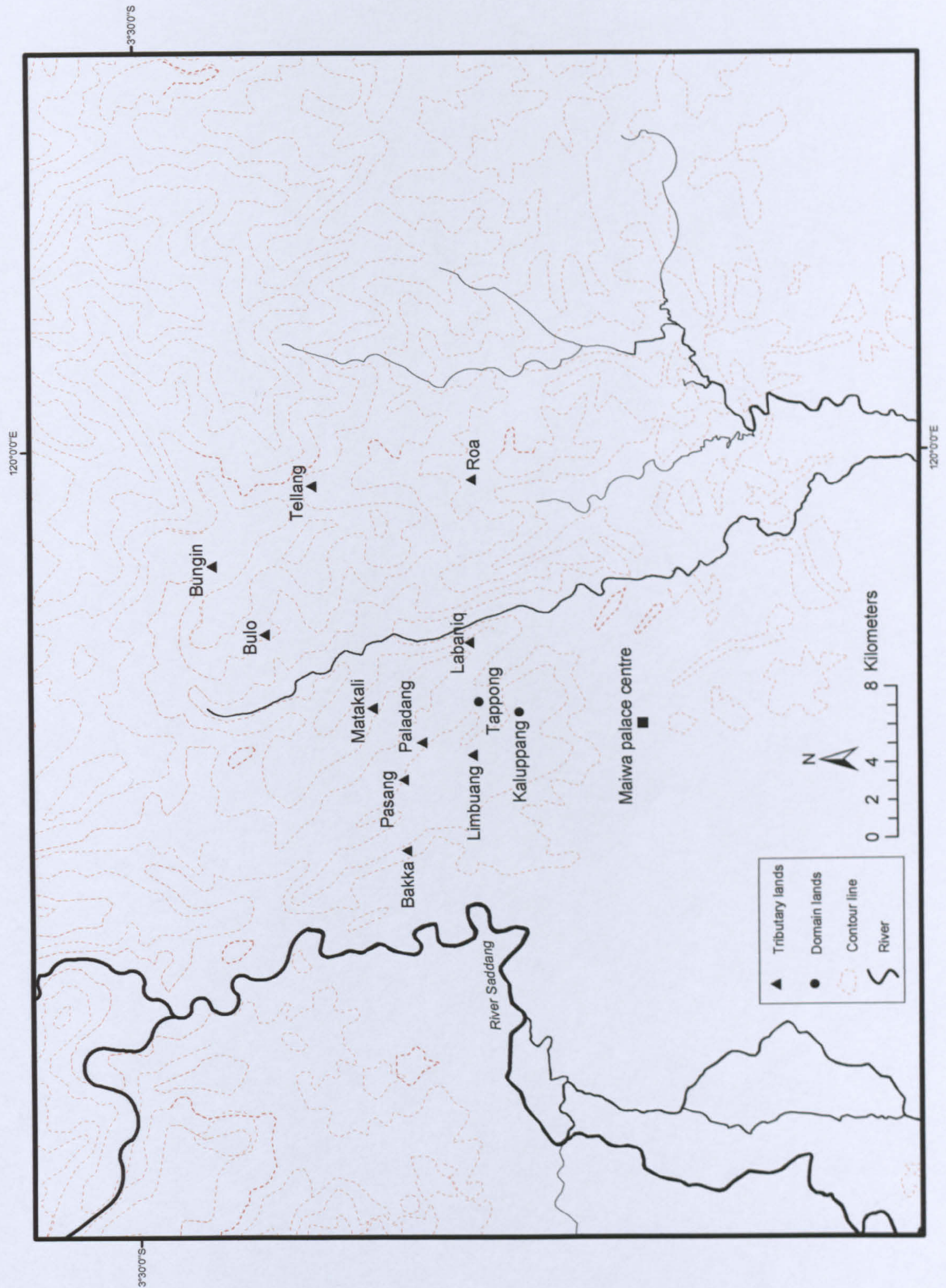


Figure A-3: The lands of the Sawitto tributary and domain list

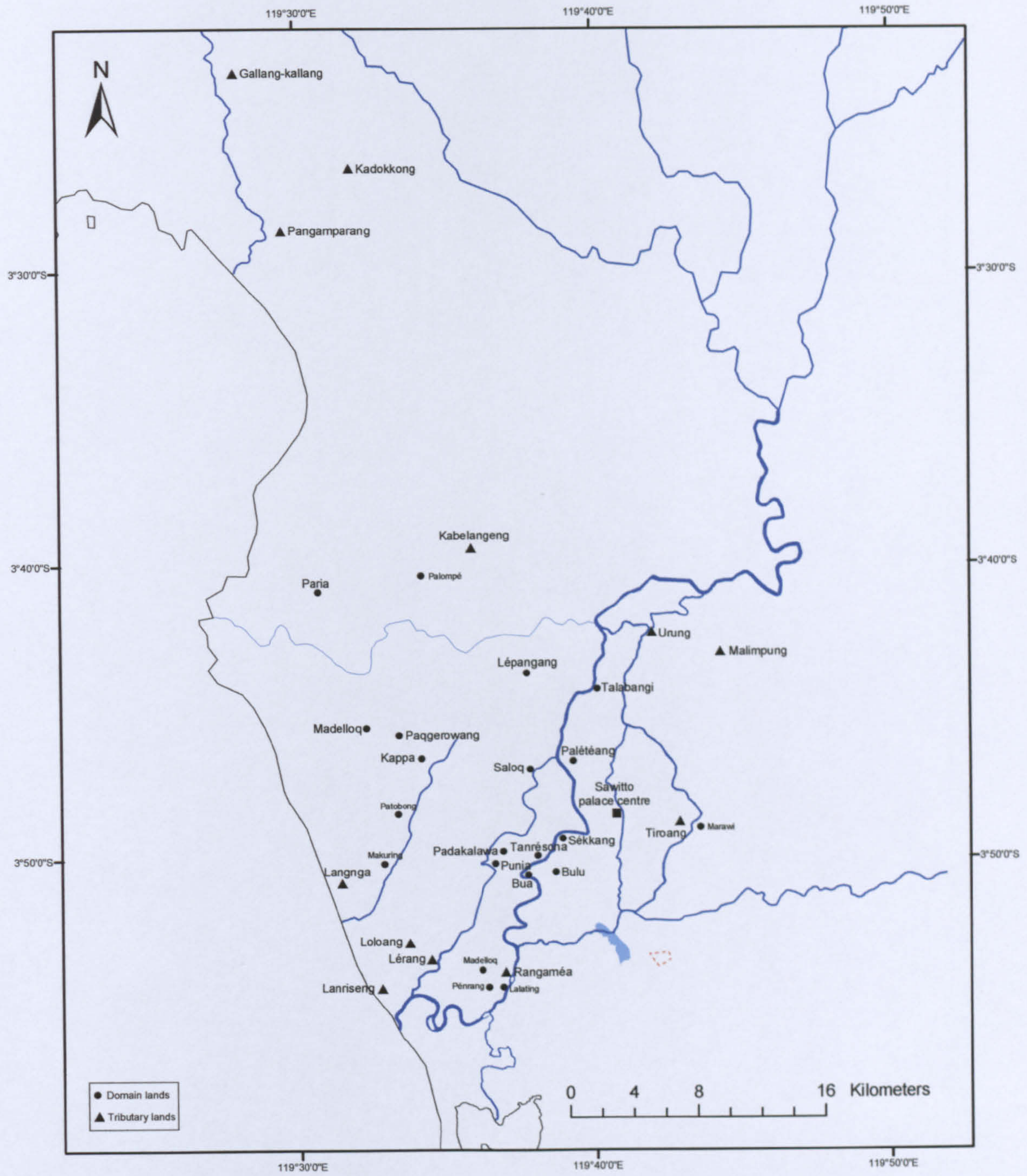


Figure A-4: The lands of the Suppaq tributary and domain list

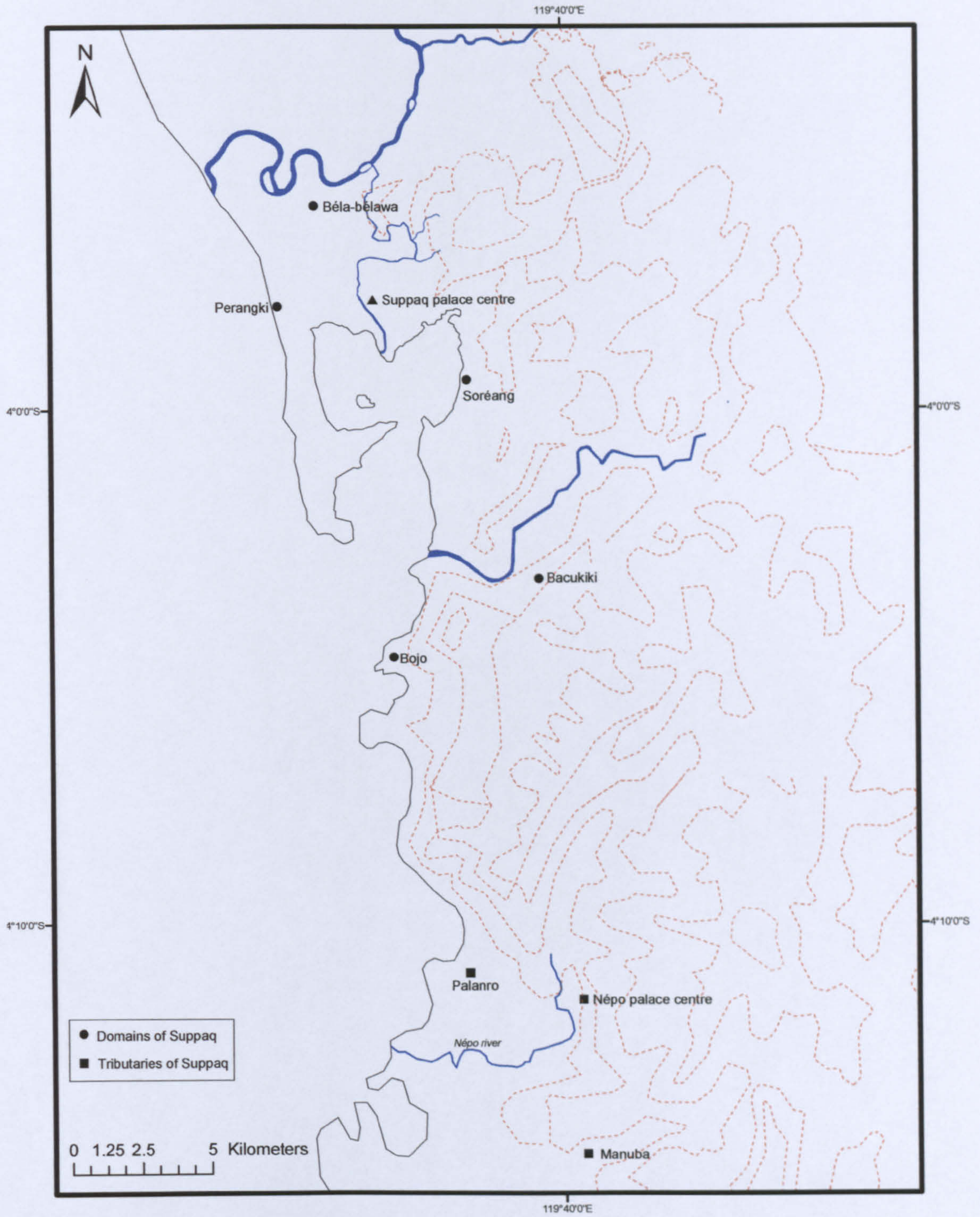


Figure A-5: The lands of the Népo tributary and domain list

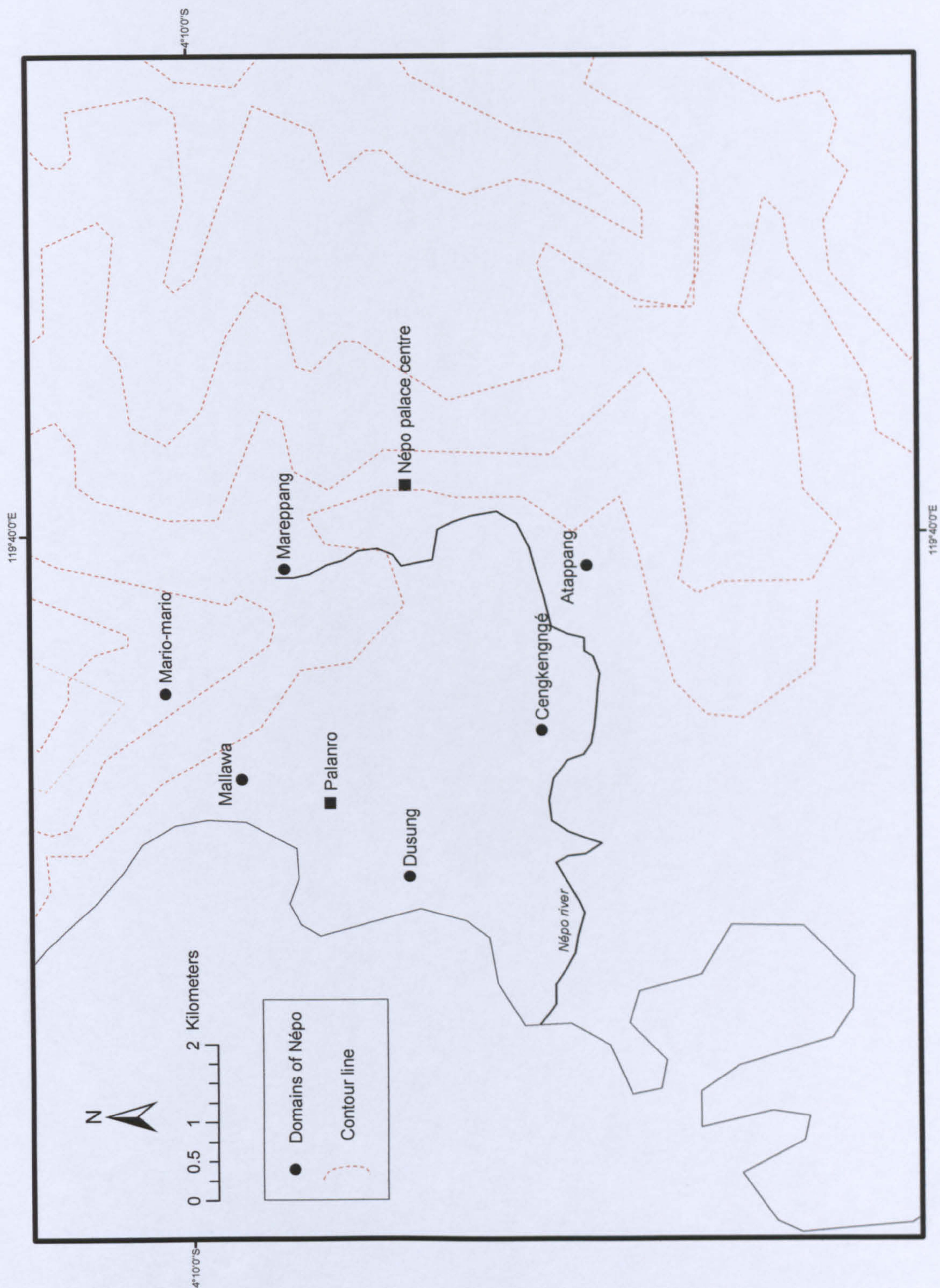
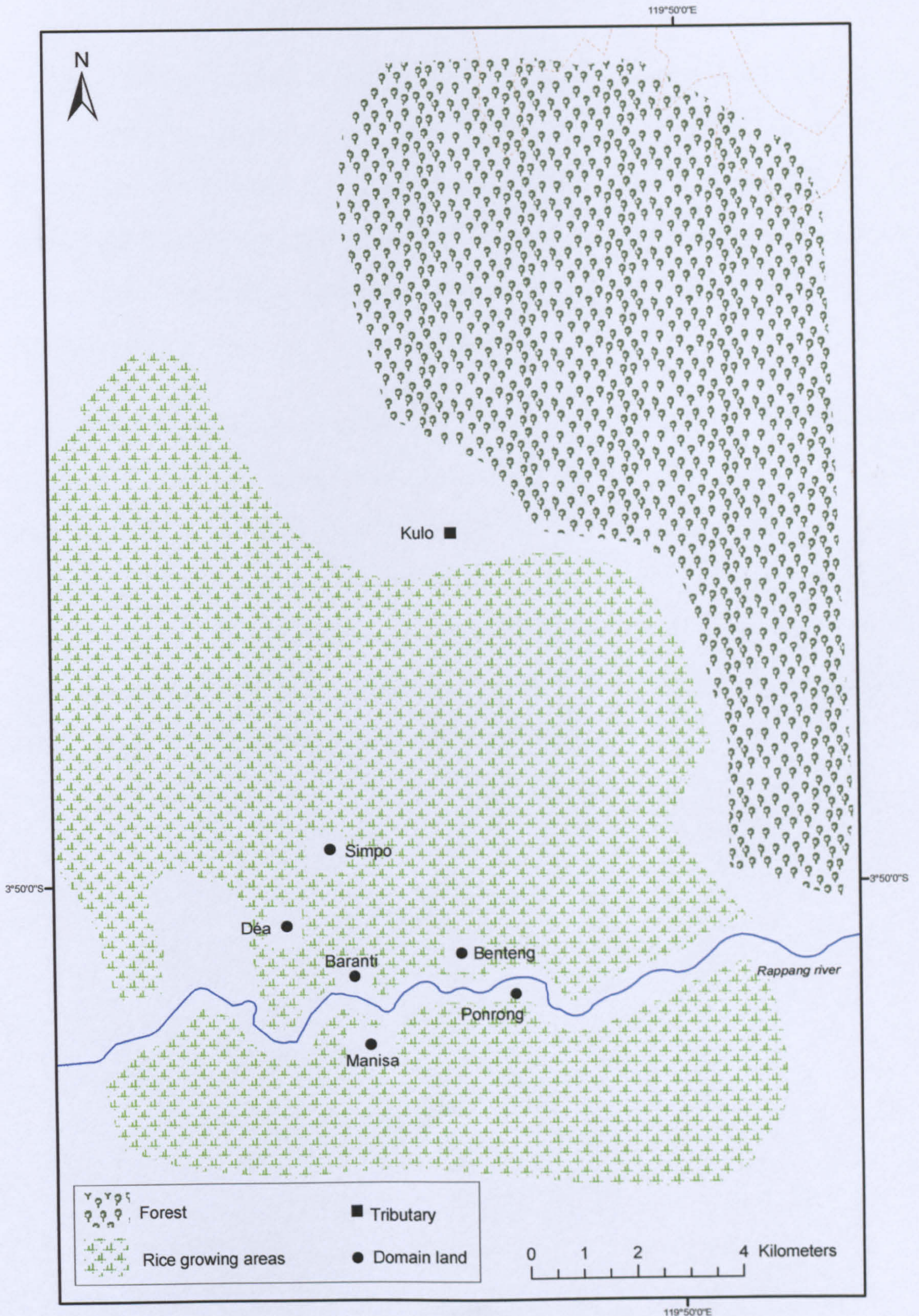


Figure A-6: The lands of the Rappang tributary and domain list



Appendix B

Archaeological survey data

Tables 1 to 16 (below) set out all ceramic sherds recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys. Following Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000), I have aggregated total counts by 100-year intervals between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and by half-century intervals between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tables are followed by standardised chronological histograms of the distribution of recorded ceramic sherds from the Ajattappareng surveys by century intervals.

Note 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	Period counts
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	13 th c. 6
Yuan brownware	13 th -14 th	-	-	-	-	10	-	10	
Yuan B & W ¹	14 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	14 th c. 8
Dehua whiteware	14 th	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Ming celadon	15 th	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	15 th c. 50
Vietnam B & W	15 th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	3	5	-	-	-	-	8	1500-1550 67
Sawankhalok black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	42	-	42	
Ming B & W	15 th -16 th	36	-	-	-	-	-	36	1550-1600 119.3
Ming B & W	16 th	55	3	1	12	-	1	72	
Ming whiteware	16 th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1600-1650 52.3
Ming Swatow	16 th	12	-	-	4	-	-	16	
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	35	-	35	1650-1700 47.6
Wanli	1550-1650	8	-	-	4	-	-	12	1700-1750 1.3
Swatow	1550-1700	128	-	-	11	-	-	139	
Qing	1650-1800	1	-	-	3	-	-	4	1750-1800 1.3
Total		255	9	1	35	87	1	388	

¹ B & W stands for blue-and-white.

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Cerek	Jarlet	Total
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Yuan brownware	13 th -14 th	-	-	-	-	52	-	-	-	52
Dehua	14 th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Jizhou	14 th -15 th	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Vietnam	15 th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vietnam blueware	15 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vietnam B & W	15 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Vietnam	15 th	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Vietnam	15 th	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	36
Ming sancai	15 th	-	-	1	-	8	-	-	-	9
Ming celadon	15 th	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Ming blueware	15 th	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Ming blueware	15 th -16 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Sawankhalok	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	209	-	-	-	209
Sawankhalok brown	15 th -16 th	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sawankhalok black	15 th -16 th	-	-	41	-	32	-	-	-	73
Sawankhalok	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2

Period counts

13th c. 26.5

14th c. 28.5

15th c. 213

1500-1550 290

1550-1600 361

Table B.2: Ceramic sherds recorded at Makaraié

Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
Sukothai Blk & W ¹	15 th -16 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Ming B & W	15 th -16 th	8	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	
Vietnam	16 th	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Sawankhalok celadon	16 th	11	3	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	
Sawankh brown/black	16 th	-	-	-	-	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	
Sawankhalok	16 th	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1600-1650 71
Sawankhalok Blk. & W	16 th	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	
Ming B & W	16 th	117	9	40	42	-	42	-	-	-	7	-	257	
Ming whiteware	16 th	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	
Ming Swatow	16 th	19	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	1650-1700 53.6
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	1700-1750 5.6
Qing B & B	1650-1800	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Qing	1650-1800	3	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	1750-1800 5.6
Total		308	67	89	133	1017	43	1	7				1665	

Table B.2 continued

¹ Blk. & W stands for black-and-white.

Table B.3: Ceramic sherds recorded at Matanré

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Spoon	Total	Period counts	
									13 th c.	14 th c.
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	11	-	-	14	-	-	25	12.5	
Dehua	14 th	-	3	1	-	-	-	4	18.5	
Qingbai	14 th	-	-	1	1	-	-	2		
Vietnam greyware	15 th	5	-	-	3	-	-	8		29
Ming celadon	15 th	-	-	-	3	-	-	3		
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	19	-	-	-	-	-	19	98	
Sawankhalok grey	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	17	-	17	115.3	
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	15	-	-	-	-	15		
Sawankhalok celadon	16 th	99	-	-	17	-	-	116		
Ming B & W	16 th	39	2	-	6	-	-	47	17.3	
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	504	-	504		
Swatow	1550-1700	44	-	-	8	-	-	52	31.6	
Qing B & W	1650-1800	6	-	-	1	-	1	8	22.8	
Qing	1650-1800	24	-	-	10	-	1	35	22.8	
Qing celadon	18 th	-	-	-	17	-	-	17		
Japanese	19 th	-	-	2	18	-	-	20	16.5	
European	19 th	10	-	-	3	-	-	13	16.5	
Total		257	20	4	101	521	2	905		

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
Sawankhalok black	15th-16th	-	-	-	-	20	-	20
Sawankhalok celadon	15th-16th	2	-	-	1	-	1	4
Ming B & W	15th-16th	15		-	4			19
Sawankhalok 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

Period counts

14th c. 1

15th c. 24

1500-1550 17

1550-1600 23.1

1600-1650 6.1

1650-1700 8.2

1700-1750 5.6

1750-1800 5.6

Table B.4: Ceramic sherds recorded at Béla-béla

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Total
Longquan Yuan	13 th -14 th	2	-	-	-	-	2
Dehua	14 th	-	2	-	-	-	2
Ming celadon	15 th	4	-	-	-	-	4
Vietnam greyware	15 th	5	-	-	6	-	11
Vietnam	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	13	13
Sawankhalok grey	15 th -16 th	-	-	3	2	-	5
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	13	-	-	1	-	14
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	58	58
Ming Swatow	16 th	4	-	-	-	-	4
Wanli	1550-1650	1	-	-	-	-	1
Swatow	1550-1700	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total		31	2	3	9	71	116

Period counts

13th c. 1

14th c. 3

15th c. 31

1500-1550 10

1550-1600 11.1

1600-1650 1.1

1650-1700 0.6

Table B.5: Ceramic sherds recorded at Indog Lompa

Table B.6: Ceramic sherds recorded at Gucié

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Basin	Jarlet	Total
Dehua whiteware	13 th -14 th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yuan incised brownware	13 th -14 th	-	-	-	-	-	63	-	-	63
Yuan celadon	14 th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
Vietnam B & W	15 th	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69
Vietnam greyware	15 th	11	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	20
Vietnam	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	218	-	-	-	218
Sawankhalok black/brown	15 th -16 th	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	8
Sawankhalok grey	15 th -16 th	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	12
Sawankhalok Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	70
Sawankhalok black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	255	-	-	-	255
Sawankhalok	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	30
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming celadon	15 th -16 th	13	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	22

Period counts

13th c. 32

14th c. 35

15th c. 448

1500-1550 248.5

Sawankhalok	16 th	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	1550-1600	265
Sawankh. brown	16 th	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10		
Sawankh. celadon	16 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5		
Ming B & W	16 th	75	-	1	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	94		
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	534	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	549	1600-1650	6.5
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9		
Swatow	1550-1700	32	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	1650-1700	12
Total	Total	317	29	23	70	1087	63	15	2					1606		

Table B.6 continued

Table B.7: Ceramic sherds recorded at Tonrong Peppinge

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Bowl	Martavan	Total	Period counts
Dehua	14 th	-	2	-	-	2	14 th c. 2
Ming celadon	15 th	-	-	2	-	2	
Sawankhalok brown/black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	5	5	15 th c. 16
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	2	-	2	
Vietnam	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	21	21	1500-1550 8
Sawankhalok celadon	16 th	2	-	-	-	2	
Chinese stoneware	?				414	414	1550-1600 8.5
Wanli	1550-1650	1	-	-	-	1	1600-1650 .5
Total		3	2	4	440	449	

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Bowl	Martavan	Spoon	Total
Vietnam	15 th	–	1	–	–	–	1
Sawankhalok black.	15 th -16 th	–	–	–	2	–	2
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	–	–	1	–	–	1
Ming B & W	16 th	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	18 th			1			1
European	19 th	6		9			15
Total		55	1	64	2	3	125

Table B.8: Ceramic sherds recorded at Majennang

Table B.9: Ceramic sherds recorded at Alitta

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Jar	Balubu	Bird figure	Total	Period counts
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	13 th c. 1.5
Yuan celadon	14 th	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Dehua	14 th	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	
Ming celadon	14 th -15 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14 th c. 9
Ming celadon	15 th	14	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	18	
Ming sancai	15 th	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	11	
Vietnam B & W	15 th	14	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	
Vietnam greyware	15 th	3	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	13	15 th c. 113.5
Ming sancai	15 th -16 th	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Ming blueware	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	
Sawankhalok black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	64	
Sawankhalok grey	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11	1500-1550 452.5
Sawankhalok Blk & W	15 th -16 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	22	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	27	
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	
Sawankhalok Blk & W	16 th	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Sawankhalok celadon	16 th	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	14	

Sawankhalok brown	16 th	-	-	-	-	-	517	-	-	-	517
Sawankhalok	16 th	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	6
Ming B & W	16 th	175	2	12	13	-	-	-	19	1	222
Ming whiteware	16 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ming Swatow	16 th	19	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	24
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	367	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
Qing B & W	1650-1800	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	33
Qing	1650-1800	42	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	57
Qing celadon	18 th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Qing grey	18 th -19 th	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Qing celadon	19 th	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Japanese	19 th	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
European	19 th	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	11
Total		575	82	16	151	965	965	3	19	1	1812

1550-1600 582.6

1600-1650 130.1

1650-1700 68.6

1700-1750 32.5

1750-1800 32.5

1800-1850 11

1850-1900 11

Table B.9 continued

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Cerek	Total	Period counts
Yuan brownware	13 th -14 th	-	-	-	-	9	-	9	13th c. 4.5
Qingbai	14 th	-	-	-	4	-	-	4	
Jizhou	14 th -15 th	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	14th c. 10.5
Ming celadon	14 th -15 th	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	15th c. 179
Ming celadon	15 th	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Vietnam	15 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1500-1550 140
Vietnam B & W	15 th	4	17	-	2	5	-	28	
Vietnam brownware	15 th -16 th					117		117	1550-1600 145
Sawankhalok black.	15 th -16 th	-	-	3	-	98	-	101	
Sawankhalok grey	15 th -16 th	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1600-1650 5.3
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	63	-	3	1	-	-	67	
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	1650-1700 14.3
Sawankhalok Blk & W	16 th	-	11	-	-	-	-	11	
Ming blueware	16 th	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1700-1750 9
Ming B & W	16 th	45	1	5	66	-	-	117	
Ming whiteware	16 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	1750-1800 9

Table B.10: Ceramic sherds recorded at Watang Sidenréng

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

1800-1850 .5

1850-1900 .5

Table B.10 continued

Table B.11: Ceramic sherds recorded at Posiq Tana Sidénréng

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Bottle	Balubu	Spoon	Total	Period counts
											15 th c. 4
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	1500-1550 16
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1550-1600 26.1
Ming B & W	16 th	12	-	1	9	-	-	2	-	24	1600-1650 10.1
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6	1650-1700 21.2
Wanli	1550-1650	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1700-1750 12.6
Swatow	1550-1700	20	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	26	1750-1800 12.6
Qing	1650-1800	26	-	-	11	-	-	-	1	38	1800-1850 9
Japanese	19 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1850-1900 9
European	19 th	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	Period counts
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	13 th c. 2
Yuan Dehua	14 th	-	3	2	2	-	-	7	14 th c. 9
Ming celadon	15 th	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	
Vietnam B&W	15 th	14	5	2	-	-	-	21	
Vietnam greyware	15 th	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	
Vietnam	15 th	1	6	-	-	-	-	7	15 th c. 133
Sawankh. celadon	15 th -16 th	181	3	-	-	-	-	184	
Sawankhalok Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	8	-	-	-	8	
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	1	3	-	-	-	-	4	
Sawankhalok Blk. & W	16 th	-	132	-	-	-	-	132	1500-1550 622
Sawankh. celadon	16 th	24	-	8	3	-	-	35	
Sawankhalok	16 th	-	-	-	-	254	-	254	
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	677	-	677	
Ming B&W	16 th	465	15	18	103	1	-	602	
Ming whiteware	16 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1550-1600 926.6
Ming Swatow	16 th	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	18 th	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Qing B&W	18 th -19 th	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Qing celadon	18 th -19 th	29	-	1	9	-	-	39
Japanese	19 th	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
European	19 th	203	-	-	77	-	-	280
Total		2496	190	76	474	944	7	4187

1600-1650 304.6
1650-1700 547.2
1700-1750 328.3
1750-1800 328.35
1800-1850 154.25
1850-1900 154.25

Table B.12 continued

Table B.13: Ceramic sherds recorded at Wéngeng

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Total	Period counts
Dehua	14 th	-	1	-	-	-	1	14th c. 1.5
Jizhou	14 th -15 th	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Vietnam B & W	15 th	-	2	-	1	-	3	
Vietnam	15 th	1	-	-	-	-	1	15th c. 19.5
Vietnam celadon	15 th	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Ming sancai	15 th	1	-	-	-	-	1	1500-1550 39.5
Ming celadon	15 th	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	16	-	-	-	-	16	1550-1600 84.8
Sawankhalok	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	7	7	
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	1	-	1	1600-1650 45.5
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	2	-	-	-	2	
Sawankhalok	16 th	-	9	-	-	-	9	
Ming B & W	16 th	36	6	1	13	-	56	1650-1700 57.8
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	33	33	
Late Ming B & W	1550-1650	11	-	-	2	-	13	
Wanli	1550-1650	3	-	-	-	-	3	1700-1750 20.5
Swatow	1550-1700	90	3	-	19	-	112	
Chinese stoneware	17 th -18 th	-	-	-	1	-	1	
Qing	1650-1800	29	-	1	31	-	61	1750-1800 20.5
Total		188	23	2	69	41	323	

Table B.14: Ceramic sherds recorded at B elokka

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Balubu	Jarlet	Total	Period counts
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	13 th c. 2.5
Yuan brownware	14 th	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Dehua Yuan	14 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Jizhou	14 th -15 th	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	17	14 th c. 13
Vietnam B & W	15 th	17	14	1	-	-	-	-	32	
Vietnam celadon	15 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Vietnam greyware	15 th	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	15 th c. 216.5
Ming celadon	15 th	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	
Sawankhalok brown/black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	123	-	-	123	
Sawankhalok black	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	66	-	-	66	
Sawankhalok Incised	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	149	1	1	1	-	-	1	153	1500-1550 607
Sawankhalok Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	5	
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	7	
Vietnam	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	68	-	-	68	
Sawankhalok grey	16 th	-	49	-	-	-	-	-	49	
Sawankhalok Blk & W	16 th	-	111	-	-	-	-	-	111	
Sawankhalok Incised	16 th	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	8	
Sawankhalok brown	16 th	-	-	3	-	210	-	-	213	1550-1600 653.6
Sawankhalok black	16 th	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	53	
Sawankhalok celadon	16 th	21	-	6	-	-	-	1	28	
Ming B & W	16 th	249	24	2	100	-	1	1	377	

Ming whiteware	16 th	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Ming Swatow	16 th	54	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	60
Vietnam brownware	16 th	-	-	-	-	56	-	-	-	-	56
Vietnam stoneware	16 th	-	-	-	-	41	-	-	-	-	41
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	1542	-	-	-	-	1542
Wanli B & W	1550-1650	10	1	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	25
Wanli	1550-1650	3	-	4	18	-	-	-	-	-	25
Wanli whiteware	1550-1650	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Swatow	1550-1700	51	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	59
Transitional B & W	17 th	19	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	29
Transitional	17 th	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Qing <i>famille rose</i>	17 th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Qing B & W	1650-1800	16	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	31
Qing greyware	1650-1800	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	7
Qing brown monochrome	1650-1800	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Qing celadon	19 th	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
European	19 th	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total		610	211	17	201	2179	2	5			3225

1600-1650 63
1650-1700 49
1700-1750 13
1750-1800 13
1800-1850 3.5
1850-1900 3.5

Table B.14 continued

Classification	Centuries	Plate	Box	Vase	Bowl	Martavan	Basin	Foot	Total
Yuan celadon	13 th -14 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dehua Yuan	14 th	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	4
Yuan Incense burner	14 th	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ming celadon	15 th	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam B & W	15 th	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	7
Vietnam greyware	15 th	5	-	-	6	-	-	-	11
Vietnam brownware	15 th	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	11
Ming celadon	15 th -16 th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sawankh. Blk.	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	7
Sawankhalok celadon	15 th -16 th	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	8
Sawankhalok	15 th -16 th	-	-	-	10	5	-	-	15
Sukothai Blk. & W	15 th -16 th	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
Sawankhalok	16 th	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Ming B & W	16 th	43	-	2	4	-	-	-	49
Ming Swatow	16 th	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	41	1	-	42

Classification	Period counts
Yuan celadon	13th c. .5
Dehua Yuan	14th c. 5.5
Yuan Incense burner	14th c. 5.5
Ming celadon	14th c. 5.5
Vietnam B & W	14th c. 5.5
Vietnam greyware	15th c. 45
Vietnam brownware	15th c. 45
Vietnam	15th c. 45
Ming celadon	15th c. 45
Sawankh. Blk.	15th c. 45
Sawankhalok celadon	15th c. 45
Sawankhalok	1550-1600 68.4
Sukothai Blk. & W	1550-1600 68.4
Sawankhalok	1600-1650 23.9
Ming B & W	1600-1650 23.9
Ming Swatow	1600-1650 23.9
Chinese stoneware	1650-1700 38.2

Table B.15: Ceramic sherds recorded at Loloang

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	1	297

1700-1750 14.3
1750-1800 14.3

Table B.15 continued

Histograms of the distribution of recorded ceramic sherds from the Ajattappareng surveys by century intervals

Figure B-1: Suppaq pre-Islamic palace centre

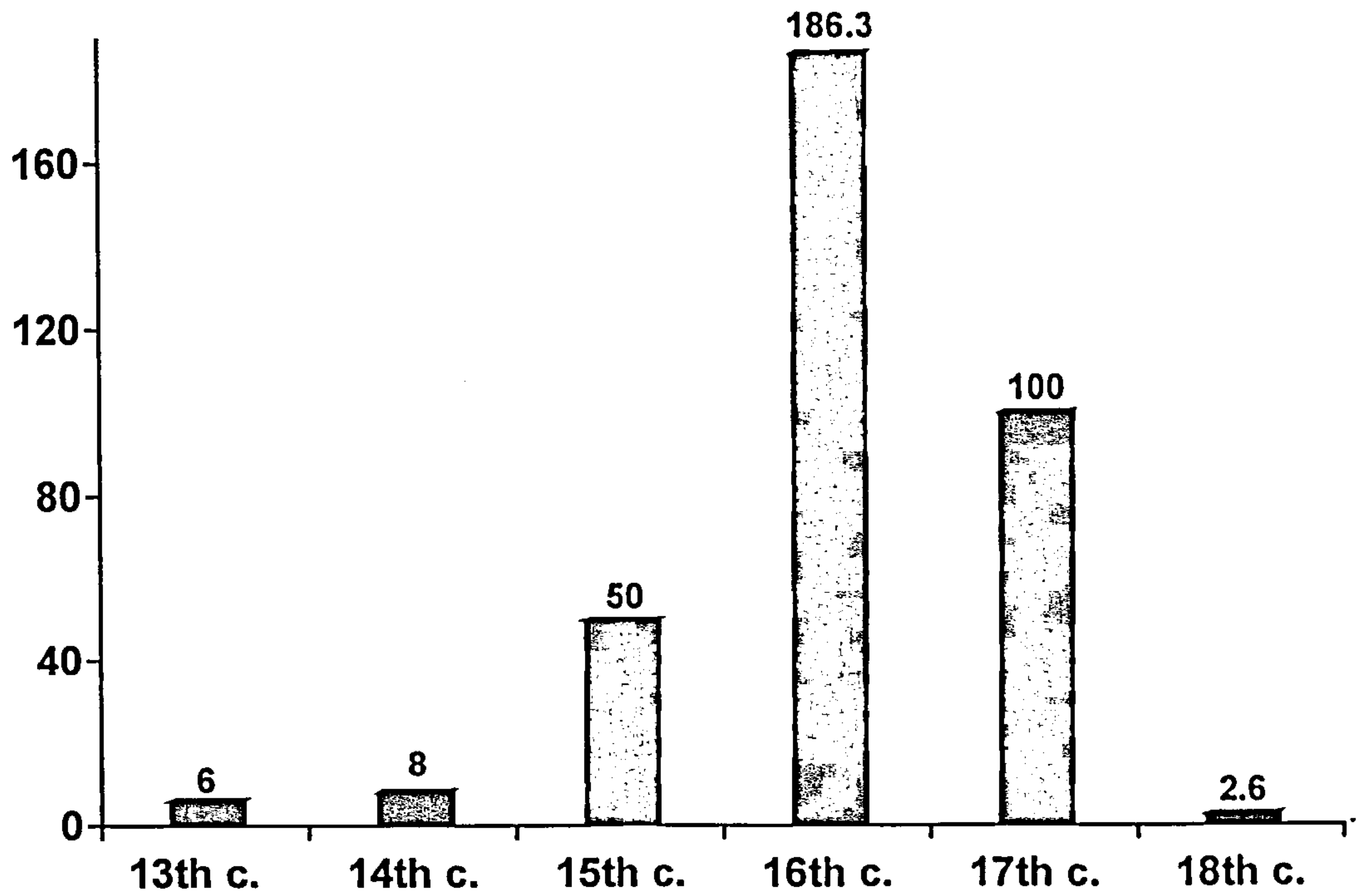


Figure B-2: Makaraié

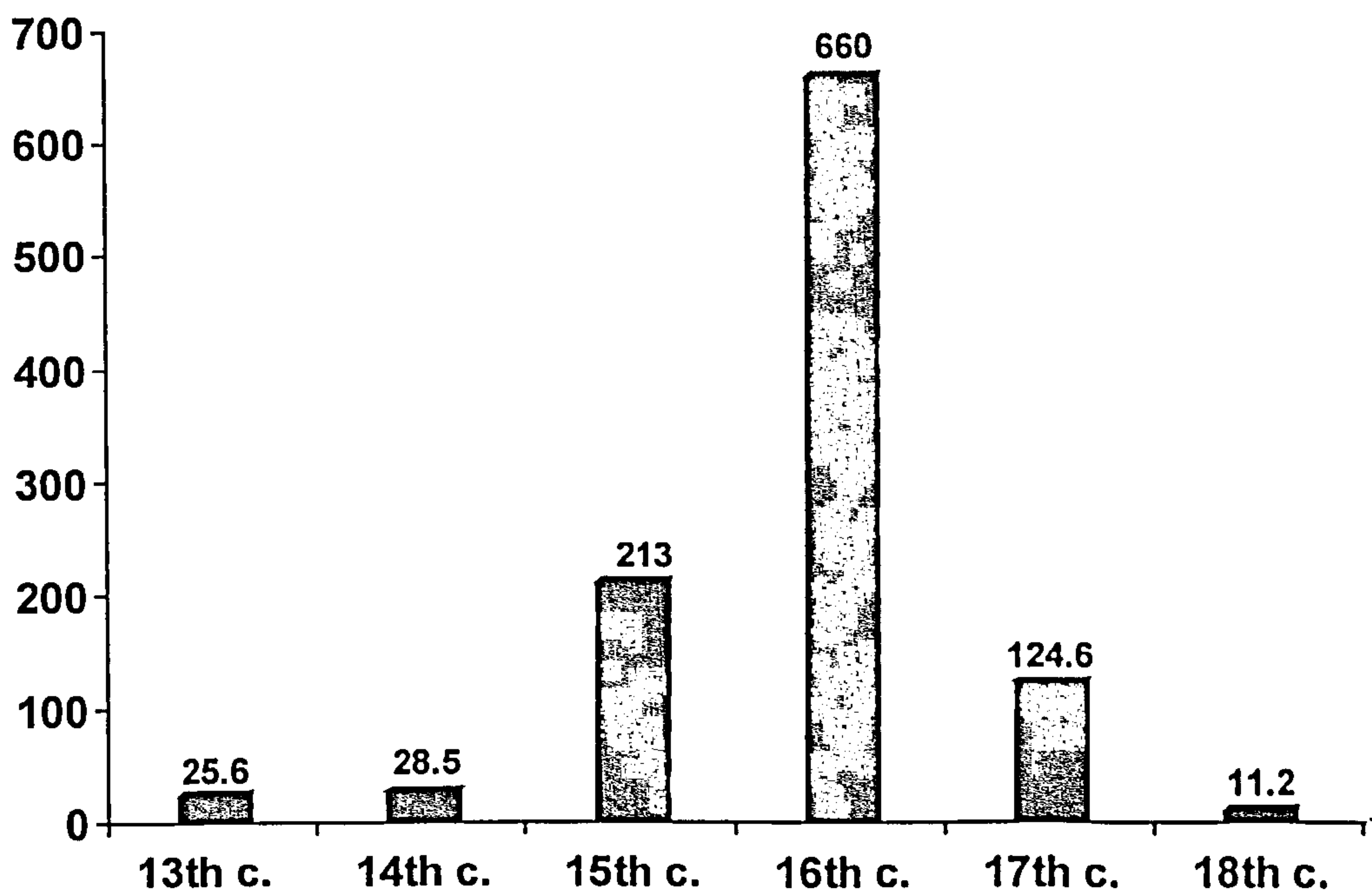


Figure B-3: Matané

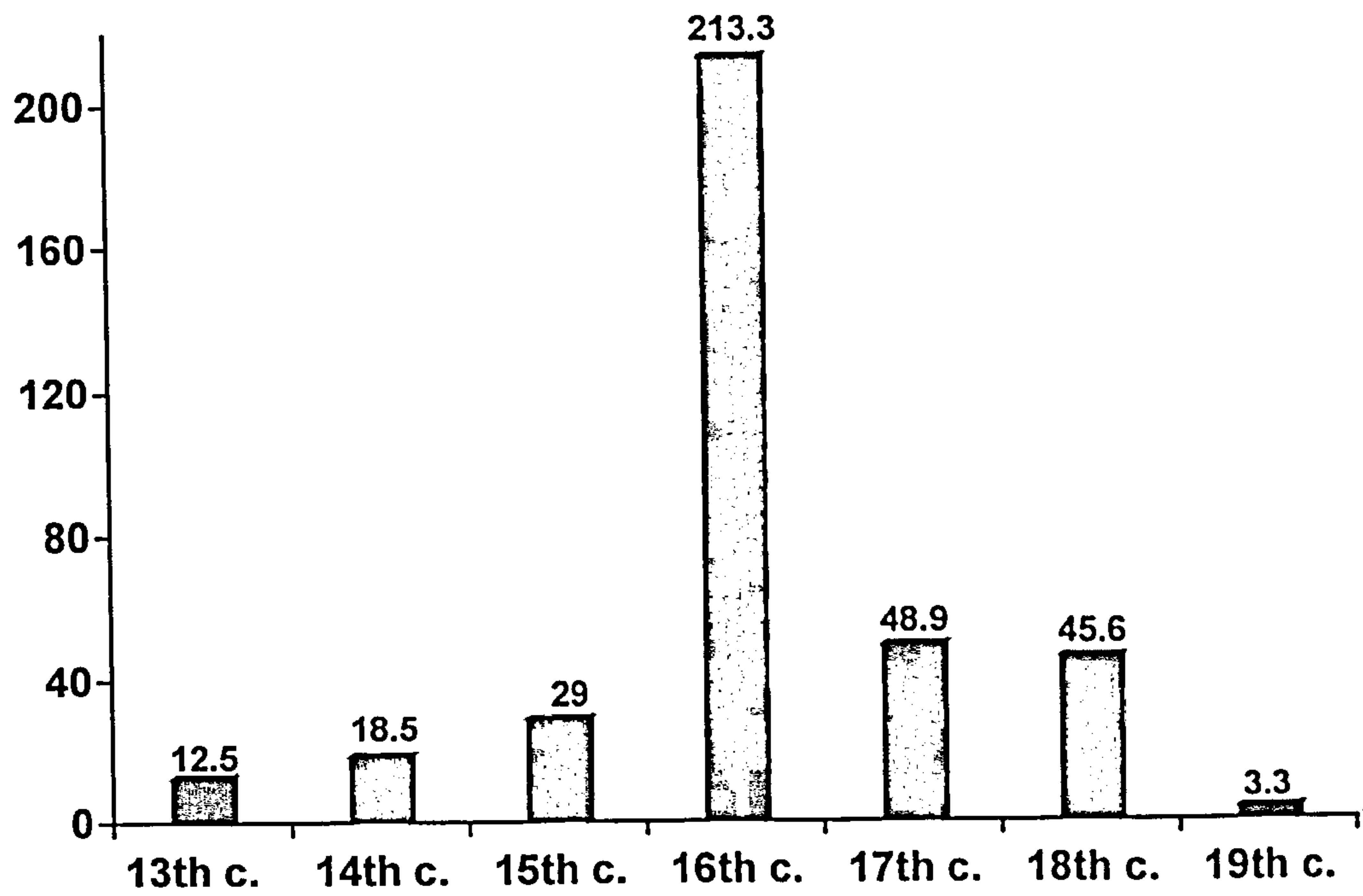


Figure .B-4: Béla-bélawa

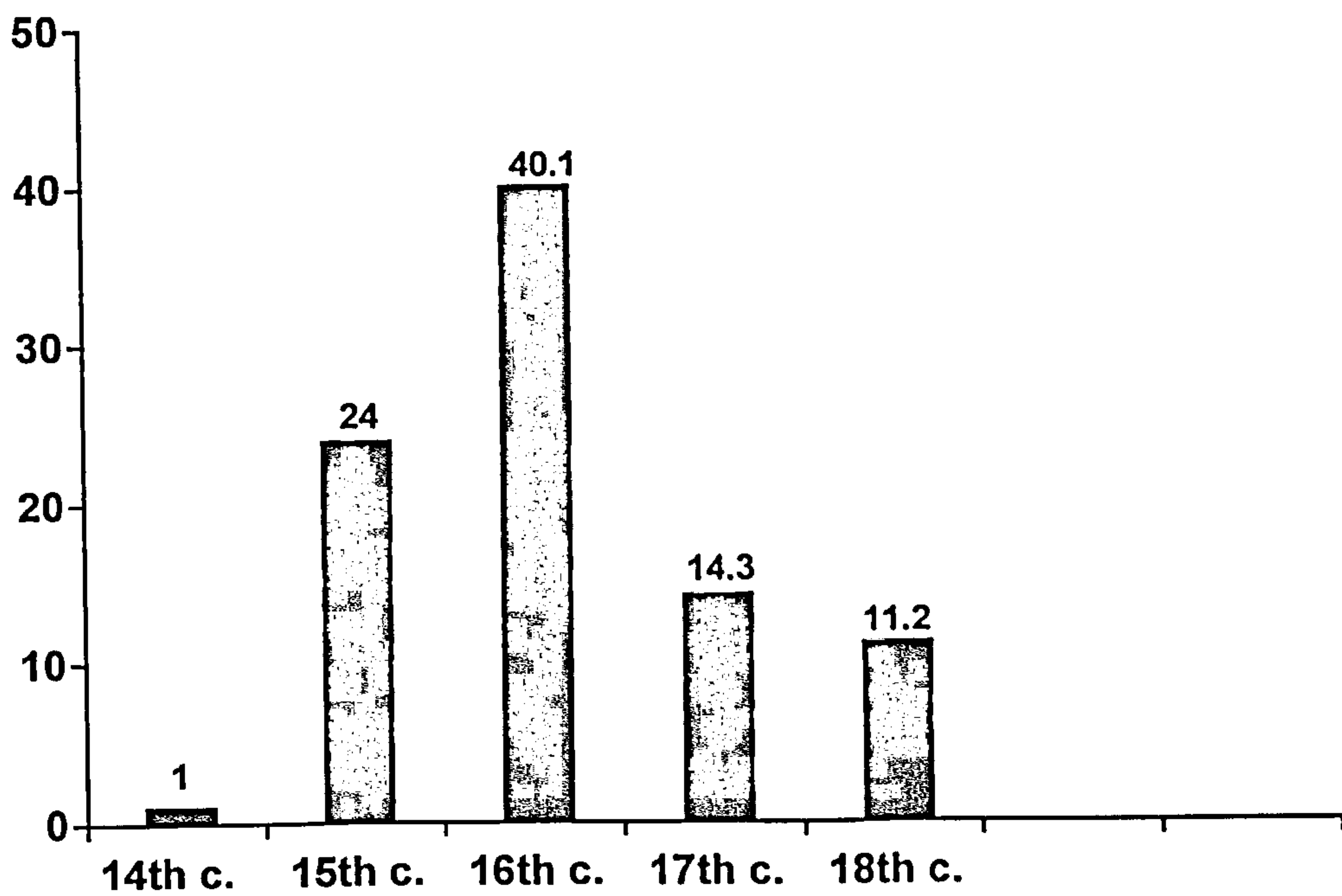


Figure B-5: Indoq Lompa

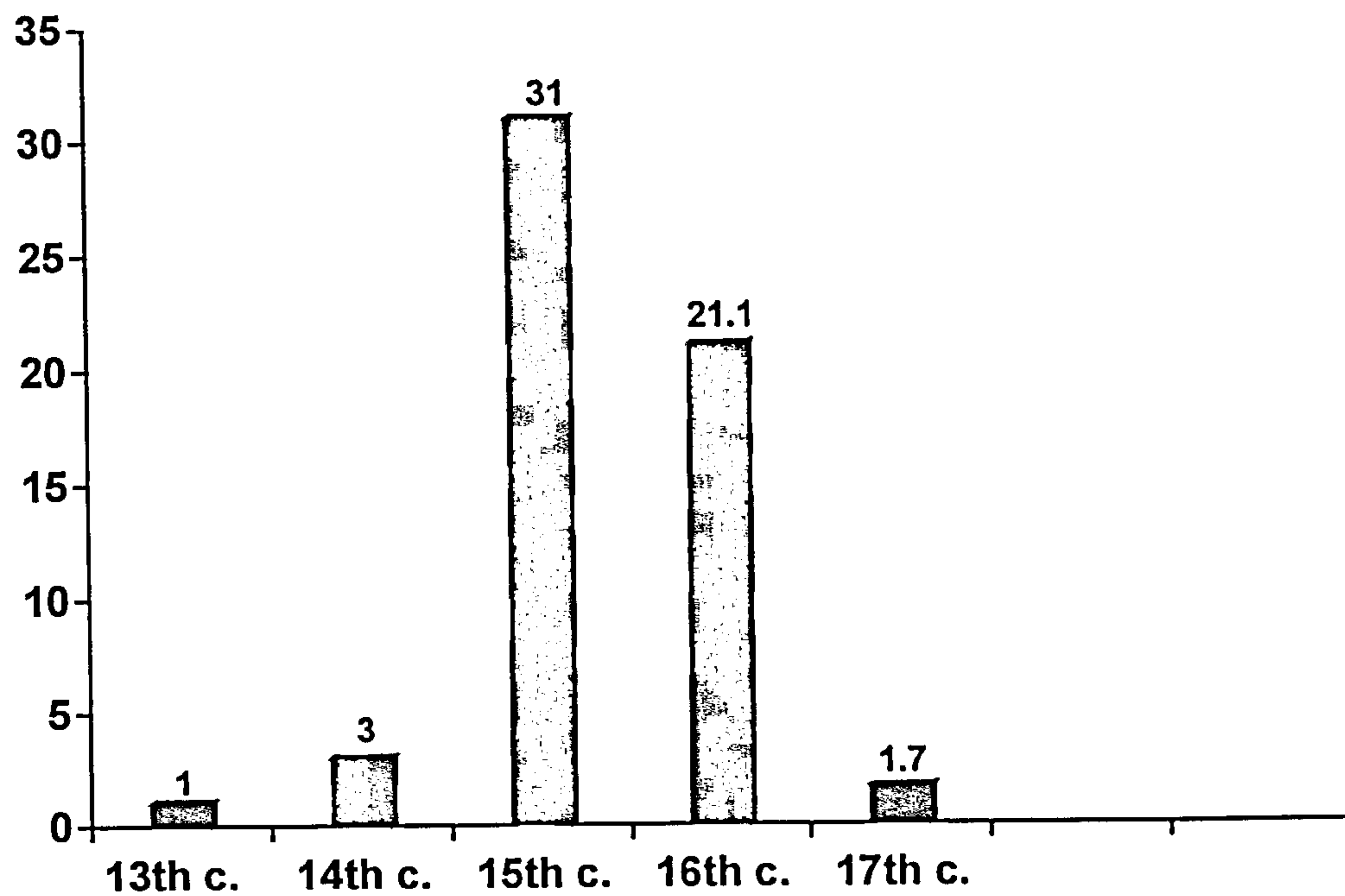


Figure B-6: Gucié

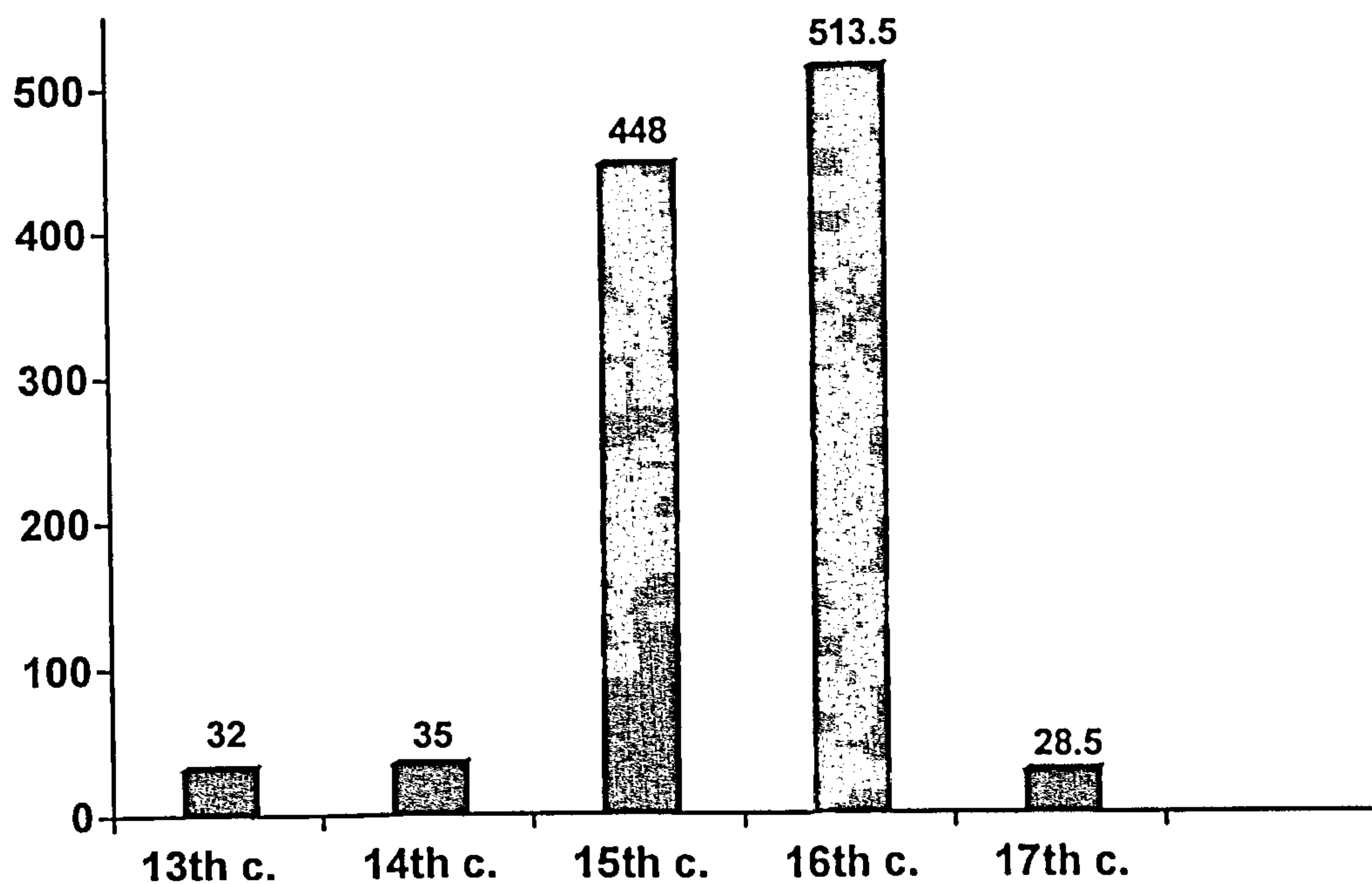


Figure B-7: Tonrong Peppingé

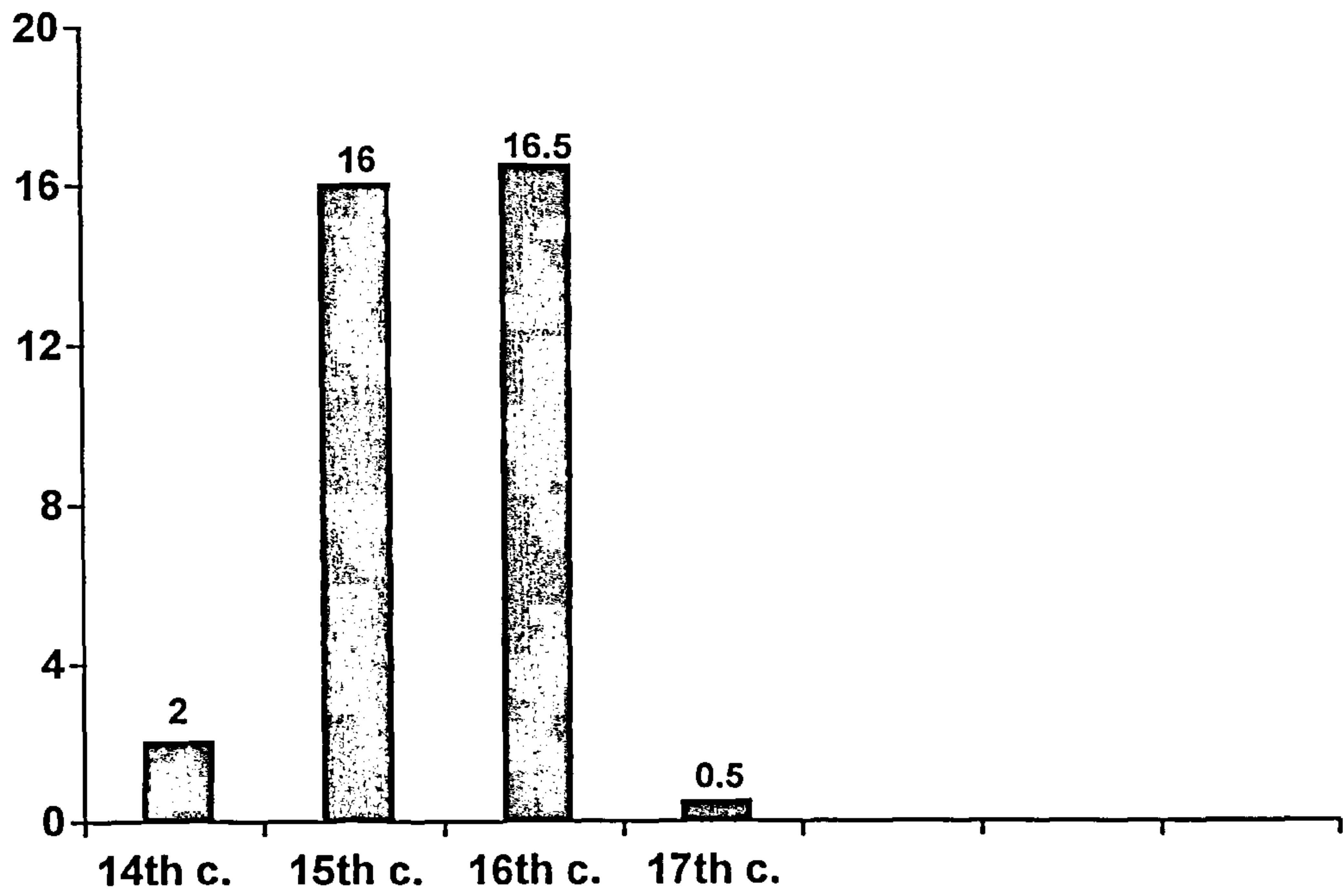


Figure B-8: Majennang

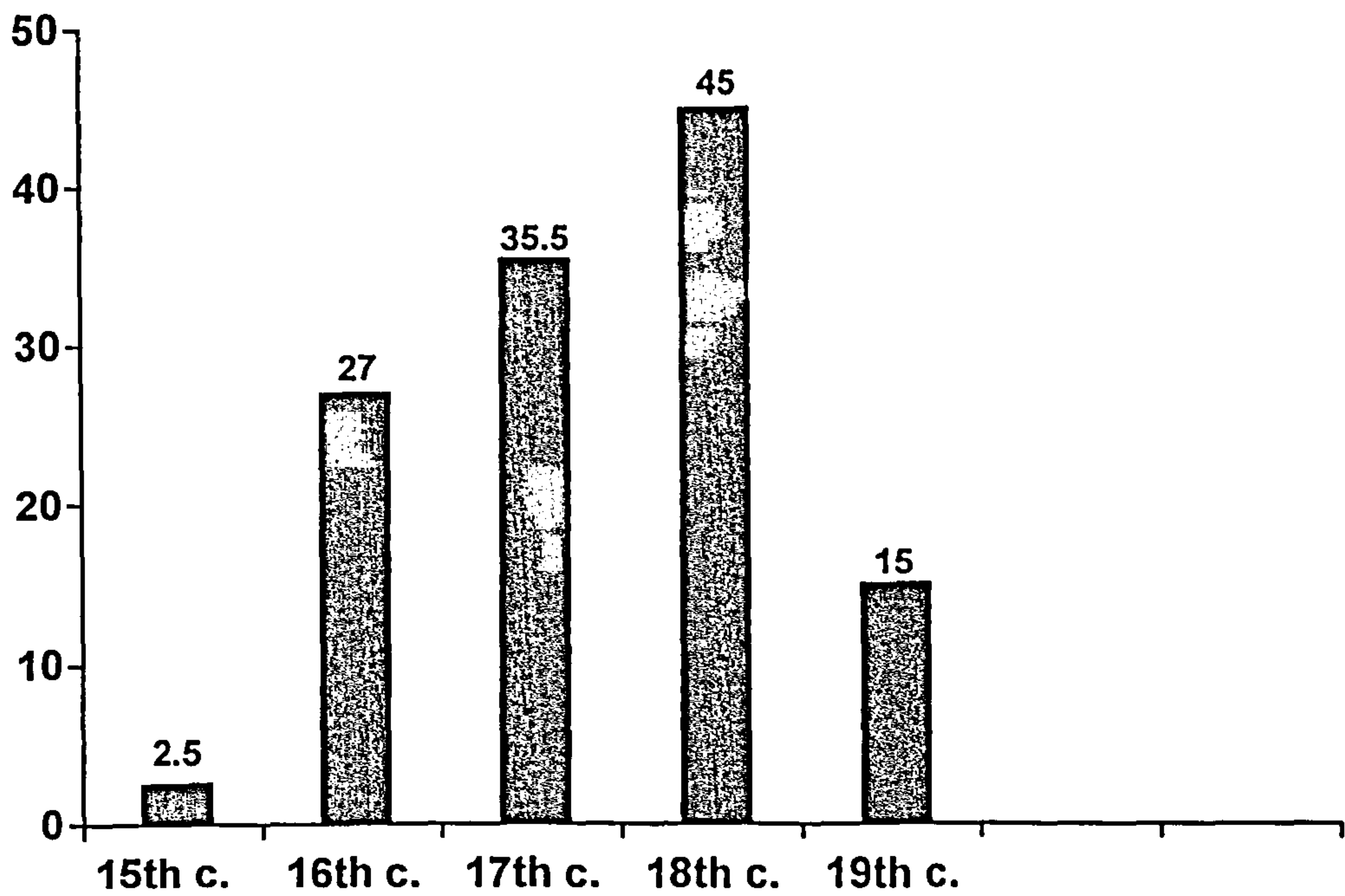


Figure B-9: Alitta

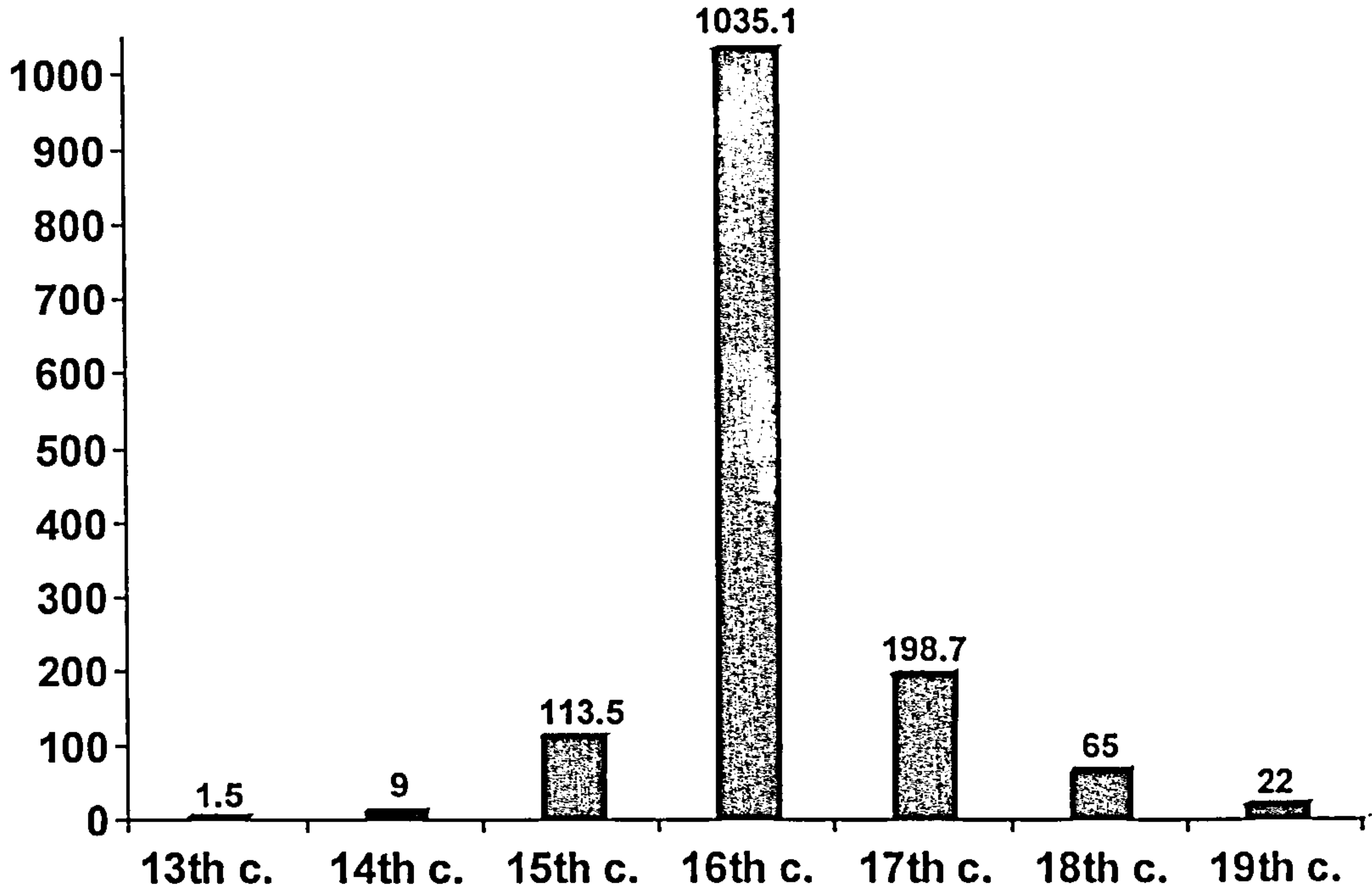


Figure B-10: Watang Sidénréng

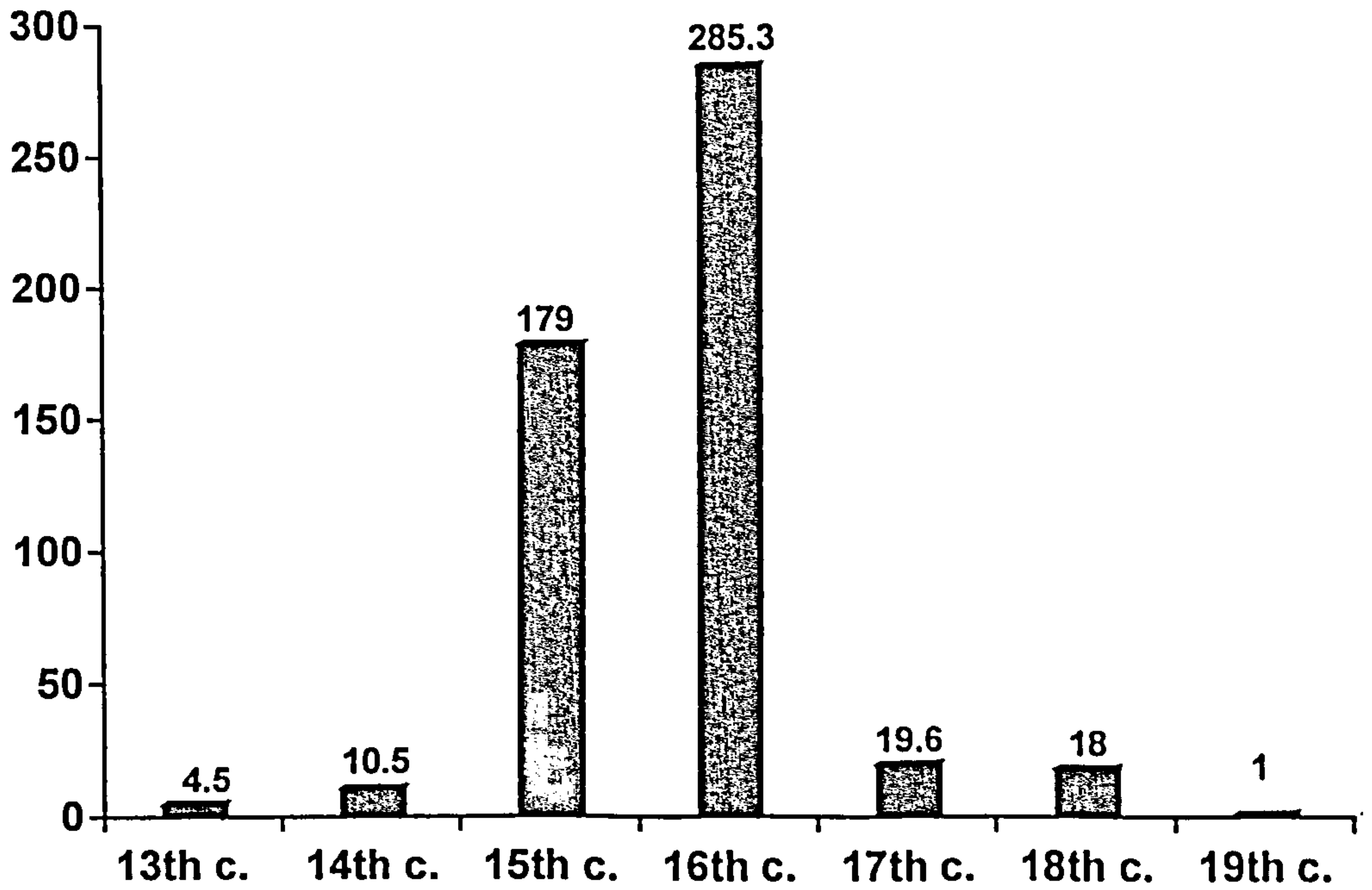


Figure B-11: Posiq Tana Sidénréng

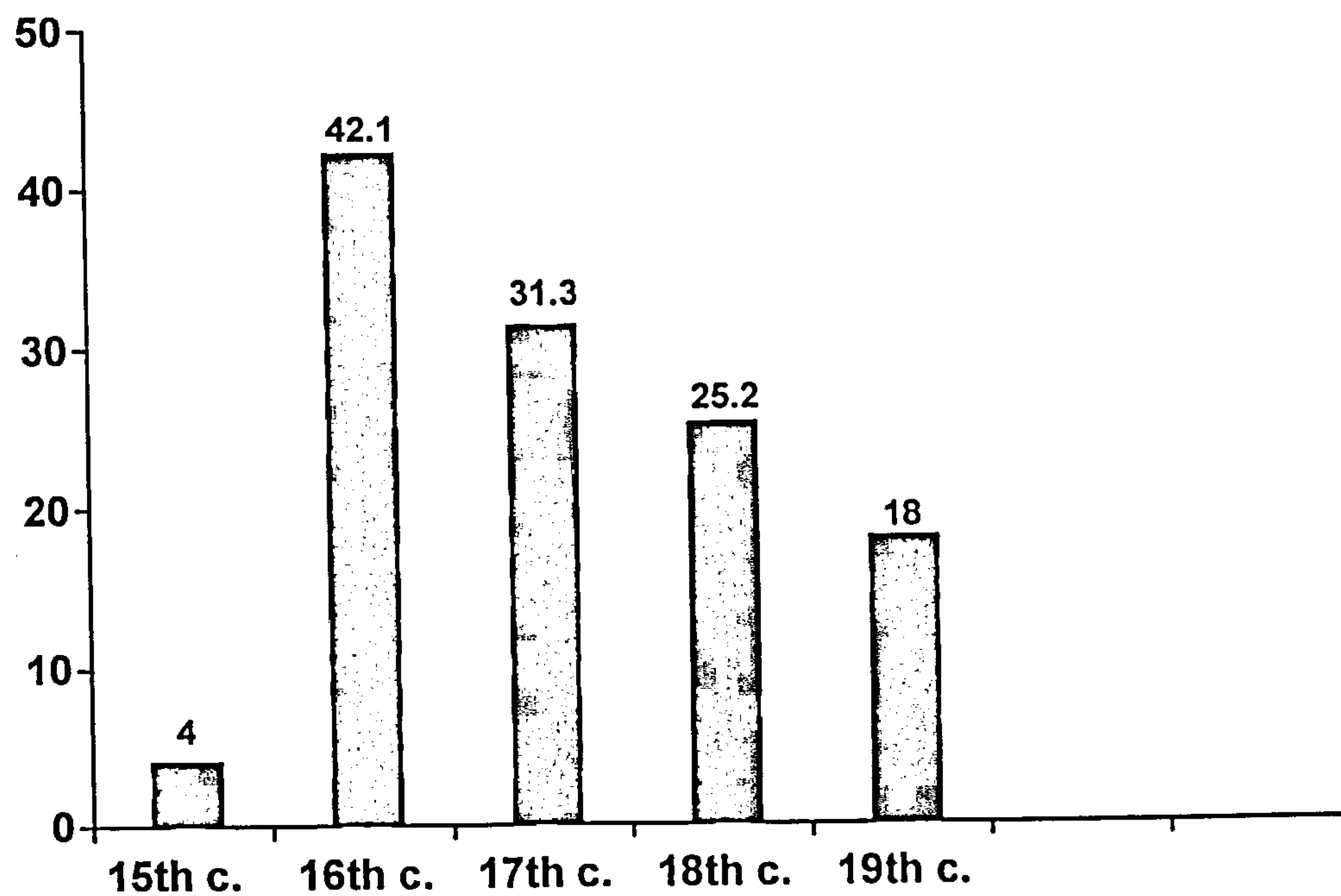


Figure B12: Bulubangi

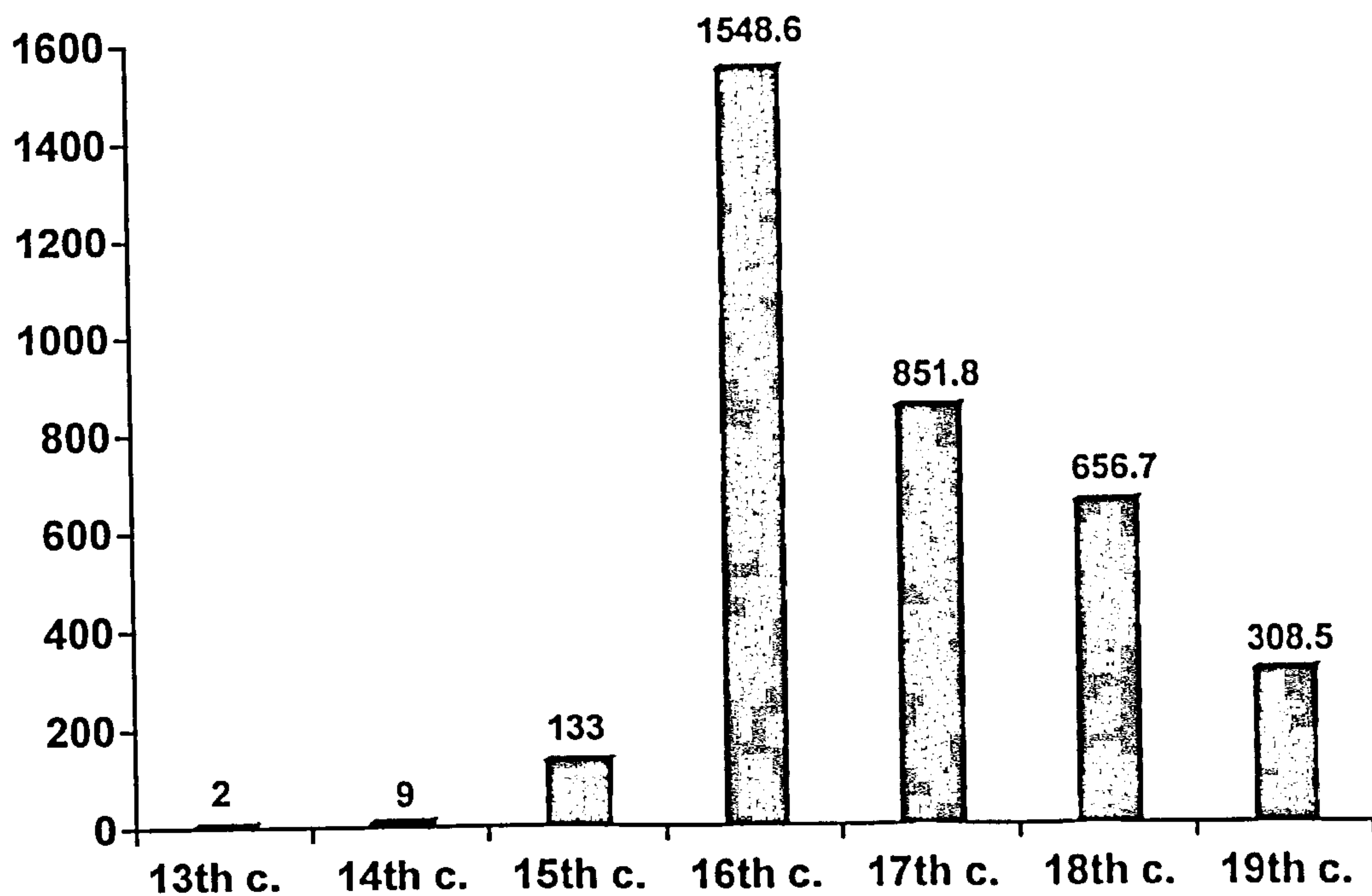


Figure B-13: Wéngeng

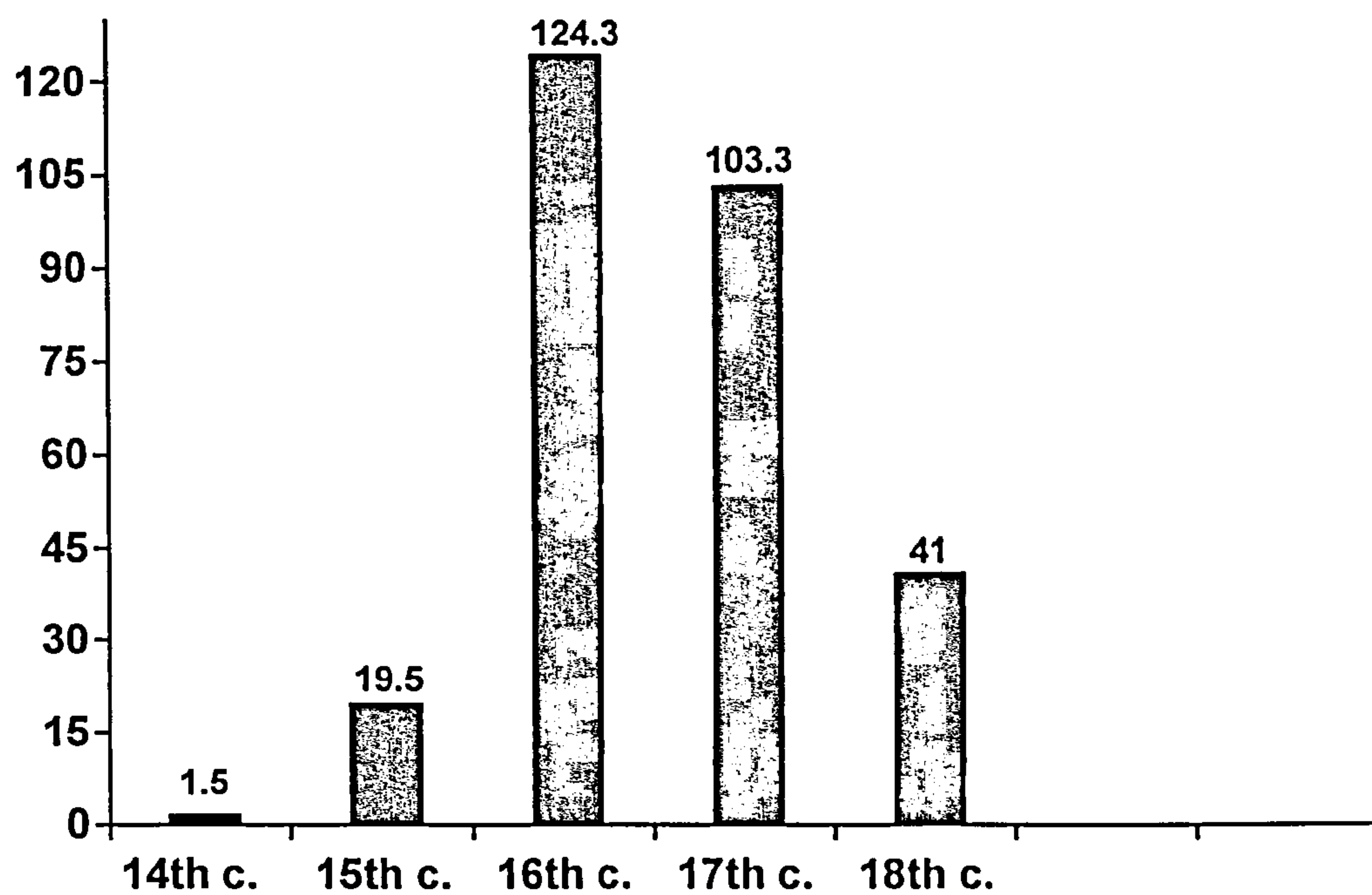


Figure B14: Bélokka

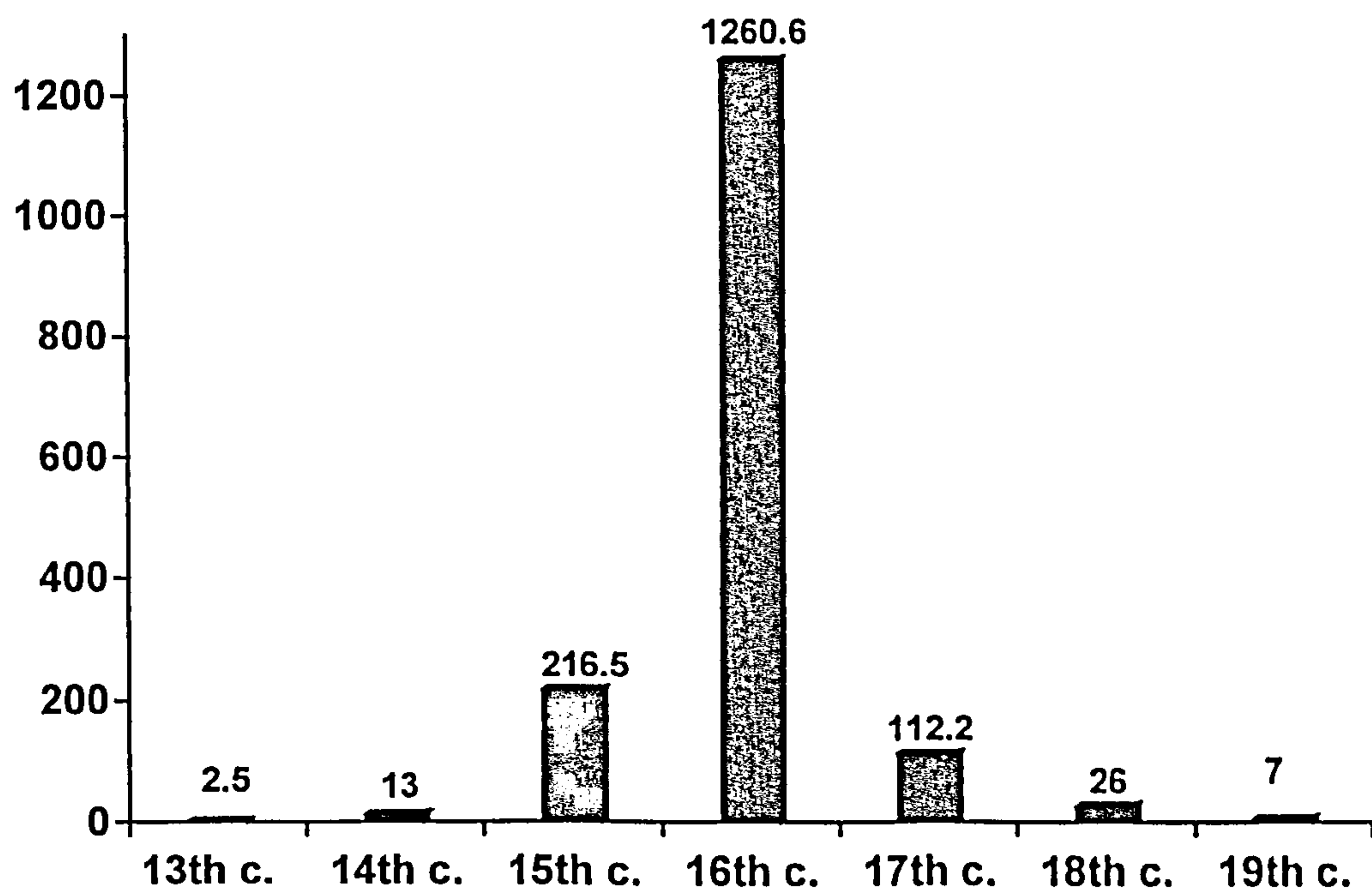


Figure B15: Loloang

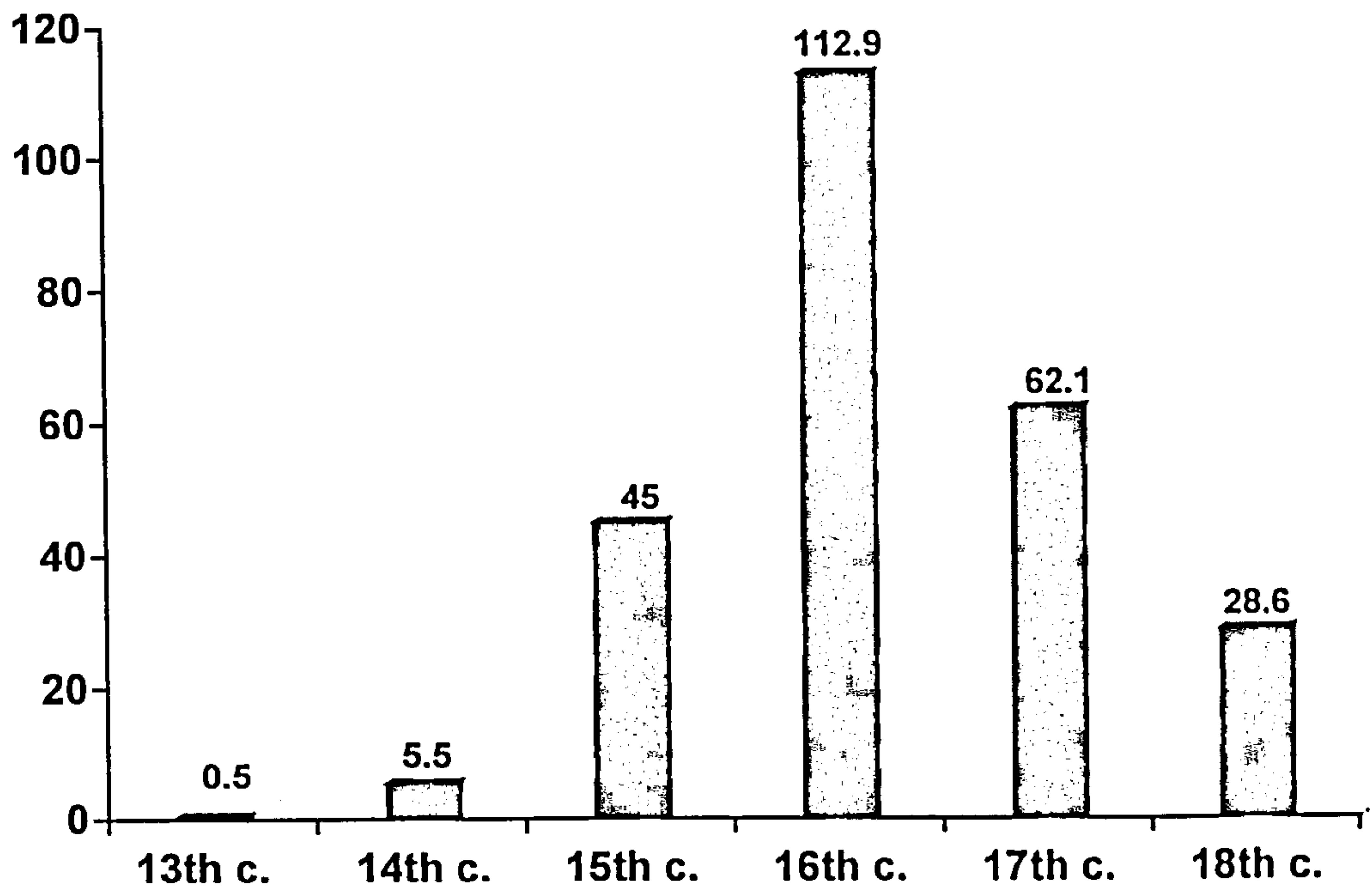


Figure B16: Sumpang Saddang

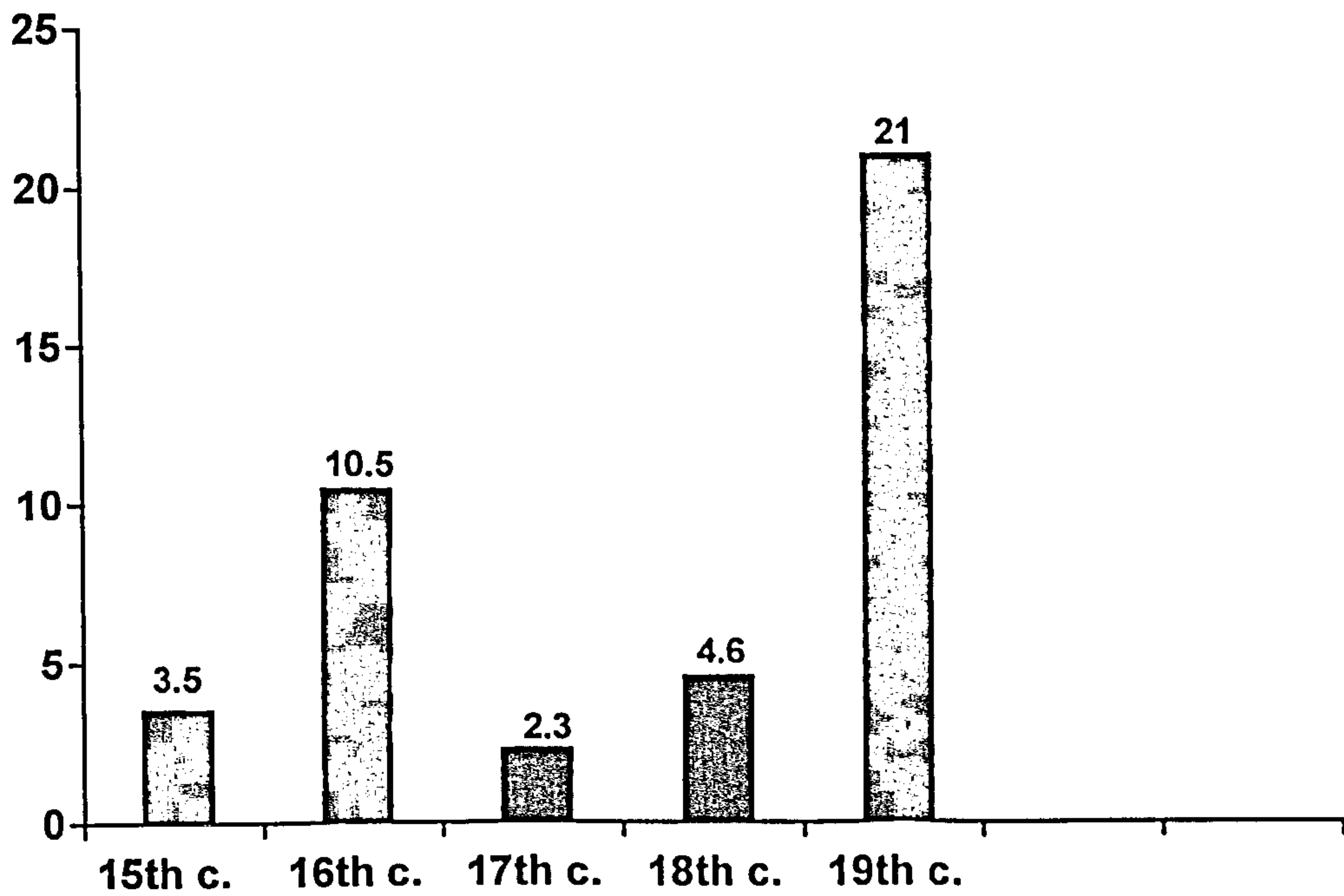


Figure B-17: Suppaq palace centre, Makaraé and Indoq Lompa site map

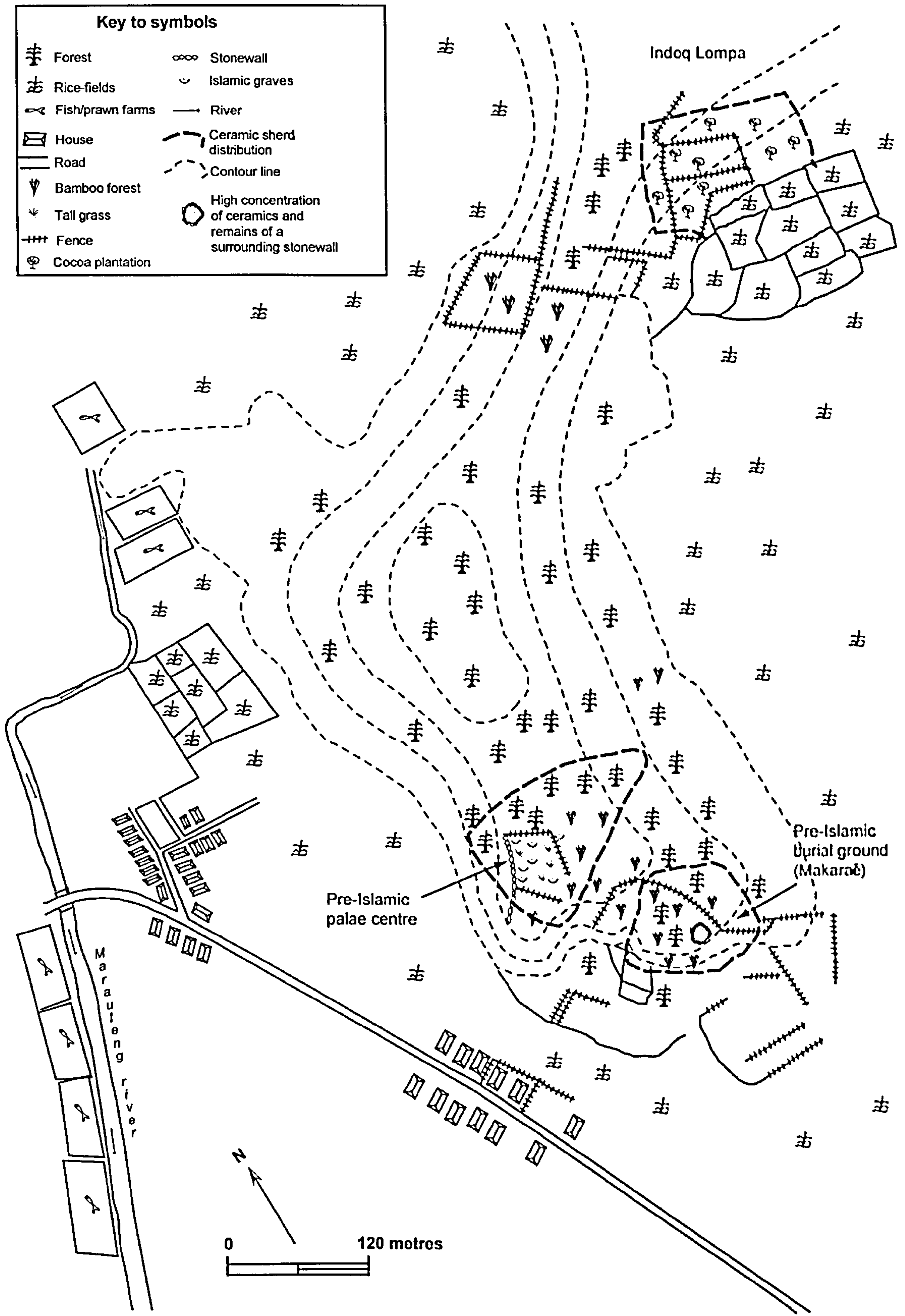


Figure B-18: Matanré site map

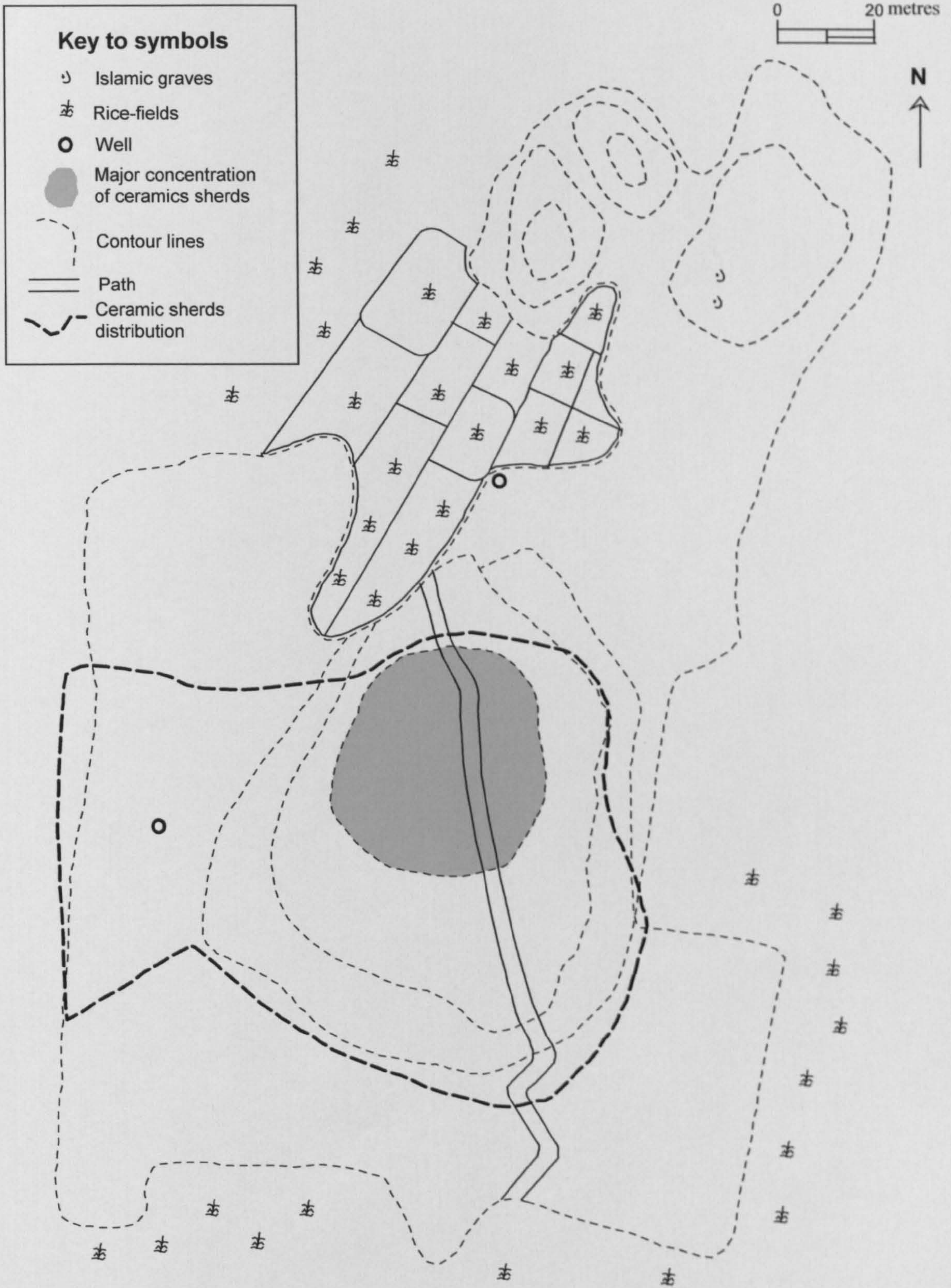


Figure B-19: Béla-bélawa site map

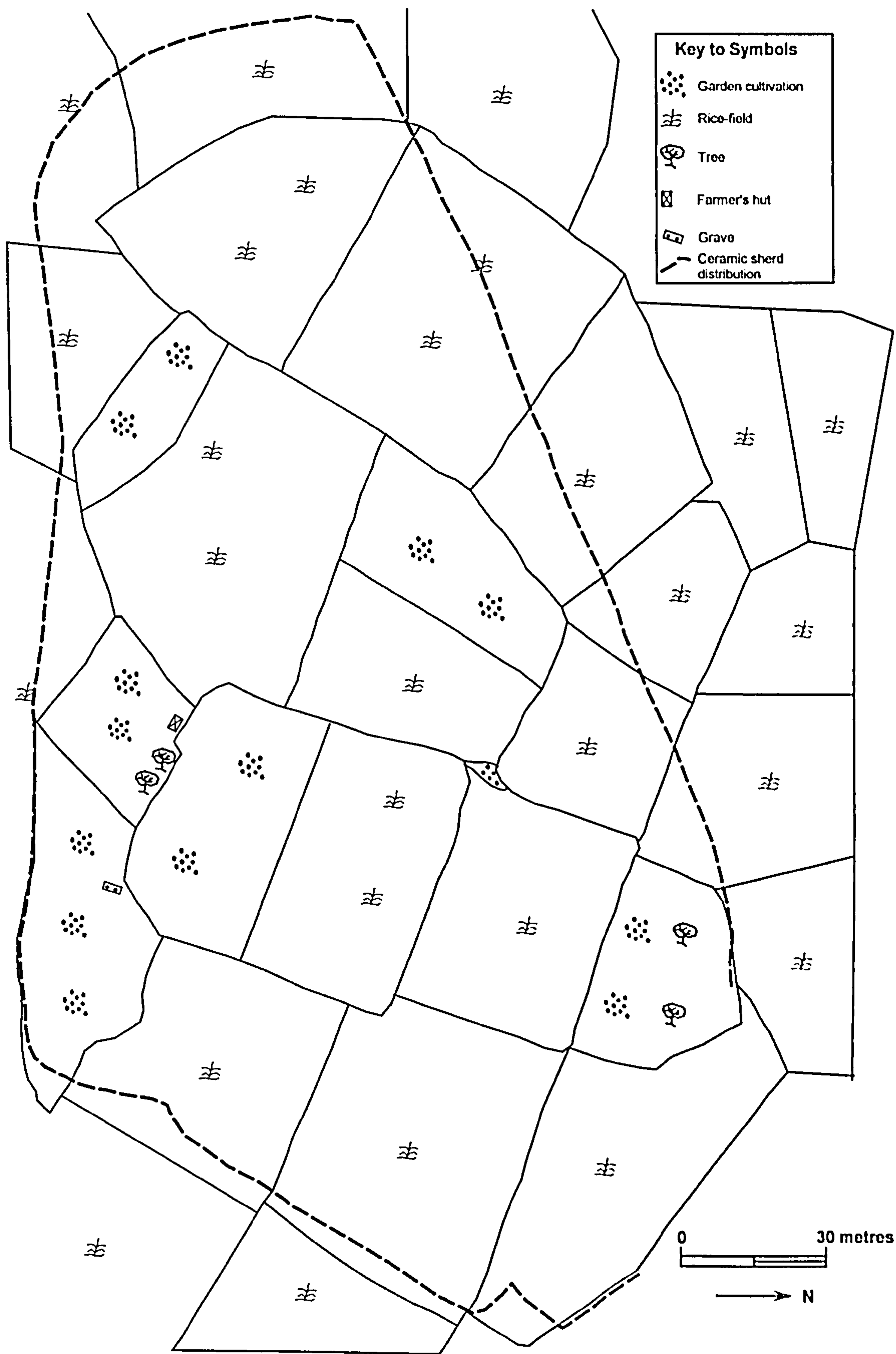


Figure B-20: Gucié site map

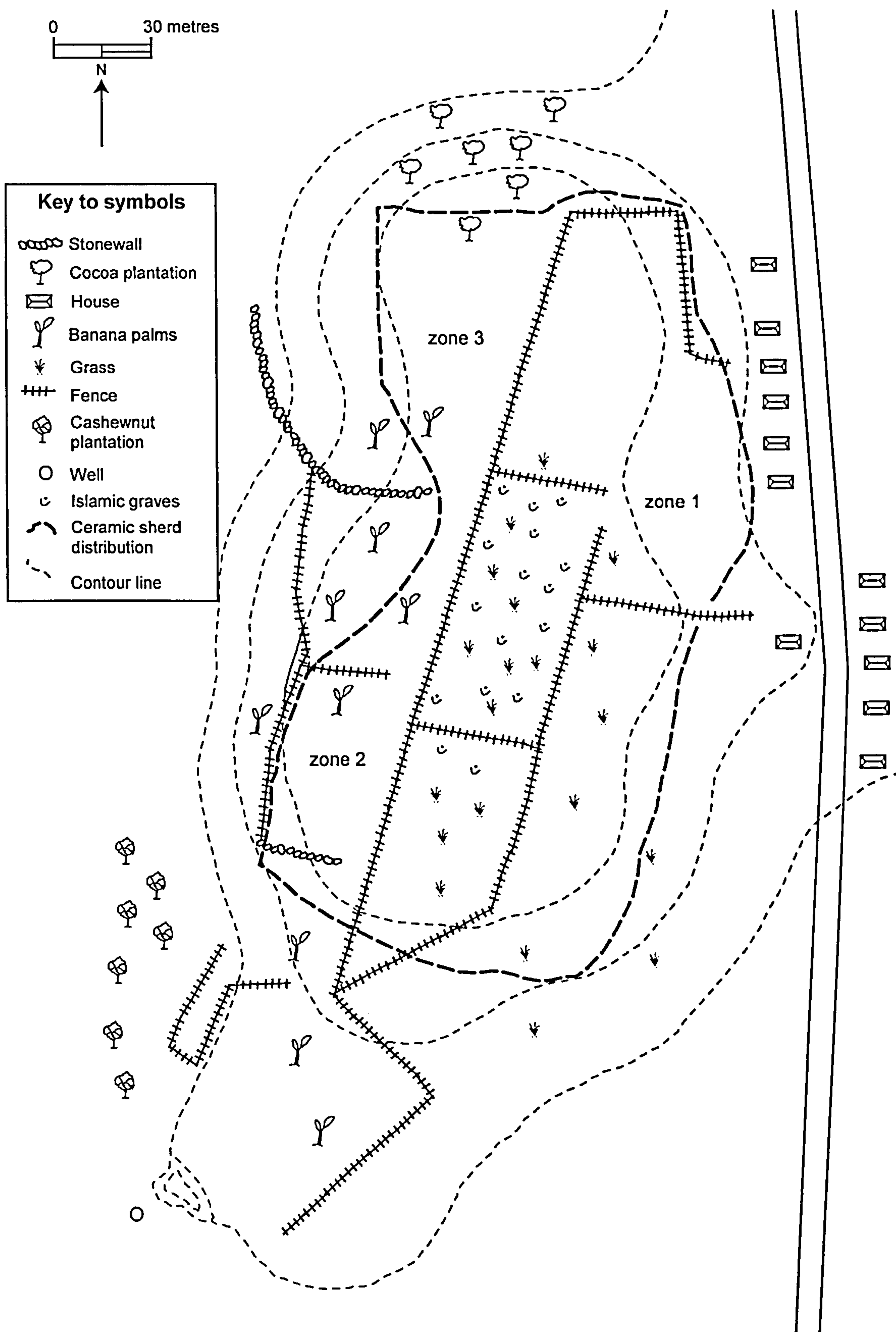


Figure B-21: Tonrong Peppingé site map

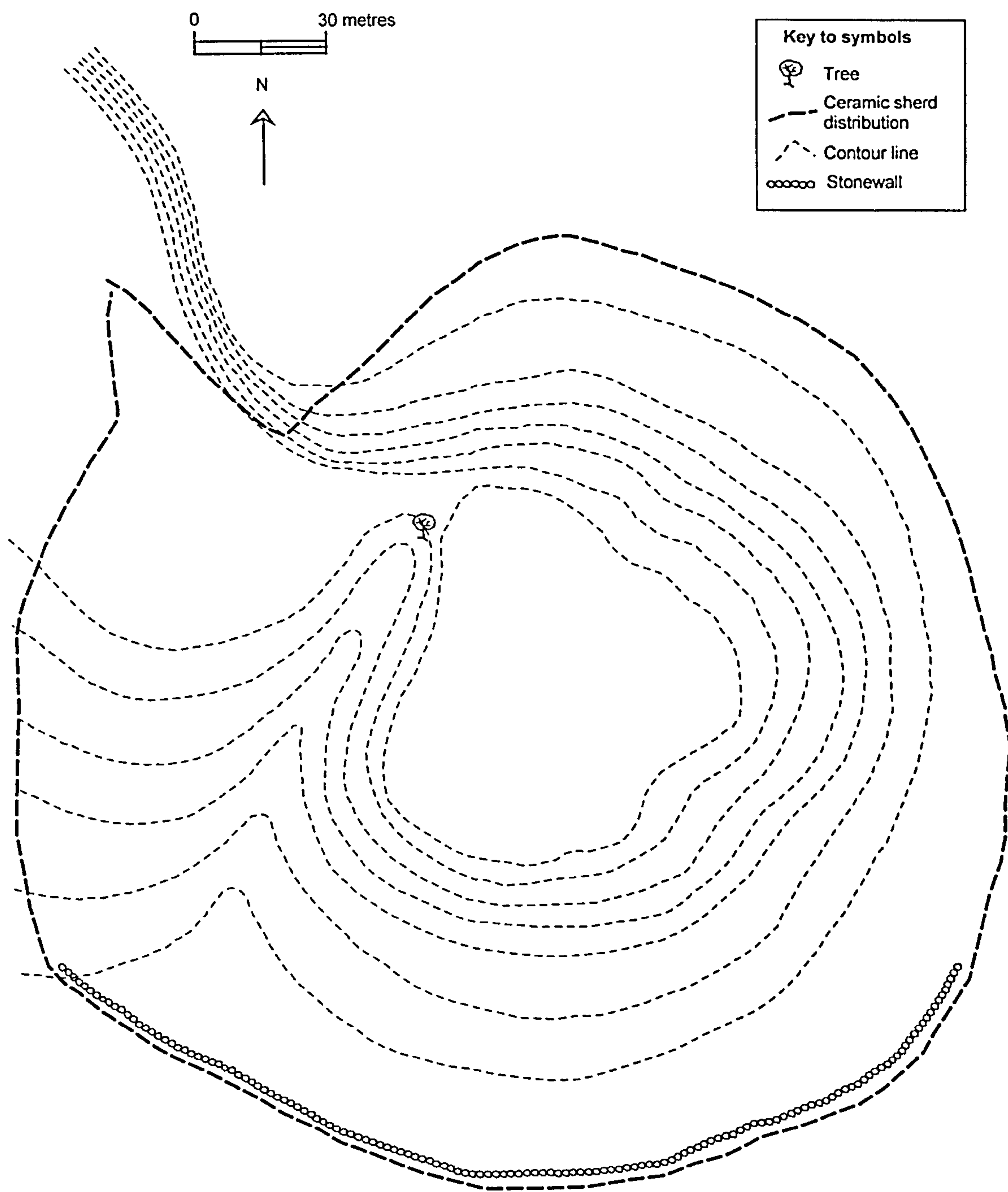


Figure B-22: Majennang, Marabombang and Lawaramparang site map

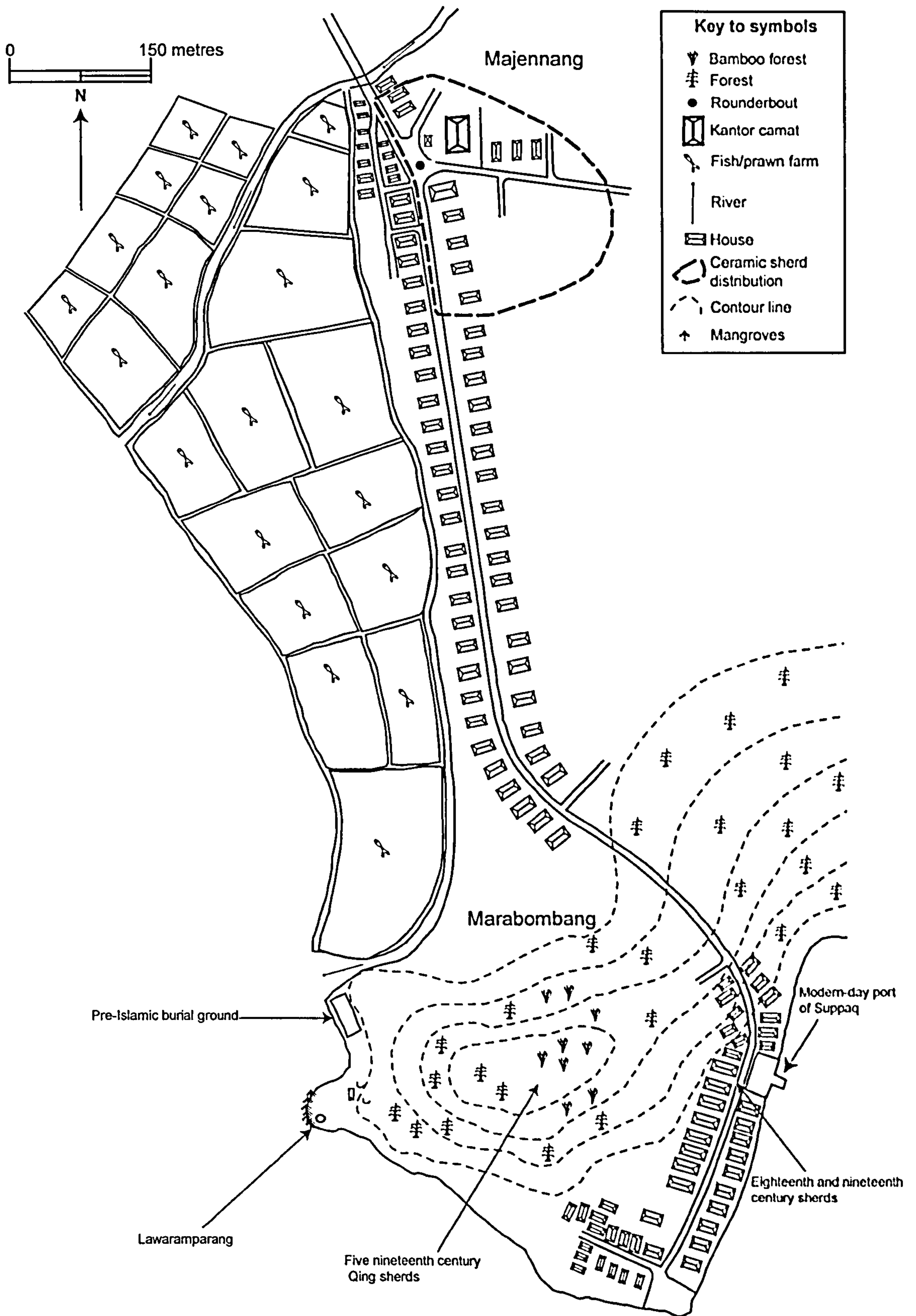


Figure B-23: Alitta site map

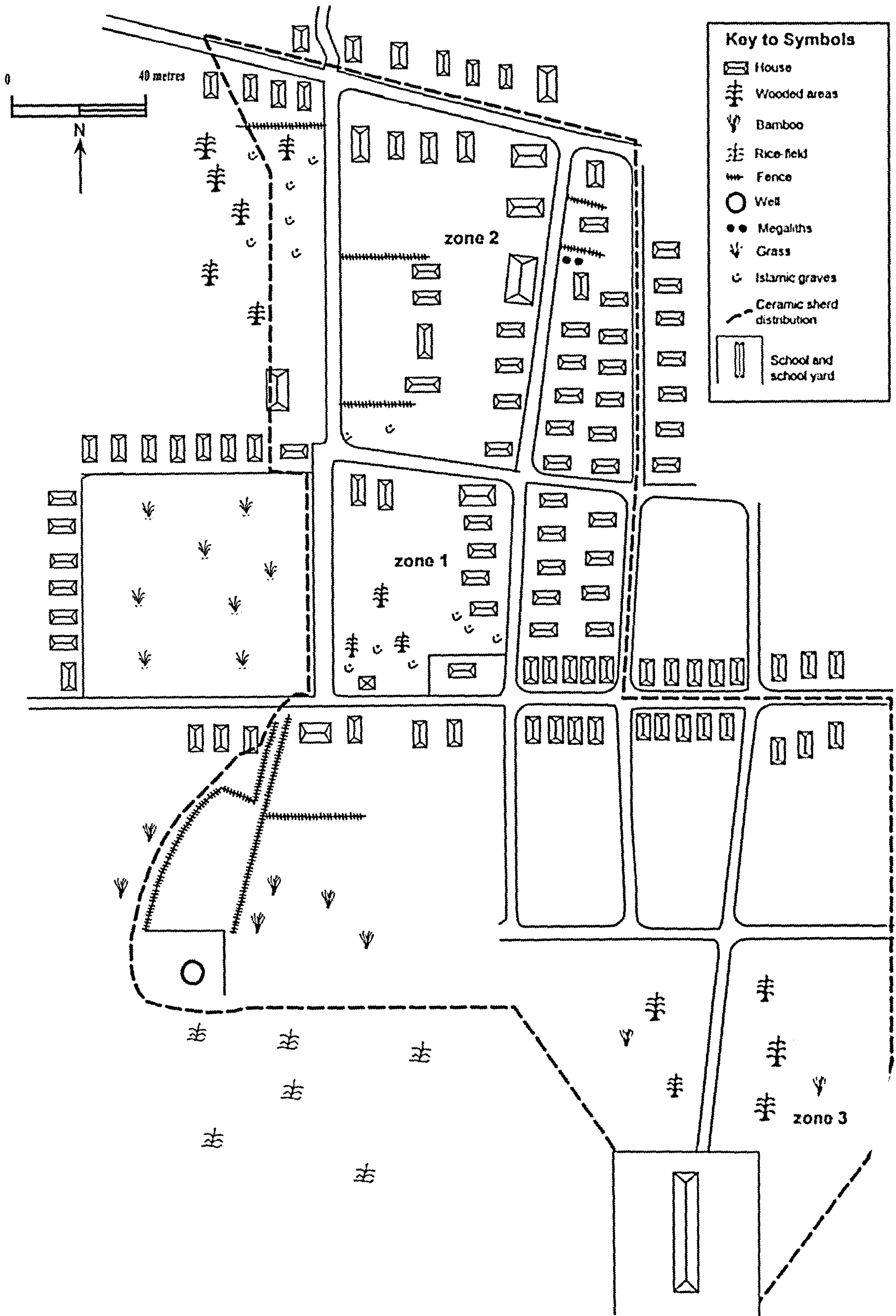


Figure B-24: Watang Sidénréng and Posiq Tana Sidénréng site map

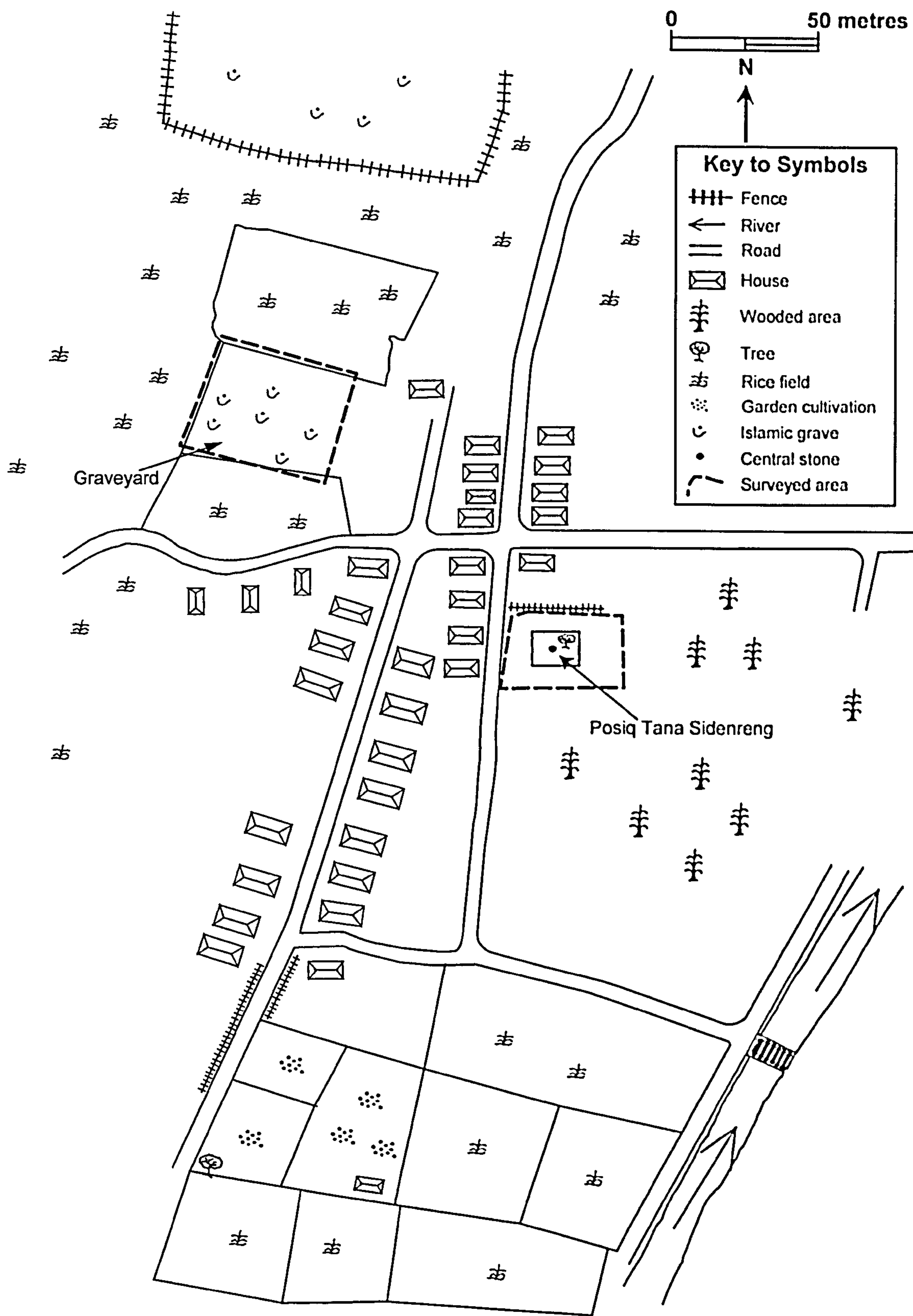


Figure B-25: Bulubangi site map

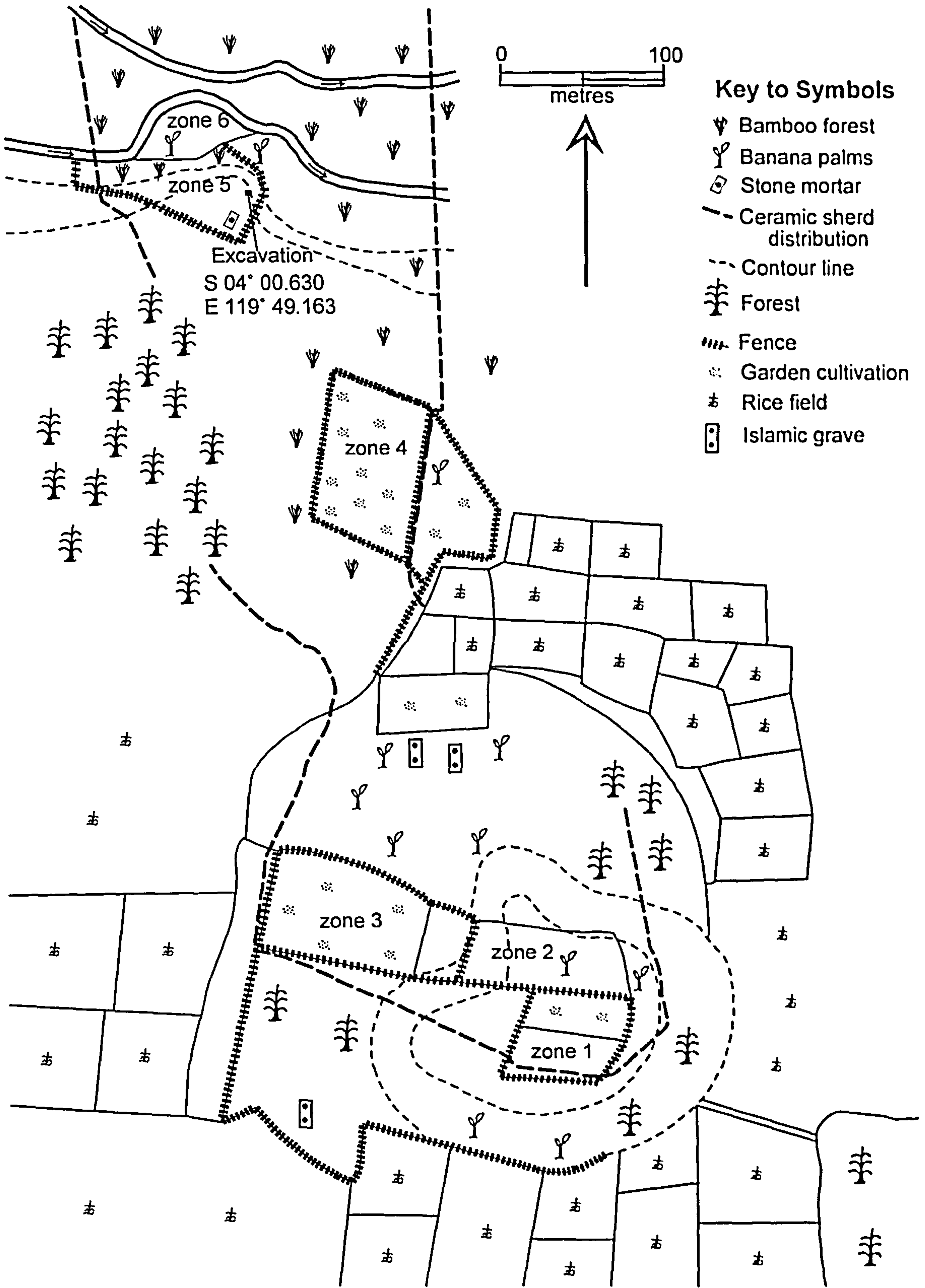


Figure B-26: Wéngeng site map

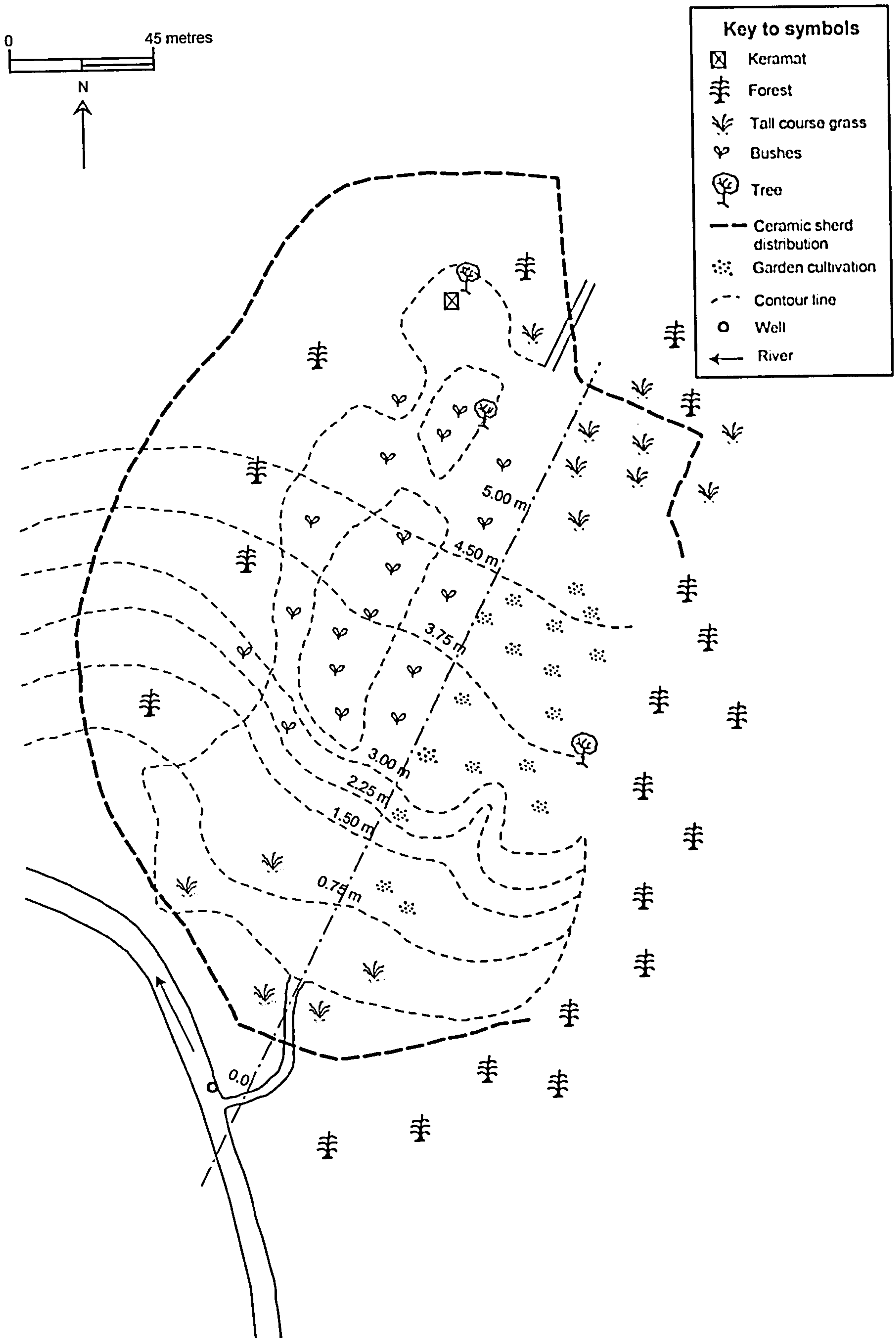


Figure B-27: BÉlokka site map

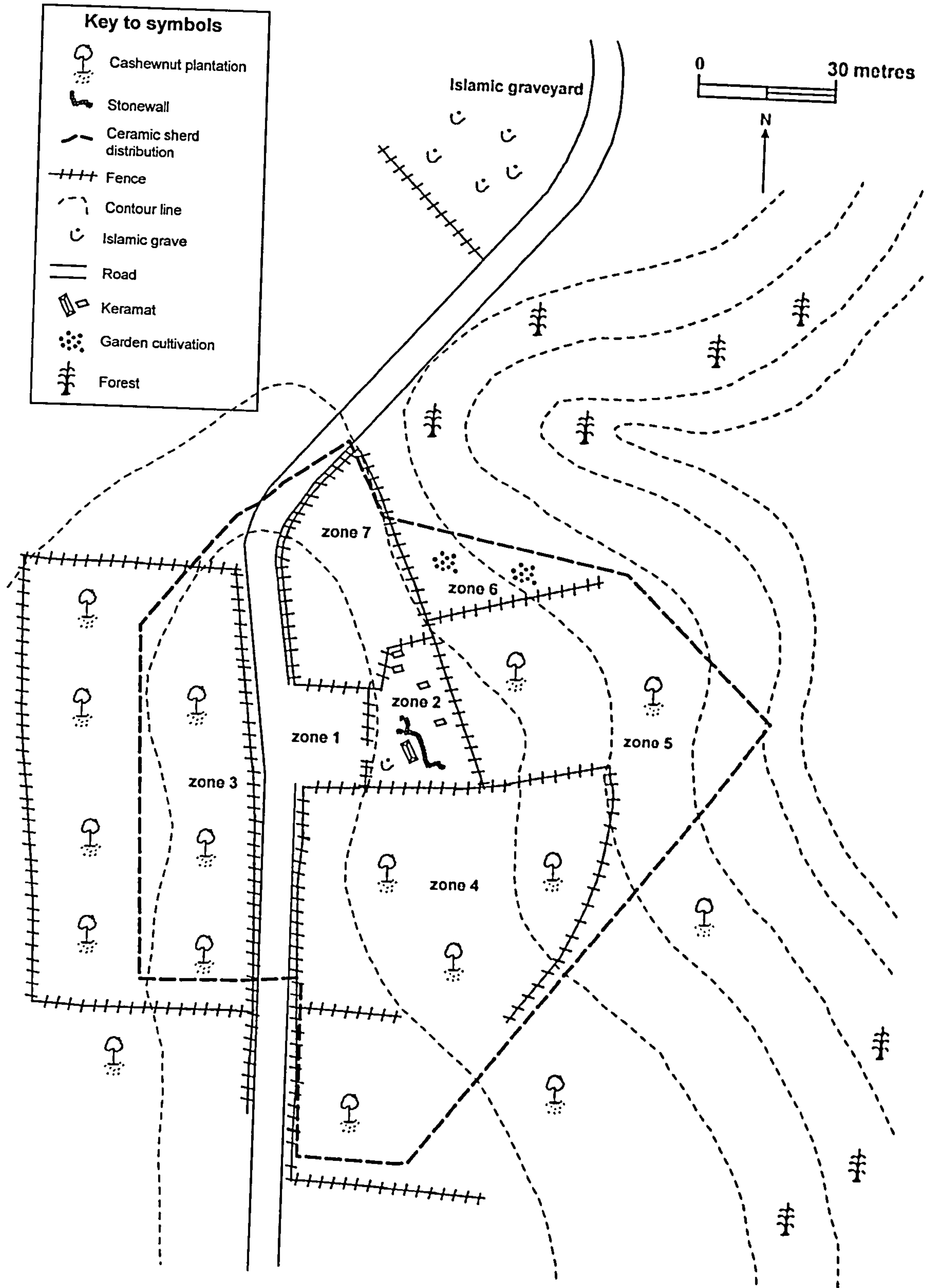


Figure B-28: Loloang site map

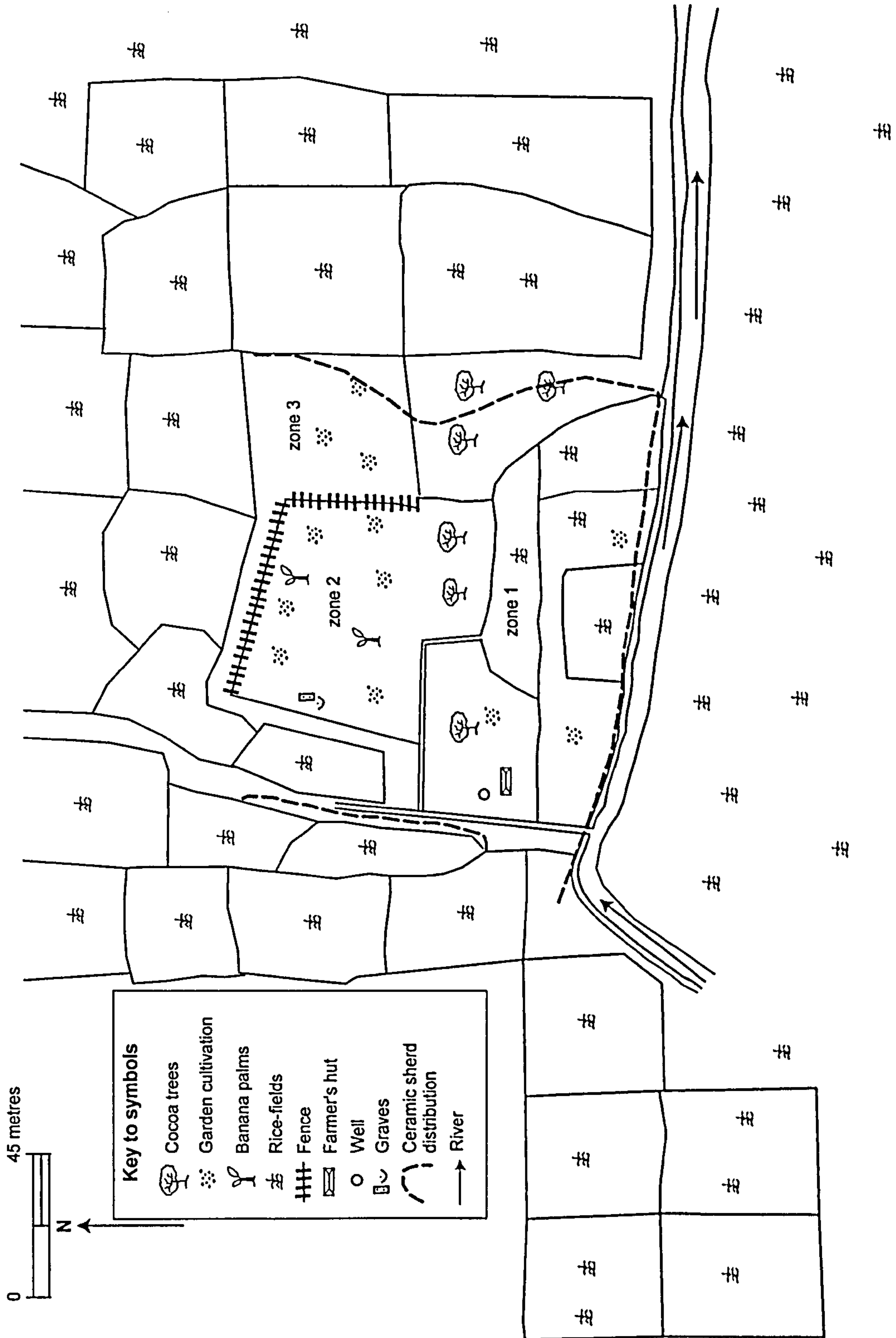
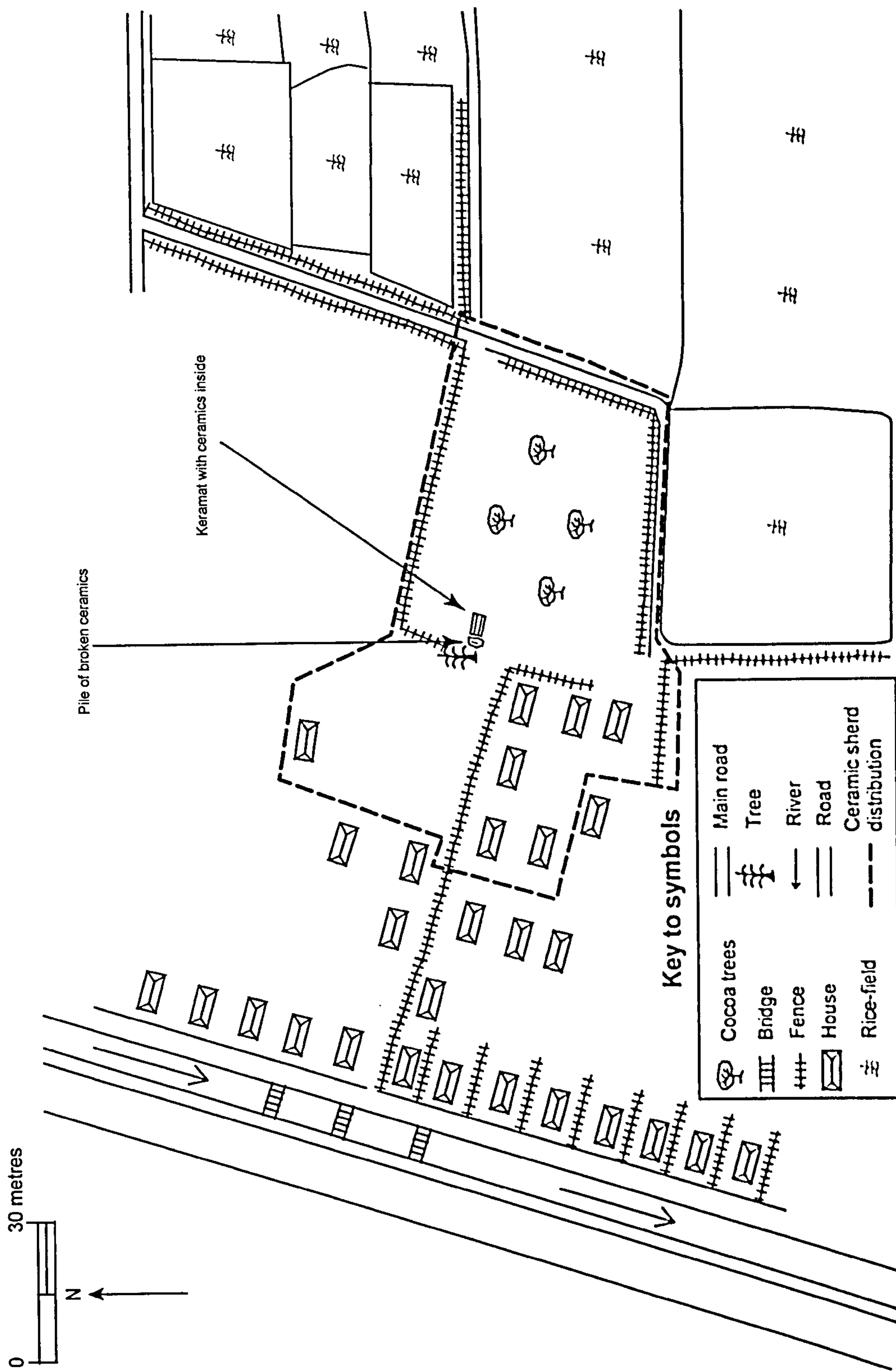


Figure B-29: Sumpang Saddang site map



Figure B-30: Bulu site map



Appendix C

Transliterations and translations of *lontaraq* texts¹

C.1: La Botilangiq tradition²

C.1.1: 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 / Sappé Walié / nainappana / Ilao ri Mario / mmo[n]ro maqbawiné / siala arung Mario / najajianni / We Tappatana /

C.2: The Attoriolong Suppaq and Sawitto³

C.2.1: Transliteration

pannessaengngi attoriolongngé ri Suppaq ri Sawitto riwettu marajana mupa toha / nalaona puwattaq Makaraié / nasitana karaéngngé ri Gowa riasengngé Toripalangga⁴ / 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 Turipalangga⁵ / madécéngngiq / maqbaiseng / séajing / baraq kuammengngi / nasséajing / tanaé ri Suppaq ri Mangkasa / kkadoni / Makaraié / ri wanuwanna ri Suppaq / massuroni / karaéngngé mpawa / pattuméya / napasiottonni /

¹ Transliterations in Appendix C follow each text's own division into 'sections'. Manuscript page-breaks are marked in the text.

² From ANRIM 50 / 10 p. 53.

³ From ANRIM 76 / 19 p. 157-160.

⁴ Toripalangga read Tunipalangga.

⁵ Toripalangga read Tunipalangga.

pango[n]rowang / ritamani / nalani alé [m]purena / 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
 Palétéyangngé ri Sawitto makkeda / oé sellao / idiqsi pasialai anaqtaq / nakkalépu /
 Suppaq-Sawitto / riagina Mangkasaé te[n]rissengngé / ru[m]pu apinna / makkedai
 Makaraié / agana ripoadangngi / karaéngngé / makkedai Palétéangngé / 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 / anaqkuq 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 / natallé / 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 /
 riellauni 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 / riaja / séuwwa
 Sawitto rilau / te[n]ritawi anaqé / temmapuéq bulo / aleqbirengngé / tessiparettékeng
 bessi / aga rimususi Boné / ri karaéngngé / ribétasi toBoné / maruttussi Ilaos Sawitto /
 massappasi / karaéngngé / ri Sawitto / manuq-manuq ripaluttuna / napoadasi uluadanna
 Sawitto / uluada makkedaé / séuwwa Boné wuraiq / séuwwa Sawitto / alau / te[n]ritawa
 / anaqé / temmapueq bulo tanaé / tessiparettékeng bessi / luttusi karaéngngé /
 passappana / manuq-manuq ripaluttuna / aga massappani karaéngngé / nayi passappana
 / karaéngngé / passappa / pappédécémua /

naengkalingani / toBoné / décéngngé mua / passappana / karaéngngé / napaubbani
 toBoné / La Pa[n]cai / risuroni To Atuju / Ilaos mmalai / makkedai karaéngngé / oé suro /
 Ilaos mualai anaqmu / Ilaos 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 Ilaos ri Boné / Sawitto napoléi / Boné Ilaos 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-ppulungngi /
 toSawittoé / matauq mopi tauwwé / tasséa-séa mupi / aga risurosi suroé Ilaos 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 / nariléléna riala jowa / riala liseq bola / me[n]réqni / ri Alapanci⁶ / maélo sallo-salloi / karaéngngé / rékkuwa sisala wi[n]runa / adakkuq / aga lattuqni ri Mangkasa/ mé [n]réqni ri karaéngngé / rita[m]painsi ttudang / ri karaéngngé /

aga muengkang (page 160) aqdatuwang Sawitto / engka mupa maélo upoda / makkedai / aqdatuwang Sawitto / engka mupa maélo upoda / makkedai karaéngngé / aga mumaelo mupoda / makkedai aqdatuwang Sawitto / yina uwéllau / karaéng / temmutikkengngé manuq-manuqkuq / tenri ottié / ittellokuq / 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 / yinagatu nattarataq / 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

C.3: The fate of Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata⁷

C3.1: Transliteration

yinaé / sureq pannelsaengngi petta Wé La[m]pé Wéluaq / riattakkarena ri karaéngngé ri Gowa / riasengngé Tonipallangga / siqdimi isinna ri wawoé siqdi toi isi ri yawaé / pada laleppi ajué nariala takkéna / ri aqdatuwangngé ri Sawitto / riasengngé La Cellaq

⁶ Alapanci read La Pancai.

⁷ From ANRIM 30 / 16 p. 116.

Mata mécaiq karaéngngé ri Gowa / ritérini Suppaq / Sawitto / riru[m]paqni / rialani petta Wé La[m]pé Wéluaq / ri karaéngngé / ri Gowa / naripiqjana / ritikkenni lakkainna ri karaéngngé / ri Gowa nariappanréang asu balambangeng / makkoniro kisappai / asu balambangengngé / kiatuwo / aga nariaseng puwattaq déqé gocinna apaq okkoniro ri babuwana asuwé makkuburuq //

C.4: Haji Paewa's tradition⁸

C.4.1: Transliteration

nengkatoniro manganro karaéngngé ri Gowa riyasengngé 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 passiunona Sawitto \ nadéq naullé⁹ passiunona 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 karaéngngé \ madécéngngi narékko naowangiwi karaéngngé bé[n]ténna toSawittoé \ aga naténa paimeng karaéngngé nanoriwi Sawitto naparilopiyangngi owang \ naia lettuqna ri Sawitto narapina tenga beni (page 12) wenni pasa Sawitto nassuro karaéngngé ma[m]poriwi owang olona bé[n]ténna toSawittoé \ innappa pada lisuno parimeng no ri lopinna Mangkasaé \ napada laloni tauwé lao ri pasaé naléppanna mappulung owang \ apaq maéloqi llaq maqbalanca \ gangkanna mau bé[n]téngngé naruttung tona \ nalappana bé[n]téngngé \ nadéqto tau liseqna bé[n]téngngé apaq pada laoni balancai owanna \ namau Toléngo sibawa Tokippang lao toni ri passaé napaissenna Mangkasaé makkeda loqbanni bé[n]ténna Mangkasaé toSawittoé \ puratoni napalappa \ massuroni karaéngngé ménréq tamaiwi \ mattreruni Mangkasaé ménréq ri laleng bé[n]téng

⁸ Form HP p. 11-13.

⁹ Naullé read naulléi.

nalalingngi aqdatuwatta ri Sawitto nabawai lao manai silaowang karaéngngé naripancajina paliliq bessi ritunruwana Gowa Sawitto \ naia lisunna Toléngo sibawa Tokippang polé ri passaé \ déqni aqdatuwatta napoléi \ apaq purani rilaling ri karaéngngé \ aga 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 agaro 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 maqdissenna 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 puwanna \ ianaro Pinra-pinraé matterru makkokkowé riaseng Pinrang \ natiwini massala puwanna 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 madising-disinana 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 puwanna \ napattamai arung paimeng \ ianaro naonroyé mallékkeq toSawittoé riyaseng Mallékana \ naia madodonnana aqdatuwatta nappasengngni makkeda \ pasiasengngaq onrongngé baraq engka muwa uwala passompung sungeq lattuq ri wija-eijakku \ naengka nala tanra anréngngerrangeng \

C.5: The ruler lists of Rappang and Alitta¹⁰

C.5.1 Transliteration

Rappang

1. Barelaié
2. Wé Maqdupa
3. Wé Makapupumalangkanaé
4. La Pakolongi
5. Wé Dakauwu

Alitta

1. La Gojéq
2. Wé Celloq
3. La Masora

¹⁰ Both lists are from ANRIM 5 / 7 P. 32.

C.6: The lasigalung tradition¹¹

C6.1: Transliteration

Passaleng / pannaesaéngngi / asenna / baté lo[m]poé / ri Suppaq / lasigalung / asenna / baté lo[m]poqé ri Suppaq / eppa ajéna / nayi / ri wettu / marajana mutopasa / Suppaq / Sawitto / yina mmalai / seqbukkatinna / Léworeng / soroni / temmaulléna / lasigalung / yinatu mmalai / seqbukkatinna / Lémó-lémó / Bulu Kapa / soroseggi / temmarullena / lasigalung / yitona mmalai / seqbukhati/ Bonto-bonto / Bantaéng / Sigeri / Passokkoreng / soroseng temmarulléna lasigalung / nasalai maneng tanaé paréntana / nayi dareqé / yina panré bolana/ panré lopinna yina ppinrui soéna gading ri Sunga¹² / lopinna l lapéwaja ri Parengki¹³ asenna / lapéniki ri Lowang asenna lopié / yitopa ppi[n]rui langkanaé ri Suppaq / LaMa[n]capai ri Sawitto / asenna salassana / wennang riyalangngi paqbintaq¹⁴ panganganna LaMa[n]capai silaong langkanaé ri Suppaq / Nariléle wennangngé gangkanna Lémó-lémó lalo manaiq ri Bulu kupa¹⁵ gangkanna Léworeng / lalo muttamaq gangkanna Baroko / lalo muttamaq ri bulué ri Toraja / gangkanna Mamuju lalo manoq / na menreqéna mmusui Kaili / Kali / Toli[-toli] / aga na idiqna potanai makkasésénna / Luwuq gangkanna Tamala / Toli[-toli] /

C.6.2 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 *seqbukhati* from Léworeng. When the kingdom declined, *lasigalung* became weak. It was also [*lasigalung*] that took *seqbukhati* from Lémó-lémó, Bulu Kapa. Later *lasigalung* became weak. It was also [*lasigalung*] that took *seqbukhati* from Bonto-bonto, Bantaeng, Ségiri and Passokkoreng. Later *lasigalung* became weak and

¹¹ From ANRIM 60 / 7 p. 40.

¹² Sunga read Suppaq.

¹³ Parengki read Perangki.

¹⁴ Paqbintaq, from bintaq (pirateship). The word is meaningless in the present sentence and omitted from the translation.

¹⁵ Bulu Kupa read Bulu Kapa. An alternative reading is Buluku[m]pa.

left all the lands that it had once ordered.¹⁶ 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 Parengki, the boat called Lapéniki in Lowang.¹⁷ 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 area. In Tamala and Toli-toli a border was established with Luwuq.

C.7: The second lasigalung tradition¹⁸

C.7.1 Transliteration

Ianaé / sureq poadadaéngngi / baté / ri Suppaq / riolo / laségalung¹⁹ / 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 /

C.7.2: 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].

¹⁶ Ordered, from *perintaq* (to order).

¹⁷ Perhaps Loloang.

¹⁸ From ANRIM 50 / 10 p. 52.

¹⁹ Laségalung; read lasigalung.

C.8: Mandar craftsmen in Ajattappareng²⁰

C.8.1: 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 Parengki²¹ / 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 Rappeng²² / sawolocié / ri
 Sidé[n]réng / nai sabaqna nariaseng / langkanaé / ri Suppaq / lamalakka / alliri maliq /
 polé ri Malaka / nakua ssoré ri Ujung Lero / napannippiyangngi / aléna / nalaona /
 toSuppaqé / mmalai / nangka séngona / paleppéng / silaong paq / narialana posi
 langkanaé / ri Suppaq / tammat

8.2: 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.

²⁰ From ANRIM 50/10 p. 52.

²¹ Parengki read Perangki.

²² The modern spelling of Rappang follows in the translation.

Figure D-2: 1759 French map



Figure D-3: Late eighteenth century Dutch map

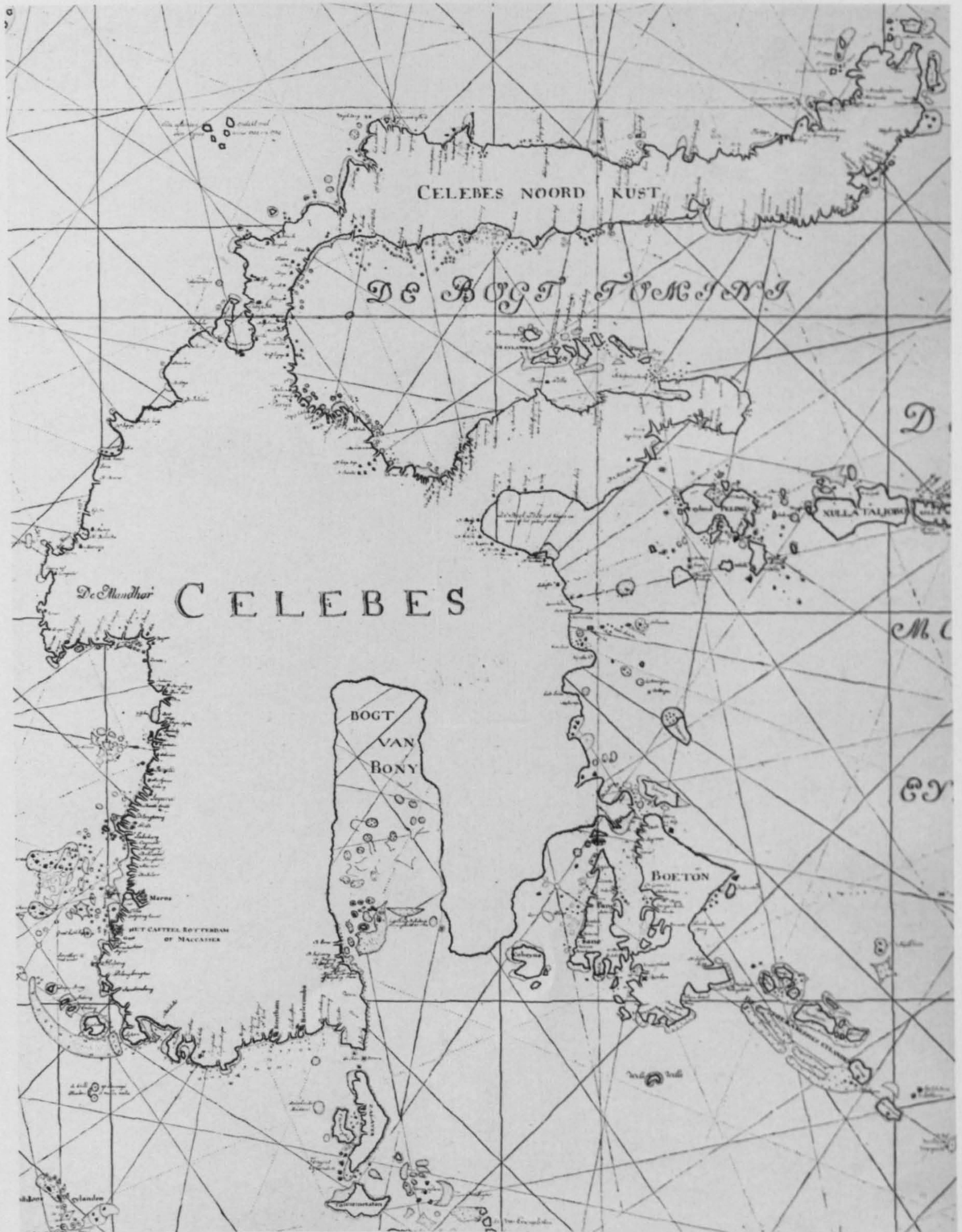


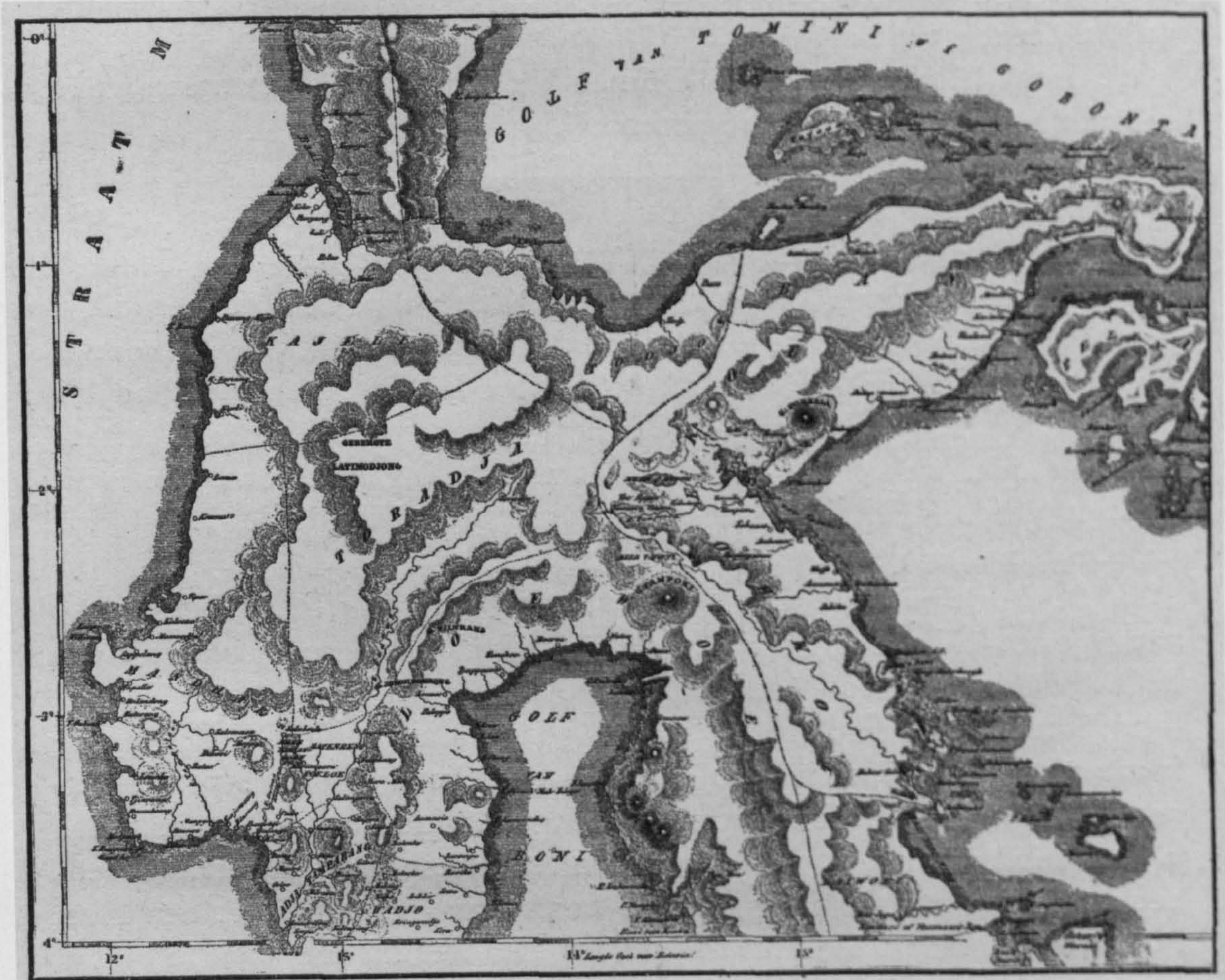
Figure D-4: 1842 Dutch map



Figure D-5: 1848 Dutch map

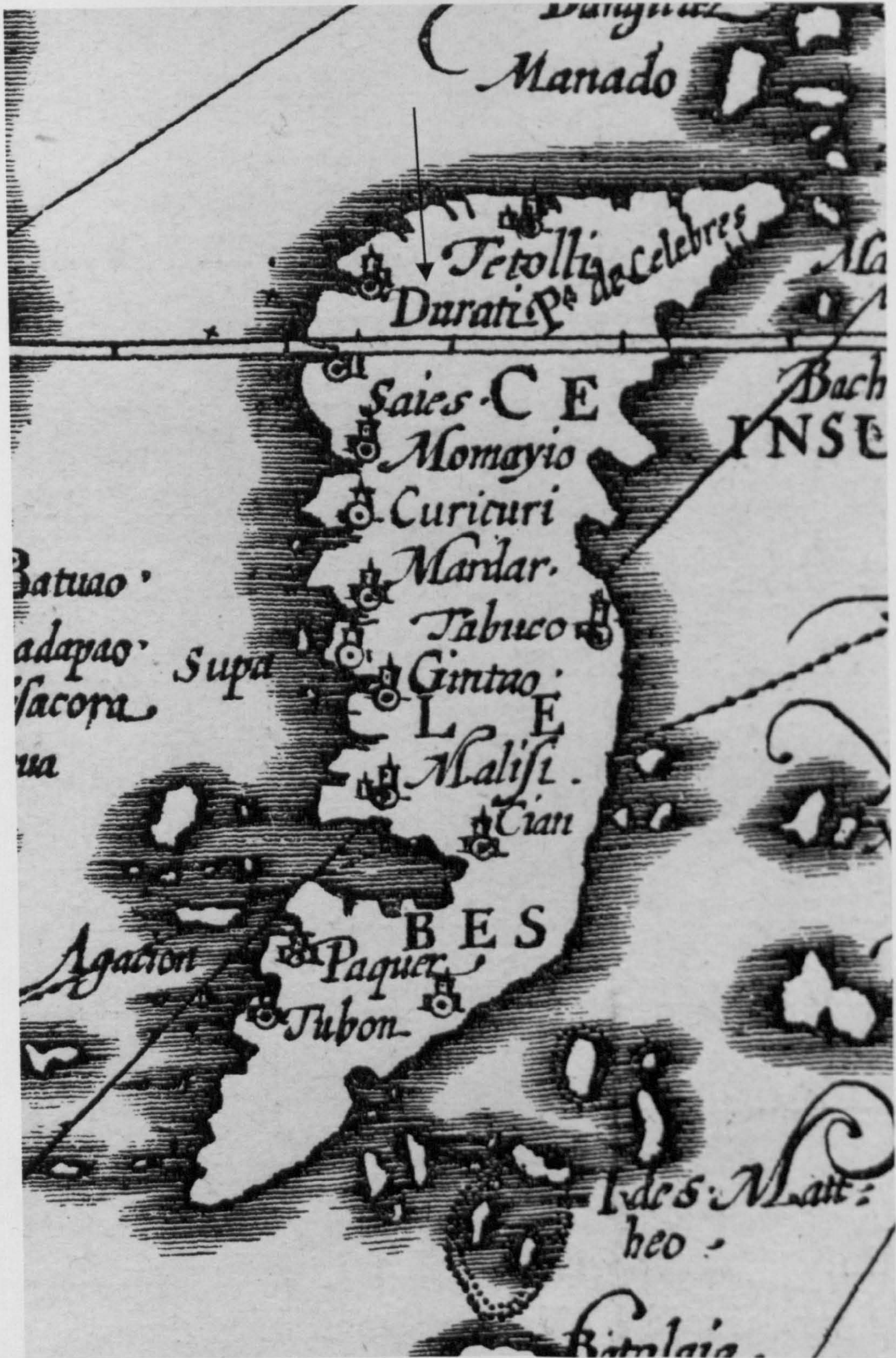


Figure D-6: 1854 Dutch map



Appendix E
 Four European maps showing Durate¹

Figure E-1: 1611 Portuguese map



¹ The four maps in Appendix E are adapted from Abendanon (1917-18: figure 116, 117, 118, 120).

Figure E-2: 1619 Dutch map

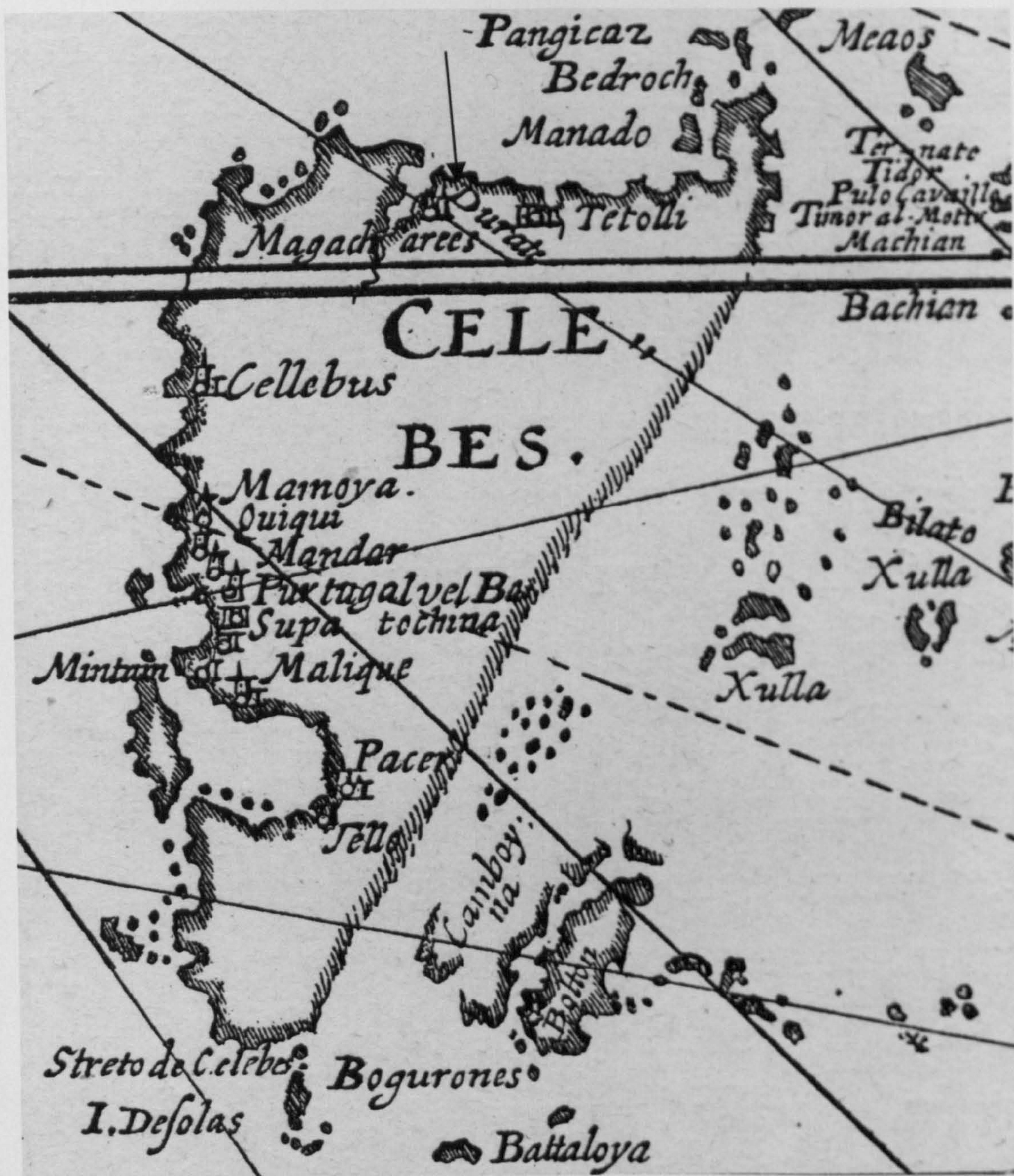
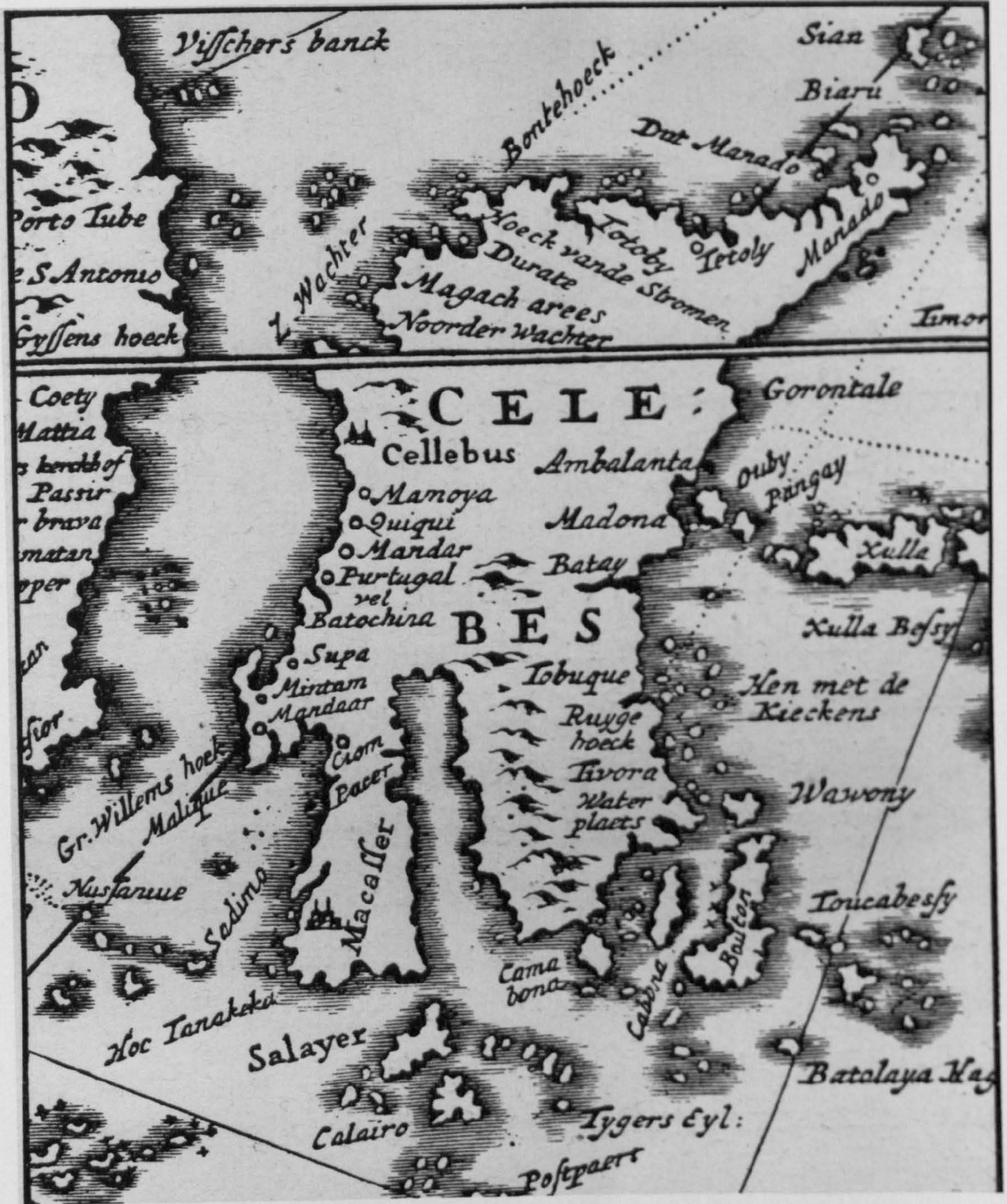


Figure E-4: 1670 Dutch map



Appendix F
Photographs



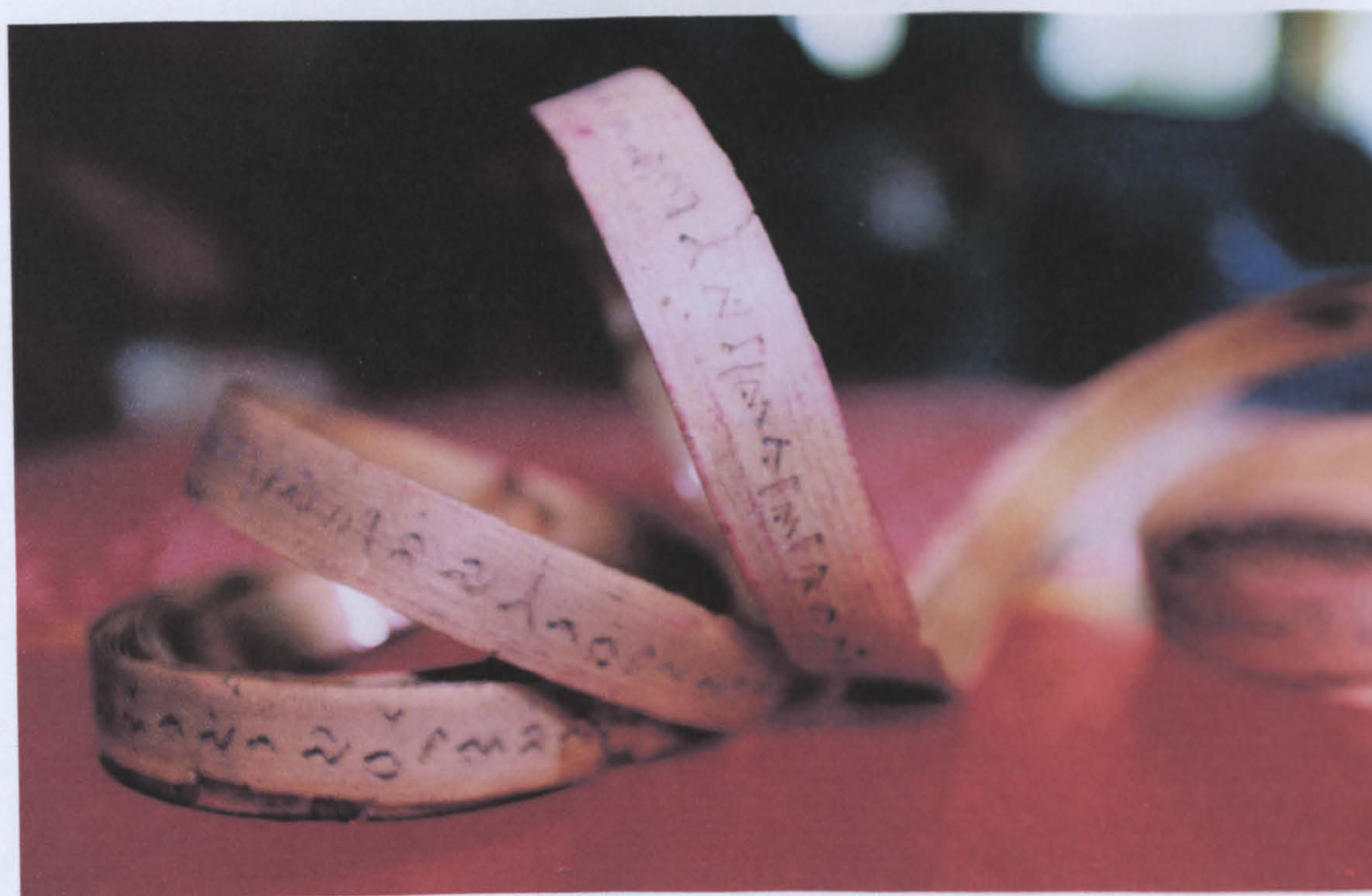
(1) Broken martavan at Bulu, *kabupaten* Pinrang



(2) Broken martavan containing cremated human remains at Bulu, *kabupaten* Pinrang



(3) Haji Abu Bakar (left) and Abdul Kadir with the palm-leaf *lontaraq* Balusu



(4) The *lontaraq* Balusu



(5) Palm-leaf *lontaraq* from Padakalawa, *kabupaten* Pinrang



(6) Partially exposed *martavan* containing cremated human remains, Malimpung, *kabupaten* Pinrang



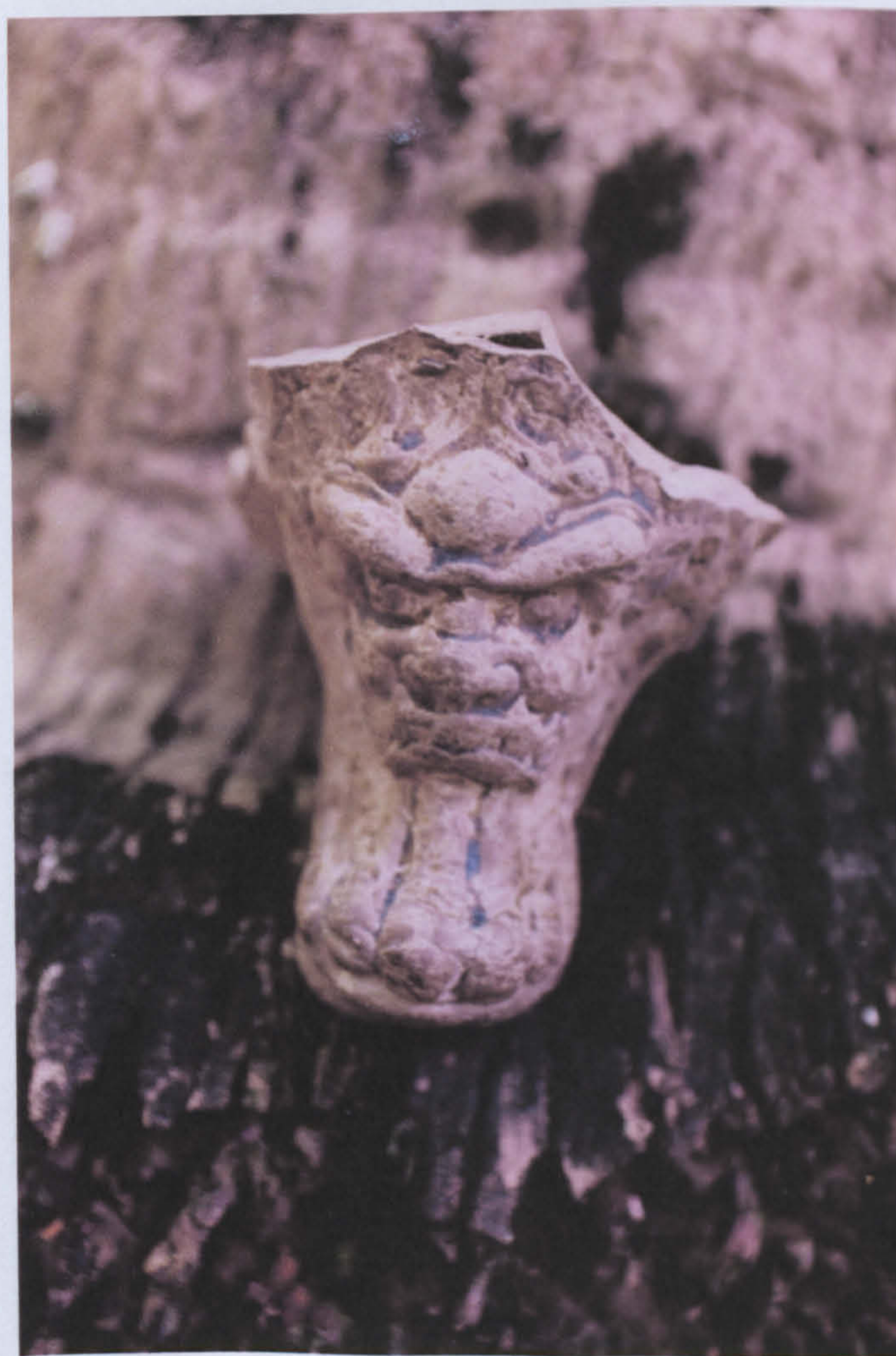
(7) The channel between Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng (September, end of dry season)



(8) The modern-day port of Suppaq



(9) The old Saddang-Sawitto river bed, Sekkang, *kabupaten* Pinrang



(10) Foot from a fourteenth century Yuan incense burner, found at Loloang, *kabupaten* Pinrang



(11) The *baruga* of a Sawitto noble, reminiscent of a Toraja *tongkonan*, Matiro Bulu, Pinrang



(12) Lawaramparang, Suppaq



(13) Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese sherds found at Puang Pitué, Manuba



(14) Dehua sherds found in the Watang Sidénréng survey



(15) Yuan martavan sherds found in the Watang Sidénréng survey



(16) Ming Sancai sherds found in the Alitta survey



(17) Jizhou sherds found in the B elokka survey



(18) Vietnamese sherds found in the Guci e survey



(19) The survey team at Makaraié



(20) Loloang



(21) Tonrong Peppingé



(22) Wéngeng



(23) *Keramat* at Bila



(24) Where the *tomanurung* of Kadokkong are believed to have descended



(25) The grave of Matjina, Cempa



(26) Kalémpang, northern Sidrap



(27a) The bed of Alitta's former lake



(27b) The bed of Alitta's former lake

Appendix G

List of Informants

- I.1 Abas
Age: 66
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.2 Abdul Badu
Age: 69
Place: *kecamatan*. Pitu riase, Sidrap
- I.3 Abdul Hane
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.4 Abdulah Anin
Age: 47
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.5 Abdul Samat
Age: 67
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.6. Abunawas
Age: 36
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.7 Alimuddin Sakta
Age: 36
Place: *kecamatan* Matirobulu, Pinrang
- I.8 Amad Singka
Age: late 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.9 Ambo Muli
Age: 65
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompas, Pinrang
- I.10 Andi Ansarullah
Age: 51
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.11. Andi Azas
Age: 54
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompas, Pinrang
- I.12 Andi Lapatau
Age: 56
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang

- I.13 Andi Sulaiman bin Mappangara
Age: 68
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.14 Andi Tolla
Age: 41
Place: *kecamatan* Maritengae, Sidrap
- I.15 Andi Wahid
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Maiwa, Enrekang
- I.16 Andi Wawo
Age: 68
Place: *kecamatan* Kulo, Sidrap
- I.17. Baddu
Age: late 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.18 Baharuddin
Age: 46
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sempa, Pinrang
- I.19 Bahrir Haffid
Age: 45
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.20. Bukkapuanna Madiwa
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.21 Dalle Pegala
Age: 53
Place: *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.22 Drs Haji M. Tahir Mangopo
Age: 68
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.23 Dullah
Age: 72
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.24 Enge
Age: 48
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusitasi, Barru
- I.25 Ferdos
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusitasi, Barru
- I.26 Gode
Age: 71
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang

- I.27 Halim Baco
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.28 Haji Abu Bakar
Age: 63
Place: *kecamatan* Soppeng Riaja, Barru
- I.29 Haji Abdul
Age: 58
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.30 Haji Akas
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.31 Haji Andi Padu
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.32 Haji Assan
Age: 61
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Pulu, Sidrap
- I.33 Haji Bakkarang
Age: late 70s to early 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.34 Haji Kanbolong
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.35 Haji Lahdahin
Age: 56
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riawa, Sidrap
- I.36 Haji Muhammad Adam
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Panca Lautang, Sidrap
- I.37 Haji Pale Sida
Age: 75
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.38 Haji Palemari
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.39 Haji Patimang Hamzah
Age: 67
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.40 Haji Paweroi
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompas, Pinrang

- I.41 Haji Puang Pasebo
Age: late 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.42 Haji Saharuddin
Age: early 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompā, Pinrang
- I.43 I Tangnga
Age: 65
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompā, Pinrang
- I.44 I Tasebbe
Age: early 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.45 I Cabe
Age: early 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.46 Jamaluddin P.
Age: 59
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.47 Joharni Badu
Age: 33
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riase, Sidrap
- I.48 Karman
Age: 47
Place: *kecamatan* Soppeng Riaja, Barru
- I.49 Kartini
Age: 43
Place: *kecamatan* Sidenreng, Sidrap
- I.50 Kepala Desa Kaluppang
Age: late 50s
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.51 La Banna
Age: 85
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riawa, Sidrap
- I.52 La Comma
Age: 72
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.53 La Huda
Age: mid to late 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.54 La Mueleng
Age: 88
Place: *kecamatan* Soppeng Riaja, Barru

- I.55 La Pasondrong
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.56 La Pole
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.57 La Sidde
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Tellu Limpoe, Sidrap
- I.58 La Sidde
Age: 65
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.59 La Tanda
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.60 La Toha
Age: 67
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.61. Lahaming
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.62 Langulu
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.63 Lauddini
Age: late 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompā, Pinrang
- I.64 Wasnawi
Age: 73
Place: *kecamatan* Panca Lautang, Sidrap
- I.65 Maesar
Age: 50s
Place: *kecamatan* Patampanua, Sidrap
- I.66 Mahkmud
Age: late 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Sompā, Pinrang
- I.67 Manggoro bin Nambu
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.68 Mappaturisi
Age: 66
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang

- I.69 Marwia
Age: 45
Place: *kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.70 Muhammad Arif
Age: 65
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.71 Muhammad Fisel
Age: 66
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.72. Muhammad Jafar
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Duampanua, Pinrang
- I.73 Muhammad Saenong
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.74 Muhammad Saleikhlis
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riase, Sidrap
- I.75 Muhammad Said bin Palantei
Age: late 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.76 Muhammad Tajuddin
Age: 58
Place: *kecamatan* Baranti, Sidrap
- I.77 Muhlis Hadrawi
Age: 37
Place: Makassar
- I.77 Muhtar
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.78 Mustafa Syah
Age: 64
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.79 Mustari
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.80 Musliman
Age: 55
Place: *kecamatan* Matiro Bulu, Pinrang
- I.81 Nande
Age: 51
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang

- I.81 Pappatari
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.82 Paritta
Age: 66
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.83 Patta Padu
Age: 61
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riase, Sidrap
- I.84 Patudai
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- I.85 Petta Andi Wanrang
Age: 66
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.86 Puang Muhammad
Age: 60s
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang
- I.87 Pumundek
Age: late 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Cempa, Pinrang
- I.88 Puwattiro
Age: 57
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang
- I.89 Sada Bagenda
Age: late 80s to early 90s
Place: *kecamatan* Patampanua, Pinrang
- I.90 Samsuddin
Age: 48
Place: *Kecamatan* Mallusetasi, Barru
- I.91 Sirajuddin
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Mmatiro Sempa, Pinrang
- I.92 Tanre
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Pitu Riase, Sidrap
- I.93 To Aha
Age: 61
Place: *kecamatan* Maiwa, Enrekang
- I.94 Umar
Age: 31
Place: *kecamatan* Lembang, Pinrang

- 1.95 Wa Badula
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Tellu Limpoe, Sidrap
- 1.96 Wa Pasi
Age: 80s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- 1.97 Ye Bidding
Age: 70s
Place: *kecamatan* Watang Sawitto, Pinrang
- 1.98 Zainuddin Jafar
Age: 63
Place: *kecamatan* Suppa, Pinrang

Glossary

<i>Ajattappareng</i>	['the lands] west of the lakes' (B.)
<i>anabranh</i>	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	The Makassar archaeological office
<i>baruga</i>	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
<i>bissu</i>	transvestite ritual specialist (B.)
<i>bunduq kasallannganna</i>	Islamic wars (M.)
<i>bupati</i>	district officer
<i>camat</i>	subdistrict officer
<i>daéng</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 comprising several <i>kampung</i>
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 Goa or nobles of Makasar
<i>kecamatan</i>	district; 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>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
<i>lontar</i>	palm-leaf

Makasar	ethnic group living in southwest South Sulawesi; their language
Makassar	capital of South Sulawesi, formerly Ujung Pandang
martavan	large jar
<i>matinroe ri</i>	'He who lies at [x]'
<i>matoa</i>	traditional title for head of a village; elders (B.)
<i>mappaliliq</i>	agricultural rites performed before ploughing the rice-fields
Ming	Chinese dynasty 1368-1644
<i>musuq selleng</i>	Islamic wars (B.)
<i>mayat kering</i>	dried corpse
<i>naponoqé 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 lifetime
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>pattodioloang</i>	written Mandar traditions concerning the people of former times
<i>patturioloang</i>	written Makasar traditions concerning the people of former times
<i>palontaraq</i>	person skilled in reading, writing and understanding Bugis and Makasar manuscripts (B., M.)
<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>sinriliq</i>	poem, often based on historical events (M.)
<i>siriq</i>	self-worth, shame, dignity (concept found among all ethnic groups that speak South Sulawesi languages)
<i>sirih</i>	betel nut prepared for chewing with areca-nut, gambier and lime
<i>suro</i>	messenger (B., M.)

<i>tellumpoccoé</i>	refers to an alliance between the kingdoms of Boné, Soppéng and Wajoq in 1582
<i>toloq</i>	poem, often based on historical events (B.)
<i>tongkonan</i>	Origin house of Toraja nobles (TS.)
<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>totompoq</i>	‘he or she who ascends [from the Uderworld]’, a term applied to the founding rulers of kingdoms
<i>tumanurung</i>	Makasar spelling of <i>tomanurung</i> (above)
<i>wanua</i>	smaller areas of territorial and political unit, each having its own self-governing body
Wanli	Chinese ruler 1573-1620
Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan	South Sulawesi Institute of Culture
Yuan	Chinese dynasty 1279-1368

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