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**The Early History of South Sulawesi:**

**Some Recent Advances**

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## Introduction

Southeast Asian history has long attracted theoreticians and modellers. Often, especially in the description of its earlier stages, a few scraps of evidence have served to support a heavy weight of surmise in accordance with one or another model. In a paper reviewing the various theoretical positions from which the study of early Java has recently been conducted, Jan Wisseman Christie concludes:

These schisms [between different schools of thought], divisive as they may be, do at least draw attention to the need for further research, and to the more fundamental and potentially damaging division which has developed within the field between specialists who have access to the primary data relating to the period under study and those who have been in the forefront of theoretical discussion, but who lack either direct access to the epigraphic and archaeological data or adequate secondary material which presents and discusses that body of data. The result has been a disjunction between data and theory, and the fault lies with us all. We need new models, based upon closer study and more active discussion of the available data.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation is a useful point of departure for a discussion of what has been learned over the last few years about South Sulawesi and its peoples in the period before about A.D. 1600. Our knowledge, in the sense of information generally available to international scholars, began from a low base. D.G.E. Hall's *History of South-East Asia* is justly regarded as a comprehensive and remarkably inclusive survey, yet there is no mention, even in the fourth edition of 1981, of the material with which we are concerned in this paper. 'Celebes' is first mentioned as the home of some of those groups preserving features of older cultural 'waves',<sup>2</sup> and Hall returns to the area only to mention the Portuguese interest in the sixteenth century and by his account that was chiefly in North Sulawesi—before describing the adoption of Islam and the arrival of Dutch and English traders in the early seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

In 1955, the same year as the first edition of Hall's *History* appeared, J. Noorduyn's edition of an eighteenth century chronicle of Wajo' was also published and this has, in many ways, laid the foundation for much that has followed.<sup>4</sup> Ironically in some ways, the least fruitful of Noorduyn's achievements in the short term was providing a transliterated Bugis text with Dutch translation; more significant for the future were his grammatical sketch of the language and guidance into the exceedingly complex manuscript tradition. He also began the task of relating his text to other Bugis and Makasar materials, as well as to the Dutch sources for later periods. He concludes his discussion of the earliest period covered in his materials—the events concerned with the 'foundation' of Wajo' which we may assign very roughly to the fifteenth century—with the following disclaimer:

The historical value of the accounts of the period described here is reduced by the lack of any data by which we may control our judgement. We can go no further than remark on a certain intrinsic probability of some general features. This applies also, though to a somewhat lesser degree, to the following period [of the sixteenth century] as well.<sup>5</sup>

Today we have begun to meet the requirements of both Christie and Noorduyn. Archaeology, especially the systematic study of ceramics imported from mainland Asia, has provided data with which we may independently check and confirm the 'intrinsic probability' of the indigenous sources, while broader prehistoric 'models', combined with insights gained from new ethnographic descriptions, allow us to interpret a wealth of new data.

My purpose in this paper is to lay out the main lines of these new interpretations in order to give those outside the field some idea of what has been achieved. The references in the footnotes give some idea of the diversity of scholars, both Indonesian and international, who have made their contributions, though this is not a bibliographical essay and the selection of issues and publications reflects, to some extent, my own assessment of significance to the subject. Two of the most important sources require special comment: the

theses of Ian Caldwell and David Bulbeck share the merit of many doctoral theses in providing a mass of data, carefully written up, in support of the arguments advanced. It is to be hoped that these major works will rapidly be published in a form more readily accessible to other scholars. Though I can lay claim to a close involvement with both theses, they remain the very substantial achievement of their authors to whom I am most grateful for permission to use so much of their material.<sup>6</sup>

While a major lesson of the research described here is the need to work with a variety of forms of evidence, the clearest structure for the following discussion is primarily in terms of the materials of study. Prehistoric archaeology and comparative linguistics supply evidence for understanding the prehistoric background. The indigenous written sources are then addressed before describing the results of field surveys directed towards the systematic recovery of historical sites. Historical archaeology, chiefly based on imported ceramics and the remains of fortifications, corrects and amplifies previously accepted visual evidence in a remarkable way. Recent research concerned with the extraordinary I La Galigo literary corpus has, for the first time, provided some evidence for understanding the nature and origin of this material. I present some new ideas on these matters. Although great care is needed in the interpretation of the I La Galigo material and I tend to a somewhat cautious approach, some useful conclusions about the early history of the area can be advanced. Finally, I suggest, in broad outline, some of the events and processes which this new research in various fields brings into our vision.

## Prehistory

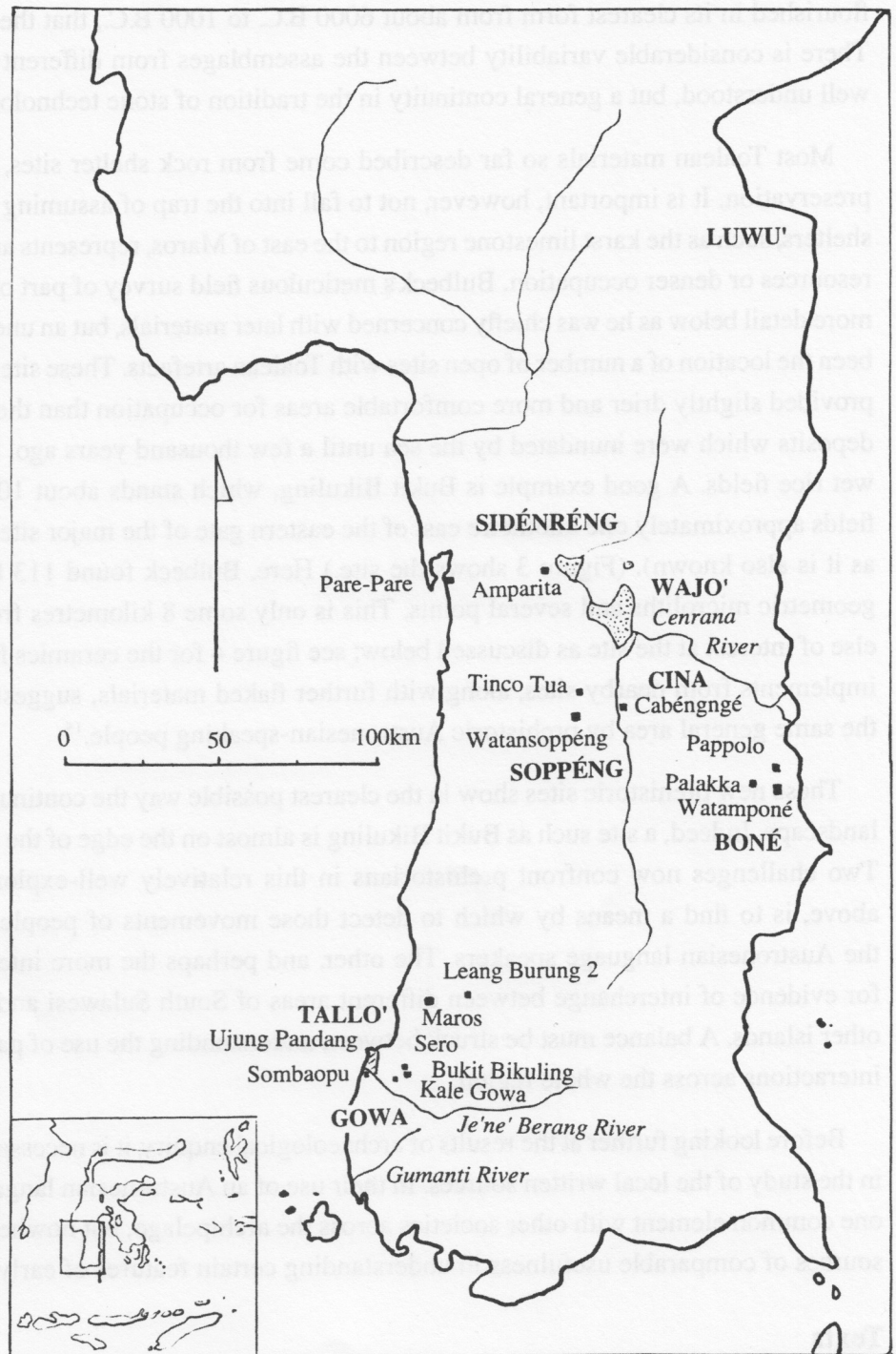
Our knowledge of the prehistoric background to the history of the Indonesian Archipelago has been radically transformed over the last decade or so. An appreciation of this new understanding is, in the most literal sense, fundamental to any study of the history of later periods. At the heart of this new synthesis is the movement, by about 3000 B.C., of people speaking Austronesian languages down through Taiwan and then the Philippines (and perhaps Micronesia) into the central part of the Archipelago; from here they spread out both to Sumatra, Java and eventually to Madagascar in the west and, in the east, through Melanesia to the furthest bounds of the Pacific.<sup>7</sup>

After the excesses of the past, today's prehistorians are rightly shy of invoking 'migration' as a common form of explanation, but this does seem to be a case in which some movement of people was involved. The human drama of individual moves and a full record of the causes of such movement will probably always remain beyond our knowledge. All we can do is sketch in a few major features. For example, it is clear that boats would have been needed to cross from one island to another and, indeed, once one accepts that these people had boats, then there is nothing to prevent relatively widespread and frequent contact between the sheltered coasts of all island Southeast Asia from this time on. The prevalence of terms relating to boats in reconstructions of early Austronesian languages comes as no surprise.<sup>8</sup> The fact of the relationship of these languages—and it is worth remembering that there must, in practice, always have been more than one—is in itself a feature that may have promoted trade and other forms of alliance.

This account of the prehistory of the region has two major consequences. Firstly, it provides a basis for comparative studies across most of the Archipelago and out into the Pacific. While the many similarities between societies in this area have long been recognized and the 'field of study' approach has had great empirical utility, it is now possible to provide an historical explanation for this.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, the relative recency of this process of expansion explains the cohesion of many of the cultural elements. The significance of ship symbolism, for example, is not a simple consequence of an archipelagic environment, but a reflection of specific circumstances. The most helpful model for understanding the role of very many cultural traits in these societies is to see them as transformations of one another through time and space.



As we shall see below in discussing the early historic period, an awareness of this prehistoric background is important not just in avoiding the confusion between the availability of various sorts of evidence and the origins of particular cultural or political forms, but also because it throws the emphasis on the interaction of various factors. I suggested above that common linguistic features may have promoted trade within the archipelago. This is only one possible linkage between language, or other cultural elements, and political, economic and religious change. In other words, we should look for the adaptive significance of the Austronesian languages or bilateral kinship or pottery making or ship building or weaving or the domestication of crops and animals or any other element that can be identified. Cultural transformations occur as a whole range of factors work together.



South Sulawesi lies right in the centre of the Archipelago

Figure 1. South Sulawesi, showing places mentioned in the paper

and all its indigenous languages are indisputably Austronesian.<sup>10</sup> Although the archaeology of the province is perhaps better understood than that of any other comparable area of Indonesia, it is still difficult to pick up the arrival of the speakers of these languages, even with all their associated cultural traits, in the archaeological record. This is hardly surprising. There were certainly people in Sulawesi before the Austronesian speakers arrived. The oldest firmly dated evidence at the moment comes from Glover's excavation of the Leang Burung 2 shelter near Maros. Here he uncovered stone tools very different from the relatively well-known Toalean material and with good radiocarbon dates ranging back into the Upper Pleistocene at about 30,000 years ago.<sup>11</sup> This industry is possibly similar to some of the stone material from the highly important sites at Cabénggé, where there appears to be even older evidence of human occupation.<sup>12</sup> However, whatever the date for the initial human occupation of the island, it was during the so-called Toalean period, which

flourished in its clearest form from about 6000 B.C. to 1000 B.C., that the Austronesian speakers arrived. There is considerable variability between the assemblages from different sites for reasons which are not well understood, but a general continuity in the tradition of stone technology is clear enough.<sup>13</sup>

Most Toalean materials so far described come from rock shelter sites, reflecting the circumstances of preservation. It is important, however, not to fall into the trap of assuming that an area with many suitable shelters, such as the karst limestone region to the east of Maros, represents an area of particularly favourable resources or denser occupation. Bulbeck's meticulous field survey of part of the Gowa plain is described in more detail below as he was chiefly concerned with later materials, but an unexpected bonus of the survey has been the location of a number of open sites with Toalean artefacts. These sites lie on low volcanic rises which provided slightly drier and more comfortable areas for occupation than the surrounding Holocene alluvial deposits which were inundated by the sea until a few thousand years ago, but now provide such excellent wet rice fields. A good example is Bukit Bikuling, which stands about 10 metres above the surrounding fields approximately one kilometre east of the eastern gate of the major site of Benteng Tua (or Kale Gowa as it is also known). (Figure 3 shows the site.) Here, Bulbeck found 113 flaked stone artefacts including geometric microliths and several points. This is only some 8 kilometres from the coast. (There was much else of interest at the site as discussed below; see figure 4 for the ceramics found.)<sup>14</sup> Several polished stone implements from nearby sites, along with further flaked materials, suggest somewhat later occupation of the same general area by prehistoric Austronesian-speaking people.<sup>15</sup>

These new prehistoric sites show in the clearest possible way the continuity of human occupation of this landscape. Indeed, a site such as Bukit Bikuling is almost on the edge of the modern city of Ujung Pandang. Two challenges now confront prehistorians in this relatively well-explored terrain. One, as suggested above, is to find a means by which to detect those movements of people associated with the arrival of the Austronesian language speakers. The other, and perhaps the more interesting and feasible, is to look for evidence of interchange between different areas of South Sulawesi and, even more significantly, with other islands. A balance must be struck between understanding the use of particular landscapes and tracing interactions across the whole region.

Before looking further at the results of archaeological enquiry, it is necessary to introduce recent advances in the study of the local written sources. In their use of an Austronesian language, of course, these represent one common element with other societies across the archipelago, but nowhere else, it seems, are there such sources of comparable usefulness in understanding certain features of early society.

## Texts

In 1969, on my first visit to South Sulawesi, I asked to see some of the manuscript materials in Bugis and Makasar of which I had already read. The collection of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara (Cultural Foundation for South and Southeast Sulawesi) was then housed in the provincial offices of the Department of Education and Culture and two members of the board of the foundation, Drs Abubakar Punagi and the late Abdurrahim, kindly showed me the collection and explained something of its history. The bulk of the material consisted of copies made in the 1930s of items then held in private hands. At that time, many noble families had owned manuscripts, sometimes relating in some way or another to particular areas or topics. The originals had been borrowed through the good offices and, as he was later to tell me, the considerable exertions of Dr A.A. Cense; a small group of trained assistants copied the contents of volume after volume. Although some manuscripts had been lost in the very difficult circumstances of the Japanese occupation, most had been preserved through the dedication of Abdurrahim and his colleagues and further material had been added in the years since the war. On that first visit and later, I also saw some manuscripts



still in private possession or various museum collections and, despite several continuing projects, there are undoubtedly many more to be recorded.

A wide range of material is represented in these manuscripts: literary works, religious texts, legal resources, practical and technical information, as well as historical material such as diaries, treaty texts, genealogies and accounts of the past. Not surprisingly, much of the content derives from the period since A.D. 1600, but the promise of older information was clear from the outset. In 1970, when I first began to think seriously about the possible ways into a study of the early history of South Sulawesi, coming to terms with these manuscripts seemed the highest priority.

The first step in this was to ensure the preservation of the materials and to make them accessible. On several visits through the 1970s, I photographed virtually all the items still available in the collection of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara and a considerable number of manuscripts still in private hands or in other collections.<sup>16</sup> Rather more than 20,000 pages of writing were filmed.<sup>17</sup> The business of handling and describing the materials also introduced me to the formidable problems of cataloguing presented by most of these manuscripts. Although they usually come in the familiar form of a codex—often a school exercise book or well-bound account book—each such codex can contain a bewildering variety of items. Even with easy access to a manuscript, it is most likely to be difficult to tell exactly what materials it contains or to know what other copies of particular items there may be around the world or in the house next door.<sup>18</sup>

It was also necessary to become familiar with the other collections of Bugis and Makasar manuscripts outside South Sulawesi. There are a few examples in Jakarta, but the major holdings are in The Netherlands, Great Britain and Germany. While there is an immense amount of work still to be done in this field, the necessary tools in the form of the standard published catalogues of Indonesian manuscripts and many unpublished lists and guides are now available in Canberra. There are also microfilm copies of certain materials from these other collections.

As mentioned above, Noorduyt's edition of a chronicle from Wajo', based upon the manuscripts available to him in Europe and a few microfilms of material from Indonesia, provided the foundation for the next stage of actually reading the texts.<sup>19</sup> In 1975 I began working on a translation of the chronicle of Boné with the very generous assistance of Dr Noorduyt. This was later continued in co-operation with Dr Mukhlis.<sup>20</sup> We will return below to this key text for understanding early South Sulawesi.

The major recent research on the manuscript materials for the early period of South Sulawesi history has been done by Ian Caldwell. The initial plan for his doctoral project was to find and edit a chronicle of Luwu'; it seemed from the entries in manuscript catalogues and from the publication of what appeared to be an introductory fragment that such a work existed and that it would contain information of interest.<sup>21</sup> Although Caldwell eventually located ten manuscript copies of the material—a total which he says is by no means exhaustive—he soon came to realize that this was not a fragment of a chronicle, but a different kind of work. In introducing what he refers to as the Lontara'na Simpurusia or 'Writing concerning Simpurusia', he says, 'the present work is not a history, in the sense of a methodological record of past events and individuals, but three short legends which have been gathered together by a redactor.'<sup>22</sup>

This apparently simple shift in description is a good example of a key element in Caldwell's method; instead of working with pre-determined categories, he seeks to understand the original intention of a work's creator. Any attempt to draw inferences from particular material must rest on a full understanding—or at least some hypothesis—about the origin and nature of the material. A preliminary, even to that process, is a survey of the available manuscripts, that is, the conventional work of philology.

In some respects, Caldwell was simply following the example of Noorduyn's work in providing Bugis text with proper philological support and a straightforward translation. There are, however, some important differences. Reflecting a general change in scholarly opinion, Caldwell provides 'diplomatic' rather than 'critical' text. He is also concerned exclusively with the period before A.D.1600. The major advance, though, is that Caldwell supplies examples of several types of work. Faced with the lack of a major chronicle dealing with Luwu', he decided to present a number of shorter texts; three concerned with Luwu', three with Soppéng, three with Sidénréng and one with Cina, making ten in all.

One result of this decision is that Caldwell's thesis resembles, in some ways, a traditional manuscript codex containing a selection of items. Some are very short indeed, such as the vassal lists of Luwu', Soppéng and Sidénréng, of which each runs to no more than about half a page in length. This gives the non-specialist reader some idea of the miscellany of materials found in a codex. It was, however, out of such miscellaneous sources that the major chronicles were created.

Genealogies form a particularly common category in Bugis writing as anyone familiar with the manuscripts will readily attest and Caldwell provides four examples. In his discussion of the 'Royal Genealogy of Luwu', represented by no fewer than eighteen manuscript versions, he demonstrates the extreme complexity of the material and the danger of dipping casually into such sources. After laying out the difficulties, he concludes that this text 'is of limited historical value, due partly to the fact that it offers us little evidence for the period before 1500, and partly to remaining uncertainties as to the relationships between certain individuals found in its post-1500 section.'<sup>23</sup>

The significance of genealogies, however, does not lie in the details of family history. Two major conclusions emerge from their study. The first concerns the date at which writing was introduced into South Sulawesi. The fundamental principle of the several varieties of script in which the Bugis and Makasar languages have traditionally been written is clearly related to that of the other Indic-derived scripts of Southeast Asia—though there are also, presumably more recent, transcriptions into Arabic and Latin letters. The lack of securely dated examples of writing prevents any convincing demonstration of the process by which the actual shape of the characters used was derived, still less of course of its date, but the most likely source of the concept itself must be Java. Although none of Caldwell's sources deals directly with chronology, by making certain assumptions about generation length and working backwards from secure dates in the seventeenth century, some reasonably secure estimates can be reached. He is thus able to show that:

none of the [genealogies] examined contains individuals who can be backdated earlier than 1300. There is, in addition, both a qualitative and a quantitative difference in the information they provide for the fourteenth century, as opposed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No individual of the fourteenth century can be 'cross-referenced' between genealogies, nor is there attached any anecdotal information of the sort that we find for individuals of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Furthermore, the average number of individuals recorded for each generation in the fourteenth century is much less than that for the following two centuries...

These features cannot be due to coincidence and almost certainly reflect a single underlying cause. The simplest explanation, and one which fits all the evidence, is that writing was first developed about 1400.<sup>24</sup>

As Caldwell goes on to observe, the arrival of writing had the long-term effect of providing us with texts, some of which purport to describe the origins of political and other social organizations. Given the much longer timespan of prehistory, however, and the evidence for continuity of occupation, it would be wrong to take these descriptions of origin at their face value. They are merely a function of the introduction of writing.



As a second conclusion from the prominence given to recording genealogical information in the written materials, we may suggest a motive for the development of writing itself. A striking feature of societies speaking Austronesian languages—and, as we have seen, there is no doubt that the society inhabiting the South Sulawesi peninsula from prehistoric times was one such—is the attention given to differential status on the basis of birth, that is, to use the technical terms, ascribed status as opposed to achieved status.<sup>25</sup> In such a context, the demonstration of descent becomes a matter of supreme importance. Writing provides a form of permanent demonstration and is, at least in theory, beyond challenge. (Our awareness of the practical possibilities for corruption are a measure of our sad falling away from that initial trust.) Because we are so familiar with the concept of writing, we tend to assume its benefits and fail to pose the question of the precise needs which it satisfies in a non-literate society. Moreover, this is a question to be put separately for every society which has taken up the concept, either in an already existing form and technology or, as in this case, with some measure of adaptation from any possible model.

It is worth observing that the adoption of writing in South Sulawesi seems to have involved more than just taking over and adapting the form of the characters, or making some simplifications in the system as such, most particularly the loss of the capacity to indicate most consonants closing syllables. There is also the matter of physical expression. I have argued in an earlier paper that the common format for writing in South Sulawesi before the introduction of paper, which seems unlikely to have been available before the sixteenth century at the earliest, was the 'strip-roll'. Narrow strips of palm-leaf are sewn end to end to form a very long ribbon just wide enough for one line of script. This ribbon is then wound around two spools to form a device very similar to a modern tape cassette and providing the reader with a continuous line of text. There are hints of similar forms of written document elsewhere in the eastern parts of the Archipelago and there is certainly much that we do not know about the antiquity of literacy in this area, but the important point here is to note the difference between South Sulawesi and likely models to the west for the general concept of writing.<sup>26</sup>

This brings us back to the chronicles and other more developed forms of South Sulawesi historiography. What do we know about the origin, purpose and nature of these works, and what kinds of information can we derive from them for an understanding of early history?

The best known example of historical writing from the area is the Chronicle of Gowa, with which Noorduynd would associate as, essentially, one overall work, the Chronicle of Tallo'. This material has been published several times in both Makasar and Indonesian translation and many scholars have drawn upon it.<sup>27</sup> The author and date of this joint work are, typically, not given, but the most likely hypothesis is that it was prepared in the court of Gowa around the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> The author(s) drew, no doubt, on available written sources, such as genealogies, treaties, diaries and perhaps other materials. As to its purpose, the Gowa section of the work declares in its introduction:

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.<sup>29</sup>

I believe that this Makasar work provided a model for the Bugis Chronicle of Boné and that this was composed from a comparable range of sources on some occasion in the last three decades of the seventeenth century, that is within the reign, as ArumPoné or Ruler of Boné, of the man most commonly known as Arung Palakka (1672-1696). Developments in the Gowa court would have been known to Arung Palakka who, for much of his reign, was based at Bontoala', close by the Dutch in Fort Rotterdam and only a few kilometres from Benteng Tua or Kale Gowa. It is not difficult to imagine some particular need or occasion which could have provoked the preparation of this account of Boné's past.<sup>30</sup>

Whatever the particular cause of the Chronicle of Boné, its general theme is clear and announced in the statement which serves as a title: 'This work tells of the land of Boné and the ruling of Boné'. The 'function' of the work is to demonstrate the correctness of the sequence of Bone's rulers from the initial *tomanurung* or 'Descended One'. This sequence is by no means straightforward and there are many cases of other than father-to-son succession. The fundamental principle asserted throughout is that of ascribed status: rulers, who have to be approved in some way by the 'people of Bone', are chosen by their predecessor or selected in other ways so as to maximize status. The chronicle is extraordinarily frank about this.

It is worth giving an instance of this from early in the work, though the general point is found throughout. It is said of the second ruler, who seems to have ruled in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, that he 'had no child as heir, although he did, in fact, father [two sons], but their mother was only a commoner.' In order to find a successor, he sent these two sons to steal the child of his sister, who had married the ruler of Palakka, a neighbouring realm. In a dramatic raid, they carried off the baby son immediately after his birth; as the chronicle observes, this was in the absence of the boy's father. The infant was brought back to Boné and, the following day, the ceremonies were begun to install him as formal ruler of Boné. When these had been completed, the umbilical cord and afterbirth were carried around the house and then, if we may apply a modern Toraja analogy, buried beside the house to signify the individual's specific local identity.<sup>31</sup> The chronicle then goes into considerable detail to explain the practical arrangements which were necessary in order to sustain the absurdity of having a child as ruler.

What advantage does the baby, the ruler's nephew, have over the two sons? It is not just descent from the founder of the realm of Boné, since they were all equal in this respect. Rather there is an acknowledgment of the status of the baby's father, the ruler of Palakka, which combined with that of the child's mother gives a higher result. In other words, status derives from a class of people, not from a single apical figure. The same point is implied by the extensive genealogical material found throughout the chronicle and this accords exactly with Caldwell's ideas about the significance of genealogical records in general in this society.

This interpretation takes us beyond the explicit statement of the text. What other matters may be tackled in this way? I have elsewhere advanced the argument, founded largely on the record of the conquests and alliances of the first three rulers of Boné, that the period of their rule saw an expansion of wet rice agriculture under their control across the coastal plain. The likelihood of this and its significance for understanding the economic basis of the royal power are supported by other references from the written sources.<sup>32</sup>

Bulbeck has exhaustively and systematically analyzed both the marriages and the titles of individuals as recorded in the chronicle material from Gowa and Tallo' and, most importantly, in the Gowa court diary which covers in sufficient detail the whole of the seventeenth century. He shows, first, that the historical reality was in broad agreement with the normative rules expected in a society speaking an Austronesian language. In practical terms, however, the bilateral or ambilineal ideal was subverted by the claims of patrilineal transmission of major titles.<sup>33</sup> The recognition of the processes involved here leads to a spectacular re-assessment of the politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and, indeed, beyond in some cases.<sup>34</sup> If one regards the entities normally described as 'states' or 'realms' as social structures supporting or acknowledging the power of those holding particular titles, and if one can show the relationship between titles and patrilineal descent or, to put it more directly, the marriage strategies of title holders, there opens out a new perspective on understanding the society's politics from within. This matter is discussed more fully below.

One problem deserves special mention, though strictly it concerns the period after A.D. 1600. How should we account for this tradition of writing chronicles?<sup>35</sup> A seventeenth century date is suggested for the



chronicles already mentioned and Noorduyn assigns the earliest of the Wajo' chronicles to the second half of that century.<sup>36</sup> It is, in fact, in Wajo' that the tradition finds its fullest expression as seen in Noorduyn's edition of an eighteenth century example and it has continued there into recent times.<sup>37</sup> Other states too have their chronicles and there is much scope for further editorial work in their publication. In accounting for the tradition, various approaches are possible. One can stress the particular character of South Sulawesi writing and see the chronicles as one example of 'a real urge for recording all sorts of facts'.<sup>38</sup> Another possibility is to emphasize the similarities with other 'genealogical narrative texts' across the Archipelago,<sup>39</sup> thereby suggesting a common element in the heritage of Austronesian-speaking peoples. Others stress external influence; Bulbeck, for example, believes that, 'European ideas had a profound influence on the formative development of the Makassar historical tradition, even if the Makassar used texts to record traditional concerns rather than to address intellectual issues.'<sup>40</sup> There is, perhaps, some merit in all these approaches which are not necessarily in conflict. What is not in doubt and would be brought out in a thorough review of the whole range of the chronicles is that this is a notable historiographical tradition.

### Ceramics

South Sulawesi has long been famous for the abundance of so-called trade ceramics found there. On the face of it, this is perhaps a little strange since the area was apparently unknown to the Chinese before the seventeenth century. While there are many references to the import of ceramics from that time on as they formed part of the general cargoes of manufactured goods from mainland Asia and Europe flowing through the port of Macassar, there is no written reference to the earlier importation of the Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese wares now recovered in such abundance from South Sulawesi.

The archaeological discoveries, of a sort, started at the end of the seventeenth century. Nicolas Gervaise tells us,

Nor is it long since, that somebody ransacking an old Tomb where one of the Greatest Lords of the Country had been buried, found a great Number of Dishes, Cups, Bracelets, Chains and Ingots of Gold, which his Relations had buried with him to supply his Occasions in the other life.<sup>41</sup>

Sporadic finds are recorded up to the 1930s when Japanese interest provoked the beginning of the widespread plundering of old cemeteries, especially in the vicinity of Ujung Pandang.<sup>42</sup> In retrospect, it is interesting to note how limited was the knowledge of the wares found, even among the best informed Japanese scholars of the day; the last half century has seen a complete transformation of our knowledge and, in consequence, the possibilities of deriving significant historical conclusions. The beginnings of this new knowledge came with the systematic excavations in the Philippines from the 1950s on and research has, in more recent years, extended to kiln site investigations, first in Thailand, but also now in China and Vietnam. Shipwrecks have provided yet more information, particularly useful for dating purposes.

A convenient summary of the relevant literature and known data on ceramics in South Sulawesi up to 1978 may be found in the augmented translation of a paper written by the then Head of the History and Antiquities Service in Ujung Pandang, Drs Hadimuljono.<sup>43</sup> The most interesting feature of this article is the table categorizing over 14,000 ceramics inspected by the Service between 1973 and 1978. From this information and from the collections of both sherds and whole items held by the Service in 1978, it was clear that there was the potential for a major research project on ceramics. At that stage, however, my thinking at least had not gone far beyond the relatively simple procedures of collecting sherds and making distribution maps. A very rough start on this sort of work had been made by John Guy covering the whole of Southeast Asia and I imagined that it might be possible to do something of the same type, but at a much more fine-grained level, in South Sulawesi.<sup>44</sup>

This potential has been brilliantly realized by Bulbeck and his colleagues in two intensive surveys. The smaller of these was in Soppéng and is described in a privately distributed report; the second, which covered a large part of the plain south and east of Ujung Pandang, is reported in detail in Bulbeck's doctoral thesis.<sup>45</sup> The work as a whole is termed the South Sulawesi Prehistorical and Historical Archaeology Project (SSPHAP). It is important to note that no excavation was involved; the results are derived entirely from sherds collected on the surface and identified according to strict criteria.

Bulbeck's principles of analysis, which are almost the same for both surveys, deserve brief description. The first step was to compile a list of 31 classes of tradeware ceramic sherds found on the sites. In this, the earlier work of Hadimuljono and the very active assistance of Karaeng Demmanari was of great value and meant that Bulbeck's work was directly linked to a vast body of local experience. Each class was also defined, as far as possible, by a range of objective criteria. Normally an archaeologist, having established such a classification or typology, would expect to be able to arrange the classes in an order—or seriate the types—on the basis of the stratigraphy of an excavation. Bulbeck, however, had only surface collections, but these were carefully controlled by the zone or area within which the sherds were collected. It is thus probable—in a technical sense—that sherds of similar age will occur together. Of course it may happen that some zones contain many types of sherd, indicating a long period of occupation or various uses of the site, but the general pattern is unlikely to be random and that allows statistical analysis. The detail of the statistical methods employed need not concern us here, though it is important to note not only their sophistication and elegance, but also to stress that, strictly speaking, the results apply only to these collections from South Sulawesi. The outcome of the analysis is a firmly based seriation of the classes. The final step is then to assign a date range to each class partly by reference to what is known of its manufacture, but with some control on the basis of its position in the seriation. These date ranges are, for most purposes, best expressed in terms of 50 year periods and, where a class is dated to a longer interval which is some multiple of 50 years, the sherds in that class can be notionally allocated to the periods.

The classes, their dating and the number of sherds in each class recovered from the Gowa survey are set out in Figure 2.<sup>46</sup>

This remarkable control of the ceramic evidence allows detailed interpretation of the sherd assemblage from specific sites and it is worth looking at an example to see this in operation. Figure 3<sup>47</sup> shows a small section of Bulbeck's survey area east of Benteng Tua (or Kale Gowa); several small settlements and cemeteries lie among the surrounding rice fields and their present location agrees in general terms with a land-use map from 1922. The most northerly of the sites shown is a cemetery zone associated with the name of Karaengloe riSero (the great lord of Sero). A stone is said to mark the grave of this founder figure of the realm of Tallo' who, as Bulbeck can show from his genealogical reconstructions, seems to have died about 1500. The Makasar Chronicle of Tallo' tells us that his body was brought back to Sero for burial.<sup>48</sup> The chronicles also provide considerable detail about this man's life which must belong to the second half of the fifteenth century. Karaengloe riSero was the brother of the seventh ruler of Gowa who was based at Benteng Tua. Sero, however, seems to have been a separate realm and it is worth noticing that Bukit Bikuling, only a few hundred metres to the south of the cemetery, has a *batu pelantikan* or royal installation stone.<sup>49</sup> There was a dispute between the two brothers which culminated in some of the *gelarang* or supporting settlements transferring their allegiance from Karaengloe riSero to Gowa. Karaengloe riSero then went abroad, but on his return he re-established himself a little to the north with the support of the remaining *gelarang*. From there, he moved to establish Tallo' at the mouth of the next river up the coast.<sup>50</sup>

The main cemetery area of Sero, which contains 214 Islamic graves, was surrounded by no less than 59 pits dug by looters seeking the ceramics of earlier graves. The general area, together with another small



TABLE B-39. FREQUENCIES OF THE 31 TRADEWARE CLASSES FROM THE GOWA SURVEY ASSIGNED BY 50 OR 100-YEAR PERIODS

	1200-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400	1400-1450	1450-1500	1500-1550	1550-1600	1600-1650	1650-1700	1700-1750	1750-1800	1800-1900	1900-1986	Total
EW	52	26	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	104
EM	96	48	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	192
VM	5	13.5	13.5	11.5	11.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55
EFV	6.5	4.25	4.25	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
VH	0	3.5	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
EBW	0	0	5.5	15.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
MW	0	1.5	1.5	6	6	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
JZ	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
SAN	0	0	0	4.5	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
VBW	0	0	0	44	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88
MC	0	0	0	12.5	12.5	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
YMC	0	0	0	6.75	6.75	4.25	4.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
SWH	0	0	0	36.5	36.5	36.5	36.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	146
SWM	0	0	0	16	16	16	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	64
SUK	0	0	0	3.75	3.75	3.75	3.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
MBW	0	0	0	2.25	15.75	391.25	386.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	796
HEX	0	0	0	0	0	32	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	64
MFV	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
MS	0	0	0	0	0	681	681	0	0	0	0	0	0	1362
BL	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2.25	2.25	2.25	2.25	0	0	13
WLB	0	0	0	0	0	143.5	143.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	287
WLW	0	0	0	0	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
LBW	0	0	0	0	0	161.5	161.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	323
SWT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1305	1305	0	0	0	0	2610
QS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1484.5	1484.5	0	0	0	0	2969
QBW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2678.2	2888.95	2645.5	93.5	0	0	8306
QC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15.25	34.25	246.25	3	3	301
ER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5900	0	5900
JPN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	332.5	332.5	665
QPR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	25.5	14.5	14	19	12442	12537
Sum	159.5	96.75	102.25	162.25	160.25	1193.25	1506.75	1647.25	5497.45	4405.45	2695.95	6591.5	12777.5	36996

EW = Early Whitewares; EM = Early Monochromes; VM = Vietnam Monochromes; EFV = Early Overglaze; VH = Vietnamese Black-and-white; EBW = Early Blue-and-white; MW = Ming Celadons; JZ = Jizhou; SAN = Sancai; VBW = Vietnamese Blue-and-white; MC = Ming Celadons; YMC = Yuan-like Ming Celadons; SWH = Sawankhalok Black-and-white; SWM = Sawankhalok Monochromes; SUK = Sukothai; MBW = Ming Blue-and-white; HEX = Ming Blue-and-white "Hexagonal" Wares; MFV = Ming Red; MS = Ming Swatow; BL = Bluewares; WLB = Wanli Blue-and-white; WLW = Wanli Whitewares; LBW = Late Ming Blue-and-white; SWT = Swatow; QS = Qing Swatow; QBW = Qing Blue-and-white; QC = Qing Monochromes; ER = European; JPN = Japanese; QPR = Qing White/Recent.

Figure 2. Frequencies of the 31 ceramic tradeware classes from the Gowa survey

graveyard, Makam Boccolaya, slightly to the south, produced a total of 243 sherds. In displaying this data in the form of histograms, it is helpful to 'standardize' the numbers of sherds attributable to any one period against the total number of sherds for that period in the whole Gowa survey. This avoids distortions due to the greater number of later sherds in all sites. Figure 4<sup>51</sup> shows the standardized chronological histograms both individually and in total for most of the sites shown in Figure 3. The sudden decline in the sherd frequencies at about AD 1500 is very striking and, with over 2000 sherds in the total sample, the validity of the observation is high.

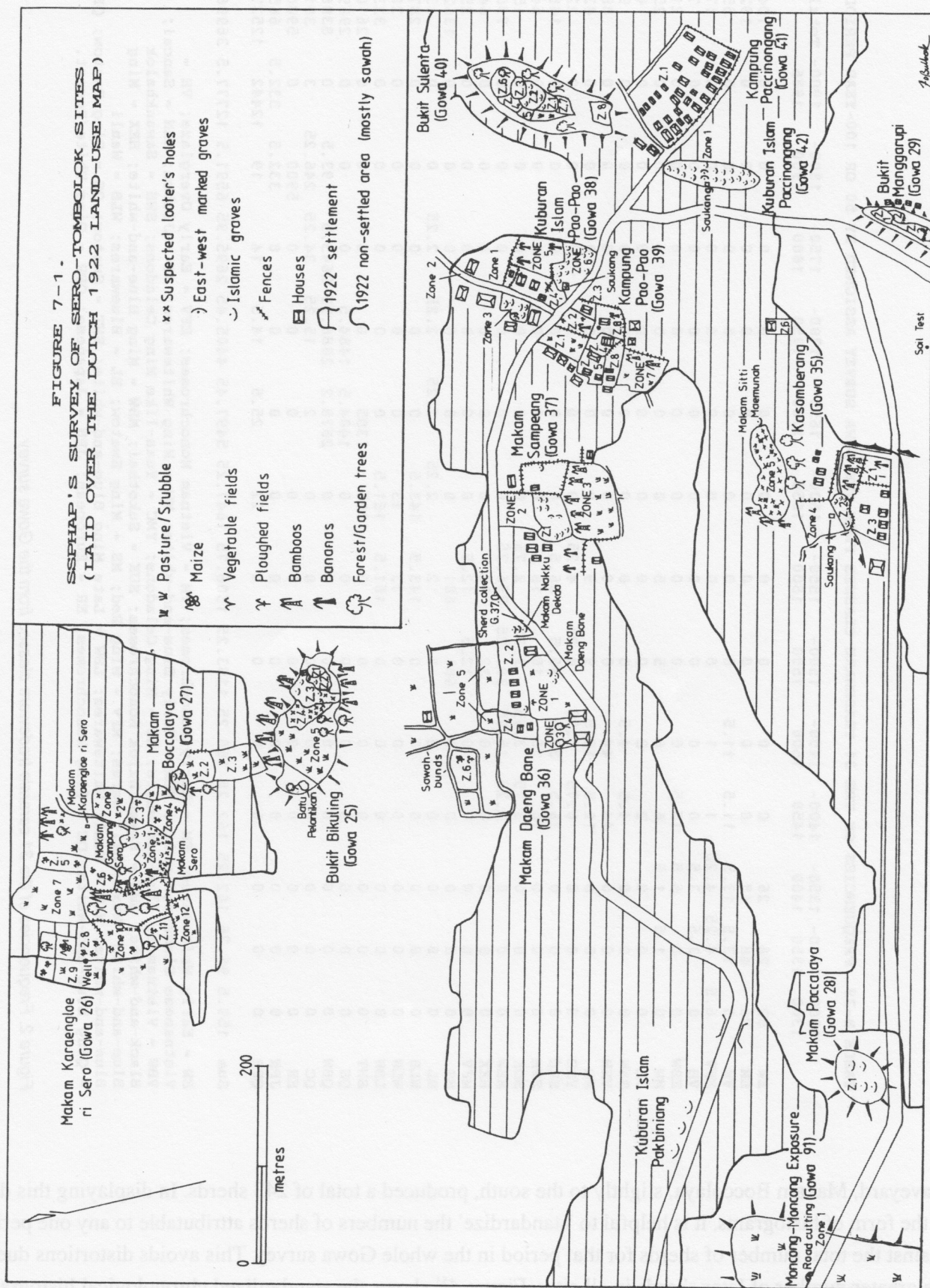


Figure 3. A sample of sites in the Gowa survey (from Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. 7-1)



Given the continuity of occupation in this area, there is no reason to doubt that the modern place names checked in the field relate directly to the place and title names in the chronicles. This leads to a most remarkable convergence of results from both sides: the archaeology suggests a major change of some kind, while the documentary record confirms a major political upset at a time which, given the inherent limitations of both approaches, could not fit more exactly.

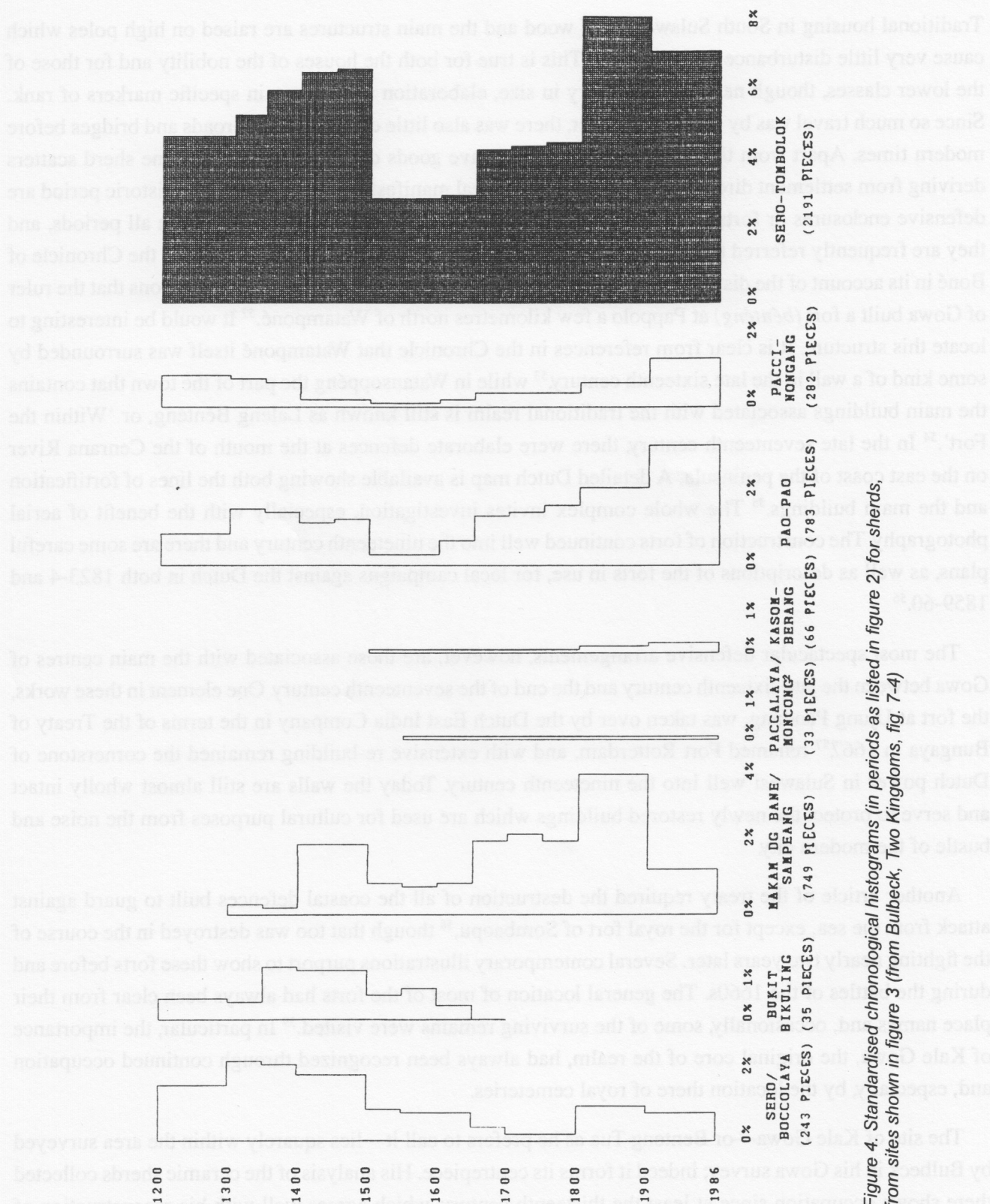


Figure 4. Standardised chronological histograms (in periods as listed in figure 2) for sherds, from sites shown in figure 3 (from Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. 7-4)

This example has been chosen because it presents a particularly clear relationship between the chronicles and archaeology, but as the numbers of sherds show, this covers only a small part of the total Gowa survey. Taking the area of the survey as a whole and putting to one side the many small problems of particular sites, there is a general relationship which is quite extraordinary. We shall return below to the wider picture of historical developments which this reveals.

### Historical Archaeology

Traditional housing in South Sulawesi is of wood and the main structures are raised on high poles which cause very little disturbance to the ground. This is true for both the houses of the nobility and for those of the lower classes, though naturally they vary in size, elaboration and in certain specific markers of rank. Since so much travel was by sea, lake or river, there was also little development of roads and bridges before modern times. Apart from the cemeteries and their grave goods discussed above, or some sherd scatters deriving from settlement directly, the main archaeological manifestations from the early historic period are defensive enclosures or forts. There are many of these across the peninsula, dating from all periods, and they are frequently referred to in both indigenous and European documents. For example, the Chronicle of Boné in its account of the disastrous invasion of Boné by the forces of Gowa in 1565 mentions that the ruler of Gowa built a fort (*bénténg*) at Pappolo a few kilometres north of Watamponé.<sup>52</sup> It would be interesting to locate this structure. It is clear from references in the Chronicle that Watamponé itself was surrounded by some kind of a wall in the late sixteenth century,<sup>53</sup> while in Watansoppéng the part of the town that contains the main buildings associated with the traditional realm is still known as Laleng Bénténg, or 'Within the Fort'.<sup>54</sup> In the late seventeenth century, there were elaborate defences at the mouth of the Cenrana River on the east coast of the peninsula. A detailed Dutch map is available showing both the lines of fortification and the main buildings.<sup>55</sup> The whole complex invites investigation, especially with the benefit of aerial photography. The construction of forts continued well into the nineteenth century and there are some careful plans, as well as descriptions of the forts in use, for local campaigns against the Dutch in both 1823-4 and 1859-60.<sup>56</sup>

The most spectacular defensive arrangements, however, are those associated with the main centres of Gowa between the late sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century. One element in these works, the fort at Ujung Pandang, was taken over by the Dutch East India Company in the terms of the Treaty of Bungaya in 1667,<sup>57</sup> renamed Fort Rotterdam, and with extensive re-building remained the cornerstone of Dutch power in Sulawesi well into the nineteenth century. Today the walls are still almost wholly intact and serve to protect the newly restored buildings which are used for cultural purposes from the noise and bustle of the modern city.

Another article of the treaty required the destruction of all the coastal defences built to guard against attack from the sea, except for the royal fort of Sombaopu,<sup>58</sup> though that too was destroyed in the course of the fighting nearly two years later. Several contemporary illustrations purport to show these forts before and during the battles of the 1660s. The general location of most of the forts had always been clear from their place names and, occasionally, some of the surviving remains were visited.<sup>59</sup> In particular, the importance of Kale Gowa, the original core of the realm, had always been recognized through continued occupation and, especially, by the location there of royal cemeteries.

The site of Kale Gowa—or Benteng Tua as he prefers to call it—lies squarely within the area surveyed by Bulbeck in his Gowa survey; indeed it forms its centrepiece. His analysis of the ceramic sherds collected there shows occupation since at least the thirteenth century, which agrees well with his reconstruction of Gowa's antiquity from the kinglists in the Makasar documents. It is not hard to explain this occupation on



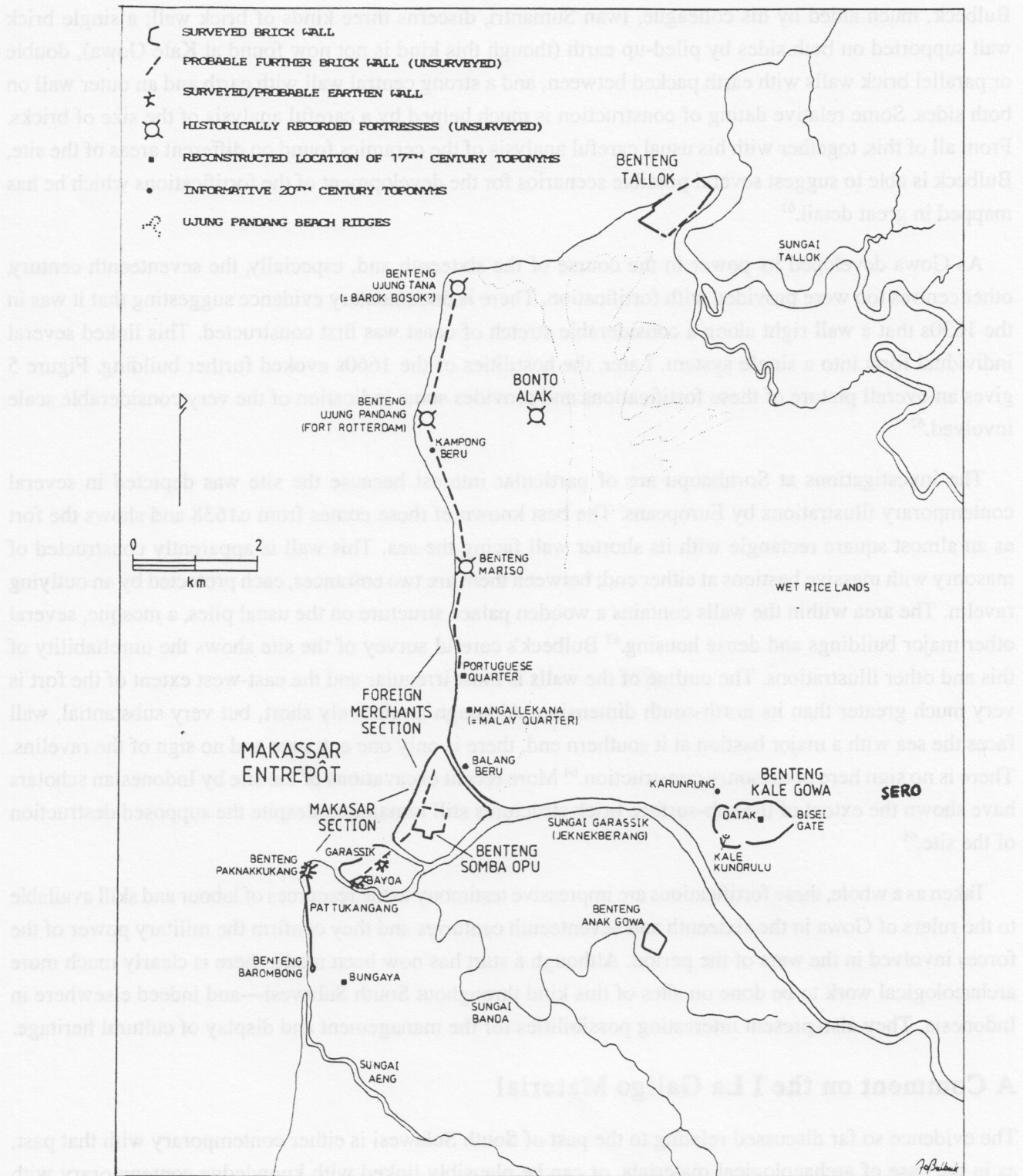


Figure 5. Reconstruction of Makassar and its fortifications,

environmental grounds; the site lies on a low rise beside the Je'ne' Berang River, surrounded by ricefields and the smaller settlements mapped by Bulbeck.

The Gowa. chronicle tells us that the ruler in the mid-sixteenth century was responsible for building a brick wall around the site, in contrast with his predecessor who had only built an earthen wall.<sup>60</sup> The same ruler, however, seems to have moved his main centre of control to a new site, known as Sombaopu, close to the shore. Here too, he built a brick wall. This did not mean the end of Kale Gowa for it once more became the centre of royal power for two periods in the course of the seventeenth century and then from 1694 onwards until the modern period. All this involved considerable extension and renovation of the defences.

Bulbeck, much aided by his colleague, Iwan Sumantri, discerns three kinds of brick wall; a single brick wall supported on both sides by piled-up earth (though this kind is not now found at Kale Gowa), double or parallel brick walls with earth packed between, and a strong central wall with earth and an outer wall on both sides. Some relative dating of construction is much helped by a careful analysis of the size of bricks. From all of this, together with his usual careful analysis of the ceramics found on different areas of the site, Bulbeck is able to suggest several possible scenarios for the development of the fortifications which he has mapped in great detail.<sup>61</sup>

As Gowa developed its power in the course of the sixteenth and, especially, the seventeenth century, other centres too were provided with fortification. There is documentary evidence suggesting that it was in the 1630s that a wall right along a considerable stretch of coast was first constructed. This linked several individual forts into a single system. Later, the hostilities of the 1660s evoked further building. Figure 5 gives an overall picture of these fortifications and provides some indication of the very considerable scale involved.<sup>62</sup>

The investigations at Sornbaopu are of particular interest because the site was depicted in several contemporary illustrations by Europeans. The best known of these comes from c.1638 and shows the fort as an almost square rectangle with its shorter wall facing the sea. This wall is apparently constructed of masonry with massive bastions at either end; between them are two entrances, each protected by an outlying ravelin. The area within the walls contains a wooden palace structure on the usual piles, a mosque, several other major buildings and dense housing.<sup>63</sup> Bulbeck's careful survey of the site shows the unreliability of this and other illustrations. The outline of the walls is most irregular and the east-west extent of the fort is very much greater than its north-south dimension. Although a relatively short, but very substantial, wall faces the sea with a major bastion at its southern end, there is only one entrance and no sign of the ravelins. There is no sign here of masonry construction.<sup>64</sup> More recent excavations of the site by Indonesian scholars have shown the extent of the sub-surface brick structures still remaining, despite the supposed destruction of the site.<sup>65</sup>

Taken as a whole, these fortifications are impressive testimony to the resources of labour and skill available to the rulers of Gowa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and they confirm the military power of the forces involved in the wars of the period. Although a start has now been made, there is clearly much more archaeological work to be done on sites of this kind throughout South Sulawesi—and indeed elsewhere in Indonesia. They also present interesting possibilities for the management and display of cultural heritage.

## A Comment on the I La Galigo Material

The evidence so far discussed relating to the past of South Sulawesi is either contemporary with that past, as in the case of archaeological materials, or can be plausibly linked with knowledge contemporary with that past in some way or another, as in the case of the various chronicles. There is, however, another class of material which anyone concerned with this period of history must confront sooner or later; this is the I La Galigo poetry. It has been used to suggest an 'age of I La Galigo' which saw the foundation of the historical Bugis kingdoms and the establishment of values permeating Bugis society up to Islamization. It was, in effect, a distant period depicted in stories of unknown age. In recent years, there has been a welcome resurgence of scholarly work on this material. In particular, the recent thesis by Sirtjo Koolhof marks a major advance in our understanding.<sup>66</sup>

Since the material is relatively little known, it is worth beginning by describing it. It consists of poetry in a very simple form; the language, which is a fairly distinct register of Bugis, is normally structured into



segments of five, or more rarely four, syllables. In manuscripts, each of these units may be distinguished by the three vertical dots used to indicate a break in Bugis orthography, or the text may be written continuously. A manuscript dealing with a particular episode may often run to hundreds of pages. The content of the material is a series of linked episodes and, taking an overview, it is possible to discern a narrative within which particular episodes take their place. This begins with the decision of Datu Patoto', the lord of the Upper World, to send his son, Batara Guru, down to earth in Luwu' where the son marries a cousin, the daughter of the lord of the Lower World. The cast of characters is extensive and there are many twists and turns in the stories that follow, but eventually after a sixth generation has been born, all (or nearly all in some versions) leave the earth again.<sup>67</sup> A major character is Sawérigading, in the fourth generation, who has a son called I La Galigo, but it is not clear why this name has become attached to the whole corpus of material. These figures are not gods in the sense of being responsible for the origins and welfare of the world and their interests and activities on earth are essentially those of men and women.<sup>68</sup> Pelras has demonstrated in an important article that the overall structure of relationships displayed in the available written texts is remarkably consistent and coherent,<sup>69</sup> though there are no other grounds in the texts themselves for assuming that they are fragments of some now-lost unity.

The earliest reference of which I am aware to the I La Galigo material is in the introduction to the chronicle of Boné which was apparently written, as suggested above, in the late seventeenth century. At the outset of the chronicle, the point is made that a period of chaos intervened between the rulers associated with I La Galigo and the 'Descended One' who initiated the process of ruling with which the chronicle is concerned.<sup>70</sup> Similar references in other chronicles are likely to be borrowed from this source.<sup>71</sup>

None of the European sources on South Sulawesi before 1800 show any awareness of the I La Galigo material in either form or content. Though one might argue that literary and other cultural productions anywhere in the Indies received scant attention from contemporary Europeans, and that within South Sulawesi Makasar affairs received more attention than Bugis, the silence is worth remarking upon. While the material must have existed in some form, it was not an obvious feature of the culture. From the early nineteenth century, however, there are two very informative notices. In 1808, John Leyden published an account of Bugis language and literature probably based chiefly on information collected in Penang in 1805-6. He lists 53 'of the most popular Bugis compositions': most of the names (and perhaps all of them) are those of characters from the I La Galigo material, though it is not clear what the names signify.<sup>72</sup> In addition, he provides a specimen (in Latin script) and translation of the 'Wépaléteï, the only Búgís story in my possession'.<sup>73</sup> The implication is that he has a manuscript. The material is a typical fragment of I La Galigo poetry, comprising 44 metrical units, and his transcription and translation are remarkably good. Raffles, in his 'Account of Celebes' is more general, but correctly discerns the differences of form and content between the I La Galigo material and other 'traditionary tales':

*La Galíga*, the reputed son of *Sawíra Gading*, is considered the author of the history of *Sawíra Gading*, which is a kind of heroic poem ...; and all books, even the most modern, which are written in the same manner, are called after him *Galíga*, although properly speaking, the term should only be applied to the history of the heroes who are supposed to have lived previous to the seven generations of anarchy which subsisted at *Boní*.<sup>74</sup>

Raffles too describes a brief summary of an early section of the narrative as 'an extract', presumably from some kind of written account.<sup>75</sup>

The earliest dateable manuscripts now available appear to be two collected by Crawford from Boné in 1814; these total almost 400 pages.<sup>76</sup> The major collecting phase began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Schoemann, who probably visited Macassar in 1849, managed to get at least 18 I La Galigo manuscripts which are now in Berlin. Starting the previous year, and with many years at his disposal, Matthes had

difficulty in getting as much as he would have liked, but finally obtained the great 12 volume manuscript now in Leiden. Jonker, who was government linguist in Macassar from 1886 to 1896, made an immense collection of material which came eventually to Leiden as well.<sup>77</sup> During the 1930s, the then government linguist, Cense, built up a collection for the Matthesstichting in Macassar and in the last two decades there have been several attempts to record material still in private hands either on film or by photocopy.<sup>78</sup> One of the most striking features of the material is its sheer abundance.<sup>79</sup>

The issue of the nature of the verse-form has been dealt with most convincingly by Sirk.<sup>80</sup> He looks in detail at the stress patterns within the five and four syllable segments and elucidates the reasons for variation. He also tests a range of possible combinations of these segments and rejects any such larger structures in the verse. Koolhof provides a crucial extension to this discussion in his comparison of three oral versions and one manuscript version of a single episode. He confirms Sirk's results in his analysis of the manuscript version, but in his oral versions only about 69 per cent of the segments are metrically 'correct'. The oral versions display no more than 'relative syllabic regularity'.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, there are two other consistent differences. In order to satisfy the metrical requirements, the performers recorded by Koolhof made far more use of clitics than of the more literary 'filler syllable'.<sup>82</sup> Thus the oral versions seem to be more inclined to make use of the possibilities offered by the language of everyday use, while the written version keeps strictly to and exploits the specifically literary possibilities and requirements of the genre.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, the vocabulary used in the manuscript is markedly more literary.<sup>84</sup>

Although Koolhof hesitates to be too definite in conclusions based on a comparatively small body of data, he rightly observes that these data are quite remarkably structured. The oral versions, which all involve a dialogue between the same pair of elderly informants, a more knowledgeable woman from Amparita and a man from Kannyuwara, deal with the same story; two were recorded on the one day, but in different places, and the third about a month later. The written version of the story is a photocopy of a Wajo' manuscript, but at least its owner in Amparita thought it worth having access to this version.<sup>85</sup> We have, in effect, a very tightly controlled experiment.

Koolhof is able to show very convincingly that his three oral versions display all the hallmarks of 'oral composition'. Each performance is a fresh creation, constructed out of the performers' joint knowledge of a particular narrative line and their skill in casting that knowledge into appropriate form.<sup>86</sup> In particular, Koolhof argues against mere memorization. A difficulty arises, however, when one comes to consider the written version. Should this be regarded as a representation of an actual performance? Although the data are still slight, it seems unlikely that the stylistic differences between oral and manuscript versions discussed above should be attributed solely to the fact that they derive from different individuals, that is a difference of 'authorial', or rather 'compositional', style. It is far easier to assume that the difference somehow derives from the contrasting activities of speech and writing.

The skills and techniques of Koolhof's 'orally composing' performers are not likely to be recent inventions, though it is hard to imagine a way of directly tracing the practice over the centuries. What we have in the manuscripts is, however, writing in an oral style, and this is a rather different matter. Building on Koolhof's material, I suggest that the phenomenon of the manuscripts is best explained by what might be called the 'writing composer'. By this I mean a person, faced with a blank palm-leaf or page of paper, who composes the words which he or she writes. The written text is a fresh creation and not based directly on either a written or a memorized model. While the 'writing composer' shares with the 'oral composer' an overall narrative line and much the same range of techniques, the 'writing composer', who would no doubt also be quietly reciting the text, has the opportunity to pause and consider alternative constructions or metrical



problems. This hypothesis explains not only the stylistic differences noted by Koolhof, but also the abundance of material. A skilled 'writing composer' could be very prolific and one would expect that an outstanding rendition of a popular episode might then be copied.<sup>87</sup>

Manuscripts are thus produced in two ways, by creation and by copying. This distinction applies even to those written under the influence of external stimulus, especially from European scholars. Matthes' account of his major acquisition should be read, in my view, as indicating its status as a fresh creation.

I had spent many years collecting as many of the fragments as possible, each of which could be seen as a separate manuscript. With the help of Arung Pancana Colli'pujié, ... who was extremely expert in this I La Galigo literature, it was possible for me to succeed in obtaining, after much trouble and extortion, a large, linked portion of 2848 pages in manuscript folio.<sup>88</sup>

Creation is probably also the easier assumption for most of those manuscripts of particular episodes which have come from Bugis possession. This includes the material obtained by Leyden and Crawford as well as many of those 'fragments' collected by Matthes.<sup>89</sup>

On the other hand, in the I La Galigo items collected by Schoemann, I have noted corrections which seem to indicate that the scribe was copying from another manuscript, while for many of the manuscripts in the former Matthesstiching collection, the name of the copyist—one or other of Cense's assistants—and the provenance of the 'original' is recorded.

The production of I La Galigo material, whether written or oral, needs to be distinguished from its consumption which was, in both cases, primarily aural. 'Oral composition' is inescapably intended to be heard, but the manuscripts too were equally designed to be performed to an audience. The 'writing composer' was creating material in the oral style because of this common intention and many of the marks of that style are related to it. In particular, we should note the frequency of direct speech and the regular use of standard marking words and phrases.<sup>90</sup> I suspect that the fondness for parallel constructions is also related to aural consumption in that it allows for the repetition of the semantic content, though there is much more to parallelism than that.<sup>91</sup>

A further and most important question is to ask about the function of these performances in Bugis society. Matthes, after regretting the lack of 'a complete specimen of the poem', tells us that 'the native always satisfies himself with droning a small art of it, written on lontar or paper, from time to time, especially on the occasion of festivities.'<sup>92</sup> Koolhof's orally composed performances were at weddings and he was told that written texts had, in the past, been recited during the nights before a wedding.<sup>93</sup>

We should also note who in the society is, and is not, associated with the I La Galigo material. Not surprisingly, there is a marked absence of any association with Islam. Even the association with the *bissu* or traditional priests is somewhat tangential; while they are clearly familiar with the material and their ritual language has many links with the lexicon of the texts, their rituals do not include I La Galigo performances. The I La Galigo figures are not, after all, gods.<sup>94</sup>

The real experts were older, aristocratic women. From Matthes' first meeting with Colli'pujié in 1852, he acknowledges her as an expert in linguistic matters relating to the I La Galigo material.<sup>95</sup> Four years later in Pare-Pare, he finds another old aristocratic woman similarly well informed,<sup>96</sup> while later on the same trip, during his long stay in Lagusi, he gives a vivid account of his opportunities, or lack of them:

Yet the care of the queen [the local ruler] was not just limited to searching out manuscripts. She also gave orders to track down people who could not merely recite the I La Galigo poems and the *Ménrurana* of Petta Malampé'é Gemme'na in a fixed drone, but who also understood the poems word by word and were thus able

to explain them. This was, however, no easy matter. Only after much fruitless trouble was she able to find old women of whom one was fairly well-informed in the I La Galigo literature and the other had to act as teacher for reading the *Ménrurana*, although as it turned out she actually understood very little. Fortunately, the lesson was given in the queen's house so that we could continuously seek the opinion of the old lady, who eventually emerged from her room and took over the instruction herself. Although she did not know how to resolve all the problems, she was nonetheless not completely inexperienced in deciphering the old literature.<sup>97</sup>

Matthes thinks he has to explain his behaviour to the mission society at home:

You may well wonder why I am mainly using women in order to track down the sense of native poetry. Yet it is only too true that the women in general, and particularly the queens, are much more expert in Bugis literature than the men. The latter know only how to talk about cock-fighting, gambling, opium-smoking, waging war, theft and murder.<sup>98</sup>

While we may discount some of Matthes' complaints about the difficulty of finding people who could explain every detail, his comments show the extent to which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, this material had become the province of the courts. Perhaps the most remarkable thing to notice is how little regarded it seems in the society at large.

Many other scholars in their discussion of the I La Galigo material comment on two other features, its association with non-Muslim groups and the supernatural power attributed to a performance, which may also extend to the respectful handling of manuscripts.<sup>99</sup> In 1856, Matthes visited Amparita where Koolhof was to work 135 years later with the Toani Tolotang people.

The chief purpose of this trip was to track down a complete collection of the La Galigo poems. I had imagined that I would certainly find that here since there were several people to be met with here who attributed a supernatural power to these writings. Thus, for example, in case of sickness they arrange to read a section of the poems by way of prayer, rather than using medicines. Yet here, just as often in the future, I sought in vain for even a fairly complete collection of the said poems. Nothing but some odds and ends were to be tracked down here and there, and then people still shrank from letting me borrow even these.<sup>100</sup>

Returning to the question of function, it is necessary to keep in mind all these observations of the use and knowledge of the I La Galigo material. In particular, a good deal of the respect shown may derive from the association with the aristocracy, while the supposedly religious nature of the material should be seen in the context of the need of particular people to establish their identity over against Islam. We must also remember that the question applies to consumption rather than production; both the 'oral composer' and the 'writing composer' had performance in mind. In that sense, the manuscripts are a secondary or consequential phenomenon, the purpose of which was to allow a more polished or more elaborate rendition of episodes.

I suggest that in Bugis society I La Galigo performances served two main purposes.<sup>101</sup> Firstly, they provided entertainment, albeit at a rather high aesthetic level. It is easy to imagine these elaborate stories, told (or rather sung) at length in an elevated, but broadly comprehensible language, filling in large slabs of time in long ceremonies—or even just the tropical night.

Secondly, the stories provided what Havelock has called 'a sort of tribal encyclopaedia' that is 'the tale itself is designed as a kind of convenience, ... it is put to use as a kind of literary portmanteau which is to contain a collection of assorted usages, conventions, prescriptions, and procedures.'<sup>102</sup> Note the similarity of the description, which Havelock applies to Homer, to Matthes' comments on the I La Galigo material which 'is of great interest for ethnology, since one repeatedly meets in it extensive description of the customary ceremonies held even up to the present day on the occasion of births, marriages and other daily events of human life'.<sup>103</sup> Pelras too says that:



Although of divine birth, [the chief characters] are human—at least during the time they spend on earth—and *La Galigo* thus shows us a humanity that is primal and on a larger scale, a humanity wherein later generations could search for models. These models are not so much moral as societal and ritual. One could aspire to meet the models as closely as possible without, however, ever being able to match them entirely. That was something which could only be achieved by those humans of purely divine ancestry. The closest possible realization of the models would, of course, be kept for the reigning princes and the image would become more and more imperfect as one came down the ranks of the social hierarchy. Thus *La Galigo*, above all, offered the Bugis an ideal prototype of human society.<sup>104</sup>

In seeking to relate this 'tribal encyclopaedia' function to the observations on use and knowledge of the material discussed above, it is necessary to take account of the joint effect of Islam and writing in general, though these are not necessarily linked in South Sulawesi, as we have seen. Whatever the level of accommodation with earlier beliefs—and this was clearly fairly high—Bugis society, and the courts in particular, had been ostensibly Muslim since the early seventeenth century. Islam had, as it were, taken the high ground. Similarly, the practice of writing, whether for use in chronicles, treaties, diaries or, above all, in genealogies designed to 'prove' descent, came to fulfil needs that required a certain measure of exactitude. Some of these new written materials, and perhaps especially some of Muslim inspiration, may also have been read aloud, that is been 'aurally consumed'. In such a context, both functions of this form of entertainment and this particular 'tribal encyclopaedia' take on a somewhat more marginal role.<sup>105</sup>

The question arises as to when the I La Galigo material was first committed to writing. When did the 'writing composers' compose? As we have seen above, Caldwell has suggested that the introduction of writing to South Sulawesi in about A.D.1400 should be associated with the desire to record genealogies for which the certainty provided by writing is all important. It is most improbable that the advantages which the 'writing composer' of a long, literary work enjoys over the 'oral composer' would lead to such a radical and difficult innovation. Indeed, the actual difficulties of writing on palm-leaf would seem to argue against too ready acceptance of the possibility of 'writing composition', even if we have some evidence that it did occur in the form of 'strip-rolls'. Any significant practical problem, however, would have been removed from the seventeenth century onwards with access to paper; by the beginning of the nineteenth century the material is definitely in manuscript form. Yet even a relatively marginal role for the I La Galigo literature in society as a whole, which one may wish to suggest on other grounds as applying in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, does not preclude the production of a substantial quantity of I La Galigo manuscripts. 'Writing composition', especially with pen on paper, may be slightly slower than 'oral composition', but the concept itself implies a good deal of speed. Leaving aside those texts which we believe to have been created later, such as Colli'pujié's work, I would very tentatively hazard a guess that the practice of 'writing composition' developed, or at least first flourished, in the eighteenth century.

The literary study of these texts is almost an open field,<sup>106</sup> but our concerns here are historical. What can we learn about any period from an I La Galigo text as the mirror of its composer's mind? As students of Bronze Age Greece well know, the historical use of an 'oral composition' is not straightforward, and the same caution needs to be exercised in relation to the work of the 'writing composer'. All information is atomized, so that it is impermissible to relate any one detail to any other. We may, for example, hear in an I La Galigo text of Portuguese and other merchants bringing ceramics from Malacca for sale in Sulawesi. We know that some Portuguese from Malacca did reach the west coast of the peninsula in the 1540s and then later in the seventeenth century, just as we know that ceramics were imported in vast quantities at these and other times. It would not, however, be proper to cite the I La Galigo passage as evidence for the content of Portuguese trade. To do so, we would have to be consistent and associate this information with rulers and social conditions which we can be confident do not fit in the sixteenth century or later. On the

basis of the understanding of the nature of the I La Galigo material outlined above, the concept of an 'age of I La Galigo' must be strenuously resisted.

Just because of the seductiveness of the prospect of being able to use the I La Galigo texts as a window on early Bugis society, I am inclined to be rather 'pure' in this regard.<sup>107</sup> To give a specific example, Hamonic claims that not only do the *bissu* play a prominent role in the I La Galigo material, but that it is also possible to link particular rituals which he has observed with rituals described in the texts. To these rituals he attributes an antiquity of several centuries.<sup>108</sup> While this argument cannot be disproved, it can also be run the other way; the 'writing composer' in perhaps the eighteenth or nineteenth century, wanting to describe the work of the *bissu*, might very well include contemporary material, thus providing a date for the rituals no older than the date of composition. Without independent evidence, we simply do not know what date to put on any particular detail.

Another, more directly testable case is that of the geography of South Sulawesi. Pelras has argued that the texts support a hypothesis which would see, at some time certainly later than, say, A.D. 1000, a substantially higher sea level producing major inundation on both the east and west coasts of the peninsula.<sup>109</sup> Quite apart from the geomorphological difficulties of the hypothesis, I doubt the methodological validity of associating scenes of arrival by sea with any particular place names.

This is not to argue, however, that the I La Galigo material is of no use for the historian. It is important not to forget its literary functions in the society which produced it, as discussed above, or its considerable claims for attention as literature. It is sobering to recall that those who committed the material to writing or further copying believed the considerable effort to be worth making. Even for the purpose of understanding the period before A.D. 1600, which is our main concern here and about which I am sceptical in detail, there is no reason to dismiss entirely the possibilities of memory preserved by the processes of oral—and then writing—composition. The case for each detail, however, must be looked at to see how that detail fits into wider patterns and what other support can be found for it.

Thus, while I doubt Pelras' geographical reconstruction, I accept his account of early Bugis cosmology and social relations derived from the I La Galigo material.<sup>110</sup> Characters from an upper and a lower world appear in the world of human experience and act out their roles with regard to, if not always in accordance with, normal social arrangements as these were understood by the Bugis. The assumptions of kinship, marriage and status are unexceptional; indeed, as Pelras observes above, they are models to which an audience should aspire, they are the prescriptions of the 'tribal encyclopaedia'. Directions are determined by the rising and the setting of the sun and moon. Politically, society is divided into 'states' with rulers who are in contact with each other. The sea and maritime matters generally, such as the construction of boats and sailing from one 'state' to another, are entirely familiar.

While I would argue for accepting these very general conclusions on the basis that they are deeply embedded in the narrative structure of the material and, also, that they are somewhat in conflict with Muslim concepts, these are precisely the issues which we might derive from a comparative study of other Austronesian-speaking societies and, to some extent, from the process of their expansion suggested by the archaeological evidence. The cosmology and social relations of Polynesian societies in the Pacific are recognizably related and the maritime orientation of most Austronesian speakers is clear. Trade by sea is frequently demonstrable. Only very carefully, however, can one venture out beyond conclusions which are essentially confirmed by other evidence. For example, I have suggested elsewhere that the apparent reliance, as depicted in the I La Galigo texts, on a wider range of food supports the hypothesis of a shift in the relative importance of wet rice agriculture very approximately about A.D. 1400.<sup>111</sup> The main basis of this



argument is to be found in an analysis of the chronicles, but the I La Galigo material supports it by giving greater prominence than one might expect from the later economy of the area to food items such as millet and bananas. This change in food production is, in turn, linked to other political and social developments.

It remains to be seen to what extent further philological work on the I La Galigo material can provide historically defensible insights in matters of detail on early Bugis society.

### Some Conclusions

While considering the various forms of evidence for the early history of South Sulawesi, some detailed results of recent work have been mentioned. The combination of different kinds of evidence, however, provides support for more general statements about the past. It is now possible to sketch in the course of events and to identify some significant processes for the period between about A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1600. Most of this account is new either in the sense of not having been attempted before or in differing from earlier views.

We must begin with a point of fundamental importance for the whole archipelago, though nowhere seen more clearly now than in South Sulawesi, that is the continuity between the prehistoric past of the Austronesian speakers and recent centuries. Awareness of this continuity allows us to avoid the trap of confusing the earliest evidence we may have for a particular feature of society, such as differential status or overseas trade, with the origin of that feature. In any consideration of social development we need not just to remember that people were living and dying, laughing and crying in South Sulawesi a thousand, or two or three thousand years ago, but we can also reasonably infer something of their language, economy and social organization. Innovations, such as the arrival of the earliest Chinese ceramics from the end of the first millennium A.D., may have more to do with changes outside the peninsula, in this case developments in China, than any new beginnings within South Sulawesi society. In particular, the significance of the introduction of writing and, in due course, the creation of written records available to us in one way or another, should not be exaggerated.

Just because so much of our picture of early society has, inevitably, to be generalized, it is worth observing that one aspect of continuity is a degree of diversity. We should not expect uniformity in the past any more, perhaps even less, than in the present. A good example of this which we now understand in some detail is funerary practice.

Until about A.D. 1000, the usual form of disposing of the dead appears, on the basis of evidence from a number of excavations, to have been to allow the body to decompose and then to deposit the bones, often after cremating them, in a cave or rockshelter.<sup>112</sup> Sometimes the bones were placed in an earthenware jar. There are many parallels for such rites across the Archipelago and beyond. This practice then changed in two different ways. Some people, especially in the southwestern corner of the peninsula and also in Luwu', began to bury the body while the bones were still correctly articulated and without any cremation. These inhumations were usually in open ground and sometimes associated with wooden coffins or *duni*. The body was oriented east-west and large quantities of grave goods, especially imported ceramics, were also deposited. In the centre of the peninsula, quite different customs developed; the body was cremated soon after death and the ashes buried in jars. These could either be of local earthenware or more splendid, imported stonewares. Whichever rite was followed, the location of cemeteries and traditions identifying the graves of named individuals—whether or not they are correct—suggest real links with the lineages we know to have been becoming dominant in the several political systems or kingdoms during these centuries. In the sixteenth century, the contrast in funerary practice was observed by the Portuguese who linked inhumation with the Makasar area and cremation, followed by jar burial, with the Bugis.<sup>113</sup> From the seventeenth century on,

there was further change as Muslim practice was adopted, though the social significance and many details of Toraja funerals are suggestive of former customs in the Bugis and Makasar areas.<sup>114</sup>

Other differences across the peninsula may be inferred, even if direct evidence is lacking. Whatever the earlier history of the languages, by the first half of the second millennium A.D. the Makasar and Bugis languages were probably distinct and spoken in roughly the same areas as today.<sup>115</sup> No doubt there were distinct regional dialects of each as well, as there are today, but it is difficult to know how this could be demonstrated directly. Perhaps the absence today of any version of the I La Galigo material in the Makasar cultural area reflects a further distinction of long standing.

While our knowledge of the generalized background of the culture of speakers of Austronesian languages, with all its particular transformations, allows us some insights into the long distant past, we can see more and more details of specific processes as both the amount of evidence and its variety increase in the centuries immediately before A.D. 1600—as of course is true after that date as well! Let us look at some changes in both economy and politics.

In recent centuries it has become a commonplace to remark on the trade and other activities of people from South Sulawesi beyond the peninsula, while the observer on the ground, as it were, sees a large agricultural society devoted to wet rice cultivation. This contrast between external and internal interests has a long history, and the point of balance has not always been the same. If my suggestion of a marked rise in the extent and importance of wet rice agriculture about A.D. 1400 is accepted, then there may well have been a surplus available for export—to say nothing of all the other consequential social and political changes internal to the society.<sup>116</sup> Conversely, the control of overseas trade is commonly seen throughout Southeast Asia to be a significant factor in the economic position and political strength of local rulers. One must always keep an eye on the linkages.

Moreover, the content, direction and significance of this trade have all varied over time. The most obvious import into South Sulawesi was the enormous quantity of mainland ceramics, while exports are generally reckoned to have been iron from Luwu', some gold, various sea and forest products, as well as rice provided, presumably, by the expansion of wet rice cultivation.

A good deal of notice has been taken of the reference to several places, undoubtedly in South Sulawesi, in the long list of those supposedly dependent upon, or at least in admiration of, Majapahit in the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>117</sup> There are signs too of various kinds of Javanese influence in South Sulawesi which can reasonably be attributed to the period before A.D. 1600.<sup>118</sup> Yet there are some grounds for hesitation before leaping to the conclusion that South Sulawesi was just a way-station for Javanese and other traders on their way to the Moluccas. It should be remembered that the Portuguese, following existing routes, took some time to arrive in South Sulawesi.<sup>119</sup> Nor is there any evidence of direct Chinese contact or knowledge. Rather, in Tomé Pires' account from the early sixteenth century, it is clear that goods from South Sulawesi are brought to the western parts of the archipelago by people from South Sulawesi.<sup>120</sup> Presumably they could also carry goods and ideas back.

Another direction in which trade seems to have been carried on is northwards to the Philippines. To the several lines of argument which suggest this<sup>121</sup> can now be added Bulbeck's observation on extended inhumation as a funerary rite. 'The details are so similar in the Philippines and South Sulawesi lowlands [that is, in the areas described above] that totally independent development seems unlikely.'<sup>122</sup> He draws attention to the possible role of Bajau people. While the Bajau may have played some part, there is no reason to doubt straightforward trading voyages by anyone from South Sulawesi. The maritime aspect of most Austronesian-speaking societies has already been stressed and, presumably, travel by sea and the



benefits of trade were everyday experiences for many. In our thinking about this, there is some danger of over-emphasizing long distance trade beyond Southeast Asia (and the internal mechanisms which supplied this long distance trade) to the neglect of more local trading networks.<sup>123</sup>

It is in relation to some kind of trading link that one can most easily understand Caldwell's most interesting discovery that about half the place names in a list of Luwu's vassals can be located on or near the south coast of the peninsula, far removed from the other names around the northern end of the Gulf of Boné.<sup>124</sup> He suggests that this list must have existed in some form before the domination of the south coast by Gowa in the sixteenth century.

The variety of destinations for particular items of trade is demonstrated by the nickeliferous iron exported from Soroako on Lake Matano and probably other sites in this part of Sulawesi.<sup>125</sup> In Java, the *pamor luwu* which has long been used in the decoration of kris blades betrays its origin in its name.<sup>126</sup> Iron implements of all types were also exported eastwards to Ternate in the sixteenth century<sup>127</sup> and no doubt throughout the archipelago.

A recent visit by Caldwell to the area around the head of the Gulf of Boné and his trek across to the west coast have confirmed many hints in the literature of the potential for learning much more.<sup>128</sup> It seems likely that detailed archaeological survey would show the scale of the iron working and, above all, provide some dates for these activities. Such conclusions could then be compared with the oral and written traditions associated with particular sites. The detailed work, however, has yet to be done.

Political developments during these centuries do not merely reflect the economic possibilities, however much the two aspects of society must be associated in any overall account. The ideological basis of all indigenous political relationships in the peninsula is status, ascribed according to descent. This tension between economics and ideology lies at the heart of South Sulawesi politics in recent centuries and it may be reasonably inferred to have existed before A.D. 1600. Indeed, in one form or another, it must go back into the prehistoric past.

There is always a danger of lapsing into Just So stories when considering early political institutions; such-and-such an arrangement must have been the case, because it fits the theory and we cannot contradict it. Small leads to large, simple to complex, many to few, and thus the world progresses! In the particular case of South Sulawesi, several scholars have advanced what might be called the model of the synoecism of *gaukang* (Makasar) communities. The *gaukang* objects, which can be all sorts of things, are said to be the palladia or essential focus for political relations within a village or other group. Larger groups are formed as such groups realize the benefits of co-operation. While state regalia, *arajang* in Bugis or *kalompoang* in Makasar, certainly do play some role as signs of power in ritual and popular belief, in my view they confirm power derived from status relationships between people. The role of more humble objects at village level falls more readily into the sphere of magic than politics.<sup>129</sup>

Caldwell has brought forward a piece of evidence which challenges this picture of steady growth by synoecism in two ways. In the so-called Royal Genealogy of Soppéng, it is stated that the lineage ruling West Soppéng also provided a series of rulers for Suppa', some considerable distance away on the coast.<sup>130</sup> By back-dating from known individuals in the seventeenth century, the relevant marriages can be convincingly dated back into the fourteenth century.<sup>131</sup> This shows power being exerted over a considerable distance by land, since there is no question here of contact by sea or river. Even then, political relations extended far beyond the village sphere and ranged across the peninsula. We also see in this detail of early politics the operation of power and status in a way entirely familiar from later centuries. The dynamic of this system is competition, not mutual co-operation.

The prosperity of West Soppéng, with which this political power was no doubt associated, is indicated by the comparative wealth of early sherds recovered from the site of Tinco Tua. Using Bulbeck's dating techniques as described above, the earliest of these ceramics go back to the twelfth century.<sup>132</sup> Caldwell argues that, in the absence of other possible exports, the most likely source of this prosperity is rice and he would put the rise of wet rice agriculture, which I have dated to about A.D.1400, somewhat earlier, at least in West Soppéng.<sup>133</sup>

This link between West Soppéng and Suppa' seems to have been broken by the growing power of Soppéng in the early fifteenth century and the development and subsequent history of that realm can be dimly discerned in the texts analyzed by Caldwell.<sup>134</sup>

The continuing history of Soppéng, including the union of West and East Soppéng in the sixteenth century and its very significant role in the politics of the peninsula in the seventeenth century, can be traced both in the Bugis sources and in the archaeological record.<sup>135</sup> The level of detail and degree of correlation between the sources is remarkable. Although there is still much work to be done on Soppéng's history, it is worth observing that, from the fifteenth century at least, our understanding is based not on extrapolating from scraps of evidence which we take to be representative, but on a fairly thorough survey of many sites, a genealogical structure supported by several inter-locking accounts and increasingly specific detail on politics and the economy.

This new picture of the early importance of West Soppéng and Sidénréng raises a question in relation to Luwu', which has long been reckoned the earliest of the major realms and to have dominated the peninsula before the rise of Boné and Gowa in the sixteenth century. While there are certainly some hints of trade through Luwu', as we have seen above, the lack of good genealogies and detailed archaeological survey precludes even approximate dating. A rather similar situation applies in the case of Cina, another state of some apparent importance and located around the lower reaches of the Cenrana River. It is interesting—though I hesitate to build much upon it—that both Luwu' and Cina are where the central episodes of the I La Galigo cycle are enacted.<sup>136</sup> Cina appears to have been well based to have controlled trade eastwards from the central valley of South Sulawesi in the period before A.D.1400, but after that date to have given way to the power of Luwu'.<sup>137</sup> In turn, during the sixteenth century, Luwu' was clearly pushed back to the north by the rising powers of Bone' and Wajo' in a series of wars graphically described in the chronicles of the victors.

Further archaeological and philological research will undoubtedly refine the account now available of the development and interaction of the Bugis states in these centuries, though I believe that the broad outlines are now established. In the case of the Makasar states in the plain behind Ujung Pandang, Bulbeck's work has already provided a great deal of detail. As in the case of Soppéng, though to an even greater degree, the systematic coverage of archaeological survey and the exhaustive analysis of texts, leading to a high level of synthesis, underlie the conclusions.

Bulbeck dates the furthest reach of the documentary sources, that is the names with which the Chronicle of Gowa begins, to the thirteenth century<sup>138</sup> and finds support for this in the relatively abundant finds of thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic sherds recovered from Kale Gowa, the traditional centre of the realm.<sup>139</sup> The evolution of this small settlement to the power which, in the early seventeenth century, could justly be called imperial can be followed in some detail through a variety of sources. Each of the elements which contribute to this reconstruction can be found in societies outside South Sulawesi, but their conjunction is unique. Firstly, there is the system for naming prominent individuals, which, among other names, associates a title, such as *karaeng* or lord, with a place name. In reality, the place name seems to signify the people living at that place over whom the titleholder had some form of power. Secondly, there



is the almost obsessive cultural interest in marriage and descent on which the ideology of ascribed status in a bilateral kinship system depends. Both the *Chronicles of Gowa and Tallo'*, as well as the court diary, provide extraordinary detail on genealogies and the titles of individuals linked with specific places. Thirdly, the custom of burying imported ceramics with the dead in cemeteries associated with particular communities bearing the same name down the centuries found a remarkable counterpart in the widespread looting of those cemeteries for their ceramics over the last fifty years or so.

Some specific examples of the results of Bulbeck's work have already been given. What we should note here, however, is the overall picture. We can now trace the evolution of the political and economic situation found in the seventeenth century through the marriage strategy of particular lineages, through the bestowal of particular titles, through the changing patterns of settlement and records of the activities of individuals. The landscape speaks to us not just in general terms, but through an awareness of the underlying geology and geomorphological processes such as the capture by the Je'ne' Berang River of the headwaters of the more southerly Gumanti River, and the human consequences of that.<sup>140</sup>

Looking beyond Gowa, one can see across the peninsula in the centuries before about A.D.1600 a process of growing integration of human society, both in terms of its internal structures and with a wider world. This is not a matter of working out the implications of one or another model—though models have their uses—but rather of observing, at a fairly high level of reliability, particular events and changes. Some older ideas, such as the concept of cultural 'waves' or the political significance of *gaukang*, must now be abandoned. In this process of developing social, political and economic integration, our sources allow us to see people, often named individuals, operating in a cultural and physical world. They compete with each other and struggle with the challenges of sustaining life and culture. This is the stuff of history and, in our understanding of the past, a whole new chapter has been opened up which finds no mention in textbooks such as Hall's *History of South-East Asia* or its many successors. It will be interesting to see how early South Sulawesi finds its place in general accounts of the history of the Indonesian Archipelago.

In terms of the quotation from Jan Wisseman Christie with which this paper began, a great deal of new data has been recovered and made accessible. While there is undoubtedly great scope for further research on many topics, as I have suggested at several points above, two other challenges present themselves with equal urgency. One is to explore the ways in which our understanding of South Sulawesi's past affects more general models of structure and change in the Archipelago and even beyond. The other is to present all this material in ways which has meaning for people today. That audience should not be limited just to dedicated local enthusiasts or a coterie of national and international scholars, for what other people thought and did so long ago and in ways very strange to us might be not beyond the ken, interest and benefit of a wider public.

## Notes

- 1 Jan Wisseman Christie, 'Negara, Mandala, and Despotic State: Images of Early Java' in D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, Singapore and Canberra, 1986, p. 86.
- 2 D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (Fourth edition) London, 1981, pp. 6-7, 10, 236-7.
- 3 Hall, *History*, p. 232 for Islam, p. 269 for Portuguese, p. 318 for Dutch, p. 324 for English. This paper is only concerned with South Sulawesi, and especially the Bugis and Makasar areas. For a recent discussion of the way the whole island of Sulawesi has been regarded, see D. Henley, *The Idea of Celebes in History* (Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Working Paper 59), Clayton, 1989.
- 4 J. Noorduyn, *Een Achttiende-eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo': Buginese historiographie*, 's-Gravenhage, 1955.
- 5 Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, p. 51. 'De historische waarde van de verhalen over de hier besproken periode onttrekt zich bij gebrek aan enig gegeven ter controle aan onze beoordeling. Boven de constatering van een zekere intrinsieke waarschijnlijkheid van enkele hoofdlijnen komen we niet uit. Dit geldt ook nog, zij het in iets mindere mate, voor de volgende periode.'
- 6 A preliminary version of this paper was given as a seminar for the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at Monash University in 1989. I am grateful to David Chandler for his hospitality and encouraging me to persevere with revising the material. David Bulbeck has helped me enormously in the production of the paper and, with his sharp eye for editorial detail and intolerance of sloppy thinking, has saved me from many errors. Those that remain are mine alone.
- 7 The indispensable statements of this phenomenon are Peter Bellwood's two books, *The Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago* (Sydney, 1985) and *The Polynesians: prehistory of an island people* (London, 1978, rev. ed. 1987). While there is ample room for much further refinement of the picture provided by Bellwood, I accept his general conclusions as now beyond serious question. This vast synthesis, to which Bellwood has contributed so much in both detail and overall formulation, is an intellectual achievement of the first magnitude.
- 8 See R. Blust, 'Austronesian culture history: some linguistic inferences and their relations to the archaeological record', *World Archaeology*, vol. 8 (1976), pp. 19-42 (reprinted in P. van de Velde, *Prehistoric Indonesia: a reader* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 104), Dordrecht, 1984, pp. 217-41). An indication of the continuing significance of the theme of boats for societies speaking Austronesian languages may be seen in P.-Y. Manguin, 'Shipshape Societies: Boat Symbolism and Political Systems in Insular Southeast Asia' in Marr & Milner, *Southeast Asia*, pp. 187-207.
- 9 There is an interesting contrast between the papers of a 1982 conference published as P.E. de Josseling de Jong (ed.), *Unity in Diversity: Indonesia as a field of anthropological study* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 103), Dordrecht, 1984 and the seminars and conferences of the Austronesian Project of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University nearly a decade later. (Most of the latter are still to be published.) In general, the latter showed the relevance of the historical (or prehistorical) dimension and ranged well beyond Indonesia.
- 10 For the classification of South Sulawesi languages see C.E. Grimes & B.D. Grimes, *Languages of South Sulawesi (Materials in Languages of Indonesia, No.38)* Pacific Linguistics Series D - No. 78, Canberra 1987. Some minor amendments to their conclusions are suggested in F.D. Bulbeck, *A Tale of Two Kingdoms: the historical archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1992, Appendix A, pp. 487-515. Another important new publication is J. Noorduyn, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series 18) Leiden, 1991. (There is an important review by C. Grimes in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 23 (1992), pp. 459-61.)
- 11 I.C. Glover, 'Leang Burung 2: an Upper Palaeolithic rock shelter in South Sulawesi Indonesia', *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia* 6 (1981), pp. 1-38 (reprinted in P. van de Velde, *Prehistoric Indonesia: a reader*, pp. 327-74).
- 12 G.J. Bartstra, 'Note on new data concerning the fossil vertebrates and stone tools in the Walanae valley in South Sulawesi (Celebes)', *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia* 4 (1978), pp. 71-2.
- 13 V. Chapman, 'Inter-site variability in southwest Sulawesi: results of the 1969 Australian-Indonesian Archaeological Expedition', *Archaeology in Oceania* vol. 21 (1986), pp. 76-84. This draws on V. Chapman, *An analysis of the artefact collections excavated by the Australian-Indonesian Archaeological Expedition to Sulawesi, 1969*. MA Thesis, Australian National University, 1981.
- 14 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, pp. 243, 802-4, fig. 7-6.
- 15 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, photos G-1 to G-12.
- 16 My work in 1972 and 1974 was supported by the (then) Australian Research Grants Scheme.
- 17 The negatives of these photographs were spliced together and copied as normal reels of 35 mm. microfilm. The originals and working copies are held in the Australian National University Library, where there are also some unpublished lists of contents. A checklist of these and other copies of manuscripts from South Sulawesi is in preparation. Some of the items filmed in the 1970s have not been available in more recent years.
- 18 Some of the strictly philological problems of dealing with these manuscripts are dealt with in C.C. Macknight, 'The concept of a 'work' in Bugis manuscripts', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, vol. 18 (Summer, 1984) pp. 103-14 and C.C. Macknight and I. Caldwell, 'Variation in Bugis manuscripts' (forthcoming).
- 19 I prepared a English translation of the grammatical sketch of Bugis in Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, pp. 8-20 which may still have some value for anyone wanting to start on that language. Today, however, there is a range of linguistic descriptions of the relevant languages as set out in Noorduyn, *Survey*.



- 20 Regrettably, this edition of the Boné chronicle has not yet been published, though I have used the translation in teaching for some years. In part, at least, the delay has been caused by the need to answer some of the questions about the text as described here. Again, I am grateful to the Australian Research Grants Scheme for supporting Dr Mukhlis' involvement. A Romanization of the Bugis and an Indonesian translation of the chronicle by Tamin Chairan appears in Tamin Chairan, M. Arief Mattalitti and Adnan Usmar, *Bunga Rampai Sastra Bugis: Bacaan Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan*, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1981.
- 21 See, for example, B.F Matthes, *Kort Verslag aangaande alle mij in Europa bekende Makassaarsche en Boeginesche Handschriften*, Amsterdam, 1875, p. 34 (NBG 99, pp. 217-20), published in B.F Matthes, *Boeginesche Chrestomathie*, Amsterdam, 1864, pp. 527-9. Matthes had also published a Dutch summary of this material in his *Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Legendes*, 's-Gravenhage, 1885, pp. 4-6 and there was a free Dutch translation in R.A. Kern, 'Boegineesche scheppingsverhalen', in *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan, 1778-1928*, Weltevreden, 1929, pp. 310-12.
- 22 Ian Caldwell, *South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600: Ten Bugis Texts*. Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1988, p. 26.
- 23 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, p. 59.
- 24 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 169-71.
- 25 Susan B. Millar in *Bugis weddings: rituals of social location in modern Indonesia* (Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley, Monograph 29) Berkeley, 1989, explains the practical operation of this principle in modern South Sulawesi. This superb ethnographic work, in its original thesis form (Bugis society: given by the wedding guest, PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1981) provided the clue for much of my understanding of the present and the past in the peninsula and beyond. The principle of ascribed status is also fundamental to Makassar society. I have not yet read B. Röttger-Rössler, *Rang und Ansehen bei den Makassar von Gowa (Süd-Sulawesi, Indonesien)* (Kölner Ethnologische Studien, Band 15), Berlin, 1989, but there is an important and helpful review by P.E. de Josselin de Jong in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 147 (1991), pp. 523-4. Another outstanding recent thesis which examines the confirmation and transformation of status in the context of migration to Central Sulawesi in G.L. Acciaioli, *Searching for good fortune: the making of a Bugis shore community at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi*. PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1989.
- 26 C.C. Macknight, 'Changing Perspectives in Island Southeast Asia' in Marr & Milner, *Southeast Asia*, pp. 222-3.
- 27 Details of various published versions are set out in J. Noorduyn, 'The manuscripts of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq: an evaluation', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, deel 147 (1991), pp. 454-84. This article draws on ten manuscripts - and there are undoubtedly more to be found - to show the need for a thorough study of the text. When such an edition is prepared, it will certainly owe a great deal to Dr Noorduyn's remarkable analysis of several passages of particular difficulty. The article is a philological tour de force. A better version of the whole text may correct details of the work of Bulbeck discussed below, but it will not affect its broad conclusions. The most convenient published versions of the material in the form of Romanized transcriptions and Indonesian translations are G.J. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa*, Makassar, [1959] and Abd. Rahim and Ridwan Borahima, *Sejarah Kerajaan Tallo' (Suatu Transkripsi Lontara)*, Ujung Pandang, 1975.
- 28 Mukhlis reports on several manuscripts still in South Sulawesi which are either versions of this work or closely associated with it (Mukhlis, *Struktur birokrasi kerajaan Gowa jaman pemerintahan Sultan Hasanuddin (1653-1669)*, Sarjana thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, 1975, pp. 15-18.) He claims that a version of his 'Lontara No.7' was written by Karaeng Kanjilo in 1670. This is described as a summary of more extensive materials dealing with the history of Gowa which he lists as 'Lontara No.6'. This version of 'Lontara No. 7' is said to have the same number of paragraphs (261) as the published versions of the Chronicle of Gowa. Although the original in private hands is largely illegible, Mukhlis says that there is a copy in the 'Benteng Ujung Pandang' library, by which I think he means the collection of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara. Unfortunately the number he gives for that collection (211) appears to be an error. There is clearly scope for much more research on this matter.
- 29 As quoted in J. Noorduyn, 'Origins of South Celebes historical writing', in Soedjatmoko and others (eds), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Ithaca, 1965, pp. 143-4. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa*, p. 9. See also Noorduyn, *Kroniek*, pp. 149-50 for very similar passages in other chronicles.
- 30 The full case for the suggestions in this paragraph will be set out in the introduction to the edition of the Chronicle of Boné which Dr Mukhlis and I are preparing. The quotations in the following paragraphs are also drawn from this source.
- 31 See T.A. Volkman, *Feasts of Honor: ritual and change in the Toraja highlands*, Urbana. 1985, p. 50.
- 32 C.C. Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture in South Sulawesi before 1600', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, vol. 17 (1983), pp. 92-116.
- 33 The general case is made in F.D. Bulbeck, 'The politics of marriage and the marriage of politics in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in J.J. Fox and C. Sather (eds), *Ancestry, Origins and Alliance* (in press).
- 34 For the eighteenth century, Bulbeck has shown that Andaya is wrong in claiming that 'Arung Palakka ... established in effect a single royal family [in South Sulawesi]' (L.Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: a history of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century*, (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 91), Nijhoff, The Hague, 1981, p. 302). Rather, there were competing lines of descent (F.D. Bulbeck, 'The Landscape of the Makassar War', *Canberra Anthropology*, vol. 13 (1990), pp. 88-9). Following the same line of analysis, Bulbeck also has some penetrating comments in his thesis on the later history of Gowa (Two Kingdoms, pp. 36-7, 174).

- 35 It is striking how well the Bugis works fit the characterization of a chronicle by an historian of Europe such as Hayden White. 'The nature of ... a being, capable of serving as the central organizing principle of meaning of a discourse that is both realistic and narrative in structure, is called up in the mode of historical representation known as the chronicle. By common consensus among historians of historical writing, the chronicle is a "higher" form of historical conceptualization and represents a mode of historiographical representation superior to the annals form. Its superiority consists in its greater comprehensiveness, its organization of materials "by topics and reigns," and its greater narrative coherency. The chronicle also has a central subject — the life of an individual, town, or region; some great undertaking, such as a war or crusade; or some institution, such as a monarchy, episcopacy, or monastery. The link of the chronicle with the annals is perceived in the perseverance of the chronology as the organizing principle of the discourse, and this is what makes the chronicle something less than a fully realized "history." Moreover, the chronicle, like the annals but unlike the history, does not so much conclude as simply terminate; typically it lacks closure, that summing up of the "meaning" of the chain of events with which it deals that we normally expect from the well-made story.' (H. White, *The content of the form: narrative discourse and historical representation* (Baltimore, 1987), p. 16.) White, of course, has in mind only European examples. The 'central subject' of Bugis and Makasar chronicles is the ruling of a particular realm or, more precisely, of a group of lower status followers.
- 36 Noorduy, *Kroniek*, pp. 142-3.
- 37 See Andi Zainal Abidin, *Wajo' pada abad XV-XVI: suatu penggalan sejarah terpendam Sulawesi Selatan dari lontara'* (Bandung, 1985).
- 38 Noorduy, 'Origins of South Celebes historical writing', p. 143.
- 39 A. Teeuw, 'Indonesia as a "Field of Literary Study": a case study: genealogical narrative texts as an Indonesian literary genre' in de Josselin de Jong, *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 38-59.
- 40 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, p. 24, n. 7.
- 41 N. Gervaise, *An historical description of the Kingdom of Macasar*, London, 1701, p. 120.
- 42 This is described in Chuta Ito and Yoshitaro Kamakura, [*Ancient Pottery and Porcelain in Southern Lands*] (in Japanese), second edition, Tokyo, 1941. In 1971, I was responsible for the private distribution of a partial English translation of this work.
- 43 Hadimuljono and C.C. Macknight, 'Imported ceramics in South Sulawesi', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, vol. 17(1983), pp. 66-91.
- 44 Published as J.S. Guy, *Ceramic Excavation Sites in Southeast Asia: a preliminary gazetteer* (Research Centre for Southeast Asian Ceramics, Paper 3), Adelaide, 1987.
- 45 Bahru Kallupa and others, *Survey Pusat Kerajaan Soppeng 1100-1986*, [Canberra], 1989 and Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*. The highly successful co-operation with Indonesian archaeologists was made possible by generous support from the Myer Foundation.
- 46 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, p. 608, table B-39.
- 47 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. 7-1.
- 48 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, p. 241 and fig. 4-8.
- 49 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, photo 7-12.
- 50 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, pp. 403-4, provides English versions of the relevant sections from the Gowa and Tallo' chronicles.
- 51 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. 7-4.
- 52 Macknight and Mukhlis, Boné, chapter 7.
- 53 Macknight and Mukhlis, Boné, chapter 8.
- 54 Bahru Kallupa, *Survey Soppeng*, p. 34.
- 55 There is a copy of the map in Andaya, *Arung Palakka*, map 8. (The location of the original is explained on p. x.)
- 56 See J.C. van Rijneveld, *Celebes, of Veldtocht der Nederlanders op het Eiland Celebes, in de jaren 1824 en 1824*, Breda, 1840, plaat II and M.T.H. Perelaer, *De Bonische Expeditie: Krijgsgebeurtenissen op Celebes in 1859 en 1860*, 2 volumes, Leiden, 1872, various folding plans in both volumes.
- 57 Article 11. Andaya (*Arung Palakka*, pp. 305-7) provides a convenient English summary of the treaty.
- 58 Article 10.
- 59 See, for example, the photograph of the southwest bastion of Sombaopu in L. van Vuuren, *Het Gouvernement Celebes* [n.p.] 1920, deel 1, plate IIa.
- 60 Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa*, p. 26.
- 61 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, pp. 208-17.
- 62 Figure 5 is taken from Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. E-1. An earlier version is also published in Bulbeck, 'Landscape of the Makassar War', p. 86. This article gives a summary description of the results of archaeological survey of the main forts and discusses previous interpretations. Complete details are available in *Two Kingdoms*.
- 63 This is found in the so-called secret atlas of the VOC and is best published in F.C. Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica*, 's-Gravenhage, 1925-33, plates 115-16. There is a very clear publication of the relevant portion in C. Skinner, *Sjair Perang Mengkasar* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 40) 's-Gravenhage, 1963, frontispiece. Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, photo 1-1 provides a colour illustration of the original.



- 64 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, fig. 11-9 and pp. 367-72, 722-7.
- 65 No substantial report appears to be yet available on these excavations, but there is some discussion of them in T.A. Volkman and I. Caldwell (eds), *Sulawesi: the Celebes* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 89. Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, photos 11-4 to 11-6 provide some views of the excavations taken by Peter Spillett Daeng Makulle.
- 66 S. Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading: een scène uit de I La Galigo*. Eindscriptie Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost Azië en Oceanië, Leiden, 1992.
- 67 Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading*, pp. 19-41 presents a very useful summary of the whole narrative.
- 68 In some folktales, which are distinct from the main poetic corpus in question here, some characters, especially Sawérigading, take on other roles.
- 69 C. Pelras, 'Le panthéon des anciens Bugis vu à travers les textes de *La Galigo*', *Archipel* 25 (1983), pp. 63-96.
- 70 Macknight and Mukhlis, Boné, chapter 1.
- 71 See Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, p. 109 for a similar passage from the chronicle of Soppéng, which he dates to the eighteenth century.
- 72 Matthes too, reporting in 1852 on his literary discoveries, had trouble with these names of Leyden. See van den Brink, *Matthes*, p. 175.
- 73 J. Leyden, On the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 10 (1808/12), pp. 195-6.
- 74 T.S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817, vol. 2, p. clxxxviii. Several works in the five syllable verse form concerning comparatively recent historical events may answer to the category of 'even the most modern' books; see, for example, BL Add. 12373 (M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain: a catalogue of manuscripts in Indonesian languages in British public collections* (Oxford, 1977), p. 33 or Berlin Ms. orient. fol. 403 (Matthes, *Kort Verslag*, p. 99).
- 75 *Raffles, History*, vol. 2, pp. clxxix and clxxxi.
- 76 BL Add. 12348 and 12352 (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain*, pp. xxiv, 27-8.)
- 77 All these and a few other items in the European collections have been splendidly catalogued and summarized by R.A. Kern, *I La Galigo: Catalogus der Boegineesche tot den I La Galigo-cyclus behoorende handschriften bewaard in het Legatum Warnerianum te Leiden alsmede in andere Europeesche bibliotheken*. Leiden, 1939.
- 78 The Matthesstichting collection is now held by the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara. The relevant material is catalogued in R.A. Kern, *Catalogus van de Boeginese, tot de I La Galigo-cyclus behorende handschriften van Jajasan Matthes (Matthesstichting) te Makassar (Indonesië)*. Makassar, 1954. Not all items are still to be found in the collection, but some microfilms are available in Canberra, Leiden and Jakarta.
- 79 Little has been published. For details, see Noorduyn, *Survey*, p. 174.
- 80 C. Sirk, 'A contribution to the study of Buginese metrics: La Galigo verse', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 142 (1986), pp. 277-95.
- 81 Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading*, p. 132. He has taken this concept from the work of Phillips on Minangkabau oral poetry and Braginsky on Malay verse.
- 82 The relevant clitics here are additional syllables added to the end of a word which convey some slight modal sense, but which are not essential to the overall import of the sentence. They commonly occur in spoken Bugis.
- 83 Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading*, p. 133.
- 84 Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading*, pp. 134-5.
- 85 Koolhof, *Dutana Sawérigading*, pp. 78, 142.
- 86 'Oral composition' in this sense has been definitively described by A.B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) and my ideas are based closely on his. This concept has a powerful explanatory power in an extraordinarily wide range of situations in many cultures.
- 87 Questions arise which might be tested by further research on the manuscripts. Can one identify the creations of a particular 'writing composer'—one is tempted to say the work of a particular author? What criteria determine the quality of creations? Is there an observable distinction between fresh creation and free copying?
- 88 After Matthes, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 251. 'Tele jaren besteedde ik, om zooveel mogelijk van die fragmenten, welke elk weder voor een afzonderlijk handschrift doorgaan, te verzamelen. En met behulp van ... Aroe-Panjtjana Tjolli-poedjiye, die zeer in deze La-Galigo-literatuur bedreven was, mogt het mij gelukken, om na veel moeite en inspanning een groot aanééngeschakeld gedeelte van 2848 bladzijden folio schrift te bekomen.'
- 89 The medium is probably relevant here too and we should note the use of materials not directly linked with European scholars. For instance, Matthes says that he had access to a version of the episode he published which was written on lontar; I take this to mean that it was a 'strip-roll' (Matthes, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 263).
- 90 It is important to distinguish the marks of 'oral composition' as such from those associated with the 'aural consumption' of written literature which is designed to be read or sung aloud to an audience. Amin Sweeney in *Authors and audiences in traditional Malay literature* (Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley, Monograph 20) (Berkeley, 1980) and *A full hearing: orality and literacy in the Malay world* (Berkeley, 1987) has written extensively on the 'aural consumption' of Malay texts and Christian Pelras in 'L'oral et l'écrit dans la tradition Bugis', *Asie de sud-est et monde insulindien* vol. 10 (1979), pp. 271-97 has an excellent discussion of the oral delivery of written texts in a range of Bugis genres.

- 91 See J.J. Fox, *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*, Cambridge, 1988.
- 92 After Matthes, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 251. 'een compleet exemplaar van dit gedicht' and 'De inlander vergenoet zich steeds met een klein gedeelte daarvan, hetzij op lontarblad of papier geschreven, van tijd tot tijd, vooral bij gelegenheid van feesten, op te dreuen.'
- 93 Koolhof, Dutana Sawérigading, p. 70.
- 94 We are now well informed on the *bissu*. As well as the nineteenth century observations reported by B.F. Matthes (Over de bissoe's of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boeginezen, *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, vol. 7 (1872), pp. 1-50), we now have the linguistic study of U. Sirk (On Old Buginese and Basa Bissu, *Archipel*, 10 (1975), pp. 225-37) and the very full accounts of G. Hamonic, in particular his book, *Le langage des dieux: cultes et pouvoirs pré-islamiques en pays bugis, Célèbes-sud, Indonésie*, (Paris, 1987). Hamonic believes that 'if the *bissu* were not the authors [of the I La Galigo material], at least they were the best placed to be so' (p. 167). As will be clear from earlier comments, I am unhappy with the conventional concept of authorship. The common association of the *bissu* and the I La Galigo material with the life of the courts should be noted.
- 95 See H. van den Brink, *Dr Benjamin Frederik Matthes: zijn leven en arbeid in dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*, (Amsterdam, 1943), p. 172.
- 96 Van den Brink, *Matthes*, p. 179.
- 97 After van den Brink, *Matthes*, p. 183. 'Doch de zorg der Vorstin bepaalde zich niet alleen tot het zoeken van handschriften. Zij gaf ook bevelen om menschen op te sporen, die de La-Galigo-gedichten en de *Menroenana* van *Paetta-Malampeë-gaemaena* niet slechts op een bepaalden dreun lezen konden, maar die ook geheel woord voor woord verstonden en dus in staat waren om ze te verklaren. Dit was echter geene gemakkelijke zaak, en eerst na veel vruchteloze moeite mogt het haar gelukken twee vrouwen te vinden, waarvan de eene vrij bedreven was in de La-Galigo-literatuur, en de andere voor onderwijzeres moest spelen bij het lezen van de *Menroenana*, doch die er eigenlijk, zooals bleek, al zeer weinig van verstond. Gelukkig dat de les aan het huis der Vorstin gegeven werd, zoodat wij gedurig het advies der oude vrouw konden inwinnen, die dan doorgaans ten slotte uit hare kamer te voorschijn kwam en het onderwijs zelve in persoon voortzette. Ofschoon zij nu wel niet alle zwarigheden wist uit den weg te ruimen, was zij toch niet geheel onbedreven in het ontcijferen der oude literatuur.'
- 98 After van den Brink, *Matthes*, p. 183-4. 'Het zal U welligt verwonderen, dat ik mij hoofdzakelijk van vrouwelijke hulp bediende, om den zin der Inlandsche gedichten op te sporen; doch het is maar al te waar, dat over het algemeen de Inlandsche vrouwen, vooral de vorstinnen, veel meer in de Boeginesche letterkunde bedreven zijn dan de mannen, die van niets anders weten te praten dan van hanen-gevechten, en dobbelen, van opium-schuiven en oorlog-voeren, van stelen en moorden.'
- 99 R. Tol, *Een haan in oorlog: Toloqna Arung Labuaja* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde 141) Dordrecht, 1990, p. 10 and Koolhof, Dutana Sawérigading, pp. 61-5 refer to a range of recent discussions.
- 100 After van den Brink, *Matthes*, p. 180. 'Het voornaamste doel van dezen uitstap was, eene volledige verzameling van de La-Galigo-gedichten op te sporen. Ik had mij voorgesteld, die zeker hier te zullen vinden; dewijl men hier onderscheidene menschen aantreft, die aan deze geschriften eene bovennatuurlijke kracht toekennen, zoodat zij, bijvoorbeeld, in geval van ziekte, in plaats van medicijnen te gebruiken, zich bij wijze van gebed, een gedeelte van die gedichten laten voorlezen. Doch ik zocht hier, gelijk meermalen later, te vergeefs naar eene maar eenigzins volledige verzameling van genoemde gedichten. Niet dan enkele stukken en brokken waren hier en daar op te sporen, en dan was men zelfs nog huiverig, mij ook deze ter leen te geven'. On a later visit Matthes was promised a copy of one episode, though it is not clear if it was ever delivered. By contrast, he managed here to get his hands on an old manuscript dealing with Boné, even if he had to make the copy himself.
- 101 This opinion is phrased in the past, though observers of other societies often underestimate the staying power of traditional forms. Apart from recent scholarly interest in South Sulawesi based on the study of manuscripts, there may yet be persisting practice, or echoes of it, beyond the observations of Koolhof and others in and around Amparita. Dr Mukhlis has told me that there are still people in Central Sulawesi who can *magaligo*. Another avenue for research is comparison with the uses of other, long, literary works in the oral style from across the archipelago. Koolhof points to similar themes found in Ngaju Dayak and Sa'dan Toraja materials and, most excitingly, he opens up the question of links with the Panji tales of the western parts of the archipelago and mainland Southeast Asia (Dutana Sawérigading, pp. 153-7).
- 102 A.E. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Oxford, 1963), p. 66. It is interesting to ponder to what extent and in what ways the concept of the 'writing composer' affects the development of critical thought, which is Havelock's main theme.
- 103 After Matthes, *Aanteekeningen*, pp. 250-1. 'is het echter voor de ethnologie van groot belang, dewijl men daarin bij herhaling een' uitvoerige beschrijving van de nog heden ten dage bij geboorte, trouwen en andere dagelijksche voorvallen van het menschenleven, gebruikelijke plechtigheden aantreft.'
- 104 After Pelras, 'Le panthéon', p. 63. 'Bien que de naissance divine, ces Princes et leurs descendants sont des humains—au moins pendant le temps qu'ils passent sur terre—et *La Galigo* nous dépeint donc une humanité originelle et magnifiée, ou les générations ultérieures peuvent rechercher des modèles, non pas tant moraux d'ailleurs que sociaux et rituels: modèles dont on essaiera de se rapprocher le plus possible sans cependant pouvoir les reproduire entièrement, ce que seuls des humains de pure ascendance divine pourraient faire; la réalisation la plus approchée sera donc réservée aux familles princières régnantes, et l'image se fera de plus en plus imparfaite à mesure qu'on descendra les degrés de la hiérarchie sociale. *La Galigo* offrait donc d'abord aux Bugis un prototype idéal de société humaine.' Koolhof discusses the relationship of several I La Galigo themes with the reality of Bugis society (Dutana Sawérigading, pp. 147-53).



- 105 Notice here the distinction between writing in the form or register of manuscript, which is more likely to be 'aurally consumed' as well as being more open to individual recreation in performance or copying, and printed texts, which promote individual silent reading, but set up a greater distance between text and consumer.
- 106 Roger Tol has made a useful start in an unpublished paper, 'A happy marriage: *Menurana* within Bugis literature', 1987.
- 107 This attitude may perhaps be linked with the name of the eminent historian of early Greece, Emily Vermeule, who writes in the Introduction to her standard work, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, (Chicago, 1964):
- Homer has been rejected as evidence, with a pang. He is every Mycenaean scholar's passion. All the other great ancient cultures have their quotable, instructive contemporary literature. ... From such texts in law, cult, folktale, and historical narrative a far sounder, more lively reconstruction of civilization can be made than from the Mycenaeans unfairly deprived of Homer. ... We hope that the core of those great poems has not been terribly changed by successive improvisations of oral poets. ... We are tempted to use whatever corresponds to our excavated knowledge or imagined re-creations. But if one thing is more certain than another in dealing with Greece, it is that every generation, let alone century or millennium, saw changes more profound than the simple classicist sometimes likes to acknowledge. It seems more honest, even refreshing, not to invoke Homer either as decoration or instruction. (p. x)
- 108 Hamonic, *Le langage*, p. 29.
- 109 See the map in C. Pelras, 'Célèbes-sud avant l'Islam selon les premiers témoignages étrangers', *Archipel* 21 (1981) p. 162. There is a similar map in Hamonic, *Le langage*, p. 227. Bulbeck summarizes recent geomorphological knowledge (Two Kingdoms, p. 9). See also W.H.E. Gremmen, 'Palynological investigations in the Danau Tempe depression, southwest Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia', *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia* 11 (1988-9), pp. 123-34.
- 110 Pelras, 'Le Panthéon'.
- 111 Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture', p. 97. See also Koolhof, Dutana Sawérigading, p. 24.
- 112 The detailed evidence for the discussion in this paragraph is set out by Bulbeck, Two Kingdoms, pp. 433-53.
- 113 For the relevant passages, see Hadimuljono and Macknight, 'Imported ceramics', p. 69. Some doubts are expressed there (p. 70) as to whether the distinction was really one between cultural groups and not, perhaps, a class distinction or a function of the distribution of research effort. With further archaeological evidence as set out by Bulbeck, I am now persuaded to accept the Portuguese statements as broadly correct. There are exceptions, however, such as the prevalence of inhumation in Luwu' which in other respects is clearly a Bugis kingdom.
- 114 For ethnographic descriptions of Toraja funerals, see especially Volkman, *Feasts of Honour* and H. Nooy-Palm, *The Sadan Toraja: a study of their social life and religion. volume 2. Rituals of the East and West*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 118), Dordrecht, 1986.
- 115 There is perhaps still some merit in the suggestion I made long ago that a careful survey of place names might reveal shifts in the area of language use. See C.C. Macknight, 'The emergence of civilisation in South Celebes and elsewhere', in A. Reid and L. Castles (eds), *Pre-colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, (Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 6), Kuala Lumpur, 1975, p. 134.
- 116 Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture'.
- 117 Nāgarakṛtāgama 14.4.5 translated in Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century: a study in cultural history*, (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Translation Series 4) vol. 3, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960, p. 17. Dr Stuart Robson has kindly made available to me his much improved translation of this work, which is now better referred to as Deśawarnana.
- 118 A.A. Cense, 'Maleise invloeden in het oostelijk deel van de Indonesische archipel', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 134 (1978), pp. 421-2; Reid, 'Rise of Makassar', pp. 122-3, Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture', pp. 94-5, and the references quoted there.
- 119 C. Pelras, 'Célèbes-sud avant l'Islam' and 'Les premières données occidentales concernant Célèbes-sud', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* vol. 123 (1977), pp. 225-60 describes and analyzes the Portuguese sources along with much helpful discussion.
- 120 Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture', pp. 100-1 provides the specific references.
- 121 See Macknight, 'The rise of agriculture', pp. 95-6.
- 122 Bulbeck, Two Kingdoms, p. 452.
- 123 See Macknight, 'Changing perspectives', pp. 223-4 for more detail on this point.
- 124 Caldwell, Ten Bugis Texts, pp. 75-80.
- 125 The geology of eastern and central Sulawesi is completely different from that of the main peninsula of South Sulawesi.
- 126 B. Bronson, 'Terrestrial and meteoritic nickel in the Indonesian Kris', *Historical Metallurgy Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society*, vol. 21, no.1 (1987), pp. 8-15. See also the correspondence in the same journal, vol. 22, no. 1 (1988), pp. 58-60. It would be interesting to analyze some of the Majapahit krisses in museum collections.
- 127 A. Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues* (Hakluyt Society, second series, vols 89-90) (London, 1944), p. 216.
- 128 Pers. comm.

- 129 The idea of *gaukang* having a significant political role at the village level was first developed by *adat* lawyers, as seen in B. ter Haar, *Adat law in Indonesia* (Djakarta, 1962), pp. 76-7 and it has more recently been re-stated by Andaya, *Arung Palakka*, pp. 11-15. It is not supported by detailed fieldwork. See, for a specific rejection of the concept, M. Rössler and B. Röttger-Rössler, 'Sacred heirlooms, belief, and political change in highland Gowa', paper for Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 2, South Sulawesi: Trade, Society and Belief, Leiden, 1987, p. 4.
- 130 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 122-3, 166-7, 188. Caldwell notes that this is confirmed by the Suppa' genealogy.
- 131 See also Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, pp. 473-6 who argues for even earlier dates than Caldwell.
- 132 Bahru Kallupa, *Survey Soppeng*, pp. 23-4.
- 133 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 186-9.
- 134 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 202-6.
- 135 Bahru Kallupa, *Survey Soppeng*, pp. 69-71.
- 136 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 81-99 presents and discusses a genealogical work and a king list for Cina.
- 137 Caldwell, *Ten Bugis Texts*, pp. 207-11. There is some dispute over the most likely location for the central settlement of Cina. The issue will only be resolved by detailed archaeological survey.
- 138 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, p. 34.
- 139 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, p. 231.
- 140 Bulbeck, *Two Kingdoms*, pp. 183-4.



**Recent unpublished theses referred to in this paper**

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