THE EMERGENCE OF CIVILISATION IN SOUTH CELEBES AND ELSEWHERE

by

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If the general tenor of this paper is negative, it is not necessarily pessimistic. My thesis is that our direct knowledge of how organised states came into being in Southeast Asia generally, and particularly in South Celebes, is so slight that we should not delude ourselves that we even begin to understand the processes involved. Only by admitting our ignorance can we formulate those questions whose solution will represent a real advance.

It is necessary to begin by making a distinction between the foundation and the emergence of states. The former process, with which we will not be concerned in this paper, is typified in the region by the case of Malacca. Whatever the merits or failings of any reconstruction of the detail, there is no doubt that that state was consciously founded by men who were well aware of such a political system and probably came from an already existing state or states.[1] Such men bear a heavy burden of 'invisible baggage' in the form of ideas on social and political structure, the concept of statehood itself, and a host of minor matters. The regular Greek word for colony, *apoikia* or a home away, gets the sense nicely.

The emergence or evolution of statehood is, on the other hand, quite a different process. It is a fundamental transformation of society, resulting in new patterns of thought and behaviour. While external influence may play some role in stimulating or directing this transformation, if it is a distinct case of emergence and not of foundation from elsewhere the basic momentum of change must come from within the society itself. It is this process which I want to discuss here.

There has been a good deal of discussion and argument about the precise nature and causes of this transformation. The phrase 'the emergence of civilisation' in the title of this paper is intended to draw attention to the comparability of situations in Southeast Asia with those in other areas where more work has been done on the problems involved. These analogous situations do not provide us with any new evidence or information on our area, but they allow us to see the nature of the question more clearly and sometimes suggest fruitful lines of inquiry by which new information may, in fact, be obtained. The lines of debate are well set out in the early chapters of Colin Renfrew's new book *The Emergence of Civilisation: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millenium B.C.*[2] As the title suggests, he later goes on to apply his general conclusions to the evidence for one particular situation.

The classic analysis of the transformation we are concerned with stresses the role of the city, or the substantial agglomeration of individuals in a relatively dense distribution. Gordon Childe, for example, dubbed the transformation the Urban Revolution. The mere agglomeration of people necessarily assumes or involves many other factors, and Childe explored these in his famous ten criteria of the city.[3] Further complexity arises from considering the problem in a wider geographical pers-

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1. See particularly O. W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya In Malay History* (London, 1970).
2. London, 1972.
3. V. G. Childe, 'The urban revolution' *The Town Planning Review* 21 (1950), pp. 3-17.

pective than the traditional West Asian focus. In particular, the evidence from Middle America and Peru has raised the level of generalisation in the quest for common factors. A definition which reflects this tendency, and which has won wide acceptance, is that of Clyde Kluckhohn: cities, or urban societies, are characterised by at least two of the following three features: towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants; writing; monumental ceremonial centres.[4] Renfrew pushes this tendency to generalisation further — though he admits the loss of operational utility which is such an attractive feature of Kluckhohn's formula — by defining civilisation as 'the complex artificial environment of man; it is the insulation created by man, an artefact which mediates between himself and the world of nature. Since man's environment is multi-dimensional so too is civilisation'.[5] It should be noted that Renfrew has shifted the definition to civilisation rather than cities, but his intention of describing organised states and their evolution is clear in the context of his work.

What Renfrew's discussion does bring out well is the 'multi-dimensional' nature of civilisation. This leads him into a consideration of the causes of the transformation which produces it. He expounds the importance of what he terms 'the multiplier effect'. This is defined thus:

> Changes or innovations occurring in one field of human activity (in one subsystem of a culture) sometimes act so as to favour changes in other fields (in other subsystems). The multiplier effect is said to operate when these induced changes in one or more subsystems themselves act so as to enhance the original changes in the first subsystem.[6]

If we are to understand in detail any of the particular cases of 'the emergence of civilisation', or the transformation of society into organised statehood, we must be able to demonstrate this principle in action. This is the task which Renfrew subsequently undertakes for the case of the Aegean Bronze Age.

Before turning to the particular case of South Celebes, it is worth mentioning briefly two other cases in Southeast Asia as standards of comparison. In my view, both illustrate clearly the depth of our ignorance.

The first concerns the area immediately east of Jakarta. Over the past few years archaeological work in the area has established the existence of what is conveniently termed the Buni complex, after the first site investigated. The evidence consists of a body of pottery, some of which is decorated; finely worked stone adzes; gold, glass and cornelian beads; bronze fragments; and possibly, remains of iron working. Some at least of this material is associated with burials. The age of the complex is obscure, and a vague estimate of somewhere in the first millennia B.C. or A.D., with perhaps slightly greater probability for the centre of that period, is going close to straining the reliability of the evidence.[7]

Against this background, a recent suggestion by Noorduyn and Verstappen is of great interest.[8] On the basis of a rather unsatisfactory inscription and certain geomorphological evidence, they suggest that in the fifth century A.D. a major river was diverted away from a city near the present Tanjung Priok. Such a project in itself argues a relatively complex 'artificial environment', and it can be filled out by the implication of some literacy, the mention of kingship and the evident Indian influence.

It seems not unreasonable to discern here the faint indications of a fairly developed society occupying this part of the coastal plain of West Java. While it could be argued

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4. C. Kluckhohn, 'The moral order in the expanding society' in C. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams (eds.), *City Invincible: an Oriental Institute Symposium* (Chicago, 1960), p. 400.
5. Renfrew, *Emergence of Civilisation,* p. 13.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 37.
7. There is a useful summary in Md. Sutayasa, 'Notes on the Buni Pottery Complex, Northwest Java', *Mankind* 8 (1972), pp. 182-4.
8. J. Noorduyn and H. Th. Verstappen, 'Purnavarman's River-works near Tugu', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 128 (1972), pp. 298-307.

that this is a case of Indian foundation rather than indigenous evolution, the evidence of the pottery indicates strong links with local tradition. The extreme vagueness of the chronological control, however, should be enough to warn us against any speculation not related to obtaining more hard evidence.

The second case to be considered is Thailand. Even if 'the prehistory of Thailand ... can now be said to be the best explored in South-East Asia',[9] there are still formidable problems of interpretation and synthesis. In particular, it is not yet possible to trace in detail the development of society from the pre-Indian Metal Age to the Funan Period (second to sixth centuries A.D.), when the earliest written records and the archaeological evidence of sites such as Oc-Eo and U-Thong allow us to be confident that the critical transformation has, in fact, taken place. The most important requirements in this field at present are to resolve the chronological problems of the Metal Age and to convert more of the indications of relevant sites into full excavation reports.[10] The admirable preliminary report on excavations at Chansen suggests the sort of material that awaits discovery.[11] Until these requirements are met, only the most general speculation is possible.[12]

I now want to take up the case of South Celebes. While there is some danger of creating a myth of the distinctiveness of the Bugis-Macassarese cultural area, the area does have certain features not found elsewhere and these need to be clearly understood.[13] They are also most relevant to the question we are concerned with.

The surviving evidence for the history of South Celebes in the 17th century is remarkably abundant and enough work has been done on it for the main outlines of the society to be fairly clear.[14] Certain features of this 17th century situation stand out clearly. The most obvious is the well developed and elaborate political organisation of the peninsula into a number of states. The detailed distinctions between each of these are not of concern here, though very interesting in their own right. Taken as a group, they share a common cultural background which is evidenced, if by nothing else, in their acknowledgement of each other in treaties. The two languages of the peninsula, Bugis and Macassarese, imply some fundamental division, but this is masked to some extent by the script they all but share and many other traits in common. Then, as in more recent times, the nobility of each state, whatever the details of their hierarchical structure, acknowledged each others' distinction and inter-married. There can be no doubt that there was a highly formalised concept of the state as such, in many cases with definite territorial borders.[15] Certainly in the 18th century the concept of distinct territory is attested in the story of Arung Singkang's exploits, recently made available in English.[16] Two of the seven charges by Bone against Arung Singkang hinge on the claim of territorial possession. A second important feature of the 17th century society is its easy familiarity with literacy. I return below to the question of the date of its introduction.

Finally there is the impression one gains of a society of some size and self-confidence, able and willing to act within a wider framework. The clearest examples are the expansion of Gowa's political control over islands southwards and eastwards

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9. H. H. E. Loofs, 'A Brief Account of the Thai-British Archaeological Expedition, 1965-1970', *Archaeology & Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 5 (1970), p. 177.
10. W. G. Solheim, 'Northern Thailand, Southeast Asia, and World Prehistory', *Asian Perspectives* 13 (1970), p. 154.
11. B. Bronson and G. F. Dales, 'Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968 and 1969: A Preliminary Report', *Asian Perspectives* 15 no. 1 (1972), pp. 15-46.
12. See, for example, Solheim, p. 158.
13. For the same point in another context, see G. J. Resink, *Indonesia's History between the Myths: Essays in Legal History and Historical Theory* (The Hague, 1968), pp. 54-5.
14. Resink's essay in *Indonesia's History* ... and Dr L. Y. Andaya's article in this volume are but two of a number of distinguished studies which illustrate the sort of evidence available and demonstrate the considerable potential for further work along the same lines.
15. Resink, pp. 43-4.
16. J. Noorduyn, 'Arung Singkang (1700-1765): How the Victory of Wadjo' Began', *Indonesia* 13 (1972), pp. 61-8.

and the whole background to the struggle with the Dutch East India Company in the 1660s. The Macassar War was by no means the easiest of the military undertakings of the company.

When Kluckhohn's three criteria for urban societies are applied to this situation, only one, writing, is immediately met. The other two, monumental ceremonial centres and settlements of more than 5,000 persons, are equivocal. So far as we know from the surviving monuments and contemporary illustrations South Celebes has no Angkor Wat or Borobudur. Yet the state of Gowa alone could raise an army of over 10,000 men to go to Butung in 1666 and the royal fort of Sombaopu in Macassar was by no means insubstantial long before the main conflict with the Dutch.[17] The royal tombs of the kingdom both at Tallo' and near Sungguminase are of some sophistication. The brick wall over three kilometres in length which surrounds this latter area is said to have been built in the 16th century. It seems probable that comparable remains exist elsewhere on the peninsula. Certainly the two royal tombs at Bukaka on the outskirts of Watampone are similar to those near Sungguminasa. One of these is said to date from the early 17th century. There is also another tomb at Palopo.[18] While, on this evidence, I would hesitate to describe South Celebes in the 17th century as an urban society, it can fairly be characterised as 'civilised'.[19] What we now have to examine is how that 'civilisation' arose in the years before 1600.

At the outset, it is worth reminding ourselves that this happened before significant Muslim or European influence. Neither is there more than the merest trace of that enriching Indian tradition so familiar elsewhere in Southeast Asia. South Celebes has some claim to be regarded as a test case of the vitality of indigenous Southeast Asian traditions.

The evidence relating to South Celebes before 1600 falls into three categories, familiar from other protohistorical situations: archaeological data, a variety of documentary sources, and a miscellaneous category of retrospective rationalisations. As the following review will show, each of these has more potential than present substance.

The archaeological evidence for the fully prehistoric period in South Celebes derives from the remarkable pioneer work of the Sarasin brothers at the turn of the century and the impetus created by a number of no less extraordinary field workers before World War II. This work has continued after the war by van Heekeren and later summarized by him in a most useful form.[20] In the last few years, further work has provided important new chronological and stratigraphic information, and more is in progress. The relevant results of all this work to date can be briefly set out.

In the post-Pleistocene period, that is the last 10,000 years, the peninsula has been occupied by people whose material culture is still conveniently, albeit mistakenly, called Toalean. The finely worked stone industry, on which the identity of the Toalean chiefly depends, has been found in numerous cave deposits in a variety of ecological zones. Although many problems of detail remain, the overall picture of a well developed 'hunter-gatherer-fisher' society cannot be doubted. The origins and external relationships of this culture are hardly worth speculating about in our present state of knowledge, or rather ignorance. The internal development of the culture is also still vague, but one or two comments can be made. Firstly, the tripartite sequence proposed by van Heekeren has not been validated by further work and it would seem better to look

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17. F. W. Stapel, *Het Bongaais Verdrag* (Groningen, Den Haag, 1922), p. 109; C. Skinner, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War)* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 245 and frontpiece.
18. L. van Vuuren, *Het Gouvernement Celebes* ([Weltevreden], 1920), plates 39c and 35b.
19. Renfrew (p. 244) also has doubts about the the urban nature of Mycenaean civilisation.
20. H. R. van Heekeren, *The Stone Age of Indonesia* ('s-Gravenhage, 1957) and *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia* ('s-Gravenhage, 1958). It is a pity that in the second edition of his *Stone Age* ('s-Gravenhage, 1972) van Heekeren was not able to take account of recent work in the area. See, in particular, D. J. Mulvaney and R. P. Soejono, 'The Australian-Indonesian Archaeological Expedition to Sulawesi', *Asian Perspectives* 13 (1970), pp. 163-77 and the same authors', 'Archaeology in Sulawesi, Indonesia', *Antiquity* 45 (1971), pp. 26-33.

for other typological indicators. Two suggest themselves: the first is the appearance of pottery of any sort. The earliest sherds from controlled contexts appear to be undecorated, though this may simply be chance. These come from the caves east of Maros. In the cave of Ulu Leang I pottery appears after a radiocarbon date of nearly 4000 B.C., while nearby at Leang Burung it is associated with dates of about 1500 B.C.

A date for the introduction of pottery somewhere between these extremes would agree well with data from Timor which is the most relevant comparable sequence with a firm chronological base.[21] It would not be surprising if pottery were at least roughly associated with the transformation of the subsistence basis of life towards early forms of horticulture and the introduction of domesticated animals, along the lines suggested for Timor. However there is as yet no direct evidence for these processes in South Celebes.

The second indicator is decorated pottery of the 'Sa-huynh-Kalanay tradition'. This is not the place to enter the vexed questions of the reality of this 'tradition', its internal articulation, and its date, though the evidence from Celebes is important for all of these. However there can be no doubt of the real similarity and relationship between pottery from several sites in South Celebes, the pottery from Galumpang on the Karama River in Central Celebes and pottery from the central Philippines. More distant connections are also probable. Dates for this tradition range through the second and first millennia B.C. and the first millennium A.D.

Although it is important to realize its extreme vagueness, present evidence does suggest something of the antiquity and ramifications of the pattern of settled life out of which the organised states of South Celebes later emerged. The view of Southeast Asia as a fringe area, developing late as a result of slow diffusion from other centres, is now sufficiently discredited: it is important not to fall into the same error in regard to particular areas within the region as a whole, especially by neglecting the importance of sea communication.

This last point is conveniently brought out in considering the second important class of archaeological material so far discovered in South Celebes, the mainland ceramics. As in many other areas of Indonesia, material dating over a wide range has been recovered. For example, a phoenix-headed ewer from Maros is dated to about the 9th century A.D.[22] The significance of such scattered finds is probably not great since there are so many possibilities as to their transport and use. More intriguing is the great quantity of ceramic material, usually dated to the 14th and 15th centuries, which has been found. Chinese, Annamese and Thai wares are all represented in abundance. Like the identical material recovered in the Philippines, most of the pottery seems to come from graves. This conclusion has been supported by the recent excavations near Takalar and Pankajene (Pangkep). These excavations have also produced an interesting range of other grave goods: local earthenware of impressive quality, gold eye-covers as well as other objects of gold, bronze and iron, and what can reasonably be interpreted as offerings of pig and buffalo meat.[23] A remarkable gold mask probably comes from a similar context.[24]

The obvious potential that such work holds for ceramic studies — a potential so well realized in some of the recent work in the Philippines — need not obscure its promise of information on other matters, particularly concerning the beliefs and practices of those buried. This subject is further discussed below. For the moment it is enough to notice some more immediate problems. The three most urgent are to understand more fully the distribution, dating and transport of the pots.

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21. I. C. Glover, 'Prehistoric Research in Timor', in D. J. Mulvaney and J. Golson (eds), *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia* (Canberra, 1971), p. 177.
22. E. W. van Orsoy de Flines, *Gids voor de Keramische Verzameling* (Batavia, 1949), plate 8.
23. Uka Tjandrasasmita, *The South Sulawesi Excavation Project* (Djakarta, 1970).
24. Chr. Pelras, 'Les Fouilles et l'Histoire à Celèbes Sud', *Archipel* 3 (1972), pp. 207-10.

The first, distribution, is perhaps the easiest. On rather slight evidence it would appear that some ceramic material is found in most or all parts of the peninsula and some way north, in other words throughout the Bugis-Macassarese cultural area.[25] The apparent richness of the area near Macassar may be due simply to its accessibility.

The question of dating, particularly without any detailed knowledge of the context in which the pots were found, is one on which it is very difficult to reach precise conclusions. However even a brief glance through the 390 items from South Celebes illustrated by Ito and Kamakura is enough to identify most of them as Ming or Sawankhalok.[26] This fits well with a date for the abandonment of earlier burial practices at about the time of the official introduction of Islam. A date for the origin of the fashion for burying mainland ceramics is more difficult to determine, though there are a few items which could date back into the Yuan period at least, or even the late Sung, that is back into the 13th century A.D. For example, a small jar with two ring ears and several large blotches of colour is very similar in form and decoration to some spotted Ch'ing pai items or even an 'early blue and white' jar from the Santa Ana site in Manila.[27]

Thirdly, there is the question of who brought these ceramics to South Celebes and in what context. There are a number of aspects to this problem, but one of the most important is the variety of places of manufacture. This would seem to indicate a trading pattern of some scope. The occurrence of wares of similar date and variety in the Philippines is also of relevance here.

This discussion of the archaeological evidence can fittingly end with three puzzles. What was the purpose and the origin of the enormous bronze socketed axe bought by auction in Macassar and now gracing the prehistoric room in the Jakarta museum?[28] What were the circumstances which led to the arrival in the Celebes of the famous bronze statue of Buddha, now also in the Jakarta museum?[29] Finally, what would be found in an excavation of the reputed site of We Cudai's palace near Sengkang?[30] Since there is a good possibility of deriving significant though not necessarily spectacular material from this site, it is most important that any investigation should only be undertaken by a professional archaeologist with all the necessary resources.

The documentary sources for South Celebes before 1600 fall neatly into two groups, internal and external. The latter are disappointingly slight. From the 14th century there is the bare mention of Luwu', Bantaeng and Macassar in the *Nagarakertagama*.[31] It is perhaps worth noting that the identification of Luwu' is not quite certain. Luwuk in the eastern arm of Celebes is an equally plausible identification. About a century later the *Malay Annals* record an attack on Malacca by 'Keraing Semerluki' from Macassar.[32] This may have been the son of the first ruler of Tallo', though it is impossible to identify other names in the story.[33] The Chinese sources,

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25. See the notes in van Heekeren, *Bronze-Iron Age,* pp. 84-5. I have also made some casual enquiries in South Celebes on this matter.
26. C. Ito and Y. Kamakura, *Ancient Pottery and Porcelain in Southern Lands* (Tokyo, second edition, 1941) (In Japanese).
27. *Ibid.,* plate 37, item 1. Compare L. and C. Locsin, *Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 1967), pp. 94-104, especially plates 77 and 84. Compare also the two items on Ito and Kamakura's plate 44 with the Locsins' plates 69 and 70.
28. van Heekeren, *Bronze-Iron Age,* p. 10 and fig. 4.
29. J. Fontein, R. Soekmono and Satyawati Suleiman, *Ancient Indonesian Art of the central and eastern Javanese periods* (New York, 1971) pp. 65, 148.
30. See Pelras, 'Les Fouilles ...', p. 212. I have also heard stories in South Celebes of the archaeological potential of this site.
31. T. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century: a study in cultural history* (The Hague, 1960-3), vol. 3, p. 17; vol. 4, p. 34.
32. C. C. Brown (trans.) *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970), pp. 90-2.
33. A. Zainal Abidin, 'Sawerigading: a companion of the I La Galigo epic cycle of South Celebes with folk-tales from Central Celebes, Southeast Celebes and Malaysia'. In press.

which have much to contribute to the history of lands around the South China Sea, are much less helpful on islands further into the archipelago. Some of the unidentified names in geographical works, such as the 13th century *Chu-fan-chi*,[34] may well refer to places in Celebes, but even if secure identifications could be made the descriptions of these places are not extensive.

The Portuguese material from the 16th century is rather more helpful and indeed a full and careful review of it may reveal more than has been hitherto suspected. A study of all aspects of Portuguese influence in Gowa is badly needed, filling out the summary by Stapel and complementing Boxer's excellent biographical work on the 17th century figure, Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo.[35] The usefulness of this early Portuguese material has been recently demonstrated in the ingenious suggestion that the points of Portuguese contact in 1543 were Suppa' near the modern Pare-Pare and Siang in the Pangkep district.[36] Similarly even the rather garbled account of Celebes and its trade given a little earlier by Tomé Pires is valuable evidence as far as it goes.[37] Yet it is worth emphasising the limitations of this evidence since it is still so easy to fall into the delusion of regarding European activities and the evidence relating to them as being at the centre of the story. The Portuguese did not finally succeed in joining South Celebes to Catholic Christendom nor did their direct influence ever extend beyond the west coast of the peninsula, particularly the Macassarese area. In the 16th century especially, their role was only marginal in the society whose central evolution we wish to observe.

The great lure of South Celebes history is that we do, in fact, possess just those internal documents with which to demonstrate the peripheral nature of the European view. Particularly since the publication of Noorduyn's thesis,[38] the importance of these local sources for South Celebes history has been more widely recognized. This is as true for later centuries as for the period with which we are here concerned. For the early period, only two of the various types of Bugis-Macassarese writing are relevant to any significant extent: the chronicles of the various states and the *I La Galigo* epic cycle. Some further material, particularly relating to legal matters, is better viewid as a possible basis for retrospective rationalisation, as discussed below.

The basic details about the chronicles are well known. The earliest extant examples were written during the 17th century, though most of them date from the following century. At the beginning of most chronicles there is a clearly mythological section, often concerned with the descent from heaven of some founder figure. After accounting for the origin of the state, the chronicler has little information about the next couple of generations other than personal names. Progressively more details are given for successive rulers during the 16th century. Much work of a relatively straightforward nature remains to be done on the chronicle record for this century. Noorduyn has shown the way both in the appropriate chapters of his thesis and in a later article in which he also explores some of the problems of precise chronology.[39] A recent mention of further evidence on the early rulers of Bone shows how much more of this work there is to do.[40] It can reasonably be assumed that the information in the chronicles which relates to the 16th century is based on contemporary written records now lost.

The real problem arises with the 15th century. Noorduyn presents the evidence from the chronicle of Gowa which purports to show that in Gowa at least the practice

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34. F. Firth and W. W. Rockhill (trans.) *Chau Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911).
35. Stapel, pp. 4-9; C. R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: a Portuguese Merchant-Adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667* ('s-Gravenhage, 1967).
36. Pelras, 'Les Fouilles ...', pp. 210-11.
37. A. Cortesao (trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* ... (London, 1944), vol. 1, pp. 226-7.
38. J. Noorduyn, *Een Achttiende-Eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo': Buginese Historiografie* ('s-Gravenhage, 1955).
39. *Ibid.;* J. Noorduyn, 'Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing', in Soedjatmoko and others (eds), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1965).
40. A. Zainal Abidin, 'Notes on the Lontara' as Historical Sources', *Indonesia* 12 (1971), p. 171.

of writing in general, and historical writing in particular, began in the first half of the 16th century.[41] How reliable is this date and how valid is it for the whole peninsula? The answers to these questions are vital for an evaluation of the material relating to the 15th century, apart from being of considerable interest in themselves. On information available at the moment, it seems that there was probably some writing in the 15th century, and that the evidence in the chronicles for that century, and possibly even slightly earlier, is reliable as far as it goes. The mythological introductions to the chronicles are clearly the product of non-written transmission processes, though it is important to realize that since our evidence for these mythological stories does not predate the 17th century, they may well have been concocted at any time up till then and we need not be surprised if they 'explain' relatively late features of the state to which they relate. Noorduyn provides an excellent example.[42]

In assessing the potential usefulness of the chronicles for the question of the 'emergence of civilisation', a problem immediately arises. If those sections of the chronicles not based on written sources do not reflect a reliable non-written tradition (as seems to be the case), and if writing is an important element in the transformation we wish to observe, then the information in the chronicles must essentially postdate that transformation. That is not to say that the chronicles do not have a great deal to tell us about the consolidation of the transformation, particularly the processes of building up the territories and constitutions of the major states.

There is, however, a further source of tradition which may be able to illuminate the period before writing became established. This is the *I La Galigo* epic cycle. This relates, in epic verse, a long series of stories concerning the creation of the world and the adventures of various generations of heroes. There is a clearly defined end to this heroic age and before 'history' begins. There are so many unanswered questions about this material, as well as a complete absence of usable texts, that we should be wary of drawing hasty conclusions about it.[43] One point, however, is clear. Such an epic tradition must be approached in the light of modern understanding of the processes of oral composition and transmission. This understanding we owe chiefly to Milman Parry and his followers, who have applied the lessons of the Serbo-Croat epic tradition to the study of Homer.[44] Only if tackled on the same basis will the *I La Galigo* material be able to reveal its potential as a source of information on the period before the chronicle record. That is not necessarily to imply that the texts as we have them betray the characteristic marks of oral composition (though I strongly suspect that they do), but it seems impossible to explain the origin of the cycle in any other way.[45]

Some points of useful information emerge securely without any elaborate analysis. The early importance of Luwu' is vital to the whole structure of the story, and is happily confirmed from other sources. Similarly the ease of maritime communication is well attested in the voyaging of I La Galigo's father, Sawerigading, who is in fact the chief character of the whole cycle. A proper edition of at least some part of an I La Galigo text is a project of the highest priority.

The final category of evidence to be discussed consists of various forms of retrospective rationalisation, that is, attempts to explain a later pattern or situation by an hypothesis as to its evolution. An excellent instance is provided by the apparent

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41. Noorduyn, 'Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing', p. 153.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
43. There are, however, the two magnificant catalogues of manuscripts prepared by R. A. Kern, *Catalogus van de Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-Cyclus Behoorende Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek* ... (Leiden, 1939) and *Catalogus van de Boeginese, tot de I La Galigo-Cyclus Behorende Handschriften van Jajasan Matthes* ... (Makassar, 1954).
44. For a brief but authoritative summary of this work see G. S. Kirk, *Homer and the Epic* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 1-32.
45. The same need to understand the processes of composition and transmission, though in the context of written material, has recently been stressed by P. J. Worsley, *Babad Buleleng* (The Hague, 1972), particularly pp. 91-7.

synoecism of the *gaukang* communities in Bone.[46] The potential of *adat* law for such reconstructions, particularly *adat* relating to constitutional arrangements, is obviously considerable.

Various other fields for similar reconstructions must be passed over with a bare mention. The precise interrelationship of the various Indic-derived scripts of Southeast Asia has not yet been clearly enough established. If, for example, the pre-Spanish Philippine scripts do, in fact, derive from those of South Celebes,[47] this is of importance in assessing the age of the scripts in South Celebes itself, as well as being relevant to questions of trade and cultural influence. There is also the problem of the origin of the South Celebes scripts. Another field of promise is the study of place-names. It may be possible to discern shifts in linguistic borders by this means. The pre-Islamic religion of the area also survives in relic form, especially in isolated communities. It is probable that a modern, analytical study of the practices of the *bissu* or traditional priests would reveal much of interest. Indeed, the same is true for almost any aspect of traditional culture.

Earlier in this paper it was suggested that the history of South Celebes was in some ways distinctive. One way in which this is so is in the range of available evidence bearing on that transformation of society which has been called the 'emergence of civilisation'. To take one example only, the question of the religious concepts of the society in the process of transformation, there is the direct archaeological evidence of the graves associated with the mainland ceramics as well as the analogies that can be drawn with other similar burial practices throughout Southeast Asia; some general attitudes may be inferred from those expressed in the *I La Galigo* cycle; and there is the evidence of modern ethnography, particularly in the lore of the *bissu* and perhaps in some aspects of traditional Toraja belief. There are advantages in studying such a situation at a distance of five hundred years, rather than five thousand.

However the potential of evidence should not be confused with its proper working out. To reiterate the main thesis of the paper, we cannot claim to have begun to understand the processes lying behind that transformation of society which includes the origins of organised states. In every field, much basic work remains to be tackled. This holds not only for the case of South Celebes which we have examined in some detail, but also for other situations in Southeast Asia. This is not the place to enter the question of the date, nature and circumstances of Indian influence, particularly in Java, but if we allow, as we must, some significant degree of local inspiration in the Indianised civilisations of the region, then the question of the processes by which this occurred must be faced. If anyone is in doubt about the size of the task ahead, he could look at the amount of archaeological exploration and synthesis that lies behind Renfrew's work on the Aegean, though this still leaves many gaps in matters of detail.

Renfrew's analysis has yet another value. He brings into the open the need for a firm theoretical base to a discussion of any particular instance of this transformation. Without such a base — and I accept that in the concept of the 'multiplier effect' he has provided an adequate theory — it is difficult to avoid either oversimplification or unsubstantiated hypothesis. In this connection, Renfrew's discussion of previous explanations of culture change in the Aegean and of various hypothetical 'causal chain' explanations is most instructive.[48]

These comments are directly relevant to an explanation of the origins of a highly stratified society in South Celebes which has recently been suggested by Dr Pelras.[49] He hypothesizes that Javanese (Majapahit) influence in 14th century Luwu' and 'une transformation techno-economique concommittante' provided the opportunity for

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46. L. Y. Andaya, in this volume.
47. Dr Robert Fox of the National Museum of the Philippines assures me that this is most probable. This opinion is also shared by W. H. Scott, *A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Manila, 1968), p. 63.
48. Renfrew, pp. 55-60, 480-5.
49. Chr. Pelras, 'Hierarchie et Pouvoir Traditionnels en Pays Wadjo' ', *Archipel* 2 (1971), p. 215.

the growth of an hereditary aristocracy 'd'abord plus sacré que politique'. Subsequently this aristocracy system was adopted elsewhere in the Bugis area 'par contagion' (i.e. diffusionism) and by its apparent utility in defence and social development. Certain peculiar features of the hierarchical arrangements are then explained by retrospective rationalisation:..

This explanation is plausible and has a number of attractive features, such as stressing the traditionally attested importance of Luwu'. However it is inadequate on two levels. Firstly, it does not provide evidence for that 'transformation techno-économique concomittante' and all the other changes in population density and distribution, art styles, religious expression, and so on that the theory suggests must lie behind the transformation of social structure. Secondly, and conversely, it does not demonstrate the reality of the social change by investigating the effects of that change in all other spheres. In particular, and this is where I think Renfrew's formulation of the theory needs some refinement, it is vital to bring out the quantitative changes that are occurring.

It is a measure of what is possible with the evidence from South Celebes that Pelras is able to propose such an hypothesis. Despite our present ignorance in crucial areas of concern, this can be remedied. It will be interesting to observe the relationship between the theory and new information, s that becomes available.