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Introduction

This essay is a study of the political organization of Bugis society from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century A.D.¹ Its sources are Bugis historical texts written on nineteenth- and twentieth-century European paper in an indigenous script of Indic origin which contain information dating from around 1300. These texts were evidently copied from older manuscript texts which were based on diverse oral and written sources of earlier centuries (Caldwell 1988; Pelras 1979). Other than a few scattered foreign references, these texts are the sole written sources for the history of South Sulawesi before the arrival of the Dutch at the beginning of the seventeenth century, shortly before the Bugis elite converted to Islam.² They include chronicles and diaries, genealogies of the ruling elite, lists of vassal territories, and short works of various genres, such as legends of early rulers.³ A few are available as edited documents with commentaries,

¹ I would like to thank Professor Ruth McVey and Dr. David Bulbeck for their detailed criticisms of an earlier draft of this essay, which has its origins in a paper read at the International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 2, 'South Sulawesi: Trade, Society and Belief', held at the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, 2-6 November 1987. Responsibility for the evidence and interpretations presented here rests with the author alone.

² Chinese navigators do not appear to have known of Sulawesi before the seventeenth century (Mills 1974). The first Dutch expedition arrived in Sulawesi in 1603 and the rulers of the major Bugis kingdoms converted to Islam between 1604 and 1611. The only European sources for the pre-Islamic period are the accounts left by a handful of Portuguese visitors in the sixteenth century, which mostly cover a small portion of the west coast between the years 1542 and 1547. What little information can be obtained from these is difficult to relate to indigenous sources, as well as to the physical geography of the peninsula (Pelras 1977). There are extensive Dutch records for the seventeenth and subsequent centuries.

³ The evidence for the development of writing around 1400 and the problems of using Bugis texts as historical sources are discussed in the author's Ph.D. thesis (Caldwell 1988).

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but most exist only in manuscript. Together, they provide a remarkable picture of Bugis society in the pre-Islamic period.⁴

The essential historicity of Bugis chronicles and other texts has been established by Noorduyn (1955, 1965) and Caldwell (1988). As historical sources these texts have the notable advantage of reflecting indigenous concerns instead of the interests of foreign visitors. However, it would be naive to imagine that they are always impartial sources; individually and collectively they make claims through history and ancestry for the legitimacy of rulers and a ruling class. At the heart of these claims lies an important relationship between political leadership and ascriptive status, namely the status an individual gets from his or her parents at birth. This essay seeks to establish that this relationship is central to an understanding of Bugis political systems, and to the reading of Bugis historical texts.

Recent archaeological research by David Bulbeck, Bahru Kallupa and others has added considerably to our knowledge of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi. Much of this research is based on the statistical analysis of ceramic sherds collected from the surface of habitation or ritual sites. From this analysis it is possible to construct the demographic history of settled populations of surveyed areas in the former Bugis and Makasar kingdoms of South Sulawesi over a period of several hundred years. Numerical fluctuations of populations, some involving the relocation of people, can sometimes be linked to events, and even to the actions of individuals, recorded in the chronicles and genealogies of South Sulawesi. While this article concentrates on the evidence from written sources, occasional reference will be made to archaeological findings.

The kingdoms

From earliest historical times, the lowlands of South Sulawesi have been divided into political and territorial units which historians have called kingdoms, and occasionally confederations. The six major kingdoms of Luwuq, Soppéng, Sidénréng, Boné, Wajoq, Goa and Talloq appear in Bugis and Makasar texts in reference to the fifteenth century A.D. (see Figure 1). However, we should not assume that their boundaries were identical with the boundaries of the seventeenth-century kingdoms of the same name⁵, or that their rulers enjoyed the sort of authority that European princes of the same period did. In this essay, the word 'kingdom' refers simply to one of the dozen or so traditional Bugis and Makasar confederations, each of which recognized a paramount noble of varying title whose authority extended, however nominally, within the confederation's territorial boundaries. It will be argued that these confederations had a basic three-tier

⁴ A comparable situation exists for pre-Islamic Makasar society, which is examined in detail by David Bulbeck in his Ph.D. thesis (Bulbeck 1992).

⁵ Seventeenth-century European sources show the major kingdoms occupying roughly the same areas as the modern *kabupaten* (administrative districts) named after them.

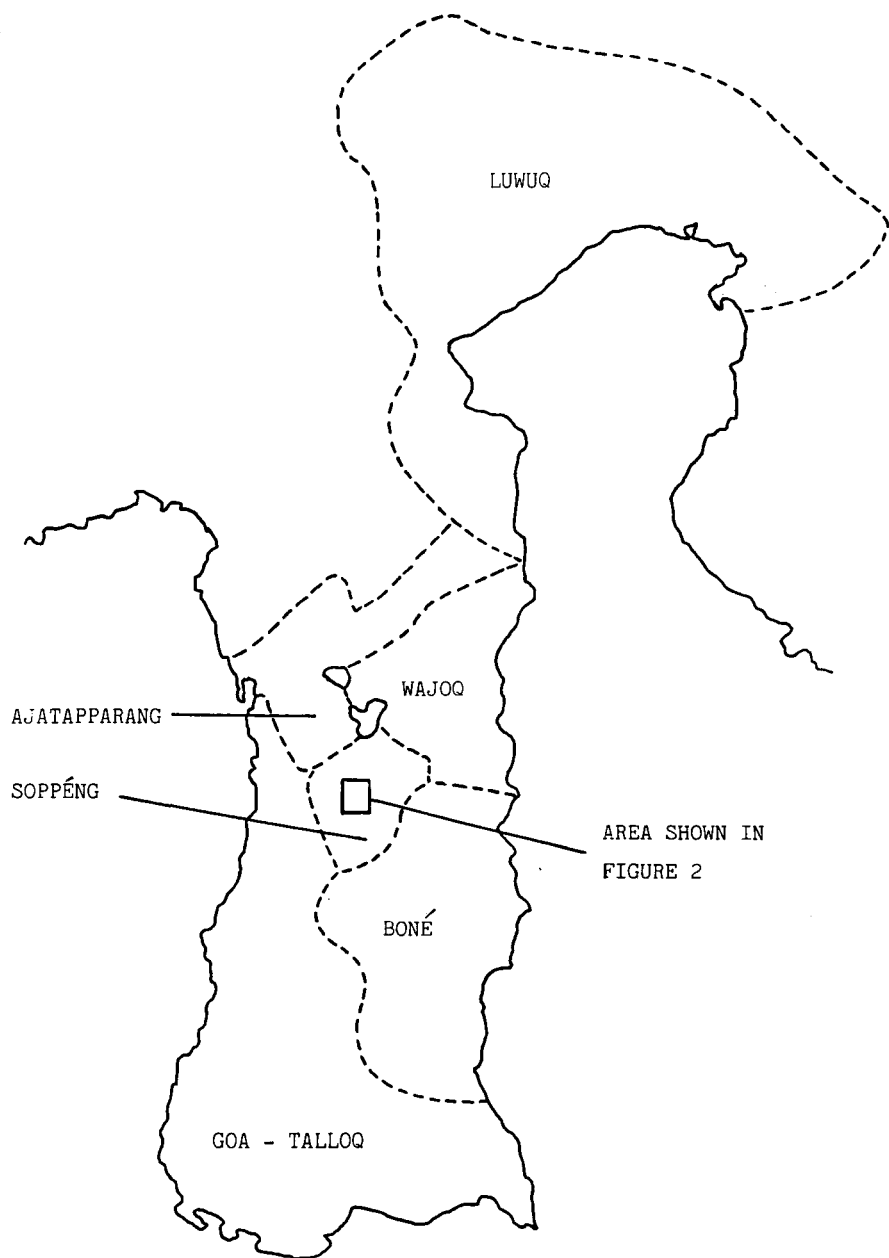


Figure 1. Approximate location of Bugis and Makasar confederations mentioned in the text, circa A.D. 1600.

political structure which I have labelled 'kingdom', 'domain' and 'settlement'.

The division of the South Sulawesi lowlands into kingdoms was (and still is) an important organizing principle of Bugis and Makasar historiography. Each of the Bugis and Makasar chronicles is structured around the genealogy of a kingdom's paramount nobles (for brevity hereafter referred to as 'rulers'). This genealogy provides a chronology for the ordering of events that occurred within the kingdom, or external events that affected it.⁶ Some texts refer directly to the constituent territories of the kingdoms, but in general it is the ruling elite that forms the subject of Bugis and Makasar historiography. Common Bugis and Makasars are rarely mentioned, and then only in relation to their rulers.

Perhaps the largest category of Bugis and Makasar texts is the genealogy. Genealogies are records of both descent and first marriages. These marriages are of great historical interest. A Bugis or Makasar nobleman usually married more than once, but his first marriage was the most important. This marriage was made by his family with a view to establishing or to strengthening links with another noble family. From a study of these marriages it is possible to identify some of the political concerns that lay behind their negotiation.

The evidence of these marriages in the pre-Islamic sections of the genealogies suggests that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cohesion within the kingdoms was more important than the relationships between kingdoms. Marriages were negotiated not between two rulers, but between a ruler and his or her local *arung* (lord of a principality or domain lying within the kingdom). A typical example is the early-fifteenth-century marriage between the ruler of Soppéng, La Makkanengnga, and Wé Téna, daughter of the *arung* of Bulumatanré, a fortified mountain settlement that controlled a pass leading from the interior of Soppéng to the west coast. The genealogy of Soppéng's rulers⁷, in which this marriage appears, records other marriages at Balusu, Léworeng, Baringeng, Pising, Mario-riawa, Lompéngeng, Ujumpulu, Ganra, Tellarié, Citta and Patojo. All but one of these settlements are listed elsewhere⁸ as vassals⁹ of Soppéng, and all except Baringeng lie within the modern administrative boundaries of Soppéng.¹⁰ Marriages between kingdoms are rare.¹¹ The above-cited

⁶ Many extant Bugis and Makasar genealogies are not centred on a kingdom but on a limited kin group of contemporary individuals. These genealogies aim to show the relationship of these individuals to prestigious ancestors from different domains or kingdoms and can provide a useful means of cross-checking the chronicles' genealogies.

⁷ MS. NBG 99:224-30, in the Bugis and Makasar manuscript collection of the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society), held in the library of the State University of Leiden. Manuscript numbers are from Matthes 1875.

⁸ MS. NBG 101:133-4.

⁹ 'Vassal' is a conventional translation of Bugis *palili*, 'something around a centre'.

¹⁰ Tellarié is unidentified.

¹¹ An exception to this pattern is Ajatappareng, a confederation of five minor king-

genealogy of Soppéng's paramount nobles lists just one such marriage at the beginning of the fourteenth century, between the first recorded ruler of Soppéng, La Temmammala, and a princess of Suppaq, a small coastal kingdom near Paré-Paré.¹²

The evident importance of the settlements named in the genealogies of the kingdoms' rulers argues against the degree of political and administrative centralization, generally under a single government or constitution, by which political scientists characterize the state (Skinner 1989). Also, a state is expected to possess an administrative bureaucracy, which is something we find little evidence of in the historical records of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi: rarely do Bugis sources mention an office based on administrative function as opposed to place. Nor is there an emphasis on the capitals, or palace centres, of the kingdoms; the genealogy of the rulers of Soppéng, for example, does not even mention Tinco, where archaeological research shows early pre-Islamic rulers to have built their palaces (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:48). These features suggest that pre-Islamic kingdoms were weakly centralized and that the settlements named in the genealogies were probably political units in their own right.

This hypothesis is supported by the list of Soppéng's vassal territories.¹³ This list divides Soppéng's vassals into two distinct groups (the question of their status will be examined later) which are separated by the expression *napanoqé rakkalana Soppéng*, 'under the plough of Soppéng'.¹⁴ This expression is not applied to the settlements of the first group, which lie some distance from the present-day *kabupaten* capital of Watassoppéng: the nearest, Apanang, is ten kilometres away, while Lamuru is fifty-six kilometres distant. The area covered by these settlements corresponds roughly to the territory of the former kingdom of Soppéng. Furthermore, twelve of them – Lamuru, Mario, Patojo, Citta, Goagoa, Ujumpulu, Lompéngeng, Baringeng, Tanatengnga, Marioriawa, Ampungeng and Kirukiru – have vassal lists of their own.¹⁵ From these lists we learn that each of the twelve settlements had its own local cluster of vassal settlements, several of which can be identified on a modern map. Each of these twelve, together with its vassal settlements and associated lands, was thus a territorial unit, which we may call a domain or principality. It seems a reasonable assumption that all of Soppéng's twenty-eight vassal settlements had the same sort of structure, and that the lists of the vassal territories of the remaining sixteen domains are lost or have yet to be identified.

doms located on the fertile central depression between modern Paré-Paré and Sidénréng. The genealogies of these kingdoms show extensive intermarriage between their ruling families from A.D. 1500 onwards (Mukhlis 1985:119).

¹² The more frequent occurrence of such marriages in the post-Islamic sections of the same genealogies, particularly following the tumultuous events of the seventeenth century, shows that this is not simply a stylistic or textual convention.

¹³ MS. NBG 101:133-4.

¹⁴ Literally: 'then the letting down of the plough of Soppéng'.

¹⁵ MS. NBG 101:134-5.

Assuming this to be so, we now have a picture in Soppéng of twenty-eight domains, each made up of a dozen or more settlements and associated lands centred on a single central settlement. But what of Soppéng's capital or palace centre? This is the subject of the second half of the vassal list. Here are named some thirty-five settlements, all of which lie close to the present-day capital of Watassoppéng: the furthest is ten kilometres from Watassoppéng, while the nearest is one kilometre away. These are the settlements that made up the domain of Soppéng, as distinct from the kingdom of Soppéng. These settlements belonged to the eponymous settlement of Soppéng, which in the sixteenth century was focused on Laleng Bénténg ('inside the palace walls'), now in modern-day Watassoppéng (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:71). The expression *napanoqé rakkalana*, 'under the plough [of Soppéng]', can thus be interpreted as meaning 'the following settlements are ruled directly by the settlement of Soppéng'.

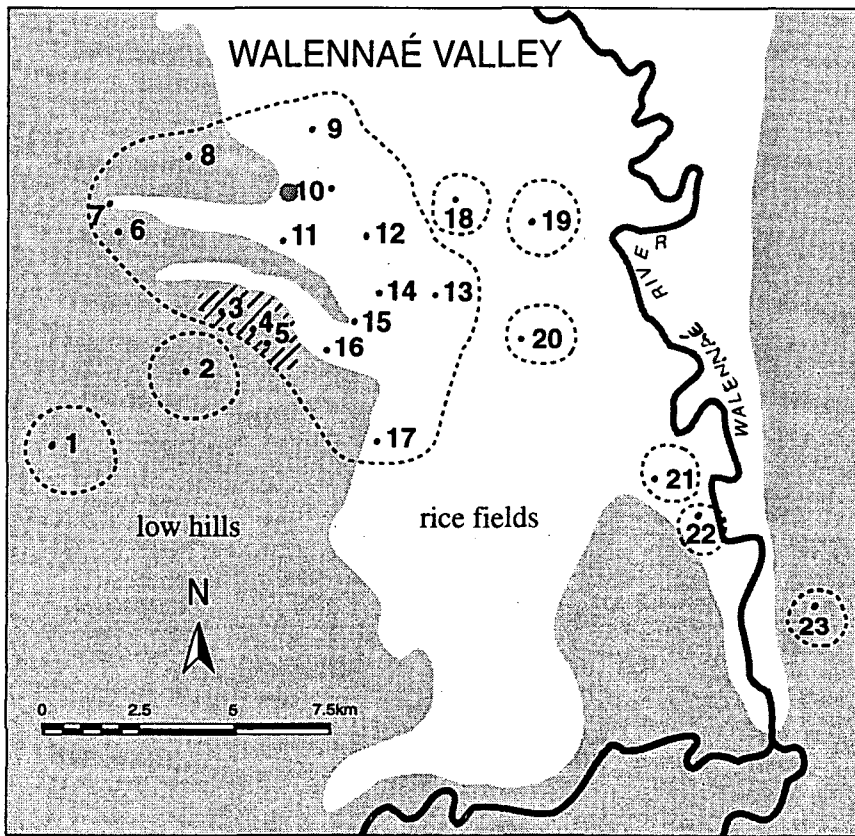
This interpretation is supported by the history of the origin of Soppéng¹⁶, which lists fifteen of the thirty-five settlements named in the second half of Soppéng's vassal list. These fifteen settlements are described as having made up the original heart of the kingdom (see Figure 2). They are among the settlements that constituted the domain of Soppéng. None of the marriages recorded in the genealogy of Soppéng's rulers are at these settlements, or at other settlements named in the second half of Soppéng's vassal list. All marriages (bar the one with the kingdom of Suppaq) are at the domains mentioned in the first half of the list. Nor is the title *arung* used in reference to the settlements of the second half of the list; for these the title *matoa* (headman) is used instead.

A similar picture of a central domain surrounded by other, less important, domains emerges from the vassal list of Sidénréng.¹⁷ The thirty-odd names of the vassal list are divided, like the settlements of the vassal list of Soppéng, into two groups by the expression 'under the plough [of Sidénréng]'. In the first group are named the domains that constituted the kingdom of Sidénréng, while in the second group are listed the settlements that made up the domain of Sidénréng. The title *arung* is used regularly for the lords of places in the first group (the domains) but never for those in the second (the settlements). A similar picture of a three-tier political structure of kingdom, domain and settlement emerges from the lists of vassals of other kingdoms mentioned on pages 36-7 of Matthes' catalogue of Bugis manuscripts (Matthes 1875).

The picture becomes rather more complicated when we look closely at

¹⁶ MS. MAK 188:5-7 in the Bugis and Makasar manuscript collection of the former Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, Ujung Pandang. The collection, which no longer exists as such, was microfilmed in 1972 by Dr. C.C. Macknight. Copies of the microfilms are held in the libraries of the Australian National University and the State University of Leiden. Catalogue numbers are those given on the microfilm.

¹⁷ MS. NBG 112:59.



LEGEND

• settlement	8 Pessé	17 Panincong
○ domain	9 Tellang	18 Ganra
1 Bulumatanré	10 Tinco	19 Bélo
2 Gattareng	11 Madellorilauq	20 Apanang
3 Bila	12 Cénnrana	21 Jampu
4 Botto	13 Akkampéng	22 Kampiri
5 Ujung	14 Mangkutu	23 Citta
6 Lisu	15 Watuwatu	
7 Seppang	16 Saloqtungo	WATASSOPENG

Figure 2. The domain of Soppéng and its neighbouring domains.

the vassal lists of Soppéng's constituent domains. The vassal list of the domain of Lamuru¹⁸ names twenty-eight settlements, which it divides into two groups, separated by the expression 'under the plough [of Lamuru]'. The first group comprises the domains of Lamuru – Lamuru's own principalities – and the second group comprises the settlements which made up the eponymous central domain. The vassal list of the domain of Marioriawa is also divided into two groups, the first comprising the names of five constituent domains and the second the names of fifteen settlements that made up the central domain. From this it can be seen that the vassal lists of Lamuru and Marioriawa reflect the three-level political structure indicated by the vassal lists of Soppéng and other South Sulawesi kingdoms. Lamuru and Marioriawa can thus be considered minor kingdoms, each possessing its own domains, while Soppéng appears to have been a 'super-kingdom' comprising both smaller kingdoms and domains.¹⁹

The political structure of Soppéng may be compared to that of Srivijaya (Hall 1976). The kingdom or 'empire' of Srivijaya was ruled through a series of district chiefs (*datu*), each governing his own domain: only the centre of the kingdom was governed directly by the king. Each of Srivijaya's constituent domains was originally an independent unit that was later attracted or pressured into alliance with the central domain at Palembang. The domains continued to maintain a large degree of independence, moderated by traditional ties of loyalty and economic relationships within the kingdom. These domains were integrated into the kingdom by a variety of means, including the direct appointment of royal sons as district chiefs (Hall 1976:75).

In South Sulawesi, one of the strategies used by rulers seeking greater integration within their kingdoms was to marry their sons or daughters to the children of local *arung*. In the Chronicle of Boné it is written that the marriage of the third ruler of Boné 'was arranged with his first cousin, called Wé Tenrirompong, the daughter and heir of the *arung* of Pacing' (a domain of Boné) (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming). The genealogy of the rulers of Soppéng states that La Makkanengnga, a son of an early-fourteenth-century ruler of Soppéng, married at Bulumatanré, a strategically important domain. Several marriages of rulers' daughters to the sons of local *arung* are also recorded.²⁰ It is difficult to gauge to what extent a ruler gained control of a kingdom's domains through such marriages, but the result was that the kingdom's ruling family remained closely related to

¹⁸ MS. NBG 101:134.

¹⁹ In the vassal list of Sidénréng there is evidence of a hierarchy among Sidénréng's domains, which are divided in several places in the list by the expression *dua [tellu] arung déq masala*, 'two (or three) lords of equal rank'. The precise relevance of this expression is unclear.

²⁰ The genealogies of the upper Cénrana river valley (MS. NBG 99:144-5) provide a similar record of centre-domain marriages, but their interpretation is hindered by the lack of a known kingdom to which they might refer.

the ruling families of its domains.²¹

By the fourteenth century, when historical records begin, Luwuq and Soppéng, the latter then under a form of dual leadership (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:69-70), were the dominant powers in their respective regions. Archaeological evidence from Soppéng confirms the picture obtained from Bugis texts of a large kingdom centred on the hill at Tinco, eight kilometres north of Watassoppéng (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:48). As early as A.D. 1300 Soppéng was trading with other parts of the archipelago, probably through the west-coast port of Suppaq. In the fifteenth century, Sidénréng also fell within Soppéng's sphere of influence: an early ruler of Soppéng is recorded as having ordered the people of Sidénréng, Népo and Marioriawa²² to farm lands along the shores of the central lakes. By the early sixteenth century Sidénréng had become the dominant power north of the lakes: both the royal genealogy of Soppéng and the royal genealogy of Suppaq²³ record the shift of allegiance of the west-coast kingdom of Suppaq from Soppéng's sphere of influence to that of Sidénréng around 1425.²⁴ Two other Bugis kingdoms, Boné and Wajoq, and the Makasar kingdoms of Goa and Talloq, also do not seem to have become major powers until the sixteenth century, though their rise can be traced back to about 1400. We can even trace the growth of the kingdom of Boné from a small domain of the same name in the early 1400s (Macknight 1983).

The origins of the process of unification, by which one domain emerged as the political centre in each kingdom, lie for the most part beyond the lower limits of the written sources. However, it is not difficult to imagine that, driven by their expanding populations and perhaps by improvements in farming techniques, the early domains came increasingly into competition with each other for control of the fertile plains and valleys of the peninsula. This competition would have been one factor which stimulated the gradual integration of scattered domains into larger units, probably through a series of defensive alliances offering physical protection for their members.

With the possible exception of Luwuq, the emergence of the kingdoms of South Sulawesi appears to be largely unconnected to foreign techno-

²¹ This policy of integration through strategic marriages could also be applied to kingdoms. Reid relates how the dualism of the Goa and Talloq kingdoms was thrown into question by the accession to the throne of Goa of Tunipasuluq, who could claim the rulership of Talloq from his mother and that of Goa from his father (Reid 1983:136).

²² Népo and Marioriawa lay west and south of Lake Témpé and were domains of Soppéng.

²³ MS. MAK 119:66.

²⁴ A Portuguese visitor, Manuel Pinto, stayed for eight months as a guest of the ruler of Sidénréng in the mid-1540s. Pinto described him as 'a very great lord, who is called *emperador* [...] He lives five or six leagues within the interior of the land in a city called Sedemre. He is the lord of the most people in these regions' (Schurhammer 1980:628).

logy or ideas. Unlike all other literate, pre-European-contact Indonesian societies, those of early South Sulawesi developed largely uninfluenced by Indic ideas, and the small number of Indic elements one does find are superficial and poorly assimilated.²⁵ Indianization was defined by Coedès as the expansion of an organized culture founded upon an Indian conception of royalty characterized by Hindu or Buddhist cults, the mythology of the Puranas, the observance of Indian law texts, and the use of the Sanskrit language. The transmission of the first three was by means of the last. Coedès adds: 'It is for this reason that we sometimes speak of "Sanskritization" instead of "Indianization"' (Coedès 1968:15-6). There is no evidence of any of these features in South Sulawesi. Unlike Java, South Sulawesi has neither monumental architecture nor vernacular-language versions of Indian literary or philosophical works. The Ramayana, Mahabharata and other great works of Indic literature were unknown in pre-colonial South Sulawesi. Nor is the Indian historical style, with its emphasis on myths, legends and symbols, reflected in the chronicles and historical writings of South Sulawesi. Sanskrit loan-words in the Bugis and Makasar languages are few by comparison with Javanese and Malay and were acquired mostly through contact with the Malay language (Gonda 1952:38-45). Inscriptions are unknown, and the Indian idea of a *cakravartin* (world-ruler) appears never to have taken root in South Sulawesi. Perhaps the most convincing argument for the lack of Indianization is that writing, a prerequisite for the effective spread and adaptation of Indian ideas (as shown by the close relationship of the origin of writing and the Indianization of other Southeast Asian societies), did not develop in South Sulawesi until around 1400, at least one hundred years after the emergence of the first kingdoms (Caldwell 1988:171).

The ruling elite

It is clear from the chronicles and genealogies that political power in each kingdom was associated with a limited kin group of very high status. The ruler was chosen from this kin group and was usually the son, or occasionally the daughter, of the previous ruler, or the ruler's brother or sister, or a brother's or sister's child. The regular transfer of political office within the ruling families of the various kingdoms points to a prevailing ideology of power in which eligibility for political office rested on ascriptive, not achieved, status. In the terms of the ideology, the personal qualities necessary for leadership were the result, not the cause, of an individual's status. In Bugis thought, status meant power, not power status.

Paradoxically, individual achievement must have played an important

²⁵ These Indic elements include the names of the Bugis months, the name of the pre-Islamic ritual specialists (*bissu*), ritual and cosmological elements of the rice cycle, the use of Javanese-Sanskrit titles by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rulers of Luwuq, certain ornamental designs on royal graves and armaments, and the form of certain ritual weapons.

part in the selection of a ruler. Broadly speaking, descent in South Sulawesi is bilateral, and it would appear from the genealogies that any of a ruler's children, male or female, first-born or last, could be selected to succeed him, though in practice a male was usually chosen. It seems likely that individuals could and did rise in status because of personal qualities or achievements – the career of the seventeenth-century ruler of Boné, La Tenrittata, is an excellent example (Andaya 1981) – but it is likely that such a rise would have been perceived as a 'recognition' of their status rather than as the acquisition of status.²⁶ Millar has shown how in present-day Bugis society, ascribed status is adjusted to personal achievement – or the lack of it – in the Bugis wedding ceremony. The adjustment is brought about by a communal 'reassessment' of the ascriptive status of the families of the bride and groom at various stages of the wedding ceremony, thus providing an alignment of the ideological system with the daily realities of power (Millar 1989: Ch. 1). Women, who in theory cannot marry below their own rank, act as the markers of a kin group's status. A similar situation exists in present-day Makasar society, according to Chabot, who writes:

'[...] social status in South Celebes signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment.' (Chabot 1950:82.)²⁷

'[...] the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group' (Chabot 1950:91).

'It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall.' (Chabot 1950:94.)

'Children from such a marriage [between partners of different social levels], even where the difference in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded officially as equals within their mother's group of relatives, because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall [in social standing].' (Chabot 1950:96.)

In his statistical analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Makasar titles, Bulbeck found a high correlation between the titles of full sisters, implying strict ascription of status for aristocratic Makasar women (Bulbeck 1992:101).

The importance of ascriptive status in the selection of a Bugis ruler is nicely illustrated by the Chronicle of Boné's account of the origin and installation of the third Arumponé (ruler of both the settlement and kingdom of Boné).

²⁶ La Tenrittata was born into a minor noble family which ruled the domain of Palakka. His genealogy, which was almost certainly constructed after he had become the paramount ruler of South Sulawesi, traces his ancestry through his father to Simpurusia, the legendary first ruler of Luwuq (Caldwell 1988:98).

²⁷ English translation by R. Neuse (Human Relations Area Files, 1950).

'He [the second Arumponé, La Umasaq] had no child as heir, although he did, in fact, father To Sualléng and To Salawakeng, but their mother was only a commoner. When he knew his sister, who had married in Palakka, was pregnant, he went to sleep on the problem, and it is said he was shown what to do. After that he was relaxed at heart for he knew his sister, who was married in Palakka, was in labour. He called To Sualléng and To Salawakeng and said, "Go now quickly westwards to Palakka, for my young sister is said to be in labour. If my young sister is delivered, just take the baby in a rough bag, you hold it close, you bring it quickly eastwards to here. Thus its umbilical cord will be cut here, and thus too it will be washed here."

To Sualléng and To Salawakeng did indeed hasten and went quickly. They came to Palakka, they went straight on up to the palace. To Sualléng and To Salawakeng did not even sit down. The wife of the king of Palakka was delivered and her child was a boy. His hair all stood up on end. To Sualléng went straight up and took the baby in a rough bag, he held it close in a gathered-up sarong, then he went eastwards to Boné. But the king of Palakka was absent when his child was taken.

When they came to Boné they went straight on up to the royal hall. After that (the baby's) umbilical cord was cut, and after that also, he was washed [...] That very night a general summons was given to the people of Boné, namely: "Gather yourselves together tomorrow, bringing arms".

Early the next morning, there were the people of Boné complete with arms. The Woromporong [the state flag] was unfurled. Arumponé went down to the meeting house. Arumponé said: "For this, I have gathered together all you people of Boné. Here is my child called La Saliwu and entitled Kerrampéluqa. To him I hand over the kingship of Boné. By this child of mine also, I uphold the treaty that our lord [the first Arumponé], before disappearing, entrusted to my hands."

The people of Boné all gave their assent and after that rendered fealty, and the command was also given to send for the shamans. [...] Our lord Kerrampéluqa was enthroned by his uncle over seven days and nights [...] When his after-birth had been carried around the house, our lord, the old one, moved down from the palace.' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming.)

This passage sets out two important principles. First, that an individual's status was essentially determined by his or her mother's status²⁸, and secondly that the rulership of Boné was available only to those of high ascriptive status. La Umasaq's wife was a commoner, so his sons were of lower status than him, and this lack of status excluded them from succession to the rulership. However, La Umasaq's sister had the same ascriptive status as him. La Umasaq therefore kidnapped his sister's child and installed him as Arumponé. As the chronicler makes clear, neither of La Umasaq's sons would have been accepted as ruler by the *arung* of Boné.

How far these principles were adhered to in practice is difficult to say. Greed, ambition and violence must have played the same part they have in other societies, and evidence that this was so is not difficult to find in South Sulawesi sources. While the chronicles provide plentiful evidence of a close relation between ascriptive status and appointment to high office, it

²⁸ Compare Chabot 1950:96 above.

should be remembered that this was also their central message. Each chronicle is concerned to demonstrate both the origins of kingship (usually through a social contract between a being of heavenly descent and the people of a kingdom) and the proper transfer of kingship down to later generations. In short, were a usurper to seize the kingdom, we would expect to see his achievement justified by the provision of a suitable pedigree to establish his high status. Against this argument must be set the important fact that the wide distribution of genealogies both within and between kingdoms would have made outright forgery difficult.²⁹ On balance, one is inclined to believe that the chronicles are telling the truth, or something close to it.

What is certain is that the idea of status was linked to agricultural fertility, and that the ultimate source of this was supernatural. References to the link between status and fertility are widespread in Bugis sources. The history of the origin of Soppéng describes how the people of Soppéng, led by their headmen, requested the *tomanurung* (being of heavenly descent) of Sékkanyili to become their ruler.

'So the sixty headmen set off. When they reached the one who descended, the headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, "We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as lord. You protect our fields from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we shall reject them also.'" ³⁰

The close relationship between status and agricultural fertility is illustrated in the Chronicle of Tanété, a small west-coast kingdom. The chronicle tells how after the death of the first ruler, a noble from the neighbouring kingdom of Ségéri, a local district chief was installed.

'There was no *arung* at Agannionjo. So Puang Lolo [the district chief of Ujung] was chosen to rule; he called himself *arung*; thus did the people install him as Datu Gollaé ["the sweet lord", the title of the ruler of Tanété] to rule at Agannionjo. He had ruled for a year when the paddy began to die and the number of fish started to decline. After three years the paddy failed completely and the fish disappeared, and the people suffered greatly from starvation. [Puang Lolo] said to the elders, "I am sorry for what I have done. [Go and] fetch an *arung* to replace me as ruler, for I am not truly the descendant of an *arung*.'" (Niemann 1883:14, author's translation.)

²⁹ The accuracy of the genealogical records from about A.D. 1400 is attested to by cross-references which can be made between a number of Bugis works (Caldwell 1988:169).

³⁰ MS. MAK 188:5-7. Translations from manuscript are those of the author, unless otherwise indicated.

Puang Lolo abdicated and an *arung* from Segeri was installed as ruler; the consequent restoration of fertility was so obvious in the chronicler's mind that he omitted even to mention it. While the story served to explain the historical relations of Tanété and Ségéri (Noorduyn 1965:139), the linking of fertility and status is explicit and unequivocal. The claim that the ruler was the necessary 'channel' for natural fertility was the ultimate justification for his rule.³¹

O.W. Wolters has hypothesized that in pre-Indic Southeast Asian society 'leadership [...] was associated with what anthropologists sometimes refer to in other parts of the world as the phenomenon of "big men"' (Wolters 1982:5). The term refers to achievement-based leadership, as opposed to hereditary, descent-based leadership.

'Big men do not come to office; they do not succeed to, nor are they installed in, existing positions of leadership over political groups. The attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person above the common herd and attract about him a coterie of loyal, lesser men.' (Sahlins 1963:289.)

The evidence from South Sulawesi sources does not support Wolter's 'big-men' model of political leadership. Bugis and Makasar historical sources are insistent that status preceded political authority. The achievements of a ruler before his or her appointment to office are never mentioned, and the ruler's appointment is justified only in terms of status. Unless the chronicles are painting an entirely false picture of the selection of rulers, it is difficult to see how someone of low status could ever attract enough followers to gain high office. It also may be noted that Wolters' hypothesis rests in part upon the apparent 'openness' of bilateral descent systems, which favour neither the male nor the female line in the construction of descent. He writes: 'A notable feature of cognatic kinship is the downgrading of the importance of lineage based on claims to status through descent from a particular male or female' (Wolters 1982:5). This is not true of lowland pre-Islamic South Sulawesi, where ascriptive status forms the central concern of chroniclers and genealogists. Furthermore, descent lines can be constructed as effectively in cognatic societies as they can in unilineal societies. In the Bugis kingdoms this was achieved through women as markers and transmitters of status. While the genealogies and chronicles show a strong patrilineal bias in appointments of rulers, particularly at the highest levels, it may be seen that eligibility for political office (namely high ascriptive status) was provided by women. This is because women were

³¹ The belief in the Bugis ruler as the source of fertility was apparently shared by the Toraja. Nooy-Palm has written: 'Every year some of the leading persons of Pantilang [a Toraja kingdom] went to Luwu' to pay homage to the Datu (Prince). A cock was invariably part of their tribute. In return they received from the prince sowing rice which he, personally, had blessed.' (Nooy-Palm 1979:69.)

unable (at least in theory – but that is all that is required) to marry below their rank.³² To judge by the widespread writing, copying and keeping of genealogies linked to political office in Bugis societies, the transmission of ascriptive status through females was of fundamental importance in the control of political office.

Millar has argued that gender relations in modern Bugis society are almost entirely subordinate to a cultural preoccupation with hierarchical social location (Millar 1983). This social precedence of a woman's status over her sex seems to lie behind the appointment of women as lords of domains and, occasionally, as rulers of kingdoms. (The much greater frequency of male appointments to the rulership of kingdoms probably reflects the importance of 'male' skills, such as military prowess, in pre-Islamic Bugis society.) The occasional women rulers recorded in Bugis sources are depicted as strong individuals: a notable example in the pre-Islamic period is Wé Tékéwanua of Soppéng, who 'broke the broad and split the long'³³ and married or appointed several sons and daughters to important domains within the kingdom. She is also remembered as directing agricultural expansion in north Soppéng in the early fifteenth century.³⁴

The importance of ascriptive status as a prerequisite for political office limited access to power to a small, high-status elite. The frequent marriages between rulers' families and the families of *arung* in the chronicles and genealogies shows that these deal not with a series of conical clans (Kirchoff 1959) but with the successful members of a high-status class.³⁵ Status differences within this elite are occasionally indicated in the genealogies (that of Déwaraja, an early-sixteenth-century ruler of Luwuq, states that he married a daughter of the previous ruler by a lower-status wife³⁶) and in the chronicles of the various kingdoms (for example, in the Chronicle of Boné's pedigree of To Sualléng and To Salawakeng cited above).

In summary, the right to rule was, according to Bugis and Makasar sources, a prerogative of status, not of achievement or place. The notion of status is highly developed in Bugis historiography, as can be seen in the *tomanurung* legends with which most chronicles begin and which provide

³² Pelras (1971:211) states that the offspring of a marriage between a man of the high noble rank of *ana' sipué* or above and a woman of slightly lower status inherited their father's status. This reversal of the common practice at the higher levels of the Bugis aristocracy presumably reflects the lack of very high-status women available for marriage (compare Errington 1989:22). Children of a marriage between a high-status man and a commoner mother inherited a status somewhat higher than that of their mother.

³³ That is: she brooked no opposition to her rule.

³⁴ MS. NBG 99:224-30.

³⁵ In the seventeenth century, and much earlier in Ajatappareng, marriage between kingdoms became more frequent, and henceforward it is difficult to know whether to speak of multiple ruling families or of a single bilateral group of high-status individuals.

³⁶ MS. MAK 100:136.

the ultimate source of status for the ruling family to which these works refer (Kern 1929:297; Macknight 1983:98), and in the concern with the correct ascription of status testified by the widespread recording of genealogies, some of which date from the development of writing around 1400.

The economy of power: Trade and agriculture

We now have a picture of several large kingdoms, each made up of a dozen or more semi-independent domains, one of which provided both the kingdom's name and its political centre. Both kingdom and domains were ruled by a physically mobile and closely related elite whose right to power was the product of ascriptive status. We now turn our attention to the economic basis of political power, namely control over trade and agriculture.

South Sulawesi is probably the richest source in Indonesia of Chinese and Southeast Asian trade ceramics. Most of these date from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, while a smaller proportion, perhaps ten percent, is from earlier centuries (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983:77). According to antique dealers in Ujung Pandang and Palopo, most of the early pieces are found in Luwuq and Selayar. Ceramics dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century can also be found in inland regions such as the Walennaé valley, and large quantities of thirteenth- to sixteenth-century export wares have been recovered from pre-Islamic graves on the west coast of the peninsula (Bulbeck 1992: Ch. 5-13). As in other regions of Indonesia and the Philippines, the arrival of ceramic trade goods in South Sulawesi marks not the beginnings of international trade but the origins and development of Chinese and Chinese-inspired Southeast Asian exports of trade ceramics.

Trade was an important part of the political economy of pre-Islamic South Sulawesi. The political economy of the kingdom of Luwuq, which is widely believed to have been the first major kingdom in Sulawesi, would appear to have been based almost entirely on trade. The soils of the Luwu region are poor and until recently the staple crop was sago (Takaya 1984: 85); the only sizeable ricefield areas lie south of Palopo, along a narrow coastal plain. Textual and archaeological evidence show that in the sixteenth century Luwuq's palace centre was not at Palopo but at Pattimang Lama, near Malangké, about mid-way along the coast between Palopo and Malili. From here Luwuq's rulers controlled trade routes out of the central and western highlands³⁷ and the export of iron from Lake Matano. One of Luwuq's main exports was dammar, a resin or gum exuded by certain species of trees (Caldwell 1993a, 1993b).

The chronicles of Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955; Zainal Abidin 1985) tell us

³⁷ The importance of trade between Luwuq and the Toraja highlands is reflected in Toraja ritual verse (Zerner 1981:97-8). Nineteenth-century exports from the Toraja region include gold, coffee and slaves (Van Braam Morris 1889:506, 508, 516-7).

that in the early sixteenth century Luwuq was overlord of the lower reaches of the Cénrana river. These reaches would have been the ideal place to control trade carried along the river between the coast and the inland domains of the Walennaé and Cénrana valleys. Trade along this river is probably ancient; the legendary kingdom of Cina, which is closely associated with Luwuq in the I La Galigo, lay somewhere along this river (Caldwell 1988:207-11). Baringeng, Pammana, Tétéwatu and other domains³⁸ which lay in the upper reaches of the Cénrana river valley looked to this vanished kingdom as the source of status for their ruling families.³⁹ This identification with Cina extended even to the installation of a 'Datu Cina' as the nominal overlord of the region (Zainal Abidin 1983:220).

Bugis sources for the pre-Islamic period are for the most part concerned with status and power, and make no direct reference to trade. But Luwuq's vassal list offers valuable evidence of Luwuq's importance as a trading kingdom in the pre-Islamic period (Caldwell 1988:78). In this list are set out some seventy place-names, divided into two groups. The first group, of about thirty, refers to settlements in the present-day region of Luwu, and the second group of forty refers to settlements on the south and south-west coast of the peninsula. Most of these lie between Takalar and Bantaéng. These two regions, Luwu and the south coast, are also linked in the Nagarakrtagama's garbled list of 'tributaries' of Majapahit, according to which '[...] the countries of Bantayan, the principal is Bantayan, on the other hand Luwuk, then the (countries) of Uḍā, making a trio; these are the most important of those that are one island' (Pigeaud 1962:17).

Pigeaud identifies Bantayan as Bantaéng⁴⁰ and Luwuk as Luwuq, or perhaps Luwuk, a settlement on the south-east coast of central Sulawesi. Uḍā is identified as the Talaud archipelago (Pigeaud 1962:34). The last two identifications are questionable: Luwuk and the Talaud islands are not on the sixteenth-century trade route to the Philippines or the spice islands (Meilink-Roelofs 1962:84, 86-7), and neither is known to have had any economic or political importance. In the sixteenth century the entire south coast of South Sulawesi became subject to Goa, so that the political alliances which the vassal list of Luwuq records must be those of the fifteenth century or earlier.

There seems little doubt that the relationship between Luwuq and its south coast domains centred upon trade between Java and South Sulawesi. The trade route from Java to the Moluccas has been known since at least the fourteenth century and probably from the early first millennium.

³⁸ MS. NBG 99:236-41.

³⁹ In the Lontaraq Sukkuqna Wajoq, Cina functions as a source of status in a legend concerning the origin of Cinnottaqbi (Zainal Abidin 1985:65).

⁴⁰ The absence of Bantaéng from Luwuq's vassal list seems to support the Nagarakrtagama's implicit claim that Bantaéng was an autonomous power.

The most direct route followed the northern coasts of the Lesser Sunda islands, but an alternative route ran north from Sumbawa to the south coast of South Sulawesi, then east via Selayar and Buton to the Moluccas. Luwuq's vassal list suggests very strongly that Luwuq was trading via the south coast with Java and perhaps other parts of the archipelago.

What was Luwuq supplying? The bulk of Luwuq's exports would have been forest products, such as dammar, rattan, rare woods and honey. But Luwuq was also an important iron-exporting region. The earliest reference to the export of iron and steel from Luwuq is by Speelman (1670:43), but the origins of this trade are probably much older. The iron, which was possibly contaminated with small quantities of nickel, was traded to Java, where even today a certain quality of iron-nickel inlay in the blades of Javanese kris is called *pamor Luwuq* (Solyom and Solyom 1978:18; Bronson 1987:13).

Was Luwuq's trade carried by South Sulawesi ships? Foreign sources hint tantalizingly at Makasar and Bajau involvement in maritime trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Sejarah Melayu* recounts an attack on Malacca by Semerluki, 'Raja of Mengkasar', during the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (c. 1456-1477) (Brown 1952:99-100), and there is a confused passage in Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* which describes Bajau from Sulawesi (Reid 1983:127). Pires also provides references to trade with 'Macaçar' which Macknight (1983:100) interprets as indicating extensive non-Bajau trade between the west coast of the peninsula and Malacca. The presence of foreign traders in Sulawesi is suggested by a number of place names of Javanese origin, such as Garassiq, Tuban and Jipang, on the south and south-west coasts of the peninsula. Oral traditions of Javanese contacts and settlements in ancient times are found on the island of Selayar, which even today is a stopping-place on the sailing route from Java to Eastern Indonesia (Pelras, forthcoming).

Interestingly, there is little evidence in South Sulawesi sources for the sort of role that the Bugis and Makasar were to play in archipelagic trade in later centuries. An early-sixteenth-century ruler of Talloq is said to have visited Malacca and to have collected a debt in Johor (Abdul Rahim and Ridwan Borahima 1975:9), but archipelagic trade appears to have been largely in the hands of Malay and perhaps Javanese and Bajau traders (Reid 1983:135). Some doubtful evidence for Bugis trade eastward to Nusa Tenggara and the Moluccas is found in a genealogy associated with Déwaraja, an early-sixteenth-century ruler of Luwuq. The genealogy records that 'Déwaraja's father was Sangaji Batara, who went to Timoroq to marry. He had a child called Déwaraja. [...] Déwaraja returned to Luwuq and married the daughter of the Datu of Luwuq, whose name was La Malalaeq.'⁴¹

⁴¹ MS. MAK 100:136.

Timoroq is the Bugis name for the island of Timor, and the genealogy might be interpreted as referring to a branch of Luwuq's ruling family living on Timor in the early sixteenth century. If correct, this would be the earliest evidence we have for the involvement of the Bugis elite in archipelagic trade.⁴² Unfortunately, the alternation of *o* and *u* is common in Bugis, especially in the isolects of Wajoq and Soppéng (Le Roux and Cense 1935:706), and such alternation is present elsewhere in the text in which this reference is found. The three Bugis characters *Ti Mo Ro* on which the reading Timoroq is based could therefore be read with greater parsimony as Timurung, in North Boné.

No study of ceramic remains from Luwuq is yet available. But the evidence of the inland kingdom of Soppéng, which until the beginning of the twentieth century traded through its vassal settlement at Batu-batu on the southern shore of Lake Témpé (personal communication, Dr. Christian Pelras), shows that the scale of trade between South Sulawesi and other parts of the archipelago in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries was impressive. A survey of the former capital of Soppéng at Tinco, eighty kilometres from the nearest port, yielded more than two thousand sherds of imported Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics dating from the twelfth century (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989:48). The exceptional richness of the finds at Tinco, compared to those at nearby settlements, shows royal control of valuable, status-enhancing ceramics. It may be conjectured that these ceramics were used to maintain hierarchical loyalties within the kingdom and to encourage the supply of foodstuffs and export goods from the domains.

This raises the question of what Soppéng was exchanging for these ceramics and, presumably, for silk and cotton textiles. The Walennaé valley lacks significant mineral deposits, and goods had to be carried for the most part overland. The obvious trade good, given Soppéng's domination of the fertile Walennaé valley, is rice. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus wrote in 1775: '[Soppéng] yields nothing but paddee' (Stavorinus 1798:228).

Macknight has suggested that around 1400 there was an important shift in the basis of political power, from trade to agriculture. His evidence is provided by the many references in Bugis and Makasar chronicles to centrally controlled agriculture and its expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Macknight 1983). Unlike trade, which was dependent on foreign custom, and thus subject to the vagaries of supply and demand, the economic potential of settled agriculture was limited only by the avail-

⁴² Timor lies dead to windward from the Gulf of Bone during the south-east monsoon, which blows from April to November. South Sulawesi shipbuilders belong to the eastern Indonesian tradition of boat-building in which a hollowed-out keel is built up along the sides by the addition of planks to form a narrow-beamed vessel to which outriggers are added to produce a sleek, deep-keeled craft which can sail efficiently to windward (personal communication, Mr. N. Burningham, Perth Maritime Museum).

ability of arable land and the people to work it. An agricultural surplus could not only be used to attract followers and maintain loyalties, but could also feed those engaged in the opening of new land. Organized agricultural expansion was facilitated by the fact that by the fifteenth century land could be bought and sold, at least by the elite. The Chronicle of Boné tells, for instance, how a late-fifteenth-century ruler bought two hills in western Boné.

'Our lady Makkalempiqé bought the hill south of Laliqdong, and she bought it for thirty buffaloes. Following that, she ordered people to settle on the hill of Cina. She also ordered them to lay out gardens. She also ordered people to go to the hill south of Laliqdong that she had bought.' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming.)

In a genealogy of the descendants of an early-sixteenth-century ruler of Luwuq we read that 'Settié [a member of the royal family of Luwuq] was driven out by the [people of] Luwuq; he was driven out, so it is said, with the agreement of his younger brother, who was called To Luwuqmangura. Because of that, Settié bought land at Mamutu and lived there.'⁴³

Earlier in the Chronicle of Boné there is a record of the resettlement of people under the third ruler, Kerrampéluaq, where it says: 'A part of the people of Bukaka were set apart and they were taken to live at Majang and they too were made to be the people of [Wé] Makkellumpiqé [the daughter of Kerrampéluaq and the *arung* of Majang]'. Later in the same chronicle we read that: 'Also when that king was ruling he sent out his personal slaves and put them at Panyula and they were called the people of Panyula. Then, the slaves that came into his possession while he was king, he put those at Lipenno.' (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming.)

In the royal genealogies of Soppéng and the upper Cénrana valley, several individuals are remembered as having started settlements. This may have involved not just the direction, but also the feeding of those engaged in the clearing of land. It appears that in the early stages, agricultural expansion was initiated not only by the rulers of kingdoms, but also by rulers' brothers, who went off with their followers to clear new lands and establish new settlements. This pan-Austronesian motif of dissatisfied brothers moving off to found new settlements occurs also in the chronicle of Sidénréng. This begins with the story of how the eight younger brothers of the ruler of Sangallaq (a Toraja kingdom), unhappy with their brother's overbearing rule, decided to leave their homeland in search of suitable land on which to establish new settlements.

'When they drew near to the hills south of the Toraja highlands they saw the lake. They continued on until they came to the plain to the west of the lake [...] Together they said, "Here at the west of the lake is a good place for us brothers to live". So they and their followers set off to look for a place to live, where they

⁴³ MS. MAK 100:136.

could open fields. For three years they cultivated [the land], and their rice harvest and their other crops and the numbers of their followers increased each year.'⁴⁴

In a chronicle of Wajoq we are told how dissatisfied elements led by three brothers of the ruler move off from Cinnottaqbi, an early domain, and 'live off their farmland'. Later, even the legitimate line moves to clear a new settlement (Noorduyn 1955:156). Centred around high-status individuals (full brothers and sisters were of equal ascriptive status), these new settlements were, in effect, new domains, tied by varying degrees of loyalty to the political centre of the kingdom.

Evidence of the increasing importance of centrally directed agriculture, in particular wet-rice agriculture, from about the year 1400 can be found quite readily in Bugis and Makasar sources. Archaeological evidence supports Macknight's assumption that the decline in the importance of trade as the economic basis of power (Macknight 1983) was relative, not absolute. At least in Soppéng, the quantity of imported ceramics increased steadily between 1400 and 1600 (Bahru Kallupa et al. 1989, figures 17-20). This increase reflects, presumably, both the growing prosperity of Soppéng's agricultural heartland and the increasing availability and cheapness of imported ceramics.

What is certain is that at least by the fourteenth century the agricultural kingdoms of South Sulawesi were linked, probably via the north coast ports of Java, to places as distant as Thailand, Vietnam and China, and perhaps directly with the Southern Philippines (Macknight 1983:95-6). The rise of the 'southern' kingdoms of Ajatappareng, Wajoq, Boné, Soppéng and Makasar was closely linked to the centrally directed expansion and intensification of agriculture, although the remains of large numbers of high-quality celadon and blue and white ceramics at sites within Soppéng show that trade continued to form an important part of the economic basis of political life.

The topography of power

In an earlier section we have seen how ascribed status is portrayed in South Sulawesi historical sources not simply as a prerequisite for political power, but as the very quality believed to account for its effective exercise. Yet political power was exercised in a physical landscape of fertile rice-bearing plains, separated by low rolling hills with scattered patches of *ladang* cultivation or by wild and forested mountain ranges. When we look at the physical landscape in relation to the political geography of these kingdoms, it is clear that topographical features played an important part in the distribution of power in South Sulawesi.

The main topographical determinants coincided with the physical

⁴⁴ MS. Salim 1:16. A manuscript held under this description in the Library of the Australian National University, Canberra.

exigencies of agricultural production, namely irrigation, the direction of manpower, and defence. Geertz has shown how in Bali the capitals of the southern Balinese kingdoms, except for Badung, lay almost precisely along a 350-metre line, 'just above the place where something which can reasonably be called a plain begins' (Geertz 1980:22). This was in effect the dividing-line between the upland lords who controlled irrigation, and the lowland lords who controlled rice production. The physical demands of agriculture – irrigation, communication and defence – seem to have determined the location of Balinese palace centres.

The spatial ordering of power in pre-Islamic South Sulawesi was similarly related to agriculture, in particular wet-rice farming. The palace centres of Luwuq, Soppéng, Boné, Wajoq, Sidénréng, Rappang, Sawitto, Alitta, and Suppaq were all ideally located to control the economic potential of their territories. The dual capitals of pre-sixteenth-century Soppéng stood on low hills at the mouths of the two small valleys that lead from the western hills to the Walennaé valley. The capital of West Soppéng was at Tinco, at the mouth of the northern valley. This is the ideal spot from which to direct agricultural production on the plain to the east, as well as the movement of people and goods from the plains to the coastal regions to the west. East Soppéng's capital (now the *kabupaten* capital, Watas-soppéng) was located on a low hill at the foot of the southern valley, where it enjoyed a similar advantage (see Figure 2). Watamponé, the capital of the kingdom of Boné, lay six kilometres inland on a coastal plain backed by low hills of uplifted coral limestone. The plain, which lacks both a harbour and an easy passage to and from the interior, is without major hills or lakes or a large river. Watamponé, which lies at the centre of this essentially featureless plain, is ideally situated to control the plain's agricultural potential through the command of communication, an important aspect of centrally directed wet-rice production.

The failure of Wajoq to develop the same degree of centralized power as did Boné can perhaps be attributed to the lack of a large plain, similar to that of Boné (or the Makasar kingdom of Goa), north of the Cérékang river. A topographical map of Wajoq shows that its rivers do not flow westwards to the sea, as do those of Boné, but meander in several directions, feeding small lakes and suggesting a region prone to flooding. The chronicles of Wajoq record the tradition of three widely separated early 'capitals', which suggests that no single site held a strong natural advantage for control of agriculture or trade (Zainal Abidin 1985). Geographic factors are probably the reason the Ajatappareng kingdoms, too, never developed into a unified political power on the scale of Boné or Goa, despite the considerable agricultural potential of the region, known today as the 'rice bowl' of South Sulawesi (Mäeda 1984:123). Each of the five kingdoms (Sidénréng, Rappang, Sawitto, Suppaq and Alitta) encompassed a single plain, separated from the others by low hills or by stretches of water. Fed by seasonal rainfall, each plain possesses its own irrigation

system, the management of which would have required local direction based on detailed knowledge of the terrain. None of the five kingdoms could on its own rival the economic or military power of Goa or Boné, while distance and topography set significant barriers to their effective integration.

The political geography of the agricultural kingdoms of South Sulawesi provides an interesting contrast to the coastal and riverine world of the Malay kingdoms, where a balance between the demands of trade and defence was facilitated by dozens of river estuaries and several thousand miles of coastline on which to locate a capital. The remarkable mobility of political power in the Malay world is reflected in the Malay Annals in the oft-quoted exchange between the Sri Nara 'diraja and Sultan Mahmud of Malacca during the attack in 1526 by the Portuguese on Bintan. In this exchange, the Sri Nara 'diraja stressed that the physical or territorial kingdom was secondary to the ruler himself:

'The Sri Nara 'diraja urged him to leave Bentan now that the city had fallen. But he replied, "When I came here, Sri Nara 'diraja, I knew full well that Bentan was an island; and it was because I was determined that there should be no retreating that I took up my abode here! If I had thought of retreating, I should have done better to have stayed on the mainland. (But I did not do that,) for it is the custom of Rajas that when their country falls to the foe, they die." And the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "Your Highness is mistaken. Every country has a Raja, and if your Highness is granted length of days, we can find ten countries for you!"' (Brown 1952:189.)

The earlier peregrinations of the Sultan following the fall of Malacca, first to Batu Hampar, then to Pahang, and finally to Bintan, where his kingdom re-formed around him, reflect the essential truth of the Sri Nara 'diraja's observation. While the lineage of rulers continued to exist, so did the kingdom. The murder in 1699 of Sultan Mahmud of Johor, who died without having produced an heir, ended the line of rulers who could claim descent from the rulers of Srivijaya, and the complex structure of loyalties that constituted the Malay sultanate never recovered from the shock. The extinction of Mahmud's ancient and prestigious lineage resulted in a crisis of loyalty and leadership that enabled the Sumatran adventurer Raja Kecil, posing as a son of the murdered ruler, to seize control of the sultanate in 1718 (Andaya 1975:191, 264).

The geographical continuity of the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms, some of which appear in the earliest sections of the written sources and continue down to the present century, despite decades of civil war resulting in the death or capture of several rulers, suggests that the Bugis or Makasar ruler was less central to the identity of the kingdom than in the Malay kingdoms. Regicide was not uncommon, and the murder of a ruler (and his replacement by another high-status noble) appears to have produced no lasting disturbance. Among the rulers murdered at various times in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were La Ulio, the sixth ruler of Boné, and La Icca', the eighth ruler, who was killed, so the chronicler tells us, because of his cruel and arbitrary rule (Macknight and Mukhlis, forthcoming). In the sixteenth century, the third Batara Wajo', La Patteddungi, was deposed and later killed, among other things for seizing his subjects' daughters and wives (Zainal Abidin 1985:99), while Tunipasuluq, the thirteenth ruler of Goa, was driven out in 1593, according to the Chronicle of Goa, because of the brutal and arbitrary nature of his rule (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:56; Reid 1983:136). There seems, in addition, to be little evidence in Bugis and Makasar sources that the ruler was ever conceived of as the 'sacred lodestone' around which the community evolved, as in the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia (Zainal Abidin 1983:253). Furthermore, the necessity of earning a living from the land would have set constraints on individual mobility that were largely absent in the maritime Malay world. As a result, it seems probable that there was less need for the ruler to act as the focus of social organization. In addition, the Bugis notion of power as a product or quality of status meant that there was always a number of potential rulers: in theory anyone with the required degree of ascriptive status could become ruler. The system drew not on a single lineage, but on a class of potential rulers scattered across the fields and hills of South Sulawesi.

Some final conclusions

We have seen that a fairly detailed picture of the political and social organization of several pre-Islamic kingdoms can be drawn from Bugis historical sources. By 1400, Bugis-speaking societies had ranked descent groups, redistributive economies, hereditary leadership and elite endogamy. In cultural evolutionist terms, these societies were advanced chiefdoms.⁴⁵ Some kingdoms might even be considered early states; in the chronicles there are references to taxation and military draft, and some evidence of codified law. However, the only South Sulawesi kingdoms of which we can be certain that this was so are the Makasar kingdoms of Goa and

⁴⁵ Flannery offers a useful definition of the chiefdom as a level of political centralization characterized by social stratification, generally in the form of ranked lineages, in which men and women from birth are either of 'chiefly' or 'commoner' descent, regardless of their individual capabilities. In such societies, the best agricultural land or fishing localities are generally owned by the highest-ranking members or lineages. 'Chiefs' in a rank society are not merely of noble birth, but are usually ascribed a divine origin and are held to have special relationships with the gods that are denied to commoners, by virtue of which they act as important ritual specialists. Furthermore, the office of 'chief' exists apart from the man or woman who occupies it, upon whose death the office must be filled by a person of equally high status. Some chiefdoms maintained elaborate genealogies to ensure a suitable succession, while high-ranking members of chiefdoms reinforced their status with sumptuary goods. Chiefdoms generally have large populations, with those of villages of paramount chiefs sometimes running into the thousands. Chiefdoms exhibit a high degree of craft specialization, but usually have no class of craft specialists; most craftsmen are also farmers (Flannery 1972:402-3).

Talloq. The chronicles of these kingdoms record, in the sixteenth century, the development of kingship, the codification of law, the rise of a bureaucracy, the imposition of a military draft and taxation, and the emergence of full-time craftsmen. These are all features of the modern state.

Historians of South Sulawesi have often been tempted to equate the beginnings of Bugis historical records with the emergence of the kingdoms to which they refer. This essay has attempted to show that there is no simple connection between the increasing complexity of Bugis society and the records we have of it. It is clear from both written and archaeological sources that by the fourteenth century members of several high-status families were recognized as the paramount nobles of large geographical areas and could rule in more than one kingdom.⁴⁶ These families recognized one another as being of comparable status and, through increasingly wide-ranging marriages, were well on their way to becoming a single, closely related and politically mobile class. While some kingdoms, such as Boné, evidently did arise from small beginnings in the fourteenth century, the origins of others lie beyond the limits of the written records.

Looking to the future, much work remains to be done on the vassal lists and genealogies, which are the most important sources of textual information on pre-Islamic South Sulawesi. Through a careful study of the genealogies it should be possible to map out the marriage strategies over several generations of the major Bugis and Makasar kingdoms. From these we should learn much about the way a kingdom's political centre maintained or developed its control over other constituent domains. Perhaps it will also be possible to learn something of the pre-Islamic kingdoms through a study of the epic literature of South Sulawesi and the scattered legends associated with Simpurusia, the legendary first ruler of Luwuq. This, however, will require a different methodology from that used for genealogical or toponymic records, and, judging by the study of the Greek epics, the prospects do not look promising.⁴⁷ But by far the greatest potential for future research lies in co-operation between historians and archaeologists. Historians can provide hypotheses of the spatial organization of the Bugis kingdoms which may be tested by archaeologists through an analysis of ceramic sherds and other artefacts found at most pre-Islamic occupation sites. The greater effectiveness of a combined approach results from the frequency with which the data from one discipline regulate and enhance those of the other. Such an approach

⁴⁶ A graphic illustration of this mobility is given by the combined genealogy of the rulers of Sidénréng, Rappang, Suppaq and Sawitto (Mukhlis 1985:119).

⁴⁷ Finlay (1964) describes the formidable problems in attempting to use the Iliad's account of the Trojan War to account for the destruction of Troy VIIa. If we accept Wood's identification of Troy VI as the Troy of the Iliad, however, certain of the details of the poem match convincingly with the archaeological evidence (Wood 1985). But the catch is that one has to have the archaeological evidence to determine which bits of the Iliad fit!

promises to deliver a detailed picture of the early historical period, linked firmly to prehistoric patterns of culture and settlement and to data-derived models of social change.

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