A transitional Islamic Bugis cremation in Bulubangi, South Sulawesi: its historical and archaeological context

Stephen Druce, David Bulbeck and Irfan Mahmud

Research on the early history of South Sulawesi, the period from about 1200 to 1600, has been greatly enhanced by relevant inferences drawn from the archaeological record and used in combination with data from indigenous oral and written sources. (See, for examples, Macknight 1975, 1993; Caldwell 1988; Kallupa and others 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000; Druce 2001.) Archaeology offers a rich record across the Bugis and Makasar speaking areas of South Sulawesi (Figure 1) from about the thirteenth century onwards. This is approximately two hundred years before the Bugis inhabiting the Cenrana and Walanae valleys in the eastern part of the peninsula adopted an Indic derived script and, in what appears to have been the first application of writing in South Sulawesi, began to record information on the ruling elite in genealogical form (Caldwell 1988: 171–74). Most Bugis and Makasar historical texts that purport to speak for the period before 1600 are short works derived from oral tradition. Chronicles, based on diverse oral and written sources, can be found for a very small number of kingdoms only. This tradition of chronicle writing dates to no earlier than the seventeenth century and appears to have been profoundly influenced by the seventeenth century presence of Europeans, in particular the Portuguese (Macknight 2000).

The importance of archaeology to the early history of South Sulawesi is well-illustrated by current documentation of mortuary practices among the Bugis and Makasar peoples in the centuries immediately preceding the introduction of Islam in AD 1605. Incidental references found in a handful of Bugis texts make

Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, vol. 39, no. 1 (2005), pp. 1–22.

it clear that the rulers (at least) were cremated. One story about the first Islamic ruler of Sidenreng, La Patiroi, tells us that 'this was the ruler who first buried the dead ... before he ruled the dead were burned.'[1] Further, the posthumous name of a sixteenth century ruler of the kingdom of Bone was 'he who sleeps in his urn', which conveys that his cremated remains were contained in a burial urn (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983: 70). Makasar mortuary traditions differed to those of the Bugis, as noted by mid-sixteenth century European observers who describe extended inhumations practised in the Makasar speaking areas they visited (Jacobs 1966, Baker this volume).

Our most abundant and detailed documentation of pre-Islamic mortuary practices, however, comes from South Sulawesi's large number of looted late pre-Islamic cemeteries, which contain imported Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian stoneware and ceramic tradewares (hereafter 'ceramics') either buried with the corpse or holding the ashes of the deceased. Some Makasar burial grounds have been professionally excavated[2] but most of our knowledge is derived from surface survey of looted burial ground and looters' accounts (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983; Kallupa and others 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Caldwell and Druce 1998). The results of surface survey further suggests a fourteenth century switch from cremations to inhumations took place amongst the Makasar, some two hundred years before writing first appears to have spread to Makasar speaking areas (Bulbeck 1996–7).

This article will describe the first Bugis cremation excavated by professional archaeologists, in September 2001 at Bulubangi, an abandoned settlement located in the heart of the Bugis kingdom of Sidenreng. We consider the most probable date for this cremation, based on ceramic evidence and radiocarbon assays, to be the seventeenth century, which is at least two hundred years after the Bugis first appear to have begun cremating their deceased (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). The Bulubangi cremation may thus be indicative of a gradual, rather than immediate, transition from pre-Islamic to Islamic burial practice (see below).

Historical context

In the last twenty years or so, research on the early history of South Sulawesi has made considerable progress. This has largely been achieved through a synthesis of archaeological and historical data from written texts and oral tradition, which has allowed a much greater understanding of the major processes that underwrote the rise and development of the Bugis and Makasar kingdoms (Kallupa and others 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). In a pioneering article, Campbell Macknight proposed that at about AD 1400 a major expansion of settled agriculture took place in South Sulawesi, and that agriculture became the basis for economic power in the peninsula (Macknight 1983). This argument was predominantly drawn from stories in the chronicle of the Bugis kingdom of Bone, which relates the expansion of Bone from a few villages to a large powerful kingdom. As Macknight illustrated, the geographic expansion of Bone was closely associated with control of agricultural land for wet-rice production.

Subsequent studies have strongly supported Macknight's argument for an agricultural expansion and presented additional archaeological evidence, predominantly in the form of ceramic data, which shows that this expansion was synonymous with the advent of regular external trade from about the thirteenth century (Bulbeck 1992; Caldwell 1995; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). Rice appears to have been the major product that the kingdoms in the South Sulawesi peninsula exchanged for these ceramics, the demand for which appears to have provided a major stimulus for the rise of these kingdoms. The major trading partners of these developing agricultural kingdoms, at least for the period between 1250 to 1500, appear to have been traders associated with the Javanese kingdoms of Singasari and, from the end of the thirteenth century, its successor Majapahit. An early Javanese presence in South Sulawesi has now been confirmed with the recent discovery of a Javanese trading settlement and monumental architecture in Luwu (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). Javanese place names, such as Garisi, are also relatively common in South Sulawesi and scattered throughout coastal areas (Reid 1983), indicating Javanese settlements were by no means confined to Luwu.

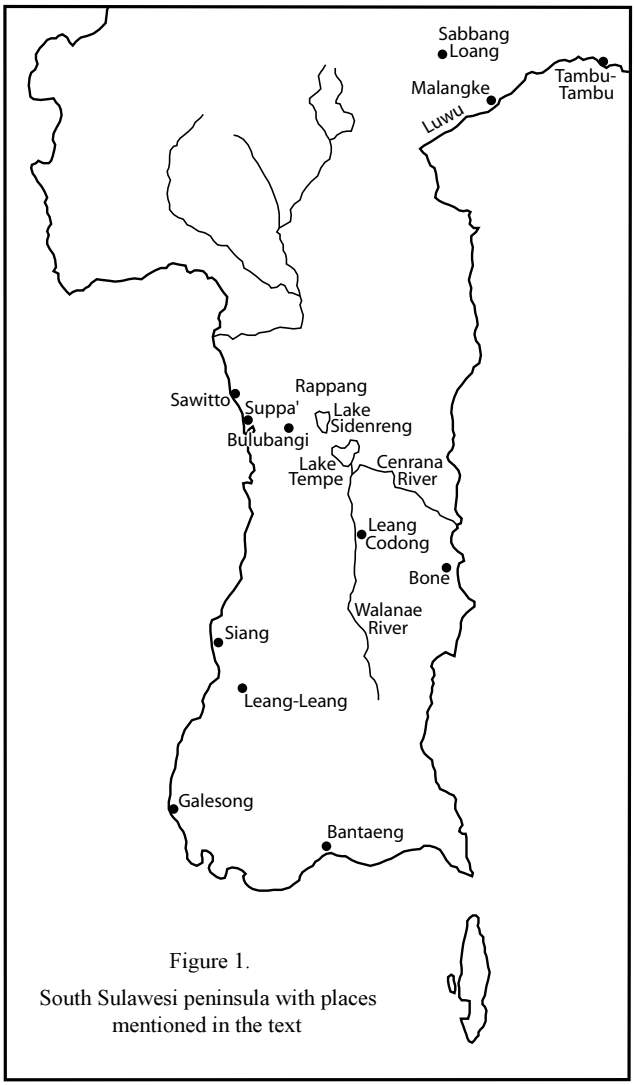

Figure 1.
South Sulawesi peninsula with places mentioned in the text

Sidenreng

One of the major Bugis kingdoms that appears to have developed during this period of agricultural expansion was Sidenreng, an inland kingdom with its heartland located around the fertile plains to the north

and west of Lake Sidenreng. A Portuguese visitor to the region in the mid-sixteenth century noted the abundance of rice in his brief description of Sidenreng (Schurhammer 1980: 628). Today, the former territory of Sidenreng makes up over eighty per cent of the modern kabupaten (regency) of Sidenreng-Rappang (Sidrap), with the rest made up by the former territory of Rappang, a minor neighbouring kingdom that had close political and economic ties with Sidenreng. This fertile region is known today as the 'rice bowl' of South Sulawesi (Maeda 1984: 123); Sidrap produces some 500 thousand tons of unhulled rice per year.[3]

Indigenous written sources directly concerned with early Sidenreng are confined to a genealogy, which can be backdated to no earlier than the early sixteenth century (Caldwell 1988: 149–56), and a handful of oral traditions that were written down on eighteenth and nineteenth century European paper (Druce 2006). The most striking characteristic of this genealogy is the consistent record of intermarriages it reveals between the ruling nobles of Sidenreng, Suppa', Sawitto and, to a lesser extent, Rappang and Alitta, giving the impression of a single large ruling family. This relationship between these kingdoms is confirmed by the genealogy of Suppa' which, as with the Sidenreng genealogy, contains reliable information from the early sixteenth century. Collectively, these five lands were known as the Ajattapareng (the lands west of the lake).

The short depth of the Sidenreng and Suppa' genealogies is not congruous with data from archaeological surveys conducted in July and September of 2001 throughout the Ajattapareng region, which provide evidence of external trade from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries onwards. This perhaps reflects a late development of writing in the western half of the peninsula in comparison to the eastern half (Druce, 2006). The highest concentrations of fourteenth century ceramic sherds recorded by surveys came from Suppa', which together with Sawitto controlled the major ports in the Ajattapareng region. The data from these surveys suggest that by the fourteenth century Sidenreng was already a significant producer of rice, linked economically to the other Ajattapareng kingdoms and connected to a much wider regional trade network through the ports of Suppa and Sawitto.

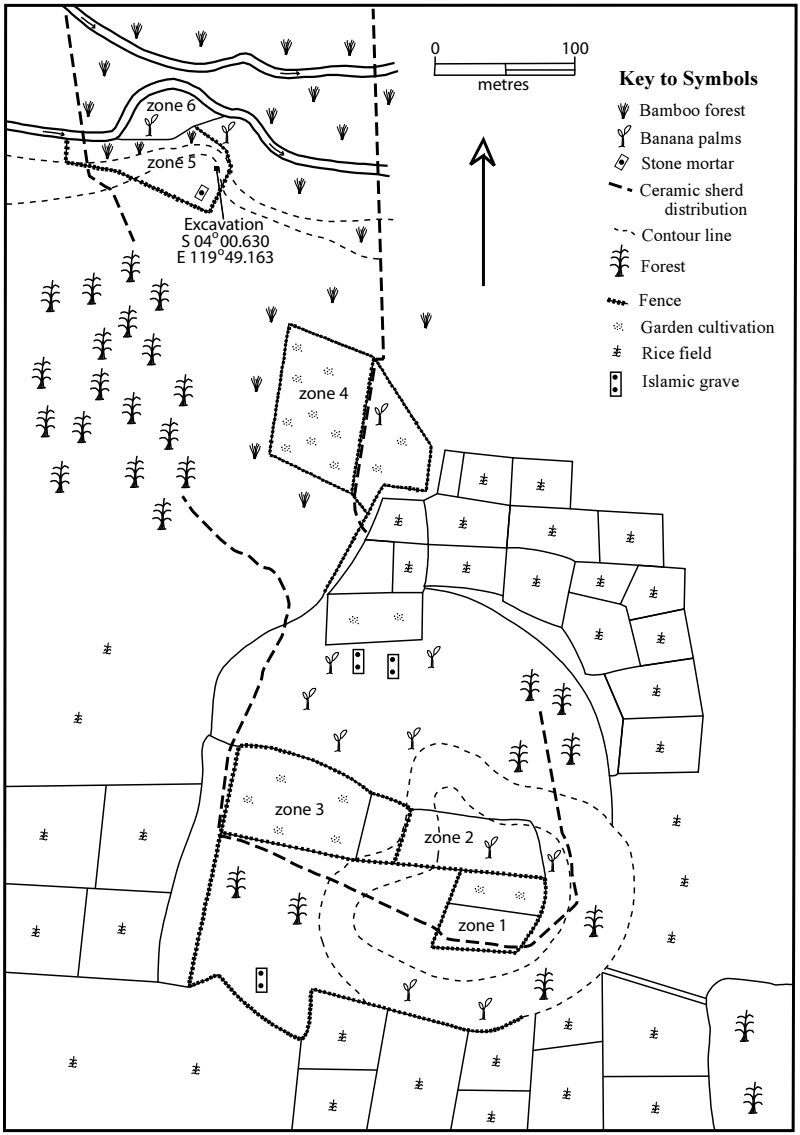

Figure 2. The survey of Bulubangi, showing also the location of the jar excavation

Bulubangi

Bulubangi (Figure 2) is located in kecamatan (subdistrict) Tellulimpoe, kabupaten Sidrap, at 04 00.91°S and 119 49.234°E. It is less than two kilometres east of the Bugis iron smelting village of Massepe. The area known as Bulubangi today, according to local informants, covers an area of land about two kilometres in length and half a kilometre in width. Some of this area is given over to garden cultivation while other parts are heavily wooded. To the south, east and west lie extensive rice fields, which according to local tradition were once part of Bulubangi. The name Bulubangi appears on early twentieth century Dutch maps as an uninhabited piece of land, which is consistent with our survey data that show Bulubangi was abandoned in the nineteenth century.

The position of Bulubangi within the kingdom of Sidenreng is difficult to ascertain from textual sources, some of which are contradictory and difficult to correlate with our survey data (see below). One of these sources relates a story of what appears to have been a civil war between Sidenreng and Bulubangi in the period before 1600. This story is evidently made up of several oral traditions dating from different periods in time which have become combined to form a single story. Another textual source claims that Patepuwange, a daughter of La Patiroi, the ruler of Sidenreng who first converted to Islam in 1609, first opened Bulubangi. According to this tradition, Patepuwange succeeded her father as ruler of Sidenreng but later abdicated in favour of her brother. She then took three thousand servants with her to Bulubangi where a new settlement was opened and a palace built for her.

This story conflicts with our survey data, which show continual occupation of Bulubangi from the fourteenth century through to the nineteenth century. Druce suggests that these stories of conflict between Bulubangi and Sidenreng are derived from seventeenth century succession disputes in Sidenreng and that Bulubangi was once the capital of Sidenreng (Druce 2006).

Survey and excavation

During an initial visit to Bulubangi by Druce in August 2001, local informants identified several areas where ceramic jars, said to

contain material believed to be burnt human remains, had been looted together with other ceramics such as plates and bowls. Much of this looting appears to have taken place in the 1980s, when cultivation work by farmers inadvertently revealed a pre-Islamic burial ground. Further inquiry revealed large quantities of sherdage from habitation sites dating to the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods.

Surveys were later carried out at Bulubangi in September 2001. The survey team decided to survey six zones; three located in the southern half of the site and three in the northern half (Figure 2). Sherdage was also evident in several other areas but heavy vegetation rendered them impractical for surveying. The surveys produced a moderate number of approximately fourteenth to fifteenth century tradeware sherds, and copious quantities of approximately sixteenth to nineteenth century ceramics (Table 1). Precise dating of these trade ware sherds is most difficult with the fragments from Chinese martavans or large stoneware jars; however, as most of these may be presumed to have come from jar burials, the majority most probably date to the seventeenth and earlier centuries, when the Bugis still practised cremation instead of the standard burial rites of Islam (Pelras 1996). Martavans and other large ceramic jars constitute the second most numerous vessel form represented at Bulubangi, after plates (Table 1), which is indicative of the importance of the site as a pre-Islamic Bugis burial ground.

While surveying zone 5, the archaeologists found what at first appeared to be a large sherd from a martavan. Closer inspection revealed it to be the mouth of a ceramic burial jar protruding above the ground surface. As this area of Bulubangi was being cleared for farming, the survey team took the decision to carry out an excavation in the interests of scholarship. After obtaining permission from La Sidde, the owner of this piece of land, the team members acquired iron spatulae in Massepe and, under the direction of Irfan Mahmud, removed the jar and its contents in a single block, before transporting it in a sack to the Balai Arkeologi (Archaeology Office) in Makassar. Mahmud (2004) has written a preliminary report of the excavation and the artefactual contents which were recovered (Table 2).

Classification	*Centuries*	*Plate*	*Box*	*Vase*	*Bowl*	*Martavan*	*Spoon*	*Total*
Yuan celadon	13th-14th	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Yuan Dehua	14th	-	3	2	2	-	-	7
Ming celadon	15th	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Vietnam B&W	15th	14	5	2	-	-	-	21
Vietnam greyware	15th	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Vietnam other	15th	1	6	-	-	-	-	7
Vietnam greyware	15th-16th	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Sawankhalok HP	15th-16th	-	132	8	-	-	-	140
Sawankh. celadon	15th-16th	181	3	-	-	-	-	184
Sukothai HP	15th-16th	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
Sawankh. celadon	16th	24	-	8	3	-	-	35
Sawankhalok	16th	-	-	-	-	254	-	254
Chinese stoneware	?	-	-	-	-	677	-	677
Ming B&W	16th	465	15	18	103	1	-	602
Ming whiteware	16th	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ming Swatow	16th	119	-	-	3	-	-	122
Late Ming B&W	1550-1650	48	-	-	49	-	-	97
Late Ming white	1550-1650	-	-	-	-	12	-	12
Wanli	1550-1650	27	-	-	14	-	-	41
Swatow	1550-1700	603	4	4	78	-	-	689
Qing B&W	1650-1800	766	18	22	121	-	7	934
Qing greyware	1650-1800	8	-	11	-	-	-	19
Qing B&W	18th	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Qing B&W	18th-19th	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Qing celadon	18th-19th	29	-	1	9	-	-	39
Japanese	19th	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
European	19th	203	-	-	77	-	-	280
Totals		2496	190	76	474	944	7	4187

Table 1. Imported ceramics recorded during the Bulubangi survey (Karaeng Demmanari's classification)

B&W *blue-and-white*
HP *black-and-white;*
Swankh. *Sawankhalok.*
'Martavans' include large porcellanous jars (locally referred to as balubu).

	Surface	*Unit 1*	*Unit 2*	*Unit 3*	*Units 4-5*	*Total*
Depth of excavation	*-*	*10 cm*	*30 cm*	*30 cm*	*40 cm*	*1.10 m*
Earthenware	Abundant	Present	19	54	-	Not counted
Qing	14	-	-	-	-	14
Ming BW	3	-	-	-	-	3
Sawankhalok	7	-	-	-	-	7
14th c. Dehua	-	-	3	-	-	3
Ming Swatow	-	-	-	34	-	34
Ming whiteware	-	-	-	3	-	3
Vietnamese	-	-	-	2	-	2
Chinese stoneware	-	-	-	3	-	3
Iron	-	-	-	1	-	1

Table 2. Small artefacts recovered during the excavation of the Bulubangi jar

The excavators cleared the surface near the jar and collected sherds of the same varieties as found during the general survey, but at a high density. Excavation proceeded by stratigraphic units recognised on the basis of sediment colour and texture. Removal of the topsoil (Unit 1) exposed the martavan as far as its neck, and showed that the mouth and neck, and sections of the shoulder, had been broken (Figure 3). Earthenware sherds and bone fragments were observed but no ceramic sherds. The excavation of unit 2 proceeded approximately 30cm through a layer of very dark brown earth, stopping when an iron artefact was found. The contents included burnt clay, gravels, some earthenware pottery, and the oldest ceramic sherds (fourteenth century) recovered during the excavation. The next 30cm of the same very dark brown earth yielded a richer array of artefacts (Table 2) spanning the fifteenth (Vietnamese), sixteenth (Ming) and seventeenth to eighteenth centuries (Chinese stoneware). Two of the earthenware sherds revealed traces of burning. At around 65cm depth the martavan could be lifted out, revealing a tall, ovoid jar of around 65cm height and 16cm basal diameter, with a hole deliberately made in the base. At 70cm depth the sediment changed. Further excavation revealed no more than a little charcoal beneath the base of the jar (Mahmud 2004).

Figure 3. The Bulubangi ceramic jar exposed by the excavation

Despite its fragmented state the jar reveals its main decorative details. It is an unusual variety of dragon jar, without a close match in the ceramic literature which we have consulted. Four handles are extant, of the (probably) original number of five. They are vertical strap handles with a central scaly band between two lateral 'rope' borders (Figure 4). In the jars illustrated by Harrisson and by Adhyatman and Ridho, scaly handles are restricted to fifteenth (Adhyatman and Ridho 1984: Pl. 40a) to sixteenth century (Harrisson 1990: Pl. 68) jars where the handles are dragon necks, while rope handles are restricted to a different type of jar of sixteenth to seventeenth century date (Harrisson 1990: Pl. 78–9). There are two long-tailed dragons whose hind claws are near the handles and whose front claws and snarling head (Figure 5) occur lower on the shoulder. They resemble the scaly kawok dragon, climbing down the jar, illustrated by Adhyatman and Ridho (1984: Fig. 1). Illustrated dragons in a similar pose include one on a fifteenth to sixteenth century jar, as dated by Harrisson (1990: Pl. 67), and one on a seventeenth to eighteenth century jar, as dated by Adhyatman and Ridho (1984: Pl. 143). The dragons appear to be applied decorations, as are the jar's flaming pearl and cloud scrolls (Figure 6), which are common motifs on martavans. The glaze finishes along a neat wavy line well above the foot, as with most of the jars attributed by Harrisson (1990: 46–8) to Vietnam and its bordering

Figure 4.
Detail of the jar handle and a dragon claw next to it

Figure 5.
Detail of a dragon head and flaming pearl appliqué decoration

Figure 6.
Detail of flaming pearl and cloud scroll decorations on the jar

regions between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which include all of the illustrated analogues from her book noted here. While the analogues we cite from Adhyatman and Ridho (1984) are classified as Chinese by those scholars, the modal, sixteenth to seventeenth century antiquity of these analogues is the same dating that we would infer from Harrisson's examples.

The cremation itself may well have taken place at the burial site as large amounts of charcoal were found throughout the excavation pit. No additional grave goods, such as plates and bowls, were buried together with the jar, as is commonly reported by looters. This suggests that the ashes in the jar were probably those of a commoner or lower ranking noble. Once in Makassar, the archaeologists broke open the sediments inside the jar and recovered sherds of sixteenth century Ming, seventeenth to eighteenth century Qing, and local earthenware vessels. They also removed carbonised fragments of soft tissue, and cranial and post-cranial bone (Mahmud 2004).

Charcoal fragments adhering to the sediment on the outer surface of the jar in Unit 1 were also collected. These samples were wrapped in alfoil inside plastic bags and passed to Stephen Druce who, in June 2002, mailed them to David Bulbeck for radiocarbon dating. Bulbeck weighed the samples (8 grams inside the jar, and 10 grams from outside the jar) and examined them under a low-power microscope. He identified wood charcoal in the sample taken from outside the jar, but was equivocal on whether the charcoal inside the jar included burnt bone. In September 2002 Bulbeck submitted both samples to the ANU Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory as wood charcoal, because he had not yet received any advice as to the excavating archaeologists' identification of this sample, and because the ANU Laboratory was not set up to handle bone samples. The ANU technicians followed the standard procedures, for wood charcoal, of removing possible contaminants during the physical pre-treatment, then washing the samples in 10 per cent ABA before rinsing and drying them.

Unfortunately, neither sample is ideal for dating the burial. With the hindsight of Mahmud's (2004) report, we can see that the sample inside the jar is directly associated with the cremation, but the

chronological determination is only approximate as the sample included bone fragments. As for the sample from outside the jar, it would be associated with the burial under the scenario whereby the mourners had dug a hole in earlier occupation deposits to take the jar, and filled the hole with the deposit and a concentrated capping of ash from the pyre. This is certainly the most likely sequence of events, as the act of removing and backfilling deposit would account for the stratigraphic inversion of fourteenth century sherdage, in Unit 2, overlying circa fifteenth to seventeenth century sherdage in Unit 3 (Table 2). This scenario, and the ceramic sherdage found inside the jar, would suggest a seventeenth century antiquity for the cremation. If true, then the radiocarbon date obtained for the sample inside the jar should be of approximately that age, and the central estimate for the other sample should fall within the seventeenth century. On the other hand, even if the scenario entertained here were correct, the Unit 1 charcoal could conceivably be very old (perhaps older than the fourteenth century sherdage, but re-deposited above it) or significantly younger than the seventeenth century (perhaps, for instance, related to later farming or habitation activity). In short, unexpected chronological determinations on the two charcoal samples would neither confirm nor refute the seventeenth century dating suggested by the ceramic evidence.

The radiocarbon determination from inside the jar falls between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Table 3). This appears a little too early, given the associated ceramic evidence, but would be accurate to within a couple of hundred years. The calibrated date from

Sample	ANU Lab. No.	Determination (years Before Present)	Calibrated Intercept Age	68% confidence interval	95% confidence interval
Inside the jar	ANU-11852	570±60BP	AD1407	AD1319-1435	AD1299-1444
Outside the jar	ANU-11853	270±140BP	AD1654	AD1486-1949	AD1451-1951

Table 3. Radiocarbon dates from the Bulubangi excavated martavan. To allow for the southern hemisphere effect, 24 years were subtracted from the uncalibrated radiocarbon date. Calibration was undertaken using the CALIB 4.3 program.

the charcoal outside the jar has a probability distribution which centres on the seventeenth century, but unfortunately the standard error is wide, and any age between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries would be quite possible (Table 3). A seventeenth century dating would be consistent with all the available archaeological evidence, but we should perhaps hesitate before rejecting a sixteenth century age entirely, since this decision would depend on the reliability of a seventeenth to eighteenth century dating of a handful of Chinese stoneware sherds.

Discussion

There is now a considerable body of archaeological evidence on mortuary practices in South Sulawesi between about 2000 and 1000 years ago, a period included by Bellwood (1997) in the Early Metal Phase. The distinguishing feature of these mortuary practices for this period is their diversity. These include the large burial urns of local earthenware in Sabbang Loang, Luwu, which would have admitted complete corpses or previously defleshed human bones, and which have been reliably dated to the early centuries AD (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000: 61–3). Their closest known analogy (in South Sulawesi) involves local earthenware urns, associated with stone beads,[4] from Galesong (south of Makassar), which, according to the excavators, would have taken tightly flexed primary burials (Bulbeck 1996–7: 1029). The most comminuted human burials known from this period are from the Leang Codong rock shelter in Soppeng, where huge numbers of teeth, associated with only a small quantity of bone fragments, were found. These burial remains are dated to 2000 to 1000 years ago based on their association with glass and stone beads, bronze leaf, and an iron spearhead (Bulbeck and others 2000: 80). A similar array of grave goods was recovered from the inaccessible rock shelter of Ulu Leang 2, Maros, where the defleshed remains of approximately 50 individuals had been stashed inside earthenware pots (Bulbeck 1996–7: 1027). Other rock shelters in Leang-Leang, Maros, have yielded small quantities of human bone, some of it burnt (perhaps after being defleshed) and some of it unburnt, dating between 2000 and 1000 years ago based on radiocarbon determinations on the bone (Bulbeck and others 2000: 84).

In contrast with this diversity of Early Metal Phase mortuary practices, cremation emerges as a widespread practice in the South Sulawesi peninsula during early historical times. The evidence for cremated burial remains between AD 1000 and 1300 in the coastal Makasar-speaking locations of Gowa/Takalar and Bantaeng is summarised by Bulbeck (1996–7: 1030–1) and Bougas (1998) respectively. In Luwu, Tambu-Tambu is interpreted as a disturbed burial ground where cremated remains had been stored in ceramic martavans between circa 1200 and 1600, and several sites at Malangke are interpreted as burial grounds, predominantly taking cremated remains, dating back to the fourteenth century. Tambu-Tambu is arguably associated with Wotu speakers, a minority ethnic group in Luwu with a lengthy history of long-distance trading, while Malangke served as the capital of the Bugis kingdom of Luwu between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000: 49–51, 72–3). The Bulubangi burial jar confirms the pattern of circa sixteenth century cremations and creates the situation where sites with these remains circumscribe the South Sulawesi peninsula (Figure 1).

We suggest that this tradition of cremations is intrusive and does not represent a development from Early Metal Phase practices, for several reasons. First, although charred human bone dates back to at least 1000 years ago at Leang-Leang, most human remains we know of in South Sulawesi from this period are not burnt, and the degree to which the charred bone from Leang-Leang was burnt is only modest. The extent of heat treatment of the 'ashes' and cremated bone from the circa fourteenth century sites described above would appear to have been generally much greater (Bulbeck 1996–7: 1025–30). Secondly, the coastal distribution of the sites we focus on here, and their association with three language groups (Bugis, Makasars and Wotu), would be consistent with the common adoption of an overseas tradition. Thirdly, we know that cremations were the standard mortuary practice in classical Java (Stutterheim 1939), and we have abundant evidence for increasing trade and social interactions between South Sulawesi and Java at around the fourteenth century (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). Thus, it seems far more reasonable to ascribe South Sulawesi's early historical tradition of cremations to Javanese

influence, which appears to have transmitted elements of Indic religious practice, than to treat it as a local revival of the widespread, prehistoric Austronesian practice of burning the remains of the dead (cf. Thiel 1986–7; Bellwood 1997: 240).

At some stage between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, a general distinction had emerged between the Bugis cremation tradition and the lowland Makasar practice of extended inhumations. Bulbeck (1996–7: 1033–4) has suggested that the conversion of Makasar speakers to extended inhumations, associated with boat-shaped coffin burials, might reflect sea-gypsy (Bajo) influence. This view has not won wide support, and indeed the point of significance is not the source of the tradition but the degree to which Makasar speakers appear to have adopted it.[5] The early seventeenth century spread of Islam in South Sulawesi would not serve as an appropriate analogy for this transition. Both Bugis and Makasar kingdoms were amongst the earliest to adopt Islam,[6] and the massive armies which allowed the Gowa–Tallo' army to forcefully convert any unwilling kingdoms were a phenomenon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Andaya 1981). Moreover, the mooted seventeenth century dating for the Bulubangi cremation corroborates other evidence from archaeology (Bulbeck 1996–7: 1033–5) and written accounts (Pelras 1996: 188–98) of a slow spread throughout the general populace of Islamic burial rites, despite the institutional force backing up Islam.

Accordingly, the late pre-Islamic dichotomy between Bugis cremation and Makasar inhumations appears to be the archaeological signature of the convergence of a shared religion, and a common language, as an explicit statement of ethnic identity transcending the bounds of the local community. The evidence would suggest that Cummings' (2002) attempt to associate the development of Makasar 'society' with the rise of a state-sponsored literary tradition centred on Gowa–Tallo' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would underestimate the antiquity of this phenomenon and also misunderstand its cause. Rather, we find evidence for the crystallisation of distinct Bugis and Makasar societies by at least the fifteenth century, and no indication that a particular state-sponsored literary tradition propagated this sense of social identity.[7] This is an

important issue for understanding the florescence of South Sulawesi's pre-Islamic kingdoms and deserves detailed attention in the future.

Conclusion

The stoneware jar from Bulubangi containing cremated human remains is dated, through the evidence from ceramics and radiocarbon assays, to the seventeenth or perhaps the sixteenth century. The find is particularly significant in the light of other evidence that Bulubangi may have once served as the capital of the Bugis kingdom of Sidenreng before the seventeenth century. The Bulubangi jar adds to the wider body of evidence suggesting that, between the fourteenth century and the seventeenth century transition to Islam, cremation became universal among Bugis-speaking societies, whilst Makasar-speaking societies converted to a mortuary practice of inhuming the deceased in an extended position. This association between language and religion provides an important context for our attempts to combine the historical and archaeological data in reconstructing the origins and growth of the early Bugis and Makasar kingdoms.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank the Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory at the Australian National University (ANU) for providing the dates cited here, and the Centre for Archaeological Research (also at the ANU) for funding the dates. Thanks to participants in the Bulubangi survey and excavation, Irfan Mahmud, Muhammad Nor, Pak Hamsa, Pak Mansjur and in particular, to Karaeng Demmanari who provided identifications of the ceramic sherds from the survey. The authors would also like to thank La Sidde of Amparita, Sidrap, for allowing the archaeologists to carry out the excavation on his land.

Stephen Druce has recently submitted a PhD thesis to the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, United Kingdom. His email address is: stevedruce@yahoo.com
David Bulbeck is a Research Fellow attached to the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Australian National University, Canberra. His email address is: David.Bulbeck@anu.edu.au
Irfan Mahmud is a staff member at Balai Arkeologi Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Notes

1. This story is can be found on page 5 of manuscript No. 3, Roll 20 of the microfilm catalogue of Bugis, Makasar and Mandar manuscripts held at the Makassar branch of the Indonesian national archives.
2. These include a recent series of excavations of partly disturbed, pre-Islamic inhumations in Bantaeng city undertaken by the Indonesian archaeologist Widya Nayati during her PhD research at the National University of Singapore.
3. *Fajar*, 12 March 2003.
4. We would now suggest that at least some of the beads from these burial urns were made of glass.
5. Archaeological evidence for late pre-Islamic diversity in mortuary practices has been recovered from the small coastal polity of Siang. Excavations at one site, Palambeang, recovered a wooden coffin associated with fifteenth to sixteenth ceramics (Bulbeck 1996–7: 1033). In the mid-sixteenth century, inhumation appears to have been the standard mortuary practice of Siang nobles, as witnessed by the Portuguese trader, Antonio de Paiva, who visited Siang at this time (Jacobs 1966 and Baker this volume). However, Ali Fadillah and Irfan Mahmud (2000: 13) report a large jar found in Siang containing cremated human remains, which the present authors identify as a fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok martavan. This stoneware jar may, however, be from a Bugis burial as kabupaten Pangkep, the regency were Siang is located, is a transitional area inhabited by both Bugis and Makasar. At the same time, Siang's Makasar heritage is made evident by the lontara' Siang (a photocopy of the original manuscript is held by Druce), which is written in the Makasar language.

6. Luwu, a Bugis kingdom, was the first whose ruler converted to Islam, followed shortly by the Makasar kingdom of Tallo' (Andaya 1981; Caldwell 1994).
7. Cummings further claims that the complex ranked social order seen as a 'classical' feature of Makasar society was propelled by 'literacy' and took shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This claim does not take into consideration the abundant archaeological evidence from Goa and Tallo' and other Makasar-speaking areas of South Sulawesi, which reveals that from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries inclusive, imported elite goods arriving in South Sulawesi continually increased in number. The present authors consider that the heightened social stratification in Makasar society, leading into the seventeenth century, grew from Makasar cultural precepts crystallised in prehistory; and it was largely fuelled by imported elite goods, which served as important symbols of social rank and political authority for the ruling elite, rather than the adoption of writing.

References

Adhyatman, S. and Abu Ridho 1984. *Tempayan di Indonesia: Martavans in Indonesia*. Second edition. Jakarta: The Ceramic Society of Indonesia.

Ali Fadillah and Irfan Mahmud 2000. *Kerajaan Siang kuna: Sumber Tutur, Teks dan Tapak Arkeologi*. Makassar: Balai Arkeologi Makassar/Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin.

Andaya, L. 1981. *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bellwood, P. 1997. *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*. Second edition. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bougas, W. 1998. Bantayan: an early Makassarese kingdom 1200–1600 A.D. *Archipel* 55: 83–123.

Baker, B. 2005. South Sulawesi in 1544: a Portuguese letter. This volume, pp. 61–85.

Bulbeck, F.D. 1992. A Tale of Two Kingdoms: The Historical Archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Unpublished PhD thesis. Canberra: The Australian National University.

—— 1996–7. The Bronze-Iron Age of South Sulawesi, Indonesia: mortuary traditions, metallurgy and trade. In F.D. Bulbeck and N. Barnard (eds) *Ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian Bronze Age Cultures*, Vol. II, pp. 1007–76. Taipei: Southern Materials Center Inc.

Bulbeck, D. and I. Caldwell 2000. *The Land of Iron: The Historical Archaeology of Luwu and the Cenrana Valley*. Hull: The University of Hull.

Bulbeck, D., M. Pasqua, and A. Di Lello 2000. Culture history of the Toalean of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Asian Perspectives* 39: 71–108.

Caldwell, I.A. 1988. South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600: Ten Bugis Texts. Unpublished PhD thesis. Canberra: The Australian National University.

—— 1994. A report on fieldwork in Luwu with Bahru Kallupa and Iwan Sumantri in August 1994. *Baruga* 10: 9–10.

—— 1995. Power, state and society among the pre-Islamic Bugis. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151: 394–421.

Caldwell, I. and S. Druce 1998. The tributary and domain list of Luwu, Binamu and Bangkala. Report to the South-East Asia Committee to the British Academy. Hull: The University of Hull.

Cummings, W. 2002. *Making Blood White: Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Druce, S.C. 2001. Exploring early political and economic ties between West Soppeng and Suppaq from about the late thirteenth century until the mid-fifteenth century: myth, marriage and trade. *Walennae* 4 (6): 35–46.

Druce, S.C. 2006. The Lands West of the Lakes: The History of the Ajattappareng, South Sulawesi, AD 1300–1600. PhD thesis. Hull: University of Hull.

Hadimuljono and C.C. Macknight 1983. Imported ceramics in South Sulawesi. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17: 66–91.

Harrisson, B. 1990. *Pusaka Heirloom Jars of Borneo*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Jacobs, H. 1966. The first locally demonstrable Christianity in Celebes. *Studia* 17: 251–305.

Kallupa, B., D. Bulbeck, I. Caldwell, I. Sumantri and K. Demmanari 1989. *Survey Pusat Kerajaan Soppeng 1100–1986*. Final report ot the Australian Myer Foundation. Canberra: privately published.

Macknight, C.C. 1975. The emergence of civilisation in South Sulawesi and elsewhere. In A. Reid and L. Castles (eds), *Pre-colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, pp. 126–35. Kuala Lumpur: Monographs of the Malaysia Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 6.

——. 1983. The rise of agriculture in South Sulawesi before 1600. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17: 92–116.

—— 1993. *The early history of South Sulawesi: some recent advances*. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, The Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper 81.

—— 2000. South Sulawesi chronicles and their possible modes. In A. Disney and E. Booth (eds), *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia*, pp.322–32. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Maeda, N., 1984, Traditionality in Bugis Society. In Maeda, N. and Mattulada (eds) *Transformation of the Agricultural Landscape in Indonesia,* pp. 109–22. Kyoto: Kyoto University.

Mahmud, I. 2004. Laporan Sementara: Ekskavasi Situs Bulubangi Kabupaten Sidenreng Rappang. Unpublished ms.

Reid, A. 1983. The rise of Makassar. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17: 117–60.

Schurhammer, G. 1980. *Francis Xavier; His Life, his Times, Volume 3, Indonesia and India 1545–1549*. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute.

Stutterheim, W.F. 1939. Some remarks on pre-Hinduistic burial customs on Java. In *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, English translation (1956), pp. 65–90. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Thiel, B. 1986-7. Excavations at Arku Cave, northeast Luzon, Philippines. *Asian Perspectives* 27: 229–64.