

21st CONGRESS OF THE INDO_PACIFIC PREHISTORY ASSOCIATION Hue, Vietnam, 23-28 September 2018

Conference Panel S33: **Recent Advances in the Historical Archaeology of South and West Sulawesi, Indonesia** (24th September, 10:30 am-12:00 pm).

Panel Organiser Kathryn Wellen.

South Sulawesi offers an unparalleled window on the development of complex societies in the Austronesian-speaking world. The province has a rich indigenous historiographical tradition that developed in the absence of significant Indic or Islamic influences. These written sources offer a unique perspective on the interpretation of South Sulawesi archaeological sites. This panel seeks to summarise, analyse and contextualise recent archaeological research on the development of complex societies, and attempts to relate our present knowledge to extant historiographical sources. Three papers present recent work on Mandar, the Cenrana Valley, and the Makasar-speaking areas to the south. Two more papers examine the development of complex society within the theoretical frameworks of political anthropology and Southeast Asian archaeology.



Panel members (left to right)

Horst Liebner The “Mandar Confederation”: Historiography versus Archaeology.

Ian Caldwell The Archaeology of a Lost Palace: Allangkanangngne ri La Tanete.

Kathryn Wellen South Sulawesi in Comparative Perspective.

Stephen Druce Collapsing the Mandala: Empirical Data from South Sulawesi versus Theoretical Models.

David Bulbeck Indigenous State Development amongst Makasar Speakers of South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

The panel brought together five *bule* researchers and *in absentia* four Bugis scholars who have worked on the rise of complex society in South Sulawesi from the early 1980s onwards. It was agreed at this panel that several important reference points have been established and that these should form the bedrock of all future historical analysis of textual and archaeological data.

These reference points are:

1. Complex society began in the thirteenth century CE.
2. The La Galigo as we know it is contemporary with the period 1200-1600.
3. Trade with Java was a key element in the start of complex society.
4. Writing was developed no earlier than 1400 CE.
5. The archaeological record corresponds with the written record.
6. The kingdoms of South Sulawesi are essentially sixteenth-century phenomena.

Below are the papers listed in order of presentation:

Indigenous state development amongst Makasar speakers of South Sulawesi, Indonesia

David Bulbeck

Australian National University

Archaeological remains in South Sulawesi dating to the first millennium AD reflect a social organisation based on small-scale, competitive ranked hierarchies and veneration of the ancestors. The subsequent organisation of more complex polities amongst Makasar speakers, leading up to the rise of Goa-Talloq as the earliest fully developed state in South Sulawesi, involved a range of factors that included:

- More regular contact with Java, associated with the trade in Eastern Indonesian spices, from the early second millennium;
- Bulk importation of sumptuous, exotic goods from the 13th/14th century onwards, whose distribution could be exploited for political purposes by ambitious elites;
- Fertile wet-rice lands in several places along or near the south coast, where the population could flourish and a surplus be generated for trade including the ironwares produced in Luwu (northern South Sulawesi);
- Evolved political mechanisms for uniting smaller polities under apical lineages, as documented for Goa's 16th century marriage patterns;
- The development of social institutions for harnessing the skills of local artisans and fighters in the service of the state and its subjects;
- The vision of gifted leaders to realise the opportunities presented by the circa 16th century transmission of European advances in statecraft and technology, and the related expansion of Muslims/Islam across much of Nusatenggara.

Disruption to traditional Makasar economic and ritual practices were subdued as these developments unfolded, which promoted social continuity and positive identification by communities within the restructured polities.

The “Mandar Confederation”: Historiography versus archaeology?

Budianto Hakim, Horst Liebner (presenter), Iwan Sumantri, Muhammad Munir and Zulfihadi

Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan, Komunitas Bahari Mandar, Universitas Hasanuddin, Rumpita and Universitas Sulawesi Barat

Mandar, roughly covering the southern parts of today’s province of West Sulawesi, is the least known of the four major divisions commonly proposed to constitute the ethno-political landscape of the south-western peninsula of Sulawesi. Indigenous historiography, apparently rooted in a period closely preceding the early seventeenth-century advent of Islam as the creed of local rulers, portrays the area as a confederation of seven estuarial settlements and seven corresponding upstream districts, indicating an economic and political organisation akin to the dendritic model described for many a polity of the Malay Archipelago.

While confirming the importance of trade in the region’s economy and social organisation, a number of recent archaeological finds, however, challenge the conventional picture of Mandar’s political arrangements: There are at least four sites of a time-depth considerably anteceding the period of the alleged formation of the Mandar confederacy that exhibit the benchmarks of complex societies. Two of these sites have no role whatsoever in the popular historiographic traditions relating the emergence of that confederation; of the other two, one is, rather elusively, portrayed as a key foe of the leading polity of the alliance.

We shall discuss the presently available evidence and its possible implications for our knowledge of the emergence and dynamics of stratified society in the area, and bid to link the data with geo- and demographic patterns. As enquiries are still in progress, we will also attempt to outline a number of additional queries and topics that could be relevant to further study.

3) The archaeology of a lost palace: Allankanangne ri La Tanete

Ian Caldwell

Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines Diliman

In the thirteenth century CE the Bugis of South Sulawesi began to develop complex, stratified societies based on wet rice cultivation. The earliest evidence comes from the site Allankanangne ri La Tanete (The Palace on the Hilltop) near Sengkang in Wajo. Chinese ceramics recovered from this site are a century older than ceramics from other South Sulawesi palace sites. Faunal remains and rice phytolith counts suggest a shift over time from a mixed economy to one focussed on rice cultivation. The presentation will review evidence from archaeological excavations in 1999 and 2005 and relate this to the landscape history of the Walennae Depression.

IPPA 20184) South Sulawesi in comparative perspective

Kathryn Wellen

Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies

This paper looks at deterrents and stimuli for political centralisation in South Sulawesi before c.1700 CE through a meta-study of literature on the peninsula's archaeology and early history. Through the lens of political anthropology, it examines the interactions within and between evolving chiefdoms, including the formation of political confederations. The complex interaction of (1) the environmental/demographic circumstances, (2) a legitimizing ideology, (3) domination of the economy (Claessen 2006, 2008) will be reviewed with reference to their impact on socio-political organisation. The Complex Interaction model of Claessen is comparable to the multiplier model proposed by Renfrew (1972) concerning the feedback mechanisms between five subsystems: subsistence, technology, social behaviour, projection/symbols and trade/communication. How does archaeological and historical evidence from South Sulawesi relate to these models?

5) Collapsing the mandala: Empirical data from South Sulawesi versus theoretical models

Stephen Druce

University of Brunei Darussalam

This paper is concerned with theoretical models that draw on indigenous and Indic ideas that have sought to explain the emergence of political formations in Southeast Asia and how such models relate to archaeological and historical data from South Sulawesi, where societies developed independently of Indic ideas. A particular focus of the paper is the mandala model. The roots of this model have a long history in the literature of Southeast Asia but here I am mainly concerned with later highly influential examples of these ideas, namely those posited by Wolters in various publications. Wolters argued that the origins of the mandala and their 'men of prowess' were rooted in the social and political culture of all early Southeast Asian societies before they interacted with Indic culture, and that the adoption of Indic ideas simply 'brought ancient and persisting indigenous beliefs into sharper focus.' The archaeological and historical data from South Sulawesi, which presents a more detailed picture of the emergence, development and support structures of early kingdoms than found in such models, challenges the notion that Wolters' mandala are essentially autochthonous formations and suggests that the general features of this model are more post- than pre-Indic.