

# **The Tributary and Domain Lists of Luwuq, Binamu and Bangkala**

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## INTRODUCTION

The Tributary and Domain Lists of Luwuq, Binamu and Bangkala (TDLBB) is the name given here to three short work represented by a group of three nineteenth-century Bugis language manuscripts. These manuscripts provide the names of 28 settlements in and around the Gulf of Bone and 39 settlements lying west of Bantaéng on the Jénéponto-Cikoang headland. The word used to describe some of these settlements is *paliliq* ('something around a centre'), which is conventionally translated as *vassal* but which is more accurately translated as *tributary*. Other settlements are introduced by the formula *napanoqé rakkalana*, ('the plough of [X] goes down to') meaning 'directly ruled lands', a term which we translate here as *domain*. In this report we avoid using the term 'vassal'.

The TDLBB contains no date. Bulbeck (1992, 1993) has argued for a *terminus post quem* for the TDLBB of about A.D. 1500, on the basis that by about 1530 Gowa had gained control of the south coast as far as Jénéponto. The apparent inclusion of Tampangeng, which was seized by Wajoq around 1490, supports this dating. However, the text reads TaPaKé thus Tampaneng is a rather speculative reading. On the other hand, there nothing in the TDLBB that would require us to place it later than 1500, and the TDLBB clearly portrays Luwuq at the height of its power and prosperity.

Binamu and Bangkala are the direct westerly neighbours of the Makasar-speaking kingdom of Bantaéng, which has recently been the subject of a survey by Wayne Bougas (1998). In the *Desawarnana* (Robson 1995), completed by the Majapahit court official Prapanca in 1365, Bantaéng and Luwuq, (together with an unidentified Uda), are described as controlling the 'land of Bantayan':

'As well as the land of Bantayan, led by Bantayan and Luwuk, including Uda, these being the three foremost places in the island.' (*Desawarnana*, canto 14, verse 4, lines 3-4)

By the mid-fourteenth century, Bantaéng and Luwuq were evidently known to the Majapahit court, which claimed them as its tributaries. Javanese trading vessels were probably calling regularly along the south coast, which has good harbours, on the way to the Moluccas. However, it seems unlikely that many Javanese ships sailed to Luwuq, as expert knowledge would have been needed to avoid reefs lying off the Gulf of Boné; the shores of the Gulf are edged with mangrove swamps and good anchorage is scarce. Four hundred years later, the power of Luwuq was still remembered: Blok (1759) states that 'before Maccassar, or Bone, had so much as a name, Lohoo was the most powerful, and the largest kingdom of Celebes: for, in addition to Lohoo proper, most part of Bone, Bolee Bolee, the point of Lasseem [on the south coast], round to Bolecomba, together with all Toadjo or Wadjo, and probably all the country of Torathea, [Turatéa: modern-day Jénéponto] were in subjection to Lohoo'. Elsewhere in his book he stated plainly

that 'The kingdom of Lohoo, before the Maccassars and Boneers had increased in power, was the most powerful and the largest Empire of all Celebes'.

Pigeaud (1962) raised the possibility that *Desawarnana's* Luwuk refers not to Luwuq but the region of Luwuk in eastern Central Sulawesi. However, it is worth noting that Prapanca evinces little knowledge of the physical geography of South Sulawesi: his knowledge is that of a series of trading polities or coastlines:

'Taking them island by island: Makasar, Buton and Banggawi [Banggai],  
Kunir, Galiyahu and Salaya [Selayar], Sumba. Solot and Muwar'  
(*Desawarnana*, canto 14, verse 5, lines 1-2)

We confirm here that the *Desawarnana's* Luwuk is indeed the Bugis kingdom of Luwuq.<sup>1</sup> (see Luwuk, below). Luwuk in eastern Central Sulawesi was an area of little importance in the fourteenth century: its present role as the administrative capital of *kabupaten* Luwuk-Banggai (a region which includes the islands of Pélén and Banggai) dates from 1941, when the Japanese moved the sultanate of Banggai from the island of that name to the mainland (Luwuk). Small quantities of Chinese ceramics are dug up on the mainland of Luwuk, but much larger quantities are found on *pulau* Banggai and Pélén.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the historical records of the Bugis kingdom of Luwuq, few though they are, show clear evidence of the use by Luwuq's rulers of Javanese-Sanskrit titles, reflecting the voluntary adoption of elements of a 'superior culture' by a society living on its fringes (Toynbee 1972:234). No such evidence is reported from Luwuk in Banggai.

The *Desawarnana's* association of Bantaéng with Luwuq does however mirror the TDLBB's association of Luwuq with Binamu and Bangkala, Bantaéng's immediate westerly neighbours. However, there is no tradition in Binamu, Bangkala or Bantaéng of a political relationship between Luwuk and the south coast. Political memories reach back a long way in South Sulawesi and the lack of any such tradition on the south coast is significant. Summing up, it seems clear that the association of Luwuq and various south coast kingdoms in the *Desawarnana* and in the TDLBB reflects a pattern of trade rather than direct political control of the south coast by Luwuq..

Let us now turn to the evidence of the TDLBB. The first half of the text provides a map of political relations in and around the Gulf of Bone. Some of these relations possibly date from the seventeenth century, but most, we believe, are sixteenth century or older. Almost all of the settlements one would expect to see in such a list are included: the notable exception is Ussuq, which one would expect to see listed with Cérékang and Tampina. Wotu, which both modern Wotu and Palopo traditions assert was never a formal part of Luwuq, is omitted.

This list of 28 names in and around the Gulf of Boné is followed by the expression

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the Javanese knew of Luwuq mainly through their contacts on the south coast of South Sulawesi.

<sup>2</sup> Luwuk-Banggai is well known source of late-Sung/Yuan ceramics. Most of these appear to be white wares.

'south of the sea gates'. This expression refers to the headlands of Tanjung Jénéméjai and Tanjung Tobako, on the opposite sides of the Gulf, or perhaps to the settlements of Bajo and Ngapa which acted as 'garrisons' on those coasts, (see entries for Bajo and Ngapa below). An important question here is whether the expression 'south of the sea gates' is intended to provide a unity to the TDLBB, thus implying a formal or *de facto* relationship between Luwuq and the kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkala, whose tributary and domain lists follow directly. We believe that this is indeed so. Short formulae setting out the relations of groups of settlements to each other are a regular element of Bugis tributary and domain lists, and the expression 'south of the sea gates' appears to be such a formula. We conclude that the TDLBB is a work in the sense defined by Macknight (1984) as a composition which had a unity in the mind of its creator, and that a relationship between Binamu, Bangkala and Luwuq is implied.

*Authors' note:* Since the writing of this report, we have come to the conclusion that there is indeed no necessary connection between the three tributary and domain lists other than their collection by the compiler of a manuscript ancestral to the three manuscripts which form the basis of our transcription. The remainder of the report should be read in this light. The south coast toponyms of Binamu and Bangkala have now been researched in detail by Caldwell and Bougas (2004).

The lists of the tributaries and domains of Luwuq, Binamu and Bangkala are each divided into two groups, the first comprising autonomous polities (*tributaries*) and the second comprising the settlements (*domains*) which belonged to the main settlement or palace centre of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> In the kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkala the palace centres were Binamu (Bontoramba) and Bangkala; in Luwuq the centre was at Patimang-Malangé.<sup>4</sup>

With two exceptions, Luwuq's tributaries lie inland and were non-Bugis speaking polities. For example, the people of Baébunta, Luwuq's most important tributary, speak Limolang. No evidence of Bugis settlement before the seventeenth century has been found at Baébunta, despite evidence of adoption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Limolang elite of Bugis funerary practices (Bulbeck and Prasatyo 1998). The tributaries of Bua and Ponrang, Luwuq's only coastal tributaries, may have been Bugis speaking or become so by the seventeenth century. The ruling families of Bua and Ponrang had close family connections with Patimang-Malangé from at least the sixteenth century, and the three families could perhaps be considered to be parts of a single ruling family.

Andi Anthon, a high-ranking Luwuq noble who was one of our most important informants, said that certain *paliliq* were *paliliq murni*. By this he meant that these *paliliq* had only slight genealogical ties with Luwuq's ruling family. Andi Anthon named the following TDLBB tributaries as *paliliq murni*: Méngkoka, Patila, Bolong, Rongkong,

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<sup>3</sup> This structure is common to the tributary and domain lists of all major Bugis kingdoms.

<sup>4</sup> The palace centre is called Wareq by the TDLBB. The name Luwuq refers to a region rather than a place.

Suso, Balabatu and Léqbani. The following *paliliq* had direct ties with Luwuq's ruling family: Baébunta, Bua, Ponrang, Matano and Bajo. Andi Anthon was unsure of the status of Tampangeng and Léléwawo: Waropo and Loda are unidentified.

Luwuq's domains all lie along the coast of the Gulf of Boné. Control of the coast and trade evidently lay in the hands of the ruling family of Wareq, which in the fourteenth to early seventeenth centuries was centred at Patimang-Malangké. Domains appear to have been governed by members of the palace centre's ruling family or their close relations.<sup>5</sup> Tributaries were generally governed by their own ruling elites (in practice a hereditary family) and enjoyed a large measure of internal autonomy from the palace centre. Most tributaries would have possessed their own domains (domains are the 'lands' or 'estates' of a centre): lists of such domains are found for the tributaries and domains of at least one other Bugis kingdom.

In summary, the picture which emerges from the Gulf of Boné section of the TDLBB is of a 'Malay-style', trade-based polity drawing its revenues from control of trade between inland, mountain peoples (the *to Rongkong, to Limolang, to Pamona, to Lakki*, etc.) and the east coast of Java, and perhaps other archipelagic trading coasts. Most of this trade probably took place via intermediaries on the south coast.

The south coast section of the TDLBB is introduced by the phrase *babangé lao* (south of the two sea gates) and followed by what appears to be a textual corruption: *balilina seppu*. These words can possibly be read as *Bisappu paliliqna*, 'Bisappu's tributaries are' (Bisappu is a *kecamatan* in *kabupaten* Bantaéng). This reading, which is followed in the translation of the TDLBB, below, would be a more convincing reconstruction if the words in the text were the other way around, i.e. *balilina Seppu*, the pattern found elsewhere in the TDLBB. No additional information in the form of lists of tributaries and domains follows: if our reading is correct we must presume that these have been lost. Our speculative reading merely opens the possibility that the TDLBB at one time contained the lists of the tributaries and domains of at least one other south coast kingdom.

The words *babangé lao balilina Seppu* are followed by the expression *Binamu paliliqna*, which introduces the list of Binamu's tributaries: Sidénré, Bala, Jénéponto, Sapanang, Ciqnong and Tonrokasiq. This is followed by the expression *napanoqué rakkalana* ([Binamu]'s plough goes down to), which introduces a list (from Acuolé to Toloq) of the domains of the eponymous central place Binamu.

Prior to field research it was hypothesized that all the place-names following the expression 'south of the sea gates' were a mixture of tributaries and domains owing direct allegiance or ruled by Wareq. However, information gathered in the western half of the south coast region did not support this interpretation. It was found that the six tributaries named in the second 'south of the sea gates' group, and the domains named in the third group, were in fact the tributaries and domains of Binamu, an independent Makasar polity. According to local informants there were six *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu:

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<sup>5</sup> To provide a modern example. the title of Opu (prince of) Sénga, a Luwuq domain, is held by Andi Anthon's elder brother.

one local informant, Haji Iskandar, named five of these *karaéng paliliq* as Sidénré, Jénéponto, Sapanang, Ciqnong and Tonrokasiq. These all form part of the second group, which we have identified above as tributaries. According to Haji Iskandar, the sixth place-name of this group, Balang, was not one of Binamu's *karaéng paliliq*; other informants, however, claimed that it was.

The expression *napanoqé rakkalana* ([Binamu] rules directly) introduces the third group of seventeen settlements. Mindful of the few place-names which we could not identify, we can state that information from local residents connects these lands with the central-place Binamu. We were informed that at least three of these lands were directly ruled by Binamu. It should also be noted that none of these seventeen lands was named by Haji Iskandar as *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu. We conclude (as the TDLBB states) that at one time all or most of the settlements of the third group were directly ruled by the central place Binamu.

The words *Bangkala napanoqé rakkalana* (Bangkala rules directly) introduce the next section of the TDLBB, which deals with Bangkala, a Makasar kingdom located to the west of Binamu. However, the place names which follow appear to have been tributaries not domains. According to one local informant, at least four of the lands from this group were ruled by *karéng* (chiefs), namely Tanatoa, Nasaraq, Pallenguq and Garasiga. We conclude on the basis of this information and on the pattern of this and other Bugis tributary and domain lists that all seven place-names were at one time tributaries of Bangkala, and that *napanoqé rakkalana* is a copyist's error for *paliliqna*.

The expression *napanoqé rakkalana* ([Bangkala] rules directly) introduces the penultimate group: that of Bangkala's domains. This group contains seven settlements or lands: Pattopangkang, Panyalangkang, Punaga, Canrai (probably Canraigo), Cikoang Pangkajéné and Barana. None of these settlements were said to have been ruled by *karaéng*. We conclude that these settlements were domains of the central place Bangkala.

The expression *aléalénamua* (on its own) introduces the final group of just one place-name, Béroanging. Why Béroanging should be thus isolated is not clear. Local informants confirmed that Béroanging was part of the kingdom of Bangkala. We include it here as a domain.

## Text of the of the Vassal Lists of Luwuq, Binamu and Bangkala<sup>6</sup>

Wareq<sup>7</sup> paliliqna \ Baébu[n]ta \ Bua \ Ponrang \ Matana<sup>8</sup> \ Méngkoka \ Patila \ Bolong \ Ro[ng]kong \ Ta[m]pa[ng]ké<sup>9</sup> \ Suso \ Waropo \ Loda \ Bajo \ Balabatu \ Léqbani \ Léléwawo \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Ta[m]pina \ Napa<sup>10</sup> \ Malili \ Patimang \ Cilellang \ Lamunré \ Suli Wata[n]larompong<sup>11</sup> \ Sirigading \ La[n]rang \ Séngé<sup>12</sup> \ Cé-

[120] rékang \ babangé \ lao \ balilina \ Seppu<sup>13</sup> \ Bénamo<sup>14</sup> \ paliliqna \ Sidénré \ Balang \ Cénépo[n]to<sup>15</sup> \ Sapanang \ Tino \ To[n]rokasiq \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Ajuloé<sup>16</sup> \ Kalapang<sup>17</sup> \ Pajilao<sup>18</sup> \ Bulubulo<sup>19</sup> \ Patellessang<sup>20</sup> \ Jo[m]bé \ Panyutuna<sup>21</sup> \ Ru[ng]kéké<sup>22</sup> \ Todotodo<sup>23</sup> \ Bo[n]toropo<sup>24</sup> \ Pao \ Karoang \ Ciqnong \ To[n]ra<sup>25</sup> \ Ru[m]bia \ Toloq \ Ba[ng]kala \ napanoqé rakkalana<sup>26</sup> \ Tanatoa \ Pallénguq \ Mallasoro \ Garasiga \ Masaraq<sup>27</sup> \ Rukuruku \ Laikang \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Pattopakang \ Panyalangkang \ Punaga \ Ca[n]rai<sup>28</sup> \ Cikoang \ Pangkajéné \ Baranaq \ aléalénamua \ Béroanging \ aléalénamua \ *tammatt*

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<sup>6</sup> Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap MS. 100:119.25-120.8; Leiden University Library.

<sup>7</sup> Wareq was the palace centre of the rulers of Luwuq. In the fourteenth to early seventeenth centuries it was at Patimang-Malankgé on the coastline north of Palopo.

<sup>8</sup> Matana *read* Matano

<sup>9</sup> Ta[m]pangké *read* Tampangeng

<sup>10</sup> Napa *read* Ngapa

<sup>11</sup> Wata[n]larompong *read* Larompong

<sup>12</sup> Séngé *read* Sénga

<sup>13</sup> balilina \ seppu: a corruption

<sup>14</sup> Bénamo *read* Bimanu

<sup>15</sup> Cénéponto *read* Jénéponto

<sup>16</sup> Ajuloé *read* Ujung Loé

<sup>17</sup> Kalapang *read* Kalumpang

<sup>18</sup> Pajilao *read* Palajau

<sup>19</sup> Bulubulo *read* Bulobulo

<sup>20</sup> Patellessang *read* Patalasang

<sup>21</sup> Panyutuna *read* Paiyatana

<sup>22</sup> Ru[ng]kéké *read* Arungkéké

<sup>23</sup> Todotodo *read* Togotogo

<sup>24</sup> Bo[n]toropo *read* Bontorappo

<sup>25</sup> Tonra *read* Taroang

<sup>26</sup> Ba[ng]kala \ napanoqé rakkalana *read* Bangkala paliliqna

<sup>27</sup> Masaraq *read* Narasaq

<sup>28</sup> Ca[n]rai *read* Canraigo

# **Translation of the Tributary and Domain Lists of Luwuq, Binamu and Bangkala (TDLBB)**

## **Tributaries of Luwuq**

Luwuq's tributaries are: Baébunta, Bua, Ponrang, Matano, Méngkoka, Patila, Bolong, Rongkong, Tampangeng, Suso, Waropo, Loda, Bajo, Balabatu, Léqbani and Léléwawo.

## **Domains of Luwuq**

[Wareq] rules directly Tampina, Ngapa, Malili, Patimang, Cilellang, Lamunré, Suli, Larompong, Sirigading, Lanrang, Sénga [and] Cérékang.

## **Tributaries of Binamu**

Binamu's tributaries are Sidénré, Balang, Jénéponto, Sapanang, Ciqnong [and] Tonrokasiq.

## **Domains of Binamu**

[Binamu] rules directly Ujung Loé, Kalumpang, Palajau, Bulobulo, Patalasang, Jombé, Paiyatana, Arungkéké, Togotogo, Bontorapo, Pao, Karoang, Tino, Taroang, Rumbia, Toloq.

## **Tributaries of Bangkala**

Bangkala's tributaries are Tanatoa, Pallénguq, Mallasoro, Garasiga, Nasaraq, Rukuruku [and] Laikang.

## **Domains of Bangkala**

[Bangkala] rules directly Pattopakang, Panyalangkang, Punaga, Canraigo, Cikoang, Pangkajéné, Baranaq, [and] on its own, Béroanging, on its own.



## TRIBUTARIES OF WAREQ

### Baé**bun**ta BaQéBuTa

Baé**bun**ta is a settlement representing a group of between 1,000 and 2,000 people who claim a cultural and historical heritage distinct from that of the Bugis. Their language, Lemolang (endonym Limolang), is an isolate belonging to the South Sulawesi group (Grimes and Grimes 1987:54), and their area of focal distribution lies between Sabbang Loang on the banks of the Rongkong river, and *kampung* Baebunta on the banks of the Baebunta river. As the *to* Baé**bun**ta controlled the lower reaches of the Rongkong river, they appear to have acted as middlemen in the trade in iron ore and forest products from the upper reaches and the Bugis at Malangké. For a detailed analysis, see Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000:52-65).

### Bua BuQa

S 03.04.431 E 120.14.012

(Druce) Informant Siodja Daéng Mallonjo, age: 80, born in Bua; a descendant of the former rulers of Bua and a relative of Andi Anton.

According to Pak Siodja, Bua's sphere of influence extended into present day Tana Toraja. Baé**bun**ta's influence extended east to Malili, while Ponrang's influence extended south to Larompong. Pak Siodja also claimed that Bua ruled (*memerintah*) Pantilang, and that Pantilang had to pay taxes to Bua. Pak Siodja said that the ruler of Pantilang had the titles *ampalémbang* Pantilang and *bawahan maddika Bua*. ('assistant to the *maddika* Bua')

Pak Siodja claimed that Bua was an independent kingdom within Luwuq and that the ruler of Bua bore the title *maddika* Bua. Pak Siodja also confirmed that of the three *anaq tellu*, Baé**bun**ta was regarded as the eldest sibling, Bua the middle sibling and Ponrang the youngest sibling. This is the order in which they appear on the TDLBB. Pak Siodja also claimed that the first rulers of Baé**bun**ta, Bua and Ponrang were three brothers of the same mother and father. These three brothers were the grandchildren of Bataraguru (presumably Bataraguru of the I La Galigo). The eldest brother, Maccéling, became ruler of Baé**bun**ta; the middle brother, Guttu Patalo, became ruler of Bua; the youngest brother, Pawiséang, became ruler of Ponrang.

Pak Siodja said that the kingdom of Luwuq had twelve *adat* members. The *anaq tellu* made up three of the twelve. According to Pak Siodja, who clearly knew what he was talking about, it was the twelve *adat* members who made the decisions in Luwuq, rather than the *datu* Luwuq. I asked Pak Sitodja if the twelve *adat* members could declare war if the *datu* was against the decision. He maintained that the twelve *adat* members took the decision. He also said that if the twelve told the *datu* to step down, the *datu* would have to step down.

Pak Sitodja still holds some of Bua's regalia. This includes two flags called La Bolong and La Maqqellang. La Maqqellang is the female and the wife of La Bolong. I was told that La Maqqellang was a yellow colour. Pak Sitodja also has a few large plates and a

*pedang* (an iron weapon) called Goara Tonko. I did not see any of the regalia. There have been a number of ceramics found in Bua. According to Pak Sitodja, some of these contained cremated human remains but most did not.

Bua has a port called Paqbarassan. It is approximately two kilometres east of the GPS reading for Bua. Bua does not have much *sawah*. According to Pak Sitodja there is just enough for each *kampung*. As well as rice, *sago* is produced in Bua, although in smaller quantities than in the past.

Pak Sitodja knew the *datu* Kamanré story (below). Following the settlement at Bua of the political schism, Bua became known as *tanaq ri gallaq (daerah hukum)*.

### **Ponrang PoNRa**

S 03.11.744 E 120.15.887

(Druce) Informant: Pak Topatunréngé, born in Ponrang, age: 71. Suggested to me by Andi Anton, but not as knowledgeable an informant as Pak Sitodja.

Pak Topatunréngé told me that the original *kampung* of Ponrang was approximately one kilometre south of the above position, which was taken in *kampung* Mario. According to Pak Topatunréngé the *kampung* got its name because the quality of the rice grown in Mario was very high (*mario = gembira*).

Pak Topatunréngé thought that in the past there was more *sago* than *sawah* in Ponrang, and that *sago* had once been exported from Ponrang to other areas of Indonesia. Ponrang also has garden cultivation and *kopra*.

According to Pak Topatunréngé, Ponrang was regarded as the youngest of the *anaq tellu* (Baébunta, Bua and Ponrang), while Baébunta was regarded as the eldest. He said that the title of the ruler of Ponrang was *opu maddika* Ponrang. Below the *opu maddika* Ponrang were a number of *to makkaka* and what he called *kepala kampung*. According to Pak Topatunréngé, the *to makkaka* and the *kepala kampung* had the same status and role, and were responsible for the people in the *kampung*. He also said that the title *to makkaka* was usually associated with the more mountainous areas. Below the *to makkaka* and *kepala kampung* were *matang*. The *matang* were responsible for the *adat* in the *kampung* and reported to the *to makkaka*. The middle (?) level of this hierarchy was occupied by the *paqbicara*. The role of the *paqbicara* was similar to that of a minister. (Pak Topatunréngé's information was not very clear.)

Pak Topatunréngé also mentioned three other positions which did not appear to have any political function. The first of these, in what he thought was order of hierarchy, was the *to matua*. The *to matua* was responsible for making roof coverings from rattan when there was a *pesta*. Following the *to matua* was the *neneq tanda* who would collect *tuak* for a *pesta*. Last came the *sando tua* who was a *dukun*. The *sando tua* had to be a woman and was responsible for people's health. Every year the *sando tua* would carry out an *acara* which was concerned with health. Pak Topatunréngé's information was interesting but requires further clarification.

I asked Pak Topatunréngé if the people in Ponrang were Bugis. He replied that they were not Bugis but *orang* Luwuq and that the language and *adat* in Ponrang was

different to that of the Bugis.

Pak Topatunréngé did not know who first opened Ponrang and was not aware of the tradition related to me by Siodja Daéng Mallonjo of Bua that the first three *anaq tellu* were the grandchildren of Bataraguru. He said that Ponrang was an autonomous region within Luwuq, and in the past it had been ruled by an *opu maddika* Ponrang, who had to be a descendant of a noble family. Pak Topatunréngé claimed that Ponrang once ruled numerous *kampung* and its area of influence spread southwards towards Larompong.

A number of ceramics have been found in Ponrang, including plates and *guci*. Pak Topatunréngé said that the better quality *guci* usually contained cremated human remains. He also said that they had found small ceramic plates about two inches in diameter. He added that the ceramics that sold for the highest prices had a picture of a person on them, and that the picture was neither good nor clear.

Pak Topatunréngé said that Ponrang had no connection with Pantilang (an alternative reading for Patila [PaTiLa] in the TDLBB) but believed that Bua did. He said that during the Dutch period Pantilang was part of Bua's district. He did not know of any connection between Londa (a possible reading of unidentified LoDa) and Luwuq. Pak Topatunréngé also said that Pantilang was situated on the border between Luwuq and Tana Toraja, and although *bahasa* Toraja is spoken in Pantilang, the people there do not call themselves Toraja but *orang* Luwuq. (The people I spoke to in Pantilang identified themselves as Torajan, but recognized that they were also *orang* Luwuq.)

According to tradition, two small mountains located in Ponrang, Lambojo and Larilari, were boats of Sawerigading. There is a port of sorts near Ponrang called Larilari.

### **Matano** MaTaNa

Map 121.12.900 02.27.300

(Caldwell) Informant Abdullah Andi Mattoana, a retired school teacher.

Matano (or Matana) is a fortified settlement with a population of about 800. Its location is probably due to a good clear water pool emerging from a spring at the eastern end of the village. The *to Matano* are culturally and linguistically related to the *to Mori* to their north. Matano was ruled by a *makolé* and early this century the village was the centre of a flourishing iron smelting and iron working industry. Pak Abdullah claimed that the weapon La Bungawaru, a principle item of Luwuq's regalia, was from Matano (similar claims are made by Léléwawo and Wotu). According to Pak Abdullah, the original name of Matano was Rahampuqu ('the first settlement'). He also told me that there were three routes from Matano to Cérékang and Ussuq. These routes were (1) Matano- Bonéputé-Laroéha-Turnungan Damar, (2) Matano-Bonéputé-Laroéha-Tolétolé-Ussuq, and (3) Matano-Landangi- Tolétolé-Ussuq. There appears to have been some restriction on the route in the Matano that the *datu* Luwuq could take:<sup>29</sup> he had to use the jalan

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<sup>29</sup> See remarks on Wé ula in the Bila-bila list of Luwuq on the last page of this report.

*paqalobani*, not the *jalan waru* (whatever these were), and was met at the *makolé* at Baruga (a place or a hall of audience?). Matano is mentioned in connection with the mythical ruler of Luwuq La Malalaé in a Luwuq text (*La Kilo mallajang ri tengga langkana*:: see Caldwell, (in preparation, LATTM 1982: 112-119) In this text, La Malalaé sails to *gunung* Matana, which is surrounded by other mountains. Gunung Matana collapses and La Malalaé's *perahu* is swept down to the palace of Guruselleng, ruler of the underworld. Guruselleng takes La Malalaé up to his palace and married him to his daughter Wé Mata Tikka, the younger sister of Wé Nyilik Timo. After seven years in the underworld, La Malalaé emerges at Matano.

It seems evident that Matano, which lay on the north-eastern border of Luwuq, enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. In the late nineteenth century, Matano was involved in a war between *tana* Mori and Luwuq, and by 1898 the *makolé* of Matano had rebelled against Luwuq. This is unlikely to have been the first time that Matano broke away from Luwuq.

### **Méngkoka** MéNGKoKa

Map E 121.17 S 03.41

(Caldwell) Méngkoka is an area of Southeast Sulawesi. I have been unable to find out much about this except that the locals had a reputation for headhunting, as it seems did everyone along this coastline. Bakosurtanal 250.000 map 2112 has PEGUNUNGAN MEKONGGA 50 km southeast of Ngapa. This is where Steve places it on Figure 1

### **Patila** PaTiLa

S 02.36.979 E 120.34.290

(Druce) Informant: Pak Saddailé, age 55, born in Munté and raised in Patila; Andi Anthon, Daéng Malangaq Sitakka, age 72, born in Patila.

The settlement of Patila is situated in *kecamatan* Bonéboné. According to Pak Saddailé, Patila was an autonomous settlement within the kingdom of Luwuq.

He and other informants said that Patila (like some of the settlements south of Palopo) was ruled by a *tomakkaka*. According to Pak Saddailé, the area under the influence of this *tomakkaka* stretched from Patila eastwards as far as Burau near *desa* Rumpoang. This was during the Dutch period, and Pak Saddailé is unsure how far back this tradition goes. Pak Saddailé also said that *kampung* Minna, inhabited by Pamona people, was also under the *tomakkaka* of Patila at that time. Andi Anthon independently confirmed that Patila was a vassal of Luwuq and was ruled by a *tomakkaka*.

Pak Saddailé related a short tradition which supposedly accounts for a special relationship between Luwuq and Patila. There was once a person from Toraja called La Tupu, who rode a black horse and whom people in Luwuq feared. La Tupu and his men went down to Luwuq and looted the palace (Pak Saddailé thinks this may have been at Palopo). No-one was brave enough to challenge La Tupu, except for the people in Patila. The people of Patila defeated and killed La Tupu and returned the contents of the palace

to Luwuq. (According to Andi Anthon most *paliliq* of Luwuq have similar stories.)

According to Daéng Malangaq Sitakka, there was a settlement in Patila before there was a kingdom of Luwuq. However, the name Patila only came into being when the settlement became part of Luwuq. Daéng Sitakka said that the name Patila means *memberi*.

Daéng Patila also said that there was a *tomakkaka* in Bonéboné who was of a lower status than the *tomakkaka* of Patila. According to Daéng Sitakka, the *tomakkaka* of Boné-boné ruled only in Boné-boné, and his influence did not extend any further. He also said that Masamba was ruled by a *tomakkaka*. Daéng Sitakka also recalls Bajau people coming to Patila in 1945. There is a port at *desa* Muntéq (ten kilometres from Patila) where the Bajau use to land. A two metre long *allung* was once found in Patila at a place called Ulu Salo (*hulu sunggai*) in Patila.

A large number of ceramics have been found in Patila. Most were found in unknown graves, some of which were marked with *batu nisan*. The graves contained bones: no cremated human remains were found in or with the ceramics. The graves were located in a place called Tandi Bajo, close to what was said to be the centre of Patila. Tandi Bajo, which is today a *jeruk* plantation, appears to have been a *keramat* site until fairly recently, and some people still believe that the site is guarded by a supernatural creature which takes the form of a large cat, or sometimes a person.

Local informants said the language spoken in Patila is *bahasa* Luwu and similar to the dialect spoken south of Palopo. They say that this dialect has much more in common with Torajan rather than Bugis. According to these informants *bahasa* Bugis is *lain sekali*.

### **Bolong BoLo**

S 02.49.681 E 120.07.192

(Druce) Informant: Ayub Rauf Basyuri and Pak Alia, age 80, both of Bolong.

Unfortunately, Pak Basyuri, the person whom Andi Anthon recommended I speak to in Bolong, had passed away. I did, however, manage to speak to Pak Basyuri's son, Ayub Rauf Basyuri, who provided some rather bitty, information.

Pak Ayub was aware of the term *paliliq* and thought that Bolong was an autonomous area within Luwu. He thought that the title of the person who ruled Bolong may have been *panggulu kada*, and that he may have had the same role as the *tomakkaka* who, he said, ruled some areas of Bolong. He said that in order to become a *panggulu kada* or *tomakkaka* one had to be of the right blood. Age was not important, and candidates were selected from for their ability, fairness and wisdom.

According to Pak Ayub, the language spoken in Bolong is slightly different to *bahasa* Luwu and has more in common with Toraja. He said that the dialect spoken in Bolong was different to that of Masamba and Saqbang. He also said that when his father died the majority of people who attended the funeral came from Toraja. I was told that it is possible to walk to Toraja from Bolong in around half a day: there is presumably a mountain pass. According to Pak Ayub, there is a cave about seven kilometres from

Bolong which has Toraja-like graves. Ceramics have been found in Bolong, but apparently none contained cremated human remains.

I spoke briefly to Pak Alia, a fragile 80 year old resident of Bolong. He related a short but interesting tradition which tells of how Bolong became part of Luwuq. Luwuq was trying to expand and wanted to include Bolong in its kingdom: Bolong, however, rejected Luwuq's overtures. Luwuq then attacked Bolong six times without success. Later, someone from the *datu* of Luwuq's family came and took a wife in Bolong. (Pak Alia did not know whether he was a son of the *datu* of Luwuq.) Pak Alia thought that this is was also the origin of the first *panggulu kada* of Bolong. He told me that there is still a flag of Bolong which can only be unfurled at specific times, such as when someone in Bolong dies through illness or by accident. The flag is said to be black, yellow and red, with an abstract pattern, and approximately seven metres in length. It was said to be a flag of war. I was not sure whether Pak Alia had ever seen the flag.

There is some *sawah* in Bolong along with gardens and *sago*. It is by a river. It is my impression is that the original Bolong was a fairly small settlement.

### **Rongkong RoKo**

No available map reference.

(Caldwell) Informants Effendy and Pak Elias of Rongkong and Muhammad Arsyad of Wotu

Rongkong is a cluster of four *dusun* (Lowarang, Ponglégen, Salutalang and Limbung) which sit around the edge of a small fertile valley at the head of the of the Rongkong river valley. It lies on the trade route from the Séko valley complex (Séko, Séko Pada and Séko Lémo) The valley is beautifully terraced with ricefields and coffee is grown on the lower slopes of the surrounding mountains. The people of Rongkong speak a Torajan dialect and have the reputation of being hardy and enterprising traders. In the Dutch period (and presumably much earlier) dammar was the most important trade good. I was told that families in Rongkong and Séko have traditional gathering areas, and that these are registered with at the *kantor camat* in Limbung. Amber is found in the forests which surround Rongkong but is not gathered; river stones (presumably a kind of agate) and rock crystal are collected and sold.

Pak Effendi told me of three sources of iron in the district. One was at Balanalu and the other at Pangiwanen, both roughly ten kilometers southeast of Rongkong. The latter was noted for yielding weapons-grade (i.e. high quality) iron. But the most famous source was at *bukit Porréroq*, about five kilometers west of Limbung. This site reputedly yielded a highly poisonous iron called *besi Porréroq*, which was famous throughout Luwu and Tana Toraja. (I later heard the same from Abdullah Andi Mattoana in Matano) I was told that the ore itself is not poisonous, but that a weapon made of *besi Porréroq* killed without causing bleeding, by poison, even if the blade only penetrated the skin a few centimeters. A second source of ore, called *besi Pangiwanen*, was famous as a weapons-grade metal. Pak Elias Tipa told us that in former times the people of Rongkong were the chief defenders of Luwuq and known for their martial prowess as

well as their fierce loyalty to the *datu* Luwuq. *Tombak* (spear-heads) and *parang* (cutting and slashing knives) were once made in Rongkong, some with beautiful 'veins', produced by an admixture of nickel rich iron between two plates of plain iron. Some *tombak* were as long as the hand and forearm. No agricultural tools were made from this ore. Today there are no *pandé* working in Rongkong. It was held that the sources of iron in Rongkong were used for local manufacture, and that there was never any significant export of ore or finished weapons.

Pak Elias claimed that Luwuq's influence once extended as far as Parigi in Central Sulawesi. According to Muhammad Arsyad of Wotu, Rongkong was ruled by a Tomakaka, and when the people of Rongkong went to war they wore helmets with *kerbau* horns.

### **Tampangeng TaMPaKé**

Map: E 120.01.300 E 04.09.300

(Druce) Informant: M. Sunosé Daéng, age: 73, and his daughter Andi Rosné, age 51, both born in Tampangeng.

According to the chronicles of Wajoq, Témpé, Singkang, Tampangeng and Wagé were the 'lands from Mancapai', the *pusaka datu Luwuq dari neneknya* (Abidin 1985: 202). According to the chronicles, Wajoq seized these lands from Luwuq some time prior to the transfer of Larompong from Luwuq to Wajoq and the joint Wajoq-Luwuq attack on Sidénréng.

I could not find any oral traditions in Tampangeng which connected these Mancapai lands with Luwuq. M. Sunosé Daéng and Andi Rosné claimed that Tampangeng was once an autonomous polity while at the same time part of the kingdom of Cina. They also claimed that Tampangeng was the place where the ruler of Wajoq and his army met prior to going to war.

M. Sunosé Daéng and Andi Rosné keep a few bits and pieces in their house which they claim are some of Tampangeng's regalia. These includes two flags (which I did not see unfurled) a sword (*méndoq*), and a spear head. The name of one of the flags is *petta baté*, which they say was also the name of the *panglima perang* (war commander) in Tampangeng. They said this flag use to have three colours: yellow, red and blue. It is now a dirty white colour, which it was claimed was a result of age and fading.

### **Suso (now called Marinding) SuSo**

S 03.22.182 E 120.16.123

(Druce) Informants: Puang Pattiha, age: 80, born in Marinding, and Andi Lubis from the *kantor kebudayaan* in Bélopa, a relative of Andi Anthon.

The original *kampung* of Suso, Tettékong, was said to have been located approximately two and a half kilometres west of the above reading. According to Puang Pattiha, Suso changed its name to Marinding sometime before the Dutch colonial period. Puang

Pattiha said that when the settlement was still called Suso the area lacked stability. He was somewhat vague concerning the cause of this instability and simply said that there was a lot of theft in the settlement, and that this included theft of people. A child of the *datu* Sangallaq went to see the *datu* Luwuq, and the *tomakaka* who ruled in Suso was replaced by the *anak datu Sangallaq*. The name Suso was then changed to Marinding. Marinding means 'wall', or 'to wall', and the change of name reflected the end of the insecurity in the area.

Puang Pattiha claimed that the original settlers of Suso were from Tana Toraja. They came to live in Suso for two reasons: firstly to hunt buffalo, and secondly because of the abundant fertile land. Puang Pattiha told me that around 90 per cent of Marinding's present inhabitants originate from Tana Toraja, and that the *adat* in Marinding is very similar to that found in Tana Toraja. I asked him if this included the *pesta kematian*: he replied that the *pesta kematian* in Marinding was the same as that found in Toraja with the main difference being that the inhabitants of Marinding they were Muslim and so did not keep pigs. He claimed that 90 per cent of the people and most of the traditions and customs in Marinding were Torajan.

Andi Lubis, who accompanied me to Marinding, said that although it was true that most of the people in Marinding were of Toraja origin, Puang Pattiha had exaggerated a little in order to *memperbesar sukunya*

In Marinding, a sprawling *kampung*, is a hill called *buntu tunggaq*. On the hill is a site where, according to tradition, there are nine *guci* filled with gold, and a young girl lies buried. (The girl is said to be buried with the *guci* rather than in the *guci*.) According to this tradition, it was people from Toraja who buried the *guci* and the girl, though why they did so is unclear, nor is it certain whether the site is a grave, or whether the *guci* were buried in order to keep them safe. I was told that in the 1950s local people began to dig up the site but were stopped. No *guci* (or girls) were found. There is a tradition that some of the stones on the hill [Photo 1] were brought from Larompong, but no one knows why. Most of the stones at the site are large river stones; the stones which are said to have come from Larompong are brick shaped.

In Marinding there is also a river called Salo Suso, which people claim contains gold, though in smaller quantities than in earlier times. Nevertheless, people say that they still continue to find gold in the river when the river is running high or in flood. At those times people pan for gold: I was told that ten grammes of gold were recovered some years ago. I believe that this tradition of gold being washed down the river is true.

I later asked Andi Anthon about Suso's change of name to Marinding. He was not aware of the change but accepted the information. He said that as far as he knew Suso was made up of seven *desa* located in the area known to me as Marinding. He thought it possible that the seven *desa* may once have been a sort of confederation. If so, the information from Puang Pattiha would suggest that it may have been a Torajan confederation.

Andi Anthon also said that Marinding is important in the *I La Galigo* (I should have asked him if Suso appears in the *I La Galigo*). If this is the case, Marinding may have been one of the seven *desa* of Suso. The original *kampung* of Suso was said to have been called Tettékang.



## **Waropo** WaRoPo

Not located. Perhaps Palopo?

## **Loda** LoDa

Not located. See **Londa** below.

## **Bajo** Bajo

03.22.723 E 120.18.818 (approximate)

(Druce and Caldwell) Informants: Andi Anthon; Puang Pattiha of Léqbani

(Caldwell) According to Andi Anthon, Bajo was a Bugis 'garrison' which controlled an important trade route out of Tana Toraja. There was another garrison at Ngapa (below). In order to be appointed *datu* Luwuq, a candidate had to have served as commander at one of these two garrisons. After the shift of the palace centre of Luwuq to Palopo in about 1630, Palopo replaced Bajo as garrison.

(Druce) According to Puang Pattiha of Léqbani the title of the ruler of Bajo was *minjara*. He claimed that during the Dutch period the title changed to *sangaria*. Some local people claim Bajo ruled some of the *kampung* around the area. According to Puang Pattiha of this was not the case. He said that Lamunré, Suli, Larompong and Sénga were ruled directly by the *datu* Luwuq.

I was told that the *arung* of Léqbani, Lamunré, Sénga (below) and Balobalo (not in TDLBB) were under the authority of the *mainjara* or *sangaria* Bajo. It was claimed that the *arung* had direct connections with the *datu* Luwuq but for more local affairs were also connected to Bajo. However, Andi Anthon said that Bajo did not have any control over the settlements which appear on the TDLBB. According to Andi Anthon, Bajo, was where the toll to Toraja was located. (see Figure 3).

## **Balabatu** BaLaBaTu

S 03.21.772 E 120.19.936

(Druce) Various local informants

It was difficult finding out anything about Balabatu. A number of people said that Balabatu was originally called Sampa. It was said that the person who ruled in Balabatu / Sampa was known as *maddika* Sampa. People confirmed that Balabatu (stone wall) derived its name from the fact that it is surrounded by mountains.

There is a small hill in Balabatu which contains four graves. Three of the graves are

close to each other and do not appear to be particularly old. The fourth grave is separate from the group of three and appears to be much older. It has a wooden fence around it. All of the graves were completely overgrown. No-one I spoke to in Balabatu reported finding ceramics or beads.

I did hear one rather garbled tradition in Balabatu which connects *puang ri Wareq* (see Léqbani) and *datu Kamanré* (see *datu Kamanré*): *Puang ri Wareq* had a son called Pallawagaw. Pallawagaw and *datu Kamanré* were enemies. *Datu Kamanré* had ordered that if Pallawagaw bore a son the child should be killed, but if Pallawagaw had a daughter she should be allowed to live. Pallawagaw's wife gave birth to a son but disguised him as a girl. One day *datu Kamanré* called Pallawagaw to come and eat venison. [lacuna?] When Pallawagaw became *datu Luwuq*, *Kamanré* killed him. The son of Pallawagaw, whose name was Mingkéndéq, later became the *maddika* (ruler) of Sampa. The tradition was related to me Pak Sambia who is 80 years old and was born in Sampa.

### **Léqbani** LéBaNi

S 03.22.063 E 120.20.925

Summit of hill: S 03.21.344 E 120.20.690

(Druce) Various informants

Léqbani is situated approximately 4 kilometres from a port called Ulo-ulo. I could find very little out about Léqbani. I was, however, told that Léqbani was part of Luwuq, while at the same time being semi-autonomous. I was also told that there was once an *arung* Léqbani.

The main point of interest in Léqbani is *buntu* Léqbani. (Leqbani hill). Andi Lubis, a relative of Andi Anthon who works at the *kantor kebudayaan* in Belopa, insisted that I should visit this hill. On the lower reaches of *buntu* Léqbani there are a number of rock-cut graves similar to those found in Tana Toraja. [Photo 2.] The graves consist of three box shape graves cut out of the face of a large rock. Each recess was about 1.5 x 2 metres in size. Two graves have been opened: one is still sealed and I has never been opened. There are said to be six other graves around *buntu* Léqbani similar to the ones I saw but higher, around four meters in height. The graves are said to be those of kings (*raja*), but which kings no one knows. People simply say *orang dulu*.

The graves I saw contained a pile of bones which may have belonged to more than one person. People did not know whether the bones had once been placed inside a *duni*, and as far as they knew the grave had been in its present state for some time. No-one knew whether there had once been any *patung* [tau-tau] in the grave. They did say, however, that the grave had once contained numerous ceramics and also some gold, but these had been stolen. The *kantor kebudayaan* in Belopa apparently has some photographs of ceramics which are said to be from the graves.

There are a large number of *batu lésung* on *buntu* Léqbani [Photo 3] These are not individual stones but permanent fixtures which can be found in clusters ranging from three to more than twenty five in number. There is also has a rock which is shaped like a

buffalo head and said to be a *tempat keramat*. Close by this rock are two other large rocks which have naturally formed bar handles (i.e. an indent in the rock with a bar running across around which the fist can be tightened. People tie loops made of rattan or roots around these handles in order to request something such as marriage or a good harvest. If they are granted their request they return, untie the loops and carry out a ceremony such as *potong ayam*. Some of the loops were evidently quite recent.

There is also a small well on *buntu Léqbani* and it is claimed that people once lived on the mountain (which seems unlikely). The people who are said to have lived on the mountain were, I was told, not *orang Bugis*, but *penduduk asli di sini - penduduk Luwuq*.

It was claimed that there was once a stone house on the mountain which belonged to *puang ri Wareq*. The stone house was said to be 20-30 metres in circumference and had no roof. Several stones remain but most, it was claimed, were taken away on horseback in the seventeenth century and used for the foundations of Léqbani's first mosque. It was also claimed *puang ri Wareq* was the king of *buntu Léqbani* and ruled over the people in the surrounding villages including one called Wareq which some people claim is Cilellang. (There is a Wara on Bakosurtanal map 2112-42, two km south of Cilellang). I was told that in the past people in the surrounding villages brought *padi* up to *puang ri Wareq*.

As far as the people I spoke to knew, no ceramics had been found on the mountain outside of the graves at the foot of the mountain. People have, however, found numerous beads on the mountain and , it was claimed, some gold.

One of the most interesting objects I saw on *buntu Léqbani* was an impressive stone seat. [Photo 4] It seems possible that the seat may have been deliberately placed there (that is, it is not just a unusual rock formation) and the people who accompanied me certainly felt that to be the case. To the left of the stone seat is a rock with shallow hollow its top which people think was a resting place for offerings of *sirih*. Behind the stone chair is another rock with two water-filled holes, each approximately eight inches in diameter. Behind the stone seat and to the left of the stone seat there are two smaller upright boulders which also appear to have functioned as stools. The main seat is much more impressive: when one sits in it one faces west towards Bajo. Vast swaths of rice fields and surrounding mountains provide a panoramic 360 degree view of the area.

I was told that a woman from the *kantor kebudayaan* in Jakarta had once come to see the stone seat, but as far as my informants knew I was the only foreigner who had visited it. No-one knew how the stone seat was used or by whom, other than that that it belonged to *puang ri Wareq*, nor did anyone know whether the stone seat, the claimed house of *puang ri Wareq*, and the Toraja-like graves are connected.

Pak Sambia, aged 80, from Balabatu provided a few bits of information about *puang ri Wareq*. According to Pak Sambia, *puang ri Wareq* was extremely wealthy and owned lots of slaves. He also said that on the summit of *buntu Léqbani* there is a large rock which is said to be some of *puang ri Wareq's* rice which turned to stone. (the rock is a short distance from the chair). I asked Pak Sambia what ethnic group *puang ri Wareq* belonged to. He replied that he thought *puang ri Wareq* was from Toraja, probably from Sangallaq. Puang Pattiha of Marinding said that the majority of people who live in Léqbani originate from Tana Toraja (note the Torajan word *puang* instead of *datu*

*Wareq*). Pak Sambia also said that *puang ri Wareq* had a wife called Allo, who was from Séppong, a *suku* (settlement of?) Luwu.

### **Léléwawo** LéléWaWo

Map E 121.05.600 S 03.00.300

(Caldwell and Druce) Informants Muhammad Talib, age 52, born in Léléwawo, and Pak Muhammadiyah, age 43, born in Léléwawo and *kepala desa*.

Léléwawo has a population of about 1,100, most of whom are *asli* (a mixture of Tolakki and local Bugis). The inhabitants of the politically-related settlements of Mosiku, Majapahit and Ngapa largely *pendatang* (recently-arrived Bugis and other ethnic groups). The original name of Léléwawo was Rahampuqu: 'mula-mula kampung' (cf. Matano). When the *datu* Luwuq visited Ngapa, where there was a Bugis garrison, protocol required that he call first at Léléwawo. The traditional political centre of the Ngapa region was Malamala, not Ngapa. Both informants claimed that the people of Malamala, and the *makole* of Malamala, were originally from Léléwawo.

Léléwawo lay on the edge of the spheres of influence of Luwuq and Kéndari. The original settlement was north of Léléwawo [= Lélériaja?]. More than ten caves lie within a distance of two and a half km from Léléwawo; each contains hundreds of skeletons, with Chinese *keping* and Dutch coins dating from 1794 to the early 1900s, locally made (?) *badik* with large pits in the blade and a pronged spear head, low-quality nineteenth and twentieth-century Chinese ceramics, small brass boxes, poor quality bras rings and bracelets. We were shown examples of the above as well as a glass ink bottle and beads, most of which were large, and which included modern cut glass beads. Fragments of *duri* are found in the caves. One intact *duri* was taken to the museum in Kendari in 1983.

Headhunting is still remembered in Léléwawo: we were told the tradition of how the *makole* of Léléwawo took a head at Buton. This act was celebrated at Mosiku: there were 'brotherly' relations between Léléwawo and Mosiku. A local culture hero, La Bénténg, from whom locals trace their descent, had his head taken by people from Kéndari. Both informants confirmed statements made by informants at Ngapa and Majapahit that there were four *makole* along the coast at Léléwawo, Mosiku, Waworuwo and Malamala. Both informants claimed that in the palace at Palopo there was a gong from Léléwawo and a *baju doddoq* (an item of clothing). They also claimed that the [La] Bungawaru (a weapon; a principle item of Luwuq's regalia) was found on a leaf (*bunga*) of the *waru* tree at Léténai, one km north of Léléwawo.[c.f. Wotu's claim to have supplied the Bungawaru] They also claimed that Léléwawo had originally owned the Banranggé, a Y shaped tombak which forms part of Luwuq's regalia. Both informants further claimed that Luwuq started in Léléwawo, but by this time it was getting dark and I was badly in need of a cold beer . . . .

## DOMAINS OF WAREQ

### **Tampina** TaPiNa

S 02.36.448 E 120.58.558

(Caldwell) Informant Muhammad Arsyad of Wotu

Very little was learnt about this abandoned settlement. According to Muhammad Arsyad of Wotu, Tampina was deserted as a result of a war with Wotu. There is a tradition that the inhabitants of Tampina once made wooden sheaths for the weapons and tools manufactured at Matano. It is unlikely that there is any historical substance to this tradition, which appears to be a play on the Bugis word *tampang*, to bind fast (c.f. *matappiq* to insert, as of a *keris*). The nearest settlement to Tampina is Turung Bajo (S 02.36.448 E 120.58.558) The people of this settlement claim Bajo descent but speak Bugis.

### **Ngapa** NaPa

Map E 120.590 S 03.190

Kuburan Wésolé E 120.59.506 S 03.19.062

(Caldwell) Informant Pak Tajrimin, age 50 years, born in Lapa, father from Sénga near Palopo

Ngapa is a small town sitting at the foot of a valley close to the coast; the coast is visible from the surrounding hills. There are numerous springs to the east of Ngapa and many surrounding caves. These caves seem to have been used by the local Tolakki to inter their dead with grave goods such as jars and plates, many or all of them now broken. Skulls are still occasionally found on the slope of the hill to the south of Ngapa. Prior to the planting of chocolate, the main export products were copra and *rotan* (the latter now exhausted). Staples were sago, bananas and corn. Much of today's rice fields is recent expansion by Bugis and Javanese immigrants. Much tobacco was grown previously, now replaced by chocolate. The chocolate is traded to Siwa, which lies due west and appears to be the natural trading coast for the area north to Léléwawo. No *gaharu* wood was reported.

*Kuburan Wésolé* in the centre of Ngapa is an old burial site which was looted in the late 1980s and levelled by bulldozer around 1990 to make a playing field. The graves were originally marked by river stones but I was unable to ascertain the orientation of the graves. Plenty of ceramics were found but most were broken. Finds included *balubu*, *piring*, *mangkok*, also bones and skulls. No copper, beads or gold were found. The *balubu* were reportedly small ('the size of a head') and yellowish in colour (these do not sound like *balubu*). Ceramics were of various colours, including celadons and blue and white: '*banyak yang mencari, siang dan malam.*' From the rather confused descriptions I concluded that the burials were inhumations and did not include cremated remains.

*Kuburan Makole* is an old graveyard next to a current Islamic graveyard. *Kuburan*

Makole has unusual circular earth mound graves decorated with carved (?) river stones. Some graves have been looted and restored, others appear to be intact. I was unable to ascertain the orientation of these graves. Nothing much was known about this site and no sherds were visible through the heavy cover of leaf debris. I was unable to obtain a GPS due to cover of chocolate trees, but the graveyard is located about one kilometer north of Ngapa.

I was told that during the Dutch period, the border of Luwuq lay between Malamala and Karoéha (Bakosurtanal map 2112-52).

According to Andi Anthon, Ngapa was the east wing of Luwuq, Bajo the west wing and Ussuq the body of Luwuq. Andi Anthon also said that Ngapa was ruled by an *opu sulléwatang*.

### **Malili** MaLiLi

Map E121.06 S 02.38

(Caldwell) Informant Iwan Sumantri, OXIS team member

Very little seems to be known about Malili. According to Iwan Sumantri, Malili did not have a makolé but was ruled by a member of the Luwuq royal family. When one considers the size and excellence of its harbour, it is puzzling why Malili is barely mentioned in texts or oral traditions. It is the natural harbour for Soroako and Nuha. Some people say that Malili was ruled from Nuha.

### **Patimang** PaTiMa

Amasenggeng S 02.47.689 E 120.21.839 (WP77)

(Caldwell) Informant Pak Martani, 45, born Amasenggeng, *kepala sekola dasar* Katonantana (SD 320).

Pak Martani told me the story of a zebra-like (*masora*) man born from the *babi* which drank Déwaraja's urine.[see Caldwell, in preparation, LATTM 1982: 130-136]. Pak Martani said that Haji Masri Bandaso in Palopo has a lot of stories of *asal-asal Luwuq*.

Accompanied by Pak Martani I visited Petta Pao's grave at Amasenggeng. Pao is the name of *wilayah*; Amasenggeng is the name of the settlement and means *bersatupadu*. People still *berziarah* here. Some people say that Petta Pao was murdered on the instructions of Petta Patimang [Matinroé ri Malangké] A new tradition started here in 1990 after a *penduduk asli* Amasenggeng dreamt that, one year after the murder, Petta Pao's *adik* arrived to visit him. Shocked by the news of Petta Pao's death, his *adik* sat 12 meters to *timur laut*, *terus bertapa (bersemahyang, karena adiknya Islam) sampai menghilang*. So locals built a grave marker on the spot where he vanished. Petta Pao was *adik dari* Petta Patimang; his name was Niu according to *lontaraq* which Pak Martani claims to have seen.

When visiting Patimang, the *datu* Luwuq could not disembark at Amesenggeng but had to disembark at Tokké and proceed to Malangkanai (Dutch: Malangké) *lalu ke*

Patimang. This seems to be because Pao was ruled by a different branch of the Luwuq royal family. Depths of rivers: Labolang (Amasenggeng) *dalam*, Léténgkong *dalam*, Patimang *dangkal*, *tetapi mungkin dulunya dalam karena datu langsung masuk dari Biru (muara sungai)*(supporting the idea that the Rongkong once exited near Patimang); Masamba *dalam*. There is only one road to Masamba from Patimang. Boundaries of the *ongko* Datu Patimang on Van Lijf's map seem accurate: the northern boundary at Talessé is the boundary between *kecamatan* Masamba and *kecamatan* Malangké. The present-day western and eastern *kecamatan* boundaries are *sungai* Rongkong and *sungai* Balaiasé. But the boundary of *kerajaan* Patimang is as on Van Lijf's map. Pinceng Putih was *tanah ongko pemerintahan* Patimang, a sago plantation: an occasional sago tree is still visible.

Pak Martani and I visited grave of Petta Patimang at S 02.47.769 E 120.24.018 and the *kuburan* of the ruling family of Patimang at S 02.48.565 E 120.25.285. The *kuburan* is now used by local people to bury their dead. We then drove to *sungai* Lalingka at at S 02.48.565 E 120.25.285, which Pak Martani told me was the centre of Pincepputih. Pincepputih is reputedly the richest single source of ceramics in Patimang-Malangke. We drove to Tokké and saw the harbour (I visited Biru in 1992), then to the grave of Andi Abdullah, Matinroé ri Malangke at S 02.47.229 E 120.26.495. This grave is totally destroyed and there are no visible remains of the original structure except perhaps a few stone blocks resting outside on the walls of the enclosing structure. These were presumably recovered from the excavation I saw in 1992; the remainder of the stones have probably been taken away for building purposes.

According to Pak Martani, ceramics are found in large quantities at the following locations: Pincepputih, Pao, Tampuh Jawai, Pettunggé (Desa Péngkajoang (Tompé), Tobbaka (Salobongko), Jampu, Ajuduwai (between Batangmasapié and Bonéputéh) Latungkotungko (on the west bank of the mouth of *sungai* Létékeng) and Dondo (*banyak sekali*).

### **Cilellang** CiLeLa

S 03.19.284 E 120.20.575

(Druce) Informant H. Bachmud A. Lalusa of Cilellang

Close to Cilellang is a hill called *buntu* Kamanré. The original *kampung* of Cilellang was said to be located close to this hill: the GPS reading was taken from the reputed site of the original *kampung*. At some time in the past, *buntu* Kamanré appears to have been a ritual site: I was told that people from Soppéng, Wajoq and Sidrap sometimes come and visit *buntu* Kamanré, although no-one knew why.

On top of the hill I saw is what was said to be a spring. There are also two rocks which I was told were tables. Their shapes and sizes are roughly those of a church altar, although the rocks are quite coarse. Another large rock is said to be a bed, while another, I was told, was a seat. The seat is basically a small indent in a very large rock: a small person could sit in the indentation. There is also an Islamic grave at the top of the hill, which is said to be that of Opu Sanning, the grandson of *datu* Kamanré. From the

top of the hill the surrounding rice fields around are all visible. As far as the people I spoke with knew, no ceramics or beads had been found at the top of the hill. One person did, however, show me about 40 small multi-coloured *batu sungai* which he had found on top of the hill. According to H. Bachmud A. Lalusá, of Cilellang, there was also a small *benteng* on the hill where *datu* Kamanré lived: this is unlikely as the hill is too small for people to live on.

The story of *datu* Kamanré is well known in Luwuq. I first heard the story in Cilellang, whence it appears to originate: I heard virtually identical stories in Bua and Ponrang. In Cilellang the story was related to me by H. Bachmud A. Lalusá, who claims to be a descendent of *datu* Kamanré. He said that the story had been passed down orally. According to H. Bachmud, the *datu* of Luwuq (he did not know which *datu*) had two sons. The elder lived in Cilellang and the younger lived in Malangké. The younger was a child of a second wife, while elder was a son of the *datu*'s first wife. After the *datu* of Luwuq died there were thus two *datu* in Luwuq but this confused the people of Luwuq. In order to resolve the situation, the *anaq tellu* (Baébunta, Bua and Ponrang) invited the two *datu* to a *pesta* in Bua. Neither of the two brothers was aware that the other brother had been invited. In Bua the *anaq tellu* had made a tent of some kind with two separate entrances and a meeting place in the centre. When the two brothers arrived they were taken into the tent through the two separate entrances and they met in the centre. The *anaq tellu* then said 'The one who lives shall become *datu*.' The elder brother did not want to fight his younger brother and therefore relinquished his claim to be *datu*. In the interests of fairness, the capital was moved from Malangké to Palopo so that it would lie between Malangké and Cilellang. A number of *kampung* in Cilellang, such as Wareq, Battang, Baraq Mamasé, Libukan (which I was told lies on an island near Palopo) and Geqdong were also moved to Palopo from Cilellang. Earth from these original *kampung* in Cilellang was taken to Palopo (a symbolic gesture) and used to open the new *kampung*. It is said that this is why there are *kampung* called Wareq, Battang, Baraq Mamasé, Libukan and Geqdong in Palopo, as well as in the area around Cilellang. When the elder brother returned to Cilellang he said to the people: 'We will no longer use our titles but be addressed only as *puang* '

Pak Topatunréngé of Ponrang also knew the story of *datu* Kamanré. According to Pak Topatunréngé, the *datu* Luwuq had decided that his eldest son should become *datu* on his death. This son was called Andi Abdulah, Petta Malangké. *Datu* Kamanré, however, would not accept this decision. He claimed that he was also a *datu* and that he should be the one to rule Luwuq. The rest of Pak Topatunréngé's story is no different to that related by H. Bachmud A. Lalusá of Cilellang.

Siodja Daéng Mallonjo of Bua also knew the story of *datu* Kamanré. According to him the son in Malangké was called Petta Malangké and was also known as Patti Pasaung. *Datu* Kamanré's other name was Pattia Raja. According to Pak Sitodja, after the conflict between the two brothers had been resolved Bua became known as *tana ri gallaq* (*daerah hukum* ).

When I mentioned the story to Andi Anthon he said that he thought that it was the incident between the two brothers that had led to the importance of Baé Bunta, Bua and Ponrang, and that previously the three settlements were just ordinary *paliliq*.



I was told that a large number of ceramics have been found in Wareq and Battang (S 03.20.868 E 120.19.58). It was claimed that the better quality ceramics (those that sold for the highest prices) normally contained cremated human remains. In Battang I spoke to Ibu Dewi who was originally from Manado but had moved to Battang some years ago when she married Andi Pacau. Close by her house, she and her husband had discovered many buried ceramics. Some had been found with human bones while the majority had contained what appeared to her to be cremated human remains. One *guci* had also contained a small figure wrapped in dirty black cloth. This *guci* had also contained cremated human remains. She showed me the figure which appeared to represent a Chinese person holding a baby. It appeared to be recent.

I also asked H. Bachmud whether Cilellang, and the area south of Palopo as a whole, had any connection with Toraja, in particular Pantilang and Sangallaq. He replied: *kalau orang Luwuq pasti ada hubungan darah dengan Toraja*.

### **Lamunré LaMuNRé**

S 03.22.608 E 120.23.074

(Druce) Informant Puang Pattiha of Marinding and Andi Hannungopu (f) of Lanrang

According to Puang Pattiha, Lamunré was ruled directly by *datu* Luwuq. Andi Hannungopu also said that Lamunré was directly ruled by Luwuq. The graveyard in Lamunré contains one or two old Islamic graves: the oldest, which is marked by a small *batu nisan*, is said to be that of an Andi Gau. The grave . There are similar graves in Balobalo. People in Lamunré claim to have found ceramics by accident when digging house foundations.

### **Suli SuLi**

S 03.27.537 E 120.27.072

(Druce) Informants Andi Hannungopu (f) of Lanrang, Puang Pattiha of Marinding and M. Damis of Suli

Andi Hannungopu said that Suli was directly ruled by Luwuq. She also claimed that Suli was not as old as Larompong. Puang Pattiha of Léqbani also said that Suli was ruled directly by the *datu* Luwuq. M. Damis of Suli (a religious teacher who showed little interest in the pre-Islamic period), said that as far as he knew Suli had always been part of Luwuq and had never been an independent polity.

M. Damis did admit to having seen a *tarian bissu* take place in Suli during the Japanese period. He also said that Suli was once part of a larger area made up of various *kampung* and called Palémpang This may have been during the Dutch period. According to M. Damis the Suli had both an *arung* and a *to makkaka*. He said that the *to makkaka* was responsible for the *adat* while the *arung* was responsible for matters pertaining to the governance of Suli.

The language spoken in Suli is said to be *bahasa* Luwuq. There is a considerable

amount of *sawah* and also some garden cultivation, but of lesser importance than *sawah*. Ceramics have been found in places close to Suli, such as Kombong Suli, Maranté and Buntu Baranaq. Some of these ceramics reportedly contained cremated human remains.

### **Larompong WaTaLaRoMPo**

Map E 120.22.200 S 03.31.100

(Druce) Informant: Haji Ardasir, age: 70, born in Larompong; Puang Pattiha of Marinding and Andi Hannungopu (f) of Lanrang.

According to Haji Ardasir, Larompong has in the past been part of both Luwuq and Wajoq. According to the *Chronicles of Wajoq* (Abidin 1985: 231), the *datu* Luwuq gave Larompong, Mallusessaloqé and Siwa to Wajoq at the time when *puang ri Maqqallatung* ruled in Wajoq. This was shortly before Wajoq and Luwuq attacked Sidénréng, which suggests that Luwuq gave the lands to Wajoq in exchange for military aid against Sidénréng.

According to Haji Ardasir, there was a *datu* of Larompong. He said that this *datu* could no longer be called *datu* when he went north to Ponrang, where he would be called *arung*. Bramm Morris (1889) also states that there was a *datu* of Larompong. My impression is that Larompong is one of Luwuq's older lands: it has a good harbour which is still visited by fishing vessels.

Haji Andasir also told me that there were some *lontaraq* Larompong but they had been lost in the Kazhar Muzakar rebellion. He also said that as far as he knew Larompong took tribute to Luwuq every year. This appears to contradict the Luwuq Vassal List, which claims that Larompong was directly ruled by Luwuq. It is of course possible that Larompong's status changed before or after the composition of the TDLBB. However, Puang Pattiha of Marinding and Andi Hannungopu (f) of Lanrang both stated that Larompong was directly ruled by Luwuq.

On the summit of *buntu* Mintang, a large hill in Larompong (note the use of the Torajan word *buntu* rather than the Bugis *bulo*, despite Larompong's proximity to *kabupaten* Wajoq), a collection of stones and rocks has been assembled to form a rough circle about one and a half metres in diameter. This rough circle is known as *batu sirampong* (*bahasa* Luwuq = *batu berkumpul*). The site is quite similar to the *tomanurung* sites I have seen in Soppéng. No-one I spoke with in Larompong knew exactly what the site was, but believed it to be a grave of some kind. People say that they sometimes find the stones strewn around the top of the hill, and that they collect the stones up and rearrange them as they were before. Some people believe that the site is guarded by a supernatural creature (*mahluk halus*) and that when it is angry it scatters the stones. Some people in Larompong also believe that the supernatural creature can cause illness in the *kampung*.

I was told that people from Siwa in Wajoq occasionally come to visit the site. No one in Larompong knew why they did so. I was told by Haji Ardasir and others that *bissu*

dances use to take place at the site: Haji Ardasir recalls such dances taking place around 25-35 years ago. I asked Haji Ardasir if Larompong was in any way connected with Tana Toraja. Although his reply was vague, he did say that there had always been affinal relations between Larompong and Tana Toraja (probably with Sangllaq).

Large quantities of ceramics have been found in Larompong. Most appear to have been found by accident when people have built houses or otherwise disturbed the soil. People who I spoke with claimed to have found *guci* and plates of varying sizes. They said that the plates were often found close to the surface and suggested that the plates had been deliberately buried for safe keeping in times of war. The jars varied in size and shape and the better quality ones generally contained cremated human remains.

The language spoken in Larompong is said to be *bahasa* Luwuq, which people call *alaq* or *bahasa Tqai*. Haji Ardasir said that although the language spoken in Larompong is *bahasa* Luwuq, it has similarities with the Bugis language spoken in the areas to the south. Other people, however, considered the language spoken in Larompong to be standard *bahasa* Luwuq.

There are a few hundred hectares of *sawah* in Larompong and some garden cultivation. Fishing is an important means of livelihood. Large fishing boats sail out to sea from Larompong's port which faces Kolaka in Southeast Sulawesi.

### **Sirigading** SiRiGaDi

Not located.

### **Lanrang** LaRa

S 03.22.744 E 120.18.904

(Druce) Informants: Andi Hannungopu Daéng Taseng (f), age 76, born in Lanrang

According to Andi Hannungopu, a child of the *datu* of Luwuq opened Lanrang on the instructions of the *datu*. She said that Lanrang meant *tempat mengumpul harta datu*. This wealth, she said, was the *sawah* in Lanrang. Andi Hannungopu also said that Lanrang had family connections with Toraja but did not elaborate. She also provided some useful general information concerning the status of some of the lands which appear on the Luwuq Vassal List. She said that both Bajo and Bolabatu had a degree of independence from Luwuq. She also said that Suli, Larompong, Lamunré and Lanrang were ruled directly by Luwuq. This information corresponds with the TDLBB which states that the first two were tributaries and the last four were ruled directly by Luwuq.

Andi Hannungopu also said that Bajo was older than Lanrang, and that title of the person who ruled or administered Lanrang was *opu mpélai lanrang*.

Andi Hannungopu said that she use to read read a *lontaraq* which (among other things) contained genealogies of Luwuq and *adat* laws. She no longer has the *lontaraq* and can remember very little of its contents.

A large number of ceramics seem to have been found in Lanrang. I was told that a

number of *guci* of varying size were found which contained cremated human remains. I was told that the *guci* were found approximately one metre below the ground. People say that they have found Chinese *keping* associated with the ceramics, but not inside them. It was claimed that one of these *guci* had been sold for around Rp 300,000 in the 1970s. Some people I spoke to had found ceramics by accident during building work.

### **Sénga SéNGe**

S 03.23.838 E 120.22.162

(Druce) Informants Pak Saddakati, age 35, of Sénga; Andi Lubis, *kantor kebudayaan*, Belopa

Pak Saddakati, who lives in the house of *opu* Sénga (Andi Anthon's elder brother), told me that when he was a child a man use to come to the house and read *lontaraq* about Sawarigading. As far as he knows, no one reads *lontaraq* in Sénga anymore. Andi Lubis showed me a large earthenware jar which he found in Sénga. He said that the jar was full of cremated human remains [Photo 5]. The jar is decorated with two small dragons close to the neck of the jar. An almost identical jar is illustrated on plate 43 in Harrison *Pusaka* 1986 and dated to the 13th-14th century.

I was told by Andi Anthon and others that there was an *arung* Sénga.

### **Cérékang CéRÉKa**

Map S 121.01.850 E 2.34.750

(Caldwell) Informant Usman Daeng Matanang, age 60, born in Cérékang, *perdana menteri* of Cérékang's traditional *adat* council; Andi Anthon.

Cérékang is a Bugis speaking village in a non-Bugis speaking region. The settlement sits at the junction of the Palopo-Malili road and the Cérékang river, which was previously called *sungai* Lakanai, at the foot of a sacred hill Pengsiméwoni, or Pensimoni. The hill, and several surrounding sites, are off limits to all except a dozen initiates centred around a male and female *pua* (an appointed office). This group appears to be a development from the traditional government which existed in Cerekang (and in other such settlements) before the coming of the Dutch and the Republic of Indonesia. There is evidence (Bulbeck and Prasatyo 1998) that Cerekang was earlier located further downstream on the east bank; its present location probably dates from the Dutch period.

The forests surrounding Cérékang produce wood, dammar and rotan. Sago used to be the staple food: I was told that there are still many sago trees. From Cérékang is it possible to sail to Malili via a system of waterways which runs through the mangrove swamps. I was told that before the construction of the Palopo-Malili road this was the main way of transporting goods to Malili.

According to tradition, on top of the hill Pengsiméwoni is a clearing which never needs sweeping, plus various 'tools' (*alat*). The hill is identified as that in the I La Galigo

where Bataraguru descends to earth with his *oro* retinue. Behind the hill, to the north-west, is a sacred river which originates from a spring quite some distance to the north. Water from this river was taken to consecrate the new palace in Palopo a few years ago.

Cérékang at its present location would have made an excellent harbour. At high tide the water in the pool by the hill is five *depa* (three fathoms) deep. Sea-going vessels still come up the river as far as the bridge, which now blocks entry to the pool. According to various informants, the iron goods manufactured in Matano were brought down to a site called Turungan damar up stream of Cérékang where the river shallows (and presumably exported from Cérékang). No evidence of this export trade has yet been found.

Cérékang is considered to be the 'hidden centre' (*posi malinrung*) of the former Bugis kingdom of Luwuq. The *pua* of Cérékang, each of whom rarely leaves his or her house, are considered to be the structural equivalents of the *datu* Luwuq, who resides at the visible centre (*posi talleq*) of the kingdom. Informants in and around Cérékang and in Palopo stated that 'When the *datu* [Luwuq] enters Cérékang he is no longer *datu*.' (i.e. at Cérékang he enters the realm of a ruler of similar status). It is not clear how old this tradition is.

Most interestingly of all, the creation myths associated with Pengsiméwoni and other nearby sites bear close comparison to the creation myths similarly linked to a number of topographical features at Wotu. There is linguistic evidence to indicate that Wotu had ancient trading links to Buton, and it is widely held that Wotu is older than Luwuq. It would seem that the people of Cérékang have adopted and adapted the creation myths of Wotu. This would mean that Wotu's creation myths also form the basis of the opening chapters of the I La Galigo.

## **SOUTH OF THE SEA GATES**

### **Seppu SePu**

Immediately after the expression *babangé lao* come the words *balilina [paliliqna] Seppu*, 'the vassals of Seppu'. Seppu can possibly be read as corruption of Bisappu (now a *kecamatan* in *kabupaten* Bantaéng) and one can hypothesize that Bissapu's vassal list once followed, but is now missing. Against this interpretation must be set the fact that elsewhere the word *paliliqna* follows rather than precedes the name of the central settlement. Hopefully more versions of the TDLBB remain to be discovered to help us to settle this textual problem. Here we ignore the words *balilina seppu*.

## TRIBUTARIES OF BINAMU

### **Binamu** (Bontoramba)

S 05.35.887 E 119.41.427 (possible palace centre)

(Druce) Informants: Haji Iskandar Daéng Sila, age 73, of Palajau; Haji M. Idrus Karaéng Raté, age 57, born in Tino; Pak Hasyim of Sapanang. I could find no one in Bontoramba who could provide information.

The above reading was taken at a *kampung* called Bontoramba, which was said by Haji Iskandar and others to have been the centre of the kingdom of Binamu. It is possible that Binamu is the name of the kingdom (c.f. Soppeng and Luwu) and that there is no settlement called Binamu. Bontoramba has a graveyard (slightly larger than the graveyard at Bantaéng), where the rulers of Binamu are buried. None of the graves which I saw in Bontoramba were particularly old. Several had impressive carved decorations. [Photo 8].

According to Haji Iskandar there were six *karéang paliliq* of Binamu. He could only remember five: Sidénré (SiDÉNRÉ), Sapanang (SaPaNa), Ciqnong (TiNo), Jénéponto (JéNéPoTo) and Tonrokasiq (ToRoKaSi). All five settlements are all named in the TDLBB as tributaries of Binamu. The sixth TDLLB tributary, Balang, was said to by Haji Iskandar to have been part of Binamu, but not one of Binamu's six *karaéng paliliq*. According to Haji Iskandar, Balang was ruled, or administered, by a *bunga kanang*. Haji Iskandar explained that a *bunga kanang* was a type of minister and that only Balang had a *bunga kanang*. If correct, this may reflect a later historical development.

Haji Iskandar also provided a picture of Binamu's hierarchical political structure. At the top was the *karaéng* of Binamu who ruled in association with the *adat* council [number unknown] who were called the *toqdo appaka*. Below this level were the six *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu who, Haji Iskandar thinks, were in some way autonomous from Binamu. The next level in the hierarchy was occupied by a *jannang* or *gallarang*. (These appear to be different names for the same position and role.) The *jannang* / *gallarang* received their orders from the *karaéng* and passed them down to the next level of hierarchy, the *saréang* or *toangang*. (Again, these appear to be different names for the same position and role.) The *saréang* / *gallarang* then instructed the people in the *kampung*.

Pak Hasyim of Sapanang described a similar picture to that of Haji Iskandar, although Pak Hasyim claimed that the full title of the *jannang* was *kajannangan*.

Haji Iskandar also provided some interesting information concerning the central polity of Binamu. His information comes from what could be remembered from *lontaraq* texts, which he said were burned in the 1950s, and from oral traditions. According to Haji Iskandar there were seven *tomanurung* in Binamu. One of the seven was female and the other six were her brothers. The female *tomanurung* was called Punté, and the seven decided amongst themselves that she should become the ruler of Binamu. She was chosen because she was the only female. The other six, in the order in which Haji Iskandar named them, were, (2) Tuwaloé, (3) Tupanoé, (4) Cambang Gellung, (5)

Tuganti, (6) Dampang Joko and (7) Binakasaloé. It was decided that Tuwaloé would go to rule in Arungkéké (RuKéKé) Tupanoé in Bontorappo (BoToRoPo), Cambang Gellung in Alluq Taroang (TaRoQa), Tuganti in Gantarang (not in TDLBB), Dampang Joko (JoKo) in Rumbia, and Binakasaloé in Paiyatana (Panytuna). All five identified settlements are domains belong to the third grouping of southern place names which follow the expression *napanoqé rakkalana*, 'then the plough of [Binamu] went down', i.e. 'Binamu rules directly'. According to Haji Iskandar and other informants, none of the five were autonomous *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu. Haji Iskandar's information confirms our reading of the tributary / domain division of the TDLBB and also our belief that these domains were ruled by members of the ruling family of the central polity of Binamu.

Pak Hasyim, also stated that the first ruler of Binamu was a woman but did not know her name.

Haji M. Idrus Karaéng Raté provided a similar account to Haji Iskandar. According to Haji Idrus, the seven siblings were not *tomanurung* but hatched from seven snake eggs which were kept in the roof of a house. When the eggs hatched there was six human males and one human female. As with Haji Iskandar's story, it was agreed that the female should become the ruler of Binamu. Haji M. Idrus could only remember five of the names, and only two of the settlements he named are found in the TDLBB's list of Binamu's domains:

- 1) Cambang Galung in Allu (*galung = sawah*)
- 2) To Tino ri Pacinoang
- 3) Itupano ri Bontarapo (BoToRoPo)
- 4) Itupano ri Gantarang
- 5) Minakkasaloé in Paiyatana (PaNYuTuNa)

Haji Iskandar provided a list of Binamu's rulers:

- 1) Gaukang Daéng Riolo (from Manyumbéng and buried in Puntaliku: both places are in *kabupaten* Jénéponto).
- 2) Bakri Daéng Ilalang (buried in Manjangloé)
- 3) Paungga Daéng Gussing in Karélessang (Alukka). He moved to Boné and died in Boné.
- 4) Datu Mutara from Goa who is buried in Bontoramba.
- 5) Patekkai Daéng Ngunjung in Conréconré, *desa* Bontoramba.
- 6) Lapalang Daéng Masséq Mattoanging, buried in Bontoramba.
- 7) Jakkolo Daéng Rangka [buried in?] in Punagaya (probably Punaga).
- 8) Paddewakan Daéng Larang Bontoramba [buried in?] in Bontoramba.
- 9) Sanré Daéng Nyikko in Gonréconré and buried in Bontoramba.
- 10) Ranggo Daéng Bani in Conréconré and buried in Ritanga (Doyong).
- 11) Abdullah Daéng Tinggi in Mattoanging who was buried in Bontoramba.
- 12) Palanrang Daéng Liu (a cousin of Maéro) who was buried in Bontoramba.
- 13) Pattimah Daéng Sikking (*saudara* Maéro) who was buried in Bontoramba
- 14) Sitti Tia Daéng Tiqno [buried in?] in Balangdangan.

- 15) Mattéwakkang Daéng Junggé in Tinggimaé who was buried in Bontoramba.
- 16) Sanré Daéng Nyikko Alluka who was buried in Bontoramba.
- 17) Palangkai Daéng Lagu (*saudara* Maéro) who was buried in Bontoramba.
- 18) Larupo Daéng Raja ( a child of Maéro) who was buried on *gunung* Sitoli in Java.
- 19) Maqgau Daéng Sanggu Béntang who was buried in Bontang.
- 20) H. Mattewakkang Daéng Raja who was buried in Jénéponto.

Unfortunately Haji Iskandar did not know which of the rulers first accepted Islam. According to Haji Iskandar there were nine *adat* members who decided who would become ruler of Binamu. Haji Iskandar said that the flag of Binamu was red. He said that it was burned in the nineteenth century by the Dutch along with Binamu's palace.

Pak Hasyim claimed that Binamu was never part of Goa and rejected the suggestion that Binamu had been defeated in war by Goa in the first half of the sixteenth century. This attitude is fairly typical of people in the Binamu region, who generally claim little, if any, association with Goa.

Haji Iskandar also related an oral tradition which tells of the origins of the name Binamu: A long time ago the people who lived in Binamu had no rice. Then one day people from Binamu sailed to Bali where they saw the people of Bali growing rice. The people from Binamu asked the people of Bali for rice seeds and then took the seeds back to Binamu. People in Binamu then began to grow rice. Some time later, Bugis people came to Binamu where they saw the rice growing. The Bugis did not have rice and asked the people who lived in Binamu for some rice seeds. The Makasar word for rice seed is Biné and so when the Bugis asked for rice seeds they would say *mintá binému*. More and more Bugis people came and asked for rice seeds and eventually the area became known as Binému. Later the name changed to Binamu.

Haji Iskandar also said that the people of Binamu were renowned sailors and in the past had trade relations with Johor and Siam. He did not know how far back this tradition of trade relations went.

Bontoramba is situated approximately 15 kilometres from the sea. There is a fair amount of *sawah* in Bontoramba and some garden cultivation.

(Caldwell) When plotted out on the Bakosurtanal maps, Binamu can be seen to dominate the large triangle of ricefields sweeping down from Tolo in the north to Arungkéké-Togotogo-Bontorappo-Pao-Taroang in the east and Binamu-Jombé-Patalasang in the west. Kalumpang, Palajau, Bulobulo lie at the centre of the base of this triangle. Binamu's tributaries lie on smaller, scattered patches of ricefields to the south and west of the central polity of Binamu. Tono (6 km NE of Taroang) and Rumbia (8 km NE of Toloq) are probably wrongly located, and Paiyatana and Tonra are unlocated. See Figure 9.

**Sidénré** (also pronounced Sidénréng) SiDÉNRE

S 05.41.273 E 119.44.642

(Druce) Informant: Tarumpu Daéng Juga, age 59, born in Sidénré



According to Pak Tarumpu, Sidénré was a small kingdom ruled by a *karaéng* who was subject to the ruler of Binamu. Pak Hasyim of Sapanang also said that Sidénré was ruled by a *karaéng* and that the *karaéng* of Sidénré was one of the six *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu. He claimed that the first of Sidénré's rulers was called *karaéng* Bettulaoka ri Makka. and the second was called Mangunjungi Daéng Mangé. According to Tarumpu Daéng Juga, Sidénré has a history of affinal relations with Boné / Luwuq (he did not differentiate between the two places) and Laqbakkang (in Pangkép). He could not elaborate on these relations but simply said that there were once marriages between people from these places and Sidénré. Tarumpu said that large quantities of ceramics had been found in Sidénré, such as plates, dishes, *guci* (which were empty) and also *keris*. He said these had been looted from pre-Islamic graves in the 1970s. People say that small *perahu* can sail out to sea from Sidénré. There is very little *sawah* in Sidénré; most agriculture is garden cultivation.

### **Balang** BaLa

S 05.39.383 E 119.43.218 Not on Bakosurtanal map.

(Druce) Informants: Haji Iskandar of Palajau. I could find no one in Balang who could provide information.

Balang is one of the six place names which follow the phrase *Binamu paliliqna*. While this indicates that Balang was one of the six *karaéng paliliq* of Binamu, no one I spoke to could confirm this. According to Haji Iskandar, Balang was ruled by a *bungakanang* (=karaéng?), who he said was a type of minister connected in some way to Binamu.

### **Jénéponto** (Jénéponto lama) JÉNéPoTo

S 05.41.395 E 119.43.739

(Druce) I could find no one in Jénéponto lama who could provide information.

Haji Iskandar of Palajau said that Jénéponto was one of Binamu's six *karaéng paliliq*.

### **Sapanang** SaPaNa

S 05.38.704 E 119.44.359

(Druce) Pak Hasyim, *kepala desa* of Sapanang.

According to Pak Hasyim, the ruler of Binamu was *dilantik* on the summit of of *bukit* Karaéng Loéa. *Bukit* Karaéng Loéa is approximately one kilometre [east?] of the above GPS reading.

Pak Hasyim, who claimed he knew nothing about the pre-Islamic history of Sapanang or Binamu, said that Sapanang was ruled by a *karéang* who was subject to the *karéang* of Binamu. He said that Sidénré and Jénéponto were also part of Binamu, and

that each of these settlements was ruled by a *karéang* whose status was the same as the *karéang* of Sapanang.

According to Pak Hasyim and others, large amounts of ceramics, *keris*, some gold, spears, *badiq*, at least one axe, and a *patung bungku* [squatting statue?] about 2-3 inches high have been looted from pre-Islamic graves on a small hill in Sapanang. Pak Hasyim saw the *patung bungku* himself. I asked him what material the *patung* was made from and he replied *keramic*. Local people told me that the ceramics found were decorated with pictures of elephants, fish, deer and dragons. I was shown two Swatow plates [Photo 6]

Although Pak Hasyim claimed that they had once found a *guci* which contained cremated human remains, the majority of ceramics and other grave goods were found in association with burials. According to Pak Hasyim, who participated in the looting prior to such activities becoming illegal, the burials were not orientated in any particular direction. Some of the human remains were also found in a sitting position. In an attempt to explain this, people in Sapanang suggested that the orientation of the burial reflected the orientation of the corpse at the time of death. For example, if a person died in a horizontal position facing south-east they would be buried in this position. Whereas if the person died while seated then they would be buried in a sitting position. This is presumably a rationalization of the perceived lack of orientation.

Pak Hasyim and others said that the quantities of ceramics and other grave goods found varied considerably between graves. In some graves they found the skull, rib cage, hips and feet covered with ceramic plates of varying sizes, with as many as three plates completely covering the head. *keris* were also frequently found placed alongside the waist or hips; in some cases a *keris* was placed either side of the body. These *keris* were said to be of two varieties: straight bladed and wavy bladed. It was said that the wavy bladed *keris* was more often found in the graves which contained the most ceramics and other grave goods, such as gold. People in Sapanang therefore associated the wavy bladed *keris* with individual wealth. Most of the looting took place in the 1970s. The majority of finds were in a *kampung* called Gandi, which is part of Sapanang.

Sapanang is a poor area. It has little *sawah* and the majority of the population are engaged in garden cultivation. My impression is that very large quantities of ceramics have been found, and that quite a number of the local inhabitants have been involved in the looting. Sapanang is situated approximately seven kilometres from the sea. The modern graveyard has a number of impressive decorated graves [Photo 7]

## **Tino TiNo**

S 05.34.756 E 119.54.323

(Druce) Informant: Haji M. Idrus, 57 years old, born in Tino

Haji M. Idrus said that a *karaéng* ruled in Tino. Haji Idrus is the grandson of Tino's last *karaéng*. Haji M. Idrus claimed that although Tino was very much a part of the kingdom of Binamu it was also fiercely independent. According to him *Di mana dia [Tino] suka dia ikut*. Haji M. Idrus claims that Tino had in the past sided with Majapahit in Java,

Boné, Buton, Goa, and at a later period, Bantaéng.

I was told that a substantial number of ceramics have been found in pre-Islamic graves in Tino. A few of these were *guci* which contained what they thought may have been burnt *padi*. They have also found *keris* and *badiq* with the ceramics. Some of the *keris* were straight bladed, others were wavy bladed.

Haji M. Idrus also related a tradition concerning Tino's acceptance of Islam. According to this story, Islam came to Tino via Goa. The army of Goa was on its way to Boné but stopped in Tino and told the people of Tino that they had to accept Islam. The people of Tino loved to eat pigs and did not want to give up their favourite food. Eventually it was decided that Goa would proceed to Boné and return to Tino later. This decision was taken in order to allow the people of Tino to eat all of their pigs before converting to Islam. When Goa returned to Tino all of the pigs had been eaten and the people of Tino accepted Islam.

I was told that there are some Islamic graves in Tino which face *barat laut*. According to Haji M. Idrus some ceramics and a gold plate, which he did not see, were found there. There is a fair quantity of *sawah* in Tino. I was also told that Tino once had a port, which is now silted up.

### **Tonrokasiq ToRoKaSi**

S 05.37.443 E 119.39.688 Not on Bakosurtanal map.

(Druce) Haji Iskandar of Palajau. I could find no one who could provide any information in Tonroasiq.

According to Haji Iskandar, Tonrokasiq was one of Binamu's six *karaéng paliliq*.

## **DOMAINS OF BINAMU**

### **Ujung Loé QaJuLoQé**

S 05.41.980 E 119.41.883

(Druce) Informant: Haji Tutu, age: 70, born in Ujung Loé

According to Haji Tutu, a *jannang* once ruled in Ujung Loé. He said that this *jannang* reported to the *karaéng* of Binamu. Haji Tutu said that Binamu had once attacked Goa. During this attack, people from Ujung Loé took a gold coffin from the palace Balla Lompoé in Goa. They then burned the palace. Haji Tutu also told me that some ceramics, straight bladed *keris* and gold rings had been found in pre-Islamic graves. There was once a small natural port in Ujung Loé.

**Kalumpang KaLaPa**

S 05.40.319 E 119.47.479 Not on Bakosurtanal map.

(Druce) Haji Iskandar of Palajau

Kalumpang is located approximately one kilometre from the sea. I was told that there is a small port there. Haji Iskandar of Palajau said that Kalumpang was part of Binamu. There is some *sawah* in Kalumpang.

**Palajau PajiLaQo**

S 05.40.218 E 119.48.391 Bakosurtanal map S 05.40.300 E 119.48.950

(Druce) Informant Haji Iskandar of Palajau

According to Haji Iskandar, the PaJeLaWo of the vassal list is probably *kampung* Palajau. According to him Palajau was part of the kingdom of Binamu but of no great significance. People in Palajau said that ceramics had been found there in the past.

**Bulobulo BuLuBuLo**

S 05.41.228 E 119.47.842

(Druce) Informant Haji Iskandar of Palajau

Bulobulo is located approximately two kilometres from the sea. I was told that some ceramic plates have been found in Bulobulo. People of Bulobulo associated themselves with Binamu. Haji Iskandar of Palajau said that Bulobulo was administered or ruled by a *gallarang*.

**Patalasang PaTeLeSa**

S 05.39.936 E 119.44.700

(Druce) Various local informants

I was told that some illegal digging had taken place in Patalasang and that some ceramics had been found. People in Patalasang associated themselves with the kingdom of Binamu.

**Jombé JoBé**

S 05.37.583 E 119.44.327

(Druce) Informant: Pak Hasyim of Sapanang

I spoke with someone at Jombé who said that some *keris* and ceramics had been found there. According to Pak Hasyim of Sapanang, Jombé was governed by a *kajannangan* who reported to the *karaéng* of Binamu.

**Paiyatana** PaNYuTuNa

Not located

(Druce) Informant: Haji Iskandar of Palajau

Not visited. Haji Iskandar said that Paiyatana was part of Binamu and in *kecamatan* Binamu.

**Arungkéké** RuKéKé

S 05.39.989 E 119.49.622 Map S 05.38.200 E. 119.50.300

(Druce) No local informant

Haji Iskandar Daéng Sila of Palajau said he had once heard a tradition which said that the ruler of Arungkéké came from Boné. Unfortunately, he knew no more of the tradition. I did not obtain any information from Arungkéké itself, mainly due to the lack of co-operation from the *kepala desa*. The name Arungkéké suggests some Bugis influence at some time in the past.

**Togotogo** ToDoToDo

S 05.37.727 E 119.49.896

(Druce) No local informant.

No *kampung* called Todotodo could be found. People I spoke to did not consider it possible that there was ever a *kampung* called Todotodo and considered the name strange. Haji Iskandar Daéng Sila of Palajau and others believed that the TDLBB was referring to Togotogo, which they said was part of the kingdom of Binamu.

**Bontorappo** BoToRoPo

S 05.36.210 E 119.50.311

(Druce) Various local informants

People in Bontorappo associated themselves with Binamu.

**Pao** PaQo

S 05.36.928 E 119.51.174

(Druce) Various local informants

People I spoke to in Pao thought that Pao was once part of Binamu.

**Taroang** KaRoQa

S 05.36.446 E 119.51.204

(Druce) Informant: Haji Iskandar of Palajau

Haji Iskandar said that Taroang was an old *kampung* and part of the kingdom of Binamu. Nevertheless, a question mark remains concerning the identification. There was said to be a small port in Taroang.

**Ciqnong** CiNo

S 05.37.372 E 119.38.298

(Druce) Informant: the *kepala desa* of Ciqnong; Haji Iskandar of Palajau.

According to the *kepala desa* of Ciqnong, who did not seem particularly knowledgeable, Ciqnong was ruled by a *karaéng* who was in some way subject to the *karaéng* of Binamu. Haji Iskandar of Palajau named Ciqnong as one of Binamu's *karaéng paliliq*. Some ceramics, such as plates and *guci*, and *keris* have been found in Ciqnong. Ciqnong has no *sawah*.

**Tonra** ToRa

Not identified.

**Rumbia** RuBiQa

S 05.30.022 E 119.51.252

(Druce) Not visited

Rumbia is located approximately five kilometres north of the above position: the road to Rumbia was impassable. I was told that there was *ladang* cultivation in Rumbia.

**Toloq** ToLo

S 05.34.068 E 119.48.414

(Druce) Various local informants

Toloq has a large Islamic graveyard and a number of the graves appear quite old. Some of the more modern graves (nineteenth / twentieth century) are similar in appearance to those in Sapanang and Binamu. I was told that a few ceramics have been found in this graveyard, which Iwan Sumantri has visited. Toloq is located approximately ten kilometres from the sea and has quite a lot of *sawah*.

People in Toloq said that their *kampung* was once part of the kingdom of Binamu.

## TRIBUTARIES OF BANGKALA

### **Bangkala** BaKaLa

S 05.32.454 E 119.32.010 Map 2110-33 S 05.32.000 E 119.32.400

(Druce) Informant: Buakana Daéng Sunggu (f) of Battanurung in Tana Toa; Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé, age 70, born in Bangkala

According to Buakana Daéng Sunggu, the first ruler of Bangkala was Dusa Karaéng Porong Laqbua Tali Bannana. He was the younger sibling of Indar Dewa Karaéng Kalimporoq, the first ruler of Tana Toa. A second sibling, Yusufu Batara Goa, ruled in Goa.

Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé independently confirmed the name of the first ruler of Bangkala, but stated that he was the child not the sibling of Indar Dewa Karaéng Kalimporoq; both informants are saying the same thing, namely that Tanatoa is senior to Bangkala. Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé said that apart from the *karaéng* of Bangkala, there were at least four other *karaéng* in the kingdom of Bangkala, namely the *karaéng* of Tanatoa, Pallenguq, Garasiga and Nasaraq (The TDLBB lists seven tributaries, including these four.)

Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé recognized every tributary and domain of Bangkala (with minor spelling differences) named in the TDLBB. She claimed that they were all part of Bangkala and was surprised that I knew their names.

Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé has a special room in her house where she keeps some of the regalia of Bangkala. I was shown two spears, a two-bladed forked spear (none looked particularly old), and two miniature *keris*, which appeared to be made from brass. There were other objects which could not be revealed at the time of my visit. She also has a bed (of the modern variety) in the room which is kept specifically for Dusa Karaéng Porong Laqbua Tali Bannana, the first ruler of Bangkala. Next to the bed there is a shrine (Photo 9) where offerings are presented to the spirit of this ruler.

In Bangkala there is also a grave which is said to be that of Dusa Karaéng Porong Laqbua Tali Bannana, the first ruler of Bangkala. The grave appears to be Islamic, although it is possible that it could have been built on top of an earlier structure (Photo 10.). I was also shown the *tempat pelantikan raja* Bangkala. People say that cock and buffalo fights used to take place before the *raja* was *dilantik*. According to Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of *kampung* Bangkala, the *tempat dilantik raja* Bangkala was originally in *kampung* Bangkala, but later moved to Pangkajéné.

(Caldwell) When plotted out on the Bakosurtanal maps, Bankala appears a rather scattered kingdom, with all but one of its tributaries to the southeast of the palace-centre at Bangkala, and all of Bankala's domains to its west. See Figure 10.

### **Tanatoa** TaNaToQa

S 05. 34.186 E 119.35.282 Map 2110-33 E 119.35.350 S 05.35.650

(Druce) Informant: Buakana Daéng Sunggu (f), age 70, born Buttanurung in Tanatoa, a

relative of Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé

According to Buakana Daéng Sunggu, Tanatoa was where the kingdom of Bangkala originated. However, she also claimed that the people of the world's twelve greatest countries and their respective flags also originate from Tana Toa, namely Japan, India, England, United States, Indonesia, Pakistan, China, Holland, Russia, Turkey, Malaysia and Australia. This, she claims, is why the settlement was called Tanatoa. She also showed me 12 pieces of cloth about six by eight inches in size which she claimed were the flags of these countries. When I asked her if Bangkala and Tanatoa had any connection with Luwuq she replied that Luwuq and Boné also originate from Tanatoa.

Buanaka Daéng Sunggu is widely respected in the area around Tanatoa. Her house, which people called an *istana*, was said to be the centre of religious activity in the area. From what I could gather this religious activity has more in common with ancestor (probably *tomanuung*) worship than Islam.

She also possesses what she claims to be some of the regalia from Bangkala / Tanatoa. This regalia includes a spear, five pieces of iron ore which she claims came from Bantoloé in *kabupaten* Goa, and three *keris*. Two of the *keris* are of straight bladed (according to people who accompanied me to the house), while the third had a wavy blade. Interesting, Buakana said that the iron used to make the three *keris* came from Luwuq.

Tanatoa is the first in the list of Bangkala's tributaries, which believe is arranged in a hierarchical sequence. This would make Tanatoa the most important of Bankala's tributaries.

### **Pallénguq PaLéNGu**

S 05.35.437 E 119.33.850 Map 2110-33 E 119.33.500 S 05.35.600

(Druce) Informant: Pak Rimang, age: 80, born in Pallenguq; Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of Bangkala

According to Pak Rimang, the first ruler of Pallenguq came from Tanatoa in Bangkala and was called Daéng Ngasa. He was also known as Karaéng Pallénguq. He had two children. One was called Daéng Tiro and the second was called Daéng Kama. According to Pak Rimang, a number of pre-Islamic graves in Pallénguq were looted in the recent past. As far as he knows, plates and *guci* were found together with bones. There is a port in Pallenguq which is also called Pallenguq. Pak Rimang said that boats used to be made there. According to Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé, a *karaéng* ruled in Pallénguq who was subject to the *karaéng* of Bangkala. There is some *sawah* and also some garden cultivation in Pallénguq.

### **Mallasoro MaLaSoRo**

Map 2010-33 E 119.34.700 S 05.38.500

(Druce) Not visited



The *kepala desa* of Nasaraq confirmed that Mallasoro was part of Bangkala.

### **Garasiga GaRaSiGa**

Map 2110-33 E 119.32.500 S 05.34.900

(Druce) Informant: Daéng Sollé, age 100 plus, born in Garasiga; Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of Bangkala

Daéng Sollé provided the names of the some of the rulers of Garasiga. The first was called Yayoka Daéng Mangompo. The second was called Sambila Daéng Manggépé. The name of the third ruler was Sawa Daéng Majérriq. According to Daéng Sollé, the younger brother of the first ruler, who was called Minda, or Sombata ri Goa, had a child named Mulli who became ruler of Garasiga. He ruled in Garasiga for thirty eight years. The next ruler of Garasiga was called Puaqda Tuda Daéng Tuda. He ruled for one year. Following this Karaéng Pali ruled for three years in Garasiga. The next ruler was called Karaéng Laloé and he ruled for three years. The last ruler of Garasiga was Karaéng Mattjuarang. Daéng Sollé said that Garasiga was part of the kingdom of Bangkala but he was not sure whether it enjoyed any degree of autonomy. He showed me a *keris* which he said was taken from a pre-Islamic grave. The handle was made from fish bone and the *keris* had a wavy blade. Daéng Sollé said that other *keris* similar to his had also been found. Numerous ceramics had also been found in pre-Islamic graves in Garasiga. Most of the ceramics, which he said were mainly plates, were placed by the head, shoulder, naval and feet of the corpse.

Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of Bangkala said that Garasiga was ruled by a *karaéng* who was subject to the *karaéng* of Bangkala.

### **Nasaraq MaSaRa**

S 05.36.980 E 119.35.803 grave site S 05.36.798 E 119.35.729

(Druce) Informant: Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of Bangkala

I obtained little information on Nasaraq, other than the claim that Nasaraq had once been part of the kingdom of Bangkala. Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé said that Nasaraq was ruled by a *karaéng* who was subject to the *karaéng* of Bangkala.

I was shown a pre-Islamic grave site in Nasaraq which had been heavily looted. I counted around twenty five looted graves. Most of the looting, it was claimed, was carried out by outsiders. The site is located at the foot of a small hill. I was told that most of the ceramics found were placed by the head and the feet of the body. *keris* and gold bracelets were also found with the bones. Close to this site is an old well, which has been renovated. I was told that the well use to be a *tempat keramat*. It was said that before the ruler of Nasaraq went to war he would go to the well and wash his face there.

### **Rukuruku RuKuRuKu**

S 05.35.473 E 119.34.404

(Druce) Informant: Haji Salim, age: 90, born in Rukuruku

According to Haji Salim, the people of Rukuruku were recognized as the best fighting people throughout the kingdom of Bangkala. Haji Salim said that the first person who ruled (he used the word *raja* ) in Rukuruku was called Mappa Daéng Nangga, who was from a place called Layu in Binamu. When he arrived in Rukuruku he asked the *karaéng* of Bangkala if he could open a *kampung*. The *karaéng* of Bangkala agreed to this request in exchange for forty buffalo. Later Mappa Daéng Nangga was *dilantik* as the *gallarang* of Rukuruku. According to Haji Salim, a number of ceramics had been found in pre-Islamic graves some years back. He also recalled that an *allung* (wooden coffin) had been found.

### **Laikang LaQiKa**

S 05.36.018 E 119.27.495

(Druce) Informant: Tuan Samsu, age 60, born in Laikang

Tuan Samsu provided some information on the first four rulers of Laikang. The information was interesting, but I was not sure whether he knew what he was talking about. According to Tuan Samsu, the first ruler of Laikang was called Karaéng Tunipassiq Laqbu Tallibandana and came from from Bangkala. The second ruler was called *arung* Cina, and came from Boné. It is worth noting that when I asked if Laikang had any connection with Luwuq, Tuan Samsu considered that a connection with Boné also constituted a connection with Luwuq. Similar to other people on the south coast he did not (or perhaps could not) differentiate between the various Bugis kingdoms. The third ruler of Laikang was called *petta* Pungawaé. He was also from Boné. The fourth ruler was called Makkasaun Daéng ri Langiq, who was also said to have been from Boné. Tuan Samsu said that at the time of this fourth ruler, the Dutch were already in South Sulawesi. The fact the Tuan Samsu's second and third rulers of Laikang were called *arung* and *petta* probably reflects historical Bugis influence.

According to Tuan Samsu, Laikang was defeated by Goa in war at some time in the past, but retained some autonomy. People also claimed that Laikang had been part of the kingdom of Bangkala.

A fair number of ceramics seem to have been found in Laikang [Photo 11]. Most were found in pre-Islamic graves said to be close to the sea. The looters found bodies with ceramic plates placed by their head and feet. A gold bracelet and *keris* were also found. I was also told that some *guci* had contained cremated human remains: people were quite certain about this.

## DOMAINS OF BANGKALA

### **Pattopakang** PaToPaNGKa

S 05.32.005 E 119.28.381

(Druce) Informant: the *kepala desa* of Pattopakang

I obtained very little information from Pattopakang. The *kepala desa* told me that no ceramics had been found in the *kampung* despite efforts to find them. He thought that Pattopakang was part of the kingdom of Bangkala.

### **Panyalangkang** PaNYaLaNGKa

Map 2010-24 E 119.29.700 S 05.31.800

Not visited

### **Punaga** PuNaGa

S 05.33.259 E 119.25.185

(Druce) Informant: P. Bachtiar Muda, age 55, born in Punaga, *kepala desa* of Punaga

People in Punaga claim that it is a very old *kampung*. One person claimed (without elaboration) that Punaga was connected, through blood, to every major Bugis and Makasar kingdom in South Sulawesi. Despite this claim, I did not find anyone who could provide information concerning Punaga's early history. People's historical knowledge tended to start with Sultan Hasanuddin. However, they were firm in their belief that Punaga was an old *kampung* which had some association with, rather than being ruled by, the kingdom of Bangkala. This claimed antiquity is supported by the fact that much grave robbing has taken place in Punaga: I was shown one site which had around fifteen looted graves. This site was located by the sea (S 05.34.416 E 119.25.535). I found two ceramic sherds at the site.

Another site, which I was told had been looted, is close to an Islamic graveyard. According to the *kepala desa* of Punaga, when *guci* have been found in these sites they usually contain cremated human remains. Other graves contained bones. Apart from ceramics, *badiq*, *keris* and gold have also been found in the graves. I was shown three Swatow plates [Photo 12].

There is a substantial amount of *sawah* in Punaga. Last year, however, most of the rice crop was lost because of drought. There is also some garden cultivation. Punaga has a small port which is called Salékoro.

### **Canraigo** CaNRaQi

Not located

(Druce) Informant: Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of *kampung* Bangkala

Not visited. Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé considered it probable that Ca[n]RaQi referred to Canraigo in *kecamatan* Takalar. According to her, Canraigo was one of Bangkala's lands.

**Cikoang** CiKoQa

Map E 119.26.300 S 05.31.500

Not visited. Cikoang is a centre of Maulud rituals.

**Pangkajéné** PaNGKaJéNé

Map E 119.41.200 S 05 34.200

(Druce) Informant: Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé of *kampung* Bangkala

Not visited. According to Punna Rannu Daéng Téqmé, the *tempat dilantik raja* Bangkala was originally in *kampung* Bangkala and later moved to Pangkajéné

**Baranaq** BaRaNa

Not located

(Druce) Various local informants

Not visited. Baranaq is reportedly located in *kecamatan* Bangkala. It is said to have belonged to Bangkala.

**Béroanging** BéRoQaNGi

Not located

(Druce) Various local informants

Not visited. Béroanging is said to be located in *kecamatan* Bangkala. It is said to have been one of Bangkala's lands

## **OTHER SETTLEMENTS VISITED**

**Pantilang** (an alternative reading for Patila)

Maindo (Pantilang area): S 03.07.485 E 120.02.201

Samolo: S 03.07.098 E 120.00.192

(Druce) Informant: Lasso Sombolingé, age 61, born in Madandon, *kepala desa* Madandon in *kecamatan* Sangallaq; Pak Sulle, age 70, born in Samalo; Daud Tanke Loboq, age 50, born in Samalo; Pak Danduru, age 64, born in Maindo (part of Pantilang and located in the *kecamatan* Bassé Sangtémpe in *kabupaten* Luwuq), *kepala desa* Maindo

Lasso Sombolingé related a tradition which sets out the relationship between Luwuq, Bassé Sangtémpe (a region which includes Pantilang as one of four political units) and Sangallaq. According to this tradition, *puang* Tamborolangiq, who was the leading *tomanurun* in the southern part of Toraja (i.e. Sangallaq, Makalé and Méngkéndéq), had a grandson called Laki Padada.<sup>30</sup> Laki Padada wandered from Toraja in order to seek magical powers that would enable him to live forever. Eventually, Laki Padada found himself in Goa, where he married the child of the ruler of Goa (name unknown). This marriage produced three children: *petta* Laméran, who remained in Goa and became ruler of Goa; *petta* Labantén, who went to rule in Toraja (my informant considered this a reference to Sangallaq); and *petta* La Bunga who went to rule in Luwuq. According to Lasso Sombolingé, this was the first time that a genealogical relationship had been established between Toraja and Luwuq.

After an unspecified number of generations had passed, a descendant of *petta* Labatén (the child of Laki Padada who went to rule in Toraja) called Palisibabaq. went down to Luwuq to make his way in the world. He was brave and had magical powers. In Luwuq, Palisibabaq married the *datu* Luwuq, who was female (name unknown). This marriage produced the next ruler of Luwuq who was called *datu* Kélali. The middle of *datu* Kélali's face resembled a pig. *Datu* Kélali was brave, and fond of waging war.

At the time that *datu* Kélali ruled in Luwuq, there was a kingdom in Tana Toraja known as *datu matampu* (the kingdom of a *datu* in the west).<sup>31</sup> This *datu*, who ruled in Toraja, was a second cousin of *datu* Kélali. Now *datu* Kélali went to Toraja and attacked the kingdom of the *datu* in Toraja. The attack was successful and *datu* Kélali defeated the kingdom in Toraja, which became subject to Luwuq. However, in Sangallaq there had emerged a *puang* called *puang* Passalim. When *datu* Kélali returned to Luwuq with his war prizes of slaves and other goods, *puang* Passalim attacked him at Pangu, near Pantilang. The two armies fought for many days, but so evenly matched were the two sides that no victor emerged from the battle.

Eventually a truce was declared between the two sides and a peace agreement followed. This agreement was known as *bassé Sangtémpe* and took place in Pangu, near Pantilang. The agreement was that *datu* Kélali of Luwuq would surrender sovereignty of the area around Sangallaq (i.e. the whole of Southern Toraja) to *puang* Passalim. In

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<sup>30</sup> Stanislaus Sandarupa (*Life and Death in Tana Toraja* 1988:12) says that Tamborolangiq led the *tomanurun* in the southern part of Toraja. He also claims that Tamborolangiq introduced new methods of agriculture, the rank system and the complicated death ritual practices (Stanislaus Sandarupa, ). The story of Laki Padada is well known in Tana Toraja According to Stanislaus Sandarupa (p.17) Laki Pada married *karaé ng* Taralolo, the princess of Goa.

<sup>31</sup> Probably to the west of Luwuq.

order to ensure that there would be no more war, it was agreed that a buffer zone (my informant's words) be created between Luwuq and Sangallaq. The name of the area which was to form this buffer zone was the same as that of the agreement, namely *bassé sangtémpe*. (In the Torajan language *bassé* means agreement or contract while *sangtémpe* translates as 'region' or 'area', hence 'the area in which an agreement was reached'. The people who inhabited the area known as Bassé Sangtémpe were then known as *tonassipé buntu batoé*, 'the people [who lived] between two great mountains', i.e. the people who lived in between the two great kingdoms of Luwuq and Sangallaq. It was also agreed that the Bassé Sangtémpe region would become part of Luwuq. However, the Bassé Sangtémpe region and the people who inhabited it were referred to as *maqtau ri Sangallaq maqpadang ri Luwuq*, 'the people of Sangallaq [but] the land of Luwuq'.

The Bassé Sangtémpe region was divided into four parts. Most informants consider that these four parts already existed prior to the agreement between Luwuq and Sangallaq. Each of the four parts consisted of 15 *tongkonan* and each group of 15 was ruled by an *adat* council. The first of these groups was called Issong Kaluar (*lesung lebar*). I was told that the main settlement of Issong Kaluar was Pantilang and the name Issong Kaluar signifies prosperity. The second group was called Ariri Bassé. The main settlement of this group was Maindo and the name Ariri Bassé indicates *pertahanan / keamanan*. The third group was called Balimbing Kaluar (*yang melindungi*). The main settlement of Balimbing Kaluar was Bulo. The name Balimbing Kaluar indicates *perlindungan*. The fourth and final group which made up Bassé Sangtémpe was called Sémbang Kada. The main settlement of Sémbang Kada was Kanaq. Sémbang Kada indicates *kehakiman / jaksa*.

Lasso Sombolingé also said that after the agreement there were no more kingdoms in Toraja but just *kepuangan*. The main settlement was Sangallaq which was part of a confederation along with Makalé and Mengkéndéq. He said that Sangallaq was the coordinator of the three. Lasso Sombolingé also said that the *puang* of Sangallaq had very little power and his role was partly as a symbol. Lasso Sombolingé likened the *puang* of Sangallaq to a highly prized black buffalo which had been castrated and therefore slept well because it had nothing to worry about and simply grew fat. The real power, he said, resided with the *adat* council. Lasso Sombolingé claimed that he is the grandson of the last *puang* of Sangallaq.

Pak Sullé and Daud Tangké Loboq related a tradition which tells of an agreement between Luwuq and the part of Toraja known as Bassé Sangtémpe. It should be pointed out that these two informants were not entirely sure of the tradition, and that their general knowledge of the region's history was poor. According to these two informants the *datu* of Luwuq was once captured by Boné. Upon hearing this, a Torajan from the region which was to become known as Bassé Sangtémpe, called Sanggalangi, from Toraja went to Boné and rescued the *datu* Luwuq. Following this, an agreement was made between Luwuq and the people in the Bassé Sangtémpe region. The agreement was that if Luwuq needed help then the people of Bassé Sangtémpe would help with their feet (because they were mountain people) and if the people of Bassé Sangtémpe faced problems then the people of Luwuq would help with their hands (because they

were sea people). Both informants considered that Sanggalangi ruled part of Toraja (probably the area of Bassé Sangtépé).

Pak Danduru also knew the story of Sanggalangi, who appears to have been a well-known legendary hero who has a *kecamatan* named after him. According to Pak Danduru the *datu* Luwuq was in Boné for several years before being rescued by Sanggalangi. Pak Danduru also thought that this had happened at the time when the centre of Luwuq was still at Cilellang (see the section on *datu* Kamanré) and during that time there was no *datu* in Luwuq. He also thinks that the *datu* who was captured by Boné was the first to accept Islam. Pak Danduru claims that after Sanggalangi had rescued the *datu* of Luwuq any agreement took place. According to Pak Danduru the agreement was that Luwuq and the region ruled by Sanggalangi (Pantilang and the surrounding area) would work together in a mutually beneficial relationship. At that time, according to Pak Danduru, the Bassé Sangtépé region was part of Luwuq but constituted an autonomous area with a similar status to other Luwuq vassals such as Bua.

Pak Danduru also recalled that there was once a war between the *tallu lembangna* (the three *perahu*: Sanggallaq, Makalé and Mengkéndéq) and Luwuq. According to Pak Danduru, as Pantilang (he used the name Pantilang to refer to the Bassé Sangtépé region) was situated between Luwuq and *tallu lembangna* it acted as a mediator between the two warring parties. Pak Danduru also said that the Bassé Sangtépé region was known as *nassipé buntu batoé*, '[the area] between two great mountains (i.e. kingdoms)'. An almost identical term was used by Lasso Sombolinggi of Madandon. Pak Danduru also said that according to the 'old people', Pantilang could go freely to either Luwuq or Sanggallaq (*tallu lembangna*) and was not fully tied to one or the other. This is probably in relation to trade.

Pak Danduru informed me that a small number of ceramics had been found in graves in the Pantilang region. Pak Danduru then went on to say that it was Sanggalangi who brought the name Bassé Sangtépé to that region. When Sanggalangi died, Bassé Sangtépé became weak, and from that point on Bassé Sangtépé began to be ruled by Bua. Pak Danduru said that the nature of Bua's rule was *penjajahan*, and it was not until independence that they were finally free of Bua. This corresponds with informants in Bua and Ponrang who claim that Bua ruled part of Toraja (see sections on Bua and Ponrang). Pak Danduru also said that when the area was ruled by Bua each of the four groups of *tongkonan* which made up the Bassé Sangtépé region (the names of the four groups given by Pak Danduru correspond with the information provided by Lasso Sombolinggi of Madandon) had to send tribute to the *datu* Luwuq every year, and that this was sent through Bua. He remembers old people saying that the tribute was woven cloth. Any correspondence between Bassé Sangtépé and Luwuq also had to be through Bua rather than directly with the *datu* Luwuq.

It is difficult to determine how large the region of Bassé Sangtépé was prior to Dutch rule in Luwuq and Toraja. Today the name Bassé Sangtépé refers to a *kecamatan* which lies in *kabupaten* Luwuq and borders Tana Toraja. This *kecamatan* is usually known in its abbreviated form of Bastem. According to Pak Sulléqan Daud Tangké Loboq of Samalo, which is located in *kecamatan* Sanggallaq, Samalo was once

part of Bassé Sangtémpe but during the Dutch period became part of Toraja. These two informants also said that *dusun* Sudu, which contains *kampung* Lokoq and Kunniq, was also part of Bassé Sangtémpe. They also claim that the area of Samalo has the same *adat* and tradition as Pantilang. Pak Danduru claimed that Bassé Sangtémpe included the settlements of Ranté Bua (where a slave market once existed), Bonkin and Nanggala. He also claimed that Bassé Sangtémpe reached as far as Saqdan Karunggiq, which he said is around 30 kilometres north of Rantépaq. Pak Danduru said that much of Bassé Sangtémpe is now part of Toraja. This was due to the Dutch, who divided Bassé Sangtémpe up and placed part of it in Luwuq and part in Tana Toraja.

An informant I met with in Palopo, Pak Ratu, a former resident of Pantilang, stated that the four groups which made up Bassé Sangtémpe were of an equal status. However, he also said that the Bassé Sangtémpe region as a whole was in the past sometimes referred to as Pantilang. According to Pak Ratu, the name Pantilang could refer to four places. The first of these was a place called Pantilang on *gunung* Batu, the second was *desa* Pantilang, the third Issong Keluar, and the fourth was the four groups which made up Bassé Sangtémpe as a whole.

Lasso Sombolingé said that the majority of the people who inhabit Luwuq are of the same ethnic group as the people in Toraja. Lasso Sombolingé considers that cultural and linguistic differences among them emerged only later as a consequence of Luwuq's influence. In particular, the acceptance of Islam in Luwuq is what made the people of Toraja and Luwuq different. Lasso Sombolingé also said that Luwuq, Toraja, Mamasa, Enrékang and Mandar were all originally one people but became separated by religion. According to Pak Danduru, people who speak Torajan can understand *bahasa* Luwuq, and vice versa.

According to Pak Danduru and other informants, the person who governed the Bassé Sangtémpe region had the title *ampu lémbang*. This confirms information from Pak Topatunrengé of Ponrang and Siadja Daéng Mallonjo of Bua who also stated that the head of government in Pantilang had the title *ampu lémbang*. However, according to Pak Danduru, the title *ampu lémbang* only came into being when Bassé Sangtémpe was ruled by Bua. Other informants were not sure if this was correct or not but did not rebuke this claim. Pak Danduru also said that the *ampu lémbang* was the *orang kepercayaan maddika* Bua and the *ampu lémbang* had to report to the *maddika Bua*. Pak Danduru did not know whether or not there was a single ruler in the Pantilang region prior to Bua's domination, with the exception of the legendary hero Sanggalangi (who rescued the *datu* Luwuq from Boné) who may once have presided over part of the Pantilang region. Pak Danduru said that all the villages around Pantilang were burned during the Kazhar Muzakar rebellion. It is possible that Pak Danduru participated in this himself, as he informed me that he spent many years as a rebel and only laid down his arms following the massacre of the PKI.

According to Pak Danduru, a Muslim and a minority in this area, although Pantilang is part of *kabupaten* Luwuq people consider themselves Torajan and also speak the Torajan language. According to Pak Danduru it is about one days walk from Pantilang to Palopo.

Around Pantilang is only garden cultivation, which includes dry rice agriculture.



## **Londa** (A possible reading for **Loda** LoDa)

### GPS READING

(Druce) Various local informants

The identification of Loda as Londa in Tana Toraja was a long shot, and no confirmation of Londa having ever been a vassal of Luwuq was obtained in either Londa or other areas of Tana Toraja. However, given that virtually nothing is known of Londa's political history anywhere in Toraja, this is hardly surprising.

From the limited information I obtained in Londa it would appear that Londa was an independent settlement ruled by a noble family rather than by a single person. Although there is no memory of a connection with Luwuq, it is possible that the ruling family did, at some point in time, make an agreement with Luwuq, and a desire for ceramics, textiles and other trade goods could have tied Londa to Luwuq. A relationship with Londa would also have give Luwuq a foothold in Toraja. It is doubtful that any direct marriage links between the Luwuq and Londa nobility ever occurred: if they did there is certainly no memory of them.

## **Garasiq**

S 05.29.061 E 119.25.406

(Druce) Informant: Kasman Daéng Sija, 63 years old, born in Garasiq, *kepala dusun* of Garasiq

Garasiq is in *kabupaten* Takalar. People in Garasiq recognized Goa as the major historical kingdom in their area. This can be contrasted with settlements further east, which generally associated themselves with Binamu and Bangkala. Although this Garasiq is almost certainly not the Garasiga of the TDLBB, it did appear to be an old settlement.

A number of ceramics have been found in Garasiq including plates and *guci*. Kasman Daéng Sija told me that some of the *guci* had contained cremated human remains. He also told me that an *allung* [a type of coffin] had been found in the *kampung*. He could not remember the orientation of the *allung* but did say that it was not facing west. According to Iwan Sumantri, *allung* are generally associated with Bajo people, and to a lesser extent with Torajans. They are pre-Islamic.

I was also shown a couple of *badiq* which were claimed to be old. Interestingly, people suggested that the iron which was used to make one of these *badiq* was from Luwuq. People also thought it possible that the *badiq* itself was made in Luwuq. Another *badiq*, I was told, was made in a *kampung* called La Kattong Mattéké. It was said that iron tools were once made in this *kampung* which was situated within a few kilometres of Garasiq. Iron tools are no longer made in La Kattong Mattéké.

Kasman Daéng Sija claimed that in the past there were twelve *kampung* 'below' Garasiq. One of these was called Topi Jawa, which he said was a short distance from

Garasiq. He did not know if Topi Jawa had any connection with the island of Java. People in Garasiq said that boats were once made in their *kampung* but this was some time ago and no boats are made today. Garasiq has a small port which is called Bawa Binang Garasiq.

### **Balobalo**

S 03.23.114 E 120.21.010

(Druce) Informant Andi Lubis from the *kantor kebudayaan* in Belopa

Andi Lubis suggested that I should see what he described as pre-Islamic graves in *desa* Balobalo. These earth-mound graves are approximately eight or more metres in length, three metres in width and one and a half metres high. These graves have no markers and face east-west. According to Andi Lubis, who has himself found ceramics in such graves in Balobalo, if one was to dig there one would normally find ceramics together with human bones. Andi Lubis claims that he and others have found *guci* and *mangkok* in these graves. He was told that some of these ceramics dated from the Sung period. Andi Lubis later showed me three small jars which he found at Bulobulo. Andi Lubis has a collection of broken ceramics. In Lamunré there are similar graves to the ones I saw in Balobalo. I was told that there was once an *arung* Balo-balo.

(Caldwell) Balobalo is a settlement attacked by Déwaraja in the Anta Raja Anta Lowa story: see Caldwell (in preparation: LATTM 1982 130-136).

### **Majapahit**

Map E 121.04.800 S 03.09.350

(Caldwell) Informant Haji Songkéng, born in Majapahit in 1944 and since 1978 *kepala desa*; a capable, intelligent man, and a descendent of the *makolé* of Waworuwo. He is a Tolakki and can speak the Tolakki language.

Majapahit was visited because of its unusual name and its proximity to Léléwawo. Majapahit is a *to Lakki* settlement. According to Haji Songkéng, people searched for antiques in Majapahit in the 1980s but found nothing (one bowl was reportedly found and sold to Ujung Pandang). Haji Songkéng did not know of any old graveyards but there are many caves around Majapahit in which parts of skulls are still occasionally found. There was a *balubu* on the roof of the mosque at Lanipa (Majapahit's port, two km to the west) but this was stolen by ABRI. Haji Songkéng said that Majapahit belonged to a polity called Waworuwo, and maintained that Waworuwo was formerly independent of Luwuq but was forcefully incorporated into the kingdom. The *makolé* fled to the hills but eventually surrendered; a tradition which Haji Songkéng believed accounted for the lack of old ceramics at Majapahit. Haji Songkéng showed me the spring which issues from the foot of a small mountain and forms *sungai* Majapahit; the stream is later much mixed with *sawah* water. The spring at its source is still used to

draw fresh water, and it is likely that this is the oldest part of the village. According to Haji Songkéng, the spring was a *tempat berhala* in pre-Islamic times. Local products include wood and rice (there has been much recent expansion of rice fields) and some distant *gaharu* wood is still harvested. Haji Songkéng said that there were four *makolé* along the coast at Waworuwo, Léléwawo, Musiku [Mosiku] and Ngapa. According to tradition Léléwawo and Musiku were already in Luwuq when Waworuwo and Ngapa were forcibly incorporated into Luwuq.

### **Nuha**

No available map.

(Caldwell) Informant Pak Abdul Karim, aged 60, born in Nuha and *kepala desa* since 1983.

Nuha has a population of about 400 and produces *sago*, *sayur* and *padi ladang*. Iron was smelted in three places; the mines (1-2 metre-deep holes in the ground) were to the east of the village. Iron working, but not smelting, continued into the 1950s. Nuha, Soroako and Matano speak one distinct language and form a single cultural complex. They were part of the kingdom of Luwuq but did not supply troops for the *datu's* army. [They did: see appendix.] Nuha was formerly part of *desa* Nuha-Matano-Landangi-Bonéputéh, but has been a separate village since 1983.

### **Luwuk**

No available map.

(Caldwell) Informant: Hidio Amir, (Sultan Banggai), age 54, *lahir* Luwuk and direct descendent of last raja of Banggai

Pak Hidio identified Prapanca's Luwu(k) without hesitation as Luwu Palopo. Luwuk was just a *kampung* until 1942 when the raja of Banggai was forced by the Japanese to relocate there. Banggai (Bengawai in the Desawarnana) was the major power in the area. No iron is smelted in Luwuk, although there are some *pandai besi* at Nabo and Bukok. Luwuk is the name of the peninsula. Three languages are spoken: Banggai, Saluan (on the peninsula) and Belantok (on the extreme southern tip of peninsula. Hidio Amir did not know of any manuscripts but knew of the *adatsrecht* collection by Doormeyer (?). Ceramics are dug up in almost all areas of *kepulauan* Banggai but not many are found in Luwuk. Banggai is a source of pearls as well as forest products such as *rotan* and *damar*.

### **Banggai**

No available map.

(Caldwell) Informant Pak Ahmad Abuhadjim age 60, born in Bélantak, *kepala adat* Banggai

Banggai has a tradition of 38 rajas up to and including the father of Hidio Amir. There are 18 rajas up to and including Godogg (1600-1630). The *istana* stands on a small hill overlooking the harbour. The palace is completely empty. I was told that the sultanate was not hereditary (there is no tradition of *raja mahkota*) and that anyone could be chosen as raja; each raja supplied his own furniture. One ruler is said to have come from Java, and another was Bugis. The regalia consists of a *payung*, a *keris* (both currently in the possession of Hidio Amir) and a *kulintan*, a small *terompong* with three gongs. The ruler was chosen by a the Basalosangkap, a council of four representing the four *marga* of the area. I failed to obtain the names of these; I do not know whether they are related to the three *suku bangsa* in *kabupaten* Luwuk: Séaséa (*suku asli* Banggai), Loinang (Saluan) and Loqon (Belantak). If the appointee was a minor, or the installation of a ruler was delayed, the sultanate was ruled by the Mayor Nova. A new ruler had to be installed before the old one was buried. The ruler was assisted by a council of four consisting of the Jogugu (*dalam negeri*), Mayor Nova (*perdana menteri*) Kapita Lau (*panglima angkatan perang*) and Hukum Tua (*jaksa agung*). Below them were 14 district heads called Basalo (Banggai), Bosanyo (Luwuk-Saluan) and Bosano (Balantek). Today there are 15 *kecamatan* due to the inclusion of Toqili, a new *kecamatan transmigran*

Pak Ahmad told me that he knew of two manuscripts, a large one in Laléngan in the Luwuk peninsula, opposite the island of Bukok, and a small one at Mondano. Both are written in the Arabic language and concern the origin of mankind. He confirmed that many ceramics were found in the area, and told me of the tradition that a son of the king of Cina (Tiongkok), fleeing from his father, arrived in Lokokoyi. Apprehensive of being attacked by pirates, he buried his ceramics in Banggai.

## **Wotu**

Map E 121.48.300 E 02.35.500

(Caldwell) Informant Muhammad Arsyad, *kepala sekola Dasar Negeri Campaé*, born in Wotu, a Wotu speaker and *perdana menteri* of Wotu's *adat* council.

Wotu is one of the oldest settlements in the Gulf of Bone. It sits at the foot of a trade route which runs south from Posso via the lake of the same name. The people of Wotu, who number about 3000, speak a language called Wotu. Similarities between *bahasa* Wotu and the Wolio language of Buton suggest a trading relationship between the two which could predate the fourteenth century.

Wotu's creation myth bears close comparison to that of Cérékang. As the Bugis are immigrants to the region, this suggests that the creation mythology of Cérékang is derived and developed from that of Wotu. The old centre of Wotu is at *kampung* Mulataué. Here, at Saléko (now the front yard of M. Arsyad's house) Bataraguru descended in a yellow bamboo, accompanied by *oro keling*. Bataraguru later moved to *bukit* Lampénai where his *oro keling* are said to have opened the first fields.

The *datu* Luwuq were installed at Wotu, as well as at other tributaries. M. Arsyad recalled witnessing the installation of Andi Jemma Barué at a place called Bangkolo

(*bangkala*: installation place) near a well, close to Saléko. Wotu has no tradition of kingship (i.e an *arung* or *datu*) but was ruled by a *macowa*. Wotu was never a *paliliq* of Luwuq. M. Arsyad, who has been three times to the new palace at Palopo, said that in the palace the *macowa* Wotu sat at the same level as the *datu*. Once when he visited the previous *datu*, the widow of Andi Jémma Lama, he found her sitting under a *patola* cloth, which she told her *pengiring* to remove when M. Arsyad entered, thus symbolizing that Wotu was recognised as an independent polity. At her installation in Palopo, M. Arsyad sat behind her on the dias, to the left of the *tomakaka posi*, not with the *paliliq* who sat below, to the right and the left of the *datu*. M. Arsyad complained that the present *datu*, Andi Ahmad, a former *bupati* of Luwuq and older brother of Andi Jémma Barué, fails to recognise Wotu's special status vis a vis Luwuq.

Wotu's influence extended as far north as Poso. Included in Wotu's government of seventeen members were representatives of the *to Rompo*, *to Pamona* and perhaps other ethnic groups. Wotu's western and eastern neighbours were Jalaja [not located] and Tampina; M. Arsyad had only partial recall of Wotu's boundaries. Wotu reportedly has regalia of its own, namely a small cannon, 115 cm long (unseen) in M. Arsyad's possession. According to M. Arsyad, four *arajang*, all weapons, descended with Bataraguru: La Karurung and La Balué, which returned with him to the heavens, and La Barana and La Bungawaru, which remained behind. Luwuq's *paliliq* had various ceremonial duties, for example one [unknown] sewed the red umbrella, while the *pancait* of Malangké carried the umbrella and sat to the left of the *datu* at his installation. The *pong* Sangalla changed the *datu's baju*, and the *datu* was supported from behind by the *tomakaka posi* of Bastam, a settlement on the slopes of *gunung Latimojong*.

M. Arsyad also told us the story of how Baébunta, Bua and Ponrang settled the quarrel between Malangké and Cillelang, and how Raja Kamanré left for Gowa. He also told us the story of Petta Pau, who said: 'saya masih ada dendeng babi yang belum saya makan' and resisted the adoption of Islam.

The OXIS team also visited bukit Lampénai where Bataraguru's *oro keling* are said to have opened the first fields. Wild *lombok*, *labu* and *ubi jalar* found on the hill are believed to have descended from the crops which the *oro* planted.

Wotu was burnt during Kazhar Muzakar's rebellion.

## APPENDIX

### The Bila-Bila of Luwuq List (BLL)

The BLL is a recently discovered list of the settlements whence Luwuq obtained its army. Only a single copy of the BLL is known from a copy of a manuscript found in Palopo.<sup>32</sup> Many of the settlements of the Gulf of Boné section of the TDLBB are found in the BLL; others are unique to the BLL.

The *bila-bila* was a strip of *lontar* leaf in which were tied a number of knots. To summon his army, the *datu* Luwuq sent the ruler of each settlement such a strip; the number of knots signified the number of days the recipient had to assemble his fighting men and to appear before the *datu*.

The striking thing about the BLL is that it shows the *datu* Luwuq raising his army both tributaries and domains scattered right across the kingdom, from Larompong in the south to Matano in the east, to Méngkoka in Southeast Sulawesi.

The Bugis text of the BLL reads:

Panessaéngi \ pabanuana tanaé ri Wareq \ tarimaé bilabila \ Baébu[n]ta / Masa[m]ba / Patila / Malabu<sup>33</sup> Buangi<sup>34</sup> / Kaloto / Buwa / Bungkaja<sup>35</sup> / seuwa / La[m]ba[ng]mai<sup>36</sup> / seuwa / La[m]ba[ng]lia<sup>37</sup> / Toba / Taba / sabuwa / Po[n]ra[ng] / Noli[ng] / Pasamasapié / Pakulia / Bajo / Balabatu / Suso / La[m]ba[ng]mai / La[m]ba[ng]lia<sup>38</sup> / Larompong / Rétébaulu / Buntu / Béranaq<sup>39</sup> Wéula / Léléwawo / Latou / Towaro Binéno<sup>40</sup> / Mé[ng]koka

The English translation reads:

Here is set out a list of the lands of Wareq that receive the war summons: Baébunta, Masamba, Patila, Balubu, Buangin, Kaloto, Bua, Mungkaja, Lémbangmai, Lémbanglia, Toba, Taba, Ponrang, Noling, Pasamasapié, Pakulia, Bajo, Balabatu, Suso, Larompong, Rétébaula, Buntubaranaq, Wéula, Léléwawo, Latou, Towarobatino and Méngkoka

The list appears to be set out along geographical lines and can be divided into four groups, as shown on Figure 1. I have not yet checked this sketch map against the

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<sup>32</sup> Lontarak Luwu Mei 1985: 370.15–371.2 in the library of the National University of Singapore

<sup>33</sup> Malubu *read* Balubu

<sup>34</sup> Buangi *read* Buangin

<sup>35</sup> Bungkaja *read* Mungkaja

<sup>36</sup> La[m]ba[ng]mai *read* Lémbangmai

<sup>37</sup> La[m]ba[ng]lia *read* Lémbanglia

<sup>38</sup> La[m]ba[ng]mai / La[m]ba[ng]lia *ignore: a repeat*

<sup>39</sup> Buntu / Béranaq *read* Buntubaranaq

<sup>40</sup> Towaro Binéno *read* Towarobatino

Bakosurtanal maps.

**Group One:**

Baébunta, Masamba, Patila, Balubu, Buangin and Kaloto.

All six of these settlements were located and appear on Figure 1.

**Group Two:**

Bua, Mungkaja, Lémbangmai, Lémbanglia, and probably Toba and Taba.

Toba and Taba were not located but it is probable that they are, or were, located close to the other settlements of Group Two. Lémbangmai and Lémbanglia are a reference to the Bassé Sangtémpe region. While Bassé Sangtémpe is divided into the four groups of fifteen *tongkonan* (as set out in an earlier section) these four groups can also form two groups of thirty *tongkonan* (personal communication Andi Anthon). Lémbangmai and Lémbanglia literally mean 'one Lémbang here' and 'the other Lémbang there'. According to Andi Anthon, there may have been a geographical feature which divided the two Lémbangs. The ruler of the Bassé Sangtémpe region was known as *ampu lémbang*; this suggests that there were two *ampu lémbang*, each of whom ruled one of the two *lémbang*.

If Pak Danduru of Pantilang is correct in saying that the title *ampu lémbang* only came into being when Bassé Sangtémpe was ruled by Bua, this suggests that the tradition set out in this second list is perhaps post-seventeenth century.

**Group Three:**

Ponrang, Noling, Bajo, Balabatu, Suso, Larompong, Baula, Buntubaranaq.

It is probable that this group also contains Pasamasapié, Pakulia and Rétébaulu, which were not located.

**Group Four:**

Wéula, Léléwawo, Latou, Towarobatino and Méngkoka

All these settlements are marked on Figure 1. According to Andi Anthon, Wéula was a place where Luwuq royalty were either exiled or executed by drowning. It was forbidden to pass through Wéula (see Figure 8).

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