Social Dynamics and Local Trading Pattern in the Bantaeng Region, South Sulawesi (Indonesia) circa 17th century

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES PROGRAMME

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE
2005
Declaration:

This dissertation is submitted to the National University of Singapore in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma of any examining body. Except where specifically acknowledged, it is all the original work of the author.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

BARANGSIAPA yang bertakwa kepada Allah,
niscaya Dia akan mengadakan baginya jalan keluar (dari kesulitan).
Dan Allah akan memberinya rezeki dari jalan yang tiada disangka-sangkanya.
Dan barangsiapa yang bertawakal kepada Allah,
niscaya Allah akan mencukupkan (keperluan)-nya.”
(QS At-Thalaq: 2-3)

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous help and support from a number of people to whom I am forever indebted. My most sincere gratitude and heartfelt appreciation goes to Associate Professor Dr. John Norman Miksic, my ‘guru’ and my supervisor, for his full support, assistance, and guidance throughout the entire period of learning archaeology, especially during the last five years.

My thanks also go to Associate Professor Dr. Paul Kratoska, for his willingness to become my co-supervisor.

This thesis is based on a study initially supported by the Lee Foundation of Singapore and some private donors who do not want to be specifically mentioned here. It was conducted in the year of 2000 in the Bantaeng regency of South Sulawesi, Indonesia under the auspices of the Arkeologi Nasional (formerly Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional) and the Direktorat Sejarah dan Purbakala (formerly Direktorat Perlindungan Pembinaan Sejarah dan Purbakala) and their regional offices: the Balai Arkeologi Makassar and the Balai Pelestarian Sejarah dan Purbakala (formerly Suaka Perlindungan Sejarah dan Purbakala) South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi provinces. I gratefully acknowledge the funding from the Lee Foundation Singapore and some private donors both from Indonesia and Australia.
The fieldwork would not have been possible without the facilitation provided by many people, both personally and officially. My thanks go to Prof. Dr. Hasan Muarif Ambary, former head of the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Anom, Drs. Nunus Supardi, Drs. Hari Untoro Drajat, former Director of the Direktorat Perlindungan Pembinaan Sejarah dan Purbakala Republik Indonesia, and to Dr Harris Sukendar. Head of Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, all of whom gave their support and encouragement to me to do the research, both in my former research site in Southeastern Maluku Province, and in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi Province. Support has also been obtained from: Drs. Sabiruddin Sila and Dr. Ali Fadillah (head and former head of the Balai Arkeologi Makassar), and Drs. Gunadi M. Hum (former head of the Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Propinsi Sulsel-Sulteng), who generously assisted me during my research in South Sulawesi. My research was made possible because of their generosity in solving my financial problems and obtaining research permits both for fieldwork in their areas and for analyzing the material findings. The Archaeology Department, Gadjah Mada University, in Yogyakarta assisted me with a special permit which enabled me to conduct archaeological research both in Southeast Maluku Province and Bantaeng region (south Sulawesi), to use the Department facilities for analyzing artifacts and also to recruit some field assistants. Moreover, Karya Utama Citra Mandiri in Makassar provided me with basic data on the southern peninsula of south Sulawesi. I express my deepest thanks and my gratitude to all those individuals and institutions mentioned above whose support smoothed my research activities.

My sincere thanks and heartfelt appreciation go to The National University of Singapore, which provided me with a research scholarship from August 1998 to February 2002. Furthermore, the university employed me as a Teaching Assistant from August 2002.
to February 2003, for which I am most grateful. I also thank the Head of the Southeast Asian Studies Programme at NUS, Prof Dr. Ileto, the former heads Dr. Hong Lysa and Prof. Dr. Chua Beng Huat, and the administrative staff members at SEASP-NUS, particularly Ms. Lucy Tan, Mrs. Rohani bte Jantan, and Mrs. Rohani Binte Sungib, and former administration staff members Mrs. Farida and Ms. Gracie Lim who lend me their support.

I am grateful to Mr. Lee Seng Gie, director of the Lee Foundation-Singapore and his two staff members, Ms. Florence and Ms. Sally, who frequently assisted me with their expert help, supported me administratively during my two periods of fieldwork in Bantaeng region, and made it possible for me to attend the South Sulawesi History Seminar in Canberra in the year 2000.

I am thankful to the Dean of Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Dr. Syamsul Hadi, M.A.; S.U., and former Deans Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada: Prof. Dr. Safri Sairin, M.A., Prof. Dr. Djoko Suryo, Prof. Dr. Hj. Siti Chamamah Suratno, who gave permission to me to undertake advanced study in Singapore. Their support made it possible for me to continue my study in Singapore.

I am indebted to the Head of the Archaeology Department, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, Dr. Inajati Adrisijanti; Assistant to the Head of Department Dra. Anggraeni, M.A; the former head of Department, Drs. Tjahjono Prasodjo M.A, Drs. Djoko Dwiyanto, and all the staff who have supported me and taken over my duties during my five-year absence.

My thanks also go personally to Prof. Dr. Sumijati Atmosudiro, former head of the Archaeology Department, who encouraged me to undertake further study while I was working
under her guidance as an assistant to the Head of Department. I am thankful to Drs. Tjahjono Prasodjo, M.A. who generously agreed to take over my duties so that I was able to continue my study at NUS. My thanks also go to Dr. Daud Aris Tanudirjo; Dra. DS. Nugrahani; Marwi Kurniati; Sektiadi S.S; Ir. Augrit Gumalag; Ir. Marley, and Drs. Nur Tattoo who always enthusiastically provided me with data, ideas, drawings, and information. Thanks also to Dr. Inajati Adrisijanti Romli, my senior in the Indonesian Islamic Archaeology section, who let me go adventuring with ‘wild’ ways in understanding the past — both with aerial photography and ethnohistoric data.

My thanks go to Drs. Dukut Santoso, head of Balai Studi Konservasi Borobudur, who granted me access to analyses of metal artifacts in his office. Thanks especially go to Sukronedi, S.Si. for his metal analysis, to Karaeng Demmanari from Balai Arkeologi Makassar for porcelain analysis, and to Boedi Sampurna, MD from the Medical Faculty Gadjah Mada University for bone analysis. Their help and expertise have been very important for the completion of this dissertation.

My special appreciation goes to Prof. Dr. Campbell Macknight, Dr. David Bulbeck, Dr. Heddy Ahimsa-Putra, and the South Sulawesi community who introduced me to ‘Sulawesi Selatan History’. My thanks also go to Mr. Wayne Bougas who ‘opened’ Bantaeng to public interest.

Special thanks go to Mrs. Brigid Ballard for her precious time spent editing and helping me with the language from Down Under at the BJ house at Mollymook and Duffy Street in Canberra. Her support and help cannot be recompensed with just the words “thanks Mum”.

Special thanks also go to Ms. Gretchen Mary Engel, Mbak Nia, Marwi, Augrit, Atik, Ino’, Sekti, Ris Purbasari, Sony, Ahmad Rosyadi, Rahmadya, Neli, Mira, Adith and Mbak Rita who supported me in so many different ways at so many different times. Their support has made my plans run much more smoothly.

My deep apology and regret go to some people in southeast Maluku — Aru, Kei Kecil, Kei Besar, and Tanimbar islands — because I was not able to return there for further research due to the ongoing political conflict. The support of Fordatkotsu family in Saumlaki (Tanimbar island), the Koedoeboen family (Kei islands), Johny Lambers (Aru island), and Mr. Sudarto—head of the local airport in Dobo (Aru island) was valuable. I also pay respect to the late Mr. Eko (RIP), former Inspektur Wilayah Kabupaten Maluku Tenggara, who regrettably passed away upon hearing about the conflict in Kei Island which involved his people, neighbors, relatives and friends.

I must give credit to Dr. Peter Veth, Prof. Dr. Matthew Spriggs, and Dr. Sue O’Connor who introduced me to the significance of Aru Island. Mr. Piet Tallo-Governor of Nusa Tenggara Timur-formerly Bupati of Timor Tengah Selatan regency in NTT has stimulated my interest in exploring Timor. Moreover I thank the Center of Asia Pacific Studies Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, which gave an opportunity for me to do research in Babo-Bintuni, in Papua. My exploration of Maluku, west Timor, and Babo-Bintuni (Papua) has enlarged my understanding on the importance of studying the periphery.

The Thamrin Baso family (Makassar), the Gumalag family (Makassar), the Rukka Pabe family (Bantaeng), the Mappatan family (Bantaeng), and Drs. Amier Sampara (Bantaeng) all generously provided me with housing and information during my fieldwork in Makassar and Bantaeng. Their help was very significant as it enabled me to conduct my research in
‘the porcelain looting areas’. Moreover, two families in Yogyakarta, the Yatiman Syafei family (Kotagede-Yogyakarta) and the Bagus Suwarnono family (Yogyakarta) always supported me in every way, and I greatly appreciate this.

My gratitude also goes to my colleagues and my assistants during the fieldwork: Drs. Budianto Hakim, Sarjiyanto, S.S., Mansyur, Drs. Khaeruddin Daeng Paewa, Drs. M. Nur Tatto, Drs. Rusman Rukka, Dra. Nila Mappatan, Didik Suhartono, S.S., and Neli Triana, S.S. I express my heartfelt thanks to them for their patience and tolerance during my fieldwork. Moreover, my thanks go to Safri Habibu-the Macucuk expert; Syamsu-the man with ‘I want to help you mbak’; Najamuddin-the ex-prisoner, together with Syamsul, Roding, Adi, Syakban, Doding and his crews, who helped me with the hard digging work which was different from their own practice of looting. My thanks also go to the people of Bantaeng who readily recalled their memories and shared them with me during my fieldwork-especially Pinati of Gantarangkeke and Bapak-Bapak Kaum in Lembang Gantarangkeke and Onto. I really appreciated their help, support, and kindness of all sorts, which made it possible for me to write this dissertation.

Ms. Mala Rajo Sathian, Mrs. Yulianti Parani, Dr. Kyle Latinis, and Syah Alam have shared with me their experience of being a ‘student’ at NUS. Ms. Novida Abbas, Ms. Ratna Suranti, Mrs. Fera, Mr. Omar Chin, and Ms. Cheryl shared the first year with me in College Green, Fort Canning, and Kampung Glam. Novita, Buboy, Chua Bann, Henry, and Ed Tadem helped cherish the last stage of my study. Moreover, my special thanks go to Maila, Vincente, Ananda, and Henry Xu Ke who helped me during the last-minute work.

My life in Singapore for the past three years was based in Pasir Panjang, the
Indonesian House of Singapore. Shanty Syahrir, Riyana Miranti, Lina Irawati, Reyni Irriani, Siswa Rizali, Tengku Rahmatsyah, Aditya Sari, Cung Sopandi, Mahendra, Henry Feriady, Simon, Rita Manik, Ananda, Henrik and Richard have all shared the life there as one big family. The diverse experiences and ways of life of the Pasar Panjang residents have in one way or another enriched each one of us.

I thank to Mrs. Hashimah Johari with her library experience. My appreciation goes to Mrs. Heimun Miksic and Mrs. Rohani bte Jantan who made living in Singapore so much easier for me. Moreover, I thank Ibu Yeniar and Ibu Roos Hasyim who help me with passport administration in Jakarta and in Singapore.

My gratitude goes also to Lucia Krisdinarti MD (cardiologist) and Ibnu Purwanto MD (ontologist) who took the best care possible of my father until he passed away peacefully, and my mother who became strong enough to allow me to leave home to complete the revision of this dissertation. Their attention has been very important, both in treating my parents and in helping me personally to deal with the situation.

My very special gratitude goes to my dear parents: Prof. Drs. Asdi S. Dipodjojo (who passed away on the 11th of October 2004) and Prof. Dr. Endang Daruni, for their understanding, prayers, love, help, support, and encouragement to sustain this long work. Their continuing support is immeasurable. I also thank my house helpers, Siti Rubeti and Nurjanah, who always kept my artifacts in proper order, better than I do. My apology goes to my parents and family for my long absence which prevented me from performing my duty as a daughter and sister.

Finally and above all, I dedicate this work to my father and my mother and those who are ‘mothers’ to me, and to my Bapak.
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Bibliography
Abstract

Bantaeng, South Sulawesi, has traditionally been a transshipment harbor for spices. Two theoretical models applied to the analysis of interior trading patterns are the dendritic and the central place models. This study is designed to test whether one or the other of these models, or a hybrid model, is more productive for gaining an understanding of local trading during the 17th century in a region characterized by an elevated topography and Dendritic type of rivers which can not be navigated. This study will draw on historical records, archaeological data, and ethnographic research to generate a convincing explanation for historic trends.

Keywords:
Locational Analysis; Social stratification; Social dynamics; Trade networks; Archaeology; South Sulawesi; Bantaeng; circa 17th century.
Summary

The major trade networks operating in eastern Indonesia during the 17th century are relatively well known but there remains a significant gap in the historical records relating to the internal trade network. However, using archaeological and ethnographic approaches and drawing on two theoretical models, the dendritic and the central place models, used to analyze and interpret trading patterns, it is possible to reconstruct the nature of that trading system.

The dynamic of the local trading system, which continued throughout this period, is assumed to have played a particularly important role despite isolation from direct involvement in the expanding long distance trade. Little is known about how the local people sustained their trading activities during this period of change, or about the trading patterns that evolved to meet the new challenges.

In this thesis I have focused my research on Bantaeng, as this area has the advantage of being slightly peripheral to the main trade routes, in a mixed landscape region, and producing a range of goods for both local and wider markets. Bantaeng, a Kabupaten (regency) in South Sulawesi (Indonesia) has historically been, at various times, a vassal of three kingdoms: Majapahit, Luwu’ and Gowa. Several palaces (Ballaq Lompoa), which are fundamental to the local culture, have been recorded in this region. The Bantaeng region has also traditionally been a transshipment harbor for spices and other resources.

This study is designed to test which of these models, or a hybrid model, is more productive for gaining an understanding of local interior trading during the 17th century in a region characterized by an elevated topography. The main contribution which this study will make is to draw not only on historical records but also on archaeological data and more current ethnographic research in order to generate a convincing explanation for historical trading trends.

Based on the archaeological and ethnographical approaches, it can be seen that the elite local group created a long distance trading network during the peak trading period of the 16th century to gain access to luxury items used for burials and ceremonials. In contrast, the non-elite trading groups developed their local trading activities to meet their subsistence needs. A significant shift in trading patterns along the coastal area of Bantaeng occurred in the 17th century when the VOC began to dominate the transshipment activity, a change that was parallel to the introduction of Islam by the Gowa Kingdom. Evidence for the separation of political and sacred centers from the trading centers, the unequal distribution of luxury objects, and in land ownership supports this interpretation. This study has found that a hybrid local trading pattern in Bantaeng was characteristic of the dynamic social adaptation of the Bantaeng region in this period.

Keywords:
Locational analysis; Social stratification; Social dynamics; Trade networks; Archaeology; South Sulawesi; Bantaeng; circa 17th century.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Studies of material culture support research on relations between various groups of people and cultures and their environment. Imported goods are used not only in daily activities but also to support attempts to acquire political power, and social and religious status. Conclusions drawn from the study of material culture can be used to interpret the influence of external cultures upon local culture and the processes by which people adapt to new stimuli and conditions. Therefore, a study of material culture helps in understanding cultural contact and also how people adapt to external influences. However, cultural contact should not be viewed purely from the standpoint of contact between local and non-local culture intertwined with the environment. Contacts and relations between groups of people in the local region and how they adapt to the environment, including responses to threats and dangers, are also important. Geographical conditions must be taken into account in accounting for the movement of people and goods, and also for the growth of settlements and centers of activities. In addition, a more detailed understanding of development in a region can be used to interpret the development of wider areas.

Travelers and traders have recorded much evidence for varied and specific cultural developments in Southeast Asia. A combination of European and Chinese records is basic to the understanding of the Nanhai or Nanyang (South Seas-Southeast Asia) area. However, historical sources alone are insufficient to define the relationship between migration and cultural development; archaeological research is of particular importance in this region.
Sa Huynh and Dong Son bronze technology (Bellwood 1985; 2000), Indian artifacts (beads, seals, religious statues), inscriptions in Sanskrit, Chinese goods such as silk, coins, and porcelain reached Southeast Asia through trade, which reached its peak in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Europeans became involved in a Southeast Asian trading network. The development of settlements and states, especially along the coast, paralleled the increase in overseas transportation and trade links, and this development was recorded by European traders who reported their observations on ports (Cortesao 1944; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962, 1970; Sutherland and Bree 1987; Reid 1988; 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Nayati 1994; Tarling 1992). Forest products of the Indonesian Archipelago had become well known in Asia and Europe since the first century A.D. at the latest (Cortesao 1944; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Wolters 1967; Hall 1981; 1992; Reid 1988, 1992b, 1993a, 1993b; Tarling 1992; Swalding 1996; Bulbeck, Reid, Tan and Wu 1998).

Studies of migration and cultural contact have tended to emphasize the role of international trade and have neglected local economic systems. Such economic systems, too, are often treated in isolation from local political and social systems, although such studies should clearly be interrelated (Binford 1996; Schortman and Urban 1996, Junker 1990a, 1990b, 1994). Economic systems seem to have been significantly intertwined with other systems, and trading networks should be seen also as including social and religious activities encompassing considerable political involvement of the elites.

Moreover, an economic system does not only affect people in political centers. The existence of Buddhist candi in Sumatra, the Kutei Sanskrit inscription (Kalimantan Selatan) and the use of the title raja reinforce the conclusion that commercial activity is connected with cultural exchange. The distribution of porcelain and Hindu-Buddhist symbols found in
sites within Southeast Asia, especially in the Indonesian Archipelago, provides evidence of intensive contact in the late pre-European and early European contact periods (14th to 17th centuries) between coastal and interior peoples, such as the discovery of Buddhist images in south Sulawesi—at Sempaga (west coast of south Sulawesi, and Takalar (south coast of South Sulawesi—west of Bantaeng region), bronze drums in Kei island (Maluku). These objects were not found in modern administrative centers but in smaller settlements.

Archaeological evidence of contact and exchange can be found in many sites in Indonesia, each of which has distinctive features in terms of quantitative and qualitative data. This evidence can be correlated with differences in intensity of contact, distance from main trade routes, time period, availability of socioeconomic networks, and character of the environment (Steward 1953, 1955; Renfrew 1975; Hughes 1977; Hutterer 1977; Gudeman 1986; Brumfield and Earle 1987; Dora 1997). Different areas of the Archipelago experienced different levels of socioeconomic complexity because of many factors including local resource distribution and topography, which in turn affected the nature of contact with foreign traders. Resources from the periphery were withdrawn for consumers in the centre (Miksic 1979; Champion 1989; Junker 1990a, 1990b; Peregrine 1996; Renfrew 1996; Swalding 1996). Contacts between resource-providing areas and outsiders who sought these resources have affected local cultures. The role of the individual as the main agent of adaptation has also been very significant (Ellen 1982; Barret 2000; Brumfield 2000; Nayati 2001a).

Political and ethnic boundaries are difficult to define archaeologically as similar archaeological assemblages can be found in different regions as a result of the movement of people across the land barriers. Similar artifacts have been reported both in coastal and
inland areas. Chinese porcelain of the Indonesian Classic Period (8th to 15th centuries) has been found in temples in hinterland central Java (such as in Borobudur, Plaosan, Sewu) and Sumatra (Padang Lawas and Padang Roco) as well as lowland habitation sites in Sumatra (Jambi, Palembang, Riau, and Kota Cina) and Java (Trowulan) (Miksic 1979; McKinnon 1984; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 2002). During the early Islamic Period, Chinese and Vietnamese porcelains were used as decoration in mosques in north coastal Java (Demak, Kudus) and south Sulawesi, and as decoration in Islamic graveyards in hinterland east Java and south Sulawesi. In early Islamic capital cities, both in coastal and hinterland areas (such as Banten, Cirebon, Demak, Kotagede, Plered, Kartosura, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Trowulan, and Sumenep, Palembang, Jambi, Singkawang, Banjarmasin, Tenggarong, Gowa, Bone, Ternate, and Tidore), porcelain has also been recorded. Porcelain is also found in settlements in South Sulawesi, Maluku, Irian (Papua), Lesser Sunda, Java, Kalimantan, and Sumatra. The existence of porcelain of similar types and dates in different areas within the Indonesian Archipelago is proof that the movements of goods and people were not restricted by geographic, political, or ethnic boundaries.

In some areas, local religions blended with Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic religions to form new systems. In other areas, local people had little contact with imported faiths. Inland cultures in Indonesia have often been largely studied in the context of their political and social systems without acknowledging the economic systems involved. The role of hinterland groups in distributing material culture has been generally neglected by previous generations of archaeologists. What is interesting is that hinterland groups often remained culturally separate from lowlanders while uniting with them in a single complex economic network.
Indonesian archaeology has concentrated mainly on single sites. Regional studies have been neglected. Regional studies are necessary for understanding cultural evolution, because connections between sites and artifacts in different sites are not isolated, but are representatives of long-term processes and can provide data on many variables. In future one hopes that more studies will concentrate on the connections between sites on different islands, and between coastal and hinterland regions.

Another deficit which this study hopes to ameliorate is the fact that archaeological study in Indonesia is still concentrated in Java. Little archaeology has been done in Sumatra, Bali, Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia. As a result, the archaeography of Indonesia is still mostly about pre-modern Java. Indonesian children only study the history of sites in Java, such as Prambanan, Borobudur, Sangiran, mosques and churches. Information on old churches in Ambon, or old mosques in Ternate, or such commodities as sandalwood and gaharu is not widely known. In reality many east Indonesian commodities were important in the past, but it seems as if the achievements of east Indonesia are not worthy of comparison with Javanese culture.

Previous studies of capital cities in pre-modern Indonesia have attempted to understand urban physical and social structures but have not yet focused on the relations between the old capitals with their hinterlands, which presumably supported the life of the capital city. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Banten’s capital city has been examined as a center of political and economic activity (Nayati 1985; Guillot and Ambary 1990; Guillot, Nurhakim, Wibisono and Adhyatman 1996). Archaeological studies have been conducted at the capitals of Majapahit in Trowulan (Arifin 1983), and Mataram Islam kingdoms (Kotagede, Plered, Kartosura, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta (Nayati 1982; 1987; Adrisijanti n.d.) but
studies of relations between centers and peripheries of kingdoms, as well as studies focusing on the periphery of a center, have not been undertaken.

Peripheries are not always far from the centers; some lie on their immediate outskirts. Peripheries are significant potential objects for study since important resources came from the periphery, both directly and indirectly to the center (Champion 1989; Peregrine 1996; Kowalewski 1996; Finstein 1996). Lack of this kind of study in Indonesian archaeology can be related to the political conditions of the modern Archipelago, in which both politics and research have been highly centralized in Java and Sumatra since Independence in 1945.

This inequality of emphasis in archaeological research results from the fact that the research activity has been controlled by the national archaeological research center (in Jakarta) and its branches (Balai Arkeologi or in short BALAR)\(^1\) while heritage site protection offices (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala or in short SPSP which in January 2003 were renamed Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala or BP3),\(^2\) which are more numerous than BALAR, only assume responsibility for protecting sites after research has been completed. Limitation of professional staff availability also has resulted in imbalance between provinces and a concentration on Java since professional archaeologists mostly were born, trained, and employed in Java. Limitations of budgets and difficulties of inter-island transportation also have influenced the dominant position of Java in Indonesian archaeology. Many outer islands in Indonesia are now experiencing political problems (West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, and Aceh), which has made the gap wider and wider.

\(^1\)There are eight BALAR offices: Bandung, Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Makassar, Banjarmasin, Manado, Palembang, and Medan.

In Java, regional studies are still not applied widely either. Environmental archaeological studies have been conducted in old royal capitals (Majapahit and Banten) and in rock shelters in Gunung Kidul (Yogyakarta). In Trowulan, research has taken the form of intensive survey aimed at using the distribution of material culture to draw inferences regarding land use within the city.

A study which attempted to connect coastal, and hinterland areas of Majapahit was conducted in Medowo, a site interpreted as one of Majapahit’s ports (Kusumohartono 1990). However the study concentrated on an attempt to define Medowo’s characteristics rather than its connections with the center at Trowulan, or with other peripheral areas of the kingdom. Locational analysis has not yet been applied to archaeological research in Indone-

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There are 10 SPSP, located in: West Sumatra-Riau provinces in Padang, Jambi and Bengkulu provinces in Jambi, West Java, Banten, and Lampung provinces in Serang, DI Yogyakarta in Kalasan, Central Java in Klaten, East Java in Trowulan, Bali-NTB-NTT in Denpasar, Papua in Jayapura, South and Southeast Sulawesi provinces in Makassar.
sia. This could also be related to the lack of financial support available for archaeology, since regional-scale research requires significant funding.

Regional study in Indonesian archaeology is needed to begin to examine numerous questions, which can only be answered by research beyond the site level. Indications of what such an approach might achieve in relation to the connections between hinterland sites have been given by such studies as Bulbeck in South Sulawesi (1992) and on coastal-hinterland relations such as Miksic’s (1979), Drakard (1982, 1990), and Andaya (1993a) in Sumatra. Moreover, archaeological study on inter-island relationships: between small islands, between large islands, and between small and large islands, is another type of relationship which should be examined since it is known that all these types of relationships played parts in early trading networks (Andaya 1991; Leirissa 1994, 2000; Swadling 1996). So, understanding of complex economic network is important to be studied. Bantaeng region of South Sulawesi (Indonesia) is an interesting area to be examined this sites have been studied by many students from Hasanudin University, Indonesia Archaeological office and foreign scholars. However this site is still unreconstruct especially their local economic networks.

1. Geographic Models in Regional Archaeology

Geographical models, especially central place and dendritic models, show significant potential for reconstructing socio-economic systems within hinterlands, where historical data is often absent, and between hinterland and coastal areas (Haggett 1966; Crumley 1976; Haggett, Cliff and Frey 1977; Bradford and Kent 1977; Champion 1989). The central
place model is similar to the core-periphery model, which emphasizes the role of the core in controlling periphery areas located beside and close to core or central areas. The main focus of the central place/core-periphery model is on the relationship between core and periphery.

The dendritic model emphasizes the relationship between areas of contrasting transport potential and population density, such as land and sea, or mountains, hinterlands, and flat coastal areas, which favors the development of dendritic or branching patterns of transport and communication typical of river systems. A condition of this model is that the producers have only one possible outlet for their produce due to transport limitations. The producers located upriver bring down their commodities to trading or collecting centers at the intersections of rivers. From there other people bring them down to other higher-level centers located at other nodes of river transport, and eventually the commodities reach the highest-level center located on the coast—at the mouth of a river (Bronson 1977). Bronson (1977) noted that central trading sites on coasts have potential competitors at other trading centers on different rivers. A condition of the model is that people who live in one river system cannot travel to other river drainages to market their products. Miksic (1985) argued that this model was not applicable to the Sumatran case in the Indonesian Classical period, because there is evidence that people were able to walk across the watersheds to other drainages to sell their products, thus obtaining potentially better prices. It is however possible that in smaller watersheds than the Musi and Batanghari of South and central Sumatra, dendritic systems did appear.

The implications of this model for political organization are important. The dendritic system is normally associated with dominance of the periphery by the core, which has a
monopolistic position in the marketing system. Demonstration that a dendritic pattern ex-
isted in a particular place during a particular historical era would imply the existence of
certain political institutions as well. The dendritic pattern is associated with colonial resource
extraction, for example.

The central place/core-periphery model emphasizes the autonomy (whether political
or economic) of the hinterland, whereas the dendritic model stresses the political and eco-
nomic dependence of the hinterland on the coastal area. Those two models can also be
applied to wider geographical conditions. So, the periphery area of a hinterland core can
include islands.

The central place model (CPM) can be used to account for inter-hinterland, inter-
coastal and inter-island relationships, depending on the scale of the phenomena under study.
The dendritic model can be used to understand competition between trading centers both
on the same coastline and on different islands.

In theory, there is no reason why central place/core-periphery and dendritic models
could not be used to understand different networks of relations in the same area. A kind of
economic “dualism” may in fact emerge, according to which some kinds of interaction may
be best explained by the CPM model, while the dendritic model may best explain others. It
is not necessary to assume that they are mutually exclusive. Analysis of interaction between
CPM and dendritic models will definitely assist the archaeologist who is attempting to re-
construct patterns of political and economic dominance in areas for which historical sources
are inadequate to reach such conclusions. Research therefore are: to locate ancient centers;
to examine the history of the development of spatial systems in south Sulawesi in order to
detect any changes, to understand what the functions of centers, and to decide what kind of local analysis model is appropriate for the Bantaeng region (South Sulawesi, Indonesia).

2. Historical Background of Trading Activity in the Indonesian Archipelago

The study of Malacca provides a significant insight into the relations between sites on the Asian mainland and islands within Asia—including relations between coastal areas and between coastal and interior areas—and European countries. Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic ideas and material culture were intensively and widely distributed in the Indonesian Archipelago from the seventh century onward. Communities made contact by sea and by rivers, as well as overland along roads, including paths and tracks. Southeast Asians exported commodities through Malacca to other parts of Asia, and later to European consumers also.

Several historical sources list many commodities from the interior of the Indonesian Archipelago which supported international trade after the 15th century, such as sandalwood, cloves, nutmeg, mace, and other agricultural products (Cortesao 1944; van Leur 1955; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Reid 1983). Most of these studies refer to the role of local rulers and Orang Kaya in trading activity (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Kathirithamby-Wells 1969; Reid 1988). Most of them recall how the local states were actively involved in dealing with intermediaries who would then re-sell their commodities to local trading ports along the coast and on to the main entreports, either Banten or Malacca. In some areas the local rulers reserved control over the local trading resources. The interior-coastal trade links and the coastal-to-coastal links were integrated into a single larger trading network, although the exact nature of these local interior networks is still unclear. Small traders have not been reckoned as important factors in the development of international trading activities. Never-
theless, how the sea traders obtained their products from the resource-providing areas—which were located in the interior or on offshore islands—has not been clearly described despite the importance of this activity.

2.1. Rice Trade and Inter-island Networks

Historical studies hint that local interior trading systems flourished. In Sumatra, interior products still make their way to local entreports using the hulu-hilir network, which gives some indication of the traditional trade connections between interior and the coast, and along the coasts (Bronson 1977; Miksic 1979; Drakard 1982, 1989; Andaya 1993a, 1993b; Christie 1982, 1991, 1993; Kathirithamby-Wells 1993b; Nayati 1994). In another historical example, rice, produced in the hinterland, was an important export product for the local Javanese during the 9th to 15th centuries (van Leur 1955; Cooley 1971; Ellen and Glover 1974; Miksic 1979; Christie 1991). In circa 15th century South Sulawesi became a rice producer exporting to the eastern part of Indonesia.

In East Java, the centers of the Hindu-Buddhist states in the interior supplied the main trading ports with local agricultural produce, especially rice, which was consumed locally and also regionally as it was exchanged for the products of the Maluku region (van Leur, 1955; Miksic 1979; Christie 1991). This distribution of rice to other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago was directly related to the growth of other trading centers both on the north coast of Java and the east coast of Sumatra as traders stopped over in many harbors before reaching Maluku or Malacca (van Leur 1955; Meilink-Roelofs 1962; Tarling 2000). Rice was one of many items traded for local products as Javanese gongs and Kain Timor are found in Tanimbar and Kei Island of Southeast Maluku. The Javanese introduced rice as a
staple food to eastern parts of Indonesia as those areas are not suitable for rice cultivation and the Malukans’ traditional subsistence food was sago (Latinis 1999, 2000). In the past 500 years the spread of swidden agriculture is correlated with the gradual movement of rice agriculture eastward.

2.2. Control of Land and Surplus Production

In the pre-independence period the rulers and royal families owned most of the land in Indonesia. The surplus production belonged not to the common people but to the rulers. The control of periphery resources for the needs of core areas resulted in inequality between elite and non-elite groups (Payter and McGuire 1991; Mroszowski 1991; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Hayden 1995; Peregrine 1996). Only the ruler and the elite might have produced “for profit”. As resources are politically very important, the elite will act to consolidate control over resources and surpluses, which they exchange to obtain prestige commodities (LiPuma 1988; Hayden 1995; Schortman and Urban 1996; Komter 1996; Goody 1998). Exclusive control over certain products for long periods implies stability in power. Nevertheless, lower level people need to survive; the lower class obtains ‘return tribute’ from their landlords.

Javanese inscriptions and reliefs on temples provide information on local trading networks, which involved not only locals but also foreigners. Exchange between producers and non-producers took place in ‘trading centers’—an open space. People were not only farmers and fishers but also produced tools and other daily necessities, such as earthenware and metal tools.
The workers’ management of time between working for subsistence, producing tools, and working for their lord and Gods was significant in the development of trading activity. Social organization in interior Java and Sumatra depended on temples. Although during the Islamic period in 18th century Indonesia, the religious hierarchy moved from temple to mosque, the producers still belonged to their lords. However people need food for themselves, including for offerings. Maintaining power using festivals was a form of redistribution of ‘wealth’ from lords to commoners. Social mixing might often occur during the festivals including trading activities, which mostly were conducted outside the ceremonial center.

It is difficult to specify the nature of the connections between producers, traders, and consumers in pre-modern society. Many different scenarios are possible. In many cases non-producers—elites—consumed other people’s products. The connections between material flows and social relations are one of the most significant attributes of economic systems. Goods were distributed and redistributed both in simple and complex societies, both through reciprocity and centralized movement (Sahlins 1974). There are many types of models related to reciprocity and centralized movement of goods related to socio-cultural life, which affect the positive and negative gains for the actors—emotionally and in terms of real wealth.

It is possible to understand the meaning of “wealth” obtained from exchange from many sources of data, including archaeological findings. Unequal distribution of wealth can be studied from unequal distribution of archaeological finds (Hayden 1995; Drennan and Quattrin 1995; Price 1995). However, unequal distribution of finds can be due to many factors and cannot be generalized even in one culture area with different topographical conditions such as hinterlands and coasts. Moreover, the meanings and values of identical
objects could be different as in one area certain goods are rare items while in others they are more easily obtained. Definitions of “wealth” might be different: perhaps the hinterland people prized cloth more than porcelain. Thus differential preservation of artifacts also becomes a variable.

The characteristics of local trading in responding to the demands of regional and international trading are important, since the response may be different as the trading actors have differed, the type of consumption has changed, and the mode of trading developed—from reciprocal to cash and carry; from silent barter to direct cash exchange. A wide variety of exchange systems have been recorded ethnographically: interior people bring their harvest to intersections of roads, and river junctions and mouths to exchange it for non-local goods brought by foreigners; coastal people visit interior people in order to obtain local products. The exchange activity may sometimes be direct but sometimes indirect, it may take place in permanent trading places but sometimes elsewhere; and it may be organized or spontaneous. Different types of contact, which relate to distribution of goods, are associated both with the system of land use and the strategies of adjustment adopted by the people (Ingot 2000).

Exchange sites along the coast, on navigable rivers and in fertile areas are valuable locations in the search for traces of past behavior as recorded in material culture. Such sites are mostly safe and have abundant subsistence resources both from their own and adjacent areas, and are well populated. On the other hand there were pirates, who re-sold the goods on the black market (Cortesao 1944; Warren 1981). In addition, most exchange centers along the coasts were also political centers but other political centers sometimes acted in dualistic fashion—as political and pirate centers, such as Haru in east coast Sumatra, Jolo
and Makassar (Cortesao 1944; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Miksic 1979; Warren 1981; Sutherland and Bree 1987). Moreover, inter-island trading was risky not only because of pirates but also weather.

In simple cases, products flowed to the coastal sites from one center to other places along the coast (van Leur 1955; Schrieke 1955; Wolters 1967; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Drakard 1982; Kathirithamby-Wells 1987; Andaya 1993a; Nayati 1994). However, some local commodities also came from the interior—such as in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Java—with the flow of interior commodities to exchange centers on the coast using rivers and various types of unsealed roads including tracks and paths. Nevertheless, when the commodities were not from the interior, they flowed from source areas to the center—that is from the periphery to the central exchange place (Fox 1977; Champion 1989; Andaya 1993; Peregrine 1996; Renfrew 1996; Leirissa 1994; 2000; Swadling 1996; Nayati, 1994; 1998). However trading activity was under royal control, in specific places under royal officials (van Leur 1955; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Hall 1976; Miksic 1979; Reid 1988; 1993).

The flow of different quantities and qualities of goods from different places to the trading centers relates to many factors. Strategic locations could have advantages over other producing areas, such as at the intersection of roads or rivers, or at the border between mountains and low lands. A hierarchy of settlements ranked in terms of size does not automatically indicate a political ranking as well, as in the gateway theoretical model (Hirth 1978). Settlements, may act as ‘mediators’ for producing areas with low transportation development in long distance trade (Miksic 1979). The gateway area is often located at the border between areas of different productivity (Hirth 1978; Miksic 1979). The gateway
pattern is similar to the dendritic marketing pattern as people bring their commodities to the settlements, after which the goods are brought to trading centers.

A hierarchy of exchange places may develop in relation to the quantity and variety of commodities available, as traders minimize the risks in transporting their bulky goods from one place to another (Renfrew 1975; Macknight 1976; Evers 1988; Champion 1989; Junker 1990b; Santley and Alexander 1992; Sutherland 2000). Different levels of settlement size and facilities lead to the identification of hierarchies and functions of settlements.

The history of trading activity, especially inland in Indonesia, is still unclear. Historical documents written by non-local people after the 17th century, together with local records, help us in understanding trading activity along the coast. The information from foreigners’ reports is necessarily limited since the foreigners were not allowed to travel inland; not going directly to sources area, and they only traveled for certain periods of limited duration. Archaeological studies on coastal areas have so far only concentrated on the main harbors such as Banten, Jakarta, Demak, Gresik, Tuban, (Java), Kota Cina, Palembang, Jambi (Sumatra), Gowa, Luwu (Sulawesi) and Banda (Maluku), but no archaeological studies have concentrated on small trading centers/harbors or settlements along the coast. Archaeological and historical studies, which have examined interior areas mostly, concentrated on special subjects, such as old capitals and temples. Archaeological data can here play an important role in adding to our understanding of local trading activity, as in the case of the products of the ironsmiths and potters which were not recorded in historical sources (Nayati 1994). Most data has been collected from ethnography and ethno history, but little has been obtained from archaeological studies. As a result, information about Indonesia in the past, especially circa 16th century is abundant but scattered. In addition, archaeological data
related to trading activity: coastal-hinterland, hinterland-hinterland, and coastal-coastal networks have not been studied intensively yet.

Ethnographical studies can also often benefit the understanding of past trading activity, as trade is always linked to other exchange activity, as in the case of the dowry and (reciprocal) gift exchange (Mauss 1954. 1997; Sahlin 1974). Such exchange activities (including trading) are incorporated within the social organization, just as the political organization can be involved in exchange activity due to the presence of gateways for the commodities and the imposition of forms of taxes. Social behavior in trading can be used in inferring the structure of authority and other activities in the past.

It is difficult to reconstruct the nature and extent of the involvement of local people in trade, both in the center and beyond the center. The people on the outskirts supported themselves and also supplied the central area, but the social arrangements by which people actually conducted exchanges of various types of products remains uncertain. It is probable that different types of products were exchanged through different types of mechanisms, even in otherwise rather “simple” societies, even in the hinterlands of 14th century Sulawesi. Central place trading in the hinterland was probably done locally, probably through a combination of gateway or dendritic patterns and central-periphery or central place systems in connection with long distance trade.

The main commodities traded cannot always be determined archaeologically because the buyers removed the export commodities from the trading places. Evidence of exchanges largely consists of artifacts, used and unused, which are often located outside, rather than in, the trading place (or “market”). The types of local commodities, the quality and quantity of the commodities and how local people obtained them are still largely unknown.
Many unanswered questions about local trading activity remain: how did the local people after the 16th century survive when outsiders became involved in the local system? How were the local people—both coastal and hinterland—affected by the international trading network, and how did they co-operate with those activities? What local networks were formed? If they took part in the trading network, how far did they travel for trading purposes? What kind of structure and network did they develop to support their involvement?

Tracks and paths have been used widely all over the world (Trombold 1991; Earle 1991), both to make shortcuts and as the basic network of communication. Tracks and paths are still common routes used by Indonesians, whether in urban or rural areas. However, it is difficult to study tracks and paths archaeologically. People in Bintuni, Babo (Papua), Tanimbar, Kei Besar, Kei Kecil and Aru island use tracks and paths to go to their ladang, forest (collecting firewood and hunting), and other villages (personal observation). From Sumatra to Papua, Indonesians going to market still make frequent use of paths and tracks (for an example from Lamalera, see Mahartono 1993; Aru island, see Nayati 1996).

Tracks and paths are only wide enough for one person, so if several people are walking in a group, they will walk in a row. Sometimes paths are easier to spot, because buffalo—or cattle-drawn vehicles, which create deep depressions, have used them. These networks however easily change when people find better and shorter routes than before, or disappear because of landslides and are covered by vegetation. They can also change if settlements move or are abandoned or are destroyed by warfare of the population is affected by epidemics.
Locations of paths and tracks can be hypothetically reconstructed through analysis of topography both along the coast, along rivers, cliffs, at the border of forests, and between plains (Haggett 1966; Fox 1977; Baker 1978; Carr 1984; Hietala 1984; Hyslop 1984, 1991; Gilman 1987; Junker 1990b; Earle 1991; Gorenstein and Pollard 1991; Hage and Harary 1991; Hirth 1991; Beteille 1994; Arnold 1995; Nayati 1998b; Heersink 1999; Barrett 2000, 2001; Hodder 2000). Moreover, the distribution of material culture can help identify the possible locations of paths and tracks between distributions sites located in isolated areas. New techniques of remote sensing are also beginning to assist archaeologists in identifying ancient roads, though at present the benefits of this approach are limited to dry areas with little vegetation.

Combinations of remote sensing, old maps and drawings of cities give valuable data on paths and tracks within old cities, for instance in Plered, Kotagede, Banten (Nayati 1982; 1985; 1987; 1994) and Trowulan (Arifin 1983). Paths and tracks there are found along the city walls, between houses within compounds, connecting compounds with roads, and between city wall and outside city wall.

The effects of trading contacts were not limited to the distribution of goods but involved the whole social system (Clark 1989). For example, the introduction of new forms of religion has strongly influenced local cultures. In the Indonesian Archipelago, trading activity has been an important cause of social transformation, when applied to the inter-island and inter-local networks. The process of interaction between local and non-local cultures is a fascinating topic as the results of such interaction would be different in each site and in each time period. Trading activity is a basis for much inter-cultural interaction, which functions on the inter-island, inter-site, and inter-community levels. The interaction of peoples
using local and long-distance networks is important in understanding the development of culture, for the adaptation of culture is related to intensive contact and interaction. Studies of such interactions are rare, especially in Indonesian archaeology. One of the few such studies conducted is that of Ongkodarmo (1998) in Banten.

Trading activity can be seen as an important tool of communication in the Indonesian Archipelago. It connected the interior to the coastal region, and coastal to coastal locations, which could be inter-island, international, or intercontinental. During trading activities, the exchange is not merely of goods, but also of language, technology, ideas, and other influences. Also the ability to absorb foreign culture differs between places, which lead to the special characteristics of different sites. Thus, trading is an essential topic for archaeological study as it assists in understanding the interaction of people and ideas.

The objectives of the research therefore are: to locate ancient centers; to examine the history of the development of spatial systems in south Sulawesi in order to detect any changes, to understand what the functions of centers, and to decide what kind of local analysis model is appropriate for the Bantaeng region. The answer to this question will help us to understand the nature of political development in Bantaeng, and will also provide a model which can be tested against data from other parts of Indonesia.

3. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 covers general theoretical questions concerning the relationships between trade, settlement patterns, religion, geography, and archaeology, examines some theoretical models, and attempts to apply these to particular case in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The focus of research narrows from the
Indonesian archipelago to Kabupaten (Regency) Bantaeng, and the relevant geographical, archaeological, and historical contexts are surveyed. The aims, methodology, and sources of data collection are summarized, together with some analysis of the ecological, historical, literary, archaeological, and geographic data collected. Some problems encountered in the field and the laboratory are examined in relation to their effects on the validity of the fieldwork and the limitations of the results and conclusions.

Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework of the present study. After a comparative analysis of trading patterns within Indonesia in both historical/archaeological and ethnographical terms, dendritic and central place models are examined in order to understand the advantages and limitations of applying them to the Bantaeng region.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the historical development of the Bantaeng region of South Sulawesi during the Post-Independence Period. Ethnographic data on cultural change is examined in relation to both social and economic organization.

Chapters 5 and 6 concentrate on the archaeological study of Bantaeng. Data from earlier studies is combined with recent archaeological work by the author of this dissertation in order to understand the social, cultural, and economic characteristics of the Bantaeng region circa 17th century.

The final chapter presents the conclusions reached in this study. It focuses particularly on the utility of the three possible models—dendritic, central place, or hybrid—and discusses explanations for changes which have taken place over time and the importance of external versus internal factors in the evolution of the settlement patterns of Bantaeng.
4. The Bantaeng Region as a Site for Research

The Indonesian Archipelago occupies a strategic location in the eastern world, since it is situated between two main bodies of water, the Indian Ocean in the west and the South China Sea in the east. Historical and archaeological evidence has led scholars to believe that trading activities between local and non-local people have been conducted in this region since prehistoric times and increased significantly in the late 15th century. The local people provided local and non-local commodities to fulfill the demands of both local and distant consumers, and these were exchanged for such luxury goods as ceramics, beads, weapons, and textiles. South Sulawesi, especially Bantaeng, is pivotal to a study of early Southeast Asian trading activities, especially those that supported the international spice trade, many aspects of which are still obscure. While this area did not supply the main trading products, it played an important role in supporting maritime traders who stopped in Bantaeng’s harbor on the way to the Spice Islands, Maluku (Indonesia).

Spice trade activity has had effects on the development of Maluku region and adjacent areas. Spices have been transferred from sources to trading centers, which then are traded for non-local commodities—both transferred from hinterland and from adjacent coastal areas. These have affected the development of the local network, exploring local and non-local needs related to their human and nature sources—both in Maluku islands and adjacent areas. It also has affected local culture, however the development of local groups has been unrecorded in detail and unequally treated between all local groups. These data then have been used to draw inferences on general local life, local development, and local history. The spice trade activity has been very important in development of local groups, however, un-
equal study has affected the ability of scholars to generalize regarding the effects of trading activities.

Bantaeng region is located on an important point along the route of the Maluku spice trade. The south coast of Sulawesi—along the spice trading route—has been involved in trading activity as seen from non-local artefacts found along the coastal areas including in the
Map: 2
Location of Bantaeng Regency in South Sulawesi, Takalar-Jeneponto-Bantaeng and Bulukumba
Bantaeng region. Those regions supported the spice trade, but the regions’ role in the trade is still unclear.

Bantaeng is among the areas with the most potential to seek archaeological evidence to throw light on the development of ancient long-distance maritime trading activities. It was a vassal of the 14th century Majapahit kingdom (see Robson 1995). Evidence that Bantaeng was a vassal of Majapahit (such as carvings of Surya Majapahit, or other Majapahit symbols) or other political centers (such as Luwu, Bone, Gowa), or was independent in circa 14th century is not available.

Bantaeng in circa 14th to 19th centuries developed from a traditional society with a local political system to a part of a large centrally controlled political system under the Netherlands Indies, when the area became an *afdeeling* (district). The Bantaeng coastal area was affected by war as the VOC stationed troops in Bantaeng in the mid-17th century.
The political turmoil between Gowa-Bone and the VOC in the second half of the 17th century led to the involvement of Bantaeng people in the war, at the end of which Bone and VOC occupied Bantaeng, after Bantaeng was destroyed.

The establishment of Batavia as a central trading post brought local trading networks under the monopoly of the VOC. Before the VOC used Bantaeng as a base for the war, this site and adjacent areas had played a significant role in the busy international network of trading in spices in the Maluku islands and also in local trading activity (Andaya 1984, 1993a, 1993b; Evers 1988, 1991; Leiriza 1994) The involvement of the VOC in monopolizing the spice trade in Maluku islands affected the local trading network. Spices were sold to traders who stopped in Makassar. When the VOC’s troops were stationed in Bantaeng harbor, the local trading activities were affected. Many local ships which often brought Maluku spices could not enter Makassar harbor, because Makassar was under VOC control. However, the precise course of development of the Bantaeng region, and especially its marketing system, has not yet been established as a substantial quantity of data has been removed unrecorded from this area through looting of archaeological sites.

4.1. Bantaeng’s Modern Situation

Bantaeng is now a Kabupaten, with a capital city Kota Bantaeng, located in the lowland along the main road connecting Makassar to Bulukumba and Sinjai/Bone. Bantaeng consists of 39,583 hectares, with six districts (kecamatan), in 27 sub-districts (Kelurahan), containing 75 villages (Dusun), 187 groups of kampons (Rukun Kampung) and 1,074 groups of household (Rukun Tetangga). Population in 1998 was 167,828 (Alexander 2000). This regency is typical of Indonesian regencies, in that it consists of one urban area with
several districts, sub-districts, and villages. Bantaeng city is the main center of administra-
tion, transportation trading, education, and entertainment.

In this area, altitude defines the cultivation activity, which affects the economic condi-
tion of the majority of the population. Bantaeng is drained by many rivers, running parallel at a distance of approximately 1-3 Kilometers from each other. Twenty-four rivers (but only thirteen have names) in Bantaeng region are of radial type, with few tributaries.

The Bantaeng river system is not used for irrigation or navigation as the river valleys are deep and V-shaped. The cultivation of land in Bantaeng depends on rainfall, as also is the case in neighboring Jeneponto and Bulukumba. Bantaeng is dry; the average rainfall is 1,374 mm/year (Alexander 2000; Bappeda 1998). In December to April the rainfall is between 147mm to 113 mm, then follow two wet months. The dry season in Bantaeng is from September to November where rainfall is between 76mm to 24mm, the driest month being September.

The main economic activity in Bantaeng today is agriculture. Sawah cultivation using simple technology is followed in several areas, especially in the lowlands. The coastal area east of Bantaeng city is the best land for rice cultivation, but in some places people attempt to develop land for rice cultivation using the soil accumulation from erosion combined with water from rainfall, as seen as in Beru (164 m above sea level or ASL) and in Labbo (1386 m ASL), (Nayati, 2000). In the lowland area people plant rice twice a year, intercropped with secondary crops such as corn, groundnuts, and soybean, while in the hinterland people mostly cultivate dry land (ladang/garden; rainfed field) with corn, sweet potato, squash, and banana with some rice especially during the rainy season.
Cash crops are secondary but can become the main source of cash income; cloves, cocoa, and coffee have been planted especially in Northeast Bantaeng region, whilst cotton is cultivated in the western area. In the center of Bantaeng region, people harvest candlenuts from the candlenut forest, and vegetables, such as potatoes and carrots, which can be planted in the elevation above 1200 m ASL, are especially cultivated in the Loka area.

The cocoa, coffee, cloves, candlenuts, and kapok go to the Bantaeng central market and Makassar, vegetables from Loka are mostly sent to East Kalimantan, and only a small portion goes to Makassar and Bantaeng market. As a result, the income of the districts of Bantaeng varies. The richest group is the cash crop producers: clove, cocoa, coffee, kapok,
banana and vegetables, while the palawija producers are the lowest income group. Bantaeng has a lower income per capita compared to its neighbors of Bulukumba, Jeneponto, and Takalar (Alexander 2000).

4.2. Settlement and Transport

The pattern of distribution of settlements, most of which are of linear type, is related to differences in altitude (see Map 4), and the shape of the transportation network. In highland areas, most houses are built on wooden posts, while in

Figure 3: Houses surrounded by hills and sawah fields in Kampung Beru, Bantaeng.
Bantaeng city people live in more modern houses with brick walls and with the floor directly on the ground. Such architectural differences affect daily activities, as in the traditional wooden house the kolong (a space under the wooden floor in the traditional house) is used as a warehouse, an enclosure for keeping animals, and a place for chatting and other social activities. Such activities in Bantaeng city are adapted to urban life, with all administrative, social and economic facilities provided publicly and supported by the major transportation network from Makassar to Gowa, Takalar and Jeneponto, and from Bantaeng to the east and north—to Bulukumba, and Sinjai.

The transportation system has developed significantly since the 1970s, with a significant effect on the lives of local people. Communication between city and countryside has increased, especially with the involvement of rural women in regional trade (Ahimsa-Putra 1993). Before the development of road transportation, only rural men were engaged in regional markets and in transporting agricultural products to the marketplace using horses or foot (carrying goods on the head or using poles). The new public transportation system, vehicles for which are mainly pick-ups and small vans, has enabled rural people to sell their agricultural products in the city or in the marketplace, and to buy groceries there for their daily needs.
It is very common to see women and their children or a whole family going to the market place or Bantaeng city. However, rural people still use traditional routes to market-places, such as paths and unsealed roads, either because their homes are isolated or for financial reasons. The increasing involvement of women in the regional trading system, facilitated by the improved transportation network, has assisted the economic development of the household and the region (Ahimsa-Putra 1993).

Kabupaten Bantaeng is located at the foot of South Sulawesi directly on the busy trade route to the Maluku
Islands. Even though this place is mentioned in the 14th century Javanese text Desawarnana (Negarakrtagama), Bantaeng harbor is not as crowded with shipping as Selayar Island to the east of Bantaeng, or Makassar city to the west. There is a fishing harbor which is small compared to adjacent areas (Bulukumba and Jeneponto regencies), but this harbor is not a trading center anymore, as the land road is cheaper and fast than using sea route.

Bantaeng has been famous as a center for looting of archaeological sites, together with such adjacent areas as Selayar, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, and Takalar. Valuable burial goods, including porcelain, metal work, jewelry, statues, masks, and tools, have been transported out of the district unrecorded since the 1960s. Bantaeng’s historical development is largely unknown, being largely based on oral history which is passed from one speaker to other with information being added or
erased either because of limitations of memory or else related to individual interests, as discussed by Nurdin Syahadat (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984), Abu Hamid, and Mappatan (1995).

Although there have been archaeological and historical studies of Bantaeng, there is still much need for further research. Van Stein Callenfels first examined the Bantaeng in the 1930s with the excavations at the Panganreang Tudea and Batu Ejaya rock shelters. A re-excavation of Batu Ejaya by John Mulvany and R.P. Soejono in 1969 uncovered an assemblage of decorated pottery dating to circa AD 1000 mixed with Toalean artefacts, including microlithic stone tools, dating from the middle Holocene (Bulbeck et all 2000). Human remains from both Panganreang Tudea and Batu Ejaya evidently postdate any use of these site for habitation (Bulbeck 1996/1997). In the next decade a collection of

Figure 8: Family of six returning with their purchases after a day at the market.

Figure 9: Bantaeng city from Sinowa (485 m ASL). This place now is only a fishing harbour.
historical records at the Benteng Batu Terang and the restoration of La Tenri Ruwa, the royal graveyard located in Bantaeng city, was undertaken by the Regional Office of the Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Heritage (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala), South and Southeast Provinces (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984).

After a pause in archaeological and historical research in Bantaeng, in the 1990s the political and ceremonial centers of Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Gantarangkeke were studied (Andiastuti 1992; Taufik 1995; Bougas 1996, 1998; Fatmawati 1997; Jasmin 1998; Kalsum 2001). These studies and the increase of looting have been commented on by Mr. Wayne Bougas (1998), a foreign development consultant with much experience in the South Sulawesi region, and members of the Archaeological Department at Universitas Hasanuddin. Bougas’ report pushed the National Centre for Archaeological Research (Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional or PUSLITARKENAS, now: the National Archaeological Institute) and the Regional Office of the National Research Center for Archaeology (Balai Arkeologi) Makassar (formerly Ujungpandang).

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1 Interviewed with Bustamin Nyios (coordinor ex-looters, Bantaeng, 70s); Doding (Looters, Bantaeng, 70s); Karaeng Bancing (ex-Looters, early 60s); Haji Toding (ex-Looters, Jeneponto, early 60s); and Solichin—head of Bantaeng regency.
(1997/8) to collect data at sites in the Borong Kapala/Kiling-kiling areas (Fatmawati 1997; Fadillah 1999; Fadillah et all 1998; Bulbeck and Fadillah 2000).

The finding of beads led investigators to infer the past existence of a connection between Bantaeng and an international trading network, as the beads were dated to around the 11th-13th centuries (Fadillah 1999). The finding of Dato-dato, a type of anthropomorphic statue made from limestone, and a terracotta statue suggest relations between Bantaeng and the Majapahit Kingdom, as mentioned in Desawarnana (Hardiati 1998). It is believed that Dato-dato formed an important part of the Srada ceremony connected with the worship of ancestors in Majapahit. The existence of Dato-dato in Bantaeng may either represent Majapahit influence in Bantaeng, or may indicate a common cultural basis for this practice. They are more like Polynesian-style statues rather than Majapahit style and it interprets as a pre-Majapahit custom.

Bougas (1998) suspects that those statues are fakes made by Haji Doding, a leader of looting in those areas. Bougas’ assumption remain unproven but as he knows personally the character of Haji Doding, and the illegal looting situation in Bantaeng and adjacent areas, his claim should be seriously considered, especially as in Bantaeng there is no recorded evidence of craft activity (Nayati 2000). It has been impossible to undertake further

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Figure 11: Dato-dato collection of Haji Doding.

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*Personal communication with Bougas and coordinator of activity, Muhammad Nur Tatoo, between 1999-2000.*
studies on these statues as Haji Doding has rejected requests to check the material in the laboratory.

Most importantly, Bougas (1998) has examined the shift of the center of political organization from the earlier upland location to the coastal area, as an example of general evolution of settlement patterns. This shift raises some interesting questions: how has the Bantaeng economic system developed in relation to indigenous political formation? How and over what period has this occurred? Why has an accumulation of material culture, especially imported ceramics, only been found in certain locations? The central point to be resolved is the nature of the relationship between trading activity and political process within the Bantaeng region circa 17th century.

This study aims to understand the adaptation of the local trading hierarchy/network to external influences. Currently information about the past of the Bantaeng region is very scattered. As a result of geographical conditions and intensive looting activities between the 1960s and the present, the distribution of non-local cultural objects and practices is only partially known. The economic system involved in the distribution of goods in the whole Bantaeng political system in the past is still unclear. In order to fill the gap, ethnoarchaeological study has been applied, results of which are presented below. Through ethnoarchaeological study daily activity in the present is used for inferring aspects of past conditions, especially trading activity.
In order to determine the nature of Bantaeng’s economic and settlement patterns the present author undertook archaeological, historical, and ethnographic study of Bantaeng. This region was chosen partly because it was located on the important ancient international trading network for spices. Imported luxury artifacts found by looters, the preserved *Ballaq Lompoa* (Lit: Big House; Royal Palace) and oral history have led to an interest among scholars in the development of this region, especially in relation to the economic system. The natural environment has enabled people to develop varied livelihoods as fishermen and farmers, and most of the area is still rural with market places operating twice a week.

The Indonesian government since 1972 has built four roads, added to six asphalt routes built by the Netherlands Indies. This facilitates travel of hinterland people to the coast and vice versa. Public transportation has increased but only in the eastern part of the regency, which is more populated and not as hilly compared to the west part of the region. However people get to trading centers on foot or using horses. Local mobility is reasonably low as people remain on their land and cultivate it, in contrast to Jeneponto regency west of Bantaeng where the males migrate temporarily to Makassar as Daeng Becak (tricycle men). The slow pace of life means that current trading practices and locational analysis can be used with suitable caution and allowances as an analogy to understand the past economic system of Bantaeng.

5. Research Aims, Methods, and Data Collection

The main aim of this research is to understand the changes in the trading system within the Bantaeng region, and thereby the changing political and economic relations between two ecological zones, the coastal and interior areas, of south Sulawesi, over the past 400 years.
Future scholars may be able to use data from this and similar projects for comparative study of eastern and western Indonesia, or other suitable regional units. This study focuses on dynamic interactions: interior interactions, interior-coastal interactions, inter-coastal interactions, inter-island interactions, and combinations of such interactions.

The reconstruction of past economic activity is very complicated because locations of places where goods or services are exchanged are open spaces which can move or change their function. In addition, it is difficult or impossible to detect the goods and services which were exchanged at the point of exchange; instead they are usually found where people use or discard them—at home, in the habitation area. Another difficulty is that, even when imported objects are discovered, there remain unsolved questions such as the time of exchange, where they were obtained, and with whom the exchange took place. The discovery of an imported item can only yield information regarding the origin of the object and possibly some supposition regarding its function. Thus in order to understand ancient commerce, various methods must be employed, including the search for analogies with present conditions. This method can be employed if we are able to establish that the important conditions governing the role of material culture have remained relatively constant between the past period which we seek to understand and the present, or in cases where historical descriptions are used to draw analogies with archaeological data, the past. In Bantaeng it can be demonstrated that these conditions are fulfilled: relevant geographic and cultural variables can be shown to have remained more or less constant over the past 400 years.

Development in Bantaeng Regency has been concentrated only in the regency capital. Official buildings in modern style have been built east of old Bantaeng town, on land which formerly was fertile rice land belonging to the Bantaeng kingdom. Capitals of districts
or kecamatan (which in 2000 only 3) only contain a district office, a rural health center, and elementary and lower secondary schools. No new roads have been built; the only significant development is that roads built during the Dutch colonial era, and some former gravel stretches around settlements, have been surfaced with asphalt. Regular public transport only connects Bantaeng with Bulukumba Regency on the east, and on the west with Jeneponto and ultimately Makassar. To the north, public transport only follows certain routes but has no regular schedule except on occasions when markets remain open until mid-day. Communication between coastal dwellers and hinterland inhabitants, and between hinterland settlements, is poor, so that few changes normally associated with intensive transport and communication have occurred. On this basis, it is argued, analogy can be used to reconstruct economic conditions in the Bantaeng hinterland in the past, particularly the period when the international maritime spice-trade route reached its apex, and when access to Bantaeng port was controlled by the VOC.

Nevertheless, analogy with the present to comprehend the past is always fraught with uncertainties. Articles sold in markets change from time to time. Also, traders are different from the past in certain characteristics, so that analogy can only be applied to certain variables, i.e. those concerning transport and market access, the way in which sellers display their goods, how the market space is allocated, and the timing of opening of markets and of exchange. From this data, inferences can be drawn regarding the origin of buyers in the market, types of commodities sold, how they are sold, and the levels of markets in Bantaeng.

A regional approach is applied here to depict the economic system in association with the political and social systems in order to identify the pattern of distribution of sites of various periods within types of environments and then to clarify the function and size of each
site. Changes in hierarchies of marketing and settlement can be compared and causes for change can be sought. To this end, various kinds of data are needed (ecological, historical, literary, ethnographic, archaeological, and geographical) to understand the situation and conditions in coastal and interior areas. It is assumed that different people have used this region at different times, and in different ways in similar times, and that many artifacts and products will have perished over time. An ethnoarchaeological approach has been undertaken in order to understand the relationship between trading behavior, geographical conditions, and settlement patterns in the past. This framework is chosen as the transportation network in Bantaeng region has been built only in the last 30 years and public transportation is not well maintained in Bantaeng region. The current pattern of movement of people and products from hinterland to coast, within coastal and within hinterland zones, will be used to infer the dynamics of the socio-economic relations between foreign trading partners, and coastal and hinterland settlements in the past four centuries.

As well as attempting to reveal and understand the cultural deposits uncovered on archaeological sites, an early decision was made to try to assess the potential resources of the areas around sites in order to understand the distribution of cultural materials, settlements, and land use. The specific aim was to establish the possible locations of political, ceremonial, grave sites, and trading centers, evidence for which could be expected from archaeological survey and excavation. It was also hoped that an exploration of related ethnographic data on trading and ceremonial activities could suggest models of trading within Bantaeng region.

A study of past trading activity, particularly in the Bantaeng region, requires many steps, including an understanding of the distributional patterns of material culture, combined
with environment settings, special characteristics of the sites, dating of sites, and ethnographical data, all of which are necessary to understand the trading mechanisms which led to evidence of their presence in the ground. These data are essential because trading activities in the past cannot be observed directly. Trading activities are, necessarily, ephemeral activities involving exchanges of goods and services between people in several places to fulfill their needs. These human activities can only be inferred from the distribution of artifacts, as they exist today. However, often the only data left in the Bantaeng area are broken and unused goods, which are probably not in the same locations as when they were first made, traded, and used.

To attain an understanding of trading mechanisms in Bantaeng, several stages of archaeological fieldwork needed to be undertaken. Unfortunately, this site and adjacent areas were intensively looted from the 1960s to the 1980s, so that large amounts of artifacts from the pre-modern period have been taken out of this place, leaving only disturbed soil and sherds. The broken artifacts that remain may thus be the products of three possible events: broken in earlier times while in use; broken because of recent human activities, especially those of illegal looters; and broken because of environmental actions.

Against this background, archaeological survey and excavation were undertaken in April and October 2000, each activity taking one month. The artifacts found included ceramics [imported high-fired pottery (porcelain) and local earthenware], metal tools, beads, and bones. Basic analysis of finds included identification of their origin, recent and ancient breakage, form and dating of the porcelain, the possible origin of the earthenware objects, and the drawing and recording of the finds.
The excavation activity had several objectives. Firstly, *macucuk* (probing the soil with metal rods to discover sites, a technique used by the looters during the 1960s-1980s) was conducted in order to observe the accuracy of this procedure for locating imported ceramics. In this case *Macucuk* was performed by Safri, son of Habibu—one of the leaders within the Bantaeng region during the heyday of looting. The use of *Macucuk* can also provide a valuable check in evaluating the accuracy of information about the distribution of imported ceramics. Secondly, excavation made it possible to date sites by identifying the soil stratigraphy and associated material culture. Excavation was also useful in getting a picture of the land use characteristic of site. These data assist us to deduce the functions of the sites. Thirdly, excavation was undertaken to establish the distribution of artifacts.

These excavation goals attempt to achieve a broader understanding of the relationships between political, religious, and economic centers within the Bantaeng district, and also to infer the nature of cultural development within Bantaeng and adjacent areas. Such findings make it possible to infer the extent to which the local trading network, from circa 14th century onward, may have been dependent on its location on the route to spices in the Maluku islands. Moreover the research findings could be used more broadly for understanding the adaptation of local trading forms and networks in relation to external political boundaries not only in Indonesia but for broader areas.

These excavations were successfully carried out due to the assistance of Dr. Ali Fadillah and Drs. Gunadi M.Hum formerly head of Balai Arkeologi Makassar and Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala (BP3) Sulawesi Selatan and Tenggara, who provided research permission for excavation. However excavation could not be carried out on some potential sites where the landowners did not give permission.
Archaeological fieldwork has been conducted with permission from Pusat Arkeologi Nasional and Direktorat Perlindungan Sejarah dan Purbakala in Jakarta and their branches: Balai Arkeologi Makassar and Kantor Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan and Tenggara (SPSP/BP3 Sulseltra) in Makassar. The fieldwork consisted archaeologists from Balai Arkeologi Makassar (Budianto Hakim, Sarjiyanto, Mansyur) and SPSP/BP3 Sulseltra (Khaeruddin Daeng Paewa), Archaeological students from Gadjah Mada (Didik Suhartono and Neli Triana) and Hasanuddin University (Rusman Rukka and Nila Kalsum), and M. Nur Tattoo—archaeologist who conducted Bantaeng research with Bougas in 1996.

During excavation, seven persons (Safri Habibu, Syamsu, Najamuddin, Syamsul, Adi, Roding, and Syakban) helped in Bantaeng city, Benteng Batu Terang, Sinowa, Borong Toa, Gantarangkeke, and Lembang Gantarangkeke. In Borong Kapala, Haji Doding and four of his crews assisted the research. The research was made possible by financial support from the Lee Foundation of Singapore, private sponsorship from Australia and Indonesia, and the author’s own savings, which supported the fieldwork in Makassar and Bantaeng, and post-excitation analysis in Yogyakarta.

Imported ceramics was analyzed by Karaeng Demmanari of BALAR Makassar, metal by Sukronedi in Balai Penelitian Borobudur (in Magelang, Central Java) and bone analyses by Boedi Sampurno MD in Yogyakarta. Drawings were done by Mansyur and myself but computerized by Sektiai. Win Than Tun, Didik Suhartono, and Ahmad Rosyadi, did the mapping which is important for GIS. Simon Y. Putra and I compiled GIS for seeing the relation between geographical landscape-archaeological, historical, and ethnographical
data, while Didik Suhartono and I carried out photographic documentation. Many people made contributions to this study, but all data and analyses are my responsibility.

Imported ceramics are only recovered in pre-modern sites such as Batu Ejaya (BTE), Sinowa (SIN), Borong Toa (BRT), Onto (ONT), Lembang Gantarangkeke (LGK), Gantarangkeke (GTK), Borong Kapala (BRK), Benteng Batu Terang (BTR), and Bantaeng City (BTG). All of these sites (table 1), except Bantaeng city, are located in the hinterland. Sinowa, Borong Toa, and Onto are located on the Calendu river system, whereas Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke and Borong Kapala are located on the Biangkeke river system. Benteng Batu Terang and Batu Ejaya are located on the Panaikang river system. In contrast, Bantaeng city is in the coastal area, between the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga and Binanga Calendu/Lantebong rivers. New settlements in the hinterland are mostly located along the asphalt roads, which run parallel to the rivers, whereas in coastal areas, settlements have been built mostly at the mouths of rivers and along the coast.

Based on the location of old settlements, it can be discerned that old sites with the Ballaq Lompoa (Royal Palace) and Saukang (sacrificial altars or miniature houses placed at the center) are located on two different river systems: Sinowa, Onto and Bantaeng are on the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga, whereas Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke are on the Salo Biangkeke. Settlements on the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga observe the Karaeng LoE ceremony and old settlements on the Salo Biangkeke observe the Pa’jukukang ceremony, but as these activities are undertaken during Sya’ban in the Islamic calendar, there is only a week’s difference involved. Those two ceremonies are actually similar as those two celebrate the arriving of the Tomanurung: in the Karaeng LoE ceremony; while the Pa’jukukang is a combination of Tomanurung and I La Galigo. The former is related to the
Map: 8
Archaeological Sites in Relation to Rivers in Rantaeng Region

Legend
1. Borong Kapala
2. Lembang Gantarangteke-Gantarangkeke
3. Onto
4. Borong Kapala-Onto
5. Datu Ejaya
6. Benteng Batu Terang
7. Benteng City

Archaeological sites
Boundary
River

Based on scale 1:50,000

Mapping by Win Than Tun, Sekadi, Didik, and Widya Nayati
OIC by Cem Y Putra and Widya Nayat
Macassarese, while the latter is Buginese. Consequently, it can be assumed that there were two main political organizations in Bantaeng—one on the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga, which is inferred to be Macassarese; and one on the Biangkeke, which was based on Buginese tradition.

Intensive research has been conducted at and between those two rivers. The old sites have, typically, a round or square type of settlement pattern and are built on flat areas in the hills, located along two river systems, characteristics which can assist us in deciphering the settlement area and land usage. Areas adjacent to these sites were investigated closely in order to identify their catchment areas, which are locations where people obtain their water supplies for their daily needs. These areas were intensively studied as a check with the archaeological excavations to obtain data on the different functions of settlement and land use. Furthermore, an investigation of burial anomalies was made in order to check the distribution of burial goods, which has made possible an interpretation of burial systems in the past.

The area between Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga and Salo Biangkeke was studied in order to identify the possibility of socio-political relations between these river systems. The settlements between two rivers (Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga and Salo Biangkeke) were also studied intensively in order to obtain data on communication between communities along those two rivers, using observation and interviews with the local inhabitants.

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5Sometimes, *Saukang* means sacred center and sacred site.

*Tomanurung or Tumanurung or To Manurung* literally means the person who descended from the heaven. It refers to heavenly ancestors of pure white blood who were recognized and installed as the first rulers of new kingdoms by the people of south Sulawesi in the past. Tomanurung belief is common in south Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1965; Andaya 1875; Matulada 1985; Pelras 1985; Caldwell 1988; Cummings 1999, 2000; 2002).
Market places were not checked by excavation because, based on a surface survey, there is no indication of material culture remains, as the trading center only acts as an arena for trading activities. Most of the merchandise is removed from the market places after trading hours. Recent breakage of earthenware has been concentrated near the earthenware stall, but this anomaly is not always found in each trading center, as earthenware traders take good care of their merchandise. However, market places have been ethnographically observed in order to record trading activity, the flow of people, and the trading goods. Accumulation of these data will help us to infer the trading patterns and the relations between settlements and people within the Bantaeng region in the past. Ethnographic data on trading is used for analogy in understanding the past trading activities in the Bantaeng region in interactions with adjacent areas. The correlations between archaeological sites and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Elevation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Batu Ejaya</td>
<td>Bissapu</td>
<td>314 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Benteng Batu Terang</td>
<td>Bissapu</td>
<td>103 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sinowa</td>
<td>Uluere</td>
<td>485 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Borong Toa</td>
<td>Uluere</td>
<td>660 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Onto</td>
<td>Bantaeng</td>
<td>450 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Lembang Gantarangkeke</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>295 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Gantarangkeke</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>240 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Borong Kapala</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>415 m ASL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Bantaeng City</td>
<td>Bantaeng</td>
<td>25 m ASL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

trading centers have been examined in order to reconstruct the economic pattern in the Bantaeng region.

The distribution of cultural finds within the Bantaeng region implies contact between local people as craft activity such as pottery-making is not attested in the past for the Bantaeng region (Nayati, 2000), however others assumed almost certainly that pottery has made in Bantaeng in the past. Further testing on it should be done, especially study the soil material of Bantaeng. Known archaeological sites represent several tiers of a settlement hierarchy: the urban area (Bantaeng), villages (Onto, Sinowa, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke), and as ladang/garden, rainfeed field (Batu Ejaya, Benteng Batu Terang, Borong Toa, Borong Kapala). The change in land-use pattern and the cultural findings indicate changing patterns at particular times in history in the Bantaeng region. These changes allow us to identify chronological phases: the pre-ceramic, the Tomanurung including the ceramics period, the Colonial period, and the post-Independence period.

Ethnographical study is also necessary because trading activity can be seen as a system of behavioral actions. It is not possible to identify the precise motive of every exchange or the exact function of the goods traded as these could vary individually. Moreover, the exchange goods can be transferred from hand to hand without leaving any record. The local goods and cash can shift to other people’s hands without the first party’s knowledge. The only trade objects now surviving are mostly long lasting goods. On account of the nature of the activity, ethnographic study is necessary. While the study of current trading activity will be used to infer the activity of trading networks in the past—by using an ethnoarchaeological approach—this can only be done with the understanding that trading activity has not always been the same over 400 years as the
culture and needs of people may have seen considerable change. Therefore, ethno-
graphical and archaeological comparisons with other sites are needed.

Research in the literature is essential to support other points made about cultural life. Literary sources may reveal not merely the trading activity but some details, which report or infer contact with other groups, whether local, regional, or international, as exchange activity can affect many aspects of cultural life.

Thus there is a wide range of data which can assist us in reconstructing the trading network within the Bantaeng region. Archaeological research, in particular, may provide data on non-local goods and human bones. It is important to understand the distribution of artifacts, which can assist us in developing an accurate picture of land-use, the function of landscape and site, and the possibility of contact between people in the Bantaeng region and outside Bantaeng region. Most important of all, the findings derived during excavation can help in clarifying the association of the artifacts found and dating the sites. A combination of all these data can produce a useful interpretation of the local trading activity of Bantaeng over the centuries. It can elucidate how the local network operated and how people adapted to historical changes, such as the development of the long-distance trading network in the region, the rise of the kingdoms of Gowa and Bone and the effect of the war between them, and the consequences of the trading monopoly of the VOC.
6. Problems Encountered in the Field and the Laboratory

A range of problems, both anticipated and unanticipated, affected the progress of this research project. The study had to be completed in a very limited period of time, but it did produce some significant data for reconstructing the past. Observation and surveys were undertaken in April 2000 in order to identify concentrations of material culture. Limitations of time, finances, and cultural circumstances did place constraints on further research, especially research involving archaeological excavation. Nevertheless, those sites have been excavated both in archaeological terms and in terms of the looting excavation system in October 2000. Data consisted of both archaeological data (artifacts and ecofacts) and ethnographical data. So although the two months for fieldwork in the Bantaeng region and one month of data analyses was a very limited time, the actual data collected is sufficient to develop an understanding of the local trading network in the Bantaeng area in the past.

Second, some anomalies seen in the Bantaeng region could not be tested because of cultural, religious, and financial reasons. The local people are aware that illegal looters from Bantaeng city, who then obtained much money from selling the imported ceramics, have disturbed their land and gold items (jewelry and masks) found on their land. Local people have gained very little compared to the looters. Consequently, some local inhabitants have

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7Under NUS regulations, the maximum duration for fieldwork for a PhD is six months. However, in my case, the first three months were used for my initial research topic—trading networks in Southeast Maluku, Indonesia. This project had to be cancelled since political turmoil, which had arisen in Maluku made it impossible to continue excavation activity. Consequently, the fieldwork for research in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi was limited to three months, consisting of one month for surface survey, one month for excavation, and one month for artifact analyses. In practice, the fieldwork activity was pursued in less than one month as administration and dealing with local people (especially looters) took time. My fieldwork activities were partly supported by the Lee Foundation Singapore and by individual financing.
begun to try to retrieve and sell the artifacts themselves, asking big amounts of money in return.

For these reasons the local people were not receptive toward the proposed archaeological excavations. This emotional situation not only affected the archaeological excavation but some also rejected requests to be interviewed. Some groups asked for considerable sums of money as compensation for the further disturbance of their land and the collection of artifacts, requests which could not be met with the limited budget available to this project. On the other hand, some people are still practicing traditional ceremonies and, therefore, they do not want their sacred areas to be examined by outsiders. While much of the material culture is now missing, some may still be found in sites where ceremonies are still held. Although it was only possible to collect a minimum of data, this still has considerable potential for understanding the economic system of the Bantaeng region.

Third, signs of historical contact between people identified through analysis of artifacts are often difficult to interpret. Artifacts which could serve as archaeological data have become commodities. Most artifacts found in the 1960s-1980s by looters have been sold, unrecorded, to people outside South Sulawesi. Looters have ransacked all (old) sites within the Bantaeng region and adjacent areas of Selayar, Bulukumba, Jeneponto and Takalar. Several key players in the trade of artifacts, including Mr. Bustamin Nyios, Mr. Habibu alias Bibu, Mr. Karaeng Bancing alias Samparak G, Mr. Haji Doding, and Mr. Haji Muhammad A.D alias Haji Tojeng, provided some information and their own artifact collections have been used for identification of types of finds within Bantaeng and adjacent areas.

However while the looters have taken unbroken artifacts (porcelain, metals—iron, bronze, gold— and beads), they did not take human bones, as they are afraid that the soul
of the dead will follow and haunt them and their families. During the process of illegal looting, having broken some artifacts, especially porcelain and human bones, the looters typically return the soil as soon as possible, together with broken porcelain and bones. The broken artifacts at first had no value but by the 1980s the looters began to collect the broken artifacts and sell them—both in small pieces and reconstruct it using glue. Thus, based on the attitude of these illegal looters, there are still some possibilities of dating the sites using the human bones, and the rituals of the burial system can to some extent be inferred, especially by the orientation of the body and through the ex looters’ memory of burial goods. As the goods have sold directly to the middlemen for cash, the ex looters do not have any of the goods on them anymore. Perhaps, the middlemen and souvenir shops’ owner (in Makassar) have pictured some of the goods (however those are not insitu and no association data on it) for promoting their goods to the consumers. However, they did say nothing about it. If they have albums of pictures of their artifacts, it could these albums use as an archaeological archive and important for reconstruct part of the Sulawesi history.

Fourth, because of the disturbance of the landscape and the negative reactions of the local people caused by the activities of the looters, there are considerable limitations on the sites available for valid examination. Although intensive and systematic methods of looting have been carried out, because the looters necessarily worked in a hurry—as some of them have caught and arrested—there are still some unexcavated sites and materials left, which can be used to assist in recognizing disturbed and undisturbed landscapes. Some difficulties still remain, however, as looting activities were conducted over a long period and so it is difficult to find any undisturbed areas which could be used for archaeological checking.
Moreover, the observation and excavation activities are further limited by the fact that many old sites have been continuously occupied up to the present.

Fifth, cultural development and cultural constraints created difficulties in undertaking and interpreting systematic archaeological excavation. It was possible to conduct excavations in most of the old settlements, with the exception of Batu Ejaya and Onto, in October 2000. Most of Batu Ejaya’s surface has been covered with concrete, whereas Onto, during October 2000, was preparing a cultural festival, which made it impossible to do archaeological excavation. Moreover, certain anomalies, which had been observed in Bantaeng city and Lembang Gantarangkeke, could not be checked due to population density in the city and financial reasons. Nevertheless, 58 test pits were opened, using conventional archaeological methodology combined with the looter system—digging the soil in trench system without recording, especially association between findings, position, and soil stratification. The archaeological excavations were based on a box system (1 x 1 meter or 2 x 2 meter), and a spit system with intervals every 20 cm depth. A further extension of the box system was feasible, depending on the finds. Recording during excavation was done in detail, as excavation is meant to disturbed the landscape.

Ethnographic study in the Bantaeng region yielded no indication of local industry or crafts\(^9\), so all material culture found is assumed to be of non-local origin. Moreover, as Bantaeng has long been located on a long-distance trade network as well as a local trading network, it is probable that many types of imported commodities are to be found in this region. However no further laboratory work on the findings, such as ceramic petrology, was

\(^{9}\)In this case, systematic means organized methods of looting. Some group of looters opened whole ladangs trench by trench, while other groups excavated areas where they predicted old burials lay.
possible because of financial limitations. Basic typologies have been created for the ceramics, metal, stone, and bones recovered.

The eastern part of Indonesia is not remote, but the high costs and limited transport options by comparison with western regions of Indonesia, especially Java, have resulted in the neglect of archaeological research in this area. Eastern Indonesia consists of 11 provinces — not including the island of Kalimantan — and covers an area that is more than 60% of the Indonesian nation. Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) has been ethnographically studied but fewer than 10 archaeological and historical projects have been undertaken there, and most of these have been only partial studies, in terms of periodization or topics. A similar situation is to be found in the Maluku islands and Lesser Sunda, which form the Nusa Tenggara Timur and Nusa Tenggara Barat provinces. While Bali and Sulawesi Island are better covered by archaeological research than islands in the eastern part of Indonesia, they are still less studied than Java. The eastern part of Indonesia should be treated differently as those provinces consists of islands of different sizes and topography, and the development of those areas is unequal compared not only to Java but also between different parts of the same island. Contact between them and the outside sometimes is very difficult as transportation is limited and costly. Consequently, the study of the local trading system in Bantaeng region is quite important and, although it is a study of only a single area, the findings can be used for further and broader studies.

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9There are no basketweavers, iron smiths, or potters in the Bantaeng region. There is no evidence that any of these activities were ever conducted in Bantaeng, but it is impossible to prove that this is also true of the period before 1600. However house-building remains one of the local crafts which is still carried on.
South Sulawesi province has attracted a concentration of cultural studies. Research on Buginese, Makassarese, Toraja, Bajau and Mandar abounds, especially in ethnographical and historical studies. Lontaraq have been studied, especially for the Gowa, Bone, and Luwu centers (Caldwell 1988; Cummings 1999, 2000, 2002; Rachman et al. 2003). While many Lontaraq have been recorded, only a few experts can read and interpret this material competently. Recently Caldwell, Bougas, and Druce have intensively studied the Lontaraq of Jeneponto. Nevertheless, Lontaraq from small political organizations such as Bantaeng have not been studied and are still scattered in the hands of royal families. Thus documentary research in the Bantaeng region is one of the important challenges for any comprehensive study of South Sulawesi culture. There were important key persons on Bantaeng Lontaraq: Andi Massuale passed away before this research was conducted and his Lontaraq’ collection is not accessible. Mappatan before he passed away in September 2000 handed in his collection which is the only Lontaraq used in this study.

Material cultures of the area have been examined carefully using single and multidisciplinary studies. One of the findings is that South Sulawesi formed a melting pot for the assimilation of Islamic culture into the culture of the previous period. Nevertheless, evidence for the dissemination of Hindu-Buddhist culture in Sulawesi has not yet been clearly established. In contrast, looters have worked rapidly so that huge numbers of unrecorded items of material culture have been taken from the island of Sulawesi, which represents a considerable loss of historical data on the pre-Islamic period.

Finally, limitations of budget and research time have made it impossible to check and compare sites within South Sulawesi, or undertake intensive laboratory work on all the archaeological data collected. Moreover, disturbed soil has impeded interpretation. These
limitations are, to some extent, covered by ethnographical study, which mostly was done during the fieldwork period. It was not possible to augment the ethnographic data with historical studies. Local offices open from 8 am to 1.30 pm, but the officers only arrive after 9 am as the offices are located outside Makassar city, and public transportation especially to those offices are limited. Requests for archival materials required several hours to complete and only three documents could be requested each time; the effective reading period is only two to three hours daily as the documents have to be returned at 12.30 pm.

As a result, it has not been possible to incorporate as much historical data in this study as one would have preferred. In order to elucidate the written historical data, oral history combined with Lontaraq possessed by Mappatan has been explored. Ethnographic and oral history is then used for inferring the past, especially for the trading activities.

Study of the local trading system of Bantaeng can be used to test the relative applicability of two models: central place and dendritic models. These two models have been chosen from spatial systems of distribution (Smith 1974; 1975). Rings, Networks, and Section models have not been applied nor has the solar system been chosen, as no production center has been found in Bantaeng.

The central place model is static, but has been successfully applied in understanding economic organization in complex society (Smith 1974), especially when connections exist between both vertical and horizontal levels of the marketing, transport, and settlement hierarchies. It has been proposed that dendritic models might be applicable (Bronson 1977; Kathiritamby-Wells 1998; Andaya 1993b). Those two models can be tested with data from the Bantaeng region. One possibility is that neither of those two models is suitable in understanding the local trading system in Bantaeng; an alternative or hybrid model might be more
relevant. It is also possible that the changes in social organization between the different historical periods were at least sometimes correlated with changes in hierarchies of settlement, trade, ritual, or political power. If changes are observed, variables responsible for these changes must be sought.

The research under discussion here must therefore address the problem of mechanisms of cultural contact, which might have been responsible for changes in one or more hierarchies of spatial organization. This study will also seek to reconstruct environmental conditions, settlement patterns, political, religious, and cultural settings and cultural changes that might have been responsible for the occurrence and influence of cultural contact between people through the exchange of goods.
Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework

Where was the overseas trading center of Bantaeng during the 14th century? Was it in Trowulan—a capital of the Majapahit kingdom during this period? Trowulan is located in the hinterland of east Java, and archaeological studies suggest that this place had a large population with a complex society. Or was the overseas center for Bantaeng in Buton—in Southeast Sulawesi Province? Or in Makassar in the southern part of west coast South Sulawesi? After the 16th century Bantaeng became a vassal of the Gowa Kingdom, which was located in Makassar. Lastly, the Bantaeng region—especially the sector near the coast—is itself a cultivation area, which disqualifies this area from being analyzed solely with Bronson’s (1977) model. It is difficult to apply the dendritic model to the Bantaeng region without modifications.

What then was the trading pattern of Bantaeng in the past? Was it a central place model like in central Mexico and Peru (Santley 1983, 1991; Hyslop 1984, 1991; Hirth 1978, 1991; Earle 1991, Garenstein and Pollad 1991, Wallace 1991). Was the trading center in a center of other activities? Did the elite group dominate the local resources? Those questions arise when examining Bantaeng’s trading activities circa 16th century. What was the nature of the relationship between Bantaeng and its overseas trading center? Did Bantaeng have only one? How do we know it had any? Instead of a hierarchy of trading centers, perhaps there was a heterarchy, a group of places all on approximately the same level?
1. Historical and Archaeological Studies on Trading Activity in the Indonesian Archipelago

Data on trading places, trading activity, and commodities traded in early historic time in the Indonesian Archipelago is uneven. Until recently, archaeological research only based itself upon artifacts, disregarding their relationship to economic activity. It must also be borne in mind that things which are exchanged will change hands, move from their points of origin, at the time of transaction. The origins and growth of settlement, both in the coastal areas and the hinterland—both places which can be quickly reached, and those which are isolated, will bring out redistribution of artifacts from the hinterland to the coasts, and ultimate beyond the shores, becoming ever more difficult to track. In order to understand ancient trade, a combination of data from archaeology, history, and ethnography must be acquired.

Particular locations for trading in Java have been recognized at least since the early 10th century. The Waharu IV (853 CE = A.D. 931) inscription used old Javanese terms referring to a trading place such as *pkan* or *pken* or *peken*, which is the same as modern Javanese. Trading places were open according to *pancawara* (five day a week) as mentioned in Waharu IV (853 CE eq. 931 AD) as *Pken Kaliwwan* (trans: *peken kliwon* = Kliwon Market), or combined between *pancawara* and a seven day week (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday), *…Kaliwwan Soma…* (trans. Monday Kliwon) as in inscription Panggumulan A. (dated 824 CE eq. 902 AD). The name of the market was often related to the village name, as in *pkan I Sindinan* (trans. Market place in Sindikan) (inscription Panggumulan A (dated 824 CE eq. 902 AD) and *pkan I muncang* (inscription Muncang dated 866 CE eq. 944 AD).
This periodic market or Pancawara or Mancapat-Manca Lima system is equal to Bayu, Wisnu, Brahma, Sambhhu, and Kamajaya, or to color symbols: mixed; black or dark blue; white; red, and golden yellow respectively (Moertono 1968). Kliwon is located in the center, and surrounded by the north markets, which open on Wage, east markets open on Legi, south markets open on Paing, and west markets open on Pon (Moertono 1968). The Javanese periodic market is not compatible with the hexagonal system of the central place theory. The distances between those five markets are equal, but in Java, the pattern consisted of five day a week (four plus one), and directions—north, east, south, west and central; while the hexagonal system consisted of a seven-day week, which is six plus one. Consequently, the Pancawara system of trading pattern in Java should be considered as an alternative to applying a hexagonal central place model. It implies that culture involves in trading activity—especially in trading rotation which replicates a microcosmic version of a cosmic mandala. Furthermore, these markets are always in strategic areas—crossroads, at midpoints between settlements, and in the centres of geographical units. Rural Javanese life today can be used to construct an analogy with the situation in the past, such as the periodic markets based on a five-day market week (Pon, Paing, Wage, Kliwon, and Legi), and also places chosen for markets.

The Indonesian Archipelago was legendary for spice products. The eastern part of the Indonesian Archipelago was famed for its cloves, and for the mace of Ternate, Tidore, Ambon (North and Central Maluku Islands), whilst the western part of the Indonesian Archipelago was a source of pepper with Banten (West Java), and Sumatra as the main producers. The pepper trade increased after the VOC became involved in direct trading in
the ports of western Sumatra (Barus, Pariaman, Bengkulu) and drove the British out in the early 17th century.

Trading activity in pre-modern Indonesia has been studied with varied goals. Historians (van Leur 1955; Schrieke 1955; Meilink-Roelofz 1962, Sutherland and Bree 1978; Harkantiningsih 1984; Reid 1988, 1993, 2000; Nayati 1989; Houben 1994, Leirissa 2000; Tarling 2000; Fernando 2002) mostly discuss contact between Chinese, Arab, Indians, and European traders, the harbormasters and local elites, the type of local commodities available, prices, and quantity of local resources. As a result we can reckon how many tons of commodities were sent from one area to China, India, Arabia, or Europe, how many ships used the harbors, the types of ships and junk, the value of the goods sold, and how much profit the traders earned over each period (Sutherland and Bree 1978; Reid 1983, 1993; Bulbeck, Reid, Tan, and Wu 1998; Fernando 2002).

Trading activity in Southeast Asia is affected by the monsoons. Commodity exchanges between highland and lowland areas are usually seasonal. The west monsoon was a time when people did not go to sea, so they tried to find substitutes for their regular diet. In contrast, during the period of the east wind, sea travel was widespread and it can be assumed this was when most trading activity, especially inter-island interaction, took place until today, fishermen are still clearly dependent on the monsoons. During the west monsoon, many fishermen do not go to sea, choosing instead to repair their fishing equipment. They fulfill their subsistence needs by selling things they have previously bought, working the land nearby, and gathering food along the shore.

Exchange between those areas has taken the form of reciprocity, both home base and boundary. However, direct access in exchanging their commodities possibly oc-
curred too. The effect of monsoon conditions should be considered when investigating ex-
change activity in long distance trading.

Most research on trading activities circa 15th century covers entrepots such as Melaka, Banten, and Jakarta, but few have studied such topics in lower level harbors despite the fact that these harbors played important roles in supporting the entrepots. However, the existence of small trading ports has been examined, such as Barus (Drakard 1982; Nayati 1994), and Kota Cina (McKinnon 1984). On one hand study on long distance trading networks has highlighted the exploitation of the periphery by the cen-
ter, but on the other hand, the role of the supplier on the periphery has been neglected. As a result, periphery and lower level trading centers should be studied but must be treated differently from the former sites as their function differed. Also, one cannot assume that the lower-level centers were always dominated by the higher-level cen-
ters. The higher-level centers may have been dependent on the lower-level centers for goods to exchange with outside groups. The higher-level centers would therefore have had to try to compete with each other to attract goods from the lower-level centers, where the produces were located. It can be concluded that historians mostly set out to explain maritime trading activity (van Leur 1955; Schrieke 1955; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Sutherland and Bree 1978; Reid 1983, 1993; Leirissa 2000), but not inland trading activity. Historical data is limited to trading posts where the Europeans visited and traded, because most of the historical data comes from notes of European members of companies. Asians differ in that their commercial enterprises are often on an individual basis, and records are seldom kept. Even if this situation differed in the past, no business records
from early Asian firms have survived. This feature makes it more difficult to reconstruct land-based commerce.

Nevertheless, it can be assumed that each coastal area was to greater or lesser extent a meeting point between outsiders and local inhabitants—whether from the coast or hinterland. Inhabitants of each meeting point endeavoured to become a central place for its environs, bringing out about competition to attract traders and consumers. One means of trying to overcome competitors was to increase the variety of goods available. The quality and price of commodities also influenced the market’s popularity with consumers.

Coastal centres of exchange expand in competition with other coastal exchange centres. Inter-island trading activity in the Indonesian Archipelago flourished because different products exist in different areas. Inter-regional trading networks (Schrieke 1955; van Leur 1955; Evers 1988, 1991; Swalding 1996; Leirissa 2000) connected Sulawesi to other ports in the Indonesian Archipelago (Java, Lesser Sunda, Maluku, Papua, Kalimantan, and Sumatra) and of Southeast Asia.

It is clear that coastal trading places are main gateways for exporting local products, both inter-island and inter-continental. Markets are dependent on such factors as different subsistence needs, the uncertainty of harvests due to variations in the local economic systems and the climate. It is therefore certain that continuity in the flow of imports and exports is one factor which requires attention. When the flow of commodities from the interior is obstructed, coastal markets may well decline because merchants and sailors only arrive during the eastern monsoon, i.e. only once a year. Market managers therefore endeavour to maintain and increase the delivery of inventory during the east monsoon. Trading activity is also related to different ideas of wealth, necessity, and
priorities. Transportation of hinterland goods following rivers (Bronson 1977; Barbara Andaya 1988; 1993; Kathirithamby-Wells 1993) and overland routes both appeared and developed in Sumatra (Miksic 1979).

Long-distance trade and the interaction between coast and hinterland have been studied by Miksic (1979), J. Drakard (1982), McKinnon (1984), Barbara Andaya (1988; 1993), and Kathirithamby-Wells (1993). All these studies set out to explain the interaction between the interior and hinterland, and how people brought their forest products to a coastal place. Those studies analyzed the roles of rivers as a medium of communication between coastal and interior regions. Some only concentrate on the role of river routes, but Miksic noted that land routes across topographical boundaries were reported in historical sources. A similar observation has been made in the case of inter-regional trade in South America—Central Mexico, and Peru (Santley 1983, 1991; Hyslop 1989, 1991; Hirth 1978; 1991; Earle 1991, Garenstein and Pollad 1991, Wallace 1991).

There is not much information about resource areas. Ellen (1978), Lape (2000), and Latinis (2001) examined the independent development of local Banda and central Maluku inhabitants but information about the local trading pattern in resource-providing areas is still scattered. However, evidence of interaction between long-distance trading and interior areas can be seen from archaeological data. Imported porcelain has been found in many areas in the Indonesian Archipelago but the detailed distribution of this type of artifact is not known yet as archaeological studies in Indonesia have been limited mostly to Java. Some areas in Sumatra, especially Palembang, Jambi, Medan, Kalimantan (west, east, and south), Sulawesi (south, southeast, and central), Java (mainly the coastal
area), and some areas in Bali, Papua, and Maluku (north and central) have yielded concentrations of imported porcelain. In fact non-local artifacts are very significant in helping to prove the existence of contact between local and foreign inhabitants—whether this contact was direct or not is linked to exchange, because it will help characterize the form of interaction.

Interestingly, imported porcelain in Sulawesi is mostly related to burial sites, while in Java it is related to elite utensils and ceremonial goods. In Papua and Maluku, imported porcelain is related to the dowry and also ceremonial utensils, which was part of ceremonial exchange items while in Kalimantan stonewares still sometimes used for daily use especially tempayan/martavan, but others use it for ceremonial activity. Items of ornamentation—including beads—are also luxuries, as are items used as ritual implements. The luxury objects were possibly exchanged for local commodities, forest products and sea products which were collected by local people.

However, archaeological studies have also recognized the existence of locally produced items, such as metal (keris, badik, sword, knife, jewelry, gong), and earthenware goods, while ethnographical data has recorded the activity of kain tenun (woven cloth), and kain Batik. There was information about types of interior products involved in long distance trading activity but it only covers main commodities especially forest products. Patterns of exchange between local people in the past are still unknown.

Although metal artifacts have been found in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara, and Java (Haryono 1984, 1986; Gunadi 1986; Darmosoetopo 1993), until now an iron workshop has only been identified in Luwu, South Sulawesi (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000; Caldwell 2002) and even in this site there is no further analysis in
relating the Luwu iron workshop to iron artifacts found in Sulawesi and adjacent areas, as almost all the metal artifacts found have not yet been subjected to pyrometallurgy, petrographic, metallography, X-ray fluorescence or other laboratory techniques.

Furthermore, metal artifacts, which are assumed to be of non-local production, such as kettle drums have been found in Selayar and Kei Island. Such artifacts are consonant with the finding of imported ceramics and beads in many places, both coastal and hinterland, which were not produced in the Indonesian Archipelago. This evidence has led to the assumption that insular trading has taken place in Southeast Asia since the late centuries B.C.E.

Specialization of products within the Indonesian Archipelago encouraged the development of exchange and trading networks. Rice was produced only in certain areas of the Indonesian Archipelago, but as there were many types of padi which do not need water it can be grown in unfertile areas, rain-fed fields, and slopes. As a result of this factor, this commodity became a medium of exchange for staples from other areas, for example sandalwood from NTT, nutmeg from Banda, and cloves from Ternate-Tidore.

Moreover, each area produces different and distinctive crafts such as hand-woven cloth and iron tools; and has access to different forest and sea products including birds and marine animals which can be exchanged for other products, both for main dietary needs and for secondary needs. However, some groups were able to find sources in other areas outside their boundaries to fulfill consumer needs such as the Maccasarese who collected tripang (sea cucumber) in northern Australia (Macknight 1976; Sutherland 2000). These were for China trade, not consumed locally.
Small items would have been exchanged during the past centuries throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, leading to the establishment of local trading networks which connected people using tracks and paths across the local topographical barriers of hills, rivers, and seas. Inter-group and inter-community exchange would have been made possible through kinship links (LiPuma 1988; Hage and Harary 1991; Komter 1996; Malinoski 1996; Goody 1998). Marriage within a community or with another society would have strengthened useful links (Mattulada 1987; Caldwell 1988). Some studies of such political ties between groups or communities have been made.

Cultural and religious exchanges were not limited to distant parts of the world; other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago, such as west Sumatra, were instrumental in introducing Islam to Gowa, which then introduced it to other areas in Sulawesi (Tjandrasasmita 1970, 1988; Pelras 1985; Mattulada 1987). The Desawarnana (Nagarakertagama) canto 14:4 implies that south Sulawesi was a vassal of Majapahit in the 14th century. The dato-dato in Borongkapala have been interpreted as a local rendition of the srada ceremony--where dato-dato represent people who have died (Hardiati 1996/1997), although this suggestion has been rejected by Bougas (1998).

The existence of trading places is also related to taxation, the availability of commodities, people (traders, mediators and consumers), and also the possibility of transportation. Availability of commodities in one trading place is not only related to the sources and seasonality, but also the consumers. Right now, in many places in Indonesia, trading places are located in populated areas as people have built houses surrounding the trading places. Trading places became cultural centers which not only supported economic life but also other activity.
2. The Role of Local Trade in Long Distance Trading Networks

The Syahbandar was a central player in the import and export of goods. Based on the key role of the Syahbandars in distributing non-local goods in their areas and beyond their areas, and also on ethnographical studies (Nayati 2001b), of the role of many actors in distributing goods, it can be conjectured how an agency/middleman redistributed goods from Southeast Asia and other countries in the hinterland and of course redistributed local items to markets in the rest of Southeast Asia and the world.

It is, of course, assumed that the result of the distribution will be different depending on the geographical conditions and the relations between the players involved—traders, agents, mediators, and users (Hickerson 1996; Barret 2000, 2001; Brumfiel 2000; Cowgill 2000; Hodder 2000; Walker 2000; Wobst 2000). The agency can be formed of individuals, groups, or settlements which serve as gateways, and ceremonial activities, which relate to the trading transaction. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries the syahbandar and nobility played important roles in the long distance trading and distribution of goods entering through harbors to hinterlands, for example in Gresik, Banten, Ternate, Tidore, and Aceh (Nayati 2001b). It is undeniable that the same situation arose in other Sulawesi kingdoms.

Bureaucrats and nobles ‘managed’ goods from the lands under their control for themselves. Nevertheless it is true that the bureaucrats and members of ruling families also profited from their close relationship with the power-holders and also were owners of local commodities. Members of the nobility had greater access to them than did the general public. As a result the members of the noble families became richer than their subjects.
Those residents who worked on the rulers’ lands received less profit, but obtained security in exchange for their loyalty and their hard work.

Local commodities were possibly carried by local inhabitants at the orders of bureaucrats and nobles. Their understanding of the local geography enables the local inhabitants to take short-cuts. Inland goods were transported to coastal sites of exchange, and coastal goods were carried inland, principally to the places of rulers/owners. Creating new routes is possibly related to different distribution patterns, in the same way that local commodities became more valuable in external markets. Probably merchants were involved in forming an image of a good as something of value to consumers. The simultaneous distribution of goods in a variety of commodities and patterns for long periods have made the trading patterns seem very complex.

This relates to the assumption that luxury goods play an important role in cultural life—not only as cultural object for social status in the past, but also for the children in legitimizing their inheritance of social status. The presence of a luxury object alone—such as imported porcelain—is not sufficient to reconstruct an economic network, as the traders have not only brought imported ceramics but also other objects which were unrecorded. In understanding economic activity in the past, archaeologists should not only concentrate on the artefacts found but also understand the landscape, cultural life, and history.

Such a system as described above probably emerged and spread in Bantaeng until the VOC took control of the coastal area of Bantaeng. The port of Bantaeng perhaps was not large enough in comparison with those of Makassar or Luwu. As a port of call, which was perhaps safe, a fair number of merchant-shippers may have called at Bantaeng. The need for food supplies may have stimulated exchange of merchants’ goods with port rulers.
The existence of sufficient food supplies would have attracted merchants to call regularly at Bantaeng. As a result, inland commodities would routinely have flowed from inland to coastal areas. Bantaeng was not controlled by other areas, but Bantaeng became an independent centre of exchange although it was only an intermediate port with fewer visitors than Makassar or Luwu. This self-sufficiency was accentuated by its self-sufficiency in food supplies through local redistribution.

3. Ethnographic Studies of Trade in the Indonesian Archipelago

Ethnographic studies have been conducted at several places in north Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Maluku, and Papua (Dewey 1962; Chandler 1982; Clauss 1982; Alexander 1987, 1998; Mai and Bucholt 1987; Clauss, Evers and Gerke 1988; Evers 1988; Mai 1989; Barnes and Barnes 1989; Alexander and Alexander 1990, 2001; Beaty 1992; Suhartono 1994; Barnes 1996; Acciaioli 2000; Nayati 1998a, 1998b) in order to understand interaction between people in the market and their movements in relation to the environment and traditional life. This information can be used to construct an analogy for inferring the dynamics of similar situations in the past.

Such studies can throw light on the distribution of goods, both for communal use and for certain groups such as elites and commoners. The distribution can be direct distribution to user and then redistribution—either through a market place, or through kiosk/warung both located in more favorable sites on a transport network (land and river) and isolated areas.

Studies have found that in Java the market or trading center is a women’s site (Alexander and Alexander 2001; Babb 2001) while outside Java markets have male and female areas.
The influence of the Javanese trading system on other islands in Indonesia is obvious which has made locals jealous as Javanese traders are active, flexible in price and quantity, and generous (Nayati 1998a, 1998b, 1998c).

MSG [monosodium glutamate/Vetsin] has become an important product for rural areas—in Java and outside Java. In Bintuni and Babo (Papua) and South Maluku cash obtained from trading is used for buying four items: cigarettes for husbands, betel for wives, and for the whole family rice, and MSG (Nayati 1998b, 1998c). It was observed in Bintuni-Babo that some inhabitants eat rice with sea products or MSG. Goods distribution can be used to predict future health conditions (Nayati 1998b, 1998c).

When the port of Makassar became a transit point as a main stopover on the way to eastern Indonesia, the situation in Bintuni-Babo also arose in several places in eastern Indonesia. Factory-made products from Java and outside the country are imported to the port of Makassar, and then redistributed to other areas, including the Sulawesi hinterland, the islands of Maluku, and Irian. As a result, many commodities available in Java are also available in eastern Indonesia, including Bantaeng. The only major difference is that because Bantaeng is self-sufficient in food supplies, including rice, maize, and cassava, the need for MSG is not a major factor, unlike Bintuni-Babo. From the difference in the distribution of goods in Bintuni-Babo and observation in Bantaeng, it appears that similar differences may also have occurred in the past, albeit in different form.

The existence of trading centers in Java can be traced from maps. Trading markets in rural and urban areas are recorded. It can be proven that some trading centers have existed
for more than 50 years. This implies that old maps and ethnographical information can be used for inferring past trading activities.

A modified central place model for the redistribution of goods has been ethnographically studied by Alexander (1982) and Alexander and Alexander (2001) in relation to Javanese traditional markets. The five-day system of the Javanese market week controls the basic redistribution system in remote areas of Java. This system is also observed in Simalungun, (North Sumatra) (Clauss 1982). However the transportation available and the distance between markets varied, in Java and outside Java depending on geographical conditions.

In inland Java, markets held on the day Kliwon of the five-day Javanese market week are the principal markets. Central market towns are commonly surrounded by four other smaller market towns which are held on other days. This is known as the mancapat-mancalima pattern. It is however possible that non-kliwon markets will overtake the kliwon market if better transport facilities for example are built, or other marketplaces are more secure. Many studies focus on the individual participant, such as how certain producers distribute their goods, the stratification of traders into bakul (retail), calo (mediator), tengkulak (agent), and pengepul (collector), and how the traders target periodic markets for their activity. This difference in types of trade possibly also arose in Bantaeng, but was probably designated with local terms.

In the market, the traders lay out their commodities for sale directly on the ground, as seen from ethnographic observations in several places in Java, Timor, Flores, southern part Maluku, and Sorong district in Irian/west Papua. However, some traders have stalls, either permanent or semi-permanent. That implies that only permanent stall holders leave their unsold commodities after trading hours, but others take unsold commodities with them. The
manner of displaying items such as is found in the markets above is also quite possibly found in Bantaeng, since only a few INPRES markets have been built in Bantaeng Regency. This might indicate that learning about trading activity is quite tricky since the commodities are removed from the markets. The conclusion is that study of ancient trading commodities must concentrate on settlements where they were used.

In eastern Indonesian markets, we often find divisions of locations in the market places, such as specific areas for vegetables and fruits, fish and sea products, cloth, baskets and earthenware, and cooked foods. This leads to the division in gender—male and female—within the market place (Alexander and Alexander 2002; Babb 2001). However, in Lamalera (Lesser Sunda), the division is based on location of groups: coastal and hinterland groups (Mahartono 1993). The hinterland area goods are located in the center of the market, while the coastal people are outside the market. This implies that spatial division in markets varies from one place to another.

Ethnographical data in rural areas south of Yogyakarta record in 1997 the collection of a tax of 50 rupiah for part time traders who bring small goods and 100 rupiah for part time traders who bring goods double the quantity or more. The tax for full time traders is more than for part time traders. In Lamalera (Nusa Tenggara Timur) part time traders pay tax not in cash but in the goods they brought into the market, and the accumulation of taxed goods is then sold to the public by the collector for the village (Mahartono 1993).

Tax is collected from the traders in the trading centers —full time and part time traders. In Java, tax is in cash and depends on the commodity brought into the market, but in remote areas, where cash is scarce, tax is paid in kind, in the commodity itself. The amount
of tax is very flexible—a kind of reciprocity, but it has social effects, as people will witness how much tax the part time traders pay. It implies that tax is paid differently from place to place, both the amount and the types. Consequency, in understanding the trading activity in the past is needed an open mind as differentiation between place to place is could be wide but might also be narrow, however it is difficult to prove this assumption archaeologically.

The location of market places affects both the flow of people and the distribution of commodities as well as indicating the role played by culture in the trading system. The location varied depending on whether it was in the hinterland, in the coastal region, or in between those two geographical conditions, and within all those three options. As a result, there is range of possibilities of flow: coastal people to hinterland, coastal to coastal, hinterland to hinterland, hinterland to coastal trading places.

The traders and buyers involved at this level of redistribution come to the market places using local routes, either facilitated by the government or by local people or by using shortcut paths. With better transport facilities, smaller actors are able to become involved in the distribution of goods, because they can reach the remote areas in a relatively short time.

Based on a study in small islands in Southeast Maluku and in the coastal-hinterland area in Babo-Bintuni (Papua) it has been shown that non-local people trade only in the harbors while redistribution to the hinterland is undertaken by the local people (Nayati 1998a, 1998b; 2000). The non-local traders are divided into two groups, the Chinese who have lived in that area or in adjacent areas for more than two generations or Chinese born in Papua, while the second group is the Makassarese and Buginese.
The second group travels from place to place using public sea transportation and sells their commodity in the harbor while the ship docks for around four to eight hours. Non-local commodities are carried into remote areas by the small traders, then taken further by local traders. According to ethnographic observation in Gunung Kidul and Kotagede (Yogyakarta), not all redistributors sell their goods in all five market places. Often they may sell in the peak market and in only other two market places. The traders use non-trading days for collecting commodities in higher level markets and do household activities. However, those activities are not recorded from artifacts and from written sources. As consequences the persons who deal in one harbor or in one trading place could change from time to time, as well as the form of transport they use and the time they choose.

There are many possibilities for contact between traders, agents, and consumers. The trading activity may take place at the harbor, during unloading, at the coast, at the villages located either in the interior, the coastal region or in between those two topographical areas. Local trading networks become an extension of long distance trading networks. That implies that exchange can happen at any time without permanent place or buildings. This implies that trading activity in the past is difficult to reconstruct, since the market can be reused for other functions such as for houses.

The sources of supply of non-local goods could be from neighboring communities but sometimes originate from sources beyond the range of their knowledge. Porcelain, plastic goods, and non local fruits are good example. However, the names of markets imply specialization in trading activities. Markets in Indonesia include descriptions such as Pasar Buah (Fruit market), Pasar Sentul (a kind of fruit), Pasar Kembang (Flower Market), Pasar Ikan (Fish market), Pasar Kewan/hewan (animal market), Pasar Telo (Cassava and sweet pota-
toes market), Pasar Sayur (Vegetables market), and Pasar Sepeda (Bicycle market); related to the environment of a place such as Pasar Sukun (Bread fruit Market- referring to a market located near a bread fruit tree); the size of market such as Pasar Gede/Besar (Big Market/central market), and Pasar Sentral (Central Market), and time such as Pasar Pagi (morning market) and Pasar Sore (evening market). The commodities reach the consumers in many ways—in general trading places and in special trading places; on special days and at special hours, in central trading activity and in lower level trading activity. This implies that trading activity in the past is a complex subject which needed holistic approach.

In small islands in Maluku and Nusa Tenggara Timur people paddle their prau for one to two hours to the periodic market, while hinterland and coastal people walk more than four hours to reach periodic markets. Based on ethnographic observation, it can be concluded that the periodic market system is governed not only by activities of ceremonial and exploitation for subsistence but available transportation, distance, and geographical condition (islands in the Aru case). Patterns of distribution of commodities will differ between elevated and flat areas, between big island and small islands.

Distributing goods sometimes needs much time and effort. The earthenware traders in Aru island exchange their commodities (earthenware and dried fish) for local crops, then re-sell the local crops and left-over products to the trading center in Dobo\(^1\)—the capital of the district. The local people rarely go to trading centers because it takes four to five hours by ketinting or boat, which cost them around Rp. 10,000 to 15,000\(^2\) in 1996 (Nayati 1998a).

\(^1\) This is a daily market, and the only market in the Islands area of Aru in Maluku.
\(^2\) Equal to S$3 – S$4 in 2002.
The redistribution of goods does not necessarily involve many actors. Ethnographical study and personal observation have collected data showing that the distribution of goods, especially staples and local harvest, are exchanged in simple ways—between the available and the unavailable products. In Roti and Sawu, Fox (1977) recorded the exchange of special services for staples. Mahartono (1993) has recorded the exchange between coastal and hinterland people in islands within Nusa Tenggara Timur. On Watulai (Aru Island), pottery makers exchange their wares for local harvest products, which will later be resold in the market place (Nayati 1998a). In many cases the redistribution of products only needs two or three actors to reach the final users.

The number of actors is also related to distance, available routes including transport facilities, season, and the hierarchy of market places. This market hierarchy (central, region, and village) creates its own hierarchy of actors. The better network and the support of a good mediation system enhance the possibilities of the actors traveling along the network easily.\(^3\) Such factors are also related to the density of population.\(^4\)

Moreover, it is possible for actors to cross political and social boundaries. Their experience in adjusting to all conditions and situations improves their action in distributing goods well beyond customary borders, especially when the mechanism of distribution is available (Arnold 1985).

Some redistribution systems use the same local routes regularly, forming a stable pattern. This regularity is related to some particular factors. For example, geographical conditions may make people use regular routes or at least take recognized short

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\(^3\) Also packaging of goods (see Arnold 1985)

\(^4\) These related to the rate of breakage during use and the demand for new goods because of special functions (for offerings, new goods are needed). For more detail see Arnold (1985).
cuts to reach similar places. Small investment traders are able to redistribute their goods to remote areas by foot where there is limited transportation or in a hazardous environment, such as in hinterland Bantaeng, (west) Timor Island in Nusa Tenggara Timur, and remote places in Java.

Depictions of commodities being carried are also seen in everyday life in Indonesia, especially by rural people. The Javanese data is not found in other islands in Indonesia. However ethnographical data display interisland similarity from the standpoint of bringing commodities to market and how people use tracks and paths to reach the markets. Those ethnographical data can be useful for inferring the existence of similar conditions in the past.

Internal and external trade are often difficult to separate, as the local level exchange can flow on to a wider environment as peddling traders occasionally conduct business beyond their local scope. The peddler needs to trade with more than local goods, which are generally readily available to everybody (Schiel 1994). Peddling activity then can lead to the formation of supra-local alliances, so exchange is not simply an economic transaction and purely private activity but it is a total social phenomenon and it is the public sphere, which gives coherence to the alliance networks.

The type of local staple is also related to how much energy the people obtain from their food and how long it can last. In Bantaeng (South Sulawesi, Indonesia), people in the hinterland have to spend the same time to get either to the market place or the cultivated land, so they prefer going to the market that is located around two hours by foot from their village (Nayati 2000).

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5 Arnold (1985) took account of the nutrition, energy and environment in understanding culture history from ceramics. This implies that understanding the local staples is also important for inferring cultural contact—including economic activity.
In contrast, ethnographic observation in a remote area south of Yogyakarta suggests that people there do not have a time barrier and regularly trade in a market place which is located more than 25 km away from their home. They arrive a day before the market opens and stay overnight in the market place. In consequence, much trading activity starts before the actual hour of opening.

During that pre-market period, many traders try to buy local harvest products and resell them in the actual market or take them on to other market places. It can therefore be inferred that the distribution here is not restricted to a top-down flow but also runs from local to inter-local or over a wider space/region.

In Loweleba (Nusa Tenggara Timur), distance is also not a barrier for trading. Barnes explains that people sometimes come a day before the official in charge of the market gives the signal to start, and later to end, the trading activity. Although those people are not allowed to trade before the opening signal, they try to find out ahead of time about other people’s products and identify possibilities for trade during the actual trading hours.

During this time, coastal and hinterland people are passing their products around and trying to plan how to satisfy their nutritional needs and the demands of their other activities including preparing for ceremonies. Distribution of local products also takes place between local people who have limited products because of local geographical variations.

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6 Personal conversation with Dr. Sumijati Atmosudiro. Archaeology Department, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia. September 2001.
Redistribution of commodities—from first traders to second traders then to the consumers outside the trading center also has identifiable characteristics. Here the redistribution of goods takes the form of passing goods to other smaller actors/traders to distribute to other areas.

The quantity of goods is less than the actors at the center traded, and the more the actors below the main actor, the wider the distribution network may be. These actors could follow the hierarchy of market places to distribute their goods, but they can also be free to arrange their own distribution of their goods—both in terms of region and time—so that it is possible that certain goods may be traded over a very long time period. As recorded during personal ethnographic study in Tanimbar Island (Southeast Maluku) in 1998, a Makassarese is known to have traded a Sawankhalok jar for 1,000 pieces of copra with local people in the 1970s. This implies that redistribution of goods can occur well beyond the immediate space, time, and actors involved in the initial trade transaction. For this reason, the use of archaeological data for research on trade requires caution, since distribution may be conducted several times by different people at different times. Imported goods found in Bantaeng especially must be considered because relative dating must be accompanied and supported with complimentary data. In addition, the presence of archaeological finds in Bantaeng cannot be separated from other overseas trading centers, because other sites may well contain the same types of objects.

4. Central Place Model of Trade

The central place theory assigns territory to centers according to their scale, and the basic approach to defining a hierarchy based on scale is to ascertain the size of the sites
(Renfrew and Bahn 1996). Under certain ideal conditions of topography, hierarchies of settlements will develop in smaller towns and markets, which will be grouped in hexagonal patterns around larger centers. This model is valid for sites in a given region which fall neatly into series of categories according to variations in site size.

In order for the central place model to apply, market exchange must be integrated and form a region-wide system. The hierarchical system of the central place theory is based on various predictions. Market centers must exist and be located at minimized distances and transportation facilitation/conditions, resources, and information must be equally distributed in all directions. Moreover, market suppliers are assumed to be knowledgeable and rational in seeking to maximize profit, and markets are equally knowledgeable and rational in seeking minimal cost. Lastly, suppliers must be numerous and competitive, meeting all threshold demands. However those requirements are rarely found in the real world, especially as market centers in rural areas must also perform retail services because the production centers/areas in these areas are dispersed (Smith 1974).

The main assumption of the central place model is that energy expenditure is minimized as far as possible to obtain something. In lowlands, less energy is required for travel than in hilly areas. The economic system is based on a price-fixing market. If all these conditions are fulfilled, sites of economic activity and settlements should form a hexagonal lattice with a hierarchical distribution of market centers.

Within the hexagonal lattice, there may be variations based on different relationships between low-level and high-level centers. Distances between lower-level centers and high-level centers and the availability of transportation are some of the main sources of variation.
Modifications of central place systems are dominated K-2, K-3, K-4, K-7, K-9, and K-12 in which the \( K \) value indicates the number of lower-level centers nested within the hinterlands of a higher-level center (Smith 1974). K-2 is linear in pattern as transportation becomes so dominant that rural areas are left unserved by market centers. It is also called the Rhomboidal model.

K-3 is called the Marketing Landscape. A settlement is located in the middle of three high-level centers, so the populations can choose among three alternatives to sell their products at highest price and buy their needs at the lowest price.

![Diagram 1: Central Place Model K-3](image)

K-4 is called the Transport Landscape, in which lower-level centers are located between two higher-level centers. Here the options for selling and buying are fewer than in K-3, as there are only two higher-level centers nearby, but in this pattern, transportation cost is minimized because the distance between the centers is shorter.

In the K-7 variant, termed an Administrative Landscape, lower-level settlements can only contact one higher-level center and there is no option for people to sell and purchase
goods in other high-level centers. Thus buyers will not get strong competition from other trading centers. On the other hand, administrative costs are lessened.
The central place model is, in many ways, similar to Xtent modeling. However the latter places more emphasis on size in order to differentiate between central place and other levels of settlements (Hagget 1977; Renfrew and Bahn 1996) and the size of each center is assumed to be directly proportional to its area of influence. Although the Xtent model never offers more than a simple approximation of the political reality, it does allow a hypothetical political map to be constructed from appropriate survey data (Renfrew and Bahn 1996).

Nevertheless, both models do not pay adequate attention to roads or paths that connect settlements in different levels, and between settlements, to particular aspects within settlements, such as a religious building, ceremonial place, trading place, and house, or to their resources, such as sawah fields, forest, and also canals/rivers. Yet those roads and paths are important clues to understanding movement of people and resources.

The K-4 pattern is mostly found in studies of China, the Philippines, Ghana, Guatemala, and Britain (Smith 1974). However, in China, where the region considered is extensive and development is uneven, the K-3 pattern is also found where transportation is poorly developed (Smith 1974). Nevertheless, after a period of intensive development, the K-3 will change to a K-4 pattern. Skinner has proposed that when population increases, the market pattern will also be affected; for example markets may be open for an added day or a longer duration. As markets grow, new markets will appear to service new groups (Smith 1974). In contrast, lower-level markets could be demolished as transportation from the lower-level market to the higher-level market is improved, making the latter more convenient and less costly than before.

The main limitation of the central place model is that it only takes account of the size, number, and distribution of towns, and it only offers explanations for the some of the retail
activity which takes place in periodic peasant marketplaces. For example, what if the consumers in the lower-level center are also producers, who also act as part-time traders who want to sell their products for cash?

This situation can be even more complex. Several decades ago, most inhabitants of the rural areas were peasants and so they were also part-time traders, but now, in some cases in Indonesia, some of the rural inhabitants are officials, who may also farm as a part-time activity but since they hold high social status, they do not sell their products themselves. The role of mediators is important in filling the gap—not only fulfilling local subsistence needs but also buying local products.

The Indonesian political and social system, in many respects, is based on the concept of centralization. Centralization in administration leads to centralization of facilities in certain places in every province. This makes a provincial capital city more attractive for trade than other cities as economic facilities are more developed than in other lower-level administration centers.

The differences in facilities between urban and rural areas encourage people to migrate to the capital city, which in turn affects the supply of manpower in the rural areas. In contrast, some people have been posted to the rural areas as officials but these newcomers rarely have any ability or experience in cultivation and so the new group remains as consumers while the local people continue as cultivators.

Unequal development affects the evolution of any new transportation network. The main transportation network connects the lower-level administration, while other networks have been built by local participation to meet local needs. The Indonesian government only builds main roads, asphalt-covered, on the sites of pre-existing gravel and dirt roads. This
situation is seen clearly outside Java, such as in Timor, Flores, Tanimbar, Kei, Aru, and Babo-Bintuni (Papua). Participation of local people is very significant in converting dirt roads to gravel and asphalt. *Gotong royong* is not only used for building houses but also in building rural transportation networks.

This process of development then shapes the distribution of settlements into a linear pattern, as the major road does not connect settlements. Thus the changing of settlement patterns and the types of transportation network are points which should be considered in applying any economic models.

The development of a hierarchy of market places has been encouraged in recent development planning in Indonesia. Pasar INPRES (Instruksi Presiden= Presidential Instruction), instituted during the Suharto era- are new markets which act as central markets located in sub-district centers and regencies/municipalities, however not all areas have obtained INPRES markets. Pasar INPRES or INPRES markets have similar patterns, each with two or more buildings for the use of traders. This pattern differs from the non-government market place or Pasar Desa (village market) in which the traders provide their own facilities. The INPRES markets are linked to the Pasar Desa as trading centers, where local people exchange their local resources for non-

Figure 13: Traders provide their own facilities as seen in BaroE.
Figure 14: Facilities built by traders in village market.

Figure 15: A typical INPRES market: Layoa market.

Figure 16: A typical INPRES market: Loka market.
local commodities, obtain non-local commodities, and also meet for social interaction, since not all sub-districts have markets.

Unequal development in the eastern part of Indonesia is symptomatic of the unequal economic development in the whole country. The inland transportation network is limited, and not all areas have modern transportation networks or trading centers. The inland interactions in such areas continue to use traditional routes and means of transportation: on foot and horses (for instance in some parts of Sulawesi, especially Jeneponto, Bantaeng, and Bulukumba). In some islands, both foot and boats are used, as in some parts of Maluku, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara. Unequal development especially in eastern Indonesia, which is more based on local culture, creates the possibility for inferring past economic relationships using an ethnoarchaeological approach.

Centralized trading patterns possibly apply with modifications in eastern Indonesia. Trading places are sometimes located between two villages, and between two different geographical areas. As cash is rare in rural areas in eastern Indonesia, reciprocal and barter trade also exist (Fox 1977; Barnes and Barnes 1989; Mahartono 1993; Nayati 1997, 1998a, 1998b). The trading activities are organized based on local culture and local consensus.

Inferences on trading patterns before 1900 are only based on observed distributions of long lasting artifacts combined with historical data/archives (Cortesao 1944; Bassett 1958; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962; Kathirithamby-Wells 1969; Brown 1974; Macknight 1976a, 1976b; Adhyatman 1981, 1990; Pinardi 1981; Christie 1982, 1992; Arnold 1985; Miksic 1985; Pantjawati 1985; Bulbeck 1987, 1998; Lim 1987; Sutherland, Heather and Bree 1987; Andaya L 1991; Andaya B 1993a; Atmosudiro and Nugrahani 1994; Leirissa 1994; Doran 1997; Nayati 1997; Barrett 2001). On the basis of observed unequal distributions of mate-
rial culture in similar geographical areas in Peru, Mexico, Mississippi, and the Philippines, it has been inferred that elite groups controlled local resources and craft specialists for profits (Renfrew 1975; Randsborg 1981; Earle and Ericson 1982; La Lone 1982; Santley 1983, 1991; Earle 1987; Rice 1987; Hicks 1989; Feinman 1991; Hirth 1991; Wallace 1991; Wolters 1991; Cobb 1996; Hickerson 1996; Junker 1990a, 1990b, 1993, 1994; Schortman and Urban 1996; Smyth 1996; Doran 1997; Shackel 2000). The archaeological data does not always supply data on trading activity as archeologists won’t find all activities of the past reflected in artefacts, and not all areas are recorded historically. This situation implies that the ethnoarchaeological approach is important for understanding the past, especially trading activity.

Wealth, resources, and followers are three variables which cannot be separated. Elite groups by definition have power which can be used to control people and resources. Moreover the elite controlled craft specialists whose products were used only by elites or only for special trading. Resources were often located not in the core areas but in peripheral areas, but were then accumulated in the core. This central place model is similar in some ways to the core-periphery model; however, in the core-periphery model areas are more widespread and located in different geographical conditions (Haggett 1966; Crumley 1976; Haggett, Cliff and Frey 1977; Bradford and Kent 1977; Champion 1989).

Resources, crafts, specialists, and people accumulated in the core areas. In order to maintain their wealth, elites redistribute some, by returning part of the resources directly and also by organizing feasts for their followers. However, a question arises when we are dealing with an area without craftmen. Would a central place model be observed?
Centralized activity in elite group areas leads to the hypothesis that a central place pattern applied in Central Mexico and Peru in the 10th century. However, people could have distributed their products individually and settlements located in ecotone areas may have acted as gateways between outsider and insiders (Hickerson 1966). This data can be used as an illustration that ecotones may be sites of contact between areas, for example plateaus and coastal lowlands.

In Indonesia, core periphery patterns were observable before 1900 during the periods of the Netherlands Indies, and during the Islamic Kingdoms period. Jakarta, formerly Batavia, became the core of trading activity in the 17th century. Before the colonial period, the centers of political, economic and religious were in the capitals of kingdoms: Sriwijaya, Aceh, Pasai, Kutei, Banten, Cirebon, Yogyakarta (including Kotagede and Plered), Kartosura, Surakarta, Demak, and Trowulan, Gowa, Luwu, Bone, Ternate, Tidore and Buton. Capitals of kingdoms were centers with many functions: political, social, cultural, and economic. The elite in the core areas controlled the resources of the periphery. Periphery areas were under lower-level bureaucrats who had to come regularly to core areas. In Yogyakarta until the 1980s buildings in the north Alun-alun (open space) named Pekapalan, were used for housing the lower-level bureaucrats from the periphery. Lower bureaucrats in the past were usually group leaders, so that they can be termed natives from the periphery. Lower level bureaucrats received direct orders from the king, but they implemented them without continuous oversight. The kings would hold periodic meetings to maintain regional stability and retain the obedience and loyalty of their subjects and lower level bureaucrats, especially those whose areas were far from the political centres. In some places, the king
gave daughters to lower level bureaucrats as wives. Such royal alliances were useful in linking the lower level bureaucrats to the king.

The periphery paid tax—both in labor and local commodities to the rulers. In returned they obtained ‘paringan’ (gift in Javanese) from the ruler. The ruler twice a year organized feasts including mounds of food called Gunungan (Javanese “mountain-like”) which consists of rice and vegetables from periphery areas. The Gunungan from the palace is brought to the central mosque for ceremonial prayer by Islamic leaders, then distribute to the people. The Gunungan is kind of ‘paringan ndalem’ (Jav. Gift from the ruler) for people, therefore people try to grab as much as they can.

Such a depiction of the situation in Java possibly also applied to Sulawesi, particularly to Bantaeng. This is because the rulers were always surrounded by officials, whether members of his lineage or not. In addition, royal power was believed to be divinely conferred, the king being the emissary of God on earth, or the essence of divinity, so that those who possessed it were seen as very special beings. Therefore, a form of worship which combined loyalty of followers was an important basic element of social organization. On the other hand, the rulers also conducted rituals which involved all their subjects, which served the function of reinforcing their authority as an emissary and essence of divinity/God on earth who could control life including that of his people.

Central and periphery relations can still be observed in several places in Java such as in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Cirebon where the Sultan still acts as a source of symbolic power. Distance is not a principal consideration for people to obtain the Sultan’s blessing. The distance between their residence and the ceremonial centre is not an obstacle to people outside Java because by attending they will obtain blessing, especially if they are able to
acquire a piece of the offering. They are therefore willing to go to great difficulty to make
time to undertake long journeys involving much trouble in order to participate and unite the
rituals sponsored by rulers. When the transportation network was not good or not available,
people came to the core without considering distance, as they stayed overnight before the
ritual commenced.

However, some aspects of life in the periphery developed independently. People
in border and coastal areas had regular contact with outsiders more than with core
areas. Trading centers developed in periphery areas to support local needs. People at
the periphery also came in contact with other central place systems. Development of
the periphery is not always similar to the core as people on the periphery were free to
sell their surplus products after they paid tax to the rulers.

5. **Dendritic Model of Spatial Analysis**

In the dendritic model, all lower-level centers are tied to a single higher-level center in
a chain that is entirely vertical without horizontal links and located in a bounded marketing
system (Smith 1974). Such a system can be identified when there is a hierarchy of markets
along a single riverine network where the main producers were located around the lowest-
level centers of the river’s tributaries (*hulu*-Indonesia). The highest-level center in a den-
dritic system is located at the mouth of the river (*hilir*), which controls the flow of the goods
from the lower-level centers to the highest-level center. Other names for this model include
the *Hulu-hilir* network or Upstream-Downstream model since the flow of resources is
from *hulu* to *hilir*. The center also dominates the upstream areas because all imported items
come from overseas trading partners. Iron, salt, and cloth, which were not produced locally,
had to be imported. The highest-level centers controlled all access to these necessities by the lower-level centers.

There is no necessary political connection between upstream and downstream markets. Trading centers could act as gateways for the upstream areas without needing to control them politically (Hirth 1978; Miksic 1979). Gateway areas have been observed connecting coastal to hinterland areas in north Sumatra (Indonesia (Miksic 1979), and in Hasinai (New Mexico) between Pueblo and Southern Plains (Hickerson 1996).

The dendritic model is mostly applicable to colonial enclaves (or ex colonial enclaves), where the products are cash crops and minerals from mines. The flow of goods from the lowest-level market depends on demand from buyers located outside of the network. Those products are for export, and the colonial networks were planned for transporting those export products to the gateways or downstream ports (Smith 1974, 1976; Hirth 1978). So it can be said that the highest-level centers act as collectors and mediators for distributing the lower-level centers’ products and for distributing non-local products into the lower-lever centers in their control network (Miksic 1984). Such a model might be expected in ex-colonial countries in Southeast Asia.

One important factor is the distance between the highest-level center and the lowest-level center in the network. The lower the center is, the further it is from the highest-level center; or it can be said that the highest-level center is in the core and the lowest-level center is at the periphery. The perfect conditions for application of the dendritic application are: (a) there are many very small peasant market centers, with one or two primary markets, and one higher-level market; (b) the lower-level markets are located in isolated areas, and (c)
transport is very poor, so that the only links are those between lowest-level markets and higher-level markets (Smith 1974).

The lowest-level centers are isolated so that producers are not able to make contact with other parties or with other distributing networks. Although there are no necessary political connections between upper-level and lower-level centers in the network, politically-dominant centers will always be located at one side of the system (coastal area) rather than in the geographical centers.

Miksic (1985) argued that this pattern does not in fact apply to south Sumatra, where the ancient kingdom of Sriwijaya was located, because historical data indicates that people at the periphery (the hinterland areas along the Barisan mountains) have long been in contact with parties located in different river drainages and have always had options of more than one marketing network for selling their products. Therefore producers could have distributed their commodities to other hulu areas, or hilir areas from different rivers. Geographical boundaries have not traditionally been in main consideration in distributing goods in western Indonesia.

The dendritic model can be used to study the size of settlements and to estimate the (a) transport time and cost, (b) profit and state revenues, and (c) quantities and kinds of goods involved in trading. Many of those factors could also be tested from written sources, both local and non-local, but archaeological data is difficult to find for such verification because appropriate research has not been done in Indonesia where most studies are interested in only one type of subject.

In a dendritic system the flow of imported goods is from the highest-level down to the lowest-level end, as there is only a single network (Smith 1974; Bronson 1977; Miksic
The prices of goods differ between upstream and downstream ends because of the transportation cost between different centers—the higher the transportation cost, the higher...
the price of the good. The prices are easily manipulated by agents and distributors.

In a dendritic system, mediators will easily control the prices and amount of goods. Consequently the producers will remain poor while the mediators will get high profits, and there is no real competition between centers because the goods and the prices are in the control of the buyers (Miksic 1984), who act as mediators. Competition is not seen in terms of spatial monopoly or commodity oligopoly. The real competition is between one highest-level center and other highest-level centers in different bounded systems, which lie beyond the producers and people living in the periphery.

However, Miksic (1984) has shown that one case, south Sumatra, lower-level producers were able to sell their products to more than one riverine network. Miksic showed that people were able to explore market possibilities themselves by crossing between watersheds (Miksic 1984) Miksic contradicted Bronson’s implication that such a model could explain the Srivijayan kingdom and other early Indonesian traditional system

Dendritic transportation networks and communication networks are formed along rivers in many regions in Southeast Asia (Junker 1999). There is little detail on trading networks based on the sea in the Indonesian Archipelago, but in general it can be concluded that Asians and local Indonesians worked together to collect local commodities in the periphery to exchange for luxury goods (Cortesao 1944; van Leur 1955; Schrike 1955; Meilink-Roelofz 1962; Kathirithamby-Wells 1969, 1993; Bronson 1977; Miksic 1979, 1985; Reid 1983, 1992; Andaya 1993; Drakkard 1992; Swalding 1996) which were then taken to a bigger trading center or entreport in the coastal area (Kathirithamby-Wells 1969, 1993; Macknight 1976; Drakard 1992; Nayati 1985, 1994, 1998; Leirissa 2000).
If the commodities were forest products or interior products, intermediaries played an important role in collecting local commodities in that sectors, and distributing non-local products to the interior people. The exact role of the agency/intermediary is not known, but much can be inferred from the distribution of non-local products in interior areas (Barret 2000 and 2001; Doran 1999; Gifford 1978; Nayati 2001) and also the networks of social and political systems. However, the distribution of non-local products could be distributed according to different patterns than local products, as the non-local products constituted scarce resources.

There are some serious constraints in applying Bronson’s Upstream-downstream model in the Bantaeng region. Firstly, Bronson suggested that his model will only be applicable if the area lies ‘in the interfluvial countryside of the drainage basin’ (Bronson 1977). The region should be ‘marshy, forested, mountainous to confine all movements of goods to water routes, rendering the economic pattern closely congruent with the dendritic pattern formed by the main stream and its tributaries’ (Bronson 1977).

In the Bantaeng region, while there are marshy, forested and mountainous places, the rivers are not major rivers of the Sulawesi Peninsula (Whitten et al. 1987). Also the rivers cannot be used by canoes going upstream, and they do not have as many as branches as the Musi River, in Sumatra, which is Bronson’s model. Nevertheless, pathways along riverbanks from upstream to downstream were used. The riverside routes have not changed greatly over time.

Manguin has shown that Bronson’s fieldwork at Palembang came to some mistaken conclusions. Also, Bronson never acknowledged the fact that his upstream-downstream pattern is in fact the dendritic pattern, which geographers have long recognized. He never
refers to geographical research on dendritic systems at all. Thus he missed the chance to use the available insights, which geographers provide.

Bronson also did not explain the settlement stages in clear detail, so it is still difficult to apply his theory to other regions. He does not even mention types of settlements—whether ephemeral (a few days’ duration), temporary (several weeks’ duration), seasonal settlements, semi-permanent or permanent (Roberts 1996)—especially important for the places which Bronson called D, E, and F. Those three places are located beyond the riverbank, mostly in forest and mountain areas. Local people have geographical knowledge which enables them to travel anywhere and back successfully—such as going into the forest. The path routes are highly irregular in layout owing to their avoidance of natural obstacles (Earle 1991), but local people understand the alternative routes, which are usually the result of necessity. Moreover, a path in the forest is easier to maintain because it just involves clearing foliage (Tilley 1994).

6. Bantaeng: Possibility of Applying Dendritic and Central Place Models

Even though studies utilizing the dendritic model to reconstruct ancient political and economical systems are potentially useful, the model as it stands does not include measurements of the size of settlements or estimates of the transport time and cost, the profit and state revenues, and the quantities and kinds of goods involved in trading. Also, it does not pinpoint the hierarchy of settlements and trading centers along the rivers. For this reason previous studies utilizing the dendritic model are mainly important in proving only that there were indeed trading connections between the hinterland and coastal areas.
The main point of Bronson’s study is that the type of marketing pattern which applied in a river basin may reflect the way political systems functioned in the past. However, other scholars have suggested different modes of analysis for the data from areas, which would seem to have been ideal examples of a dendritic system in the past. Andaya found a central periphery system in Palembang where the core of a region developed as a result of advantages of physical conditions and location (such as abundant resources, agriculture, mineral, forests, ports) or even proximity to a rich neighbor. The core was tied to the neighboring areas by treaties or marriages (Andaya 1993).

Kathirithamby-Wells’s political economic system (1985) in Palembang (Sumatra) differs from these two studies. Her work showed how a centralized polity controlled areas, which had abundant important and expensive products. It is clear that local characteristics play a big role in the evolution of economic and political systems. Nevertheless, no studies have yet investigated whether in any region a central place system gradually changed to become dendritic, or vice-versa.

However, information about trading activity, especially inland, in the past is still scattered. Historical documents written by non-local people after the 17th century and some local manuscripts help us in understanding the role of trade. The information from foreigners’ reports is also limited as the foreigners were not allowed to travel inland and they only traveled for periods of limited duration. Information about the economic aspects of any particular society in Indonesia in the past is sparse.

Most of the available data is a record of coastal trading activity and the local networks have not been studied intensively (Nayati 1994). Ethnographical studies can benefit the understanding of the past trading activity as it is always included in exchange activity, which includes the
dowry and gift (and reciprocal) ceremonies (Mauss 1994). Archaeological data here has an important role in adding to evidence for local trading activity, as the ironsmiths and potters were not recorded in historical sources (Nayati 1994).

Moreover, it is held that such exchanges (including trading) work together with the social organization, while the political organization may also be involved in the exchange activity due to control of the gateways of the commodities and taxes. However, Renfrew’s models show the possibilities of understanding exchange patterns by considering landscape. Reciprocity can be conducted either at a home base or at a boundary. It can also take place at a central place, colonial enclave, or port of trade (Renfrew 1975).

However, it is difficult to trace the involvement of local people in south Sulawesi both in the center and beyond the center, as this subject cannot be studied using archaeological data. The peripheral people supported themselves by exploiting their local environment, but
they also supported the center area. Yet how people acted during the exchange remains uncertain. Even the locations of trading places are not clear because the commodities have been taken away from them by the buyers.

Evidence of exchanges mainly consists of artifacts usually located outside the trading place. There is still little information about the types of local commodities involved in early south Sulawesi, the quality and quality of those commodities, and how local people obtained them.

Other unanswered questions about trading activity relate to the operation of the different networks: how did they protect their livelihood when outsiders become involved in the local system? To what extent were they affected by the ‘international trading network’ and how did they co-operate with those activities? What local networks have been formed? If they took part in the trading network, how far did they have to travel to participate in it? What kind of structure and network did they have to support their involvement? Most important is what we can learn from locational data, since from that data we can infer the sources of commodities, people’s adaptation in relation to their needs, how people share their environment, and how economic activity related to cultural life especially social and political activity.

Trading activity has long been one of the most important communication tools in the Indonesian Archipelago. It connected sites in the interior to the coastal and coastal to coastal both inter-islands, inter-nations and inter-continent. During trading activities, the exchange is not merely between goods but also involves language, technology, ideas, and other matters.
The ability to absorb foreign culture differs between places, which leads to the special characteristics of different sites. Thus, acknowledge of trading is essential in archaeological study as it assists in understanding the interaction of people and ideas. Moreover it can be used in interpreting how people in a community absorbed the culture which was suitable to their needs at that time.

All studies on trading activity actually focus on the same goal: explaining the economic system as a part of a broader system. Geographical conditions are recognized as influencing both sources of commodities and places where people live. While the adaptation of people to their environment is taken into account, some studies consider distance as a trigger for people’s movements while others consider profit, and another study considers both. Such studies are still based on the idea that every group or object of research has a distinctive and shared set of conditions.

Nevertheless their results are inevitably different as one study is based on a modern economic approach, another study is focused on rural behavior, which is located in isolated areas, and another studies the past through archives and artifacts. These studies also concentrate on different site areas, so the broader economic system is still only partially explained and the local economic system which involves common people is largely neglected.

There are many useful approaches in interpreting trading activity, focusing on how people’s behavior fulfills their daily basic needs and on geographical conditions which enable people to adapt and explore the landscape for their basic needs. Indeed those two approaches are intertwined as geographical conditions will influence how people behave and how they seek to satisfy their subsistence needs in exploring their landscape by crossing rivers, forests, mountains, and other natural obstacles to meet these needs.
Nevertheless, the way people exchange things is varied, depending on geographical pressures and types of needs. The value and the limitations in using the central place and dendritic models of spatial systems in order to understand the past in Bantaeng will be explored in a later chapter.

The central place and dendritic models both need to be tested by hypotheses in the Bantaeng region; whereas the rivers in this region are dendritic radial in type, the central place model may be supported by evidence for social complexity in this area. Moreover, the topography in Bantaeng region (39,583 ha) is varied, running from altitude 5 m ASL to above 1500 m ASL with low land, high land, and hilly land with V-shape river forms, flat flood fans, and a coastal area, all factors which affect the production and transportation of local commodities.

Hypotheses to be tested with historical, archaeological, geographical, and ethnographical data include the following: that the dendritic river system within Bantaeng influenced trading activities thus making the dendritic model applicable, so that trading with other places optimized access to harbors. In consequence the highest-level centers of activity, whether economic, political, religious, or population, in the past should be found on the coasts, and there should have been other harbors in south Sulawesi, which competed with the harbor in Bantaeng. If so, which harbor competed with Bantaeng harbor during the 16th–17th centuries? In contrast, if the centers of activity are found in the hinterlands, then the central place model is supported.

So again, the objectives of the research therefore are: to locate ancient centers; to examine the history of the development of spatial systems in south Sulawesi in order to detect any changes, to understand what the functions of centers, and to decide what kind of
local analysis model is appropriate for the Bantaeng region. The answer to this question will help us to understand the nature of political development in Bantaeng, and will also provide a model which can be tested against data from other parts of Indonesia.

If neither of these two models is found to be applicable for the Bantaeng region, we are left with unanswered questions about the kind of local cultures that have been developed in the Bantaeng region and what led to their development. The central place model allows for three different variants: the marketing principle with concentrating to the traders view; the transportation principle with stressing to the consumers’ ability to get cheaper goods from two different higher-level trading centers, and the administrative principle with focusing on the administration which made lower-level settlements reliant on one single center. The dendritic model focuses on the flow of local goods to outside users and the dominance of coastal areas over hinterlands.

In Bantaeng there are two traditional festivals: Karaeng LoE and Pa’jukukang. Karaeng LoE is conducted in Onco, whereas Pa’jukukang is held in Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke and Pa’jukukang coastal areas, near Nipa-nipa river. The Karaeng LoE feast relates to the Tomanurung procession and also to agriculture activity as it decides when people can start cultivates the land. Whereas Pa’jukukang relate to the legitimation of Lembang Gantarangkeke-and Gantarangkeke to Luwu and Bone political organization, as the feast used the I La Galigo legend.

Former political and sacred centers have been recognized from the Tomanurung sites or Saukang (Sacred site) and Ballaq Lompoa (Royal Palace). These are located in Sinowa, Onco, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke and Bantaeng city. These sites are not used for traditional activities, but as dwellings of Karaeng families or Pinati who are
responsible for the sacred heirlooms named *Gaukang*. Nevertheless, social stratification: lower and high-social status based on traditional descent—are still recognized in Bantaeng region.

Bantaeng is a regency with 15 trading centers for 167,828 people (as of 1989). Only Pasar Sentral, Panaikang and Dampang open daily, but others open twice a week. Four markets are located on the coastal area and the rest are in the hinterland. Only four act as higher-level centers, Sentral, Loka, Banyorang, and Lambocca, of which the biggest center is Pasar Sentral located in the Regency capital of Bantaeng city.

There are normally lower-level markets but sometimes operate as higher-level trading center, especially after harvest time. These types of trading centers are supplied with permanent buildings: Layoa, Campagalowe, and Dampang, whereas there are combinations of permanent and non-permanent buildings for trading activities are Parang, Bullowe, Kallamassang, and Jannayya/Barua.
Markets with non-permanent buildings in Bantaeng are Pasar Lama, Panaikang, Dapoko, BaroE, and Moti. There were four markets that are no longer active, namely Labbo, Campaga, Kampala, Batu Pangkaya, and Sinowa. These places remain as open space. There are several shops in Sinowa, BaroE, and Labbo but their stock has less than 10 items of each product, and sometimes only one or two pieces.

Bantaeng regency is divided into six Kecamatan (districts), Desa, and Dusun following the Indonesian centralized system of administration. Several public services are located in Kecamatan, including the district administration, school, market, bank, and public health center. Local people have to access the lower administration offices before moving up to other higher-level offices. This system entails that the higher-level has bigger and more complete facilities than the lower, whether for offices, public health centers, and banks. However, markets, which are controlled by the Dusun or Desa are free from direct involvement by the administrative system, as the taxes go to the Desa and Dusun.

There are four main transportation networks connecting coastal to hinterland Bantaeng. Running along the coastal area, there is a major provincial transportation road system connecting Makassar (the capital of South Sulawesi) to Takalar, Jeneponto, Bantaeng, Bulukumba and then running north along the east coast of south Sulawesi.

This major road connects to the north and also to (1) Loka through Campagalowe and Bunglowe and through Sinowa, (2) to Onto, (3) to BaroE, and (4) to Labbo. Only the provincial road and the road to Loka through Sinowa were constructed during the colonial era, and the rest have been built from 1972 onward. Otherwise there are intermediate and minor routes, which have mostly been built by the local people, supported by the government.
These transportation road systems connect many settlements within Bantaeng region. However there are isolated settlements, located in the high altitude areas, where people only interact with other settlements using paths and tracks. However this transportation results in distribution of settlements and goods from Bantaeng city to all places in the Bantaeng region and other areas. Nevertheless, these road systems are support by paths and tracks, which make the communication better than if it relied solely on the road system.

This detailed information is required in order to apply and test the validity of the central place and the dendritic models in order firstly to understand the contemporary economic system in the Bantaeng region and then to use these data for interpreting the economic system in the past, back to circa 16th century.

However, Bantaeng has been culturally looted from 1960s to 1980s. From the 1650s until 1945, Bantaeng was under the VOC and the Netherlands Indies. Moreover from 1950s to 1965 DI-TII\(^7\) Kahar Muzakar destroyed south Sulawesi areas. Long distance trade circa 17th century flourished less than before. In addition Bantaeng was not a craft area as no pottery, smith, or basketry activities were conducted in this region, so not many artifacts could help to infer the trading activity circa 17th century. Those limitations are special characteristics of Bantaeng, and are also useful in understand how people adapt to local situations.

Exchanges are always complex no matter where and when they occur. Needs differ between people, so that we cannot automatically assume that exchanges follow the same rules. Exchanges are often kept confidential, sometimes occurring without words or in whispers. After transactions are concluded, goods or services which have changed hands will be

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\(^7\) DI-TII (Darul Islam-Tentara Islam Indonesia) or Islamic State-Islamic Army Indonesia.
Map: 14
Location of Trading Centers in Relation to Asphalt Road in Bantaeng Region

Legend

- Trading Centers
  1. Kalamassang
  2. Lanboco
  3. Pasar Sentra-Pasar Lama
  4. Paraihang
  5. Campaka LoE
  6. Dapoko
  7. Layaa
  8. Mot
  9. Kampong
  10. Janayaa/Barsa
  11. Parang
  12. Buliuwe
  13. Loku

- Vanished Trading Centers
  16. Labbc
  17. Campa
  18. Kampaa
  19. Batu jangkaya
  20. Siona
  21. Buliave Lama

- Asphalt roads

Based on scale 1:50,000

Mapping by Win Than Tun, Seldiadi, Didik, and Widya Nayati
GIS by Simon Y Putra and Widya Nayati
transported elsewhere. There are however similarities which can be observed in different locations. Transactions are normally connected with items which are owned and needed. The situation in Java can be used with caution as an analogy or comparison with the commercial situation in Bantaeng. The significant differences between the two areas can be identified and the validity of analogies and comparisons can be evaluated.

Ethnographical information about Bantaeng is useful for inferring local trading networks whether inter-hinterland, inter-coastal, or hinterland-coastal, and the relationship between those two geographical areas. The disturbed condition of archaeological remains in Bantaeng due to illegal digging over a period of 20 years, makes it difficult to reconstruct the past of Bantaeng, including its local trade. Most artifacts found in Bantaeng can be identified as evidence of trade with other areas, because there is no evidence of local pottery-making or other crafts except for house construction. Ethnographic data, especially that concerning trade, in Bantaeng is therefore very valuable as a means to explain the past, based on assumptions of cultural continuity. This approach is deemed appropriate for Bantaeng because its geography has not changed greatly, nor has society been subjected to much change in the way of government-sponsored development. In Bantaeng Regency, most change has been concentrated in the regency and district capitals, mainly in the form of construction of government buildings such as offices, schools, markets, and roads. It should be noted that the development of markets in Bantaeng has only involved provision of roofed sheds where marketplaces already existed. Surfacing of roads with asphalt was mainly applied to roads which the Dutch had previously paved. Development in the districts took place near markets, consisting of a district office, rural health clinic, and primary and lower secondary schools. In the regency capital, offices constructed were larger and more houses
were built, so that some changes in land use occurred, mainly conversion of irrigated rice land to housing. On the basis of this detailed analysis of Bantaeng, it is obvious that information from ethnographic sources on Bantaeng are both necessary and appropriate as aids to understanding the past, and that few important changes have taken place in Bantaeng in respects which are critical to the reconstruction of pre-modern socio-economic patterns.
Chapter 3

Contemporary Bantaeng:

Economy and Society during the Post-Independence Period

1. Contemporary Bantaeng

In Ballaq Lompoa, the ruler lived and kept the Gaukang (heirloom). The Gaukang was derived from the Tomanurung, as a symbol of a person chosen to rule the world after the Tomanurung. In Bantaeng region, there are still Ballaq Lompoas but those are not used as long time ago. Bantaeng have developed significantly, but geographically, this place is still similar as long time ago when the ruler reigned in Balla Lompoa.

Bantaeng, a regency (Kabupaten) (39,583 hectares) in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, is located at the southwest tip of Sulawesi (Celebes) Island. It lies between 5° 21’ 23” - 5° 35’ 26” south latitude and 119° 51” 42”-120° 05’ 27” east longitude in the Jeneponto-Bulukumba alluvial fans and foothills (RePPProT 1990). Geologically, the Bantaeng region is similar to the two adjacent districts, Bulukumba Regency in the east and Jeneponto Regency in the west. Lompobatang Mountain bordering Bantaeng on the north separates it from Sinjai Regency (see Maps 2, 3, and 4).

These regions are composed of terraced alluvial sedimentary rocks and raised coral reefs with an elevation between five meters above sea level in the south part of Bantaeng and 2874 meters ASL at the Peak of Lompobatang Mountain. Average slope in Bantaeng is more than 40% (16,448.39 hectares) while in Bulukumba the figure is 19,578.41 hectares, and in Jeneponto it is 19,519.89 hectares. Bantaeng has 1,990.26
hectares of flat area, less than either Bulukumba (17,577.30 hectares) or Jeneponto (19,750.35 hectares) (Alexander 2000).

Bantaeng’s hinterland is characterized by an average declivity of more than 40° (Alexander 2000). Such slopes are associated with heavy erosion when vegetation is cleared. The lack of broad river valleys means that much eroded soil is transported to the coastal area. Consequently, in the interior the soil is thinner than in the coastal area.

Hinterland is largely unoccupied or uncultivated, because the steep slopes make it unsafe to build on and too acid for some plants to grow. Consequently, humans mainly inhabit areas with a moderate declivity, located both in the interior and coastal areas. Cultivated land is located on lower slope and flat areas. Villages are spread out in small groups in hilly areas and in linear patterns along routes of overland transportation.
This area belongs to a zone with a prolonged dry season (RePPProt 1990), with less than 1500mm/year annual rainfall (Alexander 2000). Bantaeng has a four-month dry period between August and November with annual rainfall less than 100mm/month. Jeneponto has eight dry months from April to November, while Bulukumba has five dry months from August to December. Bantaeng and adjacent areas have two types of soils: *Fluvaquents*, described as undeveloped, permanently saturated, layered soils of floodplains, and *Ustropepts* which are slightly weathered soils subject to seasonal moisture stresses, or with soft, powdery lime concentrations. Topographic conditions of Bantaeng affect the type and quantity of commodities. Kapok, candlenuts, clove, cocoa, corn, cassava, and rice are the main products from Bantaeng. The settlement distribution and road network in Bantaeng are also shaped by this topography.

Rivers within the Bantaeng region have V-shaped valleys running from the interior down to the Flores Sea at the southern border of the Bantaeng region. The inhabitants of Bantaeng recognize divisions of a river according to size and location. The smallest river portion, the head of a river in the hinterland—the lowest level river, is called *Jene*. Two or more *Jene* form a *Balang*, two or more *Balang* form a *Salo*, and two or more *Salo* form a *Binanga*, the largest division—the highest level river, which then debouches into the Flores Sea. In this way the local people refer to sections of rivers by adding *Binanga, Salo, Balang* and *Jene* to the general name for each river. These rivers play an important role in the conceptual landscape of local people. They are used to mark divisions between villages or lands, and provide a natural directional indication (see Map 5).
Although there have been recent changes in the administrative units in the Bantaeng Regency, these have not affected the people directly. Until mid-2000, the Bantaeng region was divided into three district units (Kecamatan): Bissapu, Bantaeng, and Tompobulu; and three sub-districts (Kecamatan Pembantu): Uluere, Eremerasa, and Pa’jukukang. In mid-2000 the sub-districts officially became districts and kept their previous names (see Map 4).

Since it was created, Bantaeng regency has not changed in size, and the names of villages, the village organization, and its social structures remain unaltered. No significant changes have taken place in the administration, which continues to consist of (in order of ascending size): Dusun, Desa, Kelurahan, Kecamatan, and Kabupaten. The hierarchical administration reflects the concentration of activity in the whole Regency, with the Kabupaten capital being the most complex area, and Dusun the lowest level of administration—so there are five levels exist in the hierarchy—Dusun is the lowest while capital regency (Kabupaten) is the highest level of settlements.

One aspect of Bantaeng which has changed is that its population has increased drastically since 1984, leading to the need for more housing and also an increased supply of staple foods and goods. Based on government statistics, the population of Bantaeng in 1984 was 128,488 (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, 1984) whereas from 1992 to 1998 it had increased 14.25%, from 146,892 to 167,828, while adjacent regencies only increased between 0.20% and 1.90% (Alexander, 2000). The highest proportion of population in Bantaeng is between 15-64 years old (105,185 people) compared to under 14 years old (56,656 people) and over 65 years old (5,987 people), whereas in adjacent areas the productive age population (between 15-65 years old) is 202,395 (Jeneponto), and
230,978 (Bulukumba). The natural increase points to increasing poverty. More than 55% of local income comes from cultivation, but the area available for cultivation is decreasing because of increasing settlement and landslides in the hinterland.

2.1. Urban Changes: Bantaeng City

Settlement in Bantaeng city follows a linear pattern along the asphalt roads and coastline, starting from the Tangnga-Tangnga River and running east for around three kilometers to the Lamalaka area. Traditionally, four Ballaq Lompoa (royal Palaces) were located in the city, but their foundations and boundaries have not been clearly identified because the contemporary high population density has caused land use to change drastically from cultivated areas to buildings, especially houses. There has also been archaeological looting in the area since the 1960s. Bantaeng city has developed rapidly as it serves as the capital of the regency.
Bantaeng became a Regency only in 1960, but several aspects of the function and structure of Bantaeng city before 1959 can be inferred by noting the distribution of types of buildings, and cultural and historical sites. Colonial buildings and Chinese-type buildings are located in separate zones from local cultural buildings. The Netherlands Indies’ political center was located near the Bantaeng economic centers, which now are: Pasar Sentral, Pasar Lama and the Chinese shops. These centers are located west of the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga and Calendu rivers. In contrast, four *Ballaq Lompoa* (located in Kalimbaung, Bissampole, Tompong, and Letta), *Saukang* (sacrificial altars or miniature houses placed at the sacred center) and the royal cemetery — named the La Tenri Ruwa — are located east of Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga at the Bantaeng city.
Figure 19: A colonial-period building now used to house primary school in Bantaeng city.

Figure 20: This Netherlands Indies-style building is now the site of a military quarter in Bantaeng city.
Bantaeng during the period of Netherlands rule was the location of major administrative offices (Dutch, *Kantoor Assistant Resident*), *Pasanggrahan* (Javanese, *Pesanggrahan*), telecommunications (Dutch, *Telefoonkantoor*), schools, racetrack (Dutch, *Raceterein*), petrol stations (Dutch, *petroleumpakhuis*), and transportation networks, most of which were related to the administration of the Bantaeng regency.

The *La Tenri Ruwa* royal burial complex is named after the King of Bone who ran away after converting to Islam in the early 17th century. This burial complex implies that Bantaeng’s political administration in circa 17th century had Islamic characteristics. Graves in this complex are similar to graves in Tallo and Gowa in South Sulawesi dated from 17th to 19th centuries. Bantaeng was culturally linked to those two polities.

The Regional Office of the Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Heritage has preserved *Ballaq Lompoa* in the Letta area and *La Tenri Ruwa* royal burial complex. *Ballaq Lompoa* Letta was painted and rebuilt, while *La Tenri Ruwa* was reconstructed by clearing the bushes, building fences, and conducting minor repairs in the early 1980s. This site was under the protection of the archaeological office because of the royal burials. However, Christian graves located southeast of the *La Tenri Ruwa* complex were not considered part of local heritage as they are Christian graves mostly of the Netherlands bureaucrats.

The original *kampung* (village) from which Bantaeng city developed can be reconstructed from an old map of Bantaeng and some archives relating to the Bantaeng region during the Netherlands period. Nearby villages which still exist today include Tappanjeng, Kasepang, Mappilawing, Tangnga-tangnga, Lonrong, Lembang Tjina (now
Lembangcina), Maritjaja (now Maricaya), Lettak (now Letta), Bissampole, Kalimbaoeng (now Kalimbaung), Lanteboeng (now Lantebong), Tompong, and Lamalaka.\(^1\) It is possible that more Dutch archival material on Bantaeng in the past are exists, either in Jakarta or the Netherlands. Those data can help in further understanding Bantaeng in the past. However, limitation of time during fieldwork burden to search those archives for this study.

Those villages are marked on a 1943 map of Bantaeng. Settlements mapped at that time were still concentrated in the environs of Bantaeng city; few settlements in the hinterland are noted. It is probable that this map is incomplete. Dutch knowledge of the hinterland may still have been scanty. Oral history mentions ‘older settlements’ in Bantaeng located at the foot of Lompobatang Mountain.

Premodern material culture is distributed in hinterland areas such as Borong Toa, Onto, and Borong Kapala. Some of these early villages have since merged to become one *Dusun*, one *Desa*, or *Kalurahan* but the original names are still remembered, especially by the old people. Moreover, a 1923 map of Bantaeng depicts a market named ‘Pasar Baroe’\(^2\) (“New Market”) which is now called Pasar Lama (“Old Market”) located near the Chinese Kampung. Also a mosque, Masjid Tompong, and a *Pasantren* (sic Pesantren) (Islamic school) are marked on the 1923 map. The *Pasantren* has disappeared but the mosque still stands in Kampung Tompong. The building has been reconstructed many times by the locals, and a Chinese vase, presumably dating

\(^{1}\)Collection of ANRI-Makassar nos: 7, 30, and 333.
\(^{2}\)It is assumed that around 1923, this market center was new, but changed to the Pasar Lama (old market) when a new market, called Pasar Sentral, was built.
from the 16th century, has been placed at the top of the roof. No detail information when the vase has been put on the top of the Tompong mosque.

![Map: 17 Bantaeng in 1922](image)

Another change seen from the 1923 map relates to the cemetery. The local Muslim cemetery was originally spread out in coconut groves near houses. The Chinese graveyard in 1923 was located north of the Chinese settlement, which is now around Pasar Sentral. Most of the coconut groves have become settlements. The ‘new’ Chinese graveyard is located west of Bantaeng city, while the Christian graveyard is still located south of the La Tenri Ruwa, the Royal Graveyard.

During the early 1900s, the Chinese were treated by the Dutch as foreigners and so the Netherlands officials kept records of the Chinese who lived in and were born in Bantaeng.3 Some earlier archives mentioned the growing population of Chinese during

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3Collection of ANRI-Makassar nos 53/54, 55, 56, 94, and 483
the 19th century. The records give such occupations for the Chinese as smugglers, goldsmiths, and traders. Official records of such immigrants included details of their wealth and their marriages. Based on other documents, it can be inferred that trading activities in Bantaeng city were conducted in Tangnga-Tangnga, Lonrong, and Mappilawing. The coming of the Chinese hastened the growth of the city so that shops, houses, and roads were built within the urban area rather than in outlying rural areas—the settlement pattern became more nucleated.

New houses have been built along the asphalt roads. In the city of Bantaeng, new types of buildings stand alongside traditional architecture: pole houses, Chinese shophouses, and colonial buildings. Mosques have been built in many places, showing acculturation between local and non-local architectural styles.

In many villages, small mosques can be differentiated by their style, being built on the ground rather than using poles as in houses. Buildings built before the 1960s are still standing in the city, but this aspect of the material culture of Bantaeng has not yet been systematically studied. Until 1999 many of those buildings were still preserved, but since then some have been knocked down to make way for new buildings.

Bantaeng city is now a center of activity for government, trade, and entertainment, which distinguishes it from the rural areas. In the city is the Regency Administration office, the local council (DPRD= Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah), and offices which support the local government. There are other buildings earmarked for government use, such as a hospital, schools, and a military compound. (see picture 15, 16)

\footnote{Collection of ANRI-Makassar no 326}
\footnote{Collection of ANRI-Makassar nos 334 and 484}
The local economy has flourished with government banks and Chinese shops around Pasar Lama. Pasar Sentral houses local vendors who compete with the Chinese shops. Pasar Sentral, 200 meters west of Pasar Lama, was built in the 1990s as a replacement for the Pasar Lama which was destroyed by fire. Shophouses owned by Chinese fulfill many sorts of demand, from telecommunication (television, radio, tape recorders) to jewelry, spare parts (car, motorcycle, bicycle, etc), groceries, and restaurants.

This activity is supported by a public transport interchange, which serves traffic from all directions within Bantaeng and from other regencies. While the flow of goods and people to and from Makassar—the capital of the province located around 120 kilometers west of Bantaeng city—is busy, it is also reasonably priced as there is competition between buses and minibuses. Land transportation along the south coast was built by the Netherlands Indies in order to facilitate the exchange of information and economic products between places in adjacent areas, especially with Makassar.

Bantaeng until 1949 was Afdeling van Bonthain. Bantaeng region developed relatively quickly after a land connection to the hinterland was constructed in 1972. Formal data obtained from 1964 indicates that 24 km of asphalt road then existed, constituting a single route along the south coast of South Sulawesi from Takalar to Jeneponto, Bantaeng and Bulukumba, which ran through Bantaeng city (Dinas Pekerjaan Umum 2000).

Bantaeng has obtained significant advantages from the more general development of South Sulawesi. As it is located on the road to Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi province and the biggest and most populated urban area in South Sulawesi,
so Bantaeng has profited from this land transportation link (see Maps 2, 3 and 7). There is only one petrol station in this whole region located outside the city. In consequence, Bantaeng is the main urban center for the people in this region, but it is peripheral to Makassar, the provincial capital of south Sulawesi.

The urban Bantaeng population is economically supported by products from surrounding places. Vegetables from Loka, fish from coastal people, salt from Jeneponto, iron tools from Sinjai, earthenwares from Takalar and Bulumba, and other goods—especially manufactured items—from Makassar. This situation is similar to that in other urban areas (mostly capitals of regencies) in South Sulawesi. Those commodities have been transported mostly by land.

Migration into Bantaeng in search of employment has also increased. The eastern part of Bantaeng city, therefore, has developed significantly, as shown by the growing number of houses, which have taken over previously cultivated land (Ahimsa-Putra, 1993). In turn, many local well-educated people have migrated to other big metropolitan cities so there is a lack of educated people working in Bantaeng, since most of the local people depend on the environment (both cultivation and fishing) for their living. In some cases, posting as a government employee and accompanying a spouse are reasons for migration to Bantaeng. Settlement patterns now do not clearly represent social groups. Obvious settlement groupings are based on other criteria. For example, the Chinese live in areas of economic activity, which are separate from the areas inhabited by local agricultural and fishing people.

These changes have taken place not only because of the availability of commodities but also as a consequence of the better transportation network and the migrants
attracted to the urban center. Religious diversity has also appeared, as shown in the different religious buildings and special burial places for non-Muslim groups. However, the local Muslim people remain largely unaffected by such changes.

2.2. Rural Changes: Self-sufficiency vs Dependency

Bantaeng has various types of internal transportation. Asphalt roads run parallel to the rivers, and these are supplemented by other four types of roads, namely graveled, dirt, paths, and tracks. Some sector of the transportation system run parallel to the rivers, meaning from highland to lowland, but others cross the rivers thus connecting places at the same distance from the coast, between two rivers, or between settlements. Nevertheless, there is a lack of detailed information concerning the transportation network within Bantaeng region. Ahimsa-Putra (1993) mentioned that after the DI-TII civil war ended in the early 1960s the Indonesian government rebuilt all broken bridges and asphalted the roads.

Asphalt roads, built by the Netherlands

Figure 21: A graveled road leading to BaroE market

*DI-TII : Darul Islam-Tentara Islam Indonesia (Islamic State-Islamic Army of Indonesia)*
Indies, also connected the coastal area to the hinterland, and linked settlements. The first road built connected Bantaeng city to Loka—the vegetable producing area and recreation site for the Netherlanders. The second asphalt road was built to Labbo—first coffee plantation in Bantaeng (Ahimsa-Putra 1993). This pattern implies that the asphalt roads were meant to facilitate exports of coffee, and the flow of vegetables to Bantaeng consumers—the Netherlanders. This pattern suggests the existence of a colonial system in which the colonists are only interested in facilitating the export of commodities for the benefit of the mother country, not in developing the local economy for the benefit of the indigenous people.

In 1972, the government built more routes to the north of Bantaeng city. Asphalt roads have been built into the hinterland and parallel to the coast. The total length of

Figure 22: A farmer leads his horses down a well-threaded dirt road in the Kampala area.

Netherlands. The second asphalt road was built to Labbo—first coffee plantation in Bantaeng (Ahimsa-Putra 1993). This pattern implies that the asphalt roads were meant to facilitate exports of coffee, and the flow of vegetables to Bantaeng consumers—the Netherlanders. This pattern suggests the existence of a colonial system in which the colonists are only interested in facilitating the export of commodities for the benefit of the mother country, not in developing the local economy for the benefit of the indigenous people.

In 1972, the government built more routes to the north of Bantaeng city. Asphalt roads have been built into the hinterland and parallel to the coast. The total length of

Figure 23: A trail leading to village in Bullowe.
the asphalt road was extended to 35.5 Km. Other roads were built into the hinterland parallel to the streams by the Indonesian Government, totaling 41.4 Km in 1974, and 484.4 Km by the year 2000, but these are mostly a tertiary type of road which is only two meters wide (Dinas Pekerjaan Umum 2000).

The main focus of new road-building focuses on Bantaeng city, especially the economic centers, which are near the Chinese and Pasar Lama-Pasar Sentral areas. The goal of building transportation networks is to develop the hinterland and to facilitate extraction of local resources. It can be said that the Indonesian government followed the same strategy of development as the colonists, as the roads are for extraction of local resources. However the population benefits from development as the government has built schools, offices, and rural hospitals. Those facilities are mainly to support the central administration in the Bantaeng regency, as people needing to deal with administrative agencies must visit the main offices in the capital of the regency—Bantaeng city.

Bantaeng is not a gateway of sea network anymore. There is no sea transportation between Bantaeng and adjacent areas, such as Jeneponto and Bulukumba (see Figure 24: A trail runs across the Jene type of river in Bullowe).
Maps 2 and 3). Coastal dwellers use land transport to travel to other areas, even though they have praun. People in Banyorang do not travel to Loka or vice versa, because they would have to travel down to Bantaeng city then go up to Loka. There is thus no direct access across the hinterland area of Bantaeng. This indicates that a dendritic type of situation has evolved in Bantaeng region as Bantaeng city acts as first level hierarchy in settlement within in Bantaeng region.

Transportation network has important implications for understanding the distribution of population and economic activity in Bantaeng. Some asphalt road routes run from the coastal region to the hinterland. These start from the main asphalt road which runs east-west along the south coast, and go north to market places: Loka (two routes), Old Labbo’s market, and BaroE; and one road goes north to Onto. Thus overland transport facilitates coastal-hinterland transport.
People in the hinterland can use public transportation or go on foot or by horse to reach the market. People in the hinterland are freely trade to trading centers as all hinterland trading centers (both 2nd and 3rd levels) open twice a week. Moreover, the range of public transportation enables people to travel within the hinterland and the city, to develop connections with people in the coastal area and vice versa, in order to exchange their products, fulfill their needs, and spread the influence of new goods.

However, there is no access route all the way across the hinterland.

Many houses have been built along asphalt roads. The uncertain timetable of public transport leads to the need to wait along the road for an indeterminate period. People have built shelters to wait in, some of which have become permanent houses. The convenience of having a place along the road is one of the reasons that
some people started to build houses there. Villages are formed of several houses in
traditional architecture without any specific layout.

Land in Bantaeng region has been transferred to different social class. Traditionally, land in Bantaeng was owned by the Karaeng—land is a Galung Akarungang, and only Karaeng family and elite—bureaucrats can posses the land while the common people work for them for their subsistence and their wealth. Eventhough the forest is part of Galung Akarungang, people who live nearby can collect products there but just for their own consumption. The surplus products are for the elite groups. If this information right, the wealthiest group in one political organization in the past was the Karaeng’s and elite’s hands. Those lands are including forest and communal land which people can freely but for their own use and not for profit. People have to obtain permission from the Karaeng before exploit those lands for hunting and collecting fire-wood.

Ruler’s land can be inherited within a noble family or given to people or officials as a reward for loyalty. However, the low class people possible obtain ‘free’ lands, they cultivate it after they work their lords’ lands. This land then inherited to their children, which made land in Bantaeng region have been owned not only by nobles but also by lower class group and also ‘new comers’. There are six ways in which lower-status people obtain cultivable land in Bantaeng: by inheritance from their parents, by purchase from the elite, by renting from the elite, by working for the elite, agreeing to cultivate the land as a reward for loyalty to the elite, and lastly, by sharecropping, in

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Interview with Mappatan, March 2000. The conversation was conducted through his daughter-Karaeng Nini Mappatan, 35 years old- as Karaeng Mappatan was ill during the conversation. Karaeng Mappatan passed away in September 2000.
which case they would have to surrender at least half the harvest (Ahimsa-Putra 1993; Mappatan 1995). Moreover, people can buy land from the former owner for housing and cultivation. This change made Bantaeng people are dynamics to support their needs.

In the past, the Karaeng ordered the minawang—Karaeng’ people, the lowest social class—to cultivate land located at dispersed locations—but not at the center—place for Ballaq Lompoa and the noble family.\(^8\) The minawang lived nearby their lord’s land as they have to work and looked after their land. As a rule, the minawang have to work first the ruler’s land and then the elite lands. This implies that settlements were located outside the immediate area of the Ballaq Lompoa. Preferred village sites were located near agricultural land, coastal links, and trading centers. However, right now, people have built houses along the transportation network especially along the asphalt road. People move from place to place not only on foot and horses, but also using the public transportation.

The minawang people used to receive protection and subsistence from their Karaeng. This protection was abstract. Karaeng also sponsored gatherings in the form of ceremonies for their Tomanurung—either Karaeng LoE or Pa’jukukang ceremonies. This ceremony was part of return tribute done by the ruler as an abstract protection to their people. Ceremonial activity brought together people who were not normally in the same place, since the Karaeng’s lands were located not only in the coastal area but also in the hinterland, including forest areas. However, as Karaeng land is limited—as the Galung Akarungang became part of the Netherlands Indies, and then

\(^8\)Information from Karaeng Nini, on behalf of Karaeng Mappatan. April 2000.
after 1960s it became Indonesian government’s land. Some former Karaeng land has been used for national housing (PERUMNAS) in the Tamalaka area, east of Tompong and Letta’ Ballaq Lompoa. The Regency Administration office is located in the former Galung Akarungang of Bantaeng political organization agricultural areas, which was for the ruler’s subsistence (Ahimsa-Putra 1993). This implies that nowadays the Karaeng are less powerful than before the 1960s. Land is not only owned by Karaeng but by individuals and institution. Nowadays, the lower class people then have tried to work to other land owners for support their subsistence.

The Karaengs now are as common citizens, but they still have minawang—but not as big as before. Now the minawang group—the farmer group—works on the Karaengs’ lands and obtains 45% of the harvest or sometimes more, depending on the individual agreement—not as before that all harvest have been sent to the landowners. If seeds and fertilizer are provided by the minawang, the harvest will be divided differently than if all inputs are provided by the Karaeng. The Karaeng sells their harvest to the Tauke at the Bantaeng city, but sometimes to local traders. Their lifestyle has not changed much except they do not have power.

The growth of settlements in the hinterland of Bantaeng can be seen by comparing maps dated 1923, 1943 and 1992. According to the 1923 map, settlement was concentrated in Bantaeng city, but by 1943 they had expanded to elevations of 500 meters above sea level. In contrast, by 1992 settlements had been built above 1000 meters above sea level. The increase of settlements in the Bantaeng hinterland relates to the opening of coffee plantations in Bantaeng during the 1920s—as many forest part of Galung Akarungang became coffee plantation. Lower class group who worked
to the nobles lived nearby the cultivation lands, such as in Ereng-ereng village. The
growth of Bantaeng also relates the improvements in the transportation network
(Ahimsa-Putra 1993).

    Many houses have been built along asphalt roads (see map 7). The uncertain
timetable of public transport leads to the need to wait along the road for an indetermi-
nate period. People have built shelters to wait in, some of which have become perma-
nent houses. The convenience of having a place along the road is one of the reasons
that some people started to build houses there. Villages are formed of several houses in
traditional architecture without any specific layout.

    In the hinterland, people have built traditional houses, not only in flat areas but
also on slopes and along the asphalt roads. Non-permanent housing is erected in their
ladang—rainfed field/gardens, which are located relatively far—more than 2 km walk—
from the settlements. Other non-permanent houses may be built for wedding ceremo-
nies. In fact, house building is the main craft activity to be seen in the Bantaeng region.
In traditional old houses ropes are used to join the bark or wood.

    Adat (customs, customary law) differentiates between the houses of the Karaeng
family (Royal family) and the common people. It was taboo for common people to
build a house in the style of a noble’s house, though nowadays some houses have
special features which should only be used for a noble’s house. This could be related to
the cash crop booms in the 1980s-1990s. Ahimsa-Putra (1993) mentioned that
Tompobulu district (nowadays including Pa’jukukang district) was called ‘Dollarnya
Bantaeng’. According to observation during fieldwork, people in Bissapu district are
able to buy cars and build bigger houses with the income from kapok; their ability to
obtain cash has allowed people to build houses similar to the elite. People in the Onto areas remain in traditional relatively small *kolong* houses.

In the hinterland, the settlements with *Ballaq Lompoa* and *Saukang* are located on flat elevated areas surrounded by rivers and manmade stone walls. *Ballaq Lompoa* was on the highest level of settlement while the villages are lower level settlements. Now only two *Ballaq Lompos* (Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke) in the hinterland still perform their function as sacred houses with a *Pinati* who lives there and takes care of the sacred heirlooms.\(^9\) *Ballaq Lompoa* in Onto, Sinowa, and Tompong have now been turned into Karaeng houses. These changes of *Ballaq Lompoa* not directly followed by the changes of the appreciation part of local people to their Karaeng and heirloom. Those Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang and even noble are still sacred for the local people however the lower level class has not worked to the nobles anymore.

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\(^9\)Pinati Lembang Gantarangkeke passed away in September 2000. It was observed during fieldwork in March 2000 that the Lembang Gantarangkeke’s Pinati was only symbolic. The ritual was performed by an Islamic leader (Bapak Kaum).
Figure 29: Ballaq Lompoa (Royal Palace) in Gantarangkeke.
Drawing 1: Ballaq Lompoa in Lembang Gantarangkeke

Drawing 2: Ballaq Lompoa in Gantarangkeke
Villages with direct access to the road should be added to the hierarchy of settlements in Bantaeng as a middle stage of the hierarchy. Houses in the elevated areas of the hills now stretch along the main road rather than following natural geography. Thus the patterns of rural development and the way of life distinguish the rural from the urban setting.

Lower in the hierarchy are settlements surrounding the core settlement—center activities—place where Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang. The lower level settlements do not have Ballaq Lompoa and other sacred objects in their village but they have market—where the local can trade to others. There are many routes to Ballaq Lompoa from lower level villages. Public transportation is available supported by many types of roads. People are able to reached Ballaq Lompoa on foot along tracks, paths, dirt and, Asphalt roads.

Dwellings for the minawang are located surrounding their Karaeng’s house or on Karaeng land. However, this system is very subtle. Land is used for minawang and Karaengs’ children’s dwellings. When minawang families obtain education and have jobs, their social status is not much different from their Karaeng family so minawang people can no longer be differentiated easily. The fact that this patron-client relationship is typical of many societies in Indonesia suggests that it was a fundamental principle of social organization in ancient times.

Social stratification has many expressions in everyday life in Bantaeng. For example in the case of weddings, invitations for the Karaeng should be delivered by hand on a tray, and the person who delivers the invitation should wear traditional cloth—baju Bodo’ for female and jas tutup for male. Sitting arrangements for the elite and
lower groups differ, and the meal for elite weddings is also different from lower class weddings.

2.3. Bantaeng: Agricultural Producers

In the alluvial fan in the southeast part of Bantaeng region, rainfed rice fields form the main type of land use, whereas in the hilly areas people cultivate palawija at their ladang and gardens. Cultivation land may be divided by man-made dikes, stone wall structures, or thorny bamboo for protection from wild boars, which until the 1960s were a major agricultural pest. This cultivation is mostly for their consumption, and only small part of the harvest is for emergency need only—which people exchange it at the trading center nearby their village.

About two-thirds of the rice fields in Bantaeng depend on rainfall. Some areas—fertile land in alluvial plain located in the east part of Bantaeng—are planted with padi/rice two times a year and yet another time with secondary crops (corn, cassava, peanuts, and pumpkin). In ladangs—situated on sloping land—corn, cassava, peanuts and pumpkin are intercropped. The villagers—who used to be minawang—work as farmer and cultivate those lands. Canals built by the Indonesian central government—cq. Bantaeng regency—can be seen along certain roads to the hinterland. However, social organizations related to the water division system are not found in Bantaeng society. It suggests that irrigation is very new in Bantaeng.

People who live above 1500 meters, especially in the northeast part of Bantaeng, not only cultivate palawija but also cultivate coffee, cloves, and cocoa. Coffee was introduced to Indonesia by the British and the Netherlands in the early 17th century.
According to Ahimsa-Putra (1993), coffee was introduced in the 1930s and many hectares of forest, owned by elite groups, were cleared. This cash crop has played an important role in economic life, as coffee was used for export and local consumption. In Bantaeng, coffee was introduced in the early 1900s to the Karaeng, who then asked the Minawang to planting it (Ahimsa-Putra 1993) and became well-known as Bonthain coffee to Netherlands consumers.

There is a correlation between the planting of coffee and the introduction of asphalt roads. This new road system in early 1900s was meant to assist in the export of coffee. As the land was owned by the Karaeng, it seems that the Karaeng gained some
profit for this cash crop, but the highest profit was probably obtained by the Netherlands.

The coffee plantation system has severely damaged the environment because some forest, mostly located in the northeast areas of Bantaeng such as Ereng-ereng (near Labbo), has been cleared for coffee plantations (Ahimsa-Putra 1993). South Sulawesi already was reported to export coffee in 1840 to Singapore (Pelras 1996). The coffee boom could be related to coffee plantations in Bantaeng region introduced by the Netherlands Indies in the early 1900s. Coffee plantations during that period were cultivated in north Sinjai and south Bone areas, two regencies northeast of Bantaeng.

Bantaeng coffee production is less than Bulukumba and Sinjai regencies (Alexander 2000). However coffee became an important product of Bantaeng, together with clove and cocoa, which were introduced by the Indonesian government in 1970s-1980s. Those two crops became important crops for hinterland people in Bantaeng as those crops are more valued than palawija.

Candlenut (*Aleurites moluccana*) or Kemiri is found in Bulukumba, Bantaeng and Jeneponto regencies in order of quantity of production (Alexander 2000). People living in and around Onto and Borong Kapala cultivate palawija and also collect the nuts from a candlenut forest (see Map 6). In Onto, candlenut/Kemiri is humanly man-
aged; however it is possible that it originated as a natural candlenut forest. People who live near the forest collect the fallen nuts and process them individually in small amounts, a process which is different from other cash crops and which has probably been followed for a long time as the trees are old. Candlenut has been used for dressing the hair, in cooking and for light. It is used also for tenderizing meat. Most of South Sulawesi cooking uses candlenuts rather than coconut milk, such as special dishes of south Sulawesi: Palu Bassa, Konro, and Cotto. Candlenut oil is obtained by baking the nuts, crushing, and squeezing.

In contrast, now people living in the western part of Bantaeng regency only cultivate kapok. Kapok is grown in Jeneponto, Bantaeng and Bulukumba, however Bissapu area in Bantaeng, produces less than Jeneponto (Alexander 2000). People in the Bissapu district have tried to plant kapok on the border of their farmland for people in Makassar. However, they are still working at their ladang for their subsistence.

These two different cash crops—candlenuts and kapok—can probably be dated back to the 19th century or earlier. As candlenut is a cash crop for Bulukumba, Bantaeng, and Jeneponto, this implies that it could have been more widespread in the past, and more economically important. Dr Mike Flecker has found candlenuts, probably for light, together with dammar resin in shipwrecks near Bangka, east coast Sumatra—
dated before the 14th century. This data suggests that kemiri was a part of international trade 1000 years ago. It could have earned money through export activity for people in Sulawesi long ago. However, clearing the forest for coffee, cocoa, and clove plantation has probably affected the production of this commodity since the early 1900s. In Bantaeng region, there is no direct evidence of special stone pounders or stone mortars like those found by Latinis (2001) in Maluku. Survey showed that people in Onto today do not use stone pounders for cracking candlenut, but iron hammers.

Kapok and candlenut could have been important in the pre-colonial period. Those two products are found stretched along the south peninsula of South Sulawesi, especially from Jeneponto, Bantaeng, Bulukumba, and Sinjai regencies. However, Bantaeng always produces less than other regencies. Possibly after the forest-clearing period during the Netherlands Indies colonization people in Bantaeng.

However, clove was planted in South Sulawesi in the 1970s, while cocoa was introduced in the 1980s (Pelras 1996). Those two cash crops have planted in the east part of Bantaeng region, which made people in the east part of Bantaeng region are richer than other part in Bantaeng as they can plant rice, palawija, coffee, cocoa, and clove.

In most cases the cultivated land is a maximum of two hours by foot from the settlement site. People start working early in the morning and return home in the evening, or leave home in the morning and come back at noon, then continue working after 3 pm until evening.

10Personal communication in November 2001.
People build semi-permanent houses on their land and stay in them until harvest time. Eventually the semi-permanent houses often become permanent houses and settlements. People do not just work on their own land; they must also work for their *Punggawa* (their master) who may occupy land far from their settlement. The followers then move and stay in or near the field so they can work the land intensively.

Accessibility to channels of communication is an important factor for social life. Access of a home to ladang, forest, garden, rain fed field, and trading center is a manifestation of micromorphology, whereas accessibility of one group to communication with other groups is termed macromorphology (Trombold 1991; Earle 1991; Hassig 1991; Hyslop 1991). Given the importance of such communication, it is only natural that people should try to upgrade the quality of dirt roads to stone or asphalt roads. Bantaeng has 484.4 km of asphalt roads (Departemen Pekerjaan Umum 2000), 96.03 km of secondary roads (stone roads), and 212.57 km of dirt roads (Alexander 2000). In addition, the connection between micro- and macromorphology in Bantaeng appears to be improving as more roads are built and improved. There are tracks that connect one village to other villages, which cut across the rivers, across the hills or run along the slopes of the hill, which cannot be measured since tracks often appear and disappear. New tracks developed as shortcuts or to avoid hazards such as landslides, are continuing evidence of people’s efforts to maintain contact with others. These are old routes which have not been modernized as fast as some other types of old routes. Centers which were formerly not isolated have now become isolated. This implies changes in the factors influencing communication networks, specifically the growing importance of the coastal center.
2.4. **Bantaeng: Sea Producers.**

Bantaeng coastal people mainly collect sea products, but this activity does not yield a large income. Bantaeng harbor is used by small fishing boats; the fishermen do not get involved in shipping cargo. Bantaeng sea production is the lowest compared to Balukumba and Jeneponto. In 1998, Bantaeng regent only yielded only 3,395 tons of sea products, while Bulukumba and Jeneponto yielded 18,745.8 and 11,732.8 tons respectively (Alexander 2000). Nowadays, Bantaeng fishermen explore dual ecological areas—sea and land. Fishermen in Bantaeng are more self-sufficient now because they cultivate land along the coast.

Fishermen go to sea only during the good season (between March-October). Their settlements are usually located at the mouths of rivers, with a place available for anchoring their praus and their cultivated land close by. During the November-February when the men do not go to sea, people cultivate the land and repair their equipment. Agricultural activity represents part-time employment for women and the elderly in order to compensate for the uncertainty of income of male fishing activity. This is quite different from the situation in the hinterland, where men and women work together to fulfill their subsistence needs. The farmland in the coastal area mostly is allocated for rice cultivation, similar to the east part of Bantaeng region (Pa’jukukang and south Tompobulu districts).

Interestingly, the coastal people do not work on the Karaeng’s land. This implies that fishermen were people who did not want to be minawang. They could avoid doing so because they did not depend on landowners for access to subsistence. They were free people who were not involved in the Tomanurung ceremony (in the Bantaeng
case: in Onto and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke); instead they organized their own ceremony related to their sea harvest. The ship owner and the fishermen conduct a ceremony every time they go to the sea for their safety and success in collecting sea products.

The coast now is not the main gate for entering Bantaeng, although it must have been at one time, perhaps in circa 15th century. Land transportation from Bantaeng coast to Bulukumba, Jeneponto and Makassar is cheaper than sea transportation.

3. The Transportation Network: Interrelations in Bantaeng Region

Between and within the settlements and from settlement to ladang and forest, four types of road, namely graveled, dirt roads, paths, and tracks are dominant within the Bantaeng area. Graveled roads usually connect the main asphalt road to the settlements, except in isolated areas where there may only be a dirt road and paths. Most of
the houses within a settlement are connected by simple paths and tracks. These paths and tracks also connect settlements to places such as the river, the *ladang*, the *sawah*, garden, and the forest, and reflect how people depend on the traditional network for their daily activity.

The new transportation network is used only for certain purposes, such as when they have to go far, to Bantaeng city or further. In the remote old settlements, dirt roads and graveled roads do connect them to the main asphalt road but there is no direct access between those settlements. Some old centers are connected by good roads, while others are not. Centers which were formerly not isolated have now become isolated. Topographical conditions make it very difficult to develop transportation, but in 2001 the Bantaeng regent announced plans to build a connection between Onto and Lembang Gantarangkeke. This link will benefit Onto people as Onto is isolated. The only possibilities for Onto people to trade and shop are at Dapoko and Bantaeng city. Land transport to west Onto is more difficult as the west area of Bantaeng is more elevated. It implies that changes have taken place in the transportation network—which makes people easier to communicate—including trade with outsiders.

The DI-TII war was also an impetus for building houses along the road. This war waged in the 1950s-60s destroyed the transportation sys-

Figure 34: Across the river and follow the track-Borong Kapala.
tem and the local beliefs in the Tomanurung, as DI-TII tried to purify Islam in accordance with Al-Qur’an. The movement’s goal was to create states based on Islamic syariah. The Tomanurung belief, Saukang, Gaukang, and non-Islamic ceremonies were banned and items related to non-Islamic activity destroyed. The DI-TII confiscated people’s belongings including jewelry and crops. This iconoclasm affected mainly the hinterland dwellers. Coastal people were not greatly affected. They continued to conduct their maritime rituals as before. People tried to move to non-isolated areas to avoid the DI-TII. People in the hinterland moved to existing villages or created new villages located near the transportation network.

The modern transportation network in the Bantaeng region has been partly shaped by the centers of traditional culture. Four settlements with important historical associations and remains, namely Bantaeng, Sinowa, Onto, Bantaeng, Sinowa, Onto,
and Lembang Gantarangkeke, are now linked by an asphalt road, whereas Gantarangkeke remains more isolated. Three sites with archaeological deposits (Borong Kapala, Borong Toa, and Benteng Batu Terang) are located in isolated areas, and only can be reached with dirt roads, paths, and tracks. This implies that tracks, paths, dirt and graveled roads have been known and used by local people for long periods.

The construction of hard surfaced roads and other thoroughfares facilitates the rural dwellers with the administrative centers. In the past the minawang had to transport the harvest to their rulers and take part in. The Ballaq Lompoa was the highest political and sacred center until the 1667 treaty—Bongaya Treaty—between Gowa and the VOC. However, during DI-TII, all old heirlooms were destroyed. After the DI-TII was defeated, new heirlooms were established: rice, oil, and Indonesian flags, and the old rituals were revived. Now, the Ballaq Lompoa is not a palace of a ruler but
of a Pinati who is responsible for caring for the royal heirlooms.\footnote{Pinati are sacred persons with shaman-like characteristic.} The roads to the administrative centers still exist and are used. Possibly the dirt roads were formed when the commoners sought short-cuts to carry the harvest from their fields to the administrative centers.

4. The Characteristics of Bantaeng Economic Life: Ethnographic Data vs Dendritic and Central Place Models

Four types of trading center were recorded in ethnographic survey: INPRES (Lit: Instruksi President-Presidential Order) trading center, village trading center, spontaneous trading center, and vanished trading center. These can be equated with different levels of an economic hierarchy. The first three are formal markets, which have permanent and non-permanent buildings. However all such trading centers, except three INPRES trading centers, are under the control of local people rather than the district administration, which means all the taxes go to the community where the trading center is located. The county organizes all the INPRES trading centers from which
the taxes go to the county. The differences in the organization of the markets create differences in the facilities of the trading center itself but not in the activity of trading or the varieties of goods traded.

There are fifteen trading centers located in the coastal and hinterland areas of the Bantaeng region. All the trading centers are located along the transportation network, which was mostly built after 1972. The transport network planned to connect existing markets. The transport network mirror the pre-existing communication network. The trading centers function as places for exporting local products and for dis-

Figure 39: This permanent buildings in trading center in Bantaeng Region

Figure 40: This Permanent buildings replace traditional structures in Banyorang market

Figure 41: Semi permanent buildings in BaroE market
tributing manufactured products inside the Bantaeng region. Intra-regional trade has been observed especially along the border of Jeneponto and Bantaeng and between Bantaeng and Bulukumba, for example in Torawang (located in Jeneponto regency—on the coastal area), Mode (located in Jeneponto regency—in the hinterland), Loka, Moti, and Kallamassang. Local people living in the rural areas can be considered part-time traders as they go to their local market to sell their harvest or to barter it for other goods, while full-time traders are people from outside the area who bring non-local products to sell in the trading centers.

According to local people, there were seven other trading centers in the Bantaeng region, which have now vanished. Based on local informants, the elevation of the vanished trading centers are: (a) three markets below 100 meters above sea level, with two of them at the mouths of river, (b) five trading centers located between 100-500 meters above sea level, and (c) one market located between 500-1000 meters above sea level. Old people who live in villages within Bantaeng regency mentioned that they have been trading at such trading centers since their youth.

The vanished markets were mostly located in isolated areas with small populations. This implies that trading centers need high accessibility and also a minimum population within a certain radius. K-2 model might be applied in vanished markets. It can be inferred that these markets disappeared because their functions were taken over by other already established markets—which made people have changes to choose markets. It seems that trading centers in Bantaeng have consolidated. This means that

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12 In my experience, traveling from Bantaeng city to the former Labbo’ market would have needed two hours, and from Bantaeng to Batu Pangkaya needed two hours, while to reach Loka requires more than 3 hours by private minibus.
Map: 21
Trading Centers in Relation to Transportation Network, Rivers, and Villages in Bantaeng Region

Legend
- Trading center
- Asphalt roads
- Gravelled roads
- Dirt roads
- River
- Village

Based on scale 1:50,000

Mapping by Win Thian Tun, Setiadi, Didik, and Widyarnayati
GIS by Simon Y Putra and Widyarnayati
Map: 22
Vanished Trading Centers in Bantaeng in Relation to Villages

Legend
- Vanished Trading Centers
  1. Labbo
  2. Campaga
  3. Kampala
  4. Patu Pangkaya
  5. Sinawe
  6. Euowe Lama
  7. Damparg

- Village

Based on scale 1:50,000

Mapping by Win Than Tun, Sektiadi, Didik, and Widy Naya
GIS by Simon Y Putra and Woya Naya
market activity became more centralized, but hierarchical. The new pattern is more
typical of central place models—K 3, K 4, and K 7 models could possibly applied.

The Dampang trading center was moved 2 km north of the former trading cen-
ter, out of the village, but nobody wanted to trade there. The Indonesian government
located the new trading center on an open space which was used for volleyball. The
reason for moving the trading center was for hygiene and to lessen traffic congestion.
People opposed the move because they wanted to retain the space for volleyball, and
because of economic factors: transportation from the village to the new market costs
the same as a trip to Banyorang. Dampang people then preferred to trade at Banyorang.
The old Dampang market is still in existence but only in the form of warungs, which
open daily as the owners are Dampang villagers.

Another market that has been moved is Beru market, which was moved further
north, along the public transportation route. It has now been renamed Bunglowe, tak-
ing the name of the nearby village. Beru trading center has moved to a better location
(flatter and wider) than before. The most successful move of a trading center is Boro,
located on the border of Loka.

Old Boro trading center was located on unofficial wakaf land—gifted land—
which in 1996 was reclaimed by the family who originally owned it. Near the old Boro
trading center, there are several shops which open daily, and fill the needs of Boro and
the adjacent area. However, as the new Boro trading center has moved to cultivated
land around 1 km south of the former site, the shops in the former Boro trading center
continue to make a profit.
The rejection of the Dampang site seems related to the desire to use the former public space for volleyball, not because of transportation cost as people are able to walk 2 hours without complaining. Meanwhile the Boro people were agreeable to move to the new Boro trading center because they have alternative land near the former site. The withdrawal of land from wakaf status is not acceptable in Islamic law, but it seems that land is precious. The owner of the land where the Boro market is located is a Karaeng who has not yet sold it to the Kampong or to the government.

The disappearances of former trading centers at Kampala, Campaga, Batu Pangkaya, Labbo, Beru, Dampang and Sinowa trading centers are related to the ecology of substitute trading centers. People in those villages now shop in Pasar Parang, Pasar Banyorang, and Pasar Loka respectively, which are bigger and have more varied commodities than the former trading centers. In contrast, Pasar Lama is still active. It competes with Pasar Sentral, which was built by the local government in the 1990s after the original Pasar Lama burnt down. However, old vendors still use the non-permanent stalls.

These cases imply that the existence of trading centers depends on cultural factors, accessibility from many areas, and also available local commodities. Changes in trading pattern could be related to personal, group, and administration. Administration (and politics) sometimes ignores social needs.
Based on a recent survey (Nayati 2000a), periodic markets open twice a week. The market days are based on Islamic days—Ahad, Isnin, Salasa, Rabu, Kamis, Jum’at, and Sabtu—these then became Minggu (Sunday), Senin (Monday), Selasa (Tuesday), Rabu (Wednesday), Kamis (Thursday), Jumat (Friday), and Sabtu (Saturday).

Village markets in Bantaeng are not organized hierarchically, but the Bantaeng government since the 1990s has been involved in organizing trading centers. Some village trading centers have been built using the INPRES budget, such as Pasar Sentral, Pasar Lambocca, Pasar Loka, Pasar Layoa. The INPRES markets can be differentiated from others by such traits as metal roofs, while village markets use thatched roofs.

The timing of periodic markets can be related to how local people obtain subsistence, and whether they are self-sufficient or dependent on external supply. In fact, Bantaeng is self-sufficient in corn, cassava, and rice. Markets are not only used to obtain non-local commodities, but also local harvest however in small quantity as local people sell directly to tengkulak. However, nowadays the trading center is also used for meeting partners. Other ritual occasions on which people meet are only held once a year. The existence of regular markets is an important substitute as a place for meeting and searching for suitable marriage partners.

As land cultivators, people spend time in their fields, clearing and preparing the land, planting, weeding, watching out for pests and diseases, and harvesting. Cultivation is very time-consuming, especially guarding plants from predators and at harvest time. The agricultural cycle lasts for three to five months. However people do not need much energy while guarding the crop compared to the land-clearing period. During
the growing period all ages in the family can work together to guard the crops, but not during the land-clearing when great strength is needed.

The limitation of time because of cultivation work could be related to the periodic market. The markets are less busy during the growing seasons, but will be busy during and after harvest season. The activity of the fishermen is related to the season too: they are on the sea during a certain period, and living on land in another season—between mid December and the end of February. This constraint is not a problem for the officials, as they start working in the morning and finish in the afternoon. Moreover, in Indonesian custom, people are able to leave their offices before the official end of working hours. The ceremonial activities could possibly play important roles in the determination of periodic market, and the ceremonial activities are conducted by the Pinati and elite groups and are not an individual activity. As a result the festivals are not related to the holding of periodic markets.

The operating hours of a market take into consideration Islamic religious activity; the peak hours for a trading center are between 7 am to 9 am, so people can go to market after morning prayer (Subuh) and arrive home from their trading activities before the noon prayer time (Dhuhur/Dzuhur). It can be easily observed that the markets are busiest between 7 and 9 am.

However the markets take the name of the village where they are held, as with Dampang, Moti, Loka, Banyorang, Loka and Kallamassang. The names of trading centers in Bantaeng, except for Pasar Sentral, are related to the name of the trading center’s location; Pasar Banyorang is located at Banyorang, Pasar Loka at Loka, and Pasar Dapoko at Dapoko. It is important to trace the former name of a market, as for
example in the case of Pasar Barua, which the survey shows is the old name of Pasar Jannayya, which was located in Jannayya village. There is no relationship between market days and the name of the market.

Although the hierarchy of trading centers in Bantaeng is apparently related to the centralized administration set up by the Indonesian government, actually the trading centers have grown quite separately from the control of the administration. In Bantaeng city, the most important and the highest-level trading center is the central market for the whole regency, as in other regencies in Indonesia. This is followed by lesser trade centers located in the district capital, and the lowest level centers in the villages.

Based on administrative location, the hierarchy of trading centers in Bantaeng region starts with Pasar Sentral\(^\text{13}\) which forms the highest-level center, followed by Pasar Loka, Lambocca, and Pasar Banyorang, trading centers located at the district capitals, and then the lowest-level trading centers which are located in villages: Pasar BaroE, Pasar Parang, Pasar Jannayya/Pasar Barua, Pasar Dampang, Pasar Moti, Pasar Layoa, Pasar Kallamassang, Pasar Lambocca, Pasar Panaikang, Campagalowe, and Bullowe. However, this administrative hierarchy does not show the actual sites of the trading centers, as Loka before mid 2000 was located in the sub-district of Uluere, and INPRES trading centers have not been built in some district capitals such as Lambocca. Moreover, locations of trading centers are not always associated with district capitals, and the size of trading centers in Bantaeng regency differs.

\(^{13}\)Pasar Lama is a new form of trading center in Bantaeng city. It replaced Pasar Lama which burned down, but many traders still sell goods on the old location of Pasar Lama, which is located near Pasar Sentral
Different sizes of trading centers in all Bantaeng are related to the population, local products and accessibility of people to the trading centers. Banyorang district is more populated than other districts: Pa'jukukang, Eremerasa, Bissapu and Uluere.
Banyorang is located in the ecotone area between high elevated areas and middle elevated areas. It is easier for people to find products from two different geographical areas there, while goods from Bantaeng city are accessible and affordable both for traders and buyers. Bantaeng City is not a producer area. However, Bantaeng city is accessible by land transport so products from different parts of South Sulawesi can reach Pasar Sentral. In short, producing areas, population, accessibility of transportation are important in determining the size and hierarchical position of trading centers.

Popular opinion has developed a slightly different hierarchy of trading centers within the Bantaeng region, based on types of trade and consumers. The highest-level centers are Pasar Sentral, Pasar Loka, Pasar Banyorang, and Lambocca; and the lower-level centers are Pasar BaroE, Pasar Parang, Pasar Jannayya/Pasar Barua, Pasar Dampang, Pasar Moti, Pasar Layoa, Pasar Kallamassang, Pasar Panaikang, Campagalowe, and Bullowe. People usually refer to Pasar Lama as part of Pasar Sentral as those two trading centers are located nearby. Nevertheless, as Pasar Layoa, Pasar Moti, Pasar Campagalowe, Pasar Bullowe and Pasar BaroE are all located in isolated areas, these trading centers are not comparable to other trading centers which are located in populated areas as the crowd size is very different.

The variety of products for sale in interior market places depends on the season and on what people can cultivate. The crops of potential commercial value include rice, kapok, cocoa, coffee, corn, cassava, nuts and vegetables. The quantities of local produce can be inferred from the distribution of cultivatable land – rainfed fields constitute 12.68%, ladang 34.47%, garden 23.57% of land cultivated in Bantaeng region, forest 16.48%, and other land is used for villages, rivers, and slopes (Alexander 2000).
In rainfed fields people cultivate rice during the wet season and follow with other ladang products during the dry season, while in ladangs people plant corn, cassava, nuts and pumpkin. In gardens people plant cash crop products such as coffee, clove, and cocoa. In the interior other types of agriculture are more extensive than rice growing. Rice, cassava, and nuts are common products so they are not as expensive as cocoa, coffee, cloves, and kapok. Types of crops and time of harvest can be clearly observed in markets. When it is rice harvest season, many people will be seen selling rice. The same rule applies to corn, fruit, or vegetables. Kapok is not sold in markets, but directly marketed outside Bantaeng.

Trading centers will be crowded after harvest. People bring cash to the trading centers and buy all their needs, especially salt, sea products, hinterland products, spices, cloth, and kitchen utensils. This implies that Bantaeng is self-sufficient for subsistence goods, and markets mainly supply non-local products. Salt comes from Jeneponto, sea products come from Bulukumba and Jeneponto. Earthenware kitchen utensils come from Takalar and Bulukumba, while plastic and metal utensils, and other manufactured products (including cloth) come from Makassar (most of manufactured products come from Java sea to Makassar harbor). Right now, traders bring their commodity to Bantaeng city by land transportation and then travel to the opening trading centers.

There are two types of formal trading activity: daily markets and periodic markets. Trading centers in the hinterland open twice a week, so that every market in Bantaeng opens every 3 or 4 days, from 5.00 am to around 11 am. After 10 am, trading is continued at Pasar Sentral and Pasar Lama, which are located in Bantaeng city. There are four trading centers in Bantaeng, which operate daily, namely Pasar Sentral,
Pasar Lama, Pasar Panaikang, and Dampang. Dampang is hardly a market as this place only consists of three warungs selling cigarette, candy, and detergent, so it can be said that there are only three daily markets in Bantaeng. The Panaikang trading center is located at a road intersection and opens in the morning only, but Sentral and Pasar Lama, which are located in the city, are open from morning until evening.

There are two specialized trading centers in the Bantaeng region and others with varied commodities. Loka trading center is a source for vegetables, while ‘Pasar ikan’ (fish markets)—which are sites of spontaneous trading between fishermen and buyers—are located at the river mouth or at the coast when ships arrive. Pasar Ikan are not permanent trading places because trading activity is done during the good sea harvest, and no activity after the sea harvest is sold. Spontaneous trading centers in the coastal areas only sell sea products, but no other commodities. These two specialized trading centers are crowded by buyers who mostly resell the commodity to other trading centers—both in Bantaeng and outside Bantaeng regent. However, Loka and other 14 trading centers in Bantaeng regency provide varied commodities, local resources, and non-local commodities.

The locations of trading centers in the Bantaeng region are associated with intersections of roads and rivers, river mouths, intersections of river, and at the headwaters of rivers. The correlation of trading centers with rivers could be related to the dendritic marketing model, but since the rivers in Bantaeng cannot be navigated the dendritic model alone does not explain their distribution nor the connections between them.

Public transportation is concentrated on the opening day of a trading center, while at other times transportation is available only twice or three times a day from
Bantaeng city to four transportation networks in the region. The number of people per day going to each destination and the routes followed by people to different trading places can be predicted. A daily market is a routine activity, so that the number of people attending the market is relatively constant. However, the number of people in trading centers differs between after harvest-during cultivation (for peasant), and between payday (early month) and mid to end of the month (for people who obtain a monthly salary).

In contrast, the flow of people to a market increases enormously during an open day market, which is held twice a week. Certain markets attract greater numbers of people, such as Lambocca, Banyorang and Loka, because those markets have special characteristics such as the cheapest supplies of bananas and vegetables. However the quantity of the products is not stable—sometimes buyers do not find certain commodities at all. The uncertainty of quantity is typical of trading centers in rural areas, since people plant fruits not for sale but for private consumption.

Trading activity occurs both in open spaces and in buildings. There are permanent stalls and also non-permanent stalls available, which are owned by certain traders who regularly trade in the markets. However, people who do not have a stall use the open space to trade their goods. That implies that not much data can be collected after opening day and in non-opening day as left over commodities are taken away from the trading centers. Moreover the existence of building facilities implies the size of trading centers. It will be difficult to find ancient markets. If the trading centers have permanent buildings this means that the trading center is at a higher level compared to trad-
ing centers, which only use non-permanent buildings and only open on opening mar-
ket.

Local people usually trade by cash. They bring cash or small quantities of a
commodity to the trading center where they sell them for cash, with which they then
buy other items. The local people then act as part time traders in order to obtain cash.
The selling activity of the part time trader is variable and irregular in quantity and
quality. They do not use standard measurements, and the price set by other traders,
who sell similar items. The buyer has to buy the amount they offer at the price the
sellers demand. The part time traders do not bargain. The process differs when the
locals deal with Javanese traders who let people buy in small quantity and accept
bargaining. The coming of Javanese traders to Bantaeng trading markets makes local
traders jealous, because local people prefer to buy from Javanese traders.

The fulltime traders who have stalls in the hinterland trading centers usually live
in Bantaeng city. This type of trader has stalls both at a city market (in Pasar Sentral or
outside the Pasar Sentral) and at other trading centers. These traders open their stalls
outside Bantaeng city early in the morning, and then continue their activities in the city.
They usually sell clothes both in the Sentral market and at other stalls. There are fulltime
traders who do not have permanent stalls but have special places at the trading center
every opening day. The fulltime traders sell manufactured goods for cash, and do not
barter for local commodities.

Transactions appear “spontaneously” when the prau arrives and the transactions
stop when the sea products are transferred to the pengijon or juragan. Trading activity
is conducted in the open air, so there are no buildings and no taxes are collected. Crew
members obtain some of sea products before the sales, as part of their salary.

At the night market fishermen meet buyers directly after they return from the
sea. Only sea products are sold at this night market. This market is only held at certain
times and at certain seasons at night around 10pm to 11.30 pm. The prices and types of
sea products depend on the season. Usually, the prices are under the control of the
fishermen themselves but are set by the Juragan or the leader of the boat. Different
boats may sell the same fish for different prices as the Juragan/Punggawa collude to
set prices. The fishermen (as Sawi/minawang) will help in unloading the sea products
from the ship and if the buyer is a wholesaler, the fishermen sometimes help them in
loading the goods into their vehicles.

The hinterland products pass from the farmers to the main collector in the city,
either by the farmers themselves or by middlemen. The middlemen collect the products
both in the lesser market places and through direct contact with the farmers, and then
the collected products are brought to the wholesalers who also act as main collector or
Juragan in the city, whereas the individual farmers usually deal in much small amounts
than the middlemen. The Juragan then sells these local products, including coffee,
clove, cocoa, corn, rice, and pumpkin to collectors in Makassar after which some of
the products is resold again to Java or abroad.

The wholesalers and Juragan are usually Chinese and rich Makasarese respec-
tively, who live in the city, whereas the middlemen are local people, both Makassarese
and Buginese. The Chinese traders do not collect local products from the villages;
local traders do this. Local people explain that they are not in contact directly with the
Chinese except when they want to sell their commodity directly to the wholesaler in the city. If they do that, they will obtain better prices than if they sell it to middlemen collectors. The farmers usually only have small amounts of trading products as they are sawi who must first share their harvest with the Punggawa—their master. The Chinese wholesalers both wait for local products to arrive in the city and also send middlemen to collect local products for them.

There are two types of middlemen, those who have direct links with a particular wholesaler and free traders who collect commodities directly from the farmers. However, all products finally go to the same wholesalers who live in Bantaeng city. The difference between them is that the first group obtains capital from the wholesaler, whereas the second group has individual capital, which is usually smaller than that of the first group. However both of them offer advances to farmers before harvest is due in return for an agreed amount of products in a customary practice known as Ijon.\footnote{Javanese word meaning green. Ijon means traders buy the commodity before the harvest.} However this can entail big risks both for the farmers (when they have accepted less than the eventual price), and for the wholesaler (when the products do not meet the quality they want). In Bantaeng city there are Chinese wholesalers ready to collect local commodities from their agents and directly from local farmers. They mainly live around Pasar Lama (old market) area, in the Chinese quarter.

Distribution of non-local goods within Bantaeng regency is not only done at trading centers but also using warung—small shops, and by peddlers. Manufactured goods are also distributed through warung owned by local people. These has a complete selection of goods, ranging from primary needs to secondary and tertiary re-
requirements such as rice, school equipment, electric equipment; cigarettes, detergent and petrol are available in these warung. However the quantity of goods ranges from fewer than five items to more than ten items, depending on the capital of the owners. Nevertheless warungs are important for society because they can supply goods needed quickly. Warungs are often used as places to obtain items on credit. Payment is usually made after harvest. Peddlers usually distribute their commodity on foot—walking from village to villages until the commodities are sold out. This peddler stays overnight in people’s houses or in small mosques. Sometimes the peddlers sell their commodities in markets, but mostly they distribute the commodity directly to the buyers.

Ethnographic data of Bantaeng gives an overview of Bantaeng trading activity. People coming and going export local commodities and import non-local commodities. Commodities can be distributed to consumers through formal and non-formal institutions. INPRES markets can be a formal institution to-
gether with village markets, warung, shops, and peddlers to distribute non-local commodities. Each has its own role. Pasar INPRES have a larger role.

Settlement patterns now do not clearly represent social groups. Obvious settlement groupings are based on other criteria. For example, the Chinese live in areas of economic activity, which are separate from the local agricultural and fishing people who live spread throughout the urban area. These changes have taken place not only because of the availability of commodities but also as a consequence of the better transportation network and the migrants attracted to the urban center. Religious diversity has also appeared, as shown in the different religious buildings and special burial places for non-Muslim groups. However, the local Muslim people remain largely unaffected by such changes.
Chapter 4

Contemporary Bantaeng:
Alternative Models of Economic Activity

1. Ethnographic Data on Trading Activity in the Bantaeng Region

Bantaeng inhabitants can be divided into two groups: locally-born people, and people who are posted to Bantaeng from elsewhere because of work. The second group mostly lives in Bantaeng city as administrative offices are located in Bantaeng city, and they have become a ‘new elite group’. The new elite has regular income, both rice and cash, while the local people have products which can be exchanged for cash—which is needed for such purposes connected with the modern economy as buying imported goods, paying school tuition, daily transportation for their children, and paying electricity bills. The consumption patterns of new elite groups (immigrants) are dependent on complimentary relationships with producer groups (locally-born people). Local people cultivate land and collect sea products which the newcomers have to buy with cash. The elite group obtains vegetables by cooperating with local people who collect it for them in land acquired by the immigrants. This leads to certain forms of transactions. The factors stimulating the flow of people to trading centers can be observed. People are not only buying for individual consumers but also buying in order to resell to other people in other trading centers.

Almost all manufactured products are produced outside of Sulawesi. They arrive by ship in Makassar city harbor, and then are distributed by land to trading places in south Sulawesi, including Bantaeng. However, some local crafts are distributed within Sulawesi.
There is no craft activity in Bantaeng except house building. Earthenware vessels, which are still an integral part of daily life for both immigrants and local-born, come from Takalar and Bulukumba. Iron tools come from Sinjai, mats from Takalar. Tobacco comes from Sinjai while salt comes from Jeneponto. The goods will reach both coastal and hinterland areas by land transportation, which is cheaper than sea transport and because Bantaeng has no usable cargo facilities.

Local people of Bantaeng are mainly self-sufficient, producing for their consumption. Lower status people of Bantaeng mostly work for other people—both local ‘old’ elite groups and ‘new’ elite who were able to buy land. Some members of lower-level groups are self-employed but their landholdings are universally small, and the harvest of food crops rarely produces any surplus. Production is irregular and seasonal.

Nine major cash crops are produced in Bantaeng: cocoa, cloves, coffee, corn, candle-nuts, cassava, kapok, vegetables, and banana. These products are grown in four different districts: cocoa, cloves, coffee and banana come from several places in Tompobulu and Eremerasa Districts; corn is grown in almost all districts in the region, but especially in the elevated areas and on the flat areas during the dry season; and candlenuts come from the Onto area of Bantaeng District. These cash crops are collected in Bantaeng city and then taken by truck to Makassar city as land transportation is cheaper than by sea, and Bantaeng harbor is only adequate for fishing prau, the same as Bulukumba and Jeneponto harbors. The transport of local certain commodities from Bantaeng to Makassar may be said to approximate more closely the dendritic model. However, there are some complications in applying the model, because some highland commodities travel from third-tier producing areas to second-tier collecting centers to Bantaeng city, whereas others bypass the second-
tier centers and flow direct to Makassar. This does not accord with the concept of the
dendritic system in which producers only have one choice of a market for their produce, and
hence are under the control of a monopolistic system. Makassar is a first-tier place for
South Sulawesi, but a second-tier place in the Indonesian system, with most of its produce
going to Surabaya. On the other hand, Makassar also has sea links to other ports as well,
rather than being monopolized by one overseas trading partner. Thus the question of whether
a system is dendritic or not is not a simple yes-or-no question; one can speak of degrees of
freedom, of relative concentrations of power in the overseas trading partners, in which
relations of collaboration, price-fixing among consortia of middlemen, and other factors
combine to undermine the simple application of ideal marketing principles to any situation.

Local people sometimes come to market to sell their crops in order to buy other
goods they need. This type of trader usually brings products in small quantities, and often
just a single commodity. The goods are usually harvested from rainfed field, ladang, or household yard, such as fruits including *langsdat*, banana, and jackfruit, vegetables, rice, cassava, peanuts, pumpkin, and corn. In Bantaeng there are markets in villages, near the subdistrict capitals, and in the regency capitals. The population uses the markets to exchange their produce with one another in order to fulfill daily subsistence needs.

The local marketing system in south Sulawesi is hierarchical, with Makassar city the highest-order the central place and the rest of Bantaeng the periphery or a set of lower-tier markets. On the provincial level, there are five tiers, and on the national level there are six levels. Bantaeng city would be a second-tier center on a provincial level, with regency markets a third-tier, INPRES markets level a fourth-tier, and village markets a fifth-tier. Makassar is the main entry point for articles from Java and eastern Indonesia. Local commodities flow to local markets and also to Makassar city, and manufactured products from Java are distributed from Makassar city to second-tier markets, and then redistributed to local trading centers and *warungs* (small shops/kiosks). Central place theory applies better to some aspects of the marketing pattern, and dendritic models better explain other aspects of it. Makassar city is a central market for exporting local commodities (such as coffee, cocoa, and clove) by land and sea, and a lower-tier market in a system for distributing goods from Java to Sulawesi.

Sixteen trading markets supply Bantaeng people. In the Bantaeng marketing network, the Bantaeng Central Market (Pasar Sentral), in addition to being a 2nd level market after Makassar, is a first level market for Bantaeng itself. INPRES markets (Pasar Inpres) serve as 2nd level markets in Bantaeng, and village markets are the 3rd level. Some markets have permanent structures. Such markets are here labelled level 2b, whereas markets of
type 2a are pasar INPRES. Some village markets are very crowded, others less so. These can therefore be divided into 3a (busier) and 3b (less). “Spontaneous” markets not established in a permanent location are fourth-level. However local people still remember there were market which located in their village.

Markets in Bantaeng are always located near rivers. In coastal areas, markets are near the river mouths, while hinterland markets are located at junctions of tributaries. The hinterland trading centers are associated with intersections along the asphalt road and Salo and Balong type of rivers.

This indicates that the trading centers in the hinterland are not in steep and elevated areas. Residents in flat regions can reach markets more easily than those in hilly areas. Residents in isolated hilly regions go to markets by walking or pack horses, while those along roads use public transport. Interviews with hinterland dwellers indicate that the maximum walking time from home to market is two hours. Those who use public transport
reported a maximum travel time of 30 minutes and a maximum cost of Rp. 1000 (S$ twenty cents).

Viewing Bantaeng as the region under study, the highest level trading center is located at Bantaeng city, the Regency capital. This first-tier market was built by the local government. The central market of Bantaeng is located close to the colonial-period administrative center and is an expansion of the Old Market which was formed before government regulation.

Markets in 2nd tier are generally located at strategic locations near government administrative offices such as the Kantor Kecamatan (district capital), Kantor Kelurahan (sub-district capital), PUSKESMAS (Community Health Center), and local schools—as seen for INPRES markets Loka and Banyorang until 1999. The Bantaeng regional government renovated and enlarged Lambocca village market which until the early 1990s was very popular. The Pasar INPRESS Lamboca is located on the main road which connects Bantaeng

Table 2: Market in Bantaeng region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of the Market</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Opening day</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pasar Sentral dan Pasar lama (INPRES)</td>
<td>1st tier</td>
<td>everyday</td>
<td>coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pasar Kallamassang</td>
<td>2a tier</td>
<td>Monday, Thursday</td>
<td>coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pasar Lambocca (INPRES)</td>
<td>2a tier</td>
<td>Saturday night, Sunday, Wednesday night Thursday</td>
<td>coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pasar Banyorang (INPRES)</td>
<td>2a tier</td>
<td>Sunday, Tuesday night, Wednesday, Saturday night</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pasar Loka (INPRES)</td>
<td>2a tier</td>
<td>Monday, Thursday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pasar Panaikang</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>everyday</td>
<td>coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pasar Campanga LoE</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>Monday, Thursday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pasar Dapoko</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>Tuesday, Saturday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pasar Layoa (INPRES)</td>
<td>2a tier</td>
<td>Tuesday, Saturday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pasar Moti</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>Sunday, Thursday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pasar Dampang</td>
<td>4th tier</td>
<td>everyday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pasar Jannayya/Barua</td>
<td>3a tier</td>
<td>Tuesday, Friday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pasar Parang</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>Sunday, Wednesday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pasar Bunglowe</td>
<td>3a tier</td>
<td>Sunday, Wednesday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pasar BaroE</td>
<td>3b tier</td>
<td>Monday, Thursday</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pasar Spontaneous</td>
<td>4th tier</td>
<td>seasonal</td>
<td>coast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
city to Bulukumba. The growth of the Kecamatan in late 2000 caused the Layoa village market to be upgraded to a pasar INPRES, so that the old pattern according to which pasar INPRES were always associated with the office of the kecamatan, local health center, and school no longer applied. Geographically, those centers are located at the intersection of roads and rivers. Moreover, they are always located on asphalt roads. Village markets are also usually associated with rivers and asphalt roads, but are often in the centers of villages rather than at intersections. The market places generally continue to use village names, such as Pasar Loka in Loka village, BaroE in BaroE village, Pasar Bunglowe in Bunglowe village, and Pasar Moti at Moti village.

The Pasar Sentral is open from morning to afternoon and contains a wide range of goods. Markets at the 2nd a and b and 3rd a and b levels open twice a week. Markets on level 2 a are larger and have permanent structures, markets of type 2b are village markets to
which permanent sheds have been added, whereas markets on the 3rd level open twice a week, and have semi-permanent (wooden) structures. Markets of type 3a are more crowded than those of type 3b. In Bantaeng region, three trading centers open daily but others open twice a week. The conception of two market days a week for trading centers in Bantaeng differentiates the Bantaeng local system from a typical central place marketing system. It is also different from Java, for example, where there is a five-day market week system. The Bantaeng local economic system can be analyzed to see whether the central place model explains the Bantaeng local economic system, and if so, what kind of central place model applied in Bantaeng.

In the hinterland, there are three markets on level 2a: Banyorang on the east, Loka on the west, and Layoa southeast of Bantaeng. Level 2b trading centers in Bantaeng’s hinterland are pasar Campaga LoE and Jannayya, and village markets consist of Bullowe, Dapoko, Parang, BaroE, and Moti. Dampang market has fallen from the 3rd level to a mere warung or stall. Along the Bantaeng coast, markets belong to different levels—Kallamassang, Lambocca belong to level 2a because they are pasar INPRES, whereas pasar Panaikang is level 3 and pasar Sentral is the first-tier market for all Bantaeng.

In the markets, local and non-local people come together. Some local residents bring cash to the market, but many bring commodities to sell or barter before they purchase their own needs. Local people are seasonal traders. They do not bring large quantities of goods, partly because of transportation difficulties. Their local commodities are usually purchased by middlemen who take them to larger collection centers in Bantaeng city. Non-local people are dealers in non-local articles. Some have stalls in pasar Sentral, and also stalls in lower-level markets. Usually these merchants after dealing in the lower level trading center return
to trade in their stalls in Pasar Sentral. Other non-local merchants have small capital and only sell imported items from market to market. A third group constitute those who go from village to village hawking their wares. Traders from Bantaeng city and other parts of south Sulawesi usually sell their products at local periodic markets in the Bantaeng region using local public transportation or rented trucks. The traders come early in the morning or in some trading centers they arrive a night before the opening day and stay overnight at the trading centers.

The flow of people is mostly based on the cycle of trading center opening days. Public transportation from Bantaeng city in the early morning congregates at open markets, but after 11 am, public vehicles resume their normal route and schedule. Markets on 1st, 2nd and 3rd levels within Bantaeng are connected in a sort of web of interrelations. The merchants normally sell their goods in more than one market in Bantaeng. Merchants who have stalls in Pasar Sentral open their kiosks, then go sell some of their articles in 2nd

Figure 45: Women and children taking part in the bustling activities of central market place in Parang, Bantaeng Region.

Figure 46: Traders in Parang market conduct their activities on the open field.
and 3rd level markets from morning to mid-day. Then they return to pasar sentral to sell the remaining goods. These merchants also endeavor to purchase local commodities to sell in pasar sentral. Merchants who do not have stalls in pasar sentral normally only visit three or four markets per week, because they have personal relations with people in those markets. Roving peddlers who go from village to village selling earthenware pottery and mats also take advantage of market days. They plan their travels to optimize markets.

The local people prefer to visit trading centers which can be reached in a maximum two-hour walk (and sometimes on horseback). Some people take low-cost public transportation (between Rp 500 to Rp 1,000 for one trip in year 2000) (equivalent to S$ 0.10 to S$ 0.20). This amount of money is considerable for the rural dwellers of Bantaeng. But in some areas public transportation is not available. People who live in rural areas in the interior mostly travel to the trading centers on foot while some people use horses to transport bulky commodities. During market day, people concentrate in trading centers between 5 am to 11 am.

Bulky goods are carried in a sack, whereas small quantities of goods are put in small containers and bags. If they use public transportation or rented trucks, they put bulky stuffs and other goods in the vehicles, but if coming on foot, they carry the goods on their heads, by pikul (using a piece of wood to carry the stuff on their shoulders), in their hands, or on their back. If they have horses, they put the goods on them. Sometimes goods are distributed in simple containers, such as bamboo or cloth. Goods are exchanged at the trading centers—at the permanent and non-permanent buildings and in the open space between

\[1\text{Farmers also walk a maximum of two hours to their cultivation land. If their land is further than two hour’s walk, they will stay temporary at their land, but have a permanent house in the village.}\]
the buildings, but sometimes spontaneously outside the trading centers. Thus many actors distribute goods freely and in varied ways.

Coastal people mostly go to coastal markets; interior people who live between 25 m to 500 m ASL travel to surrounding market places, but the inhabitants living in the higher locations must travel to trading centers located at lower elevations as most of the market places in hinterland Bantaeng are located in these places. Public transportation is available for the lower and higher elevation settlements especially from Bantaeng to Lambocca but public transportation from Bantaeng to Loka (in two routes—see map transportation network within Bantaeng region), to Onto, and to Moti is not available anytime. This forces people to use private transportation, on foot or riding horses.

Different markets serve western, central, eastern, and coastal Bantaeng every day. People in Bantaeng normally trade at the nearest market, but if there is something special they may visit more distant trading centers—1st or 2nd type of trading centers. Rural dwellers also may sell their produce either in markets or to middlemen who come to their houses, or directly to buyers in Bantaeng. Thus, although there is a hierarchy of markets in Bantaeng city, the existence of public transport prevents a purely dendritic pattern from developing. This may be a recent development. Based on interviews with rural dwellers, before 1999 they

Figure 47: Numerous people traverse this road to get to the Parang market.
were dependent on the market nearest their residence, and commodities bought in the lower-level market would be taken by the collectors to the market on the next highest level.

On Sundays many people go to Bunglowe, Parang, Banyorang and Boro trading centers to buy and sell local products as well as to buy non-local products. On Mondays, people mostly go to Lambocca trading center on the eastern coast of Bantaeng region, as this INPRES trading center is known as a comprehensive and varied trading center with the cheapest prices.

People from Labbo located in the north of Bantaeng, and Moti in the northeast of Bantaeng, take public transportation to the Lambocca trading center for better quality and prices. In some cases people have to walk more than 30 minutes to the transport point. People from Bantaeng city have two choices of where to shop, either in Sentral trading center (and Pasar Lama) or in Lambocca trading center. If they want to buy in bulk, they prefer to buy in Lambocca, but if they do not have time, especially after 10 am, they will go to Sentral market. This situation is similar on Thursday mornings, the other opening day for Lambocca trading centers.
In the interior, three trading centers open on Monday mornings: Loka, Campaga LoE, and BaroE. People from districts surrounding Loka, such as Sinowa, Borongtanga (Bunglowe), Lanying, and Boro (Jeneponto Regency), trade in Loka. Sometimes a middleman trader from Bantaeng city comes to buy vegetables at Loka, as this area is well known for its production of such vegetables as potatoes, cabbages, and carrots. People who live in the adjacent area, including people from Jeneponto, as Campaga LoE is located on the border between Bantaeng and Jeneponto Regencies, use Campaga LoE market. People who live in Eremerasa district use BaroE trading centers. A similar trading pattern takes places on Thursdays. However, there is no evidence that people who live in nearby Loka trade at either BaroE nor Campaga LoE or vice versa. This implies that geographical conditions do affect their trading patterns.

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2 In reverse, people from Loka and Sinowa areas come to trade in Boro Market every Wednesday and Sunday.
Centers of trading activity during Tuesday and Saturday mornings are located at Dapoko, Barua (Jannayya), and Moti trading centers. People who live near Dapoko trading center will trade there, whereas Barua (Jannayya) trading center is visited by people from as far away as Dampang and Kampung Baru. People from Moti and Layoa areas trade in Layoa trading center on Tuesday morning.

On Tuesday evenings, people around Banyorang and sometimes even from Bantaeng city go to the Banyorang trading center in order to get an early bird chance to buy before the opening next morning of the regular Banyorang trading center. This trading activity takes place while the traders are unloading their goods. Aspects of the central place model may be seen in this system. The K-3 pattern seems most applicable in the east and west areas of Bantaeng. Whereas central central part of Bantaeng only has access to 3rd level and 1st level trading centers, so that the K-2 model is applicable there. For those in west and east

\[3\text{This situation also occurs in Lambocca, a day before the opening market day.}\]
Bantaeng, the K-3 model is most probable, because with village markets, pasar INPRESS, and pasar sentral, they can choose among several alternatives. The range of choices is however affected by the periodic nature of lower-tier markets. Thus a person may choose whether to go further to a higher-level market, or wait for the local market day. The dendritic model seems to account for the system of acquiring local commodities by collectors in markets.

On Wednesdays, markets are held in Banyorang in Kecamatan Tompobulu, Parang in Eremerasa district, and Bullowe in Bissapu district. People from as far as BaroE, Dapoko, and surrounding areas visit Parang market. Bunglowe is visited by people from Campag LoE and further away. Boro market in Jeneponto regency opens on Wednesday so Loka and sometimes Sinowa people shop at the Boro trading center. This pattern shows that administrative boundaries do not affect trading activity, but geographical boundaries do
influence trading patterns. This is the result of provincial roads which connect regencies. Provincial roads are generally wider than regency roads.

On Thursdays, in addition to Lambocca, CampagaloE, and Loka, there are market days at Moti, Kallamassang and BaroE. Trade in the coastal area is served by Lambocca and Kallamassang trading centers.

![Map: Thursday Markets in Relation to Transport Network in Bantaeng Region](image)

Trade in the western hinterland is served by Campaga LoE and Loka, while the eastern hinterland is served by Moti and the north area is served by BaroE trading center. People from Layoa, Barua, and Borong Kapala visit Moti trading center, whereas people nearby and from Parang areas patronize BaroE. The Moti market is also open on Sundays, while Kallamassang also opens on Monday.
The settlements in eastern Bantaeng are linear in type, so the only trading centers they can attend are those two sites, or Pasar Sentral in Bulukumba Regency. The linear settlement pattern is correlated with a dendritic market system. In Pasar Loka dan Banyorang, the central place model is clearly exemplified, because people from around Loka and Banyorang go in crowds to this pasar INPRES. Articles from lower level markets surrounding Loka and Banyorang are sold in this market, and when the market closes, the remaining items are sold at lower level markets. An exception is that good-quality vegetables from Pasar Loka will be sent to places beyond Bantaeng, whereas lower quality vegetables will be sold within Bantaeng. This situation is in contrast to Banyorang, because this market contains a wide variety of articles, not as specialized as Loka.

The coastal trading centers are mostly used by people in coastal villages and, in some cases, Bantaeng city people. The Lamboca market has been popular since it was renovated to become a pasar INPRES. Nevertheless, Lambocca trading center is also famous among the interior people because it is cheaper and more varied than Pasar Sentral-Pasar Lama. The Lambocca market will be particularly crowded during public holidays because Bantaeng city citizens, who are officials, prefer to shop at this market, which opens on weekdays. Lambocca is thought to have been the market for the chiefdom of Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, because this market is in the upper reaches of the river of Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke. This market may have been an entry point for articles imported from outside, so that it was once a level A market in competition with A* at Pasar Lama, and A** at Bulukumba. However, now pasar Lambocca is only a 2nd level trading center because the administrative center has moved to Bantaeng city. The dendritic model which once existed at pasar Lambocca has shifted to central place model.
At Lambocca, like Banyorang trading center in the interior, unofficial trading takes place the night before the actual opening day. On Saturday evening people conduct pre-market trade in Lambocca, while on Sunday evening people trade before the official opening in Lambocca. This means Bantaeng city people are able to trade after their work hours. This situation is also found in other trading centers in Indonesia, such as in Imogiri market (south of Yogyakarta), Pasar Kranggan, Pasar Gede (in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Cirebon), Pasar Turi in Surabaya, Pasar Jatinegara, Pasar Induk Kramat Jati (Jakarta) and other trading centers in Java.

However, there are other trading centers which open daily. Every morning people can be seen moving toward Panaikang (in the west part of Bantaeng), Sentral and Lama trading centers in the Bantaeng city and Dampang trading center. The flow of people from villages adjacent to a daily market is not as great as the flow of people towards twice weekly markets. Like Pasar Sentral-Pasar Lama, Pasar Dampang opens from morning to evening—
as the sellers have built kiosks, like shophouses—so people are freer to shop. However, people who shop in Pasar Panaikang have to shop early morning because this trading center closes at around 9 am.

The existence of these trading centers relates to the flow of people to trading centers. It can be inferred that these markets were once periodic markets, and changed to daily markets later. This probably happened when people were not self-sufficient anymore. This shift possibly occurred in the post independence period, when more people began to work in government offices. This new elite social group, which formed between 1945 and the 1960s, did not have land to cultivate, and mostly they accept cash for their salary. Thus people in the regency capital depended on cash. People had to buy groceries everyday, as personal observation during field work, at that period there was no refrigeration.

In contrast trading centers, which open twice a week, are more crowded than trading centers which open daily. Both parties try to obtain as much ‘profit’ as they can: buyers will
have more choices both in quantity and quality of commodities, while sellers will have more opportunities to sell commodities and compete with other traders. Traders and buyers try to reach trading centers as soon as possible, which benefit public transport operators. Public transportation is only available for the days the market is open, especially during morning hours, which creates difficulties for students and other regular travelers.

The distribution of goods within a village depends on the villagers themselves. Sometimes a village has one or more kiosks (warung). These kiosks are owned by local people so they may informally be open 24 hours a day, even though the formal activity is from 9 am until 9 pm every day, which enables villagers who do not have a kiosk in their village to obtain goods from other villages nearby.

These kiosks supply daily needs for people before the opening of markets. Some kiosks are simple, with a range of fewer than ten types of goods and the inventory of each type totaling fewer than five items. Most of their goods are soap, detergent, cigarettes, soy sauce, matches, pens, pencils, and notebooks. Kiosks then acts as gateway of non-local products which are ready to support local people, however in small quantity. The distribution of
such goods reaches into the peripheral areas in the Bantaeng region, traded not only by outsiders but also by local people.

However, trading activity before the actual opening day is not usual in Bantaeng where trading normally takes place from 5 am-10 am. In Nusa Tenggara Timur, even though traders and commodities arrive earlier than the opening hours, they are not allowed to trade early. The situation in Bantaeng has the unusual characteristic that there are four types of markets: from 5 am to 7 am, from 5 am to 10 am; from 6 am to 5 pm, and from 4 pm to 10 am the next day. Thus traders are freely permitted to come and to trade before and after the actual market trading hours.

Markets in Bantaeng can be divided into several types daily and periodic markets; markets with different opening hours; markets in coasts and hinterlands; markets with a wide range of goods versus markets with a few types of goods; markets with many full-time traders/part-time traders; and market with permanent and non permanent stalls.

Ethnographic data shows that traders from many areas distribute goods to Bantaeng region. There are traders who have stalls at the market, commuter traders and people who sell their crops themselves. The latter is called a part-time trader as people keep most of their share of the harvest for daily consumption and sell what they can spare for cash for purchasing their daily needs. The stall traders mostly live in the urban area and come twice
a week to the markets at the opening hours. Outside the opening hours, they conduct their trading activities at Pasar Sentral-Pasar Lama in Bantaeng city.

The traders who have stalls and commuter traders have more capital than others. They sell manufactured products, which come from Makassar city or from Java (either from Jakarta or Surabaya). The commodities they sell are mostly cloth, bags, and shoes. While the commuter traders do not have stalls in trading centers, they will have special spaces. The commuter traders are not only from Bantaeng city, but also from many places, such as Sinjai, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, and Makassar, so they belong to different ethnic groups, including Javanese. The commodities they sell include manufactured goods, traditional tobacco, iron tools, earthenware, and non-traditional food and drink. Dried and salted sea products come especially from Jeneponto by land, as Bantaeng does not produce salted or dried fish in quantity. Usually this type of trader stays temporarily in Bantaeng city—especially with family or people who came from similar areas, so they can move from one trading center to another. However, they only travel to the central and eastern parts of Bantaeng, as public transportation to Campaga LoE and Loka is unreliable.

The traders who do not have stalls will locate themselves in the trading area, both in the space between two shops, beside the road, or at the front and back of the markets, or walk around carrying their commodity in their hands. They join similar commodity sellers, such as tobacco, cloth, Figure 52: The Banyorang market is a scene of the bustle and hustle as people conduct trade with one another.
iron tools, and earthenware. This type of trader differs from the part-time traders, because they offer bargaining and extra goods if the buyers buy many items. However, these traders move not only within one region but also to other regencies.

Part-time traders are local people who bring local products—their harvest—to the trading centers to exchange for cash. The people of the interior who live in fertile areas cultivate rice, vegetables, and banana while people with less fertile land plant cassava, corn, and peanuts. Other cash crops are cocoa, coffee, candlenuts, fruits, and coconuts. The choice of crops for cultivation is also related to elevation above sea level. The quantities of these agricultural products sold at the trading centers are small, and seasonal.

In Bantaeng, women and their children bring chiken, fruits, palawija, and ground coffee in small quantities, whereas men bring heavy crops such as a sack of corn, squash or banana. The majority of the surplus is sold to middlemen—*tengkulak*. In the market they occupy different areas, as women are associated with vegetables and men seldom enter this area. The male area is in the back or on the other side of the market, where they can get tobacco and other goods for which males are the main consumers.
The relations between coast and hinterland are mainly exchanges of subsistence items. With the availability of Pasar Sentral-Pasar Lama, which opens daily, the coastal people can purchase their needs at these places. However, the hinterland people still consume sea products from the traders—not the Bantaeng coastal people, but *tengkulak* who obtain sea products from *juragan* (Boss; investor). The exchange between coastal and hinterland people then is not direct. The coastal people buy hinterland products from middlemen, and hinterland people buy sea products also from middlemen—not from the producers. Consequently, it is difficult to judge the balance of exchange between coastal and hinterland products as the exchange is indirect and so it difficult to judge whether dendritic is applicable or not.

However, one could also suspect that a dendritic model could be applied to Bantaeng because the collectors of hinterland cash crops are located in Bantaeng city. Land transportation is used to reach Makassar, the highest-level trading center in South Sulawesi and to other capital regency such as to Jeneponto, Bulukumba, and Sinjai.

The exchange between hinterland and coastal products indicates that a central place model best applies to Bantaeng, as trading centers are mostly located in hinterlands. Connections between markets at the same level as well as those on different levels are used by traders. Thus some markets can be seen as displaying dendritic aspects because they are satellites of one higher-level center, but others are not, because in Bantaeng most markets are at the village level and there are only four markets on tier 2, and only two on tier 4. These markets are far apart.

Before the VOC took power in Bantaeng, the rulers of Sinowa, Borong Kapala, Onto/Bantaeng, and Lembang Gantarangkeke/Gantarangkeke were able to treat their fol-
lowers well. The harvest of their territories could be exchanged for quantities of imported items. Commodities which can still be traced include ceramics, beads, and metal items. The complexity of social life in Bantaeng can be reconstructed, including both residents of the hinterland and the coast and the nature of relations between rulers located in the hinterlands and the importers of foreign commodities which resulted in these foreign commodities being deposited in settlement sites in the hills far from the coast. Bantaeng rulers in their time were able to organize this system effectively. The dynamic of social life in Bantaeng lies in the successful adaptation of people to the changing internal and external influences, while maintaining the central traditions relating to the *Tomanurung*, to the elite groups, and to their land. However, those luxury objects became more difficult to obtain once the VOC monopolized the coastal area of Bantaeng and adjacent regions. The period of more limited contacts overlapped with the coming of Islam to Bantaeng, which can be inferred from the changing orientation of the dead body.
There is also a difference in the methods of exchange between coastal and interior people. Hinterland people sometimes sell their products individually, whereas traders sell the sea products. However, most places isolated by geographical conditions and limitations of transport are self-supporting through swidden agriculture and farmers who work for the Karaeng—royal family and bureaucrats. Some coastal fishing populations—in the last ten years—have also become self-supporting if the land nearby is fertile. It has become possible to use this land for rice or *palawija* because the government has recently built a sea-wall—a structure of brick and stone to prevent beach erosion and abrasion.

The hinterland trading centers can be defined as central places for some types of economic activity. Coastal people travel to markets in the hinterland especially when they need a large quantity of vegetables; hinterland people travel to coastal markets for manufactured goods. Thus economic activity is not limited to the coastal area but also takes place in the hinterland.

A two-month study conducted in April and October 2000 revealed some interesting behavior. People who live in the western part of Bantaeng do not go to the markets in the eastern part of the region and vice versa. People who live in the former Onto/Bantaeng political center do not trade with the inhabitants of Lembang Gantarangkeke/Gantarangkeke. (See Map 35)

There is a shortcut from Onto to Lembang Gantarangkeke, but there is no public transportation available from Onto to Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. While people from Bantaeng city area do not always go to the Lembang Gantarangkeke area, there is good public transportation from Bantaeng to Lembang Gantarangkeke and beyond. Moreover, the trading center in Bantaeng city opens daily.
The transportation network and geographical conditions could possibly be the reason. However, social reasons could also deter Onto people from visiting Lembang Gantarangkeke (and vice versa) because they do not have relatives to visit. Social relations have a significant effect on the flow of people between local areas, and these social relations also influence economic activity. People in the eastern part of Bantaeng do not shop in trading centers in the western part of Bantaeng. This situation probably originated in circa 16th century—west part of Bantaeng was part of Makassarese while east part of Bantaeng was Buginese.

The mediators between Onto/Bantaeng and Lembang Gantarangkeke are the traders who visit local periodic markets to sell their commodities. Interestingly, people from both political centers utilize the trading centers of Dapoko, Parang, and Jannayya Barua, both of which are located between the political boundaries of these two areas. Thus, the Dapoko, Parang and Jannayya trading centers operate as a meeting place for the two groups—
Onto/Bantaeng and Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. However, the distance to Dapoko and Parang limits the numbers of traders at these trading centers so that these trading centers are not as big as other trading centers within the Bantaeng Regency. This is because buyers and traders try to minimize the cost and energy involved in obtaining needed goods, as there is uncertain public transport from Bantaeng to Dapoko, Parang, and Jannayya trading centers.

People from around those places come to trade in Dapoko, Parang, Jannayya trading centers. Social and cultural divisions in Bantaeng region are seen in the economic system, but outsiders—the fulltime traders—bridge them. Sometimes the connection takes the form of a horizontal link (between two places on the same tier) but sometimes is a vertical link (between places on different tiers); the the choice depends on the traders’ estimation of where they can get more profit. This reflects the fact that CPM can be applied in the hinterland—especially for local consumer needs. The dendritic model on the other hand describes the pattern according to which the traders collect local commodities which they then send to tauke in Bantaeng city—who then sell those commodities to Makassar.

However, in certain circumstances, people neraby Dapoko go to Pasar Sentral—the central market located in the capital district—to buy special goods such as electronics or other manufactured goods, which are not sold in the periodic markets. Pasar Sentral opens daily from morning to evening, with many permanent shops selling a range of commodities, whereas in the periodic markets there will be fewer than 10 stalls available. This indicates that Sentral market is the highest-level market within Bantaeng region, as the commodities sold there are more varied than others and it opens daily from morning to evening.
Since trading centers are common meeting points, young men and women often look for partners there. Local ceremonies do offer another meeting point, but these are held less frequently—once a year during Sya’ban Islamic month. Consequently, markets are better places to find partners, meeting relatives from different villages, and meeting buyer-seller. Meetings take place horizontally between people on the same level of the hierarchy—the lower class. Nevertheless, lower class people meet at different trading market levels within one week. Thus they meet with people on the same level, but at markets on different levels. Building external kinship seems to be seen regularly in the market place within Bantaeng region.

In the Bantaeng region, markets have female and male areas. This situation differs from the findings of the Alexander and Alexander surveys (1998; 2001) on Javanese trading centers, where women dominate market places. Personal observation in Pasar Beringharjo, Pasar Kranggan (Yogyakarta), Pasar Imogiri, (25 km south of Yogyakarta) and Pasar Tepus (Wonosari, 40 km south of Yogyakarta) shows that in urban areas, women act as traders and consumers, while in rural areas the males also occupy a special place in the market. This markets in Bantaeng (rural and urban) areas are part of the entertainment area for all inhabitants, while in urban areas markets are places for obtaining goods for meals only as in urban there are other places—shops and shopping malls—to obtain manufactured goods.

In Bantaeng after they have earned some cash, women will buy daily needs, whereas men will buy such products as iron tools and tobacco. The market for local people is a kind of shopping mall with different attractions for both males and females, old and young. The meeting point for males in rural markets is in the back part of the market. Male traders
usually sell special commodities, such as iron tools and tobacco. This area is not completely restricted to men, as some females buy tobacco for themselves or for their husbands.

In contrast, the professional traders’ patterns of trading differ from the local buyers. Distance is not the problem for the traders as all commodities, whether bulky, fragile, or heavy, can be distributed easily by public transport, rented truck, and their own transport. Packaging and traveling duration is not a barrier to the distribution of goods to remote markets and elevated markets such as Pasar Banyorang (450 m ASL), Pasar BaroE (535 m ASL), Pasar Loka (1,100 m ASL), and Pasar Bullowe (490m ASL).

The pattern of distribution is that traders from coastal places—Bantaeng city—sell manufactured goods to the market places located in coastal and in hinterland areas, while the local crops are distributed by the people in the hinterland and, in some cases, are bought by the traders who then re-sell them in the coastal markets. Active collectors live in Bantaeng city collect local commodities and re-sell them to other trading centers within Bantaeng and

![Map: 36 Flow of People to Trading Centers in Bantaeng Region]
Bulukumba and Jeneponto by themselves or resell them to passive collectors—the Chinese *tauke*—who live in Bantaeng city. The Chinese collectors then transport the hinterland Bantaeng commodities to Makassar. Mostly, hinterland people use hinterland trading centers, and rarely use coastal markets (Pasar Sentral, Pasar Lama, and Pasar Lambocca), obtaining crops and sea products from traders.

In contrast, coastal people obtain crops (vegetables and other subsistence foods) from traders who have bought the commodities in the hinterland and sell them in coastal market places. Coastal markets have more commodities than hinterland markets, as the government has provided better facilities here. Moreover, since asphalt roads have been built along the coast, so flows of goods between markets along the coast are regular.

Petty traders who sell their commodities from settlement to settlement. carry their goods on foot, walking from one settlement to another, and stop at open periodic markets they pass. Their products are mostly earthenware and mats. Earthenware traders carry
eight to ten articles, varying from big to small, while the mat traders carry around 20 mats of various sizes. Such traders have to be very adaptable, dealing in products that are bulky but fragile, selling some in lower altitude settlements but having to transport the rest to other settlements higher up in the hills.

An earthenware trader who walked from Takalar to Bantaeng (approximately 70km) mentioned that he used to exchange his wares for crops, which he then resold to the Chinese tauke in Bantaeng city, but now he only sells earthenware and prefers to be paid in cash rather than crops, as cash is more convenient for him. The traders seem to try to keep long lasting contact with consumers. He prefers to sell the earthenware in Bantaeng, as there is no earthenware producer in Bantaeng, unlike Takalar and Bulukumba. He used to sell earthenware after the harvest, when people have commodities to barter, but now people more often have cash.
The distribution of goods on foot may be analogous to a more common pattern of distributing goods in Bantaeng in the past. The traders distribute their goods until they are sold out. Sometimes, the traders only need a week to sell their goods, but in other times they need more than two weeks, so they travel further. These traders do not have to worry too greatly about the distances involved and the physical type of their commodities, as they can use public transportation. Their distribution is more widespread. Moreover they can bring more commodities than if they go on foot. In distributing their commodities, traders also combined public transportation and foot travel, so they can reach isolated areas.

Traders try to sell commodities which are not produced in Bantaeng and they also still visit many villages. However, their route is uncertain, depending on their marketing judgment rather than on distance. Sometimes they distribute in the west part of Bantaeng and Jeneponto areas, sometimes they distribute in the east or central areas of Bantaeng, and at other times they distribute their goods in coastal or sometimes in hinterland areas. If they arrive in a place where a market is open, these peddlers sell their products in the trading center. After that, these peddlers will distribute their commodities to villages.

These trading patterns are convenient for the Bantaeng people as a wide range of products is available at the nearby periodic markets and so they only need to visit certain markets, once or twice a week. The local people take account of the distance between different markets and their settlements, and because the markets are mostly located at administrative centers, so the local trading patterns conform to a central place model with its emphasis on a combination of distance and administration.
2. **Application of Dendritic and Central Place Models in the Bantaeng Region.**

Trade in Bantaeng now reflects past patterns. In the past, people worked chiefly land, so that the harvest was delivered to the chief. Daily subsistence needs were obtained from gardens and small fields. Contacts between residents outside the administrative centers probably led to the formation of markets which now exist. Thus the contacts between the chief and his subjects took place in the context of the division of the harvest, whereas contacts between people on the same level of society occurred in the markets.

Exchanges of local and non-local products can be done in trading centers. Local commodities—a small part of the harvest—are brought personally by farmers to trading centers for cash, while the remainder of the harvest usually is collected by collectors who travel from village to village using rented or private trucks. The crops then are resold to passive collectors in Bantaeng city. The villagers use the cash obtained by selling commodities to buy imported commodities brought in by non-local traders. The current distribution of market places reflects the local trading patterns across the Bantaeng region. The distribution of goods is quite similar between market places, but varies in quantity because of different opening day and location within the region.

The market places generally continue to use village names, such as Pasar Loka in Loka village, BaroE in BaroE village, Pasar Bunglowe in Bunglowe village, and Pasar Moti at Moti village. Moreover, the name of the market may also refer to the old and relocated markets, as in the case of Pasar Lama and Pasar Baru, or they may have an administrative title, as in the case of Pasar Sentral. Without considering the timing or rationale for changing some names, it can be assumed that the market places in Bantaeng region have been functioning over a long period, although the system has been getting bigger as both the popula-
tion and the volume and variety of manufactured commodities arriving at the rural market places have increased.

The Indonesian government (c/q Bantaeng regency) has renovated some market places, closed some down, or merged others together as in Labbo, Campaga, Kampala, Dampang Lama and Batu Pangkaya. Related to the government involvement in moving the market places, the original trading points were not only similar to those now in operation but also more widespread as there were three other market places in the high altitude areas of Bantaeng region.

Application of the central place and dendritic models to trading activities in the Bantaeng region must be seen not only from the type of local commodities, but must also consider consumers and traders (both the part time and full time traders). Previous studies, such as that by Smith (1974) only considered the part time traders but not the full time traders. Dendritic and central place models have to be applied with modifications in Bantaeng as the region encompasses a range of topographical conditions and has a dendritic type of river system but one which is not navigable. Based on the transportation network and the flow of people toward a central trading activity, both the dendritic and the central place marketing models can be seen in modern economic activity in the Bantaeng region.

2.1 The Dendritic Possibilities in Bantaeng Region

The dendritic model has a very specific application in this region. Rivers in Bantaeng are not navigable, but the riverbanks are used as routes. The dendritic model is seen in terms of the hierarchical flow of local goods from the lowest-level centers near the source area in the hinterland to the higher-level trading centers in coastal areas and then to the
highest trading center to Makassar city. The flow of products—especially cash crops—
follows the land transportation network built along the rivers which display a dendritic pat-
ttern, and then using land transportation to Makassar city. Tauke control the flow of cas

Diagram 5: Dendritic Model

Abstract Model Illustration:
1. Exchange between a Drainage Basin Center and an Overseas Power
2. Inter-catchment Portage between Adjacent Drainage Basins

A, the center at the river mouth;
B and C, second- and third-order centers located upstream and at primary and secondary river junctions;
D, the most distant upstream center to participate in the A-based system of market exchange and the initial concentration point for products originating in more remote parts of the watershed;
E and F, the ultimate producers of these products and perhaps centers on a separate exchange system based on non-market institutions, involving goods only part of which come from or go to the marketized system centered on A;
X, an overseas center which serves as the main consumer of goods exported from A and the principal supplier of its imports;
A*, another river-mouth center distance along the coast, controlling a hinterland similar to that of A;
D and E, connected by footpaths with C* and D*.

Adapted from Bronson, 1977.
crops outside the Bantaeng region. Markets which compete for the position of the central market in Bantaeng (A* in the dendritic model) are located in adjacent areas—Torawang market (Kabupaten Jeneponto) in the west of Bantaeng region and Bulukumba market in the east of Bantaeng region. Local cash crop commodities produced in Bantaeng (cocoa, clove, candle nuts, coffee, corn, cassava) are usually collected by the tauke who live in Bantaeng city, and are then taken directly to Makassar without stopping in Torawang. The same pattern applies to Kabupaten Jeneponto and Kabupaten Bulukumba. Three groups of collectors, in Bantaeng, Jeneponto, and Bulukumba, each have their own contacts in Makassar. Competition between the three highest level trading centers takes place when they try to obtain more profit than their competitors. The dendritic model can thus be observed in Bantaeng but does not conform to the prerequisites of the theory behind it.

Diagram 6: Flow of Sources within Bantaeng Region
The tauke—collectors who live in Bantaeng city - usually obtain hinterland products from their sawi or from tengkulak (active collectors), who collect local products in the lower-level centers and buy local products at the source sites. They use private or rented transportation so they are able to reach isolated areas. In these conditions, the local people do not have a good bargaining position, because of their lack of information, as the judgment of the quality and prices of their products are in the hands of the sawi and tengkulak. However, local people usually do not sell all their harvest to the sawi and tengkulak, as they need it for their daily consumption, and so they sell when they need cash at the trading center nearby their home.

Some local people prefer to sell their products (harvest) to the sawi and tengkulak on site because they do not have to bring their harvest to the trading centers, which is about two hours on foot without bulky stuffs. The local inhabitants prefer selling to sawi or tengkulak

Diagram 7: Flow of Sources within Bantaeng Region
as they do not have to pay the transportation cost and they save time in moving their harvest, but the price they receive is lower than if they took them directly to the tauke in Bantaeng city. It is also convenient for the local people to have cash when going to a higher-level center to buy their needs rather than bringing their own products and selling them themselves, as most of them are farmers who do not know the current price for their products so they are not in a good position to bargain.

However, the local people who live in the Onto and Sinowa areas prefer to sell their crops to the tauke—Chinese collectors in Bantaeng city—as there are no trading center nearby except Loka which is a vegetable source, or Bunglowe trading center which is a 3a type level trading center. Nevertheless, some people who live in adjacent Dapoko and Parang trading centers sell their harvest to tauke in Bantaeng city as the distance to Bantaeng city is almost the same as going to Dapoko or Parang trading centers.

Diagram 8: Flow of Sources from Sinowa and Onto
There is no information on when the *tengkulak* system started. The *tengkulak* have been collecting local products actively in the trading centers then re-sell them to collectors in Bantaeng city. Pot sellers and mat sellers from Takalar say that they have been selling their goods to Bantaeng since 1970 when they took over from their relatives. They walk from village to village bartering their products for local crops. In 1972 there were only 35.5 km of asphalt road in Bantaeng; in 2000 there were 484.4 kms. The availability of better land transportation enables the *tengkulak* to operate in the trading centers but also directly to contact the producers—the local people. The local people accept this system openly as they need cash to buy their needs in trading centers.

This dendritic system exemplified by the transfers from the local people to a higher-level trading center then has slightly changed as the actor (i.e. the *tengkulak*) in trading centers actively collects products at their sources. However, not all products and people sell to the *tengkulak* in the village, so the producers still bring their products to the trading center for cash and then they use the cash to buy their requirements. The central place and dendritic models each describe different aspects of marketing activity in the Bantaeng region.

The local people transfer kapok and vegetables outside their producing areas. Kapok, a product of Bissapu District, is sold directly to Makassar without stopping at higher-level trading center in Bantaeng city, while vegetables, the product of Loka, Bangkengponto, and Lanying at Uluere district, are collected in Loka at the elevated area, and then distributed directly to Makassar and East Kalimantan trading centers by the collectors without stopping at higher-level trading center in Bantaeng city. Collection of local commodities by collectors in Loka (for vegetables) and in western Bantaeng, shows that the commodities are directly
taken to the 1st level trading center and to Kalimantan Timur, which weakens the case for the dendritic model. These people are familiar with the extended trade network, so they have a strong bargaining position in terms of prices. This system then differs from the prerequisite of the dendritic pattern because export commodities go directly from lower-level to higher-level places, by-passing mid-level centers.

Diagram 9: Flow of Vegetables and Kapok from Bantaeng Region
The dendritic and central place models in Bantaeng region can only be seen at harvest time. Cash-crop production areas within Bantaeng are not in competition with each other as their land conditions are different. The flow of non-local goods into the Bantaeng region, especially to the producing areas, does not accord with the dendritic model as no upstream-downstream hierarchy of trading centers and collectors appears in Bantaeng.

The wholesalers of non-local goods who live in Bantaeng city are not collectors of local products, but mainly support the coastal and hinterland needs for manufactured goods. The non-local goods traders mainly sell fabricated products while the active collectors only specialize in collecting local products. In some cases, there are small traders who accept local products as barter, but mostly they only accept cash, as it is handier. In addition the local products are distributed by local producers as in Loka and Bissapu. Moreover, the distribution of goods into the Bantaeng region is not through the higher-level centers but passes directly to the lower-level centers or to the villages, even though they may be located

Diagram 10: Possibilities Flow of Sources within Bantaeng Region
in isolated areas. These two situations should be considered as supporting the central place model for trading activities in the Bantaeng region.

2.2. The Central Place Model Possibilities in the Bantaeng Region

The central place model in the K-2 version is applicable in certain conditions in modern Bantaeng, particularly in the northern part of Bantaeng city, toward Onto, and in eastern Bantaeng city. The local people buy their goods in Bantaeng city, both in Pasar Sentral and Pasar Lama because the transportation network is better than in the western part of Bantaeng region. Moreover the distance between their place and Bantaeng city is relatively short so the transport cost is relatively cheap.

There is a lower-level center on the route to Onto: at Pasar Dapoko, but this trading center only opens twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The quantity of products sold is relatively small and the prices are higher than in the Pasar Sentral. As a result, it is more convenient for Onto people to trade at any time in the city as the higher-level center there opens every day from sunrise to sundown. On the other hand, people who live in the eastern part of Bantaeng city are forced to buy their daily needs in the Pasar Sentral and Pasar Lama, using quite cheap public transportation.

There are warung, which open daily in eastern part of Bantaeng but the quantity of products for sale is limited and the price is higher than in Bantaeng city. Nevertheless, every Monday and Thursday these local people shop at the Pasar Lambocca, where the regular goods are cheaper than in the Pasar Sentral and Pasar Lama.

The K-3 version of the central place model is also evident in the Bantaeng region but it cannot be applied to all inhabitants. The existence of Pasar Sentral, Pasar Torawang at
Jeneponto regency, and Pasar Sentral Bulukumba is advantageous for the people of Bantaeng city as they can choose between Pasar Sentral Bantaeng, Pasar Sentral Bulukumba (regency), and Pasar Torawang in Jeneponto (regency), which all open every day. Three Konro soup sellers in Bantaeng city prefer to buy their ingredients—buffalo or beef meat and bones—in Pasar Sentral Bulukumba where they are available in the early morning so they can be ready to sell their soup around 10 am.

An alternative option for the Bantaeng city people is to compare prices and goods at Pasar Sentral Makassar with other higher-level centers located in regency capitals. On the other hand, people of Bantaeng have many choices when they want to buy electronics, vehicles, or spare parts, which they can buy in the Pasar Sentral in Bantaeng, Bulukumba, or Makassar. The choice partly depends on personal needs but as their culture encourages visits to family, they sometimes choose to buy goods in the higher-level centers where they can also visit their relatives.

Social relations seem to be important in influencing economic behavior. Culture areas in Bantaeng are not identical to administrative areas. The eastern part of Bantaeng is related to Bulukumba, especially in language, while the western part of Bantaeng (Bissapu district) is more closely related to Jeneponto, and central Bantaeng uses Makassar Konyo language. Only elite government bureaucrats buy land freely both in east and west Bantaeng without cultural obligations, whereas the chiefly families in Bantaeng City, Sinowa, and Onto have no land in east Bantaeng, including Lembang Gantarangkeke-dan Gantarangkeke. The reverse also applies. From this, it can be concluded that west Bantaeng belonged to the kingdom of Bantaeng (consisting of Bantaeng, Sinowa, and Onto), whereas east Bantaeng

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Those three sellers were interviewed at different times during fieldwork in 2000.
belonged to the kingdom of Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. This territorial division is connected with the flow of people and trade. Inhabitants of east Bantaeng do not trade in the west, and vice versa, except those who go to Pasar sentral, formed by the government during the era of Suharto. It seems that due to ethnic and political loyalty, people did not have many contacts outside their region. The relations between the local elite and Makassar city are quite close, as some members of the traditional Karaeng families have moved to Makassar since 1945. Karaeng family members who live in Bantaeng regency and their former followers regularly visit their relatives in Makassar not only to visit but also to shop.

The K-4 model can be used to interpret trading patterns in the Bantaeng region when considering how local people buy goods for their daily needs. The transportation network within Bantaeng is limited, mainly connecting coastal areas to the elevated hinterlands. The roads run north parallel to each other, but there are no inter-connections between them, except by crossing the hills and rivers on foot. The inhabitants who live in isolated areas are not considered in this K-4 analysis, as they may spend a maximum of two hours to walk in one direction, whether to visit relatives, travel to trading centers, or to cultivate lands, so they prefer to trade in the place nearest to their settlements.

As a result, the interpretation of higher-level trading centers for inhabitants who live on the transportation network varies between one area/district and another. In Uluere District (Loka area), the Pasar Loka and Pasar Sentral Bantaeng are the two higher-level centers, which compete in prices for selling and buying goods, while for Banyorang people; Pasar Banyorang and Pasar Sentral Bantaeng are the higher-level centers.
However, for Pa’jukukang district inhabitants, Pasar Sentral Bantaeng and Pasar Sentral Bulukumba, or Pasar Sentral Bantaeng and Pasar Lambocca, or Pasar Sentral Bulukumba and Lambocca are the higher-level centers, depending on the goods to be purchased and the other motives for traveling.\(^5\)

Moreover, the Bantaeng inhabitants sometimes undertake a journey on impulse if there were free transport, for example, during the author’s research work people would ask for a ride to wherever the team was going. These hitchhikers would get off at a certain place if we were not going in their direction and would continue their journey by waiting for other public transport, walking, or hitching another free ride from people they know.

The K-4 version in the Bantaeng region is only applicable on opening days of: Pasar Loka and Pasar Lambocca, which open on Mondays and Thursdays, while Pasar Banyorang opens on Wednesdays and Saturdays. These periodic centers in the Bantaeng region require that the central place model be applied flexibly.

In contrast, the inhabitants of Eremerasa and the north part of Bantaeng districts do not have similar choices, as do those in other district as there is only Sentral-Pasar Lama trading centers. Nevertheless, a perfect K-4 model is found for Bissapu District inhabitants. The inhabitants in Bissapu have a choice of buying goods either at Pasar Torawang\(^6\) or Pasar Sentral-Pasar Lama, as transportation to both is available.

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\(^5\)The distance from Bantaeng to Bulukumba capital city is shorter than between Bantaeng and Jeneponto capital city. However for inhabitants who live in the western part of Bantaeng regency, Pasar Torawang (located in the eastern part of Jeneponto regent) is closer than going to Pasar Sentral in Bantaeng city.

\(^6\)Pasar Torawang is located in the eastern part of Jeneponto regency. Jeneponto is located west of Bantaeng Regency.
The route from Bissapu to Torawang and Bantaeng city is relatively flat as the road runs along the coast. The decision to go to either of these higher-level centers is mostly based on what they wish to buy but not on selling their products as their own harvest products are either bought in the field before or during harvest, or else sold at their house. Most Bantaeng inhabitants prefer to go to the market with cash, as it is handier than bulky crops.

The K-7 model is applicable in Bantaeng city, which is the center of administration and other urban activity. In consequence, people from the hinterland and the coastal areas converge on the urban center. Pasar Sentral opens from 5 a.m. to 5 pm with many types of traders, both in permanent and non-permanent stalls. The traders sell different commodities by retail and in bulk.

Near the Pasar Sentral, there is also Pasar Lama and many Chinese shophouses where people can purchase similar goods as those sold in the stalls in Pasar Sentral. There is a bus station located near these centers, providing transport to and from hinterland Bantaeng and from other regencies within South Sulawesi. Therefore, many people will go to the Bantaeng centers, and in particular the hinterland people will buy goods there which are not available in the nearer lower-level centers (which only open periodically), or when they want to buy goods in big volume, for example for ceremonies such as wedding parties, religious ceremonies and cultural festivals.

Nevertheless, Pasar Loka, Pasar Lambocca, and Pasar Banyorang are becoming more important centers of trading activity during their opening days. People, who live nearby or within a certain distance, go to these centers, either using public transportation or on foot if they live in isolated areas. On market days these centers will be full of full-time traders, part time traders and buyers. These centers serve not only as trading centers but also as
places for socializing, for family recreation places, and for young people trying to find partners.

Part-time traders from the Loka area only sell their products at Pasar Loka as transportation to Pasar Sentral in Bantaeng, Pasar Sentral in Makassar, and Pasar in East Kalimantan is very expensive and involves high risk as the products can easily become rotten, even though the profits are higher than in Pasar Loka. Moreover, the part-time traders are also farmers who have to take care of their crops and their network with other trading centers is limited. So in order to minimize risks, most of the part-time traders choose to sell their products to buyers in Pasar Loka.

3. Difficulty in Applying the Dendritic and the Central Place Models in the Bantaeng Region

However although evidence of both the dendritic and central place trading models can been seen in certain trading centers on certain days, it cannot be said that the modern marketing system in the Bantaeng region is a true exemplar of either of these models. The reasons for rejecting these two models in the Bantaeng region are firstly, the dendritic model in the Bantaeng region is only seen in relation to the flow of local products as export items. Cocoa and cloves are not produced by local inhabitants for their own consumption, by comparison with the coffee, kapok, and candlenuts, which the locals can use for their own needs.

Secondly, the changing perception that cash is handier than bringing the products to sell at a trading center has changed the distribution directions. This shift opens opportunities for people to collect local products, both in the field before and after the harvest time or in
the village. These collectors use either private or rented vehicles in order to gather as much
of the local products as possible, for high profits.

Thirdly, the transportation network has influenced the marketing system. The Loka
and the Bissapu people now have wider choices among trading options, while the other
people who produce cocoa, cloves, and coffee have remained more constant as the collec-
tors live in Bantaeng. However, the local people are still in contact personally—selling to the
same collectors in Bantaeng city. Local people keep long-lasting contacts with the collectors by selling their harvest to the same collectors. The passive collectors of local products
in Bantaeng is a family business, passing from father to sons, so the local people have been
trading with the same people for years, both in selling their crops and as regular consumers.

Fourthly, the central place model seems only to consider the making of high profit,
and never takes in account reciprocal, gift, and social benefits in classifying marketing sys-
tems. Lastly, human decisions are often unpredictable, so it is difficult to classify a marketing
system reliably. For example, during festivals, people will choose to shop in the Bantaeng
higher-level centers. In contrast, other higher-level and lower-level centers may be empty
during those festivals but will be crowded during harvest time.

The concept of a specific and constant schedule can be used for considering the
pattern of marketing systems. The hybrid of dendritic and central place could be applied in
Bantaeng region, as local commodity is for export consumers, and the trading centers are
mostly located in hinterland areas. Moreover, availability of land transportation enables the
distribution of new items to reach the periphery (coastal and hinterland) as fast as the trading
centers in Bantaeng city
The limitations of both the dendritic and the central place models derive in part from their initial premises which do not explain the real activity in the trading market itself, but are focused on understanding the flow of local goods in terms of profit maximization and ignore the role of the social and cultural system in which the trading activity is not merely a matter of purchasing goods but also of social relationships.

The cultural division between male and female in the trading site, which is apparent from ethnographical study, is not picked up in either the central place or the dendritic models. Some of cultural life has missed from the economic systems, however it is understandable that economic system is part of the whole cultural system.

Similarly, the two formal models do not consider the role of the peddling traders and collectors who trade directly with local people as sellers and buyers respectively. Those two types of traders do not consider the distance, the price of transportation, and hierarchy of settlements as of much importance, as the goal for the peddling traders is selling their products, while the collectors seek to obtain local products as cheaply as possible.

As a result profits may be varied as the transportation cost is related to distance and other costs. Sometimes the collectors mix the products and costs in counting profits. The peddling traders usually carry only small amounts of goods, and the price is similar between one village and another even though one is in a coastal area and others are in elevated hinterland areas. This is similar to ethnographic data from Aru Island, where earthenware was priced at Rp. 2,500 in the makers’ (Watulei Island), the same as at a ladang house at an isolated head of a river and in the trading center in Dobo. Again, this trading pattern is not caught by either of the two models but is found in ethnographic data.
4. Conclusion

In many ways, the central place and dendritic models of marketing systems do not produce results significantly different from those obtained through ethnographic studies, especially if the goal is to understand the flow of people and goods. In modern times wherever transportation is available, the central place model can be applied in any geographical condition: flat or elevated, whereas the dendritic model becomes less common once the transportation network makes it easier for people to send their products from isolated sites directly to the higher-level center or collected their products by tengkulak, without stopping along a hierarchical sequence of trading centers. As a result, the central place and dendritic models can both be applied in the Bantaeng region, but only in certain conditions. In practice, the characteristics of the economic system in the Bantaeng region are better understood using ethnographical data, even though some individual behaviors inevitably still remain unpredictable.

Moreover, the central place and dendritic models cannot be used for an exclusive explanation of the Bantaeng system as a centralized administration functions throughout Indonesia. There are similar types of hierarchical administration, settlements, roads, and trading centers throughout the nations, and the facilities between sites are also similar. As a result, the particular characteristics of a marketing system in one area will not emerge clearly. In other words, Republican Indonesia’s administrative system distorts the traditional pattern. The change of trading centers’ locations, or replacement of old structures with better buildings such as Pasar Sentral, affects the local system.

Although Pasar Lama burned and now is only an open space without shelter, it still functions as a center of economic activity, proof that local people still prefer to use the older
system. A market is an open space place without permanent buildings. Traders put their commodity on the ground or in non-permanent wood structures with thatch roof. Traders grouping themselves based on the commodity they have: vegetables, sea products (dry and fresh), earthenware, iron tools, tobacco, poultry, and cloth. They take responsibility for the their place spontaneously. Culture burdens them. They feel lucky to obtain a place for selling their commodity for cash. In return they clean their place.

The markets become permanent buildings, operating under control of government. Traders have been organized like in traditional markets—based on commodities. Traders have special stalls—for which they have to pay in credit. People compete equitant each other to get customers—giving better prices, dragging people to their stall, and other tricks. Traders compete against each other and kill each other because of it. Moreover, the traders think they have paid the tax—the tribute—so everything must be good. No more spontaneous responsibility. Nevertheless, the quality of facilities is not good, and mostly the new permanent buildings do not attract customers. People have changed their behavior because of frustration.

Moreover, Pasar Sentral, which opens all day, does not fit into the local Bantaeng system. Pasar Sentral has many customers during morning time just in wet market area, while the shops have customers in the afternoon. This shows that change in Bantaeng is not linear. The discovery of persistence of traditional patterns gives hope that this information can be used in improving administration and economic development by reinstating patterns better adapted to local conditions.

7 Sometimes government operatives secretly burn down markets in order to take them over and convert them to other uses—such as permanent buildings, often for private gain.
Trading activity in the Bantaeng region, especially in the hinterland, is unique in that this region does not make any craft products. People depend on their land and use very limited tools for cultivation. There is also a characteristic pattern of trading activity: the collection of agricultural products. Dry and wetland cultivations are reserved for subsistence, while cash crops, including candlenuts, kapok, coffee, cocoa, cloves and vegetables, generate wealth.

Moreover, Karaengs in Bantaeng are not traders. Karaengs are elite administrative bureaucrats and local Karaeng who are mostly well educated have followers/minawang who have been working for their parents or grandparents. This minawang help with various tasks including selling the elite’s harvest. Sometimes Karaeng sell their products directly to the collectors, without going to trading centers.

Only candlenuts and kapok are traditional Bantaeng crops, while the others have been introduced during the Netherlands and Republican periods. Except for the vegetables, the cash crops are considered to be easy to raise because the farmers just prepare the land, plant, clear the grass and weeds, and harvest the crop. Crops such as kapok and candlenuts still produce a harvest however old the trees may be. For harvesting, people only need simple tools to collect kapok, candlenuts, cocoa, cloves, and coffee, so they do not need any crafts to produce complicated or specialized tools.

In sum, while the characteristics of trading activities in the Bantaeng region partly meet some of the requirements of the dendritic and central place models, this is largely because of the development of the local transportation network. The actual characteristics
of this trading system can be understood more fully through ethnographical and historical study.

The next chapter will address the following questions: What was the possible local trading pattern in Bantaeng before 1667? What were possible local resources, which supported long distance trading? Who gained from the trading and why? What happened when external forces changed the pre-1667 situation? How did Bantaeng people adapt with the changes? How has local society adapted to change? How did farmers deal with the introduction of new cash crops (coffee and vegetables)?
Chapter 5

Archaeological Evidence for Bantaeng’s Rise and Decline as a Center of Long Distance Maritime Trade and the Impact of these Changes on Artifact Distribution

Inter-island trade was probably at least as significant as long-distance trade in shaping local societies in Indonesia, if not more so. Trading centers in Sumatra and Java played significant roles in Bali, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku, while Malukan, Buginese, and Makassarese traders played essential roles in inter-island trading activity (Cortesao 1944; Schrieke 1955; van Leur 1960; Meilink-Roelofs 1962; Wolters 1967; Reid 1988; 2000; Leirisa 1994; Nayati 1994; 1998a). Such trading systems were not restricted to collecting products from peripheral areas or for local consumption; Macknight (1975) discovered that South Sulawesi people collected sea cucumber from Northern Australia for the Chinese consumers in circa 18\textsuperscript{th} century while Sulawesi seamen smuggled spices to Makassar, which then shipped them to Asia and European ports (Sutherland and Bree 1976).

Gowa and the VOC both prevented Bantaeng from carrying on direct contact with other regions. This coastal blockade affected the elite group who needed imported items for burial goods and prestige markers. This change occurred simultaneously with the introduction of Islam, but evidence suggests that old customs did not change drastically. Burials of the 17\textsuperscript{th}-18\textsuperscript{th} centuries such as the Ma’jombe and La Tenri Ruwa royal graves still have important meanings for the local society. The La Tenri Ruwa royal graves are found within a radius of 1 km from the vanished Ballaq Lompoa in Kalimbaung and Bissampole, and near Letta Ballaq Lompoa in Bantaeng city. Graves in the La Tenri Ruwa royal burial complex have
similar characteristics to the burial complex at Tamalate (Gowa regency), Tanete Rilau (Barru regency), and Lamuru (Bone regency) (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984).

Caldwell (1992, 2000) used *Lontaraq* (local manuscripts) to interpret links between political organizations. *Lontaraq*, local manuscript/chronicles written in Makasar-Bugis scripts, is believed to have been composed around 1300, but rewritten, edited, and published around in 1900 (Caldwell 1988; Cumming 1999, 2000, 2002 Koolhof 1999). *Lontaraq* mention *Tomanurung* legends, treaties, genealogical records, and adat. Caldwell analyzed the distribution of vassals of Luwu’, Sopeng, and Sidenreng political organizations in the northern part of what is now south Sulawesi province, from the genealogies of royal families. Caldwell’s hypothesis on the evolution of political organization in South Sulawesi is suggestive but difficult to prove with archaeological data compared to political organization in Java in circa 16th century, as such indicators of royal residence as the *Gaukang* consist of moveable items and the *Ballaq Lompoa* were built from perishable materials. Moreover the *Lontaraq* has rewritten by many people for personal purposes, which are difficult to judge. In addition, as data from Bantaeng show, *Gaukang* have been created after DI-TII, therefore *Tomanurung* legends can possibly be recently created while *Lontaraq* on Bantaeng have been created at the instigation of the Karaeng. Those two sacred items can no longer be easily explored as Andi Masualle—an important resource person in Bantaeng who possessed *Lontaraq* and had much knowledge of the history of Bantaeng—passed away. In this study, only *Lontaraq* from Mappatan have been explored, a limitation on the study of the evolution of Bantaeng which further research in future might succeed in overcoming.

Archaeologists are interested in examining the evolution of complex society, but progress in this area has been slow. Junker (1999) analyzed political development in Bais,
Philippines in the 16th century. The evolution of political organization can be interpreted from the archaeological evidence for burial goods and ceremonial activity. Despite the sparse archaeological data, evidence on political development on Bantaeng can be very useful in detecting exchange activity during the development of political activity in Bantaeng.

1. Bantaeng: the Growth of Political Organization

Two Tomanurungs are said to have descended in Bantaeng—in Onto and in Lembang Gantarangkeke. The Tomanurung concept, which is a common phenomenon in South Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1965; Andaya 1975; Pelras 1985), is related to the origin of dynasties in south Sulawesi political organization (Noorduyn 1965; Andaya 1975; Mattulada 1985; Pelras 1985; Caldwell 1988; Cummings 1999, 2000, 2002). Bantaeng’s status as a vassal of Majapahit may have affected its development, but it can still be regarded as a typical example of South Sulawesi political organization.

Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke make use of myths to legitimize their power. On one hand they used Tomanurung legends, and on the other they draw on the I La Galigo epic. I La Galigo is the son of Sawerigading, Luwu’s ruler who traveled and experienced various adventures in Sulawesi.

Sawerigading is the main hero in the I La Galigo epic (Mattulada 1974; Koolhof 1999). The Sawerigading legend can be connected to the Tomanurung legend, as both involve the underworld and upper world. According to the Tomanurung belief gods from the upper world descend into the world of chaos. After the world becomes a better place, the Tomanurung ascends but first passes leadership to a chosen person. Usually that person
obtains material things from the *Tomanurung* such as weapons—which become *Gaukang* of the group.

He is Batara Guru’s grandson who returned to Luwu’ after traveling to various parts of the universe including Pa’jukukang (located in Bantaeng region). However he fell in love with his twin sister Tenriabeng, which forced him to leave Luwu. He married a princess of Cina named We Cudaiq. Sawerigading and We Cudaiq and their son, I La Galigo, then returned to Luwu. Their ship sank and Sawerigading and We Cudaiq became rulers of Underworld, while I La Galigo became a ruler of Upper-world (Koolhof 1999).

The Pa’jukukang ceremony is related to the reunion of I La Galigo with the female ruler of Lembang Gantarangkeke (Mappatan 1995). I La Galigo had visited Pa’jukukang and married Princess Lembang Gantarangkeke but then I La Galigo left her to visit other places. I La Galigo visited again Pa’jukukang (at the mouth of *Salo* Nipa-Nipa) in Bantaeng, and organized cockfights as he did in every place he visited. The cockerel belonging to the ruler of Lembang Gantarangkeke, who dressed up like a male, defeated I La Galigo’s cockerel. I La Galigo was of course surprised when he found that the “male” was his wife. The reunion of Lembang Gantarangkeke’s ruler with I La Galigo in Pa’jukukang is ceremonially commemorated every Sya’ban according to the Islamic calendar. This implies that Lembang Gantarangkeke has close affinities to Luwu. However, Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke people speak Bugis language—similar to Bulukumba. This implies that Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke voluntarily became part of ‘Tanah Bone’. This is difficult to trace from archaeological artifacts, but legend and epic imply a relation between Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, Luwu, and Bone.
Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke has two *Ballaq Lompoa* and two *Saukang*. This political unit occupied villages: Nipa-Nipa, Rappoa, Biangkeke, ‘Taruttu’ (now Kiling-Kiling/Borong Kapala), Biang Loe, Lonrong, Banyorang, Sapa-sapa, Campaga, Gantarangkeke, Barua/Jannayya, Lembang Galung, and Moti. All those names are recognized but only Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke have *Ballaq Lompoa*, *Saukang* and related material culture while in Kiling-kiling only material culture is found, without indication of *Ballaq Lompoa* and *Saukang*.

A *Tomanurung* descended in Onto. According to the *Lontaraq* there were seven groups in Bantaeng area, each settlement under a leader with the title *To Mangada* (Mappatan 1995). *Tomanurung* then lived in Bissampole, now located in Bantaeng city. Two people followed the *Tomanurung* from Karatuwang: Pole and To ni Gallaraka, who represented the seven settlements. In short, the settlements became 12: Bissampole, Mappilawing, Tangnga-Tangnga, Tompong, Tama’langnge, Mamampang, Katapang, Morowa, Bunglowe,
Tini, Tabaringan, and Karuntung. After the Tomanurung re-ascended: Pole, To ni Gallaraka, and 12 To Mangada chose a person from Karatuwang, named Masanigaya, to be their leader as Karaeng Bantaeng. Later, 12 kampong leaders became Sampulungrua or 12 Adat (12 sets of customary behavior). All these settlements are located at or around Bantaeng city. There are Ballaq Lompoa in Bantaeng city area such as in Tompong and Letta, and two other Ballaq Lompoa built in Kalimbaung and Bissampole later burned.

Rulers in Bantaeng inherited the throne in direct succession from father to son. Karaeng Bantaeng VII, named Majombe, was the first ruler to convert to Islam (Mappatan 1995), interpreted as having taken place in the early 17th century.

Nevertheless, Bantaeng political organization did not extend to the Panaikang area (now located in Bissapu district of Bantaeng regency), as Panaikang was part of the Binamu political unit (Caldwell, 2000), which now is part of Jeneponto regency.

Table 3: List of rulers in Bantaeng political organization

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Masanigaya Muranawa (Karaeng-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Massanigaya Maredaya (anak Masanigaya Murana) (He became Karaeng-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jagonga (Karaeng-4) married to Dampang Sinowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Punta Dolanga / Karaeg Baineya (son of Karaeng-4. He became Karaeng-5). During this time, Tomanurung descended in Onto. He created Ada Sampuru Ruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Karaeng Rewata (son of Karaeng-5. He became Karaeng-6). He built Benteng Baturera or Benteng Batu Terang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Majombea (son of Karaeng-6. He became Karaeng-7). Bantaeng became Islamic state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Tuni Taba (son of Karaeng-7. He became Karaeng-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Tumaparisi Bokona (Karaeng-9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. Tutinrowa Rijalanjang (son of Karaeng-9. He became Karaeng-10)

11. Tutinrowa Rimarajilea/Daeng Rimoncong (son of Karaeng-10. He became Karaeng-11)

12. Daeng Bonang (son of Karaeng-10, sibling of Karaeng-11. He became Karaeng-12)

13. Daeng Mangalle (son of Karaeng-12. He became Karaeng-13)

14. Daeng Mamangasi (sibling of Karaeng-12 and Karaeng-11. He became Karaeng-14)

15. Ilaki (son of Karaeng-14. He became Karaeng-15)


17. Mapaturu Daeng Malungga (grandson of Karaeng-16. He became Karaeng-17)

18. Ibagala Daeng Mallanga /Njalalloka (sibling of Karaeng-15, son of Karaeng-14. He became Karaeng-18)

19. I Nace (Karaeng-19)

20. Daeng Magassin (Karaeng-20 was formerly Karaeng-16)

21. Daeng Pasau (Karaeng-21)

22. Karaeng Basunu (Karaeng-22)

23. Karaeng Butung (Karaeng-23)

24. Karaeng Panawang (Karaeng-24. Bantaeng became Regent van Bonthain) During his reigned Torawang and Rumbia was still part of Bantaeng. Ballaq Lompoa was located in Embayya ri Kalimbaung (1887-1913)


26. Karaeng Mangkala (Karaeng-26) 1931-1939. Torawang dan Rumbia became part of Jeneponto regency after Karaeng 26 had treaty to Karaeng of Binamu.

27. Karaeng Manapiang (Karaeng-27) 1939-1945. He was sent to jail in Makassar by the Netherlands Indies

28. Karaeng Pawiloi (Karaeng-28 was formerly Karaeng-25)1945-1950

29. Karaeng Manapiang (Karaeng-29 was formerly Karaeng-27): 1950-1952

30. Andi Massualle (Karaeng-30) : 1952-1959. His mother was daughter of Karaeng Pawiloi, but his father, named Andi Nonci/Andi Assagaf was from Bulukumba regency). Andi Massualle reigned based on ada Sampuru Ruwa.

Sources : Mappatan 1995.
The territory of Bantaeng in the early 17th century included Bissampole, Mappilawing, Tangnga-Tangnga, Tompong, Tama’langnge, Mamampang, Katapang, Morowa, Bunglowe, Tino, Tabaringan, and Karunrung (Mappatan 1995). This covers the western part of Bantaeng regency, areas on the coast, in the hinterland, and within Bantaeng city (Bissampole, Mappilawing, Tangnga-Tangnga, Tompong, Tama’lang, Mamampang, Katapang and Morowa), and areas outside Bantaeng city (Tino, Tabaringan, Bunglowe; Karunrung). Those villages are still recognized today. This implies that Bantaeng controlled coastal areas especially in the west part of Bantaeng region.

Moreover, part of Panaikang—a village named Tino Toa—during the early 17th century was part of Bantaeng rather than Binamu—now located in Jeneponto regency. This is related to the existence of an old settlement located in the plain known as Benteng Batu Terang—in Binanga Panaikang—located north of Tino Toa. A stone wall one meter high and more than 20 meters long still remains. The wall has been built along the river and between two rivers, fortifying this location, so that it is locally called benteng (lit: fortification).

Benteng Batu Terang was built during the period of Karaeng Bantaeng V and VI: Punta Dolanga and his son Karaeng Rewata. This site was apparently settled in circa 16th century, based on findings of porcelain (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984; Bougas 1996). The relation between the fortification and the surrounding villages is still unknown; however on a foothill south of the fortification—around 500 meters long—is the grave of a Muslim religious leader named Datok Kalimbungan, who introduced Islam to Bantaeng in circa 17th century (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984). This grave has a northeast orientation, and is undecorated.
Bantaeng also used *Lontaraq* for legitimization. Mappatan (1995) used a range of data to trace the origin of Karaeng in Bantaeng, including *Lontaraq Bilanna Bantaeng* and *Lontarqa Billana KakaraEnganga ri BantaEng*. *Lontaraq Bilanna Bantaeng* traces the descent of the Bantaeng rulers from Andi Massuale (Karaeng the 30th) back to Karaeng Mangkala (Karaeng the 26th) (Mappatan 1995), whereas *Lontaraq Billana KakaraEnganga ri BantaEng* mentions *Appanassai Pokok KakaraEngnga ri BantaEng*. *Mula Tauwa Ri BantaEng* (lit: ….the origin of Bantaeng), whose son was Masanigaya Muranawa (Mappatan 1995:3). Based on those two *Lontaraq*, Mappatan (1995) traced 30 Karaeng who reigned in Bantaeng. He concludes that Bantaeng originated from Onto and ignores Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke.

Those two *Lontaraq*, like other *Lontaraq* in South Sulawesi, were composed during the 19th-20th centuries, so the accuracy of information for periods prior to that cannot be guaranteed. Reliable data relates to the period after Karaeng Panawang, during the Netherlands Indies era when people became particularly interested in their history and wrote it down not only as history but also to justify their high social status. During this colonial period, the Karaeng social class still existed, but their functions as political leaders were taken over by the officials of the Netherlands Indies.

Political power from the first Karaeng of Bantaeng to the tenth passed directly from father to son, but after that there were two ways to gain power in Bantaeng because of *Ada Sampulongruwa*. Rulers were chosen by the *Ada Sampulongruwa* – consisting of 12 elite people who represented their villages or groups. This is a new way of selecting leaders after *Tomanurung* ascended from Bissampole.
The center of Bantaeng political organization—*Ballaq Lompoa*—moved from place to place: Bissampole, Kalimbaung, Tompong and then Letta. Bissampole were associated with the first *Tomanurung*, while Letta was associated with the last ruler of Bantaeng. Tompong is found on the 1923 map together with *Masjid* (mosque) Tompong and *Pesantren* (*Qur’anic boarding school*), indicating Islamic influence on Bantaeng political organization around the 1920s. *Ballaq Lompoa* in Kalimbaung was used in 1887-1913 and Letta has been used as a Karaeng’s residence during the 20th century. However, Bantaeng political organization has changed: instead of primogeniture, rulers are appointed. *Latoa*—Lontaraq Bugis—mentioned that a ruler should have belief in God, Siri’ (embrace) people, afraid to sin, love his people, and dispense justice to all people (Mattulada 1985).

2. Bantaeng: Evidence of Contact and Long Distance Trade

Seven archaeological sites can be recognized in Bantaeng based on distribution of material culture. Imported ceramics have been found in Benteng Batu Terang, Sinowa, Borong Toa, Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, Borong Kapala/Kiling-kiling, and Bantaeng city. Illegal looting in the area started intensively in the 1960s when valuable artifacts were uncovered, such as porcelain from the 13th to 18th centuries, metal artifacts (bells, blades, knives, statue, jewellery, and gold masks), and beads. Archaeological study was undertaken in 2000, with an archaeological survey of all districts within Bantaeng region to identify the distribution of archaeological sites and followed by test-pits in six archaeological sites within Bantaeng region.

Two main activities were conducted during the course of the research on which this dissertation is based:: interviews with ex-looters, and checking the information in the field,
observing sites identified by the looters, by Wayne Bougas, using archaeological survey and test trenches. In areas now used as ladang (including the vanished market), a survey team consisted of six people (Nur Tato, S.S., Rusman Rukka, Drs. Budianto Hakim, Sarjiyanto, S.S., Nila Kalsum, and myself), while in smaller sites survey teams consisted of between 3-4 people, who stood in one row—two meters apart—then walked in the same direction across the survey area. In small villages, the team divided into two groups to observe the site. During excavation in October 2000, surface observations were repeated at sites which we had visited in May 2000, and in other areas not visited in April 2000 after new information was collected from the villagers.

This study surveyed almost all settlements within Bantaeng as 75 villages in Bantaeng region are mostly located below 550m ASL and on the transportation network. Villages adjacent to the border of Bantaeng: in Jeneponto and Bulukumba region were also observed. Detailed observations were made in six vanished trading centers, but no archaeological data was found. This result could be due to the fact that those areas have been reused—as ladang or volleyball courts. Based on the survey, test pits were dug in seven sites in October 2000.

Most of these imported ceramics are located in settlements associated with Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang, while others have been found in dry cultivation areas, mostly in elevated topography. The new settlements have not yielded any cultural deposits dated before the 20th century. The sites with old material deposits have been excavated and historical accounts of those sites have been collected from the local people which can be used to support inferences regarding the past use of these sites.
The seven sites can be classified into two topographical situations. Firstly, there are sites located in a flat area amid hills and surrounded by man-made and natural defenses. This pattern is found in Borong Toa, Borong Kapala, Onto, Sinowa, Benteng Batu Terang, Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Gantarangkeke. Secondly, some sites were located in the coastal plain, with rivers serving as boundaries, as in Bantaeng city.

Differences in topography led people to develop a variety of ways to safeguard their dwellings. The existence of imported ceramic, beads and metal tools in Bantaeng indicates contact between local and non-local people. The increasing needs and opportunities which could be derived from the international trading networks and internal contact within the south tip of south Sulawesi in circa 15th century led people to move their center from the hinterland to the coastal area—Bantaeng city.

The locations of dwellings spread from hill sites at Onto to open spaces in the coastal area at Bantaeng city. This expansion of settlements could be related to the development of
Table 4: Characteristic of Sites within Bantaeng Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Elevation</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Type of site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ejaya</td>
<td>314 m ASL</td>
<td>Bissapu</td>
<td>Rock shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borong Toa</td>
<td>660 m ASL</td>
<td>Uluere</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borong Kapala</td>
<td>368 m ASL</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onto</td>
<td>450 m ASL</td>
<td>Bantaeng</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinowa</td>
<td>585 m ASL</td>
<td>Uluere</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lembang Gantarangkeke</td>
<td>250 m ASL</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantarangkeke</td>
<td>240 m ASL</td>
<td>Banyorang</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantaeng city</td>
<td>25 m ASL</td>
<td>Bantaeng</td>
<td>Open Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benteng Batu Terang</td>
<td>103 m ASL</td>
<td>Bissapu</td>
<td>Fortified Village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Nayati, 2000
Table 5: Metal artifacts finding in Bantaeng region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>Badik</th>
<th>Bangle</th>
<th>Knife</th>
<th>Bell</th>
<th>Bracelet</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Mirror</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ejaya</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borong Toa</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borong Kapala</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onto</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinowa</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lembang Gantarangkeke</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantarangkeke</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benteng Batu Terang</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantaeng City</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

? = Karaeng Bancing informed that his collection was retrieved from could be LGK or GK

Table 6: Distribution of imported ceramic in the Bantaeng region
political organization in circa 16th century. The sacred center was still in Onto, but the Ballaq Lompoa and Gaukan moved to Bantaeng city. During circa 16th century, long distance trade passing Bantaeng was flourishing. At that time the Bantaeng region may have had extensive candlenut forests, which were cleared in the early 1900s for coffee plantations. The candlenuts were used for light and possibly for spices. The coastal center may have controlled candlenuts and other hinterland resources used to exchange for luxury items with long distance traders.

Moreover the locations of political centers could also have been influenced by increasing wet-rice cultivation, as areas suitable for irrigation were located in the coastal region. However, rainfed cultivation still continued in the highlands.

Table 7: Type of imported ceramic in Bantaeng region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Porcelain found in Bantaeng Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covered Box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parfume bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Type of imported ceramic found in Bantaeng region

Figure 55: Candlenut forest in Bantaeng region
Social organization would have been competitive and ranked, similar to that found in other similar sites around South Sulawesi (see Bulbeck 1996/1997; Mattulada 1974; Ahimsa-Putra 1988). Men probably took the leading roles in social organization, in which rank depended on the ability to satisfy everyday needs. Ecological limitations probably increased the division between male and female, as sources of food were both limited and scattered because of geological conditions, as can still be seen today. However, in the coastal area the supply of food may have been more reliable and concentrated as seafood was more accessible there than in the hinterland. Cooperation between families was possible here in collecting and processing food. The population here grew larger than in the settlements in Borong Toa and Borong Kapala.

While the Bantaeng and the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke political groups legitimized themselves in similar ways, they applied the *Tomanurung* belief differently. Bantaeng was more dynamic than Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, but Bantaeng has only one ‘descent’ site, located in Onto, and this sacred place is not as widely acknowledged and sacred as the one in Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke.

The Bantaeng political group organized ceremonies in Onto, a hinterland area. This implies that the redistribution of wealth by the elite only flowed to the resource collectors in the hinterland. The *Ballaq Lompoa* in Bantaeng city was used as a gateway for elite economic
activity. The elite in Bantaeng city controlled contact with long distance traders. On the other hand, the elite needed to exploit lower level people to collect those resources marketable in long-distance trade. In contrast Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke dominated its coastal zone from a hinterland area. The gateway to this region was supposedly in one or two rivermouths, thus producing a different pattern from Bantaeng city.

Unlike Bantaeng City, the myth of the _Tomanurung_ is very clear in Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke: he descended in Lembang Gantarangkeke and ascended in Gantarangkeke. In Bantaeng, a _Lontaraq_ mentions that a _Tomanurung_ descended twice (the 1st Karaeng and the 5th Karaeng) but there is no indication of any place of ascent. During those visits, the _Tomanurung_ instructed the Karaeng in the skills of bureaucracy and agriculture, whereas there is no mention of this in the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke account. This implies that agriculture possibly was first intensified in Lembang Gantarangkeke, then Bantaeng ‘learned’ to cultivate land by attributing the knowledge to _Tomanurung_.

The dynamic of the Bantaeng regional political system was directed to strengthening the political and sacred power of the Karaeng; however, geographical conditions in the western part of Bantaeng are not as favorable as in the eastern part. The eastern part of Bantaeng region is composed of an alluvial fan while the western part is elevated with limited flat areas. Deposition is greater in the eastern than the western part of Bantaeng.

There are some problems in Mappatan’s dating of the foundation of Onto as 1330 AD (Mappatan 1995). Mappatan dated the founding of Onto from Karaeng Punta Dolanga (Karaeng the 5th), rather than from Massaniga Muranawa (Karaeng the 1st) (see appendix). It seems Mappatan was using _Desawarnana_ data about Bantayan. Yet it is difficult to accept that Onto was in existence as early as 1330 AD, and actively in contact with Majapahit.
Onto is located 450m ASL in the flat protected hill area. The river system in Bantaeng is not navigable as far as Onto; communication necessitates walking along the river bank. Furthermore, there are no archaeological data which can be used to relate Onto to Majapahit culture (circa 14th centuries); imported porcelain found in Onto dates back only to the 16th-17th centuries.

Different people have used Bantaeng city for a long period. There were four Ballaq Lompoa located in Kalimbaung, Bissampole, Tompong, and Letta’. This suggests that it originated as a small village but grew because it functioned as a transshipment point for long distance traders. Political, sacred and local resources were located in the hinterland. It can be deduced that Bantayan of the Desawarnana was in Onto rather than Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke. In circa 17th century the political center was transferred to the coastal area, so political and economic centers were in Bantaeng city, but the sacred center was still in Onto.

According to one theory, the name Bantaeng is derived from bantai + an which then became bantayan, which is literally the equivalent in Indonesian to Pembantaian (butchering; slaughtering) or Penjagalan (slaughter house; abattoir, both for humans and animals) (Gambaran Singkat Keadaan DT-II Kabupaten Bantaeng n.d). No other explanation of the name has been proposed although it is difficult to accept that it derived from the Indonesian language rather than that of Makasar, Bugis, Mandar, Toraja and Bajau, groups who lived in this area. Certainly, the place name Bantayan appeared in the Nagarakrtagama/Desawarnana (canto 14: 4):

Also those in the whole island of Gurun, called Lombok Mirah, And those in Saksak, the main one being Lun, all principalities, As well as the land of Bantayan, led by Bantayan and Luwuk,
Including Uda, these being the three foremost places in the island [of Sulawesi?]. (Robson 1995)

This poem is dated to 1365 AD, and Pigeaud (1960-1963) assumes the location of Bantaeng has remained unchanged (Slametmuljana 1953; Bougas 1996, 1999). Based on that data, Mappatan (1995) suggests that Bantaeng was a settlement, which had contacts with Java. Nurdin Syahadat, Abu Hamid and Mattulada (1979) argue that Bantaeng was one of the oldest kingdoms in South Sulawesi, and that it existed for more than 500 years.

Yet significant questions arise here. If “the land of Bantayan” was “led by Bantayan and Luwuk”, where was its center? Was it in Onto, Sinowa, Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Gantarangkeke or in Bantaeng city? Why was Bantayan led by two parties? Was Luwu in the Desawarnana the same as modern Luwu in south Sulawesi? Where was Uda located? Was it on the same island as Bantayan and Luwu or on a small island north of Sulawesi as shown in Pigeaud’s reconstructed map?

In contrast to these historical uncertainties, the development of the political situation in Bantaeng from the 18th century onward is much clearer. The name Bantayan was changed to Bonthain from 1737 to 1941 under the Netherlands Indies. It became an Afdeling from 1906 under Assistant Resident (Dutch: Assistent Resident) (Mattulada 1974). During this
period, Bantaeng’s royal family obtained positions as local leaders under the Netherlands domination. However they did not have control over their former areas and people.

The royal family obtained better education than nonroyal people. They studied in STOVIA, SIBA and Sekolah Pangreh Praja (= Administration School). However, during the Netherlands Indies, people of lower-level social status (To Maradeka) were able to attain status promotion, either by studying in Sekolah Pangreh Praja, as religious leaders (ulama), or by becoming rich from trading (Mattulada 1974). After 1945 well-educated Karaeng worked as officers in military, educational, administrative (provincial or central) organizations, and as businessmen (Mattulada 1974; Pelras 1996). Only a few Karaeng live in the core of former political organization.

Control of Bonthain subsequently passed to Japan, NICA, (Gambaran Singkat Keadaan DT-II Kabupaten Bantaeng), Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT) and then Republik Indonesia Serikat (RIS) in 1949-1951. It became known as Bonthain regency in 1959, and finally in 22 January 1962, Bonthain regency was changed to Bantaeng.¹ From 1961, Bantaeng consisted of three districts: Bissapu, Bantaeng, and Tompobulu. In mid-2000 Bantaeng regency was divided into six districts (Bissapu, Bantaeng, Tompobulu, Uluere, Eremerasa and Pa’jukukang) with Bantaeng city the capital of the regency. In total, 113 leaders have controlled Bantaeng. In the early 1960s graduates from Pangreh Praja supported the Regent. This functional group then became the new elite group who maintain high social status (Mattulada 1974).

This chapter concentrates on the archaeological study of Bantaeng. Archaeological studies have previously been conducted in Batu Ejaya (1970), Benteng Batu Terang (1974), Borong Kapala (1996/1997), and during the restoration of the royal graveyard La Tenri
Ruwa in Bantaeng city in the 1980s. Three sites (Onto, Gantarangkeke, and Lembang Gantarangkeke) have been the object of studies by Archaeology Department students of Universitas Hasanuddin (Andiastuti 1992; Taufik 1995; Jasmin 1998; Kalsum 2001). Both archaeological and historical data will be used here to examine past economic life in the Bantaeng region.

The topography of Bantaeng has not changed since the 16th century, judging from maps dated 1923, 1943, and 2000. The coast has prograded: in 1923, the asphalt road was located around 100 m from the coast but now is about 300 meters to 500 meters inland. This has created additional cultivable land, especially in the west of Bantaeng. In the latter half of the 1980s, Tompong’s coast was revitalized by soil washed down from the hinterland. Coastal people have been cultivating this new and fertile land since the 1990s.

Coastal people have traditionally collected sea products and sold them to traders, who then resell them to consumers in larger trading centers. In exchange, the coastal people obtain subsistence goods both from full time traders and by bartering directly with farmers. More recently there has been some change: the coastal people who used to rely exclusively on the sea products are now beginning to make use of cultivable land, so the people now practice a dualistic subsistence system exploiting both sea and land. In contrast, the hinterland people continue to cultivate their land as in the past. In areas with archaeological deposits, farmers today plant corn, nuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, and in some places, pumpkin. As all these crops were introduced from America, it could be that in the precontact period the

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1A map of Bantaeng dated 1923 (opgenomen door den Topografischen dienst) with the title: Bantaeng en Omstreken (Bantaeng and adjacent area) shows that in 1923 the Netherlands Indies already used the name Bantaeng rather than Bonthain. The claim that the changing of name from Bonthain to Bantaeng occurred in 1962 seems exaggerated, especially if the reason for the change was that Bonthain was a colonial designation created by the Netherlands Indies. If Bantaeng’s original name were restored, that would be Bantayan rather than Bantaeng.
farmers planted all kind of roots. People collect kapok, candlenut, and fruits, and also plant coffee, cocoa, and cloves. It can be concluded that people of high social status gained more than those of lower social status.

3. Pre-modern Ways of Life of Bantaeng

A rock shelter habitation has been found in Bissapu District, and fortified villages on elevated hills have been found in Bissapu, Uluere, Onto, and Banyorang Districts. The rock shelter has been dated to around 4500 BP for it period of early hunter hathering occupation and around 1000BP for the period when decotrated pottery was deposited at the site (Bulbeck et al 2000), while the fortified village is dated to circa 15th century, based on Chinese porcelain. This fortified village has specific characteristics, which differentiate it from other villages: a Saukang (sacred site) and Ballaq Lompoa (royal palace), and artifacts (ceramics, metals, and beads).

Other types of habitation sites were located in the open coastal area. The biggest coastal settlement has now grown into Bantaeng city. This site has an accumulation of porcelain shards, four Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang, a burial complex, and a mosque dated to the 19th century. According to oral history, the oldest settlement in Bantaeng was located near modern Loka. Evidence, which supports this story, is a stone arrangement in a square shape, which is believed by the locals to be an old grave (Mappatan 1995).

Any convincing explanation of the distribution of settlements within Bantaeng cannot merely depend on information contained in old maps. For example, despite the lack of
information in maps about settlements in the hinterland, archaeological survey found clear
evidence of settlement activity in this area. Different types of archaeological deposits suggest
the functions of the sites, and their position within a network of exchanges with other natural
and human sites, clusters, and resources. Accumulation of porcelain sherds and their
association with other material culture can be used to infer the function of the
sites.

Artifacts found in the Bantaeng region imply past contact between local
people and outsiders. Locations of artifacts found imply changing patterns
of interaction at particular times. These artifacts allow us to identify chronological phases: the pre-ceramic, the Tomanurung, the
Colonial period, and the post-Independence period.

3.1. Pre-ceramic Period

Archaeological evidence from the pre-ceramic period has been found in Bissapu
district. Rock shelters in Bantaeng with Toalean tools have been recovered include Batu
Ejaya and Panganreang Tudea, both of which had been inhabited prior to the arrival of
pottery by at least 1000 BP (Bulbeck 1996/1997; Pasqua and Bulbeck 1998).

Several aspects of contemporary adaptation to this environment may display continuity
with the pre-ceramic period as these areas are still surrounded by ladang and kapok trees.
Batu Ejaya, which has produced the oldest dates for the habitation yet known for Bantaeng,
was probably occupied sporadically by the middle Holocene, pre-ceramic hunter-gatherer of the Bantaeng region (Bulbeck et al 2000). This site has been used in different periods, as shown by the artifacts recovered there.

The Toaaaleans who made use of the site may have made contact with outsiders, as outcrops of chert suitable for producing microlithic tools have not yet been reported from Bantaeng. If so, this pre-ceramic period of contact with outsiders would have started as long ago as the early Holocene (cf. Bulbeck et all 2000) The single geometric microlith recovered during the 1969 excavation at Batu Ejaya by Mulvaney and R.P Soejono probably dates to the middle Holocene (Bulbeck et al 2000). Other materials recovered by van Stein Calenfels or by Mulvany and Soejono includes flake with phytolith gloss, metal (bronze and iron), bottle glass, a bark-cloth beater and stone bracelets, projectile points and human teeth (Bulbeck et al 2000). Monique Pasqua’s technological analysis of the Toalean did not include any Batu Ejaya artefacts (Pasqua and Bulbeck 1998)

On the south coast of Sulawesi, besides Batu Ejaya, microliths have been found in rockshelters below 100 m ASL, including Panganreang Tudea, Leang Batu Tuda and Leang Ara (Pasqua and Bulbeck 1998). During fieldwork in May and October 2000, geometric microliths were still found in Batu Ejaya, together with decorated potsherds, similar to those found in Borong Kapala (Nayati 2000a, 2000d). Moreover, a Muslim grave located 10m east of the cave mouth of Batu Ejaya’ cave and a new plastered floor and meditation site

The Toalean is recognised by the appearance of typologically distinct microliths (small stone tools) and polished bone points. Most of the known sites with these tools types are rock shelters, including the Lamoncong shelters, Leang Karissa, Leang Saripa, Leang Pattae and Leang Burung 1 in Maros regency (Bastra 1998; Pasqua and Bulbeck 1998). Microlithic tools and bone points have also been found in rock shelters in the eastern part of Indonesia and numerous sites across Australia (Bulbeck et all 2000)
have been built recently in and outside the cave. This implies that different people have used Batu Ejaya for a long period.

Outside contact has occurred intermittently over a long period. There is no dating on the earliest use of metal in Bantaeng yet, but it is assumed that metal was used before or during the same period as the porcelain.

Modern potsherds were collected in surrounding areas during the surface survey in March 2000. Local people have leveled the surfaces in the rock shelters and redeposited the soil on surrounding areas. This activity has been done regularly by people who continue to use the rock shelters for ceremonial activities. Thus occupation and use of the rock shelters has been intermittent but regular for at least a millennium.

Hinterland sites had contact with each other, and with coastal areas. For example, decoration on potsherds found in Batu Ejaya is similar to that found at Borong Kapala. This raises an interesting point, as no such decorated pottery has been found in other old sites within Bantaeng, and ethnographical observation of pottery makers in Takalar and Bulukumba has not described similar types of decoration on potsherds. The similarity could be due to exchange through inter-hinterland communication. Based on such archaeological data, it may be inferred that contact between people in different areas, using boats, tracks and paths occurred on a regular basis.

In Panganreang Tudea, dated to the same period as Batu Ejaya, there is evidence of secondary burial practices with bronze fishhooks, stone beads, and some potsherds. Van Stein Callenfels found extended skeletons, which presumably were immediately pre-Islamic Makasar inhumations (Bulbeck 1996/1997). Secondary burials similar to Panganreang Tudea were also found in Leang Cokondo 1 and Leang Lampoa in North Makassar city (Bulbeck
However, there is no evidence of burial activity within the Batu Ejaya rock shelter, and Bulbeck assumes that burial activity in the period similar to that of Batu Ejaya took place outside the shelter area. Nearby those two rock shelters more recent Muslim graves have been seen in settlements. Thus the two known sites of the pre-ceramic period in Bantaeng show characteristics, which still remain difficult to interpret.

If we associate the stone tools found at Panganreang Tudea and Batu Ejaya with hunting and gathering communities, and the pottery found in abundance at the latter site with agriculture, then Batu Ejaya would have been used by agriculture, then Batu Ejaya would have been used by agricultural populations at around 1000 BP. Flat areas around the cave would have been possible areas for agriculture, with the river Panaikang as the water source.
It is possible that the people also collected products from the Panaikang River, and they may also have gathered products from the sea which is located around 3 kms south of the site.

So, adequate nutrition could be obtained from their surrounding areas relatively easily. Hooijer (in Classon 1976) mentioned that in Batu Ejaya and Panganreang Tudea there were bones of marsupials, primates, Rodentia, and Artiodactyla (including anoa and babirusa). In comparison, in Leang Burung in Maros north of Makassar city there are four types of edible mollusca from freshwater streams, while in Ulu Leang, marine shellfish species have been found (Glover 1981). Moreover, mammals and non-mammals have also have been found in Ulu Leang and Leang Burung such as bats, squirrels, murid rodents, lizards, pythons, frogs, toads, tortoises, terrapins, crocodiles, skinks, geckos, anoa, and babi rusa (Classon 1976; Glover 1981).

Certain other artifacts suggest more specialized activities. The bark cloth beater suggests the production and use of bark cloth. Stone bracelets and decorated earthenware were scarce items, so they indicate a level of luxury and were probably exchanged for forest products including animals. The Balong LoE River was a possible route for travel to the coast and vice versa.

3.2. Tomanurung Period

Permanent settlements were developed during the Tomanurung period between the 14th-15th centuries. Two types of settlements located in areas with natural protection appear during this period: with and without Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa. The first type of settlement is located on elevated flat areas in the hills near rivers, without Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang, while the second type were settlements with Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa. Ballaq Lompoa
are located in the centers of villages, while Saukang are located around 500 meters north of Ballaq Lompoa. Usually Saukang are located under big trees.

The first type of settlement has been identified at Borong Toa (Kecamatan Uluere) and Borong Kapala (Kecamatan Tompobulu). The settlements used natural defenses such as cliffs and rivers, and there is no evidence of any man-made fences. These settlements were presumably part of Tuju Siana and Salapang Sikalasukas, suggesting that settlements without Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa were simple societies with small settlements.

The second type of settlement served as a political and ceremonial center. This type appeared in both the interior and coastal areas of the Bantaeng region. Tomanurung-period settlements in the interior are generally located between 200-500m above sea level and are identified by an accumulation of ceramic shards, Ballaq Lompoa, and Saukang: Sinowa, Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. These sites are located in balong and salo areas, i.e. on second and third level tributaries. Tomanurung-period settlement in the
coastal area with *Ballaq Lompoa* and *Saukang* has been identified in Bantaeng city, at the mouth of the Tangnga-tangnga River. The settlement during this period was bigger, and is interpreted as a gateway for the hinterland area of western Bantaeng region.

According to the same legend, the oldest settlement in Bantaeng was at Desa Ujung, at an elevation of 1410 m ASL (Mappatan 1995) located in hilly land in the border areas between Bantaeng and Jeneponto regencies. Old graveyards are indeed found there, but it is difficult to check their dating archaeologically because they are still regarded as living monuments. This site presumably has been occupied over many periods from the *Tomanurung* phase till now.

An accumulation of imported ceramics has been identified in Borong Toa, 660 m ASL on a flat area of a protecting hill, next to steep hills. This site is now a *ladang*; no evidence of dwellings remains. No food remains have found but forest products could have been a rich resource. Marsupiala, primates, *Rodentia*, and *Artiodactyla* (including anoa and babirusa), which were found in Batu Ejaya and Panganreang Tudea, could have been consumed, but no archaeological evidence to support this has yet been found. Forest products were a possible exchange medium with which to obtain imported items, as this site was located at an ecotone between elevated hilly areas and steep hills. Based on porcelain found it can be inferred that Borong Toa was occupied in circa 15th century. Binanga Panaikang could have been used as a source of water and a route for traveling to coastal and other hinterland areas.

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3*Tuju Siana* has three level social stratifications: (Karaeng Loe (Royal family), Tantoa (elder leader), *Tabbalaka* (people). In *Salapang Sikalasukka* the administration is described as consisting of Karaeng Loe-Bakulompa-Jannang-Sariang-Tontoa-Tabalakka.

4There are four types of branches: *Binanga* (mouth of the river—consisting of two or more *Salo*), *Salo* (smaller river than *Binanga*, but sometimes consisting of two or more *Balong*), *Balong* (consisting of two or more *Jene*), and *Jene*, the smallest river.
Similar but better information is available about Borong Kapala, located around 360m to 400 m ASL near Salo and the head of the Jene type of river. This site could have been a major center of activity as indicated by the varieties of artifacts found there, such as Dato-dato (anthropomorphic statues), imported porcelain dated 14th to 17th centuries (bowls, covered boxes, plates), metal artifacts (part of a bronze mirror handle and bronze tray/talam; bracelet, bells) beads, bark-cloth beater (batu ike) and decorated and non-decorated pottery (jar and vessels with and without cover) (Bougas 1996; Hardiati 1996/1997; Fatmawati 1997; Fadillah 1999; Nayati 2000).

It can be inferred that this site was used as a settlement between the 13th to 16th centuries (Fadillah 1999). Pottery decorations are geometric: mostly lines, triangles, circles, and dots using incised technique, which Fadillah (1999) interpreted as Sa Huynh Kalanay type. In this site, the proportion of non-decorated potsherds is high compared to other archaeological sites in Bantaeng (Fadillah 1999; Nayati, 2000). Moreover, artifacts found
in Borong Kapala differ from those at other sites: *Dato-dato*, beads, and the mirror handle are only found in Borong Kapala.

In Borong Kapala, subsistence could be obtained from cultivation, gathering and hunting in the forest. Prestigious items found in Borong Kapala could be bartered for forest and agricultural products as Borong Kapala is located at the ecotone between steep hilly forest areas and the hinterland. Candlenuts could have been one of the local export products as there is a candle nut ‘forest’ in the Borong Kapala area. Possibly the candlenut trees grew naturally, but were tended by humans. There is no evidence of human management of the natural forest. Moreover Ahimsa-Putra (1993) mentioned that the Ereng-ereng area (including Labbo) was a forest, which was cleared for a coffee plantation in the early 1900s.

Cooking at Borong Kepala was probably done in earthenware vessels, as a reasonable quantity of earthenware shards have been found, while ceremonies involved a range of
mediums including *Dato-dato* (an anthropomorphic statue made from limestone and earthenware) (Hardiati 1996/1997), decorated potsherds, and possibly porcelain. Beads were probably used as jewelry, as beads were luxury items, which could be used for indicating social stratification. Stone arrangements have been found in Borong Kapala, but it was impossible to investigate the stone arrangement because the local people refused to allow access. Test-pits were dug outside the stone arrangement to seek signs of burial activity, but no evidence was found.

People in Borong Kapala must have developed a network with outsiders (Fadillah 1999). Contacts between hinterland-coastal areas were possible using *Salo* Maesa, which runs down through Bulukumba regency, but this area is located at the head of Salo Kaloling (called Jene Kaloling) and Salo Biyasa (called Jene Biangkeke) which run down through Bantaeng. This interpretation is derived from the similarity between beads in Borong Kapala

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5Pottery of this style is considered diagnostic of early Austronesian culture. In Sulawesi similar pottery is widespread at such early sites as Kalumpang which may date to the early first millennium AD. The term was coined by Wilhelm Solheim; scholars still debate its precise meaning and utility (Bellwood 2000)
and beads found in Bulukumba, especially in Gantarang Kindang, east of Borong Kapala. In Bulukumba, Engelhard found a ring, a small bell, beads of glass and stone, and a knife blade in Leang Tattara (Bulbeck, 1996/1997). It is probable that in South Sulawesi, and especially the south peninsula, beads were more highly valued than porcelain as beads could also be used as supplementary jewelry for the dead, while porcelain was a necessary but more common item of burial goods. This implies that the cultural borders of Borong Kapala differ from those of the contemporary administrative area.

Borong Kapala may have been one of the important places of ritual activity in the past. There are Dato-dato made from terracotta\(^7\), and nine Dato-dato made from limestone (male and female, height between 60 cm to 70 cm) which have been moved from their original site to the

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\(^7\)Bougas (1996) has suggested that the Dato-dato is fake, and was possibly made by Doding—the head of the looters in the Borong Kapala area. Bougas suspects that Haji Doding made Dato-dato for profit.
house of a looter named Doding. The limestone Dato-dato can be interpreted as male and female from the hairdo and attributes. The male limestone Dato-dato is portrayed kneeling, with two hands located at the stomach. The female Dato-dato differs from the male because of the hairdo, breast, and children held in the hands. It can be inferred that the Dato-dato was a ritual medium related to the 13th to 16th centuries (Hardiati 1996/1997); based on the female Dato-dato it seems that the ceremony relates to fertility, not only of humans but also of land.

Hardiati (1996/1997) relates the Dato-dato to the Majapahit ceremony of srada, as she infers that the Dato-dato is similar to the statues made for a ceremonial procession. Moreover as the Desawarnana mentions that Bantayan (Bantaeng) was a vassal of Majapahit, Hardiati believes that the influence of the Majapahit kingdom also extended to religious matters. Her conclusion was related to finds of Buddha and Avalokitesvara statuettes in a village in Takalar regency, around 100 kms west of Bantaeng regency. However, there is no other archaeological evidence to support any Buddhist activity in the Takalar-Jeneponto-
Bantaeng-Bulukumba areas except for one statue, even though a *Desawarnana* mentions that Buddhist priests went to Majapahit’s vassals to give blessings (Robson 1995). No Bissu or Pinati lives in Borong Kapala.

*Dato-dato* could have been a medium for ceremonial activity, but Bougas’ theory regarding the *Dato-dato* should be considered. It is important for further analyses of *Dato-dato* material to obtain valid information from local people who are not afraid of Haji Doding. Intensive observation in the Gantarang Kindang areas and Borong Kapala is the best way to collect information.

Borong Kapala could have been occupied over many periods from the pre-*Tomanurung* phase till now. This site is a flat area (around 500 m square) on a hill, and now is cultivated. The unique *Dato-dato* is similar to “Polynesian-style” statues found in Bada valley, Central Sulawesi, but no recent studies on the archaeological contexts of these images have been conducted. *Dato-dato* and the range of imported porcelain, metal artifacts, beads, and decorated and non-decorated pottery found in Borong Kapala imply complexity of ritual life and contact with outsiders. It is possible that Borong Kapala could be dated before the Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke and Onto period, but it could be dated circa 16th century, contemporary with the settlements with man-made stone fences in Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, Onto, and Sinowa. The function of Borong Kapala could have been particularly ceremonial. Nevertheless, looters reported that they have found beads, round and tabular located at the east of Borong Kapala, at Gantarang Kindang—now in

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7 Fatmawati (1997) mentioned three *Dato-dato* made from terracotta own by Haji Doding: two *Dato-dato* in sitting position and one *Dato-dato* in sitting position. Comparing Fatmawati’s documentation on Haji Doding’s *Dato-dato* and my data indicate that Haji Doding had many *Dato-dato* made from terracotta. It seems suspicious that many *Dato-dato* made from terracotta have been found in the Borong Kapala area.

8 Pelras (1996) mentioned Buddhist images in Bantaeng.
Bulukumba regency. This implies that Borong Kapala is related to Gantarang Kindang and other Bulukumba areas and not to Lembang Gantarangkeke’s culture or Bantaeng regency. The use of administrative boundaries to define a study area is not a good procedure. Modern administrative boundaries do not correspond to culture areas.

Function of Borong Toa and Benteng Batu Terang are still unknown as in these sites have found better porcelain sherds compared to other archaeological sites within Bantaeng region. However these two sites have not found any indication of Balla Lompoa and Saukang. As imported ceramics is an indication of wealth and burial goods, it is suggesting that Borong Toa and Benteng Batu Terang were burial sites for the high social status. This assumption is too fast, so further study is needed especially excavating ‘burial sites’ in those two sites.

Five sites with Balla Lompoa, Saukang, and accumulations of porcelain have been identified: (1) Lembang Gantarangkeke, (2) Gantarangkeke, (3) Onto, (4) Sinowa, and Bantaeng city (located in Bissampole, Kalimbaung, Tompong and Letta kampongs). Saukang is associated with a Tomanurung who appeared in circa 16th century.

After Tomanurung descended in Onto, the Tomanurung then traveled down to Bissampole (now in Bantaeng city) and all the land where he stepped became rice fields (Mappatan 1995). No legend specifies where Tomanurung ascended; was it in Onto or in Bantaeng city? In Lembang Gantarangkeke, a Tomanurung descended in Lembang
Gantarangkeke, but ascended in Gantarangkeke. The descent and ascent of the *Tomanurung* in Lembang Gantarangkeke was marked with a *Saukang*, a stone located under a big tree. This implies that in the Bantaeng region there were two political organizations, one of which moved from hinterland to coast during the peak of long distance trading in the 16th century, while the second political center remained in the hinterland. Archaeological data confirm this interpretation as there is more imported porcelain and burial goods found in the coastal area compared to Onto.

All those sites are associated with rivers, being located either at the mouth of a river or at the intersection of two rivers. Correlated with different topographic conditions between coastal and hinterland areas, there are different patterns of dwelling sites within the Bantaeng region. The locations of Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke are associated with the river of *Salo* Nipa-nipa and *Salo* Biangkeke, Onto and Bantaeng are located on the *Salo* Tangnga-Tangnga/Calendu River, whereas Sinowa is located on the *Balong* Sinowa.

The political and sacred center of a region was located in a protected village, which would be in a flat area in the hills. Settlements related to the *Tomanurung* would be associated with *Ballaq Lompoa* and *Saukang*, with the burial ground located north of the settlement. The *Ballaq Lompoa* was a place for the ruler, while the sacred center was identified with the *Saukang*.

Political control was centralized but supported by representatives of the dispersed settlements and the supernatural power, *Tomanurung*, an important symbol of unity. Elite groups stayed in political and ceremonial centers from whence they were able to control all people inside and outside the center, with communication probably using local tracks and paths. In order to support this power, ritual activity was maintained under the guidance of
special people, with the social divisions more marked than before between the bureaucrats, consisting of leader and representative groups, the ritual officials called Pinati, and the common people. The Karaeng system appeared at this time.

Evidence of non-local material culture consists of imported porcelain sherds found in Onto located 450 m ASL bounded by two rivers (part of Balong Calentu) and stone fences. Imported porcelain dated from the 12th to the 20th century has been found (Bougas 1996, Nayati 2000) implying the common usage of luxury items in this site and the possibility of a barter system using both local crops and forest products especially candlenuts, as there is candlenut forest 300m north of Onto village and in Borong Kapala.

Onto played an important role in the foundation of Bantaeng. It is believed by local people that the first Tomanurung descended in Toddo Balanga, located at Ballaq Tujua (lit: seven houses) in Onto (Ahimsa-Putra 1988; Mappatan 1995). The Tomanurung met seven leaders, whom he then asked to build new settlements. The Tomanurung also created three levels of society — Tuju Siana, Salapang Sikalasukan, and Sampulongrua.
Sikaniakkan,\(^9\) and regulations to control the seven siblings which became translated into seven states/kingdoms, social stratification, and political bureaucracy. Bantaeng political organization claimed the Sampulongrua Sikaniakkan as a kind of legitimating link to the Tomanurung who created this regulation although the Sampulongrua Sikaniakkan shows no relationship to any other center in the area, either in Bantaeng regency or Onto.

Yet although Onto is a ceremonial center, there is no Ballaq Lompoa, Gaukang or royal residence in this site. Ceremonies are here conducted by various Pinati (religious leader).\(^{10}\) However, people always regard Ballaq Tujua as the most important Ballaq Lompoa because the Tomanurung descended in Onto, and so, during the Karaeng LoE ceremony, Ballaq Tujua becomes the main center of ceremonial activity.

This implies that Onto was a sacred site connected with early Bantaeng political organization. The Lontaraq (local manuscripts) mention that the Tomanurung traveled down to Bissampole (now located in Bantaeng city) (Mappatan 1995). Four Ballaq Lompoa have been recognized in Bantaeng city namely Bissampole, Kalimbaung, Tompong and Letta. All four Ballaq Lompoa are located east of the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga in the coastal area. The elite groups were living in coastal areas, while Onto was maintained by the Pinati who was self-sufficient in food produced by local cultivation.

The center of the sacred area in Onto is called La’lang Bata, or fortified site. Within Onto, there are other significant cultural sites: Toddo Balanga, Balla Tujua, and Bonto-Bontoa with Barrugayya Other sites, such as Passaungang Tauwa and Taka’ Basia have been modified for new ceremonial purposes. These two sites now are circular stone arrangements.

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\(^9\)Related to 12 bureaucrats called Jannang who controlled the Karaeng’s lands.
There is a belief among the Bantaeng people, especially in Onto, that the *Ballaq Tujua* symbolize the houses of seven relatives, which are the Gowa Kingdom, Luwu Kingdom, Bone Kingdom, Gantarangkeke, Bantaeng, (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984), Java (referring to Kasunanan Surakarta) Mataram Kingdom, and the Netherlands.\(^{11}\) The inclusion of Java and the Netherlands may be connected with local endeavors to legitimize themselves with reference to outside powers, as in the 1990s when Onto obtained permission to perform the Karaeng LoE ceremony from the Bantaeng regency.

It can be inferred from the 2000 ceremony, that the Karaeng LoE relates to the cultivation activity. A group of *Pinati* after walking around the village, predict when the cultivation should start.

Burial sites dated circa 16\(^{th}\) century are located outside the sacred area. There are five graves in the ‘new’ mosque of Onto, and two graves in a *ladang* north of Onto village. Those two graves are made from stone, unlike the new graves, and the orientation of the ‘old’ graves is east-west, while

\(^{10}\) *Pinati* are persons who take care of the *Ballaq Lompoa* and *Saukang*. The *Pinati* is responsible for the ceremonial activity
the new graves are north-south, which reflects the difference between ‘non-Muslim’ and Muslim burial customs. The east-west orientation refers to the 16th century belief that the rising sun gives life and the setting sun is associated to death (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983; Bougas 1996; Bulbeck 1996/1997).

The evidence suggests that Onto was used intensively in circa 15th but thereafter the ceremonial practices were continued by later generations who believe this place is the site where a Tomanurung descended for the first time. So Onto remains a ceremonial center, which has been reduced in importance over time due to different religious developments. A mosque has been built outside the settlement, and now all inhabitants are Muslims. However a megalithic tradition is still adopted there with the existence of stone mortars (diameter 7-10 cm) located at the center of the ceremony.

The Karaeng LoE ceremony now includes more Islamic ritual than activities from the pre-Islamic period. The timing of the Karaeng LoE is now based on the Islamic calendar and involves Islamic ritual, but the center of activity remains the original stone arrangement and Ballaq Tujua.

An archaeological site was also found in Sinowa, at 585m ASL and between two rivers—part of Balong Sinowa. The flat area interpreted, as old Sinowa is about 500 meters

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11Interview with one of Bapak Kaum in Onto, 50 year old, village speaker of Onto.
square. Outside the areas there are rain-fed rice fields. There is a Ballaq Lompoa, but Gaukang (sacred items) now are possessed by a Karaeng who lives in Bantaeng city. There is no Pinati or ceremony related to the Ballaq Lompoa. Now, the Ballaq Lompoa is used as a house of one of the Royal family, but as the Gaukang is not there so the magic is not in the Ballaq Lompoa.

According to oral history, Sinowa was a rest area for Bantaeng Karaeng when he visited Borong Toa. As Borong Toa was their ancestors’ place so Karaeng from Bantaeng visit this place. As Borong Toa is the ancestor’s place, all houses in Sinowa faced north. However in the 1980s people started to ignore this custom when building their houses.

Now houses in Sinowa face the asphalt road connecting Bantaeng city to Lanying. The construction of the road by the Netherlands Indies was related to the introduction of vegetable planting in Lanying and construction of a government rest house. Now the house
is the Bantaeng regency’s rest house and a television-radio and telecommunication transmitter. This is a hill station as this site is cool—about 20° Celsius.

It is difficult to draw inferences about activity at Sinowa in the past based on the small quantity of imported porcelain sherds available. However, the people apparently used metal tools, as iron tools were found by local people while building the mosque. Again, this site has been developing recently and a mosque has been built in this area, since all the inhabitants are Muslims.

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12 Now, Pinati in Onto are males. They are farmers but they become Pinati during the ceremonies and when people need the Pinati’s assistance and guidance for individual problems. Pinati are chose by a group of village leaders and Karaeng. The Pinati are Muslim so all the Karaeng LoE ceremony is associated with Islam.
Another settlement with a ceremonial center was Gantarangkeke, located 240 m ASL and between two rivers. There were two political and ceremonial centers along the Salo Biangkeke, namely Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke, both with Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang, and Gaukang.

The actual site of Gantarangkeke is located south of Lembang Gantarangkeke and a connecting path between these two sites is still in use. These two sites both make use of rivers (Salo Nipa-nipa and Salo Biangkeke) to protect their compounds, with a stone wall running east-west on the north of the compound. The southern part of Gantarangkeke is on a slope, which forms a natural defense for this compound.

It is inferred that Lembang Gantarangkeke was a settlement on a flat area protected by natural barriers and man-made fences for safety. The political-ceremonial center and settlement were located within the fence. The political activity centered in Ballaq Lompoa, and the ceremonial center—the Saukang—was located north of this, while the settlement itself was built south of Ballaq Lompoa within the protected area.
There is no evidence related to warfare in ancient Bantaeng, however it is possible that village security was also related to babi rusa or other predatory animals.

Now, outside the settlement are areas of dry land cultivation, but it appears that the north part of the settlement was used as a burial site circa 16th century. This suggests that the Ballaq Lompoa was used at the same time as a ‘burial site’ and a settlement but that later people stopped using the burial site or at least stopped their previous practices even though they still are living in the same place and practicing the same culture.

The Ballaq Lompoa was used for cultural and ceremonial events although there is no longer any sign of political power. In 2000 no Karaeng lived in Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke; there is a Gaukang but it is only for ceremonial activity. New houses have been built within the sacred-political areas and the ceremonial site has been reduced in size due to increasing population and because these traditional ceremonial activities are no longer the main ceremonies. According to legend, Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke are twins, with the Ballaq Lompoa at Lembang Gantarangkeke being female and
Gantarangkeke being male. Also it is believed that the Saukang in Lembang Gantarangkeke was a place where a Tomanurung descended, while Gantarangkeke was a place of ascent. The Pinati who stay in both Ballaq Lompoa are female\textsuperscript{13}. South of Gantarangkeke, there is flat land at 230m ASL.

In this site, there is a Pasauangan Taua and a dakon stone. Here people used to conduct ritualistic leg-fighting during the Pa’jukukang festival. Pasauangan Taua is a circular stone arrangement. The diameter of Pasauangan Taua is two meters, surrounded by a wall around one meter high. These two archaeological sites have not been used since the 1960s. Pinatis themselves no longer understand the procession and its function. Lower-level people can be Pinati if a Karaeng and villagehead choose them.

It can be inferred that graves were located north of the village fence, while the dwelling area was in the inner village and along the natural southern boundary. Porcelain sherds have been found in the north, but not the southern areas. Old graves were found in Gantarangkeke in 1984 (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984), but in 2000, no evidence related to graves could be obtained. Intensive looting and land cultivation since 1960s has apparently destroyed these graves.

These two places have different material culture appropriate to their different roles but a similar tradition of using large stones for monuments was adopted in both to judge from the existence of stone mortars (Bulbeck 1996/1997). In Lembang Gantarangkeke there is an open space for ceremonial activity, with a flat stone (batu duduk) in one corner.

\textsuperscript{13}In September 2000, Pinati Lembang Gantarangkeke passed away. No replacement had yet been nominated by December 2000. Local villagers will decide new Pinati.
where the ruler sits during the ceremony, and there is a *batu dakon*—stone gaming board, a place for praising God for the *Pinati*.

In contrast, in Gantarangkeke there is no *batu duduk* for the ruler; but the open space is also used for ceremonies. In Gantarangkeke, there is also a *pasauangan tauwa*, a stone structure built in a circle, which legend mentioned was originally used ceremonially for human fights but is now used for cock fighting. Near the *pasauangan tauwa*, there is a *batu dakon* which was only was used for reckoning the date for the next ceremony or other cultural events. This implies that Gantarangkeke was part of Lembang Gantarangkeke. The main sacred activity involving the ruler was conducted in Lembang Gantarangkeke, but other activities using *Pasauangan tauwa* and *batu dakon* were carried out at Gantarangkeke.

At the *Ballaq Lompoa* at Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke a ceremony is conducted every Sya’ban, called Pa’jkukang. Each *Ballaq Lompoa* prepares different ceremonies. The ceremony begins at Lembang Gantarangkeke for a whole week from the 10th of Sya’ban. A group of *Pinati* and elite go to Gantarangkeke and then to Pa’jkukang at the mouth of Nipa-Nipa River for three days, and back to Gantarangkeke and finish in Lembang Gantarangkeke (Mappatan 1995). In Pa’jkukang, an elite group with the help of *Pinati* organizes ceremonies to redistribute their wealth. People eat as much fish as possible for three days. Next, a special ceremony is held in Lembang Gantarangkeke with a *Pakkarena* performance—a kind of dance. The ruler used to sit on the Batu duduk located east of the *Ballaq Lompoa*. In Gantarangkeke, human fighting has been replaced with *pencak silat*.

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14 *Pinati* and other Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke do not know about the customs involving *pasauangan tauwa*, *batu dakon*, and *batu duduk*. *Pinati* in those two places only sit near the *batu dakon* while other people bless them silently, but starting with the Arabic formula *Bissmillahirrahmanirrahim*. 
Now, Pa’jukukang is well known as the anniversary of Lembang Gantarangkeke, but the activity is related to redistribution of wealth from the elite group, with the help of Pinati, to their people.

During the annual Pa’jukukang ceremony, Gantarangkeke’s main Pinati was originally assisted by 11 other Pinati, but now this has been reduced to only nine. The Pinati in Gantarangkeke come from many villages: Gantarangkeke (5), Barua (Jannayya) (2), Lembang Galung (1) and Moti (1). This implies that the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke area stretched from the coastal area to the hinterland but not across the Binanga Tamalaka; the west side was part of Bantaeng’s territory. This political center was a settlement for elite groups to control their areas. In the core area, the lower level group possibly also supported the elite’s daily activities.

The coastal area was under a Sulewatan (village leader) and Karaeng Tompobulu who controlled the hinterland with the help of Gallarang Gantarangkeke and Gallarang Campaga (Mappatan 1995). It therefore seems that superior political power was held in Ballaq Lompoa Lembang Gantarangkeke because Gantarangkeke was under a Gallarang. This supports the oral tradition that Gantarangkeke was the younger sibling of Lembang Gantarangkeke.

### 3.3. Colonial Period and Transition of Islam

Bantaeng history is accurately known from the time of Karaeng the 16th Mappalumpa or Nipassuluka ri Kakaraenganna ri Aru Palakka (Mappatan 1995) who joined the Gowa

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15 There is no information on Lembang Gantarangkeke. The Pinati in Lembang Gantarangkeke was senile before she passed away in September 2000.

16 Head of village.
Kingdom to fight against the VOC in 1667. Then Bantaeng came under Aru Palakka of Bone, which was allied with the VOC and Bantaeng became an *Efelijk Leanbezet* (traditional possession). In 1698 Bantaeng was directly under VOC administration and in 1773 Bantaeng became the *Afdeling van Bonthain* under Netherlands Indies administration rather than being ruled indirectly. Karaeng Panawang (Karaeng the 24th) lived in *Ballaq Lompoa* Kalimbaung from 1887-1913.

The local Karaeng was powerless as almost all activity was controlled by the VOC. During that time, two traditional political organizations, one located in Bantaeng city and the other in Lembang Gantarangkeke, both came under VOC administration. However, local people still respected their Karaeng. The VOC political center was located separately from the traditional political organization in Bantaeng city. The traditional organization was located east of the Tangnga-Tangnga River whereas the VOC political center was west of this river. The changing power in Bantaeng paralleled the expansion of Gowa Kingdom to contest other political organizations, and the expansion of the VOC to monopolize the spice-trading network.

The Islamic period in Bantaeng can be dated to the early 17th century, as a consequence of the Islamization of Gowa. Bone King XI (La Tenri Ruwa Matinroa Ri Bantaeng Sultan Adam) moved to Bantaeng in the early 17th century after he was expelled from Bone because he converted to Islam. Bone did not want to convert to Islam, because that would have meant coming under the direct influence of the Gowa kingdom (Imangarangi Daeng Manrabbia Sultan Alaudin). It is believed that the Bone king moved to the Gowa area or made an alliance with Gowa in 1615. Bantaeng, Bulukumba, Lamuru and Mario were given to Aru Palaka, the Bone ruler who helped the VOC defeat Gowa, after 1677.
When the Bone ruler XI passed away, he was buried in the Bissampole area and this site then became the Bantaeng royal graveyard, named La Tenri Ruwa Bantaeng. Sultan Adam’s grave in this graveyard is similar to the royal Tallo graveyard in Makassar, which is dated to the 17th century (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, 1984).

Evidence for the earliest Islamic influence in Bantaeng comes from the Tompong mosque, the royal graves at La Tenri Ruwa, and the grave of Datok Kalimbungan. The Tompong mosque was originally a small mosque built during Ma’jombe’s reign and was then renovated during Panawang’s reign in 1887 (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984). It is built in the style typical of early Indonesian mosques, though it has undergone many renovations. Traditional characteristics of old mosques persist in the design of the mimbar (pulpit) and the rooftop decorated with porcelain dating from the 17th century.

The grave of Datok Kalimbungan located near Benteng Batu Terang is further evidence of the introduction of Islam to Bantaeng. He is known as a Mubaliq (Islamic preacher) who came to live in the foothill area of Benteng Batu Terang around the 18th century (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984). He taught Islam and Qur’an to the surrounding areas, and when he passed away, he was buried near his dwelling. This implies that early Islam was not only embraced by elite but also the lower-level social status, as Benteng Batu Terang formally was not an elite center; there is no evidence of Ballaq Lompoa or Saukang. However, good quality imported ceramic sherds were found in Benteng Batu Terang, which may have formed burial goods. Benteng Batu Terang was a graveyard for elite, rather than a dwelling.

There is no evidence related to early 17th century Islamization in Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. However, during the early Islamic period, Bantaeng
was powerless as Bantaeng region was under the VOC after the Bungaya Treaty of 1667. Islamic graves are located in Loka market (picture 74) but no conclusions can be drawn from them.

Bantaeng may have been chosen as a VOC center because it was a center of inter-regional economic activity. Moreover the Onto/ Bantaeng political unit possibly became Gowa’s vassal as the Bone ruler IX Latenri Ruwa Sultan Adam who had converted to Islam preferred to stay in Bantaeng. Gowa in the early seventeenth century tried to introduce Islam to other political units, including Bone (Pelras 1985). This led Bone to oppose Gowa, while the ruler after converting to Islam left Bone. This friction led Bone to support the VOC who defeated Gowa in the 1650s using Bantaeng as a base.

This termination of trading activities affected the supply of imported porcelain and other precious goods from China and other places. The dating and distribution of imported porcelain shows that imported porcelain dated before the 18th century was relatively common in the Bantaeng region, whereas imported porcelain, especially from China, dated after the 18th century was much rarer. It can be assumed that the occupation by the VOC and the Netherlands Indies in South Sulawesi affected the amount of imported porcelain entering Bantaeng.

The isolation of people from the Bantaeng harbor would not have greatly bothered the local people as an efficient system of land transportation was developed by the VOC connecting Bantaeng city to the east and west and to the interior area of Bantaeng—Lanying—located north of Loka. Introduction of vegetables for the Netherlands’ local consumption and coffee as an export commodity possible relate to the abolition of the VOC in 1800. The success of coffee as a profitable commodity led to large plantations in Sinjai and south of
Bone, then in other south Sulawesi areas, including Bantaeng. Land transportation to Loka and Labbo was built to transport export commodities to Bantaeng and Makassar.

In the late 17th century Bantaeng bay was under the VOC, and therefore it was impossible for local traders to arrange transshipment in the Bantaeng region and adjacent areas. The supplies of local commodities from the hinterland and precious items from sea traders were affected by VOC control. Limited porcelain dated after 17th century supports this interpretation of the termination of contact between elite local and non-local traders. The VOC used Makassar as their main port in the east Indonesian Archipelago. Maritime activity and local trading became more concentrated on local areas compared to previous centuries when many Makassarese and Buginese reached South Africa and lived in big ports such as Bangkok, Malacca, Aceh, Jambi, Banten, and Jakarta.

The local traders only supplied staple goods by sea to people who lived in areas beyond the reach of land transport. Traditional transportation such as tracks and paths were used for distributing the goods.

3.4. Post-Independence Period

Elite groups from many political organizations in South Sulawesi took power after Indonesia declared independence in 1945. Some members of the traditional elite who obtained higher education at institutions in pre-Independence Batavia (Jakarta) (such as STOVIA), and people both from the traditional elite and lower statuses who went to schools in Makassar (such as Sekolah Pangreh Praja) returned to govern their homeland. These new bureaucrats together with religious preachers formed new elite groups. As the Pangreh Praja accepted students from all social statuses, elite and non-elite, consequently there were many new elite
members. This differed from the colonial period when the elite consisted of Dutch bureaucrats, local elite who worked for the Netherlands Indies, well-educated people, religious persons, and well-known businessmen. In the Tomanurung era the elite consisted of ruler and royal family, Pinati and village heads that acted as Ada Sampulungruwa (Mattulada 1974).

4. Looters vs Archaeological Study of Bantaeng: Finds of Luxury Items

Contact between local and non-local people in Bantaeng, especially related to long distance trade, expanded during the period after imported ceramics were introduced. Valuable burial goods were originally symbols of high social stratification but these luxury objects have recently been unearthed to give similar symbolic status to foreigners from other areas located outside this culture. Illegal looting has been intensive and profitable. Information from looters collected by Bougas (1996) is of course difficult to assess; for example Bougas discounts Haji Doding’s reports regarding supposed antiquities known as Dato-dato since Haji Doding’s version of events surrounding their discovery changes from time to (pers com from Bougas). Bougas has however also compiled potentially more reliable information from shops in Makassar city which sell looted artifacts.

Former looters sometimes keep leftover artifacts from their past illicit activities. Haji Doding has a collection of bronze items (parts of trays, bells), porcelain, Dato-dato and beads. Karaeng Bancing and Haji Tojeng both have some porcelain and bronze items. Such artifacts are evidence of long-distance trading activity and could lead to inferences about the possible local consumers and the networks which linked local people to traders.

Looters’ information enriched archaeological studies in Selayar, where Harkantiningsih (1983) and Wibisono (1985) used the looting epidemic to supplement their site-survey
technique. Bougas (1996) has also used looters’ information to create an overview of the possibilities of Bantaeng archaeology. The present study attempts to combine information from illegal looters with data from archaeological excavation in Bantaeng region. Information from illegal looters has been directly checked by archaeological excavation.

Grave-looting has taken place intensively in the southern part of South Sulawesi (Ito and Kamakura 1941, see translation by Macknight 1971); Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983; Harkantiningsih 1983; Wibisono 1985; Bulbeck 1996/1997). The looters generally only took unbroken burial goods and left behind broken artifacts, which they considered had no value.

Looters have worked in all the old sites within Bantaeng and adjacent areas (Selayar Island, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, Takalar). The looters chose both coastal and hinterland regions, and usually looted villages with names starting with Gantarang and Bonto. Looting activity began after the Japanese collected porcelain in some places in Takalar and Gowa districts (Ito and Kamakura 1941 trans. by Macknight 1971; Brown 1974). Other people then followed these activities, but in general they only retrieved porcelain. Syafri, Haji Doding, Karaeng Bancing and Bustamin Nyios recounted, in separate times and places, that in the early 1960s they only collected blue and white porcelain, but later they collected colored porcelain so long as it was in good condition.

Still later, especially from the mid-1970s, the looters retrieved all porcelain, whether whole or partly broken, as they found they were able to make profits from the partly broken

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17 Information from ex-looters: Bancing, Haji Doding, Haji Tojeng, and Bustamin Nyios, in March and October 2000.
porcelain, especially if all broken parts were collected. This broken porcelain then would be glued together by the antique dealers and sold in antique and art shops.

In the Bantaeng region, graves with burial goods have been found by looters in several places in areas of Gantarang such as Gantarangkeke, Lembang Gantarangkeke (in Bantaeng Regency), Gantarang Kindang (now located in Bulukumba Regency), Borong (Borong Toa, Borong Kapala), and Lembang (Lembang Gantarangkeke). However, the looters did not restrict their activities to the Bantaeng region, as Habibu reported they also went to the Bone, Luwu, and Selayar areas, while Haji Doding explored areas in Bulukumba, Karaeng Bancing went to Selayar and other areas in South Sulawesi, and Haji Tojeng also in Jeneponto.18 Looting is not merely the chosen occupation of people in the southern peninsula of South Sulawesi; it occurs in many other places in South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi (Harkantiningsih 1983; Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983; Brown 1974; Tjandrasasmita 1986; Bougas 1996).

All groups of looters have a specialist macucuk or “prober”, but it was generally agreed the most accurate one was Habibu. The primary surface clue was the presence of earthenware spouts of kendi but this was not always infallible, as the kendi might have been moved, broken, or missing. Every site had special characteristics, in terms of amount of porcelain, type and origin of porcelain, different items associated with porcelain, and the dead body.

The best and most valued porcelain was found in Borong Toa. However, a son of Habibu, named Syafri (45 years old), claimed that his father found the best porcelain in

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18Conversations with Karaeng Bancing, Haji Doding, Haji Tojeng, and Safri-son of Bibu during fieldwork in May and October 2000.
Benteng Batu Terang. He said that the quality of porcelain there was the best, followed by the porcelain found in SMA Negeri 1 Bantaeng and The National Electric Enterprise (PLN) in the Bissampole area in Bantaeng city. It is difficult to judge objectively where the best porcelain has been salvaged in the Bantaeng region, due to conflicting accounts between Karaeng Bancing and Habibu. The judgments of value and quality are very subjective, and depend on both accurate memory and personal pride.

Moreover it is difficult to assess their reports because all the valuable artifacts have moved out of their hands. Haji Tojeng in Jeneponto claims that Bantaeng porcelain from Jeneponto and Selayar is less valuable due to the indifferent quality of the artifacts themselves. Nevertheless, all the looters did find considerable amounts of exotic and imported goods from China, Vietnam, Thailand and other places far outside the Bantaeng area.

In Bantaeng city, illegal looters found valued artifacts near the Regency official house, including a site where now there is a tennis court; at a site named Kalo’ko, which is now is used as a military compound; a site which is now used as a SMA Negeri 2, Bantaeng; a site at the National Electrical Enterprise office (PLN), and another at the police office along Rajawali street.

There is no information of any looting activity in Batu Ejaya, the Panaikang area, or in settlements higher than 450m ASL, as no village names start with Bonto or Gantarang, and because the hills are too rugged. However, looters claim that some sites in Jeneponto, Bulukumba, and Selayar have been looted as intensively as those in Bantaeng.

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19 Personal interview, October 2000. It is individual judgment. It could be based on the price of the porcelain his father sold.

20 Interviews with Bustamin Nyios (70s), Karaeng Bancing (60s), Haji Doding (70s), Haji Tojeng (70s). These interviews were conducted in April and October 2000, in Bantaeng and Jeneponto.
This habit of ignoring or reburying broken burial goods is useful in assisting archaeologists to locate burial sites and also skeletons. So, despite the loss of materials through looting, it is still possible for archaeologists to interpret such cultural markers as the past diet, life expectancy, causes of death, orientation of burial, and position of the dead body.

At first the looters did not pay attention to the yellow paper-like material covering faces of skulls, which was only later recognized to be gold masks. At first, they merely threw away such objects, but once they discovered the material used was gold, they folded them into small pieces and kept it for themselves. This account is supported by another ex-looter who told me that their workers would fold the golden masks into small pieces rather than preserve them in original form.

Eventually the dealers explained that if the ‘yellow paper’ was still in good and original shape, it was much more valuable. However, because it was so large, the coordinator of the looters then kept the ‘yellow paper’, and the profit was divided among all members of the looting group. Haji Doding, Haji Tojeng and Karaeng Bancing reported that they obtained more than 100 pieces of ‘yellow paper’ during their heyday.

Similar situations also arose with bronze and iron artifacts. The changing perception of the value of different artifacts may, in fact, enable researchers to obtain previously rejected artifacts in the pre-1970’s looting areas. If the researcher is lucky, some important artifacts, probably metal objects rather than porcelain, may still be found.

However, the looters did not take away any bones, as they were afraid that the soul of the dead would haunt them and their family. During the looting activity, they often broke

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21 Dr. John Miksic had an experience with an antique dealer who consulted him about gold jewelry, which he believed to be dated to pre-Islamic times. However the jewelry could not be identified as old, so it was treated as new jewelry (Miksic, 1994).
some artifacts, especially porcelain, metal objects and human bones, which they left in the
pits which they then refilled with earth as quickly as possible.

Such looting activities were not restricted to the coastal areas but were widespread
through the Bantaeng region, including sites in Bantaeng city, Lembang Gantarangkeke,
Gantarangkeke, Borong Kapala, Borong Toa, and Benteng Batu Terang.

The practice of looting does not entirely destroy the possibility of archaeological study
of the past. Human bones could possibly still be in situ; however no burial goods would be
found. Moreover looted artifacts are not kept by looters but at art shops in Makassar city or
in the hands of the looters’ bosses, such as Bancing, Haji Doding and Haji Tojeng. This
implies that if we wish to recover a comprehensive list of the varieties of artifacts found, we
have to ask art shops, but if we want to know the sites and condition of artifacts found, we
have to ask the looters.

Ex-looters informed me that during looting they often found porcelain to be associated
with a buried body. The porcelain objects were placed at the head, shoulders, arms-pits,
breast, genitals, knees, and feet of the corpse. This information agrees with the findings of
Sulaiman (1981) concerning the placement of porcelain in other places in South Sulawesi.

Looted artifacts in the Bantaeng region, which were usually burial goods, included
jewelry (earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bangles), metal artifacts (blades, knives, Keris/kris,
small and big bells, and statues), gold (masks, genital covers), porcelain (bowls, plates,
spouted water jugs, vases), beads, and coins (Chinese and VOC). Such objects would
have been counted as imported luxury goods as they were not produced in Bantaeng, but
probably came from Luwu (Sulawesi) (Caldwell 1999), Makassar, or even directly from
elsewhere, such as Java.
However, those artifacts would have been highly valued especially when they were in
good condition. One bead was collected from a local farmer\(^{22}\) in Borong Kapala who
confessed that he found it in the Gantarang Kindang area of Bulukumba regency, a site east
of Borong Kapala in Bantaeng regency. However, for looters, beads did not bring as high a
price as porcelain because the consumers only wanted the porcelain objects.

A spherical blue carnelian bead was found in Borong Kapala and is now in Haji
Doding’s collection. Also the Center of National Archaeological Research, the Regional
Office of National Research Center for Archaeology in Makassar, found a tabular-faceted
prism during excavation and the same type of bead was reportedly found in a ladang located
in Gantarang Kindang in Bulukumba. Ali Fadillah (1999) concludes that the tabular-faceted
prism found during the archaeological excavation is dated to 11\(^{th}\) to 13\(^{th}\) century. However
the location and dating of bead manufacture and trade is a complex subject which cannot be
further dealt with here (see e.g. Peter Francis). Beads found in Borong Kapala could possibly
have arrived there at a later date, as beads are small and easy to carry. Moreover beads are
long-lasting items, which could be passed from one person to another and to successive
generations.

Among the more elaborate burial goods, sometimes there were exotic items such as
beads (glass and carnelian) and metal items (iron tools, bronze ornaments, bronze bracelets)
(Wilen 1990). This type of burial goods has not been reported in Bantaeng and adjacent
areas (Selayar, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, and Takalar) by looters.\(^{23}\)

\(^{22}\)This farmer used to work for Haji Doding.

\(^{23}\)Private interviews with Karaeng Bancing (60 year old), Haji Doding 65 year old), Haji Muhammad
alias Tojeng (60 year old), and Bustamin Nyios (70 year old). They had all been looters or coordinators
of looters.
It is possible that earthenware objects were not markers of high-level social class, as no reports mention earthenware found as burial goods. Looters reported that they did not find any earthenware associated with porcelain in graves. As mentioned above, there is no craft activity in Bantaeng. However, in Takalar and Bulukumba, earthenware is produced. Ethnographic observation in Bulukumba recorded the production of vessels and *dapuk* (earthenware stoves) and the use of stones as anvils, but they do not decorate their products either with slip or other decorative techniques, implying that earthenware was not for burial goods but for daily use.

Looters in South Sulawesi conclude that the higher the social rank of the dead body, the more elaborate and abundant the burial goods they would find. The looters sometimes retrieved more than 40 items of imported ceramics, gold jewelry, and masks covered in gold leaf from a single site. In contrast, they might only find fewer than 10 pieces of porcelain, a little jewelry and no gold masks in other areas. No lower-level social status burial sites have been found so far. No undisturbed burial site has been found during intensive excavations in Bantaeng.

![Figure 75: Blue bead collection of Haji Doding](image1)

![Figure 76: Bead found by local people at Borong Kindang](image2)
Gold jewelry is also a weak form of evidence regarding precise trade connections as the origin of the metal used cannot be determined (Kal and Stanbolov 1994). There is no detailed data about the types and motifs of jewelry found in South Sulawesi, especially in the Bantaeng region. The looters mentioned finding such gold items as earrings and necklaces but were unable to provide a description of the decoration. All gold artifacts from the Bantaeng sites were sold to the antique dealers who then resold them without maintaining any records.

There are also no data concerning the sources of the gold used to produce the artifacts found in South Sulawesi, especially in Bantaeng. Gold sources are located in North Sulawesi, Timor, South Banten, and Kalimantan (Central, South and East), and there are also some sites in Sumatra, and in the Philippines (Miksic 1994). Gold artifacts, which can be inferred to have religious significance (tablets, statues, gold scraps) or links to royalty (gold bowls, a ceremonial cradle, a handbag, and jewelry), have been found in Fort Canning-Singapore, Kota Cina, Bali, Java (Trowulan, Gua Seplawan, Candi Ijo, Purworejo, Banten and Wonoboyo (Miksic 1994; Martowikrido 1994).

However those luxury artifacts, most commonly jewelry and gold masks, which could have been imported from within or outside Sulawesi, were brought to Bantaeng for the purposes of burial ceremonies. These burials were not only located in coastal areas, less than one kilometer from the coastal line, but also in interior areas in the highest elevation 660 m ASL (Borong Toa). These luxury artifacts may have been obtained by exchange for local products, such as crops and forest products, especially candlenuts and possibly also rattan. Looters reported that there were approximately equal artifacts finding between hinterland and coastal areas.
As a location on the route to the sources of spices, Bantaeng could have been a transshipment site for traders. During such contact, both reciprocal exchanges and barter could have taken place between the locals and the outsiders. The porcelains from different sources, the beads, and other goods found in the Bantaeng region and adjacent areas could have been acquired through this trading contact. Certainly most of the special styles of goods sought for increasing and stabilizing the social ranks in the Bantaeng areas came from outside Bantaeng.

In all cases, the burial goods were traditionally meaningful for keeping the dead body properly equipped for life after death. Porcelain, jewelry, and metal tools were all related to the needs for leading an appropriate afterlife. All those objects are similar to possessions they may have owned in life, so it is relevant to give such objects to the dead, which are related to the daily activity of people.

In contrast, a mask is a ritual transformation of human actors into beings of another order and can be used to achieve continuity in human groups (Crumine 1983). The facemask itself is support for the other burial objects. Crumine (1983) asserts this ceremonial institution of burial exists in a complex relation with other systems arising from the dynamic adaptation of ecological conditions coupled with adjustment to diverse types of societal and cultural contact.

Although there is no indication of craft work in the Bantaeng region, two types of non-local products were available, produced either by people from adjacent areas on Sulawesi Island, or on other islands and on the Asian mainland. Metal tools and earthenware pots were produced in Takalar, Bulukumba and Sinjai, whereas more precious goods such as pottery, beads, metalwork and jewelry came from outside Sulawesi.
All these were luxury goods, which were not necessary for the subsistence needs of their owners. These goods were possibly exchanged for the surplus harvested products, which were often controlled by those in the highest social rank. The royal family generally owned the lands and the workers were their followers. Today, the division of harvest is in the ratio of 9:1, meaning nine parts for the owners and their representatives in the field (or 45% each), and one part for the workers (10%).

This traditional division demonstrates the way wealth is accumulated at the high level of society, which then enabled these high social groups to amass luxury objects in exchange for their surplus harvests. However the goods were used for display of traditional values, especially during ceremonies, and for burial ceremonials in particular.

There was a strong and continuing relation between traditional values and the consumption of luxury objects. The demand for luxury objects was driven by the need to maintain the high social status of the nobility. The traders brought them those luxury artifacts which best matched their need for strengthening their social status. Porcelain seems to have been one of the favored objects for this purpose, but this could be based on a misinterpretation because it is more readily found in the field whereas gold jewelry would be picked it up as soon as it was seen.

The unequal distribution of burial sites can inferred both from the experience of the looters and from the topographical conditions, as a burial site is traditionally located on a flat hill surrounded on two sides by rivers, or in flat areas in the coastal region and the hinterland. The looters would more precisely locate the burial site with the help of a macucuk combined with the surface finding of a spout of a small vessel used to contain and pour water (kendi). Around 30 cm below the surface, there would be a stone and then a further 35-60 cm
below would be the dead body and the burial goods. The looter would try to open up the
ground if the macucuk, using a one-meter metal rod, indicated any anomaly caused by
burial goods.

The illegal looters have made attempts to report their findings to the Regional Office
of the Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical Heritage. Their strategy is to
admit to small amounts of imported ceramics officially, while the bulk and better quality of
the imported ceramics is sold and transferred to other countries. Records from the Regional
Office of the Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical Heritage in Makassar
from 1973 to 1982 list fewer than 50 items, including porcelain (bowls, plates, miniature
jars, spouted water jugs, covered boxes, martavan jars, and vases) from China, Thailand,
and Vietnam; and bronze objects (plate, bells), and earthenware (spouted water jugs).

In contrast, antique shops along Jalan Somba Opu in Makassar display hundreds of
porcelain objects of different types, periods, and qualities. However, the Historical Heritage
office in the Bantaeng region only has some broken 18th to 20th century porcelain recorded
from the region, despite the historical situation that the Bantaeng and adjacent areas were
famous for their demand for porcelain in the 14th-17th centuries.

Looting activity in this area has retrieved good quality porcelain. Similarly in Borong
Toa, an accumulation of porcelain has been recorded but again archaeological excavation
has not been undertaken both because this site has been totally disturbed and because of
limitations of time. However, looters have salvaged some pottery from this site. Based on
the stone arrangements found, it can be inferred that people used different size of stones and
technique of making stone arrangements.
It is not known whether the stone arrangement was connected with actual human burial or fake human burial. Further study is needed. However the finding implies that the local inhabitants made the stone arrangements for many reasons. Land, which has a burial, is priceless but nobody will buy it as people afraid of ghosts. Secondly, people who take care of land will have high bargaining position with looters for land compensation.

In this situation the services of a specialist in mortuary practices would be invaluable. For example, the placement of burial goods in relation to the dead body was significant and could be properly interpreted by such a specialist, especially in relation to the variation in the amount and quality of burial goods from one group to another.

In particular such an expert could identify the treatment of the dead body before the burial and during burial activity, such as who could use a gold mask and who not; which porcelain should be put at the head, on the pelvis, and so on. Although some of these behaviors and activities could be inferred from existing data, more data is still needed to support the tentative interpretations given above.

Ritual is a manifestation of obeying traditional rules (Brown 1995). Mortuary practices inevitably involve social problems, because while the ritual is focused on one person it can affect a great many people. Appropriate objects must be provided for the dead body in order to justify the social status of the family, so that the
living people try to maintain or even enhance their social status by following all the correct rituals and obeying all the rules.

Social status was also indicated by the choice of burial location, which reflects the wider social organization, just as the burial goods reflect the economic activity of the family and their interactions with others. It indicates that burials with porcelain are associated with settlements, especially with Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa both in hinterland and coastal areas.

In hinterlands, the scattered porcelain sherds have been associated with flat areas on sheltering hills. This implies that burials with burial goods circa 16th century were associated with the elite group. However, the question arises of what happens if the living people were not able to follow the rituals, as they should. Did the social status of the living family members decrease? It is in relation to investigating such issues that a specialist in burial rituals would be in a position to make an important contribution.

Modern South Sulawesi has certainly profited from the long-distance trade of the past. In Makassar, the major trading center for eastern Indonesia, there are now many non-local cultural objects for sale in art shops, and many items in museum collections, such as the Adam Malik Museum, the South Australian Museum, and other private museums, have come originally from South Sulawesi. However it is very difficult to trace these items back in order to reconstruct past activities. Most of the art shop items are delivered by agents, who sometimes do not know their exact provenance, the association of the finds, and so forth.

After 1982, people no longer reported their findings because of new regulations related to moving cultural artifacts from their original site. The regulation states that all material culture found under and on surface soil and under the sea belong to the Indonesian government.
Transporting artifacts from the sites where they were found cannot be done without permission from archaeological offices, which should be authorized by higher-level offices (Village, District, Regency, Province and central office in Jakarta). Nevertheless, cultural artifacts from Bantaeng and adjacent areas and from other parts of Sulawesi have been sold openly in Makassar souvenir shops, and abroad.

Nowadays, the values of the porcelains and other objects have again made them symbols of wealth for their new purchasers, as those objects are rare and expensive. Antique objects are also clearly luxuries, having no function in meeting daily needs, and they are purchased purely for display, as they have no traditional value for the new owners.

It can be concluded that the elite in Bantaeng gained more advantages than lower level groups. In the 14th-16th centuries the elite controlled the sea trading activities—traded local harvest to imported items, such as porcelains, beads, and metal artifacts in Bantaeng harbors. The artifacts became an icon for wealth because they were used as burial goods. However, when VOC arrived in Bantaeng, trade between the elite and sea traders stopped, which affected the supply of imported objects coming to Bantaeng region.

The VOC occupation of Bantaeng forced the elite to transform trading activity from sea to land trade; from exchanging local products for imported artifacts to exchanging local product for hinterland artifacts. However, local products were still under the elite’s control. The elite’s products were combined with harvests from lower level centers in the interior as the coastal area was under the VOC’s control.

The decreased supply of imported artifacts for the elite coincided with the coming of Islam to Bantaeng. The elite apparently still used burial goods during the 1600s or even later, but graves contained fewer of them than in Bantaeng’s heyday before the VOC occupied
the Bantaeng coastal area. Eventually the elite were buried in accordance with Islamic precepts—oriented north-south and without burial goods. The disposition of the dead by the lower status groups is unknown. Possibly they were buried without burial goods, but no such burials have been identified.

During the Netherland Indies era, local Bantaeng elite began to sponsor the cultivation of new cash crops. The areas where cashcrops were cultivated became ‘new’ villages. The harvest was not for local consumption; the crops were sent to a trading center located in Bantaeng city using roads built by the Netherland Indies. This export mode of interaction followed a dendritic pattern, transporting local cash crops from hinterland north Bantaeng to Bantaeng city in the coastal area, then by land to Makassar harbor for export. However, the distribution of local products followed a central place pattern.
1. Method of Archaeological Activity

Systematic archaeological excavation was carried out along the Binanga Tangnga-Tangnga and Salo Biangkeke streams in 2000. Ethnohistorical data indicates that two polities developed in these two valleys. Sites excavated included both those in the coastal lowlands and the uplands. Sites were chosen for excavation on the basis of surface finds and information obtained from local residents (including looters) after survey conducted using a

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Three former looters — Bustamin Njios, around 70 years old, Haji Doding 75 years old, and Karaeng Bancing 60 years old — agree with that data. Interviewed, May 2000.
randomized method. Excavation was aimed at identifying changing land use patterns from distribution of material culture, and to infer the sizes and functions of the sites.

The elite maintained their status by monopolizing resources and conducting ceremonies, and when the elite died they ostentatiously had burial goods interred with them. This must be assumed rather than hypothesized because it is difficult to confirm stratification within elite groups from the quantity and quality of burial goods and to determine the extent to which there was elite control over social valuables (Schortman and Urban 1996).

Archaeological excavation attempted to ascertain the distribution of burial goods in the 17th century burial system in Bantaeng. By excavating sites in both uplands and lowlands, it was hoped that any differences between the practices in the two areas might be detected.

Archaeological excavation used the box system (1 X 1 meter or 2 X 2 meter) and 20 cm spits. Extension of the box system was feasible depending on the findings. Soil screening was used to check for small artifacts. Every find in every spit was described, photographed, and drawn. Human bones usually were found 80 cm to 90 cm below the soil surface; excavation ceased in spit 5 or 6 (100 cm or 120 cm below surface).

2. Burial Activities in Bantaeng in Circa 17th

During the fieldwork, the macucuk’s technique was tested. Other excavation sites were chosen because of archaeological evidence found on the soil surface—both artifacts and ecofacts. In Bantaeng city, only sites in Bissampole, Palantikang and Letta have been excavated, as those sites are available and landowners gave permission for them to be examined. In the hinterland area, archaeological test-pits have been conducted in Benteng
Batu Terang, Sinowa, Borong Toa, Borong Kapala, Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Gantarangkeke. No archaeological excavation was done in Batu Ejaya because of insufficient time, while in Onto excavation was not done because fieldwork was conducted during the Islamic month of Sya’ban, when Karaeng LoE’s ceremony was in preparation.

The excavations also checked the accuracy of the *macucuk* in identifying objects under the soil surface. Archaeological excavation demonstrated that the *macucuk* technique is 90% accurate in recognizing the presence of imported ceramic underground. All of the *macucuk* anomalies were checked archaeologically and the result showed that the anomalies were imported ceramic shards, some associated with human bones and some not as the land is disturbed by cultivation, looting activity and modern development.

In Bissampole area (Bantaeng city), excavation was conducted in an open field where a regency mosque was to be built. Ex-looters (Karaeng Bancing, Bustamin Nyios, and Doding) mentioned that they had looted the area near SMA Negeri 1 Bantaeng and the PLN office. As the Bissampole area is densely populated and only this open field was
available, archaeological excavation was conducted for three reasons: checking the accuracy of macucuk technique, checking the accuracy of the informants, and checking the cultural deposit in this site before the location is altered by development.

From 12 boxes opened archaeologically in the PLN area and SMA Negeri 1 Bantaeng, it can be inferred that these sites were burial areas circa 17th century. Human bones from six individuals have been recorded in association with burial goods—imported ceramic shards (dated between 16th-17th century), iron bangle, iron badik/dagger, iron knife, bronze small bell, and bronze bracelets. However it was found that this area has been badly disturbed as modern animal bones (chicken and buffalo), metal door slot, human bones, and imported ceramic shards were found in different levels. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the human burials were located between 80 to 90 cm below the soil surface, oriented east west, accompanied by burial goods.
The looting was both intensive and systematic, but they worked in a hurry to avoid arrest. They often left holes or depressions which can help identify disturbed areas. In excavating the Bissampole site in BSP/X-0/TP-6 an in-situ skeleton and the burial goods (iron
During excavation at BSP/X-0/TP-6 discovered chicken bones, fragment of bricks and door slot associated to human bones and imported ceramics dated 16th-17th.

This box (BSP/X-0/TP-8) has disturbed as fragment of imported ceramics have found scattered associated to fragment of human bones.

badik dagger and iron bangle) associated with it were found 80 cm below the soil surface, but 40cm north of it there were human bones identified as being those of a baby boy aged between one year to 18 months and metal artifacts (bronze bracelets and bells, and an iron
Figure 82: Humerus (left and right) was discovered at 80 cm under soil surface at Bisampole (Bantaeng city).

Figure 83: These metal artifacts were discovered at box BSP/X-0/TP-6 associated to human bones.

Figure 84: Box BSP/X-0/TP-6
knife), while at 30 cm beneath the surface there were scattered human bones identified as those of an adult male aged between 25-35 years old associated with metal door slots, and broken bricks. (Nayati 2000). These situations are also found in other test-pits within Bantaeng region, which implies that this region is badly disturbed because of illegal looters.

Elsewhere, evidence of disturbed soil has been found in both coastal and hinterland areas. In Letta (box LTT/X-0/TP-1) a plastic bag was found at 80 cm below the surface with the name of a contemporary cracker snack producer from Surabaya in association with imported ceramic dated to the 13th to 17th centuries. In Benteng Batu Terang a collection of chicken and cow bones, and the teeth of a cow were found associated with imported ceramic dated 14th to 17th centuries.

Similarly, excavations in Palantikang (Bantaeng city) and Gantarangkeke areas have produced imported ceramic dated 13th to 18th centuries together with modern building material. Moreover in Lembang Gantarangkeke, in boxes LGK/X-0/TP-1; LGK/X-0/TP-2 and LGK/X-0/TP-4, there is evidence of soil disturbance: the land has been ploughed. Similar conditions were found in Borong Kapala, Borong Toa, and Benteng Batu Terang. These looting activities were conducted more than 30 years ago; it is difficult to find undisturbed areas in Bantaeng region where reliable archaeological checks can be carried out.

Compared to the Santa Ana site (Philippines) (Locsin 1967), Bantaeng burial finds are limited; however finds were sufficient to prove that burial systems using burial goods had been employed in the Bantaeng region. The Santa Ana site was 6,000 square meters and intensively excavated archaeologically, while the Bissampole area is only 400 meters square and only part was permitted to be excavated. Excavation time in Bissampole was limited to just four days. Artifacts found in Santa Ana included many items (gold ornaments, clothing,
small jars, plates, and other items), which were not found in Bantaeng. Moreover, because Bissampole in Bantaeng is densely populated, it is difficult to do further study concerning the burial system. The finding of human bones in situ here is important as no data from an in-situ burial had been recovered in this area previously. The differences between Santa Ana and Bissampole (Bantaeng city) illustrate the contribution of population growth to the changes in the archaeological record in the 1960s from that of 2000. Information about systematic artifact looting from the 1960s to the 1990s can be used to predict the distribution of artifacts in adjacent areas—Selayar, Bulukumba, Jeneponto and Takalar.

The *macucuk* technique was 90% accurate in locating buried imported ceramic. This technique uses a 150 cm metal rod (diameter 1 cm) with a wooden handle (see figure 11 and 12). The *macucuk* operator pushes the rod into the soil; if the stick cannot be pushed further, the *macucuk* can determine the reason: bedrock or imported ceramic. The *macucuk* operator only applied the *macucuk* system in special types of soil, such as ladang sites near villages. It is impossible to locate earthenware artifacts using *macucuk*, as the earthenware is too soft compared to imported ceramic. The *macucuk* operators (Karaeng Bancing and Haji Doding) do not want to share their secret—instead saying that they had dreamt about somebody leading them to certain place. The *macucuk* operator is only experienced in locating imported ceramic as it is the most valued type of goods. For the looters, the most important thing is to recognize the burial. The burial is money as imported ceramic means cash. Other findings associated with imported ceramic are extra money, as these items cannot be predicted by probing.

In Bantaeng fieldwork, the *macucuk* system was employed in ladang located outside villages and in open spaces which were used to be ladang, and in villages which were used as ladang before. Three boxes indicating imported ceramic based on *macucuk* were checked
archaeologically, and in all three boxes imported ceramic artifacts were found. Three other boxes indicating no cultural deposit were opened archaeologically, and the result was consistent with predictions. However, macucuk cannot identify whether the imported ceramic is broken or in good condition.

Because of the accuracy of the macucuk technique, it was applied in other sites: Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, Sinowa, Borong Toa, and Benteng Batu Terang. Lembang Gantarangkeke was chosen because there is an indication of stone arrangements located north of the village with Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang. The stone arrangements included different sizes and types of stones in ladang and cocoa plantations. Nevertheless the best site with many types of stone arrangements at the ladang cannot be studied archaeologically so the archaeological excavation was conducted in a cocoa plantation and in other ladang located north of the first site in order to investigate the stone arrangements. Archaeological excavation was also conducted south of Ballaq Lompoa—near the south stone fence in order to understand the different land use within Lembang Gantarangkeke. Based on archaeological excavation it can be inferred that land use in Lembang Gantarangkeke differed between the north and south location. Checking of the stone arrangement located in north of village (LGK/X-0/TP-3) indicates that stone arrangements do not always represent human burials, as no indication of burial activity was found.

In LGK/X-0/TP-2 a cover of an imported ceramic covered box dated 14th century and three imported ceramic shards dated 17th century interpreted as a bowl were found. In contrast, it was found that the south part of the village had been used for daily activity, as potsherds

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2The land worker asked to be paid Rp. 1,000,000.00 per square meter (equal to S$ 200.00).
interpreted as parts of vessels and jars, imported ceramic interpreted as a jar dated 14th century, and part of an iron knife were found. We were told that people found a balubu (burial coffin) near the stone fence but this information is difficult to accept as the bedrock in the south part of the village was found between 10 cm to 60 cm under soil surface. One former looter (Karaeng Bancing) reported discoveries of balubu made from logs in several areas of Bantaeng, but he had for-

Figure 85: No human bones found at stone arrangement. As shown at box LGK/X-0/TP-3
gotten the details since the discoveries were made over 20 years earlier.

In Gantarangkeke, archaeological excavation was designed in order to investigate land use. Systematic surface survey involved walking transects across dry fields by three
surveyors four meters apart. The survey recorded imported ceramic in the north part of Gantarangkeke, and earthenware in the southern part of Gantarangkeke. No archaeological remains were found around the *Balla Lompoa* Gantarangkeke. Excavation in the *ladang* located north of the village yielded imported ceramic shards dated to the 16th and 17th centuries in TP 1 and 2, while potsherds interpreted as jars and vessels were found at the *ladang* south of the village (TP 3 and 4). It is possible that the vessels could be related to a dwelling or to processions to *Passaungang Tauwa* which is located about 75 meters south of the excavation box.

Excavation in Sinowa was done in the corner of a football field, which was used as *ladang*. 

![Figure 86: A stone arrangement has been excavated at Lembang Gantarangkeke. We discovered a lidded imported ceramic dated 14th century, but no indication of human bones.](image)

![Figure 87: Checking at south area of Lembang Gantarangkeke. People informed that surrounding this box has found Balubu. Excavation at Box LGK/X-0/TP-5 found out that the soil in this area is maximum 60cm from surface.](image)
Old local people informed us that this place was used as a market during the Netherlands Indies colonial period. No artifacts were found in an excavation, which reached 120 cm.

Test pits in Borong Toa based on macucuk system revealed no human bones but pottery shards, interpreted as a bowl and plate dating from the 12th to 16th centuries.

At Benteng Batu Terang archaeological excavation was conducted to investigate land use outside the Benteng. There are stone arrangements and pottery shards dating from the 12th to 17th centuries. This site was looted, and Syafri remembered that his father—Habibu—mentioned that the best imported ceramic in Bantaeng had been found in Benteng Batu Terang. Four test pits found imported ce-
DRAWING 9: SITE LOCATION GANTARANGKEKE WITH PLOTTED TEST PITS
ramic shards and buffalo bones. The shards included Chinese Ming Dynasty fragments of a vase and a medium-sized bowl.

On the north side of the fortification there are stone arrangements at the Benteng Batu Terang, which are interpreted as graves on account of the stone arrangements of stones there. Imported ceramic found in these graves dated between the 14th and 18th centuries (Nayati 2000b). However, local people did not give permission to excavate these, so these anomalies have not been solved.

Scattered imported ceramics at the ladang near the graveyard are dated between the 13th and 20th centuries with the majority from the 15th-17th centuries. Fieldwork in 1984 reported finding decorated earthenware and gold artifacts (a genital cover, a decorated...
lingga made from gold, and a gold mask) (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1984; Bougas 1996). However, there is no further data on these artifacts at archaeological offices in South Sulawesi Province (Makassar, Indonesia).

In Borong Kapala archaeological excavation was carried out in combination with Doding’s looting system. Sites around Borong Kapala were studied by the PUSLITARKENAS and Balai Arkeologi Makassar (Fatmawati 1997, Fadilah 1998, 1999). Borong Kapala was chosen for further study, because according to local informants this area had not been included in the previous research. An archaeological site is located 4 km north east of the village, and can only be reached on foot. Three test pits were opened in which were found shards interpreted as vessels and jars, including between 3 and 5 vessels. Using Doding’s system 10 other test pits revealed similar potsherds. On the soil surface, imported ceramic shards dated 14th century (interpreted as jars, bowls, and plates) were recovered. Nearby a stone arrangement was archaeologically investigated but revealed no indication of burial activity. Stone arrangements in Borong Kapala have a different orientation, ranging from north south to east west. This anomaly differs from stone arrangements in Benteng Batu Terang and Lembang Gantarangkeke.

Certain aspects of daily activity in the past in Bantaeng, such as using vessels to boil water, can be inferred from the earthenware shards, although such activity cannot always be reliably determined. Earthenwares have been found at the ladang and settlements but not associated with stone arrangements or burial sites. Different types and sizes of vessels can be interpreted from earthenware shards found in Borong Kapala (BRK/X-0/TP-1 to 5, Letta (LTT/X-0/TP-1), and Lembang Gantarangkeke (LGK/X-0/TP-4 to 6). Those vessels could also be used as storage containers, both for water and food.
Evidence of burial in the Bantaeng region has been examined in Borong Kapala, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Bissampole, and Benteng Batu Terang. Excavations in stone arrangements have been conducted in Borong Kapala and Lembang Gantarangkeke, while in Bissampole and Benteng Batu Terang excavation was undertaken following the macucuk’s identification of sub-surface anomalies.

The stone arrangements varied in size and type of stones used however the orientations of stone arrangements are similar, east west. Stone arrangements in Benteng Batu Terang, Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Borong Kapala imply that the ‘grave’ was located outside the village area. Only Benteng Batu Terang and Lembang Gantarangkeke gave evidence that the stone arrangements are north of villages. At both sites, stone arrangements were located in agricultural fields, north of a stone wall.

Based on observation and comparison between settlements, both still well preserved, at Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke, it is inferred that the 17th-century admin-
Figure 94: Surface finding at Benteng Batu Terang
istrative layout included a level residential sector enclosed within a stone arrangement. Outside the walled area was agricultural land. In the center of the settlement was a *Balla Lompoa*. The spot where the *Tomanurung* was believed to descend was found several tens of meters northeast of the *Balla Lompoa*. North of the surrounding wall was a stone arrangement. It
Figure 95: Stone arrangement at Borong Kapala. There is no archaeological finding in this test pit.
Figure 96: Some of stone arrangement at Lembang Gantarangkeke. This site is very expensive to be excavated. One meter square cost Rp. 1,000,000 and if there are findings, the owner need extra money for the findings.

seems that the south area was used for irrigated rice land, the central area was the settlement including the sacred site for the Tomanurung, and north of the wall were graves.

The excavation of stone arrangements at Banteng Batu Terang and Lembang Gatarangkeke is not very representative, since only two stone structures out of more than 30 stone arrangements have been opened up, and most of these are located outside the settlements. This slow progress is partly because local people still regard those stone structures as their ancestors’ burial places. This continuation of traditional belief results in the protection of the sites, preserving them even from disturbance by the DI-TII.

In LGK/X-0/TP-2 a lidded imported ceramic box was discovered under the stone but there was no evidence of human bones below it. The looters expected that under a big stone a human body and burial goods would be found, but in apparently similar situations it was found that this hypothesis does not always hold.
Looting activity has disturbed the soil and data in many sites. In contrast, archaeological excavation in LGK/X-0/TP—3 found no evidence of burial activity whereas in Bissampole a piece of human bone associated with artifacts supported the interpretation of these as burial goods. Moreover, a badik dagger associated with a female, and knife associated with the baby boy in the LGK/X-0/TP-6 supported the hypothesis of the looters that iron tools are symbolic objects.

Analyses of human bone found in Bissampole sites within Bantaeng city support the dating interpretations. The remains of five adults, consisting of four males, one female, and one baby boy have been found in different places in Bissampole (Bantaeng city).

The males were between 25 to 35 years old, while the female was between 20 to 25 years old. Although these human bones have only been partially recovered because of earlier looting...
activity, there is evidence that the orientation of the dead body runs from southeast to north-west or east west, which refers to 14th to early 17th centuries burial (Bulbeck, 1996/1997).

Only the female bones enabled orientation to be confirmed as the feet were found in situ and part of a humerus and skull have been recorded. Human bones found in Bissampole are dated to a maximum of 400 years from year 2000-2001 by Boedi Sampurna, based on state of bone preservation, which means the Bissampole area was a grave from the late 16th or early 17th century.

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\(^{3}\)The bones were found in October 2000 and have been analyzed in February 2001 by Boedi Sampurna, a palaeoanthropologist at Gadjah Mada University.
Table 8: List of human analysis found in Bantaeng by Mr. Budi Sampoerna M.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITES</th>
<th>DATA</th>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (2)</td>
<td>• M1/Molar 1. Human, adult 25-35 year old. Diameter mesio-diastal 11.9; diameter bucco-lingual 11.7; crown 7.2mm. Cusp Y5 • Fr tibia proximal Obis sp</td>
<td>Human, adult, 165.4 cm high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr earthenware • Fr frontal, human • Fr human bones. Too small to identified</td>
<td>Human, adult, male.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (3)</td>
<td>• Fr left distal humerus, human, and adult. High 165.4 cm • Fr left ulna, human, adult, male. • Fr left clavicle, human, adult • Fr ribs, human • Fr cervical vertebrae (atlas), human • Fr human bones, too small to identified • Fr stone</td>
<td>Human, adult, male, 165.4 cm high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr femur, human, adult, male, race high 165.4 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr ribs, human • Fr lumbar vertebrae, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (3)</td>
<td>• Fr left radius • Fr frontal and right orbita, human • Fr os frontal, human • Fr femur, human • Fr human bones, too small to identified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right cranium, human 20-25 year old, female • Fr right os maxillare, human • Fr right humerus, human • Fr cranium • Fr of human bones (too small to identified • Fr of stone</td>
<td>Human, female, adult 20-25 year old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITES</td>
<td>DATA</td>
<td>INTERPRETATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (4)</td>
<td>• Fr of human bones (too small to identified)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (4)</td>
<td>• Fr temporal, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr left and right processus mastoideus, human, female 20-25 year old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os ethmoidale, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr zygomatic/cheek, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os sphenoidale, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os metacarpus, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Crown of incisor (I2), lower jaw, right, human, adult mutalasi labial and occlusal. Diameter mesio-distal 5.0; diameter bucco-lingual 4.7; crown 8.8mm; limbus menonjol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Right humerus and other part, human, adult. Female Premolar (P1) upper jaw, human. Adult Diameter mesio-distal 8.2; diameter bucco-lingual 10.7; crown 11.4 mm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr stone (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (4)</td>
<td>• Fr os frontal (2)</td>
<td>Human, adult, 20-25 year old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr mandible, human (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr left mandible, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr frontal and part of left orbita, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os parietale, human. Adult, 20-25 year old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (4)</td>
<td>• Fr os frontal, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr ribs, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr proximal right ulna, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr left os calcaneus, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr distal right phalanx, I.1, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr human bones, too small to identified</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SITES</td>
<td>DATA</td>
<td>INTERPRETATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP6 (4)</td>
<td>• Fr right mandible with molar tooth holes (M1, M2 dan M3), human</td>
<td>Human, 25 year old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr cranium, parietal, human, 25 year old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right femur, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os calcaneus, human</td>
<td>Human, child/baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr ribs, human, child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right phalanx, distal, II.2 human</td>
<td>Human, child/baby, 1-1.5 year old</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr fibula, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr diaphyse left femur, human, child/baby, 1-1.5 year old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr human bones. Too small to identified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr human bones, too small to identified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr left frontal, human, 20-25 year old</td>
<td>Human, adult, 20-25 year old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right os sphenoidale, human</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr frontal, human</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Fr os sphenoidale, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr parietal, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr human bones, too small to identified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr frontals, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Premolar 2, human, adult. Mutilasi labial and occlusal, shovel shaped, diameter mesio-distal 8.4; diameter bucco-lingual 7.6; crown 9.1 mm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr femur, ulna, radius, right humerus, and fibula, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right and left tibia, human</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Fr fibula, human</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr os phalanx, left foot, II.1 , human</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Fr tibia, human</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Fr human bones, too small to identified</td>
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<td>SITES</td>
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<td>INTERPRETATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP8(1)</td>
<td>• Fr. Right proximal ulna human, adult, male, race Mongoloid</td>
<td>Male, adult, Mongoloid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr left scapula bos sp (animal)</td>
<td>Cattle/cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP9(1)</td>
<td>• Fr. left proximal os claviculus sinistra (human) 2 pieces from 1 individu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP9(4)</td>
<td>• Fr. Left os metacarpus human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP9(4)</td>
<td>• Fr. reg. Diaphyse os humerus dextra, human, 2 pieces from 1 individu, adult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP9(4)</td>
<td>• Molar 1, (upper jaw, left) human, adult 25-35 year old. diameter mesio-distal 10,1; diameter bucco-lingual 11,9; Crown 6,0 mm, 4 cusps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Molar 1 (lower jaw, left) human 25-35 year old. Diameter mesio-distal 11,1 ; Diameter bucco-lingual 10,9; crown 4,6 mm, Y-5 cusps.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Premolar 1 (lower jaw, left) human. Diameter mesio-distal 9,1; Diameter bucco-lingual 11,3; Crown 7,4 mm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP/X-0/TP9(4)</td>
<td>• Fr human cranium:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Fr os parietale , human 25-35 year old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Fr os sphenoidale</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Fr os ethmoidale</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Fr right distal femur, human, adult, male.</td>
<td>Human, adult, male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr right os parietale, human. Thickness 6,5 mm</td>
<td>associated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Fr porselin (spread)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mutilations on the Molar-1 and Pre-molar-1 have been found in BSP/X-0/TP-9, whereas mutilations on Molar-1, 2, and 3, Pre-molar 2, and I-2 have been identified in BSP/X-0/TP-6. The cuspis pattern of the tooth range is Y-4 and Y-5 indicating adulthood.

Based on the big bones, it is predicted that the males were between 25 to 35 years old, 162.9 cm high (BSP/X-0/TP-9), and 165.4 cm high (BSP/X-0/TP-6), which the male age between 25 to 35 years old whereas female was between 20-25 years old and 161 cm high.

The burials are partially disturbed, but some of the bones have not been disturbed, such as the humerus, tibia and fibula of the female (located in BSP/X-0/TP-6), and the broken skull of the male (in BSP/X-0/TP-9). Those human bones have been found in a flat surface site, and there is no indication of any stone arrangement in a square shape.
Based on local information, there were no graves with such stone arrangements found in Bantaeng city. So although those human bones are the only evidence for burial in a Bantaeng coastal site, they coincide with the burial system in other parts of the Bantaeng region.

The burial system in early 17th century in Bantaeng was a primary burial system. Typically, the dead body was placed between 80 cm to 90 cm under the soil surface (as in BSP/X-0/TP-6 and BSP/X-0/TP-9). According to information from both the general public and the looters, and earthenware censer was always found on top of the grave.

A big stone was placed between 30-40cm under the soil surface and under the stone there would be imported ceramic goods, as found in LGK/X-0/TP-2. A further 30 cm below, there was the dead body surrounded by the burial goods, as in BSP/X-0/TP-6 and TP-9.

The head of the dead body was oriented to the southeast, with the hand presumably straight as distal I-1, distal II-1 and II-2 (finger bone) were found near the hip (great trochanter), and fibula. The burial goods such as imported ceramic and metal tools were placed in careful association with the dead body, as in BSP/X-0/TP-6.

The orientation of the buried body in the pre-Islamic period of Bantaeng is similar to Toalan burial practices as found in Leang Burung and Leang-Leang (Bulbeck 1996/1997). In Takalar, Pangkajene, and at Ulu Leang in Maros districts, there were also pre-Islamic burials with an east-west orientation (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983). The burial goods included remains of Sawankhalok, Vietnamese, and Ming dynasty imported ceramics, earthenware, iron implements, bronze and gold items or decorations that were all associated with the corpse (Tjandrasasmita 1970). Tjandrasasmita assumes, on the basis of the relatively low quality of the buried goods, that those burials were not of important people. However pre-Islamic burial prac-
tice in Bantaeng city was not associated with microliths but with imported ceramic dated from the
14th to 17th centuries, with 16th century imported ceramic shards forming the highest proportion.

In comparison, in burial practices of Cebu city, the head was oriented to the south and
the burial furniture included a dagger, beads (gold, cornelian and blue glass), and im-
ported ceramic (Hutterer 1973). The burial goods varied between burials: for example, one
burial site had monochrome imported ceramic in the lower layer but in the upper layer there
was blue and white imported ceramic. The body was found between 188 to 194 cm deep
with the head on the south. There was also a differentiation between adults and children in
the types of imported ceramic used (Hutterer 1973; Echevarria 1974): the children had
burial goods of imported ceramic made in Thailand (Sawangkhalok and Sukhotai), whereas
the adults had Ming dynasty porcelain dated from the 14th to 15th centuries. (Hutterer 1973).
The burial of an adult interred in a coffin was found together with heavy square iron nails
with either flat, round or square heads, all located on the top of the skeleton. An infant body
was located at the lower end and outside the coffin. However, those examples of burial
practices should not be applied more widely in the Bantaeng region, as the excavated samples
are too few for valid generalizations.

In Thailand, the orientation of the dead body can also vary from place to place over time,
but the regular practice seems to have been a northwest orientation of the dead body, with the
feet pointing to the southeast (Wilen 1990). The body, in what is presumed to be primary burial,
was laid straight with the hand on the pelvis (Wilen 1990).

Burial orientation and burial goods circa 17th century were related to cultural life. It
differs from place to place but the essentials were similar, given burial goods for the next life.
In Bantaeng, similar burial systems were employed but the quantity of burial goods slightly differed from the Philippines.

Evidence of human activities of the 17th century in the Bantaeng region has been found by archaeological studies. However, this evidence has only limited value in reconstructing Bantaeng history, as considerable potential data was looted between the 1960’s and 1980’s. Ex-looters can recall some of their booty but most of them only mention the names of the villages where they worked and very general descriptions of the objects found. Nevertheless, their findings can be useful in adding to the information available for Bantaeng archaeological study.

It can be inferred that Bantaeng kingdom in the early 17th century was Muslim as Bantaeng was allied with Gowa. Moreover, the migration of La Tenri Ruwa, King of Bone, to Bantaeng indicated that Bantaeng kingdom was Islamic. Royal burials located in Bantaeng city show the Islamization of the Bantaeng royal family dated to the 17th century. In addition, the existence of the grave of Datok Kalimbungan (located at the south foot of the hill at Benteng Batu Terang), Masjid Tompong and Pesantren in Tompong village (located around 500 meters south of La Tenri Ruwa) indicates that Islamization infiltrated the lower level groups. The presence of Datok Kalimbungan indicates that a Kyai with the title Datok is also indicative of this.

Probably there was a transitional period between pre-Islamic and Islamic period in Bantaeng region. There is difference in burial orientation—east west orientation found in Bantaeng city (BSP/X-0/TP 6; BSP/X-0/TP 8) which suggest that there had been a pre-Islamic pattern, but burial in La Tenri Ruwa graveyard, the graves orientation is north-south which is Islamic orientation in Indonesia. Perhaps, stone structures in Lembang
Gantarangkeke—if those burials, have orientation to north-south. However, archaeological excavation in one of stone structures in Lembang Gantarangkeke have not found any skeleton (LGK/X-0/TP 3).

There is clear evidence of social contact between local and non-local people from the artifacts found. It can be concluded that the site at Bissampole was a settlement that has been used continually from the 16th century onwards. Letta has been used as a coconut plantation, then as a backyard and right now as a garbage dump. This site has been seriously disturbed, with a modern snack plastic bag found below the material culture dated to the 13th-17th centuries. Near this area there are Muslim graves, which are marked on the 1932 Bantaeng map. No imported ceramic from the 18th-20th century has been found in this area, as Letta is located east of the Netherlands Indies’ political center of activity.

The situation of Bantaeng, which apparently had no craft activities, made it an attractive market for the sale of exotic goods to maintain the traditional customs. Scarcity made
the goods even more valuable and they could continue to be used not only for displaying wealth but also to mark social status, so those items would not become marginalized (Gregory 1994). The nobles were the main consumers but they formed a large enough market because of their widely extended families, which continually sought exotic items for maintaining the social status of their dead.

Accumulations of imported ceramic shards concentrate around the settlements. Within the settlements, shards have been found, whereas outside the settlements, they are associated with stone arrangements, which are believed to be old graves.

The shards could be dated but are not related to any current daily activity, as most people now use earthenware and manufactured plastic and metal household goods. The shards could have come from the breaking of imported ceramic by the looters. In Letta (Bantaeng city), children have been seen playing with imported ceramic shards, and in other places the farmers throw the shards away from their ladang (to the fence/boundary) when they are plowing.4

Potshards found around the settlements include many types of earthenware, such as vessels, water jars, cooking pots, mortars for condiments, censers, and a traditional stove. The mortar could also have been used as a plate as it is similar in shape, and the censer could have been for individual ceremonials in the house. There was also a gacuk, a man-made disk created from imported ceramic and earthenware shards and possibly used for a game, or as a token. Gacuk have found in Bantaeng city, Sinowa, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Benteng Batu Terang. Further afield, gacuk have also been found in Ambon,5 Southern Maluku (Aru, Kei, and Tanimbar islands) (Nayati 1996), Java (Trowulan), and Singapore (dated 14th century). The finds of gacuk are significant, because they indicate
the potential existence of a larger socio-economic system linked to Majapahit in the 14th century.

While looters’ information on burial goods gives some assistance to the endeavor to infer details of burial activity in the past, archaeological excavation provides a further explanation of the burial goods. Moreover the excavations also traced the evolution of looting activities from the 1960s to the 1980s. The skills of the macucuk have been successfully applied in this study, providing further insight into looting activities.

Based on a combination of looters’ information and archaeological study, evidence for contact between local and long-distance trading networks has been established as far back as the pre-ceramic period. Stone tools, imported ceramic, beads, and metal items were luxury objects which could only be obtained by groups who could coordinate human activity in a specific territory and extract commodities from it. Mobilization of labor and extraction of tribute could be used to acquire imported luxuries, which were commonly used for legitimizing social status. It was important to maintain the loyalty of one’s followers. Rituals sponsored by the center of administration or Balla Lompoa constituted efforts to retain loyalty and overt expressions of the rulers—Karaeng—in order to redistribute tribute to their followers. For this purpose, it was very important to preserve saukang in order to perpetuate “authority”, whether over territory, followers or the harvest. This was impor-

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4 Data obtained during May and October 2000 fieldwork.
tant because the harvest was used to exchange for luxury items to defend their status. This dynamic was at the root of the life of the *Karaeng* of Bantaeng in the past and explains the finds in the graves.

Before the VOC took power in Bantaeng, the rulers of Sinowa, Borong Kapala, Onto/Bantaeng, and Lembang Gantarangkeke/Gantarangkeke were able to treat their followers well. The harvest of their territories could be exchanged for quantities of imported items. Commodities which can still be traced include ceramics, beads, and metal items. The complexity of social life in Bantaeng can be reconstructed, including both residents of the hinterland and the coast, and the nature of relations between rulers located in the hinterlands and the importers of foreign commodities which resulted in these foreign commodities being deposited in settlement sites in the hills far from the coast. Bantaeng rulers in their time were able to organize this system effectively. The dynamic of social life in Bantaeng lies in the successful adaptation of people to the changing internal and external influences, while maintaining the central traditions relating to the *Tomanurung*, to the elite groups, and to their land. However, those luxury objects became more difficult to obtain once the VOC monopolized the coastal area of Bantaeng and adjacent regions. The period

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1Personal communication by Dr. Latinis, February 2002. In Ambon, he found *gacuk* made from stone, and earthenware.
of more limited contacts overlapped with the coming of Islam to Bantaeng, which can be inferred from the changing orientation of the dead body.

Adaptation of local people to different situations and conditions has shaped Bantaeng culture. However, the hinterland became the basis for Bantaeng power, as it furnished the resources for main staples and for trade commodities. Unfortunately, it is difficult to obtain data on the results of external contact on the dynamics of Bantaeng culture because of 20 years or more of looting. The people of Bantaeng—the looters—do not understand the value of 

Figure 103: Tibula and Humerus discovered at 80 cm from soil surface at Bisampole, Bantaeng city (box BSP/X-0/TP-6)

Figure 104: Fragment of Imported Ceramics found associated to fragment human bones at BSP/X-0/TP-9
the objects they find. In the early phase, the looters only sought and sold Chinese ceramics, and subsequently also metal items, particularly bells and statuary. In the early 1980s looters began to sell gold sheets—presumably gold mask—when they found out that these were also valuable. Interestingly, European ceramics were not judged valuable until the 1980s and were never sold. They were simply kept by the locals until the 1990s, when they were recorded by the Department of Education and Culture office in Bantaeng Regency. One must therefore be very cautious in using archaeological data to interpret the past. For this reason, supporting information such as ethnography and geography are vital to studying Bantaeng’s past.

3. Dendritic and Central Place Patterns in the Bantaeng Region: Over Time

Examples of both central place and dendritic patterns of spatial usage can be observed now and inferred for the past in Bantaeng. Changes over time in these two patterns can be identified from archaeological remains, and partially explained by reference to historical and ethographic data.

Several periods can be identified on the basis of differential spatial patterning. During the precolonial period, Bantaeng consisted of two polities, both with centers of authority in the hinterland. These represented first-level centers in their respective territories, collecting sea products and imported luxury items from coastal second-level centers, and agricultural products from second- and third-level centers in the highlands. The first-level centers then redistributed some of these items, sending agricultural and forest products to the coastal
areas, and sea products and some imported items to the hinterland second-tier centers. Quite possibly the first-tier Bantaeng centers interacted directly with a number of first-level centers in Kalimantan, Maluku, Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, given the ability of South Sulawesi sailors to venture long distances. The development of the Karaeng system may have accelerated, becoming more complex and stratified, due to the availability of foreign ceramics and other luxury items starting in the 14th century.

Imported ceramics in the interior have been found only in flat areas in the protected hill sites: Borong Toa, Borong Kapala, Sinowa, Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Benteng Batu Terang, whereas in coastal areas, shards have been found only in Bantaeng city. Cultural findings in the hinterland have been identified in Salo-level streams. Although the settlements were commonly associated with rivers, the rivers are not navigable. Their banks may have served as transport routes, and they served as important water resources. In addition to vertical routes along the rivers, however, there were also horizontal routes which cut across river systems by following lines of similar altitude. The dwellings of the officials (in Ballaq Lompoa) were associated with sacred centers, surrounded by other elites and the common people. This indicates the existence of centralized activities in Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa.

The village served as a living place for the common people, whereas the political center was populated by the bureaucrats—Karaeng, Pinati, and their families—, and was supported by people working as virtual slaves. Dwelling compounds would surround this center area, identifiable by numerous artifact scatters of habitation remains. Effective contact by land between center and periphery was clearly possible, and distance was not a major problem as there were short cuts to the first-level centers using paths and tracks.
Central places in the hinterland were on the banks of the Salo type of river, at the confluence of tributaries. No imported ceramics were found outside the central places, suggesting that they were reserved for the elite only.

Presumably, people lived in a settlement permanently but collect food in their nearby surroundings. Exchange centers grew up at intersections of paths, river confluences, or at the borders of lands under the control of two or three villages. These kinds of exchanges between secondary or tertiary-level places were separate from those which resulted in the flow of tribute from the lower-level centers, both upstream and downstream, to the centers of authority and ceremony.

Contact gradually became more frequent, given the evidence of luxury objects such as imported ceramic dated 14th to 17th centuries in center areas: Bantaeng city, Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke. The luxury objects could have been exchanged directly between consumers and traders (direct trading), but also possibly through a network.
of emissaries: consumers-mediator/agency-traders, or consumers-mediator/agency-mediator/agency-traders. It seems probable that imported ceramics were monopolized by the Karaeng.

In the precolonial period, two market places seem to have been the entrypoints for the luxury goods, namely Pasar Lama (=old market) now is located in Bantaeng city, and Lambocca located east of Bantaeng city, both located at the mouth of river. Pasar Lama has been part of the Bantaeng political unit, whereas Lambocca has been part of the Lembang Gantarangkeke political unit. Those two coastal markets seem to have served as meeting points between non-local and local traders. The place of a mediator between local and non-local traders cannot be recognized from the bureaucratic organization of those two political units, but it must be assumed that the role of mediator was important in making trading links between local and non-local people, and between the non-locals and the bureaucrats.

The small villages were spread out over the level areas, always close to the cultivated land, and with a transportation network accessible through paths and tracks. As the
elite group controlled access to land, the people worked for the elite so harvest accumulated in elite groups. Communication between the elite and their people—between center and periphery—was affirmed through shared ceremonies—as gift exchanges. The ceremony in Onto laid stress on Tomanurung but also involved agricultural activity: when should they start planting, asking a blessing for the harvest, and requesting a good harvest. In Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, the ceremonial centers were located at hinterland political centers and at Pa’jukukang—located at the mouth of river. A combination of the Tomanurung idea and La Galigo epics dominated the belief systems in this area.

In contrast, the economic center was located outside the political and sacred centers of the village. No trading centers found in Bantaeng have Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang, implying that the economic activity was strictly separated from the political and sacred sites. The economy was centralized—under lower class group—but distinct from the political and sacred center.
This division is also related to the system of social stratification in the Makassar-Buginese culture. Observation during fieldwork revealed that the Karaeng social group does not commonly go to trade in a trading center. If the Karaeng need something, they ask their followers to buy it for them. Probably exotic luxury items were not traded in markets, but flowed through different channels, and exchanges would have been in the form of diplomatic reciprocity between local elites and visitors.

The division between political and ceremonial power could be very subtle. The political power was concentrated in the hands of the nobles, but they participated in the ceremonial activity. However, the ceremonial activity was under the control of ceremonial officials. The Pinati were very important for the nobles because the Pinati were believed to be descendants of the Tomanurung. The Pinati had the duty of daily maintenance of the Saukang, and led the rituals associated with the kingdom. The Pinati were theoretically ranked beneath the king but in fact could claim superiority due to their leading role in the rituals. It could be that the division between Karaeng and Pinati as shown in Onto and Lembang Gantarangkeke was also found in the past in Bantaeng.

Presumably social organization would have been competitive and with clearly-segregated ranks, and the settlements in the flat areas would have been built for permanent occupation, close to streams at the base of the hills. Current social organization in these sites could be similar to or slightly more complex than that of the pre-ceramics period; equally, the population in the political and sacred settlements could have been bigger than in the pre-ceramic phase. Signs of social stratification are very apparent in the past life of Bantaeng, not only in terms of occupational divisions but also in the settlement pattern. Earthenware
shards are mostly found in the south part of the Ballaq Lompoa where the common people lived.

Based on the distribution of imported ceramics, it is clear that people were easily able to reach the elevated hill sites in the hinterland. The central place pattern seems particularly applicable for describing the trading of luxury objects in circa 17th century Bantaeng.

4. Historical Reconstruction of Bantaeng Region

The development of political organization in Bantaeng region varied from nomadic to agglomerate groups under their own chiefs and to organized political power under Karaeng based on the Tomanurung idea. The first social organization started in the rock shelters in the hinterland then at the flat area at the hill located in the hinterland, flat area at the hill located nearby the coastal, and on the coastal area. However, contacts between coastal and hinterland were possible.
The changing of political centers of Onto to Bantaeng, from hinterland to coast, effected the moving of the Saukang and Gaukang. Inhabitants had to change the settlement pattern, from protected areas in the hills to the un-protected areas in the lowland. In coastal areas, sea products were easier to obtain, but not agricultural products. However, regular exchange between coast and hinterland probably continued after the center moved to the coast. People adapted by shifting political and ceremonial activities from hinterland to coast. The center shifted in the Salo Tangnga-Tangnga and its branches, but not in Salo Nipa-Nipa and Salo Biyasa/Salo Biangkeke river areas.

Centers of ceremonial and political organization circa 15th century were developed in the middle of elevated areas of Bantaeng region. Onto, Sinowa, Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke were located on protected hills (around 200 to 500 meter square). Small villages spread out over the areas, especially in the cultivation areas, supported the centers. These polities were supported with land resources but used them to obtain non-
local products. Similar to previous periods, forest products and also cultivated items could have been the main resources. People were able to travel not only to hinterland areas but also to the coast.

Onto people used paths along the Calendu river. Sinowa residents used Binanga Panaikang, inhabitants of Benteng Batu Terang, Batu Ejaya and Panganreang Tudea used the Balong LoE, and Lembang Gantarangkeke and settlers in Gantarangkeke used Salo Biyasa and Salo Nipa-Nipa, all rivers running down to the Flores Sea.

The political center of Onto sometime in the 15th century moved to the coast-now located in Bantaeng city. It is thought that the relocation of the center of administration is related to the growing international trade in the Flores Sea. Probably settlement increased in what is now Bantaeng city. It is more likely that the shift marked a change from central place to dendritic. The center moved to coastal on the river mouth but the cultivation areas in the hinterland were still supported with local resources for the elites there. People were able to travel from hinterland areas to the coast bringing the resources. No Chinese are likely to
have lived here during this period, due to the Ming ban on foreign trade. This was probably a matter of time. Chinese porcelain was not available between 1367 and 1567, so only Vietnamese and Thai porcelain was available during that period. South Philippines probably had fewer external trading links before the Ming than Luzon.
A ceremonial center would have a special place for gathering as the center of activity—a Saukang—representing Tomanurung. The ceremonies held there were related to the harvest and asked blessing for the next harvest, and involved redistribution from the elite to the workers. Groups of people who lived throughout the area nearby the cultivated fields, went to the ceremonial center on foot using paths, tracks and dirt networks. Fertile land was kept for cultivation, with the houses built nearby. Traditional houses were constructed on poles so they could be built in elevated areas.

The political centers have a special Ballaq Lompoa located in the center. North of the Ballaq Lompoa was located a Saukang—descent (and ascent) place for Tomanurung, usually marked with a big tree. A ceremonial site was located east of the Ballaq Lompoa. Houses have been built south of the Ballaq Lompoa— for bureaucrats and their people. The Ballaq Lompoa had Gaukang—magic items, which now are kept by Pinati—sacred leaders. The political center then functioned as a political and ceremonial center.

The arrangement of political-ceremonial elements depended on the availability of flat areas. Both hinterland and coastal political-ceremonial centers have similar elements such as Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang, Gaukang, and graveyards. Arrangement of those elements significantly differed between Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke and Bantaeng city political-ceremonial centers. Graveyards in Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke were located in the north of Ballaq Lompoa but in the coastal area the 19th century noble graveyard (named La Tenri Ruwa) was located in the west of four Ballaq Lompoa namely Kalimbaung, Bissampole, Tompong and Letta, whereas the 17th century graveyard was located west of it, as human skeletons and burial goods (iron anklet, bronze bangle, and knives) were found in cultivation areas (which now have become Bantaeng Mosque) (Nayati,
2000c). Moreover, political-ceremonial centers in the hinterland had man-made stone arrangement as fences but these are not seen in coastal areas. This implies that Bantaeng political organization has adapted to the new geographical landscape of the coastal plain, which is provides more open space than before but is still associated to the rivers. This implies that Bantaeng political organization in the coastal area could absorb more people.

Clearly there was manipulation of membership of the *Ballaq Tujua*—"seven big houses"—houses of seven Jannang (equal to district heads)—from time to time, to justify shifts in political power. People of Onto are now trying to upgrade the importance of their ancestor to the same level as other local kingdoms. Bougas (1996) listed the seven houses as Bone, Gowa, Luwu, Kajang/Bulukumba, Java (Surakarta), Sawerigading, and Bantaeng, whereas the Pinati of Onto asserted that the Netherlands was one of the *Ballaq Tujua*. It is unclear which kingdom was replaced by The Netherlands, but it can be inferred that Onto deliberately tried to legitimize themselves with links to the Netherlands and Surakarta. Clearly the historical data is mixed, especially in relation to different epochs, with reference to the founding and later development of Bantaeng and Onto.

During interviews in March and October 2000, the same people gave different information, such as: at first they mentioned their connection to Gantarangkeke, but later they referred to Sawerigading, then Gowa, Bone, and Luwu. Later on the Netherlands Indies, which was in control of Bantaeng from 1773 to 1941, was added as a member of the *Ballaq Tujua*. The most recent name to be added was Surakarta, which, it is assumed, refers not Pakubuwono but to Mangkunegaran as Mrs. Suhartini (Tien) Suharto, a former first lady of Indonesia, claimed to be related to the royal Mangkunegaran house, in Surakarta/Solo.
Coastal and hinterland kingdoms in the Bantaeng region, therefore, use Tomanurung and links to other kingdoms to justify their power. This situation is similar to that of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom during the reign of the Sultan Agung (1613-1645). The Babad Tanah Jawi, relates the Mataram King on one side to the Prophet Muhammad and on the other to Brawijaya, a mythical king of Majapahit. Mataram kingdom from the time of Sultan Agung onward espoused Islamic law, but Brawijaya is associated with pre-Islamic imagery. Nevertheless, both dimensions were used to legitimize Mataram as a Muslim kingdom while emphasizing a strong blood relationship with earlier famous kingdoms.

In South Sulawesi, especially in the Bantaeng region, the political situation was different. Islamic influence entered South Sulawesi around 1605, when Gowa kingdom converted to Islam, and Islam arrived in Bantaeng around 1615 when Bone’s Karaeng stepped down from the throne to be a Muslim and then moved to Bantaeng (Mappatan, 1995). Bantaeng itself developed initially in relation to the Tomanurung tradition rather than to Muhammad, but Islamic customs have also become integrated with it, for example for dating important ceremonies such as Karaeng LoE and Pa’jukukang.

Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke polities have never been part of Bantaeng political and ceremonial organization, although their territory has now become part of Bantaeng regency. This view is supported by the differences in ceremonial festivals and the Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang and Gaukang.

In Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, the Ballaq Lompoa is under Pinati whereas there is no real Ballaq Lompoa in Onto except a kind of legitimating of seven

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houses, called *Ballaq Tujua*. Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke is more realistic in legitimizing themselves through Luwu with the Pa’jukukang ceremony, based on I La Galigo epic, which is very widespread in Sulawesi. During the Pa’jukukang, Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke used to invite Kajang, Bone, Gowa and Luwu to participate. In coming to Gantarangkeke, it was the tradition that Kajang and Bone arrived by the east gate, Gowa by the west gate, and Luwu by the north gate. It seems that the route for Luwu was by the same gate as Lembang Gantarangkeke used to arrive in Gantarangkeke.

The differences in cultural processes between the western and eastern parts of Bantaeng relate to differences in political development. The western part has been more dynamic even though geographically the land here is less fertile land than in the east. While the legitimating of Onto and Bantaeng states was strongly related to Sinowa-Borong Toa, *Tomanurung*, and *Ballaq Tujua*, the Bantaeng polity fostered contact with outsiders. The political center was built in the coastal area, but later a distinction was made between economic and political activities, with political power being an internal affair whereas economic activity was external, Bantaeng serving as a meeting point for people from many places.

According to legend, the *Karaeng* from Bantaeng state paid regular visits to Borong Toa, and *Ballaq Lompoa* at Sinowa. This road was probably built in the late 1800s to give access both to a resort for the Netherlands Indies officials due to the cold temperature of Lanying and the growing economic activities related to the introduction of carrots, potatoes and other non-local vegetables at Lanying and surrounding areas. So the new transportation network led to change in the location of the political and ceremonial center.

Sinowa was originally important in Bantaeng kingdom because it acted as a center of political legitimating, but later became more significant as a center of economic activity.
seems that the *Karaeng* and bureaucrats of Bantaeng were not able to control, protect and support their people here, which led the local people to seek the support and protection of other groups.

The distance between Lanying and Bantaeng city is considerable, which led to their loss of control over this periphery area. During the colonial era the *Karaeng* in Bantaeng would have had further problems of control because Bantaeng was an *Afdeling*, a place that had autonomy in running its land but administratively was under control by the Netherlands Indies from Makassar and Batavia. The nobles remained in their districts and held local power, but were puppets of the Netherlands Indies. Changes in land use occurred, because the Netherlands Indies encouraged the felling of royal candlenut forests to plant coffee. The Netherlands Indies also built facilities for military, educational, medical, administrative, and residential purposes, which still stand in Bantaeng city.

Control over the movement of commodities by land and sea was taken over by the Netherlands Indies. The followers of the *Karaeng* continued to work the rulers’ rice fields. The production and export of coffee followed a dendritic pattern, from hinterland straight to the coast, from whence it was exported to the Netherlands.

This change made the legitimization of links to Sinowa-Borong Toa less important to Bantaeng polity, which was in the early 17th century centered on Bantaeng city, and the *Ballaq Lompoa* of Sinowa became merely a residence of the ruler and his relatives. Moreover there is a significant anomaly in that the dwellings around the *Ballaq Lompoa*, where the ruler and his family live, have shown signs of a non-local architecture style, which is an indication of European influence on high-class society in Sinowa. Fragments of imported
ceramic obtained in Sinowa are identified as European and late Chinese porcelain plates and bowls dated between the 18th and 20th centuries.

Here political power was tied to one family tree, as Daeng Magassing was restored to the throne after the rule of I Nace (Karaeng the 19th). Mappatan (1995) does not mention who I Nace was or even show his family tree. It seems either Mappatan or the Lontaraq writers wished to emphasize their claim to Massaniga Muranawa as their origin. Secondly, the power could pass to other people without any blood links to Massaniga Muranawa, as in the succession from Karaeng I Nace to Andi Massualle. The leaders could be choose by the Sampulongrua Sikaniakkan or adat 12, which meant any person who was capable and supported by 12 jannang (equal to district heads) could become Karaeng.

Bantaeng kingdom’s nobility also tried to legitimize themselves through tribal links to Onto, where a Tomanurung had descended. A Tomanurung is very important for justifying political power. The deliberate emphasis on links to Tomanurung is important during the history of Bantaeng political organization because, from Karaeng the 19th onward (except Karaeng the 20th who was restored) the rulers did not have blood-links to Karaeng the first

Adaptation to different types of environment (hilly upland to flat coastal area) has change the arrangement of settlement pattern especially the graveyard and fence, but not the subsistence and houses. In both types of environment, there is no evidence of craft activity—except building houses. It is assumed that people in coastal areas had managed a strategy for settlement security. This could have taken the form of intermarriage with adjacent coastal kingdoms, as 19th century lontaraq mention the blood relation between Bantaeng and Jeneponto political centers.
The division between center and periphery in Bantaeng is very obvious based on material culture. An imaginary boundary divides the inner village and outer village as in Onto and Sinowa, whereas modification of imaginary and real boundaries is found in Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke, where a man-made stone wall/fence has been built on one side and on the other side of the village are natural boundaries. Again, in coastal areas, the political-ceremonial centers are still located between two rivers. As in coastal areas, the distance between rivers is wider than in the hinterland, it seems as if there were no boundaries in Bantaeng political center, but actually they had boundaries. These boundaries can be discerned from the European-style buildings in Bantaeng city, which are located west of the Balla Lompoa.

The difference between hinterland and coastal centre is the size of the centre or inside area, which in coastal areas could support many people compared to a hinterland centre. The division inside the coastal centre was based on land use—village surrounded by wet rice field. Because the settlements have been occupied for a long time, the division of centre and periphery has become unclear.

The separation between centre and periphery was more applicable to living space and death space. These were distinguished by natural anomalies such as rivers and cliffs, and man-made stone structures. In Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Benteng Batu Terang, the death space was located north of the settlement, whereas in Bantaeng the death space was located west of ‘center’. It can be hypothesized that in coastal Bantaeng city, the death spaces became boundaries between local and non-local people, especially between the Dutch and Chinese and with local people.
The boundary between them is the Calendu River the western side of which used to be the political and economical center during the Dutch period. In contrast, in Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Benteng Batu Terang burial is separated between living and death, as stone arrangements are located in the north dwelling areas, using man-made stone structures. The division between outside and inside, living and dead are obvious in this region.

However, there is a division between inside and outside the stone fence in an old settlement with Ballaq Lompoa and Saukang. In Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Gantarangkeke, inside the stone fence, there are Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang, and houses. Outside the stone fence is garden (dry cultivation areas), on the north side of which is found a stone arrangement (which people believe to be a burial site) with scattered imported ceramic dated from 12th to 18th centuries found in the surface. Earthenware shards are mostly found south of the Ballaq Lompoa together with fragments of metal and stones assumed to have been used as bases for house posts.

The space inside the settlement is for living human beings, whereas the north area is for the dead, and south is related to the back area or working place. These are in turn related to and associated with Mt. Lompobatang, which is located in the north of Bantaeng region. The pattern of old settlement was (from south to north): area for common people, the Ballaq Lompoa and elite area, sacred place, and burial area. Ballaq Lompoa rather than the Saukang were perceived as the sacred centers of the settlements. Saukang—a sacred place—was only a mark of important sites, whereas the Ballaq Lompoa was important because the choosing of a chief and the regalia took place there.
There is an assumption that death is same as going back north, to Tomanurung’s place. The place where the Tomanurung descends in Lembang Gantarangkeke and Gantarangkeke is located in the north part of the village. Saukang are located in between unseen places, in the north, but inside the village, while the dead are placed in the north but outside the village. Stone arrangements are located in Lembang Gantarangkeke, Borong Kapala, and Benteng Batu Terang. Those are oriented north south. The functions of these features are mysterious; one stone structure and several anomalies related to graves were
excavated and did not yield anything, whereas locals did not allow us to investigate other square stone structures because they were believed to have been graves.

If the north means unseen space, in contrast the south part of village is seen space. Nobles and their family lived in Ballaq Lompoa, whereas common people lived south of Ballaq Lompoa. Open spaces surrounding Ballaq Lompoa were used for ceremonial purposes. The area south of the compound is also considered an “unseen” area as cultivation is located where the crops’ enemies could be (such as babi hutan).

There is a subtle separation between village and cultivation sites in low-level settlements. The shape of the village follows the natural environment. However, when the market place is extended and when bridges and sealed roads have been built, a linear type of settlement arises due to limited flat area along the sealed roads.

Cultivated areas are also used as barriers between cultivation, forest, and dwelling areas. People use their settlements as permanent dwellings, surrounded by cultivated land, within a radius a maximum two hours’ walking wide. This length is the same as the distance to the market places.

The division between traders and nobles is associated with the periphery and center. It can be hypothesized that there were different type of traders, firstly a group which was in direct contact with local people and secondly a group which had contact with nobles. The first group could contact foodstuff producers, as there is no indication of luxurious items in the periphery areas of the political-ceremonial centers, while the second group presumably supported the nobles-to Bantaeng political unit and to Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke political unit—with imported ceramic and other luxurious items, including beads and metal jewelry. It can be hypothesized that there were people who distributed
luxury items to nobles. Those were mostly used for burial goods, as partly recorded in Lembang Gantarangkeke, and Bissampole (Bantaeng city). However, it is also possible that only one group existed, and that they entered into two different kinds of relations: ceremonial with the elite, economic with the common people. There are many examples of this, from the Chinese tributary trade system to the kula of the Trobriand Islands, Melanesia.

Moreover, prau or ships always have to dock far from the coastal area due to the sloping shoreline. It might have been possible for a prau to dock in the mouth of the river but this seems unlikely as to the river mouth is very narrow and there is no possibility for a prau to continue north. Right now, local prau can only come within 50m of the land. Relations between hinterland areas within Bantaeng and with neighboring regencies were possibly done using land traditional transportation networks: dirt roads, tracks and paths.

Small amounts of exotic items did still arrive in the Indonesian Archipelago in the 17th century, but then the people began to change their demands. Imported ceramic was not as important as before once the people had become Muslim. There was less demand for exotic burial goods to maintain social stratification and the jewelry was kept within the family rather than being buried together with the dead body.

These shifts limited the consumption of exotic and luxury objects for the dead while those traditional goods were then preserved for family wealth only. Moreover, after the 18th century, the local trading activity diminished as the VOC and the Netherlands made available more varied products, not only Malukan spices but also pepper, coffee, and sugar (Bulbeck, Reid, Lay, and Wu 1999).

Imported ceramics found in Bantaeng city were mostly associated with burial sites, but Islam, which entered Bantaeng at this time, does not require burial goods. Moreover,
the nobles were no longer in positions of power as political control moved into the hands of the VOC. Nobles found it difficult to obtain ceramics for burial goods due to Dutch monopolization of external relations, but the principal reason for the cessation of ceramic use may have been connected with the spread of Islam.

Traditionally only the highest group in Bantaeng, the nobles and highest bureaucrats, used imported ceramics as burial goods whereas local people did not, a factor which is reflected in the distribution of imported ceramic shards: no shards have been found in villages which do not have a Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa, except those which were protected—fortified villages, such as Borong Toa, Borong Kapala and Benteng Batu Terang. In sum, it was not a substantial problem for people in Bantaeng when the inter-island traders could no longer supply imported ceramic. Central place system then applied again by the nobles.

Areas with stone walls are usually associated with Ballaq Lompoa, Saukang, and relatively dense surface scatters of ceramics. Non-elite settlements were not walled and have left few if any archaeological traces.

Settlements were generally located in protected flat areas safeguarded with natural and constructed boundaries. The cultivation of land depended on rainfall rather than irriga-
tion. Equally, the limitations of local material resources, especially stone, meant that Bantaeng settlements could not use stonewalls to defend their settlements. So limitations of material sources, the requirement to select safe sites, the relatively low level of technology, and the need to maintain good relationship with other places, all have shaped the development of culture of Bantaeng.
Chapter 7

Reflections on Bantaeng Trading Patterns in the Past

Many questions may be posed regarding patterns of Bantaeng trading activity over the past 500 years. How were the local people—both coastal and hinterland—affected by the international trading network, and how did they cooperate with those activities? What local networks were formed? If they took part in the trading network, how far did they travel for trading purposes? What kind of socioeconomic structures and networks did they develop to support their involvement? How did the local people after the 17th century survive when outsiders became involved in the local system?

Locational analysis was applied to archaeological data in an endeavor to search for some illumination on these questions. This technique assumes that the following three variables are correlated—flow of goods, distribution of settlements, and centers of activities. Each may be responding to different external factors such as political, religious, social; and even to trade developments such as new transportation access, new commodities, and new trader players. They influence the variables above in varying intensities. It is also useful to take note that commodities exchanged should not be treated as having similar meanings and values in all places or time periods.

The flow of different quantities and qualities of goods from different places to the trading centers relate to many factors. One of them is the location of the trading centers. Strategic ones, such as the intersections of roads or rivers and the mouths of river, or the ecotones between hinterlands and low lands, have more trading advantages over other goods-producing areas.
Settlements ranked in terms of size do not automatically indicate political ranking as some settlements performed the role of ‘mediator’ for producing areas with low transportation development in long-distance trade (Miksic 1979). The hierarchy of exchange places develops in relation to the quantity and variety of commodities available, as traders minimize the risks in transporting their bulky goods from one place to another (Renfrew 1975; Macknight 1976; Evers 1988; Champion 1989; Junker 1990b; Sutherland 2000; Santley and Alexander 1992). Different levels of settlement size and facilities influence the marked identification of different hierarchies within a settlement.

The elite group owns the lands but the lower level people cultivate it. The lower level people sell some part of the harvest for cash, and another part is used for daily consumption; whereas the elite, after taking the necessary amount for daily needs, sell the rest for cash. The elite deal directly with the collector, as their commodity is abundant. They sell in bulk, either in the collector’s place or in their own houses. This may imply that the elite do not directly get involved in trading; but this is incorrect because the trading activity between elites and collectors is located—hence, cannot be observed—outside the trading centers. Moreover, retail business seems not to be viewed as appropriate occupations for the elite.

Exchanges between producers and non-producers take place in trading centers. The producers usually act as part-time traders, as they sell their products after the harvest period, or sell their products in small quantities in trading centers for cash. The cash then is directly used for buying stuff they need. The non-producer is a full-time trader who sells non-local products, or collects local products. The collector of local products is in the trading center and actively collects local products.
It is difficult to specify the nature of the connections among producers, traders, and consumers in pre-modern society. Many different scenarios are possible as an individual can act as producer, as consumer, and as trader at the same time. In many cases, the elite consume other people’s products. Goods were distributed and redistributed both in simple and complex societies, both through reciprocity and centralized movement, which are related to socio-cultural life. These have positive and negative gains for the actors – socially and in terms of real wealth.

Evidence of exchanges largely consists of artifacts, which are often located outside, rather than in, the trading site. There is garbage but no old artifacts were found as the commodities have been moved to the user’s place. However, broken earthenware is located nearby the earthenware stall. All unsold commodities are taken back by the sellers.

The distribution of material culture can help identify the possible locations of paths and tracks between distribution sites located in isolated areas. These networks are easily changed when people find better and shorter routes, or when the paths and tracks disappear because of landslides. However, paths and tracks can be predicted through topography along the coast, along rivers, cliffs, at the border of forests, and between plains.

The characteristics of local trade in responding to the demands of regional and international trade are important, since the response may be different as the trading actors differ, the type of consumption has changed, and the mode of trading has evolved from reciprocal to cash and carry; from silent barter to direct cash exchange. Contact in trading activity could take different forms from time to time depending on many factors such as new items, or new patterns of political-religious-social domination. Moreover, the new form of trading system can be a local adaptation in response to hazards and risks.
A wide variety of exchange systems have been recorded ethnographically: interior people bring their harvest to the mouth of a river to exchange it for non-local goods brought by foreigners; coastal people visit interior people in order to obtain local products. The exchange activity may sometimes be direct or indirect, it may take place in permanent trading places or in temporary ones; it may be organized or spontaneous. In short, many trading patterns can be found which replace former patterns because of political, religious, or economic changes and domination.

The core-periphery model is a significant potential analytical framework in addition to the central place-dendritic trading pattern dichotomy since important resources came from the periphery, both directly and indirectly to the center (Champion 1989; Peregrine 1996; Kowalewski 1996; Finstein 1996). The core controls periphery areas using individuals (Big Man) or groups of people. This model is related to the hypothesis of Campbell Macknight (1983) on South Sulawesi’s transition from trading, as the basic source of economic power, to agriculture. Local resources (agriculture and forest) were exchanged for precious items, so it can be assumed that the variables as mentioned above are correlated.

Central place trading systems in the hinterland probably dominated local trade. However, it was probably a combination of gateway or dendritic and central place systems, which converged to form the networks of exchange, which culminated in long distance trade. The main commodities traded cannot always be determined archaeologically because the export commodities were removed from the trading places by the buyers.
1. The Dynamics of Bantaeng: Uncovered History

Bantaeng is among the areas with the most potential to seek archaeological evidence to throw light on the development of ancient long-distance maritime trading activities. As a supporting area for a major trading network, Bantaeng between the 14th and 19th centuries developed from a traditional society with local political system to a centrally controlled political system under the Netherlands Indies, under afdeling (district). The external political turmoil between Gowa-Bone and the VOC in the second half of the 17th century led to the occupation of Bantaeng by the Netherlands Indies.

Bantaeng is now a Kabupaten (regency), with a capital city Kota Bantaeng, located in the lowland along the main road connecting Makassar to Bulukumba and Sinjai/Bone. Bantaeng consists of 39, 583 hectares, with six Districts (kecamatan), in 27 Sub-Districts (Kelurahan), containing 75 Villages (Dusun), 187 groups of kampongs (Rukun Kampung) and 1,074 groups of household (Rukun Tetangga) (Map: 4). Population in 1998 was 167,828. This regency is typical of Indonesian regencies, in that it consists of one urban area with several districts, sub-districts, and villages. Bantaeng city is the main center of administration, transportation, trading, education, and entertainment.

The development of political organization activities in Bantaeng region varied from nomadic to agglomerate groups under their own chiefs and to organized political power under Karaeng based on the Tomanurung idea. Social organization had originated by the time the local population include rock shelters in their places of habitation, then shifted to flat areas near the coast. An exogenous factor changed the political situation in Bantaeng region in 1667. Politically, Bantaeng was under the VOC and then the Netherlands Indies, but former elite groups remained influential.
Bantaeng region in circa 15th century was peripheral to centers of trading activity in Ternate-Tidore (Maluku) and Malacca. This site remained on the periphery in the 17th century as the center of trading activity was in Makassar. Now, Bantaeng is still peripheral not only in trading but also in administrative activities. Local products are sent to Bantaeng city then to Makassar by land. However, despite its peripheral status, Bantaeng has been in contact—directly and indirectly—with outside people since the pre-ceramic period.

By the 16th century political centers had evolved special characteristics. Ballaq Lompoa was located in the center of the sites. North of the Ballaq Lompoa was located a Saukang—descent (and ascent) place for Tomanurung, usually marked with a big tree. A ceremonial site was located east of the Ballaq Lompoa. Houses were built south of the Balla Lompoa for bureaucrats and their people. The Balla Lompoa had Gaukang—sacred items, which now are kept by Pinati—the sacred leaders. The political center then functions as a ceremonial center and a core area with periphery areas located nearby. However, central place patterns developed in Bantaeng for two activities: (a) ceremonial and (b) economic as trading centers are located different from ceremonial centers.

The Bantaeng coastal area was severely affected by war when the VOC used Bantaeng as a station for troops in the mid-17th century. Before the VOC used Bantaeng as a base camp, this site and adjacent areas had played a significant role in the busy international network of trading in spices in the Maluku islands and also in local trading activity. In Sopeng, imported ceramic dated 1400 to 1600 increased parallel to agricultural cultivation. However, the lack of Asian porcelain dated 18th century onward implies the domination of the VOC over long distance trade and the control of the Bantaeng coast by the VOC and the Netherlands Indies. Sutherland and Bree (1987) indicate the Chinese and Malay ships coming
to Makassar and ships coming from Maluku in the 18th century decreased in number and tonnage.

Since 1667, Bantaeng has been a periphery area of Makassar, as Afdeling and Kabupaten. Bantaeng has produced export commodities (cocoa, coffee, clove, corn, cassava, kapok, and vegetable) for Makassar collectors through Bantaeng city collectors. Transportation from Bantaeng to Makassar uses asphalt roads built during the Netherlands Indies period. In return, Bantaeng obtains non-local products (electronic, vehicle, cloth, building material, etc) from Makassar. Hinterland become centers over a long period however there are changes in politics, population, religion, and economics.

The Bantaeng historical information is supported and added with distribution of artifacts. Archaeological findings in Batu Ejaya, Borong Toa, Borong Kapala, Sinowa, Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Bantaeng city have proven their contact over time: microliths, imported ceramics, earthenwares, beads, dato-dato, metal tools, graves from different periods (pre ceramic period; 16th century, 17th to 20th century: Muslim, Christian; Chinese), mosque, royal palaces, Chinese and Colonial buildings.

The production of microlithic from chert at several sites in Bantaeng hints at early contact with outsiders, as chert outcrops have not yet been documented in Bantaeng. The dating of these chert microliths is broadly middle Holocene (Bulbeck 2000). Evidence of exchange activity in the pre-modern period includes imported ceramic dated 12th to 18th centuries, beads dated circa 11th century, undated bronze artifacts (bells, mirror handle, plates), iron tools (badik, knife), and decorated and undecorated earthenware found in Bantaeng: at Batu Ejaya-Pangangreang Tudea, Borong Toa, Borong Kapala, Sinowa, Onto, Lembang Gantarangkeke, Gantarangkeke, and Bantaeng city. The long distance traders:
China, Malays, Nusa Tenggara, Kalimantan, Philippines, and other Asian and European countries brought in non-local items especially imported ceramic to Bantaeng region. The existence of Colonial buildings and Chinese buildings in Bantaeng are related to their arrival in Bantaeng in the third quarter of the 17th century for the Netherlands and during 1800s for the Chinese. Those artifacts related to special settlements, both hinterland and coastal. In the hinterland the artifacts were found in protected hilly areas below 500m ASL and on certain rivers. Non-local artifacts are mainly found associated with stone arrangements, Saukang, and Ballaq Lompoa. In coastal areas, non-local artifacts are found associated with Saukang, Ballaq Lompoa, Chinese shophouse, and colonial buildings. Moreover, those sites located in the balong and salo areas – second and third level tributaries, so those sites are easy to reach by local people but not outsiders. Mediators must have played important roles in contact in the Bantaeng region in circa 16th century. It implies that the continuity of the importance of hinterland centers over a long period, and the continued importance of traditional sites of ceremonies despite all the changes in politics, population, religion, and economics.

However, the history of Bantaeng is still incomplete. The DI-TII war in the 1950s and early 1960s has made the cultural items–especially Gaukang–destroyed. People have replaced new Gaukang to new items which are not similar than before. Moreover, illegal archaeological looting has been done intensively since 1960s to 1980s. Uncountable artifacts have been retrieved unrecorded from Bantaeng region and adjacent areas: Takalar, Jeneponto, Bulukumba and Selayar areas. In addition, people rewrote and copied Lontaraq for their purpose, which made the history of Bantaeng and other sites in south Sulawesi still not clearly.
2. Political and Social Life of Bantaeng: The Importance of Hinterland Areas

It is probable that the two political organizations located in Bantaeng were part of the periphery of Gowa and Bone in the 16th century. Bantaeng’s political units obtained protection from the Gowa kingdom. However, Bantaeng survived independently, after Gowa was brought under the VOC by treaty in 1667. Bantaeng political organizations tried to legitimize themselves through Muslim burials as at the La Tenri Ruwa royal burial complex, where the ruler of Bantaeng copied grave styles from Gowa’s rulers. In contrast, there is no available data on Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke political organization. This hinterland political organization developed independently, but tried to legitimize their relation to Bone by conducting the Pa’jukukang ceremony to commemorate the reunion between Lembang Gantarangkeke’s ruler and I La Galigo.

Onto was typical of Makasar culture area with Tomanurung ideas while Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke was part of the Bugis culture area with its emphasis on the I La Galigo epic. Inhabitants of the two culture areas had little contact because of geographical conditions. Their language used is different, as Onto/Bantaeng political organization used Makassarese similar to Jeneponto regency and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke used Bugis language like Bulukumba regency. This language boundary has made communication difficult. People use Makassar Creole language for communication in the whole Bantaeng region. This creole language is only for administrative use but is not part of whole Bantaeng culture. The division of social and political systems between Onto/Bantaeng and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke is still sharp.
The division of two culture areas is also related to land ownership and housing. The Onto/Bantaeng political organization group lived in their land, similar to the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke group. The new land owners in the 1980s were free to buy lands without cultural consideration. This implies that the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke’s group and migrants lived in the east while the western part of Bantaeng region was occupied by Onto/Bantaeng groups and migrants. This leads to cultural division between Makassar and Bugis groups in Bantaeng region.

In Bantaeng, the core areas acted as sacred and political centers for different periods. The *Tomanurung* was the focal point of the core, followed by the *Ballaq Lompoa*. In Onto political organization, the place of descent of the *Tomanurung* has been maintained as a sacred point, similar to Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke political organization. However, although Bantaeng city became a core after Onto, the ceremonies for *Tomanurung* is still located in Onto. People in the periphery supply land resources to the core area, in return for which they obtained part of the resources and feast activity organized by elite groups.

The cores in Bantaeng region were located in Onto/Bantaeng city and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke. Leadership in those two political units consisted of Karaeng and *Pinati*. Onto/Bantaeng city controlled coastal areas, from Tino Toa in the west part of Bantaeng city to east of Lamalaka in the east part of Bantaeng city, to the north in the hinterland areas. While Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke controlled the coastal area from west of Nipa-nipa to the east as far as Kallamasang and to the north.

Those periphery areas supported the core area with resources and services; in return the elite sponsored ceremonies which resulted in the return of some tribute items to the
people. The elite accumulated resources while the lower level people kept part of it. Now, the lower-status people obtain 45% of the harvest. Before, the old people near Onto mentioned that they obtained less than now, which was barely ‘enough’ for living. This implies that in the past people worked for the elite who then exchanged some of their local tax and tribute for precious objects. Resources were found in the periphery but the harvest accumulated in the core area – similar to the accumulation of cultural objects found in archaeological research in Bantaeng.

As land in Bantaeng during the entire 500 years was controlled by the rulers and the royal families, agricultural production was also under their control. The control of resources from the periphery to the core area is very important, as the elite need to consolidate control over resources and surpluses which they exchange to obtain prestige commodities (Hayden 1995; Schortman and Urban 1996). On the other hand, lower level people need to survive, even though the lower class often obtained ‘return tribute’ from their patrons as anugerah. The anugerah is a kind of blessing from the elite, so the return tribute is not intrinsically valued but symbolizes value.

Ceremonial activity is still held in core areas – a place with Saukang and Ballaq Lompoa. This place represents Tomanurung and the person who was selected to rule the world after Tomanurung. However in the 17th century, these activities were possibly not directly affected by distance. The ceremony implies return gift by the elite to their people, and show off the elite wealth to others. Ceremonies held in Onto are visited by people who live in Onto, Sinowa and Bantaeng city and Bissapu while ceremonies in Lembang Gantangkeke-Gantangkeke are visited by people who live in Pa’jukukang and Tompobulu areas. This implies that ceremony activity is correlated with different groups in Onto/Bantaeng
and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke. Moreover, it can be interpreted that ceremonial activity is held by Pinati (and Karaeng), but trading centers are organized by local people. Hinterland plays an important role in shaping the Bantaeng local culture over time.

3. Bantaeng: The Dynamics of Local Trading

In Bantaeng, data suggests that a dendritic pattern manifested in the flow of local commodities for export through hierarchical trading centers, while the central place pattern also manifested itself in the exchanges between self-sufficient producers of agricultural products, who made profits by selling their surplus commodities to trading centers. The dendritic pattern stresses the role of the marginal center in the accumulation of commodities in coastal areas, while the central place model stresses the hinterland. Central place patterns developed in Bantaeng for two activities: ceremonial and economic as trading centers are located different from ceremonial centers. These two patterns synergize over time, even though there have been changes in the political, religious, social, and physical conditions. A hybrid model—a combination of two models—has been developed to describe the trading behavior of Bantaeng residents. They sell their export commodity firstly in trading centers then directly to main collectors in Bantaeng city.

The emergence and development of a transportation network have changed the marketing system of export commodity in Bantaeng, but the central place marketing model still applies. However, the central place is not seen from the manner in which local people distribute their products, but in the behavior of local people buying non-local commodities.

The central place model in trading centers can only be seen up to one month after harvest. During this time, trading centers become big bazaars. In contrast, during cultivation
periods, trading markets only sell small quantities of products, as people do not have cash. They only use a small part of their ‘salary from their work’ to sustain themselves until the next harvest. They sustain from the available resources surrounding them. They exchange their products among them, to trading centers, or to collectors.

However, the flow of local commodities is not entirely dictated by a desire for profits. Reciprocal and gift exchanges can also happen - not only among people of different social status but also among parties of equal social status. During feasts, people in Onto and Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke, women prepare and cook the food for the week-long festivities which they celebrate as a group.

Contacts between resource-providing areas and outsiders who seek these exchanged goods have affected local cultures. In Bantaeng, hinterland individuals or groups have an important role in spreading or distributing material culture, according to the distribution of material culture found in archaeological research. The situation is more complex in that the hinterlands were not dominated by coastal areas when foreign traders arrived. Bantaeng harbor developed in circa 16th to early 17th centuries when the centers of political organization shifted from Onto in the hinterland to the coastal area—now Bantaeng city whereas the Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke political center was in the hinterland. The hinterland remained influential after the coastal area came under VOC and the Netherlands Indies’ domination from the 1670s to the 1940s. This implies that the hinterland dominated the development of Bantaeng region. This hypothesis contradicts most theories based on the dendritic model which assume that coastal areas dominated hinterlands, especially outside Java, after long-distance trade became common.
The archaeological items found in Bantaeng possibly originated from the local products exchanged among the people. The local commodities came from forest, cultivation, sea, and mineral deposits. These commodities are then exchanged to non-local items which have been found in core areas but not in lower-level settlements. Imported ceramic, beads, metal items, and *dato-dato* have been found in hinterland areas. It implies that hinterland is important as core areas not only for resources but also for political center.

The exchange for luxury items could possibly have taken place in the coastal, hinterland or ecotone areas. Elites controlled trading activity as they have accumulated the resources. Emissary and gateway models have been proposed to describe elite trading activity in the Bantaeng region in circa 16th century. However, reciprocal and gift exchange also took place together with market-base exchange. This contact stopped because no regular sea traders stopped in Bantaeng because this coast was closed to foreign trade under VOC and then the Netherlands Indies.

The existence of beads and microliths of similar type and date in different areas within south Sulawesi, especially in the south tip of the peninsula, provides evidence that the movements of goods and people were borderless. Based on beads distribution between Bantaeng and Bulukumba, it can be inferred that Borong Kapala’s archaeological evidences can be related to Bulukumba regency because of the existence of similar beads. The production of backed microliths along South Sulawesi’s southern coast and foothills, over a period of around 6000 years, indicates that this region supported a network of continuous social interaction throughout the Toalean phase (Bulbeck et al 2000).

Moreover, kapok trading system in Bissapu can be related to Jeneponto regency. The kapok of Bissapu does not get distributed to Bantaeng city - as capital city of Bantaeng
regent, but to Jeneponto or directly to Makassar. This evidence implies that culture area differs from the administrative area. It also hints at the continued importance of hinterland as a producer over a long period and that people are free to contact other parties. These archaeological interpretations cannot be used as general statements for Bantaeng as many cultural items have been moved out from Bantaeng. It is possible that Borong Kapala or Borong Toa people have contact to microlith producers, or to metal producers. The types of local commodities, the quality, and quantity of the commodities and how local people obtained them in the pre-modern period are still largely unknown.

Exchange among the lower-level groups took place in the coastal, hinterland or eco-tone areas. They developed trading centers independently from the elite control, as the trading centers of the latter were - and are still-located outside political and ceremonial centers.

Trading centers in Bantaeng developed outside the ceremonial centers. This implies that in the 17th century the economic system was separate from political and ceremonial activities. Two centers have developed in the hinterland and along the coast: trading center and political-ceremonial centers, indicate that centralized activities were managed in different times for over a long period.

The development of asphalt roads centered on Bantaeng city by the Netherlands Indies has made the division clear. Transportation routes in Bantaeng’s hinterland force people in Tompbulu to go to Bantaeng city first before going to Onto, Loka, or Panaikang. Moreover, Tompobulu people do not have relatives in Loka or Panaikang and vice versa, so the division of culture areas in Bantaeng region is still obvious. Hinterland is a resource-
rich place that is important for core areas. Development of asphalt roads ensures the maintenance of hinterland resources for people in core areas.

Trading centers in Bantaeng have been developing in conformity with a central place pattern. Eighteen trading centers of different sizes are located in hinterlands and only four in coastal areas. There are two satellite trading centers both in coastal and hinterland areas: Pasar Sentral (and Pasar Lama), and Pasar Lambocca in the coastal area, and Loka and Banyorang in the hinterland. During harvest time Pasar Parang, Pasar Barua/Jannayya, Pasar Layoa, Pasar Campagalowe transform and become a satellite, as people in surrounding areas shop in the trading centers. People have more access in distributing and buying commodities as settlements are distributed along the roads. This allows people to have more choices for distributing and buying commodities to the trading centers. More than that, people use the trading activity as a meeting point—meeting relatives and getting partners.

A combination of dendritic and central place distribution patterns for goods applied to 16th century Bantaeng. The dendritic marketing was done by elite groups as the Karaeng controlled the accumulation of local resources. The local products—ladang, candlenuts, and other forest products — were exchanged for precious imported items such as ceramic, beads, metal items. The collection of products by Karaeng from lower-level producers on the other hand conformed to a central place pattern. Coastal trading centers have played a role as mediator for sea traders — both in distributing their goods or obtaining hinterland products. It infers that the hinterland is very important during the 16th century.

However, when the Bantaeng coast under the VOC was monopolized by the VOC, local resources were only traded within the area. It is difficult to prove this archaeologically because local trade commodities were perishable; however archives from VOC and other
than Lontaraq ‘Bilannga ri Bantaeng’ will help in filling this lack of information. The redistribution of local products probably passed through trading centers in the hinterland, so a central place marketing pattern would have applied. This implies that the accumulation of products by Karaeng imply the use of trading centers which had developed earlier by lower social status people to exchange staples. The lower level class still had enough to trade as they had 45% of the harvest (Karaeng took his 45%, and labour paid 10% of the harvest). Land transportation could be used to connect Bantaeng to the west: Jeneponto-Takalar-Makassar, and to the east: Bulukumba-Sinjai-Bone. It is possible that Bantaeng products were sold inter-island using Bone and Makassar harbors. This issue requires further study.

The disappearance of trading centers in the hinterland related to the transportation and products available in the vicinity of the centers. Sinowa replaced by Loka, Bullowe Lama/Beru, Kampala-Campaga, Batu Pangkaya replaced by Bunglowe BaroE, Parang and Jannayya/Barua respectively, while Labbo replaced by Banyorang and old Dampang is replaced by kiosks located in former place. In addition transportation to those vanished markets related to the unavailability of public transportation from surrounding areas. People used to walk down to the trading center, and back using public transportation from the trading center. Public transportation from trading centers to the north areas is only available during opening days and from trading to market.

Those market areas that have vanished are located nearby, so the products are similar. The replacement of trading centers produce similar commodity: ladang harvest, but traders from Bantaeng prefer selling in lower elevated areas, such as Jannayya/Barua, Parang, and Banyorang. In these areas, there is no competition related to the type of commodities. However the transportation and the quantity of products were considered important by the
traders. Since the market is a meeting point between traders and consumers, if only one party arrives, the activity will not be done.

Loka is visited by traders from Jeneponto and Bantaeng. Increasing vegetable production in Loka areas possibly attracts people to come, both consumers and traders. The better transportation network from Loka to Makassar through Malakaji, or from Loka to Jeneponto than from Loka to Bantaeng has made Jeneponto traders sell their products to Loka rather than Bantaeng traders.

Spontaneous trading centers could have developed in relation to strategic locations—harbors (formal or informal harbors, as in Bantaeng city), intersection of land transport routes, or in between geographical areas. Transportation networks have played important roles in shaping trading patterns. Availability of transportation and information about commodities have made easier for people to fulfill their need in commercial situations—cheaper, good quality and high profit.

Contact between people in trading centers affects the development of culture. Transportation network and information from television play a part in developing the culture. Language has flourished as new items enter the market: Lux, Palmolive, Rinso, Dino, B-12, Chiki, bensin (petrol), Gudang Garam, Gudang Baru (brands of cigarettes), permen (candy), seprit (for Sprite, a brandname of a soft drink), Miwon, Sasa (brand of monosodium glutamate), buku (book), bolpen (pen), and pensil (pencil). New fashions of dress enters rural areas through trading centers, as seen from stalls selling clothing and Cakar (=cap karung; 2nd hand cloth imported from Singapore and USA). Such cultural change can be seen not only in Java, Bali, Sumatra, and Sulawesi, but also in Bintuni-Babo (Papua), Southeast Maluku (Aru, Kei Besar, Kei Kecil, and Tanimbar), Banda, and Ambon, where
transportation is very difficult. In Tanimbar, it was observed in 1998 that men going to church wore neckties and females wore high-heeled shoes. Jeans and tee-shirts have affected *Baju Bodo* and *Jas Tutup* — traditional south Sulawesi cloth. Traditional cloth is only for ceremonial and not for daily use. However, people in rural areas prefer to use sarong and tee-shirt in the house. People are not familiar with using and taking care of the traditional cloth. People are less conscious of their culture.

Bantaeng as periphery area of Makassar and Jakarta obtain direct influence from television, but the advertised objects come later. Local people imitate everything from television. As the advertised goods are mostly unaffordable for the periphery area, people buy the imitation goods. The consumers do not know the difference between imitation and genuine. The periphery has become a target for imitation goods.

Bantaeng is still less developed than Jeneponto and Bulukumba. Actually, Jeneponto’s geographical condition is worse than Bantaeng but Jeneponto exploits more coastal areas, Kapok, and people are eager to work outside Jeneponto. Bantaeng people are unenthusiastic to work outside. People prefer to obtain instant money from cocoa, clove, and kapok. They sell less than 10 kg every time they need cash.

In Bantaeng region, nowadays, Chinese traders are not active in trading centers; instead local people and Javanese play main roles. The Chinese act as collectors and wholesalers in small warung and big shops. Javanese introduce Javanese items such as *tempe, es cendol, jamu*, and the *imbuh* trading system — giving extra good to the buyer. The *imbuh* system is typical Javanese but not Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua and Kalimantan system, as those people are still trading in passive system — put the commodity on the surface soil or cloth, gives certain prices and no bargain exists between buyer and trader. The *imbuh*
system affects local buyers because they obtain advantages but it makes local sellers jealous as their regular buyers have moved to Javanese sellers. This situation is one trigger of racial conflict in Maluku and Papua.

Bantaeng traditional society has changed in similar ways to Makassar, Jeneponto, Bulukumba, and other places in Indonesia. Television plays an important role in transferring the Java — Jakarta —style to all places in Indonesia. A local television channel operates three or four hours a day, and it is not a favorite channel of the people.

However, the organization of political activity in circa 16th century was not different from the Indonesian government’s political system. One leader was chosen by a committee consisting of leaders of groups or villages. In circa 16th century, Bantaeng developed the sampulungruwa (12 adat leaders) system, which consisted of 12 village leaders who chose one ruler. This political group was supported by the Pinati ceremonial leader. Lembang Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke possibly used a similar Sampulungruwa system with the support by 11 Pinati who came from different villages under Gantarangkeke-Gantarangkeke culture area. The Sampulungruwa system is similar to a DPRD II which chooses the Bupati as the leader of the Regency. However, the Bupati is responsible to the Governor located in the provincial capital, who is responsible to the President in Jakarta. The hierarchical administrative system during the period of Indonesian government is similar to the administrative system during the Netherlands Indies. The exogenous domination has not much changed local people’s political conceptions.
4. Implications of Studying Local Trading Networks

This study focuses on dynamic interactions: interior, interior-coastal, inter-coastal, inter-island and combinations of such interactions. Trading activity has developed and is intertwined with other systems over a long period. Within a given trading system, local trading patterns exist. However, changes of patterns have occurred as responses to internal, inter-regional, and international contacts.

People adapt to their environments and to hazards that befall them – either natural or man-made. These adaptations that people undertake due for example to (1) natural causes: i.e. drought, floods; and (2) man-made causes: i.e. changes in political setup, population increase and innovations in transportation account for the profound changes of patterns in society. These profound changes are made in order to ensure the sustainability of the people.

The results of the study indicate that the application of the three fundamental trading patterns - Dendritic, Central Place and Core-Periphery - give rise to hybrid systems—a combination of two models. Analysing local trading patterns in Bantaeng, using combinations of the fundamental models create unique applications. These unique applications or “hybrid systems” in studying local trading patterns is usually combined with manifestations of localization.

Adaptations to environment and to natural and man-made changes that occur are also the sources of localization in the application of the hybrid system. Geographical features, fluctuations in resource availability, official government policy on crop outputs and products as well as alterations in transportation modes are the factors that localize the application of the models in the study of local trading patterns.
For scholars wishing to comprehend systems of long distance trading patterns, the use of what the study calls the hybrid system and localization plays an essential role. Taking into consideration the uniqueness of culture, the variety of geographic characteristics and the special features of specific localities are crucial in accomplishing a working knowledge of the minutiae of details that occur in a system of trading patterns. An appreciation of the existence of hybrid systems and localization within the spectrum of a long distance trading system provides a more complete picture of the dynamics of trading patterns.
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