

Report on the Vassal List of Soppéng

by

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Preface to the 2014 OXIS reproduction of the report

Since this report was written in 1997, considerable research has been carried out on early South Sulawesi history, some of which has utilized ‘vassal lists’ as historical sources. Consequently, we know much more about the lists today than we did in 1997. The term ‘vassal list’ has long been discarded as it does not accurately reflect the relationships set out in the lists. Since about 1998, the conventional term used for these lists is ‘tributary and domain lists’, which better conveys the political relationships the lists communicate.

In order to facilitate understanding of this 1997 report on the Soppéng tributary and domain list, an extract from a recent article by Druce (2014) is presented below. Other studies that have used tributary and domain lists and can provide additional information are by Caldwell and Druce (1998), Bougas and Caldwell (2004) and Druce (2009).

Description of Tributary and Domain Lists

The South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged at about 1300 had highly decentralized political structures with multiple centres (Druce 2009:26-32). Historical and archaeological research shows clearly that tributary lands had their own rulers, laws and government and that the ruler of the kingdom’s central polity rarely interfered in the affairs of the tributary. Power in the South Sulawesi kingdoms was therefore not centralized but fragmented between the numerous tributaries that made up the kingdom. The ruler of the central polity, from which the kingdom’s name derived, was leader, or *primus inter pares*, of the numerous other rulers of the tributary lands. This decentralized political structure is to some extent reflected in the Tributary and Domain Lists (TDL).

All TDLs known to me are remarkably similar in language, structure and design and divided into three basic sections: kingdoms, tributaries and domains. The list indicates the first of these divisions by stating the name of the kingdom to which the list belongs. This is followed by the term *paliliqna*, which indicates the second of the list’s divisions. The word *paliliqna* is derived from the root *liliq*, which means ‘around’. When the prefix *pa-* is added to *liliq* a noun is formed that means ‘something around [a centre]’. The suffix *na-* is possessive and changes

the meaning to ‘something around the kingdom’, or more precisely, ‘the kingdom's tributaries’. The term *paliliqna* is followed by a list of settlements that are of tributary status to the kingdom, the number of which can vary considerably depending on the kingdom in question. The third of the list’s divisions is indicated by the expression *naponoqé rakkalana*. The literal meaning of *naponoqé rakkalana* is ‘the plough [of the kingdom] goes down to them’. The expression is used to make known that the following list of lands are directly ruled and form the domain (cluster of villages) of the kingdom of the list. The *naponoqé rakkalana* lands were directly supervised by members of the kingdom’s ruling family, or headmen that reported directly to the paramount noble of the kingdom.

A small number of TDLs have additional divisions that further divide the tributaries and domains lands named into hierarchical groupings. Two such examples are the Boné and Sidénréng lists that use several formulaic expressions to divide their tributaries and domains. Some of the tributaries that appear on a particular TDL also have TDLs of their own, which set out their own tributaries and domain lands. Other tributaries, or small settlements that were part of any kingdom, may possess what can be termed as a ‘Domain List’ (DL), which omits the term *paliliqna*. In these lists, the term *naponoqé rakkalana* appears directly after the name of the focal settlement and is followed by a list of domain lands (Druce 2014:146-7).

References

- Caldwell, Ian & Stephen Druce, 1998, The tributary and domain lists of Luwu, Binamu and Bangkala. Report to the South-East Asia Committee of the British Academy.
- Caldwell, Ian and Wayne A. Bougas, 2004, ‘The early history of Binamu and Bangkala, South Sulawesi’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160:456-510.
- Druce, Stephen C, 2009, *The lands west of the lakes; A history of the Ajattappareng kingdoms of South Sulawesi 1200 to 1600 CE*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 261.]
- Druce, Stephen C, 2014, ‘Dating the tributary and domain lists of the South Sulawesi kingdoms’, in: Ampuan Haji Brahim bin Ampuan Haji Tengah (ed.), *Cetusan minda sarjana: Sastera dan budaya*, pp. 145-156. Brunei: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

With the exception of the above description of tributary and domain lists and the preceding foreword, the subsequent text follows the original 1997 report.

Stephen C. Druce

Introduction

The vassal list of Soppéng names twenty-seven vassals and thirty-four domain lands. The objective of this research, which was carried out during several visits to *kabuapaten* Soppeng and neighbouring *kabuapaten* in June and July 1997, was to locate and visit as many vassals and domain lands as possible named by the Soppéng Vassal List (VL), record their geographical location with a hand-held global positioning system (GPS) receiver and, where possible, collect oral information and tradition from these lands. Ria Akudran (also known as Kudu) of Tajuncu in Soppéng accompanied me for much of the period of research. His help was invaluable and I express my thanks to him, his family and all the people of Soppéng who contributed to this report.

The version of the Soppéng VL used to carry out this research was text NGB 101, pages 133-134. NGB 101 was found to be the most accurate of eight Soppéng VLs which were examined prior to and during research. NGB 101 refers to manuscript 101 in the Bugis and Makassar manuscript collection of the Netherlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society), held in the library of the University of Leiden. A transliteration and translation of this text follows.

Nineteen of Soppéng's vassals were found to have VLs of their own. A number of these are not conventional VLs as some contain no vassals but only domain lands, while others list what are called *anaq banua*, which literally means 'child settlement/village'. Those lists that set out domain lands only can be termed Domain Lists (DL). The texts used in the identification of these nineteen lists were NGB 112 pages 57-59, and NGB 123 pages 62-64. During fieldwork, these two texts were found to be the most complete sources available. Whenever possible, the lands named by these secondary lists were also located and their geographical position recorded with a GPS. In many cases, given the time constraints, their approximate location was obtained from local residents.

Three of the twenty-seven vassals named by the Soppéng VL were not located despite extensive enquiries in *kabupaten* Soppéng and also neighbouring *kabupaten*. Thirty-two of Soppéng's thirty-four domain lands were located. In each vassal or domain land visited the GPS reading was taken from the point that local informants indicated as being the oldest part of the settlement.

The majority of Soppéng's vassals were found to lie within the administrative boundaries of modern *kabupaten* Soppeng. A small but significant number were found to lie outside *kabupaten* Soppeng and were located in *kabupaten* Bone, Wajoq, and Barru. In each vassal or domain land visited local residents were invited to answer questions and provide any general information and tradition concerning their settlement. Time constraints meant that there was only limited time in each place to seek informants. The general questions asked of local informants concerned the individual history of their settlement, the nature of the relationship between their settlement and the Kingdom of Soppéng, and the relationship the settlement in question may have had with the other settlements named by the Soppéng VL. Local informants were also invited to provide information concerning the Kingdom of Soppéng, neighbouring kingdoms and any other settlement named by the Soppéng VL.

Presentation

The presentation of this report is set out as follows. Each of Soppéng's vassals is introduced in the order in which they appear on the Soppéng VL. The reader is then informed whether texts NGB 112 and NGB123 contain a VL or DL for the vassal in question. If either or both texts contain a VL, then the number of vassals and domains named by these two texts is stated. Any discrepancy between the two texts is noted.

The location of the Soppéng vassal is then given. If the Soppéng vassal has a VL or DL of its own, each vassal or domain named by that list is given together with its location. These lands are presented in the order in which they appear on their respective lists. The presentation of oral information and tradition concerning the Soppéng vassal then follows. In some cases, information concerning the lands of the Soppéng vassal is also given.

The thirty-four domains of Soppéng, as with the vassals, are presented in the order they appear on the VL. Each domain and its GPS position, or approximate position, is given with any oral information collected.

The Soppéng Vassal List

Transliteration

Sompéng⁵ paliliqna \ Lamuru \ Marioriwawo \ Goagoa \ Pattojo \ Uju[m]pulu \ Lompéngeng \ Baringeng \ Tanatengnga \ Apanang \ Bélo \ Ga[n]ra \ Bakke \ Léworeng \ Marioriawa \ Citta \ paliliq baicuna \ Ja[m]pu \ Galung \ Gattareng \ Bua \ Bécoing \ Palakka \ A[m]pungeng⁶ \ Bulumatanré \ Kampiri \ Kading \ Balusu \ Kiru-kiru \ napanoqé \ rakkalana \ Soppéng \ Bila Saloqtungo \ Kuqba \ Pao \ Pani[n]cong \ Macopéq \ Maccilé \ Ma[ng]kutu \ Akka[m]péng \ Ujung \ Cénrana \ Pacciro \ Alo \ Tellang \ Pasaka \ Kajudara \ Areppa \ Ti[n]co \ Madelloqrilauq \ Tappareng \ Botto \ Seppang \ Pessé \ U[n]cing \ Laanga \ Wécoi \ Kulo \ Watalaia Ara \ Matobulo \ Ciroali \ Adungeng⁷ \ Maingeng \ Lisu \

Translation

The vassals of Soppéng are: Lamuru, Marioriwawo, Goagoa, Pattojo, Ujumpulu, Lompéngeng, Baringeng, Tanatengnga, Apanang, Bélo, Ganra, Bakke, Léworeng, Marioriawa, and Citta. Soppéng's small vassal are: Jampu, Galung, Gattareng, Bua, Bécoing, Palakka, Umpungeng, Bulumatanré, Kampiri, Kading, Balusu, Kiru-kiru. The lands directly ruled by Soppéng are: Bila, Saloqtungo, Kuqba, Pao, Panincong, Macopéq, Maccilé, Mangkutu, Akkampéng, Ujung, Cénrana, Pacciro, Alo, Tellang, Pasaka, Kajudara, Areppa, Tinco, Madelloqrilauq, Tappareng, Botto, Seppang, Pessé, Uncia, Launga, Wécoi, Kulo, Watalaia, Ara, Matabulo, Ciroali, U[n]dungeng, Maingeng and Lisu.

⁵ Sompéng: read Soppéng.

⁶ Ampungeng: read Umpungeng.

⁷ Adungeng: read Undungeng.

The Soppéng Vassals

1. Lamuru

Texts NGB 112 (p. 57) and NGB 123 (p. 62) both name the same thirteen vassals and seven domains of Lamuru. The domain Litta, however, is named twice in Lamuru's list of domains while the settlement of Pising is named as both a domain and a vassal. In both cases, this appears to be a textual error. Local informants were adamant that there was only one Pising and the name had been duplicated by mistake.

Locations

Former site of Lamuru's palace :S 04°35.572 E 119°58.337

Numerous Informants in Lamuru stated that the former palace was situated at this site. Some informants, such as Andi Pelemmai, also stated that the palace of Lamuru had been located at this site during the pre-Islamic period. This site itself lies close to Lamuru's domain lands in the *kecamatan* Laleng bata. The site is also located close to Lamuru's large graveyard (see photograph 1). A clinic now stands on this site. The Islamic graveyard at Lamuru is clearly a continuation from former times as pre-Islamic burials have been unearthed when digging new graves. A small museum displays some of the ceramics found at this site.

Vassals of Lamuru

- 1) **Tellangkéré:** Located very approximately 10 kilometres west of the following GPS reading: S 04°37.741 E 119°59.106
- 2) **Toneq:** Said to be Located close to the road which leads to Tellangkéré.
- 1) **Lajoanging:** Said to be located close to the border with the *kabupaten* Barru close to Toneq.
- 4) **Réa:** Said to be located close to Lajoanging.
- 5) **Laniti:** Said to be located close to Lajoanging.
- 6) **Pongkiri:** Not known.

- 7) **Ampiri:** Said to be located in the *kabupaten* Barru.
- 8) **Uwémaraq:** Not known.
- 9) **Sémpangngé:** Said to be located in the *kabupaten* Wajoq.
- 10) **Barang:** Not known.
- 11) **Lémpong:** Not known.
- 12) **Pising:** Not known or textual error.
- 13) **Bulo-bulo:** Said to be located close to Tellangkéré.

Note on the Location of Lamuru's Vassals

Andi Tokkong of Pising (*desa* Matampawalié) revealed that some of Lamuru's vassals may be situated in a narrow river valley approximately 10 to 15 kilometres west of Lamuru. This valley was believed to run parallel to the larger valley in which the domain of Lamuru is situated. The sketch map below is a copy of the sketch map made by Andi Tokkong of Lamuru.



Domain of Lamuru

- 1) **Timpa:** S 04°33.695 E 119°57.465
- 2) **Jampu:** S 04°34.773 E 119°58.295
- 3) **Litta:** S 04°36.550 E 119°58.795
- 4) **Pissing:** S 04°37.741 E 119°59.106
- 5) **Ujung:** S 04°39.072 E 119°59.589 (NGB 112 & NGB 123 have Ri Ujung)
- 6) **Pasikeq:** Not located
- 7) **Litta:** Probable textual error (see domain No. 3).

Oral Information and Tradition

According to informants, Lamuru was one of South Sulawesi's older kingdoms and pre-dates Boné. Pelras (1996: 51) states that Lamuru is mentioned in the La Galigo material and Drs Muhammad Salim confirms this. Although Drs Muhammad Salim did point out that the name Lamuru is simply mentioned in the La Galigo but no other information concerning Lamuru is given.

A good source of information on Lamuru is a booklet produced by Drs Abdul Muttalib in 1978. He writes that at the time of the first ruler of Lamuru, a *tomanurung* who was named *Petta Pitué Matanna* (Lord/Lady with the seven eyes), Lamuru was part of a confederation which consisted of three other kingdoms all ruled by their own *datu*. The other members of this confederation were Lompo, Baringeng (not the Baringeng of the Soppéng vassal list but the Baringeng which is situated in the modern *kabupaten* of Boné) and Kajuara. According to Muttalib, the leading *datu* of this confederation was the *datu* of Lamuru. It is worth noting that across the road from Lamuru's graveyard there is the grave of a *datu* Baringeng (again the Baringeng of Boné).

Muttalib also writes that until the middle of the sixteenth century Lamuru existed as an independent kingdom. During the expansion of Goa under I Daeng Bonto (the 10th ruler),

however, Lamuru was one of the kingdoms defeated by Goa and for a short time seems to have become a Goa vassal.¹ Muttalib then says that several areas which had been defeated by Goa, such as Lamuru, Pammana and Timurung, were later given to Wajoq. The transfer of these lands to Wajoq took place because Wajoq had been in alliance with Goa.

According to Muttalib, in the same century following Boné's defeat of Goa and its allies, Boné took as vassals some of the areas which had become subject to Goa and Wajoq, one of which was Lamuru. In the Tellumpoccoé agreement between Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng in 1582, Lamuru was made a vassal of Soppéng. This would have been Lamuru's fourth overlord in approximately thirty-five years. The story of why Lamuru was made a vassal of Soppéng is well known and apart from reading the story in Muttalib's booklet, several other people related it to me. It is said that when the Tellempoccoé agreement was made Boné was regarded as the elder member, Wajoq the middle, and Soppéng the youngest of the three. As Soppéng had less territory than the other two members of the alliance did, it was decided that Boné and Wajoq would transfer some of their lands to Soppéng. According to Muttalib, Wajoq transferred Tanatengnga to Soppéng and Boné transferred Goagoa as well as Lamuru. Tanatengnga is the eighth vassal named by the Soppéng VL and Goagoa is the third. Muttalib says that Lamuru remained a vassal of Soppéng until 1710.

Muttalib also provides a brief description of Lamuru's supposedly pre-Islamic administrative hierarchy. He states that below the *datu* of Lamuru there were two *paqbicara*. The *paqbicara* of Muttiara and the *paqbicara* of Litta (perhaps the third domain land of the Lamuru TD). Below the two *paqbicara* was the position of *pangepa*. Muttalib writes that there were four *pangepa*: the *pangepa* Kessi, *pangepa* Tinpa (perhaps Timpa, the first domain land of the Lamuru VL), *pangepa* Latarauwe and *pangepa* Massappaé. Muttalib claims that Lamuru had only two *matoa*. The *matoa* of Limpo and the *matoa* of Baringeng (two of the lands said to have been in a confederation with Lamuru). The lowest position in this hierarchy was called *widang*. Muttalib says that the *widang* were the heads of the population.

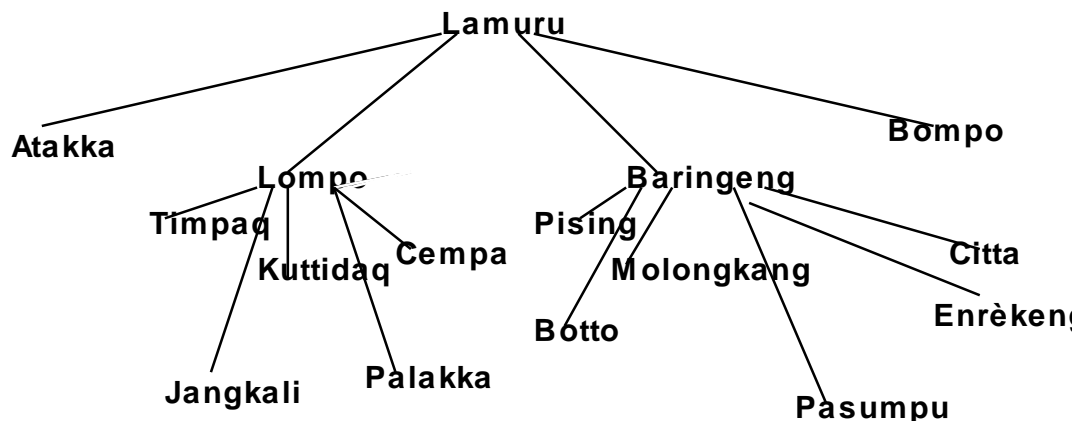
¹ The defeat of Lamuru by Goa is recorded in the chronicle of Goa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:23-4).

According to Andi Pelemmri of Lamuru, prior to the *tellumpoccoé* agreement of 1582, Lamuru was a much larger kingdom. He said that at the time of the *tellumpoccoé* agreement Soppéng took one-half of Lamuru and Boné took the other half.

Andi Pelemmri also provided an illustration of Lamuru's structure in relation to its *paliliq*. According to Andi Pelemmri, his illustration (which is set out below) is not complete but was all that he could remember. As none of the vassals named by the Lamuru VL appear in Andi Pelemmri's illustration, I suggested to him that some of them were also vassals of Lamuru. Although he knew a number of the names and agreed that they were vassals of Lamuru, he considered them different to the vassals named by his illustration but could not elaborate upon why they were different.

An interesting point about Andi Pelemmri's illustration is that he named Lompo and Baringeng and stated that they also controlled their own lands. Lompo and Baringeng were two of the lands, which according to Muttalib, were once in a confederation with Lamuru.

Andi Pelemmri's illustration



Note

Lompo, Baringeng, Bompo and Palakka can all be located within about 5 kilometres of Lamuru's centre on Bakosurtal map serial number 2010 - 24.

Although Lamuru shared a border with Marioriwawo, the second vassal named by the Soppéng VL, there appears to have been no connection between these two kingdoms, with the exception that both were vassals of Soppéng. It is said that if the *datu* of Lamuru had business of some kind with the *datu* of Marioriwawo then he or she could not go directly to Marioriwawo but had to go through Soppéng. This was also applicable to the *datu* of Marioriwawo if he or she had business of some kind in Lamuru. If either the *datu* of Lamuru or the *datu* of Marioriwawo did visit each other, out of mutual respect they would use the term *ménré ri* Lamuru / Marioriwawo - to go up to Lamuru / Marioriwawo. This was of course a mark of respect and not related to geographical location. The *datu* of Soppéng was also said to have used this term out of respect when he or she visited Lamuru.

Marioriwawo

Texts NGB 112 (p. 57) and NGB 123 (p. 62) name the same five vassals of Marioriwawo. Text NGB 112 (p. 57) names thirty-two domain lands of Marioriwawo while text NGB 123 (p. 62) names thirty-three domain lands. The additional domain land named by text NGB 123 appears to be a textual error as the domain land Wanga is named twice by the text. If the duplicated place name is removed, the domain lands named by texts NGB 123 and NGB 112 are identical and appear in a matching sequence.

Both NGB 112 and NGB123 divide the domain lands of Marioriwawo into two groups. The first group is introduced conventionally through the phrase *napanoqé rakkalana* (directly ruled by). The second group is introduced by the phrase *polé malolo*. What this division signifies or means is unclear. In Bugis, *polé* can mean 'return' or 'from' and *malolo* means 'young'. The phrase *polé malolo* perhaps indicates that this group of lands were part of Marioriwawo from the earliest times.

Locations

Former site of Marioriwawo's palace: S 04°26.951 E 119°57.126

The reading was taken from a position that informants indicated to be the site where Marioriwawo's palace once stood. A mosque now stands on this site. The informants were not certain whether the palace had originally been located at this position or whether it had moved to this position from an earlier site.

Vassals of Marioriwawo

1) **Mong:** Said to be located approximately 4 kilometres north of the following position on the east bank of the Walanaé River close to the *kabupaten* Boné: S 04°29.636 E 120°01.579

- 2) **Walimpong:** The following GPS reading was taken on the west bank of the Walanaé River. The settlement of Walimpong lies just across the Walanaé and is situated on the river's east bank: S 04°29.636 E 120°01.579
- 3) **Jangkali:** Located approximately five kilometres south of the following position close to the *kabupaten* Boné: S 04°29.636 E 120°01.579
- 4) **Lawara:** Located approximately five kilometres southeast of the following position:
S 04°29.636 E 120°01.579
- 5) **Lameddeq:** Located approximately three kilometres east of the following position:
S 04°29.636 E 120°01.579

Domain of Marioriwawo

Group 1 (*napanoqé rakkalana*)

- 1) **Pacudé:** Not Located.
- 2) **Soga:** S 04°29.251 E 119°59.861
- 3) **Palawa:** Said to be located in *desa* Baraé.
- 4) **Pabolong:** Said to be located in *desa* Baraé.
- 5) **Jekka:** Said to be located in *desa* Baraé.
- 6) **Jali:** Not located.
- 7) **Atakka:** Said to be located in *desa* Baraé.
- 8) **Tanété:** Said to be located in *desa* Baraé.
- 9) **Congkko:** S 04°27.752 E 119°55.463
- 10) **Sekkangmata:** Located approximately 1.5 kilometres east of the following position on a hill of the same name: S 04°26.95 E 119°57.126
- 11) **Macanra:** Not located.
- 12) **Wanga:** Not located.
- 13) **Témusu:** S 04°25.635 E 119°56.167

14) **Tangira:** Not located.

15) **Latasi:** Not located.

16) **Labessi:** S 04°26.462 E 119°57.023

Group 2 (*polé malolo*)

1) **Woddié** (NGB 112 & NGB 123 have **Ri Woddié**): Located approximately 4 kilometres south-west of the following position: S 04°27.752 E 119°55.463

18) **Baké** (NGB 112 & NGB 123 have **Ri Baké**): Not Located.

19) **Kaué** (NGB 112 & NGB 123 have **Ri Kaué**): Located approximately 5 kilometres east of the following position: S 04°29.636 E 119°54.083

20) **Anrangaé:** Not located.

21) **Sanoaléq:** Not located.

22) **Libureng:** S 04°29.925 E 119°58.288 (*tomanurung* site)

23) **Anapa:** Not located.

24) **Langkemmeq:** Located approximately 2.5 kilometres south-east of the following position: S 04°29.636 E 119°54.083

25) **Dadéréng:**

26) **Palékkoreng:** S 04°30.745 E 119°52.568

27) **Angataja:** Not located.

28) **Wanga:** Not located.

29) **Kessing:** Not located.

30) **Jérésua:** Not located.

31) **Kabutu:** S 04°30.583 E 119°50.860

32) **Lacingé:** Not located.

Oral Information and Tradition

Given Marioriwawo's size and its position on the Soppéng VL, one would have expected to find a significant amount of information and tradition concerning Marioriwawo. Unfortunately, despite meeting with numerous members of Marioriwawo's royal family, there was little information or tradition available.

For the origins of Marioriwawo's ruling family, people point to the *Attoriolonna* Soppéng. In this tradition, the *tomanurung* who descended at Sékkanili informs some of the *matoa* of Soppéng that a cousin of his had descended at Libureng (the twenty-second domain land of the Soppéng VL). The *tomanurung* of Sékkanili then said to the *matoa* that he would rule West Soppéng and the cousin would rule East Soppéng. This claim suggests that Marioriwawo was east Soppéng.

When I visited Libureng I took the opportunity to view the site where the *tomanurung* was said to have descended. The people there showed me that site and another site nearby, which they claimed was the younger sibling of the *tomanurung* of Libureng. They said that the second *tomanurung* had descended shortly after the first. Libureng was the only place in Soppéng where I heard that story. Unfortunately, the people in Libureng knew no more to the story.

Marioriwawo is famous for the high quality of its agricultural produce. It is said that this produce tastes better than in any other area in Soppéng, particularly the fruit. People say that the rice and bananas eaten by the *datu* of Soppéng were brought from Marioriwawo because they were the best.

The Bugis word *Mario* corresponds to the Indonesian word *gembira*, while the Bugis word *wawo* means above or upper. According to some people, the kingdom came to be called Marioriwawo because of the quality of the agricultural produce which made the people up in Marioriwawo *gembira*. People in Marioriwawo said that there was no connection between Marioriwawo and the fourteenth vassal of the Soppéng list, Marioriawa (*gembira* below). They said that the name Marioriawa had been given to that settlement because the people in Marioriawa were also *gembira* because they had the lake. Although Muhammad Kasim Paiwei

of Marioriawa did inform me that Marioriawa and Marioriwawo were once a single kingdom (see section on Marioriawa).

Finally, Takalala in Marioriwawo was where Arung Palakka was born. The place of his birth is within 2 kilometres of the GPS reading for Marioriwawo's palace.

The Marioriwawo Vassal of Walimpong

According to Muhammad Saleh, the *kepala desa* of Walimpong, the settlement of Walimpong was established in the sixteenth century. He says that the first ruler of Walimpong was called Mappatunrué and that he was a child of the *pajung* of Luwuq. Muhammad Saleh said that he had heard this tradition when he was young and did not know if the tradition was recorded in a *lontaraq* text. He also said that Walimpong and the other four vassals of Marioriwawo all had *arung*. As far as he knew, none of these five Marioriwawo vassals had vassals or domain lands of their own.

Walimpong and Mong (the first vassal of Marioriwawo), and perhaps the other three vassal, all appear to be located on or close to the Walanaé River and boat travel between them would be possible.

Muhammad Saleh also said that all people in Soppéng were descendants of people from Luwuq. The only exception to this he said, are the people descended from the *tomanurung* of Sékkanili and Libureng.

3. Goagoa

Text NGB 112 (p. 57) names two vassals of Goagoa and no domain lands, while text NGB 123 (p. 63) names only one vassal and no domain lands. The name of the vassal given by NGB 123 is the same as the second vassal named by NGB 112. Given the high position of Goagoa on the VL of Soppéng, it is possible that Goagoa's VL is incomplete.

Locations

Goagoa: S 04°21.800 E 120°04.761

Vassals

- 1) **Pangebattu:** Located approximately one kilometre north-west of Goagoa.
- 2) **Bémpalu:** Located approximately two kilometres southeast of Goagoa.

Tradition and oral information

Today virtually no history or tradition of Goagoa remains. In Soppéng, the settlement of Goagoa is almost unknown and those that had heard the name could tell me nothing of its past or even its location, making it difficult to locate.

When I did eventually locate Goagoa, the only tradition known by its present inhabitants was that Goagoa had never been attacked and never witnessed chaos or trouble of any kind.

I did find evidence that there was once an *arung* of Goagoa. This evidence was in the form of a letter of land ownership written in the Bugis language and dating back to the Dutch period. The letter mentioned an *arung* of Goagoa who was called La Babba.

Muttalib states that Boné transferred Goagoa to Soppéng at the time of the *tellumpoccoé* alliance.

4. Pattojo

Text NGB 112 (p. 57) does not name any vassals of Pattojo but does name four domain lands. Text NGB 123 (p. 63) is almost identical to NGB 112 with a minor variation in the spelling of Pattojo's fourth domain land. Text NGB 112 (p. 57) has the more accurate spelling.

Locations

Pattojo: S 04°23.921 E 119°55.430

This location certainly appears to have been the centre of Pattojo during the Dutch period. The GPS reading was taken outside a Dutch built house, which today continues to be the home of Pattojo's royal family. The early capital of Pattojo is said to have been at Anrangaé, the second domain land of the Pattojo vassal and domain list.

Domain of Pattojo

- 1) **Lawara:** S 04°23.371 E 119°55.430
- 2) **Anrangaé:** S 04°24.134 E 119°55.521
- 3) **Bake-bake:** S 04°23.729 E 119°56.000
- 4) **Lamogo:** S 04°23.627 E 119°54.393
- 5) **Pajalélé:** S 04°23.330 E 119°54.034

Pajalélé

Pajalélé does not appear on the Pattojo vassal list. I decided to include Pajalélé because people in Pattojo informed me that Pajalélé was one of Pattojo's old lands.

Tradition and Oral Information

As stated above, the early capital of Pattojo is said to have been located at Anrangaé. Anrangaé is situated on higher ground than the other three domain lands of the Pattojo list and looks down upon the extensive rice fields around Lawara and Bake-bake. I was told that the

extensive rice fields of Lawara was where the wealth of the *datu* of Pattojo lay. Bake-bake is located close to Lawara and also surrounded by rice fields.

The title of the ruler of Pattojo was *datu*. This is confirmed by other people in Soppéng who say that the royal family of Pattojo has a very high status. The royal family of Pattojo is still very much evident today. In the Dutch built house there is still some of the regalia of Pattojo in sealed boxes which can only be opened a specific times by a *bissu* (see photograph 4.1). Unfortunately, the leading member of Pattojo's royal family was in Jakarta during the time I was in Soppéng and I met only with his grandson whose knowledge of Pattojo's history was limited.

The name Pattojo is said to have originated from the word *tojo* which corresponds to the Indonesian word *keras*. When the prefix *pa* is attached the word *pattojo* means *sesuatu yang keras*. According to people in Pattojo, the name was given to the settlement because of the nature of the people who inhabited it, who were said to have been tough fighting people. Although the geographical location of Pattojo suggests that the main concern of Pattojo's people was rice farming.

According to people in Panincong (the 5th domain of the Soppéng VL), Pattojo once asked Soppéng for part of Panincong. This was because Panincong produced palm sugar and Pattojo wanted an area which produced palm sugar. The informants did not know when Pattojo may have made this request.

5. Ujumpulu

Texts NGB 123 (p. 64) and NGB 112 (p. 58) both name one vassal and three domain lands of Ujumpulu. There is no discrepancy between these two texts.

I could not locate Ujumpulu, despite extensive enquiries.

Vassals of Ujumpulu

1) **Salé:**

Domain of Ujumpulu

1) **Berru-berru:**

2) **Nipa-nipa:**

3) **Bulu dua:**

Oral Information and Tradition

I could find no one in Soppéng or any other area I visited who knew of Ujumpulu. The name Ujumpulu, which literally means 'end of the mountain[s]' suggests that the settlement is or was located in or close to a mountainous region. Some people suggested that Ujumpulu could be located in or close to the *kabupaten* Barru.

6. Lompéngeng

Texts NGB 112 (p.58) and NGB 123 (p. 63) both name the same four vassals and four domain lands of Lompéngeng.

Locations

Former site of Lompéngeng's palace: S 04°20.337 E 119°57.239

According to informants, Lompéngeng's palace was located in Cabbangé. The settlement of Cabbangé is a short distance from Manuq-manuq, Lompéngeng's fourth domain land.

Vassals of Lompéngeng

1) **Parotta:** Located approximately 5 kilometres south of the following position: S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

2) **Aluppang:** Located approximately 6 kilometres southeast of the following position: S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

3) **Marassa:** S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

4) **Masala:** Located approximately 1 kilometre south of the following position S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

Domain of Lompéngeng

1) **Cempa:** S 04°22.135 E 119°59.653

2) **Tanrung** (NGB 112 & NGB 123 have Téanrung): Located approximately 15 kilometres north-east of the following position: S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

3) **Macca:** Located approximately 5 kilometres southeast of the following: position: S 04°20.385 E 119°59.253

4) **Manuq-manuq:** S 04°21.085 E. 119°57.652

Tradition and Oral Information

Unfortunately, the only information I could find for Lompéngeng concerned the late Dutch period. During the Dutch period it seems that Baringeng, the seventh vassal of the Soppéng list, was ruled in some way from Lompéngeng. The informant considered it possible that Lompéngeng may have also held some authority over Baringeng at an earlier period in history.

The title of Lompéngeng's ruler was said to be *arung* Lompéngeng.

The name Lompéngeng is said to mean 'many followers'.

I was informed that the principle of Lompéngeng's people has always been 'to stand together through good times and bad'.

Considering the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng records that at least one *datu* of Soppéng married at Lompéngeng (Caldwell 1988: 126) information from Lompéngeng is disappointing.

7. Baringeng

Text NGB 123 (p. 62) names one vassal of Baringeng and eight domain lands. Text NGB 112 (p. 58) names the same vassal but nine domain lands. The name of the additional domain land named by text NGB 112 is the same as the vassal and appears to be a textual error.

Locations

Site of Baringeng's former palace: S 04°19.137 E 120°00.186

Baringeng's palace site was of particular interest as lots of iron slag could be seen all around the site. There were also large quantities of ceramic sherds, some of which were clearly Sukothai.

Vassals of Baringeng

- 1) **Palangiseng:** Palangiseng was located, visited and a GPS reading taken. The GPS, however, malfunctioned while in Palangiseng and gave an incorrect reading.

Domain of Baringeng

- 2) **Timpa:** Possibly the settlement of Timpung located approximately 3 kilometres northeast of Baringeng's former palace.
- 2) **Tanasa:** Not located.
- 3) **Alima:** Possibly the settlement of Malimung located approximately 6 kilometres north-northeast of Baringeng's former palace.
- 4) **Beccellecca:** Not known but possibly connected to a hill called Bulu-becce, located approximately 2 kilometres east of Baringeng's former palace.
- 5) **Lémo-lémo:** Located approximately 10 kilometres east of Baringeng's former palace close to the present day borders of the *kabupaten* Boné.
- 6) **Panasa:** Located approximately 500 metres from Bulu Becce.
- 7) **Masing:** S 04°17.687 E 120°02.473
- 8) **Bulu:** Not known but possibly connected to a hill called bulu which is located approximately 2.5 kilometres east of Baringeng's former palace.

Oral Information and Tradition

The following tradition was related by I Saroja, a *bissu* of Baringeng:

"The *pajung* of Luwuq once went to seek a wife whose blood was as high and noble as his own. The *pajung* had searched for such a wife in Goa, Boné and Soppéng but had not found one who was suitable. Then the *pajung* went to Baringeng and in Baringeng he found a wife whose blood was equal to his own. When the *pajung* of Luwuq was in Baringeng, the people there built a palace for him. After the palace was finished, people came from the north, probably from Luwuq.

Later, the palace disappeared but we cannot say that the palace has become lost, we can only say that the palace has yet to reappear.

The people who built the palace were the descendants of Sawarigading and Sawarigading was a descendent of Batara Cattaq. Sawarigading married Wé Cudai and this marriage produced Simprusia. It was Simprusia who came to Baringeng to seek a wife and the palace was built for him."

I Saroja also said that although Baringeng became part of Soppéng, in the past it had also been part of Boné. Although I Saroja also said the connection with Soppéng was much stronger.

According to I Saroja, Baringeng had the status of child to Soppéng. Despite this status, he says that many of Soppéng's noblemen and women came from Baringeng, and Baringeng was *tana dewata* and known as *tana gellang* (yellow land) because the people in Baringeng were descendants of Luwuq.

I Saroja and others also said that from the beginning the title of Baringeng's ruler was *datu*.

Another tradition I was told says that an *arung* of Baringeng married a *pajung* of Luwuq who was female and named *datu* Colaé (colaé is a form of leprosy). Unfortunately, the informant could not remember the remainder of the tradition.

There are a number of traditions that attempt to explain the origin of the name Baringeng. Pak Danda of Baringeng says that the name Baringeng is derived from the Bugis word *maringeng* (Indonesian - *ringan*- light in weight, appearance or importance). Pak Danda claims that this was a consequence of Baringeng being surrounded by the three large kingdoms of Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng. If for some reason Baringeng's relations with one of these kingdoms declined in some way then it was of little importance because Baringeng could easily side with one of the other two kingdoms. Pak Danda said that was before Baringeng had become part of Soppéng.

Another source also says that the name Baringeng is derived from the word *maringeng* but provides a different explanation. According to this version, there were once some people who lived in Wajoq who wanted to move to Baringeng. These people wished to bring their house with them to Baringeng and decided that the best way to do so was to pull the house along the river. The people had considered that this would prove to be a very difficult feat because the house would have to be pulled against the current. Fortunately, it turned out to be much easier than they had anticipated and was indeed *maringeng*.

A third version claims that if people who were in debt came to Baringeng they found that things were so good there that they were able to redress their debts easily, hence the name Baringeng (*maringeng*).

Baringeng's Vassal Palengiseng

According to Haji Andi Hadiseq (*kepala desa* of Baringeng's seventh domain land Masing), Palangiseng was given to the *datu* of Baringeng as a wedding present by a ruler of Boné. Andi Hadiseq did not know which ruler of Boné and just used the title *mangkauq*. The short tradition related by him follows:

"Following his marriage the *datu* of Baringeng went to pay his respects to *mangkauq* of Boné and the *datu* of Soppéng. When the *datu* of Baringeng was in Boné *mangkauq* decided to give him a wedding gift. Now the *datu* of Baringeng was already a rich man and possessed many buffalo and other livestock. The only gift that would increase his wealth was land. *Mangkauq* therefore gave Palangiseng to the *datu* of Baringeng as a wedding gift."

8. Tanatengnga

No settlement called Tanatengnga could be located. It was suggested to me, however, that the name Tanatengnga might have changed to Limpotengnga. The meaning of Limpotengnga is similar to Tanatengnga and translates as 'to come together in the centre'.

Texts NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 63) both name two vassals of Tanatengnga and no domain lands. A settlement which has the same name as the second vassal was located within close proximity to Limpotengnga. Another settlement which has a similar name to the first Tanatengnga vassal was also located within a plausible distance of Limpotengnga.

I later located a Tanatenga on an Indonesian map (serial number 2111). This settlement is located in the *kabupaten* Boné (*kecamatan* Lappa riaja). There remains a question mark over the identification of Tanatengnga, which could possibly be resolved by a visit to the Tanatenga of the *kabupaten* Boné.

Locations

Tanatenga: The following reading is approximate and taken from Indonesian map serial number 2111: S 04°30.261 E 120°04.000

Limpotengnga: S 04°19.764 E 119°59.32

Possible vassals of Tanatengnga in relation to Limpotengnga

1) **Naménéngpatu** (NGB 123) / **Malémpangpatu** (NGB 112): Possibly the settlement of Maniangpatu which is located at the following position: S 04°15.777 E 119°57.443

2) **Maccanré:** S 04°19.080 E 119°59.445

Oral Information and Tradition

I was told that there used to be a palace at Maccanré and that it was the only palace in that area. Muttalib (1978) states that a Tanatengnga was transferred to Soppéng from Wajoq at the time of the *tellumpoccoé* agreement.

9. Apanang

None of the sources which I have worked from contain a VL for Apanang.

Location

Apanang: S 04°21.562 E 119°56.350

Oral Information and Tradition

Although I did locate and visit Apanang, I could find no person in this settlement who could provide any information or tradition concerning Apanang.

Apanang is, however, included in a tradition related to me by the *kepala desa* of Pessé (the twenty-third domain land of the Soppéng VL). According to this tradition, if the *arung* Bila died unexpectedly or become incapacitated in some way then the *arung* of either Apanang, Manuq-manuq, Bélo or Mari-mari would be chosen to carry out his duties and thus avert a possible crisis in the governance of Soppéng.

10. Bélo

Although Bélo does not appear to possess a VL, it is named by both texts NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 63). In text NGB123 (p. 63) Bélo follows Tanatengnga's (the eighth vassal of the Soppéng VL) two vassals and is itself followed by Ganra (the eleventh vassal of the Soppéng VL). In text NGB 112 (p. 58) *tammāt* (written in Arabic) is placed after Tanatengnga's two vassals. Bélo then follows the *tammāt* and Ganra follows Bélo.

It is by no means clear why Bélo has been named by these two texts. The probable explanation is that Bélo did have one or more domain lands but their names were at some stage lost in the transmission of the text.

Location

Bélo: S 04°19.830 E 119°56.765

Tradition and Oral Information

I could find no one in Bélo who could provide any information concerning the settlement's history, except that there was once an *arung* Bélo.

Bélo is sometimes known as *musu* (war) Bélo because in approximately 1895, a war is said to have taken place there between Soppéng and Marioriwawo. According to Andi Hussein of Marioriwawo, Soppéng was aided in the war by Sidénreng and Marioriwawo by Boné. The *datu* of Soppéng at that time was said to have been Abdul Garni Basoq, the thirty-fourth ruler of Soppéng.

There is also the tradition set out on the previous page in the section concerning Apanang where the *arung* of Bélo was said to have been one of the four *arung* that would be chosen if the *arung* Bila died or became incapacitated.

11. Ganra

Although Ganra does not possess a conventional VL, texts NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 63) inform us that Ganra did have some kind of authority over the neighbouring village of Natellutellang. NGB 112 and NGB 123 indicate this through the phrase *Ganra séua anaq banuana*. Local informants confirmed that the village of Natellutellang was by tradition a village of Ganra.

Location

Ganra: S 04°19.195 E 119°56.201

Anaq banua of Ganra

Natellutellang: S 04°17.563 E 119°54.844

Tradition and Oral Information

I could find no information or tradition concerning Ganra.

12. Bakkeq

None of the sources which I have worked from contain a vassal and domain list for Bakkeq.

Location

Bakkeq: S 04°18.840 E 119°56.268

Oral Information and Tradition

The only tradition that I found for Bakkeq states that if a person who had committed some kind of misdeed in the kingdom of Soppéng, he or she could avoid trial by fleeing to Bakkeq where they could declare themselves safe.

13. Léworeng

Although Léworeng is named by texts NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 64) it does not appear to possess what could be described as a VL. Text NGB 112 is set out as follows:

Léworeng / Manonraéangnge / Padangeng / napoléi bila-bila anaq banuana / Kessing / naponogé rakkalana /

It is not clear from the text whether Léworeng had some authority over Manonraéangnge and Padangeng, or whether these three settlements had an equal and perhaps interdependent relationship. According to Andi Yusuf Landa (a resident of Léworeng) Léworeng did not have any lands of its own.

Kessing (the fourth settlement named by the text), according to informants had significant independence despite being an *anaq banuana*. This is also conveyed by the text above, which appears to tell us that a *bila-bila* would be sent to Kessing, indicating there was not direct rule.

Locations

Léworeng: S 04°14.770 E 119°54.360

Site of Léworeng's former palace: S 04°14.501 E 119°55.307

Manoraéangnge: Not located. Local informants suggested that Manoraéangnge could have changed its name to Abbanuangnge, which is located at the following position: S 04°15.002 E 119°52.682

Padangeng: S 04°15.071 E 119°52.384

Kessing: S 04°14.178 E 119°55.721:

Oral Information and Tradition

According to Andi Yusuf Landa (a resident of Léworeng), a number of Soppéng's rulers resided in Léworeng prior to their inauguration as *datu*. This informant also stated that Léworeng had no lands of its own.

Haji Andi Pamessangi of Léworeng confirmed that a number of Soppéng's *datu* lived in Léworeng before they became *datu* of Soppéng. He also said that a number of Soppéng's *datu* were born in Léworeng but could not recall which ones. It is worth noting here that the fourteenth century queen of Soppéng, Wé Tekéwanua, married at Léworeng.

Haji Andi Pamessangi also said that without the attendance of Léworeng (as a *paliliq*) decisions made in important matters by the *datu* of Soppéng would be invalid.

The title of Léworeng's ruler was said to have been *arung*.

Léworeng is located close to Sékkanili, the place where the *tomanurung* La Temmammala is said to have descended.

Padangeng

Very close to Padangeng there is a place where salt water seeps up from the ground (see photographs 13.1). The people in Padangeng said that had begun long before people came to live in Padangeng. They also say that the *datu* of Soppéng's salt was brought from Padangeng, and in the past many people in Soppéng came and took salt from there.

There are two interesting stones here that probably have some historical significance. One has been given the name La Nyarang (horse) and the other La Tedong (buffalo) (see photographs 13.2, 3 & 4). La Nyarang is said to lie down when a *datu* dies.

Numerous people also informed me that Padangeng use to have an *arung*.

14. Marioriawa

Texts NGB 123 (p. 64) and NGB 112 (p. 58) both name one vassal and nine domain lands of Marioriawa. There is no discrepancy between the two texts.

Locations

Former pre-Islamic site of Marioriawa's palace

The former palace of Marioriawa is often said to have been located at Batu-batu, the first domain land named by the Marioriawa VL. Some informants, however, stated that the pre-Islamic palace site was situated in the hills close to the grave of La Temmu, the last pre-Islamic ruler of Marioriawa. Muhammad Kasim Paiwei (resident of *desa* Tanété in the *kecamatan* Marioriawa) said that the palace had stood at a place called Pancci. I was not able to locate Pancci or meet anyone who knew where Pancci may have been located.

A number of Marioriawa's domain lands are also located in this hill area. Much of Lake Témpe is visible from La Temmu's grave. I was told that several months prior to my visit there had been a *tarian bissu* around La Temmu's grave.

Close to La Temmu's grave there are a number of small replica houses similar to the ones the *tolotang* people place on Bulu Lowa (see photograph 14). I was told that these houses were not put there by *tolotang* people but by Muslim residents of Marioriawa.

Gravesite of La Temmu: S 04°08.735 E 119°50.459

Vassal of Marioriawa

Panincong: S 04°12.141 E 119°53.339

Domain of Marioriawa

1) **Batu-batu:** S 04°08.633 E 119°53.168

2) **Tanété:** S 04°08.627 E 119°52.909

- 3) **Penré:** S 04°08.817 E 119°51.136
- 4) **Buné:** S 04°09.285 E 119°50.661
- 5) **Malumpe (ng) (q):** Not located.
- 6) **Panro / Paro:** Not located.
- 7) **Kajuara:** Located approximately 8 kilometres south-west of the following position:
S 04°08.735 E 119°50.459
- 8) **Tampaning:** Located approximately 14 kilometres southeast of the following position:
S 04°08.735 E 119°50.459
- 9) **Paddali:** S 04°10.931 E 119°53.338

Oral Information and Tradition

Muhammad Kasim Paiwei of *desa* Tanété (*kecamatan* Marioriawa) provided some interesting information concerning Marioriawa and Soppéng in general. He said that Marioriawa was not simply a *paliliq* of Soppéng but the *takke ataunna* of Soppéng (the right axis or stem of Soppéng). He also said that Marioriwawo was the *takke abiona* of Soppéng (the left axis or stem of Soppéng), Balusu the *pappittoqna* of Soppéng (the beak of Soppéng), and Mari-mari the *ikkoqna* of Soppéng (the tail of Soppéng).

Muhammad Kasim also likened Soppéng to a bird with the head/beak pointing west to Balusu, the tail east to Mari-mari, the left wing located in Marioriwawo to the south and the right wing in Marioriawa to the north.

It is interesting to note that the head/beak of the bird points towards Balusu on the west coast. It is possible that the bird is pointing towards Mecca. On the other hand, the orientation of the bird may have a greater historical significance in linking Soppéng to the west coast and trade.

According to Muhammad Kasim, this depiction of Soppéng was reflected when a *datu* of Soppéng died. He said that he had read in a *lontaraq* text that when a *datu* of Soppéng died there were four *paliliq* who had the responsibility of carrying the litter of the dead *datu* to his

grave. These four were Marioriwawo, Marioriawa, Balusu and Mari-mari. The position that each of these four would take up when carrying the litter reflected the depiction of Soppéng as a bird. Marioriwawo would carry the southern part of the litter, Marioriawa the northern part, Balusu the western part and Mari-mari the east part. Those who carried the litter did not necessarily have to be the rulers of these *paliliq* but did have to be of a high status.

Muhammad Kasim also provided from memory a list of Marioriawa's rulers:

- 1) La Leling Lampé
- 2) La Pageq Musuh
- 3) I Mata Ezzo
- 4) La Pa Poloki
- 5) La Temmu Paggé (last pre-Islamic ruler)
- 6) I Tenri Essaq (First Islamic ruler)
- 7) La Cakke
- 8) I Sama Elo
- 9) La Mallarangeng
- 10) I Yatu
- 11) La Mappaeo
- 12) La Samampo (*Petta Jangko*)
- 13) La Makkaraka
- 14) La Paduwai
- 15) La Koro
- 16) La Passamuca
- 17) La Mappe

Muhammad Kasim also stated that Soppéng could not interfere in Marioriawa's affairs. He said that Marioriawa and the *datu* of Soppéng had agreed that Soppéng would not take any of Marioriawa's lands and could not decide the *adat* of Marioriawa. Muhammad Kasim also said that it was not obligatory for Marioriawa to render tribute to Soppéng. However, when tribute was requested by the *datu* of Soppéng it would be given.

Although I consider it unlikely, Muhammad Kasim claimed that Marioriawa and Marioriwawo were once a united settlement. He said that he had not read this in a *lontaraq* text but had heard the tradition orally. I could not find any other informant in Marioriawa or Marioriwawo who had heard this tradition. People generally considered it simply coincidence that these two kingdoms had the name Mario.

I asked Muhammad Kasim whether he knew of any other tradition or story concerning Marioriawa, which dated back to the pre-Islamic period. He replied that before Islam came to South Sulawesi there was once a war between Marioriawa and Boné. This war was caused by the *arung* of Boné and his men who, for some reason, intruded into the area of Marioriawa. The *arung* of Boné then told his men to call the *datu* of Marioriawa to him. The *datu* of Marioriawa rejected this and said: "Tell the *arung* of Boné to come up to my palace. Perhaps he thinks that my food is not good enough for him but he surely must be hungry. It should be he who comes to me." Having heard the reply from the *datu* of Marioriawa the *arung* of Boné became angry and ordered his troops to attack Marioriawa.

People who lived around Lake Témpé said that the *datu* of Marioriawa owned all the produce in the lake and they had to give him a portion of their harvests.

Penré, the third domain land of Marioriawa means meeting. Interestingly Penré does have a history of a *paqbicara*.

Muhammad Kasim also said that Mari-mari had a *datu* who ruled the *arung* of Ganra, the *arung* of Cenrana, and the *arung* of Bélo.

Marioriawa's Vassal Panincong

Hasan Yunus, the *kepala desa* of Panincong, said that the name Panincong is derived from the Bugis word *talinco*. According to him, *talinco* means 'great aspirations'. Hasan Yunus said the people of Panincong had always had great aspirations and always wanted to be at the front.

Hasan Yunus also said that although Panincong was a vassal of Marioriawa it was ruled by its own *datu*. Muhammad Kasim of Marioriawa confirmed that Panincong did have a history of a *datu*

He also said that Panincong was where the *datu* of Marioriawa hunted.

15. Citta

Texts NGB 123 (p. 63) and NGB 112 (p 57) name the same nine domain lands of Citta and no vassals.

I was told that during the turmoil of the early 1950s and 1960s, the whole of Citta was abandoned and many of its villages destroyed. The location of the domain lands which are named by the VL of Citta may therefore have changed significantly when Citta was resettled.

Locations

Citta: S 04°26.086 E 120°01.938

Domain Lands

- 1) **Lémpong:** Located approximately 1.5 kilometres north-west of Citta
- 2) **Ungaé:** Located approximately 1 kilometre south-west of Citta
- 3) **Bélawa:** Located approximately 2 kilometres west of Citta
- 4) **Kampiri:** S 04°24.853 E 120°00.593
- 5) **Tinco:** S 04°23.048 E 120°01.064
- 6) **Data:** Located approximately 3 kilometres north-east of Citta
- 7) **Telleng:** Not known
- 8) **Maruwala:** Located 3 kilometres north-west of Citta
- 9) **Barang:** Should be able to locate on map.

Oral Information and Tradition

Much of the following information comes from the *kepala desa* of Citta. Some of his information is contradictory.

According to the *kepala desa*, the title of Citta's ruler was *datu*. He said that the first *datu* of Citta was called Kajao and he came from Luwuq. This *datu* was said to have a brother in Lamuru. Many other people in Soppéng confirmed that there was a *datu* of Citta.

The *kepala desa* of Citta said that the name Citta is derived from the Bugis word *ciddai* (to follow). The story behind the name of Citta is as follows:

One day *mangkauq* of Boné went hunting together with some of his escorts. When they arrived in the area, which became known as Citta, they found themselves in a dense forest. *Mangkauq* was thirsty and ordered his men to go and find water. Suddenly a black dog appeared. The dog was soaking wet and upon seeing it *mangkauq* said *ciddai kalakiq* (quickly follow [that dog]). So the area came to be called *ciddai*, and for reasons of morphology later changed to Citta.

The *kepala desa* of Citta informed me that no one could rule in Citta unless they were descendants of the *arung Bila* or the *datu* of Soppéng. However, he then went on to say that Citta had been influenced by Boné and to a lesser extent Wajoq, as well as Soppéng. He said that in the past if for some reason Citta was angry with Soppéng then it would side with Boné, and when angry with Boné, Citta would side with Soppéng.

The people of Citta are hill people and throughout Soppéng have a reputation for their fighting rather than farming abilities. They also have a reputation for being *nakal* and are quite proud of this. After visiting Citta I would say there is justification for this reputation.

The palace of the last *datu* of Citta was said to have been located in the domain land of Barang and is said to have been 30 metres in length and 12 metres wide.

16. Jampu

None of the sources I have worked with contain a VL for Jampu.

Location

Jampu: S 04°23.927 E 119°59.021

Oral Information and Tradition

There is still a royal family of Jampu resident at this settlement. They say that the *kepala desa* of Jampu still has to consult the grandchild of the last *arung* of Jampu in matters concerning the administration of Jampu. This family are, however, a somewhat pathetic site in that they are impoverished and cling to their former status as they have nothing else. They could provide little information of interest regarding Jampu's past.

The family did say that there was a palace of Jampu and some regalia was kept there. Some people in Jampu told me that this family possessed some *lontaraq* Jampu. When I asked them about the *lontaraq* they replied that there was indeed some *lontaraq* Jampu but it was kept by another member of the family who no longer lived in Soppéng. They themselves did not know what traditions were contained in this *lontaraq* Jampu. Finally, the family claimed that in the past Jampu had numerous lands under its control and the area of Jampu was a great deal larger than it is today.

The name Jampu (rose apple) is self-explanatory. It is said that when people first came to Jampu the area was full of *jampu* trees, which bore huge fruit.

17. Galung

Although Galung does not possess a conventional VL, texts NGB 123 (p. 64) and NGB 112 (p. 58) inform us that Galung did have some authority over one *anaq banua*. This is indicated through the phrase *Galung / anaq banuanna / napanoqé rakkalana / Awo*.

Locations

Galung: S 04°23.982 E 119°57.059

Anaq banua of Galung

Awo: S 04°24.277 E 119°56.682

Oral Information and Tradition

As the name suggests, Galung (wet rice field) is surrounded by rice fields. There is very little history or tradition left in Galung today.

One tradition which was related to me by people in Galung was that the ruler of Cangadi (Cangadi is approximately 3.5 kilometres northeast of Galung) forbade the people of Cangadi to be unkind to the people of Galung. This was because the rulers of Cangadi had originated from Galung. Galung also has a history of an *arung*.

Outside Galung's graveyard is a stone (see photograph 17). The people of Galung say that their ancestors use to take this stone with them when if they went into battle because it has magical powers. The stone is still considered sacred today and is a *keramat*. No one is bold enough to touch or move it

18. Gattareng

None of the sources which I have worked from contains a VL for Gattareng.

Location

The Gattareng I visited in July 1997 is unlikely to have been the Gattareng of the La Padoma poem, and perhaps not the Gattareng of the Soppéng VL.

Gattareng: The original settlement was said to have been located approximately 2.5 kilometres north-west of the following position: S 04°30.332 E 119°49.670

Oral Information and Tradition

I did meet with one elderly gentleman in Gattareng who related to me a brief but interesting tradition.

According to this gentleman, the settlement of Gattareng was established by an *arung* from Umpungeng (the twenty-second vassal of the VL). This *arung* was said to have taken people from Umpungeng to establish the settlement of Gattareng with the purpose of expanding the kingdom of Umpungeng.

19. Bua

None of the texts I worked from contain a VL for Bua.

Location

Bua: S 04°33.487 E 119°41.882

Oral Information and Tradition

There is a question mark over whether the settlement I visited is the Bua of the Soppéng VL. This question mark is because of Bua's geographical location. Bua is situated in the *kecamatan* Tanété riaja in the *kabupaten* Barru, some distance from all other Soppéng vassals.

I met with a relative of the last *arung* of Bua and although he could tell me nothing of Bua's history, he thought it probable that Bua was once part of Soppéng.

Another person I spoke with in Bua said that it was possible to reach Soppéng from Bua through mountain passes.

I consider it probable that this is the Bua of the Soppéng VL.

20. Bécoing

No source gives a vassal list of Bécoing.

Soppéng's twenty-sixth domain land is named as Wécoing (NGB 101 p. 77, NGB 100 p. 27 and NGB 112 p.56 all have had Bécoing). It appears probable that Bécoing the vassal and Wécoi the domain land are the same settlement and the name was repeated by accident in the transmission of the text. In support of this suggestion, I found no one in Soppéng who had heard of a settlement called Wécoi and there was only one known settlement called Bécoing. Whether Bécoing was a vassal or a domain land is unclear. Although Pak Mustari, an ex-resident of Bécoing said that as far as he knew Bécoing had a history of a *matoa* but not of an *arung*.

Location

Bécoing: Located approximately 4 kilometres south of the following position: S 04°21.653 E 119°52.857

Oral Information and Tradition

Pak Mustari, a former resident of Bécoing, related a story to me he had heard when he was a child. The story can be summarised as follows:

There was once an enormous palm tree in Bécoing that was called La Jenrawu. The tree was so big that it could be seen for miles around and this was why the settlement became known as Bécoing (from *wécoi* - star), the tree shone like a star. The tree needed so much water that the well in Bécoing became dry and all the other wells around as far as Bulumatanré also became dry. The tree was cared for by two brothers who used it to make *tuak* (palm wine) and *gula merah* (palm sugar). People from all over Soppéng came to Bécoing to drink the *tuak* that the brothers made. One of the brothers decided to leave Bécoing because he was bored with making *tuak* and *gula merah* and wished to seek different work. This brother wandered to an area east of Wajoq where he cleared some land for cultivation. Just after he had finished clearing the land a passing bird dropped a seed of corn and this seed took root and began to

grow. Soon after this much of his land was covered with corn. The brother planted other crops and they flourished along with the corn. People in Wajoq heard stories about the brother and his accomplishments. Eventually the people in Wajoq met and after discussion agreed to invite the brother to become their *matoa*.

21. Palakka

NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 64) inform us that Palakka had two lands under its control. Both texts indicate this through the phrase *Palakka / anaq banuana / napanoqé rakkalana / Tikao / Berru-berru*.

Locations

Palakka: S 04°29.123 E 119°52.970

Anaq banua

- 1) **Tikao:** Located approximately 4.5 kilometres north of the following position
S 04°29.123 E 119°52.970
- 2) **Berru-berru:** Located approximately 3 kilometres north of the following position
S 04°29.123 E 119°52.970

The name Palakka today refers to a small wood, which is where the settlement of Palakka once stood. Numerous people stated that a settlement called Palakka once stood at this site. This was further confirmed by the identification of Palakka's two *anaq banua*, which were located within a short distance of Palakka. Unfortunately, I could not find anyone who could provide information about Palakka. Although when I was trying to locate Palakka Haji Andi Pamessangi told me he had once read of a *petta* Palakka in *lontaraq* Soppéng.

22. Umpungeng

Texts NGB 112 (p. 58) and NGB 123 (p. 64) name the same seven vassals of Umpungeng. Neither of these texts record any domain lands for Umpungeng.

Locations

Umpungeng: Located approximately 10 kilometres west of the following position:
S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177

Vassals of Umpungeng

- 1) **Bulu batu:** Located approximately 10 kilometres south-west of the following position: S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177
- 2) **Léangeng:** Located approximately 6 kilometres south of the following position:
S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177
- 3) **Lajua:** S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177
- 4) **Laniki:** Located approximately 1 kilometre east of the following position:
S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177
- 6) **Uwi:** Not known
- 7) **Jampui:** Located approximately 10 kilometres northeast of the following position:
S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177
- 8) **Awo (Kawo):** Located approximately 8 kilometres of the following position:
S 04°26.575 E. 119°51.177

Oral Information and Tradition

For reasons of geography and time, I did not visit the settlement of Umpungeng itself. This vassal of Soppéng is situated in a mountainous region south-west of Watang Soppéng. It is somewhat isolated and the road only leads as far as Lajua, Umpungeng's third vassal. Umpungeng is a full day's climb from Lajua.

In Lajua I was told one slightly fragmented tradition. I was also informed that there was some *lontaraq* concerning Umpungeng and that this *lontaraq* had been microfilmed at the Arsip Nasional in Ujung Pandang. I later asked Muhlis Hadrawi if he could find and transliterate this *lontaraq*. Muhlis did find the Umpungeng *lontaraq* but was unable to make a transliteration because the reel of microfilm that corresponded to the catalogue number of the Umpungeng *lontaraq* was blank. According to the Arsip Nasional catalogue, the *lontaraq* Umpungeng was written on *lontar* leaf and presumably was not prepared correctly for the microfilming.

The one tradition I was told says that a child of the *arung* of Bulumatanré once went hunting in the area around Umpungeng and had taken a dog with him. From afar he spied a chicken taking a dust bath, which puzzled him because this suggested that there were people living in Umpungeng, and he had thought that no one lived in this part of Soppéng. The dog, which he had taken with him had wandered off when it returned refused the food it was offered. Evidently, someone had fed the dog. When he returned to Bulumatanré he told his parents that there were people living in Umpungeng. Later he went back to Umpungeng and met a beautiful girl who lived in a splendid palace. It so happened that the girl was a *tomanurung* and the palace and the chickens had descended with her.

There is a tradition in Soppéng that says that the settlement of Umpungeng is older than Soppéng and the rulers of Soppéng originated from Umpungeng.

I was also told in Soppéng that when the *datu* of Soppéng met with the *arung* of Umpungeng the *datu* could not be seated above the *arung* of Umpungeng. If the *arung* of Umpungeng was seated on the floor then the *datu* of Soppéng would also seat himself on the floor. This was because Umpungeng was older than Soppéng. It was also said that a *datu* of Soppéng could not be inaugurated as *datu* without the attendance of the *arung* of Umpungeng. A member of Soppéng's former ruling family told this to me.

Salam Bacco of Watang Soppéng said that if a person had committed some kind of misdeed in the kingdom of Soppéng they could avoid retribution by fleeing to Umpungeng where they could declare themselves safe. This was also the case with Soppéng's twelfth vassal Bakkeq.

Arung Palakka is said to have hidden in Umpungeng prior to his departure to Batavia following his initial failure against Goa.

23. Bulumatanré

None of the sources which I have worked from contain a VL for Bulumatanré.

Location

Bulumatanré: S 04°23.254 E 119°49.756

Oral Information and Tradition

For information concerning the Soppéng vassal Bulumatanré, refer to *Survey pusat Kerajaan Soppéng 1100 – 1986* (Bahru Kallupa, David Bulbeck, Ian Caldwell, Iwan Sumantri and Karaeng Demmanari 1989)

24. Kampiri

Text NGB 112 (p. 58) informs us that Kampiri had one *anaq banua*. The expression that indicates this is slightly different to the expression applied to other vassals of Soppéng which possess *anaq banua*:

Kampiri / anaq banua / teq napanoqé / rakkalana / Maroanging.

It would seem that while Maroanging was an *anaq banua* of Kampiri the plough of Kampiri for some reason did not go down to Maroanging. This suggests that Kampiri may not have directly ruled this *anaq banua*.

Locations

Kampiri: S 04°13.090 E 120°07.138

Anaq banua

Maroanging: S 04°11.810 E 120°05.789

Oral Information and Tradition

Kampiri was located in the *kabupaten* Wajoq. When I visited Kampiri, I could obtain neither conformation nor repudiation that the settlement was the Kampiri of the Soppéng VL. Nor could I find anyone who could provide any information concerning Kampiri's past. The evidence supporting the identification of Kampiri as a Soppéng vassal was the location of its *anaq banua*, Maroanging, which was situated a short distance from Kampiri.

25. Kading

Text NGB 112 (p. 58) states that Kading had one *anaq banua*. The expression used is identical to the one applied to Kampiri: *Kading / anaq banuanna / teq napanoqé rakkalana / Pacciro*.

Location

Kading: S 04°23.391 E 119°56.952

Anaq banua of Kading

Pacciro: Not located

Oral Information and Tradition

I could find no oral information or tradition concerning Kading.

26. Balusu

NGB 112 (p.58) informs us that Balusu had some authority over four lands. These four lands were not vassals but *anaq banua*.

Locations

Balusu: S 04°18.484 E 119°39.769

Anaq banua of Balusu

1) **Pacciro:** S 04°19.775 E 119°39.078

2) **Takkalasi:** S 04°19.047 E 119°38.250

3) **Béra:** Located approximately five kilometres south of the following: position:
S 04°18.380 E 119°39.210

4) **Macape(q) (ng):** Not Located

Tradition and Oral Information

Balusu and its four *anaq banua* are all located in the *kecamatan* Soppéng riaja in *kabupaten* Barru. There is no question mark over the identification of Balusu. The part of Barru has strong links with Soppéng. Many of the people in this area of Barru have relatives in Soppéng and consider themselves to be Soppéng people.

Despite this, I could find no informants in Balusu able to provide information concerning Balusu's past and the settlement appears to have lost its history. In Pacciro (Balusu's first *anaq banua*), I was told that there was some *lontaraq* concerning Balusu which contained a genealogy of Balusu's rulers. This *lontaraq* was said to have been microfilmed at the Arsip Nasional in Ujung Pandang. Muhlis Hadrawi attempted to read this *lontaraq* but found that the microfilm was illegible. The *lontaraq* Balusu, according to the Arsip Nasional catalogue, was written on *lontaraq* leaf.

However, we did manage to find some *lontaraq* concerning Balusu and Kiru-kiru (the vassal that follows Balusu in the Soppéng VL) at Fort Rotterdam.

27. Kirukiru

Text NGB 112 (p. 58 & 59) names one vassal and one domain land of Kiru-kiru.

Locations

Site of Kiru-kiru's former palace: S 04°15.323 E 119°38.068

Vassal of Kiru-kiru

Cepaga: Located approximately 3 kilometres north-east of Kiru-kiru.

Domain Land of Kiru-kiru

Ajakka: Located approximately 2 kilometres southeast of Kiru-kiru.

Kiru-kiru is located in the same *kecamatan* as Balusu, which is Soppéng riaja in *kabupaten* Barru. According to Abdul Rahman (*kepala lingkungan* Kiru-kiru), *kiru-kiru* means to be at aslant (Indonesian - *miring*). He said that Kiru-kiru was given this name because when the *datu* of Soppéng and the *arung* of Kiru-kiru sat together, the *arung* of Kiru-kiru could not sit at the side of the *datu* but only aslant to the *datu*. Abdul Rahman also said that the first *arung* of Kiru-kiru was a daughter of the *datu* of Soppéng. This daughter, however, was not of the *datu* of Soppéng's first wife but a minor wife and was not therefore of true royal blood.

I asked Abdul Rahman whether the minor wife was from Soppéng or Kiru-kiru but he did not know.

Muhammad A? (of Kiru-kiru) claimed that the *arung* of Kiru-kiru was a descendant of the *datu* of Pattojo (Soppéng's fourth vassal). He also claimed that Kiru-kiru was once a *paliliq* of Watu at the request of Soppéng but was still subject to Soppéng.

The Domain of Soppéng

Locations

1) **Bila:** S 04°20.930 E 119°53.148

2) **Saloqtungo:** S 04°21.791 E 119°53.847

3) **Kuqbq:** S 04°22.32 E 119°54.592

4) **Paoé** (Soppéng VL has **Pao**): S 04°19.389 E 119°55.161

5) **Panincong:** S 04°23.118 E 119°54.223

6) **Macopéq:** S 04°21.831 E 119°54.161

The original Macopéq was five kilometres to the west of this position.

7) **Maccilé:** S 04°21.047 E 119°54.548

8) **Mangkutu:** S 04°20.958 E 119°54.294

9) **Akkampéng:** S 04°20.449 E 119°55.904

10) **Ujung:** S 04°21.020 E 119°53.472

11) **Cénrana:** S 04°19.536 E 119°54.472

12) **Pacciro:** S 04°18.335 E 119°54.369

The original Pacciro was located 1 kilometre west of this position

13) **Alo:** Not located.

14) Tellang: S 04°17.659 E 119°54.422

15) Pasaka: Not located.

16) Kajuara: S 04°17.037 E 119°53.548

17) Taneppa: Probably the settlement of **Areppa**, located approximately 2 kilometres northeast of the following position: S 04°19.461 E 119°50.642

18) Tinco: S 04°19.394 E 119°52.878

19) Madellorilauq: S 04°19.967 E 119°53.172

20) Tappareng: S 04°18.383 E 119°51.384

The word *tappareng* means lake in the Bugis language. As this domain land is located some distance from Lake Témpé and situated in foothills, the name is puzzling. I asked the six or so remaining residents of Tappareng whether there is or was a lake of some kind close by. They replied that the word *tappareng* did not simply mean 'lake' but could also refer to any source of natural wealth.

The people in Tappareng said that the area was once covered by forest and was used as an exclusive hunting ground for Soppéng's royalty. They also said that any commoners who entered this area to hunt had all possessions upon their person confiscated.

I asked Muhlis Hadrawi about this use of the word *tappareng* but he had never heard of it being used for anything other than to mean lake. Nevertheless, the explanation given by the people in Tappareng appears plausible.

21) Botto: S 04°21.534 E 119°52.817

- 22) **Seppang:** S 04°19.461 E 119°50.642
- 23) **Pessé:** S 04°18.883 E 119°51.807
- 24) **Poncing:** Probably the settlement **Uncing**. Located approximately 2 kilometres southeast of the following position: S 04°19.461 E 119°50.642
- 25) **Launga:** S 04°21.928 E 119°56.316
- 26) **Wécoi:** Probably the settlement of **Bécoing** and the twentieth vassal of the Soppéng list. Located approximately 4 kilometres south of the following position: S 04°21.653 E 119°52.857
- 27) **Kulo:** Probably **Ulo**. Located approximately 1 kilometre west of the following position S 04°19.461 E 119°50.642
- 28) **Watulaia:** Probably **Batulaia**. Located approximately 4 kilometres south of the following position S 04°21.814 E 119°49.216
- 29) **Ara:** Located approximately 6 kilometres north of the following position: S 04°21.814 E 119°49.261
- 30) **Matabulu:** Located approximately 3 kilometres north north-west of the following position: S 04°21.814 E 119°49.216
- 31) **Ciroali:** S 04°21.814 E 119°49.216
- 32) **Undungeng:** S 04°20.590 E 119°51.396
- 33) **Maingeq:** Located approximately 4 kilometres south-east of the following position: S 04°21.814 E 119°49.216
- 34) **Lisu:** Located approximately 4 kilometres northeast of the following position: S 04°21.814 E 119°49.216

General Oral Information and Tradition

When I asked Haji Andi Pamessangi about Soppéng's vassals he initially said that his understanding of the term *paliliq* was a small kingdom that possessed its own system of government and was attached to a larger kingdom. He said that the *Datu* could not make important decisions without the attendance of the *arung liliq*.

Muhammad Kasim Paiwei of Marioriawa said that when the *datu* of Soppéng sat before other *datu* (i.e. the *datu* of Soppéng's vassals) the *datu* of the vassals could not be referred to as *datu* in his presence. They would be addressed as either *arung* or *petta*. For example, the *datu* of Marioriawa would be addressed as *arung* Marioriawa and the *datu* of Panincong (Marioriawa's vassal) would be addressed as *petta* Panincong.

Adam Musah of Watang Soppéng related the purpose of two stones, which are together known as *Lamungpatu*. These stones have been placed close to a road junction in between Botto and Laleng Benteng (their position is marked on page 34 of the *Survey kerajaan Soppéng 1100-1986*). One of the stones is small and flat, the other much bigger and longer

Adam Musah said that these two stones came into use when a *datu* of Soppéng was inaugurated and when an oath was sworn following agreement on an important decision. According to Adam Musah, all the *arung liliq* led by the *arung Bila* would walk around the stones and one by one smash an egg on the larger stone and swear *mareppa télo marupu pincung narreka sélaijanci, temmélorenge séja* - If we should break this oath then we ourselves will be broken like this egg. Following this, all the pieces of shell would be collected and placed in the hole in the ground. The smaller stone would then be used to close the hole and the larger stone would be placed on top.

Although it seems generally accepted that the name Soppéng is derived from the word *coppéng* (tree with fruit that was used to make wine), I did come across a different interpretation. It was suggested that the name Soppéng is derived from the word *saleppé*, which I was told, means low land.

Other Locations of Interest

La Boso: S 04°15.895 E 119°37.672

La Boso is mentioned in *lontaraq* concerning Balusu and Kiru-kiru.

Watu: S 04°29.193 E 119°54.377

Sewo: S 04°21.526 E 119°51.725

The location in Tinco where the first ruler of Soppéng, La Temmammala, was said to have disappeared: S 04°19.539 E 119°52.545

Sékkanili, where the *tomanurung* La Temmammala is said to have descended: S 04°14.353 E 119°53.804

The original site of the settlement of Sékkanili: S 04°15.194 E 119°54.567

Lompulléq: S 04°18.745 E 119°59.183: Possible connection with Baringeng.

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