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Introduction

This article investigates the origins and development of the Makasar-speaking kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkala from about AD 1300 to 1600. Binamu and Bangkala were minor realms that lay in the southwestern corner of the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi, between Takalar and Bantaeng. Their combined former territory today comprises *kabupaten* (regency) Jeneponto (Photo 1).[1]

Jeneponto is one of the poorest parts of South Sulawesi and experiences a long dry season from April to November (Whitten et al. 1987:21). As a result, despite large areas of fertile soil, rice can be grown only from December to March, watered by the west monsoon. The people of Jeneponto are mostly peasant farmers, although fish farming, salt extraction, and fishing are practised in some coastal areas. During the dry season many young men seek seasonal employment as *becak* (pedicab) drivers in Makassar.[2]

Little is known of the history of Bangkala or Binamu as neither has yet been properly surveyed by archaeologists. Nevertheless, it is possible to

[1] Research was funded in part by the British Academy Southeast Asia Committee. The authors would like to thank David Bulbeck, Campbell Macknight, Horst Liebner, and Sirtjo Koolhof for their helpful comments on a draft of this article. South Sulawesi is the Indonesian province that incorporates the southwest peninsula of Sulawesi.

[2] The Badan Pusat Statistik Sulawesi Selatan Online gives the population of Jeneponto as 321,754 in 2002. The 1974 census shows the population divided roughly equally between Binamu (47,348) and Bangkala (42,173) (Makkulasse 1984:4).

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reconstruct, in part at least, their origins and early development from four sources: 1. *lontaraq* (texts, B., M.)[3] written (today on paper) in an indigenous script in the Bugis and Makasar languages, 2. visits by the authors to places named in *lontaraq* texts, 3. oral traditions current in Jeneponto, and 4. information from grave robbers who search for Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramic goods interred with the dead in pre-Islamic graves.[4]

On the evidence of these sources, we propose that by the fourteenth century scattered agricultural settlements in the valleys of Jeneponto's four main rivers – from west to east the Topa, the Allu, the Tamanroya and the Jeneponto – had united to form four small polities. Their formation was associated with the organized spread and intensification of wet-rice agriculture, a relationship evident in many lowland areas of South Sulawesi in the fourteenth century (Macknight 1983; Caldwell 1988). By the fifteenth century, the polities centred on the Topa and Allu rivers had united to form the kingdom of Bangkala, and the polities centred on the Tamanroya and Jeneponto rivers had combined to form the kingdom of Binamu.

Historical overview

Jeneponto was connected from an early date to the inter-island trade route that passed by the south coast of southwest Sulawesi during, and prior to, the first millennium AD (Reid 1983:123-4; Pelras 1996:26). Evidence of trade (much of it probably with east Java but possibly also with the Philippines) is manifest along the south coast. A 2,000-year-old Dong Son bronze drum was excavated in Selayar around the seventeenth century (Reid 1990a:101) and a horde of three bronze Buddhist statues, stylistically dated to the seventh or eighth century AD, was collected in Bantaeng in the early twentieth century (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:111-3). Two unique bronze figurines of dogs, found approximately 50 kilometres south of Makassar, have been dated to 155 BC-AD 330 and AD 230-580 based on carbon recovered from their cores (Glover 1997:218-9). A cache of 21 hexagonally-shaped carnelian beads, probably dating to the late first millennium, was also excavated in Bantaeng in 1998.[5] What was being traded for these prestige goods is unknown: possibili-

[3] In this article, B. stands for Bugis, M. stands for Makasar; Bahasa Indonesia and European languages are unmarked. The sound represented by the letter 'e' in Makasar is a mid-front unrounded vowel; 'q' in both languages represents a glottal stop.

[4] The practice of burying the dead in an east-west orientation with ceramic grave goods was introduced in the fourteenth century (Bulbeck 1992:449). When the Makasars converted to Islam in the early 1600s, this practice was replaced by burial in a north-south orientation without grave goods.

[5] Fadillah 1999:28; Bulbeck and Fadillah 2000:47. Pelras (1996:26) mentions the discovery at Ara in *kabupaten* Bulukumba of numerous glass beads of Indian origin 'pointing to the existence

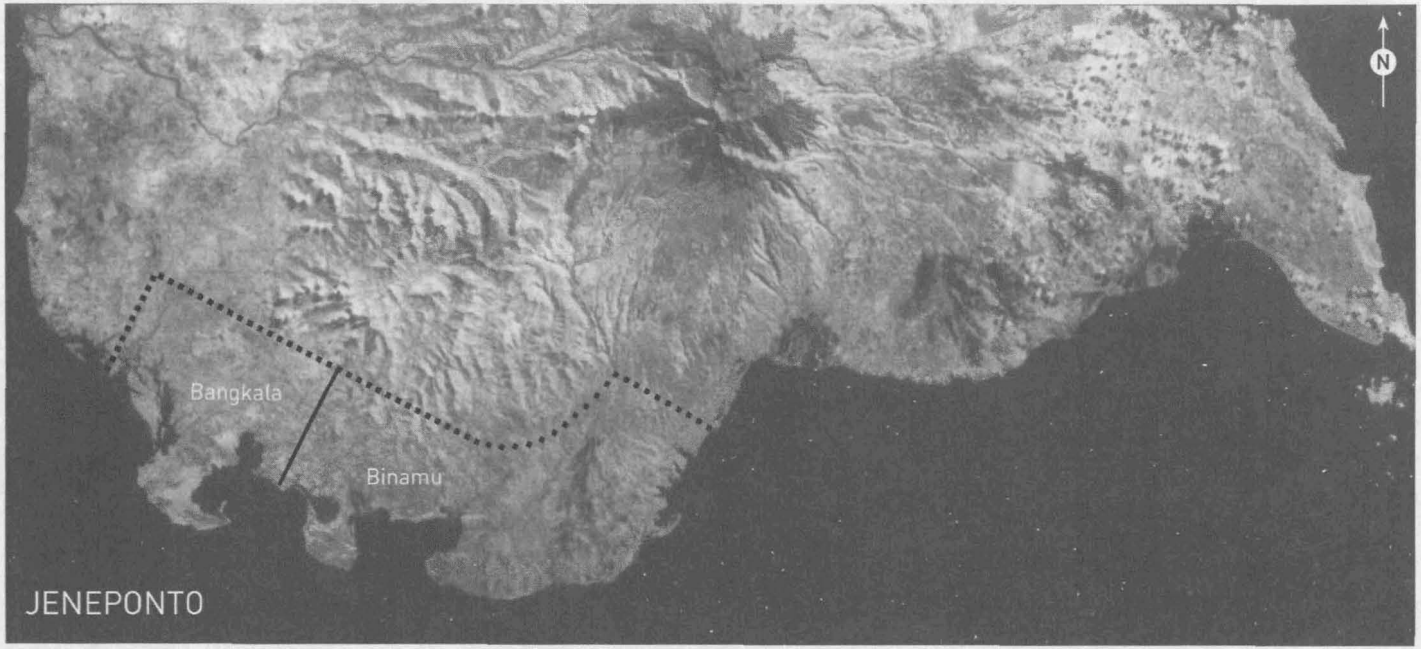

Photo 1. South coast of South Sulawesi (Landsat)

ties include ships' supplies, safe anchorages, forest products, and gold from the highland interior of southwest and central Sulawesi, and spices transshipped from the Moluccas.

The dispersed and disparate nature of the finds suggests that the pattern of trade during the first millennium AD was small in volume and sporadic in nature, a pattern that accords with the lack of evidence of complex political organization in Jeneponto during this period. The origin stories of the South Sulawesi kingdoms found in the opening sections of the Bugis and Makasar chronicles suggest that prior to the emergence of kingdoms after 1300 the largest political entities in South Sulawesi were simple chiefdoms (*wanua,* B.; *banoa, banua,* M.) numbering at most a few thousand individuals and typically perhaps a few hundred.

More complex chiefdoms, or polities, with ranked, multiple centres began to emerge in the lower river valleys of Jeneponto after about 1300. The emergence of these polities was linked to the expansion and intensification of wet-rice farming along the valley floors, stimulated by the increased availability of trade goods for which surplus rice could be exchanged. The most significant of these were Indian cottons, Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics, and Javanese bronzewares.[6] At an early stage of development the river-valley polities were largely independent of each other, but later they coalesced into the kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkala.

Organized veneration of a heavenly ancestor of the ruling family provided the religious and political ideology that supported kingship and social hierarchy in the emerging kingdoms. People in Jeneponto today tell of how the ruling families of Binamu and Bangkala were founded by *tumanurung* (heavenly-descended beings of either sex, M.) who were chosen as rulers and who married into local elites. After establishing the institution of kingship (*pakkaraengang,* M.), the *tumanurung* mysteriously disappeared, leaving their descendants to rule. Succeeding rulers and communities venerated the vanished *tumanurung* through *kalompoang* (sacred heirlooms, M.) left behind by them. Some *kalompoang* can be seen today in Jeneponto.

Sources

Writing was developed in South Sulawesi in the fourteenth century, based ultimately on an Indic model (Caldwell 1988:171). Since the eighteenth century, a single script has been used to write both the Bugis and Makasar lan-

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there of maritime trade as early as 300-100 BC' but provides no reference. Bulbeck and Fadillah (2000: note 1) describe a single, light-blue glass bead excavated by Van Heekeren (1972:110) at a cave site at Ara.

6 Kotilainen (1992:49) gives a similar set of imported goods for central Sulawesi.

guages; the surviving *lontaraq* containing traditions on Binamu and Bangkala are written on paper in this script in the Bugis and Makasar languages. Most extant *lontaraq* were written in the nineteenth or twentieth century, based on older manuscripts that have not survived. *Lontaraq* codices generally contain a miscellany of items that may include mythologized origins of kingdoms, royal genealogies, tributary and domain lists, treaties, and in some cases personal diaries (Cense 1951, 1966; Macknight 1984).

Lontaraq are difficult to find in Jeneponto today; people claim that large numbers of manuscripts were destroyed during the rebellion led by Kahar Muzakkar in the 1950s and early 1960s. Their scarcity is reflected in the fact that among the 4,000-odd manuscripts microfilmed during the last decade by the National Archives in Makassar only three are identified in the unpublished catalogue as having come from Jeneponto.[7] Historical traditions concerning Binamu and Bangkala can be found in the microfilmed Bugis- and Makasar-language codices originating from other regions held in the Archives; searching for these without a detailed index of contents is a slow process.[8]

Living oral traditions can also be used to learn about Jeneponto's past (Vansina 1985). Informants in Jeneponto often claim that these oral traditions were written in *lontaraq* that have since been destroyed. This claim is in accord with the close relationship between Bugis written and oral registers, analysed by Pelras (1979), but could also reflect a desire to provide an aura of authenticity when relating such traditions to a foreign researcher.[9]

Despite the enormous damage they have done to potential archaeological sites, Jeneponto's grave robbers are a useful source of information. These robbers, who at times have numbered in the hundreds, have systematically looted Jeneponto's pre-Islamic burial sites in search of grave goods interred with the dead between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The looting of pre-Islamic graves is not a new phenomenon but was reported as

7 All three are concerned with religious matters.

8 Cummings (1999, 2000) used Makasar *lontaraq* in his study of seventeenth-century South Sulawesi politics; his data concerning Binamu and Bangkala are discussed below. He has also published a study of Makasar written traditions in which he dates the origins of chronicle (*patturiolong*) writing to the sixteenth century and ascribes magical and talismanic powers to writing and to texts (Cummings 2002). The present authors believe that the majority of Makasar and Bugis manuscript texts were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when paper became more widely available, and consist largely of oral traditions which date from earlier periods.

9 Pelras (1979) shows how a text or tradition may move, almost effortlessly, back and forth between the oral and the written registers. It seems logical, therefore, to regard Bugis and Makasar written texts as recorded oral traditions, since the latter are more numerous, especially in a potential form.

far back as the seventeenth century (Gervaise 1701:120). Sustained, systematic digging started in 1936 and reached a peak around 1970 (Ito and Kamakura 1941; Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983). The looters were principally searching for Chinese, Vietnamese, and Thai ceramics and high-fired stonewares that were imported into South Sulawesi in increasing quantities after 1200.[10]

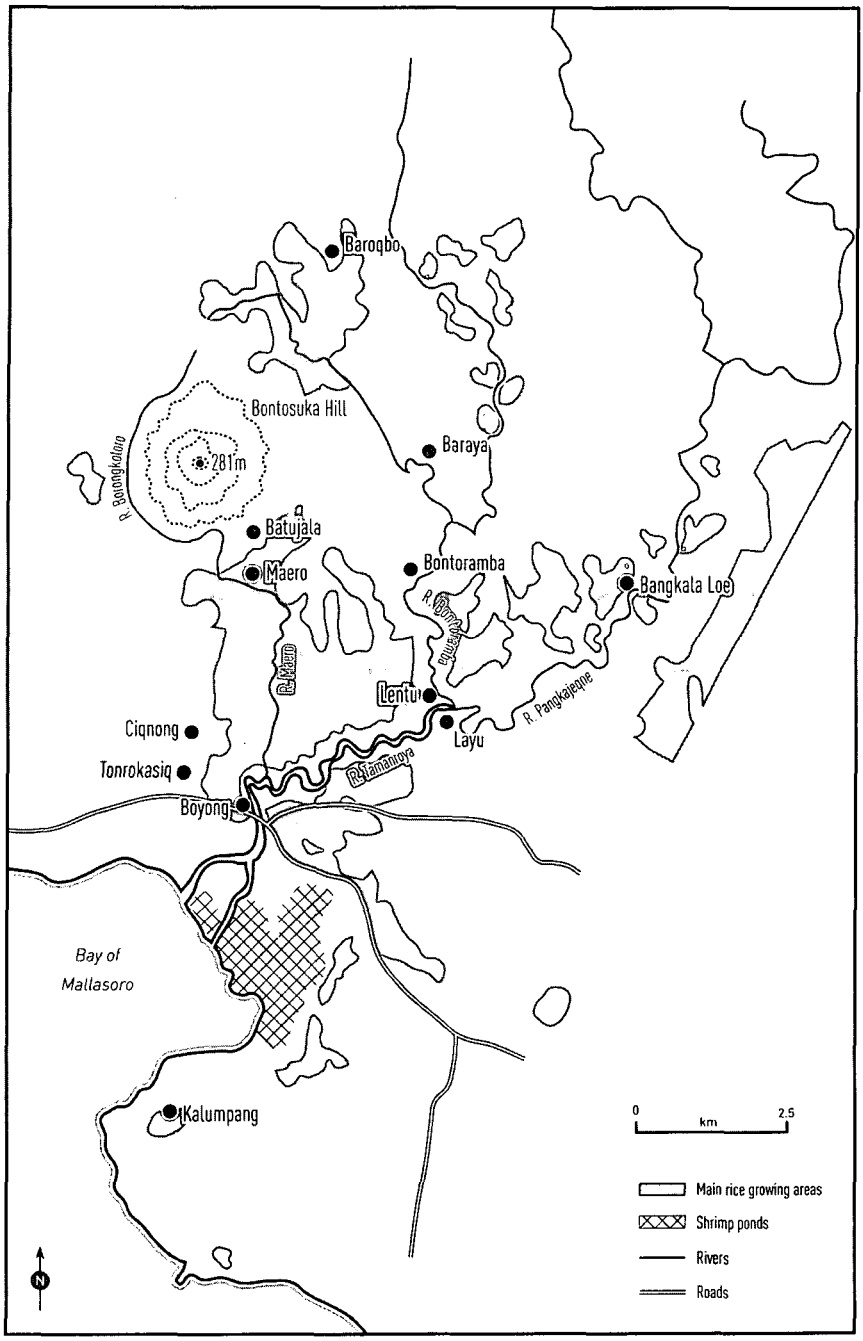
All the settlements in Jeneponto mentioned in this article were visited by the authors between 1995 and 2001; Stephen Druce also surveyed the area in 1997 (Caldwell and Druce 1998). Settlements were selected on the evidence of the tributary and domain lists of Binamu and Bangkala, and on information provided by grave robbers and from local oral traditions. A set of modern 1:50,000 scale maps published by the Indonesian Government Mapping Agency in Bogor (Bakosurtanal n.d.) were used in combination with a handheld GPS receiver to locate many of the places mentioned in this article. A low-resolution Landsat black-and-white visual wavelength satellite photograph of the south coast was also referred to.

The kingdom of Binamu

We start with the historically more important kingdom of Binamu, or Turatea, which comprises the eastern half of Jeneponto.[11] Binamu has two major rivers, the Jeneponto in the east and the Tamanroya in the west (Map 1). Both run southward from a low inland mountain range to the coast, and neither is navigable except near its mouth. Both have the deep U-shaped beds typical of rivers that carry a continuous body of water, rather than the broad flat beds of rivers that carry the run-off from flash floods. At the mouth of each river valley lies a narrow coastal plain. Wet rice is grown on the coastal plains and in the lower parts of the valleys, which extend back between 12 and 20 kilometres from the sea, and on intervening hills and pockets of coastal land between the river valleys.

[10] Looting continues today in Jeneponto and elsewhere on the south coast on a greatly reduced scale. Improved economic conditions have provided better employment, and laws protecting ancient sites have been strengthened and more strictly enforced. Many sites have been so thoroughly plundered that little remains. The names of the main organizers of the looting are well known in Jeneponto and are citizens of some standing in their communities.

[11] Turatea is the older name. Andaya's account (1981) of the seventeenth century which is based on contemporary Dutch and slightly later Bugis sources has eleven index entries for Turatea and three for Binamu. An oral tradition that sailors from Binamu brought rice cultivation from Bali to Turatea provides a folk etymology of the newer name derived from the word *bine* (rice seed, M.). The tradition appears to represent a memory of trading contacts with the north coast of Bali, which lies southwest of Binamu. Writing in 1763, Dalrymple reports that the Bugis of Wajoq imported cotton from Bali and wove it into cloth (BL Euro/Mack Gen 67:136); Forrest (1792:79) also states that 'The Buggesses also often import cotton from the island *Bally*, both raw and spun into yarn'.



Map 1. Core area of Binamu. Rice-growing areas are those shown on Dutch maps of the 1920s.

Oral traditions of Binamu

Two oral traditions concerning the origins of Binamu are known to the authors, each of which contains elements of the other. Both traditions state that the kingdom of Binamu originated in the Tamanroya valley. The first of these traditions is as follows:

> Long, long ago a beautiful woman descended from heaven at Layu on the Tamanroya river. She was known as Tumanurunga ri Layu ('She who descended at Layu'). Upon her appearance, the chiefs of four districts united to form the kingdom of Binamu. The four chiefs formed a council called the Toqdoq Appaka ('the four pillars/stakes/guarantors') representing their respective areas: Bangkala Loe, Layu, Batujala, and Lentu. The council met and asked Tumanurunga ri Layu to become the first ruler of Binamu. She consented and became Binamu's first queen. In time, she married a local man and gave birth to three children: Punta ri Ulua, Punta ri Tangnga, and Punta ri Bungko. After Tumanurunga ri Layu mysteriously disappeared, the Toqdoq Appaka council decided that her second son, Punta ri Tangnga (a posthumous title meaning 'Our lord [who lies buried] in Tangnga'), should become *karaeng* (king, M.) of Binamu. (Kallupa et al. 1995-96:9, authors' summarized translation)

The four communities named in the oral tradition lie close to one another along the Tamanroya river and its tributaries. Layu lies at the confluence of the Bontoramba and the Pangkajeqne rivers, which meet to form the Tamanroya. Layu is strategically positioned to control the movement of goods up or down the banks of these two tributaries as well as commanding the surrounding agricultural land. Lentu is located half a kilometre north of Layu on the Bontoramba river, while Batujala is five kilometres northwest of Layu on the Maero river, a tributary of the Tamanroya. Finally, Bangkala Loe lies five kilometres further upstream from Layu on the Pangkajeqne river. The oral tradition provides an account of the political unification of these four settlements; its function is to account for the precedence of Layu among neighbouring settlements and to legitimize the authority of the rulers of Binamu, who claimed descent from Tumanurunga ri Layu.

A second oral tradition links the appearance of seven *tumanurung* in Layu to a number of settlements lying on the lower reaches of the Jeneponto river, which lies to the east of the Tamanroya valley.

> In ancient times, seven *tumanurung* descended from heaven and appeared in the district of Layu on the Tamanroya river. The seven *tumanurung* were siblings consisting of a young girl and her six older brothers. After the appearance of the *tumanurung*, the Toqdoq Appaka council decided that the girl should become the ruler of Binamu. The council proposed this to the ruler of Balang, and with his approval she was installed as *karaeng* Binamu. During her reign, she had a great bamboo bridge constructed across the Jeneponto river at Sapanang to provide

> access to her palace, which was built on the summit of Sapanang hill. She and subsequent *karaeng* of Binamu ruled from here. She also continued the tradition, established by the Toqdoq Appaka council, of seeking advice and consent from the ruler of Balang on matters of state. In time, the rulers of Binamu moved down from Sapanang hill and settled across the river on the lowlands of Sapanang.[12]

The tradition's function is to legitimize Layu's ascendancy over the Jeneponto valley to the east. This it does by having the ruler of the Jeneponto valley settlement of Balang agree to the appointment of Tumanurunga ri Layu as ruler of Sapanang, which lies in the heart of the lower Jeneponto valley.

Grave robber accounts of Binamu

Haji T., one of the chief grave robbers in Jeneponto in the 1970s, maintains that the richest sites in the Tamanroya valley are found along the Bontoramba and the Tamanroya rivers. Proceeding from the highlands to the coast, plundered sites include Baroqbo, Baraya, Bontoramba, Lentu, Layu, and Boyong. According to Haji T., the richest pre-Islamic graveyards in the Tamanroya valley were located on high ground between Bontoramba and Layu. Bontoramba, which lies about 15 kilometres from the coast, contains the monumental graves of Binamu's eighteenth-century rulers. Just east of the eighteenth-century graves, between the cemetery and the river, looters discovered large numbers of ceramics, which suggests that the graveyard borders on, or partly overlies, a pre-Islamic cemetery. However, the richest site, measured in terms of quality and quantity of ceramics excavated, was a pre-Islamic cemetery at Layu that covered more than one hectare, located on the west bank of the Tamanroya river.

The yields from the looted Tamanroya valley graveyards were, however, eclipsed by the number of ceramics plundered from the summit of Sapanang hill, directly east of the settlement of Sapanang on the Jeneponto river, referred to above in the second tradition. The hill is locally known as Karaeng Loe, meaning 'great lord' (the title of the ruler of a region or kingdom, M.). From the summit, Haji T. claims to have recovered Southern Sung (AD 1127-1279), Yuan (AD 1279-1368), and Ming (AD 1368-1644) porcelain and stoneware.[13]

[12] *Laporan* 1983, authors' summarized translation. Haji Iskandar of Palajau related a similar version of this tradition to Stephen Druce in 1998, in which he identified the six settlements at which the brothers ruled. None of these occur in the list of Binamu's vassals; four, however, are found in the list of Bimanu's domains. Haji Iskandar's account thus accords with our understanding that a kingdom's domains were ruled by members of the ruling family, or the holders of important government offices.

[13] Local identifications of Sung and Yuan ceramics should be treated with caution as these often refer to green monochromes, which were produced from the Sung through to the

Another well-known grave robber, Pak B., stated that the graveyard at Gandi called Makam Karaeng Bebang (graveyard of the lords of Bebang), which lies on the western side of the hill, overlies a much larger pre-Islamic graveyard, now extensively looted.[14] He explained that it is not unusual along the south coast to find Islamic graveyards overlying older pre-Islamic cemeteries and that old Islamic graves are indicators of earlier, pre-Islamic graveyards.[15] We shall return to these findings in a later section.

Textual sources on Binamu

The most important written historical tradition known to the authors is the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu. This list, which contains detailed information concerning the political structure of Binamu, is found in two closely related nineteenth-century Bugis codices held in the Leiden University Library.[16] The dating of the list is problematic; as a written text it is probably post-seventeenth century, but as an oral tradition it almost certainly records much older alliances. The Tributary and Domain List of Binamu provides the names of 22 settlements, divided into six tributaries (*paliliq*, B.; *liliq*, M.) and 16 domains (identified by the Bugis formula *napanoqé rakkalana*, 'and then the plough [of the ruler] goes down to').[17] Tributaries were the component chiefdoms of a kingdom and were ruled by local elite families that were not necessarily related to the kingdom's ruler. Domains, many of which lay a considerable distance from the kingdom's centre, were lands belonging to the ruling family of the kingdom, or ruled, possibly as apanages, by the kingdom's senior ministers. This model is discussed in more detail in the final section of this article.

Ching dynasty. Pace Hadimuljono and Macknight (1983:67), who give a figure of 10%, Sung wares comprise less than 0.1% of the pre-seventeenth-century ceramics recovered from South Sulawesi. All Sung pieces known to the authors belong to the Southern Sung period.

14 Haji T. discovered three pre-Islamic cemeteries located along the Binanga Borongkoloro, a small stream that circles the back of Bontosuka hill (281 metres) near Mairo. The hill is a conspicuous landmark in the lower Tamanroya valley and may have served as a centre for ceremonial rites.

15 See Bulbeck 1998 on the continuity of pre- and post-Islamic burial sites associated with Makassar fortresses.

16 Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (NBG) MSS. 100:120.1-8. In both codices, the tributary and domain lists of Binamu and Bangkala (NBG 101:136.28-137.6) form part of a set of a dozen such lists for Bugis kingdoms; similar lists are found frequently in Bugis *lontaraq*, though rarely for Makasar kingdoms.

17 This division and the terms used in the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu are found in other Bugis tributary and domain lists.

Map 2. Tributaries and domains of Binamu

The list is as follows:

Tributaries of Binamu
Binamu's tributaries are Sidenre, Balang, Jeneponto, Sapanang, Ciqnong and Tonrokassiq.

Domains of Binamu
[Binamu] rules directly Ujung Loe, Kalumpang, Palajau, Bulobulo, Pattalassang, Jombe, Paiatana, Arungkeke, Togotogo, Bontorapo, Pao, Taroang, Tino, Tonra, Rumbia and Toloq.

The Tributary and Domain List of Binamu does not include the names of settlements in the lower Tamanroya river valley that, as we may infer from the two oral traditions discussed above, comprised the heartland of the kingdom of Binamu.[18] Analysis of the tributary and domain lists of other kingdoms (Caldwell 1988:78, 122, 161) shows that this is a standard convention: tributary and domain lists name only the settlements that lie outside of the core areas of the kingdoms to which they refer. The name Binamu, which starts the list, thus refers to lands and settlements that comprised the kingdom's heartland in the lower Tamanroya valley. The opening phrase of the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu could thus be glossed or paraphrased: 'Outside of its core area in the Tamanroya valley, the kingdom of Binamu comprises'. This structure suggests that the kingdom of Binamu consisted of what Reid (1997:xviii) has termed a 'core' (the lower Tamanroya valley) and a 'zone of domination' that comprised the rest of the kingdom.

No chronicle of Binamu or manuscript list of its rulers is known to the authors.[19] Working from oral sources, Ibrahim and Husain (1980:38-9) and Makkulasse (1984:34) name 11 rulers including a founding *tumanurung*, while Rachman (1997:29-30) names 20 rulers of Binamu, starting with I Gaukeng Daeng Riolo and ending with I Mattewakkang Daeng Raja, the ruler appointed by the Dutch colonial government in 1929. A genealogical chart in the possession of Haji Abdurrahim of Balumbungang sets out 13 generations of rulers from I Gaukang Daeng Riolo to I Mattewakkang Daeng Raja (Figure 1). The chart contains 23 names, 20 of them corresponding to those in Rachman's list (Figure 2). On this evidence, there appears to be an established oral tradition of at least 20 individuals associated with

[18] The list does mention Tonrokassiq and Ciqnong, two domains that lay west of the Tamanroya river (Map 1).

[19] The 'Chronicle of Binamu' set out in Cummings (2002:141) appears to comprise two short, independent genealogies, one of which traces the founding of Binamu to a Karaeng Binamu Pesoka and the other to a son of the king of Bantaeng. This juxtaposition of independent traditions relating to a common subject is frequently met with in Bugis and Makasar codices. Cummings does not separate the two traditions, nor does he provide the source of his translation.

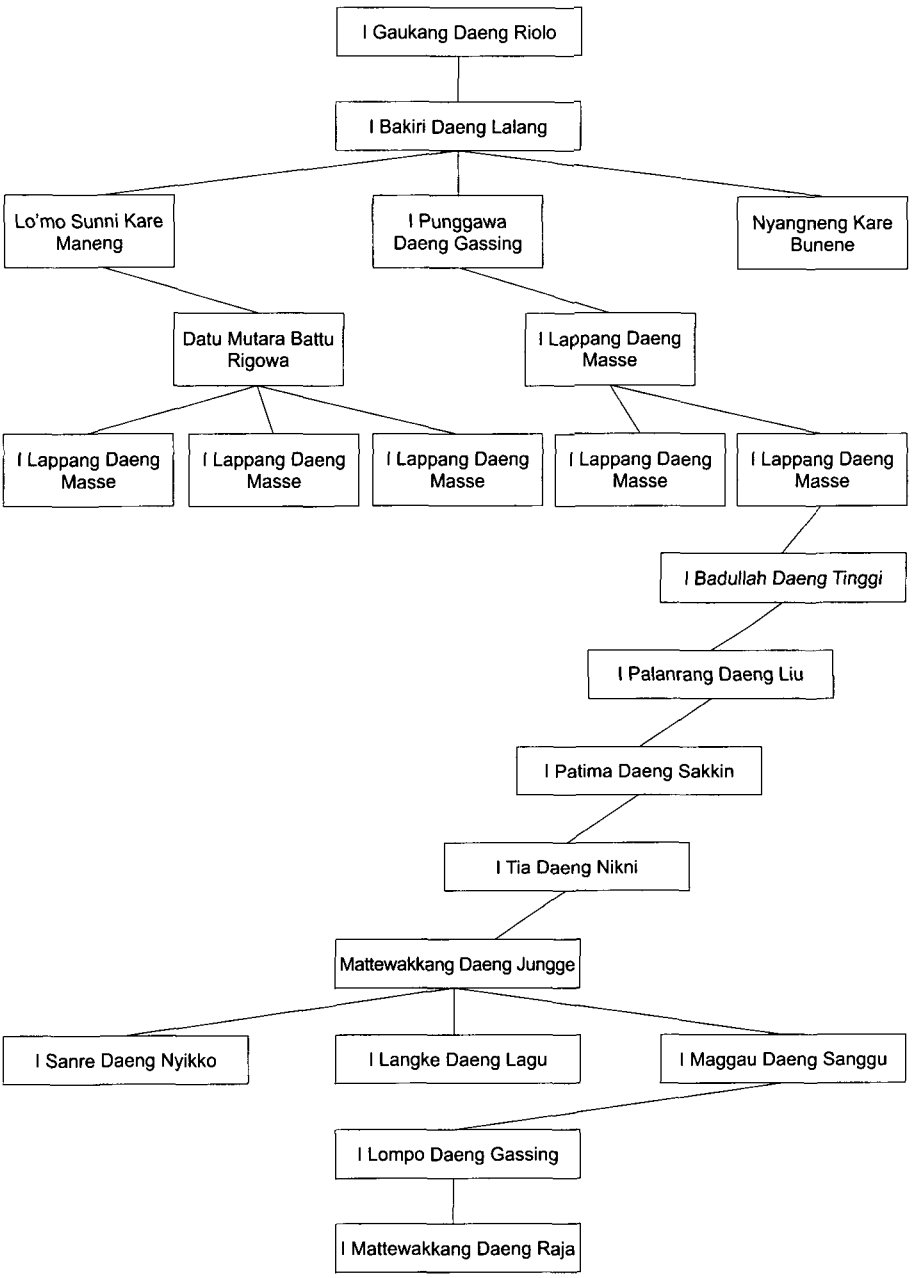


Figure 1. Genealogical chart of rulers of Binamu (Haji Abdurrahim)

1 I GAUKANG DAENG RIOLO

2 BAKIRI DAENG NGILAGANG
child of 1

3 PAMONGGA DAENG GASSING
child of Bakiri Daeng Gassing

4 DATU MUTTARA KARAENG CINIYO
from Gowa, married in Binamu with the daughter of Ponggo Daeng Gassing

5 LAPALANG DAENG MASSO
nephew/niece of the wife of 4

6 PATTAPOI DAENG NGUNJUNG
nephew/niece of 5

7 I JAKKOLO DAENG RANGKA
brother/sister of Pattapoi Daeng Masso

8 PAQDEWAKKANG DAENG RANGKA
first cousin of 9 (first muslim ruler of Binamu?)

9 SANRE DAENG NYIKKI
brother/sister of 8

10 RANGGONG DAENG BANI
brother/sister of 8

11 I BADOLLOH DAENG TINGGI
grandson/granddaughter of 6

12 PALANRANG DAENG LIU
nephew/niece of wife of 11

13 PATTINA DAENG SAKING
nephew/niece of wife of 12

14 TIA DAENG NINI
brother/sister of Maqdi Daeng Rimakka

15 MATTEW AKANG DAENG JUNGGO
from Bangkala, married at Bontoramba with the daughter of 14

16 SANRO DAENG NYIKKO
son/daughter of 15

17 PALANGKAI DAENG LAGU
brother/sister of 16

18 LOMPO DAENG GASSING
son/daughter of 17

19 MAQGAU DAENG SANGGU
brother/sister of 17

20 MATTEWAKANG DAENG RAJA
son/daughter of 18

Figure 2. King List of Binamu (Rachman 1997:29-30)

the rulership of Binamu.[20] By backdating Rachman's list, starting from I Mattewakkang Daeng Raja (1929-1954), using a standard 25-year reign length (Caldwell 1988:171; Bulbeck 1992:32, 473), the first Muslim ruler of Binamu is likely to have been Paqdewakkang Daeng Rangka (estimated to have ruled from 1604 to 1629).[21] Rahman's list names seven preceding rulers, which by a similar calculation would place the origin of royal rule, symbolized by I Gaukang Daeng Riolo ('Ancient lord regalia'),[22] in the early fifteenth century. This dating, while speculative, is not contradicted by other data, and corresponds to the time depth that one typically finds for similar traditions in South Sulawesi (see Caldwell 1998).

Site visits in Binamu

The authors visited all the settlements named in the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu and in the oral traditions cited above.[23] Most settlements were visited more than once. These multiple visits were made to ensure full and accurate collection of data and to enable the authors to check their interpretations, in particular of the oral traditions associated with the origins of the kingdoms.

According to oral tradition, Layu in the Tamanroya valley is where the female *tumanurung* whom the rulers of Binamu claimed as their ancestor descended to earth and was installed as ruler by a pre-existing agricultural community, represented by the Toqdoq Appaka council, consisting of the representatives of Bangkala Loe, Layu, Batujala and Lentu. In the middle of Layu is a stone arrangement surrounded by a modern wooden fence, where Tumanurunga ri Layu is said to have appeared. Her *kain* (a woman's lower garment), an ancient white cloth, is kept in a nearby house in a wooden box also containing *anaq baccing* (iron percussion instruments used to ward off evil, M.).[24] Villagers know the tradition of her appearance and of her selection as ruler by the Toqdoq Appaka council, and add that her descendants

[20] The tradition does not provide a break in the formal rulership of Binamu during the Dutch period; the 18th ruler was exiled to Nias (presumably in 1905), where he died in 1912 (Ibrahim and Husain 1980:38).

[21] According to Ibrahim and Husain (1980:33), the first Islamic ruler of Binamu was Mangngunturang Daeng Nuju, who is said to have aided Gowa in its struggle against the Dutch. His name does not appear in Rahman's list.

[22] *Gaukang, saukang* (M.), an object considered to have special magic properties which acted as a social integrator and a unifying element within a community (Chabot 1996:120-9).

[23] On their visits, the authors noted that settlements in the lower reaches of the major rivers were often situated at the base of higher ground flanking the valleys, the elevated locations serving to protect from annual flooding and avoiding the wasteful use of fertile land on the valley floor. However, the locations of modern settlements are not necessarily the locations of their ancient predecessors.

[24] Illustrated in Matthes 1874: Ethnographic Atlas Plate 9, Figure 1.

married with the ruling family at Sapanang, echoing the two oral traditions summarized above.

The prominence of Layu in oral tradition is evidently a reflection of its control of the best rice-growing area along the Tamanroya, as well as its command of lines of trade and communication to the north and south. In the dry season, Layu's fields are planted with chilli peppers and other vegetable crops. The agricultural potential of the lower Tamanroya valley is, however, best appreciated in the wet season, when the river, which winds past Layu, floods its banks, inundating and fertilizing the river flats, making this some of the best farmland in Jeneponto.

Bangkala Loe, the first-named of the four Toqdoq Appaka settlements, is today identified as the plateau between the villages of Jokko and Pokkobulu, which lies at an elevation of about 190 m. Despite its relatively high position, Bangkala Loe's economy is based on seasonal rice cultivation; numerous small streams provide water for cultivation during the wet season, and the hilly terrain has been worked into terraced rice fields. Bangkala Loe's rulers are buried at Jokko, where there is a large royal graveyard with decorated stone graves, some with carved human figures.

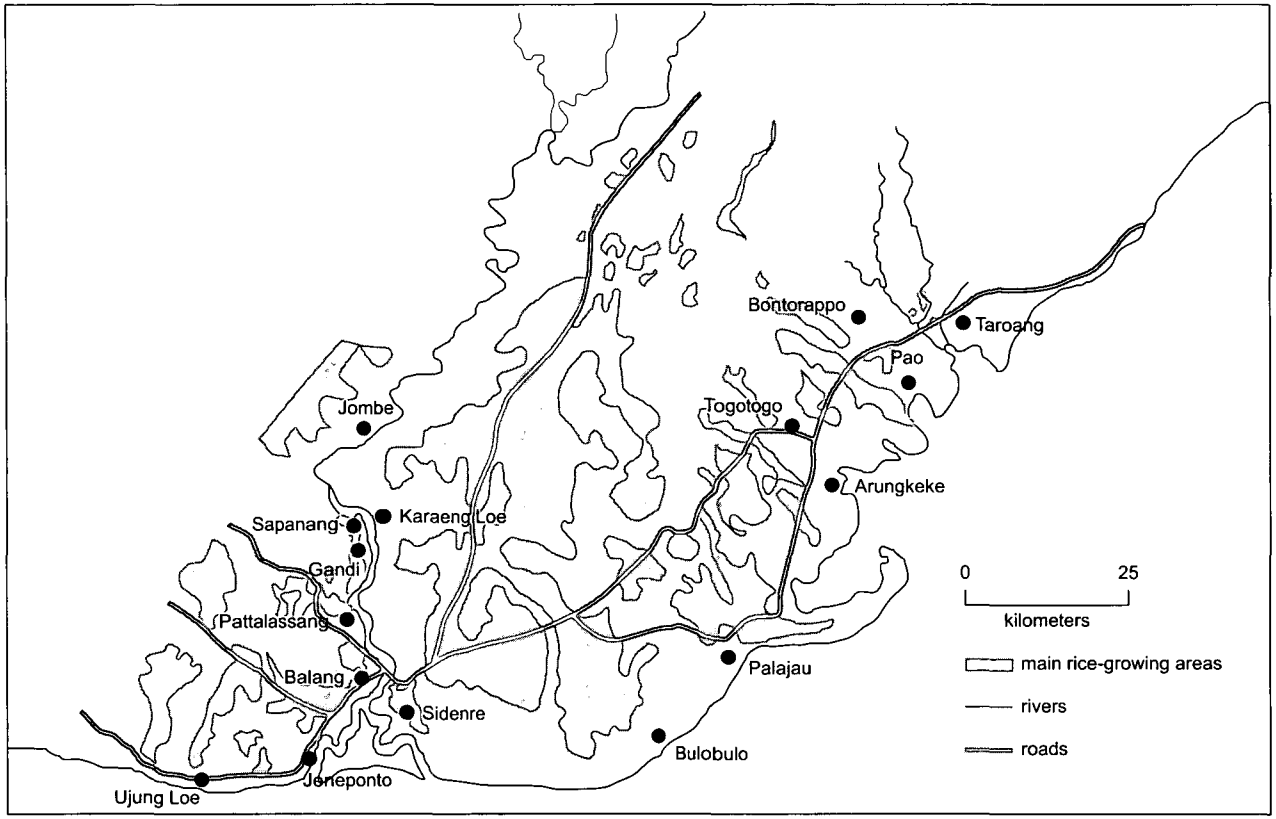
Batujala, the third of the Toqdoq Appaka settlements, lies close to Bontosuka hill, in a wide area of rice fields. Informants here claimed that there was once a palace (*istana*) at Batujala.

Lentu, the fourth of the Toqdoq Appaka settlements, lies less than a kilometre from Layu.

Having considered the core area of Binamu, we turn now to the list of tributary settlements that follows the words *Binamu paliliqna* (Binamu's tributaries) in the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu. We shall discuss them in the order in which they appear in the list.

Sidenre, the first of Binamu's tributaries, is located on the Jeneponto river delta and is known today as a centre of local Maulud traditions.[25] It has a mixed economy, with a small area of wet rice fields and a larger area of *ladang* (fixed dry-field) cultivation. There is a small harbour called Bosila, although today seagoing vessels cannot reach this far up the river, possibly due to sedimentation. Quantities of ceramics were reportedly found in Sidenre, including plates, dishes, *guci* (a type of martavan jar), as well as the remains of *keris* (Indonesian daggers with a double edge). Local informants say that

[25] As part of the Maulud celebrations in Sidenre, wooden towers are used to support baskets or mountains of cooked rice, locally known as *kanre maudu*, which are constructed along the riverbank in the village. These towers call to mind the rice mountain, or *garebeg*, of Maulud celebrations at the royal court of Yogyakarta in central Java. The towers and *kanre maudu* possibly represent pre-Islamic traditions that have survived and been incorporated into Islamic rites. They may also indicate Javanese influence along the south coast.



Map 3. Jeneponto valley and hinterland. Rice-growing areas are those shown on Dutch maps of the 1920s.

formerly Sidenre was a small kingdom ruled by a *karaeng* who was subject to the ruler of Binamu.[26]

Balang (today known as Balang Toa), the second of the tributaries, lies just a short distance north of Jeneponto (today known as Jeneponto Lama), with which it shares an intervening area of rice fields.

Jeneponto, the third of Binamu's tributaries, lies near the mouth of the river of the same name. The Jeneponto river is never dry; even at the height of the long dry season it carries a substantial body of water. During the rainy season the river rises as much as five metres, flooding the surrounding land and enriching the soil with sediment carried down from the hills. Local informants derived the etymology of Jeneponto (bracelet river, M.) from the 'bracelet' of water created by the splitting of the estuary of the river into two semicircular halves. This circle of water gives access to three settlements named in the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu, namely Sidenre, Balang, and Jeneponto.[27] The rice fields at Balang, Jeneponto, and Sidenre lie just a few metres above sea level and appear to have been converted from coastal swamp. We were told that they flood each year in December when the river rises above its banks.

Sapanang, the fourth tributary, lies opposite the hill of the same name referred to in the second oral tradition discussed earlier. The hill is an extended flat-topped ridge, about 200 metres wide and two kilometres long, which runs in a north-south direction, flanked on the west by the Jeneponto river, which winds around its southern extremity. The hill forms the eastern wall of a long narrow valley with alluvial soils whose agricultural potential is best appreciated from its summit. Looking down on rich fields of crops, interspersed with rows of coconut trees, it is easy to imagine the valley as an early centre of civilization (Photo 2).

Karaeng Loe is the name of the summit of Sapanang hill. The flat surface of this highly defensible hill is covered with the densest concentration of sherds of imported Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics that the authors have seen anywhere along the entire south coast, including Bantaeng (Bougas 1998). E. McKinnon, a veteran archaeologist with considerable Indonesian experience, who accompanied the authors on a visit to the hill in 1995, iden-

[26] Caldwell and Druce 1998:35-6. Reports of *guci* (martavan jars) containing cremated remains appear to contradict the general practice of inhumation with grave goods among the Makasar in the sixteenth century (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983:69-71). Bulbeck (1996-97:1030-1) provides evidence for an earlier tradition of cremation c. 1000 to c. 1300 in the Gowa area, and the reported presence of imported tradewares with cremated burials on the south coast suggests that cremation may have been practised as late as the fourteenth century. Burial practices before c. 1000 included flexed inhumation in large earthenware jars.

[27] The current *istana* (palace) of Binamu was moved to Jeneponto Lama from Mairo in *kecamatan* Tamalatea in 1942, presumably by order of the Japanese; the graves next to the palace are late twentieth century.

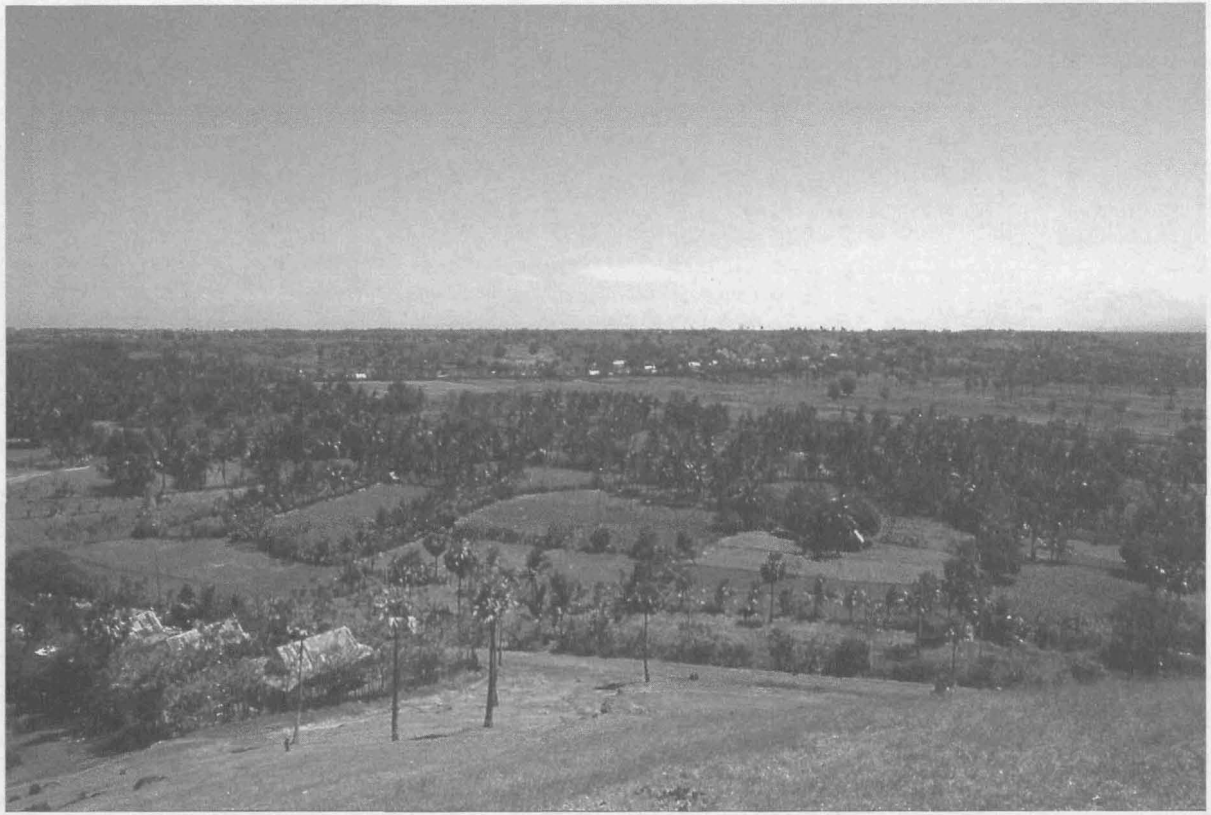


Photo 2. View of the Jeneponto valley at Sapanang looking southeast, with the hill ridge of Karaeng Loe on the horizon

tified tradewares including Southern Sung, Yuan, and Ming. A Cizhou-type sherd was also found on the summit of Karaeng Loe by Haji T. in the 1970s; recognizing its uniqueness and rarity, he kept it in his private collection. McKinnon (1995:2) describes the sherd as follows:

> The Cizhou-type sherd [discovered at Karaeng Loe] may be dated to approximately the c14-15 (Yuan-early Ming period). It is from a large, possibly *kuan* shaped vessel, estimated to be some 35 cm in diameter and possibly 30-32 cm in height, with an average body thickness of 11 to 15 mm. The paste is of a fine light buff clay. The bare rim at the top of the sherd, which appears grey after firing, suggests that it would have been covered with a separate lid – it is thus from some form of large, heavily potted covered jar. The decoration is brown on a white slip with lines incised through the brown painting to expose the underlying slip. The remaining decoration may represent the wings of a phoenix and winged pearls. This particular shape of vessel with a celadon glaze, i.e. Yuan period Longquan ware, was not infrequently offered for sale by dealers in Ujung Pandang (Makassar) in the early 1970s. Cizhou vessels of this type appear, however, to be relatively rare in Indonesia.

Archaeological surveys in South Sulawesi have recovered Cizhou sherds only at pre-Islamic palace centres.[28] McKinnon (1995:3) further notes that the limited number of Cizhou vessels of which he has personal knowledge appear to be associated with local or regional power centres, such as Trawulan, the palace centre of Majapahit, near Mojokerto in East Java, and *kampung* Muara Ciaretun, associated with the kingdom of Pajajaran, near Bogor in West Java. In short, a vessel of the type and dimensions discovered on the summit of Karaeng Loe would almost certainly indicate a palace centre of a wealthy polity in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (McKinnon 1995:5).

The looter Haji T. claimed to have recovered from this hill large quantities of Sung, Yuan, and Ming porcelain and stoneware. The absence of Ching wares, noted visually by the authors, indicates that the hilltop was abandoned (as oral tradition claims) some time in the seventeenth century.

Informants at Jeneponto Lama and Balang, who knew little of the history of their own settlements, told us that the rulers of Binamu were installed at Sapanang (presumably on Karaeng Loe), a claim that we heard elsewhere.[29] West of Karaeng Loe and a little south of Sapanang at Gandi is the graveyard

[28] Kallupa et al. 1989:24-5, 93; Bulbeck 1992:659, 693, 703; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:84. These sites include Tinco Tua (the palace site of West Soppeng), Katangka (the original palace site of Gowa), Talloq (the palace site of Gowa's sister kingdom), Pattimang Tua (the pre-Islamic palace site of Luwuq at Malangke), and Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete (the palace site of the kingdom of Cina in the western Cenrana valley).

[29] According to Haji Abdurrahim of Balumbungang, the rulers of Binamu were installed at Balumbungang, near the nineteenth-century palace centre of Mairo. It is possible that rulers were installed in more than one place (compare the multiple installations of the rulers of the kingdom of Luwuq in Caldwell and Druce 1998:57).

Makam Karaeng Bebang, which contains a number of intricately carved tombstones dating to the early eighteenth century (Kallupa et al. 1995-96). These are similar in style to the eighteenth-century royal graves at Bontoramba and probably contain the remains of members of the ruling family of unified Binamu. The grave robber Pak B. stated that the graves overlie an older, pre-Islamic burial ground, from which finds of ceramics, weapons, and gold have been reported. Villagers at Bontoramba told us of a ritual site located at an elevation of approximately 300 metres in the hills north of the settlement, near a natural spring, a source of a minor tributary of the Pangkajeqne river. This site is considered sacred; reportedly, water buffalo were sacrificed here and other offerings were made at the start of rice planting in the rainy season and in the harvest month. People are said to have attended these rites from as far away as Bontoramba and Layu, and to have collected small pebbles from the spring as amulets.

Ciqnong, the fifth tributary, lies to the west of the Tamanroya valley, as does the sixth tributary, Tonrokassiq. Neither of the settlements, which lie on the road that runs along the coastal plain, has much arable land; Ciqnong's rice fields have been converted into more profitable *empang* (fish ponds). Local informants told us that formerly both settlements lay on low rises on the west bank of the Tamanroya river and had more extensive rice fields. On Map 2, Ciqnong and Tonrokassiq are marked at their older locations.

It is our clear impression following this survey that Binamu's tributaries in the Jeneponto valley once formed a single independent polity dominated by a settlement located at Karaeng Loe, and that this polity was, at some time, 'swallowed up' by or came under the domination of Binamu, a polity based in the neighbouring Tamanroya valley, which had access to larger areas of agricultural land.

We turn now to Binamu's domains, namely Ujung Loe, Kalumpang, Palajau, Bulobulo, Pattalassang, Jombe, Paiatana, Arungkeke, Togotogo, Bontorapo, Pao, Taroang, Tino, Tonra, Rumbia, and Toloq. These are scattered over a very wide area, from Kalumpang in the southwest to Rumbia in the north, and to Tino in the southeast (now inside the western border of *kabupaten* Bantaeng). The authors were unable to learn much of the history of these settlements from site visits, and none of Binamu's domains appears in any of the oral traditions discussed above, all of which suggests that they were not involved in the initial formation of the kingdom but represent a later stage of expansion, or incorporation of outlying polities.

Most domains lie on or near to the coast, suggesting a mixed economy; plotted out on a map, they encircle much of the arable land east of the Jeneponto river (Map 3). The potential of the hill soils can be seen from the lush green rice fields at Bontoraja, south of Rumbia, where a modern, dam-fed irrigation system waters the fields, which produce two crops a year. Pak B.

looted sites along both sides of the river at Taroang and claimed to have found considerable quantities of ceramics.

Arungkeke is the most interesting of the coastal domains. Its surrounding rice fields are lush and verdant even at the height of the dry season, owing to underground water that seeps up naturally. The settlement, which lies directly on the coast, is surrounded by the remains of a wall built from large boulders, apparently for defence. It has by far the best harbour in eastern Binamu, capable of sheltering large seagoing vessels from the monsoons, and has a spring, offering a supply of freshwater for sailors. By contrast, the mouth of the Jeneponto river is dangerously exposed and presents the additional risk of infestation of wooden hulls by freshwater worms (Horst Liebner, personal communication). Arungkeke's name (lord [B.] of Keke) indicates that it was ruled by a Bugis *arung*, who presumably settled here following the conquest of Gowa in 1669, after which the Bugis expanded southward from Bone into Sinjai and Bulukumba. In the centre of Arungkeke are the graves of its rulers, which appear to be late seventeenth century in design, and an arrangement of large stones, now badly damaged, which is said to have been their installation site.

The two most northern domains, Toloq and Rumbia, were reported by Haji T. as having yielded sizable quantities of ceramics. Both had extensive hilltop defences, the stone remains of which may still be seen today. Evidence discussed in the following section suggests that Toloq and Rumbia were formerly independent polities which were only loosely incorporated into the kingdom of Bangkala.

Interpretation

The evidence presented above points to three distinct stages of Binamu's development. First was the emergence of two small but prosperous agricultural polities on the floodplains of the lower Tamanroya and Jeneponto rivers; second was their union into a single kingdom called Binamu, apparently as a result of the Tamanroya polity absorbing the Jeneponto polity. Third was the expansion of the ruling family of Binamu onto higher, more marginal rice-growing land in the surrounding hills, and along the coast to the east and west of the Jeneponto river, and the incorporation into the kingdom of outlying polities.

Bugis chronicles tell us that, starting around 1300, high-ranking individuals began to direct the setting out of substantial tracts of wet-rice land as part of their programmes of political expansion (Macknight 1983; Caldwell 1995). This process appears to have begun on the most suitable tracts of land, such as the margins of seasonally inundated lakes or the floodplains of rivers. As our evidence shows, Binamu's political and economic heartlands were the

lower reaches of the Tamanroya and Jeneponto river valleys, where, due to periodic inundation by the flooding rivers, the alluvial soil floors are more productive than are the lighter soils of the surrounding limestone hills.

In the Tamanroya valley, the core Toqdoq Appaka settlements of Layu, Bangkala Loe, Batujala, and Lentu lie just a few kilometres distant from each other, on the plain formed by the joining of the lower valleys of the Pangkajeqne river and the Tamanroya river and their tributaries. All four settlements lie below the 20-metre contour line and most of their rice fields lie below the 10-metre line. The former palace centre of Layu is situated in the middle of this plain, at the junction of the two rivers, the ideal point from which to monitor the flow of information and the movement of people and goods between the valley and the coast. Reports of looted Ming, early Ching, and occasional Yuan ceramics from pre-Islamic graveyards along the Bontoramba river indicate that, at least in part, the formation of the Tamanroya polity was a response to the growing importance of external trade in South Sulawesi after c. 1300 (Caldwell 1995:186-9). The prosperity and wealth of the Tamanroya valley is recalled as far west as Rukuruku in the neighbouring kingdom of Bangkala, whose inhabitants claim that their first *gallarang* (district head, M.) hailed from Layu.

Layu is not mentioned in the *Sedjarah Goa* (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.) or the *Sedjarah Tallo'* (Rahim and Ridwan 1975), although the latter states that the Talloq ruler Tumenanga ri Makkoayang (ruled 1547-1577) defeated Binamu and reduced it to the status of a slave (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:10). In the seventeenth century, Binamu appears in Dutch sources as a unified kingdom (Turatea) led by Karaeng Layu, allied with Gowa (Andaya 1981). After Gowa's defeat by the Dutch, the palace centre of Binamu moved to Bangkala Loe, then to Bontoramba in the eighteenth century, and to Mairo in the nineteenth century. This progression can be reconstructed through oral traditions at these three settlements and from the impressively decorated graveyards at Bangkala Loe and Bontoramba, and at Gandi in the Jeneponto valley. By the time of the move of the palace centre to Mairo, this period of monumental grave construction seems to have exhausted itself.

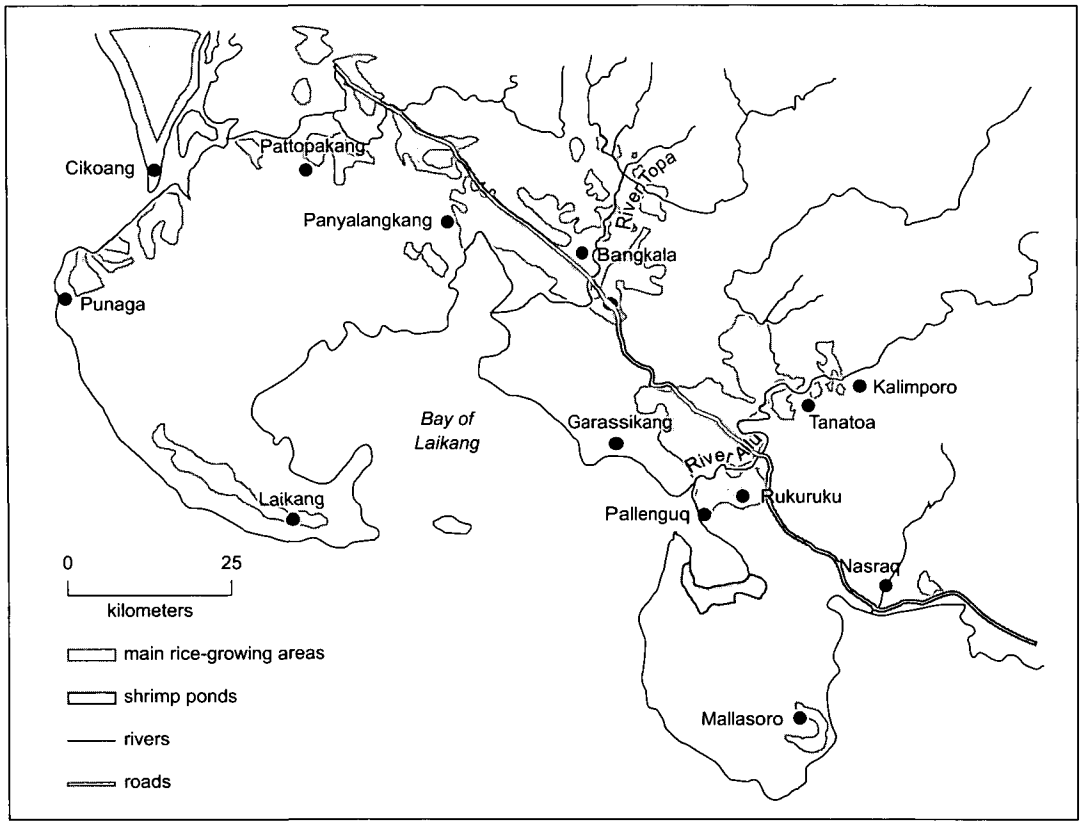
Ceramic sherdage from the Jeneponto valley points to the emergence, probably at about the same time as Layu, of an agricultural polity along the lower reaches of the river between Jombe and the coast. Its centre appears to have been at Sapanang: tradition places the palace on the summit of the hill to the east of Sapanang. The highly defensible nature of the hill and its rich surface debris of sherds from the late Sung through to the Ming period, including the Cizhou piece, suggest that the polity was strongly centralized and that its core area included all settlements within the lower valley.

Sidenre, Balang, and Jeneponto, which lie on the coastal plain at the foot of the lower Jeneponto valley, may have been tributaries of the Sapanang pol-

ity before they were incorporated into the united kingdom of Binamu. They too were agricultural settlements: Balang and Jeneponto share a small area of rice fields (roughly 1.25 square kilometres) and Sidenre is surrounded by a slightly smaller body of rice fields. As in the lower Jeneponto valley, the rice fields of the coastal plain settlements are fertilized by the seasonal flooding of the Jeneponto river.

The Sapanang-based Jeneponto valley polity seems to have retained a degree of regional importance after Binamu's unification, which we estimate to have occurred in the sixteenth century. As established by the sherdage found on the summit of the hill, Karaeng Loe was not abandoned until the seventeenth century: the oral tradition that the rulers 'came down' from the hill and lived at Sapanang presumably refers to this move. In the eighteenth century, Sapanang's rulers (who may by this time have been members of a single ruling family of Binamu) were buried in the monumental graveyard at Gandi. According to present-day oral tradition, after its abandonment, Karaeng Loe's symbolic importance as the centre of authority in the Jeneponto valley required that Binamu's rulers be installed there, possibly as part of a series of regional installations that took into account Binamu's local histories and allegiances.

The expansion of wet-rice agriculture in Binamu after c. 1300 was most likely a slow but fairly continuous process, some of which was directed by Binamu's ruling elite and some the result of local or individual decisions. Over time, perhaps quickening after c. 1400, large areas of rice-growing land were established along the flood prone river valleys and coastal plains, and on the highlands surrounding the major river valleys. This process of agricultural expansion onto higher, more marginal land may have begun before the unification of Binamu; the locations of the domains of Jombe and Pattalassang at the northern and southern ends of the lower Jeneponto valley suggest that they were parts of the early Sapanang-centred polity. Other domains are relatively distant and are likely to represent a later stage of Binamu's agricultural expansion. Toloq and Rumbia, the most distant, are located on highlands covered with scattered boulders ejected in the distant past by the extinct volcano Lompobatang. We interpret them not as new settlements founded by members of Binamu's ruling family, but as independent polities that were later incorporated into Binamu: the *Adatrechtbundels* (1933:171, 173) state that Karaeng Rumbia 'followed the Karaeng Binamu', to whom he paid tribute and provided troops in time of war, but apart from these requirements Karaeng Rumbia, in consultation with his council (*hadat*), independently managed the affairs of the kingdom. Most domains, however, lie along the coast, namely Kalumpang, Ujung Loe, Bulubulu, Palajau, Arungkeke, Togotogo, Pao, and Bontorappo (Paiatana and Tonra are unidentified), and all have rice fields as well as access to the sea. Many of these, we believe, were founded, or expanded, by members of Binamu's ruling elite.



Map 4. Core area of Bangkala. Rice-growing areas are those shown on Dutch maps of the 1920s.

When the domains of Binamu are plotted out on a map, they can be seen to enclose the large triangle of rice fields running down to the coast from Toloq to Arungkeke. We conclude that in general the coastal and highland domains represent a later stage of agricultural expansion directed in part by the ruling elite of Binamu, or the incorporation of formerly independent polities into the kingdom of Binamu.

The kingdom of Bangkala

We now turn to the kingdom of Bangkala, which occupied the western half of Jeneponto. Like Binamu to the east, the region has two major rivers, the Allu and the Topa, which run northeast to southwest, whose lower valleys are suitable for wet-rice cultivation. Both the Allu in the east and the Topa in the west have U-shaped beds characteristic of rivers that carry a sizable body of water for much of the year. At the height of the dry season, however, both rivers cease to flow, the remaining water gathered in deep pools formed in their undulating riverbeds. In November or December, and always provided that the rains come, the rivers rush in spate through their winding valleys, in places rising above their banks and flooding the surrounding low-lying areas of rice fields.

Oral traditions of Bangkala

A well-known oral tradition in Bangkala places the origin of the kingdom in the lower reaches of the Allu river valley:

> The royal lineage of Bangkala was born from the union of a female *tumanurung* and the son of the ruler of Tanatoa. Long, long ago, the *jannang* (petty chief) of Panaikang discovered a female *tumanurung*, Banrimanurung, in a segment of bamboo. He took her home and looked after her. One day, when the son of the ruler of Tanatoa, Karaeng Parurang, was out hunting with his dog, he chanced upon a natural spring near the house of Jannang Panaikang. Upon being invited into the house, he noticed a strand of hair protruding from a piece of bamboo. He pulled on the hair and the bamboo split open, revealing Banrimanurung. The prince was enchanted by her beauty and subsequently married her. When he returned home to his parents at Tanatoa with his new bride, his father also fell in love with Banrimanurung and wanted to marry her. Karaeng Parurang fled Tanatoa with his wife and returned to Panaikang and prepared for war. The battle was fought at Kalimporo; Banrimanurung assured victory by magically transforming bamboo shoots into soldiers. The king of Tanatoa was defeated, and so many soldiers lost their lives in the battle that their corpses were left to rot in the fields. Banrimanurung and Karaeng Parurang settled at *kampung* Bangkala, where Banrimanurung gave birth to a son, Karaeng Ujung Moncong.

> Banrimanurung then disappeared, as mysteriously as she had appeared. Her son, Karaeng Ujung Moncong, became the first king of Bangkala and was installed at *kampung* Bangkala. In due course, he was succeeded by his son, Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna. As a result of the ruler of Tanatoa's perfidy, to this day no boy from Tanatoa can take a bride from Bangkala; young men from Bangkala, however, may marry girls from Tanatoa. (1997; Authors' fieldnotes)

Several versions of this story can be heard in Bangkala today; all state that the kingdom of Bangkala was formed when two smaller polities, one centred on the lower reaches of the Allu river and one centred on the Topa river valley, were united under a single ruler. All versions recall a fierce battle in which the 'junior' polity defeated and conquered the 'senior' polity. After the union of the two polities, their ritual precedence was reversed. This reversal is reflected in the tradition that to this day no boy from Tanatoa can take a bride from Bangkala; young men from Bangkala, however, may marry girls from Tanatoa. Among the Makasar, a woman is traditionally considered the marker of her family's status and cannot marry a man of lower status (Chabot 1996:141, 144). The function of the Banrimanurung story is to provide moral justification for the reversal of an older relationship in which the ruling family of Tanatoa (the old land, M.) in the Allu river valley held precedence over the ruling family of Bangkala in the Topa valley. This it does by describing the perfidy of the ruler of Tanatoa, the father of Karaeng Parurang of Bangkala.

The Bangkala tradition speaks of a later stage of state formation than does Binamu's foundation tradition. The latter tradition refers to the initial stage of state formation, namely the formation of a river-valley polity through the peaceful union of neighbouring settlements as the result of the appearance of a heavenly-descended *tumanurung*. The Bangkala tradition reflects the later creation of a larger political unit through armed conflict between two such river-valley polities. One does not have to accept the details of either tradition to recognize that both processes would have resulted in greater political centralization.

Grave robber accounts of Bangkala

Haji T. said that in Bangkala pre-Islamic cemeteries are found mainly in the valleys of the Allu river and its tributaries and on the sides and summits of the flanking hills. He told us that he had looted extensive hilltop cemeteries on *moncong* (hill, M.) Toloqtoloq near Garassikang, and *moncong* Cina Loe, one kilometre northwest of Tanatoa, and added that pre-Islamic burial sites along the high hills that confine the upper reaches of the Allu river near Kapita were also plundered.

Hadimuljono and Macknight (1983:69-71) present evidence of extended burials among the Makasar in the sixteenth century. However, Haji T. reported that during looting in Jeneponto a variety of burial practices were encountered. These included the burial of bones in earthen jars, ashes in earthen jars, ashes in ceramic jars (the last found mostly in the interior), and extended burials with the corpse aligned east-west. Haji T. also told us that he had discovered a number of earthen jars containing bones at Kapita in the upper Allu valley; these probably represent the oldest of the four forms of burial, possibly during the first millennium AD (Bulbeck 1996-97:1029-31). Cremated bones in large green and bluish-white ceramic jars were also found in the Allu valley; these probably date from after 1300. Villagers in Laikang near the coast reported the discovery there of ceramic jars containing ash mixed with earth, presumably the remains of human cremation.

Haji T. also told us that he had discovered a paper-thin gold death mask in a large pre-Islamic cemetery lying to the west and close to the sacred springs and Bonto Gaqdong near *kampung* Bisoli in *desa* Banrimanurung. The graveyard was located at the base of a small hill where the *tumanurung* Banrimanurung is said to have disappeared. This was the only gold mask that Haji T. discovered along the entire south coast. He did, however, find three small gold statues, each 5 to 6 cm in height, at Ujunga at the mouth of the Allu river, just below Pallenguq. One statue was solid and weighed 27 grams, while the other two were hollow.

Like many former grave robbers, Haji T. has a personal collection of sherds and damaged ceramics. His collection includes an unusual, damaged, green-glazed stoneware jar that he found at Beroanging (Photo 3). McKinnon, who examined it (McKinnon 1995:2), stated that stylistically it resembles pieces produced during the Five Dynasties Period (AD 907-960). If correct, this would make it one of the oldest pieces of Chinese trade ceramics found in South Sulawesi.

Textual sources on Bangkala

The Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala might be described as the sister text of the Tributary and Domain List of Binamu, which it follows immediately in the same two codices, copied in Makassar for the Dutch scholar B.F. Matthes in the late nineteenth century.[30] Identical in structure, it lists Bangkala's tributaries and domains using the standard Bugis formulas *paliliqna*, 'the tributaries of', and *napanoqé rakkalana*, 'and then the plough [of the

30 Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap MS. 100 (p. 119 line 25 to p. 120 line 8) held in the Library of Leiden University.

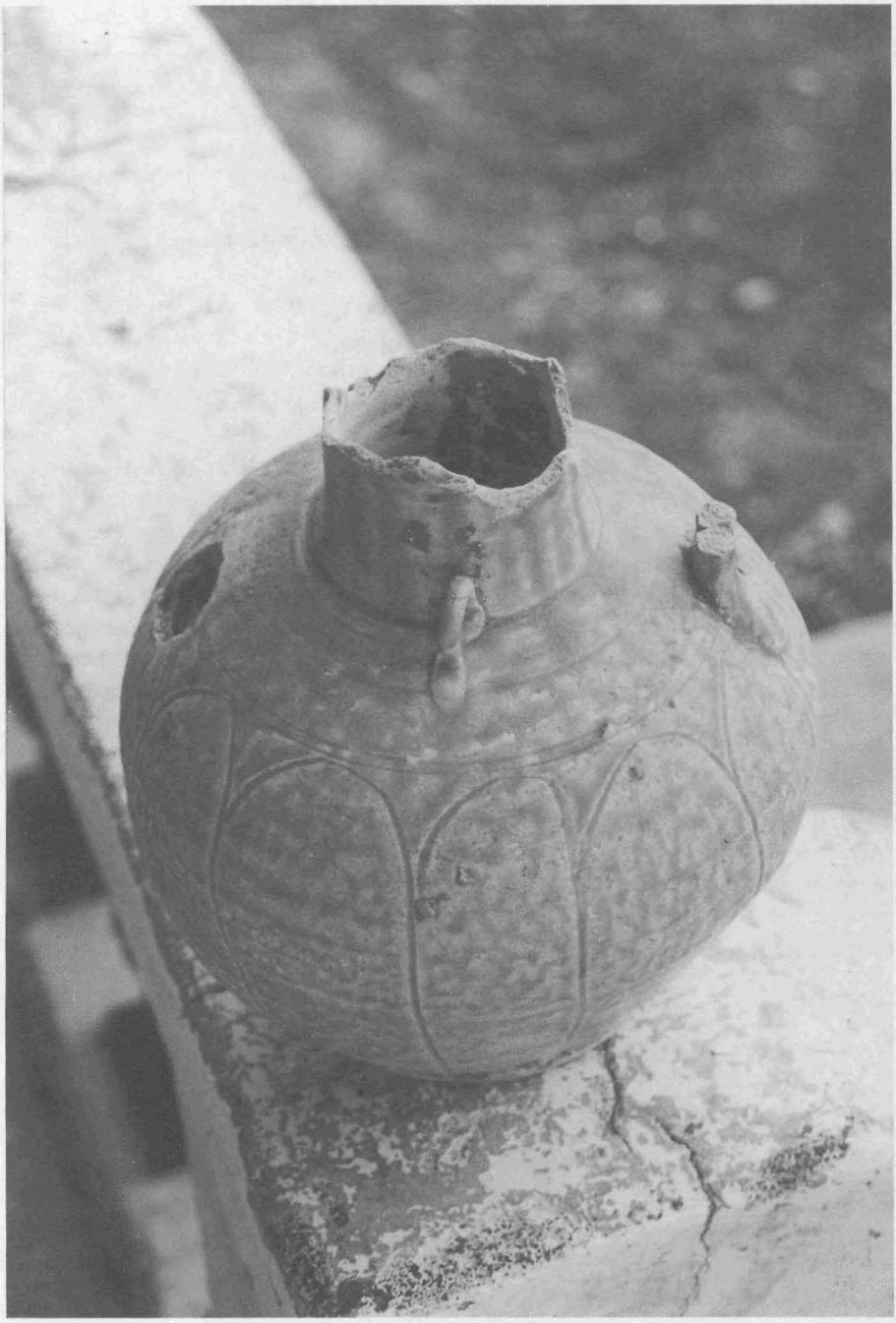


Photo 3. Green-glazed stoneware jar found by Haji T. at Beroanging

ruler] goes down to', in order to divide the two groups of place names. We have proposed in an earlier section that tributaries were ruled by local elite families, and that domains were lands that belonged to a kingdom's ruling family, or were ruled as apanages by its senior ministers.

The list is as follows:

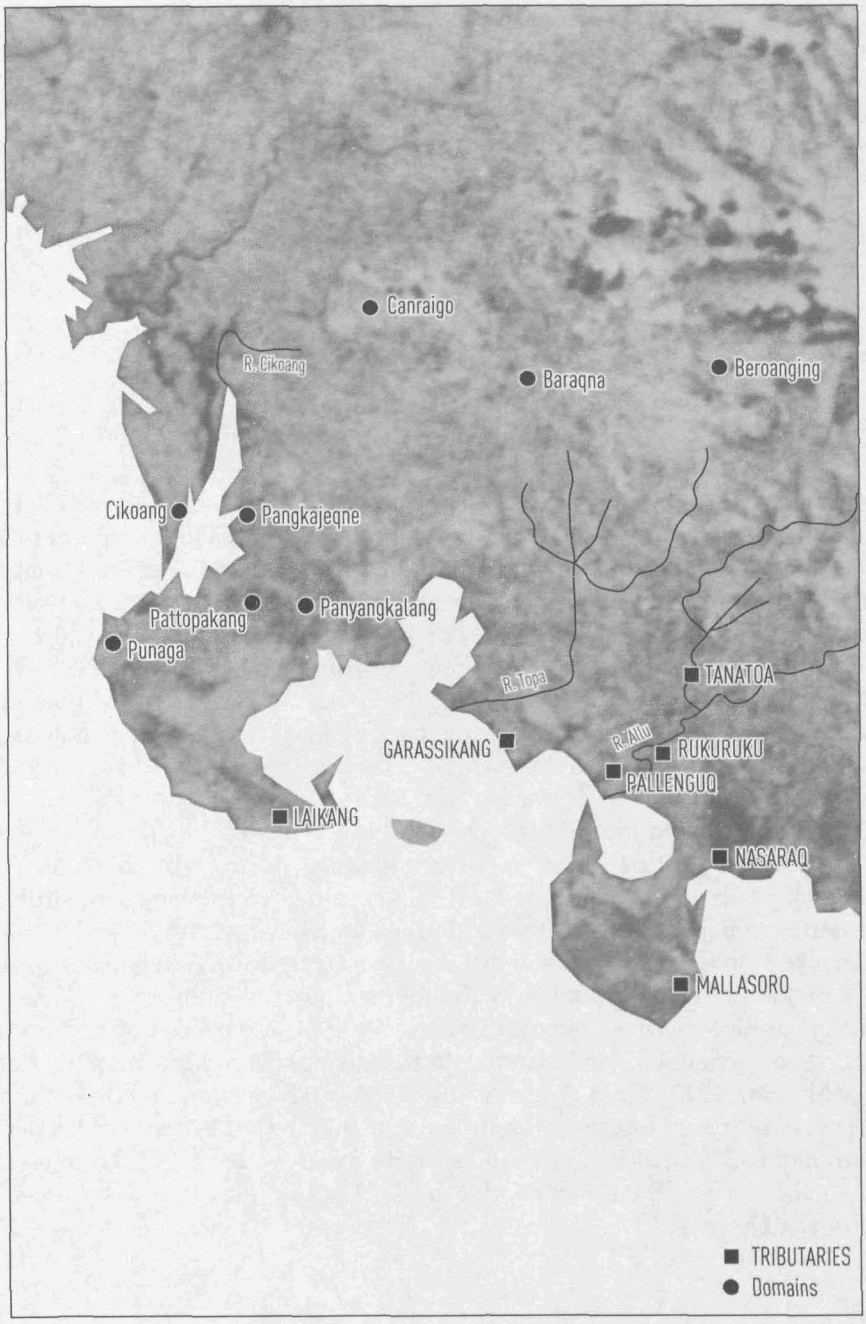
Tributaries of Bangkala
Bangkala's tributaries are Tanatoa, Pallenguq, Mallasoro, Garassikang, Nasaraq, Rukuruku and Laikang.

Domains of Bangkala
[Bangkala] rules directly Pattopakang, Panyalangkang, Punaga, Canraigo, Cikoang, Pangkajeqne, Baraqna, on its own, and Beroanging, on its own.

As was the case with the name 'Binamu' in the tributary and domain list of Binamu, the name 'Bangkala' does not refer to the unified kingdom but to its core area. At the time of the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala's composition, probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, the kingdom's core area lay in the lower reaches of the Topa valley. South of the Topa valley, on the coastal plain, and to the east along the Allu river, lay Bangkala's seven tributaries. To the west, commanding the headland between the Topa and Cikoang river valleys, lay six of Bangkala's eight domains. The seventh and eighth domains, Baraqna and Beroanging, lay directly to the north of the Topa valley, in a fertile area of ricefields (Map 5).

A microfilm held in the Arsip Nasional in Makassar, the *Silsilah Bangkala dan Kalimporo* (Rol 62, Naskah 1) contains a genealogy of the rulers of Bangkala. This can be compared with a genealogy of the kingdom's rulers written in roman script by Daeng Mino of Bangkala, a retired civil servant with a keen interest in the history of the region (Figure 4). A detailed account of Bangkala's rulers is found in the *Lontarak Makassar Apannassi Karaeng Ujung Moncong* (Budhisantoso and Yunus 1992-93), a transcription and translation of a privately owned manuscript from Bangkala which contains a date of Muharam, 1245 Hijrah (1 June-3 July 1829).[31] The *Lontarak* starts with the discovery of the *tumanurung* Banrimanurung and the battle between Karaeng Pauranga and the ruler of Kalimporo, and provides a record of the rulers of Bangkala down to the seventeenth century. The genealogy of these rulers is set out in Figure 3.

[31] The Story of Ujung Moncong, written in the Makasar language. C.C. Macknight kindly drew our attention to this publication and supplied us with a copy.



Map 5. Tributaries and domains of Bangkala

At first sight the three genealogies look very different. Close examination reveals important structural similarities and occurrences of what are evidently the same individuals. The similarities between the three genealogies are set out below (the generational positions of individuals in the three sources are indicated in brackets):

The Bangkala king list tradition

Silsilah Bangkala	*Daeng Mino text*	*Lontarak Makassar Apannassi dan Kalimporo Karaeng Ujung Moncong*
son of the ruler of Kalimporo (1)	Karaeng Paurang (1)	Karaeng Pauranga (1) betrothed to daughter of ruler of Kalimporo
Saupalige (2)	Sau Palengngne (2)	Liampayabang (2)
Batara Langi (2)	Batara Guru (2)	Batara Langi (2)
	I Golla Taua (2)	I Golla Taua (3)
Latena Bangkala (4)	Atinna Bangkala (3)	Latena Bangkala (4)
Tumalompoa Battanna (5)	Laqbua Talibannanna (4)	Laqbua Talibannanna (5)
Karaeng Banyowanyara (6)	Karaeng ri Bungaya (5)	Karaenta ri Bungaya (6)
	Karaeng ri Lure (6)	Karaenta ri Lure (6) c. 1600
	Muhammad Daeng Manyauru Karaeng Tobalia (7) First Muslim ruler	Tum[am]ena ri Pakaru (7) Karaenga ri Layu (8) mid-17th century

Each genealogy provides a tradition of six pre-Islamic rulers of Bangkala.[32] As we would expect from a culture in which information moves freely between the oral and written registers, names, and their generational positions, vary. If we backdate the tradition of six pre-Islamic rulers using a standard 25-year reign length (Caldwell 1988:171; Bulbeck 1992:32, 473), we can place the battle between Tanatoa and Bisoli, and thus the unification of Bangkala, in the

32 The 'Chronicle of Bangkala' in Cummings 2002, based on four Makasar texts, is recognizably the same tradition.

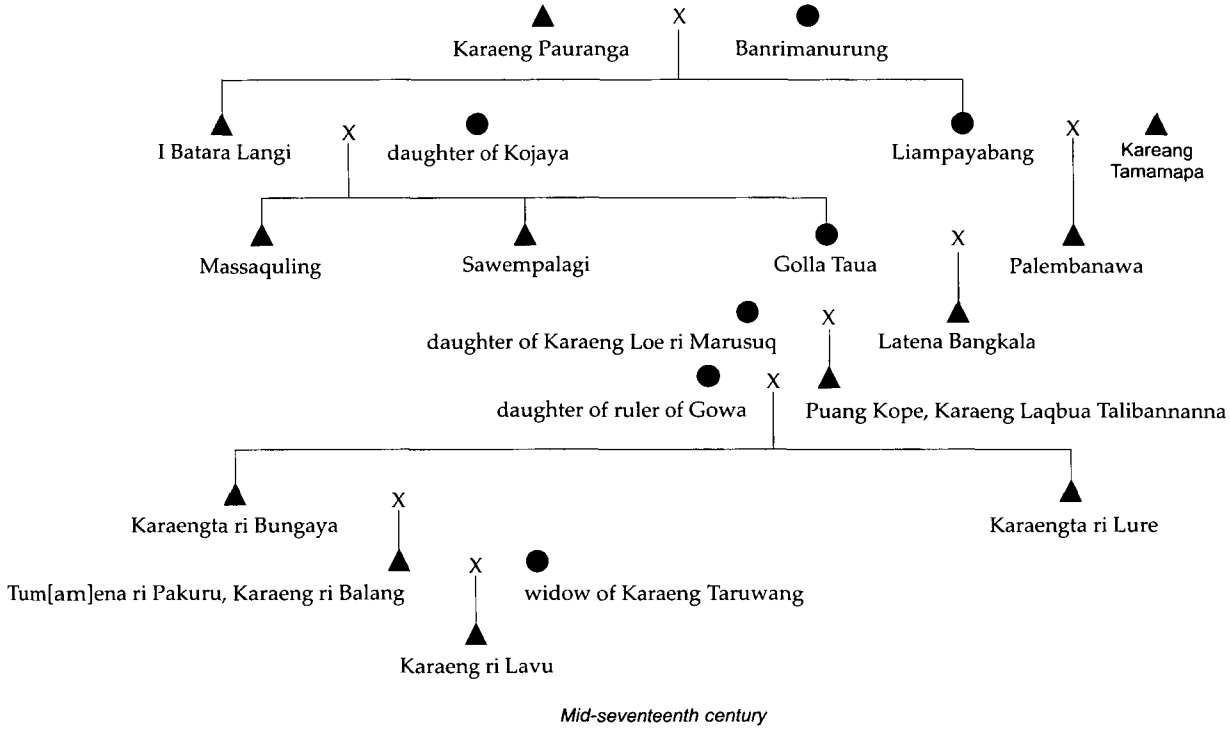


Figure 3. Lontarak Makassar Apannassi Karaeng Ujung Moncong genealogy.

Silsilah Bangkala dan Kalimporo

Generation 1:	The son of the king of Kalimporo who ruled at Mamapa
Generation 2:	Saupalige and his sister Batara Langi
Generation 3:	Tunibatta. Son of Batara Langi
Generation 4:	Tamakajia, Latena Bangkala
Generation 5:	Tumalompoa Battanna. Married at Layu, divorced, then married at Gowa with the daughter of Karaeng Kiteqne
Generation 6:	Daeng Katite, Karaeng Banyowanyara. Son from second marriage at Gowa

Daeng Mino oral version of rulers of Bangkala and Kalimporo

Generation 1:	Banrimanurung x Karaeng Paurang, the son of the ruler of Kalimporo
Generation 2:	Kojaia (eldest child) x Batara Guru Sau Palengngne (middle child) I Golla Taua (youngest child)
Generation 3:	Atinna Bangkala x Karaeng Ujung Moncong
Generation 4:	Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna x Kare Pate (daughter of Somba ri Gowa [ruler of Gowa])
Generation 5:	Karaeng ri Bungaya
Generation 6:	Karaeng ri Lure x I Lompo Bongngang
Generation 7:	Muhammad Daeng Manyauru Karaeng Tobalia, who converted to Islam

Key

x indicates marriage. Members of a following generation are the offspring of the former generation. Tunibatta (generation three) was a king of Gowa who was decapitated in battle in the mid-sixteenth century.

Figure 4. Silsilah Bangkala dan Kalimporo and Daeng Mino genealogies

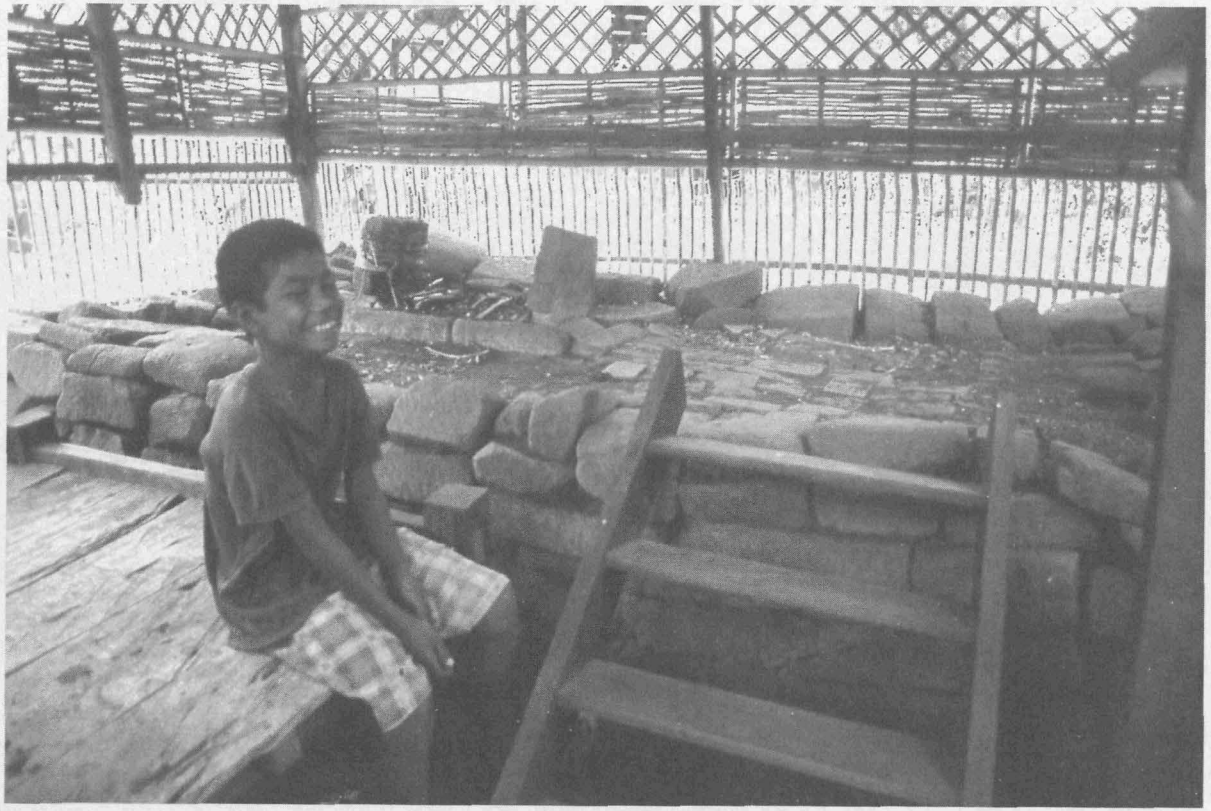


Photo 4. Grave of Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna, third ruler of Bangkala

mid to late fifteenth century.

Two of the three genealogies state that the fifth ruler, Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna, married a daughter of the ruler of Gowa, as well as the daughter of a local ruler. By backdating the King List tradition using 25-year reign lengths, we can place Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna's rule in the mid-sixteenth century. Makasar genealogies (Bulbeck 1992:61) list three Karaeng Bangkala, of whom the second is described as the son of the former Karaeng Bangkala and I Daeng Mangamu, the daughter of Karaeng Gowa Tunipalangnga (ruled c. 1547-1565) and his wife Karaenga Biliq Tangaya. Karaeng Tunipalangnga is estimated to have been born c. 1511 (Bulbeck 1992:31), and thus could have produced a marriageable daughter by the mid-sixteenth century, when, on the basis of the King List tradition, Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna is estimated to have ruled.[33] It is perhaps this marriage with a minor princess of the rising regional power of Gowa that has marked out Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna as a pivotal ruler in Bangkala's historical traditions.[34]

Site visits in Bangkala

The authors visited all the places named in the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala, as well as a number of settlements along the Topa and Allu river valleys. Many settlements were visited several times to gather oral traditions and to learn more about the hydrology of the valleys.

In keeping with the convention of its genre, the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala names none of the settlements in the Topa valley which comprised the political centre of the unified kingdom. The palace centre appears to have been at *kampung* Bangkala in the centre of the broad, rice-growing floodplain of the lower Topa valley (Map 4). Apart from the name of the *kampung*, support for this identification is provided by the grave of Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna, who according to the King List tradition was the fifth ruler of unified Bangkala.[35] His grave – it is his great-grandson who is credited with the conversion to Islam – is oriented north-south according to Islamic practice and has probably been rebuilt (Photo 4). Behind the grave is the *tempat pelantikan* (installation site) where the rulers of Bangkala were once installed; the installation stones are now in the safekeeping of a local

33 The *Sedjarah Goa* (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:30) states that Tunipalangnga had two daughters.

34 Oral tradition in *kampung* Bangkala states that Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna was the first ruler.

35 The spelling of his name is based upon its modern pronunciation in *kampung* Bangkala.

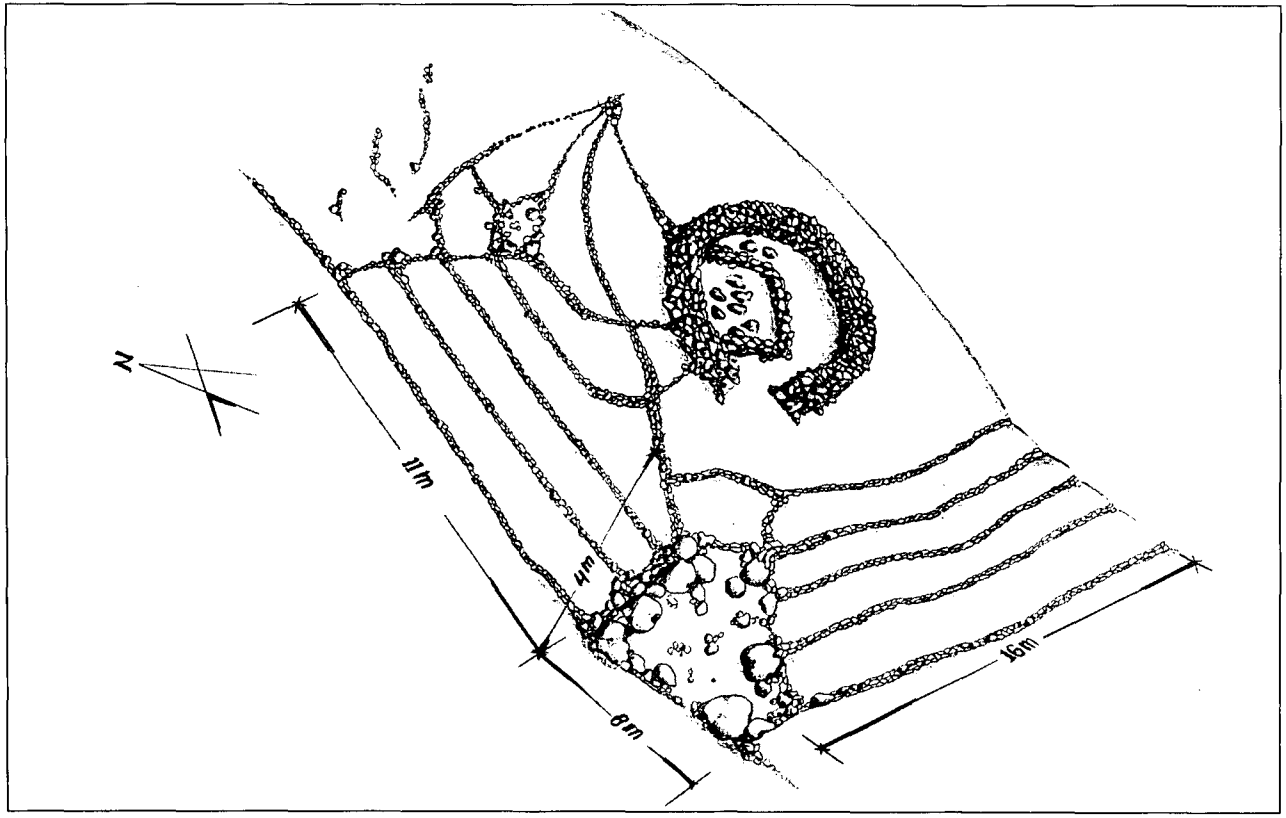


Figure 5. Terraced mound Karaeng Loe Burane at Kalimporo. Drawing by M. Nur.

noblewoman, Punna Rannu Daeng Teqme, who keeps in her house what she claims are regalia from the kingdom of Bangkala, including a spear and three *keris*.

In *kampung* Bisoli, just two kilometres from *kampung* Bangkala, is a natural spring. Local people identify the spring as the place where Jannang Panaikang chanced upon the *tumanurung* Banrimanurung. (Panaikang is close to Bisoli.) During the Dutch colonial period the ruling family of Bangkala lived at Bisoli, which their descendants who live there today and others say was the original centre of the kingdom. The name Bisoli is said to be derived from the name of a bamboo instrument used by Banrimanurung for cleaning cotton (*bissoroq*, M.), which suggests a local tradition of weaving, which in South Sulawesi was closely associated with overseas trade.[36]

Banrimanurung is said to have vanished from the summit of a small hill, just north of the main highway at *kampung* Bisoli. The top and sides of the hill are today covered with an Islamic cemetery that overlooks an older and perhaps larger pre-Islamic cemetery. It was near this hill that Haji T. found a gold death mask.

Five kilometres to the west is the Allu valley, the lower part of which is twelve kilometres long and nowhere more than a kilometre and half wide. This area comprised the ancient polity of Tanatoa, the first-named tributary of Bangkala. The name Tanatoa probably refers not just to the present-day *kampung* but to the entire lower Allu valley. In the long dry season the arid, sun-baked appearance of this small valley gives little hint of the fertility of its soil, which is enriched by the seasonal flooding of the Allu river.

What the foundation tradition of Bangkala does not tell us is which ancient settlements initially joined to form the polity of Tanatoa. Haji T. told us of nine settlements situated along the banks of the Allu river with substantial pre-Islamic cemeteries. Five of these, Tabontoloq, Tanatoa, Jenetellasa, Kapita, and Pallenguq, can be identified on the Bakosurtanal Map 2010-33 (Jeneponto). Tabontoloq and Kapita lie at the foot of the third and highest floodplain, twelve kilometres northeast of the town of Allu; Tanatoa lies in the lower river valley, three kilometres northeast of Allu; Jenetellasa lies three kilometres east of Tanatoa on high land (about 60 metres), and Pallenguq (the second-named tributary of Bangkala) lies on its own small floodplain on the southern bank at the mouth of the Allu river. It seems likely that several or all of these settlements were part of the original polity of Tanatoa.

Between *kampung* Tanatoa and Kalimporo is found a remarkable, terraced, earthen mound, said by villagers still to be the focus of local *tumanurung*

[36] Forrest (1792:79) states: 'The inhabitants of Celebes are very industrious, weaving a good deal of cotton cloth, generally cambays, which they export to all Malay countries; it is red chequered and mixed with blue; they also make beautiful silk belts, in which they fix their cresses'. See footnote 11.

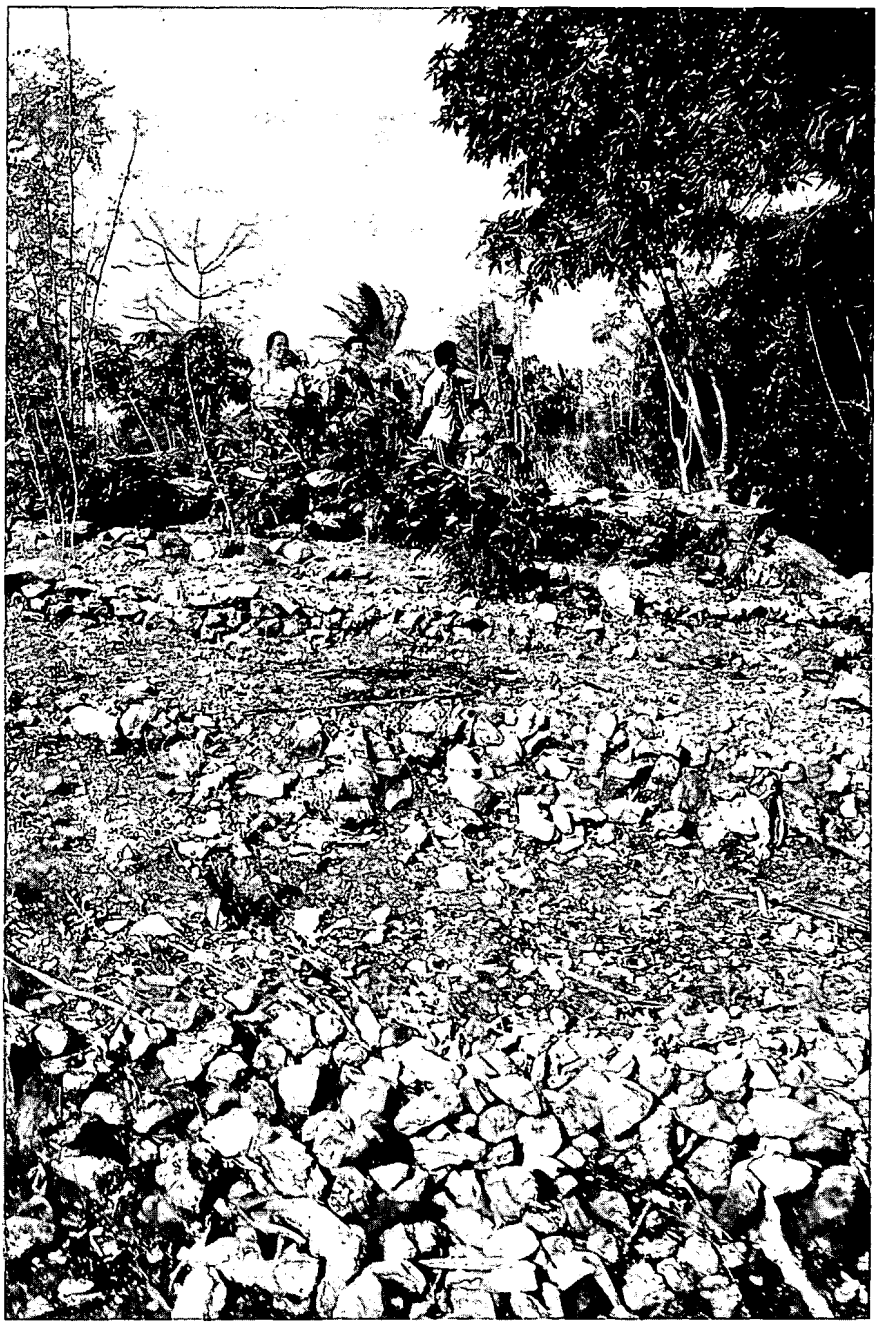


Photo 5. Terraced mound Karaeng Loe Burane at Kalimporo viewed from the southwest

rites (Figure 4). The mound, which is called Karaeng Loe Burane (great male lord, M.), lies approximately three kilometres northeast of the town of Allu, on the west side of the road between Borong Camba and Tonra. To the west the mound overlooks a small floodplain that provides ideal conditions for the growing of wet rice. The summit is enclosed by a low, circular stone wall, in the centre of which are a number of flat boulders (Photo 5).[37] Until it was cleared away in the late 1990s, a second mound, known as Karaeng Loe Baine (great female lord), stood a five-minute walk away on the east side of the road. The mound was barely discernible, rising only a foot or so above the ground, and had a diameter of approximately 10 metres. Its base was ringed with smaller stones, and a short menhir stood upright near its centre.

The Karaeng Loe Burane and the smaller Karaeng Loe Baine terraced mounds were perhaps ritual centres of the agricultural polity that once controlled the lower reaches of the Allu river and its floodplain, and probably also the two small floodplains higher up the Allu river at Bontomanai and Kapita. Across the river on the western side of Karaeng Loe Burane, on a small rise, is a *tempat pelantikan* where the rulers of Tanatoa are said to have been installed; the rise also contains a pre-Islamic cemetery looted by Haji T.

Pallenguq, the second of Bangkala's tributaries, lies on a small coastal floodplain at the mouth of the Allu river, just a few kilometres from Tanatoa. Pallenguq was the main harbour for the kingdom of Bangkala. It has a small protected inlet, now converted to *empang* but formerly used by seagoing vessels of up to 60 tonnes (Horst Liebner, personal communication). This historically important harbour is sheltered from both the east and west monsoons and offers safe anchorage in Laikang bay. This bay, and Mallasoro bay to the east, are the natural ports of call for ships sailing from east Java to Sulawesi, and are likely to have been early points of contact with Javanese traders. Reid (1990b:96) states that the leading families of Bangkala have a long history of shipping ventures and that the seafarers of Pallenguq travel all over the archipelago. Large seagoing vessels were constructed here in the dry season, but today all construction has moved to Tana Beru in Bulukumba. Pallenguq has extensive rice fields, and some *ladang* cultivation. A number of looted pre-Islamic graves were reported to have yielded plates and *guci* (martavan jars) together with bones.

Mallasoro, the third of Bangkala's tributaries, lies south of Pallenguq, near the tip of the large headland to the west of the bay of the same name. In the past it may have functioned as one of Bangkala's other harbours; there is safe anchorage on the northern side of *pulau* Libukang, opposite Mallasoro. In many places on the peninsula, the soil has less than the minimum 30-cm

[37] The mound is reminiscent of the undated terraced sanctuary at Lebak Sibedug, South Sumatra, shown in Holt 1967:30.

depth required for cultivation (the underlying limestone karst shows as pale areas on Landsat satellite photographs) and inhabitants seek a living by trading, boat building, and small-scale fishing.[38] The best arable land lies south of Mallasoro, where there are rice fields.

Garassikang, the fourth of Bangkala's tributary chiefdoms, lies on the coast. Its name probably derives from the Javanese port Gresik, which suggests ancient trading contacts between the Jeneponto coast and northeast Java. An elderly informant, Daeng Solle, recalled oral traditions of eight rulers at Garassikang; other informants said that ceramics and *keris* have been found in pre-Islamic graves on a nearby hillside.

Nasaraq, the fifth tributary of Bangkala, lies at the eastern corner of Mallasoro bay. The settlement sits at the mouth of an extensive forest of bamboo and teak, which shows up as a dark patch on Landsat satellite photographs. In 1997, Stephen Druce was shown a pre-Islamic grave site at the foot of a small hill, where he counted 25 looted graves. He was told that most of the ceramics the looters discovered were lain at the head and the feet of the body; *keris*, gold bracelets, and bones were also found. Close to the graves was an old well, where the ruler of Nasaraq was said to have washed his face before he went to war. Along the coast eastward from Nasaraq, blinding white salt pans dazzle the eye, interspersed with fishponds which depend on the brackish water of the rainy season to raise the spawn of the *ikan bolu* (milkfish, *Chanos chanos*).

Rukuruku, the sixth tributary of Bangkala, lies on the eastern bank of the Allu river, almost directly opposite Pallenguq, with which it shares an extensive area of rice fields. Local informants report the discovery of ceramics, and claim that the rulers of Rukuruku hailed not from Tanatoa but from Layu in Binamu.

Laikang is the seventh tributary of Bangkala and is located at the tip of the western headland of Laikang bay, another poor region of limestone karst overlain with thin infertile soils. Tideman (1906) treats Laikang in some detail as a semi-autonomous polity located within the larger political units of Bangkala and Turatea, or Binamu. Informants at Pattopakang told the authors that the rulers of Laikang were installed at *kampung* Bisoli, Bangkala's early palace centre, while Stephen Druce records an oral tradition of four rulers of Laikang starting with Karaeng Laqbua Talibannanna, the sixteenth-century ruler of Bangkala. Ceramics are reported to have been looted from coastal graves in Laikang, including *guci* containing cremated human remains, gold jewellery, and *keris*.

[38] Despite its long coastline and deep bays, fishing is not important in Jeneponto. One finds a few *romping* (platforms on bamboo stilts, M.) lying two to five kilometres off the coast, and line fishing is carried out from small Makasar-style sailing outriggers.

At the tributaries of Bangkala we were told that, prior to colonial rule, each was ruled by a *karaeng*. But when we visited Bangkala's domains, Pattopakang, Panyalangkang, Punaga, Canraigo, Cikoang, Pangkajeqne, Baraqna and Beroanging, no such claims were made.

All but one of Bangkala's domains lie to the west of the Allu and Topa rivers, as expansion to the east would have encroached on Binamu's lands. Pattopakang, the first-named domain, is a prosperous settlement which sits at the eastern edge of a huge swathe of rice fields which it shares with the second of Bangkala's domains, Panyalangkang, which lies close by to the northeast.

Punaga, the third domain, lies on the western side of the Laikang headland and has a small harbour. Despite the generally poor nature of the soils on this headland, the settlement has a considerable area of rice fields. Stephen Druce was shown around 15 looted graves, some of which reportedly yielded *guci* containing cremated remains, *badiq* (daggers, M.), *keris*, and gold.

Canraigo, the fourth domain, lies north of the Takalar river, on the edge of the rice fields farmed by the people of Pattopakang and Panyalangkang.

Cikoang, the fifth domain, lies at the mouth of the Takalar river and possesses extensive rice fields. It is a centre of Maulud rituals, which are practised along the southwest coast of Jeneponto as far as Sidenre (Hamonic 1988).

Pangkajeqne, the sixth domain, is a common name in the region; just possibly it is the settlement east of Cikoang shown on the 1693 Dutch map of South Sulawesi summarized in Bulbeck (1992:Figure 5-5).

Baraqna, the seventh domain, lies seven kilometres inland from the coast at *desa* Balanja, on high ground between extensive stretches of rice fields to the east and west.

Beroanging, the eighth domain, lies at the head of the Jeqne Palompakang, a tributary of the Cikoang river. To the west of the settlement are extensive rice fields watered by a modern irrigation system. The name Beroanging means strong winds, reflecting the fact that winds from the west form a powerful vortex here at the head of the valley. In the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala, Baraqna and Beroanging are singled out for their remoteness from the kingdom's centre by the expression 'on its own' (*alé-aléna mua*, B.), which occurs after the name of the settlements.[39] Alternatively, the phrase could imply a lesser degree of incorporation of the two settlements into the kingdom.

[39] All but one tributary lie to the east and are associated with the Allu river; Laikang lies on the western headland and should probably be associated with the Cikoang river.

Interpretation

From the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala, oral traditions, site visits, and accounts of grave robbers, it is possible to reconstruct some of the main features of the origins and development of the kingdom of Bangkala. The early heartlands of the future kingdom were the lower valleys of the Topa and Allu rivers. The floors of these valleys are flooded every few years when the Topa and Allu rise above their banks, fed by torrential rainfall in the hills to the north. In the Allu river valley, starting perhaps around 1300, a small agricultural polity began to develop, centred on *kampung* Tanatoa, which sits on a ridge immediately to the east of the river's flood. Around the same time, or perhaps slightly later, a second polity developed along the floodplain of the Topa river to the west. While the Tributary and Domain List of Bangkala provides no information on the Topa valley polity, early settlements can be identified on the evidence of looted ceramics. The polity's centre was very likely at Bisoli, and its lands were likely to have extended northeast at least five kilometres to Tabilangaraq hill.

The Topa valley polity absorbed the Allu valley polity, probably in the mid- or late fifteenth century, and a new palace centre was established, perhaps two or three generations later, at *kampung* Bangkala.[40] The Bangkala oral tradition, which tells of a battle between son and father in which 'so many soldiers lost their lives in the battle that their corpses were left to rot in the fields', suggests that unification was the result of military conquest. Bangkala may have acquired its other tributaries around the same time by similar means. Modern maps show that the Topa river valley has a larger floodplain than does the Allu valley, which suggests that the later dominance of the Topa polity was due to its greater agricultural wealth. However, Dutch maps from the early 1920s show the Allu valley as having a slightly greater area of rice fields. Assuming that neither had an advantage in terms of rice production, control of the harbour at Pallenguq would have been crucial to regional dominance.

Bangkala's domains probably reflect a pattern of agricultural expansion following unification of the kingdom, although the process may have started earlier. The primary means of expansion might have been absorption by Bangkala of smaller outlying settlements, a procedure described in some detail in the chronicle of Bone (Macknight and Mukhlis forthcoming), as well as by the opening of new lands by elite leaders and their followers, a process recorded in the genealogies of the western Cenrana valley (Caldwell 1988:88-91). Many of the agricultural lands associated with the domains of Bangkala lie just outside of the rain shadow in *kecamatan* Mangngarabombang, the southernmost administrative district in *kabupaten* Takalar, which receives

40 The modern 'palace' of Bangkala is at Bisoli.

2,000 to 3,000 mm of rainfall annually, compared to Binamu's annual average of 800 mm (*Suaka report* 1985:57). These lands today constitute the main rice-growing areas of Jeneponto.

Summary and conclusion

In the long dry season from March to November, when rain falls perhaps once a month, Jeneponto presents a hot, dusty, arid landscape. The powdery soil of the fields is covered in stubble and grass, with scattered patches of maize. But with the arrival of the December rains the soil comes alive with the green of young rice plants, and the hills and valleys glisten with water. Every settlement we visited in Jeneponto has rice fields, although its inhabitants' incomes may come mainly from the cultivation of cash crops, timber, fish farming, or the production of salt.

In this article we have shown how the early centres of Binamu and Bangkala developed on the alluvial soils of the floodplains of the region's four major rivers and on converted backswamps near the river mouths. Rivers in Jeneponto are unimportant as trade routes, and there is little of economic importance in the northern foothills. But the fertile soils of the lower floodplains facilitate the growing of rice, and the year-long availability of water enables the planting of vegetable crops during the long dry season. Most of the tributaries of Binamu and Bangkala, which probably evolved around the same time as the four major river-valley polities, lie on similar floodplains near the coast.

The domains of Binamu and Bangkala lie on land outside the four major valleys and away from the main coastal floodplains. Most probably represent a later stage of Binamu's and Bangkala's expansion, led and directed by members of their ruling families. However, some domains, like Toloq and Rumbia, were formerly independent polities that were later loosely incorporated into Binamu. Watered by modern irrigation systems, these lands, which together are far greater in extent than the floors of the four main valleys, today produce the bulk of Jeneponto's rice production.

Tributaries continued to be ruled by local elite families after their incorporation in the kingdoms of Binamu and Bangkala. The kingdom's ruler – his title, *kareng loe*, 'great lord', conveys a more accurate sense of his status than does the word ruler – directly controlled just the core area of the kingdom. Domains, however, were lands that belonged to the *karaeng loe* and could be granted as fiefs to his close relatives or to the kingdom's senior ministers. This simple model doubtless hides a large degree of local and temporal variation. Over time, intermarriage between elite families would have blurred the distinctions between them, to the point where (as one finds today) each

considers itself part of a single, extended, ruling family belonging to one of the two kingdoms.

Modern maps of Jeneponto differentiate systematically between *sawah* (permanent rice fields) and *sawah tadah hujan* (rice fields dependent on seasonal rainfall). This division is misleading, in that all rice growing in Jeneponto is dependent on the December rains for the water needed to seed, transplant, and grow the rice plants. What it points to is an important distinction between rice fields that are prone to flooding by waters carried down by rivers from the northern hills, and rice fields that lie above the floodplains. The former lie in the lower reaches of the four large river valleys of Jeneponto, and the latter lie on the sides and summits of the hills that flank the river valleys and the coast. Major floods of the valleys occur every few years; inundation is rapid and the retreat of the floodwater is similarly fast. Floods generally last from a few hours to a day, and the depth of the floodwater may reach several feet. The inundations, which frequently extend to the sides of the four main river valleys, leave behind them large quantities of sediment that enhance the fertility of the soil. Rice fields on higher ground are naturally less fertile, and prior to the availability of modern fertilizers would probably have required periods of fallow in order to produce a reasonable crop.

Another advantage of valley farming over hill farming is the ability to grow dry-season crops (*palawija*), which include groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, onions, chilli, and maize. These *palawija* crops are irrigated by water carried (today it is pumped) from the river. The ability to plant dry-season crops, even if these did not include New World foodstuffs, is probably as important as the superior fertility of the flood-prone valley-floor rice fields in explaining why complex society evolved first in the four major valleys of Jeneponto. River fish would also have provided a useful source of protein, in addition to the meat of domestic animals and a mixed diet of rice and vegetables.

When, approximately, did the four early agricultural river-valley polities of Jeneponto begin to form? Although domestic rice remains date back to at least the first millennium AD (Glover 1985:272), the development of substantial tracts of wet-rice land is related to the programmes of agricultural expansion sponsored by rulers of early historical kingdoms starting around 1300 (Macknight 1983; Caldwell 1995). Bugis and Makasar chronicles record that much of the expansion of agriculture, which can be observed right across the peninsula's lowlands after c. 1300, was directed by the ruling families of the various large and small kingdoms of South Sulawesi.[41]

[41] Prior to 1300, agriculture appears predominantly to have comprised swidden and *ladang* (permanent dry field) farming of grains (mainly rice and millet) and root crops on the low hills of river valleys, supplemented with fish and the meat of domesticated animals, and forest animals such as wild pigs and deer.

Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000) have argued that the expansion of the South Sulawesi kingdoms was stimulated by the start of regular trading contacts with Java. These contacts, which provided the ruling elite with status-enhancing trade goods, probably originated in developments in Java rather than in South Sulawesi (Hall 1981:341). Jeneponto is a natural trading coastline for east Java; it is possible to sail both ways during both the east and the west monsoons. Vessels would have sailed following the lee sides of *kepulauan* Sabalana (the Paternoster and Postilion islands (*Atlas* 1938:plate 27)), which lie between the two coasts. However, it is difficult to tack in an easterly direction along the shoreline of Jeneponto during the east monsoon, and even more difficult to head west during the west monsoon.[42] During both monsoons the bays of Laikang and Mallasoro would have offered welcome shelter to vessels making their first landfall after the long crossing from Java. It would have been a small step for local people to provide food, water, and wood to arriving vessels, and to barter manufactures, including locally woven cloth, of which there is a long tradition on the south coast.

The quantities of ceramic goods imported to Jeneponto after c. 1300 are indisputable evidence of a regular exchange trade. The ceramics, which span all periods from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century and beyond, are impressive both in terms of their quantity, particularly after c. 1500, and their relative value in terms of a commodity such as rice. It is of course possible that in the early centuries, before the valleys and hilltops were largely cleared, forest products were also available for exchange. These may have included some of the products for external trade available at Philippine coastal centres in the sixteenth century, such as wax, hardwoods, bird's nests, honey, gums, resins, and animal skins (Junker 1999:196).

It may be objected that Jeneponto is one of the poorest areas of South Sulawesi, due to the rain shadow that affects this stretch of the coast. Rice is grown here today under marginal conditions even when the monsoon delivers what it promises, and it is difficult to envisage the region ever producing a substantial surplus. However, before 1600, the population of Jeneponto would have been much smaller, perhaps less than a tenth of the 1974 census figure of 42,173, and would have put much less pressure on resources. We would argue that precisely because of its relative poverty Jeneponto can be considered a test case for the rice-surplus exchange model, in that if one can demonstrate the possibility of a surplus here, it should be possible to do so almost anywhere in lowland South Sulawesi.

42 Horst Liebner, personal communication. The Jeneponto headland is known by sailors as *tanjung sipikuluq* (the cape of one *pikul* of rice, M.) because of the time (measured in the quantity of rice consumed) it can take to round it during the east monsoon. Collins (1937:256) describes such a voyage he made in a Bugis *prahu*, which took 13 days from Makassar to Selayar, while the return journey took just 21 hours.

The smallest and least productive of the four major Jeneponto river valleys is the Allu. Dutch maps from the early 1920s show approximately 10 square kilometres of rice fields lying mainly to the west of the river. They do not show the large areas of rice fields to the east, marked *sawah tadah hujan* on modern maps, nor the rice fields north of Kapita, which together comprise at least a further seven square kilometres. Ten square kilometres or 100 hectares of land farmed using traditional methods would yield about 250 metric tonnes of rice in an average season. Allowing modern consumption figures of 150 kilograms of rice per year per person, 250,000 kilograms of rice would support about 1,700 people.[43] The ten square kilometres of the Allu valley considered here represents approximately one thirty-seventh of Bangkala's land area. Assuming Bangkala's fourteenth-century population to be at most 4,200 (one-tenth of the 1974 census figure), a potential population of 1,700 living on less than 3% of the land area seems high. It is also unlikely that in the fourteenth century most people ate rice as their main staple; they would instead have obtained the bulk of their carbohydrates from taro, jackfruit, candlenut, bananas, sugar cane, and coconut. Swidden or dry rice, which is often preferred as a staple to wet rice, would almost certainly have been grown on hillsides. Animal protein would have been available from fish, shellfish, poultry, eggs, bush pigs, and deer, and at festivals buffalo may have been slaughtered.

In short, by assuming a population of 1,000 or less and a smaller per-capita consumption of wet rice grown on the riverine floodplain, it does not seem difficult to produce a potential surplus yield of 100 to 150 metric tones of rice per annum in the Allu valley. A surplus of this size is almost certainly sufficient to account for the relatively small number of fourteenth-century trade ceramics dug up in Jeneponto. The much larger quantities of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ceramics suggests an expansion of wet-rice cultivation onto surrounding lands, as argued in this article. Bougas's evidence (1998:119) from Bantaeng indicates that once rice became an important trade good in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, wet rice expanded rapidly onto land available for its cultivation.

The introduction of new goods and cultural practices from east Java would have had wide-ranging effects on social and cultural life along this relatively isolated coastline. One should not assume that the Bugis and Makasar were passive recipients of Javanese culture; they undoubtedly played an active role in the process of its selection, dissemination, and adaptation. According

[43] 150 kilos per year or 400 grams of rice per day would provide approximately 1,500 calories or about 50% of the daily requirement, as well as a third of the daily protein requirement. We would like to thank Harry Clark, a senior irrigation consultant who has worked for many years in Jeneponto, for his help with these figures. The conclusions reached are those of the authors.

to Pelras (1996:92, 100-1), among the most important of the new goods were the horse (*jarang*, M., derived from Javanese *jaran*) and an improved plough (*nangkala*, M., from Sanskrit *lāṅgala*).[44] Nor should one underestimate the effects of more abstract goods, such as the designs on Indian textiles (and the *patola* cloths in particular) and on rare types of imported ceramics, such as the Cizhou piece found at Karaeng Loe, as stimuli for social and cultural change. The import and development of new cultural and economic forms would have enabled ambitious leaders to expand their influence and to differentiate themselves and their heirs from the broad ranks of their followers. In this can be discerned something of Renfrew's 'multiplier effect' (1972:36-8), or the interaction and mutual reinforcement of different kinds of change.

One important change concerned funerary practices. Hadimuljono and Macknight (1983:69-71) describe a standard practice of extended inhumation among the Makasar. Here, following Bulbeck (1996-97), we propose the following model: 1. flexed or defleshed burials in earthen jars before c. 1000, 2. cremated burials in earthen jars c. 1000 to c. 1300, and 3. extended burials with ceramic grave goods c. 1300 to c. 1600.[45] Archaeological evidence suggests that during the first millennium AD Makasar funerary practice involved defleshing the corpse, perhaps through exposure, then collecting and disposing of the bones in earthen pots or jars placed inside rock shelters near the coastal plain. Investigations at open-air sites on the coastal plain have revealed evidence of burials of the same approximate age with the corpses apparently flexed tightly and placed inside large earthen jars; the best recorded example is at Taqbuncini in Galesong, where the jar burials are characterized by a paucity of grave goods.[46] Evidence for richer repertoires of burial goods dating to the early second millennium AD comes from a survey of four open-air sites at Talaborong near Makassar, where reported grave goods include iron and gold artifacts and, at one site, fat-lipped whiteware porcelains dated stylistically between the eleventh and fourteenth century, associated with cremated human remains giving calibrated radiocarbon dates of AD 970-1270 (Bulbeck 1996-97:1030-1). In the fourteenth century, Makasar people living along the south coast began to bury their dead in

44 *Paqjeko* (M.) is an indigenous word for plough.

45 It is difficult even for professional archaeologists working under controlled conditions to be sure of the exact associations of objects in a burial ground, as deposits are subject to repeated disturbances by later burials. Haji T.'s report of imported tradewares with cremated burials could thus be interpreted as a late retention of cremated burial traditions due to Kapita's distance from local centres of development, or a confusion of objects buried in the cemetery during the (pre-ceramic) late first millennium and the (early ceramic) early second millennium AD.

46 Bulbeck 1996-97:1026-7. Similar earthen jar burials, also with few or no grave goods, have been excavated at Sabbang Loang in Luwu and date to about 2,000 years ago or slightly later (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:59-63).

wooden coffins, with the head pointing east and the feet pointing west, with Yuan, Vietnamese blue-and-white (c. 1300 to c. 1500), Ming blue-and-white, and Sawankalok (c. 1400 to c. 1600) ceramic wares placed over the head, chest, pelvic areas, and feet of the deceased (Bulbeck 1992:446, 449). The reported presence of imported tradewares with cremated burials in the interior indicates that cremated burials continued to c. 1400 inland from the coast, and suggests a greater degree of cultural conservatism in areas less directly involved in overseas trade.

The increased availability after c. 1300 of iron tools from Luwuq as a result of the settlement of Bugis at Malangke, where smelting was the main industry, would have greatly aided the clearing of lowland forests and the expansion of agriculture in the southern peninsula. From the chronicles and oral traditions of South Sulawesi we know that this expansion frequently involved conflict with neighbouring groups, and numerous iron weapons have been found in looted graves in Binamu and Bangkala. War as a means of expansion is plainly recalled in the oral tradition of Banrimanurung, which describes the defeat of Tanatoa by Bangkala.

Although textiles, including Indian block-printed cottons, were probably the major trade good (Guy 1998), Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics and stonewares are the most common of the imported products that have survived the rigours of time. After reviewing data on tradewares across South Sulawesi, Bulbeck (1996-97:1049) places the beginning of trade in ceramics at c. 1200, with greatly increased quantities after 1400, stimulated by the restoration of the tributary system by the Ming Dynasty in China. The *Deśawarṇana* (*Nāgarakṛtāgama*), written at the Majapahit court in 1365, mentions Binamu's powerful eastern neighbour, Bantaeng, as one of the principal kingdoms in South Sulawesi having a tributary relationship with Majapahit (Robson 1995:34). While Binamu and Bangkala are not mentioned, widespread finds of ceramic grave goods show that these kingdoms too were involved in regular trade with Java. Indeed, given that the two wide bays in Binamu and Bangkala comprise the best harbours along the southern coast of South Sulawesi, it is possible that the *Deśawarṇana*'s 'Bantaeng' refers to the entire stretch of coast from Laikang bay to Bantaeng proper, which offers poor harbourage as it is exposed to both monsoons.

East Java's influence in South Sulawesi may have been more important than Pelras (1996:110) allows. On the south coast, the shift from defleshed and flexed burials to cremated burials around the year 1000 suggests that Javanese influence may have begun as early as the late tenth century. Such a possibility is hinted at by the discovery of two locally made Nganjuk-style bronze statues in Selayar, which Caldwell and Nur (forthcoming) believe should be dated to the eleventh century. Elsewhere in South Sulawesi, evidence points firmly to the thirteenth century as the beginning of a regular, transforming

contact with east Java. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rulers of Luwuq took Javanese-Sanskrit titles (Caldwell 1999), and at Gantaran Jawa at Malangke is what appears to be a Majapahit-period Javanese brick monument (Bulbeck 2000:6). Javanese names such as Garassiq (Gresik), Surobaya (Surabaya), and Mancapaiq (Majapahit) are found in several former Bugis and Makasar kingdoms. References to the Bajau sea people in Makasar and Malay chronicles suggests that Bajau trade networks, which may then have been centred on the Straits of Malacca, reached as far as eastern Indonesia in the sixteenth century (Cortesão 1944:226-7) and were an important element in this transforming contact.[47] Recent research by Bulbeck and Clune (2003) on decorated Makasar earthenwares has further complicated the picture by pointing to a strong trading relationship with the Philippines.

Regardless of the routes by which they arrived, valuable trade goods that conferred prestige on their owners almost certainly played an important part in the process of political centralization and state formation by stimulating an increase in agricultural yields in order to pay for them, in part though the acquisition of additional rice-growing lands. This could be a peaceful process of opening new settlements – Bugis genealogies from before 1600 describe many high-status individuals as having opened new settlements – or could involve warfare. As farmers can serve as soldiers, usually in the dry season between the harvest and the planting of a new crop, once such a process of expansion has begun, it contains within it considerable momentum as local elites compete for rice-growing land along river floodplains and on seasonally inundated arable land (Macknight 1983). Provided that the supply of trade goods does not falter, expansion has a strong, logical, internal impetus.

[47] Evidence points to some form of Javanese involvement with the Moluccan spice trade from early in the Majapahit period. Portuguese accounts of Ternate and Tidore report that Javanese and Malays traders replaced earlier Chinese traders (Reid 1992:182) and that this had happened shortly before the Portuguese had arrived (Andaya 1990:1-2).

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