SURVEY PUSAT KERAJAAN SOPPENG 1100-1986

Disusun oleh:

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FINAL REPORT TO THE AUSTRALIAN MYER FOUNDATION

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KATA PENGANTAR

Untuk melengkapi data perihal penyusunan disertasi PhD pada Australian National University atas nama Ian Caldwell dan David Bulbeck pada jurusan sejarah dan arkeologi, yang obyek penelitiannya tentang sejarah pra Islam di Sulawesi Selatan, maka pada bulan Nopember dan Desember 1986 kami dari rekannya dari Indonesia masing-masing Bahru Kallupa dan Karaeng Demmanari dari staf Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan dan Iwan Sumantri staf pengajar Universitas Hasanuddin, mendapat kesempatan menyertainya untuk penelitian tersebut.

Ian Caldwell menulis tentang sejarah kuno kerajaan di Sulawesi Selatan dan David Bulbeck tentang arkeologi pra kolonial di daerah Gowa dan Makassar. Pelaksanaan survey berlangsung selama dua belas hari, dengan memagambil daerah Soppeng Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan sebagai objek penelitian. Hal ini disesuaikan dengan disertasi Ian Caldwell yang berkenaan dengan toponim yang tertara dalam kronik Bugis Makassar. Tim ini berusaha mengumpulkan data tentang arkeologi pada toponim yang terdapat pada bekas kerajaan Soppeng yang sekarang diduga terdapat pada Kabupaten Soppeng Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan.

Berhasilnya survey ini adalah berkat bantuan dari berbagai pihak. Untuk itu kami perlu mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Kepala Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan yang telah memberikan izin kepada Bahru Kallupa dan Karaeng Demmanari untuk bergabung pada tim penelitian ini.

Juga kepada Pimpinan Universitas Hasanuddin yang juga mengizinkan Iwan Sumantri untuk membantu tim melaksanakan penelitian ini. Kepada kawan-kawan di Soppeng yang telah memberikan bantuan sehingga penelitian ini dapat dilaksanakan sebagaimana mestinya juga kami ucapkan terima kasih banyak. Dan yang paling penting ialah pimpinan Australian National University yang memberikan dana untuk penelitian di Sulawesi Selatan ini, terutama kepada Dr Campbell Macknight kami ucapkan terima kasih banyak. Mudah-mudahan Tuhan memberikan imbalan yang setimpal kepada mereka.

Juga kepada Australian Myer Foundation di Melbourne yang telah memberikan biaya untuk penelitian tersebut di Soppeng, kami mengucapkan terima kasih yang tak terhingga. Dan yang terakhir kepada Kepala Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Republik Indonesia dan Kepala Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia juga kami mengucapkan terima kasih banyak yang telah memberikan izin penelitian di Indonesia.

Para Penulis

FOREWORD

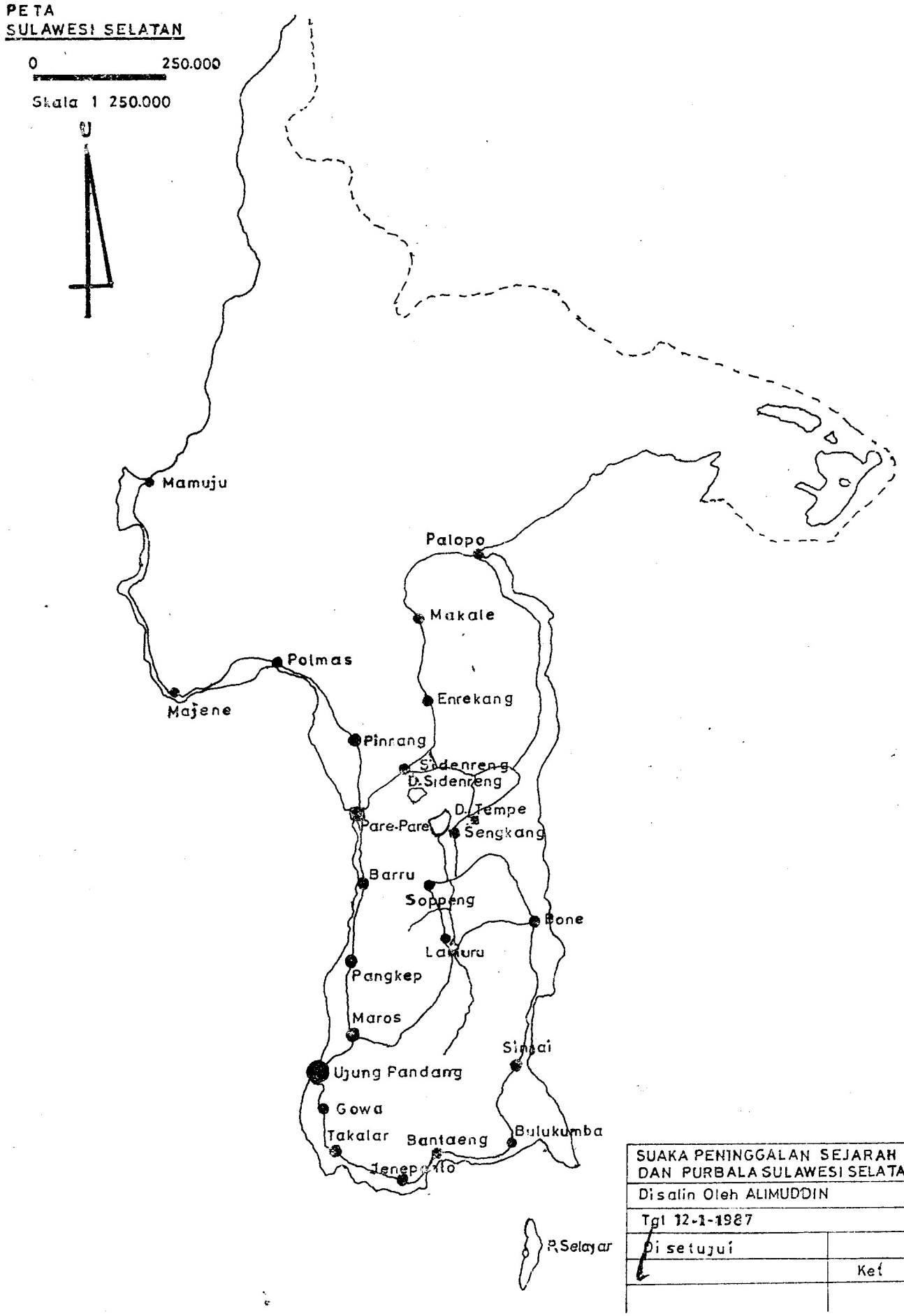
The present monograph reports the results of a survey of archaeological sites in the *kabupaten* (district) of Soppeng in the province of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, over twelve days in November and December 1986. Given such a short time, the results of this pilot survey can be fairly described as spectacular, and enable us to present the main issues of Soppeng's history far more clearly than would have been possible from textual sources alone. In particular, our efficient targeting of Soppeng's major historical sites strongly recommends the collaboration between students of history and of archaeology, two disciplines which too frequently operate in scant awareness of each other, even when dealing with issues of protohistory where the focus on common ground, such as toponyms, casts a sharper light on both bodies of data. Furthermore there was a real collaboration between the Indonesian and the western scholars which depended no more on, indeed if not less on, the formal training of the foreigners than on the experience and acumen of the local scholars. The result is an unusually wide and, hopefully, productive perspective on the research issues.

In accord with the spirit of collaboration of the project, the interpretations expressed here represent the majority opinion of the participants and are not binding on any individual scholar. In the same spirit, both the Indonesian and the English texts use the official Indonesian spelling for the names of persons and places rather than a phonologically standardised spelling system such as that used by Caldwell (1988).

The Australian National University was represented by two students who were collecting fieldwork data for their PhD dissertations. Ian Caldwell (1988) has examined the texts relating to the pre-Islamic history of South Sulawesi and the nature of Bugis society during the period A.D. 1300-1600. David Bulbeck (in prep.) is studying the archaeology associated with the Makassar state of Gowa as the core concern of his "South Sulawesi Prehistorical and Historical Archaeology Project" (SSPHAP). Given the relatedness of our topics and their convergence with the research goals of our sponsoring institutions in South Sulawesi, an interest grew in a combined fieldwork programme in Soppeng. Bahru Kallupa of "Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan" (Suaka) agreed to head the team and expedited the necessary arrangements in Ujung Pandang and in Soppeng. Suaka released another senior staff member, Karaeng Demmanari, while Hasanuddin University released Iwan Sumantri from its teaching staff in the Department of History. We would like to thank the director of Suaka and the Rektor of Hasanuddin University for having granted this permission.

Unstinting assistance from the people of Soppeng, notably from government employees within the Department of Education and Culture, ensured that the fieldwork in Soppeng was pleasant and productive. Dr Campbell Macknight of the Australian National University has provided the driving impetus behind the collaborative programme applied here, as well as ceaseless support for his two PhD students. The kind sponsorship of *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* and the Indonesian National Research Center for Archaeology is gratefully acknowledged. A generous grant from the Australian Myer Foundation in Melbourne financed the fieldwork expenses.

The Authors



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1. PENDAHULUAN

1.1 Latar Belakang Masalah

Penulisan Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Selatan belum dilakukan secara menyeluruh. Beberapa buku tentang sejarah kerajaan telah dibuat antara lain Sejarah Gowa oleh Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru, Sejarah Bone oleh Andi Muhammad Ali, Sejarah Wajo oleh Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru, Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Luwu oleh H. Muhammad Sanusi Daeng Mattata, dan beberapa ulasan dalam majalah dan buletin, tetapi belum dilakukan secara penuh dan menyeluruh. Data-datanya belum akurat dan masih mengira-mengira. Pertanggalan sejarah lokal Sulawesi Selatan baru dapat diamati dengan jelas seperti yang tercantum pada tulisan orang Belanda seperti, Valentijn, Matthes, Noorduyn dll. Catatan tahun baru dapat dikenal paling tua pada abad ke lima belas. Sejarah tentang pra Islam di Sulawesi Selatan juga sangat kabur. Raja-raja pertama kerajaan di Sulawesi yang dikenal dengan TOMANURUNG oleh para sejarahwan Sulawesi Selatan diperkirakan pada awal abad ke empat belas.

Usaha untuk menelusuri data tertulis yang tercantum di dalam toponim kronik belum banyak dilakukan. Seperti diketahui bahwa sumber data untuk penulisan sejarah daerah Sulawesi Selatan kebanyakan diambil dari lontarak dan catatan harian dari raja-raja yang pernah berperan di kerajaannya masing-masing. Itupun jumlahnya sudah sangat sedikit dan sangat langka. Ian Caldwell di dalam penyusunan disertasinya (1988) telah menelaah beberapa naskah tentang Soppeng, Sidenreng, Cina dan Luwu yang sumbernya diambil dari Sulawesi Selatan dan yang tersimpan di Leiden Negeri Belanda. Penelitiannya tentang masa Pra Islam kerajaan-kerajaan di Sulawesi Selatan. Ian Caldwell berusaha melihat kebenaran sejarah kuno Sulawesi Selatan disamping menelaah dari sudut ilmu sejarah diusahakannya pula dari kecamata arkeologi. Penelitian arkeologi dapat memberikan data tentang berbagai masalah yang timbul dan dapat menjadi pembanding antara pengetahuan tentang kronologi yang didapat dari analisis genealogis dengan data-data kronologi arkeologis. Dengan analisis keramik asing maupun keramik lokal dapat diketahui perkembangan sebuah kerajaan atau kelompok masyarakat tertentu. Dengan meneliti keramik dari berbagai aspeknya dapat diketahui perkembangan sebuah kerajaan, kapan perkembangan awal, masa memuncaknya dan bahkan kehancurannya. Disamping itu dapat ditelaah sistem perkotaan kuno, perkembangan teknologi, ekonomi, agama, dan lain-lainnya pada sebuah tempat yang tersebut pada toponim. Oleh sebab itu diperlukan keterpaduan analisis.

1.2 Ruang Lingkup

Wilayah survey ialah pada daerah administratif Kabupaten Soppeng Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan yang diperkirakan di daerah itu terletak nama-nama tempat yang terdapat di dalam kronik Soppeng, dan lebih intensif lagi dilakukan pada tempat-tempat yang diduga ada persamaannya dengan toponim pada naskah lama Soppeng.

Survey arkeologi secara intensif dilakukan dalam wilayah transek yang meliputi daerah yang luasnya lebih kurang 40 km persegi. Penelitian dilakukan pada sepuluh daerah transek seperti yang tertara pada toponim, Ujung, Botto, Bila, Tinco, Lawo, Sekkangnyili, Bulu Matanre, Situs La Mataesso, Salotungo dan Keraton Laleng Benteng. Tinggalan arkeologi yang utama yang menjadi sasaran ialah keramik asing (Cina, Thailand, Vietnam, Eropah, Jepang) dan keramik lokal. Di samping itu benda-benda lain yang juga tak kalah pentingnya dalam analisis arkeologi ialah benda-benda perunggu yang berupa peralatan rumah tangga/dapur, perhiasan dan lain-lain.

Di Soppeng tersebar tinggalan dari tradisi megalitik dangan sejumlah variasi seperti, menhir, lesung batu, dakon dengan berbagai bentuk dan jenis, dolmen, batu dulang, batu berukir, punden berundak, dan batu altar. Kesemuanya direkam untuk menjadi bahan analisis.

Penelitian dan analisis keramik asing dalam survey ini terutama ditujukan kepada pertanggalannya, yang dihubungkan dengan keberadaan fragmen *(sherd)* itu pada suatu situs. Meskipun penelitian ini pada temuan permukaan tanpa ekskavasi, yang kadang-kadang dianggap kurang objektif, karena boleh saja pengangkutan keramik asing yang tua dan yang lebih mudah sebagai barang dagangan bersamaan ke Sulawesi Selatan. Tetapi karena jumlahnya tiap jenis cukup banyak, maka perkiraan itu tidak benar (Naniek, 1986). Oleh sebab itu diterapkan pendapat bahwa karena sumber data sejarah terutama pertanggalan kurang, maka keramik asing merupakan pemasok data pertanggalan yang utama dalam penulisan sejarah kuno Sulawesi Selatan. Hal ini kami sependapat dengan Hadimuljono (1982) yang mengatakan bahwa keramik asing mempunyai peranan dalam penelitian arkeologi di Sulawesi Selatan.

1.3 Metode Penelitian

Sebagaimana biasanya pada sebuah penelitian maka ditempuh beberapa cara untuk mendapatkan data yang lebih efisien dan dapat dipertanggung jawabkan.

1.3.1 Studi Pustaka

Sebelum berangkat ke Watansoppeng ibukota Kabupaten Soppeng terlebih dahulu mengumpulkan data dan keterangan tertulis yang masih sempat ditemukan, antara lain lontarak, Sejarah Gowa, Sejarah Wajo, Sejarah Bone dll. dan beberapa buku yang erat hubungannya dengan daerah tujuan penelitian. Ian Caldwell telah mempersiapkan pula data dari Australia yang ternyata merupakan panduan utama di dalam penelitian ini.

1.3.2 Observasi Lapangan

1.3.2.1 Dokumentasi

Pengambilan rekaman berupa catatan dan foto temuan, lokasi dengan film warna, hitam putih dan slide.

1.3.2.2 Pemetaan

Pembuatan peta lokasi transek dengan variasi skala 1:1000, 1:500, 1:200, untuk menetapkan keletakan lokasi sehingga dapat diketahui konsentrasi persebaran temuan yang pada akhirnya merupakan dasar analisis transek. Tiap tempat yang di transek dan tiap situs diberi nomor identifikasi untuk menolong deskripsi situs.

1.3.2.3 Penggambaran

Menggambar beberapa temuan bangunan megalitik, antara lain menhir, dakon, batu berukir, lesung batu dan lain-lain.

1.3.2.4 Identifikasi dan Kelasifikasi

Untuk mempertahankan objektifitas ilmiah maka identifikasi dilakukan langsung di lapangan terhadap keramik asing dan lokal. Hal ini dilakukan sebab banyaknya temuan itu tidak akan dibawa ke kantor tetapi harus ditinggalkan di lokasi atau objek. Identifikasi keasaman tanah juga dilakukan untuk mengetahui sifat dan karakter tanah yang merupakan data bahwa apakah situs itu habitasi atau bukan.

1.3.3 Analisis

Di kantor dilakukan analisis tentang temuan. Tiap temuan pada area toponim ditabulasi dan dikomparasikan satu dengan yang lainnya sehingga ditemukan hubungan antara satu tempat dengan tempat yang lainnya (kontekstual analisis).

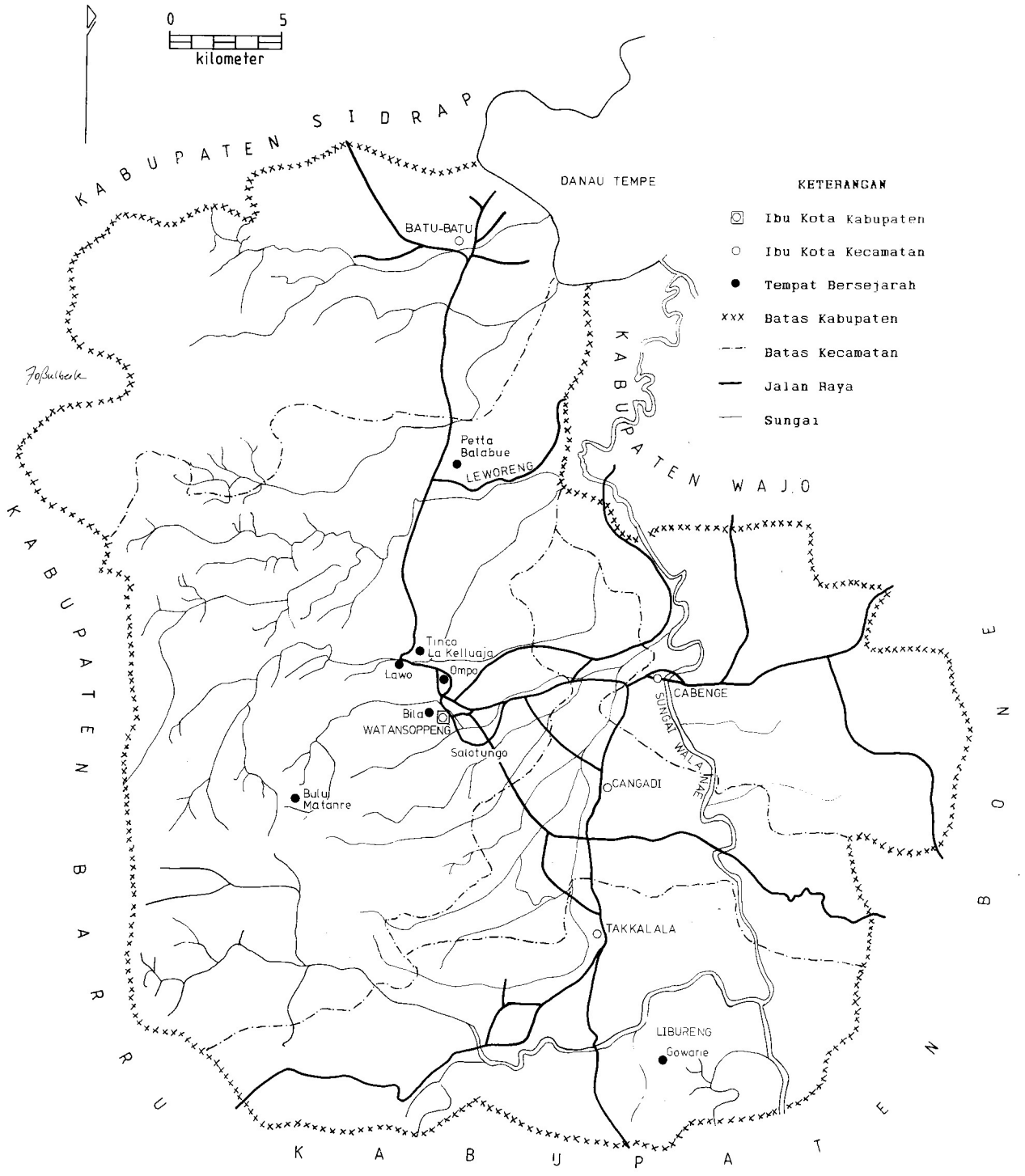
INTRODUCTION

Traditionally the Bugis and Makassar have been organised into kingdoms, most of which ascribe their origins to founding *tomanurung* (literally, "he or she who descended"). The history of these kingdoms is by no means fully known, despite the studies by South Sulawesi and western scholars which have focussed on one or the other of the most prominent of the kingdoms, and some early general writings by Dutch scholars. In particular, certain of the Bugis texts had been rather neglected prior to the study by Caldwell (1988) which brings attention to the texts on Sidenreng, Cina, Luwu and, of particular relevance here, Soppeng. Caldwell moreover breaks new ground in the understanding of South Sulawesi's pre-Islamic history through his structural comparisons of the royal genealogies and his analysis of the geopolitical implications of the vassal lists.

Our understanding of the history of any given South Sulawesi kingdom can only be sharpened by the archaeological documentation of individual sites within the kingdom's former domain. This approach looked especially exciting for Soppeng on account of the clues in its Royal Genealogy that Soppeng had enjoyed particular prominence during South Sulawesi's earliest historical period. Furthermore the approach could be applied in a straightforward manner from a second historical text, the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* or "History of Soppeng". In its limpid account of how Soppeng supposedly originated and came to be united, the latter word makes explicit reference to a series of toponyms which fall within a tight radius of the *kabupaten* capital of Watansoppeng.

Time restrictions limited the systematic archaeological survey to the toponyms indicated as the most important by the *Attoriolonna Soppeng*. The survey team followed local information in relating a particular toponym to a site, and then planned the skeleton of the subsequent site survey based on the location of the site's major features. We recorded the distribution of the surface archaeological remains in order to document the size and internal variation of the site, using the site's modern landuse divisions as our individual "zones" for recording. First the landuse division (called *tempat* in Figs 4 to 16) was mapped, then any earthenware sherds present were counted and other surface artefacts collected. Tradeware sherds, which comprised the bulk of the collected artefacts, were usually identified on the spot before being returned to their original zone of origin, and only occasionally saved for laboratory study. All of the saved specimens can be relocated to their approximate find-spots by our numbering system in which the first number identifies the site within Soppeng, the second number identifies the zone within the site and the third number identifies the specimen (e.g. the radiocarbon sample S.12.3.6 reads as the sixth specimen collected from the third zone of Petta Balubue [Soppeng site 12]). With a scale of between 1:200 and 1:1000 our maps documented the area surveyed, the immediate environment of the site, and the locations of the arranged and shaped stone features.

Our assessment of the sites incorporates the written and oral historical evidence, the evidence from the stone features, and in particular the chronological information provided by the tradeware identifications. While surface sherdage is, of course, not as reliable as sherdage recovered from stratified contexts, months of excavation would have been required to duplicate the sorts of sample sizes which we obtained. In our concluding chapters we will synthesise our three streams of data - the archaeological site histories, the written records and the local traditions - into a new account of Soppeng's history.



GRAFIK 2. PETA KABUPATEN SOPPENG (GAMBARAN ASLI OLEH KARAENG DEMMANARI)

2. PROFIL WILAYAH

2.1 Geografi dan Topografi

Kabupaten Soppeng adalah salah satu dari 23 daerah Tingkat II di Sulawesi Selatan. Luas wilayah 1.500 km persegi. Kabupaten Soppeng berbatasan dengan:

Sebelah utara	: Kabupaten Sidenreng Rappang, dan Wajo;
Sebelah timur	: Kabupaten Wajo dan Bone;
Sebelah selatan	: Kabupaten Bone;
Sebelah barat	: Kabupaten Barru.

Ibukota Daerah Tingkat II Kabupaten Soppeng ialah Watansoppeng, terletak 180 km di sebelah utara Ujung Pandang ibukota Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Kabupaten Soppeng terdiri atas lima kecamatan yaitu:

- Kecamatan Lalabata ibukotanya Watansoppeng
- Kecamatan Marioriawa ibukotanya Batu-batu
- Kecamatan Marioriwawo ibukotanya Takkalala
- Kecamatan Liliriaja ibukotanya Cangadi
- Kecamatan Lilirilau ibukotanya Cabenge.

Letaknya antara 119° 40' dan 120° 5' Bujur Timur (BT) serta antara 4° 8' dan 4° 30' Lintang Selatan (LS). Kabupaten Soppeng terletak di tengah-tengah jasirah Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan dengan ketinggian bervariasi antara 100 m dan 2000 m di atas permukaan laut. Luas kabupaten ini 1400 km persegi yang meliputi (tahun 1984) sawah seluas 35.000 ha, hutan seluas 60.000 ha, kebun seluas 48.000 ha, rawa-rawa seluas 204 ha, dan sungai seluas 640 ha. Sebelah selatan dan barat terdiri atas pegunungan dan hutan, sebelah timur dan utara, sawah, rawa dan danau.

Sungai-sungai pada umumnya berhulu di daerah pegunungan di sebelah selatan dan barat. Sungai yang terbesar yang melalui lembah sebelah timur kabupaten ini ialah Sungai Walanae. Sungai ini berhulu di pegunungan Lompo Battang dan bermuara di danau Tempe. Lembah Walanae yang membujur dari utara ke selatan merupakan daerah aluvial dan dijadikan persawahan yang subur dan menjadi produsen padi yang besar sehingga Soppeng termasuk dalam deratan lumbung pangan nasional disamping Sidenreng Rappang, Pinrang, Pangkajene Kepulauan, Maros dan lain-lain.

Sungai-sungai lainnya ialah, Sungai Soppeng, Sungai Lawo, Sungai Paddangeng, Sungai Mario, Sungai Cenrana, dll. Bagian barat dan selatan merupakan dataran tinggi dan terbentang barisan pegunungan dan berstruktur batuan vulkanik yang disebut formasi vulkanik Soppeng (Soekamto, 1982).

2.2 Demografi

Penduduk asli Kabupaten Soppeng semuanya suku bangsa Bugis yang berjumlah 239.000 jiwa (sensus 1984) yang terdiri atas laki-laki 114.000 jiwa dan perempuan 125.000 jiwa. Di samping itu terdapat warganegara Indonesia turunan Cina sejumlah 83 orang yang sudah menetap di daerah ini berpuluh-puluh tahun dan telah merasa dirinya sebagai orang Soppeng asli karena banyak diantaranya memang lahir dan dibesarkan di Soppeng. Hampir semuanya fasih berbahasa Bugis dengan langgam Soppeng, bahkan generasi mudanya tidak tahu berbahasa Mandarin lagi. Suku bangsa lain yang juga mendiami daerah ini ialah Toraja, Makassar, Jawa dll yang datang ke Soppeng, sebagai pegawai negeri atau karena berdagang, dan juga sebagai tukang dan buruh. Bahasa pengantar yang umum dipergunakan ialah bahasa daerah Bugis. Bahasa pengantar di sekolah dan kantor-kantor ialah Bahasa Indonesia, tetapi kadang-kadang dalam hubungan yang akrab juga dipergunakan bahasa daerah Bugis. Agama yang dianut ialah 90 % agama Islam, selebihnya 1 % agama Kristen Protestan dan Katolik.

Mata pencaharian penduduk ialah pertanian (78 %) termasuk nelayan di danau Tempe. Hasil pertanian dan kehutanan ialah beras, jagung, kacang-kacangan, tembakau, kelapa, sutera alam dan ikan lain-lain. Selebihnya bekerja sebagai pegawai negeri, guru, pedagang, tukang (jahit, emas, batu) dll.

2.3 Latar Belakang Sosial Budaya

2.3.1 Adat istiadat

Meskipun sebagian besar penduduk beragama Islam namun masih banyak yang tetap melaksanakan kepercayaan nenek moyangnya, yang berupa adat dan tradisi yang kadang-kadang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran agama Islam. Keadaan ini terutama terjadi pada waktu saman kerajaan Soppeng, sebelum masa kemerdekaan.

Setelah rakyat Indonesia merdeka, dan pendidikan umum dan agama semakin maju, terutama dangan timbulnya organisasi Islam seperti Muhammadiyah dan Nahdatul Ulama serta Syarikat Islam maka pemahaman rakyat tentang ajaran Islam yang murni semakin mantap maka berangsur-angsur tradisi lama sudah mulai dilepaskan. Hal ini bukan berarti bahwa tradisi lama itu habis sama sekali, tetapi penganutnya masih banyak terutama pada masyarakat yang kurang terpelajar.

Beberapa puluh tahun yang lalu ada kebiasaan yang dilakukan yang berhubungan dengan pertanian yang sekarang jarang atau tidak lagi dilakukan karena bertentangan dangan ajaran agama Islam.

2.3.1.1 Upacara *Tudang Sipulung* di Lakelluaja *(Tudang Sisoppeng)*

Tiap tahun sebelum memulai mengerjakan sawah pada sebuah tempat 6 km di sebelah utara Watansoppeng ibukota kerajaan yang bernama Lakelluaja diadakan upacara untuk penetapan mulai mengerjakan sawah. Menurut riwayat bahwa Datu Soppeng pertama yang bernama La Temmamala (Manurungnge) sebelum kembali ke kayangan (menghilang) dia mencukur rambutnya di tempat ini. Lakelluaja berarti bahwa di tempat itu Datu Soppeng *makkellu* kemudian *mallajang* (Bahasa Bugis *Makkellu* = bercukur, dan *mallajang* = menghilang). Upacara itu dilaksanakan dengan cara membuat sesaji kepada dewata dengan memotong kerbau. Kepala kerbau dimasukkan pada sumber air (bendungan yang terletak tidak jauh dari Lakelluaja itu), yaitu pada kanal yang masih dapat dilihat pada waktu sekarang ini. Sesudah itu seorang biksu bersama dengan beberapa orang anggotanya menari di atas bara api. Dalam keadaan tak sadarkan diri biksu itu menyantap lawa pacelli. Lawa pacelli adalah semacam masakan yang bahannya dari tikus. Setelah beberapa saat biksu itu atas nama dewata memberikan pengumuman tentang cara dan aturan pengerjaan sawah yaitu kapan dan jenis padi apa yang harus ditanam oleh penduduk/masyarakat. Para peserta rapat (*tudang sipulung*) yang terdiri atas para Matoa dan Kepala Kampung beserta para anggota Hadat menjadikan penetapan sebagai patokan untuk mengerjakan sawah pada kampung dan lili yang ada di kerajaan Soppeng.

2.3.1.2 Upacara meminta hujan

Upacara ini dilakukan bila kemarau panjang dan hujan tidak kunjung turun padahal sudah tiba waktunya untuk mengerjakan sawah. Mereka berkumpul pada sebuah tempat yang rata/lapangan untuk upacara ini, sambil adu sepak yang dalam bahasa Bugis disebut *massempek.*

2.3.1.3 Upacara sukuran

Karena panen yang melimpah, padi menjadi maka biasanya diadakan upacara *mappadendang* sebagai tanda bersyukur kepada dewata atas kemakmuran dan keselamatan yang telah diberikan kepada warga masyarakat tersebut. *Mappadendang* ialah sebuah acara sukuran dangan menari dan bergembira dengan cara sejumlah wanita dengan pakaian adat Bugis yaitu baju bodo dan sarung sutera khas Bugis yang berwarna warni, menumbuk lesung dengan irama dan bunyi yang teratur menjadikan sebuah musik tersendiri. Di samping itu para lelaki dengan pakaian adat pula menari-nari mengikuti irama musik lesung tersebut. Selain itu ada juga sebagian masyarakat yang mengadakan acara mattojang yaitu permainan ayunan raksasa. Seorang gadis diayun pada sebuah ayunan yang digantungkan pada pohon kelapa atau pinang yang cukup tinggi. Kadang-kadang pula pada pesta panen itu dilakukan acara menyabung ayan dan merupakan arena judi. Upacara tersebut sudah tidak dilakukan lagi secara rutin setiap tahun karena tidak efisien dan masyarakat tidak membutuhkannya lagi. Untuk dapat menyaksikannya, hanya dapat dilakukan atas permintaan dari pihak Dinas Pariwisata.

2.3.1.4 *Massappo Wanua*

Bila dalam negeri (kerajaan) ada wabah penyakit atau bencana maka diadakan upacara *massappo wanua* (Bugis = memagar negeri), supaya bahaya dan malapetaka serta penyakit yang berbahaya tidak menimpa negeri. Upacara dilakukan atau dilaksanakan dengan membawa alat kerajaan (regalia) keliling kampung (wanua). Arak-arakan itu dipimpin oleh Biksu dan perangkat kerajaan lainnya. Sambil menari dan diikuti musik gendang, gong, suling dan sebagainya.

Upacara kecil-kecilan yang masih sering dilakukan oleh petani secara individual di rumah masing-masing seperti *Maddoja bine.* Biji padi yang dipersiapkan untuk dijadikan benih dan telah direndam, diangkat, ditiriskan kemudian diupacarakan terlebih dahulu. Selama semalam benih itu disimpan di rumah di dekat posi bola (tiang tengah rumah yang dianggap keramat). Dahulu kala dengan mantera-mantera yang dibawakan oleh dukun-dukun yang ditujukan kepada dewa padi atau *sang hyang sri.* Semalam untuk dibacakan buku *galigo* (kitab suci nenek moyang orang Bugis) yang merupakan *doa* ataupun mantera supaya dewata kelak memberikan hasil yang baik dan tidak terjadi bencana seperti adanya hama yang mengganggu padi. Dewasa ini mantera-mantera itu diganti berupa doa-doa keselamatan sesuai dengan ajaran agama Islam. Upacara itu merupakan selamatan dengan makan minum yang dihadiri oleh kerabat petani itu.

Di samping itu masih ada acara kecil-kecilan lainnya yang dilaksanakan petani yang berhubungan dengan pertanian yang diperuntukkan bagi kelancaran dan tidak terjadi kerusakan dan gangguan pertumbuhan padinya

kelak antara lain, *maccera lobo* (sesaji setelah meluku), *mappalili* (sesaji untuk mengusir hama), *mappammula* (acara memulai panen) dan sebagainya.

Dengan semakin majunya teknologi sehingga jarak antara kota dan pedalaman semakin dekat, maka kehidupan masyarakat juga semakin maju, ditambah lagi dengan majunya tingkat pendidikan masyarakat maka upacara tradisional semakin kurang bahkan sudah sulit untuk disaksikan. Upacara yang berhubungan dengan diri manusia sejak dari kelahiran lalu meningkat dewasa, sampai kawin dan meninggalnya seseorang juga masih sering kita lihat. Tetapi beberapa diantaranya juga sudah ditinggalkan. Yang masih kelihatan dilaksanakan ialah upacara kelahiran, perkawinan dan kematian. Anak lahir disambut dengan kegembiran, yang kalau dahulu dipergunakan mantera-mantera oleh dukun beranak, tetapi sekarang disesuaikan saja dengan kebutuhan dan cara dalam agama Islam. Pada upacara perkawinan juga masih dapat dilihat beberapa acara tetapi yang pokok-pokok saja.

Kesenian masyarakat berupa seni musik: suling, kecapi, bacing pacing, dengan lagu daerah Bugis. Di samping itu juga ada tarian seperti *pajoge* dan *pajaga*. Dalam hal seni rupa dapat dilihat pada kerajinan anyam-anyaman dan ukir-ukiran dan sebagainya. Seperti halnya dengan orang-orang Indonesia pada umumnya maka orang Bugis Soppeng masih mempertahankan sifat kegotong royongannya yang kuat, serta keramah tamahan pada setiap tamunya. Lama sekali baru dapat diterima oleh masyarakat Soppeng keberadaan hotel di Soppeng. Mereka berpendapat bahwa tidak pantas ada hotel, sebab semua rumah dipersiapkan untuk menerima tamu, dengan tidak usah membayar. Hotel baru ada pada dekade tujuh puluhan itupun karena terpaksa, atas saran dari Direktorat Jenderal Pariwisata yang melihat kemungkinan daerah Soppeng sebagai daerah tujuan wisata, karena mempunyai potensi kepariwisataan yang cukup kuat.

2.3.2 Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala

Disekitar Cabenge (lembah Walanae) ditemukan peninggalan manusia purba yang berupa artefak, alat batu palaeolitik dan neolitik. Di samping itu ditemukan pula fosil binatang purba antara lain gajah (*Stegodon* dan *Archidiskodon celebensis*), babi rusa (*Celebechorus heekereni*), kura-kura raksasa (*Testudo margae*) dll (Heekeren, 1972) yang sangat penting bagi ilmu geologi dan palaeontologi.

Penemuan palaeolitik yang berupa kapak perimbas, pisau batu dari zaman batu tua (palaeolitik) manandakan bahwa daerah ini sudah sangat tua dan pernah dihuni manusia pada zaman batu. Di daerah Citta Kecamatan Liliriaja ditemukan Gua Codong yaitu gua Prasejarah yang pernah dihuni oleh manusia nenek moyang orang Bugis Makassar yang sering disebut dengan orang *Toala* (Sarasin & Sarasin, 1905-06) pada antara $\pm$ 3.000 - 10.000 tahun yang lalu. Tinggalan budayanya berupa *flake* (serpih), *blade* (alat bilah), maka panah dll. Di samping itu ditemukan pula tulang-tulang dan gigi manusia.

Orang Soppeng dikenal sebagai petani sejak dahulu kala sampai sekarang ini. Bukti-bukti tentang kegiatan agraris itu dengan ditemukannya sejumlah bangunan dan situs yang bercorak megalitik, yang tersebar di seluruh daerah Soppeng. Benda-benda tersebut memberikan indikasi tentang keberadaan manusia dan kegiatannya di daerah ini antara 3.000 tahun sampai sekarang. Jenis bangunan yang bercorak megalitik itu ialah:

2.3.2.1 Menhir

Batu yang ditanam tegak untuk keperluan pemujaan oleh masyarakat tertentu. Banyak terdapat di daerah Soppeng antara lain: Ujung, Lawo, Citta, Sewo, Mong, Takkalala, Tinco, Batu-batu, Umpengeng, Bila, Watu dan Lopulle.

2.3.2.2 Dakon

Batu monolit dengan salah satu bidangnya yang rata ditata, dilubangi atau digaris-garis. Sebenarnya beberapa jenis model ini belum diketahui maksud dan tujuannya. Ada satu jenis empat puluh sembilan lubang atau tujuh kali tujuh lubang, sedang jenis lain lubang-lubang yang cukup banyak. Garis-garis pada batu juga tidak sama bentuk dan jumlahnya. Diperkirakan model-model ini adalah dakon, yaitu alat untuk bermain dakon. Juga banyak tersebar di daerah Soppeng, Lawo, Ujung, Bila, Bulu Matanre, Pising, Leworeng, Batu-batu, Watu, Umpengeng dan sebagainya.

2.3.2.3 Lesung

Lesung batu untuk keperluan menumbuk padi, biji-bijian, obat-obatan dan keperluan pembuatan/pemerosesan makanan dan juga untuk kepentingan ritual. Ukurannya bermacam-macam, ada lubang tunggal dan ada lubang majemuk. Banyak sekali ditemukan di Lawo, Lapajung, Bila, Ujung, Salotungo, Sewo, Batu-batu, Takkalala, Watu, Umpengeng dan sebagainya.

2.3.2.4 Punden berundak

Bangunan batu untuk pemujaan terdapat di Sewo, Umpengeng, Libureng, Tinco dan sebagainya.

2.3.2.5 Dolmen

Meja batu untuk pemujaan terdapat di Sewo.

2.3.2.6 Batu dulang

Batu ditata untuk menyimpan air keperluan rumah tangga, dan ada pula sejenis untuk menyimpan air cuci. Banyak terdapat di Watu, Tinco, Sewo dan sebagainya.

Di samping bangunan batu corak megalitik juga ditemukan:

2.3.2.7 Fragmen Keramik Asing dan Gerabah

Peninggalan ini juga banyak tersebar di daerah ini. Gerabah dan keramik asing akan lebih banyak dibicarakan pada bab berikut karena mempunyai nilai tersendiri sebab dijadikan alat untuk pertanggalan pada tempat-tempat yang diteliti seperti yang tersebut pada toponim pada periode pra Islam dan Islam.

2.3.2.8 Makam Islam

Pada periode Islam sesudah abad tujuh belas dibangun bangunan makam yang unik yang kadang-kadang tidak ada di daerah lain. Dapat disebutkan antara lain di Kompleks Makam Raja-Raja Soppeng Jera Lompoe, Kompleks Makam Watu, Makam Datu Mario di Mario Riawa.

2.4 Sejarah singkat

Menurut catatan yang terdapat pada naskah lontarak disebutkan bahwa masyarakat Soppeng berasal dari dua tempat yaitu dari Sewo dan Gattareng. Orang-orang yang berasal dari Sewo menempati daerah yang disebut Soppeng Riaja (Soppeng Barat) dan yang berasal dari Gattareng menempati Soppeng Rilau (Soppeng Timur). Ada enam puluh *wanua* (kampung yang dipimpin oleh seorang kepala yang disebut Matoa). Yang termasuk Soppeng Rilau ialah Salotungo, Lompok, Kubba, Panincong, Talagae, Attassalo, Mangkutta, Maccile, Watuwatu dan Akkampeng, sedangkan yang termasuk Soppeng Riaja ialah Pesse, Seppang, Pising, Launga, Mattabulu, Ara, Lisu, Lawo, Madello Rilau, dan Tinco. Cenrana, Salokaraja, Malaka, Mattoanging, termasuk ke dalam Soppeng Rilau dan Soppeng Riaja. Tidak diketahui lagi berapa lama sudah rakyat Soppeng tidak mempunyai Raja, setelah turunan dari Sawerigading yang terakhir punah. Pada waktu itu Soppeng hanya dikendalikan oleh para Matoa yang enampuluh itu. Yang dianggap sebagai pimpinan ialah Matoa Bila, Matoa Botto dan Matoa Ujung. Kapan kejadian ini belum diketahui dengan pasti. Salah satu kekurangan dari pada lontarak Soppeng sebagai sumber sejarah ialah tidak dapatnya diketahui pertanggalan peristiwa yang terjadi pada suatu zaman. Diperkirakan oleh para sejarahwan peristiwa ini terjadi pada awal abad XII/XIII. Pada waktu itu tidak ada lagi koordinasi antar satu Matoa dengan Matoa yang lain. Sistem pemerintahan tidak lagi teratur, berlaku hukum rimba, siapa yang kuat menindas yang lemah. Keadaan menjadi kucar-kacir. Akibat dari itu semua timbul malapetaka, kemarau panjang, wabah penyakit yang tak tertanggulangi, dan pertanian tidak menjadi. Akhirnya mereka menyadari bahwa hal tersebut tidak boleh dibiarkan berlarut-larut. Mereka menyepakati memilih pemimpin yang berwibawa yang dapat membawa rakyatnya kepada keadaan yang aman sentosa lahir dan batin. Di dalam kronik Soppeng dikatakan bahwa pada keadaan sulit yang demikian muncul seorang juru selamat yang digambarkan sebagai penjelamaan dewa yang turun dari langit. Tokoh itu disebut *Tomanurung*. Asal usul tokoh tersebut tidak diketahui, tetapi yang jelas bahwa tokoh ini mempunyai kelebihan dan keistimewaan yang akhirnya mereka pilih dan sepakati sebagai pimpinannya. Di Soppeng Tomanurung ini kemudian diangkat dan dipilih bersama berdasarkan kesepakatan bersama antara para Matoa dengan Tomanurung itu, sebagai Raja atau Datu Soppeng pertama, yang bernama Latemmamala. Di dalam mufakat antara para Matoa disatu pihak dengan Tomanurung dilain pihak disebutkan bahwa Tomanurung akan melindungi dan mangayomi rakyatnya serta berusaha memakmurkan rakyatnya. Sebaliknya rakyat Soppeng mematuhi peraturan dan undang-undang dan adat yang telah mereka sepakati bersama. Raja pertama ini ditemukan di Sekkangnyili yaitu sebuah tempat di Desa Leworeng kira-kira 20 km di sebelah utara Watansoppeng, oleh Matoa Tinco. Tomanurung ini sering pula digelar Manurungnge di Sekkangnyili. Datu Soppeng pertama La Temmamala ini dibuatkan istana di Tinco (6 km di sebelah utara Watansoppeng). Bersama dengan itu dibuatkan sawah kerajaan di Lakelluaja. Sesudah pengangkatan itu Datu Soppeng pertama itu memberitahukan bahwa di Gowarie (20 km di sebelah selatan Watansoppeng) muncul Tomanurung lain yang bernama Manurungnge ri Gowarie. Manurungnge ini seorang puteri yang kemudian dijemput pula oleh para Matoa dan atas kesepakatan Datu Soppeng La Temmamala dijadikan Datu Soppeng Rilau, dan La Temmamala menjadi Datu Soppeng Riaja. Selanjutnya di dalam silsilah raja-raja Soppeng yang dikenal hanya turunan La Temmamala saja.

La Temmamala (Datu Soppeng Riaja I) kawin dengan We Mapupu Tomanurung ri Suppa. Dari perkawinan

ini lahir seorang putera yang bernama La Marangcina, yang kemudian menggantikan ayahnya sebagai Datu Soppeng Riaja II. Pada waktu pemerintahan Datu Soppeng Riaja pertama kemakmuran rakyat berangsur-angsur dapat dicapai. Datu Soppeng Riaja dalam melaksanakan pemerintahannya dibantu oleh seorang *Pangepa* (Mangkubumi). We Tekkewanua sebagai Ratu (Datu Soppeng Riaja) ke empat adalah seorang datu yang mempunyai kepemimpinan yang cukup tinggi. Soppeng diperluas sampai ke pantai barat Sulawesi Selatan. Dibangunnya persawahan yang luas dan perikanan demi kemakmuran rakyatnya. Beliau berputera dua orang yaitu yang tertua bernama La Wadeng dan yang bungsu bernama La Makkanengnga. Puteranya yang bungsu diangkat menjadi Datu Soppeng Riaja sedangkan yang sulung menjadi *pangepa* (mangkubumi). Putusan tersebut diamanatkan kepada La Wadeng sebagai pangepa yang pada hakekatnya dia yang melaksanakan pemerintahan sedangkan adiknya yang diangkat menjadi Datu Soppeng Riaja hanya sebagai lambang belaka.

Pada abad 16 terjadi pertikaian antara Datu Soppeng Riaja La Mataesso dengan Datu Soppeng Rilau yang bernama La Makkarodda. Pertikaian itu meningkat menjadi perang saudara. La Makkarodda kalah dan lari ke Bone. Di Bone ia kawin dengan saudara perempuan raja Bone Bongkange yang bernama We Tenri Pakkua. Beberapa tahun kemudian Datu Soppeng Riaja La Mataesso memanggil kembali La Makkarodda supaya kembali memimpin kerajaannya. Tetapi La Makkarodda tidak mau lagi menjadi Datu Soppeng Rilau. Dia bersedia kembali ke Soppeng hanya sebagai *Watanglipu* atau panglima perang saja. Persyaratan ini diterima oleh La Mataesso, dan sejak itu kerajaan Soppeng hanya satu tidak ada Soppeng Riaja dan Soppeng Rilau lagi.

Pada tahun 1582 Datu Soppeng XIII La Mappeleppe Patoloe yang ialah anak La Mataesso dan juga bergelar Ponglipue mengikat perjanjian dengan kerajaan Bone di bawah pimpinan Raja Bone VIII La Tenri Rawe Bongkange dengan gelar Matinroe ri Guccina dan dengan Lamungkace To Udamang Arung Matoa Wajo. Perjanjian itu sering disebut *mattellung poccoe* atau *lamung patue ri Timurung*, artinya mengadakan persekutuan tiga negara (Triple Aliansi) Bone, Soppeng dan Wajo dengan tujuan bersatu ke dalam dan keluar terhadap serangan dari kerajaan lainnya.

Raja Gowa I Mangorai Daeng Mameta Karaeng Bonto Langkasa atau sering digelar dengan Tunijallo, sangat marah kepada kerajaan Bone, Soppeng dan Wajo berhubung dengan perjanjian persekutuan tersebut. Beberapa kali raja Gowa tersebut menyerang Wajo dan Bone yaitu pada tahun 1583, 1585 dan 1590 tetapi selalu gagal, bahkan dia tewas dalam perjalanan kembali ke Gowa karena diamuk oleh seorang hambanya. Pada waktu Gowa menyerang Bone dan Wajo, Soppeng aktif membantu sekutunya itu.

Peristiwa itu kemudian dibuatkan perjanjian dengan menanam batu di depan istana sambil mengucapkan sumpah yang dipersaksikan oleh para Dewa, upacara itu dikenal dengan *Mallamung Patu*. Dalam usaha mengembangkan agama Islam di Sulawesi Selatan maka raja Gowa Sultan Alauddin pada tahun 1609 mengajak Datu Soppeng XIV Beowe untuk menerima Agama Islam. Beowe menjadi Datu Soppeng yang pertama memeluk agama Islam.

Pengganti Beowe ialah kemanakannya Latenri Bali sebagai Datu Soppeng XV. Pemberontakan Bone melawan Gowa pada tahun 1660 di bawah pimpinan I Toballa Jennang Bone dibantu oleh Soppeng. Bantuan ini adalah akibat dari solidaritas sebagai akibat perjanjian *Tellung poccoe* pada tahun 1582. Akibatnya Raja Gowa marah kepada Datu Soppeng. Peperangan berlangsung beberapa lamanya. I Toballa tewas di Lamuru. Aru Palakka seorang bangsawan keturunan Soppeng-Bone (La Makkarodda) memimpin perlawanan terhadap Gowa. Beberapa lama berperang Bone kalah. Latenri Bali ditawan dan dibawa ke Gowa. Beliau baru dapat dibebaskan pada waktu Gowa kalah dari Kompeni Belanda dengan perjanjian Bungaya pada tahun 1667. Setelah kembalinya Latenri Bali dari Gowa keadaan baru menjadi normal kembali. We Ada atau Datu Madello menggantikan Latenri Bali sebagai Datu Soppeng XVI. Raja puteri ini sebenarnya adalah permaisuri dari Aru Palakka. Karena We Ada tidak berputera maka ia digantikan oleh saudaranya yang bernama Latenri Senge sebagai Datu Soppeng XVII. Tidak banyak catatan sesudah pemerintahan Datu Soppeng ketujuh belas ini. Ia tidak memiliki putera mahkota. Ada puteranya yang lain tetapi tidak disukai oleh rakyat. Untuk memilih Datu maka dapat dipilih dari keturunan bangsawan dari Bone atau Wajo. Pilihan para anggota hadat jatuh kepada La Patau Matinroe Ri Nagauleng yang waktu itu menjabat sebagai Raja Bone. Tidak banyak lagi yang dapat dicatat dari Datu Soppeng sesudah itu. La Patau mempunyai beberapa putera dari beberapa orang isteri yang pernah menjadi Datu di Soppeng antara lain Baturitoja (puteri) yang pernah merangkap sebagai Datu Soppeng, juga sebagai Arumpone dan juga sebagai Pajung Luwu (Raja Luwu). Saudara Bataritoja yang pernah menjadi Datu Soppeng ialah Lapada Sejati, La Temmassonge dan La Pareppa. Lapada Sejati sewaktu menjadi Datu Soppeng menjatuhkan hukuman mati kepada Datu Lamuru yang bernama La Cella karena fitnah dari seorang bangsawan dari Jampu. Akibat dari itu maka rakyat Lamuru yang tadinya masuk Soppeng memisahkan diri dan masuk ke dalam wilayah kerajaan Bone, peristiwa itu terjadi pada tahun 1715.

Awal abad XX merupakan permulaan penjajahan Belanda secara *de facto* dan *de jure* di Sulawesi Selatan. Timbul perlawanan dari Raja-Raja yang tak senang terhadap perlakuan Belanda. Di Soppeng pun terjadi perlawanan dari kaum bangsawan yang tak sudi dijajah. Perlawanan Petta Watallipue pada tahun 1905 di Sering. Sitti Zaenabe sebagai Datu Soppeng ketigapuluh empat tidak kuasa melawan tentara Belanda yang lebih kuat namun Petta Watallipue (sebagai Panglima Perang Soppeng) tidak sudi bekerja sama dengan Belanda. Dalam pertempuran di Sering sembilan orang tentara dibunuhnya. Sampai akhir hayatnya Belanda tidak dapat

menangkap Panglima Perang Soppeng Watallipue. Aru Bila La Pute Ice sebagai mangkubumi juga melepaskan jabatannya dan mengucilkan diri ke gunung di sebelah barat Watansoppeng.

Di samping itu dikenal pula Andi Pannambong seorang bangsawan Soppeng yang memimpin lasykar bergerilya menentang keberadaan Belanda di Soppeng pada waktu itu. Di Soppeng Riaja Sulle Datue Andi Muh. Saleh juga tidak mau menerima kedatangan Belanda di Soppeng, ia memberontak tetapi sayang Ia tertipu oleh akal licik Belanda sampai Ia kalah kemudian dengan rela melepaskan jabatannya sebagai Sulle Datue di Soppeng Riaja.

Sistem pemerintahan kerajaan Soppeng yang berkembang sejak sesudah Pemerintahan Raja ke IV We Tekkewanua yang menciptakan Pangepa yang waktu itu dipangku oleh putera sulungnya La Wadeng dengan gelar Aru Bila. Sedangkan putera bungsunya La Makkanengnga sebagai Datu Soppeng.

Aru Bila mempunyai fungsi sebagai Eksekutif, juga Legislatif dan juga Judikatif. Ia melaksanakan pemerintahan bersama-sama dengan anggota adat lainnya. Ia juga memimpin pengadilan memutuskan hukuman. Ia pun atas nama rakyat menyampaikan aspirasi rakyat kepada Datu Soppeng. Dia pula yang mengangkat dan menyumpah Raja, dan ia pun berwenang memberhentikan Raja (Datu) bila Datu berbuat tidak sepantasnya.

THE STUDY AREA

Soppeng, one of 23 *kabupaten* in the province of South Sulawesi, is divided into five *kecamatan*, Lalabata, Marioriawa, Marioriwawo, Liliriaja and Lilirilau. The 1984 census gave Soppeng a population of 239,000. The great majority are Bugis who speak the Soppeng dialect. Almost 80% are either farmers or fishermen on Lake Tempe.

Located in the centre of the South Sulawesi peninsula, Soppeng takes in the valley and catchment area of the lower reaches of the Walanae river, northwards as far as the Tempe depression (Figs 1 and 2). The most densely populated physiographical unit is the seasonally inundated alluvial lowlands which cover the floors of the Walanae and the wider tributaries which feed the Walanae. These extensive alluvial lowlands are ideal for cultivating wet rice and make Soppeng one of the major rice producing areas of South Sulawesi. The Walanae graben is flanked by a range of low, partially volcanic hills to the east, and to the west, the cordillera of mixed volcanics which steepens from low hills in the north to towering mountains in the south. As elsewhere in South Sulawesi, population densities in Soppeng tend to thin out as the landscape steepens through a relieved to a dissected topography. Wet rice cultivation becomes restricted to hydrologically favoured enclaves, while dry land farming assumes the more important role. In the most remote and mountainous parts of Soppeng, swidden horticulturalists carve out their fields in a surrounding environment of primary and secondary forest.

Although Islam has long been the confessed faith of the great majority of the inhabitants, the thoroughgoing application of Islamic principles to social life really only dates from Indonesian independence. Ceremonies non-Islamic in inspiration or pre-Islamic in origin flourished right up till the end of the Dutch colonial presence. As well as the ceremonies connected with births, deaths and marriages, there were numerous ceremonies, small and large, concerned with Soppeng's role as an agrarian kingdom. The most important of these, the *Tudang Sisoppeng*, connects the Soppeng raja with agricultural productivity and hence the well-being of the inhabitants.

The Soppeng people have regularly worked stone to make objects connected with ritual, recreation and domestic chores. Standing stones, often large enough to be called menhirs, have in the past been erected by many communities as focal points of their communal life. *Dakon*, slabs with holes or scratches on their surface, take their name from the variety with 49 holes which was used for playing the counter game called *dakon*. *Lesung* are a deep-holed type of mortar, while a rectangular version called *dulang* would have held water in easy access and may have been used like a bath or a trough. The Soppeng dolmens which we saw are rectangular arrangements of stone neatly piled to enclose a hollow which holds the remains of important individuals cremated before Islamic times. (Today, these "remains" may be represented in the form of Ming period tradewares). The megalithic tradition continued into Islamic times in the form of the tombs and large gravestones made for high ranking Soppeng individuals upon their decease.

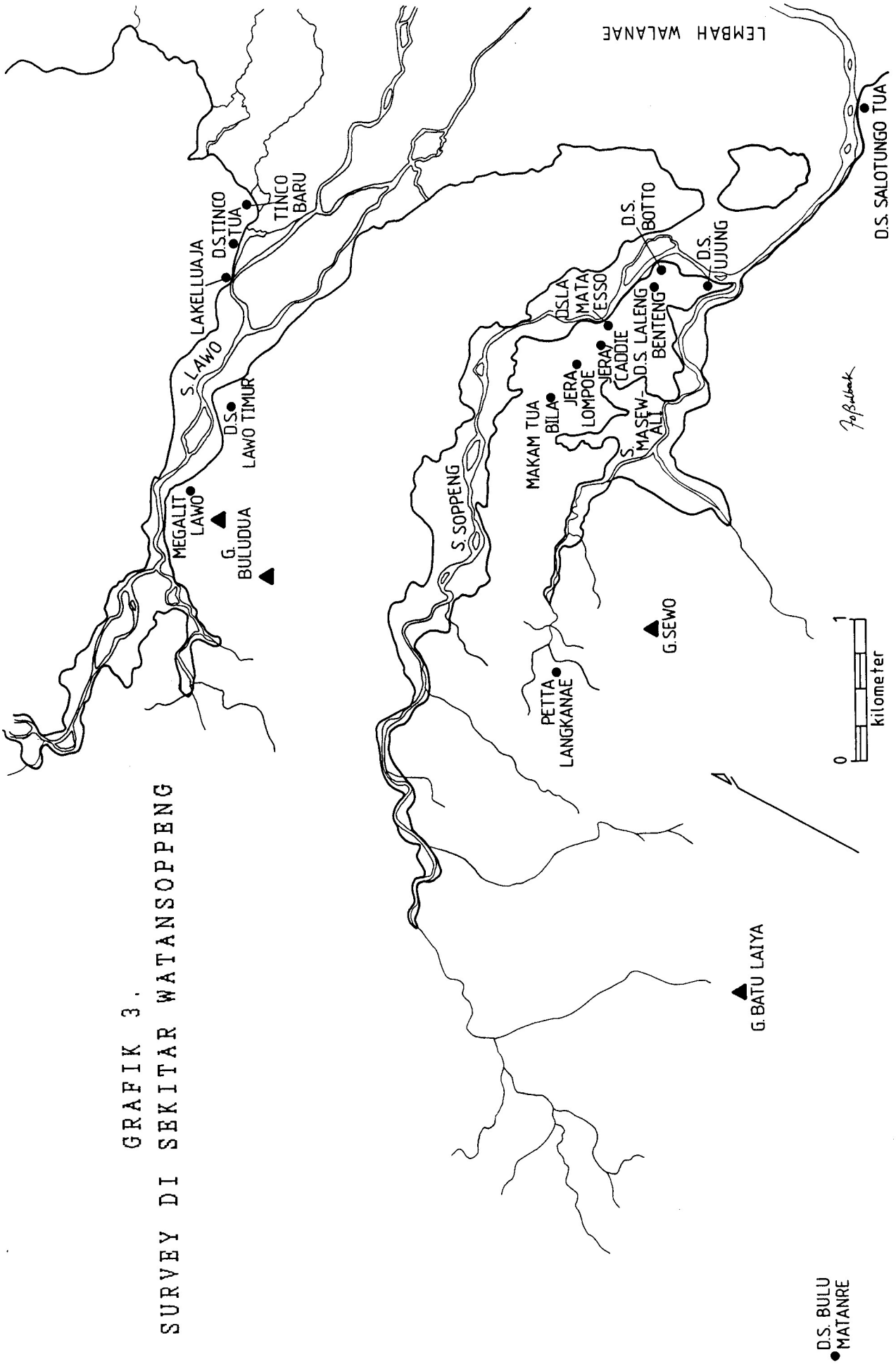
Soppeng traditions derive the people of Soppeng from two foothill communities (see Caldwell, 1988:100-112). The people of Sewo became the people of Soppeng Riaja or West Soppeng (actually, northern Soppeng) while the people of Gattareng became the people of Soppeng Rilau or East Soppeng (southern Soppeng). Soppeng supposedly then consisted of 60 communities, each ruled by its own *matoa* or head. Owing to the lack of an over-reaching authority the communities bickered and poverty was rampant. When a *Tomanurung* supposedly descended from the sky, at a place called Sekkangnyili 20 km north of Watansoppeng, the people of West Soppeng requested that he be their *datu* (raja). A palace was built for him at Tinco (about 6 km north of Watansoppeng). Shortly thereafter a female *Tomanurung* descended from the sky at a place called Gowarie 20 km south of Watansoppeng. She became the *datu* of East Soppeng.

While no available text exists for East Soppeng, West Soppeng's dynastical succession has been recorded, as recently translated and analysed by Caldwell (1988:117-129,188-189). The West Soppeng *Tomanurung* married a female *Tomanurung* from the small kingdom of Suppa on Pare-Pare Bay northwest of Soppeng. Their offspring formed the succession of the *datu* (rulers) and *pangepa* (high lords) of West Soppeng. Although not explicitly stated in the main text of the Royal Genealogy of Soppeng (see Appendix A), other versions do state that the first five rulers of West Soppeng were also the rulers of Suppa (Caldwell, pers. comm.). The only ruler of this early period about whom we know much was We Tekkewanua. During her reign, which can be dated to the decades around 1400 A.D., West Soppeng's control probably extended from Pare-Pare Bay to the Soppeng Valley, with the lowlying land around Lake Tempe in particular marked out for agricultural development. She married at Leworeng with La Temmapeo and had seven children, of whom La Makkanengnga succeeded her as Datu of West Soppeng, while La Wadeng became Lord (*Arung*) of Bila, the most important political figure after the ruler.

In the early to middle 16th century, the *datu* of West Soppeng, La Mataesso, united the then independent kingdoms of West and East Soppeng. The *datu* of East Soppeng, La Makkarodda, fled to Bone, but later returned as the war leader (*Watanglipu*) of the now single kingdom of Soppeng. Later in the century the Makassar kingdom of Gowa began a series of threatening military campaigns. To form a united resistance the major Bugis agrarian kingdoms of Soppeng, Wajo and Bone entered into a triple alliance in 1582. This alliance failed to prevent Gowa from forcefully Islamising these Bugis kingdoms shortly after Gowa adopted Islam as its state religion in 1605.

While Wajo then became a staunch ally of Gowa, both Soppeng and Bone resisted Gowa's hegemony. In the Makassar War of the 1660s Soppeng and Bone supplied the major local contingents which successfully allied with the Dutch to defeat Gowa. Arung Palakka, the Bone warlord who later had himself installed as the *Arung* (raja) of Bone, married the wife of the then Soppeng *datu* as his main queen. Arung Palakka himself was childless but before his death chose as his successor a nephew called La Patau (Andaya, 1981). In the early 18th century La Patau came to rule both Bone and Soppeng, and after his death La Patau's sons also occupied both thrones. In 1765 La Mappajanci, a direct descendent of the lineage which had ruled Soppeng before La Patau, regained the Soppeng throne, which thereafter was passed on through the direct descendents of the original Soppeng lineage (Muttalib, 1981).

It was not until 1906 that the Dutch established a permanent presence in Watansoppeng, and then not without considerable resistance from the Soppeng royalty. Despite the Dutch presence, Soppeng continued to function as an integrated kingdom which the Dutch colonial government recognised as a local administrative unit. During this period, and presumably beforehand, Soppeng had a dual system of government in which the *datu* on the one hand was balanced by the Arung Bila whose duty was to administer the law of Soppeng and to act as a watchdog over the *datu*. Following Indonesia's independence after World War II the kingdom of Soppeng was formally dissolved. Nonetheless the territory traditionally controlled by Soppeng, including the subdivisions recognised by the Dutch, have been retained within the geographical organisation of the modern *kabupaten* of Soppeng.



GRAFIK 3.
SURVEY DI SEKITAR WATANSOPPENG

3. MENELUSURI TOPONIM

Setelah mengamati tempat-tempat yang tersebut dalam toponim ternyata bahwa kesemuanya terletak di atas bukit-bukit (lihat Grafik 3). Bukit-bukit ini terletak hampir berdekatan dan berada di sekitar kota Watansoppeng sekarang ini. Kalau disimak ternyata bahwa penempatan kampung (*wanua-wanua*) tersebut yang berada di atas bukit-bukit mempunyai arti dan nilai yang cukup berarti, ditinjau dari sudut ekonomi dan pertahanan. Daerah yang subur untuk pertanian, persawahan dan perladangan tidak dijadikan daerah pemukiman. Yang dijadikan daerah perkampungan sebagai tempat tinggal ialah area yang kurang atau tidak produktif. Dari sudut pertahanan tempat yang tinggi lebih strategis dibandingkan dengan tempat yang lebih rendah. Seperti diketahui bahwa pada zaman dahulu kala perang antara kampung (*wanua*) sering terjadi oleh sebab itu mereka memilih tempat yang tinggi yang lebih menguntungkan dari segi pertahanan. Ternyata pula bahwa tempat-tempat tersebut dikelilingi oleh lembah-lembah dan sungai kecil yang juga berfungsi sebagai benteng alam terhadap musuh. Di samping itu sungai juga merupakan kebutuhan utama pada suatu perkampungan dimana mereka memerlukan air untuk kehidupannya. Berikut ini satu persatu situs yang disurvey akan kami kemukakan data-datanya.

3.1 Ujung

Situs ini terletak di Ujung sebelah timur plateau kota Watansoppeng. Letaknya ideal, diapit oleh dua sungai yang bertemu di sebelah tenggara situs ini (Grafik 4).

Sungai ini ialah sungai Soppeng mengalir di sebelah utaranya dan sungai Masewali di sebelah selatannya. Penelitian dilaksanakan pada daerah perkampungan dan pada kuburan Islam. Letak astronomik daerah penelitian ialah 119° 53' 15" BT, dan 4° 21' 20" Lintang Selatan. Perkampungan Ujung sudah sangat padat. Di atas puncak bukit terdapat sebuah mesjid yang diperkirakan berumur 200 tahun. Di sebelah tenggara mesjid ini terdapat makam kuno dan baru yang orang kampung Ujung menamainya Appung. Pada makam ini terdapat banyak nisan yang bergaya menhir yaitu nisan dengan mempergunakan batu alam yang tidak ditata, ditancapkan pada tumpukan batu yang disusun sebagai Makam. Nisan menhir ini ada yang tunggal dan ada pula yang berpasangan. Umur menhir-menhir ini paling tua 200 tahun dan yang paling muda 30 tahun. Bahan nisan menhir batu andesit dan batu vulkanik. Tinggi nisan menhir ini dikelasifikasikan atas 3 macam yaitu:

1). antara 50 sampai 100 cm	29 buah
2). antara 100 sampai 150 cm	27 buah
3). antara 150 sampai 200 cm	28 buah

Di samping itu ada pula jenis jirat dan nisannya yang terbuat dari batu padas (*sandstone*) yang telah dipahat dengan bentuk-bentuk dan ragam hias yang floraistik dan geometrik (tumpal, pilin). Bentuk nisan ini dapat dikelasifikasikan sebagai 1) gadah, 2) pipi, 3) bulat panjang. Orientasi arah makam ialah utara selatan baik yang bernisan menhir maupun yang bernisan batu pahatan, dan ini juga merupakan ciri makam-makam Islam. Oleh sebab itu mengapa ada nisan menhir. Hal ini dapat dijelaskan bahwa meskipun rata-rata mereka telah memeluk agama Islam tetapi tradisi pra Islam masih mereka laksanakan.

Ada kepercayaan pada masyarakat Soppeng pada masa lampau bahwa batu nisan yang baik ialah batu yang berasal dari Buludua (Lawo) karena batunya hidup. Temuan lain yang berciri megalitik pada makam Appung ini ialah dua buah batu dakon yang berlubang 7 X 7 atau empat puluh sembilan. Seperti yang diuraikan pada bab terdahulu bahwa apa maksud dakon dengan lubang empat puluh sembilan itu, beberapa orang tua yang sempat ditanyai tidak tahu lagi maksud dan tujuannya. Di perkampungan ini ditemukan 24 buah lesung batu dengan berbagai ukuran.

Fragmen keramik yang ditemukan pada situs Ujung ini ialah:

Tabel 1

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	3 keping	abad ?
2.	Sawankhalok celadon	2 keping	abad 15 - 16
3.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	1 keping	abad 15 - 16
4.	Hung-Chih biru putih	1 keping	abad 15 akhir
5.	Ming biru putih abad 16	4 keping	abad 16
6.	Ming Swatow	3 keping	akhir 15 - abad 16
7.	Ming biru putih akhir	5 keping	akhir 16 - awal 17
8.	Swatow	14 keping	abad 17
9.	Ching Swatow	19 keping	akhir 17 - awal 18
10.	Ching biru putih/merah	74 keping	akhir 17 - abad 18
11.	Eropah	24 keping	abad 19
12.	Jepang	5 keping	abad 19
13.	Ching putih/baru	225 keping	abad 20
	JUMLAH fragmen keramik asing	380 keping	

Kelasifikasinya 16 fragmen dari Ujung menurut jenis dan bentuk, ialah:

Tabel 2

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JAR	VAS	BULI2	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Sawankhalok celadon		1		1		
2.	Sawankhalok hitam putih				1		
3.	Ming biru putih	1			1	3	
4.	Ming biru putih akhir			1		2	
5.	Swatow					2	
6.	Ching biru putih						2
	JUMLAH	1	1	1	3	7	2

3.2 Botto

Pada masa pemerintahan kerajaan dahulu kala Botto merupakan ibukota Soppeng Rilau. Letaknya bersebelahan dengan Kerajaan Soppeng Riaja, pada puncak plateau kota Watansoppeng Botto berarti puncak (Grafik 5). Pada bukit Botto ini sekarang terdapat rumah jabatan Bupati Kepala Daerah Kabupaten Soppeng. Di sebelah barat rumah jabatan itu terdapat sebuah bangunan Belanda yang disebut Villa Juliana yang dibangun oleh Belanda pada tahun 1907. Letak astronomik puncak Botto ini ialah pada 119° 53' 12" Bujur Timur dan 4° 21' 3" Lintang Selatan. Kontur bukit ini merupakan plateau yang memanjang dari barat ke timur. Di sebelah utara terdapat sebuah tebing yang sangat curam yang menuju ke Sungai Soppeng. Pada salah satu tempat di tebing itu menurut cerita orang tua-tua merupakan tempat pelaksanaan eksekusi pidana mati, yaitu membuang si terhukum masuk jurang yang dalam tersebut. Tempat ini termasuk Lingkungan Masewali Kelurahan Botto Kecamatan Lalabata. Daerah penelitian hanya di sekitar rumah jabatan Bupati dan gedung Belanda rumah Kontroleur (Villa Juliana). Di belakang rumah jabatan Bupati dan gedung Belanda terdapat juga rumah-rumah penduduk, yang dibangun pada teras-teras batu. Pohon-pohon pisang banyak tumbuh di sekitar rumah menjadikan situs tak dapat teramati dengan baik. Diperkirakan letak istana Soppeng Rilau terdapat di sebelah utara atau belakang rumah Bupati. Di sebelah selatan terdapat Mesjid baru Soppeng, mesjid yang terbesar di daerah ini. Dari tempat ini dapat dilihat hampir seperdua dari Kabupaten Soppeng. Di sebelah barat berhadapan dengan bukit Laleng Benteng tempat bekas Keraton Soppeng Riaja Laleng Benteng dan yang kemudian menjadi Keraton Kerajaan Soppeng setelah kerajaan dipersatukan.

Temuan keramik dari hasil transek ialah:

Tabel 3

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Sung celadon	2 keping	abad 12 - 13
2.	Yuan Te-hua	1 keping	abad 13 - 14
3.	Ming celadon	2 keping	abad 15 - 16
4.	Ming biru putih	1 keping	abad 16
5.	Ming biru putih akhir	2 keping	akhir 16 - awal 17
6.	Swatow	10 keping	abad 17
7.	Ching Swatow	11 keping	akhir 17 - awal 18
8.	Ching biru putih/merah	50 keping	akhir 17 - abad 18
9.	Eropah	16 keping	abad 19
10.	Ching putih/baru	101 keping	abad 20
	JUMLAH	196 keping	

8 fragmen keramik yang dikoleksi dan dikelasifikasi kemudian adalah sbb:

Tabel 4

	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	BALUBU	VAS	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Sung celadon				2	
2.	Yuan Te-hua			1		
3.	Ming celadon		1		1	
4.	Ming biru putih	1				
5.	Ming biru putih akhir				1	1
	JUMLAH	1	1	1	4	1

3.3 Laleng Benteng

Dahulu situs ini termasuk di dalam wilayah Soppeng Riaja. Laleng Benteng artinya dalam Benteng atau pusat kerajaan, jadi disini terdapat keraton Soppeng. Sekarang masuk Lingkungan Masewali Kelurahan Botto, Kecamatan Lalabata. Letak astronomik 119° 53' 5" Bujur Timur dan 4° 21' 2" Lintang Selatan. Masih merupakan sambungan plateau kota Watansoppeng. Kontur situs ini merupakan satu bukit yang berhadapan dengan bukit Botto. Antara bukit Botto dan bukit Laleng Benteng merupakan jalan aspal yang dahulu kala merupakan alun-alun tempat berkumpul rakyat Soppeng pada waktu ada keramaian ataupun untuk mendengarkan pengumuman dari pemerintah. Di tengah-tengah bekas alun-alun itu terdapat batu pelantikan *datu* Soppeng (Grafik 5). Pada mulanya batu itu ditanam sewaktu diadakan perjanjian antara Datu Soppeng Rilau dan Soppeng Riaja dimana Soppeng dijadikan hanya satu kerajaan yaitu Kerajaan Soppeng dan yang menjadi Datu Soppeng ialah La Mataesso Datu Soppeng Riaja, sedangkan La Makkarodda Datu Soppeng Rilau menjadi Panglima Perang atau *Watallipu* saja. Sayang sekali Istana Datu Soppeng sudah tidak ada lagi hanya tinggal bekas-bekasnya saja berupa pundasi dan beberapa lesung dan sebuah menhir yang orang setempat menamainya *Petta La Temmappole* (Grafik 6). Menhir ini berfungsi sebagai batu eksekusi. Seseorang yang telah dijatuhi hukuman mati, sebelum dieksekusi disuruh mengelilingi batu menhir itu sebanyak tujuh kali, sesudah itu baru dilaksanakan hukumannya. Tinggi menhir ini 1.5 meter. Raja Lamuru La Cella sebelum menjalani hukuman mati disuruh berkeliling di menhir ini. Di Bukit Laleng Benteng ini terdapat pula sebuah rumah tempat menyimpan Arajang (Alat kerajaan) Soppeng. Karena rumah itu berwarna kuning maka disebut *Bola Ridie*. Benda-benda kerajaan yang disimpan di Bola Ridie itu ialah, sepasang gelang emas berbentuk naga, yang dipakai oleh Datu Soppeng pada masa lampau. Payung kerajaan dengan memakai puncak payung dari emas 3 buah, seberkas potongan rambut Datu Pertama beserta Vas Emas, dua buah pedang dengan gagang emas, 6 pucuk meriam buatan Portugis, dan sejumlah atribut kerajaan, alat musik gendang, gong dsbnya. Beberapa potong keramik Jepang dan Eropah juga terdapat di Bola Ridie itu. Barang-barang tersebut disimpan dan dianggap keramat. Dan yang paling utama disini ialah Rambut Datu Soppeng I (Manurungnge di Sekkangnyili) yang dianggap personifikasi dari Manurungnge itu.

Di sekeliling Bola Ridie terdapat sejumlah rumah turunan bangsawan yang sudah sangat padat, sehingga menyulitkan penelitian. Penduduk tersebut mendapat beberapa potong keramik Cina dan Thailand ketika mereka membangun rumahnya. Temuan keramik yang terdapat pada situs ialah:

Tabel 5

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	1 keping	abad ?
2.	Sung celadon	2 keping	abad 12 - 13
3.	Yuan celadon	1 keping	abad 13 - 14
4.	Yuan/Ming celadon	3 keping	abad 15 - 16
5.	Ching Pai	1 keping	abad 13 - 14
6.	Yuan Te-hua	1 keping	abad 13 - 14
7.	Sawankhalok coklat	1 keping	abad 15 - 16
8.	Sawankhalok celadon	1 keping	abad 15 - 16
9.	Vietnam biru putih	2 keping	abad 15
10.	Ming biru putih	4 keping	abad 16
11.	Ming Swatow	5 keping	akhir 15 - abad 16
12.	Ming biru putih akhir	1 keping	akhir 16 - awal 17
13.	Swatow	24 keping	abad 17
14.	Ching Swatow	17 keping	akhir 17 - awal 18
15.	Ching biru putih/merah	68 keping	akhir 17 - abad 18
16.	Ching monokrom	1 keping	abad 18 - 19
17.	Eropah	7 keping	abad 19
18.	Jepang	1 keping	abad 19
19.	Ching putih/baru	135 keping	abad 20
	JUMLAH	276 keping	

19 fragmen keramik dari transek yang dikoleksi dikelasifikasi sbb:

Tabel 6

	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	JAR	BALUBU	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Sung celadon					2	
2.	Yuan celadon					1	
3.	Yuan/Ming celadon					3	
4.	Ching Pai						1
5.	Yuan Te-hua				1		
6.	Sawankhalok coklat	1					
7.	Sawankhalok celadon						1
8.	Vietnam biru putih				1		1
9.	Ming biru putih		1	1		1	
10.	Ming BW akhir			1			
11.	Swatow			1		1	
12.	Ching Swatow					1	
	JUMLAH	1	1	3	2	9	3

3.4 Bila

Menurut orang-orang tua di Soppeng bahwa nama Bila berasal dari nama pohon yang menjadi pagar kampung tersebut. Pohon tersebut banyak tumbuh di daerah Soppeng, buahnya berkulit tebal, yang kulit ini dapat dijadikan wadah untuk menampung/membawa dan menyimpan air. Bila terletak di sebelah barat Laleng Benteng, dengan kontur yang merupakan plateau yang berorientasi barat timur. Tempat penelitian terdiri atas empat tempat masing-masing: sekitar Jera Lompoe, sekitar Mesjid Bila, Makam Tua Bila dan situs La Mataesso (Grafik 7). Letak astronomik Bila ialah 119° 52' 14" BT dan 4° 20' 57" LS. Area penelitian merupakan perkampungan yang padat dengan rumah penduduk yang menyulitkan melihat keseluruhan daerah penelitian. Sekarang daerah ini masuk wilayah Lingkungan Bila, Kelurahan Bila, Kecamatan Lalabata. Fokus penelitian berada pada Jera Lompoe (abad XVII). Makam Raja-Raja Soppeng ini, mempunyai ciri tersendiri karena memiliki bentuk yang menandai zamannya, seperti nisan menhir dan nisan-nisan lainnya yang halus seperti bentuk hulu keris, mahkota dan gadah, serta model mata tombak yang diukir relief halus floraistik. Situs ini juga terletak pada plateau kota Watansoppeng. Orientasi makam utara selatan. Kompleks makam ini telah dipugar dan dikembangkan oleh Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia. Di dalam Kompleks ini juga terdapat sejumlah lesung-lesung batu, batu dakon dan batu dulang, yang ditempatkan pada halaman taman (lihat Kallupa 1980).

Penelitian fragmen keramik dimulai sebelah barat Jera Lompoe yaitu disebuah makam tua milik rakyat yang cukup luas menuju ke timur di sekitar Jera Lompoe, ke timur lagi dekat Mesjid Bila, ke timur lagi sampai pada batas kampung Masewali yaitu pada makam Raja Soppeng abad 19 dan 20. Ke utara Mesjid Bila (Sumpang Bila) sampai batas sungai Soppeng kemudian ke timur sampai situs La Mataesso. Di sebelah timur Mesjid tua Bila ditemukan sebuah lesung batu dan batu dakon. Keistimewaan lesung batu ini ialah adanya bekas telepak kaki pada injakan batu tersebut. Mesjid Bila dibangun pada abad 19 awal. Ciri ketuaan masih dapat dilihat pada bentuk atap piramidal dan bersusun tiga dan di puncaknya dipasang balubu.

Jenis fragmen keramik yang ditemukan ialah:

Tabel 7

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	3	abad ?
2.	Ming celadon	1	abad 15
3.	Vietnam biru putih	1	abad 15 - 16
4.	Ming biru putih	4	abad 16
5.	Ming Swatow	13	akhir 15 - abad 16
6.	Ming biru putih akhir	1	akhir 16 - awal 17
7.	Swatow	24	abad 17
8.	Ching Swatow	19	akhir 17 - awal 18
9.	Ching biru putih/famille rose	135	akhir 17 - abad 18
10.	Ching celadon	6	abad 18 - 19
11.	Eropah	111	abad 19
12.	Jepang	8	abad 19
13.	Baru (termasuk 1 "Bandung Ming")	550	abad 20
	JUMLAH	876	

Kelasifikasi 17 fragmen keramik dari transek ini yang dikoleksi adalah sbb:

Tabel 8

No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	JAR	BALUBU	VAS	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Ming celadon				1			
2.	Vietnam BW						1	
3.	Ming BW			2				2
4.	Ming Swatow			1				
5.	Ming BW akhir							1
6.	Ching BW/f. rose					1		2
7.	Ching celadon	1	1			1		3
	JUMLAH	1	1	3	1	2	1	8

3.5 Situs La Mataesso

Sebenarnya tidak disebutkan di dalam toponim namun tempat ini perlu diteliti karena memiliki sejumlah fragmen yang cukup banyak. Tempat ini menurut informasi adalah tempat kremasi Datu Soppeng yang bernama La Mataesso. Sekarang tempat ini telah dipergunakan sebagai tempat perumahan. Letak astronomik 119° 52' 55" BT dan 4° 20' 58" LS. Letaknya antara Laleng Benteng dan Bila, masih termasuk Kelurahan Botto Kecamatan Lalabata.

Semua fragmen keramik dari situs ini dikoleksi dan dikelasifikasi sbb:

Tabel 9

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Yuan stonwar keras	2	abad 13 - 14
2.	Yuan celadon	5	abad 13 - 14
3.	Yuan/Ming celadon	2	abad 15
4.	Ming celadon	1	abad 15
5.	Vietnam biru putih	2	abad 15
6.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	1	abad 15-16
7.	Ming biru putih	8	abad 16
8.	Ming Swatow	3	akhir 15 - abad 16
9.	Ming biru putih akhir	4	akhir 16 - awal 17
10.	Swatow	5	abad 17
11.	Ching Swatow	2	akhir 17 - awal 18
12.	Kang-Hsi biru putih	5	akhir 17 - awal 18
	JUMLAH	40	

No.	JENIS	TEMP.	BALUBU	VAS	TUTUP2	BASI	PIRING	MANGKUK	CANGKIR
1.	Stonwar Yuan	2							
2.	Yuan celadon						5		
3.	Yuan/Ming cel.	1					1		
4.	Ming celadon						1		
5.	Vietnam BW		1					1	
6.	Sawankhalok HP				1				
7.	Ming BW		2	1	1		2	2	
8.	Ming Swatow						3		
9.	Ming BW akhir						2	2	
10.	Swatow		1		1	1	1	1	
11.	Ching Swatow				1		1		
12.	Kang-Hsi BW						4		1
	JUMLAH	3	4	1	4	1	20	6	1

3.6 Salotungo

Salotungo terletak 4 kilometer di sebelah timur Watansoppeng. Letak astronomik ialah 119° 53' 42" BT dan 4° 21' 41" LS. Secara administratif masuk Kelurahan Lalabata Rilau, Kecamatan Lalabata. Sepintas lalu kelihatannya tempat yang sekarang bernama Salotungo ini diduga sebagai Salotungo yang tertara di dalam toponim, ternyata setelah diamati data-datanya kurang mendukung. Artefak sangat kurang, kecuali ditemukan beberapa lesung batu, di halaman rumah penduduk. Mungkin sekali Salotungo yang disebut di dalam toponim tidak persis pada Salotungo sekarang ini. Menurut penduduk setempat bahwa di sebelah utara perkampungan sekarang terdapat dua buah *pattunung* (kremasi). Di belakang ada kuburan Islam tua yang kecil dengan batu nisan sederhana sama yang ditemukan di kuburan Islam tua di Sewo dan Tinco (Grafik 8). Ada 10 makam yang mempunyai 2 buah batu nisan dengan orientasi utara selatan, yaitu makam untuk perempuan, dan 14 makam lainnya hanya mempunyai satu batu nisan saja. Sayang sekali pada kesempatan ini tempat tersebut sedikit diteliti karena waktu yang tersedia telah habis.

Pemetaan telah dilaksanakan mulai dari jalan aspal yang berbatasan dengan kompleks Makam Islam, yang dipenuhi dengan nisan menhir, kemudian bergeser ke barat menuju perkampungan sepanjang 600 m. Hasil pengecekan keramik asing sangat minim sekali. Dari 27 temuan fragmen hanya terdiri atas 2 jenis, Ching biru putih (BW) 2 keping dan Ching putih/baru 25 keping. Fragmen gerabah juga ditemukan 104 keping pada 6 area transek yang diperkirakan tidak terlalu tua (50 - 100 tahun).

3.7 Tinco

Menurut sejarah Soppeng disebutkan bahwa istana pertama dibangun di Tinco. Disebutkan juga bahwa di situ dibuatkan untuk Datu Soppeng sawah kerajaan. Hal ini memberikan indikasi bahwa tempat itu cukup subur. Ternyata memang demikian. Situs ini terdapat lebih kurang 6 km di sebelah utara Watansoppeng, termasuk di dalam Kelurahan Ompo Kecamatan Lalabata. Tempatnya merupakan plateau yang membujur dari barat ke timur. Bagian barat bersambung dengan perbukitan Lawo, sedangkan sebelah timur semakin rendah. Di sebelah selatan dan timur terbentang sawah yang cukup luas dan dibelah oleh sungai Lawo (Grafik 9). Letak astronomiknya ialah 119° 52' 32" BT dan 4° 19' 33" LS. Plateau Tinco ini yang paling banyak didapatkan artefak ialah di bagian tengah dan bagian barat. Banyak ditumbuhi pohon jati, kelapa, mangga, pohon lamtoro dan lain-lain. Sekarang banyak pula yang dihutankan kembali dengan ditanami coklat, jeruk dan kopi. Untuk masuk ke situs ini dapat dengan mengendarai kendaraan roda empat dari arah barat. Sebuah jalan yang membelah plateau ini selebar 4 meter yang telah diperkeras dengan kerikil merupakan penghubung antara jalan poros Watansoppeng-Pare-Pare dengan kampung Tinco Baru yang terletak di ujung bawah sebelah timur plateau Tinco. Sebelah menyebelah jalan yang disurvey penuh dengan fragmen keramik asing dan gerabah (keramik lokal). Temuan lainnya ialah sejumlah batu dakon, lesung batu, batu dulang, menhir, dolmen dan batu altar lain, batu bergaris, batu persegi dan batu pelebur logam (Grafik 10 s.d. 12) yang dapat dilihat jumlahnya sebagai berikut:

No.	NAMA BATU	JUMLAH
1.	Menhir	1
2.	Batu Dakon	10
3.	Batu Lesung	2
4.	Batu Dulang	3
5.	Batu Bergaris	4
6.	Batu Altar	4
7.	Batu Pelebur Logam	1
8.	Batu Persegi	2
9.	Batu Pengembusan	1

Batu altar yang terdapat di bagian tengah menurut informasi disebut sebagai Makam Matoa Tinco. Kemungkinan sebuah kremasi. Melihat kondisi situs diduga di tempat ini dulunya sebagai tempat istana. Temuan fragmen gerabah yang ribuan jumlahnya dan keramik asing yang cukup banyak di tempat ini ditambah lagi adanya batu dulang, batu pelebur besi, dan batu bergaris-garis dan batu lesung menjadikan tempat ini diduga sebagai tempat istana. Batu altar lainnya terdapat di tebing sebelah barat bagian selatan. Kelihatannya juga sebagai tempat kremasi. Di bawah batu terdapat pecahan balubu. Di lembah sebelah selatan batu altar tersebut mengalir kanal irigasi. Di situ terdapat sebuah tempat yang rata dan disebut Lakelluaja atau Petta Mallajangnge, yang menurut cerita bahwa Datu Soppeng pertama La Temmamala Manurungnge mencukur rambutnya lalu menghilang. Batu dakon dengan bermacam jumlah lubangnya yang belum dapat ditafsirkan kegunaan dan artinya tersebar di situs Tinco ini.

Fragmen keramik asing yang ditemukan ialah:

Tabel 10

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	84	abad ?
2.	Sung celadon	10	abad 12 - 13
3.	Yuan stonwar keras	2	abad 13 - 14
4.	Ching Pai	10	abad 13 - 14
5.	Yuan Te-hua	3	abad 13 - 14
6.	Yuan celadon	69	abad 13 - 14
7.	Yuan/Ming celadon	20	abad 15 - 16
8.	Ching Pai hijau	4	abad 15
9.	Ming celadon	13	abad 15 - 16
10.	T'zu-Chou hitam putih	3	abad 15
11.	Ming Sancai	6	abad 15
12.	Vietnam hitam putih	1	abad 14
13.	Vietnam monokrom	7	abad 13 - 15
14.	Vietnam biru putih	48	abad 15
15.	Sukothai hitam putih	7	abad 15 - 16
16.	Sawankhalok coklat	1	abad 15 - 16
17.	Sawankhalok celadon	26	abad 15 - 16
18.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	16	abad 15 - 16
19.	Yuan/Ming tua biru putih	2	akhir 14 - awal 15
20.	Ming biru putih	61	abad 16
21.	Ming merah	2	abad 16
22.	Ming Swatow	222	akhir 15 - abad 16
23.	Wanli biru putih	5	akhir 16 - awal 17
24.	Wanli putih	4	akhir 16 - awal 17
25.	Ming akhir merah/biru putih	47	akhir 16 - awal 17
26.	Swatow	436	abad 17
27.	Transisi putih	4	abad 17
28.	Ming coklat	3	abad 16
29.	Ching Swatow	244	akhir 17 - awal 18
30.	Ching BW (termasuk 4 Betawi war)	574	akhir 17 - abad 18
31.	Ching BW dapur	1	abad 19
32.	Ching celadon	11	abad 18 - 19
33.	Eropah	44	abad 19
34.	Jepang	6	abad 19
35.	Ching putih/baru	321	abad 20
	JUMLAH	2317	

Fragmen keramik yang dikoleksi sebanyak 444 keping, tetapi 2 buah pecahan yang terlalu kecil, tidak diketahui bentuknya. Angka yang diberi tanda kurung adalah temuan dari Lakelluaja.

Tabel 11

JENIS	TEMPAYAN	BALUBU	JAR	VAS	BULIBULI	TUTUPTUTUP	BASI	PIRING	MANGKUK	CANGKIR
Sung celadon								8	2	
Stonwar Yuan	2									
Ching Pai								6	4	
Yuan Te-hua						2			1	
Yuan celadon	1		1			1	1	31	30+(2)	
Yuan/Ming cel.	1		1					14	4	
Ming celadon								9	4	
Chingpai hijau								4		
T'zu-Chou HP	2+(1)									
Sancai	4+(1)								1	
Vietnam HP									1	
V-nam monokrom			1					3	3	
Vietnam BW		13+(2)		1		12		19+(1)		
Sukothai								4	3	
Swank. coklat			1							
Swank. celadon				(1)	1	1	1	14+(1)	7	
Swank. HP						14+(1)			1	
Yuan/Ming BW								1	1	
Ming BW		1+(4)	1			(1)	1	19+(7)	23+(2)	
Ming merah								2		
Ming Swatow		1					(1)	1+(3)	(2)	
Wanli BW								(1)	2+(2)	
Wanli putih						1			2	1
Ming BW akhir		1	1	1	1	1		17	25	
Swatow			1			3		7+(4)	2+(2)	
Transisi putih								3	1	
Ming Coklat	3									
Ching Swatow								3+(1)	5	
Ching BW			1	1		1		11	9	
Ching celadon				1					10	
LAKELLUAJA	2	6	0	1	0	2	1	18	10	0
TINCO LAIN	13	16	8	4	2	36	3	180	141	1
JUMLAH	15	22	8	5	2	38	4	198	151	1

3.8 Lawo

Lawo terdapat di sebelah utara Watansoppeng (5 km), atau 1 km di sebelah selatan Tinco. Letaknya dikaki Gunung Buludua. Situs ini memanjang dari timur ke barat sepanjang 600 meter (Grafik 13). Kampung ini masuk Kelurahan Ompo, Kecamatan Lalabata. Di sebelah utaranya mengalir sungai Lawo, yang mengalir dari pegunungan sebelah barat-selatan Lawo. Keunikan dari pada situs ini ialah ditemukannya sejumlah bangunan dari tradisi megalitik, seperti: lesung batu, dakon, menhir, dan batu tata. Untuk memudahkan kelasifikasi maka daerah ini dibagi atas dua bagian yaitu Lawo Timur dan Lawo Barat. Di Lawo Timur terdapat 70 buah lesung batu yang berlubang tunggal dan berlubang majemuk. Lesung batu ada yang merupakan batuan lepas dan lainnya dibuat pada batuan monolit yang tak dapat digerakkan. Di bawah sebuah rumah (km 5 dari Watansoppeng) terdapat dua buah batu berlubang banyak yang pertama dengan lubang besar-besar (10 - 12 cm), sedangkan batu besar lainnya berlubang-lubang kecil yang sangat banyak sekali. Belum diketahui apa fungsi lubang-lubang itu. Di sebelah barat rumah tadi ditemukan pula sebuah batu monolit dengan ukiran (torehan) yang sepintas lalu kelihatannya teratur. Batu ini mengundang perbedaan pendapat dari pada ahli purbakala. Prof. Dr. Soejono menilainya sebagai hasil alamiah sedangkan ahli lainnya artifisial. Di Lawo Barat terdapat pula sejumlah bangunan peninggalan tradisi megalitik seperti batu dakon, batu besar dengan hiasan Cakra, dan lesung batu. Di dekat jembatan Lawo sebuah batu besar dengan tinggi 4 meter dan panjang 5 meter pada sisi timur terukir gambar lingkaran-lingkaran dengan jari-jari delapan. Jumlah lingkaran itu 12 buah. Belum diketahui maksud dan tujuan hiasan itu. Di sebelah timur batu tersebut ditemukan pula sebuah batu besar (monolit) dengan gambar sebuah lingkaran yang sebelah dalamnya terdapat garis silang. Letak astronomik Monolit Lawo ialah 119° 51' 40" BT dan 4° 19' 48" LS, dan Lawo Timur ialah 119° 52' 1" BT dan 4° 19' 49" LS.

Di transek Lawo Barat banyak ditemukan fragmen tembikar sederhana yaitu sejumlah 220 buah tetapi fragmen keramik hanya sedikit dan tidak terlalu tua, yang terdiri dari 1 buah fragmen Swatow, 4 buah Ching biru putih dan 120 buah Ching putih baru. Okupasi intensif lebih tua di Lawo Timur, dibuktikan fragmen keramik yang ditemukan ialah:

Tabel 12

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	2	abad ?
2.	Ching Pai hijau	2	abad 15
3.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	1	abad 15 - 16
4.	Ming celadon	1	abad 16
5.	Ming biru putih	3	abad 16
6.	Ming Swatow	4	akhir 15 - abad 16
7.	Ming biru putih akhir	2	akhir 16 - awal 17
8.	Swatow	33	abad 17
8.	Stonwar Ching tua	1	abad 17 - 18
10.	Ching Swatow	37	akhir 17 - awal 18
11.	Ching BW (termasuk 1 Betawi war)	106	akhir 17 - abad 18
12.	Ching celadon	3	abad 19
13.	Eropah	60	abad 19
14.	Jepang	2	abad 19
15.	Ching putih/baru	333	abad 20
	JUMLAH	590	

22 fragmen keramik yang dikoleksi dikelasifikasi sebagai berikut:

Tabel 13

No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	JAR	BULI2	PIRING	MANGKUK	SENDOK
1.	Ching Pai hijau				1	1	
2.	Sawankhalok HP			1			
3.	Ming celadon					1	
4.	Ming BW					3	
5.	Ming BW akhir		1			1	
6.	Swatow				1	1	
7.	Stonwar Ching tua	1					
8.	Ching Swatow				1		
9.	Ching BW				3	2	1
10.	Ching celadon					3	
	JUMLAH	1	1	1	6	12	1

3.9 Petta Balubue atau Sekkangnyili

Menurut sejarah Soppeng bahwa Raja Soppeng yang pertama ditemukan pertama kali di Sekkangnyili. Para orang tua menduga bahwa Sekkangnyili itu terletak di Kampung Leworeng atau lebih tepatnya di Petta Balubue. Letaknya empat belas kilometer di sebelah utara Watansoppeng. Letak astronomik ialah : 119° 53' 30" BT dan 4° 14' 3" LS. Situs ini termasuk Lingkungan Turungeng Lappae Kelurahan Leworeng Kecamatan Lalabata. Tempat ini salah satu dari semua tempat yang disebut di dalam toponim yang tidak berada di daerah ketinggian. Sekarang tempat ini menjadi daerah perkampungan. Situs ini dapat dicapai dengan menggunakan kendaraan roda empat. Di pertigaan jalan antara Soppeng-Pare-Pare-Leworeng (Km 15) ke timur 2 km lalu ke kiri satu kilometer, maka kita akan mendapatkan situs Petta Balubue.

Ada dua bangunan cungkup dari bahan kayu dengan atap seng. Di bawah cungkup terdapat onggokan batu gamping yang disusun rapi merupakan sebuah altar. Diperkirakan sebagai tempat kremasi. Menurut informasi bahwa bangunan pertama yang di sebelah timur adalah perempuan dan bangunan yang lebih kecil 10 meter di sebelah baratnya adalah laki-laki. Kalau dihubungkan dengan cerita dan sejarah Soppeng maka diduga bahwa yang dikremasikan di Petta Balubue ini ialah Raja (Datu) Soppeng IV We Tekkewanua dan suaminya Arung Leworeng. Sebab disebutkan bahwa We Tekkewanua sebagai Datu Soppeng IV (Perempuan) bersuami dan tinggal di Leworeng. Di tengah-tengah susunan batu di bawah cungkup terdapat pecahan balubu (keramik), dua batang perunggu dan tulang manusia baik pada cungkup pertama maupun pada cungkup yang kedua (Grafik 14).

Selain itu ditemukan pula sebuah batu dakon yang dengan lubang-lubang kecil sejumlah 32.

Banyak keramik yang disimpan di dalam kedua cungkup ini tetapi sedikit fragmen keramik lain di situs. Mungkin orang di sana membersihkan situs lalu menyimpan fragmen keramik di cungkup. Fragmen keramik dan benda-benda lain yang di cungkup sudah keramat jadi dikelasifikasikan di tempat saja. Tabel 14 memberi data keramik asing yang dilihat di situs, sedangkan Tabel 15 memberi data tentang keramik itu yang di cungkup (dengan beberapa fragmen lain yang disimpan oleh tim).

Tabel 14

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Stonwar keras tidak dikelasifikasi	2	abad ?
2.	Sawankhalok coklat	4	abad 15 - 16
3.	Sawankhalok celadon	10	abad 15 - 16
4.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	7	abad 15 - 16
5.	Vietnam biru putih	7	abad 15
6.	Ming celadon	3	abad 15 - 16
7.	Ming putih	1	abad 15 - 16
8.	Ming biru putih	23	abad 16
9.	Ming Swatow	7	akhir 15 - abad 16
10.	Swatow	3	abad 17
11.	Ching biru putih/merah	5	akhir 17 - abad 18
12.	Eropah	1	abad 19
13.	Ching putih	1	abad 20
	JUMLAH	74	

Tabel 15

No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	BALUBU	BULI2	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Sawankhalok coklat	4					
2.	Sawankhalok celadon			1		9	
3.	Sawankhalok HP				7		
4.	Vietnam BW					6	1
5.	Ming celadon	1				2	
6.	Ming putih						1
7.	Ming BW					10	13
8.	Ming Swatow		1			4	
9.	Ching BW						3
10.	Eropah					1	
	JUMLAH	5	1	1	7	32	18

3.10 Gowarie

Menurut sejarah Soppeng disebutkan bahwa sepupu Manurungnge ri Sekkangnyili La Temmamala Datu Soppeng I, yang juga disebut Manurungnge ri Gowarie pertama kali dijumpai di Gowarie. Letaknya kurang lebih 20 km di sebelah tenggara Watansoppeng. Secara administratif masuk Kelurahan Gowarie, Dusun Libureng Kecamatan Mario Riwawo Kabupaten Soppeng.

Letak astronomiknya 119° 57' 45" BT dan 4° 29' 44" LS. Dapat dicapai dengan kendaraan roda empat mulai dari jalan aspal Soppeng-Lamuru membelok ke kiri (ke timur) di Kampung Asanae ke timur sejauh 6 km, lalu membelok ke selatan 500 m, baru mendaki bukit dengan berjalan kaki maka kita sampai ke situs Gowarie tersebut. Tempatnya agak ketinggian, di sebelah utara rendah sampai ke batas Sungai Mario. Sungai Mario adalah anak cabang Sungai Walanae. Di sebelah utara itu juga terbentang persawahan dan perladangan yang ditanami padi dan jagung. Situs Gowarie ini terletak di atas sebuah bukit. Pada bukit itu terdapat cungkup (atap) yang dibawahnya terdapat susunan batu gamping yang ditata secara berundak. Bentuknya undakan empat tingkat dengan dasar 1 meter bujur sangkar ke atas lebih kecil, tinggi tiap tingkatan 30 cm. Tempat ini dianggap keramat bagi masyarakat setempat, bahkan semua turunan bangsawan Soppeng, karena dari sanalah asal nenek mereka. Setiap tahun di tempat ini diadakan upacara oleh turunan bangsawan Soppeng terutama yang berasal dari Soppeng Rilau.

Menurut cerita orang yang pernah melihatnya bahwa di bawah susunan batu terdapat pecahan keramik. Sayang sekali tak dapat dilihat dan diidentifikasi karena waktu untuk membuka susunan batu itu harus dengan upacara dan pada waktu yang tertentu dan dihadiri oleh para keluarga keturunan bangsawan Soppeng Rilau. Tim menduga kalau tempat ini adalah kremasi.

Sampai saat tim meninggalkan Soppeng yang menjadi tanda tanya ialah dimanakan letak Gattareng, seperti yang tertara di dalam toponim. Pada bulan Juni 1987 sewaktu Bahru Kallupa berkesempatan ke Watansoppeng didapat informasi dari Abd. Rahman Gessa bahwa sebenarnya Gattareng itu ialah Gowarie. Informasi ini dia dapatkan pula dari H. Andi Muhammad Nur, salah seorang ahli silsilah dan pembaca lontarak Soppeng. Pada bulan yang sama didapatkan berita tentang temuan sejumlah keramik asing pada sebuah pembuatan jalan di dekat Gowarie. Pada sebuah kesempatan setelah diadakan pengecekan ternyata memang bahwa temuan keramik itu tidak jauh dari bukit Gowarie itu, yaitu 2 km di sebelah timur laut Gowarie, masih di dalam Kelurahan Gowarie. Pak Muhtar pimpinan pembuatan jalan menunjukkan tempat penemuan itu. Fragmen keramik yang sempat terkumpul dapat dikelasifikasikan sebagai berikut:

Tabel 16

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Yuan coklat	1	abad 13 - 14
2.	T'zu-Chou celadon	1	abad 13 - 14
3.	Yuan celadon	2	abad 13 - 14
4.	Vietnam biru putih	1	abad 15
5.	Sukothai hitam putih	1	abad 15 - 16
6.	Sawankhalok coklat	1	abad 15 - 16
7.	Sawankhalok celadon	5	abad 15 - 16
8.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	12	abad 15 - 16
9.	Ming Sancai	1	abad 15
10.	Ming celadon	2	abad 15 - 16
11.	Ming putih	2	abad 15 - 16
12.	Ming coklat	1	abad 16
13.	Ming biru putih	10	abad 16
14.	Wanli biru putih	2	akhir 16 - awal 17
15.	Wanli putih	2	akhir 16 - awal 17
16.	Ming Swatow	6	akhir 15 - abad 16
17.	Ming biru putih akhir	5	akhir 16 - awal 17
18.	Swatow	6	abad 17
19.	Hung-Cheng/Chien-Lung biru putih	2	abad 18
20.	Stonwar Ching tua	3	abad 17 - 18
	JUMLAH	66	

No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	VAS	TUTUP2	BULI2	PIRING	MANGKUK	CANGKIR
1.	Yuan coklat		1					
2.	Yuan celadon			1		2		
3.	Vietnam BW			1				
4.	Sukothai					1		
5.	Sawankhalok coklat							1
6.	Sawankhalok celadon					5		
7.	Sawankhalok HP		1	11				
8.	Sancai		1					
9.	Ming celadon					2		
10.	Ming putih		2					
11.	Ming coklat		1					
12.	Ming BW					6	4	
13.	Wanli BW						2	
14.	Wanli putih					1	1	
15.	Ming Swatow			1		5		
16.	Ming BW akhir			1	1	1	2	
17.	Swatow					5	1	
18.	Ching BW						2	
19.	Stonwar Ching tua	3						
	JUMLAH	3	6	15	1	28	12	1

Bersama-sama temuan keramik itu juga ada fragmen tulang manusia berupa kepala (*cranium*) 5 keping, siku 2 keping, betis 1 keping, persendian 1 keping, tak dikenal 25 keping dan gigi 1 buah. Juga ada kepingan perunggu dan batu berwarna kemerah-merahan 1 buah.

3.11 Sewo

Sewo Tua sebagai objek terletak di sebelah selatan kampung Sewo sekarang ini. Letaknya di atas perbukitan di sebelah barat Gunung Sewo. Tempat ini termasuk Kampung Sewo, Kelurahan Bila Kecamatan Lalabata. Letak astronomiknya ialah 119° 51' 7" BT dan 4° 21' 38" LS. Ketinggiannya kurang lebih 600 meter di atas permukaan laut. Di kaki bukit terdapat 10 buah rumah penduduk yang kembali tinggal di perkampungan tua ini setelah ditinggalkan oleh nenek moyang mereka selama berpuluh-puluh tahun. Perkampungan tua ini telah menjadi hutan jati. Kurang lebih lima ratus meter dari kaki bukit perkampungan tua ini terdapat puncak yang disebut Petta Langkanae. Bekas tempat istana Bukit Petta Langkanae ini merupakan punden berundak. Di puncak yang rata terdapat sebuah dolmen, sebuah batu dakon, sebuah batu dulang, batu altar, sehingga keseluruhan tempat ini merupakan tempat pemujaan (Grafik 15). Kelihatannya masih berfungsi (*live monument*), sebab sesaji yang berupa tabung-tabung bambu kecil yang berisi nira masih baru. Batu altar diberi cungkup (atap) dan masih baru. Di ujung sebelah selatan altar itu terdapat batu besar yang merupakan batu pemujaan. Menurut informasi dari penduduk setempat bahwa lapangan yang terdapat di sebelah barat bukit ini disebut *addagang* atau tempat main raga, sedangkan tanah rendah dan rata di sebelah timur disebut *assawungeng* yang berarti tempat menyabung ayam. Kurang lebih limabelas meter di sebelah barat terdapat dua buah lesung batu. Di lembah sebelah timur (50 m) di bawah terdapat rumah panggung yang sudah sangat tua. Rumah itu tidak ditempati (kosong) bentuknya adalah menurut model rumah Bugis tetapi kelihatan sekali modelnya yang kuno seperti halnya bentuk rumah pada abad 18. Kurang lebih 100 meter di sebelah barat laut agak ke bawah terdapat kompleks makam yang menurut penduduk disebut makam asalnya orang Sewo (Grafik 15). Setelah diamati rupanya juga berumur kira-kira dari abad 18 juga.

Semua fragmen keramik yang ditemukan pada situs ini dibawa oleh tim untuk kelasifikasi seluk-beluk.

Tabel 17

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Sung stonwar keras	1	abad 12 - 13
2.	Yuan celadon	3	abad 13 - 14
3.	Ching Pai hijau	5	abad 15
4.	Yuan/Ming celadon	4	abad 15 - 16
5.	Ming celadon	5	abad 15 - 16
6.	Ming coklat	3	abad 16
7.	Sawankhalok keras tanpa glazur	1	abad 15 - 16
8.	Sawankhalok celadon	1	abad 15 - 16
9.	Sawankhalok hitam putih tua	1	abad 14 - 15
10.	Sawankhalok hitam putih biasa	1	abad 15 - 16
11.	Vietnam famille verte	1	abad 15
12.	Ming putih	2	abad 16
13.	Yung-Lo biru putih	1	abad 15 awal
14.	Hung-Chih biru putih	1	abad 15 akhir
15.	Ming biru putih	10	abad 16
16.	Wanli biru putih	3	akhir 16 - awal 17
17.	Wanli putih	4	akhir 16 - awal 17
18.	Ming Swatow	19	akhir 15 - abad 16
19.	Ming biru putih/merah akhir	22	akhir 16 - awal 17
20.	Swatow	41	abad 17
21.	Transisi putih	3	abad 17
22.	Ching Swatow biru putih/merah	26	akhir 17 - awal 18
23.	Kang-Hsi biru putih/merah	28	akhir 17 - awal 18
24.	Ching BW/merah/f. rose abad 18	7	abad 18
25.	Ching BW dapur	2	abad 19
26.	Ching putih tua	10	akhir 17 - 18
27.	Ching putih baru	6	abad 20
	JUMLAH	211	

No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	BALUBU	JAR	VAS	BULI2	TUTUP2	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Stonwar Sung			1					
2.	Yuan celadon				1			1	1
3.	Yuan/Ming cel.	1						3	
4.	Ming celadon							5	
5.	Chingpai hijau							5	
6.	Ming coklat	3							
7.	Sawank. keras	1							
8.	Sawank celadon							1	
9.	Sawank. HP						1		1
10.	Vietnam merah							1	
11.	Ming putih							1	1
12.	Yung-Lo BW							1	
13.	Ming BW		1					6	4
14.	Wanli BW			1					2
15.	Wanli putih								4
16.	Ming Swatow		1	1			1	16	
17.	Ming BW akhir		1		2	2		9	8
18.	Swatow							39	2
19.	Transisi putih					1		1	1
20.	Ching Swatow					1	1	9	15
21.	Ching BW							14	23
22.	Ching putih				2			4	10
	JUMLAH	5	3	3	5	4	3	116	72

3.12 Bulu Matanre

Masyarakat di Soppeng menyebutnya Petta Bulu Matanre, sebab tempat ini dianggap keramat. Letaknya di atas puncak pegunungan sebelah barat Watansoppeng (Grafik 3). Lewat Kampung Lapajung melalui jalan desa menuju ke bukit Cirowali 9 km, sesudah itu harus jalan kaki menuju situs Bulu Matanre. Letak astronomik ialah 119° 49' 9" BT dan 4° 23' 45" LS. Ketinggian tempat ini 1000 m di atas permukaan laut. Dari atas tempat ini dapat dilihat sebagian besar Kabupaten Soppeng di sebelah utara, barat dan timur sampai daerah Wajo. Gunung dan hutan yang semakin lebat tidak ada perkampungan. Sesekali tim hanya menjumpai pondok tempat membuat gula merah. Di atas puncak Bulu Matanre ini ditemukan sebuah makam Islam yang dikelilingi sebuah pagar batu alam yang dionggokkan secara teratur. Orientasi makam utara selatan. Makam inilah yang dianggap keramat oleh sebagian orang Soppeng. Masih sering dikunjungi oleh orang untuk melepaskan nazarnya. Biasanya mereka datang dari tempat jauh dengan membawa korban berupa mereka kerbau atau sapi dan kadang-kadang kambing (Grafik 16).

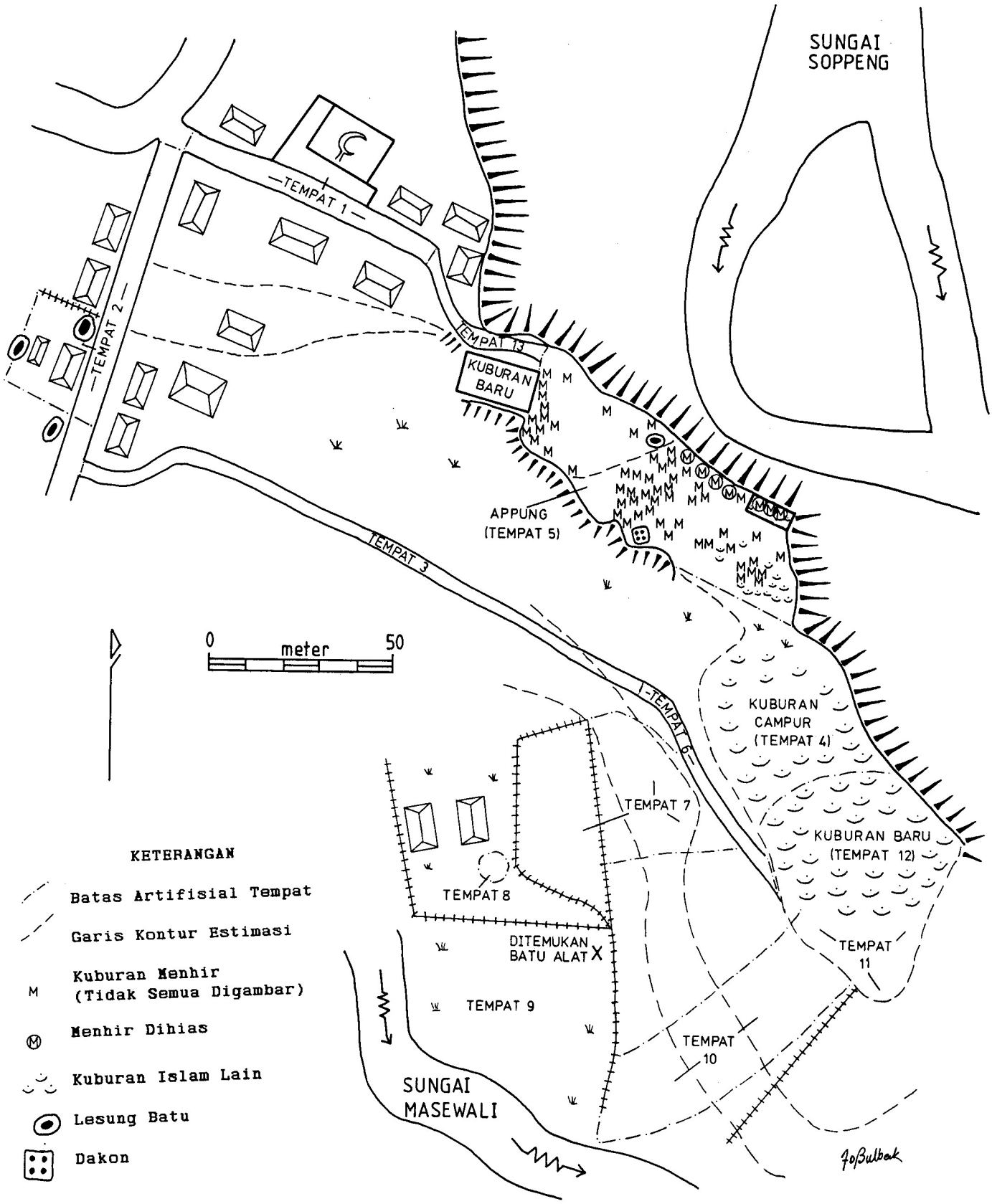
Di sebelah selatan makam ini terdapat sebuah batu yang letaknya seperti meja dan dikelilingi oleh empat batu lainnya yang diduga sebagai tempat duduk. Di permukaan batu yang di tengah terdapat goresan dengan garis lurus membentuk segi empat - segi empat yang berjumlah 49 kotak.

Semua fragmen keramik yang ditemukan di situs ini disimpan dan dikelasifikasikan di kantor.

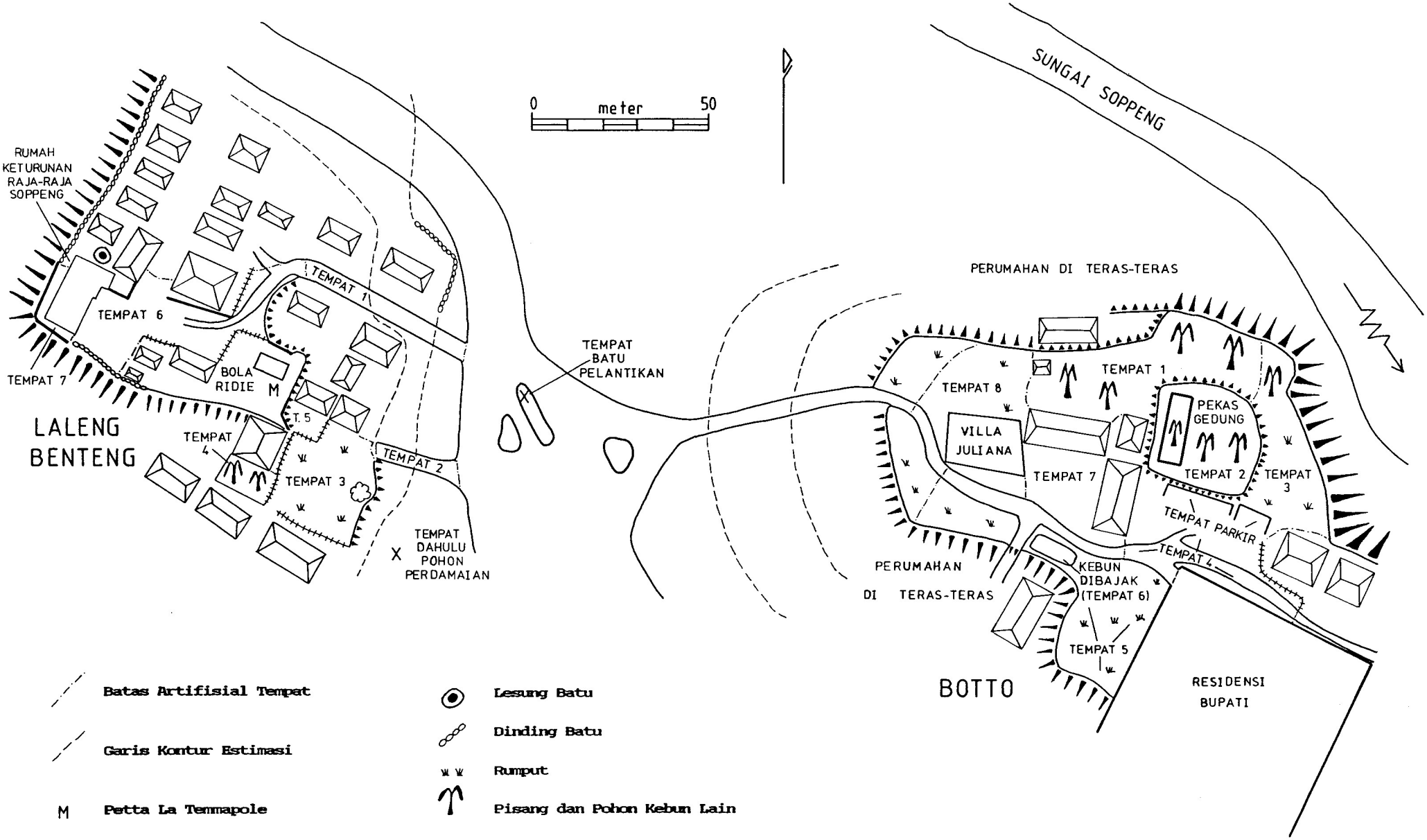
Tabel 18

No.	JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI	JUMLAH	KETERANGAN
1.	Yuan stonwar keras	1	abad 13 - 14
2.	Yuan celadon	2	abad 13 - 14
3.	Yuan/Ming celadon	1	abad 15
4.	Ching Pai hijau	4	abad 15
5.	Ming celadon	2	abad 16
6.	Vietnam monokrom tua	1	abad 13 - 14
7.	Sawankhalok coklat	1	abad 15 - 16
8.	Sawankhalok celadon	1	abad 15 - 16
9.	Sawankhalok hitam putih	1	abad 15 - 16
10.	Sukothai hitam putih	1	abad 15 - 16
11.	Yuan/Ming tua biru putih	1	akhir 14 - awal 15
12.	Ming biru putih	6	abad 16
13.	Ming merah	1	abad 16
14.	Wanli biru putih	2	akhir 16 - awal 17
15.	Ming Swatow	11	akhir 15 - abad 16
16.	Ming biru putih akhir	8	akhir 16 - awal 17
17.	Swatow	41	abad 17
18.	Transisi celadon	1	abad 17
19.	Ching Swatow	21	akhir 17 - awal 18
20.	Kang-Hsi biru putih/merah	21	akhir 17 - awal 18
21.	Yung-Cheng/Chien-Lung biru putih	4	abad 18
	JUMLAH	132	

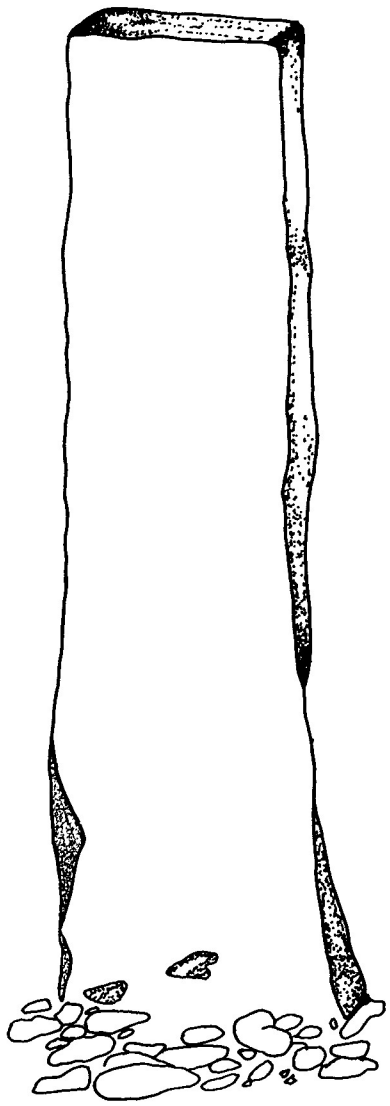
No.	JENIS	TEMPAYAN	BALUBU	JAR	POT BUNGA	VAS	BULI BULI	TUTUP TUTUP	PIRING	MANGKUK
1.	Yuan stonwar				1					
2.	Yuan celadon								2	
3.	Yuan/Ming cel.								1	
4.	Ming celadon								2	
5.	Chingpai hijau								3	1
6.	V-nam monokrom								1	
7.	Sawank. coklat	1								
8.	Sawank. celadon						1			
9.	Sawank. HP							1		
10.	Sukothai								1	
11.	Yuan/Ming BW									1
12.	Ming BW		1	1					2	2
13.	Ming merah									1
14.	Wanli BW									2
15.	Ming Swatow								10	
16.	Ming BW akhir					1		1	2	4
17.	Swatow		1			1	1		30	9
18.	Transisi celadon								1	
19.	Ching Swatow					3			8	10
20.	Ching BW						2		10	13
	JUMLAH	1	2	1	1	5	4	2	73	43



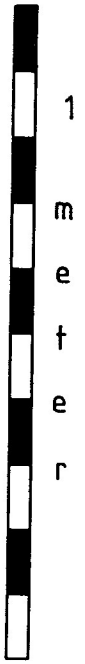
GRAFIK 4. SURVEY UJUNG

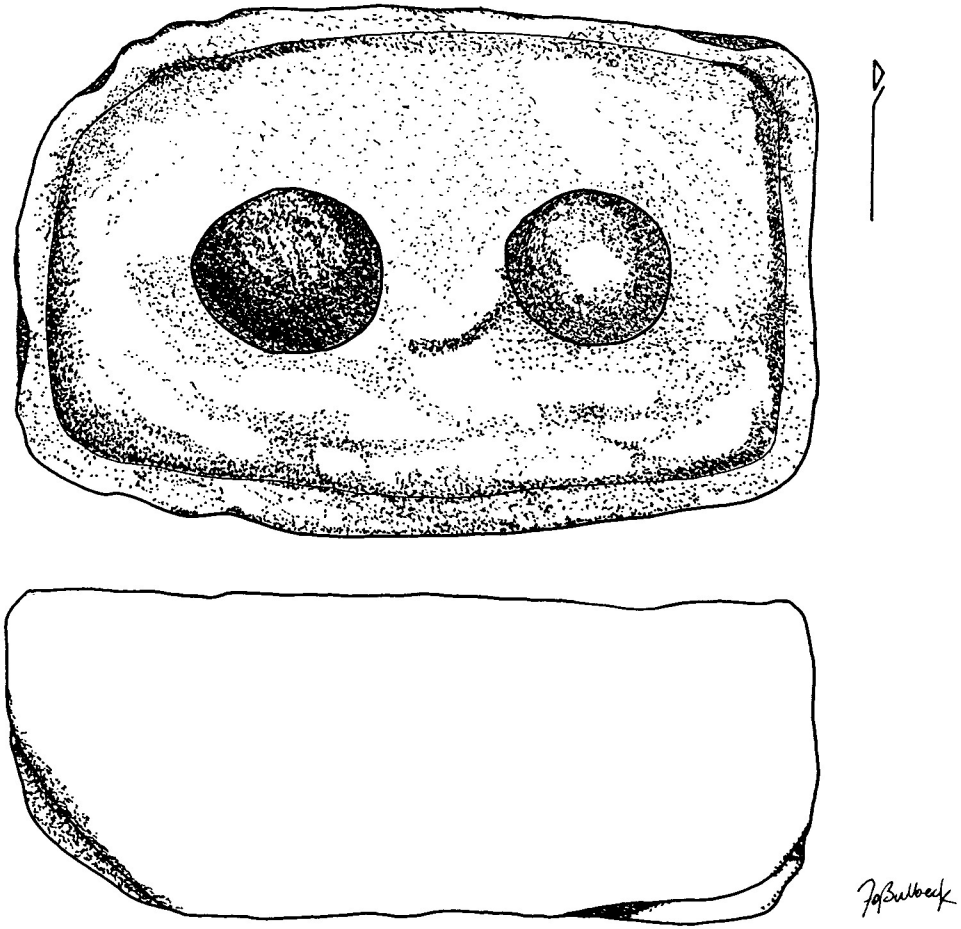


GRAFIK 5. SURVEY SITUS BOTTO DAN LALENG BENTENG



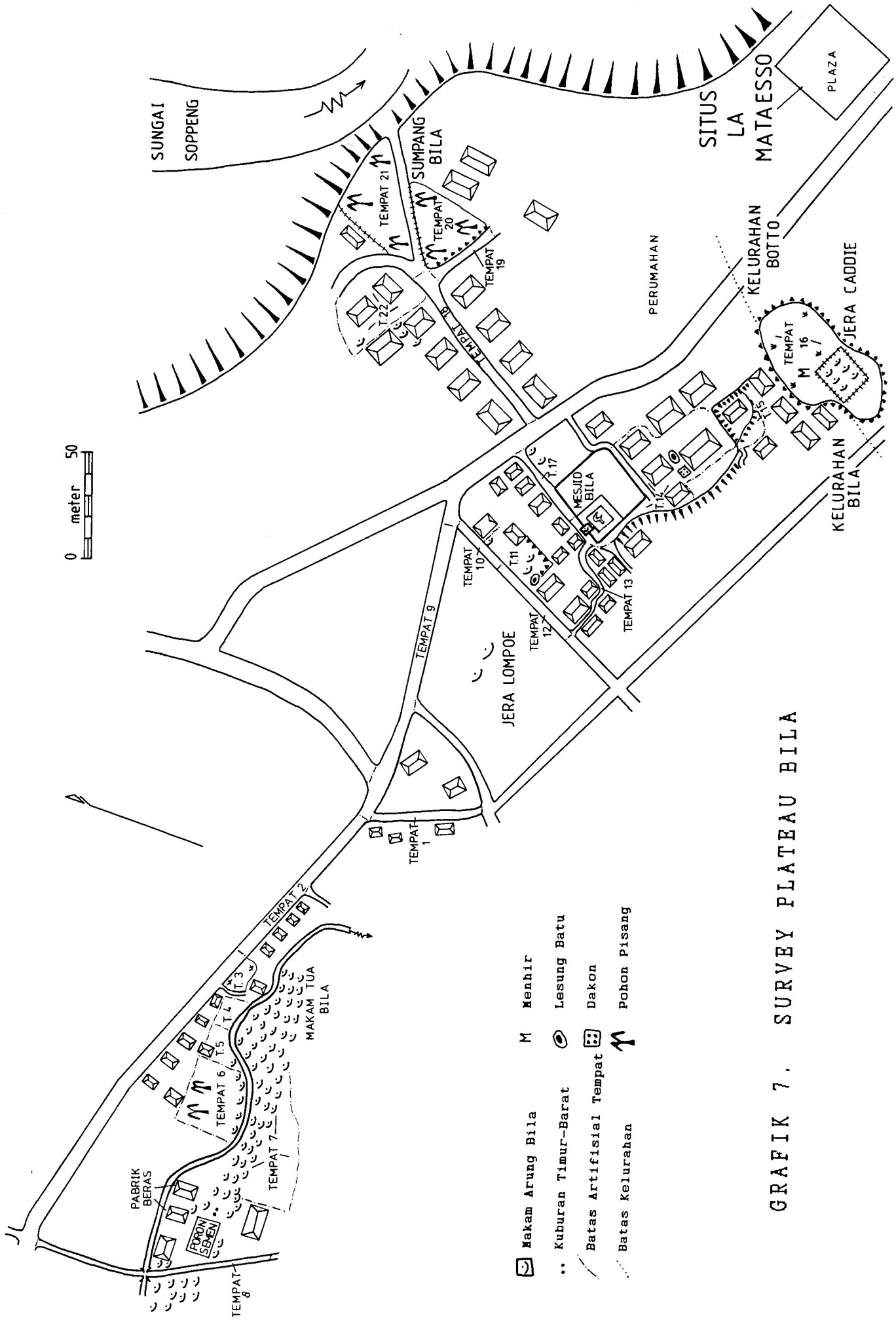
PETTA LA TEMMAPOLE



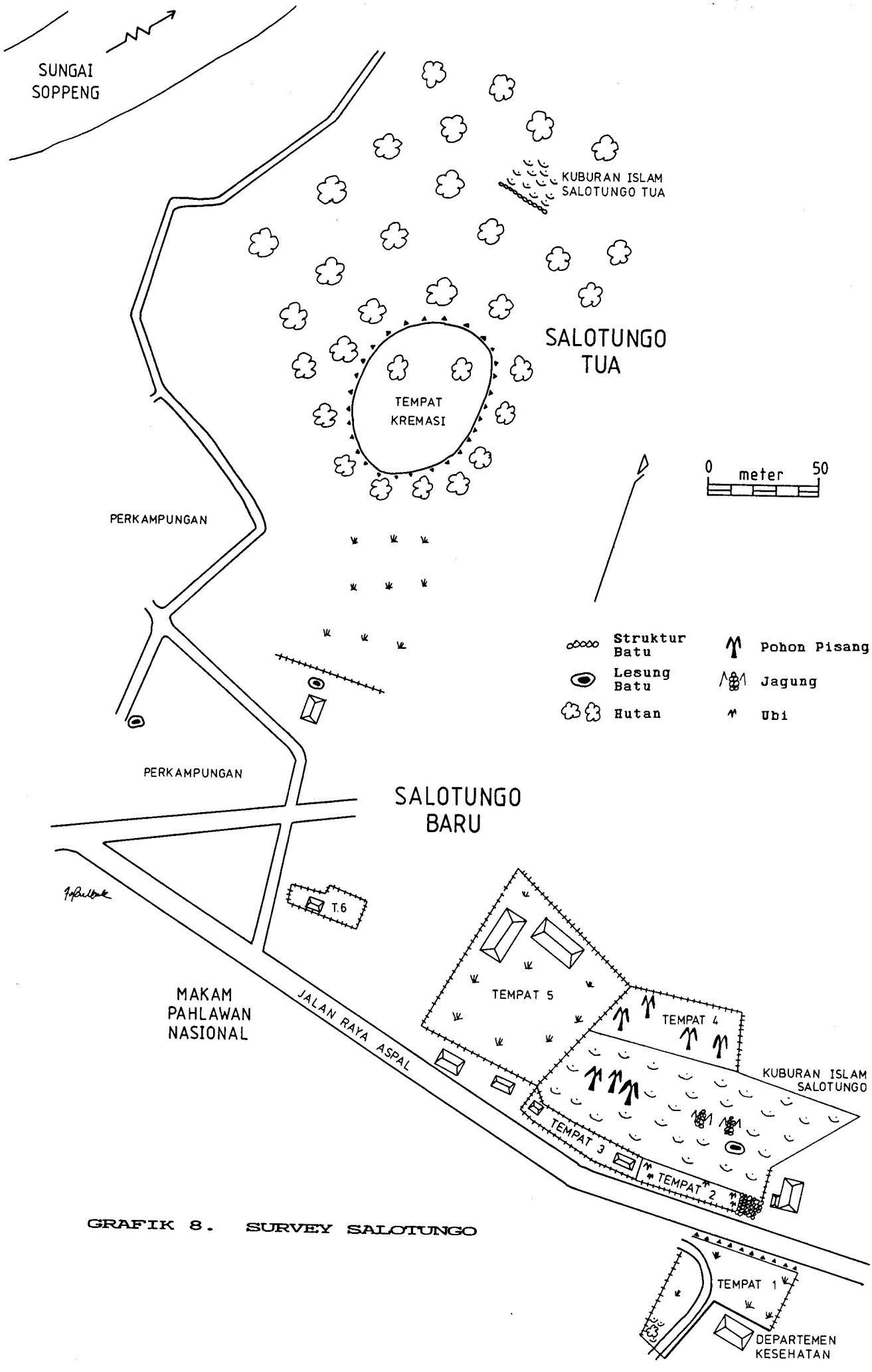


LESUNG BATU

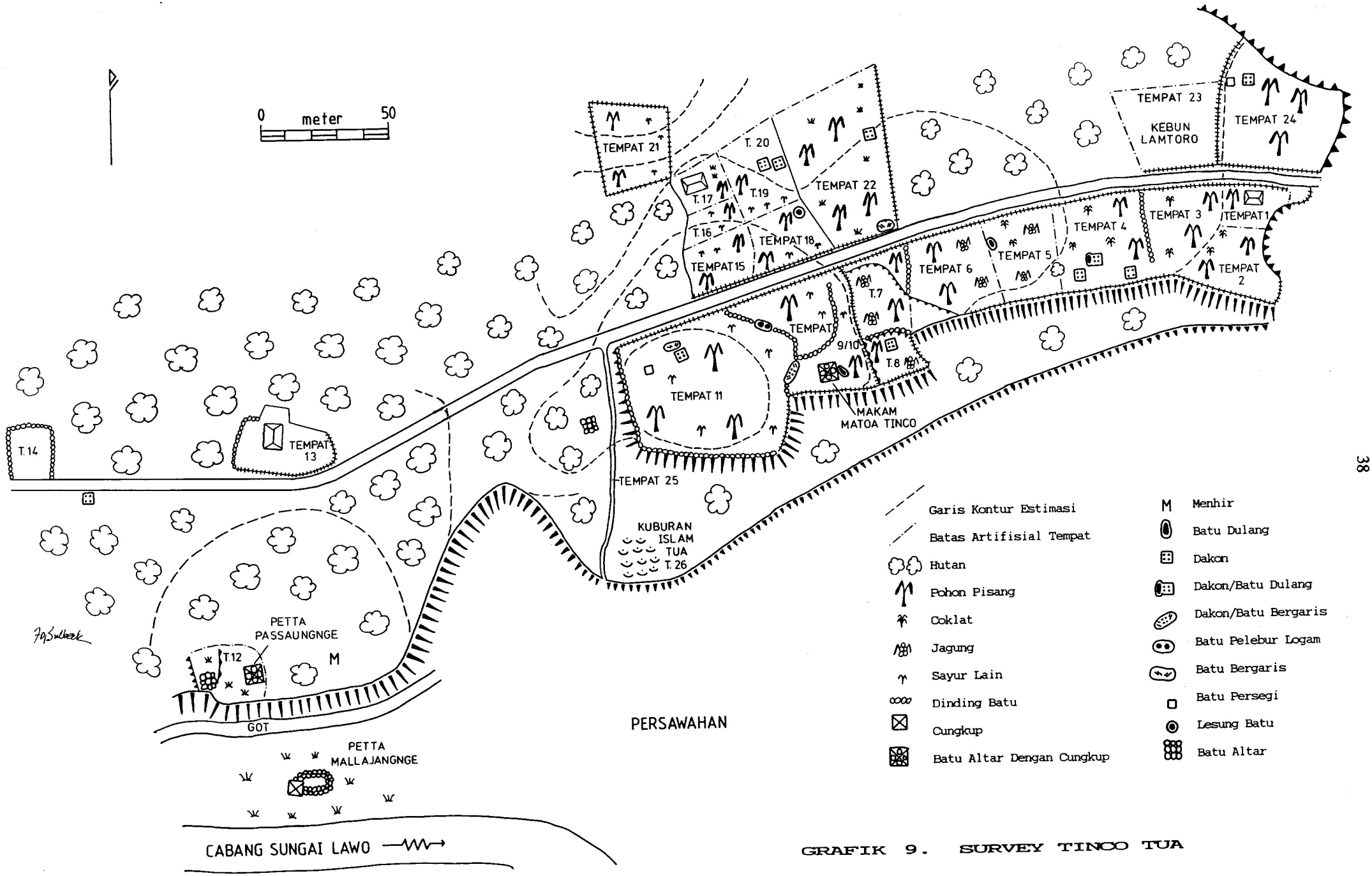
GRAFIK 6. MEGALIT, LALENG BENTENG (GAMBARAN ASLI OLEH IWAN SUMANTRI)



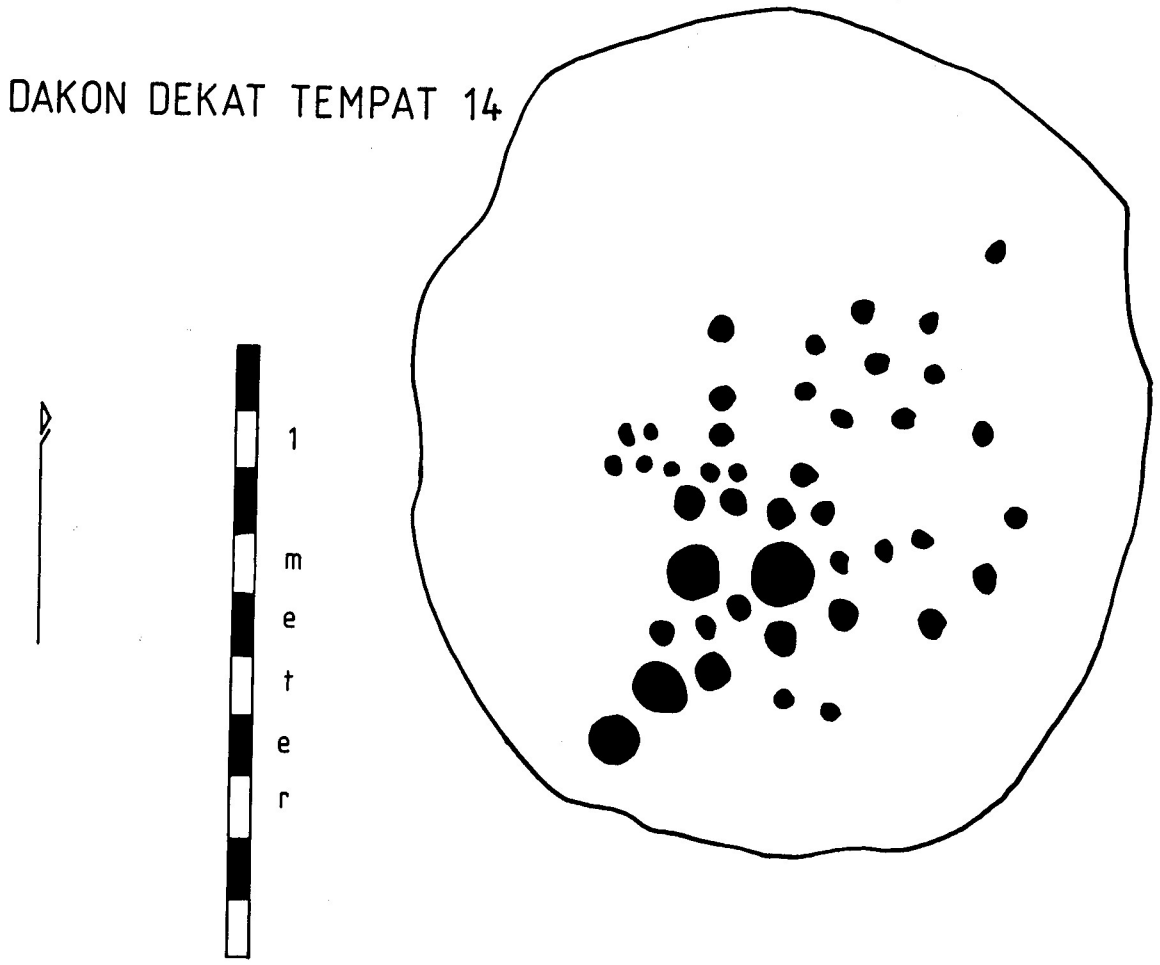
GRAFIK 7. SURVEY PLATEAU BILA

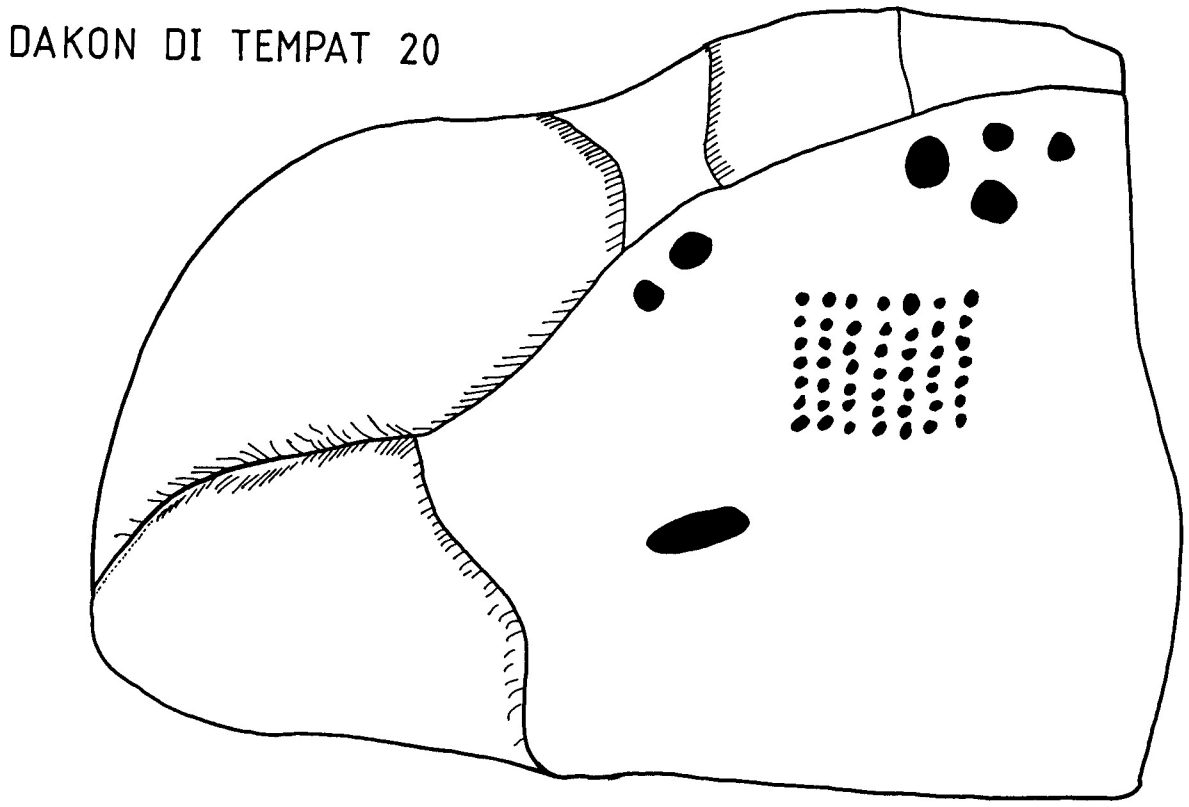


GRAFIK 8. SURVEY SALOTUNGO

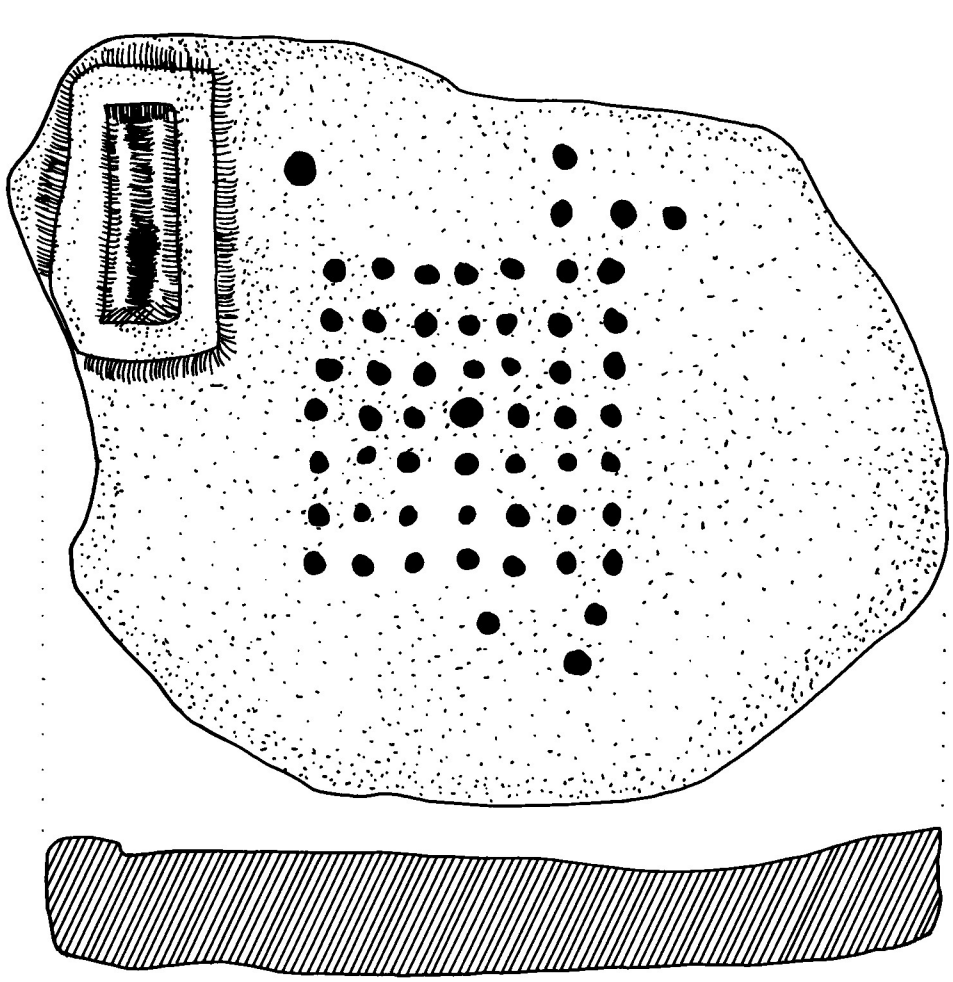


GRAFIK 9. SURVEY TINCO TUA

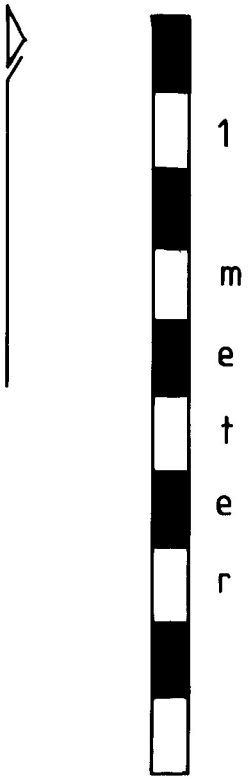


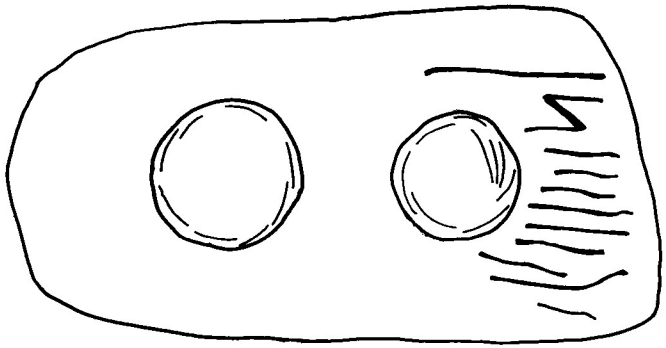


GRAFIK 10. DAKON, TINCO TUA
(GAMBARAN ASLI OLEH BAHRU KALLUPA)



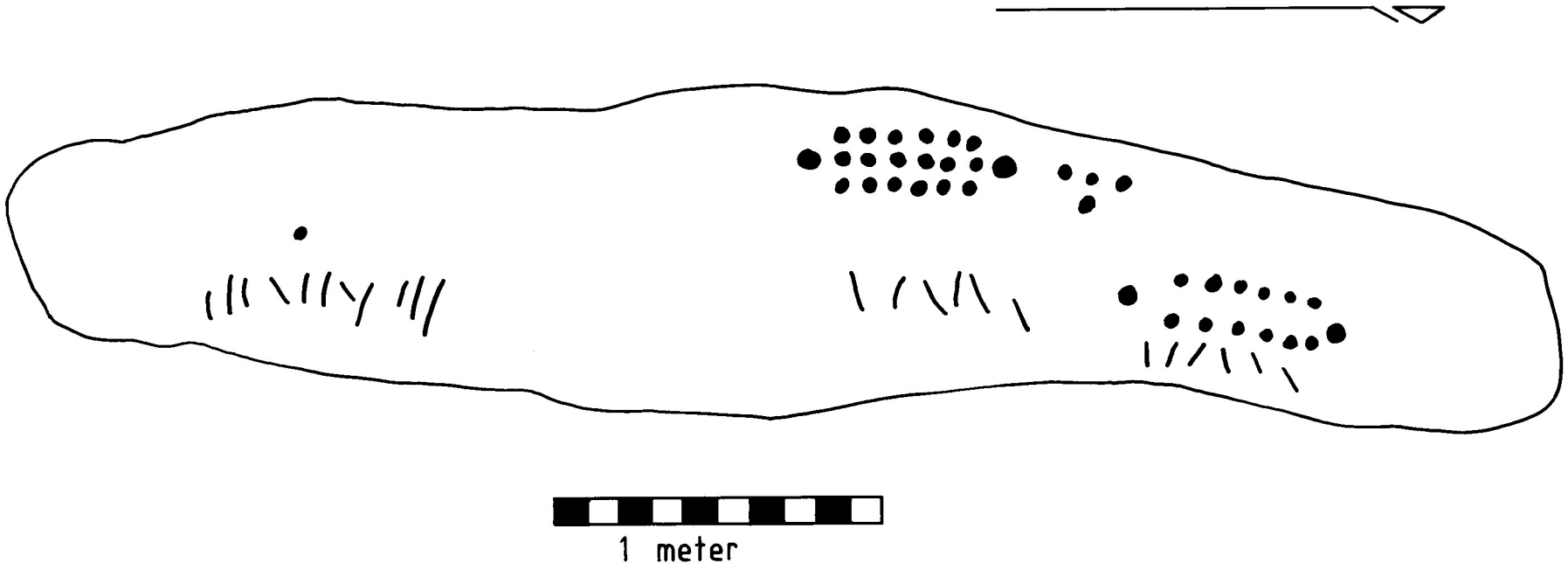
DAKON/BATU DULANG





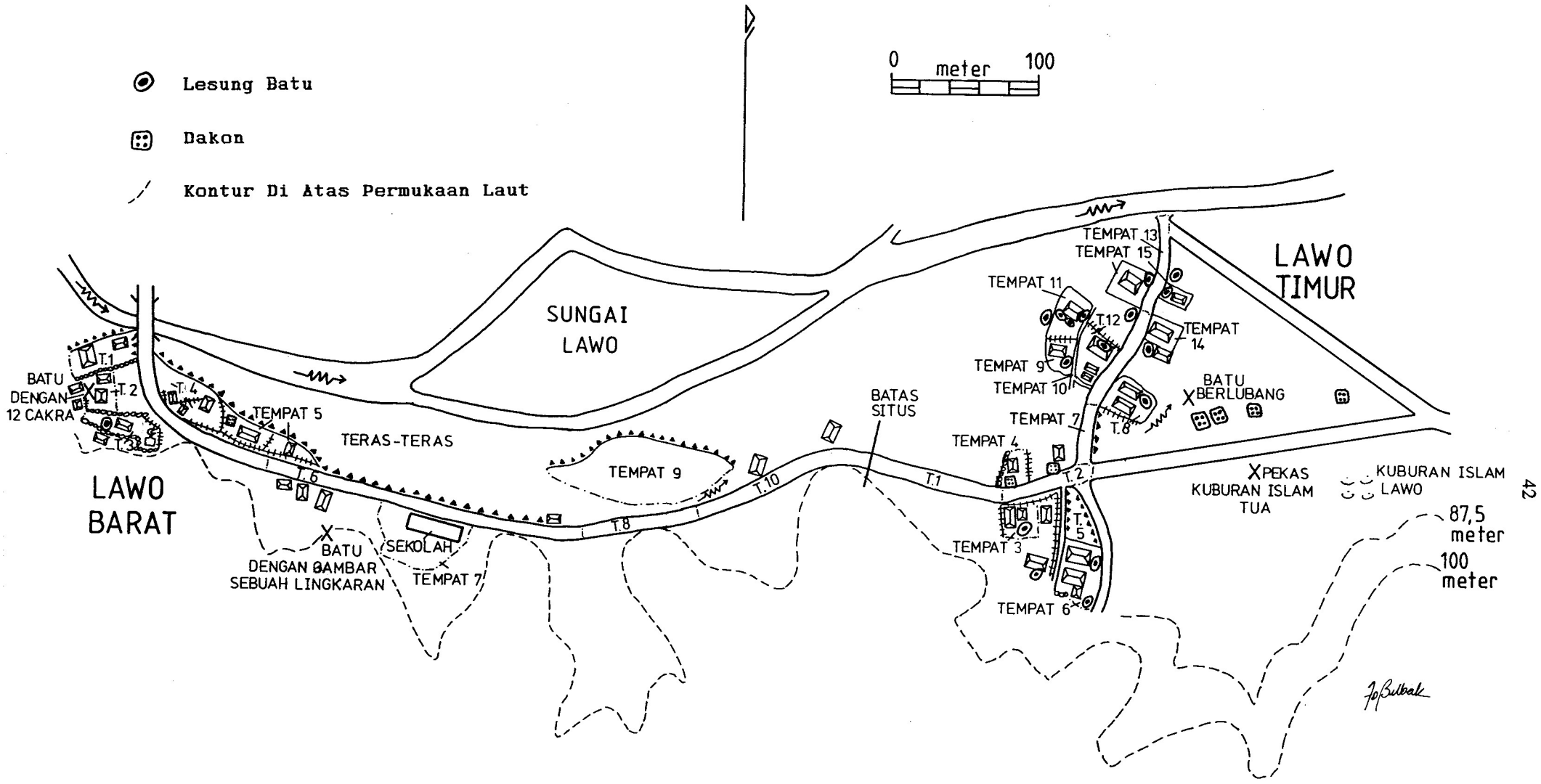
BATU PELEBUR LOGAM

GRAFIK 11. MEGALIT, TINCO TUA (GAMBARAN ASLI OLEH BAHRU KALLUPA)

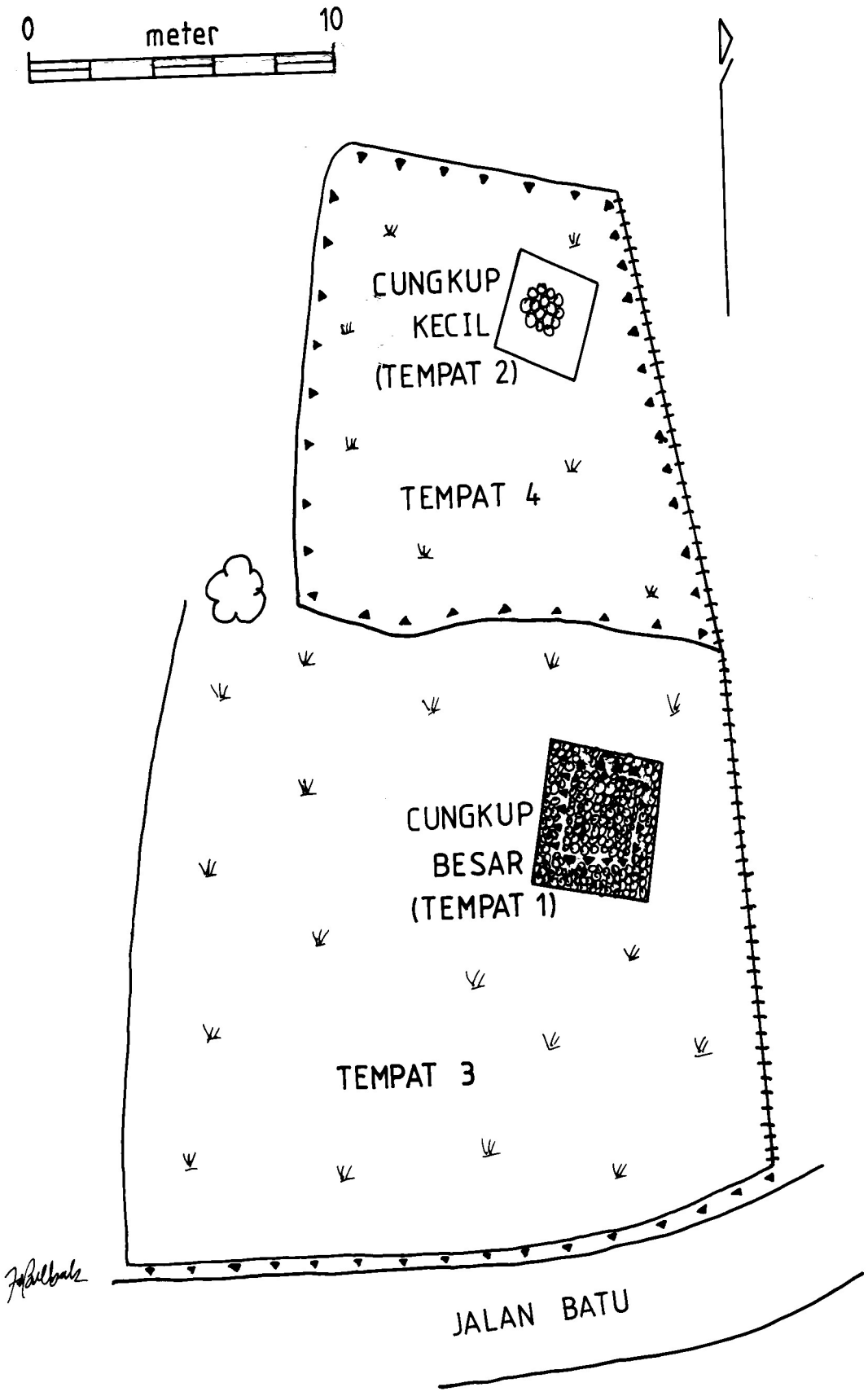


GRAFIK 12. DAKON/BATU BERGARIS, TINCO TUA

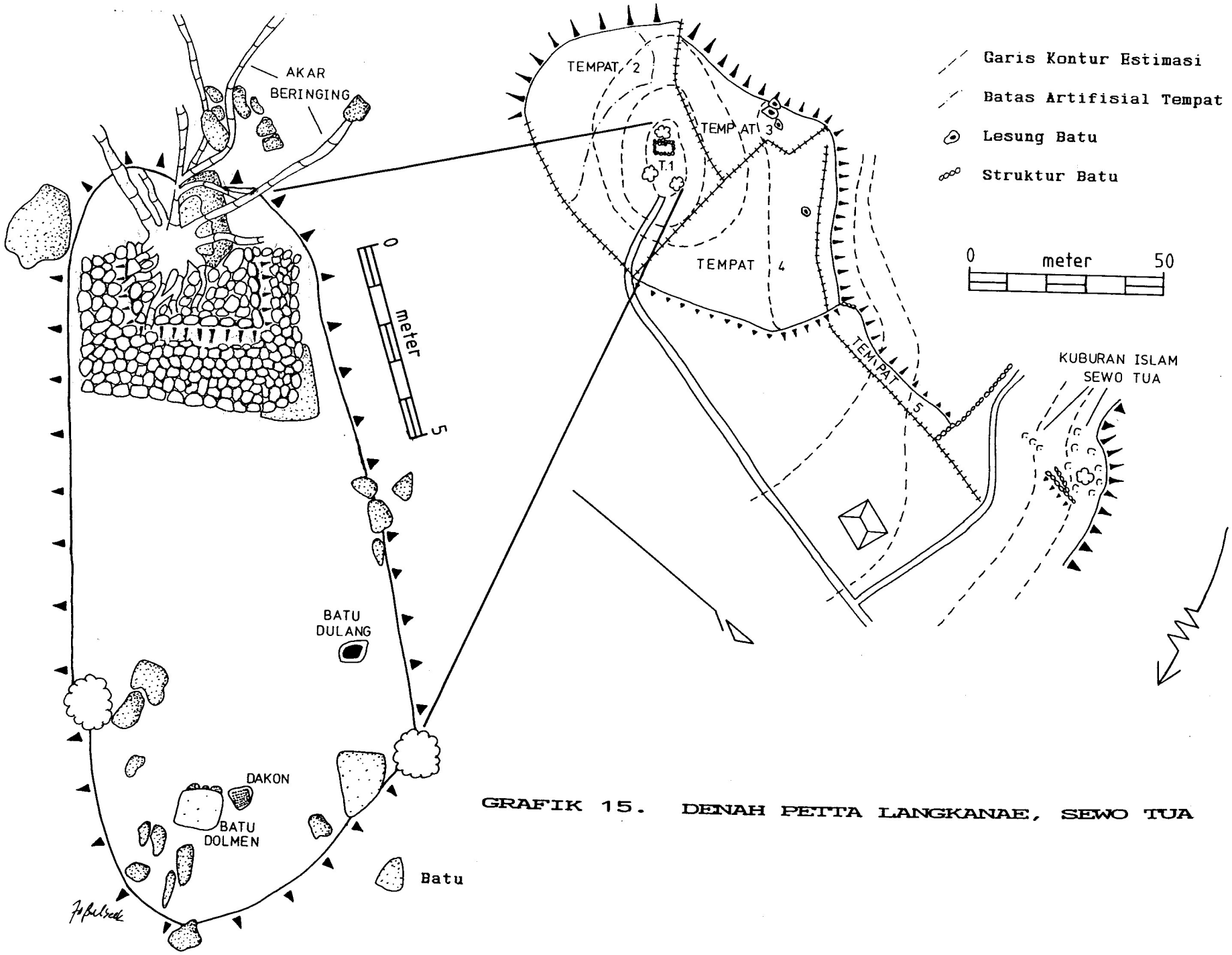
(GAMBARAN ASLI OLEH BAHRU KALLUPA)



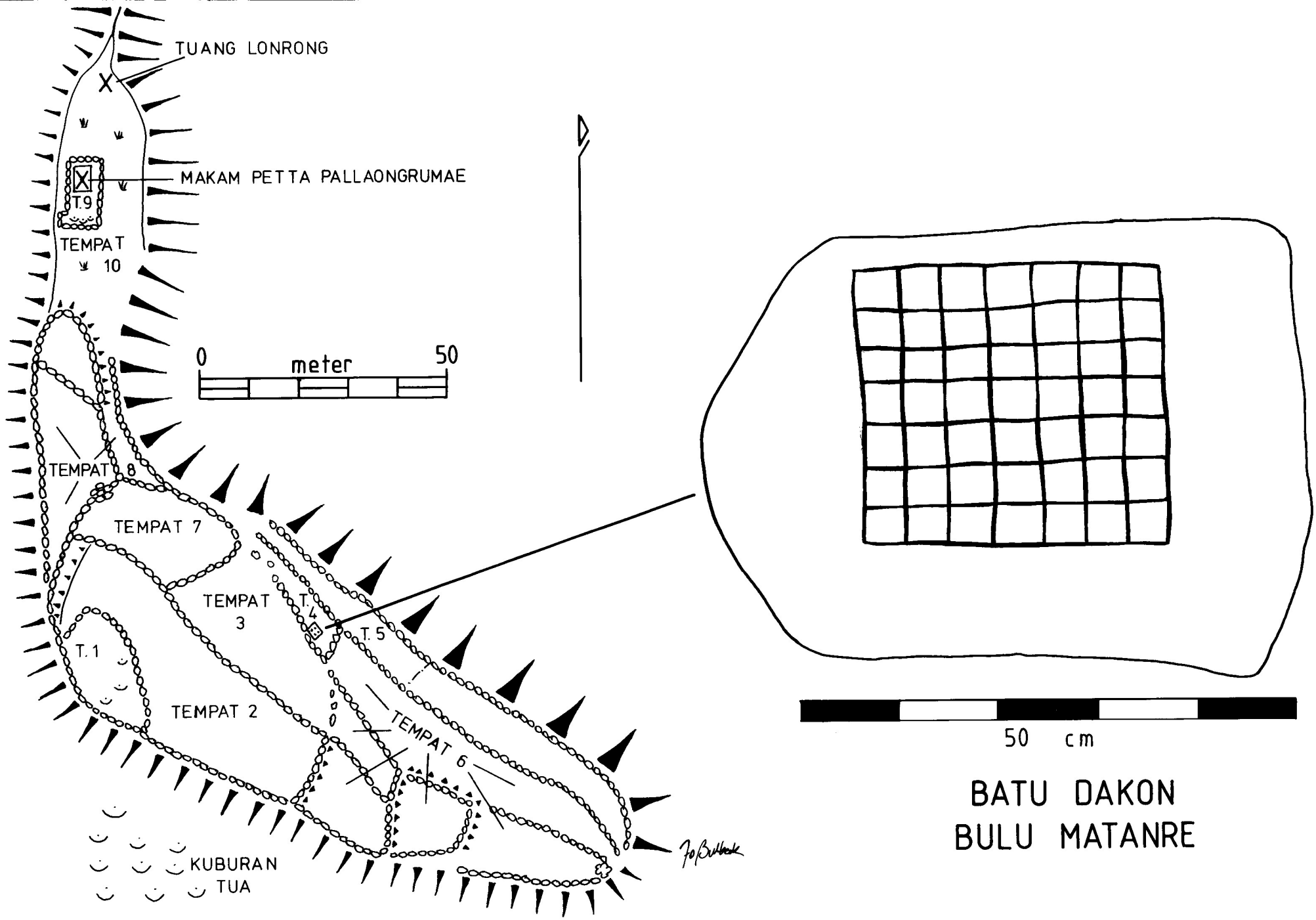
GRAFIK 13. SURVEY LAWO



GRAFIK 14. PETTA BALUBUE ATAU SEKKANGNYILI



GRAFIK 15. DENAH PETTA LANGKANAE, SEWO TUA



GRAFIK 16. SURVEY BULU MATANRE

THE TOPONYMIC SITES

The historical toponyms include those which the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* cites only where it lists the settlements which initially constituted Soppeng. There was insufficient time to investigate these toponyms (except for Lawo which we had already marked out as an exceptionally interesting archaeological site). Instead we concentrated on matching archaeological sites to the places specifically associated with major personages or events in the *Attoriolonna Soppeng*. Using a combination of evidence from place names, local traditions and archaeological remains, we have located all of these toponyms along the west of the Walanae valley within a 20 km radius of Watansoppeng.

Most of the sites which we surveyed occur on raised land overlooking open valleys, a location which provides a defensible vantage, terrain for dryland crops, and immediate access to fresh water and wet rice land. Two of the other sites occupy hilltops in steeply dissected terrain, while Petta Balubue sits on one of the low rises of ground which fringe the northern reaches of the Walanae Valley. Schematically we can group the sites as follows.

The Watansoppeng Sites

The Soppeng River flows into the Walanae Valley directly north of an outlying hill called the Watansoppeng plateau. The plateau is oriented east to west, and drops southwards to lower ground through which the Masewali River runs. The main body of the plateau, the western part, may be called the Bila plateau, whereas the administrative centre of modern Watansoppeng is located on the north-south directed extension at the east of the plateau. After joining with the Masewali River, the Soppeng River continues southeastwards before looping northeastwards at Salotungo ("river bend") and running towards the Walanae River. This gives a three way division to the toponymic sites around Watansoppeng (see Fig. 3).

(1a) The central Watansoppeng sites - Ujung, Botto, Laleng Benteng.
(1b) Bila - Bila, La Mataesso site.
(1c) Salotungo.

Ujung (Soppeng 2). The central, flatter area of Ujung now serves as Watansoppeng's business district and could also have been the focus of earlier settlement in Ujung. Unfortunately the area is too urbanised for a productive archaeological survey there. We accordingly surveyed the southeastern periphery of Ujung where a ridge overlooks the junction of the Soppeng and Masewali rivers. Most of the ridge is given over to an Islamic graveyard called Appung which appears to have been in continuous use from about 200 years ago. The oldest part, now disused, contains 84 recorded graves with standing stones. The larger stones stand up to two metres high and may properly be called menhirs. Amongst the secondary forest which now shrouds the disused graveyard area we also found a *dakon*. The disused graveyard grades southwards into a mixed graveyard where standing stones and orthorhombic arrangements of cobbles intermingle with the modern styles of *gadah*, *pipi* and ovular gravestones. At either extreme are modern graveyards: a gravel-paved, public graveyard at the south; and next to the disused graveyard, a private graveyard with painted graves on a curated turf enclosed by walls (Fig. 4).

We searched for artefacts right around Appung and, despite the unpromising prospects, recovered two pieces of Sawankhalok. Furthermore in Zones 10 to 12 we encountered a scatter of late Ming to early Ching tradeware sherdage, without any earthenwares associated, on the land sloping down from the southern border of the modern public graveyard (see Fig. 17). These fragments possibly represent a special purpose site such as an old burial area or elite residence disturbed by the southward growth of the Appung Islamic graveyard.

Botto (Soppeng 3) and *Laleng Benteng* (Soppeng 4). Botto and Laleng Benteng face each other from two locally prominent hilltops. Botto is remembered as the old palace of East Soppeng whereas Laleng Benteng was the palace centre of the united Soppeng. Between the sites, encased by a "silent copper" traffic obstacle, are the three stones which were buried to mark the treaty of unification between East and West Soppeng (Fig. 5), and which became the inauguration site of the Soppeng *datu* following Soppeng's unification. Botto and Laleng Benteng are remarkably similar in their location, importance for local administration, and recorded tradeware sherdage.

Botto is directly backed by a precipitous drop to the Soppeng River. According to local lore, one particular execution in former times had the sentenced individual hurled over this precipice. On top of Botto are the private dwellings of the Soppeng *Bupati* (official head of the Soppeng *kabupaten*), the garage for the Soppeng firetrucks, and several government offices. One of these offices, the Villa Juliana, was originally built by the Dutch in 1907 for the colonial controleur in Soppeng. An area of old building foundations at the back is covered by banana trees, and the hill's gentler slopes have been terraced to take middle class housing. These 20th century developments probably would have removed any traces of where East Soppeng's palace might have once been sited. Nonetheless, lengthy occupation by a local elite is indicated by the tradeware sherds which date from Sung/Yuan times to the present.

Laleng Benteng contains two flattened surfaces, a lower courtyard which was reportedly the site of a meeting

house and a higher courtyard where the descendents of the Soppeng royal lineage still reside. A stone wall at the back of these houses, where the hill drops precipitously to the Masewali Valley, is reportedly related to the foundations of the former palace. Across the courtyard is the *Bola Ridie* ("Yellow House"), where the Soppeng *bissu* or male transvestite priest lives and maintains the Soppeng regalia and other royal heirlooms. The main regalia are four gold vases, one of them in the form of a snake and another crowned by the hair of the West Soppeng *Tomanurung*. The most important of the other Soppeng heirlooms include two swords with gold handles, six spouts from Portuguese cannons, a suite of musical instruments, four flags, and Japanese and European antique plates. At the back of the *Bola Ridie* is a menhir, one and a half metres high, around which people sentenced to death used to be led seven times (Fig. 6). Recovered sherdage from the site dates from Sung/Yuan times, with the lower courtyard in particular showing the strongest presence of pre-Ching tradewares which we encountered amongst the central Watansoppeng sites (Fig. 17). In addition, the local residents recovered some Thai and Chinese antiques during the construction of their houses.

Bila (Soppeng 11) and *La Mataesso Site* (Soppeng 15). Our elongated transect of the Bila plateau (Fig. 7) covered four divisions of the Bila site complex. At the far west is an elongated Islamic graveyard, Makam Tua Bila or Bila's Old Graveyard, stretching along a creek which drains the Bila plateau before emptying into the Masewali River. Further east, on a gentle slope, is the royal Islamic graveyard Jera Lompoe, which has been restored by Suaka with a beautiful garden setting to match the exquisitely masoned tombs and gravestones (Kallupa, 1980). Muttalib (1981) identifies some of the individuals buried inside Jera Lompoe, and these include 17th and 18th century members of the Soppeng royalty, but significantly neither La Patau nor his descendents. Our survey transect then continued past an old kampung area and up the locally prominent hill which overlooks the plateau. On top of the hill is the Bila mosque, built in the early 19th century, and crowned by a Ching period jar. The grave of an Arung Bila is included within the mosque precincts, and on the same hilltop are upper middle class houses with a *dakon* and a *lesung batu* in one of the yards. Ming period sherds cropped up occasionally right along the transect, suggesting light pre-Islamic use before the prominence of the area in Islamic times.

Stronger evidence of a pre-Islamic presence was found around the northern and eastern margins of the site (see Fig. 7). We found some Vietnamese and Swatow sherds immediately around the Islamic graveyard called Jera Caddi which is reserved for the 19th and 20th century Soppeng royalty. Then dropping to the Soppeng River we came to the area known as Sumpang Bila ("Gateway of Bila"), whose reported status as a cremation area received some confirmation from the recovered sherdage. 300 metres to the east we recovered a concentration of Yuan to 17th century sherds from a recently asphalted housing complex. We have named the spot "La Mataesso site" following local information that La Mataesso's remains had been buried there. Closed vessels make up 20% of the recovered ceramic pieces (Table 9), supporting the interpretation that this spot had been the interment area of pre-Islamic cremations.

Converting the tradeware sherdage into chronological information highlights the earliness of La Mataesso site compared to the rest of the Bila plateau (Fig. 18). Closer inspection of Fig. 18 also reveals that, going from east to west, the proportions of Ming period and earlier sherds decrease, while the proportions of Ching Blue and White and European sherdage decrease in the opposite direction. This suggests that the occupation of the Bila plateau was focussed on its eastern extremity during pre-Islamic times, and shifted to the central body of the plateau in Islamic times. The oldest occupied areas then appear to have been re-occupied during the 20th century owing to the momentum of urban development. The 1933 Dutch map (Sheet 76/XXXIIA) captures a moment in this urban expansion by showing an unoccupied zone which then stretched approximately from Laleng Benteng to the modern *kelurahan* boundary between Botto and Bila.

Salotungo (Soppeng 13). Our survey line started at the large and impressive but fully modern Islamic graveyard of Salotungo, before descending into the modern suburban area of Salotungo. Late in the evening we reached the ancient kampung area of Salotungo on the slopes directly above the bend in the Soppeng River. Our evidence for this identification lies in a stony forested knoll, reportedly a cremation area, immediately below which is a small, abandoned Islamic graveyard (Fig. 8). The general cover of secondary forest would have prevented a reliable collection of sherds from old Salotungo even in the best lighting conditions. Our impression is that old Salotungo was a small and unimportant community, but excavation or forest clearance is required to gain a firmer view.

The River Lawo Sites

A spit of raised land emanating from Gunung Buludua ("Mountain with two Heads") separates the Soppeng and Lawo valleys (Fig. 3). Like the Soppeng valley, the Lawo valley has been extensively carved up into wet rice fields which are terraced or flat depending on the prevailing slope. Lawo sits along the northeastern talus of Gunung Buludua, whereas Tinco is diagonally across the river from Lawo, on a flattish block of raised land called the Tinco plateau (Fig. 3).

Tinco (Soppeng 10) is a dreamland for the landscape archaeologist. We concentrated our investigations on the 300 metre long ridge which rises steeply above the floor of the Lawo valley and drops gently eastwards to

the Walanae valley and northwards to a local drainage channel (Fig. 9). A few field houses dot the stony ground which has been ploughed up and planted with vegetables and fruit trees. The ground is littered with tradeware sherds - over 2,000, of which European and other late wares form a small percentage - and an astonishing count of 24,000 earthenware sherds. Some of the earthenware sherdage may represent prehistoric occupation, as also indicated by the three flaked stone artefacts recovered. The other archaeological remains included two bronze fragments, a dolmen reportedly containing the cremated remains of a Matoa Tinco (Headman of Tinco), ten *dakon*, four scratched rocks, three *dulang*, two *lesung batu*, and a funnel shaped rock which we interpret as part of a former bellows. The drastic decline of the site's importance in Islamic times is reflected by the small size of the Islamic graveyard and the dishevelled state of the graveyard's formerly standing stones. The fortunate coincidence of abandonment as an occupation area and its modern horticultural use readily allows a crystal clear interpretation of the site. Tinco was a densely occupied political centre during a period roughly corresponding to the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

Outside of the main survey area the vegetation changes to secondary forest. Our spot checks encountered a few Ming period sherds in Tinco Baru ("New Tinco") to the east and in two small houseyards to the west, all about 200 metres from the main survey area. Immediately west of the main area is a peculiar altar-like structure. About 200 metres to the southwest is Lakelluaja where the major agricultural ceremony *Tudang Sisoppeng* used to take place. A boat shaped arrangement of stones partially encloses a structure which protects a rock shaped like a figure eight where acts of votive veneration still occur. According to local accounts the West Soppeng *Tomanurung* cut his hair here and then disappeared. This structure and the two dolmens immediately above it probably commemorate the places where the cremated remains of pre-Islamic lords have been interred in jars. The maintained grassy area on top (Zone 12) was sprinkled with sherds of essentially Ming period associations (Fig. 19). With about 20% of the specimens assignable to martavans, the assemblage appears to represent a royal burial site of the Ming period.

The *Attoriolonna Soppeng* specifies Tinco as the original palace of West Soppeng, and the detailed analysis of the tradeware ceramics (Chapter 4) confirms this identification. The palace had probably been located on the highest part of the site between Zones 9 and 11 (see Fig. 9). These zones and the fringing zones which slope down, here called Central Tinco, contained the bulk of the sherdage (Fig. 19) as well as the major concentration of other archaeological remains. Nonetheless the eastern extension of the main survey area, from Zone 22 eastwards, apparently had the same occupation history as Central Tinco did, even if the eastern zones had not been occupied with quite the same intensity (Fig. 19). Accordingly we may estimate the area of Tinco Tua under dense occupation between the 13th and 17th centuries as having extended 300 to 400 metres along the ridge top and a shorter distance, about 100 metres, back from the Lawo valley.

Lawo. Lawo was divided into two areas for the purposes of recording (Fig 13). Western Lawo (Soppeng 8) is notable for the registered Suaka site called *Megalit Lawo*, a boulder with twelve wheel-like engravings. A similar isolated engraving was found on another boulder to the east. Despite a *dakon* and two *lesung batu*, the recovered sherdage indicated only the lightest occupation of the area up till very recent times, after the early 20th century to judge by the Dutch map (Sheet 76-XXXIC). Given the sprinkling of boulders which have rolled down from Gunung Buludua, occupation here would appear to be occasionally perilous.

Eastern Lawo (Soppeng 9) sits along a tongue of talus which pokes gently down to the Lawo Valley. One boulder here shows to an exaggerated degree the erosion along its softer veins which can be observed on numerous boulders in western Lawo. Professor Dr Soejono considers this the result of natural weathering; nonetheless the tortoise shell appearance is striking and may have inspired the veneration of earlier occupants. Our transect mapped six *dakon* as well as 16 of the 70 *lesung batu* which Bahru Kallupa had counted on an earlier visit. The tradeware sherdage included small quantities of Ming period wares right along the transect. As a result of the continual growth of the settlement, its large Islamic graveyard recently had to be moved across the river to allow for the further expansion of housing. By at least the early 20th century, this community appears to have been the most important local settlement, giving its name to the river running past (Dutch map 76-XXXIC).

The *Tomanurung* Sites

The presence of palace centres at the heads of the parallel Soppeng and Lawo valleys suggests a dualistic symmetry which is further indicated by the sites where the *Tomanurung* of West Soppeng and East Soppeng reportedly descended. Both sites are about 20 km from Watansoppeng, north and south for West Soppeng and East Soppeng respectively, at minor streams which empty into the western fringes of the Walanae valley (Fig 2).

Petta Balubue ("Our Lord/Lady buried in the porcelain jar") or *Sekkangnyili* (Soppeng 12). Toponymic justification for recording this site lies in the local belief that Sekkangnyili, the place where the West Soppeng *Tomanurung* supposedly descended, is identifiable with a revered burial spot called Petta Balubue. Here, two dolmens made from arranged cobbles are sheltered beneath the exoskeletons of Bugis style houses on a curated turf (Fig. 14). As at Lakelluaja, the identification of the buried individuals with historical personages is made difficult by the tradition of remembering deceased lords by their posthumous names. Nonetheless we were

informed that the larger, more impressive structure commemorated a woman posthumously called Petta Balubue while the smaller commemorated a man.

The site differs from other suspected noble pre-Islamic burial sites in that the associated turf was generally clean of sherdage except for 373 earthenware sherds. The concentration of earthenware sherdage suggests that the site may have been an occupation site, presumably before it became a commemorative burial site. Almost all of the tradeware sherds at the site were within the two structures as though a deliberate attempt had been made to clean the associated turf and safeguard the ceramic pieces within the structures. The ceramic identifications strongly suggest a 15th to 16th century date, with about nine per cent from large jars (Table 15). The few later tradewares may be votive offerings, analogous to the decorated earthenware pots and votive dolls present on the Petta Balubue altar. A small, well burnt fragment of cranial bone weighing 6 grammes was collected from the site and submitted for radiocarbon dating. The fragment, code labelled S.12.3.6, dated as completely modern (ANU-5928), suggesting that either its association with the site is accidental or that it has come from a goat or other animal sacrificed in connection with a recent ceremony at the site.

The immediate surroundings of the site are rich in sherdage but no systematic survey was undertaken. Despite this lack of a sound archaeological context, it seems reasonable to suggest that the buried pair are the fourth West Soppeng raja, We Tekkewanua, and her husband Arung Leworeng.

Gowarie (Soppeng 16). The toponym associated with the name *Tomanurung ri Gowarie* can be identified at the *kelurahan* administrative level. Here a venerated structure is situated in a rolling landscape overlooking the open valley of the Mario River. The dolmen is about seven metres square and 50 cm high, made up of cobbles arranged to form a three tiered platform. A fourth low platform at one corner appears like a step while the body of the structure is sheltered by a bamboo enclosure. In the centre of the top platform, heavy stone slabs cover a hole which presumably contains the cremated remains and burial jar of a pre-Islamic lord. The surrounding bamboo thicket prevented any recovery of surface sherdage.

Gowarie and Petta Balubue make an intriguing comparison. Gowarie has the more impressive stone structure but lacks the house-like shelter and the maintained surroundings. In terms of ceremonial significance, Gowarie pairs with Lakelluaja as *Tomanurung*-associated spots where the Soppeng *bissu* regularly used to hold ceremonies.

During a later visit Bahru Kallupa visited a place two km from the Gowarie structure where a road construction programme had disturbed a site containing burnt human bone, bronze, an artificially reddened stone, and ceramics. His collection of the ceramic debitage indicates a Yuan to late Ming age, with 13% of the specimens having come from large closed vessels (Table 16). In addition to recording this apparent pre-Islamic cremation site, Bahru Kallupa also collected the local information that Gowarie may be identified with the Gattareng mentioned in the *Attoriolonna Soppeng*.

Sites of the Soppeng Valley Highlands

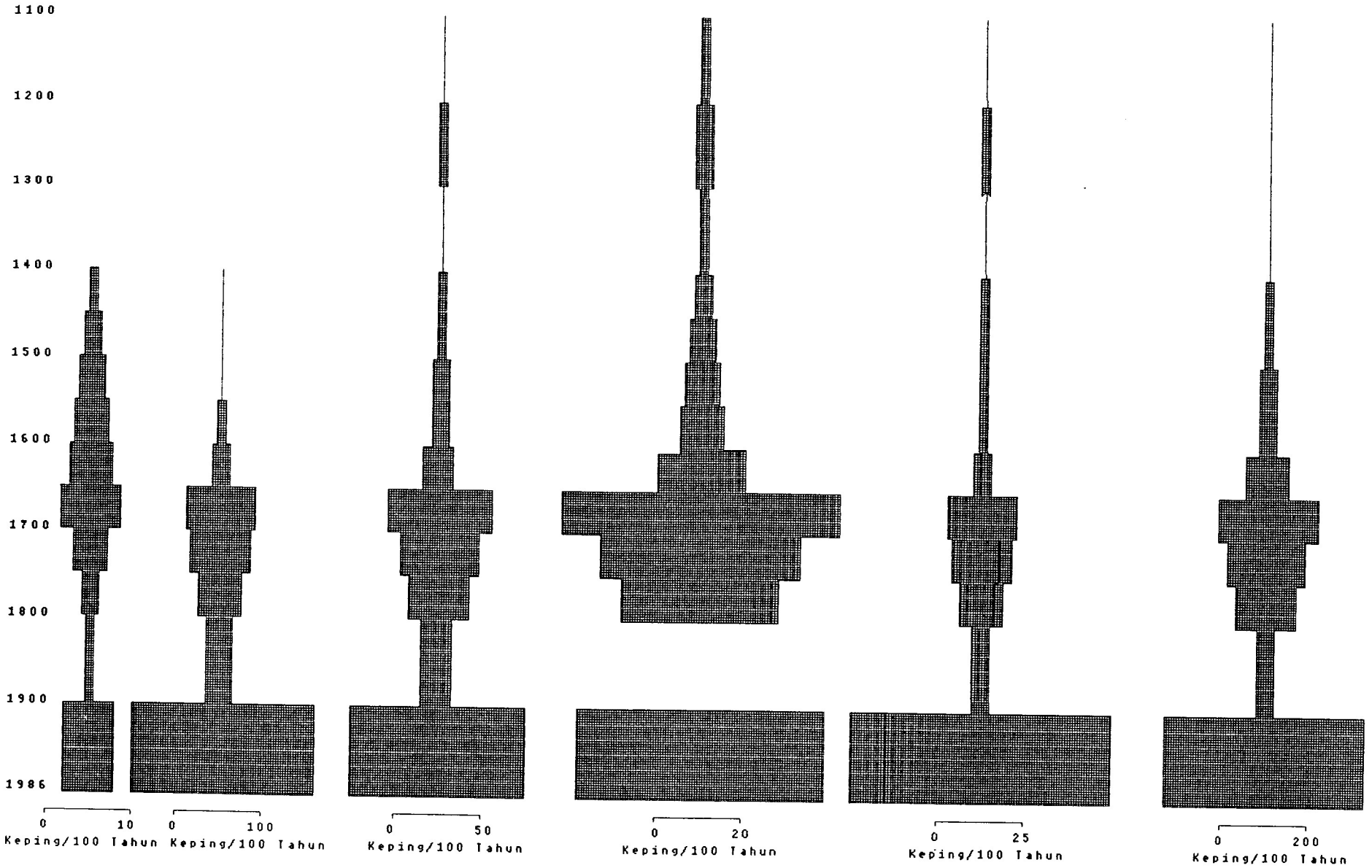
West of the Watansoppeng plateau the landscape soon steepens into the mountainous terrain typical of South Sulawesi's western cordillera. Sewo is a readily identified toponym of this country. We surveyed Bulu Matanre because, according to local tradition, this is an important religious site which furthermore had once been a palace centre of Soppeng. Batu Laiya (Fig. 3) was not surveyed, but owing to its location and the reports that antiques have been discovered there, we predict that it should show strong similarities with the two surveyed sites.

Sewo (Soppeng 5) is reached by following the Masewali River as far as Sewo Tua, a small kampung which in recent times has been reoccupied by the descendents of the original inhabitants. (This kampung was already abandoned by the early 20th century [Dutch map Sheet 76-XXXIIA].) Following the small Sewo tributary wedged between towering peaks, we came to Petta Langkanae, a narrow plateau, probably flattened artificially to some degree, which is remembered locally as having been the site of a former palace. The centrepiece of Petta Langkanae is a two tiered cobble dolmen, partially encased by a *beringing* tree, which presumably holds the cremated remains of a pre-Islamic lord. A *dakon*, a small dolmen and a *dulang* also occupy the platform (Fig. 15). Southwards the land plummets to a stream, the slope punctuated only by a flattened field which is locally interpreted as a former royal playing field. Northwards the land drops more gradually to a small abandoned Islamic graveyard (Fig. 15). The higher land immediately north of the narrow plateau appears to have been the main occupation area, as suggested by the presence of four *lesung batu* there and a solid scatter of sherds which gradually thins out as the land drops to the abandoned graveyard. An absence of European sherds amongst the field identifications stamped the assemblage as special, consequently we collected all of the tradeware sherds for detailed identification (Table 17).

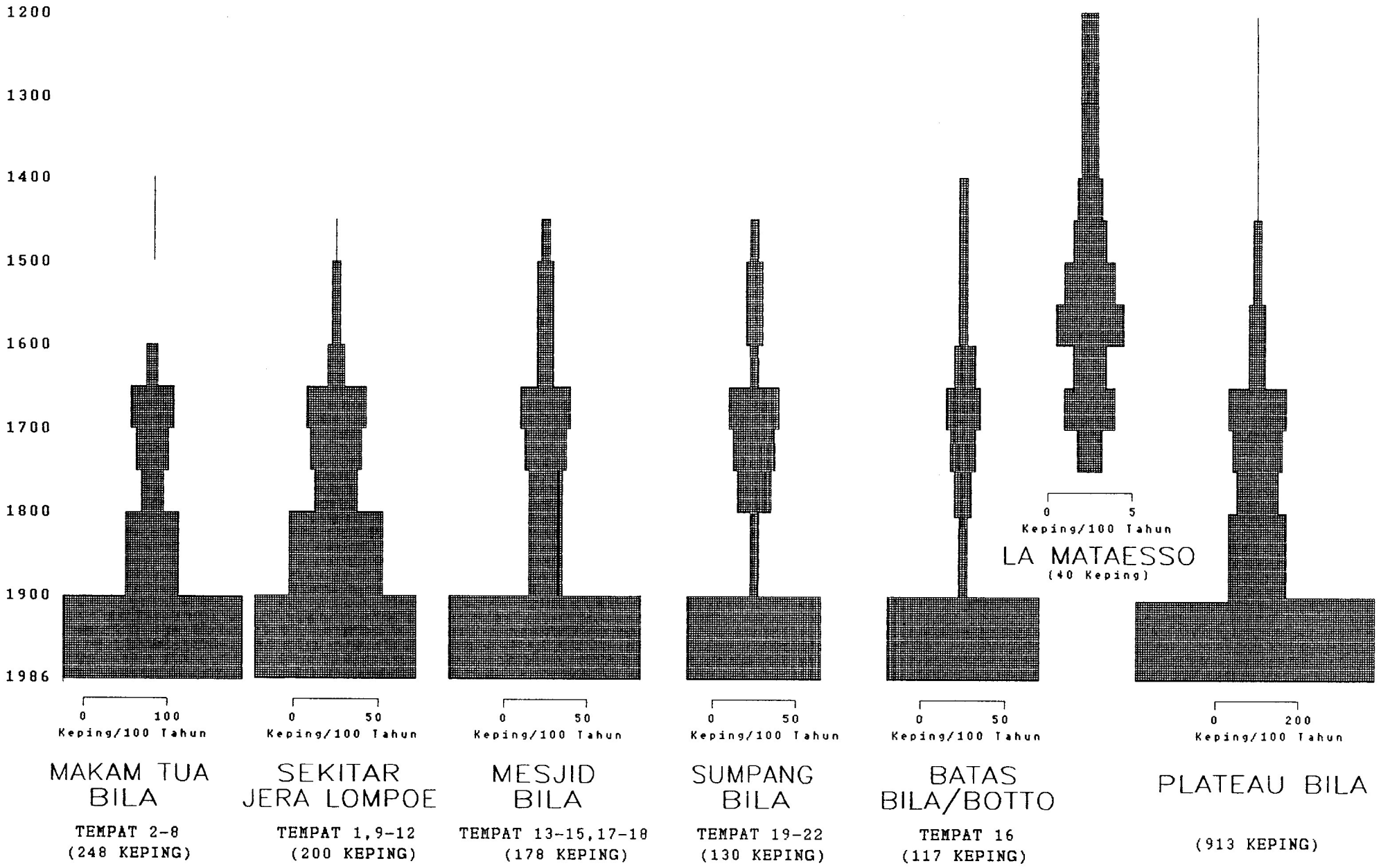
Bulu Matanre (Soppeng 14) lies on the summit of a 1000 metre high mountain in a very remote and well forested area. The only agricultural fields in this dissected terrain are terraced fields on the gentler slopes where the few local farmers have assembled rocks to make retaining walls. The same remodelling of the land surface by the construction of low stone walls roughly following contour lines is particularly well developed on Bulu

Matanre. Here, however, we cannot be certain whether the purpose was agricultural, aesthetic or to make the site more inhabitable. At the lower level of the site is an abandoned Islamic graveyard where we counted 57 graves. A narrow path leads up to a thin plateau upon which there was once a palace, according to local tradition. Sitting centrally on the plateau is a finely masoned menhir about one metre high. This early Islamic grave, which may date to the 17th century, is called Makam Bulue or Petta PallaongrumaE. The site is a registered Suaka site, and Suaka officers are responsible for having constructed the surrounding stone wall and for the restoration of the house-like structure which protects the menhir. Within the precincts of the stone wall, and at odd spots along the adjoining narrow ridge, are piles of cobbles supporting a small standing stone. These appear to be old, common Islamic grave markers. Just as one enters the plateau there is a peculiarly shaped stone, the *Tuang Lonrong*, which Watansoppeng tradition holds to be the place of judgment for the recently deceased. Pilgrims still visit the site with sacrificial livestock in connection with this final rite of passage.

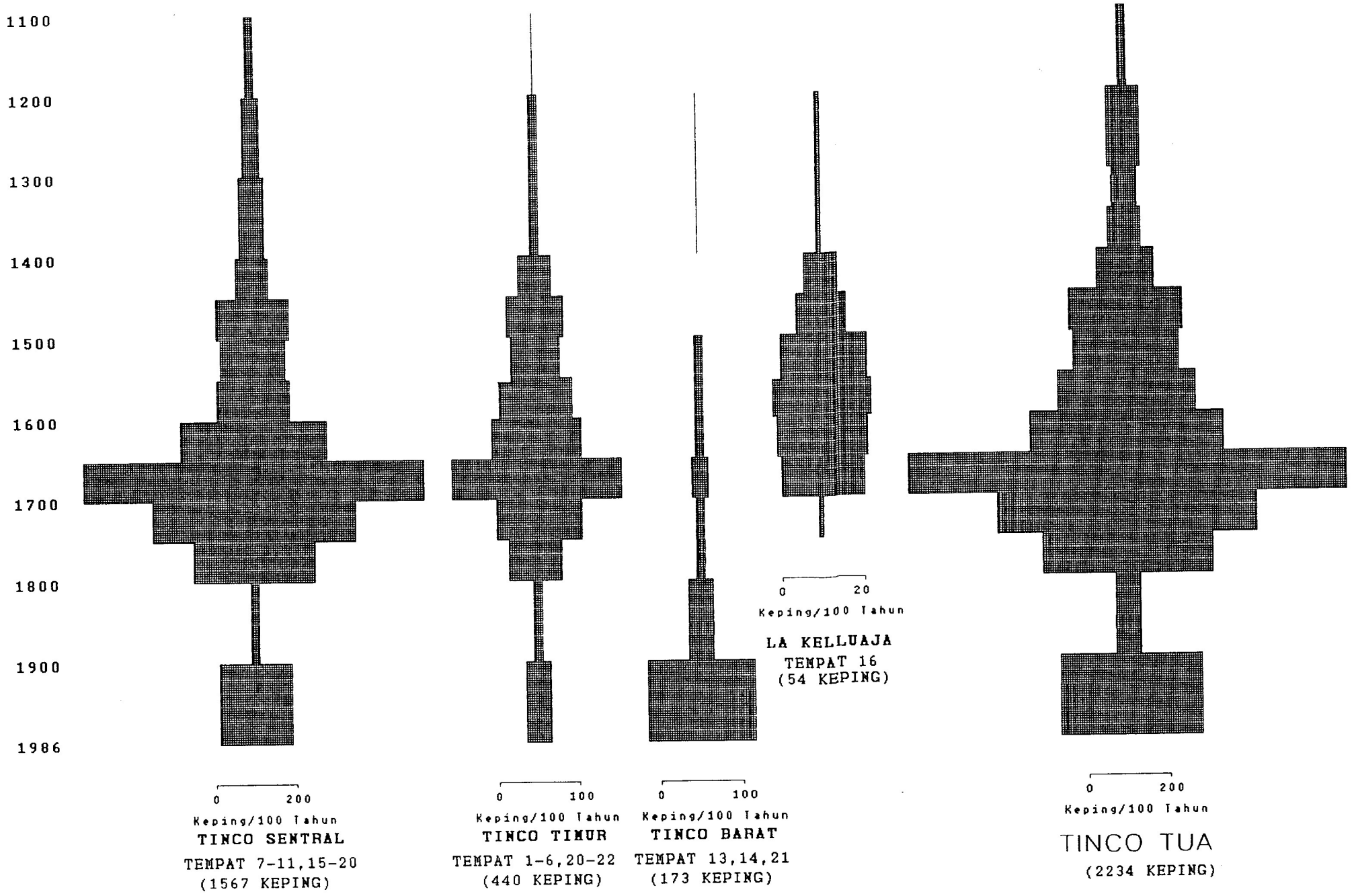
As at Sewo Tua, all tradeware sherds seen were collected. The impression of abandonment of the site during the early Ching dynasty is even more trenchant than at Sewo Tua (Table 18, Fig. 20).



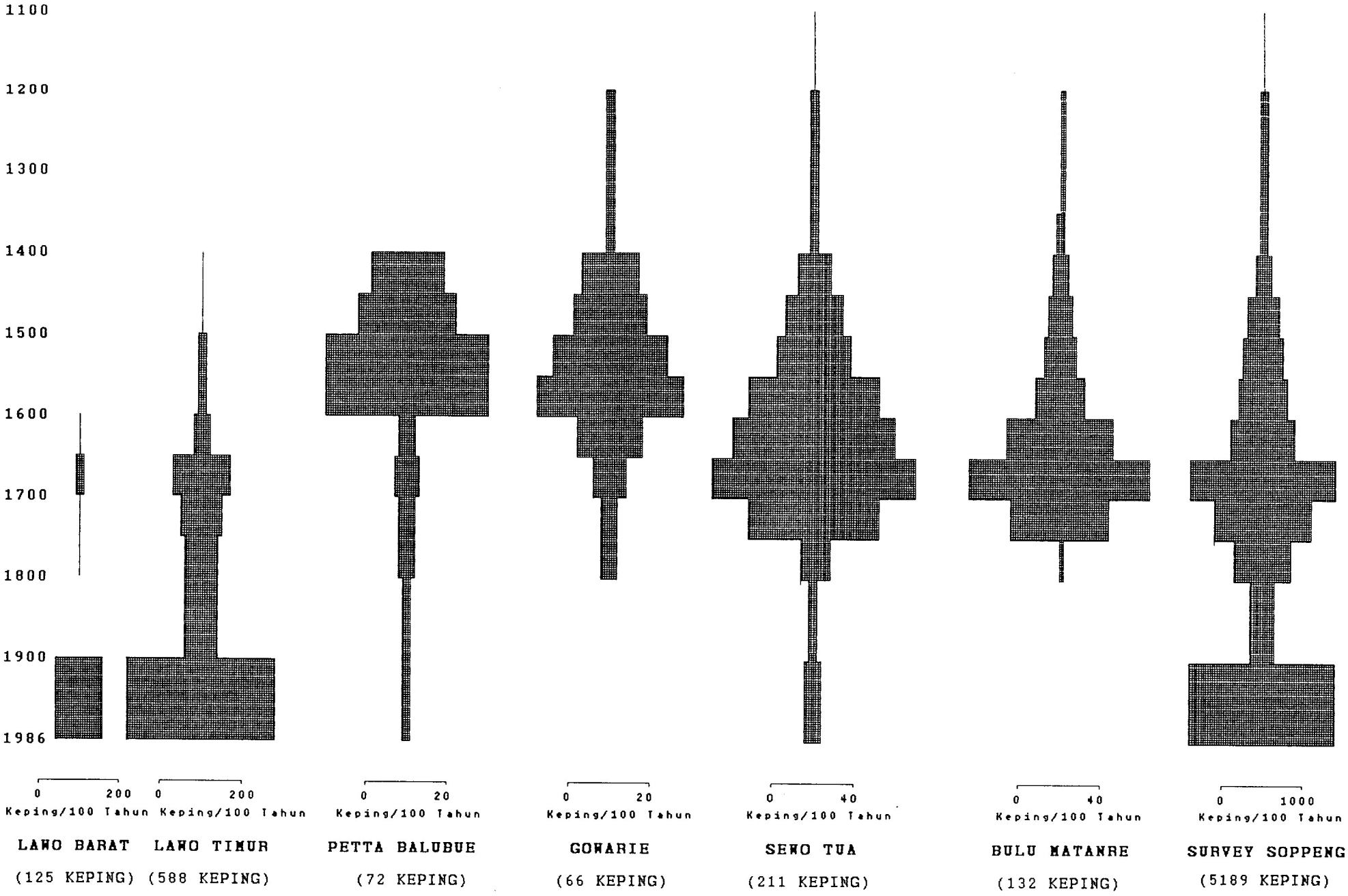
GRAFIK 17. "CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" - SITUS DI WATANSOPPENG



GRAFIK 18. "CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" - SITUS DI PLATEAU BILA



GRAFIK 19. "CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" - TINCO TUA



GRAFIK 20. "CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" - SITUS LAIN

4. PEMBAHASAN

Seperti telah dikemukakan pada bab terdahulu bahwa data persebaran keramik asing digunakan untuk penentuan pertanggalan situs yang tercantum di dalam toponim, di dalam rangka penyusunan pertanggalan sejarah pra Islam kerajaan Soppeng khususnya dan sejarah kerajaan-kerajaan di Sulawesi Selatan pada umumnya. Identifikasi dan kelasifikasi keramik asing dilakukan oleh Karaeng Demmanari dan David Bulbeck. Sebagai dasar panduan dipergunakan cara dan sistem Anon. (1974), Macintosh (1977), Harrisson (1979), Medley (1980), Willetts dan Poh (1981), Adhyatman dan Abu Ridho (1984), dan Guy (1986). Periode jenis keramik disusun oleh David Bulbeck (Lampiran B) yaitu:

a. Southern Sung	1100 - 1300 M
b. Yuan	1200 - 1400 M
c. Vietnam monokrom tua	1200 - 1400 M
d. Vietnam hitam putih	1300 - 1400 M
e. Vietnam monokrom biasa	1300 - 1500 M
f. Vietnam biru putih	1400 - 1500 M
g. T'zu-Chou hitam putih	1400 - 1500 M
h. Yung-Lo	1400 - 1450 M
i. Cheng-Hua/Hung-Chih	1450 - 1500 M
j. Sukothai dan Sawankhalok	1400 - 1600 M
k. Yuan/Ming dan Ming celadon	1400 - 1600 M
l. Ming Swatow	1450 - 1600 M
m. Ming biru putih biasa	1500 - 1600 M
n. Wan Li dan Ming BW akhir	1550 - 1650 M
o. Swatow	1600 - 1700 M
p. Kang-Hsi dan Ching Swatow	1650 - 1750 M
q. Yung-Cheng	1700 - 1750 M
r. Chien-Lung	1750 - 1800 M
s. Ching BW saja	1650 - 1800 M
t. Ching BW dapur	1800 - 1900 M
u. Ching celadon (biasanya Abad 19)	1700 - 1900 M
v. Eropah	1800 - 1900 M
w. Jepang	1800 - 1900 M
x. Ching putih	1900 - 1986

Data-data tentang persebaran keramik asing ini diketahui kemudian disusun dalam grafik yang menjadi analisis pertanggalan setiap tempat yang diteliti. Koleksi fragmen gerabah tidak dianalisis karena data keramik asing dianggap sudah mencukupi. Analisis tentang gerabah, fungsi keramik dan sebagainya ditulis tersendiri oleh David Bulbeck (Lampiran C), sedangkan analisis yang berdasarkan historiografi yang sudah ditulis oleh Ian Caldwell (1988). Pemilihan data keramik untuk mengkaji pertanggalan toponim pada kronik Soppeng bukan berarti mengabaikan kelemahannya. Ada kemungkinan rentang waktu yang cukup jauh antara pembuatan keramik dengan kehadirannya pada suatu situs tertentu (Naniek, 1986) interpretasi akan menyimpang, oleh sebab itu diperhitungkan pula data lain secara kontekstual. Kehadiran keramik asing di Sulawesi Selatan dan Soppeng khususnya merupakan barang dagangan yang pada umumnya diperuntukkan bagi golongan *elite* (bangsawan). Kegunaan keramik bagi masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan sangat penting, bukan hanya untuk kepentingan yang sifatnya profan tetapi juga untuk upacara-upacara ritual. Fungsi keramik disamping untuk kepentingan rumah tangga seperti piring, mangkuk, juga untuk kepentingan upacara dan dijadikan bekal kubur (Hadimuljono, 1982). Pada masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan dan Soppeng khususnya dahulu kala ada yang disebutkan *ampikale* yaitu seseorang harus memiliki sebuah piring makan dari keramik yang terbaik buat kemampuan orang itu yang tidak boleh dipakai oleh orang lain. Piring itu sangat dijaga oleh isterinya, jangan sampai pecah. Dalam keadaan retak saja sudah dianggap hal yang tidak baik dan menjadi alamat tidak baik akan terjadi, apalagi kalau memang sudah pecah. Kehadiran keramik asing di Sulawesi Selatan merupakan barang dagangan dan sekarang ternyata frekuensi dan persebaran keramik di daerah penelitian sangat banyak dan bervariasi. Oleh sebab itu kekhawatiran akan kelemahan itu tidak terjadi di daerah Sulawesi Selatan.

Barang-barang keramik tiba di situs menurut periode pembuatannya. Kurun waktu periode antara lima puluh atau seratus tahun per unit. Persebaran keramik dalam satu periode diperbandingkan dengan lokasi-lokasi yang diteliti, dan dilihat pula jumlah keramik untuk seluruh kurun waktu antara 1100 sampai tahun 1986. Perangkat pertama dalam Tabel 19 merupakan data mentah tentang persebaran keramik di sebelas tempat yang diteliti dan periode. Sedangkan Tabel 20 persentase persebaran menurut jumlah keramik dalam satu periode. Tabel 21 memberi estimasi perimbangan fragmen keramik asing ke tiap kurun waktu, dihitung dari angka persebaran keramik Tabel 19 (lihat Lampiran B), estimasi ini yang dipakai untuk mengambar "Histogram Kronologi" (Grafik 21 s.d. 23). Angka Tabel 20 juga bisa menghasilkan persentase, namun situs kremasi diperbandingkan dengan situs kremasi dan situs okupasi dengan situs okupasi (Tabel 22), karena kedua jenis situs ini berbeda. Tabel 23 membandingkan bentuk keramik menurut jenis pembuatan.

TABEL 19. PERSEBARAN FRAGMEN KERAMIK ASING DI SEKITAR WATANSOPPENG

Nomor	Periode Pembuatan/ Dinasti	Ujung	Botto/ Laleng Benteng	Bila	La Mata Esso	Tinco Tua	La Kell- uaja	Lawo	Petta Bal- ubue	Gow- arie	Sewo	Bulu Mat- anre	Jumlah
I.	Sung 12/13	-	4	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	15
II.	Yuan celadon 13/14	-	1	-	5	67	2	-	-	3	3	2	83
	Yuan putih 13/14	-	3	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
	Yuan keras 13/14	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	6
	V.nam monokrom 13/14	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	JUMLAH (II) 13/14	-	4	-	7	84	2	-	-	4	3	4	108
III.	V.nam monokrom 14/15	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
	Vietnam HP 14	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	S.khalok tua 14/15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	BW tua 14/15	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	JUMLAH (III) 14/15	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	1	1	10
IV.	Yunglo BW 15 awal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Tzu Chou HP 15	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Sancai 15	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	1	-	-	7
	Vietnam BW 15	-	2	1	2	45	3	-	7	1	1	-	62
	Chingpai hijau 15	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	5	4	15
	Celadon 15	-	1	1	3	14	-	-	-	-	2	1	22
	Hungchih BW 15 akhir	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
	JUMLAH (IV) 15	1	3	2	5	70	5	2	7	2	10	5	112
V.	Celadon 15/16	-	3	-	-	14	-	-	3	2	3	-	25
	Ming putih 15/16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
	Sawankhalok 15/16	3	2	-	1	40	3	1	21	18	3	3	95
	Sukothai 15/16	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	1	-	1	9
	Ming Swatow 15 ak./16	3	5	13	3	214	8	4	7	6	19	11	293
	JUMLAH (V)	6	10	13	4	275	11	5	32	29	25	15	425

TABEL 20. PERSENTASE PERSEBARAN FRAGMEN KERAMIK ASING DI SEKITAR WATANSOPPENG OLEH DAVID BULBECK (%)

Nomor	Periode Pembuatan/ Dinasti	Ujung	Botto/ Laleng Benteng	Bila	La Mata Esso	Tinco Tua	La Kell- uaja	Lawo	Petta Bal- ubue	Gow- arie	Sewo	Bulu Mat- anre	Jumlah
I.	Sung 12/13	-	26.7	-	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	6.7	-	15
II.	Yuan celadon 13/14	-	1.2	-	6.0	80.7	2.4	-	-	3.6	3.6	2.4	83
	Yuan putih 13/14	-	18.8	-	-	81.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
	Yuan keras 13/14	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	-	-	-	16.7	-	16.7	6
	V.nam monokrom 13/14	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	3
	JUMLAH (II) 13/14	-	3.7	-	6.5	77.8	1.9	-	-	3.7	2.8	3.7	108
III.	V.nam monokrom 14/15	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
	Vietnam HP 14	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	S.khalok tua 14/15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	1
	BW tua 14/15	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	3
	JUMLAH (III) 14/15	-	-	-	-	80.0	-	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	10
IV.	Yunglo BW 15 awal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	1
	Tzu Chou HP 15	-	-	-	-	66.7	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Sancai 15	-	-	-	-	71.4	14.3	-	-	14.3	-	-	7
	Vietnam BW 15	-	3.2	1.6	3.2	72.6	4.8	-	11.3	1.6	1.6	-	62
	Chingpai hijau 15	-	-	-	-	26.7	-	13.3	-	-	33.3	26.7	15
	Celadon 15	-	4.5	4.5	13.6	63.6	-	-	-	-	9.1	4.5	22
	Hungchih BW 15 akhir	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	2
	JUMLAH (IV) 15	0.9	2.7	1.8	4.5	67.0	4.5	1.8	6.3	1.8	8.9	4.5	112
V.	Celadon 15/16	-	12.0	-	-	56.0	-	-	12.0	8.0	12.0	-	25
	Ming putih 15/16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	66.7	-	-	3
	Sawankhalok 15/16	3.2	2.1	-	1.1	42.1	3.2	1.1	22.1	18.9	3.2	3.2	95
	Sukothai 15/16	-	-	-	-	77.8	-	-	-	11.1	-	11.1	9
	Ming Swatow 15 ak./16	1.0	1.7	4.4	1.0	73.0	2.7	1.4	2.4	2.0	6.5	3.8	293
	JUMLAH (V)	1.4	2.4	3.1	0.9	64.7	2.6	1.2	7.5	6.8	5.9	3.5	425

TABEL 20. PERSENTASE PERSEBARAN FRAGMEN KERAMIK ASING DI SEKITAR WATANSOPPENG OLEH DAVID BULBECK (%)

Nomor	Periode Pembuatan/ Dinasti	Ujung	Botto/ Laleng Benteng	Bila	La Mata Esso	Tinco Tua	La Kell- uaja	Lawo	Petta Bal- ubue	Gow- arie	Sewo	Bulu Mat- anre	Jumlah
VI.	Celadon 16	-	7.7	-	-	38.5	-	7.7	-	-	30.8	15.4	13
	Ming putih 16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	2
	Ming BW/merah 16	2.9	3.6	2.9	5.8	35.8	10.2	2.2	16.8	7.3	7.3	5.1	137
	Ming coklat 16	-	-	-	-	42.9	-	-	-	14.3	42.9	-	7
	JUMLAH (VI)	2.5	3.8	2.5	5.0	35.8	8.8	2.5	14.5	6.9	11.9	5.7	159
VII.	Ming BW akhir 16/17	5.2	3.1	1.0	4.1	48.5	-	2.1	-	5.2	22.7	8.2	97
	Wanli 16/17	-	-	-	-	27.3	13.6	-	-	18.2	24.1	9.1	22
	JUMLAH (VII)	4.2	2.5	0.8	3.4	44.5	2.5	1.7	-	7.6	24.4	8.4	119
VIII.	Swatow 17	2.2	5.3	3.8	0.8	65.5	2.8	5.3	0.5	0.9	6.4	6.4	638
	Monokrom 17	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-	37.5	12.5	8
	JUMLAH (VIII)	2.2	5.3	3.7	0.8	65.3	2.8	5.3	0.5	0.9	6.8	6.5	646
IX.	Tempayan 17/18	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	75.0	-	-	4
	Putih 17/18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	10
	Ching Swatow 17/18	4.8	7.1	4.8	0.5	61.4	0.3	9.3	-	-	6.6	5.3	396
	Kanghsi BW 17/18	1.3	-	1.3	6.5	22.1	-	5.2	-	-	36.4	27.3	77
	Yungcheng BW 18 awal	14.3	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.6	42.9	7
	Ching BW abad 18	-	-	7.1	-	35.7	-	7.1	-	14.3	35.7	-	14
	Chienlung BW 18 akhir	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	50	2
	Ching BW saja 17/18	7.3	12.0	13.4	-	56.2	-	10.6	0.5	-	-	-	983
	JUMLAH (IX)	6.2	9.8	10.3	0.5	54.8	0.1	9.9	0.3	0.3	4.8	3.1	1493
X.	Ching celadon 18/19	-	25.0	50.0	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
	Ching BW dapur 19	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	3
	Ching celadon 19	-	-	23.5	-	58.8	-	17.6	-	-	-	-	17
	Eropah 19	9.1	8.7	42.2	-	16.7	-	22.8	0.4	-	-	-	263
	Jepang 19	22.7	4.5	36.4	-	27.3	-	9.1	-	-	-	-	22
	JUMLAH (X)	9.4	8.1	40.5	-	20.1	-	21.0	0.3	-	0.6	-	309
XI.	Ching putih/baru 20	12.6	13.2	30.7	-	17.9	-	25.3	0.1	-	0.3	-	1792
	JUMLAH I s.d. XI	377	471	873	40	2179	54	713	72	66	211	132	5188

TABEL 21. PERIMBANGAN FRAGMEN KERAMIK ASING KE TIAP KURUN WAKTU PERIODE (OLEH DAVID BULBECK)

Periode 50 atau 100 tahun	Ujung	Botto/ Laleng Benteng	Bila	La Mata Esso	Tinco Tua	La Kell- uaja	Lawo	Petta Bal- ubue	Gow- arie	Sewo	Bulu Mat- anre	Jumlah
1100-1200	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	7.5
1200-1300	-	4	-	3.5	47	1	-	-	2	2	2	61.5
1300-1350	-	1	-	1.75	22.75	0.5	-	-	1	1	1	29
1350-1400	-	1	-	1.75	23.75	0.5	-	-	1	1	1.5	30.5
1400-1450	0.75	2.75	1	2.75	52.5	3.25	1.25	9.75	6.75	6.75	4	91.5
1450-1500	2.75	4.42	5.33	3.75	122.83	5.92	2.58	12.08	8.75	13.08	7.17	188.66
1500-1550	3.75	5.92	6.33	5.25	115.08	10.42	3.58	20.08	13.25	17.33	9.17	210.16
1550-1600	6.25	7.42	6.83	7.25	141.58	11.92	4.58	20.08	17.75	31.83	14.17	269.66
1600-1650	9.5	18.5	12.5	4.5	237.5	10.5	18.25	1.5	8.25	39	26	386
1650-1700	41	70.33	66	6	525	9.5	72.42	3.17	3.75	51.5	42	890.67
1700-1750	35	53.58	56	3.5	316.75	0.5	55.92	1.67	1.75	34	24	582.67
1750-1800	24	39.58	45	-	186.75	-	36.42	1.67	1.75	5	1	341.17
1800-1900	29	24.5	124	-	61.5	-	65	1	-	2	-	307
1900-1986	225	236	550	-	321	-	453	1	-	6	-	1792
JUMLAH	377	471	873	40	2179	54	713	72	66	211	132	5188

TABEL 22. PERSENTASE FRAGMEN KERAMIK ASING TIAP KURUN WAKTU PERIODE OLEH DAVID BULBECK (%)

Periode 50 atau 100 Tahun	SITUS KREMASI					SITUS OKUPASI							
	La Mata Esso	La Kell-uaja	Petta Bal-ubue	Gow-arie	JUMLAH	Ujung	Botto/ Laleng Benteng	Bila	Tinco Tua	Lawo	Sewo	Bulu Mat-anre	JUMLAH
1100-1200	-	-	-	-	0	-	26.7	-	66.7	-	6.7	-	7.5
1200-1300	53.8	15.4	-	30.8	6.5	-	7.3	-	85.5	-	3.6	3.9	55
1300-1350	53.8	15.4	-	30.8	3.25	-	3.9	-	88.3	-	3.9	3.9	25.75
1350-1400	53.8	15.4	-	30.8	3.25	-	3.7	-	87.2	-	3.7	5.5	27.25
1400-1450	12.2	14.4	43.3	30.0	22.5	1.1	4.0	1.4	76.1	1.8	9.8	5.8	69
1450-1500	12.3	19.4	39.6	28.7	30.5	1.7	2.8	3.4	77.7	1.6	8.3	4.5	158.16
1500-1550	10.7	21.3	41.0	27.0	49	2.3	3.7	3.9	71.4	2.2	10.8	5.7	161.16
1550-1600	12.7	20.9	35.2	31.1	57	2.9	3.5	3.2	66.6	2.2	15.0	6.7	212.66
1600-1650	18.2	42.4	6.0	33.3	24.75	2.6	5.1	3.5	65.7	5.1	10.8	7.2	361.25
1650-1700	26.8	42.4	14.1	16.7	22.42	4.7	8.1	7.6	60.5	8.3	5.9	4.8	868.25
1700-1750	47.2	6.7	22.5	23.6	7.42	6.1	9.3	9.7	55.1	9.7	5.9	4.2	575.25
1750-1800	-	-	48.8	51.2	3.42	7.1	11.7	13.3	55.3	10.8	1.5	0.3	337.75
1800-1900	-	-	100	-	1	9.5	8.0	40.5	20.1	21.2	0.7	-	306
1900-1986	-	-	100	-	1	12.6	13.2	30.7	17.9	25.3	0.3	-	1791
JUMLAH					232								4956

TABEL 23. PEMBANDINGKAN JENIS PEMBUATAN/DINASTI DENGAN BENTUK

PEMBUATAN/ DINASTI	TEMP-AYAN	POT BUNGA	JAR	BAL-UBU	VAS	BULI BULI	TUTUP TUTUP	BASI	PIRING	MANGKUK	CANG-KIR	SEN-DOK	JUMLAH
Sung keras	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yuan keras	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Sancai	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7
Sawankhalok keras	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9
Ming coklat	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Ching tua keras	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Sung celadon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	2	-	-	14
Yuan celadon	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	42	33	-	-	81
Ching Pai hijau	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	2	-	-	15
Ming celadon	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	22	5	-	-	30
Yuan/Ming celadon	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	22	4	-	-	30
Sawankhalok celadon	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	30	8	-	-	46
Transisi monokrom	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	3	-	-	8
Ching celadon	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	16	-	-	20
Ching Pai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	-	11
Yuan Te-hua	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	5
Vietnam monokrom	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	3	-	-	8
Ming putih	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	5
Wanli putih	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	7	1	-	10
Ching putih/baru	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	10	-	-	16
Vietnam hitam putih	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Tzu-Chou hitam putih	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sawankhalok HP	-	-	-	-	1	1	36	-	-	2	-	-	40
Sukothai HP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	-	-	9
Biru putih tua	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	4
Vietnam BW/merah	-	-	-	16	1	-	14	-	28	3	-	-	62
Ming Swatow	-	-	1	4	-	-	2	1	43	3	-	-	54
Ming BW 15 akhir/16	-	-	4	13	1	-	3	1	56	55	-	-	133
Ming merah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
Ming BW akhir	-	-	2	3	4	5	3	-	34	45	-	-	96
Wanli biru putih	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	-	-	12
Swatow	-	-	1	3	1	1	4	1	89	18	-	-	118
Ching Swatow	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	23	30	-	-	59
Ching BW/merah	-	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	42	56	1	1	106
Eropah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
JUMLAH	35	1	15	39	25	14	77	5	488	331	3	1	1034

Memperhatikan Tabel 19 s.d. 22 dan Grafik 21 s.d. 23 dengan dasar data mentah dapat dilihat hal-hal sebagai berikut:

1. Dari sepuluh tempat yang diteliti pada abad-abad awal (12 - 14/15), rasio terbesar pada daerah Tinco Tua (termasuk Lakelluaja) dengan jumlah temuan 104, yang jauh lebih banyak dari jumlah sembilan tempat lainnya. Menyusul La Mataesso, Botto/Laleng Benteng, Sewo Tua, Bulu Matanre dan Gowarie. Hal ini sesuai dengan pemberitaan dalam Sejarah Soppeng bahwa Datu Soppeng Riaja I yang bergelar Manurungnge Ri Sekkangnyili dibuatkan istana di Tinco. Hal ini berarti bahwa keraton yang terutama pada waktu itu adalah Tinco Tua. Mungkin sekali daerah plateau Watansoppeng juga ialah tempat istana pada waktu itu, kecuali kurang penting daripada Tinco. Di Sewo, Bulu Matanre dan Gowarie juga sudah dihuni, namun frekuensi temuan lebih banyak di Tinco Tua.

2. Perkembangan Tinco Tua berlangsung terus walaupun berangsur-angsur menyusut sampai abad 17. Pada abad 18 ada perubahan mayor dan Tinco Tua tidak lagi sebagai tempat yang ramai. Namun sekarang menjadi sepi terutama pada tahun-tahun pertengahan abad 20 karena terjadinya kekacauan di Sulawesi Selatan, yang pada waktu itu pemusatan pertahanan di Watansoppeng.

3. Sewo Tua dan Bulu Matanre pada abad-abad 12/13 sampai 17 masih tetap dihuni, tetapi sesudah abad 18 akhir sedikit sekali dihuni.

4. Pembengkakan perkembangan tempat-tempat yang diteliti terjadi pada abad 15 dan 16, dimana kelihatan semua tempat terisi. Mulai dari barang imperial sampai kepada barang Ming Swatow tersebar rata-rata pada semua tempat. Hal itu berlangsung sampai pada abad 17 dan abad 18 awal sewaktu membanjirnya Ching Swatow ke Sulawesi Selatan.

5. Lakelluaja, situs La Mataesso, Petta Balubue dan Gowarie tempat kremasi pada waktu pra Islam dapat dilihat perkembangannya abad 13/14 sampai pada abad 16/17. Lakelluaja tempat kremasi Tinco Tua dan situs La Mataesso tempat kremasi Botto/Laleng Benteng. Petta Balubue tempat kremasi Sekkangnyili sedangkan Gowarie sebagai tempat kremasi Gattareng. Di keempat tempat ini ditemukan sejumlah keramik/tempayan sebagai tempat penyimpanan abu dari jenasah yang telah dikremasikan. Periode tempayan dan yang bukan tempayan pada keempat situs ini kebanyakan meliputi kurun waktu yang sama.

6. Botto/Laleng Benteng seluruh kurun waktu dihuni oleh orang Soppeng. Kemudian sewaktu Tinco Tua dijadikan ibu kota maka Tinco menjadi lebih padat. Kemudian Datu Soppeng yang berpindah-pindah tempat dari satu tempat ke tempat yang lainnya. Dalam sejarah Soppeng disebutkan bahwa Datu Soppeng Riaja We Tekkewanua kawin di Leworeng dan memerintah Suppa. Tidak ada survey situs okupasi di Leworeng tetapi benda keramik di Petta Balubue banyak pada abad 15 dan 16 (Grafik 20 dan 21). Dari rekening sejarah (Caldwell, 1988) We Tekkewanua meninggal dunia pada abad 15 awal, yaitu Petta Balubue kelihatannya tempat kremasi We Tekkewanua dengan suaminya dan beberapa keturunannya. Artinya Leworeng ialah keraton Soppeng Riaja pada zaman pemerintahan We Tekkewanua, mungkin terus sampai abad 15 akhir. Pada abad 16 istana dipindahkan ke Botto/Laleng Benteng atau Watansoppeng sekarang ini. Selanjutnya disebutkan bahwa di Bulu Matanre juga pernah dijadikan tempat tinggal Datu Soppeng, mungkin pada abad 15 atau 16.

Berikut ini dicoba melihat keberadaan fragmen keramik dari sudut persentase jumlahnya untuk setiap periode. Hal itu dapat dilihat pada Tabel 20.

1. Periode Sung abad 12/13 terbanyak pada Tinco Tua yaitu 66,7 % sedangkan di Sewo Tua 6,7% dan di Botto/Laleng Benteng 26,7%. Keadaan ini menggambarkan bahwa penggunaan Sung yang jumlahnya 15 keping dari 10 tempat yang diteliti baru bermula pada waktu Tomanurung atau Datu Soppeng Riaja Pertama.

2. Periode Yuan abad 13/14 juga didominasi oleh Tinco Tua. Yuan celadon sebagai keramik imperial jelas sekali terbanyak di Tinco Tua (80,7% dari 83 keping dari seluruh tempat yang diteliti). Hal ini memberikan informasi bahwa pusat kerajaan masih berpusat di Tinco Tua. Keberadaan Yuan celadon ini di luar Tinco Tua kemungkinan disebabkan oleh keluarga bangsawan yang membawa ke tempat lain itu dan kemungkinan lain ialah boleh jadi dibawa pada waktu pemindahan ibukota kerajaan ke salah satu situs di luar Tinco Tua. Demikian pula keramik Yuan lain kebanyakan ditemukan di Tinco Tua daripada di tempat lainnya.

3. Keramik Vietnam abad 14/15 hanya berjumlah 5 keping didominasi lagi oleh Tinco Tua dengan 100 %. Kecuali Sawankhalok abad 14/15 yang hanya didapatkan di Bulu Matanre.

4. Abad 15 masih didominasi oleh Tinco Tua. Celadon abad 15 (termasuk "Chingpai Hijau") terdapat 48,6 % dan Sancai abad 15, 71,4%. Kecuali Yung-Lo abad 15 awal hanya ditemukan di Sewo Tua dan Hung-Chih abad 15 akhir didapatkan di Sewo Tua dan Ujung.

5. Abad 15/16, masih didominasi oleh Tinco Tua dengan kehadiran Celadon 15/16, 56,0 %, Sawankhalok abad 15/16, 42,1%, dan Sukothai, 77,8%.

6. Abad 16 yang ditandai dengan kehadiran Ming dengan jenis baik yang halus maupun yang kasar (Ming Swatow), juga masih dikuasai oleh Tinco Tua, namun di tempat lainnya sudah ada pula.

7. Pada abad 17 persebaran keramik sudah mulai merata, kecuali di Salotungo Baru. Abad ini ditandai dengan kehadiran Swatow juga sudah hadir jenis Ching.

8. Abad 18 akhir Bulu Matanre sudah ditinggalkan, dan beberapa tempat lainnya dengan alasan keamanan yang mengharuskan penduduk bermukim di dekat pusat kerajaan di Watansoppeng.

Selanjutnya dicoba melihat perkembangan tempat-tempat yang diteliti dengan mengelompokkan temuan menurut kurun waktu seperti yang tertara pada Tabel 21. Pada tabel itu kurun waktu dibagi atas 11 kelompok. Masa kegiatan pada tempat-tempat yang diteliti berjumlah sepuluh itu dapat dilihat pada tabel berikut:

Tabel 24

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
TINCO TUA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LAKELLUAJA		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
LAWO				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SEWO TUA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BULU MATANRE		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
BOTTO/LALENG BENTENG	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
UJUNG				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BILA				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LA MATAESSO		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
PETTA BALUBUE				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GOWARIE		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		

Keterangan (Lihat Tabel 19):

I = abad 12/13	IV = abad 15	VII = abad 16/17	X = abad 18/19
II = abad 13/14	V = abad 15/16	VIII = abad 17	XI = abad 20
III = abad 14/15	VI = abad 16	IX = abad 17/18	

Keadaan data tersebut dapat ditafsirkan sebagai berikut:

1. Sepanjang kurun waktu antara abad 12/13 sampai abad 20 Tinco Tua dipergunakan sebagai tempat penghunian, kecuali pada abad 18 sampai pada abad 20 frekuensi berkurang.

2. Lakelluaja sebagai tempat kremasi terakhir dipergunakan pada abad ke 17. Demikian pula halnya dengan La Mataesso, Petta Balubue dan Gowarie sebagai tempat kremasi juga terakhir dipergunakan pada abad 17. Adapun kehadiran Ching dan Eropah di tempat itu sebagai wakil abad 18 s.d. 20 kemungkinan sekali sewaktu menjadi tempat permukiman pada abad 18 s.d. 20 itu.

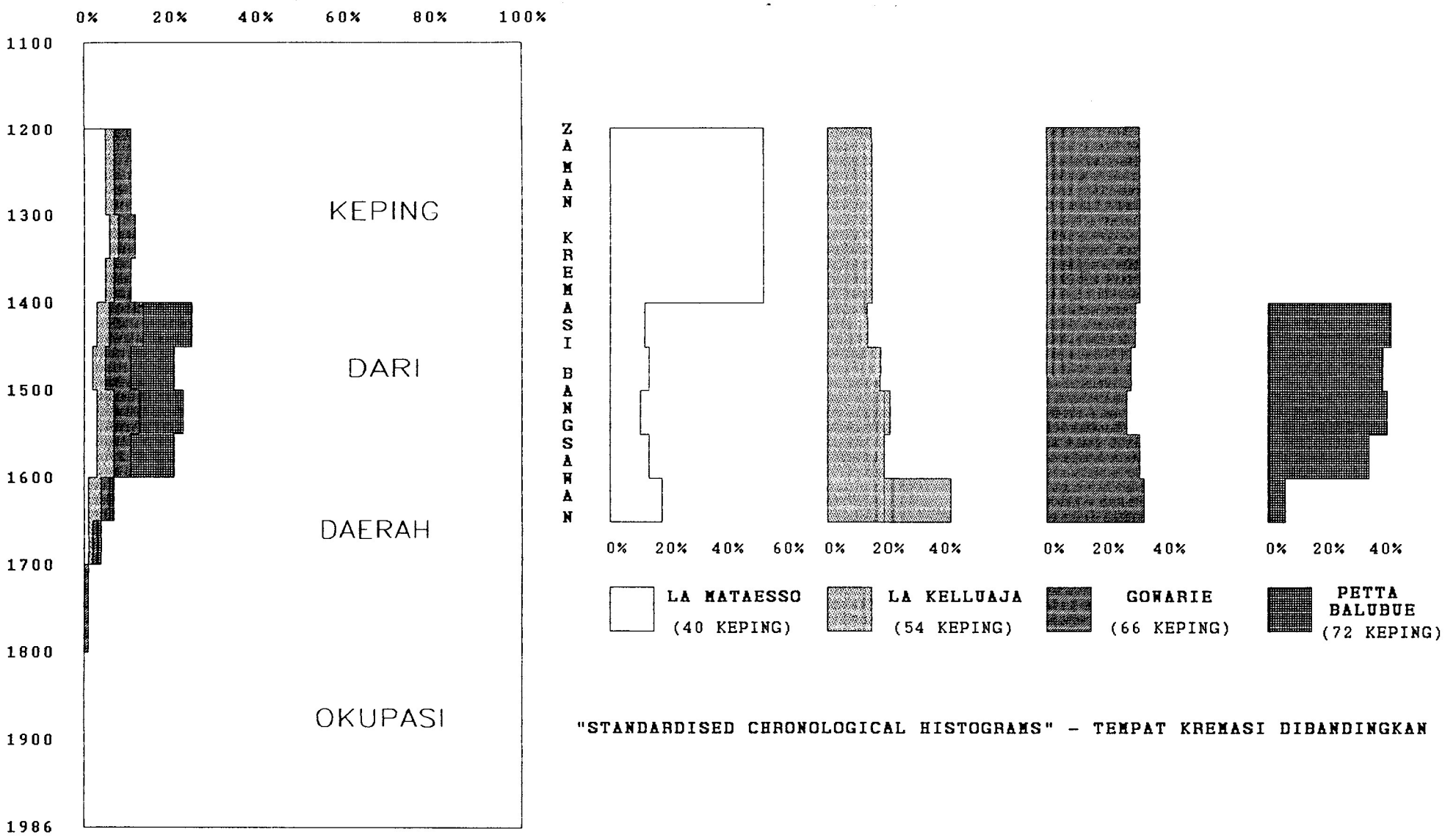
3. Sewo Tua dan Botto/Laleng Benteng juga hampir sepanjang kurun waktu antara abad 12/13 dihuni oleh orang Soppeng namun frekuensi lebih di bawa dibandingkan dengan Tinco Tua.

4. Bulu Matanre dan Sewo Tua dengan tempat keramatnya Petta Langkanae merupakan pasangan yang bagi orang Soppeng sebagai tempat yang memberikan berkah untuk kemajuan pertanian dan kemakmuran negerinya tidak sepi antara kurun waktu yang cukup panjang antara abad 14 sampai abad 18. Bukti-bukti tentang kekeramatan itu dapat dilihat pada adanya punden berundak, dolmen, menhir, batu dakon, batu dulang di Petta Langkanae Sewo Tua dan di Bulu Matanre di samping makam yang dianggap paling keramat, juga ada batu sembahan yang mereka sebut Tuang Lonrong dan Petta Palloang RumaE (Pelindung Pertanian).

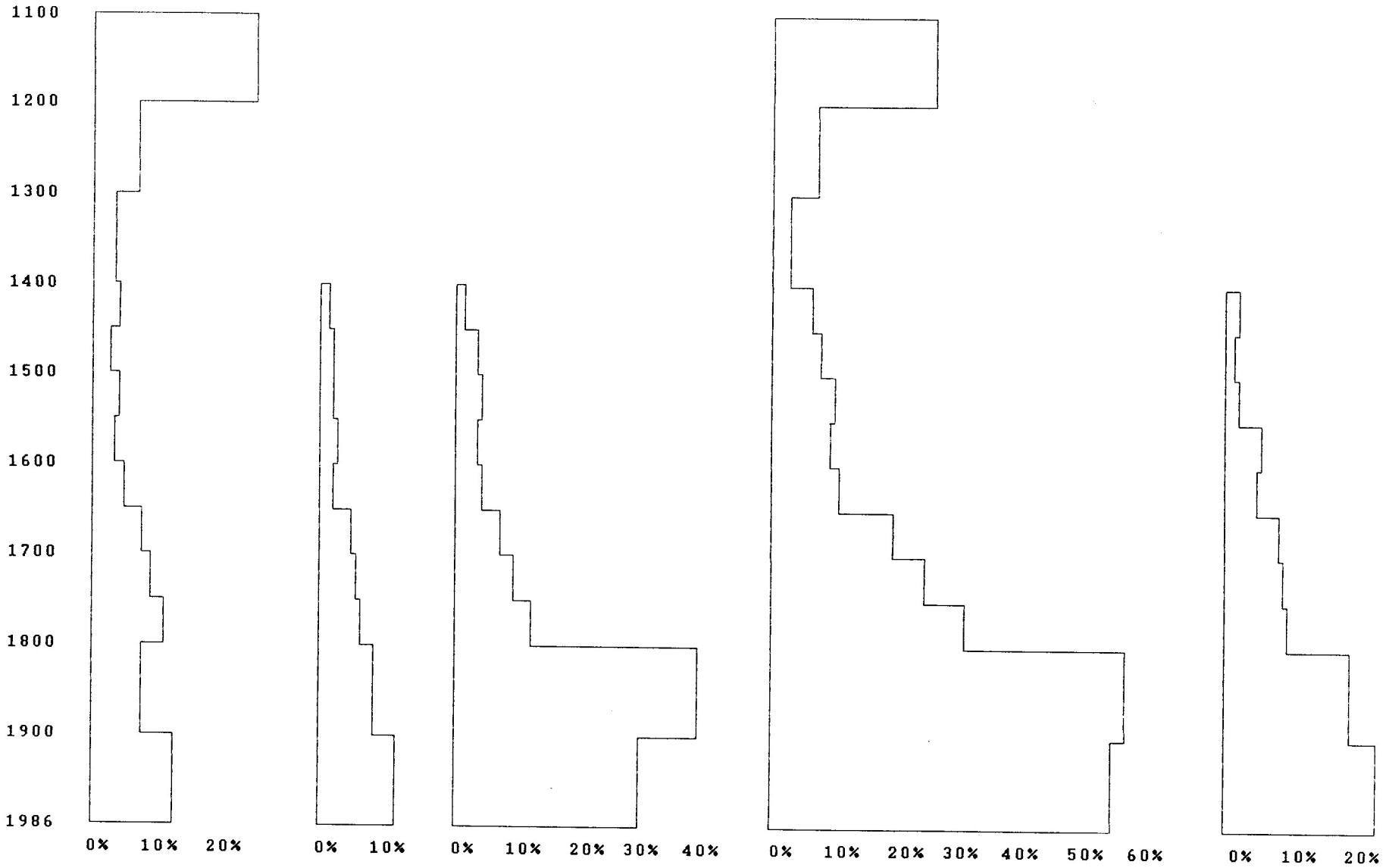
5. Bila dan Ujung nanti pesat perkembangannya pada abad-abad terakhir. Hal ini bukan berarti bahwa sebelumnya tempat ini kosong sama sekali.

6. Salotungo adalah salah satu tempat yang tersebut dalam toponim Soppeng Rilau, di dalam data keramik baru dihuni paling tua abad ke 18. Di duga Salotungo Tua yang dimaksudkan itu bukan Salotungo yang sekarang ini. Salotungo Tua diduga di utara dari pada Salotungo sekarang ini.

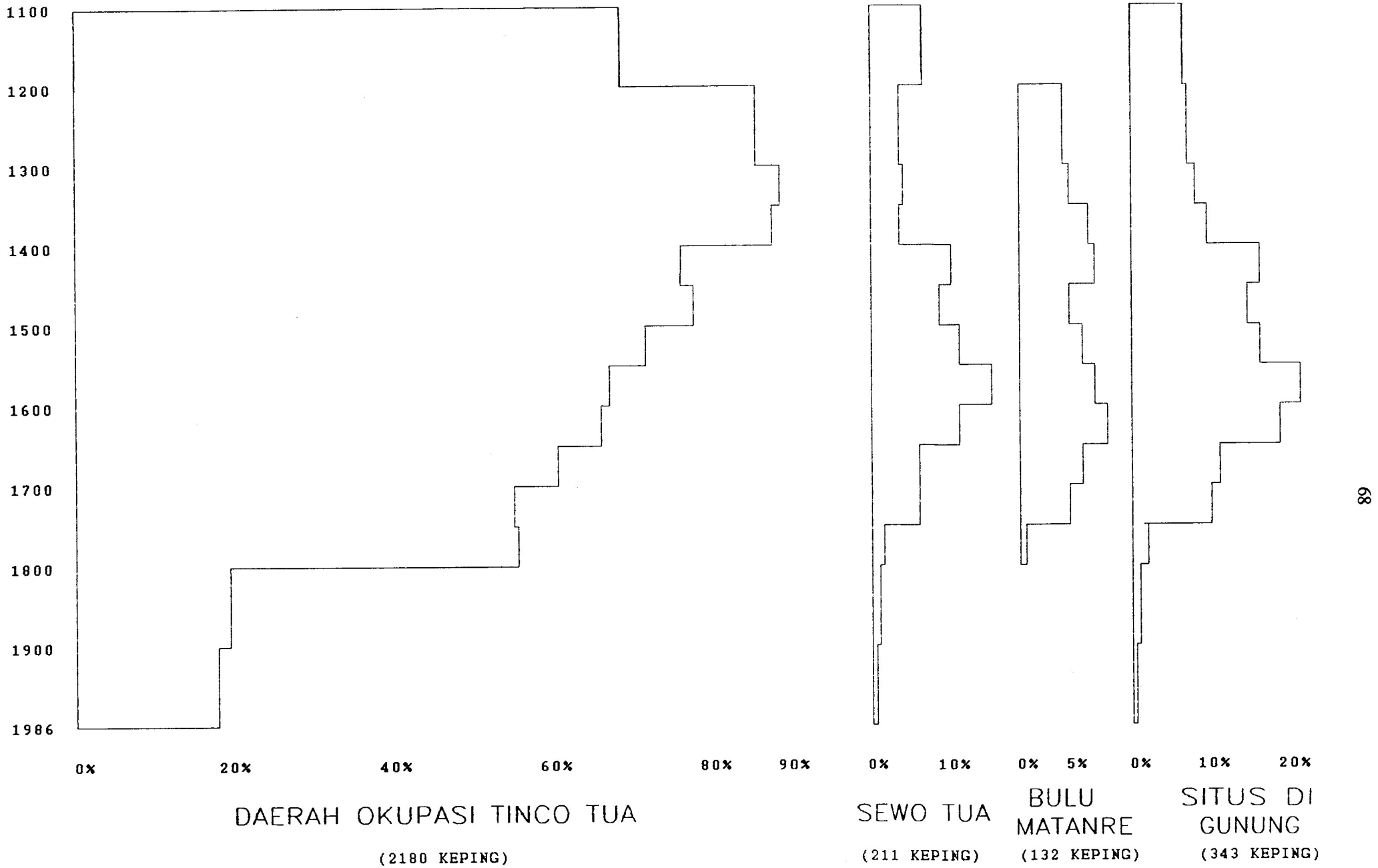
7. Perkembangan masyarakat tua Kerajaan Soppeng bermula di Tinco Tua dan sekitarnya pada abad 12/13. Tinco mewakili pusat kerajaan Soppeng Riaja dan Botto sebagai pusat Soppeng Rilau, tetapi yang lebih dominan ialah Tinco Tua. Lambat laun perkembangan itu melebar ke bagian selatan dan timur pada abad 15 dan 16. Pada abad 16 Soppeng Riaja dan Soppeng Rilau dipersatukan menjadi satu Soppeng oleh Datu Soppeng La Mataesso. Pada waktu itu pula Laleng Benteng menjadi keraton kerajaan Soppeng, lalu sentralisasi orang Soppeng dan birokrasi di Watansoppeng terus sampai sekarang.



GRAFIK 21. "STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" – TEMPAT KREMASI DIBANDINGKAN DENGAN DAERAH OKUPASI



GRAFIK 22. "STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" WATANSOPPENG & LAWO



GRAFIK 23. "STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS" – TINCO & SITUS DI GUNUNG

DISCUSSION

This chapter synthesises the historical traditions with the archaeological evidence as based on the recorded presence of tradeware sherds at the sites. As explained in Appendix B, Karaeng Demmanari and David Bulbeck are responsible for the tradeware identifications, while David Bulbeck has seriated the tradeware classes and estimated their ages. Bulbeck's conversion of the tradeware data into "chronological histograms" and "standardised chronological histograms" (see Tables 21 and 22) is also covered in Appendix B. The richness of the tradeware assemblages largely obviates the need to analyse the other recorded artefacts although some general points require discussion.

During the early part of the period under study tradewares had a limited availability in South Sulawesi and were presumably owned mainly by the elite. In modern times tradewares and metal receptacles have largely replaced earthenwares as domestic crockery. We would therefore tend to interpret the earlier tradeware classes as evidence of the presence of an elite, whereas the later tradeware classes are more representative of occupation *per se*. However, this distinction need not distort our comparative interpretations. In a stratified agrarian society such as we are dealing with here, the elite and the general population are the two sides of the same coin, since the elite owe their standing to the number of their followers, while large communities whatever their origins will tend to be ruled by an elite.

A further complication is created by the mainly Ming period assemblages associated with the royal cremations. These assemblages suggest that, prior to the Islamisation of the Soppeng people, either deceased nobles were buried with some of their prized possessions, of which the tradewares have survived for archaeological study, or these valuables were destroyed on site as part of the burial ceremony. After the Soppeng people had adopted Islamic burial rites, any such valuables would have remained within a domestic context either as mementoes of the deceased or as inherited goods. We can largely remove the effects of this complication from the cross-site comparisons by treating separately the assemblages associated with revered cremation spots from the assemblages associated primarily with occupation (Table 22).

At any time in the past, a community's access to tradewares should roughly reflect the strength of the community, whether the tradewares are owned by the elite or by the population more generally, whether the tradewares were finally deposited in burial sites or occupation sites. Accordingly, the cross-site chronological patterns arising from the tradeware data indicate the chronological changes in socio-political importance of the communities discussed. Tables 19 to 21 and Figs 21 to 23 suggest the following inferences.

1. Considering the earliest sherds belonging to between the 12th and 14th/15th centuries, we find some presence at all of the sites except Ujung, Bila, Lawo and Petta Balubue (Table 19). Tinco Tua's extraordinary domination of these earliest sherds is partly due to the ideal conditions there for landscape archaeology. To bring this point home, consider the statistic that approximately 20% of the Soppeng sherdage assigned to the 19th and 20th centuries was recorded at Tinco Tua even though the site had by then been essentially abandoned (Fig. 23). Conversely, given the poor survey conditions at the Watansoppeng sites, any presence of Sung or Yuan sherdage is significant and the place's socio-political significance during these early centuries is undoubtedly under-represented by the tradeware data. We need only point out that of the revered cremation sites, La Mataesso site tends to dominate the early sherdage (Fig. 21).

Caldwell (1988) draws attention to the strategic location of Tinco Tua and Watansoppeng at the entrances to major tributaries of the Walanae. He argued from the preliminary archaeological results that palace centres had already been established at Tinco Tua and at Botto/Laleng Benteng by the 13th century. The archaeological data would therefore corroborate the original bipartite organisation of Soppeng indicated by the historical sources. Furthermore, Tinco Tua is identified by the historical sources as West Soppeng's palace, so the palace of East Soppeng would have been in Watansoppeng. By the period in question, West Soppeng was already a powerful kingdom (complex chiefdom) as shown by its political domination of Suppa (Caldwell, 1988). The early status of East Soppeng is less clear given the lack of historical documentation and the difficulties of archaeological survey in Watansoppeng. Nonetheless the impression remains that West Soppeng probably had the edge on East Soppeng.

If we consider firstly the stretch of land from Tinco Tua to Sekkangnyili, the other site associated with the West Soppeng *Tomanurung*, and secondly the stretch of land from Watansoppeng to East Soppeng's *Tomanurung*-associated site of Gowarie, we may be approximately identifying the respective territories of West and East Soppeng during the 13th and 14th centuries. That is, Soppeng as a whole may already have controlled the main body of the Walanae valley. Furthermore the palace centres of Soppeng's two kingdoms would then have been next to each other in the middle of the controlled territory. Right throughout the historical period this small stretch of land between Tinco and Watansoppeng appears to have been the heartland of the Soppeng Bugis, harbouring dense populations and ideally situated for political dominion over the valley's agrarian-based communities. If our reconstruction of Soppeng's early geopolitical arrangement is correct, then both East and West Soppeng could have produced a substantial surplus of wet rice for export out of the valley, the factor argued by Caldwell (1988:188-189) to have been the major economic contributor to Soppeng's early prominence.

2. Tinco Tua's centralisation of authority appears to have gradually waned during the 15th to 17th centuries, although the site clearly remained a major local centre. At some stage during the 18th century Tinco Tua was abandoned as an area of intensive occupation and reverted to lightly occupied farmland, probably in much the same condition as when we surveyed it (Fig. 23). Lawo's standardised chronological histogram (Fig. 22) is so neatly complementary to Tinco's that it is tempting to link the rise of Lawo to the decline of Tinco Tua. By the 19th century Lawo was apparently the strategically situated local centre near the valley entrance, and this state of affairs continues today.

3. Sewo Tua and Bulu Matanre are characterised by a strong presence of tradewares dating between the 13th and 17th centuries, but both sites appear to have been abruptly abandoned by the mid 18th century. Had it been possible to analyse closely all of the Ching sherdage from Tinco Tua (see Appendix B) we could have said whether the abandonment of Tinco Tua was fully or only approximately contemporary with the abandonment of the Soppeng highland sites. Intriguingly, Sewo Tua and Bulu Matanre appear to have been at something of a zenith immediately after the unification of East and West Soppeng (Fig. 23). According to local tradition Bulu Matanre had once been the residence of the Soppeng *datu*, possibly in the 15th or 16th century. The site's early 17th century sherdage peak (Fig. 23) and the very impressive early Islamic grave of Makam Bulue suggest the early 17th century as another possible date. In either case, the 16th and 17th centuries were a turbulent period in South Sulawesi's history; and by their inaccessability and ideal defensive position, Sewo Tua and Bulu Matanre would have served as excellent fallback positions in case of a major attack on Watansoppeng.

4. The fourth West Soppeng *datu*, the queen We Tekkewanua, married in Leworeng, continued the tradition of West Soppeng's rulership over Suppa, and encouraged the intensive settlement of the lowlying land around Lake Tempe (Caldwell, 1988). This period around 1400 AD when West Soppeng was still at its zenith corresponds to the beginning of Tinco Tua's decline (Fig. 23). If we hypothesise a northward movement of West Soppeng's main centre of activity during We Tekkewanua's reign, it would have made organisational sense had West Soppeng's palace also moved northwards, in which respect the environs of Leworeng recommend themselves. If we are justified in interpreting Petta Balubue as the cremation place of We Tekkewanua and her husband, and where some of their descendents might also have chosen to be buried, then the sudden appearance of tradeware sherdage at Petta Balubue with the 15th century (Fig. 21) supports the notion that We Tekkewanua had ruled from Leworeng. Proper archaeological survey of the environs of Leworeng is required to test this hypothesis.

5. La Wadeng, a son of We Tekkewanua, ruled Bila as part of West Soppeng, implying that by the early 15th century East Soppeng no longer controlled the entrance to the Soppeng valley. The early 15th century expansion of Sidenreng which pushed West Soppeng southwards (Caldewll, 1989:202-203) may well have had a ripple effect in pushing East Soppeng's sphere of control southwards as well. Although West Soppeng's major marital alliances of the 15th and 16th centuries are recorded, none with East Soppeng is documented. This would suggest that East Soppeng was then of little concern to the West Soppeng rulers, and that East and West Soppeng maintained their geographical distance. Without direct textual evidence on East Soppeng, it is difficult to gauge the nature of the polity, but it is certainly possible that by the 15th century East Soppeng was now based in the agriculturally less optimal land around the site of Gowarie (Gattareng).

6. The unification of East and West Soppeng is firmly dated to the early or middle 16th century. Furthermore the cremated remains of the ruler of West Soppeng who brought about the unification, La Mataesso, were reportedly buried in Watansoppeng. No particularly good reason can be advanced why Watansoppeng, Laleng Benteng in particular, should not then have become the ostensible palace centre of the united Soppeng. Yet the period c.1550-1650 shows little evidence of changes in settlement hierarchies except for the apparent flourishing of Sewo and Bulu Matanre. Whether or not the unification of East and West Soppeng had been sparked by wider political events, such as the menace of Gowa, Watansoppeng may have been preferred over Tinco as the united capital precisely because of the closeness of defendable fallback positions which were also well placed for launching counter attacks over the cordillera (as Soppeng apparently carried out against Gowa during the 1667 Makassar War).

7. The real centralisation of authority in Watansoppeng appears to have started in the late 17th century and continued apace into the 18th century when several surrounding settlements were abandoned. As pointed out by Caldwell (1988) the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* itself appears to describe the relocation of the people of Sewo to Watansoppeng. The late 17th and early 18th centuries were also characterised by a revolution in South Sulawesi politics. Arung Palakka and his chosen successor La Patau, as well as the sons of La Patau, snared political supremacy within South Sulawesi from their power base in Bone, and usually controlled or occupied the Soppeng throne. Precisely these changes to the political landscape might have allowed the development of Watansoppeng as a true administrative centre. Soppeng was now more secure against military threat even if the price of security was a subordinate position with respect to Bone. There may have been a conscious attempt to restructure Soppeng along the more centralised lines already apparent within Bone. Furthermore, given that most of the Soppeng rulers of the time were arguably Bone and not Soppeng royalty, unconstrained by marriage relationships with the local community lords within Soppeng, the new Soppeng dynasty may well have been in

the position to override local sensitivities in a programme of congregating communities conveniently within Watansoppeng. Following this line of reasoning, when the descendents of the original Soppeng lineage regained the Soppeng throne in 1765 (see Muttalib, 1981:36 ff.), they found it convenient to maintain and even enhance Watansoppeng's status as a true administrative capital.

8. In summary, the archaeological evidence combined with the historical evidence allow us to model a relatively complex developmental history of the Soppeng kingdom. Our scenario opens with Soppeng apparently already a powerful force by the 13th and 14th centuries. The interpretation which best harmonises the evidence locates the initial palace centres of West and East Soppeng at the entrances to two major tributaries in the Soppeng Bugis heartland. During the 13th and the 14th centuries West Soppeng also appears to have dominated the Tempe depression to the north, and to have enjoyed direct access to the western seaboard through its rulership over Suppa about 80 km northwest of Tinco Tua on the Pare-Pare Bay. We do not of course know whether a train of complex events had preceded and led up to this state of affairs, or whether in describing Soppeng of the 13th/14th centuries we are in fact getting close to the origins of complex chiefdoms in South Sulawesi.

In the decades around 1400 AD, under the rule of the queen We Tekkewanua, the palace of West Soppeng may have been briefly re-established at Leworeng as a geographically more appropriate centre, although Tinco Tua probably remained the major centre of the Soppeng Bugis heartland. After We Tekkewanua's reign West Soppeng lost its suzerainty over Suppa and the Tempe Depression owing to the early 15th century expansion of the kingdom of Sidenreng (Caldwell, 1988:202-203). None of the subsequent royal marriages of West Soppeng recorded in the Royal Genealogy was with other major kingdoms, rather the marriages occurred with the smaller political units otherwise listed as vassals of Soppeng, apparently in order to maintain political cohesion by the establishment of internal marital alliances (Caldwell, 1988:178-179). Such a pattern of marital alliances suggests a relatively dispersed distribution of authority and a basically confederative power structure. The lack of a dominant central hierarchy during the 15th and 16th centuries agrees with the archaeological evidence which shows Tinco Tua in gentle decline while Watansoppeng's growth was at best modest (Figs 22 and 23).

With its forced southward retraction after the early 15th century, West Soppeng appears to have directed its attention southwards, first absorbing Bila, then absorbing East Soppeng and establishing the palace of the united Soppeng "across the road" from where East Soppeng's palace had originally been sited. (This conclusion follows from the main scenario. Another feasible interpretation of the evidence would argue that East Soppeng might have always been based south of Watansoppeng. In this case the Watansoppeng area would have been a secondary centre of West Soppeng right from the 13th and 14th centuries. This interpretation could do away with the several shifts of palace centres indicated by the main scenario, except for the final movement of the East and West Soppeng lords to Watansoppeng after unification. However, given our other evidence of early political changes, there is no clear reason why the Soppeng palaces should not have been occasionally relocated before the 16th century. The other and more important implication of the alternative interpretation discussed here is its greater emphasis on West Soppeng's power base as having been firmly rooted in the Soppeng Bugis heartland.) Even after the apparent establishment of the united Soppeng's palace at Laleng Benteng, the local communities appear to have stayed put with very much the same degrees of autonomy as had existed prior to Soppeng's unification (Figs 22 and 23). Given Soppeng's relatively vulnerable status in the years between 1550 and 1650, a comparatively dispersed settlement pattern and consensual approach to issues of common interest, such as defense, may have been an appropriate strategy for survival.

Watansoppeng's development as a true capital is dated to have begun in the late 17th century by the archaeological evidence (Fig. 22). The hilltop sites near Watansoppeng were abandoned by the middle 18th century, and Tinco Tua was abandoned contemporarily or very shortly thereafter (Fig. 23). During the period 1650-1750 Soppeng's previous confederative organisation appears to have changed to one where authority, and indeed some communities holus-bolus, were centralised in Watansoppeng. We suggest that this overriding of pre-existing power balances was possible because Soppeng's new rulers did not have the wide ranging internal marital alliances previously nurtured by the Soppeng royal family. The decades after 1670 were also a time of relative security as far as Soppeng was concerned. When the descendents of the original Soppeng lineage recaptured the throne in 1765 they maintained or even enhanced the centralisation within Watansoppeng. During the 20th century the Dutch controleur also established his residence there, after overcoming Soppeng's resistance, and following Indonesian independence Watansoppeng has continued to develope as a modern *kabupaten* capital.

5. PENUTUP

5.1 Kesimpulan

Penelitian Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan dicoba dilengkapi dengan data arkeologi. Sumber sejarah yang berupa kronik dan lontarak yang ditemukan sekarang di samping sangat langka, paparan kronologi pertanggalannya jarang yang tepat. Demikian pula tentang sejarah Kerajaan Soppeng sebelum Islam (pra Islam). Di dalam kronik disebutkan bahwa orang Soppeng berasal dari Sewo dan Gattareng. Situs Sewo telah ditemukan dan dapat dipastikan tempatnya yang asli, sedangkan kelihatannya Gattareng ialah Gowarie. Beberapa tempat yang ditunjukkan oleh penduduk setempat dan petunjuk dari kar (peta tahun 1928) tidak memberikan indikasi yang sesuai dengan yang disebutkan di dalam toponim. Di dalam penelitian ini diterapkan teknik transek dan keramik asing dijadikan data pertanggalan yang utama di samping membandingkannya dengan artefak lainnya. Menyimak *Attoriolonna* (kronik) Soppeng dengan membandingkannya dengan data keramik ternyata bahwa kronik itu ditulis kemudian kira-kira pada awal abad ke delapan belas, sesudah tidak ada lagi orang di Sewo dan Bulu Matanre. Temuan benda-benda dari tradisi megalitik di Sewo Tua (dolmen, punden berundak, dakon, batu dulang dsb.) dan di Bulu Matanre (batu pujaan Tuang Lonrong, dan Petta PallaongrumaE) memberikan indikasi bahwa kedua tempat di daerah pegunungan yang tinggi itu ada hubungannya dengan kepentingan keagamaan orang Soppeng akhir pra Islam dan transisi ke Islam.

Tinco Tua adalah tempat istana Soppeng Riaja sedangkan Watansoppeng adalah tempat istana Soppeng Rilau pada abad 13/14. Kedua tempat ini masih penting pada abad ke 15 sampai abad ke 16, kemudian istana Soppeng disatukan dibangun di Laleng Benteng atau Watansoppeng sekarang ini. Tetapi Tinco Tua masih merupakan tempat yang penting pada abad ke 17 dan ke 18, karena di situ ada banyak Ching BW dengan beberapa pecahan Ching Betawi. Tempat istana tidak tetap, tetapi berpindah, sesuai dengan keinginan Datu yang memerintah pada suatu periode pemerintahannya. Tinco sudah ditinggalkan sebagai tempat istana pada abad 17 tetapi tetap penting karena di sekitar tempat itu terdapat sawah kerajaan yang subur serta Lakelluaja mempunyai arti historis bagi Datu I Manurungnge, dimana tempat itu kemudian menjadi tempat *tudang sipulung* (musyawarah pertanian). Tinco dan Lawo merupakan pasangan tempat yang tak terpisahkan dengan Lakelluaja sebagai tempat yang subur sebagai sumber kemakmuran rakyat Soppeng pada waktu itu. Bukti-bukti tentang kesuburan itu dapat dilihat pada peninggalan tradisi megalitik berupa lesung batu dan dengan berbagai ukuran yang berjumlah ratusan baik di Tinco dan Lawo. Berbicara tentang tinggalan tradisi megalitik ini sebenarnya boleh dikatakan bahwa Soppeng merupakan gudang peninggalan megalitik. Hampir semua pelosok di Soppeng ditemukan, tetapi konsentrasi yang terbesar terdapat di Tinco dan Lawo.

Tradisi pembakaran mayat juga ditemukan pada beberapa tempat yang diperuntukkan pada Raja kemudian ditanam bersama dengan tempayan diperkirakan berawal pada abad ke 13 dan berakhir pada abad 17. Botto dan Laleng Benteng meningkat posisinya sebagai ibukota dan pusat kerajaan pada abad ke 17. Dan hal ini berlangsung terus sampai abad 20. Bila dan Ujung yang juga berada pada satu plateau yang berdekatan baru berkembang setelah Botto/Laleng Benteng (Watansoppeng sekarang) menjadi ibukota kerajaan Soppeng.

5.2 Himbauan

Penelitian ini baru berada pada tahap awal. Masih banyak yang harus diketahui yang dapat menjadi bahan pelengkap penyusunan sejarah baik lokal maupun nasional. Oleh sebab itu kami menghimbau kiranya:

1. Obyek sejarah dan purbakala di Soppeng cukup potensial. Kiranya pemerintah daerah ikut membantu melestarikannya dengan mengikut sertakan pihak aparat kebudayaan di dalam perencanaan pembangunan kota dan pedesaan supaya situs-situs terhindar dari bahaya kepunahan.

2. Penelitian kesejarahan dan kepurbakalaan di dearah ini masih perlu dilanjutkan. Kiranya peminat/peneliti menujukan perhatiannya ke daerah ini, terutama peneliti sejarah dan purbakala.

3. Ada beberapa situs dan bangunan perlu dipelihara. Kiranya ditempatkan juru Pelihara pada situs-situs penting itu.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study we hope to have demonstrated the importance of archaeological research for South Sulawesi's early history and historiography. The example under discussion is Soppeng's history, particularly that of its pre-Islamic period. While some of our interpretations leave room for discussion and certainly for further research, there is little doubt that the historical and archaeological records complement and confirm each other in presenting the same broad picture. Our evidence that Soppeng was already a powerful agrarian kingdom by the 13th century backdates the origins of agrarian society in South Sulawesi compared to the chronological schemes provided by published overviews of Bugis-Makassar history (e.g. Pelras, 1981; Hadimuljono and Muttalib, 1979), and opens up the whole question of the origins of social complexification in South Sulawesi (see Caldwell [1988] for further discussion). Others of our inferences date events later than might have been expected, e.g. our dating of the compilation of the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* to the 18th century (see below). Possibly the points which stand out most are the delineation of an unbroken history of Soppeng over some seven centuries, and the demonstration of Watansoppeng's development as a true capital over the last three of those centuries.

The archaeological data also allow a more concrete examination of the role of the *Attoriolonna Soppeng*. Given that Sewo's abandonment is dated to the early 18th century, the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* was probably also compiled in the 18th century, and at a time when political power was being centralised (within Watansoppeng) to a degree unprecedented in Soppeng's history. The "social contract" nature of the chronicle may thus have served to legitimise the structural change then occurring in Soppeng's organisation. On the other hand, all of the major toponyms outside of Watansoppeng mentioned by the chronicle proved to be important Yuan to Ming period settlements where the still revered remains of pre-Islamic lords command a vantage point. The *Attoriolonna Soppeng* and the associated rituals of the Soppeng *bissu* would thus appear to legitimise the Soppeng royalty by reference to the kingdom's pre-Islamic ancestral figures. This in itself implies a direct carryover from a tradition established in pre-Islamic times, probably with the unification of East and West Soppeng by La Mataesso.

Further evidence that the themes of the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* are pre-Islamic in origin comes from the sites of Bulu Matanre and Sewo. The outstanding mythological significance now attached to Bulu Matanre, encapsulating the transition from pre-Islamic to Islamic belief systems amongst Soppeng's inhabitants, is presumably related to the burial of Petta PallaongrumaE there in early Islamic times. Neither Bulu Matanre nor the transition to Islam plays any role in the *Attoriolonna Soppeng*, suggesting that they belong to a different and probably later tradition. Furthermore, Caldwell (1988:102-104) points out that Bulu Matanre, Sewo and Gattareng are three of the places mentioned in a widely known Soppeng poem called "La Padoma Ennaja" ("The Tragedy of La Padoma"). There is no indication in the poem that these places were ever abandoned; but if such an event had occurred shortly before the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* was written down, any reference to these places would have had to incorporate the fact. Nonetheless it was not the abandonment of these communities which the writer of the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* wished to emphasise but their role in the development of a unified Soppeng (Caldwell, 1988). While we can only guess that proto-versions of parts of the *Attoriolonna Soppeng* existed in oral or written form before the final chronicle was compiled, we can be fairly certain that the chronicle's major themes were pre-Islamic, oral in their initial transmission, and brought together in recognition of the unity of Soppeng which had been first instituted by La Mataesso.

We should not emphasise the inferences for historiography at the expense of the gains in archaeological documentation. Our study documents the ubiquity of Soppeng's "megalithic" tradition, and the wide range of uses to which stone was put particularly at Lawo and Tinco Tua. We observed a clear tendency for the *lesung batu* to occur more frequently at the sites still under occupation, whereas at the abandoned sites the larger and less transportable stone objects tended to occur more prominently. This is probably because the practice of using the *lesung batu* as mortars has continued until the present day, as we saw ourselves at Eastern Lawo, and consequently most of the *lesung batu* have found their way to modern living areas. Furthermore Tinco Tua stands out as the "type site" of a protohistorical Bugis palace centre on current evidence, and further studies, possibly including excavation, would be richly rewarded.

Finally, our study emphasises the depth of Soppeng's roots in the past and the incorporation of past developments into an evolving tradition which continues its importance until the present day. The Indonesian government is to be congratulated for having restored and maintained several of Soppeng's major monuments which serve as foci for local pride in the face of the assaults of modernisation. In this study we draw attention to a few more such places, notably Tinco Tua, Petta Balubue, Gowarie and Sewo Tua, and emphasise the potential advantages of further research and a co-ordinated programme to preserve Soppeng's major historical sites.

I. LAMPIRAN A. NASKAH SEJARAH SOPPENG (oleh Ian Caldwell)

I.1 "Attoriolonna Soppeng", "Naskah E" (dari Caldwell, 1988:106-112) =MAK 188, p.5.1-p.7.29

Yi[a]naē surĕᶜ poada[a]daēngngi tanaē ri Soppēng \ yi[a] cappuᶜnana tēᶜē ri Galigo \ nawēlaini Gattarĕng \ Sēwo \ noᶜni ri Soppēng maᶜbanuwa tauwē \ nayi[a] toSēwoē \ yi[a]na riasĕng Soppē[n]riaja \ nayi[a] toGattarĕngngē \ yi[a]na riyasĕng Soppē[n]rilauᶜ \ ĕnnĕng pulona pammatoangĕng \ Soppē[n]rilauᶜ \ naduwa Soppē[n]riaja \ napaᶜduwani alēna toSoppēngngē \ nayi[a] Saloᶜtungo \ Lo[m]poᶜē \ Kuᶜba \ Pani[n]cong \ Talagaē \ Riatassaloᶜ \ Ma[ng]kuto Maccilē \ Watuwatu \ Akka[m]pēng \ paᶜduirĕnna Soppē[n]rilauᶜ \ nayi[a] Pĕssē \ Sĕppang \ Pising \ Laanga \ Matabulu \ Araᶜ \ Lisu \ Lawo \ Maᶜdĕllorilauᶜ \ Ti[n]co paᶜduirĕnna \ Soppē[n]riaja \ nayi[a] Cē[n]rana \ Saloᶜkaraja \ Malaka \ Matoanging \ ri lalĕng Soppēttopa \ naduwangini \ malai paᶜduirĕng \ pitu lapiᶜni \ dēᶜ puwanna \ toSoppēngngē \ puppuᶜ tēᶜē ri Galigo \ nayi[a]mani matoa ĕnnĕngngē pulona \ paotoᶜ palēwuᶜi tanaē \ namanurunna pĕtta ri Sēkkañili \ napaissĕnna Matoa Ti[n]co \ napoadani Matoa Botto \ Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ makkĕdaē \ ĕ[ng]karo [to]manurung \ ri Sēkkañili \ makkĕdani Matoa Bila \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Ujung \ madēcēngngi tapaissĕngngi toSoppē[n]rilauᶜē \ aga [ĕng]kani Matoa Saloᶜtungo \ makkĕdasi kadoni toSoppē[n]riajaē \ toSoppē[n]rilauᶜē \ makkĕdani Matoa Ujung ĕsso laippi talao makkarangngi alē \ makkĕdai Matoa Saloᶜtungo takkalaiᶜ madĕppuᶜdĕppungĕng \ madēcēnnisa takkarang alē \ sarē mamasēammi \ talai puwĕng \ nayi[a] dongiri tĕnnatipaiᶜ \ salipuri tĕmmadingiwiᶜ [m]pĕssēi tĕmmakapaiᶜ \ [m]pawaiᶜ ri mawēᶜ ri mabēla \ namau anaᶜta \ pattarota \ natēyaiwi tatēyaitoi \ sia purai kua laoni matoaē ĕnnĕngngē pulona \ napalattuᶜni ri tomanurungngē \ makkĕdani ri Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Bila \ yi[a]na kiĕ[ng]kang \ maiē La Marupĕᶜ \ maēloᶜkĕng

(6) muamasēi \ ajaᶜna muallajang \ naikona kipopuang \ mudongiri tĕmmatipakkĕng \ musalipuri tĕmmadingikkĕng \ muwĕssē tĕmmakapakkĕng muwĕssē tĕmmakapakkĕng \ naikona [m]pawakkĕng ri mawēᶜ ri mabēla \ namau anaᶜmĕng \ pattarommĕng mutēaiwi kitēaito \ makkĕdai tomanurungngē \ tania sangkammu riolali puatta \ naē laono mai kulalĕngngĕkko muttama \ lokkani lattuᶜi makkĕdai puatta manurungngē \ polē pēgako matoa \ makkĕdai polē muka lolallolang \ naē [ĕng]kairo toSoppēngngē \ yi[a]manĕng \ makkĕdai Matoa Botto Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ Matoa Ti[n]co \ yi[a]na kiĕ[ng]kang maiyē La Marupĕᶜ \ maēlokkĕng muamasēi \ ajaᶜna muallajang \ naikona kipopuwang \ mudongiri tĕmmatipakkĕng musalipuri tĕmmadingikkĕng \ ri mawēᶜ ri maᶜbēla \

namau ' ana^{c}měng pataromměng mutēaiwi \ kitēaitoi \ makkědai pětta manurungngē \ pēkkuna^{c} matoa \ mē[n]rē^{c} ri Soppēng \ nadē^{c} bolaku sama měttē^{c}ni matoaē \ ěnněngngē pulona \ naikkěnna La Marupě^{c} \ ma^{c}bolako \ makkědasi pětta agasi matoa rilisěkkiyangngi \ bolaē \ nadē^{c}sa atakku \ makkědai matoaē \ yi[a]pa pattēkkako ana^{c}ku \ ěppoku \ makkědamusi pětta manurungngē \ agasi kupa[n]rēangngi lisě^{c} bolaku \ sama měttēsi matoa pa^{c}duisěngngē ri aja ri lau^{c} \ makkěda \ ikkěnna laowakkoruma \ makkědani pětta manurungngē ri Sēkkañili \ těmmubalēccora[n]ga^{c}měnnang těmmusalaka^{c} lēsso^{c}ga apa^{c} yi[a] makkědamu[a] \ mau ana^{c}ku \ pattaroku \ mutēyaiwi kutēyaito \ yi[a] makuto mau ana^{c}ku pataroku \ mutēyaiwi \ kitēyaito \ sicě[ppa]ni mutowa ěnněngngē pulona \ pětta manurungngē \ ě[ng]kamaněnni bissuē \ ramēramēngngi \ adidēwatang \ nalēkě^{c}i mē[n]rē^{c} ri Soppēng \ nakkuna ri bolana Matoa Ti[n]co ripatakkappo \ na^{c}pangujumaněnni matoa ěnněngngē pulona \ l[a]o mē[n]rē^{c} ri buluē ma^{c}bang \ napaissěnna pětta manurungngē \ nata[m]paimaněnni pammatowangěngngē \ Soppē[n]rilau^{c} Soppē[n]riaja \ makkědai pětta manurungngē \ yi[a] uta[m]paiyakko iko silisě^{c} \ aja^{c}mua \ muē[n]rē^{c} ma^{c}bang \ ri buluē \ kadoni toSoppēngngē \ aga wěnnini \ polēni guttu^{c}ē kilě^{c}ē \ naturunna urě[n]riwu^{c}ē \ pitung ěsso pitu[m]pěnni \ samanna [ē]lo^{c} maruttung langiē \ namarutu[n]rutunna buluē \ nayi[a] aju marajaē \ maukkě^{c}ukkě^{c}ni \ napolēna lē[m]pě^{c}ē namali^{c}maněnna ajuē ri buluē \ nayi[a] aju mali^{c}ē \ narēkko lattu^{c}i ri attana Ti[n]co ta[ng]si \ ajuē \ nabukēna aju salo^{c}ē \ ri atta[na] Ti[n]co nakkuna turung toSoppēngngē ma^{c}bang \ na-

(7) patěttonna la[ng]kana ri Ti[n]co tēpui la[ng]kanaē \ tudassiSoppēssi pammatoangěngngē \ makkědana pětta manurungngē \ yi[a] upoadako \ iko silisě^{c} toSoppēngngē \ ě[ng]katu sapposisěkku manurung ri Liburěng \ madēcēngngi muakkarangalēmu duppaiwi \ kudua sapparakko mupodēcēngngē \ nayi[a^{c}] Datu ri Soppē[n]riaja \ nayi[a]tonasa Datu ri Soppē[n]rilau^{c} \ purai kuwa laoni matowa ěnněngngē pulona \ lattu^{c}ni ri Liburěng \ kua riasěngngē ri goariē \ napolēina tomanurungngē \ tudang ri balubu a^{c}děpparěnna \ makkědai Matoa Ujung \ Matoa Botto \ Matoa Bila \ yi[a]na mai La Marupě^{c} \ ki[ě]ngka \ maēlo^{c}kěng muamasēang \ aja^{c}na muallajang \ iko kipopuwang \ mudongiri těmmatipakkěng musalipuri těmmadingikkěng muwěssē těmmakkapakkěng \ muwawakěng ri mawē^{c} ri mabēla namau ana^{c}měng \ pattaromměng mutēaiwi kitēyaito \ makkědai manurungngē ri goarinna \ těmmubalēccora[n]ga^{c} \ těmmusalaka^{c} lēsso^{c}ga \ apa^{c} mau yi[a] ana^{c}ku \ pattaroku mutēyaiwi \ kutēaito \ makkuluadassi manurungngē \ matoaē \ yi[a]naro akkuluadangěnna \ toSoppēngngē matowaē \ lattu^{c} ritorimo[n]rina datuē \ natorimo[n]rina matowaē \ *tammat*

Apa^{c} yi[a] tĕkkēana^{c} \ tĕkkēĕppo^{c}napa \ pĕtta manurungngē yi[a] duwa \ Matoa Botto Matowa Ujung \ Matoa Bila \ poadai ada nasamaturu^{c}siyē \ matoa ĕnnĕngngē pulona \ ala ada massu^{c} ala ada muttama \ kuwaētopa ala ada ri laléng Soppēng \ naē kkēana^{c}ni \ pĕtta manurungngē \ yi[a] duwa \ naē kkēĕpponi ĕ[ng]kana Pangēpa \ ĕ[ng]kana Pa^{c}da[n]rĕng yi[a]tosi samasituru^{c}turu^{c} \ Arung Bila Datuē \ Datuē ri Botto \ Datuē ri Ujung \ torilaléng Soppēngngē yi[a]maněng \ ala ada massu^{c} \ ala ada muttama \ ala ada ri laléng Soppēng narēkko ĕ[ng]kamanĕnni situru^{c} \ sikuwaēro tĕ[n]rigilinni adaē \ *tammat*

This is the writing that tells of the land of Soppēng. Those whose ancestry could be traced to the age of Galigo were no more. Gattarĕng and Sēwo were left, and the people came down and settled at Soppēng. The people of Sēwo were called the people of West Soppēng and the people of Gattarĕng were called the people of East Soppēng. There were sixty headmanships in East Soppēng and West Soppēng and the body of the people of Soppēng was divided in two. Salo^{c}tungo, Lompo^{c}ē, Ku^{c}ba, Panincong, Talagaē, Riatassalo^{c}, Mangkutu, Maccilē, Watuwatu and Akkampēng comprised East Soppēng. Pĕssē, Sĕppang, Pising, Laanga, Matabulu, Ara^{c}, Lisu, Lawo, Ma^{c}dĕllorilau^{c} and Tinco comprised West Soppēng. Cēnrana, Salo^{c}karaja, Malaka and Matoanging were also in Soppēng and were divided up and included [in the two groupings]. For seven generations the people of Soppēng were without lords. Those whose ancestry could be traced to the age of Galigo were no more, and the sixty headmen alone ruled the land. Then our lord descended at Sēkkañili. His appearance was made known by Matoa Tinco, Jĕnnampĕssē [was the] headman who made this known to the people of West Soppēng. Matoa Botto, Matoa Ujung and Matoa Bila spoke, saying, "There is a *tomanurung* over at Sēkkañili." The headmen of Bila, Botto and Ujung said, "It would be good if we made this known to the people of East Soppēng." Then there was the Matoa Salo^{c}tungo. He said that the people of East Soppēng agreed with the people of West Soppēng. Matoa Ujung said, "On another day we will go and arrange ourselves." Matoa Salo^{c}tungo said, "We have already come together. It would be good for us to arrange ourselves. He may take pity on us. We will take him as lord. He will protect [our fields] from birds so that we are not without food, cover us so that we are not cold, bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and lead us near and far. Should he reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." So the sixty headmen set off. When they reached the one who descended the headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, "We have come here, O blessed one, to ask

(6) you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as as lord. You protect our fields from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." The one who descended said, "May it not be . . . our lord. Now come here and I will lead you." They set off, and when they arrived [where the other headmen were waiting], our lord who descended said, "Where are you headmen from?" [The headmen] said, "We come from all around." Then there were all the people of Soppēng. The headmen of Botto, Ujung, Bila and Tinco said, "We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not go away. We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we do not lack food. You cover us so that we are not cold and [you lead us] near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." Our lord who descended said, "How will it be, headmen, if I come up to Soppēng, for I do not have a house." The sixty headmen replied together, "We will build you a house, O blessed one." Our lord said, "Will you headmen fill the house? For I have no servants of my own." The headmen said, "We will send over our children and grandchildren." Our lord who descended said, "How will I feed the people of my house?" The headmen who comprised West [and] East [Soppēng] replied together, saying, "We will go and open fields." Our lord who descended at Sēkkañili said, "You will not all act treacherously towards me? You will not wrongfully depose me?" So they said simply, "Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." The sixty headmen made an agreement with our lord who descended. Then there were all the *bissu* in great numbers, making offerings to the gods, as [our lord] was carried ceremoniously up to Soppēng. When they had assembled at Matoa Tinco's house, the sixty headmen made ready to ascend the hill [of Tinco] to fell [the trees]. Our lord who descended made an announcement, and he summoned all the headmen of East Soppēng and West Soppēng. Our lord who descended said, "The reason I have summoned you all is simply so that you do not go up the hill to fell [the trees]." The people of Soppēng agreed. When night fell there came thunder and lightning and a great storm arose. For seven days and seven nights it was as if the sky were falling. The great trees were uprooted, then a flood came and carried all the trees down the hill. The trees that had been driven down the hill came to rest south of Tinco, and blocked the river south of Tinco. So the people of Soppēng went down to collect [the trees].

(7) and they began constructing a palace at Tinco. When the palace was completed the headmen rested in Soppēng. Our lord who descended said, "This it what I have to say to you, all you people of Soppēng. There is a cousin of mine, [who] descended at Liburĕng. It would be good if you arranged yourselves and went to meet him. We will both seek what is good for you. I will be the ruler of West Soppēng and he the ruler of East Soppēng." So the sixty headmen set off [and shortly] came to Liburĕng, [where there was] the one who was called ["He who descended] in the sleeping chamber." The one who descended had arrived in a jar from which he had emerged. The headmen of Ujung, Botto and Bila said, "We have come here, O blessed one, to ask you to take pity [on us]. Do not disappear. We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we are not without food [and] you cover us so that we are not cold. You bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and you lead us near and far. Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." The one who descended in his chamber said, "You will not act treacherously towards me? You will not wrongfully depose me?" [The headmen replied,] "Should you reject even our wives and children, we too will reject them." The one who descended and the headmen made an agreement. That was the agreement of the people of Soppēng and the headmen that has come down to the descendants of the rulers and to the descendants of the headmen

While our two lords who descended had no children and no grandchildren, the headmen of Botto, Ujung and Bila ruled [Soppēng] in agreement with the sixty headmen. [They] sent orders out and sent orders in [and they] sent orders inside Soppēng. Then our two lords who descended had children and grandchildren. There were [instituted the offices of] Pangēpa and Padanrĕng. They were obeyed by the Arung Bila, Datu Botto and Datu ri Ujung and all the people of Soppēng, [they] sent orders out and sent orders in [and they] sent orders inside Soppēng. They were obeyed by all, for the orders could not be changed.

I.2 "Genealogis Kerajaan Soppeng", "Naskah D" (dari Caldwell, 1988:118-127)

= NBG 99, p.224.10 - p.230.6

Taniya upomabusung \ lakkĕᶜlakkĕᶜi \ wija toma[ng]kauᶜ \ La Tĕmmammala \ asĕnna \ manurungngē \ ri Sēkkañili \ nalao maᶜbawinē \ ri Suppaᶜ \ siyala \ Wē Mappupu \ anaᶜnani \ La Maracinna \ (225)

2

La Maracinnana \ maᶜbawinē \ siyala Wē Kawa \ anaᶜni \ La Bo[m]bang \ yi[a]na [n]rēwĕᶜ Datu ri Suppaᶜ \ anaᶜni \ La Bang \ yi[a]na Datu Soppē[n]riyaja \

3

La Bassi \ lao maᶜbawinē \ ri Balusu \ siyala Wē Tima[n]ratu \ anaᶜni \ Wē Tēkēwanuwa \

4

Wē Tēkēwanua Datu \ Soppē[n]riyaja \ yi[a]na \ [m]pawa tana \ ri Suppaᶜ \ napuēi malĕᶜbaᶜē \ napoloi malla[m]pēᶜē \ nattanĕng tĕᶜbu \ nalooᶜ bērēbērē \ natiro tapparĕng \ natujui \ atta[m]pang \ toSidē[n]rēngngē \ natiro tapparĕng \ natuju atta[m]pang \ toNēpoē \ manuᶜ \ bĕkku tiro tapparĕng \ natuju atta[m]pang \ toMariyoriyawaē \ tiroi tasiᶜ \ siwanuwa \ toNēpoē \ nayi[a] Wē Tēkēwanuwa \ maloloē \ yi[a]na \ Datu \ ri Suppaᶜ \ nallakkai \ Wē Tēkēwanuwa \ ri Lēworĕng \ siyala \ La Tĕmmapēoᶜ \ pitu anaᶜna \ anaᶜni \ La Wadĕng \ yi[a]na sĕppēi \ Bila \ yi[a]na mula Mangēpa ri Soppēng \ nayi[a] \ a[n]ring sirappiᶜna La Wadĕng \ riyasĕng La Makkanĕngnga \ yi[a]na Datu Soppē-(226) [n]riaja \ anaᶜni \ La Dumola \ anaᶜni \ La Tubē \ anaᶜni \ Wē Baku \ anaᶜni \ Tĕ[n]ritabirĕng \ Tĕ[n]ritabirĕnna \ mallakkai \ ri Baringĕng \ siala \ La Pañorongi \ anaᶜni \ La Tĕ[n]rilēlē \ anaᶜni La Tērēnga \ anaᶜni La Tĕssipalla \ anaᶜni \ La Karĕkkĕng \ anaᶜni Wē Lirojaji \ anaᶜni \ La Tĕmmata \

5

La Makkanĕngnga \ mababinē \ ri Bulumata[n]rē \ siyala \ Wē Tēna \ anaᶜni \ La Karĕlla \

6

La Karĕlla \ siala \ massapposisĕng \ ana^{c}na \ Arung Bila \ La Wadĕng \ riasĕng \ Wē Bolossugi \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pawisēang \ ana^{c}ni \ La Matagima \ ana^{c}nani \ Wē Rai^{c}ē \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Bao \ ana^{c}nani \ Wē Bulutana \ ana^{c}ni \ Tĕ[n]ripalēssē \

7

La Pawisēang \ siala \ Wē Tĕmmupagĕ^{c} \ ri Pising \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pasappoi \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Soro[m]paliē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pawawoi \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pawawu \ ana^{c}ni La Warani \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tēkēlopi \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Jampucinna \ (227)

8

La Pasappoi \ ma^{c}bawinē \ ri Baringĕng \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Corĕ[m]paliē[13] \ siala Wē Tappatana \ Da Wiring asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ ana^{c}ni \ La Mannussa \ To wAkkarangĕng \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Mati[n]roē \ ri tanana \ ana^{c}ni \ La Mapañompa \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Sidamanasa \ aga natĕllu \ si[i]na siama \ Mati[n]roē \ ri tanana \ *tammat*

9

La Mannussa \ To Akkarangĕng \ Mati[n]roē \ ri tanana \ siala massapposisĕng \ ana^{c}naē Wē Tēkēlopi \ ri asĕng \ Wē Tĕmmagopa \ ana^{c}ni \ La Dē \ ana^{c}ni La Co \ La Wadĕng \ siala \ Wē Bubu \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pasajo \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tĕ[n]ria^{c}bang \ ana^{c}ni \ La Ga \ lupang \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Bolossugi \ ana^{c}ni \ Tĕ[n]risamungĕng Wē Bolossugi \ siala \ La Karĕlla \ ana^{c}ni \ La Makkanĕngnga \ La Galu[m]pang \ siala Wē Ca[ng]kĕ^{c}wanuwa \ ri Baringĕng \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pasorēang \ ana^{c}ni Wē Alu ana^{c}ni \ Wē Bĕrrigau^{c} \ Wē Luwu^{c} \ siala \ La Pacikkĕng \ Soppē[n]rilau^{c} \ ana^{c}ni La Pottobunĕ^{c} \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pammasē \ La Tēkēbunĕ^{c} \ siala Wē Tēkēlopi ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tĕmmagopa \ *tammat* (228)

10

La Dē \ ma^{c}bawinē \ ri Marioriawa \ siala \ Wē Tĕmmabulĕng \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Mabolongngē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Sikati \ To Sawamēga \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Mallajangngē ri asēlĕng \ ana^{c}ni \ La Mataĕsso \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Puang lipuē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Walĕng \ yi[a]muto riasĕng Masaraungngē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Parĕmma^{c} \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ To wAkkatĕrru \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ yi[a]na \ najallo^{c}bawi \ ana^{c}ni \ I Patĕ^{c}dungi \ Da Cama \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē \ Pancai \ Da Tĕ[n]riwēwang \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ *tammat*

11

La Sikati \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Mallajangngē \ ri asēlĕng \ siala Wē Soda \ ri Lo[m]pēngĕng \ Da Riē \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ aluni La Makkatĕrru \ To wĒpēo \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ ana^{c}ni \ Tĕ[n]risamarĕng \ Da Ripē \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ yi[a]muto riasĕng Mattĕ^{c}du[m]pulawĕngngē \ ana^{c}ni La Malalaē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Mapula \ Wē Cama \ mallakkai \ ri Uju[m]pulu \ siala Karaēng Loē yi[a]muto riasĕng \ La Sangaji \ ana^{c}ni \ La Salawu \ La Makkatĕrru \ ma^{c}bawinē \ ri Bila \ siala Wē Tĕ[n]risokē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Pababari \ ana^{c}ni \ La Jĕmmu \ *tammat* (229)

12

La Mataĕsso Puang lipuē \ pada uroanēi \ I La Sēkati \ ma^{c}bawinē ri Ga[n]ra \ siala \ Tĕ[n]rianiang \ ana^{c}ni \ La Mappalĕppĕ^{c} \ yi[a]muto riasĕng \ Patolaē \ ana^{c}ni La Tanaparĕng \ Datu Tĕllariē \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Pawē[m]pē \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Pamadĕng \ Wē Pawē[m]pē \ mallakkai \ ri Marioriawa \ siala \ La Pagĕ^{c} \ ana^{c}ni \ Mappaloē \ ana^{c}ni \ La Panaongi \ ana^{c}ni \ La Patĕ^{c}dungi \ Tĕllariēna \ siala \ Wē Supē \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tĕmmaliro \ Da Ēkĕ^{c} asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ Wē Makku[n]raisĕlli \ mallakkai \ ri Citta \ siala \ To Pawawoi \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tĕ[n]rijēka \ mallakkai \ ri Pacciro \ siala \ La Mapaē \ ana^{c}ni \ Wē Tĕ[n]risolo \ mallakkai \ ri Bira \ siala \ To wIpa \ ana^{c}ni \ La Musu \ To Kĕssi \ To Wutu Puang \ Rasamulia Da Lalaē \ asĕng ri ana^{c}na \ ĕppai si[i]na siama \ La Mappalĕppĕ^{c} \ Patolaē \ Datu ri Soppēng \ La Tanaparĕng \ Datu Tĕllariē \ Arung ri Ga[n]ra \ Wē Pawē[m]pē \ mala[kka]i ri Saogĕnnĕng \ La Mappamadĕng \ Arung ri Salo^{c}tungo \ namanatoi \ ri Saola[m]pē \ Angēpakĕngngē ri Soppēng \ yi[a]muto \ mala[m]pē^{c}ē \ ca[m]pa^{c}kona \ *tammat*

13

La Mappalĕppĕᶜ Patolaē \ maᶜbawinē ri Pattojo \ siala \ massapposisĕng \ (230) riasĕngngē \ Wē Tĕ[n]riwēwang \ anaᶜni \ Wē Pa[n]cai \ anaᶜni \ Baoē \ anaᶜni \ Wē Tĕ[n]rigĕlla \ Wē Tĕ[n]rigĕlla \ siala \ Arungngē \ ri Ma[m]pu \ riasĕngngē \ La Maᶜdusila \ To Aki asĕng ri anaᶜna \ anaᶜni \ La Tĕ[n]ribali \ Mati[n]roē ri datunna \ *tammat*

14

Bēoē \ Datu ri Soppēng \ dēᶜ anaᶜna \ nallakkai \ anaᶜdaranna \ riasĕngngē \ Wē Tĕ[n]ri \ gĕlla \ siala \ Arungngē ri Ma[m]pu \ riasĕngngē \ La Maᶜdusila \ To Aki asĕng ri anaᶜna \ anaᶜni \ La Tĕ[n]ribali \

May I not swell for setting out in order the descendants of the lord called La Tĕmmammala who descended at Sēkkañili. He went to marry at Suppaᶜ with Wē Mappupu. Their child was La Maracinna.

2

La Maracinna married Wē Kawa. Their children were La Bombang, who returned [as] Datu of Suppaᶜ, and La Bang, the Datu of West Soppēng.

3

La Bang went to marry at Balusu with Wē Timanratu. Their child was Wē Tēkēwanua.

4

Wē Tēkēwanua was Datu of West Soppēng. She ruled at Suppaᶜ. She broke the broad and split the long. She planted sugarcane and ants swarmed. She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Sidēnrēng. She looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Nēpo [to come like the?] turtle doves. [She]

looked down at the lake: she summoned the people of Marioriawa. [She] looked down at the lake, and they settled together with the people of Nēpo. Wē Tēkēwanua was young. She was Datu of Suppa^{c}. Wē Tēkēwanua married at Lēworĕng with La Tĕmmapēo^{c}. They had seven children, [among them] La Wadĕng, who ruled Bila; he was the first Mangēpa of Soppēng. The younger brother of La Wadĕng, called La Makkanĕngnga, was Datu of West Soppēng. Their [other] children were La Dumola, La Tubē, Wē Baku and [Wē] Tĕnritabirĕng. [Wē] Tĕnritabirĕng married at Baringĕng with [the Datu Baringĕng] La Pañorongi. Their children were La Tĕnrilēlē, La Tērēnga, La Tĕnripalla^{c} La Karĕkkĕng, Wē Lirojaji and La Tĕmmata.

5

La Makkanĕngnga married at Bulumatanrē with Wē Tēna. Their child was La Karĕlla.

6

La Karĕlla married his cousin, the child of the Arung Bila La Wadĕng, whose name was Wē Bolossugi. Their children were La Pawisēang, La Matagima, Wē Rai^{c}ē, Wē Bao, Wē Bulutana and [Wē] Tĕnripalēssē.

7

La Pawisēang married Wē Tĕmmupagĕ^{c} at Pising. Their children were La Pasappoi (he was also called Sorompaliē), La Pawawoi, La Pawawu, La Warani, Wē Tēkēlopi and Wē Jampucinna.

8

La Pasappoi married at Baringĕng (he was also called Sorompaliē) with Wē Tappatana (her teknonym was Da Wiring). Their children were La Mannussa (his teknonym was To Akkarangĕng and he was [posthumously] called Matinroē ri tanana), La Mapañompa and Wē Sidamanasa. Thus there were three full brothers and sisters, [the children of] Matinroē ri tanana.

9

La Mannussa, ([his teknonym was] To Akkarangĕng [and he was posthumously called] Matinroē ri tanana) married his cousin, the child of Wē Tēkēlopi, whose name was Wē Tĕmmagopa. Their children were La Dē and La Co. La Wadĕng married Wē Bubu and their children were La Pasajo, Wē Tĕnriabang, La Galumpang, Wē Bolossugi and [Wē] Tĕnrisamungĕng. Wē Bolossugi married La Karĕlla, the child of La Makkanĕngnga. La Galumpang married Wē Cangkĕ'wanua at Baringĕng and their children were La Pasorēang, Wē Alu and Wē Bĕrrigau'. Wē Alu married La Pacikkĕng [at] East Soppēng, and their children were La Pottobunĕ' and La Pammasē. La Pottobunĕ' married Wē Tēkēlopi and their child was Wē Tĕmmagopa.

10

La Dē married at Marioriawa with Wē Tĕmmabulĕng (he was also called Mabolongngē). Their children were La Sēkati (his teknonym was To Sawamēga and he was also called Mallajangngē ri asēlĕng), La Mataĕsso (he was also called Puang lipuē), La Walĕng (he was also called Masaraungngē), La Parĕmma' (his teknonym was To Akkatĕrru; he destroyed a great number of enemies in battle), I [Wē] Patĕ'dungi (her teknonym was Da Cama) and Wē 'ancai (her teknonym was Da Tĕnriwēwang).

11

La Sēkati (he was also called Mallajangngē ri asēlĕng) married Wē Soda at Lompēngĕng (her teknonym was Da Riē). Their children were La Makkatĕrru (his teknonym was To Ēpēo), [Wē] Tĕrisamarĕng (her teknonym was Da Ripē and she was also called Mattĕ'dumpulawĕngngē), La Malalaē and La Mapula. Wē Cama married at Ujumpulu with Karaēng Loē, who was also called La Sangaji. Their child was La Salawu. La Makkatĕrru married at Bila with Wē Tĕnrisokē and their children were La Pababari and La Jĕmmu.

12

La Matašsso ([he was also called] Puang lipuē and his brother was I La Sēkati), married at Ganra with [Wē] Tĕnrianiang. Their children were La Mappalĕppĕ^{c} (he was also called Patolaē La Tanaparĕng ([he was also known as?] Datu Tĕllariē), Wē Pawēmpē and Wē Pamadĕng. Wē Pawēmpē married at Marioriawa with La Pagĕ^{c}. Their children were [La?] Mappaloē, La Panaungi and La Patĕ^{c}dungi. [La Tanaparĕng, the Datu?] Tĕllariē married Wē Supē. Their children were Wē Tĕmmaliro (her teknonym was Da Ēkĕ^{c}) [and] Wē Makkunraisĕlli. [Wē Makkunraisĕlli] went and married at Citta with To Pawawoi [and their child was] Wē Tĕnrijēka. [Wē Tĕnrijēka] married at Pacciro with La Mapaē [and their child was] Wē Tĕnrisolo. [Wē Tĕnrisolo] married at Bila with To Ipa and their children were La Musu [and] To Kĕssi [and] To Wutu Puang and Rajamulia (her teknonym was Da Lalaē) (there were four children by the same mother). La Mappalĕppĕ^{c} ([he was also called] Patolaē and was Datu of Soppēng), La Tanaparĕng ([who was?] Datu Tĕllarie and Arung of Ganra), Wē Pawēmpē (she married at Saogĕnnĕng) and La Mappamadĕng, the Arung of Salo^{c}tungo. He also inherited Saolapē and [was the] Angēpakĕng of Soppēng. He was also may I not swell, called "He who lengthened and ended."

13

La Mappalĕppĕ^{c} ([he was also called] Patolaē) married at Pattojo with his cousin, who was called Wē Tĕnriwēwang. Their children were Wē Pancai, Bēoē and Wē Tĕnrigĕlla. Wē Tĕnrigĕlla married the Arung of Mampu, whose name was La Ma^{c}dusila (his teknonym was To Aki). Their child was La Tĕnribali, [posthumously called] Matinroē ri datunna.

14

Bēoē was Datu of Soppēng. He had no children. His sister, who was called Wē Tĕnrigĕlla, married the Arung at Mampu who was called La Ma^{c}dusila (his teknonym was To Aki). Their child was La Tĕnribali.

II. LAMPIRAN B. DATING THE TRADEWARE CLASSES (by F.D. Bulbeck)

To estimate the frequencies of the tradeware classes at the Soppeng sites we attempted to survey as much of each site as possible, or at least a substantial transect. This strategy minimised the possibilities of gross sampling error which can occur when sites are partially recorded without recourse to a probabilistically based research design. On the other hand, despite Karaeng Demmanari's invaluable experience in this matter, identifications made in the field are not as reliable as those made in the laboratory. Total collection of the tradewares with follow-up laboratory identifications from a site like Tinco Tua would obviously be a massive project in itself. To some degree, then, our strategy of total recording in the field and partial collection for laboratory documentation sacrifices certainty of the tradeware identifications in favour of universality of sampling.

The classifications employed here are essentially those developed empirically by South Sulawesi ceramic experts to systematise the observed variability of the complete pieces and sherds commonly occurring in South Sulawesi. The development of this semi-independent system for practical application within South Sulawesi has been made necessary by the tendency of the ceramics literature to concentrate on complete specimens, usually those of high quality which by definition are rare. Certain publications are relevant to the system which we finally adopted, and we mention particularly Anon. (1974), Macintosh (1977), Harrisson (1979), Medley (1980), Willetts and Poh (1981), Adhyatman and Ridho (1984) and Guy (1986). Checking the classifications in laboratory conditions was carried out by Karaeng Demmanari and David Bulbeck over a period of several weeks. In addition to using macroscopic clues, we placed particular emphasis on snapping the sherd wall to expose a fresh cross-section of the body and examining the body and glaze with a 30X hand lens. Comparisons were made with the sherds collected from Makassar sites (cf. Bulbeck, 1986-87), and consideration was given to the probable ages of the identifiable tradeware types based on their tendency to occur with other tradeware types. Our overriding concerns were internal consistency of the classifications and tying down the identifications as closely as we felt was justified in order to extract discrete historical inferences.

II.1 Seriating the Tradeware Classes

The tradeware counts (Table 25) use the laboratory identifications when available and the field identifications otherwise (a procedure whose implications are discussed elsewhere [Bulbeck, in prep.]). When the laboratory check assigned two or more sherds to the same parent vessel they are computed as one specimen and referred to in this study as though they were a single sherd. Concerning the age of the tradeware classes, the literature gives estimates which are often in disagreement, rarely backed by hard data, and in any case of questionable applicablity to the examples which reached South Sulawesi. Accordingly the present study seriates the tradeware classes, based on the quantifiable co-associations between the tradewares recovered from surface assemblages during SSPHAP's 1986-87 surveys around Makassar and Watansoppeng. It should be pointed out that, at least when our samples are small, the estimates offered here date only the specimens recorded by SSPHAP, or possibly by extension indicate the periods when the tradeware classes had reached South Sulawesi. The estimate of the period of manufacture or general distribution of the tradeware classes would require similarly hard data from other locations. As the seriation analysis is fully discussed elsewhere (Bulbeck, in prep.) only the main points need concern us here.

The present technique assumes the general applicability of the Law of Archaeological Association even though the surface finds lack any stratigraphic control. That is, the tradeware classes will tend to occur together in surface collections as a reflection of the similarity in their age. Nonetheless, the lack of stratigraphic control does suggest that the Law of Archaeological Association may be less applicable with increasing age difference between artefactual classes, owing to the greater scope for factors other than original depositional context to determine the level of co-occurrence between the artefactual classes in surface assemblages (Bulbeck, in prep.). If surface artefacts the furthest apart in age need not be the least alike in their associations, then a central assumption of conventional mathematical methods for seriating matrices (as discussed, for instance, by Irwin [1985]) is contradicted, and some adaptation of a Nearest Neighbour Analysis is recommended.

Levels of Association are computed in the following manner. As stated in Chapter 1, the modern landuse features served as the zones for recording the surface artefactual content of the sites. The recorded sherdage in these zones is therefore the most discrete level at which the co-occurrences between the artefact classes can be investigated. Consider any particular tradeware class, and all of the zones can be divided into those which have the tradeware class and those which do not. Considering the former zones, we can sum all of the sherdage recorded in those zones to calculate the associations of the tradeware class (Table 25). For instance, in zones with early monochromes (either Sung or Yuan), we find 289 cases of early monochromes, 90 cases of early whitewares, 33 cases of Vietnamese monochromes, and so on, with 9,987 tradeware specimens in all (Table 25). Placing each of the 29 tradeware classes consecutively in the first column, summing up their associations, and arranging the compared tradeware classes in the same row order as in the first column, we have the situation where the top-left to bottom-right diagonal values represent the recorded totals of each tradeware class, and where these totals add up to the grand total of 42,980 tradeware specimens recorded during the survey (Table 25).

TABLE 25. OCCURRENCE OF TRADEWARES (COLUMN VALUES) IN SSPHAP'S SURVEYED ZONES WHICH HAVE THE TRADEWARE SHOWN IN THE FIRST COLUMN

	EM	EW	VM	VH	EBW	JZ	SAN	VBW	MC	MW	SWH	SWM	SUK	YMC	SWR	MS	MBW	MFV	WLB	BL	LBW	WLW	SWT	QS	QBW	QC	ER	JPN	QPR	SUM
EM	289	90	33	3	12	5	11	87	41	15	65	49	16	30	432	929	490	11	153	6	158	10	1380	879	2470	31	587	53	1652	9987
EW	181	120	28	3	7	3	6	58	13	8	32	21	7	21	229	493	238	7	117	3	100	4	679	477	1226	15	354	34	947	5431
VM	110	40	63	3	9	1	5	54	17	9	29	18	11	12	204	502	222	7	109	3	87	4	559	450	1193	21	385	40	926	5093
VH	7	5	4	8	4	0	1	3	1	1	4	2	1	0	13	28	9	0	1	0	5	0	70	61	205	4	86	5	159	687
EBW	61	19	9	2	25	0	2	17	10	3	14	6	3	1	44	142	62	0	35	1	45	1	172	138	353	0	89	8	168	1430
JZ	51	8	2	0	0	7	5	33	1	4	12	13	0	13	111	307	182	5	88	1	36	0	356	148	325	3	35	4	159	1909
SAN	52	8	5	1	2	3	16	40	8	6	33	18	2	5	121	374	197	5	93	1	57	2	377	164	481	5	53	4	238	2371
VBW	146	35	20	1	8	4	10	150	39	12	85	49	12	33	254	701	414	10	203	7	219	16	1020	656	1869	42	605	98	1362	8080
MC	76	14	12	1	4	1	5	54	90	9	47	38	11	27	203	481	259	7	39	2	117	12	904	700	1682	25	545	50	1149	6564
MW	29	8	9	2	3	1	3	30	14	30	31	11	2	9	136	351	192	5	112	2	74	6	349	239	665	7	348	20	476	3164
SWH	119	24	21	3	10	4	11	95	42	12	188	51	15	31	361	934	571	14	166	5	215	19	1348	912	2536	44	758	113	1846	10468
SWM	117	20	19	1	4	5	11	82	27	9	73	110	12	22	235	600	363	9	106	2	115	9	929	572	1505	26	490	38	1134	6645
SUK	30	8	12	1	2	0	2	22	13	5	29	15	24	7	69	137	64	3	26	1	53	7	229	104	310	7	83	3	150	1416
YMC	91	17	14	0	1	3	5	63	24	9	28	21	7	53	204	528	233	7	115	3	105	7	715	370	877	13	225	15	473	4226
SWR	237	83	39	5	16	7	14	111	57	16	110	65	17	38	755	1217	658	18	228	8	283	25	1983	1530	4390	99	1519	199	3750	17477
MS	196	57	39	6	16	7	15	123	72	19	127	82	16	43	600	1671	794	23	254	10	326	28	2442	2152	5534	134	2528	320	5718	23352
MBW	176	49	36	5	19	6	14	119	60	20	132	82	17	38	495	1286	996	23	256	9	331	30	2136	1723	4310	120	2022	195	4430	19135
MFV	26	5	3	0	0	1	2	35	5	4	18	6	6	2	98	330	221	28	121	3	66	4	342	151	392	14	200	14	237	2334
WLB	77	24	10	1	11	2	7	58	19	15	68	23	5	13	233	628	401	15	299	7	220	18	826	483	1658	42	716	92	1337	7308
BL	52	17	6	0	2	1	2	30	2	7	14	4	1	5	127	322	198	7	148	13	111	9	343	131	403	15	116	8	393	2487
LBW	154	39	24	4	13	3	11	96	46	18	90	51	12	38	348	884	485	15	229	8	420	24	1444	1113	3358	94	1529	171	3115	13836
WLW	37	7	7	0	1	0	1	25	21	6	29	14	10	10	85	193	88	7	55	4	131	36	314	164	502	18	113	12	484	2374
SWT	201	60	44	5	15	7	16	129	79	23	159	87	20	48	659	1540	870	26	281	10	374	32	3250	2733	7791	241	4372	494	9529	33095
QS	181	45	41	6	16	7	14	123	72	23	113	69	18	48	601	1469	777	24	259	11	350	21	2703	3365	8099	241	4678	498	10287	34159
QBW	234	76	54	6	21	6	15	133	86	27	161	102	21	49	682	1552	875	27	274	12	400	33	3063	3240	9397	309	5899	627	13127	40508
QC	41	11	16	1	0	1	3	35	13	10	32	15	4	9	159	463	260	12	123	5	110	7	755	851	2448	324	2712	285	4569	13274
ER	177	56	45	6	13	6	10	109	47	21	98	66	14	39	494	1201	588	20	222	9	289	20	2339	2759	8039	306	6168	650	12679	36490
JPN	84	32	24	4	8	2	3	26	19	7	44	26	4	18	180	411	173	10	38	4	111	9	959	1477	4407	205	3559	689	7285	19818
QPR	222	86	50	7	14	6	14	123	67	25	130	76	19	48	628	1472	810	25	268	12	357	32	2832	3020	8641	297	5827	635	14396	40139
ALL	289	120	63	8	25	7	16	150	90	30	188	110	24	53	755	1671	996	28	299	13	420	36	3250	3365	9397	324	6168	689	14396	42980

Early Monochromes = EM; Early Whitewares = EW; Vietnamese Monochromes = VM; Vietnamese Black & White = VH; Early Blue & White = EBW; T'zu Chou Black & White = JZ; Sancai = SAN; Vietnamese Blue & White = VBW; Ming Celadons = MC; Ming Whitewares = MW; Sawankhalok Black & White = SWH; Sawankhalok Monochromes = SWM; Sukothai = SUK; Yuan/Ming Celadons = YMC; Coarse Stonewares = SWR; Ming Swatow = MS; Ming Blue & White = MBW; Ming Red = MFV; Wan Li Blue & White = WLB; Bluewares = BL; Late Ming Blue & White = LBW; Wan Li Whitewares = WLW; Swatow = SWT; Ching Swatow = QS; Ching Blue & White = QBW; Ching Celadons = QC; European =ER; Japanese = JPN; Ching Whitewares/Modern = QPR.

TABLE 26. Z-VALUES SHOWING HOW THE TRADEWARES OCCUR IN SSPHAP'S SURVEYED ZONES WHICH HAVE THE TRADEWARE SHOWN IN THE FIRST COLUMN
(CALCULATED BY THE "DIFFERENCES OF PROPORTIONS" STATISTIC, AND HERE EXPRESSED TO ONE DECIMAL PLACE)

	EM	EW	VM	VH	EBW	JZ	SAN	VBW	MC	MW	SWH	SWM	SUK	YMC	SWR	MS	MBW	MFV	WLB	BL	LBW	WLW	SWT	QS	QBW	QC	ER	JPN	QPR
EM	31.0	13.4	5.5	1.0	2.9	3.0	4.3	10.1	5.0	3.5	3.7	5.3	5.0	5.8	22.3	34.7	19.6	2.0	11.5	2.0	7.0	0.6	27.0	4.1	7.9	-5.8	-27.6	-9.7	-41.0
EW	25.7	28.8	7.6	2.1	2.3	2.4	3.0	9.6	0.5	2.3	1.8	2.0	2.4	5.9	14.7	22.5	10.8	2.0	13.8	1.1	6.9	-0.3	14.7	2.8	1.4	-4.4	-17.6	-6.1	-26.8
VM	13.8	7.3	21.7	2.2	3.7	0.2	2.4	9.2	2.1	3.1	1.5	1.5	5.2	2.4	13.0	23.8	10.3	2.2	13.2	1.3	5.6	-0.1	9.8	2.8	2.9	-3.0	-14.7	-4.9	-24.7
VH	1.1	2.2	3.0	22.2	5.7	-0.3	1.5	0.4	-0.4	0.8	0.6	0.2	1.0	-0.9	0.3	-0.1	-1.8	-0.7	-1.7	-0.5	-0.7	-0.8	2.6	1.0	5.1	-0.5	-1.4	-1.8	-5.8
EBW	16.9	7.6	4.9	3.4	27.0	-0.5	2.0	5.5	4.1	2.0	3.2	1.2	2.5	-0.6	3.9	9.9	5.2	-1.0	8.1	0.9	8.5	-0.2	6.5	2.6	2.6	-3.4	-8.9	-3.2	-17.7
JZ	10.9	1.2	-0.5	-0.6	-1.1	12.3	5.2	10.5	-1.5	2.4	1.3	3.8	-1.1	7.1	13.8	28.5	21.4	3.4	21.0	0.6	4.1	-1.3	18.7	-0.1	-5.2	-3.1	-16.0	-5.0	-23.8
SAN	9.3	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.5	4.3	16.6	11.4	1.4	3.5	7.2	5.0	0.6	1.3	12.7	31.1	19.9	2.9	19.4	0.3	7.3	0.0	15.8	-1.7	-1.9	-3.1	-17.3	-5.7	-24.9
VBW	13.8	2.9	2.6	-0.5	1.7	2.6	4.5	25.5	6.0	3.0	9.3	6.9	3.9	8.1	10.5	24.6	18.6	2.3	21.8	3.2	17.6	3.9	19.1	1.1	3.1	-2.7	-19.5	-3.1	-35.2
MC	5.2	-1.1	0.8	-0.2	0.1	-0.1	1.8	7.1	22.4	2.2	3.7	5.6	4.2	7.2	8.9	15.7	9.5	1.4	-1.1	0.0	7.2	3.0	20.7	9.3	8.0	-3.8	-15.2	-5.9	-29.8
MW	1.7	-0.3	2.1	1.9	0.9	0.7	1.7	5.9	3.0	19.4	4.8	1.1	0.2	2.7	11.3	25.1	14.6	2.1	20.0	1.1	8.1	2.1	7.7	-0.6	-1.2	-3.6	-5.6	-4.5	-22.8
SWH	6.7	-1.1	1.7	0.9	1.8	2.0	4.1	11.1	4.9	2.0	24.2	5.4	4.4	5.8	15.1	29.3	24.5	3.2	12.6	1.2	12.9	4.0	23.7	3.9	6.7	-4.5	-23.9	-4.9	-39.5
SWM	11.8	0.4	3.2	-0.2	0.1	4.1	5.9	13.3	3.8	2.2	8.9	24.6	4.7	5.2	12.0	22.1	18.5	2.4	9.6	-0.0	6.8	1.6	21.5	2.6	1.7	-3.7	-17.6	-7.3	-30.9
SUK	6.8	2.1	7.0	1.5	1.3	-0.5	2.1	7.8	5.9	4.1	9.3	6.1	26.5	4.0	9.1	11.5	5.6	2.2	5.3	0.9	10.8	5.4	12.5	-0.7	0.0	-1.1	-9.3	-4.2	-18.6
YMC	12.4	1.6	3.3	-0.9	-1.0	2.9	2.9	13.3	5.4	3.7	2.3	3.3	3.2	22.1	16.0	31.3	14.5	2.7	16.7	1.6	10.5	1.9	24.2	2.4	-1.8	-3.5	-17.6	-6.8	-32.3
SWR	14.4	6.4	3.4	1.3	2.4	3.2	3.8	8.3	4.4	1.4	5.0	3.9	3.0	4.6	33.5	27.0	16.5	2.5	12.6	1.5	11.2	3.5	24.6	5.9	13.5	-3.7	-27.7	-6.3	-43.8
MS	5.0	-1.5	0.8	0.5	1.5	2.5	2.6	6.8	4.9	0.7	3.7	4.8	1.7	3.6	12.9	38.3	15.7	3.7	10.8	1.7	9.2	3.6	24.4	9.8	10.4	-5.0	-22.7	-4.7	-41.6
MBW	5.6	-0.8	2.0	1.0	3.2	2.2	3.5	8.6	4.2	2.4	7.1	6.3	2.6	4.0	11.7	26.7	35.6	4.0	14.3	1.8	14.2	4.7	25.3	8.1	3.0	-2.7	-20.0	-8.6	-40.7
MFV	2.7	-0.6	-0.2	-0.7	-1.2	1.0	1.2	9.7	0.1	1.9	2.5	0.0	4.2	-0.5	9.2	26.0	23.6	22.1	26.8	2.8	9.3	1.5	13.3	-2.5	-6.1	-0.9	-8.2	-4.0	-24.6
WLB	4.4	0.9	-0.2	-0.3	3.6	0.8	2.8	7.1	1.0	4.8	7.0	1.1	0.5	1.4	10.2	22.8	19.8	5.2	38.3	3.5	19.4	5.3	13.3	-4.3	1.9	-1.9	-12.2	-2.6	-30.2
BL	8.9	3.9	1.3	-0.7	0.5	1.0	1.2	7.5	-1.4	4.1	1.0	-1.0	-0.3	1.1	13.1	24.2	19.3	4.4	32.5	14.6	18.2	4.9	12.1	-4.9	-7.0	-0.9	-14.2	-5.2	-19.3
LBW	7.7	0.1	1.0	1.1	2.1	0.6	3.1	8.4	3.8	3.3	4.6	3.2	1.9	6.2	8.2	18.0	11.3	2.4	16.5	2.3	29.9	4.4	15.5	1.1	8.3	-1.2	-13.4	-4.2	-33.2
WLW	5.4	0.1	1.9	-0.7	-0.3	-0.6	0.1	6.0	7.4	3.5	6.0	3.3	7.8	4.3	6.9	11.7	4.6	4.5	9.8	4.0	23.1	24.8	10.7	-1.7	-0.9	0.0	-13.7	-4.4	-13.9
SWT	-3.0	-7.0	-1.4	-1.0	-2.0	1.4	2.2	2.6	2.4	-0.0	2.5	0.5	0.7	2.3	6.7	16.2	7.9	2.0	7.0	-0.0	5.9	1.7	32.4	6.1	15.4	-1.1	-12.3	-3.3	-37.8
QS	-7.1	-11.4	-2.8	-0.3	-1.9	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.1	-0.4	-6.6	-4.4	-0.5	2.0	0.0	8.9	-1.2	0.8	3.1	0.5	2.0	-3.1	5.4	30.7	18.2	-2.3	-7.6	-4.7	-29.2
QBW	-9.7	-14.6	-2.9	-2.3	-2.2	-1.0	-0.1	-2.9	0.5	-1.0	-5.1	-0.7	-1.4	-0.6	-4.8	1.1	-8.8	0.5	-1.9	-0.3	0.9	-0.7	-0.0	5.3	27.1	0.9	5.1	-3.7	-19.3
QC	-6.2	-5.2	-0.9	-1.1	-3.3	-1.0	-1.1	-2.0	-3.4	0.3	-4.1	-3.9	-1.5	-2.2	-5.9	-1.9	-3.3	1.4	3.9	0.6	-2.1	-1.5	-9.8	-7.3	-11.5	27.0	24.0	6.0	2.7
ER	-11.3	-11.7	-3.0	-0.8	-4.6	0.1	-2.5	-4.2	-8.7	-2.3	-12.6	-7.3	-3.6	-2.3	-15.1	-15.6	-23.1	-2.0	-5.2	-1.6	-9.3	-4.9	-21.4	-4.9	2.0	4.8	35.8	7.0	13.0
JPN	-5.8	-4.3	-1.3	0.2	-1.4	-0.9	-2.2	-7.1	-4.8	-2.5	-6.3	-4.7	-2.9	-1.8	-12.4	-17.6	-18.4	-1.1	-11.6	-1.1	-8.1	-2.5	-19.7	-2.7	1.7	6.2	19.7	28.6	13.3
QPR	-11.4	-9.6	-4.5	-0.7	-7.5	-0.8	-0.9	-5.6	-7.2	-2.2	-13.4	-10.3	-2.8	-0.8	-11.5	-8.3	-15.5	-0.9	-2.6	-0.2	-7.0	-1.1	-14.9	-8.9	-6.3	-1.3	3.7	-1.3	39.1
x[z]	9.5	5.1	3.2	1.8	3.1	1.9	3.0	7.9	4.2	2.9	5.8	4.4	3.5	4.0	11.2	19.8	14.5	3.0	12.9	1.8	9.8	3.2	15.7	4.8	6.3	3.7	15.6	5.8	26.7

Early Monochromes = EM; Early Whitewares = EW; Vietnamese Monochromes = VM; Vietnamese Black & White = VH; Early Blue & White = EBW; T'zu Chou Black & White = JZ; Sancai = SAN; Vietnamese Blue & White = VBW; Ming Celadons = MC; Ming Whitewares = MW; Sawankhalok Black & White = SWH; Sawankhalok Monochromes = SWM; Sukothai = SUK; Yuan/Ming Celadons = YMC; Coarse Stonewares = SWR; Ming Swatow = MS; Ming Blue & White = MBW; Ming Red = MFV; Wan Li Blue & White = WLB; Bluewares = BL; Late Ming Blue & White = LBW; Wan Li Whitewares = WLW; Swatow = SWT; Ching Swatow = QS; Ching Blue & White = QBW; Ching Celadons = QC; European =ER; Japanese = JPN; Ching Whitewares/Modern = QPR; x[z] = mean z-value by column (sign ignored).

TABLE 27. SPEARMAN'S RANK CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENTS (R_s) BETWEEN THE TRADEWARE CLASSES IN THE ORIGINAL 29 x 29 MATRIX, EXPRESSED TO TWO DECIMAL PLACES (SEE TEXT)

	EW	VM	VH	EBW	JZ	SAN	VBW	MC	MW	SWH	SWM	SUK	YMC	SWR	MS	MBW	MFV	WLB	BL	LBW	WLW	SWT	QS	QBW	QC	ER	JPN	QPR
EM	0.87	0.82	0.41	0.56	0.61	0.70	0.75	0.49	0.47	0.47	0.64	0.62	0.73	0.81	0.63	0.50	0.29	0.54	0.54	0.49	0.35	0.56	0.26	0.02	-0.63	-0.75	-0.66	-0.52
EW		0.89	0.49	0.68	0.32	0.46	0.50	0.38	0.42	0.31	0.43	0.59	0.50	0.63	0.41	0.33	0.23	0.49	0.57	0.49	0.34	0.29	0.09	0.05	-0.37	-0.49	-0.45	-0.27
VM			0.56	0.68	0.23	0.43	0.48	0.56	0.36	0.41	0.55	0.77	0.54	0.55	0.33	0.22	0.14	0.29	0.44	0.45	0.39	0.35	0.25	0.08	-0.38	-0.51	-0.48	-0.30
VH				0.75	0.15	0.38	0.14	0.29	0.23	0.33	0.33	0.28	0.19	0.23	0.16	0.16	-0.09	0.05	-0.00	0.17	0.11	0.20	0.34	0.33	-0.23	-0.23	-0.21	-0.27
EBW					0.23	0.51	0.29	0.47	0.41	0.46	0.47	0.42	0.37	0.41	0.35	0.37	0.21	0.40	0.43	0.54	0.41	0.39	0.33	0.33	-0.38	-0.42	-0.26	-0.48
JZ						0.82	0.80	0.27	0.47	0.46	0.60	0.29	0.67	0.79	0.81	0.71	0.43	0.56	0.33	0.26	0.17	0.74	0.31	0.07	-0.78	-0.81	-0.68	-0.71
SAN							0.82	0.43	0.71	0.71	0.76	0.45	0.70	0.77	0.78	0.76	0.48	0.62	0.40	0.46	0.36	0.72	0.25	0.12	-0.70	-0.79	-0.62	-0.70
VBW								0.44	0.68	0.63	0.71	0.57	0.72	0.82	0.80	0.79	0.51	0.70	0.46	0.43	0.33	0.64	0.17	-0.16	-0.70	-0.75	-0.69	-0.55
MC									0.36	0.71	0.77	0.75	0.71	0.42	0.46	0.34	0.31	0.22	0.44	0.63	0.70	0.64	0.50	0.34	-0.50	-0.60	-0.46	-0.57
MW										0.74	0.63	0.44	0.44	0.48	0.55	0.75	0.67	0.74	0.51	0.59	0.50	0.38	-0.21	-0.32	-0.34	-0.40	-0.41	-0.25
SWH											0.82	0.66	0.54	0.51	0.57	0.67	0.60	0.52	0.45	0.72	0.74	0.61	0.13	0.07	-0.43	-0.60	-0.42	-0.55
SWM												0.68	0.78	0.64	0.63	0.61	0.46	0.38	0.41	0.52	0.59	0.73	0.37	0.16	-0.66	-0.79	-0.66	-0.62
SUK													0.64	0.56	0.47	0.41	0.42	0.35	0.56	0.59	0.64	0.56	0.29	0.13	-0.44	-0.61	-0.52	-0.48
YMC														0.73	0.64	0.53	0.36	0.42	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.78	0.46	0.21	-0.77	-0.82	-0.70	-0.67
SWR															0.89	0.75	0.56	0.65	0.60	0.52	0.43	0.75	0.34	0.06	-0.84	-0.91	-0.83	-0.68
MS																0.86	0.69	0.73	0.61	0.53	0.44	0.78	0.29	0.04	-0.78	-0.84	-0.71	-0.70
MBW																	0.79	0.83	0.62	0.60	0.51	0.66	0.11	-0.11	-0.63	-0.68	-0.61	-0.61
MFV																		0.81	0.78	0.74	0.68	0.46	-0.11	-0.24	-0.38	-0.50	-0.43	-0.34
WLB																			0.79	0.72	0.52	0.43	-0.14	-0.27	-0.40	-0.47	-0.40	-0.39
BL																				0.84	0.68	0.41	0.01	-0.06	-0.39	-0.53	-0.37	-0.40
LBW																					0.90	0.48	0.07	0.05	-0.32	-0.50	-0.34	-0.44
WLW																						0.54	0.13	0.12	-0.30	-0.49	-0.38	-0.44
SWT																							0.57	0.35	-0.77	-0.86	-0.68	-0.90
QS																								0.81	-0.53	-0.50	-0.44	-0.68
QBW																									-0.23	-0.27	-0.09	-0.55
QC																										0.91	0.84	0.75
ER																											0.82	0.82
JPN																												0.58

Early Monochromes = EM; Early Whitewares = EW; Vietnamese Monochromes = VM; Vietnamese Black & White = VH; Early Blue & White = EBW; T'zu Chou Black & White = JZ; Vietnamese Blue & White = VBW; Ming Celadons = MC; Ming Whitewares = MW; Sawankhalok Black & White = SWH; Sawankhalok Monochromes = SWM; Sancai = SAN; Coarse Stonewares = SWR; Ming Swatow = MS; Ming Blue & White = MBW; Ming Red = MFV; Wan Li Blue & White = WLB; Sukothai = SUK; Yuan/Ming Celadons = YMC; Bluewares = BL; Late Ming Blue & White = LBW; Wan Li Whitewares = WLW; Swatow = SWT; Ching Swatow = QS; Ching Blue & White = QBW; Ching Celadons = QC; European =ER; Japanese = JPN; Ching Whitewares/Modern = QPR.

From inspecting the figures it is clear that the proportions of associated tradewares vary markedly with the tradeware class considered (Table 25). To represent this variation the present study uses the "differences of proportions" statistic (Startup and Whitaker, 1982:110-112) to arrive at a table of z-values (Table 26). When the z-value is either >2.33 or <-2.33 the probability that this positive or negative association is due to chance falls to one percent (Startup and Whitaker, 1982:185-186). Scanning down the columns, we can see that certain of the tradewares, characteristically the numerous classes, have amplified z-values with respect to the other, characteristically rare classes. The bottom row summarises this tendency to amplification by giving the mean z-values, sign ignored (Table 26). Given that the z-values are probabilistic measures, and do not measure distance as such, the amplification of the values with the more numerous classes is wholly expected and in fact reflects the greater reliability of the probability estimates derived from the larger sample sizes.

The next step is to convert the z-values into a set of distances. This can be done with the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (r_s) which does not assume that the criteria for ranking the observations are distances, Euclidean or otherwise (Startup and Whitaker, 1982:158-160). Specifically, we rank our confidence that a positive association exists between a particular tradeware class and every other tradeware class. Thus, considering the column headed "Early Monochromes" (EM), we place a '1' in the first row, indicating that the early monochromes show their strongest positive association or highest z-value with early monochromes (i.e. themselves); a '2' in the second row indicating that the second strongest positive association is with early whitewares; and so on until '29' is placed against Ching Whitewares which have the strongest negative association (lowest z-value). Once the z-values in all 29 columns are ranked, we can compare the ranked values pairwise to arrive at a 29 by 29 half-matrix of the "distances" between the tradeware classes (Table 27). The argument is that if two tradeware classes occur in similar contexts then this should be reflected in their ranked z-value associations. Note that the Spearman's r_s distance still maintains sign, with a positive value indicating similarity of co-associations, up to a possible maximum of +1, and a negative value indicating dissimilarity down to a lowest possible value of -1.

The 29 X 29 half-matrix could now be seriated mathematically, or the values could be used to create a dendogram immediately, but either of these procedures would violate our proviso concerning the limitation of the Law of Archaeological Association as applied to surface collections. Furthermore some of the distances are between rare tradeware classes and of questionable reliability given the small sample sizes involved. Accordingly the present study uses a refined dendogram technique which I call "Reiterative Nearest Neighbour Analysis". In Table 27 the smallest distance, i.e. the highest Spearman's r_s statistic, is between "Ching Celadon" and "European", which are thus joined together as conventionally done in dendograms. This logically implies that "Ching Celadon" and "European" are now being treated as a single phenomenon. Accordingly the analysis returns to the original raw data and creates a 28 X 28 table of frequencies similar to Table 25 except that "Ching Celadon" and "European" classes are now replaced by a single "Ching Celadon/European" tradeware class. New z-values are calculated for this combined class, the z-values are re-ranked ('1' to '28') to accomodate these new values, and a 28 X 28 half-matrix of distances is calculated. At this stage, "Wan Li whitewares" and "Late Ming BW" show the highest similarity with a Spearman's r_s of 0.90. Accordingly a new combined class, "Wan Li whiteware/Late Ming BW" is created, and the same procedure repeated, this time for the 27 tradeware classes recognised. Since there are few Wan Li whitewares, and fewer that do not occur in association with Late Ming BW wares, the impact of the Wan Li whitewares on the combined class is very slight, and we have effectively dissolved a rare and possibly troublesome tradeware class. We could have excluded Wan Li whitewares from the original computation, but then we would not have known of their strong association with the Late Ming BW wares. The present technique therefore allows us to join up classes into ever larger and therefore statistically more reliable classes in the order shown in Fig. 24.

To seriate the tradeware classes we start at the common stem of the tradewares at the top of Fig. 24 and split up the groups in exactly the reverse of the order in which they had joined up. When we split a group, going down the dendogram, the two split groups are positioned such that both are closest to their nearest neighbours. For instance, when the class "European/Ching Celadon" splits off from "Japanese" at the fifth hierarchical level from the top, we find that "European/Ching Celadon" at that level of analysis is closest to "Ching", whereas "Japanese" is closest to "Recent" - and this determines their order in the seriation. (Most of the seriation decisions are more complex than this example.) At the bottom of Fig. 24 we can see the final seriation from "Early Monochromes", the oldest tradeware class, to "Recent" which is the youngest tradeware class. Furthermore we have the additional information of four main clusters - the "pre-Ming", "Ming", "Ching" and "Recent" clusters.

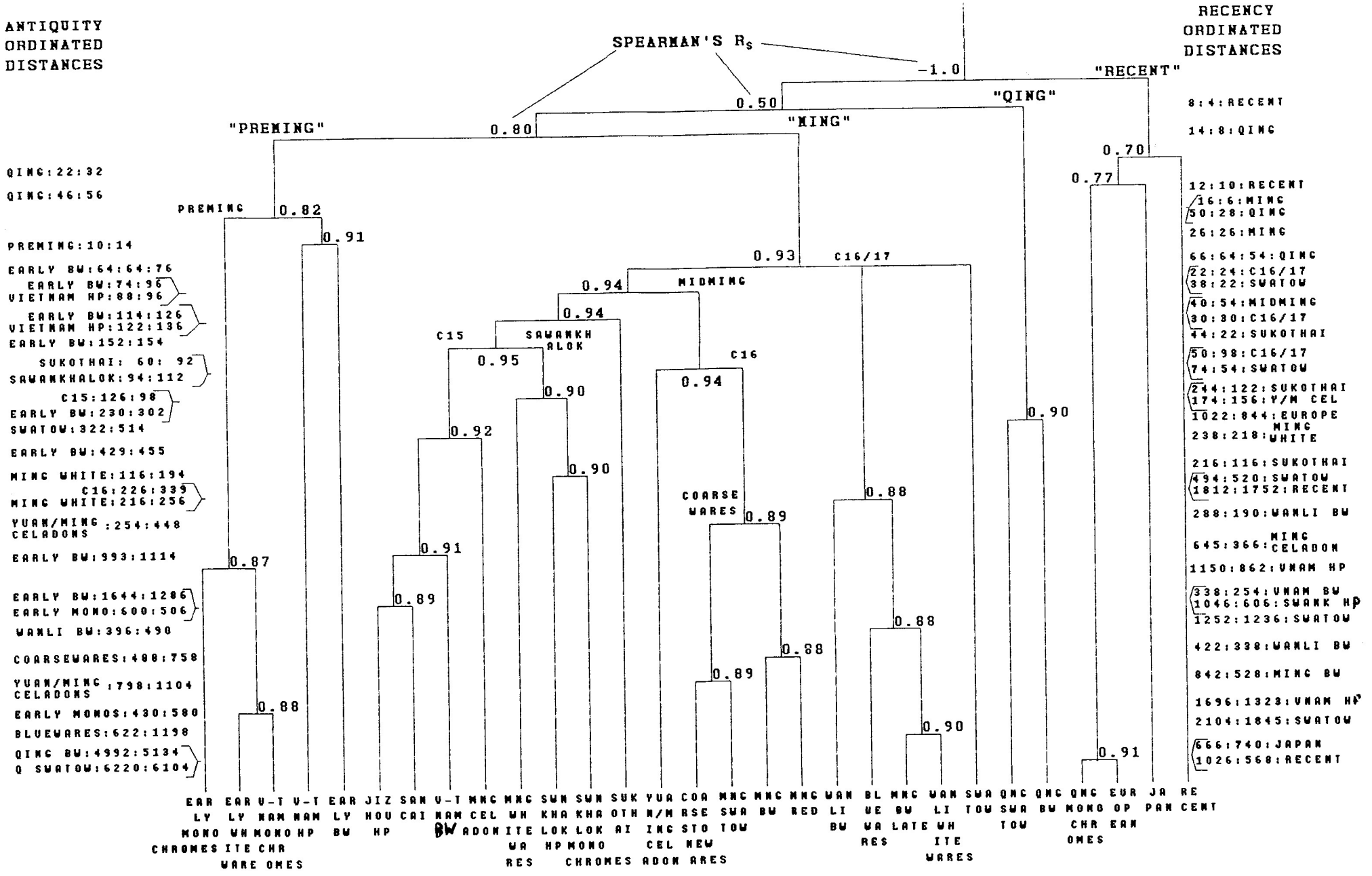


FIGURE 24. CLUSTERING & SERIATION OF TRADEWARE CLASSES (REITERATIVE NEAREST NEIGHBOUR ANALYSIS)

II.2 Dating the Tradeware Classes

We now have a seriated order which presumably represents the chronological order of the midpoints of the periods of the tradeware classes. However, as yet we have no indication of the lengths of these periods. Obviously, the estimation of these periods by reference to surface collections is more dubious, certainly more intuitive, than the reconstruction of the seriated order has been, and similarly large samples of sherds from stratified contexts would provide a preferable data base. In the meantime we must make do with what data we have.

First, consider some of the characteristics of the data as represented by the z-values (Table 26). These z-values are highly asymmetrical: for instance, if we consider the rows of sherds in zones with the earliest tradeware classes (Early Monochromes, Early Whitewares, Vietnam Monochromes), we find strongly positive z-values in the Ming Swatow, Ming BW and Swatow columns; yet if we consider the Ming Swatow, Ming BW and Swatow rows, and compare them against the Early Monochrome, Early Whiteware and Vietnam Monochrome columns, we find that the z-values vary from negative to weakly positive. More generally, if we exclude the four most recent classes (Ching Celadon, European, Japanese and Recent), and draw a line of reflection through Table 26 from the top-left to bottom-right corner, it can be easily shown that the z-values above the line tend to be larger than the z-values in the mirror image cells below the line. That is, zones defined on the grounds of presence of some older tradeware class will tend to have disproportionately large frequencies of later (but not recent) tradeware classes, whereas zones defined by the presence of those same later (but not recent) tradeware classes will tend *not* to have disproportionately large frequencies of the older tradeware class. The apparent explanation for this pattern is that any disturbance which brings the older and more deeply buried artefacts to the surface will also tend to bring up younger, less deeply buried artefacts, so that zones with old artefacts will tend to have younger artefacts as well. However, the reverse obviously does not hold and the majority of zones with younger artefacts need not have any older artefacts associated. Indeed, any attempt to seriate surface remains from disturbed sites by the original matrix of levels of co-association would need to take account of this predictably asymmetrical relationship between older and younger remains (Bulbeck, in prep.). As to why the four "recent" tradeware classes should not show this asymmetry of z-values, or if anything the reverse asymmetry, the majority of their members were not deposited long enough ago to have been buried over, except in disturbed areas where the disturbance would indeed act as a burying agent. Consequently the "recent" sherds either dominate the surface assemblages in comparatively undisturbed zones or occur in specifically lower than expected frequencies in disturbed zones.

To say that two tradeware classes are specifically alike in age we would expect that they should show a symmetrically positive level of co-association, and one stronger than the general amplitude of association of either tradeware class as measured by its column mean "z-value (sign ignored)". Let us assign a score of +2 for a positive z-value greater than or equal to the columnar mean |z-value|, +1 for a positive z-value less than the columnar mean |z-value|, -1 for a negative z-value less amplified than the columnar mean |z-value|, and -2 for a negative z-value equally as or more amplified than the columnar mean |z-value|. Since two z-values are to be considered when comparing any two tradeware classes, the two tradeware classes can score anywhere between +4 (mutually strong positive association) and -4 (mutually strong negative association). Let us mollify some of the problems of sample size by considering in the columns only those 17 tradeware classes of which more than 100 specimens were recorded, and then consider all 29 classes in the rows (Table 28). As expected there is a strong tendency for the mutually strong positive associations to follow the (here squiggly) line from the top-left to bottom-right diagonal, and for the values to decrease as we move further away from this squiggly line. This allows us to draw in boxes enclosing the areas of relatively higher scores, usually 3s and 4s, disregarding the occasional anomalous scores (Table 28).

Using Table 28, our seriated order and other information from published sources, we are now in a position to offer some age estimates. To facilitate the conversion of the sherdage data into chronological information the age estimates are always expressed as multiples of 50 years. (Including the present century which, though it had lasted only until the survey, is treated as though it had lasted until 2000 AD for the sake of convenience.) With these age estimates we are trying to bracket the central period of the tradeware class in question or, in statistical terms, chop off the tails of the chronological distribution. As an example, we know from the cargo of the Geldermalsen that bulk quantities of Japanese tradewares were being exported by the mid-18th century, and there are good grounds to believe that the tradewares here identified as Japanese continued in production until the early 20th century. By assigning the Japanese class to the 19th century, we not only isolate the central period of the above range, we also provide a dating consistent with the seriated order as we shall see below. Our estimates are as follows.

Table 28. Scores of Association Against the More Common Tradeware Classes

	EM	EW	VNBW	SWHP	SWM	SWAR	MS	MBW	WLBW	LMBW	SWTW	QS	QBW	QC	ER	JPNG	QPR
Early Monocs (EM)	+4	+4	+4	+2	+4	+4	+3	+3	+3	+2	+1	0	0	-3	-4	-3	-4
Early Whiteware(EW)	+4	+4	+3	0	0	+4	+1	0	+3	+2	-1	-1	-1	-3	-4	-3	-4
V.nam Monochromes	+4	+4	+4	+2	+2	+3	+3	+2	+3	+2	0	-1	0	-2	-3	-2	-3
V.nam Black & White	+2	+3	-2	+2	0	+2	0	0	-2	+2	0	0	0	-2	-2	0	-2
Early Blue & White	+3	+4	+2	+2	0	+2	+2	+3	+3	+3	0	0	-1	-2	-3	0	-3
T'zu-Chou	+4	+3	+4	+2	+3	+4	+4	+4	+3	+2	+3	0	-2	-2	-3	-2	-2
Sancai	+4	+2	+4	+4	+4	+4	+3	+4	+4	+3	+2	0	-2	-2	-3	-3	-2
Vietnam BW (VNBW)	+4	+3	+4	+4	+4	+3	+3	+4	+3	+3	+3	+2	0	-2	-3	-2	-3
Ming Celadon	+3	0	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+2	0	+2	+3	+3	+3	-2	-4	-3	-4
Ming Whitewares	+2	0	+3	+3	+3	0	+3	+3	+4	+4	0	-3	-3	0	-3	-2	-3
Swank. HP (SWHP)	+2	0	+4	+4	+4	+3	+3	+4	+3	+3	+3	0	+1	-3	-4	-3	-4
Swank. Monocs (SWM)	+4	0	+2	+4	+4	+3	+4	+4	+2	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3	-4	-4	-4
Sukothai	+3	+2	+4	+4	+4	+2	+2	+2	+2	+3	+2	-2	0	-2	-3	-2	-2
Yuan/Ming Celadon	+4	+3	+4	+3	+3	+4	+3	+4	+3	+4	+3	+2	-2	-3	-3	-3	-3
Coarse Wares (SWAR)	+4	+4	+3	+3	+3	+4	+4	+4	+2	+3	+3	+3	+1	-2	-4	-4	-4
Ming Swatow (MS)	+3	+1	+3	+3	+4	+4	+4	+4	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	-3	-3	-2	-3
Ming BW (MBW)	+3	0	+4	+4	+4	+4	+4	+4	+4	+3	+4	+1	0	-3	-4	-4	-3
Ming Red	+2	0	+3	+2	+2	+2	+4	+4	+4	+3	+2	0	0	0	-2	-2	-2
Wan Li BW (WLBW)	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	+2	+3	+4	+4	+4	+2	0	0	0	-2	-2	-3
Bluewares	+2	+2	+3	+2	-2	+3	+3	+4	+4	+4	0	0	-3	0	-3	-2	-2
Late Ming BW (LMBW)	+2	+2	+3	+3	+2	+3	+2	+3	+4	+4	+2	+2	+3	-2	-3	-2	-3
Wan Li Whitewares	+2	0	+3	+4	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+4	+2	-2	-2	-2	-3	-2	-2
Swatow (SWTW)	+1	-1	+3	+3	+1	+3	+3	+4	+2	+2	+4	+3	+3	-3	-3	-3	-3
Ching Swatow (QS)	0	-1	+2	0	-1	+3	+3	+1	0	+2	+3	+4	+3	-3	-3	-2	-3
Ching BW (QBW)	0	-1	0	+1	-2	+1	+3	0	0	+3	+3	+3	+4	-1	0	0	-2
Ching Celadon (QC)	-3	-3	-2	-3	-3	-2	-3	-3	0	-2	-3	-3	-1	+4	+4	+4	-2
European (ER)	-4	-4	-3	-4	-4	-3	-3	-4	-2	-3	-3	-3	0	+4	+4	+4	+2
Japanese (JPNG)	-3	-3	-2	-3	-4	-4	-2	-4	-2	-2	-3	-2	0	+4	+4	+4	0
Recent (QPR)	-4	-4	-3	-4	-4	-4	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3	-3	-2	-2	+2	0	+4

Early Monochromes. These are the wares identified in the present study either as Sung (12th/13th centuries) or Yuan (13th/14th centuries) celadons. There is a disquieting tendency for this class to be positively associated with the Ming period classes (Table 28). This may be because (i) the South Sulawesi palace sites, which are so rich in Ming period wares, were also socio-political centres in Yuan times, and of the Yuan period wares the early monochromes are best represented either because of greater durability or because the 13th/14th century elite monopolised the celadon-like wares; (ii) being durable, early monochrome vessels survived for transport to and use in later established Ming period sites; (iii) some Ming period celadons have been misclassified as early monochromes; (iv) some combination of (i) to (iii). The seriation nonetheless confirms the antiquity of the sherds here classified as early monochromes, suggesting that we retain our original age estimates.

Early Whitewares (Ching Pai and Yuan Te-hua). Systematically pre-Ming. 13th/14th centuries for the Soppeng specimens. Some from the Makassar sites are Sung in age by comparison with the Tioman Island specimens (cf. Kwan and Martin, 1985).

Vietnamese Monochromes. In the laboratory we had assumed 15th/16th centuries for the usual Vietnamese monochromes, and 14th/15th centuries for the older looking specimens. The present data indicate that these estimates should be backdated a century (as done in Chapter 3). Here we appear to be in general agreement with Guy (1986:109-110).

Vietnamese Black and White. Guy (1986:45-46,110-111) suggests the 14th to early 15th centuries for these wares. Here we simplify the estimate to the 14th century.

Early Blue and White. 1350-1400 if identified as Yuan, 1400-1450 if identified as Yung-lo; 1350-1450 if simply identified as "Early BW".

T'zu Chou Black and White. SSPHAP's few specimens show healthy associations with both Yuan and Ming period wares (Table 28). This suggests an an earliest Ming (15th century) date.

Sancai. Associations very like those of T'zu-Chou Black and White, suggesting the 15th century rather than the 15th/16th century dating of Guy (1986:102-103).

Vietnamese Blue and White. Associations very like those of T'zu-Chou and Sancai, providing evidence to support Guy (1986:47) in dating the classical period of Vietnamese BW production to the 15th century.

Ming Celadons (including *Chingpai hijau* or "Chingpai greenwares"). Celadons dated by us to the 15th, 15th/16th or 16th centuries. These datings are retained.

Ming Whitewares. 15th/16th century, or either the 15th or 16th century if so identified.

Sawankhalok and Sukothai. Our data confirm the increasingly popular view that the main period of export of the Thai wares spanned the 15th and 16th centuries (Guy, 1986).

Yuan/Ming Celadons. Celadons identified by us as 14th century or 14th/15th century. Their strong association with early monochromes and early whitewares (Table 28) is not reflected in the seriation dendogram (Fig. 24). A century is added to our original laboratory estimates (see Chapter 3). With this, I think that we have distributed the Chinese celadons as a whole fairly correctly through time, with those dated too early or too late balancing each other out.

Coarse Stonewares. These show a strong association with most of the tradeware classes from early monochromes through to Ching Swatow, suggesting a mainly pre-Ching age but nothing more precise. In this study we include the collected specimens and their estimated ages in the chronological calculations.

Ming Swatow. A good number of these would appear to be older than the late Ming dating usually associated with Swatow wares (Harrisson, 1979). A late 15th to 16th century date is consistent with our data.

Ming Blue and White. In the laboratory we identified the majority as 16th century with smaller numbers assigned to the late 15th century. These dates may be retained.

Ming Red (*Ming Merah*). A 16th century date is fully consistent.

Wan Li Blue and White. The seriation picked up their association with other late Ming wares rather than their weaker association with the pre-Ming classes (see Table 28). The latter phenomenon may reflect problems in classification or a concentration of random statistical error. In any case, expanding the Wan Li period (1573 to 1619) to 1550-1650 gives an age estimate consistent with the seriated order.

Bluewares. 16th/17th centuries (none was encountered in the Soppeng surface collections).

Late Ming Blue and White. These are the sherds identified as "Transitional" and originally dated by us to the 17th century. The data suggest a date of 1550-1650 instead.

Wan Li Whitewares. The Wan Li dating (1550-1650) may be retained.

Swatow. The Swatow class shows neutral to positive associations with all of the Ming classes as well as with Ching Swatow and Ching BW (Table 28). Nonetheless the seriation emphasises the membership of the Swatow wares with the Ming period wares (Fig. 24). While individual and isolated specimens could be singificantly older or younger, the majority of the Swatow sherds should date to about the 17th century, particularly when a large number are present.

Ching Swatow. These are the wares combining Swatow like decorations with Ching like body and glaze (Bulbeck, in prep.) and usually dated 17th/18th century by South Sulawesi experts. 1650-1750 apparently covers their central period.

Ching Blue and White (including Ching overglaze enamelled wares). Our laboratory identifications subdividing the Ching BW sherds primarily followed Macintosh (1977:73-86) and Medley (1980:240ff.). Consequently we dated many more specimens to the late 17th and 18th centuries than might have been suggested by reference to Willetts and Poh (1981). The present data prove that the Ching BW tradewares, at least those recovered in South Sulawesi, are systematically unassociated with the 19th and 20th century tradewares (Table 28). 19th century "Kitchen Ching" wares were apparently a minor tradeware compared to the earlier Ching BW classes, and (*pace* Kwan and Martin, 1985:79-80) a 19th century date for Ching BW tradewares needs to be positively identifed rather than assumed by default. Accordingly we date Ching BW pieces (no closer identified) to 1650-1800; 1650-1750 if identified as Kang-Hsi, 1700-1750 if identified as Yung-Cheng, 1750-1800 if identified as Chien-Lung, and 1800-1900 for the few specimens identifed as Kitchen Ching.

Ching Celadon. Slightly the earliest of the "Recent" classes (see Fig. 24). In the laboratory we dated them as 17th century, 17th/18th century, 18th century or (as with the majority) 18th/19th century. Our present data suggest a 19th century date for the majority and an 18th/19th century date for the others.

European. European tradewares from Tioman Island date mainly to the 19th century, with a few belonging to the early 20th century, and Kwan and Martin (1985:80) give good historical reasons for this dating. Given that the 20th century is more than amply represented by the Ching Whiteware/Recent sherds, we can restrict European sherds to the 19th century.

Japanese. Two classes are involved here - finer Japanese wares similar to those found with the Geldermalsen cargo, and a transfer flower ware which Dick Richards (pers. comm.) has positively identified as Japanese rather than Chinese. All are assigned to the 19th century.

Ching Whitewares/Recent. Our natural inclination was to assign these to the 20th century, a dating generally confirmed by the present analysis (Fig. 24). Rarely collected for laboratory identification, and then with identifications ranging from the 17th century onwards, which identifications are here retained in the chronological analysis.

II.3 Converting the Tradeware Counts into Chronological Information

To convert the tradeware data into chronological information we assume that the wares represented at the site had an equal chance of having arrived at the site during any 50 (or 100) year block of the estimated time period. As a simple example, the sherds from Sewo Tua include one Sung sherd and three Yuan sherds. The Sung sherd is split equally between the 12th and 13th centuries, while the Yuan sherds are split equally between the 13th and 14th centuries, resulting in 1/2 12th century wares and two (1/2 + 3/2) 13th century wares (Table 21). To take a more complex example, at Lawo we have one 17th/18th century tempayan sherd, 37 Ching Swatow sherds, four Kang-Hsi sherds, one Ching BW 18th century sherd, one Chien-Lung sherd, and 104 Ching BW sherds (no closer identified). We accordingly calculate 1/4 + 37/2 + 4/2 + 1/2 + 104/3 = 55.92 early 18th century sherds, and 1/4 + 1/2 + 1 + 104/3 = 36.42 late 18th century sherds. Literally these results might appear to be nonsense but they are of course probabilistically based estimates, as indeed are our estimated time periods and indeed the original identifications themselves.

The sherdage data can now be expressed as chronological information, in the first instance as battleship diagrams or unstandardised "chronological histograms" (Figs 17 to 20). If we sum the frequency of sherds estimated for each 50 or 100 year block we of course arrive at the sum of the sherds recorded at the site. This allows us to estimate the proportion of sherds at the site belonging to a particular time block. For instance, the proportion of Sewo sherds which belongs to the 12th century is 1/2 divided by 211 or 0.2%, to the 13th century is 2 divided by 211 or 0.9%, and so on. These proportions are then displayed on the histograms such that time is represented on the vertical axis, number of wares per 100 years on the horizontal axis, and the area of the rectangles is proportional to the number of wares from the site belonging to any time period. (Note that different horizontal scales are employed for the different sites, as indicated on Figs 17 to 20, owing to the widely different sample sizes. Note also that the "unclassified coarse stonewares" cannot be used in the chronological representations, resulting in slight discrepancies between the sherdage totals shown in Figs 17 to 23 and in Chapter 3.) This representation is useful for showing how small is the proportion of Soppeng sherds older than Ming, even at Tinco Tua, as well as for graphically portraying the total or partial abandonment of a number of sites during the Ching period at a time when other sites were burgeoning (Figs 17 to 20).

Nonetheless two problems of interpretation confront these unstandardised "chronological histograms". Firstly, the two time periods 1650-1700 and 1900-1986 tend to bulge out grossly in the histograms. 1650-1700 represents the overlap period of three very common tradeware classes - Swatow, Ching Swatow and Ching BW - whereas 1900-1986 is the assigned period of the ubiquitous "Ching Whitewares". Because some tradeware classes are so common the assigning of simple time periods to the classes will produce such unsightly bulges. Smooth histograms could only be generated by trying to approximate curves into the time period reckonings, e.g. by assigning a sixth of the Ching Whitewares to the 18th century, a third to the 19th century and a half to the 20th century. Without good supporting data, an exercise like this would be based purely on the *post hoc* justification of producing aesthetic results and so would be unwarranted. The second problem is that given the very different availability of tradewares at different time periods, the more subtle cross-site chronological patterns tend to be difficult to read.

Both of these problems are handled by standardising the data according to the total Soppeng sherdage. Instead of generating percentage values by reference to the total sherdage per site, as done in the unstandardised histograms, here we generate percentages by the total Soppeng sherdage per 50 (or 100) year period. Since we are now standardising across sites we must take type of site into consideration. Consider the 13th century sherdage calculations shown in Table 21. At the cremation sites (La Mataesso, Lakelluaja, Petta Balubue and Gowarie) we have 3.5 + 1 + 0 + 2 = 6.5 or 10.6% of the total count of 61.5 13th century Soppeng sherds. Following the same procedure for the other time periods generates the diagram on the left hand of Fig. 21 which shows the percentage of sherds per each time period which have come from cremation sites rather than occupation sites. The disuse of the cremation sites in the early 17th century, which was already apparent by other means, is here brought out with enhanced clarity. Furthermore we can detect that between 1400 and 1600 AD, compared to the 13th and 14th centuries, the proportion of sherds from cremation sites bulges, *and* that this is mainly due to the inclusion of Petta Balubue (Fig. 21). Arguably, site survey of the surroundings of Petta Balubue might have recovered a similarly dated occupation site which would have ameliorated the 1400-1600 AD bulge of the cremation sites. In any case, cremation sites and occupation sites are so distinct in their sherdage that they must be treated separately.

Accordingly two columns of totals are shown in Table 22, the totals of sherds per time period from cremation sites and the corresponding totals from occupation sites. Two standardisation exercises are carried out,

one which considers only the cremation sites and calculates the percentages of sherds per time period from each of the cremation sites, and the equivalent exercise with the occupation sites. To take an example of an occupation site, Sewo, we had 1/2 12th century sherds and two 13th century sherds. Sewo's contribution to the sherdage from occupation sites is accordingly 1/2 divided by 7.5 = 6.7% for the 12th century, and 2/55 = 3.6% for the 13th century (Table 22).

The percentages in Table 22 may now be graphed to form "standardised chronological histograms", firstly for the cremation sites (Fig. 21) and then for the occupation sites (Figs 22 and 23). Note that these histograms have far more even profiles than their unstandardised progenitors, and that they retain and even enhance the chronological indications adduced by other methods. Indeed it is only by this or a similar technique that we can test impressions which we had suspected, e.g. our impression that Tinco Tua's apogee was in pre-Ming times and that the place waned in relative importance during the Ming period.

II.4 Final Comments

Given the imperfections of the data base there is no doubt that the procedures adopted here push the chronological interpretations to their limits. Nonetheless, unless some formal model converting tradeware data into chronological information is applied, the archaeological use of tradeware data will continue to be restricted either to blindingly obvious inferences or to poorly supported intuitive impressions. Those self-evident inferences are of course not lost by the formal model developed here but on the contrary are demonstrated with unambiguous clarity. Those more subtle inferences, often involving sample sizes and a wealth of contributing variables which exceed the individual's capacity for intuitive conception, can only be brought to order and tested by recourse to some formal model.

Extraneous factors have influenced our final interpretations but here, unable to include these factors formally into the model and unwilling to prejudice the argument by letting them woollily "guide" the analysis, we consider the extraneous factors only after the chronological data have been allowed to speak for themselves. The strict separation of the different threads of evidence allows the ready identification of the weak spots in the argument and where the confidence of the conclusions should accordingly be diluted. As an example, the apparent bulge of 12th century sherds at Botto/Laleng Benteng (Fig. 22) is clearly based on such small sample sizes (Table 21) that we prefer merely to emphasise the solid presence of pre-Ming tradewares at the sites. More pertinently, while Watansoppeng's development as a true capital cannot be dated from the archaeological evidence to have started before the late 17th century, and while the historical records suggest good reasons why this might have been so, the generally poor survey conditions in Watansoppeng lessen the strength of this conclusion. Here we would not be too dismayed if subsequent studies backdated the beginning of Watansoppeng's push towards urbanisation.

The model developed here demonstrates the usefulness of a systematic survey of archaeological sites to the interpretation of South Sulawesi's historical texts. The gathering of a large data base allows the data to form their own context such that, even without excavation, some of our conclusions can be regarded as virtual certainties. Others of our conclusions are less solid and may have to be modified in the light of further information. But even here we have at least distilled the pertinent issues such that the more invasive and costly investigatory techniques like excavation can be efficiently designed to address the issues at hand.

III. LAMPIRAN C. THE SOPPENG FLAKED STONE TOOLS AND DECORATED EARTHENWARES (by F.D. Bulbeck)

The survey team members collected any flaked stone artefacts or decorated earthenwares which they spotted while recording the surface archaeological debris of the Soppeng sites. These four stone artefacts and 40 earthenware sherds hardly comprise a representative or a substantial sample. Nonetheless it is worth while describing our specimens as similar artefacts from Soppeng have barely been described in the literature. Except for the most doubtful of the artefacts provisionally identified as flaked stone artefacts, and which have subsequently been re-identified as smashed aggregate by Jo Kamminga, none of the stone or earthenware artefacts from Soppeng was brought back to Canberra for confirmatory observations or laboratory studies. Although my relative inexperience in stone and earthenware artefacts was ameliorated by the three visits of Peter Bellwood while I was in Ujung Pandang, the Soppeng artefacts described here have not been seen by my Australian colleagues, and my gratitude to Peter Bellwood and Jo Kamminga for their advice on general points in no way identifies them with what is written here.

III.1 Flaked Stone Artefacts

Only four flaked stone artefacts were collected during the Soppeng survey, rather few by the standards of the Makassar survey (cf. Bulbeck, 1986-87). They are presumably much older than the main occupation of the sites and may date to between the middle and late Holocene. These flaked stone artefacts would appear to belong to the same general industry observed at high spots along the Walanae River by Bartstra whose description reads "....very small flakes and cores, neither rounded nor patinated, and associated with arrow heads (denticulated with hollow base)" (Bartstra, 1978:71). Our four stone artefacts are shown in Fig. 25 employing the technique whereby different views of the same side are drawn adjacently. As indicated in the descriptions, not all of these artefacts may be entirely the product of intentional flaking owing to the possibility of postdepositional modifications caused by factors such as buffalo trampling and tilling (Kamminga, pers. comm.). The artefacts may be described as follows.

Specimen	Classification	Stone Type & Colour	L	B	T	Wt
S.2.9.1	Asymmetrical point	Fine flint 2.5Y 7/4 & 7.5YR 7/2	31	24	7	6g
S.10.6.58	Debitage flake	Flint; Cortex 10YR 3/6; Flaked 10R 4/3	13	11	6	1g
S.10.11.33	Core	Fine flint 2.5YR 4/4	46	41	23	36g
S.10.19.32	Core	Flint; 10R 3/3 to 7.5R 3/4	33	25	24	19g

S.2.9.1. On account of the cryptocrystallinity of the parent stone, the specimen is translucent near the edges and bends along its long axis when the fingers apply a mild force. Five principal flake scars can be counted on the dorsum, of which the scar at the thin striking platform may have been produced during or after the detachment of the blank. Retouch or use wear facets occur along both edges rising at about 45° from the ventral face, becoming denticulated towards the point and particularly at the notch below the point on one side. Possible signs of use wear from fine cutting and scraping tasks were observed along both margins and at the point (30X magnification).

S.10.6.58. Eleven flake scars can be counted on this tiny piece which still maintains one surface of cortex. Principal justification for suspecting the involvement of a human hand is the fine nature of the parent stone compared to the other marine sedimentary rocks observed on Tinco Tua. Postdepositional factors may well have affected the final shape of the object.

S.10.11.33 The parent rock is a cryptocrystalline matrix, translucent at the edges, in which the fossil inclusions stand out noticeably. The form could be described as a domed core. Two long scars on the flatter face indicate the production of blade-like flakes at some point. The other scars on the same face were probably produced in preparing the striking platforms for the blades and flakes whose scars circumscribe the specimen. The specimen appears to have been reduced to the point where further flake production was not considered worth the necessary rejuvenation. The artefact clearly has a number of useful fine and steep edges and all of the edges were slightly glossy and abraded (30X magnification). However, as with S.2.9.1, my observations do not necessarily discriminate scraping use from the mimicking effects associated with flake production and postdepositional turbulence.

S.10.19.32. The parent rock is heterogeneously coloured and the specimen owes its rough appearance to the several bands of flaws. The specimen appears to have been detached originally as a large chunky flake and then further reduced by the detaching of smaller flakes. Some of the flake scars may represent postdepositional damage. No traces of use wear were observed.

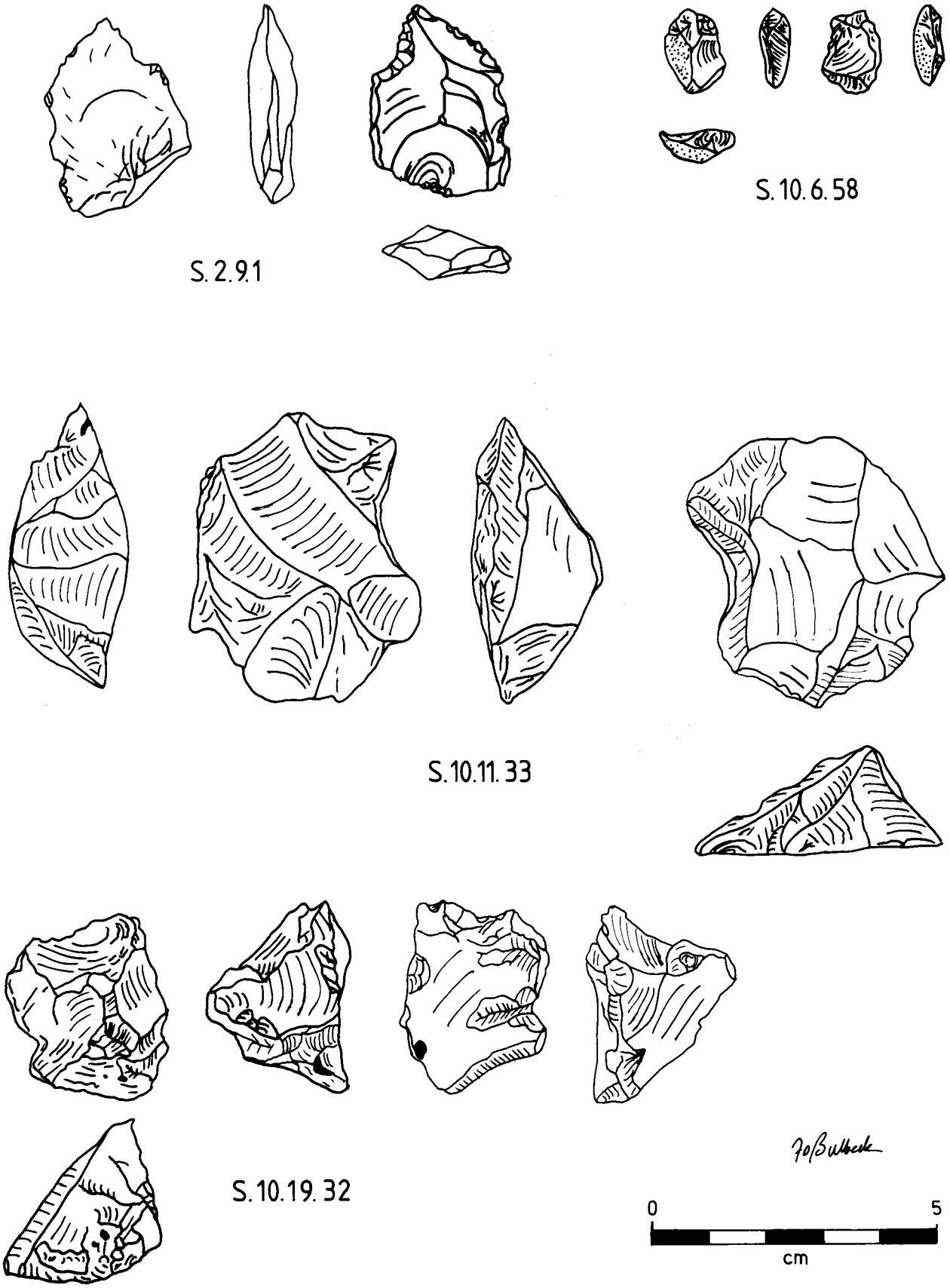


FIG. 25. SOPPENG FLAKED STONE ARTEFACTS (ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY IWAN SUMANTRI)

III.2 Earthenwares

Earthenwares were first produced in South Sulawesi thousands of years ago, and their production has continued at a few locations until the present day (e.g. Soejono, 1984). While it is tempting to date the collected earthenware fragments by the tradeware sherdage recovered at the sites, this procedure would beg questions which can only be answered by excavation. On the other hand, all but three of the 40 earthenware sherds were collected at sites abandoned by the 18th century, suggesting that the decorative styles described here were in use beforehand. Even this wide date may exclude the vessels here called "votive pots", since the tradition of leaving votive pots near the graves of ancestral figures continues until now.

None of the sherds shows the fine Islamic-inspired carvings of interlaced floral and geometric motifs which characterise a class of ethnographic Bugis vessels (Macknight, pers. comm.). We saw some examples of these wares on the Petta Balubue dolmen but no further south. My comparisons will be restricted to the earthenwares which we collected from sites near Ujung Pandang (the "Makassar wares"). I will also describe a sherd from Watanglamuru, the burial site of a second tier kingdom just south of Soppeng, since Peter Bellwood singled out the sherd as reminiscent of the Rarangunusa style of North Sulawesi.

With regards to the size of the sherds, all but S.11.6.4 weigh between 2 and 35 grams. With such small sherds the original orientation is not always clear, and the reconstruction of the rim decorations is based on a small section as shown by the example of S.10.9-10.17 (Fig. 26). Figs 27 and 28 use the technique in which the direct view of a side is depicted immediately adjacent to the side in cross-section. External slipping is shown stippled in the figures except when it covers other decorations.

The present writer snapped a fresh cross-section on each sherd for examination with a 30X handlens. All but eight of the sherds showed limey inclusions, with quartz and mica the other regularly occurring inclusions. Clastic ferruginous, felspathic, and basic ferromagnesium inclusions were also seen. The wide range of inclusions probably results from the heterogeneous grit that would be present in the area's clay sources as a consequence of the complex geology (see Soekamto, 1982). Some of the bodies were very fine, and a few appeared to show grog tempering (cf. Rye, 1981:Fig. 23). The sherds from larger parent vessels showed a slight tendency towards coarser texture compared to the sherds from smaller parent vessels. On the whole there was a lower incidence of the finely crackled surfaces, partially glassy bodies and other signs of high firing temperatures compared to the "Makassar wares" observed by the author. Unpolished surface colours tended to vary between 2.5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown), to 5YR 4/3 and 2.5YR/5YR 5/4 (reddish brown), to 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown). The sherd walls were also typically reddish brown, further indicating that most of the vessels had been fired in an oxidising environment. Incompletely fired cores of variable sharpness were observed on three sherds.

Evidence of manufacturing technology is deduced from the clues given by Rye (1981). My observations suggest that most of the vessels had been built up with coils which were then pressed together and often compacted further with a paddle and anvil. Some of the smaller boxes appear to have been pinched or drawn. Apparently, round vessels were frequently finished while being turned slowly on a support, inviting comparison with the "pseudo-wheel" consisting of a broken upper part of a pot which is currently used at Berru in Soppeng (Soejono, 1984). The fineness and regularity of the wheel lines on a few specimens (S.10.6.29, S.10.18.11, S.10.23.8 [Fig. 26]) indicate the occasional use of a true hand-turned wheel, as is currently used in Takalar (personal observation).

Slips were observed on eight sherds, covering other decorations in the cases of S.5.5.67, S.10.12.28 and the uppermost section of S.5.5.69 (see Figs 27 and 28). Slip colours varied from 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown) to 2.5YR 5/6 (red), with one instance of a dark reddish slip (10R 3/1-3/4). Eleven of the sherds showed polished surfaces which in about half of the cases could be described as burnished. These burnished surfaces were conspicuously dark, varying between 5YR 3/1 and 2.5YR 3/4 (darkish grey to dark reddish brown).

Vessel shapes represented by the sherds are closed vessels with restricted rims ("jars"), covers (probably from covered jars), composite or inflected restricted vessels ("votive pots") and rectangular open vessels ("boxes"). Jars and boxes comprise the bulk of the present sample. In addition we encountered a fragment of a horizontal lug with notches either side of a prominent ridge (S.10.2.8) and a rim sherd, S-shaped in vertical view, which appears to have come from a roughly hand-modelled stove (S.9.7.5).

Jars and Covers

Ten of the jar rims were short and fat, with the greatest thickness at the neck or just above. Estimated circumference of these rims varies between 14 and 24 cm. Decorations were simple, with three cases of notched rims (cf. S.10.2.2 and S.10.11.63), three cases of punctations along the neck line, one case of dentations along the neck line (S.10.15.45), and one case of small punctations running along the rim above the larger punctations along the neck (S.10.11.63). The other two rims were undecorated, although S.10.7.35 presented closely spaced wheellines on its faces. Four of the rims were polished or burnished while two were slipped.

A longer and more upright form associated with a relatively narrow mouth characterised three rims (cf.

S.10.18.11 and S.10.23.8), while S.14.3.61 is distinctly elongated. S.14.3.61 is slipped while the other three rims were polished or burnished. The only clear instance of decoration was on S.10.23.8,, whose rows of fine punctations may correspond to the closely spaced dentations observed on some shoulder and neck sherds.

The three collected cover rims are shown on Fig. 26. Their estimated circumferences (22 to 30 cm) suggest that the parent vessels were amongst the larger of the Soppeng jars. All showed signs of polishing. The line of punctate crosses on S.10.9-10.7 is one of the characteristic motifs of the "Makassar wares".

Six neck or shoulder fragments from jars were collected at the Soppeng sites. Four of the sherds were decorated with fine dentations which become increasingly more closely spaced down the shoulder to finish in a squiggly line (Fig. 27). Other decorations were fine subparallel incisions (S.5.4.121) and an applied ridge with notches (S.10.15.44). The lack of slipping or polishing on these sherds, except for S.5.5.69 where the slipping is any case restricted to the upper neck, suggests that the Soppeng potters may have tried to make their decorated jars appealing primarily by surface treatment near the rim and fine decorations on the shoulder region. Estimates of neck circumference suggest that the coarsely decorated specimen, S.10.15.44, would have come from a relatively wide mouthed Soppeng jar, while the more finely decorated specimens would have come from the more narrow mouthed Soppeng jars.

The Watanglamuru sherd (Fig. 27) differs from the Soppeng sherds in the use of a two-pronged or four-pronged tool to produce the combed and dentate decorations which are furthermore vertically oriented. These characteristics strongly invite comparison with the Rarangunusa style from Ching period sites in the Talaud and Sangihe islands, North Sulawesi, even if exact parallels have not been figured (see Bellwood, 1980:123-124). The sherd's fine limey body appears to have come from a parent vessel more highly fired than most of the Soppeng parent vessels and the surface is darker (2.5YR 3/2). Until further occurences are known from South Sulawesi the significance of this singular sherd will remain obscure.

Votive Pots

During the Makassar survey we frequently encountered earthenware vessels placed on or around the more impressive Islamic graves. Earthenware vessels were also seen at Petta Balubue and at Petta Mallajangnge (Tinco Tua). The typical form of these "votive pots" consists of a footed base and a body which broadens at the midsection and then angles or bends in at the rim to form either a composite restricted vessel or an inflected restricted vessel. S.5.4.120 appears to be an example of a footring of one of these vessels while S.10.12.29 would have come from the inflected restricted version (Fig. 27). The vertically incised lines on S.10.12.29 are a common decorative motif still employed at several potteries in South Sulawesi (Iwan Sumantri, pers. comm.).

Boxes

S.11.16.4 is an unusual square rimmed vessel owing to its large size, overhanging notched rim, and the presence of a bowl-like hollow inside. It may be a recent sort of ware given that it was collected at Bila.

The other 13 boxes come from Tinco Tua and Sewo Tua. Slipping was observed on two of the sherds and polishing on three. Wall thickness varies between 4 and 8 mm, suggesting some range in the size of the parent boxes. Apart from the rim sherd with the notched ridge (S.10.13.9), the observed decorations include one case of vertical ridges (S.10.12.28), one case of thick grooves gouged vertically between thin remnant ridges (S.5.5.68), two cases of fine subparallel incisions (S.10.14.2. and S.10.14.3), and two cases of decorations combining punctations with gouged or incised lines (S.10.6.26 and S.10.21.11). More complex decorations include cross-hatched incisions (S.10.22.27), panelled geometric incisions (S.10.23.9), and three specimens with complex and finely executed curvilinear incisions, either free or cross-hatched (S.10.2.3, S.5.5.66 and S.5.5.67). These sherds suggest that the boxes were often singled out for special decorative care.

General Remarks on the Decorations

The range of decorative techniques shown by the present sample include slipping, notching of the rims and the decorative ridges, vertical and horizontal grooves and ridges, slanting incisions, and some more complex decorations involving either curvilinear incisions or panelled geometric incisions. Of these, the motif involving parallel lines of dentations also occurs in the surface collections from some other sites of the northern Walanae valley and may be a specialty of the area. Notching, punctation, fine dentation, and curvilinear incisions are rare or absent from the Makassar sherds which I have studied. At the same time, certain specialised lines of decoration commonly found on the "Makassar wares" are absent from the Soppeng sample. The range of decorative styles found with the Soppeng and the Makassar earthenwares, as well as the distinctiveness of these two samples, suggests that with further studies it could well be possible to subdivide South Sulawesi into zones based on the distribution of commonly occurring earthenware decorations.

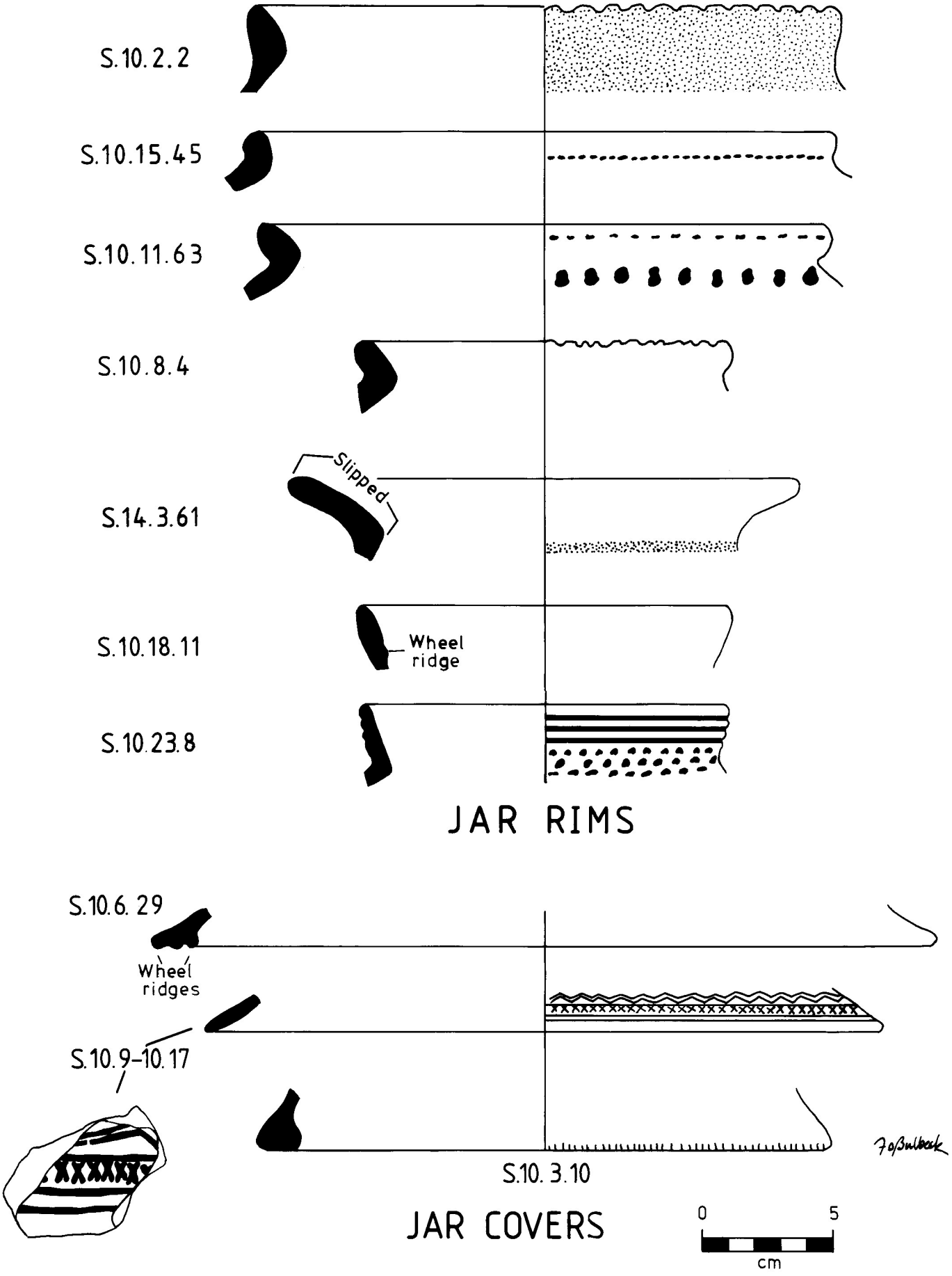
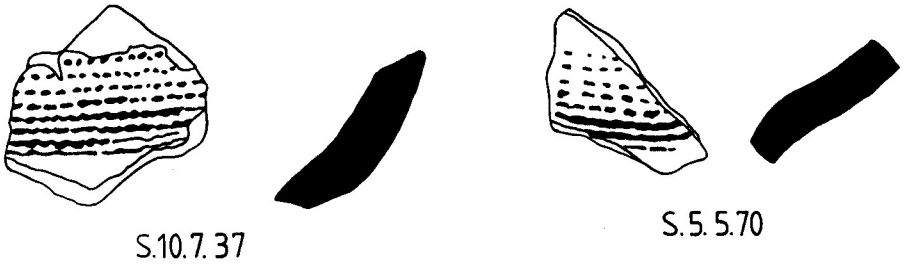
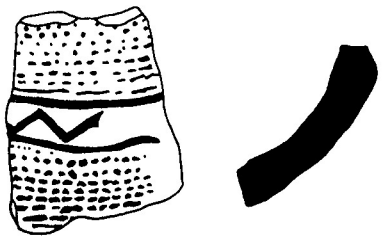


FIG. 26 . SOPPENG JAR AND COVER RIMS

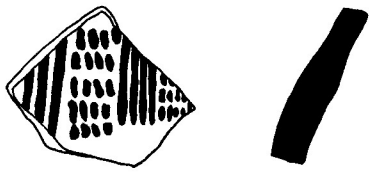


S.10.7.37

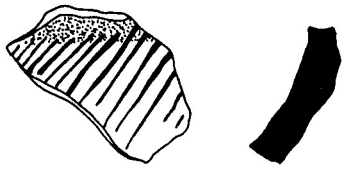
S.5.5.70



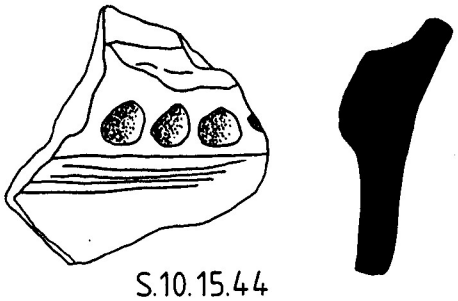
S.5.5.69



Watanglamuru



S.5.4.121

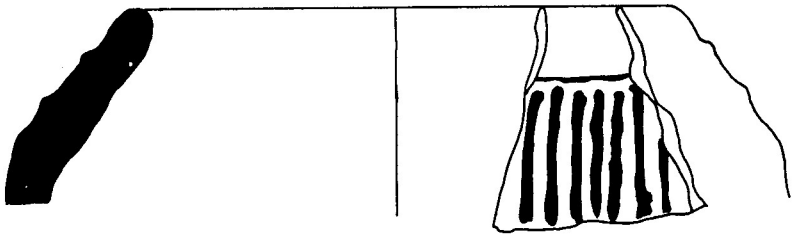


S.10.15.44

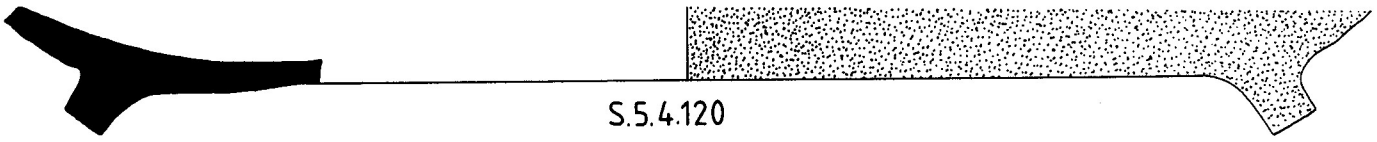
JAR NECK/SHOULDER SHERDS

0 5

cm



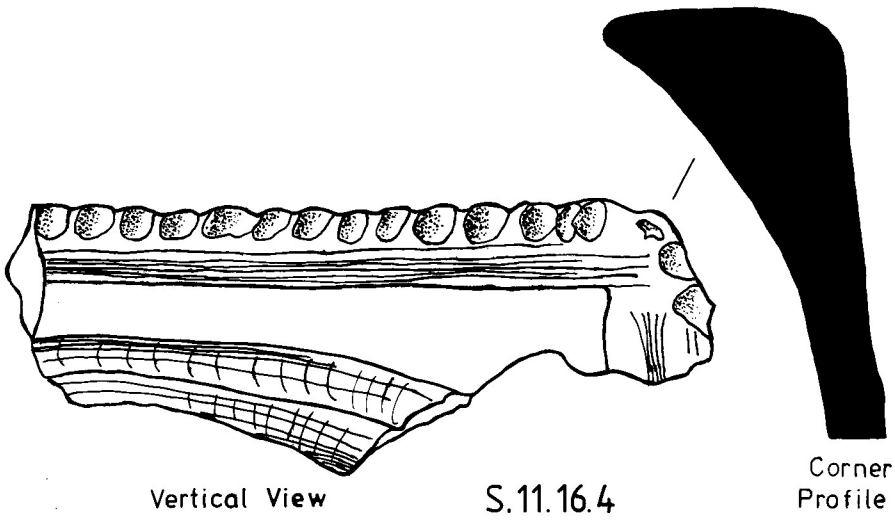
S.10.12.29



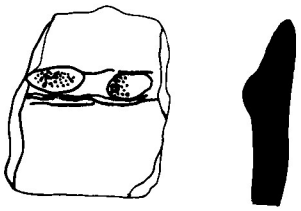
S.5.4.120

VOTIVE POTS

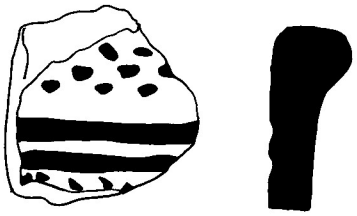
FIG. 27. SOPPENG JAR AND VOTIVE POT SHERDS



S.11.16.4



S.10.13.9

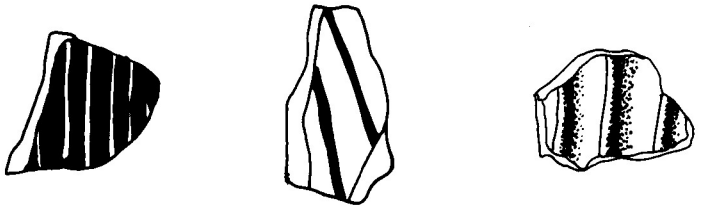


S.10.6.26

BOX RIMS

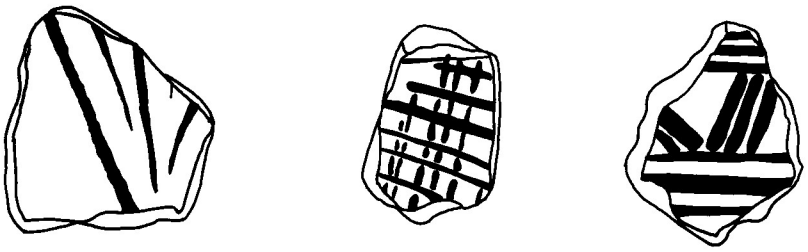
0 5
cm

S.10.21.11



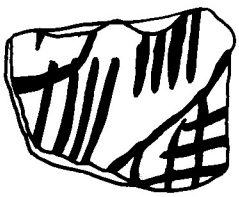
S.5.5.68 S.10.14.2 S.10.12.28

BOX CORNER

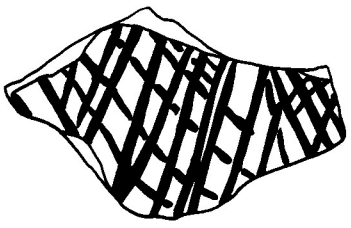


S.10.14.3 S.10.22.27 S.10.23.9

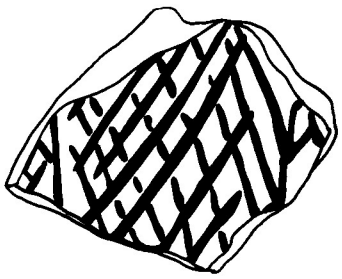
BOX BODY SHERDS



S.10.2.3



S.5.5.67



S.5.5.66

FIG. 28. SOPPENG BOX SHERDS

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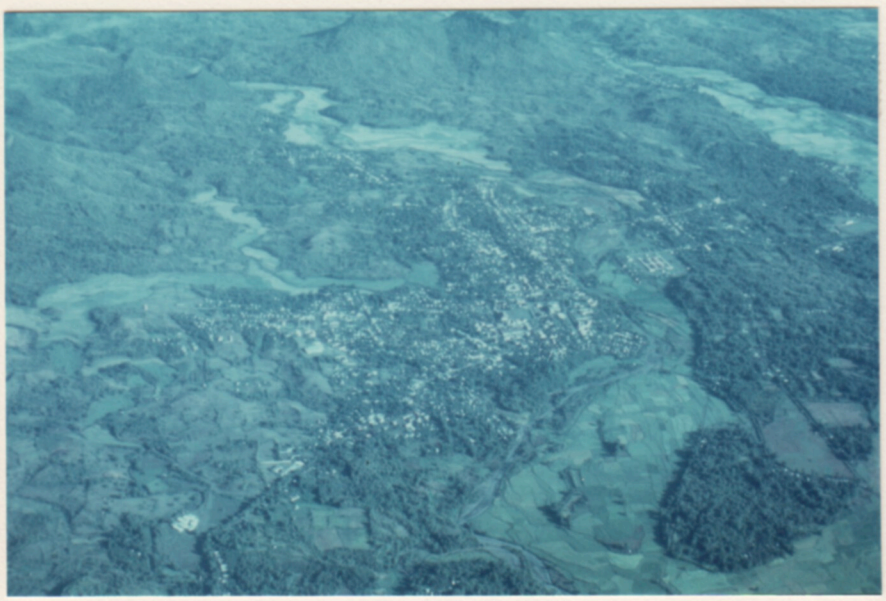


WATANSOPPENG DARI ATAS. KIRI KE KANAN: SUNGAI MASEWALI, SUNGAI SOPPENG, SUNGAI LAWO. DEPAN KE BELAKANG: SALOTUNGO, UJUNG DI MANA SUNGAI MASEWALI BERTEMU DENGAN SUNGAI SOPPENG, BOTTO/LALENG BENTENG, PLATEAU BILA.

(FOTO CAMPBELL MACKNIGHT)

SEBAGIAN ANGGOTA TIM BERGAMBAR DI ATAS PEGUNUNGAN BARAT SOPPENG DEKAT BULU MATANRE. DI BELAKANG NAMPAK BULUDUA DEKAT LAWO. KIRI KE KANAN: BAHRU KALLUPA, IAN CALDWELL, IWAN SUMANTRI DAN DAVID BULBECK.

(FOTO KARAENG DEMMANARI)

KARAENG DEMMANARI MENCATAT BENDA KERAMIK YANG DISIMPAN DI CUNGKUP WE TEKKEWANUA. DI UJUNG KANAN ORANG PEREMPUAN YANG MENJAGA TEMPAT.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

PEMETAAN BOTTO DARI LALENG BENTENG. DI BELAKANG VILLA JULIANA GEDUNG BELANDA INI DIBANGUN PADA TAHUN 1907. DI BAWAH TEMPAT PELANTIKAN KERAJAAN SOPPENG.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

TAMAN PURBAKALA JERA LOMPOE DESA BILA KECAMATAN LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

BATU DAKON DI UJUNG, DESA BOTTO KECAMATAN LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG.
JUMLAH LOBANG 49 BUAH.
LETAKNYA DI MAKAM APPUNG.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

UPACARA UNTUK MENYAKSIKAN ARAJAAN SOPPENG DI BOLA RIDIA. PENUTUP ARAJAAN DIANGKAT OLEH KETURUNAN RAJA SOPPENG DAN KELUARGA-NYA. DI BELAKANG TAMPAK *ORANG BISSU SOPPENG.*

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

ARAJAAN SOPPENG.

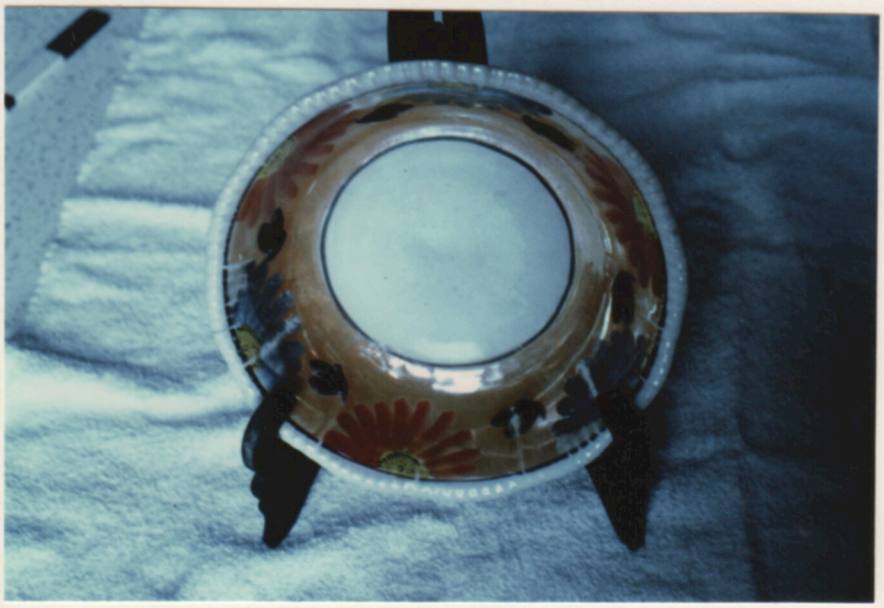
(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

BENDERA WARUNG PUSAKA KERAJAAN SOPPENG DI BOLA RIDIA.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

PIRING CELADON JEPANG
WARUNG PUSAKA KERAJAAN
SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

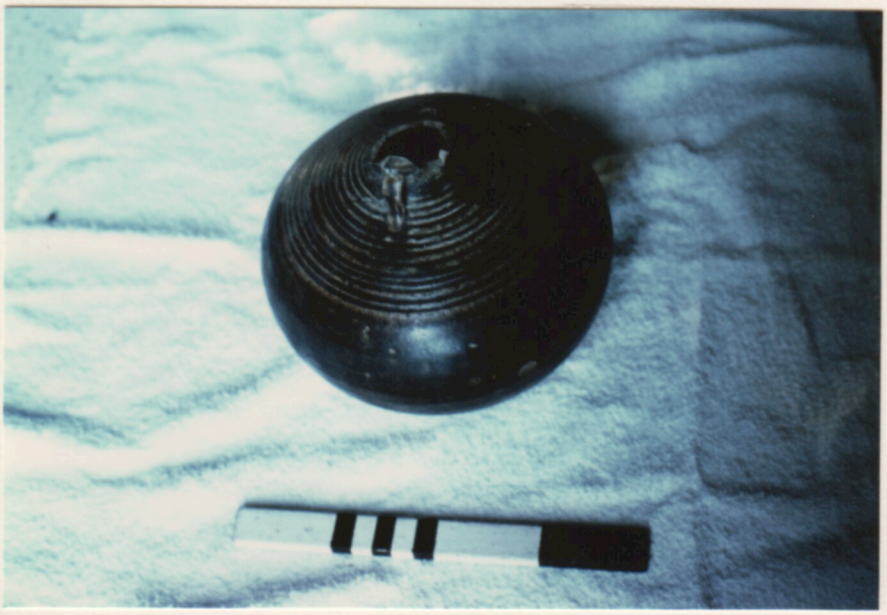


PIRING JEPANG WARUNG PUSAKA
KERAJAAN SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

PIRING JEPANG DAN EROPAH
WARUNG PUSAKA KERAJAAN
SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

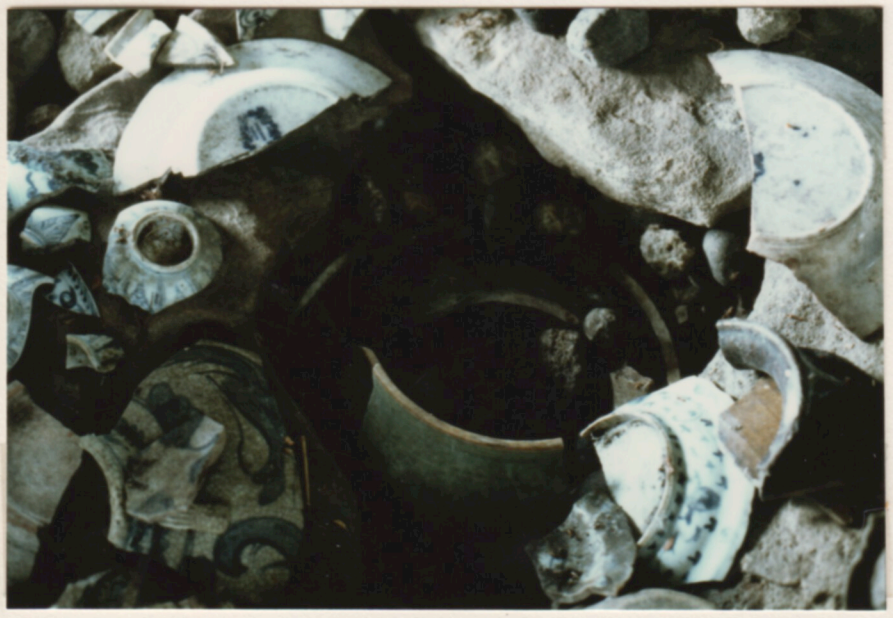


BENDA KERAMIK ANTIK
DITEMUKAN PADA WAKTU
MEMBANGUN RUMAH DI LALENG
BENTENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

BENDA KERAMIK ANTIK
DITEMUKAN PADA WAKTU
MEMBANGUN RUMAH DI LALENG
BENTENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)



BENDA KERAMIK ANTIK
DISIMPAN DI CUNGKUP WE
TEKKEWANUA, PETTA BALUBUE.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

SEKKANGNYILI ATAU PETTA BALUBUE DI DESA LEWORENG KECAMATAN LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG. CUNGKUP WE TEKKEWANUA DI DEPAN DAN CUNGKUP ARUNG LEWORENG DI BELAKANG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

PETTA LANGKANAE TEMPAT PEMUJAAN DI SEWO TUA DESA BILA KECAMATAN LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

SITUS GOWARIE DI DESA LIBURENG KECAMATAN MARIO RIWAWO KABUPATEN SOPPENG. TEMPAT DITEMUKAN MANURUNGNGE RI GOWARIE, DATU SOPPENG RILAU KE-I.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

BATU GORES DENGAN DEKORASI
CAKRA BERJARI-JARI DELAPAN.
JUMLAH CAKRA 12 BUAH.
LOKASINYA DI LAWO, DESA
OMPO KECAMATAN LALABATA
KABUPATEN SOPPENG.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

BATU BESAR DENGAN TOREHAN
DI LAWO TIMUR, DESA OMPO
KECAMATAN LALABATA
KABUPATEN SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)

BATU DAKON DI TINCO TUA,
DESA OMPO KECAMATAN
LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG.
DEKAT LOBANG KELIHATAN
GORESAN GARIS LURUS.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

BATU DOLMEN DI SITUS PETTA LANGKANAE.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

LESUNG BATU DI BILA, KEC. LALABATA KAB. SOPPENG. NAMPAK BEKAS TELAPAK KAKI KIRI DAN KANAN DEKAT LOBANG.

(FOTO BAHRU KALLUPA)

MAKAM PETTA LLAONGRUMAE DI BULU MATANRE, DESA CIROWALI KECAMATAN LALABATA KABUPATEN SOPPENG.

(FOTO DAVID BULBECK)