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Gold Looted and Excavated from Late (1300 AD-1600 AD) Pre-Islamic Makasar Graves

The earliest European reports of gold in Sulawesi are Portuguese. The Portuguese initially paid little attention to the island, until in 1533 sailors, who had unexpectedly put in there, reported the presence of gold (Pelras, 1996: 125). This prompted the Portuguese governor in Ternate, Tristão d'Ataide, in 1534 to dispatch a reconnaissance expedition under the command of Diego Sardinha to explore the island. Sailing from Ternate to Minahasa (modern Manado) in North Sulawesi, his small fleet skirted the western coast of the island as far south as the Makasar kingdoms of Siang and Garassi' in what is today the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi (Pelras, 1996: 125). The island again caught the attention of the Portuguese in 1540, when a delegation arrived from the 'ilha de Macaçar' in Ternate and presented the new Portuguese governor there, Antonio Galvão, with a number of gifts including gold (Pelras, 1977: 229; 1996: 126-127). In 1542 Antonio de Paiva, a Portuguese trader in sandalwood, who was based in Malacca, also visited the Makasar kingdom of Siang. He was struck by the numerous golden bracelets that the noble women there wore on their arms and subsequently sent one as a gift to the king of Portugal (Pelras, 1977: 229; 1996: 125).¹ Again in 1544 upon landing in Suppa' he noted that 30 women

1. Makasar as well as Bugis princely weddings are still today characterized by lavish displays of gold – tiaras, earrings, breast or chest and waist gold ornaments, upper arm and forearm bracelets, and rings.

in the welcoming party, which included the king and his son, wore golden bracelets (Baker, 2005: 63). The Portuguese had initially thought that this gold came from the small coastal kingdoms which they had visited and were somewhat dismayed to learn that the source of the gold in South Sulawesi was instead the mountainous interior known today as the Toraja highlands (and also possibly the area known today as Gorontalo in North Sulawesi). The Toraja washed the gold from secondary alluvial deposits and then bartered the dust/nuggets to traders or local chiefs who passed it on to coastal kingdoms like Siang and Suppa' (Harrison & O'Connor, Jr., 1969: 46).²

In this paper I will take an in-depth look at the gold objects that were produced or imported into South Sulawesi during the late pre-Islamic period, the types of things the Portuguese like Paiva may have seen when they first visited the island during the 16th century. we will first provide an historic overview of South Sulawesi history – the coming of the Austronesians, the introduction of metals, and the rise of early kingdoms – in order to provide a timeframe within which to view the gold. we will next describe the provenance of the gold and show that most of the ancient gold, that has survived in South Sulawesi, was looted from pre-Islamic (1300 AD-1600 AD) graves which are now or were once located in Makasar-speaking areas. A detailed description of the gold objects themselves – death masks, eye and mouth covers, a wide assortment of jewelry (bracelets, earrings, and rings), and small pieces of gold foil which were sometimes placed in the mouth of the dead – follows. we next describe the role that gold may have played in pre-Islamic Makasar society with a special focus on funerals, since most of the items were looted from graves. The paper concludes with a discussion of the insights the gold provides into the historical development of South Sulawesi during the 300 year period from 1300 AD to 1600 AD.

Historical Background

Scholars today believe that the Austronesian settlers – the linguistic fore-runners of today's Makasar, Bugis, Toraja, and Makasar peoples – moved into southwestern Sulawesi from Taiwan and the Philippines sometime around 1500 BC. Those peoples, who later evolved into the Makasar, settled along the southern end of the peninsula along the coast and the nearby mountainous interior. The Bugis homeland seems to have been centered on the Cenranna River valley and the Tempe Lake district, although the Bugis also later moved into the Luwu' plain near present day Palopo. The Toraja settled in the northern mountainous interior and the Mandar occupied the

2. The epic Bugis poem, the *I La Galigo*, lists 'mountains' of iron and gold as heirlooms of the legendary founder of the pre-Islamic kingdom of Luwu' (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1044). The source of this gold was probably the Toraja Highlands, perhaps sent to Luwu' as tribute.

northwest coast. These peoples brought with them polished stone tools and initially settled and farmed areas along the coast and river deltas, eventually absorbing the original Australo-Melanesian inhabitants of the island (Volkman, Caldwell & Oey, 2000: 25). Thick forests and heavy tropical rainfall, however, prevented early penetration of the interior. The ancestors of the Toraja may therefore have only opened up the mountainous interior of the island during the first millennium AD after the introduction of iron (Volkman, Caldwell, & Oey, 2000: 25).

The working of metals – bronze, iron, and gold – was introduced into Sulawesi as well as the rest of the Indonesian Archipelago and the Philippines around 2000 years ago. Some of the earliest and most beautiful bronze pieces in Indonesia have in fact been found in South Sulawesi – the famous Makasar flask or axe, purchased in the 1930's, is now on display in the National Museum in Jakarta. A Heger 1A Dong-son drum was also discovered at Papanlohéa on Sélayar. Neither of these objects was, however, produced in Sulawesi. The Makasar axe was manufactured elsewhere in Indonesia and is thought to date to the first millennium AD. The Heger drum was probably produced in Vietnam around 200 AD (Kempers, 1988: 17, 411). There is ample evidence however that bronze was also actually produced locally during the first millennium – two bronze dogs with geometric decorations as well as some smaller axes found near Makassar were most likely manufactured in Sulawesi (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1036).³ Given the absence of substantial tin deposits in Sulawesi, scholars now believe that these early objects may have been produced by melting down and recasting older, imported bronze pieces (Bulbeck, 1996-1997: 1044). What these items seem to imply is that metals (not only the working of bronze but of iron and of gold as well) may have first found their way into South Sulawesi in the 1st millennium during the early surge of maritime trading activities centered on the spice trade in the eastern islands.

Iron was the most commonly worked metal during the first millennium AD. The 2000 year old iron fragments from Sabbang Loang in Luwu', perhaps the oldest in South Sulawesi, are associated with quality iron ore found near the headwaters of the Rongkong River (Bulbeck, personal communication). Luwu' also obtained iron ore from the shores of Lake Matano, where iron metallurgy has been practiced for the last 1500 years. Outside of Luwu' fragmentary iron artifacts have, for example, also been excavated from rock shelters, a spearhead from Leang Codong and four knife fragments from Ulu Leang 1 in Maros, all associated with Early Metal Phase burial remains (Ref. Bulbeck, 1996-97).

3. Makassar is the provincial capital of South Sulawesi, while Makasar refers to the ethnic group.

Gold may have been mined from alluvial deposits along the Karama River in Sulawesi as early as the 8th century AD (Bulbeck, 1996-1997: 1036). A small golden bead found at Katué in Luwu' has been dated from associated remains to the late first millennium AD and possibly represents the oldest piece of gold work found in South Sulawesi to date (David Bulbeck, personal communication). The earliest known piece of worked gold among the Makasar are golden leaf-shaped eye covers associated with cremated remains found in an earthen urn in Sélayer and gold jewelry associated with a Heger 1A drum burial at Bonto Ramba in Goa. This gold dates to the beginning of the 2nd millennium AD. Gold finds are extremely limited in this early period and substantial amounts of gold only begin to appear beginning circa 1300 AD and thereafter in association with the introduction of east – west burials.

Historians such as MacKnight (1983), Bulbeck (1992), and Caldwell (1988) believe that this period of east – west burial from approximately 1300 AD until 1600 AD was a time of profound change for the peoples – Makasar, Bugis, and highland Toraja – of South Sulawesi. They postulate that this period witnessed the introduction of kingship, the formation of sizable kingdoms except for the Toraja highlands, and an ever-increasing stratification of society. Prior to this period the paucity of early ceramic ware and other trade items (including gold), they argue, suggests that complex political organizations had not yet been established in South Sulawesi. Makasar and Bugis 'historical' chronicles (*patturioloang*, M.) also indicate that before circa 1300 AD the largest political units in South Sulawesi were simple chiefdoms, (*wanua*, B.)⁴ each numbering at most a few thousand individuals (Caldwell & Bougas, 2004). The chronicle relating the foundation of the Bugis kingdom of Soppeng, for example, reveals, that Soppeng originally consisted of 60 such chiefdoms (Pelras, 2002: 122). More complex chiefdoms, or polities, with multiple centers began to emerge across South Sulawesi only after 1300 AD. Two of the earliest kingdoms were the kingdom of Luwu', already mentioned, located at the head of the Gulf of Boné and the Makasar kingdom of Bantaéng (Bougas, 1998), situated along the south coast of South Sulawesi. The *Nāgarakērtāgama*, a court poem composed in the east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in 1365 AD, indicates that both polities together with island of Sélayer, were three of the most important centers in 14th century South Sulawesi (Robson, 1995).

4. Makasar and Bugis texts were originally written on the leaves of the aka' tree (*Corypla Gebanga*) in an indigenous script, based on an Indic model probably first developed in the 15th century AD (Caldwell, 1988: 11).

The emergence of these complex chiefdoms and kingdoms was linked to the expansion and intensification of wet rice farming (MacKnight, 1983). Bugis and Makasar *patturioloang* chronicles suggest that most of this agricultural expansion was directed by the ruling families of emerging kingdoms. Agricultural expansion itself was in turn simultaneously stimulated by an increased availability of trade goods for which surplus rice could be exchanged (Caldwell & Bougas, 2004). The most significant imported items seem to have been Indian cottons, Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics, bronze ware imported from Java and or Bali, and Javanese gold jewelry (Caldwell & Bougas, 2004). Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000: 107) further suggest that the agricultural expansion was stimulated in part by a demand from Javanese traders for iron, which was smelted at Malangké in Luwu', and for rice, which they could export to the Moluccas in exchange for spices. Bulbeck further believes that the Makasar coastal plain was also linked at this time to the southern Philippines and Borneo through a second trading network that focused on the Sama-Bajau sea peoples. Bulbeck thinks that the Sama-Bajau may have established themselves along the south coast of South Sulawesi as early as the 14th century AD (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1034).

By the beginning of the 17th century two kingdoms dominated the peninsula – the Makasar kingdom of Goa (Gowa) and Bugis kingdom, Boné. Many historians have focused their attention on the epic struggle between the two for hegemony in South Sulawesi. Both sought outside support to bolster their positions. In 1605 Goa, for example, converted to Islam and proceeded to spread the faith throughout the peninsula by force, thus bringing the pre-Islamic period to an end. The Bugis on the other hand allied with the Dutch, who were eager to use their services in breaking the monopoly that the Makasar had previously established over the eastern island spice trade. In 1667 Arung Palaka, the Bugis king of Boné (r. 1672-1691 AD), in alliance with the Dutch Admiral Speelman brought the struggle to an abrupt end by defeating Sultan Hasanuddin of Goa and establishing Bugis/Dutch hegemony over much of South Sulawesi.

The Provenance of the Gold

Nearly all of the ancient gold and iron items found in South Sulawesi were associated with burial sites. This section therefore reviews pre-Islamic, Makasar mortuary practices and the types of grave goods associated with them. It also briefly describes the looting and legitimate archaeological excavations that have brought much of the gold to light. The section concludes with an examination of gold finds outside the Makasar coastal plain, first in South Sulawesi, next in Bali and Java, and then in the Philippines and in Kalimantan (Borneo) in order to provide a wider context within which to view Makasar pieces.



Map 1. Ethnic groups and kingdoms in South Sulawesi mentioned in the text

Mortuary Practices

Early Metal Phase (circa 0 AD-1200 AD) burial practices among the Makasar originally involved exposure of the corpse, until it was de-fleshed, followed by a secondary disposal of the bones, often buried in rock shelters (Bulbeck, 1992: 444). Examples have been recovered at Ulu Léang 2 and other sites in the Makasar coastal plain.⁵ Grave goods were severely limited: bronze rings, bracelets, and earrings, fragments of iron knives, iron spear-heads, and an assortment of various types (glass, copper etc.) of beads. No gold was found in association with these early burials.

Earthen jar burials containing the tightly flexed (in fetal position) corpses of children and possibly adults have also been found at Takbunccini in Galésong and date to this very early period (Bulbeck, 1996-7: 1029). Nusriat and Siahrawi (1994) excavated ten, inverted oval urns at Galésong, which they believed contained the bound corpses of children and adults for primary burial. These early urn/jar burials were associated with a modest array of grave goods: 60 semi-precious stone, copper, and glass beads. Again no gold was found in association with these jar burials.

From approximately 1000 AD to 1300 AD the Makasar began to cremate their dead. Cremated remains in jars have, for example, been discovered at Talaborong in Goa and have been radio-carbon dated (by cremated bone) to between 970 AD to 1270 AD (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1030). Cremated remains have been discovered in both earthen and ceramic jars. Increased grave goods were associated with these cremations, although on a limited scale. Gold for the first time now begins to appear on a regular basis as a component of grave goods. Cremated remains, found at Tilé-Tilé in Sélayar in earthenware urns, were, for example, associated with beads of semi-precious stones, gold leaves, an earring, and three bronze bracelets (van Heekeren, 1958: 85). Burnt bone was also found, as previously mentioned, in an inverted, Heger 1A type, bronze kettle drum at Bonto Ramba in Goa along with a considerable number of beads and gold jewelry. Cremated remains, radio-carbon dated from the 11th through 14th centuries AD, were also discovered at Saukang Boé in Goa again in association with gold rings and an iron *keris* (*sélé*, M.) (Bulbeck, 1992: 303). Finally, cremated remains were also found with an abundance of gold jewelry at Mattogang near Galésong in Takalar district (Bulbeck, 1996-1997: 1030).

5. These practices continued down to the end of the pre-Islamic period. Informants indicated, for example, that the pre-Islamic Makasar exposed their dead on rocks (possibly in caves). Mattulada also said that, based on his reading of ancient manuscripts, the bodies of pre-Islamic Makasar kings may sometimes have been placed on especially built platforms and exposed to the sun. The small house-like structures (*laikang*, M.), which were sometimes built over pre-Islamic graves, may have initially served as repository for the secondary disposal of the bones. (See Stutterheim, 1939).

The Makasar, living along the coast, eventually abandoned cremation (as well as the secondary disposal of bones) and began to bury their dead from approximately 1300 AD-1600 AD. The dead were buried along an approximate east-west axis with the head positioned towards the east and the feet to the west.⁶ A well known Makasar 'saying' contrasts this practice with the Bugis who continued to cremate and suggests that the Makasar may have once defined themselves in part based on mortuary practice: "We, the Makasar, are the ones eaten by maggots, while the Bugis are those people whose heads pop in the heat of the cremation fire" (*Mangkasara' bub-blukang, ugi' lappo'*) (Aminuddin Salle, personal communication).⁷ Log or boat-shaped coffins (*allung*, M., *duni*, B., *erong*, T.) were now also used for the first time. Several of these coffins have been found in caves in Loa in *Kabupaten* (district) Sélayar (Harsyad, 1993) and in caves at Ara in *Kebupaten* Bulumkumba (Busthanul, 1991).

The Portuguese trader, Paiva, who visited Siang in 1542 and again in 1544, described burial practices among the Makasar during the late pre-Islamic period as follows:

"The custom of this people was that, when someone died, they kept the body in the house for three months put in a large chest of wood after the manner of an elaborate sawn coffin, and they put all kinds of rich silk cloths and *patolas* and also fine white cloth and gold according to the status which each had, and as the estate of each allowed. Their houses are very high up on great wooden supports. And they raise this body thus in this elaborate wooden coffin and keep it there for the time span I have said. They took a bamboo pole so long that it could reach the ground, hollow in the centre, and they put one end in the coffin and the other below in the ground. May your Lordship believe that the bodies spoken of give off from themselves no harmful smell of putrefication, but rather the flesh of the body is siphoned off through the bamboo in such a way the only the bones and nothing else remain... At the end of this time they place three large supports like horizontal masts in such a way that the coffin can come down to the ground, where it is put on a large wagon in which it goes to the place where, together also with the wealth which it carries, they place it under the ground. And when they put it down by means of those masts underneath, they will cover it with a grand cow head, according to the grandeur of the coffin, with horns of gold, all carved, and then cover it in many silks accompanied by a great drumming.⁸ Great feasts and amusements are held at the burial without any mourning. They eat and drink at this burial in the manner of the holiday feasts in Portugal" (Baker, 2005: 78).

The type and amount of grave goods increased dramatically during the period of east-west burial. High fired ceramics imported from mainland Asia (Chinese: Song [960-1279 AD], Yuan [1260-1368 AD] and Ming [14th-17th

6. The dead were actually buried along the axis of the rising and setting sun. Recent excavations at Garassi' indicate slight variations in grave alignment depending on the position of the sun during the year (Ruquyyah, 2004: 79-83).

7. See Druce, Bulbeck, and Mahmud (2005) for more information on Bugis cremations. Also Bulbeck, 1996-1997: 1034-1035).

8. The horns of sacrificial buffalo are today still covered in gold foil in Toraja.

centuries AD] ware together with Vietnamese and Thai wares) became extremely popular and were often buried with the dead on an ever increasing scale. A bowl was sometimes placed behind the head as a pillow, while a larger plate might be placed face down over the head of the corpse. Small vessels or containers were sometimes used to produce a necklace around the neck. Larger plates were also traditionally placed over the chest and pelvic areas. Grave robbers in Jé'né'ponto report, for example, that they found as many as 100 plates and bowls in a single grave.

Grave robbers also report finding a wide range of bronze jewelry/ornaments, bronze cups, and small bronze containers in pre-Islamic Makasar graves. The most common items were bracelets and earrings. Looters again report that in Jé'né'ponto, for example, they discovered the remains of one individual with over 30 bronze bangles on each forearm. Bronze Hindu/Buddhist temple bells, possibly imported from Java or Bali, have also been found in several graves. Iron items, notably weapons (rusted *keris*, sword blades, spearheads, knives, etc.) were also found in pre-Islamic graves. Looters again say that iron *keris* or iron choppers were traditionally placed above the head of the dead in the grave or near the pelvic/abdomen area.

The types and amount of gold found in graves also greatly increased during this period. Although rare, golden death masks, made of thinly beaten gold, have been found, sometimes in association with gold foil genital/vulva covers. Numerous eye and mouth covers, made from hammered gold foil, have also been discovered in graves on a regular basis. The types of gold jewelry found in graves include: necklaces, bracelets, possibly ankle bands, rings, and earrings. Grave robbers also report that small pieces of crumpled gold foil were sometimes placed in the mouth of the dead. Finally, informants said that a gold *tingkiri*' (M.), an instrument used in weaving, was sometimes traditionally placed in the grave of a women, who died before marriage.

When the Makasar converted to Islam in the early 1600's, burial practices again changed and the dead were now buried along an approximate north-south axis in the Islamic manner so that the face of the deceased was positioned toward Mecca. With conversion to Islam the custom of burying the dead in association with grave goods was eventually abandoned. Looting of early Islamic graves indicates, however, that some graves still contained goods and this suggests that it may have taken some time before this practice was completely eliminated.

Looting and Excavations

Almost all the gold described in this paper was either looted or excavated from east-west, primary burials, which were located in areas originally

settled by the Makasar. These areas are defined by three closely related languages spoken by the Makasar-Konjo and Sélayar in the east and Makasar proper in the west (Bulbeck, 1996: 280). This region (Ref. Maps 1 & 2) today includes the following modern administrative districts (*kabupaten*, I.): Pangkajé'né', Maros, Goa (Gowa), Jé'né'ponto, Bantaéng, Bulumkumba, and Sélayar.

Gervaise reports the looting of pre-Islamic Makasar graves as early as 1688 (Gervaise, 1701: 120). Modern looting reached a peak in the early 1970's and still continues today, although on a much reduced scale. The recent decline in looting stems in part from the fact that by the early 1990's most pre-Islamic cemeteries had been thoroughly looted. New laws, seeking to discourage looting, were also enacted and more strictly enforced. In the 70's and 80's grave robbers were primarily interested in Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese, porcelain and highly fired stonewares which had been buried with the dead (Caldwell & Bougas, 2004). The looters paid little attention, however, to the other items found in the graves. Bronze bracelets and corroded iron weapons were, for example, discarded on site. Thinly hammered gold eye and mouth covers were also initially thrown away. Larger gold items such as bracelets, necklaces, and rings were sold on a weight (per gram) basis to Chinese goldsmiths in the provincial capital, Makassar. The Chinese goldsmiths subsequently melted down the ancient gold and recycled it as new jewelry. In time many looters, however, came to realize that there was a market for ancient gold, particularly pieces of Javanese origin. The looters subsequently began selling these items to antique dealers in Makassar, who then resold many of the most precious objects to dealers in Jakarta or abroad.

Official archaeological excavations have also been carried out in Makasar areas since the early 1970's. Two digs were particularly important for this paper because of the gold that was discovered: (1) excavations carried out by Uka Tjandrasmita in 1970 and (2) a recent study carried out at Garassi' in 2003 by the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University. Bulbeck (1992) also conducted surface surveys in the early 1990's, focusing on the historical archaeology of the Makasar kingdoms of Goa and Tallo', which also produced important information regarding gold.

Other Gold Finds

The Makasar were not the only people in South Sulawesi to use gold in their funeral rites. Gold also seems to have played an important role in pre-Islamic Bugis society and may have been used in their pre-Islamic death rites. The Bugis epic, the *La Galigo* (Djambatan Edition, pp. 483-517), describes in detail, for example, the funeral of *La Urung Mpessi* and *We Pada Uleng*, the royal rulers of Tompo Tikka'. The description of the rites

indicates that a funeral house (*gosali* or *panreng malilu*, B.), was erected east (*alau*, B. – which originally meant “toward the sea”) of the palace and was decorated with gold (*ma’ sawédi*, archaic B.) (Christian Pelras, personal communication).

Historical sources also suggest that the contemporary practice of using gold in funeral rites among the Toraja may be very old. When Bugis forces under Arung Palaka attacked the Toraja highlands in the late 1600’s, they looted many graves for the riches (presumably gold) they contained (Crystal, 1985: 142). Harrison and O’Connor also report that the upper classes in Toraja were traditionally buried with gold in their coffins (1969: 46). They interestingly point out, however, that the Toraja themselves may not have initially have forged gold. The gold in the coffins may have been in the form of dust/nuggets or gold objects imported from the coastal Bugis and Makasar kingdoms.

The Makasar are, however, unique among the peoples in South Sulawesi in that only they seem to have employed golden death masks and gold foil eye and mouth covers in their funerary rites. The detailed descriptions of funerals in the *La Galigo* do not, for example, mention such objects. Looting in Bugis and Toraja areas has also not to date turned up such items. Finally, gold, currently being looted from pre-Islamic graves in Banggai, Central Sulawesi, consists of clamps, earrings, bracelets, etc. but again no masks or eye/nose covers have to our knowledge been discovered there.

Gold death masks and golden eye and mouth covers have however been discovered elsewhere in Indonesia, notably in Bali and Java for example.⁹ Balinese and Javanese items are, however, much older and stylistically very different from the objects found in South Sulawesi. Miksic reports, for example, that the oldest (100 BC-100 AD) known gold objects found in Indonesia are eye covers from Gilimanuk in western Bali (1990: 56).¹⁰ Tang Dynasty (618 AD-905 AD) sources also describe burial ceremonies on Bali in which gold covers were placed over the mouth of the deceased (Miksic, 1990: 56). Gold eye covers have also been looted from graves at Rengasdengklok in West Java, possibly associated with the early kingdom of Tarumanagara and dating to the early first millennium (Miksic, 1990: 42) A brilliant, gold death mask was reportedly discovered in East Java, again tentatively dated to the 1st millennium AD (Miksic, 199: 55).

9. In Sumba when a noble dies, gold coins and jewelry are still used today to cover his eyes, mouth, and chest (Kartik, 1999: 75).

10. It is not known whether or not the contemporary Balinese practice of placing leaves from the *itaran bush* (*Melia Azadirach L.*) on the eyebrows of a corpse before it is cremated is related to these ancient practices. Broken bits of mirrors are also still placed on the eyes of a corpse in Bali possibly symbolizing ‘reawakening’ and ‘rebirth’. (Ramseyer, 2002: 159).

Eye and mouth covers have also been found in both the Philippines and Sarawak. Eye, nose, and mouth covers are said to have been plentiful at Butuan in Mindanao, for example, and reportedly date from the mid to late first millennium AD (Miksic, 1990: 56). Early Spanish sources, discussed in more depth later in this paper, also reveal that burial customs in the Philippines were strikingly similar to those practiced by the Makasar. The Visayans, for example, adorned their chiefs and nobles with death masks and eye covers made of beaten gold (Scott, 1994: 89-91). A gold foil eye cover, discovered *in situ*, at Oton, Iloilo on the island of Panay, has been dated to the 14th-15th century AD and is contemporary with and resembles some Makasar pieces (O'Connor & Harrison, 1971: 72). Gold foil eye and mouth covers have also been found at Santubong in the Sarawak River Delta. These are stylistically however different from the Philippine examples and date to an earlier period, since they are associated with late Tang and early Song (960 AD-1126 AD) ceramics (O'Connor & Harrison, 1971: 74).

Finally, gold foil eye and mouth covers have been discovered at a prehistoric site in Tinnevely, South India in association with early iron age urn burials (O'Connor & Harrison, 1971: 76-77). This urn burial tradition ceased circa 1100 AD with the introduction of new religious beliefs from north India which favored cremation over burial (Miksic, 1990: 56). Harrison and O'Connor speculate that the custom of using eye and mouth covers may have been introduced into insular Southeast Asia from south India. The gold foil eye covers, discovered at Gilimanuk, Bali and Rengasdengklok, West Java, both early indic contact sites, support this notion.

Description of the Gold

The following categories of gold objects are described below: death masks and phallic/vulva covers, funerary eye and mouth covers, bangles, clamps, rings, necklaces, earrings, small medallions, and small pieces of gold foil.

Death Masks and Phallic/Vulva Covers

Pre-Islamic royal graves were characterized by an abundance of gold. Gervaise (1701: 120) attests, for example, to the wealth of royal graves, when he describes the looting of royal tombs at Kalé Goa during the late 1600's:

"Nor is it long since, that some body ransacking in an old Tomb where one of the Greatest Lords of the Country had been buried, found a great Number of Dishes, Cups, Bracelets, Chains and Ingots of Gold, which his relations had buried with him to supply his occasions in the other Life."

The faces and reproductive organs of kings and their consorts were sometimes covered with golden death masks and gold genital/vulva covers.

Looters report, for example, finding two such death masks, made of thinly hammered gold, in the pre-Islamic portion of the Malajang (La Tenrirua) cemetery, located near Bissompolé in Bantaéng (Bougas, 1998: 110-111). The masks were discovered together with thinly hammered sheets of gold placed over pelvic areas of the remains. One gold sheet displayed a stylized phallic motif, while the other depicted a stylized vulva.¹¹ Numerous golden bracelets and rings were also found in both graves. The looters also took two large baskets of Ming Blue and White ware from the graves, suggesting a possible 16th century or slightly earlier date for the burials.

Pak Bustamin, a former looter, also discovered another small gold mask and gold genital cover, decorated with a phallic design, in a grave atop Kaili Hill in Bantaéng. The two pieces were made of thinly hammered gold and reportedly only weighed sixteen grams. This hill was once fortified with stone walls and may have marked the site of Séppu, an independent polity, which was later incorporated into the kingdom of Bantaéng at the end of the 16th century AD (Ref. Caldwell & Druce, 1998).

Haji Todjeng, a major looter in Jé'né'ponto, also reported discovering as many as five masks there. The first was found near the village of Banrimanurung in the Bangkala district (*kecamatan*, I.) of Jé'né'ponto. The cemetery in which the mask was found is located near the first and now abandoned palace center of the kingdom Bangkala. He also found three additional masks at Kampong Ujung at the mouth of the Allu' River and a fifth at the old palace center of Tana Toa located further upstream. Both Bustamin and Todjeng date the masks, they discovered, to the 15th or 16th centuries based on the types of ceramics that were associated with the burials. Finally, Pak Rachmat, a looter and dealer in Makassar, reported finding seven more gold masks, weighting 40-70 grams each, in pre-Islamic graves, associated with the old palace center at Katangka in Goa.

Gold death masks were also reportedly found in the Maros region (Lombard, 1972: 204), at Ujung Loé in Pangkajé'né' (Fadillah & Mahmud, 2000: 36), and at Sanraboné (Bulbeck, 1992: Fig. E-3). A private collector, the late Sammy Eilenberg, also reportedly purchased a mask along with two ear pieces, which appeared in the Spink catalogue *Octagon* in the 1970's. Unfortunately there is no reliable provenance for the piece (Campbell MacKnight, personal communication).

11. These sheets call to mind the triangular vulva covers (*jempang*, M.) and the penis (*bulobulo*, M.) amulets that were once worn by Makasar girls and boys.



Fig. 1. The Ujung Loé mask.
Photo Courtesy of Campbell Macknight.

Figure 1. contains a photo of the crumpled, Ujung Loé mask, the only mask in the possession of antiquity authorities. This mask (*Suaka* Accession No. 2697) was discovered by a farmer in 1966 at a site associated with the former Makasar kingdom of Siang, once visited by Paiva, in Pangkajé'né'. It is 18cm wide and 21.5 centimeters in length and weighs 68 grams. It has a gold content of 71.5 per cent. Pelras (1975: 26) suggests a 14th-15th century dating for this mask.

Note the similarities in the shape of the eye motifs with the Sèlayer eye covers in Figure 2 and the teeth motifs on the mask and teeth on the Pangkajé'né' mouth covers in Figure 8, suggesting some commonality in designs.

Funerary Eye and Mouth Covers

Numerous gold eye and mouth covers have also been discovered in pre-Islamic graves. Bulbeck reports, for example, that gold eye covers were excavated at Sompu in Takalar. Based upon an interpretation of reported finds, he suggests they may immediately predate the 15th century AD (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1031). Gold eye covers were also excavated at Maléwang in Pangkajé'né' by Tjandrasasmita (1970: 21). More recently students from the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University discovered four pairs of gold eye and mouth covers, associated with east-west burials, while excavating Makasar fortifications at Garassi'. Muhammed Nur, a member of the excavation team, told the author that, while the coffins, associated with these burials, had almost completely disintegrated, ceramics found at the site dated the graves to the 15th and 16th centuries or late pre-Islamic period.

The eye covers, described below, have been classified as either decorated or plain. While the dating of these objects is imprecise and more research is needed, I feel that the decorated covers may be older and that the plain covers represent a simplification of what were once more ornate forms, the proto-types of which may have originally been introduced from abroad.

The two decorated, eye covers, shown in Figure 2, were reportedly looted from pre-Islamic graves on the island of Sélayar. They were produced from cast gold sheets that had been hammered down into almost paper-thin foil. The "open eye" motif found on the covers may have symbolized rebirth and "ever-lasting" life after death (Garrett Solyom, personal communication). The rays, possibly highly stylized lashes, radiating out from the eyes on both pieces may also represent sun motifs.¹² The design seems almost Mediterranean in flavor and exhibits a rustic beauty. The reddish tint of both pieces stems from the fact that the gold had been alloyed with copper.

The decorated eye and mouth covers in Figure 3, reportedly looted from a pre-Islamic grave in Goa, are simpler than the examples in Figure 2. The eye cover consists of two elongated ovals decorated with repousse dots around the outer edges and connected by a thin nose bridge. The eye cover and mouthpiece are larger than the two examples described above. The ends of both the eye and mouth cover are perforated, suggesting they may have originally been held in place around the skull by some sort of string or perhaps sewn directly onto the funeral shroud. Unlike the other samples shown here, both eye panels have also been perforated at the center.

12. The Makasar traditionally associated the brilliance or light (*majasulo*, M) of the eye with the sun. If the light shone bright in the eye, an individual was considered healthy; absence of this brilliance however indicated that a person was near death.



Fig. 2. Golden eye covers, reportedly found in Sélayar.



Fig. 3. Eye and mouth covers, reportedly looted from a pre-Islamic grave in Goa.

The decorated eye cover, shown in Figure 4, was one of those excavated by Hasanuddin students at Garassi' in 2003 in association with 15th and 16th century Ming and Vietnamese ware. The rugged edges on the covers suggest leaves. Note again the possible sun motifs on the eye panels.

The fourth, decorated cover, Figure 5, was also found at Garassi' in 2003 (Ref. Ruqayyah, 2004). The leaf motif becomes quite transparent here, suggesting perhaps that the pre-Islamic Makasar may have originally covered the eyes of their dead with leaves.

The plain eye and mouth cover set, shown in Figure 6, and the single, plain eye cover in Figure 7 were reportedly looted from pre-Islamic graves in Goa. With their simple design and lack of ornamentation they seem rather crude when compared to the previous examples.

The golden mouth covers, shown in Figure 8, were reportedly discovered at Ségéri in Pankajé'né'. Both covers are decorated with teeth motifs. Paiva interestingly notes that the teeth of transvestite, shaman priests (*bissu*, B.) in Suppa' were covered in gold (Baker, 2005: 68). The Toraja also still place a small piece of gold in the mouth of a dead child, symbolizing a tooth and possibly its age, so that buffaloes might be sacrificed at its funeral (Tsintjilonis, personal communication).

The third mouth cover, Figure 9, was also excavated at Garassi' in 2003 (Ref. Ruqayah, 204). This cover is interesting because it seemingly combines sun and leaf motifs. The jagged edge suggests a leaf and the four pointed star-like motif at the center of the cover may again represent the sun.

Bracelets

Looters and antique shop dealers indicate that, while bronze bracelets are commonly found in graves, gold bracelets are rarer and often take the form of those pictured in Figure 10. These two bangles were reportedly discovered in a large pre-Islamic cemetery in the district of Goa located just off the modern road to the modern hill resort of Malino. Both bangles are hollow and must have been originally filled with resin, which has disappeared. The bangles are finely embossed with floral, perhaps lotus, designs, suggesting possible Javanese origin. Note again the red tint of the alloyed gold used to produce the pieces.

Clamps/Broaches

The pair of clamps, shown in Figure 11, was reportedly discovered in a pre-Islamic cemetery near the town of Barang Barang at the southern end of the island of Sélayar. They are Javanese in style and are beautifully embossed with what John Miksic of Singapore National University suggests may be highly stylized Garuda designs. The precise function of these clamps is not known. They may have been used to hold clothing in place or they may have simply served a decorative function as a pendant or broach.

Finger Rings

During a visit to antique shop on Jalan Somba Opu in Makassar, the writer was amazed to be shown a box of approximately twenty or more gold rings, which had been looted from pre-Islamic graves. An examination of the rings indicated that most of them were of Javanese origin (Miksic, 1990: Group 20, page 110). The collection contained, for example, a substantial number of 'Sri' rings, bearing the name of the Javanese rice goddess, Sri, inscribed on their crowns. The Javanese thought that these rings brought luck and prosperity to those who wore them (Miksic, 1990).

The ring, shown in Figure 12, was reportedly found in a pre-Islamic grave in Goa. It is a beautiful example of a type of Javanese ring known as a 'bee' ring. Upon closer examination of the ring, it can be seen that the principle motif on the ring is two bees, their posteriors joined, on the crown of the ring. Their heads face outward and down the left and right side of the ring. This is a common design in classical Javanese art. It is typically seen, for example, in doorways with the tails of two serpents (*naga*) joined at the top of the door and the bodies of the serpents sliding down the sides of the doorframe with their heads flaring out to the left and right at the door's base. Bee rings were produced in East Java during the Majapahit period (1294 AD through 1531 AD) and the bees are believed to have symbolized ancestral souls (John Miksic, personal communication). It should be pointed out, however, that there is some doubt as to the authenticity of this particular example, since the dealer, who sold it, is suspected of occasionally selling forgeries, produced by modern goldsmiths in Bali.

Necklaces

Looters and dealers indicated that complete necklaces are quite rare. Necklaces have typically been broken up and individual beads have either been washed away over the centuries or lost during the looting process itself. Looters also often mix up the beads from various necklaces they have found.

The necklace, shown in Figure 13, is therefore actually a composite piece made up of several types of golden beads reportedly looted from a number of different pre-Islamic graves in Goa.

Earrings

Two pairs of earrings and a single earring are shown in Figure 14. The first pair consists of two small gold coils; each coil has been bent to form a circle that hung from the ear. The second pair are thin, flat ovals with a large hole off center producing a half-moon design. The third and single earring resembles the second pair, but with a smaller opening for the ear lobe. These oval shaped earrings are typically associated with the Philippines and eastern Indonesia, not classical Java (John Miksic, personal communication). All



Fig. 4. This golden eye cover excavated at Garassi' in Goa in 2003, was found in association with 15th and 16th century AD Ming and Vietnamese ceramics.
Photo Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.

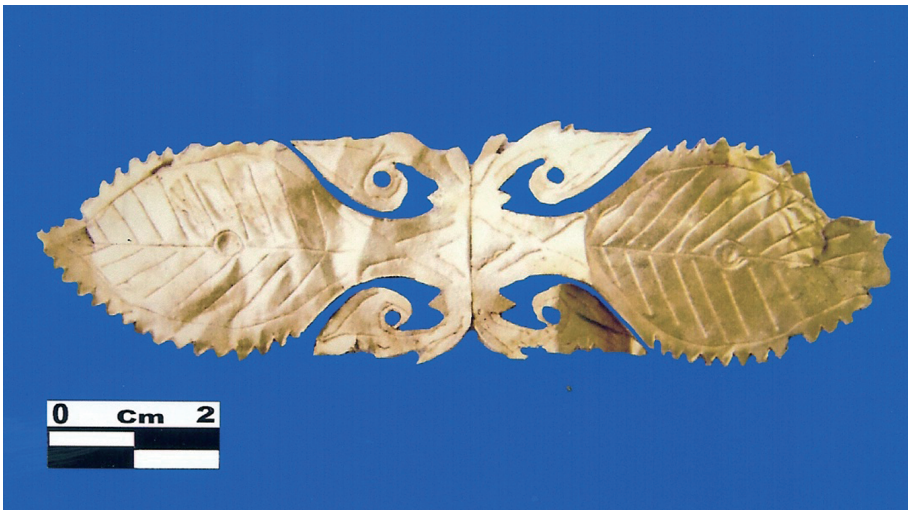


Fig. 5. Gold eye cover, discovered at Garassi'.
Photo Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.

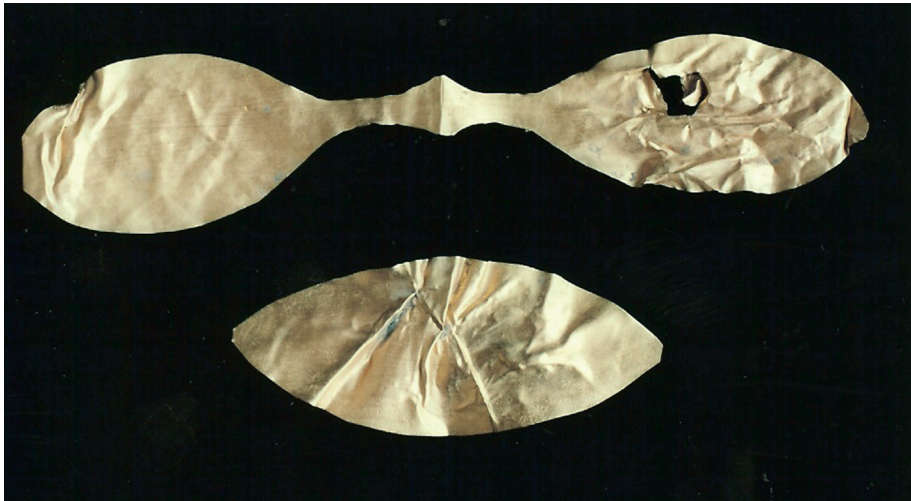


Fig. 6. Golden eye and mouth covers, reportedly found in Goa.



Fig. 7. Golden eye covers, reportedly found in Goa.

earrings were reportedly discovered along the south coast of South Sulawesi, but the precise location of discovery for each individual piece is unknown.

Medallions

Looters also report finding small, paper-thin gold medallions in graves. These medallions may originally have been attached to garments or to the shroud (*pa'roko*, M.) in which the corpse may have been wrapped.

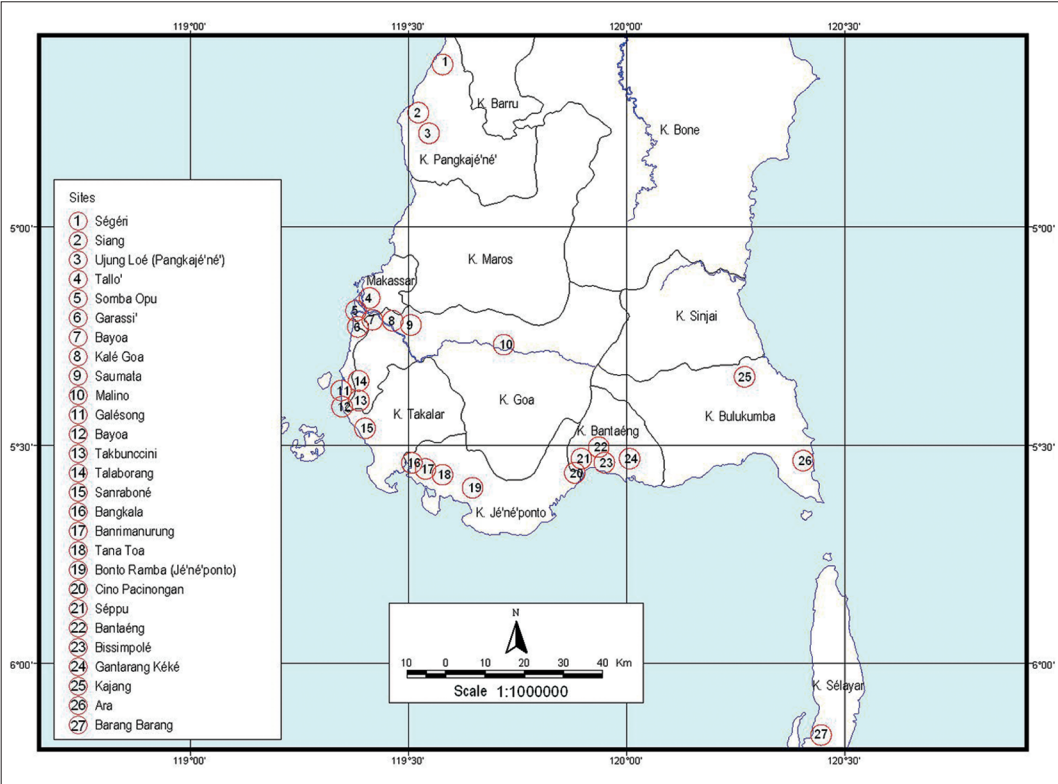
Foil

Grave robbers have also indicated that they sometimes find a small piece of crumpled, gold foil, placed in the mouth cavity of the dead.

The Meaning of Gold in Pre-Islamic Makasar Society

It is very difficult from today's perspective to construct a framework of pre-Islamic beliefs within which to view gold especially nearly 400 years after the introduction of Islam. Written records including local *lontara* manuscripts and early European accounts (Paiva, Counto, Gervaise, etc.) have been sourced, but these unfortunately provide only limited insights into pre-Islamic society.

Contemporary Sa'dan-Toraja and Bare'e-Toraja societies are also examined, because of the numerous and well-documented similarities between Toraja customs and pre-Islamic Makasar practices. While the Toraja have experienced Dutch colonization and have recently been converted to Christianity, Sa'dan and Bare'e Toraja communities have managed to preserve many of their earlier traditions and archaic beliefs especially those relating to gold and its use in funerals. These are summarized here so that the reader can compare and contrast them to pre-Islamic Makasar practices. An examination of *patuntung* society also sheds light on pre-Islamic Makasar beliefs. The *patuntung* represent a small segment of Makasar society, which has not been thoroughly Islamized after almost 400 years. Their beliefs and rituals are today to a large extent still based on pre-Islamic concepts (Rössler, 1990: 289). Finally, an in-depth examination of contemporary Makasar Muslims reveals that up until very recently a number of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices had become integrated into Islam. While these beliefs and practices are fast disappearing due to Islamic reformism, some have still survived. Finally, it is important to note that *patuntung* and contemporary Makasar beliefs are not always uniform across all Makasar communities, but are localized with regional variations. The *patuntung* in Goa, for example, traditionally believed that Mount Bawakaraéng was the center of world; people in Bantaéng looked to Mount Lompobattang, while the people of Kajang considered a wooded grove as sacred (Rössler, 1990: 295 & 300). Many of the examples in this paper are taken from Goa.



Map 2. Kapubaten and sites mentioned in the text

Cosmic Beliefs – Worship of the Sun and Moon

Gold's role in pre-Islamic Makasar society can probably best be understood within the context of the Makasar's traditional worship of the sun and moon. In 1688 Gervaise observed that, prior to their conversion to Islam, the Makasar worshipped the Sun and the Moon.¹³ He notes that "they (the Makasar) held nothing more worthy of the Admiration Of men, than the Sun and the Moon, those Luminaries were the sole Objects of their Adoration and Vows" (Gervaise, 1701: 117). He adds that the Makasar venerated the two deities in the form of "idols or figures... Of Gold or silver or earth baked in a kiln" (Gervaise, 1701: 188), which were kept in their homes. He further notes that offerings were regularly made to the two deities and that on occasion these offerings may have included human sacrifice (Gervaise, 1701: 118), (Pelras, 1975: 11-50). Gervaise also writes that the ancient Makasar built no temples and their principle form of worship consisted of addressing prayers to the sun and the moon at their raising and their setting (Pelras, 1981: 168). Finally, Gervaise explains the importance of the Sun and the Moon by stating that the Makasar believed that they were "beholding to all that they had, and what they were themselves", because through their union the Sun and the Moon had given birth to the earth (Gervaise, 1701: 118). Paiva and his companions painted a similar picture of Makasar worship to Francis Xavier. Diogo de Couto also noted that the Bugis had no temples (*casas de idolos*) and that when praying they raised their hands towards the sky (Pelras, personal communication).

The earliest known depictions of sun and moon motifs in Makasar-speaking areas are found on the Heger bronze drums found at Bonto Romba, Goa and at Papanlohéa in Sélayer and these most probably date to the early first millinneum AD. The sun motif on these drums is depicted within a circular full moon. The combined sun/moon motif may have symbolized an eclipse, which was traditionally associated with the coitus of the two celestial bodies. These drum with their sun and moon motifs, it should be kept in mind, were used in burials. The union of the sun and moon may then have once been associated with regeneration and rebirth and hence was deemed an appropriate motif in death rites.

Remnants of this ancient sun/moon worship have survived among the Makasar in rites still carried out during an eclipse. The people of Bajéng (*kecamatan* Goa) until quite recently, for example, believed that an eclipse of the sun and moon represented the union of husband and wife. During an eclipse villagers there traditionally banged objects together in order to pro-

13. Gervaise's reports are not eye-witness accounts but probably stem from his interviews with two young Makasar princes who had been consigned to learn French from him by King Louis XIV of France (Pelras, 1997: 53-72).



Fig. 8. Golden mouth covers, discovered at Ségéri, Pangkajé'né.
Note the teeth motifs on the two covers.

Photo Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.



Fig. 9. Golden mouth cover, excavated at Garassi'.

Photo Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.

duce a loud noise. This was done, some explained, to separate the two as soon as possible, because they feared the heat of the sun could harm the moon. They believed injury to the moon could reduce the fertility of the land and result in crop failure. Other villagers, however, claimed that they made the noise to celebrate the sun's and the moon's union. The term for eclipse in Makasar is interestingly enough *akkanrei lekoka*, meaning "the burning of the *sirih* leaf" (*Proyek Inventoris*, 1983/84). This suggests that the *sirih* leaf was in the past somehow associated with the female principle, fertility, and the moon.¹⁴ The term indicates that the purpose of making of loud noise during an eclipse may then have, as initially stated, been to separate the couple quickly and protect the moon from the sun's destructive heat. Given the moon's apparent association with the *sirih* leaf, the leaf and sun motifs on eye and mouth covers may possibly have symbolized an eclipse, the coupling of the sun and moon, and ultimately rebirth. More research is however required to confirm these suggestions. The pre-Islamic Makasar also viewed the world in terms of binary opposites and used cosmic orientation – the rising and the setting of the sun – to structure space, time, and their rituals. Traditionally Makasar houses and palaces (*balla' lompoa*) in Goa were, for example, constructed along an east-west axis with entrances facing east (*anrai*, M.) and the rear of the house to the west (*lau*, M.).¹⁵ The Makasar also once used cosmic orientation to denote an individual's age. The phrase, "the sun is still rising", was, for example, used to denote persons, who were between 25-45 years old, while the phrase "it's already afternoon" was used for someone who was 40 or older (Kruyt, 1906: 369). Finally, certain rituals such as weddings, the first ploughing of the fields at the beginning of the planting season, and the harvest festival were all begun in the morning and associated with the rising sun, while death rites were traditionally associated with the west and the sunset.

The Makasar traditionally associated the rising sun (east) with life (*katal-lasang*, M.) and rebirth, while the setting sun (west) was, as previously indicated, associated with death (*maté*, M.). The rising sun's association with life is evidenced, for example, by the fact that Makasar women traditionally faced east with giving birth, so that the baby exited the womb with its head

14. The Makasar traditionally used *sirih* leaves for medical purposes and in a number of rituals, often to ward off evil. It was used, for example, in the rites (*passili attéanang*, M.) carried out for a woman who was 7 months pregnant. It was again employed at the naming ceremony (*a' pattopolo*, M.) of a child to protect it from evil spirits. A *sirih* tree was also often planted in front of a house after a child was born.

15. Houses so aligned also faced Mount Bawakaraéng. Houses at the ritual center of Lalang Bata at Onto in Bantaéng and the *balla' lompoa* at Gantarang Kéké in Bantaéng on the other hand were aligned along a north-south axis so that their façades faced Mount Lompobattang and their backs were to the sea (Ulaen, 1978).



Fig. 10. Golden bangles, Javanese in style, reportedly found in Goa.



Fig. 11. Gold broaches, Javanese style, reportedly found in Goa.

directed to the east. The *anrong asé* or 'rice mother', consisting of the first rice stalks cut at the harvest and thought to contain the 'life spirit' (*sumanga'*, M.) of the rice and closely associated with life itself, was traditionally attached inside the attic gable (*sambulayang*, M.) on the 'eastern' side of the house. That the setting sun was associated with death is evidenced by the fact that in pre-Islamic burials the feet of the corpse, as previously indicated, were positioned in the grave pointing to the west, the land of the dead. Until very recently the Makasar also constructed ancestral shrines (Ref. Figure 15), known as *patansa* or *gaukanga* in the western end or more often the central section of their attics (*pammakkang*, M.). When annual rites were held there in honor of their ancestors, participants stood in front of the shrines/alters, facing west, the direction of the dead.

Pre-Islamic grave monuments, small house-like structures, possibly once associated with the secondary disposition of bones, may also have mirrored the traditional *pantasa/gaukanga* arrangements found in the attics of homes and palaces. We believe, for example, that grave monuments contained in the royal cemetery (*Kompleks Makam Raja Raja Binamu*) at Bonto Ramba in Jé'né'ponto, although Islamic and dating to the 1700's, are actually based in part on older, pre-Islamic forms (Ref. Muttalib, 1984). A quick look at Figure 16, the grave of *Karaéng Gosséya Bombang*, reveals, for example, that the tiered structure may have once symbolized the three levels of the cosmos (much the same as a traditional Makasar house): the heavens (*langi*, M.), the earth (*lino*, M.), and the underworld (*pérétiwi*, M.). An ancestral image (*tau tau*, M.) sits enthroned on top of the structure obviously in the heavens. It originally faced a second image atop the monument, a kneeling figure, paying homage to the *karaéng*. The statue of this kneeling figure, however, is now missing, stolen several years ago. If the monument were aligned along an east-west axis, as it surely would have been in pre-Islamic times, the image would be sitting at the western end of the monument facing east, with the kneeling figure facing west. Traditionally, immediate family and relatives would therefore have had to have been in the same position as the kneeling figure, that is, facing west when conducting rites before the ancestral image.¹⁶

Many of the pre-Islamic Makasar beliefs, described above, are still reflected in contemporary Sa'dan-Toraja culture. The Sa'dan, for example,

16. This same alignment is also found in other rites such as Bugis harvest ceremonies (*map-padandang*, B.). During the rites a long rice pounding mortar was placed on the east side of the field and a 15 meter high swing was constructed on the western side of the field with the rider facing east (Maeda & Mattulada, 1984: 130). The young boys and girls pounding the rice on the eastern side of the field were associated with fertility and life, while the swinger in the west functioned as a medium so that ancestors could descend to earth and attend the feasting associated with the rites.

still view the world through a system of binary opposites: day/night, right/left, heavens, under-world, white-yellow-gold/red-black, rice/maize (in replacement of *coix lacryma jobi*), and, of course, life and death (Nooy-Palm & Schefold, 1986: 40). This dualistic nature of existence is most clearly reflected in how the Sa'dan classify their rituals. They classify all their rituals like the pre-Islamic Makasar according to cosmic orientation: Rituals of the East and Rituals of the West. These two sets of rituals are also respectively known as "Rituals of the Rising Sun" and "Rituals of the Setting Sun" (Nooy-Palm, 1986: 3). Rituals of the East promote the welfare of man, his livestock, and his crops. They are concerned with growth, health, regeneration, and prosperity. Rituals in this category include agricultural rites, exorcisms to heal the sick, and traditional rites of passage related to birth, tooth-filling, tattooing, and of course weddings (Nooy-Palm, 1986: 3). Rituals of the West on the other hand focus on death, burial, and headhunting.

That the Sa'dan associate death with the west like the pre-Islamic Makasar is further illustrated by the fact that once a corpse had been washed, it was traditionally dressed in the best finery and propped up in a sitting position against the western wall of the house to receive guests for one or two days (Nooy-Palm, 1986: 179). This configuration precisely mirrors the position of the *tau-tau* image and kneeling figure on *Karaéng Gosséya Bombang's* grave in *Jé né ponto*.

Gold's Relation with the Sun, Life, and the Gods

Both the Bugis (Ref. Hamonic, 1983) and the Makasar associated gold with the sun. Bugis myths propose, for example, that creation originated when an all encompassing, hermaphrodite deity divided with a male principle springing from its right thigh and a female entity from its left, so that creation was conceived of as movement from right to left.¹⁷ These entities united in what was the first marriage. The creation of the sun and moon is not made clear in this creation process, but the sun was eventually associated with the male principle and the moon with the female principle. Bugis accounts further indicate (and Gervaise reveals that the Makasar concurred) that the Sun and the Moon did not initially get on well together and that the Sun had actually tried to violate the Moon against her will.¹⁸ Reconciliation was eventually achieved several generations later through the birth and sub-

17. That the Makasar may have held similar beliefs is evidenced by the fact that the head of the local council in Kajang, the *galla'pantama*, was regarded as the 'first born' of the *amma toa*, the ruler there, and the 'right thigh' of Kajang's *karaéng* (Usop, 1978: 64).

18. After the Sun and the Moon are said to have quarreled, the Moon without the aid of the Sun became impregnated through her own source of fecundity and gave birth to the stars, metals such as gold and iron, and monstrous plants and animals including the deity of the tree.



Fig. 12. Golden 'bee' ring, (possibly) of Javanese origin, reportedly found in Goa.

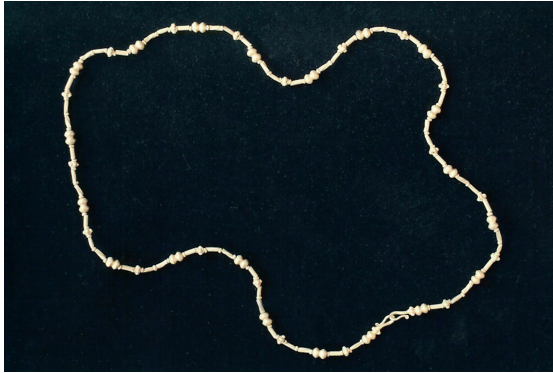


Fig. 13. Composite necklace, reportedly found in Goa.



Fig. 14. Assorted gold earrings, looted from various locations along the South coast of South Sulawesi.



Fig. 15. *Gaukanga* in the attic of the *Balla' Lompoa*, Galésong.

sequent marriage of three sets of twins: a pair of gold twins associated with the sun, a pair of silver twins associated with the moon, and a pair of iron twins associated with the earth. The twins intermarried and their offspring ruled the heavens, the underworld, and the earth itself. In this myth gold was associated with the solar (male) deity, the sky, and the upper world, while silver was associated with the lunar (female) deity, the waters, and the underworld. Iron was associated with the middle world, the earth, the habitat of man (Gibson, 2005).

The pre-Islamic Makasar also traditionally associated gold with life.¹⁹ This association is reflected in gold's close associations with the concept of

19. In numerous societies in eastern Indonesia and Melanesia gold was also associated with

sumanga'. The Makasar like the Bugis (Errington, 1989), Toraja (Tsintjilonis, 1999 & 2004) and the Malays (Cuisinier, 1951) still believe in varying degrees that all existence is animated by an invisible potency known among the Makasar as *sumanga'*. *Sumanga'* is differentiated through its attachment to 'bounded' centers (bodies, structures, etc.) that provide it with form (Tsintjilonis, 1997). The Makasar believe, for example, that at birth it enters the human navel (*pocci'*, M.) through the umbilical cord. The Makasar also believe that a house has *sumanga'* and that it is associated with the central post of the building, known as a *pocci' balla'* or *béntétanga*. The world too has its *sumanga'*, which is centered on Mount Bawakaraéng. The Makasar also believe that *sumanga'* is not stable or constant, but can be lost and regained, dispersed and regenerated on individual, community, and cosmic levels. The loss of *sumanga'* in individuals, for example, implies weakness, ill health, vulnerability to spirit attack, and the possibility of death.

The Makasar still believe that certain substances particularly gold have a high concentration of *sumanga'* and that these substances can be used to strengthen or fortify *sumanga'* (*passi'ko' sumanga'*, M.) in others. The Makasar therefore believed that individuals could increase their own *sumanga'* simply by wearing gold.²⁰ Villagers in Galésong said, for example, that they could retain or increase their *sumanga'* by wearing gold finger rings. Informants also indicated that in the past, if a male child died at birth, a single gold earring was traditionally attached to the right ear of the next male child born in order to strengthen its *sumanga'* in order to ward off evil and protect it from harm (*songka bala*, M.) Ibal Muhammad Iqbal Am, an archaeological student at Hasanuddin University, also told me how his grandmother at a recent, hair cutting ceremony for his son had touched a golden ring to the baby boy's lips in order to strengthen his *sumanga'* and protect him from harm.

The Makasar also believed that gold should not be allowed to come into contact with a dying person and removed all gold jewelry that a seriously ill person might be wearing before his or her death. They feared that as the soul left the body, the gold would also die, so to speak, and lose the *sumanga'* that it had once contained.

life-giving water (including the Hindu elixir of life – *amerta*) and the fertile fluids of both men and women (semen and blood). In some societies gold was also associated with serpents which were phallic in this context (Howes, 1988: 107-108).

20. These beliefs are not unique to the Makasar. The Kulawi and Kaili peoples of Central Sulawesi, for example, wear golden *taiganja* pendants, resembling the womb, which were thought to "intensify the spiritual energy of the wearer and thus grant protection from loss of self and consequent disease or death" (Richter, 2000: 172).



Fig. 16. Complex *Makam Raja Raja Binamu*, Bonto Ramba, Jé'né'ponto.

Gold was also traditionally associated with the gods (*rihata*, *déwata*, M.) that is, life immortalized.²¹ This association is best evidenced in the *tomanurung* (*tomanurunga*, M.) myths, which provided the ideological basis for kingship and hierarchical society in much of South Sulawesi. These *tomanurung* stories proposed that a divine being or *tomanurung* (normally a male) descended from heaven and that another divine being or *totompo* (B.), traditionally female, ascended from the underworld. The two deities met, married, and established a kingdom over which their heirs ruled. Their descendents justified their superior position in society and claimed an inherent right to rule because they were descendent from the gods. *Tomanurung* myths varied from polity to polity but they all functioned to provide a divine legitimacy to kingship and hierarchy among both the Makasar and Bugis.

A common feature of these tales is that when *tomanurung* first descended, they were recognized as semi-divine by the gold jewelry and golden textiles they wore and by the porcelain and stonewares in their possession

21. Gold may have traditionally been associated with immortality because it did not corrode or degrade like other metals. Its association with divinity including celestial bodies like the sun may also have stemmed from its ability to reflect light, since radiance was an attribute of divinity. The high god creator of the Bugis pantheon, To-Pa'bare'-bare'-édé, lived, for example, in a palace of shining mirrors (Andaya, 2004: 263). Finally, *tomanurung* also often appeared with flashes of lightning.

(Role 25, No. 16, pp. 1-3; Role 30, No. 16, pages 85-86). The Makasar also believed that after *tomanurung* had established a kingdom, they mysteriously disappeared and never returned. Before their departure they usually left some of their belongings, known as *kalompoang*, to their heirs, the future rulers of the kingdom. Rössler's (1990: 309) research in highland Goa suggests that the 'spirit' of the *tomanurung* was believed to reside in or to return to the *kalompoang* on specific occasions. The *kalompoang* were kept in the attic of the *balla' lompoa* and served as the principle medium through which kings and nobles could seek divine intervention on behalf of their kingdoms. Many but not all *kalompoang* were made of gold. The *tomanurung* founder of Bantaéng, for example, is said to have left behind a golden statue as a *kalompoang*. The Dutch also report that the *kalompoang* of Cino Pacinongan, a small Makasar kingdom, later incorporated into Bantaéng, were also golden figures (*Adatrechtbundels*, 1933: 174). The female *tomanurung* of Goa also bequeathed a gold chain, known as *I Tanisama* ('The Unrivalled') to her son and heir.

Royal installation rites In Bantaéng were basically a re-enactment of the *tomanurung*'s original descent and directly associated a newly anointed ruler with the *tomanurung* founder of the kingdom. As part of the installation rites the new *karaéng* was traditionally lowered from a tree replicating the *tomanurung*'s decent from the heavens. Gold dust, mixed with rice kernels, was sprinkled about symbolizing the golden rice that grew in heaven. The hymns of Bugis transvestite shamans (*bissu*, B.) also suggest that gold itself came from the heavens, the abode of the gods, and that the palaces of deities were made of gold (Hamonic, 2003: 496). The Sa'dan even thought that the heavenly plough was made of gold (Nooy-Palm, 1986: 87). The Makasar then believed that the gods including the *tomanurung* dwelled in a golden world and gold thus become in their minds a symbol of the heavens and deity. The gold dust, used in installation rites, helped then transform the proceedings from the profane to a heavenly and divine phenomenon.

Pre-Islamic Funeral Rites and Gold's Role in Them

Toraja and traditional Makasar funerals shared a number of common features. The Toraja and the Makasar traditionally used cosmic orientation, for example, to structure their funeral rites with the west associated with death and the east with life and rebirth. The Makasar like the Toraja also once propped up the corpse immediately after death to receive guests. Both the Toraja and the Makasar cocooned the corpse and drained it of fluids via bamboo tubes. Both peoples also used boat coffins and gold in funeral rites. The Makasar also traditionally thought that it was bad luck for a cat to walk across a corpse, because they like the Toraja felt that death should be kept as far away as possible from the rice crop. Cats, which killed rodents and thus

protected the crop, were closely associated with rice and life. Given these numerous shared traditions, I believe that an examination of Toraja rites, both those of the Sa'dan in South Sulawesi and the Bare'e in Central Sulawesi, can shed additional light into traditional Makasar beliefs and practices.

Sa'dan funerals, as previously indicated, were associated with Rituals of the West. The function of these rites and sacrifices was to separate the soul of the deceased from the corpse and also from the living and carefully guide it toward *Puya*, the Land of the Dead, located south of the Sa'dan homeland nearby modern day Énrékang and then subsequently convey it on to the western horizon. The Sa'dan also believed that at death the life spirit (*deata*, T.) of an individual, which is nothing more than 'embodied', that is, structured *sumanga*, is transformed into a death soul, known as a *bombo* (black shadow) and that the most important function of Sa'dan death rites was to eventually convert the *bombo* back into *sumanga*, or as the Toraja put it "to return it to its original form" (Tsintjilonis, 1999: 622). The funeral rites of a select group of the highest nobles among the Sa'dan are actually 'transformation' rituals and are, therefore classified with eastern rites. During these rites, the soul of a deceased noble is transformed into a deity and is admitted into a circle of ancestors who reside in the east and who care for the rice crop (Nooy-Palm, 1986: 3). These rites seek to convey the soul of the highest nobles out of the west, which was associated with the land of the dead, and transform them into deified ancestors, who become constellations in the eastern sky and guardians of the rice crop.

The Sa'dan traditionally employed gold in these higher funeral rites associated with Rituals of the East. Bits of gold foil were, for example, sewn to the cocoon enveloping the corpse and the cocoon itself was often laid in a boat-shaped coffin that had been painted gold (van der Veen, 1966: 32). Gold and silver coins were also sometimes sewn on the head of the cocoon and in some Sa'dan areas a small golden cord was also wrapped around it (Tsintjilonis, personal communication). Because gold was associated with the eastern rituals, life, and regeneration in Sa'dan thought, they used it as a 'transformer' to reorient the souls of the noble dead from the west to the east, from death to regeneration, and from ancestor to deity. Gold was then used to facilitate the rebirth of these souls in the eastern realm as divine ancestors and guardians of the crop.

Bare'e Toraja funerals provide a similar but useful variant of the Sa'dan model and shed additional light on possible pre-Islamic Makasar beliefs and practices. The Bare'e Toraja traditionally implemented death rites in two stages. During the first phase the dead were originally buried for up to a year; the corpse of a chief, however, was sometimes kept in coffin near the house, raised on a platform above the ground, for up to as many as seven

years (Kotilainen, 1992: 186-187). During the second stage of the rites the bones were dug up, cleaned of any remaining flesh, then placed in a small box for secondary disposal in caves, or in the case of a chief the box was sometimes stored under the house.

In the first stage of these rites the Bare'e believed that at death the living soul was transformed into a 'death soul' or *angga* (BT.), which followed the setting sun down through a great hole into the dark underworld. These preliminary rites were completed when the death soul was successfully transferred to the land of the dead, where it remained until the putrefication process was complete. Elaborate secondary mortuary rituals were then held involving a final and thorough cleansing of the bones. Through this cleansing and purification process the dangerous *angga* was finally transformed into a benevolent ancestral spirit and escorted up into the upper world.

During these second stage rites shamans traveled down to the underworld and brought the death souls back to earth to participate in a great death feast, the last meeting of the living and the dead. To facilitate the dead's participation in this feast, the Bare'e Toraja made dolls from the cleansed bones and topped them with carved, wooden death masks (*pemia*). The purpose of these dolls was to temporarily transform the dead back into earthly beings so that they might take part in the death feast with their family and friends (Kotilainen, 1992: 188). Once the feast was completed, the shamans accompanied the reborn/purified souls to the upper world where they were united with their ancestors. This journey to the upper world was achieved not only through the secondary disposal of the bones but was also facilitated through the sun's morning rise in the heavens.

Modern *patuntung* practices suggest that the pre-Islamic Makasar may have once sought to convert dangerous death souls into beneficent ancestors. The *patuntung* of highland Goa, for example, believe that an individual's *sumanga* disappears at death and a death soul, known as an *anja*, appears.²² The primary purpose of their funerals is to remove the souls of the dead (*anja*) from the world of the living and facilitate their integration with ancestral spirits (*pakammikna pakrasanganga*, M.) in the land of the dead. The *patuntung* believe that through these rites they are able to transform *anja* into a special category of spirits known as *jing sallanga* which reside with their ancestors atop Mount Bawakaraéng (Rössler, 1990: 298).

The pre-Islamic Makasar funeral rites like those of the Bare'e Toraja may have been implemented in two stages and were possibly governed again in

22. Today the Makasar use the term *bombo* to denote a type of ghost that resides in the vicinity of cemeteries and use the term to frighten children who do not behave. In the past the term may have been used to refer to the death soul.

part by cosmic orientation. The primary function of these rites in their initial stage was to separate the death soul from the living and escort it to the land of the dead in the west, where it remained until the bones were devoid of decaying flesh. The pre-Islamic Makasar may then have implemented a second series of rites in which the soul was escorted from the land of the dead in the west and transported to Mount Bawakaraéng, traditionally associated with the rising sun in the east. These suppositions are based in part on the fact that the Makasar had two seemingly contradictory notions regarding the location of the land of the dead – one positioned the afterworld in the far west, while another located it on Mount Bawakaraéng. The positioning of the corpse in the grave, ancestor rites held in house attics, and pre-Islamic grave markers support the first notion, suggesting that the Makasar once believed the land of the dead was located somewhere in the west. Kruyt also supports this supposition by noting that the Makasar traditionally believed that the souls of individuals who died of cholera or who were lepers traveled to the west and remained there (Kruyt, 1906: 370).²³

A second tradition, however, places the land of the dead on Mount Bawakaraéng. We know that the *patuntung* still hold this belief. A ritual specialist (*pinati*, M.) in Galésong, who claimed to be able to communicate with the dead through her dreams, also told the author that it was common knowledge that the land of the dead was located on Bawakaraéng. Kruyt also supports her through his retelling of the story of a certain *Karaéng Borong*, who traveled to Bawakaraéng in search of the soul of his dead wife (1906: 360).

The importance of Bawakaraéng in Makasar thought stems in part from the fact that the mountain was considered to be the center of the Makasar universe, the home of the god *Patanna Lino*, Lord and Owner of the World (Rössler, 1990: 296). Bawakaraéng also plays a central role in one version of the pre-Islamic Makasar creation myth. This particular myth suggests that after the mountain separated itself out from the primordial sea, the first plants and animals and first human were created on its peak (Rössler, 1990: 295).²⁴ Bawakaraéng was also traditionally associated with the rising sun and hence life and rebirth, since the mountain is located east of Goa with sunrise appearing over its summit. Finally, some *tomanurung* were also thought to have descended from and eventually to have returned to the

23. When Sawérigading, the Bugis epic hero of the *La Galigo*, visited the land of the dead he saw a giant *Pao Jengki* tree there, whose leaves were actually the souls of lepers (Hamonic, 1983: 492).

24. This myth may be derived from or related to a very ancient and core myth of origin found among Malay peoples. The myth of creation of the Ngaju Dayak, for example, recounts how everything lay within the jaws of the watersnake until a Gold Mountain welled up...

mountain. In death an individual then returned to Bawakaraéng, the center of creation, and to the gods.²⁵

Kruyt reconciles both traditions regarding the location of the land of the dead – in the west or atop Bawakaraéng – by suggesting that the Makasar may have once actually combined both notions so that the souls of the dead were first thought to travel to the west and then to continue on to Bawakaraéng (1906: 360). If this were so, the east-west alignment of the corpse in the grave then takes on a double symbolic meaning. The feet pointing to the west suggests that the death soul followed the route of the setting sun to the land of the dead in the west, where it remained until the bones were purified from putrefying flesh. The positioning of the head towards the east may imply that death soul was later resurrected on the path of the rising sun in the east and was subsequently transformed into an ancestor. The *tau tau* images on pre-Islamic graves have conveyed a similar message. The positioning of the image on the western side of the monument but facing east may have indicated that an individual had died, that his or her death soul had traveled to the west, and that he or she had subsequently been reborn as a beneficent ancestor in the east.

The pre-Islamic Makasar may have used gold like the Toraja to achieve a number of critical transformations in the funeral rites of their higher classes. Gold was able to function as a ‘transformer’ because of its association with the rising sun, life (*sumanga*’), and the gods. First, because of its association with the rising sun, a symbol of resurrection and renewal, gold may have been used to transform death into rebirth. Second, again because of its association with the sun, gold may have been used to facilitate a transition from west to east in funeral rites, that is, the death soul was transferred from the land of the dead in the west to Bawakaraéng in the east. Finally, because of its association with *sumanga*’ and the gods, gold may have been used in the funerals of the high born to transform the *bombo* back into its original form, that is, *sumanga*’ and then to convert this *sumanga*’ into ‘deified’ ancestors, residing with the gods in the heavens.

The Function of Golden Eye/Mouth Covers and Death Masks

A question naturally arises as to why the pre-Islamic Makasar employed golden death masks and eye and mouth covers in their funeral rites. Why masks? Why eye and mouth covers? Why was crumpled gold foil placed in the mouth of the deceased? Why not just place gold ingots in graves to

25. The Sa’dan Toraja believe that the souls of highest nobles ascend to the heavens and the gods via Mount Bambappuang in Enrékang. The name of the mountain, “Gateway to the Gods”, indicates its function (van der Veen, 1966: 25).

achieve the transformations described above? We can at best only provide partial answers to these questions.

Informants indicate that the eyes of the dead may have traditionally been covered to prevent them from returning home and harming the living.²⁶ The higher classes may have covered the eyes with gold, while commoners and slaves probably used leaves or other perishable materials. These practices may have stemmed from the fact that the Makasar traditionally feared the dead, that is, the *anja* or *bombo'* prior to its transformation into an ancestral spirit. The Makasar traditionally, for example, removed a corpse from a house via either a window or through a wall panel that had been temporarily removed from the left side of the house (*rinring riulu*, M.). They did this in order to confuse the death soul so that it could not find its way back home and harm relatives or other villagers.

Mouth covers may also have served a protective function. Miksic notes, for example, that in eastern Indonesia the heads of the dead were sometimes placed in pots to ensure the senses (sight, speech, etc.) could not be used again and the dead could not find their way back home (1990: 57). The pre-Islamic Makasar may also have placed ceramic or stoneware plates face down over the head of a corpse in the grave to achieve a similar purpose.

The Makasar also traditionally employed a number of means to protect dead from attack by evil spirits. Relatives of the family, for example, stayed up all night to attend the corpse and they also rode on the funeral palanquin (*bulékang*, M.) to the cemetery in order to protect the deceased from harm. This practice is known among the Makasar as *amata-mata* which means to "watch (over the body)". The Makasar also still on occasion place an iron chopper or *keris* on the stomach or above the head of a corpse, while it lies in state in the home. They believe that the hardness of the iron is transferred to the deceased's soul and strengthens and protects it from harm.²⁷ This is a very ancient practice, since grave robbers report that they have sometimes found *keris* or choppers placed above the skull or near the pelvic area of the dead in pre-Islamic graves. The Makasar also attached torches (*sulo langi'*, M.), produced with burning rice chafe (*la'lara*, M.), to funeral palanquins and villagers also burnt rice chafe under the steps of their homes as a funeral procession passed by to keep evil spirits away. The Makasar traditionally believed that spirits and demons were terrified of fire and used it to ward off or exorcise spirits.

26. The Ujung Loé death mask and the one purchased from Spink are solid, that is, there are no openings for the eyes, mouth, or nostrils. The Spink mask was also accompanied by ear covers.

27. Pelras (personal communication) says that the Bugis place an iron, chopper-like instrument, known as a *curiga*, over the head of a sleeping child. An individual can also bite it to strengthen one's *sumanga'*. During their rituals Bugis *bissu* also clap or clang iron instruments together to frighten off evil spirits.

The gold foil sometimes found crumpled in the mouth cavity of the dead in pre-Islamic graves may have functioned in this vein, that is, to protect the dead from harm. During the Majapahit period small gold plates, inscribed with letters representing the names of the five Hindu gods: Shiwa, Brahma, Wishnu, Indra, and Yama, were, for example, placed in the mouth of the dead at funerals or cremations in Bali in order to avert evil influences (Pigeaud, 1962: Vol. 4, 95). Gold rings are still sometimes placed in the mouth of a corpse prior to cremation in Bali today (Ramseyer, 2002: 159).

The Makasar also used symbols of fertility and creation to ward off evil. I have already noted that small girls wore *jémpang* (symbolizing the vulva) and boys wore *bulo-bulo* (tubular sheaths) over their penises as amulets to protect them from harm. The Makasar still wear special belts (*passi'ko' aya'*, M.), made by stringing a series of hard, rounded and smooth pebbles, together to strengthen their *sumanga'* (*passi'ko' sumanga'*) and ward off evil (*songka bala*). The Makasar try to pair a female stone (rounded) with a male one (elongated), creating a series of male/female pairs in these belts (Ref. Figure 17).²⁸ Grave robbers report finding these stones in pre-Islamic graves and they say that they themselves recycle them in belts and rings for their own protection. I believe that the golden phallic and vulva covers, found in royal graves at Bantaéng and elsewhere, may have functioned in a similar manner.

The function of the golden death masks is more difficult to explain and their precise function may never be known. I believe that the masks are possibly part of a larger pattern of imagery reflected in the *tau tau* funerary statues of the Sa'dan, the bone dolls and *pemia* masks of the Bare'e Toraja, and terra-cotta ancestor images. The *tau tau* images, the *pemia* masks, and the terra-cotta figures all emphasize 'face', an ancient Austronesian trait. Note, for instance, the prominence of the face in the terra-cotta ancestor images in Figure 18. The importance of 'face' for the Makasar is further indicated in the expression *rupa tau*, which roughly translates as "the face indicates that this entity is a person, a human." In other words the essence of being a human is expressed through the face. Face in short indicates the identity of a person or object. A 'golden' face, reflecting light, in the form of a death mask may then have once identified the deceased as or associated him with a god.

28. *Tomanurung* worship in Bantaéng centered on Onto, Bissampolé, and Gatarang Kéké. Informants say that *tomanurung* in these places were traditionally worshipped in the form of pairs of stones, one elongated and the other round, symbolizing the male and female principle. The *tomanurung* in Bissampolé was also worshiped in the form of a foot high golden statue (*kalompoang*). The idol was characterized by a large penis totally out of proportion to the body of the statue; one of its golden legs was however broken off and missing (Kruyt, 1906: 500).



Fig. 17. Male and female stones.

Associated with Karaéng Loé worship at Lalang Bata, in Onto Bantaéng.

The golden death masks, the *tau tau* images, the *pemia* masks, and terra cotta images may also have all functioned along similar lines, that is, they provided a medium or vehicle for souls and ancestral spirits to transform and physically manifest themselves so that they could interact with the human community; this is or was at least in part the function of the *tau tau* images, and the *pemia* masks during funeral rites. The golden death masks are, however, a bit different in that they unlike the other items were actually buried with dead, suggesting they may also have perhaps provided the soul with a vehicle or medium to enter the heavens.²⁹

Historical Significance of the Finds

The gold described in this article provides several significant insights into the historical development of South Sulawesi. First, it furnishes tangible evi-

²⁹ In the Philippines gold was believed to have “the power to contain the soul of the deceased and to drive away evil spirits” (Villegas, 1999: 48).

dence of trade links with Singosari/Majapahit Java. Second, it demonstrates close cultural similarities between the southern Philippines and the Makasar coastal plain. Third, it illustrates the ever increasing commercialization and stratification of Makasar society during the period 1300 AD through 1600 AD.

Links with Java

Gold first appears in substantial amounts in association with cremation along the Makasar coastal plain beginning around 1000 AD. It is, therefore, tempting to attribute the introduction of cremation and the more lavish use of gold to possible Javanese influence. Both the Javanese and the Balinese cremated during this period and may have used gold in their cremation rites. As previously indicated, the Balinese placed golden tablets in the mouth of their dead to ward off evil. Bits of gold foil, strung together to form a human effigy, were also used in high caste cremation rites in Lombok until quite recently. Perhaps golden eye and mouth covers, originally associated with burials, were still used for a considerable period after the introduction of cremation in Java and Bali. A note of caution is required here, however, since the death masks and eye and mouth covers, that have been discovered in South Sulawesi, are not Javanese in style, but seem to have been produced locally, suggesting other possible origins.

Much of the gold associated with east-west burials, particularly pieces that were worn by the living and later buried with them – bracelets, necklaces, finger rings, necklaces (as opposed to the death masks and eye covers made specifically for the dead) – are of Javanese origin.³⁰ These pieces were probably produced in Java and exported to South Sulawesi. Local myths support this notion that gold was imported from Java. One Makasar *lontara*, for example, tells the story of Karaéng Bayowa, a pre-Islamic ruler of Saumata, one of the original nine communities, which federated to form the kingdom of Goa. The manuscript describes how he sailed to Java in part to obtain gold:

“The king of Saumata at this time was Karaéng Bayowa. One day he ordered his shipwright to build him a great ship, so that he could sail to Majapahit and visit the great lord (*Batara*, M.) who ruled there... After the shipwright had completed the ship, king Bayowa sailed for Majapahit. Upon arriving in the kingdom, the king summoned a local goldsmith (*panré bulaéng*, M.) and ordered him to make a *kawari* (necklace), a *barang*, a *ponto* (a tubular bracelet hugging the forearm) all from gold as well as an item of personal adornment in the form of a golden cock...” (Author’s Summary taken from Role 62/1, page 17).

30. Majapahit was known for its gold work. Ma Huan, who accompanied Admiral Zheng He on his epic voyages, notes, for example, that Javanese brides wore necklaces made from gold beads and bracelets made from gold, silver, and gems (Richter, 2000: 149). The Franciscan friar Oderic de Pordenone also reported that the floors of the royal court were tiled with gold and silver (Richter, 2000: 149).

Not all Javanese gold may have been imported. Javanese goldsmiths, working at Makasar royal courts, may also have produced some of the items found in pre-Islamic graves.

The importation of Javanese gold and the use of Javanese smiths are not unique to the Makasar but were a common occurrence throughout this period. Small amounts of Javanese gold have, for example, been found in the Philippines as evidenced by the 21 carat gold figurine, found in Mindanao, and by an intricate gold garuda pendant found in Palawan, both pieces associated with Javanese Majapahit (Jocano, 1975: 141, 145). The Limbang Hoard, discovered in 1899 in Brunei, contains elaborate and sophisticated gold pieces, probably dating to post 1300 AD and again seemingly of Javanese origin (Harrisson & O'Connor, 1969: 34-35). Finally, local folklore tells how the Sultan of Brunei in the 15th century AD imported 40 goldsmiths from Java to work at his court (Harrison & O'Connor, 1969: 41).

Contacts with the Philippines

Scholars have for some time noted the close cultural similarities between the Philippines and Sulawesi. Bellwood, for instance, comments on the existence of a widespread urn burial complex covering the Philippines, parts of Borneo (Kalimatan), and Sulawesi during the 1st millennium AD (Volkman, 2000: 26-27). The looted gold in this paper also suggests that parts of the Philippines and the Makasar coastal plain continued to share a number of common cultural traits during the late pre-Islamic and pre-Spanish periods. Early Spanish accounts reveal striking similarities, for example, between Philippine and pre-Islamic Makasar mortuary practices – the use of wooden coffins, burial with trade ceramics, and the use of golden death masks and gold eye and mouth covers in funeral rites. The Visayans in the Philippines, for example, wrapped their upper class dead in layers of shroud and drained off putrefied matter through a bamboo tube. The Visayans also buried their dead in coffins made from hard wood. They also buried their dead in these coffins with valuable heirlooms such as porcelain plates and jars. The Visayans also adorned their chiefs and nobles with death masks and eye covers made of beaten gold. They also sometimes placed small pieces of gold foil in the mouth of their dead. Finally, the Visayans' placing of small pieces of gold between the layers of the death shroud recalls the Toraja practice of sewing golden foil figures onto the cocoon the enveloped the decaying corpse (Scott, 1994).

Caspar de San Agustin notes that when the Spanish first arrived in the Philippines, it was customary for the natives to place the corpse in a hallowed out log with little strips of gold placed over the mouth and eyes (O'Connor & Harrison, 1971: 72). Francisco Colin, writing in the 17th century, also says that:

“After the rich and powerful were bewailed for three days, they were placed in a box or coffin of incorruptible wood, the body adorned with sheets of gold over the mouth and eyes” (O’Connor and Harrison, 1971: 72).

These similar assemblages suggest that there may have been considerable inter-island trade and contact between the Philippines and the Makasar coastal plain during the first half of the second millennium AD.

The use of wooden coffins, burial with ceramic and stone wares, and golden masks and eye covers – are generally thought to have greater antiquity in the Philippines than in Sulawesi. Multiple and secondary log coffin burials associated with iron have, for example, been found in the Kalatagbak area in the Philippines and have been dated to between 700 AD-900 AD (Dizon, 1983: 12). Primary burial in boat coffins have also been discovered in the Kuruswanan area in association with Yuan Dynasty pottery (Dizon, 1983: 11). Gold has also been found there in association with burial jars dated between 100 BC and 300 AD (Dizon, 1983: 14). Harrison and O’Connor



Fig. 18. Terra-cotta ancestor images, Kélara, Jé'né'ponto.

believe that much of the gold-smithing in the Philippines, as in West Borneo occurred after 1000 AD, especially between 1200-1400 AD (1969: 43).³¹ Given the slightly earlier dates for these phenomena in the Philippines, it is plausible that primary burial in wooden coffins and the use of gold in burials may have spread from the Philippines to the Makasar coastal plain via ancient trade contacts.

Bulbeck (1996-97: 1034) theorizes that the Sama-Bajau aquatic populations, centered on the Sulu Archipelago, may in fact have actually introduced primary, extended burial to the Makasar. To support his argument Bulbeck points out that archaeological evidence suggests that a trade network, linked to the sea nomads, may have actually shifted from the western archipelago to the eastern archipelago sometime around 1000 AD. Prior to that date burials in boat-shaped coffins, a cultural trait associated with the sea peoples, were commonly found in Sumatra, Java, Bali, the Malay Peninsula, and northwest Borneo, but then they seemingly disappeared. As boat burials disappeared in the west, they began to emerge in the east. They first appeared in Sabah and in northeast Borneo between 1000 AD and 1200 AD. They next appeared in the Philippine lowlands where cemeteries containing trade wares and occasional log coffin burials proliferated from the 12th through 16th centuries. Finally, circa 1300 AD the Sama-Bajau settled in the Makasar plain and possibly introduced burial in boat-shaped coffins there.

Pallesen presents a variant picture of Sama-Bajau expansion which still however could be used to support Bulbeck's thesis. He believes that speakers of proto-Sama/Bajau were settled in the Sulu Archipelago, on Basilan and the nearby Mindanao coastline as early as 800 AD (1985: 117). He further believes that they later began to disperse in the 10th century AD, subsequently establishing themselves on the eastern coast of Mindanao and northwards. By the 11th century they had moved southward to the western coasts of Sabah and into what is today eastern Kalimantan (Borneo), eventually settling in Sulawesi and other eastern Indonesian islands several centuries before the first Europeans arrived. Pallesen suggests that they initially may have established colonies in these areas and participated in protein-starch exchange with local populations, trading dried fish for sago or rice (1985: 248). They later traded shark fin, pearls, turtle eggs, mother-of-pearl,

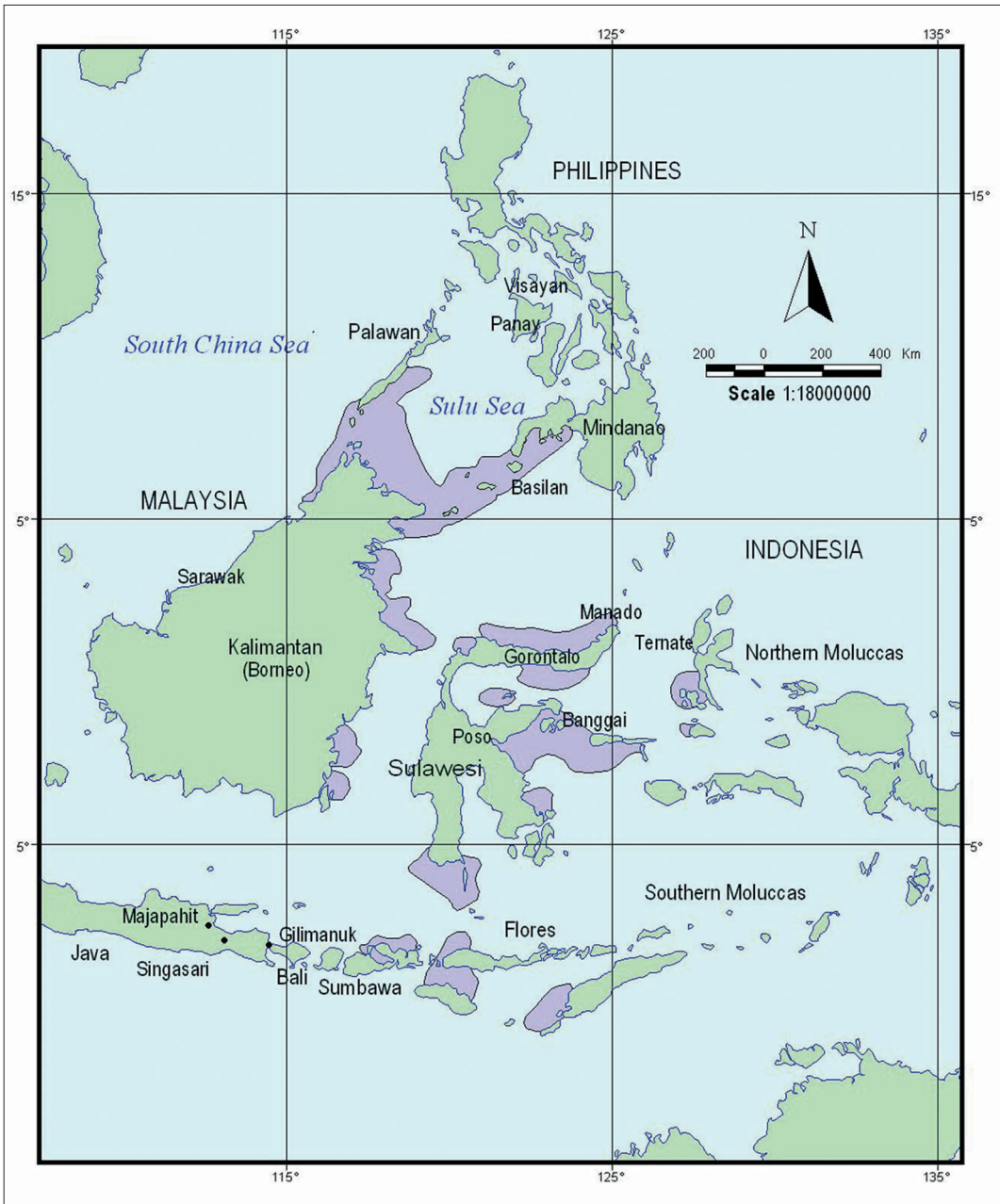
31. Gold artifacts have been found in graves in the Philippines as early as 500 BC (Legarda, 1978: 92). Grave sites rich in gold have also been discovered on the islands of Mindoro, some of the Visayan Islands including Samar, Cebu, Iloilo, Panay and Bodol) and at Butuan in Mindano (Legarda, 1978: 92). Tools for working gold, found at Butuan, date to approximately 320 AD (Villegas, 1999: 10). Cut-breach gold foil, death masks, found at Butuan in association with Tang Dynasty pottery, are very similar to those found at Jaong in West Borneo and date to before 1000 AD (Legarda, 1978: 94-95).

and *tripang* (sea cucumbers) and by the 11th century had established a trading hub at Jolo at the center of the Sulu Archipelago, which was later linked up with Brunei and the Chinese ceramic/stoneware trade.

Bulbeck further supports his argument by noting that at every major river port entrance in the Goa-Tallo' region (Tallo', Jé'né'béréng, Galésong, Sanraboné) there was a Bajau settlement. These settlements were frequently named 'Bayoa'. Boat burials at these rivers entrances have only been found at these 'Bayoa' sites. A remnant of a log coffin, found at Bayoa in Sanraboné just south of Goa, for example, has a carbon date of 1340 AD (range 1260-1360 AD). The site is situated next to another east-west grave (now Islamized), that was dedicated to a certain Karaéng Lolo Bayo. His grave marker says that he was the "King of the Bajau, who left the sea to live on land". Additional log coffins, aligned along an east-west axis, have also been recovered or excavated in Bayoa in Galésong, at Bayoa near Somba Opu, and at Bayoa near Tallo' where five *duni* coffins were found. Finally, Bulbeck also notes that at Bugis Malangké in Luwu', where cremation predominated during the pre-Islamic period, numerous boat burials have been found at Tampinna, a Bajau settlement (Bulbeck, personal communication). Finally, Bulbeck indicates there may also be close similarities between Makasar and Bajau earthenware pottery and this may provide further evidence of cultural and trade contacts (Ref. Bulbeck & Clune, 2003).

The Makasar may have initially recognized the usefulness of the Sama-Bajau because of the opportunities they provided to dominate trade and commerce. They played a similar role in the Philippines. Francisco Combé, writing in 1667, notes that local leaders there such as the kings of Mindanao vied for the allegiance of these sea peoples, because "whoever has the most allies of this nation considers himself the most powerful... becoming the master of the straits and the places necessary for commerce of these islands" (Sather, 1997: 13). The Makasar may have also valued Bajau skill in naval warfare. The Dutch Admiral Speelman confirmed this in the 17th century by pointing out the important role that Bajau played in Goa's navy.

The prestige the Bajau enjoyed among the Makasar is evidenced in the important role they play in the foundation myths of the kingdom of Bantaéng and the kingdom of Goa (Andaya, 1984). The king list of Bantaéng indicates, for example, that the fourth king of Bantaéng had the title of Karaéng Bajo (Rol 8/20, page 1). The same list notes that another pre-Islamic king of Bantaéng took the honorific title *Punta Dolangang*, "Lord of the Seas", suggesting the importance of control of the seas and hinting at possible Bajau support which would have made this possible (Bougas, 1998: 90). The *Chronicle of Gowa*, we have already seen, also relates how the ruling dynasty there was established, when a divine female being (*tomanurunga*) descended from the upper world, and took a certain Karaéng Bayo as her



Map 3. Distribution of Sama-Bajau populations (based on Sather, 1997) and additional sites

husband. These myths seem then to suggest that the Bajau at least during the early stages of contact with the Makasar may have intermarried with local elites and were possibly in a position to greatly influence social and cultural developments in the Makasar coastal plain.

In conclusion, the gold that has been looted or excavated from pre-Islamic graves, demonstrates trade with Java and possible links to the Philippines and lends support to Bulbeck's arguments (1996-97: 1034). He hypothesizes that trade with the Bajau seems to have overlapped an earlier established network of Javanese traders centered on Bantaéng along the south coast of South Sulawesi. Evidence for this Javanese trade is provided by local place names associated with the north coast ports of Majapahit as well as possibly the pre 1300 AD mortuary traditions of cremation. The adoption of primary, east-west inhumations, the use of boat-like coffins, and perhaps the adornment of the dead with golden eye and mouth covers suggest that over time the Makasar ultimately felt a closer affiliation with the Bajau than to the Javanese (Bulbeck, 1996-7: 1034). While the Javanese may have stimulated trade, the Bajau may ultimately have provided the Makasar with the manpower and the maritime and navigational skills needed to actually control it, enabling them to eventually dominate the spice trade in the eastern islands.

The Stratification of Makasar Society

Looted gold also furnishes evidence for the increasing commercialization and stratification of Makasar society between 1300 AD and 1600 AD. The paucity of grave goods associated with exposure and the secondary disposal of bones and later the limited amounts associated with cremation contrasts sharply with the richness of goods – imported porcelains, bronze ware, imported textiles, and gold – associated with primary, east-west inhumations between 1300 AD and 1600 AD. Prior to 1300 AD, when the economy was based on swidden rice agriculture, an individual's or corporate group's status may have been indicated by the number of buffalo or pigs slaughtered and the amount of meat distributed during the feasting associated with traditional funeral rites. After 1300 AD during the period of east-west burial real wealth was generated through wet rice agriculture and rice surpluses which were used to import luxury goods. These luxury goods, together with sacrifice and feasting now determined and indicated one's status in society (Bulbeck, 1996-97: 1049). Bulbeck sums it up quite nicely when he says the replacement of the complex secondary disposal of human remains with simpler one-step cremations or primary inhumations correlates well with and reflects a transition from competitive ranked societies, based on swidden agriculture, to stratified societies with an orientation to surplus rice production and trade (1996-97: 1049).

Developments in Goa and Kajang illustrate Bulbeck's model. Goa society was highly stratified and based in part on rice production and trade, while Kajang was more egalitarian and more closely resembled the chiefdoms that once characterized Soppèng before the introduction of kingship there. West Goa communities traditionally exhibited, for example, rigid distinctions in social status and economic wealth based on genealogical descent (Rössler, 1990: 306, 322). Social organization was characterized by bi-lateral descent groups whose members identified themselves as descendants of a real or fictitious ancestor (Rössler, 1990: 306). Certain descent groups claimed the right to office, the position of *karaèng*, and the right to rule, because they were descendend from the gods, that is, *tomanurung* acestors. They made manifest their divine descent in part through the wearing of gold which associated them with the gods. Kajang on the other hand still retains elements of an older social order which emphasized egalitarizm. Houses in Kajang do not, for example, exhibit the numerous gable panels, found in Goa, that indicated the occupant's social status. People in Kajang also traditioally wear plain dress, often black, and some still do not even use kerosene lamps which are forbidden (Rössler, 1990: 315). As Goa's power expanded to include Kajang, it introduced more soical hierarchy there through the introduction of the office of the *karaèng* and *kalompoang* regalia. Goa influence was, however, limited, because the *Amma Toa*, the traditional ruler of the Kajang community, whose power rested on the fact that he was descended from the ancestral founder of the community, continued to install and control the *karaèng*. The limited power of the *karaèng* meant that the *kalompoang* only played a marginal role in Kajang society. These developments ultimately stunted the emergence of a full nobility and limited the stratification of the Kajang community (Rössler, 1990: 322).

Gold not only provides evidence of increased social stratification in Makasar society, but, as indicated above, was itself possibly used by local elites to actually induce it. Local chiefs in the Makasar lowlands may have employed the Frankenstein/Rowlands (1978) economic model for controlling the acquisition and distribution of wealth and stable goods during the late pre-Islamic period. Under this model of the process of social stratification, local chiefs controlled access to luxury items obtained through external exchange and trade (Bacus, 1996: 227). Some of these goods were then redistributed as status insignia, funerary goods, or bride wealth to lesser elites in order to support their superior status and gain political advantage (Bacus, 1996: 227). Many of the gold items, associated with east-west burials, were most probably imported from Java, some possibly even from the southern Philippines, and then redistributed to enhance the power of local rulers.

Under the Frankenstein/Rowland model local rulers also controlled the production of crafts requiring specialist skills. Among the Bugis, for exam-

ple, gold working was often restricted to the aristocratic classes and passed down from father to son (Harrison & O'Connor, 1969: 46). The Spaniard Navarette also notes in 1657 that male transvestite shamans monopolized/controlled the gold smiths working in the Central Sulawesi highlands (Kotilainen, 1992: 48). Makasar rulers also either imported goldsmiths from Java or patronized native smiths who manufactured gold for use only by the ruling elite. The *Chronicle of Gowa* (Wolhoff and Abdurahim, 1959: 25) indicates, for example, that king Tunipalangga (r. 1545 AD to early 1565 AD) was the first king of Goa to patronize goldsmiths (*panré bulaéng, padé'dé' bulaéng*, M.).³² The text does not however indicate whether these smiths were of Javanese or native craftsmen. Informants also indicate that a gold working center was once located in the village of Paccinongang in *Kecamatan Somba Opu* near the 17th century palace center of Goa, suggesting a possible royal monopoly on gold working or at minimum royal patronage of gold smiths there. Gold smiths also (but no longer) worked in the village of Parapa Lompo, *Desa Tinggi Maé, Kabupaten* (district) Goa near the border with *Kabupaten Takalar*. The rich variety in eye and mouth covers also suggests the production was highly localized and that they were possibly produced at numerous palace sites – Siang, Maros, Garassi', Sanraboné, Bangkala, and Tana Toa, etc.

The pre-Islamic Makasar may actually have used gold to explain the origins of social hierarchy. The Sa'dan explain social status, for example, by attributing it to the type of metal or the amounts of gold that was used in the make up of the first nobles, commoners, and slaves (Tsintjilonis, 1997). Some creation myths claim, for instance, that the creator god, *Puang Matoa*, used gold as one of the principal ingredients in forging/creating the first noble, silver for commoners, and earth or wood for slaves (Zerner, 1981: 94). Alternative versions simply say that more gold was used in the creation of the first noble and less for the first ancestor of commoners. That the pre-Islamic Makasar may have held similar beliefs is evidenced by the notion that their kings had a golden core, perhaps inherited from their *tomanurung* ancestors. The Maros Chronicle comments, for example, on the golden essence of Maros' rulers:

"This is the story of the ancestors of the people of Maros. May I be cursed... for naming and telling of the ancient karaéng of Maros. Those who reclined on royal beds... Those who are of the purest gold, the chain of kings" (Cumings, 2000: 2).

The creation myth of *Puang Matoa* is also additionally interesting for the reason that it associates the sun with forging and the working of metals

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particularly gold. *Puang Matoa* is not only the most important Toraja god, but he is also “the god in the center of the firmament; lord of the shining sun; the god we see ascending, who balances the period of day and night against each other” (Nooy-Palm, 1975: 74). The heavenly smith (and creator) is in other words the sun god and the center of creation is the forge. This is understandable given that fire and heat are essential to the metal working process. The question naturally arises as to whether or not Makasar goldsmiths traditionally associated their profession somehow with the sun? There is no clear answer. Local folklore holds however that there was perhaps an iron working site, indicated by the place name, *Taka Bassia*, at the ceremonial center at Lalang Bata in Onto, Bantaéng. That the kingdom’s *tomanurung* first descended from the heavens here suggests that Iron working may then have once been associated with the sacred and divine.

Conclusion

Bronze, iron, and gold metal working may have been introduced into South Sulawesi as early as the first millennium AD. Gold only begins, however, to appear in significant amounts in association with cremations from about 1000 AD-1300 AD. The amount of gold associated with mortuary practices substantially increases with the introduction of primary, east-west burial during the late pre-Islamic period from 1300 AD to 1600 AD. Gold death masks, gold eye and mouth covers, and a wide range of gold jewelry (bracelets, rings, earring, necklaces, etc.) have been discovered in these graves. Portuguese like Paiva also attest to the abundance of gold worn by the Makasar at this time.

The three hundred year period from 1300 AD through 1600 AD was one of profound change in South Sulawesi. Surplus rice production and international trade led to the introduction of kingship and the increasing social stratification of Makasar society. This stratification was achieved in part through the formation of bilateral kin groups who claimed descent from a common divine ancestor, or *tomanurung*. These groups claimed a superior position in society, the right to office and the prerogative to rule, because they unlike the vast majority of people were descended from the gods. They possessed royal regalia or *kelompoang*, heirlooms given them by their respective *tomanurung* ancestors, to demonstrate they were in fact of divine descent.

The emerging Makasar elites used gold to make manifest their divine descent in life as well as in death. Gold could play this function because it was traditionally associated with the male, solar god and *sumanga*, the life force that animated all existence. Kings like those in Maros claimed that they had a golden core which they may have perhaps inherited from their *tomanurung* ancestor. At installation rites kings like those in Bantaéng reenacted, for

example, the *tomanurung*'s original descent to earth and associated themselves their divine ancestor. They naturally monopolized not only the production but also its use in society. They wore lavish displays of gold at life-cycle rites to demonstrate their divine descent and superior position in society.

Gold also played a very important role in death rites. Because of its association with the rising sun, it may have been used to transform death into rebirth. Again because of its association with the rising sun, it was used to move the death soul or *bombo*' from the land of the death in the west to Mount Bawakaraéng in the east. Finally, the elite may have used it to transform the dangerous *bombo*' back into *sumanga*' and then into a deified ancestor.

In death kings and nobles then returned to their *tomanurung* origins with the gods atop Bawakaraéng and in the heavens. They also associated themselves with their divine ancestor, since they were buried in cemeteries that contained megalithic remains that were either associated with the *tomanurung*'s original descent or his or her final disappearance and return to Bawakaraéng and the heavens. Burials in such a cemetery proclaimed an individual's divine origins. We see this pattern at Katangka in Goa, Banrimanurung at Bangkala, and Bonto Ramba in Binamu.

Gold's function also depended on the form that it took. Solid gold death masks, eye and mouth covers as well as ear pieces may have been used to prevent the dangerous *bombo*' from finding their way back home and causing harm. Golden vulva and penis covers may have functioned as amulets to protect the dead from harm and attack by evil spirits. Gold foil placed in the mouth of the dead may have played a similar function. Finally, an ensemble of a mask, bracelets, and genital covers, etc. may also have functioned like *tau tau* images, providing a framework or vehicle for the death soul to temporarily manifest itself in physical form and participate in funeral rites.

Makasar elites seem to have been enamored with Javanese gold and either imported it from Java or patronized Javanese goldsmiths at their courts. They wore Javanese gold in their daily lives and were also buried with it. They also used special death masks and golden eye and mouth covers specifically in funeral rites, which were not of Javanese origin. Bulbeck has suggested that the pre-Islamic Makasar were possibly involved in extensive trade contacts with Sama-Bajau populations connected with the southern Philippines and that these people may have introduced primary east-west burial with boat coffins and into the Makasar coastal plain. The use of gold in burial rites was a widespread phenomenon that was picked up by the Makasar, possibly from the Philippines.

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