

Bantayan : An Early Makassarese Kingdom, 1200-1600 A.D

Wayne A. Bougas

Archipel, Année 1998, Volume 55, Numéro 1

p. 83 - 123

[Voir l'article en ligne](#)

Wayne A. Bougas

This article describes the development of Bantayan (Bantaeng), a pre-Islamic, Makassarese kingdom, on the south coast of South Sulawesi. The Nagara-Kertagama, a court poem written in Majapahit Java in 1365 A. D., indicates that Bantayan was one of the three most important centers in South Sulawesi at that time.

The author uses four sources to explain Bantaeng's rise : (1) an archaeological field survey of Bantaeng (2) accounts of grave robbers who looted Bantaeng's major sites (3) myths describing the development of kingship in Bantaeng and (4) pre-Islamic, religious beliefs and rites.

The author concludes that one of Bantaeng's oldest kingdoms emerged along the Biangkeke River at Gantarang Keke in eastern Bantaeng. This kingdom may have traded with Majapahit. The expansion of wet rice agriculture and increased trade in the 14th and 15th centuries A. D. saw the rise of another powerful kingdom at Bissampole/Lembang Cina along the Calendu River in central Bantaeng. A third center rose at Kaili in west Bantaeng. Lembang Cina in central Bantaeng grew so powerful that it ultimately dominated the two other centers to the east and west.

The article also explains how tomanurung veneration provided the religious and ideological basis for kingship in Bantaeng. Dynasties there and elsewhere in South Sulawesi were thought to have been founded by heavenly descended beings known as tomanurung.

Finally, the paper concludes by providing some suggestions for Bantaeng's subsequent decline in the 16th century.

Avertissement

L'éditeur du site « PERSEE » – le Ministère de la jeunesse, de l'éducation nationale et de la recherche, Direction de l'enseignement supérieur, Sous-direction des bibliothèques et de la documentation – détient la propriété intellectuelle et les droits d'exploitation. A ce titre il est titulaire des droits d'auteur et du droit sui generis du producteur de bases de données sur ce site conformément à la loi n°98-536 du 1er juillet 1998 relative aux bases de données.

Les oeuvres reproduites sur le site « PERSEE » sont protégées par les dispositions générales du Code de la propriété intellectuelle.

Droits et devoirs des utilisateurs

Pour un usage strictement privé, la simple reproduction du contenu de ce site est libre.

Pour un usage scientifique ou pédagogique, à des fins de recherches, d'enseignement ou de communication excluant toute exploitation commerciale, la reproduction et la communication au public du contenu de ce site sont autorisées, sous réserve que celles-ci servent d'illustration, ne soient pas substantielles et ne soient pas expressément limitées (plans ou photographies). La mention Le Ministère de la jeunesse, de l'éducation nationale et de la recherche, Direction de l'enseignement supérieur, Sous-direction des bibliothèques et de la documentation sur chaque reproduction tirée du site est obligatoire ainsi que le nom de la revue et- lorsqu'ils sont indiqués - le nom de l'auteur et la référence du document reproduit.

Toute autre reproduction ou communication au public, intégrale ou substantielle du contenu de ce site, par quelque procédé que ce soit, de l'éditeur original de l'oeuvre, de l'auteur et de ses ayants droit.

La reproduction et l'exploitation des photographies et des plans, y compris à des fins commerciales, doivent être autorisés par l'éditeur du site, Le Ministère de la jeunesse, de l'éducation nationale et de la recherche, Direction de l'enseignement supérieur, Sous-direction des bibliothèques et de la documentation (voir <http://www.sup.adc.education.fr/bib/>). La source et les crédits devront toujours être mentionnés.

Wayne A. BOUGAS

Bantayan : An Early Makassarese Kingdom 1200 - 1600 A.D.

Introduction

The Makassarese and Bugis peoples have a very rich and interesting history. Local and foreign scholars alike have tended to focus their research on the rise of the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa during the 16th century. They have also investigated its conversion to Islam in the early 17th century and its subsequent expansion and political domination of South Sulawesi. The Great Makassarese War at the end of the 17th century has also fascinated historians. The war pitted Gowa against an alliance of the Dutch and Gowa's arch-rival for hegemony in Sulawesi, the Bugis kingdom of Bone. Gowa was subsequently defeated by the joint Dutch-Bugis effort in 1667.

Gowa and Bone, although they have the distinction of being the most well-known kingdoms in South Sulawesi, were definitely not the earliest kingdoms to evolve there. Many scholars believe that the oldest Bugis kingdoms may have first appeared in the area of Luwu' at the head of the Gulf of Bone as early as the 12th century A.D, if not earlier (Pelras, 1996, Caldwell, 1987 : Abidin, 1983). A number of Yuan period (1279-1368 A.D.) and early monochrome shards have also been discovered at Tinco Tua, the former capital of Bugis West Soppeng in central South Sulawesi (Kallupa, 1989; Caldwell, 1990 : 9). Bantaeng, located on the southern coast of South Sulawesi, was an early Makassarese kingdom that played an important role in 14th trade between Majapahit Java, Bugis Luwu', and the Moluccas. Finally, Portuguese traders in the 1540's identified Siang in present day Pangkajene as the immediate predecessor to Gowa. This paper will focus on one of these early pre-Islamic kingdoms – Makassarese Bantaeng.

Today Bantaeng is one of 23 *kabupaten* or districts comprising the province of South Sulawesi. It covers an area of approximately 470 square kilometers and is divided into three smaller administrative subdistricts, or *kecamatan* : *kecamatan* Bissapu in the west, *kecamatan* Bantaeng proper, and *kecamatan* Tompobulu in the east. In this paper Bantaeng will be used to refer to all three subdistricts combined, unless the term *kecamatan* is specifically designated. The capital of the district, also known as Bantaeng, is located approximately 125 kilometers south of Ujung Pandang, the provincial capital.

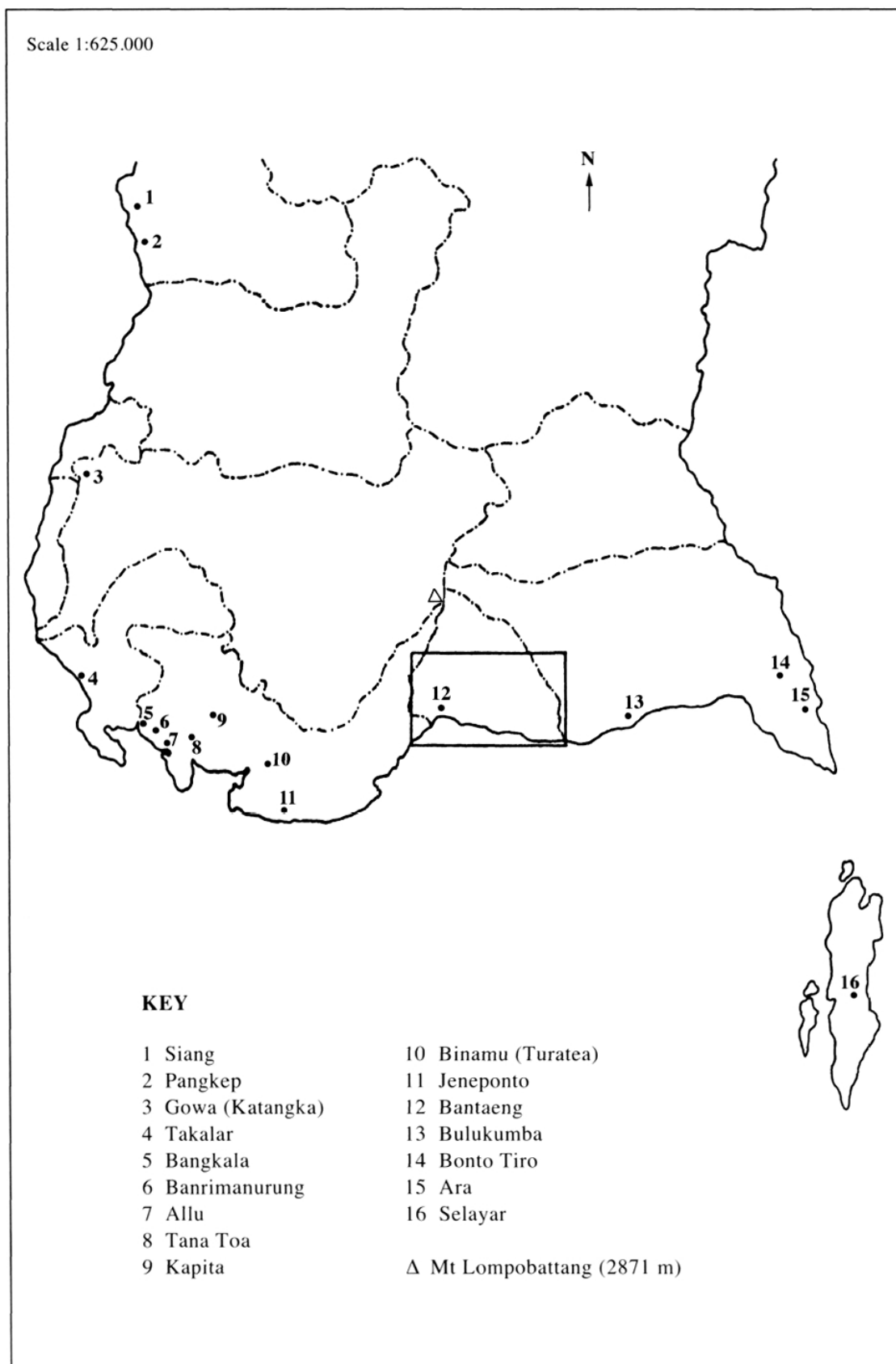
Bantaeng has a population of approximately 165,000, the majority of which is Makassarese. After the defeat of Gowa in the 1667, however, a large number of Bugis migrated into the area. Over 70 percent of Bantaeng's population today is employed in the agricultural, estate crops, and market gardening sector, the principal crops being rice and corn.

Bantaeng's present day status as a minor administrative center servicing a basic agriculture hinterland in no way reflects its former greatness. In the 14th century Bantaeng may have been the principal Makassarese political and commercial center of South Sulawesi. The *Nagarakertagama*, a court poem written in Majapahit in 1365, hints at Bantaeng's importance. According to the poem Bantaeng was one of three major centers in South Sulawesi at that time :

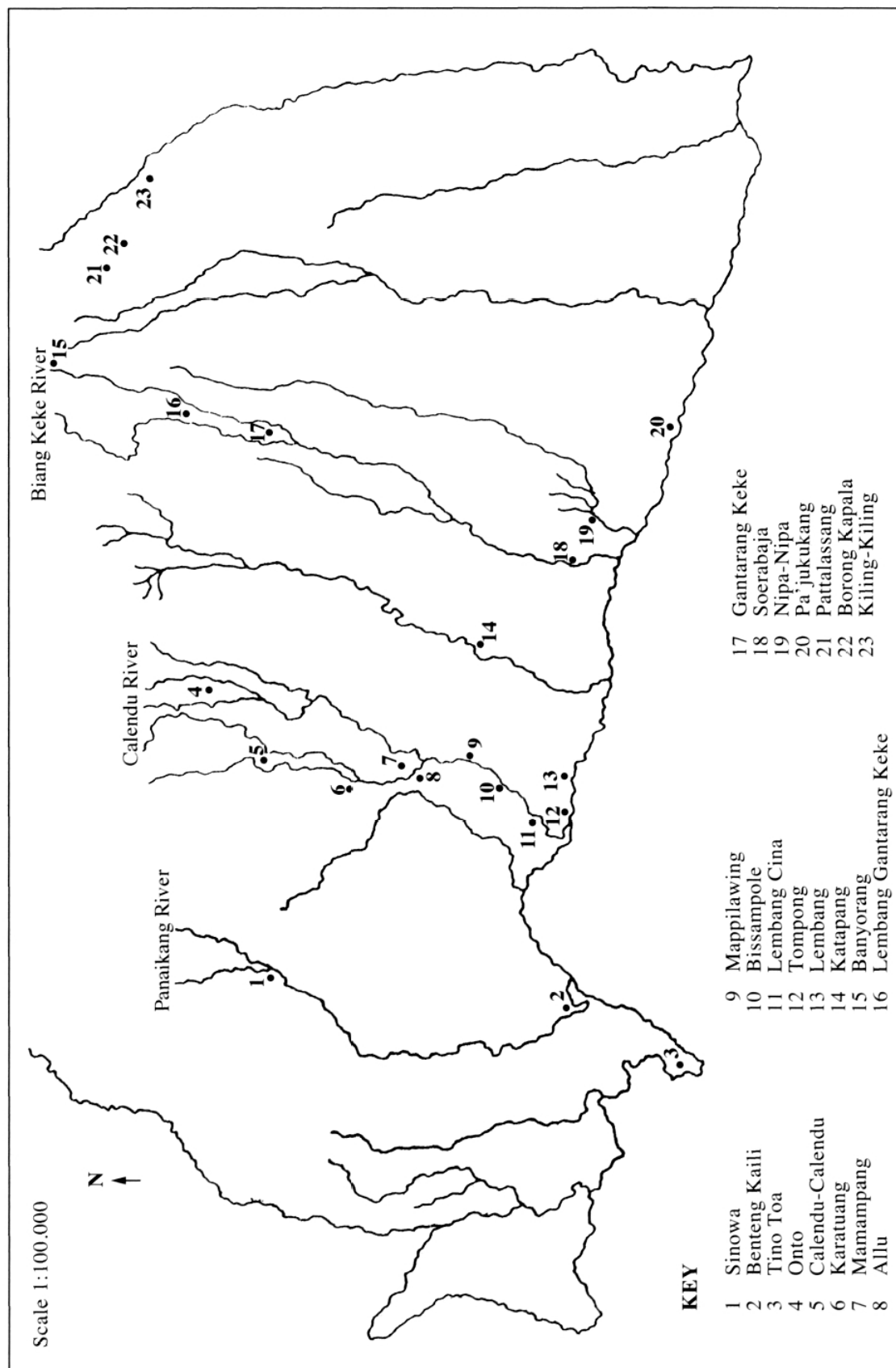
'Also the countries of Bantayan, the principal is Bantayan [Bantaeng], on the other hand Luwuk [Luwu'], then Uda, making a trio; these are the most important of those that are one island' (Pigeaud, 1962 : 17).

The task of reconstructing Bantaeng's pre-Islamic past is, however, not an easy one. There are unfortunately no known chronicles that deal specifically with this period of Bantaeng's history. Genealogies only go so far back and these are contradictory. Very little archaeological research has been conducted in Bantaeng. The paper, therefore, draws on four principal sources : (1) an archaeological field survey was conducted in Bantaeng between February, 1995 and January, 1996, (2) local grave robbers, who looted Bantaeng's principal pre-Islamic sites in the 1960's and 1970's, were interviewed, (3) myths and legends from anciens texts (*lontara*') were also reviewed, and (4) pre-Islamic rites, that have survived to the present, were examined.

The paper begins by describing these sources in more detail. Next an historical overview of Bantaeng's pre-Islamic history is presented. This overview focuses on the rise of several kingdoms along three river systems – the Biang Keke, the Calendu and the Panaikang in Bantaeng. It also looks at the theoretical underpinnings of pre-Islamic kingship and examines Bantaeng's eventual incorporation into Gowa. Following the overview, each river system and associated kingdoms are individually examined and discussed in detail. Important sites along each river are first described. Grave robber reports regarding each site are presented next. Myths and legends, derived from *lontara*' texts and associated with sites, are also examined. Pre-Islamic ceremonies, again associated with certain sites, are also discussed. Finally, an historical interpretation of each river system, based on these sources, is made. The paper concludes with a brief summary.



The South Coast of South Sulawesi



Map of Bantaeng

Sources

The Archaeological Field Survey

An archaeological field survey was carried out in Bantaeng over a twelve month period, from February 1995 to January, 1996. The author was assisted in the survey by six students from the Archaeological Department at Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang. The students and the author visited Bantaeng on average twice a month, in order to carry out the survey. On these visits the team mapped and conducted a surface survey of each site. Porcelain shards were collected and dated by Mr. Karaeng Demmanari of the Service For the Protection of Prehistorical and Historical Remains (*Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala*) in Ujung Pandang. The team also collected ethnological data at sites. No excavations were conducted during the survey.

Approximately 25 sites were visited in Bantaeng. Sites were selected based on information contained in ancient manuscripts and grave robbers' accounts. Only five sites will be described in this paper. These produced the greatest amount of archaeological finds and associated historical and ethnological data.

Grave Robbers' Accounts

In the 1960's and 1970's most Makassarese cemeteries, predating Islam, were looted by grave robbers for their trade ceramics. Serious looting began in Bantaeng in 1966, when antique dealers from Jakarta arrived there seeking ancient and for the most part Chinese ceramic tradeware. The looting was particularly rapacious at its peak in the early 1970's. One of Bantaeng's most prominent looters, now retired, had as many as 60 diggers working for him at any one time. Many residents in Bantaeng at that time dug up the foundations of their homes in search of trade wares. Even the *Bupati*, Bantaeng's top government officer, was known to have conducted excavations in and around his official residence. Despite the extensive damage done by the looters, they have, in fact, conducted an extensive, although unscientific, excavation of much of South Sulawesi's southern coast, including Bantaeng. Both the looters and looted graves are an extremely rich source of information.

Myths and Legends Derived from Lontara' Texts

Ancient Makassarese and Bugis texts are locally known as *lontara'*. They were originally written on palms leaves taken from the aka' tree (*Corypha Gebanga*). They were written in an indigenous script, derived ultimately from an Indian model, that was probably first developed sometime in the early fifteenth century (Caldwell, 1988 : 11). Most surviving *lontara'* are, however, written on paper, dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and are actually copies of earlier manuscripts, which have not survived. A large number of these texts are devoted to the *La Galigo* epic and historical chronicles of various Makassarese and Bugis kingdoms. The *La Galigo* is the great Bugis epic, which tells how the god, Batara Guru, descended to earth to found the first dynasty in Luwu' and recounts the adventures of his grandson, Sawerigading. The historical texts are chronicles that describe the origins of

kingdoms and the rise of the institution of kingship in such places as Gowa, Wajo and Bone. *Lontara'* also contain royal genealogies, vassal lists, the text of treaties, and personal diaries.

Lontara' sources for Bantaeng are unfortunately scarce and this has limited scholarly investigations into Bantaeng's past. While *lontara'* may not be able to provide us with a unified and comprehensive picture of Bantaeng's history, they do provide useful knowledge about Bantaeng's origins, its early kings, and its relations with Luwu', Gowa, and Javanese Majapahit. The majority of *lontara'* sources used in this paper were drawn from the private collection of Karaeng Massoewalle, the last surviving hereditary ruler of Bantaeng.

Pre-Islamic Religious Beliefs and Rites

There are a number of Makassarese living on the slopes of Mt. Bawakaraeng and Mt. Lompobattang, who, despite conversion to Islam in the 17th century, still cling to a number of beliefs and rituals that are certainly pre-Islamic in their origins. These people refer to themselves as *patuntung* and their belief system is known as *agama patuntung*. While beliefs and rites among *patuntung* communities vary from area to area, there is a basic similarity of belief and practice which enable us to speak of a *patuntung* value and belief system. We will also examine certain aspects of the *patuntung* belief system and selected *patuntung* rites to see what light they can shed on the development and history of pre-Islamic Bantaeng.

Historical Overview

Early History

The south coast of South Sulawesi, which includes Bantaeng, once lay astride an ancient trade route. This route ran from Sumatra along the coast of southern Kalimantan via South Sulawesi to the spice producing Moluccan islands in eastern Indonesia. Glass beads of Indian origin have, for example, been discovered at Ara on the Bira peninsula near Bantaeng that prove the existence of early maritime trade there around 300-100 B.C. (Pelras, 1996). Three Buddhist bronze statues, discovered in Takalar and now in the Leiden museum, with stylistic affinities to those in Sri Lanka and Southeast India suggest that Tamil or perhaps Malay traders from the kingdom of Sri Vijaya in South Sumatra may have visited or settled in the area searching for gold, iron, or forest products during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Three golden Buddhist statuettes, discovered along the south coast and dating to the same period, also support this hypothesis. These archaeological discoveries and chance finds, while confirming early trade contacts and possible early visits by Indian and or Malay traders, shed little light on indigenous developments in Makassarese and Bugis societies during the first millennium A.D.

A picture of Makassarese and Bugis society only begins to clearly emerge with the development of writing circa 1400 A.D. *Lontara'* and archaeological evidence suggests that during the period 1200-1400 A.D. Makassarese and Bugis societies evolved from basically egalitarian entities with subsistence

economies into hierarchical social structures. Complex chiefdoms developed, ruled over by kings, based on expanded trade opportunities and the expansion of wet rice agriculture. Three of the earliest kingdoms to emerge by the 13th century, if not earlier, were Luwu' at the head of the Gulf of Bone, Bantaeng and possibly the island of Selayar.

The Rise of Bantaeng

Bantaeng initially consisted of a number of settlements each associated with one of the numerous rivers or streams that characterize Bantaeng geographically. These rivers are born high on the slopes of the 2,900 meter high Mount Lompobattang, a now extinct volcano, that dominates Bantaeng. The rivers meander their way down the slopes of the mountain and cut across Bantaeng like spokes radiating out from the center of a wheel. Over time the settlements along several of these rivers were united into small riverine kingdoms. Each kingdom focused on a single river valley and was basically independent from neighboring river systems. This pattern becomes clearly discernible in Bantaeng during the 13th and 14th centuries. One kingdom occupied the Biang Keke River Basin in eastern Bantaeng. It centered on an isthmus of land, formed by branches of the river, that is today occupied by the village of Gantarang Keke. The second kingdom was in central Bantaeng and united villages along the Calendu River system. The center of this kingdom was first located inland at Onto and later moved to Bissampole and Lembang Cina near the coast. The third center was in western Bantaeng on the Panaikang River. It may have originally centered on Sinowa or Borong Toa, but the center later moved to a fortified hill near the coast, known as Kaili. Gantarang Keke, Onto, and Sinowa were all located 8-10 kilometers inland and these early kingdoms were not initially focused on the sea. They may also have traded with or dominated smaller coastal settlements which provided access to international trade.

The kingdom at Gantarang Keke, centered on the Biang Keke River in Tompobulu, eastern Bantaeng, seems to have gained prominence before the other two. It may have initially been part of the trading network that extended from Sumatra to the Moluccas. During the 13th and 14th centuries Gantarang Keke's power grew and it developed into a trade based kingdom as commerce intensified with Majapahit in eastern Java. It may have served as a transshipment center where iron ore from Luwu' and locally collected forest products were traded for Chinese porcelain, bronzeware, and textiles imported from Majapahit. Cloves from the Moluccas may also have been traded, although the Javanese seem to have preferred obtaining them directly at their source. There is no evidence that Makassarese ships carried any of these goods. Shipping at this early date was most probably in Javanese, Malay and Bajo hands.

The Calendu River Basin was the second major center to evolve in Bantaeng. Over the centuries the political center of this kingdom seems to have moved downstream from the sub-mountain region of Onto to Bissampole and Lembang Cina at the heart of coastal rice plain. The expansion of wet rice

agriculture and increased trade opportunities may have induced the transfer of the kingdom's political and commercial center to the coast. The kingdom that emerged in the Calendu River Valley grew so powerful that it was eventually able to incorporate Gantarang Keke and Kaili on Panaikang River to the west into its domain. The rise of Onto/Bissampole/Lembang Cina and its domination of what had basically been the trade-based kingdom of Gantarang Keke may have been due to the expansion of wet rice cultivation in central Bantaeng. Expanded agricultural opportunities and the resultant increase in population were eventually translated into a larger manpower pool and bigger and more powerful armies. Both Onto in central Bantaeng and Gantarang Keke in the east, for example, had been located inland on easily fortified ridges flanked by rivers. The fact that Bissampole/Lembang Cina was located on the flat, exposed coastal plain indicates its tremendous strength and confidence. It did not have to depend on nature's features for defense; rather its defense was the comparatively large army it could muster. Bissampole/Lembang Cina used this strength to unite the numerous river valleys that comprised Bantaeng into a single political unit and most probably dominated the entire area from 1450-1600 A.D.

The Panaikang River valley in western Bantaeng was dominated by the fortified hill settlement of Kaili. Unlike Gantarang Keke and Onto, Kaili Hill is an easily defensible site located approximately two kilometers inland from the coast. The large number of Ming period shards found there suggests that it reached its height between 1300-1600 A.D. The interior of western Bantaeng is quite rugged and ill-suited for extensive wet rice cultivation. Kaili was probably, therefore, never more than a secondary center and like Gantarang Keke was eventually incorporated into central Bantaeng.

Bantaeng's Early Kings and Karaeng Loe/Tomanurung Worship

Lontara' offer precious little information about Bantaeng's pre-Islamic rulers. Local historians in Bantaeng have sifted through *lontara'* in order to attempt to compile a complete list of Bantaeng's kings from its first ruler to its last (Mappatan, 1995; Sjamsuddin, 1995). A quick glance indicates that these king lists are contradictory, unreliable, and most certainly incomplete. They are obviously derived from oral traditions that were put to writing very late.

An examination of these lists does, however, indicate that they all basically agree more or less on the names and sequence of central Bantaeng's last four pre-Islamic rulers: Karaeng Jagong, Karaeng Punta Dolangang, Karaeng Dewata (Rewata), and Karaeng Majombeya. These kings most probably ruled during 16th century, since we know from *lontara'* that Karaeng Majombeya reigned from approximately 1590 to 1620 and that he converted to Islam circa 1615 (Sjamsuddin, 1995).

An examination of pre-Islamic religious beliefs indicate that *tomanurung* veneration formed the basis of the political ideology that supported the rise of kingship and the emergence of more hierarchical society in Bantaeng. According to the *patutung* belief system, local dynasties in Bantaeng were thought to have been founded by divine beings, or *tomanurung*, who had

literally descended from the upperworld. This notion was not unique to Bantaeng. The idea that royal lineages originated from heavenly descended or ascended beings is very ancient and widespread throughout the Austronesian and Malay world (Ras, 1968). *Tomanurung* are also associated with the historical emergence of other kingdoms in South Sulawesi such as Luwu', Gowa, and Bone between the 13th and 15th centuries A.D.

Among Bugis kingdoms *tomanurung* often married with humans to found a dynasty. Kings could subsequently claim descent from this divine union. In Makassarese Bantaeng, at least in central Bantaeng, the *tomanurung* was not a royal ancestor, since he did not take a local wife. He was rather an initiator who established new institutions of government and then legitimized the first king before disappearing without leaving any offspring. Gantarang Keke, Onto, and Kaili also had their own distinct *tomanurung* traditions. In Bantaeng *tomanurung* were also often given the honorific title *Karaeng Loe* or "Great Lord".

Tomanurung veneration centered around sacred heirlooms. It was believed that *tomanurung* left their descendants, or the kings they appointed, with some of their personal possessions known as *kalompoang*. These sacred objects were thought to possess a powerful spirit of their own, the *alusu'na kalompoanga*, the heirloom's spirit. These objects and the spirits they possessed were, therefore, respectfully addressed as *Sombata*, "The One who is Worshipped" and were also given the title *Karaeng Loe*—"Great Lord". Makassarese sometimes believed that these *kalompoang* actually possessed the spirit of the *tomanurung* himself. *Kalompoang* were, therefore, extremely important, because it was believed that their spirit or the spirit of the *tomanurung*, residing in them, was the most powerful medium a kingdom or individual could use to supplicate the highest deity, *Karaeng Loe Kaminang Kammaya* (Rössler, 1990 : 309).

The *kalompoang* were looked after by a special class of transvestite, ritual specialists known as *bissu*. In Bantaeng, there were also and still are female ritual specialists called *pinati*, who cared for the *kalompoang* there. In central Bantaeng, the *kalompoang* were, for example, annually "cleansed" by *bissu/pinati* in the blood of sacrificial buffalo in ceremonies, known as *appa'inung*, which means "to make someone, in this case the *kalompoang*, drink". Perhaps the name is derived from the belief that the spirit of the *kalompoang* feasted on this sacrificial blood.

Royal *kalompoang* were often stored in small wooden shrines in the form of a house (*pantasa'*), constructed in the attic of the *Balla Lompoa* or palace. A king did not always live in the *Balla Lompoa* where the heirlooms were kept. The *Balla Lompoa*, in fact, actually functioned as much as a temple for the *kalompoang* as a residence for a king.

The *tomanurung's* descent and his establishment of kingship and other local institutions were annually celebrated in Bantaeng. These ceremonies were often celebrated at geographical features associated with the *tomanurung's* descent or his disappearance. Remnants of these ceremonies still survive in the *Pa'jukukang* rites annually held at Gantarang Keke and at the *Anganro Karaeng Loe* rites still celebrated at Onto today.

Incorporation into Gowa

By the end of the 16th century Gowa had expanded its authority along the south coast of South Sulawesi and had incorporated Bantaeng into its sphere of influence. Bantaeng's demise as an independent kingdom is reflected, for example, in Dutch Admiral Speelman's comments in 1667 that the entire region around Bantaeng was the hereditary land of the King of Gowa (Andaya, 1981 : 75-76).

The eclipse of Bantaeng and the rise of Gowa as a major entrepot can in part be explained by three factors (1) the decline of Majapahit, (2) the fall of Malacca to the Portugese, and (3) the subsequent exodus of Malays traders at Malacca to other ports. The following hypothesis is presented. The Majapahit-Bantaeng-Luwu' trade connection certainly benefited all three parties. The staples of the trade may have been among other things : iron ore, Chinese ceramics, and possibly rice and forest products from Bantaeng. Trade in these commodities contributed to the revenues of all three kingdoms. Majapahit's disintegration during the 15th century, however, ended Javanese control over the Java Sea and broke Majapahit's domination of the spice trade. The principal traders in South Sulawesi now no longer originated from Java, but came from western Indonesia, Malacca and later Johor on the Malay Peninsula. They were Muslim and were seeking alternate ports in order to avoid Malacca, recently seized by Christian Portugese. These merchants established themselves in Siang in what is now *Kabupaten* Pangkajene, just north of Gowa. In the 1540's they transferred their base of operations to Gowa, making it the principal port in South Sulawesi. In short, the new trade network that evolved after the decline of Majapahit and the fall of Malacca bypassed both Luwu' and Bantaeng and greatly contributed to their decline.

While the relations between Majapahit, Bantaeng and Luwu' might best be described as symbiotic, those between Gowa and Bantaeng could be styled as predatory. The expansion of wet rice agriculture in Gowa in the 16th century and subsequent increase in population and in potentiel military manpower pool may have contributed to Gowa's ability to raise armies and to subjugate Bantaeng. Attacks by King Tumapa'risi' of Gowa (1512-1548) on Gantarang near Bantaeng and attacks by his successor King Tunipalangga (1548-1566) on Binamu, Bulukumba, and Selayar demonstrate Gowa's attempts to gain control of the south coast and the spice trade (Pelras, 1996, Caldwell, 1988 : 195). Gowa may also have wanted to dominate Bantaeng because of its substantial rice production.

The Biang Keke, Calendu, and Panaikang River Basins

We shall now examine in detail the three river systems that played a major role in pre-Islamic Bantaeng's history and development : (1) The Biang Keke, (2) the Calendu, and (3) the Panaikang. Major sites along each river will be identified. Relevant data for each site will next be presented drawn from the archaeological field survey, grave robber accounts, *lontara'* text, and ancient pre-Islamic rites. Finally, an interpretation is presented which attempts to

weave together the information derived from these sources into a unified and more complete picture of the historical development of each valley.

THE BIANG KEKE RIVER BASIN

The Archaeological Survey

One of Bantaeng's earliest kingdoms, possibly trade based, developed along the banks of the Biang Keke River in eastern Bantaeng. The survey team investigated three sites along this river : (1) Lembang Gantarang Keke, (2) Gantarang Keke, and (3) Surabaya.

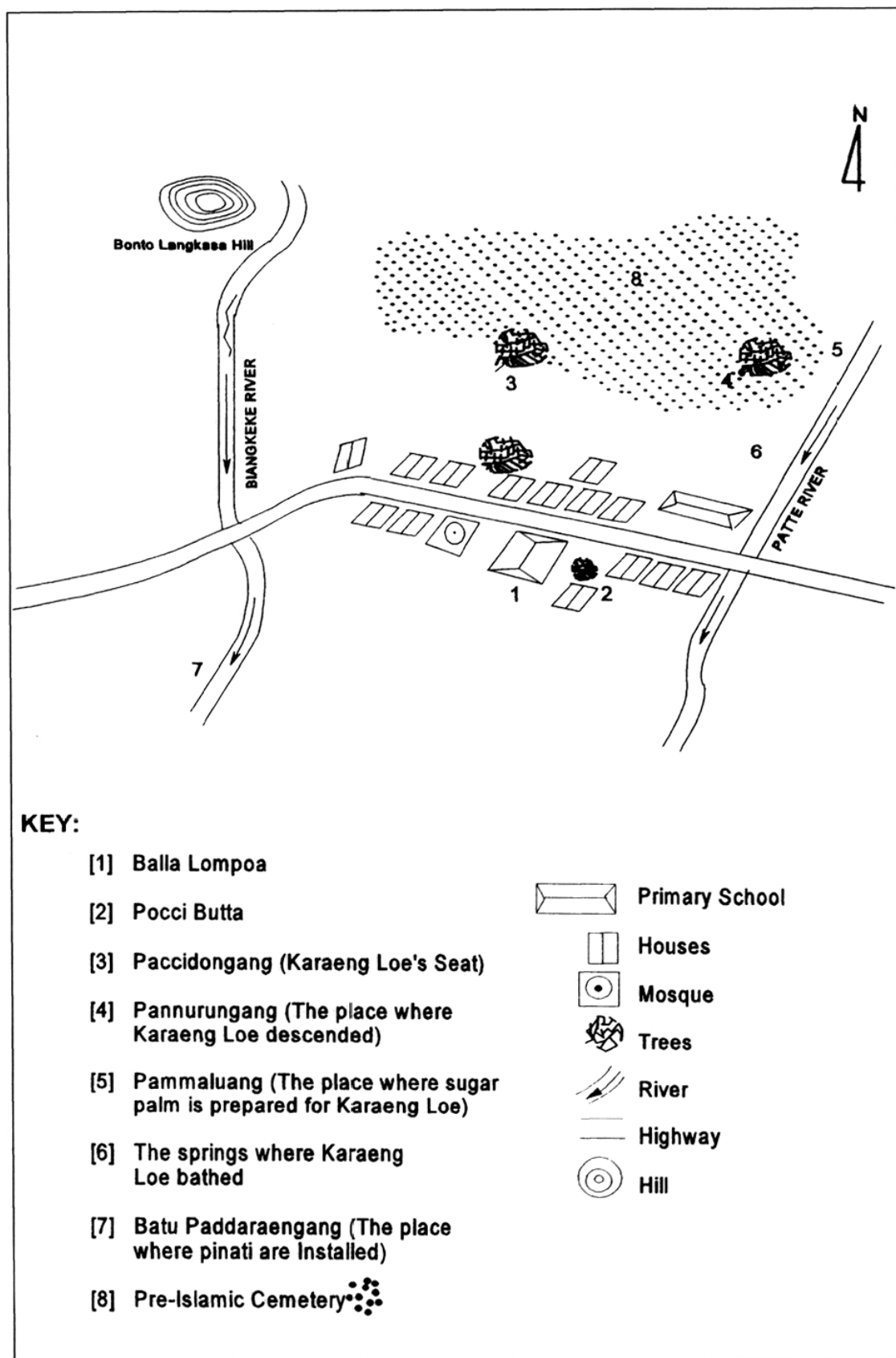
Lembang Gantarang Keke

Lembang Gantarang Keke is located 10 kilometers upstream from the coast on an isthmus of land between the Patte and Biang Keke Rivers. The site was once fortified. There seems to have been two stone walls, one to the north, the other to the south, running parallel across the isthmus between the two rivers. The remains of what may have once been one of these walls can be found behind the *Sekolah Dasar* (primary school).

The *Balla Lompoa*, which was once the residence of the local ruler, is located on top of the ridge that runs the length of the isthmus. The *kalompoang* are stored here and the house is linked with the *kalompoang* cult. The *Balla* faces Mount Lompobattang, once believed to be the center of the universe and home of *Karaeng Patanna Lino*, the lord and owner of the world (Rössler, 1990 : 296). Villagers pointed out that their *Balla* is female. They added that the *Balla Lompoa* at Gantarang Keke is male. They explained that the two communities, symbolized by the gender of the houses, were related like brother and sister. This belief supports the widely held notion that the two settlements are actually part of a single complex.

The site is dotted with megalithic remains associated with the local *tomanurung*. A sacred stone, named *Paccidongang* and located across the road north of the *Balla*, is believed to be *tomanurung*'s seat. Another sacred stone, named *Pannurungang* and situated behind the village primary school, marks the site where the local *tomanurung* first descended from heaven. Villagers also believe that the *tomanurung* bathed at two small natural springs located near this stone. Another nearby stone indicates the spot where sugar palm (*Arenga Saccharifera*) offerings are annually prepared for him. Finally, villagers explained that local ritual specialists, or *pinati*, associated with *tomanurung* rites, were traditionally installed at stone, known as *Batu Paddaraengang*, situated on the banks of the Biang Keke River.

Large trees, or *saukang*, dominate the *Paccidongang* and *Pannurungang* sites. *Saukang* are actually sacred spots, marked by miniature wooden houses, trees or large boulders, where ancestors can be contacted. The connection between trees and ancestors may be derived from the fact that in the distant past a village often consisted of circular rows of houses encompassing an open plain. A large tree was planted in the center of the plain, the navel (*pocci*) of



Lembang Gantarang Keke

the village, and was believed to mark the spot where the founders of the village had been buried (Mattulada, 1982 : 9).

There is also a *pocci' butta* stone, not directly related to *tomanurung* veneration, located near the *Balla Lompoa*. Makassarese once believed that the world of man must be in accord with that of the gods; the microcosm should reflect the macrocosm. Just as the world then had its own center, Bawakaraeng/Lompobattang, each village normally had a sacred spot, also known as a *pocci' butta* or *pocci' tana* often marked by a large stone, that functioned as its symbolic center.

The survey team collected fifty three shards at Lembang Gantarang Keke. One was Sung, three were Ming, and fourteen Swatow, suggesting a possible 16th and 17th century date for the site. See Appendix 1 for shard dating.

Gantarang Keke

Gantarang Keke is located two kilometers further downstream on the same isthmus of land as Lembang Gantarang Keke. The broad, flat plain, running along the top of the isthmus, where the settlement was and still is located, is called *Tanah Loe*. *Tanah Loe* seems to have originally been fortified. A stone wall may have once stretched across the northern side of the settlement connecting the Patte and Biang Keke Rivers. A similar wall may have protected the southern flank of the site. The steep banks of both rivers provided defense on the east and west. These river banks may also have been planted with thick bamboo to provide additional protection.

Today a huge *Beringin* tree dominates *Tanah Loe* and marks the site where *Tomanurung/Karaeng Loe* rites are traditionally celebrated each year at Gantarang Keke. A small and relatively recent *Balla Lompoa* has been constructed near this *saukang* tree. The original structure was destroyed during the *Darul Islam* Rebellion in the early 1960's. The current house faces north and Mount Lompobattang. The resident *pinati* explained that every nine years the *balla* is disassembled, moved, and reconstructed. It is actually shifted back and forth between two locations along a north/south, mountain/sea axis.

There is a large stone, known as *Palayangang Taua*, located approximately 75 meters north of the *Balla Lompoa* and *saukang* tree. This stone is traditionally believed to mark the site where Lembang Gantarang Keke's *tomanurung* disappeared indicating additional links between the two communities.

There is large cemetery, *Kompleks Makam Gantarang Keke*, nearby measuring 35 x 60 meters and containing approximately 246, mostly Islamic, graves (*Suaka*, 1984 : 103-104).

The *Tanah Loe* site also contains a *pocci butta* and a *passaungang taua* duelling arena, a stone enclosure, where men are said to have once fought to the death during *Tomanurung/Karaeng Loe* rites. A *dakon* stone was also found in association with the arena. *Dakon* is the Javanese term, used by Indonesian archeologists, for a megalithic board game found throughout Indonesia. The playing area consists of two parallel rows of holes terminated at each end of the rows by a larger hole. Stones or cowries were used as

pawns. Among the Bugis the game, called *a'galacangeng*, was traditionally played during mourning (Pelras, 1996).

The survey team collected 104 ceramics shards at the *Tanah Loe* site. One was Sung, another Yuan, fifteen were Ming, three were Sawankhalok and forty-one pieces Swatow, suggesting that the settlement may have reached its peak during the 17th century. See Appendix 1 for shard dating.

Grave Robbers' Accounts

Looters in Bantaeng told the survey team that they discovered their most ancient burials – bones contained in earthenware containers in association with early whiteware (EW) and early monochromes (EM), what they term, Sung period porcelain (960-1296 A.D) at Lembang Gantarang Keke. These ancient burials were located near the *Pannurungang* stone where the *tomanurung* had descended. They also indicated that a large pre-Islamic cemetery stretched across the isthmus, north of the modern settlement, between the Patte and Biang Keke rivers. Burials here were aligned along an east-west axis with the head of the deceased positioned toward the east and rising sun, and the feet pointing to the west and sunset, traditionally associated with death. Looters claim that they found Sung (960-1279 A.D), Yuan (1279-1368 A.D), Ming (1368-1644 A.D) and Sawankhalok (1400-1600 A.D) porcelain ware in these graves.

Grave robbers' also claim that they had found similar earthen jars containing bones in association with Sung ware near the *Palayangang Taua* stone, where the local *tomanurung*, disappeared at Gantarang Keke. They also indicated that *Kompleks Makam Gantarang Keke*, is actually much larger and extends south to the *Balla Lompoa*. The graves in this section of the cemetery are unmarked and are aligned again, according to looter accounts, along an east-west axis. Sung, Yuan, and Ming ware are said to have been found in these graves.

Grave robbers' accounts are partially substantiated by the systematic archaeological work carried out in Gowa and in Takalar by David Bulbeck (1992). During the first millennium A.D, according to Bulbeck, the forefathers of the Makassarese disposed of their dead in three principal ways. The dominant burial practice consisted of macerating the corpse, most probably through exposure, collecting the bones, and depositing them in rock shelters or caves. Communities, that did not have access to rock shelters, probably buried the bones in earthen containers in open sites. In some cases bones may have been cremated for purification purposes and deposited in earthen jars for burial (Bulbeck, 1992 : 446). Finally, the entire corpse was sometimes deposited in earthen containers in a fetal position and interred without undergoing maceration or cremation. In all three cases coffins do not seem to have been used and burials are characterized by a general lack of grave goods. Burial practices among the Makassarese, according to Bulbeck, changed dramatically during the period 1000-1400 A.D. During this period, the Makassarese simplified burial practices and began burying their dead, sometimes in coffins, with the corpse aligned along an east-west axis.

Information provided by grave robbers in Bantaeng, however, sometimes conflict with the evidence of archaeological investigations conducted by Bulbeck. According to Bulbeck's findings, east-west inhumations are only associated with Ming period (1368-1644 A.D) tradeware (1992 : 448). Grave robbers on the other hand have indicated that they have found Sung and Yuan porcelain in association with east-west graves. Bulbeck is skeptical of these reports and has, therefore, advised caution for dealer and looter dating of early tradewares. According to Bulbeck, robbers have tended to classify almost any monochrome or celadon ware as Sung, when, in fact, many such pieces were produced in the Yuan and early Ming periods. In short, many items, classified by looters as Sung, are most probably Yuan and early Ming and should be assigned to the 13th and 14th centuries (Bulbeck, 1993 : 17).

In the looters' defense, it should be said that several robbers have accumulated quite sizable personal collections of broken tradeware over the years. One looter in Allu, Jeneponto has identified pieces in his collection as Sung and Yuan, which he claims he discovered in association with east-west burials. The dating of these pieces has been authenticated by Dr. Edwards McKinnon (Personal Communication). Given the literally thousands of graves that have been looted in Bantaeng and Jeneponto over the last twenty years, some late Sung or most certainly Yuan pieces may have been discovered in some east-west graves, suggesting that the practice may have been introduced between 1250-1350 A.D along the south coast. Only systematic archaeological excavations in Bantaeng will, however, solve the problem and establish a more certain date for the introduction of east-west burials.

Grave robbers in eastern Bantaeng also reported that they had accidentally discovered a large number of terracotta figurines at two sites, Pattalassang and Kiling-Kiling, near the Lembang Gantarang Keke complex. Terracotta finds are extremely rare in Bantaeng and Pattalassang and Kiling-Kiling are the only two sites to date where such objects have been discovered.

According to grave robbers, the following types of terracotta pieces were discovered at Pattalassang and Kiling-Kiling : (1) pegged figures in association with a support table or board and (2) unpegged, free-standing figures placed in terracotta boxes. Looters explained that terracotta tables and figures resemble a chess board and chess pieces. The top of the terracotta table contained a series of holes, into which pegged terracotta figures could be fitted. These tables were incised with geometric designs and corners and supports were decorated with human faces. The pegged figures were anthropomorphic and may possibly have represented ancestor images, gods or spirits. While a number of undamaged pegged figures have survived, all tables recovered have been broken.

The robbers also reported that they also found a variety of standing, kneeling, and even sitting terracotta figures. These figures, they say, were found stored and buried in terracotta boxes. These boxes and figures seem to have been purposefully buried, since the heads of the figures discovered were positioned to the east.

The question naturally arises as to the function of these terracotta images. The most straightforward and truthful answer is that we simply do not know. Looters all agreed that the terracotta figures were not found in association with graves. They were, therefore, definitely not burial goods. They were not discovered in association with trade ceramics, hence they are also very difficult to date. Pelras has incidentally remarked that these Bantaeng terracotta figures remind him of similar woven (male and female) figures of palm leaves which are put in certain Bugis *bola-bola a'karam'e'keng* (the equivalent of the Makassarese *pantasa'*) to represent the spirits who are honored there (Personal Communication). Presumably, these terracotta pieces may represent older, pre-Islamic practices that have survived the introduction of Islam.

The terracotta effigies are extremely important in that they appear to provide evidence of Majapahit's influence in eastern Bantaeng. Majapahit was renowned for its terracotta work. Similarities between Majapahit pieces and terracotta produced in Bantaeng suggest Majapahit influenced terracotta production in Bantaeng. Kneeling terracotta figures in Bantaeng, for example, have the same pose as kneeling figurines discovered at Trowulan in East Java. Female, terracotta heads, found in Bantaeng, also often have a single pierced ear. This same motif is commonly encountered in Majapahit terracotta pieces. Bantaeng pieces are much cruder and coarser than those produced in Java. Makassarese in eastern Bantaeng seem to have produced these terracotta locally sometimes perhaps in imitation of Majapahit models.

Myths and Legends Derived from Lontara' Texts

Lontara' shed little light on the pre-Islamic history of the Biang Keke River Basin. Several local myths do, however, allude to contacts between Bantaeng and the Bugis kingdom of Luwu'. One legend suggests that the royal house of Gantarang Keke was, in fact, founded out of a marriage between a local princess and the King of Luwu'. According to this story La Galigo, the ruler of Luwu' and son of Sawerigading, took five wives, marrying daughters of the local rulers of Wajo, Toradja, Bone, Binamu, and Gantarang Keke (Noor Satega Ali, 1996 : 4). The version of the myth presented here seems to date to the period around 1500-1510, when Wajo and Bone were on the rise and threatening the hegemony of Luwu' along South Sulawesi's southern coast. A detailed account of the marriage between La Galigo and the princess from Gantarang Keke is summarized as follows :

Long, long ago La Galigo, the ruler of Luwu', once put to port in Bantaeng and visited Gantarang Keke. While there he met and married the daughter of the King of Gantarang Keke. He eventually abandoned her and returned home alone to Luwu'. His bride in Gantarang Keke, however, along with an armed band of female companions, departed for Luwu' in search of her husband. The party arrived in Luwu' during a great celebration. She and her cohorts, disguised as men, pitted their fighting cock against her husband's and were victorious. Upon her victory, she revealed her true identity. La Galigo was surprised, but he welcomed his bride. He did not, however, return to Gantarang Keke with her. Instead, he instructed her to return home alone. He asked her, however, to institute annual celebrations there in memory of their union and the foundation of the dynasty at Gantarang Keke [The

ceremonies, which he instituted and which are known as *Pa'jukukang* rites, are still celebrated at Gantarang Keke to this day]. Their son, Mappanganro Karaeng Loe Ri Gantarang Keke, later became the king of Gantarang Keke (*Lontara'* Collection : Karaeng Massoewalle).

The *La Galigo* epic was not part of Makassarese tradition. Its presence in Bantaeng definitely represents Bugis influence in the region. This myth seems to represent an attempt by Makassarese in eastern Bantaeng, exposed to Luwu'/Bugis influence, to claim descent for their dynasty from the highest ranks of Luwu' nobility. Pelras suggests a number of possible explanations for this claim (Personal Communication). Perhaps the royal dynasty at Gantarang Keke was indeed founded by a prince from Luwu'. Their claim to be *La Galigo*'s direct descendants may also have been an attempt to prove that they were equal in status to Luwu' and that Luwu' should not endeavour to subjugate them.

Pre-Islamic Beliefs and Rites

In eastern Bantaeng remnants of pre-Islamic rites are still annually performed at Gantarang Keke and Lembang Gantarang Keke. These are locally known as *Pa'jukukang* rites and were once held in honor of the *tomanurung* (*Karaeng Loe*) founder of the kingdom. The *Karaeng Loe* festival at Gantarang Keke is the most elaborate and consists of several stages involving a multitude of ceremonies and rites held over a several months period. We will focus on the following three ritual complexes on which we were able to obtain local information : (1) *Akkawaru*, (2) *Kala'u ri Pa'jukukang*, and (3) *Angnganre Ta'bala'na*. In addition there are descriptions of these ceremonies by the Dutch scholar Goudswaard (1865).

The *Pa'jukukang* festival proper opens annually at Gantarang Keke with the performance of *Akkawaru* rites (described by Goudswaard, 1865 : 310-311). These are basically purification rites that are performed to cleanse the kingdom and protect it from misfortune, disease, and evil spirits. In the past the principal feature of *Akkawaru* rites was probably a royal procession, that circumambulated the capital of the kingdom. The *pinati* stopped at the four corners of the settlement and placed offerings there for *Karaeng Loe*, and the king asked the *tomanurung* to protect the kingdom from misfortune. Today the village of *Tanah Loe* is circumambulated by a procession and the village head seeks the protection of the settlement. Previously, as part of these rites, the king himself may have been purified in a ritual bathing. Today villagers sprinkle themselves with holy water, prepared by *pinati* and placed in front of the *Balla Lompoa*, in order to protect themselves against illness and the evil spirit.

The second stage of the ceremony focuses on an elevated rocky outcrop near the sea, known as *Pa'jukukang*. During this portion of the festival villagers gather to catch and then dry a particular species of fish, locally known as *bulo*, from twelve selected rivers in Gantarang Keke. In the past the King of Gantarang Keke and his district chiefs feasted on their catch.

After three days at *Pa'jukukang* the festivities return to Gantarang Keke to climax with *Angnganre Ta'bala'na* rites. These rites revolve around an

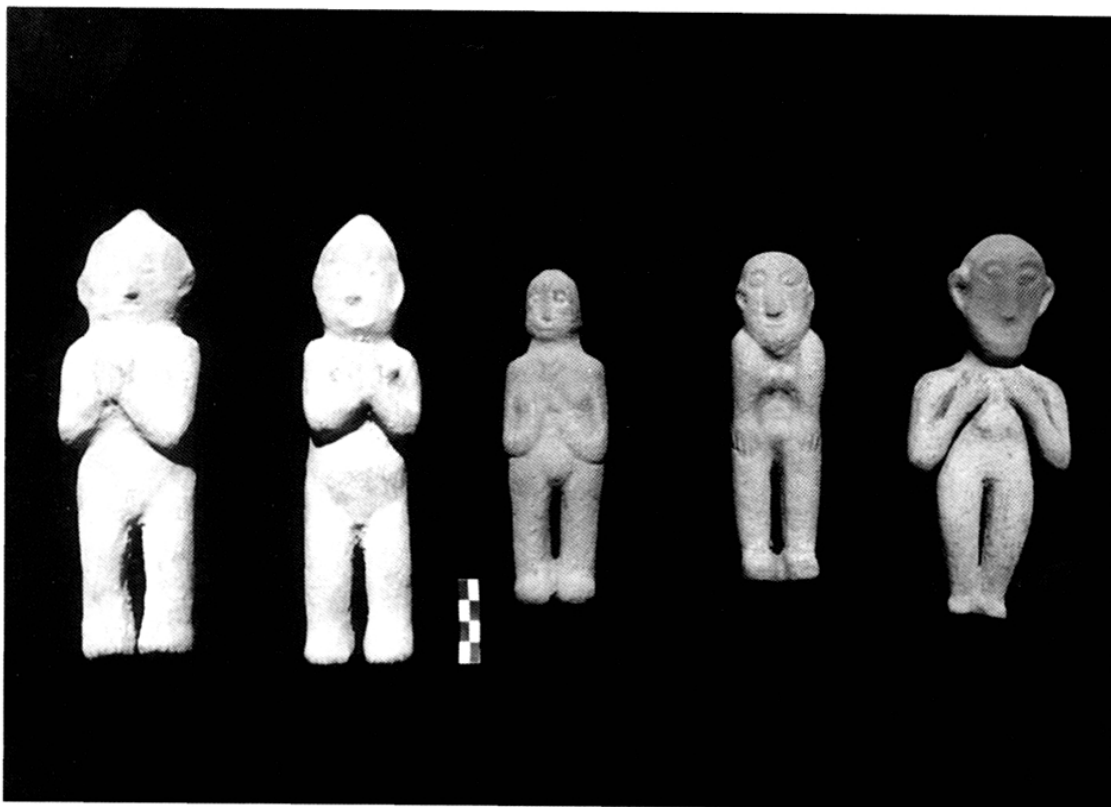
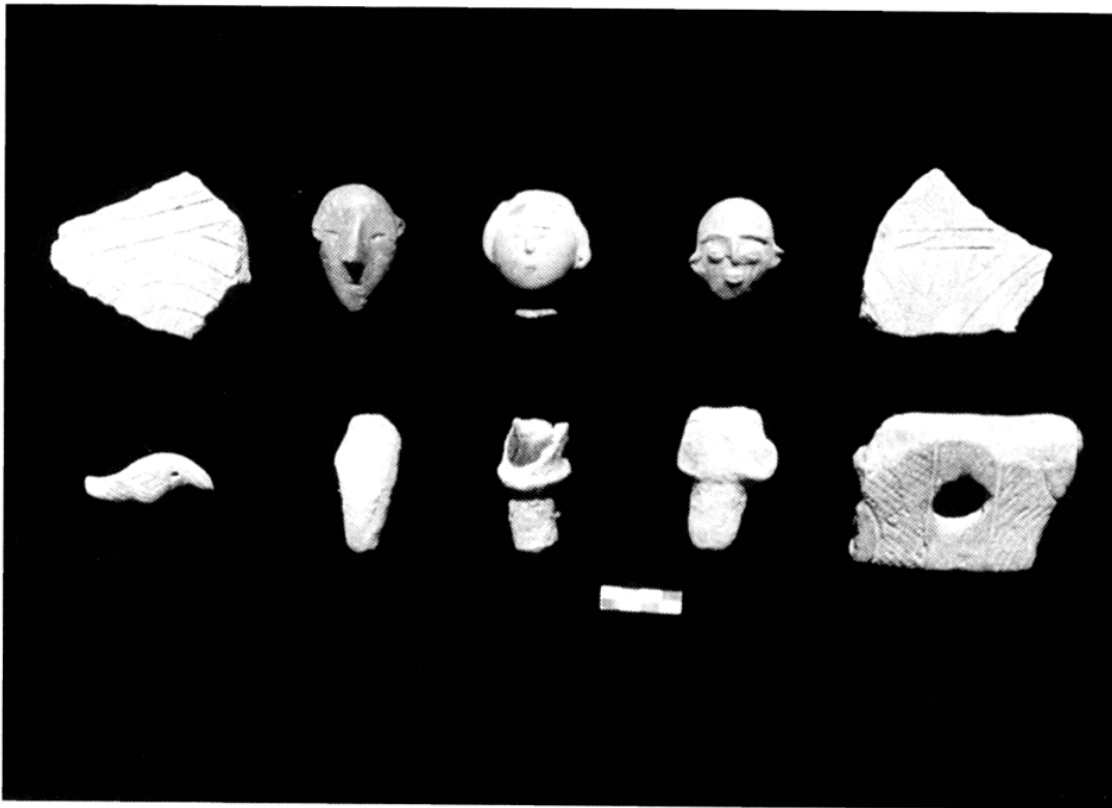
offering of food staples to *Karaeng Loe* and a second communal meal. Villagers prepared a special offering for *Karaeng Loe*, known as *kaloling*, which is prepared and eaten only on this occasion. *Kaloling* consists of cooked, glutinous rice, wrapped in the narrow leaf of the *kaloling* (sago) tree. On the night of the full moon, *pinati* used to climb into the attic of the *Balla Lompoa* at Gantarang Keke to present offerings of *kaloling* and dried fish, caught at *Pa'jukukang*, to *Karaeng Loe* (Goudswaard, 1865 : 304). Today the presentation is made in the main hall of the *Balla*. This forms the climax of *Pa'jukukang* festivities. In the past a communal feast followed in which only *kaloling*, fish, and sago wine were consumed.

Exhibitions of wrestling and martial arts were also held in conjunction with *Pa'jukukang* ceremonies. In ancient times combattants may have actually fought to the death with *keris* daggers in especially constructed stone arenas, called *Passaungang Taua*. Cockfights, accompanied by considerable betting, were also an annual attraction. Dances, performed by girls of marrying age and the swinging of maidens and guests on especially constructed large swings were also part of the festivities. The later two activities, dancing and swinging, are commonly encountered at harvest festivals throughout the Austronesian world. Finally, *Pa'jukukang* rites were and still are accompanied by markets and fairs.

Pa'jukukang ceremonies at Gantarang Keke and the grand *Phalgauna-Caitra* court festival, celebrated annually at Majapahit, share a number similar features. Both *Pa'jukukang* rites and the *Phalgauna-Caitra* court festival, for exemple, celebrate the descent of divine beings. *Pa'jukukang* rites celebrate the anniversary of the descension of Gantarang Keke's *tomanurung* and associated him with Gantarang Keke's kings. The *Nagarakertagama* indicates that the *Caitra* festivities at Majapahit celebrated the birth of Siddharta, the historic Buddha, with whom Majapahit kings also associated themselves, and his descent from the Tusita – heaven (Pigeaud, 1960 : 279). The most possible explanation for these similiarities may be that both Bantaeng and Majapahit share in a common and ancient Austronesian or Malay culture. The *tomanurung*'s descent and the descension of Buddha probably represent two interpretations or manifestations of the ancient Malay myth of origin in which royal dynasties were believed to have been founded by a cosmic drama in which the creator and lord of the upperworld and the heavens descended and married a goddess representing the underworld and primeval waters (Ras, 1968). The notion on the other hand that *Pa'jukukang* ceremonies at Gantarang Keke may possibly have been influenced by court festivals at Majapahit cannot simply be dismissed.

Interpretations

I believe that one of the earliest kingdoms in South Sulawesi emerged along the banks of the Biang Keke River in eastern Bantaeng during the 13th and 14th centuries. This kingdom's political and ceremonial center was located on a two kilometer long isthmus of land formed by the Biang Keke and Patte Rivers. The site is occupied today by the villages of Lembang Gantarang Keke and Gantarang Keke.



Terracotta. Fragments and Figures from Bantaeng

My reasons for locating an ancient kingdom here, possibly Bantayan, are summarized as follows :

The site is representative of a very ancient settlement pattern. It is located on a raised isthmus of land flanked by two rivers, inland, and near a natural spring (the bathing area of the local *to-manurung/Karaeng Loe*). The site was obviously chosen for defensive reasons and for the availability of fresh drinking water.

The early type of burials discovered at Lembang Gantarang Keke and Gantarang Keke, bones interred in earthen pots in association with Sung and Yuan trade ware, suggests there may have been some kind of chiefdom here as early as the 13th century. This early tradeware was only acquired by the elite and was not available to the general population.

The extensive cemeteries containing pre-Islamic east-west burials at both Lembang Gantarang Keke, Gantarang Keke, and along the ridge connecting the two sites suggests that the area developed into a major center between 1350-1550 A.D.

The megalithic remains associated with *Karaeng Loe/Tomanurung* worship suggests that society was hierarchical and ruled by a king.

Tomanurung veneration provided the political and religious ideology that buttressed kingship in Gantarang Keke. Kings used this myth to claim divine descent and or blessing to justify their exalted status in society. *Tomanurung* worship was associated with particular geographical features at Lembang Gantarang Keke and Gantarang Keke : the rocks where he had descended and had disappeared, the place where he had bathed, etc. The *kalompoang* at Gantarang Keke once consisted of two stones symbolizing the male and female principles. They were collectively known as *Karaeng Loe* and were worshipped throughout eastern Bantaeng. *Pa'jukukang* rites were originally grand state celebrations, annually held in honor of *Karaeng Loe*, the *to-manurung* founder of the dynasty and the kingdom. Celebrating the *to-manurung's* descent was magically believed to renew the kingdom each year. These rites also served a cohesive function by bringing the king and district chiefs together.

Despite its interior location, Gantarang Keke seems to have been a trade based kingdom. It was probably part of the Majapahit trade network that also included Luwu' at the head of the Gulf of Bone and the Moluccas in the eastern Archipelago. That eastern Bantaeng was part of the Majapahit-Luwu'-Moluccas trade network is supported by the following evidence :

The *Nagarakertagama* specifically mentions Bantaeng and Luwu' as the principal centers in South Sulawesi and claims Majapahit dominion over them.

The terracotta figures discovered at Pattalassang and Kiling-Kiling provide tangible proof of contacts between Majapahit and Bantaeng.

Chinese ceramics and bronzeware found in association with east-west burials in Bantaeng were most probably imported from Majapahit.

Pa'jukukang rites at Gantarang Keke may have been influenced by Majapahit festivals.

An empty field, known as Surabaya, near the mouth of the Biang Keke River may

have been Gantarang Keke's port. It suggests that Javanese traders from east Java (Surabaya was one of Majapahit's principal ports) may have once settled there. The fact that there are no megalithic remains here suggests that it was not a royal center, but rather a port focused on commerce.

The *La Galigo* myth ties Gantarang Keke to Luwu' and suggests the royal dynasty at Gantarang Keke was founded by a prince from Luwu'.

Finally, the vassal list of Luwu' also indicates that Luwu' was endeavoring to dominate the south coast of South Sulawesi in order to control trade passing through the straits of Selayar. Approximately eighteen of the seventy locations, over which Luwu' claimed dominion, are located in modern day *kabupaten* Takalar, Jeneponto, and Bulukumba (Caldwell, 1988 : 75-79). What is particularly interesting about this list, however, is the fact that it does not contain any place names within the core area of Bantaeng. This absence suggests that, at least at the time of the compilation of this list (most likely the 15th century if not earlier), eastern Bantaeng was a powerful kingdom in its own right and may not have been subject to Luwu'.

In conclusion, a good argument can be made that Lembang Gantarang Keke, Gantarang Keke, and Surabaya, all located on the Biang Keke River, were in fact, the Bantayan of the *Nagarakertagama*.

THE CALENDU RIVER BASIN

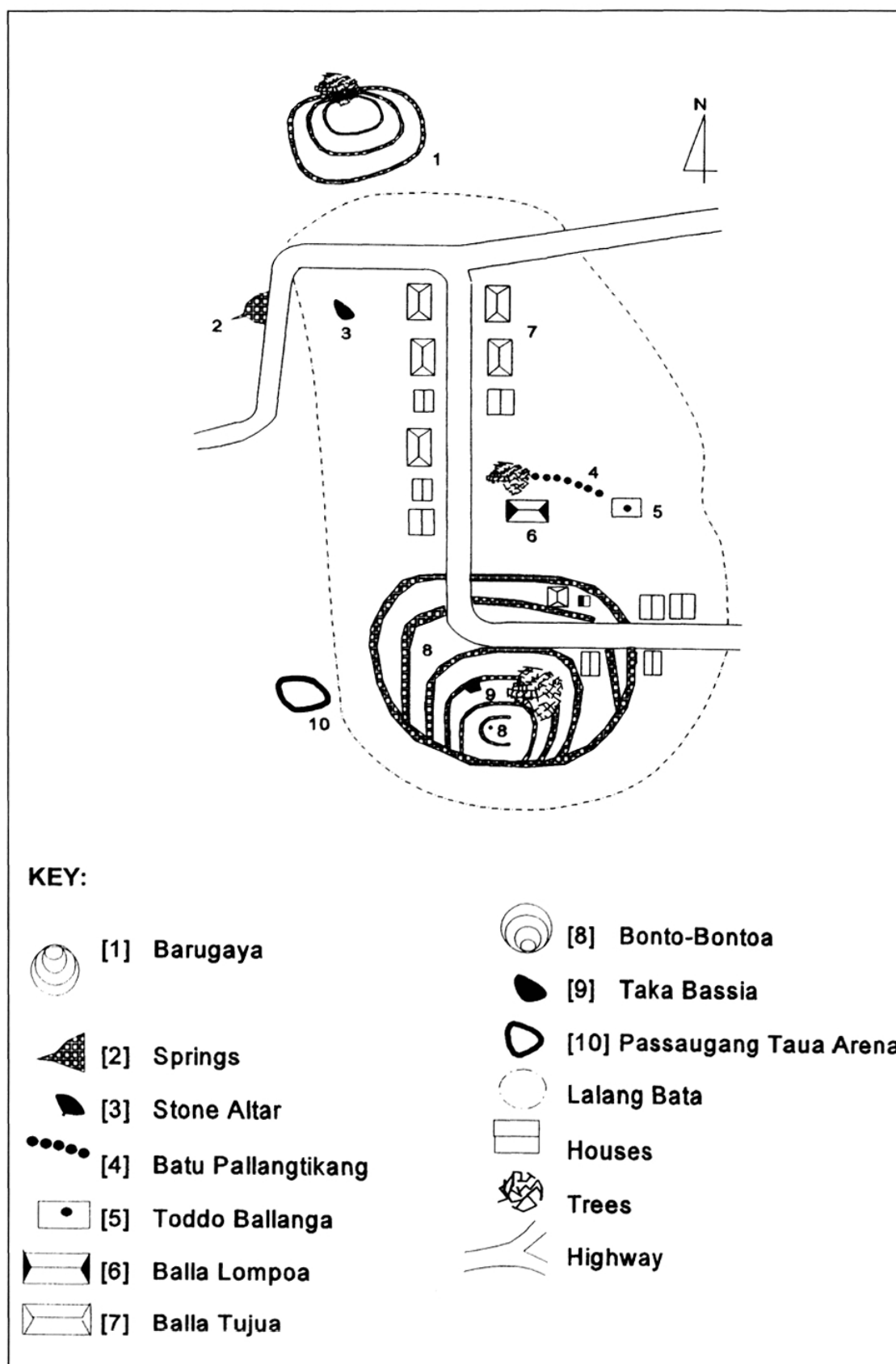
A powerful kingdom also arose along the banks of the Calendu River. Initially it seems to have centered on Onto, but the political center shifted south first to Karatuwang and then to Bissampole and Lembang Cina at the heart of the rice producing coastal plain. With conversion to Islam in the 17th century, the political center moved again to Kasoreang at the mouth of the Calendu River. Two sites, the richest in archaeological remains, Onto and Bissampole/Lembang Cina, will be described in detail in the archaeological survey.

The Archaeological Survey

Onto

Desa Onto is approximately 12 kilometers north of the modern city of Bantaeng in *kecamatan* Bantaeng. It covers an area of 28 square kilometers and rises in elevation from 25 to 750 meters (Ulaen, 1978 : 9). The archaeological survey focused on one site there, known as *Lalang Bata'*. *Lalang Bata'* means "within the walls" and was traditionally used by both Makassarese and Bugis to denote a fortified royal stronghold. *Lalang Bata'* is located on top of a large and steep ridge, flanked on two sides by a stream. The location provides both defense and access to fresh water.

Villagers, living today at *Lalang Bata'*, believe that central Bantaeng's *tomanurung* descended to earth here. According to their stories, after his descent he met seven brothers living in Onto and ordered them to open new settlements; they eventually founded and established themselves as rulers of Bantaeng, Gantarang Keke, Kajang, Luwu', Gowa, Bone, and some add, Solo



Lalang Bata, Onto

in Central Java. These exaggerated claims simply serve to indicate the antiquity and centrality of Onto and *Lalang Bata'*.

The archaeological survey discovered that *Lalang Bata'* was rich in megalithic remains, which are sometimes, but not always, associated with these legends. The following areas at *Lalang Bata'* will be described : (1) *Balla Tujua*, (2) *Balla Lompoa*, (3) *Toddo Ballanga*, (4) *Batu Palangtikang*, (5) *Bonto-Bontoa*, (6) *Barugaya* (7) *Taka Bassia*, (8) a stone altar, (9) *Passaungang Taua*, and (10) the *Pajjerakkang* cemetery.

Traditionally only seven houses (*Balla Tujua*) were constructed within the parameters of *Lalang Bata'*. The restricted number of dwellings suggests that the site once functioned solely as a ceremonial center. These houses, according to informants, were originally all aligned along a north/south, mountain/sea axis. There were three parallel structures in the north, another three parallel houses in the south, and a single house in the center (Dwi, 1991 : 23). The three southern houses faced the south and the sea, though others claim that all seven houses faced north (Ulaen, 1978 : 17). There are more than seven houses located with *Lalang Bata'* today. Six of these new structures, however, still function as the *Balla Tujua*. These modern houses are, however, neither positioned or aligned as their predecessors.

Villagers say that the *Balla Tujua* symbolize the houses of the seven mythological brothers that once inhabited the area. The houses today have individual names such as *Balla Ada' Bone*, *Balla Ada' Bantaeng*, *Balla Ada' Luwu*, indicating they are named after the areas the seven brothers supposedly settled. The actual function of the *Balla Tujua* may have once been to house the *pinati* who conducted sacred rites there. Each house in the complex was once traditionally inhabited by a single family and the head of that family or his wife functioned as a ritual specialist (Ulaen, 1978 : 17). They annually celebrated *Karaeng Loe (tomanurung)* rites and officiated at rites at the beginning of the planting season, the harvest, and the installation of local community leaders (*jannang*).

The *Balla Lompoa*, in contrast to other buildings in the complex, has been constructed along an east-west axis and faces east. The local *ada'* council of district chiefs traditionally met here. The *kalompoang*, left by the *tomanurung*, are also said to be buried under the house.

The *Toddo Ballanga* is not actually a structure, but a small fence that has been constructed around a flat stone. Villagers believe that the *Toddo Ballanga* marks the site where the *tomanurung* first descended from the heavens.

Villagers also believe that local leaders, or *jannang*, were traditionally installed at a spot marked by a series of seven flat stones, known as *Batu Palangtikang* or installation stones (Dwi, 1991 : 28). These seven stones are aligned along an east/west axis, and during installation rites candidate *jannang* set on them facing Mount Lompobattang. It is believed that the seven brothers were the first to be installed here, before they departed to open new settlements.

A small hill, known as *Bonto-Bontoa*, which means hill in Makassarese, dominates the southern sector of *Lalang Bata'*. This hill is actually a natural

mound that has been artificially terraced. A circular stone structure has been constructed on its summit. This enclosure shelters an assemblage of smooth, elongated river stones accompanied by several rounded ones which the *pinati* identify as male and female.

A *saukang* house was probably constructed on top of the hill in association with the stone enclosure and stone assemblages. This hill and associated structure is the main site of communal worship at Onto. Villagers explain that ceremonies are held and offerings still made here annually during *tomanurung/Karaeng Loe* rites.

There is also a second hill, known as *Barugaya*, at the northern end of the *Lalang Bata'* complex. A *barugaya* was a ceremonial pavillion used by *bissu/pinati* for their rituals. The name suggests that such structures were once constructed on this hill. During ceremonies in honor of the *tomanurung* traditional dances, known as *pakare'na*, are still performed here. It is not known whether or not *Bonto-Bontoa* and this second terraced mound in the north represent a single ritual complex, aligned along a roughly north-south axis.

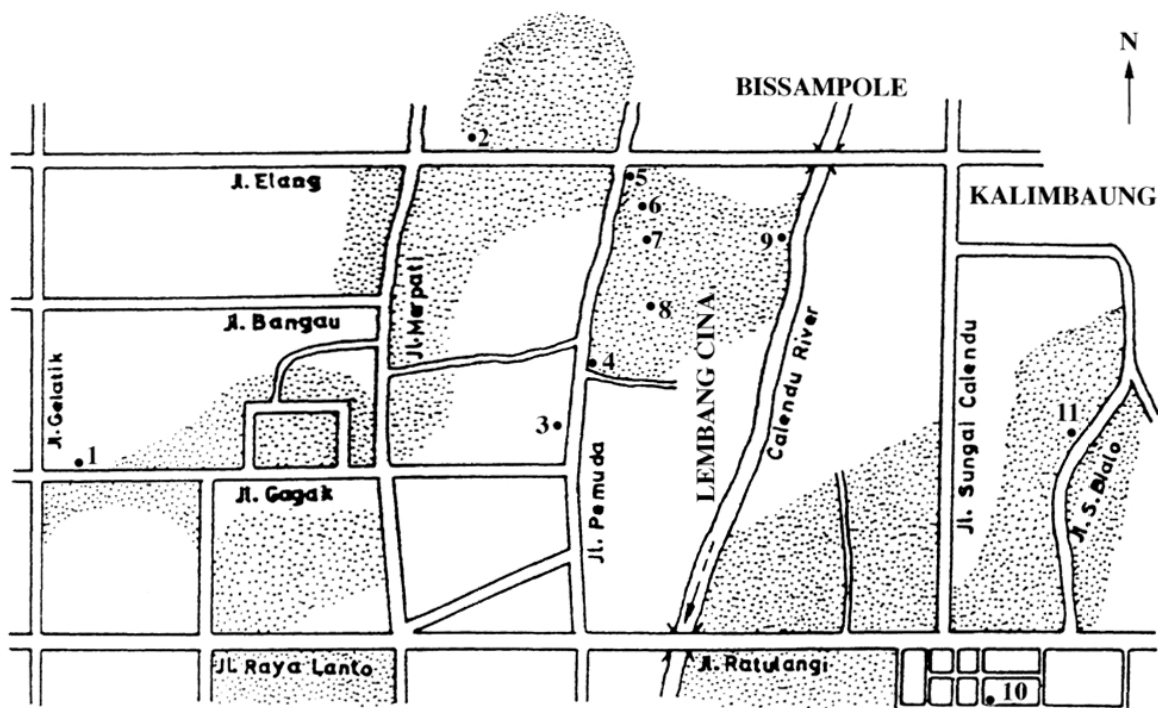
The inhabitants of *Lalang Bata'* believe that iron was first worked at a site known as *Taka Bassia* (Dwi, 1991 : 22). They believe that the *kelewang*, *keris*, and other iron implements were originally produced here. *Taka Bassia* is located at the base of *Bonto-Bontoa*. We should not be surprised that smithing was associated with the principal site of *Karaeng Loe* worship, since *kalompoang*, left by *tomanurung* in South Sulawesi, were often iron products.

Finally, three additional sites at Onto deserve brief mention. There is a large flat stone, reportedly an altar, on the western slope of the *Lalang Bata'* complex. The altar measures 2.8 m x 1.5 m x 9 m (Dwi, 1991 : 46). There is also a *passaungang taua* duelling arena, where men are said to have once fought to their death during *Karaeng Loe* rites, located southwest of the complex. Finally, a site called *Pajjerakkang* or cemetery, situated on high ground northwest of *Lalang Bata'*, contains a substantial number of east/west burials confirming the antiquity of the area.

Bissampole and Lembang Cina

The political and economic center of Bantaeng moved down from Onto into the coastal plain and was first focused on Bissampole and later Lembang Cina during the 15th and 16th centuries. Lembang Cina refers to the western bank of the lower reaches of the Calendu River. This section of the river was also known as the Lembang Cina River. *Lontara'* indicate that two palaces (*Balla Lompoa*) were constructed at Marajiling and Jalangjang in the Lembang Cina area during the 17th century and this suggests that Lembang Cina continued to function as a royal center well into the 1600's. With conversion to Islam in the early 17th century, Bantaeng's center moved to Kasoreang, which means a berthing place for boats, at the mouth of the Lembang Cina river. The Kampong Tompong mosque, built in 1887 at Kasoreang in Letta, today probably marks the site of Bantaeng's first mosque. Palaces were subsequently constructed in the vicinity of the first mosque, but kings continued to be

Scale 1:10.000



KEY

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Bupati's Residence | 7 Jalangjang |
| 2 Electrical Authority | 8 Palangtikang |
| 3 Marajiling | 9 Royal Burials with Gold Masks |
| 4 Batu Palariang | 10 Kampung Tompong Mosque |
| 5 La Tenri Rua Cemetery | 11 Police Station |
| 6 Karaeng Majombeya's Grave | |
| | Pre Islamic Burials |

installed and buried upstream at the old Lembang Cina site. Only two sites (both in Lembang Cina) will be described and discussed in detail here : (1) the La Tenrirua Cemetery, and (2) *Palangtikang*, the coronation grounds of central Bantaeng's kings.

The La Tenrirua Cemetery

The La Tenrirua Cemetery, originally known as *Makam Karaeng Ri Tombolobani*, is Bantaeng's oldest and largest Islamic cemetery. It is located within the modern town of Bantaeng at the intersection of Jalan Pemuda and Jalan Elang. The most prominent individuals buried here are La Tenrirua Sultan Adam Matiroe Ri Bantaeng, the first Islamic King of Bone (r. 1611-1612) and Karaeng Majombeya (d. 1620), the first king of Bantaeng to convert to Islam. Grave robbers have indicated that this Islamic cemetery actually sits on a vast sea of pre-Islamic graves. Looters often use older Islamic cemeteries to pin-point pre-Islamic ones. It seems that communities, after conversion to Islam, continued to use their old cemeteries, but changed the alignment of graves from east-west to north-south. [According to Islamic traditions the body and the grave should be aligned along a north-south axis with the head of the deceased positioned to face the holy city of Mecca]. The survey team visited an abandoned house, located approximately 100 meters from the La Tenrirua Cemetery. Pits, recently dug in the floor of the house by looters, indicated the presence of a number of east-west pre-Islamic graves and confirmed grave robber reports that La Tenrirua was actually part of a much older and larger pre-Islamic burial complex.

Palangtikang

Bantaeng's kings were installed at *Pocci Butta Palangtikang Pappuniangan*, the royal coronation grounds. The site is situated just south of the La Tenrirua cemetery and is marked by a huge, ancient *beringin* tree. Dutch reports indicate that Bantaeng's kings were actually installed in this tree :

The place of the (installation) ceremony was under a beautiful, perhaps centuries old *beringin* tree. Against this tree a small house had been built on four high poles, which were connected to the ground by way of a long flat stairs... At nine o'clock the regent went up the stairs, followed by two priestesses of *Karaeng Loe*. They stayed with him for twenty minutes in the high house, where they sprinkled him with blessed water and anointed him with oil... the community leaders then assembled at the foot of the stairs. Sitting crossed-legged and with their drawn *keris* in their right hands, they gave their oath of allegiance to their new *karaeng* (Goudswaard, 1865 : 313).

This type of tree installation seems to be unique to Bantaeng in South Sulawesi.

Local legends, associated with the coronation grounds, partially reveal the significance of the tree in these rites.

Long ago, Lakipadada, one of Karaeng Jagong's seven brothers, was hunting wild boars in the forest. He chanced upon a huge boar and tried to spear the creature. His

lance struck the boar, but the trident head of the spear broke off. The wounded animal disappeared down a hole at the base of a huge *beringin* tree, carrying the spear head embedded in his side. Lakipadada, wanting to retrieve his spear point, crawled into the hole and pursued the boar into the bowels of the earth. He descended into a deep cavern, where he encountered several women preparing medicine. They informed him that they were preparing this medication for their lord, the king of the underworld. Lakipadada, himself knowing something of healing, said that he might be able to cure their king and asked to see him. When he was lead into the king's chamber, he was horrified to see his trident spear point lodged in the king of the underworld's side. He had obviously wounded the king, who had transformed himself into a boar, when he ventured out from the underworld. Lakipadada quickly seized the spear head and extracted it from the king's side, and without hesitating, he returned via the burrow to the surface and the world of mankind (*Lontara*' Collection : Karaeng Massoewalle, Author's summary).

The *beringin* tree and the hole at its base function as an *axis mundi* or center of the universe. The branches of the tree stretched into the heavens, the trunk stood in the world of man, while its roots penetrated into the underworld. All three levels of existence – the heavens, the world of man, and the underworld – come together at the coronation grounds. It was obviously a very special place, where the gods from the heavens and the underworld could join man in the installation of a king.

Installation rites in Bantaeng also seem to be a reenactment of the *tomanurung* myth. The *tomanurung* descended from the heavens, entered into a government contract with local *totoa* leaders. They in turn swore an oath of allegiance to their new lord. During installation rites, the king climbs up into a tree, symbolically associating him with the gods of the upperworld. He eventually descends from the tree, reenacting the *tomanurung*'s descent. During the rite as in the myth, local leaders swear allegiance to their lord. Every time a king of Bantaeng was installed, the *tomanurung* myth and the foundation of the kingdom itself was then repeated and reaffirmed.

There are two other stones, known as *Batu Palariang*, located near the coronation grounds. Holes have been chiseled out of both stones and they may have once been used to husk rice. Karaeng Massoewalle said that Bantaeng's king traditionally washed their hair here in coconut milk as part of the installation rites. Similar stones are also found in association with Bugis coronation grounds and may represent later Bugis influence.

Grave Robbers' Accounts

Looters agreed that the largest concentration of pre-Islamic, east-west burials along the entire south coast of South Sulawesi lies in and around the Lembang Cina area under the modern city of Bantaeng. The oldest Islamic cemetery in *Kecamatan* Bantaeng, *Makam La Tenrirua*, we have already said, is located in the midst of this burial complex. This complex spreads out on the east and the west banks of the Lembang Cina River. The cemetery runs from the current, official residence of the *bupati* in the southern part of the town north through the rice fields behind the PLN electrical authority, covering approximately 20-30 hectares. The Lembang Cina cemetery yielded a wealth

of grave goods ; the dead there were often buried with : trade ceramics, earthenware, bronze ware and sometime gold jewelery, weapons, glass, beads, and stone amulets.

Looters were primarily interested in the trade ceramics that this cemetery contained. Within a grave porcelain was often arranged in the following pattern. A large plate or dish was usually placed behind the head as a pillow and another large plate covered the face. A number of small, round containers, known locally as *buli-buli*, formed a necklace around the throat of the deceased. A large plate was often positioned over the chest and another over the pelvic area. A small water container with a spout, or *kendi*, was sometimes placed in the groin area of some skeletons, suggesting that the deceased may have been a male. Another large dish was placed over the knees with a final plate covering the feet.

Trade ceramics are particularly useful to archaeologists and scholars, because they can be used to date sites. Looters claim, for example, that coastal sites, like Lembang Cina, generally, but not always, contain little Sung (Yuan) period material and produce large amounts of Ming Blue and White ware (MBW) and Swatow (SWT) ceramics. If this later information is correct, it suggests that the earliest centers in the Calendu River valley (13th-14th centuries A.D) may have been located inland and that sometime between 1350-1550, if not earlier, the capital moved down river to Lembang Cina near the coast.

After porcelain, the most common item found in the pre-Islamic graves at Lembang Cina is bronzeware. Bronze wrist bracelets and ankle bands are most frequently encountered. Bronze earrings have also been found. Bronze plates, dishes, and bowls were also often used in place of ceramic pieces to cover the corpse. Grave robbers have all mentioned in passing that they have sometimes found fragments of red colored cloth stuck to these larger, corroded bronze pieces. This cloth may have been part of a burial shroud, that was used to wrap the corpse. Bronze gongs have also sometimes been found. A bronze, rice ladle was discovered at Lembang Cina in association with Vietnamese Blue and White ware (1400-1500 A.D). The source of this bronzeware is not known. It is doubtful that it was produced locally. Most, if not all of the pieces, were probably imported from Java, which was famous for its bronze work.

A variety of iron weapons was commonly buried in pre-Islamic graves at Lembang Cina : blunt-tipped choppers (*kelewang*), obviously used for hacking, straight and serpentine *keris*, and small *badik* daggers. Only the badly corroded blades of these weapons have survived, the wooden hilts having rotted away. Looters have indicated that graves often had more than one weapon deposited in them. Weapons were normally placed on the right or left side of the deceased near the pelvic area. *Keris*, again for reasons unknown, were also commonly positioned above the head.

One of Bantaeng's chief diggers made a most spectacular find near the La Tenrirua cemetery. He found two graves there, where a man and woman had been buried, containing approximately 600 grams of gold. The exact weight is known, because ancient gold, like modern, is sold by its weight, but at a higher

rate per gram. Each grave contained golden head ornamentation, gold death masks, golden genital/vagina covers, golden necklaces and gold finger rings. Two large baskets of Vietnamese and Ming ceramic ware were extracted from both graves, suggesting a 15th or 16th century date for these possibly royal burials.

Gold masks have been discovered elsewhere along the south coast. In the late 1970's the chief looter in Allu, Jeneponto, also unearthed another five similar golden masks in Jeneponto : one at Kampong Banrimanurung, three in one burial complex at Kampong Ujung at the mouth of the Allu River, and another at the Tanah Toa area of *Kecamatan* Bangkala. These masks, however, were all quite small, measuring 10-12 centimeters across, and very thin. Pak Rachmat, a dealer in Ujung Pandang, also said that he himself discovered seven golden death masks, weighing between 40 and 70 grams, each, in pre-Islamic royal graves near Katangka in Gowa.

The function of these golden death masks, locally known as *tompolo*, is simply not known. The following conjectures, however, may be made. As an indicator of status, gold may have functioned to distinguish the elite from commoners in the next world (Miksic, 1989 : 57). The Makassarese also believed that the spirits of the dead could sometimes be harmful. In certain eastern Indonesian islands, the corpse's head might be placed in a pot, so that the deceased could not use his senses and threaten the living (Miksic, 1989 : 57). Gold masks might have served a similar function. Finally, gold has traditionally been associated with the divine. Golden ornamentation may somehow have served to deify a dead king.

Myths and Legends Derived from Lontara' Texts

A number of myths, contained in *lontara'*, shed light on the historical development of the Calendu River Basin. We shall examine three myths here. The first two are concerned with central Bantaeng's origins. The third is associated with a site, known as Calendu-Calendu, one of the traditional centers of Karaeng Loe/*Tomanurung* worship in central Bantaeng.

Lontara' texts present varied and often incongruent versions of central Bantaeng's origins. We will examine two accounts here, the first based on Dutch research published in the *Adatrechtbundels* (1933 : 156-157); the second is drawn from *lontara'* in the private collection of Karaeng Massoewalle. Both accounts are broadly similar, although they vary in some very important details. It should be noted that these accounts are highly mythical in character and one needs to be extremely cautious in drawing historical inferences from them.

According to the myths published in the *Adatrechtbundels*, central Bantaeng's origins center on the mysterious appearance of a *tomanurung*, descended from the heavens :

Centuries ago, before the people of Bantaeng converted to Islam, a man, known as *Tomanurung*, mysteriously descended from heaven and appeared at the hill settlement of Onto, situated on the upper reaches of the Calendu River, in what is now *kecamatan* Bantaeng. The *Tomanurung* visited villages in Onto and

subsequently decided to move downstream, nearer the coast, and settle in the village of Bissampole. The people there built him a house and a certain man, by the name of Pole, from nearby Karatuwang, a district of Bissampole, came to live with the *Tomanurung* and assisted him wherever he went.

While in Bissampole the *Tomanurung* and Pole gathered together the leaders (*tomangada'*) of twelve local communities, that then comprised Bantaeng, and asked them to select someone from Karatuwang to represent them to the *Tomanurung*. The *Tomanurung* gave their representative the title of *tonigallaraka*. When the *Tomanurung* met with the twelve traditional community heads, Pole sat on his left and the *tonigallaraka* on his right.

At the request of the *Tomanurung*, the twelve community leaders began to open new rice fields. Each of the twelve *tomangada'* appointed four individuals, known as *baku* or *tonipabakueroiki*, to work the rice fields, or *sawah*, for the *Tomanurung*. The harvest was divided among the *Tomanurung*, Pole, the *tonigallaraka*, the twelve *tomangada'*, and the forty-eight *tonipabakueroiki*. In the process of opening these rice fields, the twelve *tomangada'* also established twelve new settlements : Tanga-Tanga, Mamampang, Tabaringang, Karunrung, Tompong, Tamalangi, Mapihawing, Katapang, Tino Towa, Lemona, Marawa and Bung Loc.

After the rice lands were opened and the new settlements established, the *Tomanurung* suddenly disappeared and was never again seen in Bantaeng. Forty days after his strange disappearance, both Pole and the *tonigallaraka* heard his voice. The *Tomanurung* appointed Pole as the *Jannang* (local ruler) of Bissampole and the *tonigallaraka* as the *Gallarang* of Bantaeng and as the head of the twelve *tomangada'*, who were now collectively known as the *Ada' Sampulongrua*, or the Council of Twelve. He further indicated that they would continue to rule their twelve, individual settlements, but with the new title of *jannang*. He also instructed the new *Jannang* of Bissampole, the *Gallarang* of Bantaeng, and the *Ada' Sampulongrua* to select one of nine brothers, who had descended from heaven with their father and were now living in Karatuwang, as his successor and future king of Bantaeng. The eldest brother, named Masanigaya, was soon elected as king. He moved into the *Tomanurung*'s house at Bissampole and ruled from there. Finally, the *Tomanurung* also informed the *Jannang* of Bissampole that he himself would return to this world again, not as a human being, but in the form of a golden statuette. He said that he would reappear as a statue in Onto and that the *Jannang* of Bissampole should go there to collect him. He asked that his statue be brought back to Bissampole, where Masanigaya lived, and that it should always stay with the king of Bantaeng. (Author's Summary)

Lontara' in Karaeng Massoewalle's collection and research by Ulaen (1978), with varying details, recount a similar tale of origin for Bantaeng. We have the descent of the *Tomanurung*, his uniting of the local communities, the opening of agricultural land, his subsequent disappearance, and the selection of a successor as king. The second version, however, emphasizes the primacy of Onto over Bissampole. It also contains an important oath of allegiance and governmental contract between the *Tomanurung* and the local communities he united, which are missing in the first account :

There were once seven kin or descent groups (*tau tujua*), occupying seven distinct areas on the slopes of Mount Lompobatang in what is today *Kabupaten* Bantaeng. These seven areas were each ruled by an elder, known as a *totoa*. The seven areas were : (1) Onto, (2) Bissampole, (3) Sinowa, (4) Gantarang Keke, (5) Mamampang, (6) Katapang, and (7) Lawi-Lawi. These kin groups were hostile to one another, constantly in a state of war, and raiding each others' villages.

Peace and order were established when a supernatural being, known as a *Tomanurung*, descended from the upperworld. Accounts vary regarding how he appeared. Some say that he descended on a sacred stone now in Onto, known as *Nuara Batu* or *Batu Manurunga Ri Onto*. Other versions of the myth say that the seven leaders of the *tau tujua* encountered him in a golden river, known as the *Rimampang Ri Bongaya Ri Salu Canranaya*. The seven *totoa* asked him to be their ruler (*somba*) and built a house for the *Tomanurung* at Onto, known as the *Balla' Lompoa' Ri Onto* – *The Big House in Onto* (Ulaen, 1978 : 22). He assumed the title *Karaeng Loe Ri Onto* – The Great Lord of Onto. The *tau tujua* all swore allegiance to him in the name of the high god *Patanna Lino*, who governed the world of man.

After uniting the *tau tujua*, the *Tomanurung* ordered each group to open new rice land. He then introduced agricultural rituals such as the first ploughing of the royal field at the beginning of the planting season and the harvest thanksgiving festival.

Before the *Tomanurung* departed Bantaeng, he told the seven *tau tujua* that they must come together and select one amongst them to become the next king. He also gave the *totoa* of Bissampole some of his belongings (*kalompoang*) which he planned to bequeath to Bantaeng's succeeding kings. The *Tomanurung* then suddenly disappeared. The *totoa* then gathered and elected one of their own, the son of the *totoa* of Onto, as king with the title *Punta Bolongan Dala Onto*. An agreement was also made between the new king and the seven *totoa* outlining mutual rights and obligations. The new king subsequently moved the center of government from Onto to Bissampole. (*Lontara'* Collection : Karaeng Massoewalle, Author's Summary).

Lontara' and folklore also hint at the close ties that may have existed between Majapahit and Central Bantaeng. One particular legend, centering on Calendu-Calendu, tells how the King of Majapahit married one of seven sisters living in Bantaeng and took all the sisters back with him to Java (Brink, 1943 : 246) :

In the old days there were once seven sisters living in Bantaeng. The youngest, while bathing in the Calendu River, captured a small fish. She kept it in a pond in front of the cave at Calendu-Calendu and shared her food with it everyday. One day, while she was away, her sisters caught and ate the fish. When the young girl discovered what had transpired, she buried the bones of the fish near the cave and sang these words : “You have to grow up to become a tree and your leaves will fall on Java ; and the king of that island will find these leaves”. Soon, just as she had wished, a huge tree sprouted up from the fishbones. It had a trunk of iron and its blossoms were made of gold and diamonds. A leaf from the tree subsequently fell on Java and was discovered by its king. The King of Majapahit immediately decided to find the origin of this wonderful leaf. He sailed to Sulawesi and, while hunting there, chanced upon the magical tree at Calendu-Calendu. He discovered the young girl who had planted the tree and decided to marry her. He took her and her six sisters back to Java with him. All the girls, however, eventually returned home to Bantaeng. The eldest settled in Gantarang Keke, the second eldest at Bantaeng, and the third at Bissampole and the youngest returned to Calendu-Calendu. (Author's Summary).

This story also suggests that there may have once been significant Buddhist influence in central Bantaeng. The miraculous tree, planted at Calendu-Calendu, is certainly a Buddhist *Kalpavriksha* or “wishing tree”.

Pre-Islamic Beliefs and Rites

The inhabitants of *Lalang Bata'* annually celebrate the anniversary of the descent of the *tomanurung* at Onto in a series of ceremonies, collectively known as *Anganro Karaeng Loe* (Ulaen, 1978 : 18). These celebrations are related to the *Pa'jukukang* rites annually held at Gantarang Keke. During the ceremonies at Onto the villagers make offerings to the spirit of the *tomanurung* and ritually cleanse the sacred heirlooms (*kalompoang*) that he left them (Dwi, 1991 : 38). As part of the celebrations a special ceremony is performed, known as *A'dete Babang* (circumambulating the boundaries of the settlement). During the performance of this ceremony, nine villagers are chosen to circumambulate the parameters of *Lalang Bata'* seven times at night. They believe they are following the path around the settlement once taken by the *tomanurung*. The nine villagers carry offerings of rice, chicken, and traditional sweets, and they light their way through the darkness with *kanjoli* lamps. These are candles made from a mixture of kapok and candlenut (*kemiri* or *Aleurites moluccana*) flesh on a palm leave rib. The offerings are placed at seven locations, known as *sanggara*, along the path. The nine men then ritually bath themselves at a sacred spring, *Saluka Ri Ganjeng*. The ceremony climaxes with the placement of offerings at the site (*Toddo Ballanga*), where the *tomanurung* first descended from the upperworld. The ceremonies close with a communal feast.

Interpretation

The key to understanding the history of the Calendu River basin is the collection of myths which seek to explain central Bantaeng's origins. Despite the differences in these stories and the historical complexity of the situation, they all agree on broad points in the area's formation and development. They both share the Calendu River Basin and its settlements as the heartland of central Bantaeng. Onto, Karatuwang, and Bissampole are all located on this river. They point to the great antiquity of both Onto and Bissampole and explain why the people living in these settlements once felt themselves superior to the other inhabitants of Bantaeng. Both myths also describe the transformation of a number of small societies, lead by chiefs, into a single, centralized and hierarchical one, ruled over by a king. Both myths depict a traditional society, based on kin groups (*tau tujua*), ruled by a *tomangada'* or *totoa*. Certain families in these groups claimed higher status by the fact that they were believed to be descended from heavenly beings and had inherited sacred heirlooms (*kalompoang*) from their divine ancestors as a sign and source of their legitimacy. Some of these groups were able to dominate others and their chiefs were able to transform themselves into kings (*somba, karaeng*). This transformation may have originally been started in Onto, but the later power centers were Karatuwang and Bissampole.

In summary, both myths function on a number of levels : (1) they describe the introduction of kingship and the formation of a more hierarchical society, (2) they define the nature of the relationship between the unified center and traditional communities, (3) they make it clear that the rise of kingship and a

powerful center were directly related to the expansion of wet rice agriculture, (4) finally, they further reveal the importance of agriculture in the shift of the center of government from the sub-mountain region of Onto (elevation : 670 meters) to the broad, flat and well-watered rice plain of Bissampole.

The archaeological field survey and grave robber reports support in part this interpretation of historical development. The rich number of megalithic remains and the archaic mountain/sea, north/south layout of Onto attests to its great antiquity and suggest that it may have been a center as early as the 13th and 14th centuries. The vast pre-Islamic cemetery at Lembang Cina, the golden death masks discovered there, and the fact that the coronation grounds of Bantaeng's kings was located there, indicate that Lembang Cina developed into major royal center during the 15th and 16th centuries. The distribution of trade ceramics in central Bantaeng also supports this interpretation of events. Looters, remember, claim that the majority of Sung and Yuan porcelain was discovered in the interior and that coastal sites tended to yield large amounts of Ming ware indicating that the earliest centers were located upriver and that sometime perhaps between 1350-1550, the capital moved to the coastal plain. The use of trade ceramics as status markers in graves and their uneven distribution in graves also lends supports to the notion that society in central Bantaeng at this time was becoming more stratified.

Both origin myths indicate that the kingdom, which developed in Central Bantaeng, was agriculturally-based. Central Bantaeng's coastal plain was, in fact, well suited for wet rice agriculture. The 2,900 meter Mount Lompobattang, a now extinct volcano, provided Bantaeng with rich volcanic soil, ideal for agriculture. The slopes of the volcano were also the source of numerous springs, streams and small rivers which could be channelled to irrigate rice fields or other crops. Mount Lompobattang also caught both the western and eastern monsoon winds and endowed Bantaeng with a double rainy season. The western winds (*bara'*) brought light rain between November and March and the eastern winds (*timoro'*) ushered in heavy downpours between May and October. This phenomenon of a dual rainy season ensured that Bantaeng was well watered throughout the year and allowed for year round planting and thus increased agricultural production. Bantaeng's potential as a rice producing center had been fully developed by the 17th century. The Dutch admiral Speelman, commenting on Bantaeng's rice production in 1667, wrote that Bantaeng was one of the most important rice bowls in Makassar. When he sacked the town, he further noted that 100 boats in the harbor were set aflame carrying 6,000 tons of rice (Andaya, 1981 : 75-76). His notations support the hypothesis that central Bantaeng may have already been a major producer and exporter of rice in pre-Islamic times.

While *lontara'* make no mention of commerce, it seems relatively certain that central Bantaeng also derived revenues from trade. Bantaeng lies, we have said, astride a very ancient trade route connecting western Indonesia with the spice producing Moluccas in the eastern archipelago. The antiquity of the route is revealed by the fact that cloves, only available in the Moluccas, were known in ancient Rome as early as 70 A.D. The Ming porcelain and

bronze ware discovered in Lembang Cina graves also suggest that Central Bantaeng like Gantarang Keke was trading with Majapahit Java. The story of the seven princesses from Calendu-Calendu also directly links the Calendu River Basin with the kingdom of Majapahit. Finally, archaeologists theorize that the simplification of burial practices among the Makasarese between 1200-1500 A.D and the increase in grave goods, particularly trade ceramics, as status markers, are partially attributable to a shift from subsistence preoccupations to a more entrepreneurial economy and to an expansion in commerce and establishment of trade entrepôts (Bulbeck, 1992 : 451).

The Calendu River Basin united other river systems within Bantaeng into a single, centralized kingdom. This unification is reflected in central Bantaeng's origin myths. The first myth basically describes events within the Calendu River valley itself and tells how the descent of the *tomanurung* brought communities together there. In the second myth Bantaeng is said to have emerged out of a confederation of seven communities which included Gantarang Keke in eastern Bantaeng and Sinowa in the west. I believe the first myth, focusing on river valley unification, is older. The second myth evolved much later after the Calendu River Basin had annexed eastern and western Bantaeng.

The Calendu River Basin's rise to prominence was probably linked to the expansion of wet rice agriculture. Increased rice production may have led to a larger population over time. This larger manpower pool possibly allowed central Bantaeng to field larger and more powerful armies. The capital of the kingdom was able to move down from Onto and into the Bissampole rice plain, because its defence was no longer dependent on topographical features, but on the size of the army it could mobilize. We should never imagine, however, that Bantaeng was in terms of population really ever very large. Speelman, when he laid the Lembang Cina area waste in 1667, noted, for example, that the city contained approximately 1,000 houses (Andaya, 1981 : 75-76). The population of the town at that time may have averaged 5000-7500 inhabitants. It is doubtful whether the pre-Islamic population figures even reached this level. The town, drawing on manpower resources upriver was, however, able to subjugate Gantarang Keke in eastern Bantaeng and Sinowa in the west, and in so doing became the most powerful kingdom along the south coast of South Sulawesi.

Lontara' indicate that kings in Bantaeng were not all powerful. Bantaeng like other kingdoms in South Sulawesi, was organized as a loose pyramid confederation, comprised of districts in central, eastern, and western Bantaeng. A king's power was limited by appointed officials and district chiefs. Hereditary district chiefs (*Jannang, dampang*), were not appointed by the king and held great power in their respective domains. The *Ada' Sampulongrua*, or Council of Twelve, represented these local interests. A strong district chief could and did sometimes try to seize power. At the same time an alliance of local leaders could also depose a king. The following story about the rebellious Karaeng Patampulua reflects both possibilities.

Karaeng Jagong, who was the king of Bantaeng and who was known by the title *Tunijalloka*, was defeated in battle at Sinowa by a certain Karaeng Patampuloa. Karaeng Jagong fled and sought refuge in nearby Rumbia in what is now *Kabupaten Jeneponto*. Karaeng Patampuloa seized power and, it seems, for a while perhaps served as Bantaeng's king. Local community leaders such as the *Dampang* of Bissampole, Gantarang Keke, and Lawi-Lawi were displeased with this turn of events and plotted to remove Karaeng Patampuloa from power. He was eventually assassinated at a communal feast, held at Tino Towa, and Karaeng Jagong was reinstalled as king. (*Lontara'* Collection : Karaeng Massoewalle, Author's Summary).

Tomanurung veneration was again the principal ideology that buttressed kingship, status, and hierarchical society in the Calendu River Basin. Both origin myths center around the descent of the *tomanurung*, his unification of local communities, the establishment of kingship and then his eventual disappearance. The strength of this tradition is revealed by the fact that *tomanurung* rites are still celebrated at Onto, today surviving 400 years of intense Islamization. Installation rites also continued to re-enact the *tomanurung*'s descent. The sites, where the seven sisters returning from Java supposedly settled, are the principal centers of *Karaeng Loe* (*tomanurung*) worship. The layout of *Balla Lompoa* (palaces) in central Bantaeng also functioned to identify its occupant, the *karaeng* or king, with the *tomanurung*. The meeting hall for the Council of Twelve (*Ada' Sampulongrua*) was traditionally constructed on the right side of the palace. The *Tomanurung*, remember, had asked the *to-gallaraka* to always sit on his right, when they met with local community (*totoa*) leaders. He later entitled him the *Gallarang* of Bantaeng and appointed him the head of the *Ada'Sampulongrua*. The *Gallarang* of Bantaeng and Council of Twelve were, therefore, traditionally associated with the right side of the *Balla Lompoa*. The king occupied, along with the *kalompoang*, the center position, as did the *tomanurung* in relationship to the *Gallarang* and council.

THE PANAIKANG RIVER BASIN

Western Bantaeng is fairly rugged country rising up the slopes of Mount Lompobattang to an altitude of almost 2000 meters. This type of terrain has restricted rice production to the narrow coastal plain; the higher elevations in the recent past have been given over to estate crops and market gardening. The limited availability of land for wet rice production may, in fact, have prevented western Bantaeng from playing a more central role in Bantaeng's history.

The archaeological field survey team visited three sites in western Bantaeng : (1) Benteng Kaili, also known as Benteng Batu Terang, (2) Sinowa and, (3) Borong Toa. Only Benteng Kaili is described here.

Kaili

Kaili was possibly the most important kingdom in western Bantaeng. The center of the kingdom was located on top of a 65 meter high hill, known today as Bukit Batu Kampung Kalimbungan, in *kelurahan* Bontosunggu, *Kecamatan*

Bissapu. The hill is situated approximately $\pm$ 500 meters north of the *Kecamatan* capital, Bontosunggu, just off the provincial highway connecting Ujung Pandang and Bantaeng.

The principal feature of the site was a large and impressive *benteng* or fort that dominated the top of the hill. The walls of the fort were $\pm$ 2 kilometers in length, 3 to 4 meters thick and flat on top. They varied in height, depending on the terrain, from 1 to 8 meters (*Suaka*, 1984 : 36). These fortifications were only constructed on the northern, eastern, and southern parameters of the town. The main gate seems to have been placed in the eastern wall, facing the rising sun. No wall was built on the western side of the settlement, since the site was protected by the steep descent of the land to the Panaikang River, that bordered the western slope of the hill. The stones, that once formed the wall, have unfortunately been cannibalized by local farmers and very little remains of the *benteng* wall today.

Of 81 shards collected from the Kaili site, 49 were Ming with only 4 Swatow pieces and this suggests at least a 15th and 16th century date for site and possibly the fortifications (*Suaka*, 1984 : 50).

Grave robbers report that the base of Kaili Hill is surrounded by extensive pre-Islamic cemeteries. The graves in these cemeteries are all aligned along an east-west axis. These cemeteries are located across the river on the western bank of the Panaikang River, south of the provincial highway, and in the rice fields east of the settlement. One looter discovered what may have possibly been a royal burial atop Kaili Hill. The grave contained a thin gold mask that covered the face of the corpse and a thin gold plate with a phallus design on it, covering the genital area and suggesting the deceased was male. The total weight of these gold objects was only 16 grams. The looter also claimed that he had found Ming Blue and White (MBW) in this grave as well as an Annamese blue and white piece in the shape of a phoenix.

According to local folklore, Kaili also known as Kasammang, was once an independent kingdom with its own *tomanurung* traditions and *kalompoang*. Kaili had of its own free will initially become a vassal or *palili'* of Bantaeng. Later, however, when it grew to the size of forty houses, it rose up and rebelled against Bantaeng. Kaili/Kasammang was eventually subdued, its *kalompoang* added to those of Bantaeng, and its *karaeng* became a member of the *Ada' Sampulorua* (*Adatrechtbundels*, 1933 : 162). *Lontara'* in Karaeng Massoewalle's collection indicates the Karaeng Rewata (late 16th century) defeated a certain Karaeng Ri Kasammang and seized kampongs Tamarunang and Bacorang from him. Other *lontara'* claim that Karaeng Rewata had the fort built at Kaili. The folklore accounts of the rebellion of Kaili and *lontara'* description of Karaeng Rewata's defeat of Karaeng Kasammang may in fact be referring to the same historical event.

In conclusion, one of Bantaeng's origin myths suggests that Sinowa (*Borong Toa*) may have been one of the oldest centers in western Bantaeng. It is mentioned as one of the original *totoa* communities that joined together to form Bantaeng. As in central Bantaeng, the power center may, however, have shifted from Sinowa to Kaili nearer the coast. Kaili rose to prominence later in

the 15th and 16th centuries and was probably a contemporary of Lembang Cina. The gold mask discovered there in association with Ming and Annamese ware supports this assumption. Kaili also had its own *tomanurung* tradition and *kalompoang* that supported kingship there. While Kaili was most certainly the dominant power in western Bantaeng, it was unable to defend itself against encroachment from the Calendu River Valley. Kaili's inability to maintain its independence may be in part attributed to the limited availability of land for wet rice agriculture in western Bantaeng. It was forcibly incorporated into central Bantaeng and its *karaeng* was reduced to the status of a *jannang* member of the Council of Twelve.

Conclusion

Bantaeng's development was in part determined by geographical factors. Numerous small streams and rivers, which originated high on the slopes of Gunung Lompobattang, flowed down the mountain and into the sea. Over time settlements were united along several river valleys and chiefdoms or small kingdom evolved, each focusing on its own valley. These kingdoms were based on both trade and agriculture. Bantaeng lay along an ancient trade route to the spice producing islands of eastern Indonesia. A small but fertile coastal plain, well watered by Bantaeng's streams, was ideal for wet rice cultivation.

One of Bantaeng's oldest kingdoms seems to have emerged along the banks of the Biang Keke River in what is today eastern Bantaeng. The jar burials associated with late Sung tradeware and the megalithic remains in association with *tomanurung* veneration at Lembang Gantarang Keke and Gantarang Keke suggest that these sites may have been royal centers as early as the 13th century. These chiefdoms were, in fact, probably much older possibly dating back to at least the 11th and 12th centuries. The introduction of Sung ceramics simply makes apparent their existence.

During the 14th century Lembang Gantarang Keke, Gantarang Keke, and Surabaya, all located along the Biang Keke River, seem to have been involved in a complex trade network involving Majapahit, Luwu', and spice producing islands in eastern Indonesia. The *Nagarakertagama* specifically mentions both Bantayan and Luwu' as the principal centers in South Sulawesi. *Lontara'* also indicate that there were links between Luwu' and eastern Bantaeng and suggests that prince La Galigo from Luwu' actually founded the royal dynasty at Gantarang Keke. The village of Surabaya, situated at the mouth of the Biang Keke River, may have served as the kingdom's port and also suggests possible contacts with Majapahit. Finally, a number of terracotta pieces, possibly displaying Majapahit influence, have been discovered by grave robbers in areas once under Gantarang Keke's control.

Another powerful kingdom seems to have emerged along the Calendu River Basin in Central Bantaeng. Over the centuries the political center seems to have shifted from the submountain region of Onto to Bissampole and Lembang Cina at the heart of the coastal rice plain. The expansion of wet rice agriculture and increased trade opportunities in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D may have induced the transfer of the kingdom's center to the coast. The

kingdom that emerged in this valley grew so powerful that it eventually incorporated Gantarang Keke and eastern Bantaeng into its sphere of influence. Bissampole/Lembang Cina's domination of what had basically been the trade-based kingdom of Gantarang Keke may have been due in part to the expansion of wet rice cultivation in Central Bantaeng. Expanded agricultural opportunities and the increase in population eventually translated into a larger manpower pool and bigger and more powerful armies. The large pre-Islamic cemetery under modern Bantaeng and the golden masks and associated Annamese ceramics discovered at Lembang Cina suggest that this center may have reached its height during the 15th and 16th centuries.

A third kingdom also developed in western Bantaeng. It may have originally focused on old Sinowa, today known as Borong Toa, a site where looters have discovered a considerable amount of ancient trade ceramics. The center subsequently seems to have moved to Kaili Hill. The monumental stone fortifications there attest to the site's importance. Limited opportunities for wet rice cultivation may, however, have restricted Kaili's development. The kingdom seems to have been incorporated into central Bantaeng at an early date; attempts to revolt in the 1500's were crushed by Karaeng Rewata and Kaili was thoroughly integrated into greater Bantaeng.

Tomanurung veneration provided the religious and political ideology that supported kingship and hierarchical society throughout pre-Islamic Bantaeng. It was believed that the dynasties at Gantarang Keke, Onto, and Kaili, for example, were founded by *tomanurung*, who had literally descended from the heavens. *Tomanurung* were given the honorific title *Karaeng Loe* or "Great Lord". Kings and communities worshipped their local *tomanurung* through *kalompoang*, heirlooms left behind by the demi-god to succeeding generation of kings which legitimized their elevated status and authority. The spirits of the *tomanurung* were sometimes thought to reside in their *kalompoang* which functioned as the most powerful medium for contracting the divine on behalf of the kingdom.

The decline of Majapahit and the fall of Malacca altered trading patterns and helped catapult Gowa to economic and political prominence in 1500's. By the late 16th century, Bantaeng had been subjugated by Gowa and ceased to exist as an independent kingdom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abidin, Andi Zainal, The Emergence of Early Kingdoms in South Sulawesi. *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 20, N° 4, March, 1983, pp. 455-491.
- Andaya, Leonard, *The Heritage of Arung Palaka : A History of South Sulawesi in the Seventeenth Century*. The Hague : M. Nijhoff, 1981.
- Adatrechtbundels XXXVI, Borneo, Zuid-Celebes, Ambon*, enz. 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1933.
- Brink, H. van den, *Dr. Benjamin Frederick Matthes ; Zijn leven en arbeid in dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*. Amsterdam : Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1943.
- Bulbeck, Francis David, *A Tale of Two Kingdoms : The Historical Archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Doctoral Dissertation, Australian National University, 1992.
- Bulbeck, David, New Perspectives in Early South Sulawesi History. *Baruga*, September, 1993, pp. 10-20.
- Caldwell, Ian, *State and Society in South Sulawesi, A.D. 1300-1600*. South Sulawesi Workshop, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1987.
- Caldwell, Ian, *South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600 : Ten Bugis Texts*. Doctoral Dissertation, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1988.
- Caldwell, Ian, Field Report on Archaeological Work Carried Out in Soppeng. *Baruga*, N° 6, May, 1990, pp. 8-10.
- Dwi Lidia Andias Tuti, *Peninggalan Megalitik Onto di Bantaeng*. Skripsi Sarjana Arkeologi. Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Hasanuddin, Ujung Pandang, 1991.
- Goudswaard, A., Siwa-Dienst in Zuid – Celebes : Karaeng Lowe. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelingsgenootschap*, 9, 1865, pp. 75-100, 289-314.
- Guy, John S., *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia. Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Oxford University Press : Singapore, 1990.
- Kallupa B., Bulbeck D., Caldwell I., Sumantri and Demmanari, *Pusat Kerajaan Soppeng 1100-1986*. Final Report to the Australian Myer Foundation, 105 p., parallel Indonesian and English texts, 28 line ills., 24 photographic ills, 1989.
- Mappatan, (H. Abdul Halim), *Mengenai Sejarah Singkat Bantaeng*. Bantaeng, September 21, 1995.
- Mattulada, South Sulawesi, Its Ethnicity and Way of Life. *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 20, N° 1, June, 1982, pp. 4-21.
- Miksic, John, *Old Javanese Gold*. Ideation, Singapore, 1989.
- Muller, H.R.A., *Javanese Terracottas*. Uitgeversmaatschappij De Tijdstroom, B.V., Lochem, The Netherlands, 1978.
- Noor Satega Ali, Kerajaan Bantaeng di Zaman Purba. *Pedomani Rakyat*, Tahun XLIX, N° 297, Friday, January 5, 1996, pp. 4 and 6.
- Pelras, Christian, *The Bugis*, 1996.
- Pigeaud, Th., *Java in the Fourteenth Century. A Study in Cultural History*. The Hague : M. Nijhoff, 5 Vols., Koninklijk Instituut Translations Series, 1960, 1962.
- Ras, J.J., *Hikayat Banjar : A Study in Malay Historiography*, Bibliotheca Indonesia 1, The Hague, 1968.
- Reid, Anthony, The Rise of Makassar. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol. 17, 1983, pp. 117-160.
- Rössler, Martin, Striving for Modesty : Fundamentals of Religion and Social Organization of the Makassarese Patungtung. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land -en Volkenkunde*, Deel 146, 1990, pp. 289-324.

- Sjamsuddin Tona Daeng To Mangawing, *Mengenal Rantai Keluarga Pettatjalleng Daeng Magguliling Karaeng Tallu Dongkokanga Ri Bantaeng*, Bantaeng, 1995.
- Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan, *Laporan Pengumpulan Data Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala di Kabupaten Bantueang*. Ujung Pandang, 1984.
- Ulaen, Alex J., *Onto di Bantaeng, Antara Mitos dan Realitas : Studi Rintisan Anthropologis Tentang Struktur Kepemimpinan Tradisional*. Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, Ujung Pandang, 1978.

Acknowledgments

A special word of recognition and thanks must be given to those individuals who made this paper possible : Mr. Ian Caldwell for his encouragement to do the paper and his editing contribution ; Mr. Christian Pelras and Mr. Henri Chambert-Loir for their editing commentaries ; Karaeng Massoewalle who provided access to his private manuscript collection ; Drs. Bahru Kallupa, Head of the South Sulawesi Chapter of the Service For the Protection of Prehistorical and Historical Remains (*Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan*) for his support ; Mr. Karaeng Demmanari from *Balai Arkeologi* for his dating of ceramics ; Drs. Iwan Sumantri from the Archaeological Faculty, Hasanuddin University ; recognition must also be given to the six archaeological students who conducted the archaeological survey : Mr. Muhammad Nur, Mr. Muhammad Ikhsan, Mr. Nasrullah Aziz, Mr. Muhammad Jasmin, Mr. Sahirul Alim, and Mr. Rusman Ruka. Special thanks must also be given to key local informants : Mr. Bustamin Nyios, Mr. Haji Tojeng, and Mr. Karaeng Mappatan. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Luc Spyckerelle and Mr. Gerald Chamberland for their translation and editing work.

Bantayan : An Early Makassarese Kingdom

Appendix 1

Frequencies of 24 Tradeware Classes from The Gowa Survey Assigned by 50 or 100 - Year Periods

	1200-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400	1400-1450	1450-1500	1500-1550	1550-1600	1600-1650	Total
Early Whitewares	52	26	26	0	0	0	0	0	104
Early Monochromes	96	48	48	0	0	0	0	0	192
Vietnam Monochromes	5	13.5	13.5	11.5	11.5	0	0	0	55
Early Overglaze	6.5	4.25	4.25	1	1	0	0	0	17
Vietnamese Black-and-White	0	3.5	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	7
Early Blue-and-White	0	0	5.5	15.5	0	0	0	0	21
Ming Whitewares	0	1.5	1.5	6	6	5	5	0	25
Jizhou	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
Sancai	0	0	0	4.5	4.5	0	0	0	9
Vietnamese Blue-and-White	0	0	0	44	44	0	0	0	88
Ming Celadons	0	0	0	12.5	12.5	9	9	0	43
Yuan-Like Ming Celadons	0	0	0	6.75	6.75	4.25	4.25	0	22
Sawankhalok Black-and-White	0	0	0	36.5	36.5	36.5	36.5	0	146
Sawankhalok Monochromes	0	0	0	16	16	16	16	0	64
Sukothai	0	0	0	3.75	3.75	3.75	3.75	0	15
Ming Blue-and-White	0	0	0	2.25	15.75	391.25	386.75	0	796
Ming Blue-and-White "Hexagonal" Wares	0	0	0	0	0	32	32	0	64
Ming Red	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	12.5	0	25
Ming Swatow	0	0	0	0	0	681	681	0	1362
Wanli Blue-and-White	0	0	0	0	0	0	143.5	143.5	287
Wanli Whitewares	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13.0	26
Late Ming Blue-and-White	0	0	0	0	0	0	161.5	161.5	323
Swatow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1305.0	1305
Sum	159.5	96.75	102.25	162.25	160.25	1191.25	154.75	1623.0	5000

Explanatory note : If 104 Early Whitewares were found, 52 probably date to the period 1200-1300 ; the remaining 52 pieces are evenly distributed between 1300-1350 and 1350-1400.

(Based on Bulbeck, 1992 : 608)