From domains and kingdoms to Desa *and* Kabupaten*: socio-spatial structures of the Bugis country (Sulawesi Salatan) in historical perspective*

When in 1967 I arrived for the first time in South Sulawesi and started my research on Bugis society, specifically in the Wajo' district (*kabupatèn*) and former kingdom, I came without premeditation but not without presuppositions. These bore, among other matters, on how rural society was supposed to take its place in the surrounding geographical space. Thanks to what I had learnt, first at the University of Paris from my training in general sociology and ethnology, then from a one year stay at the University of Indonesia attending lectures by Koentjaraningrat, Harsja Bachtiar, Jan Avé and Ina Slamet-Velsink, and further from my readings of writings by V.E. Korn, Koentjaraningrat and others on Indonesian rural societies, as well as from my then recent fieldwork experience in rural eastern and western France, I was prepared to meet, in South Sulawesi also, another impersonation of that near mythic entity called "the village community", specifically in its Indonesian type. This was supposed to be a socio-territorial, rather egalitarian, entity with a collective indentity persisting from age to age, with also a large degree of economic self-support, a strong sense of solidarity expressed through mutual help (*gotong royong*), and a particular form of local democracy or at least of self-government exerted by a village council of elders. In a word, an almost ideal micro-society. While being territorially limited, such a village would have been part of a wider, hierarchized and centralized traditional polity whose aim would have been to maintain law and order and in part also to control local economy through levying taxes from, and imposing a number of obligations on, villagers with next to no impact on the village's internal life.

What I found in the Bugis country was quite different. My first difficulty was to identify at which level the supposed basic local community was to be found. There had been, after the issuing in 1965 of new laws on village administration [1] a complete "reshuffling" [2] of local administrative subdivisions, with the constitution of new parishes which, in South Sulawesi, were not called *desa* as elsewhere in Indonesia, but *wanua* – a name previously used for Bugis territorial units of a different kind, with boundaries usually different from those of the new *wanua*. These modern style *wanua* belonged in turn to one of the under-districts (*kecamatan*) into which the *kabupatèn* was divided. Earlier, however, from 1959 to 1965, the *wanua* had been bigger and divided into *desa*, similar in size to the 1965

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1. For an history of the Indonesian national policy with regard to village administration, see Tsuyoshi Kato, "Different fields, similar locusts: adat communities and the village law of 1979 in Indonesia", *Indonesia*, 47, 1989 : 89-114.

2. It was precisely this English word which was used by Indonesian administrators to describe this operation.

wanua, although their boundaries had usually been different. Still earlier, before 1959, the former *wanua* had been the same as under the Dutch administration, similar in size and administrative function to the 1965 *kecamatan* and divided into a number of *kampung* of much smaller size than the 1965 *desa*.

Now, as I discovered, this was not the original situation either. After the Dutch in 1906 actually occupied the Bugis lands which had hitherto been virtually independent – although Bugis rulers had theoretically been recognizing Dutch suzerainty since they had signed the *Korte Verklaring* (a "Short Declaration" of allegiance), most of them since the early XIXth century – the colonial authority undertook to "rationalize" local government and territorial organization under the fiction of maintaining traditional order in the framework of a so called system of "indirect rule". For instance, from the 47 original *wanua* they had found in the Wajo' kingdom, they had made 20 new *wanua*, mostly by merging two or more small ones into a bigger one or, in one case, by splitting one big *wanua* into two smaller ones; it was at that time that these modified *wanua* had been divided into a number of villages (*kampung*) – an entity which previously did not exist in the Bugis country. It were these modified *wanua* which in 1959 had, following a similar process, been made into 10 *kecamatan*, now divided into a number of *desa*, themselves comprising a number of *kampung*. And these were the latter *desa* which in 1965 had been transformed into new style *wanua*. But, this time, not only had there been changes in boundaries; the naming system had itself been drastically changed. Former *wanua* and *kampung* names had been given to different, new, entities while other territorial units, although being sometimes the virtual continuation of previous ones, had been given new names; and new names had sometimes been created for completely new entities. So, how was I to study a "traditional" village?

I had expected that despite the administrative changes imposed from above by the national State, local society would have maintained its own categories undisturbed and that *desa adat* ("customary villages") would have survived, besides official *desa dinas* ("administrative villages"), as it is the case in other parts of Indonesia. But here, it was not the case. I also expected that the people would have been unhappy with all these changes, but they seemed just not to resent them. So, I had to drop my presuppositions. To really understand the present situation, the only way proved to be to take to an historical approach, which made me understand better in which way the original *wanua* had been, at least from the XIVth to the XIXth centuries, the key territorial unit in the Bugis socio-political system, and so to say the constituting cell of the Bugis socio-spatial tissue, and why they had nevertheless so easily been abolished when the new administrative system had been enforced.

Wanua were not "villages" in the sense which has commonly been given to this word by social scientists of various disciplines, but rather "domains", somewhat comparable to the Minangkabau *nagari*. They may have been of various sizes, from that of a *kampung* to that of a subdistrict of nowadays, and usually comprised several settlements, which however did not constituted organized socio-territorial units. Originally, w*anua* were autonomous territorial entities, with a specific name, established boundaries and a political organization of their own, so that even the smaller ones may be described as "basic polities". The bigger *wanua* were often divided into a number of territorial divisions (*limpo*), usually two or three in number, each comprising one to several, small or big settlements. The *limpo* could not be thought of independently of the whole *wanua*, of which they were a structural part; they had no internal organization as autonomous units and can thus not be equated with the *desa* which nowadays form the *kecamatan*. They were just segments of the *wanua*, no villages.

The settlements themselves only constituted units of neighbourhood, people living there being usually linked to each other through kinship and marriage, but they had no specific organization. They were thus not "villages" either. Moreover, they were not perennial. They could be moved from one place to another, and many indeed were in the course of time. Bugis houses, as other Southeast Asian

houses of the "Malay" type, are easy to move, because their wooden frame can be taken out from the place were it stands, in the same way as a big piece of furniture, and carried away to another place, sometimes quite far, by several dozens of people. This I witnessed many times. The house may be carried in its entirety, or some of its parts may be taken apart, which again is easy because housebuilding here uses neither pegs nor nails. Thus, one finds everywhere locations of former settlements, only indicated by the toponymy, by sherds scattered at the surface of the soil, and by the presence of fruit trees of various kinds all around. Beside the fact that the settlements might be moved, the people themselves also moved frequently, because the Bugis are a very labile people and if, for any reason, they do not feel happy in one place, they easily move to another one. They do not have the same kind of attachment to the soil as often peasants have in other societies, although they do have a sense of having their roots in the *wanua* of their birth, as well as in those of their parents' birth if these were different *wanua* from theirs.

The *wanua* society, far from being egalitarian, was hierarchized in three ways. Firstly, there was, and there still is, a hierarchy by birth; for Bugis society comprises several ranks, the highest one consisting of people who claim pure noble descent, and the lowest one consisting of pure commoners. There were also slaves, but slavery was more a status than a rank: a rank is for life, while a commoner (never a noble) could be put into slavery and a slave could be freed. Marriage between a man of the highest rank with a commoner woman produces children of a middle rank; further marriage between men of the higher ranks and women of lower rank or women commoners again produces intermediate ranks. From the highest to the lowest, Bugis genealogists reckon the existence of, between twelve to seventeen ranks.[3] This system encompasses the whole Bugis society and thus by far supersedes local society. Besides, there was, and there still is, another kind of hierarchy related to the clientelage system. In that system, noble or rich commoner leaders or patrons (*a'joareng*, *punggawa*) exert their social influence by their having a more or less large number of clients (*sawi*) or followers (*joa'*); these in turn may have their own clients, while their patrons may in turn be the followers of more powerful patrons.[4] These networks thus extend over a large area, by far exceeding the *wanua*'s borders, and they can even include people of other, neighbouring ethnic groups. The third kind of hierarchy was political: the *wanua* and consequently their people, were headed by, male or female, lords (*arung*); another name for the *wanua* was thus also *a'karungeng*, or "lordships" (*kakaraéngang* among the neighbouring Makassar people). The *arung* partook of both the above mentioned hierarchies, since he (or she) was a member of the highest rank represented in the *wanua* and he or she was also an influential leader of a personal clientele. Besides, in his office, he had under him a number of officers who assisted him and which thus constituted a local hierarchy.

Between each other, the *wanua* maintained relations which could be either egalitarian or hierarchical in nature. These relations could be of the simple "brotherhood" type (*a'séajingeng*), forming a group of allied *wanua* such as the Pitung Mpanua ("Seven Wanua"), a small confederation of *wanua* northwards of Wajo', all of them with an equal status to each other but acting as a whole with regard to the outside. A small *wanua* could also have one or several vassal *wanua* (*ana' banua*, "child *wanua*") and be itself, together with many other *wanua*, a vassal of a more powerful one, thus making a kind of big hierarchized confederation. Such was the basic system on which what has been known as the "Bugis kingdoms" (such as Wajo', Boné, Soppéng and Sidénréng), actually rested. All of them had been constituted around a core *wanua* (*watang mpanua*, "trunk *wanua*") which, from the fifteenth century on, had progressively concluded treaties (*uluada*) with surrounding ones henceforth

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3. For a detailed account of this system, see Ch. Pelras, "Hiérarchie et pouvoir en pays Wadjo' (Célèbes)", *Archipel*, 1, 1971 : 184-191.

4. On this topic, see Ch. Pelras, "Hubungan patron-klien dalam masyarakat Bugis dan Makasar", *Jurnal Antropologi dan Sosiologi*, 16, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, 1988: 89-122 and "Patron-client ties among the Bugis and Makassarese of South Sulawesi", in R. Tol, K. van Dijk et G. Acciaioli (eds), Authority and enterprise among the peoples of South Sulawesi, KITLV Press, Leiden, 2000, pp. 15–54. [Also in this volume]

called *wanua palili'* ("satellite *wanua*"), either after defeating them in war or after concluding with them an agreement based on free will. The relationship which had then been established, and which was precisely stipulated in the (written) text of the treaties and reinforced from time to time by political matrimonial alliances, included those, almost equal, of an elder brother (*kaka'*) to a younger brother (*anri'*); those, unequal but quite lenient, of a mother (*ina*) to her child (*ana'*); and those, unequal and stricter, of a master (*puang*) to his dependant (*ata*).[5] The treaties also stipulated the reciprocal rights and duties of both contracting parties. For instance, how many men in arms should be sent in case of war, how great a labour force should take part in the building of the paramount ruler's house, etc. But even in the case of a relationship of the "master-dependant" type, each *wanua* had to some extent its political autonomy maintained and it kept its own custom (*ade'*) and its own internal system of government, while its status could be changed at any time by a new treaty. This confederative structure of Bugis "kingdoms" lasted until the beginning of the XXth century, at least in principle, although in fact in a kingdom like Boné, which was known for the trend of its rulers towards some kind of autocracy, the real political autonomy of the *palili'* seems to have been of purely formal. But even there the central authority did not interfere in their internal problems.

With regard to the bigger kingdoms, their relationships between each other could, like those between basic *wanua*, be those of equal brothers, younger and elder brother, child and mother, or dependent and master, and these relationships could and did change in the course of history, depending of the changing results of their struggle for power. In brief, the history of South Sulawesi can thus be typified as a contest between a limited number of leading kingdoms for hegemony on the whole political sphere of the peninsula by bringing other polities to conclude with them treaties whereby they would recognise their leadership in a way or another. Both at the level of the autonomous *wanua* and at the level of the bigger kingdoms there existed in fact the same fluidity in mutual relationships, the same possibility of moving up and down the hierarchy or of shifting one's allegiance. Some alliances were however long lasting: such was the case of the Lima Aja'tappareng – "the Five (Polities) Westward of the Lake" – gathering under the leadership of Sidénréng the minor *wanua* of Rappeng, Sawitto', Alitta, Suppa' and Bacukiki. Another alliance which, from a political point of view was more ephemeral was that of the Tellung Mpocco'-é ("the Three Tops"), uniting Wajo' and Soppéng under the leadership of Boné. Although Wajo' shifted very soon its allegiance to the Makassar kingdom of Goa and remained true to it ever after, the links created by the former alliance between Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng were never repudiated and were recalled time and again at the occasion of gatherings among the nobility of the three kingdoms.

Until the fourteenth century, the leading kingdom in South Sulawesi had been Luwu'. Then, around the fourteenth-fifteenth century, a number of new *wanua* began to emerge, which soon endeavoured to fend for themselves, sometimes in an area which Luwu' claimed was under its authority, as was the case for Wajo', or at the periphery of it, as was the case for Boné. Under the long reign of king Kerrampélua' (c. 1433-1483), Boné managed, either by conquest or voluntary alliance or through the establishment of matrimonial links, to extend its leadership over the surrounding *wanua*, all lying in a fertile agricultural plain, thus enhancing its economic potentialities, manpower and military strength. Then, under Kerrampélua's successor, Boné extended its authority onto Mampu, a domain situated on the right bank of the Cénrana river. This river constituted the outlet of the rich plains situated around the Great Lake (which nowadays has become the two lakes Témpé and Sidénréng) and was under Luwu´'s control, for which it was of such vital importance that the settlement of Cénrana, at the mouth of the river, was an usual residence of the king of Luwu', who left there a permanent garrison.

On the left bank of the river, a little upstream, the *wanua* of Wajo' had since its foundation

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5. *Ata* is usually translated as "slave", which indeed is one of its meanings, but it has also a wider connotation, including that of "subject"; in this sense it may even apply to a noble man. This is why I prefer here to translate it as "dependant" or "servant".

recognized its statute of dependence with regard to Luwu'. In the last decades of the XVth century, however, it began to foster a desire for more autonomy and to extend its leadership onto surrounding settlements. Around 1490 its lord La Obbi' Settiriware' secured a treaty whereby Wajo' would henceforth be considered by Luwu' as its "child" and not its "servant" any more. Its next ruler continued the expansion of Wajo' and concluded a treaty of "brotherhood" with the *wanua* of Bola, on the left bank of the Cénrana river, just upriver from the Cénrana settlement. Then, during the rule of the following ruler Puang ri Ma'galatung, most of the *wanua* which have been part of the kingdom of Wajo' until the XXth century were conquered. This filled the Wajo' people with a sense of their self importance so much that, when king Busatana of Luwu' died in 1505, Wajo' refused to participate in the mourning; on the contrary it attacked and forced submission from Luwu' vassals on the southeastern and southern banks of the Great Lake, while concluding an agreement of "brotherhood" with Pammana, on the right bank of the Cénrana river, just upstream from Mampu. Apparently, Luwu' felt unable to reconquer these lost territories. In a meeting held about 1508 with Puang ri Ma'galatung, king Rajadéwa of Luwu' conceded to Wajo' suzerainty over its former vassals and acknowledged it as its "younger brother" in exchange of its help to overcome the kingdom of Sidénréng. As a token of its defeat, Sidénréng was made a "child" of Luwu', and was obliged to accept that two of its vassals to the northwest of the Lake shift their allegiance to the suzerainty of Wajo'.

The following year, in an attempt to check the other new leading force then emerging in the area, Rajadéwa attacked Boné, but the Luwu' army was routed. Rajadéwa was nearly killed and his sacred red umbrella, the very token of his paramount overlordship over other Bugis kingdoms, was taken by King La Tenrisukki' of Boné, thus symbollically marking the end of Luwu´'s supremacy over the Bugis kingdoms. Nevertheless, the king of Luwu' was to remain until the XXth century the highest ranking person among other South Sulawesi rulers.

Meanwhile, on the southwestern coast of the peninsula, following a similar process, the two twin Makassar *kakaraéngang* of Goa and Tallo' (usually considered as a whole under the common name of "Makassar kingdom") had become the major political power in their own area. When Rajadéwa died, around 1530, one of the contestants to his succession, Daéng Lébba, took refuge in Goa. This led the Makassar forces to help King La Tenrisukki' of Boné in his successful attack of Cénrana where Sanggaria, the other contestant, was entrenched. The latter succeded however to reach Luwu´'s capital Ware' but he was soon overthrown and had to seek refuge in Wajo'. Boné took that occasion to attack, again with Goa's help, the very heart of Luwu', to have its new ruler conclude a treaty by which it accepted its demise. It had also to help the winners in the expedition they launched against Wajo' to punish it for its neutrality during the last military operations. As a result, Wajo' shifted its allegiance from Luwu' to Goa.

After this, Boné and Goa were free to extend their leadership, the former along the coast of the gulf of Boné and on the southern Bugis countries, the latter along the western and southern coasts of the peninsula. Finally, Boné's and Goa's zones of influence met on the river Tangka', near Sinjai and, inevitably, in 1562, war broke out between the two kingdoms. In this struggle, Goa was helped by the other major Bugis kingdoms, probably anxious to check Boné's rising star. Military operations were however inconclusive and just confirmed the balance of powers, thus giving a free hand to Boné to assert its authority on the neighbouring kingdoms of Wajo' and Soppéng (the latter being the smallest of the major Bugis kingdoms) while, on the western part of the Lake, Sidénreng (which controlled the active trading ports around present-day Paré-paré), was playing its own game in order to escape the plans of both Boné and Goa.

The XVIIth century witnessed the last contest between Goa and Boné for leadership over the peninsula. At first Goa, whose role in the interinsular spice trade had become very important and which was building a real "commercial empire" overseas, was the winner, especially after it played the main role in the Islamization of all the Bugis and Mandar kingdoms in what has been called the

"Islamic wars" and, later, when it took advantage of dynastic quarrels to crush the Boné kingdom. But its harsh treatment of the vanquished resulted in arousing such a strong desire of revenge among the Boné people that their leader, Arung Palakka, joined efforts with the Dutch in their attacks on Makassar, resulting in Goa's defeat and decline. After the conquest of Makassar, the VOC (the Dutch East Indies Company) took over, in a sense, the role of leading power in South Sulawesi, either as suzrain (in most of the Makassar and Bugis lands) or as ally (as with Boné). Although limited wars still occurred between Bugis kingdoms in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, the peninsula's political geography remained almost unchanged until the Dutch take-over of 1906.

The above summary shows, I think, clearly enough that the Bugis polities behaved as European feudal states of the Middle Ages – feudal in the very sense of the word, i.e. pointing to a system whereby rulers contract with each other links of vassality and suzerainty. In contrast however with the European feudality, the relative place of a *wanua* in the system did not imply a specific hierarchical status to be compared with our archduchies, duchies, marquisates, counties and baronies. Nearly all rulers of polities, whatever their size or level of suzerainty or vassality, were called *arung*; to distinguish them from ordinary *arung*, only the Boné ruler was called *arung mangkau'* ("ruling lord") and that of Wajo' *arung matoa* ("chief lord"). A few Bugis rulers were called *datu*, but this did not imply a higher political authority, since this included not only the Luwu' ruler, indeed the highest ranking prince in South Sulawesi[6] although not any more the political leader; but *datu* was also the ruler's title in the relatively minor kingdom of Soppéng and in a number of ordinary, vassal *wanua*, such as Témpé and Pammana in Wajo', Lamuru in Boné, and Suppa' near Paré-paré, while Sidénréng was ruled by an *a'datuang* (formely: *a'daoang*). My interpretation is that this latter title points to polities of older origin than those ruled by an *arung*. In the *La Galigo* epic cycle, which is thought to portray a state of civilization prior to the historical period (thus prior to the fourteenth century), all the *datu*ships are indeed mentioned, but neither Boné nor Wajo' nor Goa.

Arung and *datu*, at whatever level, did not accede to office through an automatic right of succession but they were chosen by an elective body of noble officers, who at the higher levels had likewise been themselves chosen in vassal *wanua*, from among the bilateral descendants of the more or less mythical founders of the polity. They were not necessarily, and often were not indeed, the children of their predecessors but they could also be their brothers, uncles, cousin or nephews (or, as most Bugis polities accepted female rulers, their sisters, aunts, female cousins or nieces) or even their very remote relatives. The main prerequisite, beside being a descendant of the founder of the polity, was to belong to the appropriate rank of nobility. Other elements taken into consideration included personal qualities (bravery, wisdom, knowledge), wealth, and above all, personal influence extending on an important clientele. The election was never for life, although many *arung* did remain in power until their death; but other ones, after having spent more or less time in office, retired of their own accord; some other were dismissed and there are a few known cases in history when *arung* were killed because of their injustice or bad conduct.

Although each polity had its own specific organization, it was always a variant of a general scheme which, for the classical Bugis period (XVIIIth-XIXth centuries), can summarised as follows. At the top was the *arung* or *datu*, with sometimes a vice-ruler (*arung lolo*, "young lord", or *sulléwatang*, "deputy") who could replace him or her in case of impediment. In Wajo' a similar office was fulfilled by three *ranreng* (literally, "assistants"), in fact almost equal in dignity with the *arung* whom they were even entitled to dismiss in case of bad conduct. The *pa'danreng* to be found in other polities were rather to be compared with chief ministers, while *anréguru* or *anrongguru* or *pallima* were found in command of the armed forces when they were not directly under the responsibility of the *arung*, *sulléwatang* or *pa'danreng*.

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6. After having come through a specific ceremony of consecration, he was entitled to be called *pajung*.

In the bigger polities, the ruler and his assistants or ministers could take the advice of an executive council of high ranking nobles often called *Ade' Lompo* (or in Malay *Hadat Besar*, "High Council"), as for instance in Wajo' the *arung enneng* ("six lords") consisting of the three *ranreng* plus three *pa'baté* ("standard bearers") or in Boné the *arung pitu* ("seven lords") traditionally linked to seven specific vassal *wanua*, in Luwu' the *ade' aséra* ("Council of Nine"), comprising three vassal rulers and six other title holders, etc.. Since Islamization, there was also in each polity a *kali* ("cadhi", Muslim official) in charge of religious affairs. At a lower level was an advisory council of *pa'bicara* or *arung ma'bicara* ("deliberating councillors" or "deliberating lords"), expert in the customary system (*pangade'reng*), which combined *ade'* ("local customary law"), *rapang* ("oral tradition"), *sara'* ("Islamic law or *shariat*, in force since the beginning of the XVIIth century) and *ade' pura onro* ("precedents"). Among the members of the ruler's advisory council were also the *suro* ("messengers"), whose task was to ensure the communication of decisions from above and of complaints from below. However they were not just simple message bearers but were rather go-betweens acting between the higher and lower levels. There were also various subordinate officers, such as the *mancigi'*, in charge of the protocol and *jennang*, whose office was to veriyfy that people do not use, for their houses, garments, family rituals, etc. elements which were the privilege of an higher rank than theirs. All these officers, including the *kadi* were of noble rank, and some were women.

Quite at variance with the idealized image of the "Indonesian village community" there was thus in Bugis polities no such institutions as a "village council" or a "council of elders". However, there did exist a category of people which were called almost everywhere *matoa* ("chiefs" or "elders" – a term equivalent to the Indonesian *ketua*). They were usually commoners and chosen by commoners (although in some places this office had lately been bestowed on noblemen). Their number could vary from one for the whole *wanua* to one for each of its subdivisions (*limpo*). These *matoa* played an important role as intermediaries between the ruler and the people, and this role was particularly emphasized at the enthronement ceremony of the *arung*. Then, the *matoa* so to say reenacted the scene which the story of origin said had happened when a noble man or woman, descended (*manurung*) from heaven or arisen (*tompo'*) from the abyss had been invited by the people, through their *matoa*'s mouth, to stay with them to rule them. During the ceremony of enthronement the *matoa* thus used to reword the social contract made at that time, telling what the people had promised to do for the ruler, but also what the ruler had promised to do for the people, warning the *arung* that failing to keep this promise would entail dismissal.

Beside these *matoa* representing the people, there were also a different kind of *matoa*, in charge each of the main trades – such as for instance the *matoa pa'galung* ("wet rice farmers chiefs"), *matoa pa'dare'* ("dry field farmers chiefs") or *matoa pa'kaja* ("fishermen's chiefs"): their function, similar to that of the European guilds' aldermen of the Middle Ages, was to regulate each field of activity, particularly with regard to the fixing of common dates for the beginning of the season's work and associated rituals. At a lower level were finally the *uluanang* – or *anang* – ("kin groups' heads"), [7] *to-macoa* ("elders") [8] or *inanna tau maégaé* ("mothers of the people"), informal but influential leaders of groups of neighbours and kins (both tended to be the same). And of course, since Islamization, these influential persons had been including men of religion (*to panrita*).

The functions of the Bugis political system were to obtain the community's welfare through

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7. There was some disagreement between my informants about the precise signification of *anang* and *uluanang*. Some of them said that *anang* were in fact kin groups, but that the name of their informal heads (*uluanang*) was usually shortened also into *anang*. Other ones said that *anang* were people of the lower hierachical strata above the pure commoners (*to-sama*), i.e. people who could claim that one of their remote ancestors was of pure noble blood.

8. In places where both existed, and although *matoa* and *macoa* are doublets, the name *matoa* was reserved for a specific socio-political function, while *to-macoa* only pointed to informal leaders; but in places where the political function of *matoa* did not exist (or had disappeared), *to-matoa* and *to-macoa* are often synonyms.

performance of collective rituals as well as through the maintain of public order, justice and morality, and to ensure the latter through respect of law and the resolution of conflicts. It was also to assert the *wanua*'s position with regard to other Bugis *wanua* and kingdoms through diplomacy and war. Legal questions and the resolution of conflicts were preferably left in the first instance to the informal leaders (*to-macoa*, *anang*) who behaved as arbitrators. Only unresolved questions or appeals over decisions taken at the lower level were brought to higher levels, so that only the most important questions were usually brought to the *arung*. Conversely, decisions concerning the well being of the whole *wanua* for which no agreement had been attained at the High Council level were brought for discussion to the advisory council. In case no agreement was attained there, a general meeting of the *uluanang* or *anang* was convened, in accordance with the traditional saying: *Irusa taro arung, tenrirusa taro Ade'; rirusa taro Ade', tenrirusa taro anang; rirusa taro anang, tenrirusa apadaéloreng* ("Should the *arung*'s decision be disputed, let the Council's decision not be so; should the Council's decision be disputed, let the *anang*'s decision not be so; should the *anang*'s decision be disputed, let the common will not be so"). Such a multi-tiered organization, with its hierarchical authority tempered by a social contract where mutual rights and duties, clearly stipulated in written form, are periodically re-stated orally to the people, is a far cry indeed from the ideal egalitarian Indonesian village ruled through *musyawarah* and *mufakat* by a council of elders, but it is also very different from the so-called system of Asian despotism. Even if things actually did not always go off as smoothly as portrayed by texts and informants, this system could guarantee a large degree of harmony in social life – and it was much praised by many among the first European visitors. Speaking about Wajo', which he visited in 1840, James Brooke, who was to become the White Rajah of Sarawak, thus wrote:

> "It will strike us that the government (...) of Wajo, though ruled by feudal and arbitrary rajahs, though cumbersome and slow in its movements and defective in the administration of equal justice between man and man, yet possesses many claims to our admiration, and bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe (...). Our judgement, however, of their faults must be mild, when we consider that, amid all nations in the East, (...) the Bugis *alone* have arrived at thre threshold of recognised rights, and have *alone* emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism". [9]

The situation portrayed by the *La Galigo* texts for proto-historical times is quite different from the above. These texts describe a golden age, set in a mythical past, when South and Southeast Sulawesi as well as a few other areas were under the authority of allied dynasties of rulers of divine ancestry. The founder of the main dynasty (the Luwu' dynasty) La Toge' langi' Batara Guru; younger son of the main celestial divine couple is said to have married the youngest daughter of the divine couple ruling over the submarine world. Similar stories are told for the founders of other dynasties, whose parents are said to have been various divine couples. In spite of their mythical background, these texts are quite interesting for their very coherent description of a state of civilization, so different from what we know of the earliest historical period that I think that they refer, although probably with epic embellishments, some distortion of actual facts, some part of anachronism and some part of fiction, to an actual situation which might tentatively be connected to archaeological remains which Chinese ceramic finds permit precisely to date to the XIth-XIIIth centuries.

In these texts, South and Southeast Sulawesi appear as still thinly and discontinuously inhabited, the few extant kingdoms being separated from each other by large tracts of uninhabitated and virgin land. Three big kingdoms dominate the scene: Luwu', Tompo' Tikka and Wéwang Nriwu'. *La Galigo*'s Luwu' occupies approximately the same area as the historical Luwu' of the classical period, except for the area around Malili which appears to be under the kingdom of Tompo' Tikka ("Rising Sun") which, further, occupies the major part of East and Southeast Sulawesi. Wéwang Nriwu'

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9. James Brooke, *A narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes down to the occupation of Labuan,* edited by R. Mundy, London, 1848 : 65-66.

controls most of the South Sulawesi western coast and its hinterland, including probably Sidénréng. What, in these texts, is called Tana Ugi' ("the Bugis land"), under the seemingly very loose suzerainty of Luwu', is limited to an area only extending over present-day south Wajo', north Boné and Soppéng. This area is occupied by a number of small polities, the main one being Cina which Bugis specialists of that literature or *palontara'* (from *lontara'*, "historical manuscripts") identify with the later Pammana); other ones are Témpé, Wagé (both still extant), Pacing (localized around Singkang), Solo' (still extant in north Boné), etc.

Both analysis of the texts and oral tradition point to striking differences between the geographical features of the area at the time described and the present ones. My hypothesis is that the state of civilization which the *La Galigo* texts describe was developed by a ruling and trading nobility extending their network over Southwest, Southeast and Central Sulawesi, whose emergence and prosperity was based on its control of rare natural and mineral products, through their occupation of strategic points and the submission of foraging populations who delivered to them the products they collected in exchange for imported goods. The South Sulawesi central plain of nowadays with in its middle the two shallow lakes Témpé and Sidénréng seems to have been mostly occupied by a really navigable "freshwater sea" which was accessible, from the west, through the mouth and a now dried out branch of the Saddang river and, from the east, through what is now the Cénrana river valley, where at that time there seems to have been a deep bay or *ria*. Hence the strategic importance of Wéwang Nriwu' and Cina, controlling respectively the western and the eastern outlets of the waterway which permitted the crossing of the peninsula. Their ruling dynasties probably obtained their wealth from the trade of natural products (iron, gold, as well as products of the forest, of the mangrove and of the sea). Besides, Wéwang Nriwu' seems to have controlled the exports coming from the southwestern Toraja country to the strait of Makassar through the mouths of the Saddang river and of the "seven rivers" of Mandar; Luwu' controlled probably those of the southeastern Toraja country coming through several mountain passes to the head of the Gulf of Boné, while Tompo' Tikka's wealth was probably based on the export of Matano's nickeliferous iron coming to the same Gulf through the Malili river and through mountain passes to the bay of Tobungku on Sulawesi's east-central coast.

The political system described for that time contrasts very much with that of the historical times. There is no question of a social contract between the people and the ruler, who are always called *datu*, never *arung*. Their absolute power is based both on their enormous wealth (in relative terms, of course) and on the fact that they, like all the nobility, are considered purebred ("white blooded") descendants of the gods. The first rulers of all important kingdoms cited in these texts – those in South and Southeast Sulawesi: Luwu', Tompo' Tikka, Cina and Wéwang Nriwi'; those in other countries overseas: Wadeng (in North Sulawesi), Gima (in Sumbawa), Jawa, Sunra (not necessarily the same as Java and Sunda), Timpa' Laja (in Borneo), Kelling (in the western countries); and those in a few other, mythical countries: Wiring Langi' ("the Horizon", far in the east), Posi' Tana ("The Earth's Navel", far in the west), Waliala (the country of the dead, still farther in the west) – are said to have been born from the six divine couples who rule the world and to have been first cousins to each other. They are the ancestors of all noble families.

There are to assist the *La Galigo* rulers neither councils, nor officers vested with political functions, although they may ask the advice of some wise and elderly noblemen, sometimes their uncles of a lower rank acting as unofficial advisers. These texts being written exclusively from the point of view of the nobility, they tell not much about the ordinary people and nothing about the villagers' own organization. Social hierarchy is very clear-cut and comprises three classes, hermetic to each other: the nobility, the commoners and the slaves. There is never question of marriage between a nobleman and a commoner woman; the various ranks in nobility are thus not accountable for by the mixture of bloods and may be linked to the hierarchical status of the divinities whom the noble claims to descend from. As for the commoners, their "red blood" is the mark of their heterogeneity from the "white blooded" nobility and thus of their necessary subjection, although their fate is much better than the

fate of the slaves. These are really *Untermenschen*: they can for instance be slain for sacrificial purposes. Some of them are cripples, hunchbacks, dwarfs or albinos; other ones are subjected black-skinned and frizzly-haired people called either Oro or Marégé', which seems to point to the presence here of remnants of an aboriginal population with Melanesian traits. [10]

The *datu* are all considered of equal dignity, although some of them may rule over larger kingdoms and other ones over small polities. Both kinds of polities have the same kind of territorial structure, with either a twofold or a threefold division. The core of the Luwu' kingdom is for instance divided into two parts, an eastern one called Luwu' proper, and a western one called Ware' (headed by an *Opu*). Further, there are a number of vassal polities, and a few vassal peoples such as the Toraja and the Mékongka. Tompo' Tikka is divided into three: a central part called Tompo' Tikka' proper, situated between a western and an eastern part, respectively Sawang Megga and Singki' Wéro. Cina also has an eastern part, Cina ri Lau', and a western part, Cina ri Aja'. In fact, although these words are usually translated by "east" and "west", *aja'* and *alau'* had the original meaning of "towards the mountain" and "towards the sea", just like the Malay *daya* and *laut*, or the Balinese *aja* and *lod.* This bipolar structure seems to have had a ritual significance: there are allusions to ritual fights between *bissu* priests representing respectively one of these. Beside these features of internal structure similar to the subdivision of many historical *wanua* into two or three *limpo*, there also exist pyramidal relationships between suzerain and vassal polities. Thus, the *a'datuang* of Cina, which has as vassals Témpé, Pacing and Solo' is itself a vassal of Luwu'. However, no reference is made to written treaties. But to what extent this description tallies with the actual situation of the time is difficult to say.

Both *La Galigo* texts and oral tradition refer to the disappearance of these first dynasties, all rulers of divine descent having returned to the supernatural world. Oral tradition tells about several generations of anarchy, when "people ate each other in the way of (big) fish (eating the smaller ones)", and about the return of social order after the coming on earth, in certain places of a number of *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'* whom the people, through the intermediary of their *matoa*, asked to stay in order to rule them. These local myths of origin have an obvious function in legitimating the ruling families, and more generally the nobility, whose genealogies always start from such ancestors. What happened in reality is not clear yet, but I think that these texts do point to an actual change in the political system, linked to the physical and economic changes which must have occurred in the peninsula from the end of the XIVth to the end of the XVth century.

For this period, there is indeed evidence of an increasing occupation of the land, especially in places which hitherto were uninhabitated, entailing a large amount of forest clearing and a noticeable demographic increase, and linked to dramatic changes in the landscape such as drying up of large tracts of previously inundated land, especially in the area of the Great Lake which in the course of time has turned from a easily navigable freshwater inland sea to two much smaller shallow lakes. Concomitantly, there seems to have been a change in the economic balance. Although trade in natural products remained important, especially with regard to Luwu', elsewhere agriculture, especially wet rice cultivation, became more and more important. This was perhaps linked to some technological progress, perhaps for instance to the more general use of the plough.

Most of the *wanua* which existed at the time of the Dutch take-over could trace their origin to that period. However, only certain *wanua* claimed to have been founded by *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'*; some of these, like Boné, Soppéng ri Aja' or Soppéng ri Lau' had become the nuclei of major kingdoms; but other ones, such as Pammana, Suppa' or Bacukiki' have never in historical times known another status than autonomy without vassal or vassality. A typical *to-manurung* story is told about

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10. Marégé' was the name given by the South Sulawesi peoples to the Australian aborigines.

11. I collected an oral version of it in 1967 in Maroanging from the then *kali* (cadhi) of Pammana Haji Muhammad bin Ali. Ian Caldwell has recently published and commented on a written version of it (I. Caldwell, *South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600: Ten Bugis texts*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1988: 81-99.

Pammana's origin.[11] This *wanua*, so say its inhabitants, was formerly known as Cina – the same Cina as appears in *La Galigo* texts, left without ruler after the disppearance of the *La Galigo* heroes and since then riddled by an anarchy which lasted during seven *pariama.*[12] One day a teribble storm broke out, which lasted seven days and seven nights. When it calmed down, people saw standing on top of the hill called Bulu' Tellettu near Bila a man clad in white whom they approached with awe, taking him for a *to-manurung* prince sent by the gods to rule over them. One *matoa* speaking in the name of all thus began to offer allegiance to him, but he rebuked them, saying that he was just a servant of the *to-manurung*. He then led them to a glade where they found the real *to-manurung*, clad in yellow, sitting on a flat stone under the shade of a state umbrella, surrounded by female servants who were fanning him. His name was Simpurusia[13] and he agreed to become Cina's *datu*. Later a female *to-tompo'* called Da Lakumaé arose from the Cénrana river in Tampangeng.[14] Simpurusia married her, and they begot a girl called I Jangke' Wanua and bearing the title Batari Toja ("Divine Princess of the Waters"). She in turn married a prince of the submarine abyss called La Tuppu' Solo' (who could change his appearance for that of a crocodile) and they begot a child called La Ma'lalaé. A written version of the Cina genealogy published by Caldwell[15] ascribes to Simpurusia a *to-manurung* wife from Luwu' but gives also for their daughter, son-in-law and grandson the names I Jangke' Wanua, La Tuppusolo' (son of Linrung Talaga), and La Ma'lalaé. These are the ancestors of the dynasty. Later, one of their descendants called La Sangaji To Aji Pammana asked that after his death his name be given to the country, which was thus henceforth called Pammana.

As a matter of comparison, the story regarding the origins of Soppéng tells that its people had first been living on the hills Gattareng and Séwo before they came down and settled in the valley. Those coming from Gattareng established ten settlements, constituting East (in fact Southeast) Soppéng (Soppéng ri Lau'); those coming from Séwo established also ten settlements, constituting West (in fact Northwest) Soppéng (Soppéng ri Aja').[16] Later, four neigbouring settlements joined in. In Soppéng as a whole there were sixty "chiefdoms" (*pa'matoangeng*).[17] For seven generations (*lapi'*) the Soppéng people were without master (*dé' puwanna to-Soppéng-é*); there were to govern (*paoto' paléwu'-i tana-é*, "to raise and to lay out") the country only the sixty *matoa*. Then, one day, the news was brought to the *matoa* of Tinco (West Soppéng) that there was a *to-manurung* at Sekkanyili'. He consulted the *matoa* of Botto, Ujung and Bila , also of West Soppéng and asked the *matoa* of Salo' tungo (East Soppéng) to join. They then decided to go as a delegation to Sekkanyili' with the other *matoa* to ask the *to-manurung* to become their master, in order, so they said, to "protect our fields from the birds so that we are not not without food, cover us so that we are not cold, bind our rice sheaves so that we are not empty and lead us near and far". This was done first by the three *matoa* of Botto, Ujung and Bila, then reiterated by all the sixty *matoa* who promised, in return to build him a house and to feed his future family. So they came back in a procession accompanied by the rituals of the *bissu* to the settlement of Tinco*,* where the *arung*'s residence was to be built. But it was not necessary for them to fell the trees, because a storm boke out, which lasted seven days and seven nights. The great trees were uprooted and a flood came which carried all the trees down the hill. Later, the *to-manurung*

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12. There is disagreement among Bugis specialists about the length of a *pariama*, which some say corresponds to seven years, and other ones to one generation.

13. As this name is the same as for the Luwu' *to-manurung*, Caldwell thinks that the Pammana story is merely inspired from the Luwu' story. He is of opinion (different from mine) that the *wanua* Pammana has actually nothing to do with *La Galigo*'s Cina.

14. A landing place next to Amessangeng, southwards and not far from Singkang.

15. Ian Caldwell, *Ibidem*: 81-97.

16. In this text *rilau'* and *riaja* had already lost their original meaning, since Soppéng rilau' was upriver, Soppéng riaja downriver with regard to the Walennaé River.

17. The authority of these *matoa* did thus not apply exactly over the twenty four settlements as such but rather, for some of them, on some of their specific parts or dependencies. Their position could thus be compared with that of the *to-macoa* of the XIXth century.

informed the people that a cousin of his had descended from heaven in a jar at Goari-é, in Libureng, and that she was to become *datu* in Soppéng ri Lau' while he would be *datu* in Soppéng ri Aja'. The *matoa* went there in delegation and asked her to become *datu* in the same way as for the other *to-manurung*. [18]

These and other *to-manurung* stories, by marking the historical period with a mythical start which so to say reenacts the model of the mythical period such as it is portrayed in the *La Galigo* texts, thus stress very strongly the supernatural origin of the princely dynasties whose descent is shown by the genealogies until the present day and stress also their precedence over commoner leaders; but at the same time, they assert with the same strength the existence of an absolute discontinuity between both periods, marked by an interruption of "seven *lapi'*" or "seven *pariama*" as well as by the fact that the new *to-manurung* or *to-tompo'* are not said to descend, like the *La Galigo* dynasties, from the six main divine couples. From comparison between one *lontara'* I found in Sinjai, and other one found in Luwu' by G. Hamonic and oral information he obtained from a Wajo' Bissu, [19] it appears that the ancestor of the later *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'* was considered to be a minor divinity called La Mapéca' or La Makkulau, whom Datu Patoto' had fathered from his sole semen, in contrast with the six pairs of children who were born from his intercourse with his consort. [20]

By no means all *wanua* attribute their origins to founding *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'*. There are other types of stories of origin, following three main motives. A very common, motive is the foundation by roaming princely pioneers in quest of a better place to live than their place of origin. This kind of story has usually a quite matter of fact character. A good example is given by one of the stories told about the neighbouring *wanua* Paria, Rumpia and Akkoténgeng, which states that they were founded by three noble exiles from Sangalla' (south Toraja) called respectively, the elder La Ajiriu', the second La Ma'daremmeng, the youngest, a girl, I Tanrasula. [21]

They had left their country with a group of followers because it had suffered a rain of ashes and was plagued by red centipedes. Led by La Ajiriu's dog, they came down from their mountains to the Gulf of Boné, then followed the coastline to a place full of *koténg* (a kind of shellfish). There, I Tanrasula and her followers established a new *wanua* of which she became the first *arung*. Leaving her there, her two brothers continued on their way inland in the hilly country northwards of Wajo' and arrived in a place whose fertility was shown by the fact that it was overgrown with bitter gourd plants (*paria lappung* or Momordica charantia). This place they thus named Paria and there La Ma'daremmeng and his followers established a new *wanua* of which he became the first *arung*, with two settlements: Paria proper and Attang Mori. La Ajiriru and his followers went further, and established a new *wanua* at a place overgrown with *rumpia* (sago trees), the flour of which could easily feed them. The new *wanua*, of which La Ajiriu' became the first *arung*, was thus called Rumpia. Now, in the vicinity of Paria other settlements had been opened by two other noble pioneers, both from Luwu'. One of them, called La Pamadeng Letté' was a former *arung* of Susso, near Bajo; the

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18. In his translation, Caldwell assumes this *to-manurung* to be male; however, all *palontara'* who told me this story to me said that it was a female *to-manurung* and that she married the Sekkanyili' *to-manurung*.

19. Christian Pelras, "Le panthéon des anciens Bugis vu à travers les textes de La Galigo", *Archipel*, 25, 1983: 66-67; Gilbert Hamonic, "Pour une étude comparée des cosmogonies de Célèbes-sud. A propos d'un manuscrit inédit sur l'origine des dieux bugis", *Ibidem*: 41-42

20. Except for a few cases, including Goa, the *tu-manurung* of the Makassar country are usually not considered as the direct ancestors of the ruling families, but as supernatural persons who came on earth to introduce the people to the social rules they had to follow, chose the first rulers from among the people, organized the political territories and established their political institutions.

21. These are not Toraja, but Bugis names, which occur also in *La Galigo* texts and have also been borne by different persons named in historical genealogies. La Aji Riu' (or Riwu') also spelt Lajiriu means "Prince of the Storm"; La Ma'daremmeng means "Roaring" (applying to thunder); Tanrasula (litteraly "Sign of the Trident") refers to the frowning eyes of an angry person.

settlements he had founded were called Ompo' and La Patibawang. The other one was a former *arung* from La Pa'baja, called To Tenrijarangi; he had founded the settlement of A'culéng-é. Hostilities soon broke out between the newcomers and the two other groups. After three years of war, La Ma'daremmeng met La Pamadeng Letté' in order to make peace. The latter accepted, on the condition that *arung* La Pa'baja's group be part of the agreement. A treaty was then concluded, uniting the three territories in a unified *wanua* Paria with La Ma'daremmeng as *arung*, and consisting of three *limpo* respectively headed by each *arung*'s sons, respectively La Ma'daremmeng's son in *limpo* Teng'a ("the middle one"), La Pamadeng Letté´'s son in *limpo* Uraiang ("the western one"), To Tenrijarangi's son in *limpo* Lompo ("the large one"). Paria hd as *arajang* a banner which was taken from it at the time of Puang ri Ma'galatung (XVth century) when it was vanquished by Wajo' and became its vassal. Among its sacred places, was the "Well of the Brave Men" (*bung mparani*) where the warriors bathed before going to fight and To Tenrijarangi's grave. The latter was endowed with much supernatural power (*makerre'*, Ind. *sakti*) so that until a few decades ago many people came there in pilgrimage to ask from him particular favors. He was known as Petta ri Duni ("Our Lord in the Coffin"). As he had lived before Islamization, offerings brought to him included pork. Sometimes, pilgrims who got into trance could be calmed down only by giving them the pork to eat. These pagan practices indeed provoked a strong opposition from the orthodox Muslims.

The written tradition concerning the origins of Sidénréng is not devoid of similarities with the preceding.[22] There is to begin with a Toraja *arung* called La Ma'daremmeng, son of the ruler of Sangalla', who so oppressed his eight brothers that they left with their companions (*sibawa*) to settle elsewhere. Coming down from their mountains they arrived on the western shore of the lake which they had seen glistering from far away, and as they had walked hand in hand (*sirénréng*) to approach the shore, the place where they settled came to be known as Sidénréng. Their plantations (*dare'-dare'*)[23] of rice and other crops flourished and many people came to settle here too. After their death came their sister Wé Bolopatina, together with her husband, the *datu* of Pantileng (Pantilang in Toraja),[24] and she was made the first *a'daoang*.[25] One of their sons called La Makkaraka succeeded as *a'daoang*. He was nicknamed *a'daoang* "Mr. Poor Man", because he did not want at first to accept this office arguing that he was poor and stupid; but the people and his brothers had answered: "It is we who will make you rich by becoming your followers (*joa'*) and by tilling the land for you and by building for you a residence". Meanwhile the *datu* of Pantilang had left because he had a skin disease. Back in Sangalla', he married an other of La Ma'daremmeng's daughters, the elder. Then, he was made *arung* in Rappeng. His son La Ma'libureng succeeded him, while his daugther was chosen as the following *a'daoang* in Sidénréng, but the people did not like her. So they agreed with the people of Rappeng to exchange rulers. Since then, there has been an alliance between both countries, expressed by the saying "What dies in the morning in Rappeng dies in the afternoon in Sidénréng". Other texts link Sidénréng, through later intermarriage, with the descent of several *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'* who appeared in Suppa', Bacukiki' and Sawitto'. La Ma'libureng had eight children "who were ploughmen (*pa'dakkala*) at La Salama´"[26] but only one, of course, could succeed him. All brothers accepted that the one but youngest, La Pawawoi, be the successor and they became *matoa*.[27] In the agreement they passed with the ruler, they accepted that he would have the monopoly for the

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22. Caldwell, *Ibidem*: 137-163.

23. *Dare*' refers to uninundated fields, cultivated with the help of digging sticks.

24. Pantilang lies in the east of the Toraja country, next to Luwu' territorry.

25. *A'daoang* means "the One who embraces"; the title of the Sidénréng ruler was changed later for *a'datuang.*

26. La Salama' was the name of the *arajang* ricefield, and this probably means that all the eight were in charge of the ritual ploughing. This also probaly alludes to the period of the spread of inundated rice culture, concomitant with the use of the plough.

27. This passage was probably intended to show that the *matoa* of later days, even if they were of low rank, had also noble ancestors as well as links of cousinhood with the ruler.

28. The mention here of tobacco is an anachronism indeed.

trade of salt, betel and tobacco;[28] they also had to put at his disposition five of their followers (*joa'*) each to become his retainers (*bonéballa*) in the palace as well as serving girls (*pa'tumaling*) and page boys (*pa'kalawing épu*). He would also receive as his property all strange beings (*makalaing-laing-é*) such as the transvestites, the dwarfs and the albinos. As for the *matoa* themselves, they were given the function to be the "maintainers of customary law" (*pakatenni ade'*) as well as the right to arrest wrongdoers.

The allusion in the Sidénréng story to the skin disease of the *datu* of Pantileng reminds us of another motive, which is found in the stories of origins of a number of secondary *wanua* as well as as in one story (among other ones) concerning the kingdom of Wajo' – that of a prince or princess who has been exiled because of his/her skin disease. In Wajo', the story is about a princess of Luwu' called Wé Ta'dang Mpali.[29] When the people of Luwu' became aware of her contagious disease, they came to her father the *datu* and asked him: "What do you prefer? One egg, or many eggs" – meaning by that: "Do you prefer your daughter to all your people". The *datu* then decided that his daughter had to go into exile. She was put on a raft together with a number of her followers and servants and the raft was sent adrift.[30] After several days at sea, they were stranded on a deserted coast. There they built a residence for Wé Ta'dang Mpali near a *wajo'* tree, and for this reason the place was called Wajo';[31] then they set to to clear the forest and cultivate the land. Once when the princess was alone watching on the rice crop which was drying near the house, a white buffalo came. While chasing it, she fell down. The buffalo then approached her and licked her body. After she had been washed by the buffalo's saliva, she found that her skin disease had decreased. Over the following days, the white buffalo came again and she had it lick her skin again until, in the end, she was completely cured. Some time later, a son of the Boné ruler, called La Rajalangi' came into the forest, which he thought was uninhabitated, to hunt deer. His followers having discovered rice chaff adrift in the river went to look for the village where it came from, and discovered Wé Ta'dang Mpali's settlement. Having met her, La Rajalangi' fell in love with her and later married her. Their three children are said to have become the ancestors of the three *ranreng*.[32]

Another story of a prince with a skin disease concerns La Sessung Nriwu', said to be the youngest son of a Sidénréng ruler.[33] His brothers were all given their share of their inheritance and became rulers in Rappeng, Suppa', Sawitto' and Alitta while he was put on a raft and set adrift on the Great Lake (Tappareng Karaja) with his favorite rooster as sole companion. The raft was stranded on a small island where only a *bélawa* tree was growing, and there La Sessung Nriwu' settled. By the process of silting and alluviation, the island, which came to be known under the name Bélawa, became bigger and bigger, and as the soil was very fertile and the lake abounding in fish, many people came from all the "countries westwards of the lake" (Aja' Tappareng) and settled as cultivators or fishermen under La Sessung Nriwu´'s leadership. He then married the daughter of the *arung* of Batu and, as he had no fortune, his five brothers paid the *sompa* (bride price). But those who had brought it to Batu did not go back to their places of origin; on the contrary they settled on the island and the clustering of their different groups gave birth to Bélawa's six *limpo*, each with their *matoa*, and constituting two parts: West Bélawa and East Bélawa. Later, the process of silting up joined Bélawa with the mainland.

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29. This story has been published several times, including by Matthes, Brandstetter and Hamzah Daéng Mangémba.

30. The motive of a princess set adrift on a raft exists already in the *La Galigo* cycle, in the episode of the banishment of Wé Tenrirawé from Tompo' Tikka'. She was sent into exile to prevent incest with her twin brother Pa'lawa' Gau'. On this episode, see R.A. Kern, *Catalogus van de Boegnineesche tot den I La Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften de Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek*, Leiden, 1939: 81-89.

31. As Wajo' is nowadays well upstream of the Cénrana River, this alludes to the common idea among the *palontara'* that this place was then situated at a river mouth in a deep bay.

32. The other traditions concerning the origins of Wajo' are too complicated to be reported here.

33. My main informants for this story were Andi' Paramata, a renowned *palontara'* living in Singkang, and Andi' Sulolipu of Bélawa.

The third frequent motive, quite similar to the former, to be found in *wanua*'s stories of origin attributes their foundation to a commoner leader in quest of land. Then the story goes on by telling how the people obtained their first *arung* from elsewhere. An example concerns the small *wanua* of Laérung, a vassal *wanua* (*ana' banua*) of Paria.[34] The place which was to become Laérung was in ancient times occupied by a forest, where were to be found much game and many natural products such as rattan, timber and wild fruit. There lived only a supernatural being, the forest's spirit guardian, known as Petta I Ale'-é ("Our Lord/Our Lady of the Forest" : whether this was a male or a female is not told by the story) who begot a child from his or her calf. The parent then washed the child with the water of a spring miraculously produced by his/her stick and which is known until now under the name Bung Asana ("Spring of the Champac tree").The parent then buried the afterbirth (*irung*) in a hole under a stone which still exists. Once upon a time, a group of people from Kalola (to the northwest of Wajo') came in a hunting party. Their dog found the spring and kept barking, showing them that it had something supernatural. So, they settled there, cleared the forest and opened rice fields. Their settlement was called Urai Ale' ("West of the Forest"). Later, people came from Walanga and found on the eastern side of the forest another spring (also created by the stick of Petta I Ale'-é) surrounded with *annung*, a kind of reed (Arundo sp.) which indicates that the soil is particularly convenient for rice growing. Their settlement was called Botto-é ("the Hill"). After some time, the people of both settlements decided to become the two parts of one and the same *wanua*, which they called Teppedde' Apinna ("Its Fire Never Dies") under a common *matoa*. His function was to "resolve the conflicts, lead the people on the good path, take them away from the bad path, see to their welfare and to the integrity of their goods, and lead them in agricultural works". Every year, he presided over the agricultural rituals, where offerings were brought to Petta I Ale'-é by the *sanro* (ritual practitioners) who, also, transmitted to the people the messages of the spirit guardian. Once they had a dream in which Petta I Ale'-é revealed to them the story of the afterbirth, and this is why the name of the *wanua* was changed to Laérung. After some time, noble families came also to settle in the village. As the *matoa* was a commoner, he had no authority over them. The people then decided that they had to have an *arung.* So they went in delegation to meet the *arung* of neighbouring Paria because, they said, "our people are thirsty and hungry, the birds pilfer our crops and nobody chases them, we are cold and nobody protects us, our goods disappear and nobody watches them". After several visits, the Arung agreed to give them one of his sons. But the latter asked: "What will you give me as dowry (*sompa*) if you bring me there, because I am poor, I am weak, I own no house and moreover I am silly". In the name of the people the *matoa* answered: "I will build a house for you. Laérung is rich, Laérung is strong, Laérung is clever...". *Arung* Paria's son thus agreed to become *arung* Laérung, which became a vassal of Paria.

Although different from each other the above four motives have in common an account of how the Bugis viewed the progressive process by which the geographical space where they have been living, was inhabited first by communities which had been there since immemorial times (those which had been left behind by the first, mythical dynasties) and which were also the first to get politically organized; then by groups of new Bugis settlers looking for fertile lands to clear. These stories also display a common characteristic: they show how the Bugis nobility, being the carriers of the sacred amongst ordinary humankind, were in the eyes of all the indispensable element which could make, from a simple group of settlers, an organized society in an organized space, hierarchy being in both cases the organizing principle. Needless to say, this was reflected by local topography. In *wanua* with *manurung* stories there was always a sacred place, usually marked with large stones, which was purported to be the place where the *to-manurung* had descended from heaven, or the place where

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34. H. Pariusi Daéng Patau', *Sedjarah mulanja wanua Laerung, ketjamatan Majauleng*, translated into Indonesian and augmented by Muhammad, 1962 (manuscript).

he/she was discovered, or/and the place where he/she was installed by the people as their first *arung*, and this place had ever since been used for the installation of subsequent rulers. Around there one usually found also a spot (a stone, a hole) called *posi' tana*, the "land's navel", which the people believed was inhabited by the land's spirit guardian and which was the place of periodical rituals for the community. One often found also around there the burial places of descendants of the *manurung*, and not infrequently the cremation place (*pa'tunuang*) of those of the pre-Islamic period. The *to-manurung* and *to-tompo'* themselves were believed not to have died but to have "disappeared" (*ma'lajang*) and in some *wanua* one found a sanctuary, which looked like a grave, but which was the purported place of their disappearance. Another important, although quite different place was the ceremonial ricefield (*tana arajang*, "state field") where the ritual first ploughing and first harvesting by, or in presence of, the *arung* was annually performed. It may have been the first field to have been opened when the domain was first cleared. Other sacred places were linked to the *wanua*'s historical memory: not infrequently, one could find a "Well of the Brave Men" where the warriors of ancient times bathed before going to war and there were also often graves, known to be those of persons, who in their time had been renowned and some of whom were considered as miracle workers by visiting pilgrims.

Besides, the *wanua* possessed also "state objects" (*arajang*), hereditary objects purported to have descended from heaven together with the *to-manurung* or to have arisen from the abyss together with the *to-tompo'* or to have miraculously appeared. They could be of different kinds: ploughs,[35] banners, cannons, textiles or even feathers, baskets, etc. They were kept by *bissu* priests in specific houses, *bola arajang* ("houses of the state objects").These state objects, though humble they may have been, were the containers of the *wanua*'s vital force (*sumange'*) and were thus the guarantors of the community's welfare; annually and also in case of calamity (epidemics, natural disaster) as well as in case of war, a ritual was thus celebrated by the *bissu* in charge of them who among others marked them, together with the *wanua*'s banners, with the blood of a sacrificed buffalo.

Somewhere in the middle of the *wanua*, often but not always around or near its sacred place was usually a fortified area called *bata*. This was a defensive enclosure made of an earthen talus whose ridge was provided with stockades of bamboo completed with thorns. Inside of it was, not a city, properly speaking, nor even a large settlement, but a large, only partly settled area which included also fields, plantations and gardens. There the people of the *wanua* could come and take shelter in case of war. Another feature of the *wanua* was its market place (*pasa'*), which seems not necessarily to have been situated in the middle of its territory, but rather at a convenient crossroad of paths or next to the landing place (*soréang*) if the *wanua* was situated near the sea or near a lake or at a river mouth or along a river.

The names of the *wanua* whose creation occurred in historical times are most often names of a tree such as Bélawa ("Stigmaria verniciflua"), Cempa' ("Indian tamarind"), Cénrana ("Michelia"), Kalosi ("areca tree"), Kaluku ("coconut tree"), Penrang ("banyan"), Rumpia ("sago tree"), Wajo' (a kind of palm tree) or of another plant, such as Awo' ("bamboo"), Paria ("Momordica charantia"), less frequently of another feature of the landscape such as Akkoténgeng ("place with *koténg* shelfish"), Alitta ("(place with many) leeches"), Bacukiki' ("neighing stone"), Boné ("sand(y place)"), Tanété ("plateau") or an abstract name such as Pammana ("heritage"), Singkang (< si-éngkang, "coming together"), Siwa (< siéwa, "partnership"). Names with no known signification or which people can explain only through far fetched popular etymologies such as Lamuru, Népo, Sidénréng, Témpé, Wagé are likely to point out to localities predating historical times, whose name might perhaps originate from people who inabited the land already when the ancestors of the Bugis came in here.

The situation described above lasted until the beginning of the XXth century – which does not

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35. I think that the presence of sacred ploughs among the *arajang* of many *wanua* as well as the ritual role of the *arung* with regard to the *tana arajang* is an argument in favour of my hypothesis linking the creation of these *wanua* with a period of agricultural development between the end of the XIIIth and the end of the XIVth centuries.

mean that no changes occurred at the *wanua* level: in fact, local traditions report innumerable changes of names, merging of *wanua*, changes in alliance and allegiance, etc. But these changes came through an endogenous process of negotiation between the concerned people. Basically, the overall system did not vary and at the kingdom level, the balance of power was more or less frozen by the presence of the Dutch in Makassar, although limited wars between them broke out from time to time. After 1906, when the government of the Dutch Indies extended its actual sway over South Sulawesi, the changes brought in were, in contrast, really tremendous. The colonial authorities not only sent into exile a number of native rulers opposed to this intrusion and intervened in the choice of their successors but, in an authoritarian way, they introduced major changes in the peninsula's territorial organization by creating new entities called *afdelingen* ("sections") and *onderafdelingen* ("subsections") which only partly took into consideration the previously existing situation. Thus, the Wajo' and Soppéng kingdoms became subsections of a wider section which included the northern part only of the Boné kingdom and established its administrative centre at Pompanua, until then a secondary market town on the right bank of the Cénrana river. The Sidénréng kingdom was put together with its previous ally Rappeng into one and the same *onderafdeling*, while the other members of the former Aja'tappareng alliance were grouped together with Népo into a completely new entity called Malusétasi (Bugis: Ma'lusé'asi', "the Sea Side (Lands)") headed by an *arung* (although there had previously been no such "*arung* Ma'lusé'tasi´". A number of other small autonomous domains were brought together into a new *onderafdeling* called "Baru" (from the bugis Berru), under a new "*arung* Baru", whose administration was centred in Sumpang Minanga, a small and unimportant locality (called by the Dutch Sumpangbinanga);[36] etc. To implement the "indirect rule" system of government, all *onderafdelingen* were provided with a Dutch *controleur* (colonial administrator) whose function was to "assist" the native ruler in charge, who became a salaried civil servant of the Dutch government as were also the former dignitaries (*sulléwatang*, *ranreng*, etc.) and members of the former councils, whose functions were redefined and rationalized. At the lower level, there was a reorganization of the *wanua*, which in the Dutch colonial administrative system were considered as *landschappen* ("districts"). In some cases, their names were changed (for instance, in Wajo', the core *wanua* (Watang Mpajo') became known as Tosora, after the name of its main settlement) and small *wanua* were united to make a bigger one (for instance, the two neighbouring *wanua* Macanang and Paria were united under the name Paria), etc.. The *arung* of the reorganized *wanua* were appointed as "district heads" while some of the former *matoa* were appointed as the heads of the newly constituted *kampung*. This was a completely exogenous process, and the people concerned had no other choice other than to accept it or to rebel.

In my opinion, between the two World Wars, the change which was most fraught with consequences was the progressive desacralization of the office of *arung* and the demise of connected rituals. This was concurrently brought about by the Dutch administrative rationalization and by the development of Islamic rational, modernist ideas, linked with the emergence of a more and more powerful social group of Bugis entrepreneurs, some of whom were of petty nobility while many other were well-to-do commoners, who did not accept the traditional hierarchical model of society any more.

The colonial administrative system remained in force until the Second World War, and it was maintained, under other names, during Japanese occupation, with Japanese army officers purely and simply replacing the former Dutch civil administrators. Between 1945 and 1950, during the Revolution (*zaman Revolusi*), the few Bugis aristocrats who were in favour of Indonesian Independance (the Datu of Luwu', the ruler of Boné Andi' Ma'panyukki', the lady *ranreng* of Wajo' Andi' Ninnong, the Datu Suppa' Bau Massépé', etc.) were dismissed; most of the other aristocrats, for fear of losing their position should the Indonesian Republic win, supported the new Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) and, later, the puppet Federated State of Negara Indonesia Timur

36. Cartographers are so conservative that this now forgotten place still appears in big letters on modern maps of Sulawesi!

(State of Eastern Indonesia) in which Sulawesi Selatan was a new administrative entity called Gabungan Selebes Selatan. The Dutch administration was assisted here by a Hadat Tinggi (High Council) of native rulers, whose president was Andi' Pabbénteng, the Boné ruler appointed by the Dutch after they had dismissed the legitimate one, Andi' Ma'panyukki'. The majority of Independance fighters thus took an anti-feudal stand, the more so as many of them were influenced by the egalitarian ideas which had been broadcasted by the Muhammadiyah schools.[37] Most of the former *arung* were thus compelled to take refuge in the main cities and lost a big part of their prestige together with their traditional sources of income. This situation got still worse from 1950 on, when the former Independence fighters rebelled against the central government because of its refusal to incorporate them into the Indonesian National Army as constituted units. The Bugis Colonel Kahar Muzakkar, appointed as go-between to calm down the dispute had taken the side of the rebels and in 1953 he put the rebellion under the flag of the "Indonesian Islamic State", for which Kartosuwurjo in West Java and Daud Beureueh in Aceh were already struggling. The involvement in this movement of the South Sulawesi rebels still enhanced their opposition to the "feudal system" and "pagan practices". The antique houses which had been the *arung*'s residences were burnt and so also were many manuscripts considered to contain pagan ideas, the *arajang* objects were distroyed or dispersed, the sacred places and sacred graves were wrecked. And perhaps more important than physical destruction was the desacralisation of all these things in the minds of the ordinary people. One of the most evident token of this is the craze for unauthorized diggings in places hitherto considered as sacred which seized the people, in the quest for precious Chinese ceramics, after the end of the rebellion, in the second half of the 1960s.

Meanwhile, the new Indonesian administration had not stayed inactive. At first, the former Dutch *afdelingen* and *onderafdelingen* had purely and simply been maintained under the name *kabupatèn* and *kawédanan*, only with slight modifications, the whole former kingdom of Bone being for instance reunited into one *kawédanan.* Then, in 1959, the intermediate level of *kawédanan* was abolished. The former *kabupatèn* were dissolved and the former *kawédanan* were henceforth called *kabupatèn* and were divided into *kecamatan*. These *kecamatan* were, either the continuation of big *wanua*/*landschappen* (in Wajo', such was the case of the former *wanua* Pammana), or the grouping of several *landschappen* (thus, a *kacamatan* Majauleng was created by the grouping of Tosora, Paria and Rumpia). *Kecamatan* heads (*camat*) were appointed among former *arung*. Later on, the reforms of 1965 and 1979 to which I have already alluded, took place.

The reasons why the people did not mind much these latter changes are, to my opinion, several. First, these were not the first changes to take place, and the most tremendous had already happened 50 years before. Then, the *wanua* had not been communities, but hierarchical structures; so that this was not the common people's business. Their only level of involvement had been in the ritual domain, but most sacred places had been destroyed. Those that were the objects of pilgrimages on an individual basis were soon rebuilt, but it was seldom the case for those connected with the *wanua*'s origin, because this was within the responsibility of the former ruling families and of their former *bissu* priests. But the *bissu* were less and less and many of the noble families were now living in towns; as the last office holders died one after the other, there was nobody to replace them, since according to Bugis tradition offices were not automatically inherited but were passed on through an elective process, and the elective body had disappeared. But one of the main reasons is, no doubt, that another structuring system than the territorial one had been working among the Bugis, i.e. the system of clientelage, whose importance has been still enhanced by the loss of importance of the socio-territorial structures. This system, which links the Bugis with a much wider social space than the fragmented territoriality of yesteryear is probably more appropriate to their insertion into the modern world of today.

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37. The Muhammadiyah, a Muslim modernist-reformist movement, enjoyed in the 1920s-1930s tremendous development in South Sulawesi, where it created scores of Islamic modern schools as well as its own Boy Scout Association.