

CHAPTER 1. PERSPECTIVES

1.1 Agenda of the Thesis

This thesis reports the investigations carried out by the South Sulawesi Prehistorical and Historical Archaeology Project (SSPHAP) on the old Makassar kingdoms of Gowa and Tallok. From the mid-16th century AD, until the late 17th century, Gowa and Tallok lay at the fulcrum of what was, at its peak, the largest indigenous empire ever based in the eastern archipelago. The empire's rise and eclipse were turning points not only in the wedded history of the Bugis and the Makassar, two of the archipelago's most important ethnic groups, but also in the long-term establishment of Netherlands India (today's Indonesia). The story is further of major historiographical interest as a "contact history" where the indigenous voice speaks no less eloquently than the foreign voice. Even more significantly, the empire's history is a case study of the transformations to the Austronesian cultural matrix which accompanied the formation of Indonesia's indigenous states.

It is easier to recognise the importance of this profoundly complex organisation than to know what to call it. The Makassar scribes and Dutch records of the day used the same term, Gowa, both for the highest status lineage within the empire, and for the empire as a collective body. The tradition is followed by many historians, especially those concerned with narrating events (e.g. Andaya, 1981; Patunru, 1983; Sagimun, 1986) and describing internal organisation (Mukhlis, 1975) rather than interpretation. The other main naming convention recognises Gowa and Tallok as kingdoms (and specifically sultanates, following the adoption of Islam in 1605) of comparable status. Following a terminology which can be traced back to Gervaise (1688), these studies refer to the collective entity by the name which foreigners gave to its emporium, i.e. Makassar (Reid, 1981, 1983; Pelras, 1985; Villiers, 1990). Mattulada (1982a) emphasises the polity's dual composition by kingdoms whose geopolitical cores lay

outside the capital city, and so posits both "Gowa-Tallo" and "Makassar" as suitable names.¹

While concurring with Mattulada's basic analysis I will refer to the collective body as "greater Gowa" for several reasons. The term retains the eponymous status of Gowa, while allowing independent discussion of Gowa as a kin-based faction. It accommodates my recognition of a third powerful family based in Maros. Finally, it allows the city (Photo 1-1) to be called Makassar without falling in the terminological trap of identifying the polity with its emporium.

Historical archaeology, at its most elementary level, encompasses sites for which the written records provide information difficult or impossible to obtain by archaeology alone. These vials of information may include dated associations with events, individuals and institutions, not to mention references to the establishment or abandonment of the sites. On the other hand, archaeology can address questions which the texts may ask but then not answer, e.g. questions of the physical and social landscape, and on protohistorical origins. On top of that, an archaeological perspective asks critical questions of the texts, questions which might otherwise escape notice. Consequently much of my research is devoted to an original analysis of the Makassar texts. By following the profoundly recursive dialogue between the historical and archaeological records, so as to deepen and solidify the foundations of both, this thesis will build a more structured and multi-tiered interpretative framework than has previously been attempted for Gowa and Tallok.

As regards its place within the framework of academic endeavour, this thesis follows the lead of Macknight (1975, 1983) in seeking a refined vision of the Bugis-Makassar historical landscape, and a diachronic (historical) anthropological interpretation of the Bugis-Makassar texts. In this respect it twins with Caldwell's (1988) philological study of the Bugis texts, and further suggests that the time has come to view the general picture in a new way.

¹ Mattulada further frequently uses "Gowa" for the collective body as a literary convenience.

1.1.1 Naming and inter-referencing conventions

As yet there is no generally accepted spelling system available for any South Sulawesi language, and no official system standardising the spelling of all South Sulawesi proper names across government publications. Official spellings do exist for administrative names, and these I can follow for most administrative divisions, as well as for administrative centres down to the *kecamatan* level.² In general, however, I follow Kamaruddin et al. (1985-6) in rendering Bugis and Makassar names in the spelling they would have in Bahasa Indonesia. Specifically, glottal stops are represented by a "k", and a consonant is doubled if it both ends one syllable and begins the next (a characteristic which I believe is not found in Bahasa Indonesia).³ As an example, I use "Luwuk" when writing the kingdom of Luwuk or the Luwuk coastal plain, to indicate the glottal stop at the end of the word. But note that the *kabupaten* which takes the same name will be written *Kabupaten Luwu* to follow the official spelling.

As regards minor topographic features such as hills and swamps, I refer to them by the local name (e.g. Balang Sari), but major features such as rivers, mountains and lakes will often be rendered in English (e.g. Jeknekberang River as well as Sungai Jeknekberang). To enhance the flow of the text, the highest level administrative divisions will usually be rendered in English (e.g. South Sulawesi province rather than *Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan*), while references to lower-level divisions will sometimes treat the Indonesian words *kabupaten* and *kotamadya* (broadly equivalent to a county and a

² I may also use official acronyms where convenient, for instance Figure 1-4 uses "Polmas" (Polewali-Mamasa) and "Sidrap" (Sidenreng-Rappang), and Figure A-2 represents Tana Toraja with "Tator".

³ One area where I depart from Kamaruddin et al. (1985-6) is in the representation of compound words where the first word ends in "-ng". In Makassar the "-ng" tends to be lost in pronunciation, e.g. Borong + loe is pronounced Borolloe. I retain the "-ng" to emphasise the meaning of the first word, e.g. that Borong + loe, or Borongloe, means either "many gardens" or "great garden", i.e. "great garden area".

municipality respectively), kecamatan (district), desa, dusun and kampung, as though they were English words.

This thesis is designed in a report format which tags blocks of related text at the chapter (or appendix), section, and often the subsection level. When referring the reader to another part of the thesis I will simply provide the tag in brackets, e.g. "A.1" means "Appendix A, Section 1", and "1.1.1" means "Chapter 1, Section 1, Subsection 1".

1.2 A Perspective from Human Geography

Sulawesi, the ungainly four-armed island east of Kalimantan, covers 189,216 square kilometres, making it the fourth largest island in Indonesia and eleventh in the world (Webster et al., 1984:A-9). Sulawesi epitomises the complex origins and peculiarly constellated landforms of eastern Indonesia. According to recent evidence, to understand Sulawesi's formation we must first start with a giant archipelago which had separated from the ancient continent of Gondwanaland in the middle Jurassic. The components of this archipelago were the embryonic landmasses of southern Tibet, Burma, Thailand, the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, west and east Kalimantan, western Sulawesi, and the half-ellipse of islands from Flores through the Kai islands to Buru. These land fragments arrived at their present position in the early Tertiary period. In the mid-Tertiary period a fragment of continental land detached itself from Cendrawasih (the Irian Jaya peninsula) and drifted towards Kalimantan. The spur of this fragment consisted of Eastern Sulawesi and Banggai-Sula, the two geological provinces which comprise Sulawesi's eastern arms. They collided with western Sulawesi in the mid-Miocene (Audley-Charles, 1987) at the zone of collision called the Palu-Koro fault (see Figure 1-1a). The collision distorted western Sulawesi into its present shape by rotating the northern arm nearly 90 degrees clockwise and the southwest peninsula about 35 degrees anticlockwise (Whitten et al., 1987:2-4).

Sulawesi's complex geological history and its position straddling the equator have created great climatic and ecological diversity. Volcanic chains run along Sulawesi's

northern and southwestern arms, while a third volcanic belt dominates the highlands due north of the southwest peninsula. Eastern Sulawesi on the other hand is devoid of volcanics and instead dominated by uplifted Mesozoic and Tertiary sedimentary rocks, metamorphics, ophiolites and Tertiary acid intrusives (Katili, 1978; see Figure 1-1a). Throughout Sulawesi the topography tends to be rugged, with 83% of the landmass hilly to mountainous, characterised by uplands which are too high and steep to suit agriculture (Whitten et al., 1987:91-94; see Figure 1-1b).

Straddling the equator, Sulawesi is affected by two monsoons. The main northwesterly monsoon generally occurs between November and April, and the less marked, southeasterly monsoon generally blows between April and June (Whitten et al., 1987:21). The main highland belts however tend to trap the moist winds and remain permanently humid, leading to marked seasonality in the lowland areas sheltered from one or the other monsoon, and casting a more or less permanent rainshadow over some areas (Oldeman and Darmiyati, 1977:4-6). These effects can be seen when we consider mean annual rainfall, seasonality, or the agroclimatic zones of Oldeman and Darmiyati (1977). Conditions of more or less permanent humidity, usually associated with higher rainfall, occur in a broad band over much of central Sulawesi, and elsewhere as climatic enclaves such as at the tip of the north arm and on the highest mountains in the southwest peninsula (Figures 1-2a to 1-2c). The driest agroclimatic zone (Zone E) characterises the land from Palu to Gorontalo, the northern half of the central east arm and various enclaves of the southwest peninsula, while a monsoonal climate tends to prevail elsewhere (Figures 1-2a to 1-2c).⁴

⁴ Owing to different definitions of "wet" and "dry" months, the north arm of Sulawesi is depicted as mainly "permanently humid" to "slightly seasonal" (Figure 1-2b), yet as beset by the driest agroclimatic zones (Figure 1-2c). In the former case a "wet" month receives at least 100 mm of rain and a "dry" month less than 60 mm of rain; in the latter case, 200 mm of rain and 100 mm of rain respectively. As also suggested by Figure 1-2a, most of Sulawesi's north arm can be characterised as an area of moderate rainfall distributed evenly throughout the year.

The poor geological basis for soils in eastern Sulawesi, and the rugged topography with dauntingly humid conditions over much of central Sulawesi, have led to a schizoid distribution of Sulawesi's population. This can be seen from the population densities by kecamatan (district) as taken from recent statistical year books for North Sulawesi (1982), Central Sulawesi (1980), Southeast Sulawesi (1979) and South Sulawesi (1985). The province of North Sulawesi generally supports relatively high population densities with particular concentrations around Gorontalo, Kotamobagu and Manado, and on the volcanic Sangihe island arc. Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi and the northern rim of South Sulawesi have population densities generally less than 100 persons/km², with higher population densities concentrated around the provincial capitals of Palu and Kendari and at a few other coastal locations. In the southwest peninsula and the highlands northwest of Palopo, however, the combination of volcanically-based soils, monsoonal climate, and alluvial belts either within wide open valleys or along the coast, supports population densities usually in excess of 100 persons/km² and above 600 persons/km² in certain rural Makassar areas (Figure 1-3). As also noted by Jones and Supraptilah (1976:56), 'the hinterland of Ujung Pandang has some of the highest rural population densities of any area [in Indonesia] outside of Java or Bali'. Only North Sulawesi at Sulawesi's other extreme presents any similar expanse of well-established rural communities. From the point of view of human settlement, then, the southwest and north arms of Sulawesi can be thought of like islands, separated from each other by a large expanse of thinly populated land.

The constraints which topography and climate place on population densities can be seen from a more detailed consideration of the province of South Sulawesi. Overall we are dealing with a north-to-south cline, but in a pattern of stepped clining rather than gradual change, as can be illustrated with a broad categorisation of South Sulawesi into human geographical divisions (Table 1-1; Figure 1-4).

The northern third of the province includes some of the wettest, most rugged and most thinly populated land in

TABLE 1-1. A BROAD CATEGORISATION OF SOUTH SULAWESI'S HUMAN GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

	ALTITUDE (M ASL)	RAINFALL (MM/YEAR)	RAINFALL TYPE	AGRO- CLIMATIC ZONE	POPULATION DENSITIES BY RURAL KECAMATAN (PERSONS/KM ²)
Northern Central Highlands	c. 50% > 1500m	1500->3000	Permanently Humid	Mostly B	< 1 - 50
Mandar Coastal Peninsula	0-800 m	1000->3000	Seasonal to Permanently Humid	B - E	10 - 600
Southern Central Highlands	> 150m; c. 30% > 1500m	2000->3000	Slightly Seasonal to Permanently Humid	A - D	10 - 600
Luwuk Coastal Plain	< 150m	2000-3000	Slightly Seasonal to Permanently Humid	B - D	10 - 300
South Sulawesi Peninsula	c. 50% < 150m; rarely > 1500m	1000->3000	Strongly to Slightly Seasonal	B - E	10 - 900+
Selayar Island	0-700m	1000-2000	-	E	50 - 300

N.B. Figures are summarised from the sources used in compiling Figures 1-2a to 1-2c and 1-3.

Sulawesi (Table 1-1). I call it the "Northern Central Highlands" to emphasise the rugged topography, even though strips of low land occur along the thin coastal plain and, to a lesser degree, along the Palu-Koro fault. The geology changes from volcanics and associated uplifted marine sediments in the west, to acidic intrusives and metamorphics northwest of the Gulf of Bone, to ultrabasics in the east (Figure 1-1a). The region is generally inimical to human settlement, and includes several uninhabited expanses of land (Friberg and Laskowske, 1989:Map 1). It further marks the transitional zone between the South Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi groups of languages (Figure 1-5).

The middle third of the province maintains many of the characteristics found further north but with more extensive pockets for human settlement. The western coastal stretch, here called the "Mandar Peninsula Coastline", consists mostly of Tertiary marine sediments lifted up into hills around a few small belts of coastal alluvial plain (see Figure 1-1a). The population tends to be concentrated on the plains, particularly in the south where a drier and more seasonal climate prevails (Figures 1-2 and 1-3). Inland the topography rapidly steepens to a block of mountains, comprised geologically of volcanics, acidic intrusives and uplifted Tertiary marine sediments (Figure 1-1a), which I call the "Southern Central Highlands". Human settlement tends to be concentrated along the broad valley of the Sungai (River) Sakdang (see Figure 1-3). In general the region is well provided with river valleys broader and less altitudinous than those found in the "Northern Central Highlands" (Operational Navigation Chart, Sheet M-11), helping to explain the extensive human settlement. Finally, at the head of the Gulf of Bone, we have the "Luwuk Coastal Plain". Climatically these lowlands are poorly suited for cereals, but the adoption of sago as a staple crop on the western sections of the coastal plain (Osozawa, 1986) maintains healthy population densities there. The most important section of the eastern coastal plain lies around Wotu, which is a centre for local trade (Grimes and Grimes, 1987:62-63) as well as an area of mixed agriculture (Tanaka, 1986).

The anticlockwise rotation of the South Sulawesi peninsula since the Miocene is less apparent from topographical maps (e.g. Figure 1-1b) than from Landsat images. The latter clearly show the parallel arcs formed by the cordillera of Tertiary volcanics, some mixed with uplifted marine sediments, between Gunung Barupa in the north and Gunung Lompobattang in the south; the Walanae graben which extends from the Tempe depression along the Walanae river and further southeast to Sinjai; and an eastern cordillera which starts in the south as a volcanic block and tapers to the north as the squat belt of Celebes morasse⁵ through which the Cenrana river runs. Extensive coastal plains "trail behind" the rotating landmass at the peninsula's southwest corner and around the mouth of the Cenrana. The third major coastal plain, in the area of Pinrang, appears on Landsat images to be traversed by a thin low ridge which strikes north of Gunung Barupa and separates the mouth of the Sungai Sakdang from the Tempe depression (Photo 1-2).

The Walanae river drains internally towards the Tempe and Sidenreng lakes, whose floors are less than five metres above sea level, and then out to sea via the Sungai Cenrana. During the higher sea levels between 7100 and 2600 BP, the sea closely approached Lake Tempe from the east, probably covering the Cenrana coastal plain. Lake Tempe itself has been a freshwater lake, at least during the last 4400 years for which its pollen record is available (Gremmen, 1990). This observation indicates that the low ridges east and west of the Tempe depression have remained above sea level during the corresponding period.

In broad outline the South Sulawesi peninsula consists of two partially volcanic cordilleras, arc-shaped and parallel, with extensive alluvial belts in the north (including the northern valley between the cordilleras) and along the southwestern coastline (Figure 1-1a). The western cordillera catches the northwesterly monsoon while the less marked, southeasterly monsoon is caught by the eastern cordillera and the Gunung Lompobattang highlands. As a result populations on

⁵ Celebes morasse - conglomerate, sandstone, claystone and marl, interbedded with limestone and lignite, late Miocene to Pliocene in age (Sukanto, 1975).

the eastern and especially the western coastal areas can expect seasonal flooding, in the months around May and January respectively, from the combined effects of local precipitation and runoff from the highlands. The low-lying land in Pinrang and Sidrap differs in that, being partially protected from both monsoons, it experiences two wet seasons of low intensity (Oldeman and Darmiyati, 1977). Immediately southeast is a rainshadow region (Figures 1-2a and 1-2c), but here Lake Tempe and the lower reaches of the Walanae valley are annually inundated as a result of internal discharge from the main northwesterly monsoon (personal notes). Nearly half of the South Sulawesi peninsula consists of alluvial lowlands which are regularly inundated once or twice a year, leading to a pattern of single cropping of wet rice over most of the lowlands, and double cropping around Pinrang and Sidrap (Oldeman and Darmiyati, 1977). All in all, the combination of topographical and climatic factors maintains extensive areas of well-populated rural land (Figure 1-3).

The island of Selayar at the far south is, geologically speaking, a continuation of the western cordillera (Sukanto and Supriatna, 1982). A strip of limestone dominates in the northwest, followed by a strip of Celebes morasse and (not shown in Katili's generalised map) a strip of mixed volcanics in the southeast. A relatively dry climate, punctuated by the weaker and less reliable southeasterly monsoon, characterises Selayar as well as the peninsula's southern coastline (Figure 1-2). Selayar's main cash crop, copra, is grown primarily along the western coastal strip. The principal staples are corn and cassava which are cultivated mainly in the hills (Grimes and Grimes, 1987:29; fieldnotes).

To place Sulawesi into the wider Indonesian context, consider Indonesia's population densities by *kabupaten* (or rural county). Broadly speaking the figures correspond to the distinction made by Geertz (1963) between Inner and Outer Indonesia, as long as Bali and Lombok are grouped alongside Java in "Inner Indonesia". If we exclude Kabupaten Riau which is exceptional for its strong Chinese presence, stimulated by its proximity to Singapore (e.g. Vleming, 1926:239-241), and set the South Sulawesi peninsula aside, we find densities of

TABLE 1-2. MODERN INDONESIAN POPULATION DENSITIES BY
KABUPATEN (EXCLUDING KOTAMADYA OR CITIES)

(Summarised from Figures taken from the 1979-1985
Indonesian Provincial Statistical Year Books)

Kabupaten	Population Density (persons/km ²)
Kabupaten Riau, SUMATRA	625
SUMATRA, other Kabupaten	17-250
WESTERN INDONESIA	17-625
JAVA Kabupaten	229-1737
BALI Kabupaten	237-983
Kabupaten Lombok Barat, Lombok Timur	
Lombok Tengah (Nusatenggara Barat)	412-466
CENTRAL INDONESIA	229-1737
Kabupaten Sumbawa, Dompu, Bima (Nusatenggara Barat)	38-85
Propinsi Irian Jaya, Maluku, Timor	
Timur, Nusatenggara Timur	2-165
KALIMANTAN Kabupaten	1-140
EASTERN INDONESIA (except Sulawesi)	38-165
Propinsi Sulawesi Utara	41-153
Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah	11-22
Propinsi Sulawesi Tenggara	11-47
Kabupaten Enrekang, Luwu, Tana Toraja, Polmas, Majene, Mamuju	11-132
OTHER PARTS OF SULAWESI	11-153
Kabupaten Selayar	104
Kabupaten Gowa, Sinjai, Bone, Maros, Pangkep, Barru, Soppeng, Wajo, Sidrap, Pinrang	116-214
Kabupaten Bulukumba, Bantaeng, Jeneponto, Takalar	276-340
SOUTH SULAWESI PENINSULA	104-340

1-250 persons/km² for "Outer Indonesia" and densities of 229-1,737 persons/km² for "Inner Indonesia" (Table 1-2). The population densities in the South Sulawesi peninsula clearly straddle this dichotomy between Outer and Inner Indonesia (Table 1-2). Let us take 250 persons/km² as the dividing line. The four kabupaten along the peninsula's south coast (Bulukumba, Bantaeng, Jeneponto and Takalar), i.e. the ones physiographically dominated by lowlands inhabited by speakers of Makassar-related languages, then have "Inner Indonesian" densities, whereas the rest of the peninsula has densities in the higher part of the range here assigned to "Outer Indonesia". More to the point, the South Sulawesi peninsula forms a large block of land more or less continuously settled at densities exceeding 100 persons/km², whereas the other seven eastern Indonesian kabupaten with comparable densities, in Kalimantan, Flores, Timor, and Sulawesi outside of the southwest peninsula, are enclaves surrounded by more lightly settled land. These comparisons serve to highlight the human geographical distinctiveness of the South Sulawesi peninsula in the eastern Indonesian context.

A fully comparable situation existed in the 1930s. The four South Sulawesi kabupaten mentioned above, plus Gowa and Maros, supported population densities in excess of 125 persons/km², as was also the case widely (but not universally) in Bali and Java. These predominantly Makassar kabupaten, along with the predominantly Bugis kabupaten immediately to the north, constituted the largest area continuously populated at densities above 50 persons/km² outside of Java-Bali-Lombok (Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 1938: Blad 8a to 8d).

1.3 A Perspective from Comparative Linguistics

All the Sulawesi languages are Austronesian. Austronesian languages range from Taiwan through island Southeast Asia and much of the Pacific, with outliers in Vietnam, Madagascar and a few other locations. In eastern Nusantara, Maluku and parts of Melanesia, Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages interdigitate, but over most of their range Austronesian is the sole indigenous language group. Bellwood

(1985, 1988a), followed by Spriggs (1989), wraps the archaeological evidence around the broad phylogeny of the Austronesian languages reconstructed through historical linguistics, in what is currently the standard explanation for the dominance of Austronesian languages in island Southeast Asia. In this view the Philippines and Indonesian islands were still quite sparsely populated by hunter-gatherers during the middle Holocene, whereas communities speaking languages ancestral to Austronesian had already acquired cereal cultivation in South China. Daughter communities first colonised Taiwan, then the Philippines and northern Sulawesi, with subsequent movements of Austronesian horticulturalists into eastern, central and western Indonesia. The demographic advantages conferred by a horticultural economy allowed the Austronesian speakers to absorb the non-Austronesian communities in what was probably a drawn-out, complex process.⁶

⁶ Meacham (1988) contends that this view lets the linguistic tail wag the archaeological dog, and that if we put the animal on its legs we would place the origins of the Austronesian languages in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago itself. While linguists seem united in rejecting the possibility of an origins south of the Philippines, I would certainly argue that the spread of Austronesian languages should not be coupled with the spread of a physical type, unless it were taken as evidence that the Austronesian languages had indeed originated in the archipelago. Briefly, the Holocene osteological remains do possibly suggest low levels of "Mongoloid" immigration from northeast Asia into Indonesia, but as an ongoing process rather than as any identifiable migration (Bulbeck, 1981; Turner, 1987). Bellwood (1985) places great stress on the biological distinctiveness of the "Negritos" from southeast Asia's "Mongoloid" populations. However, genetic and osteological studies are yet to find evidence linking Negritos with Australoids or Melanesians rather than with non-Negrito East Asians (e.g. Uytterschaut, 1983; Omoto, 1987; Hanihara and Saitou, 1989). Even if the dark skin and woolly hair of the Negritos are to be interpreted as remnant retentions of the early southeast Asian condition, and not as local specialisations or chance outcome resulting from genetic drift, there is no a priori reason to date the spread of fairer skin and straight hair to the middle Holocene rather than, say, the late Pleistocene.

In all I am not fully convinced that the earliest unambiguous presence of the "Neolithic" (pottery) in South Sulawesi, which I would date to around 3500 BP (Bulbeck, in prep. a.), necessarily reflects the arrival of Austronesian-speaking "Mongoloids" in South Sulawesi. Untying the knot would suggest that the Mongoloid physical type had

The historical linguistic syntheses (e.g. Blust, 1988) do not deal with the southern and central Sulawesi languages in any detail. However, detailed lexicostatistical surveys are available for two provinces, Central Sulawesi (Barr et al., 1979) and South Sulawesi (Grimes and Grimes, 1987), carried out to delineate the dialect, language and supra-language boundaries. The main patterns of linguistic variation emerging from these studies, alongside Sneddon's (1989) similarly detailed work in North Sulawesi, show most of Sulawesi covered by a Central Sulawesi group (or "stock" in the terminology of Grimes and Grimes [1987]) which gives way to other groups at Sulawesi's four extremities (Figure 1-2d).

This seemingly simple picture, however, conceals a realm of complications. Sulawesi's Bajau languages are either classified with Philippine-related languages (Barr et al., 1979) or regarded as of unknown affiliation (Grimes and Grimes, 1987). Barr et al. (1979) recognise four major subgroups within the Central Sulawesi group, while Grimes and Grimes (1987:55) point out that a linguistic survey of Southeast Sulawesi could conceivably enable a more complex revision of the taxon. The South Sulawesi group (or stock) shows a major cleft between the Makassar-related languages at the far south and the other members (Figure 1-5). The group furthermore includes the genetically related Tamanic languages of interior Kalimantan (Adelaar, in press). Finally, the Muna-Buton stock includes Wotu in the Gulf of Bone, as well as the languages of southern Selayar and adjacent offshore islands.

Some of the linguistic complications reflect the existence of outliers whose affinities diverge from those of geographically proximate languages (Bajau, Tamanic, Wotu). The overall pattern of linguistic differentiation, however, matches our human geographical perspective of Sulawesi. The great linguistic diversity corresponds to Sulawesi's generally low population densities and immense physical barriers to communication, as noted by Whitten et al. (1987:89). In particular, the two areas of substantial

been locally established earlier, and possibly Austronesian languages too.

population densities, the north arm and the southwest peninsula, appear not only as "human geographical islands" separated by the main body of Sulawesi (Figure 1-3), but also as linguistic islands. Indeed the genetic affinities of the languages on Sulawesi's north arm are with the Philippines (Sneddon, 1989); the wider genetic affinities of the South Sulawesi stock are unknown but need not be with the central Sulawesi stock (Appendix A, section A.5).

The overall congruity between linguistic differentiation and human geographical constraints, complicated somewhat by the long-term historical trajectories of the ethnic groups involved, emerges particularly clearly when South Sulawesi is examined in detail (Appendix A). For instance, a two-dimensional scattergram based on the lexicostatistical interrelationships of the 40 languages and dialects compared by Grimes and Grimes (1987) produces a configuration upon which a map of South Sulawesi, albeit a contorted one, can be fitted (Figure A-2). Some of the distortions reflect specific historical-cultural relationships, but most of the distortions reflect a contraction of lexical differentiation (compared to geographical distance) in densely populated areas, and on the other side of the coin, exaggerated lexical differentiation in lightly populated areas.

South Sulawesi's ubiquitous linguistic chaining, which Grimes and Grimes (1987) found, is an expectable outcome, and contrasts with the surprisingly divergent status of the Makassar languages. Lexicostatistically Makassar diverges further from the other languages belonging to the "South Sulawesi stock" than either Wotu or Laiyolo ("Muna-Buton stock") do, such that a straightforward application of the criteria of Grimes and Grimes would consign Makassar to its own stock (Figure 1-5, larger map). This lexical aberrance cannot be attributed to borrowing from or a substratum presence of any other languages yet compared, either the Central Sulawesi languages (pace Mills, 1975a:513-514), Wotu, Laiyolo (e.g. Figure A-3), or Indonesian (see Figure A-4 and the associated discussion). Moreover, the qualitative linguistic comparisons too identify Makassar as the outlier

among the languages placed in the South Sulawesi group (Mills, 1975a; Sirk, 1989).

On current evidence, the general aberrance of the Makassar languages is best explained by an early divergence from the main line of descent of the South Sulawesi language group. As explained in Appendix A, the "homeland" of the South Sulawesi languages would thus be most parsimoniously located either within the centre-south of the peninsula, where Bugis now prevails, or better yet along the Makassar-dominated south coast. The latter location in particular would match the trend towards lower population densities as we move from the peninsula's south coast to the "Northern Central Highlands", fitting a model of population buildup and colonisation of new territories during a south-to-north expansion of the South Sulawesi languages. If we equate South Sulawesi's colonisation by Austronesian speakers with the arrival of the "Neolithic", then the relevant datum would be the initial appearance of pottery in the Leang-Leang sites in Kabupaten Maros shortly after 3500 BP (Bulbeck, in prep. a). This scenario would allow approximately three thousand years for (i) the northwards expansion of the South Sulawesi languages; (ii) the divergence of the Makassar stem and the expansion of the Makassar languages within an area cut off from developments further north by the highest mountains of the western cordillera (Figure 1-4); and (iii) the time depth of the direct linguistic ancestors of Makassar and Bugis within the general area of their present distribution.⁷

1.4 A General Perspective

While anthropologists have not agreed on any single definition of what constitutes a state (e.g. Fagan, 1989:376-395), by all accounts greater Gowa was a fully-fledged "early state" by around 1600 (13.3.5). Makassar (Photo 1-1) served as the largest emporium in the eastern archipelago for the redistribution of primary products (most

⁷ Mills (1975a, 1975b) places the "homeland" of the South Sulawesi languages at the mouth of the Sakdan river, and adumbrates a complex migratory scenario of truly epic proportions. This view is not tenable (A.7).

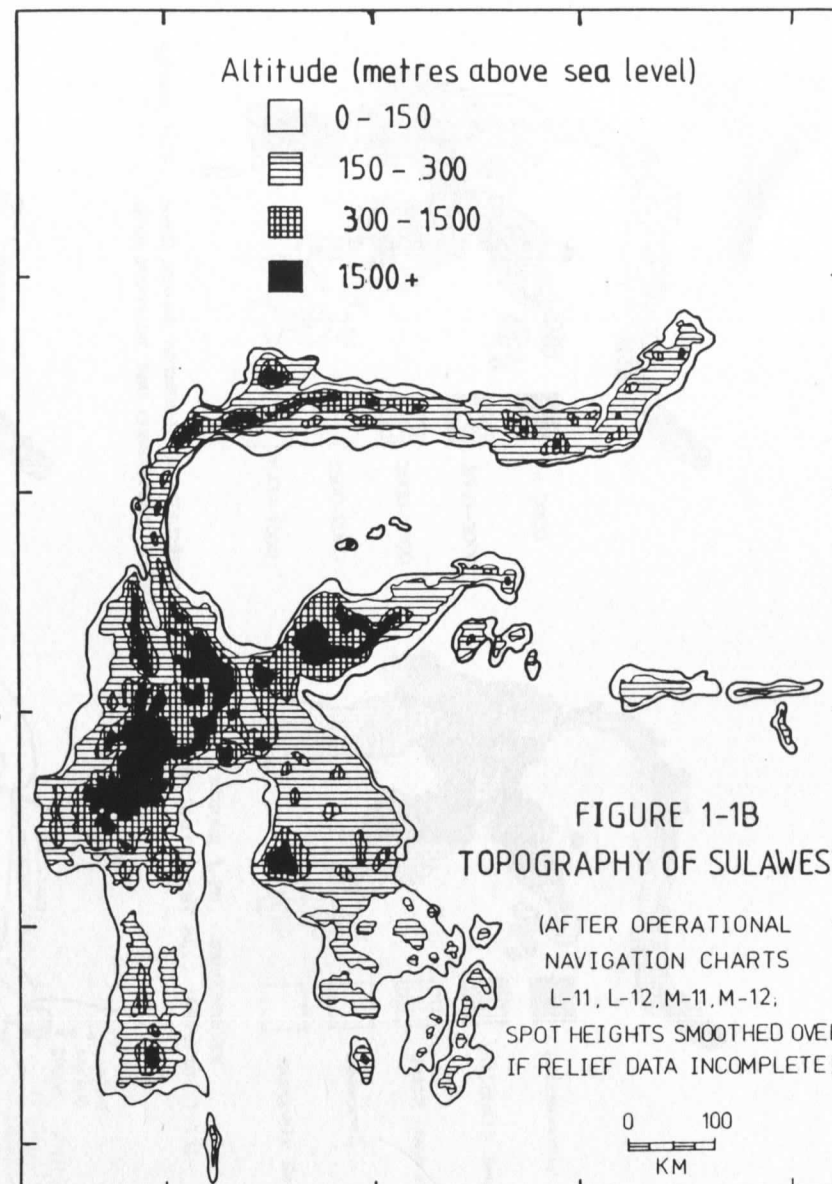
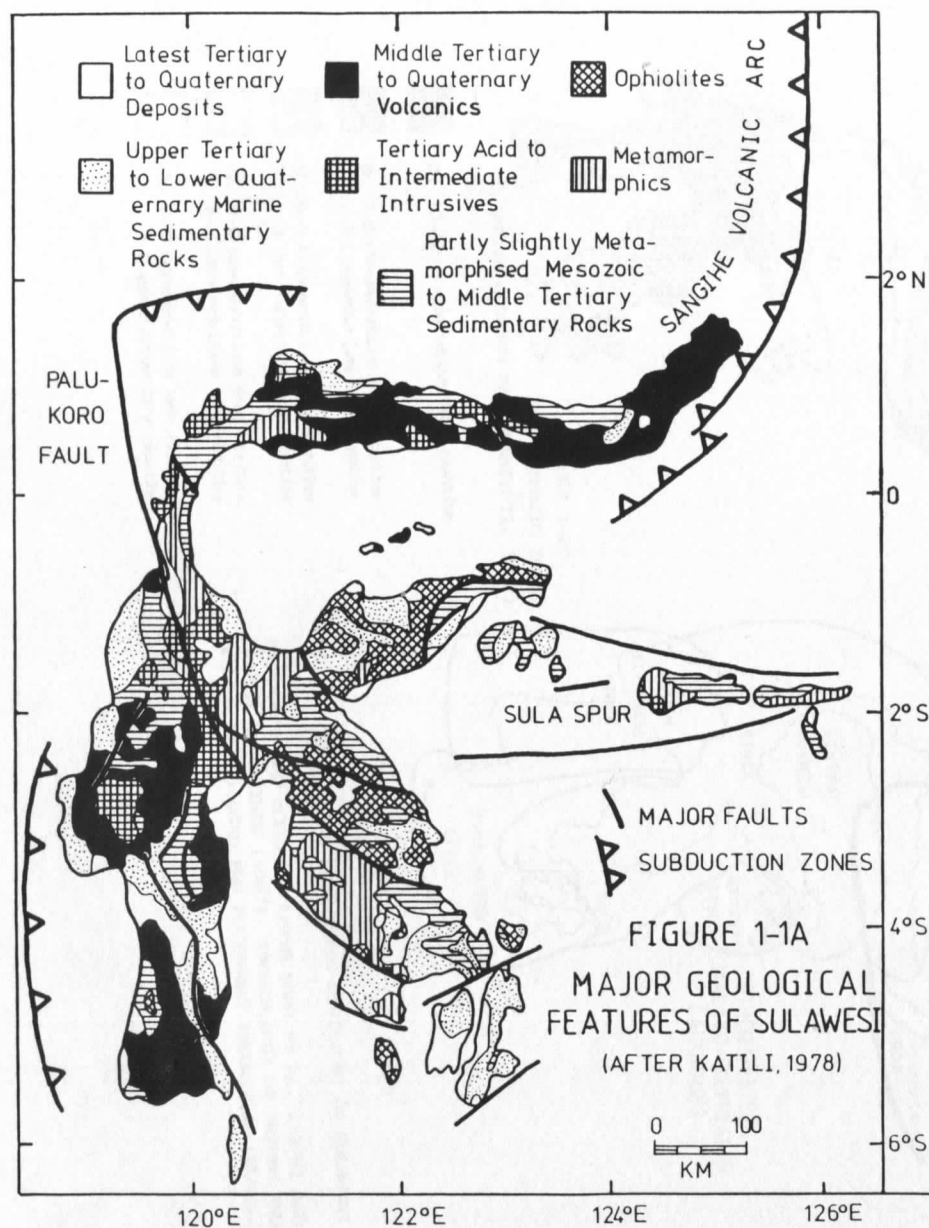
notably spices) and slaves to the west, as well as the exchange of manufactured items such as Chinese goods, Mexican silver and Indian cloth. Following the initial establishment of a Malay colony in the mid-16th century, Portuguese traders began to frequent the city after 1600, followed by the English in 1613, Danes in 1618, Chinese in 1619, Frenchmen in 1622, and by the 1650s a permanent agent from the south Indian state of Golconda (Reid, 1987). Between the 1630s and 1660s Makassar ranked as one of the world's largest cities with a population of around 100,000 residents (Reid, 1983b). Following the "Islamic wars" in the early 17th century, when greater Gowa forcefully Islamised the Bugis kingdoms south of Luwuk (Pelras, 1985), the entire South Sulawesi peninsula fell under greater Gowa's suzerainty (Andaya, 1981; Reid, 1983a).

Far from monopolising the direct acquisition of eastern Indonesian products, greater Gowa specifically protected those traders who defied the efforts by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to monopolise the spice trade. The conflict was ultimately resolved in favour of the Dutch, during the 1667 Makassar War, when the Dutch naval commander Cornelis Speelman besieged and occupied Makassar with the aid of greater Gowa's Indonesian enemies (Andaya, 1981). Even after the war had initially sent Makassar into decline (Gervaise, 1688), the entrepôt remained the "capital" of the peninsula in that the political dominance of the respective parties closely corresponded to their share in the entrepôt's operations (Bulbeck, 1990; Noorduyn, 1987a).

In recent history and today, the Bugis have outshone the Makassar in the ability to colonise new lands and economic niches on the basis of complex, long-distance networks (e.g. Lineton, 1975; Acciaoli, 1989). But the ability is also characteristic of the Makassar, as exemplified by the history of the Makassar trepangers in northern Australia (Macknight, 1976). Similarly, a statistical study of cultural repertoire joins the Bugis and Makassar, alongside some western and central Indonesian groups (Javanese, Balinese, Batak), into a "Southeast Asian High Culture Section" (Obayashi, 1987) which includes, *inter alia*, Vietnamese, Sundanese, Acehnese,

Cambodians and Minahasans. Toraja-Sakdan, which has a closer linguistic relationship with Bugis than Makassar does, on the other hand falls into a totally different cluster, the "Southeast Asian Cereal Horticulturalists Subgroup" (Obayashi, 1987). The cultural orientation of Bugis and Makassar towards large-scale societies, especially those of the western archipelago, indicates the openness of the Bugis and Makassar social systems to receive and integrate complex social institutions and advanced technology. Thus, "protohistorical" and historical social developments have brought the Bugis and Makassar into a single koiné, and made the South Sulawesi peninsula an outpost of "Inner" Indonesia in eastern Indonesia (1.2).

The development of complex societies in the peninsula, and the establishment of its first state (Gowa) specifically among the Makassar, totally fits the general perspectives developed here. The entire peninsula stands out as an area of unusually dense population by the standards of "Outer Indonesia", and this portrait of the peninsula can be found in the earliest European overviews (Gervaise, 1688; the 1693 map of South Sulawesi [Andaya, 1981: Map 9]; Forrest, 1792:72ff.). While the five million Bugis in South Sulawesi today outnumber the two million speakers of Makassar languages (Mattulada, 1982b), this reflects the much greater area occupied by the Bugis, at population densities below those of the Makassar. The ultimate foundations of greater Gowa would appear to have been built on a local presence of Makassar languages established by 3000 years beforehand. The more immediate foundations can be traced to the rise of South Sulawesi's first historical kingdoms by at least the 13th century AD (13.4).



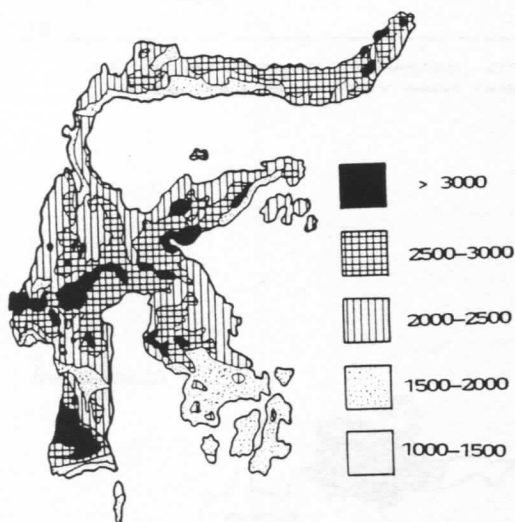


FIGURE 1-2A. MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL IN MILLIMETRES
(AFTER FONTANEL AND CHANTEFORT, 1978)

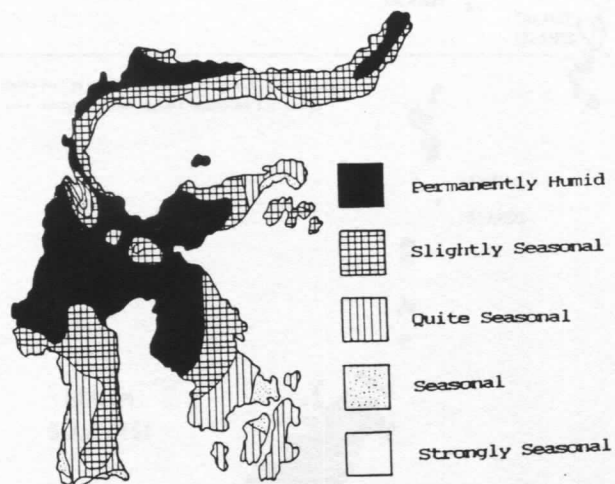


FIGURE 1-2B. SEASONALITY
(AFTER WHITTEN ET AL., 1987:FIG. 1.13)

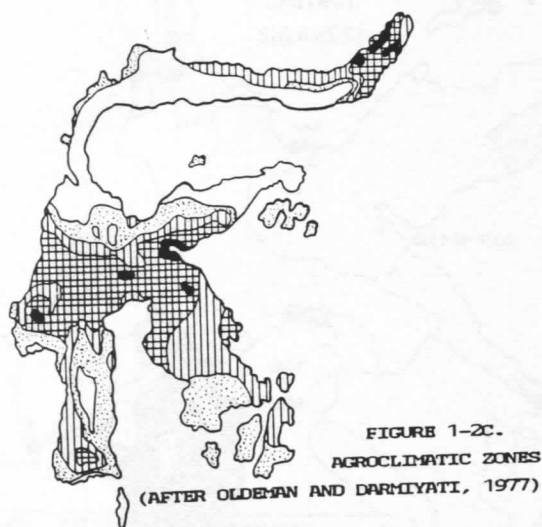


FIGURE 1-2C. AGROCLIMATIC ZONES
(AFTER OLDEMAN AND DARMIYATI, 1977)

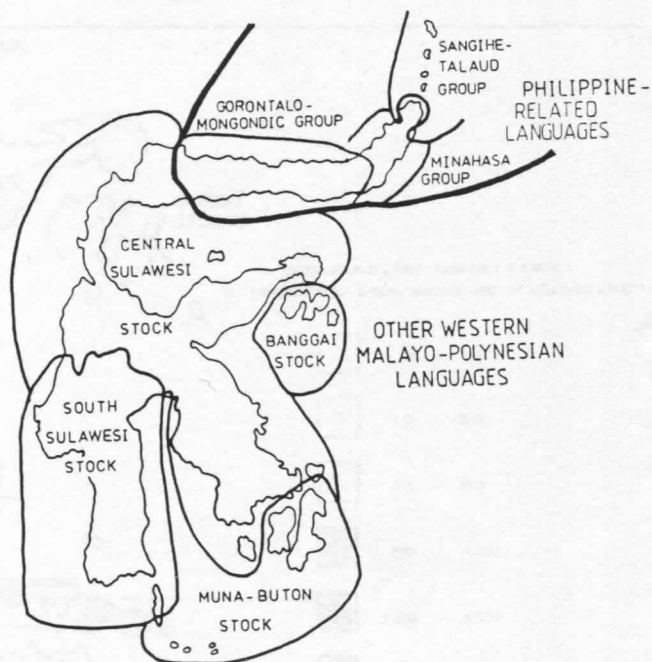


FIGURE 1-2D. MAJOR LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS OF SULAWESI

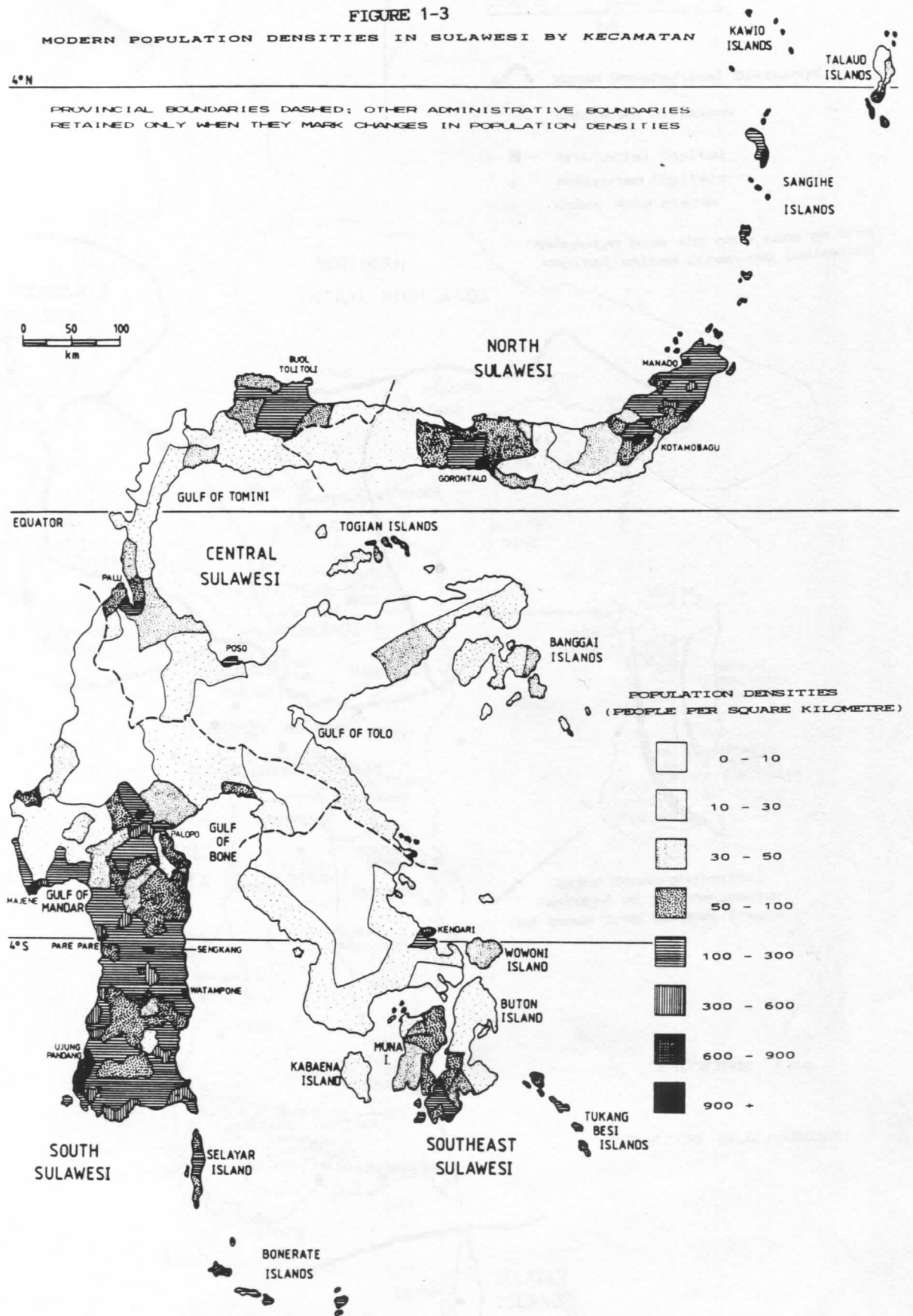
SALZNER'S MAP MODIFIED AFTER BARR ET AL. (1979) AND GRIMES AND GRIMES (1987). TERMINOLOGY OF GRIMES AND GRIMES (1987) USED FOR SOUTHWEST INDONESIAN GROUPS.

FIGURE 1-3

MODERN POPULATION DENSITIES IN SULAWESI BY KECAMATAN

4°N

PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES DASHED; OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES
RETAINED ONLY WHEN THEY MARK CHANGES IN POPULATION DENSITIES



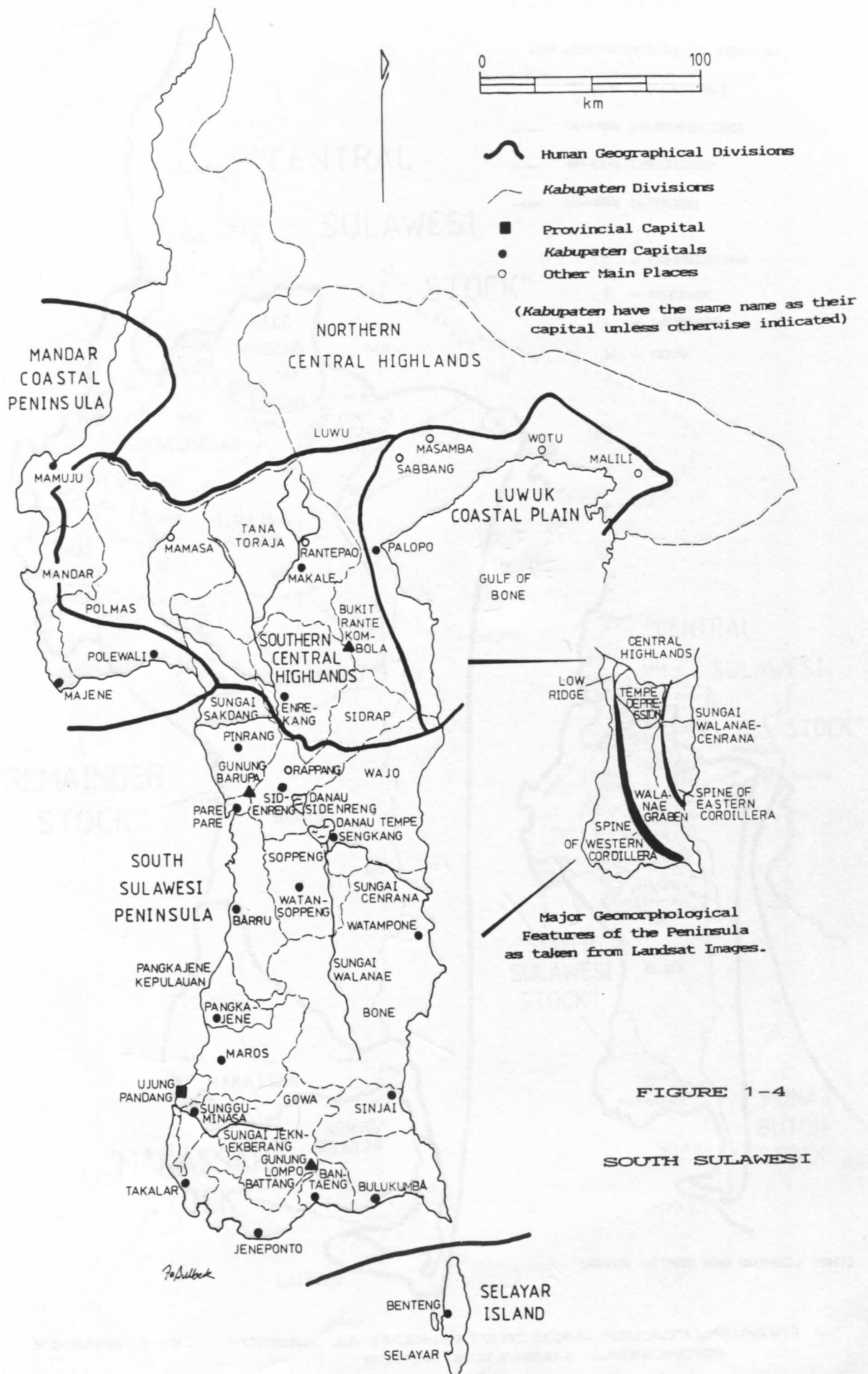


FIGURE 1-4

SOUTH SULAWESI

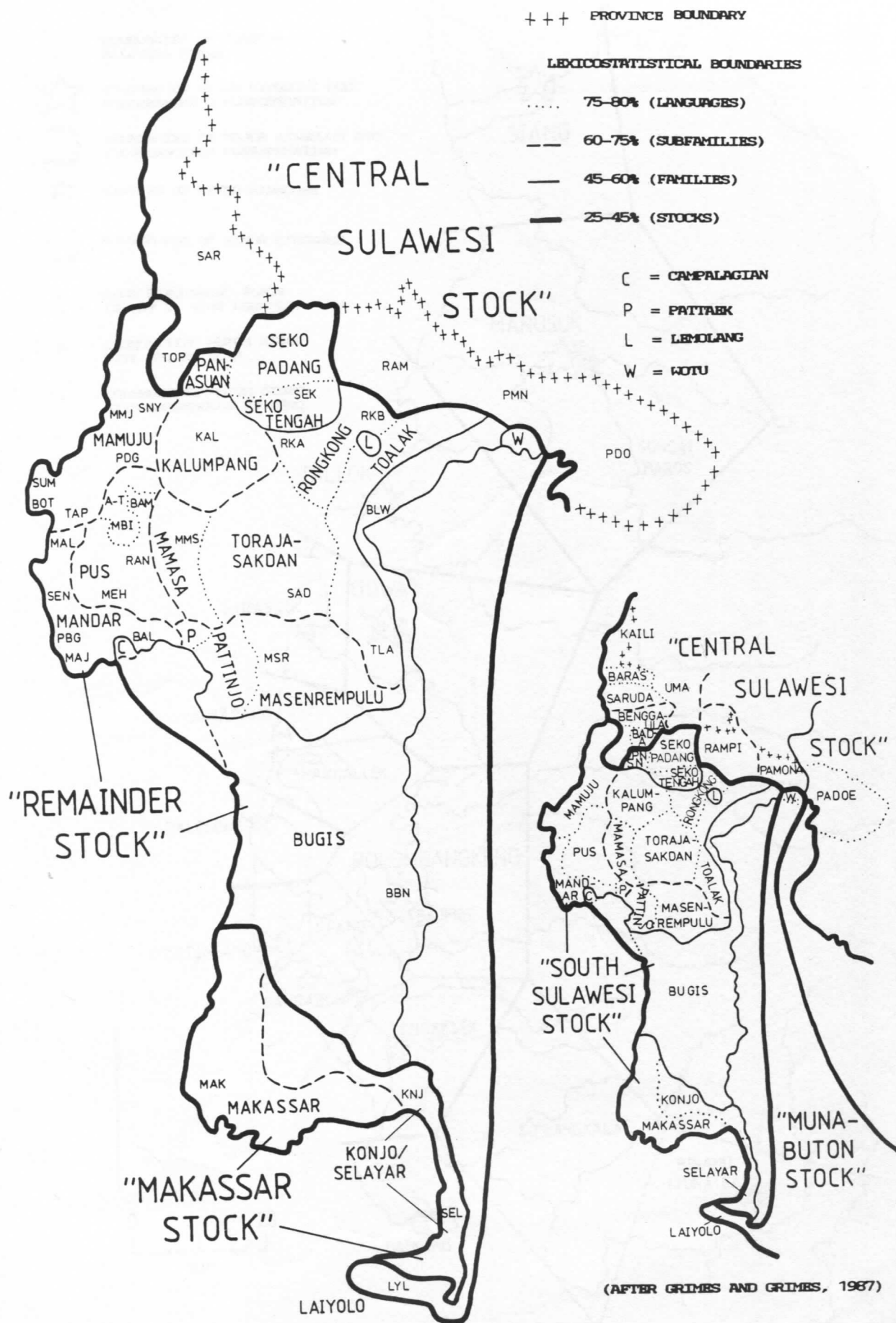


FIGURE 1-5. FORMAL LEXICOSTATISTICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF SOUTH SULAWESI LANGUAGES

Photo 1-1.

Makassar, c.1638. Part of the collection of coloured maps called the Secret Atlas of the East India Company, drawn c.1670 from sketches and descriptions brought back by VOC ships, and held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Bild-Archiv und Porträt-Sammlung. Photograph by Anthony Reid.

- A. Somba Opu fortress.
- B. The royal palace, standing on massive wooden pillars, with a covered entrance stairway.
- C. Another palace.
- D. The royal storehouses.
- E. The royal mosque.
- F. The Portuguese quarter.
- G. The Gujerati quarter.
- H. The Danish factory, previously occupied by the Dutch.
- L. The English factory.
- M. The great market.
- O. The new market.
- P. A fine river, navigable by ships (the main Garassik mouth, right of the photograph).
- R. A river on the north side of the royal palace with two to four voeten (around one metre) of water.

Photo 1-2.

Aussat's Landsat image of the South Sulawesi peninsula (original scale 1:250k). Note the two arched cordilleras of volcanics and uplifted marine sediments, enclosing the Walanae graben which ends in the Tempe depression, while the Sungai Walanae itself continues eastwards as the Sungai Cenrana. The Sungai Jeknekberang appears at bottom-left.

Afbeelding vande Planire Fortification Ende Voorder gelegenheeden des vande besloten Plaatzen, ende
Wenigen des konings van Macassar, als Bytton, die Voortreden daer tusschen de Vindende Linnen der Caste ghele.

