CHAPTER 10. THE TALLOK HEADWATERS

10.1 Introduction

The Pabundukang and Diccekang tributary systems, which originate in the rugged landscape of Camba Formation behind the coastal plain (Photo 10-3), bring down most of the waters of the Sungai Tallok. Lower down these systems drain a rolling landscape directly northeast of the upper-middle Jeknekberang (Figures 5-2 and 10-1b).

SSPHAP surveyed this area because Pattallassang and Paccellekang, two of Gowa's *Bate Salapang* or council of nine district heads, would be located here by the 1693 map (Figure 5-5). Also, Tallok's origin story (12.2.1) invokes settlements upriver from the Tallok mouth. As the second reason involves "Moncongloe", and both Moncongloe Lappara and Moncongloe Bulu looked like possible matches, SSPHAP ran a thin transect between the two localities (Figure 10-1).

The surveyed area centres on Kecamatan Bonto Marannu,[1] Kabupaten Gowa, and crosses into Kotamadya Ujung Pandang and Kabupaten Maros. The fieldwork, conducted between October and December 1986, was structured according to the reports of antique-bearing sites from our informant in Campaga Lomo (9.2). However, a planned extension of the survey area southwards to Bontomanaik could not be realised (5.3).

As Peter Bellwood pointed out to me, the Tallok appears directly analogous with the coastal rivers of Australia's Kakadu National Park (see Jones, 1985). A primary conditioning factor in both cases is the deeper channels incised during the Pleistocene era when lower sea-levels

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[1] Bonto Marannu would appear to be a quite significant historical toponym, specifically because of its association with Kg Bonto Marannu who was possibly the single most important military leader in greater Gowa's resistance during the Makassar War (see Andaya, 1981). However, our quite extensive survey of Kecamatan Bonto Marannu did not recover any evidence which might link it with the historical toponym. The Bonto Marannu shown on the 1693 Dutch map (Figure 5-5) would appear to lie well to the north, in the vicinity of Sungai Bonelengga where apparently no modern toponym even remotely like Bonto Marannu has survived. A more likely location for the historical toponym of Bonto Marannu is near Jongaya in Ujung Pandang city (Table 14-3).

prevailed (see Figure 11-1a). Hence the Tallok mouth is today an inlet, and the sea's tides affect the Tallok waters as far as Patadang Toa, approximately 15 kilometres upstream but only four metres above sea level (Figure 10-1). Further, the deep Pleistocene valleys of the tributaries associated with the Pabundukang have been turned into broad basins by sedimentary infill (Photo 10-1).

The Tallisi tributary originates in one of these mature valleys. The tributary called Balang Tallok has apparently retreated headward to connect with the Tallisi, cutting through a "peninsula" of Camba Formation in the process. This Camba Formation "peninsula" apparently continues as a sub-alluvial ridge running northwards between Balang Tallok and Sungai Sabeng. The latter is apparently fed by the Sungai Menjalling and Lelengang, as the lower reaches of the Bantimurung and Balang Papa rivers are called (cf. Figures 5-2, 5-6 and 10-1b). Indeed the Sungai Sabeng, Balang Tallok and Mangalorang tributary all follow subparallel, northbound courses within a predominantly swampy alluvial landscape. This pattern suggests that these streams do not drain the landscape as such. Rather they mark minor synclines where the land surface drops below the water table of an area of broad discharge (most of which ultimately finds its way into the Sungai Tallok).

The early 20th century Dutch land-use map shows the population concentrated around the swampy depressions which are ideal for sawah (Figure 5-3). The 1969 Indonesian land-use map, however, shows that over much of the survey area, habitation moved away from the mature valleys towards the main roads shown in Figure 10-1b. Congregation of the population along the motorways has since proceeded throughout the survey area, and is indeed a professed policy of local government.[2] In the long term this process had apparently

[2] Actually the roads striking due west and east from Marannu, and the road striking southeastwards from Manyempang Baru (Figure 10-1b), do not appear on the 1969 land-use maps. I have drawn them based on my experience driving through the area. The road from Lamuru to "Tassili Baru" west of Marannu is now dominated by strip development, while the kampungs of Pattiro, Moncong-Moncong and south Macinna (Biring Balang) have also relocated northeastwards along the passing road.

originated by at least c.1900, because the largest 20th century settlement, now called Marannu, appears to have developed largely as a transport node (10.2.4).

Hence as a rule of thumb SSPHAP's sites show evidence of occupation, followed by abandonment during the 19th and especially the 20th century. The abandoned sites were either in ladangs (dryland fields), or covered with a tangled scrub dominated by what looked like lantana, and secondary forests dominated by bamboos and teak, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination or ecological transition.

Despite the often atrocious survey conditions, a small number of flaked stone artefacts were usually recovered, and large prehistoric sites containing backed blades were recorded at Gentung and Balang Sari (Figure 10-1a; Appendix G). The point is made still clearer by distinguishing between the eight historical sites which occurred on Holocene alluvial deposits, and the others which occurred on the Camba Formation geological unit (see Figure 5-2). Only two of the former produced flaked stone artefacts (Moncongloe Lappara, Paccellekang Lama), whereas the latter produced them whenever the extent of available exposures rose above being trivial. In addition, the Tallok headwater sites produced the two polished stone artefacts which SSPHAP's survey recorded outside the Benteng Tua cluster.

The intersite distances, given in Table 10-1, generate the clusters of sites shown in Figure 10-2a. The Pattallassang and Moncongloe clusters reliably include at least those sites depicted. However, the large central cluster called the Paccellekang cluster is unstable. For instance, treating Tassili and Ganrang Jawa as a single area-site[3] would see Tassili-Ganrang Jawa and the sites near them, i.e. a PPST group, cluster with the Pattallassang sites. Another way of showing the same point is to factor in the possible clustering of the BLK sites south towards Sumbarang where, reportedly, antiques have been looted. The PPSTG group would then cluster towards Pattallassang, and the now impoverished

[3] Their closest points are separated by less than 200 metres. Further, the intervening terrain could well have contained "site", only its detection had been rule out by the thick cover of vegetation.

TABLE 10-1. TALLOK HEADWATER SITES: INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES

Moncongloe Lappara	M	M	J	P	M	B	E	B	B	P	B	K	M	P	B	S	(U)	(S)	B	L	K	T	G	P	P
Manggala Toa	1850																								
Jeknek Madinging	2065	1005																							
Patadang Toa	2205	1885	950																						
Manyempang Tua	1745	1905	1120	410																					
Balang Patti	1500	2260	1725	1055	490																				
Embung	3010	2855	1855	900	1060	1445																			
Biring Balang	3210	2555	1455	1035	1365	1960	1000																		
Bado-Bado	3590	3015	1935	1435	1750	2275	1090	255																	
Parang Bambe	3940	3235	2130	1630	2010	2600	1230	450	150																
Bangkala/Palembang	3785	2855	1795	1530	1945	2695	1435	365	425	490															
Kuburan Moncong[2]	4510	3585	2255	2235	2635	3240	1905	1035	825	670	350														
Moncong-Moncong	4505	3780	2700	2270	2610	3160	1810	1050	825	630	600	190													
Pattiro/Balang Sari	4980	4235	3095	2825	3135	3650	2295	1435	1225	1045	975	510	310												
Bossolok	5010	3080	2675	3270	3860	4540	3715	2600	2855	2895	2325	2550	2845	2865											
Sabeng	5800	4010	3775	4425	4810	5445	4900	3780	4005	4030	3450	3570	3835	3735	1080										
(Ujung)	7220	5225	5060	5815	6310	6925	6300	5085	5300	5325	4735	4845	5100	4910	2425	1255									
(Sumbarang)	7360	5875	5065	5200	5700	6360	5105	3710	3985	3850	3325	3130	3155	2600	2800	2775	3280								
BontoSunggu/Soppeng	5550	4180	3300	3355	3900	4515	3280	2145	2175	2080	1495	1375	1485	1230	1770	2355	3420	1430							
Lamuru	6415	4950	4180	4320	4800	5445	4265	3210	2785	3080	2085	2330	2420	1930	2070	2350	3205	555	555						
Kuburan Lamuru	6505	5115	4235	4305	4765	5450	4170	3115	3055	2940	2400	2200	2205	1655	2420	2780	3685	805	625	405					
Tassili	7015	5925	4925	4710	5140	5765	4145	3480	3260	3130	2785	2425	2100	1560	3500	4100	4960	935	1470	1445	1035				
Ganrang Jawa	7155	6150	5100	4885	5310	5530	4250	3395	3480	3310	2980	2580	2120	1755	3635	4185	5220	1615	1700	1770	1340	175			
Paccellekang Lama	6675	6025	4950	4490	4865	5250	3875	3300	3060	2865	2490	2110	2000	1430	4275	4955	6000	2830	2355	2685	2270	1245	1190		
Pabundukang Tua	6875	6275	5175	4640	4955	5375	3950	3505	3240	3050	2835	2500	2275	1785	4725	5280	6515	3235	2840	3215	3210	1620	1560	305	
Sawagi	7775	6900	5850	5450	5850	6325	4855	4030	4005	3805	3425	3025	2875	2325	4825	5350	6290	2805	2905	2975	2570	1420	1100	825	905
[Sanggarang]	3100	4760	4385	3450	2810	2405	3115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N.B. Ujung and Sumbarang, shown in brackets, are only reported sites. They are included in the table to investigate the possible effects of propinquent historical sites beyond the survey boundary. Sanggarang, shown in square brackets, is marginally accepted as a historical toponym. Its distances have been worked out only to the nearest sites as these are adequate to show that Sanggarang would not affect the site-clustering patterns shown in Figure 10-2 (although it could conceivably cluster with Diccekang, depending on where further sites in Kecamatan Mandai might lie).

N.B. The narrow channels would have been easily crossable by strategically sited footbridges (Photo 10-2), so none of the intersite distances involves river-crossings in the sense of the bracketed intersite distances in Tables 6-1 and 9-1.

TABLE 10-1. TALLOK HEADWATER SITES: INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES (CONT.)

	M	M	J	P	M	B	E	B	B	P	B	K	M	P	B	S	(U)	(S)	B	L	K	T	G	P	P
Talla-Talla	8750	7765	6810	6510	6845	7365	5960	5175	5040	4815	5140	3755	3520	3325	5250	5610	6345	2620	3410	3065	2840	1710	1100	2040	2155
Pattallassang	9485	8600	7590	7230	7560	8040	6610	5985	5775	5540	5875	4505	4265	4110	6075	6425	6740	3445	4280	3920	3710	2550	1585	2615	2535
Teamate Asli	9395	8430	7460	7160	7525	8045	6595	5880	5700	5465	5145	4810	4700	3995	5340	6100	7160	3100	3990	3645	3355	2240	2040	2660	2710
Palacini Tua	10025	9210	8205	7750	8110	8530	7105	6510	6275	6100	6375	5165	4815	4725	6825	7200	7720	4070	4660	4700	4465	3290	3095	3100	2860
Gentung	9920	9210	8205	7705	8020	8420	6970	6550	6315	6025	6415	5195	4860	4735	7050	7500	8230	4560	5010	4960	4720	3510	3445	3090	2745
Saile Tua	9330	8600	7595	7120	7405	7820	6395	5945	5690	5420	5790	4565	4245	4150	6500	7000	7860	4150	5210	4960	4205	2955	2905	2485	2135
Teko	10100	9500	8485	7900	8185	8550	7115	6800	6425	6255	6625	5465	5160	5070	7550	8050	8850	5130	4670	5515	5240	4000	3910	3380	2925
Diccekang	4960	5850	4675	3620	3440	3425	2560	3335	3185	3160	3185	3420	3315	3640	5060	6125	8665	6400	5710	5775	5575	5160	5090	3875	3635
Moncongloe Bulu	9175	9950	8975	7950	7740	7700	6810	7425	7200	7070	7300	7150	6850	7075	9970	10850	12300	9155	8310	8900	4305	7510	7485	6210	5610

Sawagi	S	T	P	T	P	G	S	T	D	M
Talla-Talla	1125									
Pattallassang	1605	670								
Teamate Asli	1730	510	280							
Palacini Tua	2100	1455	505	1160						
Gentung	2135	1825	910	1200	340					
Saile Tua	1535	1440	850	1080	630	415				
Teko	2515	2430	1630	1905	1010	540	890			
Diccekang	4765	6030	6405	6670	6655	6370	5860	6260		
Moncongloe Bulu	6640	7460	7310	7800	7110	6730	6485	6140	4215	
[Sanggarang]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2770	6340

Main clustering events - Figure 10-1a. BBPB joins KMP at 889m; PTT joins PGST at 1366m; PMBEJM joins Moncongloe Lappara at 2063m (MJPMBE is 2319m from BBPBKMP); BLK joins BBPBKMP at 2257m (BLK is 2283m from PPSTG and 2291m from BS; BBPBKMPBLK joins PPSTG at 2651m (PPSTG is 2702m from PTTPGST; BBPBKMPBLK is 2955m from BS and 3173 m from PMBEJMM).

Note, if Tassilik and Ganrang Jawa treated as one site, and its distances to other sites are taken as the shortest distance from either Tassili or Ganrang Jawa, then after BLK joins BBBPBKMB at 2257m, the following would occur. PPST (less G) joins PTTPGST at 2677 m (PPST is 2704m from BBPBKMPBLK); BBPBKMPBLK would join BS at 2955m if Ujung not included, otherwise PMBEJMM at 3173m.

Main clustering events - Figure 10-1b. BLK assumed to join southwards, cf. BLK to (Sumbarang) distance of 930m. BBPB joins KMP at 889m; PTT joins PGST at 1366m; PMBEJM joins Moncongloe Lappara at 2063m (PMBEJM is 2319m from BBPBKMP); PMBEJMM joins BBPBKMP at 2660m (PPSTG is 2809m from BBPBKMP); PPSTG joins PTTPGST at 2702m. Inclusion or exclusion of (Ujung) has no possible effect on these clustering events.

Note, Sangarang to Patadang-Manyempang-Balang Patti-Embung (PMBE) is 2945m, to PMBEJM is 3488m, to PMBEJMM is 3432m.

Paccellekang cluster would find its closest wider link with the Moncongloe cluster (Figure 10-2b). The historical evidence (10.8) suggests that the 16th to 17th century patterns of social organisation have vacillated between the configurations represented by Figures 10-2a and 10-2b.

10.2 The Pattallasang Cluster

10.2.1 The PGST group

Palacini Tua (Gowa 54) is located on clays on the southeast bank of the easternmost sawah depression (Figure 10-1). Fields at the west give way to scrub at the east enclosing two small graveyards (Figure 10-3). The "old" graveyard, which we inventorised, has at least nine rectangles of arranged stones, oriented at around 330° from north, hidden among the scrub (Photo 10-4). 65 looter's holes at the fields and the old graveyard confirm the reported looting of blue-and-white ceramics, supplemented by Sawankhalok and celadons, at both areas in the early 1980s. SSPHAP's tiny sample of surface tradeware pieces are distributed across a large expanse of time (Photo 6-19; Figure 10-7). Hence the evidence suggests that burials occurred here from the 13th-14th centuries until recent times, although probably on a sporadic basis. None of the debris necessarily points to occupation during the historical period, and we were told that the site had not been occupied within living memory.[4]

Gentung (Gowa 59) occurs on the north bank of a tributary of the Pabundukang where it enters the easternmost sawah depression (Figure 10-1). A slightly humped knoll covered with scrub (Photo 10-5) contains at least 181 looter's holes (Figure 10-4) and 18 Islamic graves marked with stones (Table F-7a). Reportedly looted in the early 1980s, it had produced lots of Sawankhalok and "Swatow" wares, plus a few celadons. The knoll probably contains the site's main archaeological contents, even though most of the debris was found among the stubble north of the knoll. This includes 51 Toalean-type

[4] Palacini, as shown on the Dutch land-use maps, was located just east of the site. It had been abandoned by 1969 according to the Indonesian land-use map (see Figure 10-1b).

stone artefacts among the lateritic gravels, and 37 tradeware pieces dating mainly between the 15th and 17th centuries (Figure 10-7). Even though the debris gives no reason to suspect occupation during post-Toalean times,[5] and none of the marked graves needs postdate the 17th-18th centuries, the site includes a maintained saukang. The 17th-century kampung of Gentung shown on the 1693 map (Figure 5-5) may have been located east of the site, in the vicinity of the tiny Gentung kampung shown on the early 20th century maps.[6]

Saile Tua (Gowa 61) occupies both levees of the afore-mentioned tributary where it meets the Pabundukang (Figure 10-1; Photo 10-6). Its reported status as an old kampung corresponds to its depiction as settlement on the 20th century maps. 151 holes counted among the thick pasture and weedy cover confirm the reported looting of the site, beginning in the early 1970s. Blue-and-white, Sawankhalok and celadon wares were indicated as the main finds, and one piece was a ceramic bird. Atrocious visibility conditions restricted the observable surface contents to two graves marked with pebbles oriented 30° from north, plus a few sherds. However, the spoil heap from one hole contained 64 earthenware and two tradeware pieces (see Figure 10-5). Only 15th-16th century tradeware pieces were recorded (Figure 10-7),[7] even though the site would appear to have been used both for occupation and burials over a far longer period.

Teko (Gowa 60) differs from the three preceding sites by occuring in an area of ladangs well away from the sawah depression. Two Islamic graveyards approximately 100 metres apart, containing 19 "old" marked graves and ten "new" marked

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[5] Only six earthenware sherds were recorded (Appendix D). Their greater transportability may well have led to their under-representation compared with the heavier tradeware sherds and stone artefacts. Only excavation could really tell whether the site's earthenware sherdage has been almost fully eroded away or whether little earthenware sherdage had been deposited there in the first place.

[6] The 1969 land-use map does not show any kampung within the corresponding area (see Figure 10-1b).

[7] The apparently heightened emphasis on the 15th century given by the fine tradeware profiles (Figure 10-6) largely reflects the 15th-16th century dating, rather than the usual 16th century dating, which I ascribed to the two Ming BW pieces. These two pieces, and the Sawankhalok piece, could all well be of 16th century vintage.

graves, were associated with 47 and 107 looter's holes respectively. These were concentrated near the graveyards but covered much of the intervening terrain. The inhabitants claimed no knowledge of the finds since outsiders had done the looting. Thick pasture precluded a sizable sample of surface sherdage, although a Swatow piece was recorded near the "new" graves (Figure 10-7).

Given the available tradewares, the origins of the PGST burial grounds can be dated no later than the 14th century at Palacini Tua, the 15th century at Gentung, the 16th century at Saile Tua, and the 17th century at Teko. Where reported, the types of antiques found generally support such a chronology. Figure 10-6 might be correct in emphasising the comparative frequency of 15th century pieces, but the general tradeware profile in Figure 10-7 is more reliable as the tradeware sample is small.

10.2.2 Pattallassang Tua (Gowa 52)

Pattallassang Tua occupies a fist of gently sloping land which knuckles into the sawah depression below (Figure 10-1). The gravelly clays which dominate the site's topsoil are coloured reddish grey to bright yellowish red. The early 20th century land-use maps show the site as a small kampung dwarfed by the Islamic cemetery at the kampung's southwest border. Reportedly much of the site had been looted, particularly at six concentrations of antique finds which included "Swatow" as the main type, then brownwares, Sawankhalok and some celadons. One *duni* (wooden coffin) was reportedly found in a decayed state, but no human bones. A seventh haul of antiques - blue-and-white, "Ming red", Sawankhalok and some celadon wares - was fortuitiously recovered as a result of excavations for the foundations of the school on the modern road (Figure 10-8).[8] The site has been largely overtaken by dense scrub or converted to dryland

[8] This area was brought to our attention very late in the day, so we merely estimated rather than mapped its dimensions and location, and did not attempt a complete inventory of its surface sherdage.

fields, so the looter's holes which had not been ploughed back were generally hidden by regrowth.

Choosing fields at the reported antique-bearing areas and less scrubby areas in the Islamic graveyards, we surveyed 15,100 m² in total, involving an effective exposed surface area of 10,408 m². Using the latter areas, we can demonstrate a clear patterning of the site's surface tradewares by plotting the effective densities of "Ming", "Qing BW" and "recent" pieces per zone, grouped to reflect the bunched values in the distribution of densities (Figure 10-9).

Zones 12 to 17 at the west contained the only "early" pieces, the main density of "Ming" pieces, and decreasing densities for the post-Ming tradewares. This would appear to have been Pattallassang's earliest burial area and, along with the schoolyard, the main pre-Islamic burial ground. Zones 8, 9, 11, 18 and 19, which lie between the Islamic graveyards, contained fair densities of "Ming" and "Qing" pieces but few "recent" tradewares. They represent four antique-bearing areas which are best interpreted as terminal pre-Islamic to syncretic Islamic burial grounds, "descended" from the southern burial grounds, and ancestral to the Islamic graveyards.[9] Zones 1 to 8 and 10, at the north of the site, showed the reverse of the pattern noted for zones 12 to 17. The dense presence of "Qing BW" and especially "recent" pieces accords with the depiction of north Pattallassang as kampung on the land-use maps.[10] Representing Pattallassang's tradeware counts with tradeware profiles emphasises the predominance of Ming pieces in upper Pattallassang, i.e. the main burial areas, and the predominance of post-Ming pieces in lower or north Pattallassang (Figure 10-6).

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[9] In this interpretation, the "Qing BW" sherdage would represent some combination of incorrectly classified sherds from Ming ceramics, sherds from Qing wares interred with the syncretic Islamic burials, and occupation debris from former houses built between the graveyards.

[10] The antiques reportedly found here could represent isolated pre-Islamic burials or complete to semi-complete ceramics deposited among the occupation debris. The Indonesian land-use map shows the area still as kampung in 1969 (Figure 10-1b), although the decreased number of 20th century pieces compared to European pieces (Figure 10-6) suggests that the former kampung was at least well on the way towards complete abandonment by 1969.

A partial inventory of Pattallassang Tua's marked graves, accounting for perhaps half the total number, recorded 272 cases, most of them stone arrangements (Table F-7a). The southernmost example, associated with Daeng Malotteng who is a *nenek moyang* figure, includes rough masonry blocks within two arrangements oriented 335° from north (Photo 10-7). The reported burial of a *nenek moyang* next to a companion is a common observation at SSPHAP's sites, but this variant is unusual in that Dg Malotteng's companion is his dog.[11] The largely abandoned, eastern graveyard is dominated by stone arrangements oriented 330° to 340° from north. The western graveyard includes the sheltered graves of Tetta Ruleha and Tetta Bollong associated with a plaque dated 1948 (Photo 10-8), five other sheltered graves and a brick sepulchre. Orientations from north vary from 315° (Tetta Ruleha and Tetta Bolong), to 330° (most zone 9 and 10 graves), to approximately 20° (west of zone 9).

Pattallassang Tua is the largest and certainly the most elaborate burial complex east of Pattiro Tua (see Figure 10-1a). This partly reflects its long use, whereas nearby burial grounds either originated later or have been abandoned, or both. The rest of the explanation could lie in Pattallassang's greater population, and a higher status which could have attracted a large proportion of the bilateral kin upon their decease. Pattallassang Tua also lies close to the geographical centre of the PGST and PTT sites (Figure 10-2).[12] These points accord with Pattallassang's membership

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[11] Dogs are unclean animals according to Islam, and the Makassar villages which we visited were all free of dogs. We noted dog-paw impressions on one of the loose fortress bricks at Katangka Toa, Benteng Tua (Station XXX in Figure 6-7), and comparable marks have been observed on the Somba Opu bricks (Reid and Caldwell, 1990:89). The Katangka Toa brick and probably the Somba Opu bricks were made in the 17th century, supporting the indication from Dg Malotteng's grave that dogs were phased out only gradually after the Makassar people adopted Islam.

[12] In Figure 10-2a, the PGST and PTT sites constitute their own cluster with Pattallassang Tua lying close to its centre. Moreover, the possible annexation of the PPSTG sites creates a larger cluster of sites which neatly rings the same sawah depression (Figure 10-2b), suggesting that the competing subsistence interests of the communities involved would have been most effectively harmonised through means of an overarching authority, i.e. Pattallassang.

within the Bate Salapang throughout the 16th and 17th centuries (Mukhlis, 1975:61-62) and, apparently, until the dissolution of the Bate Salapang at around 1900 (Patunru, 1983:120-130 pass.). It confirms a correspondence, already noted in the previous chapter, between outlying "administrative centres" and elaborate burial grounds.

10.2.3 Teamate Asli (Gowa 53)

A short distance from Pattallassang Tua lie two small, abandoned Islamic graveyards with 19 stone arrangements oriented around 330° from north (Table F-7a). Looting at the western graveyard on the hill-top, as evinced by 21 remnant holes (Figure 10-10), had reportedly yielded blue-and-white and Sawankhalok wares, and a celadon plate with two molded fish in its centre.[13] We were shown a 16th century Ming BW bowl (Photo 10-10) and a "Ming Swatow" piece, and recorded a bronze fragment and some "Ming" tradeware sherdage (Appendix D).[14] Further sherdage occurred down the road as far as the eastern graveyard where an experimental hole had reportedly recovered a bowl and a jarlet, both blue-and-white. Except for the reported celadon plate, the earliest burials would be dated to the 15th century (Figure 10-7), while the style of Islamic marker suggests that the burial grounds may have fallen into disuse by the 17th or 18th century.

10.2.4 Talla-Talla (Gowa 50)

Talla-Talla is a spit of pasture and light secondary forest jutting northwards into sawah. A shallow soil test found a dark reddish brown, gravelly clay with a pH of 6. A small Islamic graveyard at the west is associated with "Karaeng Talla" (Table F-7a; Photo 10-9). Looting reportedly took place in the 1960s and the 1980s, yielding blue-and-white,

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[13] These "fish bowls" are generally dated to the Yuan or even the Song dynasty.

[14] Time ran out in Ujung Pandang before I could review the non-lithic artefacts collected at Teamate Asli. Hence I cannot describe the bronze fragment recorded at the site, and indeed I can only assume it was (i) collected, and (ii) not some other copper alloy.

Sawankhalok and some celadon wares, and frequently the crumbled remains of *duni*.

Of the 240 looter's holes, 174 constituted a band running northwards for 160 metres along the juncture of raised land and the sawah to the east (Figure 10-11). This band, which reportedly produced the bulk of the antiques, can be readily interpreted as a pre-Islamic burial ground which had contained east-west oriented skeletons interred side by side.[15] It also produced most of the site's surface tradeware sherdage which matched the reported types of antiques found, being dominated by late 15th to 17th century blue-and-white pieces, and complemented by Sawankhalok celadon and iron-underglaze pieces (Appendix D).[16] The distinct lack of 19th to 20th century pieces (Figure 10-6) matches the apparent abandonment of the Islamic graveyard.

The site falls just east of a large settled area shown as a compound kampung (Pattallassang, Talla-Talla, Ganrang Jawa) on the Dutch land-use map. Today it serves, under the name Marannu, as the local administrative centre for desa Pattallassang (Figure 10-1b). No old burial grounds, Islamic or otherwise, were reported to us in this settlement. Indeed it would appear to have grown as a result of local immigration during the 19th and 20th centuries. According to the Dutch land-use maps, it was the terminus of a main road from the south and a major point of intersection for the footpaths which used to link the Tallok headwater communities. Yet it also falls close to the centre of the Pattallassang Cluster as shown in Figure 10-2b.

These points would relate the kampung's modern growth to some combination of (i) the entrenchment of wider transport and communication links after the 19th century, (ii) a westward expansion of the area administered by Pattallassang during the 20th century,[17] and (iii) Pattallassang's

[15] Although bones were reportedly not encountered during the looting, the acidic pH of the soil would have dissolved any interred bone.

[16] The recovered tradeware sherdage further suggests that the type of celadon recovered was Sawankhalok celadon.

[17] i.e. at the expense of Paccellekang which, after 1910, disappeared as a major administrative unit of Gowa until recently (Patunru, 1983:121-131).

relocation to a more central position within its administered communities.

As a seeming by-product of the more centralised arrangement, a local view has developed that Talla-Talla stood in something of an ancestral relationship as regards not only Marannu, but also the kampungs of Sumbarang and Biring Bonto immediately south of SSPHAP's surveyed area. But Talla-Talla is an impressive site in its lucidity rather than its size. And during the 15th to 17th centuries it seems to have been a peripheral member of the Pattallassang Gelarang district then based at Pattallassang Tua.

10.3 The PPSTG Group

10.3.1 Tassili (Gowa 48) and Ganrang Jawa (Gowa 49)

Tassili and Ganrang Jawa are both associated with Islamic graveyards, still in use, overlapping looted areas (Figure 10-12). Both occur due south of the Tallisi tributary (sic) at the western edge of the easternmost sawah area (Figure 10-1; Photo 10-11). Kompleks Makam Karaeng Tassili is named after two sheltered graves oriented 320° from north, associated with Kg Tassili and his wife, in the cemetery's eastern corner (Photo 10-13). To the east is another marked grave under a shelter, associated with "Daeng Tallo", oriented due north (Photo 10-14).[18] The remaining 238 or more marked graves (Table F-7b) generally fall into two overlapping clusters oriented at either 340°-350° or 30°-40° from north, apart from a restored example oriented 280° from north (Photo 10-15). 19 looter's holes north of the marked graves, along with a light presence of 16th century tradeware pieces recovered from the cemetery and the maize field next to it (Figure 10-17), indicate a late pre-Islamic origin for the graveyard.[19]

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[18] The occurrence of a "Daeng Tallo" in this cemetery might be related to the area's intriguing concentration of toponyms which apparently evoke "Tallok" - Talla-Talla, Pattallassang, Sungai Tallisi, Balang Tallok (called the Tallok tributary in Figure 10-1a).

[19] The tradeware profile based on fine classes (Figure 10-16) would further restrict the site's apparent origins to the 16th century. However, such precise dating is unwarranted

Kuburan Ganrang Jawa, a short distance to the east, possibly has older origins, to judge from the 44 looter's holes in zone 10 (Figure 10-12) and the "early monochrome" piece found in zone 8 (Figure 10-16). Its 56 countable marked graves, which are oriented 330°-360° from north, appear to represent the same lengthy chronology of Islamic styles observed at Makam Karaeng Tassili (Table F-7b). The main area of 118 looter's holes, however, occurs around 90 metres to the east in zone 1. The quite good surface exposure in the vicinity (Photo 10-11) revealed a rich surface assemblage (Appendix D) which included a rim fragment from a bronze bowl (Photo 10-12; Appendix G). But only one of the tradeware pieces dates to the 16th century, so occupation deposits rather than pre-Islamic burials might have been plundered.[20] Inspection of the looter's holes revealed a yellowish red clay full of lateritic gravels. The whole site contained a strong presence of Qing and especially European sherdage (Figure 10-16), allowing it to be identified with the northern part of Tassili kampung shown on the Dutch land-use map. Presumably Ganrang Jawa was the site's original name, before the name moved in the 19th or early 20th century to the kampung now called Marannu (10.2.4).[21]

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given the small tradeware sample involved, especially as the tradewares include a Sawankhalok coarse stoneware piece (i.e. 15th-16th centuries). The site shows a healthy presence of earthenware sherdage (Appendix D) which suggests that it may have been under occupation before its use as a burial ground.

[20] My notes mention that some of the holes seemed to pair off along an east-west orientation, supporting the alternative interpretation that zone 1 represents a late retention of pre-Islamic burial practices well into the 17th century. Another possible interpretation is that the sorts of antiques found in zone 1 are virtually unrepresented among the surface artefactual debris in the vicinity.

[21] i.e. the relocation of a significant proportion of the original Ganrang Jawa inhabitants to present-day Marannu, involving a distance of around half a kilometre, allowed the Tassili inhabitants, originally based to the west, to relocate themselves in old Ganrang Jawa. Today the Tassili inhabitants are strung along the road, and their abandonment of old Ganrang Jawa would appear to have been well underway by 1969 (cf. Figure 10-16), even though the Indonesian land-use map here closely matches its Dutch counterpart.

10.3.2 Sawagi (Gowa 51)

Kuburan Islam Sawagi occupies an "island" of Camba Formation in the middle of the easternmost sawah area (Figures 5-2 and 10-1). The soil here is a reddish brown clay full of lateritic gravels, while a soil test in the sawah just north of the graveyard revealed an acidic, stone-free clay (pH $5^1/_2$). The 171 marked graves, oriented 350°-10° from north, display a wide variety of styles (Table F-7b) including four corrals made of old large bricks.[22] One of these, under a shelter and associated with a painted wooden *nisan*, has the name *Jerak Lompo* or "big grave" (Photo 10-16). The structure reportedly marks the grave of a man who came from Maros to establish his karaengship in Sawagi. The fields southeast of the cemetery had been comprehensively looted, leaving 176 remnant holes (Figure 10-13). The recorded tradeware sherdage produces a standardised chronological histogram which gently rises from the 15th to the 19th century, before plummeting in the 20th century (Figure 10-16). This agrees with the evidence of a late pre-Islamic to modern Islamic graveyard; the site's depiction as kampung on the Dutch land-use map; and the apparent retraction of settlement eastwards from the graveyard by 1969 (Figure 10-1b).

10.3.3 Paccellekang Lama (Gowa 57)

The site occupies the northern levee of the Pabundukang tributary (Figure 10-1). A soil test revealed dark yellowish brown silts, containing some grit and gravels, with a strongly acidic pH ($4^1/_2$). Four flaked stone artefacts among the surface debris (Appendix G) suggest the levee had been deposited in prehistoric times.

At the north of the site lies Kuburan Islam Paccellekang which serves the modern kampungs of Pabundukang, Pattiro and Paccellekang (covered by the name "Paccellekang" in Figure 10-1b). The cemetery's 95 marked graves, which are generally oriented between 340° from north and due north (Table F-7b),

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[22] These bricks, which are poorly fired and of strong red colour, show outsized dimensions around 78cm by 35cm by 18cm, i.e. around twice as large as the large fortress bricks (cf. Table E-10). They are presumably of local manufacture.

include some early examples such as the one associated with a karaeng whose name has been forgotten (Photo 10-18). However, still earlier origins related to a period of syncretic burial practices are indicated by the conspicuous plundering of one grave (Photo 10-17) and the east-west oriention of another (Photo 10-19). Two looted areas with 130 holes occur west of at the graveyard (Figure 10-14).

To the southeast we counted a further 114 holes concentrated around two enclaves of 15 stone arrangements varying greatly in orientation.[23] Eight coincided with looter's holes, but even if looting has scattered the stones to some degree, this in itself points to syncretic burial practices. Confirming the above-noted indications, the site's tradeware sherdage shows a strong emphasis on 16th to 17th century pieces (Figure 10-16). Hence use of the burial ground apparently began just prior to greater Gowa's adoption of Islam, and ceramics continued to accompany the buried corpses into the 17th century.[24]

The site appears too simple, and its origins too late, to be identified with the Paccellekang *Gelarang* title which was intermittently admitted to the *Bate Salapang* during the 16th and 17th centuries (10.5.1). Moreover the site's location is peripheral, whether associated with the "Paccellekang cluster" centred near Pattiro Tua (Figure 10-2a), or with the Pattallassang cluster (Figure 10-2b). If, as I suspect, the community which used the burial ground during the 16th-17th centuries was called something other than Paccellekang, how then might the site have acquired its name? To answer that question, note that the early 20th century maps show Pabundukang as the only settlement in the vicinity. Hence the modern settlements at Paccellekang (Figure 10-1b) need not have originated much before 1969. After the office

[23] Due east (1 case), 70° from north (3 cases), 60° from north (2 cases), 35° from north (2 cases), 20° from north (3 cases), due north (1 case), and 320° from north (3 cases). The apparently looted examples included those most clearly oriented north-south as well as those most clearly oriented east-west.

[24] The local official who showed us the site disclaimed much knowledge of the antiques found here or antiques in general, but thought that Paccellekang's haul might have included blue, white and green ceramics, as well as an iron sword.

administering Paccellekang desa was established here, the old cemetery could well have been returned to service, and named to reflect the prevailing administrative situation.[25]

10.3.4 Pabundukang Tua (Gowa 58)

This site coincides with the southwestern stretch of the early 20th century kampung of Pabundukang which, before its abandonment by 1969, had been strung along the Pabundukang tributary (cf. Figures 5-2 and 10-1). The sawah belt at the south appears to have been recently extended into the site, beyond scattered old Islamic graves[26] stranded on outposts of slightly raised land or protected by shelters (Figure 10-15; Photos 10-20 and 10-21). The main graveyard, however, occurs in zone 2 on the stream's bank. Oriented generally between 330° from north and due north, the 101 marked graves which could be counted represent a wide chronological gamut of Islamic styles (Table F-7b).[27] We counted 121 holes along a wedge of reportedly looted land separating the main graveyard from the scattered graves. A comparatively rich surface sherdage was recorded along the whole length of the site (Appendix D). The tradewares date from the 14th-15th centuries (Photo 10-22) through to the 20th century (Figure 10-16).

This evidence suggests that Pabundukang Tua was used for burials, either concentrated in certain designated zones or dispersed more widely through the site, from the centuries immediately preceding Islamisation until the present. Before its 20th century abandonment the site was also used for habitation, possibly going back as pre-Islamic times.[28]

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[25] "Paccellekang" as shown on Figure 5-6 is pinpointed at the Paccellekang Lama site, because the exercise here was to show the degree of match between the 1693 and the modern toponyms, rather than to engage in any site interpretation.

[26] Two of these include staff-like *nisan*.

[27] Two marked graves appeared to be oriented 250° from north, but this observation might have suffered from the dishevelment of the older graves and the obscuring effects of weedy regrowth.

[28] Pabundukang is cited as a 17th century karaengship, but this reference probably involved the Pabundukang which is today a desa in Kabupaten Takalar, especially in view of the karaengship's genealogical connection with Alluk (Figure 4-14).

Finally, the absence of recorded stone artefacts possibly suggests that the clays constituting this levee of the Pabundukang were not deposited before the present millennium.

When combined, the PPSTG sites produce a tradeware profile which gradually rises between the 13th and the 19th centuries before plummeting in the 20th century (Figure 10-16). The last point corresponds to the status of three of the sites as settlements abandoned at around the mid-20th century.

10.4 The BLK Group

10.4.1 Lamuru (Gowa 46) and Kuburan Tua Lamuru (Gowa 47)

Lamuru occupies the southern bank of the Tallisi where it cuts through Camba Formation. Soil tests in the lower, more waterlogged part of the site (Figure 10-18) revealed a slightly silty clay with some lateritic gravels, coloured reddish yellow to dark reddish brown, with an acidic pH varying between 5½ and 6. One test was done in a remnant hole in zone 2, measuring 2.5 m east-west by 1.4 m north-south (Photo 10-28), indicated as the findspot of several iron weapons associated with a fragmented but recognisable *duni*. It contained three pieces of wood which our informant identified as having come from the *duni* (Photo 10-23). After submission for radiocarbon dating, the fragments returned an uncorrected date of 340 ± 70 BP (ANU-5922), which calibrates to (340) 355 (430) BP with a single S.D. range between 310 and 495 BP (cf. Stuiver and Pearson, 1986:810). This 16th to early 17th century date corresponds excellently not only with the Ming and Wanli pieces donated to SSPHAP by the residents (Photos 10-24 to 10-27), but also with the main bulge in the site's tradeware profile (Figure 10-16). But the practice of burials here had originated three to four centuries earlier, as indicated by the several monochrome pieces found among the surface sherdage (Appendix D; Figure 10-16) and a coarse monochrome bowl we were shown from the diggings.[29] This particularly

[29] The estimates we suggested in the field for the bowl's antiquity ranged between the Song and Ming dynasties, and unfortunately my slides of the piece were woefully

clear example of a Makassar pre-Islamic burial ground appears to have been restricted to the zones abutting the band of 207 counted looter's holes (Figure 10-18).

The site has a small Islamic graveyard but it dates only from the 1960s (Table F-7c). Rather, the cemetery of direct relevance to the pre-Islamic burials would appear to be Kuburan Tua Lamuru, 400 metres to the east (Figure 10-1). In the cemetery's northeast corner are four contiguous, rectangular or square stone arrangements which had originally included some large, old red bricks.[30] One arrangement appeared to contain three east-west oriented graves, while another contained "Makam Takba" which evokes the several "Makam Takbakka" along the Jeknekberang. The two sheltered graves were reportedly associated with "Somba Garassik" and a Chinaman who was lucky at gambling (Figure 10-19). Most of the 44 marked graves are modern (Table F-7c), suggesting that what had been a small, old Islamic graveyard has been recently returned to service. Neither surface sherdage nor evidence of antique looting was recorded.[31]

Lamuru's *saukang* sits across the road from the area of pre-Islamic burials. Indeed the site appears to have supported a modest degree of settlement ever since ceasing to function as a burial area (Figure 10-16), and the early 20th century Dutch map depicts the site as the tiny kampung of Lamuru (cf. Figure 5-3). However, the thriving community of around 60 households at the time of our survey claimed to have originated from Bonto Sunggu (10.5.2). The name Lamuru is itself a Bugis name associated with a second-order kingdom of pre-Islamic origins in the upper Walanae valley (e.g. Muttalib, 1978). Apparently our site already had this name by 1693 (Figures 5-5 and 5-6), so the implied immigration of Lamuru Bugis would have had to occur earlier. This could have happened immediately after the Makassar War, possibly

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overexposed. Unlike the pieces donated to SSPHAP (Photos 10-29 to 10-32), the monochrome's provenance had been forgotten by our informants.

[30] Reportedly most of these bricks had been dug up for re-use. However, we were able to record one specimen and it measured 25 cm square by 6 cm thick.

[31] I have no photographic documentation of Kuburan Tua Lamuru and Bonto Sunggu-Soppeng because my camera battery failed in the field.

associated with the changed location of the burial ground, but more feasibly in the 16th century to match the bulge in Lamuru's standardised chronological histogram. In either case, the site appears to have supported some level of settlement continuously from the 13th-14th century to the present, albeit in a pattern of intermittent depopulation followed by immigration.

10.4.2 Bonto Sunggu Asli and Soppeng (Gowa 55)

This compound site occupies the northwest corner of the "peninsula" of Camba Formation dissected by the Tallisi (cf. Figure 5-2). The name Soppeng, best known as a first-order Bugis kingdom whose pre-Islamic "vassals" had included Lamuru (Caldwell, 1988:131), is here associated with the lower, southern part of the site (Figure 10-21). 194 holes remain from the extensive looting which reportedly occurred during the 1970s and early 1980s. The small sample of surface tradeware pieces falls almost entirely between the 15th and 17th centuries, as would be expected of an immediately pre-Islamic burial ground (Figure 10-16). The area lacks any traces of Islamic graves, and is depicted as unoccupied on the land-use maps. Local reports accord the "Soppeng people" a major ancestral rôle in populating the nearby Lamuru, Bonto Sunggu, Japing and Paccellekang kampungs. It is hard to see why the name Soppeng should have become tagged to this area, unless it had indeed been founded or at least dominated by Soppeng Bugis in pre-Islamic times.

The thin carpet of "Ming" sherdage continues uphill through Bonto Sunggu,[32] although here accompanied by an emphasis on Qing tradewares (Figure 10-16). Just past a tiny but possibly old Islamic burial area (Table F-7c) is a second looted area with 33 holes (Figure 10-20). Reportedly tried recently on an "experimental" basis, the area yielded antiques of the same types that we were shown at Lamuru. The profile of the holes revealed a dark reddish brown, clayey soil lightly speckled with lateritic gravels. The

[32] There is no call to identify this minor site with the 17th century Bonto Sunggu karaengship, especially as Bonto Sunggu is not a rare toponym.

comparatively light presence of European and "recent" tradeware sherdage within Bonto Sunggu (Figure 10-16) accords with its tiny area of kampung as shown on the Dutch land-use maps.[33]

Lamuru and Soppeng-Bonto Sunggu are clearly coupled spatially, toponymically and chronologically, and further by invoking a similar set of paradoxes. Both evince continuous occupation from the 14th-15th centuries onwards, but within a pattern of cyclical population increase and decrease. They are central within an area of apparent Bugis influence,[34] yet constitute the peripheral members of some other site cluster in every spatial analysis (Figure 10-2). Their burial practices appear to have been avowedly Makassar rather than agrarian Bugis in immediately pre-Islamic times (cf. 13.2.2), precisely when significant Bugis immigration to these sites apparently occurred. In all they appear to have acted as a window for local immigration and transmigration, possibly because they directly accessed land which could support settlement by farmers, but which was less attractive in the long term than land accessed by adjacent historical sites.

10.5 The KMP and BBPB Groups

10.5.1 Pattiro Tua-Balang Sari (Gowa 63)

The site embraces two knolls of Camba Formation which look directly over the mature valley associated with the Mangalorang tributary (Figure 10-1; Photo 10-29). The western one, which marks the eastern extent of *kampung* Pattiro as shown in the Dutch land-use maps, is included within the part of the site associated with the toponym Pattiro (Tua). The southern one is called Balang Sari, presumably in reference to the waterlogged area at its northeast shown as swamp in the Dutch land-use maps but now largely converted to rice fields (Photo 10-1). Our soil tests at Balang Sari and Pattiro recorded a slightly silty clay, coloured dark greyish

[33] The kampung is altogether missing from the counterpart Indonesian map, but this may well be an oversight, because Bonto Sunggu is today a substantial kampung.
[34] i.e. including the toponym Pattiro to the north and the immigrant Sinjai Bugis at Rapo Cidu and Bossolok to the west.

brown and dark brown respectively, with a pH of $5^1/_2$ in both cases. Our survey zones incorporated 17,347 m^2 in total and an effective surveyed area of 5388.6 m^2, just over two-thirds of both areas within Pattiro Tua (Figure 10-22). As well as counting 61 looter's holes in Balang Sari and 235 in Pattiro Tua, we recorded that the looted area in zone 15 had extended westwards into zone 14 and southeastwards into thick shrubbery (Figure 10-23a).[35]

The stones on top of Balang Sari have been arranged into a web of field boundaries, notably terraces which follow the knoll's contours (Figure 10-22). One of the cornerstones is a large *lesung batu* or stone with inset circular hole (Photo 10-30), a common artefact in Bugis historical sites (e.g. Kallupa et al., 1989) but otherwise absent from SSPHAP's Gowa historical sites.[36] The fields contained one of the densest artefactual assemblages recorded by SSPHAP, including 51 flaked stone artefacts, a polished hatchet, 1667 earthenware sherds and 84 tradeware pieces (Appendices D and G). Soil formation and aeolian deposition appear to have kept pace with erosion, allowing millennia of occupation debris to have accumulated within the topsoil. The shallow soils would have made the hill-top unsuitable as a burial ground, and there is no clear evidence that antiques had been recovered here, so the tradewares probably represent occupation debris. In that case occupation would have commenced by the 13th-14th centuries, peaked in the 15th century, remained strong in the 16th-17th centuries and tailed off dramatically thereafter (Figures 10-23 and 10-26).[37] I interpret the hill-top as the

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[35] Outsiders had been responsible, according to Pattiro's *dusun* headman, who could further report only that he had seen some blue-and-white and celadon wares.

[36] The only other *lesung batu* we saw during the Gowa survey was in kampung Lassang in the upper Jeknekberang (Chapter 16).

[37] This interpretation is based on laboratory identification rather than field identifications (cf. Appendix B). Hence, for instance, much of the "Qing whiteware" sherdage we recorded could be dated to around the 17th century, and maybe such a date would be correct even for the pieces which we could not distinguish from 20th century whiteware fragments. I decided to make a complete collection of the tradeware sherdage because its special nature was already apparent in the field.

main residence of a former local elite which could well have settled on this place for its defensibility.

Two apparently associated burial grounds are represented by looted areas, as also confirmed by the surface tradewares. One occurs immediately below the fields in zone 3, and the other at the foot of the knoll in zone 5 (Figures 10-22 and 10-26). The former is associated with a tomb enclosing two old graves ascribed to Pattiro's *nenek moyang*, alternatively known as Pallapa Barambang or Kg Balang Sari, and his wife (Photo 10-31; Table F-7c). A metre-long stone arrangement at the tomb's entrance, oriented 250° from north, reportedly marks the grave of Pallapa Barambang's *ajudan* (adjutant) buried in a crouched position (Photo 10-32). Thus "Palappa Barambang" would appear to have been a 17th century noble, underlining Balang Sari's aristocratic associations.

The main burial area occupies the gentle slopes facing Balang Sari. Kuburan Pattiro contains 123 marked graves generally oriented 330° to 30° from north, interspersed with 206 looter's holes (Figure 10-22; Table F-7c). Two graves oriented 290° from north were recorded at the cemetery's north, while a further east-west grave occurs on the road (Photo 10-33). Higher up the slope in zone 15 we counted 13 graves, most of them marked by crude masonry blocks arranged into rectangles oriented 330° to 350° from north (Photo 10-34), within a small looted area (Figure 10-22). Some more graves in the same style occur to the immediate east, while 27 rectangles of arranged pebbles or pairs of standing stones (all oriented between 330° from north and due north) occur across the road in zone 17 (Table F-7c). These latter graveyards had not been looted, but are presumably old too, because like the zone 15 graveyard they are attributed to long forgotten families. Only "Ming" tradewares were recorded in the area of Pattiro's graveyards, except in zones 6 and 14 which abut settlement along the modern road (Figure 10-23).

Zones 8 and 9, which look over the graveyards, have apparently not been looted, so their tradeware contents appear to indicate occupation from around the 16th century to the present (Figure 10-23). On top of the knoll was the largest single structure of stone recorded by SSPHAP - an

enceinte 45 metres by 27 metres with walls 1-1.5 metres high (Figure 10-21). Compensating for the lack of masonry, smaller pebbles had been carefully set among the larger cobbles to produce a solid structure.[38] As explained by the *kepala dusun* (dusun headman), it had been built by his grandfather when he was Pattiro's *kepala dusun*, i.e. in the early 20th century.[39]

Of all the historical sites in the general area of *kampung* Paccellekang as shown on the 1693 map (Figure 5-5), this is easily the best candidate. Its elaboration of old burial grounds and strong presence of "Ming" sherdage mimic Pattallassang Tua, and the site lies close to the centre of the "Paccellekang cluster" shown in Figure 10-2a. Yet the site's 20th century name is Pattiro which is otherwise associated with one of the main constituents within the Bugis kingdom of Bone (see Andaya, 1981; Macknight and Mukhlis, in prep.). Here, however, the name can apparently be attributed to marriages with minor Bone aristocrats in the 19th century.[40] Hence, despite the lack of supporting toponymic evidence on the site itself, I identify the site with historical Paccellekang.

A Paccellekang *Gelarang* was included among Gowa's *Bate Salapang* twice in the early 16th century, and again during the mid-17th century (13.3.3). Paccellekang's sporadic membership possibly accords with the statistical fragility of

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[38] I have no information on whether it had been built for purposes of defense or ostentation, but it surely bolsters the impression of the site's longstanding local importance. My photographs of the structure are useless owing to the gloom occasioned by the falling evening and heavy rains.

[39] As further explained by the *kepala dusun*, both his father and his grandfather were also Pattiro's *kepala dusun*. This line could well have constituted the main officials of the area immediately northwest of Pattallassang after 1910, the date of Paccelekang's last pre-modern appearance as a main administrative division of Gowa (Patunru, 1983:121-131). I do not know whether or not Paccellekang survived as any sort of administrative term between 1910, and its emergence as a desa within post-independence Kabupaten Gowa. If it had, then I suggest it would have been seated in Pattiro Tua. In this context, note that modern Pattiro is located next to modern Paccellekang.

[40] According to Pattiro's *kepala dusun*, one of his ancestors married a great nephew of the 19th century Bone king Andi Mappanyukki, and moreover one of his nephews was married to a Bone person. Descendants of the great nephew of Andi Mappanyuki also used to own many rice fields around Pattiro.

the Pattiro cluster (Table 10-1). But note that during the early 17th century the site would have been the karaengship of Bissu Maliba Kga Paccellek(ang), one of Alauddin's sisters (Table 3-6), making it the only historically recorded karaengship within the Tallok headwaters. Her residence which the Paccellekang villagers would have had to provide (cf. Mukhlis, 1975:43) can probably be located on zone 9. Her high status apparently attracted Paccellekang's (and Pattiro's) later leaders to reside on this knoll rather than on Balang Sari (Figures 10-22 to 10-23).[41]

10.5.2 Kuburan Moncong-Moncong, and Moncong-Moncong Lama

Moncong-Moncong (Gowa 56) reportedly includes three looted areas which produced the same types of ceramics as at Lamuru (Figure 10-24). The richest area at the southeast could not be properly recorded as our survey was interrupted by a torrential downpour. The other area also directly overlooking the rice fields was at Moncong-Moncong's Islamic graveyard. Its 246 marked graves, which vary from the very old to the very new (Table F-7d), include a pair of sheltered graves associated with a former "boss" of Moncong-Moncong whose name is no longer remembered (Photo 10-35). The graveyard serves not only present-day Moncong-Moncong but also some of the residents of Macinna to the north (see Figure 10-1b). The graveyard appears on the land-use maps as the southwest point of an elongated kampung striking northwards.

Our survey followed a trail through the former kampung, recording a consistent presence of 17th century and later tradeware sherdage, as far as zones 12 to 15 perched at the top of the slope (Figure 10-24). Zone 13, which reportedly had also produced gold, contained 103 looter's holes associated with clumps of cobbles which not impossibly had been used somehow to mark graves (Photo 10-36). The recorded tradewares at Moncong-Moncong, which unfortunately are rather few, span the 16th to 20th centuries (Figure 10-26).

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[41] There is no evidence to identify her with Pallapa Barambang. Indeed rather few karaengs of the high aristocracy appear to have been buried in their karaengship upon death.

10.5.3 Bangkala-Palemba Tua (Gowa 65)[42]

Bangkala-Palemba occupies deep red, lateritic clays (Camba Formation) above the corner of the sawah depression shared with the other KMPBBPB sites (Figure 10-1). During our survey of Bangkala we collected a water-rounded pebble used (very recently?) as a pestle (Photo 10-37) and three flaked stone artefacts (Appendix G).

A looters' trail stretches 250 metres along fields and houses between its termini, the Islamic cemetery and the *saukang*, both aparently dug without success. The trail includes areas of remnant holes (80 counted) and several spots reportedly associated with specific finds (Figure 10-25). One was a hole oriented 280° from north (Photo 10-38) associated with a fragmented *duni* which had contained some bones. Blue-and-white ceramics were reportedly the main find, along with some Sawankhalok and a few celadons. Palemba Tua just around the corner contains another minor area of looting (Figure 10-25). Both Bangkala and Palemba showed a convincing presence of "Ming" tradeware sherdage, although their profiles are dominated by Qing to recent pieces (Figure 10-26).[43] Finally, Bangkala's old Islamic cemetery, which incorporates 149 marked graves oriented 320°-330° from north (Table F-7d), is dominated by 142 impressive rectangular markers which generally range between two and four metres in length (Photo 10-39).

Bangkala was clearly well-established by at least 1500, admitting a *prima facie* possibility of its identification with the Bangkala cited in Karaengloe's journeys before he founded the Tallok dynasty (cf. Rahim and Ridwan 1975:5).

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[42] Bangkala and Palemba were both 17th century karaengships, but the Bangkala referred to was on the peninsula's south coast (9.5.1), and the Palemba we recorded is too small to have seated a karaengship.

[43] The seemingly strong presence of 14th century pieces as Bangkala rests on two Vietnamese sherds with iron-painted decorations under the glaze. Moreover, although I treated them as having come from two pieces, I noted that the pieces would have been very similar and, indeed, possibly only one piece was involved.

10.5.4 Biring Balang Tua (Gowa 64)

Biring Balang is a spit of slightly raised, lateritic reddish clays (Photo 10-40) jutting westwards into rice fields which become very wet in the vicinity of Balang Tallok. An extensive area had reportedly been looted (Figure 10-20), producing mainly blue-and-white but also some Sawankhalok and a few celadons. We were shown a small Wanli BW bowl from the site (Photo 10-41) and counted 13 remnant holes.[44] The main cemetery's 51 marked graves, oriented 330°-360° from north, are primarily of masonry (Photo 10-43) or arranged stones (Table F-7d).

The recently ploughed surface of one of the fields, zone 3, was cluttered with the great majority of the site's surface artefacts, including two flaked stone artefacts (Appendix G), 2955 earthenware sherds, 243 tradeware pieces and a fragment of green bottle glass.[45] The laboratory identifications of the zone 3 tradewares underpin the identification of the site's main period of use between the 15th and the 18th centuries (Figure 10-26).[46] The slight presence of 19th-20th century tradeware sherdage accords with the glass fragment, the few cement graves, and the site's depiction on the periphery of Macinna kampung in the 1969 (though not the 1910s) land-use map (Figure 10-1b).

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[44] The number of countable holes was small owing to the thick regrowth over most of the reportedly looted area, and the conversion of the remainder to fields.

[45] The pronounced concentration of artefactual debris in zone 3, compared to the zones to its immediate west, could reflect a combination of (i) its slightly more elevated position, making it more attractive for occupation, and (ii) "red herring" factors, e.g. that the farmers had removed much of the debris cluttering zones 1 and 2 into zone 3, or that ploughing in zone 3 had brought a larger proportion of the debris up to the surface.

[46] Laboratory identifications are used because I collected all these tradewares. However, the procedure has exaggerated the late 16th to early 17th century peak in the site's tradeware profile based on fine classes. Approximately one third of the collected pieces were identified as "terminal Ming BW" or "Wanli", identifications which are hard to make in the field. The zone 3 collection is indeed one of the main factors why SSPHAP's broad tradeware categories had to pool the terminal Ming, Qing (BW/Swatow), and Qing whiteware (recent) classes (see B.5).

10.5.5 Bado-Bado Tua and Parang Bambe (Gowa 68)

Parang Bambe's 47 marked graves, oriented 330°-350° from north, include both old and young styles.[47] 150 metres to the west are 19 old marked graves, oriented 350° from north, associated with the former kampung of Bado-Bado (Table F-7d). Four large looter's holes occurred near the latter, and the three fields directly west of the cemetery (zones 1 to 3) contained 16th to 20th century tradeware pieces (Figure 10-26) among other historical artefacts. The 20th century land-use maps depict Bado-Bado as kampung abutting rice fields[48] and Parang Bambe as a cemetery in shifting cultivation. The historical populations represented by these two sites would appear to have been small.

10.5.6 Overview of the KMPBBPB sites

The KMPBBPB sites form a well-defined group of sites bunched at the centre of a curved, elongated sawah depression (Figure 10-1b). Their closest, wider spatial affinities involve sites also abutting this sawah depression (Figure 10-2). The tradeware profile for the KMP sites is dominated by Pattiro-Balang Sari and so shows a pre-Islamic and especially a 15th century accentuation. The BBPB sites show predominantly early Islamic (17th-18th century) sherdage. Tradewares indicate the area has been occupied continually since the 13th-14th centuries and especially after the 15th century. Note that tradewares assigned to the early 16th century, i.e. the approximate period when Paccellekang disappeared from the *Bate Salapang* and when Tallok originated, appears comparatively scarce (Figure 10-26).

10.6 The Moncongloe Cluster

10.6.1 Jeknek Madinging (UP19-G73) and Manggala Tua (UP18)

Jeknek Madinging, the local name for the stretch of Balang

[47] We were directed to these sites by Bangkala's dusun headman, specifically to Parang Bambe to inspect its old Islamic graveyard.
[48] Present-day Bado-Bado has been relocated a short distance eastwards to the road.

Tallok which constitutes part of the boundary between Kotamadya Ujung Pandang and Kabupaten Gowa (Figure 10-1), covers two locales. The northern locale (UP19), which looks over Balang Tallok, includes an antique-bearing area approximately 15 metres square.[49] The three surrounding houseyards and the dirt road at their front (zones 1, 2 and 4 respectively) contained some 16th-17th century sherdage. However, only 19th-20th century tradeware pieces were recorded in the adjacent houseyard and maize field (Appendix D; Figure 10-32).

200 metres south a path crosses the Jeknek Madinging to a modern tomb (Gowa 73) which, as befits its position in the rice fields, can be inundated to a depth of 1.5 metres (Photo 10-44). The two marked graves inside, ascribed to "Kg Jeknek Madinging" and his bodyguard, are impressive masonry structures of 17th-18th century antiquity (Photo 10-42). Reportedly the tomb was built by people from Bangkala, although visitors come widely from the local area, including Kabupaten Maros, to pay their respects. Stylistically the spiky *nisan* and smooth standing stone are similar to other elite Islamic graves within the Moncongloe cluster. Jeknek Madinging has no other Islamic graves, for its occupants have immigrated from the nearby kampungs and are returned home for burial.

These two burial locales, pre-Islamic and Islamic respectively, are so individually circumscribed that their proximity could reflect coincidence as readily as historical continuity.[50] I would interpret Jeknek Madinging as marginal land for occupation, colonised on an intermittent basis and possibly unsettled for much of the time, as indeed the early 20th century land-use map depicts the area.

Manggala Tua and some further localities on the low spur running west from Jeknek Madinging (Figure 10-1) give the

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[49] The householder chanced upon these antiques in the 1970s after digging a wallow for his water buffalo.

[50] Hence Kg Jeknek Madinging's burial place is not accepted as a SSPHAP historical site because, in the absence of further evidence, it could well be of only 18th century antiquity.

same impression.[51] During our investigations we stumbled across two sherd-strewn fields (Photo 10-45) abutting a scrubby patch with ten countable graves marked with masonry or arranged stones (Table F-7d). The available tradewares span the 16th to 19th centuries (Figure 10-32) but, in line with the site's depiction as farmland on the 20th century maps, do not extend to the 20th century. The site, remembered as an old kampung called Manggala, has not been looted, so the tradeware sherdage could represent occupation debris. In that case, the tiny number of graves would suggest that burials occurred here only sporadically despite three to four centuries of occupation.

10.6.2 Patadang Toa, Manyempang Toa, Balang Patti and Embung

Patadang Toa, Manyempang Toa and Embung ring an area shown as sawah on the land-use maps (Figures 5-3 and 10-1b) but which we recorded as unsuitable for any agriculture, even in the dry season.[52] From our experience of making the crossing between Manyempang Toa and Patadang Toa, the water level varies by around one metre diurnally, which can be ascribed to tidal effects transmitted along the Tallok. Balang Patti occurs further north at the Tallok-Diccekang confluence.

Patadang, which appears on the Dutch map as a tiny kampung and on the 1969 map not at all, is an island of ladangs hard against Balang Tallok. Despite the inaccessibility occasioned by its swampy surroundings,[53] Patadang Toa (Gowa 81) is quite a large site, with estimates of 100 looter's holes and 70 marked Islamic graves. The latter, oriented around 340° from

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[51] Manggala Toa is very close to two other small Islamic graveyards depicted as the tiny kampungs of Benggala and Lengkesek on the Dutch land-use maps. Benggala's few graves of bricks, masonry or arranged stones looked slightly old and indeed had inspired some reportedly unsuccessful looting attempts. Lengkesek's 60 to 70 marked graves, however, all looked modern. Both kampungs had been abandoned by 1969 (see Figure 10-1b) and so confirm the apparently fleeting nature of settlement here. Moreover, as with Jipang (7.2.1), Lengkesek as described here is definitely not identifiable with the synonymous Polombangkeng polity (4.5).

[52] Probably a combination of too swampy and too brackish.

[53] We did not make a map of the site as the forced wade to reach it prevented us from carrying the appropriate mapping equipment.

north, include a columnar *nisan* under a shelter (Photo 10-46) and other early Islamic styles, as well as a modern brick tomb (Table F-7d). In Macinna we were told that celadons constituted the bulk of the recovered antiques, accompanied by Sawankhalok and blue-and-white. Evidence of an emphasis on celadons rather than the clearly "Ming" classes was not recorded for any other Tallok headwater site, suggesting that the Patadang burial ground enjoyed precocious origins by local standards. Unfortunately, there were no exposures on site which might have revealed tradeware sherdage to test this possibility.

Manyempang Toa (Maros 3) is traversed by the modern road along a raised embankment through the south and north graveyards (Figure 10-30).[54] The north graveyard includes 97 (countable) marked graves in a largely overgrown area which clears to a pasture as it approaches the single sheltered grave. The latter area includes a masonry structure, three metres long by one metre wide, which is apparently a due east-west grave. The other marked graves are all oriented 340°-350° from north (Table F-7f). Attempts to loot here had reportedly been unsuccessful, even though the surface sherdage included a Ming BW piece among later tradewares (Appendix D).

The south graveyard at Manyempang Toa abuts an area of 164 looter's holes which had reportedly produced blue-and-white, Sawankhalok and celadons. The 29 marked graves (Photo 10-47), which include a sheltered grave, are oriented 340°-350° from north, except one example oriented 10° from north. A generally dense cover of secondary forest prevented us from seeing much surface sherdage, but it included Ming BW to 19th century pieces (Appendix D; Figure 10-33).

Balang Pati (Maros 4) is a very similar site - a medium-sized Islamic graveyard (109 marked graves) with an emphasis on masonry (including spiky and undulating *nisan*); considerable use of limestone; and a sheltered grave

[54] Our informant reported that the stretch of road and embankment between the two extant graveyards had also been continuous graveyard. This seems possible, because the extant graves come right to the ditch excavated along the road's course to provide the earth to build the emnbankment.

containing a standing stone (Table F-7f). As at the Manyempang Toa north graveyard, looting attempts had reportedly been unproductive, yet the tiny sample of associated tradeware sherdage included 17th to 19th century pieces (Figure 10-33). Like Manyempang Toa, Balang Pati serves the population of Manyempang Baru (see Figure 10-1b).

Kuburan Tua Embung (Gowa 94) was recorded very scantily. What information I have associates it with the two previously described sites, both in terms of its marked Islamic graves (Table F-7d) and the reported looting of a few antiques.

Despite the quite unpromising aspects today, and the scant early 20th century population as indicated by the Dutch land-use maps, the area of these four sites appears to have enjoyed some local prominence in early Islamic times. All four apparently contain 17th century marked graves. At least three of them represent the major concentration, and possibly the source, of the spiky and undulating *nisan* which are almost the hallmark of the sites within the Moncongloe cluster.[55] We also have the unconfirmed suggestion of precocious origins for Patadang Toa, the most inaccessible of the four sites. Presumably the area has experienced changes to its water regime, e.g. a decreased share of the fresh water discharge and thus a dominance of brackish water, leading to its current marginal utility for agricultural purposes.

10.6.3 Moncongloe Lappara (Maros 2)

Moncongloe Lappara ("low, great hill") looks over a stretch of the Tallok whose banks are only two metres above sea level. The water is brackish during the dry season, such that *nipa* palms occur in the remnants of gallery forest. But it is fresh during the wet season, as indicated by extensive sawah fields immediately west (Photo 10-52) and east of the site.

The deeper course incised by the Tallok during the Pleistocene (Figure 11-1a) would account for the depth of the face of Camba Formation occupied by the site (Figures 5-2 and 10-1). Following the nine-unit model (Douglas, 1977:84-88),

[55] Patadang Toa was not recorded in sufficient detail either to include it in or exclude it from this generalisation.

we can interpret the southern zones as seepage slope, the footpaths labelled zones 2 to 4 and 35 as transportational midslope, the main band of the site as colluvial footslope, and the northeastern zones (6-14, 21-23, 25-27) as alluvial toeslope (cf. Figure 10-28). Zones 6 to 13 constitute a faintly stepped bank (Photo 10-53). The upper bank, which shows broadly similar proportions of clay and silt mixed with lateritic gravels, can be interpreted as a late prehistoric levee of the Tallok[56] now mixed with more recent downwash and colluvium. The lower bank at the water's edge, which is made of gravel-free silts, marks the Tallok's modern levee.[57]

The locations of the site's flaked stone artefacts (observed only in the east part of the site) accord with such an interpretation. Most occurred in the gently declining seepage slope, and the remainder on or along the upper bank here interpreted as late prehistoric terrace (Figure 10-29a).

The east half of Moncongloe Lappara includes seven of the eight Islamic burial areas (as inventorised in Table F-7e), accounting for 219 of the 226 counted marked graves. They do not constitute an exceptionally large number - being exceeded by the cemeteries at Tassili and Moncong-Moncong, for example - but they epitomise the spatial elaboration elsewhere noted at Pattallassang and Pattiro.[58] The graves' orientations rarely fall outside the range 330°-350° from north, and show none of the unusual orientations usually found at Islamic graveyards with deep chronological roots. But old-fashioned masonry occurs prominently and dominates at Kompleks Makam Karaeng Moncongloe (Figure 10-28; Table F-7e). This largely elite cemetery, named after the mosque-like tomb which is the

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[56] This levee would appear to have been deposited after the middle Holocene, because the levee it lower than the sea levels which prevailed at around 4000 BP (see Whitten et al., 1987:20; Figure 11-1b).

[57] The foolowing soil tests have been used in my interpretation. In zone 6 the topsoil was recorded as strong brown, with clay and fine silt in equal proportions, and containing some lateritic gravels. In the taro field in zone 12, the topsoil was recorded as a silty clay with some fine sand and abundant lateritic gravels, and coloured yellowish red. In zone 11 the topsoil was recordedas a yellowish red silt with some clay and sand. Colours refer to dry samples.

[58] As at Pattiro Tua, the graveyards not containing cement markers are associated with families no longer remembered, according to local reports.

centrepiece (Photo 10-49),[59] also holds a discrete group of seven masonry markers with knobbly *nisan* (Photo 10-48) and two cement shelters with masonry *nisan* (Photos 10-50). The north shelter has an unmortared brick base made of two distinct brick types (Table 10-2). The small fat type is modern (cf. Table E-3) but the large thin type, whose dimensions scarcely differ from those of the "large" bricks at Benteng Tallok (Table 12-1), is old.

TABLE 10-2. DIMENSIONS OF THE MONCONGLOE LAPPARA BRICKS

	No.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	Range
Large thin bricks				
Length	4	36.0	0.82	35-37
Breadth	11	19.3	2.15	15-21
Thickness	10	5.65	0.47	5-6.5
Small fat bricks				
Breadth	9	11.5	0.71	11-12.5
Thickness	7	5.0	0.50	4-5.5

Isolated instances of further elite marked graves occur among the graves west of zone 21 and south of zone 24. East Moncongloe Lappara also contained virtually all of the site's "Ming" tradewares but few later tradewares. The point stands clearly in the tradeware densities (Figure 10-29) and in the tradeware profiles (Figure 10-32). Patterns like these are usually associated with burial complexes spanning the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods (e.g. Kanjilo Lama, Pattiro Tua). However, local reports denied any antique looting, and we counted only 41 looter's holes which, moreover, were restricted to zones 15 and 38 (Figure 10-28). Further, the most consistent presence of "Ming" tradeware pieces, along the Tallok's upper bank (here interpreted as a late prehistoric terrace), was associated with strong to very high earthenware counts (Appendix D).

Although the site's interpretation is complicated by the variable effects of erosion and deposition, the available data suggest that east Moncongloe Lappara had been under occupation between the 15th and early 17th centuries,

[59] The cemetery is also called Kompleks Makam Kobang, after this main tomb. Kg Moncongloe was locally reported as having been a descendant of Syech Yusuf.

particularly along the Tallok's upper bank.[60] Its occupants might well have been locally prominent, given the strong presence of "Ming" tradeware pieces, and the post-Islamic use of the area as an elaborate burial ground. Zone 15 could then represent a small pre-Islamic burial ground restricted to the local nobility. The site could have owed its prominence to the expanses of surrounding sawah, or more probably to its strategic location on the Tallok at a time of significant transport by prahu. Certainly, the site can be readily identified with the "Moncongloe" which reportedly sided with Kgloe ri Sero upon his succession dispute with his brother Batara Gowa (SG:14).

Finally, west Moncongloe Lappara appears to have been scarcely occupied before the 17th century. The seven houses we mapped there might represent its peak (Figures 10-29 and 10-32).

Moncongloe Lappara is the last site to join the Moncongloe cluster (Table 10-1) and lies well northwest of the cluster centre (Figure 10-2). As our survey did not extend further northwest, I cannot comment on whether there might be other historical sites along this stretch of the Tallok. If such sites do exist, they could conceivably bring the centre of the Moncongloe cluster closer to Moncongloe Lappara, but they could also possibly drag the site into some other site cluster.[61] Nonetheless I retain Moncongloe as the eponym for

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[60] It is after all possible (though not very likely) that pre-Islamic burials had occurred widely. Some could have been eroded out while others have been deeply buried by downslope wash; or they were accompanied by smashed ceramics rather than complete pieces; or tilling had broken up the interred ceramics prior to realisation of their value on the antiques market. Possibly, also, the high earthenware counts could reflect late prehistoric occupation unrelated to the site's tradewares. Yet again, the concentration of artefacts along the upper bank could merely reflect secondary depositional factors. The interpretation offered in the main text, however, makes the least possible deviation in its treatment of the site's evidence from the criteria standardly employed for SSPHAP's other Gowa sites.

[61] It can however be pointed out that the land northwest of Moncongloe Lappara has been only thinly populated during the 20th century (Figures 5-3 and 10-1b), and the apparent historical toponym of Sanggarang does not affect the clustering of the "Moncongloe cluster" sites. Nearby historical sites north of the Tallok would of course also

the cluster, because Moncongloe Lappara is the largest site and the only one identifiable as a historical toponym.

The cluster forms a well-defined entity not only on geomorphological grounds, parked as it is at the confluence of the Tallok and Diccekang tributaries, but also on the stylistic grounds of its early Islamic marked graves. Evidence of mutual influence with the BBPBKMB sites directly to the southeast is also apparent (cf. Figure 10-2b).[62] All of the Moncongloe sites where we recorded surface tradewares show an early 17th century peak in the standardised chronological histograms (Figure 10-32), which interestingly corresponds with the period of Tallok's dominance within greater Gowa (13.3.3).

10.7 Sites Along the Diccekang Tributary

Our road transect eastwards to Moncongloe Bulu, running more or less parallel with the Diccekang, traversed a thinly populated, rolling landscape almost devoid of rice fields (Figure 10-1). The site of Diccekang abuts the single extensive rice field (Photo 10-55), while the creek running through Moncongloe Bulu has been bunded into small rice fields too (Photo 10-51). Absence of a wider surveyed context precludes any speculation on these sites' spatial affinities. But we may certainly hypothesise a very low site density which, if correct, would render the concept of site clusters inapplicable. The main value of the transect may be in showing that some level of settlement had extended along the Diccekang during greater Gowa's precolonial period.

Kuburan Islam Diccekang (Maros 6) includes three spatially segregated graveyards (Figure 10-31) containing 153 marked graves generally oriented 320°-350° from north. The style of

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raise the issue of how to deal with river crossings in the site-clustering analysis.

[62] As noted in the site descriptions, people from Bangkala had built the tomb for Kg Jeknek Madinging, and the cemetery at Moncong-Moncong serves the Macinna occupants. On the other hand, the pronounced presence of masonry markers of often fine workmanship noted for the Moncongloe sites also characterises Bangkala and Biring Balang tosome degree, contrasting with the graveyards east of Bangkala which are dominated by stone arrangements.

stones arranged into a rectangle dominates, even at the newer graveyards at the east and the west which are associated with non-*asli* (non-original) families (Table F-7f). More impressive versions in the same style include a revered example and an example direcly beneath the *saukang* within the central graveyard. Two other marked graves, enclosed in a shelter, are associated with *nenek moyang* figures whose names have been forgotten (Photos 10-56 and 10-57). These four graves, and some of the masonry markers in the central graveyard, are oriented 20° from north. 68 holes attest to looting which had reportedly been carried out by outsiders. The surface sherdage included a single Vietnamese piece with overglaze decorations,[63] otherwise mainly Qing and European pieces (Figure 10-33). These points accord with the site's identification as Diccekang kampung until the kampung recently moved to the modern road.

Moncongloe Bulu (Maros 5) is located at "Moncongloe 2", a fair-sized kampung nestled beneath Batu Moncongloe as shown on the Dutch land-use maps. At the time of our survey the area contained scattered houses among a landscape dominated by shifting cultivation. The cemetery, an area of around 60 metres diameter now enveloped by secondary forest (Photo 10-54), includes 145 looter's holes, 131 countable graves and a *saukang*. The inhabitants could only report that the looting had occurred long ago, but in Bangkala (Gowa 65) we had already been told that only Sawankhalok[64] and blue-and-white ceramics had been found. The marked graves consisted entirely of sharp standing stones, often enclosed in a rectangle of arranged stones, not only at the cemetery but also at two small, reportedly modern graveyards which we saw *en route* to the site. A small surface assemblage which we recorded across the creek from the cemetery had no tradewares other than Qing and European (Figure 10-33).

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[63] Although treated as a 15th century piece for the sake of methodological simplicity (B.4.3), its most likely date would be the late 15th to 16th century (cf. Brown, 1988:26).
[64] Including a Sawankhalok celadon kendi under the *saukang*.

10.8 Overview of the Tallok Headwater Sites

The combined tradeware profile of the Tallok headwater sites is markedly depauperate in 13th-14th century tradeware pieces (Figure 10-32). Assuming comparability with SSPHAP's Gowa sites generally,[65] we would infer that the area was only thinly populated before the 15th century, suggesting a comparatively late utilisation of the area's broad valleys as rice fields. Even if the profile dips and peaks during the subsequent centuries (Figure 10-32), the fundamentals of the settlement pattern shown by the Dutch land-use maps appear to have been established by, and maintained since, the 15th century. The post-Islamic dips can be related to particular historical events, suggesting that historical events might be related to the early 16th century dip.[66]

As argued above, the sites Moncongloe Lappara, Pattiro Tua and Pattallasang Tua can be identified with the historical toponyms Moncongloe, Paccellekang and Pattallasang. Moncongloe sided with Kgloe ri Sero upon his succession dispute with Batara Gowa at c.1500, while the latter two *Gelarang* sided with Batara Gowa (SG:14). The establishment of the kingdom of Tallok appears to have involved some translocation of upstream communities to the Tallok mouth (ST:5-6). Tumapakrisik Kallona's middle reign between c.1520 and c.1540 appears to have witnessed Gowa's embattlement, and a severe reduction in her subject territories including the loss of Paccellekang and Pattallassang (Figure 13-9b). This framework promotes the following interpretation of the Tallok headwater sites.

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[65] It would of course be possible to explain away this result, or any but the grossest inferences arising from the surface tradeware frequencies, with special pleads, e.g. that the communities here had merely taken a belated interest in tradewares or in burying them with the dead, or that the early burial grounds had been missed by the survey, or that the looting of 13th-14th century ceramics had here resulted in very little spallage, etc.

[66] For example, the 20th century dip can be attributed to the construction of roads above the rice fields (10.1). And the dip after the early 17th century into the early 18th century possibly reflects local upheaval associated with Gowa's defeat in the Makassar War and the fear of Bugis spoliation (cf. Andaya, 1981:193-194).

The concentration of Tallok-like names between Tassilli and Talla-Talla supports the notion that people from here might have relocated to Tallok. The evidence for a pre-Islamic Bugis immigration from Soppeng and Lamuru might suggest this area was comparatively underpopulated and possibly beyond any overarching jurisdiction in the 16th century (Figure 13-9b). The early 16th century drop in the tradeware profile, which applies only to the area east of Bangkala, further suggests that the area was then partly abandoned owing to Gowa's inability to provide protection. We can reasonably assume that the area of the Moncongloe cluster then enjoyed Tallok's protection, and may well have received immigrants from upriver even if it also supplied emigrants to the Tallok mouth.

The late 16th century, a period when Gowa enjoyed spectacular local expansion, witnessed the re-admission of Pattallassang to the *Bate Salapang* but not Paccellekang. This might seem anomalous, except that with Gowa's *Bate Salapang* now so widespread, there might have been scope for only one member from the Tallok headwaters, and the post fell to Pattallassang (Figure 13-10b). Then during the 17th century a situation approximating that at the beginning and end of Tumapakrisik Kallona's reign was re-established, with Paccellekang first re-appearing as a karaengship of a Gowa princess, and subsequently being re-admitted to the *Bate Salapang*.

The full scenario adumbrated here possibly drives the available evidence very hard. Still at the very least it shows that my identifications of the toponyms Moncongloe, Paccellekang and Pattallassang, and equally Tallok's origin story, are fully compatible with the evidence from the Tallok headwater sites.

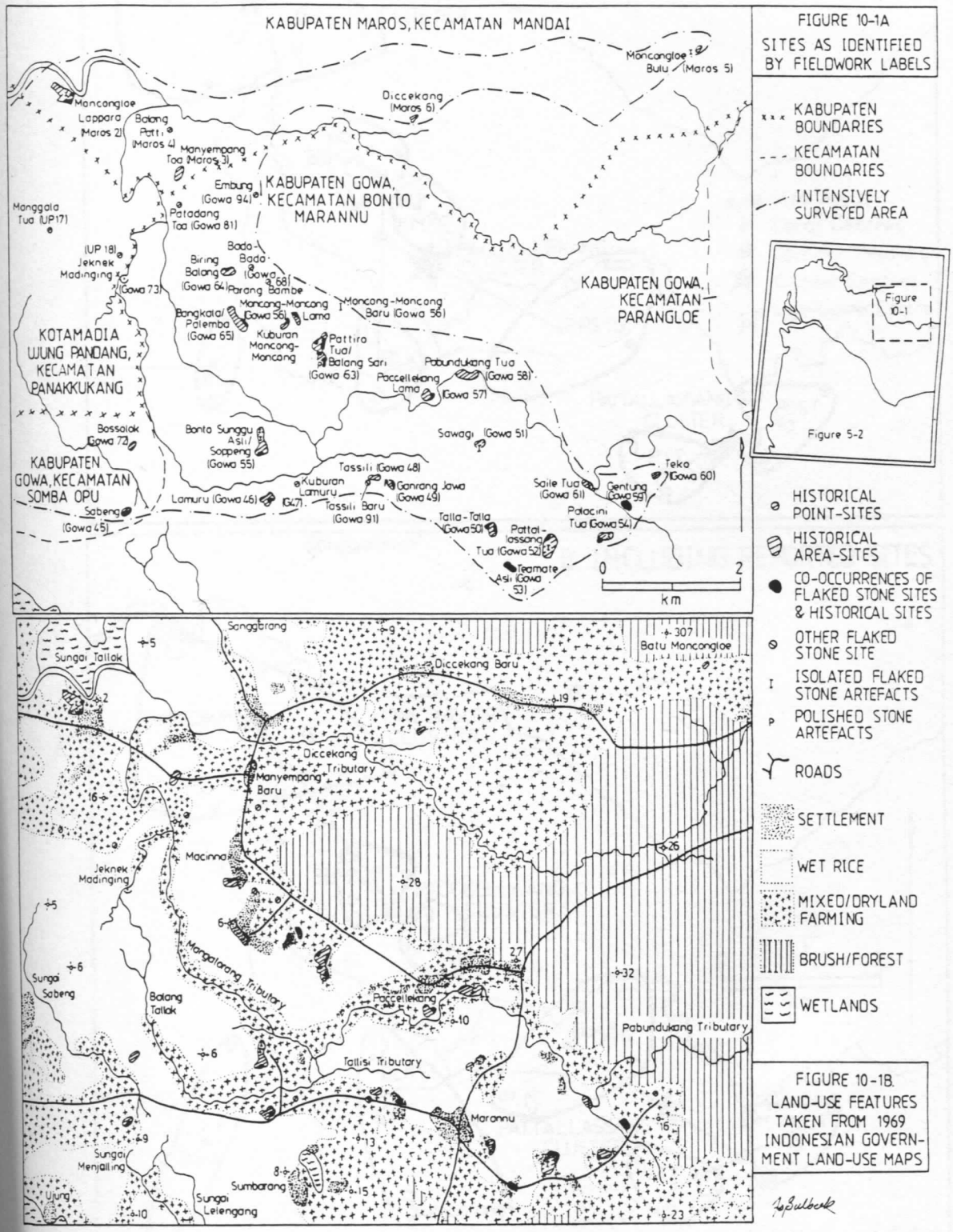


FIGURE 10-1A
SITES AS IDENTIFIED BY FIELDWORK LABELS

KABUPATEN BOUNDARIES
KECAMATAN BOUNDARIES
INTENSIVELY SURVEYED AREA

HISTORICAL POINT-SITES
HISTORICAL AREA-SITES
CO-OCCURRENCES OF FLAKED STONE SITES & HISTORICAL SITES
OTHER FLAKED STONE SITE
ISOLATED FLAKED STONE ARTEFACTS
POLISHED STONE ARTEFACTS
ROADS
SETTLEMENT
WET RICE
MIXED/DRYLAND FARMING
BRUSH/FOREST
WETLANDS

FIGURE 10-1B.
LAND-USE FEATURES TAKEN FROM 1969 INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT LAND-USE MAPS

FIGURE 10-1.
SITES OF THE TALLOK HEADWATERS IN RELATION TO TOPOGRAPHIC FEATURES

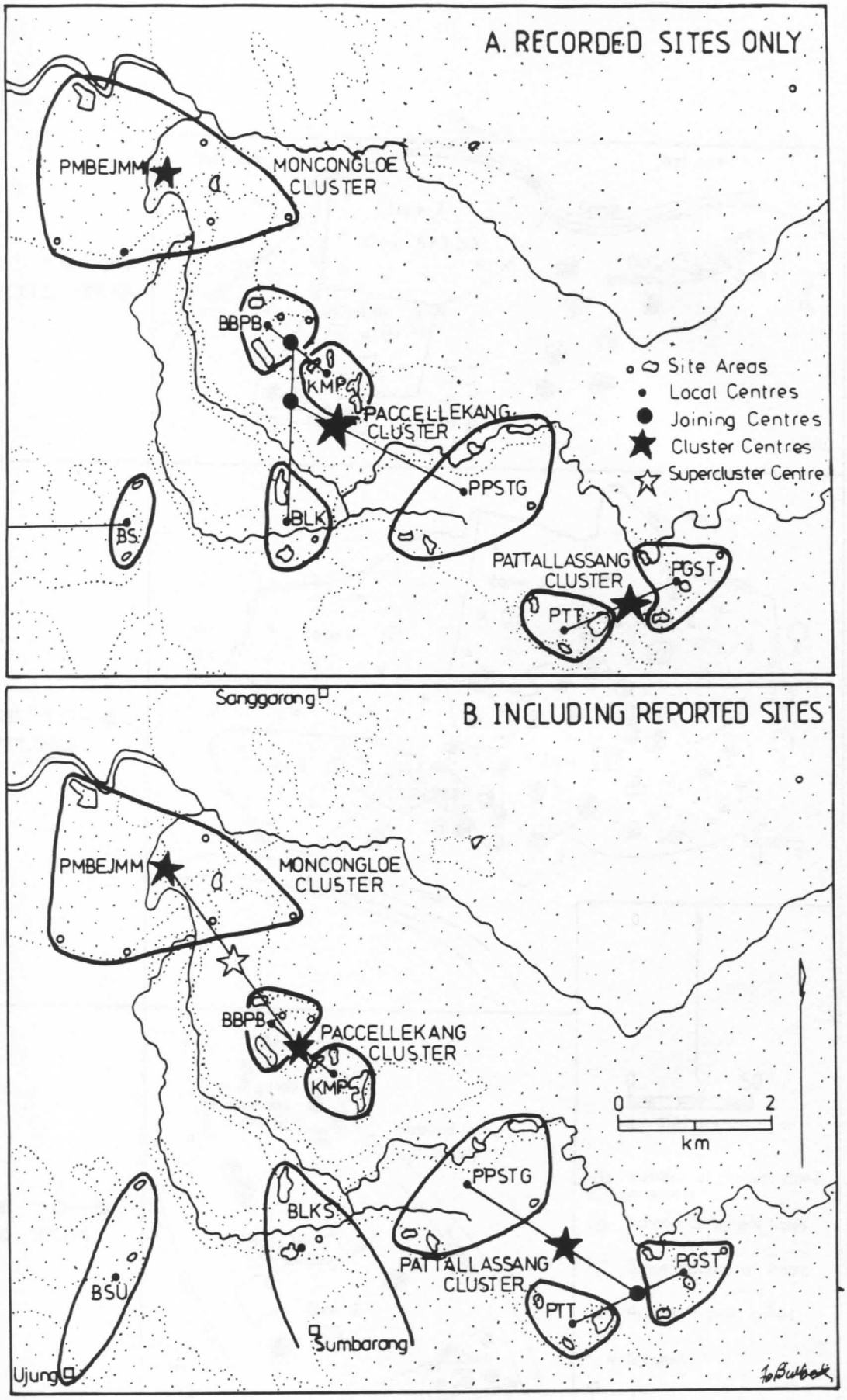


FIGURE 10-2.

AVERAGE-LINKAGE CLUSTERING OF THE TALLOK HEADWATER SITES, SET AGAINST THE SAWAH DEPRESSIONS (UNSTIPPLED AREAS)

FIGURE 10-3.
PALACINI TUA

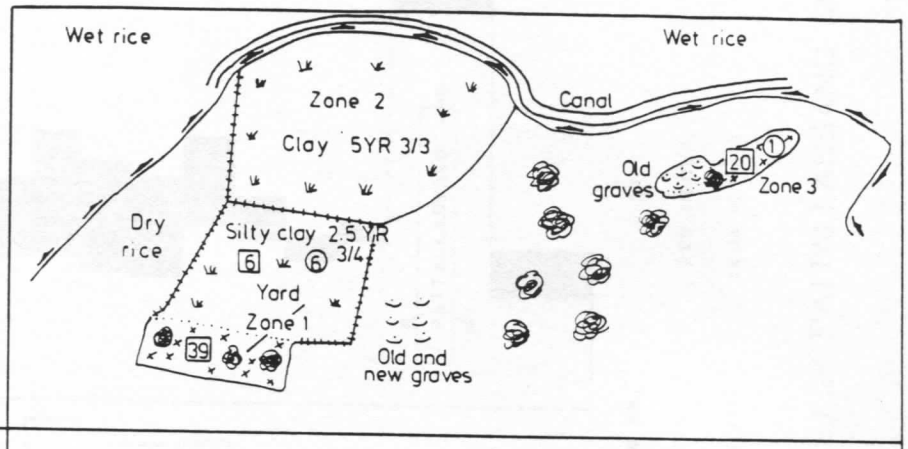


FIGURE 10-4.
GENTUNG

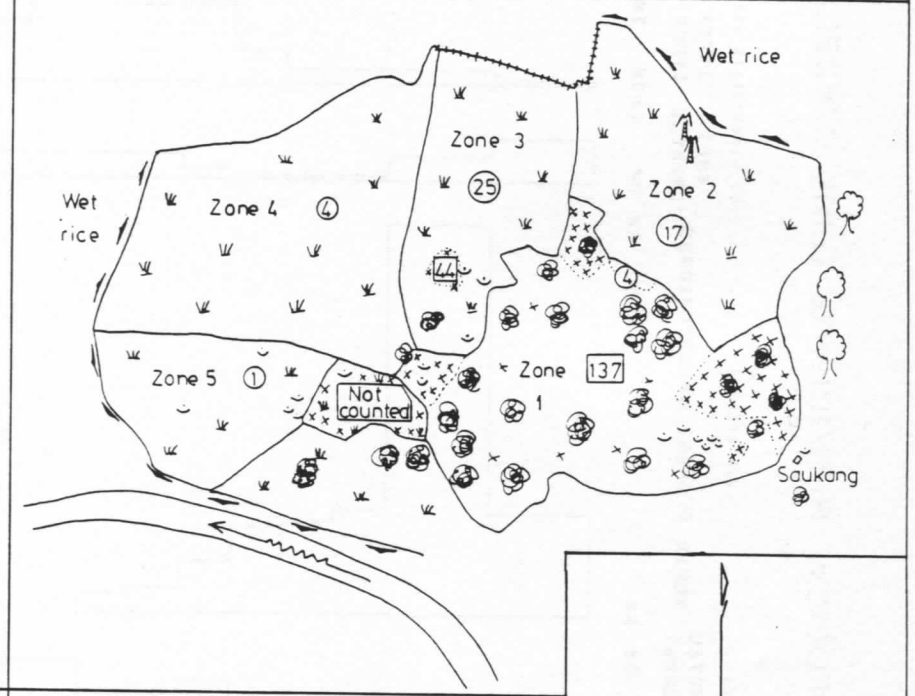
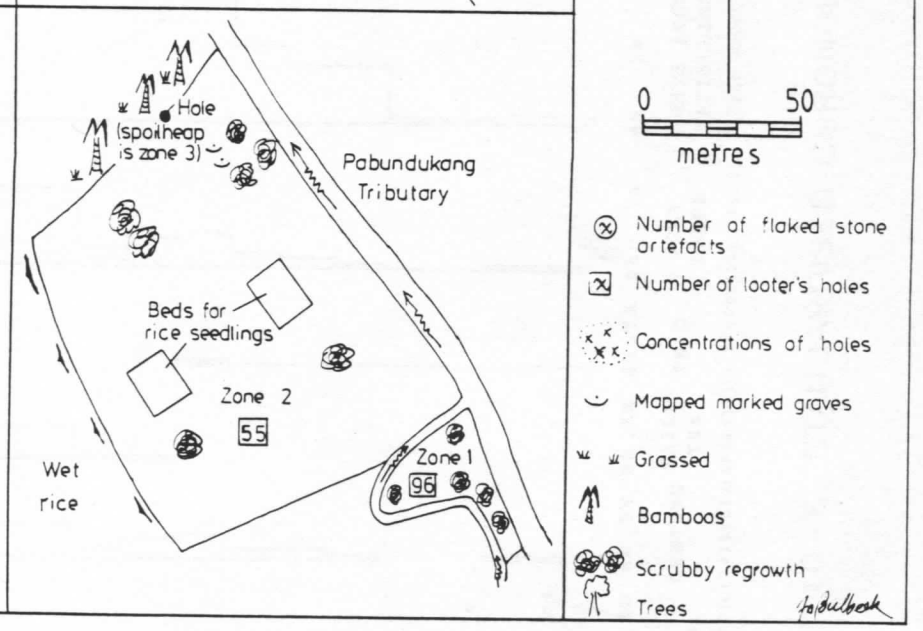


FIGURE 10-5.
SAILE TUA



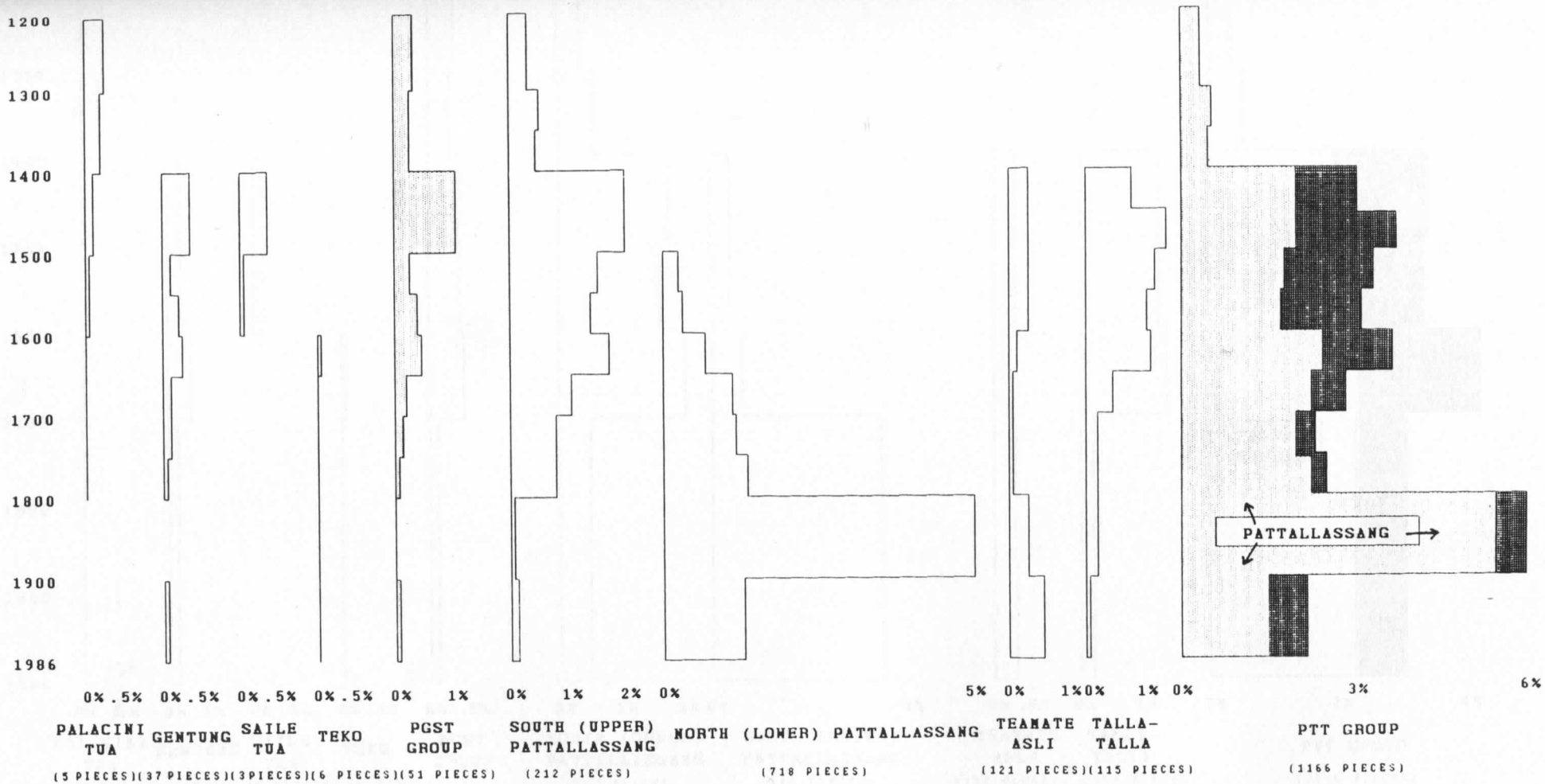


FIGURE 10-6. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) – PATTALLASSANG AREA

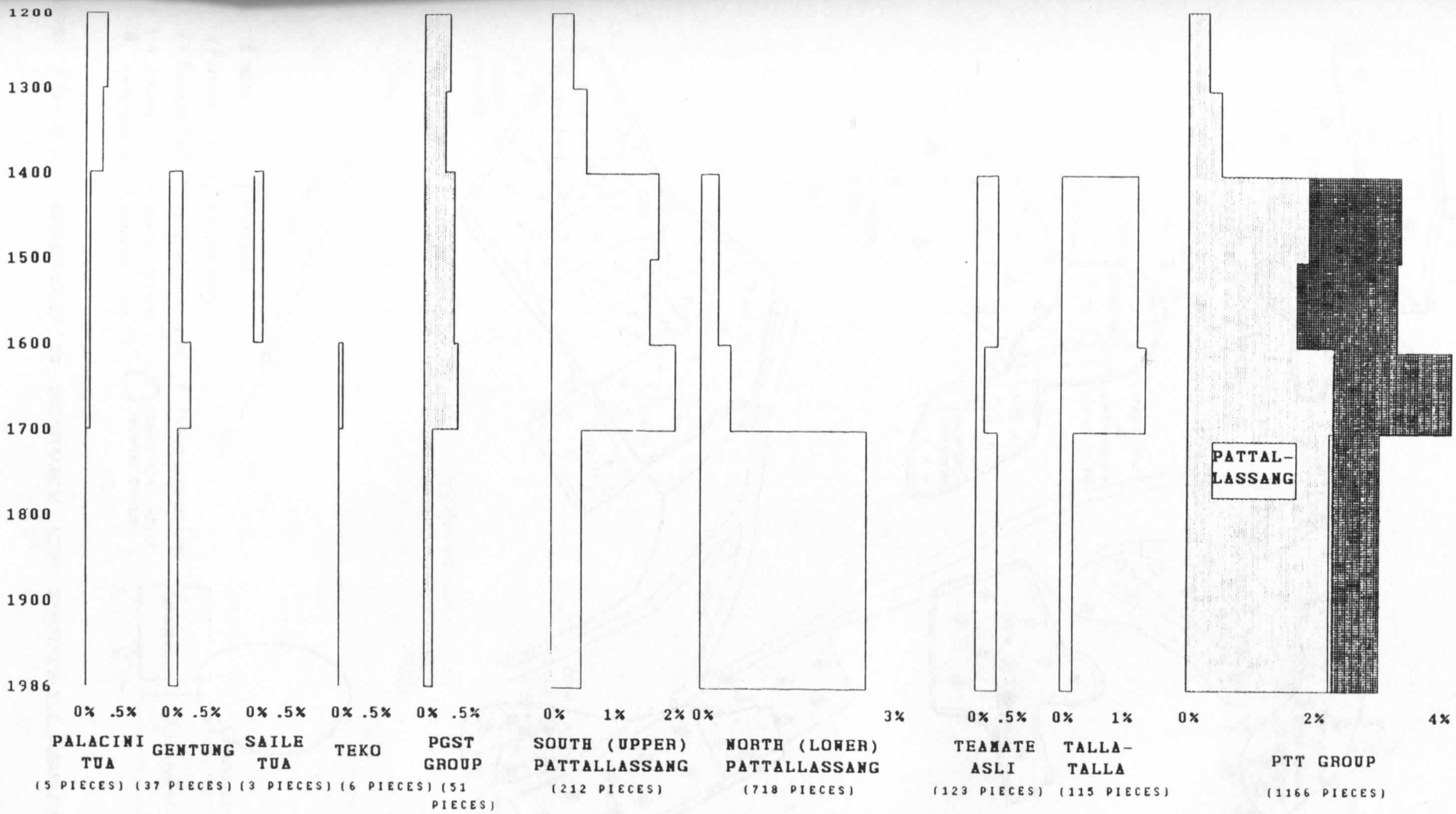
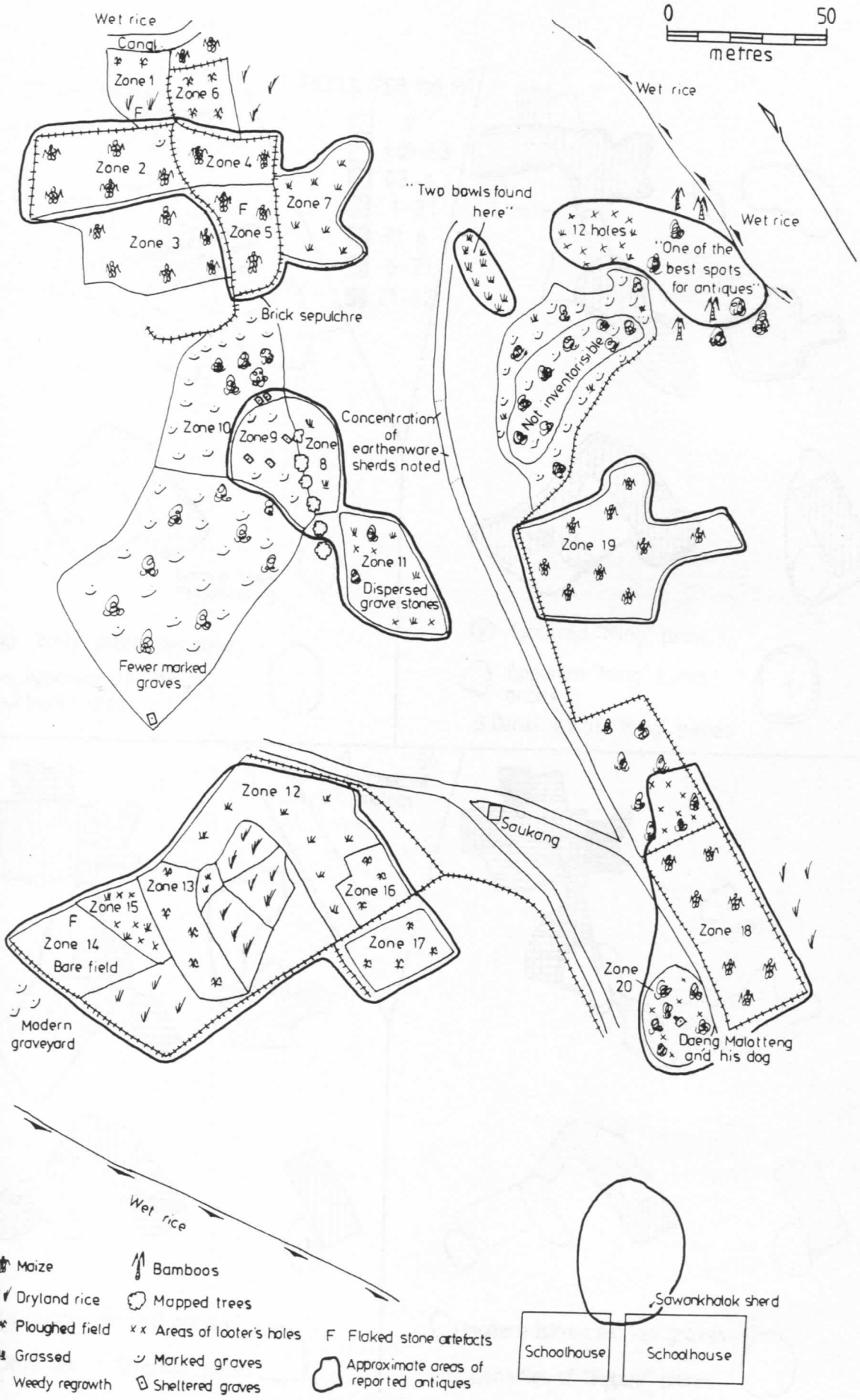


FIGURE 10-7. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (BROAD CLASSES) - PATTALLASSANG AREA



GURE 10-8. SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF PATTALASSANG TUA

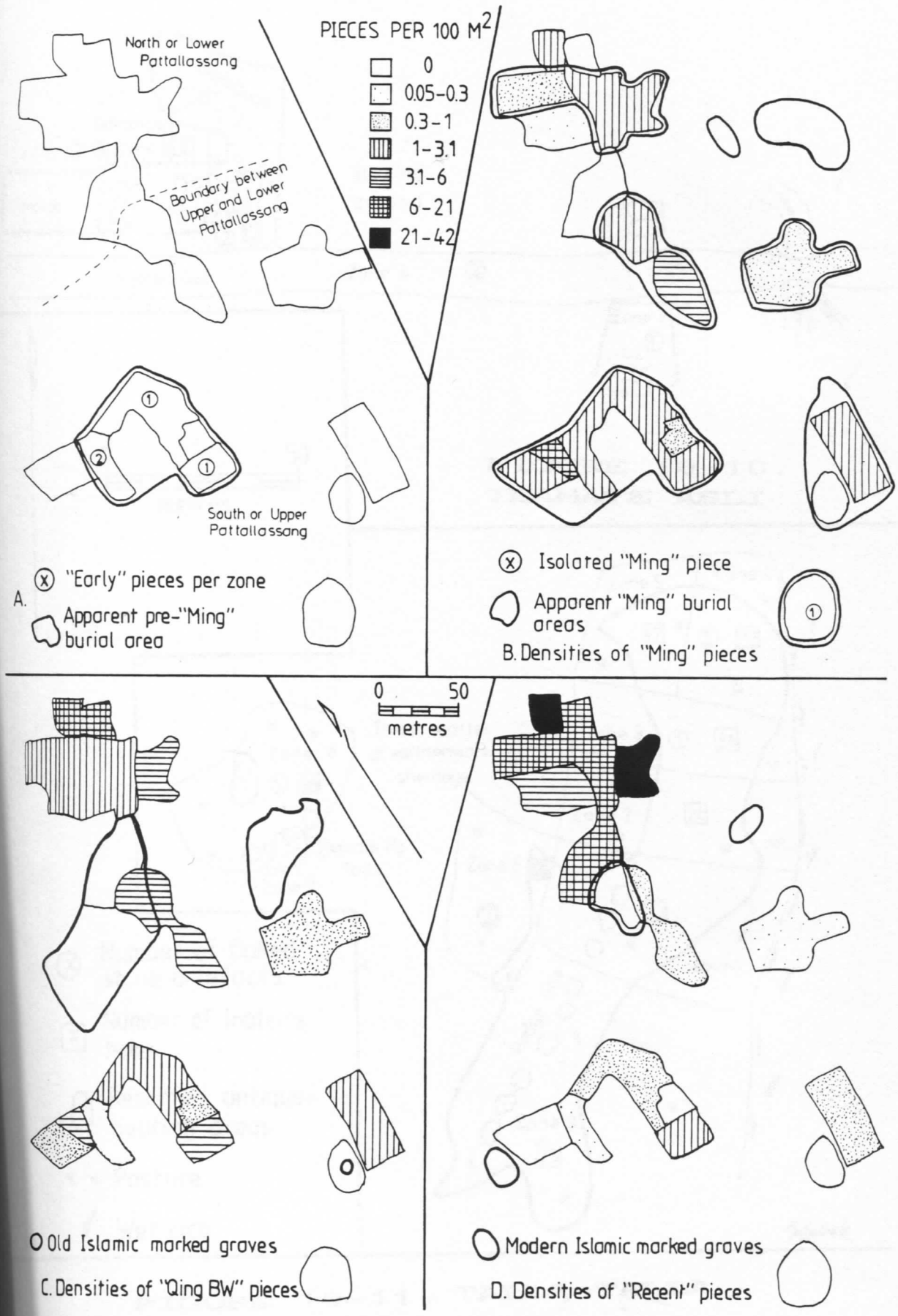
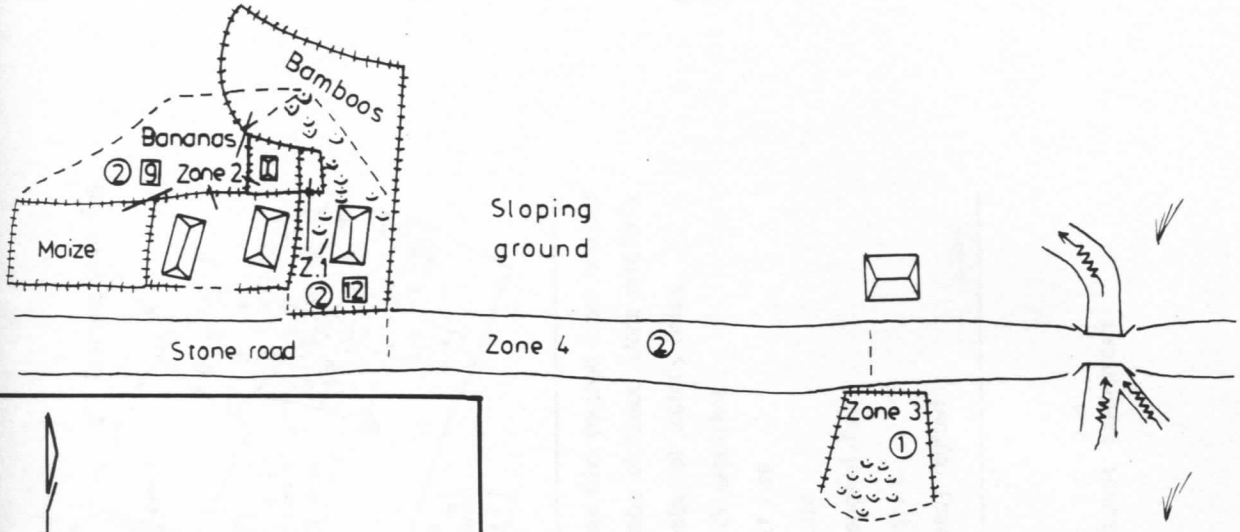


FIGURE 10-9. OCCURRENCES OF "EARLY" PIECES AND DENSITIES OF OTHER PIECES, PATTALLASSANG TUA



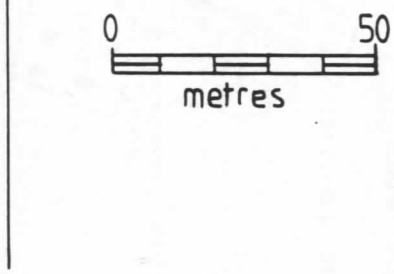


FIGURE 10-10. TEAMATE ASLI

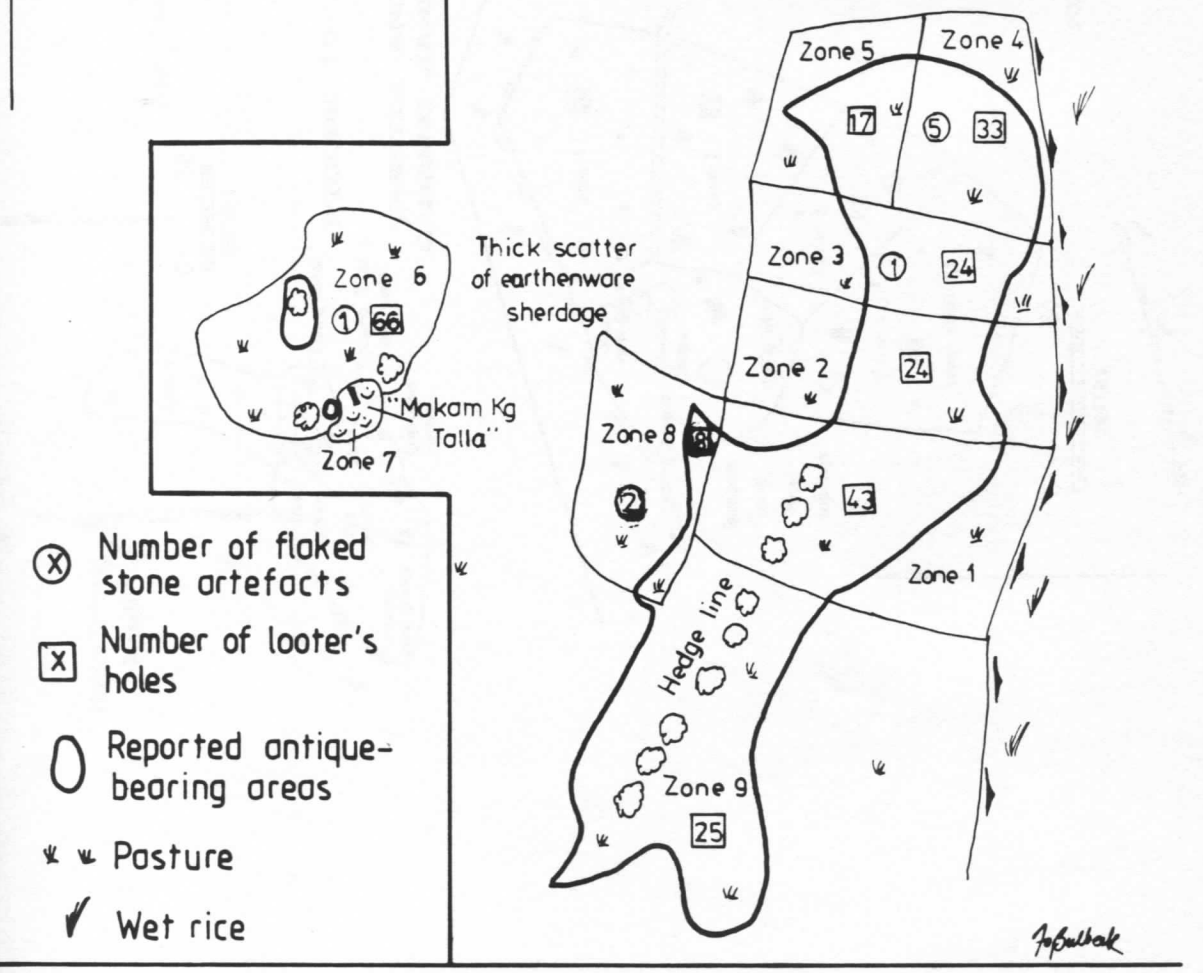


FIGURE 10-11. TALLA-TALLA

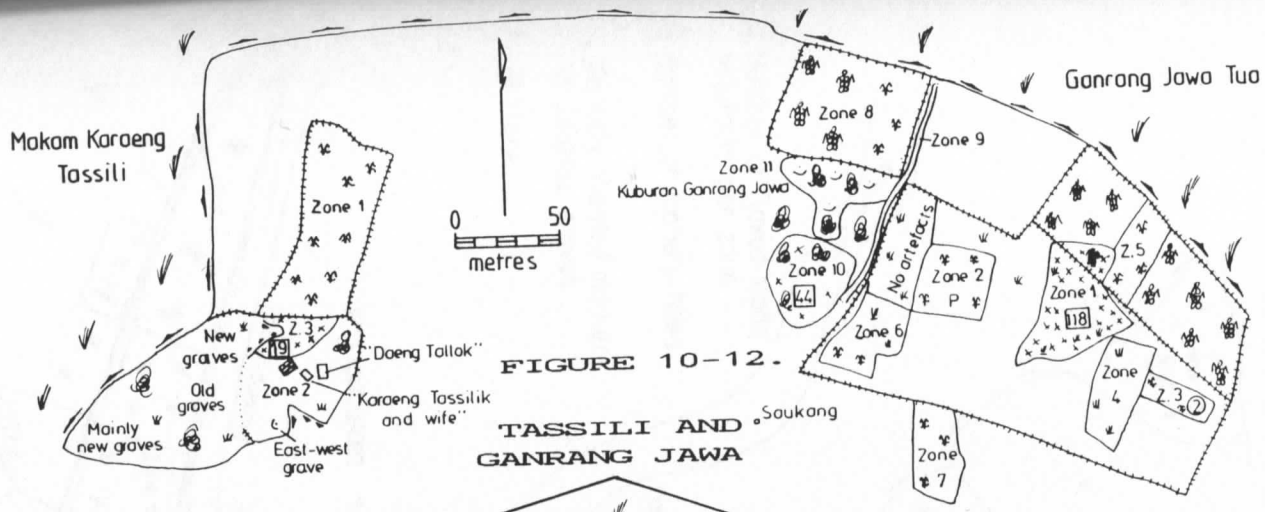


FIGURE 10-12.

TASSILI AND GANRANG JAWA

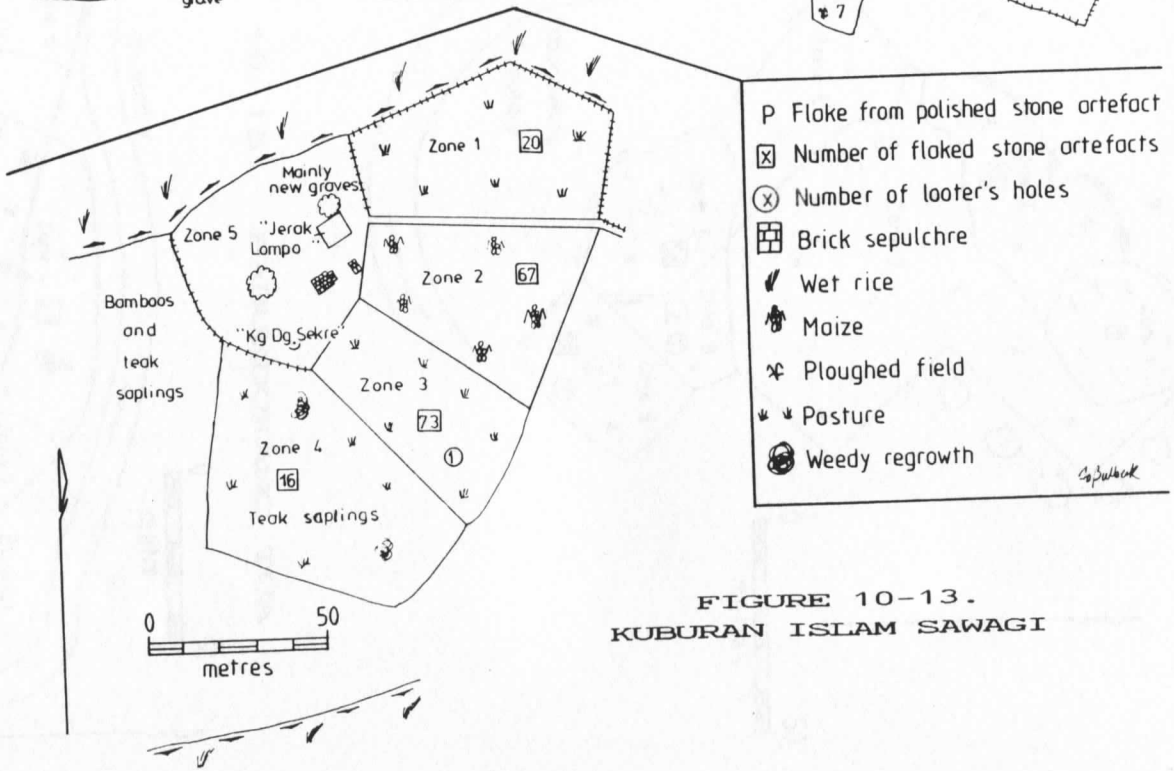


FIGURE 10-13.
KUBURAN ISLAM SAWAGI

FIGURE 10-14.
PACCELLEKANG LAMA

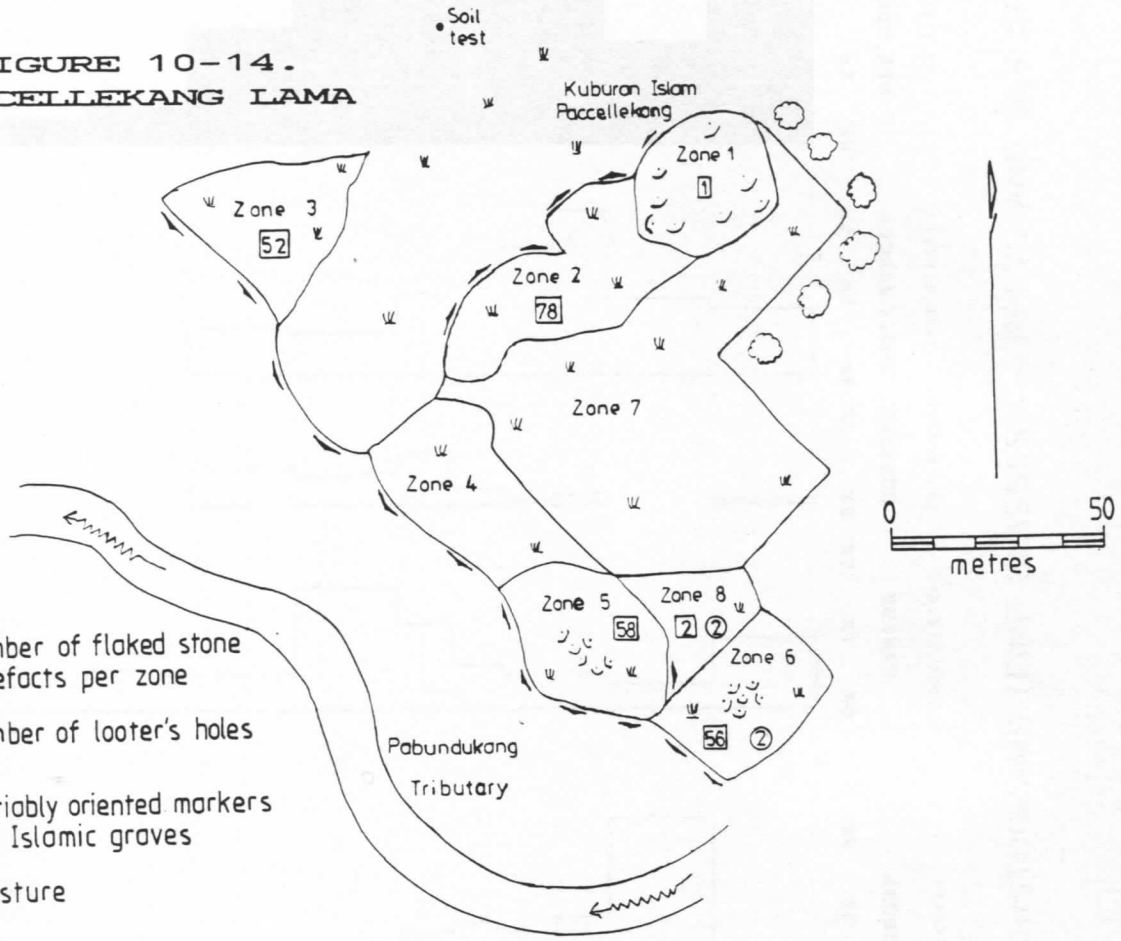
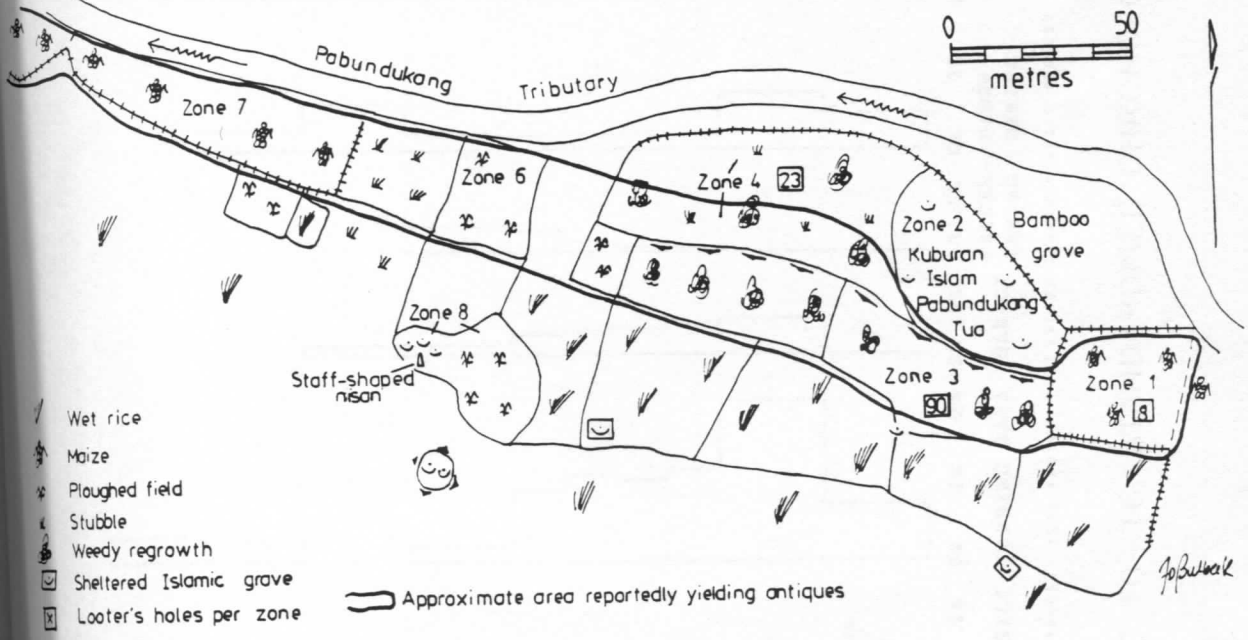


FIGURE 10-15. PABUNDUKANG TUA



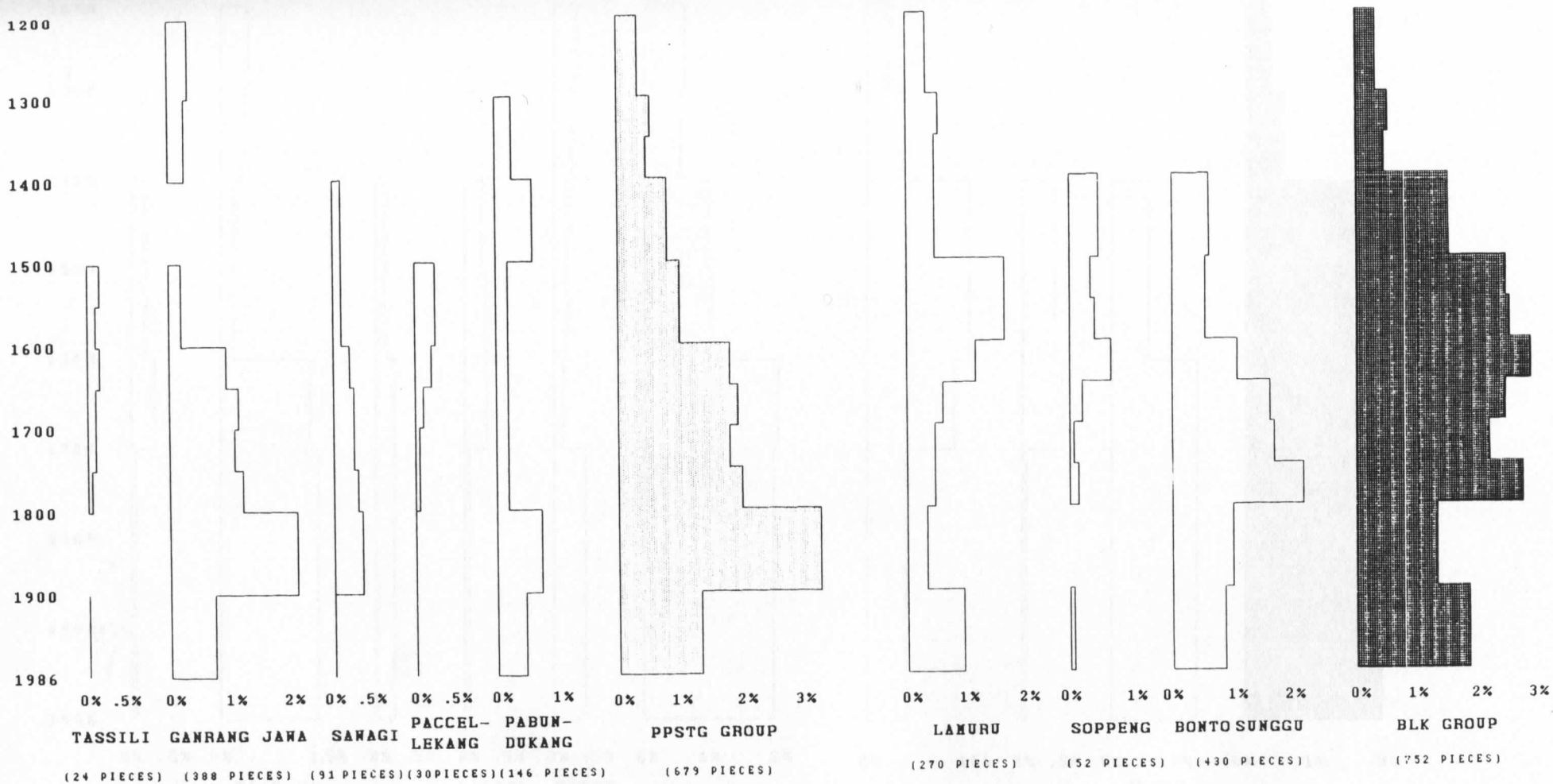


FIGURE 10-16. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) - PPSTG AND BLK SITES

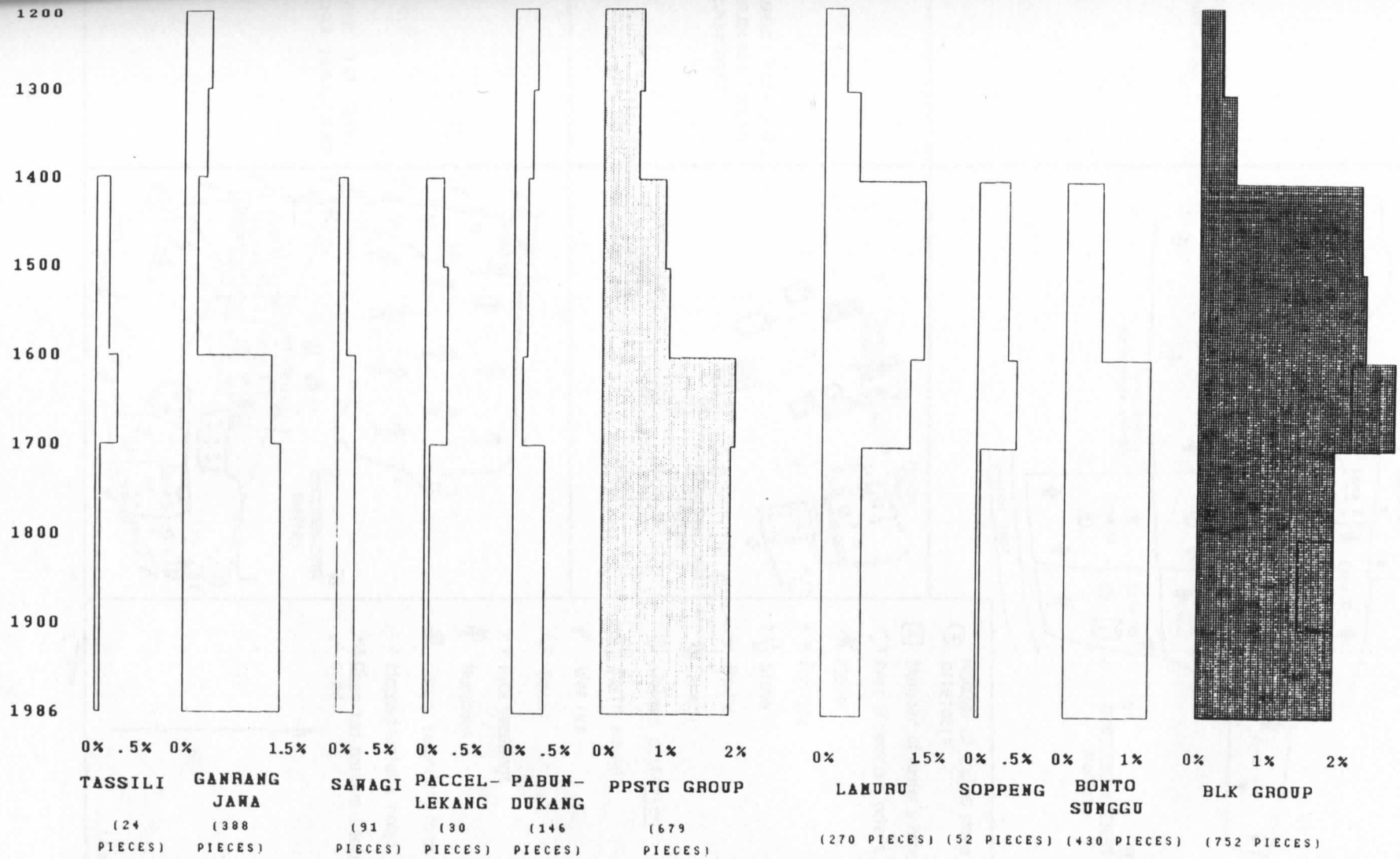


FIGURE 10-17. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (BROAD CLASSES) - PPSTG AND BLK SITES

FIGURE 10-18. LAMURU

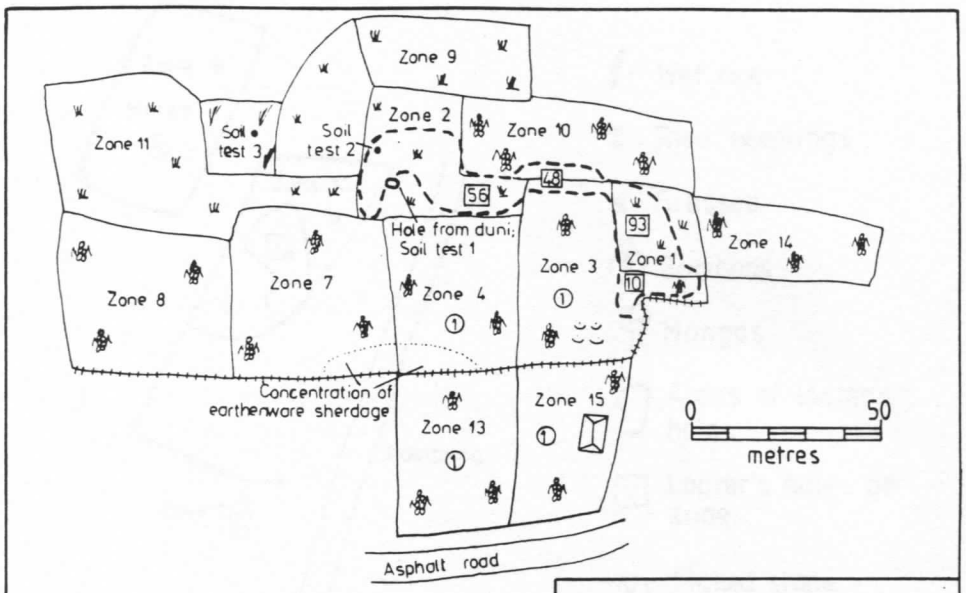


FIGURE 10-19. KUBURAN TUA LAMURU

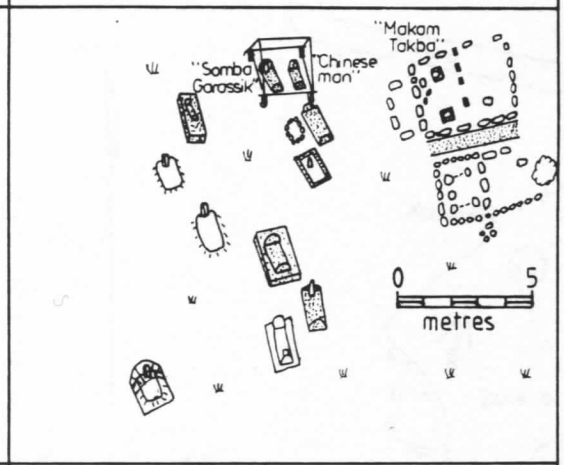
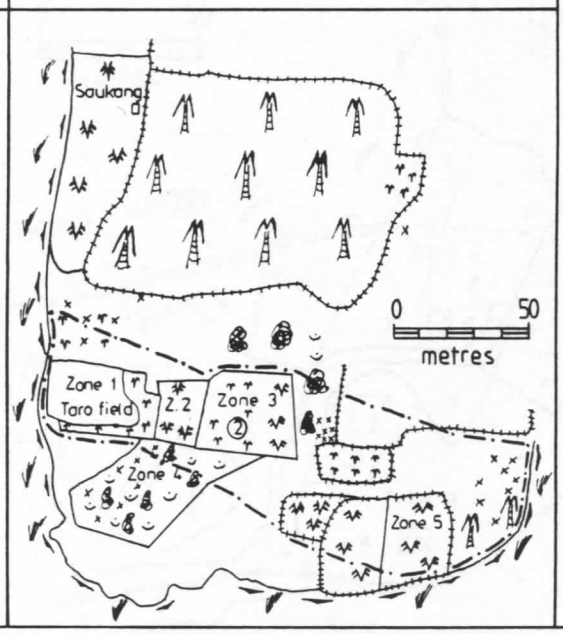
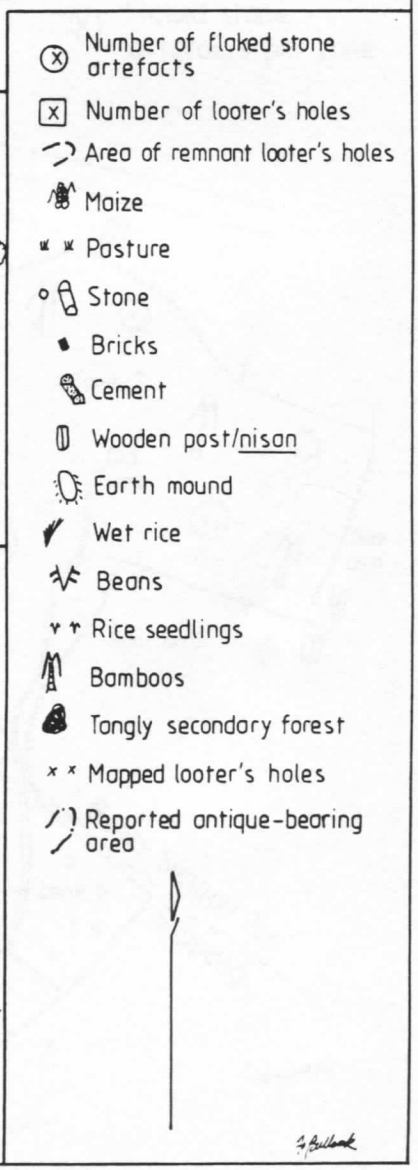


FIGURE 10-20. BIRING BALANG





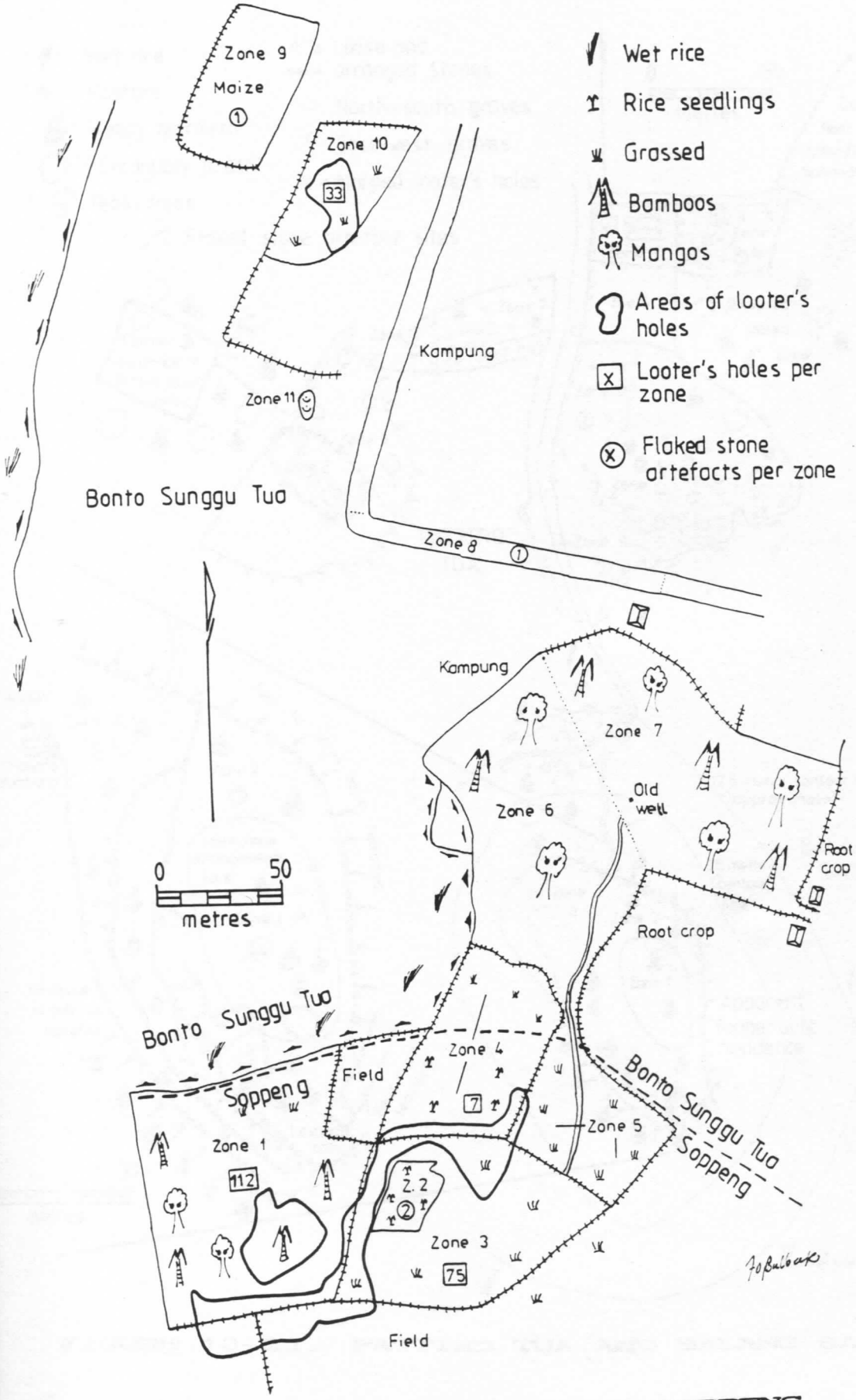


FIGURE 10-21. BONTO SUNGGU AND SOPPENG

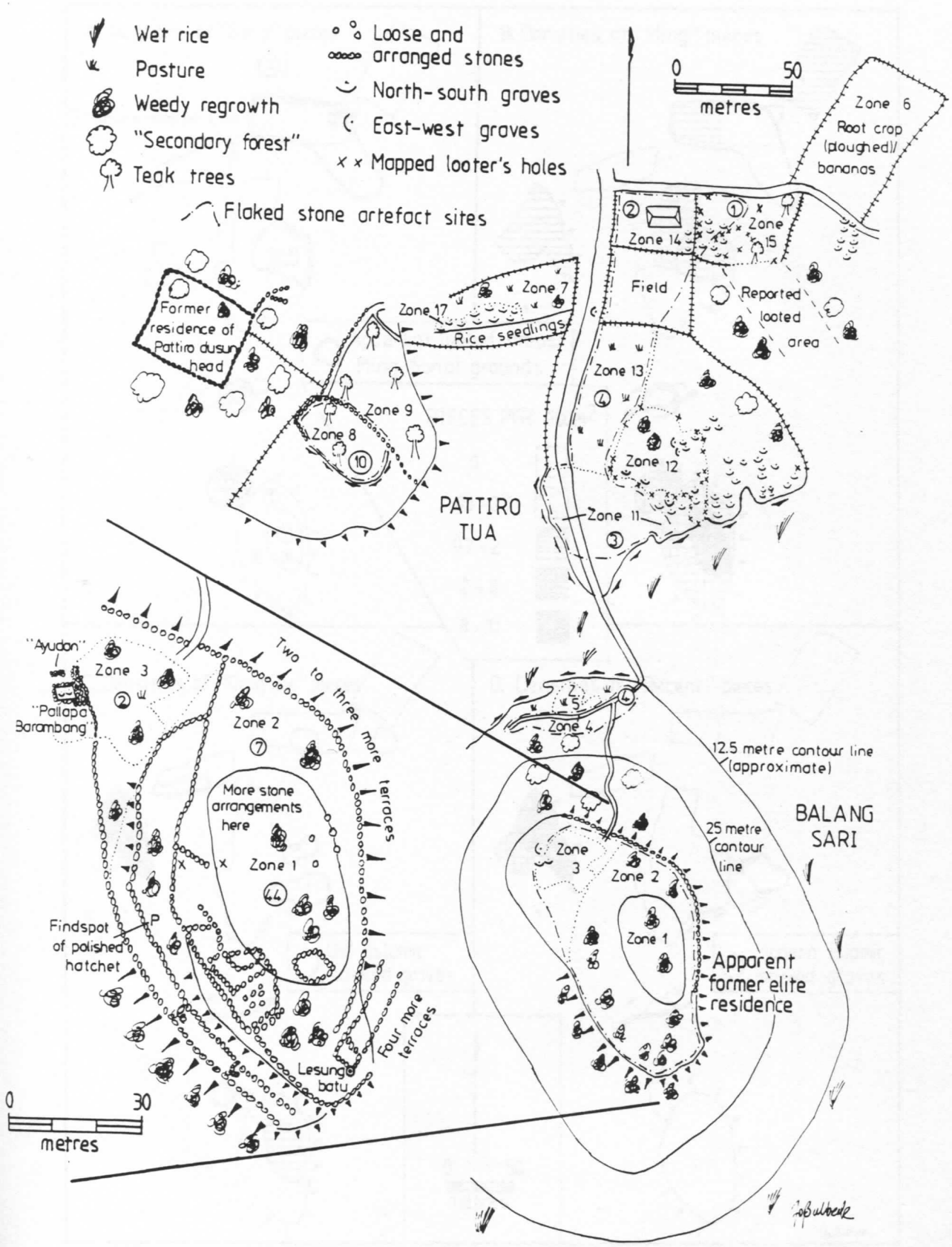


FIGURE 10-22. PATTIRO TUA AND BALANG SARI

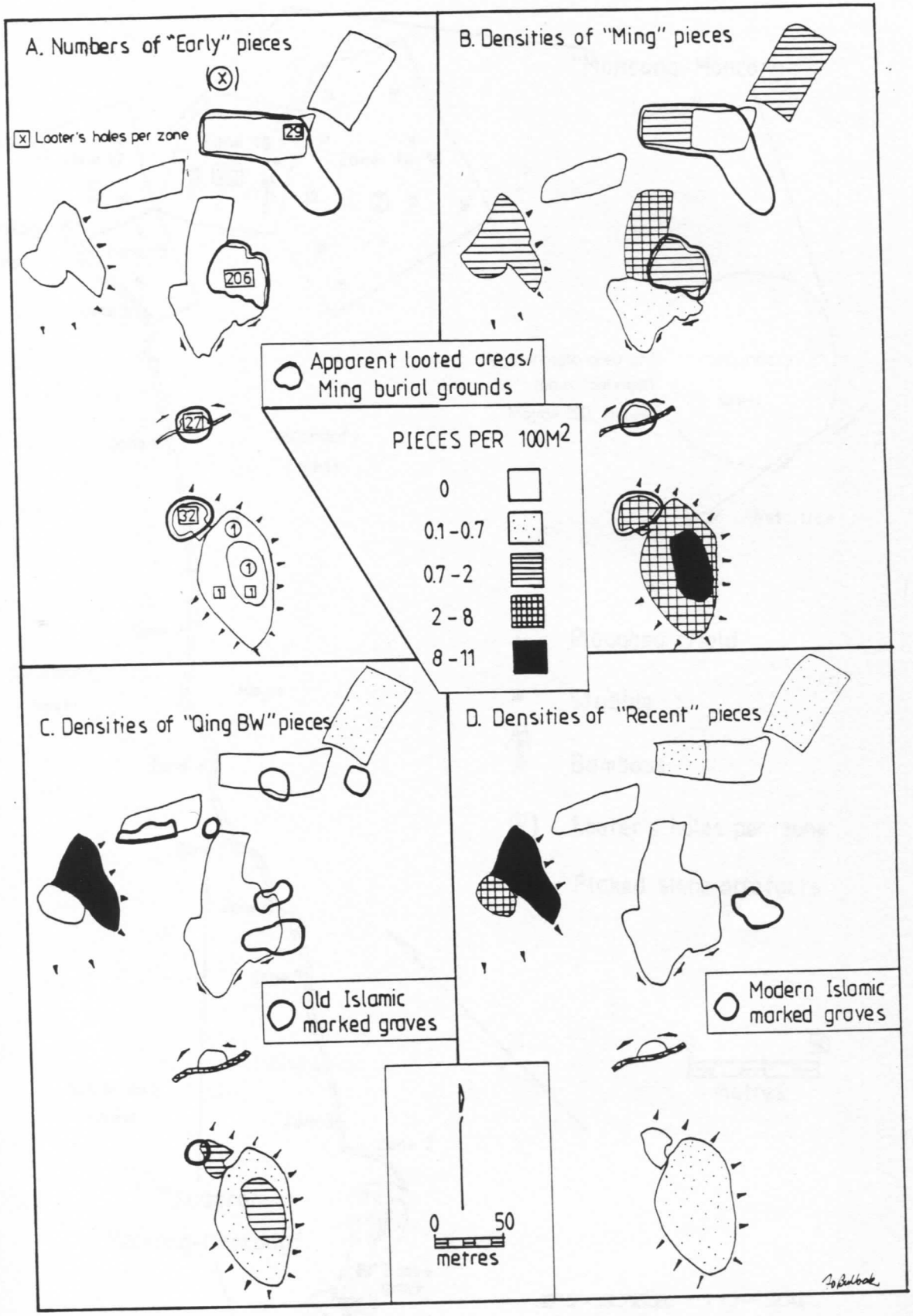


FIGURE 10-23. OCCURRENCES OF "EARLY" PIECES AND DENSITIES OF OTHER PIECES, PATTIRO-BALANG SARI

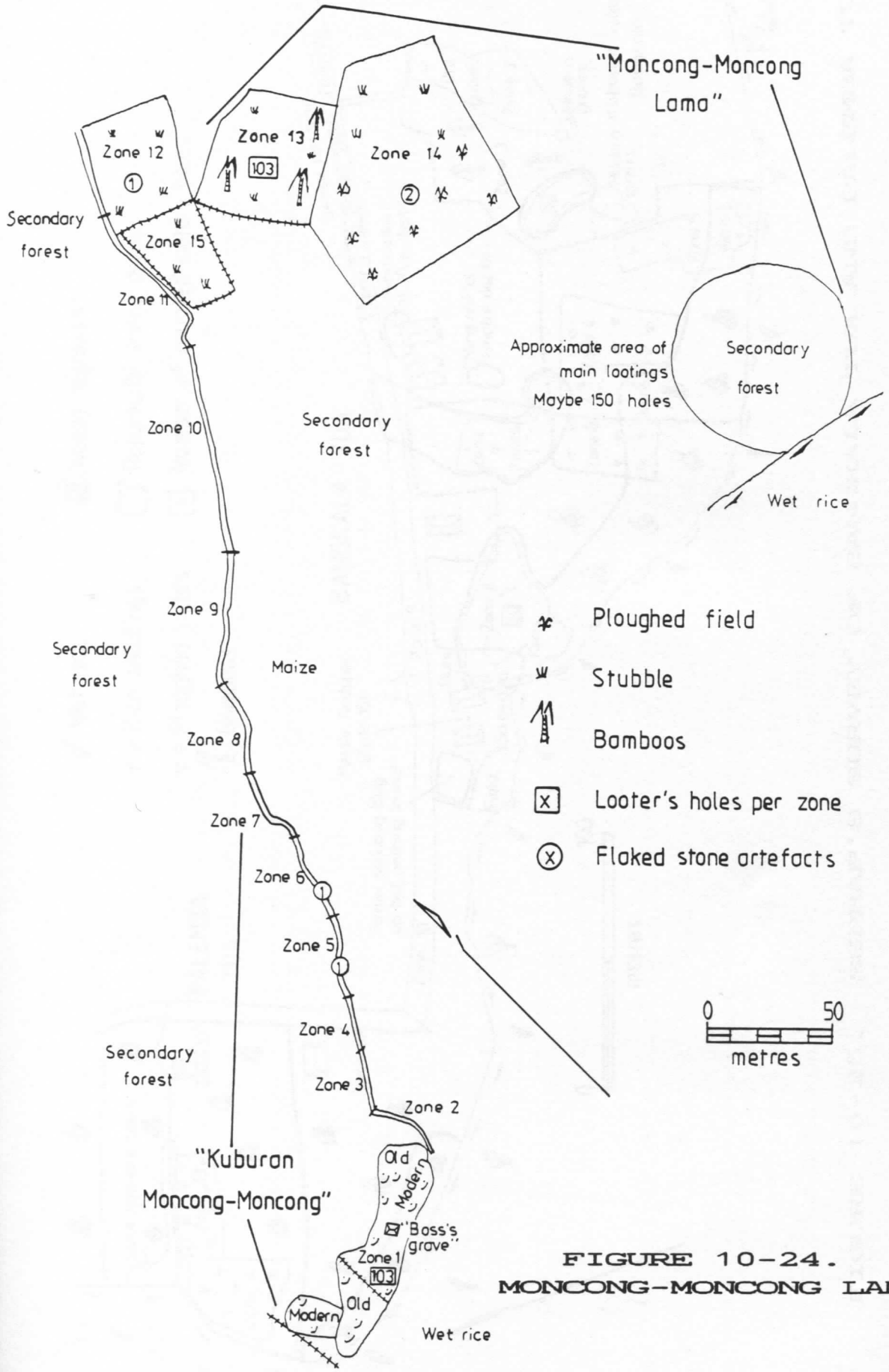


FIGURE 10-24.
MONCONG-MONCONG LAMA

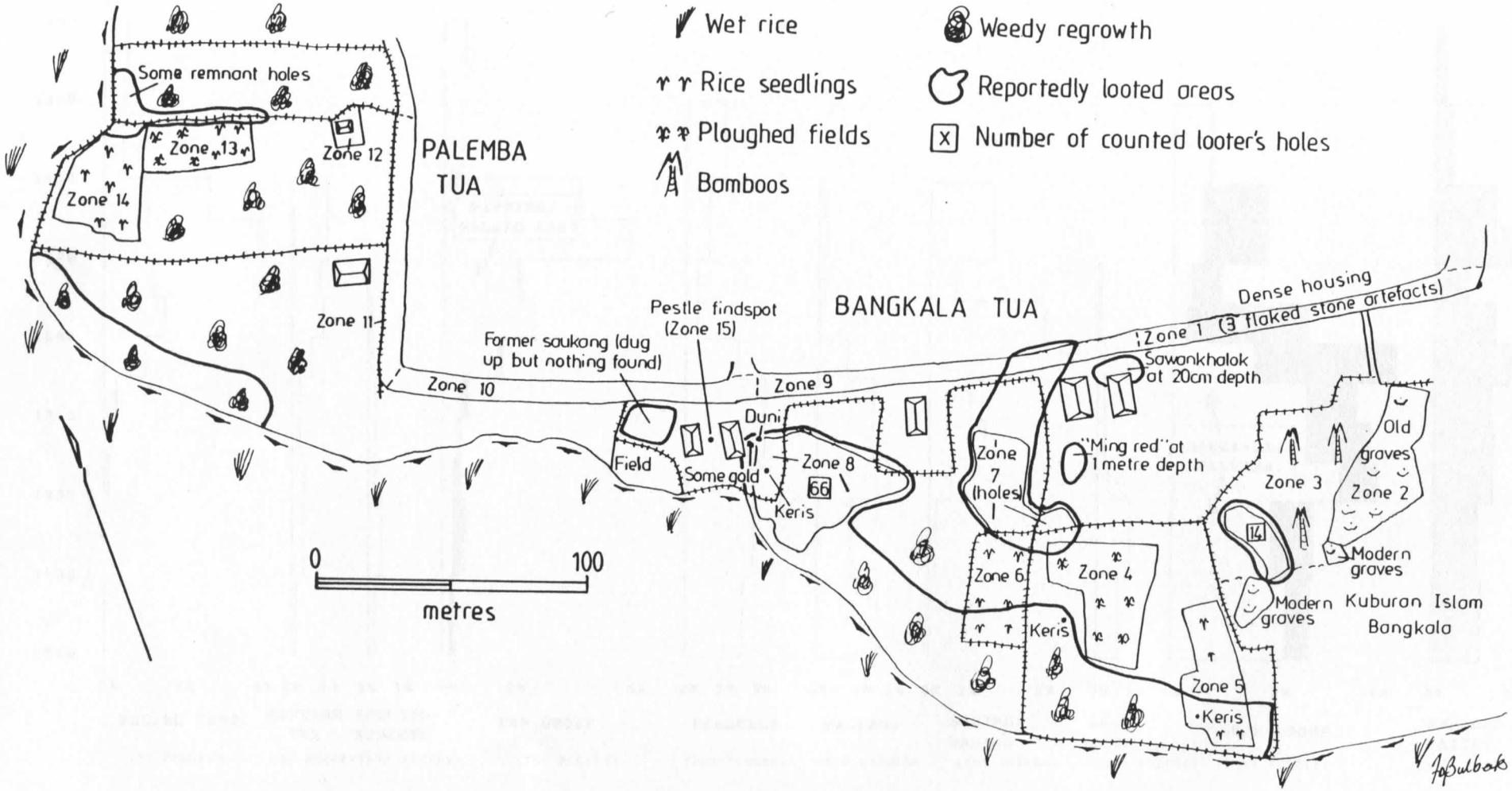


FIGURE 10-25. SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF BANGKALA TUA AND PALEMBA TUA

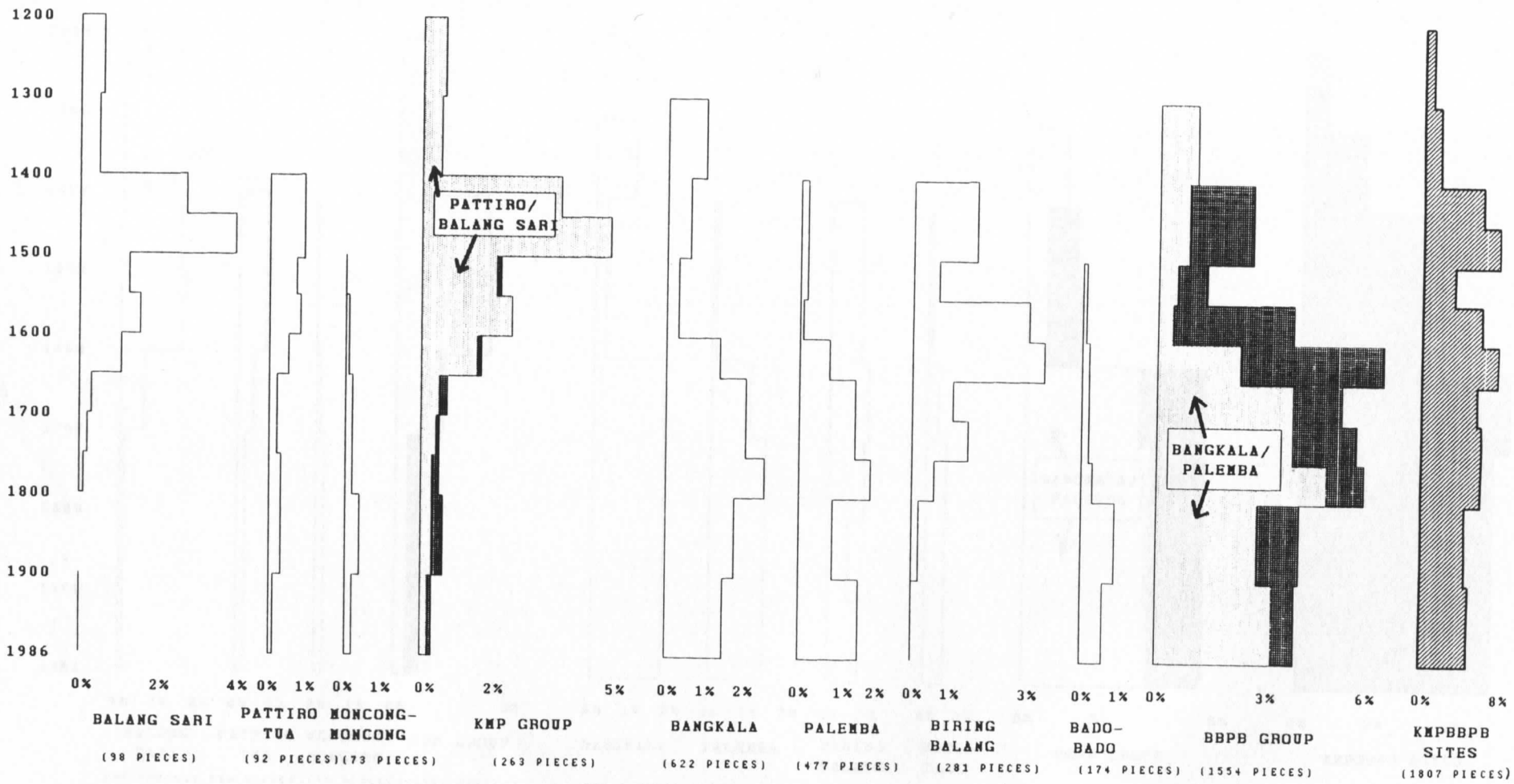


FIGURE 10-26. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) - KMPBBPB SITES

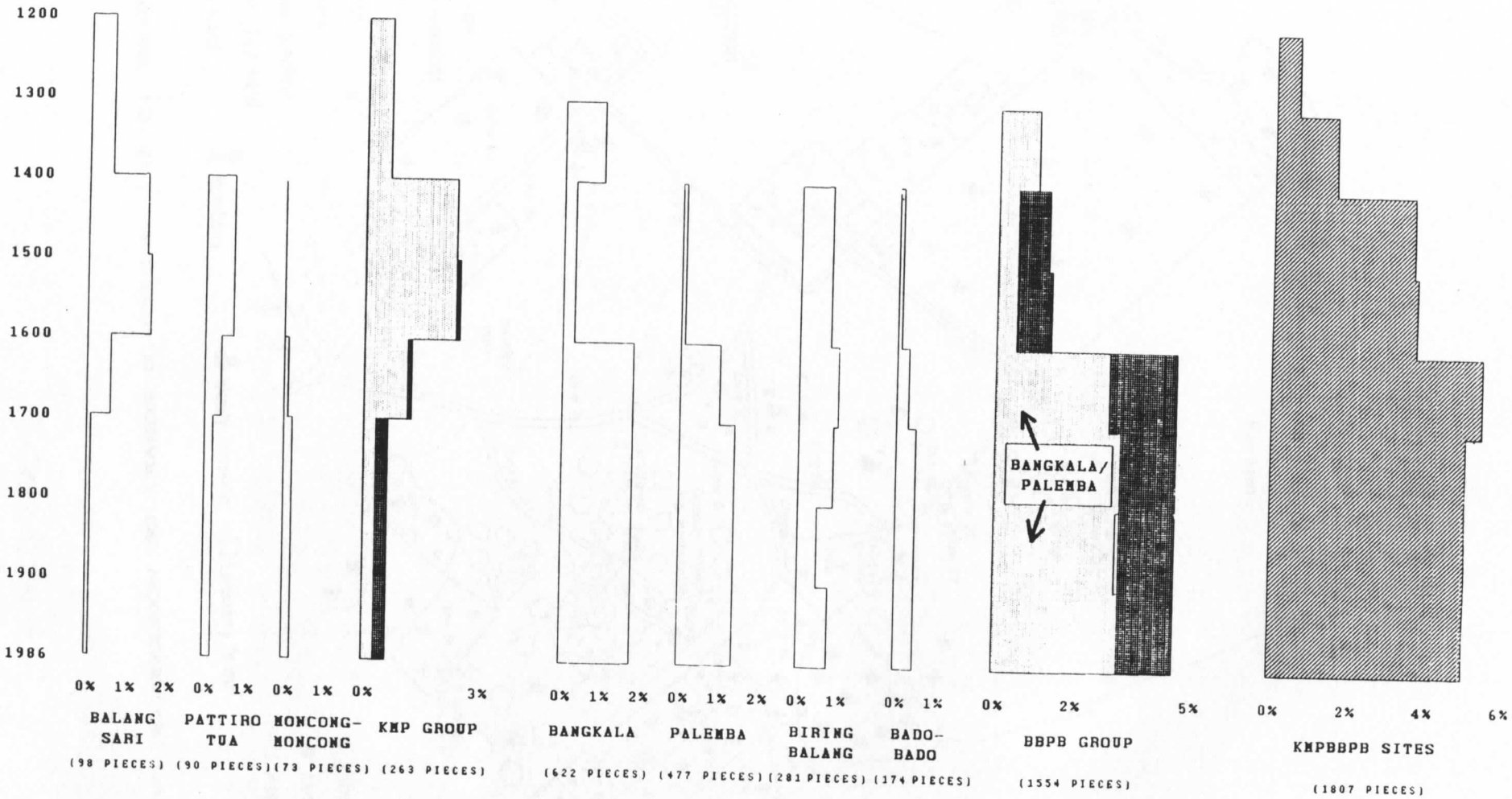


FIGURE 10-27. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (BROAD CLASSES) - KMPBBPB SITES

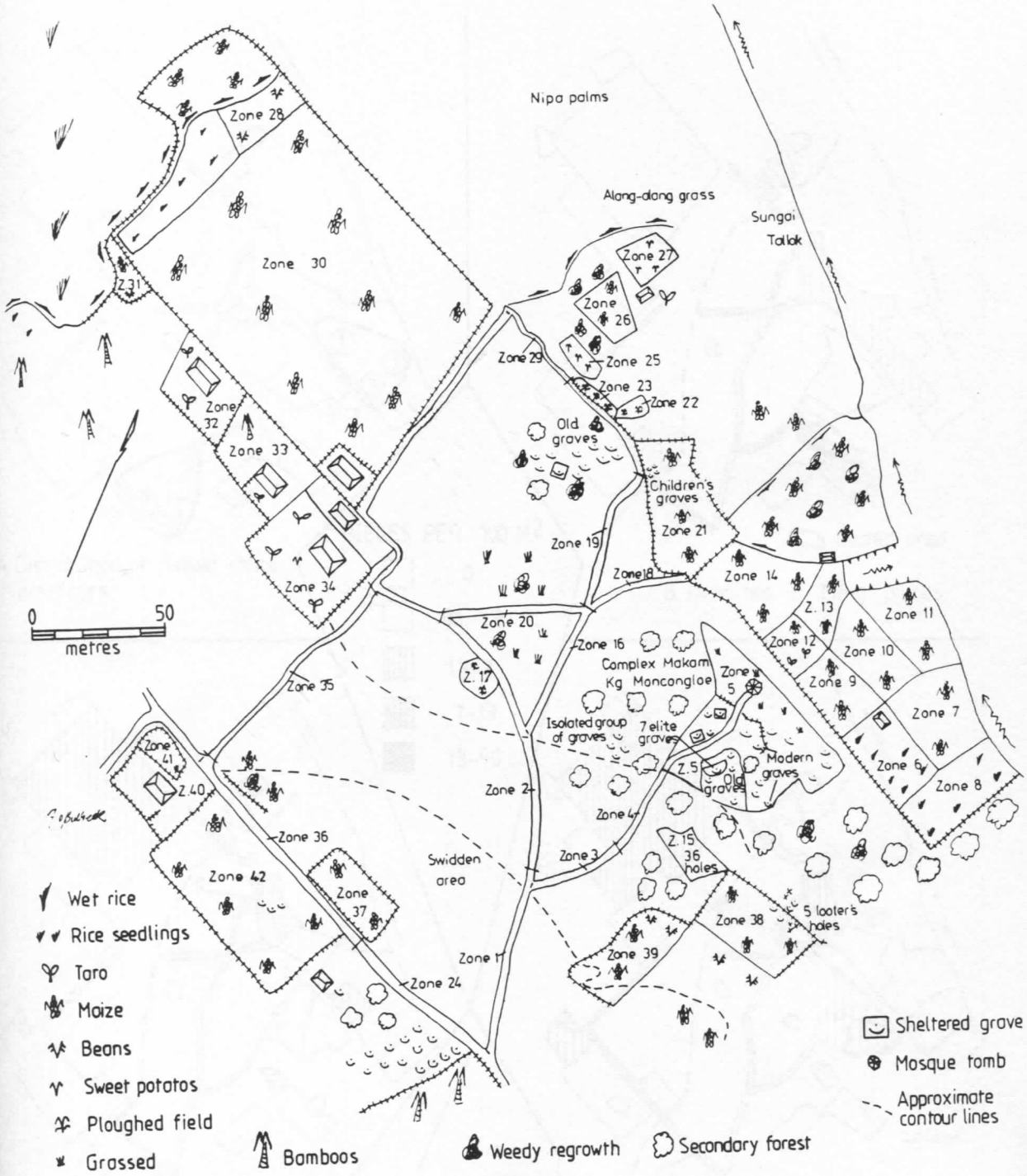


FIGURE 10-28. SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF MONCONGLOE LAPPARA

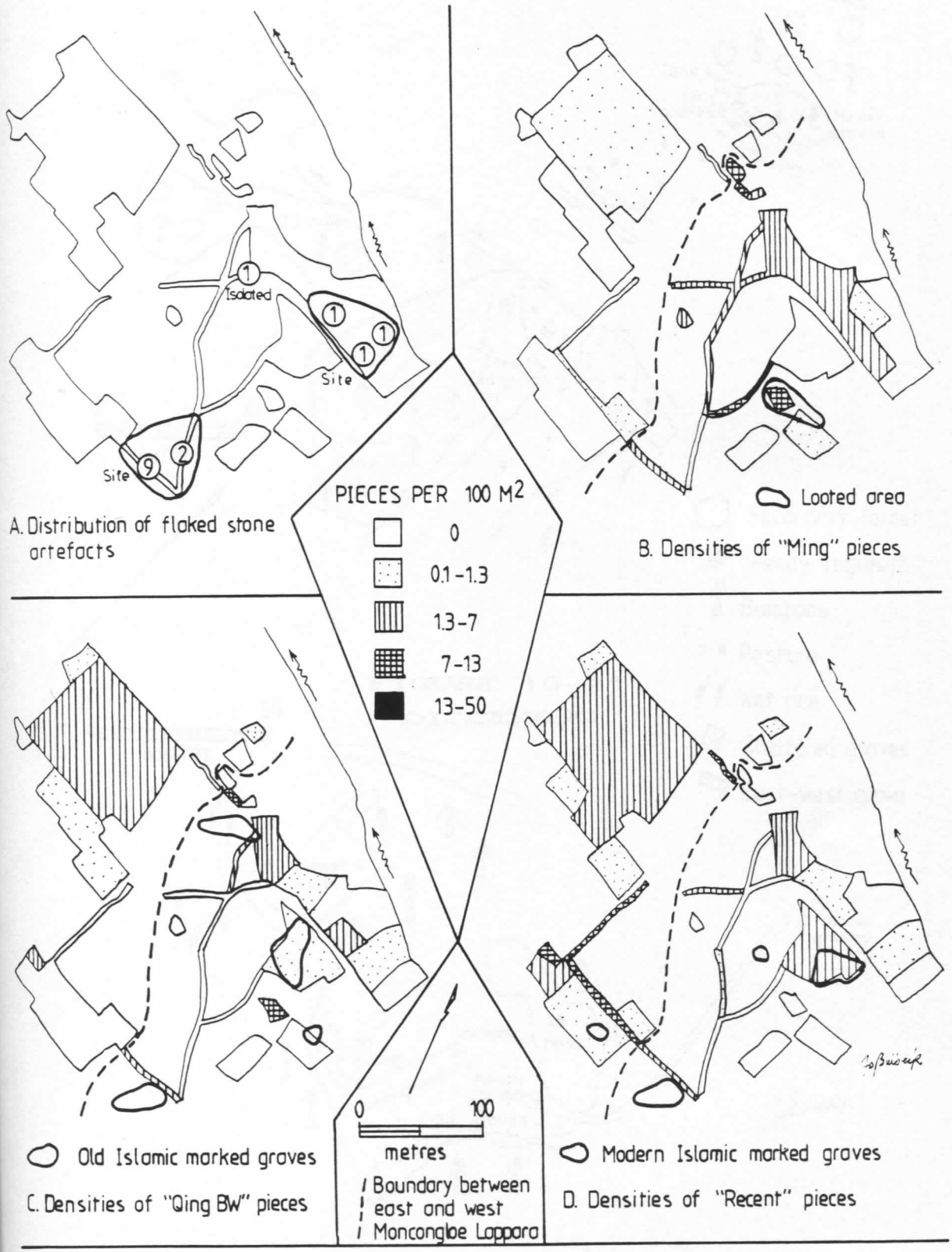


FIGURE 10-29. MONCONGLOE LAPPARA: FLAKED STONE ARTEFACTS AND SHERDAGE DENSITIES

FIGURE 10-30. MANYEMPANG TOA

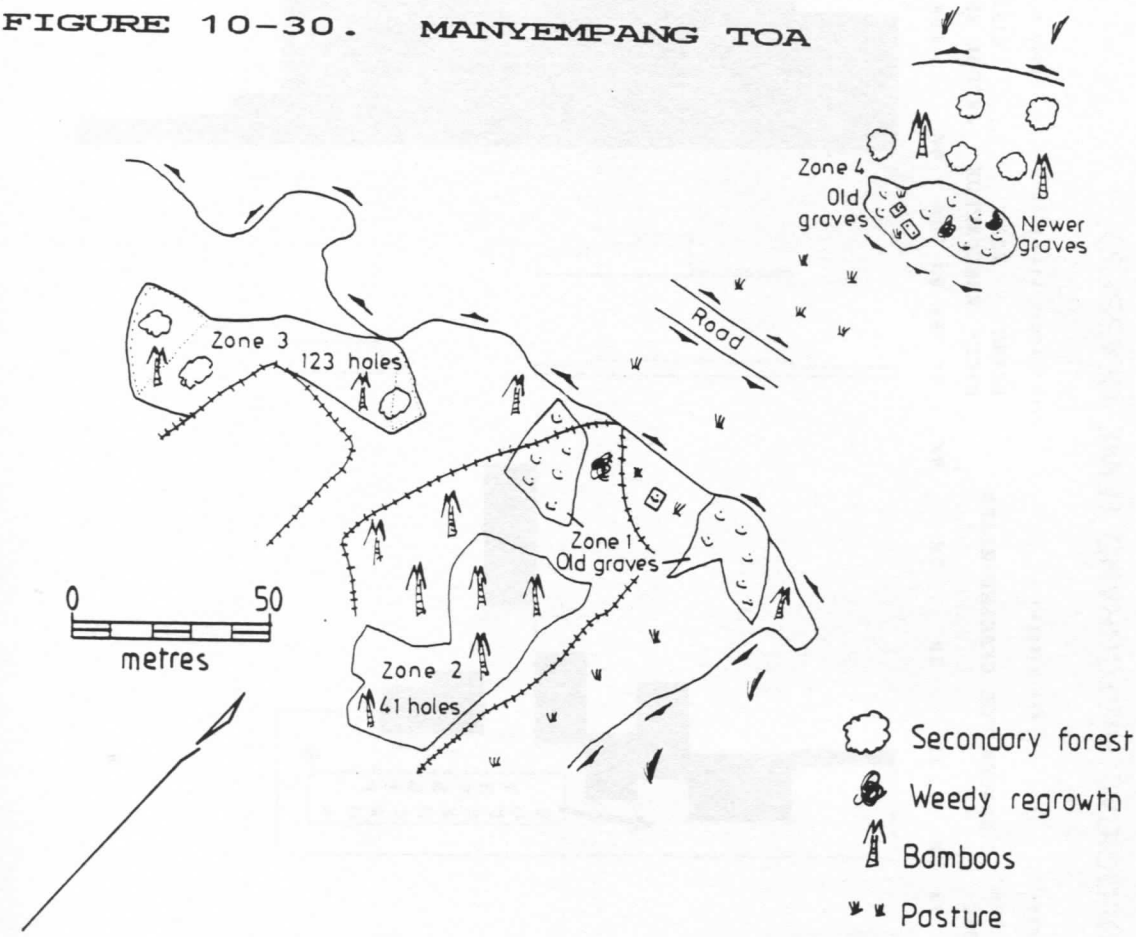
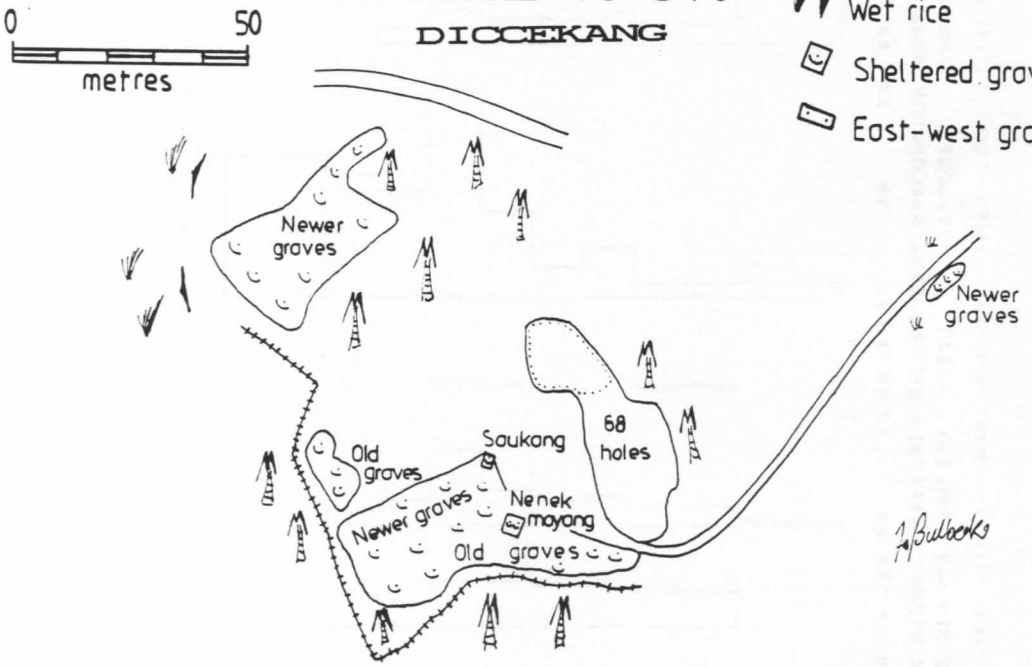


FIGURE 10-31. DICCEKANG



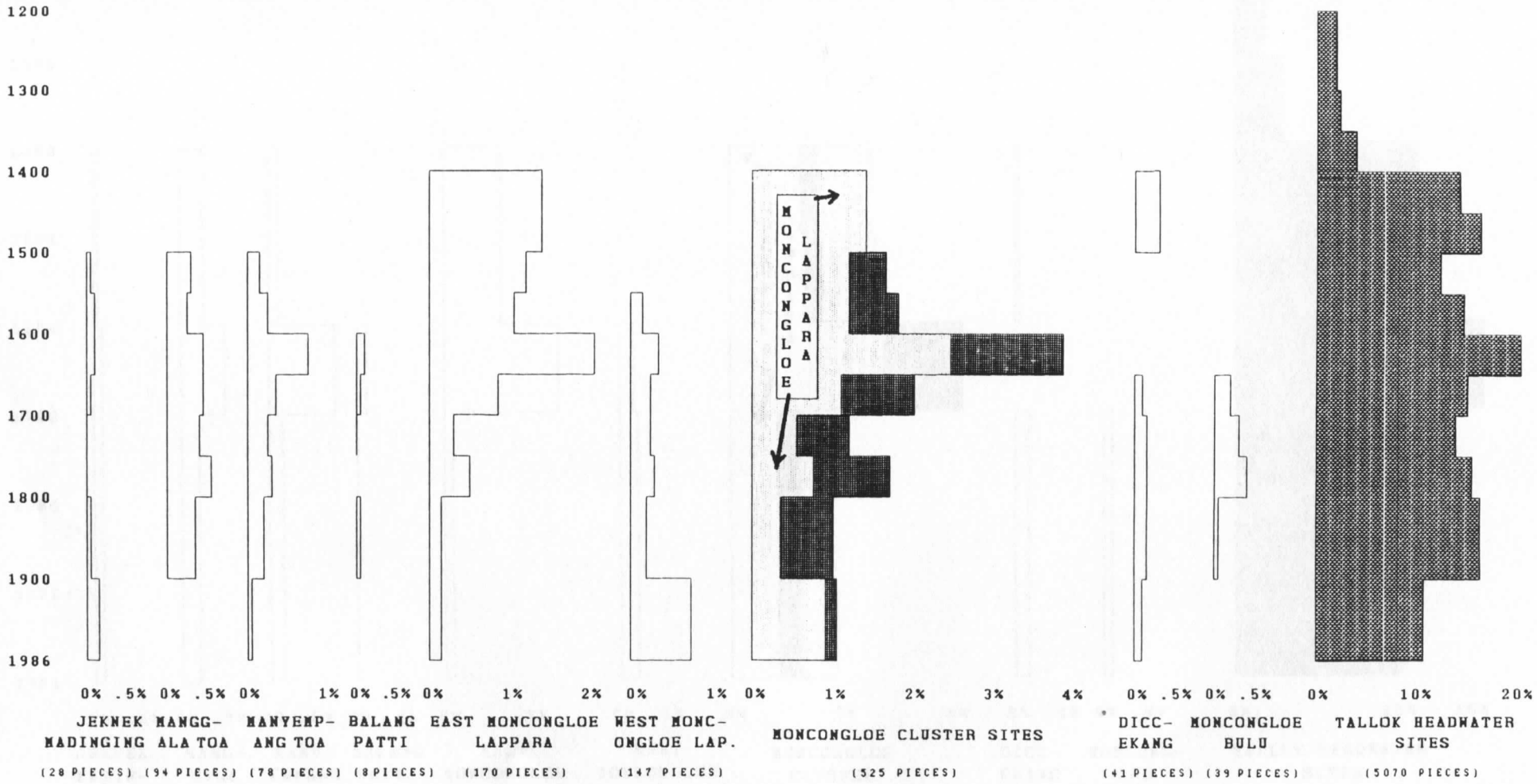


FIGURE 10-32. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) – MONCONGLOE CLUSTER; DICCEKANG TRIBUTARY; TOTAL TALLOK HEADWATER SITES

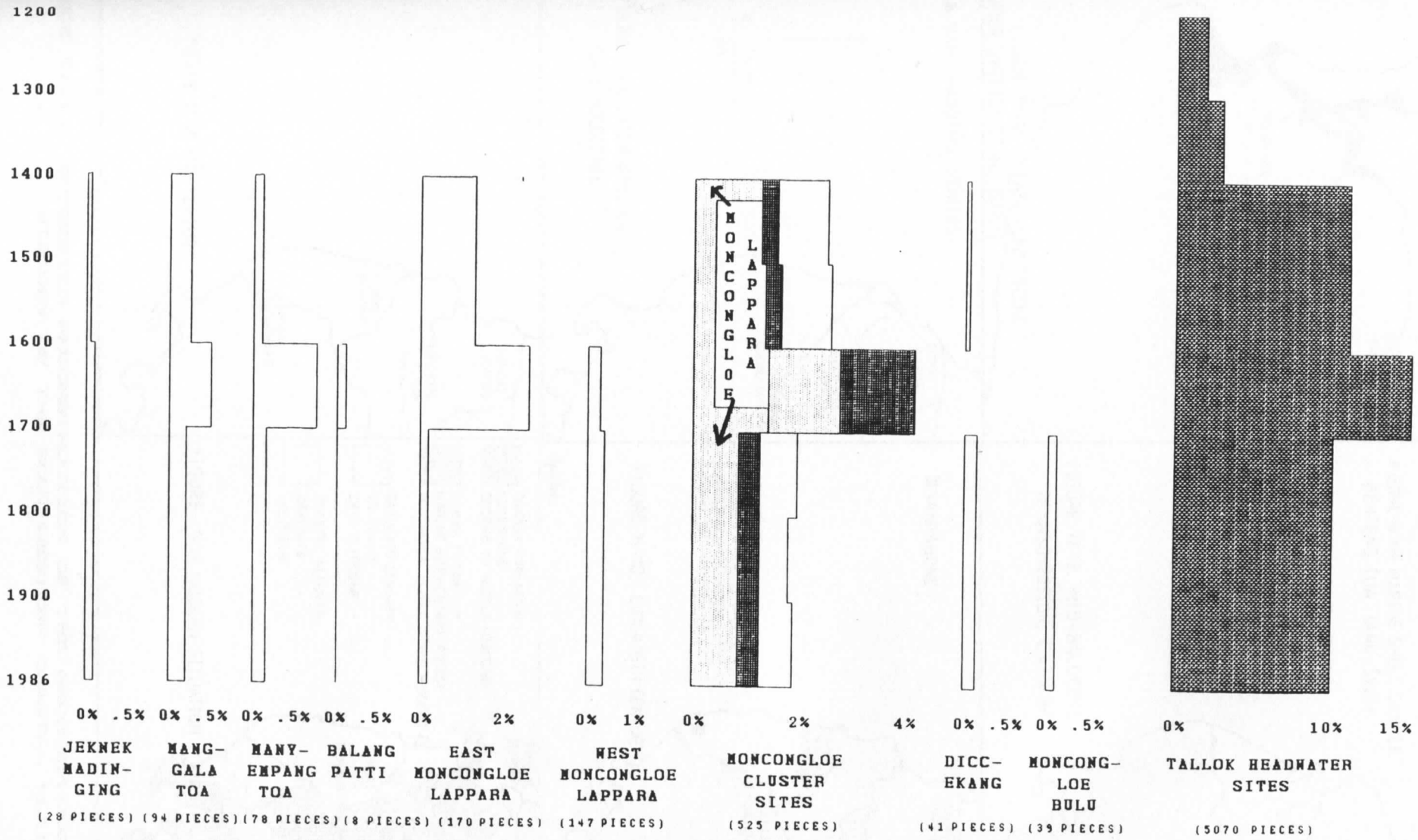


FIGURE 10-33. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) - MONCONGLOE CLUSTER; DICCEKANG TRIBUTARY; TOTAL TALLOK HEADWATER SITES

Photo 10-1.
The view eastwards from the knoll of Balang Sari (Gowa 63). The name ("Sari swamp") presumably comes from the area of rice fields, below the knoll, which is shown as swamp on the early 20th century Dutch land-use maps. A low rise of Camba Formation abuts the sawah depression, as elsewhere in the Tallok headwaters survey area, while the rugged landscape further east is shrouded by the approaching downpour.

Photo 10-2.
The Pabundukang tributary at the site of Pabundukang Tua, showing the bridge of bamboo stalks which accesses the site from north of the tributary.

Photo 10-3.
The view to the southeast from the south slope of Batu Moncongloe, showing the rugged forested valley of the Diccekang tributary and, further east, the steep backdrop of the mountains of the Gowa highlands.

Photo 10-4.
Palacini Tua's old graveyard at the east of the site, showing a looter's hole and disturbed remnants of stone arrangements hidden among the scrub.

Photo 10-5.
Gentung, looking southwestwards across the stubble of zone 2. The scrub-covered knoll containing most of the looter's holes and Islamic graves is at rear left.

Photo 10-6.
Saile Tua, zone 1. The confluence of the Pabundukang and its small tributary, which bound the zone, is near the centre of the picture, in front of the trees protruding from zone 2.

Photo 10-7.
Pattallassang. Two graves marked with arrangements of crudely masoned blocks associated with Dg Malotteng (under the shelter, with a small triangular *nisan* at the south) and his dog (at front).

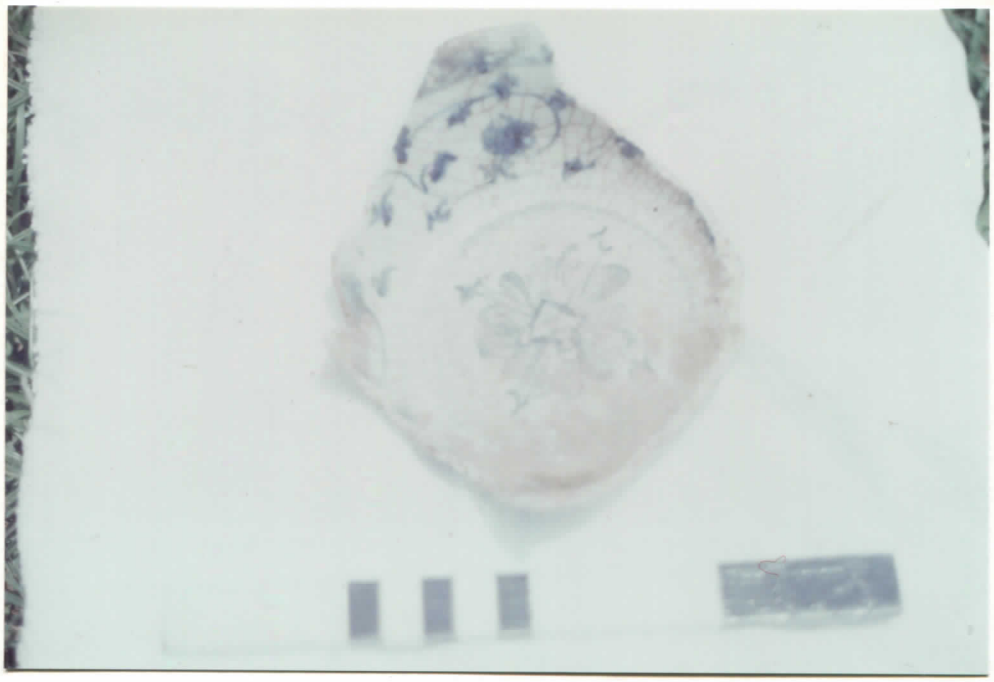
Photo 10-8.
Patallassang. The sheltered graves of Tetta Ruleha (left) and Tetta Bollong (right). Their awry orientation (315° from north) and old-style masonry appear anachronistic given the 1948 date of death on the plaque.

Photo 10-9.
General view of Kompleks Makam Karaeng Talla, Talla-Talla.

Photo 10-10.
The Ming BW bowl shown to SSPHAP at Teamate Asli.
Double *vajra* in centre and lotus scroll on interior cavetto.
A lotus scroll covers the reverse cavetto.
The double *vajra* may suggest a late 15th to early 16th century date (Addis, 1968a:17-18).

Photo 10-11.
Ganrang Jawa. The recently ploughed field of zone 5 abutting the mature river valley drained by the Tallisi tributary.

Photo 10-12.
Ganrang Jawa, G.49.2.1. Fragment from the rim of a bronze jar or bowl with original diameter of around 18 cm. The fragment is 41.5 by 13 by 6 mm (rim thickness) and weighs 11 grams.



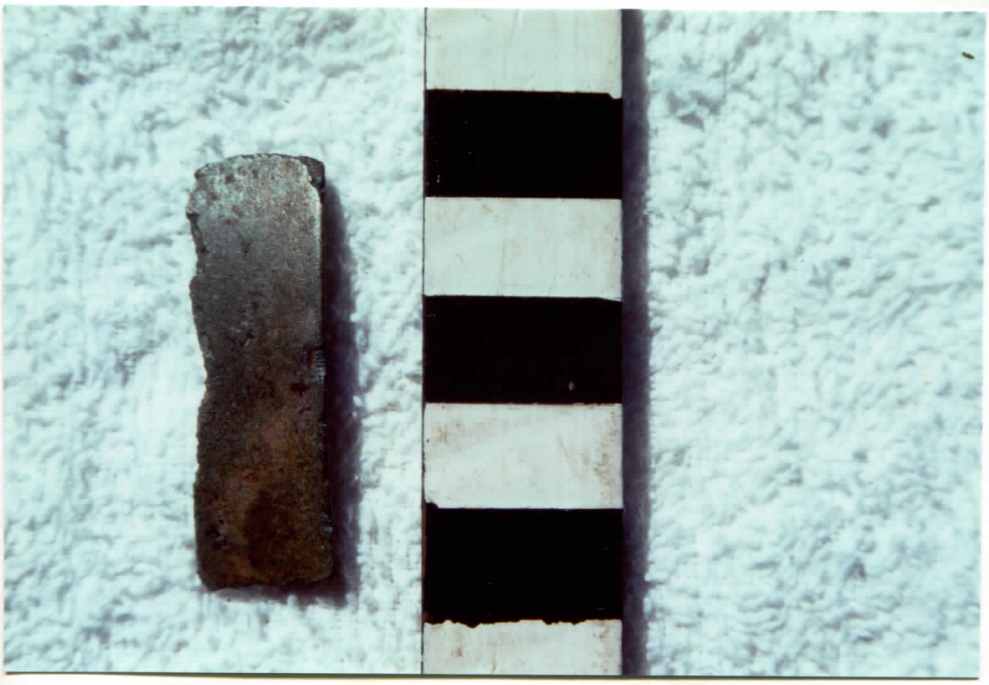


Photo 10-13.
Tassili, the shelter protecting the marked graves ascribed to Karaeng Tassili and his wife, further "improved" with wooden gateway posts and a raised pathway of stones leading to the shelter entrance. The cemetery's brick sepulchre is visible behind the shelter (centre of picture).

Photo 10-14.
Kompleks Makam Karaeng Tassili. The sheltered stone arrangement marking the grave of "Daeng Tallo" (left) next to a grave (temporarily?) marked with a raised earth feature, arranged stones and peg-like *nisan*.

Photo 10-15.
Kompleks Makam Karaeng Tassili. The marked grave oriented east-west (see Table F-7b) can be seen at centre rear.

Photo 10-16.
Jerak Lompo or "Big Grave", Kuburan Islam Sawagi, associated with an immigrant from Maros. Note shelter's centrally crossing eaves and carved cross-beam, and the corral of arranged rocks.

Photo 10-17.
Kuburan Islam Paccellekang. Grave marked with a stone arrangement coinciding with a looter's hole from which a plate was reportedly recovered.

Photo 10-18.
Kuburan Islam Paccellekang, reportedly the oldest grave associated with a karaeng whose name has been forgotten. Slabbed masonry marker enclosing a rectangular stone arrangement and two large headstones pushed apart by the tree trunk. Orientation due north.

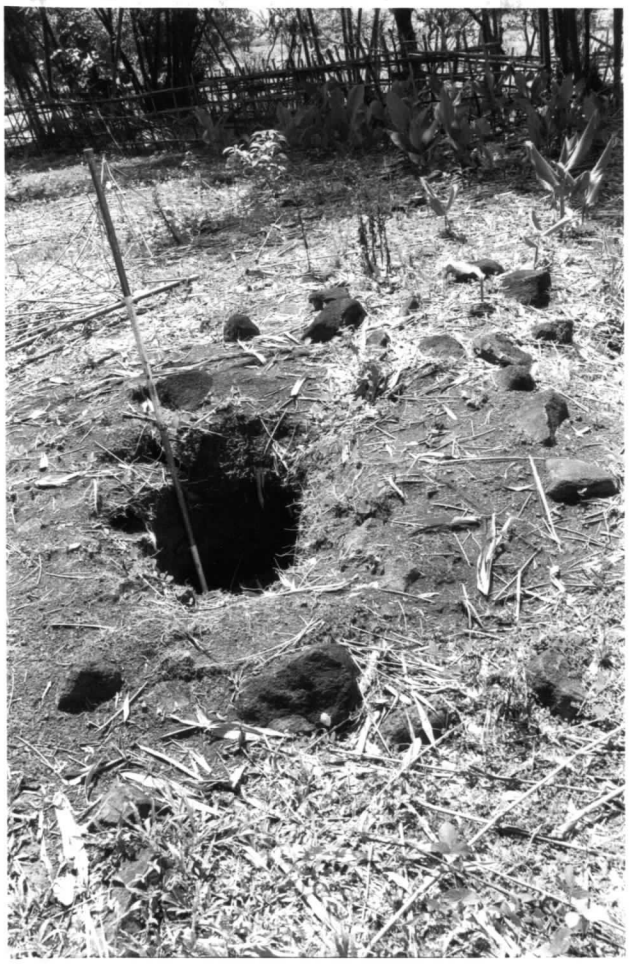


Photo 10-19. Kuburan Islam Paccellekang.
The ranging pole marks the closer end of the stone arrangement oriented east-west at right angles to the north-south stone arrangements at the front of the picture.

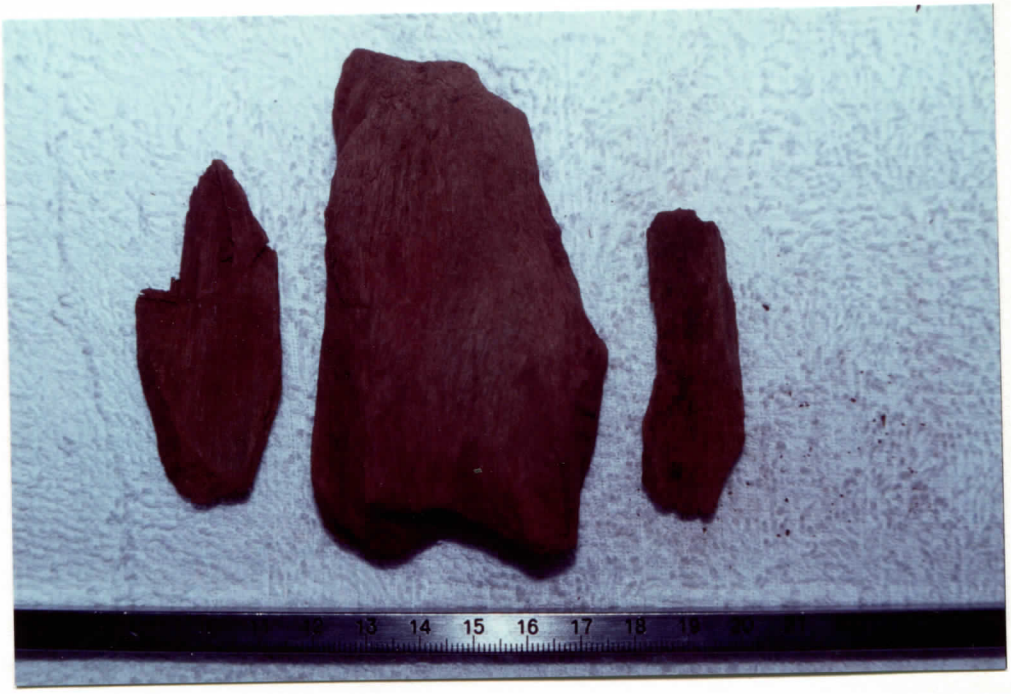
Photo 10-20.
The sawah belt south of Pabundukang Tua, looking in the general direction of Marannu. One of the shelters protecting an isolated grave can be seen at centre right.

Photo 10-21.
Pabundukang Tua, showing the staff-shaped *nisan* and associated graves marked with stone arrangements in zone 8.

Photo 10-22.
Pabundukang Tua tradeware sherds, exterior faces. G.58.7.8 at left is classified as Swatow. G.58.7.10 and G.58.7.9 (right), along with G.58.7.7 (not in the photograph), appear to come from the cavetto of the same piece, a foliated bowl with skeletal red overglaze decorations (G.58.7.9) and possibly a band of very poorly fired cobalt (G.58.7.10). Here dated 14th-15th centuries.

Photo 10-23.
Lamuru, G.46.2.4, the three pieces of wood identified by SSPHAP's informant as having come from a wooden coffin found in zone 2. Weight of the sample 51 grams. Conventional radiocarbon age 340 ± 70 BP (ANU-5922), which calibrates to (340) 355 (430) BP, single S.D. range 310-495 BP.

Photo 10-24.
Lamuru, G.46.5.3 (right), G.46.5.2 and G.46.5.1 (left). Reportedly recovered from zone 2. Undecorated exteriors; glazed bases. Identified as Wanli wares (G.46.5.1 as a Wanli whiteware) whose rounded-off period, 1550-1650 AD, fits excellently with the calibrated ^{14}C date from the wood.


13 14 15 16 17 18

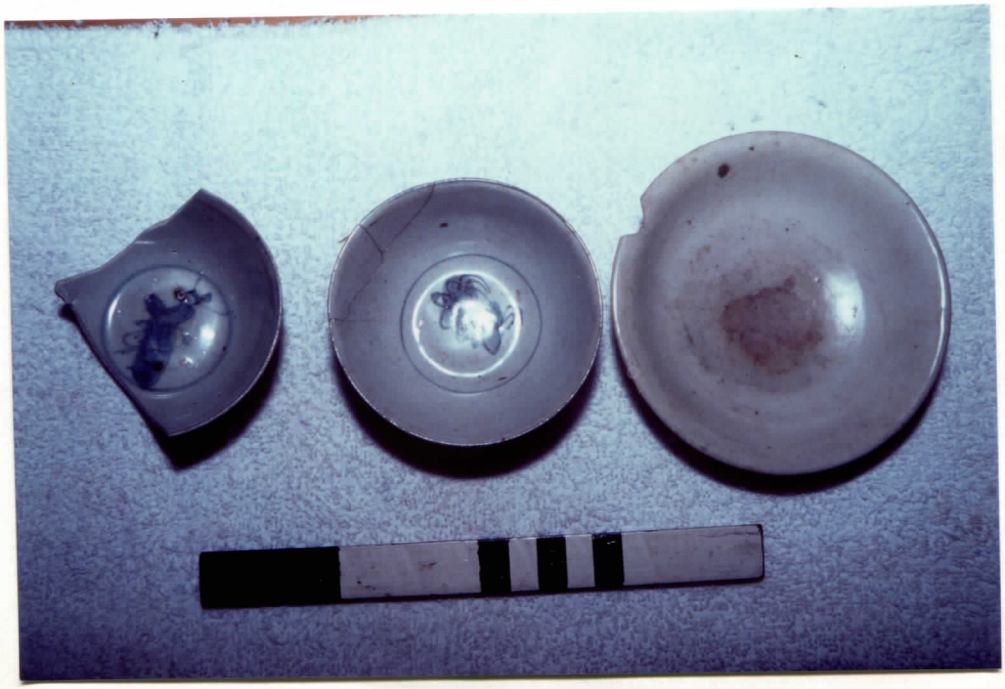


Photo 10-25.
Lamuru, G.46.6.2, reconstructed from sherds from zone 4. Reverse cavetto contains the same decorations in vertical panels as the obverse cavetto; glazed base. Wanli blue-and-white (cf. McElney, 1979).

Photo 10-26.
Lamuru, G.46.12.1 (reportedly from zone 1) and G.46.6.1 (reconstructed from sherds reportedly from zone 4). G.46.12.1, identified as 16th century Ming BW, has the motif in its centre reproduced four times on its reverse cavetto above a scroll of *ju-i* lappets; base unglazed. G.46.6.1, identified as "Ming Swatow", has the reverse cavetto puckered with equally spaced dots; dirty footring but glazed base.

Photo 10-27.
Lamuru, G.46.12.5 (left) and G.46.12.4 (right), reconstructed from sherds reportedly from zone 1. Both identified as 16th century Ming BW. In addition to its *qilin* in centre and obverse rim decorations, G.46.12.5 has a cloud scroll along its reverse rim; base glazed. Reverse cavetto decoration on G.46.12.4 is a lotus scroll; base glazed.

(G.46.12.2 and G.46.12.3, which could not be joined with any other sherds, were respectively identified as 16th century Ming BW, and Wanli BW with *famille verte* enamel decorations.)

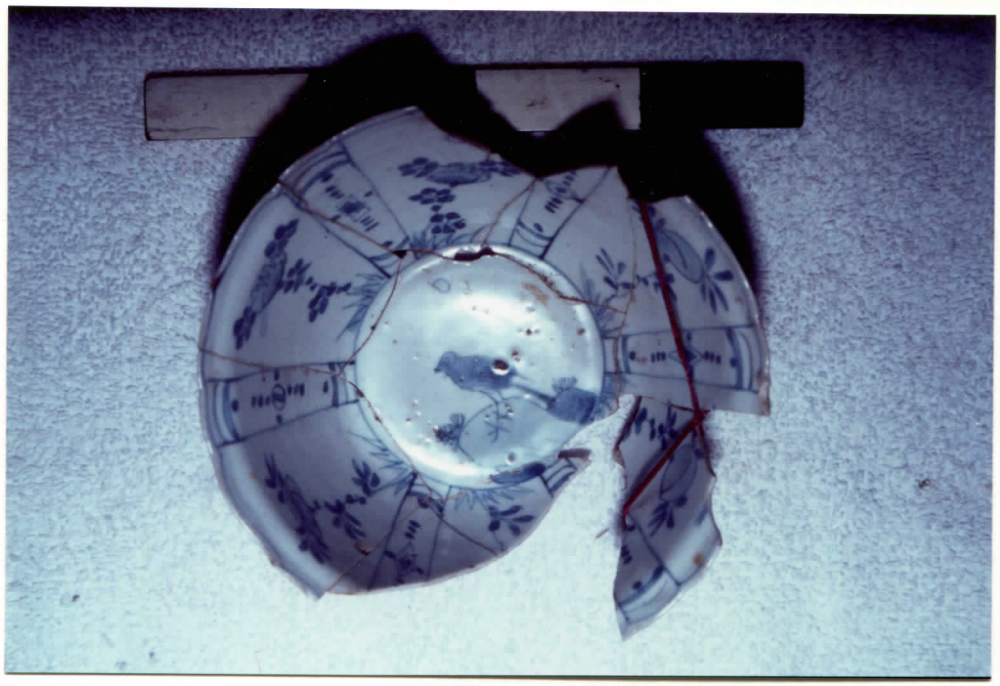


Photo 10-28.
The remnant hole in zone 2, Lamuru, where a *duni* (wooden coffin) had reportedly been found.

Photo 10-29.
The knoll of Balang Sari, looking southeastwards across the intervening sawah from zone 8, Pattiro Tua.

Photo 10-30.
Lesung batu or stone with ground-out circular hole, present at the corner of one of the stone arrangements in zone 2, Balang Sari. Its shape and size possibly suggest an original use for supporting the corner post of a house.

Photo 10-31.
The grave of Pallapa Barambang or Karaeng Balang Sari, zone 3, Balang Sari. Note the roughly triangular *nisan* which are either masoned or possibly had this shape naturally, and the second headstone wrapped with cords.

Photo 10-32.
The metre-long stone arrangement at the entrance to the tomb of Pallapa Barambang, reportedly marking his assistant buried in a crouched position.

Photo 10-33.
The extant gravestone facing west from the east side of the dirt road which traverses Pattiro Tua.

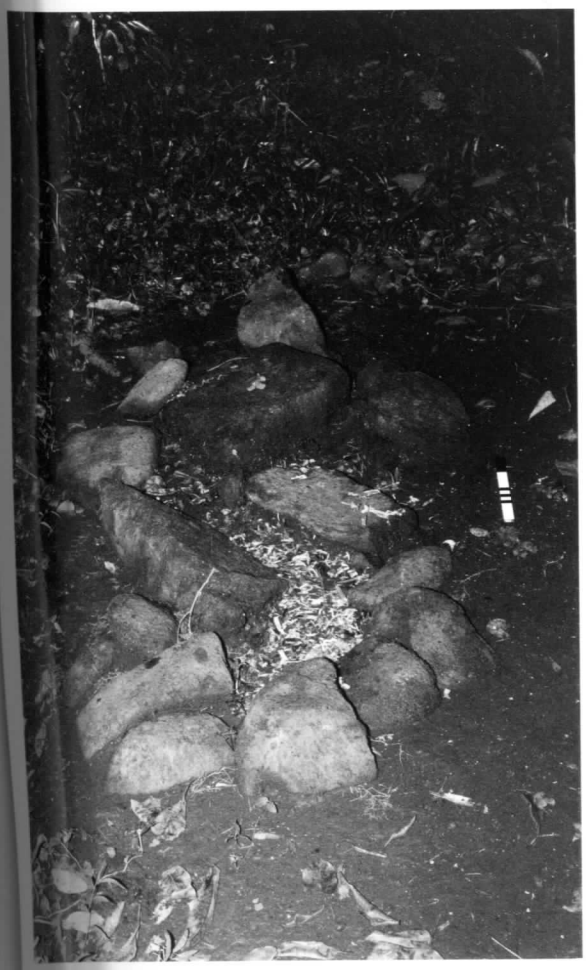


Photo 10-34.
Pattiro Tua, zone 15, one of the graves marked by a rectangular arrangement or roughly masoned, cuboid blocks.

Photo 10-35.
Kuburan Moncong-Moncong. The sheltered graves associated with a former "boss" of Moncong-Moncong whose name is no longer remembered (with the peg-like masonry *nisan* bearing remnant cord marks) and his companion.

Photo 10-36.
Moncong-Moncong Lama, zone 13 at the flat area at the top of the survey through the site. Note the looter's hole at the centre of the picture amidst a clump of large stones.

Photo 10-37.
Bangkala Tua, G.65.15.1.
Pebble pestle, trachyte or other volcanic rock, measuring 119 by 57 by 39 mm, 5YR4/2 to 5YR3/2 in colour, weighing around 300 grams. Stained from residues at the thicker, used end.

Photo 10-38.
Bangkala Tua, zone 8.
The remnant hole where a *duni* (wooden coffin) had reportedly been recovered containing some human bones.

Photo 10-39.
Kuburan Islam Bangkala Tua, some of the large impressive markers of roughly masoned slabs and cuboid blocks, with or without triangular *nisan*, which dominate the cemetery.

Photo 10-40.
Biring Balang. The taro field in zone 1 looking south towards the secondary forest which has grown over the main cemetery.

Photo 10-41.
Small Wanli BW bowl, reportedly looted from Biring Balang, shown to us in Bangkala. Undecorated exterior, base unglazed.

Photo 10-42.
The graves of Karaeng Jeknek Madinging and his bodyguard, showing the spiky to undulating triangular nisan which tend to characterise elite graves among the "Moncongloe sites".

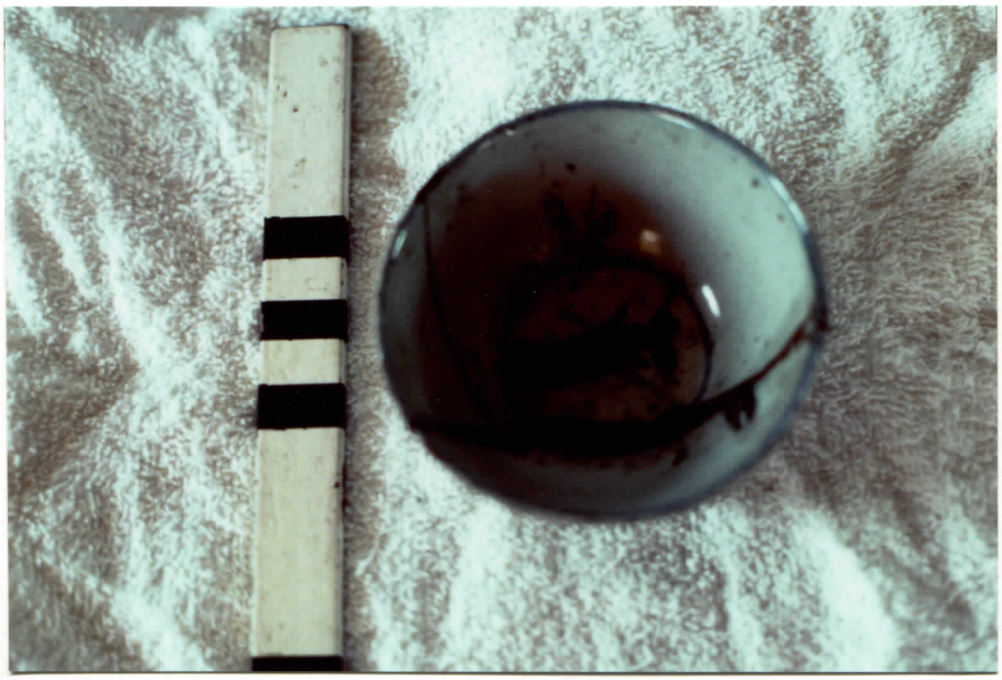


Photo 10-43. Kuburan Islam Biring Balang (zone 4) showing one of the graves marked with slabbed masonry.

Photo 10-44.
The modern cement tomb protecting the graves of Kg Jeknek Madinging and his bodyguard. High water-level marks are visible to the height of the door, caused by flooding of the "Jeknek Madinging" stretch of Balang Tallok whose course is marked by the tree line behind the tomb.

Photo 10-45.
Manggala Tua, zone 1. Recently ploughed field planted with cassava and other vegetables, which contained most of the sherdage recorded at the site. The modern housing development at Antang, which can be seen encroaching from the rear, reportedly did not result in any hauls of antiques.

Photo 10-46.
Patadang Toa. Sheltered grave with columnar *nisan* at one end.

Photo 10-47.
Manyempang Toa zone 1 (southern cemetery) showing one of the graves marked with finely masoned, undulating *nisan*.

Photo 10-48.
Kompleks Makam Kg Moncongloe, Moncongloe Lappara zone 5, showing three of the seven elite graves with finely masoned, knobbly *nisan*, including the one which also has a single sceptre-like *nisan* (centre of picture).

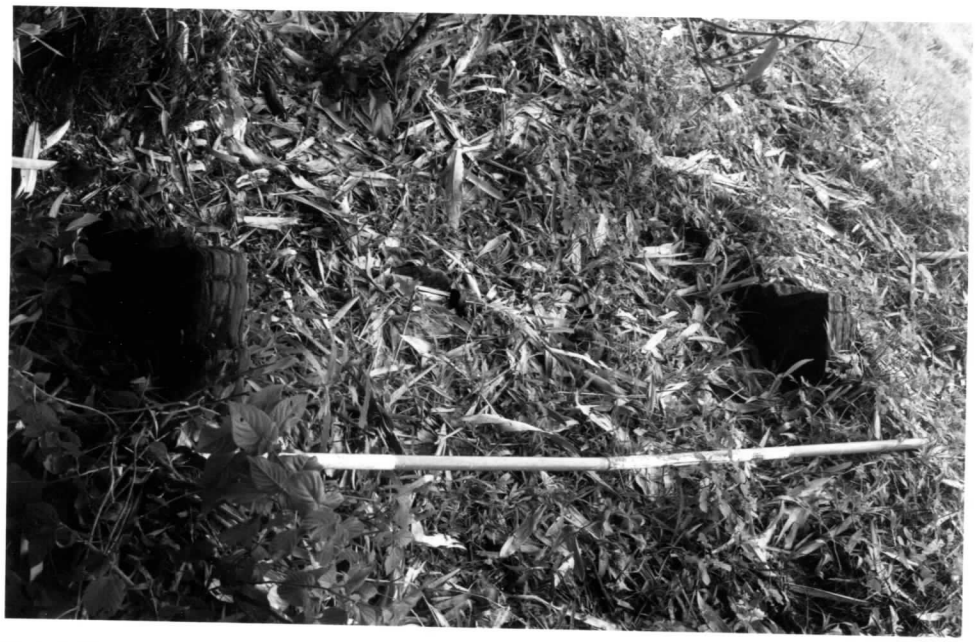


Photo 10-49.
The mosque-like tomb of Karaeng Moncongloe, Moncongloe Lappara zone 5, protected by lock and key.

Photo 10-50.
The southern sheltered grave at Kompleks Makam Kg Moncongloe. Note the circumscribing lines on the masonry peg-like *nisan*, presumably left by cords repeatedly wrapped around it.

Photo 10-51.
The small stream bunded into rice fields which runs through the site of Moncongloe Bulu between the small exposure (zone 1) and the looted cemetery.

Photo 10-52.
The sawah fields immediately west of the site of Moncongloe Lappara, directly beyond the drop in slope shown in the top-left corner of Figure 10-28. The course of the Sungai Tallok is marked by the line of trees at rear.

Photo 10-53.
Moncongloe Lappara. The view up the faintly stepped terraces of the Sungai Tallok from zone 11 to zone 9. The upper bank, where the banana palms are, is here interpreted as probably having been deposited during the middle Holocene.

Photo 10-54.
Moncongloe Bulu. The grove of secondary forest containing the site's old, looted cemetery.

Photo 10-55.
The sawah fields directly south of Kuburan Islam Diccekang which have been created along a small tributary of the Sungai Diccekang.

Photos 10-56 and 10-57.
Kuburan Islam Diccekang. The two graves marked with limestone inside a shelter which are associated with *nenek moyang* figures whose names have been forgotten.