# CHAPTER 12. BENTENG TALLOK AND UJUNG PANDANG

## 12.1 Introduction

As shown by SSPHAP's general site maps (e.g. Figure 5-2), the survey of Benteng Tallok at the Tallok inlet (Photo 12-1) constitutes an enclave of archaeological data amidst the unsurveyed urban belt of Ujung Pandang. If realised my further plans would have furnished a broader surveyed context, but when these intentions proved impractical I acceded to surveying the fortress alone (5.2). Having left the survey of Tallok to the last, SSPHAP had only three days in which to complete the work, just enough to record the fundamental data on the fortifications and enclosed historical sites. Fortunately enough I have also been able to "survey" Ujung Pandang city through a literature search as part of the preparation of this thesis (12.3.1).

As first noticed by Reid (1983a:119), the colonial city of Makassar (Ujung Pandang) developed on cheniers deposited by an ancestor of the Jeknekberang which had debouched near the present Tallok inlet. Analogy with the Jeknekberang's present delta (11.1) and evidence from air photographs suggest the following scenario. At the time the river debouched here, which can be dated to the late Holocene (Figure 11-1), the prevailing southwards sea currents created subparallel sandridges whose tail reached as far as the modern Jeknekberang delta. These ridges tended to block off a direct debouchment and fence the main outlets into an increasingly northeast position, until they finally curved around the spit of land occupied by Benteng Tallok. After the old river found a new course to the coast in the mid-Holocene, the southwards currents have gradually reworked the delta head and redeposited the sediments either along Ujung Pandang's beachline or on the Tallok spit. During historical times the northern beachline of the Tallok spit has receded slightly further inland.

Elevations within colonial Makassar reach six metres asl along the cheniers, but also drop into intervening furrows which the early 20th century Dutch maps depict as sawah or narrow swamps. These appear to have become arteries of water

spearing northwards after the Garassik, the Jeknekberang's historical ancestor, augmented the available fresh water discharge by breaching an outlet through the tail of the Ujung Pandang cheniers (11.1).

A tree-lined irrigation canal running northwards behind Makassar into sawah, shown in the c.1638 Dutch sketch (Photo 1-1), presumably followed one of these furrows. Now the air photographs show a swampy furrow which runs north-north-east from Balang Beru before making a right turn towards the beach immediately north of Mariso (cf. Figure 12-5). It would not appear to be a natural outlet of the Garassik because it cuts across a chenier lined with historical sites. Hence it can probably be identified with the c.1638 canal, in which case the creek meeting the sea at the left of Photo 1-1 would be the canal's outlet. This canal is probably the "Binanga-beru" (New River) attributed by Speelman to Abdullah (cf. Reid, 1983a:146).[1]

The identification is crucial to reconstructing 17th century Makassar. The belt of sawah reaching the coast on the left of Photo 1-1 can be identified with the land between Fort Rotterdam (Benteng Ujung Pandang) and Mariso. Support comes from the early 20th century Dutch maps, which show considerable expanses of sawah here, and from the lack of historical toponyms in this area (Figure 12-5). The northern settlement in Photo 1-1, which held most of the foreign factories, can then be matched to the area between Mariso and Balang Beru. The area is extensively labelled Sambung Jawa ("Extension for Foreigners") on the early 20th century maps, and the name apparently covered a similar area in the 17th century when it was described as both north and south of Mangallekana.[2] The river running by Somba Opu's north wall

[1] Speelman actually described this "Binanga-beru" as the river running by the north face of Benteng Somba Opu (see Photo 1-1) but he must have been confused. The north river is readily explained as a natural outlet of the Garassik (11.1) and so scarcely requires us to invoke Abdullah's hand in its creation. Nor do the Makassar sources attribute earthworks as massive as hewing new rivers to Abdullah, but they do identify him as the first raja to make irrigation canals (ST:16).

[2] Sambung Jawa is clearly depicted north of Mangallekana on the 1693 map (Figure 5-5) but Speelman's description of the

(Photo 1-1) would then have followed a course past Balang Beru ("New Swamp", i.e. "New River") between the fort and 20th century Sambung Jawa (Figure 12-6).

The low-lying expanse of sawah at Makassar's rear shown in Photo 1-1 persisted until after 1969. But with the pressures of urbanisation, the section north of the Jeknekberang has now been overtaken by suburbia.[3] As we follow the Ujung Pandang cheniers northwards we move beyond the available 17th-century sketches to the heart of colonial Makassar which, as we shall see, originally fell within Tallok's domain. Further northeast again lies a tidally inundated belt, apparently marking one of the outlets of the Jeknekberang's prehistoric ancestor, which defines the southwest boundary of the Tallok spit. With altitudes rising to six metres asl the spit is one of the highest landforms along the lower Tallok; free of wet season inundation, it is blessed with immediate access not only to the sea but also inland via the Tallok river (cf. 12.2.1).

## 12.2 Benteng Tallok (Ujung Pandang 25)

### 12.2.1 The story of Tallok's origins

Tallok was reportedly founded by Batara Gowa's brother, Kgloe ri Sero, after a succession squabble which can be dated to the end of the 15th century (2.5.2). As this chapter analyses the whole suite of clues to which the previous chapters allude, translation of the relevant passages is appropriate.

'[After Tunatangkaklopi died] his *Gelarang* and villagers split in their allegiances, with one group preferring Batara Gowa, and the other group favouring Karaengloe ri Sero. Those who turned to Batara Gowa were Paccellekang, Pattallassang, Bontomanaik Timur, Tombolok, Mangasa and Bontomanaik Barat; while those who turned to Kgloe ri Sero were Saumata, Pannampu, Moncongloe and Parangloe.' (SG:14).

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north Garassik outlet clearly implies Sambung Jawa was to the south (Reid, 1983a:146).

[3] The doughty residents simply put up with the annual saturation of their roads and yards.

'[After Tunatangkaklopi was carried off to heaven, Kgloe ri Sero] had a dispute with his brother and left for Java.[4] A portion of the *Gelarang* [of Kgloe ri Sero] - Tombolokeke, Saumata, Borongloe, Paccinongang, Pao-Pao - left him for his brother Batara Gowa. Those *Gelarang* who did not leave were not summoned either, rather they merely waited for the return of their king. After Karaengloe returned from Java he was informed that not all of his populace had been carried off by his brother, so he went to settle at a place on the north side of Bangkala called Passanggaleang.

'After Karaengloe had stayed there quite a while, one of his *Gelarang* built a boat. When the boat was ready the *Gelarang* sailed to the river's mouth. At this point the king summoned the *Gelarang*, only to be told that the *Gelarang* was not there. When the *Gelarang* went home the people in his house told him that he had been summoned by Karaengloe. Hearing that he went to Karaengloe who asked, 'Hey, where have you been, Gelarang? I had just ordered you to see me and you weren't around.' The *Gelarang* replied, 'Your servant went to the river's mouth to look and take notice. That place would serve any people well. Here our situation is less fitting for we are neither at the shore nor at the foothills.'

'The king agreed, so the populace left to build their houses at Tarung. They had a good look at the quite high place called Campagaya and it pleased them. Thereupon [Karaengloe] ordered them to build houses - to leave their lands and set themselves up in Tallok.' (ST:5-6).

### 12.2.2 The Benteng Tallok survey

The Benteng Tallok survey followed the wall line, except at the longer of the two sections now under sea, and the southern corner which falls within a zone of restricted access. Information from the Mangara Bombang residents living in stilt houses inshore, and from Karaeng Demmanari who had participated in the previous survey by Nurhadi et al.

[4] i.e. the archipelago to the west, not necessarily the island of Java.

(1980),[5] allowed the missing sections to be plotted in (Figure 12-1).

The fort has an elongated trapezial form, 1.24 km long by around 290 metres wide, defined by 2.74 km of wall line which enclose 40.34 hectares. Nine truly straight sections make up the four major faces and the indentation at the west corner. The fort appears to have had two gates. One coincides with the modern road entrance on the northwest face, and the second occurs in the east corner. In total the fort covered a spit of raised land bounded by the sea, the Tallok inlet, and between them the tidally inundated belt along the fort's southwest wall.

Time did not allow us to document tradeware densities as done at the other palace sites. Rather, we gauged the history of occupation by means of our two tradeware collections made at the site's north corner, and our records of looted areas and Islamic graves along or within the walls (Figure 12-1). We also documented the large tradeware collection made during Suaka's restoration of the royal Tallok graves, now kept at the site museum.

### 12.2.3 Tallok's fortifications

The most remarkable feature of Tallok's fortifications is the substantial presence of masonry which is otherwise absent from greater Gowa's fortifications. Even at Tallok, masonry was restricted to the north half of the fortress, between Balang Cidi's brick bastion north of the indented west corner, and Bayoa's remnant brick bastion south of the royal cemetery (Figure 12-2). Furthermore the relative proportions of masonry and brick vary greatly. While only laid masonry survives along certain lengths (Photo 12-4), other lengths are dominated alternatively by stone or by brick rubble.

The northern bastions are similarly heterogeneous. The exposed section at the Gampangcaya bastion (Photo 12-2) shows masonry laid atop two lines of brick built on the local silty sand and separated by silt fill. Local reports further described the edifice as previously thickened with lateral

[5] The map of Tallok created during this survey was not included in the published report.

additions of earth and crowned with amorphous coral blocks (Figure 12-3). But the *Pakbenderang* (flag stand) and the corner bastion at the Tallok mouth appear to have been built with a masonry core topped by coral blocks (Photos 12-3 and 12-5). The same may have been true of the remnant bastion at the east corner. Yet the two remnant bastions immediately to its south, which appear to have marked a gateway into the fort, show a rapid transition to brick in their associated rubble (Figure 12-2).

To some degree, the variable presence of brick or stone could reflect the height of the extant structure or the vagaries of rubble accumulation. But certain stretches also suggest that brick and masonry had been used as functional equivalents. For instance, stone was apparently used only on a sporadic basis south of the east bastion, given that the dominance of brick increases in the two subparallel lines of rubble striking south towards Bayoa's bastion (Figure 12-2).

Only brick was observed from Bayoa's bastion to where we lost the wall line in Bayoa kampung. The wall could then be detected again as a line of bricks between the houses in Tallok Lama kampung. At this point the line strikes towards the brick bastion at the fort's west corner called Maccinik Sombala or "Watch for the Sails" (Photo 12-6). Close inspection of Maccinik Sombala showed firstly a general reliance on the "one-on-two" method, although a small proportion of the bricks had been laid parallel with those in the course below, and secondly that clay had been used as mortar. Between Maccinik Sombala and Balang Cidi's bastion the wall line is indented. Much of it is well preserved, standing up to one and a half metres high and as wide as two and a half metres (Photo 12-7).

During the survey we measured the masonry blocks at three stations and bricks at ten stations. The bricks were mostly the "smaller" variety (cf. E.2.2) but included a few large bricks near (but not actually within) Maccinik Sombala bastion. The average dimensions at the various stations are shown in Figure 12-2, and the full statistics are given in Table 12-1. The masonry shows far greater intra-sample variability than inter-sample variability; otherwise, few

TABLE 12-1. BRICK AND MASONRY SIZES AT BENTENG TALLOK

**Large Bricks**

| Station | Length n | Length x̄ | Length SD | Length Range | Breadth n | Breadth x̄ | Breadth SD | Breadth Range | Thickness n | Thickness x̄ | Thickness SD | Thickness Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balang Cidi (VI) | 1 | 38 | | | 1 | 21.5 | | | 1 | 9 | | |
| Balang Cidi (V) | 8 | 38.1 | ±1.2 | (36-40) | 9 | 22.4 | ±1.3 | (20.5-24) | 4 | 5.1 | ±2.0 | (3-8.5) |
| Maccinik Sombala (II) | 2 | 44.5 | | (42,47) | 2 | 21.0 | | (18,24) | 1 | 8 | | |
| Total | 11 | 39.2 | ±2.9 | (36-47) | 12 | 22.1 | ±1.7 | (18-24) | 6 | 6.25 | ±2.3 | (3-9) |

**Smaller Bricks**

| Wall Stations | Length n | Length x̄ | Length SD | Length Range | Breadth n | Breadth x̄ | Breadth SD | Breadth Range | Thickness n | Thickness x̄ | Thickness SD | Thickness Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balang Cidi (VI) | 30 | 25.7 | ±1.7 | (22-29) | 30 | 15.55 | ±1.2 | (12-18) | 18 | 5.2 | ±0.7 | (3.5-6) |
| Balang Cidi (V) | 21 | 26.4 | ±2.7 | (24-32) | 21 | 16.9 | ±2.4 | (13.5-23) | 8 | 5.0 | ±0.8 | (4-7) |
| Maccinik Sombala (IV) | 28 | 25.8 | ±1.1 | (23-28) | 29 | 16.0 | ±0.7 | (13.5-17) | 13 | 3.9 | ±0.5 | (3-5) |
| Maccinik Sombala (II) | 30 | 24.6 | ±1.9 | (20-29) | 32 | 14.0 | ±1.3 | (12-17) | 22 | 3.8 | ±1.4 | (2-7) |
| Maccinik Sombala (I) | 25 | 21.7 | ±1.6 | (19-25) | 25 | 12.1 | ±1.0 | (10-14) | 23 | 2.7 | ±0.4 | (2-3.5) |
| Gampangcaya (VII) | 6 | 20.8 | ±1.7 | (18.5-24) | 30 | 12.2 | ±1.5 | (10-18) | 30 | 3.3 | ±0.5 | (2.5-5.5) |
| Total Wall | 140 | 24.7 | ±2.6 | (18.5-32) | 167 | 14.4 | ±2.4 | (10-23) | 114 | 3.7 | ±1.2 | (2-7) |
| **Bastion Stations** | n | x | SD | Range | n | x | SD | Range | n | x | SD | Range |
| Maccinik Sombala (III) | 30 | 21.9 | ±2.5 | (19-30) | 30 | 13.0 | ±2.3 | (11-23) | 30 | 3.3 | ±0.7 | (2.5-6) |
| Bayoa (X) | 14 | 23.3 | ±2.9 | (20-27) | 25 | 13.5 | ±2.0 | (10-18) | 18 | 3.5 | ±0.4 | (2.5-4) |
| Royal Graveyard (IX) | 17 | 22.4 | ±1.8 | (19-26) | 22 | 12.2 | ±1.5 | (9-15.5) | 11 | 3.7 | ±0.4 | (3-4) |
| Gampangcaya (VIII) | 1 | 20 | | | 15 | 11.7 | ±0.7 | (10-12.5) | 15 | 3.3 | ±0.5 | (2.5-4.5) |
| Total Bastion | 62 | 22.3 | ±2.3 | (19-30) | 92 | 12.7 | ±1.8 | (9-23) | 74 | 3.4 | ±0.6 | (2.5-6) |
| Total Smaller Bricks | 202 | 23.9 | ±2.7 | (18.5-32) | 259 | 13.7 | ±2.3 | (9-23) | 188 | 3.6 | ±1.0 | (2-7) |

**Masonry**

| Stations (all bastions) | Length n | Length x̄ | Length SD | Length Range | Breadth n | Breadth x̄ | Breadth SD | Breadth Range | Thickness n | Thickness x̄ | Thickness SD | Thickness Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gampangcaya (XII) | 27 | 53.7 | ±10.9 | (35-70) | 27 | 31.5 | ±6.1 | (16-44) | 27 | 20.1 | ±4.5 | (10-28) |
| Gampangcaya (VIII) | 30 | 41.6 | ± 8.3 | (26-58) | 30 | 26.1 | ±4.5 | (12-35) | 30 | 26.1 | ±4.5 | (10-28) |
| Mangara Bombang (XI) | 33 | 50.8 | ±12.2 | (25-76) | 33 | 29.0 | ±6.6 | (20-48) | 10 | 18.2 | ±5.85 | (12-30) |
| Total | 90 | 48.6 | ±11.8 | (25-70) | 90 | 28.8 | ±6.2 | (12-48) | 67 | 18.9 | ±4.7 | (10-30) |

TABLE 12-2. ONE-TAILED STUDENT'S T-TESTS COMPARING BENTENG TALLOK'S SAMPLES OF "SMALLER" BRICKS

(NEGATIVE VALUES SHOW THAT THE MEASUREMENT IS SMALLER AT THE STATION INDICATED IN THE COLUMN)

**Brick Lengths**

T-Test Value

| Station | VI | V | IV | III* | II | I | X* | IX* | VIII* | VII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI | -- | -1.15 | -0.23 | 6.87 | 2.34 | 9.03 | 4.20 | 6.30 | (3.44) | 6.49 |
| V | > 0.1 | -- | 1.12 | 6.16 | 2.79 | 7.30 | 3.68 | 5.19 | (2.35) | 4.71 |
| IV | > 0.1 | > 0.1 | -- | 7.67 | 2.91 | 11.05 | 5.31 | 7.89 | (5.41) | 9.22 |
| III* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | -- | -4.79 | 0.55 | -1.85 | -0.78 | (0.74) | 0.96 |
| II | < 0.025 | < 0.005 | < 0.005 | < 0.0005 | -- | 6.10 | 2.12 | 3.88 | (2.43) | 4.65 |
| I | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | <<0.0005 | -- | -2.72 | -1.37 | (1.04) | 1.14 |
| X* | < 0.0005 | < 0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.05 | < 0.025 | < 0.005 | -- | 1.23 | (1.63) | 2.56 |
| IX* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.0005 | < 0.1 | > 0.1 | -- | (1.33) | 1.85 |
| VIII* | < 0.0005 | < 0.01 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.01 | > 0.1 | < 0.1 | < 0.1 | -- | (-0.48) |
| VII | <<0.0005 | < 0.0005 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.01 | < 0.05 | > 0.1 | -- |

Significance Level

**Brick Breadths**

T-Test Value

| Station | VI | V | IV | III* | II | I | X* | IX* | VIII* | VII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI | -- | -2.72 | -1.28 | 5.36 | 4.90 | 11.59 | 4.74 | 8.94 | 11.82 | 9.84 |
| V | < 0.005 | -- | 2.04 | 5.84 | 5.70 | 9.07 | 5.27 | 7.69 | 8.10 | 8.73 |
| IV | > 0.1 | < 0.025 | -- | 6.55 | 7.00 | 16.35 | 6.27 | 11.60 | 14.16 | 12.44 |
| III* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | -- | -1.18 | 1.72 | -0.88 | 1.39 | 1.91 | 1.65 |
| II | < 0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | -- | 5.51 | 0.97 | 8.32 | 5.68 | 9.27 |
| I | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.05 | <<0.0005 | -- | -3.12 | -0.17 | 1.41 | -0.08 |
| X* | < 0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | > 0.1 | < 0.005 | -- | 2.52 | 3.38 | 2.90 |
| IX* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.1 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.01 | -- | 1.11 | -0.09 |
| VIII* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.05 | <<0.0005 | < 0.1 | < 0.001 | < 0.1 | -- | -1.07 |
| VII | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.1 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | < 0.005 | > 0.1 | > 0.1 | -- |

Significance Level

TABLE 12-2. ONE-TAILED STUDENT'S T-TESTS ON BENTENG TALLOK'S SAMPLES OF "SMALLER" BRICKS (CONT.)

Brick Thicknesses

T-Test Value

| Station | VI | V | IV | III* | II | I | X* | IX* | VIII* | VII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI | -- | 0.54 | 5.39 | 8.58 | 3.92 | 14.03 | 8.90 | 6.54 | 9.03 | 14.40 |
| V | > 0.1 | -- | 3.59 | 5.56 | 2.16 | 9.74 | 6.28 | 4.66 | 6.41 | 7.57 |
| IV | <<0.0005 | < 0.001 | -- | 2.70 | 0.29 | 7.38 | 2.58 | 11.60 | 3.38 | 3.86 |
| III* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.005 | -- | -1.49 | 3.67 | -0.73 | -1.49 | 0.32 | 0.41 |
| II | < 0.005 | < 0.025 | > 0.1 | < 0.1 | -- | 3.41 | 0.89 | 0.24 | 1.33 | 6.56 |
| I | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.0005 | < 0.05 | -- | -5.73 | -6.39 | -3.80 | -4.37 |
| X* | <<0.0005 | < 0.01 | <<0.0005 | > 0.1 | > 0.1 | <<0.0005 | -- | -1.34 | 1.31 | 1.47 |
| IX* | <<0.0005 | < 0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.1 | > 0.1 | <<0.0005 | < 0.1 | -- | 2.37 | 2.51 |
| VIII* | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.005 | > 0.1 | < 0.01 | < 0.0005 | < 0.1 | < 0.025 | -- | 0.00 |
| VII | <<0.0005 | <<0.0005 | < 0.0005 | > 0.1 | <<0.0005 | < 0.0005 | < 0.1 | < 0.01 | > 0.1 | -- |

Significance Level

N.B. Asterisks indicate the bastion stations. Bastion and wall bricks treated separately because the latter are significantly larger ($t=9.8$, $p<<0.0005$ for lengths; $t=8.4$, $p<<0.0005$ for breadths; $t=2.4$, $0.01>p>0.005$ for thicknesses)

The values in brackets show the z-value of the single brick length recorded at Station VIII. Otherwise, Student's t-test for small samples (Startup and Whittaker, 1982:106-107) used throughout. T-tests based on means and S.D.'s taken to three decimal places, rather than the single decimal place shown in Table 14-1.

TABLE 12-3. RESULTS OF THE T-TESTS COMPARING BENTENG TALLOK'S SAMPLES OF "SMALLER" BRICKS

12-3A. Wall Stations Compared

| | Column sample larger than row sample | Column sample smaller than row sample | Column sample significantly larger($p<0.1$) | Row sample significantly larger($p<0.1$) | Column sample significantly larger($p<0.05$) | Row sample significantly larger($p<0.05$) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lengths | 13 (86.5%) | 2 (12.5%) | 8 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 8 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| Breadths | 12 (80%) | 3 (20%) | 11 (85%) | 2 (15%) | 11 (85%) | 2 (15%) |
| Thicknesses | 14 (93%) | 1 (7%) | 12 (92%) | 1 (8%) | 12 (92%) | 1 (8%) |
| Sum | 39 (87%) | 6 (13%) | 31 (91%) | 3 (9%) | 31 (91%) | 3 (9%) |

TABLE 12-3. RESULTS OF THE T-TESTS COMPARING BENTENG TALLOK'S SAMPLES OF "SMALLER" BRICKS (CONT.)

12-3B. Bastion Stations Compared

| | Column sample larger than row sample | Column sample smaller than row sample | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.05) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.05) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lengths | 3 (50%) | 3 (50%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (100%) |
| Breadths | 5 (83%) | 1 (17%) | 4 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 2 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| Thicknesses | 3 (50%) | 3 (50%) | 1 (50%) | 1 (50%) | 1 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| Sum | 11 (61%) | 7 (39%) | 5 (71%) | 2 (29%) | 3 (75%) | 1 (25%) |

12-3C. Wall and Bastion Stations Compared

| | Column sample larger than row sample | Column sample smaller than row sample | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.05) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.05) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lengths | 21 (88%) | 3 (13%) | 22 (88%) | 3 (12%) | 20 (91%) | 2 (9%) |
| Breadths | 19 (79%) | 5 (21%) | 20 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 18 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| Thicknesses | 19 (79%) | 5 (21%) | 17 (77%) | 5 (23%) | 15 (83%) | 3 (17%) |
| Sum | 59 (82%) | 13 (18%) | 59 (88%) | 8 (12%) | 53 (91%) | 5 (9%) |

12-3D. All Stations Compared

| | Column sample larger than row sample | Column sample smaller than row sample | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.1) | Column sample significantly larger(p<0.05) | Row sample significantly larger(p<0.05) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lengths | 37 (82%) | 8 (18%) | 30 (88%) | 4 (12%) | 28 (90%) | 3 (10%) |
| Breadths | 36 (80%) | 9 (20%) | 35 (95%) | 2 (5%) | 31 (94%) | 2 (6%) |
| Thicknesses | 36 (82%) | 8 (18%) | 30 (81%) | 7 (19%) | 28 (87.5%) | 4 (12.5%) |
| Sum | 109 (81%) | 26 (19%) | 95 (88%) | 13 (12%) | 87 (91%) | 9 (9%) |

N.B. Percentages in the third to sixth columns refer only to those cases where the column sample or the row sample was significantly larger at the confidence level indicated.

useful conclusions can be drawn from either internal comparisons or external comparisons (E.2). The important issue is the size of the smaller bricks.

As indicated by the t-tests (Table 12-2), the samples of smaller bricks often show significantly different dimensions. Two possible explanations can be raised. One hypothesis notes that the bastion bricks are significantly smaller than the wall bricks, and so would explain the differences by the type of structure. The other hypothesis notes that the largest smaller bricks occur immediately south of Balang Cidi bastion, and the smallest bricks are found immediately to its north. The explanation here invokes a directional diminution in brick size.

To test these competing hypotheses, we take Balang Cidi bastion as our basepoint and compare each sample with all its clockwise counterparts. If the type of structure is the determining factor, then the bastion samples and the wall samples should not show any directional change. If directional change is the determining factor, then the transition to smaller bricks should stand regardless of whether bastion bricks or wall bricks are compared.

Consider first the comparison between any station and every other station located further clockwise, regardless of what type of structure is represented. Around 80% of the comparisons show decreasing brick size, whether lengths, breadths or thicknesses are considered. If we consider only those comparisons which involve statistically significant differences, the ratio rises to around 88% at the 0.1 confidence interval, and 91% at the 0.05 confidence interval (Table 12-3D).

The above figures are virtually duplicated when we restrict the pair-wise comparisons to stations representing different structural types (Table 12-3C). It follows that the same figures result when stations representing like structural types are compared. Hence the clockwise trend to smaller bricks is independent of whether bastion bricks or wall bricks have been sampled. We infer that the bastion bricks appeared generally smaller than the wall bricks only

because most of the sampled bastion stations occur clockwise from most of the sampled wall stations.[6]

The clockwise trend towards smaller bricks at Benteng Tallok correlates with another pattern - the inclusion of some large bricks south of Balang Cidi bastion, and the presence of masonry at the north. Given our global model in which size of the fortification bricks generally decreased over time (E.4), we would infer that the building programme started at Balang Cidi bastion, and originally included some large bricks either made from obsolescent molds or brought in from earlier brickworks. Size of the usual, smaller bricks steadily decreased as the construction followed a clockwise course. Along the final stretches after Bayoa bastion, coral blocks (presumably fetched from the sea) and masonry were included in the superstructure.

Construction of Benteng Tallok is squarely accredited to Abdullah (ST:16). Presumably he did it during his first stint on the Tallok throne (1593-1620) before he moved to Bontoalak (ST:24). His construction of Tallok's brick walls can be dated to around 1615. During this crisis period in greater Gowa's relations with the Dutch and the English, an English account records that the whole land was busy making bricks to build two castles (cf. Reid, 1981:11). The identification of these two castles with Benteng Tua and Benteng Tallok is supported on the one hand by the 1618 date given for Benteng Tua's construction (6.4), and on the other hand by the extraordinary similarity in size between the "smaller" bricks used at the two forts (Table E-28).

The Indonesian translation refers to '*dinding dari batu*' (walls of stone), whereas the original Makassar reference is to '*batu-bata*' ("stone tiles", i.e. bricks). As the texts

[6] The comparisons even seem to suggest that the clockwise diminution in brick size characterises the wall bricks in particular, whereas the bricks in the bastions do not show a size transition (Tables 12-3A and 12-3B). To explain the pattern, I would suggest that the bastions were all built in one hit as strategically-sited thickenings to the already (or virtually) completed wall. However, such an interpretation introduces an extra category of explanation which may not be justified on the available data, and so appears less parsimonious than the more straightforward interpretation offered in the main text.

would not seem to ascribe Tallok's masonry to Abdullah, I had previously assigned Tallok's masonry to a renovation programme following the fort's reported demolition in 1670 (LB:138). Imitation of Fort Rotterdam's masonry appeared attractive to explain why Tallok was the only Makassar fort to include masonry (Bulbeck, 1990:94).[7] However, the Makassar written forms for "batu" and "bata" differ by a single diacritic (Macknight, pers. comm.), and to confound the matter further, Tallok's walls display both bricks and masonry. Certainly it would be unwise to read the reference in ST as denying that Abdullah had built Tallok's masonry, and the works themselves indicate that masonry was a systematic part of the original construction. Moreover, the royal tombs leave no doubt that monumental masonry was locally practised before the Makassar War (Appendix F).[8]

### 12.2.4 Tallok's royal cemetery

"Kompleks Makam Raja-Raja Tallok" occupies the east corner of the fortress, directly inside the four bastions interpreted as marking a gateway (Figure 12-1). Nurhadi et al. (1980) observed the original wall line which would have been built around the cemetery when the Tallok aristocracy decided it was full. The outer wall is part of Suaka's restoration. Apart from a brick *kobang* tomb, all the grave structures are built with masonry in 17th to 19th century styles (Table F-1).

SSPHAP's sketch of the cemetery shows the grave styles associated with named individuals and, where I have a record, their year of death (Figure 12-4).[9] The buried people include

[7] After all, the 1693 map shows Tallok as a fortress (Figure 5-5), suggesting that it had been rebuilt by then to the degree that it had been demolished in 1670.

[8] Caldwell (Reid and Caldwell, 1990:87) reports that Tallok's 'great sea wall' of stone was built under Portuguese supervision in the early 17th century, but to my knowledge there are no first-hand written references in support. As interpreted here, Tallok's masonry may well be the oldest substantial masonry works in Makassar, but it would seem to lie well within the technical expertise acquired in greater Gowa by the early 17th century.

[9] Information on the identity of the individuals was supplied by Pak Sampara, Suaka's officer at the site. Iwan Sumantri made the original sketch of the graves.

Tallok's 17th-19th century rajas, starting with Mudhaffar (Photo 12-8) but excluding Harunnarasyid. Important Tallok aristocrats such as Kg Popok and Kg Bonto Sunggu are also buried here.[10]

Tallok's early rajas were not buried here. Kgloe ri Sero was apparently buried at Sero (7.1.1); Tunilabu ri Suriwa's remains were lost at sea (ST:7); and Tumenanga ri Makkoayang and Sultan Abdullah were buried at Benteng Tua (6.5). The burial site of Tallok's queen, Kg Bainea, appears unknown, but this hardly constitutes evidence for any burials at Tallok's royal cemetery before Mudhaffar in 1641.

### 12.2.5 Other historical sites within Tallok

Small numbers of antiques were reportedly recovered at two locations west of the royal graveyard (Figure 12-1). One, which occurs directly outside the west corner of the royal graveyard, was discovered around 1970. The looting came upon an impoverished range of the tradewares found at Bunting Berua (see below), in association with east-west extended skeletons. I label it Agangpencara after the name which the Dutch maps assign to this part of Tallok. The other coincides with a banana plot associated with Bayoa kampung. Bayoa could have included further locations before the adjacent complexes of factories and navy housing restricted the kampung to Sungai Tallok's bank. According to antique dealers, many

[10] LB specifies the following individuals as having been buried at Tallok in the late 17th century: I Dg Nisayu (Tumailalang Kg Lekokbodong's mother) in 1678 (LB:158); I Callak, Arung Maroanging's daughter, in 1678 (LB:158-159); Kg Bidara in 1680 (LB:163); (I Pangkak) Kg Tamalingu in 1681 (LB:164); Sahaduddin's *bibi* (aunt) in 1686 (LB:171); and Kg Lengkesek in 1695 (LB:181). The lack of a clear match between these recorded burials, and the burials remembered today, is hardly encouraging. Nonetheless the recorded burials reinforce the interpretation of Tallok's royal graveyard offered here.

Reid and Reid (1988:55), and Reid and Caldwell (1990:87), state that Mudhaffar's tomb is locally identified with the burial place of "the white tiger of Tallok", i.e. Abdullah, and then point out that Abdullah was in fact probably buried at Benteng Tua. Going from the information I received, I would infer that Mudhaffar was in fact "the white tiger of Tallok".

antiques were found during the construction of these complexes (Demmanari, pers. comm.).

The area north of the royal graveyard, as far as the small bay abutting the Tallok's mouth, today belongs to Gampangcaya kampung (Figure 12-1). Gampangcaya's Islamic cemetery includes hundreds of marked graves, some of which look like they could date back to the 18th century. The cemetery also serves the Mangara Bombang residents because they identify themselves as belonging to the same "family". Next to the cemetery is a sandy depression which used to be a tidally inundated fish pond before it filled in with sediments. It was reportedly looted in the 1950s, as evinced by looter's holes in the pasture surrounding the old fish pond. The finds were described as mainly blue-and-white wares, plus Sawankhalok covered boxes, celadons (including large plates) and a kris. East-west extended skeletons were also reported.

Still within Gampangcaya, at its boundary with Mangara Bombang, lies the heavily looted burial ground "Makam Bunting Berua" (Figure 12-1). The diggings were reportedly very successful, for instance recovering a hundred pieces in one "three metre by one metre" hole. In addition to the dominant strains of blue-and-white wares, finds included Sawankhalok (especially jarlets), celadons (but no large plates), overglaze-enamelled wares, earthenware pots as high as a metre, human skeletons extended in an east-west direction, and *duni* (wooden coffins).[11]

Apart from ten modern Islamic graves at the west, there are 37 markers whose styles appear to span the 17th to 19th centuries. The apparently oldest Islamic grave markers, labelled "west" and "central" in Table F-9, lie between the wall line and the looter's holes. The same styles occur with other styles where the graveyard crosses the Gampangcaya bastion. These graves must postdate Benteng Tallok's demolition and so can be dated to the 18th century or later. Over half of the bastion is now under sea, and some of the markers have toppled onto the beach (Photo 12-9). Three marked Islamic graves at the east fall among the styles

[11] Local reports specifically denied the presence of *duni* at the other looted burial grounds.

recorded on the bastion (Table F-9). In sum, the Islamic graves appear to represent the tail of what may have been Tallok's main cemetery in pre-Islamic times.

Mangara Bombang was the karaengship of an unsexed child of Tunipasukruk, i.e. in the late 16th century. However, the kampung is bare of burial remains except where it borders Balang Cidi, a shallow depression flooded at high tide (Figure 12-1). Makam Mangara Bombang (as I call it) includes 12 graves marked out in old-style masonry hard against the wall line, and some modern children's graves on the wall line itself (Table F-9). We noticed some looter's holes here and were told that a small group of blue-and-white ceramics, supplemented by a few Sawankhalok and celadon pieces, had been found.

The remaining land inside Benteng Tallok, between Mangara Bombang and Bayoa, is associated with "Tallok Lama" kampung. The area includes three historical sites.

The northwest bank of Balang Cidi includes a second set of old Islamic graves called "Makam Takbakka". These six masonry markers, which occur alongside approximately 50 modern marked Islamic graves (Table F-9), were reportedly moved here during the Japanese occupation. Before that they occupied a spot, near the *Batu Pelantikan*, where many antiques have been found. This *Batu Pelantikan* or royal Tallok "inauguration stone" occurs at the heart of the fortress (Figure 12-1). The stone, which appears artificially rounded, is largely overgrown by the roots of a banyan tree (Photo 12-10). It is 72 cm in diameter and 31 cm thick (Kallupa, 1985:55).

South of Balang Cidi lies an old graveyard which has reportedly been severely looted, accounting for the small number of extant Islamic marked graves. One grave which has survived has a "dollop-shaped" *nisan* (Table F-9), a style I have not seen anywhere else (Photo 12-11). The grave is ascribed to an unremembered Karaeng.

Near the suspected fortress gate stands the tomb of Karaeng Katinting (1627-1650), a son of Gowa's Sultan Alauddin (LB:90,112; SG:59). This multi-tiered slab-roofed tomb resembles the tomb at Makam Paccalaya (7.1.3), as it is collapsing under its own weight owing to the use of unbonded

masonry blocks (Photo 12-12). It is part of a cemetery which includes approximately ten old Islamic masonry grave markers (Table F-2). A wider area of around 1500 square metres has been looted (Figure 12-1), reportedly producing BW wares in abundance, as well as lots of celadons and Sawankhalok covered boxes.[12]

The tidally inundated area southwest of the fortress is called Campagaya. I have no evidence that it was ever occupied, but Campagaya is cited as the locality which pleased Tallok's prospective inhabitants (12.2.1).

The walls of Benteng Tallok enclose eight spatially discrete, reportedly looted burial grounds, five of which include a direct association with early Islamic marked graves. The quite standard range of ceramics reported throughout suggests no greater time span than the 15th to 17th centuries. The burial grounds sort out into five "toponymic sites" (Appendix C) and six "point-" or "area-sites" (12.3.2). These perspectives indicate a major population buildup in immediately pre-Islamic times.

### 12.2.6 Tradewares recorded at Tallok

The pottery found during Suaka's restoration of the Tallok royal graveyard was collected, and subsequently stored in the site museum. This collection, U.25.1, includes abundant earthenware sherds such as "ratchet" fragments from the "cogwheel pots" (cf. Photo 7-16). The most diagnostic part of the collection, however, consists of 925 tradeware pieces.[13] After standardisation the tradewares show a strong presence of 13th-14th century to early 17th century pieces, but with a very pronounced 16th century spike (Figure 12-5).

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[12] Hence the origins of the burial ground considerably precede Kg Katinting's death. Kg Katinting's karaengship apparently within or very near Tallok's very walls in the mid-17th century confirms other evidence that Tallok was based at Bonto Alak at this stage (12.3.2). His wife, Dg Talarra Kg Tabaringang, was of broadly Lekokbodong origins (Figure 4-12).

[13] The tradewares were identified by Karaeng Demmanari and myself under laboratory conditions (cf. B.2). In the packed action of my last days in Ujung Pandang I missed out on even toting up the number of earthenwares present in the collection.

Relatively speaking, tradewares dated later than 1650 are rare indeed.[14] This date corresponds with Mudhaffar's burial. The assemblage could represent gravegoods buried with people who had died beforehand, except that Tallok's earlier rulers were not apparently buried here (12.2.3). The "palatial" associations of the assemblage are clear not only from the sheer quantity of 16th century pieces, but also from the comparatively strong presence of large pieces such as porcellanous jars. The "early" pieces are dominated by early celadon plates rather than Vietnamese monochrome or early whiteware pieces, and so could represent inherited wealth rather than early use of the site (cf. 11.3.1). All the indications match up with a palace assemblage restricted to the period a few decades either side of the 16th century.[15] Conversion of the old palace grounds to a royal cemetery, which can be dated to Mudhaffar's burial, would follow the pattern observed at Benteng Tua.

SSPHAP's survey collected the sherds from the dried-up fish pond in Gampangcaya (U.25.3) and the small bay to the immediate west (U.25.2). The standardised chronological histogram from the tradewares looks like a flattened version of the royal graveyard's, supplemented however by a stronger presence of Qing and later pieces (Figure 12-5). U.25.2 has been looted, while the south boundary of U.25.3 is the looted cemetery "Makam Bunting Berua". Hence the assemblage in essence appears to represent the sorts of (late) 15th to early 17th century gravegoods reported from the looting.

Some of the early pieces from U.25.1 could well relate to use of the site by the 13th-14th centuries. Indeed, it seems most unlikely that the mouth of the Tallok had been totally uninhabited before the late 15th century, given its prime real-estate virtues as described in Tallok's origin story (12.2.1). However, the tradewares certainly confirm the story's description of massive immigration to the site in the late 15th century. More generally, Tallok pairs with Somba

[14] Part of Suaka's restoration was to clear squatters out of the site. This sort of temporary habitation at the site can accommodate the later tradewares.

[15] i.e. by assuming that the profile would show a steep ascent between the early and late 15th century junctures, rather than the sudden jump at 1500 AD.

Opu (11.3) in suggesting a focus of attention on river-mouth locations at around 1500 AD.

## 12.3 Historical Toponyms in Ujung Pandang

### 12.3.1 Identification of the toponyms

When the Dutch established themselves in Fort Rotterdam (Benteng Ujung Pandang) after the 1667 Bungaya Treaty, they created a new administrative focus. The lands attached to Fort Rotterdam attracted persons displaced by the warring, resulting for instance in the establishment of "Kampong Beru", while Bone's Sahaduddin installed himself at Bonto Alak a short distance from Fort Rotterdam (Andaya, 1981; Bulbeck, 1990). Over the centuries that followed a new Makassar entrepôt developed along the coast north of Fort Rotterdam, opening opportunites for the Wajok Bugis and other entrepreneurial immigrants (e.g. Noorduyn, 1987a).[16] Nonetheless the colonial city of Makassar hardly strayed beyond the Ujung Pandang cheniers until very recent times. Then in 1971, to meet the need for new housing projects and government offices in the burgeoning post-independence city, the gazetted territory of the capital was greatly expanded and renamed Ujung Pandang[17] (Kallupa, 1985:12-13).

To reconstruct what I can of the historical, precolonial settlements in the area, I have studied the early 20th century Dutch maps in search of toponyms, cited in pre-1667 contexts, which I had not identified with SSPHAP's surveyed sites.[18] However, the city's vortex of development has intensified the turnover of place names which, as we have

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[16] For quite a long time the Netherlands India government toyed with the idea of developing Makassar as a free port to rival Singapore (e.g. Reid, 1983a).

[17] i.e. "Pandanus Point". This particular name change is like deciding to expand metropolitan Sydney and so rename it "Bondi Beach".

[18] Note that I am specifically interested in the settlement patterns of the Makassar inhabitants, and so I am not interested in trying to pinpoint the former location of the various European and foreign Asian quarters, Sambung Jawa etc.

seen, is a common train of events in Makassar rural areas.[19] Accordingly I developed six criteria to help certify the identification of pre-1667 and modern toponyms.

The criteria are adumbrated in Table 12-4 which also explains my scoring system whereby "2" connotes strong supporting evidence, "1" connotes weak supporting evidence and "0" connotes contrary evidence. Table 12-4 further lists all the possible matches which I have entertained, and rates their reliability based on tallying the scores from the six criteria. However, only modern toponyms scoring 6/12 or higher are accepted as reliable identifications. These toponyms are plotted in Figure 12-5.

Figure 12-5 further types the toponyms according to whether they have associations with Tallok, Gowa, both or neither. To fill in the picture, SSPHAP's adjacent sites with either Tallok or Gowa associations are also plotted. The exercise identifies Tallok's heartland centred at Benteng Tallok, and extending along the adjacent shores and the lower Tallok. Gowa's heartland, based at Benteng Tua, incorporates the middle Garassik (Jeknekberang) and land to the north and the east. The toponyms near Balang Pampang, between the heartlands, show either Tallok or Gowa associations. The same applies to the Garassik delta, although significantly the area contains five toponyms unassociated with the political giants. The three political domains - Tallok, Gowa, and Garassik-Makassar - closely match their "Thiessian polygon" counterparts shown in Figure 2-1.

Interpenetration between the Gowa and Tallok heartlands is restricted to karaengships. The single Gowa karaengship in Tallok's heartland, Kg Ujung Tana (UJT2), was Tunijallok's son by the Tallok queen Kg Bainea. Two of the four Tallok karaengships within Gowa's heartland reflect the marriage between individuals within Gowa's and Tallok's genealogical cores.[20] Along with the burial of Tumenanga ri Makkoayang and Abdullah at Benteng Tua, and the burial of Kg Katinting at

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[19] Some former names have proliferated within the city area as the communities branched out (e.g. "Parang"), others could well have moved around, while others have been overwritten by the new kampung names (e.g. "Wajo") brought by long-distance immigrants.

[20] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of genealogical cores.

## TABLE 12-4. MATCHING PRE-1667 TOPONYMS TO MODERN TOPONYMS

Six criteria are used in the table to indicate the reliability of a match, and scored as follows. A score of 6/12 or better is taken as an acceptable match.

(i) Suaka site. Does the modern toponym contain a site classifiable as a SSPHAP historical site? The crucial reference here is Kallupa's (1985) survey of Kotamadya Ujung Pandang. "2" means such a site is reported, "1" means that a possibly suitable site is reported, while "0" stands for the lack of such a site. Reference will also be made to Makkullasse's (1986) survey of Maros, one of the abutting *kabupaten* most effected by Kotamadya's rezoning, and to Ibrahim's (1985) survey of Takalar as regards certain possible alternative identifications.

(ii) Sound match. Modern toponymic candidates sometimes have to be recast to equal the historical toponym. "2" means the two names are identical; "1" means their difference is trivial; and "0" means that a greater transformation is required for the names to match up.

(iii) Rarity. Chance coincidence rather than historical identity could be involved, and the probability increases with the common toponyms. "2" if the modern name is unique or rare; "1" if it occurs in only a few localities; and "0" if it is widespread.

(iv) 1693 map. Some pre-1667 toponyms can be linked to modern toponyms through the Dutch 1693 map (Figures 5-5 and 5-6). "2" if the map suggests a link; "1" if the toponym is present on the 1693 map, but in an equivocal location; "0" if I have not identified the toponym on the 1693 map.

(v) Administrative name. Old name places have sometimes stamped an area, and later resurfaced as local government names, even in cases where no particular kampung bears the name. However, non-urban *kecamatan* (and higher-level names) can be useless, both because they cover too wide an area to pinpoint any old name, and because even then they might exclude the synonymous historical site. For instance Kecamatan Somba Opu (Kabupaten Gowa) excludes Benteng Somba Opu but includes two places which became the Gowa palace after Somba Opu's fall (Benteng Tua and Sungguminasa). And Kecamatan Paknakkukang (Kotamadya) excludes Benteng Paknakkukang or any Paknakkukang-like toponym. The small *kecamatan* within Makassar's colonial hub appear immune from these problems, but in these cases the *kecamatan* name also recurs as a lower-level subdivision. Hence "2" for *kelurahan* names, "1" for *lingkungan* names, "0" for neither (Kotamadya); "2" for *desa* names, "1" for *dusun* names, "0" for neither (rural *kabupaten*).

(vi) Fit. This criterion mainly summarises locational associations, e.g. that a Tallok-related toponym can be more confidently identified with a modern place near Tallok than one further away. But other considerations also apply, e.g. whether the reported actions at the historical place would make sense in terms of a modern place's geography. "2" means good to excellent; "1" means possible or equivocal; "0" means that some other candidate seems more apt.

TABLE 12-4. MATCHING PRE-1667 TOPONYMS TO MODERN TOPONYMS (CONT.)

| Historical toponym and reference | Modern toponym | Suaka site | Sound match | Rarity | 1693 map | Admin. name | Fit | Score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **A. Early Tallok toponyms** | | | | | | | |
| Passangaleang (ST:5) | Pattungalengang, Takalar | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6/12 |
| Passangaleang (ST:5) | Leang, Maros | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3/12 |
| Buloa empang (ST:7) | Buloa, U.P. | 0 | 2 | 2^ | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Buloa empang (ST:7) | Buluk-Buluk, Jeknekponto | ? | 0 | 1^ | 0 | ? | 1 | 2/8 (=3/12) |
| Buloa empang (ST:7) | Buluk-Buluk, Maros | 0 | 0 | 1^ | 2 | 0 | 1 | 4/12 |
| Talakapandang sawah (ST:7) | Balang Teleko Talapa + Balang Pampang (lower Tallok) | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 (Pampang) | 0 | 1* | 5/12 |
| Talakapandang sawah (ST:7) | Talaka + Panjang, Jeknekponto | ? | 1 | 2 | 1+ | ? | 0 | 4/8 (=6/12) |
| Talakapandang sawah (ST:7) | Takkalasi + Pandangnge, Maros | 0 | 1 | 2# | 1# | 1# | 1 | 6/12 |
| Pannampu (SG:14) | Pannampu | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8/12 |
| Parangloe (SG:14) | Parangloe | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 7/12 |

^ Buloa is a rare toponym, but its hypothesised doublet Buluk-Buluk is more common.
* The location is good but these brackish anabranches of the Tallok are not suitable for sawah.
+ Panjang Lassang on the 1693 map could possibly be related to Talakapandang.
# Toponyms like Takalar or Pandang are common, but the proximity of the two (as at Maros) is rare. Takkalasi in Maros, a dusun name, would interestingly appear to correspond to Talaka as shown on the 1693 map.

N.B. I had been unable to locate Buloa (mislabelled Butoa on the Dutch maps), Passangaleaang and Talakapandang to my satisfaction, and so I cast a wide geographical net looking for other coincidences of the toponyms. I now accept the identifications nearest Tallok, but this depends less on the above exercise which in fact is indecisive, than on the archaeological support for Tallok's origin story (12.4).

TABLE 12-4. MATCHING PRE-1667 TOPONYMS TO MODERN TOPONYMS (CONT.)

| Historical toponym and reference | Modern toponym | Suaka site | Sound match | Rarity | 1693 map | Admin. name | Fit | Score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **B. Tallok Karaengships** | | | | | |
| Karuwisi (SG:59; ST:21) | Karuwisi | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10/12 |
| Panaikang (ST:27; LB:91) | Panaikang | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8/12 |
| Pattingalloang (ST:9,12,20,23) | Pattingalloang | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8/12 |
| Bonto Marannu (LB:110-132 pass.) | Bonto Rannu | 1^ | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 6/12 |
| Tamalakba (ST:23) | Tamalakba | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Langkanaya (ST:8) | Lakkang | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Lembaya (ST:20) | Lembo | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| | | | **C. Tallok Daengs** | | | | | |
| Paotereka (ST:19,24) | Paotere | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Kalling (ST:26; LB:91) | Rapo Kalling | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6/12 |
| | | | **D. Gowa Karaengships** | | | | | |
| Lempangang# (ST:27; SG:58) | Lembangang | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Mangallik (LB:117) | Mangalliki, Gowa | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Bonto Matekne (SG:68) | Bonto Matekne | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5/12 |

^ The site is called Kompleks Makam Karaeng Bonto Marannu, which confirms the assocation with the Bonto Marannu karaengship more strongly than the name Bonto Rannu would imply. Kallupa (1985:162) noted the site but did not record it, although it has been given a Suaka site number (No. 11).

# Treated as a Gowa Karaengship as Kg Lempangang was a Gowa princess, but note she married a Tallok sultan.

TABLE 12-4. MATCHING PRE-1667 TOPONYMS TO MODERN TOPONYMS (CONT.)

| Historical toponym and reference | Modern toponym | Suaka site | Sound match | Rarity | 1693 map | Admin. name | Fit | Score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | E. Gowa Daengs | | | | | |
| Rappocinik (SG:20,43-44) | Rappo Cinik | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 10/12 |
| Kapette (SG:32; LB:105) | Bonto Kapette | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| | | | F. Gowa Gelarang areas | | | | | |
| Sudiang (Mukhlis, 1975:62; SG:20) | Sudiang | 1* | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 9/12 |
| Pampang (Mukhlis, 1975:61) | Pampang | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 8/12 |
| Batua (Mukhlis, 1975:61) | Batua | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 7/12 |
| Cambaya& (Mukhlis, 1975:62) | Cambaya | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 7/12 |
| Tamamangung (Mukhlis, 1975:62; SG:20) | Tamamao | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Kalli (Mukhlis, 1975:61) | Rapo Kalling | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0^ | 4/12 |
| Parang-Parang (Mukhlis, 1975:61) | Parang | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0$ | 1/12 |

* No site specifically called Sudiang, but several major historical sites occur within Sudiang (Kallupa, 1985:125-127).
^ Kale of "Kale Gowa" seems a more parsimonious identification.
& Mukhlis cites "Camba" but the recorded death of Gelarang Cambaya in 1639 (LB:100), nine days after the death of Alauddin during whose reign alone "Camba" belonged to the *Bate Salapang* (Mukhlis, 1975:61-62), makes it clear that Cambaya was involved.
$ On the grounds of parsimony I prefer Pandang-Pandang near Benteng Tua, otherwise the numerous occurrences of "Parang" along the Jeknekberang (Jeknek Parang).

TABLE 12-4. MATCHING PRE-1667 TOPONYMS TO MODERN TOPONYMS (CONT.)

| Historical toponym and reference | Modern toponym | Suaka site | Sound match | Rarity | 1693 map | Admin. name | Fit | Score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Table 12-4. Matching pre-1667 Toponyms to Modern Toponyms (Cont.) | | | | | | | | |
| **G. Forts and Palaces** | | | | | | | | |
| Benteng Ujung Pandang (ST:16; Andaya, 1981:306) | Ujung Pandang | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2^ | 2 | 2 | 12/12 |
| Bonto Alak (ST:24) | Bonto Alak | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 11/12 |
| Benteng Mariso (Andaya, 1981:306) | Mariso | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10/12 |
| Ujung Tana (ST:16; Bulbeck, 1990:96) | Ujung Tana | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8/12 |
| **H. Non-designated Toponyms** | | | | | | | | |
| Kaluku Bodoa (SG:15) | Kaluku Bodoa | 0* | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 9/12 |
| Jongaya (LB:127) | Jongaya | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 7/12 |
| Balang Beru (LB:121,142) | Balang Beru | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7/12 |
| Tabaringang (LB:90,137) | Tabaringang | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1+ | 6/12 |
| Bonto Tangnga (LB:151,152,179,183) | Bonto Tangnga | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6/12 |
| Maroanging (SG:62) | Maroanging | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6/12 |
| Sanrangang (Andaya, 1981:59) | Sangarrang | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6/12 |
| Bonto Kamase (LB:114) | Bonto Kamase | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4/12 |
| Lotengang (SG:45) | Lentengang | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4/12 |

^ i.e. Fort Rotterdam.
* However, Kaluku Bodoa is known as one of the main antique-bearing locations in colonial Makassar city.
+ The burial of Kg Tabaringang's husband Kg Katinting near modern Tabaringang to some degree supports the identification of her Karaengship with that modern Tabaringang.

## TABLE 12-5. TALLOK-UJUNG PANDANG INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES - WALL IGNORED

| | T | B | B | M | T | M | B | K | P | L | T | P | P | T | U | B | U | M | M | M | R | C | K | P | L | L | P | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tallok Utara | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bayoa | 270 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Batu Pelantikan | 285 | 120 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Mangara Bombang | 500 | 455 | 330 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tallok Lama | 635 | 435 | 355 | 230 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Kg Katinting | 670 | 515 | 480 | 400 | 140 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Buloa | 1280 | 1160 | 1060 | 895 | 760 | 570 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kaluku Bodoa | 1720 | 1570 | 1500 | 1365 | 1230 | 1010 | 490 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pannampu | 2630 | 2600 | 2480 | 2170 | 2130 | 2030 | 1510 | 1400 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lembo | 2690 | 2650 | 2520 | 2230 | 2170 | 2060 | 1520 | 1350 | 180 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tabaringang | 3140 | 3140 | 3010 | 2670 | 2660 | 2580 | 2080 | 1970 | 570 | 650 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pattingalloang | 3330 | 3330 | 3200 | 2860 | 2840 | 2770 | 2280 | 2170 | 770 | 835 | 200 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paotere | 3120 | 3120 | 3010 | 2650 | 2650 | 2590 | 2130 | 2060 | 670 | 780 | 210 | 245 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tamalakba | 2830 | 2850 | 2710 | 2360 | 2360 | 2300 | 1840 | 1805 | 460 | 620 | 370 | 510 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ujung Tana | 3650 | 3680 | 3540 | 3190 | 3190 | 3150 | 2600 | 2550 | 1170 | 1270 | 630 | 480 | 400 | 760 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonto Alak | 3700 | 3590 | 3490 | 3250 | 3170 | 3010 | 2430 | 2055 | 1370 | 1200 | 1340 | 1420 | 1570 | 1630 | 1750 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ujung Pandang | 5340 | 5280 | 5170 | 4890 | 4830 | 4700 | 4130 | 3820 | 2740 | 2660 | 2340 | 2220 | 2450 | 2700 | 2170 | 1810 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Kg Tompok Balang | 3830 | 3710 | 3620 | 3410 | 3310 | 3130 | 2560 | 2160 | 1570 | 1410 | 1480 | 1640 | 1790 | 1850 | 1980 | 240 | 1810 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Ibu Syech Yusuf | 1690 | 1550 | 1520 | 1535 | 1370 | 1110 | 820 | 520 | 1890 | 1810 | 2455 | 2650 | 2560 | 2320 | 3100 | 4100 | 2260 | 2400 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Datuk ri Bandang | 2100 | 1790 | 1790 | 1830 | 1635 | 1400 | 1110 | 790 | 2080 | 2010 | 2620 | 2820 | 2750 | 2520 | 3290 | 2330 | 4170 | 2370 | 300 | | | | | | | | | |
| Rapo Kalling | 2520 | 2310 | 2320 | 2370 | 2190 | 1910 | 1630 | 1230 | 2350 | 2210 | 2860 | 3040 | 3010 | 2820 | 3500 | 2310 | 4100 | 2260 | 830 | 530 | | | | | | | | |
| Cambaya | 3030 | 2820 | 2820 | 2850 | 2690 | 2440 | 2090 | 1660 | 2570 | 2520 | 3030 | 3180 | 3200 | 3040 | 3640 | 2240 | 3950 | 2160 | 1325 | 1040 | 515 | | | | | | | |
| Karuwisi | 3310 | 3120 | 3100 | 3130 | 2980 | 2730 | 2375 | 1930 | 2750 | 2630 | 3260 | 3320 | 3350 | 3215 | 3770 | 2280 | 3920 | 2170 | 1610 | 1320 | 800 | 275 | | | | | | |
| Pampang | 3410 | 3200 | 3220 | 3300 | 3130 | 2890 | 2620 | 2210 | 3200 | 3040 | 3640 | 3810 | 3820 | 3670 | 4250 | 2800 | 4430 | 2690 | 1810 | 1500 | 990 | 615 | 510 | | | | | |
| Lembangang | 3570 | 3410 | 3450 | 3590 | 3420 | 3180 | 2955 | 2590 | 3630 | 3485 | 4090 | 4250 | 4270 | 4090 | 4710 | 3240 | 4860 | 3130 | 2130 | 1840 | 1350 | 1060 | 960 | 450 | | | | |
| Lakkang | 2980 | 3000 | 3120 | 3440 | 3350 | 3210 | 3430 | 3370 | 4770 | 4680 | 5320 | 5520 | 5450 | 5180 | 5970 | 5000 | 6780 | 4980 | 2860 | 2720 | 2680 | 2800 | 3000 | 2610 | 2390 | | | |
| Parangloe | 2820 | 3180 | 3310 | 3500 | 3680 | 3750 | 4290 | 4610 | 5790 | 5820 | 6320 | 6510 | 6320 | 6010 | 6870 | 6660 | 8380 | 6750 | 4260 | 4450 | 4700 | 5220 | 5480 | 5260 | 5220 | 3180 | | |
| Tamamao | 4850 | 4650 | 4670 | 4720 | 4550 | 4310 | 3960 | 3490 | 4130 | 3940 | 4430 | 4555 | 4640 | 4560 | 4970 | 3260 | 4450 | 3060 | 3180 | 2900 | 2370 | 1860 | 1580 | 1480 | 1450 | 3770 | 6660 | |
| Panaikang | 4520 | 4390 | 4460 | 4630 | 4470 | 4240 | 4080 | 3720 | 4770 | 4620 | 5210 | 5380 | 5400 | 5240 | 5825 | 4280 | 5775 | 4145 | 3250 | 2950 | 2495 | 2190 | 2045 | 1570 | 1150 | 2530 | 5670 | 1570 |
| Batua | 6120 | 6000 | 6040 | 6190 | 6020 | 5770 | 5550 | 5130 | 5980 | 5800 | 6330 | 6470 | 6530 | 6430 | 6880 | 5200 | 6335 | 5000 | 4720 | 4415 | 3910 | 3500 | 3250 | 2920 | 2595 | 4090 | 7250 | 1940 |
| Rappocinik | 5770 | 5570 | 5520 | 5450 | 5310 | 5080 | 4580 | 4090 | 4080 | 3900 | 4160 | 4200 | 4360 | 4415 | 4500 | 2810 | 3210 | 2570 | 4010 | 3800 | 3365 | 2880 | 2630 | 2890 | 3090 | 5460 | 8090 | 1865 |
| Mariso | 7210 | 6990 | 7000 | 6830 | 6710 | 6500 | 5860 | 5500 | 4980 | 4810 | 4780 | 4740 | 4955 | 5230 | 4820 | 3640 | 2800 | 3440 | 5590 | 5460 | 5140 | 4735 | 4540 | 4900 | 5175 | 7500 | 9930 | 4030 |
| Bonto Tangnga | 8940 | 8760 | 8680 | 8615 | 8490 | 8250 | 7740 | 7250 | 7050 | 6880 | 6980 | 6970 | 7185 | 7290 | 7160 | 5700 | 5230 | 5470 | 7170 | 6980 | 6410 | 6020 | 5760 | 5030 | 6105 | 8320 | 11260 | 4590 |
| Jongaya | 8420 | 8215 | 8160 | 8010 | 7930 | 7720 | 7190 | 6700 | 6400 | 6235 | 6300 | 6290 | 6495 | 6630 | 6440 | 5060 | 4490 | 4830 | 6680 | 6490 | 6065 | 5590 | 5350 | 5570 | 5720 | 8070 | 10970 | 4310 |

## Table 12-5. Intersite Distances in Metres - Wall Ignored (Cont.)

| | T | B | B | M | T | M | B | K | P | L | T | P | P | T | U | B | U | M | M | M | R | C | K | P | L | L | P | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balang Beru | 9230 | 9080 | 9000 | 8810 | 8780 | 8530 | 8020 | 7510 | 7180 | 7010 | 7070 | 7030 | 7250 | 7395 | 7170 | 5820 | 5130 | 5600 | 7500 | 7320 | 6900 | 6430 | 6190 | 6400 | 6550 | 8880 | 11660 | 5120 |
| Bonto Rannu | 8030 | 7890 | 7820 | 7650 | 7510 | 7320 | 6780 | 6330 | 5790 | 5650 | 5600 | 5650 | 5780 | 5960 | 5660 | 4470 | 3560 | 4270 | 6410 | 6250 | 5890 | 5480 | 5270 | 5590 | 5810 | 8160 | 10670 | 4580 |
| Bonto Kapette | 8060 | 7920 | 7940 | 7390 | 7750 | 7500 | 7050 | 6540 | 6670 | 6480 | 6720 | 6770 | 6940 | 6990 | 7050 | 5270 | 5480 | 5150 | 6360 | 6120 | 5620 | 5190 | 4830 | 4870 | 4870 | 7070 | 10270 | 3400 |
| Bontomanaik 2 | 8900 | 8670 | 8670 | 8670 | 8500 | 8240 | 7840 | 7360 | 7580 | 7390 | 7720 | 7730 | 7900 | 7920 | 8000 | 6310 | 6490 | 6090 | 7130 | 6870 | 6350 | 5830 | 5550 | 5520 | 5420 | 7530 | 10625 | 4040 |
| Antang | 7700 | 7620 | 7700 | 7935 | 7770 | 7570 | 7460 | 7150 | 8170 | 8050 | 8630 | 8790 | 8740 | 8680 | 9230 | 7590 | 8860 | 7430 | 6680 | 6380 | 5940 | 5640 | 5460 | 5020 | 4590 | 4940 | 7910 | 4910 |

| | P | B | R | M | B | J | B | B | B | B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Batua | 1635 | | | | | | | | | |
| Rappocinik | 3440 | 3390 | | | | | | | | |
| Mariso | 5600 | 5390 | 2190 | | | | | | | |
| Bonto Tangnga | 5975 | 5090 | 3160 | 2470 | | | | | | |
| Jongaya | 5810 | 5125 | 2710 | 1700 | 780 | | | | | |
| Balang Beru | 6590 | 5820 | 3550 | 2340 | 790 | 840 | | | | |
| Bonto Rannu | 6130 | 5750 | 2750 | 840 | 1930 | 1190 | 1600 | | | |
| Bonto Kapette | 4580 | 3530 | 2580 | 3130 | 1650 | 1630 | 2420 | 3000 | | |
| Bontomanaik | 4890 | 3640 | 3530 | 4120 | 2240 | 2540 | 3020 | 3900 | 1005 | |
| Antang | 3450 | 2430 | 5910 | 7750 | 7320 | 6530 | 7890 | 8110 | 5300 | 4925 |

N.B. "Balang Telepo Talapa-Balang Pampang", which I identify with an early Tallok toponym (Table 12-4A), is not considered in this analysis for two reasons. Firstly, if the identification is indeed correct then it refers to an area where sawah was established, i.e. agricultural land, and so would be conceptually distinct from SSPHAP's sites. Secondly, "Pampang" (on Balang Pampang) is already included as a cited Gowa *Gelarang* district.

However, I include "Buloa" even though the reference cites its fish ponds, i.e. its status as productive land. My reason is that there is indeed a Buloa kampung. This settlement would date back to at least the 17th century given that the very person whom ST (p.6) acknowledges as the reliable source on Tallok's origin story was I Kare Bajik Dg ri Buloa.

Figure 12-6A main clustering events. TBBMTM joins BKMMR at 1570m; CKPL joins TP at 1666m; PLTPPTU joins BMU at 1871m; BJB joins MB at 1872m (BJB is 2250m from BB); CKPLTP joins Batua at 2640m (Batua is only 2430m from Antang, but Antang had joined BKD at 1307m [cf. Table 6-3]); TBBMTMBKMMR joins PLTPPTUBMU at 2852m; BJBMB joins Rappocinik at 2866m (BJBMB is only 2765m from BB, but BB had joined eastwards [Table 6-4]; CKPLTPB joins Lakkang at 2920m; CKPLTPBL joins TBBMTMBKMMRPLTPPTUBMU at 3765m. (BJBMBR probably would join southwards, at 4746m).

## TABLE 12-6. TALLOK-UJUNG PANDANG INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES - SURVEYED WALL INCLUDED

| | B | B | K | P | L | T | P | P | T | U | B | U | M | M | M | R | C | K | P | L | L | P | T | P | B | R | M | B | J | B | B | B | B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Benteng Tallok | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Buloa | 560 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kaluku Bodoa | 1010 | 490 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pannampu | 1890 | 1510 | 1400 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lembo | 1925 | 1520 | 1350 | 180 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tabaringang | 2390 | 2080 | 1970 | 570 | 650 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pattingalloang | 2470 | 2280 | 2170 | 770 | 835 | 200 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paotere | 2370 | 2130 | 2060 | 670 | 780 | 210 | 245 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tamalakba | 2090 | 1840 | 1805 | 460 | 620 | 370 | 510 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ujung Tana | 2910 | 2600 | 2550 | 1170 | 1270 | 630 | 480 | 400 | 760 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonto Alak | 2965 | 2430 | 2055 | 1370 | 1200 | 1340 | 1420 | 1570 | 1630 | 1750 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ujung Pandang | 4600 | 4130 | 3820 | 2740 | 2660 | 2340 | 2220 | 2450 | 2700 | 2170 | 1810 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Kg Tompok Balang | 3090 | 2560 | 2160 | 1570 | 1410 | 1480 | 1640 | 1790 | 1850 | 1980 | 240 | 1810 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Ibu Syech Yusuf | 1110 | 820 | 520 | 1890 | 1810 | 2455 | 2650 | 2560 | 2320 | 3100 | 4100 | 2260 | 2400 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Datuk ri Bandang | 1380 | 1110 | 790 | 2080 | 2010 | 2620 | 2820 | 2750 | 2520 | 3290 | 2330 | 4170 | 2370 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rapo Kalling | 1900 | 1630 | 1230 | 2350 | 2210 | 2860 | 3040 | 3010 | 2820 | 3500 | 2310 | 4100 | 2260 | 830 | 530 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cambaya | 2400 | 2090 | 1660 | 2570 | 2520 | 3030 | 3180 | 3200 | 3040 | 3640 | 2240 | 3950 | 2160 | 1325 | 1040 | 515 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Karuwisi | 2690 | 2375 | 1930 | 2750 | 2630 | 3260 | 3320 | 3350 | 3215 | 3770 | 2280 | 3920 | 2170 | 1610 | 1320 | 800 | 275 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pampang | 2820 | 2620 | 2210 | 3200 | 3040 | 3640 | 3810 | 3820 | 3670 | 4250 | 2800 | 4430 | 2690 | 1810 | 1500 | 990 | 615 | 510 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lembangang | 3090 | 2955 | 2590 | 3630 | 3485 | 4090 | 4250 | 4270 | 4090 | 4710 | 3240 | 4860 | 3130 | 2130 | 1840 | 1350 | 1060 | 960 | 450 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lakkang | 2800 | 3430 | 3370 | 4770 | 4680 | 5320 | 5520 | 5450 | 5180 | 5970 | 5000 | 6780 | 4980 | 2860 | 2720 | 2680 | 2800 | 3000 | 2610 | 2390 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parangloe | 2610 | 4290 | 4610 | 5790 | 5820 | 6320 | 6510 | 6320 | 6010 | 6870 | 6660 | 8380 | 6750 | 4260 | 4450 | 4700 | 5220 | 5480 | 5260 | 5220 | 3180 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tamamao | 4280 | 3960 | 3490 | 4130 | 3940 | 4430 | 4555 | 4640 | 4560 | 4970 | 3260 | 4450 | 3060 | 3180 | 2900 | 2370 | 1860 | 1580 | 1480 | 1450 | 3770 | 6660 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Panaikang | 4140 | 4080 | 3720 | 4770 | 4620 | 5210 | 5380 | 5400 | 5240 | 5825 | 4280 | 5775 | 4145 | 3250 | 2950 | 2495 | 2190 | 2045 | 1570 | 1150 | 2530 | 5670 | 1570 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Batua | 5700 | 5550 | 5130 | 5980 | 5800 | 6330 | 6470 | 6530 | 6430 | 6880 | 5200 | 6335 | 5000 | 4720 | 4415 | 3910 | 3500 | 3250 | 2920 | 2595 | 4090 | 7250 | 1940 | 1635 | | | | | | | | | |
| Rappocinik | 5010 | 4580 | 4090 | 4080 | 3900 | 4160 | 4200 | 4360 | 4415 | 4500 | 2810 | 3210 | 2570 | 4010 | 3800 | 3365 | 2880 | 2630 | 2890 | 3090 | 5460 | 8090 | 1865 | 3440 | 3390 | | | | | | | | |
| Mariso | 6500 | 5860 | 5500 | 4980 | 4810 | 4780 | 4740 | 4955 | 5230 | 4820 | 3640 | 2800 | 3440 | 5590 | 5460 | 5140 | 4735 | 4540 | 4900 | 5175 | 7500 | 9930 | 4030 | 5600 | 5390 | 2190 | | | | | | | |
| Bonto Tangnga | 8230 | 7740 | 7250 | 7050 | 6880 | 6980 | 6970 | 7185 | 7290 | 7160 | 5700 | 5230 | 5470 | 7170 | 6980 | 6410 | 6020 | 5760 | 5030 | 6105 | 8320 | 11260 | 4590 | 5975 | 5090 | 3160 | 2470 | | | | | | |
| Jongaya | 7700 | 7190 | 6700 | 6400 | 6235 | 6300 | 6290 | 6495 | 6630 | 6440 | 5060 | 4490 | 4830 | 6680 | 6490 | 6065 | 5590 | 5350 | 5570 | 5720 | 8070 | 10970 | 4310 | 5810 | 5125 | 2710 | 1700 | 780 | | | | | |
| Balang Beru | 8530 | 8020 | 7510 | 7180 | 7010 | 7070 | 7030 | 7250 | 7395 | 7170 | 5820 | 5130 | 5600 | 7500 | 7320 | 6900 | 6430 | 6190 | 6400 | 6550 | 8880 | 11660 | 5120 | 6590 | 5820 | 3550 | 2340 | 790 | 840 | | | | |
| Bonto Rannu | 7320 | 6780 | 6330 | 5790 | 5650 | 5600 | 5650 | 5780 | 5960 | 5660 | 4470 | 3560 | 4270 | 6410 | 6250 | 5890 | 5480 | 5270 | 5590 | 5810 | 8160 | 10670 | 4580 | 6130 | 5750 | 2750 | 840 | 1930 | 1190 | 1600 | | | |
| Bonto Kapette | 7470 | 7050 | 6540 | 6670 | 6480 | 6720 | 6770 | 6940 | 6990 | 7050 | 5270 | 5480 | 5150 | 6360 | 6120 | 5620 | 5190 | 4830 | 4870 | 4870 | 7070 | 10270 | 3400 | 4580 | 3530 | 2580 | 3130 | 1650 | 1630 | 2420 | 3000 | | |
| Bontomanaik | 8210 | 7840 | 7360 | 7580 | 7390 | 7720 | 7730 | 7900 | 7920 | 8000 | 6310 | 6490 | 6090 | 7130 | 6870 | 6350 | 5830 | 5550 | 5520 | 5420 | 7530 | 10625 | 4040 | 4890 | 3640 | 3530 | 4120 | 2240 | 2540 | 3020 | 3900 | 1005 | |
| Antang | 7490 | 7460 | 7150 | 8170 | 8050 | 8630 | 8790 | 8740 | 8680 | 9230 | 7590 | 8860 | 7430 | 6680 | 6380 | 5940 | 5640 | 5460 | 5020 | 4590 | 4940 | 7910 | 4910 | 3450 | 2430 | 5910 | 7750 | 7320 | 6530 | 7890 | 8110 | 5300 | 4925 |

Main clustering events (Figure 12-6B). BBK joins MMR at 1167m (so making BBKMMR); CKPL joins TP at 1666m; PLTPPTU joins BMU at 1871m; BJB joins MB at 1872m (BJB is 2250m from B(2)B); CKPLTP joins BBKMMR at 2403m; BJBMB joins Rappocinik at 2866m (BJBMB is only 2765m from BB, but BB had joined eastwards [Table 6-3]); CKPLTPBBKMMR joins Lakkang at 2914m; CKPLTPBBKMMRL joins PLTPPTUBMU at 3337m. (Batua is 4764m from CKPLTPBBKMMRLPLTPPTUBMU, and 5094m from BJBMBR, so could join BKDA depending on how BKDA joins. BJBMBR would probably join southwards, at 4669m.)

TABLE 12-7. INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES - SURVEYED AND INFERRED WALL INCLUDED

| | B | B | K | P | L | T | P | P | T | U-M | B | M | M | M | R | C | K | P | L | L | P | T | P | B | R | B | J | B | B | B | B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Benteng Tallok | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Buloa | 560 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kaluku Bodoa | 1010 | 490 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pannampu | 1890 | 1510 | 1400 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lembo | 1925 | 1520 | 1350 | 180 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tabaringang | 2390 | 2080 | 1970 | 570 | 650 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pattingalloang | 2470 | 2280 | 2170 | 770 | 835 | 200 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paotere | 2370 | 2130 | 2060 | 670 | 780 | 210 | 245 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tamalakba | 2090 | 1840 | 1805 | 460 | 620 | 370 | 510 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ujung Tana-Mariso wall | 2910 | 2600 | 2550 | 1170 | 1270 | 630 | 480 | 400 | 760 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonto Alak | 2965 | 2430 | 2055 | 1370 | 1200 | 1340 | 1420 | 1570 | 1630 | 1370 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Kg Tompok Balang | 3090 | 2560 | 2160 | 1570 | 1410 | 1480 | 1640 | 1790 | 1850 | 1500 | 240 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Ibu Syech Yusuf | 1110 | 820 | 520 | 1890 | 1810 | 2455 | 2650 | 2560 | 2320 | 3100 | 4100 | 2400 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Makam Datuk ri Bandang | 1380 | 1110 | 790 | 2080 | 2010 | 2620 | 2820 | 2750 | 2520 | 3290 | 2330 | 2370 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rapo Kalling | 1900 | 1630 | 1230 | 2350 | 2210 | 2860 | 3040 | 3010 | 2820 | 3500 | 2310 | 2260 | 830 | 530 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cambaya | 2400 | 2090 | 1660 | 2570 | 2520 | 3030 | 3180 | 3200 | 3040 | 3620 | 2240 | 2160 | 1325 | 1040 | 515 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Karuwisi | 2690 | 2375 | 1930 | 2750 | 2630 | 3260 | 3320 | 3350 | 3215 | 3680 | 2280 | 2170 | 1610 | 1320 | 800 | 275 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pampang | 2820 | 2620 | 2210 | 3200 | 3040 | 3640 | 3810 | 3820 | 3670 | 4160 | 2800 | 2690 | 1810 | 1500 | 990 | 615 | 510 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lembangang | 3090 | 2955 | 2590 | 3630 | 3485 | 4090 | 4250 | 4270 | 4090 | 4630 | 3240 | 3130 | 2130 | 1840 | 1350 | 1060 | 960 | 450 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lakkang | 2800 | 3430 | 3370 | 4770 | 4680 | 5320 | 5520 | 5450 | 5180 | 5970 | 5000 | 4980 | 2860 | 2720 | 2680 | 2800 | 3000 | 2610 | 2390 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parangloe | 2610 | 4290 | 4610 | 5790 | 5820 | 6320 | 6510 | 6320 | 6010 | 6870 | 6660 | 6750 | 4260 | 4450 | 4700 | 5220 | 5480 | 5260 | 5220 | 3180 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tamamao | 4280 | 3960 | 3490 | 4130 | 3940 | 4430 | 4555 | 4640 | 4560 | 3650 | 3260 | 3060 | 3180 | 2900 | 2370 | 1860 | 1580 | 1480 | 1450 | 3770 | 6660 | | | | | | | | | |
| Panaikang | 4140 | 4080 | 3720 | 4770 | 4620 | 5210 | 5380 | 5400 | 5240 | 5260 | 4280 | 4145 | 3250 | 2950 | 2495 | 2190 | 2045 | 1570 | 1150 | 2530 | 5670 | 1570 | | | | | | | | |
| Batua | 5700 | 5550 | 5130 | 5980 | 5800 | 6330 | 6470 | 6530 | 6430 | 5300 | 5200 | 5000 | 4720 | 4415 | 3910 | 3500 | 3250 | 2920 | 2595 | 4090 | 7250 | 1940 | 1635 | | | | | | | |
| Rappocinik | 5010 | 4580 | 4090 | 4080 | 3900 | 4160 | 4200 | 4360 | 4415 | 1910 | 2810 | 2570 | 4010 | 3800 | 3365 | 2880 | 2630 | 2890 | 3090 | 5460 | 8090 | 1865 | 3440 | 3390 | | | | | | |
| Bonto Tangnga | 8230 | 7740 | 7250 | 7050 | 6880 | 6980 | 6970 | 7185 | 7290 | 2470 | 5700 | 5470 | 7170 | 6980 | 6410 | 6020 | 5760 | 5030 | 6105 | 8320 | 11260 | 4590 | 5975 | 5090 | 2470 | | | | | |
| Jongaya | 7700 | 7190 | 6700 | 6400 | 6235 | 6300 | 6290 | 6495 | 6630 | 1700 | 5060 | 4830 | 6680 | 6490 | 6065 | 5590 | 5350 | 5570 | 5720 | 8070 | 10970 | 4310 | 5810 | 5125 | 2710 | 780 | | | | |
| Balang Beru | 8530 | 8020 | 7510 | 7180 | 7010 | 7070 | 7030 | 7250 | 7395 | 2340 | 5820 | 5600 | 7500 | 7320 | 6900 | 6430 | 6190 | 6400 | 6550 | 8880 | 11660 | 5120 | 6590 | 5820 | 3550 | 790 | 840 | | | |
| Bonto Rannu | 7320 | 6780 | 6330 | 5790 | 5650 | 5600 | 5650 | 5780 | 5960 | 840 | 4470 | 4270 | 6410 | 6250 | 5890 | 5480 | 5270 | 5590 | 5810 | 8160 | 10670 | 4580 | 6130 | 5750 | 2750 | 1930 | 1190 | 1600 | | |
| Bonto Kapette | 7470 | 7050 | 6540 | 6670 | 6480 | 6720 | 6770 | 6940 | 6990 | 3130 | 5270 | 5150 | 6360 | 6120 | 5620 | 5190 | 4830 | 4870 | 4870 | 7070 | 10270 | 3400 | 4580 | 3530 | 2580 | 1650 | 1630 | 2420 | 3000 | |
| Bontomanaik | 8210 | 7840 | 7360 | 7580 | 7390 | 7720 | 7730 | 7900 | 7920 | 4120 | 6310 | 6090 | 7130 | 6870 | 6350 | 5830 | 5550 | 5520 | 5420 | 7530 | 10625 | 4040 | 4890 | 3640 | 3530 | 2240 | 2540 | 3020 | 3900 | 1005 |
| Antang | 7490 | 7460 | 7150 | 8170 | 8050 | 8630 | 8790 | 8740 | 8680 | 7750 | 7590 | 7430 | 6680 | 6380 | 5940 | 5640 | 5460 | 5020 | 4590 | 4940 | 7910 | 4910 | 3450 | 2430 | 5910 | 7320 | 6530 | 7890 | 8110 | 5300 | 4925 |

N.B. Ujung Tana, Ujung Pandang and Mariso become one site with the Ujung Tana-Mariso wall.

Main clustering events (Figure 12-6C). PLTPP joins U-M at 785m (so making PLTPPU-M); BBK joins MMR at 1167m (so making BBKMMR); CKPL joins TP at 1666m; BJB joins B at 1573m (BJB is 2250m from B(2)B); PLTPPU-M joins BBKMMR at 2356m; CKPLTP joins Batua at 2640m; CKPLTPB joins Rappocinik at 2884m (Rappocinik is 3043m from BJBB and 3055m from BB); CKPLTPBR joins Lakkang at 3238m; CKPLTPBRL joins PLTPPU-MBBKMMR at 3625m. BJBB is only 2250m from BB but BB had joined eastwards (Table 6-3); affinities of BJBB unclear.

Benteng Tallok, these points reflect the wedded destiny of the two kingdoms. Nonetheless Gowa and Tallok guarded their geopolitical cores, generally speaking, as closely as they guarded their genealogical cores.

### 12.3.2 Settlement pattern analysis

In addition to the historical toponyms, I also include some venerated early Islamic burial sites described by Kallupa (1985) which are not associated with any specific toponym I had been looking for. Whether or not my efforts successfully simulate an archaeological survey, any patterns which the toponyms and Suaka sites might indicate should be shown formally. Hence I adopt the procedures used in the other site-clustering analyses, in particular those used for Makassar (11.2). This entails the recognition of three types of site, namely burial and settlement sites (specifically affecting the sites inside Benteng Tallok), surveyed wall (Tallok's walls), and inferr former wall (the coastal wall between Ujung Tana and Mariso suggested by Bulbeck [1990]). Hence three tables of intersite distances are given (Tables 12-5 to 12-7), producing three variant configurations of site clusters (Figure 12-6).[21]

Despite minor differences, all configurations identify a "Bonto Alak supercluster" stretching from Benteng Tallok southwards, but not as far as the "Mangallekana cluster" whose affinities probably lie southwards with the "Garassik supercluster".[22] The "Bonto Alak supercluster" occasionally

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[21] Here it is unnecessary to ponder the effects of river channel crossings, for we have already seen that the sites do not cross the reconstructed north channel of the Garassik under any circumstances (11.2), and similarly Parangloe always fails to join with the sites south of the Tallok. Note that Mariso is identified only as a coastal fort, but by analogy with the other coastal forts I assume that a Makassar community lived in association. The historical toponyms are treated as point-sites with the point located at the main kampung's main Islamic cemetery shown on the Dutch maps, otherwise in the centre of the kampung if no cemetery is depicted.

[22] I have not measured all the distances between sites in the Mangallekana and Benteng Tua clusters, so I cannot prove that the Mangallekana cluster would join southwards rather than eastwards. Given also other uncertainties (e.g. would the BKDA group or the Anak Gowa cluster join the Benteng Tua

or regularly includes some toponyms along the fringe of Gowa's heartland (Rappocinik, Tamamao and Batua), but in essence corresponds to Tallok's heartland south of Sungai Tallok (cf. Figure 12-5).

I prefer Bonto Alak rather than Tallok as the label for the supercluster because I believe it matches Tallok only at the height of its power, during the period when Kg Kanjilo (Sultan Abdullah) and Kg Pattingalloang (Sultan Mahmud) were regents. Abdullah's decision in 1620 to move to Bonto Alak and retain the regency, while handing over the Tallok throne to Mudhaffar (cf. ST:24), reflects the impracticality of Benteng Tallok as the centre from which to administer Makassar entrepôt. Abdullah's construction of a coastal wall from Ujung Tana to Paknakkukang in 1634 (Table 11-1) marked and protected the area then administered from Bonto Alak.

The continuing importance of Bonto Alak is clear from several references - the construction of its mosque in 1635, the first public observation of Friday prayers here in 1648, and the construction of its "carved house" (*ballak niukirika*) in 1652 (LB:96,110,114). These dates take us to Mahmud's death (1654), suggesting that he also exercised his regency from Bonto Alak. Bonto Alak was of course a more suitable location than Benteng Tallok for Mahmud to receive his frequent European visitors (cf. Reid, 1981). Even after Mahmud's death, during Hasanuddin's reign, Bonto Alak apparently retained its importance as a "half-way house" for aristocratic immigrants to Makassar, and as the administrative centre for the attached arable lands (Mukhlis, 1975:57-58).[23]

The "Tallok cluster" includes two sacred Islamic cemeteries. One is associated with Datuk ri Bandang, the man locally credited with bringing Islam to the Makassar people (Kallupa, 1985:58-62). The other is associated with Syech Yusuf's mother (Kallupa, 1985:63-65). These cemeteries cap

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cluster?) it is wisest to leave the Mangallekana cluster on its own.

[23] Sahaduddin's move to Bonto Alak, after the Dutch occupied Ujung Pandang (Fort Rotterdam), becomes particularly significant in the light of Bonto Alak's earlier history as a centre for administering Makassar.

the crescendo of evidence that the Islamisation of the Makassar people was inaugurated at Benteng Tallok.[24]

I have not been able to pinpoint Mangallekana, which appears to be a lost toponym, but the 1693 map (Figure 5-5) clearly places it in the area of my "Mangallekana cluster". Mangallekana was the *Daeng* title of Gowa's harbourmaster during Tunipalangga's reign (3.5.2), and sited the first Malay mosque built in Makassar during Tunijallok's reign (SG:50). Between 1684 and 1694 Mangallekana served as Abdul Jalil's palace and royal mosque (LB:169,176,180).[25] At these junctures Mangallekana area clearly fell under Gowa's jurisdiction, but it probably fell under Tallok's partial or total jurisdiction during much of the 17th century.

## 12.4 The Origins of Tallok

The passages on Tallok's origins (translated in 12.2.1), and my preferred identification of the associated sites and toponyms, leads to the schematic representation shown in Figure 12-7. Batara Gowa appears to have been hemmed in by a still-independent Garassik to the west, some sort of polity (Tarung?) at the mouth of the Tallok to the north, and the *Gelarang* owning allegiance to Kgloe ri Sero at the east (Figure 12-7A). Hence the dispute between the two brothers takes on the aspect of a dramatic expansion by Batara Gowa

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[24] For instance that it was Tallok's ruler (subsequently called Sultan Abdullah) who decided to choose Islam rather than Christianity (e.g. Gervaise, 1688); that the first public Friday prayers occurred at Tallok in 1607 (LB:109); and that Syech Yusuf himself had Tallok origins (6.5.6). Further, Pelras (1985:109) interprets the second point to show that Tallok's mosque had been built by 1607, which could be correct; certainly, the available references discredit the popular notion that Katangka mosque, at Benteng Tua, was the first Makassar mosque (6.5.5).

[25] Kallupa (1985:157-148) describes a low "fortress wall" around Kompleks Makam Balang Beru, i.e. a site associated with one of my "Mangallekana cluster" toponyms. He gives a brick measurement (30 X 20 X 5.5cm) which would scrape in as a particularly large representative of the Gowa fortification "smaller" bricks (E.1.3). This structure might be associated with Abdul Jalil's Mangallekana palace. Interestingly Jongaya, one of the toponyms in the cluster, later served as Gowa's palace over some period between the 19th and 20th centuries (Kallupa, 1985:150-151).

eastwards, gobbling up Kgloe ri Sero's former *Gelarang* in the process (Figure 12-7B).[26]

As the story has it, Kgloe ri Sero initially fled to "Java" before returning to settle at a location somewhere on the lower Tallok. The story implies that he was unfamiliar with the Tallok mouth, so presumably he fled along the Sungai Garassik and also returned to Gowa before moving to the Tallok.[27] After one of his *Gelarang* discovered the value of the Tallok mouth, the Sero faction moved there *en masse* and overpowered the locals. The newly inaugurated kingdom of Tallok maintained its control of the lower Tallok, and extended its control over the adjacent coastline, as indicated by the location of the three *Gelarang* Moncongloe, Pannampu and Parangloe (Figure 12-7B).

However, a second hypothesis on Tallok's origins is suggested by two points (Figure 12-8). All the toponyms associated with Kgloe ri Sero's movement have equal or better matches on the south coast than along the Tallok. And the story frequently refers to Kgloe ri Sero simply as "Karaengloe", which evokes the Polombangkeng "Karaengloe", and the mountain called Batu Karaengloe. The south coast also contains passable matching toponyms for Buloa and Talakapandang, where Tunilabu ri Suriwa made fish ponds and wet rice fields respectively. In this interpretation, a succession dispute in Gowa has been rolled up with a dimly remembered tradition of Tallok's origins from the south coast, to legitimise Tallok's status as Gowa's "younger brother" (cf. Vansina, 1985:23-24).

However, having found better matches for Buloa and Talakapandang on Benteng Tallok's doorstep (Figure 12-5), and passable matches along the Tallok for the other toponyms,[28] I

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[26] Saumata, associated with a site at least as large as Sero, stands against the tide of the shifted allegiances. This prompts the speculation that Saumata may have initially seen an opportunity to claim Sero after Kgloe ri Sero's flight.
[27] It might be simpler to suggest that Kgloe ri Sero did not go to "Java" at precisely this juncture.
[28] "Tarung" remains unidentified, presumably a lost toponym (as is also Pasik, a recurring Tallok karaengship). Note also that "Bangkala" occurs as a kampung name directly south of Leang, although I still prefer to identify "Bangkala" with a site that had demonstrably come into existence by the 15th century.

think that the scenario in Figure 12-7 should be accepted as more parsimonious. Most importantly, the tradeware profile of Sero-Tombolok shows a pronounced drop corresponding to c.1500 AD (Figure 7-4), corresponding to the even more pronounced jump in Tallok's tradeware profile (Figure 12-5). Within the limits of archaeological site survey, more convincing evidence of a major population relocation from Sero-Tombolok to Tallok would be hard to imagine.

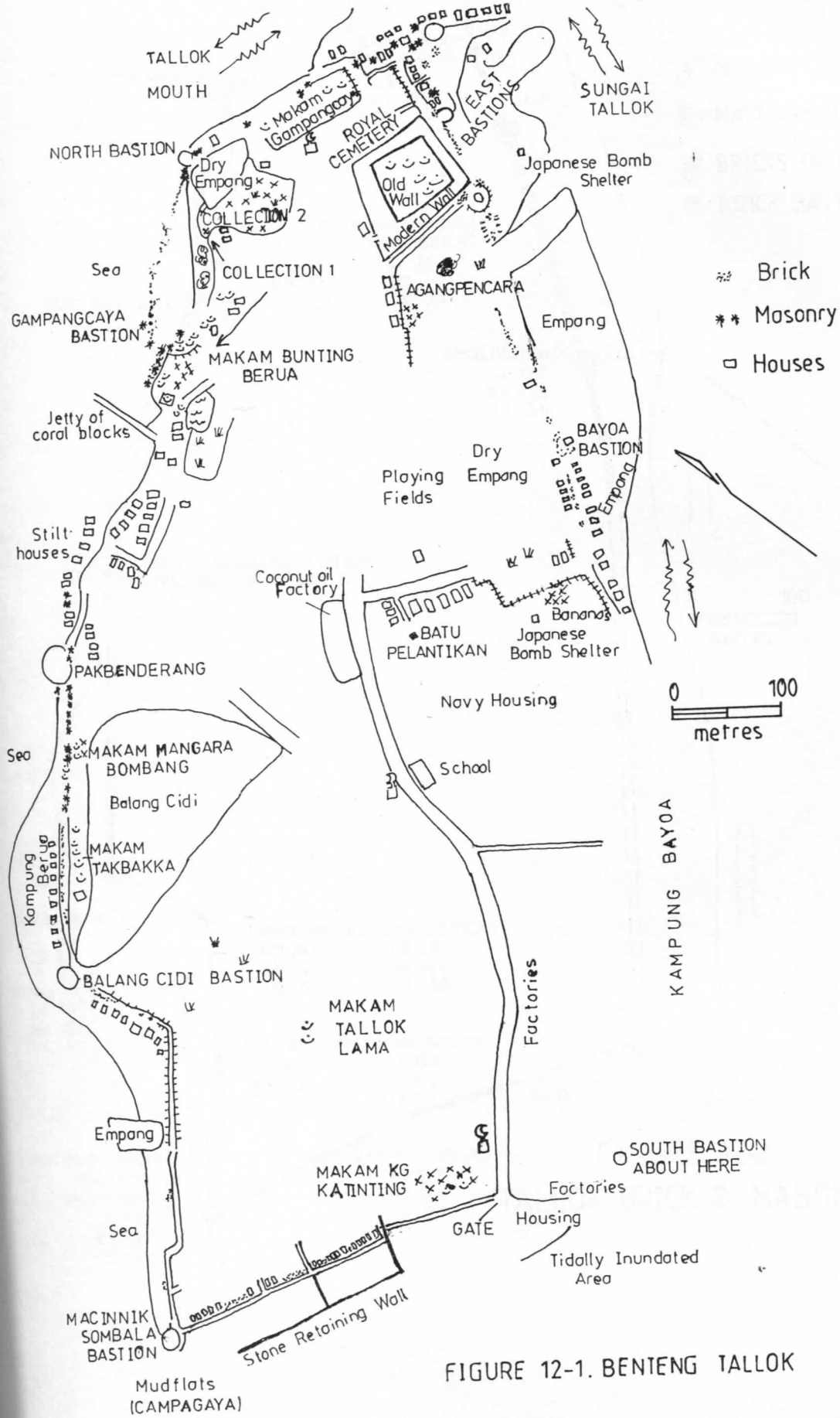



FIGURE 12-1. BENTENG TALLOK

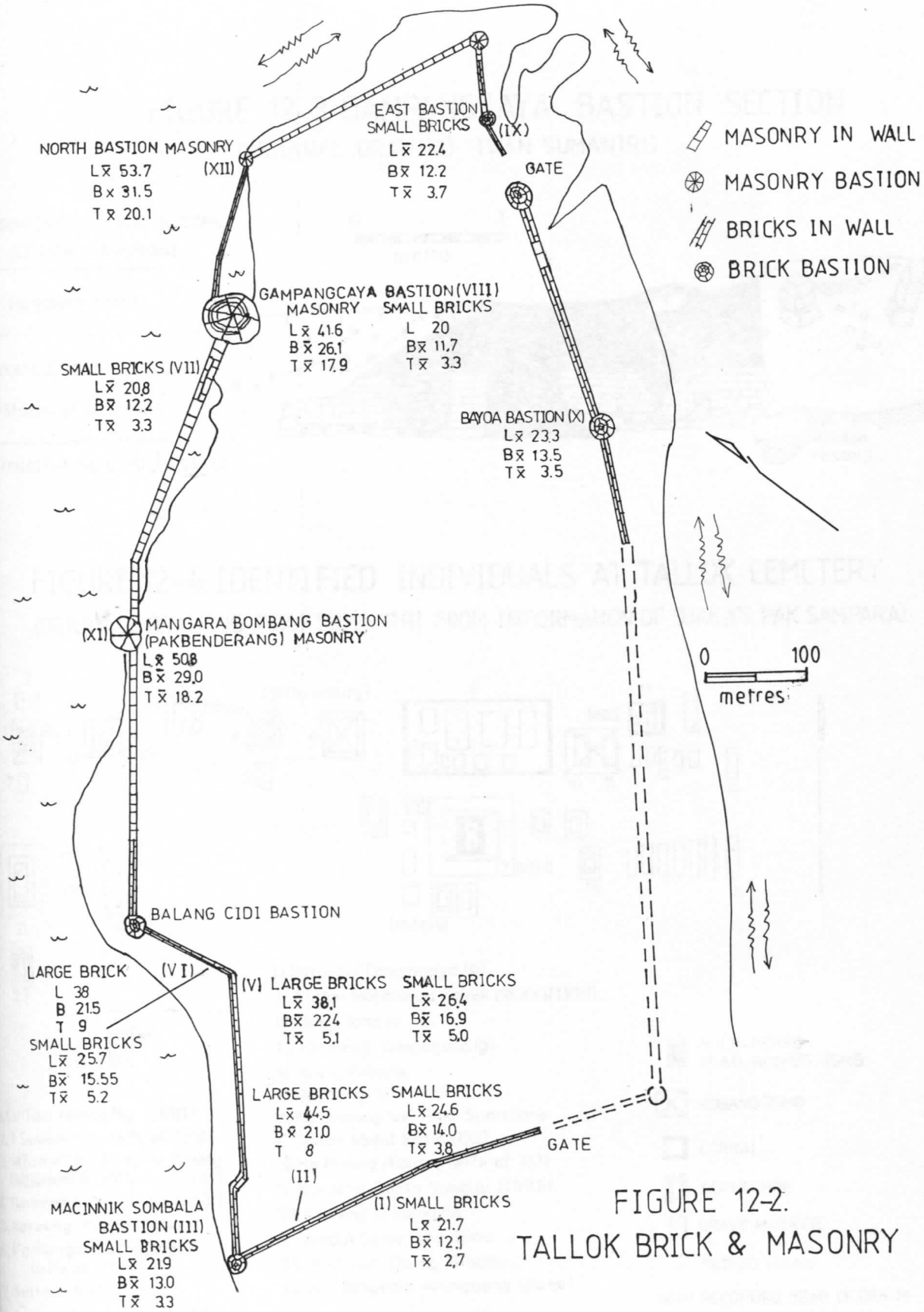
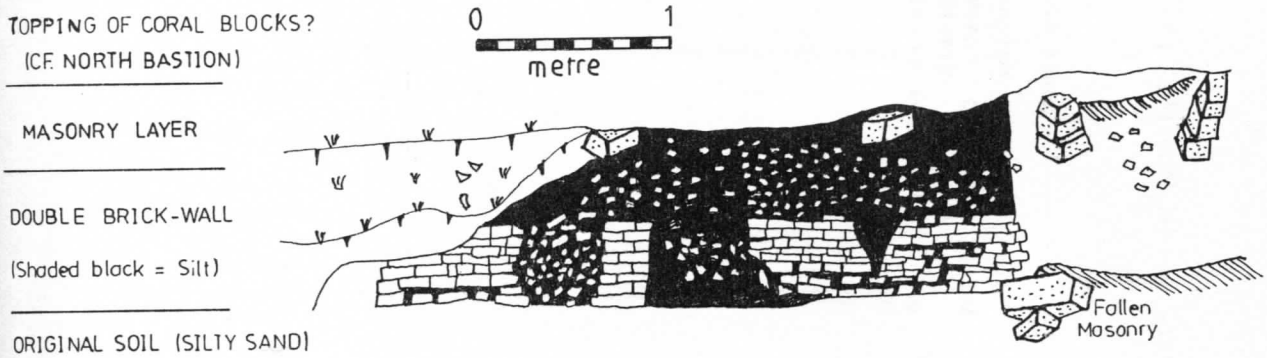



FIGURE 12-2.
TALLOK BRICK & MASONRY

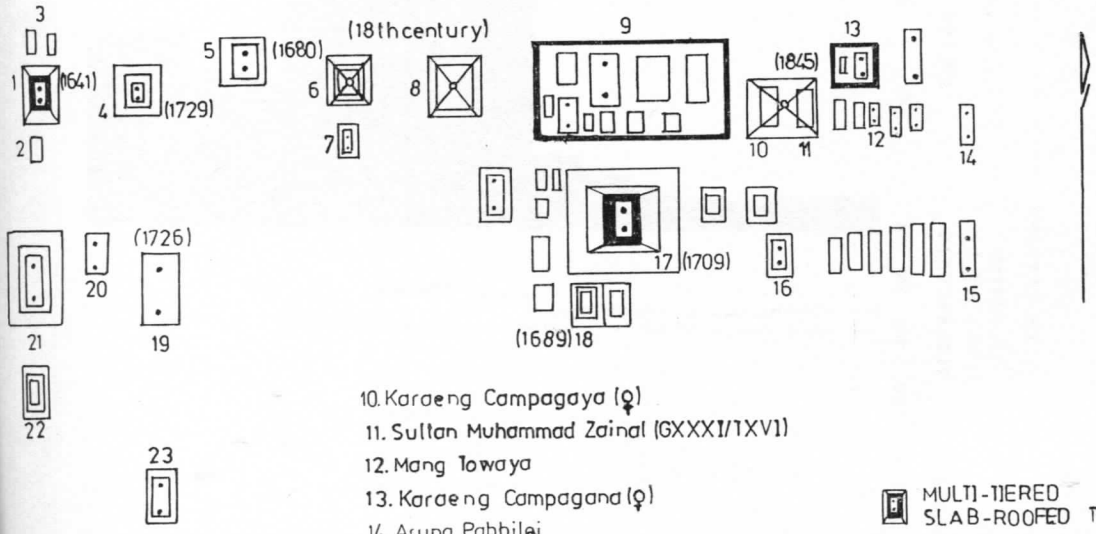
## FIGURE 12-3. GAMPANGCAYA BASTION SECTION

(ORIGINAL DRAWING IWAN SUMANIRI)




## FIGURE 12-4. IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT TALLOK CEMETERY

(ORIGINAL DRAWING IWAN SUMANIRI FROM INFORMATION OF SUAKA'S PAK SAMPARA)




1. Sultan Mudhaffar (TVIII)
2. I Saweranu (wife of TVIII)
3. "Ajudan" & "Panglima Perang" (Adjudant & War Commander)
4. Tuamenanga ri Jawaya (TXIII)
5. Karaeng Popok (TMJ4)
6. Kg Mangara Bombang (wife of TXIV)
7. Sultana Sitti Aisyah
8. Sultan Syaifuddin (TXIV)
9. Sultana Sitti Saleha (TXV)
10. Karaeng Campagaya (♀)
11. Sultan Muhammad Zainal (GXXXI/TXVI)
12. Mang Towaya
13. Karaeng Campagana (♀)
14. Arung Pabbilei
15. Karaeng Samanggi
16. Kg Gunung Sari Raja Sanrabone
17. Sultan Abdul Kadir (TXI)
18. Kg Parang-Parang (wife of TXI)
19. Karaeng Bonto Sunggu (TBB8),
20. Karaeng Labakkang
21. Abdul Gafar Datu Bima
22. Abdullah Daeng Riboko
23. Kg Bangkala Arungpone (Bone)

MULTI-TIERED SLAB-ROOFED TOMB

KOBANG TOMB

CORRAL

SEPULCHRE

GRAVE MARKER

PAIRED NISAN

(1641) RECORDED YEAR OF DEATH

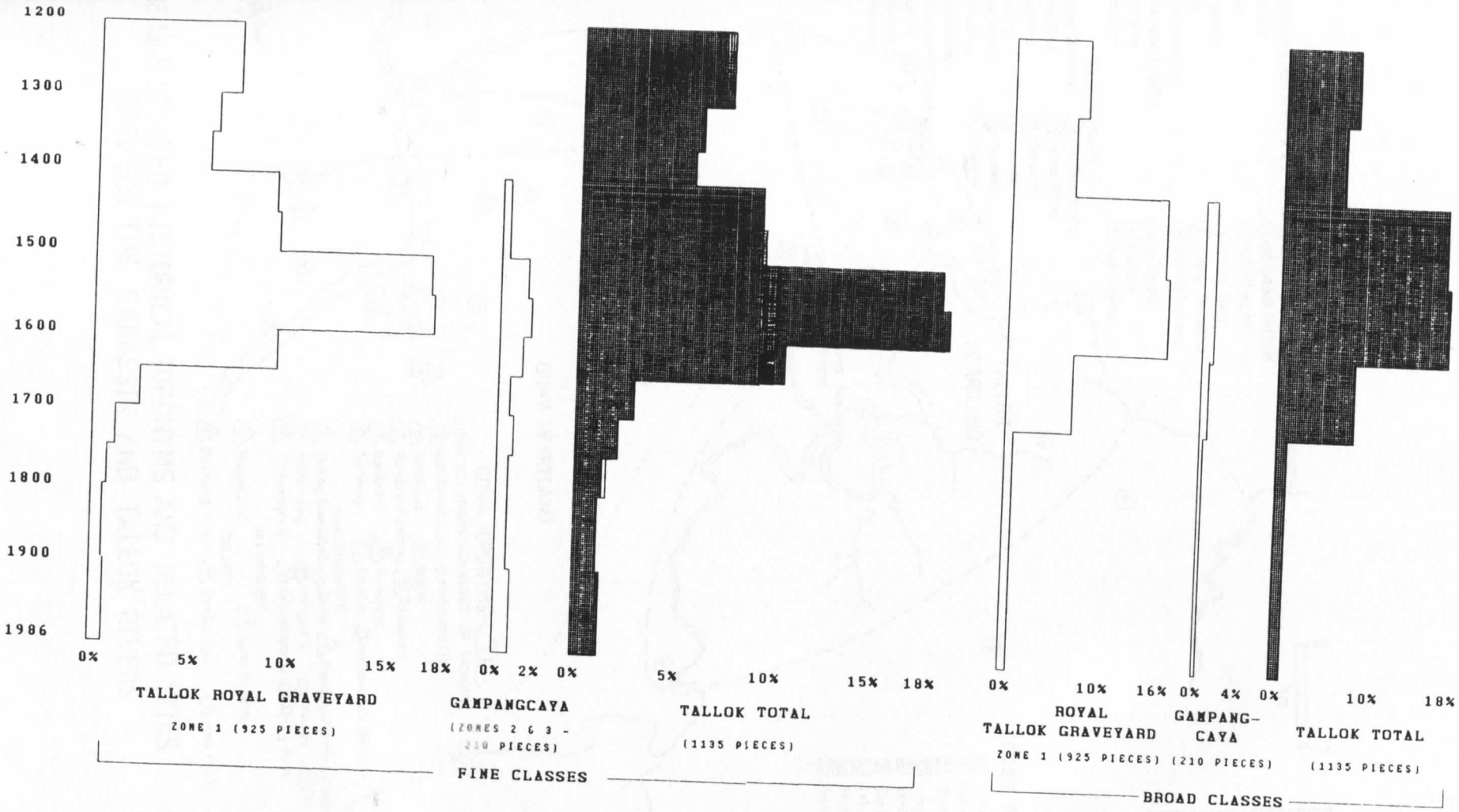



FIGURE 12-5. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - BENTENG TALLOK

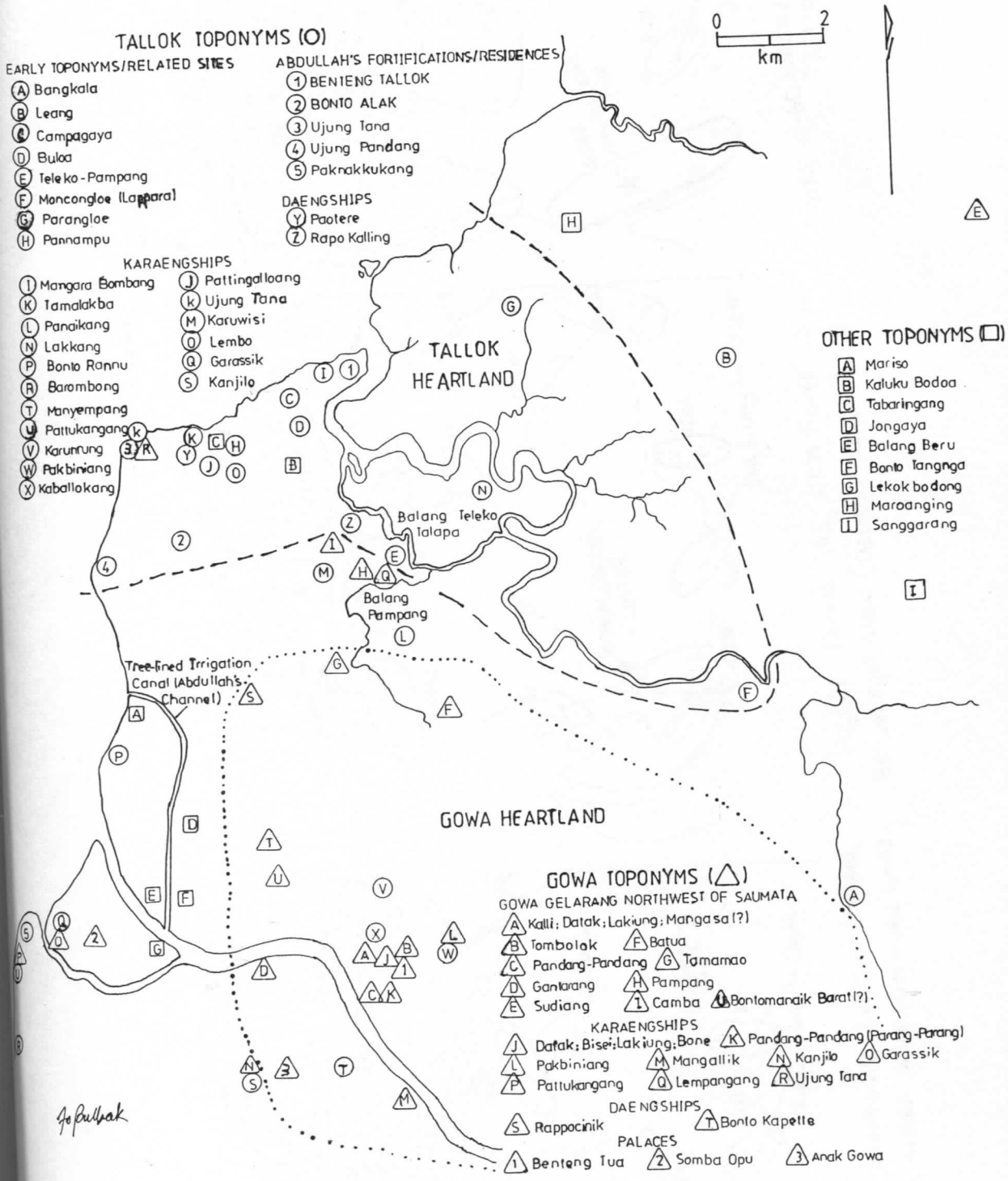



FIGURE 12-5. LOCATED HISTORICAL TOPONYMS AND RELATED SITES BETWEEN THE GARASSIK AND TALLOK RIVERS

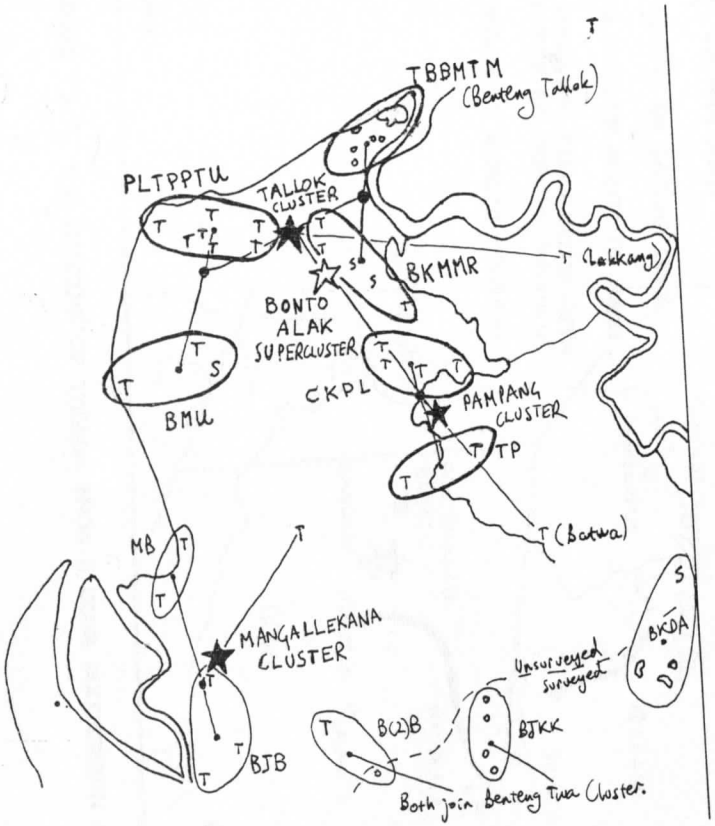



FIGURE 12-6A. TOPONYM + SITE CLUSTERING PATTERNS UJUNG PANDANG MODERN URBAN AREAS — WALL IGNORED

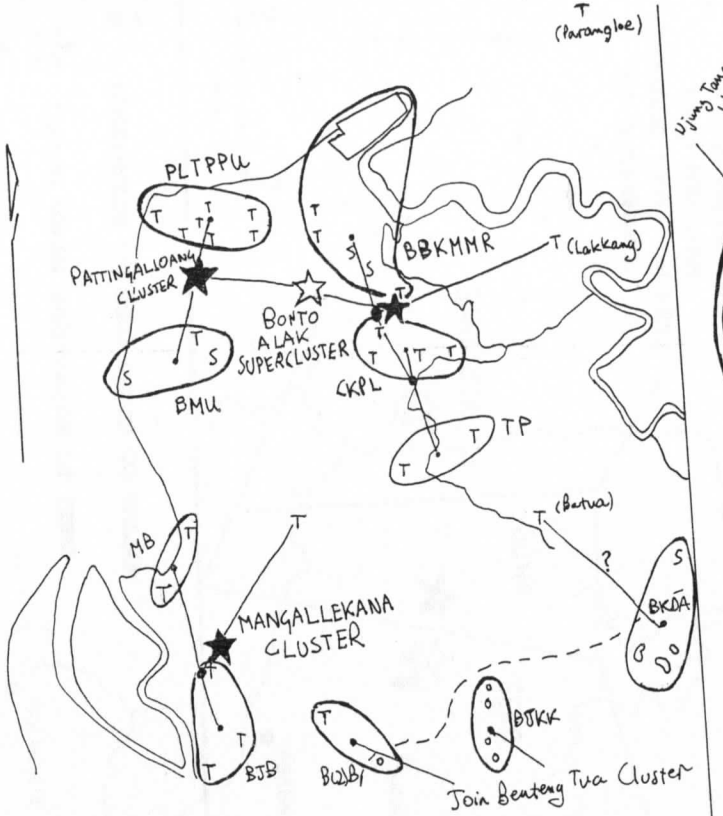



FIGURE 12-6B. AS WITH FIGURE 12-6A, BUT SURVEYED WALL (TALLOK'S) TREATED AS "SITE"

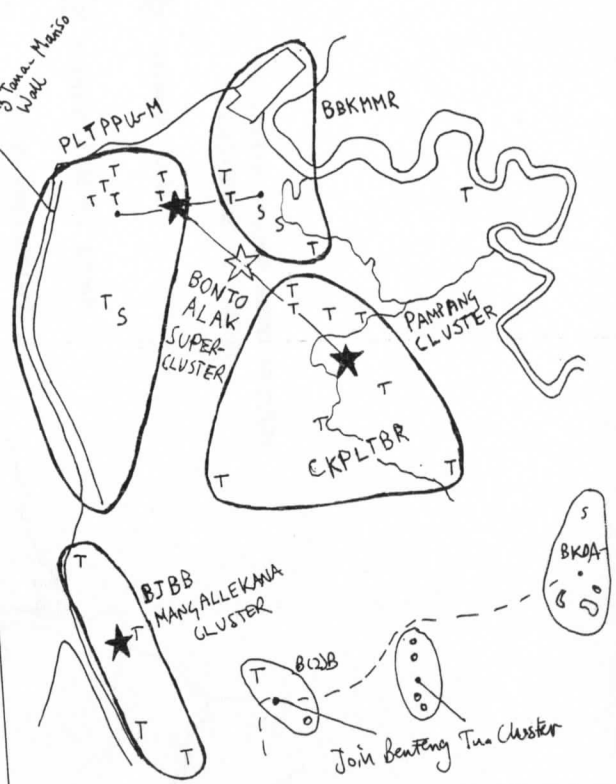



FIGURE 12-6C. SURVEYED AND INFERRED WALL TREATED AS "SITE"

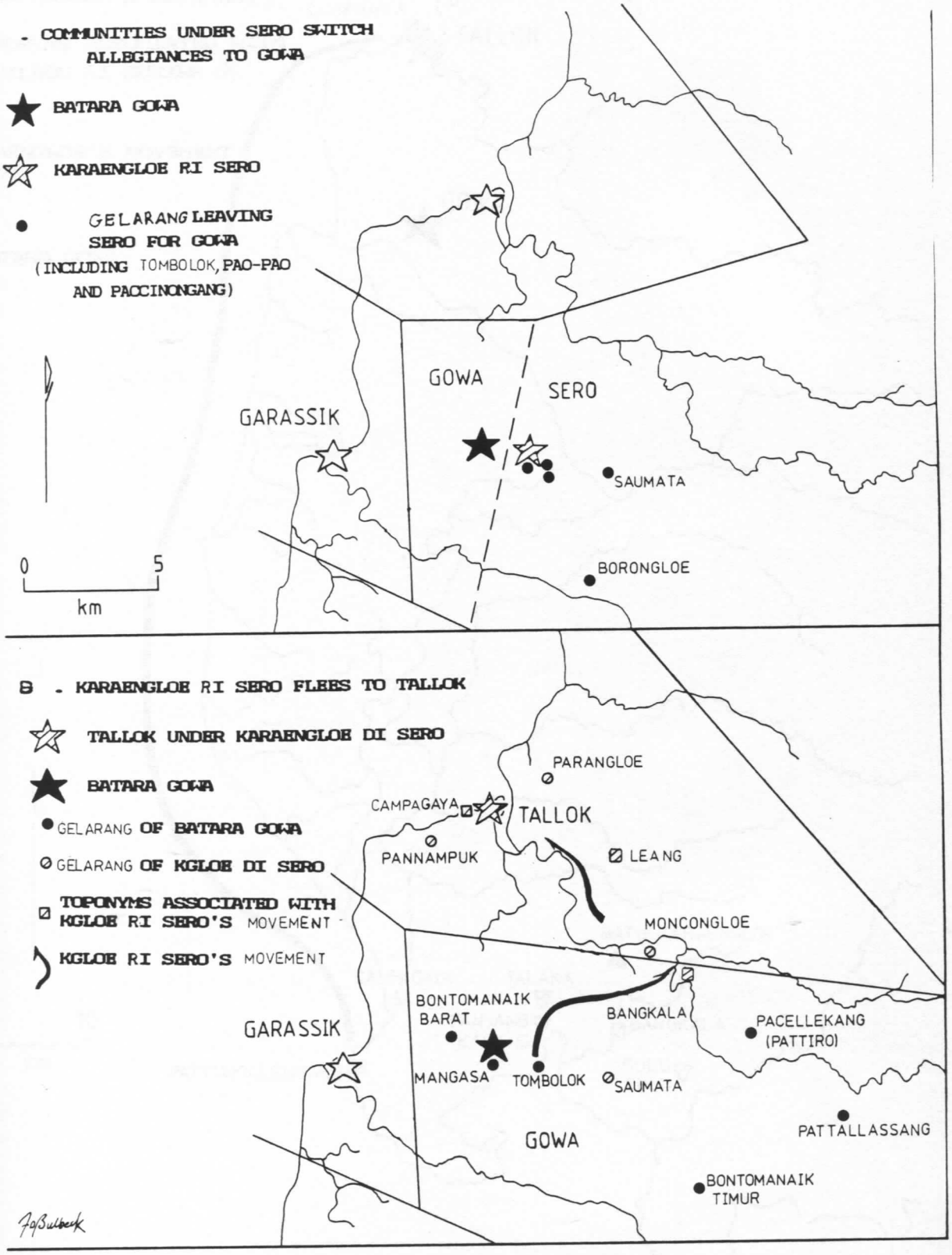



FIGURE 12-7. THE ORIGINS OF TALLOK FROM A GOWA SUCCESSION DISPUTE (LIKELY)

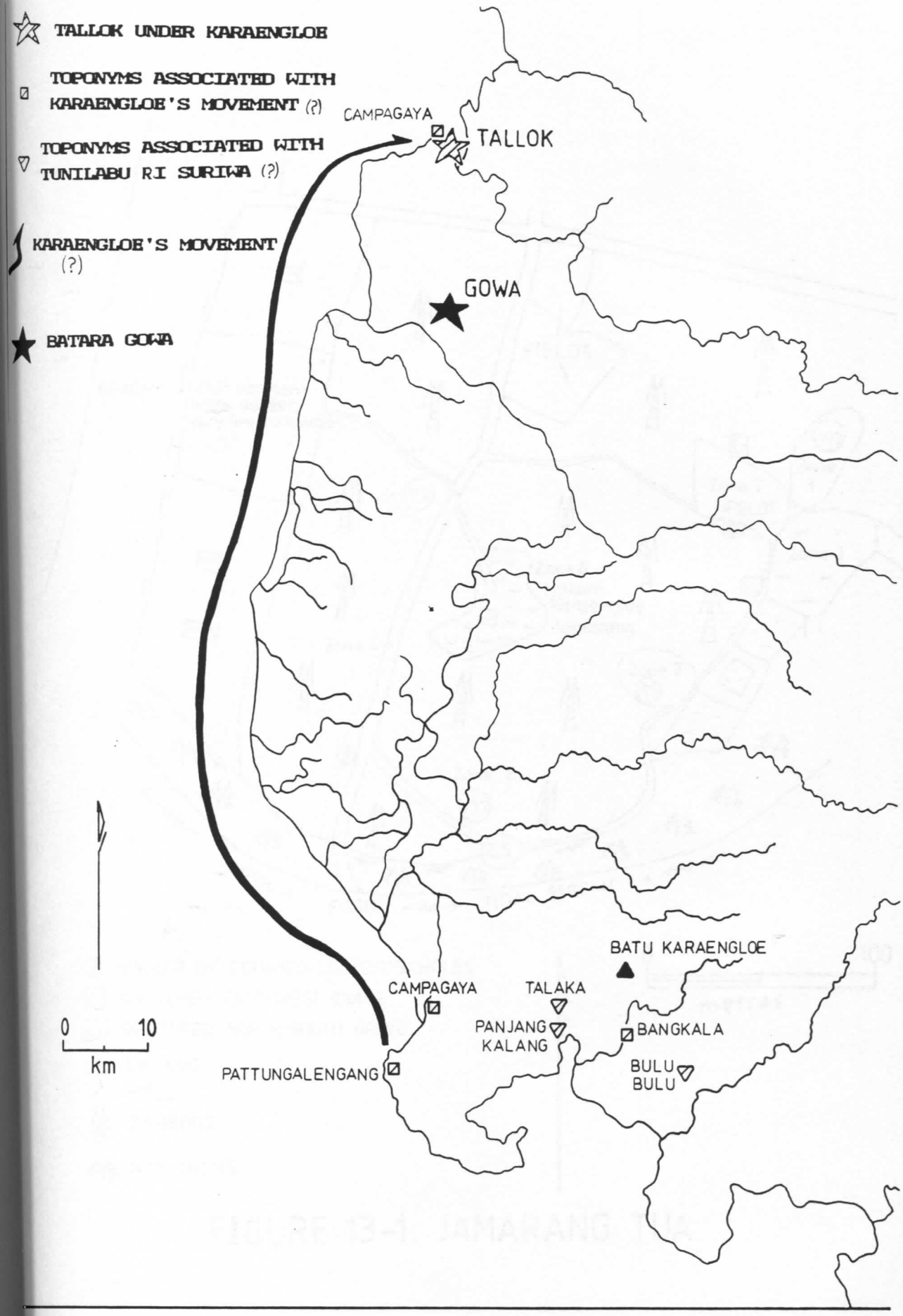



FIGURE 12-8. THE ORIGINS OF TALLOK FROM THE SOUTH COAST (UNLIKELY)

Photo 12-1.
The Tallok inlet where it curls behind the royal Tallok cemetery, Benteng Tallok.

Photo 12-2.
Section of the Gampangcaya bastion exposed by the sea. The ranging pole marks the silt packed between the two lines of brick. Note the tumbled masonry blocks.

Andi Said Cam, archaeology student and regular fieldwork participant, is standing at left.

Photo 12-3.
The *Pakbenderang* (Flagstand) at Mangara Bombang, Benteng Tallok. Masonry presumably underlies the covering of coral blocks.

Photo 12-4.
The line of laid masonry foundations at Mangara Bombang, Benteng Tallok.

Photo 12-5.
The sea bastion at the north corner of Benteng Tallok. Note the laid masonry underneath a covering of coral blocks.

Photo 12-6.
The brick bastion, Maccinik Sombala ("Watch for the Sails") at the west corner of Benteng Tallok.

Photo 12-7.
The line of brick wall northeast of Maccinik Sombala, representing the best preserved wall segment of the old fort.

Photo 12-8.
The royal Tallok cemetery, showing the masonry sepulchre of Tuamenanga ri Jawaya (Tallok's 13th raja) at the front, and the multi-tiered slab-roofed masonry tomb of Sultan Mudhaffar (Tallok's eighth raja) at the rear. Notice the holes in the sepulchre of Tuamenanga ri Jawaya which had originally contained ceramic plates.

Photo 12-9.
Makam Bunting Berua, Gampangcaya, where the sea is cutting back into the bastion and the Islamic graves on top.

Photo 12-10.
*Batu Pelantikan* (installation stone) of the Tallok rajas, Tallok Lama, Benteng Tallok.

Photo 12-11.
Dollop-shaped *nisan* of the unknown Karaeng, Tallok Lama.

Photo 12-12.
The multi-tiered masonry tomb of Karaeng Katinting, Tallok Lama, and some other old masonry graves next to it.