CHAPTER 7. THE PERIPHERAL SITES WITHIN GOWA'S CENTRE

This chapter deals with the sites along the middle-lower Jeknekberang which were joined by their spatial relationships into a cluster centred at Benteng Tua. The exercise produced two types of site arrays, depending on whether the Jeknekberang was accepted or disregarded as a potential barrier. In the latter case the MCKGBM group, which is mainly south of the river, clustered across the river to join the Benteng Tua cluster (Figures 6-15a and 6-15c). I accept the implied connection. The MCKGBM sites contain one of the main concentrations of Islamic graves acribed to 17th century Makassar personages cited in the texts, outside of the Benteng Tua and Tallok palace centres. They share this distinction with the PKPPSS sites which also belong to the Benteng Tua cluster. Minor sites also to be considered here are the BB pair, and the five sites (BJKKP) metaphorically within the shadow of Benteng Tua (Figures 6-15).

In total the Benteng Tua cluster, the centre of Gowa's power, corresponds to the area where disconnected hillocks of Baturape-Cindako volcanics fully give way to coastal alluvial plain (Figure 6-2a). The area may have also been a focus of prehistoric occupation following the retreat of the higher mid-Holocene sea-levels. Not only has it produced five of the seven polished stone artefacts recorded during SSPHAP's survey, but also Suaka's museum collections include the Maccinik Sombala polished adze recently found in the area (Appendix G).

7.1 Sero-Tombolok (the PKPPSS Group)

The 20th century maps show a large kampung area immediately east of Benteng Tua. The area contains an abundance of historical sites (Figure 6-2b), not only places where antiques have been found, especially during the main looting spree which occurred over 20 years ago, but also early Islamic graveyards. SSPHAP's survey recorded 14 fieldwork sites (Figure 7-1) which boil down to the six "PKPPSS" area-sites shown in Figure 6-15, the Moncong-Moncong exposure which is not quite acceptable as a Gowa historical site

(7.1.4), and Bukit Manggarupi which is a prehistoric site (7.1.7). The single area-site at the north (Gowa 25 to 27) is covered by the label Sero, while the five area-sites at the south (Gowa 28 and 35 to 42) can be covered by the label Tombolok. Even though the name Tombolok does not specifcally feature in any fieldwork site name, it is the main kampung and incorporates Makam Paccalaya and Makam Daeng Bane, which also means that the six area-sites represent five toponymic sites.[1]

Sero-Tombolok contains a pronounced density of sites regardless of how they are categorised, suggesting a suburban population density during Gowa's precolonial period. The surveyed zones covered 87,086m² representing 55,387m² of exposed surface. The recorded sherdage included 4780 earthenwares and 2191 tradeware pieces. All these figures are approximately one third of the corresponding figures at Benteng Tua, indicating comparable densities of recorded surface artefacts at Sero-Tombolok and at Benteng Tua.

We can facilitate the interpretation of the Sero-Tombolok sites by showing the densities of "early", "Ming", "Qing BW" and "recent" tradeware pieces. The exact procedure differs from the counterpart exercise at Benteng Tua (6.3) in two main respects.[2] The densities of "early" pieces are incorporated because they differ less markedly from the densities of "Ming" pieces than was the case at Benteng Tua. And the steps in the resulting distribution of the Sero-Tombolok tradeware densities suggest the classes 0, 0.01-0.4, 0.41-1.2, 1.21-3.8, 3.81-10 and 10+ pieces/100 m².

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[1] See 5.5.3 and 5.6 for a discussion of fieldwork sites, area-sites and toponymic sites.

[2] The following minor differences also apply. There is no merit in extrapolating the density classes beyond the surveyed zones, as was carried out at Benteng Tua where an attempt was made to sample the total area involved, because the Sero-Tombolok survey was heavily focused on old burial areas (Figures 7-2 and 7-3). Analogously the tradeware profiles (Figures 7-4 and Figure 7-5) combine zones which represent concentrations of recorded tradeware pieces, and not necessarily how the zones would be distributed among the historical toponym sites (cf. Appendix C). Note also that the total Sero-Tombolok tradeware pieces slightly exceed the added totals from the individual histograms because they include the pieces from Bukit Manggarupi which was only a prehistoric site.

The toponym Sero is associated with Karaengloe ri Sero who reportedly founded the Tallok dynasty at the end of the 15th century (12.4). According to the story Kgloe ri Sero had contested the Gowa throne with his brother Batara Gowa. The latter's eventual success was assisted by the defection of five of Sero's one-time *Gelarang* (ST:5), three of which - Tombolok, Paccinongang and Pao-Pao - are associated with the sites due south of Sero (Figure 7-1). Subsequently Tombolok became one of Gowa's two main *Gelarang* titles (e.g. Mukhlis, 1975:61-62; LB:137; Andaya, 1981:61), a distinction shared with Mangasa (6.5.1). On the other hand Paccinongang and Pao-Pao, like Sero itself, are scarcely mentioned by the Makassar historical texts in 16th or 17th century contexts. Hence we may infer that the Tombolok *Gelarang* represented the communities in the densely settled area shown in Figure 7-1.

7.1.1 Sero (Gowa 26) and Makam Boccolaya (Gowa 27)

According to ST (p.6), Karaengloe ri Sero's corpse was returned to Sero for burial at a date which would correspond to around 1500 (Figure 4-8). In Sero he is commemorated by a sheltered cement grave marker enclosing a single, large round stone (Photo 7-1). The north-south orientation of the grave marker is inconsistent with the usual east-to-west orientation which characterised most immediately pre-Islamic Makassar burials (13.1). However, this does not rule out a possible association of the stone with Kgloe ri Sero's burial, because a single stone in itself gives no clues as to orientation, and the grave marker could represent post-Islamic interpretation. In any case, the commemoration of Kgloe ri Sero's burial here certainly confirms his association with the site.[3]

Slightly to the north is another cement shelter protecting "Makam Gampang Sero", actually two Islamic graves with carved wooden *nisan* (shaped markers) at north and south enclosed in cement markers (Photo 7-2). The general Sero cemetery

[3] Our local informants themselves were not fully certain that Kgloe ri Sero was indeed buried beneath this stone. This could be because they also would have expected an east-west orientation of the marker, or because they were aware of yet further associations ascribed to the stone.

includes 214 graves marked in Islamic styles covering all ages (Table F-4a). We counted 59 remnant looters' holes around the graveyard's borders. However, we learned that the main area of antique looting was to the north, in zones 5 and 7 (Figure 7-1). Both zones contained a smattering of "early" tradeware pieces, and zone 5 had one of the highest densities of "Ming" pieces in Sero-Tombolok (Figure 7-2), pointing to the area's use for pre-Islamic burials between the 13th-14th and 16th-17th centuries. Zone 5 also contained one of the two polished stone artefact types recorded at Sero but nowhere else during SSPHAP's survey - a disc with a hole, possibly an ear pendant or other ornament (Photo 7-4).

The western zones, 8 to 12, also produced "Ming" sherdage, possibly associated with occupation given the scarce evidence of looting. Among the debris were two non-joining fragments from the rim of a stone box. One fragment shows regular indentations along one side and a transverse break along the other as though it had been knapped to make a stone point (Photos 7-5 and 7-6). This observation would suggest a date for the stone box before the 2nd millennium A.D. when iron became generally available (Chapman, 1986).

50 metres south of the Sero graveyard lies Makam Boccolaya, a small graveyard with 24 cement and 59 stone markers (Photo 7-3; Table F-4a). The markers made of masonry or arranged stones look old and may date back to the 17th-18th centuries. A Ming BW sherd was found immediately to the south.

Compared to the Gowa survey as a whole, the recorded presence of possibly 15th century (Photo 7-7) and earlier tradeware pieces at Sero is strong. The tradeware profile then drops markedly over the period between the 16th and 18th centuries (Figure 7-4). Apparently the area had been abandoned to fields and graveyards during much of the 17th and 18th centuries, as was indeed the case by the time of our 1986 survey. The apparent resurgence in 19th to 20th century pieces (Figures 7-3b and 7-4) agrees with the 20th century land-use maps which depict the site as kampung (Figure 7-1).

7.1.2 Bukit Bikuling (Gowa 25)

This hillock of Baturape-Cindako volcanics, around 100 metres along its flattish top (Figure 7-6), stands approximately ten metres above the surrounding sawah. Zones 1 to 4 at the east contained a surface scatter of 113 flaked stone artefacts which included middle Holocene, "Toalean" types such as backed blades and Maros points (Appendix G). Zones 2 and 3 also contain a small, abandoned graveyard with 29 marked graves. The markers are low, stone structures (Photo 7-10) except for a stepped sepulchre[4] made of bricks (Photo 7-11). The bricks had a strong red colour, like that found with the fortification bricks (E.2.1), and the largest measured specimen (45 cm long by 7 cm thick) could have been brought in from Benteng Tua. Even though the other 11 measured bricks averaged 26.0 cm long, 19.4 cm broad and 6.1 cm thick, making them broader and especially thicker than the (small) fortress bricks (Table 6-1), a 17th century date for the sepulchre is suggested by the old-style stone markers of the cemetery's other Islamic graves. Looting was evinced by 24 looter's holes, 17 concentrated in Zone 4, as well as the four Ming BW pieces (Photo 7-8) and a Vietnamese monochrome (Photo 7-9) kept in the house on Bukit Bikuling. Zone 5 at the west, though bare of any sherdage, abutted a boulder which was reportedly the installation stone (*Batu Pelantikan*) of the Sero rulers (Photo 7-12).

Tradeware sherdage was recorded only in Zone 4, producing a strong density of "early" pieces and the highest density recorded in Sero-Tombolok of "Ming" pieces, but no colonial sherdage whatsoever (Figures 7-2 and 7-3). Given also the rarity of earthenwares (28 sherds) and the old-looking Islamic graveyard, Bukit Bikuling appears to have been a designated burial area, possibly between the 13th-14th and 17th-18th centuries. The hillock's reported installation stone at a burial site matches the pattern at Tamalate (6.5.2), albeit on a less exalted scale. As at Sero, Bukit

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[4] In this study, a sepulchre is defined as an above-ground structure enclosing the corpse as suggested by the structure's size and the position of the *nisan* or other grave marker. Earth-filled sepulchres would thus be interments above the prevailing ground surface.

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Bikuling exhibited a relative abundance of 14th and 15th century tradewares, in comparison to the recorded Gowa tradewares as a whole (Figure 7-4).

7.1.3 Makam Dg Bane (G36), Sampeang (G37), Paccalaya (G28)

Within the kampung area of Tombolok is a small, modern Islamic graveyard ascribed to "Daeng Bane" and his extended family. Near it is another small graveyard, Makam Nakku Dekda (Figure 7-1) whose markers generally appear considerably older, old enough to suggest chronological continuity with the pre-Islamic burials around Makam Dg Bane (Table F-4a). Celadons, blue-and-white wares and gold were reportedly looted between the "Daeng Bane" graveyard and the sawah. In this area we recorded one "early" piece and a light presence of "Ming" pieces (Figure 7-2). We were also shown a variety of Ming-period tradewares recovered from the looting (Photos 7-13 to 7-15), plus two fine local earthenwares (Photo 7-16) which match earthenwares professionally excavated in association with 15th-16th century burials at Sompu, Takalar (Tjandrasasmita, 1970:Photo 11). The looting may also have recovered the early monochrome and Ming BW plates which decorate an Islamic grave at Makam Sampeang (Photos 7-17 and 7-18).

Makam Sampeang includes 118 marked graves, including two venerated graves under a shelter (Table F-4a). As indicated by the enclosing cement restorations, they are oriented due east-west with a single stone or multiple stones at head and foot (Photo 7-19). The combination of an Islamic marker with a non-Islamic, east-west burial orientation could reflect one of two courses of events. Either these were pre-Islamic burials whose markers have undergone several stages of restoration after an Islamic fashion, but without altering the original orientation, or the interred individuals died during a syncretist phase when the local, early Islamic tradition of placing stones at head and foot was combined with the pre-Islamic burial orientation.[5]

[5] A third possibility, that these were originally two parallel, north-south burials whose head and foot stones were later interpreted as belonging to parallel east-west burials,

Despite the vague reports of antiques found at the site, we recovered no traces of precolonial sherdage (Figure 7-2) or looting. However, a householder living between Makam Dg Bane and Makam Sampeang showed us his sherd collection (G.37.0) which included 46 "Ming" tradeware pieces (Figure 7-2b). This collection, and the one from Makam Dg Bane, had a comparatively strong presence of 15th and 15th-16th century pieces, whereas 16th to early 17th century pieces were depressed by the general standards of the Gowa survey (Figure 7-4). The strong presence of "Qing BW" and especially European sherdage presumably reflects the encroachment of settlement in colonial times.

The tradeware profile from Sampeang-Tombolok, and especially the unpretentious graveyards, hardly support the notion that Tombolok seated a major *Gelarang* title during the 16th and 17th centuries. However, some support comes from Bukit Bonto Masila, a hillock of Baturape-Cindako volcanics just within modern Tombolok and locally identified as Tombolok Tua ("Old Tombolok"). The cemetery on top is named Kompleks Makam Paccalaya after a tomb similar to the royal Tamalate tombs (6.5.2), its less impressive masonry notwithstanding, and hence probably dating to the 17th century (Photo 7-20). The individual buried inside was reportedly a "senator", which could mean the *Gelarang* Tombolok. The even more impressive tomb beside it, called Makam Bottoa, has a mosque-like shape which might suggest a 19th-20th century date. One of the two people buried inside was reportedly a soothsayer of Gowa's court. 44 other old to modern marked graves were present (Table F-2). We recorded a small quantity of terminal Ming or later tradewares and a retouched stone flake.

7.1.4 Moncong-Moncong (Gowa 91) and Kasomberang (Gowa 37)

On the next hillock to the west we recorded a small sample of tradewares which had eroded from a road cutting (G.91.1). I

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goes against the grain of increasing understanding of Islamic practices which can be assumed to have been the prevailing course of tradition. Information to help identify the buried individuals was not collected.

call the road-embankment assemblage Moncong-Moncong ("hills") after the kampung due south on slightly lower ground. It is very similar to the Makam Paccalaya sample and the two are combined in the chronological histograms (Figure 7-5).[6] The ridge, which continues to Benteng Tua, is called Tinggi Maek. It includes "Makam Tinggi Maek", named after a Makassar noble who died in the early 18th century, and who is buried along with his descendants in the cemetery (Daeng Kule, pers. comm.). The (estimated) 100-150 marked graves, which include two *kobang* tombs (Photo 7-21), can all be dated to the 18th century and later.[7]

Our survey of Kasomberang (Figure 7-1) recorded a saukang (residence of the community spirit) next to the Islamic cemetery. The latter has 99 marked graves which are generally oriented around 330° from north and range from old to modern (Table F-4a). 100 metres to the northeast stands a tomb locally identified with "Sitti Maemunah" (Photo 7-22). She would be the daughter of Sultan Abdul Kadir called Sitti Rahma Maimunah Kg Pakbineang (LB:173) who died in 1742 (Ligtvoet, 1880:224). Apart from having a true arch rather than a corbel arch at the entrance, the tomb is similar to the one at Makam Paccalaya. West of her tomb are the scars from 94 looter's holes, presumably the area of Kasomberang's reported antique haul, even though the miserably exposed

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[6] The Moncong-Moncong assemblage included a single piece identified in the field as "Transitional BW". My figures indicate that the piece would have had a c.60% chance of retaining a "Ming" classification had it been collected (Table B-45). This constitutes adequate grounds to treat it as a "Ming" piece as done in Figure 7-2b. But the balance of probabilities is not strong enough to accept the Moncong-Moncong exposure as a historical site, especially as no other 17th century remains were found in the immediate vicinity. I should add that at one stage I had accepted Moncong-Moncong, and Kuburan Islam Pakbiniang to the immediate north, as historical sites, and their inclusion had only a cosmetic effect on the site-clustering patterns shown in Figure 6-15.

[7] Although Makam Tinggi Maek is quite an important site for Gowa's colonial history, it is excluded from SSPHAP's sample of historical sites since there is no reason to suspect that its origins preceded the 18th century. Nonetheless it further illustrates the pattern in which sites near Benteng Tua have tombs like those found at Benteng Tua.

surface revealed no sherdage. However, we recorded a few "Ming" pieces nearby (Figures 7-2b and 7-5).

Pakbineang was also the karaengship of two other 17th century nobles, including a child of the Gowa noble Kg Moncong Sipong (SG:47). 20th century Pakbaniang has an Islamic cemetery (Figure 7-1) which is described in my notes as containing maybe 150-200 marked graves, some looking as old as the 18th century. Inhabitants near the cemetery specifically denied that any looting had occurred at Pakbiniang. Together these points indicate that historical Pakbineang had been situated at 20th century Kasomberang.

7.1.5 Pao-Pao (Gowa 38 and 39)

Kuburan Islam Pao-Pao appeared to have two clusters of marked graves, 67 at the north and 85 at the east, including a number of stone markers which could be old indeed (Table F-4b). My direct question on why there were two clusters of graves elicited the response that they represent two "families". The northern cluster included a sheltered, north-south oriented grave with standing stones at head and foot (Photo 7-23). It serves the dual rôle of Pao-Pao's *saukang*, and the commemorated burial place of Pao-Pao's *nenek moyang* (ultimate ancestor). Across the road is an overgrown graveyard, again reported to represent a "family". Only one of the 55 markers was not made of stone. Two of the stone arrangements are oriented east-west (Photo 7-24; Table F-4b).

Antiques were reportedly recovered immediately north and especially south of the Islamic graveyards. In the latter locality (Gowa 39) the inhabitants complained about being prohibited from recovering the further antiques which they knew were still buried there. Gowa 39 produced a few "early" pieces and, along with some of the Gowa 38 zones, a blanket of "Ming" pieces (Figure 7-2). The tradeware profile indicates a comparatively strong presence of 14th-15th century pieces, a dip corresponding to the period 1500-1650, then a strong resurgence of colonial-period pieces (Figure 7-4). Pao-Pao can be identified with "Pao", one of the 14 Gowa districts recognised during Hasanuddin's reign, but not

admitted to the *Bate Salapang* or body of nine *Gelarang* district heads (Mukhlis, 1975:62).

7.1.6 Bukit Sulenta (Gowa 40) and Paccinongang (Gowa 41-42)

As with the two hillocks of Baturape-Cindako volcanics previously described, Bukit Sulenta (Figure 7-7) contains a 17th-18th century graveyard where locally prominent people were buried. Called Makam Takbakka ("Graves of the Brave"), it contains an interesting array of stone or brick markers (Photos 7-25 and 7-26), or wooden markers in the case of Tu Baranae who reportedly sailed to Mecca (Table F-4b). We were told that unsuccessful looting attempts had been made at the site; nonetheless we collected three "early" pieces in Zone 4. A small number of finely flaked stone artefacts were also collected (Appendix G). A light smattering of "colonial" tradewares (Figure 7-3) agrees with the 20th century land-use maps which show the hillock as kampung.

The reported antique haul occurred south of Bukit Sulenta over a substantial area within present-day Paccinongang (Gowa 41). We recorded a low density of "Ming" pieces (Figure 7-2) and two remnant marked graves of cement slabs oriented 345° from north and due north.[8] Directly across the road lies Kuburan Islam Paccinongang with a *saukang* and 592 marked graves (Table F-4b). The graves are generally oriented between 315° and 350° from north, but include two east-west oriented cement markers with the remarkable lengths of 3.5m and 2.8m. The latter reportedly marks the grave of Kare Manajai (Photo 7-27) who is possibly Sultan Alauddin's son "Manjagai Dg Palipung", who died in 1639 at the age of ten (SG:59; LB:101). In any case, the cemetery has apparently remained in continual use from the 17th to the 20th centuries, indicating chronological continuity with the pre-Islamic burials in Gowa 41.

The standardised chronological histograms for Paccinongang (i.e. Gowa 40 and 41) indicate a comparative deficiency of "Ming" tradewares. The sample therefore differs slightly from the general Sero-Tombolok pattern with its specific emphasis

[8] A flaked stone core was also collected at the site.

on late 14th and 15th century pieces. Even though the Sero-Tombolok tradeware pieces constitute a fairly small sample, less than 6% of the Gowa total, the comparative scarcity of 16th to early 17th century pieces characterised five of the seven sherd-bearing foci and so appears to be a valid result. The strong presence of 19th-20th century sherdage reflects the incorporation of the sites within the settled area shown on the land-use maps (Figure 7-4).

7.1.7 Bukit Manggarupi

This strand of Baturape-Cindako volcanics (Photo 7-28) is so elongated that our survey is most conveniently shown by breaking it in the middle (Figure 7-8). A soil test in the sawah between Bukit Manggarupi and Kasomberang (Figure 7-1) registered a gritty silt with an acidic pH of 6. While the whole ridge is depicted under vegetation by the 1922 land-use map, and under settlement by the 1969 land-use map (Figure 6-2b), our survey recorded kampungs at the north and the south, separated by fields and an area where road metal has been quarried and baked. The hill contained a variety of stone artefacts, including a fragment from a polished stone tool, but no definite "Toalean types" (Appendix G).[9] Other archaeological debris included a modern iron spike and a smattering of earthenware and post-"Ming" tradeware sherdage. For present purposes it is what the site lacks - precolonial tradewares or evidence of old burials - which is important, since it confirms the validity of Sero-Tombolok as a distinct cluster of historical sites.

7.2 Sites in the Shadow of Benteng Tua

All the sites very close to Benteng Tua were either small or in a woeful state for recording. This observation extends to Maccinik Sombala, which will however be described as part of its MCKGBM group, and Bontomanaik 1 which might as well be described here (see Figure 6-1). The recorded sherdage was

[9] These recorded artefacts have not been confused with road metal by-products, because their main concentration lay in the fields, and none lay in a zone clearly associated with the road-metal works (Figure 7-8).

comparatively depauperate in Ming-period tradewares and rich in 19th-20th century tradewares. The pattern was consistent and so appears reliable despite the small quantity of pieces involved (Figure 7-9).

7.2.1 Jipang Bidaraya (UP11) and Makam Jipang (UP12)

Bidaraya, the closest site to Benteng Tua, falls within an area of dense suburban housing. It had been a raised dryland field (ladang) within wet rice (sawah) when its antiques were looted. These reportedly consisted of a range of Ming tradewares, including a Ming celadon plate we were shown (Photo 7-29), and some gold. We recorded the scars of 33 looter's holes, and collected two "Ming" pieces including a whiteware which I date to the 14th-15th centuries (Figure 7-9).

Kompleks Makam Jipang includes three negelected cement structures, presumably tombs whose roofs of perishable materials have collapsed (Photo 7-31), among its 63 marked graves. The oldest markers, which are overgrown with vegetation, might date back to early Islamic times (Table F-4c), possibly indicating chronological continuity with the Bidaraya pre-Islamic site. No antiques have been found in Jipang, although we did record a Swatow sherd (Figure 7-9). Jipang's former *saukang* is now destroyed.

7.2.2 Karunrung (UP13)

The kampungs of Karunrung and Jipang sit along a north-south running strip of land, presumably a remnant alluvial feature, raised above the wet-season flood levels. Two localities bearing antiques were reported in Karunrung. We were shown a *Qingbai* whiteware, a seashell, and a range of Ming-period vessels (Photos 7-34 to 7-36) from the northern locality where the sherdage collected by a villager included six joining fragments from a Vietnamese monochrome (Bulbeck, in press:Figure 5g). The southern locality (Karunrung Selatan) is close to two cemeteries with 47 and 61 markers, old and new at both yards (Table F-4c). The sheltered grave protects " Sanro Karunrung" who was reportedly a female soothsayer

(Photo 7-32). Karunrung also contained a *saukang* and four flaked stone artefacts (Figure 7-10).

The tradeware pieces we recorded (Figure 7-9), along with the antiques we were shown, indicate continuity of a small community from the 13th-14th centuries to the present. The community could have been the karaengship of Kg Karunrung, some contradictory evidence from "Mangasa" notwithstanding (6.5.1), particularly as Karunrung is a rare toponym.

7.2.3 Pandang-Pandang (Gowa 66)

Between Benteng Tua and Sungguminasa, within kampung Pandang-Pandang, is an area which reportedly produced a large haul of antiques, consisting of blue-and-white wares, Sawankhalok and a few whitewares. A former *kepala desa* of Pandang-Pandang, who had participated at a time when looting was still legal, showed us a Swatow jarlet (*buli-buli*) from the diggings. We recorded 93 pieces of late 16th century and more recent antiquity (Figure 7-9). Pandang-Pandang is possibly identifiable with the Parang-Parang cited as one of Gowa's nine founding flags or "confederates" (see Figure 2-2).

7.2.4 Bontomanaik 1 (UP 24)

The site had contained a large Islamic cemetery, of which only a lone, sheltered marker has survived the onslaught of medium density housing (Photo 7-33). The buried man was reportedly a Makassar hero who had lived at the same time as Sultan Hasanuddin. The locals reported that many blue-and-white and celadon vessels, as well as iron objects (including krisses) and some gold, had been dug up. The housing developments had occurred decades ago, precluding any useful sherd-gathering exercise. The site is possibly identifiable with "Bontomanaik Barat" cited as one of the *Gelarang* who sided with Batara Gowa in his succession dispute with Kgloe ri Sero (SG:14).[10]

The area around Bontomanaik 1 is now well built-up. However, along with Bonto Kapette (the historical toponym)

[10] See 9.7.1 for a different interpretation.

and some of the adjacent kampungs, it used to outline what appears to be a cut-off meander of an ancestor of the Garassik/Jeknekberang (Figure 6-2b).

7.3 The MCKGBM Group

The sites labelled Gowa 7, 8, 10 and 92, which comprise the majority of the MCKGBM sites, were recorded by SSPHAP's team on 21 August 1986. We were guided by Aziz Allang, Suaka's field officer based at Taeng (who later accompanied us to further sites nearby). The survey occurred during the formative phase of the Gowa survey when my command of Indonesian was not always reliable, and when I still envisaged a pre-Islamic chronological focus and so did not take much notice of early Islamic graves. The information I have leaves unanswered several questions which could well have been resolved through discussions with Aziz Allang, had I been better prepared at the time, but which must remain as question-marks in this thesis.

7.3.1 Kompleks Makam Campagaya (Gowa 8)

This small cemetery, containing 21 "old" and 12 "new" grave markers, is named after the five-metre high, brick *kobang* tomb of Makam Karaeng Campagaya (Photo 7-30). The dome and the ledge beneath it consist of specially shaped bricks whose upper surface is, respectively, arc-shaped or oblique. The measured specimens had the same length (25.75 cm) and basal breadth (22 cm), but the arched bricks had a smaller maximum thickness (6 cm) than the oblique-topped bricks did (8 cm). The bricks used in building the vertical sides averaged 22.9 cm long, 12.3 cm wide and 3.7 cm thick, i.e. very similar to the smaller bricks at Benteng Tua (Table 6-1).

My notes cite Aziz Allang saying that Kg Campagaya died in 1618. Campagaya recurs as a high status karaengship, yet primarily in association with people who died in the very late 17th or early 18th century. For instance it was the karaengship Abdul Jalil before he became Sanrabone's raja, and the karaengship of one of his stepsisters (Chapter 3). The size similarity between some of the tomb's bricks and the

smaller Benteng Tua bricks supports a 17th century date for the tomb. Additional evidence that the graveyard, at least, originated by the 17th century comes from the other old markers, especially the renovated "Makam Karaengta Cenra Pole" (Photo 7-37; Table F-2).

7.3.2 Kaledu Paya (Gowa 22)

Kaledu Paya lies across the road from Makam Campagaya on the outskirts of Taeng. A bamboo grove with the scars of 55 looter's holes had yielded gold, earthenware kendis, Sawankhalok, celadons and blue-and-white. Also the villagers found a polished hatchet in the fields to the immediate south (Aziz Allang, pers. comm.). We surveyed the fields, kampung and road around the bamboo grove, recording Late Ming and later tradeware pieces (Figure 7-11). The dense leaf litter in the bamboo grove prevented us from seeing any artefactual debris in the zone where the best evidence of pre-Islamic tradewares might otherwise have been expected.

7.3.3 Makam Gusung (Gowa 7)

Two major Islamic graveyards occur in Gusung whose old name was reportedly Gantarang (Aziz Allang, pers. comm.), a rare toponym which was briefly one of the *Bate Salapang* during the mid-17th century (Mukhlis, 1975:62). Makam Karaengta Bungaya is maintained in superb condition by Suaka, including the costly restoration of the two markers associated with Kg Bungaya (Photo 7-38). My notes record his year of death as 1635, which is close to the year of death, 1640, of a Kg Bungaya for whom I have no other clear data (LB:102). On the other hand, the records also identify a mid-17th century man (Figure 4-17) and an individual born in 1680 (LB:162) as "Kg Bungaya". The graveyard also includes the marked graves of "Kg Gantarang" (possibly Gelarang Gantarang) and Kg Bontojai (Table F-4), neither of whom I have found in the texts.

Around 50 metres to the west a bamboo grove encompasses Makam Karaengta Tompok Balang, an abandoned graveyard with 22 "old" marked graves, one of old bricks (Photo 7-39). The soil here contrasts slightly with the yellowish red river silts

noted at Makam Kgta Bungaya by containing a larger sand content. The Tompok Balang karaengship recurs in late 16th to 17th century contexts, including an unsexed individual three generations down from Tumapakrisik Kallona (Figure 4-4); a grandson of Kg Mapekdaka by Sanrabone's raja Tumenanga ri Parallekkena (SG:36), possibly the same Kg Tompok Balang who died in 1660 defending Paknakkukang against the Dutch (LB:123); and the Kg Tompok Balang who accompanied Sultan Sahaduddin in his 1673 battle against Mandar (LB:146). My notes record Aziz Allang giving 1610 as the year of burial of "Kg Tompok Balang" at Gusung, which might favour an identification with Tumapakrisik Kallona's great grandchild. We counted eight possible looter's holes within the precincts of this clearly early Islamic graveyard, and were told of a couple of antiques having been recovered around 17 years ago.

7.3.4 Makam Gelarang Mangasa (G93) and Bonto Jalling (G10)

Kompleks Makam Karaengta Mangesuk II, named after its main and reportedly its oldest burial, occurs within Kerassak kampung. Kgta Mangesuk's marker is a stepped masonry sepulchre of the same design as the brick sepulchre on Bukit Bikuling (Table F-4c). According to Aziz Allang he died in 1678, which in this case coincides with the recorded year of death of Kare Ruppa Gelarang Mangasa (LB:158). The identification is supported by my observations at Bonto Jalling (7.3.5). My notes also mention an estimated 50-100 marked graves, some looking very old, and that no antiques have been found.

Bonto Jalling Lama ("Old Bonto Jalling") reportedly produced a large haul of antiques including celadons, Swatow and blue-and-white wares, iron krisses and gold. We counted 600 looter's holes over an area 60 metres by 90 metres within a bamboo grove. No sherdage was seen, largely because of the atrocious surface exposure. Reportedly the looting intruded into the Islamic graveyard, so the villagers used part of the proceeds to re-establish the grave markers south of the diggings (Photo 7-40). My notes estimate 180-200 markers and record that one marker bore a dedication to "Karaengta Mangngesa I", giving his year of death as 1611 (Table F-4c).

The available Makassar texts cannot identify this individual, but Mangasa remained one of the *Bate Salapang* throughout the 16th and 17th centuries (Mukhlis, 1975:61-62).[11]

A short distance west of the looter's holes was a sunken field with 171 old-looking earthenware sherds and a polished hatchet (Photo 7-41). Although the hatchet (Appendix G) was half-buried in the soil it need not have been an *in situ* find. I date the four tradeware pieces from the field to the 14th-15th centuries and the 18th century (Figure 7-11). The one-metre high sides of the field showed a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) silty sand at the bottom, capped with a pale brown (10YR 6/3) sandy silt. The change from coarser to finer sediments would be consistent with the formation of the southern levee of the Jeknekberang (/Garassik) on which Bonto Jalling and the four previously described sites occur.

7.3.5 Maccinik Sombala (UP 25)

Maccinik Sombala lies on the north bank of the Jeknekberang where an active meander has cut northwards during the 20th century (Figure 6-2). We were told that the encroachment had washed away the kampung, including its Islamic cemetery and the spot where people had looted krisses and other antiques (Photo 7-42). We recorded a small sample of Swatow and later pieces (Figure 7-11), confirming the indications that Maccinik Sombala had been settled by the 17th century. The name means "watch for the sails", suggesting that it had been a watch for vessels sailing up the Sungai Garassik towards Benteng Tua.[12]

7.3.6 Overview of the MCKGBM group

The tradewares recorded at the MCKGBM sites may well fail to include a single 16th century piece (Figure 7-11). Indeed, the total tradeware profile of the sites clustered around

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[11] Apart from Kare Ruppa just mentioned, the only other recorded year of death I know of a Gelarang Mangasa was Kare Naba, who died in 1655 (LB:118).

[12] In addition, a bank erosion flooded at the time of our survey (February 1987) was pointed out as an area containing brick and ceramic fragments.

Benteng Tua is stamped by a comparative dearth of 16th to early 17th century pieces. Thus, the apparent 16th century hiatus in the MCKGBM tradewares may only reflect the wider context of the sites and their small tradeware samples (Figure 7-11).

Arguably, then, tradeware-related activities plunged during the 16th and early 17th centuries in the areas surrounding Benteng Tua. This might suggest the villagers were drawn elsewhere, both to Benteng Tua (Chapter 6) and Makassar entrepôt (Chapter 11). Security might have been a major concern during the early 16th century, an occasionally perilous time when Tumapakrisik Kallona built the kingdom's first fortress walls (4.3). But this would not explain the continuity of the pattern into the early 17th century. Rather, then, the efflorescence of Gowa's power might have provided opportunities in the palace centres unmatched in the countryside. Indeed we could further argue that the apparent change in the areas surrounding Benteng Tua might merely be an artefact of the period's real change - the transition towards centralised power and wealth at Benteng Tua and Makassar.

The MCKGBM sites could have shared a unity of setting with the other sites described in this chapter. According to the VOC map, the Sungai Garassik meandered southwards more or less where the 20th century Jeknekberang meanders northwards, suggesting that the Garassik then ran south of the MCKGBM sites. Appealingly, the proposition would furher locate key burial places - those of the two "Gelarang Mangasa", and of the several karaengs near present-day Taeng - on the same with side of the river as Benteng Tua. Modern Taeng could even be identified with the late 17th century toponym Taeng-Taeng, although here we should add that modern Taeng-Taeng occurs north of the Jeknekberang (Figures 5-5 and 5-6).

However, the distribution of the MCKGBM sites suggests a different scenario. They sort into polished stone tools and pre-Islamic burial grounds at the south (Kaledu Paya and Bonto Jalling), burial grounds which may be no older than the 17th century to the immediate north (Campagaya, Gusung,

Kerassak), and further north a now destroyed burial ground (Maccinik Sombala). Thes pattern implies that the meander now at Maccinik Sombala has been slowly looping northwards since immediately pre-Islamic times, hence the north-bound chronology of intact sites as the inhabitants colonised the meander's growing south levee. Hence also the dearth of 16th century tradewares, since the MCKGBM sites would occupy a landform largely created during or since the 16th century. The burials of several eminent 17th century Makassar near Taeng could be related to the area's strategic importance directly across the Sungai Garassik from Benteng Tua and the "watch for sailing ships", precisely where the river most closely approached the fort.

I prefer the latter scenario with its emphasis on the archaeology than the former scenario with its emphasis on the 1693 map. More importantly, both scenarios carry the same general implications when we consider also the recovery (reported or otherwise) of polished stone tools at Maccinik Sombala, Kaledu Paya and Bonto Jalling. As the landform deposited in historical times can be restricted to the band between these findspots, the Garassik probably ran south of the MCKGBM sites until at least the 16th century.

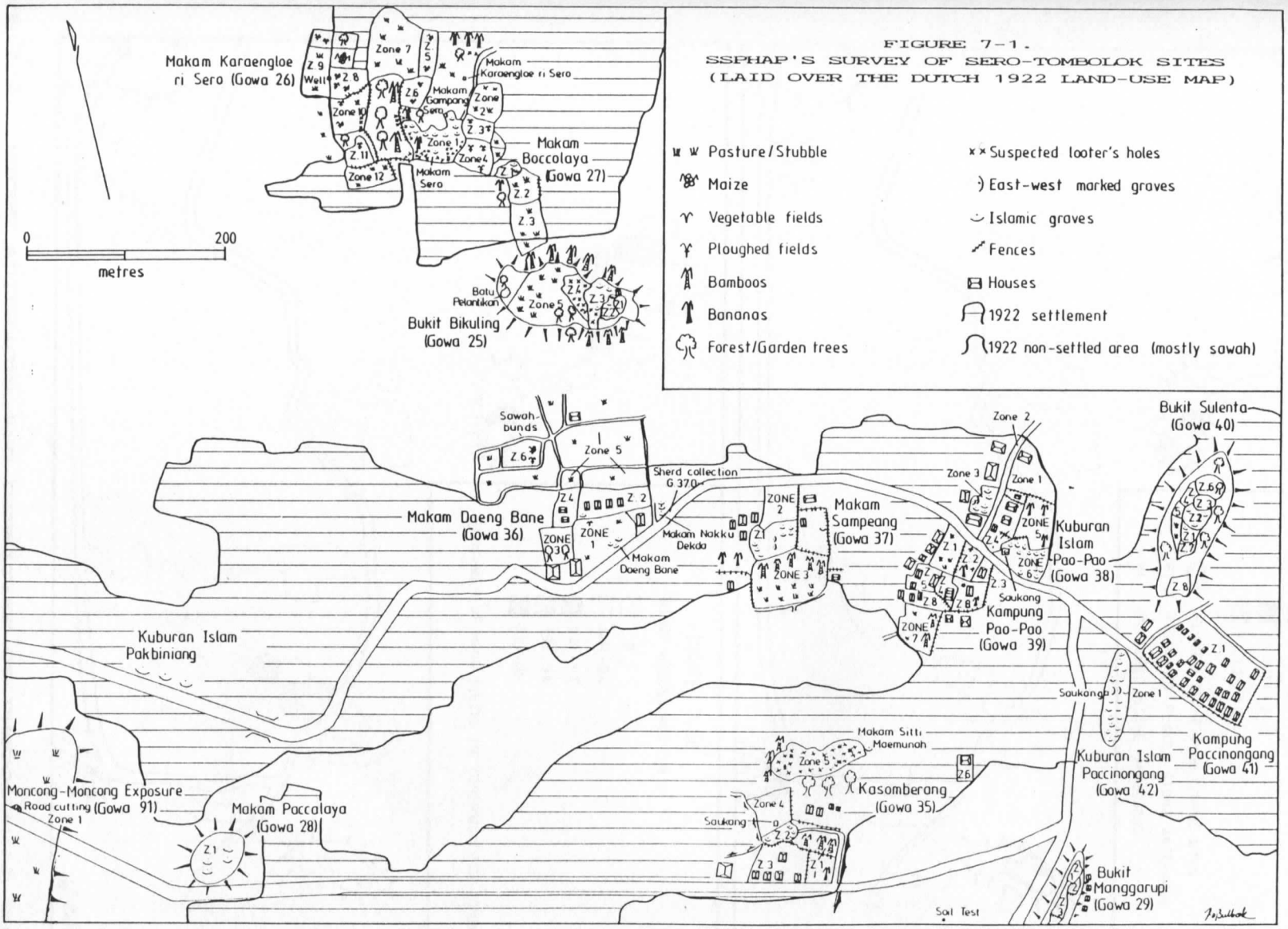


FIGURE 7-1.
SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF SERO-TOMBOLOK SITES
(LAID OVER THE DUTCH 1922 LAND-USE MAP)

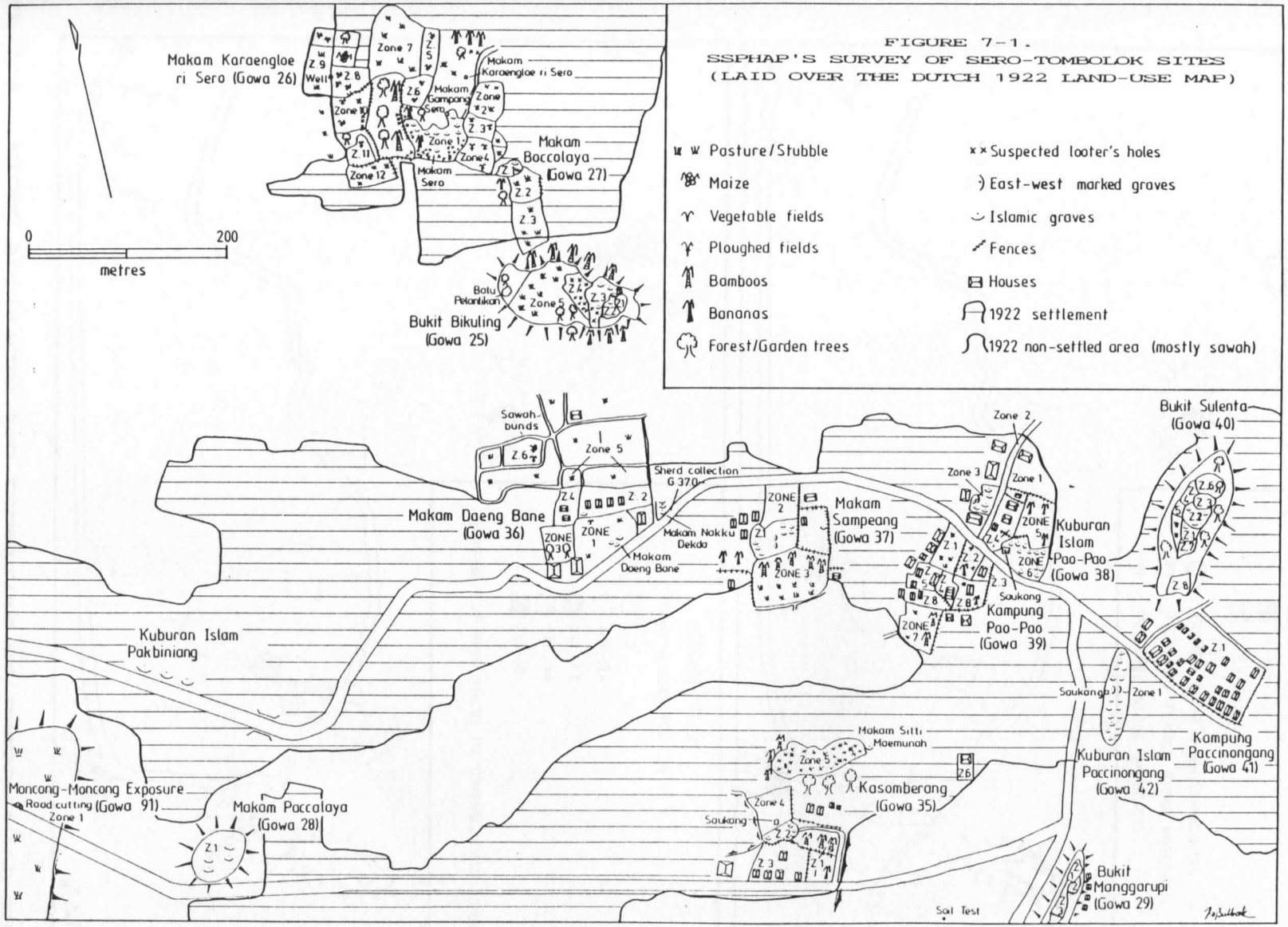
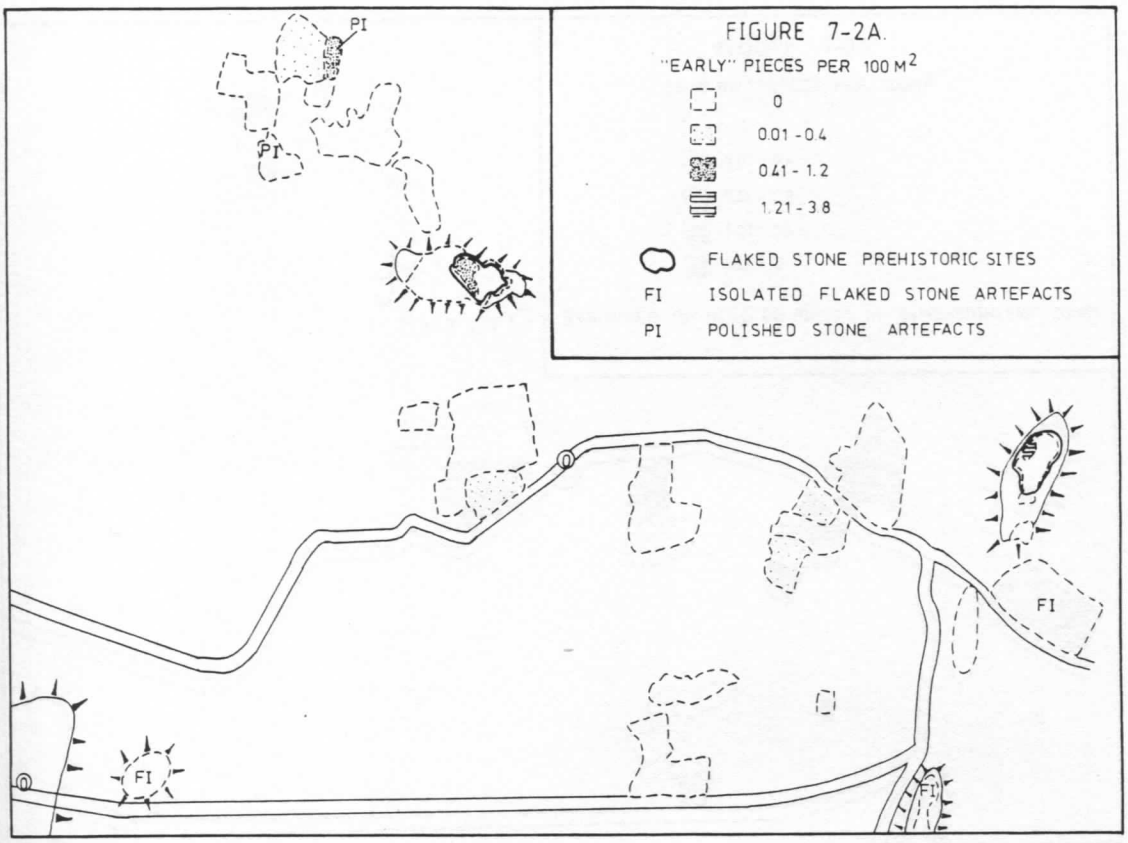


FIGURE 7-1.
SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF SERO-TOMBOLOK SITES
(LAID OVER THE DUTCH 1922 LAND-USE MAP)



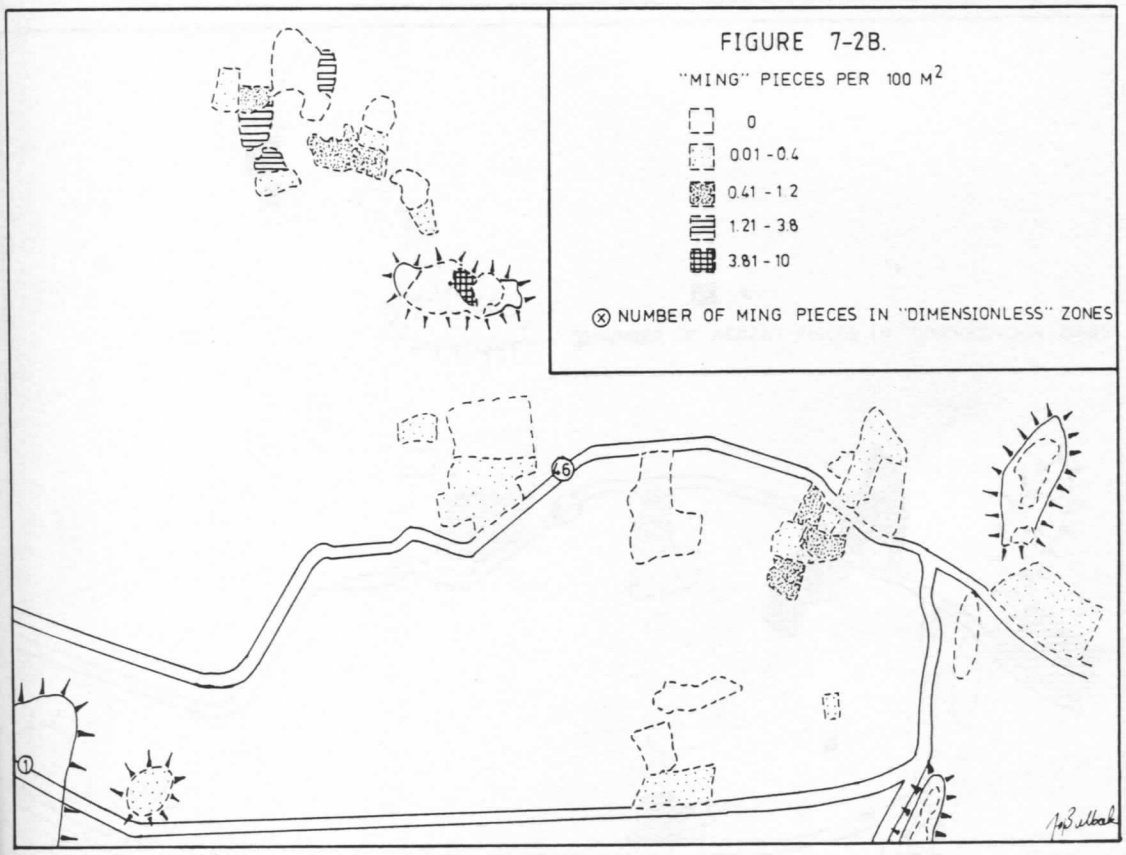
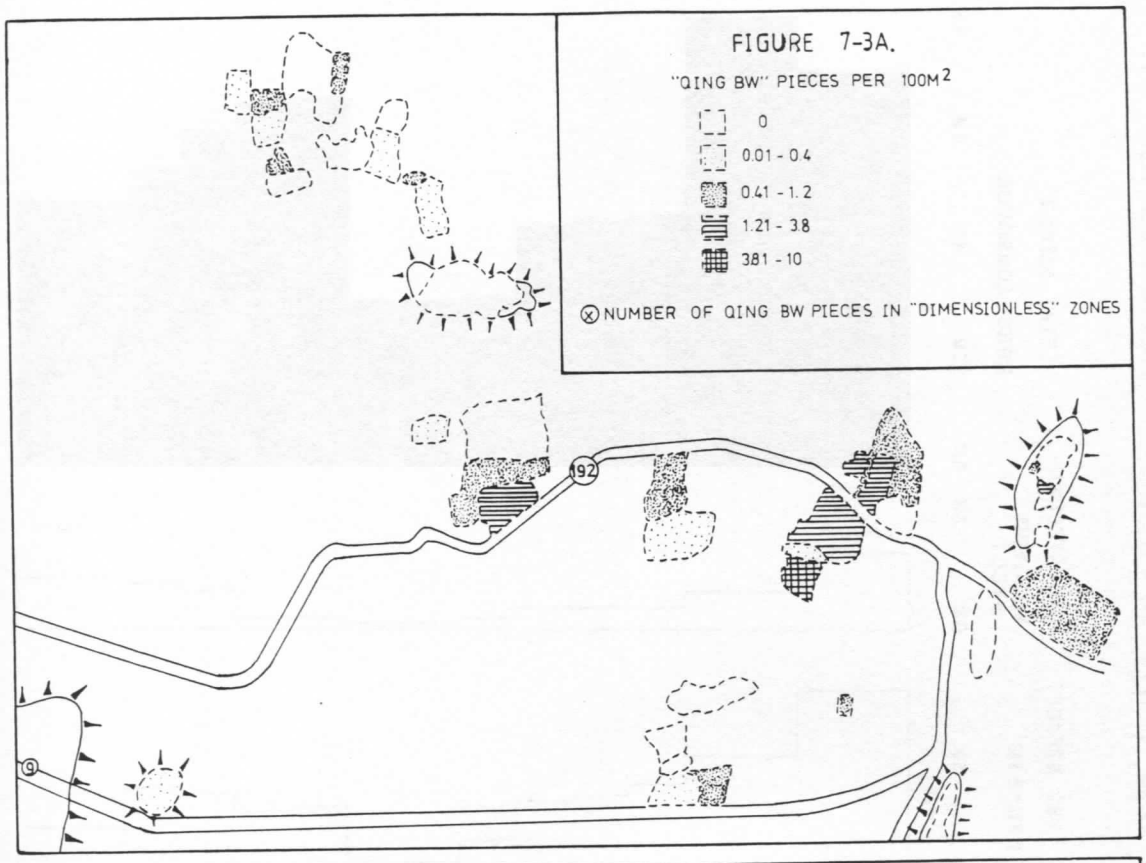


FIGURE 7-2. STONE ARTEFACTS AND DENSITIES OF PRECOLONIAL SHERDAGE IN THE SERO-TOMBOLOK SURVEYED ZONES



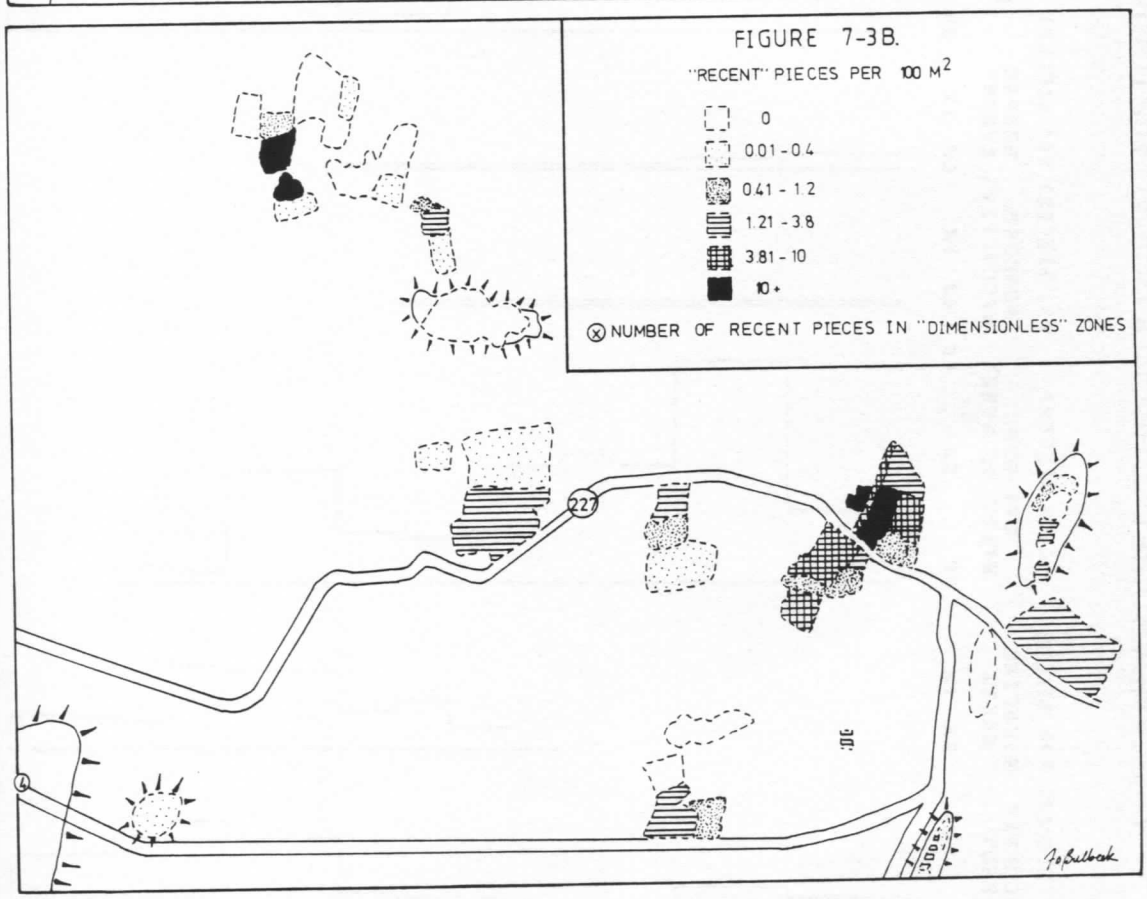


FIGURE 7-3.
DENSITIES OF COLONIAL SHERDAGE IN THE SERO-TOMBOLOK SURVEYED ZONE

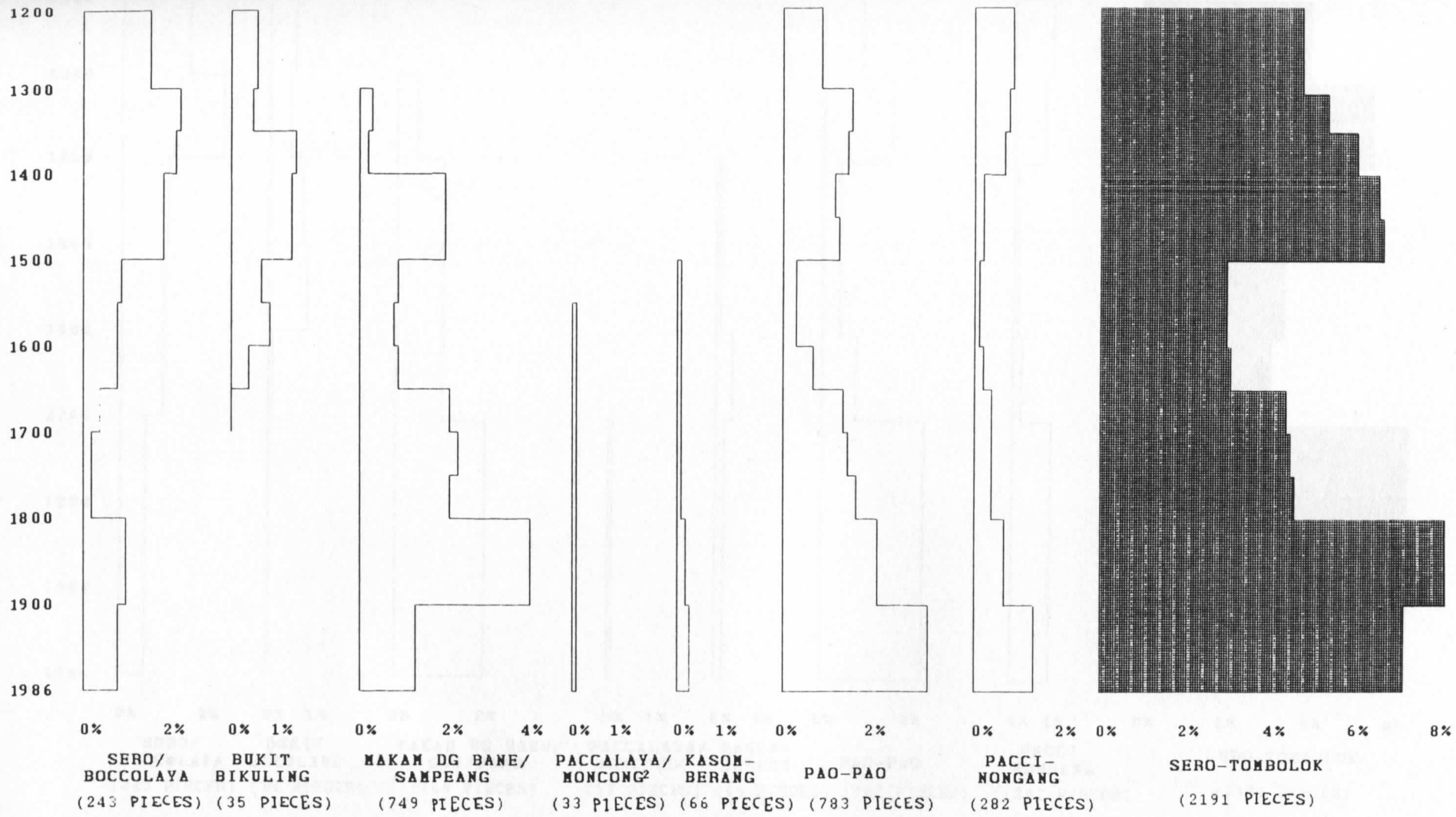


FIGURE 7-4. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (FINE CLASSES) – SERO-TOMBOLOK

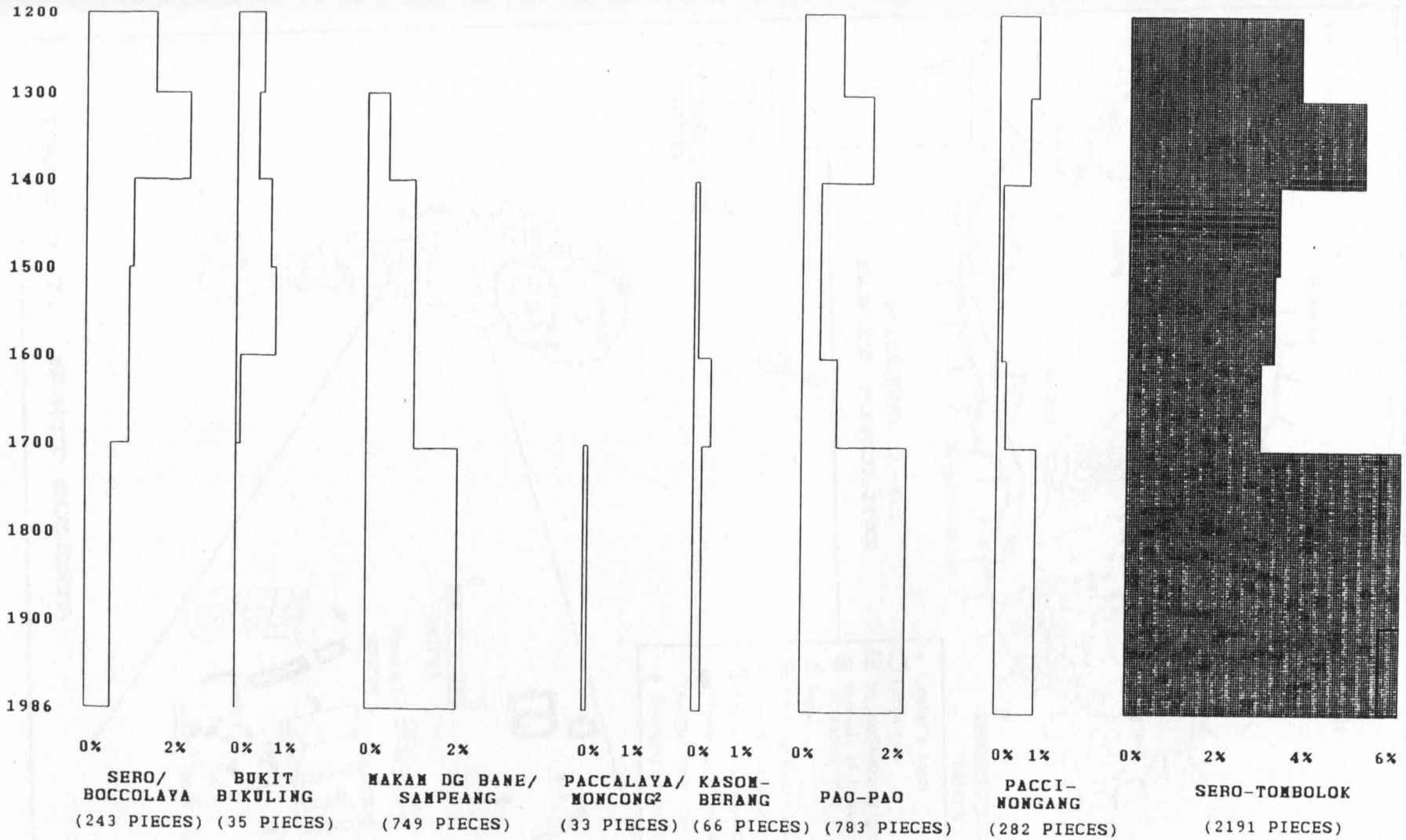


FIGURE 7-5. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS (BROAD CLASSES) - SERO-TOMBOLOK

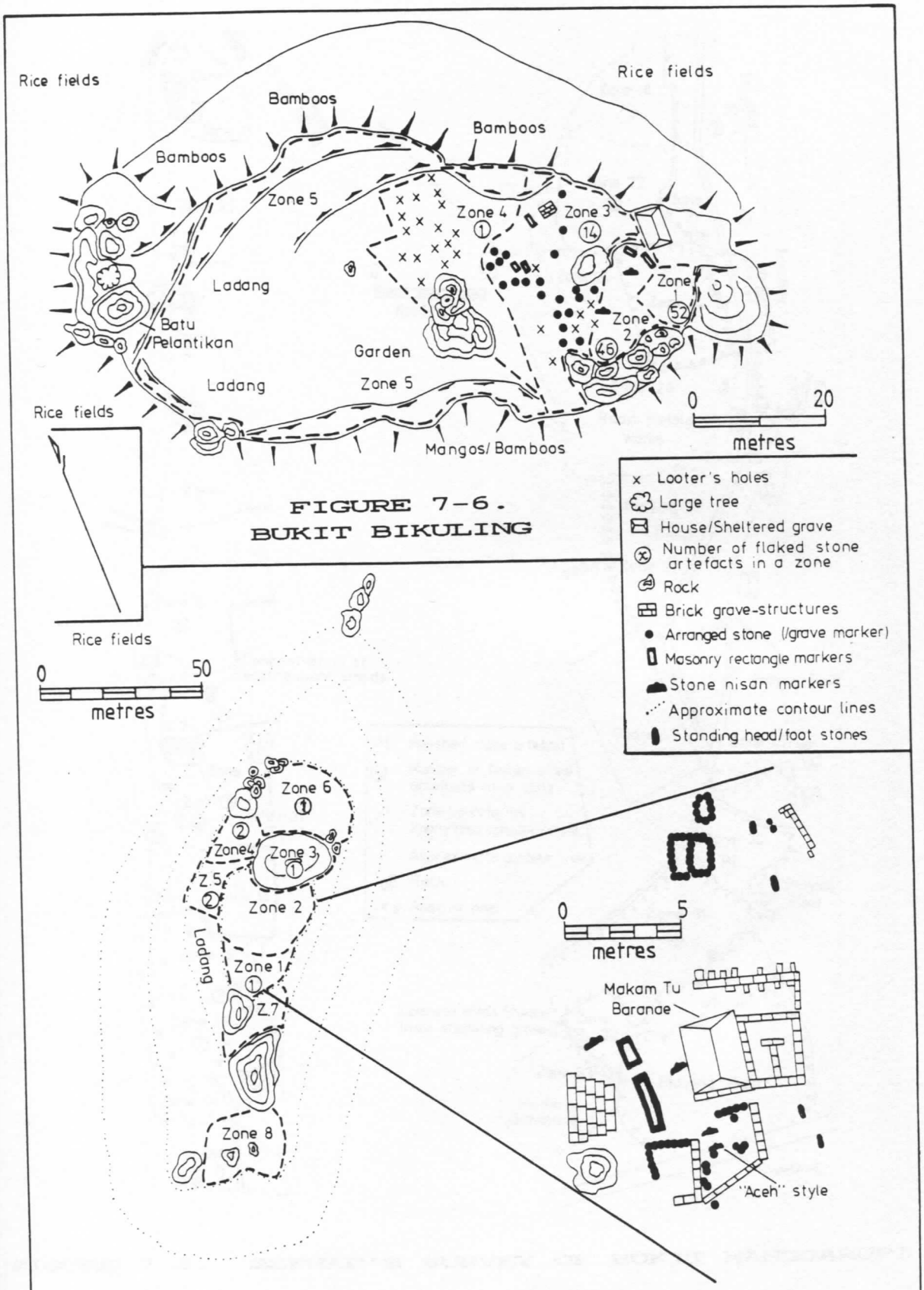


FIGURE 7-6. BUKIT BIKULING

FIGURE 7-7. BUKIT SULENTA

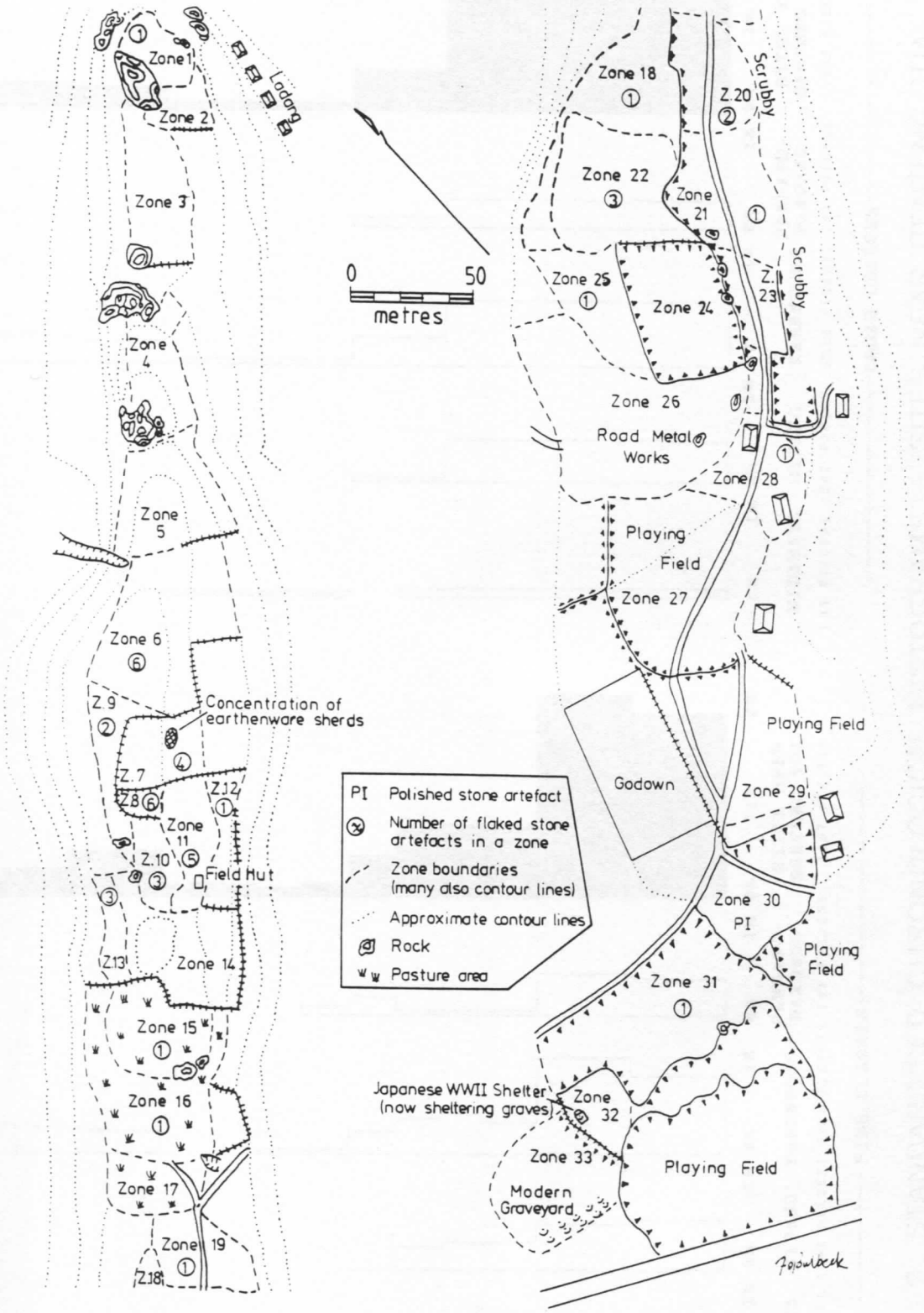


FIGURE 7-8. SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF BUKIT MANGGARUPI

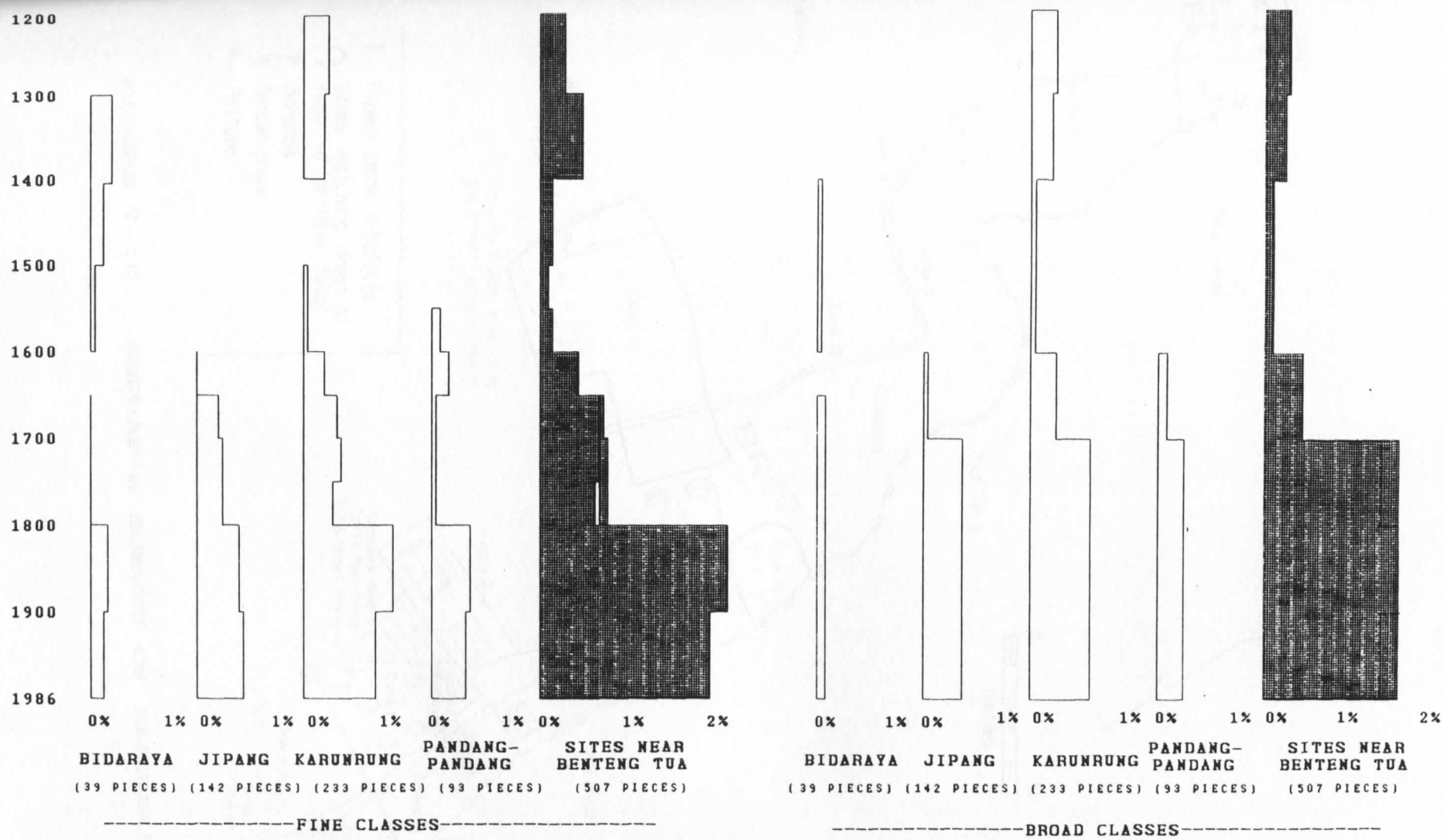


FIGURE 7-9. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - SITES NEAR BENTENG TUA

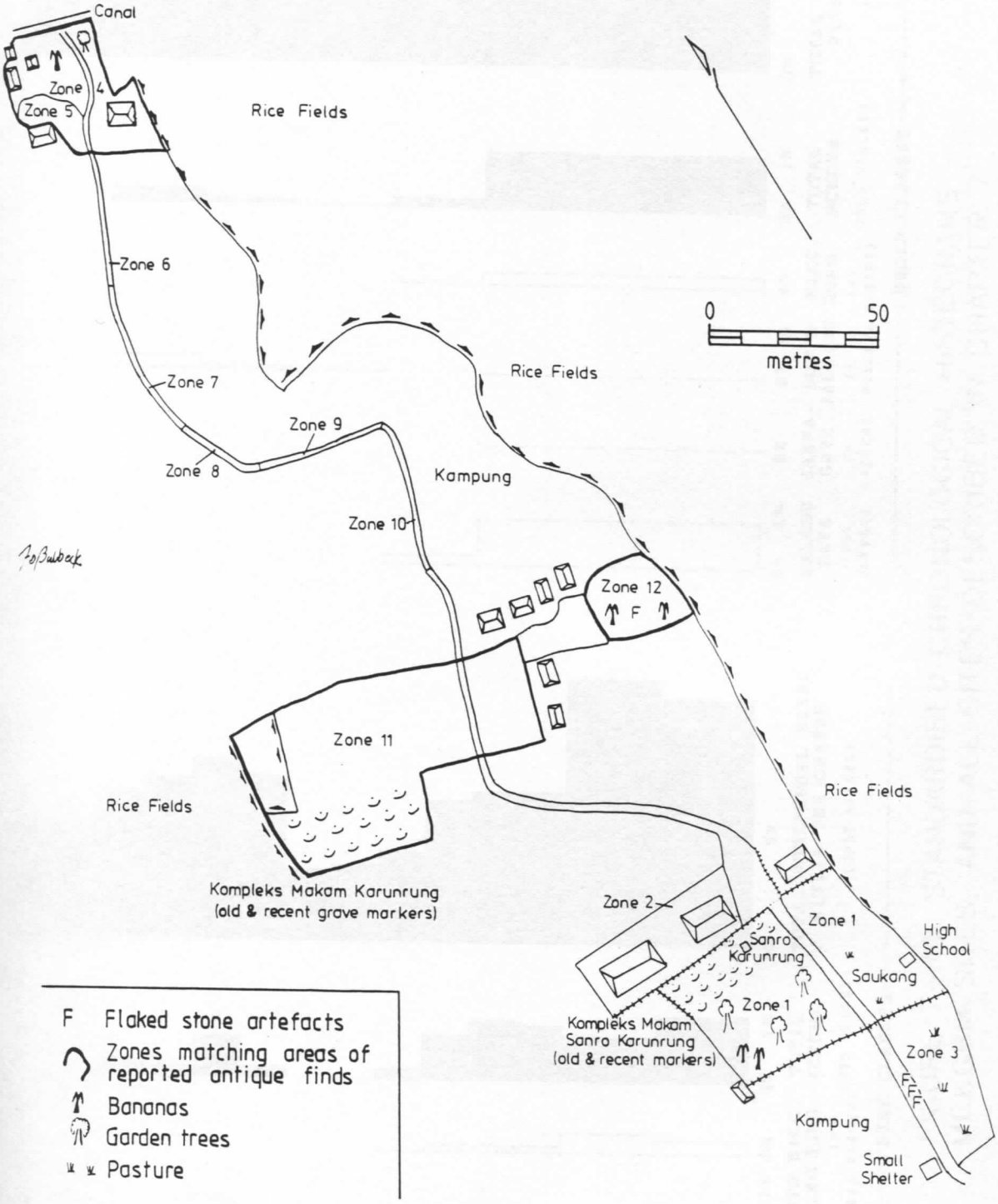


FIGURE 7-10. SSPHAP'S SURVEY OF KARUNRUNG

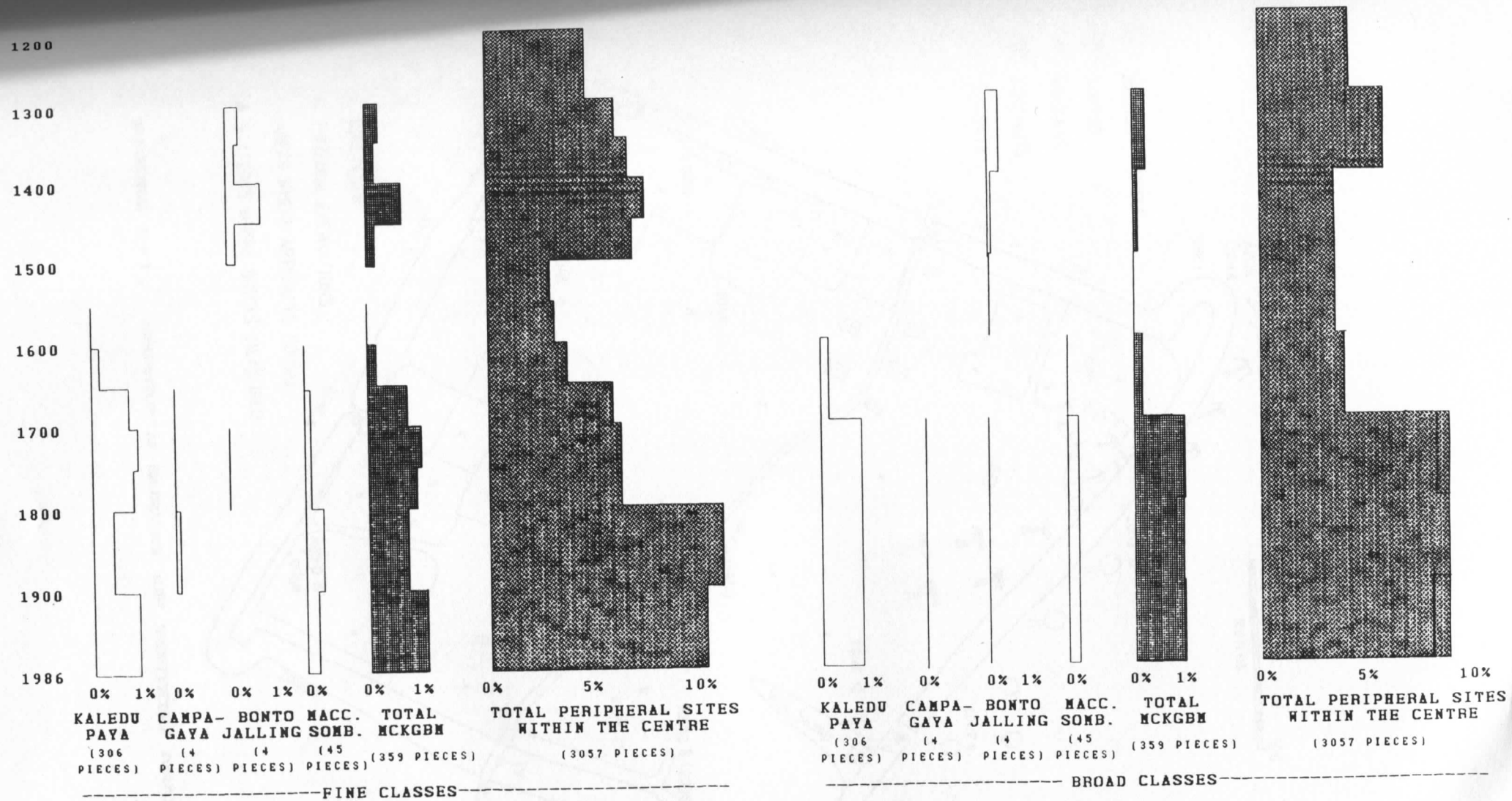


FIGURE 7-11. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - MCKGBM SITES, AND ALL SITES DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 7

Photo 7-1.
Makam Karaengloe ri Sero.
A cement box marker with simple *nisan* enclosing a single large stone at the north. The north-south orientation of the marker would appear to represent Islamic interpretation of an originally pre-Islamic feature.

Photo 7-2.
Makam Gampang Sero, immediately south of Makam Kgloe ri Sero.

Photo 7-3.
Makam Boccolaya, Sero.
In the foreground, arranged rectangles of stones marking graves, disturbed by tree roots. Left rear, some of the old cement-box grave markers with simple paired *nisan*.

Photo 7-4.
Disc with a hole, made of soft volcanic stone (G.26.5.1). Maximum diameter 37mm, minimum diameter 36mm, thickness 22mm. Diameter of the perforation 6mm (maximum) and 5mm (mimimum). Found at Sero's area of 13th-16th century burials.

Photo 7-5.
Fragment from the rim of a box made of soft volcanic stone (G.26.11.1A). It had probably snapped off the junction with the body, so the rim would have been everted, 17.5 mm thick at its base, and had a chord width of 37 mm.

Photo 7-6.
Another rim fragment from the same box (G.26.11.1B). The regularity of the notches suggests secondary reshaping into a stone point.

4.26.11.1

Photo 7-7.
Two sherds from Sukothai wares decorated with iron under the glaze, G.26.5.15 and G.26.8.7, from Makam Karaenglo ri Sero.

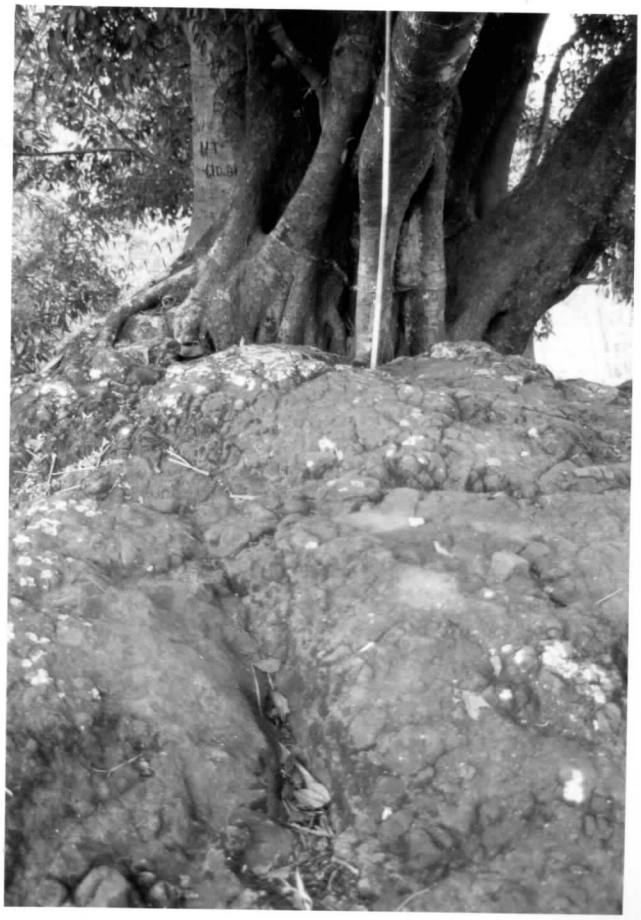
Photos 7-8 and 7-9.
The tradewares kept in the house on Bukit Bikuling, reportedly from the hill's informal excavations.
Top: four 16th century Chinese blue-and-white vessels.
Bottom: the Vietnamese monochrome bowl.

G.26.5.15

Photo 7-10.
Bukit Bikuling's abandoned Islamic graveyard, showing some of the disturbed marked graves: an old masonry box with simple *nisan* and a rectangular stone arrangement. The ranging pole marks a looter's hole.

Photo 7-11.
The stepped sepulchre of old red bricks at Bukit Bikuling, enclosing masonry *nisan* with a handle-like shape at north and a tablet-like shape at south.

Photo 7-12.
The reported *Batu Pelantikan* or installation stone of the Sero rulers at Bukit Bikuling.



Photos 7-13 to 7-15.
The Ming period tradewares reportedly
recovered from the looting around Makam Daeng Bane
and kept in the house immediately to the east.
Top: four "Ming Swatow" blue-and-white bowls.
Middle: a probably Vietnamese jarlet, and a Wanli BW plate.
Bottom: a whiteware plate, possibly a Ming Dehua product.

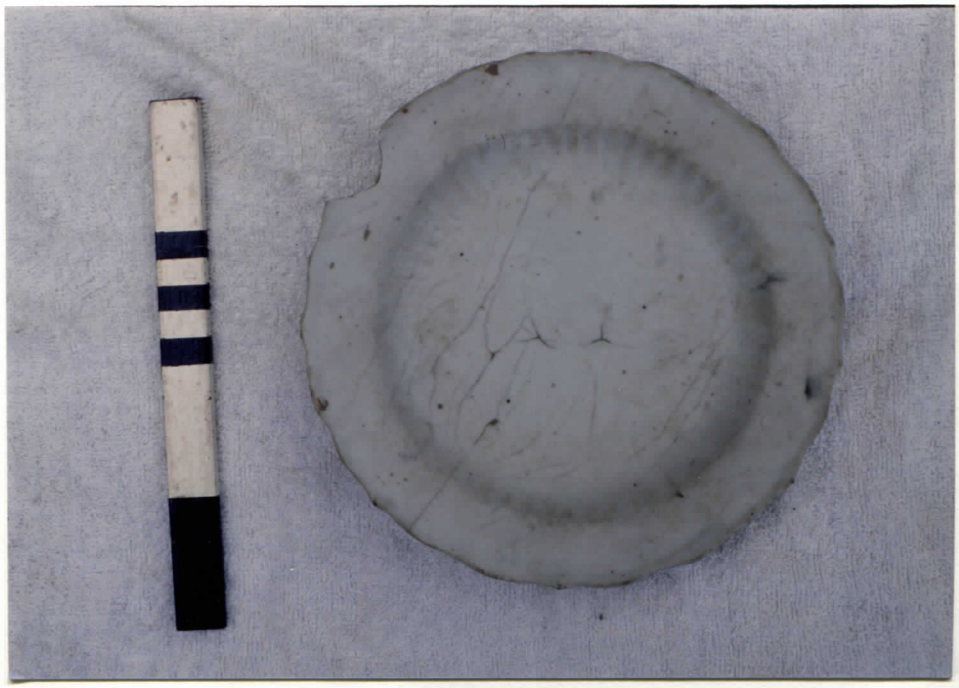


Photo 7-16.
The two fine Makassar earthenwares kept in the house immediately east of the looted area around Makam Daeng Bane. Campbell Macknight proposes the name "cogwheel pots" for the type of ware shown on the left.

Photos 7-17 and 7-18.
The grave marker at the north of Makam Sampeang decorated with tradewares probably from the looting at Makam Dg Bane.
Top: an "early monochrome" plate.
Bottom: a Ming blue-and-white plate. Its centre, showing a chrysanthemum spray around a rock, is a standardised decoration. An identical ware was dated to the late 15th-16th centuries at an exhibition in London (Sorsby, 1974:67). It may be an even earlier ware if Macintosh (1977:128) is correct that chrysanthemums were not used as a major element in blue-and-white decorations after the early 15th century.

Photo 7-19.
Makam Sampeang. The two marked graves oriented due east-west and enclosed in a shelter.

Photo 7-20.
Kompleks Makam Paccalaya on Bukit Bonto Masila, Suaka Site No. 20. Makam Paccalaya is the tomb of masoned stones which is similar in shape to the royal 17th century tombs at Tamalate. One wall of the mosque-shaped tomb called Makam Bottoa can be seen at right.

Photo 7-21.
Kompleks Makam Tinggi Maek, Suaka Site No. 18. The graves are reported to date from the early 18th century until the graveyard's closure in 1973-4. This *kobang* tomb is ascribed to Syech Abdul Wahid. Note the stoneware jar on top.

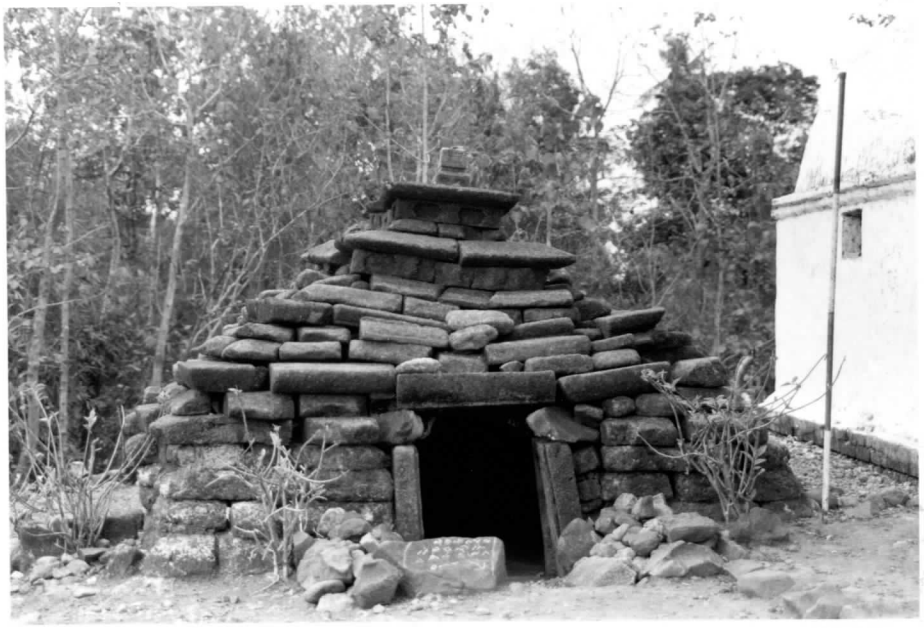


Photo 7-22.
Makam Sitti Maimunah (Karaeng Pakbineang, 1689-1742), Kasomberang. A similar construction to the masonry tomb at Kompleks Makam Paccalaya except for the use of a true arch rather than a corbel arch at the tomb's entrance.

Photo 7-23.
The *saukang* at Kuburan Islam Pao-Pao, also the reported burial place of the Pao-Pao *nenek moyang*. Rectangular stone arrangement enclosing double standing stones at north and south, orientation 30° from magnetic north.

Photo 7-24.
One of the two east-west grave markers (oriented 80° from magnetic north) in the small graveyard in Zone 3 across the earth-and-cobble road from Kuburan Islam Pao-Pao.

Photo 7-25.
Makam Takbakka, Bukit Sulenta. Two of the old marked graves: rectangular arranged of cobbles and bricks (front) and a masonry slab-sided marker (rear).

Photo 7-26.
Makam Takbakka, Bukit Sulenta. These *nisan* belonging to the Aceh style, according to my co-workers, are classified in SSPHAP's system as handle-like *nisan*.
The shelter of Makam Tu Baranae can be seen at rear.

Photo 7-27.
Kuburan Islam Paccinongang. The east-west, marked grave ascribed to Kare Manajai, oriented 80° from magnetic north.

Photo 7-28.
The northern half of Bukit Manggarupi. At right is the highest part of the hill, also the main concentration of flaked stone artefacts.

Photo 7-29.
The Ming celadon plate reportedly recovered from the looting at Bidaraya. Note the moulded floral design in the centre and the moulded fluting of the cavetto.

Photo 7-30.
The brick *kobang* tomb of Karaeng Campagaya. Probably early 18th century construction.

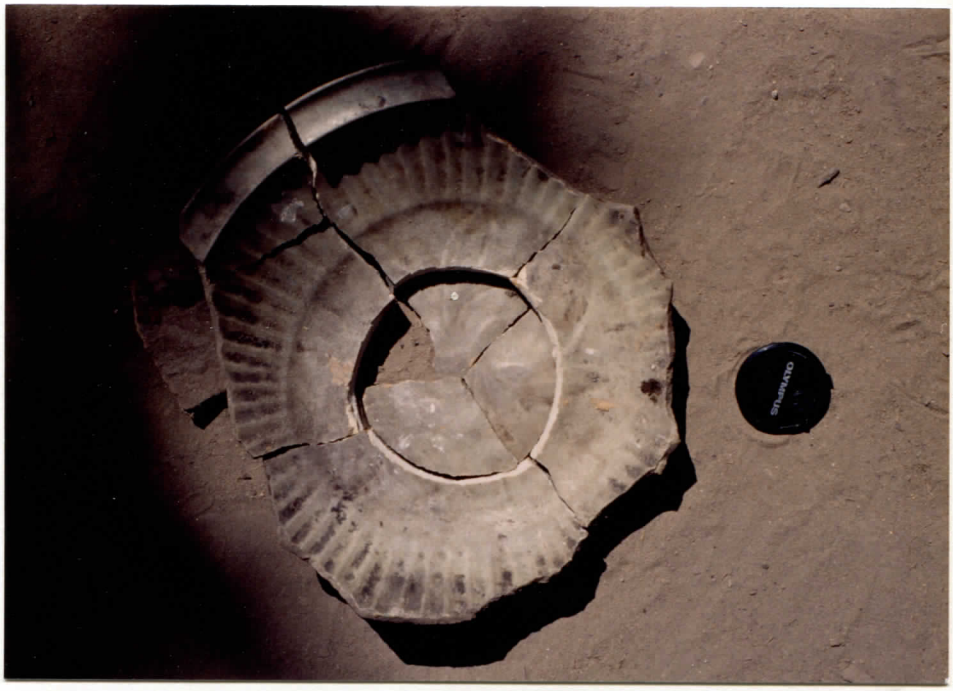

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Photo 7-31.
Makam Jipang, showing one of the apparent tombs of old cement with a collapsed roof.

Photo 7-32.
The grave of Sanro Karunrung, reportedly a female soothsayer.

Photo 7-33.
Bontomanaik 1. A sheltered marked grave, around two metres long, reportedly of a hero contemporary with Sultan Hasanuddin. The only visible remains of a formerly substantial cemetery.

Photos 7-34 to 7-36.
Gravegoods reportedly recovered from the north of Karunrung.
Top: a seashell, and the base of a Qingbai covered bowl which has lost its lid (possibly Zone 4).
Middle: a miniature Sawankhalok covered bowl and a Ming whiteware bowl (possibly Zone 4).
Bottom: a Wanli BW cup (possibly Zone 4) and a possibly Vietnamese brownware cup (reportedly Zone 5).

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OLYMPUS

Photo 7-37.
The marked grave of "Karaengta Cenra Pole", Kompleks Makam Campagaya. The cement case marker, interpreted as a renovation, encloses upright stones at head and foot, and is protected by a simple wooden shelter with a tin roof. Orientation 35° from magnetic north.

Photo 7-38.
Kompleks Makam Karaengta Bungaya, Suaka Site No. 255. Finely carved wooden box markers with crenulated *nisan* enclosing finely carved sceptre-like *nisan*, presumably adopted from the original masonry. Set on a modern cement stage encasing the presumable original sepulchres and protected by an iron picket shelter.

Photo 7-39.
Kompleks Makam Karaengta Tompok Balang. A looter's hole has exposed these bricks used to make a grave marker.

Photo 7-40.
Bonto Jalling Lama, showing the restored Islamic graveyard.

Photo 7-41.
Bonto Jalling Lama, with the ranging pole showing the findspot of the polished hatchet in the southeast corner of a sunken field.

Photo 7-42.
Maccinik Sombala old kampung area now washed away by an active meander of the Jeknekberang. Note the width of the river in the wet season.