

A TALE OF TWO KINGDOMS

The Historical Archaeology
of Gowa and Tallok,
South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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A thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University.

MARCH 1992

Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the
result of research carried out by myself.


F. David Bulbeck

26 March 1992

ERRATA: A TALE OF TWO KINGDOMS

The following typographical errors have been noted in the thesis and corrected by hand in the library copy to be deposited with the Menzies Library, Australian National University (statement dated 8 October 1992).

- p.15 para. 2 line 6:
for 'two-dimensionasal' read 'two-dimensional'
- p.23 footnote 5 15th line: for '(9185)' read '(1985)'
- p.55 last line: for 'Tonibasara' read 'Tonibosara'
- p.105 para. 2 last line: for '(2.6.4)' read '(2.5.4)'
- p.111 line 15: for '(3.4. and 3.5).' read '(3.4.2 and 3.5),'
- p.113 para. 1 line 2: for 'be' read 'by'
- p.113 para. 2 line 7: for 'laterial' read 'lateral'
- p.116 line 6: for 'nor' read 'not'
- p.117 para. 1 line 5: for 'whos' read 'whose'
- p.117 para. 3 line 5: for 'simple' read 'simply'
- p.117 para. 4 line 6: for 'borht' read 'both'
- p.118 footnote 3 line 8: for 'singed' read 'signed'
- p.119 para. 3 line 7:
for 'Tuniapsukruk's' read 'Tunipasukruk's'
- p.121 para. 3 line 1: for 'conicdes' read 'coincides'
- p.122 para. 1 of text, line 10: for '(3.3.1)' read '(3.2)'
- p.122 para. 1 last line: insert 'century' after '16th'
- p.122 para. 2 line 2: for 'Firstlym' read 'Firstly'
- p.125 footnote 9 lines 5-6: for 'disporves this wild interpretations' read 'disproves this wild interpretation'
- p.126 para. 2 line 4: for 'Thius' read 'This'
- p.126 para. 2 line 9: for '(11.32.)' read '(11.3.2)'
- p.127 line 10: for 'alos' read 'also'
- p.127 para. 3 line 8: for 'is is' read 'is'
- p.127 para. 3 line 9: for 'bloodsiste' read 'bloodsister'

- p.128 Note to Table 4-2 line 10:
for 'around seven km,' read ', around seven km'
- p.130 line 10:
for 're-esrtablshment' read 're-establishment'
- p.130 para. 2 line 13: insert 'standing' after 'Jalil's)'
- p.130 footnote 13 line 6:
for 'cliam on th the' read 'claim on the'
- p.133 para. 3 line 3: for '(5.4.3)' read '(5.4.2)'
- p.134 line 4: for 'appears' read 'appear'
- p.134 para. 2 line 7: for 'abd' read 'and'
- p.134 para. 3 line 3: insert 'who' after 'Lengkesek'
- p.135 para. 3 line 1: for 'Tumpakrisik' read 'Tumapakrisik'
- p.135 para. 3 line 3: for 'kigdom' read 'kingdom'
- p.135 para. 4 line 12:
for 'enthousiastic' read 'enthusiastic'
- p.136 Table 4-3 notes line 1: for 'detials' read 'details'
- p.136 Table 4-4 notes line 1:
for 'Tumenenga' read 'Tumenanga'
- p.136 Table 4-4 notes line 5: insert 'them' after 'relate'
- p.138 para. 6 line 1: for 'Tonibasara' read 'Tonibosara'
- p.141 line 10: for '(Figures 4-7' read '(Figures 4-6'
- p.146 line 2: for 'in' read 'In'
- p.146 para. 2 line 11: for 'Karrang' read 'Karaeng'
- p.146 para. 4 line 2: for 'Luwuwk' read 'Luwuk'
- p.149 para. 2 line 8: for 'Bulok' read 'Buluk'
- p.150 para. 3 line 5: for 'the are' read 'the area'
- p.151 footnote 28 line 3: for 'no' read 'not'
- p.152 Table 4-9 notes line 2:
for 'Panikangcinik' read 'Panaikangcinik'
- p.156 4.12.2. heading: for 'Gowa's Initial Expansion' read
'Gowa's initial expansion'
- p.164 Table 4-17 3rd column heading: for 'Corek' read 'Core'
- p.166 Table 4-19: TOTAL for Luwuk row should be 0, and for
Minor Bugis row should be 1 (i.e. transposed)

- p.168 para. 4 line 8: for 'sill' read 'still'
- p.170 line 8: for 'form' read 'from'
- p.171 4.12.5 heading: for 'Royal and Noble Lines' read
'royal and noble lines'
- p.172 para. 2 line 2: for 'hold by' read 'held by'
- p.178 para. 2 line 4: for 'Aengtua' read 'Aengtoa'
- p.183 para. 3 line 5: for 'photographs' read 'photocopies'
- p.186 para. 2 line 1: for 'mto' read 'to'
- p.189 para. 2 line 8: for 'recover' read 'recovery'
- p.193 footnote 12 line 1: for 'oly' read 'only'
- p.197 footnote 16 line 17: for 'sites.' read 'sites,'
- p.198 line 11: for 'whne' read 'when'
- p.219 para. 3 line 9: insert 'preceded' after 'directly'
- p.226 para. 3 line 1: for 'conccetrated' read 'concentrated'
- p.229 line 3: for 'unlcear' read 'unclear'
- p.230 line 7: read the comma as a semi-colon
- p.231 line 5: insert 'to show' after 'quartet'
- p.236 para. 2 last line: after 'wider' insert 'coeval'
- p.236 para. 3 line 14:
for 'the Gowa located' read 'Gowa let it locate'
- p.252 last para. line 5: insert 'of' after 'karaengship'
- p.253 para. 3 last line:
for '(Table F-4)' read '(Table F-4c)'
- p.256 para. 3 line 6: for 'furher' read 'further'
- p.256 para. 3 line 9: for 'with side of the river as' read
'side of the river with'
- p.257 line 2: for 'Thes' read 'This'
- p.262 footnote 5: for 'by previous' read 'previously by'
- p.263 footnote 7 line 4; p.264 para. 2 line 4; p.266 line 15;
p.267 para. 3 line 4 and p.268 para. 2 last line:
for '(Table F-5' read '(Table F-5a'
- p.266 para. 2 line 2: for '8-13' read '8-12'

- p.266 para. 2 line 3: for '8-14' read '8-13'
- p.268 para. 3 line 5 and footnote 15 line 3; p.269 para. 2 line 3 and para. 4 line 5; p.270 line 2 and para. 3 line 7; p.272 para.2 line 5 and para.3 line 3: for 'F-5' read 'F-5b'
- p.270 para. 3 last line: for 'old-stule' read 'old-style'
- p.272 para. 3 line 9: for 'an fish' read 'a fish'
- p.276 para. 2 line 3: for 'centre fo' read 'centre of'
- p.278 para. 2 line 10: for '9-4' read '9-5'
- p.280 line 4: for 'area' read 'areas'
- p.280 para. 4 line 5: for 'Mappassepek' read 'Mappaseppek'
- p.280 para. 4 line 6: for 'Muhiddin' read 'Mahuddin'
- p.280 para. 4 line 10: for 'northwest' read 'southwest'
- p.282 lines 2 to 3: move 'Buta Didia' from before
 'inhabitants' to after 'present-day'
- p.284 para. 1 line 4: insert a fullstop after '(UP14)'
- p.292 para. 3 line 16: for 'to to' read 'to'
- p.308 para. 3 line 10: for 'Borngloe's' read 'Borongloe's'
- p.311 footnote 1 last line: for '14-3' read '12-4'
- p.317 para. 3 line 2: for 'occurring' read 'occurring'
- p.326 lines 6 to 7: for 'of at' read 'of'
- p.327 para. 3 last line: for 'back as' read 'back to'
- p.329 para. 3 line 8: for '10.5.2' read '10.4.2'
- p.338 para. 2 last line: for 'appears' read 'appear'
- p.341 footnote 54 last line:
 for 'emnbankment' read 'embankment'
- p.343 footnote 57 line 7:for 'recordedas' read 'recorded as'
- p.346 footnote 62 line 6: for 'tosome' read 'to some'
- p.357 line 11: for '(11.5) and, apparently, Bayoa (11.6)'
 read '(11.5.1) and, apparently, Bayoa (11.5.2)'
- p.368 line 15: for 'Opu as' read 'Opu was'
- p.372 para. 2 line 10 and p.374 para. 2 line 13:
 for 'Figure 11-10' read 'Figure 11-12'
- p.373 para. 3 line 8: for 'Figure 11-10' read 'Figure 11-13'

p.374 line 6: for 'ground is' read 'ground are'

p.374 para. 2 line 9: for 'syncretist' read 'syncretic'

p.378 line 1: for 'Photo 11-23' read 'Photo 11-24'

p.381 line 2: for '(11.4.1)' read '(11.3.1)'

p.381 para. 3 line 1: for '11-19' read '11-21'

p.381 para. 3 line 12: for '(11.4.2)' read '(11.3.2)'

p.382 para. 1 line 15: for '11-16' read '11-18'

p.383 para. 2 line 9: for '2.2 *Modern' read '2.2* Modern'

p.384 footnote 31 line 1: for 'Agap Atas' read 'Agop Atas'

p.387 line 11 and p.391 para. 3 line 6:
for 'Figure 11-1' read 'Figure 11-2'

p.387 para. 2 line 6: for 'Photo 11-40' read 'Photo 11-44'

p.395 para. 3 line 6: for '14.2.4' read '12.2.5'

p.397 line 8: for '11-24' read '11-26'

p.397 footnote 43 line 3: for '11-23' read '11-25'

p.401 line 3: for '(Figure 12-6)' read '(Figure 11-5)'

p.404 para. 2 last line: for '12-2)' read '12-1)'

p.407 Table 12-2 commentary last line:
for 'Table 14-1' read 'Table 12-1'

p.415 para. 4 last line, p.416 para. 2 line 6 and
p.432 line 5: for '(Figure 12-5)' read '(Figure 12-4a)'

p.419 Table 12-4 (v) line 1:
for 'name places' read 'place names'

p.423 Table 12-4h commentary bottom line: for 'Karaengship
with that modern' read 'karaengship with that of modern'

p.428 para. 2 line 12: for 'inferr' read 'inferred'

p.437 para. 2 line 7: insert 'and' after 'lines,'

p.453 line 15: for 'endouraged' read 'encouraged'

p.455 para. 3 line 11:
for '3 km and 7.5 km' read '3.6 km and 8 km'

p.461 para. 2 line 8: delete 'are assigned' after 'century'

p.464 para. 1 last line: for '13-11' read '13-12'

- p.475 Table 13-11 Suppak row, and p. 476 footnote 44 lines 4 and 6: for 'Mapupu' read 'Mappupu'
- p.476 para. 2 lines 9 and 11:
for 'Tanamperek's' read 'Tanamparek's'
- p.476 footnote 44 last line: for 'Mapupuu's' read 'Mappupu's'
- p.477, continuation of footnote 45 line 8:
for '(Table 14-9)' read '(Table 13-10)'
- p.479 para. 3 line 5 and p.480 para. 2 line 15:
for '(Figure 13-12)' read '(Figure 13-13)'
- p.498 para. 2 line 4: insert 'fit' after 'goodness of'
- p.499 para. 2 line 11:
for 'leFt-to-right' read 'left-to-right'
- p.500 para. 2 line 10: for 'and by' read 'and'
- p.512 para. 1 line 5: for '1988;' read '1988a;'
- p.515 last line: for 'propositions' read 'proposition'
- p.537 line 9: for 'were exported' read 'was exported'
- p.538 para.3 line 3: for 'was probably' read 'were probably'
- p.544 para. 1 line 9:
for 'miscolorations' read 'miscolourations'
- p.549 para. 2 line 5:
for 'among the SSPHAP's' read 'among SSPHAP's'
- p.558 para. 2 last line: '22' should be in superscript
- p.582 para. 3 line 5: for 'Photo 11-24' read 'Photo 11-25'
- p.587 para. 2 line 1:
for 'difficult to difficult' read 'difficult'
- p.587 para. 2 lines 7 to 8:
for '(Frasché, 1976)' read 'Frasché (1976)'
- p.588 para. 3 line 6: for 'were also' read 'was also'
- p.596 para. 1 last line and para. 2 line 2:
for 'Table B-39' read 'Table B-38'
- p.598 para. 2 lines 8 and 9, and p.599 para. 2 line 17
: for 'rs' read 'r_s'
- p.600 para. 2 line 11: '38' should be in superscript
- p.603 footnote 40 last line: for '1988:231' read '1988b:231'
- p.610 line 11: for 'Figure 11-24)' read 'Figure 11-26)'

p.613 para. 2 line 7: for '(5.4.2)' read '(5.3.2)'

p.619 para. 2 line 3: for 'exluding' read 'excluding'

p.627: delete the third paragraph 'In summary ... superior.'

p.632 line 5: for 'depnends' read 'depends'

p.722 para.2 last line: for 'Figure 11-1' read 'Figure 11-2'

p.725 Table E-13 commentary line 1:
for 'followm' read 'follow,'

p.725 para. 2 line 8: for 'smae' read 'same'

p.728 para. 3 line 9: for 'cotnrast' read 'contrast'

p.733 last line: for 'Moerover' read 'Moreover'

p.740 para. 2 line 3: for '(11.1.2)' read '(11.1.1)'

p.741 para. 2 line 10: for 'syncretist' read 'syncretic'

p.751 note 5f line 3: for 'Toabnka' read 'Tobakna'

p.762 note 5b line 3: for 'presumable' read 'presumably'

p.777 note 7g: for 'Rulcha and Tetta Rulcha' read 'Rulcha'

p.793 note 8j: for 'Patta Sakga' read 'Petta Sakga'

p.800 G.3 para. 2 last line: delete the sentence
'However, no attempt will be made to include usewear.'

p.800 after last line printed, insert the missing line:
fine-grained siliceous) would be reliable, and the range of

p.804 G.29.1.1 line and p.806 G.63.1.9 line:
for 'Banded Cher' read 'Banded Chert'

p.804 G.29.20.2 line:
for 'Variegated' read 'Variegated Quartz'

p.805 G.56.14.2 line: for 'Qhite' read 'White'

p.806 G.59.2.36 line: for 'Chi[' read 'Chip'

REFERENCES Agoston entry line 3: for 'Cerlag' read 'Verlag'

REFERENCES Cortesao entry line 1:
for 'Sum Oriental' read 'Suma Oriental'

REFERENCES Kruskal 1964b entry line 1:
for 'optomising' read 'optimising'

REFERENCES Macknight 1975 entry line 3: for 'Monogrpah of
the Malysian' read 'Monograph of the Malaysian'

REFERENCES Pabittei entry: for 'Pabittei,,,' read 'Pabbitei,'

REFERENCES Wiesner entry line 3: for 'Koln' read 'Köln'

Figure 4-1 Commentary line 1:

for 'Tonibasara' read 'Tonibosara'

Figure after 12-4, titled 'Standardised Chronological
Histograms - Benteng Tallok':

label should be 'Figure 12-4a' rather than 'Figure 12-5'

Figure 12-7b: for 'PANNAMPUK' read 'PANNAMPU'

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the guidance of my supervisors. Campbell Macknight put me on the trail of the Bugis-Makassar past, and his on-site impressions and general advice are deeply ingrained in the text. Peter Bellwood visited me three times at critical points in my fieldwork programme, steering it towards what I think is a quite polished methodology, as well as advising me during the analysis and thesis-production stages. I would also like to thank my adviser, John Mulvaney, for his interest in the project.

The fieldwork was officially sponsored by Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia through the National Research Centre for Archaeology (Puslitarken), and through Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan (Suaka) at the provincial level. As regards Puslitarken, I especially thank the then general director R.P. Soejono, Hasan Ambary who was then director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Sonny Wibisono who collaborated with me at various stages, as well as Nurhadi and Naniek Hartisingsih for their friendship and colleagueship. I am also grateful to Masdoekhi and Abdul Muttalib M., who headed Suaka at the start and completion of my fieldwork respectively. Other officers of Suaka who played an important rôle in the fieldwork include Bahru Kallupa, Karaeng Demmanari, and the field officers Aziz Allang, Ramli S. and Daeng Kule. In addition to Karaeng Demmanari, the regular fieldwork team included Dubel Driwantoro before he joined Puslitarken, Iwan Sumantri of the Department of Archaeology at Hasanuddin University, and Agustawan, Andi Said Cam and Budianto H. who were then students of archaeology. Occasional fieldwork participants were Khadidjah Th. M., Srimustika, Hani Somba and Hamris. Their efforts ensured the fieldwork was enjoyable and productive.

My sponsoring department, the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, has provided logistical support throughout my PhD programme. Some staff members provided useful advice in

the early stages and showed flashes of interest in the research at later stages.

Many people helped me on particular points, advice on writing certain sections, and just plain moral support. Among them I should especially mention Mukhlis, Abdul Sobur and Anton Lukas in Ujung Pandang; Ken Heffernan, Dianne Tillotson and Philip Boot who were then or still now students in the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology; Dick Richards and Peter Burns, of the Research Centre for Southeast Asian Ceramics; Leonard Hogan; P.E. de Josselin de Jong; Sander Adelaar, Charles Grimes, Barbara Grimes, Clifford Sather, Gregory Acciaiolli, Evelyn Winburn and David Marr of the Research School of Pacific Studies. Most importantly in these regards I acknowledge the support of Ian Caldwell, James Fox and, above all, Anthony Reid.

Just like a baby, a thesis has to be beared. In this respect it is no more my baby than that of my wife Myrian Horna de Bulbeck.

ABSTRACT

The present thesis details the historical archaeology, or more accurately the archaeological history, of the Makassar kingdoms of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi. Close study of the archaeological record provided strong support for the literal truth of the origin stories of these kingdoms as stated in their chronicles. Gowa appears to have originated as a near-coastal, agrarian kingdom in the 13th-14th centuries. A succession dispute in Gowa, possibly as a reflection of crowding in Gowa's heartland, apparently led to the establishment of Tallok on a major inlet at c.1500.

Gowa's subsequent expansion during the 16th century depended on securing the small port-polity of Garassik which later became the major entrepôt in eastern Indonesia, Makassar. Gowa's southward expansion was at the expense of Polombangkeng (the area's largest polity before Gowa's rise). Much of this densely populated land remained under theoretically autonomous rule throughout. The two kingdoms absorbed by Gowa - Tallok and Maros - re-emerged alongside Gowa as powerful kin-based factions in the 17th century confederated state here called "greater Gowa".

Makassar in its heyday harboured up to 100,000 people, while two to three times that number would have inhabited the adjacent coastal plain. The organisation of the Makassar aristocracy into hierarchically ordered "status lineages" underpinned the state's administration of its territories and functional bodies. These circumstances allowed greater Gowa to protect traders who defied the Dutch attempt to monopolise the Moluccan spice trade, and concurrently to consolidate suzerainty throughout the South Sulawesi lowlands. In 1667 the Dutch naval forces combined with greater Gowa's Bugis enemies in their successful occupation of Makassar. Bone, the largest Bugis kingdom, emerged as the apex in the re-ordered local political hierarchy, while the Dutch superintended Makassar's international trade.

In view of Gowa's original status as an agrarian kingdom, and population densities on the Gowa plain which may have reached towards 1000 people per km², previous interpretations

of Makassar (Gowa) as a port-polity require modification. Rather, greater Gowa was the most spectacular example of a recurrent theme in Bugis-Makassar early history - expansion by an agrarian power to capture a critical entrepôt. The pattern can be traced back to c.1300 when the Bugis kingdom of West Soppeng ruled the port of Suppak some 50 km away. South Sulawesi's only major kingdom not based on extensive wet rice lands, Luwuk, apparently relied on its inaccessibility, and direct support from Javanese traders aligned with Majapahit, for its brief period of prominence during the 15th century.

Moreover, the initial steps towards the development of complex South Sulawesi societies appear to have occurred in the Bugis agrarian heartland, far away from the places cited in contemporary foreign accounts or the peninsula's most spectacular archaeological finds. Hence the perspective from South Sulawesi challenges the reliability of these sources in reconstructing the development of early states in the western archipelago. The current emphasis on long-distance trade and traders' influences needs to be understood in the context of coeval settlement patterns, whose detection should be treated as a top priority of archaeological work in the western archipelago. "Indianisation" as a concept of social change should be reinterpreted as a case of Austronesian transformation.

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