

BARUGA

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BARUGA - Sulawesi Research Bulletin

The word 'baruga' is found in a number of Sulawesi languages with the common meaning of 'meeting hall'.

Editorial note

This ninth *Baruga* appears again approximately one year after the previous issue. Therefore it seems realistic to adapt our schedule of two issues per year to reality and change it to once a year. We hope this will result in a more predictable publication date, and a little more voluminous issues. To make this possible we need your cooperation: please send us whatever small contribution that may be of interest to other Sulawesians!

Important notice for our readers abroad:

Although you are still encouraged to contribute to production and postage costs, please do not send cheques. The costs of cashing these exceed the amount of the cheque. The most efficient way of paying is by way of a credit card. Please send a letter authorizing the KITLV to charge your account, and mention the amount (we suggest Dfl. 20 or \$ 10 for two years), which kind of card you have, the card number and the expiry date.

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I. Varia Sulawesiana - J. Noorduyn

ROCK GRAVES IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI

The Wiau people, who live(d?) in the upstream region of the Konawe river in Southeast Celebes, have seldom been mentioned in literature. In 1937, the Dutch protestant missionary M.J. Gouweloos observed them when they carried out their mortuary rites and he wrote a detailed and highly interesting report on his findings (Gouweloos 1937).

Gouweloos, working in the Tolaki region from 1922 onward, was eminently suited to conduct this research. He had learned to speak the local language fluently and had thoroughly acquainted himself with the life of the local people. So we learn from the account of his colleague J. Schuurmans as quoted in Gouweloos' brief biography by one of his friends (Spaan [1947]:12-18).

The prominent characteristic of the Wiau mortuary rites appeared to be that (as in several other Indonesian regions) they consisted of two phases separated by an interval of several years. The second part was a great death feast celebrated by the whole community and lasting for many days. It ended with ritually placing the coffins in rock graves high in the mountains.

After a person's death his corpse was clothed in treebark clothes and put in an airtight wooden coffin. The coffin was then placed on a c. 2 m high scaffold (*pasara*) in the forest, where it stayed for 2 to 5 years.

To start the second part of the mortuary ritual - Gouweloos reports - a large festive house is built, called *warungga*. In it, a scaffold is made on which to place the coffins before they are escorted to the rock graves. These coffins are new ones made by a special coffin-maker, the *uranggi* (cf. Old Javanese *undahagi* or *undagi* 'carpenter'?). The bones of the dead are taken from the several coffins standing on the *pasara*. The bones are wrapped in treebark cloth and large mats, and put on scaffolds outside the *warungga*. There they are laid in the new coffins, which then are placed on the scaffold inside the *warungga*. Before the bones are laid in the coffins, the names of the dead are read by the priest.

It takes many days until these activities are completed. They are interspersed with festivities, there is eating, drinking, singing and dancing, and buffaloes are slaughtered daily.

Finally the coffins are put on specially made biers and carried in procession to the rock graves high in the mountains. There they are on top of coffins of former generations, standing there or falling apart from age. This final part also takes many days.

A great many details of these rituals, interesting in themselves, are reported by Gouweloos in the 26 pages of his article. Here only the bare minimum could be extracted. These few things show already how much of the procedure prompts comparison with mortuary rituals practised elsewhere in and outside Sulawesi. Examples are the famous rock graves of the Sa'dan Toraja and the carrying of the corpse in ceremonial procession from the feast terrain to the graves (Nooy-Palm 1986:298-299). Furthermore, the wooden coffins are made and used in a small part of the Toraja region only (Nooy-Palm 1986:171), but formerly also in the Poso region (Adriani & Kruyt 1950-1951 II:555; Downs 1956:90-91).

For readers of *Baruga*, it is particularly interesting to see that the big house specially built by the Wiau for their large mortuary ritual is styled *warungga*, a word which is clearly a local adaptation of the original etymon *waruga*. It provides a 'missing' link between the South Sulawesi *baruga* 'meeting house' and the well-known Minahasa decorated stone coffins called *waruga*, which have the form of miniature houses (see Bertling 1931-1932:85).

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GALIGO WORDS IN DAILY USE IN LUWU'

When B.F. Matthes stated in 1875 that in Luwu', naturally, many remnants of the (presumably obsolete) Old Buginese language were still to be found in the daily language (Matthes 1875: viii; cf. Sirk 1975:227), one may wonder to what extent his opinion was based on speculation. Matthes had never been in Luwu' himself, though he had met people from Luwu' and collected information from there.

S.J. Esser seemed to agree with Matthes and to confirm the latter's statement in his letter to R.A. Kern of 1939 saying that several words which are 'Old Buginese' according to Matthes were in daily use in Wotu (Esser 1961:385). Esser had just concluded extensive research on the language and oral literature of Wotu (none of which research survived the Pacific War), but Wotu, though formerly a part of the Luwu' state, had and has its own language, which is not Buginese.

Shelley Errington recently reported on her extensive research in Luwu'. Her attention was not focused on the local languages, although she used them and quotes from them in her book. Words or sentences cited are identified as Bugis or Tae' (though not Toraja, p.18), but sometimes ill-foundedly so. A case in point is a sentence commencing with the Tae' negation *tae'* 'not', which is identified as a Tae' sentence though the other words are Bugis (p. 167). There are also occasional misspellings. For instance, Pabbicara 'councillor' is spelled Pa' Bicara as if it contained the Indonesian word Pak 'Sir'; *isseng* 'to know' is spelled correctly with double *s* but *asseng* 'name' incorrectly so (pp. 64; 192, 201). Sometimes words are used which apparently are from the local Luwu' language (also styled Tae' ?), such as *maroja* (p. 48) 'to wake' (Bug. *maddoja*, Tae' *ma'doja*), and *pinposik* 'center post' (p. 33), without identifying them as such.

However, two of the words cited by Errington definitely confirm Matthes' statement of 1875 referred to above. Firstly, a small offering is called a *pinanrakka* in Luwu' (p. 87). This word can be identified with *pappinang-rakka* 'offering; warding off misfortune' which is known only from La Galigo epic poetry (Matthes 1874:113,481): a Galigo word in daily use in Luwu'.

The second case is the word *ripalingkajo* 'clothed' contained in a Bugis sentence (quoted, with a few misprints, on p. 87), which is derived from *lingkajo* '(upper) clothes', a word marked by Matthes as Old Buginese and as also occurring in La Galigo (Matthes 1874:538).

No doubt these cases are two random examples, occurring by chance in Errington's book, and may represent a larger corpus of an as yet unknown quantity. Clearly it seems time to start exploring the languages spoken in Luwu', especially from a lexical point of view. The study of La Galigo poetry may benefit from the results, and Sirk's (1975) careful but in many respects inconclusive study of Old Buginese and Bissu language may profitably be continued with new material.

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II. Forthcoming publications

In 1980 missionary organizations affiliated to three Dutch Protestant Churches (Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (RvdZ-NHK), Gereformeerde Zendingsbond in de Hervormde Kerk (GZB) and Zending der Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (GKN)) appointed the mission historian Dr Th. van den End to produce a series of publications of documents taken from the archives kept by these organizations. Three volumes have appeared up to now, the first on Tanah Toraja (1985) the second on Sumba (1987) and the third on West Java (1991). For these publications see Baruga 2 (1988):12-13.

At present a fourth volume is being prepared. It is edited by Dr Chr.G.F. de Jong, who from 1983 until 1992 taught general history, church history and mission history at the Sekolah Tinggi Theologia in Ujung Pandang. This fourth volume concentrates on the Dutch mission among the Bugis and Makassarese peoples in South Celebes. It contains about 150 documents, an introduction, several appendices, indexes and photographs. Numerous footnotes provide additional information, often summarizing documents which have not been included.

The first document included in this volume was written in 1850. It serves as an introduction and is a letter by that famous linguist Dr. B.F. Matthes to the board of a Rotterdam-based missionary organization, urging them to send as soon as possible a missionary to take up work among the Bugis and Makassarese living in Bantaeng and Bulukumba, which are located at the south coast of the peninsula. As a result of these and other recommendations, the first missionary arrived in 1852. His name was W.M. Donselaar and he was followed by several others. Although these first attempts at christianizing the indigenous population did not bear much fruit, some 80 years later missionary efforts gained momentum when several churches and missionary organizations made a new effort. Fresh forces were sent to South Celebes and new mission posts and a mission hospital, Labuan Baji, were opened. These organizations included several Javanese congregations of the GKN, the missionary council of several churches in the Netherlands and the board of the Protestant Church in Jakarta. After the war the Protestant Church received assistance from a Dutch missionary organization, the Raad voor de Zending van de Nederlands Hervormde Kerk. These efforts finally resulted in the founding in 1966 of a Bugis-Makassarese church, called Gereja Kristen di Sulawesi Selatan (GKSS). Total membership of this church at present is about 5000 people of which about half or less are of Bugis or Makassarese descent.

One difference between this mission field and those in Tanah Toraja, Sumba and West Java is that in South Celebes several missionary organizations have been involved simultaneously, though working towards the same end: the founding of a Bugis-Makassarese church. To avoid friction between these organizations as much as possible, South Celebes was carved up in several areas, each being allotted to a different organization: the mission of the GKN concentrated on the city of Makassar and the Malino area, whereas the Protestant Church, apart from fulfilling its pastoral duties in Makassar, sent its missionaries to Selayar island and Soppeng.

A fifth volume by the same author, dedicated to missionary activities in Southeast Celebes, is in preparation.

Chris de Jong

In its series 'The peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific' Blackwell Publishers in Oxford has planned a volume on the Bugis of South Sulawesi entitled *The Bugis*. The author is Christian Pelras, and the book is scheduled to appear in March 1994.

The Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden will publish in its translation series an English translation of H.Th. Chabot's *Verwantschap, stand en sexe in Zuid-Celebes* (1950) under the title *Kinship, Status and Gender in South Sulawesi*. The volume will contain an introduction by Dr. Martin Rössler and Dr. Birgitt Röttger-Rössler. Scheduled date of publishing is the end of 1993.

III. Fieldwork Reports

Gene Ammarell, a doctoral candidate in anthropology at Yale University, reports about his fieldwork among the Bugis of Pangkep:

Between February 1991 and July 1992 I conducted an ethnographic study of indigenous navigation in a Bugis seafaring community and aboard its ships. The island village, Balobaloang, is located about 200 kilometers south-southwest of Ujung Pandang, in the midst of the Flores Sea; it is one of the many small coral islands which make up the Kabupaten of Pangkep, South Sulawesi. Virtually all of the adult men of Balobaloang are involved in inter-island shipping and trade aboard the 30 *lambo* and *baggo* – local trading ships – which are owned and operated by residents of the village.

My research encompassed local systems of navigational knowledge, their application both at sea and on land, transmission of knowledge between generations, and transformations of this knowledge in time and space. Since auxiliary engines were first introduced in the mid 1970's – within the working lifetimes of older navigators – I was particularly interested in understanding its impact on both navigation and the social and economic patterns of the ship and village.

I studied and recorded features of the ship and the marine environment as they are locally construed: how are they named, identified, and operated upon in solving the problems of navigation and piloting. In the process I compiled a list of over 900 maritime-related terms, including names of star patterns, wind directions, other atmospheric phenomena, tidal and ocean currents, swells, wave patterns, bottom and coastal features, sea life, compass directions, and parts of the ship.

Apropos of indigenous navigational knowledge and practice I looked closely at local systems of spatial orientation. Perhaps the most intriguing is an 'absolute' or 'fixed' system which employs indigenous terminology to name its four directions and which appears to be based upon an earlier system of contingent directional oppositions named after natural geographic features of the ancestral homeland. Another system, relied upon at sea to precisely describe wind direction and the heading and course of the ship, is clearly related to the 16-point Malay *mata angin* 'wind compass'. Identifying and operating upon these directions at sea was found to involve observations of stars, the magnetic compass, and other features of the land and seascape. In addition, I found an elegant and complex system of reckoning tides and tidal currents.

The highlight of my research was a chartered voyage through Eastern Indonesia captained by the island's most senior active navigator. On regular commercial voyages the Bugis now run their auxiliary engines continuously, regardless of wind conditions. On this occasion we made minimal use of the engine, enabling me to study and contrast aspects of navigation as practiced prior to and since the introduction of marine engines. Integral with these changing practices are changes in the economics and social relationships aboard ship and in the village. For example, ships without engines were at the mercy of the winds and currents and were often stranded for days and sometimes rowed great distances by weary sailors. These ships were of necessity limited in size and

restricted to only a few voyages each year. Today's ships, liberated by dependable if not large auxiliary engines, are several times larger and significantly more reliable than those of the past. While creating more wealth and greater comfort for captain and crew, it has also increased the demand for crew members beyond what the village can provide, resulting in an erosion of the authority of the captain: "Before if the captain found you sleeping in the coiled lines on deck, he'd pour water on your head to wake you up and even if you didn't like him, you stayed with the ship because there was no space on any other ship. Now, if you get a little upset with the captain, you just find another ship; captains are always searching for crew members."

I am currently writing my dissertation on Bugis navigation and can be contacted at the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, P.O. Box 2114 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520, USA. I am very interested in communicating with other scholars who have studied indigenous systems of astronomical knowledge – navigation, time reckoning, cosmology, and skylore – among Western Malayo-Polynesian speakers.

Ian Caldwell, Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore, 10 Kent Ridge Crescent, Singapore 0511, sent us this report on his fieldwork in South Sulawesi in October and November 1992:

My research was directed at learning more about the political geography of the former kingdom of Luwu and the economic basis of its political power, with particular reference to the 16th century and earlier. Among the things I hoped to do were:

- (1) to map the major trade routes linking Palopo and the Rongkong and Seko regions;
- (2) to establish the western limits of these trade routes, and their relationship with Kalumpang, on the eastern side of the peninsula;
- (3) to establish the economic basis of the historical relationship between Seko, Rongkong and Luwu;
- (4) to locate the major sources of iron in the Seko-Rongkong region and to make an estimate of their importance;
- (5) to visit Lake Matano in northeast Luwu and to locate the iron mines reported to lie in this area, and to bring back samples of ore, and possibly slag;
- (6) to visit the area around Malangke on the south coast, where local traditions say the rulers of Luwu had their palaces in the sixteenth century, before the coming of Islam.

The research involved a journey on foot of about 200 km from Limbung to Kalumpang, and a journey by motorbike from Palopo to the eastern part of the former kingdom (see map). I plan to publish detailed accounts of these journeys later this year. Here I shall simply report my main findings and general impressions, linked to the above questions.

(1) Luwu's trade route into the Rongkong and Seko valleys starts at Sa'bang, near Masamba. The route climbs north-west to Limbung, and then almost due north, reaching a height of ± 2000 m., before descending to Eno (or Wono) in Seko Padang. From Eno the route runs west to Seko Tengah and then south to Seko Lemo. From Seko Lemo, a trail crosses over Gunung Ba'san (± 1400 m) into the Karama valley.

(2) Gunung Ba'san divides the peninsular at this latitude into two trading regions; the region east of Gunung Ba'san, which is focussed on Sa'bang and Palopo, and the re-

gion west of Gunung Ba'san, which is focussed on Kalumpang and Mamuju. Gunung Ba'san is not shown on Kruijt's published sketch map of 1920, nor is more accurate information found on modern maps.

(3) The 'economic glue' which bound the Seko-Rongkong region to Luwu's coastal capital was the collection of dammar, a tree resin used in varnish making, which was exchanged for salt and other products. Today the chief export of the Seko-Rongkong region is coffee, but the dammar trade is evidently ancient and was formerly widespread. (The present low price of dammar makes its collection uneconomic.)

(4) Iron does not appear to have been an important export. I visited two abandoned mines, one near Limbung and one near Eno, and to judge from the scale of the workings neither appeared to have been more than a local source of ore. There were no local traditions of an iron export trade, or a trade in weapons or agricultural tools. Interestingly, gold does not seem to have been a significant export east of Gunung Ba'san. But west of Gunung Ba'san gold can be found in recoverable quantities, and is panned on the tributaries of the Karama river, and several people told me of Japanese plans to open a goldmine near Kalumpang.

(5) Historical references indicate that the source of Luwu's iron exports, mentioned by Speelman in 1670, was the region around lake Matano and lake Mahalona, in eastern Luwu. The village (*kampung*) of Matano, at the north-west end of the lake seems to have been an important centre of iron smelting and arms manufacture. In and around this village, iron ore lies thick on the ground, and to judge by its weight is of a high iron content. I was shown several locally manufactured weapons and was told that in the nineteenth century 'more than one hundred' smiths lived and worked in the village. I plan to have this ore analysed.

(6) The most exciting discovery was at Malangke, on the south coast of Luwu, where local traditions claim the rulers of Luwu once had their palaces. Here I found the well-tended grave of La Patiware', Sultan Sulaiman, Datu Luwu, who in 1603 became the first Moslem ruler of South Sulawesi. Alongside, an early 17th century Acehnese-style headstone marked the grave of his religious teacher, Dato Sulaiman.

La Patiware's posthumous title was *Matinroé ri Ware'*, "He who lies at Ware'". La Patiware', "the lord of Ware'", appears under the title *Matinroé ri Ware'* in various 16th century genealogies and kinglists. In the 16th century, and possibly earlier, the name Ware' was synonymous with Luwu and appears to have referred to Luwu's main palace site, or capital. Thus the title, "he who lies at Ware'", can be translated as 'he who lies at the capital'.

I had previously understood the manuscripts' Ware' to refer to the modern settlement of Wara', which lies a few kilometers from Palopo. (I have never visited Wara'.) I had assumed, without evidence, that the difference in pronunciation represented a slight vocalic shift which had taken place in the following centuries. In short, a settlement called Wara' close by Palopo was too good to ignore!

I was therefore greatly surprised to learn that Ware' was the old name for the Patimang river, on whose banks lies La Patiware's grave. My surprise turned to delight when I was further able to identify the ruling places of both his mother, *Datu ri Balubu* ('lady of Balubu') and his maternal grandmother, *Datu ri Jampué* ('lady of Jampu'). Both settlements, which are now deserted, lie just a few kilometers from Malangke.

This local cluster of three toponyms (and their generational clustering in the 16th-century genealogies of Luwu), linked to the grave of La Patiware' and his religious teacher, suggest that local traditions are correct, and that in the 16th century Luwu's capital lay at Malangke, not Palopo. This conclusion is supported by information obtained from an established antique dealer in Palopo, who told me that Malangke was the richest source

of illegally-excavated Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics in *kabupaten* Luwu, and had yielded many high quality Ming blue and white and Sung dynasty celadons and monochromes, as well as the usual range of 14th-16th century Chinese and Southeast Asian export ware. He showed me photographs of several *balubu* (large jars) recovered from Malangke, and several Sung monochrome pieces from this site which were in his possession. The area in which such pieces are discovered (today there is little deliberate looting), I was told, covers an area of about 12 square kilometers.

Overall, I was impressed by how many textual and historical problems can be solved by simple enquiry; and how much one can learn by going to look.



IV. Book Reports

Helmut Buchholt, 1990, *Kirche, Kopra, Bürokraten: gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und strategisches Handeln in Nord Sulawesi/Indonesien*. Saarbrücken/Fort Lauderdale: Breitenbach. Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie, Band 44. ix + 307 pp.; maps, bibl.

In this study the author focuses on the transformation processes in Minahasan society on the northeastern peninsula of Sulawesi. Using the concept of 'strategische Gruppen', strategic groups, he describes the developments from pre-colonial times until the situation under the new order. After an introduction and a chapter on the theoretical basis of the study, a description of pre-colonial Minahasan society is given. The next part of the book describes the first contacts with westerners and subsequently the arrival of the Dutch and the colonial period. During this period the colonial government focused on contacts with the traditional leaders, who in turn became more and more involved in the colonial administration, and identified themselves with it. This development was reinforced by the influence of the christian mission. Having one of the most developed systems of education, Minahasans spread out over the archipelago as administrators in the colonial government. The independence of the Indonesian republic in 1945, and the shifting of political and economic power to the center of the state, Java, caused discontent in the Minahasa and the other outer islands and eventually resulted in the *Permesta* rebellion. Political (and economic) power became more and more out of reach of the Minahasans after the defeat of *Permesta*. Under the New Order new possibilities emerged with the implementation of development projects in Indonesia. Throughout the book it is shown that the traditionally most influential groups not only reacted to the presence of outsiders, but also used them to secure their own political and socio-economic interests.

Lorraine V. Aragon, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, sent the following abstract of her dissertation:

DIVINE JUSTICE: COSMOLOGY, RITUAL, AND PROTESTANT MISSIONIZATION IN CENTRAL SULAWESI, INDONESIA

"Divine Justice" contains an examination of the process and consequences of Protestant missionization in highland Central Sulawesi. Most particularly, it concerns the Tobaku people, a regionally united group of Uma speakers who reside in the southwestern part of the Kulawi subdistrict. The shifting horticulturalist communities of this area were first contacted by Dutch officials in the early twentieth century and proselytized by the Salvation Army beginning in 1918. Although the Tobaku people, like most indigenous Central Sulawesi highlanders, are now almost one hundred percent Protestant – some even refer to themselves as fanatic Christians – their religious concepts and practices are not completely orthodox from the point of view of Western missionaries. This study looks at changing Tobaku religious concepts and practices as a process of negotiation and argumentation based on indigenous moral principles and empirical precedents developed in the context of historical pressures to affiliate with world religion.

Insofar as the Bible, like all texts, requires interpretation, the Tobaku are able to incorporate certain concepts of traditional spirit and ancestor behavior into their understandings of the Protestant God, Jesus and Satan. Moreover, their rituals, while more Protestant than traditional in format, are invoked according to rationales based largely on moral and religious concerns derived from the indigenous cosmology. Philosophical concerns regarding the causes of human suffering, which were answered traditionally by rationales centering on ritual error and transgression, are now reinterpreted as divine

justice in light of God's biblical rules. Rituals and animal sacrifices that were necessary to ensure community health and prosperity are revised to suit Salvation Army requirements.

Part I is an introductory section raising theoretical issues and providing ethnographic background on the peoples discussed. Part II is historical, focusing on the political and economic circumstances of Dutch colonial intervention and conversion efforts by Protestant missionaries. Part III describes aspects of the indigenous cosmology and rituals and examines their transformation and reinterpretation following Christian conversion. Rather than concentrating solely on how the influences of Protestant missionaries and Indonesian government policies affect traditional religious ideas and practices, this dissertation concentrates on how Christianity becomes indigenized by Central Sulawesi highlanders so that Protestant doctrines and rituals speak to their philosophical and religious concerns about divine justice. The final chapter analyzes present models of conversion and religious change and places Tobaku Protestantism within the growing multiplicity of world religion congregations on the periphery.

This dissertation is available from University Microfilms at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in both paperback and cloth bound editions. A revised manuscript is being prepared for future commercial publication.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON EARLY SOUTH SULAWESI HISTORY

A thesis summary and comment by David Bulbeck (Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra 2601, Australia).

Most of this piece deals with my PhD thesis *A Tale of Two Kingdoms. The Historical Archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia* (Australian National University, 1992), supervised by Campbell Macknight and Peter Bellwood. I would also like to comment on Ian Caldwell's report of his Luwu field trip (see this *Baruga*) based on the pre-publication copy which he sent me. My thanks to Kristine Alilunas-Rodgers for her comments on an earlier draft of my piece. As a last introductory point, I prefer to spell the names of kingdoms and ethnic groups by the conventions of modern Indonesian, but to use the modern (or most recent) official spelling for place names. Hence 'Makasar' for the people (as recommended by Ian Caldwell in *Baruga* 8:5-6) but 'Makassar' for Ujung Pandang's former name - a seemingly artificial distinction, but one which encodes the two main meanings of an otherwise ambiguous word.

The Makassar War and its background

In 1667, naval forces of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) combined with disaffected Bugis troops to besiege and occupy the port-city of Makassar. Control over Makassar was critical to the VOC's goal of monopolizing the most lucrative aspects of the trade with eastern Indonesia, particularly its spices. For several decades Makassar had harboured various Asian and European trading communities behind a seemingly impenetrable line of fortifications, and patrolled the seas with a navy of up to 700 ships and 30,000 men. Makassar's importance and prosperity had grown particularly rapidly after 1605, the year when the local governing families, Gowa and Tallok, adopted Islam and became sultanates. In an expansionist policy ended only by the Makassar War, the sultans spread their political suzerainty under the banner of Islam through much of South Sulawesi, subjugated numerous territories to the east, and established political bonds cemented by intermarriage with the Sumbawa sultanates.

All this is well-known, but many related issues have been shrouded in uncertainty. What was the exact nature of the fortifications? How old is Makassar as a trading centre, and how did this question relate to the origins of Gowa and Tallok? What were the

power bases of these kingdoms and the social mechanisms which enabled them to manage Makassar jointly? To address these questions I designed an archaeological survey to identify and understand the sites referred to by the Gowa and Tallok texts.

The Makassar fortifications

Figure 1 shows my reconstruction of Makassar's *benteng* (forts) and approximately ten kilometres of coastal brick wall. The chronology and purpose of the fortifications, as interpreted by a careful comparison of the textual and archaeological evidence, can be summarized under four groupings. (Archaeological survey was not feasible in the modern built-up area between Benteng Somba Opu and Tallok, but fortunately the historical records cover this area in detail.)

(1) At the north lay Tallok's palace centre, the only Makassar fort to combine masonry with brickwork. It was built by Tallok's Sultan Abdullah in 1615.

(2) Immediately south was the area of beach ridges, defended by Benteng Ujung Pandang and the associated strip of coastal defences which Abdullah erected in 1634. His recognition of the strategic importance of this area dates to at least 1620, when he relinquished the Tallok throne to his son and moved to Bonto Alak. Later, following the Makassar War, the VOC occupied Ujung Pandang, built its masonry walls and renamed it Fort Rotterdam, whilst the leader of the Bugis rebels (Arung Palakka) based himself in Bonto Alak. The colonial city of Makassar subsequently developed around Fort Rotterdam and Bonto Alak.

(3) To the southeast lay Gowa's traditional palace centre of Kale Gowa. In c. 1550 Tunipalangga replaced its original earth walls with brick walls, and after 1615 Alauddin thickened and probably extended the brickworks. The toponym Datak shows where Abdul Jalil, the prince who inherited the Gowa throne after Makassar's defeat, built his palace in 1694. (Benteng Anak Gowa, to the south, was also built by Tunipalangga in c. 1550, at a time when the kingdoms further south still presented a threat.)

(4) The delta of the Jeknekberang (then the Garassik) River contained the Makassar entrepôt. By at least 1638 it was zoned into a northern section for foreign merchants, and a section from Somba Opu southwards for the Makasar. Archaeological evidence supports the textual suggestion that Tunipalangga built Somba Opu shortly after 1550 and relocated his palace there. Between 1631 and 1635 Gowa and Tallok carried out a joint program to strengthen Somba Opu and build the associated coastal wall and minor forts. After 1660, in the face of growing threats from the VOC, Gowa's Sultan Hasanuddin extended these fortifications and dug the canal separating Garassik and Somba Opu. The VOC and Arung Palakka destroyed Somba Opu in 1669 after Gowa and Tallok had resisted the terms of the peace settlement.

To summarize, the Gowa court was based in Kale Gowa on at least three occasions (?- c. 1550, 1618-1631, 1694-?), and Somba Opu twice (c. 1550-1618, 1631-1669). Between 1620 and c. 1654 Tallok effectively had two palaces: Benteng Tallok for the sultan, and Bonto Alak for the regent (see below). Also, the massive scale of the fortifications during Makassar's heyday can be understood in terms of the large urban population being protected, and the even larger rural population available to carry out the works. As suggested both by the textual references which Anthony Reid assembled in 1987 ('Pluralism and progress in 17th century Makassar', Leiden workshop *Trade, Society and Belief in South Sulawesi*) and by the archaeological data which I have gathered, the city itself contained around 100,000 inhabitants, while at least 200,000 more people occupied the adjacent plains.

Origins

The oldest, extant Makasar writings appear to have been composed in the early 16th century. They incorporate what had presumably been orally transmitted accounts: a succession dispute between Batara Gowa and Karaengloe ri Sero, the former retaining Gowa and the latter establishing Tallok; and the father-to-son succession of Gowa rulers up to Batara Gowa. I used two approaches to date these protohistorical records.

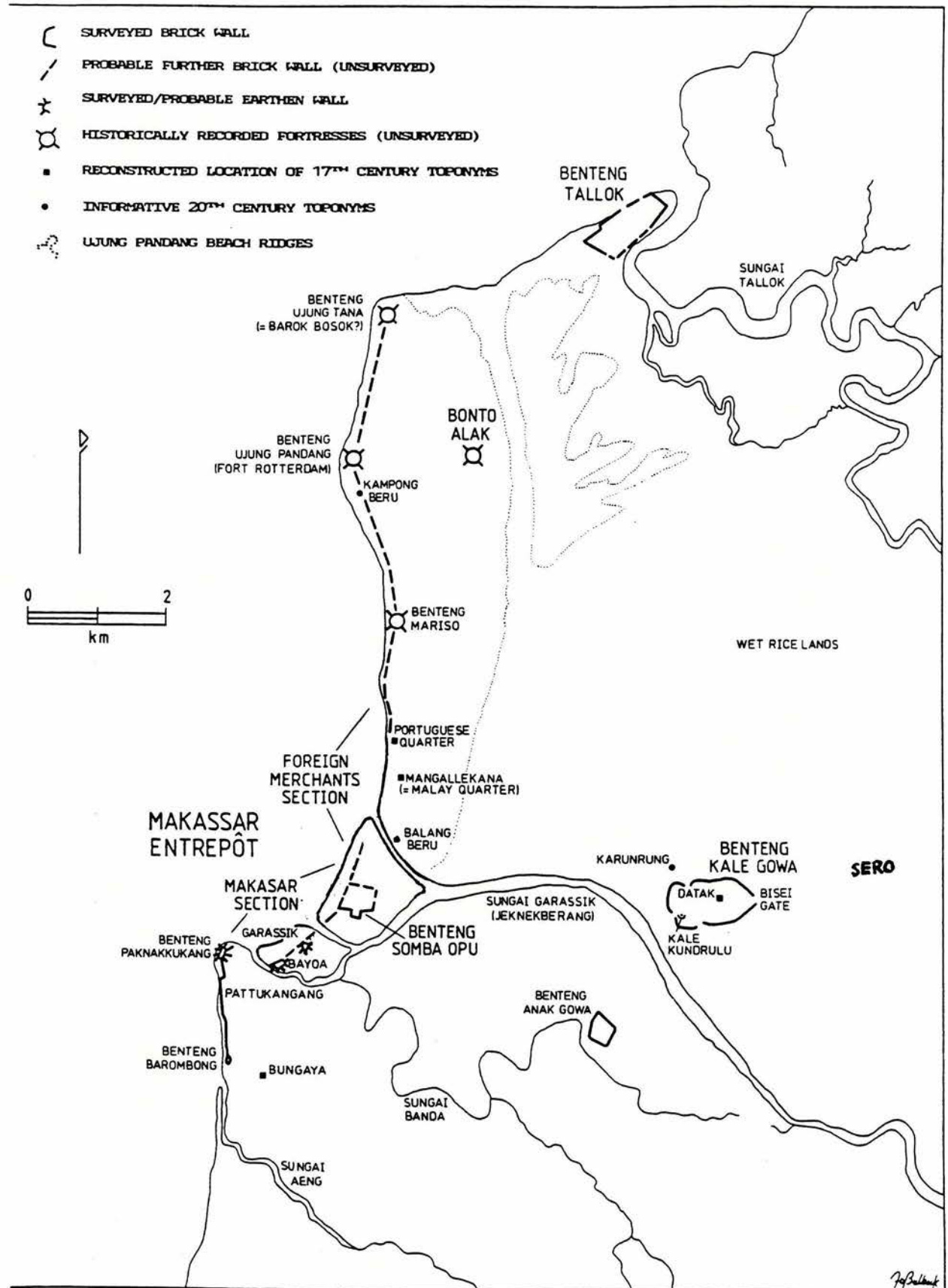


FIGURE 1. RECONSTRUCTION OF MAKASSAR AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS 1667

After F.D. Bulbeck (1990), 'The landscape of the Makassar War',
 Canberra Anthropology 13 (1):78-99

Firstly, the average male generation length of the 16th-17th century Gowa and Tallok kings was 30 years. Although rather large by the standards of most pre-industrial societies, this span reflects the longevity of many of the kings, and the irrelevance of birth order in determining the succession. By backdating from the oldest securely dated births, the years of birth of the earlier kings could be estimated.

Secondly, the history of the surveyed sites could be understood from the associated sherds of Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai ceramics. These included early monochromes and whitewares, dating mainly to the 13th and 14th centuries, and various classes of blue-and-white wares produced during the Ming and early Ching dynasties. Enormous quantities had been imported for burial with the dead or for domestic use by wealthy households; in all, not less than 37,629 tradeware sherds were documented. My analysis distributed the sherds among 50-year intervals, and then calculated the relative frequencies for each interval at each site to identify the places where wealth and influence had been concentrated in the past.

Application of these two approaches indicates that the legend of Gowa's origins corresponded to a real-life event. Gowa's first ruler was supposedly a white-blooded nymph who descended from heaven at Kale Gowa where she married a man 'from the south' called Karaeng Bayo (the Bajau king). The marriage would have occurred at around 1300 AD according to the backdating of Gowa's early line of succession. That a wealthy elite had indeed established itself at Kale Gowa by this time is confirmed by the strong concentration of early monochromes and whitewares which I recorded at the site. Moreover the commemorated grave of Karaeng Bayo at Bayoa ('Bajau'), Sanrabone, is associated with a wooden coffin dated by the radiocarbon method to c. 1350 AD. Hence it appears that Gowa originated as a hereditary line of chiefs at around 1300 AD, as the result of the marriage between a local aristocratic woman, and a Bajau leader from the place which later became Sanrabone (see Figure 2).

The concentration of early monochromes and whitewares found at Kale Gowa also characterized the sites within a four kilometre radius to the east and the south. That is, the fertile rice fields which contain these sites seem to have been well-populated by the 13th-14th centuries, and Gowa had emerged as one of a cluster of agrarian chiefdoms. (The immediate source of the ceramics had probably been the area which later became the Makassar entrepôt, even though its sites were poor in 13th-14th century sherds.)

Subsequently, at a juncture which the royal genealogies would place at the end of the 15th century, Tallok was founded by Karaengloe ri Sero, the brother of the Gowa king Bataru Gowa. Karaengloe ri Sero and a group of followers reportedly occupied Tallok after most of his followers had deserted him for Bataru Gowa. The story implies a major population relocation which the recorded tradeware sherds bear out. Tallok, poor in 13th-15th century sherds was rich in 16th century sherds; precisely the reverse was true of Sero and the other sites surrounding Kale Gowa; whereas Kale Gowa itself remained a focus of imported tradewares throughout. Thus there seems little doubt that Gowa achieved total political supremacy over its immediate surrounds at around 1500 AD, while the losing faction found a suitable refuge at Tallok.

Tallok's establishment was part of a broader pattern of more intensive settlement along the coast and the growth of trade. The initiation of these long-distance trade networks can be largely attributed to local communities of Bajau 'sea gypsies', as first argued by Anthony Reid in 1983 ('The rise of Makassar', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:117-60). Not only was Karaeng Bayo from Sanrabone the apparent male ancestor of Gowa's royal line, but also the toponym Bayoa occurs at the other major historical ports along the southeast coast (Tallok, Makassar and Galesong). During the 15th century, however, north Javanese traders largely displaced the Bajau. Thus the Sanrabone dynasty was initiated by a man 'from north Majapahit' (Figure 2), while Gresik in north Java spawned the kingdom of Garassik within the Makassar entrepôt area (Figure 1). Garassik's growing prosperity must have whetted the appetite of its neighbours, for during the early 16th century Gowa and Tallok, and probably even a Bugis kingdom (Siang, shown in Figure 2), battled to control Garassik. After Gowa re-established its dominance in the mid-century, it entered into pacts to protect the resident trading communities such as the Malays. These historical indications of the

rising importance of Sanrabone and Garassik/Makassar are amply supported by the recorded tradeware sherdage.

Management of Makassar

Gowa developed a para-bureaucracy to administer Makassar. The post of harbourmaster was established in the early 16th century, while the first guildmaster and 'minister for internal affairs' were appointed during Tunipalangga's reign (1547-1565). The latter post, which grew to three levels of management by the time of the Makassar War, was responsible for mediating between Gowa's nine community headmen and the central court. The regent supervised internal security and acted as closest advisor to the Gowa king; in this case the post was established by the king of Tallok for him to assist Tunipalangga's youthful successor. Other appointments included the 'military commander' in the various battles, and Islamic religious posts after 1605.

The posts of high status were generally held by powerful families. The regent was always a Tallok aristocrat apart from some brief interludes, such as the years between 1577 and 1590 when the post went unfilled (Tallok then being ruled by a queen married to Gowa's king). The 'ministers for internal affairs' were generally appointed from the nobility of Maros (see Figure 2) and Pattekne after these kingdoms were subjugated by Gowa. The two late 17th century guildmasters were Tallok nobles, while the last of the 17th century harbourmasters was a noble of Maros descent.

Paradoxically, Gowa aristocrats seem to have been effectively barred from the above posts. Their role lay in superintending the major territories which had been independent kingdoms before being incorporated into Gowa. Transfer of control was usually legitimized by marriage between the daughter of the subjugated king, and the Gowa king or one of his sons. The fate of these once-independent kingdoms surrounding Gowa varied enormously. Some were swallowed up as titles to be awarded from the central court (e.g. lord of Garassik); some periodically re-established 'home rule' through the local nobility (e.g. Galesong); Maros ceased to be a single administered area, but its nobility re-emerged as a powerful family within Makassar; while Tallok retained nominal or real independence apart from a brief period of rule by Gowa (1590-1593).

Tensions remained ever present in an administrative system dominated by a few families seeking to cement their power through strategic marriages. Thus, during Gowa's period of greatest territorial expansion (c. 1550-1593) it enjoyed total control over Makassar, made its aristocrats the lords of territories previously under the jurisdiction of neighbouring kingdoms, and drew its nine headmen from communities which covered the rice plains from Tallok to Sanrabone. The signs of Gowa's monopolization of power included a poorly reciprocated pattern of local aristocratic women marrying into Gowa, the temporary abolition of the regency, and Gowa's occupancy of the Tallok and Maros thrones by 1593. All these trends were reversed by Tallok's Karaeng Kanjilo (later Sultan Abdullah) who restored first the regency and then the Tallok throne, and later brought the entire Makassar coastal strip under Tallok's control (while Gowa withdrew to Kale Gowa). Most importantly, Abdullah's restoration of political pluralism at home (including balanced aristocratic marriages) allowed him to summon Makassar's talent for the thrust into eastern Indonesia.

The fortifications programme managed jointly by Gowa and Tallok between 1631 and 1635 (noted above) marked a new period when old territorial jealousies were overruled, and the entire human resources of the area were utilized for common goals. Competition within the dual sultanate was as strong as ever, but the overt tensions focussed on how to handle the growing menace posed by the VOC and its allies. Significantly, Makassar held fast in the face of a two-month siege during the Makassar War, only acquiescing to a treaty when Makassar's erstwhile allies began to realign with the VOC (see L.Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).

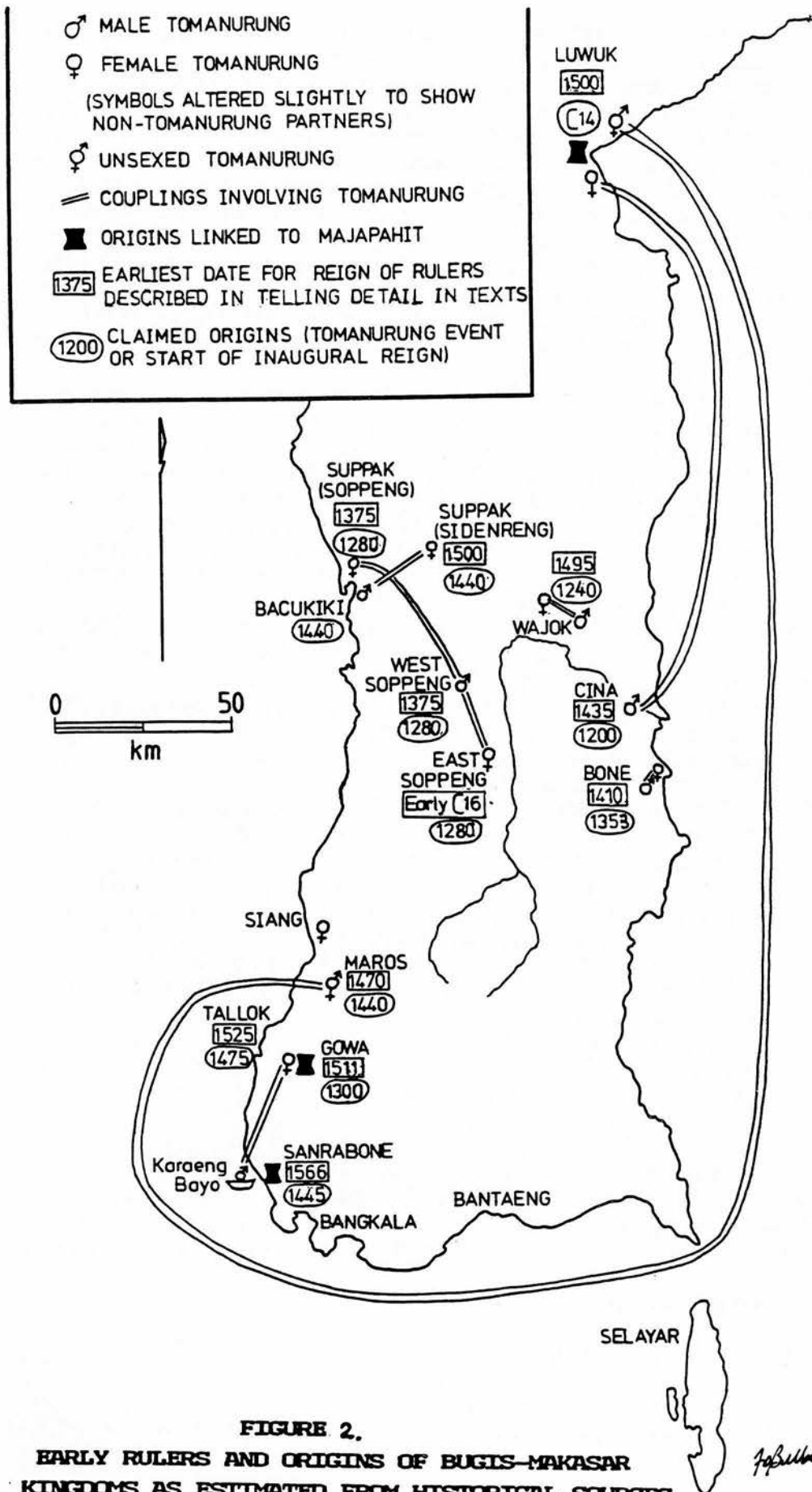


FIGURE 2.
EARLY RULERS AND ORIGINS OF BUGIS-MAKASAR
KINGDOMS AS ESTIMATED FROM HISTORICAL SOURCES

Wider patterns of Bugis-Makassar kingship

Figure 2 summarizes the available evidence on the antiquity of the Bugis-Makassar kingdoms, as indicated by the date of the founding *Tomanurung* or 'descended ones', and the date of the first rulers whose reign is described in detail. As regards the Bugis kingdoms, my main source was the genealogies and kinglists in Ian Caldwell's 1988 PhD thesis (*South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600: Ten Bugis Texts*, Canberra, Australian National University). To estimate the dates I used Caldwell's recommendation of an average reign length of 25 years, in concert with my own figure (explained above) of 30 years per average male generation length. Two qualifications deserve to be noted. Firstly, none of the Bugis chronologies is supported by hard archaeological data except in the case of Soppeng (B. Kallupa, et al., *Survey Pusat Kerajaan Soppeng 1100-1986*; see *Baruga* 6:8-10). Secondly, some kingdoms might appear older than others simply because they achieved literacy earlier, allowing them to write down genealogical information which might otherwise have been forgotten (Campbell Macknight and Ian Caldwell, pers. comm.).

Nonetheless, as the dates stand, the oldest South Sulawesi kingdoms appear to have been Cina, Wajok, and Soppeng (which also then ruled the port of Suppak). That is, the social processes which led to the establishment of South Sulawesi's historical kingdoms apparently first affected the lowland Bugis along the peninsula's major river system (see Figure 2). This contradicts the conventional wisdom which views Luwuk as the oldest South Sulawesi kingdom. Here I suspect that Luwuk's reputed seniority rests on a garbled memory: although not particularly ancient, Luwuk was the most powerful kingdom during the 15th century (as I interpret Luwuk's vassal list presented in Caldwell's thesis). Several related points bear comment:

(1) The origins of the oldest Bugis kingdoms evidently preceded the rise of the Majapahit empire in Java, and hence would not appear to reflect influence from Majapahit.

(2) Nonetheless the origins of some of the later kingdoms (Luwuk, Sanrabone and Gowa's second ruler) are explicitly tied to Majapahit. Note that the identifiable South Sulawesi toponyms mentioned in the Majapahit literature - Makassar (a generic term for the peninsula's southeast corner?), Bantaeng, Selayar and Luwu - fall well away from the area of South Sulawesi's oldest kingdoms.

(3) Pre-Islamic burial rites within the cluster of Bugis kingdoms between Suppak and Bone involved cremating the dead, as was also the case in Java. This is a paradox because these same Bugis kingdoms offer no other apparent evidence of links with Majapahit. Even more paradoxically, Luwu and the coastal region between Siang and Selayar (where evidence of links with Majapahit is found) adopted the burial practice then becoming popular in the Philippines, i.e. interment of the dead with exotic grave goods. So the geography of South Sulawesi's pre-Islamic burial practices either reflects internal processes rather than external influences, or else it reflects influences from sources other than Majapahit Java.

(4) One reading of the evidence would conclude that large agrarian societies preceded large trade-based societies in South Sulawesi. But as an equally viable reading, the priority of the trend towards large societies (including agricultural intensification) within the Bugis heartland might have been tied up with pre-Majapahit trading contacts, possibly extending as far back as Srivijaya's last days. In either case, the rise of Makassar was the climax of a pattern established several centuries beforehand in South Sulawesi, a pattern involving agricultural intensification as well as regular trading contacts with the wider archipelago (cf. C.C. Macknight [1983], 'The rise of agriculture in South Sulawesi before 1600', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:92-116).

Comment on Ian Caldwell's fieldwork in Luwu

Readers of this copy of *Baruga* will find an interesting report by Ian Caldwell (pp. 6-8) which suggests, among other things, that western Luwu was involved mainly in forest produce and eastern Luwu in the iron industry. Further, while my Figure 2 locates Luwuk's origins at Palopo, I agree with Ian Caldwell that Malangke would appear to

have been the older centre. Nonetheless there are some additional points of information that should be stated.

(1) Caldwell apparently has no qualms about accepting the Sung identification made by a local antiques dealer for the celadons and monochromes looted at Malangke. This reminds me of the collection of 'Imported ceramics in South Sulawesi' identified under the tutelage of local dealers (Hadimuljono and C.C. Macknight [1983], *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:66-91), in which the Sung outnumber the Yuan pieces by a factor of ten. Such a preponderance of Sung wares would contrast strangely with the pattern observed elsewhere in the archipelago; for instance, J.S. Guy ('Ceramic excavation sites in Southeast Asia: A preliminary gazetteer', *Research Centre for Southeast Asian Ceramics Papers* 3, 1987) maps only eight sites with 10th-12th century ceramics as opposed to 25 sites with 13th-14th century ceramics. Elsewhere J.S. Guy, in his study of *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1986), explains why China's early period of ceramic exports peaked between the end of the Sung and the very early Ming dynasty:

'In 1216 an edict was issued officially encouraging the export of porcelain, and in 1219 an official declared that [manufactured items including porcelain, rather than gold and silver, should be traded]' (p.14).

'China's maritime trade continued to expand...under the Yuan...[who] introduced regulations to ensure that they benefited directly from the expansion in the ceramic industry' (p.24).

'The prohibition on foreign trade [in 1371] reflected Hongwu's concern over the growing wealth and independence of the sea-merchants of South China' (p.31). (Hongwu was the first Ming emperor. Guy then goes on to discuss the initial success of the tribute missions and contraband trade in partly circumventing Hongwu's prohibition.)

In short, the apparent 'Yuan gap' in South Sulawesi's sequence of imported Chinese wares, as reiterated by Caldwell for Malangke, reflects the Sung identification which local dealers have automatically assigned to many 13th-14th century wares. The same error has been reported for the Philippines by that country's best known archaeologist, Robert Fox (1979:186-7):

'The huge celadon plates found in the Philippines...are often attributed to the Sung Dynasty. John Alexander Pope, on the contrary, believes that these are Yuan or early Ming, for in his years of study...he has not been able to attribute a truly large plate to the Sung Dynasty.' ('Chinese pottery in the Philippines', in M. Garcia [ed.] *Readings in Philippine Prehistory*, pp.178-96, Manila, The Filipiniana Book Guild)

(2) Caldwell cites an 'evidently ancient' dammar trade as the main factor behind Sabbang's early prominence. Sabbang's pre-Islamic importance was apparent to Campbell Macknight and myself in 1985 when we inspected Baebunta, a site with thousands of looter's pits less than a kilometre from Sabbang. The ceramics which had not yet been sold were mainly Thai and Vietnamese, accompanied by contemporary and earlier Chinese wares.

On the other hand, I do not see why dammar was necessarily Sabbang's main trade item in pre-Islamic times, or at any point before the late 19th century. In 1856 John Crawfurd, in *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, Bradbury), cited Sumatra, Java and Borneo as the chief sources of commercial dammar (p.118). Available trade data are very incomplete before the late 19th century, reflecting the status of dammar as a minor product which used to be traded mainly on the 'black market'. Nonetheless the available data set out below support Crawfurd's observation. Yet they also indicate that 'Celebes and its dependencies' (more or less the southern half of Sulawesi) became an important supplier soon afterwards, at one stage the single main source in the archipelago.

It is of course a big step to use regional data to particularize about Sabbang, and indeed local studies alone can delineate the details of the industry. Nonetheless the hy-

pothesis that Sabbang become an important outlet for dammar only within the recent past merits attention. (W.J.A. Willems in 1938 noted that Sabbang had been an important centre but was deserted by the time he arrived: 'Preliminary report on the excavation of an urn-burial ground at Sa'bang near Palopo (Central Celebes)', pp.207-8 in F.N. Chasen and M.W.F. Tweedie (eds) *Proceedings of the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East*, Singapore, Government of the Straits Settlements.) This is not to deny Ian Caldwell's suggestion that Sabbang's pre-Islamic importance was probably based on highlands forest produce. But we can be sure that the economic allure of the various forest products, including dammar, has changed radically over the past.

DAMMAR TRADE STATISTICS, 1830-1914, NETHERLANDS INDIA (METRIC TONS)

Annual average by period:	Java imports from:		Exports overseas from:		
	Celebes	Sumatra & Borneo	Java	Celebes	Other N-I
1830-1839	0.04	125	11	?	?
1840-1849	0.7	457	110	?	?
1850-1855	2.6	581	257	?	?
1875	?	?	-----	2102	-----
1880	?	?	-----	5451	-----
1886-90	?	?	1139	1537	1347
1891-4	?	?	1072	165	1446
1897-1906	?	?	1728	776	2199
1913	?	?	?	2-3000	5-6000

1830-55 data from G.F. de Bruijn Kops (1858) *Statistiek van den handel en de scheepvaart op Java en Madura sedert 1825* (Batavia, Lange & Co.); 1875-80 data from N.P. van den Berg (1895) *The Financial and Economic Conditions of Netherlands India since 1870* (The Hague, Netherlands Economical & Statistical Society); 1886-1906 data from Departement van Financiën (various years of an incomplete set) *Statistiek van den handel, de scheepvaart en de in- en uitvoerrechten in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia, Ogilvie & Co./Landsdrukkerij); 1913 estimates calculated from Encyclopaedisch Bureau (1915) *De Buitenbezittingen 1904 tot 1914*, Aflevering X, Deel I, pp. 272-3.

Ian Caldwell replies:

I am very grateful to David Bulbeck for his perceptive comments on my short report. Concerning my identification of several pieces of Chinese ceramics shown to me in Palopo as Sung, Bulbeck may well be right in suggesting them to be Yuan. I claim no expertise in this area and have uncritically repeated the dealer's description. (I am relieved to find myself in good company here.) What I was mainly concerned with was learning where the pieces were discovered; my informant insisted that that all the so-called Sung pieces he showed me came from Malangke. Looking again at my drawings and notes, it seems quite likely that the pieces I was shown, which included several jar bases and kendi spouts, were Yuan rather than Sung.

Regarding the antiquity of the dammar trade, I must confess to a small element of rhetoric in my use of the words 'evidently ancient'. I frankly do not know how old the South Sulawesi dammar trade is. My claim that it is ancient (that is, dating back to the 14th century or earlier) is based largely on ceramic evidence for long distance trade, which dates back to the twelfth century, plus our knowledge of the antiquity of the dammar trade from Sumatra, which dates back to the sixth or seventh century (Wolters, 1967, *Early Indonesian commerce*, Chapter Seven, 'The pine resin of the southern ocean'). Dammar trees grow in large numbers in the highland forests right across Luwu, and there are also a number of place names referring to the dammar trade, such as 'Turungan Damar' on the Cerekang river. (In my report I omitted to mention that dammar was, and on a small scale still is, collected in the eastern part of Luwu.) Trees and such names cannot be dated: but the physical difficulty of hauling less valuable

products, such as rice or *rotan*, down to the coast along difficult mountain trails, would have made dammar an attractive product, assuming a reasonable export market. No-one I questioned seemed able to name another marketable forest product, and dammar was always the first product mentioned after coffee, today's main export crop. I was informed that families in Rongkong and Seko still have traditional gathering areas, and that these are registered with at the *camar*'s office in Limbung. An annual tax is levied on them; I was told that 40-50 kg of dammar can be collected in 5-8 days.

What was dammar used for? Several of my informants, when pressed, answered 'making plates', but knew no more. Wilkinson (1932) defines *damar* as a resin or gum excluded by certain trees, notably of the genera *Shorea* and *Hopea*, and the entry is followed by *damarak*, 'A material for lacquering or varnishing' The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th edition, Vol. 3, p. 867) states that

dammar [. . .] any one of a variety of hard varnish resins obtained from coniferous trees characteristic of southeastern Asia [. . .] is much-esteemed for incense burning and is also used in plasters, varnishes, and lacquers.

Wolters describes dammar's use as a medicine and cites Chinese descriptions of its attributed properties: 'Pine resin . . . cures ulcers and evil sores, ulcers on the head and baldness, the itch, and vapours' . . . 'It clears up pus and removes wind. It is pasted over various kinds of boils and pus-filled and suppurating ulcers.' Ko Hung, the famous Taoist alchemist and philosopher (281-241) describes a miraculous cure from pine resin, as a result of which the patient lived to a ripe old age (Wolters, 1967, pp. 96, 97). In an age before antibiotics, pine resin was, in Wolters' words, 'a styptic, fumifuge, and disinfectant.'

While I accept that the price of Indonesian forest products must have fluctuated over the centuries, I am not convinced that the Netherlands Indies trade statistics for 1830-1914, which Bulbeck cites, provide accurate information on the international market for dammar. The figure of 1537 metric tons for exports from Sulawesi for the period 1886-90—the first years for which records are available—exceeds the total exports from other Indonesian islands, excluding Java. Yet the next four years show an average annual export of just 41.25 tons, a fall of 86.5%. Then in 1913—where are the figures for 1895-6 and 1907-1912?—recorded exports have rocketed to 'two to three thousand' tons per annum. I would rather ascribe these dramatic fluctuations to desultory record keeping than to dizzying changes in demand for Indonesian tree resins, changes which would have driven the price of pine resin up and down tenfold or more in the space of a few years, with enormous impact upon local political and social relations. Nevertheless, I am grateful to David Bulbeck for drawing my attention to these interesting sources.

David Henley reports about his research on North Sulawesi:

My Australian National University doctoral thesis on Minahasa was passed in October 1992 and is to be published in book form as part of the Leiden *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut* series. Entitled *Nationalism and regionalism in a colonial context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*, it examines the development of 'regional nationalism' in colonial Minahasa and the relationship between this Minahasan nationalism and its pan-Indonesian counterpart. Besides contributing to the historiography of Minahasa, the intention of this research was to provide a partial corrective to the prevailing teleological and Java-centric accounts of the rise of nationalism in Indonesia and to illuminate certain theoretical questions concerning national integration and fragmentation in colonial states. A summary of the main findings and conclusions will shortly appear as an article in the Cornell University journal *Indonesia*.

For three years from March 1993 I will be a postdoctoral fellow at the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden. As a member of the KITLV's newly formed EDEN (Ecology, Demography and Economy in Nusantara) project, my task will be to write a historical geography of North Sulawesi – including Gorontalo, Bolaang-Mongondow and the Sangir-Talaud islands as well as Minahasa – with special reference to changing relationships between people and environment. This study will employ Spanish, VOC, and nineteenth century Dutch colonial sources to build up as comprehensive a picture as possible of the environmental, agricultural, demographic and economic history of North Sulawesi before 1900. It is hoped that comparisons both among the component regions of North Sulawesi and with other parts of Indonesia covered by other members of the project (including West Sumatra, West Kalimantan, Java, the Lesser Sundas and the North Moluccas) will shed light upon the historical interrelationships between natural environment, farming systems, commercialisation, colonialism, population growth and land degradation in Indonesia.

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V. Work in progress

Alan Feinstein, program officer of the Ford Foundation in Jakarta reports on a project that aims at microfilming indigenous language manuscripts in South Sulawesi:

Since March 1991, Universitas Hasanuddin (Unhas), has been collaborating with the Ujung Pandang branch of the Arsip Nasional (Arnas), to inventory, describe and preserve on microfilm indigenous-language manuscripts of South Sulawesi. The project is under the direction of Dr. Mukhlis of the Fakultas Sastra, Unhas, and is being carried out with funds from the Ford Foundation, the Office of the Governor of South Sulawesi, the Southeast Asia Microforms Project (USA), with in-kind contributions from Unhas and Arnas.

The project team staff is drawn from Unhas (10), Arnas-UP (4), and one each from the Museum La Galigo, the local office of the Department of Education and Culture, and the local office of the Department of Religion. Serving as advisors and consultants to the project have been such experts as Prof. Dr. Mattulada (Unhas), Drs. H.M. Parawansa (Majelis Pertimbangan Kebudayaan Sulsel), Dr. Roger Tol (Leiden University), Dr. Edi Ekadjati (Universitas Padjadjaran) and Dr. Timothy Behrend (National Library of Indonesia).

With two portable 16 mm microfilm cameras specially fitted for field use and acquired from the Genealogical Society of Utah (previously used for field microfilming in the province of West Java), the Unhas-Arnas team have filmed over 1,000 manuscripts in nine kabupaten of the province, thus far comprising 50 reels of film by the end of the first year of the project. Of the 1,000 manuscripts filmed so far, 850 come from private collections, with the remainder from the collections of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulsel ('Yayasan Matthes') and of the Museum La Galigo.

Dr. Mukhlis reports that the working procedures of filming such materials in the field have not been easy: "The efforts to convince people to lend us their manuscripts for filming must be preceded by efforts to discover just where manuscripts are held. The work requires persistence and patience. To locate and film a single manuscript a member of the team will sometimes have to pay several visits to the owner, who may live more than 250 kilometres from Ujung Pandang. For some manuscripts held in the interior (Sinjai, Wajo, Soppeng and Selayar), before the manuscript can be brought out of storage, certain rituals and offerings have to be made. This is because such manuscripts are considered to contain special power."

The team is compiling a computerized database inventory of all of the manuscripts they have discovered. The inventory includes information about the physical characteristics of the documents, peculiarities of page numbering, an evaluation of the item's condition and a brief description of the contents. At the project's completion, the computerized inventory will be indexed for various fields and keywords, thus producing a descriptive catalogue that will be of great value to students of the language, literature, history, religion, law, and adat of the region.

The films exposed in the field are being processed at the Arnas in Jakarta where the master negatives will be permanently stored. After checking the masters, making necessary reshoots, and splicing them into the master, the project will produce three duplicates to be deposited at (1) Arnas, Ujung Pandang; (2) National Library, Jakarta; and (3) Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, IL, USA.

The Unhas-Arnas team is currently planning the second phase of its project, which would aim to continue filming in Selayar, Wajo, Ujung Pandang, and Soppeng, and to extend filming to the Kabupaten of Luwu, Bone, Mamuju, Majene, Polewali, Sidrap, Pinrang, and Pare-Pare.

Further information may be obtained directly from Dr. Mukhlis, Ketua Proyek Naskah, Universitas Hasanuddin, Kampus Tamalanrea Km. 10, P.O. Box 210, Ujung Pandang 90001.

Barbara Kirby, Research and Publications Coordinator of the Sulawesi Regional Development Project, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada reports:

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE SULAWESI REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, PHASE II (SRDP II)

Over the six years of Phase I implementation (1984-1990), and during the preparation for and implementation of Phase II (1990-1995), University of Guelph team has built up a large collection of reports and reference material. The collection represents countless person-years of work on rural development and planning in Sulawesi. Consisting of over 1000 items, the library contains sectoral studies, statistics, maps and consultancy reports. The project invites any researchers interested in Sulawesi issues to visit the offices in Ujung Pandang or Guelph and to make use of these collections. The addresses may be found below. The following paragraphs describe some of the recent SRDP II activities in research.

A number of papers based on project experience have been presented at conferences in Canada in recent years. In 1990, Barbara Kirby, Project Research Associate, presented a paper entitled *The distributional influence of PDP (Provincial Development Program) on central government development funding in Indonesia* to the annual conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID). The following year, Dr. Cummings (Associate Professor, Rural Planning and Development and former director of SRDP) and Ms. Kirby jointly wrote and presented *Measuring change in rural welfare: a Sulawesi case study* at CASID. At the 1992 CASID conference Cummings and Kirby presented a paper which described the approach used and the findings of the Institutional Development Study team. The

Institutional Development Study served as a basis for the design of the Phase II program of institutional development (ID) which is aimed at improving the capacity of six Sulawesi planning institutions (BAPPEDA) to operate in the Indonesian regional development planning system.

Dr. Cummings and Lynn Convery, a research assistant with the School of Rural Planning and Development, cooperated with Janet Sillifant (RDA, Sulawesi Tengah) in writing a description of Janet's thesis research which evaluated the PKK training programs in Gu, Sulawesi Tenggara. This research was presented to the Canadian Council of Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS) in Toronto in October, 1991.

In total, 11 master's and PhD students have completed theses on Sulawesi interests:

- Judy Halladay, 1987, *A study of maternal and child health care information sources*, Rural Extension Studies, University of Guelph.
- Ron Martens, 1986, *An impact evaluation system for the Sulawesi Regional Development Project*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.
- Fiona McPhail, 1987, *The impact of irrigation on women: a case study of technical change in South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.
- Stefan Wodicka, 1988, *A case study of cashew small-farmer sector in Southeast Sulawesi: the organization of cooperatives for rural development*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.
- Jennifer Leith, 1988, *Policy implementation and the participation of women in development decision making: social forestry in Toraja, Indonesia*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.
- Alec Drysdale, 1989, *An evaluation of the agricultural extension service in the Sanrego area of South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, Rural Extension Studies, University of Guelph.
- Janet Sillifant, 1990, *Assessing organizational effectiveness of non-formal educational programmes for women: a case study of the PKK in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia*.
- Erik Davies, 1990, *Sustainable development evaluation: the case study of pond aquaculture in South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.
- Marion Cummings, 1990, *Attitudinal and linguistic outcomes of second-language instruction in South Sulawesi, Indonesia and in Ontario, Canada*, Faculty of Arts (Teaching), McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.
- Dwight Watson, 1990, *Life history and ecomorphology of flying fishes (Exocoetidae) in the Flores Sea, Indonesia*, Department of Zoology, University of Guelph.
- Ellen Woodley, 1991, *Indigenous knowledge in traditional farming systems: relevance for developmental planning. A case study of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia*, University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph.

Several of these theses will serve as the basis for articles which will be included in a special issue of the Canadian Journal of Development Studies expected to be published in early 1993. The title of this special issue will be *Democratization and development: Indonesia* and the second part will be dedicated to case studies on Sulawesi. These articles will concentrate on environmental and gender issues. Contributors to this journal are expected to be: Harry Cummings (University of Guelph, Canada), Tim Babcock (SRDP, Jakarta), Shirley Wunas (Universitas Hasanuddin, Ujung Pandang), Stefan Wodicka (CUSO, Jakarta), Jennifer Leith (Dalhousie University, Canada), Peter Morgan (Canadian International Development Agency, Canada) and Len Gertler (University of Waterloo, Canada).

Currently fieldwork is being carried out in Sulawesi by Bill Duggan, a masters student at the School of Rural Planning and Development at Guelph. He is evaluating the quality, impact and long term applicability of training in Rapid Rural Appraisal

offered to BAPPEDA and sectoral staff in two of SRDP's Integrated Areas of Development, Enrekang (South Sulawesi) and Kolono (Southeast Sulawesi).

During the implementation of Phase II SRDP has commissioned a number of short-term consultancies which have produced reports containing a great deal of information about Sulawesi. These studies have included sectoral studies in fisheries, agriculture and land transportation spanning all four provinces of Sulawesi, feasibility studies on rural road development, fish processing facilities and small scale irrigation and area specific inquiries such as the rural livelihoods background study carried out by Dr. Tania Li (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia) in Sulawesi Tengah.

Dr. Li spent several months researching issues related to access to natural resources, especially land, in Tinombo-Tomini-Moutong (TTM), Sulawesi Tengah. Dr. Li's report *Rural livelihoods background study: access to natural resources* describes traditional and emerging tenure systems of the Lauje people. Special attention is paid to access of the poor and women to land. The report also describes the approach of local officials to land tenure in the area and analyses the current of expected impact of government initiatives such as land and property taxes, tree cropping, agroforestry programs and road construction. Initial recommendations are made for resolving land tenure issues in a manner favourable to the traditional users of land while increasing productivity and sustainability of the farming systems. This work follows on from earlier work conducted in TTM for the Environmental Management Development in Indonesia (EMDI) Project through Dalhousie University. The resulting report *Culture, ecology and livelihood in the Tinombo region of Central Sulawesi* was described in Baruga 8:3.

The most recent activities of SRDP are:

1. Discussion Series papers

The Sulawesi Regional Development Project has now published the first in a series of discussion papers aimed at documenting the experience of the project in Sulawesi. The first paper, *The socio-economic role of women in the Sulawesi Regional Development Project: Sanrego and Gulamas* is a translation of work undertaken for SRDP in 1986 by Dr. Aida Vitayala Sjafril Hubeis. The study focuses on the socio-economic role of women with special emphasis on: 1. the ongoing programmes concerned with the role of women; 2. the structural, institutional, socio-economic and traditional constraints faced by women active in development programmes; and 3. the possibilities of enhancing the role of women in productive activities, related to social and economic aspects.

Forthcoming titles in the SRDP Discussion Series are expected to include some or all of the following:

- *Rural livelihoods background study: access to natural resources*
- *Rapid rural appraisal and baseline data for refined target group identification: rapid rural appraisal training*
- *Provincial sustainable development strategy: the province of Southeast Sulawesi*
- *Provincial sustainable development strategy: the province of South Sulawesi*
- *Measuring change in rural welfare: a Sulawesi case study*
- *The distribution influence of PDP on central development transfers in Indonesia*
- *The role of sustainable development in rural planning*
- *Gap analysis and role clarification in district development planning organizations: Enrekang case study*
- *Local and national land tenure systems in Indonesia: a case study of Tinombo-Tomini-Moutong in Central Sulawesi*
- *Fiscal constraints to bottom up planning in Indonesia*
- *District level mapping systems for rural development planning*
- *Training in spatial planning: experience from Sulawesi*
- *Monitoring and evaluation of rural development projects*
- *Kabupaten level planning database: SRDP experience*

- *Participatory design of district development project: SRDP's approach in North Sulawesi*
- *The development of guidelines for annual district development planning: Repetada guidelines for Sulawesi kabupatens*

2. Conference presentations

In June 1993, the Research and Publications Coordinator, Barbara Kirby, will present *Constraints and opportunities in village to district level bottom up planning in Indonesia* to the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development. This paper was jointly written by the Training Coordinator Gabe Ferrazzi and the Development Planning Advisor, Kotomobagu, North Sulawesi, Richard Bolt, and is based on their experience in the field in the project's Integrated Area Development (IAD) site, Lolak Sang-Tombolang.

In October 1993, the Project Coordinator, Tim Babcock, and Barbara Kirby will attend the annual meeting of the Canadian Council of Southeast Asian Studies. At this conference the project will present a paper on differing national and local land tenure systems. The paper will outline the project's efforts to reconcile the differing perceptions and the different systems of access land resources to the advantage of the local population in Tinombo-Tomini Moutong, Central Sulawesi.

3. Graduate Student Research

Watershed management: A graduate student from the University School of Rural Planning and Development, Alex McKenzie is currently conducting his field work in South Sulawesi on the application of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) strategies for watershed management. Alex expects to spend 4-6 months using RRA and PRA techniques to identifying a methodology to be used by local development organisations (LKMD, LMD or LSM) for involving target communities in identifying environmental problems and appropriate conservation practices over the area of a watershed.

Water resources management: Another graduate student for USRP&D is in the planning stages for his thesis research which will concentrate on South Sulawesi as well. Colin Millette is currently planning to study community based water management systems (rural) and will also examine effectiveness and efficiency of more institutionalized systems as well as more community such as those found in more urban areas. Water supply systems will be examined in respect to management aspects including the role of women, indigenous knowledge as well as the institutional influences on the process of management.

4. Twinning Project between Guelph and Hasanuddin University

Since 1990 the University of Guelph and Unhas are involved in a Twinning Project. Over the course of this project a number of graduate thesis have been prepared both by Indonesian students at the University of Guelph and also by Canadian students who conducted research in Sulawesi.

UNHAS students:

Sangkala Ruslan: *Internal Migration: causes and implications for regional development in South Sulawesi* (Ph.D.)

Bharuddin Baso Tika: *Impact of trade on the Indonesian economy* (Ph.D.)

Himaya Tahir: *The application of benefit cost analysis to a pedicab lane project: a case study of the informal sector in Ujung Pandang* (Ph.D.)

Faisal Attamimi: *An assessment of the biological impact of industrial effluents in the Tallo river* (Masters)

University of Guelph students:

T. Coldwell: *Shrimp farming in the mangrove forest: common property problem* (Ph.D.)

W. Duggan: *Application of Rapid Rural Appraisal to improve bottom-up planning in Indonesia* (M.Sc.)

I. Scott: *Acute and chronic toxicity of Margosan-o: a product of Neem, to aquatic invertebrates* (M.Sc.)

K. Marks: *The role of wetlands in the landscape of the Tallo river basin, South Sulawesi* (M.Sc.)

M. Patterson: *Biophysical constraints to rural domestic water supply: Tallo river basin, South Sulawesi* (M.A.)

Copies of any of the items described above as well as many others are available from John Duff at the Sulawesi Project office in Ujung Pandang, Jl. Sutomo 26, tel. 62-411 22049; or from Barbara Kirby, 620 Gordon St. Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada N1G 2W1, tel. 519-824-4120 ext. 3654.

NEW SOCIETY ON DUTCH MISSIONARY HISTORY

A provisional board of scholars in the Netherlands has recently decided to found a Dutch Society for the History of Dutch Missions and Overseas (Colonial) Churches. This Society will occupy itself with research into the history of Dutch Protestant missions and colonial churches in countries and regions such as Indonesia, Sri Lanka, South Africa, the Caribbean and the United States of America. This subject has attracted much attention in the past few years from a wide range of scholars, including historians, missiologists and anthropologists.

The provisional board which has initiated the foundation of the Society includes Prof. Dr. P.H. Holtrop (chairman), Dr. Th. van den End (secretary), Dr. H. Reenders, Dr. Chr. de Jong, drs. H.E. Niemeijer (secretary) and drs. A.Th. Boone. The Society, operating from the Theological University in Kampen, intends to start the publication of a journal in the spring of 1994. This journal, which will appear twice a year, will contain a variety of articles, book reviews, announcements and relevant documentation on archives in different countries. The aim of the study group is to establish a platform for the international scholarly community. It is hoped that this will result in a lasting network of international contacts.

At this moment we are looking for scholars who would like to become members of the Society (and who will receive the newsletter and the journal) and who may be interested in forming parallel study groups outside the Netherlands. Even if you are interested only in becoming a member, would you let us know as soon as possible? Membership costs will amount to approximately \$ 20 per year. We hope that by September 20, 1993 when the society will be formally founded, a substantial number of potential members will have responded.

Applications for joining the Society as a member should be sent to: Dr. H. Reenders, Theological University of Kampen, Postbus 5021, 8260 GA Kampen, the Netherlands (Telefax +31-520292613).

Other correspondence can be sent to: Drs. H.E. Niemeijer, Dept. of History, Vrije Universiteit, De Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam, the Netherlands (Telefax +31-206446436).

In March 1991 the *Yayasan Kebudayaan Minahasa Watuseke-Politton* (Watuseke-Politton Minahasa Culture Foundation) was founded in Manado. The aim of the foundation is to stimulate Minahasan culture by way of giving performances of traditional music and dance; publishing of publications on Minahasan history, geography, anthropology, economics etc.; and the founding of a library 'Perpustakaan Kebudayaan Minahasa'.

Especially for the library extra funding will be necessary. The aim is to have available some 10.000 titles in two years. Anyone who wants to support this program can transfer money to account no. 026-10-20904-6 of Bank Central Asia (BCA), Manado Branch, Jalan Dotu Lolong Lasut.

For further information please contact the secretary of the foundation:

Mrs. Watuseke-Polittton W.B.
Yayasan Kebudayaan Minahasa Watuseke-Polittton
Jalan Baba Palar 29
Rike, Manado 95117
Indonesia
Tel. 0431/62041

VI. Recent publications

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2. Abdullah, Hamid, 1991, *Andi Pangerang Petta Rani: profil pimpinan yang manunggal dengan rakyat*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
3. Abdullah, Mustafu, [et al.], 1991, *Struktur bahasa Cia-Cia*. [Jakarta]: Depdikbud.
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5. Ahmad Garantjang, [et al.], 1989, *Struktur bahasa Napu*. Jakarta: Depdikbud.
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7. Ahmad Yunus, [et al.], 1990, *Kajian analisis Hikayat Budhistihara*. Jakarta: Depdikbud.
8. Aijmar, Goeran (ed.), 1992, *A conciliation of power: the force of religion in society*. Göteborg: Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology, University of Göteborg.
9. Akun Danie, J., 1992, *Kompetensi profesional guru bahasa Indonesia dalam proses pengembangan bahasa Indonesia pada SMA di Sulawesi Utara*. [Manado]: Fakultas Pendidikan Bahasa dan Seni, IKIP.
10. Akun Danie, J., [et al.], 1991, *Fonologi bahasa Ponosokan*. Jakarta: Depdikbud.
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