

2.5 Malangke

Introduction

Kecamatan Malangke has a high annual rainfall of 2,500 to 3,000 mm, evenly distributed with at least seven to nine wet months (Bulbeck 1992:Figure 1-2). A complex system of debouching rivers and a low-lying topography (with spot heights always five metres or less above median sea-level) further contribute to swampy conditions across the area researched by OXIS. All the studied sites lie within or near a 12,000 hectare zone of mangrove forest which, in the late 1980s, was the largest in Sulawesi (Whitten *et al.* 1987:125, 190).⁴¹

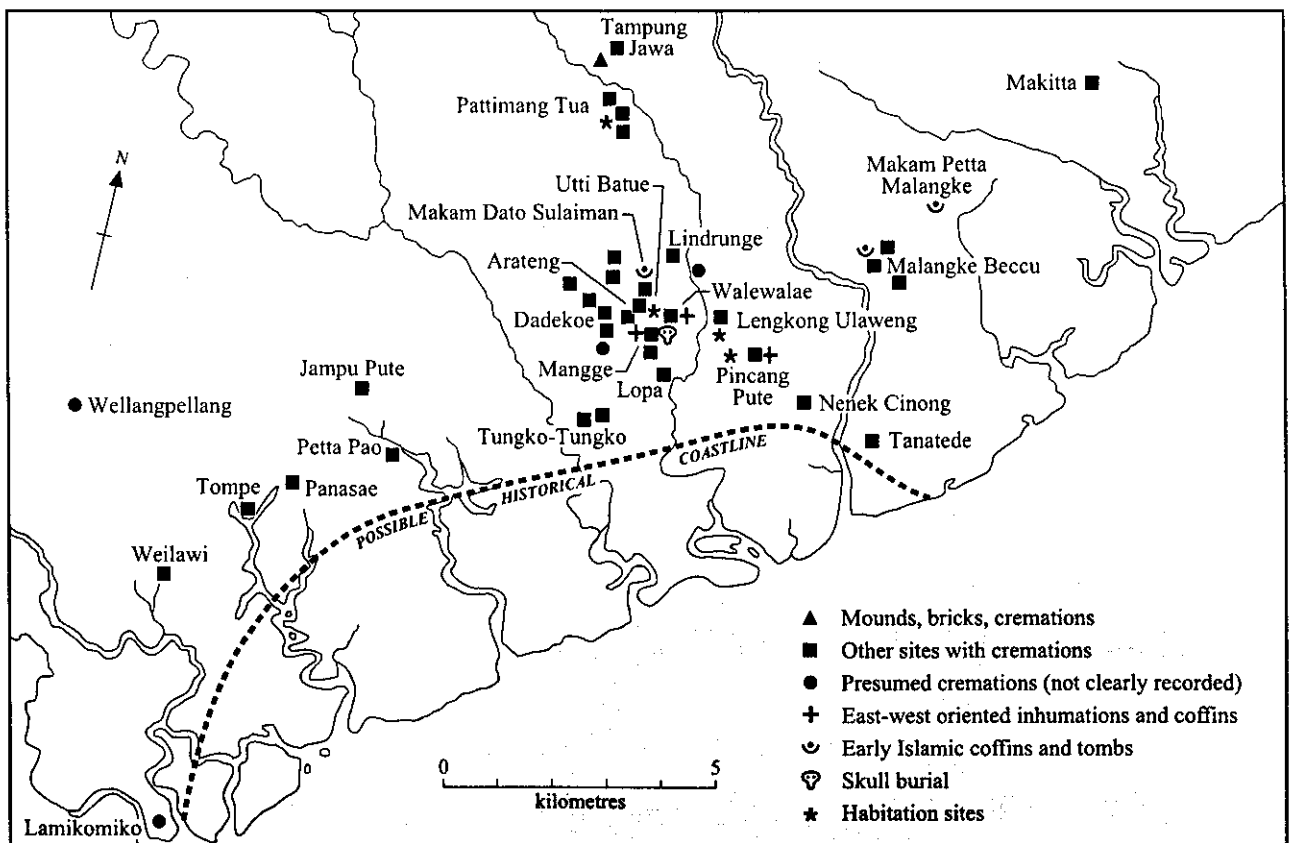
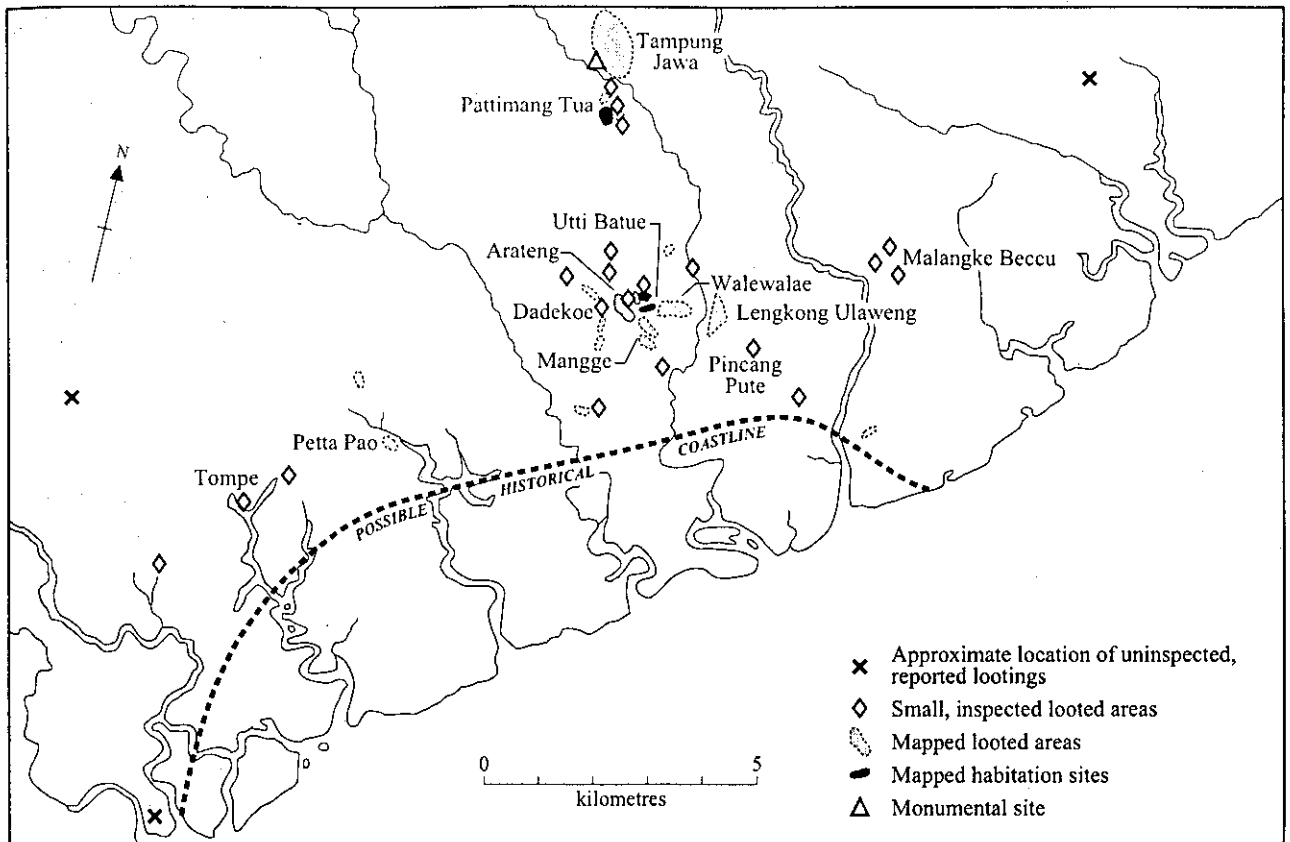
The Malangke coastal swamps are one of the primary sources of sago in South Sulawesi. One stand between Wailawi and Tompe exported around 760 tons of wet sago (approximately 70% of Malangke's sago exports) to Palopo in 1984 (Osazawa 1986). To the immediate northeast, smaller sago stands are common, but much of the land shown as mangrove forest on even the most recent maps has now been converted to mandarin orchards. Currently, cacao increasingly rivals mandarins as the favoured cash crop. These dramatic changes are the result of a virtual epidemic of spontaneous transmigrant Bugis converting scrub and forest to orchards for cash cropping. These transmigrants represent a very recent overlay on the traditional population, which appears to be Bugis to the core.

From the above observations, we would expect the landscape of Malangke during the late pre-Islamic period to have been a landscape of dense mangrove swamps penetrated only by meandering estuarine waterways. Sago should have been the main subsistence crop, supplemented by fruits and nuts from other trees able to tolerate the humidity and brackish groundwater. The phytoliths (silica skeletons of the plant cells) from sediment samples should be dominated by mangrove species and sago identifications, with a lower representation of other tropical tree crops. Fish should represent a substantial portion of the diet. In conditions offering good preservation of organic remains, mangrove timber, nut husks and fish bones may be expected. Dammar, imported from the Rongkong highlands, might also be expected.

Further expectations follow from our hypotheses regarding Luwu's early history (Section 1.8). The earliest *keramik* identifications of any significant number should date to around 1300. There should be many fourteenth century examples, a peak corresponding to the fifteenth century, and a continually strong representation of sixteenth century wares, followed by a marked decline in seventeenth century and later wares. Much of the *keramik* should be of high quality. Other material cultural remains should also reflect the existence of a prosperous, sophisticated elite. Archaeological site surveys should identify a settlement pattern with a large central place, corresponding to the palace centre, surrounded by smaller settlements. The entire population in Luwu's core could equal or exceed ten thousand inhabitants.

The palace centre should be large and internally diverse in terms of economic specialization. A random sampling procedure for its excavation should find evidence for working and, possibly, smelting iron in at least one of the site's sectors. Other sectors of the site should recover evidence of

⁴¹ In the 1940s the mangrove forest extended nearly as far inland as Baebunta (Anon. 1945).



Map 7. Sites excavated by OXIS in Malengke

other specialist crafts, for example, the production of earthenware pots. Fragments of iron tools and weapons should be relatively common in excavated deposits where conditions allow the preservation of iron. Evidence of imported foods (e.g. rice) should be restricted to an elite sector, which should be similarly favoured in terms of the quality of its material culture.

Findings and interpretation

Figure 2-5 shows the results of the OXIS survey of *kecamatan* Malangke. Thirty nine discrete looted places, corresponding to pre-Islamic burial grounds, were plotted, and three further looted sites were reported but not inspected.⁴² Not only is this a major concentration of ancient burial grounds, but also the larger sites reportedly had up to a thousand men employed to loot them at the time of peak exploitation. The extent of two large habitation sites, at Utti Batue and Pattimang Tua, were revealed through sub-surface survey; smaller habitation sites were often identified by looters' reports that these places yielded only *sempe* or sherdage rather than complete vessels.

In the pre-Islamic period, the local coastline may have been a small bay, based on the lack of reports of sites southeast of the dotted line on Map 7 and the deposition of 70 cm or more of sediments on Utti Batue since its abandonment. If so, the settlement pattern would have consisted of one coastally oriented, major cluster of sites around Utti Batue, and a second cluster of major sites a few kilometres inland at Pattimang Tua/Tampung Jawa. The Utti Batue cluster would have sat in the approximate centre of a continuous swathe of coastal sites which are generally smaller with distance from Utti Batue, whereas Pattimang Tua/Tampung Jawa apparently lacks a surrounding constellation of smaller sites. The coastal sites, at least, exhibit a pattern of increasing density and areal extent towards the centre (as would be expected from Central Place Theory) indicating the predominantly coastal orientation of the Malangke pre-Islamic settlement system.

OXIS' records of the *keramik* from the various sites consist of complete and semi-complete pieces stored in the villagers' possession, sherds collected from the surface of the sites, and sherds excavated at the sites. Table A-5 in Appendix A amalgamates the available identifications from a series of surveys and excavations in 1995, 1997, 1998 and 1999. The 120 recorded pieces in villagers' possession, 74 pieces identified from excavations, 434 pieces recorded from a single dumping event or refuse pit at Utti Batue, and 162 pieces identified from dispersed surface collections, add up to a large, reliable sample. The only potential bias is the large representation of Utti Batue pieces, which account for about 60% of the entire Malangke sample. Therefore, the Malangke total will be considered under the categories 'Utti Batue' and 'other Malangke'.

Only one sherd, a martavan base collected from Tampung Jawa, has been dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, and even this identification is questionable.⁴³ Small numbers of wares dating to

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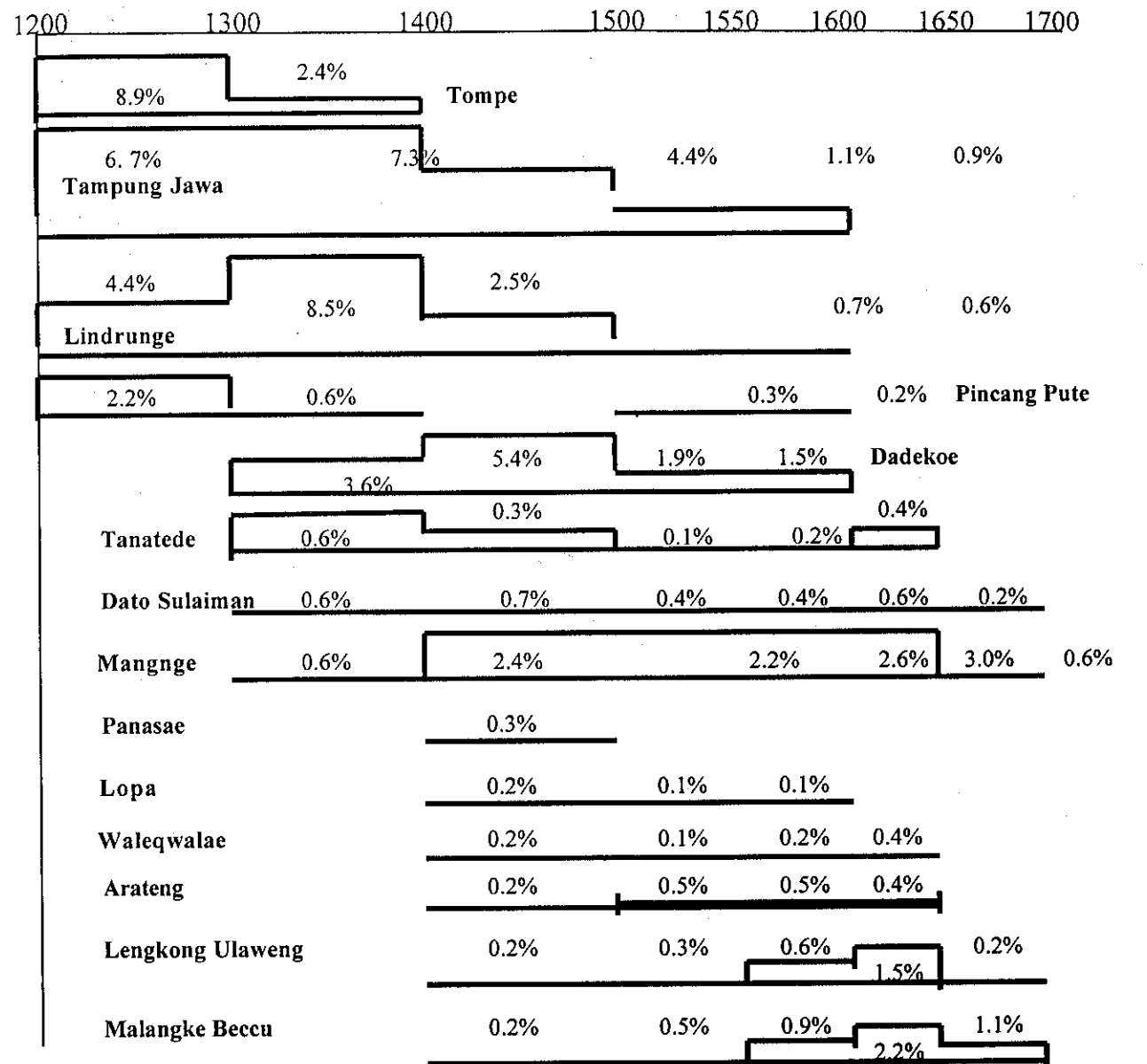


Figure 2-5. Standardized chronological histograms of the *keramik* from looted Malangke sites

the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries were recorded both in villagers' possession and from surface sherds. This pattern would extend to excavated pieces as well, if Jizhou jars should be dated to these centuries, rather than to the fourteenth to fifteenth century, as we have done here (following Bulbeck 1996-97:1059). Hence the available evidence strongly confirms the expectation that the earliest *keramik* were imported to Malangke c.1300. The tiny burial ground of Tompe is particularly interesting, as it evidently fell into decline during the fourteenth century (Figure 2-5). Its location is marginal with respect to the Malangke site complex; it perhaps represents an independent, coastal trading centre which withered with the centralisation of local commerce in Malangke.

Keramik imports would appear to have grown apace from 1300: there are numerous fourteenth to fifteenth and fifteenth century identifications, including rare classes such as Vietnamese black-and-white and early Vietnamese blue-and-white. A fifteenth century emphasis is suggested by the high frequencies of Ming celadons and whitewares, and Vietnamese and Sawankhalok pieces. The ratio of 130 Vietnamese blue-and-white to 282 Ming blue-and-white identifications in Malangke (Appendix: Table A-5) contrasts markedly with the ratio of 88 Vietnamese blue-and-white to 860 Ming blue-and-white in Macassar (Bulbeck 1992:608), the power and wealth of which underwent a meteoric rise in the sixteenth century. When Malangke's standardized chronological histogram is considered (Figure 2-6), we see that at sites other than Utti Batue the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are equally strongly represented, proportionally speaking, and a sixteenth century dip is clearly evident. The addition of Utti Batue, which is essentially a fifteenth to sixteenth century site (Figure 2-6), produces a fifteenth century increase in Malangke's *keramik* profile compared to the fourteenth century, and expansion continues into the sixteenth century.

Keramik identifications at Malangke remain strong into the early seventeenth century, as represented by classes such as Wanli, Swatow, and Transitional blue-and-white (Appendix: Table A-5). However, there is no more than a single Qing Dynasty identification, which, being nineteenth century, refers to the recent phase of light, dispersed occupation. Clearly, at the start of the seventeenth century there was still a large population in the Malangke survey area, and by the end of the century the place was virtually deserted. The demise of Malangke as a palace centre can be dated to between c.1610 and c.1630 from the evidence discussed in Caldwell and Druce (1998). Malangke Beccu evidently harboured an elite occupation until the middle or even the late seventeenth century, as reflected in the site's standardized chronological histogram (Figure 2-5), the finding of a fine Islamic coffin preserved in its waterlogged sediments, and the mysterious earthen wall at Massalekoe to the immediate north of Malangke Beccu (see below). The abandonment of Malangke was thus a process that occurred over approximately half a century, suggesting it was more an adjustment to changing socio-economic conditions than a sudden response to a disaster or emergency.

Many of the identified pieces are high-quality wares, for instance the seven Jizhou iron-painted martavans,⁴⁴ the Vietnamese and Ming blue-and-white *balubu* (large jar) and the Kraakporselein from Malangke Beccu (classified in Table A-5 in the Appendix as Wanli). A single hole at Pincang

⁴⁴ Only seven examples are known from the entire Macassar and Soppeng surveys (Bulbeck 1992:594).

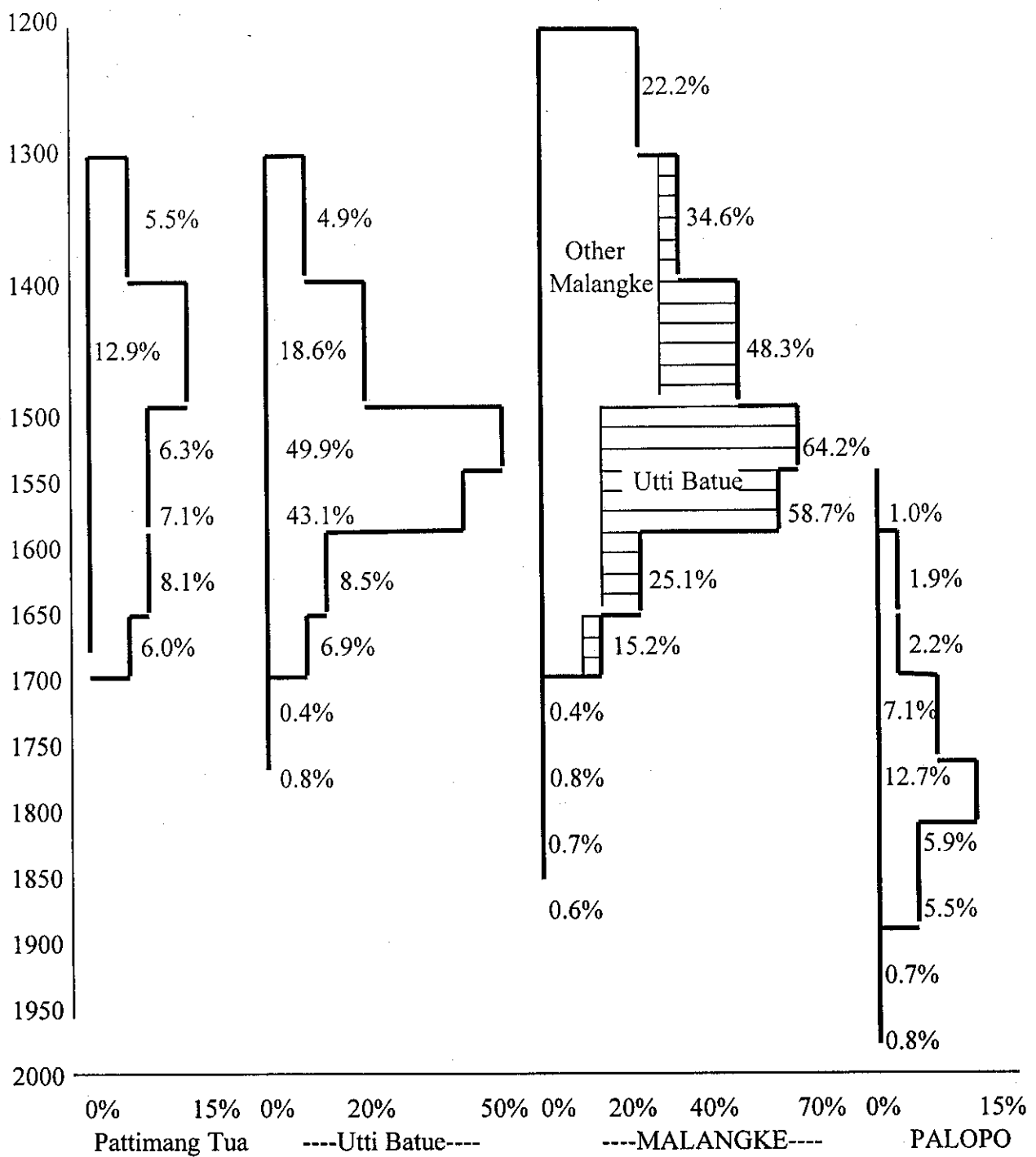


Figure 2-6. Standardized chronological histograms of the *keramik* from Malangke habitation sites, Malangke as a whole, and Palopo

Pute reportedly yielded 40 pieces, presumably accompanying the burial of a wealthy aristocrat. Gold was reportedly often looted, sometimes in great quantities, and all since melted down for sale. The few bronze bracelets, glass vases and glass beads shown to the survey team represent the tip of the iceberg of the extraordinary wealth of the pre-Islamic Malangke inhabitants, or at least that of its elite. Looters reportedly came upon a *kacapi* (mandolin) at Mangnge, evidence of the presence of musicians at Luwu's royal court. Another reported find, from the southerly habitation area in Utti Batue, was a boulder engraved as a board for playing *macang*, a traditional Bugis game played with counters. A north-south oriented Islamic coffin from Malangke Beccu, finely carved in the Banten decorative style, and the Javanese-style tomb of Luwu's second sultan (Van Lijf 1953) demonstrate the continued presence in Malangke of a prosperous, sophisticated elite, until the shift of the palace centre to Benteng Tompottikka near Palopo.

One local informant reported that the looted ceramics almost invariably contained or accompanied burnt fragments of bone, which almost certainly represent the remains of human cremation. The report of these burnt fragments from Tompe suggests that as early as the thirteenth century the Luwu Bugis cremated their dead and interred the remains. However, three east-west oriented *duni* (boat-shaped coffins) were reportedly found stacked on top of each other at Mangnge; a fourth was reportedly found at Wale'wala, and a fifth at Arateng. In the Arateng *duni*, long bones in a poor state of preservation were observed aligned with the coffin border. A sample of wood from the Arateng coffin dates to 450±60 BP (ANU-11109), which calibrates to AD 1420-1490 at one sigma, and AD 1330-1630 at two sigma. That is to say that the chances that the coffin dates to the fifteenth century are better than 50%. Inhumed east-west burial, occasionally in *duni*, was the common mortuary tradition in immediately pre-Islamic times among the Makasars and the Bajau sea-nomads (Bulbeck 1996-97:1032-4). The report of 92 ceramic vessels in the Mangnge *duni* points to the elite social position of its occupant. Moreover, a human skull was reportedly found in association with the Arateng *kacapi*. Whether or not these variant burial practices reflect the presence of Makasars or Bajau, or members of other non-Bugis ethnic groups, they contribute to the picture of a wealthy cosmopolitan society at ancient Malangke, offering attractive opportunities for immigrants from many ethnic groups.⁴⁵

These immigrants almost certainly included Javanese, who may have been responsible for much of the prosperity and cultural efflorescence at early Malangke. Evidence of the important role Javanese immigrants played in the economy and the cultural life of the pre-Islamic kingdom is found at Tampung Jawa (B. 'foreigners'/Javanese graveyard) and, in particular, the unique monumental complex to its west, where lie two earthen mounds approximately 30 metres in diameter and six metres high, their bases about 30 metres distant from each other. The mounds have

⁴⁵ Some preliminary observations are available on the organic remains excavated from the anaerobic, waterlogged sediments at Utti Batue. Traces of dammar were noted during the original survey (Bulbeck and Prasetyo 1997) and *Canarium (kemiri)* nut husks were frequently noted during the site's excavation. More recently Malcolm Lillie (pers. comm.) has identified certain cigar-shaped objects as the burnt remains of an unknown fruit. The abundant wood in the excavated sediments has been identified as mangrove timber, much of it of high quality. Fish bones and turtle scutes have also been extracted from the faunal remains which otherwise predominantly reflect domesticated taxa, notably bovinds (cattle or water buffalo). Analysis of the phytoliths from the site is incomplete, so predictions regarding the consumption of sago and rice are untested.

been systematically looted and large numbers of Majapahit-Javanese-style gold upper-arm protectors, rings, bracelets, earrings, and petal-shaped foil (probably eyelid covers) were reportedly recovered. No death masks were recovered. Other reported finds included iron kris and *parang* (bush knives), pieces of bronze, and an extraordinary variety of *keramik*. The frequent discovery of cremated bone and charcoal leaves small reason to doubt these mounds were reserved for the burial of Majapahit Javanese.⁴⁶

Even more remarkably, the looters reported finding bricks across a rectangular area measuring approximately 70 metres by 30 metres, immediately southeast of the mounds.⁴⁷ The OXIS team bored twice into this area and hit brick fragments on one occasion, suggesting several small brick platforms rather than one large platform. This would agree with Drs Gunadi's information that a 70 by 30 metre area could be too large for a single Majapahit structure. Gunadi suggested that the buildings may have been *vihara*, places for the instruction and practice of Hindu-Buddhism, rather than *candi*. The available information suggests up to several layers of bricks, lying at a depth of between c.40 cm and c.1.2 metres beneath the ground, with antiques sometimes found lying on the bricked surface, and sometimes as deep as 50 cm beneath the bricks. Excavation of this major site would need careful, systematic planning and was not feasible within the few days available for fieldwork at the time of the site's inspection. However, we can confidently say that this is the only known example in South Sulawesi of a 'classical' Javanese ceremonial site, and that on current evidence its use can be dated to approximately the fourteenth century (Figure 2-5).

The OXIS hypotheses for Malangke also included expectations of iron remains. *Parang* (bush knives) and kris were reportedly often found during the looting of burial sites. The 1997 survey of Utti Batue produced a gripped knife, a *parang* blade, and a curved tang which could have conceivably once have been part of a kris. Iron fragments were not recovered from the Utti Batue or Dadekoe 2 excavations, but were recovered from well over half of the Pattimang Tua test pits. These include a gripped object which could conceivably have been an early, simple Sulawesi-style kris, and three adjoining fragments from a *parang* blade. Three of the eleven excavated squares yielded iron slag and other ironworking debris, and a fourth test pit produced a possible tuyère iron tube. The *circa* 30% encounter rate of ironworking evidence in the randomly sampled Pattimang Tua test pits suggests this activity was a major craft specialization at the site, with as much as 1.6 hectares dedicated to ironworking. Overall, we have undeniable indications that the pre-Islamic Malangke inhabitants had ready access to iron tools and weapons, and that Pattimang Tua was an important centre for forging iron.

A pattern of spectacular growth and even more rapid decline in Malangke's population can be estimated from the extent of the looted burial grounds. From this observation, an area of 0.1 of a hectare (33 by 33 metres) would admit $11 \times 11 = 121$ burials; 0.2 of a hectare (45 by 45 metres)

⁴⁶ The Tampung Jawa mounds evoke comparison with the Karang Karang and Tambu-Tambu mounds, mentioned previously, but contrast greatly in terms of size and reported artifactual contents.

⁴⁷ Measurable brick fragments varied between 15 and 17 cm in breadth and 3.5 to 4 cm in thickness, similar in size to Macassar's seventeenth century fortress bricks, especially those from Tallo and Sanrabone (Bulbeck 1992:738-9). However, the predominance of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherdage collected from the same area as the bricks (Figure 2-5) suggests that the Tampung Jawa bricks are much earlier.

would admit $15 \times 15 = 225$ burials; one hectare (100 by 100 metres) would admit 1,090 burials, etc. If we assume that each hole corresponds to a single adult burial, each hole would correspond to two individuals in the population when the buried person was an adult, under the conservative assumption of a living population with equal numbers of adults and children (cf. Siven 1991:115). If the average life span after reaching adulthood was 40 to 45 years (cf. Lallo *et al.* 1980:Table 4), or 25 years as an adult, four burials would represent one adult living for a century, or two persons (including the corresponding child) over the same period. By limiting the length of use of any burial ground to the smallest number of centuries necessary to account for its looted contents, we can estimate the population it represents. For example, Tompe (0.15 hectares) may be entirely fourteenth century, so the estimated 167 burials in it would correspond to a fourteenth century population of $167/4 \times 2$, or approximately 83 people. When a cemetery's use spanned two (or more) centuries, its area can be divided into two (or more) equally sized cemetery areas that relate to each of the represented centuries; that is, the total number of represented individuals is divided by the number of centuries (Table 2-8).

The results of these calculations are summarized in Tables 2-8 and 2-9. They show that the population in the survey area stood at approximately 2,700 in the fourteenth century before increasing sharply to nearly 10,000 in the fifteenth century, and climbing to nearly 15,000 during the sixteenth century. The 900 people estimated for the seventeenth century represent a large population at the beginning of the century, and a tiny dispersed population after the shift of the palace centre to Palopo between *c.*1610 and *c.*1630. Although the present data suggest that the population of Malangke grew by about 50% in absolute terms between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in relative terms Malangke's population growth may have lagged behind the growth of other population centres on the southern peninsula. For example, the population of Macassar and its hinterland may have nearly doubled in the sixteenth centuries, from an estimated 85,000 to an estimated 155,000 individuals (Bulbeck 1992:462).

From the surface survey, we know that Kampung Pattimang Tua covered about 5.3 hectares, while from an auger survey we can calculate the inhabited extent of Utti Batue to have been about 4 hectares (see Figure 2-6). The 4 hectares in Utti Batue would correspond to a maximum population of 1,400 people, while the 5.3 hectares in Pattimang Tua would produce a maximum estimate of 1,850 inhabitants (Table 2-8). The latter figure very closely matches the figure of 2,000 inhabitants estimated on the basis of the Pattimang Tua and adjacent Tampung Jawa burial grounds (Table 2-9). It is also clear from the profusion of pre-Islamic burial grounds clustered around Utti Batue that further, smaller settlements within the immediate vicinity used the same burial grounds. Hence the population size calculated from the Utti Batue habitation zone is probably an underestimate of the population within the immediate vicinity, which could have stood at 5,000. Overall, the estimates from settlement areas confirm the broad reliability of the population figures given in Table 2-9.

Table 2-8. Estimates of population size as represented by Malangke looted burial grounds

<i>Pre-Islamic cemetery</i>	<i>Area (hectares)</i>	<i>Estimated number of burials</i>	<i>Minimum use period</i>	<i>Burials per century</i>	<i>Population each century</i>
Tompe	0.15	167	14 th c.	167 (14 th c.)	83 (14 th c.)
Jampu Pute	0.5	529	14 th c.	529 (14 th c.)	265 (14 th c.)
Weilawi	0.15	167	14 th -15 th c.	83 (14 th c.)	42 (14 th c.)
				83 (15 th c.)	42 (15 th c.)
Tampung Jawa	9.6	10,609	14 th -16 th c.	3,536 (14 th c.)	1,768 (14 th c.)
- -	-	-	-	3,536 (15 th c.)	1,768 (15 th c.)
				3,536 (16 th c.)	1,768 (16 th c.)
Lindrunge	1.5	1,600	14 th -16 th c.	533 (14 th c.)	267 (14 th c.)
- -	-	-	-	533 (15 th c.)	267 (15 th c.)
				533 (16 th c.)	267 (16 th c.)
Pincang Pute	0.15	167	14 th , 16 th c.	83 (14 th c.)	42 (14 th c.)
				83 (16 th c.)	42 (16 th c.)
Pattimang Tua 1-7	1.6	1,764	14 th -17 th c.	441 (14 th c.)	220 (14 th c.)
- -	-	-	-	441 (15 th c.)	220 (15 th c.)
				441 (16 th c.)	220 (16 th c.)
				441 (17 th c.)	220 (17 th c.)
Panasae	0.25	256	15 th c.	256 (15 th c.)	128 (15 th c.)
Petta Pao	4.0	4,356	15 th -16 th c.	2,178 (15 th c.)	1,089 (15 th c.)
				2,178 (16 th c.)	1,089 (16 th c.)
Dadekoe 1-5	2.0	2,209	15 th -16 th c.	1,104 (15 th c.)	552 (15 th c.)
				1,104 (16 th c.)	552 (16 th c.)
Tungko-Tungko/ Labellang	1.4	1,521	15 th -16 th c.	760 (15 th c.)	380 (15 th c.)
				760 (16 th c.)	380 (16 th c.)
Tanetede	0.5	529	15 th -16 th c.	264 (15 th c.)	132 (15 th c.)
				264 (16 th c.)	132 (16 th c.)
Mangnge 1 + 2	5.0	5,476	15 th -16 th c.	2,738 (15 th c.)	1,369 (15 th c.)
				2,738 (16 th c.)	1,369 (16 th c.)
Arateng/ Pattimang Tua 8	2.7	2,916	15 th -16 th c.	1,458 (15 th c.)	729 (15 th c.)
				1,458 (16 th c.)	729 (16 th c.)
Wale'walae	9.4	10,404	15 th -16 th c.	5,202 (15 th c.)	2,601 (15 th c.)
				5,202 (16 th c.)	2,601 (16 th c.)
Makam Dato Sulaiman	0.3	324	15 th -16 th c.	162 (15 th c.)	81 (15 th c.)
				162 (16 th c.)	81 (16 th c.)
Lopa	0.4	441	15 th , 17 th c.	220 (15 th c.)	110 (15 th c.)
				220 (17 th c.)	110 (17 th c.)
Nenek Cinong	0.1	121	16 th c.	121 (16 th c.)	60 (16 th c.)
Lengkong Ulaweng	8.5	9,409	16 th c.	9,409 (16 th c.)	4,705 (16 th c.)
Malangke Beccu 1-3	2.0	2,209	16 th -17 th c.	1,104 (16 th c.)	552 (16 th c.)
	-	-	-	1,104 (17 th c.)	552 (17 th c.)

Table 2-9 also indicates a relocation of the population over time. The highly centralized nucleus of inhabitants in Tampung Jawa (Pattimang Tua) seems to have remained relatively constant from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, before being survived by a remnant settlement in the seventeenth century. The Utti Batue cluster (which includes Lindrunge, Arateng, Mangnge, Wale'wala, and Makam Dato Sulaiman) seems to have become prominent during the fifteenth century, when over 50% of Malangke's population may have been concentrated there. Utti Batue seems to have remained the largest centre of population during the sixteenth century, but population growth to the east, especially at Lengkong Ulaweng and Malangke Beccu, may have begun to erode Utti Batue's earlier pre-eminence. In addition, the apparent abandonment of the entirely fourteenth to fifteenth century settlements at Weilawi, Tompe, Panasae and Jampung Pute, at the far west of the survey area, was probably linked to the rise to prominence of Petta Pao, in the western part of the survey area, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This would suggest a transition from small coastal communities to a centralized local authority at Petta Pao during the fifteenth century, coinciding temporally with the even greater centralization of authority at Utti Batue.

Table 2-9. Estimated population (rounded off) in Malangke's site divisions

<i>Site group</i>	<i>14th century</i>	<i>15th century</i>	<i>16th century</i>	<i>17th century</i>
Tampung Jawa/Pattimang Tua	2,000	2,000	2,000	220
Utti Batue cluster	270	5,050	5,050	0
Peripheral sites	430	2,430	7,500	660
TOTAL (to nearest hundred)	2,700	9,500	14,500	900

The results can be checked against estimates of population size based on the surveyed area of Malangke's two main settlements. By way of background, the population densities in Southeast Asia's seventeenth century cities (calculated from Reid 1993:Tables 7 and 8) are high by the standards of the world's cities, and often lie close to Fletcher's (1995:Figure 4-3) band showing the maximum sustainable population density in an urban settlement of a given population size. Hence, Fletcher's band may be used to derive realistic estimates of the maximum sustainable population which the Malangke settlements would have contained (Bulbeck in press). From the surface survey, we know that Kampung Pattimang Tua covered about 5.3 hectares, while from an auger survey we can calculate the inhabited extent of Utti Batue to have been about 4 hectares (see Figure 2-6). The 4 hectares in Utti Batue would correspond to a maximum population of 1,400 people, while the 5.3 hectares in Pattimang Tua would produce a maximum estimate of 1,850 inhabitants (Bulbeck in press). The latter figure very closely matches the figure of 2,000 inhabitants estimated on the basis of the Pattimang Tua and adjacent Tampung Jawa burial grounds (Table 2-9). It is also clear from the profusion of pre-Islamic burial grounds clustered around Utti Batue that further, small settlements within the immediate vicinity used the same burial grounds. Hence the population size calculated from the Utti Batue habitation zone is probably an underestimate of the population

within the immediate vicinity, which could have stood at 5,000. Overall, the estimates from settlement areas confirm the broad reliability of the figures given in Table 2-9.

In summary, Bugis settlement at Pattimang and Malangke began in the late thirteenth century.⁴⁸ In the fourteenth century there appears to have been a number of small settlements along the coastal fringe from Weilawi in the west to Tanatode in the east, with an early 'urban' centre developing at Pattimang Tua, and, slightly later, another such centre at Utti Batue. The evident existence of a settlement of Majapahit Javanese adjacent to Pattimang Tua may explain why an apparently small polity, with possibly no more than 3,000 residents in its heartland, earned a mention in the *Desawarnana* (Nagarakrtagama), written in 1365. It strongly confirms Bulbeck's (1992:480-1) suggestion that Luwu gained much of its early ascendancy through its special relationship with the trading ports along Majapahit Java's north coast. Evidence of ironworking and a possible kris at Pattimang Tua confirm the expectation that high-quality iron was central to Luwu's economy from the outset.

The astonishing wealth and prosperity of the Malangke region in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reflected by the quantity, variety and quality of the recovered sherdage, must account for a large part of Luwu's reputation as the oldest and most prestigious of the Bugis kingdoms, a claim which can be traced back in European sources to the mid-eighteenth century (Blok 1759:3). Instead of a 'golden age' lasting from the tenth to fourteenth centuries as claimed by Van Braam Morris, Luwu's period of power and prosperity would appear from archaeological (as well as textual) sources to belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The population of Malangke increased dramatically between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, at least in part as a result of the opportunities it offered to immigrants of non-Bugis as well as Bugis backgrounds. By the fifteenth century, a second major population focus, with a more coastal orientation, grew up at Utti Batue. This cosmopolitan centre rapidly outgrew the older centre at Pattimang Tua. Luwu's loss of control of the Cenrana river in the sixteenth century (see below) would probably have resulted in a relocation of people from Luwu's fortified settlement near the mouth of the Cenrana to Malangke. This resettlement could explain why the population at Malangke, Luwu's palace centre, evidently increased significantly during the sixteenth century, and wealth became concentrated at Utti Batue on an unprecedented scale, even though by then Luwu was no longer able to dominate its Bugis neighbours to the south.

Crowding, associated with continued population growth, seems to have encouraged the development of further large settlements to the east of Utti Batue during the late sixteenth century. The eastward shift of authority was complete by the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Utti Batue heartland appears to have been deserted. Malangke Beccu emerged briefly as a final centre at Malangke: this was presumably the location of the palace of the second Islamic ruler of Luwu, Sultan Nurussalam Petta Malangke, who reportedly built the S-shaped bank of earth to the immediate north called Benteng Massalekoe (Bulbeck and Prasetyo 1998:35-36). Despite the exquisitely carved early Islamic coffin recorded at Malangke Beccu, and the once beautifully decorated tomb of Sultan Nurussalam, his court at Malangke Beccu would appear to have been but a pale reflection of the earlier efflorescence of high culture at Utti Batue and its surroundings.

⁴⁸ Only one sherd from OXIS' large, multi-sourced collection of 1,580 pieces of sherdage or whole ceramics from Malangke was provisionally assigned to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Appendix:Table A-5).

2.6 Benteng Tompottikka (Palopo)

Introduction

Benteng Tompottikka is located in *kecamatan* Wara in the southern suburbs of Palopo, Luwu's capital city. This busy port had over 200,000 inhabitants in 1984 and is now the third largest city in South Sulawesi. Despite its rapid development, remnants of mangrove forest still survive along the foreshore south of the city. The towering mountain ranges immediately landward of Palopo are breached by a modern paved highway leading up to Tana Toraja. The climate differs little from that of Malangke. The stone mosque opposite the Palopo post office, which is widely regarded as the oldest in South Sulawesi (Reid 1990), has a nineteenth century dedicatory inscription behind one of its doors (Muhaeminah pers. comm.) and thus may not be particularly old. Most of the urban development in Palopo's present-day centre dates from the period after 1920; during the nineteenth century most of the population would presumably have resided to the southeast, where the earthen walls of Benteng Tompottikka were constructed to deter the Dutch colonial threat (Irfan Mahmud 1993:96-99).

Irfan Mahmud surveyed the extant segments of wall and recorded a huge enclosed area approximately two and a half kilometres east-west by one kilometre north-south. His task was made difficult by the high density housing along the western and southern walls of the fort. The northern wall apparently took the form of a peculiar succession of linking zigzags. As it lies near the current coastline, it may be that the northern wall followed the lines of an old beach. The line of wall coincides with the graveyard Makam Jera Surutanga, which includes a finely masoned Islamic *nisan* inside a walled masonry enclosure and a large expanse of apparently old Islamic graves. Ninety sherds of Ming, Qing, Japanese and European *keramik* were collected from the surface here, indicating a lengthy period of occupation. Smaller numbers of similar sherds were also collected from surface exposures within the *benteng*, to the south. This southern area also included the ritual site where the rulers of Luwu used to be formally enthroned (Irfan Mahmud 1993). Although Irfan Mahmud recorded 20 Ming sherds during his Benteng Tompottikka survey, the Ming dynasty extended to the reign of Wanli, so the sherds need not date earlier than the late sixteenth or even the early seventeenth century. Finally, an area with possible ironworking debris was also recorded during the Benteng Tompottikka survey (Irfan Mahmud, pers. comm.).

In February 1999, OXIS team members briefly inspected Makam Jera Surutanga. We learned that *keramik* is occasionally encountered beneath the ground when a new grave is dug, and a resident, Andi Nasir Luwu, informed us that looting had once been prolific here. He also asserted that Surutanga had been the original centre of Palopo. The anecdotal evidence would suggest that a substantial pre-Islamic community had buried its dead at Surutanga immediately prior to the development of the early Islamic community associated with the extensive old graveyard. However, given the likelihood of a period of syncretism, when early Muslim converts would have continued traditional practices such as interring grave goods with the dead alongside the new Islamic rites, at least some of the looted *keramik* was probably associated with early Islamic burials (cf. Bulbeck 1992 for Macassar). Accordingly, the expectation from archaeological work at Surutanga would be that the earliest *keramik* would date to the late sixteenth century, and that most would be of seventeenth century and later antiquity. This expectation derives from the evidence that Luwu

shifted its palace centre to Tompottikka between c.1610 and c.1630, and that Surutanga lay within the sphere of this relocated palace centre.

Findings and interpretation

The OXIS excavation team (which included Irfan Mahmud) had time available for only three test pits in Surutanga after mapping the site's Islamic graves and modern land-use features. The first test pit lay in the vicinity of its old Islamic cemetery, the second in a shell midden near the house of Andi Nasir Luwu, and the third a little way north of Jalan Malajai. All three test pits lie a short distance north of a remnant stretch of Benteng Tompottikka's northern wall; that is, between the fortress and the beach lying immediately to its north.

The test pit near the old Islamic cemetery encountered barely any cultural materials, only three earthenware sherds and a suspected lump of dammar. The dammar may be significant in terms of the historical record of trade in forest produce (and in slaves) from the Toraja highlands to Palopo (Van Braam Morris 1889). The test pit north of Jalan Malajai recovered only three *keramik* sherds, all dating to the eighteenth to nineteenth century, and all from the top three units. Ground-up shellfish in the lower units, and a paucity of distinctive associated cultural materials, might suggest that the land here was beach until approximately the nineteenth century. The proximity of the sea would explain the existence of the shell midden lying outside of Andi Nasir Luwu's house.

The test pit in the shell midden was the one which produced the richest array of cultural materials, including 475 earthenware sherds, 24 *keramik* pieces, bone and shell food remains, suspected dammar, and metal and glass fragments. There is a general progression from more recent *keramik* at the top to older sherds in the lower units, but there has clearly been some movement of sherds up and down the profile, as would be expected from human trampling and other site-formation processes. For instance, one Qing mottled brownware is represented by separate sherds in units 5 and 10. Overall, it is wise to treat the excavated contents as a single assemblage. Of the *keramik* identifications (Appendix: Table A-7), Wanli pieces are the oldest in the assemblage, clearly confirming the expectation of sherdage no earlier than the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century. The resulting standardized chronological histogram (Figure 2-6) clearly has a complementary relationship with that of Malangke – as Malangke's *keramik* profile plummets, Suratanga's profile rises to prominence. The sharp drop in Suratanga's profile in the twentieth century probably corresponds to the development of Palopo as the major focus of population.

Further excavation would, of course, be needed before one could claim to understand fully the archaeology of the Palopo area. Nonetheless, the present evidence clearly confirms the early seventeenth century shift in Luwu's palace centre from Malangke to Palopo, as indicated by local oral traditions. The northern wall of Benteng Tompottikka would appear to have been constructed along a former beach front, and traces of dammar in the test pits may reflect historical trade patterns between Palopo and the highlands of Tana Toraja.

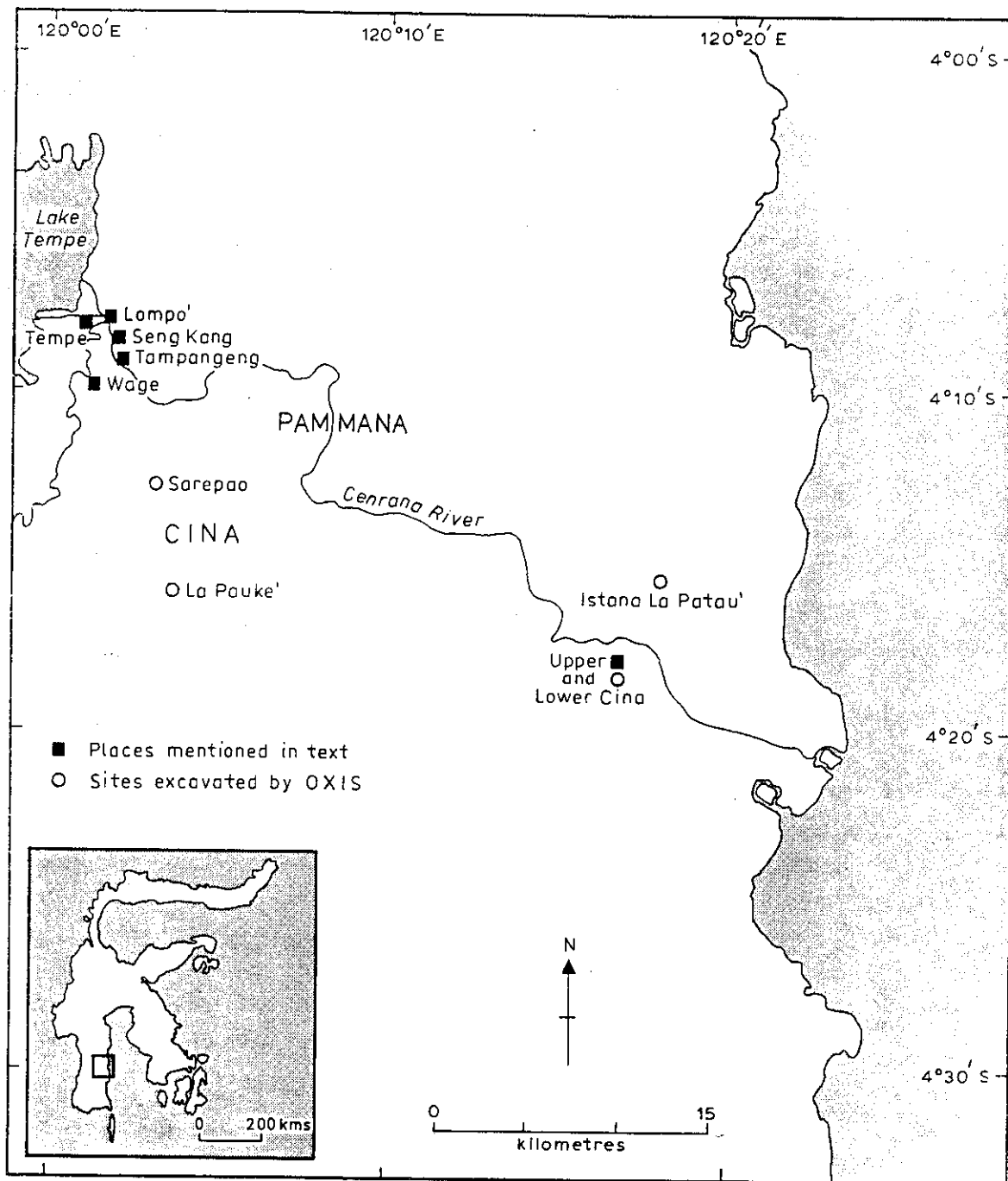
2.7 Istana La Patau' (Cenrana)

Introduction

Istana La Patau' (La Patau's palace) is a large area of raised land which lies near the settlement of Cenrana, approximately ten kilometres northwest of the mouth of the Cenrana river, in *kabupaten* Bone. The site contains the former palace complex of La Patau' Sultan Alimuddin Idris, the nephew and adopted son of La Tenritatta Arung Palakka, who liberated Bone from Gowa's domination by forming an alliance with the Dutch East India Company, which culminated in Dutch and Bone forces occupying Macassar in 1667. La Patau', who succeeded Arung Palakka to the throne of Bone in 1696, is buried at Cenrana along with his wives and several Soppeng and Wajo aristocrats of the same era. He is known locally as *Matinroe ri Nagauleng* (B. 'He who lies at the Golden Serpent'). Istana La Patau' also includes the remains of a huge fortified palace complex covering several hectares, of which parts of the defence walls and a gateway are still standing (Sarjiyanto 2000). It is the site on which Arung Palakka built for himself a fortified palace-complex, which was secretly mapped by Dutch spies (Andaya 1981: Map 8). From this information, we would expect the archaeological materials from the site to be predominantly late seventeenth to early eighteenth century in age.

However, the chronicles of Wajo record that Dewaraja, the ruler of Luwu between *c.*1490 and *c.*1520, founded a settlement (B. *ma'banua*) at Cenrana. In the chronicles, this information appears prior to the account of how Wajo seized Luwu's traditional domains on the southeastern shores of Lake Tempe around 1500 (Zainal Abidin 1983:202-207,211; Pelras 1996:112). The textual chronology gives the distinct impression that Dewaraja based himself at the mouth of the Cenrana *before* he became Datu Luwu. After the loss of Wage, Tempe, Sengkang and Tampangeng *c.*1500, Luwu evidently maintained its control over the lower Cenrana river from this site until the 1560s, when Luwu was compelled to surrender its fortified settlement at Cenrana to the kingdom of Bone, and thus lost control over trade flowing down the Cenrana river (Pelras 1996:132). From the middle sixteenth century onward, Luwu was effectively relegated from any direct involvement in political developments within the South Sulawesi peninsula, and its ambitions were restricted to the highlands and coastal plain that ring the northern shores of the Gulf of Bone.

The first question OXIS wished to answer was whether Dewaraja's settlement was built on the same site as Arung Palakka's fortified palace-complex. The Istana La Patau' site lies on a natural rocky outcrop which is one of the few permanently dry, raised locations near the mouth of the Cenrana river and is the logical place for Dewaraja to have established his settlement. It seems likely that Luwu's loss of its ancestral lands would have led to a strengthening of Luwu's fortified settlement at Cenrana, near the mouth of the river. Luwu's occupation of this site between *c.*1480 and *c.*1550 would be indicated by a substantial presence of sixteenth century tradewares, and a much smaller number of late fifteenth century tradewares.



Map 8. Sites excavated by OXIS in the Cenrana valley

Findings and interpretation

Excavations at Istana La Patau' took place between 21 and 24 July 1999. Three one-metre squares were opened at selected locations within the lines of the walls of the fortified palace centre. Square one was chosen for analysis on the grounds that it was the only square excavated at the site which combined evidence of a reasonable depth of deposits with remains of archaeological interest, including 324 earthen sherds. The excavators recorded three layers: an upper layer of loose sediments (units 1-2), a middle layer of more compact sediments (units 3-7 and 10), and a lower layer of loose sediments (units 8-9). Bedrock was not reached during the four days available for excavation, and the undiminished presence of earthenware sherdage in the lower excavation units suggests that deeper, and older, habitation deposits underlie the bottom of the test pit. Recorded pH was generally between 6.5 and 7, reflecting a neutral to mildly acidic environment with favourable prospects for the preservation of bone and shell.

The sediment in the upper layer would appear to have been redeposited. This is suggested by the recovery of a modern iron nail, a c.300 year old Chinese sherd, and a c.400 to c.500 year old Vietnamese sherd, all mingled together in the top two units. The middle layer would seem to date squarely to the seventeenth century. This layer contained a coin with Arabic script, possibly minted in silver in Aceh (Ali Fadillah pers. comm.) and two Transitional Chinese porcelain sherds in unit 10 at the base of the layer. Unit 10 probably represents a rubbish pit, as its base cuts into the bottom layer and contained more charcoal than did the rest of the sediments, as well as a bone fragment, possibly from a bovid. The bottom layer could represent habitation during the sixteenth century or earlier: the sixteenth to early eighteenth century *keramik* recovered from this square and from the surface near the square (Appendix: Figure B-1) are commensurate with occupation first by a Luwu, and later by a Bone, elite.

However, the number of sherds recovered from the square is small, and a statistically more valid sample may be expected from the extended survey of the site. The sherdage from this survey, combined with the identifications from the Square 1, produced the following chronological characterization of the Cenrana site. Qing blue-and-white identifications, presumably all late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (Appendix B-2), account for 73.2% of the recorded tradewares. The isolated datum of a single European sherd confirms OXIS' hypothesis that the site had been effectively abandoned by the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Swatow and Ming Transitional sherdage is scarce, and no Wanli identifications were made. These data suggest light occupation between the end of the sixteenth and the late seventeenth century, and contrasts with the healthy representation of fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds (approximately 20% of the total). As summarized by the standardized chronological histogram (Figure 2-7), the available tradeware identifications are consistent with a scenario of two main phases of occupation, consisting of an earlier phase between the early to middle sixteenth century, and a more prominent phase between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

⁴⁹ The sherd is presumably nineteenth century and may be the basis for Sarjiyanto's (2000:74) claim for a small amount of Japanese *keramik* at the site. Sarjiyanto's study, which focuses on the royal Bone occupation of the site, is fully compatible with the interpretation developed here.

Sufficient *keramik* probably dates to the fifteenth century to be taken as confirmation of Luwu's presence at the mouth of the Cenrana prior to the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ However, the available data confirm the historical indications that Luwu built or further strengthened a fortified settlement at Istana La Patau' at about 1500, following its loss of its ancient lands at the head of the river, and that Luwu remained there until the 1560s, when Bone's military successes led to its gaining possession of the site. After the installation of La Tenritatta Arung Palakka as the ruler of Bone in the late seventeenth century, the site served as Bone's heavily fortified palace centre, which controlled access to the Cenrana river and Lake Tempe. This situation continued during the reign of Arung Palakka's successor, La Patau'.

2.8 Allangkanangge ri La Tanete (Cina ri Aja)

Introduction

Allangkanangge ri La Tanete in *kampung* Sarepao, *desa* We Cudai', *kecamatan* Pammana, *kabupaten* Wajo is one of the most famous historical sites in South Sulawesi. The name translates as 'The palace complex on the hill ridge' and the summit of the large, low hill is reputed to have been the site of the western palace centre of the legendary kingdom of Cina, which figures prominently in the Bugis epic La Galigo, but which in historical texts is referred to mainly as a source of status for the founders of the ruling families of traditionally later kingdoms.

The hill top site overlooks an expanse of excellent rice growing land, and there is no geomorphological evidence to suggest that this was not also the case as early as two thousand years ago (Caldwell and Lillie in press). Hence the onset of significant occupation at the site may be interpreted as reflecting the beginning of centrally-directed wet-rice agriculture within the kingdom of Cina.

On the summit of the hill lies the walled graveyard of the rulers of Pammana.⁵¹ Tradition states that when La Sangajipammana, the childless, twenty-second Datu Cina, lay dying, he requested that the name of the kingdom be changed to his own. Also on the summit is a *keramat* (sacred) grave associated with We Cudai', the princess of Cina who marries Sawerigading in the La Galigo, and the hill is also known as Istana We Cudai', or We Cudai''s palace. The colonial Dutch ceramics expert Orsoy de Flines inspected a collection of 58 tradeware sherds from the site, and dated them all between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (Bulbeck 1996-97:1042). Previous surveys carried out by Macknight and Bulbeck (1985) and Kaharuddin (1994) recorded Ming and pre-Ming tradewares, and Kaharuddin produced a sketch map of the site. The fieldwork by Caldwell and his colleagues between 1 and 3 August 1999 constitutes the first systematic survey of the site's surface contents in relation to mapped zones, and the first professional excavation of this site, which is of great importance to the early history of South Sulawesi.

⁵⁰ A single fourteenth to fifteenth century Chinese Longquan celadon sherd most likely relates to late fifteenth century habitation.

⁵¹ The installation stone of the rulers of Pammana lies 500 metres to the west of the hill.

Findings and interpretation

The palace centre would have been located at the northern end of the hill, to judge by the dense scatter of *keramik* and earthenware sherdage found there (Kaharuddin 1994). Six units were excavated in a single square which yielded abundant materials throughout the sequence. One thousand nine hundred and sixty eight earthen sherds, one bead, 247 bone fragments, two rodent teeth and a bovid molar point to a dense habitation context for the 26 *keramik* sherds recovered from the test pit. Time available for excavation ran out before the OXIS team reached sterile soil, but it is questionable whether evidence of historical occupation would have continued much deeper than unit 6, where the oldest tradeware sherd known from the site, an eleventh to twelfth century martavan sherd, was recovered.⁵² However, the basal unit also yielded 30 grams of *Telescopium telescopium* marine shellfish fragments which could conceivably relate to the period before 2,600 years ago, when saline influences had evidently reached along the entire Cenrana river (Caldwell and Lillie in press). Depending on the radiocarbon date which this shellfish sample produces, it could either reflect light occupation on the hill in prehistoric times, or communications between Cina ri Aja and the coast in early historical times.

The excavated square can be schematically divided into two levels: an upper level from the surface to unit 3, whose tradewares may all be of sixteenth or sixteenth to seventeenth century antiquity, and a lower level (units 4 to 6), whose tradewares may all belong to the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Hence the recovered surface assemblage contains a high proportion of later sherdage compared to the tradewares buried in the sediments (Appendix: Table B-1). However, one element in common is the very high proportion of martavan sherdage in both the excavated square (54% of all tradewares) and the surface survey assemblage (26% of all tradewares). The excavated square yielded no evidence of the Bugis pre-Islamic mortuary practice of burying cremated human remains in jars, so the abundance of martavans at Allangkanangge ri La Tanete indicates both substantial storage capacity at the site, and considerable prosperity, as reflected in the number of expensive imported vessels used for this task. Of particular relevance in this context are the five Jizhou sherds in the surface collection. Jizhou iron-painted martavans are a status marker *par excellence*, and have been recorded only at the early palace centres at Pattimang Tua and Utti Batue in Malangke (Appendix A), Tinco Tua in Soppeng (Kallupa *et al.* 1989), and Kale Gowa and Benteng Tallo in the environs of Makasar (Bulbeck 1992).

A second remarkable aspect of the Allangkanangge ri La Tanete tradeware assemblage is the high proportion of celadons and other greenwares, which represent approximately 23% of the total. These include numerous late Ming (sixteenth to seventeenth century) celadons, and a predominance of fifteenth to sixteenth century celadons imported from Thailand and Vietnam, as well as from China (Appendix: Table B-1). The inhabitants of Allangkanangge ri La Tanete would seem to have preferred celadons to the blue-and-white wares which typically (and overwhelmingly) dominate the Ming-period tradewares at most South Sulawesi sites. This preference may reflect a

⁵² Identified on the basis of its rim shape, it could have been deposited in the thirteenth century or later, as stoneware jars are durable.

conservative streak among the local nobility as a result of their long prior acquaintance with celadons or, perhaps, nostalgia for earlier days when Cina ri Aja enjoyed a particularly high status and political authority. While occupation at the site clearly continued without a break until the late seventeenth century, by the fifteenth century the site's importance was on the wane, and by the sixteenth century La Pauke' may have been the more important centre (Figure 2-7).

During the pre-Islamic period, Cina ri Aja evidently experienced economic stasis in absolute terms, which, in relative terms, translates into a profile of decline. This stasis would account for the sheer variety of the sherdage recovered from Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete, which is a veritable smorgasbord of colours and shapes. Even after some rationalization of the identified tradeware classes at Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete, there are 53 separate classes (Appendix: Table B-1) including brownwares of various shades, whitewares, celadons, lead-glazed greenwares, other miscellaneous monochromes, iron-painted wares, and wares with enamelled decorations on the glaze, as well as the 'common or garden' blue-and-white wares, despite the moderate size (277 pieces) of the assemblage. Such a variety can be realized only after centuries of acquisition and, in particular, relatively constant rates of acquisition over time, notwithstanding the growing availability of tradewares as the second millennium proceeded (Appendix: Figure B-1).

In summary, there is strong evidence that by the thirteenth century a substantial population ruled by a prosperous elite had established itself at Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete. This population can be identified with the ancient kingdom of Cina. Occupation continued at a fairly steady rate until the late seventeenth century. Although population and general prosperity continued to grow in South Sulawesi during this period, comparable growth did not occur at Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete, which appears to have been totally abandoned in the eighteenth century.⁵³

2.9 La Pauke' (Cina ri Lau')

Introduction

The eastern palace centre of the legendary kingdom of Cina is said to have been located in *kampung* La Pauke' (formerly Sumpang Ale') in *kabupaten* Wajo. The site, which lies on a low rise of land, contains a number of menhirs and other megaliths. The most impressive of these is a large and finely carved boat-shaped megalith named Palungeng Patue, which has a row of five rectangular bas-relief panels, each containing a large ground-out hole. At first sight these megaliths would appear to suggest a very early role for West Cina as a ceremonial centre.

Approximately 100 metres north of the Palungeng Patue megalith is an east-west oriented oval graveyard of about 100 metres in length and 50 metres in width. The graveyard, which was looted in 1959 under the direction of an Indonesian army officer, reportedly yielded ten fine celadon

⁵³ Some sporadic re-occupation or other light use of Allangkanangnge ri La Tanete during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is indicated by the tiny assemblage of European and coeval sherdage (Table B-1).

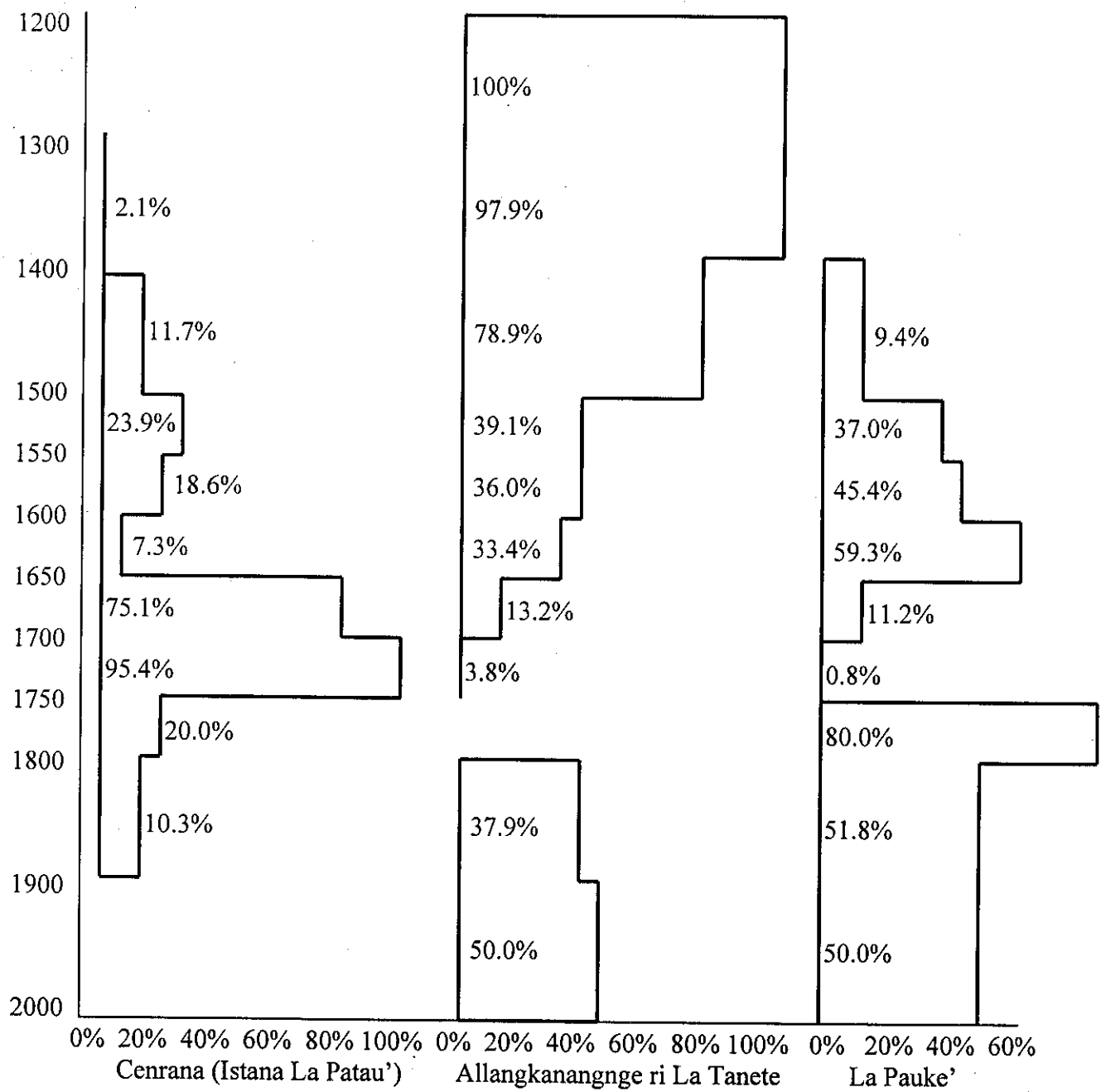


Figure 2-7. Standardized chronological histograms of the *keramik* from the Cenrana valley

martavans with raised dragon designs containing speckled ash, drops of melted gold and fragments of incense (some of which, it was reported, were still fragrant). A number of rings and small leaves of gold, and a few small ceramic jarlets were also reported. The site was marked by a hundred or more plain stone menhirs with an average height of one metre, but with one reportedly two and a half metres in height. These menhirs were broken up in 1971 to provide building materials for the construction of a road and only a few pieces now remain on the site.

Findings and interpretation

The OXIS team worked at La Pauke' from 25 to 31 July 1999. The team established a datum point near the Palungeng Patue megalith and excavated five test pits, all of which yielded sparse archaeological materials. Even the square with the richest assemblage (probably the result of refuse buried in a pit near the megalith) falls far short of the density of materials recovered from the Allangkanangge ri La Tanete test pit.⁵⁴ Despite the scarcity of tradeware sherdage excavated at La Pauke' (a single Swatow sherd), the imported ceramics recovered from an extensive surface survey are very clear in showing that the main period of use of the site lasted from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century (Appendix: Table B-1; Figure 2-7). Use of the site had clearly commenced by the fifteenth century, as indicated by a small number of Vietnamese sherds. The absence of any Qing Kangxi sherdage indicates effective abandonment of the site during the late seventeenth century. The *keramik* profile at La Pauke' closely complements that at Allangkanangge ri La Tanete and could arguably reflect the transfer in the sixteenth century of Cina's palace centre from Cina ri Aja to Cina ri Lau'.

The reported evidence of the jars dug up at the graveyard 100 metres north of the Palungeng Patue megalith points to cremated pre-Islamic burials (cf. Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983; Bulbeck 1996-97). Given the small reported number of ten martavans looted from the graveyard, it would appear that these jar burials represent only a small minority of the cremated burials. A surface collection from the former graveyard (now an orchard) produced a wide array of Ming sherdage and a wide range of fifteenth century tradewares, including a three-coloured 'Sancai' lead-glazed sherd (Appendix: Table B-1). The small quantities of seventeenth century sherdage from the graveyard survey suggest that cremations continued at Cina ri Lau' until some time after Wajo's official adoption of Islam in 1610 (Pelras 1996:137).

Five other adjacent survey localities contained surface sherdage, the datings of which are closely comparable with the chronology indicated for the graveyard, apart from producing a greater emphasis on Swatow and other seventeenth century sherdage (Appendix: Table B-2). We interpret from this that the major phase of habitation at Cina ri Lau' continued until shortly after Islam had been fully adopted, and the practice of cremations had been discontinued. Sixteenth to seventeenth

⁵⁴ Square S14B3 (South 14 West 3), next to the Palungeng Patue megalith, contained the richest finds, although no tradeware sherdage was recovered. The finds include 87 earthen sherds, 23 grams of charcoal, and five burnt bone fragments towards the base of the excavation. The test pit apparently coincided with a pit whose stone-lined base had been hollowed into sterile sediments. With a pH of 6.5, the very mildly acidic sediments are favourable for the preservation of burnt bone.

century tradeware identifications were recorded in all of the twelve survey zones, with one exception, and indeed were often the dominant identifications.

In summary, La Pauke' may be interpreted as the latter palace centre of the Cina kingdom. It combined a small, late pre-Islamic cemetery with an associated habitation area of limited extent, of which the low level of finds in the test pits points to a brief period of habitation and a low population density.⁵⁵ Evidently, by the sixteenth century, Cina had declined to the status of a secondary polity.

Allangkanangge ri La Tanete and La Pauke' may be compared with another hilltop site, Lakukang on the southern banks of the Cenrana, in *kabupaten* Bone. Lakukang closely resembles La Pauke' in its clusters of megaliths and evidence of cremated Bugis burials (Salam 2000). This comparison suggests that by the sixteenth century, not only had Cina declined to the status of a secondary polity, but that it was just one among several similarly organized, and similarly modest, political centres distributed along the Cenrana valley.

⁵⁵ Zones 7, 8 and 12 also produced small quantities of eighteenth to twentieth century tradeware sherds which are absent from the rest of the site. These localities are representative of the continued occupation of Cina ri Lau' as a small *kampung* subsequent to its abandonment as a socio-political centre.