CHAPTER V

Ajattappareng 1200 to 1600

Introduction

Before about 1300, the people inhabiting South Sulawesi lived in small-scattered settlements. As in most other Austronesian-speaking societies they had well developed ideas of social stratification and settlements were probably ruled by hereditary chiefs chosen from the highest-ranking families of each settlement. Population density was low and even the largest settlements probably only numbered a thousand or two people. Archaeological evidence on burial practices suggests that cultural identities had yet to extend much beyond the bounds of local communities. Among the Bugis and speakers of Makasar languages at least, evidence of shared religious beliefs that are concomitant with their respective languages can, at present, be dated to about the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud 2005).

Before 1300 much of South Sulawesi was covered in forest, which made communication between settlements difficult. The main centres of habitation in the lowland areas of the peninsula were around the central lakes (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000), and along the major rivers and coastal areas where natural resources, such as marine life, fish, salt and several protein-rich vegetables which grow naturally on the shores of the lakes, were more plentiful.¹ For many communities, rivers functioned as channels of movement and communication between settlements, in particular the major rivers, such as the Saddang, Bila, Cenrana and Jeneberrang.

A significant advantage of living within close proximity to lakes and rivers was the annual flooding during the wet season, which provided nutrients for agriculture, in particular flood retreat rice cultivation. How much forest had

¹ One story of the origin of Sidénréng recalls how the founding brothers and their followers caught fish and collected *lareq* (a leafy vegetable which grows around the shores of Lake Sidénréng, B.) immediately after arriving at Lake Sidenreng (Druce 1999:27-8).

been cleared for rain-fed rice cultivation before 1300 is at present unknown as there has been little paleobotanical research carried out to address this question. Nor do we know how developed rice cultivation techniques were before 1300. It is possible that there was some basic irrigation for wet-rice cultivation, such as water directed from rivers and lakes to flood low-lying fields. However, unlike Java, where relatively sophisticated wet-rice cultivation had developed by about the eighth century (Van Setten van der Meer 1979), it is unlikely that any large-scale damming or bunding or drainage of low-lying areas had taken place in South Sulawesi before 1300. Natural flood plains may have been utilized by some communities for rice cultivation and it is possible that broadcasting (seeds scattered on flood plains as the waters retreated) was practiced. However, most rice cultivated before 1300 was probably grown by swidden farming, with different patches of forest cleared and burned in rotation.

Before 1300, rice was probably just one of a number of staple food crops cultivated; other staples were probably millet, bananas, jackfruit, coconut and various root crops, such as taro. Sources of animal protein were poultry, eggs, fish, shellfish, deer, wild and domesticated pigs, domesticated buffalo, and perhaps dogs, with the former two animals mainly consumed at festivals such as death feasts following their sacrificial slaughter, a practice that continues today among Sattan-Toraja speakers.²

Trade prior to 1300 was restricted to small-scale local networks, through which agricultural produce, salt and salted fish from coastal areas, locally manufactured earthenware and precious metals, such as gold from highland areas could be exchanged. Iron ore and finished iron tools may have been traded in small quantities before 1300; a significant trade in iron developed shortly after this date following Bugis settlement of Malangke in Luwuq.³

Local trade networks probably followed river valleys, in particular the major rivers of the region, some of which would have facilitated relatively long distance trade networks. This may have been true of the two major rivers in the Ajattappareng region, namely the Sattan and (perhaps to a lesser extent) the Bila. These rivers probably facilitated small-scale trade networks,

² Deer were introduced to South Sulawesi about 4000 years ago. By about 1300 they had become a major game animal and wild buffalo had been extirpated everywhere except the remote highlands (Simons and Bulbeck 2004).

³ Iron ore was processed from the middle to late first millennium CE around the northern shores of Lake Matano in *kabupaten* Luwu Utara. The settlement of Matano, which is located to the west of Lake Matano, appears to have been a way station for traders carrying ironstone and perhaps prills and pig iron from the late first millennium before becoming the main iron smelting and working area after 1600 (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:27, 33, 96). Bulbeck et al. (2001:80) report the presence of an iron spearhead among the assemblage from Willems and McCarthy's 1937 excavation at Leong Codong in Soppéng, dated to the first millennium, which suggests a regional trade in iron before 1300.

communication and movements of people from the highlands to the lowland areas of Sawitto and Sidénréng long before 1300. Oral tradition from Sawitto and Sidénréng suggests that kinship ties between highland and lowland communities are of considerable antiquity, particularly those of lowland Sawitto and settlements further to the north. The Bugis of Suppaq, Sidénréng, Alitta and Rappang speak a common dialect (the Sidrap-Bugis dialect), which suggests that small-scale trade networks between these peoples, perhaps comprising fish, salt, agricultural produce, forest produce and earthenware goods, may also be of some antiquity.⁴

External trade before 1300, as shown in Chapter I, was sporadic and touched only a few coastal communities of South Sulawesi, mainly the Makasar-speaking areas along the south coast. This trade was of little relevance to the majority of South Sulawesi's inhabitants who had no contact with (and presumably no knowledge of) the handful of foreign traders who intermittently came to the region.

From about 1300, the political and geographic landscape of South Sulawesi began to change. Traders from other parts of island Southeast Asia began to arrive in coastal areas, seeking rice and forest produce in exchange for ceramic and stoneware trade goods, cotton from India and perhaps Chinese silks. Toponymic evidence, oral tradition and archaeological data, suggest that some of these traders were associated with the Javanese kingdoms of Singhasari and Majapahit and that they settled in coastal areas, where they presumably married into local populations.⁵

From about 1300, the ruling elite of South Sulawesi began to respond to the new opportunities presented by external trade. There was a gradual shift away from swidden farming to wet-rice cultivation and a major focus on the cultivation of rice at the expense of other crops. Forests slowly began to be cleared in order to create new rice fields and irrigation systems constructed and expanded.

Clearing forest, damming rivers and building bunded fields are long and arduous tasks, which require leadership and substantial investment in labour. There are also a number of risks involved in focusing on rice at the expense of other crops, such as insect infestations, incursions by rodents, birds and other wild animals, and disease.⁶ However, these risks were clearly outweighed

⁴ Irfan Mahmud and I have carried out an initial analysis of a selection of earthenware sherds from the Ajattappareng surveys and a publication of the results is planned. It is possible that some of the earthenware vessels traded before 1600 were produced in Alitta, Békoka, or Wanio, which are the only settlements in the Ajattappareng region that produce earthenware goods today.

⁵ Research by Bulbeck and Clune (2003) on decorated Makasar earthenware shows that there was also an important trading relationship with the Philippines.

⁶ A fear that birds would devour the rice crop before harvest is found in the *attorionna* Soppéng in the dialogue between the people of Soppéng and the *tomanurung*: 'We take you as lord. You protect [our fields] from birds so that we do not lack food.' (Caldwell 1988:99.)

by potential increases in wealth and political power for the ruling elite and provided attractive economic prospects for their followers. As Macknight (1983) observes, once such a system has been set up, continued expansion is not simply advantageous but also inevitable, limited only by the availability of settled land and people to work it. Rice has long been a high status food in Southeast Asia and surpluses may have been used to attract followers from the surrounding area to provide additional labour for further land clearance. Surpluses could also be exchanged with the ruling elite of highland settlements in exchange for produce and possibly even manpower in order to work existing rice fields and to open new rice fields. Such exchanges would have further strengthened highland-lowland alliance networks and encouraged the development of tributary relationships. Highland areas also provided fighting men who could be used for military expansion and to protect existing rice fields from competing settlements which were also in the process of territorial expansion.

The rise of the Ajattappareng kingdoms: archaeological evidence from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

The earliest agricultural intensification and developments in political complexity in Ajattappareng were probably on the coastal plains in central Suppaq and along the lower reaches of the old course of the River Saddang. Settlements in these areas were probably the first in the Ajattappareng region to have regular contact with archipelagic traders. They are located on fertile coastal plains close to the floodplains of the Saddang and Marauleng rivers, providing conditions which would have facilitated the development of wet-rice agriculture. The area to the south of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang was part of central Suppaq, while to the north of the river lay the settlements of Lérang, Lanriseng, Loloang, and a few kilometres further east, Rangaméa. In the centuries that followed, these settlements were to become tributaries of Sawitto.

The most important of these early coastal polities was Suppaq, which on archaeological evidence emerged as the major port in the Ajattappareng region perhaps as early as the thirteenth century. Surveys in central Suppaq revealed six sites dating to the thirteenth century and one to the fourteenth century lying within relatively close proximity of one another. Of all the ceramic sherds recorded in the Ajattappareng surveys assigned to the thirteenth century, 88% were found in central Suppaq.⁷ For the fourteenth century, the figure drops to 66% as an increasing number of ceramics were

⁷ All ceramic data, associated statistics and site maps are set out in Appendix B.

Figure 5. Central Suppaq archaeological sites

passed on to inland agrarian kingdoms, such as Sidénréng, which began to produce greater surpluses of rice to trade for ceramics. These data suggest that from the thirteenth century people were increasingly attracted to central Suppaq, which emerged as the region's major commercial and agricultural centre (figure 5).

The highest concentrations of sherds dating to this period were found at the former palace centre of Suppaq, its adjacent graveyard known as Makaraié,⁸ and at Matanré and Gucié. Fourteen ceramic sherds dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries were found at the site of Suppaq's former palace centre; due to difficult survey conditions these were all recovered from a relatively small area.⁹ Makaraié produced 55 sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including two iron-painted Jizhou martavan sherds, which are a status marker *par excellence* (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:84). With the exception of a single sherd (Wéngeng, below), every one of the 88 Jizhou sherds recorded in South Sulawesi have been found at the pre-Islamic palace

⁸ The name of a mid-sixteenth century ruler of Suppaq.

⁹ Much of the plateau (where the palace centre and Makaraié are located) is heavily wooded. After it was abandoned in the seventeenth century the area where the pre-Islamic palace centre was located began to be used as an Islamic graveyard, now heavily overgrown and difficult to survey.

centres of historically important kingdoms.¹⁰

Matanré, which is located close to the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the River Saddang, produced 31 sherds dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, the majority of which were from Yuan celadon plates and bowls. Matanré was evidently not just an important early rice-growing area but was also engaged in trade exchanges along the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river.

Gucié, a large pre-Islamic and Islamic graveyard (which remained in use until the nineteenth century), produced 67 sherds dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century. However, all but four of these sherds were from three or four Yuan-period incised brownware jars. The graveyard is located on a hill at the edge of a rice-growing area, but the survey team could not locate the site of the village with which it was associated; it is possible that any surviving archaeological remains were destroyed by the creation of rice fields in recent times.

The remaining three sites in central Suppaq where thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sherds were found, albeit in smaller quantities, are Tonrong Peppingé, Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa. The first of these, Tonrong Peppingé, a small pre-Islamic graveyard located on the western cordillera, produced just two fourteenth-century sherds. Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa, which are both located in wet-rice growing areas, produced one and four thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds respectively. The small number of early sherds found in these latter two sites is mainly a reflection on poor survey conditions, as large parts of both Béla-bélawa and Indoq Lompa have been destroyed by the creation of new rice fields. In Béla-bélawa farmers have found ceramics over a wide area, but our survey was limited to a few patches of garden land in between the rice fields. Likewise, only a small area of Indoq Lompa remains today and the survey of this site was further hampered by the presence of a thick carpet of cocoa leaves. The small number of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found in these two sites therefore under-represents these individual lands in the early phase of Suppaq's development.

Ceramic tradewares have also been found in five other sites in this area of central Suppaq, namely at Majennang, Perangki, Garesi, the area to the

¹⁰ These include Tinco Tua (the West Soppéng palace site), Kale Gowa (the original Gowa palace site), Benteng Talloq (the palace site of Talloq), Karaeng Loe, Jeneponto (associated with the Makasar kingdom of Binamu), Pattimang Tua in Malangke (the pre-Islamic palace site of Luwuq), and Allangkanangngé ri La Tanété (the palace site of the kingdom of Cina). In the Ajattappareng region, Jizhou sherds have also been found in Makaraié, Watang Sidénréng, Wéngeng and Bélokka (below). McKinnon (1995:3) notes that Jizhou wares are relatively rare in Indonesia and generally found only in major power centres in the archipelago, such as Trowulan (capital of Majapahit) and *kampung* Muara Ciaretun in West Java (associated with the kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java).

west of the Marauleng river (now converted to fish and prawn farms), and what appears to have been a small pre-Islamic graveyard north of Lawaramparang.¹¹ The only one of these sites surveyed was Majennang, which produced a few fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds and much larger quantities of seventeenth and eighteenth century sherdage. Whether any of the four remaining areas contained thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds is impossible to know as the sites have also been destroyed by the creation of fish farms.¹² Nevertheless, the survey data from central Suppaq suggest that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a relatively large number of people began to concentrate in this area.¹³

Finds of thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic sherds are not confined to central Suppaq but are found in smaller numbers throughout lowland areas of the Ajattappareng region. In the areas to the north of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river it is difficult to assess the extent of trade in these ceramics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as many former occupation sites have been destroyed by the creation of fish and prawn farms and rice fields. A survey was carried out at Loloang, where looters and farmers reported extraordinarily large finds of ceramics over a wide area. As much of Loloang's archaeological record has been destroyed by the creation of rice fields, the survey team were restricted to surveying a few patches of garden land between the rice fields. Nevertheless, five thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds were found in Loloang, and a farmer showed me the foot of a large rare fourteenth century Yuan incense burner (photograph 19) that he found while digging an irrigation ditch. Given the poor survey conditions in Loloang, the small quantity of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds recovered are an indication that the settlements located close to the northern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river were important early agricultural and commercial areas. Grave robbers and fish and prawn pond excavators also reported large finds of ceramics

¹¹ Lawaramparang is the name of an important *keramat* in Suppaq, where an underwater stream rises close to the seashore and gives the appearance of a natural well (photograph 18). According to the Ajattappareng genealogies, Wé Tépulingé (the first ruler of Suppaq) arose from Lawaramparang. Today, local inhabitants regard Lawaramparang as the most important, potent and dangerous *keramat* in Suppaq and many local people consciously keep their distance from it.

¹² Local residents report finding martavans that contained cremated human remains at Perangki, Garesi and the site to the north of Lawaramparang when they were dug out by excavators to create fish farms. The survey team visited Perangki and found a few sherds dating from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries along the walkways between the farms. In the area to the west of the Marauleng river, we also found several Sawankhalok stoneware martavan sherds and Ming blue-and-white sherds along the walkways between the fish and prawn farms.

¹³ This forms a contrast with the area south of central Suppaq, where the Suppaq domain lands of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo lay. No thirteenth or fourteenth century sherds have been found in these lands. The reasons for the relatively late development of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo are discussed later in this chapter.

Photograph 18. Lawaramparang: where the first ruler of Suppaq is said to have ascended

Photograph 19. Foot from a fourteenth-century Yuan incense burner found at Loloang

from Sumpang-Saddang, Lanriseng, Lérang and Rangaméa. Despite the fact that their reported finds cannot be dated, on the basis of ceramic data from Loloang it seems reasonable to assume that some of the tradewares found in these lands date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Further to the north in Makuring (a domain land of the Sawitto tributary Langnga), a foot from a fourteenth century Yuan incense burner, almost identical to that found at Loloang, was found by a looter who showed it to me when I visited his house.¹⁴

In central Sawitto, thirteenth to fourteenth century tradewares have been found in at least two sites, namely Tomaruli (the former palace centre of Sawitto) and Saloq.¹⁵ In *kota* Pinrang a looter showed me two broken thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan celadon plates from Tomaruli. Grave robbers who have systematically searched the former territory of Sawitto for pre-Islamic burial grounds consistently state that the greatest quantity of tradewares came from Tomaruli. In Saloq, one thirteenth to fourteenth century Yuan martavan sherd of the same type of those found in Makaraié was shown me by Amad Siangka.¹⁶ No sherds dating to before the fifteenth century were evident when the survey team examined the site at Bulu, but this is not to say that thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds would not have been found had the survey team been allowed to carry out a more extensive survey (see Chapter I).

Other sites in central Sawitto where looters have found imported ceramic tradewares are Padakalawa, Punia, Palétéang, Sékkang, Lépanjang, Paria and a majority of the lands that formed the Cempa confederation, namely Cempa, Paqgéroang, Madelloq, Baru-baru, Kiang, and Ménréq.¹⁷ Detailed descriptions by grave robbers of tradewares found at the above sites suggest that some may date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

About ten ceramic sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were found during the Alitta survey, where relatively good conditions

¹⁴ Yuan incense burners are rare in South Sulawesi and none of the survey team had seen one before. Nor have fragments been found in surveys of Soppéng, Gowa, Talloq or Luwuq, although David Bulbeck (personal communication, 2002) was shown a similar foot some years ago in Wajo-wajo, *kabupaten* Wajo.

¹⁵ Four sites in Sawitto were originally scheduled for survey: Tomaruli, Bulu, Sumpang-Saddang and Loloang (see Chapter I).

¹⁶ Amad Siangka and I visited the site where this sherd was found, but recovered only fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds, one of which was from a Ming Sancai vessel. After I left, Amad Singka continued sifting through the cocoa leaves and found the Yuan sherd, which he brought the following day to show me together with a handful of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds. Karaeng Demmanari of Balai Arkeologi Makasar later confirmed the identification of the sherd as Yuan (1279-1368).

¹⁷ A feature of central Sawitto sites is that looters report finding greater quantities of gold than in other areas of the Ajattappareng region. This perhaps reflects the proximity of central Sawitto to highland areas.

allowed the survey team to cover a wide area and divide the site into three zones. Alitta's total share of ceramics assigned to the thirteenth century is just 1.5%. However, this rises to 6% for the fourteenth century, which suggests that Alitta played an important role in the regional and international trade network from about 1300 onwards.

In Sidénréng, of the five sites surveyed, Watang Sidénréng, Wéngeng, Bulubangi and Bélokka produced thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds.¹⁸ These four sites account for about 10% of all sherds assigned to the thirteenth century and 24% of fourteenth century sherds. The most impressive of these sites in terms of thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds was a pre-Islamic graveyard in Watang Sidénréng, which produced 15 sherds dating to that period, including three Jizhou martavan sherds. Most of the graveyard was destroyed when it was cleared for rice farming, and all that remains today is an area about 50 metres in length and 25 metres in width. Local informants state that the remaining graveyard represents about 25% of its original extent. According to oral tradition, the village of Watang Sidénréng was originally located northwest of the graveyard in an area where wet-rice is now cultivated (I.49). Given the difficult survey conditions in Watang Sidénréng, the 15 thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds found there are significant: indeed, they represent 50% of all sherds assigned to the thirteenth century found in Sidénréng and about 31% for the fourteenth century. The survey data thus appear to support oral tradition (Chapter IV); both suggest that Watang Sidénréng was where the early palace centre of Sidénréng's rulers was established.

Wéngeng, which is located to the northeast of Watang Sidénréng, produced just one fourteenth century sherd and one fourteenth to fifteenth century Jizhou sherd. The latter suggests that Wéngeng may have been of early importance, although conversely the small number of finds from the survey, which covered a relatively large area, suggests that Wéngeng was a relatively small village with little land suitable for wet-rice cultivation. Wéngeng therefore appears to be an exception to the apparent rule that Jizhou sherds are found only in historically important palace centres.

The survey of Bulubangi (Druce, Bulbeck and Mahmud 2005) recovered over 4,000 sherds, a larger number than any other site surveyed in the Ajattappareng region. The quantity of sherds recovered is partly a reflection of excellent survey conditions that allowed the team to survey six separate zones encompassing pre-Islamic burial grounds and habitation areas. Despite the extensive survey, no Jizhou sherds were found, and only 11 of

¹⁸ The fifth site surveyed was Posiq Tana Sidénréng at Watang Sidénréng, a small ritual area centred around a stone that is said to mark the centre of Sidénréng. Survey finds from Posiq Tana date from the fifteenth through to nineteenth century.

the recovered sherds can be dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The sherds from Bulubangi represent 22% of all thirteenth century sherds recorded for Sidénréng and 26% for the fourteenth century. Given the comparatively large area surveyed and the absence of Jizhou sherds, the ceramic data suggest that Bulubangi was significantly less important than Watang Sidénréng in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹

The fourth site surveyed in Sidénréng that produced thirteenth and fourteenth century sherds is a large looted pre-Islamic graveyard at Bélokka, a tributary of Sidénréng located close to the border with Soppéng. Bélokka was the leading settlement of a confederation of four lands; the others were Ciroali, Wanio and Wetteqé. Excellent survey conditions allowed the team to survey the entire site and 3,225 sherds were recorded. Just seven of these sherds date to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries but 17 Jizhou martavan sherds dating to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries were also found. Examination of the Jizhou sherds revealed that 11 of them came from two martavans; each of the remaining six appear to represent an individual martavan. Despite the excellent survey conditions, the number of Jizhou sherds found in the Bélokka survey is impressive and indicates that in the fourteenth century it was an important political centre. I was unable to locate pre-Islamic burial grounds for Wetteqé, Wanio and Ciroali, which suggests that the pre-Islamic graveyard at Bélokka may also have functioned as a burial ground for the people of all four lands.

The evident importance of Bélokka in the fourteenth century reflects not just the fact that it is located in a fertile wet-rice growing region, but also that it had access to trade. Bélokka, Wetteqé, Wanio and Ciroali all had direct access to both Lake Tempe and Lake Sidenreng, which suggests they traded over a wide geographical area, not just with Sidénréng but also with settlements in Soppéng and Wajoq.

In Rappang, grave robbers and farmers have reportedly found ceramics at Bénténg (the former palace centre of Rappang), Baranti, Simpo, Déa, and Patué hill in Kulo, Rappang's sole tributary land. According to the officials at the Kantor Kebudayaan in Pangkajene (*kabupaten* Sidrap), many of the ceramics found in Baranti in the 1970s, were examined by experts from Makassar, who identified some as Yuan wares. From the accounts of grave robbers and my own observations of looted areas in Rappang, including its former palace centre at Bénténg, the quantities of tradewares appear to have been smaller in number than in other parts of Ajattappareng.

¹⁹ Other sites in central Sidénréng where ceramics have been looted from pre-Islamic graves include Tétéaji, Guru, Liseq and Lawawoi. The areas in which most of these ceramics were found are now rice fields.

Early trade networks and the spread of wet-rice agriculture

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were early phases of agricultural and political development in Ajattappareng, as forests slowly began to be cleared for rice cultivation and people began to concentrate in emerging political, economic and agricultural centres. It was during these centuries that the political structure of the kingdoms described in Chapter I began to take shape.

A notable feature of the archaeological survey data is that thirteenth to fourteenth century ceramic sherds are found throughout lowland areas of Ajattappareng. Some of these early ceramics may have been stored for a time by the ruling elite of coastal polities before they were exchanged with the rulers of inland settlements. However, sufficient quantities of these sherds have been found at places 30 kilometres inland from the coast (at Watang Sidénréng, for example) to suggest that they were traded to inland settlements not long after they were obtained from foreign traders. This not only indicates an early realization of the Ajattappareng region's rich agricultural potential, but also suggests that these ceramics were passed along existing small-scale local trade routes that had developed before 1300. One of these trade networks ran from the area around Sumpang Saddang to the central Sawitto region via the Saddang river. Another network probably ran from Suppaq to Alitta, either via the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river, or via the pass which runs from the northern tip of the western cordillera, and from there to Sidénréng and Rappang. From about 1300 these networks began to expand into major trade routes as the region became integrated into a wider maritime economy.

The most important Ajattappareng polity during this early phase of political, economic and agricultural development was Suppaq, which began to attract a growing number of people from the surrounding area. Increasing contact and trade between Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta, would have probably been driven by Suppaq as demand for exportable produce rose. This would have stimulated agricultural expansion and political centralization in these inland areas. By the fourteenth century, Suppaq had become prosperous and powerful, and the most prestigious of the Ajattappareng kingdoms.

The coastal settlements located close to the Pao-Sumpang course of the Saddang river in the Sawitto region were among the earliest places in Ajattappareng to exchange agricultural produce with foreign traders. Increased contact and trade after 1300 between these riverine and coastal settlements stimulated agricultural intensification. Highland produce perhaps played a more important role in trade than in other regions as the Saddang provided an important waterway connecting the coastal areas to the central

plains and highlands. However, unlike Suppaq, none of the small settlements located close to the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river developed into major political centres.

The fifteenth century: expansion, alliance and agricultural intensification

The fifteenth century was a period of major political and agricultural expansion throughout lowland South Sulawesi, partly stimulated by the international 'trade boom' described by Anthony Reid (1988, 1993). Archaeological data reveal a large-scale increase in ceramic tradewares arriving in South Sulawesi, the opening of new land for rice cultivation, and sustained population growth in agricultural regions, most notably inland rice-growing areas (Kallupa et al. 1989; Bulbeck 1992; Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000). These data can be correlated with the stories written down in the Bugis chronicles of Boné and Wajoq. These present a picture of competition and warfare between emerging inland polities for control over agricultural land and populations, the opening up of new land for rice cultivation under the direction of ruling elites, and the establishment of tributary ties by emerging centres over less successful settlements, some voluntarily and some through force.

In the Ajattappareng region, the fifteenth century marks the appearance of ceramic tradewares in hill and highland areas of Sidénréng and Sawitto, the Suppaq domain lands of Bacukiki, Soréang, Bojo, and the Suppaq tributaries of Népo, Palanro and Manuba. While Suppaq probably remained the most important of the fifteenth century Ajattappareng kingdoms, archaeological data reveal that the greatest growth in ceramic tradewares for this century was in inland rice producing regions. This indicates that the region's agricultural potential was increasingly realized during the fifteenth century. For example, the five Sidénréng sites surveyed account for 38% of all ceramic sherds assigned to the fifteenth century, while those of central Suppaq fall to 52%.

The archaeological evidence further suggests that during the fifteenth century there was increased economic integration between coastal and inland areas of Ajattappareng. Despite the absence of reliable genealogical data for the Ajattappareng region before about 1500, it is probable that increasing economic integration was accompanied by strategic marriages, particularly between Suppaq and Sidénréng, which served to strengthen alliances.

For much of the fifteenth century, Sawitto probably stood apart from the four other Ajattappareng kingdoms. The main concern of its rulers was to establish their settlement as the dominant polity in this ethnically diverse region of Ajattappareng. Furthermore, while political and economic ties with Suppaq were fundamental to the political and economic evolution of

Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta, this was not true for Sawitto; its main international trade outlet for agricultural and highland produce was at Sumpang Saddang, which could be reached by sailing along the Saddang river.

The southward expansion of Suppaq and its emergence as a maritime power

In comparison to the thirteenth and fourteenth century, archaeological data for Suppaq for the fifteenth century show increases in ceramic tradewares at all but one of the sites surveyed, ranging from about 250 to 600% at most sites.²⁰ Matanré, however, experienced only moderate growth (63%) and its share of ceramic sherds recorded from central Suppaq sites drops from just under 20% for the fourteenth century to about 3.5% for the fifteenth century. Matanré is located in a fertile rice-growing area about 500 metres from the southern bank of the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river. The absence of any significant fifteenth century growth at Matanré may reflect increasing competition with emerging polities in the Sawitto region for trade along the Pao-Sumpang course of the Saddang river, perhaps accompanied by warfare.

The fifteenth century also marks the appearance of tradewares in the Suppaq domain lands to the south of its port at Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo.²¹ Given its importance in the Ajattappareng genealogies as the place where La Bangénggé descended and ruled, it is surprising that Bacukiki appears to have emerged as an important land about two centuries after the port area of Suppaq. However, the probable explanation for the relatively late importance of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo is because these lands are located in areas unsuitable for wet-rice cultivation, and had little to contribute, with the possible exception of labour, during the early phase of Suppaq's development. Soréang and Bojo are located on the narrow coastal strip where the western cordillera runs close to the seashore, while Bacukiki is situated on

²⁰ No Ming blue-and-white were found at Indoq Lompa and Tonrong Peppingé, which suggests that their main developmental phase was the fifteenth century.

²¹ The Makassar branch of Balai Arkeologi surveyed Bacukiki and Soréang in 2001 (Muhaeminah and Mahmud 2001). The surveys recovered a relatively small quantity of ceramic sherds, a few of which date to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The vast majority of sherds, however, dated to the seventeenth century. The museum Labangengnge in the city of Pare-pare has on display two fifteenth to sixteenth century Sawankhalok wares, three sixteenth century Ming plates and two Swatow wares (identified by the author during a visit to the museum) that were said to have been found at Bacukiki. Grave robbers report finding sixteenth century Sawankhalok covered boxes on Mount Aroangngé in Bacukiki, where La Bangénggé is said to have descended. On a visit to Soréang, I located nine sherds from Ming blue-and-white vessels, while at a small looted pre-Islamic graveyard at Bojo I found two Sawankhalok martavan sherds, six sherds from Chinese stoneware martavan and numerous sherds from Ming-blue-and white plates and bowls.

Figure 5.1. Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo

the western cordillera, about 4 kilometres from the sea but can be reached via the Karaja river by small sea-going vessels (figure 5.1). Informants from these three lands state that the main economic activities have always been fishing and trade, with garden cultivation also practiced in Bacukiki.²²

Oral tradition from Suppaq claims that Bacukiki and Soréang were founded by children of a *datu* Suppaq (I.85; I.98). This suggests, when considered together with the archaeological data, that the ruling elite of Suppaq began to take a direct interest in the areas immediately to the south of the pre-Islamic port during the fifteenth century. This interest was probably related to the increasing development of Suppaq as a major west coast port in the fifteenth century. As numerous studies of Southeast Asia trading polities have shown, the ability to create a conducive environment for foreign traders was fundamental to their success.²³ This did not just encompass port facilities, but also meant that the ruling elite of these trading polities had to guarantee foreign traders a safe passage through the sea-lanes leading to the port.

One of the main functions of Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo from the fifteenth century onwards may have been to ensure the safe passage of ships traveling to the port of Suppaq and to direct them through the narrow passage into the sheltered Bay of Suppa, perhaps also ensuring that the port was not bypassed.²⁴ Another function of the three domain lands would have been to protect the port from raids by rival settlements. The entrance to the bay of Suppa is about 900 metres wide at its narrowest point and in the event of an attack could have been closed off by boats from Soréang.

In addition to facilitating trading conditions and protecting the port, Bacukiki, Soréang and Bojo may also have formed the backbone of Suppaq's naval power, which itself may have been employed in raids against competitors. Suppaq's emergence in the fifteenth century as a major maritime power along the west coast of Sulawesi is suggested by two versions of an oral tradition found in *lontaraq* texts, each little more than half a manuscript page in length. The longer of the two makes a number of claims regarding the former greatness of Suppaq and, to a lesser extent, Sawitto. It depicts Suppaq as an aggressive maritime power that exerted political influence beyond the Ajattappareng region to mainly small coastal polities located along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi. The function of the tradition is to make known the former greatness of Suppaq and Sawitto before its defeat by Gowa in the mid-sixteenth century. I discuss these traditions more fully in a later sec-

²² Until the mid-twentieth century, small sea-going vessels sailed up the Karaja river to the market of Bacukiki at Lontonggé, where seventeenth and eighteenth century sherds have been found together with coins with Arabic script and colonial coins (Muhaeminah and Mahmud 2001:14-5). Soréang also has a small harbour where small ships still dock today.

²³ See, for example, Hall 1999:201-2.

²⁴ It is possible that Bacukiki functioned as a second subordinate port, although there is little support for this from the archaeological data.

Photograph 20. Selection of Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese sherds found at Puang Pitué, Manuba

tion of this chapter; transliterations and translations are given in Appendix C.

The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century ceramic sherds at Népo, Palanro and Manuba, Suppaq's tributary lands to the south, suggests that these ties date to the fifteenth century.²⁵ The most important of the three is Népo, which has its own domain list of seven lands, two of which are located on the west coast and four located at the foot of the western cordillera (figure 5.2).²⁶ Palanro is located on the west coast between the Népo domain lands of Mallawa and Dusung, while Manuba lies just over six kilometres from the coast on the western cordillera. Before the advent of modern roads, these lands could only be reached overland with difficulty; the easiest way would have been by sea, which further suggests that Suppaq's development as a maritime power dates from the fifteenth century.²⁷

Some wet-rice is grown in Népo along the narrow coastal plain which separates the western cordillera from the sea. But most people in Népo and

²⁵ These sherds include Sawankhalok, Vietnamese and Ming sherds (See photograph 20 of a selection of ceramic sherds taken at Puang Pitué in Manuba.)

²⁶ I could not locate the seventh Népo domain land, Kutaé.

²⁷ Until recently, people travelling to Parepare from Palanro still travelled by boat (Muhammad Nur, personal communication, 2002).

Manuba practice garden cultivation, while the people of Palanro are mainly fishermen. Oral tradition from Népo and Manuba depicts the people of these lands as great fighters, which suggests that it was from these lands that Suppaq drew a part of its army. A tradition that Népo provided soldiers for Suppaq as part of the agreement with Suppaq is mentioned in a *lontaraq* text which derives from oral tradition (ANRIM 75/14, p. 204). As with Suppaq's domain lands to the south of the port, the people of Népo, Manuba and Palanro probably played an important role in the maritime development of Suppaq.

Oral tradition from Manuba suggests that these lands may have provided agricultural labour during the harvesting and planting season. One tradition from Manuba says that the people of Manuba and Népo would go to Suppaq to help during the planting season, if called by the *datu* of Suppaq, and that the rulers of these settlements attended the Suppaq *mappaliliq* ceremony (I.54). An oral tradition found in the same *lontaraq* text as that which tells of Népo providing soldiers for Suppaq also relates how the people of Népo were summoned to Suppaq to help plant rice (ANRIM 75/14, p. 205). However, in this story the people of Népo say that this was not part of their agreement with Suppaq, and deliberately make a mess of the job so that they

Figure 5.2. Népo, Palanro and Manuba

will not be summoned to plant rice again.

Another area of expansion for Suppaq in the fifteenth century may have been in the region of Paria in western Sawitto, which linguistic data suggest was settled by Bugis-speakers from Suppaq. Rather than being centrally planned, this expansion was probably carried out by high-status individuals, perhaps the brothers or children of a ruler.

The fifteenth century expansion of Sidénréng

In the fifteenth century, the rich agricultural potential of central Sidénréng was increasingly realized. Greater surpluses of rice were produced for export, and tributary ties were established with settlements located to the north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng. Evidence for this is attested by the archaeological data, which record large-scale increases in ceramic tradewares arriving in central Sidénréng in the fifteenth century. In Watang Sidénréng the increase was almost 1,200%; in Wéngeng 800%; in Bulubangi 1,700%; and in the Sidénréng tributary of Bélokka 2,700%.²⁸ Collectively, these four sites account for almost 38% of all ceramic sherds assigned to the fifteenth century.

Sidénréng expanded its influence into the fertile rice-growing areas to the north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng, and established tributary relationships with Otting and Bulucénrana.²⁹ These settlements were the most important of the Pituriawa (the 'Seven Below') confederation; the five other members would almost certainly have come under Sidénréng's influence at around the same time. Another important member of this confederation was Bila, which could be reached from lakes Tempe and Sidenreng via the River Bila. This settlement functioned as a locale of economic exchange and communication between highland and lowland communities.

Any kingdom which succeeded in establishing tributary ties with the Pituriawa confederation would have gained influence over a second related confederation called Pituriaséq (the 'Seven Above'), a predominantly Massenrempulu-speaking confederation situated in the mountainous area directly to the north of the Pituriawa confederation.³⁰ The close relation-

²⁸ While the archaeological data record greater fifteenth century growth at Bulubangi than Watang Sidénréng, the period counts in Appendix B, show that more fifteenth century sherds were recorded for the latter than for Bulubangi.

²⁹ A fifteenth century date for Sidénréng's expansion into this area is supported by the Wajoq chronicles, which inform us that at the start of the sixteenth century Otting and Bulucénrana were already tributaries of Sidénréng.

³⁰ While there were traditionally seven main lands of each confederation, oral tradition claims that each confederation encompassed numerous other lands scattered throughout the northern mountainous areas of *kabupaten* Sidrap (I.83).

ship between these two confederations is emphasized by oral tradition, which claims that the first rulers of the leading lands of each confederation, Bulucénrana (Pituriawa) and Barukku (Pituriaséq), were two brothers sent by their father, the ruler of Sangallaq (I.83).³¹

As their names suggest, the 'Seven Below' and the 'Seven Above' were separated along topographical lines. A characteristic of this upper-lower divide is that the lands of the southern confederation are situated in wet-rice producing areas, while the lands of the northern are mainly located in hill and mountainous regions suitable only for garden cultivation or less productive dry-rice agriculture. The relationship between the two confederations appears to have been symbiotic and was probably based upon the exchange of their respective resources. The 'Seven Below' would have supplied rice and other produce such as salt and fish to supplement the upland diet. Earthenware goods, cloth and ceramics were also supplied by the lowland communities. In return, the forested uplands would have supplied products such as dammar, camphor, rattan and also perhaps, slaves and manpower to work rice fields. The main routes connecting the two confederations were the Bila and Bulucénrana river valleys, which were controlled by the settlements of Bulucénrana and Bila.

Fifteenth century economic ties between lowland areas and the Pituriaséq confederation are confirmed by the presence of ceramic sherds in at least four Pituriaséq settlements: Kalémpang, Bétao, Paraja and Baraqmamasé (see Chapter III). Some of these tradewares are physically associated with simple cremations, which suggests that as a result of increasing interaction between lowland Bugis and highland communities the highland elites of these areas began to imitate Bugis cultural and religious practices. During the fifteenth century, led by ambitious high-ranking nobles, highland people from the Pituriaséq region began to move down to foothills as a consequence of increasing contact and economic interaction with lowland areas. Here they established new settlements in strategic locations where highland exchanges with lowland communities could be controlled. Other groups moved further down onto the plains where they opened rice fields. Some highland communities may have provided temporary labour during the planting and harvesting season, as traditions from Manuba and Népo claim their people did for Suppaq.

The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds at Maroanging, Maiwa's palace centre, suggests that Sidénréng's tributary ties over Maiwa

³¹ Druce 1997a:37. These two traditional leading lands do not appear to have exerted any real authority over the other members of the respective confederations; each member appears to have been an independent settlement. This is evident from the tributary and domain list of Sidénréng, where the *bila-bila* of Sidénréng is sent to each land of the two confederations, not just Bulucénrana and Barukku.

also date to the fifteenth century. As opposed to the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations, which appear to have been confederations of independent lands, Maiwa was a small kingdom with its own tributaries and domains (see figure 5.3). Maroanging sits in the foothills just above the plains and is ideally situated to control the flow of trade from the rugged mountainous area to the north, where its tributary lands are located, and the lowland communities to the south. Increasing interaction between Maiwa and Sidénréng from the fifteenth century would have provided the rulers of Maiwa with the opportunity to control the movement and distribution of elite goods, including rice, salt and fish, and to establish tributary relationships with mountain settlements to the north of Maroanging.

Oral tradition from Maiwa (Muhammad Sikki et al. 1986), summarized in Druce (1997a:16-26) suggests that Maiwa's role within the kingdom of Sidénréng was to supply fighting men and military assistance for Sidénréng. The traditions tell how Maiwa was summoned several times by Sidénréng to participate in various wars. After receiving Sidénréng's summons, Maiwa called upon its own tributaries to prepare for war. During the fifteenth century the ability to summon men for warfare, as well as for agricultural labour, became increasingly important as settlements began to expand their territory.

Figure 5.3. Maiwa and its tributaries and domains

Protection from attack by competing settlements must have been of increasing concern to the ruling elite.

A further area of expansion for Sidénréng in the fifteenth century was across Lake Sidenreng to Bélawa, today part of *kabupaten* Wajo. Whether Bélawa was a tributary of Sidénréng, or whether it had simply aligned itself with an increasingly powerful Sidénréng, is uncertain; the Wajoq chronicles simply refer to Bélawa as *paq dang engenna* Sidénréng (one who sits with Sidénréng, B.).³²

In conclusion, Sidénréng's fifteenth century expansion appears to have been little short of spectacular. The estimated extent of its influence at the end of this century is shown in figure 5.4. The two main reasons for Sidénréng's rise were the increasing realization of its agricultural potential and its relationship with Suppaq, which provided a market for agricultural and highland produce in exchange for imported elite goods. These elite goods not only served as important symbols of rank but also were strategically distributed to the rulers of Sidénréng's tributary lands in order to maintain loyalties. However, Sidénréng's expansion into the areas north and northeast of lakes Tempe and Sidenreng and its influence over Bélawa, was to bring it into conflict with Wajoq and Luwuq in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Agricultural intensification in Rappang

The presence of fifteenth and fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds at Bénténg, Baranti and Simpo suggests that Rappang also produced increasing surpluses of rice during the fifteenth century. However, unlike the case of its more powerful neighbour, Rappang does not appear to have expanded its territory during the fifteenth century. Rappang's tributary and domain list names just one tributary land, Kulo, which sits in the foothills leading up to *kabupaten* Enrekang. This suggests that, like Sidénréng, Rappang was also attracting highland produce for export, but on a much smaller scale.

The success of Sidénréng was probably a major factor in Rappang's gener-

³² The Bélawa origin tradition, an oral tradition written down in a *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60/7, pp. 16-9), claims that the first ruler of Bélawa was the sixth son of a marriage between To Appanangi, a late fourteenth century ruler of Luwuq, and Massaoloccié of Sidénréng. The eldest child of this union became the *aqdatuang* of Sidénréng and the *aqdatuang* of Luwuq. The second child became the *datu* of Suppaq, the third the *aqdatuang* of Sawitto, the fourth the *arung* of Rappang and the fifth the *arung* of Alitta. The sixth child, La Wéwanriwu, was born after the land constituting the five Ajattappareng kingdoms had been divided between the five older siblings. After some time, La Wéwanriwu established his own land across the lake at Bélawa. However, after a disagreement with his brothers, war broke out between Bélawa and the five Ajattappareng kingdoms. The Bélawa origin tradition thus appears to acknowledge the early relationship with Sidénréng; the story of the war between La Wéwanriwu and his brothers accounts for Bélawa's separation from the Ajattappareng lands, an event that took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century when it was defeated by Wajoq (see below).

Figure 5.4. The estimated extent of Sidénréng's influence in the fifteenth century

al lack of territorial expansion in the fifteenth and later centuries. Sidénréng dominated the areas to the south and east of Rappang; to the north was Maiwa, which had entered into a tributary relationship with Sidénréng, while to the west was the diverse Sawitto region. As there are no major physical boundaries separating Rappang from Sidénréng, it is somewhat surprising that Rappang was not forced into a tributary relationship by Sidénréng during the fifteenth century as emerging kingdoms vied for control of valuable agricultural lands and their populations. Despite this Rappang remained a separate kingdom within the Ajattappareng confederation right through to the twentieth century.

Between the plains and the coast: Alitta in the fifteenth century

Archaeological evidence from Alitta shows a large-scale increase in trade-wares during the fifteenth century of over 1,100% while its proportion of ceramics from the Ajattappareng surveys rise to 7%. Unlike its larger neighbours, Suppaq and Sidénréng, Alitta did not expand its territory during the fifteenth century, nor did it do so in later centuries. Situated on the northern tip of the western cordillera, Alitta had small opportunity for expansion or to establish tributary relationships with other settlements. The area to the south was uninhabited and unsuitable for rice cultivation. To the east and west lay the increasingly powerful kingdoms of Suppaq and Sidénréng, while to the north was the politically and ethnically fragmented Sawitto region.

While geography may have offered few opportunities for the territorial expansion of Alitta, it was also fundamental to its success. Because of the kingdom's location the rulers of Alitta were able to control the lower course of the Saddang-Tiroang branch of the River Saddang, and the main trade routes to Suppaq, Sidénréng and Rappang. During the fifteenth century, Alitta began to play an increasingly important role as a collector and distributor of goods between Suppaq, Sidénréng and Rappang. As trade increased, Alitta may have begun to function as a market area where goods were exchanged between the western and eastern parts of the Ajattappareng region.

The emergence of Sawitto

Despite the limited survey data from the Sawitto region, there is little doubt that the general fifteenth-century pattern of increased trade, large-scale agricultural expansion and increased prosperity, evident throughout much of lowland South Sulawesi, was taking place also in the Sawitto region. This is evident in sherdage counts from the Loloang survey, which record an increase of 600% for the fifteenth century in comparison to the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries. This increase conforms with observations made by the survey team at Bulu, where large quantities of fifteenth and sixteenth century tradewares were present.³³ However, for much of the fifteenth century, Sawitto probably stood apart from the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms.

Sawitto was the most ethnically diverse region in Ajattappareng and appears to have witnessed the greatest influx of people, mainly from highland areas. Facilitating this movement of people was the Saddang river, which linked highland areas to the central plains and coastal areas. Some settlements in this region appear to have been founded by Massenrempulus-speaking groups, others by Bugis and some perhaps by speakers of Toraja-Saddan languages. Even the ruling family of the kingdom of Sawitto itself appears to be descended from highland communities.

As external trade increased during the fifteenth century, movements of people into the Sawitto region, which may have begun as early as 1300, probably intensified. Some highland groups, led by ambitious high-ranking nobles, moved down into the lowlands and opened land for rice cultivation, while others established new settlements in hill areas where they could control the flow of highland produce such as woods, rattan, wax, resin, gold and perhaps iron ore. The presence of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds at Malimpung and Urung suggests that it was in this century that speakers of the Malimpung language moved down into the Sawitto region and began to interact with Bugis communities, and to take on elements of Bugis cultural and ritual practices.

A glance at the settlement pattern of Sawitto's tributary and domain list (figure A.3) reveals that Sawitto did not have direct control over the main trade outlet in the region at Sumpang-Saddang. Several tributaries of Sawitto such as Lanriseng, Lérang, Loloang and Rangaméa occupied strategic locations along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the Saddang river. It was probably contact with those tributaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth century that stimulated agricultural expansion in central Sawitto. Furthermore, oral and written traditions and archaeological and linguistic data from Sawitto suggest that there were numerous independent settlements, some of which were multi-ethnic, competing for ascendancy in the lowland rice-growing areas of Sawitto.

For much of the fifteenth century, the main concern of the rulers of Sawitto was to establish Sawitto as the region's dominant polity rather than to forge ties with the other four Ajattappareng kingdoms. The oral traditions summarized in Chapter IV suggest that military force was used against competitors such as the Cempa confederation, while alliances were formed with emerg-

³³ The reported large find of ceramics by grave robbers at Tomaruli, Padakalawa and many other rice-producing areas in Sawitto are further indications of an increase in trade in the region during the fifteenth century.

ing polities such as Palétéang. Despite the fact that there are no genealogical records for Sawitto that go back earlier than the early sixteenth century, strategic marriages almost certainly played an important role in Sawitto's emergence as the dominant polity in its region, in particular with the lands along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river that became tributaries of Sawitto, possibly in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Sawitto's emergence as the dominant polity in this ethnically diverse region appears due mainly to the location of its palace centre between the Sawitto and Tiroang branches of the Saddang river. These river branches were not simply fundamental to the agricultural development of Sawitto, but also allowed its rulers to control the flow of agricultural and highland produce to coastal areas. The direct access that the Saddang gave the rulers of Sawitto to highland areas also provided opportunities to form alliances with highland settlements and to develop tributary relationships. These relationships ensured a regular supply of exportable highland produce and also encompassed military obligations which provided Sawitto's rulers with fighting men, a factor that was fundamental to its emerging as the dominant polity in the northwestern part of Ajattappareng. Facilitating this relationship were Sawitto's own kinship ties with ruling highland families, which continued well into the twentieth century.

Probably towards the end of the fifteenth century Sawitto succeeded in becoming the dominant polity in its region. In the century that followed, it joined Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta as the fifth member of the Ajattappareng confederation.

The sixteenth century

The sixteenth century in South Sulawesi saw further large-scale increases in trade and the continuation of agricultural expansion. As the century progressed, the major kingdoms that had emerged after 1300, such as Boné, Wajoq, Luwuq, Gowa and Sidénréng, Sawitto and Suppaq came into increasing contact and conflict with one another as they competed for control of trade, agricultural land and their populations. Warfare was endemic and alliances between the major kingdoms shifted continually. Warfare became more technologically advanced towards the end of the century as muskets and cannons were introduced to the region. Or as the chronicle of Boné puts it, 'and then there began to be guns.'

From the early to mid-sixteenth century, the Ajattappareng genealogies present us with a picture of consistent intermarriage between the kingdoms and give the impression of a single large ruling family. However, for the Ajattappareng kingdoms, the sixteenth century was a century of upheavals,

as it was for many of the other Bugis kingdoms. The beginning of the century saw the decline of Sidénréng following its defeat by Wajoq and Luwuq and the loss of its tributary lands to the north and northwest of the lakes. In about the middle of the century, Suppaq and Sawitto, who together had formed a powerful maritime alliance along the west coast of Sulawesi, were defeated by Gowa. This effectively marked the end of Suppaq as an important kingdom. Alitta also fell to the military might of Gowa about the same time as Suppaq and Sawitto; only Sidénréng and Rappang escaped Gowa's military onslaught. In the second half of the century Sidénréng re-emerged as an important kingdom after entering into a mutually beneficial alliance with Gowa.

Conflict for control of the central plains and the defeat of Sidénréng

To the east of Sidénréng, the polity of Wajoq had begun to expand its territory, a development that was to have direct consequences for Sidénréng. The Wajoq chronicles indicate that for much of the fifteenth century Wajoq was subject to Luwuq and that Luwuq was the major power in the Cenrana region. Indeed, the *arung matoa* of Wajoq, La Oqbiq Settiriwaréq (c. 1481-1486 (Abidin 1985:575)), had accepted the status of child to Luwuq in an oath concluded in the latter part of the fifteenth century (Noorduyn 1955:166; Abidin 1985:151-2). Luwuq's own ancestral homeland was in fact located in the Cenrana region (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:103-4). The Wajoq chronicles inform us that in the fifteenth century Singkang, Tampangeng, Wagé and Témpé, located close to the southeastern shore of Lake Tempe, were still part of Luwuq.³⁴ In the latter half of the fifteenth century, after the loss of these lands to Wajoq, Luwuq established a settlement close to the mouth of the Cenrana river in order to control trade flowing down the river (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:80).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Puang ri Maqgalatung (c. 1491-1521 (Abidin 1985:575)) became *arung matoa* of Wajoq. Under his leadership, Wajoq emerged as a major power in the South Sulawesi peninsula and began to challenge Luwuq's authority in the Cenrana region. Puang ri Maqgalatung rejected Wajoq's status of child to Luwuq and refused to participate in the mourning of Déwaraja's father, who died in about 1511.³⁵ Shortly after, Wajoq seized Singkang, Tampangeng, Wagé and Témpé from Luwuq (Noorduyn 1955:178; Abidin 1979:274-7).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Wajoq started to expand its

³⁴ The Wajoq chronicles refer to these lands, in reference to Luwuq, as 'the lands which come down from Majapahit' (*tana polé ri Mancapai*, B.) and as 'the lands that are kept' (*tana ritaroé*, B.) (Noorduyn 1955:178-9; Abidin 1985:202), which suggests that they were among the oldest of Luwuq's lands.

³⁵ Déwaraja ruled from about 1511 until 1536.

influence into the fertile rice-growing area to the north and northeast of Lake Tempe. Under the leadership of Puang ri Maqgalatung, Wajoq attacked a number of settlements located directly to the east of the Pituriawa confederation, such as Gilireng, Loaq and Anaqbanua, and forced them into tributary relationships (Noorduyn 1955:172, 176; Abidin 1985:169, 199-200). Genealogical information incorporated into the Wajoq chronicles shows that Wajoq also extended its influence into the Pituriawa region. One of the Wajoq chronicles records no less than three marriages between high-ranking Wajoq nobles and rulers of Otting, dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century (Noorduyn 1955:160-3, 166-7).³⁶ Oral tradition from Bila claims that its first ruler, La Pétorá, was a son of an *arung matoa* of Wajoq, which further suggests Wajoq influence in the Pituriawa region.

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Wajoq chronicles tell of a second oral treaty concluded between Luwuq and Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955:192-4; Abidin 1985:230-2). On this occasion, however, Wajoq was acknowledged as a younger brother of Luwuq; an indication that the latter had been forced to reassess its relationship with its increasing powerful neighbour. After concluding the treaty, the *datu* Luwuq asked Puang ri Maqgalatung for Wajoq's help in attacking Sidénréng, a request to which he agreed.

The Wajoq chronicles claim that the alliance to attack Sidénréng was the result of a quarrel between the rulers of Sidénréng and Luwuq over the sale of a tortoise which, it was said, could excrete gold.³⁷ The real reason for the Wajoq-Luwuq alliance against Sidénréng was likely a response to Sidénréng's successful fifteenth century expansion into the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq regions, and across Lake Sidenreng to Bélawa. Given Wajoq's own expansion into the areas directly to the east of the Pituriawa region and the marriages recorded between high-ranking Wajoq and Otting nobles, it is conceivable that Sidénréng and Wajoq had already come into conflict as they competed for ascendancy in this region. If they had, then Sidénréng had been the winner.

Luwuq's reason for an alliance with Wajoq against Sidénréng was probably related to trade. The most likely outlet for agricultural surpluses and

³⁶ These marriages do not appear in the Wajoq chronicle translated by Zainal Abidin (1985). However, Zainal Abidin, whose translation and transliteration covers the origin of Wajoq to the death of Puang ri Maqgalatung, does not translate every section of the chronicle.

³⁷ Noorduyn 1955:188-191; Abidin 1985:228-230. According to the story, the tortoise was coveted by the *aqdatuang* of Sidénréng who wished to buy it from the *datu* Luwuq. The *datu* refused to sell the tortoise, but because the *aqdatuang* was persistent he eventually gave it to him as a gift. However, in Sidénréng the tortoise failed to live up to its promise and the disgruntled new owner returned it. The *datu* refused to accept it back and sent the tortoise back to Sidénréng. The tortoise went backwards and forwards several times until the *datu* Pammana (*datu* Limpuaq in Noorduyn's chronicle) agreed to preside over the disagreement. However, the *datu* Luwuq travelled to Pammana prepared for war; on hearing this, the *aqdatuang* turned back to Sidénréng, which was attacked and defeated.

highland produce from the Wajoq region and, potentially, the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations, was via Luwuq's settlement at Cenrana, close to the mouth of the river of that name. Furthermore, as discussed earlier in this chapter, Sidénréng had greatly expanded its territory in the fifteenth century. As the alliance with Bélawa across Lake Sidenreng suggests, by the beginning of the sixteenth century Sidénréng had emerged as a major threat to the ambitions of both Wajoq and Luwuq.

According to the Wajoq chronicles, the armies of Luwuq and Wajoq met at the settlement of Tépé on an agreed day in order to launch a surprise attack on Sidénréng.³⁸ Wajoq's troops advanced on Bélawa, (referred to by the chronicles as 'one who sits with Sidénréng' [*paq dang engenna* Sidénréng, B.]). Bélawa was defeated and forced to accept the status of a child of Wajoq. Wajoq's army then attacked Otting which, after a heroic stand led by Puang ri Maqgalatung, was defeated. The ruler and people of Otting then swore to serve Wajoq, whose army then advanced on Rappang and Bulucénrana, defeating them and putting them to torch, and making their leaders made to swear to serve Wajoq. In Wéngeng, Sidénréng's troops were confronted by the combined armies of Wajoq and Luwuq, and (as the chronicles indicate) appear to have surrendered without a fight.³⁹

Sidénréng's fate was sealed by the *datu* Luwuq and Puang ri Maqgalatung in the village of Mojong. The defeated Sidénréng lands of Bélawa, Otting, Rappang and Bulucénrana were officially transferred from Sidénréng to Wajoq.⁴⁰ Sidénréng also paid *seqbukkati* (a thousand *kati*; a sum of money or its value, B.) to Luwuq, and was forced to acknowledge itself as a child (a tributary) of the latter.

Finally, the *datu* Luwuq ordered the people of Bélawa to burn down the palace of the ruler of Sidénréng. The palace probably stood at Watang Sidénréng; archaeological data suggest that following this act of destruction subsequent rulers of Sidénréng built their palaces at Bulubangi, some 8 kilometres south of Watang Sidénréng. Sherdage counts from Watang Sidénréng for the sixteenth century show an increase of just 59% in comparison to the preceding century, which by sixteenth century standards is a negligible

³⁸ Noorduyn 1955:194-7; Abidin 1985:233-7. The story of this war is also found in a separate *lontaraq* text (ANRIM 60/7, pp. 19-21), which corresponds closely to that in the Wajoq chronicles.

³⁹ The fact the Sidénréng troops were in Wéngeng at the time of Sidénréng's surrender suggests that they may have been in the process of advancing to Rappang in support of the Rappang troops, or alternatively had just retreated to Wéngeng following the defeat of Rappang.

⁴⁰ The writers of the Wajoq chronicles have interpreted the relationship between Sidénréng and Rappang at the beginning of the sixteenth century as one of kingdom and tributary, which is incorrect. While it is possible that this interpretation tells us something of the influence that Sidénréng had over Rappang in the sixteenth century, it more likely reflects a late seventeenth century Wajoq perception of this relationship.

increase. The ceramic data further shows that for the first 50 years of the sixteenth century Watang Sidénréng's share of ceramics found in the Sidénréng surveys drops to less than 10%. For the following fifty years its share is just under 8%. By contrast, sherds counts from the Bulubangi survey show an increase of over 1,000% for the sixteenth century and its share of ceramics found in Sidénréng is 43% for 1500-1550 and 50% for 1550-1600. While Watang Sidénréng would have remained an important agricultural centre, the archaeological data suggest that both the rulers of Sidénréng and much of Watang Sidénréng's population relocated to Bulubangi in the early sixteenth century.⁴¹ Wajoq now became the major power in the region to the north of the lakes. However, the Wajoq chronicles suggest that Sidénréng was made subject to Luwuq following its defeat, and it is possible that for a time some agricultural produce from Sidénréng was redirected to the east coast of the peninsula and traded to overseas markets via Luwuq's outlet at the mouth of the Cenrana. But it is unlikely that Luwuq was able to exercise any real political or economic influence over Sidénréng for more than a few years, as Luwuq itself was facing challenges to its position in the Cenrana valley. Shortly after the defeat of Sidénréng, Luwuq attacked the kingdom of Boné in a precipitate attempt to punish its ruler but lost the battle (Noorduyn 1955:200-1; Abidin 1985:237-8; Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). Like Sidénréng and Wajoq, Boné was an agricultural kingdom that had been expanding its territory from about 1400 onwards. A manuscript peace treaty from the fifteenth century portrays Boné as a child of Luwuq, and the latter's attack, described in detail in the chronicle of Boné, was presumably an attempt to maintain that relationship.⁴² After at least one unsuccessful attack on Luwuq's fortifications at Cenrana, Boné finally drove Luwuq from the Cenrana valley around the 1560s (Bulbeck and Caldwell 2000:102).

It is difficult to gauge the position of Rappang following the defeat of Sidénréng. The Wajoq chronicles claim that Rappang was made a tributary of Wajoq following the war but as they make no further reference to Rappang as a tributary this relationship was probably short lived. Nor do they mention Maiwa in their account of the war against Sidénréng. We may therefore assume that Sidénréng's tributary ties over Maiwa continued following its

⁴¹ The second site surveyed at Watang Sidénréng was Posiq Tana, a small ritual area centred around a stone said to be the centre of Sidénréng. Unlike the surveyed graveyard at Watang Sidénréng, no thirteenth to fourteenth century sherds were found at Posiq Tana; the site's main phase is clearly from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. This suggests that Posiq Tana was established as a ritual centre after the defeat of Sidénréng by Luwuq and Wajoq and the relocation of Sidénréng's palace centre to Bulubangi, perhaps in order to commemorate the location of the original palace centre.

⁴² Ian Caldwell, personal communication, 2007.

attack by Luwuq and Wajoq.⁴³

News of Sidénréng's defeat must have resonated throughout the Ajattappareng region, and perhaps nowhere more strongly than in Suppaq and Alitta. By the sixteenth century, Sidénréng's two allies to the west had perhaps become reliant on export produce from Sidénréng and Rappang. Their loss of exports from the Pituriawa and Pituriaséq confederations following the defeat of Sidénréng by Wajoq and Luwuq and, perhaps for a time, the redirection of agricultural produce from Sidénréng and Rappang to the east coast of the peninsula, would have affected their economies. However, given that our ceramic chronologies only allow us to make century-by-century comparisons with reasonable accuracy, it is difficult to be certain. Archaeological data from Suppaq for the sixteenth century does reveal a decline of 47% in ceramic sherds at Indoq Lompa, no growth whatsoever at Tonrong Peppingé, and a negligible increase of 14% at Gucié. However, these downturns are more likely to be related to events in the mid-sixteenth century. Other sites surveyed in Suppaq continue to show a growth in ceramic tradewares during the sixteenth century in comparison to the fifteenth, although, with the exception of Matanré, this growth is less than impressive by sixteenth century standards. Ceramic sherds counts from Suppaq's palace centre and Makaraié increase by over 200%; at Béla-bélawa by 66%, while the fifteenth century decline of Matanré is reversed with an increase of over 600%. In Alitta, the sixteenth century increase is some 800% in comparison to the fifteenth century.

Suppaq's main sixteenth century economic downturn at several sites was undoubtedly related to its defeat by Gowa in the mid-sixteenth century, which probably also had a significant bearing on the apparent limited growth in ceramics counts at most other Suppaq sites. Another important factor was the continued economic growth and importance of Sidénréng, which, with the exception of Watang Sidénréng, appears to have been little affected by its defeat at the hands of Wajoq and Luwuq. The archaeological data for Sidénréng records large-scale increases in ceramics for this century, which indicates that its rulers and growing population continued to exploit and

⁴³ The *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq* (Abidin 1985) mentions Maiwa in a separate section during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalatung. It claims that Maiwa came to Wajoq together with three other Massenrempulu lands, Énré kang, Kassa q and Batu Lappa q, and asked to become part of Wajoq. However, in the chronicle translated by Noorduy n (1955:200-1) only Énré kang came to Wajoq to make this request. The Wajoq chronicles list a large number of lands that voluntarily attached themselves to Wajoq during the reign of Puang ri Maqqalatung. Wajoq may indeed have been an influential kingdom during the early sixteenth century but the chronicles appear to exaggerate its influence during the reign of the Wajoq culture hero, Puang ri Maqqalatung. Furthermore, Maiwa's political association with Énré kang, Kassa q and Batu Lappa q as part of the Massenrempulu confederation dates to the late seventeenth century (ANRIM 60/7, p. 268; Van Braam Morris 1892), which suggests that later Wajoq chroniclers (those who produced the *lontaraq sukkuqna Wajoq*) were not aware of this fact.

expand the kingdom's rich agricultural potential throughout the sixteenth century to produce increasing surpluses of rice for export. Consequently, Sidénréng's share of ceramics imported into Ajattappareng increased considerably in this century to 53.5%, while that of Suppaq's fell to 27.5%. Alitta's share also increased to 17% as its role of collector and distributor of goods between the plains and the coast expanded in this century. The century thus marked a critical juncture in the relationship between Sidénréng and Suppaq as the latter lost its economic ascendancy in Ajattappareng to the former.

The emergence of a five-kingdom confederation

The analysis of the genealogies and oral tradition in Chapter IV suggests that it was in the early sixteenth century that Sawitto became allied with the four other Ajattappareng kingdoms. It is possible that some of the increases in ceramic sherds at most sites surveyed in central Suppaq and in Alitta reflect an expansion of the regional trading network to include Sawitto. The impressive sixteenth century growth of Matanré following its fifteenth century downturn may be an indication that it once again began to trade along the Pao-Sumpang Saddang course of the river as a consequence of relations established with Sawitto, and perhaps even served as an economic exchange zone between Suppaq and Sawitto.

There are perhaps three main factors which led to Sawitto's sixteenth century alliance with Suppaq, Sidénréng, Rappang and Alitta. Firstly, by about 1500 Sawitto had emerged as the dominant polity in its region and was thus less concerned with its internal cohesion. Secondly, Suppaq may have initiated ties with Sawitto shortly after the defeat of Sidénréng in order to compensate for the possible reduction in exportable produce from Sidénréng, particularly as there appears to have been rising external demand for South Sulawesi goods in the sixteenth century. Thirdly, during the sixteenth century there was increasing competition between the major South Sulawesi kingdoms for control of trade, agricultural land and their populations, which may have encouraged the five kingdoms to co-operate more. In addition, the increasing influence of the Makasar kingdom of Gowa along the west coast of the peninsula may have been an important consideration in the formation of an alliance between Suppaq and Sawitto.

The maritime influence of Suppaq and Sawitto in the first half of the sixteenth century

Whatever the reasons for the alliance between the five kingdoms, during the sixteenth century Suppaq and Sawitto formed a formidable and influential maritime alliance along the west coast of Sulawesi. Evidence for this is found

in two versions of an oral tradition contained in *lontaraq* texts found in an eighteenth- and a twentieth-century manuscript.

Both versions of the tradition give the impression that Sawitto was a junior partner in this alliance. The longer of the two, which is barely more than half a page in length, begins by stating that the subject is the great flag of Suppaq, called *lasigalung* (the rice field, B.), which appears to function in the tradition as a symbol for the army of Suppaq. The flag travels to a number of settlements over a wide geographical area, which the tradition claims were conquered by Suppaq and Sawitto, and that *seqbukkati* was demanded from these lands. There are also several references to the *lasigalung* becoming weak as Suppaq declined, as set out in the following quotation:

It was also *lasigalung* that took *seqbukkati* from Bonto-bonto, Bantaeng, Ségéri, and Passokkoreng. Later *lasigalung* became weak and left all the lands that it had once ordered.

The tradition ends by stating that Suppaq and Sawitto achieved a sphere of authority that stretched from the mountainous areas of South Sulawesi as far as the most easterly part of Central Sulawesi and established a border with Luwuq in Tamala and Toli. The latter of these two toponyms is associated in the tradition with Kaili, a Central Sulawesi settlement, which suggests that the Toli of the tradition is Toli-toli, a coastal settlement located northeast of Kaili (figure 5.5).

The second version of this oral tradition, just three manuscript lines in length, names no settlements but simply states that every land the *lasigalung* travelled to was defeated, and that the flag was later taken and burnt by the Makasar people when they defeated Suppaq. Consequently, Suppaq and Sawitto became small kingdoms.

The longer version also includes a short passage which refers to boats and palaces being made by craftsmen. This appears to be a separate tradition that became combined with the *lasigalung* tradition during its transmission, probably because both were concerned with maritime activities. Another version of the boat and palace tradition is found in a separate *lontaraq* text independent of the *lasigalung* tradition. This version states that these craftsmen were from Mandar and that they made boats for Makaraié, the *arung* of Perangki and Palétéang and the palaces of the five Ajattappareng kingdoms.⁴⁴

The toponyms listed in this tradition as defeated by Suppaq and Sawitto are Léworeng, Lémo-lémo, Bulu Kapa, Bonto-Bonto, Bantaeng, Ségéri and Passokkoreng, Baroko, Kaili, Kali and Toli (Toli-toli). Of these eleven toponyms, eight can be identified with reasonable confidence and are marked on figure 5.5. They cover a wide geographical area, stretching from the northern

⁴⁴ A transliteration and translation of this text is given in Appendix C.

parts of Central Sulawesi, southwards into the mountainous area around Enrekang, along the west coast of South Sulawesi and along the south coast of South Sulawesi. With the exception of Baroko and Lómo-lómo, those identified are all coastal settlements.

How much historical truth can we attribute to this tradition? Firstly, with the exception of Bantaeng (if that identification is correct), the identified lands listed by the tradition were all minor polities, which suggests that these claims were not simply constructed in order to invent a glorious past, as is the case with oral traditions from Cempa and Siang (Chapter II). It would seem that they do tell us something of a past reality. Secondly, all the coastal polities named in the tradition can be reached from Suppaq and Sawitto by small coastal vessels. We also know from a sixteenth century Portuguese account (discussed below) that the ruler of Suppaq could organize a fleet of about twenty ships with between 70 to 80 men per ship in a short space of time, and sail about 100 kilometres southwards along South Sulawesi's west coast.⁴⁵

Accepting that the tradition reflects something of a past reality, the picture of Suppaq and Sawitto that emerges from the tradition is one of aggressive maritime kingdoms attempting to assert their authority, and perhaps control of trade, along the west coast of Sulawesi. Whether Suppaq and Sawitto exerted any political control over the lands the tradition claims they defeated is uncertain. It is probable that for a time some of these brought tribute to Suppaq and Sawitto and acknowledged their status as tributaries. Other conquests set out in the tradition may represent a memory of maritime raiding in order to acquire wealth, and force, albeit temporarily, other rulers to acknowledge their lands as tributaries. Such a scenario would appear to parallel some of the maritime victories recorded in the Gowa chronicle whereby the same coastal polity was repeatedly conquered (Bulbeck 1992:121). The inclusion in the tradition of the Central Sulawesi lands of Kaili, Toli-toli and Kali is perhaps an indication of just how far-reaching Suppaq's and Sawitto's authority and influence was along the west coast of Sulawesi. The tradition further suggests that the coastal South Sulawesi kingdoms were not just competing with one another but were directly linked to, and competing with, other coastal kingdoms located about 800 kilometres away by sea.

The first European visitors and conversion to Christianity

In the mid-sixteenth century, South Sulawesi welcomed its first European visitors, the Portuguese, who have left three main accounts of their brief

⁴⁵ The oral genealogy from Balusu (Chapter II) begins with a *datu* of Suppaq, which is further evidence of Suppaq's influence along the west coast of South Sulawesi.

Figure 5.5. Identified toponyms named in the *lasigalong* tradition

experiences. The earliest of these accounts is that of Atonio de Paiva (Jacobs 1966). This comprises a letter written to the Bishop of Goa, India, between 1544 and 1545, which provides incidental information on trade commodities and prices.⁴⁶ Paiva also informs us that Muslim Malay traders had been present in South Sulawesi since about 1490. The second comprises three short works by Manuel Godinho de Eredia, a son of Dona Elena Vesiva, the Bugis princess who eloped with João de Eredia in 1546 (Chapter III) (Mills 1930). As Schurhammer (1980:248, note 2) points out, Manuel Godinho de Eredia's accounts are 'swarming with errors' and should be used with caution.⁴⁷ The third account is that left by Manuel Pinto (Chapter III) (Schurhammer 1980:627-9). From these accounts we learn little about the political situation in South Sulawesi, which are mainly concerned with the conversion of several rulers to Catholicism. However, as the main geographical focus of these Portuguese visitors was coastal areas of Ajattappareng I have decided to include them in this work.

My brief analysis of these accounts also helps to dispel several myths that have been built around them. In particular, Christian Pelras has drawn a number of unsupported historical claims from these Portuguese accounts, mainly that of Paiva, concerning the small Makasar coastal settlement of Siang (modern-day *kabupaten* Pangkajene). In his boldest statement about Siang's former importance Pelras (1996:127) claims: 'From Paiva's writings we learn that Siang had recently been at war with, and defeated, rebel seignories and that it still held sway over the Mandar coast, the Gulf of Kaili and, further, the north-west coast of Sulawesi, then rich in sandalwood and gold.' We learn nothing of the sort from Paiva's writings. Nowhere in his letter does Paiva make any connection whatsoever between Siang and Central Sulawesi. Rather, from Paiva's writings Siang appears to have been a relatively small settlement, which is confirmed by recent archaeological evidence (Fadilah and Mahmud 2000). Furthermore, the archaeological evidence from Siang shows that from 1300 to 1600 it was relatively insignificant in comparison to Suppaq and Gowa. At only two of the sites surveyed in Siang was there any significant concentration of ceramic sherds, Sengkae and Kassi-kassi, but most of these sherds dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and

⁴⁶ The letter itself appears to be a copy made between 1560 and 1584 in Portugal from an earlier copy made from the original in Goa, India, in 1545 (Jacobs 1966:254). Jacobs (1966) reproduces the letter in full in the original Portuguese. Baker (2005) has recently published an excellent English translation of the letter.

⁴⁷ The longest of these works is a copy of a document reputedly made by Eredia's brother, Domingos Godinho de Eredia, presumably derived from a story told by his parents (Mills 1930:55-6). In this work, we are told that Dona Elena Vesiva was the daughter of the ruler of Suppaq, who was a cousin of the ruler of Bacukiki. However, in Manuel Godinho de Eredia's summary of his life, he claims that Dona Elena Vesiva was in fact 'Mistress of the State of Machoquique (Bacukiki); and on her departure the ruling power was assumed by her parents.'

were small in number by comparison to sites surveyed in Suppaq.⁴⁸

In his letter, Paiva explains several uncommissioned baptisms made by him in South Sulawesi (Jacobs 1966). Paiva had been sent to Sulawesi to buy sandalwood by Ruy Vaz Pereira, the captain of Melaka. In 1544, he sailed into the port of Suppaq on his way to a settlement called Durate (which he also calls the 'sandalwood island'), which appears to have been located in Central Sulawesi, close to Toli-toli.⁴⁹ On arrival, Paiva was received by the king of Suppaq, whom he describes as being about seventy years old and white-haired, the king's fifteen year-old son, and thirty women wearing gold bracelets. As Pelras (1977:250) points out, this king was probably the *datu* Suppaq, La Putébulu (white-hair, B.). Paiva also describes the king of Suppaq as being warlike and feared in the surrounding area, a description that correlates with the tradition about *lasigalung*.

In Suppaq, Paiva was informed that there was some kind of armed conflict in Durate at the time and consequently decided not to continue his journey.⁵⁰ He does not say who informed him of the problem in the 'sandalwood island' but as he makes no mention of speaking to anyone other than the king of Suppaq it seems probable that he was his source of information.⁵¹

The king of Suppaq, who was evidently well informed of the Portuguese presence in insular Southeast Asia and of their conflict with the Islamic faith, asked Paiva why the Portuguese wage war against the Muslims. Paiva replied that it was because the religion of Muhammad was false and morally wrong. Paiva then attempted to convince the king that Christianity was the true path to salvation and offered him a piece of cloth woven with gold that had a religious image on it. However, the king of Suppaq showed little interest, and the following day Paiva left for Siang, which he had visited on his first trip to Sulawesi in 1542, when he had fallen ill and stayed as a guest of the ruler of Siang.

In Siang, the king mentioned the conversation about Christianity he

⁴⁸ Irfan Mahmud, personal communication, 2003. I have addressed the myth of Siang in a forthcoming article entitled 'A reassessment of three mid-sixteenth century Portuguese sources for the west coast of South Sulawesi in the light of recent archaeological evidence', which takes into consideration geographical and maritime factors.

⁴⁹ At least ten early European maps dating from 1611 until 1759 mark a toponym called Durate or, on later maps, Turate. The four earliest maps place Durate to the west of Toli-toli and are reproduced in Appendix E. Alternatively, Campbell Macknight (personal communication, 2005) points out that the Malay word for sandalwood is *cendana* and suggests that the 'sandalwood island' Paiva refers to may have been the Mandar polity of Sendana, about 30 kilometres north of Majene.

⁵⁰ Jacobs 1966:286. Paiva simply uses the Portuguese word *alevantada*, which can mean 'at arms', in 'a state of rebellion' or 'at war' with another polity.

⁵¹ That Paiva learnt the news about the problem in Durate while in Suppaq is evidence of contact between Durate and Suppaq, even if the news had come from other (presumably non-European) traders.

had had with Paiva on his previous visit and expressed interest in becoming a Christian. However, he was concerned that prominent people in Siang would oppose conversion and he needed to consult them first.⁵² While the king of Siang was away consulting leading nobles on his desire to convert to Christianity, a fleet of about 20 ships appeared, which caused unease in Siang. As the fleet approached Paiva's junk, it became evident that it was led by the king of Suppaq, who had come to see Paiva. After learning of the consultation going on in Siang, the king of Suppaq declared that he himself had already decided to become a Christian. He was then baptized on Paiva's boat together with several members of his family; the ruler of Siang was baptized some days later.

The following year, Simão Botelho, the new captain of Melaka, sent a mission to Suppaq led by a Portuguese priest, Father Vicente Viegas, which was intended to instruct the converts in Christian teachings and to further spread the Catholic faith. According to Eredia, the mission stayed at Bacukiki.⁵³ Eredia briefly describes the 'official' baptism of the rulers of Suppaq, Alitta and Bacukiki, which he says took place at a hermitage the Portuguese built at Bacukiki. Eredia gives no description of the ruler of Suppaq. He tells us that he took the name Dom Juan, and refers to him as Dom Juan Tubinaga (Mills 1930:55-6). Pelras (1977:250) may be correct in arguing that the change in baptism name indicates that the king of Suppaq whom Paiva baptized must have died within the year and been succeeded by a son. However, the name, 'Tubinaga', does not correspond to any Ajattappareng genealogical records.⁵⁴ Eredia gives the non-Christian names of three other nobles baptized by Vicente Viegas, but none of these can be identified with individuals in the Ajattappareng genealogies.⁵⁵

Eredia briefly describes the flight of the Portuguese from Bacukiki (Mills 1930:56): 'there occurred a disturbance and a riot in which weapons were dis-

⁵² According to Paiva (Jacobs 1966), the king of Siang asked him to explain the Ten Commandments to him and some other prominent people in Siang.

⁵³ Eredia refers to Bacukiki as a sea-port but neither of the two contemporary accounts, those of Paiva and Pinto, make any mention of Bacukiki. Eredia's reference appears solely responsible for the misconception that Bacukiki was the pre-Islamic port of Suppaq (Pelras 1977; Andaya 1981). Whether this mission did stay at Bacukiki is debatable. A more likely location is Perangki, a place name derived from the Malay *feranggi* (foreigner) which was originally applied to the Portuguese.

⁵⁴ The name Tubinaga is reminiscent of names of Gowa rulers, such as Tunipalangga and Tunibatta. It is possible that Eredia has confused the king of Suppaq with the king of the Makasar settlement of Siang, who took the name Dom Juan when baptized by Paiva.

⁵⁵ These three non-Christian names are: Lapiduo and Tamalina of Bacukiki, and Pasapio, whom Eredia refers to simply as a king. Working from several genealogical trees written in the Latin script, Pelras (1977:250-1) has attempted to identify these individuals named by Eredia. He associates the name Tamalina with Wé Tappatana (the wife of La Putébulu and La Pasampoi), Lapiduo with La Cellaq Mata (the ruler of Sawitto who married Wé Lampé Wéluaq) and Pasapio with La Pasampoi, a ruler of Sidénréng (see figures 4, 4.1 and 4.2).

played, because Dona Elena Vesiva had secretly embarked in the junk in the company of Juan de Eredia [...] against the wishes of her parents.' The longest of Eredia's works closes with a statement that the Portuguese in Melaka lost the friendship of the baptized kings. He claims that the rulers remained Christians but on their death were succeeded by 'strangers' who conquered Suppaq, Alitta and Bacukiki. Whether the rulers remained Christian cannot be verified, but Eredia is correct in stating that strangers conquered the lands.

As we learnt in Chapter III, one Manuel Pinto was left behind because of the hurried Portuguese departure. Pinto states that he stayed on in Suppaq for a time, then went to Sidénréng, where he claims to have spent a further eight months with the ruler. Considering the length of time Pinto claims to have spent in South Sulawesi, he tells us very little save for his information on the central lakes and a brief description of Sidénréng. Pinto's information also suggests that the ruler of Sidénréng was La Batara (Great Lord, B.), which other sources indicate ruled at about this time (below).

[From Suppaq] I went to another king, a very great lord, who is called *emperador* [...] He lives five or six leagues within the interior of the land in a city called Sedemre. [...] his land is the best that I have seen in this world for it is completely flat and has much rice, meat, fish, and fruit. His city is located on the shores of a lake on which there are many large and small *praus*.

The question of interest that arises from these Portuguese accounts is why the rulers of Suppaq, Alitta, Bacukiki and Siang were so quick to convert to Christianity, particularly in the light of the fact that Islam had been present in South Sulawesi for at least fifty years, during which time no local ruler appears to have converted to that faith. Pelras suggests that the ruling elite of South Sulawesi resisted Islam for so long because they feared it would threaten the traditional social order and jeopardize their own position. He further argues that interest in Christianity was perhaps derived from an initial misunderstanding of the Christian faith, particularly the dogma of the Trinity, which may have been seen as compatible with the *tomanurung* myths. A further misunderstanding may have been the role of the Catholic priests, which may have been associated with that of the *bissu*, the transvestite ritual specialists closely associated with the ruling elite (Pelras 1985:116-8).

While Paiva informs us in his letter that he discussed theological issues with the ruler of Siang, he does not appear to have had any significant theological discussion with the king of Suppaq, who, in his first meeting with Paiva, showed little interest in Christianity. While one cannot rule out the possibility that the king of Suppaq was genuinely interested in Christianity, the speed of his decision, and the general lack of theological discussion, suggests that his motives were not religious. The king of Suppaq was probably

well aware of the Portuguese conquest of Melaka, which may have been perceived as a major military feat, and that the Portuguese appeared to have established themselves as a permanent fixture in island Southeast Asia. In the mid-sixteenth century, as Suppaq and its allies came into increasing conflict with the Makasar kingdom of Gowa, the military power of the Portuguese was probably the main incentive for conversion to Christianity. Furthermore, the king of Suppaq had probably learnt enough from Malay traders resident in South Sulawesi to know that an attempt at alliance with the Portuguese would be facilitated by conversion to their religion.

War with Gowa and the decline of Suppaq and Sawitto

As the sixteenth century progressed, Gowa, in partnership with Talloq, increasingly challenged Suppaq and Sawitto's influence along the west coast of Sulawesi. The sensational rise of Gowa from 1300 until its fall in the latter part of the seventeenth century has been archaeologically documented by David Bulbeck.⁵⁶ Like most of the major South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged after about 1300, Gowa's success was derived from its agrarian base; its original capital at Kale Gowa was located about eight kilometres from the mouth of the Jeneberrang river in a fertile rice-growing region. The rulers of Talloq were descended from the same ruling line as Gowa but following a succession dispute in Gowa they appear to have established a rival kingdom close to the mouth of the Talloq river at about 1500.⁵⁷ In the early sixteenth century, Gowa became increasingly ambitious and, after defeating Talloq, Maros, Polombangkeng and the important port of Garassiq, began to look beyond the southwestern part of the peninsula. Talloq re-emerged alongside Gowa as a junior partner in an alliance that would prove to be one of the most successful in the history of South Sulawesi.

Gowa's major territorial expansion outside of the southwestern part of the peninsula took place during the reign of Tunipalangga, who had succeeded his father, Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna in about 1546.⁵⁸ It was during the reign of

⁵⁶ Bulbeck 1992. The chronicle of Gowa provides us with little information about Gowa before the early sixteenth century. Historians (Andaya 1981; Reid 1983) have generally interpreted this to mean that Gowa was a kingdom of little significance before the early sixteenth century. However, Bulbeck's detailed archaeological work shows that Gowa emerged at about 1300 and was an important kingdom from 1400 onwards, and not, as Cummings (2002:23) has recently stated a 'relatively isolated backwater'.

⁵⁷ Compare Bulbeck 1992. Bulbeck's archaeological evidence for the establishment of Talloq at 1500, correlates with the story of this succession dispute found in the Talloq chronicle (Rahim and Ridwan 1975:5-6).

⁵⁸ Among the settlements the Gowa chronicle claims were defeated during the reign of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna is a 'Sidenre'/'Sidenreng' (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:18). The other settlements named together with Sidenre/Sidenreng as defeated by Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna (Garassiq, Katingang, Parigi, Siang, Lembangang, Bulukumba and Selayar) are all Makasar

the latter ruler that Suppaq and Sawitto clashed with Gowa.

The chronicle of Gowa briefly relates the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta together with other Gowan victories during the reign of Tunipalangga (1546-1565). The chronicle provides no details of the defeat of these lands but informs us that people from Suppaq, Sawitto and Bacukiki were brought back to Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:25). The chronicle makes no mention of people brought back to Gowa from any of the other lands defeated by Gowa, and gives no reason why the people of Suppaq, Sawitto and Bacukiki were singled out. Leonard Andaya (1981:26) suggests that these people may have been Malay traders and equates this information with a separate passage in the Gowa chronicle, which tells of a number of rights that the Malay trading community were granted by Tunipalangga when they settled at Gowa.⁵⁹ However, during the sixteenth century Malay traders were probably spread throughout many coastal and near coastal areas of South Sulawesi and Bulbeck's archaeological evidence suggests that Gowa would have been one of the major centres where foreign traders were concentrated, long before the war against Suppaq and Sawitto. The *attoriolong* Suppaq and Sawitto (*aSS*) also contains a memory of people from Suppaq and Sawitto being taken to Gowa and states that they were members of the ruling families of Suppaq and Sawitto. Among them was Wé Lampé Wéluaq, who, according to the tradition which tells of her fate, was tortured then pounded to death 'like rice flour', while her husband, La Cellaq Mata, was fed to the war dogs of the *karaeng* (Chapter II). An account of the aftermath of this war, including the atrocities committed on Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, was told to Admiral Cornelis Speelman in the late seventeenth century (Speelman 1670). It is clear from this that these people were not Malays but the people of Suppaq and Sawitto, many of whom were enslaved and sold. Some were taken to Gowa, others to Turatea, Poelebanky (Polombangkeng?) and Wello.⁶⁰ Indoq Lompa and Tonrong Peppingé in Suppaq are two lands which appear to have particularly suffered at the hands of Gowa at this time. The archaeological data indicates that both were depopulated in the sixteenth century and, in the light of Speelman's information, it appears probable that Gowa removed and enslaved their populations.⁶¹ As Gibson

lands, which suggests this information does not relate to the Bugis kingdom of Sidénréng but is derived from the memory of a raid on the Makasar settlement of Sidenre, a tributary of Binamu located on the south coast of the peninsula (Caldwell and Druce 1998:34; Caldwell and Bougas 2005:471).

⁵⁹ In the sense of 'greater Gowa', which included the city of Makassar.

⁶⁰ The 'Wello' mentioned by Speelman may be related to the *karaeng* Madelloq of the *aSS* Suppaq and Sawitto.

⁶¹ No Ming blue-and-white sherds were recorded at either site and their seventeenth century period counts in Appendix B are based on one Wanli (1550-1650) and two Swatow (1550-1700) sherds for Indoq Lompa and a solitary Wanli sherd for Tonrong Peppingé. The absence of Ming

(2005:152) points out, during Tunipalangga's reign Gowa did not simply loot defeated lands but often enslaved whole populations and used them as labourers to build irrigation works and fortifications.⁶²

The *aSS* also presents an explanation of the origin of the war. In a reported conversation between Tunipalangga and Makaraié, who has come to Gowa 'to look around at the land that follows' his 'land of Suppaq', Tunipalangga forcefully suggests a marriage between his son and Makaraié's daughter so that Suppaq and Gowa will become allies. Makaraié reluctantly agrees. However, Palétéang, a mid-sixteenth century ruler of Sawitto, opposes the marriage and tells Makaraié that it is their children who should marry, so that Suppaq and Sawitto will be united. The bride-price is returned to the *karaeng*, and Wé Lampé Wéluaq and La Cellaq Mata, the children of Makaraié and Palétéang, marry. Furious at this rejection, Tunipalangga seeks retribution and his army descends on Suppaq and Sawitto.

Typical of many South Sulawesi oral traditions that explain the cause of a particular war, the rejection of Tunipalangga's son by Makaraié evokes the pan-South Sulawesi concept of *siriq*. This provides a readily understandable explanation of the war's origin for people who listened to this tradition during its transmission in the oral register. However, while the origins of the war ultimately lie in competition for ascendancy along the west coast of Sulawesi, the *aSS* perhaps tells us something about the background to the conflict. The subject of the conversation between the two rulers, a proposed marriage between their children, is conceivable, and may reflect Tunipalangga's initial strategy against Suppaq.⁶³ That Makaraié later decided to reject the proposal perhaps explains the brutality of Tunipalangga's retribution against his daughter, Wé Lampé Wéluaq, and her husband, La Cellaq Mata, the memory of which is found in numerous oral and written traditions.

We should not, however, view the war as one in which Suppaq and Sawitto were simply passive victims defending themselves against the aggressive expansionist ambitions of Gowa. As the tradition about *lasigalung* suggests, Suppaq and Sawitto were also aggressive and expansionist. According to Paiva, the ruler of Suppaq was warlike and much feared in the surrounding area. An oral tradition written down in the nineteenth century chronicle of

blue-and-white suggests that the main phase of both lands was the fifteenth century and that most sherds dated to the fifteenth to sixteenth century in Appendix B arrived at these lands during the fifteenth century.

⁶² For detailed descriptions of Gowa and Talloq fortifications built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Bulbeck (1998).

⁶³ It is possible that relations between Gowa and Suppaq were cordial in 1544, towards the end of Tumapaqrisiq Kallonna's reign. We know from Paiva's account that following his baptism in 1544 the ruler of Suppaq sailed to Gowa's port of Garassiq with Paiva. It is not entirely clear from Paiva's account why they made the journey to Garassiq; it is possible that it was engineered by the ruler of Suppaq as a show of strength against its main competitor.

Tanété tells a story of how a ruler of Sawitto stopped at Tanété on his way to wage war on Gowa (Niemann 1883:15-23; Basrah Gising 2002:18-29). This suggests that Suppaq and Sawitto may themselves have carried out attacks on Gowa.

The conflict between Suppaq, Sawitto and Gowa was probably the culmination of years of competition between these major west coast powers as each vied to become the most powerful kingdom along the west coast of South and Central Sulawesi. It is no coincidence that the chronicle of Gowa lists Kaili and Toli-toli among the lands defeated by Gowa during Tunipalangga's reign (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:29). These are two of the Central Sulawesi coastal settlements that the *lasigalung* tradition claims were incorporated into Suppaq and Sawitto's sphere of influence. Gowa's victory over Suppaq and Sawitto radically changed the balance of power along the west coast of Sulawesi and paved the way for it to become the most dominant power in South Sulawesi.

The story found in the *aSS* about La Pancai's escape to Boné is corroborated by the chronicle of Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.) and the account related to Speelman. The Boné chronicle does not name La Pancai but simply informs us that when Bongkangngé ruled in Boné (late 1550s to early 1580s), an *aqdatuang* of Sawitto was driven out and came to Boné. Speelman (1670) states that La Pancai lived in exile in Boné and only returned to succeed his parents as ruler of both Sawitto and Suppaq at the beginning of Tunijalloq's reign (1565-1590), following the death of Tunipalangga and his brother, Tunibatta.⁶⁴ After the death of Tunibatta, a treaty was concluded between Boné and Gowa which recognized their respective spheres of influence. During the fifteen years or so that followed, there appears to have been a period of peace, perhaps facilitated by the relationship between Bongkangngé and Tunijalloq, who as a young man had lived in Boné for two years, and the influence of the Talloq ruler, Tumamenang ri Makkoayang.⁶⁵

It was perhaps the agreement between Boné and Gowa and the ensuing peace that enabled La Pancai to return to Suppaq and Sawitto and to succeed his parents, some 10 to 15 years after their death. It is possible that the agreement specifically encompassed La Pancai's return to Suppaq and Sawitto. As the *aSS* suggests, his lands may have been administered by the *karaeng* Madelloq under the authorisation of Gowa following their defeat. The *aSS* tells us that it was on the order of the *karaeng* of Gowa that La Pancai was installed as ruler and that he acknowledged the authority of Gowa. That La

⁶⁴ Tunibatta had succeeded Tunipalangga and immediately continued the war against Boné. However, just 40 days after becoming ruler of Gowa he was captured and beheaded in Boné. Tunijalloq was the son of Tunibatta.

⁶⁵ According to the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:41), Tunijalloq had fled to Boné to escape the wrath of his uncle, Tunipalangga, after committing an indiscretion.

Pancai became ruler of both Suppaq and Sawitto was perhaps the decision of the Gowa and Talloq rulers in order to facilitate their authority over the two kingdoms. The *aSS* claims that he later challenged Gowa's authority over Sawitto and Suppaq and the people of the area began to return.

The frequent references in textual sources to the defeat of Suppaq and Sawitto by Gowa, and in oral traditions which are still told today, is an indication of just what a tumultuous event this was for the people of these lands. Indeed, as the *aSS* informs us, when La Pancai went back to Sawitto, the people remained afraid and were still 'scattered about'.

Sidénréng's alliance with Gowa

The chronicle of Gowa makes no mention of Sidénréng, or Rappang, in the section that relates the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta. This is surprising given the alliance between the five kingdoms and, the degree of intermarriage between their ruling families during the sixteenth century. One would have expected Sidénréng and Rappang to provide their allies with military assistance against Gowa and perhaps see their names listed in the Gowa chronicle alongside the defeated. However, it appears that neither Sidénréng nor Rappang came to the aid of their allies in the war Gowa waged against them. The reason for Sidénréng's absence from the west-coast wars is perhaps related to its defeat by Wajoq and Luwuq at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it lost its tributary lands to the north of the lakes.

In the same section that tells of the defeat of Suppaq, Sawitto and Alitta, the Gowa chronicle informs us that Gowa, in alliance with Sidénréng, defeated Wajoq and subjugated Bulucénrana and Otting (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:24). This information can be correlated with the Wajoq chronicles, which tell of a war between Sidénréng and Otting in the mid-sixteenth century. According to the chronicles, Wajoq fought on the side of Otting, while Gowa fought on Sidénréng's side (Noorduyn 1955:226-7).

The politics surrounding the Gowa-Sidénréng alliance were undoubtedly more complex than we shall ever learn from our sources. What is clear is that Sidénréng entered into an alliance with Gowa, and that this alliance enabled Sidénréng to regain the tributary lands it had lost at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At the same time, Sidénréng played a role in the defeat of its bitter enemy Wajoq, which was subsequently made a slave of Gowa. We will probably never know if this alliance was forged before, or perhaps even during, Gowa's war against Suppaq and Sawitto and whether it included an agreement that Sidénréng would play no part in the war that Gowa waged against Sidénréng's allies. However, I suspect the rulers of Sidénréng came to the conclusion that resistance against Gowa was futile and, rather than risk losing their own independence, decided to acknowledge Gowa as an over-

lord while using the situation to regain former tributaries.

Whatever the reasons for the alliance with Gowa, there is little doubt that the ruler of Sidénréng at this time was La Batara, who was probably responsible for rebuilding Sidénréng after its defeat by Luwuq and Wajoq at the beginning of the sixteenth century and leading the kingdom to economic ascendancy in Ajattappareng. All Ajattappareng genealogies record a marriage in the mid-sixteenth century between La Batara and Wé Cina (the *arung* of Bulucénrana), which would have taken place shortly after the Gowa-Sidénréng victory over Wajoq, and Bulucénrana's reincorporation as a tributary of Sidénréng. As a result of its alliance with Gowa, Sidénréng was drawn into the wars Gowa waged in the eastern part of the peninsula, and together with Luwuq, Wajoq and Soppéng, Sidénréng fought in Tunipalangga's war against Boné (above) (Noorduyn 1955:240-1).

Resistance to Gowa and the Islamization of Ajattappareng

In the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the period of peace that had prevailed from the beginning of Tunijalloq's reign (1565-1590) came to an end. Both Wajoq and Soppéng appear to have rejected the ties of allegiance to Gowa that they had been forced to accept in the preceding decades and instead aligned themselves with Boné. In about 1582, Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng formed the *tellumpoccoé* alliance in an attempt to halt further military expansion by Gowa (Noorduyn 1955:250-3; Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.). Consequently, Gowa launched a campaign against the three kingdoms.

Genealogical records in the Wajoq chronicles (Noorduyn 1955:256-9) during the reign of the *arung matoa* of Wajoq, La Mungkacé (1567-1607 (Abidin 1985:575)) record several marriages between nobles from Wajoq and Rappang that suggest that relations between Wajoq and the Ajattappareng kingdoms also moved closer during this period. The Ajattappareng genealogies also record the marriage of La Pancai's daughter, Wé Passullé, to To Patakkeq of Wajoq. These marriages probably reflect moves by the Bugis kingdoms to form a wider pan-Bugis alliance against Gowa. A short passage in the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:53) during the reign of Tunijalloq suggests that the Ajattappareng kingdoms did indeed form some kind of alliance with the *tellumpoccoé* lands at this time, informing us that Gowa had agreements with Sawitto and Sidénréng, but these were retracted and those lands aligned themselves with the people of Soppéng.

However, resistance against Gowa's military power was short-lived. About eight months after La Patiwareq of Luwuq became South Sulawesi's first Muslim ruler, taking the title Sultan Muhammad Wali Mu'z'hir al-din in January 1605, the rulers of Talloq and Gowa, converted to Islam. Sultan

Abdullah and Sultan Ala'uddin then invited the remaining South Sulawesi kingdoms to follow. This invitation was refused and Gowa then launched what became known as the *musuq sellang* in Bugis and *bunduq kasallannganna* in Makasar (wars of Islamization). Gowa's armies were victorious throughout; in 1609, Sidénréng was the last of the Ajattappareng kingdoms to fall.