

CHAPTER 9. THE UPPER-MIDDLE JEKNEKBERANG

9.1 Settlement Pattern Analysis

This chapter considers the sites on both sides of the Jeknekberang between Dampang, which lies at 10 metres asl, and Bontona Songkolo which lies at 20 metres asl (Figure 9-1a). The geological map of Sukamto and Supriatna (1982) shows the river's course girdled at the northeast by a body of Baturape-Cindako volcanics which, along with some local outcrops of Camba Formation, produces a gently undulating landscape whose spot altitudes rarely exceed 20 metres asl. The configuration of the low hills above the alluvium warps and retards local drainage patterns with two odd results. The courses of the Sungai Romang Polong and Sungai Sabeng are entirely restricted to alluvial deposits, while the alluvial deposits constitute part of the watershed between the Jeknekberang and Tallok rivers. These deposits are generally waterlogged and hence ideal for wet rice, but there are also several swamps where the prevailing ground surface dips well beneath the water table.

According to the geological map, only alluvial deposits bracket the upper-middle Jeknekberang along its southwest bank (Figure 9-1a). However, I observed sporadic outcrops of sedimentary rock which apparently represent a larger body of rock mostly buried beneath the shallow deposits (9.9).

The distances between the historical sites (Table 9-1) produce the range of possible site-clustering patterns shown in Figure 9-2. These clusters exhibit a curvilinear geometry rather than the centred clusters of the lower-middle Jeknekberang (Figure 6-15). Three groups of sites (BKDA, BS, PDCSS) possibly belong to the clusters, but the matter is uncertain because they abut the borders of unsurveyed area. Moreover, had it been possible to extend the survey to Bontomanaik (5.2), some minor re-arrangements could have resulted. On the available data, the reported but uninspected looting at Ujung (U) - virtually the sole kampung between Balang Mawang and Bontomanaik - would point to a link with Bossolok-Sabeng, and membership of the BSU group with the Saumata cluster (Table 9-1). But the terrain is unsurveyed,

TABLE 9-1. UPPER-MIDDLE JEKNEKBERANG INTERSITE DISTANCES IN METRES

[illegible]

N.B. The sites between Pakblintang and Sero, and between Manggala Toa and Patadang Toa, are included here to show that they do not cluster with the Samudata cluster. Bracketed intersite distances involve crossings across the Jekneberang.

	P	K	P	P	S	S	B	K	D	A	M	J	P	B	S	P	K	K	K	P	S	B	K	B
Borong Barat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4335	3165	5140	5275	4810	4975	4390	3560	3345	2990	2880
Borong Timur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4020	2840	5200	5300	4755	4790	4355	3570	3320	3130	2960
Kaballokang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4510	3390	6150	6150	5775	5635	5185	4455	4245	4040	3885
Borong Parang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5200	4060	6970	6925	6560	6325	5950	5245	5010	4830	4675
Songkolo Asli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5975	5580	8100	8025	7750	7475	6875	6305	6135	5995	5660
Bontona Songkolo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(6550)	(5585)	(8050)	(8125)	(7825)	(7650)	(7050)	(6310)	(6040)	(5800)	(5420)
Pekallak Bua	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(7200)	(6350)	(6090)	(6675)	(6400)	(6390)	(5480)	(4890)	(4600)	(4225)	(3770)
Dampang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(6010)	(5585)	(4880)	(5425)	(5120)	(5260)	(4265)	(3555)	(3320)	(2935)	(2580)
Cellaya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5975)	(5075)	(5350)	(5825)	(5540)	(4990)	(5185)	(3760)	(3620)	(3240)	(2755)
Saukang Boe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(6150)	(5750)	(5900)	(6300)	(6015)	(5460)	(5590)	(4185)	(3845)	(3710)	(3320)
Saukang Borong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(6150)	(5700)	(6090)	(6490)	(6175)	(5580)	(5720)	(4610)	(3975)	(3660)	(3470)
Cambang Beroanging	C	R	B	B	B	T	B	S	B	B	K	B	S	B	P	D	C	S						
Romang Polong Barat	805																							
Bonto Pakja	775	1585																						
Buta Didia Asli	975	1750	435																					
Bonto Ramba	1225	1975	840	345																				
Tamarunang Tua	2070	2955	1285	1130	1000																			
Borongloe	2735	3575	1930	1690	1520	450																		
Saukang Borong	2770	3555	1975	1985	2005	1005	800																	
Borong Barat	2805	3655	2000	1980	1995	930	670	110																
Borong Timur	2920	3710	2170	2215	2285	1375	1180	375	475															
Kaballokang	3870	4635	3100	3135	3180	2125	1515	1130	1175	905														
Borong Parang	4775	5515	3895	3915	3930	2835	2220	1940	1925	1720	785													
Songkolo Asli	5760	6665	5000	5010	4915	3720	3000	3000	2730	2770	1875	920												
Bontona Songkolo	(5525)	(6415)	(4670)	(4600)	(4450)	(3110)	(2310)	(2690)	(2620)	(2720)	(1970)	(1300)	(1100)											
Pekallak Bua	(3885)	(4305)	(3365)	(3140)	(2930)	(2850)	(2980)	(3615)	(4080)	(4325)	(4780)	(5295)	(6110)	4995										
Dampang	(2680)	(3050)	(2155)	(1955)	(1770)	(2140)	(2450)	(2925)	(3375)	(3610)	(4250)	(4935)	(5835)	4970	1140									
Cellaya	(2895)	(3520)	(2185)	(1970)	(1725)	(1550)	(1800)	(2330)	(2780)	(3015)	(3565)	(4180)	(5060)	4130	1340	855								
Saukang Boe	(3420)	(4060)	(2600)	(2325)	(2115)	(1465)	(1520)	(2205)	(2630)	(2925)	(3275)	(3765)	(4605)	3585	1535	1475	645							
Saukang Borong	(3600)	(4270)	(2720)	(2485)	(2245)	(1375)	(1300)	(2025)	(2440)	(2690)	(2995)	(3435)	(4230)	3165	1780	1790	945	345						

Figure 9-1a main clustering events. SBKBCR joins BBB at 1490m; TBSBB joins KBSB at 2338m; PKKKP joins BKDA at 2364m; SBKBCRBBB joins BS at 3090m; SBKBCRBBBBS joins PKKKPBKDA at 3237m; TBSBBKBSB joins PDCSS at 3368m. (MPPKPPSS is 2268m from SBKBCR, 2759m from BKDA and 3147m from PKKKP, i.e. joins westwards [Tables 6-3 and 6-4]; MJP is 2668m from PKKKP and 4004m from BKDA, i.e. joins northwards [Table 10-1]).

Figure 9-1b main clustering events. SBKBCR joins BBB at 1490m; TBSBB joins KBS at 2228m; SBKBCRBBB joins PKKKP at 2372m; SBKBCRBBBPKKKP joins BS at 2961m.

Figure 9-1c main clustering events. SBKBCR made to join PKKKP at 1849m; so BBB can join TBSBB at 1811m; SBKBCRPKKKP joins BS at 2814m (SBKBCRPPPP to BKDA is 2957m); BBBTBSBB joins PDCSS at 2502m (BBBTBSBB to KBSB is 3017m); BBBTBSBBPDCSS joins KBSB at 3533m - see 9.7.2 for explanation.

and it would be easy to mock up site configurations in which Ujung (with or without Bossolok-Sabeng), or the easternmost members of the Borongloe cluster, would be drawn towards Bontomanaik.

Be that as it may, there is a flock of sites along the rim of Baturape-Cindako volcanics and Camba Formation where these geological units about alluvial plain. The centre to this flock of sites is the large site of Saumata. The result stands even if we exclude the BKDA group - which only just joins the PKKRP group before the latter would join the SBKBCR group (Table 9-1) - on the grounds that it abuts a survey boundary (cf. 5.5.1). The BS pair could be excluded on similar grounds. But the issue at stake is which peripheral sites belong to the cluster, rather than Saumata's central position.

In contrast, the Borongloe cluster of sites along the alluvium flanking the Jekneberang is not stable, nor is the central position of Borongloe. To create that situation we must allow sites to cluster across the Jekneberang, and ignore possible clustering of the PDCCS group south towards Palangga. Treating the Jekneberang as a barrier could well construe the "Borongloe cluster" as the western member of a larger cluster centred near Bontomanaik (Figure 9-2b).

The area was significant in Gowa's history. Saumata, Borongloe and Bontomanaik were reportedly involved in the succession dispute between Batara Gowa and Kgløe ri Sero (SG:14; ST:5). Saumata and Bontomanaik were regular members of Gowa's Bate Salapang during the 16th and 17th centuries (Mukhlis, 1975:61-62). Still, the rise of powerful palace centres in the 16th century does not appear to have restricted the options for communities along the upper-middle Jekneberang to have shifted their internal allegiances. The relationship between this point and the indecisive site-clustering patterns will be explored in the site descriptions.

Palangga is a large kampung, as shown by the Dutch land-use maps, approximately one km south of Pekallak Bua. It has been a rural centre at least in later times.

9.2 Saumata Lama (Gowa 30)

Saumata Lama (Figure 9-3) incorporates the junction of Campaga Lomo ("Old Campaga") at the north and Samata (sic) at the south. These kampungs have probably expanded into the site during the 19th and 20th centuries, for the bare presence of "Qing BW" sherds suggests little occupation during the 17th-18th centuries (Figures 9-5 and 9-6). The north-south oriented body of the site lies on a flat extension of Baturape-Cindako volcanics raised slightly above alluvial plain. Near the site, the alluvial plain contains seasonally inundated rice fields (Figure 9-1a). Soil tests revealed a brown to reddish brown silt with the slightly acidic pH of 6 at 5 centimetres' depth in both geological units. A retouched flake from zone 22, within the Baturape-Cindako volcanics unit, could have been brought to the surface during looting activities.

Although no looter's holes remain visible, the report of numerous antiques looted at six discrete locations during the 1970s is reliable. Our informant was the elderly inhabitant of zone 27 (Campaga Lomo) who had helped manage the looting operations (then legal) between Sero-Tombolok and Bontomanaik. He also showed us his unsold antiques from Saumata. We recorded the main densities of Saumata's precolonial tradeware pieces in the reportedly looted areas, and also in zone 17 which thus might have once contained antiques too (Figures 9-3 and 9-4).

The apparently oldest burial area corresponds to zones 14 to 16 and 21 at the south of the site. They show a distinct attenuation of "Ming" compared to "early" pieces (Figures 9-3 and 9-4).² The unsold antiques from here included two bases from Qingbai covered bowls, a gusi-type jar, a blackware bowl, three iron weapons and an earthenware which looks like a pedestalled candlestick holder (Photos 9-1 to 9-5). None of

² Indeed the "Ming" category is represented only by 15 pieces identified as Swatow in the field (Appendix D) but regrettably not collected for confirmation under laboratory conditions. In the absence of more secure evidence, they may well have come from a type of low-quality monochrome classified as "Swatow" by local ceramic specialists but best regarded as unclassifiable (B.2).

the datable items strays outside the early centuries of our millennium.

Subsequently this cemetery apparently grew northwards into zones 22 to 24 which contained 16th-17th century pieces, and possibly westwards into zone 17 too (Figures 9-3 and 9-4). The northern extension then apparently grew into the now-abandoned Islamic graveyard where river pebbles mark 15 graves in zone 12 (orientation 320° to 30° from north) and possibly 36 graves in zone 36 (Photo 9-8). The pebbles in zone 36 have been largely scattered by looting, suggesting that gravegoods accompanying early Islamic burials were looted (Figure 9-4). However, as the bamboo litter prevented us from seeing any sherdage, the looting could have been directed at gravegoods accompanying pre-Islamic burials mixed among the early Islamic burials.

The disregard for that graveyard contrasts with the careful treatment of the Islamic graves near zone 17. The stones reportedly marking the interment of a medicine woman remain intact despite the construction of the mosque almost on top (Photo 9-6). "Makam Takbakka" across the road, also called Makam Borong Inru, incorporates a saukang; 14 graves with stone, cement or iron markers (Table F-6a); and a sheltered brick sepulchre (Photo 9-7). The last encloses three "old" cement markers which must be modern restorations since they are associated with a former "godfather" whose name is not remembered. The implication of considerable time depth (Figure 9-5) for such a small complement of marked graves suggests sporadic re-use over the centuries, or that access to the graveyard was restricted, e.g. to the "godfather's" descendants.

"Early" tradeware pieces were also recorded at Saunata's northern and western extremities, as enclaves within broader scatters of "Ming" pieces (Figure 9-4). The unsold antiquities "from west of the mosque", i.e. zones 33 to 35, included three apparent Sawankhalok jarets and a Ming BM plate (Photos 9-10 and 9-11). This pre-Islamic cemetery has no clear spatial association with any Islamic cemetery. In contrast the northern area abuts Kuburan Islam Campaga Lomo whose continued use from the 17th century to the present is

represented by 340 graves marked with stone, wood or cement. In addition, a modern, private graveyard within the houseyard of our informant in Campaga Lomo belongs to his wife's family (Figure 9-3; Table F-6a).³

The sheltered, restored grave in Campaga Lomo (Photo 9-9) is associated with "Karaeng Samata". The historical records contain several mentions of Saumata: Gelarang Samata who was a late 17th century grandchild of Kg Jeknekponto (SG:62; Figure 4-9); Gelarang Saumata, a gelarang of some prominence in 1661;⁴ and Daeng ri Samata who died in 1680 (LB:163). In the absence of further evidence these records could all refer to the one individual who might also be the "Kg Samata" buried at Campaga Lomo.

Acceptance of my analysis of three cemetery-trajectories at Saumata Lama, with the southern one displaying the oldest origins, raises the question of the status of the western and northern examples. They could represent semi-autonomous factions within Saumata which had either budded off the original descent group, or left some other origins to join Saumata. However, the local ethnohistorical models would also allow the younger cemeteries to be associated with other kampungs near Saumata which either descended from Saumata (9.3.1) or chose to associate themselves with Saumata's prominent status (9.4).

By any interpretation, Saumata Lama's burial grounds were experiencing elaboration at a time apparently preceding the establishment of most of SSPHAP's pre-Islamic burial sites. Similarly, the standardised chronological histogram of Saumata Lama shows a marked accent on 13th-14th century pieces compared to the 15th-17th century pieces (Figure 9-6). Saumata Lama appears to have been a centre of power during the 13th-14th centuries, quite possibly on a par with old

³ Zone 28, to the east of the main northern pre-Islamic burial area, apparently bears some association with the latter, possibly as a small offshoot burial ground in terminal Ming times.

⁴ The specific reference mentions that, along with the Gelarang of Mangasa, Tombolok and Bontomanaik, Gelarang Saumata warned he would show his solidarity with the regent, Kg Summanak, when the latter threatened to resign his post (Andaya, 1981:61). Kg Summanak had made the threat to enforce Kg Karunrung's exile (3.5.1).

Gowa. Its sphere of influence might have included the area covered by the Saumata cluster. The comparative scarcity of "Ming" compared to "early" tradewares may reflect Saumata's decreased status when it became one of Gowa's Gelarang area during the 16th-17th centuries. Indeed, the accounts of Gowa's succession dispute (c.1500) state that Saumata sided with Karaengloe ri Sero (SG:14) yet that Saumata deserted him for Batara Gowa (ST:5). This might suggest an equivocal attitude on Saumata's part towards the political centralisation proceeding in Gowa's core.

9.3 The Sites to Saumata's South

9.3.1 Beroang to Bonto Ramba Tua

Present-day Beroang (Gowa 33) is a dispersed kampung occupying a low rise of Baturape-Cindako volcanics on the south bank of Sungai Romang Polong. Its agricultural basis includes both dryland farming associated with secondary forest regrowth, and rice fields (Figures 9-1b and 9-7). At the south lie two restored sepulchres, enclosing head and foot stones, associated with Cambang ("Facial Hair") Beroang and his wife (Photo 9-13). Remembered as a hero contemporary with Hasanuddin, Cambang Beroang can be identified with either Mappassepek Kg Beroang (1635-?) or Muhiidin Kg Beroang (1661-1695) (Table 3-5; Figure 4-12; LB:97,125,181). His descendants are represented by the family cemetery of 37 marked graves abutting at the north. The rest of Makam Cambang Beroang appears disused, as does a small graveyard in zone 1 to the northwest. In the near vicinity are kampung cemeteries for the inhabitants of Parang, Balaang Tonjong and Beroang (Photo 9-14). The total 245 marked graves, oriented 320° to 340° from north throughout, show a range of 17th to 20th century styles (Table F-6b). Evidence of pre-Islamic use of the site was found in zone 1 - a Ming BW sherd, and a piece tentatively dated 1350-1450 (Photo 9-16). Moreover, some blue-and-white tradewares were reportedly recovered from Beroang Utara (zone 10). Presumably Beroang's initial cemetery, the area contained 25 looter's holes; 16 disturbed stone arrangements marking

graves, oriented between 320° and 350° from north; but no visible sherdage (Photo 9-15; Table F-6b). As with zone 36 at Saumata, its origins could be either pre-Islamic or syncretist Islamic.

To judge from the standardised chronological histogram, Beroanging's main period of occupation occurred from the 17th century onwards (Figure 9-9), corresponding to the elaboration of burial grounds at the south. Moreover, the Parang and Balang Tonjong kampung cemeteries would appear to reflect the establishment of recent communities which have budded off from Beroanging (or possibly chosen to associate themselves with the local hero Cambang Beroanging). The small kampung of Parang was still called Beroanging on the early 20th century Dutch maps. Balang Tonjong corresponds to SSPHAP's site Bonto Pakja (Gowa 93) where we noted a 17th-18th century graveyard with some 60 to 70 marked graves among the dense undergrowth, including the tomb of "Karaeng Bonto Pakja" and a companion (Table F-6b). A ploughed field next to the cemetery contained some Swatow and Qing BW sherdage, but no "recent" tradewares (in accordance with the abandonment of the graveyard). The inhabitants confessed to burying their dead at Beroanging, suggesting they represent a recent recolonisation from Beroanging (see Figure 9-1b).

Buta Didia reinforces the impression of population movement in the land south of Beroanging. A former Buta Didia lingkungan headman escorted us to "Buta Didia Asli" (Gowa 71) within a forest of bamboos and old garden trees (Photo 9-17). He said a sackful of tradewares had been found there - blue-and-white, brownwares, plus many celadons and whitewares - which indicates a pre-Islamic burial ground of considerable longevity. 92 looter's holes extend through the regrowth to an open area of four neglected, east-west marked graves and two maize fields scattered with sherds (Figure 9-8). The tradeware component (Photo 9-18) confirms the other evidence pointing to several centuries of pre-Islamic burials at Buta Didia Asli. The tradewares also indicate abandonment of the site by the 19th century (Figure 9-9).

The former headman showed us the other Islamic graveyard, near Biring Balang, associated with Buta Didia Asli. We

estimated that the graves dated to the 19th-20th centuries. He also told us the Buta Didia inhabitants currently use the cemetery in present-day on the Ujung Pandang-Malino highway. Hence Buta Didia's relocation to the highway, which had already occurred when the Dutch land-use maps were prepared, can be dated to around 1900 (cf. 9.7.1). The evacuation of Buta Didia's traditional lands would have allowed the southward expansion of Beroangng descendants.

The 1914 Dutch cartographic data show Buta Didia next to another sizable kampung, Bonto Ramba (Gowa 74). The latter is associated with cemeteries at the north of its settled area, and half-way between there and Buta Didia Asli (Figure 9-1b). The former contained an estimated minimum of 250 marked graves, and the latter a counted minimum of 47 marked graves, all apparently 18th century to modern in style. These cemeteries are probably lateral growths from the original, pre-Islamic to early Islamic burial ground, since they bound an area of sunken fields, excavated into the soil, which had reportedly produced a few celadon, Sawankhalok, and blue-and-white wares. At the north margin of these fields are two stone arrangements marking graves, the remnants of a larger graveyard now covered by thick secondary forest or destroyed during excavation of the fields (Table F-6a).

Although Buta Didia and Bonto Ramba became part of 20th century Beroangng (Figure 9-2d), their early burial grounds and Bonto Pakja join a cluster centred at Beroangng (Figures 9-2a and 9-2b). I suspect this pattern reflects the sphere of Beroangng's influence in the late 17th century, during which time two Beroangng karaengs not descended from the major lineage groups (Figure 4-12) achieved sufficient prominence to be recorded in Gowa's royal diary.

9.3.2 Romang Sappang (Sappanwood Forest) and Romang Polong (Felled Forest)

The excavation of a large irrigation canal at kampung Bontoa (Gowa 31) around ten years ago reportedly recovered many antiquities and prompted further looting. We counted nine remnant holes in a mixed grove west of the canal, and seven near a small graveyard east of the road. We were shown a

blue-and-white jar cover (which looked Qing) reportedly found with a knife in the latter diggings. The graveyard, Kuburan Romang Sappang, had 30 rectangular arrangements of pebbles oriented 310° to 45° from north, and 13 masonry or cement markers (Photo 9-19; Table F-6c). The surface sherds included a few Ming pieces, further supporting the interpretation of the site as a small, terminal pre-Islamic to old-Islamic burial ground. Nonetheless the tradewares point to the 19th-20th centuries as the main phase of occupation at the site (Figure 9-9).

Romang Polong Barat (Gowa 34) is a small area, next to Sungai Romang Polong, where antiques were reportedly found several decades ago. We recorded a Swatow sherd (Figure 9-9) but no remnant looter's holes or Islamic graves, so the site's interpretation is unclear.

Kuburan Romang Polong (Gowa 32), which today serves Romang Polong, Bontoa and Kadieng, occurs in kampung Kadieng⁵ directly north of Beroanging across the Sungai Romang Polong (Figure 9-1b). Although measuring only 85 by 60 metres, the cemetery is packed with 542 marked graves of old to modern styles (Photo 9-20; Table F-6c). Reportedly some antiques, mainly blue-and-white ceramics, were found in the vicinity where we also recorded a few "Ming" tradewares (Figure 9-9). The site shows continuity in burials from at least the 16th century to the present.

The association of the word romang (forest) with the two recorded Islamic graveyards might connote a formerly well-forested environment, possibly even on the alluvial plain which is now largely sawah (Figure 9-1). However, the value of the connotation for specific environmental reconstruction is dubious, given that there is no date for when the toponyms were applied, and that late 17th century Makassar included woods visible from Fort Rotterdam.⁶

⁵ Somewhat confusingly, today's Kadieng appears on the Dutch land-use maps under the name Beroanging. Even though the graveyard serves the kampungs to the north, we might nonetheless hypothesise that settlement near the graves was initiated from Beroanging, by the 18th century to judge from the recorded tradewares (Figure 9-9).

⁶ The specific reference mentions that the Dutch had espied Makassar warriors marching from Gowa towards Bontoalak on 21st March 1675 (Andaya, 1981:172).

9.4 The PKKP Sites North of Saumata Lama

A short distance north of Saumata Lama along the asphalt road lies Palampang Baru, corresponding to a graveyard shown on the Dutch land-use maps, and 250 metres to the east lies Palampang Toa (UP14).⁷ This small kampung area occupies reddish brown silt and dark brownish grey, clayey silts at the northern extremity of the Baturape-Cindako volcanics (Figure 9-1a). The site sits above seasonally inundated rice fields and a small swamp, Balang Tamboko, in the direction of Sungai Sabeng. We recorded a reasonable quantity of European pieces, suggesting the main occupation at the site occurred in the 19th century (Figure 9-12).⁸ However, Palampang Toa was also apparently a small burial area during terminal pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. A few remnant looter's holes and the small quantity of surface Ming tradeware pieces (Figure 9-12) confirm the reported looting of antiquities. The site also has nine marked graves, seven of masonry and two featuring stones inside cement restorations, within a grove of bananas and pineapples (Table F-6c).

To the north lies Kajenjeng (UP16), an island in a sea of clay-based rice fields. My tests indicated that the soil in the fields was acidic with a pH of 6. A modest number of antiquities were reportedly found through much of the site (Figure 9-10), suggesting they were domestic pieces or gravegoods from household-associated burials, at least at Kajenjeng's south which was sprinkled with "early" and "Ming" pieces. Near Kajenjeng's centre lies a small Islamic graveyard with 24 stone and five cement markers oriented due north-south (Table F-6c). A sheltered and venerated grave has fine masonry nisan at head and foot 2.2 metres apart. It is associated with "Daeng Kajenjeng" who reportedly owned Kajenjeng prior to Dutch rule (Photo 9-21). Post-Ming sherds cropped up throughout Kajenjeng except at the north where thick vegetation precluded useful survey. Even though

⁷ The Dutch land-use maps curiously show Palampang south of Saumata.

⁸ In addition, Palampang Toa reportedly used to have a saukang, but it had been wrecked.

the site appears to have been occupied from the 13th-14th centuries to the present (Figure 9-12), the small size of the Islamic graveyard accords with the reported burial of most of Kajenjeng's deceased at Kassik Utara.

The Islamic graveyard of Kassik Tengah (UP15)⁹ covers an area approximately 30 metres north-south by 60 metres east-west and includes 252 old and new marked graves (Table F-6c). Directly south of the graveyard, as evinced by a small area of remnant looter's holes, people had reportedly found blue-and-white ceramics along with smaller quantities of brownwares, Sawanhalok and celadons. One inhabitant, who was aware of the immediately pre-Islamic tradition of east-west oriented burials, showed us a decorated earthenware and

TABLE 9-2. KASSIK TENGAH'S ANTIQUES ASSIGNED TO BURIALS

	<u>Head</u>	<u>Chest</u>	<u>Foot</u>
Burial 1 (15th century)	2 Vietnamese bowls - 1 BW, 1 subceladon		1 decorated earthenware (Photo 9-22)
Burial 2 (16th century)	1 Ming BW bowl (cloud and lotus scrolls)	1 Ming enamelled famille verte bowl (lotus sprays)	1 BW bowl, Ming or late Vietnamese
Burial 3 (15th-16th centuries)	2 Sawankhalok underglaze-iron, covered bowls		

Location with corpse not estimated

Burial 4 (late 16th/early 17th century)	Fragments from 3 Ming BW bowls with devolved floral & abstract decorations
Burial 5 (16th century)	Ming BW foliated plate with kilin in centre
Burial 6 (16th century)	Ming BW bowl with lotus scroll on external cavetto

N.B. No bones were reportedly observed (cf. the slightly acidic pH of the area's soils) so how our informant assigned the ceramics to particular parts of former corpses is not clear. Using a flash I badly overexposed my colour slides of the tradewares which thus are not reproduced in this thesis.

⁹ The site falls in "Kasi 1" of the 1:50k Dutch land-use map, Sheet 75-XXXIV-C. The cemetery is shown on both the 1:25k and 1:50k sheets as straddling the old road leading north from Saumata Lama, but we recorded it only along the eastern margin of the modern road.

¹⁰ "Kasi 2" on the 1:50k Dutch land-use map.
¹¹ Both east-west graves are marked by head and foot stones, oriented at 100° and 110° from north respectively.
¹² Tamangapa is a kampung 500 metres west of Kassik Utara.
¹³ The antiquies were first come upon in 1985 after the inhabitants had excavated a WC.

twelve tradeware pieces which he assigned to six burials. These pieces allow the origins of the burial ground to be dated to at least the 15th century (Table 9-2), slightly earlier than the 16th-century date which could be inferred from the small sample of surface sherds (Figure 9-12). Kassik Utara (UP20)¹⁰ is a finger of Camba Formation poking through rice fields around 300 metres south of a swampy area called Balang Kassik (Figures 9-1a and 9-11). According to local reports, looting started even before Indonesia's independence, and finally extended between zones 2 and 12, producing mainly Sawankhalok jars but also blue-and-white (Vietnamese, Ming, Swatow) and celadon wares. Confirming the report, we recorded four Sawankhalok and 52 pre-Qing Chinese pieces scattered throughout the site (Appendix D; Figure 9-12). We also noted east-west graves¹¹ at both ends of the reportedly looted area. The one in zone 2 measures 2.5 metres long. The example in zone 12, which is associated with "Karaeng Kassik", clearly commemorates an auspicious person given its protection under a locked shelter and its astounding length of 4.4 metres (Photo 9-23). Possible identifications include Dg Kassik, the wife of the late 17th century harbour master Dg Makulle (ST:8), and Kg Kassikjaja (1616-1694) who bore Mappaseppek Kg Beroang (LB:88, 180). The Islamic graveyards in zones 5 and 11 together include 97 graves marked with pebbles and/or cement, plus an unclear number of heavily disturbed, pebble-marked graves in zone 12 (Table F-6c). At the far south of the site lies Kuburan Islam Tamangapa with 108 markers of pebbles, masonry, cement or wood.¹²

The kampung of Parinring, which is situated on Camba Formation (Figure 9-1a), contains an area 80 metres by 20 metres with 63 looter's holes (UP19). The site's pre-Qing surface sherds were quite rich, probably in large part because the looting had occurred recently.¹³ As well as

collecting a Vietnamese apple-green celadon (Photo 9-28) we were shown a Sukothai "fish bowl" (Photo 9-29) and told that the other antiques were Ming blue-and-white, Sawankhalok covered bowls, and "Korean" (probably Vietnamese). Reportedly Parinring has no Islamic graveyard, rather its deceased are buried in Kassik Utara. Hence Parinring's 14th/15th to 16th/17th century burial ground (Figure 9-12) was apparently abandoned with Islamisation.

The standardised chronological histogram for the combined PKKKP sites shows a steady increase from 13th-14th to 16th-17th century pieces. Kajenjeng produced the oldest tradewares while the four other pre-Islamic burial areas had apparently originated by the 15th century, but possibly no earlier (Figure 9-12). The Kassik sites, especially Kassik Utara, appear to have been the main burial places by the 16th century. This centralisation of burials apparently continued into Islamisation when the Kassik graveyards waxed while the Parinring, Palampang Toa and Kajenjeng burial grounds were abandoned. There is however no evidence for a concomitant abandonment of these kampungs (which would have allowed resettlement from Kassik); indeed Kajenjeng's tradeware profile follows a pattern of steady increase from the 16th century onwards. Rather there seems to have been a transformation of social relations resulting in Kassik's rise as a locally central burial place (cf. Figure 9-2).

9.5 Marginal Members of the Saumata Cluster

9.5.1 The BKDA sites

Dampang Bira (UP22) and Bankala/Ende (UP21) hug the edge of the Camba Formation where it meets the alluvial plain striking south towards Benteng Tua (Figure 9-1a). Eight finely flaked stone artefacts recorded from these sites attest to some prehistoric occupation (Appendix G). Dampang Bira and Ende have burial grounds abandoned by early Islamic times, concomitantly with a centralisation of burials at Kuburan Islam Bangkala (also UP21). Locational data suggest a relationship with Antang, Suaka site No. 253 (Kallupa, 1985:132-133; Photos 36-37), beyond SSPHAP's survey area.

whether this BKDA grouping belongs with the Saumata cluster, or some other cluster made up largely of sites as yet unsurveyed, is unclear (Figures 9-2a and 9-2b). Dampang Bira appears to have been a small but well-stocked pre-Islamic burial ground (Figure 9-13). Reportedly the looting occurred in the early 1980s and recovered hundreds of pieces, mostly blue-and-white, but also numerous Sawankhalok covered bowls and some celadons.¹⁴ Our survey recorded a light density of pre-Qing tradewares extending to the maize fields northeast of the reportedly looted area. By the general standards of Gowa's sites, monochrome rather than blue-and-white pieces were prominent (Appendix D), suggesting the burial ground was falling into disuse by the 16th century (Figure 9-15). Its decline was completed by Islamic times as there is no Islamic graveyard in Dampang Bira whose inhabitants use Kuburan Bangkala. During the 17th century or shortly thereafter the site apparently reverted to kampung (Figures 9-15 and 6-2b). Dampang Bira's 16th century decline apparently corresponds to the first burials at Ende, where maize fields border the alluvial plain (Figure 9-14).¹⁵ We recorded pebbles and one 100° from north; 16th century and later Ming BM pieces (Figure 9-15); and "colonial" pieces which accord with the representation of this area as kampung on the Dutch land-use maps. Mainly 17th century and later tradewares were recorded along the dirt road westwards to "Makam Karaeng Bangkala" (Figures 9-14 and 9-15). His grave is marked by a large stone inside a rectangle of cobbles on top of an earthen dais held together by cobble walls (Photo 9-24). Near it are three further marked graves oriented 340° from north, one of arranged cobbles, and three of masonry including the graves of Kg Bangkala's two reported ajudan or adjutants (Table F-6d; Photo 9-25). The styles suggest a small complex of

¹⁴ The looting was also reportedly most successful where the soil had a layer of kapur or "lime", possibly disintegrated or dissolved human bones, on top.

¹⁵ The looting had apparently occurred prior to the arrival of the inhabitants we spoke to whose houses were part of recent suburban developments at the site.

elite 17th century burials, corresponding to local reports that Bangkala used to be a *kerajaan kecil* (local polity) beneath Gowa. Nonetheless it is best not to identify this Kg Bangkala with the Bangkala *karaengs* mentioned in the historical records, for the latter can be readily associated with Bangkala on the peninsula's south coast (e.g. Andaya, 1981). Finally, Kuburan Bangkala is a good example of an Islamic graveyard displaying 17th to 20th century styles of markers, generally oriented around 350° from north (Table F-6d).

9.5.2 Bossolok (Gowa 72) and Sabeng (Gowa 45)

Bossolok falls within the large expanse of virtually unbroken rice fields between the PKKKP sites and the "Tallok headwater sites" (Figure 10-2a). The kampung occupies an island of Camba Formation which escapes inundation even when the monsoon peaks (Figure 9-1a; Photo 9-26). Its *saukang* occurs at the south, at the opposite end from a small, abandoned Islamic graveyard with 23 stone arrangements (Table F-6d) and 11 looter's holes. Immediately east of the graves 68 further holes occur in a lightly grassed area. Reportedly this was the main source of Bossolok's antiques which were blue-and-white ceramics. The few surface tradewares also indicate a 16th-17th century burial area (Figure 9-15). Corresponding to the virtual absence of 18th-19th century tradewares, the kampung does not appear on the Dutch land-use maps, and the inhabitants stated that they only recently settled Bossolok from Rapo Cidu. This small kampung, half a kilometre to the northwest, was itself probably settled from Bossolok in early Islamic times.¹⁶

The kampung and graveyard of Malaklang lie on the modern road directly south of Bossolok across the Sungai Sabeng, at the north border of an undulating belt of Baturape-Cindako

¹⁶ The justification for this inference is that Rapo Cidu fully complements Bossolok. Its small graveyard contains markers of cement or masonry with simple *nisan*; attempts to find antiques were reportedly unsuccessful; the surface tradeware sherdage I saw looked all Qing or European; and it is present on the Dutch land-use maps. Bugis immigrants from Sinjai are now numerically dominant at both kampungs.

17 It is quite feasible that the Sabeng site is historically connected with present-day Malaklang. Even though the Dutch land-use maps show the area as uninhabited, they do provide a place name, Kalimate, corresponding to Malaklang's location. Even if the area had been fully abandoned by the 19th century, memories of a historical link with the area could have persisted among the re-occupants.

Reviewing the tradeware profiles discussed above, we see a pattern in which the central site, Saumata Lama, apparently shows the oldest origins; the adjacent groupings, BBB, BKDA and PKKP, evince origins by around the 14th century; and the most peripheral grouping, BS, evinces origins by the 15th century. This pattern could correspond to an expansion of pre-Islamic settlement from Saumata Lama. By the 17th century, however, locally consolidated polities appear to have been established at Beroanging, Kassik, Bangkala and

9.6 Overview of the Saumata Cluster

Today Bossolok and Sabeng fall just within Desa Samata (Figure 6-2a), mimicking the site-clustering analysis in which they joined the Saumata cluster as its easternmost members (Figure 9-2).
 Surface sherds confirmed the first three mentioned categories (Appendix D). In all the data suggest a 15th to 16th-17th century burial ground, associated with occupation which lasted into the 18th century (Figure 9-15). "Karaeng Sabeng", who does not appear in the Makassar texts, was presumably a 17th century headperson of the former community.¹⁷
 An apparently isolated Islamic grave, which serves as Malaklang's saukang, is ascribed to Malaklang's reported nenek moyang, "Karaeng Sabeng". Originally marked with stones at head and foot, the grave has been improved with a cement marker, brick platform and tin-roof shelter (Photo 9-27). An extensive area south of the grave, still scarred with the occasional looter's hole, reportedly produced blue-and-white, Sawankhalok, whiteware and enamelled overglaze ceramics. Surface sherds confirmed the first three mentioned categories (Appendix D). In all the data suggest a 15th to 16th-17th century burial ground, associated with occupation which lasted into the 18th century (Figure 9-15). "Karaeng Sabeng", who does not appear in the Makassar texts, was presumably a 17th century headperson of the former community.¹⁷
 South of the kampung are some gardens, fields and a single house atop a local hill with a yellowish red, silty clay (pH 6) where we recorded two stone flakes (Figure 9-16). An apparently isolated Islamic grave, which serves as Malaklang's saukang, is ascribed to Malaklang's reported nenek moyang, "Karaeng Sabeng". Originally marked with stones at head and foot, the grave has been improved with a cement marker, brick platform and tin-roof shelter (Photo 9-27). An extensive area south of the grave, still scarred with the occasional looter's hole, reportedly produced blue-and-white, Sawankhalok, whiteware and enamelled overglaze ceramics. Surface sherds confirmed the first three mentioned categories (Appendix D). In all the data suggest a 15th to 16th-17th century burial ground, associated with occupation which lasted into the 18th century (Figure 9-15). "Karaeng Sabeng", who does not appear in the Makassar texts, was presumably a 17th century headperson of the former community.¹⁷

possibly Romang Polong, even if Saumata retained the representation on Gowa's Bate Salapang council. The tradeware profile for the total cluster shows a marked drop from the 13th-14th to the 15th-16th centuries, owing to the powerful influence of Saumata Lama's profile, followed by a gradual increase from the 17th century onwards (Figure 9-6).

9.7 Borongloe ("Great Garden Area")

9.7.1 A brief history of Borongloe and Bontomanaik

Chabot (1950) produced the classic account of Makassar ethnography based on his work between 1939-40 and 1947-8 in Bonto Ramba, then the seat of authority of the Borongloe adat (customary) community. Although he did not estimate the antiquity of this situation, he was told of local immigration from Pakota (near Bontomanaik) into Bonto Ramba at around 1900 (Chabot, 1950:16), which would accord with the timing of Buta Didia's relocation to the highway (9.3.1). However, before that Borongloe appears to have been rivalled and usually surpassed by Bontomanaik. ST (p.5) cites Borongloe's decision to abandon Kgloe ri Sero for Batara Gowa, whereas SG (p.14) associates the act with Bontomanaik.¹⁸ Borongloe then disappears from the texts until Hasanuddin's reign when it was one of Gowa's districts not numbered among the Bate Salapang. By contrast, Bontomanaik remained a member of the Bate Salapang from Tunijallok's reign until the late 17th century (Mukhlis, 1975:61-62). Although a "Gelarang Borongloe" is cited for 1868 (Patunru, 1983:98), it was Bontomanaik which belonged to the Bate Salapang during its last years between 1894 and the 1900s (Patunru, 1983:137-138). After Gowa's incorporation as an *afdeling* within the Netherlands India administration in 1906-7, Borongloe, which must have been sited at Bonto Ramba by this stage, replaced Bontomanaik as the district's name (Patunru, 1983:120-130 pass.). Thus the district's administrative centre was drawn away from its geographical centre in the

¹⁸ More precisely, Bontomanaik Barat and Bontomanaik Timur, offering the interpretation that "Bontomanaik Barat" connotes Borongloe rather than Bontomanaik 1 (cf. 7.2.4).

general direction of Makassar (e.g. Figure 9-2d), pointing to Gowa's final pacification as the factor which promoted Borongloe's ultimate ascendancy over Bontomanaik.¹⁹

Chabot described Borongloe's sacred spot as a flat rock sheltered by a dilapidated hut in 1939. He was then told that the couple ancestral to the kin group of the Borongloe headman had delivered their final words here before ascending to heaven. By 1947 the hut had been restored, a pointed rock placed next to the flat rock (orientation not described), and a saukang built right by. By this stage the two rocks were interpreted as the grave of an unknown person. Nonetheless the Borongloe community heads were still inaugurated standing on the flat rock, and Borongloe's annual harvest festival also occurred there (Chabot, 1950:74-76).

In addition the Bonto Ramba headman told Chabot how the investiture rock supposedly arrived. Once upon a time Gowa's king, wishing to build a fort, commanded the people of Tamaranang to collect rocks in the river (Jeknekerang) near Songkolo. The Tamaranang people accidentally included a rock such as lies near Songkolo's baruga (festival shed). As the loaded raft drifted downriver (towards Gowa), it refused to travel beyond Bonto Ramba and instead capsized without, however, dislodging the rock. The rock then crept on its own volition to its present location, after which the raft proceeded downriver (Chabot, 1950:70-72). Chabot interpreted the myth to show that Tamaranang and Songkolo were also closely involved in Borongloe's subordinate position with respect to Gowa, and noted that the spot designated as Songkolo's baruga in fact lacked any such shed. I suspect that Chabot was taken not to to Songkolo's baruga (9.8.2) but to SSPHAP's site of "Borongloe" which, like "Tamaranang Tua", falls within 20th century Songkolo (cf. Figure 9-2d). As discussed below, the myth appears to syncretise the sociopolitical unity symbolised by the flat rock with a

¹⁹ By 1961, however, the tables appear to have been turned again. With the creation of the modern Bonto Marannu kecamatan, Bontomanaik became its administrative centre, while Borongloe reverted to being one of the two districts (Patunru, 1983:131). Bonto Marannu's second 1961 district, Pattallassang, is discussed at length in Chapter 10.

historical movement of people and authority from Tamarunang and Borongloe to Bonto Ramba.

9.7.2 Borongloe (Gowa 67)

On the northern outskirts of the Pattiro kampung area, dusun Songkolo II, we counted 638 remnant holes over an area 300 metres north-south by 150 metres east-west (Figure 9-18). According to reports, looting occurred in the late 1960s. The looters found ceramics (unassociated with any preserved human bone) four metres below the ground at the north of the site, but only one metre below the ground at the south (which is slightly higher than the site's northern parts). The ceramics were mainly blue-and-white or Sawankhalok, but included some celadons. Despite our extensive survey and the fair surface exposure we recorded only 179 tradeware pieces, most of them Qing to recent, even if the earlier examples confirmed the suggestion of a 15th to 16th-17th century burial ground (Appendix D; Figure 9-20). We were also told that most of the antiques had been found in a few discrete locations, suggesting either an internally partitioned pre-Islamic burial ground, or a pre-Islamic kampung area which incorporated burial spots.

Two bamboo corrals enclose large trees, one at the site's southeast (Photos 9-31 and 9-34) and one at the northwest. The latter resembles Bonto Ramba's sacred spot in that three stones lie on the tree roots and that it accompanies a house-like saukang (Photos 9-35 and 9-36). Further evidence of the site's special associations comes from its old Islamic cemetery where, we were told, five Borongloe karaengs lie buried (Photo 9-32). The cemetery was so overtaken with weedy growth, even my note of its size (30 metres by 70 metres) constitutes a rough estimate. The modern cemetery to the west continues to serve the kampungs of Bonto Bado and Borong north of Pattiro.²⁰

Further furbishing the case that the Borongloe lineage group used to based here, the site is well raised by virtue

²⁰ We also observed the grave of a 15-year old daeng from Bonto Bado at an intermediate stage in the burial rites before permanent marking (Table F-6d).

of occupying a levee of the Jeknekbayang, yet it borders a large depression used for sawah (Photo 9-33). This "Borongioe sawah depression" extends between the levees of the Jeknekbayang and its former channel which had meandered northwards until striking Batutape-Cindako volcanics (Figure 9-1a). Ringed by the next three sites to be described as well as Borongioe, the depression's agricultural potential presumably underlay Borongioe's minor prominence in Gowa's precolonial history. It is even possible that the BBB site triplet on occasions lay at the periphery of Borongioe's influence, even though the sites are geographically closer to historical sites at the north (Figure 9-2c).²¹

9.7.3 Tamaruang Tua (Gowa 69)

Tamaruung Tua is perched at the western point of the "Borongioe sawah depression" (Figure 9-19). It covers 250 metres square of fields and groves attached to Bonto Bado kampung, dusun Songkolo IV. Reportedly the site had been pucker in the late 1960s with looter's holes, many more than the 213 which we counted. Hundreds of pieces had been recovered, mostly from zone 14 (in association with fragmented bone) and zone 7, and stored in a local mosque until they covered the floor. In a pattern which invokes Bonto Ramba's sacred spot, a clearing at the centre of the site has a saukang (Photo 9-37) flanked by three bamboo corrals, each enclosing flat stones arranged into east-west oriented rectangles (Photo 9-40). Despite the local view that the stones possibly marked graves, the looters had been afraid to plunder the saukang clearing.

The reported antiques from Tamaruung - mainly Sawankhalok, then celadons, blue-and-white and some kuning (yellow, i.e. Sancai?) and "redwares" - suggest an assemblage earlier than the Borongioe ceramics on the whole. As at Borongioe the surface sheritage was sparse, yet it confirmed

²¹ Borongioe's ideal setting could also explain why its tradeware sheritage profile does not hint at a break in occupation (Figure 9-20), for even if much of the original descent group ended up in Bonto Ramba, the resulting vacancies apparently attracted newcomers from the southeast (9.8.3).

the suggested precedence of Tamarunang's pre-Islamic burials (Figure 9-20). Significantly, Chabot (1950:70,72) recorded that Bonto Ramba's investiture stone was itself called Tamarunang, which means "the one not falling off the raft", and that Gowa's and Borongloe's insignia were brought together at Tamarunang a few days before the inauguration of a new Gowa king in 1947. Possibly Tamarunang's ritual importance has retained a memory of the place's apparent chronological priority.

As with Borongloe, Tamarunang Tua could have been an old kampung interspersed with burial areas, in which case it would have been largely abandoned after the 17th century (Figure 9-20). Moreover Bonto Bado lacks an Islamic cemetery, its local inhabitants burying their dead at either Borongloe or Bonto Ramba.

9.7.4 Borong (Gowa 76)

Kampung Borong occupies the levee of the Jeknekberang's former channel. The inhabitants plant wet-season rice in the channel (Photo 9-38) as well as in the "Borongloe sawah depression". A small site of finely flaked stone artefacts, exposed where the descending road meets the channel at "Borong Timur" (Appendix G), suggests that the channel had cut against Baturape-Cindako volcanics in prehistoric times.²² Next to the stone artefacts was a *saukang* accessible by a bamboo ramp but otherwise similar to its nearby counterparts. Although there is no evidence of burials here, Borong Timur qualifies as a SSPHAP historical site because a local farmer had unearthed a Swatow overglaze piece (Photo 9-30). Further Swatow pieces were recorded in zone 8 immediately across the channel from the *saukang*.

Our transect along the path passing through the main kampung encountered only Qing and recent tradeware sherdage (Figure 9-17). The path led to another *saukang* (here called "Saukang Borong") next to a bamboo corral with a stone

²² The locals reported that the channel flowed "during the time of the Gowa kingdom", whenever that was, but they might have meant that it had still retained sufficient water to have constituted an oxbow lake.

arrangement oriented 80° from north (Photos 9-41 and 9-42). People had reportedly tried pot-holing the secondary forest south of the saukang without success. However, a large, plowed field to the southwest (Photo 9-39) was rich in sherds, including a Sawankhalok and some Swatow pieces. In the absence of reported antique finds, this field ("Borong Barat") is interpreted as former kampung, as indeed it is depicted on the Dutch land-use maps.

Borong lacks an Islamic graveyard for its inhabitants are buried at Borongloe. Given the evidence of tradewares apparently not associated with burials but dating back to at least the 16th century, a comparable situation appears to have persisted since pre-Islamic times. Borong's close social links with Borongloe are further shown by its enclosed stone arrangement next to a saukang, as we recorded at Borongloe and Tamaronang, and described by Chabot at Bonto Ramba.²³

9.8 The KBSB group

9.8.1 Kaballlokang (Gowa 70) and Borong Parang (Gowa 82)

Kaballlokang sits at the northeast end of the "Borongloe sawah depression". The local inhabitants reported coming upon some antiques, including the 16th century Ming BW bowl they gave us, in a small area converted to ploughed dryland fields at the time of our visit. Here we collected 23 tradeware pieces spanning the 16th to 18th centuries (Figure 9-20). The track to the fields bore remnants (river pebbles and fragments of masonry) of an old Islamic graveyard which apparently extended into the thick weedy growth along the track. The site appears to have been abandoned during the 18th century; the adjacent kampung of Bonto Tene, which is shown on the Dutch land-use maps, probably represents resettlement from the south at around 1900. The residents use Kuburan Islam Borong Parang, dusun Songkolo I, on the northern border of an old eastward meander of the Jeknekbayang (Figure 9-1a).

²³ It is unclear at which location this "signature" of membership within Borongloe first arose, since its date is recorded only for Bonto Ramba.

This large cemetery included at least 308 marked graves over an area 250 metres by 50 metres, and probably yet others hidden by regrowth (Photo 9-43). The markers represent styles which apparently date back to the 18th century and possibly the 17th century (Table F-6e). Support for the earlier dating comes from a Swatow sherd recorded on the track passing the cemetery. The cemetery serves most of the kampungs along the north bank of the Jeknekberang between Borongloe (Gowa 67) and the Borong Kaluku area (Figure 9-2d) - Pattiro, Cambagaya, Borong Parang, Borong Kaluku, Borong Bulu and Jamuling, as well as Bonto Tene.

9.8.2 Songkolo Asli (Gowa 83) and Bontona Songkolo (Gowa 86)

Across the Jeknekberang's remnant channel lies Songkolo Asli (dusun Songkolo I) - an elevated, pleasantly shaded area interspersed with three kampung areas named Songkolo. We observed its soil profile, deposited by the Jeknekberang, where the river is slowly cutting eastwards towards its old channel (Photo 9-46). Beneath the top 70 cm of loam was a metre of slightly silty sand, and six metres of sand mixed with rounded pebbles which generally increased in size down to the Jeknekberang's water level. The river-cutting topsoil differs slightly from the soil, to a metre's depth, within the surveyed area abutting the remnant channel (Figure 9-21). There we recorded a slightly acidic silty clay (pH 6), coloured dark reddish to very dark brown, whose greater proportion of clay presumably reflects the greater distance from the modern Jeknekberang.

Most of the 201 marked graves in Songkolo Asli's Islamic graveyard (Table F-6e) belong to the modern section at the east. One style, with river pebbles embedded into an earth matrix, appears to be unique to Songkolo Asli. The seven markers in the dispersed western section, which may date back to the 17th century, abut a bamboo grove with 177 looter's holes (Figure 9-21). The grove was reportedly looted ten years beforehand by outsiders who recovered small and large tempayan (stoneware jars) containing whitish bones in various stages of fragmentation. The description could signify either bones cremated for a lengthy period at high temperatures (cf.

Ubelaker, 1984:34), or non-cremated bones which had survived the soil's acidity within the micro-environment of the tempayan. In any case the account suggests secondary jar burials which need be no older than the 16th or even the 17th century. The only sherds recorded at the site, south of the bamboos, included tradewares which were all Q'ing or European (Figure 9-20).

The clearing at the south of the site contains a large saukang next to a similarly large shed, both with centrally jutting eaves (Photo 9-44). The shed shelters a flat, square rock, reportedly not a grave but rather a place where someone came and then disappeared (Photo 9-45). At least twice a week relatives of the Songkolo people come from far and wide, especially the islands off the coast between Pangkep and Takalar, to offer food. This site is surely Songkolo's baruga with the flat rock which provided the mythological inspiration for Bonto Ramba's investiture stone (9.7.1). The structures' central eaves, the apparent practice of secondary jar burials right up to Islamisation, and the grave markers of pebbles in an earth matrix, are idiosyncratic features by Gowa-Makassar standards, and suggest that the Songkolo people have self-consciously distinguished themselves by doing things differently from their neighbours. The site's retention of a single flat rock and its Tomanung-like associations should probably be interpreted in the same light.

Directly across the Jekneberang lies the large Kuburan Islam Bontona Songkolo. We inventoried 440 marked graves, 27 in a central area of apparent elite burials (Photo 9-47) and 413 elsewhere (Table F-6e). One grave, oriented east-west, dates the cemetery's origins to the 17th century. It serves not only Bontona Songkolo but also other nearby kampungs along the Jekneberang's south bank - Jeknek Madinging, Bonto Rita, and some of the inhabitants at Parang Banua (which in addition has its own graveyard). Reported no tradewares have been found here, despite some exploration near the elite graves, but two large, globular earthenware jars were accidentally recovered to the west (Figure 9-22). One, a metre tall, had been found at the

bottom of a still uncovered hole 1.3 metres deep (Photo 9-48). My inspection revealed a very dark brown, gritty silt at 30 cm depth, and dark brown river sands with some small rounded pebbles at the base, both horizons having a pH of 6. Analogy with Songkolo Asli suggests that these were secondary jar burials, again possibly no older than the 17th century. Although the jars apparently retained no contents, they could have once held bones now dissolved by the acidic soil, since their earthenware fabric would have provided less protection compared to Songkolo Asli's stoneware jars.

9.8.3 Settlement expansion from Borong Parang and Songkolo

The KBSB sites indicate late settlement of this stretch of the Jeknekberang. Clear evidence of 16th century origins was found only at Kaballokang, and even this community might then have been an outlier of Borongloe's sphere of influence.

By the 17th century, however, two new "lineage groups" had apparently originated. One is represented by the Songkolo Asli and Bontona Songkolo cemeteries which serve the kampungs immediately west of the Jeknekberang's old meander. The other is represented by the Borong Parang cemetery which serves the other surrounding kampungs.²⁴ There are no signs of early burial grounds southwestwards of Borong Parang, suggesting that it had been frontier territory recently populated from Borong Parang. Apparently, Borong Parang descendants also colonised northwards as far as Kaballokang and the Borongloe site, in the wake of the former inhabitants who were largely drawn to Bonto Ramba.

The Borongloe adat community studied by Chabot had retained one now lost administrative connection - the annexation of Parang Banua and Bonto(n)a west of the Jeknekberang (Figure 9-2d). However, the (still retained) Songkolo subdivision along the Jeknekberang's north bank obfuscates the burial patterns which are primarily towards

²⁴ This distinction hints that the Jeknekberang had followed its now-abandoned meander when the Songkolo lineage group originated, before straightening its channel and isolating Songkolo Asli from Bontona Songkolo. Of course, other scenarios which do not invoke a change in the Jeknekberang's course are also tenable.

Cellaya is a small area of slightly elevated silts, used for dryland crops, in an ambient landscape of sawah. Virtually all the recordable artefacts were restricted to half of the maize field shown in Photo 9-51, i.e. an area 50 metres by 70 metres which had reportedly been looted. We were told that the ceramics were mostly blue-and-white, but also included celadons and Sawankhalok covered bowls. However, apart from a lone Japanese BM rim, the recovered tradewares were all whiteware, monochrome and coarse stoneware fragments. In the laboratory I could identify them as Song or Yuan pieces,

9.9.1 Cellaya (G78), Saukang Borong (G79), Saukang Boe (G80)

the PDCCS sites (Figure 9-2).

similarities could extend into the unsurveyed land south of "Borongloe cluster" sites, although for all I know these PDCCS sites show some strong similarities with the other volcanics at the east. As regards cultural affiliations, the between Camba Formation at the west and Baturape-Cindako stretch of the Jekneberang has been trapped in a band in the past, allowing the inference that the upper-middle local people reported that the Jekneberang had been closer further attest to the antiquity of the general land surface. Flaked stone artefacts recorded at Saukang Boe (Appendix G) Borong and Saukang Boe (Figure 9-1a; Photo 9-50). Four finely rocks, presumably isolates of Camba Formation, near Saukang raised area where I observed two low knolls of sedimentary of the Jekneberang (Photo 9-49). The Kallorok crosses a These five sites lie along the Sungai Kallorok, a tributary

9.9 The PDCCS group

the Borongloe and Borong Parang cemeteries. Presumably this reflects the social importance of Songkolo's baruga as a local rallying point. Having not conducted detailed local historical research, I cannot improve on the tentative scenario offered here, but two important points seem clear: the continued use of original cemeteries for centuries by locally expanding "lineage groups"; and the potential for labile social organisation in a thinly populated area.

which is consistent with the absence of Ming BW and other tradeware types which numerically dominate most looted burial grounds (Appendix D). I cannot explain the discrepancy with my informant's report, but the burial ground appears too small to have enjoyed much longevity, and so is here dated to the 13th-14th centuries (Figure 9-26).

Saukang Borong not only mimics the name of Saukang Borong across the Jeknekberang (9.7.4) but also resembles the latter physically. A bamboo corral encloses a flat boulder and a well-maintained saukang (Photo 9-52). At the southeast corner a brick wall encloses two flat stones placed along an east-west axis (Photo 9-53). North of the corral, at its entrance, a disturbed area approximately 20 metres square had reportedly produced some buli-buli (ceramic jarlets). The whole site occupies a slightly raised, stony area.

Saukang Boe presents the same combination of an enclosed saukang with an east-west oriented stone arrangement at its rear and a looted area at the front (Figure 9-23). But in this case the saukang corral is also brick (Photo 9-54), and the stone arrangement reportedly marks the grave of an ancestral personage, "Karaeng Boe" (Photo 9-55). Another east-west oriented stone arrangement in a brick corral, reportedly marking the grave of Kg Boe's wife, occurs at the north (Photo 9-56). From the saukang as far as the road people had reportedly dug up an estimated 1000 antiques, enough to fill a car, including not only blue-and-white wares (the most common find) but also "red", celadon and Sawankhalok wares, as well as earthenwares. We could confirm this report to the extent of counting 92 looter's holes and collecting four 14th-15th to 16th-17th tradeware sherds (Figure 9-26) despite the generally full vegetation cover. There is every reason to interpret this area as an immediately pre-Islamic burial ground with the conventional east-west directed burials.

A different side-light, however, issues from the reportedly recent recovery of an earthenware jar, containing two gold rings and an iron sword, behind the saukang. The remnant hole (Photo 9-58), labelled zone 1, contained 65 earthenware sherds weighing 1.2 kg, and 18 fragments of human

TABLE 9-3. HUMAN BONE FRAGMENTS FROM SAUKANG BOE, ZONE 1

Fragment	Measurements	Weight
<u>Scapula</u>		
Right scapula spine fragment (between neck and acromion)	34 X 26 X 14 mm	13 gm
<u>Vertebral Column</u>		
Cervical disc (between C ₃ and C ₇)	Anterior-posterior diameter 11 mm; width 22 mm; height 15 mm	2 gm
Thoracic spinous process	33 X 31 X 12 mm	3 gm
Thoracic spinous process	28 X 21 X 12 mm	2 gm
Thoracic lateral transverse process	18 X 13 X 8 mm	1 gm
Medial superior articular lumbar process	20 X 18 X 16 mm	2 gm
Lateral superior articular lumbar process	16 X 16 X 7 mm	1 gm
Inferior articular lumbar process	14 X 10 X 8 mm	1 gm
<u>Ribs</u>		
Seven rib fragments	Measurable widths 5, 5, 6 mm; measurable heights 10, 14, 17 mm	4 gm
<u>Foot</u>		
Complete right talus (measurement definitions from Rao, 1966:82)	Length 43 mm; breadth 33mm; height 29 mm; trochlea breadth 26 mm	15 gm
Complete right cuboid	20 X 13 X 19 mm	2 gm
<u>Possibly long bones</u>		
From femoral/humerus head (?)	22 X 21 X 8 mm	2 gm
Two unidentified fragments	31 X 11 X 3; 27 X 8 X 3	2 gm
Total 20 bones and fragments		50 gm
The bones and fragments were small and gracile by usual adult standards, but since no identifiable epiphyseal parts of the skeleton were represented, it is unclear whether the individual was an adult female or an adolescent.		
Surface colour varied from 7.5YR 3/2 (dark brown) to 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown). Beneath the scorched skin the bone was usually 5YR 8/2-8/3 (pinkish white to pink). Diaphyseal bone varied between 10YR 7/2 and 10YR 5/2 (light grey to greyish brown). These observations apply across the collected skeletal parts.		

bone (Photo 9-57). The surrounding, slightly sunken field, labelled zone 2, contained 65 earthenware sherds weighing 1.6 kg. Whilst in Ujung Pandang I managed to conjoin some of the zone 1 sherds (Photo 9-60) and observe that no more than one large jar was necessarily represented. The zone 2 sherdage, which included a handle fragment, also appeared to represent one or more large jars. The bone fragments represent a single person, either an adult female or a sub-adult (Table 9-3). The lack of teeth and the scorched appearance of the bones together suggest cremation at a temperature below 800° (cf. Gejvall, 1969; Ubelaker, 1984:34), either of the fresh corpse or of the dry bones after maceration of the corpse. My tests in zones 1 and 2 revealed a dark brown to dark reddish brown, clayey silt with a pH of 6, i.e. an acidic soil which could have dissolved the buried bones but for their prior cremation.

The bones produced a radiocarbon date of 450 ± 220 BP (ANU-5923). This calibrates to 515 BP with a single S.D. range between 300 and 670 BP (cf. Stuiver and Pearson, 1986:810-811), i.e. the 15th century as a best estimate within a likely range covering the 14th to 17th centuries. The use of bone for radiocarbon dates is problematical (e.g. Spriggs, 1989:590,598), so possibly zones 1 and 2 mark a field of secondary jar burials which directly preceded the other pre-Islamic burials to the north (as the lack of tradewares from zones 1 and 2 suggests). However, as an equally tenable interpretation, especially given the proximity to the Songkolo sites where secondary jar burials apparently continued till Islamisation (9.8.2), Saukang Boe incorporates two coeval burial grounds where different rites were practised.

Even allowing for some exaggeration on our informants' part, I would interpret Saukang Boe as a centralised burial ground which served a substantial area. In this view Saukang Borong could have been a minor associated burial ground, while both could have sprung from the population represented at Cellaya. The commemoration of Saukang Borong and Saukang Boe as ancestral locales, rather than Cellaya, could reflect their greater recency. Today the local inhabitants are buried

in two Islamic cemeteries: one in Birang Kaliorok west of Saukang Borong with an estimated minimum 500 marked graves (none looking clearly older than the 18th century); and one to the south in Palangisang which I did not inspect. Moreover the kampung names which I recorded, based on their position with respect to the Sungai Kaliorok, rarely matched those shown on the Dutch land-use maps. The peculiarity of Saukang Boe's jar burials notwithstanding, the area appears to have been occupied since around the 13th century by one "lineage group" whose centralised burial grounds, indeed whose kampung names, have roamed the local landscape.

9.9.2 Pekallak Bua (Gowa 16)

Pekallak Bua includes two Islamic cemeteries which face each other across the road. These are Kuburan Garassik at the north and Kuburan Pekallak Bua at the south (Figure 9-24). Both have stone markers which could well date from the 17th century, but only Kuburan Pekallak Bua shows clearly modern types. The total variation in orientation extends to markers almost perpendicular to each other, but this is best interpreted as variable success in striking a north-south axis (Table F-6e). Kuburan Pekallak Bua includes Makam Toa Makni, the resting spot of the reported nenek moyang, its antiquity indicated by the rotted consistency of the head stones (Photo 9-61). The combination of a stone arrangement atop tree roots with a sau kang in a bamboo enclosure (Photo 9-64) evokes similar phenomena to the east, especially Borongloe's sau kang (9.7.2).

Our survey south of the road followed areas where antiquities had reportedly been found, as attested by some "Ming" pieces in zone 7 and a few remnant looter's holes. People reported lots of sherds but no antiquities north of the road, again confirmed by our records of Swatow and later pieces. Pekallak Bua appears to have been a burial ground since the 15th century, with occupation near the burials from at least the 17th century (Figure 9-26). This proximity of burials and occupation could reflect a restricted availability of raised land, since the site occurs on a remnant levee flanked by sawah to the north and the south (Photo 9-65).

9.9.3 Dampang (Gowa 77)

Kampung Dampang, called Tete Batu on the Dutch land-use maps, occupies a levee of the Jeknekberang east of its confluence with the Sungai Kallorok (Figure 9-25a). The Jeknekberang is cutting southwards into the site and, we were told, had already washed away the old Islamic graveyard, including two keramat graves, north of the saukang. The inhabitants however saved the marker of Karaeng Dampang, their reported nenek moyang, by removing it to a cement enclosure further up the bank.²⁵

Former artefactual deposits appear to be another casualty of the Jeknekberang's southward migration, as revealed at three exposures cut by footpaths down to the river (Figure 9-25a). The main one, Exposure C (Figure 9-25b; Photo 9-62), shows a gradual transition from greyish brown clay at the base to a brown clayey silt, capped by a distinctive layer more than a metre thick of reddish brown river silts (Table 9-4). The most parsimonious scenario for this profile would invoke a southward migration of the Jeknekberang (actually the Garassik) southwards towards Dampang, resulting in the deposition of increasingly coarser flood sediments. However, the abrupt beginnings of the silt layer suggests that either the Garassik radically altered its channel, or it received a markedly greater discharge such as would have resulted from stealing the Gumanti headwaters (cf. 5.4.3).

In any case the silts buried a band, 15-20 cm thick, of earthenware sherds with some tiny brick fragments and tradeware pieces. The tradewares were 15th/16th to 17th century types (Table 9-4), and the brick fragments had the low-fired red fabric also found with the Gowa fortification bricks. Exposures A and C agreed in positioning the artefactual layer immediately beneath the silts (Figure 9-25c). Exposure B (Photo 9-66) showed the artefactual layer cutting across the stratigraphic break. This is probably best attributed to a depression in the west of the exposure which

²⁵ Karaeng Dampang's marker is now nothing but a single stone tablet embedded in the soil. However, the protective enclosure is oriented north-south (350° from north).

TABLE 9-4. ARTEFACTUAL CONTENT OF THE DAMPANG EXPOSURES

Depositional Earthenware Brick Tradeware Layer Sherds Fragments Sherds

Exposure A	In situ (zone 1)	Mixed silt/clay	From zone 1	0	0
On path (zone 2)	9*	5	0	0	0

Exposure B

Exposure C	In situ (zone 3)	River silt	Mixed silt/clay	From zones 3 & 4	0
In situ (zone 4)	18	31*	2	0	0
On path (zone 5)	0	0	0	0	0

Exposure C	Eroded out (zone 6)	From zone 7	9	0	1*
In situ (zone 7)	Mixed silt/clay	53	2	0	0
In situ (zone 8)	Mixed silt/clay	46	1	1	1*
Eroded out (zone 9)	From zone 7	14	0	0	1*
Eroded out (zone 10)	From zone 8	16*	0	0	0
Eroded out (zone 19)	From above	5*	0	0	0
Total from mixed silt/clay	188	5	3	0	0
Maximum possible total from silt	43	0	0	0	0

- * Including one decorated earthenware sherd.
- # 16th century Ming BW sherd with a dotted hexagon outside.
- ~ Fragment of a white-bodied Sawankhalok celadon.
- Swatow BW sherd.

Examination of deposits in Zone C:

River silt: virtually no clay component, some fine sand and grit, crumbly even when moist. 5YR 3/4 (dark reddish brown); pH of 7.

Top of mixed silt/clay (artefactual layer): a clayey silt with some grit. 7.5YR 4/2 (brown/dark brown); pH of 7.

Lower mixed silt/clay (below artefactual layer): a silty clay with some grit. 10YR 5/2 (greyish brown); pH of 7.

Clay layer: a slightly silty clay with some grit. 10YR 4/2 (dark greyish brown); pH of 7.

was filled with silts and some washed-in earthenware sherdage when the site was flooded (Figure 9-25c).²⁶

Our survey in the slightly lower ground behind the levee counted 57 looter's holes in three antique-bearing locations (Figure 9-25a) reportedly looted in 1973. We also recorded tradeware sherdage dating either to the 16th-17th centuries or to the 19th-20th centuries (Figure 9-26). A well at the southeast revealed a profile like that recorded at the exposures; dark reddish brown river silts in the top 1.5 metres, then a grey brown silty clay in the bottom two metres of the well.

We were informed that lots of celadons had come from the diggings next to a completely modern, "family" graveyard. The celadons do not indicate pre-Ming burials because the antiques we were shown consisted of two Qing celadon pieces and a "Kitchen Qing" spoon (Photo 9-63). Hence it rather looks like 19th century occupation deposits had been looted.

However, a different interpretation applies to the reported looting of numerous Sawankhalok covered bowls, complemented by whitewares and blue-and-white wares, in the south and southeast of the site. These were reportedly found three to four metres below the ground, associated generally with bones and often with east-west oriented duni.²⁷ Here the surface contents included Ming pieces, especially near the well, confirming the other evidence of pre-Islamic antiques.

Dampang appears to have been a 15th-17th century site with occupation at the north and a burial ground at the southeast. A marked change in the behaviour of the Sungai Garassik in the 17th century resulted in the abandonment of the site and

²⁶ It is hard to link the reportedly washed-away graveyard with the artefactual layer, since the original markers would have been buried by over a metre of silt. Those which had been washed away must have been post-deluvial restorations, and their location need not have coincided precisely with any antedeluvial graveyard. The artefactual layer itself contains the sorts of debris to be expected in occupation deposits, and probably represents a kampung which was abandoned during a 17th century flood.

²⁷ These duni are wooden, boat-shaped coffins which are found particularly at coastal sites (Chapters 11 to 13). The site's neutral pH (Table 9-9) accords with the reported survival of bones and duni, while the great depth at which the antiques were found is understandable given that the site had been buried by more than a metre of silts.

its burial in over a metre of silt. The site was then reoccupied as late as the 19th century; even today most of Dampang's deceased are buried at the nearby Mappala and Pangka Salo graveyards. The "resurrection" of Kg Dampang as the *nekek moyang* can be explained in numerous ways, e.g. a direct historical link between Dampang's former and present inhabitants.

9.10 A Brief Review of the Middle Jeknekerang Sites

The PDGSS grouping apparently corresponds to a cultural transitional zone. Saukang Boe, in particular, hints at some of the peculiarities of the sites to the east, such as the association of the *saukang* with an east-west oriented stone arrangement, and (possibly) the practice of secondary jar burials immediately prior to Islamisation. In contrast Dampang not only has its Karaeng Dampang, as do several sites to the northwest, but also reportedly yielded east-west oriented duni which are virtually a trademark of coastal sites.

One feature of the sites of the Borongloe cluster, here including the PDGSS sites, is the lack of any suggestion that 17th century nobles who figured in the Makassar texts had been buried here. The area appears to have lain beyond the sphere of direct meddling, or indeed much interest, on the part of greater Gowa's major lineage groups. After the early 16th century the area fell within Gowa's territory. However, this had apparently excited rather than restricted local politicking and ritual concerns, as the admittedly late example of Borongloe's ascendancy at Bonto Ramba illustrates. Presumably subordination to Gowa involved little more than supplying surplus produce, and manpower for suitable occasions such as Gowa's military campaigns. The same remarks probably apply to the Saumata cluster sites, although in this case greater proximity to Gowa, or sharing the same expanse of rice fields, had led to more attention from Gowa.

Accepting the Borongloe cluster as depicted in Figure 9-2a, we have a tradeware profile which drops between the 15th and the 17th centuries, with a 16th century nadir (Figure 9-2b). The same pattern is paralleled to varying

degrees by the Saumata and Anak Gowa clusters, not to mention the sites surrounding Benteng Tua (Figures 7-11, 8-4 and 9-6). The middle Jeknekberang's share of the incoming tradewares, and possibly therefore population and/or influence, apparently diminished from the 13th-14th centuries through to the rise of greater Gowa.

The rather flat profile shown by Benteng Tua for this period (Figure 6-14) thus takes on a dual significance. Political power within the middle Jeknekberang appears to have become, generally speaking, increasingly centralised in the Gowa royalty. And yet the high arenas of politics moved to the coast (Chapters 11 to 12) as the stakes grew to a regional and, finally, an international scale.

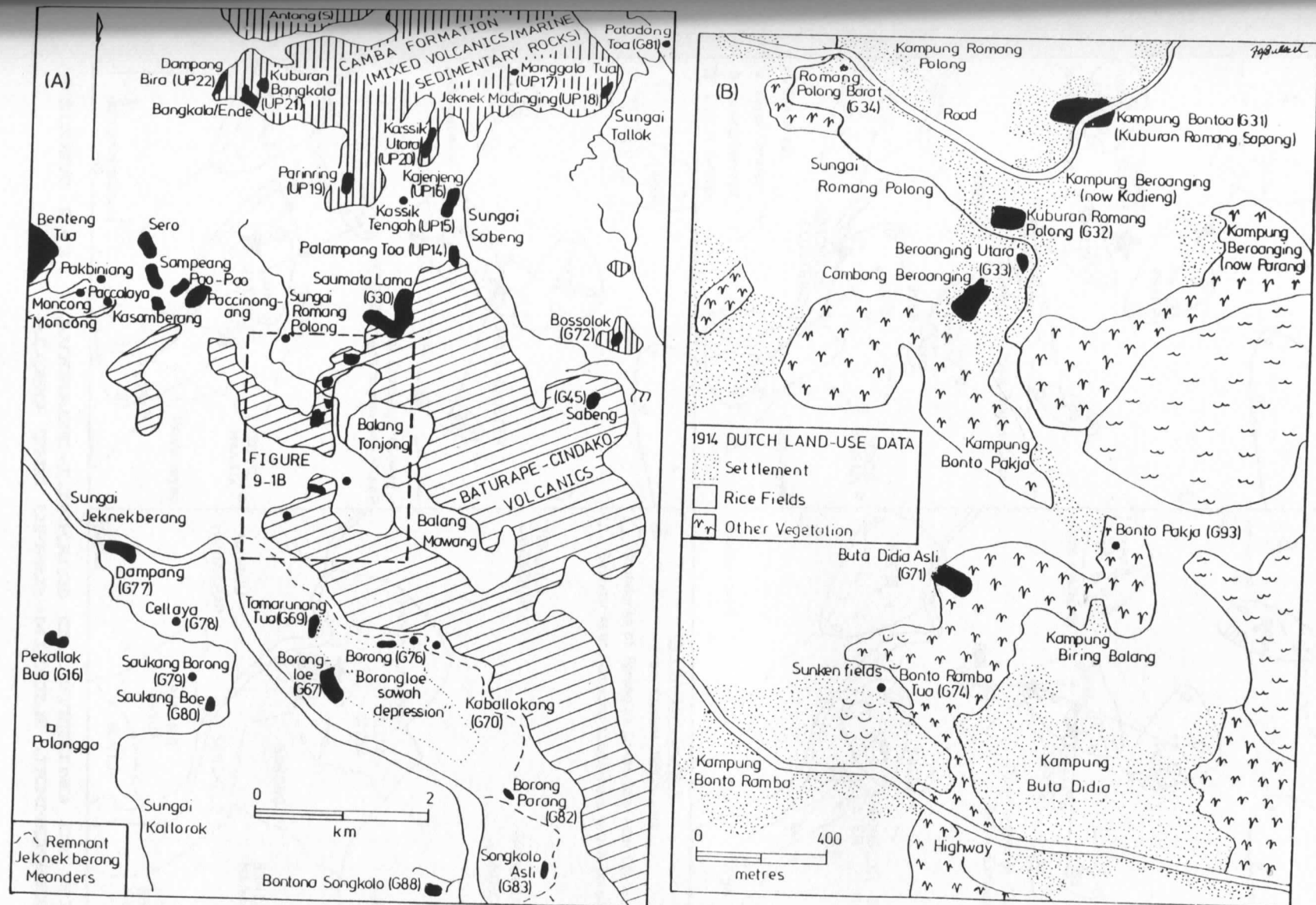


FIGURE 9-1. HISTORICAL SITES ALONG THE UPPER-MIDDLE JEKNEKBERANG

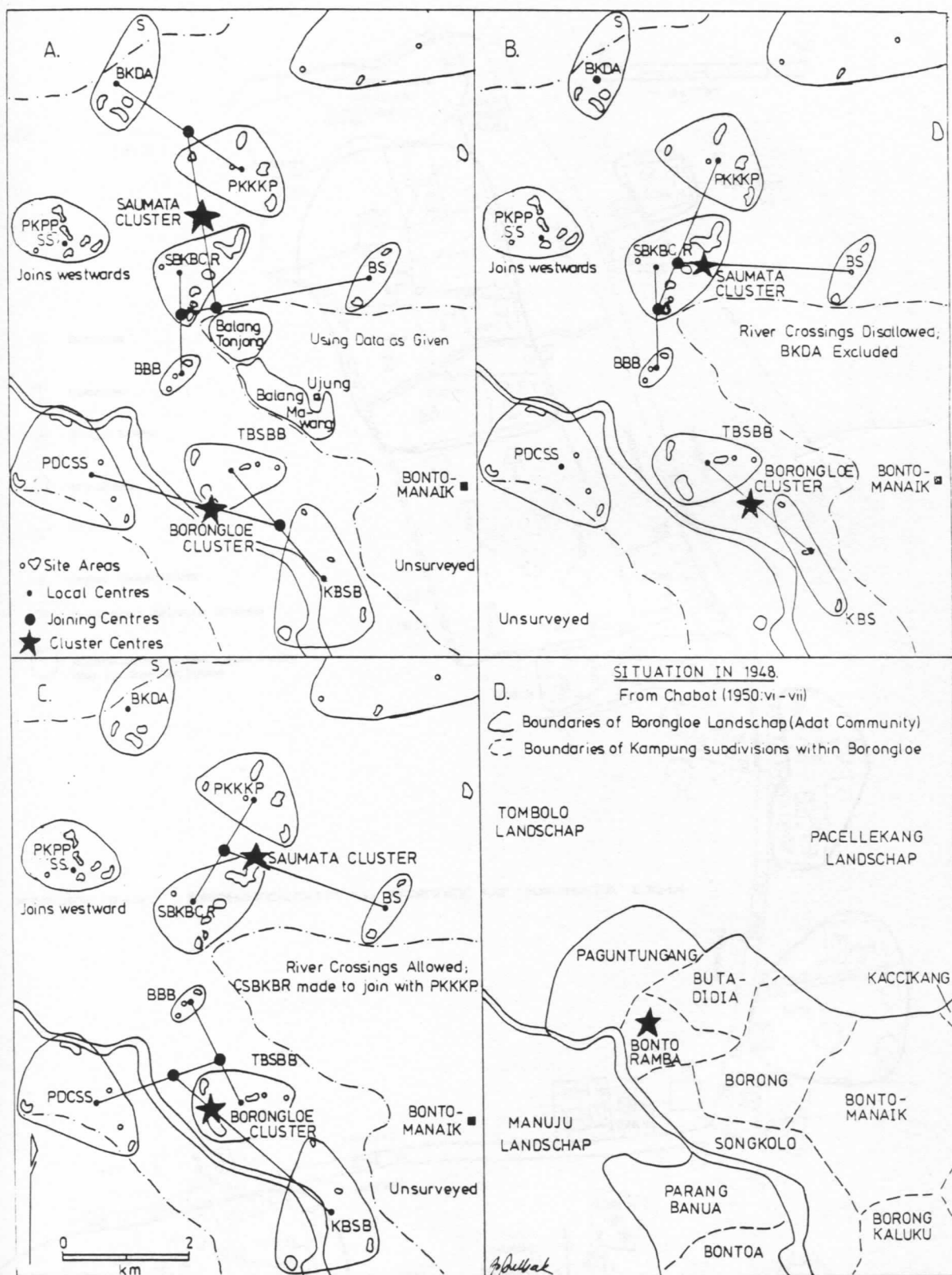


FIGURE 9-2. AVERAGE-LINKAGE CLUSTERING OF SITES ALONG THE UPPER-MIDDLE JEKNEKBERANG

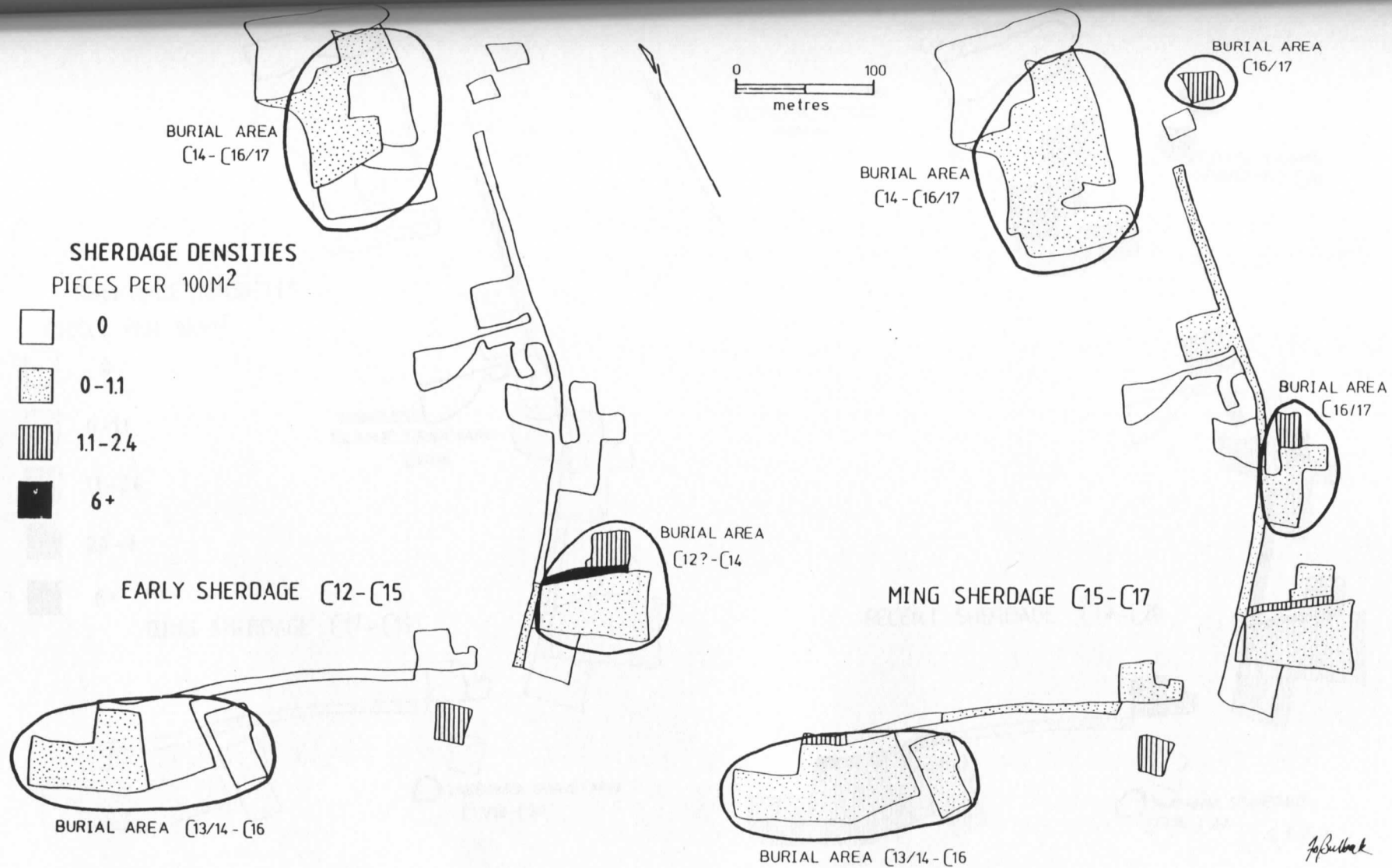


FIGURE 9-4. PRE-ISLAMIC BURIAL GROUNDS OF SAUMATA LAMA

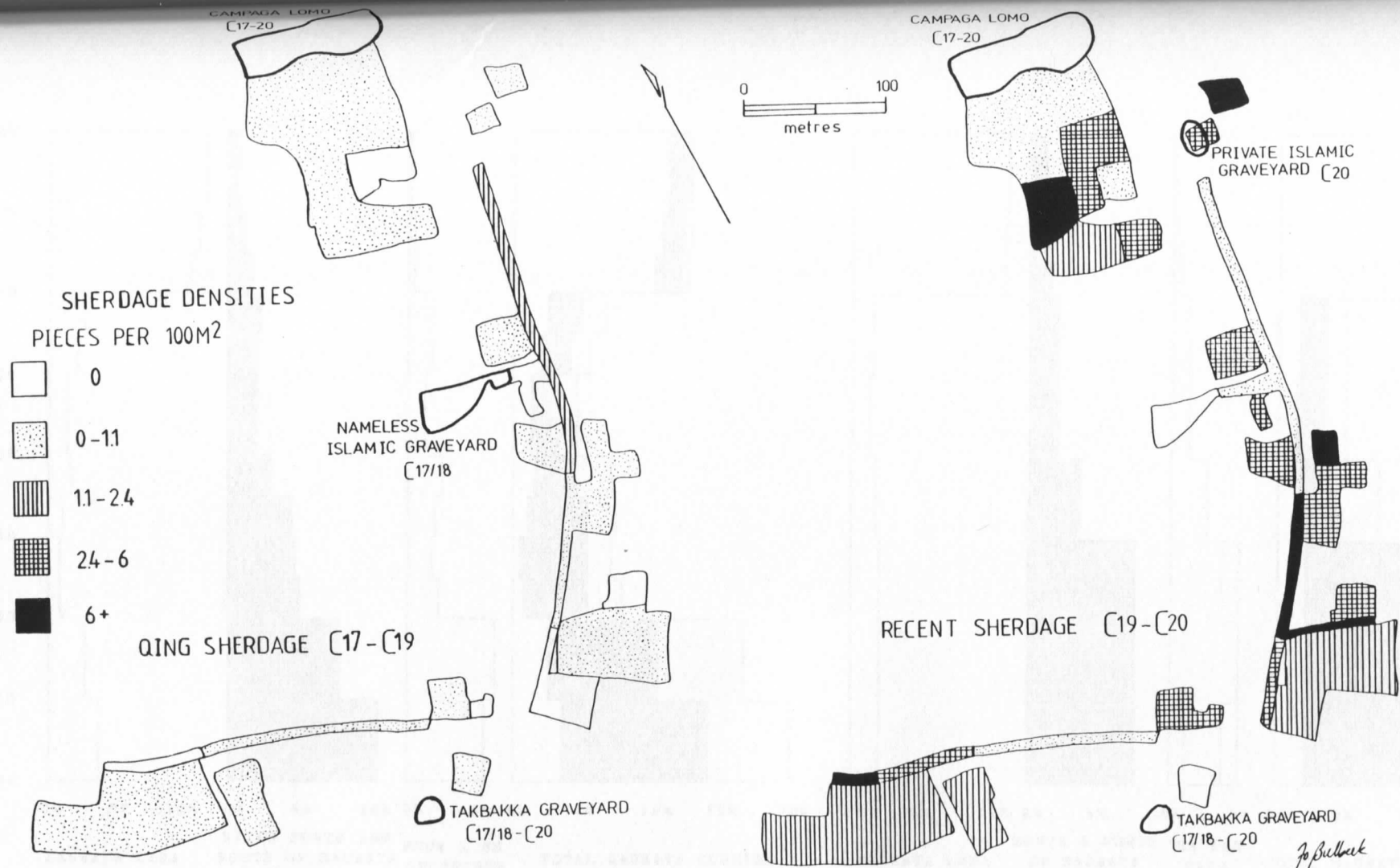


FIGURE 9-5. ISLAMIC BURIAL GROUNDS OF SAUMATA LAMA

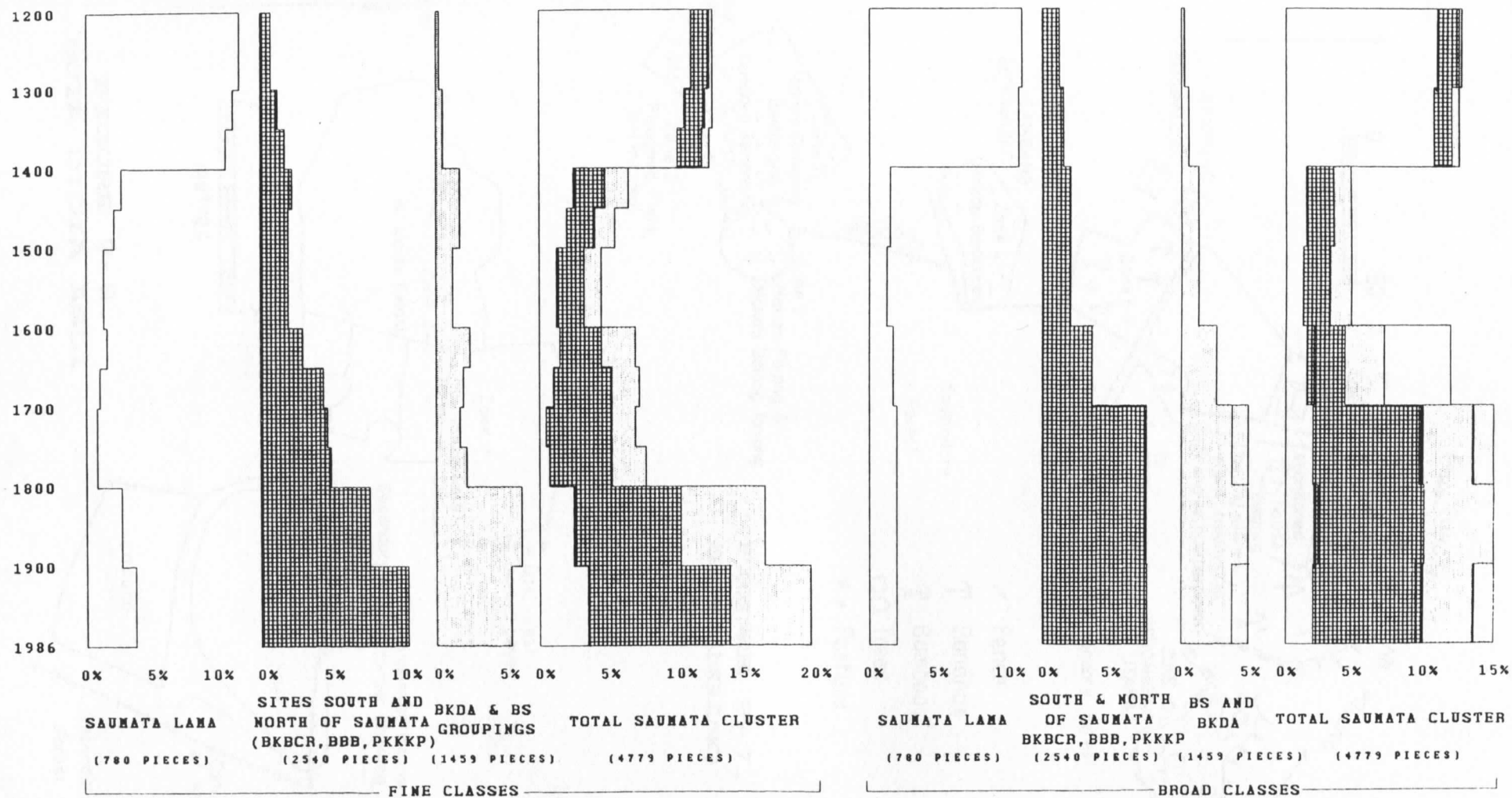


FIGURE 9-6. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - SAUMATA LAMA, SAUMATA CLUSTER

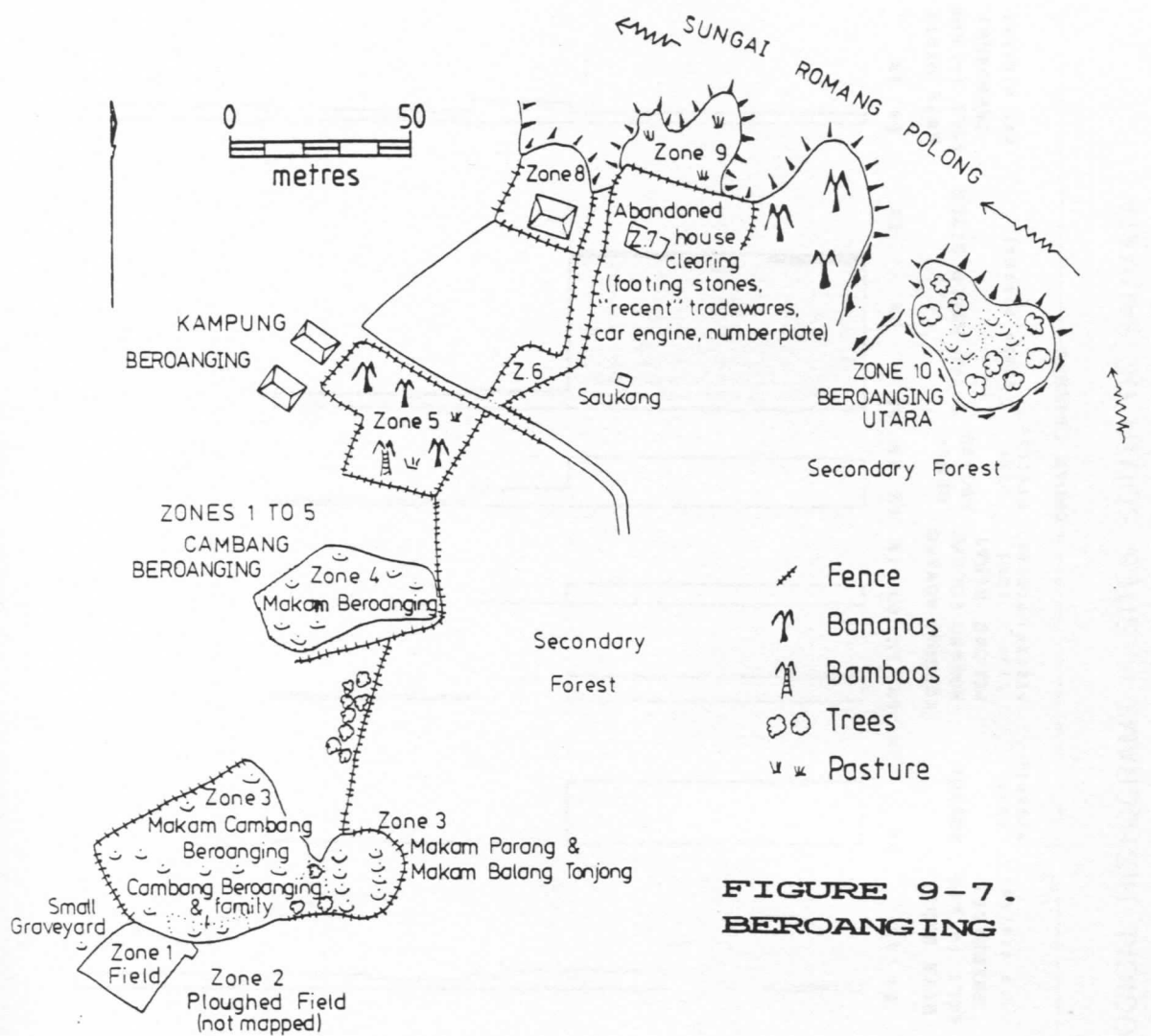


FIGURE 9-7.
BEROANGING

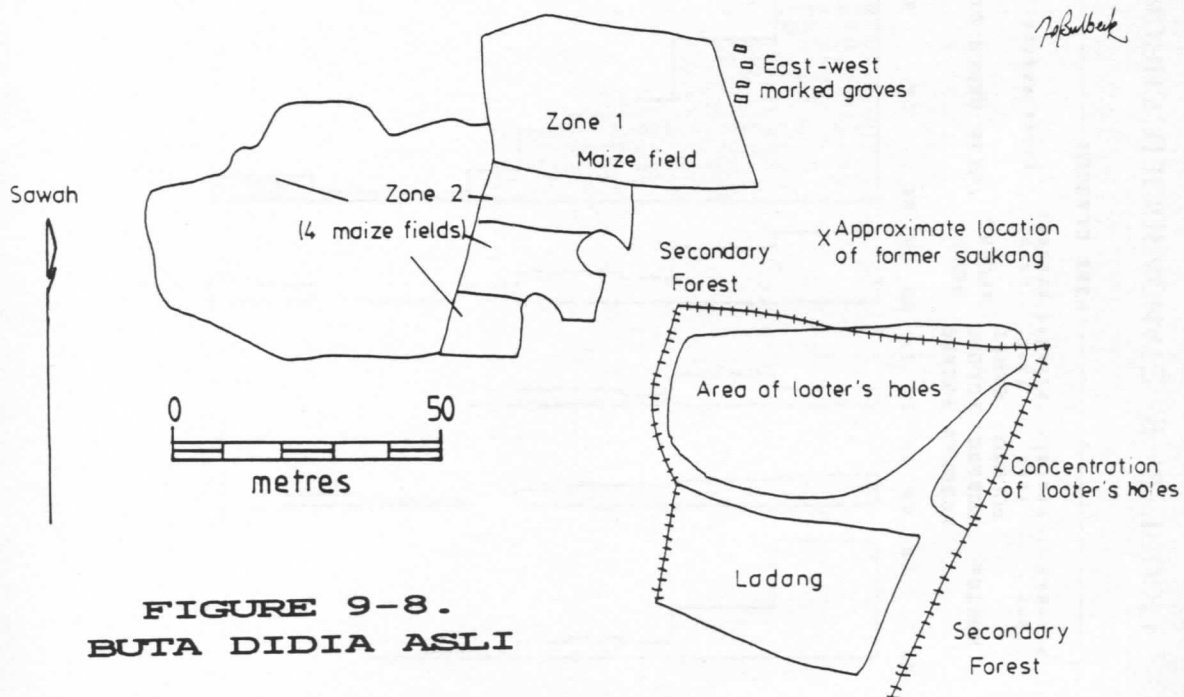


FIGURE 9-8.
BUTA DIDIA ASLI

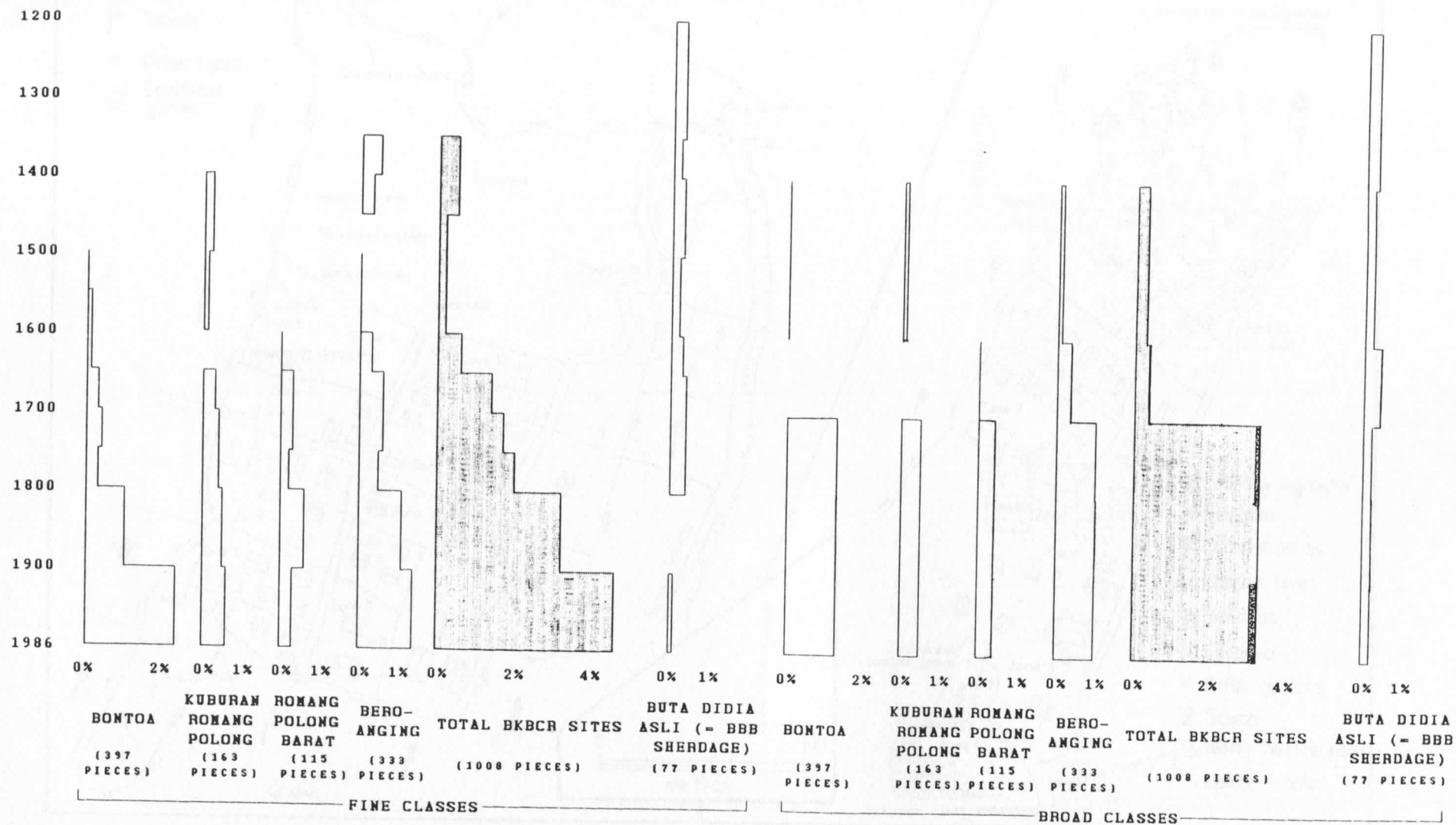


FIGURE 9-9. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - SITES SOUTH OF SAUMATA

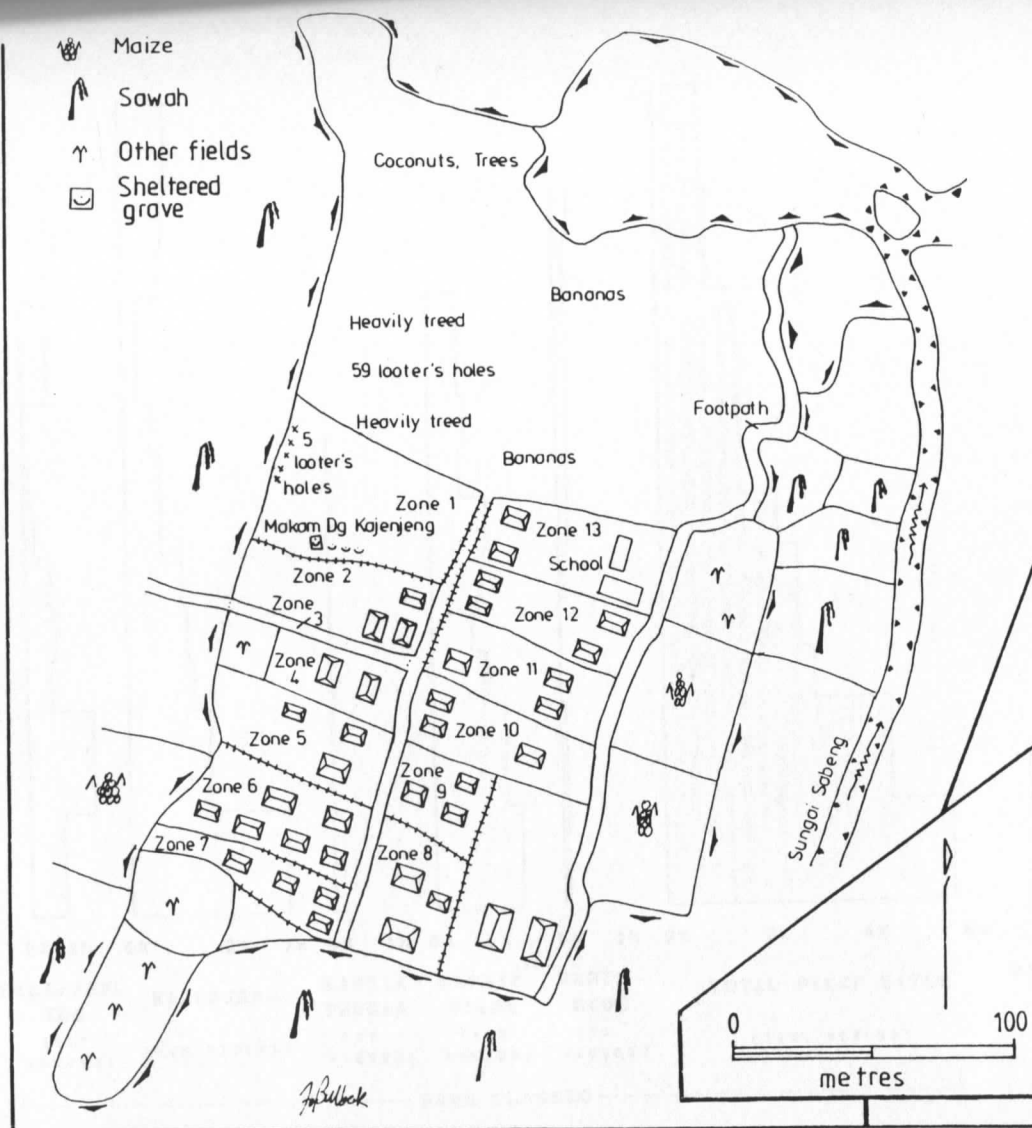


FIGURE 9-10. KAJENJENG

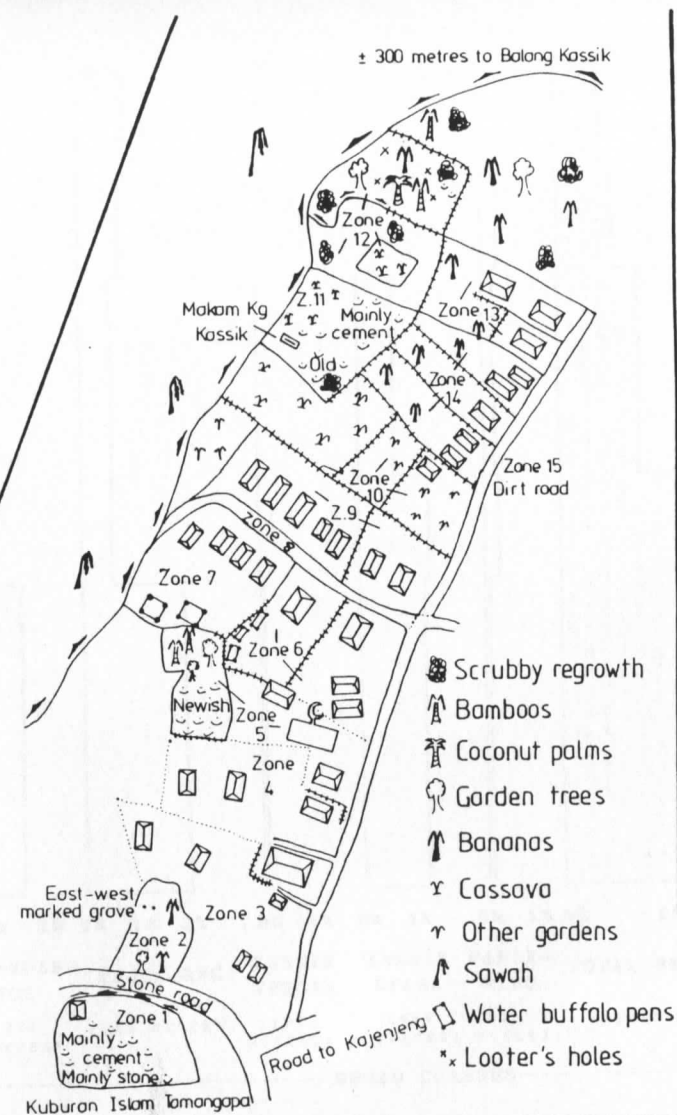


FIGURE 9-11. KASSIK UTARA

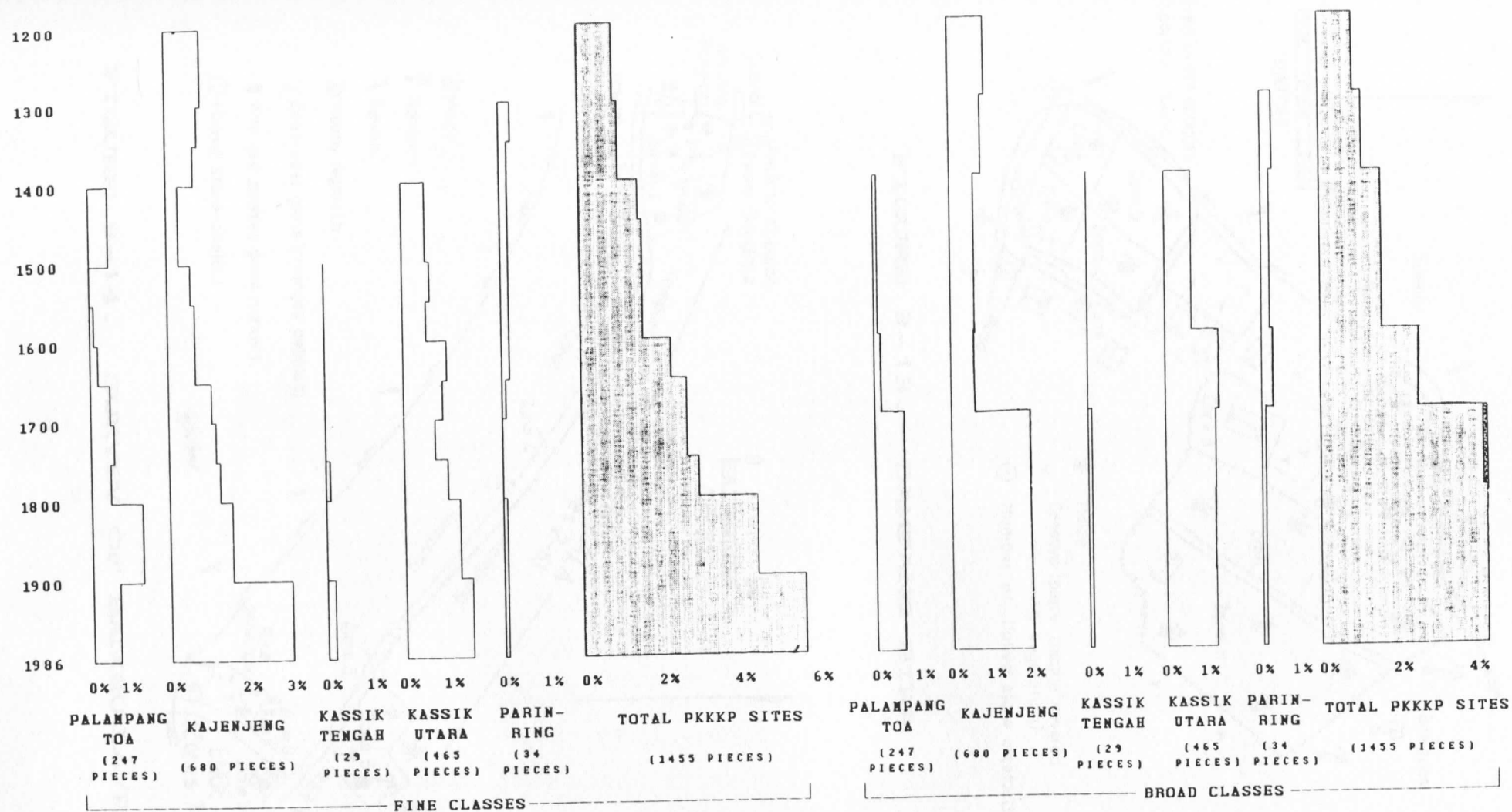


FIGURE 9-12. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - SITES NORTH OF SAUMATA

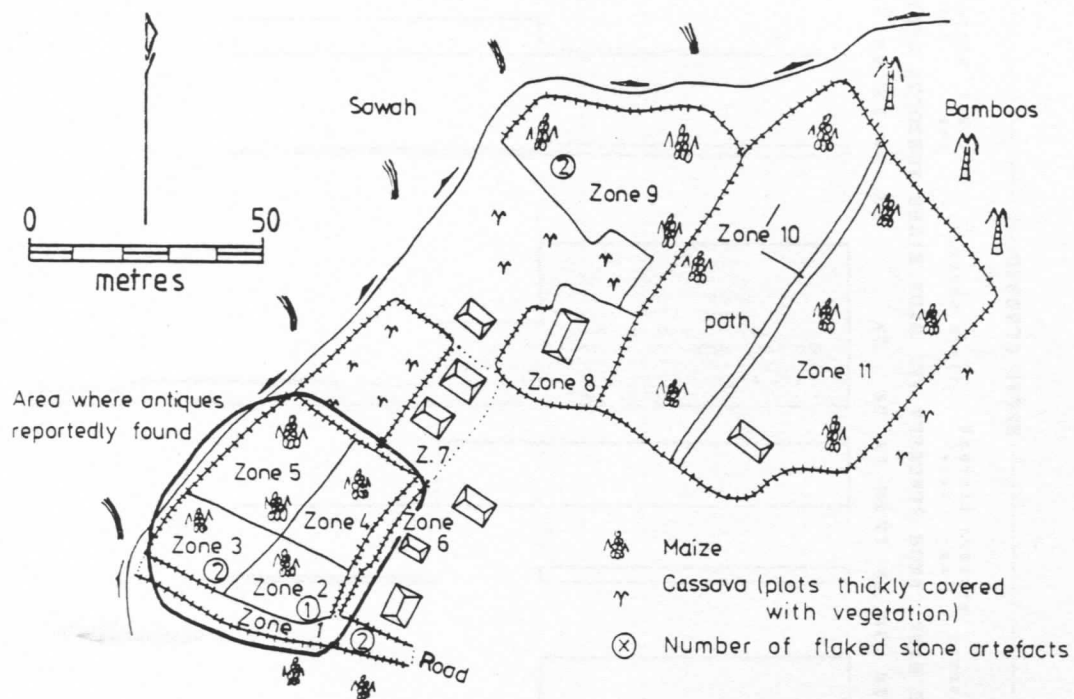


FIGURE 9-13. DAMPANG BIRA

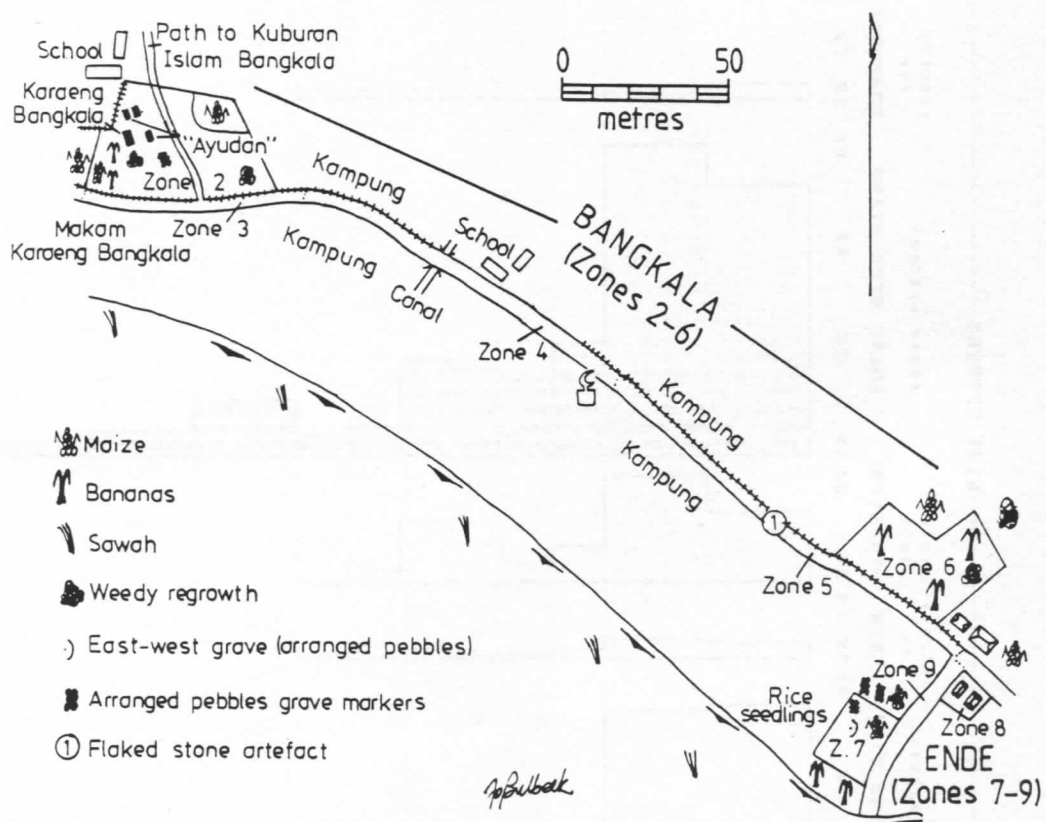


FIGURE 9-14. SURVEY OF BANGKALA/ENDE

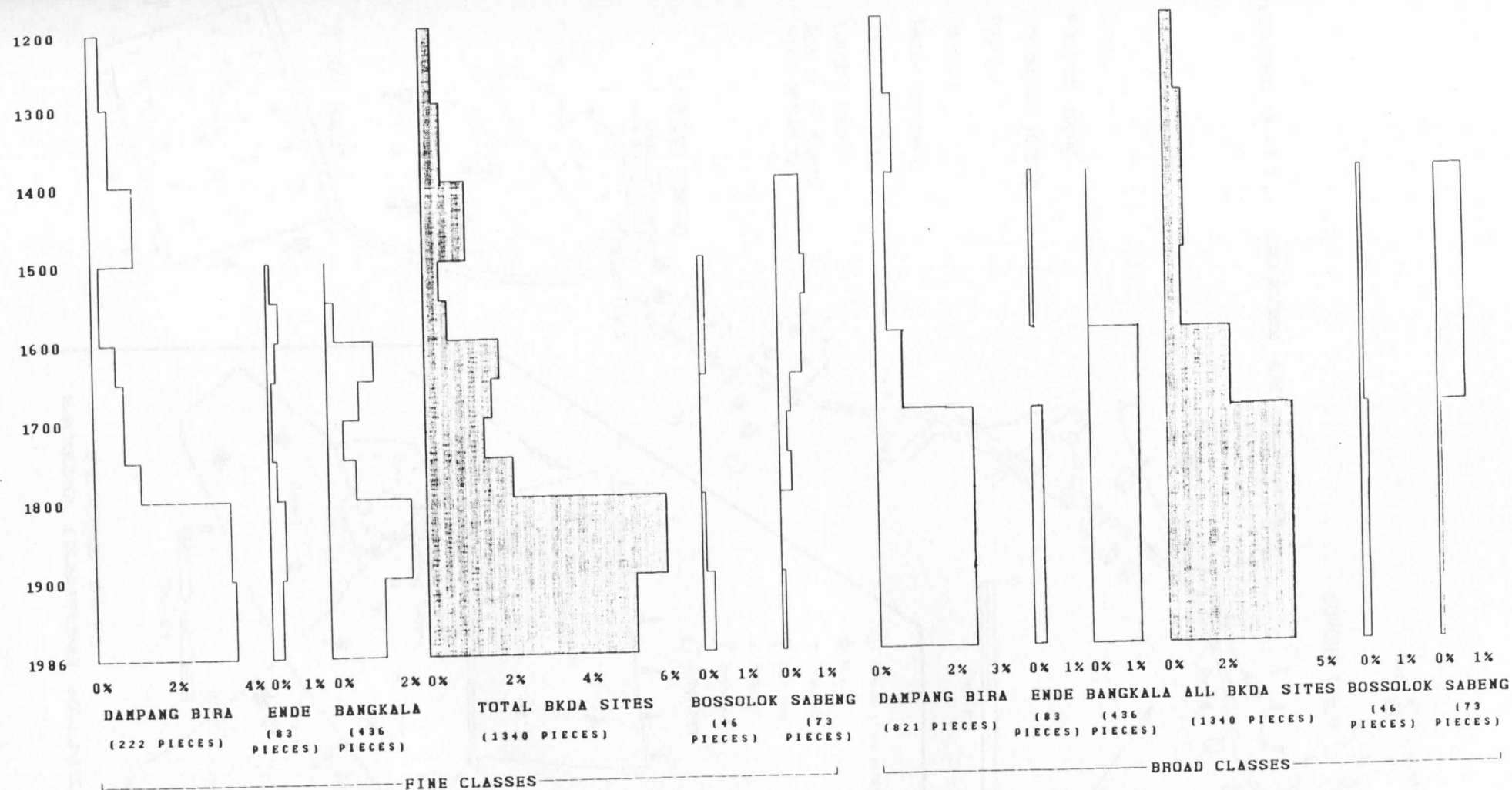


FIGURE 9-15. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - BKDA AND BS GROUPINGS

FIGURE 9-17. SURVEY OF BORONG

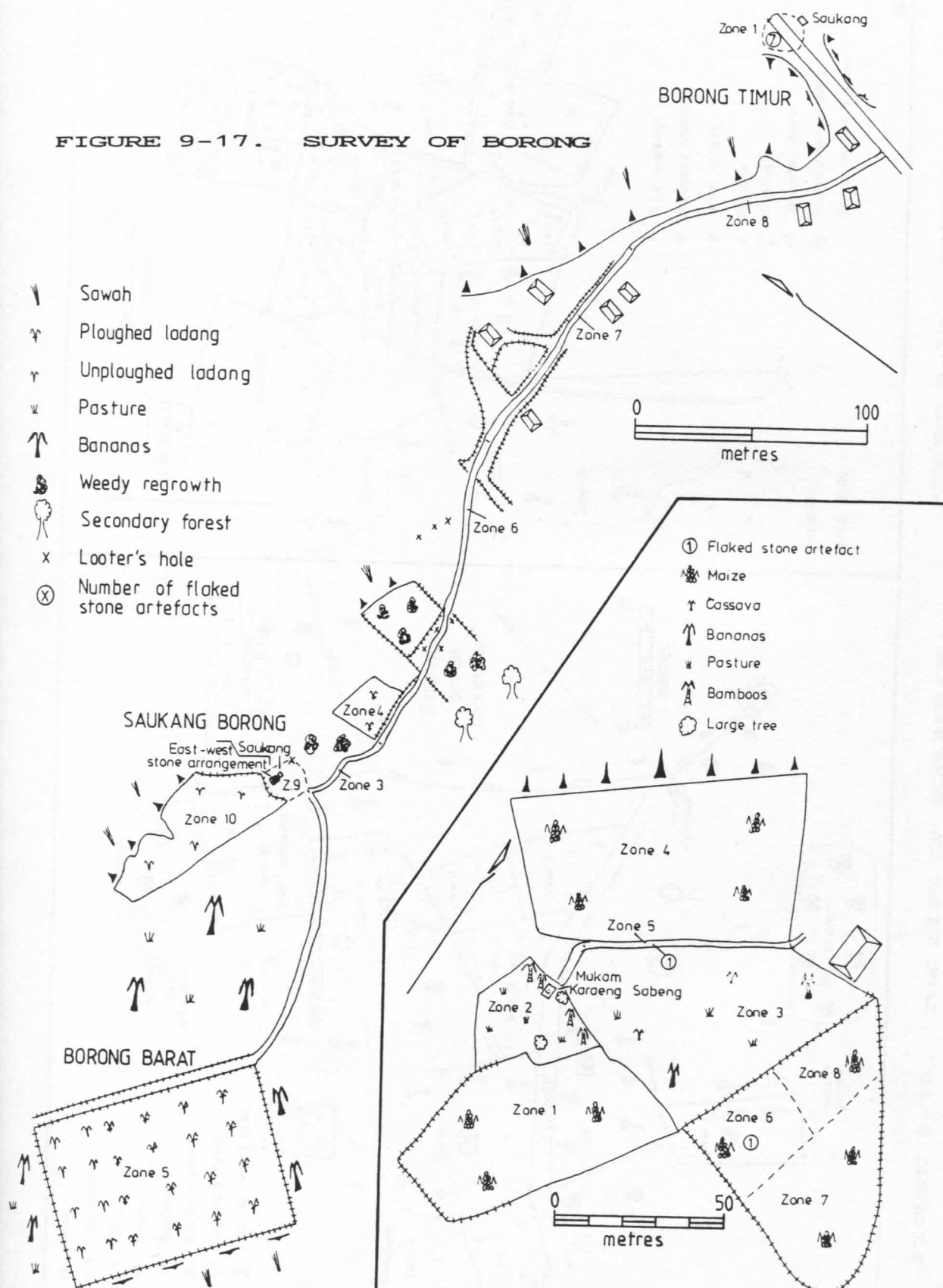


FIGURE 9-16.
SABENG (KAMPUNG MALAKLANG)

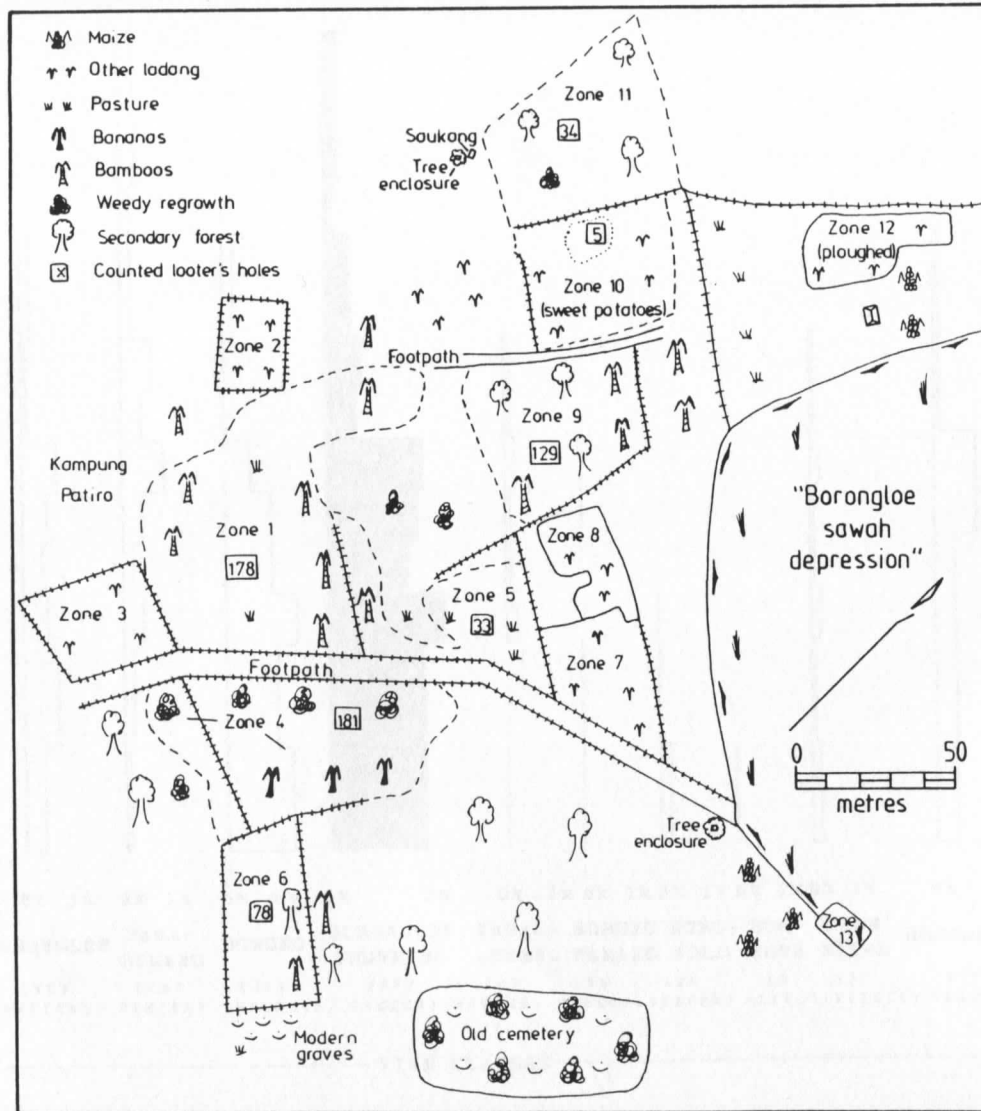


FIGURE 9-18. THE SITE OF BORONGLOE

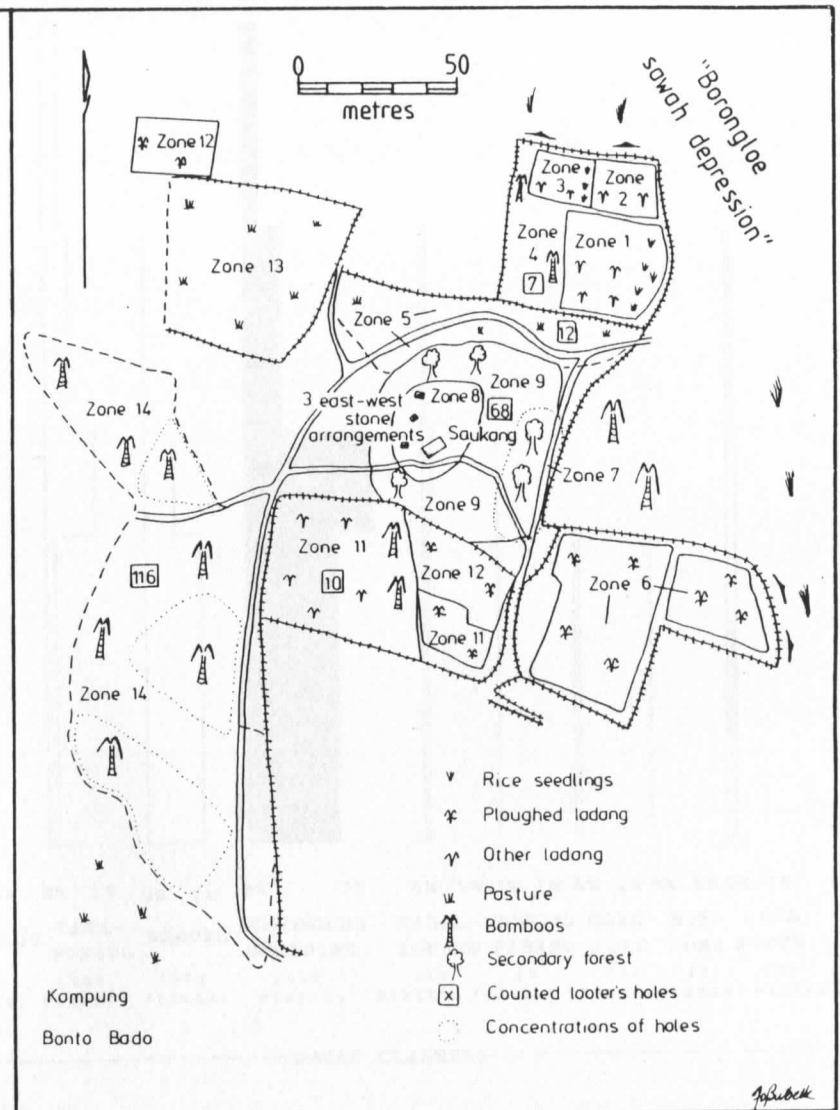


FIGURE 9-19. TAMARUNANG TUA

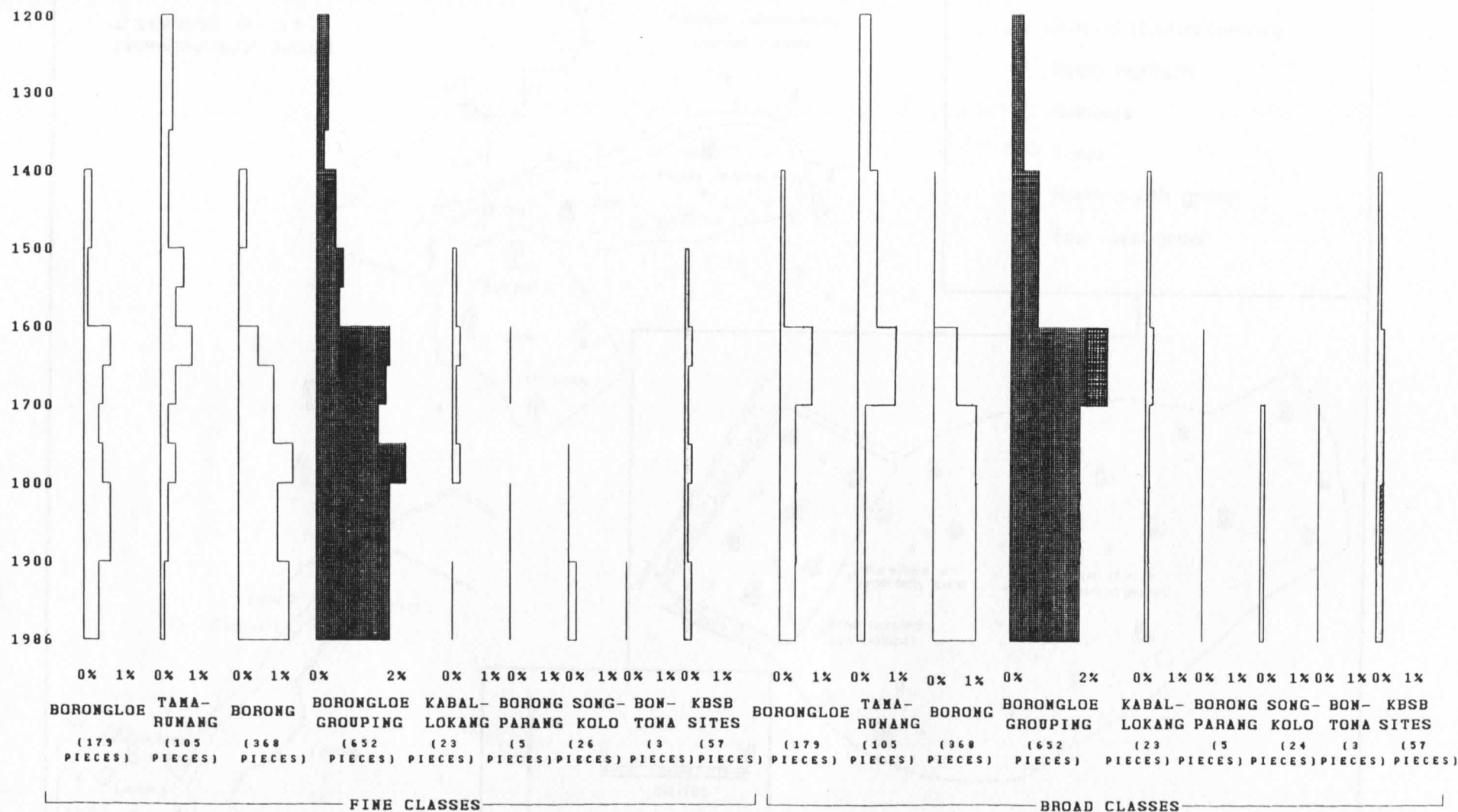


FIGURE 9-20. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - BORONGLOE (TBSBB) AND KBSB GROUPINGS

FIGURE 9-21.
SONGKOLO ASLI

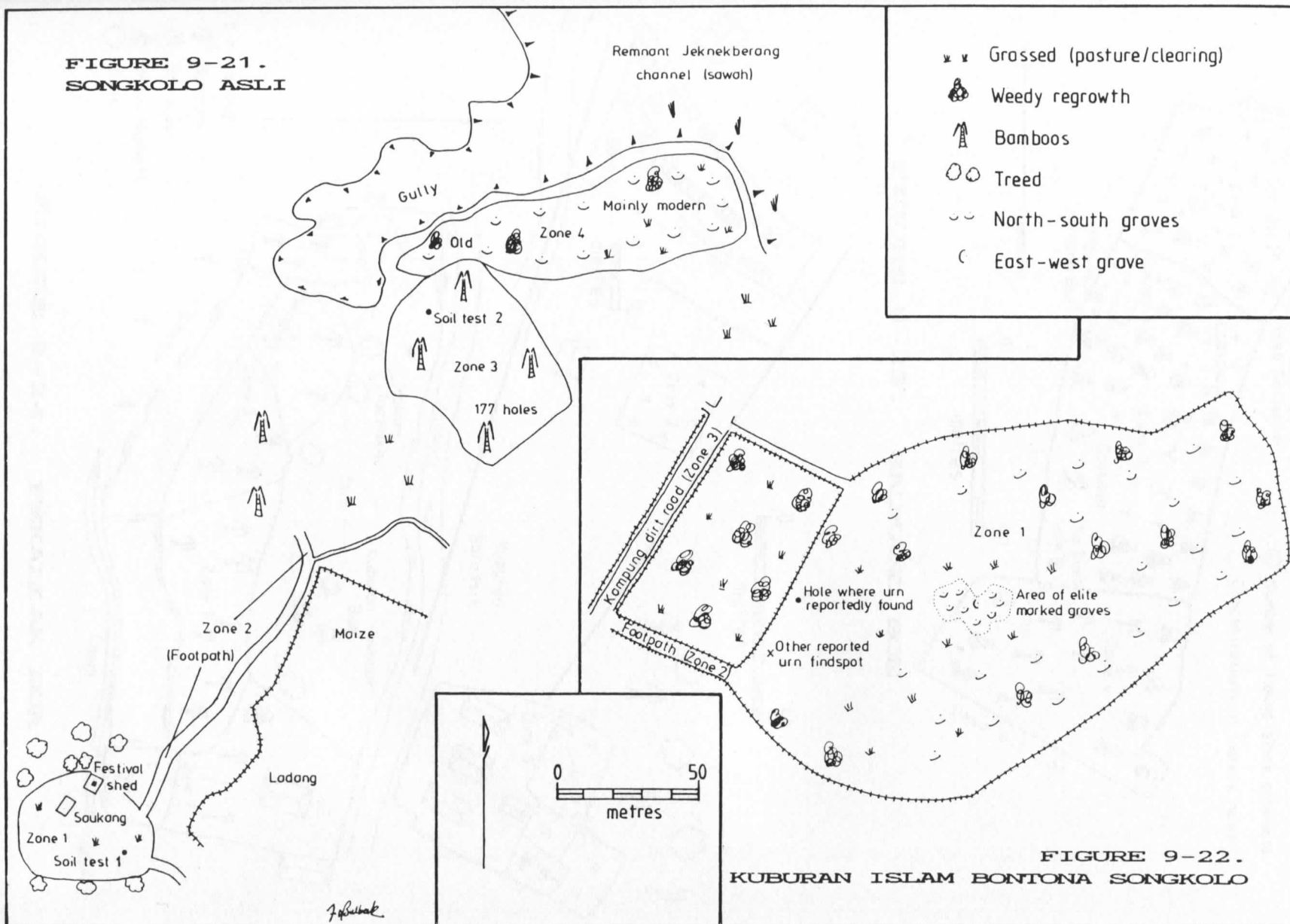
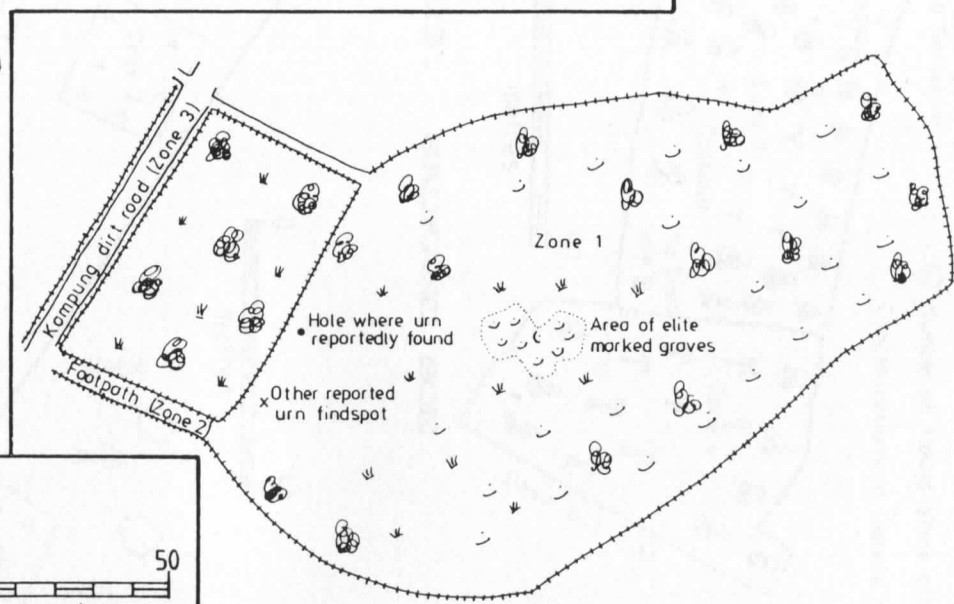


FIGURE 9-22.
KUBURAN ISLAM BONTONA SONGKOLO



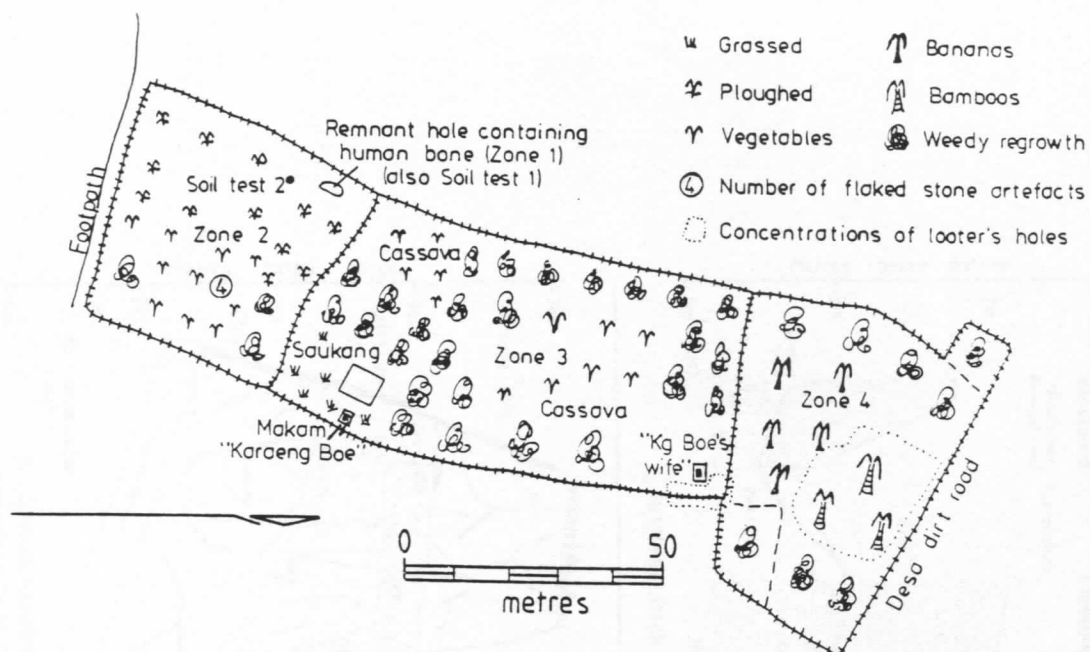


FIGURE 9-23. SAUKANG BOE

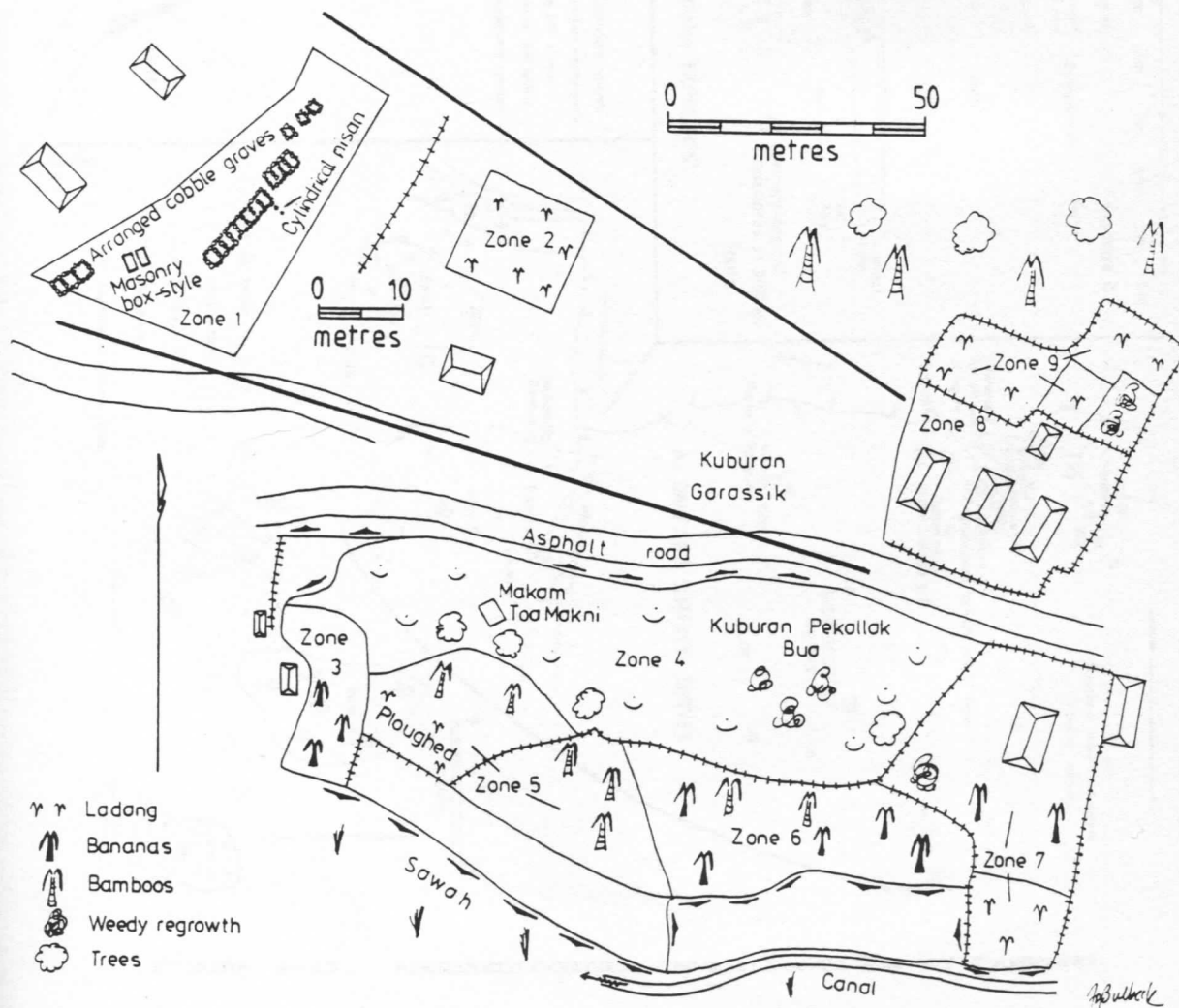
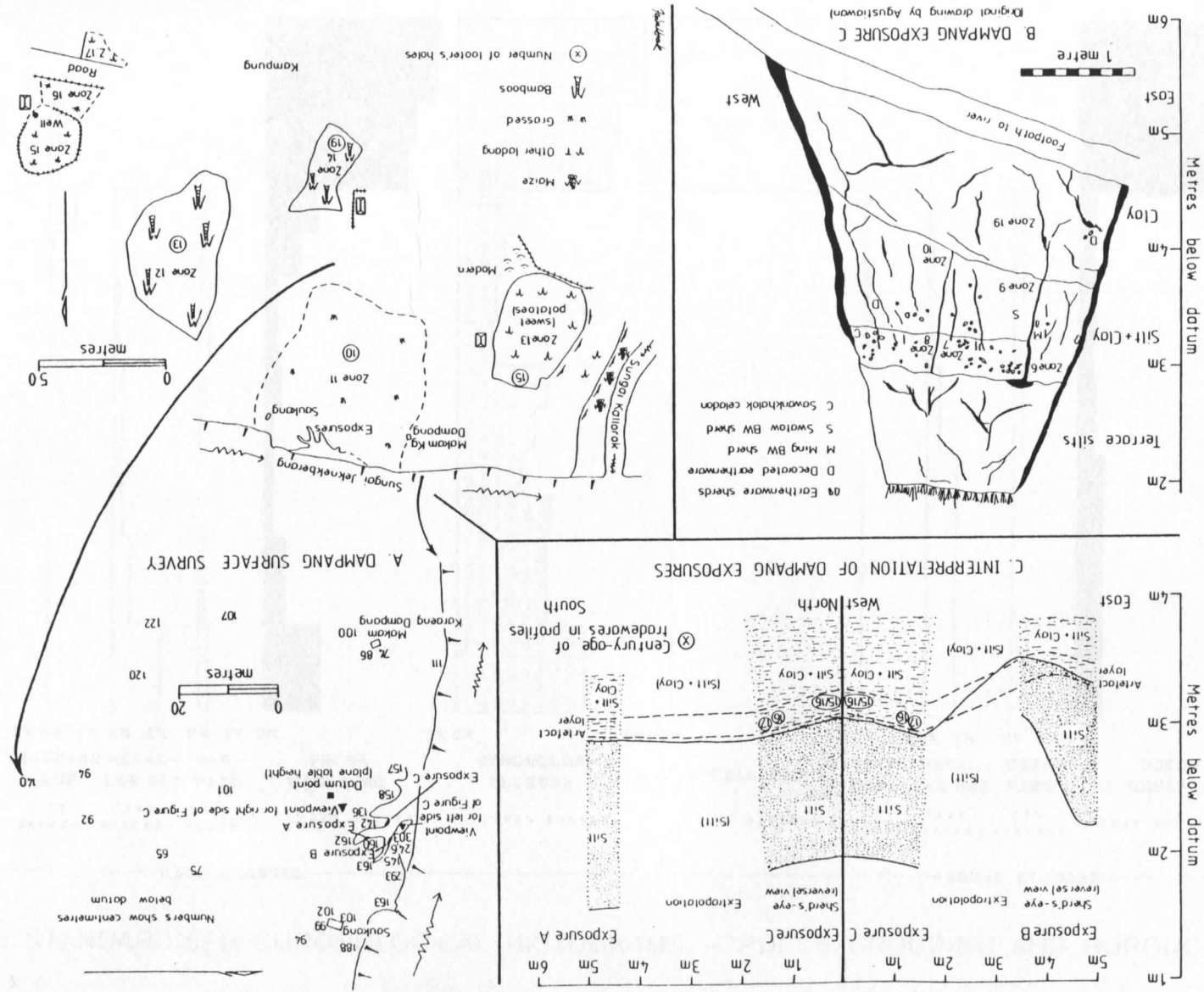


FIGURE 9-24. PEKALLAK BUA

FIGURE 9-25. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT DAMPANG



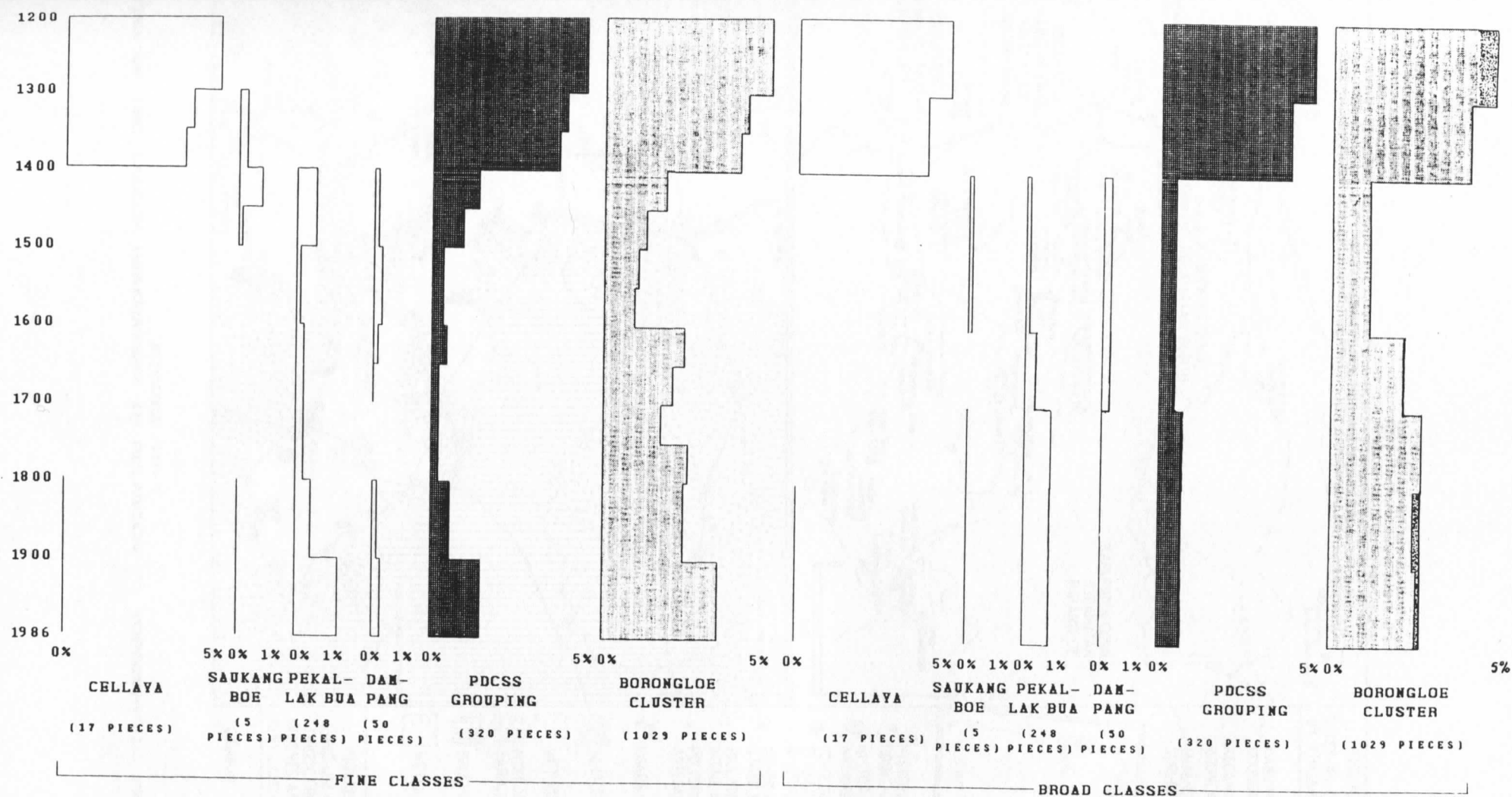


FIGURE 9-26. STANDARDISED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTOGRAMS - PDCSS GROUPING AND BORONGLOE CLUSTER

Photo 8-20.
Rectangular grave marker of
masoned stone slabs, inside
which a tree has taken root,
Kanjilo Lama Timur Daya.

Photo 8-21.
Makam Kocci Borong, showing
masonry case grave markers
at centre and modern cement
grave markers at rear left.

Photo 8-19.
Spoil heap ("zone 23") from the well in zone 22, on whose
surface 138 earthenware sherds, six 17th to 20th century
tradeware pieces and a pig's tooth were observed,
Kanjilo Lama Barat.



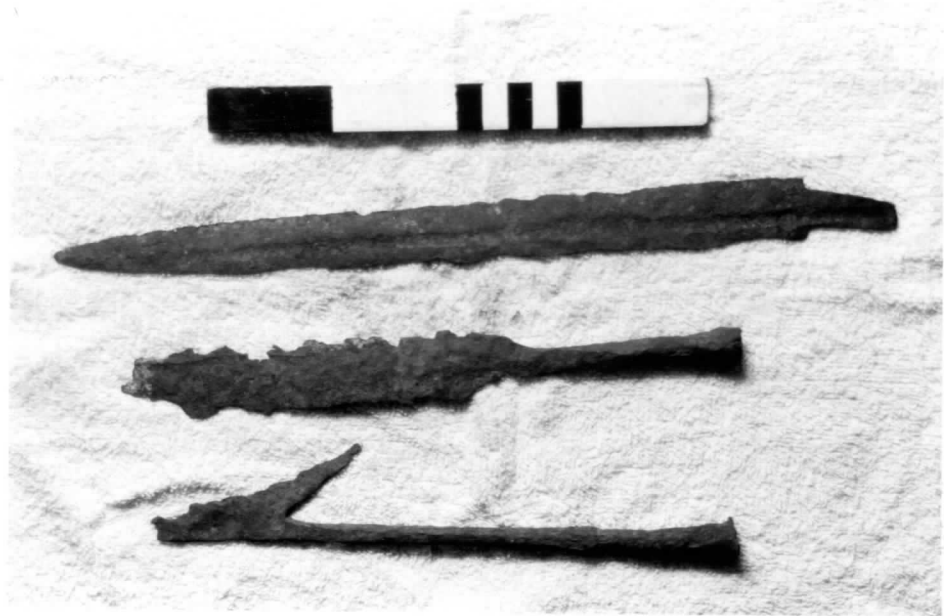


Photo 9-4.
Iron weapons reportedly recovered from east of the mosque,
i.e. zones 14 to 16 and 21, Saumata Lama.

Photo 9-5.
Presumably local earthenware shaped like a pedestalled
candlestick holder, reportedly recovered from east of the
mosque, i.e. zones 14 to 16 and 21, Saumata Lama.

appears like an incense burner, Phil Wian

Photo 9-6.
Stone arrangement reportedly marking the grave of a medicine
woman, abutted at the north by the mosque's fence,
Saumata Lama.



Brick sepulchre supporting three graves restored with modern cement markers and protected by a shelter, Makam Takbakkaka, Saumata Lama. The sepulchre is associated with a "godfather" figure whose name is reportedly no longer remembered.

Photo 9-7.

Photo 9-8.
One of the clearer examples
of a grave marked with a
rectangle of arranged pebbles,
Zone 36, Saumata Lama.

Photo 9-9.
Concrete and timber shelter
protecting the grave of
"Karaeng Saumata",
Kuburan Islam Campaga Lomo.
His grave is marked only by
the modern cement restoration.



Photo 9-10.
Three jarlets which we identified as Sawankhalok,
reported from west of the mosque, i.e. zones 33 to 35,
Saumata Lama. All have unglazed bases.

Photo 9-11.
Ming BW plate reportedly from west of the mosque, i.e. zones
33 to 35. Sketchy lotus scroll and glazed base on reverse.

Photo 9-12.
Local earthenware reportedly recovered
from the northern looted area, Saumata Lama.



Photo 9-13.
The sepulchres of Cambang Beroang and his wife,
restored cement nisan-cases enclosing head and foot stones.
Beroang (Gowa 33).

Photo 9-14.
Makam Beroang: some of the masonry markers, including some
looking distinctly old, and a corner of one of the modern
masonry markers protruding into the top of the picture.

Photo 9-15.
The looted area with grave markers of arranged stones at
Beroang Utara. SSPHAP's team member Dubel Driwantoro
(now with Puslitarkenas) is holding the staff.



Photo 9-16. G.33.1.2 and G.33.1.3 (Beroangling).
 These two sherds match to form the rim and cavetto of a deep
 plate with a flattened rim of around 22 cm diameter.
 Tentatively classified as late 13th-early 14th century given
 (i) flattened rim and deep cavetto (cf. Medley, 1974:40);
 (ii) three glaze layers to cover paste impurities, and
 "orange peel" effect on glaze (cf. Macintosh, 1977:21,41);
 (iii) rim decoration which may be a wave breaking to the
 right (cf. Macintosh, 1977:135).
 However, early 18th century Qing BW also possible since
 (i) "orange peel" effect then imitated (Macintosh, 1977:41);
 (ii) the piece's cobalt decoration is lavender in tone (cf.
 Macintosh, 1977:77,83); (iii) its glaze apparently splattered
 with minutely ground cobalt (cf. Macintosh, 1977:74-75).

Photo 9-17.
 Buta Didia Asli.
 The three large trees were
 pointed out as the former
 location of the saukang by
 Buta Didia's former
 Lingkunggan headman.

Photo 9-18.
 Tradeware pieces from
 Buta Didia Asli.
 Top: G.74.1.1, early monochrome.
 Middle: G.74.1.3, 15th century
 Ming celadon. Bottom: G.74.2.1,
 Ming famille verte.



Photo 9-19.
Kuburan Islam Romang Sapang, kampung Bontoa,
showing markers masoned from a coarse conglomerate stone.

Photo 9-20.
Kuburan Islam Romang Polong, kampung Kadieng,
showing some of the range of marked graves.

Photo 9-21.
The grave of Daeng Kajenjeng, site of Kajenjeng.
Cement restoration enclosing finely masoned, sceptre-like
nisan 2.2 metres apart at head and foot, oriented due north.



Photo 9-22.
Decorated, presumably local
earthenware reportedly
looted from Kassik Tengah.
Deep bowl with notched rim
and burnished interior.

Photo 9-23.
Makam Karaeng Kassik,
Kassik Utara. Cement case-top
4.4 metres long, 100° from north,
enclosing old stone facing
westward at the eastern end.
Also wooden nisan at either end.

Photo 9-24.
Makam Karaeng Bangkala, site of Bangkala, showing the single
stone (front-centre) and some of the cobbles arranged into a
rectangular enclosure, just visible among the regrowth.
Also visible are the outline of the cobble platform,
some of the wooden beams of the collapsed shelter,
and the fallen roof of corrugated iron in the background.

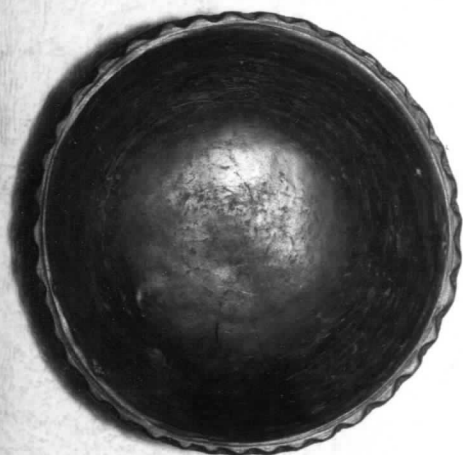


Photo 9-27.
Makam Karaeng Sabeng. Round stone at north, sharpish stone
at south, enclosed within a quite old restoration oriented
350° from north. Plastered cement nisan connected by mortared
bricks, brick platform originally set with mortar
and plastered with cement, tin roof shelter.

Photo 9-26.
The raised area of Bossolok, photographed from the south
just north of the Sungai Sabeng.

Photo 9-25.
One of the two masonry graves reportedly associated with
the "ajudan" (assistants) of Karaeng Bangkala, Bangkala site.
Stepped box style with dislodged nisan at head and foot.



Photo 9-28.
U.19.1.1, Parinring (from six joining sherds).
Vietnamese apple-green celadon bowl, unglazed base and lower
cavetto on reverse. This glaze colour is usually dated to the
14th-15th centuries (e.g. Guy, 1986:109; Willetts, 1982:4).

Photo 9-29.
Sukothai fish plate in villager's possession, recovered from
an unknown location at the Parinring diggings.

Photo 9-30.
G.70.1.8, recovered by a farmer from Borong Barat and donated
to SSPHAP's team. Base to a Swatow famille verte overglaze
decorated plate. Glaze-splashed bottom but clean foot.

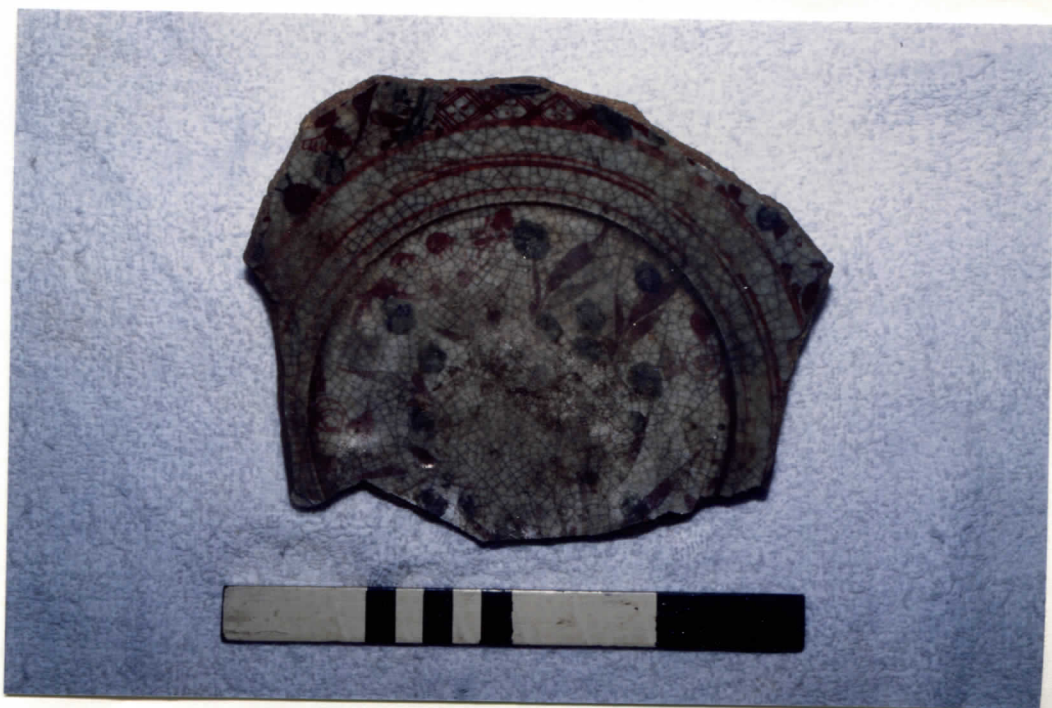
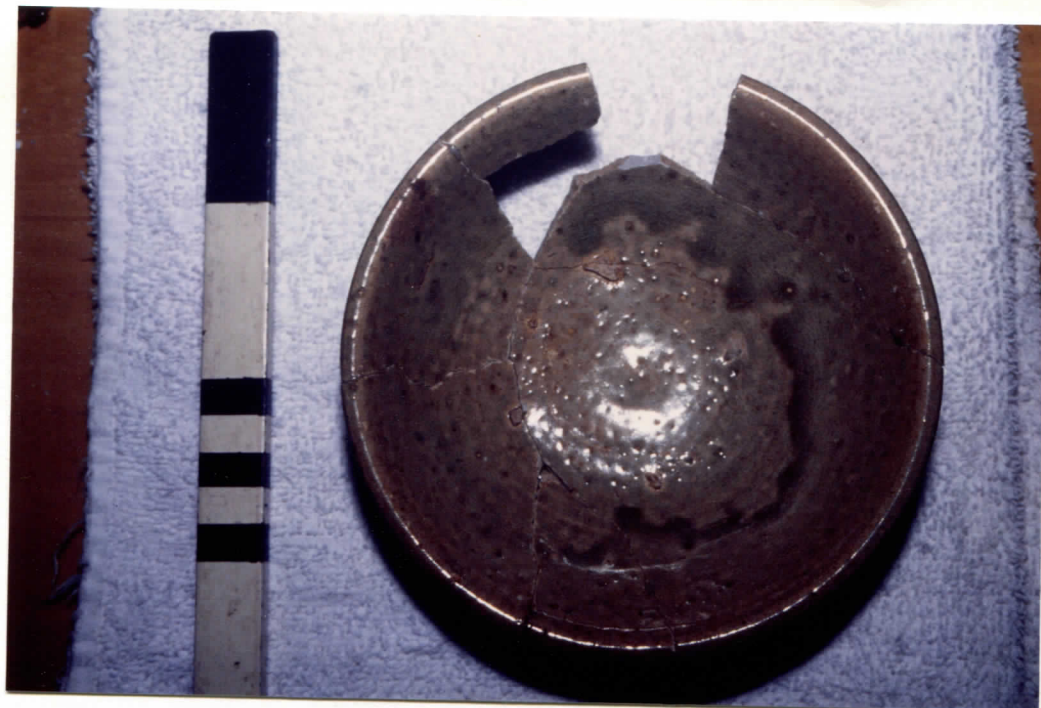


Photo 9-31.
Borongloe's southeast tree enclosure, a bamboo corral
enclosing an old tree and a small shelter.

Photo 9-32.
The old cemetery at Borongloe. This sheltered marked grave
was reported to be associated with Karaeng Borongloe III.

Photo 9-33.
The "Borongloe sawah depression",
photographed from Zone 13 of Borongloe site.



Photo 9-36.
Votive offerings on the platform in Borongloe's saukang.
A Ming BW bowl, a handleless globular tempayan (Ming?), and
an earthenware pot burnished black. The tradewares at least
probably came from the looting operations. All three pieces
are included in the Zone 11 artefacts (Appendix D).

Photo 9-35.
Detail of the interior of Borongloe's northwest tree
enclosure (next to the saukang), showing the three large
stones on the roots of a large tree within a bamboo shelter.

Photo 9-34.
Detail of the interior of Borongloe's southeast tree
enclosure (see Photo 9-31). Contents include three local
earthenware pots and other votive offerings.
Reported not to be a grave.



Photo 9-37.
The saukang at Tamarnuang Tua.
It resembles the Borongloe saukang in that it
used to contain a tempayan (probably also locally looted).
The tempayan was smashed by a local villager in a fit of rage
and its fragments scattered all over the saukang clearing.

Photo 9-38.
The remnant meander of the Jeknekerang at Borong,
looking eastwards from Borong's saukang.
Note its bundling into wet rice fields.

Photo 9-39.
Zone 5 at Borong ("Borong Barat") showing the ploughed
section of the field. The "Borongloe sawah depression"
is visible at rear.



Photo 9-42.
Detail of the stone arrangement next to Borong's saukang.
Orientation 80° from north.

Photo 9-41.
The saukang next to the bamboo corral enclosing
an east-west oriented stone arrangement, Borong.

Photo 9-40.
Tamarunang Tua. The northern rectangle of arranged flat
stones within a bamboo corral; nine plus stones oriented at
100° from north. The middle example had 16 plus stones
oriented at 70° from north, and the southern example
had two flat stones oriented at 120° from north.



Photo 9-43. Kuburan Islam Borong Parang.
One of the ridge-topped masonry cases with a style of finely
worked, tablet-like nisan apparently peculiar to the site,
which we interpreted as the marked graves of local elite.

Photo 9-44.
The saukang (front) and the baruga or festival shed (rear),
Songkolo Asli. Note the prominent, centrally jutting eaves.

Photo 9-45.
The squarish stone inside the Songkolo Asli baruga.
Reported not to be a grave but rather the place where someone
(a Tomannurung-type figure) came and then disappeared.



Photo 9-46.
Looking upstream where the Jeknekerang is cutting eastwards
into Songkolo Asli, revealing around seven metres' depth of
soil profile. Photographed in January 1987, more or less the
middle of what was a comparatively mild wet season.

Photo 9-47. Kuburan Islam Bontona Songkolo.
One of the finely carved, crenulated nisan decorated
in a style apparently unique to the site, which we
interpreted as the marked graves of local elite.

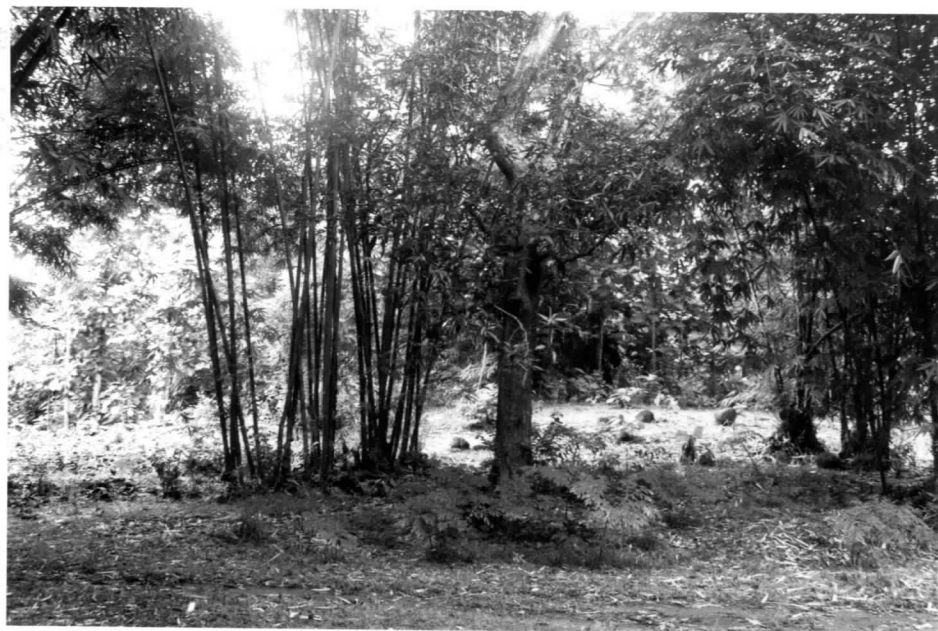
Photo 9-48.
Kuburan Islam Bontona Songkolo. The hole where a globular
earthenware jar had reportedly been recovered.



Photo 9-49.
The Sungai Kallorok, looking south from the bridge
of the road immediately west of Dampang.

Photo 9-50.
Low knoll of outcropping sedimentary rock, measuring
around 60 metres east-west by 100 metres north-south.
50 metres east of Saukang Borong (Gowa 79).

Photo 9-51.
The reportedly looted area of Cellaya.
Surface tradeware sherds was restricted to
the half of the maize field closest to the camera.



Saukang Borong (Gowa 79), kampung Borong (Biring Kaloro),
photo 9-52.
photographed from the entrance at the north.

The two stones oriented along an east-west axis inside a
brick enclosure at the southeast corner of Saukang Borong.
Photo 9-53.

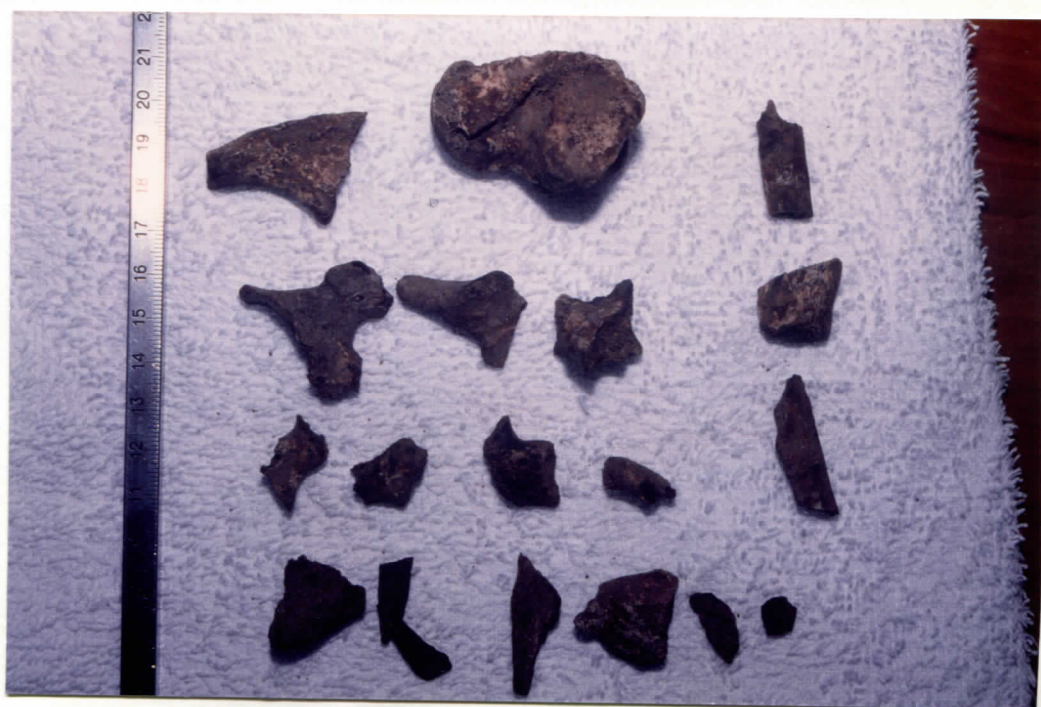
The sau kang at the Saukang Boe site, kampung Biring Kaloro.
Photo 9-54.



Photos 9-55 and 9-56.
The two east-west marked graves inside brick corrals at
Saukang Boe. The southern one next to the sau kang (above)
is reportedly associated with Karaeng Boe,
and the northern one (below) with his wife.

Photo 9-57.
Cremated human bone from zone 1, Saukang Boe.
One rib fragment missing from photograph. Identifications
left to right.

Top row: scapula fragment; talus; rib fragment.
2nd row: two vertebral processes; unidentified; cuboid.
3rd row: two vertebral processes; cervical disc; two rib
fragments.
Bottom row: lumbar fragment; two joined rib fragments;
rib fragment; lumbar fragment; two unidentified.



Some examples of conjoinable sherds from zone 1, Saukang Boe. Rim sherds were unfortunately absent from the collection which is a desultory representation of the parent vessel(s), but no more than one large jar is necessarily represented.

Photo 9-60.

Zone 1, the hole where a villager had recovered two gold rings and an iron sword from a large earthenware jar, and where we collected sherds from the jar and 20 fragments of cremated human bone.

Photo 9-59.

Zone 2, Saukang Boe, the fields containing sherds from one or more large earthenware jars which presumably had contained jar burials. The location of zone 1 is indicated by the ranging pole at back right.

(SSPHAP's team member Agustiawan can be seen wearing white pants in the centre of the photograph.)

Photo 9-58.



Ceramics reportedly looted from Dampang. Complete Qing celadon jar and cover left, Qing celadon jar cover top right, "Kitchen Qing" spoon bottom right. All look 19th century and were presumably recovered from former occupation deposits of the direct predecessors of the present villagers.

Photo 9-63.

Detail of Makam Toa Makni, Kuburan Islam Pekallak Bua, showing the style of arranged stones (rotted at the north, next to the tree trunk, through repeated votive rites) abutting an old tree within a bamboo corral.

Photo 9-61.

Exposure C, Dampang, showing the dark reddish brown silt horizon at top, the greyish brown silt and clay horizon below (with a band of potsherds at its top), and the dark greyish brown clay at the base.

Photo 9-62.



Photo 9-64.
Makam Toa Makni, Kuburan Islam Pekallak Bua (see Photo 9-61),
here showing the shelter inside the bamboo corral.

Photo 9-65.
Sawah fields north
of Pekallak Bua.
Photographed during our
second visit to the site
in January 1987
(mid-wet season).

Photo 9-66.
Exposure B, Dampang.
The stratigraphic break between
silt (top), and silt and clay
(below), and the band of potsherds
cutting across, are clearly visible
beneath the hanging grass tendrils.



