

Landscape of Pre-Islamic Beliefs: The Rise of Agriculture and Bugis Diaspora

Lanskap Religi Pra-Islam: Kebangkitan Pertanian dan Diaspora Bugis

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ABSTRACT

Agricultural traditions in South Sulawesi and the Bugis diaspora in the archipelago have a long history. Available historical sources and archaeological evidence suggest that upland agriculture began at least in the 12th century, and lowland from the 14th and 15th centuries, before increasing in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the span of more than four centuries, agricultural activities have shaped the environment and influenced the cultural landscape, both in agriculture and in spiritual life. Religiosity which is integrated with rice subsistence is still maintained in several areas in South Sulawesi. This study focuses on the aspects of Bugis religiosity in a fertile area in the central part of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi which includes the regency of Wajo, Soppeng, Sidenreng Rappang, and Pinrang. The main source of this research is based on the results of an archaeological and ethnographic survey in 2018, 2020 (Desk Study), and 2021 on the pre-Islamic cultural-ecological landscape in several rivers that empties into Lake Tempe. Using an interdisciplinary approach, this paper will present the Bugis cultural landscape as a starting point for understanding the contextual relationship between increased agricultural and religious activities associated with the Bugis diaspora as one of the foundations of civilization and its adaptation to social and political changes both in the context of Indonesia and the Southeast Asia region.

Keywords: Bugis diaspora, agriculture, cultural landscape, pre-Islamic beliefs.

1. INTRODUCTION

In all phases of Buginese history, several milestones were found that reflected the elements of modernity. Derived from Pelras (1996) observations, Fadillah (2000) tried to unravel the roots of modernity in Buginese society. The elements of modernity of Buginese community, as he mentioned, consisted of: rationality, enhancement of productivity, skills specialization, communicativeness, cultural openness, social relationship and individual excellence. To elaborate of such modernity, a range of main evidences were provided to strengthen the argument that Buginese had been possessing their global vision, long before the arrival of Europeans. The first element, to take as an

example, is corroborated by their inscription which is commonly known as *lontarak*. Although meant to record several aspects which lead to preserving the pre-Islamic traditions, some *lontarak* manuscripts also manifest a form of innovation and adoption of Islamic law and knowledge (Fadillah, 2000:130).

Of each element described, the agricultures and diaspora are considered as the main explanatory aspects for the roots of Buginese modernity. Both of the aforementioned aspects take a primary position within the identity of this ethnic group. The Buginese are known for their strong agricultural tradition, which makes their occupational area in South Sulawesi as *lumbung padi* (bountiful rice producer). This tradition can be traced back to the 13th century which is proven

by phytolith remains (Bulbeck & Caldwell, 2008) and a carbon-dated charcoal (Hasanuddin, 2017) unearthed from archaeological excavation in Wajo. Furthermore, Macknight (1983) argues that the Bugis society has experienced an important period called "agricultural revival" since at least the 15th century. Regarding their diaspora, the fact that the Buginese diaspora has spread all over the Indonesian archipelago and even further to several neighboring countries (Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam) render their global vision.

Concerning the rise of agriculture in South Sulawesi, Macknight (1983) proposed the importance of several interacting factors, particularly belief systems¹. Macknight's remark is justified by the fact that throughout their history, the Pre-Islamic beliefs were inseparable from the development of Buginese civilization. Thus, agricultural traditions and religious aspects must be studied hand in hand. In so doing, to get a descriptive picture of pre-Islamic religion, this study focuses on several archaeological sites that indicate agricultural activities in which religious rituals play an important part, both in terms of increasing agricultural production and the economic expansion of the Buginese throughout the archipelago.

2. THE EARLY FARMING AND THE TRACE OF PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS

Neolithic culture is considered as the roots of the agricultural rise in the development of human civilization. The emergence of farming replacing food gathering has driven drastic changes in human life. Changes from a hunter-gatherer to a food-producing society through farming require a drastic reorganization of the entire existing social system (Clark and Brandt, 1984). In several cases, this transition can move faster or slower and even had an evolutionary tendency. In this context, the rise of agriculture grew along with religious concepts as the medium for community social system reorganization.

Regarding rice cultivation, the latest findings of early rice in Sulawesi (and also one of the earliest in Southeast Asia) were found in the Minanga Sipakko site at around 3.500 BP (Deng, et.al, 2020). Another finding by Glover (1985), a rice grain from a cave in Maros dated to 500AD. Both findings gave information about the beginning of rice cultivation in South Sulawesi. At a later period, the finding of *phytolith* (rice husk) and other archaeological findings at the Allakanange site in Wajo gave a clue that there was an agrarian culture of rice plantation in South Sulawesi since the 13th century².

¹ Another factor, as stated by Macknight (1983), such as: population, geography, food production technology, social status, and military power).

² Dating test result of megalithic sites correlated with agricultural tradition also shows a period of 13th century to 15th century, according to radiocarbon analysis of charcoal findings which was associated

This fact was associated with people's responses to the availability of trade commodities particularly textiles and ceramics (Bullbeck and Caldwell, 2008).

On the other hand, textual sources imply that the Buginese started an intensive rice plantation in 1400 BC (Macknight, 1983: 99). The chronicle of Bugis and Makassar also recorded that most of the agricultural expansion was observable throughout the lowland at around 1300 BC, and controlled by nobles of either big or small kingdoms in South Sulawesi (Caldwell and Bougas, 2004: 500). Referring to several sources, Macknight (1983), mentioned that the 13th to 15th century was the period of the rise of agriculture of South Sulawesi inhabitants.

This farming tradition shows that the rise of agriculture is a coherent part of religious concepts. Several religious aspects coherent with the agricultural rise such as beliefs to the land spirits or deities who rule the world, make it fertile, arable, as well as the myth of *Sangiang* or *Sangiangseri* (goddess of rice)³. These concepts were also manifested through farming rituals which should not be neglected by the farmers; to disobey means to be ungrateful to the gods, and the rice will not bear fruit (Pelras, 2006: 107). Agricultural rituals within local context known as varied forms, such as *mappalili*, *macceratana*, *makkabekka*, *maddojabine*, and *mappadendang*) In the context of this tradition, we can still see how the *pinati* (ceremonial leader) made sacred objects the main center of ritual ceremonies: starting the rice planting period in the former royal centers in Bugis lands (Fadillah, 2004).

The concepts of religion within the tradition of agriculture not only manifested through tradition but also through cultural material remains. Archaeological researches gave information that archaeological remains from the megalithic period such as stone mortar, cup marks, stone enclosure, engraved stone were related to the ancient agriculture tradition (Hasanuddin, 2015; 2016; and 2017). Megalithic sites, especially at Soppeng, Wajo, Sinjai, Bulukumba, Bantaeng, and Enrekang, show that sacred stones were a medium of ritual practice of agriculture (Hasanuddin, 2015). The ceremonies or agricultural rituals lead by a spiritual leader called *bissu* or *sanro*. These rituals were often ended with animal sacrifice as an offering (Hasanuddin, 2015; and Somba et.al., 2019).

with stone mortars of Cilellang site, Wajo Regency (Hasanuddin, 2017)

³ Regarding the myth of rice goddess (Sangiang/Sangiang serri, Sang Hyang Seri, etc) widely known by the Archipelago communities. Oral tradition of rice goddess among people of South Sulawesi also recognized several other versions, look for Pelras, 2006: 107-108

In another perspective, the Bugis people also have a belief system regarding agricultural knowledge which they inherited from their ancestors (*Toriolo*). This traditional knowledge can be found in scriptures of *Lontara* commonly known as *pallaonrumang* or *allaonrumangeng*. These scriptures consisted of observation of the natural phenomenon and star constellation for each planting season, along with various descriptions of what must be performed in each period of plantation based on the solar dating system. One application of this system of knowledge is mainly to determining a suitable moment for planting. However, such kind of dating system is valid in certain locations, due to the difference of wet season in each region of South Sulawesi (Pelras, 2006; and Somba, et.al., 2019).

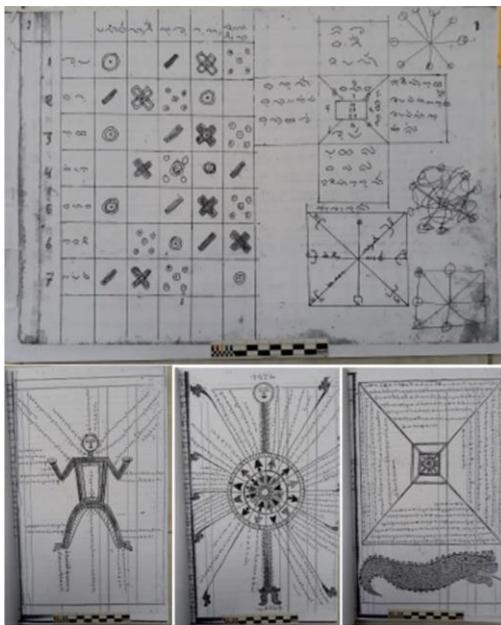


Figure 1 Repro Lontara Kutika, manuscript collection of Mr. Mahmud, and manuscript collection of Petta Saleh (Source: Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in South Sulawesi Province, 2018)

The manifestation of traditional knowledge is not only found in *Lontara Kutika* scripts (Hadrawi, 2017; and Somba, et.al., 2019) but can also be found on symbols which stamped or scratched on stones⁴. Cup marked stone (*dakon*) which is found at megalith sites such as Sewo and Salotungo, generally have seven vertically and horizontally aligned holes⁵. These holed stones

⁴ Scratched stones found at Sewo and Tinco also related with the knowledge of astrology or constellation of Orion (related with agriculture). This scratched stone is a remark of Bugis people regarding good time omen to star the agricultural activity (Pers. Comm. Nur, M., 2021)

⁵ Holed stones or Dakon with similar number of holes can also be found at Abbarungangge site of Desa Baringeng (in the border area of Soppeng and Wajo regency). Survey of 2021

seem related to the knowledge of determining good and bad days (Hasanuddin, 2015), such found in *Lontara kutika* script.



Figure 2 Figure 2. Dakon (holled stone) and lumpang batu (mortars stone) at the Abbarugangeng Sites (Source: Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in South Sulawesi Province, 2021)

The rising of agriculture in relation to the pre-Islamic beliefs have been going on for a very long period. By way of many alterations, however, in its limited form of rituals related to agriculture traditions, it is still practiced until the present day. In the process, belief, knowledge, and reorganization of the social system were running parallel with the rise of agriculture. Mystification of farming rituals, star constellation, and political contracts, along with the expansion or extension of agricultures by rulers, with the massive amount of material remains (megalithic tradition) shows us about the uprising of agricultures of South Sulawesi.

3. PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS CONTINUITY

The pre-Islamic belief is not just the Buginese belief system before the introduction of Islamic monotheism. Furthermore, it was an important element of social life. Keeping in mind that some pre-Islamic beliefs are still held and practiced by the Buginese until the present, the “pre-Islamic belief” in this article is defined as rituals that are related to the belief system before and after the Buginese accepted monotheism. Under several definitions, we frequently address these “pre-Islamic” rituals as religious-syncretism (either is Islam or other monotheist religion).

Before the introduction of monotheistic religion, many scholars stated that the inhabitant of South Sulawesi practiced a religious system that spread widely in Southeast Asia (Reid, 2011; Andaya, 1981; Bellwood, 2000: 229). This religious system is called animism, or the beliefs in spirits that have power over natural objects (i.e., trees, rocks, rivers, mountains) and the dynamism or the belief that all matters have powers or spirits which determine human life.

These beliefs or concepts of dynamism were depicted by material symbols of sacred objects, such as relics or amulets (possessed individually or communally). In the meantime, based on the ethnographic description of Austronesian for comparison, Peter Bellwood (2000) mentioned that early Austronesian religion aspect clearly showing the belief of Animism and ancestral worship, with the role of *Shaman* as a clergyman or medium believed to have such power to invites and talks with spirits. Another form of belief is the dualism of god and goddess as well as the supernatural and mystical power concept. A similar concept was also pointed out by Anthony Reid (2019), based on ethnographic notes of the 16th century, the most notable aspect of the “animism” tradition of Southeast Asian was the continuous involvement of the late ancestor in human living affairs (Reid, 2019: 23-4). Likewise, the pre-Islamic inhabitant of Southeast Asia performed their ritual and shamanism for practical means, where these spiritual forces were worshiped to ensure the continuity of life, ill-curing, good harvest, as well as to ensure successful seafaring and journey (Reid, 2011:161).

Various views of experts related to the pre-Islamic religious system of the Bugis society provide clues to the existence of a distinctive Bugis cultural landscape. In some limited form, community’s religion system of pre-Islamic of the Bugis can be seen in the present belief of local institutions of South Sulawesi, such as the *Aluk To Dolo* of Torajan, the *Tana Toa Kajang* or *Patuntung* of Bulukumba, along with the *Tolotang* or *To Wani*⁶ of Sidenreng Rappang (Reid, 2019:24; Mattulada, 1975:63). Regarding this, Pelras (2006), stating that the belief of *Tolotang* community is a local religion of the Bugis people (Pelras, 2006:209). Meanwhile, Mattulada (1982), views that the *Aluk To Dolo* is the South Sulawesi inhabitant's genuine belief, whereas *La Galigo* and *Lontara* scriptures are depicted as the “period” of adoption of many beliefs systems of religious elements and cultures from outside. These three possess a concept of unity which are molding the belief in one God or

monotheism concept (Mattulada, 1982: 20). Until present, those three communities still practice their beliefs which were assumed sourced from pre-Islamic religion.

The Bugis religion as depicted in *La Galigo* was fine summarized by Pelras, which stated that above all powers there is an eternal spiritual entity named the *Dewata Sisine* “The One”⁷. The entity created seven layers of skies, earth, and the underworld, after that along came a pair of God and Goddess which resembled the Sun and the Moon. Descendant of these two Gods is another Sun-God, named *La Patigana* which then marries *We Lette Sompā*. Later pair descending twin Gods were arranged to get married to each other except with their twins.

In the religious practice of the Bugis society, there is an important ritual leader attached to the *bissu*. A *bissu* plays an important role because he is the one who leads various rituals. In the beginning section of *La Galigo*, the intervention of Gods limited only on the managing the World, making the Earth rich and fruitful, disseminating plants, and also managing the inhabitant of the world which in the early-stage had no ruler and religion (Pelras. 2006: 101 and 103). Meanwhile, in the *To Lotang* beliefs, it is said that there is one highest natural power named *To Palanroe* or *Dewata Seuae*. All of this community living system and ceremonies were based on the mythology of *La Galigo* (Mattulada, 1982: 20).

In practice, the ritual requires a set of tools and media. In the oral tradition of the religious system of the people who inhabit South Sulawesi. found the existence of sacred objects known as *gaukeng* (Bugis) or *gaukang* (Makassar). Likewise, *arajang* or *kalompoang* are kept by every “*wanua*” (Fadillah, 2004). These sacred things are highly respected and considered possessing a guardian spirit of certain communities. Individuals who found them were frequently appointed as the spiritual and secular leaders and considered as spokesman or medium between human and spirits world. Andaya (1981), mentioned that this description has similarities with Mainland Asia, especially Central Vietnam. As described by Paul Mus (1975), the Champa people own their belief in the Earth lord as the energy that gave life on Earth where the guardian Gods were inhabiting sacred stones (Andaya, 1981: 11).

In a religious context, we can find some distinction, where the Bugis people viewed that sacred stone only inhabited by guardian spirits where in Mainland Asia it is guarded by Gods. Nevertheless, in the progress, the

⁶ based by the Decree of Dirjenbitmas Hindu Bali/Budha No. 2/1966 that Towani/Tolotang are sects of Hindu. Hasse J. 2012. Penaklukan Negara Atas Agama Lokal: Kasus Towani/Tolotang di Sulawesi Selatan. *Journal of Al-Ulum* Vol. 12 No. 2, December 2012, pages 335-354

⁷ Beliefs of One God (Monotheism) also mentioned by Andi Zainal Abidin Farid (1983) in “The Emergence of Early Kingdom in South Sulawesi: A Preliminary Remark on Governmental Contracts from Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century (Zainal, 1983: 460).

pre-Islamic religion of the Bugis also recognize Gods which were managing and ruling the world. It was due to the fact that there were contacts and influences of an outside culture.

4. LANDSCAPE: PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS, AGRICULTURAL RISING AND DIASPORA TRADITION

In the relation of pre-Islamic beliefs with the rise of agriculture and diaspora, we found the importance of landscapes to understand the history and identity of the Bugis people. The linking of geographies, archaeology, and anthropology results in conventions that view landscapes as cultural constructs: landscapes “as a biography or autobiography of society, as a form of iconography, and as a visual ideology” (Walsham, 2012, p. 6). The convention tends to contradict the view of the Annales School which views the landscape (environment) as a static entity that determines the development of the people who inhabit it (see Braudel, 1996). With the new convention, the landscape is seen as an expression of collective identity, not limited to a particular time, and historically can occupy a dynamic space over time. In this perspective, the expression of the identity of the Bugis people is understood as the link between place and history.

The landscape is not only a by-product of the economic and social activities and processes that lie on it but also a dense and complex system of signs and symbols that can be translated and deciphered. That each generation that produces landscapes also writes down their values without being able to erase the values that existed before. Therefore, the landscape is seen as a “storehouse” of the collective memory of its inhabitants, as their mnemonic knowledge (reminder) of previous eras, and as a source of ideas about their social identity. One of the most distinctive features of this perception of the past is the degree to which it is shaped by the naked eye. It is a society in which historical consciousness is intimately linked to topography and where space and time often provide the most significant impetus to memory society (Walsham, 2012: 5-7).

Meanwhile, to understand the meaning, memory, and history of pre-Islamic religion, the rise of agriculture, and diaspora traditions, we were using a landscape approach to show a picture of the pre-Islamic civilization of the Bugis people which inhabited the south Sulawesi. Operationalization is carried out to identify the material culture that is correlated with pre-Islamic religion, especially traditions both in the context of living monuments and dead monuments. In addition, the place names that we can identify are related to the agricultural tradition as well as the diaspora or overseas traditions of the Bugis people.

The Bugis people's memory regarding landscape is also recorded in form of the manuscript which, although it is a literary work, is believed to reflect the values of the past. The ancient landscape as described in the La Galigo manuscript is referred to by Liebner (2003), as “Geography of La Galigo” that settlement centers are very likely to be located on hilltops near rivers or estuaries of rivers or lakes. The geography that allows for the departure and landing of boats or ships which in the Wajo oral tradition are known as *tosora* toponyms and *sorengeng kappala* (Duli, 2010; Fadillah, et al., 2020: 144-145). Places like this are not only ideal for controlling trade but also ideal as settlements controlled by the ruling elite.

Likewise with other written sources, such as *Lontara Wajo* which describes lowland consisting of forest, hills, and rivers along with the vast field. The inhabitant of Wajo mentioned having an ecological consideration to inhabit their settlements (Farid, 1978: 81-3). This fact shows that there is a landscape which largely influenced by surroundings, and the inhabitant of the area construct their culture according to their surroundings.

Referring to the distribution of residences of communities that inhabited the former territory of the Wajo Kingdom, historical sources record the construction of settlements in the early periods of settlement in the area around Lake Tempe. The beginning part of *Lontara Sukkuna Wajo*, for instance, clearly depicts the surrounding condition which was supporting the human settlement. Natural resources such as a dense forest with games and waters area such as rivers and lakes. The next description was related to the occupation of early settlers, about their life in the lake banks, their agricultural living style, and catching fish. Ecological consideration in the mean of choosing a settlement location also clearly depicted the arrival of the people from highland. It was describing how humanity can survive and lived around Lake Tempe which was altering the landscape of forest, vast field, and marsh to become a settlement and agricultural area.

The collective memory of settlements as described in the lontara texts (La Galigo and Sukkuna Wajo), can at the same time explain the differences in the character of agricultural traditions that begin with dryland rice farming (*ladang*) and continue with wetland rice farming (*sawah*).

Concerning settlement landscape, archaeological data show traces of older settlements found in hilly locations. The Allangkanange ri Latanete site, for example, can represent the reconstruction of settlement centers with a chronology around the 13th century (Bulbeck & Caldwell, 2008). Meanwhile, later sites were represented by settlements from early kingdom communities, such as Cinnotabi and Tosora. Both settlements were representing the period of the 15th to 17th century (Fadillah, et al., 2020: 144-145).

Meanwhile, understanding the pre-Islamic religion of the Bugis people, we get an idea that the concepts of local religion have similarities with the religion of the people who generally inhabit the Southeast Asian region. Religious concepts related to sacred sites that have material cultural markers. In the view of some experts, it is revealed that the characteristics of material culture that represent pre-Islamic traditions can be related to agricultural traditions and diaspora traditions. The marker of religious concepts of communities in the past can be seen through megalithic material.

The distribution of material culture, especially megalithic objects, is believed to correlate with agricultural traditions and sacred sites as ritual markers for overseas traditions. Based on these data sources, we can propose these cultural elements as the main variables for placing locations into the form of visual images. This is intended to understand the landscape which is a representation of the collective memory of the Bugis community in the coverage area. The distribution map is integrated into several toponyms that can be identified as correlated with agricultural and overseas traditions. The coverage area presented covers the central region of the southern arm of Sulawesi, namely the Ajatappareng (Pinrang and Sidrap), Wajo, and Soppeng areas. This area is dominated by alluvial deposits formed during the Holocene, with the topography of the area covering hilly areas as well as lowlands surrounding the two large lakes (Tempe and Sidenreng) and following the river flow upstream.

Archaeological surveys show that the dissemination of material culture (in correlation with agricultural tradition) was concentrated in Soppeng and Wajo, and several areas of Sidenreng and Pinrang region. It is interesting that the distribution of material culture, which correlates with agricultural traditions, is dominated in the Soppeng and Wajo areas, which have hilly topography from upstream to downstream. Meanwhile, the Sidenreng and Pinrang region (known as the Ajatappareng Confederation) possess lowland topography.

Hypotheses regarding the chronology of human civilization which inhabited the South Sulawesi peninsula certainly become a base of comparison or explanation which is also hypothetical. Until now, there are indicators that the central part of the South Sulawesi region has a younger civilization compared with other regions especially in the most Southern part of the peninsula. It certainly shows us that each generation produces their landscape which tends to preserve older values.

Based on toponymy data spread over the coverage area, we get information about place names related to agricultural traditions as well as overseas traditions. Likewise, the toponym of Tempe, which according to

several circles in the Luwu District, means that *tempe*⁸ refers to a place or location for carrying out agricultural activities. As for names such as *sompe*, *pattiroang*, *pattiro sompe*, and *mattiro sompe* identified as toponyms that correlated with overseas tradition ritual places. In the context of landscape comprehension, it shows a landscape construction as a marker of collective memories, at once as a marker of mnemonic knowledge and social identity of Bugis people.

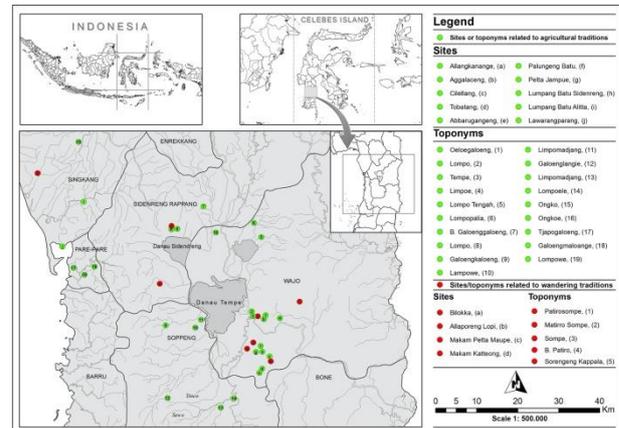


Figure 3 The pre-Islamic cultural landscape related to agriculture and diasporic tradition.

5. BUGIS DIASPORA IN MARITIME NETWORK

Diaspores of Bugis people were related to Malayan world, this was because as far it can be traced (especially from written sources), the spread of Bugis people to the Malayan (mainly Sumatera, Kalimantan to Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore) intense since the 17th century. Experts stated that the main factor of the Bugis people's diaspora out of South Sulawesi was the political condition and security post VOC's (Dutch) conquest of South Sulawesi (Andaya, 2010: 17; Pelras, 2010: 102). Bugis diaspora from 17th to 18th century occurred in waves with many groups to the Western part of the Archipelago to seek protection and meet living conditions under local ruler patronage (Andaya, 2010: 48).

The waves of Bugis diaspora after the VOC conquest lasted until the 20th century. After the 17th century, phases of Bugis arrival can be identified, among others was around 1878 where the ruler of Johor instructed a land clearing on a massive scale for plantations. This phase was continued until 1906 when the Dutch colonial government succeeds in fully establishing its reign over South Sulawesi. Since 1929, the waves of Bugis people diaspora led by their ruler arrives on the west part of the Archipelago (Pelras, 2010; 105-6). Next phase, the post-independence period,

⁸ In Tana Toraja, there is the term "*tempe-tempe*", which is a basket that is usually carried by women to carry the produce of the earth.

around the 1950s to 1960s political situation where there was an upheaval of Indonesia including South Sulawesi, leading to non-conducive security (Said and Prabowo, 2010: 114-5).

In several cases the Bugis diaspora to various regions found several migration patterns as stated by Pelras (2010), referring to the above cases, the chained-migration model was used to name the diasporas waves mediated by several *Sheikh Haji* (Pelras, 2010: 102-3). Similarly, with the pattern where migration came in where the Bugis people described as *massapa dale* or seek out a living (Said and Prabowo, 2010: 115).

In Maluku, according to Leirissa (2000), described that South Sulawesi traders arrive at the spice islands in the 17th century. Post Makassar war, a small group of this ethnic remain to stay at the port cities of Maluku (Leirissa, 2000: 319). The Bugis diaspora does not only exist in areas with Muslim rulers and residents. Bali, where the majority of the population is Hindu, has not closed their access to building settlements and has even revived trading activities on the southern coast of Denpasar (Fadillah, 2000b: 130-131).

This condition shows that there were choices available for the destination of diasporas of Bugis people based on their past relationship particularly from trading and voyaging period, long before. In the context where the point of a meeting where Malayan world and South Sulawesi inhabitant, Pelras (2010) stated that there were early indications of Malayan influences to the Bugis culture (more correctly pre-Bugis), which at least, had been going on since the glory days of Malayan Kingdoms (Pelras, 2010:102).

Tracing the phenomenon of Bugis diaspora, it cannot be denied that the tradition of diaspora (overseas) was also parallel with the pre-Islamic religious traditions. We can easily find that there were customs of the traditional Bugis people to perform a ritual before their journey overseas. The journey to seek a better living or *Massompe*, whether individually or in a group or with all their family. The Bugis people have a term of *mallekke dapureng* to those who brought their family with them. This term means that they have moved their "kitchen" to their destination. Ritual phenomenon before this kind of journey was performed in their old settlement or sacred places.

Even that journey related rituals do not possess any material manifestation, however, several sacred places which were the rituals take place can be found in various Bugis ethnics region of South Sulawesi. These locations of rituals were considered a mark of a region. The identification of such locations can be seen by certain toponyms such as *sompe* which can be in form of a hill with trees or stones as its marks. Those who desired to journey overseas will perform a ritual by visiting a location, mainly named *Pattiro Sompe* which

is located in the Eastern of Sengkang. The toponym is also true for the Kelurahan Sompe, located at Kecamatan Sabbang Paru of Wajo Regency, and *Mattirosompe* near Sawitto of Pinrang regency.

Not only for certain toponyms, several sacred grounds are also frequently visited to perform such rituals. In many locations or certain sacred places, both Islamic sites or sites from the megalithic tradition, often become ritual locations for people to ask for safety and success overseas. As found during a survey at an Islamic gravesite in Dusun Katteong (Kec. Mattirosompe, Pinrang Regency), this place is commonly visited by Bugis immigrants from Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Malaysia. Likewise, the Bilokka megalithic site in Sidenreng Rappang Regency is an important destination for obtaining economic success and blessings in overseas countries (Mansyur et al., 2018).

6. CONCLUSION

Literature studies and field surveys have illustrated that early agricultural activities and pre-Islamic religion are associated in several archaeological sites in the fertile valleys and hills of the central part of the South Sulawesi peninsula. With an ethnographic approach, the relationship between the two cultural entities gives a distinctive character of the occupation of rice farming land since at least the 14th century and increased in the 16th century. Civilization is shown by the breadth of knowledge of rice farming technology and the roots of local beliefs in its adaptation to the entry of new cultural influences (Islam and the West).

These interdisciplinary sources of information can give rise to two paradigmatic interpretations. First, pre-Islamic Bugis civilization can be measured from agricultural technology and religious development. The expansion of agricultural land and increased production influenced the occupation and growth of hierarchical settlements which then formed the Bugis cultural landscape in the fertile valleys of the central part of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi. The two elements of modernity (techno-economy and spirituality) provide the basic enthusiasm for the Bugis to enter and play an important role in the maritime network of Southeast Asia. Second, the Bugis diaspora has contributed significantly since the beginning of the age of commerce; The first wave of Bugis migration hypothetically occurred before the hegemony of Dutch rule in South Sulawesi. The trade routes before the Trade Era were well known to the Bugis who had played the role of rice producers and also supplied foreign luxuries such as Chinese ceramic containers and metal before the Bugis discovered and produced iron ore from the Luwu hills.

The two paradigms above have been the basis for us to draw some conclusions. The beginning of agriculture is marked by the presence of ancient religious traces on archaeological sites. Settlements are tied to ritual centers around agricultural land especially in the hills. Agriculture in the context of early history is the main subsistence controlled by the Bugis where productivity is a strong character of the Bugis people in entering into interactions in trans-oceanic trade networks. This character is based on a religious system that has traditionally tied the unity of Bugis cultural identity which is manifested through sacred places that connect the Bugis with the myth of origin as a spiritual force in viewing the outside world so that overseas traditions also become an integral part of cultural continuity. Thus, with the technological capabilities and local religiosity, the Bugis diaspora in the Southeast Asian maritime network can play an important role in integrating the Bugis community into regional political and economic power outside the motherland of the South Sulawesi.

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