



A LANDSCAPE BIOGRAPHY OF THE WATAMPONE CITY

Biografi Lanskap Kota Watampone

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Abstrak

Watampone merupakan situs pusat Kerajaan Bone yang memiliki biografi lanskap dinamis, dari unit-unit kampung kecil tradisional (abad ke-14 M) hingga mencapai bentuk kota kolonial pada awal abad ke-20. Dalam periode yang panjang dan dinamis, narasi perkembangan kota Watampone sudah sepatutnya dikaji tidak saja dalam bingkai simpul-simpul peristiwa besar atau historiografi arus-utama, tetapi juga menyertakan narasi memori warga kota. Masalah penelitian ini berfokus bagaimana biografi lanskap Kota Watampone? Tujuannya ialah merekonstruksi perkembangan lanskap kota Watampone secara diakronis berdasarkan ketersediaan data (penanda) arkeologis dan historis serta memori kolektif warga. Untuk itu, pendekatan biografi lanskap digunakan dengan metode melalui tahapan: (1) survei untuk rekonstruksi sejarah dan arkeologi; (2) dokumentasi ingatan kolektif dengan wawancara dan FGD; dan (3) Interpretasi narasi biografi lanskap. Hasil penelitian mengidentifikasi sembilan lapisan biografis sepanjang lima abad kisah Kota Watampone. Dari jumlah lapisan biografis tersebut, memori kolektif warga kota hanya terkait Bola Soba sebagai ikon arsitektur serta 4 lapisan biografi peradaban terkait legacy tokoh, yaitu Kawerang (situs Manurunge), Macege, serta Tanah Bangkala dan Taman Arung Palakka (periode lanskap tanpa istana). Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ternyata tidak semua era pemerintahan menyimpan jejak fitur pada lanskap sebagai 'legacy', sekaligus atribut kuat identitas eksistensi lapisan biografi kota.

Kata Kunci: *Watampone, biografi, lanskap, fitur.*

Abstract

From its smallest traditional units in 14th AD to its colonial morphology in 20th AD, Bone is one of the Buginese kingdom cities with interesting landscape biography. In a long and dynamic period, the narrative of the development of the city of Watampone should be examined, not only in the frame of major historiography, but also to include the residents' collective memory. This research is focused to study the landscape biography of Watampone City? The purpose is to reconstruct the urban landscape development of Watampone diachronically based on the archaeological and historical data and the collective memory of the residents. This study used landscape biographical approach, with these following stages: (1) surveys for historical and archaeological reconstruction; (2) documentation of collective memory by interview and focus group discussion; and (3) Interpretation of landscape

biographical narratives. The results of the study identified nine biographical layers along the five centuries of Watampone City. Of those biographic layers, its citizen's collective memory only recollects one architectural icon (Bola Soba), and four other sites that related to a historic figure (Kawerang, Macege, Tanah Bangkala, and Arung Palakka's City Park). This research shows that not all of the government eras have traces of features in the landscape as 'legacy', as well as strong attributes of the existence of urban biographical layers.

Keywords: Bone, biography, landscape, feature.

INTRODUCTION

The macro landscape of Bone Kingdom has been recorded in a foreign book by Manuel Pinto, a cruiser. In his letter to Bishop Goa dated December 7, 1548, Pinto referred to 'Chinrana' (Cenrana) as a river that flows from a lake in Wajo, cuts across the Sulawesi peninsula, passes through Bony (Bone) and empties into a bay to the east (Caldwell & Lillie, 2004, pp. 259–272). The name Bone indicated by Manuel Pinto is now known as Watampone, a site with a story of dynamic landscape changes, from traditional village units to being the modern city it has been today.

Since its establishment in the 14th century (Abidin, 1983), the center of the Kingdom of Bone in Watampone has continued to present a lot of stories, until the colonial Dutch stepped their feet in the area following the Makassar war in the 17th century. In the wake of Rumpaqa Bone incident in 1905 during the Dutch administration, Watampone has since transformed into a colonial city with a touch of European concepts. From a glimpse of its history-culture, the Watampone City can be perceived to contain a layer of traces dating their origins back to several generations (Karro, Magi, & Palang, 2014; Palang, Spek, & Stenseke, 2011). Unfortunately, the development narrative of the City in general tends to be limited only to the major events or based on chronological order suggested in mainstream historiography (e.g. pre-colonial / royal, colonial, and post-colonial times).

The first task this paper (conducted in 2019) will tackle is to present the landscape biography of Watampone based on the archeological and historical

reconstructions as well as the communal memories of its present inhabitants and the artefacts found; the communal memories refer to the shared experience that goes undocumented.

METHODS

This research focuses on the spatial aspect of Watampone, covering the landscape of three sub-districts: (i) Tanete Riattang Barat (West); (ii) Tanete Riattang, and (iii) Tanete Riattang Timur (East). The administrative center of Bone was located in Watampone, 174 km to the east of Makassar, at coordinates 04° 13' – 15° 07' S 119° 45' – 120° 30' E.

This study is a kaleidoscopic-based study (Jong, 2015) combined with landscape biography approach in an effort to reconstruct the landscape of the center of Bone in Watampone. It takes the landscape as a living narrative, very much like a written biography (Bloemers, Henk, Arnold, & Mies, 2010; Kolen, Renes, Hermans, & Renes, 2014; Roymans, Gerritsen, Heijden, Bosma, & Kolen, 2009). In addition, the approach integrates archaeology, history, and geography with the aim of presenting alternative narrative by taking communal memories into account (Hupperetz, 2015), getting beyond mere monuments or buildings, but also exploring the passed down stories from the past.

The biography landscape approach leads the researchers to draw a summary from a variety of data sources: current landscape condition, historical and contemporary representation, archival documents, historical and cultural works,

conservation regulations, planning documents and so on (Riesto, 2015, p. 386). The research methods of the current study are explained in the following.

- (1) *Archeological and historical reconstructions*, carried out through the collection of historical data, including: previous research findings, old manuscripts, official archives, folklore, old photos, aerial photographs, area planning documents, and old maps. In addition, geological and topographic data were also searched to obtain an overview of changes in the landscape use. This stage was followed by conducting an archaeological survey to confirm it in its current state. This search indicates the constant spatial changes in the landscape of Watampone City from time to time clearly seen in the map. Those changes feature in places, buildings, monuments, and public spaces that once did or still survive today.
- (2) *Collective memory documentation*, conducted in two forms: regular interviews and in-depth interviews or Focus Group Discussions (FGD) involving people living around the important points experiencing spatial changes. Several residents deemed to have important information were then selected as key informants to dig deeper into the development of Watampone City. The interviews center on the residents' past memories about developmental landmark of Watampone City.
- (3) *Landscape biographical narrative*, involving a compilation and interpretation in the form of

biographical arrangement of the site landscape.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Site Landscape from Historical Sources

In an effort to reconstruct the landscape of the Kingdom of Bone, the main point of reference to go to was *Watampone en Omstreken*, translated Watampone and its surrounding, officially released in *Oost-Indische Krijgsgeschiedenis, De Expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes, Juli 1905* (Lucardie, 1912: *schet* VI). As a comparison, the current study also referred to map *Badjowe en Watampone* (Bajoe and Watampone), issued by *Indische Militaire Tijdschrift, De Expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes in 1905-1906* (Weltevreden, 1915: *schet* 6 en 9). Another source of reference was a report by J.A. Bakkers., *Het Lenvorstandom Boni, 1866*, published by the University of Leiden Bibliothek (Bakkers, 1866). In light of the three sources mentioned above, a landmark road was found. It was built by the Dutch military in 1859-1860, from the east coast of Bonne Bay to Palakka, crossing the Lalebbata fort (Lucardie, 1912). It is a highly prominent object, easily recognized as the border of colonial urban landscape a century after its construction. The road indicates two distinctively clear layers from that Bone five centuries earlier.

Having reviewed the three archival sources, it was also found that Lalebbata fort has an area of 587 square *Javapalen*¹ (Java pal) or equivalent to 884.575.541 m². Inside Lalebbata, in addition to several important buildings, there are also some spatial units of almost equal importance. Outside it (now being the downtown Watampone), there are

¹ The area refers to a treaty signed by Achmad Singkarroe Rukka Aroe Palakka (Raja Bone XXXI) in a clause in contained in Bungaya Agreement, amended in 1860. The Dutch administration decided the area using *pal*. The size of a pal is essentially different across regions. The most commonly used

was *Javapalen* and Sumatran pal (*Sumatra palen*). The size of *Javapalen* was 1506.943 M, while *Sumatra palen* was 1851.852 M. See T. J. Bezemer (editor), *Beknopte Encyclopedie Van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ('s-Gravenhage Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1921). Page 379.

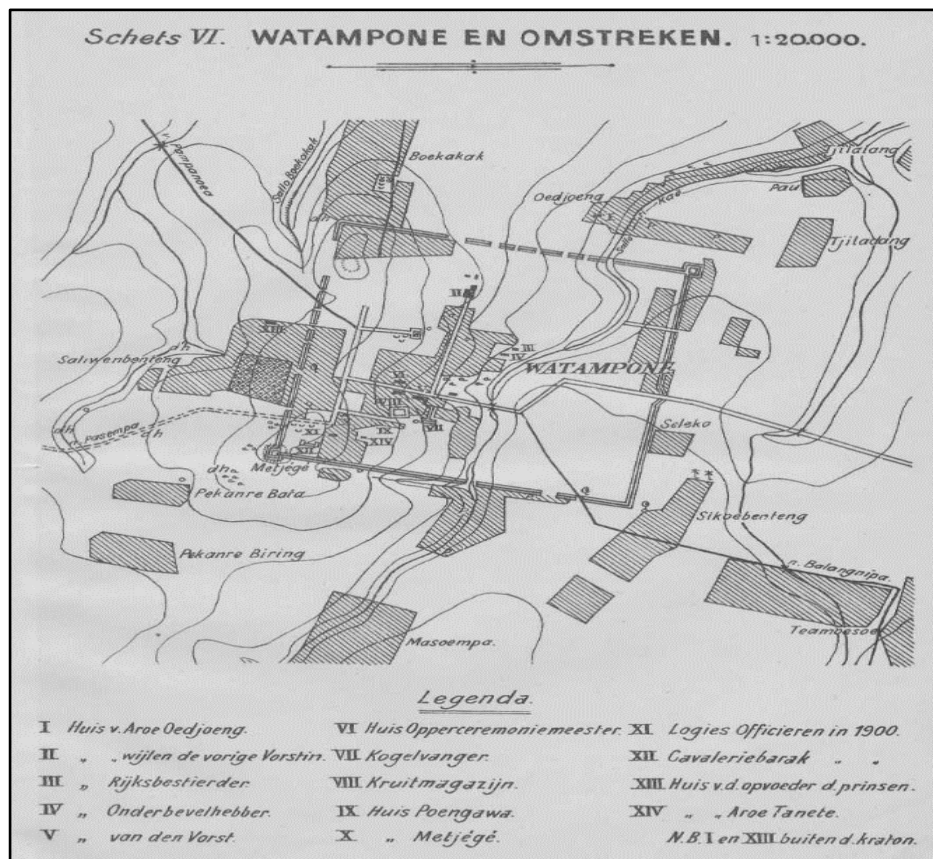


Figure 1. *Watampone en Omstreken* (Watampone dan Lingkungannya). (Source: W.J. Lucardie., *Oost-Indische Krijgsgeschiedenis, De Expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes, Juli 1905. Breda, De Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 1912*). **Legend:** [I]. House of Arung Ujung; [II] House of the late King/Queen; [III] House of Government Officer; [IV]. House of High Commander; [V]. House of the King; [VI] House of Chief Doctor; [VII] Fire Shields; [VIII] Ammunition Warehouse; [IX] House of Poengawa; [X]. House of Arung Matjege'; [XI]. House of Logistics Officer, 1900; [XII] Cavalry Barracks, 1900; [XIII] School of the Princes; [XIV] House of Arung Tanete. **Note** I and XIII are beyond the Palace. Keraton.

two vital locations: (1) the residence of Arung Ujung, one of Bone's prominent warlords, quite away from the central administrative point of the kingdom, to the north of the fort, parallel to the flow of Sollo River; (2) the school of the Princes, to the west of Lalebbata fort. More details are presented on **Figure 1**.

To the north of the fort are vastly fertile rice fields coming along with existence of Lelebbata to provide for the structural sedimentary materials; no less productive is a line of rice fields to the east of the inner fort, extending from the end of the northeast bastion to the adjacent bastion, accounting ± 173.563 meters. Apart from the village and rice fields, the fort was also in

possession of a low hill having thatch grow on it until 1866, covering 2/3 of the entire site, extending east-west dividing the rice fields.

The thatched landscape of Lalebbata, the road from Bajoe to Watampone increasingly divided it into two parts, the northern and southern space. The noble men of Bone occupied the northern part; while in the heart of the city, exactly to the right of the junction, was the dwelling of the Prince of Bone and to the west of it stands the house of government official or controleur. Still in the same complex, a warehouse previously used to contain bullets and ammunition (armory) can be seen. When we move a little to the north, we can come to see the official

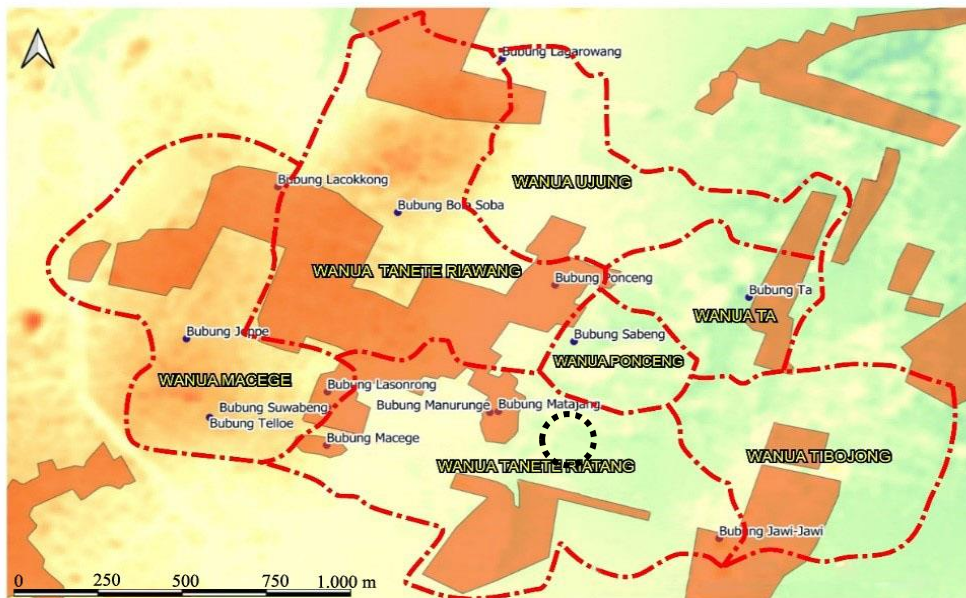


Figure 2. The settlement in the early period of Tomanurung ri Matajang, in the fourteenth century. The old well is the historical mark of the settlement. Dotted circles indicate the Manurunge palace, with two old wells: *Bubung Matajang* and *Bubung Manurunge*. (Source: Archeological survey and spatial georeference, Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

dwelling of King Bone, the Kingdom officer and the high commander.

In the southern part of the fort, to the south of the armory, was the house of *Poenggawa*. To the west of it was the dwelling of *Aroe Matjege* (Arung Macege). Next to be mentioned was the house of *Aroe Tanete* (Arung Tanete), to south of *Poenggawa*'s. To the south of Arung Macege's was the place for logistics officer, established in 1900. The cavalry barracks were south of it, also built in 1900 (Figure 2).

2. Vertical Layers of Watampone

Where did the historical stories of Bone kick off? Watampone, prior to the 14th century AD, was simply a small village isolated naturally from Bone Bay², formed on the basis of the same descent called *anang*

(Abdullah, 1985, p. 19) or *kalula* (Ali, 1984). Each village (*kampong*) was led by a person with the title *Macoa*, *Mado* or *Ponggawa Kalula* (Ali, 1984). Among those neighboring villages, small woods, streams, rice fields, grass fields or other naturally-formed settings on the landscape³ were deemed to be the borders. Rivers, footpaths, and rice fields were all over the villages. In the old stories passed down to them called *laleng patekke*, it is said that the access in and out the villages were so narrow. Bakkers noted that prior to the Dutch expedition in 1859-1860, narrow paths lost the track in rainy season, being overgrown with weeds or cut off by river floods (Bakkers, 1866).

Watampone⁴ was initially an area not more than 2 km² wide, a little higher than the surrounding areas topographically. The elevation of Lalebbata is 23.4 masl on

² Bakkers visited Watampone in 1860, where he found small settlements (Bakkers: 1866); the settlements were in small units and scattered.

³ In his visit to Watampone in 1859-1860, Bakkers noted 2/3 of Lalebbata fort was an abandoned land

(Bakkers, 1866). It is believed that not much had changed in the 5-century occupation of the same land.

⁴ The toponym of Bone, based on the Lontara manuscript means yellowish sand deposits (Ali, 1984).

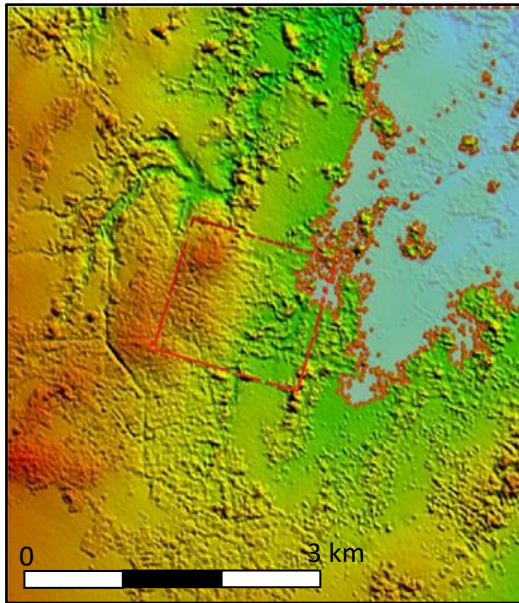


Figure 3. Water rise simulation, 5 masl
(Source: Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

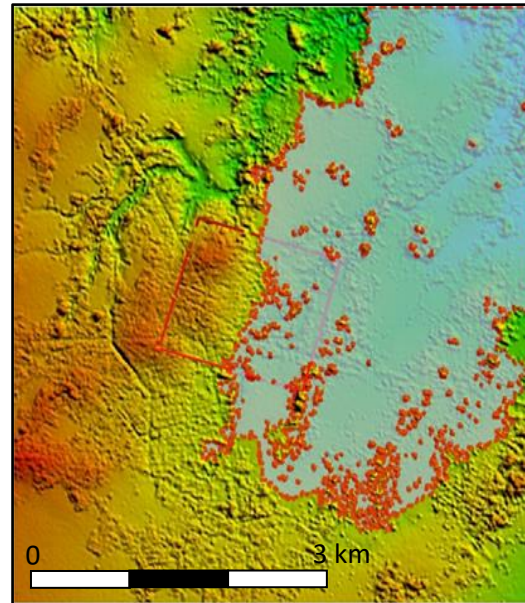


Figure 4. Water rise simulation, 10 masl
(Source: Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

average, making it safe from river floods and possible high tides (tsunami) arising from Bone Bay. In the simulation model of viewshed and water sea level (increase), if there is a 5 meter high tide coming, then 90% of the area is still safe (Figure 3). At a water level up to 10 meters above sea level, half of Lelebata will be inundated; however, the areas of Lalebata, Manurunge, Macege, Bukaka and Pakanre Bata, will not be implicated (Figure 4).

The people of Bone call the highest, slightly sloping landscape as “*Tanete*”. Wanua ‘*Tanete*’ Riattang, on the east point is highly nostalgic since it was where the monumental reign of the Kingdom of Bone began, when *Manurunge ri Matajang* who had the title *Matasilompo’é* (=able to see everything), met with 7 leaders of *kalula* or called *Matoa* (Andaya, 1981; Macknight, Paeni, & Hadrawi, 2020) on April 6, 1330 AD (Abidin, 1983). They pledged to unite under the banner of *WorongporongE* (seven star flag). The *WorongporongE* banner

symbolized the end of *sianrebale* (*homo homoni lupus*) that had lasted for 7 generations and marked the start of unity of 7 Wanuas (Tanete Riattang, Pongeng, Tanete Riawang, Tibojong, Ujung, Macege dan Ta).

The archeological surveys confirmed nine periods with Manurunge site being the oldest layer. Each layer was assigned based on changes marked by the appearance of new attributes on the next much younger layer (period). The results indicated Kawerang layer was kilometer zero or control points of the civilization layers of the center of Bone Kingdom.

a. Kawerang Palace (1330 – 1365)

Bone Kingdom centered at Kawerang palace following the unity of the seven Wanuas; Kawerang itself means united country. The toponym refers to *awerang* plant growing in great numbers in river bank of Bone along Manurunge site (palace), used by the locals to tie rice⁵.

⁵ The fourteenth century Bone was run based on *kawerang* conception, a confederation that granted autonomy to each wanua, led by 7 *matoas*, a

Customary Council (*Matua Pitu*= Tetua Tujuh) translated seven elders. *Matoa Pitu* is a legislature, providing advice to the King concerning law, security



Figure 5. Manurunge site monument of Kawerang layer. (Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)

Manurunge site – what is now Wanua Tanete Riattang, situated around today’s Jalan Manurunge – was the center of Kawerang layer in the bank of Bone River, making it the connector of the villages in the upstream of Anrobiring (Palakka) and Palengoreng to Kampung Toro at the mouth of the Gulf of Bone (Figure 5). The administration of To Manurung at Kawerang lasted for four periods, with each period consisting of 8 years, and was relocated when power was handed over to La Ummasa (Macknight et al., 2020, p. 80).

It was the oldest landmark as far as the locals can think of, in possession of a memorial monument called *Batu Manurung* (Manurung Stone). In addition to the memorial monument, the site also contains two archeological markers: two ancient wells called *bubung Matajang* and *bubung Manurunge* (Figure 7). The wells and the

recovered Yuan jar shreds at Manurunge site are from the same dates, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as the Dehua plate (fourteenth century) at Kampung Ta site (see **Appendix 1**), ceramics recovered in Watampone). The conclusion to be drawn here is that some of the surrounding small villages are from the same layer as that of Manurunge, with borders coming to being naturally.

Kawerang layer was found to house 13 wells in almost every wanua: Bubung Manurunge’, Bubung Jeppe, Bubung Bola Soba, Bubung Sabeng, Bubung Tellloe, Bubung Lasonrong, Bubung Jawi-jawi, Suwabeng, Matajang, Ponceng, Lacokkong, Macege, Lagarawang.

Our archeological investigations show that the distribution of wells is not highly proportional to the area of a wanua,

and prosperity aspect of *Kawerang* (united countries). In the system of *kawerang*, the King and *macoa pitu* serve as the unifier of the people.



Figure 6. The location of the old wells in Lalebbata fort, Watampone (Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulsel, 2019)

but a well can indicate the population density. Wanua Tanete Riattang and Tanete Riawang, have four wells respectively, and are more populous than Wanua Tibojong at the same period notwithstanding sitting on almost equal land area. Wanua Macege was closer to both Tanete Riattang and Tanete Riawang in terms of population, having 3 wells, while Wanua Pongeng and Wanua Ta were slightly below the two. On the other hand, in the absence of a well, Wanua Ujung relied a lot on water supply from the two river: Sungai Biru and Sungai Caloko.

From the findings presented above, it is concluded that settlements were concentrated on the south and northwest of the best elevated area (25 – 35 asl) viewed from flooding threat (see Figure 3 and Figure 4) and accessibility up to a radius of 2 km outside the fort. Still in the period of Kawerang, there used to be a sacred complex to the north of Manurunge site, once thought to be *possitana* (center of the country).

b. Macege Palace (1365--1368)

Macege layer is characterized by the recovery of pre-Islamic tomb of La Ummasa (King Bone II), *Salekkoe*, 2 wells (*Bubung Macege* or *Jeppe'e* and *Lassonrong*), and the remains of La Ummasa fort, all reflecting the transfer of power from *Tomanurung* to his son (La Ummasa) to the west of Kawerang Palace. The tomb of La Ummasa marked the birth of Buginese conceptions of the death (tomb) with the title *Petta To Mulaiépanreng* or the first buried King (Macknight et al., 2020, pp. 80–83). It put the curtains on the previous belief that a late king (*Tomanurung*) was coming home (heaven) with no trace left behind (*mallajang*). La Ummasa was practically the first human king of Bone, buried near his palace, leaving behind a practice held to date.

King La Ummasa was known to be a stong, dominant, clever, cautious and



Figure 7. Bubung Manurunge/ Matajang (Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)

considerate as well as was graced with great memory (Macknight et al., 2020, pp. 90–81). Salekoe was a mound made in the reign of La Ummasa, seemingly reflecting his efforts to institutionalize social memory and balance of power, like the one practiced in the inauguration of Pajung Luwu (fourteenth century AD) to the early twentieth century as noted by D.F. van Braam Morries (Hafid, 1992, pp. 42–47).

In the Kingdom of Luwu, *Salekoe* was found to be a circle mound, serving the task of forging physical and mental aspect of a future king for a span of 7 days (Mahmud,

1998, pp. 5–19). As opposed Luwu's, *Salekoe* in Bone was more of a horse riding contest, located east of La Ummasa Palace, Macege; the tradition was in practice from 1365 to the wake of the nineteenth century (Bakkers, 1866).

The emergence of the new center of power at Macege, replacing the one at Kawerang at Wanua Tanete Riawang gradually contributed to a location transforming into a settlement from an abandoned land, adjacent to the west part of Manurunge site. It was connected to Wanua Tanete Riattang, and also Wanua Tibojong



Figure 8. Sumur (well) kuna Lassonrong, the historical marker of La Ummasa palace (Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)



Figure 9. Sumur Lacokkong, a point where royal ceremonies took place like bathing the newborns (Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)

thanks to La Ummasa 's success in conquering Cellu, Malloi', Anrobiring, and Majang (Macknight, et.al, 2020: 81). During his short reign – lasting only for 4 years (1366-1398) – Laumasa managed to transform thin forest into new settlements, spanning from Kawerang to Macege, a center of agricultural tools and weapons industry with machetes (*cege=bangkung cege*)⁶ becoming the main products. Behind his palace, secured by a fort, is a center for iron forging (*onrong mallanro*), leading up to his being named *Arung Panrébessié* meaning King of the blacksmiths (Macknight et al., 2020, p. 80).

The distinctively different point from the previous period resided in the area of Wanua Macege, where La Ummasa was sitting on the throne with the title *Saoraja Lassonrong*, and Lassonrong well (*Bubung Lassonrong*) coming into place. The throne on which La Ummasa was sitting being

called *Lassonrong* was due to his backyard surrounded by mound and pointed bamboos (*sonrong*) placed intentionally as traps. La Ummasa fathered no children, leading him to adopt his nephew from a young age, La Saliyu. He was in the company of To Salawaka as his right hand (Macknight et al., 2020, pp. 82–84). La Saliyu's administration was focused on making the most of the surrounding for settlement and agricultural purposes.

c. Traditional Public Space (1368 - 1534)

This period was characterized by the appearance of public infrastructures like traditional markets, public hall (city hall) and Lacokkong well (Figure 9) becoming the bathing point of the royal newborns, dating its origin to the kidnapping of La Saliyu under the command of La Ummasa⁷.

⁶ Macege in the local language means a center of sword forging (*bangkung*) of wide shape, supported mainly by La Ummasa himself (King Bone II). La Ummasa is widely known for giving a good name to his home soil, a center for agricultural tools and weaponry, *bangkung cege* becoming the icon; the

King is famously passionate about sword forging (An interview with Andi Promal Pawe, May 25, 2019).

⁷ In a younger age, La Saliyu Karempaluwa, the son of King Palakka, succeeded La Ummasa to become the King Bone III. La Saliyu Karempaluwa was the youngest King in the history of Bone. He was said to

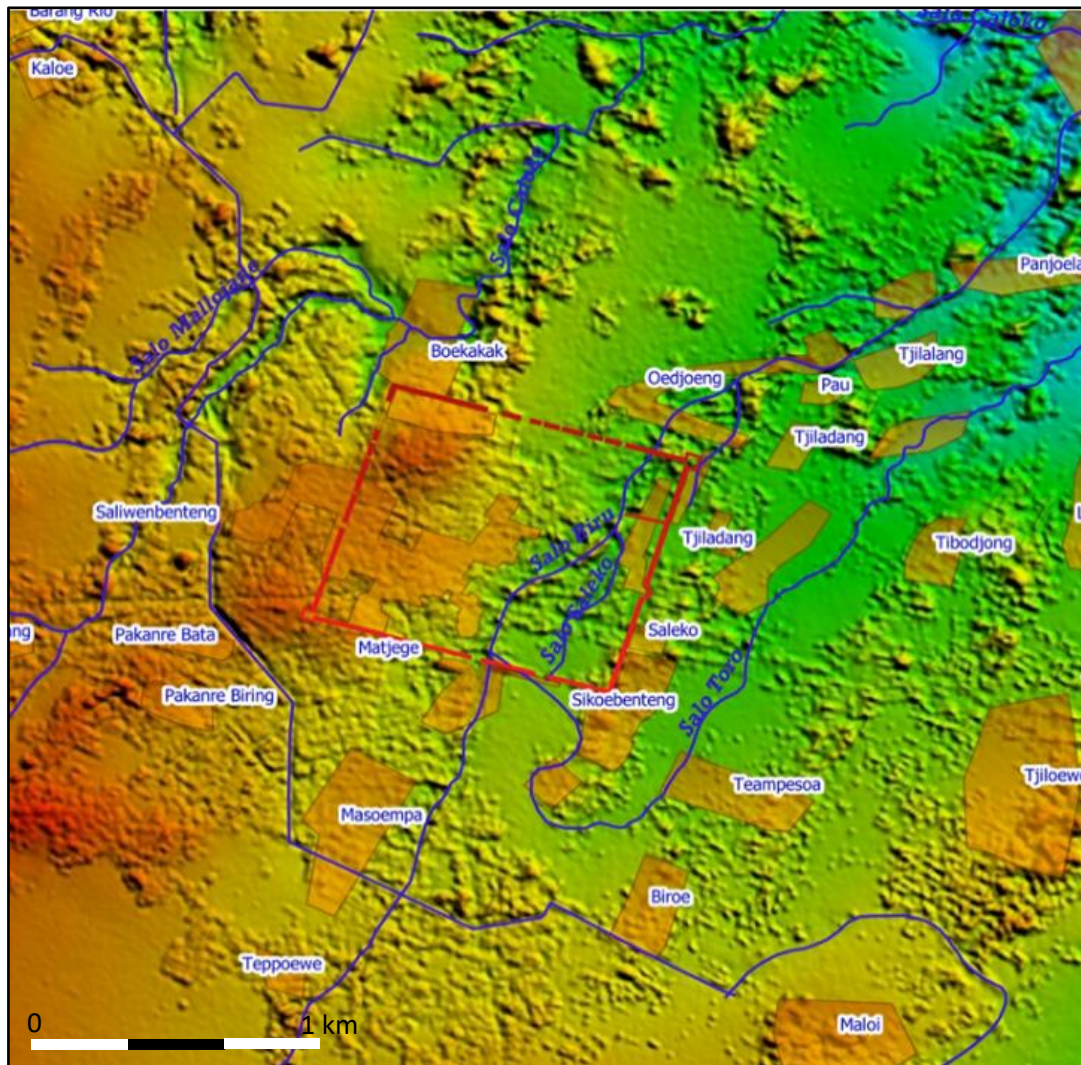


Figure 10. Lalebbata fort in the landscape setting based on archeological survey. (Source: Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

The palace was situated in the south, facing north to the city hall which happened to be secondary forest. The arrangement of the hall reflected the great relationship between the royal family and its people (Mahmud, 2003). The hall symbolized that the people had been honored and granted some respect; the King, believed to be a

descendant of ‘god’, wished to maintain intimacy with them. To see it from contemporary perspective, the hall might have been slightly liberal in its time; while the provision of traditional markets demonstrates royal support of the mercantilism⁸. The market, located on the west of the hall, was a gift from the King’s

be once kidnapped while a baby on the command of La Ummasa, right when Palakka and La Ummasa were on a dispute, forcing the latter to assign his sons To Suwalle and To Salawakang – from lower class mother — to do so (Macknight, et.al, 2020: 81-82). On their way home, the two sons dropped by a lake (well) in Tanete Riattang area to spray some water on the baby they were carrying, La Saliyu Karempaluwa.

To their surprise, the baby suddenly woke up (*cokkong* in the local language), ending up in the lake being called **Lacokkong**. Since then, every newborn should be bathed at Lacokkong (An interview with Mursalim, July 14, 2019).

⁸ La Saliyu was accounted to be a liberal-minded King, caring for food supply (agriculture) and brave,



Figure 11: *Salo Kae*, west canal of the fort (Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)



Figure 12: The traits of a fort in Village Seppa Benteng'e (Source: Andi M. Syaiful, 2019)

father (Macknight et al., 2020, p. 83). Since then Bone (today's Watampone) has had a market, being removed from Palakka by La Saliyu. Besides in possession of liberal mind set, La Saliyu was famous for his bravery and massive care for the agricultural sector (Macknight et al., 2020, p. 84).

The legacy of La Saliyu Karempaluwa has always tended to be the transformation he had made from idle land in Tanah Bangkala site into a market benefiting his people. To date, the area has turned into a highly prosperous place in Watampone. In addition to that, he also made the forest previously used as training ground for his army into public space, where people came and hung together, to the west of the palace⁹.

Reports regarding the two kings post La Saliyu (King Bone III) until the inauguration of King Bone VI, La Uliyo Botee, have not been found. The only account available to us during which is the invasion of Dewaraja to Bone and the success of La Tenrisukki in capturing the *payung merah* (red umbrella of Luwu Kingdom), resulting in him entitled *Mappajungngé* meaning the umbrella-wearing king (Macknight et al., 2020, p. 89).

being entitled *Passoddo 'Wakkaé* (Macknight, et.al, 2020: 84).

⁹ The secondary forest north of Kawerang is now known as Lapangan Merdeka, while some area

d. Lalebbata Fort (1535-1640)

Lalebbata fort is the masterpiece of this cultural layer (Figure 6 and 10). It was built in 1535 by King Bone VI (La Ulliyo Botee) on the idea of his advisor-architect, Kajao Laliddong. The people of Bone were considered competent in fort building, as indicated in *Lontaraq bilang*. The stones for the fort were supplied from Maros (Bulbeck & Caldwell, 2005).

Lalebbata has three attributes: the fort's walls, canal *Salo Kae* (artificial stream), and rice fields (south and north of the walls), all three being worked out in the establishment of Lalebbata Fort, much to do with three main goals of the kingdom: security, social and food supply aspects (Figure 11).

The filling materials are gained from excavating the south part of the fort and the north as well, ending in the creation of the paddy fields to support the food supply of the people. The addition to the wall materials was taken from the west and south of the landscape, while also serving the job of slowing down the movement of the enemies. In the time of peace, the canal was used to control the flood, irrigation and

adjacent to it remains sacred, today's called *Tanah Bangkala*.



Figure 13. The Old Mosque of Masjid Tua Al-Mujahidin
(Source: Balar Sulsel, 2019)



Figure 14. The top of the burials of We Bataritoja at Kompleks Makam Kalokkoe
(Source: Syahrudin Mansyur, 2019)

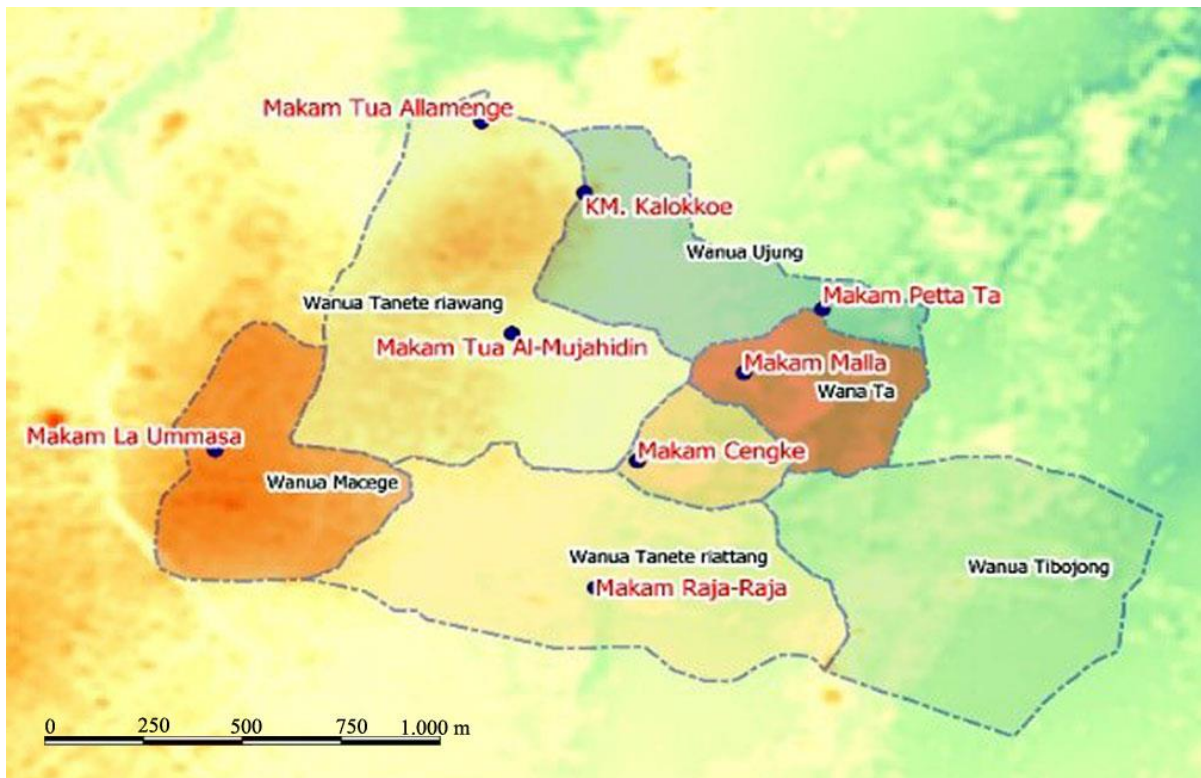


Figure 15. The Burial Complex of the Bone Kings from 15th-19th centuries (Source: Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

transportation routes. The transportation aspect was connected to the two main rivers: Sungai Caleko to the west and Sungai Biru, to the east. The detailed archeological investigation of Lalebbata fort was presented in appendix 3.

The archeological investigation and georeference confirmed that the foundation of Lalebbata is square or parallelogram. The structure of Lalebbata is different from that of Cenrana in that the former followed the land contour, was multi-layered and irregular in shape.

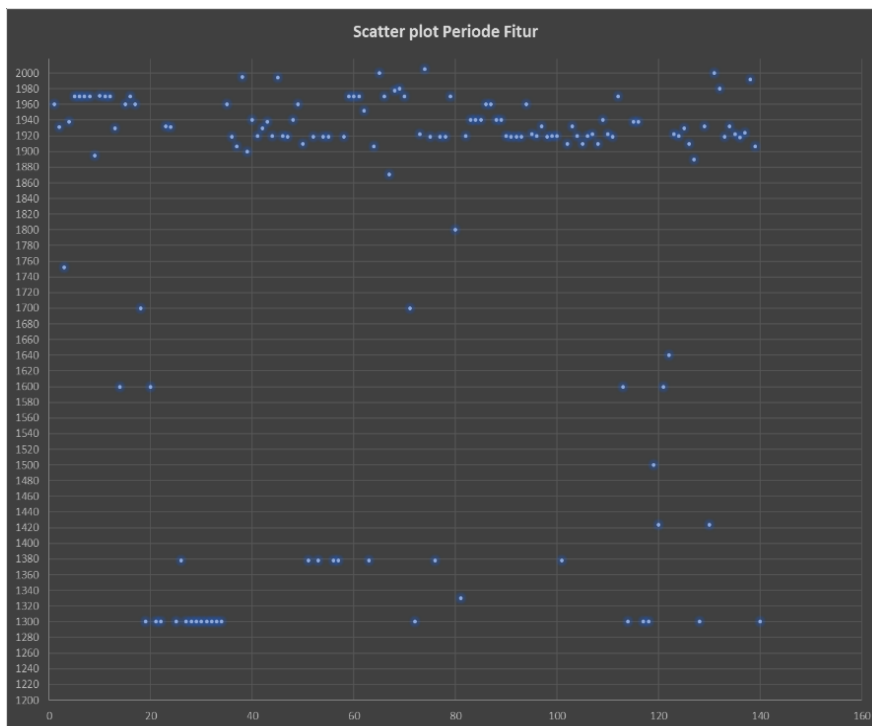


Figure 16. The history of building functions in the fourteenth century and contemporary Watampone (Source: Study findings, Mahmud, et.al., 2019).

The layer of Lalebbata is an exemplary value of making the most of a certain landscape or setting; it is like killing two birds with one stone: transporting filling materials to another place while turning the origin into a source of food (rice fields) and canal. The construction of Lalebbata fort has left behind the best practice of sustainable development of an area, by substantially pondering the food supply.

e. Early Islamic Civilization (1611-1672)

The Islamic touch in Bone Kingdom first came into being in the reign of La Tenriruwa (1611-1616). North-south oriented mosques and burial complex are biographical markers of this era. Established in the southeastern part of Manurunge site was *Masigi' Laungnge* (Buginese words for old mosque) in 1639 (seventeenth century), today's Masjid Tua Al-Mujahidin, located on Jalan Sungai Citarum, Kelurahan Bukaka, Kecamatan Tanete Riattang (Figure 13). The mosque occupies the same complex as those of Islamic burials at coordinates 120°19'47" E 04°32' 09.7" S, initiated by the the grandson of King Tallo named Sultan

Fakki Abdullah, an Islamic preacher in Bone Kingdom during the reign of La Maddaremmeng (King Bone XIII).

Early civilization of Islam was apparent in the Islamic burial complex in almost every wanua, excluding Wanua Tibojong (Figure 15). The burial sites were in active use until the nineteenth century, some are even utilized to these days. Interestingly, no strict separation found in between royal burials and those of the commoners sheds some intriguing perspectives of the landscape.

f. Bontoala Palace (1672-1814)

Since Arung Palakka's ascending to the throne as King Bone XIV on November 3, 1672, the Bone Kingdom has been controlled from Bontoala (Makassar). Arung Palakka was granted power by the colonial Dutch to freely maintain his Kingdom's affair in the South Sulawesi region (Andaya, 2006: 190). Excluding the reign of La Patau Matanna Tikka from Cenrana, the control since Arung Palakka's had been in Bontoala for almost 142 years (1672-1814 M), resulting in the unique administration of the kingdom.

Bone's influence was so significant, even a century following the death of Arung



Figure 17. Tanah Bangkala site, recently part of the Chinese settlement (**Source:** Andi M. Syaiful, 2019)

Palakka; however the settlements of the people were not really taken care of, creating a dirty environment (Lucardie, 1912: 4-5). The then-Watampone is presented in the diagram in the period of 1672-1814 or as long as 142 years, indicating 7 features/buildings (Figure 16): (i) Tanah Bangkala; (ii) old burial of Allamenge; (iii) The Kings' burials and his families; (iv) Cengke burial; (v) Malla burial; (vi) Saleko burial; and (vii) Bubung Dua. Of 7 buildings, 5 of which are burials and the other two are wells for the people and an administrative office (Tanah Bangkala) which was actually an old feature with new designation. Royal inauguration was the only activity taking place around the period.

Tanah Bangkala was at coordinates 04°32'3.2" S 120°19'40.5" E (Figure 17), regarding the expansion of *possi tana*, being in existence since Kawerang layer. It was used for inaugural purpose on April 6, 1696. *Possi tanah* was appointed Tanah Bangkala by King Bone XVI, La Patau Matanna Tikka

(1696-1714) post his marriage with the Princess of Luwu. Prior to the initiation of King La Patau, a handful of soil from Luwu, Gowa, and Bone, were picked respectively and mixed (*dipasiliu*), creating a new texture, maroon color (Tanah Bangkala), symbolizing the brotherhood of Bugis and Makassar.

As opposed to Luwu (Palopo) having three features of an initiation, Tanah Bangkala of Bone simply had two: horse riding skills (*salekoe*) and the inauguration. *Pancai*, an Islamic way of discussing or negotiating a matter was not in place back in the day. Luwu was in possession of three criteria: (1) *salekoe*, physical and mental tests; (2) *pancai*, a discussion held by the customary council and (3) *Mattirowalie*, a place of oath taking or inauguration (Mahmud, 1998, pp. 6–11).

g. Fort Revitalization (1814-1859)

The King La Mappatunru, decided to relocate the throne back to Bone from Bontoala (Makassar) in 1814, owing mainly to the escalation in political realm. The homecoming of the King with his Islamic preacher entourage gave birth to the Arabic settlement at heart of the Kingdom. The Arabs' contribution was apparent in mosques and Islam schools (*madrasah*) and market place.

In light of the relocation of power back to Bone, the King started to rebuild his palace. On the other hand, the King was preparing to fight the Dutch by revitalizing the Lalebbata fort. The archeological survey done verified the augmented defense of the fort, in the presence of three inter-connected small defense zones (*neighborliness system*). One of the small zone was situated at Wanua Pongeng, now known as *benteng Pongeng*, at coordinates 4°53'9.45" S 120°33'24.06" E, in the form of mound measuring ± 50 m long, 10 meters wide, and 1-2 meter high¹⁰.

¹⁰ The finding of Benteng Pongeng and Benteng Ta was significantly confirmed by archeological evidence.

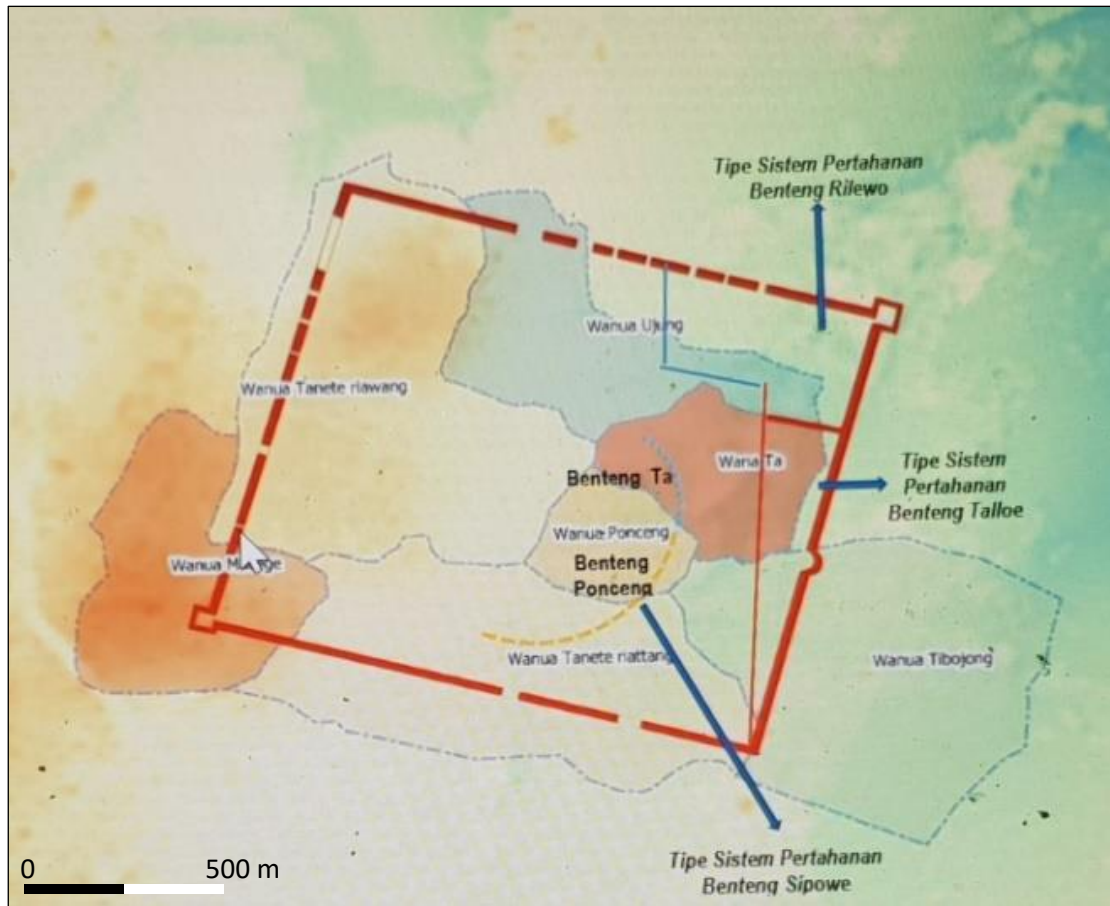


Figure 18. The traits and interpretations of forts based on the colonial notes recorded in 1859's Dutch expedition. (Source: Mahmud, et.al., 2019)

The north end of Benteng Pongceng was connected to Benteng Ta at coordinates $4^{\circ}53'7.073''$ S $120^{\circ}33'74.21''$ E, bordered by Salo Bone to the west. The dividing wall of the two forts forms a semicircular pattern, called *benteng sipowe*¹¹ as recorded in the accounts of the Dutch expedition in 1859 (Figure 18). At the back of this open fort were *Salo Bone*, bamboo forests and lush tress. *Sipowe* is the core defense to protect the most strategic settlement (Manurunge site; Macege industrial complex; and Bukaka), basic infrastructures (market and river ports), and most importantly *saoraja* (palace) and the high-ranked officers. It is wise to say that when *Sipowe* was in good

state, the whole Kingdom was just in safe hands.

New cultural layer was observed in the front aspect of *sipowe*, following the revitalization commanded by King Bone VII, Latenrirawe Bongkange (1560—1564). Extra protection was built inside the main fort to the east. The forefront of the eastern part was connected to the old eastern wall, forming a triangle defense system in a southeastern corner, noted in the records of the Dutch in 1859, referred in the local language as *benteng Talloe*.

Additional layer to the wall (Talloe) was facing north-south, while the northern protection layer was on east-west orientation. The end of the eastern wall was

¹¹ *Sipowe* is a semicircular fort or square, with open setting in the back structure, deemed to be attack-free. Some security mechanism were usually in place,

like natural barriers in the form of vast trees and thorny bamboos berduri, and heavily inhibiting hurdles like land contour or high-elevation landscape.

connected to that of the main fort, stretching west across *Salu Saleko* and cutting through the Saleko settlement into Wanua Ta area (east of *Salu Biru* river), bending its way to the south passing through the rice fields across the east aspect of *Salu Biru* to reach out to Kampung Seppa Bentengge (village) (Figure 12), and onto *Salu Saleko* once again, dividing the rice fields before it, ending in southeastern corner of the main fort, at Kampung Sikobenteng. The elements added to the fort created a pointed corner in the southern part.

In the early nineteenth century, ManurungE site contained burials of the King's family members, which is still in use to date. On the north side of the hall was the palace for the Prince (Commander), while the King's was on the southeast side. The Chinese settled in the east part of the hall, the former location of the market built by King Bone III, La Saliyu Karempaluwa.

h. Identity Destruction (1859 – 1907)

The identity destruction had started to be seen since the arrival of the Dutch in Watampone, approximately taking place in a period of 1859 to 1920 with the breaking of Lalebbata's west side to give way to road access. In around 1868-1869 the wall was completely gone, being employed as secondary road; so were the northwest corner and half of the north wall, southwest bastion and half of the south wall. As a result, the parallelogram shape of the Lalebbata taken as the uniting element of all Wanuas known as *WorongporongE* had come to an end, turning into L shape in 1869. It was a twofold loss on Bone's part: the foundation of their unity was taken from them on the one hand, and fallen fort

indicated the missing of the cultural-political glory. The mighty defense and the masterpiece of the fifteenth century Bone was out of sight forever. Eventually, the legacy of Bone was taken over by the new cultural layer: colonial buildings and architecture.

In the meantime, the local administration kept on by holding onto resources left to them. In 1871, Bone established a grand palace *Bola Subbie* near the northern hall¹². Then, since 1895 the reign of King Bone XXXI (La Pawawoi Karaeng Sigeri), Tanah Bangkala had been the official place for the King to deliver the royal decree. Tanah Bangkala ultimately became the Chinatown of Bone due to the Dutch administration turning it into a shopping block. When the Dutch finally conquered Bone in 1905, Lalebbata came to an end, making way to Watampone as recommended by a bilateral meeting between *Ade Pitu* and the Dutch representatives on August 24, 1905 (personal interview with Mursalim, noted May 10, 2019)¹³.

Since the ascension of Andi Mappanyukki to the throne on April 16, 1931,¹⁴ with the consent of the Dutch, the Bone Kingdom had been run from Bola Subbié, also a meeting point for *Ade Pitue*. *Bola Subbie*¹⁵ was on the northern part of the hall, of what is now known as Taman Arung Palakka. Unfortunately, for the second time in its history, *Bola Subbie* as the center of Bone had been taken to Karebosi, Makassar. It being handed back in 1922 on the request of the people of Bone, *Bola Subbie* was never of the same significance any longer, partly due to the architectural change to

¹² *Bola Subbie* was first occupied as palace by Fatimah Banri (King Bone XXX), and followed by La Pawawoi Karaeng Segeri (King Bone XXXI).

¹³ Toponym Watampone was derived from the landscape excavation recorded in *Lontara*. Bone was originally used to refer to yellowish clay mixed with fine sand. It is called Tana Bone in Buginese, meaning

sandy land or *tana kessik* (Huzain, et.al, 2016: 37), particularly in the center of the Kingdom at around Masjid Raya Watampone, Kelurahan Bukaka.

¹⁴ "Makassar in Feesttooi. Het Bezoek van den Landvoogd". "Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië". Batavia, 26-09-1934.

¹⁵ The building is also known as *Bola Ampare'e*.

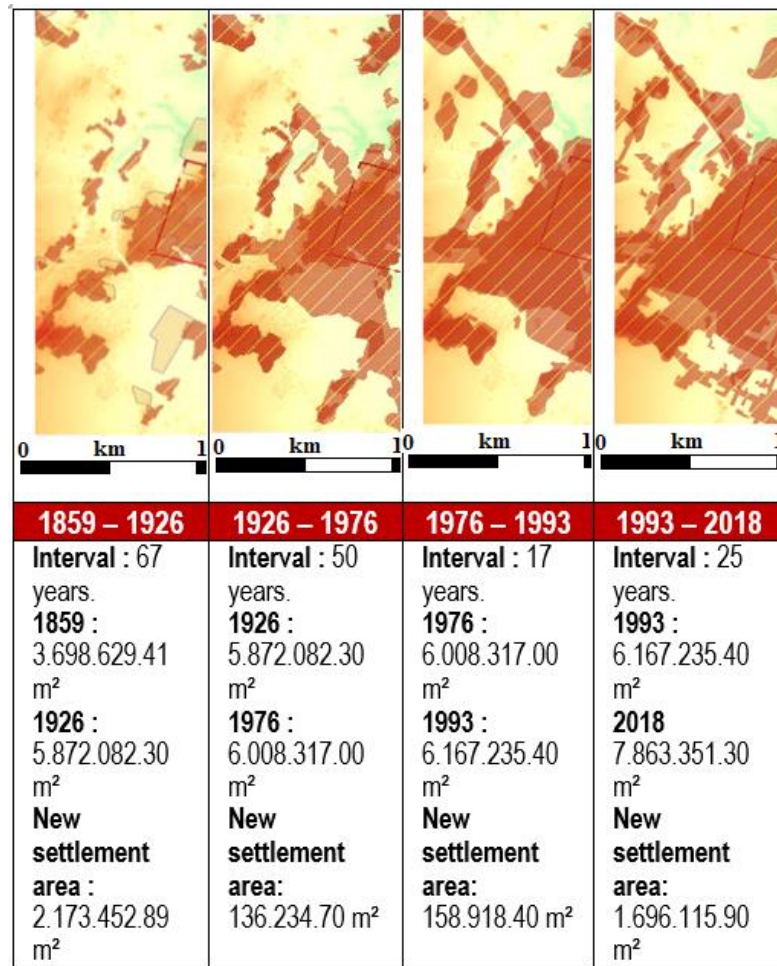


Figure 19. The Spatial change between 1859 and 2018 based on map overlay and archeological investigation and spatio-temporal data (Source: Mahmud, et.al, 2019)

colonial style by omitting *uri liyu* pillars, making the building sit directly on the land.

i. Colonial City (1907-1945)

The layer was marked by the integration of the villages by the roads (Appendix 4). In the down town, the crossroads were turning the whole landscape into a blocking system occupied by European-tending buildings employed as office, officers' dwelling place, and military barracks. Educational buildings were also in place, some were available at the suburb of Bone to enforce the *ethische politiek*.

School buildings were constructed between 1907 and 1938, being started from *Eurospeesch Lagere School (ELS)* in 1907,

and *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO)* in 1908 in the city center of today's Jl. M.H. Thamrin. The early educational system applied in Bone was so discriminatory. As the time went, the number of schools continued to grow, following the settlement expansion to every corner of Bone, all being accessed on foot. The discriminatory system finally led to the local people establishing local school in form of *madrasah*, on the north of the city.

The development of the colonial civilization gave more energy to the existence of the Chinese settlement, tracing its origin back to the nineteenth century. The settlement, on the east part of the hall, was characterized by shop-house setting. In the

later time, the settlement had expanded to the west of the city center. The blooming settlement has put out light on the memory of the first market provided by King Bone III in 1368, La Saliyu Karempaluwa (King Palakka's son). The west part of the Chinese settlement used to be the Dutch burials; recently, however, the whole area has been occupied by housing complex as indicated in the following figure.

Based on spatiotemporal data presented above, it is noticed that there is a shift in settlement area from 1859 to 2018 (Figure 19). The biggest portion of expansion happened between 1993 and 2018, accounting for 1.696.115.90 m² in 25 years, equal to 67.844.64 m²/year. Sitting on the second rank was 2.173.452.89 m² additional land in a period of 1859 – 1926, spanning in 67 years, being 32.439.60 m²/year. Third, a 17-year span resulted in 158.918.40 m² or 9.348.14 m²/year, lasting for 17 years. The slowest expansion rate happened in 1926–1976, lasting for 50 years, as much as 136.234.70 m² or equal to 2.724.69 m²/year.

CONCLUSION

Watampone is a multi-layered city since its rise in the fourteenth century. During the span of six centuries, it is found to be the house of artefacts (relics), and remains of historical buildings either viewed as conceptual ideas or historical events within the memory of its people. The city landscape does not only indicate a periodic layer, but it also illustrates the identity and the legacy left behind by the Kings. The two separate locations from which Bone was ruled in its early time proved to be important in the biographical setting of Watampone: La Ummasa and La Saliyu administrations.

This study contributes new data concerning biography of Watampone from archeological features. Viewed from

diachronical approach, Watampone consists of nine vertical layers: (1) Kawerang palace; (2) Macege palace; (3) Traditional public space; (4) Lalebbata fort; (5) Islamic civilization; (6) Non-occupied palace; (7) Fort revitalization; (8) Identity destruction layer; and (9) Colonial layer. The last two layers are the most complete in terms of the supporting data and continue to exist to date, with colonial layer the most dominant until 1946. Since then, the roads have not changed a lot. The entrance of Toraja and Javanese community into the city is the only major feature since the independence of Indonesia.

Focus group discussion conducted suggests that collective memory of the locals indicates Manurunge site as the point where it all started; Macege site and La Ummasa in metal industry with sword *Cege* being the main product, La Patau Matanna Tikka with *possi tanah* in the succession of power, closely related to *Tanah Bangkala*; and Arung Palakka being the pride of Bone people, as seen in his statue standing tall in the city hall. The two main aspirations, particularly on the part of the middle class¹⁶ are: (1) they want Buginese architecture be seen in the city landscape; (2) they demand that the legacy of Bone Kingdom in many ways be preserved and be considered in the spatial planning as a cultural heritage. It would be advisable if a Local Government Regulation is issued to guarantee the application of the aspirations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank the team to have provided assistance in this research. We are also grateful to the local government and the people of Bone having taken part in the FGD.

¹⁶ The middle class refers to local historians, cultural practitioners and the university students.

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Maps:

1. Peta *Couvt, Celebes en Onderh. (Zuidwest). Opgenomen door den Topografischen dienst in 1924-1925 (blad 31 B. (Alg. No. XXXII-77 B.). Kode. Blad 31 D. (Alg. No. XXXII-77 D.)*
2. *Gouvt Celebes en Oiannderh. (Zuidwest). Opgenomen door den Topografischen dienst in 1930-1931 (blad 77/ XXXI A. Kode. Blad 77/ XXXI C).*
3. Peta *Topografischen dienst in 1924-1925, Blad 31 B. (Alg. No. XXXII-77 B)*
4. Peta *Badjowe en Watampone (Bajoe dan Watampone) yang dikeluarkan secara resmi oleh Indische Militaire Tijdschrift, De Expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes in 1905-1906, Weltevreden: 1915, schet 6 en 9)*
5. Peta Mosaik Sulawesi (No.1212-5), dibuat tanggal 17 September 1976.
6. Peta analog tahun 1926 yang bersumber dari *Gouvt. Celebes en onderh. (zuidwest) Blad 31 D (Alg. No. XXX-II 7 D) Weltevreden.*
7. Peta terbitan BAKOSURTANAL, tahun 1993, skala 1 : 50.000.

Appendix 1. Table of Ceramics recovered in Watampone, 2019

No	Site	Wanua	Shreds	Century	Number
1	Benteng'e (Seppa Benteng'e)	Tanete Riattang	Bowl bottom of Swankhalok	15	1
2	Benteng'e (Seppa Benteng'e)	Tanete Riattang	Plate body of Ming	15-16	1
3	Benteng'e (Seppa Benteng'e)	Tanete Riattang	Plate rim of Ching	18-19	1
4	Ta' (bubung dua)	Ta'	Japanese jars rim	19-20	1
5	Ta' (bubung dua)	Ta'	European bowl rim	19-20	1
6	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	European plate bottom	19-20	1
7	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	Plate body of Ming	15-16	3
8	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	Plate body of Ming	15-16	1
9	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	Plate rim	15-16	1
10	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	Plate body of Ming	15-16	1
11	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	European plate rim	19-20	4
12	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	Japanese bowl body	19-20	1
13	Ta' (benteng Ta')	Ta'	Japanese plate body	19-20	1
14	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	Ching plate bottom	17-18	8
15	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	European bowl bottom	19-20	1
26	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	European Plate rim	19-20	2
17	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	European plate body	19-20	5
18	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	European plate bottom	19-20	3
19	Seppa Benteng'e	Ta'	Japanese bowl bottom	19-20	1
20	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	Swankhalok bowl bottom	15-16	1
21	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	European plate body	18-19	1
22	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	European plate rim	18-19	6
23	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	European plate bottom	18-19	1
24	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	Ming plate body	15-16	1
25	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	Ching plate body	17-18	1
26	Ta' (bubung Tua)	Ta'	Plate rim of Dehua	14	1
27	Macege/Jeppae	Macege	Plate rim (modern)	20	1
28	Macege/Jeppae	Macege	Ching plate body	17-18	1
29	Former Bola Soba (jl Veteran)	Tanete Riawang	Ching neck urn	18-19	2
30	Allamengnge	Ujung	Ming plate body	15-16	1
31	Allamengnge	Ujung	Yuan Jars body	13-14	1

Appendix 2: Table of Geographical position of the old wells in Lalebbata site, their period, and function

ID	Nama_Sumur	Fungsi	Tahun Pembangunar	xcoord	ycoord	ELEVATION
128	Bola Soba	Sumber Air khusus	1978	120.3266	-4.54631	21.715 m
124	Bubung Bola Soba	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3282	-4.5352	31.012 m
123	Bubung dua	Sumber Air Umum	1700	120.3326	-4.5371	23.698 m
121	Bubung Jeppe	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3226	-4.53882	33.519 m
116	Bubung Manurunge	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3307	-4.54093	22.119 m
112	Bubung Seppa'bentenge	Sumber Air Umum	1600	120.3319	-4.54313	18.587 m
113	Bubung Sabeng	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.333	-4.5389	17.821 m
109	Bubung Telloe	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3232	-4.54107	32.871 m
118	Bubung Lasonrong	Sumber Air khusus	1300	120.3264	-4.54034	25.497 m
110	Bubung Ta	Sumber Air Umum	1378	120.3376	-4.53763	14.666 m
122	Bubung Jawi-Jawi	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3368	-4.54453	30.763 m
111	Bubung Suwabeng	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3264	-4.54078	26.776 m
108	Bubung Tua	Sumber Air Umum	1931	120.3286	-4.53739	28.754 m
115	Bubung Matajang	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3309	-4.5409	20.557 m
114	Bubung Ponceng	Sumber Air Umum	1300	120.3324	-4.53728	21.163 m
120	Bubung Lacokkong	Sumber Air khusus	1300	120.325	-4.53447	27.392 m
117	Bubung Macege	Sumber Air khusus	1300	120.3263	-4.54187	25.686 m
119	Bubung Lagarawang	Sumber Air khusus	1300	120.331	-4.53081	21.488 m

Appendix 3. table of Shape, Size and Plotting of Lalebbata Fort

No	Sector	Trace	Side	Shape	Size (Meter)			Plotting Coordinate	
					L	W	H	Start	Finish
1	North	Wall	North	Rectangular	211	13	0,2	120.331335,- 4.531478	120.33130,- 4.532083
2	North	Wall	East	Rectangular	238	13	0.5	120.33130,- 4.532083	120.332870,- 4.53405
3	North	Wall	North	Rectangular	154	13	0.2	120.332870,- 4.53405	120.334170,- 4.534380
4	East	Wall	East	Rectangular	641	7-10	1-2	120.338493,- 4.355569	120.33719,- 4.544350
5	South	Wall	South	Rectangular	216	11- 13	2	120.33719,- 4.544350	120.335364,- 4.543786
6	South	Wall	South	Rectangular	58	12- 15	1	120.335308,- 4.543740	120.33467,- 4.543601
7	South	Wall	South	Rectangular	232	15- 17	1	120.33427,- 4.543552	120.332258,- 4.542991
8	East	Wall	East	Rectangular	334	10	1-2	120.332406,- 4.539452	120.335134,- 4.539062
9	East	Wall	East	Rectangular	66	11	0.2- 1	120.337421,- 4.537073	120.337741,- 4.536585

Appendix 4. Table of Educational Infrastructures of the Colonial Layer 1907-1938

No.	Building	Coordinates	Address	Establishment Year
1	<i>Eurospeesch School</i>	<i>Lagere</i> 04°54'14.2 S - 120°33'4.16 E	Jl. MH. Thamrin	1907
2	<i>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO)</i>	04°32'15 S - 120°19'43.7 E	Jl. M.H. Thamrin	1908
3	<i>Volkschool</i>	04°53'09.4 S - 120°33' 05 E	Jl. Kawerang	1908
4	<i>Hollandsch School (HIS)</i>	<i>Inlansche</i> 04°54'14.2 S - 120°33'4.16 E	Jl. Besse Kajuara	1914
5	Sekolah Cina	04°32'08.9 S - 120°19'23.5 E	Jl. G. Bawakaraeng	1922
6	<i>Volkschool</i>	04°53'37.8 S - 120°33'6.91 E	Jl. MH. Thamrin	1920
7	Madrasah	04°52'95.8 S - 120°33'44.3 E	Jl. S. Kapuas	1938