

THE MEDIA OF BUGIS LITERACY: A CODA TO PELRAS

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ABSTRACT

The existence of literacy implies a range of practical questions about writing. While attention has been given to the form of Bugis writing, there are also issues around the mechanics of writing, that is, the ways in which marks have been made on various surfaces. Bugis literacy, which began with palm leaf manuscripts, has been overwhelmingly in the form of paper manuscripts, though examples of printing, inscriptions on silver and on earthenware are also discussed and illustrated. The relationship between medium and the function of writing is explored in particular cases.

Keywords: Bugis writing, *lontara'*, South Sulawesi manuscripts, South Sulawesi silver, South Sulawesi earthenware

Christian Pelras' magisterial survey of orality and writing in Bugis culture is rightly famous among specialists (Pelras 1979; 2010; 2016). This paper, which assumes a prior reading of Pelras, should be seen as a more detailed investigation of one aspect of Bugis literacy, though perhaps with some wider implications too. It looks at the practicalities of writing—surface and tools—to ask how this affects our understanding of written texts.

I sit silently at a desk overwhelmed by evidence of literacy: books, journals, newspaper clippings, bills, newsletters and printed papers of various kinds, as well as notes and lists, many scribbled on the back of scrap paper. In the middle of the desk the computer screen takes pride of place and I type in text as emails or drafts such as this. Increasingly, I read directly from the screen. The media of literacy are many, though the dominant form of my literacy—the Latin alphabet adapted to English use—is singular. At least within my own society, I am somewhat unusual, though by no means alone, in having some ability to read languages other than English and, in particular, to deal with some non-Latin scripts. Literacy in any form or to any degree is such an intellectual achievement that it is easy to take for granted its practicalities. Writing, understood as the transmission of language through material means, almost always intended to be apprehended visually, requires a surface and a tool with which to mark that surface.

Technology serves to define several broad classes or registers of material for literacy. Printing, that is the transfer of ink to paper, traditionally from a raised surface (letterpress), but now more usually by means of other techniques such as engraving, lithography, stencilling and yet more elaborate methods as technology advances, allows the production of multiple identical versions of text and image. The use of the manuscript register, by contrast, since it requires the direct action of a human hand to produce the signs of the text or image, whatever the medium on which the signs are produced, precludes identical versions, though the nature and extent of variation can vary across a wide range.¹ A third register, even if it is not of much relevance in the case of Bugis literacy, is the digital file which allows signs to appear on a computer monitor or on paper through a "printer"—perhaps more accurately described as a writing machine. A digital file can easily be both reproduced without change, and also altered in various ways, by means of a control device—but the technology of the device is essential.

The first feature to note in Bugis literacy is the relatively small quantity of printed material. Pelras provides a general description of this and a fuller account may be found in Noorduyn's survey of Sulawesi languages (1991: 168–98).² Until the early 20th century, most of the printing was in the *lontara'* script, but more recently, printed texts have usually been in one of the various Latin orthographies which have been developed to represent the language.³ Three exceptions to this are, firstly, school books designed to teach *lontara'* literacy, some of which have used letterpress fonts available in Makassar. Secondly, the range of translations from the Chinese—admittedly mostly into Makassar—which were published in Makassar before

1942. These texts, which also contain many Chinese characters, seem to have been written with a brush and, from one specimen at least, the *lontara'* script is very poorly formed (Hamonik and Salmon 1983: 151). Thirdly, and much more significantly, from about the middle of the 20th century Pesantren As'adiyah in Sengkang has produced a wide range of religious publications in Bugis to support its work. The As'adiyah materials are either stencilled or, more usually now, produced by lithography and include other content in Arabic language and script. There is also some use of Indonesian in Latin script, particularly for matters relating to the context within which the books are produced. The high quality of the *lontara'* script can often make it hard to distinguish from letterpress. Figure 1 is a good example of the mixture of scripts on a single page. A notable point here is the way in which the general use of spoken Bugis and of Bugis written in *lontara'* script for Muslim studies constitutes part of the distinctive nature of Pesantren As'adiyah. This is an educational and religious institution with a self-consciously Bugis identity.⁴

As Pelras explains, however, "for the Bugis, 'writing' retains the sense of 'manuscript.'" The origins of Bugis writing were undoubtedly and unsurprisingly in the form of manuscripts. In recent times, Ian Caldwell has made sustained study of early genealogical texts and suggests that the advantage of having a written record of descent provided the motive for the first Bugis writing (Caldwell 1988: 174; 1998). The astounding proliferation of genealogical information which starts in the 14th century can only be explained by the presence of a written record and it seems reasonable to date the invention of Bugis writing to that period. Given what we know about the social structure of Austronesian-speaking societies generally, this function for writing makes its adoption very believable (Macknight 1993a: 7). Moreover, much more is now known about this early period of South Sulawesi's history than when Pelras was writing and it is clear that the introduction of writing should not be seen as particularly surprising. While some degree of contact between islands in the Indonesian archipelago goes back to the arrival of Austronesian speakers, by the 14th century it can be shown that Bugis lands, both in the Cenrana valley and at the head of the Gulf of Bone, were in active trading relations with the western parts of the archipelago. There was also traffic between South Sulawesi and the southern Philippines. The fact that the script is based on the Indic system, and not the Arabic script, argues strongly for its origin before significant Muslim influence in South Sulawesi, that is before the 16th century.

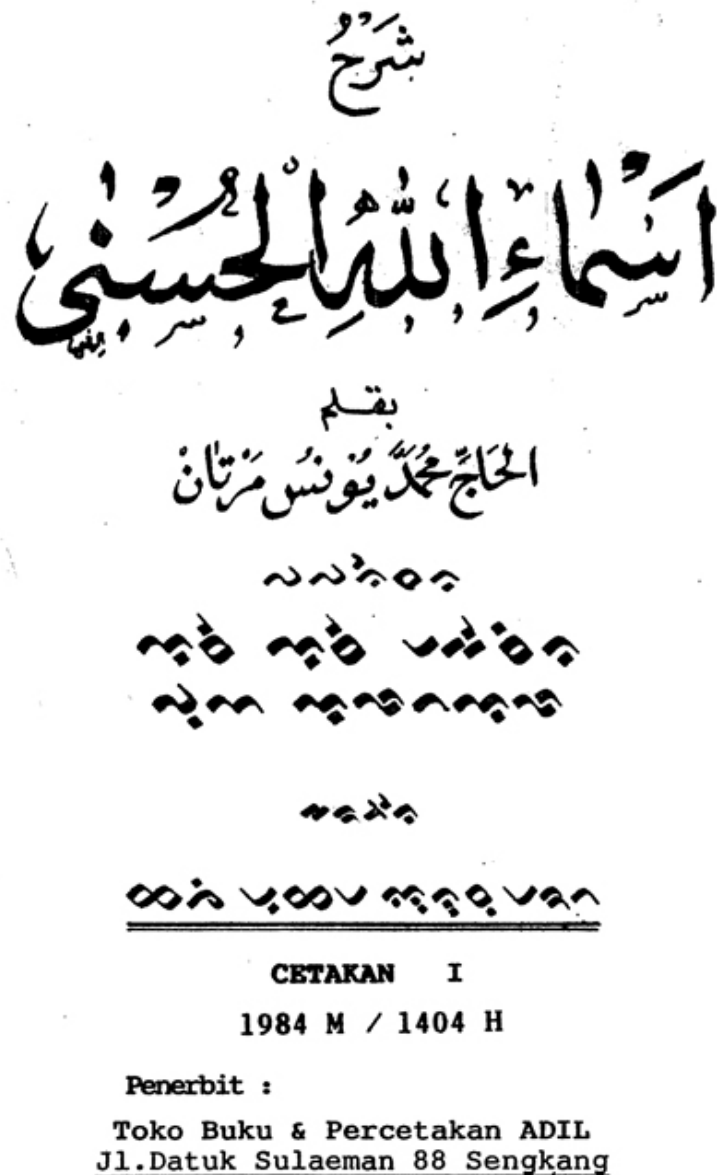


Figure 1: Title page of a book, dealing with the names of God, published for Pesantren As'adiyah in Singkang, using lithography. The Arabic and Bugis, in *lontara*', give information about the title and author and are handwritten, though very skilfully. The material in Latin script below gives information relevant to the context of publication and has been produced using a typewriter. The main text of the book is Bugis, handwritten in *lontara*', with much use of Arabic where appropriate.

As Pelras says, the Bugis word for writing, *maruki*', and the original meaning of the word *lontara*', which is now associated with both manuscripts and the writing system itself, suggest that the first Bugis writing was scratched on to a palm leaf surface.⁵ It is generally agreed that the form of palm leaf surface was a series of strips sewn end to end and allowing a single line of characters on one side only. This very long ribbon

was then rolled up and mounted on a frame, allowing the text to be read in the same way as a tape cassette. What is striking about this format is its originality. The closest parallel is a letter from Brunei to the Chinese court which a 13th-century source says was brought at the end of the first millennium: "the paper was like tree-bark, but thin, smooth and glossy, and of a greenish tint, several feet long and over an inch in thickness [width]; when rolled up, it was just as much as one could hold in the hand. The characters written upon it were fine and small" (Hirth and Rockhill 1911: 157; see Macknight 1986: 222). Even if one can perceive some link across the centuries and distance between this Brunei writing and the earliest Bugis writing, the Bugis system still shows itself as distinctive.

Even more remarkable is the script itself. It has generally been assumed, as Pelras does, that this was ultimately derived from south Indian scripts, probably by way of Java, though no one has been able to demonstrate a consistent pattern of evolution for all the aksara.⁶ Christopher Miller (2013; in press) has recently proposed a derivation from north Indian Gujarati scripts and strong linkages with Sumatran scripts. From South Sulawesi, the concept of the scripts was taken to the southern Philippines, certainly before the Spanish arrived in the mid-16th century. There were also some more direct imitations of South Sulawesi scripts in Bima and Flores, probably from the 17th century onwards. I accept this general outline which has only recently become clear, largely through the brilliant work of Miller.

The detailed evolution of the South Sulawesi scripts, however, still remains to be clarified. For example, it seems helpful to separate the origin of the so-called Old Makasar script (or *jangang-jangang* script) from the more common *lontara'* script used for Bugis and, most commonly in recent times, for Makasar as well, though they share features which suggest some degree of interaction. However that may be, we are here concerned only with the *lontara'* script, and the development of that script is a remarkable achievement.

While acknowledging the undoubted external influence, whether from Sumatra or even more directly from Gujarat, it is not too strong to speak of the "invention" of Bugis writing using the *lontara'* script.⁷ The following points indicate the extent of innovation:

- the absence of the *virama*, that is the means of writing a consonant without an attached vowel, reflects the unusual and very specific nature of Bugis (and Makasar)

- the re-ordering of the characters, which is important in learning any writing system, matches the frequency of use in Bugis and Makasar
- the actual form of the characters, after radical simplification, is such that the most basic shapes are also the most common characters

The radical simplification of the form of characters means that all characters are derived from a diagonal line and a dot. That implies what might be described as an angular script with approximately square angles between diagonal lines. I believe that this radical simplification is associated with inscribing the characters on to palm leaves as found in the long ribbons described above.⁸

No palm leaf strip manuscripts survive from anything like the period when the Bugis started to write. Tol (2009: 200–201) dates the famous example in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI Peti 40/780) to between 1620 and 1898 and suggests that it might have been a specially commissioned antique form. Similarly, the example of palm leaf strips presented by Matthes to the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden in 1871⁹ seems to be intended as a demonstration model. In the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and dated before 1887, a specially set up arrangement shows how a board underneath the palm leaf script allowed pressure to be applied as the characters were inscribed. As Figure 2 shows, the characters have not yet been made easier to read by the application of blacking. The final effect is clearly visible in Figure 3, a full roll manuscript acquired from Bua in the headwaters of the Pangkajene river in 1906 or 1907 and containing a short version of a well-known La Galigo episode. A handful of other examples are known, but none seem to be earlier than the 19th century.¹⁰

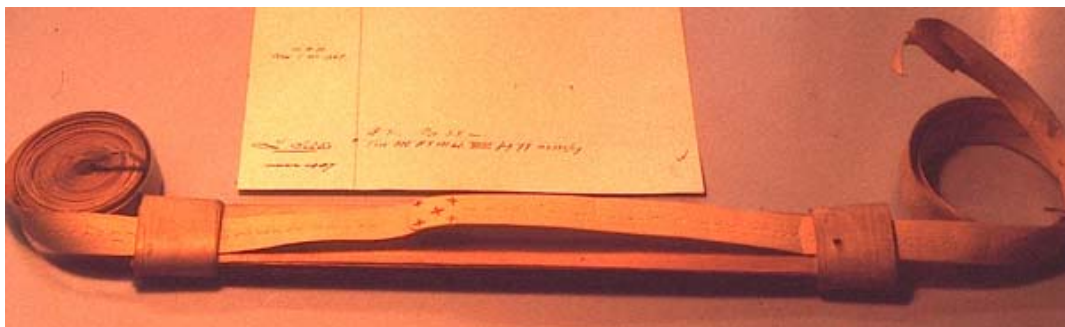


Figure 2: A long strip made up of sections of palm leaf stitched together and tied over a wooden board to enable characters to be incised. These characters have not yet been made more legible by a wiping a blacking agent across the surface. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, A4517, said to date from before 1887.

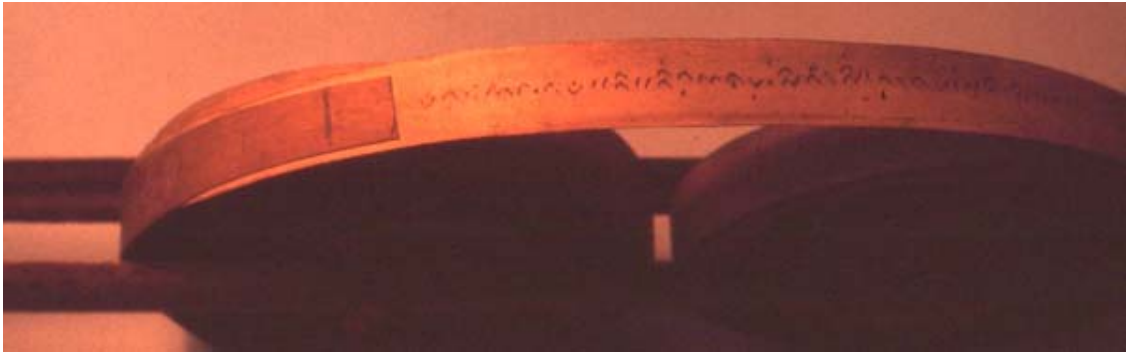


Figure 3: A palm leaf manuscript containing an episode of the La Galigo cycle, obtained in Bua, South Sulawesi, in 1906 or 1907. The strip is 22 m in length. The item has been catalogued by Kern 139: 879. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, 673/4.

The lack of early examples of Bugis writing makes it difficult to be sure that its original form was angular, and it has to be admitted that there is no great difficulty in inscribing a curved line on a palm leaf surface, as clearly seen in manuscripts from many other traditions. Kern suggested that his "palm-leaf style," of which he has a few examples on paper (Kern 1939: 390, 402, 1075–1076), derived from what has come to be seen as the standard script on paper, but I agree with Noorduyne who sees the transition going the other way (Noorduyne 1993a: 561–564). Certainly the script used on the palm leaf strips themselves is reasonably angular, though some tendency to round the angles is observable and both Kern and Noorduyne draw attention to a "vertical shift" and some distinctive usages.

If we accept that the earliest Bugis writing was on palm leaf strips—and the surviving examples show that this could include a variety of genres—the full development of Bugis written literature, especially the quantity of surviving material, must be associated with the availability of paper. Paper, and the much simpler means of making a mark on it with pen and ink, made literacy very much easier. Notice too the shift from a single line of text to a page with successive lines of text across it and the variation in the width of the stroke associated with the use of a pen. Though we cannot be sure of the detail, this new ease of literacy probably prompted or encouraged new genres of writing.¹¹ Of course, as Pelras has shown so well, we must be careful not to assume that writing served the same purposes as it does for us and Bugis works in the manuscript register must be assessed in that context, not as printed texts.

European paper was certainly available in Makassar from the early 17th century when the first European traders arrived and there is no reason to doubt that this was also available in Bugis lands. The overwhelming majority of surviving Bugis manuscripts are written on European paper of various kinds, though these manuscripts are later than the 17th century. The

earliest example of so-called Old Makasar or *jangan-jangan* script on paper appears to be the signatures to the Treaty of Bungaya in 1667¹² (Tol 1996: 214, 216), but I know of no example of Bugis writing on paper before 1700. It would be interesting to discover the earliest specimen.

As Jones (1993) shows so comprehensively, the date at which paper, from whatever source, was first available anywhere in the archipelago is very difficult to determine. The earliest Malay manuscripts on European paper date from the 1520s and Pires tells us that paper, probably from China, was brought to Melaka a decade or so before that (Jones 1993: 477, 484). Paper, pen and ink were acceptable gifts to the ruler of Brunei in 1521 (Jones 1993: 479), while in Maluku in the 1540s, "they write upon [...] palm leaves, and on paper which is imported from India; and the pens are made of ferns, for those of ducks are not known there," and in the context this is clearly Arabic script (Jacobs 1971: 123). The regular Malay word for paper, *kertas*, betrays its western origin, perhaps immediately from the Arabic, and its Bugis cognate is *karettasa'*.¹³ Given the capacity of sailors from South Sulawesi to bring home vast quantities of ceramics from western Indonesia long before writing was known, it is not difficult to account for the presence of paper in South Sulawesi by 1500, at the latest, and probably even earlier. There is also the possibility of writing on beaten bark cloth, as is the case in Sumatra, but I do not know of any significant examples in Sulawesi. Another and perhaps an even more pertinent element in the overall context is the Javanese production of beaten bark paper or *dluwang* which, although closely associated with Islam today, has a more complex past (Guillot 1983).

Despite the excellent introduction by Noorduyn (1993a), there is more work to be done on the understanding the varieties of Bugis handwriting. Figure 4, however, provides a good example of the standard *lontara'* script. This manuscript certainly dates from before 1845. It is on very common Pro Patria European paper and this particular section is a list of the rulers of Bone in the early 18th century. The last line refers to the removal in 1715 of the ruling queen by her brother after a reign of only one year: she came back for two further periods as ruler! Since it gives her necronym, however, the text must date from after her death in 1749. The stability of the script can be seen in the regularity of the first five aksara of each line which represent the words *Matinroé ri*, that is regular beginning of the necronym by which rulers are conventionally known.

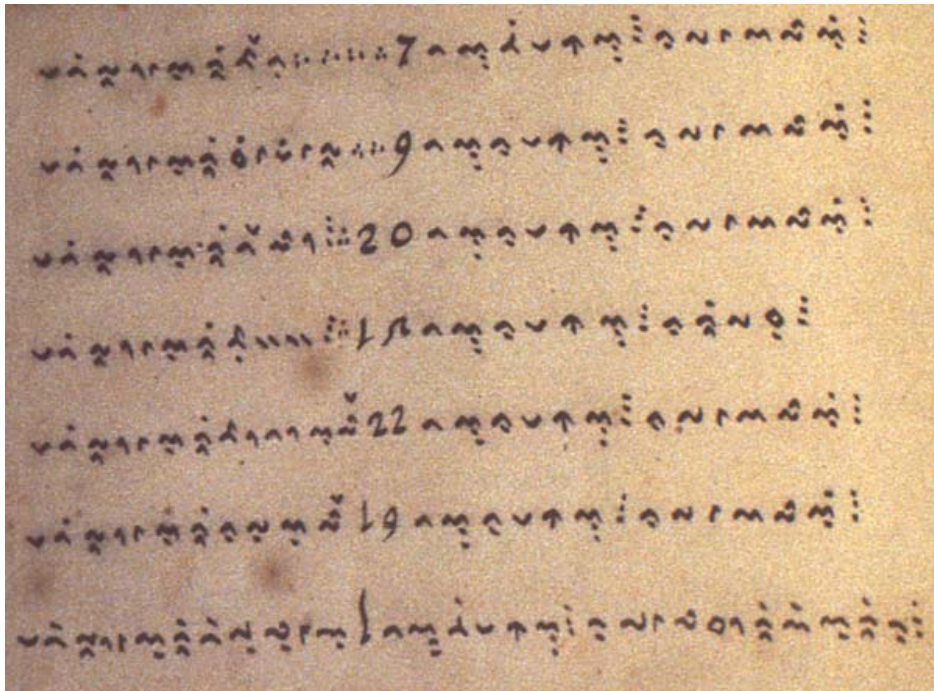


Figure 4: A specimen of typical Bugis in *lontara'* script. It lists 17th and 18th century rulers of Bone, giving their necronym, the length of their reign in years and how their reign ended. The regularity of the script can be observed by noting that several words are repeated on successive lines. The manuscript dates from before 1845. Berlin Ms. orient. fol. 386. It appears to have been written using a *kallang*, or sharpened palm leaf rib, rather than a quill or pen with a steel nib.

Figure 5 shows similar material as printed by Matthes in the first volume of his *Boegineesche Chrestomathie* in 1864. The evolution of this clear and elegant type face is discussed by Noorduyn (1993a: 543–544). It has served as the model for most later printing. The same sequence of aksara for *Matinroé ri* can be seen in the lines numbered 18 and 19. If Matthes intended his printed chrestomathies, both Bugis and Makasar, to promote the study of the languages and their literature in the first place to colonial administrators, and then to scholars generally, he succeeded in generous measure. He laid the foundations for all later study.

Several digital versions of the script are available. The XenoType version is very close to Matthes, as seen in the upper line of Figure 6. I have some personal preference for the rather softer version in the lower line.

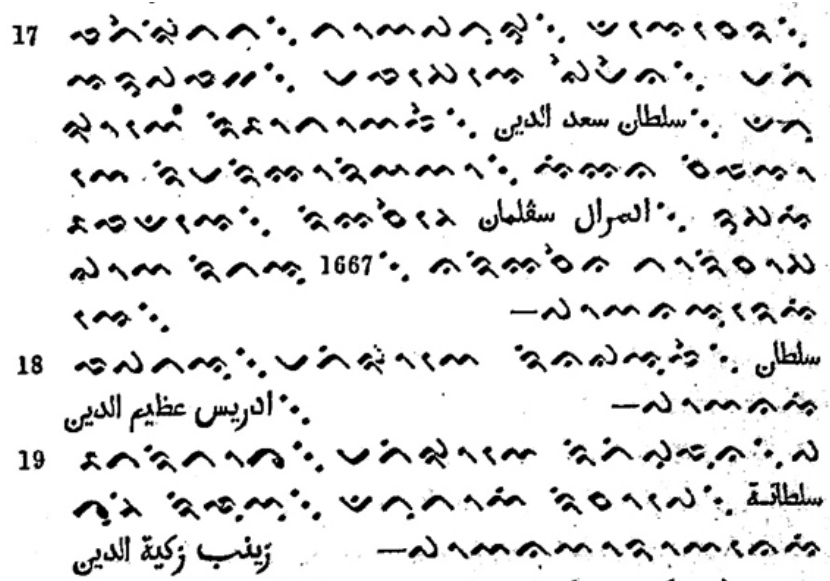


Figure 5: A specimen of letterpress *lontara'* script as developed for B. F. Matthes, *Boegineeesche Chrestomathie* in 1864. This is from volume 1, page 500 and lists rulers of Bone. These three rulers are those in the three bottom lines of Figure 4. The same necronyms for the last two can be seen in the middle of the lines numbered 18 and 19. Note the use of Arabic letterpress for their Muslim names.

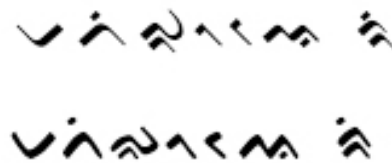


Figure 6: Digital fonts available for writing *lontara'*. Both spell the first element of a necronym, *Matinroé ri-* (he who sleeps in-). The upper line is in the XenoType Technologies Lontara font. It is based on the font developed for B. F. Matthes and shows marked difference between wide up-stroke diagonals and narrow down-stroke diagonals. The extent of this difference, which is also found in many recently copied manuscripts, may be associated with the use of a pen with a steel nib or, earlier, a quill. The lower line has been produced using the Macromedia Fontographer font creation software and is closer to manuscripts produced with a *kallang*, or sharpened palm leaf rib. Compare the strokes in both fonts with those in the script shown in Figure 4.

The forms of the script are, in fact, very adaptable to various media, but it is worth noting that it is not used in some contexts where it might be expected. Inscriptions on stone, for example, are not found, to my knowledge, in Sulawesi, though Noorduyin (1993b) reports a Bugis inscription, using a rounded version of the *lontara'* script, on a 19th-century gravestone in Brunei. Gravestones in Sulawesi often have inscriptions in Arabic script and raised calligraphic devices of great intricacy, so there is no functional reason for not using the *lontara'* script.



Figure 8: Impressed inscription inside the footring of a small silver bowl. Diameter of the footring is 4.1 cm. The text reads: $\text{Cangki'na É Ngalé tellu ringgi' werre'na}$ —Bowl of I Ngalé three ringgits its weight. [The transcription of the personal name is rather uncertain.] Notice the many instances of the use of several punches needed to form a single character and the insertion of $\text{}$ above the third line. The content of the text is very standard and refers to ownership and value.



Figure 9: Raised inscription on the interior base of a silver bowl formed by punching reverse images of the characters from below. Diameter of first ring outside text is 4.2 cm. Diameter of lip of bowl is 9.7 cm, and height of bowl 6.3 cm. The text, starting at the large device like a 3, reads: $\text{Salama majeppu cangkiri'na É Patimasang Ringki}$ —Peace indeed, bowl of I Patimasang Ringki. [The transcription of the personal name is very uncertain.] There is also an unexplained character within the text near the large device. Notice too the addition of the $\text{}$ below the line of the text.

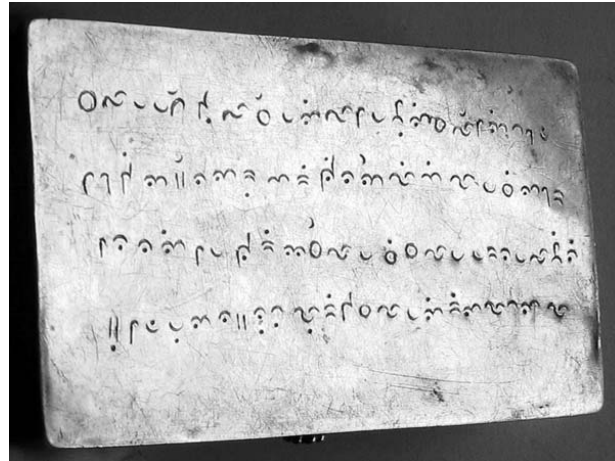


Figure 10: Inscription on the base of a small, silver *sirih* box with coffered lid containing a gilt panel. Dimensions of the box: length 9.8 cm long, width 5.6 cm, height 3.0 cm.

The text (Figure 10), with some expansion in transcription, reads:

*Salama majeppu La Semmaila mébbui sale'é itoddang
jompí angke'na aruwa ringgi' naelliwi La Masi ora-
néna I Ménggang riyaseng La Masi salama marana' mallabini
kudé'mua nakanu' tulu ripasalama'i ri Alataala.*

The translation poses some problems, especially in the last line, but the general intent is clear:

Peace indeed. La Ismael makes the writing underneath
the box. Its worth is eight ringgits. La Masi buys it.
The husband of Wé Ménggang, called La Masi, peace to
his children and to the couple.
If the cord [of friendship] be not burnt, may they be saved
by God Almighty.

These short texts are highly stylised and repetitive so that it is possible to reflect more generally on their function. They all relate the object to one or more individuals, whatever the uncertainties of the proper transcription of those personal names. The *sirih* box also mentions a married couple by name and their children. In two cases—and there are others known as well—there is the declarative statement of weight or value. Writing is here serving to preserve or authenticate fact. This calls to mind Caldwell's hypothesis that the trigger for the origin of Bugis writing was the benefit of a relatively permanent and tangible record of specific genealogical information.

A slightly different function can be seen in the short inscriptions found on the base, usually, of a class of spectacular reddish earthenware vessels from the early 20th century. Although one can trace elements of the manufacture and design of these objects back into other expressions of Bugis culture, this particular ware was produced essentially for sale to Europeans, perhaps especially Dutch officials and their wives (Macknight 1993b). Figures 11 and 12 show typical examples of the inscriptions. Again, personal names are important, though not as owners, since those for whom the items are intended lie, essentially, outside Bugis society, but as makers. These inscriptions are a statement of individuality, perhaps even of pride and a more modern sensibility. The use of Latin script for the place name in Figure 12 suggests a subtle hint of local identity. The Latin script might reflect the fact that representations of this would have been relatively common in signage or printed materials associated with the colonial state, whereas the potter might never have seen her own name in Latin script. Even familiarity, however, did not ensure accuracy as shown in Figure 11. I have discussed such inscriptions more fully elsewhere (Macknight 1993b: 165–167).

In a fine touch of irony, at roughly the same time, a series of plates were being produced in Europe decorated with painted Bugis, Makasar and even Arabic texts in *lontara'* script. Presumably, these were for sale in the Indies. Yayasan Harapan Kita (1998: 147) illustrates one example. A similar oddity, though produced in a Bugis context, is the sash presented to Matthes and decorated with several verses of poetry in both Bugis and Makasar; the forms of the *lontara'* characters—and some Arabic—are woven into the textile (van den Brink 1943: 588–590).

The use of *lontara'* in the publications of Pesantren As'adiyah has been noted above and the continuing practice of writing and reading Bugis in this script forms part of the educational experience in that institution. Outside that context, however, literacy in *lontara'*, beyond the capacity to recognise a few characters, seems rare, especially among young people. The script lacks a function for people increasingly well educated about the modern world through the medium of Indonesian.¹⁵



Figure 11: The bases of two pots, 1800-6 and 1800-8, in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Diameter of base of 1800-8 is 10.1 cm. The lower inscription reads: *Tanaé riBoné/natappa Cabondéng*—The land of Boné, Cabondéng formed. This potter signed many of her pots with an almost identical inscription. The upper inscription contains errors in the placement of the last two vowel markers on each line, producing the clearly erroneous forms: ... *Béno* and... *Cabédong*.

Occasionally, however, one finds *lontara'* in use. On 30 January 1999, I was wandering down the quay at Pasar Ikan harbour in Jakarta observing the many *pinisi'* which had brought cargoes of wood from Kalimantan and were loading up general cargo for the return voyage. Though all the vessels were now fitted with an engine, some capacity for sail had been retained on most and the twin rudders, hanging from the sterncastle, were still much in evidence. On the quayside, I noticed the name shown in Figure 13 and, a few hundred metres further on, the vessel itself, *Jagawana Setia*. Discussing the name on the quayside with two young crewman standing nearby, one from Bone and the other from Palopo in Sulawesi, I found that not only could they read the *lontara'*, but they could also, without prompting, point

out the minor errors. I was left to ponder the function of writing the name in *lontara'*; it is hard to imagine that anyone who could read the *lontara'* could not also read the Latin script. Nor could it be copied from the name on the vessel itself, since all vessels must have clearly displayed their name in Latin characters, and this name is Indonesian as well. I am left with the thought that it might represent a subtle assertion of Bugis identity in the national capital. Perhaps there is hope yet that the script will survive, whatever the medium of its use.



Figure 12: Base of a highly decorated earthenware pot. The top line of the inscription in *lontara'* is a personal name, I Mamara—though other transcriptions are possible. The bottom line, Bone, is a district in South Sulawesi. The pot was presented to the Swiss anthropologist, Alfred Bühler, in Kupang in 1935. The area of the pot shown in the photograph is c. 9 cm wide. Museum der Kulturen, Basel, Ilc 6669a.



Figure 13: Prau name on the quayside, Pasar Ikan, Jakarta, 30 January 1999. The *lontara'* script reads ʌʌ ʌʌ ʌʌ ʌʌ ʌʌ... and the Latin script, *Jagawana Setia*. The Latin version is correct as proved by the presence of the vessel nearby. The name means "loyal keeper of the forest," which is somewhat ironic, given the cargoes of timber these praus were bringing from Kalimantan. There are several minor errors in the *lontara'*: the third aksara should be ʌ with no dot (and the dot is in the less frequent position under the left arch), and before the fifth aksara there is no ʌ marking the vowel for Sé. There should also be one final aksara for the last syllable of Setia.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹ For variations in Bugis manuscript texts, see Macknight and Caldwell 2001. The uniqueness of a manuscript is—happily—compromised, to a significant extent, by microfilming and digital photography, even though some investigations, such as reading watermarks, require reference to the original.
- ² Significant publications since Noorduyn's survey are another translation of the Bible (*Kareba Madeceng* 1997; see also Macknight 2009) and several volumes of La Galigo text (Salim et al. 1995; 2000; Fachruddin 1999 and Rahman 2006).
- ³ I am not aware of any printed example of Bugis in the *serang* script, derived from Arabic letters. For discussion of Bugis in *serang* script, see Cho (2012). This relative shortage of printed Bugis materials seems to explain an odd phenomenon that I have occasionally observed. Even well-educated Bugis speakers, with highly developed literacy in Indonesian and perhaps other languages as well, are remarkably casual in writing Bugis in Latin script; they frequently omit the glottal stop, fail to distinguish between [é] and [e], and are unsure about geminated consonants. In part, these problems can be explained by the inadequacies of the *lontara'* script and by different systems of Latin orthography, but these factors do not account for all the problems.
- ⁴ I thank my friend Wahyuddin Halim for showing me some of these As'adiyah publications and discussing his research on Pesantren As'adiyah with me.
- ⁵ In a broader context, the Bugis word for a written text, *sure'*, seems to be a loan word from the Malay *surat*, though this goes back to an Austronesian root with the general idea of wound or cut (Adelaar 1995: 332).
- ⁶ Noorduyn (1993a: 567–568) suggests possible lines of derivation for /ka/ and /na/, but even these are not wholly convincing and they do not provide a consistent pattern for all aksara.
- ⁷ The closest parallel is perhaps the case of ogham, which seems to be an artificial series of signs devised on the template of an alphabet, probably the Latin alphabet though others are possible. The Korean *hangul* script, by contrast, relies on almost wholly new concepts.
- ⁸ The usual lack of a horizontal stroke in runes is attributed to the issue of legibility and the danger of splitting by cutting along the grain of a wooden surface.
- ⁹ This is item 131/59 in Juynboll 1925: 77. I have not handled the item myself.
- ¹⁰ The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam contains another good example of a roll (668/215) though Kern, on the catalogue card, describes its contents as worthless. Kern (1939: 580–585) catalogues another roll in Leiden University Library. Tol (1996: 218) provides a good illustration of the roll he discusses elsewhere (Tol 2009). A recent example held in the National Archives office in Makassar is illustrated in several plates in Yayasan Harapan Kita (1998: 116, 117, 132).
- ¹¹ I have argued elsewhere that the bulk of manuscripts in the La Galigo cycle implies access to paper (Macknight 1993a: 21).

- ¹² Some characters, apparently in *jangan-jangan* script, but not yet understood, are found inscribed on bricks from the Somba Opu fortress. They may be of slightly earlier date.
- ¹³ Similarly, the Bugis word for pen, *kallang*, is cognate with the Malay, *kalam*, and its antecedents to the west. In Bugis, *kallang* seems to refer specifically to a sharpened palm leaf rib and the distinction in the previous sentence between "pens made of ferns" and quills from ducks is worth noting.
- ¹⁴ I hope to publish a fuller description of these, and other inscribed silver items in my possession, in due course. All the inscriptions are of the same general type, though there are interesting variations in script. I again thank Wahyuddin Halim for much assistance with these texts.
- ¹⁵ For an excellent discussion of the contexts in which Bugis is spoken and those appropriate for Indonesian, see Mahmud (2008). This is the oral equivalent of the same issue.

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