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## Islands, maps, and Lontara'; Bugis counter-mapping on a nineteenth-century map of Nusantara

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# Islands, maps, and Lontara'

## Bugis counter-mapping on a nineteenth-century map of Nusantara

ADITYA BAYU PERDANA AND MUHAMMAD BUANA

### ABSTRACT<sup>1</sup>

This article focuses on a Bugis nautical chart of Nusantara (the Malay Archipelago) from the early nineteenth century known as the Utrecht Map. There are only a few surviving copies of similar Bugis maps, all confiscated from local "pirates" during the colonial era. While graphical elements of the map undoubtedly point to prototypical European maps, careful analysis of its annotations reveals extensive linguistic modification better to reflect Bugis maritime knowledge. Not only are they completely written in Lontara', the indigenous script of the Bugis, Euro-centric toponyms from contemporaneous maps are consistently replaced by locally derived toponyms from an oral and written tradition unknown to Europeans. In colonial frameworks, maps could be used as powerful instruments of control which eroded indigenous spatial knowledge. As part of an ongoing efforts to decolonize our understanding of maps, critique of western maps should be complemented by discussions of non-western maps which foreground indigenous knowledge or counter-mapping elements. The use of indigenous elements can be regarded as a fascinating case of counter-mapping and a decolonial effort initiated by the anonymous, everyday people of Nusantara.

### KEYWORDS

Bugis, map, Nusantara, Lontara', annotation, toponym, counter-mapping.

<sup>1</sup> This article is the result of a broader research based on the previous study of maps. The article in which we also overview the Utrecht map and the Madrid map is published in *Translation: Southeast Asian Movement Publication*, Issue 01 (Fall 2022). We would like to thank Christopher Miller, Marco van Egmond, and the Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid for sharing their documentation of the Bugis maps. We would also like to thank the reviewers for their input on this paper.

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“Every map is thus a reflection partly of objective realities and partly of subjective elements. No map can be wholly objective”.<sup>2</sup>

Many scholars have recognized that the subjective elements of maps have played a pivotal role in perpetuating colonial propaganda.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, maps are not mere spatial records, but political instruments to “exert territorial power over people and lands that were deemed ‘other’”.<sup>4</sup> Benedict R.O’G. Anderson (1983: 170-175) argued that in the hands of colonial powers maps worked as totalizing classifiers of western spatial expectations. The indiscriminate imposition of these expectations, in the words of Mishuana Goeman (2013: 3), has created “disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations, and their own ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world”. One example illustrated by Hans Speier (1941: 316) is colonial maps of India, on which the different colours which marked myriad internal political subdivisions were part of the colonial “divide and rule” agenda to exaggerate disunity and sow disintegration in the region. Arbitrary borders drawn by colonial powers, often at the expense of communities living in the delineated regions, became inextricably linked to the creation of modern nation states with their own borders.

More subtle manifestations of cartographic subjectivity include linguistic aspects such as place names or toponyms. The naming of places is indisputably tied to the communal memory and knowledge of a space, which can become a bone of contention when maps use one name at the expense of others.<sup>5</sup> As early as the sixteenth century, “Europeans began the strange habit of naming remote places ... as ‘new’ versions of (thereby) ‘old’ toponyms in their lands of origin”,<sup>6</sup> displacing pre-existing names used by local inhabitants. Consequently, in many parts of the world, indigenous place names were completely erased as colonial coinages became entrenched on official maps.<sup>7</sup> Even the choice of script to label the same name could be another bone of contention,<sup>8</sup> for example, in places where the Latin alphabet was favoured by colonial era administration and displaced the local indigenous script.

Anderson’s theories provide a useful background to recognize western-centric subjectivity embedded in today’s conventional western-based maps. Equally important in a decolonial understanding of maps is to expand our characterization of maps to include those made by non-western societies. This would be in line with what scholars like Walter Mignolo (2012: 49, 131) terms

<sup>2</sup> John K. Wright (1942: 527-528).

<sup>3</sup> Such as Tracey Banivanua-Mar and Penelope Edmonds (2010: 1); Cole Harris (2004: 175); Svann Langguth (2012: 242); Jeff Oliver (2011: 67); Delon Alain Omrow (2020); Edward W. Said (1993: 7); Susan Schulten (2011: 55-63); Andrew Sluyter (2001: 410).

<sup>4</sup> Philip Cohen and Mike Duggan (2021: xxvi).

<sup>5</sup> R.D.K. Herman (2008: 86); Naftali Kadmon (2004); Yi-Fu Tuan (1991).

<sup>6</sup> Anderson (1983: 187).

<sup>7</sup> See O. Uluocha Nna (2015: 187) for cases in Africa; Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson (2017) for cases in North America.

<sup>8</sup> Kadmon (2004: 86-87).

“critical border thinking”: the expansion of narrow definitions imposed by European modernity by the inclusion of indigenous knowledge which had been broken by colonialism. As discussed extensively in volumes edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (1992, 1994) as well David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (1998), various societies around the world developed their own mapping traditions which revealed distinct modes of spatial knowledge. In the face of colonial encroachments, some communities also had the agency to modify foreign maps to represent their worldviews and preserve ancestral lands better, a process which Nancy Lee Peluso (1995: 384) has termed “counter-mapping”. An interesting case in which toponymy played an important role may be seen in the maps of a native Hawai’ian named Simon P. Kalama. While undoubtedly based on then newly introduced Western cartographic techniques, Kamala was able to imbue his 1838 map of Hawai’i with toponymic information unmatched by outsider’s maps through extensive annotation of *ahupua’a*, a traditional Hawai’ian land division which numbered to the hundreds.<sup>9</sup> By using names that are in accord with Hawai’ian language and views, according to Kamanamaikalani Beamer and T. Ka’eo Duarte (2006), Kalama has purposefully used the tool of mapmaking to commit to paper Hawai’ian spatial knowledge. It is the authors’ view that Anderson’s critique of western maps should be complemented by discussions of non-western maps which foreground indigenous knowledge or counter-mapping elements.



Figure 1. The Bugis map kept in Utrecht University Library (Kaart: \*VIII\*.C.a.2).

One piece of archival material from Indonesia provides ample opportunity for such a discussion. The Utrecht University Library currently possesses a

<sup>9</sup> Gary L. Fitzpatrick (1987: 111-112).

nineteenth-century Bugis map of the Malay Archipelago or Nusantara (under Kaart: \*VIII\*.C.a.2, see Figure 1). The map represents a rare survival of Bugis cartography and, despite its potential relevance to a wide range of scholarly topics, awareness of this map seems to be very limited in Indonesia. In this article, the authors use Anderson and Mignolo's decolonial frameworks as a starting point to highlight the indigenous elements on the map. The analysis of the map itself takes a more descriptive, comparative approach to make connections to scattered accounts of Bugis sailing practices in historical contexts. This approach shows that, although the map closely resembles contemporaneous European maps, its elements (specifically its annotations as we shall see) demonstrate the Bugis capability to counter colonial cartography with their own understanding of the Nusantara seascape.

#### INDIGENOUS GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Various textual references attest to the existence of indigenous Southeast Asian maps which predate European arrivals. Vietnamese sources, for example, record the presence of local coastal charts as early as 1075 and 1170.<sup>10</sup> Chinese sources record that Raden Wijaya, the first ruler of Majapahit, gave the Mongol military leader, Shi Bi (史弼), a map of Daha during the Yuan Dynasty invasion of Java in the 1290s.<sup>11</sup> Probably one of the best-known references to indigenous cartography in Nusantara comes from Alfonso d'Albuquerque. In his 1512 report to King Manuel of Portugal (r. 1469 to 1521), he writes about "[...] a large map of a Javanese pilot, containing the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal and the Land of Brazil, the Red Sea and the Sea of Persia, the Clove Islands, the navigation of the Chinese and the Gores [...]"<sup>12</sup> While there was a sense of curiosity about possessing local maps which could provide them with new information, some early navigators like Tomé Pires disparaged indigenous Southeast Asian maps as "less so for cartographic and navigational purposes as they lacked rhumb lines".<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Europeans managed to acquire information and appropriate it into their own maps.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps one of the most thorough studies of cartographic tradition in a Southeast Asian context is Thongchai Winichakul's *Siam Mapped* (1994). Thongchai explains how there were several concepts of space in pre-modern Southeast Asia. Religious and sacred cosmography was often invoked to conceptualize the world at large. In Thailand, these understandings spawned a genre of imaginative and often artful maps called *traiphūm* (ไตรภูมิ) (Figure 2), which might combine actual localities with mythological landscapes such as Mount Meru. This situates readers in a meaningful and ordered world without necessarily having to concern themselves about empirical accuracy.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Suárez (1999: 38).

<sup>11</sup> Slamet Muljana (1976: 43).

<sup>12</sup> Joseph E. Schwartzberg (1994b: 828-838).

<sup>13</sup> J.H.F. Sollewijn Gelpke (1995: 76-99).

<sup>14</sup> Suárez (1999: 40-41).

<sup>15</sup> This is not very different from medieval European *mappaemundi* which were primarily made as

However, it would be wrong to assume that empirical material was unknown prior to the European arrivals. Instead, such matters were usually expressed through a different kind of map which showed routes and points of interest within small localities.<sup>16</sup> This situated readers in an intimate, local geography, even if its placement on the Earth as a whole was often left unspecified. The cosmographic and geographical Earth encompasses different but related kinds of space operating in different domains of everyday life.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 2. Excerpts from the 1776 Traiphūm manuscript from Central Thailand, now kept in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin (IC 27507).

As late as 1852, symbolic cosmography was still used by the court of Siam to map its kingdom in meaningful ways, much to the contempt of one visiting European.<sup>18</sup> But, with colonial establishments increasingly behaving as unruly neighbours, the Siam court urgently needed to delineate its realm in ways which Europeans understood.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in an effort to preserve Thai sovereignty, western cartography was adopted and traditional cosmographic mapping became obsolete.

As was the case in mainland Southeast Asia, non-cosmographical maps from Nusantara tend to depict a limited area. The *Ciéla* map from Garut,

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a teaching aid or artistic representation of classical learning rather than for practical navigation. See Woodward (1987).

<sup>16</sup> David P. Chandler (1976: 174-175) remarked that, in the case of Cambodian maps, their limited scope could be attributed to the isolated pattern of Cambodian villages and the villagers' sedentary lifestyle.

<sup>17</sup> Winichakul (1994: 25-33).

<sup>18</sup> Winichakul (1994: 34-35).

<sup>19</sup> Winichakul (1994: 78-79).

West Java, for example, greatly exaggerates the scale of a minor chiefdom called Timbanganten and only partially depicts the rest of Java.<sup>20</sup> One example which aims to depict a larger part of Nusantara is the map presented to the Ottoman court in 1849 by the Aceh envoy Muhammad Ghauth (محمد غوث) (Figure 3). The map was delivered alongside a letter from Sultan Alauddin Ibrahim Mansur Syah (r. 1857 to 1870) requesting aid to repel Dutch encroachment. Rather than having been prepared in Aceh, the Aceh map is believed to have been commissioned by Gauth in the ports of the Hijaz *en route* to Istanbul, as many of its Arabic annotations show a peculiar mix of Ottoman and Malay orthography.



Figure 3. The 1849 Aceh map of Nusantara. Now kept in the Ottoman Archives (BOA İ.HR 73/3511).

According to İsmail Hakkı Kadı, A.C.S. Peacock, and Annabel Teh Gallop (2011), the Aceh map's presentation along with the royal letter show that the Aceh mission understood maps as means to "aggrandize Mansur Syah and his kingdom" while "minimizing the extent of Dutch influence and greatly exaggerating Aceh's importance".<sup>21</sup> The map showcases the island of Sumatra as situated in the middle of Nusantara and the sultanate of Aceh as the centre of authority. Interestingly, the map illustrates Nusantara as parallel to the Mediterranean world, going even farther by annotating the Malay Peninsula as Anatolia (اناطول) to give the impression that Aceh mirrored the Ottomans in being key players of respective regions.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, the Aceh map

<sup>20</sup> See Schwartzberg (1994a: 766-770) and Karel Frederik Holle (1877) regarding the Ciéla map.

<sup>21</sup> Kadı, Peacock, and Gallop (2011: 173-174).

<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, it could simply mean the East, following the original Greek name *anatolē* (ἀνατολή) 'sunrise'.

also contains dotted lines which delineate the British sphere of influence, perhaps anticipating Ottoman concern about upsetting multiple European powers.<sup>23</sup> However, the way Aceh's striking claims take precedence on the map resulted in a geographically imprecise representation. This did not instil much confidence in the Ottomans whose limited intelligence on Nusantara prevented them from taking more concrete actions beyond verbal support.

#### THE MARITIME AND WRITING TRADITIONS OF THE BUGIS

The Bugis people of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, are one of the best-known maritime-based societies in Southeast Asia.<sup>24</sup> Their epic cycle *La Galigo*, set in pre-Islamic Nusantara and registered in the UNESCO Memory of the World since 2010 as one of the world's longest works of literature,<sup>25</sup> suggests that extensive maritime knowledge, stretching as far as Malacca, Sulu, and Minangkabau, might have been acquired by the Bugis from as early as the fourteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Historical records, however, suggest that significant Bugis maritime activities only began after the fall of the South Sulawesi Gowa Sultanate in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the Bugis alongside other South Sulawesi ethnic groups such as the Mandar, Bajau, and the Makassar had established wide networks of trade routes stretching from the Malay Peninsula to northern Australia. In his *The Malay Archipelago*, Alfred R. Wallace and Tony Whitten (1869: 325-327) writes that the Bugis and the South Sulawesi sailors also built many trading settlements in the eastern part of the archipelago such as the one he visited in the Aru islands. The Europeans later formulated the name *Bugis* as a term "applied generally to all traders from that island [Celebes], from the east and southeast coasts of Borneo, and from the islands to the southward and eastward of it".<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to their navigational abilities and wide maritime network, the writing tradition of the Bugis is less well known and deserves some remarks. At present, the South Sulawesi languages are almost exclusively written in the Latin alphabet but traditionally an Indic-based script called *Lontara'* was commonly used.<sup>28</sup> Understanding this script is vital as it forms important links to the culture which produced these maps. *Lontara'* was first developed in Buginese society in pre-Islamic times and later adopted by the Makassar and Mandar people to write their languages.<sup>29</sup> Closely related variants outside of Sulawesi, such as the Lota Ende, Satera Jontal, and Mbojo scripts, also developed from *Lontara'*. An atypical feature of *Lontara'* compared to other Brahmic scripts of Indonesia is that it does not have a vowel killer (*virama*) or other ways to mark syllable codas consistently, even though they

<sup>23</sup> Kadi, Peacock, and Gallop (2011: 176, 273).

<sup>24</sup> Gene Ammarell, Nurhady Sirimorok, and Anwar J. Rachman (2016: 10).

<sup>25</sup> Fachruddin Ambo Enre (1999); Roger Tol (1996: 223-226, 228-230).

<sup>26</sup> Enre (1999).

<sup>27</sup> John Ramsay McCulloch (2016: 120).

<sup>28</sup> This paper uses apostrophe ['] to indicate the Bugis and Makassar glottal stop. Other orthographies indicate the glottal stop with [q] or leave it unindicated.

<sup>29</sup> Tol (1996: 213-230).



regularly occur in the language it transcribes. Makassar [ʌʌ], for example, may correspond to six possible readings: *baba*, *baba'*, *ba'ba*, *ba'ba'*, *bamba*, and *bambang*. Correct words can be deduced from the context, but even proficient readers might frequently need to reassess their readings of an unfamiliar text.

Before the twenty-first century, Lontara' was commonly seen in the everyday life of South Sulawesi societies, from mundane records to precious copies of traditional epics such as *La Galigo*.<sup>30</sup> However, literacy and the practical use of Lontara' have disappeared since the twentieth century as the Latin alphabet has supplanted its role.<sup>31</sup> Lontara' is still briefly taught in schools today, but anecdotal evidence suggests that poor teaching methods, unattractive applications, and ill-conceived proposals to "reform" it have alienated the script even further from the younger generations.<sup>32</sup>

### EXTANT BUGIS MAPS

In the nineteenth century, various sources reported the presence of maps inscribed with Lontara' script in European collections.<sup>33</sup> A catalogue of Malay manuscripts from 1832 notes several maps in the collection of British orientalist William Marsden, apparently presented by the navigator Thomas Forrest who spent many years mapping the Malay Archipelago. One map had been taken from a bamboo tube on a Moro ship captured near Jolo Island in the Sulu Archipelago (now the Philippines) (Figure 4a). It was given to a Spanish naval officer who later donated it to the Naval Museum in Madrid in 1847, two years before Muhammad Ghauth presented his own map to the Ottoman court. Another map was taken from a *kampong* named Santhel, on Sekana Bay, Singkep Island, Riau Islands (now Indonesia) by the Dutch naval officer Johan Hendrik George Jordens in 1859. It was then kept by the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Science) in the Batavia Museum (now Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta). Benjamin Frederik Matthes (1875: 99) reported several maps with "Makassar letters" kept by the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society). Finally, there is the map kept in Utrecht University Library Special Collections, which is the focus of this article. The provenance of this map is largely unknown. Marco van Egmond (2018: 45) surmises that it could have been seized from local sailors like the Batavia and Madrid maps.

<sup>30</sup> For a reproduction of some of these objects, see Campbell Macknight (2016: 53-72).

<sup>31</sup> Tol (2015: 70).

<sup>32</sup> Anthony Jukes (2014: 16-17); Macknight (2016: 66); Nurhayati Rahman (2012: 24); Tol (2015: 75).

<sup>33</sup> References to these reports can be read in Schwartzberg (1994b: 833-834, 837-838).



Figure 4a. The Bugis map from a captured Moro ship near Jolo, Sulu. Now kept in the Naval Museum of Madrid (España. Ministerio de Defensa. AMN-58-16).

Judging from the disparate places and manner of acquisition, Van Egmond (2018: 45) also surmises that similar Bugis maps might once have circulated in greater numbers, of which only a few were ever archived. Regrettably, even these precious few have been further reduced since their first report. The present whereabouts of the maps in the Marsden, Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, and Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap collections are unknown.<sup>34</sup> Among these lost maps, only the Batavia map has ever been reproduced visually, when it was published in an important study by Le Roux (1935) (Figure 4b). For this study, the authors have specifically chosen to focus on the Utrecht map because of the high-resolution image available on the Utrecht University Library website.

Only a few publications have dealt with this map. A detailed description was written by Le Roux (1935) and recounted by Schwartzberg (1994b), while Van Egmond (2018) has clarified some of Le Roux's hypotheses and possible models.

<sup>34</sup> Attempts as recent as those of Van Egmond (2018) to locate these maps have so far been fruitless.

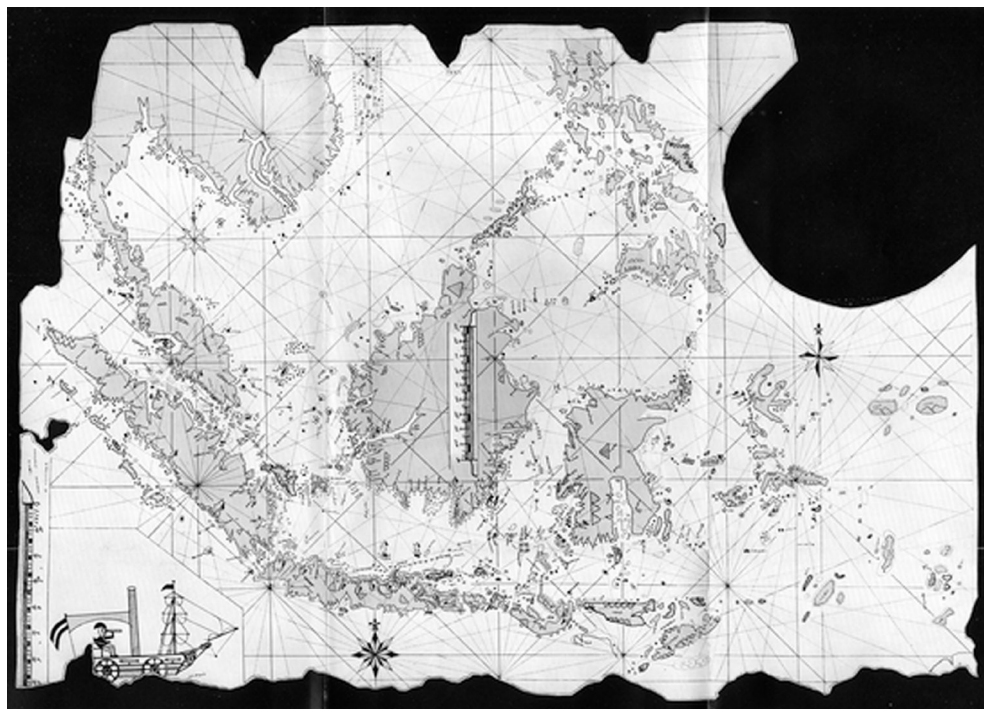


Figure 4b. Reproduction of the Bugis map kept in Batavia, from C.C.F.M. le Roux (1935).

As summarized by Schwartzberg, all known Bugis maps are drawn on a piece of parchment made of cow skin. The Utrecht map measures 76 x 105 cm with an approximate scale of 1:4,500,000. It charts an area which stretches from the Nicobar and Andaman Islands to the west, Luzon Island to the north, Seram to the east, and Timor to the south. The map is oriented to the north with a network of rhumb lines used over the entire surface. Coastlines are drawn in black outline with either red, green, or blue inner borders alternating between land masses.<sup>35</sup> Flags are drawn in numerous ports,<sup>36</sup> presumably to indicate a significant European presence in the area. Many of its elements are relevant to nautical navigation: shoals, reefs, and sandbanks are indicated by dotted lines and tan borders; depth of water is scrupulously noted in hundreds of areas; bays are exaggerated in scale and many coastlines feature mountain profiles to aid visual identification from the sea.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Le Roux and Schwartzberg have both claimed that red outlines are reserved for traditional pirate lairs, but we are sceptical of this assessment. The use of alternating colours could be simply stylistic.

<sup>36</sup> Which include Ambon [ḥḥ], Banda [ḥḥ], Banjarmasin [ḥḥ], Banten [ḥḥ], Bawean [ḥḥ], Bengkulu [ḥḥ], Cirebon [ḥḥ], Gresik [ḥḥ], Jakarta [ḥḥ], Juwana [ḥḥ], Karimun [ḥḥ], Makassar [ḥḥ], Malacca [ḥḥ], Manado [ḥḥ], Manila [ḥḥ], Muntok [ḥḥ], Padang [ḥḥ], Palembang [ḥḥ], Pekalongan [ḥḥ], Penang [ḥḥ], Semarang [ḥḥ], Surabaya [ḥḥ], Tegal [ḥḥ], Ternate [ḥḥ], and Tuban [ḥḥ]. Hereafter, annotations with flag will be marked with a double dagger mark †.

<sup>37</sup> Van Egmond (2018: 42, 48).

In contrast to the Aceh map, whose geographical depiction is idealized and imprecise, the Utrecht map appears far more accurate to the modern eyes. Cartographical elements, such as compass roses, rhumb lines, and bar scales (now very faint) undoubtedly point to prototypical European maps, possibly made between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These elements might have been unwittingly copied regardless of whether Bugis users would have found them useful.<sup>38</sup> However, the coastlines delineated do not seem to be a mere tracing of a single exemplar but a compilation of multiple sources. Le Roux (1935) and Van Egmond (2018) have suggested several of these sources, which include Johannes van Keulen's 1680 *Nieuwe Pascaert van Oost Indien* (Figure 5a), Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Manneville's 1745 *Carte Réduite de l'Archipel des Indes Orientales* (Figure 5b), and patented charts of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or Dutch East India Company (VOC). Regardless of the exact sources, their compilation on the Utrecht map suggests that Bugis sailors had enough navigational experience to evaluate and modify European cartographic representations of Nusantara.

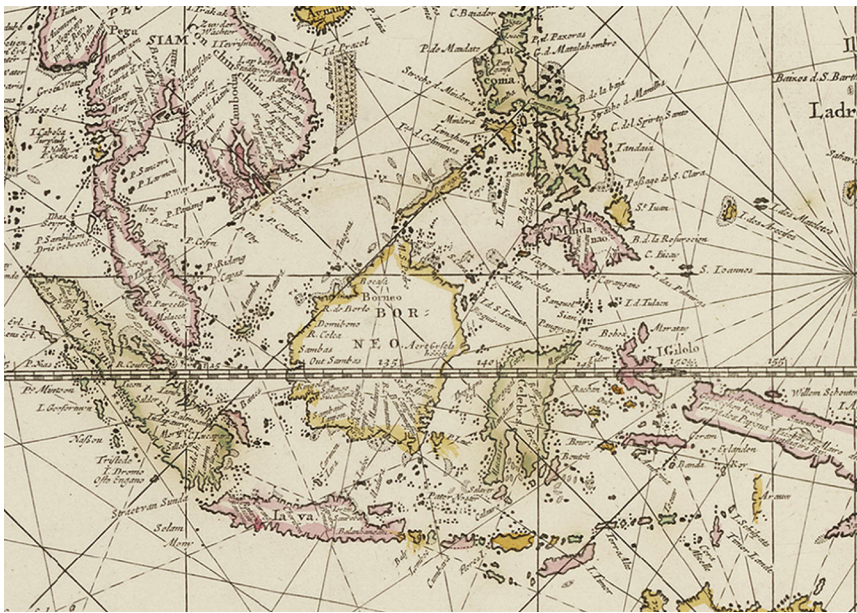


Figure 5a. Excerpt from *Nieuwe Pascaert van Oost Indien* by Johannes van Keulen (1680).

<sup>38</sup> Schwartzberg (1994b: 834-836).



Figure 5b. Excerpt from *Carte Réduite de l'Archipel des Indes Orientales* by Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Manneville (1745).

#### LONTARA' ANNOTATIONS AND TOPONYMS

The Utrecht map has around 280 annotations written exclusively in Lontara' script, marking the names of geographical features such as islands, bays, and reefs, as well as ports, settlements, countries, and regions. Curiously, the archipelago's largest islands, such as Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, are left bare, as opposed to the hundreds of small islands which are meticulously annotated. Presumably this was done to aid long sea voyages during which small islands served as strategic stops to stock up on food and fresh water.<sup>39</sup> The language of the annotations is largely Bugis. Le Roux (1935: 706) identifies the probable dialect as Wajo or Sindenreng, although mixtures from other dialects are also present. The region of Mamuju in West Sulawesi, for example, is annotated as manguju [ᨆᨗᨗ], which points to the dialect of Boné. Le Roux (1935) also provided an extensive list of toponyms on the Utrecht, Madrid, and Batavia maps, although he does not reproduce the original Lontara' and his romanization does not always indicate which parts are actually written and which surmised. While a full list of annotations cannot be reproduced here because of the limitation of this paper, an illustrative example of two spots has been provided in the Appendix.

As one ventures farther from the centre of the map, annotations tend to be sparser. The farthest annotated regions which are still visible near the

<sup>39</sup> This also seems to conform to known indigenous concepts in which landmasses beyond certain sizes are not referred to as a single entity, owing to the diversity of their inhabitants. See Jane Drakard (2008: 141-142) for the case of Sumatra, David Henley (1989: 8-9) for the case of Sulawesi.

margins of the Utrecht map include the Maldives [maladiwa 𑌆𑌇𑌆𑌇] and the Bago [pigo 𑌆𑌇𑌆] region of Burma (formerly spelled Pegu) in the northwest, Manila [manila 𑌆𑌇𑌆𑌆] in the north, Banda [ba[n]da 𑌆𑌇𑌆] in the west, and Sumba [saba 𑌆𑌇] in the south. The sparsity of annotations does not necessarily mean a lack of familiarity by Bugis-Makassar sailors. Thailand, for example, only has a single annotation of Siam [siya[ng] 𑌆𑌇𑌆] on the Utrecht map, but it is known to have hosted a notable Makassar presence during the Ayutthaya period, implicated in events such as the Makassar Revolt (*Kabot Makkasan* กบฏม็กกะสัน) of 1686 during the reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688).<sup>40</sup> When Bangkok was established as the capital of the Rattanakosin Kingdom in 1782, many Makassar from Ayutthaya resettled to an area on the eastern outskirts of the city which is still named Makkasan (ม็กกะสัน) today.<sup>41</sup>

Another notable region absent from the Utrecht map is the northern coast of Australia, which was known to Bugis-Makassar sailors as important *trepang* (sea cucumber) harvesting waters from the 1700s or even earlier.<sup>42</sup> At the height of the trepang industry, fleets from South Sulawesi sailed up to the regions now known as the Kimberleys and Arnhem Land, known respectively as Kayu Jawa and Marégé' to the Bugis. Semi-permanent settlements were established along the coast to process *trepang* and trade with the indigenous Australians before the appropriate monsoon wind took these sailors home.<sup>43</sup> The Batavia map, in fact, has a Marégé' annotation according to Le Roux (1935: 714). Although his reproduction of the Batavia map is of limited resolution, the authors were able to confirm that there is indeed an annotated sliver of land in the southeast corner of the reproduced image. Schwartzberg (1994b: 834) seems to have misattributed the presence of Australia to the Utrecht map, whose south-eastern extremities only go as far as the island of Timor.<sup>44</sup>

Besides annotations, a short inscription is also present in the left margin of the map. Examining it in 1935, Le Roux (1935: 694-695) was able to transcribe it as *alama', idjara'na pëtta nabië sisë'bo doearato' talloppoelona se'de oelënnna adjita(hoeng) dala'salama* [sic]; in the Hijri year of our Prophet, one thousand two hundred thirty-one (= 1816 CE), month Haji, year Dal. This inscription is now very faint, with only the section *pëtta nabië* [𑌆𑌇𑌆𑌆] still legible. Assuming that the date should not be read at face value (as it could refer to the exemplar rather than the copy), Van Egmond (n.d.) estimates the map to date to around 1820.

The Lontara' on the map is written in a fine flattened curved style, in which the triangular constituents in most letters are flattened into gentle curves with shallow angles.<sup>45</sup> The use of curved style here is notable. Matthes, one

<sup>40</sup> Julispong Chularatana (2007); Michael Smithies (2003).

<sup>41</sup> Edward van Roy (2016: 170-171, 195); Uri Tadmor (2004: 515).

<sup>42</sup> Regina Ganter (2008); Macknight (1976).

<sup>43</sup> Macknight (1976: 29); Peta Stephenson (2010: 22-26).

<sup>44</sup> The extremities of the Utrecht map are very faded, so the authors could not be certain whether it once contained a depiction of the Australian coast.

<sup>45</sup> Except for the letter ha [∞], which is composed of a circle with a backward oblique stroke on the map, somewhat resembling the initial Arabic heh [ه]. This is an archaic shape which

of the early figures in Bugis-Makassar studies, disparaged curved Lontara' as "slipshod" writing.<sup>46</sup> Jacobus Noorduyn (1993: 554), however, ascribes the style to fluency on account of its occurrence in professionally written documents among others. The use of curved Lontara' on the Utrecht map further demonstrates the ubiquity of this style in historical writing practice.

Like the dialect, the map's orthography also shows a mixture of traits. One of the few differences between Bugis and Makassar Lontara' orthography is the use of prenasalized letters *ngka* [ŋ], *mpa* [ɲ], *nra* [ŋ], and *nyca* [ɲ], which never occurred in Makassar texts. On the Utrecht map, all prenasalized letters are absent in place names which should have been able to utilize them. For example, *Bangka* is under-spelled as *Baka* [ɲ] instead of *Bangka* [ŋ].<sup>47</sup> A more telling influence is the repurposed schwa diacritic. In Bugis, the chevron-like above-base mark called *kecce'* is used to modify the inherent /a/ vowels into schwa /ə/. Since Makassar phonology does not use a schwa, Makassar scribes sometimes repurposed *kecce'* to indicate nasal endings, varying between /ŋ/, /n/, and /m/. This optional nasal use is referred to as *anca'* in Makassar.<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, the Utrecht-Bugis map shows evidence of the simultaneous use of Bugis *kecce'* (schwa) and Makassar *anca'* (nasal). For example, *Besar Island* is spelled *Basare* [ɲ] (Appendix, II no. 4). The diacritic here is probably used as a *kecce'*, as an *anca'* reading (*basarang*, *basaran*, or *basaram*) does not translate into a sensible name for the island in Makassar. On the other hand, places such *Karimun Besar* [karima[n] //ɲ] and *Pahang* [paha[ng] ɲ] (Appendix, II no. 14) seem to utilize the diacritic as *anca'*, as the diacritic corresponds to the nasal endings of the respective names in Makassar, and a *kecce'* reading does not translate into sensible names in Bugis.

Not only does the Utrecht map show exceptional use of Lontara' script, closer analysis reveals that annotations are not mere transcriptions of European sources. As Langguth (2012: 261) points out in his study, it is not difficult to find spurious renderings of local names on early European maps of the archipelago. This could happen for a variety of reasons: linguistic differences, limitation of techniques, or simply ignorance which over time becomes entrenched error. The same reason has also led to the assumption that many places were nameless and so were given designations deemed appropriate only to European cartographers.

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Christopher Miller (2011: 39) suggests might indeed have been derived from the Arabic letter *heh*. See also Noorduyn (1993: 559). The letter is present in names such as *Johor* [johoro ɲ] (Appendix, II no. 9) and *Pahang* [paha[ng] ɲ] (Appendix, II no. 14).

<sup>46</sup> The typeface *Matthes* developed would formalize the angular style with high contrast strokes as the normative form of Lontara' to this day. Unfortunately, the overuse of his type also contributed to the decline in Lontara' variants. See Noorduyn (1993: 535, 553).

<sup>47</sup> While the absence of prenasalized letters seemingly establishes a Makassar provenance, it should be noted that, even in the Bugis context, the use of prenasalized letters was treated as optional. See Noorduyn (1993: 549).

<sup>48</sup> *Mathes* (1875: 14) assumes that *anca'* was only used for the benefit of novice readers, but Noorduyn (1993: 549) has noted that documents written by fluent readers are also known to use *anca'* sporadically.

Unlike Europeans, Bugis had a firmer grasp of Nusantara toponyms which are referenced in diverse genres of traditional Bugis texts. We can see this, for example, in various voyaging episodes of the *La Galigo* epic. According to Horst Liebner (2003), given the mythical nature of the work the sailing routes in *La Galigo* should not be understood literally, but toponyms mentioned in it do provide important clues to pre-Islamic Bugis maritime knowledge. Enre (1999: 107) has classified *La Galigo* toponyms into several categories,<sup>49</sup> and some of the more apparent ones can be found on the Utrecht map: Taranati (Ternate), Gima (Bima), Silaja' (Selayar). However, many other apparent names are also absent from the map, including Maluku (Maluku), Sunra (Sunda), Jawa (Java), and Marangkabo (Minangkabau).

Besides *La Galigo*, *lontara'*,<sup>50</sup> writings from later periods also provide a wealth of toponymic information. *Lontara' Ade' Allopi-lopang ri Bicaranna Pabalué*, a treatise of navigation and commercial law by seventeenth-century Wajo merchants, lists numerous places along the Nusantara sea routes such as Juppandang (Ujung Pandang, the old name of Makassar city), Johoro (Johor), Silangoro (Selangor), Malaka (Malacca), Bannyara (Banjarmasin), Solo' (Sulu), Sambawa (Sumbawa), Timoro (Timor), and many others.<sup>51</sup> In *Lontara' Sakke' Attoriolong Boné*, the chronicles of the Boné Kingdom, many places far beyond the vicinity of Boné are named, among them Ambong (Ambon), Tana Wulio/Butung (Buton), Serang (Seram), Taranati (Ternate), Jakettara (Batavia), Tana Menre' (Mandar), Jawa Alau (East Java), and Pasuruwang (Pasuruan).<sup>52</sup>

#### ELEMENTS OF DELIBERATE DECOLONIZATION

Before the VOC established a monopoly on the spice trade in the archipelago, Spanish and Portuguese sources reported that South Sulawesi rulers, such as Karaeng Pattingalloang and his son, Karaeng Karunrung, collected maps which impressed European visitors enormously.<sup>53</sup> These rulers made it clear that, during the time in which VOC began to enforce its intention to control trade, they required the latest in western inventions. The presence of South Sulawesi sailors who were able to use instruments such as maps and establish footholds at strategic meeting points on the international trading routes posed a direct threat to European domination of Southeast Asian waters.<sup>54</sup> As a consequence, the term "Bugis pirates" was created by the colonial authority to

<sup>49</sup> They are toponyms which:

1. can be identified with real locations, such as Gima, Maluku, Samang, and Taranati;
2. can be identified with real locations but only used metaphorically in the narrative, such as Mekka and Kelling;
3. can only be indirectly identified with real locations through the narrative, such as Wewang Nriwu', Tompok Tikka', Sawamme'ga, Wadeng, and Sunra;
4. cannot be identified with real locations, such as Mata Solo'.

<sup>50</sup> Note that, in South Sulawesi languages, the term *lontara'* can mean the script or a genre of writing akin to non-fictional treatises.

<sup>51</sup> Philip O.L. Tobing (1977: 48).

<sup>52</sup> Muhlis Hadrawi (2020: 86-113).

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Reid (1981).

<sup>54</sup> Christian Pelras (1996: 145).



restrict local sailors in their right to engage freely in open trade. In southwest Kalimantan, for example, Bugis migrants who had set up communities in coastal areas are often stigmatized by contemporary European sources as “pirates”.<sup>55</sup> By accusing Bugis sailors of being pirates, the colonial authorities could justify their own actions to extend their territory.<sup>56</sup> Henceforth, European records associated almost all extant Bugis maps with “pirates”. F.C. Wieder (1915: 196) writes that the Madrid map was taken from a *Philippijnschen zeeroover* ‘Philippine pirate’. Le Roux (1935: 687) observes a Dutch note on the Batavia map’s reverse side which labels its place of confiscation as a *zeeroover kampong*, ‘pirate settlement’.

The persistence and ferocity of the Europeans in crushing and disrupting the local trade networks elicited resistance from Bugis sailors. In addition to developing secret trade routes which were considered illegal by the Europeans, South Sulawesi people also adopted shipping technology from Europe and applied it to their traditional ships, producing new inventions such as the Pinisi boat.<sup>57</sup> The Utrecht map could be viewed in a similar light. Map ownership and modification by local sailors, unsanctioned by colonial powers, created disruptions which threatened not just a European monopoly on the science of mapmaking,<sup>58</sup> but also their status quo in maritime Southeast Asia. However, by and large, the graphical elements on the map do not show obvious Bugis modifications. The most obvious and remarkable modification lies in the linguistic component in the form of annotations.

Many toponyms on the Utrecht map differ significantly from European maps and correspond more closely to the names used in local sources such as *Lontara*. It is not known if this toponymic choice was politically motivated as on the Aceh Map, as nothing is known about the maker of the Utrecht map (or any other Bugis maps so far reported). But, judging from the way they were found in the hands of ordinary people, we can assume that it was probably applied as a result of practical familiarity. As European maps were compiled into the Utrecht map, the map-makers were able to reject European coinages and instead use local toponyms more familiar to them. The clear preference for local toponyms demonstrates the Bugis ability to modify European sources to fit pre-existing maritime knowledge better.

For instance, a small reef in the Flores Sea was known in European sources as “De Brill”, Dutch for “a pair of glasses”, and today still has a lighthouse bearing this name. This superficial-sounding name was apparently bestowed because of the general shape of the reef which would only have been apparent after it was charted using European methods.<sup>59</sup> While the reef is far from any settlement, it was well known to local sailors as it was known to pose a considerable hazard along the sea route between Java and Sulawesi,

<sup>55</sup> Atsushi Ota (2010).

<sup>56</sup> Jennifer Lombardo (2019: 62).

<sup>57</sup> Liebner (2016).

<sup>58</sup> Van Egmond (2018: 56-57); Le Roux (1935: 698-701); Schwartzberg (1994: 836).

<sup>59</sup> Ferjan Ormeling (2021: 8).

exemplified by the unfortunate wreck of the English vessel *Britannia* in 1825.<sup>60</sup> The Utrecht Bugis map annotates it as Takadiwataé [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒᮧᮒ], after the Makassar toponym Takaréwataya (Appendix, I no. 4). Takaréwataya can be translated as “reef of the gods” or “sacred reef”, to show reverence and arouse the caution of passing sailors. In another example, Van Keulen’s map annotates a group of small islands in the Makassar Strait as Theykens. The Utrecht Bugis Map uses Bala-Balaka[ng] [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒᮧᮒ], after the traditional Bajau toponym Balabalagan, probably derived from the region’s abundance of *trepang*, called *bala’* in Bajau.<sup>61</sup> In contrast to Van Keulen and Manneville, the Utrecht-Bugis Map annotated Dutch-controlled Batavia as Jaka(t)tara [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒ]. This is based on Jayakarta, an older name conceived after the local Banten Sultanate expelled Portuguese influence from the port in the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

Several annotations show unexpectedly archaic toponyms that have become little known due to multiple reasons such as conquest by Europeans and power struggles between indigenous kingdoms. On the Utrecht map, the island of Halmahera is annotated as Banira [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒ] after Wanira, an old toponym for the island which is mentioned in the Solor oral tradition.<sup>63</sup> The use of this relatively obscure toponym is unique since, until the nineteenth century, Halmahera was known on European maps only as Gilolo or Jilolo after the historical state of Jailolo.<sup>64</sup> In similar vein, the island of Lombok is annotated as Salapara[ng] [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒᮧᮒ] after a local kingdom which existed until the seventeenth century. In contrast to Van Keulen’s map which uses Flores, a Portuguese appellation still officially used today, the Utrecht-Bugis Map annotates the island as Ma(ng)garai [ᮊᮧᮒᮧᮒᮧᮒ] after a local cultural entity which was under the influence of the South Sulawesi Gowa kingdom throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The use of these ancient names is another testament to the Bugis’ knowledge of Nusantara’s pre-existing political and cultural entities.

The extensive use of Lontara’ on a seemingly utilitarian navigational tool is quite remarkable considering that today traditional Indonesian scripts are often mischaracterized in the public imagination as only ever used for esoteric purposes.<sup>65</sup> Historical accounts indicate that, by the time Europeans arrived

<sup>60</sup> J. Modera (1841: 188).

<sup>61</sup> The islands were home to a Bajau community until the arrival of Philippines pirates around the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, the Mandar polity Sendana from West Sulawesi attacked the pirates and claimed the islands. As late as 1978, some western sources listed the islands under another European coinage: Little Paternoster. See Sahrul Alim (2020) and Michael Leifer (1978: 81).

<sup>62</sup> It is equally possible that the spelling on the Utrecht-Bugis Map was not derived directly from Jayakarta but via Portuguese Jacatra. This name would later be revived as Jakarta on the eve of Indonesian independence. See Anissa M. Gultom (2018: 3).

<sup>63</sup> Stefan Dietrich (1984: 317-329).

<sup>64</sup> A.L. Fransz (1976: 3).

<sup>65</sup> While veneration of hallowed texts is not uncommon in the archipelago’s history, contemporary owners are prone to make excessive assumptions about texts in traditional scripts which they cannot read. William Cummings (2002: 54) noted one case in Sulawesi in which “the carefully handled manuscript of a family who no longer dared open the case [...] turned

and interacted with the Bugis, Lontara' script literacy was well established and often used for mundane matters. This was not restricted to nobles and high-ranking members of society, but extended to common sailors. Thomas Forrest, for example, observed that the Bugis he encountered "are fond of sea charts, I have given many to certain *Noquedas* (commanders of Prows) for which they were very grateful, and often wrote names of places in their own language".<sup>66</sup> Elsewhere he also wrote about an exchange with a certain *Noquedah Inankee* in which he "presented the *Noquedah* with a set of the charts (*Pata*) and views of land (*Toolisan*) of my New Guinea voyage; on each of which he wrote name and explanation in the Buggess [sic!] language, and was much gratified with the present".<sup>67</sup> The urge to add notes in the indigenous language and script, it seems, was a way for these sailors to reclaim spatial knowledge passed on through European intermediaries.

Besides Forrest's accounts, the urge to write place names is recorded in another encounter between the Makassar captain, Pobasso,<sup>68</sup> and the English captain, Matthew Flinders, while the latter was surveying off the coast of Arnhem Land in February 1803. Pobasso informed Flinders that he had made six or seven *trepang* harvesting voyages to Arnhem Land in the last twenty years. This was said to have been done without the aid of maps, although it is possible that Pobasso merely feigned ignorance to be spared any further prying by Flinders. Flinders note that "on learning the name of Port Jackson, the son of Pobasso made a memorandum of it as thus, ᳵᳵᳵᳵᳵᳵ [sic], writing from left to right".<sup>69</sup> Flinders' published accounts remarkably reproduced the Lontara' memorandum which clearly reads *pojé(')sényé*, a reasonable approximation of Port Jackson, the historical name of Sydney Harbour. It is tempting to imagine that, had Pobasso owned a map, this name would have been added to the margins of his map as soon as Flinders departed from his vessel.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the science of cartography was increasingly tainted by western-centric interests and inter-colonial rivalry. Sovereignty claims over maritime borders were progressively consolidated, to the detriment of Bugis sailors who no longer found long-distance voyages either profitable or feasible. One example described by Macknight (1976) is the tax and permit regulations on *trepangers* moving through Australia's maritime claims, which began to be enforced in the late nineteenth century. A complaint about this as unfair was lodged by the Dutch consul in Adelaide, citing the fact that *trepangers* had been undertaking their voyages long before the existence of Australian colonies. The complaint, however, was ultimately ignored, and the regulation was left standing. By 1906, increasing costs and the difficulty of obtaining permits made it no longer possible for sailors of Makassar to continue collecting *trepang* in northern Australia, and their relationship with the

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out to be only a receipt for the sale of a horse". See also Dick van der Meij (2017: 143-144).

<sup>66</sup> Forrest (1792: 82).

<sup>67</sup> Forrest (1792: 87).

<sup>68</sup> This is the anglicized spelling used by Matthew Flinders. The authors surmised that the captain's name would be something like Pu' Baso' in contemporary spelling.

<sup>69</sup> Flinders (1814: 232), also noted in Macknight (1969: 64-69).

inhabitants of Arnhem Land also ceased. And so instead of an interconnected world of islands and ports as inscribed in their own map, Sulawesi sailors increasingly find themselves caught among the invisible borders of outsider maps.

## CONCLUSION

Scholars such as Benedict Anderson have articulated how in the hands of colonialist and nationalist institutions, western maps became a tool of totalizing classification which often supplanted indigenous spatial knowledge. These critiques serve as an important background towards a decolonized understanding of maps. However, it must be noted that the creation of maps was not the sole province of western colonial establishments. Equally important to the authors are studies which foreground maps made by non-western societies, as they could give us insights into indigenous spatial knowledge or counter-mapping efforts overshadowed by the dominance of western maps. As this paper has hopefully shown, the Bugis map which is now kept in Utrecht serves as an interesting yet underexposed case study of indigenous map-making.

As seasoned seafarers of the archipelago, Bugis sailors might already have known most, if not more, than what the Europeans mapped. In fact, the Bugis were then able to appropriate multiple maps from colonial sources to create alternatives, such as the Utrecht map, which better reflect their own indigenous seascape knowledge; an act very much in line with the modern definition of counter-mapping. Seeing these maps as a threat to the European monopoly of knowledge, Bugis maps were often dismissed as “pirate maps” by the contemporary Europeans who acquired them. A decolonial approach which foregrounds the indigenous elements on the Utrecht map enables us to see an active agency in modifying European sources. This agency is most apparent in the toponymic element which accommodates oral and written traditions to re-inscribe Euro-centric toponyms with pre-existing local names. Examples include Takadiwataé [᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚] for De Bril, Balabakang [᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚] for Theykens, and Jakattara [᳚᳚᳚᳚] for Batavia, among many other examples. Several toponyms also show surprising awareness to historical entities predating European arrivals, such as Banira [᳚᳚᳚] for Halmahera, Salapara[ng] [᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚] for Lombok, and Ma(ng)garai [᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚] for Flores.

Rather than passive copiers of colonial sources, the Bugis were active editors who were able to imbue their maps with this nuanced local knowledge. In this map, Bugis sailors/mapmakers combined their views about the world with scientifically produced maps previously limited to the European authorities in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Utrecht map, in our view, can be regarded as a fascinating archival material of counter-mapping and decolonial efforts initiated by the anonymous, everyday people of Nusantara.

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## LIST OF ILLUSTRATED MAPS

Name / Alias	Year	Attribution	Location	Ref. number	url
A map of the Hawaiian Islands. According to the Latest Surveys.	1838	Simon P. Kamala	RGS-IBG Collections	nr Pacific Ocean D.188	<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_Map_of_the_Hawaiian_Islands_According_to_the_Latest_Surveys_1838.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_Map_of_the_Hawaiian_Islands_According_to_the_Latest_Surveys_1838.jpg</a>
Aceh map of Nusantara presented by Muhammad Ghauth	Map store N06	nr Pacific Ocean D.188	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi	BOA İHR 73/3511	-
Boeginese zeekaart van de Indische Archipel / Bugis Sea Chart of the Malay Archipelago	± 1820	-	Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht	KAART: *VIII* C.a.2 (DK39-8)	<a href="http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-214137&amp;lan=en#page/12/34/75/123475797878481002619253132838342385263.jpg">http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-214137&amp;lan=en#page/12/34/75/123475797878481002619253132838342385263.jpg</a>
Bugis sea chart from a captured Moro ship near Jolo, Sulu	< 1847	-	Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid	España. Ministerio de Defensa. AMIN-58-16	-
Bugis sea chart from Singkep, Riau	< 1859	-	Formerly Batavia Museum	-	-
Carte réduite de l'archipel des Indes orientales avec les côtes du continent depuis le golfe de Manar jusqu'à Emoui à la Chine	1745	Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas-Denis d'Après de Manneville	Bibliothèque nationale de France	CPL GE DD-2987 (7495 B)	<a href="https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5963231g">https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5963231g</a>
Samutphap traiphum chabap krung thonburi / Pictorial Manuscript of the Traiphum: Thonburi Version	1776	-	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	IC 27507	<a href="https://southeastasianlibrarygroup.wordpress.com/2016/11/03/thai-local-knowledge-the-long-hidden-wisdom-of-manuscripts/">https://southeastasianlibrarygroup.wordpress.com/2016/11/03/thai-local-knowledge-the-long-hidden-wisdom-of-manuscripts/</a>
Nieuwe Pascaert van Oost Indie	1680	Johannes van Keulen	State Library of New South Wales	D Z/ Cb 68/ 11	<a href="https://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&amp;toolbar=false&amp;dps_pid=FL3746818">https://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&amp;toolbar=false&amp;dps_pid=FL3746818</a>

## APPENDIX

Below are details of two spots on the Utrecht map detailing the Lontara' annotations with their presumed readings and referred locations.

## I. DETAILS OF SOUTH SULAWESI



No.	Lontara'	Transliteration	Presumed location	Coordinate
1	ꦗꦩꦥꦤꦢꦒ꧀ꦠ	Je(m)pa(n)da[ng]‡	Ujung Pandang (old name of Makassar City)	5.1477° S, 119.4327° E
2	ꦠꦤꦏꦺꦏꦺ	Tanakéke	Tanakéké Island, South Sulawesi	5.5028° S, 119.2844° E
3	ꦢꦶꦮꦏꦒ꧀	Diwaka[ng]	Déwakang Island, South Sulawesi	5.4056° S, 118.4303° E
4	ꦠꦏꦢꦶꦮꦠꦫꦺ	Takadiwataé	Takaréwataya Reef (Makassar name of De Brill Bank)	6.0631° S, 118.9222° E
5	ꦱꦧꦭꦤ	Sabalana	Sabalana Islands, South Sulawesi	6°51'9"S, 119°6'34"E
6	ꦱꦶꦭꦗꦺꦱ	Silaje(')	Silaje' (Bugis name of Selayar Island)	6.0957° S, 120.5041° E
7	ꦧꦶꦫ	Bira	Bira region, South Sulawesi	5.5831° S, 120.4486° E
8	ꦧꦭꦒꦫꦺ	Bala[ng]raé	Batanglampé Island, South Sulawesi	5.0517° S, 120.4208° E
9	ꦱꦶꦫꦏ	Ciraka	Cenrana River, South Sulawesi	05° 02' 605" S, 119° 48' 016" E
10	ꦭꦩꦥꦺꦒꦺ	La[m]pogé	Lampogé region, Sembilan Islands, South Sulawesi	4° 40' 45.7032" S, 115° 43' 37.3686" E

II. DETAILS OF MALACCA STRAITS



No.	Lontara'	Transliteration	Presumed location	Coordinate
1	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Taje(ng)dato(')	Tanjung Tuan, Malacca?	2° 24' 44.7546" N, 101° 51' 19.5984" E
2	ᮊᮧᮒ	Li(ng)gi	Linggi region, Negeri Sembilan	2.4866° N, 102.0099° E
3	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒ	Malakaᄁ	Malacca City	2.1896° N, 102.2501° E
4	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Basare	Basar Island, Malacca	2.1112° N, 102.3278° E
5	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Talo(')katapa[ng]	Teluk Ketapang, Riau	1.0055° N, 102.4954° E
6	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Pulopisi	Pisang Island, Johor	1.4674° N, 103.2562° E
7	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Muwarā	Muar region, Johor	2.0631° N, 102.5849° E
8	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Karima[n]	Karimun Besar Island, Riau Islands	1.0579° N, 103.3703° E
9	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒ	Johoro(')	Johor region	1.4854° N, 103.7618° E
10	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Panuso(')	Tanjung Panyusok (old name of Tanjung Sepang, Johor?)	1.3800° N, 104.2790° E
11	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Puloti(ng)gi	Tinggi Island, Johor	2.3047° N, 104.1176° E
12	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Puloauro	Aur Island, Johor	2.4442° N, 104.5247° E
13	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Pamagile	Pemanggil Island, Johor	2.5809° N, 104.3268° E
14	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Paha[ng]	Pahang region	3.8126° N, 103.3256° E
15	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Bakalisé	Bengkalis region, Riau	1.4892° N, 102.0801° E
16	ᮊᮧᮒᮒ	Sia(')	Siak region, Riau	0.8119° N, 101.7980° E
17	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒᮒ	Salipaja[ng]	Selat Panjang, Riau	0.9827° N, 102.7014° E
18	ᮊᮧᮒᮒᮒ	Taje(ng)jati	Tanjung Jati, Bengkalis, Riau	(unidentified)

No.	Lontara'	Transliteration	Presumed location	Coordinate
19	᳚᳚᳚᳚	Taje(ng)dato(')	Tanjung Datuk (old name of Kualacenu Bay?)	0°07'23.64" S, 103°39'18.02" E
20	᳚᳚᳚᳚	Maruda[ng]	Merodong Island, Riau Islands	0.3964° N, 104.4442° E
21	᳚᳚᳚᳚	Maporo(')	Mapur Island, Riau Islands	0.9910° N, 104.8280° E
22	᳚᳚᳚᳚	Riyo	Riau Islands	3.9457° N, 108.1429° E

(ng) letters in parentheses indicate syllable coda which is not indicated in the Lontara' annotation.

[ng] letters in square brackets indicate schwa diacritic which has been repurposed as nasal coda in the Lontara' annotation.

‡ double dagger indicates the presence of a flag in association with the annotation.