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The Macassans
A study of the early trepang industry
along the Northern Territory coast

by

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Two volumes and a case

Volume 1

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PART III: CULTURES IN CONTACT?

Chapter 11

Macassans and Aborigines

When the first praus from Macassar sailed along the Australian coast, some of the Aboriginal watchers on the shore may have already beheld the amazing vessels of the first Europeans or of castaway sailors from the great archipelago to the north. But when the Macassans anchored in a bay and set up their camp on the beach to process the abundant trepang, the possibility was presented of a far more sustained contact than the earlier, fleeting visitors had provided. To understand the results of that contact, it will be necessary to discuss the conditions under which it occurred.

The initial impression the Macassans received of the Aborigines was probably not dissimilar to that recorded by the early Dutch explorers, that they were a race of naked savages with whom little trade was to be done. The tone of Macassan abuse is familiar: the Aborigines are 'cannibals' (Wilson 1835:97) or even 'Ourang Outang' (HRA III, 6:804, literally this means 'forest men'). To the end, the Macassans, who sought no more of the land than the beaches on which to camp, were spared the necessity of converting their initial caution into the aggressiveness needed to take a larger possession of the land. In contrast, once the initial amazement had worn off, Aborigines were drawn to Macassan camps by interest and by hope of exceedingly good trade and the gain of many useful items.
Yet the relationship was very different from the stereotype image of a handful of visitors surrounded by a horde of natives, friendly or otherwise. Rather, in most encounters, the Macassans outnumbered the relatively small number of Aborigines in any one neighbourhood, particularly if several praus were working together. The best case for which some idea can be obtained of the actual numbers involved, is that observed by d'Urville's expedition at Raffles Bay in 1839. Here a total of 27 Aboriginal men met 4 praus working for 2 days. One prau had a crew of about 37 men, and the others were probably comparable. In addition, another 3 praus briefly anchored in the bay during the same period, and about 20 praus had left a day or so before (Dumont d'Urville 1844:29, 47-56). There is no real reason to suppose that these were atypical numbers on either side (though it should be noticed that no Aboriginal women or children were present) and the general ratio is clear enough from many sources.

This is supported by the fact that the Macassans visited the coast while the Aborigines were in their wet season pattern of distribution. That is, although they were oriented towards the coast and its resources, and the comparative scarcity of food and the general discomfort of the situation perhaps made them welcome the Macassans and their food (see below) all the more eagerly, they were also fragmented into small, more or less sedentary groups and the difficulty of travel discouraged large gatherings (Warner 1937 (1964:394); Thomson 1948, 1949a, 1949b:passim). The general point is not invalidated by Berndt's caution against over-emphasis (Berndt 1958:254).

An awareness of the relative numbers involved is important, particularly when considering Aboriginal stories of contact.
Both parties had an interest in establishing and maintaining good relations. On the Macassan side, it was obviously more efficient, and therefore profitable, if the collection and preservation of the trepang could proceed unhindered by the threat or the reality of attack. In addition, there was some slight trade to be done, most notably in tortoise-shell, which seems to have been almost all obtained in this way (Dashwood 1902:42 q.471-2, 481). Pearls and pearlshell were also to be had. Occasionally some Aborigines seem to have worked at trepanging, but they can hardly have provided more than a minimal addition to the labour force required (see below). Finally, relatively friendly relations were needed for at least some Macassans to find solace in Aboriginal women.

For the Aborigines, regular access to Macassan material possessions, liquor and food, as well as the more intangible benefits of travel and prestige could only be obtained through fair and friendly dealings.

As it is less dramatic, the evidence for good relations is less obvious than that for the occasional violence, but enough exists to allow the main outlines of the picture to be drawn with some certainty. There are many instances of Aborigines visiting Macassan camps in a way that must have required a certain minimum level of trust on both sides (e.g. Searcy 1907:27).

Considerably more trust was required, at least on the Aboriginal side, for the fairly regular practice of Aborigines travelling on the praus to distant parts of the coast, or even to Macassar and beyond. A striking instance of this familiarity was found by a European prospecting party in 1876 who met an Aborigine in the country behind Caledon Bay who knew a few words of English he had learnt in Singapore (SAA 790/1876/74). In the same year, there were said to be about 17 Aborigines, mainly from Port Essington, living in Macassar (SAA 1374/A1798). This was nothing new
or unusual, as is shown by references to the same practice at the time of the British settlement at Port Essington (Jukes 1847,1:359; Sweatman 1848,2:268). Nor was it restricted to any one area. Tindale (1925-8:130) mentions men on Groote Eylandt who had sailed with the Macassans, and there are many other similar references for all parts of the coast.

It is interesting to note the distinctiveness of the Aborigines in the context of Macassar. In 1824, van der Capellen (1855:375) described them in unmistakeable terms: 'they are very black, tall in stature, with curly hair, not frizzy like that of the Papuan peoples, long thin legs, thick lips and, in general, are quite well built' (translated). Similarly, there is no difficulty in recognizing an Aborigine in the engraving, from a photograph taken in Macassar, of an Orang-Mereghi, said to be from the Cobourg Peninsula (Giglioli 1875:796-7). The visitors apparently remained in a group, probably in the guardianship of an influential captain (Berndt & Berndt 1954:56-8). In 1969, a substantial building, now a Muslim school, at Djalan Maipa 18, Kampong Bassi, Macassar, was pointed out as the former house of Remba (master 6 in appendix 8) (plates 11.6 and 11.7). Mangngellai and other elderly informants recalled that a number of Aborigines had stayed there. Among these was a daughter of Using (master 15) by an Aboriginal mother from eastern Arnhem Land (and thus a half sister of Mangngellai). She was called Kunano and had stayed between seasons in 1903. All Aborigines are said to have returned to Australia before the end of the industry in 1906-7.

Although it is certainly true that many of the recent Aboriginal accounts have emphasized the happier side of Macassan contact and have idealized the past for the purpose of the present, some weight should be given to the
generally favourable picture created. It is hard to get
other than an impression of friendship from a story like
that of Djaladjari about his voyage to Macassar (Berndt &
Berndt 1954:51-4, 56-8). At crucial points in this narrative,
the names and actions of specific Macassans are given,
pointing up the particular personal nature of the relation-
ship. The same point is clear on the Macassan side from
Mangngellai's information given above and from the account
of the Australian voyage by Daeng Sarro. As well as
mentioning specific Aborigines known to himself, he says that
his father had been very good friends with a man on Groote
Eylandt and 'they treated each other like brothers' (Cense
1952:264; appendix 12:185). This may even indicate, as
Worsley suggests, a Macassan awareness of Aboriginal kinship
terms (Worsley 1954:15; 1955:3). Cense says that Daeng Sarro
had some knowledge of various Aboriginal languages and some
other aspects of Aboriginal life and he was not exceptional
(Cense 1952:255 and pers. comm.). The most remarkable case
of familiarity is that of a Macassan called Timbo who was
left at Port Essington for a year to act as an interpreter
for the British and who spent three months away from the
settlement with the Aborigines (Earl 1842:139-40). However

1 This may be the same man as one whom McArthur says spent
8 months with the Aborigines, though McArthur seems less
impressed than Earl with his knowledge (Copies or Extracts
1843:18).

There are several other cases of Macassans living with the
Aborigines, which it is convenient to list here. King in
1818, and Ree in 1824 (King 1827,2:239-40), both saw a boy
of Malay appearance on Melville Island, and possibly the same
individual is mentioned by Campbell (1834:155) at Fort Dundas.
Wilson (1835:72,75,180) knew Da'Atea, who deserted from a
prau in Trepang Bay in 1829 and walked alone to Raffles Bay.
In 1869, two Macassans were brought to Goyder's party at
Darwin, two years after they had been wrecked. The other
41 members of the crew to which they belonged had been
killed (see chapter 13). Harney (1943:171) records a
convincing story about two Macassan boys who were brought

(continued on p.324)
the extent of this familiarity can be overstated, particularly
on the Macassan side. Earl sounds one warning in the same
letter as that just mentioned. 'The Macassars, although
nearly all the natives on the coast speak their language,
know even less about the natives than we do, simply from
their not taking trouble to inquire' (Earl 1842:140).

On the other hand, there is no doubt that many
Aborigines had a relatively extensive appreciation of the
Macassan world. The extent of their knowledge is most
strikingly seen in the wide range of vocabulary items and
proper names known, and Earl continues,

You ask for vocabularies. I am in the most
ridiculous perplexity about them. After
having collected many words, I found that I
was making a vocabulary of a horrid patois of
the Macassar dialect: in fact, nearly all the
words the natives use when speaking with us are
Macassarese (Earl 1842:140).

Many of these are still remembered (see below).

It is also true, however, that at times relations
between Macassans and Aborigines broke down. There seems
to have always been a certain caution on the part of the
Macassans. As noted in chapter 4, many camp sites appear
to have been selected with some regard to clear approaches.
Flinders was cautioned by Pobassoo to beware of the natives,
and his previous suspicions of poor relations between them

(continued from p.323)

up on Groote Eylandt and later acted as intermediaries.
Harney (1943:172-3) has also collected a remarkable story
about a political refugee from the islands, who appears to
have been the man called Muragualakui. This man lived near
Cape Fourcroy on Bathurst Island sometime before 1900, and
Mr John Morris has obtained from Aborigines considerable
information about him, as well as a carved statue. He had
almost no contact with Aborigines. In 1966, Ana, an old
Japanese living in Darwin, told me that about 1915, a Macassan
boy was found living with the Aborigines near Junction Bay.
He was brought to Darwin. Warner's statement that an
occasional prau remained over a dry season is discussed in
chapter 2, note 17.
and the visitors were confirmed by the story of several clashes (Flinders 1814,2:198, 231-2). Similarly, King was regaled with tales of 'perpetual warfare', though his information may relate more specifically to Melville Island (King 1827,1:138). Stokes mentions how the Macassans who arrived at the settlement in Port Essington at the end of March 1839 were grateful for the protection afforded by the British as the hostility of the Aborigines 'had until then forced every other man of them to keep under arms whilst the rest worked' (Stokes 1846,1:388).

These statements are probably best seen as generalizations from particular instances. For example, Stokes' statement must be viewed in the light of the French account of cautious intimacy at Raffles Bay at almost exactly the same time, and more importantly perhaps together with the information that there had been a specific quarrel between the Aborigines and the Macassans in Port Essington at the beginning of April 1839 (Dumont d'Urville 1844;49-50,56,66,277).

In a few cases where we have details of the circumstances of attacks, the particular nature of the situation is apparent. Searcy relates two stories which illustrate the motives of both sides. On Entrance Island, the brother of a Macassan who had been killed there, first made friends with the local Aborigines and then, when he had them in his power, massacred them (Searcy 1907:83; SAA 790/1884/445). In 1967 Old Johnny Godawa at Maningrida told a story which may refer to the same events. He added the detail that two Macassan boys had been killed originally and that the revenge occurred two years later. At an old camp in Arnhem Bay, Searcy was told the story of how an Aborigine had teased a Macassan captain for grog and tobacco until the Macassan struck him in exasperation. A little later, the captain was lured into the bush and murdered, his prau was then surprised and looted (Searcy 1907:90 SAA 790/1884/445). The technique
of the punitive expedition was no recent invention. In 1829 Captain Barker at Raffles Bay had to dissuade a Macassan, though perhaps not a regular visitor, from setting out with a party to punish the Aborigines for stealing some of his rice (Barker 1829: 2 Apr. 1829; Wilson 1835: 81). In 1840, Bremer gives a grim tally. 'At Goulbourn's Islands they [the Macassans] were attacked...and four of their number killed; they afterwards revenged themselves by the slaughter of seven of the islanders' (Copies or Extracts 1843: 10). Some Aborigines were prepared to eliminate the owners if they saw a chance for immediate plunder and Harney (1943: 170-1) gives a good example. This motive probably lay behind the attacks on various castaways (see chapter 13), though the desire for indiscriminate revenge may also have played some part (e.g. for 1892 murders, see SAPP 1893/64: 17).

It is possible to see some common causes in the various affrays that occurred. Revenge for injury by the other party, whether or not the same individuals were involved, was the most important, but there were innumerable possibilities for initial friction in the situation of trading, in the vast material wealth, to Aboriginal eyes, possessed by the Macassans and certainly in the regulation of the use of Aboriginal women. Disputes between different groups of Aborigines may also have had a part in some cases, with the Macassans not always perhaps being fully conscious of their partisanship. These potential sources of conflict were rendered more likely to be realized by difficulties of full communication and understanding between the parties, and occasionally by the effects of alcohol.

It has been suggested for Groote Eylandt (Worsley 1954: 9) and for Melville and Bathurst Islands (Campbell 1834: 155-6; Hart and Pilling 1964: 97-8) that an additional reason for Aboriginal hostility was a history of attempts by
visitors from the north, or even the Macassans themselves, to collect slaves. This might possibly be the case on Melville and Bathurst Islands, though the evidence is very tenuous, but it seems most unlikely on Groote Eylandt.

A number of modern writers have tried to characterize relations between Macassans and Aborigines as either generally good (e.g. Thomson 1948:146-7; 1949b:58-9), or as generally poor (e.g. Tindale 1925-8:131; Worsley 1954: 11-2). The two aspects of the relationship have been most fully set out by the Berndts, but their rationalizing of this difference as an earlier period of amicable relations and a later period of deterioration would not seem to be justified by the variety of reports, as much from the early nineteenth century as from later (Berndt & Berndt 1954: 110-1). This variation was noted by the Macassans themselves. In 1841, McArthur recorded that:

...they speak of the different tribes of nations [? natives] as varying much in character and disposition, and appear to be on terms of amicable intercourse with those in the Gulf; but those along the shores of the north coast, especially in the vicinity of Cape Wessel, they have a rooted aversion to' (Copies or Extracts 1843:32).

In general, the issue of co-operation or antagonism depended on chance and circumstance, and varied from place to place, from time to time, and from individual to individual.

There are, however, a few areas where a slightly less indefinite verdict is possible. The most important is the Cobourg Peninsula and the immediately adjacent coast to the east. The long standing European presence in the area (over the last 80 years of Macassan activity) had so altered the traditional situation that, by the end of the nineteenth century, relations between the local Aborigines and the Macassans had developed much further than elsewhere. Thus, for example, there appears to have been a greater dependence
on Macassan food supplies (SAA 790/1884/177). However any detailed comparison with other areas is hindered by the lack of modern ethnographic work in this area and the absence of contemporary documentation for other areas. The long European occupation of the Cobourg Peninsula is responsible for both the documentation and depopulation of the area.

Conversely, the Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Islands were consistently hostile to outsiders and were affected comparatively little by the Macassans (see area 1 in chapter 5). The contrast with the Cobourg Peninsula was specifically noted by Daeng Sarro (Cense 1952:262).

The minor variations between areas however are less important than the overall picture. This is of considerable interest as an example of culture contact, particularly as neither culture is European and because of the remarkably detailed information available on the conditions, nature and results of the contact. Essentially, the picture is that of two cultures existing side by side, involved neither in major co-operation nor in competition. This is not to say that both sides were not affected by the contact, but that the activities of both the Macassans and the Aborigines could have been, and often were, carried on in the absence of the others with little or no difference. The most useful theoretical discussion of various types of contact is that by MacWhite (1956:16-8). The situation we are concerned with falls most nearly into his type III A (1), 'Visits of specialist groups...of greater or less duration but who do not settle permanently'. However the visits by individual Aborigines to Macassar and elsewhere comes under his type IV A (1), 'Specialist groups...returned after visits to foreign lands', though the specialization of the people concerned is rather vague.

The contact situation was in many ways analogous to that in comparable areas of economic resource, but with different
parties involved. Trepangers, mainly European, in north Queensland and Torres Strait, enjoyed a similarly ambivalent relationship with the local Aborigines, though conflict may have been even more frequent (Bolton 1963). A more distant comparison is with the early sandalwooders in Melanesia. As Shineberg (1967) has shown, individual circumstances preclude sweeping generalizations about relations between the two sides, and the benefits of good relations were not all on one side. Certainly the Aborigines gained much from the Macassans, and it is to the influences exerted by the two groups upon each other that we now turn.

In the contact situation described above, it is not surprising that the Aborigines had minimal influence upon the Macassans. Some Aboriginal place-names in Australia were known and used by the Macassans, as well as the elements of some Aboriginal languages (C sense 1952:255; chapter 5).

Macassan influence on the Aborigines however, was extensive, even if rather superficial, and has long excited comment and speculation. Flinders wondered whether the custom of circumcision had been introduced to Australia by the Macassans, but thought it unlikely (Flinders 1814,2: 232). Various other writers throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries looked for similarities, mainly in language and physical anthropology, but were hampered by the lack of reliable ethnographic data. Curr, for example, on the information of Pascoe and Foelsche, gives a picture of fairly slight influence (Curr 1886,1:247-8,252,268-73 and for W.A. 291,296,370-1). It is unfortunate that Howitt, who corresponded with Robinson, was not specifically interested in this matter. Similarly Spencer, though aware of some contact, failed to visit precisely those areas where the results would have been brought most forcibly to his notice. A summary of the early discussion about 'Malay'
influences in Aboriginal languages is provided by Jennison (1927:177-8). This work also contains the observations of one of the first Europeans to have enough personal experience in the relevant area to advance our understanding of the extent of influence. Now, after almost 50 years of ethnographic fieldwork on the problem, notably by Tindale, Warner, Thomson, R.M. and C.H. Berndt, McCarthy, Rose, Mountford and Worsley, any debate as to whether the influence was great or small is rather unreal, for the nature and limits of influence can be fairly accurately described.

One major difficulty however, with virtually all of this work by Australian ethnographers has been the failure to look for the models which the Aborigines are supposed to have imitated. In fact, it would sometimes appear as if any unusual element in Aboriginal culture has been attributed to 'Malay influence'. Any claims to specifically Macassan influence should indicate the precise element in Macassarese-Buginese culture which has produced the effect, and also the presence of the Macassans in the relevant area or the line of connection to such an area. Enough is now known about the Macassans to set some limit to their usefulness as a general ragbag source of the unusual. This is not to say that there have been no other external cultural influences in northern Australia, but discussion of such other influences should also specify the presumed source of the influence and when and how it might have arrived, or if such precision is not possible, clearly say so. Nor does it imply that all influence is necessarily direct on a simple, diffusionist model, but even a discussion of indirect influence should attempt to show the specific and/or general stimuli which initiated the process.

What is attempted below is a summary list of the results of Macassan contact on Aboriginal culture, as known at this stage of research. A number of unproven claims
These and many other writers have drawn attention to the apparent part-Macassan ancestry of a section of the present population in all the areas of contact. This observation is so evident that there can be little doubt of its reliability. Indeed there are specific cases. Apart from Kunano, Using is said to have fathered nine other children by three Aboriginal women. Plate 11.1 shows Willie at Elcho Island whose father is said to have been a Macassan, and from his age this is quite possible. In some cases however, the Macassan ancestor might be several generations in the past, yet through chance, the 'Malay' appearance may be even more pronounced. At Umbakumba in 1967 there was a boy of only ten or twelve with very marked 'Malay' features, but of normal 'Aboriginal' parentage.

The majority of Macassans were undoubtedly Macassarese or Buginese, but it must be remembered that other ethnic groups were also occasionally represented in the crews. In addition, more recent visitors to the coast have left progeny, and there is the possibility of some contact with New Guinea.

Kirk (forthcoming) has reviewed the present state of knowledge in the systematic investigation of this problem and notes several possible indicators of Macassan influence, but further work is required, particularly in South Celebes.

It is difficult to assess the evidence for the introduction of various diseases by the Macassans. Brown (1802-3) noted some faint traces of smallpox on the faces of Pobassoo's crew, and Wilson (1835:170), at Raffles Bay in 1829, mentions something similar. Bremer observed smallpox among the Aborigines when the Port Essington settlement was founded in 1838 (Allen 1969,1:399), and at this early date, Macassans are the most probable source of the disease, though the previous British settlements are also possibilities. Robinson in 1882 describes a relatively
recent outbreak of the disease which killed many Aborigines (SAA 790/1882/346), and this is presumably that referred to elsewhere (e.g. Foelsche in Curr 1886,1:252,271). Curr also records outbreaks of smallpox, apparently introduced by visiting trepangers to Western Australia a little earlier (Curr 1886,1:296,370). The different sources for the introduction of this disease are discussed by Stirling (1911) and Cleeland (1928:67-70).

One of the French visitors to Port Essington in 1839 recorded the presence of venereal disease among the Aborigines (Dumont d'Urville 1844:277), though even at this early date it could have been derived from Europeans. The Macassans are a more likely source however, and Robinson was told by a Macassan captain that the majority of his men were suffering from venereal diseases (SAA 790/1882/346).

A recent review by Packer (1961) suggests yaws is an introduction from the north, though this review also shows how unsure any conclusions on this subject must be.

By the end of the nineteenth century, and probably earlier, the question of the source of disease was too complicated for easy analysis by either European or Aborigine. Brown in 1903, when defending the Macassans against the charge of introducing venereal disease, points out the unreliability of native informants (SAA 790/1903/438). We can only say that there is no certain evidence for any catastrophic decimation of the population in the area of contact at any stage as a direct result of the introduction of infectious disease. The depopulation of western Arnhem Land is due to more complex factors, though sterility induced by venereal disease is probably the most important (Berndt & Berndt 1951:43-5). Indeed, by introducing at least some diseases gradually, the Macassans may have done much to build up resistances against the effects of European
contact, although as Berndt & Berndt (1964:18) point out, there is no actual evidence for this.

B. Language and Proper Names

The area of Macassan activity in the Northern Territory spans a number of linguistic divisions (Capell 1940; 1942; O'Grady, Voeglin & Voeglin 1966). Not only did this reinforce the natural tendency for the language of the Macassans to dominate in communication, but it also meant that it became a lingua franca between Aborigines from different areas (e.g. Searcy 1907:36). The relevant Aboriginal languages have been affected in a number of ways as a result of this situation.²

There has been confusion in some of the previous literature about the precise linguistic status of the Macassans and hence where the source of Aboriginal borrowing should be sought. However if, as shown in chapter 2, the majority of Macassans were in fact Macassarese, the most obvious source is the Macassarese language. This is confirmed in practice. Although no exhaustive work has yet been completed, numerous examples, of which some are given below, indicate Macassarese as the most important source of influence.³ Despite the failure of most contemporary

² Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to examine in detail the relationship between the use of an intrusive language and other aspects of cultural change. However it is clear that many parallels can be drawn between this case and other multilingual situations. Fox (1968) has discussed two useful examples. A matter Fox does not mention, but which is relevant here, is the effect of the comparatively limited understanding of the donor language and culture by many of the speakers of the recipient language. This naturally affects the selection of elements transferred.

³ I am supported in this opinion by Dr A.A. Cense (pers. comm.) and by Dr Sutjipto Wirjosuparto (pers. comm.), who has collected a considerable list of loan words. Heeren
European observers to get past the label 'Malay', there is a little direct evidence on the matter. Jukes (1847, 1:358) noted that Macassans at Port Essington in 1845 spoke 'Malay in a different dialect from that used at Sourabaya', and the Macassan deserter Barker left at Kupang in 1829 had difficulty making himself understood there (Wilson 1835: 180). Furthermore, all the examples of writing that can be attributed to a Macassan are in Macassarese-Buginese script. 4 Similarly the contracts in Nederburgh (1896-8) and Kern (1933) are from Macassarese originals. Though inconclusive, it is interesting that the men to whom King showed his letter in Malay, written by Raffles in Arabic characters, could not read it (King 1827, 1:93; the original is in the Dixson Library. A similar letter in Javanese is held by the Royal Australian Historical Society).

Probably Buginese was the next most widely used language, and indeed it would be difficult to distinguish it in many of the references above. In addition, the widely travelled Macassan seamen would have been aware of and may have used words in various other languages, particularly Malay. Indeed, when talking with someone such as Flinders' cook, who, as a Javanese, is unlikely to have known Macassarese, they may well have used this language. However when considering the source of Aboriginal

3 (continued from p. (1952:155) has also pointed this out, and gives a few examples. I would particularly like to thank Dr Cense for saving me from many elementary errors in this section and for a number of specific suggestions.

4 These are: 1. Flinders' copy of the rendition by Pobassoo's son of the name 'Port Jackson' (Flinders 1814, 2: 232; Cense 1952:250). 2. Two signatures each by Using and Bangkasi on manifests. Using also wrote on the back of his 'export' manifest ma-ni-pe-si (= manifest) and on his 'stores' manifest su-ra-ki-sa (= surat kissa, letter of information). (See chapter 13 for this distinction.) (SAA 790/1884/177). 3. Two signatures by Unusu (daeng Remba) on manifests (SAA 790/1903/438).
borrowings, it is more accurate to look to Macassarese in the first instance, rather than to cognate forms in other languages.

i) Specific vocabulary items

Many writers have drawn attention to possible examples, in some cases with the suggested source (see especially:
3. Western Arnhem Land - Vallack 1840; Jennison 1927).
Further publication of linguistic work in northern Australia should make more definitive lists possible. However the main categories of words borrowed are clear and can be distinguished as follows: a) names of things possessed by Macassans which had not previously come to the attention of Aborigines.

- e.g. metal chopping or cutting tool
  Eastern Arnhem Land - Bingle
  Groote Eylandt - Banggilja (Worsley 1954:367)
  Macassarese - Pangkulu' (Matthes 1859:94; 1885: plate 12/20)

5 It had been intended to provide here a checklist of Macassan loan words in northern Australian languages, insofar as the published literature and some slight fieldwork on this point would allow. However the complexity of the linguistic issues involved and the difficulty of obtaining anything approaching a complete conspectus of Aboriginal knowledge on this point without further publication or fieldwork make the effort inappropriate in this place. Problems of particular interest are the geographical spread of loan words and the differing intensities of influence in various languages.

6 Aboriginal words in common use have not been attributed to any particular source, but all examples have been confirmed by myself. With more unusual examples, the name of the informant who supplied the word is attached.

7 This is a good case of a specifically Macassarese derivation. The Buginese for axe is uwase and the Malay (Bahasa Indonesia) kapak.
rice

throughout area - Berita (many cognates cf. Vallack 1840 - Berrija)

Macassarese - Berasa (Matthes 1859:199). This is specifically uncooked polished rice.

needle

Western Arnhem Land - (Djarung) (Ngoliman)
Eastern Arnhem Land - (Tjarung) (Djinggulu1)
Groote Eilandt - Djara (Worsley 1954:367; Malgari)
Macassarese - Djarung (Matthes 1859:416-7)

A particularly striking group of words in this category concern the praus and canoes of the Macassans (see below).

b) names for other concepts used by the Macassans.

e.g. a man in charge of something

throughout area - Bunggawa (many cognates)

Macassarese - Punggawa (Matthes 1859:96), probably most often meaning a prau's captain

European

throughout area - Balanda

Macassarese - Balanda (Matthes 1859:216). Primarily this means Dutch or Dutchman, but it is also used in Macassarese to mean European in general. The word is ultimately related to the English 'Hollander'.

prayer

Eastern Arnhem Land - Djambeya (Djinggulu1)

Macassarese - Sambayang (Matthes 1859:565), meaning in particular the formal worship required of Muslims

The words for compass directions, or more strictly for the associated winds, also come within this category. Djinggulu1 supplied the following list:
(Bara) - Northwest
Macassarese - Bara' - West wind (Matthes 1859:188)

(Djelatan) - Southeast
Macassarese - Sallatang - South wind or land wind (Matthes 1859:603-4)

(Tungara) - also meaning Southeast
Macassarese - Tunggara - Southeast (Matthes 1859:276)

(Timuru) - Northeast
Macassarese - Timoro' - East wind (Matthes 1859:306)

For a similar list from Groote Eylandt see Worsley (1954:94).

c) names for items of special interest to Macassans
   e.g. trepang
   throughout area - Daripa (many cognates)
   Macassarese - Taripang (Matthes 1859:336-7)

pearlshell
   throughout area - Mitiera (many cognates)
   Macassarese - Mutiyara (Matthes 1859:248)

d) Worsley (1954:368) has suggested Macassan influence
   on the numerical system in the language of Groote Eylandt,
   but the evidence is exceedingly tenuous.

e) Worsley (1954:207) also claims Macassan influence
   on certain Groote Eylandt kinship terms, but I am unable
   to perceive this from his examples.

The language of the Macassans does not seem to have
affected the grammatical structure of any Aboriginal language,
and the loan words are all fairly readily explicable in
terms of the subjects about which communication was regularly
required. A few of these loan words, such as Daripa (= trepang), are now firmly embedded in the relevant Aboriginal languages, as are several Macassan place names. Badelumba is the best example, as that has also come to denote a social group on Groote Eylandt (see site 30). An interesting case of a drift in meaning is the word ungbardi. In Macassarese, this means the frame under the bowsprit of a prau (see table 11.1, no. 40). In Maung, it means the front part of a canoe, the man who harpoons from there, and also a skilful sea-hunter (Miss H. Hinch pers. comm.). However many of the loan words are alternatives to more usual words, adding still further to the range of synonyms in these languages. The situation is well put by informants when they describe the loan words as 'Old Testament'. Indeed some are so specific in their meaning that they must be regarded merely as Macassarese words directly remembered. When this is so, there is often a degree of 'pepper-potting' to be found: several words on a common subject are remembered, but their precise meaning is forgotten. A very clear example of this is seen in a list of numerals as remembered by Djinggulul. He himself recognized that the order was rather vague.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macassarese</th>
<th>Matthes 1859</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Rrua)</td>
<td>Ruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kati)</td>
<td>Kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a small denomination of money or weight; a hundred thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lima)</td>
<td>Lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tudju)</td>
<td>Tudju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Selapa)</td>
<td>Salapang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sampulu)</td>
<td>Sampulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Takkatudju)</td>
<td>Takkatudju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Limapulu)</td>
<td>Limampulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Anna)</td>
<td>Annang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>461-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>601-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A more complex example of 'pepper-potting', which also shows a remarkable facet of Aboriginal knowledge, concerns technical terms relating to praus. A photograph of Westall's drawing of a prau was shown to various informants and they were urged to remember as many terms as possible relating to it (plate 11.2). The letters shown on the plate were not present on the print used in the field. The results are set out in table 11.1. These are also compared with the terms recorded by Mountford (1956:98-100) for a bark painting of a prau from Groote Eylandt. S L slight variations in pronunciation have been neglected. The column on the far right indicates the correct answers according to the descriptions and pictures in Matthes 1859 and 1885.

Moyle (1964:18) also mentions the occurrence on Groote Eylandt of the word barawa, from the Malay (Bahasa Indonesia) perahu.

Further ethnographic and linguistic work would probably increase the number of indentifications. However it is remarkable that 10 is the only common word not yet identified. A useful list of terms relating to ships in various languages is given in Enc. Ned. Ind., 5:429-30. It confirms the specifically Macassarese origin of many of the words above.

It would be unwise to interpret this table too rigorously, but it is clear, for example, that the term for a rudder is well established (I = 11). However the terms for the yard and boom (F and G) are less well known,

---

8 Dr H. Groger-Wurm (pers. comm.) has collected at Yirrkala several series of terms relating to praus and other subjects connected with the Macassan trepang industry as illustrated in bark paintings. Our lists of terms correlate very well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Mathamar</th>
<th>Mun-gurrawuy</th>
<th>Birrigidji</th>
<th>Mawalan</th>
<th>Burrumurr</th>
<th>Djinggulul</th>
<th>Dayngumbu</th>
<th>Ngoliman</th>
<th>Sam (Mountford 1956: 98-100)</th>
<th>Matthes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>11 &amp; 12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14, 15 at top of mast

41 as 'big name'

Cabin, 36. Parts of deck, 37, 38. Also knew 3, 28, 39.

Cabin, 37, 38, 39. Hold, 36. Also knew 2, 21, 22.

Paddles, 42
**Key to table 11.1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants' words</th>
<th>Macassarese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(page references to Matthes 1859; plate references to Matthes 1885)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. (Luluna)  - Lolo = rope fixed to the upper end of the yard, the 'umbilical cord' of the sail (528 & plate 16/1:29)
2. (Beya Beya)  - Baya-baya = sheet (184 & plate 16/4:30)
3. (Bukuna) or (Baku Baku)  - Poko' = rope fixed to the lower end of the yard (93 & plate 16/1:28)
4. (Bainjouro)  - Banjoro is a form of caulking according to Mr Harris Tjandra: Banjoro' is given by Matthes (184) as a kind of timber.
5. (Barwor)  - Bau = top yard for sail (231 & plate 16/1:20)
6. (Biluka)  - Pelokang = bottom boom for sail (132 & plate 16/1:21)
7. (Bakalinga)  - Guling = rudder (82 & plate 16/2:11 and 12/37a)
8. (Rikin)  - Sombala' = sail (567 & plate 16 and 17)
9. (Milana)  - Karoro' = sailcloth made from the leaves of the kuala' tree (46)
14. (Dangala) - Takala' = pulley unit at the top of mast for halyards (273,907)

15. (Banoinggi)

16. (Mikkan)

17. (Lokor)

18. (Morndju) (? = 19)

19. (Waidjung) - Anjdjong = bowsprit (659 & plate 16/1,2:3)

20. (Pubuka) - Bu'bukang = halyard (158 & plate 16/1:27)

21. (Panna Luntu) - Pangngalontong = rope fixed to the bottom boom to adjust the sail (97 & plate 16/2:24)

22. (Mitjia) or (Meetiang) or Mitjuna - Biseang = a ship, whether large or small (228). The suggestion of Worsley (1955a: 5) and Moyle (1964:18) that this is derived from Djung or Junk (Macassarese Djongko) is unlikely to be correct.

23. (Parembi) - Parimping = the draw rings on the edge of the sail (122) or even just the seam along the edge (Mr Harris Tjandra)

24. (Lauwula)

25. (Kantaijang) - Gantayang = rattan binding the sail to the yard and boom (73)

26. (Balira) or (Baliairang) - Pallayarang = mast, particularly the two sternmost sections of the tripod mast (513,907 & plate 17/1,3:18,19)

27. (Balangu) - Balango = anchor (215 & plate 16/4:32)

28. (Djamara) or (Semara) - Samara = the rope binding the halyard (bu'bukang) to the top yard (bau) (570)
29. (Baratang) - Baratang = bamboo struts supporting the outrigger(s) on a canoe (197)

30. (Bamilo) - Pamelo' = piece of wood stuck through a hole across the end of the boom to help roll it up (132 & plate 16/2:22)

31. (Lopuru) - Loporang = pulley in takala'

32. (Tambera) - Tamberang = ropes holding the mast upright (301)

33. (Lemma Bira)

34. (Tarawan)

35. (Sjepung)

36. (Rrawa) - Rowang = hold of a prau (463)

37. (Karnang) - Kanang = the right or starboard side (30)

38. (Kairi) - Kaïri = the left or port side (67)

39. (Borkor) - Bukku' = deck of bamboo and palm leaf mats (148 & plate 16/2:2)

40. (Ungbardi) - Ungbardi = the V shaped frame under the bowsprit called Surempa' by Matthes (589 & plate 16/1:4). This identification was suggested by Mr Harris Tjandra

41. (Balari) - Palari = type of prau (514 & plate 16/4)

42. Miatja

43. (Bulu) (? = 6)
and in one case reversed. The precise meaning of some terms, for example 14 and 30, seems to have been forgotten, though more detailed questioning may reveal more knowledge.

ii) Phrases and Sentences

Some Aborigines undoubtedly acquired considerable facility in the language of the Macassans. Though of decreasing practical use, particularly as English came to be accepted as the lingua franca in its stead, the ability to speak 'Macassan' could be put to advantage, if only to create the impression of learning (Chaseling 1957:50). There is of course no question of Aboriginal 'borrowing' here: this is just knowing another language. A typical phrase remembered by Djinggulul is (Tena mangi mangi senang) which he translates as 'watch him, sit down, quiet'. The Macassarese is 'Taena mange-mange sannang' (not) (go) (quiet) meaning 'Don't move about, be still'.

iii) Ritual Formulae

A number of formulae used by Aborigines, but of which they have now forgotten the exact meaning, have been derived from Macassan ritual (Warner 1937 (1964:421); Cense 1952:257-8,260). Mun-gurrawuy supplied what would appear to be another such formula. He said that the Macassans used it during a dance which marked the completion of work in a particular locality.

(Muduyeima Muduyeima Ruyeima
Gilili (uttered 4 times in a high pitched manner)
Rui)

The second line is probably the Dzilelji (= Salli 'alaihi) recorded by Warner (1937 (1964:421)) and Berndt Berndt (1949:215), and explained by Cense (1952:260). Wallace (1869,2:165) mentions it being used during a departure ceremony on a prau leaving Macassar.
The words of a mast song spoken by Mawalan have been recorded by Moyle (1967:39-40 & Disc 4A Band 6), and this may be a similar sort of formula. (Alternatively, it may be one of the songs discussed below.)

iv) Macassan names of Aborigines

Cense (1952:262-4), records various Macassarese names for individual Aborigines. That Aborigines assumed these names, usually in addition to their Aboriginal name, is confirmed by informants. The process was similar to the attribution to and assumption by Aborigines of European names. Nanungunda at Umbakumba, for example, claimed to have taken over the Macassan name of (Kariemboitj) from his father. The Macassarese title, Kare, can be recognized here. By this time, some Macassan names have become totally integrated, such as that of Dayngumbu, where the Daeng title is apparent (cf. Warner 1937 (1964:380,457); Thomson 1949b: 59). These names may either be those of specific Macassans or of objects. Several examples provided by Miss Beulah Lowe are:

Märribitja cf. table II.2, no.1: appendix 8, master 7
Buwa'nandu no.13 16
Bayabaya table II.1, no.2
Bamuniya see below under section C, heading x

v) Macassan place-names in Australia

In most cases, the Macassan name is clearly recognized as such and is supplementary to an Aboriginal name. However this is not always so, although the extent to which such names are recognized may depend merely on the traditional knowledge and interest of the informant. The Macassan names either describe some peculiarity of the feature named, or refer to a person, or are copied from a name in South Celebes. A complete coverage of known examples is attempted in the gazetteer (chapter 5).
vi) Names of individual Macassans known by Aborigines

It is hardly surprising that the more prominent Macassans became known to the Aborigines by name. Many of these names appear in stories about the Macassans, particularly those in Berndt & Berndt (1954: chaps. 5-10,12; cf. also Worsley 1954:15). The names listed below were collected just as names. Some attempt has been made by Aborigines to impose their patterns on to these names, as perhaps they did in respect of the individuals themselves. Thus Mun-gurrawuy claimed names 1-3, 7, 11-2, 17-21 as Gumatj, while Mawalan said 22-7 were Rirratjingu. The resulting Dhuwa moiety connotation of the latter is particularly notable, in view of the usual Yirritja association of the Macassans. Various filial and fraternal relationships were suggested and perhaps some temporal order, but these were very vague. The correlations with names listed in appendix 8 should be regarded as extremely tentative, particularly as there may have been more than one individual of the same name. However it is interesting that the four more certainly identified individuals were particularly prominent over the last 30 years of the industry.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Djinggulul</th>
<th>Dayngumbu</th>
<th>Mun-gurrway and Mawalan</th>
<th>Birrigidji</th>
<th>Correlation with appendix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (Maritja) or (Wonamadu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (Wonamudu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xb</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (Madu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (Lantoro)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xc</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (Udjing)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (Bunga Lumpu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xd</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. (Deindaranka) or (Wonauadjing)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xe</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. (Deinduruang)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. (Bukualupalu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. (Bapa Sembang)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. (Dein Katjing) or (Gardjing)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (Dein Dadjing)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. (Buatnandu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. (Mangalei)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. (Deindali)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. (Deimadula)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. (Dimadeia)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. (Deinbarwi)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. (Kurumulna)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. (Keielinna)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. (Wanasei)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. (Kalara) or (Deinatdji)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. (Bapa Lenti) or (Bankibudu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. (Teibung)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. (Tjorbor)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. (Bapa Jindidi)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. (Daendarimpa)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. (Kaderi)</td>
<td>xf</td>
<td>xg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. said to be Bunggawa at (Wobalanma) (site 25a)
b. " Lunggudja (sites 20c,d)
c. " Groote Eylandt
d. " (Karkanga) (site 25)
e. " (Dairangilla) (?)
f. " (Bunkalau) (? Coburg Peninsula)
g. " Buyurigi (site 14d)

Worsley (1954:15) gives a short list in which some of these names also appear.

(vii) Names of places outside Australia known by Aborigines as a result of Macassan influence

Berndt & Berndt (1954: chaps 7-9) record many Aboriginal versions of foreign names. Several of the names given for the vicinity of Macassar can be identified e.g.

Leileiia = Lae Lae Islands, about 1 kilometre off Macassar.
Kambu'Maleiju = Kampong Melaju, to the north of central Macassar. The meaning is Malay Kampong.
Kambu'birus = Kampong Beru, to the south of central Macassar, but many other examples as well. The meaning is New Kampong.

(Berndt & Berndt 1954:51,57-8; see bibliography for map of Macassar).

The following list known to Djinggulul confirms a number of the names collected by the Berndts.

(Kampon Malaku) = Kampong Maloku, to the south of central Macassar. The meaning is Moluccas Kampong.
(Kampu Wara) Unidentified, but the meaning of North Kampong is clear.
(Kampon Kota) = Unidentified, but the meaning of the central part of the town is clear (Matthes 1859:20-1).
(Panambuna) = Panambungang, about 2 kilometres south of central Macassar.
(Kampu Mundjung) = Kampong Udjung (Tana) in central Macassar; or Kampong Kundjung to the south of the city near Galesong.
(Rrengura) = Mangkura, a kampong to the south of central Macassar.
(These identifications are based on maps and the suggestions of informants in Macassar.)

A term frequently used for the general area of Macassar is Yumainga. The identification of this name is not absolutely certain, but the most probable suggestion derives it from Djongaya, the old port about 5 kilometres south of central Macassar. This settlement was the capital of Goa until early this century.

The question of place-names in Torres Strait is difficult. As stated in chapter 2, it is difficult to believe that this knowledge is a result of the Macassan presence.

The personal names and place-names known to Aborigines emphasize again the specific connection with Macassar and the Macassarese-Buginese cultural group, and not with any other area or group in Indonesia.

C. Material Culture and the Economic Basis of Society

1) The dug-out canoe

This is widely known by its Macassan name, lipalipa (Macassarese lepa-lepa - Matthes 1859:482) and together with associated sails, ropes, masts, etc. is indisputably derived from Macassan prototypes. Indeed at first, the
canoes were obtained directly from the Macassans, with or without their permission, and they may not have been regularly made by Aborigines until the very end or even after the period of contact (Wilson 1835:146,167; MacGillivray 1852,1:146-7; Worsley 1954:61-4; Morris n.d.:4). It is difficult to believe Warner's statement that none at all were made until after the Macassans ceased coming, though no doubt more had then to be made (Warner 1937 (1964:451)).

Tindale (1925-8:103-11) and Thomson (1949c:52,57-60) have described the making of a dug-out canoe and stress the importance of a metal cutting tool as an addition to the traditional Aboriginal tool-kit. Some Macassan canoes had outriggers, (Matthes 1885: plate 17/3 and 4) but these were not copied by Aborigines, who were satisfied with the smaller, simpler models (Warner 1937 (1964:451); Heeren 1952: 154; Morris n.d.:5). Thomson (1949b:59) also classes the idea of the three strand rope for dugong and turtle fishing as an introduction. If so, it is best associated with the canoe complex.

One interesting line of speculation arises out of early observations of canoes. In 1705 a Dutch expedition recorded bark canoes probably off the Cobourg Peninsula, though possibly Melville Island is meant, or both areas. The absence of iron is also specifically mentioned (Major 1859: 169-70). The next record is by Flinders who describes a bark canoe in Blue Mud Bay. However iron implements are now in demand (Flinders 1814,2:198,213). King (1827,1:67) found a dug-out canoe at South Goulburn Island in 1818, but says

The earliest record of canoes which were almost certainly made in Australia, is in photographs taken on Oenpelli lagoon in the early twentieth century (Masson 1915:opp. 116, 118). Unless they were brought round from the north coast by sea and then overland from the East Alligator River, they must have been made locally, though perhaps by north coast men working for Cahill.
that it was originally Macassan. Thereafter dug-out canoes are frequently recorded in many areas. There is here the faintest suggestion that dug-out canoes only came into regular Aboriginal use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Davidson (1938:62-3,73) comments on the rapid integration of the dug-out canoe into Aboriginal culture, though his remarks on its diffusion are not reliable.

(ii) Metal

Whenever it was first introduced, it is unlikely that it took the Aborigines long to discover the usefulness of iron, and their avidity for it is often mentioned (Dumont d'Urville 1844:33; SAA 790/1876/74:22 and 27 Sept. 1875; Tindale 1925-8:98). The metal items obtained were axes, knives (including various types of sword) and miscellaneous pieces of wire of flat iron from which shovel nose spearheads, harpoon tips, barbs, and so forth could be beaten out. For an example of a Macassan axe, see under site 33; for a knife, site 4a (S3 in plate 10.4); and for a shovel nose spear, site 32d (plate 10.4 compares this spear point, S118, with a piece of crude hoop iron, S115, which could easily have been fashioned into such a point). Matthes (1885) also illustrates an axe (plate 12/20), a range of knives (plate 7) and various types of lances which probably served as models for the shovel nose spear. (plate 8/1b,2, 5,11,12). This last example demonstrates very simply the interaction between a new idea and the new material resource which had to be made available (not just from the Macassans, but from any source) for its implementation (see Harney n.d.: 84).

An interesting problem concerns the use of fish-hooks. The Macassans certainly had them (Matthes 1885: plate XIII/7,8,9 and the evidence of the bronze fish-hooks described in chapter 10) and Thomson (1949c:86) mentions 'nails (for fish hooks etc.), fish hooks and lines' among items
iv) Cloth

Various sorts of cloth are usually mentioned by Aborigines among the items received by them (e.g. Thomson 1949c:72 - calico and blankets). The Macassans were not the first to discover that cloth is a suitably harmless item of trade. Some of this cloth may have been obtained originally from Indian or European sources, though some of the karoro', or sailcloth made from vegetable fibre (Matthes 1859:46) and other local cloths probably also found their way into Aboriginal hands. Occasionally actual clothes seem to have been given to Aborigines (e.g. Napier n.d.:29). This was of doubtful use. Sweatman (1848,2:274) mentions a case in which the Aborigines bartered the clothes given to them by the settlers at Port Essington, to the Macassans in exchange for rice. However there is also record of them wearing sarongs, presumably obtained from Macassans, when meeting Europeans (SAA 1374/A755).

v) Pipes and Tobacco

Though the use of various forms of 'tobacco' is well known in Aboriginal Australia, the smoking of true tobacco in a pipe closely modelled on a Macassan prototype points to this method being an introduction to the contact area, as of course was any non-native tobacco (Berndt & Berndt 1964:96). For an example of a Macassan pipe, though this was chiefly an opium pipe, see Matthes 1885:plate 10/24. Berndt & Berndt (1964:378-9) discuss the use and decoration of Aboriginal pipes (see also Elkin, Berndt & Berndt 1950:102-3, plate 20b; Berndt 1964b:105).

Some of the clay pipes found on a number of sites may have been brought and used by the Macassans, but most were probably distributed by Europeans (see chapter 10).
The use of a pipe for smoking was not essential however, and Searcy (1907:27) records Aborigines smoking cigarettes made from Macassan tobacco. No doubt a large crab claw was also used on occasion, as at present.

vi) Miscellaneous items of material culture

Thomson (1949c:86) says the Macassans brought beads, belts and string. Some of the first have been found on Macassan sites (see chapter 10). Warner (1937 (1964:449)) also mentions belts.

vii) Food and Alcohol

Visitors to a foreign and supposedly barbarous people have usually offered food in the hope of encouraging good relations. To an Aborigine in the wet season any such offers were particularly welcome, nor, when good relations had been established, was the need to reciprocate in terms of work or desirable commodities such as tortoise-shell or pearlshell, particularly onerous. Where even greater intimacy occurred and Aborigines sailed on the praus, there was no choice but to eat the food of the hosts.

The chief items thus brought to the notice of the Aborigines were rice, tamarind fruit, syrup and alcohol. Of these, the first and the last were the most important, though the growth of tamarind trees in Australia eventually provided another minor, but useful source of food in the natural environment. There is also one record of Aborigines using betel (SAA 1374/A755). The point on which Aboriginal tradition is least helpful is in estimating the approximate quantities of food distributed and its importance relative to other sources of supply. Naturally the unusual and exciting are stressed at the expense of the regular and accepted. This deficiency can be made good from other sources.
Firstly it is clear that the Macassans brought the bulk of their labour force with them, and any Aboriginal help or trading was incidental. They had no need to come into contact with large groups of Aborigines. Furthermore, any single group only came into contact with the Macassans for the relatively short time that praus happened to be working in the vicinity. For the remainder of the year, it was necessary to rely on traditional foods, though iron and the dug-out canoe may have made their acquisition easier.

Secondly some figures do survive. The papers of 3 praus in 1883-4 distinguished supplies brought for the crew from those brought for export. The quantities are shown in table 11.3.

Table 11.3
Rice and Alcohol on 3 Praus, 1883-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prau</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Alcohol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crew</td>
<td>Export</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piculs</td>
<td>piculs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SAA 790/1884/177
See appendix 8 for names of praus

Prau L also brought nothing for export in 1902-3 (SAA 790/1903/438).

While the precise reliability of these figures may be questioned, it is clear from the calculations on the total amounts of rice brought, that they cannot be very far wrong
(see chapter 13). The Macassans needed most of their rice for themselves, and this cannot have been substantially different even before the squeeze of the last 30 years of the industry.

The position regarding alcohol is a little more obscure. If really large quantities were essential to the industry, no European observer saw praus carrying it and the drop in quantity as a result of higher duties - and that in the face of fairly observant Customs officers - passed remarkably quietly. Even before this, the quantities involved as suggested in table 11.3, should be compared with the vastly greater quantities consumed in the area today. Just how far would a couple of dozen bottles go among a crew of perhaps 35 over about 6 months, and leave some over for Aborigines? No doubt there were cases of gross drunkenness with unfortunate results, but when the available quantities of alcohol are compared with the number of people involved, it is obvious that such cases can hardly have been common occurrences. Both nineteenth century European observers and modern Aborigines have had their reasons for exaggerating the amount of alcohol available.

A major difficulty for Aborigines in the use of rice must have been the need for an efficient receptacle for cooking.10 Pottery can hardly have been used away from Macassan camp sites, and tin cans appear to be a European introduction. There is a similar difficulty in the storage and transportation of alcohol. There is only one record which may indicate the presence of whole bottles in an Aboriginal camp (White 1918:146).

In short, we may conclude that although Aborigines obtained some food and alcohol from the Macassans and,

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10 Compare the ease with which flour can be prepared, and the analogy with methods of preparing native foods.
understandably, were always ready to obtain more, the actual amounts spread over the total population and the entire year were comparatively insignificant.

viii) Economic Thought and Practice

The concept of barter, that is the mutual interchange of goods, was customary throughout Aboriginal Australia, though it is usually overlaid with ceremonial connotations as well. It is against this background that the exchange of goods with the Macassans should be seen (Warner 1937 (1964: 450)). However although coinage was certainly known in Australia (Berndt & Berndt 1954a:45; see also the coins described in chapter 10) and perhaps the Macassans thought in monetary terms, there is no evidence of any use of money by Aborigines. Indeed the fact that the Aborigines speak of specific trading partners emphasizes the way in which the process, in their eyes, was made to conform with existing patterns of interchange (Warner 1937 (1964:449); Berndt & Berndt 1954:43). Yet the extent to which they invested this trading relationship with added meaning is unknown and some ethnographers have tended to minimize the ceremonial import of the exchange (Thomson 1949c:51; Worsley 1954:77-8). There must have been many occasions when a particular group of Aborigines met Macassans with whom they had had no previous contact. Their response to this situation can be guessed from that displayed to early Europeans. Napier (n.d.:50), for example, says that the Aborigines in Castlereagh Bay in 1867 'make very hard bargains; for a parcel of tortoise shell which they wished to sell, nothing less than a tomahawk would satisfy them.'

The exact comprehension by Aborigines of wages, or goods paid for labour, is also in doubt. Certainly a few men did actually work for the Macassans (Howard in SAPP 1866-7/79:1; Dashwood 1902:42q.478; also 43 q.513) but the number of
crewmen on the praus indicates that the Macassans themselves provided the bulk of the labour. Furthermore, although Worsley in particular has argued that 'the aborigines were... fully acquainted with wage labour' (Worlsey 1954:75; also 1955a:3), his list of masking features obscures or compromises the situation so seriously that it may be doubted whether the essential idea was there at all. However the situation probably varied from one area to another. Thus Daeng Sarro points out that on the Cobourg Peninsula, an area of considerable acculturation, 'the people were peaceful and the men prepared to work on board the ships, collecting trepang in return for food and tobacco' (Cense 1952:262; appendix 12:182).

Thomson (1949c: passim, but particularly 82-94) has expounded in detail a theory that the acquisition by coastal Aborigines of highly valued items of material culture as a result of Macassan contact gave 'a special impetus' to the ceremonial exchange cycle far inland. Certainly some items such as iron and glass, seem to have travelled some distance, although it is now probably impossible to plot the limits of distribution. However similar exchange cycles are such a regular feature of traditional Aboriginal society that the special nature of this one can perhaps be over-emphasized (Warner 1937 (1964:450); Stanner 1933-4; McCarthy 1939). The oldest reference to the practice in the area is by Earl (1842:140) at Port Essington. 'All the clothes, iron, axes, &c., that the natives of the coast have taken from us goes into the interior, but I cannot discover that they get anything in exchange but spears, and perhaps food.'

ix) Groote Eylandt Society

Rose (1961) has argued that the introduction of the dug-out canoe permitted the permanent occupation of Groote
Eylandt by a society which, unlike that in Arnhem Land, depended basically on the resources of the sea, and thus maintained a greater density of population on land. While the dug-out canoe has certainly been very important in the traditional economy of Groote Eylandt, the complexities of the historical and ethnographic situation throughout the whole area are too great to allow such confident conclusions to be drawn.

x) Additional Claims

A number of other instances of Macassan influence on Aboriginal material culture have been suggested, but require further substantiation.

The most important concerns the use and manufacture of pottery. Berndt & Berndt (1947a), on the basis of the content of certain songs of which they publish two, state that Aborigines assisted in the manufacture of the earthenware pottery found on Macassan sites, which was made in Australia from local termite mounds, and that they were familiar with its use for cooking. There is no reason to doubt the last point, as presumably the sight of rice being prepared would have been common to all Aborigines visiting sites or travelling on the praus. There is no specific evidence for Aborigines using pots to cook rice independently of the Macassans, but it may have occasionally happened. Such pots could have been obtained from the Macassans.

The question of the manufacture of pottery in Australia is very different. The evidence against this, though essentially negative, is very strong. Firstly there is no indication in any documentary or archaeological material that the Macassans had any other object in coming to Australia than the collection of natural products, chiefly trepang. It would be most unusual within the pattern of pottery
manufacture and supply in the archipelago if its manufacture were undertaken during a voyage of this character. Quite adequate supplies were available through the normal channels. Certainly all the pottery found could have been imported both in respect of design and quantity. Secondly, there has now been a considerable amount of ethnographic and archaeological work in the relevant areas of Australia, yet no direct material evidence, such as clay quarries, rudimentary wheels, paddles or the like, has been found. Key (1969) has discussed the difficulties of making any pottery from the termite mounds, the alleged source of clay, and the microscopic examination of thin sections prepared from a number of sherds indicates that they have not been made from such material. Indeed the volcanic minerals present could not have been obtained anywhere in northern Australia.

It is possible that the similarity in colour and texture between the earthenware pottery and termite mound material has led to this confusion. The words used for the pottery in the songs published by the Berndts, except for one unidentifiable case, are actually derived from Macassarese or Malay terms for vessels. Thus they cannot have the primary meaning of 'termite mound' though Professor Berndt (pers. comm.) has confirmed that they are used in this sense.

Kauwa - Macassarese Kawa - a large round iron pan, also used for cooking trepane (Matthes 1859:62)
Dandanga - Bahasa Indonesia Dandang - rice boiler steamer
Jormudjin - Unidentified
Bam'munijauwi) - Macassarese Pammoneang-pot
Bamudja ) (Matthes 1859:178)
Bamunija )

(Berndt & Berndt 1947a:135; 1954:44)
My informants have often given the first two words above with approximately their correct meaning, as well as a term (Wurri) for pottery which is the Macassarese *urring* meaning a cooking pot (Matthes 1859:672). The usual eastern Arnhem Land word for termite mound is Gundirr. McCarthy & Setzler (1960:287, 293-4) and Mulvaney (1966:454-5) also doubt that Aborigines made pottery.

It should be noted that if no pottery was made in Australia, much of the point is removed from the debate about the failure of the Aborigines to learn the art (Thomson 1954; Berndt 1954; Burland 1955). While some of the men who sailed back with the praus may have seen pottery being made, it was only one wonder among many greater.

Berndt & Berndt (1948:311; also Berndt 1964b:6) have suggested the use of shark-skin sandpaper as a Macassan introduction. Thomson (1949c:17) thinks that large rectangular wet season huts were probably developed or modified by Macassan influence.

D. Art and Legend

i) Bark Paintings and Cave Paintings

The most usual subject directly related to the Macassans, which is depicted in these media is a prau. Plate 11.3 for example illustrates a fine bark by Mawalan. Plate 11.4 shows two praus at Yinimalawalyamadja shelter about a mile WNW

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11 Several words relating to the subject were collected from the artist while he was painting. The upper knife is called (Tarpalngu); middle knife, (Sili); lower knife, (Bardang); goat (right of mast), (Timbala); fowl (beside canoe), (Gurnaowu); cauldrons (in bow), (Malara); bags of rice (in bow), (Balati); bamboo (between bags), (Lungi). The three cabins with figures belong, from left to right - or stern to bow, to the captain, the second-in-command and the 'boys'. The present location of the painting is not known.
of Central Hill on Groote Eylandt (Map ref. 473.229½).\textsuperscript{12} Another prau, somewhere on Groote Eylandt, is illustrated in colour by Baglin & Mullins (1969). It is notable that none of the sites recorded by McCarthy (1960a) on Groote Eylandt contain praus, but it is difficult to suggest any explanation for this. The depiction of objects such as dug-out canoes or metal axes does not illustrate contact so specifically as these can be regarded as a part of Aboriginal culture.

There may also be unrecorded cave paintings of praus in the Wessel Islands (Chaseling 1957:93), though the photographs I have seen have all been of Japanese or European luggers.

Occasionally more detail will be shown in a bark painting, as in plate 11.5. Mr J.A. Davidson has in his possession (1967) a superb bark painted by Mathaman in 1965 depicting two praus and the process of boiling the trepang. Mountford (1956:98-100) discusses several paintings of praus from Groote Eylandt and links them with associated legends and songs.

There have been a number of attempts to discern Macassan influence on the style, as well as the content of bark painting. However Mountford's comparison of art motifs from Arnhem Land with those figured in Kaudern is misleading, as the latter relate to the Toradja and it is most unlikely that there is any Toradja influence in Australia. (Mountford 1956:336 n. 78; see also Berndt 1958:255). Tuckson (in Berndt 1964b:65) also attributes the 'diamond-shaped patterning' in some Arnhem Land art to Macassan influence.

\textsuperscript{12} Professor Worsley, to whom I am indebted for providing enough information to enable me to visit this site, has also noticed praus at Enderura and Mangala on the south side of Dalumbu Bay (pers. comm.). There are still many unrecorded cave paintings on Groote Eylandt.
but adduces no evidence. McCarthy (n.d.:190) makes similar unsubstantiated claims for floral elements.\textsuperscript{13}

ii) Stone Pictures
See appendix 10.

iii) Sculpture

One of the most striking features of Arnhem Land art is the manufacture of representational sculptures carved in the round. In western Arnhem Land these are made from clay or wax, but in the east they are carved out of wood. In some ways they are similar to the totemic figures made from grass and reeds. Berndt (1958:259-60) has argued against Mountford (1956:416-9) that the technique of carving at least the unelaborated figures of eastern Arnhem Land is not a recent introduction, and in this, he is surely correct. Carvings are found both of the great sacred figures and of legendary and even historical figures. Berndt & Berndt (1949), Elkin, Berndt & Berndt (1950) and Mountford (1956) have illustrated and described some of the specimens collected which depict Macassans and even a Dutchman. These secular figures are basically illustrative and are parallel to other treatments of the same themes in song and legend, though occasionally the design used on a figure may have some separate degree of sanctity.

The association of carving with Macassan subjects and with elaborated grave posts has led most writers on this subject to assume that the practice has been developed, or even introduced as a result of contact. However, although the range of subjects was certainly extended, there is little

\textsuperscript{13} Davidson (1949) suggests that the interlocking key design in the area around Broome is an introduction from Indonesia.
evidence for such technical innovation. Cense (1952:260-1) has discussed the problem of finding a model for carved grave posts in South Celebes (see also Heeren 1952:156). It is much easier to suppose that, whatever Mawalan told Mountford (1956:416-7) in 1948, the idea of carving grave posts came from an already existing tradition of carving representational, or at least schematic figures (see below for the introduction of the grave post). In the context of the rich and varied art of the region, such a gradation would be interesting, but hardly surprising. Nor would it be quite as distinctive as Berndt & Berndt (1964:372-5) suggest in their review of the practice, since they do not mention such parallels as the carved figures McCarthy collected on Cape York Peninsula and now in the Australian Institute of Anatomy. Even within Arnhem Land, Warren (1918:8) saw on the Rose River in 1916 what was clearly another form of carving described as a female 'idol' about 8 ft. 6 ins. high with 'a roughly carved face'. If it is true that the addition of arms and legs to the usual Arnhem Land figures is a fairly recent development (Berndt 1958:259-60; Berndt & Berndt 1964:372) there is still no reason why this should be the direct result of outside influence rather than an independent elaboration, though the introduction of iron tools may have had something to do with this.

Adam (1953) claims that a wooden replica of a kris was observed by Daisy Bates as far south as South Australia. This sounds unlikely.

iv) Songs and Legends

As they played a significant part in recent history, it is natural that the Macassans and their doings should figure in Aboriginal stories, songs and other oral material. Such material is best described as legendary (in the strict sense of the term) since the original basis of fact has often
been subtly adapted. Berndt & Berndt (1947a:135-6) have published two out of a great song cycle of 150 songs relating to the Macassans in northeast Arnhem Land. Another is given in Berndt 1952:282-3 and six more in Berndt 1965. On Groote Eylandt, Moyle (pers. comm.) has recorded an intriguing song about a Macassan swimming in the sea while drunk (Miss J. Stokes has transcribed and translated this). Among the Nunggubuyu of Rose River, Dr van der Leeden (pers. comm.) has recorded, transcribed and analyzed several songs relating to the Macassans. He makes the point, which is also well known from further north, that such material 'belongs' to specific groups, in this case, the Wurindji-Jirga'ri clan of the Mandari'dja moiety.

Many stories relating to the Macassans have also been collected by various workers (e.g. Worsley 1954:181; Robinson 1956:53-4; Morris n.d.). Much of the traditional information on specific sites can be regarded as legendary. See, for example, Berndt & Berndt (1964a).

Most of this material needs much more rigorous examination, both historical and linguistic, than it has so far received. It is difficult for example, to accept Berndt's claim that Aborigines accompanied Macassans to Torres Strait (Berndt 1954:93,101). If the Macassans did get this far, it is inconceivable that no one else saw them or that there is no other convincing evidence of this (chapter 2; Heeren 1952:156). Yet this is to question the whole interpretation that Berndt has put on the Badu song cycle.

More importantly, there is the difficult question of the Baiini. Both the Berndts and to a lesser extent Mountford, who were working in eastern Arnhem Land in the late 1940s, collected stories about a group of people who are supposed to have visited the area before the Macassans. Unfortunately it is not now possible to collect any further accounts as the older men have died and the younger men forgotten, a process
to which Berndt (1965:5) has drawn attention. In 1967, many men had no knowledge of the Baiini at all, while the few, such as Mun-gurrawuy and Mawalan, who did know about them, recalled only the most general points. In the case of one informant, Burramurra, they had become integrated into an elaborate fantasy world.

It is necessary then to turn to the original accounts, though, unfortunately, full texts have never been published. However a number of matters seem to be well established: the Baiini came before the Macassans; as well as collecting trepang, they exhibited a wide range of technology including building in stone and rice agriculture; they were lighter in skin-colour than the Macassans; they included women, which was a marked difference from usual Macassan practice; and they were associated with a large number of individual places in eastern Arnhem Land. (See Berndt & Berndt 1949: 219-22; Elkin, Berndt & Berndt 1950:85; Berndt R. 1952:28, 55; Berndt & Berndt 1954:32-9; Mountford 1956:333-8; Berndt 1964a:passim.)

Various more or less factual comments need to be made. Firstly the name Baiini is indubitably derived from some form of the general Malayo-Polynesian root meaning woman. Berndt & Berndt (1954:34) draw attention to cognates used on Butung and Salajar, which is only to say that the word is not unnaturally found in Macassarese and Buginese (Matthes 1859:232; 1874:236). Secondly a great deal of the material is permeated with words and ideas derived either from a Macassarese source or at least from a generalized Malay base. Cense (1952:258-9) has drawn attention to several detailed examples, and very many more can readily be seen. For example, two of the personal names of the Baiini given by Moutford, Tainitja and Dainbari (Mountford 1956:336) probably include the Macassarese-Buginese Daeng title. Further, no archaeological remains of any sort connected with Baiini
have ever been recognized, although much of the area has been more or less intensively traversed. For example the Gove Peninsula, where there are many sites with traditional Baiini associations, is very well known. Lastly, as a negative comment, the suggestion that the Baiini may have been Bajau or Sea Nomads (Berndt & Berndt 1954:34), cannot now be supported in the light of Sopher's (1965) work.

While the mythological reality of the Baiini is indisputable, their historical existence can only be described as shadowy. Further publication may remove some of these shadows, but the possibility remains that it will not. The most important question in any complete exegesis is to determine what, if anything, cannot be attributed to a Macassarese-Buginese source.

It would be less than honest to conclude this section without expressing a personal and interim evaluation. It is my opinion that the Baiini myths are totally derived from Aboriginal experience in South Celebes and possibly other areas, obtained during visits with the Macassans. The remarkable associations with particular sites are the product of complicated transference mechanisms, while the temporal element is a more or less inevitable rationalization.

E. Social Organization and Ceremonial

i) Eastern Arnhem Land

a) The Macassans and objects associated with them fall into the Yirritja moiety, that is the moiety generally associated with an 'outward' and 'innovatory' orientation (Warner 1937 (1964:31)). Various patrilineal clans (mala) in this moiety claim totems connected with Macassans. Berndt (1964b:106, plate 73b) illustrates a hollow log coffin decorated with a totemic prau. Thomson has recorded the more surprising example of a gin bottle totem (Thomson 1949b: 60; 1949c:89-90, plate 5). He also claims a specific type
of dog totem as an introduction, but this seems doubtful (Thomson 1949b:61, plate opp.62, left).

b) A model of a Macassan anchor is used in mustering people for a funeral ceremony and for the ceremonial capture of women (Thomson 1949b:60-1; it is not clear whether the same or additional uses are referred to earlier on p. 60). A fine model of a similar anchor used in love magic is in the University of Western Australia museum. It is illustrated and discussed by Elkin, Berndt & Berndt (1950:86,91, plate 19b).

c) The most spectacular manifestation of Macassan influence on ceremonial is in the mortuary ceremonies of certain 'saltwater' Yirritja clans. Warner (1937 (1964:420-3)) describes the initial burial of the body with the symbolism relating to it (the body) being regarded as a mast.\(^\text{14}\) It is at this stage that the Macassarese chants, explicated by Cense (see above) are used. A separate memorial ceremony is held later, and elements of it may be repeated in various places if an important man is involved. When totemically appropriate to the particular deceased, a representation of a prau may be made by heaping up lines of sand, with the totemic waterhole symbolically depicted in the centre (Thomson 1949b:60, plate opp.62). The essential elements of memorial however are the setting up of a grave post and mast.

The basic idea of the grave post is probably an introduction based on any of the many variants of this idea.

\(^{14}\) In the 'traditional' situation, secondary burial was also practised whether the body was buried or, as with other clans, exposed on a tree platform. See also Warner (1937 (1964:33, 408)) where the groups participating are specified more clearly. I am grateful to Mr N. Peterson for clarification on this point.
found throughout the archipelago, and including South Celebes. Indeed it seems that at least some of the graves of Macassans who died in Australia had such posts (see appendix 9), which provides a clear source of origin. However, as Cense (1952:260-1) and others have pointed out, the practice of carving the post into the shape of a head has no clear parallel, and this is probably an independent embellishment of the idea (see above).

The setting up of the mast, which usually has a flag, symbolizes the idea of departure, after the model of the erection of the masts for the departure of the praus. Many such masts are currently to be seen about settlements in the area. Heeren (1952:156) is surely wrong in suggesting a generalized origin for the symbolism of the mast. It is much too specifically connected with the Macassans.

d) Berndt & Berndt (1949:213-7) have described a secular ceremony centering around a carved wooden figure, which is carried through a camp by a party of men who collect any objects they can find. Sometimes the ceremony is held as an adjunct to a mortuary ritual. There are various Aboriginal identifications of this figure, all of them associated with Macassar and Macassans, though as Heeren (1952:158) points out, they involve an extraordinary distortion of reality. Further complexity arise from the fact that the main term for the central figure, Wuramu, is also used for various other types of carved wooden secular figures and for grave posts. Mountford (1956:416-9) also has a rather confused account of much the same material.

The Berndts have connected the ceremony with the Aboriginal concept of a Macassan funeral. Cense (1952:260) however, has suggested a less specific derivation from various Macassarese customs. There remain a number of puzzling features about the ceremony, but these cannot be understood without a very careful analysis of the linguistic
material and a full consideration of the function of the ceremony in 'traditional' society. From the evidence as published, the present writer would hazard a guess that the basic inspiration of the ceremony is not the imitation of a Macassan ritual, but lies in Aboriginal society itself. The strong Macassan associations have arisen out of what Aborigines have supposed to be similar situations in Macassan life, though in fact these situations (business dealings with Dutch officials and the entrepreneurs of voyages, local violence in South Celebes, various Macassarese-Buginese ceremonies, etc.) were quite different.

e) Warner (1937 (1964:38)) suggested that the unusually large size of the Murungin group proper is a result of the mobility induced by Macassan contact. This is possible, though some later investigators would question the validity of Warner's ethnographic observations on this point.

ii) Groote Eylandt

a) Some of the wind totems are known by names derived from Macassarese terms (see above) and are represented in bark painting by prau sails. The prau itself also appears as a totem (Worsley 1954:94-7; 1955a:5; 1955b; Rose 1947; Adam 1951:179-81).

b) Worlsey (1954:164-5) also suggests that the hollow log coffin was probably introduced by the Macassans. There is no specific evidence for this, and in view of Warner's discussion on the recent use of the practice on the mainland, there would seem to be no need to invoke Macassan influence (Warner 1937 (1964:460-3)).

iii) General

a) Elkin (in Berndt 1951:xv,xxi-ii) has related the supposed origin of the Gunabibi cult in the lower Victoria
River area and of the Mother cult of western Arnhem Land on the Cobourg Peninsula to contacts with voyagers from the north. If the Macassans are meant, this theory must be regarded as very improbable. Heeren (1962:157) shows that even in pre-Islamic culture in South Celebes at least, there is no model for such cults.

F. Miscellaneous

i) Warner (1937 (1964:450)) and McCarthy (n.d.:190) state that the Van Dyke beard style is an imitation of the Macassans. The style certainly appears on some of the carved figures of Macassans, which shows that the shape of Macassan beards was noticed. Although there is no more specific evidence, this seems a highly probable introduction.

ii) McCarthy (n.d.:70) mentions the introduction of boiling as a method of cooking. This depends on the possession of efficient containers and the regular practice is better associated with tin cans supplied by Europeans in the late nineteenth century (see above).

iii) Moyle (1964:22) suggests that the 'shaky voice' style of singing on Groote Eylandt may owe something to Macassan influence, but rightly emphasizes the uncertainty of the evidence. Dr van der Leeden (pers. comm.) has also made this point about certain Nunggubuyu songs.

iv) Berndt & Berndt (1947b:249) state that a form of card game was learnt by the Aborigines from the Macassans. No detailed evidence is provided, and it would seem possible that there has been some unconscious accretion of ideas by informants in the work-camps of the period.

v) Warner (1937 (1964:457)) suggests that the idea of a man acquiring the soul of a man he has killed, may be an introduction, possibly Macassan. This seems rather unlikely.
vi) McCarthy (1960b:441-2,461-2,500-1) illustrates three string figures from Yirrkala representing Macassan subjects.

vii) There are also many guesses, more or less inspired, about possible influences dating from before the period of detailed ethnographic work among the Aborigines. Most of these can be safely neglected. For example, Ratzel (1896,1:184) mentions the extension of the bamboo, objection to pig-meat and the absence of the boomerang in Arnhem Land.

From the above list, it is evident that Macassan influence has been quite extensive in certain aspects of Aboriginal life, but that it did not transform the fundamental bases of society. Furthermore, this influence was only felt directly in the areas immediately contiguous to the region of contact, that is in the Northern Territory, the coastal strip from Cape Don to the Pellew. Even within this area, some groups such as the Burara whose coastal area near the mouth of the Blyth River was rather poor trepanning ground, or the Gunavidji, inland from Maningrida, seem to have been less affected than groups in better trepanning areas such as around the Gove Peninsula. There is no certain evidence of influence beyond the normal limits of travel by an Aborigine who might have met the Macassans himself, except possibly for the disposal of a few iron implements.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\) The geographical spread of various elements of Macassan influence is a question deserving further study, but it is outside the scope of the present work.
There are a number of reasons why the contact did not produce an even greater effect on Aboriginal culture and society. The most obvious is the seasonal and fairly transitory nature of Macassan activity in Australia. In addition, only a very limited part of the total Macassarese-Buginese culture was exhibited in the course of a voyage and only the relatively small number of Aboriginal men returning to Macassar saw anything of agriculture, permanent buildings and the full range of social and religious life. Few Macassan items, even of material culture, fitted easily into the pattern of Aboriginal life. Warner (1937 (1964: 137-8)) has stressed the Aboriginal need for absolute mobility, so that, for example, the use of pottery for cooking was hardly feasible. However the underlying cause for the limitations to the influence was that there was no pressing economic or ideological competition between the two cultures. In comparison, the deep effects on Aboriginal culture and society induced by European contact have usually been produced by far fewer European individuals and over a much shorter period, but these few have made insistent demands for land and sometimes for labour, together with usually well-meaning attempts to introduce 'proper' notions of dress, social custom and religion.16

Yet it is apparent from the complete integration of an item such as the dug-out canoe into Aboriginal technology, and the introduction of exotic items into the totemic complex that Aboriginal society cannot be characterized as conservative and unable to adapt itself to new conditions. The difficulty of supplying a 'background in tradition' for any new cultural

16 The comparison and contrast between the nature of the Macassan industry and European activities, particularly on modern missions, government settlements, mines and other commercial enterprises, and the resulting effects on Aboriginal culture and society in the same area of contact present themselves forcibly to the observer.