Abstract

This research paper aims at providing a review of the literature and media coverage on the ethno-history of the Indigenous Moronene community. Thus far, there are less than a handful of sources on the ethno-linguistic identity and society that spread across the Rumbia Plain, Polea or Poleang coastal region and Kabaena Island in the District of Bombana, Indonesia.

The review consists of the major events, which introduced external shocks to different parts of the Moronene society. It begins with the history of the ethnic settlement on the mainland of Southeast Celebes, locus of its ethno-linguistic relations with other ethnic groups in Celebes and important ethnical structures and attributes. Furthermore, it continues with a description of the time line of major events that affect the society from the moment the country gained its independency in 1945 until the present time.

We argue that ethnic and linguistic characteristics as well as these major events shape not only people’s collective actions and memory, but also their current identity, structure and patterns of social and environmental relationships. Linking this information into discussion of current social and development issues in the region is therefore a necessity.

Keywords: Ethno-Linguistics, Indigenous, Moronene, Southeast Celebes,
I. Background
1.1. Ethno-Linguistic Relation

The Moronene (de Jong, 2010; Elbert, 1920) or the Maronene (Lebar, 1972) is an ethno-linguistic community group, which spreads through the southeastern tip of the Sulawesi Island and the island of Kabaena. By its lexical similarity, Sneddon grouped the Moronene into the Bungku-Mori ethno-linguistic group (Mead, 1999). This suggests connection with other groups in the region such as the Tolak in the northern of the mainland, the Kulusus in the northern part of Buton, the Meniu and the Wawoniin islands east to the Sulawesi, as well as the Bungkuin central east part of Sulawesi (Mead, 1999). According to this ethno-linguistic relation, local historians often propose that the Moronene could be the oldest group in the southeastern part of the Sulawesi.

![Figure 1. Sneddon’s Bungku-Mori Language Group (Mead, 1999)](image)

The Moronene language itself has two main dialects: Witae and To’kotua. Witae is the prestige dialect, spoken by group in Rumbia (east) and Polea (west), whereas To’kotua is common among those in Kabaena Island (Mead, 1999). These three dialect groups form the Moronene community today. The language is still vigorously spoken by group members in many villages especially in Rumbia and Kabaena, on both formal and informal events, such as traditional feasts, and gardening, a young
man’s circumcision ritual (Mead, 1999), in churches’ letter writing as well as in traditional songs such as the *Kada* and the *Ohoho* or other epic songs are still popular and used to accompany traditional dance at the end of the marriage ceremony called *pinokompekai* (Andersen, 1999). In *Polea* or recently called *Poleang* (to adjust with to the Buginese pronunciation as the Buginese today the majority in the area), many Moronene people choose to speak *bahasa* (Indonesian lingua-franca), presumably to ease interaction with the Buginese (Limba, 2014).

**1.2. The Ancestor’s Movement and Ethno-Linguistic Group Distribution**

There are different arguments regarding modes and pathways that the Moronene ancestors took to get to where the ethno-linguistic groups are found today. Local historians have different opinions regarding this matter. Some argue that they took a long walk through western coastline of the Sulawesi. This explains why the Moronene groups still exist along the west coast villages, such as in *Rate-rate* and *Kolaka*. Indeed, the current Mokole, maintains that these villages were evident of the expansion of the Moronene kingdom in the past. Others, however, believe that their ancestor traveled across the eastern sea line with *perahu* (wooden boat) all the way to the south. This explains why in islands east to the Sulawesi, the languages have lexical similarity. Abdurrauf Tarimana (1989), a prominent Tolaki historian and anthropologist, however, proposed that the Moronene used to dominate the central part of the Southeast Sulawesi mainland but pushed down south as it lost its long tribal war with the Tolaki.

*Figure 2. The Current Mokole of Rumbia, Alfian Pimpie, explaining to me genealogy and history of the Moronene’s past*
De Jong (2010) also echoed the similar story and added in detail that the end of the war marked with the BambuKuning (Yellow Bamboo) agreement between the Tolakinese and the Moronene. Part of the agreement was that the Moronene maintained the area where the yellow bamboo plant distributes, and the rest belonged to the Tolakinese (ibid, 2010). The range of this BambuKuning distribution covers approximately what is now the Roraya Village (South Konawe District) all the way to the west towards Mendoke Mountain Range (ibid, 2010).

1.3. The Social Structure and relation

The Moronene groups have customary leaders called Mokole (Limba et al., 2014). A Mokole is considered representation of the God (sangia) in the world and thus has the authority to look after the land and its people. Rumbia, Polea, and Kabaena region have and elected their respective Mokole. A Mokole is given title o pau means the honorable. For example, Mokole in Rumbia is given a title o pau no Rumbia (the honorable of Rumbia). Each Mokole coordinates a kampo or tobu (settlements/village) in their respective area. Kampo or tobu is led by a chief, called kapalakampo or puutobu (the head of the settlement/village).

![Figure 3. A Typical Social Organisation of The Moronene (YayasanSulu)](image)

Mokole is patriarchal arrangement, and only descendant of Mokole can hold the status. If a Mokole has more than one wife, the eldest son of the first wife who also marries the Moronene has the purest status and should thus be prioritised as the next crown. However, if he is considered incapable (for example, because of certain illness, or defects), his next blood
brother or closest male cousins who marry the Moronene are second in line. Kapalakampo can be from those who have close kinship relation with the Mokole. After-independence period, the rule in electing a Mokole stayed the same, but not with that of Kapalakampo. Those males who are from middle-rank in community (Limbo) and have leadership talent might be chosen as Kapalakampo. Under the first Indonesian village law introduced in 1967, women may hold the position as the village head, but thus far there is no woman’s village head in the region. Although the current vice of regent, MasyurallaLadamai, is the first woman of Kabaena origin to assume leadership position. It is also important to mention that the descendant of slave (o ata) used to unable to hold the position as Kapalakampo, but this rule is increasingly weakening now as many of those from slave-descendant line have high education and leadership talent and thus elected as village head.

This informal leadership of Mokole is still maintained today, although it may not have as strong an influence as it did in the past. Today Mokole is only positioned as an adat (customary law) stakeholder (pemangkuadat).

Figure 4. Left: The Mokole in Kabaena (Elbert, 1912); Right: The Current Mokole of Kabaena, Rumbia and Polea in a Hukaea-LaeaKapalaKampo Inauguration Ceremony in early 2015.

1.4. The Ancient’s Livelihood and Landuse

The ancestor of the Moronene practiced rain-fed swidden farming with rice and sago as the main staples. They also hunted deer and buffalo, as well as
collected beeswax and dammar gum to sell (Elbert, 1912). Today, group members of the tribe are still foraging, hunting for deer and pigs and collecting rattan, timber and forest food, generally as a strategy to offset famine risks. In 2000, the *Suluh* Foundation, a local NGO providing legal mediation to the tribe during an eviction (see below), assisted those in *tobuHukaea-Laea* to summarize their social organization and traditional land use system (see Table 1 and figure 4) as well as to delineate and map each of these land use types (see figure below) (Muis, 2011).

### Table 1. Land-use classification in Hukaea-Laea Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land use type</th>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Size (hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary forest</td>
<td><em>Inalahipue</em></td>
<td>4,623.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffer forest</td>
<td><em>Inalahipopalia</em></td>
<td>2,599.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden forest</td>
<td><em>Inalahipeumaa/kotoria</em></td>
<td>2,420.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest patch</td>
<td><em>Olobu</em></td>
<td>1,077.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryland farms</td>
<td><em>Kura</em></td>
<td>1,195.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savanna grassland</td>
<td><em>Tana lapa/lueno</em></td>
<td>11,471.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangrove</td>
<td><em>Bako</em></td>
<td>2,593.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Yayasan Suluh (Muis, 2011)

Arranged marriages between kin are still common among the *Moronene*. The boy serves a one to three year probationary period with his future parents-in-law, during which sexual relations between the couple are forbidden (Elbert 1912: 1, 272-273). Inheritance is transmitted through
paternal kinship lines, including the land (NurArafah, 2001, p.54). In the past, the old religion was animism (ancestor spirits and nature spirits) (Elbert 1912: 271-272). The corpse is often preserved and unburied for up to one year. Graves are marked by mounds or decorated posts (Elbert 1912: 1, 270-71; Kennedy 1935; Noorduyn et al., 1991). Today, Islam and Christianity are prevalent (Mead, 1999). Hinduism is observed among the Balinese trans-migrant communities (NurArafah, 2001).

1.5. Population

Andersen (1999) estimated that the population of the Moronene in 1999 was around 37,000 people. The national population census in 2010 randomly asked 10 percent of the population (roughly 130,000) to identify their cultural/socio linguistic identification (sukubangsa) and only around 20% of the respondents claimed to be from the Moronene group. While data from the census has often been debated for its accuracy, we can see that the number of Moronene may indeed be in decline if we look at the naming of the villages across the coastlines, which indicates dominancy of the Buginese people.

Figure 7. The Traditional House of the Moronene (left); the naming of house parts (Elbert, 1912).

Figure 8. The traditional house of the Moronene in Hukaea and Laea enclave of the RawaAopaWatumohai National Park
Today forty-one ethnic groups inhabit the Bombana district; the largest include the Bugis and Javanese (Mead and Lee, 2007, p.29-30; BPS, 2010). It is not clear when the Bugis first arrived in the district. Velthoen (2002) mentioned that the Bugis had settled in Kendari Bay from 1850 (p.76), while de Jong (2011) noted that Dutch expeditions had encountered Bugis traders in the area since the late nineteenth century (de Jong, 2011). The large Bugis migration is believed to occur in the 1980s along with the booming cocoa plantations. Javanese migrated into the area mainly through national transmigration from 1979 to 1980 (this will be further discussed in next section). They spread into nine transmigration settlements (satuanpemukiman or SP), many of which no longer exist, due in large part to the unsuitability of soils and climate. Some still exist including Lombakasih settlement (SP2), Lantari settlement (SP1) and Aneka Marga settlement (SP3) (ReksonLimba, Pers.Comm).

1.7. The Moronene’s Son Map Significance

During the colonization period, the Dutch only recognized the Buton Sultanate. The Moronene kingdom was considered the Buton’s sub ordinance. The diverse and separated political groups of Moronene were never being properly identified and recognized. On map, the Dutch recognized that the Moronene kingdom was centered in Rumbia, even though Polea and Kabaena groups have always been different political entities.

Post-Indonesian independency, the Moronene’s significance was still shadowed by the Buton sultanate. Likewise the Dutch, the Buton sultanate also recognized that Polea and Kabaena were integrated with Rumbia and ruled by the same Mokole. During this period, Mokole was inaugurated with ceremonies by the sultans in Buton (AlfianPimpie, Pers.Comm).
When the Southeast Sulawesi Province was established in 1950s, the Buton became a single district. All Moronene ethnic groups’ locales (Rumbia, Polea and Kabaena) were put together into one kecamatan(sub-district) called as Rumbia. Sub-district Rumbia, despite its size that is larger than the Buton Island and its location on the mainland, was made part of the Buton district. When Protestant Christian missionary came to the area in 1960s, mainly around Taubonto, the Moronene was re-introduced to the western world. Yet, this also had not properly regarded the Moronene as consisting of groups that is larger than that in Rumbia.

The existence of the Moronene as an ethno-linguistic group and as a social identity had never become more centered than when the district of Bombana became a district separated from the Buton in 2003; thanks to the decentralization system put in place since 1999 in Indonesia (Limba et al., 2014). The Moronene as a social identity and indiginity became bolder. Many young Moronene actors and politicians brought themselves up on the stage, insisting the notion that putradaerah (local youngster) of the Moronene should role in their society. This spirit of recognition of the Moronene had
successfully brought Subhan Tambera as the first vice regent of the Bombana District of Moronene descendant. Indeed, he is the first Moronene to hold formal political position in the history of the region.

Lynch and Harwell (2002) outlined a series of conflicts that the Moronene groups have had in the past with outside parties. This section summaries some of the major events, as literatures narrated and people remember, which had caused social shocks such as eviction of people from their land and disputes over traditional land ownership.

In 1952, the armed rebel guerrilla of the Islamic nationalist movement, Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI-TII), led by a rebel military officer, Kahar Muzakar, penetrated into the sub-district of Rumbia. The guerilla movement looked for local volunteers and logistic support, but often accompanied their appeals with land seizures and intimidation. The Indonesian National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia) eventually swept into the area and declared it as a military operation zone (Daerah Operasi Militer). This pushed DI-TII into nearby areas, such as Kasipute and Tinanggea. DI-TII brought many local residents with them saying that it was for their own
safety. Fearing for their lives members of the native Moronene fled too, but returned when the situation calmed down (Nur Hasanah, 2001).

In 1976, the Ministry of Agriculture issued Decree No. 648/Kpts/um/10/1976 regarding the designation (penetapankawasan) of 50,000 hectares of lowland forest around the Watumohai Mountain as Suaka Margasatwa or wildlife reserve (Sugiarto, 2012). The intention was to create an ex-situ area or area for preservation of vulnerable-wildlife species outside of their original habitat. The issuance of the decree raised concerns among the Moronene as seven of their villages (tobu), where nearly 300 members resided, were included in the park’s area (Maha Adi and Kurniawan, 2002). The Central Government did not take much notice of these concerns.

From the period of 1979 to 1980, the national transmigration program reached Southeast Sulawesi Region (Benoit and Pain, 1989). The demarcation of transmigration zone in the area was a Central Government design and performed without proper consultation with the Moronene (Lynch and Harwell, 2002). The area overlapped forestlands, which the Moronene claimed as their customary land and resources. The issue has not yet been fully resolved and sparked land disputes between the local customary communities and the trans-migrant people. In 1990, the Ministry of Forestry issued Decree No. 756/Kpts-II/1990 which grouped the Watumohai Mountain, the Rumbia Plain Hunting Park and Rawa Aopa Peatswamp wildlife sanctuary as a national park called Rawa Aopa Watumohai (Sugiarto, 2012). The park covered an area of 105,194 ha. Residents of villages in the park in the settlements of Hukaea, Laea, and Lanowndu, resisted moving out (Maha Adi and Kurniawan, 2012). They remain in the park today. The park authority made an informal arrangement by allocating an enclave zone of 366 hectares. An informal arrangement means that village members have no ownership over the land but have limited usage of it. They were often blamed for extraction of timber and other resources from the park, and this led to a series of eviction operations (Lynch and Harwell, 2002). On 16 December 1997, the Provincial Government of Southeast Sulawesi conducted a relocation operation called Sapu Jagat (Clean Swipe) which was aimed at moving the Moronene villages out of the Rawa Aopa National Park area (Lynch and Harwell, 2002, p.97-98; McRae and Tomsa, 2012). The ground for the operation was an accusation delivered by the provincial Governor at the time, La Ode Kaimuddin, that villagers had caused destruction of 3,000 hectares of forests within the park. Kaimuddin reiterated that of 234 residents of Hukaea-Laea village, only two have historical ties to the native
Moronene group, and of 200 residents of Lanowulu village, only seven have such ties (MahaAdi and Kurniawan, 2002). In other words, most people there are deemed to have no hereditary resource use rights of the park, let alone ownership to the land. Villagers refuted this claims and refused to be reallocated. The Sapulagat team moved in knocking down and burning their houses and threatening to shoot tribal leaders. They arrested ten Moronene tribal figures. Fearing for their lives, members of the native Moronene ran and hid in the forests. The team, witnessed by many park rangers, continued burning down the remaining houses. There were approximately 175 houses destroyed and 300 families evicted (Lynch and Harwell, 2002., p.97-98). When the situation calmed down, members of the native Moronene returned to their villages. These operations continued until 2002. There have been a few attempts to file a lawsuit for violations of human rights in the operations, but there have been no lasting solutions (Palisuri, 2014).

Figure 11. Sapulagat Tim demolishes a Moronene house in Hukaea Village (left); a Moronene man looks at ruins of his house (courtesy: Suluh Foundation)

III. Gold Rush and Mining Exploration Bonanza
3.1. Gold Rush

In late September 2008, at the beginning of the Islamic fasting month of Ramadan, the news of the gold discovery in a little stream in Rarowatu sub-district went viral⁸ (Pudjiastuti, 2010). The news was sourced to a local resident by the name of Budi who had been panning for flecks of gold from the river and selling it to a gold shop in town. The selling was so frequent that the shop became suspicious. Concerned that they might be buying illegally sourced gold, they reported their suspicion to the police who arrested and interrogated Budi who later admitted that the gold came out of his artisanal gold production⁹ (Hamdan, 2008; Muttaqin, 2009). The media caught on to this affair and made it a headline for several months in some local newspapers. The news sparked curiosity among local
people of Rarowatu and Bombana. Because of the news, many people from nearby coastal and transmigration villages came to the creek to inspect the site (Pudjiastuti, 2010). Local governments illustrated the discovery as a parable of ‘LailatulQadar’ or night of rejoicing (ANTARA News, 2008). This excited people even more, and the influx of aspirant miners grew quickly. The media reported that around 20,000 had descended on the stream to initiate gold panning by the end of month (Taufiekurrohman, 2008; Zulkarnain 2010). These activities signaled the beginning of the gold rush in the district.

Bombana District government’s lack of control over the influx of artisanal miners and the isolation of the panning site had resulted in the gold search area becoming dense with miners and the mining activity turning destructive. Miners dredged and dug up the stream banks and beds in such rapid fashion that it caused erosion and sediment. High miner mobility also caused an extension of the gold prospecting zone. People then moved downstream and also to the adjoining river Wumbubangka, in the neighboring sub-district of North-Rarowatu. The search also moved to the old village or settlement (perkampungantua) of Wumbubangka, which for many years was the site of land conflicts between the central government and indigenous landowners.

The influx of tens of thousands of people into the area brought by the gold rush was also a major cause of negative social impacts. Migration on such a scale often results in structural changes to society through variation in the demographic, organizational, and institutional factors, as well as variation in micro-scale aspects, such as access to labor, land and other capital. In the upland of Bombana, Pudjiastuti (2010) observed that the gold rush had caused disruptions in social structures and organizations of what had been rural agrarian communities. The arrival of artisanal gold
mining subsequently further divided communities into different jurisdictions and non-agricultural groups. Mining groups congregated in village-like camps located in state forestland (some may be under dispute with local indigenous groups or others are under exploration and exploitation concessions) outside village administrative area. Miner groups break down further into various production and processing groups. Informal economy groups add to the mix of groups that form mining camps. Some of the miners in mining camps are village residents who travel back and forth daily between locations. Pudjiastuti (2010) asserts that this can stimulate dynamic relations between jurisdictions and possibly changes social constructs and relations in both jurisdictions.

In April 2009, due to various social and environmental problems and political pressures from the provincial and central government, the district government decided to shut down the artisanal mining area and evict all individual miners from the area (BeritaLingkungan, 2009). A team consisting of civil servant police (PolisiPamongPraja) and paramilitary police (Brigade Mobil) forcibly removed miners; beating and shooting two miners who resisted leaving and then burning all the mining equipment and tents they found in the area. (BeritaLingkungan, 2009).

The shutting down of the WPR ended an 8-month period of quasi-formal artisanal and small-scale gold mining activity in the area and returned the sector into an informal and unregulated one. Since then, the district government has been issuing mining exploration and production operation licenses to medium-scale mining companies.

3.3. Mining Permit Expansion

With the authority that the mining law no.4/2009 gives, the district government, since 2009 has been expanding mining exploration and production zone. The number of mining exploration and production permits which were given to private companies continued to increase. As of 2012, there were the total of 84 permits issued by the district government. The size of concessions ranged from 185 hectares to 7,850 hectares but together made a total of 122,216 hectares (The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 2013). Half of the district, from the east and south coast to the middle of the peninsula to the RawaAopaWatumohai National Park, now consists of mining concessions and settlements, whereas the other half, to the west and southwest of the peninsula, is still covered with forests and coastline settlements (see figure below).

The expansion of mining permits in the region has created further
dynamics in how the Moronene interact with the landscape as the space to live and search for livelihood is shrinking. One concern that they frequently raise with regards to this expansion is what will happen after. Mining is technically destructive. Since gold rush occurred, landscape has been dramatically damaged and changed. “Can we still call it our home and land if they no longer look the same” said one village elder. This statement clearly expresses how the people feel about their attachment to the landscape that they really rely on in providing them with livelihood alternatives but increasingly being taken over by others.

**IV. Summary**

This ethno-historical review has briefly summarized post-independent events up until today, which are covered in the literature and put forward by local historians as those that define and shape the Moronene as an identity or as an imagined society. There is obviously a more detailed historical account of this ethno-linguistic group, but most of them are in Bahasa and rarely are in English. Indeed there are linguistic-related materials written in English, such as those of David Mead and David Andersen. However these covered only a little on ethno-historic account.
As has been described in this review, throughout the times, the Moronene people in different parts of the region have had to deal with series of momentous external shocks, from the penetration of Darul Islam and the implementation of Daerah Operasi Militer (Military Operation Zone) in 1950s, the influx of Javanese-Balinese-Lombok transmigration people in 1980s, the incoming of a variety of conservation and development projects as well as forest industrial investment in 1990s, the proliferation of the district in 2003, and more recently the gold rush and expansion of mining business permits. All of these occasions have brought with them different types of social pressures: oppression, tortures, land grabs, eviction, relocation, massive population influx, landscape damages, hyper-inflating commodity prices. These pressures have to certain extent influenced the way the Moronene remember their past and present, as well as their identity, structure and fields of relationships.

Yet, what is amazing is that the Moronene, both an identity and imagined society, still exists until today. However, the extent to which the Moronene community is the same or has changed, and what do these changes, if anything, means. Does it lead to a more resilient community or perhaps a more vulnerable community? These are the aspects that need to be researched in the future and this review serves as an enticement to those who are interested in doing so.

Endnotes:

1 Lecturer of Haluoleo University
2 WitaEa dialect is 80% similar with To’kotua dialect, but is also 68% similar with Menui dialect spoken on Wawonii Island, 66% similar with Kulisusu language spoken on the northern part of Buton Island, 65% similar with Taloki and Koroni languages spoken on the northern part of the Buton Island, 65% similar with Tulambatu dialect spoken on Bungku Island (Central Sulawesi), 64% similar with Bungku language (Central Sulawesi) and 57% similar with Tolaki language (Mead, 1999).
3 The Buginesedominates the western Polea region.
4 I obtained this number from the assistance of an ANU Phd Colleague who run the 2010 Indonesian Population Censuse Data.
5 ReksonLimba is an anthropologist, native Moronene and local historian. He is currently working with the Haluoleo University in Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi. Correspondence made in June 2014.
6 LatifHaba is a local historian and close kin to the current Mokole of Rumbia.
7 This was followed by the introduction of exotic species such as RusaBaweanor Baweandeers (Cervus sp.) into the area which became over-populated and turned out posing the risk of extinction of the flagship species lowland anoa (Bubalusdepresicornis) as
both competed for almost similar range of diets. Later on to tackle the problem of overpopulated deers, the area was changed to become game park.

8 Sub District Rarowatu is part of Bombana District in Southeast Sulawesi Province of Indonesia. It is located 180 kilometer southwest of the capital city of Kendari, whereas the Tahlite Stream is about 50 kilometer from Kasipute, the capital town of Bombana District.

9 I quoted this from field notes of a local journalist friend of mine, Mr. Akbar Hamdan, which he wrote during his trip to the area from 4-6 October 2008. According to information he obtained, there are three stories of how gold panning in the stream began, but this version was most frequently mentioned by people.

10 In Islamic belief, this is a night of rejoicing and blessing in the fasting month of Ramadan. The blessing is believed to be more than a thousand of other months (Ali, nd., p.4).

11 In 1980s, this settlement had in the past been allocated by the central government for national transmigration settlements (Satuan Pemukiman or SP), namely SP8 and SP9, but left unoccupied due primarily to the poor soil. In the 1990s, the area had subsequently been allocated for PT. Barito Pacific, a national timber company, to establish a plantation, but then again left abandoned due to poor levels of production (Zulkarnain, 2010). The land has been deemed forest area by the central government but also claimed as ulayat land by indigenous communities (Lynch and Harwell, 2002).

12 Population Census in 2010 asked people in the district the ethnic groups that they belong to, and out of roughly 13,000 interviewed, 4 major groups were identified: the Buginese, the Javanese, the Moronene and the Butonese. Up land of Bombana consists mainly of the native Moronene groups, transmigrant Javanese communities and the Bugis communities.
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