

## **Bugis Pagatan: Migration, Adaptation and Identity**

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**Abstract:** *The Bugis people, specifically the Wajo is one of the tribes in the archipelago which plays an important role in world trade, shipping and handicraft industries. The role was motivated by their spirit as tough sailors and their adaptability to the new lands they settled in. The impact of global economics has influenced the value and product quality in competitive industry. Many craft business with imported raw materials fall into bankruptcy. However, some craft industries are still able to survive in the middle of an economic crisis. One of these is Tenun Pagatan.*

*This paper describes one of the Bugis' trace technologies in Tanah Bumbu area in South Kalimantan, synonymous with Tenun Pagatan. Tenun Pagatan was brought with the arrival of Bugis who wandered from their native South Sulawesi in 1750. The traditional methods of producing Tenun Pagatan are still used to this day. Bugis in this region are also able to maintain the tradition of the Tenun whilst adopting motifs, colors and traditional customs of local communities.*

**Key words:** *Bugis, Migration and Adaptation*

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### **I. Introduction**

Bugis are one of the most recognized tribes in the archipelago. They are originally from the southwestern part of the island of Sulawesi, included in the large Austronesia family. Throughout the Malay Peninsula and Singapore to the western coast of Papua, the southern Philippines and Borneo to Nusa Tenggara can be found Bugis people's shipping activity, trade, agriculture, plantations and land clearing. The ability to adjust themselves is the biggest capital that allowed them survive everywhere for centuries and they are also still able to retain their identity (Linneton 1973, Ammarel 2002, Anderson 2003).

The objective of this paper was to study and document Orang Bugis and their weaving techniques of the Tenun Pagatan using my own skills as a weaver as my method of obtaining data. My goal was to record the entire weaving process, as well as technical features of the loom, the weaving techniques, and the resulting textiles. Maria Christou (1997) which follows the hypothetic Junius Bird (1963) states that technical data from weaving are important primary references for Andean culture history (1960, 1963). He hypothesized that weaving technology is conservative to change, and therefore, comprises reliable and valid data for evidence of cultural contact. His work is based on archaeological research in Peru, but his ideas may be tested in other areas in the world, such as Indonesia (Niessen, 1993). Yam and textile production are valid primary sources for research in culture history (Bird, 1960; Bolland, 1 979; Frame 1 982; Hitchcock, 1991 ; Maxwell, 1990; Niessen, 1993). "Accurate knowledge of such features as spinning, twist direction, warping procedure, and construction details may well serve as significant clues in tracing cultural diffusion and relationships. "These features provide specific points of reference for comparison" (Bird, 1960.). Furthermore, such inquiries into the hypotheses of acculturation and assimilation are validated by "concentrating on the products of a single region" and then comparing them to data from other surrounding weaving regions (Ibid, p. 47, Christou, 1997).

This paper also follow explanations of Mansyur (2012) Bugis Diaspora to Tanah Bumbu a historical approach. Mansyur research on Pagatan Kingdom in South Kalimantan was originally built by Wajo Bugis people of South Sulawesi. It was beginning with the Civil War in Sulawesi in about 1670, when White Palaka, Wajo Bone King was at war with Gowa (when Wajo King helped Gowa Kingdom is still the father and son during a conflict with the Kingdom of Boneo). In that situation the King Bone White Palaka Buton came to Batavia asking for a help. With support from the Dutch successfully defeated King Bone Wajo kingdom, until finally the Bugis Wajo displaced scattered to different regions. Then they built Kampung Makassar Wajo there, to Sumbawa, Bima, Pasir, Banjarmasin, Kutai and Donggala. Every place is occupied or inhabited by Bugis people Wajo always appoint a leader and given the title "MACOA" or "MATOA".

Eisenberger (1936), In 1750 Pagatan Word Gesticht Boeginezen Door". This means that in 1750 Pagatan built by the Bugis. According to C. Nagtegaal, Noe En De voormalige Zelfbesture Gouvernements Landschappen In Zuid-Oost Borneo (Utrecht: NVA Oosthoek's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1939) and La Mattone Lontara Kapitan (a kingdom Manteri Pagatan and KUSAN written on August 21, 1868). "Traders Bugis from South Sulawesi Wajo came and arrived in Pagatan in the mid 18th century, led by Puanna Dekke".

Nowadays population in Pagatan 63% is Bugis. Mostly work as farmers, fisherman and merchants. This ethnic known as experts on building wooden boats, both riverboat and sea boat, as well as vessels, river boats and ships while the women are doing weaving. Every year they do a ceremony namely: Mappandretasi, similar ceremonies to honor or give offerings to the sea as a sign of gratitude to God. In agricultural areas, similar ceremony is sometimes done, such as Mappandretasi ceremony at Sapunggur village (Pagatan Profile, 2013).

### **Massompe Spirit to Adaptation**

The existence of Bugis centers in Kutai and Samarinda, East Kalimantan and then in Pagatan, Southeast Borneo developed until 19th century and 20th century has risen many conjectures and opinions. Roger F. Mills. In his research on the origin of Bugis ancestors, Mills concluded the Bugis in South Sulawesi is an Austronesian migration wave from East Kalimantan, namely Kutai and Samarinda or from the southeastern part of Borneo Island, Pagatan or Pulau Laut (Tanah Bumbu). The area, easily accessible by boat from the west coast of South Sulawesi. Makassar only within one or two days aboard a sailboat on Pulau Laut. Supported by other linguists, Adelaar reveals new linguistic evidence linking Sulawesi and Kalimantan languages. Based on a large amount of data phonological, morpho syntactic and lexical, it can be proven that Tamanik language group used in northeast of Borneo was associated closely with South Sulawesi languages, especially Bugis and Toraja. The most logical explanation is because they occupy same settlement.

In addition, there is influence of Proto South Sulawesi with Southeast Barito languages in Borneo and Malagasy language. According Adelaar (2004) reinforced by Sirk that explains ancestor of Tamanik language group users and Proto South Sulawesi previously coexisted in southeastern part of Borneo. Then the Tamanik tribe moved westward toward the interior of South Sulawesi and proto group moved east across the sea to Sulawesi. Expressed by Jacqueline Linneton, Gene Ammarel and Kathrin Gray Anderson (2003), Bugis in southeast and eastern Borneo has lived since the mid 18th century and developed until the 19th and 20th century, originating from South Sulawesi. The migration of Bugis tribe to Borneo is motivated by spirit massompe 'spirit or wander leaving hometown to other area. Etymologically, the term of sompe' is derived from Bugis language means sailing. The long journey used sailboats. Thus, people who sailed travel far from homes for a better live commonly called sompe (Roger F Mills, 1975).

According to Abu Hamid (2004), Passompe 'is sailor-merchant sailing from island to island or from one country to another. The Bugis attached to migration culture because agility sailing. It is closely related to shipping and trade law, such as employment contracts, partnership, wages cargo/passenger, and debts. The spirit overseas as described by Abu Hamid, is a manifestation of spirit devoted to the challenges. Adrenaline of Bugis people to live better triggered when he faced with a challenge. With bitter living conditions and trouble wherever possible condition push themselves to achieve a better life. The spirit of Bugis survival in shoreline land, can not be separated from the socio-cultural system that attached to the hierarchy (caste), the whitewater (nobility/skipper) and ata (slave/the most). For most people who want to be free from the system, or at least want to get into higher social class, going overseas is one choice. Similarly, the presence of Bugis in Kalimantan is reasonable because it is famous with nomadic tribes across the ocean and known as tough sailors. With sailboat and Lambo Phinisi they could across the ocean. Instead of massompe spirit', Bugis diaspora also supported of the fall of Makassar VOC occupation in 1667. Especially Bongaya agreement or Cappaya Bongaya dated 18 November 1667 signed by Sultan Hasanuddin and Cornelis Speelman made some parties unsatisfied, especially the Sultanate of Gowa-Tallo allies, such as the Kingdom of Bugis Wajo (Aziz Salam, Osozawa Katsuya, 2008). To avoid disappointing condition or unsatisfactory because Bongaya Agreement in 1667 and the struggle among the kingdoms of South Sulawesi, encouraged many noble groups of Bugis Makassar to migrate out from South Sulawesi migrate. Migration even increased in subsequent years to various regions in Southeast Asia. Those who migrated had aim to build a new strategy to fight VOC or build hope to restore a state of chaos in South Sulawesi. But there were also groups who pioneered new commercial trade channels.

### **Network of La Maddukelleng**

Bugis from South Sulawesi migrated in 17th century until 19th century, often included women and children. According to Andaya (1978), these facts support the presence of Bugis settlement in other areas of archipelago far from South Sulawesi region. War amongs kingdoms of South Sulawesi which occurred until 19th century, not only resulted a population redistribution of the archipelago, but "movement" to remote areas in other islands far from Bugis trade network. In period 1667-1900, the movement of migration was limited to the Bugis and Makassar involved in the trade. These merchants roamed the archipelago to seek trade area according to wind direction at certain seasons, and returned to Sulawesi for some months each year to repair their boats. Below is a comparison map of boatsails route Bugis groups from 16th century to 19th century.

As described earlier, the process of migration out of South Sulawesi, usually Bugis and Makassar emigrants often led by a son of the king or prince or some of his followers were also highborn. Similarly, with the migration of Bugis in Borneo, led by the noble persons.

Bugis diaspora network in 19th century, is actually an "outgrowth" of Bugis diaspora "embryo" who pioneered by La Maddukelleng figure in 1726. As written in one of the local sources about the Bugis migration to Kalimantan is the lotar manuscript Sukun wjo (Lontara Sukku "na Wajo) or commonly abbreviated as Lontara Sukkuna Wajo - LWS.12. LSW mentions about La Maddukelleng is a noble birth Wajo, South Sulawesi, in 1700 and died in Wajo, in 1765. La Maddukelleng often called Arung Singkang and Arung Peneki as degree from his parents. La Maddukelleng estimated migrated in 1714 with only armed with Tellu cappa (Naskah LSW, 1953)

Having crisscrossed as pirate in Johor region and Malacca Strait in 1726, La Maddukelleng then sailed to Pasir region, eastern part Kalimantan through Makassar Strait. In the journey, La Maddukelleng acted as leader and appointed Assa as his commander. In La Maddukelleng group, also eight middle nobility, namely La Mohang Daeng Mangkona, La Pallawa Daeng Marowa, Puanna dekke, La Siaraje, Daeng Manabung, La Manja Daeng Lebbi, La Sawedi Daeng Sagala, and La Manrappi Daeng Punggawa.

In this colony, La Maddukelleng married with daughter of Pasir King, Andin Anjang or Andeng Ajeng, daughter of Aji Geger bin Aji Anom Singa Maulana Sultan Aji Muhammad Alamsyah (1703-1726). When Sultan died, La Maddukelleng wife, Andin Anjang nominated to be the Queen of Pasir, but some Pasir people rejected the nomination and riot happened. To defuse the situation, La Maddukelleng with his army attacked and conquered Pasir. La Maddukelleng became Pasir King Sand in 1726 until 1736.

After La Maddukelleng journey to Pasir, many Wajo people followed him to this area. Moreover, in 1726's, Wajo land occupied by the royal Wajo Bone, many left their hometown sailed to Pasir and settled in Sungai Muara Kendilo. The new settlement gradually became congested due to increasing migration from Wajo land. Bugis diaspora networks spread to Tanah Kutai, led by La Mohang Daeng Mangkona in 1730. Then "diaspora networks" Daeng Mangkona spread to "Samarenda" is now "Samarinda". Lontara Sukku'na Wajo mentions after ten years of La Maddukelleng ruled as Pasir Emperor (1826-1836), a messenger came from Matowa Wajo La Salewangeng called La Dalle Arung Taa, invited him back, to South Sulawesi because of Wajo in under Bone Kingdom threat. La Maddukelleng determined to return to Wajo, his ancestral land, even faced many wars.

La Maddukelleng network became "embryo" Bugis diaspora development until 19th century. In the script Lontara Sukku'na Wajo (LSW), told that La Maddukelleng group headed to Pasir Kingdom, East Kalimantan (circa 1726), were also eight secondary nobility who later settled in Samarenda, Tanggarong and Pasir. Not all La Maddukelleng Arung Singkang followers followed him to live in Pasir Kingdom. As told in script lotr l mtoen (Lontara Kapitan La Mattone) or LKLM. One of the middle nobility Puanna dekke, did not want to reside in Pasir but sailed back to waters territorial Kusan River named Pamagatan year 1735.

His interest to Pamagatan encouraged Puanna Dekke to meet Panembahan Kaharuddin Halilullah who ruled Banjar Kingdom. Panembahan agreed the Bugis open pamagatan area but as "prerequisite" Penna Dekke had to instill "investment" for the cost of building new settlements on wilderness land. Puanna Dekke could ensure the safety of water in Pagatan estuary which frequently used as pirates "headquarters". If these actions realized then the Sultan invited the land occupied as Bugis village which later given to Puanna Dekke children.

Puanna Dekke agreed and then the area named Kampoeng Pegattang (from origin word Pemagatan or cutting rattan), later changed its name to Pagatan. Kampoeng Pagattang developed into one of strategic small town because it borders the Java Sea and traversed by the river Kusan. Those that support the rapid development of KampoengPagattang, according to Anderson because before opened by Puanna Dekke 1735, a few people Bugis and Banjar had lived in Pagatan since 1729 so that the village was quite crowded. Bugis people earned their lives as fishermen, processing rattan and trading.

There are several different versions when Pagatan Kingdom established. The first version, according to Eisenberger (1936) explained that Pagatan built by Bugis people in 1750. Then second version, according to C. Nagtegaal, just mentioned that Pagatan built in the mid 18th century by Bugis traders from Wadjo (Zuid West Celebes) named Poewana Deka, and with the permission of Sultan Banjarmasin. Meanwhile in Lontara Kapitan La Mattone, mentioned that the Bugis traders from South Sulawesi Wajo arrived in Pagatan in 1735, led by Puanna Dekke. From those opinions is the closest is year 1735 as Lontara Kapiten La Mattone version, since years compared with the voyage year La Maddukelleng to Pasir in 1726 (according to LSW version) were close.

Kampung Pagattang eventually the forerunner to identity formation of to-Ugi 'that characterizes Bugis Pagatan people. This identity embodied in the internal governance arrangements in different Pagattang Kampoeng with Tana tradition Ugi'. Although Puanna Dekke was the pioneer who opened and developed the Bugis village, it appeared Puanna Dekke did not want to be king. This was probably due because Puanna Dekke only middle class Wajo gentility. Furthermore Puanna Dekke invited his brother Pua Janggo and La

Pagala from western Borneo to discuss Bugis leader who could arrange the village. This three brothers Negotiation finally prepared Hasan Panggewa (La Pangewa) as the first Pagatan future king, Hasan Panggewa was still young age and one of Kampiri King descendants of one in Wajo, Datu Lompulle (Solomon Muller, 1836).

### **Ethnic Entrepreneurship**

Over the last decade, globalization has created dramatic change on economic environment and trade. Resources are driven strongly to supply the demands as a result of competition among actors and industries that linked in production chains. Economic crisis made it worst that many industries which mostly depend on imported raw materials get into bankruptcy. This condition in fact has not given significant impact to households industry, which not only produce to meet customers' order but also put production process as their tradition and identity. Generating revenues from culturally embedded knowledge systems and activities, their innovative applications of traditions to markets result in economically sustainable enterprise. The production activity is also seen as a cultural heritage applying by certain ethnic.

The examination of ethnic businesses on a solely cultural basis is limited while other theory mentions that it is not a new phenomenon, as it is a part of any ethnic. On the theoretical level, ethnicity as a form of culture is defined in a static manner, implying that ethnic entrepreneurs have cultural dispositions entrenched in their mindsets irrespective of time and place. Ethnic is defined here as segment of a larger society whose members are thought by themselves or others, to have common origin and, to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients. Ethnic entrepreneurship recognizes two essential aspects, that the individual is from a different ethnic group and that this individual is an entrepreneur who exists independently of a potential entrepreneur's ethical, cultural or religious background and influences the pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities (Volery, 2004, Yinger, 1985). The opportunities offered by a host society have a strong influence on their decision to integrate in economy mobility and then expand it. Their entrepreneurship value has blended into business practices in host society and appeared as a dominant cultural wealth.

Bugis ethnic entrepreneurship has been strongly correlated with Tenun Pagatan existence. Internal and external aspects are identified as attempt to capture influencing factors to make this heritage sustained in global competition.

Internal aspects explain the ethnic characters or strengths as driving forces of entrepreneurial spirit which embedded in tenun production in Pagatan. The first aspect is strong willingness of the ethnic members to preserve knowledge transferred from their ancestors and to admit their identity as Bugis people. Their ancestors mention that a girl is not complete if she is not able to weave and create many other women to weave and the weaving also symbolizes loyalty (Culture and Tourism Department, Polewali Mandar District, 2005). The decorative forms have functions as a decoration and also symbol of magical power to reject symbol repellent reinforcements. The symbols represent function of weaving used of any celebration events, receptions, weddings and other social activities in the community life.

The second is personal business character of each member such as dedication to hard work, membership of a strong ethnic community, economical living, acceptance of risk, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty, and orientation towards self-employment. It has been argued that some ethnic groups are endowed with social institutions and cultural norms (ethnic resources) that foster entrepreneurial talent (Wilson and Portes 1980 in Min Zhou 2007). The cultural theory suggests that ethnic and immigrant groups are equipped with culturally determined. In general, the Bugis are the people who have a passion, warm-blooded and brave, that is adventurous, likes to wander, and capable of running the most dangerous activities. Prestige and the desire to compete to achieve a high social standing, either through position or wealth, remains the main motivating factor that drives the wheels social life. Perhaps the characteristic that makes the Bugis have very high mobility and allows them to be nomads (Perlas, 2006). Basically entrepreneurship requires an application of energy and passion towards the creative on and new ideas and solutions include willingness to take calculated risk in terms of time, equity, or career (Kuratko, Hodgestts, 2004). These features provide an ethnic resource which can facilitate and encourage entrepreneurial behavior and support the ethnic self-employed.

The third is social capital. Pesse 'or completely Pesse' babua is the solidarity spirit of Bugis people, which means to feel the pain of others. It is associated with the group basic identity as Bugis to be sempugi "fellow Bugis". Bugis people in day-to-day interactions are generally based on patron client system of solidarity between the followers of a leader with each other and the bonds are comprehensive, but they still have a strong sense of personality (Perlas, 2006). Social interaction activities have been practiced for a long time to create opportunity, nurture motivation and provide resources among members. Social capital strengthens supplier relations. Regional production networks and inter-firm learning. It facilitates inter-unit resource exchange and product innovation (Gabbay & Zuckerman, 1998; Hansen, 1998; Tsai and Ghoshal,

1998 in Paul S Adler, Seok Woo Kwon 2012), the creation of intellectual capital and cross-functional team effectiveness . These tight social networks provide flexible and efficient possibilities for the recruitment of personnel, acquisition of capital and the exchange of information based on mutual trust among the members of the network.

The external aspects act as determinants of external environment which considered as opportunities to raise the ethnic entrepreneur practices and to boost optimum performance. The first is Indonesia's experience in the past that only rely on a few large-scale enterprises (conglomerates) that eventually led to the collapse of the Indonesia economy. It has changed drastically the pattern of government policy to focus on Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) which have better robustness to create jobs opportunity. Access is open and local potencies which have been hiding now rising up. Government or private stakeholders are trying to collaborate with potential business with competitive advantage. The local resources are being "pushed" to meet the standards.

The second aspect is strongly connected with the first one. Cities in the world are competing to find their own identities. In the last decade, cultural competition among cities has emerged and now nurtures a strong interest in becoming "creative," this paradigm shift to a creative economy has influenced the policies and practices of urban development. In an era of globalization, activities of the creative sector such as fashion, film, television, theater, music, dance, visual arts, design, architecture, advertising, publishing, multimedia, and information technology – have contributed significantly to the local economy, community life, and the creation of places in cities. This trend is finally encouraging entrepreneurialism and risk, to build trust, and to reinforce local identity.

### **Bugis and The Open Door of Tenun Pagatan**

A general description of the Bugis people in the village Pagatan is technology and the weaver. An explanation of the Bugis in Pagatan associated with the presence of the weavers who participated in the beginning of the migration to Southeast Kalimantan.

Tenun Pagatan has been existence along with the presence of Bugis in Kusan Hilir sub district, Tanah Bumbu. The arrival of immigrants from South Sulawesi is estimated around 1750. The story told by the people in Pagatan that in ancient times they were willing to leave the homeland to search a new livelihood. Moreover, the ruler of Banjar Kingdom gave permission for them to set up a kingdom. Although Bugis has been long settled in Pagatan, they still apply lifestyle as in their homeland. Including clothes worn as the product of their own weaving. When they brought family members, most of the women did not forget to bring weaving tools, and decorative ornament designs, identical to the original ones. Although estranged from their hometown, the textile still refers to the archetype of their place of origin.

Bugis women in Pagatan were skilled in weaving. When the first royal family wanted woven Sarongs, famous weavers were invited and gathered in the palace. They came from various villages in the area and surrounding Pagatan, such as Mudalang Village, Manurung, Batarang, Batuah, Pasar Lama, Pakatelu, Pulau Tanjung, and Sungai Binjah. About 1930 until 1942, Samarinda Sarongs silk became popular. Fee received in the past for weaving Samarinda Sarongs was chintz clothing made in Japan or woman Sarong. The payment could also be thread as the raw material for weaving sarongs. Virtually there was no monetary reward.

Mostly the techniques and traditional equipments are in Bugis language. They still apply original techniques, called ma bebe, with different steps based on ornament patterns. First ornament is Songket (Sobbe), consists of Sobbe Are and Sobbe Sumelang. The woven in Sobbe Are is outside and inside, while Sobbe Sumelang inserted only one side. Second is Ikat (binding) or Bebbe, by binding the yarn before dyed. This binding type is called Bebbe Pasulu and Bebbe Sau. Third is Panji, ornaments are made of pakan (feed) yarn or pasulu which woven to Dirian yarn (Sau) in accordance to desired ornament. Fourth is plaid Sarong ornament that can be combined with ornaments: Bebbe, Sobbe and Panji. The equipments used to produce tenun Pagatan are similar with the looms of their native region, South Sulawesi. However, most are made of wood that is widely available in Pagatan area like Roweng is the equipment to stall or open thread of the rolls, Ola is tool used to roll yarn, unuseng or papali to insert thread during weaving, which is a tool to compose and others.(Melayuonline, 2.2015).

The development of the ornament form of the woven textile has something to do with socio cultural changes, economical level of society, and the creativity of the weaver. The ornaments symbolize nature, glorious values of human characteristics and religious symbols. Ornaments symbolize nature, like bird, horse, tree in the middle of sea, swan, lion, dragon, rabbit, clove, and flowers, while the tools and religious symbols such as arrow, vase, dragon swallowing the moon, dragon touching the sun, kingdom symbols , calligraphy Allah and Muhammad. Instead of working on traditional ornaments, weavers also weave in accordance with customers' order and trends. Customers even may choose the raw materials they like.

Silkworm was mostly used as raw material in the past and imported from Sulawesi. Further processing was done in Pagatan. Now silk worm or natural silk is no longer used as raw materials for weaving

in this area. Samarinda and Singapore thread are mostly used now and not processed traditionally, but done by the factory. The common thread is made of cotton yarn with similar knitting used for embroidery. In dyed processing they used foliage plants for traditional way which boiled together with thread. Nowadays they prefer manufactured dyes used with variegated colors so it is easier to create style and color as they wish.

Today, only few Bugis women still cultivate this profession and in average in old age. Most still preserve the old ornaments, partly trying to adapt with trends and customers' taste. The wages they receive is very low and not in accordance with the standards of the current wage. Tenun Pagatan is part of culture and has colored Indonesia identity. The wide Indonesia region consists of various ethnic cultures of the western, central, and eastern parts of the areas. The regional culture or the geo-culture that are formed by the ethnics in Indonesia archipelago features original pattern, characteristics, language, values, and particular symbols that are unique and are originated in the cultures of the people. The long-root of the foreign cultures of India, Arab, Dutch, and others has colored the developing ethnic cultures of Indonesia.

The current Indonesian culture that we know today is in fact, formed through a long process. The ancestors of the Indonesia people have initiated it, which finally has to undergo and continue, some omitted, and some preserved until what we now have. Besides this, the ancient Indonesian culture has experienced many changes and shift through various interpretation and understanding of the locals, the indigenous as well as the mixed race. In other words, today's Indonesian culture that we are now familiar with has come through the dynamic and eclectic processes. They are loaded with the different nature of the results, such as those of the ontological outcome, the artifacts and the nature of the carrier of the culture. Besides, there is the epistemological heritage that is the body of knowledge inherited through generations, and the various concepts of the world (Marie-Eve Drouin-Gagné. 2014). Finally, it is the axiological legacy like values, virtues, morals, and the esthetics.

The long process that formed the Indonesian culture has determined the elements of the culture to grow and develop in the midst of the people's lives. Those such as religion, language, various forms of the arts, norms, knowledge, economy, and tools have generated the system and some values such as sharing, religious, symbols, economic, and pragmatic (Ihatsu 1996, Viveka 2011). Tenun Pagatan is textile as a result from cultural production process of tenun weavers in Pagatan, whereas on the other side, the carrier of the culture, or the society which consists of ethnics, has world-views, perceptions, and thoughts that are different from one another. Therefore, the different philosophies, cultural values, symbols, perception of multiculturalism, and other values may represent some original thoughts of Indonesia in Pagatan.

### **Tenun Pagatan and Indigenous Knowledge**

Indigenous Knowledge is employed to mean knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional life-styles; the wisdom developed over many generations of holistic traditional scientific utilization of the lands, natural resources, and environment. It is generally passed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation and is, for the most part, undocumented. Traditional knowledge is valid and necessary, and awaits its currently relevant wider application for human benefit.

Indigenous scholars and human rights experts in the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Elimination of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities have elaborated and ratified the Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People. These principles provide a holistic context and related research agenda for Indigenous knowledge. They acknowledge that the heritage of an Indigenous people is a complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, and its own scientific and logical validity. They also acknowledge that diverse elements of an Indigenous people's heritage can be fully learned or understood only by means of the pedagogy traditionally employed by these peoples themselves (Daes, 1993). Exploring the concept of heritage can give deeper insight into the nature of the region itself, its identity, and its multiple and unique strengths. Because heritage tells a story about a place, its people, and their identity, heritage is an expression of culture.

Weaving has been chosen with important cultural and heritage significance. It is one of the elements of human culture that grow as the process of human adaptation to the natural environment, social environment and belief systems and owned by a tribe closely related to the condition and potential of the surrounding natural resources. Weaving as a culture continues to evolve with the development of reason and human needs, either physical or spiritual needs. Indigenous knowledge comprises all knowledge pertaining to a particular people and its territory, the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation (Daes, 1993). It also recognizes the value of Indigenous knowledge, innovations, and practices to scientific knowledge, conservation studies, and sustainable development (Clarkson et al, 1992). Reflecting to adopt and innovate is, therefore, the key to the production and processing of indigenous knowledge and skills (Mashelkar, 2002). The ornaments on the textile are expression statements of its function in human life and philosophy originated in the purpose of human life creation.

Tenun Pagatan with this Massompe spirit, the Bugis maintain even able to adapt with economic change and environmental conditions. Several issues related to the adaptability can be seen as follows:

### **1. Motif**

Tenun Pagatan has two types : so'be are and kind so'be Sumelang. Ornaments on so'be are made transparent to the inside by inserting yarn weaving to make certain ornaments when weaving processing. Nevertheless, ornament that looks good only on the outside, the inside is a copy of the weaving yarn. Ornaments on so'be Sumelang is inset on the front side and not inserting the inside.

Tenun Pagatan is made by binding threads before weaving dipped in natural dye or artificial coloring. How tying a thread with banana bark in Pagatan language called membebbe. That's why this textile named Tenun bebbe. The process of weaving is done by regulating the yarn in accordance with the bond at the time of yarn dipped in dye. Then resulted an ornament in accordance with desired pattern by the weavers.

Decoration on Tenun Panji is not tied or songket, but with motifs woven directly through the woof, or pasulu in reliance thread. The result is a special variety in accordance with the desired through woven yarn that has been dyed. Thus, the woven motifs made directly and managed by the weaver. Type of sarong with square motifs is actually a basic decoration. Due to the later development, it is combined with other various decorative motifs. Their forms can be combined with songket, as well as Sobbe Sumelang.

In general, Tenun Pagatan has a basic pattern that later becomes the basis of diverse patterns. The basic ornaments made as reference in their weaving. Some must be sasirangan fence motif and triangles also squares as the hallmark of Tenun Pagatan. Simultaneously distinguishing sasirangan characteristic of Banjar cloth.

"In summary, Tenun Pagatan has five types of motives, the Pakan Tied, Lusi, Salur, original songket, and usual songket . The most difficult motif made but has a quite expensive selling is original songket. , because it can take up to three months. If the warp and weft ikat motifs is very easy. it only takes 15 days. Now there are ATBM loom machines, we can make two motifs shortly. The ATBMs are assistance of local government. It is able to produce 0.5 meters, a day "said Salmah, a Tenun Pagatan weaver.

### **2. Color**

The raw materials are ready used threads, the silk worm used in ancient times directly imported from Sulawesi, now from Java. The material is then processed in Pagatan. Traditional coloring matter is crimson or indigo and kabuau leaves for black. Kabuau is a plant which fruit used as marbles when children playing in rural areas of South Kalimantan. How to use kabuau leaves as a dye, that it is boiled then the cloth dipped in kabuau leaf decoction. After that, the material was buried in mud for one night, washed and dried.

Material artificial dyes used to color is wantek. Wantek has various colors, it is easier to create patterns as the weavers wish. The yarn dipped into wantek. Preservatives used to keep the colors not fade. Preservative commonly used are traditional ones, not factory made. Those are very young coconut juice and cashew nut shell. Each material is crushed, mixed with water, then filtered it then the colored yarn was dipped into the filter water.

### **3. Tools**

Tools used to make Tenun Pagatan are similar with its native region, South Sulawesi. However, the tools made of wood that widely available in Pagatan area. Some of them are Sakka or Sumbu serves to keep fabric remaining wide. Roweng or uluran machines to stall or open threads from the roll. Ola, this tool is used to roll the yarn. Pamedangan used to bind the threads on woven cloth dipped into dye. Saureng used to compose thread-reliance. Patekko is a tool to hold the thread. Belebas for separates thread-reliance.

Rollers (awereng), tools to make a distance separating thread-reliance (sau). Are organizes and tucks songket weaving yarn at a time making the ornaments on songket cloth. Un using or papali, used to incline pasulu thread or yarn feed, used to insert the yarn during weaving sau threads.

Comb (Jakka), a tool to manage thread-reliance (sau). Pamalu is for thread-reliance (sau) which has not been woven. Pessa rolls fabric that is woven or woven sau with pasulu. Simong, tools to put pamalu. Tamrajeng is a tool that can cause noise at the time pressed pasulu thread or yarn feed. Boko-boko is a tool to stretch yarns weave reliance on time. Headdress in Banjar language called slap strap. Its function is to connect boko boko-driven backwards. Papanre, in Banjar language called papan katinjakan serves as foot rests.

Then Walida or walira in Banjar language. This tool is used to create a space separator in sau thread making it easier to enter or binoculars turak containing rolled pasulu threads are rolled.

## **II. Conclusion**

From a critical analysis of the literature presented in this paper and from my own observations in the field, my findings support Bird's (1960) theory that technology and weaving techniques inform us about

cultural affiliation and contact, and socio-cultural relationships. This information provides useful ethno-historical information. It constitutes an ethnographic approach to cross cultural textiles. More specifically, the answers the call for more "comparative cross cultural documentation of pattern heddles in Indonesian in order to "correlate float weave technology and patterns to support valid insights into historical significant of twill weaving in Indonesian.

Bugis is one of the most recognized tribes in the archipelago. They are originally from southwestern part of the island of Sulawesi. Bugis in southeast and eastern Borneo has lived since the mid 18th century and developed until the 19th and 20th century, originating from South Sulawesi. The migration of Bugis tribe to Borneo is motivated by spirit *massompe* 'spirit or wander leaving hometown to other area. Etymologically, the term of *sompe*' is derived from Bugis language means sailing. The long journey used sailboats. Thus, people who sailed travel far from homes for a better live commonly called *sompe*'.

Tenun Pagatan is not yet well known as other weaving products so distinguished pattern, ornaments or color must be created. Pattern right will be the next issue. By investigating those challenges, it is expected that in the future Tenun Pagatan gets more competitive and at the same time more sustainable to preserve it as tradition and heritage.

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