Pasompe' Ugi' : Bugis Migrants and Wanderers

Jacqueline Lineton

Archipel, Année 1975, Volume 10, Numéro 1
p. 173 - 201

8) After Goa submitted to the Dutch, Buginese on their turn increased their maritime activities. As soon as the 18th. century the Bugis have been one of the most restless peoples of the Archipelago, which they criscrossed in their justly-amous sailing boats. For them, temporary or permanent emigration was a solidly established tradition. Jacqueline Lineton (University of London) analyses here the motivations, economic aspects, and practical conditions of this phenomenon primarily through the study of individual cases in a village in the Wajo' country, characteristic of an important proportion of the emigrants, and in the communities they have founded on the south-east coast of Sumatra.

PASOMPE' UGI' : BUGIS MIGRANTS AND WANDERERS

by Jacqueline LINETON

The Bugis of South Sulawesi have long been renowned — notorious even — for the adventurous and roving spirit which, from the late seventeenth century, carried them to all corners of the Malay world and beyond as traders and as conquerors of numerous petty states. This expansion of trade and political influence was accompanied by a process which was less spectacular but of no less significance : the emigration of large numbers of Bugis, and some Makassarese, to all parts of the Indonesian archipelago and to the Malay peninsula. As a result of this outflow of population from South Sulawesi, sizeable Bugis colonies were — by the beginning of this century — established in eastern Kalimantan (Borneo), near Samarinda and Pasir ; in south-western Borneo, in the Pontianak region ; in the Malay Peninsula, particularly in southwestern Johor ; and in many other islands of the East Indies. During the twentieth century, particularly in the 1950's and early 1960's, Bugis settlements also sprong up in the coastal areas of Java and Sumatra.

In this article, the history of Bugis emigration — its motivating forces, direction of movement and nature of settlement at various periods — will be briefly outlined. The social background to Bugis migration and the processes involved will then be illustrated through a detailed analysis of one stream in the broad and branching flow of population from South Sulawesi — the emigration of considerable numbers of people from the Wajo' *daerah* of South Sulawesi to Jambi province in Sumatra. It will be shown that this migration is not only significant for the development of the area of settlement but may also be necessary

to the continued functioning of many of the traditional institutions of Bugis society, in particular the systems of social stratification and of close bilateral kinship ties. The continual movement of people outside South Sulawesi as traders and settlers — which results in the shedding of potentially dissident sectors of the population — is reinforced by the ideology of the society, which affords high prestige to those who have travelled across the sea to seek their fortunes. The Bugis sense of pride in their own cultural superiority is — it will be seen — closely identified and derived from their view of the *pasompe* (migrant or wanderer) as a characteristic feature of their society, a nameless culture-hero.

Origins of Bugis migration

Bugis emigration is generally considered to date from the fall of Makassar to the Dutch in 1669, and it is undoubtedly true that from this date Bugis began moving in increasing numbers to various parts of Southeast Asia ; according to most historical accounts, the probable cause of this movement was "the more stringent commercial restrictions imposed by the Dutch on the trade of Makassar" (Bastin, 1964 : 145). Makassar had become an important port early in the sixteenth century when the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese (1511) led to the diversion to Makassar of the trade route in spices from the Moluccas and in sandalwood from Timor and Solor. Dutch attempts in the seventeenth century to control the spice trade led to the rise of Makassar as a flourishing centre for "smuggling" as the Dutch termed it ; that is, for traders anxious to circumvent the Dutch monopoly. So successful was the competition it provided that, after prolonged and fruitless attempts by the Dutch to negotiate treaties limiting the city's trade, Dutch in 1669.

Until this period, movement outside the region of South Sulawesi had been limited to those Bugis and Makassarese engaged in trade These traders probably were (and most traders still are) nomads rather than migrants, roaming the archipelago in search of trade in accordance with the direction of the prevailing monsoon, returning to Sulawesi for only a few months of each year to refit and repair their praus. With the annexation of Makassar, the political and economic balance in the Bugis and Makassarese states was irrevocably disturbed. The result was one which the Dutch had scarcely anticipated and which was to cost them much uneasiness : firstly, a vast expansion of Bugis trade ("smuggling") and a growth of piracy, accompanied by the settlement of Bugis traders in many coastal areas of the archipelago ; and, secondly, the launching of a wave of conquests and infiltrations

of other Malay states in Borneo, the Riau archipelago, the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere by émigré Bugis princes and their followers.

Makassar, until its conquest by the Dutch had been the capital city of the allied states of Guwa and Tello, kingdoms of the Makassarese people, which exercised suzereignty over the neighbouring Bugis states and over considerable areas of eastern Indonesia. Dutch intervention in south Sulawesi upset the delicate balance of power between Gowa and the Bugis states. The Aru Palakka, a prince of he Bugis state of Boné, had supported the Dutch against Gowa and its Bugis ally, Wajo'. With the aid of the Dutch, Aru Palakka subsequently defeated the army of Wajo' in battle and razed its capital of Tosora. Further campaigns against the states of Mandar, Sidenreng and Luwu, and continuing conflicts between Boné and Gowa, kept the region in a state of turmoil until the death of Aru Palakka in 1696. After overcomming a serious uprising in 1724-39, the supremacy of the Dutch East India Company in South Sulawesi was assured, but largely at the expense of the peace and stability of the region. As Temminck (1850 : 678) succinctly expresses the situation :

> In order better to exercise this ascendency over the princes of India... it did not scruple to foment those misunderstandings and jealousies amongst them, which at all times have been the principal causes of quarrels and deadly wars...

Consequently, from the fall of Makassar, large groups of Makassarese and Bugis began emigrating to other parts of the Malay world and even as far as Siam. These migratory groups often included women and children. According to Andaya (1970 : 13), this fact "accentuates the argument of intolerable conditions back in Makassar... (which) made it imperative that a new home be found somewhere away from the reaches of the warring Makassarese and Buginese rulers." The fact that civil warfare in South Sulawesi led, not to a redistribution of population within the region, but to movement to remote areas of the archipelago may be attributed to the prior existence of a far-flung Bugis trading network. The established prau trade of South Sulewesi constituted an important precondition for migration, since it provided the means for transporting considerable numbers of people to other islands, in the large and speedy Bugis praus ; moreover, it had already led to the wide dissemination of information about the economic potential and political conditions existing elsewhere.

The Bugis and Makassarese émigrés were frequently led by a prince or some other individual with claims to a share in the "white

blood" of royalty. South Sulawesi at the time contained numerous petty kingdoms, often linked in loose alliances, and each consisting of a multitude of chiefdoms owing allegiance — often more in theory than in practice — to their ruler. Each prince or chief was surrounded by a large circle of kinsmen and followers, while the daily work of his household was carried out by slaves. The chiefs followers provided a permanent, though often idle, armed force. They were sometimes employed in open warfare or simple harrassment of rival chiefs. Thus, Brooke (1848 : 147) — during a visit to the Bugis state of Wajo' in 1840 — observed that the chief of Tempé's followers were of "dissolute and vagabond habits" and "their master encouraged them to plunder, and perhaps received some portions of the spoil" ; as a result of the theft of a considerable amount of property from another prominent chief, "both rajas collected their followers and civil war mas impending."

Since land was not at this time a scarce resource, the wealth of a chief consisted not in his landed estates but in the people under his authority. It was not surprising then that a chief defeated in warfare should forsake his native land, with all his followers, in search of a new territory where he could reestablish his position of power and wealth. Bugis and Makassarese emigration thus, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth conturies, in general consisted in the flight of large numbers of people from the constant warfare which ravaged their homeland, travelling under the protection of a prince and his retinue of fighting men. Sometimes the leaders of these parties were former chiefs striving to regain the position of genuine authority they had formerly held in their own state ; frequently they were adventurers (of alleged but often dubious noble birth), seeking to take advantage of the unsettled conditions of the time to win power and fortune. Many took up employment as mercenaries partipating in local dynastic quarrels and wars between other Malay states. Others established themselves as independent rulers of newly settled areas.

The circumstances prevailing in the eighteenth century favoured the success of well-organised bands of Bugis fighting men under a leader born and bred in a tradition which accepted unquestioningly the authority and superior rights and privileges of the man of royal blood. They were able to succeed because :

> ..... the European presence, increasingly superior in arms and relying especially on the exaction of commercial treaties from weaker powers, the compulsory stapling of trade in its own entrepots, and the detachment of vassals and dependencies, contributed to the decay of the larger political units in the Malay world and to their fragmentation either into weaker

> states or into squabbling bands of marauders..... In effect, in the eighteenth century the forces of instability represented by pretenders, rivals, opportunists and knaves gained a freer rein for longer periods than had traditionally been the case. (Steinberg, 1971 : 77).

The chief beneficiaries of this confused situation were not the European powers but the bands of Bugis adventurers who were able to achieve indirect but effective control of some areas, such as the Johore-Riau empire and the Malay state of Kutai in eastern Borneo, and to establish their own states in other areas, such as Selangor on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. These coastal areas under Bugis control or influence formed the basis for a Bugis commercial empire with a trade which rivalled that of the Dutch in its size and range.

The Expansion of Bugis Trade

The domestic conflicts in South Sulawesi during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries led many Bugis traders to abandon their place of origin. First and foremost among them were the people of Wajo', who formed the bulk of the colonists in Borneo and elsewhere. Crawfurd (1856 : 75) considered that : "The enterprising character of the Bugis belongs more especially to the tribes which go under the common name of Waju." The "Tuwaju" *(To Wajo'* or Wajo' people) were, he noted, "at present found as settlers in almost every trading port of the Archipelago, native and European, having in some of the ruder countries, as Floris and Borneo, independent settlements. In Singapore, although of such recent origin, they already number from 2,000 to 3,000" (Crawfurd, 1856 : 441). Brooke (1848 : 89) also observed that : "Distant enterprise (as colonists and traders) is almost confined to the people of Wajo, and they have a saying amongst them, that a Boni or Soping trader must have Wajo blood in his veins."

The active involvement of the Wajo' people in trade probably arose, in part, from a peculiar geographical feature of the state : the existence of a large inland lake, upon whose fertile shores the bulk of the population lived and which was connected to the sea by a river navigable by ocean-going praus. Thus the maritime trade of the Bugis of Wajo' was able to stretch its tentacles into all the inhabited areas of the state, to the numerous villages which fringed the lake and were dotted along the streams draining into the Tjenrana River. The exodus of many traders from Wajo', which in time was to lead to a great increase in the scale and range of their trading activities, may be

largely attributed to the devastation inflicted on the state in 1670 by the armed forces of Boné, in revenge for Wajo's support of Gowa in the conflict with the Dutch. Bugis chronicles are unanimous in attributing to this defeat, and the famine which succeeded it, the mass emigration of a large part of the population of Wajo'. Some moved to other parts of South Sulawesi, but many fled to more distant regions — to Sumbawa, eastern Borneo, Ambon, Java, Sumatra, Singapore and Johore. A large Wajo' colony was established in Makassar. Not surprisingly, in view of their previous familiarity — if not actual involvement — in commerce, many of the Wajo' emigrants became traders. ([1])

Wajo' and other Bugis traders were able to fill an ecological niche created by the grouwth of trade with China and the West, by acting as intermediaries between the great trading nations and the small, indigenous communities which supplied goods highly prized in Singapore, Siam and China in return for European trade-goods. By the 1820's, Crawfurd (1856 : 75) was able to write of the Bugis of Wajo :

> The trade of this people extends, at present, to every country of the Archipelago, from Sumatra to New Guinea. They are, in fact, the carriers of the internal trade, and now, what the Malays and Javanese were on the arrival of the Europeans.

This trade expansion appears to have been intimately associated with the foundation of the great European trading centres, particularly Singapore (1819), and with the emigration of Chinese to Southeast Asia. Bugis trade was strongly geared to the supply of European goods mostly acquired in Singapore to the people of the archipelago and to satisfying the taste of the Chinese for tripang, mother-of pearl and other products of the eastern islands. Bugis trade was probably, at least in part, stimulated and strengthened by Chinese finance (Crawfurd, 1856 : 26; Earl, 1850 : 492).

Bugis traders fitted into the interstices in European trade, collecting small quantities of goods from numerous insignificant and barely accessible ports of call, and dealing in commodities — such as *tripang* (seaslug), a Chinese delicacy — which Europeans shunned. They were even at times able to gain an edge over their Dutch competitors through their ability to bring a wide range of European consumer

---

([1]) Tobing (1961): 19; Abdurrazak (1964): 88; Matthes (1943): 554-5; Noorduyn (1955): 124.

goods direct from Singapore to the eastern islands at negligible cost. (2) Bugis trading emporia grew up on several islands of the archipelago, such as Bonérate near Salayar (to the south of Sulawesi); this was "a considerable native emporium" from which Bugis praus made "yearly voyages to Bali, Batavia, and Singapore to the west, and New Guinea, the Moluccas, and Manila to the east and north" (Crawfurd, 1856 : 557). Bugis emigrant traders were settled in the various independent Bugis states abroad and in Bugis-dominated Malay states, such as Pasir and Kutai in eastern Borneo ; elsewhere they formed separate colonies within the populations of larger trading settlements such as Singapore, where the Bugis population numbered over 2,000 in 1849, "almost invariably engaged in commerce" (Newbold, 1971 : 220-1).

The effect of the expansion of Bugis trade upon the trading regions within South Sulawesi appears to have been an increasing commercialisation of the economy and the growth of towns largely dependent on trade. In 1823, Crawfurd (1856 : 441) learned from Bugis traders in Singapore that : "There are large Waju villages on the banks of the great lake (Tempé) ..... all of which carry on a considerable foreign trade." Brooke in 1840 himself observed the importance of trade to the economy of Wajo' : the maritime trade of the state supported sizeable urban concentrations (the largest town had an estimated 15,000 inhabitants), provided revenue "to defray the expenses of the war establishment", and stimulated the growth of cottage-industry, devoted to the manufacture of cotton cloth for sarongs. (3)

Peasant Migration

Most of the population of Wajo' — as in other Bugis states — remained engaged in agriculture (chiefly production of rice and maize) and in fishing along the coast and in the inland lakes and rivers. However, the activities of the prau traders affected all the Wajo' people to a greater or lesser degree, by bringing increased wealth to the area and — perhaps most important of all — by spreading knowledge of the economic opportunities offered by other lands. They pro-

---

(2) Bugis traders successfully wrested the trade of the Aru Islands from the Dutch of Banda as a result of their "being able to obtain their European manufactures, which form the most important item of their cargoes for Arru, direct from Singapore." Earl (1850): 489.

(3) Brooke (1848): 93 and 144-6 (size of towns); 139 (revenue) ; 117-8 (cottage-industry).

vided, moreover, the means for migration — travel by prau. Although the process has not been documented, [4]) it is apparent that increasing numbers of ordinary peasant joined and swelled the flow of migration to Borneo, the Malay Peninsula and other areas. This phenomenon is revealed by the census records of Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies which, in the first half of the twentieth century, recorded large numbers of Bugis settled in purely rural areas of, in particular, Johor in southern Malaya, Pontianak in southwest Borneo and Balikpapan in east Borneo. That the immigration of Bugis peasants to these areas had been occurring for many decades is indicated by the fact that less than one-fifth of the Bugis inhabitants of Dutch Borneo (most residing outside towns) had been born in the Government of South Celebes (*Volkstelling* 1930, V: 20, 28, 47-8). The most significant factor promoting emigration to these areas in the first four decades of the twentieth century was probably the export boom in primary products — particularly rice and rubber but also other crops such as copra. Most Bugis immigrants to Borneo and Malaya engaged in the growing of rubber or, more frequently, of coconuts for copra — crops for which the areas of settlement were well-suited — and not in subsistence agricultural production as in South Sulawesi. By 1930, over ten per cent of ethnic Bugis were resident outside their home of origin.

After the attainment of Independence from the Dutch in 1949, Bugis emigration received a fresh impetus from the Islamic rebellion of Kahar Muzakar (1951-65), which drove thousands of the inhabitants of rebel-held or contested areas to flight. The numbers of refugees are difficult to estimate from the scanty statistics available since, as McNicoll (1968: 45-6) points out, "the effects of the Kahar Muzakar rebellion are thoroughly confused with the historical outmigration tendencies of the Buginese and to a lesser extent of the Makassarese." Local government officials in Central Sumatra estimated that 10,000 of the (southern) Sulawesi-born population of Jambi and Riau in 1956 were refugees, while another report mentions some 5,000 fishermen from Sulawesi moving to the coastal areas and rivers of East Kalimantan (Borneo) in 1956 (McNicoll, 1968: 45-6). A Bugis businessman, who handled accomodation and transport for the bulk of Bugis migrants to Jambivia Tanjung Priok (Jakarta) from the early 1950's, claims that the rebellion led to a flood of emigration which

---

(4) Information about Bugis immigration into areas in Dutch Borneo might perhaps be obtained from records kept by the local Dutch Resident or Controleur in places such as Samarinda and Pontianak.

reached its peak in 1955 : in this year, more than 10,000 migrants passed through Tanjung Priok on their way to Sumatra, generally travelling in large parties of 45 or more. [5]) The importance of the rebellion as a precipitant of emigration was confirmed by interviews in 1971-72 with returned migrants in Wajo' and Boné *kabupaten* in South Sulawesi and with Bugis settlers at Tanjung Priok : the vast majority stated that they had emigrated in the 1950's and early 1960's because conditions of insecurity had made it impossible for them to make a living at home.

The period of the rebellion not only saw an increase in the magnitude of emigration from South Sulawesi but also a change in its direction. The major settlement areas in 1930 were east and south Kalimantan (Borneo) and northern Sulawesi ; the Residency of South/East Borneo contained 16,052 people born in southern Sulawesi, and more than three times as many ethnic Bugis and Makassarese. By contrast, the Sumatran Residencies of Jambi and Riau had less than 4,500 inhabitants from southern Sulawesi. The 1961 census presents a totally different picture. While the older areas of Bugis settlement show only minor increases in immigrants compared to 1930, the census indicates that major new settlement areas had been established in the *kabupaten* of Batanghari (Jambi province) and Indragiri and Kepulauan Riau (both in Riau province). For rural areas alone — and the data are incomplete — the census recorded over 42,000 persons living in Jambi and Riau provinces who had been born in South/Southeast Sulawesi (McNicoll, 1968 : 46). Although the census does not differentiate these immigrants by ethnic group, impressionistic evidence strongly suggests that the vast majority were Bugis, with far smaller numbers of Makassarese and Mandarese.

The thirty-year interval between the two censuses makes it impossible to determine from the statistics at what period the flow of Bugis migration became diverted from Kutai and Pontianak in Kalimantan to Jambi and Riau in Sumatra. According to informants in South Sulawesi, Tanjung Priok and Jambi, before world war two there was only a trickle of migration to Indragiri and even less movement to Jambi. The best account of this process — largely supported by other evidence — was given to me by the Tanjung Priok migration organiser. He claimed that migration began to Indragiri — mainly to Énok in the southeast of the region — in 1935, as uncleared forest

(5) Interview with Haji La Ganyu, Pengurus Perantau (migration organiser), Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, 19 August, 1972.

land was exhausted in the older settlement area of Pontianak. (Life histories of early immigrants to Indragiri and Jambi support the contention that many of the first Bugis settlers moved there from Pontianak). In 1940-41 — again in response to a growing shortage of undeveloped land — a south ward movement began into Jambi province, at first to coastal areas close to the border with Indragiri (Kuala Tungkal and Pangkal Jinang) but gradually shifting further south (Sabak, Lagang, Kampung Laut) until today the Bugis tide has already covered the entire coastal area of Jambi and begun to spill over into Palembang province to the south.[6]).

The rebellion in South Sulawesi was the catalyst for a rush of migration to coastal areas of Jambi province. Once security was re stored at home, many of the migrants returned to Sulawesi. However, despite improved conditions in South Sulawesi, migrants continue to leave the region : a recent study of the economy of South Sumatra (especially Jambi) and Central and Southeast Sulawesi, at a guess about 5,000 a year ....." (Makaliwe, 1969 : 18). Indeed the net loss of population in Wajo' and Boné *kabupaten* revealed by the 1970 census was said to have been so great as to have frightened their Bupati into introducing (largely ineffective) restrictions on further emigration.[7])

Migration Today

The pattern of Bugis mobility remains as complex today as it was in the great days of Bugis conquest and trade. Apart froom the crews of Bugis praus, who earn their livelihood by means of continual circulation between the ports of the archipelago, there are numerous settlements of permanent and semi-permanent migrants. A study of the whole vast subject of Bugis migration — and such a study would take years, perhaps decades — would require the examination and comparison of different types of migrant colony, classified according to the

---

(6) Interview with Haji La Ganyu.

(7) Interviews in Wajo' and Boné, March 1971. The census figures confirm that there was a marked decline in population in Wajo' *kabupaten* — from 345, 996 in 1961 (*Sensus 1961:* 13) to 322,225 in 1971 (*Sensus 1971:* 101). However the census figures for Bone do not support the contention that the population of the *kabupaten* was decreasing — in fact, they show an increase from 515,782 in 1961 (*Sensus 1961:* 13) to 596,943 in 1971 (*Sensus 1971:* 100). It may be that there had been a decline in the population only of certain *ketjamatan* within *kabupaten* Bone. Certainly official polity in Bone was strongly to discourage emigration.

length of Bugis settlement in the region : thus, the structure of Bugis society in Samarinda, a town founded by settlers from South Sulawesi in the eighteenth century, must clearly be very different from that of a village in Jambi, where Bugis immigration on a large scale only began in the 1950s. In such a large-scale study, differences would also be discerned between colonies related to the major occupation of the inhabitants — trade, fishing or agriculture. In the older settlements, a large proportion of traders were found, while more recent emigration has shown a preponderence of fishermen — who have mainly moved to the ports of Java — and of peasant farmers, who have been drawn to the virgin jungles of coastal Jambi and Indragiri in Sumatra.

Since it was clearly impossible in a limited period of research to study all the varieties of Bugis migration, the present writer has concentrated on an examination of the social and economic organisation of one particular Bugis village in an area of high out-migration, and its links with the area of migrant settlement. The village chosen was located in the *daerah* of Wajo' — the area from which the vast majority of early traders and emigrants hailed and which is still (with Boné) considered to be the *daerah* with the highest rate of emigration. Almost twelve months in 1971-72 were spent in the village of Anabanua, 22 kilometres to the north of Sengkang, the capital town of Wajo', and five to six hours from Makassar by road. Since Anabanua is remote both from the sea and the great inland lake of Témpé, its inhabitants are engaged almost exclusively in agriculture and emigrants from the village have in general become farmers in Jambi.

Anabanua

In South Sulawesi, with its lack of large, navigable rivers, the pattern of village distribution tends to follow the roads rather than the rivers. Anabanua is particularly favorably placed in this respect, for it has grown up at the confluence of three roads — the major highway from Makassar to Sengkang ; the economically important road which branches off from the highway at Anabanua and leads to the northeastern ports of Siwa (still in Wajo') and Palopo, the capital of Luwu *daerah ;* thirdly, there is the dirt road to the fertile Bélawa region in the northwestern corner of Wajo'. Anabanua's importance as a communication centre, and its strategic location on top of a group of low hills, with extensive views of the surrounding countryside, probably explain its choice as a military post during the rebellion which devastated Wajo' and other parts of South Sulawesi in 1951-65. Along the highway to the north and south of Anabanua, villages follow each other in rapid succession, each separated by only a few miles of open

ricefields from its neighbours. Between Anabanua and Belawa, to the west, only scattered hamlets are found. Settlement is also sparse in the hills which rise wild and beautiful to the east : only a few tiny hamlets are found nestling in the valleys of this land of tangled forests and sweeping grasslands, formerly the haunt of robbers and horse-thieves, and more recently of the rebel forces.

Anabanua is a large village — almost a small town with over 1,000 inhabitants in the main cluster of houses around the market-place and in the adjacent hamlet of Kampung Kéra. Under the Dutch regime, three separate hamlets, situated on a range of small hills, expanded and coalesced to form a single large village. This grew still further during the rebellion when Anabanua ,as the site of a major army post, was one of the few places in Wajo' to resist capture by the rebels ; as a result the inhabitants of many surrounding villages moved into Anabanua, where some became permanent settlers. (Thus, one section of Anabanua — Lompoé — consists of former inhabitants of the nearby hamlet of Lompo, now reduced to a fraction of its former size.) Several neighbouring villages were abandoned during the rebellion, their inhabitants generally moving to Sengkang, Pare-Pare and other towns, or emigrating to Sumatra and elsewhere. Many of these villages have only recently been resettled.

Anabanua is thus a composite village. Its history of growth through accretion provides one explanation for the fragmentation of village society which soon becomes apparent to the anthropologist. There are striking breaks in the flow of information within the village, and one social cluster may be totally ignorant of the activities or even the existence of others. The village is divided along lines of village-origin (thus, the people of Lompoé form a distinct clique), religion, occupation and wealth. Most importantly, it is split into clusters of kin who also tend to constitute neighbourhood units. It is common to find that all the residents of one street of the village are related in some way, often by close ties of bilateral kinship — such as those between siblings, first cousins, grandparents and grandchildren. It is quite explicitly stated that kin always try to live close together, so that they are conveniently placed to both give and receive assistance in household ceremonies — for births, circumcision, marriages, deaths, an impending journey — and in economic activities, such as collecting firewood in the forest, planting and harvesting crops. Within the centre of the village where the houses are most closely grouped the population in general is long settled in Anabanua and there is considerable over-lapping of kin-ties ; here local gossip is more widely shared. But on the fringes of the village are small hamlets of very poor people,

subsisting largely on the produce of their own gardens and by share-cropping, who have no social links whatsoever with people of the wealthier village centre.

Kinship, common local origin, religion, occupation, social status and wealth are divisive features of the society in many circumstances, but they can also provide bridges linking the various social factions. Ties of kinship not only provide the individual with support — both moral and material — but also constitute his most binding social obligations. However, people with no kin connexion may yet have a feeling of solidarity arising from their common origin from, for example, the hamlet of Lompo; or from common membership of a religious sect; or from the fact that they (or a member of their household) are fellow employees of the government offices. In fact, the individual is presented with a wide range of possible bases for association with others; while dislike for another may be expressed in terms of differences in kinties, religion etc., liking provides an incentive to seek the common — rather than the divisive — factor. Those who feel themselves to be at odds with their surroundings — with their relatives, their employers, the monotony of village life — have an escape route from it all in emigration. Marital breakdown is commonly expressed in the emigration of the husband, a solution to marital discord which creates far less disharmony within and between the kin-groups of both than divorce or the taking of a second wife would have done. Bad relations between siblings, or between father and son, are also often resolved by the emigration of one or more of the parties involved.

Economic Conditions

Anabanua is the political and economic centre for a wide area. It has a large enclosed market square, flanked on two sides by shops; here a market is held on three days a week, although a few small traders (mostly women) may be found on all days of the week, peddling local produce and cheap imported goods, such as matches, candles and soap. Most traders also own or rent land, on wich they grow rice to supplement the erratic income brought by trade in an area where the cash available for making purchases fluctuates sharply with the size of the harvest, and a drought ruins not only the farmer but also the trader who supplies him with imported goods and local produce. A few widows and deserted wives are dependent entirely upon trade, since they have no land of their own and no man to work land under a share-cropping arrangement; these women are the keepers of numerous small coffee shops and the sellers of fruit and vegetables.

The only big employers of labour within the village are the government and the rice-mills. Anabanua is the capital of the *ketjamatan* of Maniangpajo and of the even smaller subdivision, the *wanuwa* (desa) of Anabanua. Opposite the market stand the large white-painted brick offices of the *ketjamatan* and the police headquarters. There are four schools in Anabanua — three primary schools *(sekolah dasar)* and one middle school *(sekolah menengah pertama)* and most of the teachers are resident in the village. However, many of the teachers and civil servants and most of the police come from other areas of Wajo' and even from other *daerah*. They form the new elite of the village, an elite which derives its position from education and the holding of officially recognised and relatively highlypaid offices.

There are two large rice-mills in Anabanua, which are capable of threshing as well as polishing rice (i.e., *penggilingan padi)*, and numerous smaller mills which handle only rice which has already been threshed *(penggilingan beras)*. The number of small mills in operation fluctuates wildly depending on the success of the harvest, since in general they mill only locally produced rice. The larger *penggilingan beras* and the two *penggilingan padi* have sufficient capital to buy rice in other districts where the harvest has been more successful, and even to obtain rice from the climatically different western half of the peninsula of South Sulawesi : here the harvest is usually in full swing when planting is just beginning in Wajo'. The larger mills are thus able to remain in operation throughout the year and to take advantage of price variations between districts where rice has just been harvested and is therefore plentiful and cheap and other areas where rice-prices are rising in the period of waiting for the rice-croup to reach fruition. The biggest *penggilingan padi* belongs to one of South Sulawesi's most successful entrepreneurs (he is also the owner of a fleet of buses) and is a massive operation, employing many of the poorest men and women of the village and in full production day and night.

The government employees, mill-workers and traders of Anabanua are few in number compared with those engaged in agriculture. *Petani* (farmers) are estimated by the Kepala Wanuwa *(wanuwa* head) to comprise at least 90 per cent of the population of the village and its environs, and many individuals classed in the census as engaged in some other occupation often derive a large part of their income from land, which they either farm themselves (after office hours or in the intervals between trading expeditions) or let under share-cropping arranggements. Within the entire *wanuwa* of Anabanua, the

average area of *sawah* (wet-rice fields) per household is nearly 1.75 hectares — more than sufficient to support an average household of five members and still leave a surplus for sale. In fact, however, there are great inequalities in the distribution of land-ownership. The Kepala Wanuwa considered that (in 1971-72) at least half the population owned no *sawah,* while a very small number — probably ten people at most — owned 10-20 hectares. The large landowners (including the Kepala Wanuwa himself) are all members of former princely families of the area.

The majority of peasant farmers in Anabanua own no land or too little for subsistence, and must therefore work entirely or partly as share-croppers on the lands of wealthier villagers or absentee landlords in order to obtain enough rice for their own consumption requirements. The weak position of these landless peasants (due to high competition for use of the available *sawah)* is indicated by the unfavourable terms for them of sharecropping agreements: they receive only half the crop after payment of tax and other expenses. (However, a tenant on very poor land may receive as much as two-thirds of the crop, while the rare tenant who has water buffalo of his own for ploughing may be given incentives to work the *sawah* of another: for example, the owner may offer to pay the agricultural tax himself). The agricultural tax is not adjusted to the size of the land-holding: it is a fixed percentage depending on the quality of the land (usually ten per cent. in Anabanua) and therefore presses more heavily on the small landholder or share-cropper.

Rice cultivation is a task exclusively for men, but men, women and children all work together at harvest time, cutting the stalks of rice individually with a hand-held knife. Payment is in kind — one sheaf of rice for every ten harvested. Harvesting may provide a considerable proportion of the rice supplies of the landless peasant if he or she is prepared to work long hours, harvesting from dawn till dusk throughout the harvest season. Although the smallest landowners or tenant-farmers harvest the crop with the labour of their own households, those with more extensive lands than they can readily harvest themselves will throw the task open to any of their kin or acquaintances — or indeed to anyone who hears that the harvest is to begin in their fields. Indeed some landowners regard the harvest season as an opportunity for charitable deeds (and also, perhaps, for gaining influence and popularity) and often give more than the customary one sheaf in ten to old people, or children, or those known to be in need.

Most landless or small peasants are able to obtain sufficient rice for their own needs if the harvest is good, but rarely have a surplus large enough to tide them over a bad year. If the harvest fails for one year, they may be forced to eat even their seed-rice (saved from the previous year), which makes their position even more vulnerable the following year. The rainfall is exceedingly irregular and there is no irrigation. (Two proposed irrigation schemes were never completed due — it is rumoured — to government corruption). In 1971, the rains failed and the area of *sawah* planted shrank by two-thirds ; half of the rice-fields actually sown were eaten out by mice because of the irregular planting pattern — swampy areas had been sown a month or more before the dryer fields. Consequently a crop was received from only 327 out of 2,497 hectares of *sawah,* in the whole *wanuwa.*([8]) The total rice crop amounted to only about 350,000 kilograms of rice — less than 46 kilograms of rice per head or far below the national average of 80-119 kilograms per head (Penny, 1971: 45). In a survey of ten per cent. of village households, it was found that a majority had harvested no rice at all from their *sawah* in 1971.

In 1972 the rain were again late and many farmers made no attempt to prepare seed-beds, preferring to emigrate to Sumatra rather than risk another crop-failure. As they said : "If we stay here, what will we eat ?" The number of emigrants at this time was so high that many landowners could find noone to work their fields. Many poorer people, lacking the capital to emigrate, sought a meagre subsistence by planting vegetables, sugar-cane, maize, "hill" rice, and groundnuts in dry fields *(ladang)* in the hills to the northeast. The opening of new *ladang* was however prohibited by the government in an attempt to halt soil erosion.

Emigration from Anabanua.

In Anabanua, if a peasant farmer finds himself in an increasingly precarious position, where he could not sustain a reduction or failure of the rice harvest, emigration is generally seen as the obvious answer and he may sell his house, his remaining store of rice, and (as

---

([8]) IPEDA (agricultural tax of about 10% of the crop) amounted to 34,970 Kg. of rice in 1971. Thus, the rice harvest in this year must have yielded at least 349,700 Kg. — probably slightly more as officials often did not attempt to collect tax from farmers whose crop-yield was already pitifully low. The rice production per head is obtained by dividing the estimated total rice production by the total population of the *wanuwa* — 7,622 inhabitants.

a last resort) his land, to finance the trip to Sumatra. At times of economic hardship there is thus a high rate of emigration of farmers in the middle-income group, with a little land and property of their own. The wealthy farmers, with several hectares of land, can afford to sustain a few years of crop failures and can even make some profit from the situation by selling rice at inflated prices. The largest group who remain at home are the poor, who must simply tighten their belts and subsist on the produce of their house-gardens or *ladang,* sometimes supplemented with casual labour (when available) in the rice-mills or on road-building projects, or carrying water from the rivers when the wells dry up in the dry season.

Economic necessity is the major factor in emigration at all times. The great rush of emigration to Sumatra, which in Anabanua, as elsewhere, resulted from the Kahar Muzakar rebellion, was provoked more by a fear of impending economic disaster than by terrorist activity by the rebels (which did not in general affect ordinary peasants). The effects of the rebellion upon the economy of South Sulawesi were indeed disastrous, particularly in the eastern and north-eastern region which was the stronghold of the rebels. Within Wajo', large areas were depopulated in the mountainous, well-wooded countryside around Anabanua, Kalalo and Gilireng, and along the coastal belt. Roads were destroyed and are only now — a decade later — being repaired. In 1963, the three districts which had been the main areas of rebel activity — Luwu, Wajo' and Bone — showed the largest food deficits. Large areas of *sawah* remained unworked, not only because of fear of disturbance by the rebels but also because many of the water-buffalo required for plouging had been slaughtered by the rebels for food. In Wajo', the number of buffalo declined from 54,000 to 18,000 in ten years (1951-61); in Bone the decrease was from 50,000 to 5,000. (In Anabanua in 1971 the Kepala Wanuwa considered that lack of sufficient numbers of buffalo was still one of the major impediments to increased rice-production). Horses, the chief means for transporting goods, were also killed for food. Production of goods and produce, such as dried fish, for export ceased, since there was no guarantee that they would not be seized by the rebels (Shamsher, 1967 : 67-77). It is not surprising that in these conditions a large proportion of the population emigrated rather than suffer deprivation at home.

The major precipitants of postwar emigration from Anabanua have been the rebellion of 1950-64 and recurrent crop-failures, exacerbated by a lack of irrigation facilities, alternative employment opportunities or government assistance to the farmer. However, these factors alone

do not explain why Bugis from Anabanua and other places have reacted to conditions of insecurity and economic deterioration by emigrating to remote regions. In West Java during the Darul Islam rebellion (1948-62) many areas also experienced long periods of insecurity, accompanied by a shrinking of economic opportunities, but their inhabitants responded to these conditions by temporary migration to nearby towns, returning as soon as possible to their home villages (McNiccol, 1968 : 44-45). The chronic land shortage from which most of Java suffers might also be expected to result in large-scale emigration yet surprisingly few people have taken advantage of the elaborate government subsidised and organised transmigration programme. A recent study of a village in Central Java revealed that those who are financially able to emigrate to Sumatra, where economic opportunities are known to be abundant, are in fact those most reluctant to do so. They "rationalise their reluctance to migrate by saying ..... 'I does not matter whether we are able to eat or not so long as all of us (Javanese) can be together.' " (Peny, 1971 : 82) Such a strong attachment to one's home village is rarely found in northern Wajo' and emigration is seen not only as a frequent economic necessity but also as an exciting experience and a means of increasing one's prestige as an individual.

The different attitudes towards migration of Bugis and Javanese may probably be related to their very different environments and histories. The Javanese do not have a pervasive tradition of sea-going and travel except in coastal areas : most of the population of Java is settled in inland areas and engaged in agriculture, lacking an acquaintance with other lands.(9) The Bugis peasant, by contrast, even where he himself has no direct knowledge of any occupation but agriculture and has never left his natal village, nonetheless has acquired a considerable fund of knowledge about other places — through relatives living in coastal, trading villages (and it should be remembered that few Bugis live very far from the sea); through fellow villagers who have travelled; through the general pooling of information about other parts of the Malay world. The fact that Bugis have been emigrating for centuries is in itself a factor predisposing other Bugis to leave their native land, since the Bugis colonies abroad are sources of in-

(9) There may also be social factors involved in the reluctance of the Javanese of many areas of Java to emigrate. But a complete discussion of this question, and an adequate comparison of the relative propensities Bugis and Javanese to emigrate, would require further research and the writing of another article devoted to this topic alone.

formation about more favourable economic opportunities elsewhere and often provide both financial and moral assistance to the would be emigrant. The success of many former migrants arouses a spirit of emulation in those who have remained behind. Emigration is seen to be a means — for many people the *only* means — to achieve wealth and a higher social status.

The advantages of emigration were known to most people in Anabanua, but not all wished, or were able, to leave the village for Sumatra or Java or Kalimantan. It has already been suggested that the wealthier farmers have no need to emigrate at times of economic adversity and that the poor do not have the means to do so. But propensity to emigrate is not related only to an individual's economic position — it also has a status dimension.

Social Status and Migration

The system of social stratification, in all its complexity, provides the key to the understanding of Bugis social structure. Indeed, if Bugis are asked to talk about their own society, about their culture and what it is that distinguishes them from other ethnic groups of Indonesia, they will begin by discussing the system of ranks within the society, and its expression in ceremonies, particularly those connected with marriage. A very large part of Bugis *ade'* (customary law) is concerned with defining social ranks and the correct relations between people of different social status. Marriage provides one of the chief means of symbolising and consolidating social status, as well as creating ties between individuals and families belonging to different status strata — for these strata are not endogamous.

In Wajo', the five main ranks of society were traditionally further divided into numerous intermediate ranks resulting from the intermarriage of individuals of differents status — for rank is inherited from both mother and father, the offspring possessing a rank intermediate between that of their parents. In his major article, "De standen bij de Boegineezen en de Makassaren", Friedericy (1933) describes a fantastically intricate system of divisions and subdivisions of ranks, but this system was probably more an ideal than a reality. The finer distinctions of blood were irrelevant to most practical concerns. What mattered were the broad categories of (1) *ana' matola* — the pure-blooded royalty who supplied the ruler and highest officers of the state; (2) the *arung* — chiefs of the tiny princedoms of which Wajo' was composed — and their families; (3) the *tau déchéng* (= good people) — wealthy and respected commoners, with an admixture of noble blood; (4) *tau maradéka* — free commoners; and (5) *ata* — slaves.

This classification of the population by rank has survived to the present day in Wajo', with the exception of the category of *ata* : slavery was officially abolished by the Dutch in 1906 and, since Independence, the unofficial dependence of former slaves upon the *arung* has gradually faded away with the decline in the ability of most nobles to support large numbers of servants and followers.

Anabanua has never been the seat of any of the great chiefs of Wajo' : indeed the name Ana'banua (child-*wanuwa)* indicates its subordinate status within the confederation of Wajo'. The Arung Anabanua were definitely rulers of the second rank, not to be classed with the great families of, for example, the three Ranreng or the Chakkuridi of Wajo'. They were *anakarung (arung* children) not *ana'matola.* Unlike the ruler of Gilireng, who was usually also the Chakkuridi Wajo', the Arung Anabanua did not possess *arajang* (regalia) which were believed to influence the prosperity of the whole *wanuwa* and were ceremonially cleaned, presented with offerings and paraded around the chief village of the *wanuwa* in an annual thanksgiving ceremony. Although the Arung Anabanua did have the right and duty to perform certain rituals (also called *arajang)* enjoined by his ancestor, Petta Bila, these were for the benefit only of descendants of Petta Bila and only they could participate in the ritual. Thus the ruler of Anabanua did not have the exalted birth or the other attributes of authority which would have enabled him to exercise much influence outside his own domain, but within it he had considerable power and received great respect, a respect which is still extended to his descendants.

Within the village and *wanuwa* of Anabanua, and the neighbouring (and closely associated) *wanuwa* of Kalola, there are three main status categories — what the Bugis would call *tingka'* (levels): (1) *anakarung:* descendants of former Arung Anabanua and of the rulers of other *wanuwa ;* (2) lower nobles *(andi')* with no direct relationship to a former ruling family, and *tau déchéng ;* and (3) *tau maradéka* (or *tau sama):* ordinary commoners. These status levels are not classes in the Marxist sense, for economic classes in Anabanua overlap social boundaries : although *anakarung* and *tau déchéng* tend to be wealthier and to own more land than *tau maradéka,* there is not a complete correlation of social and economic class. The three main social strata should also not be regarded as "status *groups*", for the boundaries between them are not clearly defined and all *tau déchéng* in Anabanua, for example, do not have any feeling of group solidarity.

The *anakarung* descendants of former Arung Anabanua are still treated with great respect by the people of the *wanuwa* and the

surrounding area, and hold all the important positions in the local government. The two most important local offices — those of Kepala Wanuwa Anabanua and Kepala Wanuwa Kalola — are both held by members of the former ruling family. Since these offices are elective, the appointment of *anakarung* as *wanuwa* heads reveals the tenacity of the belief that only the descendant of an *Arung* has a legitimate right to govern. The *anakarung* of Anabanua are in general owners of sufficient land to be able to exist without the necessity of farming their own sawah, which is let out under sharecropping arrangements. The richer members of this group are able to support a large number of dependants. The older and more respected *anakarung* bear the title of *Petta ;* younger individuals are called *Andi',* as are people who — whilst of recognised noble descent — are considered to have lost status through intermarriage over several generations with women of lower birth.

The *tau déchéng* are the class of wealthy and respected commoners. They are frequently closely related to *anakarung* but it is considered that their blood is too "thin" for them any longer to have the right to bear the title of *Andi'*. The men are generally called *Daeng* or *Ambo' ;* the women are addressed as *Indo'*. (These titles are used before the names of even small children — althought *ambo'* means "father" and *indo'* is the word for "mother".) Many of the *tau déchéng* have close kin ties with members of the former ruling family : the last Arung Anabanua had many *tau déchéng* wives whose children — recognised as *anakarung* — still maintain the relationship with their mother's kin. Other *tau déchéng* have no known connexion with any noble family, but if a man is wealthy and owns much land and a large house with furniture and a corrugated iron roof (modern status-symbols in a Bugis village), it is often assumed that he must have some, perhaps forgotten, traces of noble blood. In general, wealth and important connexions mean the difference, for someone on the borderline between social strata, between descent to a lower status and the assumption of a rank higher than his borth in fact warrants. Those *tau déchéng* closely linked by cousin ties to *anakarung* — including the two Kepala Wanuwa — are more highly regarded than many *andi'* (nobles) who are of higher birth but lack kin in politically significant positions. *Tau maradéka* (freemen) are by far the largest sector of the population of Anabanua ; they include people of all economic and occupational categories, with the exception of hight government officials.

Emigration provides the means not only to obtain greater wealth than is possible for most in Wajo', but also to achieve a rise in social

status. As one *tau déchéng* informant — head of the middle school — explained :

> In Wajo' there is an "aristocratic democracy".
> Commoners can never achieve a rank higher than Captain, and only very brave men can achieve this.
> If one wishes to become powerful, one must emigrate.

One of the highest nobles in Anabanua expressed the same view : all his relatives of pure royal birth were rich and had never migrated ; it was only kin of lower birth — for instance the children of a noble by a commoner wife — who emigrated to seek their fortunes, usually with some success. And then, as he pointed out :

> If they have property, it is they who are powerful.
> They can be considered to be nobles — noone would dare to say they are not nobles of pure blood.

The stories which are still remembered of early, prewar emigrants from Anabanua and other *wanuwa*, such as Gilireng, support the view that many *tau déchéng* and lower nobles sought and obtained not only wealth but high prestige in the *rantau* (foreign lands). Thus the wealty Bugis merchants who settled in Singapore early in this century were mainly of this class — including four sons of an Arung Gilireng by a wife of low birth — and a remarkably high percentage of the Wajo' Bugis settlers in Benut, Johor (Malaysia), bear the *tau déchéng* titles of *Daeng* or *Ambo'*. This may be due not only to a higher rate of emigration by *tau déchéng* but also to tendency for settlers abroad to claim higher birth than they would dare to assert in Wajo', where their antecedents would be known.

In view of the hierarchical nature of Bugis society and the great prestige accorded to high birth, it is not surprising that in nearly all of the Bugis colonies abroad whose history is remembered, the first settler was either a noble (although often not of the purest blood) or, more frequently, a *tau déchéng.* In the areas first settled by Bugis from the mid-1930's along the Indragiri and Jambi coastline in Sumatra, the *pembuka tanah* (opener of the land) almost invariably bore the title of *Ambo'* or *Daéng,* denoting a member of the *tau déchéng.* The success of such men in establishing new settlements was partly due to the prestige accorded their high rank, which enabled them to attract followers and to have their authority accepted; indeed, the Penghulu of Pangkal Duri, in Jambi, who was himself a descendant of an Arung Gilireng, asserted that Bugis settlers in Jambi would be

unwilling to accept the leadership of anyone who was not of royal descent, either an *andi'* or a *tau déchéng*. (Interview in Pangkal Duri, January 1973). Another reason for the predominance of *tau déchéng*, until recently, amongst *pembuka tanah* was their relatively greater wealth : a considerable amount of capital was required to cover the costs of transporting large numbers of people to the selected area of settlement. In the newer settlement areas along the southern coast of Jambi, far fewer *pembuka* have the titles of *Daeng* or *Ambo'*: they are generally people of commoner rank who have become wealthy in Sumatra and acquired the capital necessary to initiate land-settlement and expand their own land-holdings.

In Jambi (and other popular migration areas), a penniless new settler can win a fortune through his own efforts, if he is prepared to work hard and take some risks. The wealth thus obtained may be used to buy higher status through two major channels : marriage and religion. Rich migrants from Wajo' in, for example, Benut (Johor) or Jambi may seek to raise their status by intermarrying with the Wajo' nobility : thus in Anabanua a few years' ago, a noble girl was given in marriage to a commoner, born in Jambi but with parents from Anabanua; his suit was only accepted after he had agreed to pay the highest brideprice ever known in the area — Rp. 100,000 compared with the usual Rp. 15 - 30,000. In the *rantau,* the children of a woman of noble birth and a commoner father generally derive their status from the mother and take the noble title of *Andi'*. In Wajo', this would not be possible : although the rank of the mother affects that of her children, they are not regarded as *andi'* unless their father is of noble birth. There is thus a patrilineal bias in the inheritance of rank in Wajo', which is conveniently overlooked in the *rantau* if the person claiming noble status in also wealthy and/or politically influential.

Higher status can also be achieved by migrants through making the *haj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca. There is a saying in Jambi that if a Bugis makes some money, he first buys gold; when his wealth increases still further he goes to Mecca. In one area of Jambi, it was estimated that 1,000 out of a population of just over 11,000 had already become haji, and that 99 per cent. of these were Bugis. This compares with, at the most, 20 *haji* out of a population of 4,000 in Anabanua. In Sumatra, a *haji* has prestige equal to that of a man of noble descent (except perhaps in the older areas of Bugis settlement, where the *tau déchéng* are more securely entrenched in positions of authority). They also command considerable respect if they

return to visit their natal village, since a *haji*'s cap is an indisputable sign of wealth.

Returned emigrants also acquire prestige in Anabanua by displaying goods they have bought — gold watches, radios, cassette-recorders — and distributing presents, both money and gifts of cloth dan other items, to their relatives at home. (Indeed, the expectation that a returned migrant will shower largesse upon kin and friends is so high that some settlers in Jambi expressed reluctance to return to Sulawesi for fear of losing all their hard-earned wealth). Another form of prestige is derived from tales of brave deeds performed in the *rantau,* particularly is smuggling expeditions to Singapore. A *pasompe* (migrant, wanderer) is seen by romantically inclined Bugis — and these are not rare — to possess many of the characteristics considered most admirable in the Bugis personality : notably, bravery, cunning and a spirit of adventure.

Chain Migration.

The *rantau* (lands abroad) in which Bugis settled all had certain common features : they were coastal areas, with easy access by boat; they were fertile and well-watered, eminently suited to the cultivation of coconuts, which became the chief Bugis cash-crop from at least the beginning of this century (rubber was less popular, as it takes longer to mature); they were sparsely settled or unpopulated and thus quickly assumed the aspect of purely Bugis districts, in which many of the features of Bugis society in Sulawesi could be recreated.

Emigration from Anabanua, and indeed from all areas of South Sulawesi, may be seen as an example of "chain migration" (Price, 1963: 107-138): the process whereby one or more settlers in a new land encourage relatives and friends from their home village or region to join them, thereby initiating a migration chain, an established route along which migrants continue to move until, in many cases, they build up village or regional concentrations abroad. Before the war, Bugis from Anabanua and Kalola migrated mainly to Pontianak (in southwestern Kalimantan) and — to a lesser extent — to Benut in Johor (southern Malaya). No migration chain appears to have been established from Anabanua-Kalola to the other major area of Bugis settlement at this time : Samarinda in eastern Kalimantan. By about 1930, uncleared land was already in short supply in Pontianak and Benut, and a movement began to the coast of Indragiri — almost directly to the west of Pontianak — in Sumatra. Since at this time there were no rigid borders between Malaya, Singapore and the ar-

chipelago, there was free circulation of trade within the region, and with it came a flow of information about the economic potential of the fertile but sparsely populated coastal area of Indragiri and Jambi.

One great advantage of the settlements here was that they had easy access to Singapore, where agricultural produce could be sold (or bartered) for a good profit and trade goods obtained for resale in Sumatra. Once firm borders were established between Malaysia and Indonesia, free trade between the two countries was restricted, but a flourishing smuggling trade grew up in its place ; this was — according to Bugis informants — almost entirely in the hands of Bugis. It became particularly lucrative during the period of Confrontation (1964), when legitimate trade with Malaysia was prohibited by the Indonesian government and prices of agricultural produce, such as rubber, sugar, rice, copra and tobacco, rose dramatically in Singapore. The excitement and high profits from smuggling at this time provided a major incentive for emigration by young Bugis in search of adventure. In recent years, smuggling has greatly diminished along the Jambi coast : not only are the frontiers better policed but the price differential for agricultural produce between Indonesia and Singapore is no longer great enough to make the risks worth taking.

When the Kahar Muzakar rebellion drove many of the people of Anabanua to flight in the late 1950's, the majority moved to Pangkal Duri and Sungai Ayam, settlements on two neighbouring small rivers on the northern coast of Jambi. Pangkal Duri had been opened up before the Second World War by Daeng Mangati, a *tau déchéng* from Anabanua; Sungai Ayam was opened by his second cousin. *Tau déchéng* descendants and close kin of Daeng Mangati (who died in 1953) continue to hold all important government posts in the area : his grandson — a Gilireng man — is the present Penghulu of Pangkal Duri, while the Mangku (village leader) of Sungai Ayam is a grandson of Daeng Mangati's sister, who had been called from Anabanua to assist his relatives in the government of the Pangkal Duri area. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Pangkal Duri and Sungai Ayam are also emigrants from Anabanua, often relatives of the first settler, Daeng Mangati. Sometimes they have emigrated because a kinsman in Sumatra has asked them to come, occasionally even sending money for the voyage or returning to Anabanua to fetch them. Many have emigrated of their own accord and at their own expense, knowning that many of their kin are already settled there, aware from the stories of returned emigrants of the economic opportunities in Jambi, and confident that they will receive assistance from relatives and acquaintances upon their arrival in Sumatra.

In most cases, emigrants are not sent money in order to move to Jambi but are given a promise of support by their kin in finding work and accomodation upon arrival. They are thus obliged only on find sufficient money to pay the cost of the passage (steerage-class) to Jambi via Jakarta. In general, migration follows a seasonal pattern, with emigrants leaving Wajo' soon after the harvest in September-October. They are thus able to raise some money by selling all their stocks of rice, confident that their kin in Jambi will supply them with food until they are able to obtain their own supplies of rice in the March harvest there. (Harvesters in Jambi receive two sheaves of rice for every ten gathered — compared with one sheaf in ten in Anabanua. If a migrant's travelling expenses have been paid by a kinsman in Jambi, he is under a moral obligation to help his benefactor with the harvest — but in any case, a migrant will generally be encouraged to help his kin, and receive help from them, until he has built up enough capital to start to farm on his own account). Houses are also frequently sold to finance migration from Anabanua, but land is generally retained, even when the prospective emigrant has no immediate plans to return to Sulawesi : land is considered to be an inheritance from their ancestors and should be kept in trust for their own descendants. If a man sells his land in Wajo', he feels that he has become a stranger in his own land. Thus it is only in conditions of the direst necessity that a man will dispose of his rice fields in order to emigrate.

Close ties are maintained between migrants in Jambi and their kin in Sulawesi, and the latter are constantly encouraged to follow their relatives to Sumatra. In Jambi, as in Anabanua, kin are always preferred as friends and as helpers in all activities. It is considered that only they can really be trusted; they are *sejiwa* (lit. "one spirit") — they have the same views on life. Links with Anabanua are kept up through the constant recruitment of kin to the Anabanua migrant colonies in Jambi; through visits of migrants to their home village (usually in the middle of the year, after the harvest is completed in Jambi); and through the creation of fresh ties of marriage with relatives in Sulawesi : marriage with cousins is highly valued in Bugis society, and young men are often sent back to Anabanua to be married to a cousin there.

Effects of Migration.

The steady movement of population from Anabanua and other villages of South Sulawesi to the Sumatra coast has resulted in the clearing of large tracts of land, and their conversion from jungle to

sawah and coconut gardens. The effects of the emigration of part of its people upon Anabanua are less dramatic and more difficult to define. The major reason for emigration is the belief — well founded in reality — that Indragiri and Jambi possess indisputable economic advantages over Wajo'. The economic benefits of emigration to the migrant are clear; but the people who remain behind in Anabanua also benefit through the shedding of some of the surplus population. It means that there are fewer people to be supported by the inadequate and irregular agricultural resources of the village. It also, to some extent, reverses the tendency towards a progressive fragmentation of land-holdings, as a result of the custom of equal division of land amongst all children (male and female alike) of the owner; when a man migrates, he generally entrusts his actual or potential share in inherited land to a brother or cousin, who works this land together with his own, often contiguous, land. Emigration also reduces the competition of landless peasants for *sawah* to work under sharecropping agreements — indeed, in a period of economic difficulty, in which many people are moving to Jambi, there may be more land available for letting than there are farmers interested in taking it.

The high value placed upon close ties with kin is not destroyed — as we have seen — by migration to Jambi, since there is a strong tendency for brothers, uncles, cousins, to be drawn after the original migrant. Emigration may even be a means of preserving the solidarity of the kin group within Anabanua, since quarrels, which might otherwise lead to permanent splits within the circle of kin, are often resolved by one or other of the disputants moving to Sumatra — often accompanied or followed by sympathetic relatives. Potential conflicts are also avoided by discontented individuals leaving the village. A group of siblings, or cousins, may also quite amicably agree to divide, with some emigrating and some remaining at home as guardians of their land — for it is all too often quite apparent that the *sawah* at their disposal is insufficient to support the entire kin group adequately.

Migration — itself a dynamic process — may act as a conservative influence within Wajo' society, enabling the continuance of an autocratic political system. The constant emigration of the most politically ambitious and able individuals means that the nobility remain unchallenged in their monopoly of all important government offices. It is perhaps for this reason that Wajo' — the region with the longest tradition of migration — is also renowned as the most conservative and *féodal* (feudal) of the *daerah* of South Sulawesi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY :

Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru (1964) *Sedjarah Wadjo,* Makassar.

Andaya, L. (1970) Unpublished essay on Bugis emigration in the late seventeenth century.

Bastin, J. (1964) *Malayan and Indonesian Studies. Essay presented to Sir Richard Winstedt ...,* edited by John Bastin and R. Roolvink, Oxford.

Brooke, J. (1848) *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes down to the Occupation of Labuan,* Vol. I, London.

Crawfurd, John (1856) *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries,* London.

Earl, G.W. (1850) "The trading ports of the Indian Archipelago", *Journal of the Indian Archipelago,* IV: 238-251, 380-399, 483-495, and 530-551.

Makaliwe, W.H. (1969) "An economic survey of South Sulawesi", *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies,* V, 2: 17-36.

Matthes, B.F. (1943) "Over de Wadjoreezen met hun handelsen scheepwetboek". Written in 1869 and published in H. van den Brink (ed.), *Dr Benjamin Frederik Matthes : Zijn Leven en Arbeid in Dienst van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap,* 531-587.

McNicoll, G. (1968) "Internal migration in Indonesia : Descriptive notes", *Indonesia,* 5: 29-92.

Newbold, T.J. (1839) *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca,* London. Reprinted Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, London, NY, 1971 (it is this edition which is referred to).

Noorduyn, J. (1955) *Een Achttiende Eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo,* 'sGravenhage.

Penny, D.H., and M. Singarimbun (1971) "The population problem : Some economic arithmetic". Unpublished typescript, Australian National University.

Price, C.A. (1963) *Southern Europeans in Australia,* Melbourne.

Sensus 1961 Biro Pusat Statistik R.I., *Sensus Penduduk 1961 (Population Census 1961) Republik Indonesia,* Djakarta, 6 June 1962.

Sensus 1971 Biro Pusat Statistik R.I., *Sensus Penduduk 1971*

(1971 Population Census) ..... *Angka*[2] *Sementara (Preliminary Figures)*, Serie B. No. 1, Djakarta.

Shamsher Ali (1967) "Development planning in practice : A case study of South Sulawesi (Indonesia)". Unpublished typescript, Australian National University.

Steinberg, D.J., ed. (1971) *In Search of Southeast Asia : A Modern History*, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore.

Temminck, C.J. (1850) Translation of some of his work in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV : 664-686, 761-5; V : 180-7, 250-3.

Tobing, Ph. O.L. (1961) *Hukum Pelajaran dan Perdagangan Amanna Gappa (The Navigational and Commercial Law of Amanna Gappa)*, Makassar.

Volkstelling 1930 Departement van Ekonomische-Zaken, *Volkstelling 1930*, Batavia.