

AN INDONESIAN SOCIETY AND ITS UNIVERSE:
A STUDY OF THE BUGIS OF SOUTH SULAWESI (CELEBES)
AND THEIR ROLE WITHIN A WIDER SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

The Bugis are a "centrifugal" society, with a tendency constantly to expand outwards from their homeland in South Sulawesi into other widely scattered regions of the Malay world. This expansion takes place through the ability of the Bugis to exploit resources which have previously been neglected or under-utilised by the indigenous society. The present study examines in general terms, and in historical perspective, the peculiar ecological niches occupied by the Bugis within the Indonesian archipelago: small-scale interisland trade and pioneer settlement. To illuminate the process of Bugis expansion, a detailed analysis is made of Bugis society in a village in South Sulawesi - its kinship system, status distinctions, political institutions and economy - and factors conducive to outward migration are examined.

Political unrest in Sulawesi has led to waves of emigration to Sumatra and elsewhere, while at other times there has been a steady outward movement due to economic factors. The nobility's monopoly of political power is also seen as a factor encouraging the emigration of ambitious individuals: these have often been the pioneers who started chains of migration to new areas.

The history of Bugis settlement on the Sumatra coast, and the links maintained with Sulawesi, are examined. Migration to Sumatra is shown to provide opportunities for economic and political advancement which are absent or limited in the Bugis homeland. It is concluded that this migration is significant not only for the development of the area of settlement, but may also be necessary for the continued functioning of many of the institutions of Bugis society, in particular the system of social stratification and political domination by an aristocratic elite.

As a result of the long tradition of movement to other parts of Indonesia and formerly to Malaya, the boundaries of the Bugis social universe extend far beyond the limits of his village or region to encompass the entire Malay world.

INTRODUCTION

For at least two centuries, the Bugis people have been spreading out from their homeland in the island of Sulawesi (Celebes) to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, to the Malay peninsula, and even as far as Siam. They are not alone among Indonesian peoples in their love of travel and their tradition of settlement in other lands. The Minangkabau of Sumatra are also renowned for their tradition of merantau (going to the rantau, or the lands abroad): they have for centuries left their home region in central Sumatra to seek their fortune in other parts of Sumatra, and in the Malay peninsula and other islands of the archipelago. The Batak, also of Sumatra, and the Banjar people of southeastern Kalimantan (Borneo), have similarly produced several considerable waves of emigration; while the coastal Malays are so essentially mobile that their home of origin cannot be named. The Bugis then are just one of those Indonesian societies for whom movement outside their home village and home region is a commonplace rather than an exceptional occurrence.

In this study, my aim is to examine and attempt to interpret an emigrant society, rather than to study either the migration process as such or the new society which is formed as a result of migration. My chief focus is on the "sending" rather than the "receiving" society. Much of what I have to say about the Bugis people is thus fairly straightforward ethnographic description, but an ethnography in which the emphasis is on those features of the society which influence, and are affected by, the tradition of merantau. For this reason, I touch but lightly on some aspects of the society, in particular on its religious activities and beliefs. Other aspects - above all, kinship, rank and economic organisation - are far more fully discussed, for these seem to me to be crucial to an understanding of Bugis mobility. I conclude the study with a description of the process of settlement abroad, on the coast of Sumatra, and of the conditions in the area of settlement which have drawn so many migrants to this area. The sending and the receiving areas are seen to be parts of a single society, each of which influences and is in turn affected by the other.

The first Chapter provides a general introduction to the subject of Bugis merantau and attempts to place it within the context of island South-east Asia, an area in which both ecological and historical factors have combined to produce a series of highly mobile, trade-oriented societies in the coastal areas of the archipelago. The historical development of Bugis trade and migration is outlined in some detail. Today, as in the past, many Bugis leave their home region to roam the islands by prau in

search of trade; but there are also many migrants who settle permanently in the coastal areas of other islands as peasant-farmers or fishermen. Since the bulk of this thesis concentrates on peasant migrants, the other two major categories of travellers - prau traders and fishermen - are here briefly considered in order to give some idea of the enormous range and variety of outward movements from the Bugis homeland. The Chapter concludes with some general reflections on theories of migration and how, if at all, these may be applied to the Bugis case.

In the second Chapter, the homeland of the Bugis - South Sulawesi - is described in general terms: its geography, climate, population, economy and political systems (both today and in the past). Within the Bugis region, one district - Wajo' - was selected for particular study because of its long tradition of emigration and trade; within this district one village - Ana'banua - was chosen for detailed analysis. This Chapter gives a brief sketch of Ana'banua. In subsequent Chapters, specific aspects of Bugis society are considered at length and on two levels - that of village society and of the encapsulating social framework provided by the district as a whole.

Chapters III and IV to some extent overlap, for both are concerned with the status system of Wajo' and Ana'banua in two of its chief manifestations: kinship and political organisation. This emphasis on status reflects the extreme significance of rank within Bugis society. Rank so thoroughly permeates all other institutions that it is impossible to view them in isolation from the hierarchy of ranks. Chapter III deals with the theory of rank and its expression in the spheres of kinship and marriage. In Chapter IV we see how political authority is closely tied to status based on birth. The rigidity of the ranking system is seen as a possible reason for emigration by people of ambition.

In Wajo', as elsewhere in Indonesia, the land provides the chief means of livelihood for most people and the major source of income for the government. It is also the basis for distinctions of wealth. In Chapter V, the agricultural economy of Ana'banua is described: the deficiencies of agriculture and the limited opportunities for improving one's lot are held to be major causes for the emigration of many of the people of Wajo'. Emigrants may be induced to leave their homeland not only by the hope of making a better living abroad, but also of improving their social position. Although status is in theory derived solely from birth, in practice - as we see in this Chapter - it has a strong economic component. The fact that people of high rank are expected also to be wealthy produces a tension between expectation and reality which may lead marginal individuals to move

to the more fluid society of the rantau.

Chapter VI deals with Bugis settlement in Sumatra, particularly along the coast of Jambi. Since the emphasis in this study is on the nature of the society from which the migrants come and not on their "acculturation" to the land which receives them, no attempt is made to give a full description of the society which has grown up in the Bugis colonies in Sumatra. This Chapter concentrates, therefore, on those features of the environment of the Bugis settlements which render them so attractive to migrants, in particular the abundance of fertile virgin land which anyone may clear and cultivate and thus acquire the basis for wealth. In the early years of colonisation, however, a certain initial level of wealth was needed in order to emigrate - unless one went as the follower of a richer man. It was thus individuals of moderately high rank with adequate financial resources who were the pioneer settlers on the Jambi coast. Once a bridgehead had been established, less wealthy kinsmen and fellow villagers - who were more frequently commoners - were able to follow, attracted by the opportunities revealed in this under-populated and fertile land. The high value placed on kinship ties (noted in Chapter III) provides the mechanism for attracting further migration.

Not only are the settlers in Sumatra able to raise their economic status, but they can today achieve this condition entirely through their own efforts, by the expenditure of their own labour and initiative: they need depend on no-one else. Moreover, in a more open society, energy and organisational ability rather than high birth have become the main

qualifications for political office. Migration to Sumatra thus provides opportunities for economic and political advancement which are absent or limited in the Bugis homeland. The effects of this movement of people upon southern Sumatra have been radical - the transformation of vast stretches of scarcely inhabited jungle to well-peopled and highly productive farmland. In South Sulawesi, however, migration has probably been a conservative force, draining off potential discontent with the existing order. It is possible indeed that migration is necessary for the continued functioning of many of the institutions of Bugis society, in particular the system of social stratification and political domination by an aristocratic elite.

Fieldwork in Indonesia

Most of the period of fieldwork - 18 months in all - was spent in the Bugis homeland of South Sulawesi, chiefly in the district of Wajo'. Here I stayed for some months in the capital, Sengkang, where I had a chance to observe at first hand the daily lives of the noble-official class of Wajo'

society. The greater and most rewarding part of my stay in Wajo' was passed in the village of Ana'banua, in the north of the district: I first visited the village from S ngkang on several occasions, and later settled there for about eight months. Ana'banua is a large village of over 4,000 people. Its size presented considerable difficulties to one anxious to acquire a working knowledge of Bugis rural society, for it was too large for anyone, even a native of the place, to become acquainted with all its people, or even to be aware of all the sectors existing within a poorly-integrated community. However, the advantages of Ana'banua as a site for fieldwork were also great, for within the one community was found a cross-section of almost all the classes and occupational categories of Wajo' Bugis society as a whole.

A further advantage of Ana'banua was the particularly high mobility of the population of the sub-district in which it was situated, and the fact (which I only fully realised later, when I visited Sumatra) that people from Ana'banua had been prominent in opening for settlement large areas of the Indragiri and Jambi coast of southeastern Sumatra: many Bugis villages in that area are still inhabited mainly by settlers from Ana'banua and neighbouring villages.

During my stay in Wajo', I used Indonesian as the medium of communication on most occasions, for the majority of men and many of the younger women speak this lingua franca. In time, I acquired a sufficient command of the local dialect, basa ugi, to be able to talk informally with those who knew no Indonesian, but to conduct a full-scale interview I still needed the assistance of someone (usually one of the local girls) who knew both languages. My ability to speak some basa ugi, even haltingly, and particularly to write in their own script, were regarded with great approval and even admiration by most Bugis I met, and proved a quick way to win the confidence of strangers. The most popular explanation for my presence in the village - and one which was considered completely acceptable - was that I wanted to learn their language. A secondary explanation was that I was interested in their ade' (customary law); since Bugis also find this a fascinating subject, this too was considered a satisfactory reason for my presence in Wajo'.

Although South Sulawesi, the sending society, was the chief focus of my research, I also paid brief visits to Bugis fishing villages in Java and Bali, and to the large Bugis colony at Benut in Johore, Malaysia. In addition I stayed for a while with a wealthy Bugis business family in Jakarta and Surabaya, and interviewed Bugis merchants in Singapore. I had planned to spend six months or so in Jambi, the chief area of Bugis

settlement today, but due to ill-health I was forced to curtail my stay, and was only able to do a month's effective research in the area. In this short time, I travelled widely in the coastal region and was able to collect a great deal of information about the history and patterns of settlement in the area, as well as learning something about its agricultural economy. I also added to my knowledge of the migration process, but I had little opportunity to observe social relationships within the communities I visited or to assess to what extent the society in the older settlements had become modified by the new environment, and particularly by their increased affluence. Much of what I have to say about the process of migration and the perceived advantages of Jambi over Wajo' is based not on direct observation but upon the comments of informants, not only in Jambi but also in Ana'banua, where I talked to numerous people who had at some time lived in Jambi or who had relatives still settled there.

Place Names and Transliteration

The fact that the names of many of Indonesia's islands, towns and regions were changed after Independence in 1949 presents many problems, for the old names are more familiar to most Westerners, while they are now never used in Indonesia itself. In this dissertation, I have attempted a compromise, continuing to use the English versions of place-names - notably Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas - which are almost identical in Indonesian (Jawa, Sumatera, Maluku). However, where the new name for a place bears no relation to that formerly used, it seems desirable to introduce the correct Indonesian name, but to give the familiar English name in brackets after the first mention of the place: thus Borneo becomes Kalimantan and Celebes is now Sulawesi.

More recently, the names of places in Indonesia have undergone another transformation due to the introduction of a uniform system of spelling for use in both Indonesia and Malaysia. As a result, Indonesian spelling has lost many features it adopted from Dutch - such as dj instead of the j and tj instead of the ch used in Malay (which was influenced by English spelling). Thus, when I visited Jambi briefly in August 1972, soon after the spelling reforms had been introduced, there were men up on ladders all over the city, busily painting out the D in Djambi.

The final result of the compromise arrived at between Malay and Indonesian spelling presents few problems for the uninitiated, with the possible exception of the letter c which is pronounced ch as in church, sy pronounced sh as in shoe, and kh which sounds like the ch in loch. The numeral 2 following a word indicates that it is reduplicated: thus Impa2 is pronounced Impa-Impa. A glottal stop is represented in Indonesian by a k as

in bapak (father). In the transliteration of Bugis words, however, I have used an apostrophe to indicate the glottal stop in, for example, Wajo' and Ana'banua. In both Indonesian and Bugis, there are two main sounds which are represented by the letter e: I have distinguished between these by using é for the sound like the a in make, while an unaccented e is pronounced roughly like the a in sofa. A glossary of words used, both Indonesian and Bugis, appears at the end of this volume.

Finally, a note on the word Bugis itself. In Indonesian, Bugis is an adjective used to describe the people, language and so on of one of the ethnic groups of South Sulawesi. Thus, in Indonesian, orang Bugis means a Bugis person or Bugis people; bahasa Bugis is the Bugis language. In their own language, the Bugis use the word Ugi adjectivally to identify themselves and their language, their customs, and so on: thus To Ugi means the Bugis people, basa ugi is their language, ade' ugi their customary law. The Dutch called them Boeginezen, and to the English they were often known as Buginese: this latter name appears in some of the extracts quoted from English sources. I have chosen to use "Bugis" rather than "Ugi" as the name of these people, partly because this is the name which seems increasingly to be used in English-language works on the Malay world, but also because (used adjectivally) it is the word which throughout Indonesia and Malaysia denotes the To Ugi.

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My first tentative proposals for research among the Bugis were encouraged and shaped by my early supervisor, Miss B. E. Ward, without whose enthusiastic support and inspiration I would almost certainly have lacked the courage to go ahead with what often seemed an impossibly hazardous and difficult task. I am also indebted to Professor Adrian Mayer for taking over the supervision of my research when I was already well launched on my fieldwork, and for his patient advice during the long and trying period of "writing up".

Within Indonesia, I should like particularly to express my gratitude to my friend and assistant Rohani Adam, who first taught me to speak correct but idiomatic Indonesian, who introduced me to Bugis society and acted as my eyes and ears, and most importantly showed me how to behave with

propriety. She and her family also kept at bay the feelings of loneliness which overshadowed my first months in Sulawesi. In Sengkang, the Petta Ranreng Tua and her daughter, Haji Andi' Muddariyah, made their home my own, and shared freely with me their extensive knowledge of Bugis society and traditional custom. In Ana'banua, the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola and his wife played a similar role, while Juli, her grandparents and her aunt Suhera all showed me how ordinary people live - and how kind ordinary people can be. It is impossible to name all the Bugis friends who helped me with their affectionate understanding and patient explanations while I was still groping like a small child to understand the mysterious new world around me. The names of many of my friends and teachers are included in the list of informants which appears at the end of this thesis.

M. Christian Pelras, who has also lived in and studied Bugis society in Sengkang and Paré², gave me most welcome advice and encouragement before I went to Indonesia and since my return has been a constant source of information and inspiration - and most importantly, of shared experience. Finally I must thank my husband, Philip Lineton, for his constant help and critical advice; for sympathy and encouragement when I despaired of making sense of what I had seen and heard, written down and recorded, but often barely understood; and especially for trying to share my enthusiasm for a people he has not yet himself had the chance to meet.

CHAPTER I: THE ERRANT TRADITION

No man is an island and few societies are isolated or isolable entities which can be considered without reference to the environment - both geographical and social - which encapsulates them, and which influences their social structure and culture. And yet early anthropologists did very frequently examine the societies they studied as though they were discrete units whose contacts with surrounding peoples tended to be disregarded or considered of little significance. The fact that comparatively remote and self-contained communities were deliberately selected for such studies enabled this approach to be applied without too evident falsity. Today, few such untouched societies remain to be studied and anthropologists more often carry out field research amongst peoples who are members of a nation-state and subject to its law and policies, and are part of a world-wide market economy. Nonetheless many - perhaps most - anthropologists have tended to concentrate upon the internal affairs of the communities studied, and to minimize the importance of their external relations - with other villages or regions, with culturally distinct but adjacent societies, with government officials who may be of different ethnic origin. The student of the Malay world would follow such an approach at his own peril.

The Malay world is here defined as the islands of the East Indies together with the Malay peninsula - an area now divided between the new nation-states of Malaysia and Indonesia (apart from a small area still precariously under Portuguese colonial rule). The Bugis - the subjects of my own research - are one of the hundreds of minor and tens of major ethnic groups inhabiting this area. Apart from some groups of Melanesian stock occupying the easternmost extremities of the Indonesian archipelago, the indigenous peoples of this region all speak dialects - usually mutually unintelligible - of Malay, and Malay itself is widely used as a *lingua franca*, in trade and more recently in government and education. In the Malay world, considerable diversity of material culture, language and religion exists within a wider system of social and economic interaction. The geographical fragmentation of the region, far from isolating its peoples, actually makes possible extensive communication between its sectors, since few areas are far from the sea or inaccessible to sailing vessels or small canoes plying the rivers which often thrust far inland. Trade is encouraged by ease of sea-borne communications and by the ecologic diversity of the region, with different areas developing specialised production of those products best suited to the natural environment of the locality. In consequence, island has become linked with island, and the coastal with the mountain peoples of

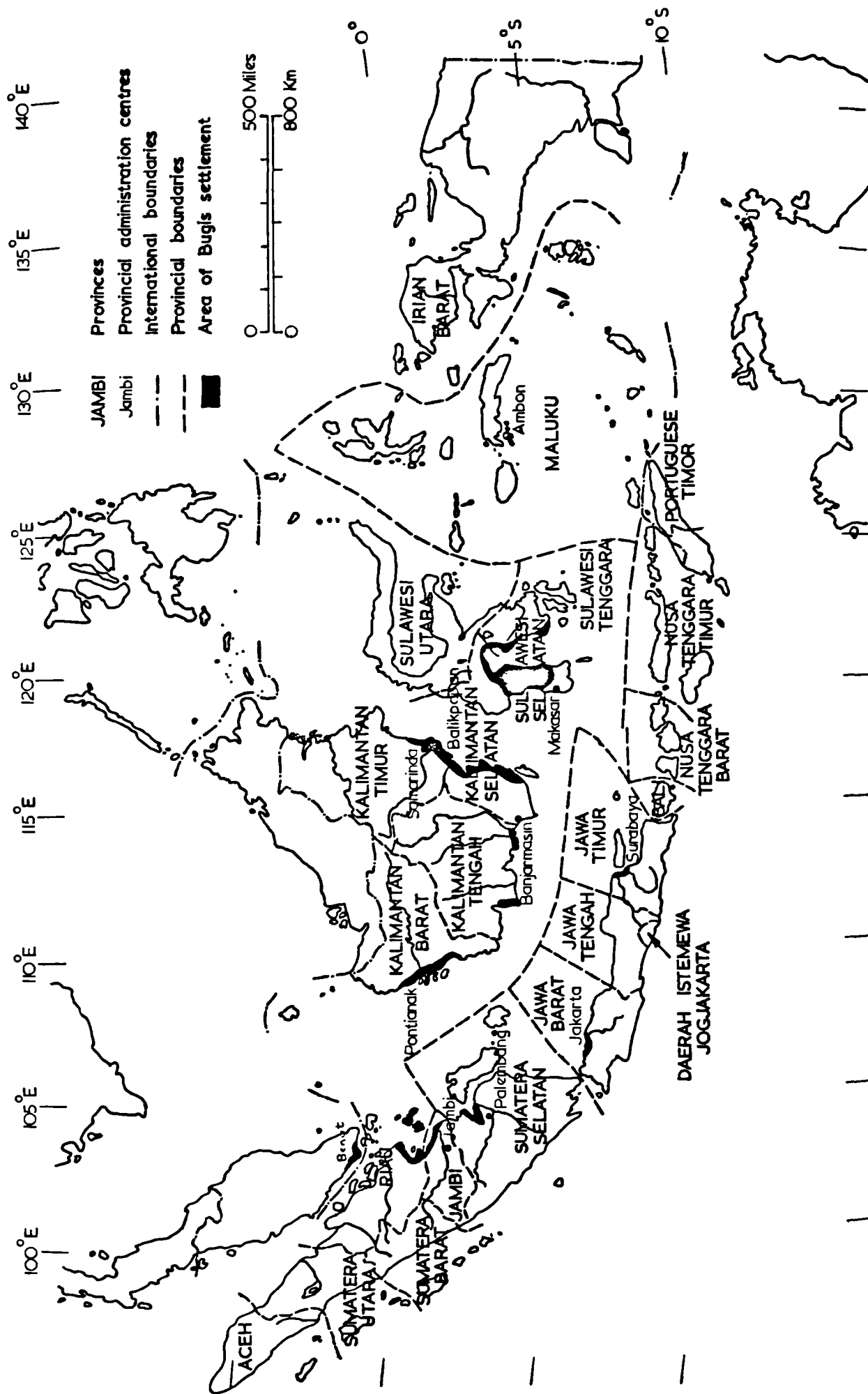
each island, in a system of symbiotic relationships.

The Bugis are peculiarly dependent upon their relationships with other regions for the maintenance of their society in its present form. As a result of political and economic pressures, the Bugis have, over a period of at least three centuries - become increasingly integrated within the wider socio-economic system of the Malay world. Within this system, they fill certain previously unoccupied ecological niches - sections of the total environment unexploited by other ethnic groups. In the Bugis case, the fields of activity dominated by them in many areas are, firstly, small-scale interisland seaborne trade and, secondly, pioneer settlement and development of unpopulated or sparsely peopled regions. In this dissertation, I shall concentrate upon the Bugis role as migrants and settlers, and the influence of the roving tradition upon the shape of their society.

The Outward Urge

The home of origin of the Bugis is the south-western peninsula of Sulawesi, formerly - before Indonesian independence was attained in 1945 - known as Celebes. Despite the wide dispersal of Bugis settlement, the largest concentration of people of Bugis ethnic origin is still to be found in this region. The 1930 Census of the Netherlands East Indies - the last census to enumerate population by ethnic group - showed that nearly 1½ million "ethnic Bugis" were resident in the "Government of Celebes" (an administrative division comprising the entire southern part of the island) compared with 153,000 in other regions. Today, the Bugis population may number more than three million (Chabot, 1967: 190). The rest of the population of south Sulawesi consists of Makassarese (up to two million), clustered in the "toe" of the peninsula, in the area surrounding the port of Makassar, and of smaller numbers of Mandarese and Toraja. The Mandarese of the northwestern coastal belt are fishermen and traders and cultivate mainly garden crops: bananas, coconuts, root-crops and pulse. The Toraja are concentrated in the mountainous northern region, where they cultivate wet rice in elaborately terraced fields. The Bugis and Makassarese who inhabit the bulk of the peninsula cultivate rice, maize and other field-crops, and keep gardens of coconuts, bananas and other fruits; along the coast and the inland lakes of Tépé and Sidenreng fish are harvested.

This relatively unspecialised economy the Bugis and Makassarese share with the other Pasisir (coastal) peoples, the chain of Islamicised societies stretching along the trade routes from Europe and the Far East to the fabled Spice Islands of the Indies. These societies were seen by Pigeaud (1938: 347-9, 477-8) as possessing a common "Pasisir culture". The Bugis and



MAP I : Administrative divisions of Indonesia and Distribution of Bugis Settlement

Makassarese share many of the features of this culture: the adoption of Islam and its institutions; a strongly developed market orientation and a mix of economic activities; a bilateral kinship system; a flourishing literary tradition which formerly produced numerous epic tales, histories and court diaries with detailed descriptions of customs and events. Perhaps because of the flexibility which these societies have shown in exploiting different environmental possibilities within their own restricted territories, they also quickly responded to new opportunities offered by the growing demand for the products of the archipelago, from about the twelfth century onwards, and became active participants in an expanding trading network. The international contacts which this trade entailed were of the greatest significance in shaping the "Pasisir culture": it was Arab and Indian traders who introduced Islam, the most dramatic cultural transformation of all.

Bugis and Makassarese possess mutually unintelligible dialects of Malay, but they are very similar in their social systems and economic organisation, and their princely families have intermarried for generations. The differences between them are ones of emphasis rather than of kind. In the past, both Bugis and Makassarese also possessed the distinctive Pasisir type of political and social system, with numerous small, independent kingdoms, each with a supralocal ruling class, a commoner class, and a dependent group of slaves (H. Geertz, 1963: 59). Certain of the elements of traditional Bugis social and political organisation - beliefs in the semi-divine origin of the royal class and in the magical power of the regalia of office, the personal followings of political leaders and the existence of widespread debt-bondage and slavery - may be seen as adaptations to the ecological circumstances of the area which possessed a sparse, scattered population and abundant unused but potentially cultivable land. These features were devices for ensuring the loyalty of the common people to the persons or offices of members of the ruling class, in a situation in which attachment of the peasantry to the land was impossible - and control of the land, without people, was futile. As Gullick observed with reference to the very similar Malay political system: "Flight was the final sanction against bad government" (1958: 43). The power of a ruler depended largely upon his charisma and his wealth, upon maintaining a delicate balance between exploitation and largesse, between excessive ferocity - which might cause the people to flee - and appropriate displays of strength, which would inspire their loyalty and their awe.

The Bugis (or To Ugi) are peasants, in Firth's sense of the word: they are "small producers, with a simple technology and equipment, often relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce" (1951: 84).

However, it will readily be apparent that Bugis cannot be made to fit the common stereotype of peasant culture which sees the peasant village as a static community, relatively unreceptive to outside ideas and resistant to change, and the peasant himself as tied to the land and, by numerous customary obligations, to his kin and local community. On the contrary, as a Dutch writer remarked of the Bugis in the early years of this century:

In general they appear to be little attached to their birthplace, to place no value upon living there, and to be content if they now and then return to that place
(Encyclop. Ned. Indie: 324).

This outward impulse is characteristic of the Pasisir societies. Hildred Geertz has described them as possessing "centrifugal" social structures, for each of them "spins off its members away from their own valleys and islands, temporarily or permanently, into the outer world, where they restlessly strive after new wisdom or wealth" (1963: 69). They are thus sharply contrasted with the "centripetal" societies, such as the Balinese or the Toraja, whose members are drawn inwards, enmeshed in the web of community, kinship and ritual obligations.

The Origins of the Errant Tradition

In this study, a high propensity to emigrate from the homeland to other regions is seen as one of the characteristic attributes of Bugis society. For the Bugis it is as normal that many people emigrate as it is that most men marry. This great mobility of the Bugis people can best be understood in historical perspective, as the outcome of the interaction over time of Bugis culture with a changing economic and social environment. Initially Bugis trade and settlement in other regions was a cultural adaptation to radical alterations in political and economic conditions in the archipelago from the sixteenth century onwards. Later, in the present century, migration changed its form from the kind of reckless questing that had formerly given the Bugis a certain notoriety, to a mass movement following well-worn paths to specific, known destinations.

In most underdeveloped countries, an increase in physical mobility has been one of the major concomitants of "modernisation" - the incorporation of indigenous economic systems into colonial economies, supplying raw materials to feed the factories of the industrial countries. In the case of most Pasisir societies of Indonesia, however, the transformation from limited to high spatial mobility had its origins in the period before the West had made contact with the Malay world, and Bugis migration had become a well-established pattern long before the Bugis states of south Sulawesi, or any of the receiving areas for Bugis immigration, had become incorporated in the Dutch colonial empire.

Trade provided the chief motive force for the movement of Bugis and other Pasisir peoples outside their homelands. Western Indonesia was trading with China from the early fifth century AD, and even earlier with India (Wolters, 1967). From the twelfth century, the trade of the archipelago expanded with the increasing demand for the products of the eastern islands - for pepper, spices and sandalwood (Vlekke, 1965: 52-3). This trade was initially dominated by the powerful commercial towns which grew up along the northern Javanese coast. Spices passed via these ports to Malacca and thence to Cambay in Gujerat and on to Egypt. In the reverse direction flowed Islam, which was adopted by the Javanese Pasisir city-states in the thirteenth century; by Makassar only in 1603.

The Makassarese and Bugis were latecomers to this trade. In 1511, the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese led to a diversion from Malacca to Makassar of the trade route in spices from the Moluccas and in sandalwood from Timor and Solor. Malay traders moved from Malacca to the new entrepot port. Schrieke considers that this change in the role of Makassar led to the transformation of southern Celebes (Sulawesi) in the course of the sixteenth century from a "purely agrarian society" to a society of traders and seamen (1966: 229):

At first all the trade of Macassar was in the hands of foreigners, who settled there and to whom the local princes and nobles sold rice. But soon the latter began to take part in commerce, first by bottomry (i.e. by lending money, to be returned with interest at the conclusion of the voyage) and then by fitting out ships, until gradually the whole people, first the Macassarese and later the Buginese became successful navigators ...

In fact, from the account of Tomé Pires, written in 1512-15, it appears that the region was involved in trade from an earlier date, for he described the "islands of Macassar" as engaged in trade "with Malacca and with Java and with Borneo and with Siam and with all places between Pahang and Siam" (Pires, 1944, I: 226-7). However, it seems probable that traders from the region played a fairly minor role until the seventeenth century: as late as 1625 it was said that "few Macassarese travel by sea to distant places, but busy themselves with proas and small ships in places lying around Celebes" (Schrieke, 1955: 66).

Makassarese and Bugis interest in trade expanded with the rapid growth of Makassar from the sixteenth century. Dutch attempts in the seventeenth century to control the spice trade of the Moluccas made the port a natural centre for "smuggling", as the Dutch termed it - in other words, for trade in defiance of the Dutch monopoly. The town was ideally located for this illegal trade, situated at the intersection of shipping routes to the east

across the Banda Sea, to the west across the Java Sea, to the south across the Flores Sea, and northwards through the Makassar Straits. And Makassar made the most of its favourable position by welcoming foreign traders of all races: in the early seventeenth century these were mostly "Malays from Patani, from Johore, and other places, who lived in many thousands in Macassar, and who controlled most of the shipping in every direction" (van Leur, 1967: 196). At the same time as foreign traders were moving into Makassar, Bugis and Makassarese traders were beginning to settle in other ports of the archipelago (van Leur, 1967: 132).

The success of Makassar in defying the Dutch monopoly was so great that - after prolonged and fruitless attempts to limit its trade by treaty - the Dutch finally conquered and occupied the city in 1669. Until this period, movement outside the region had been limited to those Bugis and Makassarese engaged in trade. These traders 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 results were ones which the Dutch had scarcely anticipated and which were 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 Gowa and Tello, kingdoms of the Makassarese which had exercised suzerainty over the neighbouring Bugis states and over considerable areas of eastern Indonesia. Dutch intervention in the region upset the delicate balance of power between Gowa and the Bugis states. The Aru Palakka, a prince of the Bugis state of Boné, had supported the Dutch in the war against Gowa and its Bugis ally, Wajo'. With the aid of the Dutch, Aru Palakka - a prince of particularly ferocious disposition - 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 whole region in a state of turmoil until the death of Aru Palakka in 1696. After overcoming 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 succinctly expressed the situation:

In order the better to exercise this ascendancy over the princes of India ... (the Company) 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 (1850, IV; 678).

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 (Andaya, 1970; Hall, 1968: 350-5). Valentijn mentions that: "The war of 1677 had caused a great number of Macassarese to flee from Celebes and to take to piracy and other enterprises on Java's east coast, Cheribon, Bantam, Sumbawa, Palembang, Jambi, Siam, Borneo and elsewhere" (1724-6, I: 178). Dutch records, particularly the Dagh-Register of Castle Batavia, reported the arrival in various parts of the archipelago of parties of Bugis and Makassarese ranging in size from a few hundreds to many thousands (for example, 7,000 armed Makassarese were reported in Surabaya in June 1679). These migratory groups often included women and children, indicating that "intolerable conditions back in Makassar ... made it imperative that a new home be found somewhere away from the reaches of the warring Makassarese and Bugis rulers" (Andaya, 1970:13).

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 and beyond may be attributed to the prior existence of a far-flung Bugis trading network. The established prau trade of south Sulawesi 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 and Makassarese praus. Moreover, trade had already led to the wide dissemination of information about the economic potential and political conditions existing elsewhere. Since south Sulawesi is a peninsula, only about 150 kilometers in width from east to west, most of its people had easy access to one of the numerous small ports which are dotted along the coastline.

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 that 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 rajah. 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 - although, as Brooke (1848:64-65) noted in 1840, theirs was a "servitude ... of the mildest character", generally based upon a hereditary relationship with their master. The chief's followers provided a permanent, though often idle, armed force.

They were often employed in open warfare or simple harassment of rival chiefs. James Brooke, later to become the first "White Rajah" of Sarawak, observed the conflicts which could arise through the uncontrolled activities of these armed bands. In the Bugis state of Wajo' he noted 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 one such theft from another prominent chief, "both rajas collected their followers and civil war was impending" (1848:147).

At the same time, another conflict was raging over the succession to the throne of the neighbouring kingdom of Sidenreng, in which the Dutch supported one of the sons of the former ruler against his elder brother. Brooke considered that the "quarrel for the Si Dendring succession has been, since 1832, the chief cause of all the agitations throughout these states" along the east coast of the peninsula, setting the kingdoms of Boné and Soppeng - which sided with the Dutch - against the adjoining and formerly allied state of Wajo'. Within Wajo' itself the dispute had divided the princes into two rival camps, each supporting a different contender to the Sidenreng throne, and the bitterness created was so great that the chiefs of the state were unable to agree on the appointment of a new ruler - Arung Matoa - for the confederation of Wajo'. A condition of disorder prevailed: "large tracts of ground formerly in cultivation are now deserted, emigration drains the country of its population, property is rendered insecure, wrongs are committed with impunity, and redress is hopeless, whilst the poorer chiefs turn regular caterans, and live upon the plunder acquired by their followers" (1848:72-73). Bugis sources also mention that at this time "bandits and robbers in Wajo' behaved as they pleased, so that many Wajo' people left their native village and went abroad to Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), and other places" (Abdurrazak, 1964:72).

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. These ambitions on the part of the leaders of emigrant groups find frequent mention in the Dutch records. Thus in 1679, the Makassarese prince, Daéng Mangika, with his followers agreed to settle in Jambi, on the east coast of Sumatra, "on condition that he be empowered to rule over his people and the Jambinese and any other people who may come to live on his land as he had been accustomed in Makassar, while being subordinate to the wishes of the ruler of Jambi" (Andaya, 1970:14). Again, in 1672, a large party of Bugis sought the help of the Malay state of Johore in overthrowing Jambi, "on condition that they be able to occupy the

land and property, while relinquishing to Johore all guns, prisoners, and booty" (Andaya, 1970:14).

It is noteworthy that in almost all recorded cases of emigration by large groups of Bugis or Makassarese at this time, they were led by a man bearing a princely title. 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 doubtful, noble birth - seeking to take advantage of the unsettled conditions of the time to win power and fortune. Many took up employment as mercenaries participating in local dynastic quarrels and wars between Malay states. Others established themselves as independent rulers of newly settled areas. The leadership of a real or supposed prince created well-organised and cohesive bands of followers from the commoner class, born and bred in a tradition which accepted unquestioningly the authority and superior rights and privileges of the man of royal birth. Acceptance of similar traditions by the people of other Malay states enabled Bugis princes to gain legitimacy in the regions which they infiltrated, either replacing existing rulers or becoming under-kings manipulating a puppet king, as in Riau (Bastin, 1964: 145-6).

The circumstances prevailing in the eighteenth century favoured the success of bands of Bugis adventurers. The European powers, by now superior in arms to the most powerful Asian state, were exercising an increasingly divisive influence within the Malay world, through the commercial treaties which they forced upon weaker powers, through their encouragement of internal conflicts within native states, and through the compulsory stapling of trade in their own ports. All this 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" (Steinberg, 1971:77). The chief beneficiaries of this confused situation were the Bugis rovers, who were able to achieve indirect but effective control of 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 soon rivalled that of the Dutch in its size and range.

The domestic conflicts in south Sulawesi in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led many Bugis traders to abandon their place of origin. First and foremost amongst them were the people of Wajo', who formed the bulk of the colonists in Kalimantan (Borneo) and elsewhere. Crawford (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 in the 1820's, "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" (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 (Crawfurd, 1856:441). Thus the maritime trade of the Bugis of Wajo' was able to stretch its tentacles far into the heartland of the state, to the numerous villages which fringed the lake of Tépé and were dotted along the streams draining into the Cénrana river. The exodus of many traders from Wajo', which led to a great increase in the scale and range of their trading activities, was almost certainly a result of the devastation inflicted upon the state in 1670 by the armed forces of Bone, in revenge for Wajo's support of Gowa in the conflict with the Dutch. Bugis chronicles are unanimous in attributing to this defeat, and to 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 Kalimantan, Ambon, Java, Sumatra, Singapore and Johore in the Malay peninsula. A large Wajo' colony was established in Makassar. Not surprisingly, in view of their previous familiarity - if not actual involvement - with commerce, many of the Wajo' emigrants became traders (Abdurrazak, 1964:88; Tobing, 1961:19).

The dispersal of the Bugis enabled them to dominate the long-distance carrying trade of the archipelago. Their relative freedom from the Dutch interference which had crippled the trade of the Makassarese was an important ingredient in their success. Wajo' and other Bugis traders were able to fill a socio-economic niche created by the growth of trade with China and the West by acting as the 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 1820s, 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 on the one hand to the supply of European goods, mostly acquired in Singapore, to the people of the archipelago, and on the other hand to satisfying the taste of the Chinese for trepang (or sea-slug), mother-of-pearl and other products of the eastern islands. Bugis trade was probably, at least in part, stimulated and strengthened by Chinese finance (Crawford, 1856:25; 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 trepang - a Chinese delicacy - which Europeans shunned. Their wide-ranging contacts soon gave them an advantage over the Makassarese, who before the Dutch intervention had dominated not only the politics but also the trade of the region. As Earl pointed out, in the early nineteenth century:

The Dutch settlement at Macassar is small and of little importance, except that it acts as a check on the commercial enterprise of the Macassars, who are even more skilful navigators than the Bughis. The trade of the eastern islands was once chiefly in their hands, but the prohibition on the importation of British calicoes at Macassar, together with the great discouragement given by the authorities to intercourse with Singapore, has enabled the Bughis successfully to rival them in all branches of the eastern trade, excepting that with the north coast of Australia, which being a fishery and not requiring articles of European manufacture, the Macassars still retain (Copies of Extracts, 1843:44).

The Bugis were even, at times, able to gain an edge over their Dutch competitors through their ability to bring a wide range of European consumer goods direct from Singapore at negligible cost (Earl, 1850:489).

Bugis trading emporia grew up on several islands of the archipelago, such as Bonératé near Salayar (to the south of Sulawesi), "a considerable native emporium" from which Bugis praus made "yearly voyages to Bali, Batavia (Jakarta), and Singapore to the west, and New Guinea, the Moluccas, and Manila to the east and north" (Crawford, 1856:57). Bugis traders were also settled in the various independent Bugis states, or Bugis-dominated Malay states such as Kutai in eastern Kalimantan. Elsewhere they formed separate colonies within the populations of larger trading settlements such as Singapore, where the Bugis community numbered over 2,000 in 1848 (Crawford, 1856:75): the settlers here were "almost invariably engaged in commerce" (Newbold, 1971:280-1). Most of the Bugis trade with Singapore was, however, conducted by the long-distance prau traders; the remarkable variety and value

of the goods they carried in the early nineteenth century is shown in Newbold's description of the Bugis trading fleet:

Their singularly shaped prahus arrive annually at Singapore during the prevalence of the eastern monsoon, bringing large quantities of gold-dust, ebony, ivory, camphor, tin, mother of pearl, shells, pearls, benjamin, tortoiseshell, birds' plumes, a few diamonds from Borneo, birds of Paradise, bees' wax, beche-de-mer (trepang), coffee, Macassar and other oils, pepper, paddy (rice), piece-goods ... edible birds' nests, spices, tobacco, lignum aloes, sandal, Kayu Baku, Lakka, and sapan woods, and a considerable quantity of antimony from Borneo. The exports are principally British, Indian and Malayan piece-goods, woollens, rice, iron, brass, earthen and China ware, opium, salt, raw silk, tobacco, gunpowder, cotton twist, catechu, iron, steel, iron tools, and implements of agriculture (Newbold, 1971:357).

The effect of the expansion of Bugis trade upon the trading regions of south Sulawesi appears to have been an increase in general prosperity, the growth of towns largely dependent on trade, and an increasing commercialisation of the economy. In 1840, Brooke observed that there were several trading villages of considerable size on the Cénrana River, which flowed from the great lake of Témpe in Wajo' eastwards through the neighbouring state of Boné to the sea. Pompanua, the chief stopping-place for ocean-going praus, consisted of about 600 houses, and a little further upstream Lagusi, with 1,000 houses, was the largest town of Wajo': at an estimate of 15 persons to each house (which Brooke considered "a moderate average"), the populations of these two towns were of the order of 9,000 to 15,000 inhabitants respectively (Brooke, 1848:93, 144-6). Thus the maritime trade of the Wajo' people was able to support sizeable urban concentrations, while the duties levied on trade at the mouth of the river, which lay in Boné, were "appropriated to defray the expenses of the war establishment" of that state: they were collected by the Punggawa, one of the chiefs of Boné (Brooke, 1848:139). Trade with other regions also stimulated the growth of a cottage-industry on a considerable scale, devoted to the manufacture of cotton cloth for sarongs.

The chief exports of the Bugis region were sarongs and coffee, but Brooke (1848:117-8) considered that "the export of sarongs is very unprofitable, as they usually cost more than they sell for at Singapore". In the eastern archipelago, however, Bugis cloth found a ready market; thus, at Dobbo in the Aru Islands (off western New Guinea), Wallace found in 1857 that: "Native cloth from Celebes is much esteemed for its durability, and large quantities are sold, as well as white English calico and American unbleached cottons" (1890:368). The other major export of south Sulawesi, coffee, fetched good prices in Singapore; nonetheless, in Brooke's opinion: "The whole of the trade" of the Bugis region was "conducted on so small a

scale, that a European vessel would have to lie for months, and be subject to a thousand vexations, before she disposed of her cargo and filled another". But despite the small scale of this commerce, traders were able to make good profits on the cargoes brought back from Singapore, consisting chiefly of "arms, gunpowder, opium and cottons"; arms in particular sold "at an enormous advance either for money (copper coins from Singapore, Batavia and China were used) or barter" (Brooke, 1848:118). The sea-going traders or nakoda constituted "an important body, who, from their greater enlightenment and superior riches, are both respected and looked up to by all classes". The most important and richest of these traders had been appointed the chief of a town and his sons and daughters were "all highly married - the former to rajahs, the latter, to the highest blood" (Brooke, 1848:74, 110-1).

Most of the population of Wajo' - as in other Bugis states - remained engaged in agriculture (cultivating chiefly rice and maize) and in fishing along the coast and in the inland lakes and rivers. However, the activities of the prau traders affected them all in 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 also provided the means for migration to the lands across the sea, by prau travel.

Modern Bugis Migration

At some time in the first decades of the twentieth century - possibly a little earlier - the character of Bugis migration changed. A wealthy Singapore Bugis merchant (Andi' Abdul Majid) highlighted this change for me.* In his father's and grandfather's day, he claimed, people never migrated to farm or open smallholdings; they were, without exception, traders carrying goods in their own praus. Most of the forebears of the Singapore Bugis community had moved from Wajo' to Singapore by stages: first to the west coast of south Sulawesi, to the port of Paré2 (with its Wajo' settlement at Kampong Wajo'), then to Pasir - a Bugis state on the east coast of Kalimantan, linked by trade with both Sulawesi and Singapore - or to Pontianak - a flourishing port in southwestern Kalimantan - finally settling permanently in Singapore. By contrast, the Bugis who migrate nowadays become farmers and fishermen and only very rarely engage in trade. It was clear that - to this descendant of the great Bugis traders - the Bugis migrant of today is a sadly inferior being.

The change in the nature of Bugis trade and emigration resulted from the increasing penetration of the Malay world by European political force and

* Names and details of informants are listed at the end of this volume.

commercial interests. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Bugis colonial expansion had received severe checks at the hands of the Dutch and British, who had similar ambitions of their own (Hall, 1968:354). A century later, Bugis trade was also increasingly restricted by the competition of the KPM (Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij, or Royal Steamship Company), which began operations in 1891: "Its growing net of routes and services drew together the Dutch-controlled islands as never before" (Steinberg, 1971:189).

But it was not merely Dutch restrictions upon their activities which transformed Bugis migration. New opportunities were also offered by the dramatic economic changes which swept the archipelago from the 1870s. A rising world market demand for tropical agricultural products was strongly felt throughout Southeast Asia with the arrival of the steamship and the opening of the Suez Canal. Peasants in all parts of Southeast Asia responded swiftly to the high prices offered for such products, growing cash-crops on smallholdings in their home villages or, more frequently, on nearby forest land or new land opened on some agricultural frontier. "Hundreds of thousands of Burman, Thai, and southern Vietnamese peasants moved steadily out over the deltas to grow rice in exchange for cash and imports; hundreds of thousands of peasants in Sumatra, Malaya, and Borneo planted stands of rubber trees on the edge of the forests near their settlements; more tens of thousands produced many other export crops in other places" (Steinberg, 1971:213).

Many Bugis also responded to the export boom by moving to Borneo and Malaya to grow coconuts for copra (for which the areas of settlement were well suited). By 1930, the census records of Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies revealed that large numbers of Bugis were settled in rural areas of, in particular, Johore 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 some 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 south Celebes (Volkstelling 1930, V:20, 28, 47-8). It is notable that these peasant migrants without exception moved to the rural areas adjoining towns first settled by Bugis adventurers or traders, suggesting the importance of a reverse flow of information from these areas.

A feature of the Bugis response to economic changes in the period from 1870 on is their failure to expand and transform the agriculture of their own region, preferring to move to coastal areas of other islands, far from home. The long dry season and erratic rainfall of their homeland made the production of cash-crops such as rubber or coconuts unprofitable in many areas, and attempts to encourage the growing of other crops, such as maize, proved abortive: the collapse of world prices in 1932 had serious effects upon the lake regions of

Wajo', Boné and Soppeng, where the Dutch had instigated a large-scale programme of maize-planting (Friedericy, summarised in van Leur, 1967:347).

The rantau,* the areas in which people settled, had certain common features which explain their attractiveness to immigrants from South Sulawesi. Firstly, they were all extremely sparsely inhabited. Thus (to name one of the most popular Bugis settlement areas) the sub-division of Balikpapan had a population density of only 13.27 persons per square kilometer in 1930 (Volkstelling 1930, V:155). Secondly, they were characteristically low-lying, swampy areas, where a combination of a high rainfall and almost virgin land ensured that good crops of rice could be obtained for several years before the land was turned over to coconuts. This cash crop was not only popular with the Bugis migrants but was ideally suited to the damp soils of these marsh-like coastal areas. Indeed, it was perhaps the only cash-crop well-known at the time which could have succeeded in such conditions: rubber trees - widely adopted by smallholders in many other areas of Sumatra and Kalimantan - require a well-drained soil, conspicuously lacking here. Thus, the Bugis in settling and cultivating these seemingly inhospitable swamps were occupying a very specific and profitable ecologic niche. The third feature of the areas of Bugis settlement was their proximity, initially, to Bugis trading ports (such as Samarinda) and, later, to Singapore. This strategic location not only made it easy to get there by ship or prau - presumably the reason they were settled in the first place - but also meant that settlers had unhindered access to markets for their produce. The coastal situation of Bugis settlements had a fourth important advantage: it enabled easy expansion of the area under cultivation. When one area had been fully planted with coconut palms, settlers simply moved on along the coast to open a new area. It was, in fact, a peculiarly efficient system of shifting cultivation, in which ladangs whose soil was partially exhausted were converted into coconut gardens, rather than being abandoned to the jungle.

The attractions of the rantau were further enhanced by the distaste which many Bugis felt for Dutch rule, which had been extended over the remaining independent states of south Sulawesi in the first decades of this century. In some areas, such as Paria in Wajo', the Arung (ruler) and his people stubbornly opposed the introduction of Dutch rule and, when defeated, left Sulawesi altogether (Andi' Atjo).** The Dutch authorities not only imposed

* Rantau in Indonesian means (among other things) "abroad" or "a foreign country". The verb merantau means: "1 to go abroad. 2 to leave one's home area (especially of Minangkabaus). 3 to sail along the reaches of a river. 4 to wander about. 5 to take a trip. 6 to emigrate" (Echols and Shadily, 1970:292).

** See list of informants below for all such references.

a head-tax and income-tax but - what was most resented of all - they expected the population to provide labour-services (rodi) such as building roads. The nobility and wealthy traders were allowed to pay to be exempted from rodi, but ordinary people were not granted this freedom. Many felt this to be such an injustice that they migrated (Andi' Muri). Bugis settlers interviewed in Benut, Johore, generally claimed that they or their forebears had moved to Malaya in protest against rodi service. Many people also emigrated from Kalola, in northern Wajo', because the Dutch government was too kejam (cruel, strict); they too objected to forced labour-duties, such as the obligation to serve as nightwatchmen for the village on three nights a month (H. Ganyu). They moved mainly to the Pontianak region which, while under Dutch control, was apparently not so strictly administered - probably due to the dispersed pattern of settlement. Providing labour services to the community or the ruler which were sanctioned by ade' (customary law) was one thing; the arbitrary impositions of a foreign power were another, and were seen as intolerable. To Wajo', I was often told, like to be free: "They don't like to be given orders, but they won't resist either - they just run away!" (Andi' Muri).

After the attainment of Independence from the Dutch in 1949, Bugis emigration received a fresh impetus from the Islamic rebellion of Kahar Muzakar, which drove thousands of the inhabitants of rebel-held or contested areas to flight. This rebellion broke out in 1950 and was not finally suppressed until 1965, although a modicum of security returned after 1961 when many of the guerilla leaders - and for a while Kahar himself - reached an agreement with the Indonesian army. The revolt received considerable popular support, from the nobility as well as the common people. Kahar soon became deeply involved with the Darul Islam movement, which advocated the establishment of an Islamic State of Indonesia, and his guerilla forces adopted a fanatically Islamic stance, but support for the rebellion probably arose less from sectarian motives than from the general desire of the Bugis and Makassarrese at last to attain independence from foreign domination - which was seen as threatened once more with the creation of the Java-centred Republic of Indonesia. There was considerable resentment against the assumption of most important provincial and even local offices by Javanese and Sumatrans. Although the revolt was finally crushed with Kahar's death in 1965, most of those who had participated in it were pardoned and many hold high political and military offices today. The most important aim of the rebellion has in fact been achieved: all the offices of government, from the lowest level of administration up to the provincial governor, are now filled by local-born people.

The numbers of refugees created by the rebellion are difficult to establish from the scanty statistics available. 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 into the coastal areas of east Kalimantan in the same year (McNicoll, 1968:45-6). A Bugis businessman (H. Ganyu), who handled accommodation and transport for most Bugis emigrants from Sulawesi to Jambi via Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, claims that there was "a flood of emigrants" (banjir perantau) during the rebellion: this outward migration reached its peak in 1955, when more than 10,000 migrants are estimated to have passed through Tanjung Priok on their way to Sumatra. Not only peasant farmers but also fishermen were driven to flight: the latter settled mainly along the coasts of Kalimantan and Java. A fisherman from Jalang, a small port of Wajo', described the situation prevailing at that time:

Between 1951 and 1960, the rakyat (people) were divided into two parts: those ruled by the guerillas and those under the control of the TNI (the Indonesian army). The rakyat felt squeezed between the two sides - between them they destroyed everything. This is the reason most of the people of Sulawesi left their homeland (Interview at Kali Baru, Tanjung Priok, June 1971).

This account is supported by Haji Andi' Muddariyah, who was a member of the Wajo' government from 1960:

During the rebellion, three-quarters of Wajo' was in the hands of the rebels. ... If people did not want to join them, they had to move to Sengkang or Makassar or merantau. In Pénéki (on the coast), practically all the houses were destroyed - the rebels burnt the houses of those who did not join them, then the army burnt the houses of those who did.

Although many poorer people simply kept quiet and stayed at home, many others - though not necessarily terrorised by the rebels - found it impossible to make a living in a period of such turmoil and left Sulawesi for Sumatra: most of the returned migrants whom I interviewed in Wajo' and Bone in 1971-72 had emigrated to Jambi in the 1950s as a direct result of the rebellion.

Even when a degree of security was restored from 1961, emigration continued of people attracted to the migrant areas by the tales of kin and friends who had gone before them, while former guerillas were often forced to move away from the region where their past deeds were known:

Men coming out of the woods were mocked in the town; in the woods perhaps they had been commanders so when people jeered at them they were malu (ashamed), they ran away. (Bugis migrant, Pasar Ikan, Jakarta, June 1971)

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 had been east and south Borneo (now Kalimantan) and northern Celebes (now Sulawesi). The residency of South/East Borneo contained over 16,000 people born in southern Celebes, and more than

three times as many ethnic Bugis and Makassarese. By contrast the Residencies of Jambi and Riau on the east coast of Sumatra had less than 4,500 inhabitants from southern Celebes. The 1961 census presents a totally different picture, Older areas of Bugis settlement - Poso (north-central Sulawesi), Kutai (east Kalimantan), Kota Baru (south Kalimantan), the central Moluccas and Sumbawa - show only minor increases in immigrants compared to 1930. Major new settlement areas had been formed in the kabupaten (districts) of Batanghari, in Jambi province, and Indragiri and Kepulauan Riau, in Riau province. In rural areas alone (and the data are incomplete), the census showed over 42,000 persons born in South/Southeast Sulawesi living in Jambi and Riau provinces (McNicoll, 1968:46; Volkstelling 1930, V). Unfortunately the census does not differentiate these immigrants by ethnic group, although other, impressionistic, evidence suggests that the vast majority were Bugis, with far smaller numbers of Makassarese and Salayar migrants.

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, and Johore in Malaya, to Jambi and Riau in Sumatra. Interviews with early immigrants or their descendants in Sumatra suggest that there was only a trickle of migration to Indragiri and even less movement to Jambi before the war. The first Bugis settlements in Indragiri - at Kuala Enok and Sungai Terap - date from the 1920s; the earliest major Bugis settlement in Jambi was established at Pangkal Duri in about 1930. The Bugis who moved into these areas were initially mainly long-time migrants moving on from the older settlements in Pontianak and Benut, Johore, as uncleared forest land became exhausted. The collapse of prices for cash-crops in the early 1930s made it necessary for peasant-farmers to grow their own food; lacking the land necessary for this many Bugis and Banjarese settlers in Malaya "emigrated to the East coast of Sumatra to join their rice-growing friends and relatives there" (Shamsul Bahrin, 1967:277). However, it was not until the rebellion of 1950-65 that Bugis immigration to the Sumatra coast assumed the proportions of a mass movement.

Once security was restored, many of these migrants returned home. However, despite improved conditions in South Sulawesi, migrants continue to leave the region: a recent study of the economy of the province refers to the "steady net outward migration to Sumatra (especially Jambi) and Central and Southeast Sulawesi, at a guess about 5,000 a year" (Makaliwe, 1969:18).

The "Pasompe" Today

The Bugis have no term which precisely corresponds to our word "migrant". A migrant is referred to as a pasompe, with a meaning very similar to that of the Indonesian word perantau: "1. wanderer, 2. a foreigner wandering about the

country, 3. emigrant, 4. settler" (Echols and Shadily, 1970:292). Pasompe comes from the word sompe, sail, and must initially have denoted a sailor; it can now be applied to anyone who crosses the sea, for whatever purpose and for whatever period of time. A man is said to masompe or lao sompe (equivalent to the Indonesian merantau) if he goes to Java for a week to play football, if he moves hearth and home to Sumatra, or if he sets out by prau to trade with the Philippines. Since South Sulawesi is bounded on three sides by sea, and on the fourth side by impassable mountains, anyone who leaves his home province automatically qualifies as a pasompe.

Most of this dissertation is devoted to a description of Ana'banna, an inland Bugis village, in the district of Wajo', many of whose inhabitants have emigrated to Jambi in Sumatra. They were peasant-farmers and (in some cases) traders at home, and for the most part they have remained farmers - although for cash rather than subsistence - in the new land. Their activities will be discussed in some detail below and may be considered to be representative of agriculturalist migrants. In the meantime, it is perhaps useful to give a brief survey of the distribution and social organisation of the other two chief varieties of pasompe: the prau-traders and the fishermen.

a) Prau-traders: As we have seen, the archetypal figure of the pasompe in the "heroic age" of Bugis trade and travel, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was the independent prau-trader, roaming the archipelago in search of trade, sailing to the Moluccas and the islands by New Guinea with the southwest monsoon, and to Java, Kalimantan, the Philippines and Singapore with the northwest monsoon, returning to Sulawesi for only a few months each year to refit and repair his prau. The crew of the prau were not paid regular wages but shared in the profits of the voyage, the relative shares of the owner, captain and crew being determined by a legal contract entered into by all parties. Such contracts formed part of the complex maritime law of the Bugis, codified in 1676 by Amanna Gappa (the father of Gappa), the leader of the Wajo' trading community in Makassar at that time.

A similar system of payment prevails today. A survey carried out in the major ports of South Sulawesi in 1968 showed a great variety of ways of dividing the profits. Bugis sailors from Paré² received fifty or sixty percent of the profit, the balance going to the owner. In another Bugis district, Bulukumba, with its numerous small ports, the crew received either half, two-thirds or four-fifths of the profit. In the poverty stricken Makassar district of Jénéponto, while some crews received a share of the profits (usually two-thirds), others were simply paid a salary (Modernisasi Pelajaran, 1969:5-7). Frequently the owner of the prau is also its captain, or nakoda. However, where the nakoda is simply the owner's representative, he

is counted as two people in the division of the crew's share of the profits amongst them (Lagaay, 1938:221).

Sailors are away from home for most of the year; from January to March, however, the seas are too rough as the monsoons change from east to west for long voyages to be contemplated, and in most areas the praus are hauled up on the beaches, cleaned, scraped and repaired. During this break from voyaging, many sailors turn to other occupations, as farmers, fishermen, small traders, boat-builders (the latter mainly in Bulukumba, which specialises in this activity). When it is time to go to sea again, most sailors leave provision for their families during their absence - money and basic foodstuffs, borrowed in most cases from the owner of the prau. The crew thus begin their voyage in debt (Modernisasi Pelajaran, 1969:4-6). Van den Brink, writing before the Pacific War, describes the practice, common at that time, whereby money was also borrowed for trade:

... the owner is mostly a merchant, who hires out his ship. The skipper receives money in advance to buy merchandise. He may also divide this money amongst the crew, who in turn engage in trade on their own account. These are often very significant sums ... Everything is accurately recorded in the boat's log. The crew use their money to buy all sorts of things for the voyage. ... The skipper received twice as much cargo space as the other members of the crew (1940:107-8).

It is not clear if the crew of a merchant prau today still carry on independent trade. They may buy a few trade goods as a sideline, but it seems that most of their income is derived from the charges paid by traders for the carriage of their goods: for example, the charge for carrying copra from Makassar to Surabaya in 1968 was about Rp. 1,500 per ton (Modernisasi Pelajaran, 1969:18).^{*} In Bulukumba, praus are often chartered for a specific voyage at a fixed charge. Thus it is not so much the profits from the sale of goods in which the crew now share, but the charges paid for transportation of a cargo, and sometimes also the fares paid by passengers, in the rare cases where they are carried. (It is only in Paré² that passengers are commonly taken on).

The income of most sailors is low, ranging from a meagre Rp. 2,500 a month in Jénéponto to Rp. 7,500 a month in Paré² - and this is only for the period (about nine months of the year) when they are actually engaged in trading voyages. The owner of the prau on average received Rp. 25,000 per month over the same period. Thus "only the owner of the prau is able to save, because the income of the crew is only enough to cover the minimal necessities of life". In these circumstances it seems surprising that anyone should wish to become a sailor. The 1968 survey found that most sailors followed this

* At this time (and throughout my fieldwork), the exchange rate was approximately 1,000 rupiah to the pound.

occupation because, in many cases, their ancestors had been sailors before them, or they had a special aptitude for the life, or because they were forced to go to sea through lack of any alternative opportunities to make a living. Thus at Mallusétasi, along the coast to the south of Paré2, "almost the entire population have become sailors"; this area is a narrow strip of land between mountains and sea where land-shortage must be particularly acute. Similarly, at Jénéponto, "the soil of this district is on average dry and infertile, so that few engage in farming, and the great majority of the population are fishermen and sailors". Throughout South Sulawesi, according to the 1968 survey, lands which are fertile are already under cultivation with the result that "amongst the inhabitants who live along the coast, especially where the soil is less fertile, many have become fishermen and sailors". (Modernisasi Pelajaran, 1969:2-11).

Despite the growth in commercial shipping in the last fifty years or so, merchant praus continue to play an important role in interisland trade: indeed "the volume of freight and passenger traffic carried by the perahus must be substantial, perhaps about the same as that carried by ships" (Shamsher Ali, 1966:32-33). East Java and Sulawesi have the largest number of sailing praus, Sulawesi having the greatest tonnage. Indeed some Bugis praus weigh several hundred tons and are able to compete with ships for speed and freight capacity. In general, however, praus serve mainly the coastal areas, smaller islands and the eastern archipelago. "They generally operate in areas which are not profitable to ships or operate what are in fact feeder services from the major ports which are linked by ships" (Shamsher Ali, 1966:33).

Traders, faced with a choice between steam and sail, often prefer to freight their goods by prau, since the costs are much lower and a prau can take on cargo anywhere, whereas a ship requires established port facilities. Moreover, a prau sailing with the wind behind it is very little slower than a ship: four knots is probably an average speed. The inability of sailing vessels to travel in the early part of the year, or to sail (except with difficulty) against the wind, is their chief limitation. In recent years, motors have been fitted to some praus, and the government (through the navy) has launched a programme to encourage the motorization of more of the prau fleet of South Sulawesi. The aim is both to increase the total carrying capacity for sea-freight throughout Indonesia and to improve communications with South Sulawesi itself, especially between the eastern side of the peninsula, which produces the bulk of the agricultural products of the region, and the western side, where the centres of consumption are located (Pengangkutan Darat, 1971).

Bugis praus have a far wider range of trade than their chief competitors, the Madura praus: during the east monsoon, from June to November, they sail to Banjarmasin, Balikpapan and Samarinda in Kalimantan, to Surabaya and Jakarta in Java, and to Palembang, Padang and Medan in Sumatra; while the west monsoon prevails (December to May), they visit ports in eastern Indonesia, along the east coast of Sulawesi, Ternate in the Moluccas, and Ambon. Formerly Bugis praus brought cargoes of copra, coffee, spices, tea and rubber to Singapore, but this was before rigid borders were created between Indonesia and Malaysia. Indonesian export regulations now restrict direct trade with Singapore and cargoes are generally unloaded in Riau - from whence, until quite recently, they were often smuggled into Singapore by small outboard-motorboats.

The bulk of the interisland trade of Indonesia is between Java and the Outer Islands. Goods brought to Java by Bugis praus consist mainly of agricultural products (particularly copra and coconuts), dried fish and timber. Goods carried from Java to the Outer Islands include building materials, such as cement; beer and soft drinks; salt from Madura; and industrial products, such as batik cloth and fine textiles, and household utensils. In the harbours, the most important traders are Chinese, and it is they who buy the cargoes of the Bugis praus. However, Bugis often act as intermediaries, finding buyers for the goods brought by prau. For example, Bugis praus bring copra from Sulawesi to Gresik in east Java, where Bugis intermediaries (pengantar) arrange its sale to Chinese businessmen in return for a fixed commission on the sale. Similarly, in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, there are many Bugis-owned "shipping offices" (kantor pelayaran) which, for a commission, will try to obtain a good price for goods brought by prau. At Pasar Ikan, Jakarta, timber is unloaded at places where Bugis agents arrange for its sale. (Interview with the secretary of a Bugis fishing cooperative, Pasar Ikan, June 1971).

The larger Bugis praus - palari pinisi of up to 150 tons - appear now to be based mainly upon bigger ports such as Makassar and Paré2 in South Sulawesi and Gresik and Pasar Ikan in Java. Merchant praus are no longer to be found at Jalang, the small port of Wajo' district, on the Gulf of Boné: they moved to Gresik during the troubles of the 1950's and have never returned. Small trading praus are still to be found at the tiny ports along the coast of Boné and further south, in Sinjai and Bantaéng, Bulukumba and Jénéponto. Trade is the sole means of livelihood of the people of many of these coastal villages, often keeping the men away from home for periods of up to a year.

The small port of Datta' in Bone, a straggling collection of ramshackle houses perched on stilts on the mudflats by a tidal creek, is perhaps typical

of Bugis villages engaged in "subsistence trade". The praus - small, two-masted lambo', not palari - are built in the village. Agricultural produce is carried from Sulawesi to areas of shortage, where it is exchanged - often by direct barter - for the products of that region; this is in turn borne to another area where it is in short supply, and so on in a circulating exchange system which eventually brings them back to their home port with a small profit in hand. Prau-masters say they "always know" if there is a shortage in any part of the archipelago, because they have connections with all regions: "This is the reason we merantau". They claim that they sail to any part of Indonesia where goods are in short supply, irrespective of the direction of the wind. If the wind is against them, they have to tack and the voyage takes much longer, but they say this is no deterrent. This claim may be a sailor's boast, but it may also be an indication of the difficulty they experience in making a living from such small-scale trade. (Interviews with prau-masters at Datta', kecamatan Marak, Boné, February 1971; Compare the description of a prewar trading voyage in Lagaay, 1938:220-1. See also Gibson-Hill, 1950:109-118).

b) Fishermen: During the 1950's and early 1960's, many fishermen were driven from the coastal areas of - in particular - the eastern districts of Boné and Wajo'. Some moved to Kalimantan but many settled in Java, where they formed fishing kampongs along the coast near Jakarta (for example, at Tanjung Priok and Pasar Ikan), and at the ports of Serang and Pelabuhan Rata in West Java and Pasuruan in East Java. Bugis fishing villages also sprang up on numerous tiny islands in the Java Sea and in the Straits of Karimata, between Sumatra and Kalimantan. The flow of fishermen emigrants from Sulawesi appears to have diminished little since the return of peace to the region, and informants in the Bugis village of Kali Baru, Tanjung Priok, claimed that few migrants had returned to their home villages, except for brief visits. This is partly because life in Java is more exciting ("We can go to the cinema here") and easier ("In Sulawesi we had to pound our own rice; here we buy it in a shop"), but there are also economic advantages in remaining in Java, the most important of these being better marketing facilities. A survey of Pelabuhan Ratu, southwest Java, showed that Bugis fishermen - all recent immigrants to the area - had in general moved to Java because of the poor market for fish in Sulawesi (Survey in mid-1971 by students of Dr. Jacob Vredenburg, from the Universitas Indonesia). Because of poor communications, much of the fish in South Sulawesi is dried for sale within the region and in Java, or it is disposed of at low prices through small local markets. Because of the lack of both capital and credit, and inadequate marketing facilities in South Sulawesi, "fishermen have an extremely low level of consumption, or a minimal living standard (subsistence level)" (Modernisasi Pelajaran, 1969:44).

Although Bugis fishermen in places such as Kali Baru or Pelabuhan Ratu in general appear comparatively prosperous, the majority here - as in Sulawesi - are in a position of dependence upon commercial associations (kongsi) or individual merchants with large capital resources. There are however a few cooperatives with small capital resources collected from their members. A Bugis from Bone, now an important fish-merchant in Kali Baru, claimed to control the fishermen on several islands in the Java Sea, where they settled in small groups of five to ten men. He supplied them with rice and other goods, and financed the buying and repair of praus and fish-traps, in return for the entire yield of their industry. The fishermen were all in his debt and repaid him in fish rather than money. Lending money was the way in which he increased the number of men under his control, and ensured a constant supply of fish. (Interviews in Kali Baru and Pasar Ikan, Jakarta, in June 1971).

Approaches to Bugis Mobility

1) Pushes, Pulls and other Explanations

Thus far I have attempted to describe the development of the Bugis outward movement, as traders and settlers, and to illustrate the range of forms which Bugis merantau adopts. In so far as I have sought to explain this movement, it has been in terms of manifest factors such as civil war, which pushed people from their homeland, or superior economic opportunities, which attracted or pulled them to a new land. A simple "push-pull" model of migration has often been used in analysing particular examples of mobility, and it has often also been most severely, and justifiably, criticised. For example, Petersen points out that the push-pull theory of migration fails "to distinguish among underlying causes, facilitative environment, precipitants, and motives" (1964:275). Thus economic hardship, however, defined, can only be considered a "cause" of emigration if it shows a positive correlation with propensity to migrate: what may be considered unendurable poverty in one society may be borne without complaint by another. In other words, "the emigrants' level of aspiration" must be taken into account except in those rare cases where a population is subjected to a disaster of such catastrophic proportions that it has no choice but immediate and unquestioning flight: for example, where "absolute overpopulation", resulting in hunger and starvation occurs, there may be no alternative but to move to another area; more usually, however, "overpopulation" is in the eyes of the beholder and "it is the level of aspiration (of the emigrants) itself that defines the 'overpopulation' and sets an impetus to emigrate" (Petersen, 1964:275).

In studying Bugis population movements, it will be recognised that the overt causes of migration, such as warfare, civil disorder and the vagaries of nature, do not in themselves provide a sufficient explanation for the actual

decision to move to another region. Other responses to such crisis situations are possible and - for those sectors of the population lacking the means to emigrate - have been the only ones available. At times when man is at peace and nature benevolent, the role of cultural determinants in migration assumes even greater significance, since the assessment of the relative attractiveness of the potential region of in-migration depends upon socially-determined attitudes towards the acquisition of wealth, the significance of the individual's attachment to his land and to the local community, the extent to which ties of kinship impede or promote emigration. The existence of clear advantages - economic, political, social - of another area over the homeland may be ignored or consciously rejected for reasons rooted in the customs of the society or the socialisation of the individual. As Petersen (1964:274) points out: "Sometimes the basic problem is not why people migrate but rather why they do not".

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 (McNicol, 1968: 44-45). The chronic land shortage from which most of Java suffers might also be expected to result in large-scale emigration yet a surprisingly small proportion of the population has 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 ... 'It does not matter whether we are able to eat or not so long as all of us (Javanese) can be together'" (Penny, 1971: 82). Such a strong attachment to one's home village is rarely found in Wajo' and other Bugis areas. There are clearly latent factors at work in Bugis society which allow the existence of objective advantages to be gained from leaving the homeland to be recognised, and this recognition transmitted into decision and action.

2) The Importance of Rank

How to explain to anyone who has not witnessed it the all-pervasive nature of rank within Bugis society? From the moment one moves into tana Ugi - the Bugis lands - one is bombarded with the names of aristocratic relatives, with

descriptions of the dress and gifts appropriate to weddings of people of different ranks, with details of titles and terms of address for nobles, "good people" (the middle rank), and commoners. And one soon becomes aware too of the crucial political and economic importance of the high nobility. Since rank enters into every other sphere of life, it seems logical that it must also enter into *merantau*, that it must be among the cultural patterns which have formed the errant tradition.

Before I went to Indonesia, my mental picture of the Bugis was based chiefly upon two sources: firstly, Friedericy's detailed description of the elaborate hierarchy of ranks in Bugis society; and secondly, Brooke's account of his visit to Wajo' in 1840 (already been quoted at some length above). From Friedericy (1933) I acquired an idea of the immense importance of rank based on birth in Bugis society. However, this notion was to some extent counteracted by Brooke's references to the growth of a wealthy middle class of traders, and the political role which they were beginning to play. The suggestion that the dominance of the aristocracy was being gradually eroded by a flourishing middle-class appeared to be reinforced by Matthes' observation that, in Wajo', "a fortune earned by unflagging industry in their eyes had more value than prestige and birth. While in Boné and other Buginese lands a princess would incur great shame if she should marry a man of lower descent, in Wadjo a man, although of no royal birth, can without the least scruple become the bridegroom of a queen" (Matthes, 1943:555). The one necessary condition for such a marriage to take place was that the man should be rich - for he was expected to pay an exceptionally high brideprice, the "price of the blood".

On the basis of this evidence, there seemed to be two incompatible tendencies existing within the same society: between, on the one hand, a political tradition in which power was derived from high rank and, on the other hand, the growing wealth - and therefore surely also power - of the commoner merchant class. Ideology and reality must, it seemed, have increasingly come into conflict, with a corresponding breakdown in the symbolic importance of rank based on birth.

My first encounter with modern Bugis society shattered these preconceptions. Far from the importance of the Bugis nobility having dwindled, they appeared as dominant as ever: in Wajo', in particular, almost all political offices are monopolised by members of the andi' (noble) class. Far from there being a growing discrepancy between the old ideology of rank and the modern reality, the Bugis nobility are most effectively reinforcing the old symbols with the new mystique of elective political office and high military rank. This means that many capable and ambitious men are effectively barred from positions of

power at the present time, as they were formerly under the Dutch regime. In such a situation, one might expect to find emigration as a protest against aristocratic privilege, as the only means for commoners to achieve the power and influence denied them at home. Thus Swift (n.d.:257-8) sees the pronounced status differences of Minangkabau society as a factor in their merantau pattern of temporary migration: it is "the search by less-privileged Minangkabau for status to compensate for their ascribed inferiority at home".

No Bugis I have ever met has been prepared to explain his emigration in these terms. Few were willing even to comment on the exclusion from power of all but those of royal descent. For most people this is not only "what happens" but also "what should happen", as natural and inevitable as that the sun should rise each day. It is perhaps precisely because of this complete acceptance of an inferior position at home that many highly ambitious and sometimes wealthy men have in fact emigrated, and often become successful and powerful leaders of Bugis society abroad. The significance of rank at home, and the means for achieving wealth and prestige abroad, will be more fully discussed hereafter.

3) Chain Migration

Little resemblance is to be found between Bugis population movements and the kind of migration most commonly described by anthropologists, particularly in African societies: labour migration by men, unaccompanied by their families and with no intention (or often opportunity) of settling permanently elsewhere. (See for example Gugler, 1969). A closer analogy may be drawn between Bugis migration and the pioneer settlement of North America and Australia by European colonists. In both cases we have ever-increasing numbers of settlers moving into a land so sparsely peopled that its few native inhabitants can be either ignored or bullied into submission. The migration processes are also very similar: they are examples of "chain migration". This term was coined by Price (1963:107-138) in a study of southern European migration to Australia. It refers to the process whereby one or more pioneer 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.

Price (1963:112-5) sees this process as passing through several stages: (1) a successful migrant writes in glowing terms to his family and friends at home, suggesting that some of them come out to join him - often offering to pay their expenses. Over the following years, a number of young men from the same or neighbouring villages arrive, frequently receiving help with jobs and accommodation, until "there gradually builds up a group of compatriots, closely

connected through employment and place of living, sharing a common background of dialect, customs, and outlook, and feeling these ties reinforced as together they face an alien world". (2) The group takes on more permanent characteristics as the more securely established settlers bring out their wives and children or - if they have not married girls from other ethnic groups - remigrate home to find brides. Soon, "a group of unattached men becomes transformed into a more or less complete and self-sufficient community, recreating to a very considerable extent the customs and habits of the particular district of origin". (3) Once this community life becomes known at home, a change may occur in the character of migration, with older people and younger boys and girls joining relatives abroad. As the risks of migration become conspicuously less, men "with less enterprise than the first generation of pioneers" migrate in ever-increasing numbers. The whole process of migration expands and quickens to a point where the emigration fever it generates may occasionally depopulate whole areas.

This change in the character of migration - from the movement of a few adventurous individuals to large-scale migration - has also been described by Petersen (1964: 284-6) as a transition from "free migration", in which the will of the migrant is the decisive element, to "mass migration", in which: "Migration becomes a style, an established pattern, an example of collective behaviour". Free migration is always small, since it requires strong motivation to seek novelty or improvement, but once the pioneer settlers have blazed trails for others to follow, "the growth of such a movement is semi-automatic: so long as there are people to emigrate, the principal cause of emigration is prior emigration". Lindberg (1930), in a study of Swedish emigration to North America, has shown that in this phase of migration the individual is in an "unstable state of equilibrium", in which only a small impulse in either direction determines his decision to stay or to migrate.

For such a mass movement to get under way, it is necessary, firstly, that a society produce adventurous individuals who will act as pioneer settlers: as we have seen, Wajo' and other Bugis areas supplied a steady stream of emigrants to new areas from the end of the seventeenth century. Secondly, the areas to which these pioneers emigrate must provide sufficiently attractive conditions to induce others to follow the first settler. As Price has shown in his survey of Southern European migration to Australia, not all early settlers began migration chains, often because the area in which they had settled was seen to be less attractive than some other potential area of immigration. Moreover, as Price points out, willingness of others to follow the lead of these early settlers depended on an assessment of their reliability,

helpfulness and so on: "To a very great extent their characters and personalities created the pattern of immigration and settlement" (Price, 1963: 133).

In the case of Bugis emigration, the establishment of migration chains to particular areas depended largely on the prestige of the first settler and the range of the kin and dependents upon whom he could call for assistance. 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 settlements abroad whose history is remembered, the first settler was either an aristocrat (albeit often not of the purest blood) or, more frequently, a member of the tau décéng, the class of wealthy commoners with some pretensions to distant royal connections. Thus, in the areas first settled by Bugis from about 1935 along the Indragiri and Jambi coastline (in Sumatra), the pembuka tanah (opener of the land) almost invariably bore the title of Daéng or Ambo', denoting a member of the tau décéng. Once others heard of the undisputed advantages of the areas opened for settlement by these pioneers, a steady flow of emigration began. The migration chains created were often very specific. Thus, before the second world war, Bugis from Ana'banua and Kalola in northern Wajo' migrated mainly to Pontianak (in southwestern Kalimantan) and - to a lesser extent - to Benut in Johore (southern Malaya). No migration chain was established from Ana'banua-Kalola to the other major area of Bugis settlement at that time: Samarinda, in eastern Kalimantan. Since the war, almost all emigrants from Ana'banua and Kalola have moved to Jambi in Sumatra, and to only a very limited number of villages within that province. Talking to Bugis from other parts of Wajo', such as Tancung to the south of Ana'banua, one heard a completely different story: All emigrants, they said, go to Samarinda. This emphasises the importance of the information fed back by former emigrants in determining the destination chosen by fellow villagers or kin planning to leave their homeland.

With the Bugis - as with the southern Europeans studied by Price - the migratory movement changed its character, becoming not only bigger but also safer. Initially Bugis emigration was a perilous business: the pasampe sailed off to unknown lands and who knew when he would return or if he would come back at all? An old man in Jambi, La Réwo, told me how his "grandfather" (in fact, his grandfather's younger brother) had left home - probably in the last decades of the nineteenth century - to go by prau to Pontianak. At this time "there were no ships, people still used sailing boats". He left his family behind and went alone: "You know how it was in olden times - if someone sailed away, you assumed he was dead, so people did not want to go with him". It was only after he had succeeded in planting ten hectares of coconuts in

Pontianak that he brought out his children and other kin - but by then (1923) it was possible to travel in safety by ship.

In the early days of Bugis migration, before the arrival of the steamship, men sailed away to far-off lands leaving their families at home. They quite often settled and married in another country, with a native of that place (Fachruddin). This is not surprising in view of the length of the journeys involved, the long sojourns in foreign ports by traders waiting for the monsoon to change. Indeed, marriage was apparently often politic as well as pleasant. One Wajo' Bugis trader, at the end of the nineteenth century, took wives in four ports - in Jakarta, Singapore, Pulau Sambas (western Kalimantan) and Kampung Wajo', Paré2 (south Sulawesi). His children in each place looked after his property and goods there (H. Abdullah). Once migration became safer, migrants more frequently brought their families with them. Thus, when La Réwo's father was persuaded to follow in his uncle's footsteps and move to Pontianak, in about 1923, he took his whole family with him: his wife and six sons. This tendency for whole families to emigrate became even more pronounced during the 1950's, when the rebellion in South Sulawesi made life there insupportable for many. With the Bugis today, it is rare to find the kind of emigration characteristic of those other famous Indonesian emigrants, the people of Bawean: this island is renowned as Pulau Wanita (island of women), because so many of its male population have left for Singapore and other places to work for several years at a time (Vredenburg, 1964). If a Bugis man does emigrate alone - and this seldom happens - he is usually able to bring out his family to join him within two or three years. Other kin are also actively encouraged to follow, both for reasons of sentiment and from more practical considerations, such as problems of labour shortage in the rantau. These motives will be developed later.

Some General Reflections

Rank and kinship ties seem to me to be the particular features of Bugis society which play a crucial role in the process of emigration. In the early stages of migration, motivation had to be at its highest to overcome natural fears of the dangers to be faced: at this time, I see the ascribed inferiority in their home society of ambitious men as the force which propelled them out into the world. Once these primary migrants, the pioneers, had paved the way, it was a comparatively simple matter for others to follow. Kinship ties were particularly important in promoting secondary migration, but ties of common local origin also played a part. And a general feeling of the solidarity and superiority of Wajo' Bugis, or Boné Bugis, or indeed of all Bugis compared to other peoples, inspired a feeling of confidence in those moving into new areas of Bugis settlement.

These explanations are only partial solutions to the problem of Bugis mobility. There are questions which remain unanswered, and these may best be illustrated by comparing the Bugis experience with that of their neighbours, the Makassarese, a people who closely resemble the Bugis in language and customs, in the emphasis on rank and on bilateral kinship ties. Yet the Makassarese are in general unwilling emigrants. In 1930, it was found that 10 per cent of all Bugis were living outside their homeland compared with slightly less than two per cent of Makassarese. This is surprising when one considers that: (1) the early émigré groups which apparently started the migratory tradition included Makassarese princes and their followers; (2) Makassarese have a longer sea-faring tradition than the Bugis; (3) political unrest and natural calamities have been unwelcome visitors in Makassarese areas as well as elsewhere in South Sulawesi; and (4) the Makassarese region is the most densely populated part of the province, with a population density as high as 194 persons per square kilometer in the sub-division of Takalar in 1930 - compared with only 69 in the Bugis district of Wajo' (Volkstelling 1930, V:110).

Yet despite equally compelling reasons for emigration, far fewer Makassarese than Bugis have taken this course. I was told that this is because Makassarese are too involved in social ties in their homeland; because anyone who is well-to-do has many dependents who would starve if he were to merantau. They have a saying, very similar in its connotations to the Javanese one above: "Hujan emas dinegeri orang; hujan batu dinegeri sendiri. Lebih baik dinegeri sendiri" (rain of gold in foreign lands; rain of stones in our own land. Better to be in our own land). The Bugis response to the problem of want - at least as expressed in traditional sayings - is far more drastic: "Lebih baik mati berdarah daripada mati kelaparan" (better to meet a bloody death than to die of hunger). Obviously few people achieve such dramatic intensity in action, but it does seem to me to sum up a fundamental difference between societies where acceptance of one's lot is the norm and those characterised by a restless discontent, an unwillingness to make do with what is seen to be second best. To explain such differences, it would once have been sufficient to call in that omnibus concept, "national character". This has now been discredited by the belief that differences between societies may be sufficiently explained through an analysis of their social institutions. I myself, in the body of this study, attempt to indicate various features of Wajo' Bugis society which seem to me to facilitate, or actively promote, or fail to impede, movement outside the society. But when all has been said and done, there is still a large area of thought and action which is, and must remain, mysterious.

CHAPTER II: THE BUGIS HOMELAND

The To Ana'banua - the people of Ana'banua - are the chief protagonists of this account of Bugis society and Bugis migration. They were chosen for intensive study because they live in one of the kecamatan (sub-districts) of Wajo' particularly noted for merantau, and Wajo' itself - as we have seen - has long been famous for the travels of its people. Much of what I have to say about Ana'banua society might equally well be said about the society of Wajo' in general, for Ana'banua cannot be considered in isolation: it has many relationships of marriage, friendship and trade with other villages of Wajo' and with people in adjacent districts. Its contacts also stretch further afield, to the coastal ports of Paré2 and Makassar, and further still to the Bugis settlements in Sumatra. Many of Ana'banua's people have moved to Jambi in Sumatra - how many noone can say - and every year more people leave. Others return, but often only briefly - to visit kin, perhaps to marry, and then go back once more to Jambi.

Many people now living in Ana'banua have been to Jambi, or have relatives living there. At the least, everyone knows someone who has at some time merantau - usually to Jambi. Thus Jambi is part of the setting in which people live their lives: one of their two points of reference, and a constant alternative to their present way of life. The aim of this chapter is to provide a general introduction to the Bugis homeland: South Sulawesi, Wajo', and Ana'banua. Subsequent chapters will deal with more specific issues, in particular, with kinship, rank and political organisation, and with the economic bases of Wajo' society. This will give us some idea of the factors which facilitate or actively promote emigration from Wajo'. The land of opportunity itself will then be presented: the environment into which migrants move and the way in which they approach its challenges and mould their society to make best use of its advantages. Finally, we will look at the interaction of the two worlds of the To Ana'banua - Wajo' and Jambi - and the way in which the experience of travel and pioneering has shaped the Bugis image of themselves, and how this image in turn promotes further emigration.

Sulawesi*

On the map, Sulawesi looks like some weird, ungainly octopus, sprawled between the solid bulk of Kalimantan to the west and the scatter of islands to the east once famous as the Spice Islands. Basically, Sulawesi is mainly coastline, for it consists of four peninsulas knotted in the middle, their peoples separated from each other by a wild tangle of mountains and forest. Although the Bugis are found living at several points along this coastline,

* See Appendix A: Statistical Data on South Sulawesi for sources of information used in this section.

their home of origin and still their most concentrated area of settlement is on the southwestern peninsula of the island. A belt of extinct volcanoes, running down the centre of the peninsula, divides it into two distinct climatic zones, subject to the influence of the alternating east and west monsoons. This mountain barrier is fringed by fertile coastal plains and broken in the north of the peninsula by the rift valley which contains Lake Tépé. Numerous rivers flow from the mountains to the sea, sometimes by circuitous routes through the irregularly broken mountain relief.

The Bugis area, which occupies most of the body of the peninsula, merges in the southwest with the Makassarese region; they are separated by a kind of no-man's-land where Bugis and Makassarese live side by side, intermarry and speak each other's language interchangeably. The boundaries between the Bugis and the Mandarese of the northwestern coastal area, and the Toraja of the mountainous north, are equally indistinct. Since 1964, the southwestern peninsula of Sulawesi has formed the province of south Sulawesi composed of 23 districts: in nine of these Bugis form the overwhelming majority of the population.* All but three of these districts border the sea, - not surprisingly, since the peninsula is only about 150 kilometers wide from west to east.

The capital of the province, and its biggest port, is Makassar, formerly the chief city of the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa. With over 400,000 inhabitants, Makassar is the seventh largest city of Indonesia. It has a mixed population consisting mainly of Makassarese and Bugis, with smaller numbers of Toraja, Mandarese and Menadonese (from northeastern Sulawesi). There is also a flourishing Chinese community (nearly 30,000 in 1971), who own the majority of shops and many other businesses. To the north of Makassar is the fast-growing Bugis port of Paré2, with over 70,000 inhabitants. This has increased in importance as road communications into its hinterland have improved since the end of the rebellion, and as demand has strengthened for products, such as maize, which are brought from the eastern agricultural region for export to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan. Smaller ports, at several points on the long coastline of the province, are used mainly by sailing praus.

The population density of South Sulawesi - 62 persons per square kilometer in 1963 - is low compared with Java's horrifying 477 persons per square kilometer (in 1961), but it is nonetheless one of the mostly densely populated areas of the Outer Islands: the average for the Outer Islands as a whole is

* These are the kabupaten (regencies) of Barru, Bone, Enrékang, Pinrang, Sidenreng-Rapang, Sinjai, Soppeng, and Wajo', and the kotamadya (municipality) of Paré2. Bugis and Makassarese are found in almost equal numbers in Bulukumba, Maros, Pangkajéne and the city of Makassar (Volkstelling 1930, V;20, 28-9).

only 19.2. Moreover, the population is not evenly spread throughout the province: while some districts had a population density as low as five persons per square kilometer in 1963, elsewhere it rose as high as 388. The population is estimated to be increasing at the rate of nearly two per cent per annum despite a high infant mortality rate and a steady outward migration to Sumatra of perhaps 5,000 a year. Regrettably, much of the area of South Sulawesi is uncultivated and uncultivable: the central spine of the peninsula and the northern region, for instance, consist largely of rugged, mountainous countryside. The best agricultural areas - which are also the most densely populated - are the fertile plain near Makassar, formed from the debris of the now extinct volcano of Gunung Lompobatang, and the Sidenreng-Témpé lake belt which separates the mountains of the north from the peninsula chain. In 1963, only nine per cent of the total area of the province was used for agricultural production, mainly for rice cultivation but also for the growing of maize (the second most important food-crop), pulse and root-crops. In the north-east (Luwu'), sago is the staple food, and bananas are an important item of diet in the Mandarese region (Majéné). The chief cash-crops are coconuts (also grown for home-consumption), kapok, candlenut, coffee, tobacco and a little rubber and sugar-cane. In the north and northeast are large areas of potentially cultivable virgin lands, but this region is sparsely-settled and road communications are poor or non-existent (Shamsher, 1967:62-8).

It is this inaccessibility - not only to settlement but more importantly to markets - which most strongly mitigates against the opening of new areas for cultivation within South Sulawesi, or in the neighbouring province of Southeast Sulawesi. In the 1930's, the Dutch commission in charge of agricultural colonisation (by Javanese and Madurese) found that there was an extensive area suitable for settlement at the head of the Gulf of Boné, where a plain stretches from Malili in the east to Palopo in the west over a distance of nearly 125 miles. This plain is from six to 20 miles wide and is watered by numerous rivers flowing down from the surrounding mountains. In 1937, this area of 2,000 square kilometers was but thinly settled by Bugis and Toraja: Malili had a population density of less than four persons per square kilometer. From 1938 to 1940, over 5,000 Javanese colonists were settled in three different parts of the plain where large rivers could be dammed to provide irrigation (Pelzer, 1945:225-7). It is a curious fact that this fertile region, near at hand and easily accessible by sea, should have been totally ignored by the people of Wajo' and other Bugis areas, who preferred the expense and apparently greater hazards of merantau, either to Kalimantan or Sumatra or to

more remote parts of Sulawesi, such as Toli2 on the northern peninsula. The explanation for this apparently eccentric behaviour may be sought in two great disadvantages of the Malili plain. Firstly, although geographically close it was probably less well known, for this was an area visited only by the occasional small-scale prau-trader, whereas ports such as Pontianak or Balikpapan were frequented by numerous travelling merchants and had become almost household words. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Malili was remote from the trade-routes and great ports of the Malay world, which elsewhere acted as magnets for Bugis pasompe. The neglect of this nearby area of cultivable land is the most convincing proof to be found that it was not land hunger alone which drove numerous Bugis from their homes in time of peace, but a desire to earn a cash income and, if possible, to become wealthy through participation in the modern market economy.

This is not to deny that arable land is in short supply in many parts of South Sulawesi. A survey of land ownership in 1953 suggested that a condition of land shortage had already been reached in 11 out of the 15 kabupaten covered. Average land ownership in these eleven districts was less than the 0.7 hectares of sawah (wet-rice field) considered by Penny and Singarimbun (1971:4) to be sufficient to support an average peasant household. Moreover, in all but two of the 15 districts, more than half of the owners of sawah had less than 0.5 hectares. (In Wajo' district, just under half the owners had less than 0.5 hectares). It should be noted that these statistics do not include landless peasants: thus average ownership of sawah per household is likely to be far below the level required for self-sufficiency. Moreover, in many areas - Wajo' is one - there are few or no irrigation facilities so that rice production is entirely dependent on the rains, and if these fail the area which can be planted may be reduced by more than half. It is not surprising to find that times of drought, such as that which devastated many parts of South Sulawesi in 1971-72, are also peak periods for emigration.

Although particular areas may experience want, there is rarely a shortage of rice - the staple food for most people - in the province as a whole. This is because of the marked climatic differences between the eastern and the western zones, subject to the influence of alternating monsoons. The west monsoon, prevailing from November to March, brings rain to the western side of the peninsula, while in the eastern districts, such as Wajo' and Boné', rains fall when the monsoon sweeps in from the east, in May to October. Hence the saying: "Kalau musim panas di Makassar, musim dingin di Wajo'" (when it is the hot/dry season in Makassar, it is the cold/wet season in Wajo'). In fact, of course, it is not entirely predictable that rain will fall only during the

prevalence of the appropriate monsoon, any more than it is inevitable that the rains will come at all. In general, however, this pattern of alternating rainy and dry seasons in the eastern and western zones is found, and means that South Sulawesi is fortunate in having two main harvest seasons each year: in about September on the east coast, and in March on the western plain. In some areas of more regular rainfall, such as Soppeng on the eastern slopes of the central mountain chain, two rice harvests a year may be obtained. Rice is, in consequence, generally readily available and relatively cheap. Even in periods of prolonged drought, as in 1971-72, there is still sufficient rice to be had, although at inflated prices. At most times, South Sulawesi is one of the few regions of Indonesia which produce a rice surplus. This is small consolation to those small peasants or sharecroppers who cannot afford to buy rice, and must go hungry if their own subsistence production fails them.

Political Systems of South Sulawesi

Before the Dutch intrusion into the region, South Sulawesi consisted of a multitude of petty kingdoms, each ruled by a prince of the highest ("white") blood. This ruler (Arung in Bugis) was generally considered to be the descendant of a To Manurung, a heavenly being sent to earth to bring order to a chaotic world. The various kingdoms were often linked in alliances of varying duration and effectiveness, generally symbolised as the relationship between close kin. Thus the states of Bone, Wajo' and Soppeng for a time formed a defensive alliance against the power of Gowa, in which Bone was considered the eldest, Wajo' the middle and Soppeng the youngest brother (Noorduyn, 1955:85). Indeed, many of the kingdoms were themselves composed of a group of petty kingdoms or chiefdoms, associated in various ways. Wajo', for example, in the sixteenth century expanded to become one of the larger Bugis states by conquering or forming associations with many neighbouring regions: "They became allies ('brothers') or vassals ('children') or 'slaves' of Wajo'", while each retained its own customs and internal autonomy (Noorduyn, 1955: 317; also 63-65). Wajo' was thus, in effect, a confederation of small kingdoms or wanuwa and, as Pelras (1971:172-3) points out: "la politique de chaque wanua était dictée par ses intérêts du moment, et certains, après avoir fait allégeance à Wajo', reconnurent plus tard et successivement l'autorité de Gowa, puis celle de Boné, avant de revenir à leur première parole".

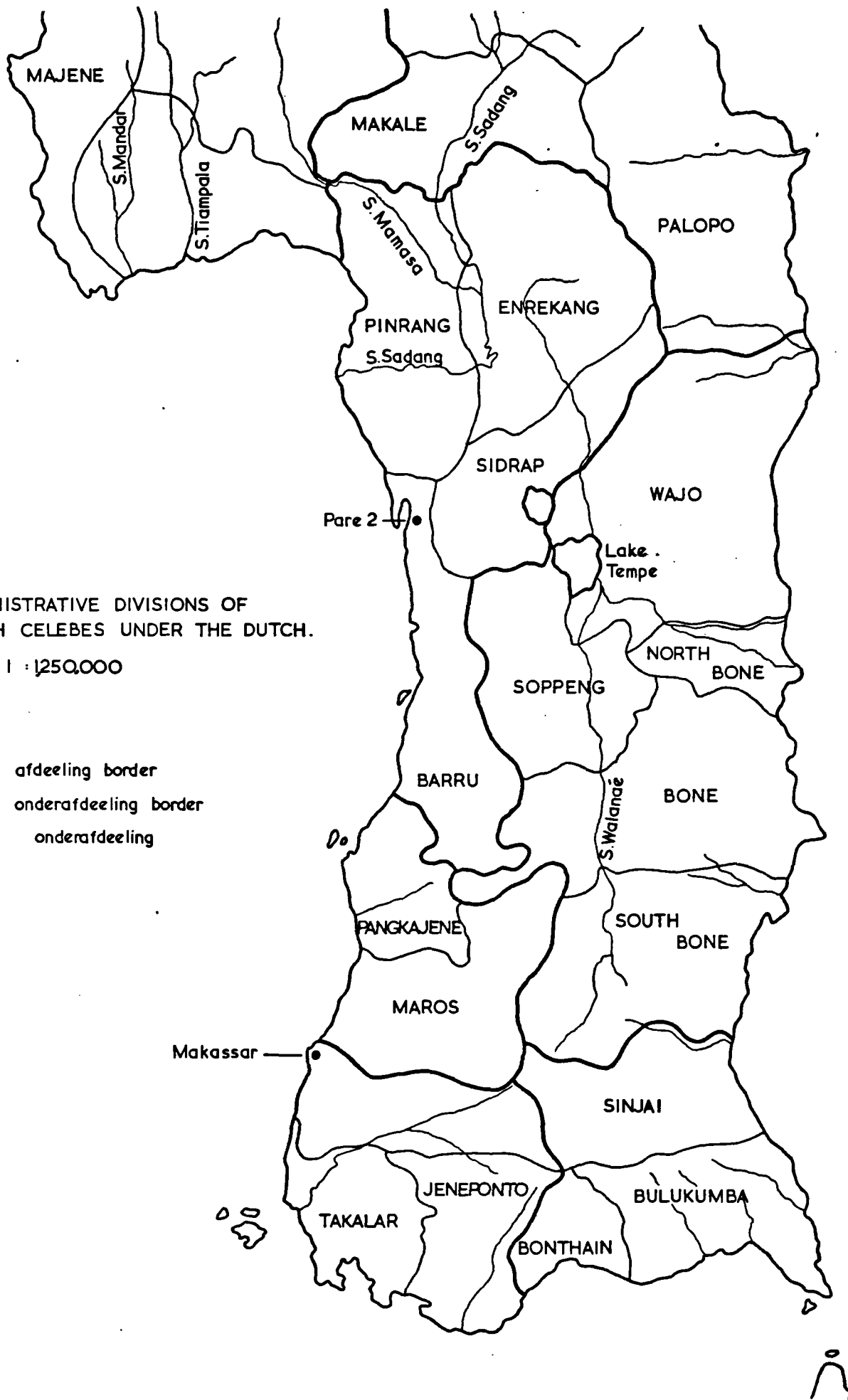
Even the power of the ruler of Wajo' was limited, since this was not a hereditary but an elective position (although only those of pure royal blood were eligible), and the six great chiefs who appointed the king, the Arung Matoa (elder Arung), could with equal ease depose him. In other states of South Sulawesi, such as Boné and Gowa, the position of the ruler was hereditary and his authority more autocratic, so that he tended to be treated by the Portuguese,

Dutch and other Europeans as "un souverain féodal de type occidental" (Pelras, 1971:175).

The Dutch, after the conquest of Makassar in 1667, were slow in extending their authority over the rest of the peninsula. It was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that most of the important kingdoms - such as Gowa, Boné, Wajo' and Luwu' - finally submitted to them and from 1910 on "the lower levels of the Dutch colonial government extended into even the small towns and villages of the region" (Chabot, 1967:190). The former kingdoms were given the status of self-governing protectorates and ruled indirectly through their own kings and chiefs, closely supervised by a Dutch Controleur.

Dutch control led inexorably to numerous changes in the system of government of each state, and even to changes in the composition of states. The boundaries between states were fixed and no longer allowed to fluctuate in accordance with shifts in the alliances between them. Some loose confederations were made into permanent political units while other such informal federations were disbanded. Wajo' and Soppeng, both previously members of a long defunct alliance with Boné, became onderafdeelingen (subdistricts) of the afdeeling (district) of Boné. Within each administrative unit, princes and chiefs of high birth were given responsibility for particular areas and later, as Dutch control became more complete, for departments of government, such as public works, law, finance and police. The rulers of the petty kingdoms (wanuwa), of which Wajo', for instance, was composed, became government officials, entrusted with the administration of their own areas (within limits narrowly defined by the Dutch Controleur).

With the coming of Independence from the Dutch in 1949, Celebes was renamed Sulawesi, and the Government of Celebes - which consisted of the entire southern half of the island - became the province of South and Southeastern Sulawesi (Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara). It was not until 1964 that South Sulawesi was constituted as a separate province. The 21 kabupaten (regencies) and two kotamadya (municipalities) of the province correspond in general to the Dutch onderafdeelingen. Below the level of the kabupaten (or daerah) are the kecamatan, headed by a Camat; these are in turn divided into desa or wanuwa (village clusters), under a Kepala Desa or Kepala Wanuwa. The term wanuwa has long been used in the Bugis lands, first as the name for a kingdom and later, under the Dutch, for the administrative divisions of an onderafdeeling; the present wanuwa are often much smaller units than those of the colonial period.



MAP II

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF
SOUTH CELEBES UNDER THE DUTCH.

Scale : 1 : 1250,000

Key

- afdeeling border
- onderafdeeling border
- BARRU onderafdeeling

TABLE I: Administrative Structure of South Sulawesi

<u>Administrative Unit</u>	<u>Office-holder</u>
<u>Propinsi</u>	<u>Gubernur</u>
<u>Kotamadya</u> (2) and <u>Kabupaten/Daerah</u> (21)	<u>Walikota</u> (mayor) } <u>Bupati Kepala Daerah</u> } Elected by DPR* of the Kotamadya or Daerah and appointment confirmed by the Minister for Home Affairs (<u>Menteri dalam Negeri</u>) of the Republic of Indonesia
<u>Kecamatan</u> : 10 in Wajo' daerah	<u>Camat</u> : appointed by Gubernur on recommendation of Bupati
<u>Wanuwa</u> (= desa): 51 in Wajo'	<u>Kepala Wanuwa</u> : elected by all wanuwa residents of voting age (18 years and above) and confirmed in office by Bupati
<u>Lingkungan</u> (= <u>Rukun Kampung</u>): 3 - 7 in each wanuwa	<u>Kepala Lingkungan</u> : appointed by Kepala Wanuwa with approval of Camat
<u>Rukun Tetangga</u> (neighbour- hood association)	<u>Kepala R.T.</u> : appointed by Kepala Wanuwa (in Wajo' this office is almost defunct)

* Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, or People's Representative Council
(Parliament)

(Below the level of the Kabupaten/Daerah, the names of the
administrative units vary from one area to another. Those
shown above are the terms in official use in Wajo'; alternative
terms are given in brackets.)

The political constitution of the Bugis areas will be described in
further detail in Chapter IV. In the meantime, let us leave the exalted
heights from which we have thus far surveyed all Sulawesi at a glance, and
move down to take a closer look at Wajo'.

Wajo' and its Approaches

Wajo' is situated on the eastern side of the peninsula of South Sulawesi.
The calm and shallow waters of the Gulf of Boné lap a coastline of mudflats,
fringed at times with coconut palms, at times with a narrow belt of mangroves.
The lack of a good deep-water harbour means that Wajo' today is rarely approached
by sea, except by small fishing and trading praus. Until the nineteenth
century, however, Wajo' was a great sea trading state, with large merchant
praus sailing up the Cénrana River as far as the inland lake of Tépé. In
1823, Bugis traders in Singapore told Crawford of large Wajo' villages on the
banks of great lake, "all of which carry a considerable foreign trade. The

trading praus are tracked up the stream of the Chinrana River ... The depth of water in the river is abundant during the rainy season for the largest praus, but not so in the dry" (1856:441). In these former times, the women of the villages at the junction of river and lake used to climb to the top of Patirosompe ("view of sails"), a strange conical hill above Séngkang, to watch their husbands and sons sail away down the river, and to make wishes for their safe return, for this is a sacred place.

By the time Brooke visited Wajo' in 1840, the river had begun to silt up, but was still navigable as far as Pompanua by craft of 150 to 200 tons. "Pompanua", Brooke wrote, "is a large town, and the principal place where the prahus lie up. It consists of about 600 houses, and appears to be flourishing. We here counted nineteen prahus, many of a large size, either on the right bank or in the creek which runs through the town" (1848:145). Formerly Tosora, the capital of Wajo', had also been accessible by prau, but the river had receded and the greater part of its population, including the Chiefs of Wajo', had moved away. The town presented a picture of desolation, with "old and tottering" houses, brackish water and swarms of rats and mosquitoes; "Robberies accompanied by violence are said to be frequent, and the detached houses and thick groves offer every facility for the commission of crime" (1848:79-80).

After the Dutch assumed control in 1906, the emphasis of Wajo's economy was dramatically altered. At that time, presumably because the silting-up of the river had made it largely un-navigable, the chief centre for trade up the Cénrana River was Palima, near the mouth of the river and within the state of Boné. This coastal village was "an important seat of Boné overseas trade and overseas shipping, the dwelling place of many rich Buginese and Arab traders" (Friedericy, quoted in van Leur, 1967:347). Realizing the economic possibilities of the lake regions of Wajo', Soppeng and Boné, the Dutch civil service from 1922-23 encouraged the growing of maize along the lakeshores, which are dry during the wet monsoon. Their aim was to increase prosperity and hence to enable the people of the area to pay more and higher taxes.

The task of moving the maize down from the highlands by way of the river, at first performed by native boats, was also taken in hand by the Navigation Company, which built warehouses and loading stations on the upper river and began transporting by means of motor launches with long trains of flat-bottomed barges. Bringing the maize down and shipping it out in this centralized way made it possible to close direct insurance contracts for the cargoes, a thing underwriters had not been willing to risk under earlier conditions. The shipping company had less uncertainty, cargo risks could be insured, only a single bill of lading was needed. What remained of indigenous intermediary trade became dependent on the shipping company financially (van Leur, 1967:347).

The collapse of world market prices for maize in 1932 not only seriously affected the maize-growing areas, where "the stream of money dried up"; it also meant the demise of the Cénrana River trade. "Palima, once the flourishing centre of the old, indigenous independent trade and shipping, in the meantime (1929-1930) became a dying village: the houses were decaying, the ships lay rotting on the beach" (van Leur, 1967:347-8).

In the place of the old seaborne communications, the Dutch built roads, linking Wajo' and other areas with Makassar. One route struck northeast from Makassar through the Camba Pass to Boné, and from thence followed the Cénrana River westwards towards Lake Tépé, and Wajo's new capital of Séngkang. When I went to Wajo' in February 1971, we followed this road, leaving Boné's capital, Watamponé, early in the morning and driving along the Cénrana River to Pompanua. It was the dry season, but the river was a broad brown torrent, its banks thickly clothed with fruit trees, the nodding heads of coconut and lontar palms towering above the froth of foliage. It was, in fact, a sight identical to that witnessed by Brooke more than a century before - except that Brooke must have been there after the rains had begun.

As far as Pompanua, the banks of the river present a perfect garden bordered with fruit trees, viz. the mango, plantain, cocoa-nut, jack-durien, &c., and numerous detached houses or farms are scattered along. There is much cultivation of rice and Indian corn behind the fringe of wood at the back of the grassy plain, and altogether the country wears an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort (Brooke, 1848:145).

There was however one notable difference in 1971: the only craft to be seen were small canoes, used by local people to paddle across the river.

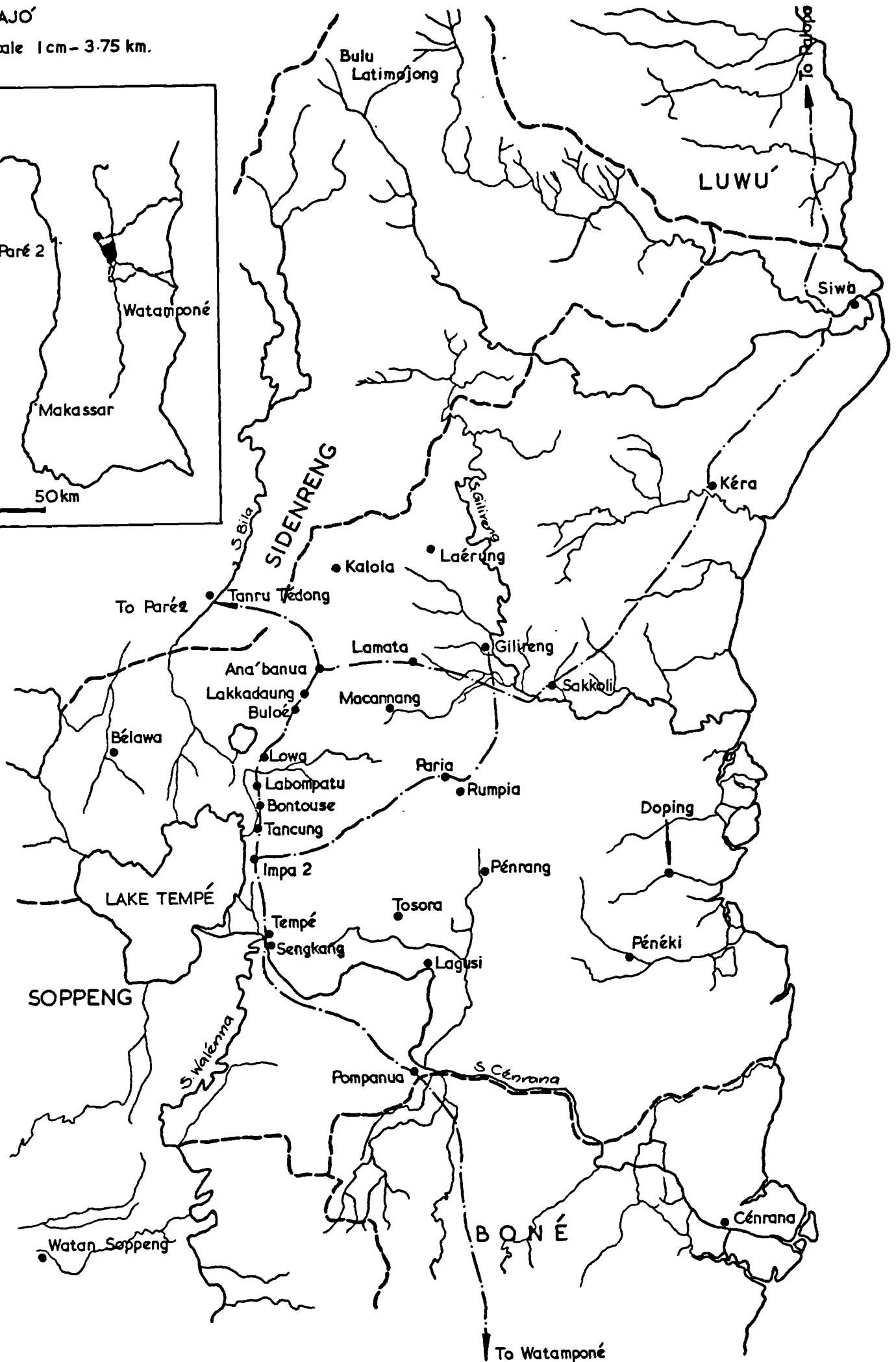
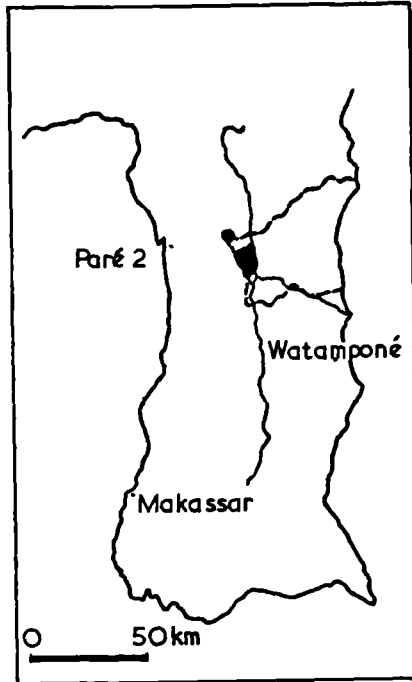
Immediately after leaving Pompanua, the road crosses the border from Boné into Wajo', and cuts inland across a rolling grass-covered plain. The countryside becomes drier, for February is still the "hot season" (*musim panas*): the grass is dead and brown, the soil parched, the sawah has been devoid of paddy for many months, and the banks between the plots have been trampled down by the water-buffalo which roam freely here at this time of year. The small pointed hills of Séngkang rise before us and shortly afterwards we cross the river once more and enter the capital of Wajo'. It is a town of over 30,000 people, stretching from the strange conical hills on its eastern side down to the river, which encircles it to the south and west as it winds its way towards the shallow, reed-filled entrance to the lake.

The more usual route to Wajo' today runs northeast from Makassar through paddy-fields, brilliant green in the rainy season but burnt yellow during the dry months from June to November. There are numerous villages along the route, cool among thick banks of fruit trees and coconut palms. As we approach

MAP III

WAJO'

Scale 1 cm = 3.75 km.



Maros, weird convoluted mountains, hewn from the limestone by wind and rain, loom in the east and finally close in on us. Before the roads were built, a pack-horse trail passed through these mountains to the Bugis lands of the east coast, following the Maros River in its precipitous passage through the tangled wilderness of rocks at the Bantimurung Falls. Wallace saw this perillous path in use in September 1857:

Crossing the stream a little below the upper fall, the path ascends a steep slope for about five hundred feet, and passing through a gap enters a narrow valley, shut in by walls of rock, absolutely perpendicular and of great height. Half a mile further this valley turns abruptly to the right, and becomes a mere rift in the mountain. ... This rugged path is the highway from Maros to the Bugis country beyond the mountains. During the rainy season it is quite impassable, the river filling its bed and rushing between perpendicular cliffs many hundred feet high. Even at the time of my visit it was most precipitous and fatiguing, yet women and children came over it daily, and men carrying heavy loads of palm sugar of very little value (Wallace, 1962:180-1).

The roads built by the Dutch must have seemed a foretaste of salvation.

Beyond Maros and Pangkajéné we enter a desolate swamp land, where scattered houses stand on stilts in the brackish water and men in flat-bottomed boats collect and prepare the leaves of the nipah palm for sale as thatching material. Soon afterwards, we reach the sea - a sea which is smooth and brown with grass growing at the water's edge, and trees standing in the placid water. Travelling now between sea and mountains we soon reach Paré2, the Naples of Sulawesi: white houses climb the hill above the sail-speckled bay. We also climb upwards through hills and eventually reach the fertile green plain of Sidenreng-Rapang (Sidrap), where an extensive and efficient irrigation system ensures that the harvests in much of this area - unlike most of South Sulawesi - never fail. Paddy fields stretch without interruption to a horizon framed with jagged mountain peaks. This is the characteristic feature of South Sulawesi - the all-pervasive presence of these splendid peaks. The journey seems endless, the jolting and bumping unendurable, but at last we are crossing the Bila River and soon afterwards we enter Wajo'. The road turns south again through ricefields and a succession of villages - Awotarae, Callacu, Ana'banua, Lakkadaung ... - until the glint of water appears to the west, the gleaming expanse of the great lake of Tépé, stretching to the same blue mountains that we saw before across a sea of paddy on the Sidenreng plain. Within half an hour we are in Sengkang again.

When I first made this journey from Makassar to Sengkang via Paré2 in December 1970, it took us more than eight hours in all, more than half of this time being spent painfully inching our way forward over the last forty kilometers or so of a road so pitted with pot-holes and criss-crossed with

gulleys that the surface of the moon could scarcely have been less hospitable. In those days, only four-wheel drive vehicles had any chance of reaching Ségkang. But gradually during 1971, a UNDP-World Bank project transformed the worst section of the road. It became possible to reach Ségkang in less than five hours, and seven buses travelled this route every day. These buses passed through Ana'banua, ensuring the village's constant communication with the port-cities of the west coast.

The changes in the routes of access to Wajo' in the last two centuries have also meant a great variation in those areas of Wajo' most intensely linked with the outside world, and hence-inevitably - in the places most noted as sources of emigration. Formerly pasompe were said to originate from the wanuwa of Pammana (its capital was Pompanua) and Tosora, which were both then connected to the sea by the Cénrana River and were great centres of trade. As the river declined in importance as a trade route, the road from Ségkang to Paré2 became the major channel for trade and communications; pasompe began to flow out from villages along this route, from Impa2, Tancung, and perhaps somewhat later from Ana'banua and Kalola. Villages such as Impa2, close by Lake Témpé, had long been actively involved in a money economy: they were important centres for the weaving industry and had doubtless also become drawn into the maize-growing fever which the Dutch administrators had inspired in all the lakeside villages. It was perhaps a natural step to move on from local craft production and trade to a search for still more profitable enterprises in the rantau. By 1971, however, when I began to ask questions about merantau from Wajo', the eastern shore of Lake Témpé was no longer seen as an important emigrant area; the Kahar Muzakar rebellion had dislocated the old patterns of mobility. In the 1950's and early 1960's, the areas most seriously affected by the rebels were those most remote from Ségkang, the centre of government and military power - areas which were either naturally inaccessible or could be rendered so by digging up roads and destroying bridges. Most seriously affected were the coastal districts of Sajoangin and Takkalalla, and the hilly areas to the north and northeast - Pitumpanua, Majauleng and Maniangpajo. Within Maniangpajo, only Ana'banua village escaped from rebel control, although at times the area controlled by the military scarcely extended beyond the military post and government offices in its centre. The economic disruption in the rebel zone was so great that a flood of people streamed out of Wajo'. Some settled temporarily in Paré2 or Makassar; many, perhaps most, moved on to Sumatra.

It is over ten years now since peace returned to South Sulawesi and it is difficult to know what new patterns of emigration may now be emerging in Wajo'. All that I can say with certainty is that people still continue to leave

Ana'banua and other parts of Maniangpajo for Sumatra. It seems probable that the same is true of many other areas where emigrants have gone out in the past, and succeeded, and thus established a precedent for others to follow.

Ana'banua

In South Sulawesi, with its lack of large, navigable rivers, the pattern of village distribution tends to follow the roads rather than the rivers. Ana'banua is particularly favourably placed in this respect, for it has grown up at the convergence of three roads: the major highway from Makassar to Sengkang, the daerah capital; the economically important road which branches off from the highway at Ana'banua and leads northeast to Siwa (the northernmost small port of Wajo' daerah) and to Palopo, the capital of the daerah of Luwu'; and the dirt road to the fertile Bélawa region in the northwestern corner of Wajo'. Its importance as a communications centre, and its strategic location of top of a low hill, with extensive views of the surrounding countryside, probably explain its choice as a military post during the rebellion which devastated Wajo' and other areas of South Sulawesi in 1950-65.

Along the highway, to the north and south of Ana'banua, villages follow each other in rapid succession, separated by only a few kilometers of open ricefields from their neighbours. About two kilometers to the west of Ana'banua, across the ricefields, lies the village of Jongkang, with a population of over 1,000, and then the population thins out to a few scattered hamlets until the borders of Bélawa are reached. In the hills which rise wild and beautiful to the east, settlement is also sparse: only a few small 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. At Bulu Massumpatédongé (Water-buffalo's Nose Hill), four kilometers away, a new village was established a few years ago by settlers from a remote village to the north-east, who are now employed as cattle-herders by a wealthy and aristocratic absentee landlord. Far away to the north looms the massive bulk of Mt. Latimojong, rising blue and mysterious, apparently within easy walking distance early in the morning and just before sunset, but vanishing as though only an illusion in the heat-haze of the day.

Ana'banua is the political and economic centre for a wide area. It is the capital of the kecamatan of Maniangpajo and also of a smaller administrative division, the wanuwa of Ana'banua. In the centre of the village is a block of offices for the staff of the kecamatan and a large, enclosed market square (pasar) flanked on the western and southern sides by terraces of small brick shops (most now used as houses) and on the other two sides by rows of rather ramshackle wooden shops and coffee houses, where market-goers can drop in for

sweet cakes and coffee. A market (pasar) is held on three days a week - Monday, Wednesday and Saturday - although a few small traders, mostly women, may be found on all days of the week, peddling bananas, vegetables, eggs when they are to be had, matches, candles, cotton, paraffin, soap, condensed milk, and other necessities and luxuries of daily life. Wednesday is the big market day, when merchants come from Séngkang to sell imported synthetic fabrics, sarongs and other goods. Many of these merchants spend most of their time travelling around Wajo', from one market to the next in a regular cycle: thus one cloth-seller told me he visits Ana'banua on Wednesday, the next day Atapangé, then Cabéngé (in the neighbouring district of Soppeng), the Central Pasar in Séngkang, Témpé, Atapange again, and Central Pasar again, finally returning once more to Ana'banua. On market-days, the pasar presents a gay sight, with a dozen or so béndi (horse-drawn carts) drawn up outside, together with the battered trucks of the Séngkang merchants, and people from all the surrounding area filling the market-square and spilling out into the street. Dogs bark, children shout, and the fish-seller sings the number of fish being sold, for he knows no other way to count.

On other days, Ana'banua for most of the time appears a ghost town. Early in the morning, soon after sunrise, people wrapped in sarongs go down to wells or the small stream of Salo'Lama'gareng to bathe - if water is to be found. In the height of the dry season, both stream and wells dry up, and the villagers must trudge over a kilometer to one of the two rivers, to the north and the south, where permanent - although often increasingly muddy - water is found. At this time of year, several men come all the way from Boné with their ponies to work as water-carriers, bringing great drums full of water from the river to sell to those households who can afford such a luxury.

By ten in the morning, the streets of Ana'banua are deserted. The men have usually gone to their fields long before and will not return until late in the afternoon. During the rice-growing season, farmers often leave home before dawn and return after dark, some walking as much as four kilometers each way. They generally take food with them - or sometimes it is brought out to them by their womenfolk - and spend the hottest part of the day resting in a pondok, a tiny thatched bamboo shelter, in the midst of the rice-fields. The women, meanwhile, are also busy. Apart from the usual household chores, most women weave; the most diligent or most needy strap themselves into their flimsy backstrap looms and weave with few breaks all through the day. The only visible signs of rather sleepy life are to be seen in the white-painted kecamatan offices, where a typewriter can occasionally be heard clacking away, and in the warung(cafés) opposite the pasar on the Séngkang road: here men with time on their hands drop in to drink coffee and eat cakes and ice (brought

each day from Paré2), and to chat to friends.

As the sun sinks towards the horizon with alarming rapidity, herdsmen begin to drive in water-buffalo (kerbau) which have been grazing all day in the grasslands to the east; the men trudge in from the fields and stop to talk about the progress of the rice-crop with their neighbours; the women begin to boil rice for the evening meal. As families sit down in a circle on the floor to eat, the door is closed and barred, although it has been wide open all day; this is said to be a custom developed in more hazardous times, when an unwary family absorbed in their meal were likely to be murdered by some enemy, before they had a chance to defend themselves. The evenings, after about seven o'clock, are the time when people go visiting friends and kin. The time of the full-moon is one of great gaiety, when the streets are full of people quietly strolling down paths bathed in moonlight, often calling in at a succession of homes until far into the night. There is one night of the week, however, when none but the brave or the foolish dare to venture from home. This is Thursday night - malam jum'at, the "eve of Friday" - when ghosts and spirits roam the land, and danger is likely to befall any who fail to take adequate precautions. These generally consist in lighting a small fire under the entrance steps, which is believed to prevent evil spirits from entering.

People of Ana'banua

Ana'banua is a large village - almost a small town - with over 4,600 inhabitants in the main cluster of 800 or so houses around the market place. Many houses line the highways to Séngkang and to Siwa, but there is also a network of smaller streets branching off at right angles to the main roads. These are lined with houses on stilts - fine teak houses with corrugated iron roofs, belonging to the wealthy; thatched bamboo huts denoting the poor. On the outskirts of the village, there are many of these tiny huts, standing amidst carefully tended gardens, where vegetables and fruit fill every inch of space.

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 Ana'banua, 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 Ana'banua, where some have become permanent residents: thus, one section of the village, known as Lompoé, consists of former inhabitants of the nearby hamlet of Lompo, which has now shrunk to a fraction of its former size. Several neighbouring villages - such as Jongkang - were abandoned during the

rebellion, their inhabitants moving into Ana'banua or, more often, to Séngkang, Paré2 and other towns, or emigrating to Sumatra and elsewhere. Many of these villages have only recently been resettled: Jongkang's inhabitants returned to the village only in 1968.

Since the return of peace, Ana'banua has continued to attract settlers from other areas - often poor people from the rolling grasslands and hills to the northeast, who have been attracted by the better opportunities for employment, as labourers or sharecroppers, in Ana'banua. These people have settled in hamlets on the fringes of the village, where the government has supplied them with plots of land for their houses and vegetable gardens. As a result of these constant population fluctuations, many of the present inhabitants of Ana'banua were born elsewhere. Thus, in a survey of 72 households - nearly ten per cent of the village population - it was found that while nearly three-quarters of children were born in Ana'banua village, less than one-quarter of adults had been born there. The great majority of adults came from other villages within kecamatan Maniangpajo, or from adjacent kecamatan. (See Table II and Appendix B). Some of these people had married into the village, for Ana'banua throws wide its net of marriage ties; the great majority, however, had moved to this area with their families.

TABLE II: BIRTHPLACE DATA FOR SAMPLE GROUP

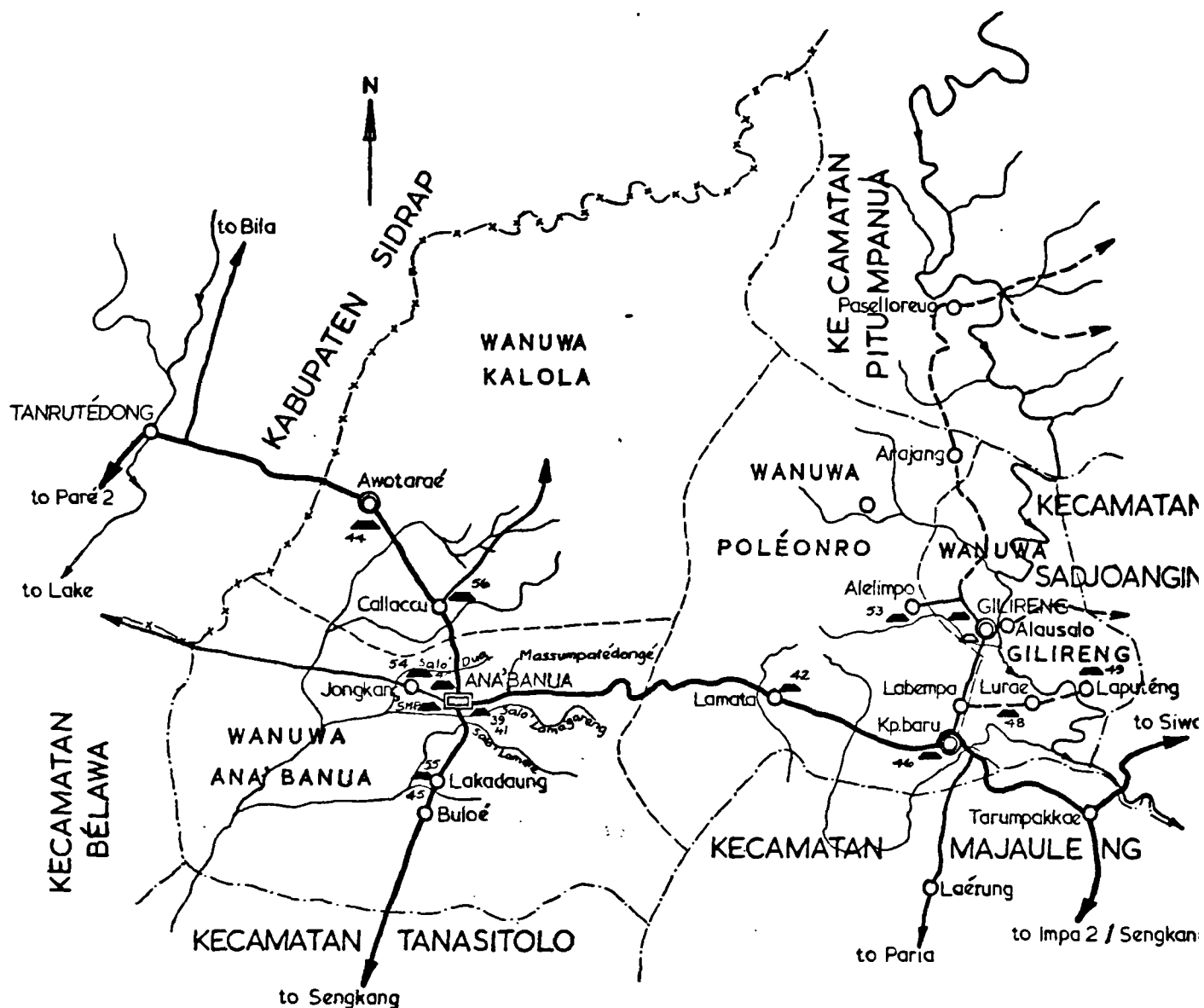
The sample consisted of 394 individuals: 157 children aged 13 years and under, and 237 adults.

Birthplace	Children		Adults		Total sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ana'banua village	117	75	55	23	172	47
Elsewhere in the wanuwa of Ana'banua	11	7	38	16	49	12
Elsewhere in kecamatan Maniangpajo	5	3	37	16	42	11
Adjacent kecamatan*	16	10	87	37	103	26
Other areas	8	5	20	8	28	7
Totals:	157	100	237	100	394	100

* Adjacent kecamatan are: Bélawa, Majauleng, Pitumpanua, and Tanasitolo in Wajo', and Tanru Tédong in Sidrap.

Ana' banua 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. At first one suspects

MAP IV: KECAMATAN MANIANGPAJO



KEY

- x—x—x— Kabupaten Boundary
- Kecamatan Boundary
- Wanuwa Boundary
- State Highway
- Daerah Road
- Village Road
- ~~~~~ River
- ~~~~~ Stream

- Kecamatan Capital
- Wanuwa Capital
- Kampong
- ▴ School

people of deliberately withholding information, when they claim to be unaware of the activities of other sectors of the village population; but it soon becomes clear that there are indeed striking breaks in the flow of information within the village, and that one social cluster may be totally ignorant of the activities, or even of the existence, of others. Within the central core of the village, there is a certain community of shared local gossip, for here the houses are more densely clustered, the population in general is long settled in Ana'banua, and there is considerable overlapping of kin-ties. But on the village fringe, the poorer families, subsisting largely on the produce of their own gardens and by sharecropping, have few if any social links with people of the wealthier village centre. Indeed, so unknown a quantity are they, that when I visited these areas with friends who had been born and bred in Ana'banua, they were shocked at the amount of poverty we encountered. Although the households we called at had been selected entirely at random from the local census records, one girl who often accompanied me decided that I must have deliberately slanted the survey to cover "only poor people": she had never before realised that such a situation existed within her own kampong, and could find no other way to explain it.

The lack of cohesion of village society in Ana'banua is largely a function of the size of the place and the diverse origins of its inhabitants. Smaller villages in the neighbourhood appear to be very much better integrated, partly because there is a greater chance of face-to-face interaction in a smaller place and partly because the people of the village are more likely to have been born and bred there. The fact that Ana'banua is the capital of a kecamatan also diminishes the intensity of local community life: activities which elsewhere are organised by the village itself tend in Ana'banua to be delegated to supra-local institutions. Thus in Jongkang there is a large shelter in the centre of the village, and a smaller one on the western side, where three or four village watchmen sit at night - often with a cluster of friends to keep them company, for the watch shelter is also an informal meeting place. The men of Jongkang take it in turns to stand guard; if any danger threatens the village, a wooden bell hanging from the thatched roof is struck loudly to bring all the men running from their houses to search for the thief, drive out the robbers and generally create a frightening tumult. All the villages around Ana'banua have a watch-place and a rota of watchmen for there are said to be many robbers about. And indeed I still have vivid memories of one night in 1971 when news simultaneously arrived in the Camat's house of an armed robbery at Jongkang - gold and jewels had been taken - and an attempted lynching at Kalola, where the unfortunate drivers of a truck which had collided with a cyclist were set upon by all the men of the village wielding

parang (swords): they had been lucky to escape with their lives. Self-help is still a living tradition in many parts of South Sulawesi. Cattle and horse thieves also abound and for this reason many villages (Jongkang is one) keep all their kerbau in one stockade under constant guard at night. In Ana'banua, the institution of community responsibility for maintaining the peace and preventing robberies has been superseded by reliance on the police and soldiers of the kecamatan stationed there. Formerly "there was a fine place for the watchmen" in the centre of the village; now this has been dismantled and with it has been lost much of the sentiment of community solidarity which such shared responsibilities produce.

The village is divided along lines of religion, occupation, wealth, and village-origin (thus, the people of Lompoé form a distinct clique, and are often considered haughty by others). Most importantly, it is split into clusters of kin, who also tend to constitute neighbourhood units. It is common to find that all residents of one street of the village are related in some way, through bilateral kinship ties. Close kin - siblings, parents and their children - often form particularly tightly-knit groups, for when establishing their own house-hold, a young couple endeavour to live as near as possible to the families of either or both of them. More distant relatives also tend to be living in the same part of the village. It is quite explicitly stated that kin always try to live close to one another, so that they are conveniently placed both to give and to receive assistance: in household ceremonies - for births, circumcision, marriages, an impending journey - and in economic activities, such as collecting firewood, planting and harvesting crops.

Ambo' Upe told me: "In this street, we are all cousins. We deliberately gather together. If there is some trouble, or if there is a wedding, we are united. We unite in going into the hills to gather firewood, usually twenty of us go together. If someone dies, if there is a bride, we are united. Every street is a collection of kin (Ana'banua, August 1971).

Although kinship is the commonest bond between individuals and families - and friendships between non-kin tend to be expressed in a kinship idiom - people with no kin connection may yet have a feeling of solidarity arising from their common origin from the hamlet of Lompo; or from common membership of a religious sect; or from the fact that they, or their close kin, are fellow employees in the kecamatan offices. While kinship, common local origin, rank, religion, occupation and wealth are all at times divisive features of the society, they can also provide bridges linking the various social factions.

The individual is presented with a wide range of possible bases for association with others if he chooses. Dislike for another may be expressed

in terms of differences of religion or local origin, while liking provides an incentive to seek the common - rather than the divisive - factor. It is, in fact, an intensely individualistic society, providing considerable freedom of choice in the selection of a circle of friends and acquaintances. The majority of these will tend to be kin, but not all kin need to be close associates.

Leach has protested against "attempts to isolate kinship behaviour as a distinct category explainable by jural rules without reference to context or economic self-interest" (1961:305-6). I would suggest that this stricture might equally be applied to other "givens", such as common local origin. Two men care little that they are both To Ana'banua, born and bred in the wanuwa, so long as they remain in Wajo'; but once they have emigrated, this shared experience gives them a claim for moral and material support. An old man - born in Pontianak after his parents had moved there from Ana'banua - once told me that in the rantau: "If someone comes from Ana'banua or Kalola, he must be kin - he is considered to be kin". This convenient fiction enables many people to travel confidently to far-off villages in Jambi, secure in the knowledge that there are To Ana'banua living there who will most certainly assist them - for this is to the mutual material advantage of both of them. One obtains much needed labour; the other is provided with food and accommodation until he is able to stand on his own feet. The ties of kinship or local origin on which they base their relationship are not, however, mere fictions veiling naked self-interest, but supply the basis of mutual trust which enables the exchanges of labour and goods between them to give satisfaction to both parties.

Within Ana'banua, people who are well-to-do or hold official positions tend to have a particularly wide range of "active" kin ties, for their kin have an obvious interest in maintaining the relationship in the expectation of both material support and assistance in dealing with officialdom. The man of influence in turn has his prestige enhanced by the existence of a large circle of people - kin and others he has helped - who can be called in to assist him in important undertakings, such as celebrations of the marriages of his children. If a man holds too exalted a position, his kin may feel too siri' (shy or ashamed) to try to activate the relationship. Thus, one kinswoman of the Camat of Maniangpajo told me she had never talked to him; she was "afraid of him, because we are ordinary people".

The Household

The intermingling of self-interest with customary obligations may be discerned even within the household. The married daughter who continues to live with her parents is not only a dutiful and loving child; she also earns

the right to inherit their house. A recently married couple may spend a year or more alternating between his natal home and hers; but their final choice of residence - with, or near, her parents or with his - is determined largely by the advantage, in terms of access to land, which will accrue to them through choosing to associate themselves more closely with one set of parents. (Often, in fact, they need make no choice, if their parents are close kin and neighbours. Often too, material self-interest is no match for sentiment, and a wife will refuse to leave her mother to settle in her husband's village - a common cause for divorce.)

The majority of households contain a nuclear family, for a young couple generally try to establish a home of their own within two or three years of their marriage - although in general at least one child, usually the youngest daughter, never leaves the parental home. As the years go by, a household tends to expand - not only through the birth of children but also through the absorption of dependent kin. Younger siblings may come to stay after the death of their parents, or while attending school if this is impossible in their own village. People whose families have grown too large, or are very poor, or who wish to remarry, often send some of their children to live with kin who have no children or are prepared to take in more. Children are very often brought up by their grandparents, an arrangement which relieves the strain on their mother and ensures that elderly people rarely lack company. Not only childless people foster children; if a couple have children too young to help their parents, or all of one sex, they often ask siblings or other kin to lend them a child to fill in the gap in their household.

La Dako told me that his wife's thirteen-year old niece was living with them, although her mother was still alive and living in Belawa. He explained: "We called her to come to us because there is no daughter in the house". He has two sons, aged 5 and 9 (Ana'banua, May 1972).

Children not only make a home seem more alive; they are also an asset in domestic organisation, running messages and buying small items in the market; the boys helping to chop wood or carry water from the river, the girls from an early age sharing in the cooking and cleaning. They also begin to help their parents economically; often, from their early teens, girls learn to weave and boys start to work with their fathers or uncles in the fields - sometimes going out to the sawah or dare' (gardens) in the evening, after school. Indeed, some boys never go to school, but become herders of water-buffalo (penggembala kerbau).

Penggembala are usually just children. They are usually dumb or not sufficiently able to go to school. Those who are able are not allowed (to become penggembala). They look after as many as 10 animals; most look after two (Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua).

La Ummung's wife's sister's son looks after his 11 kerbau - they include four calves. He says the boy "should be at school but does not want to go. He can't say 'r', so he has not made it to school".

Other boys never go to school because their families need them to go out and make a living for themselves. Thus, one farmer owning over three hectares of sawah - a lot for one man to work - had a seventeen-year old boy from another village (Impa2) staying with him, as a member of his household.

"He's not a relative but he usually lives here. After the harvest, he returns to Impa2; when it's time to begin work in the sawah again, he comes back here". He is paid in sheaves of rice for his work. He has never been to school because "when he was only small, he often went out to the sawah".

Household Composition and Size

According to the census records for Ana'banua, the average household contains just over five members, but there is a variation in size from only one to as many as fifteen household members registered (see Table III). In fact the household of the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola (who lives in Ana'banua although his wanuwa lies to the north) frequently consists of more than twenty members: relatives, other dependents, servants, and members of the religious sect which he leads. Wealthy people, particularly of the noble-official class, often have households swollen with numerous dependent kin and with the children of poor folk who act as unpaid servants, although they are always referred to as "foster-children". The wife of the Camat Maniangpajo, who had several such children in the house, said that they were "easily ordered to do things", while her own children were too naughty to help in the house. In the houses of many high nobles in the capital of Wajo', Séngkang, the children of poorer kin from distant villages are supplied with free board and lodging while they attend secondary school; in return they do most of the domestic work of the household. Often the people who help in a noble household are clearly the descendants of former slaves, although few people like to admit this. They are frequently the children of the wet-nurse of the master or mistress of the house and therefore saudara sesusu (siblings of one milk). Thus, although their relationship with the family they serve is one of dependence and inferiority, it is often also marked by affection and even by almost total absorption into the family circle.

Not all large households belong to the rich and noble. Families tend to go through a cycle of expansion, as children are born and dependants acquired, and then of contraction when children marry and move into their own homes and older dependents die. My sample group of 72 households had an average size of 5.5 members, and a range of from two to ten (see Table IV).

TABLE III. HOUSEHOLD SIZE : ANA'BANUA VILLAGE

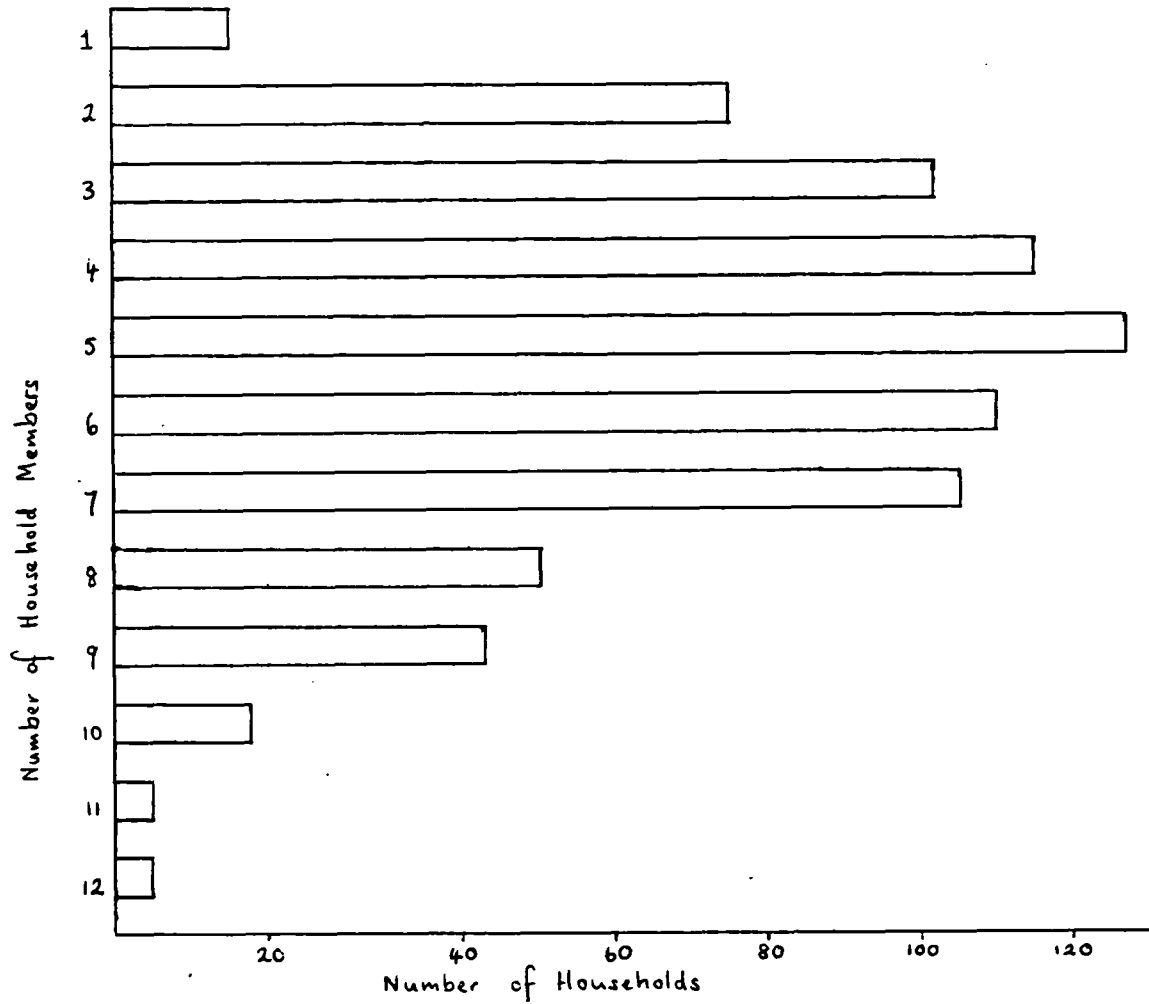
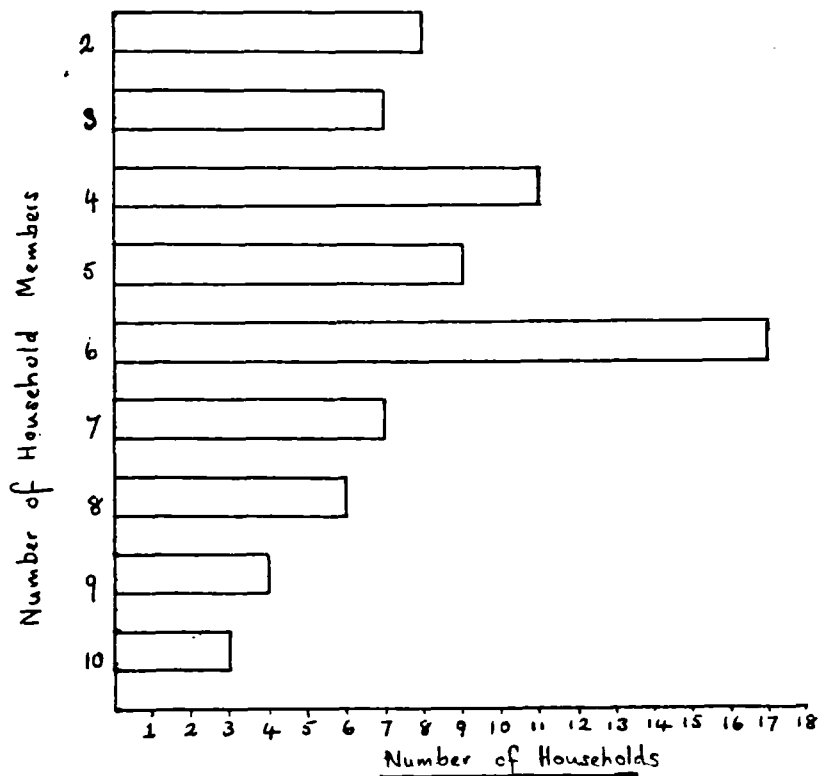


TABLE IV. HOUSEHOLD SIZE : SAMPLE GROUP



Of the seven largest households - with nine to ten members - three were the result of unusually prolific marriages: one couple - not particularly well-off - had eight children, aged from 14 years down to one month; the two other couples had six children apiece, with an even wider age span (one to 21 years, and four to 25 years respectively). In view of the very early age of marriage, until recently often before a girl had reached puberty, it is perhaps only surprising that more people do not have such numerous offspring, but in fact families tend to be quite small, partly because infant mortality is high, but also because many people have only one or two children in the whole of their married lives. The sample group had an average of only 2.2 children per household.

It seems possible to me that the apparently low fertility of Bugis women may well be due to ill-health - malaria is rife, everyone has worms, and outbreaks of cholera are not uncommon - and also to a poor and ill-balanced diet. Gourou (1961:72) remarks that lack of vitamin E and calcium has been advanced as a cause of the low fertility of Hausa women. It is possible that dietary deficiencies may also have such an effect in Ana'banua. It is interesting to note that while wealthy people, who could afford to eat plenty of fish, poultry and eggs, had large numbers of children, several of the poorest families had also produced numerous apparently healthy offspring: I suspect that this is due to the fact that, lacking the land or the cash to live on a basic diet of rice (supplemented with maize) like other people, they were forced to produce vegetables, ground-nuts and bananas in their garden-plots or in dare' (ladang or shifting fields) in the hills, and thus had a much more nutritious diet than many apparently better-off fellow-villagers.

Large households are also to be found where a son or daughter has married, and perhaps had a child, while several younger unmarried siblings also remain at home. This is a transitional stage, for usually the married child and his or her spouse sooner or later establish their own home; the same process will be followed with the younger children, until in the end only one married child remains at home. An older married child may, however, remain at home for some time if his or her siblings are too small to be able to give much assistance to their parents.

Hajji has a stall in the pasar and also works his father's sawah at Buloe. His eldest child, a son, is married to a relative and they have a baby daughter. This son helps his father in the pasar and with farming. The younger children are aged only six to twelve years.

If a couple have no sons, they are also generally anxious to keep their married daughters at home, as they are often dependent on the assistance of

the daughters' husbands to work their sawah. For this reason, they may be prepared to marry a daughter to a comparatively poor kinsman, knowing that he will then be eager to stay with them in order to have access to their land. In general, married daughters remain at home rather more often than married sons for the bond between a girl and her mother is very strong.

Several of the larger households in fact consist of several smaller family units which for various reasons have gathered together, sometimes as a result of adversity.

La Goga (one of the household heads chosen at random for the sample survey) was difficult to find; his house, a small ramshackle bamboo hut was deserted. A neighbour thought he had moved to Boné a fortnight before, but fortunately he had not gone so far. As we eventually found out, he and his family had all moved to the house of his son-in-law, La Baba, because La Goga's wife was sakit² (constantly ill). La Goga and La Baba both work for the P.U. (public works' department) as labourers. There are now ten people living in La Baba's small thatched bamboo hut - no bigger than his father-in-law's abandoned house, although rather less derelict. La Baba and his wife have three children and his old mother also lives with them. La Goga and his wife have two younger children. They all share the small amount of income received.

Quite large compound households often also form when a divorced or widowed woman and her children either rejoin her parents or set up house with one of her siblings and his or her family. Sometimes several siblings and their children live together.

Marauleng is a widow with two children. She lives with her three sisters in a large house in the Lompoé part of the village. One of the sisters is also widowed, with no children; another is married with one child; the youngest is still unmarried. The four sisters between them own four hectares of sawah (this is a fair amount of land), which is worked by Marauleng's brother-in-law and her eldest son. She herself is a trader in sarungs, and travels widely throughout the province. Two of her sisters weave. All income is shared between them.

This appears to be another example of choosing as a husband a relative who has little or no land, and is therefore quite happy to work the land of his affines, to everyone's mutual satisfaction.

The developmental cycle of the domestic group in Bugis society is such that, despite the changes in the composition of the household through the years, it almost always manages to contain at least two generations and rarely shrinks in size to less than four members. At the beginning of the cycle, a young couple setting up house for the first time rarely do so alone: they often already have one or more children of their own before they leave their parents' home, and they are frequently accompanied in the new venture by some other kin, most commonly by a younger sibling or by a sibling's child, to assist the wife at home or the husband in the fields, and to provide

TABLE V: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION: SAMPLE GROUP

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
(1) couple	3	4
(2) nuclear family	26	36
(3) nuclear family + dependent parent(s)	8	11
(4) couple + married child(ren)	10	14
(5) nuclear family + other kin	8	11
(6) patrifocal	2	3
(7) simple matrifocal	10	14
(8) compound matrifocal	2	3
(9) compound	3	4
	72	100

Notes

Nuclear family: Two of these households also include foster children, in one case the wife's niece and nephews (children of a sister who has remarried), in the other case a cousin's son who is attending secondary school.

Dependent parent(s): This is nearly always the wife's mother.

Couple + married child(ren): Seven married daughters live with their parents: one household has two married daughters and their husbands and children living at home; two households include married daughters and their children whose husband/father has emigrated. Four married sons and their wives and children live with their parents. All but one of the ten households in this category consist of three generations. The exception is a household where a son married quite recently; he still lives mainly with his parents and younger sister; his wife stays with him for short periods but spends most of her time in her parents' house in another wanuwa.

Nuclear family + other kin: These include younger siblings, aunts, a nephew and a grandmother.

Simple matrifocal: These consist of a woman (divorced or widowed) and her children, sometimes with other dependents. The two compound matrifocal households each consist of a widow and her child with a younger sister's nuclear family.

Compound: These are: (i) the nuclear families of a brother and sister, their widowed mother, and another sister (whose husband has emigrated) and her children; (ii) a nuclear family which has been joined by the nuclear family of the wife's parents; (iii) a man, whose family is in Jambi, sharing a house with a cousin and her husband.

companionship. Privacy and solitude are not highly valued in Bugis society: in general, the more congenial people there are around, the happier most families seem to be. Gradually the actual membership of the family shifts: the wife's elderly mother, widowed or separated from her husband, may join them; various other kin come to stay for longer or shorter periods; as children grow up, they marry and sometimes bring their spouses to live with them. Eventually, they are left with only one child still at home, usually already married. By the time the old couple die a new developmental cycle is already underway.

This is the normal and the ideal pattern, but of course it does not always work out that way (see Table V). There are cases of old couples left alone, because all their children have emigrated. More frequently, women are widowed or divorced or left behind when a husband emigrates; if they lack close kin they can or wish to join, they must fend for themselves and their children as best they can. In the sample group, 17 per cent of households were headed by women, most of them widows with a child or children, sometimes with a mother or other elderly relative living with them, or a sibling's child or grandchild staying with them while attending school (for Ana'banua is unusually well equipped with schools).

Men and Women, Husbands and Wives

The household is the unit both of production and consumption. There is a clear division of labour between husband and wife, the husband devoting himself to agriculture, or less frequently to trade or paid employment, while the wife cares for the house and the children, and often spends much of her day weaving sarongs to supply her family's cash needs. Agricultural labour is considered work for men and a wife is not expected to work in the fields except at harvest time - and would strongly resent being asked to help in rice-cultivation. (A friend from Ana'banua who accompanied me to a Makassarese village, at Malino in the mountains near Makassar, was shocked to see women hard at work transplanting rice-seedlings. She said a Bugis woman would ask for a divorce rather than tolerate such treatment).

Women here don't work if they don't want to. They often go harvesting, but they don't work like a man. It is not like East Java, or Bali, where the women work and the men rest - spend their time gambling and chatting. Here the men have to work and the women don't (Andi' Zainal Abidin).

In fact, of course, many women do of necessity work quite hard, mainly as weavers. In poorer families, women also frequently look after the gardens around their houses, work ladang with their husbands or children, and help to plant dry-season crops, such as maize and ground-nuts, in the fields. The point to be made perhaps is that while Bugis women often work extremely

hard, their husbands work as hard or harder, and the idea of leaving most of the labour of production to their wives would be inconceivable to them.

Before marriage, a Bugis girl leads a somewhat sheltered life; she rarely goes out unaccompanied and is never allowed to speak to a man alone unless he is a very close kinsman. After she has been married - even if the marriage is almost immediately dissolved - her status is transformed.

The status of women is higher here than in Europe, after marriage. A wife has the same rights as her husband. She has the right to sell and buy anything she likes - she can buy a car without her husband's consent. The woman holds the money: a man must give all his salary to his wife, otherwise she suspects he has taken another wife. Here both father and mother are head of the family (Andi' Zainal Abidin).

Thus a Bugis woman, once she is married, is in a remarkably independent position. She retains ownership of any property which she brings into the marriage (as the husband does of his own individual property), and she has equal rights with the husband in any property acquired during the course of their marriage. If a divorce occurs, the wife is given trusteeship of this acquired property for her children; thus the husband must leave his house and much of his property behind on divorce. If there are no children, the acquired property is divided equally between the couple.

Polygyny, while permitted by Islam, is very rare: there were only three cases I ever heard of where Ana'banua men had two wives, although there were also a few cases of poorer women who had become the second wives of men who most of the time lived elsewhere with their first wives. In general, if a man expresses the wish to take a second wife, or secretly marries a second time, the original wife will demand a divorce and be freely granted one by the Religious Affairs Division of the kecamatan. (Indeed, in the divorce records of the division, one of the commonest reasons given for divorce is: "tidak rela dimadu" - not prepared to become a co-wife). Often, however, the threat of divorce will deter the husband from remarriage. If he goes ahead and takes a second wife, he frequently soon regrets his decision.

Ballahu married I Makkawaru in 1949 and they lived with her parents in Callacu. Later he worked in the civil defense at Kalola (a few kilometers to the north), where he met and married another woman; but he divorced her after only three years because his former wife, I Makkawaru, "was unhappy he had another wife, she was always angry, so he divorced the other wife. Now everything is peaceful again".

Rarely - very rarely - a wife is pleased if her husband remarries: I knew of one case where a woman was frequently ill and was quite happy to live peacefully with her children while her husband took a second, much younger wife.

The divorce rate, as indicated by the statistics for the kecamatan of

Maniangpajo as a whole, is not particularly high compared with, say, the Malay divorce rate in Singapore of at least 50 divorces registered each year for every 100 marriages (Djamour, 1965:117): in Maniangpajo, there is a divorce rate (1962-71) of 22 divorces for every 100 marriages registered each year. However, these figures probably underestimate the rate of marital breakdown, since they do not take into account men who desert their wives, or separate from them by mutual agreement, and do not bother to record a divorce. Such separations quite often occur when a man wishes to emigrate to Sumatra or elsewhere and his wife is reluctant to part from her mother and other kin.

Although not all women are equally independent and strong-willed, many have very powerful personalities and exercise a considerable influence over their husbands: indeed the wife of one high Wajo' official I knew was consulted by her husband not only about all family and social matters, but even about the affairs of his administrative division - and her advice almost invariably prevailed, for she was an extremely intelligent and able person. Women to a great extent have their own society: a close circle of intimates, consisting always of their mothers, usually of their sisters, and often of cousins and other female kin. They also frequently can achieve a measure of financial independence, through the exercise of the traditional female skill of weaving, and also through small-scale trade.

The question which arises then is: to what extent are men marginal to a matrifocal system? I do not believe that they are. While women can, if forced by necessity, manage on their own, their lives are far from easy, and it is not, I think, in general a choice that they would lightly make. A man is useful around the house, to help with chores such as bringing water and with minding the children - for fathers spend a great deal of time with their children; more importantly, a man alone can work sawah. If a woman has sawah of her own, she can let it out under a share-cropping arrangement; if she has none, she is dependent on her husband, or son, or brother, to sharecrop the land of others. A landless woman, who lacks an adult man to help her in this way, can obtain the rice she needs only by harvesting (for which payment is made in kind) or by earning the money to buy it.

But apart from the economic interdependence of men and women, many marriages seem to be close and happy ones, providing not merely economic security but also a warm companionship. That marriage and family life is highly valued is perhaps most convincingly demonstrated by the fact that families almost invariably emigrate as a whole; if the husband goes on ahead, his main endeavour is to earn enough money to bring out his wife and children to join him. While cases do not infrequently occur of men leaving their wives - sometimes because the wife herself does not wish to go - and remarrying

in Sumatra, the man who emigrates in order to improve the future for his family as a whole is a far more common occurrence.

In summary, the division of labour between men and women ensures that marriage is a relationship which is mutually convenient - quite apart from any emotional satisfactions it may bring. On the other hand, the fact that women are often the major cash-earners - through their weaving - gives them a potential independence which ensures that they can never be treated as mere drudges by their men, nor forced to suffer that worst of indignities - a co-wife. Their independent position is further safeguarded by the rights that the ade' (customary law) gives them: to equal inheritance with their siblings of their parents' property, and to personal ownership of any property which they bring into their marriage. A woman need never fear that divorce will strip her of all that she possesses, for her rights are clearly defined and inalienable.

The relative independence of women and the flexible composition of the household are both factors which may not cause but certainly facilitate emigration. Sometimes a man can only afford to pay his own fares to Jambi or he may prefer to go there first alone to see what the opportunities are for making a better living. Sometimes too men go to Sumatra simply to trade, with no intention of staying there for any more time than it takes to dispose of their goods. In all these cases, their wives and children remain behind and are usually incorporated into the households of parents or siblings, although occasionally they may continue to live alone in their own house - but then close kin will often move in with them to keep them company. Such denuded families usually seem to cope very well in the absence of their husband and father. One excellent informant (Guru Pangerang) told me that if a man decides to merantau alone, his wife does not miss him. He explained it thus:

People don't merantau for recreation - they merantau to work. At four in the morning, a man is already up, and it is evening before he comes home. He goes to sleep straight away. His wife too is busy with her housework and with weaving. They are too busy - there is no time to think about sex. If the husband is going to merantau, the wife is told: If you hope for another man, presently the padi will fail; if you go with someone else, Sangyang Seri (the goddess of the padi) will be angry.

So the wife waits patiently for her husband and is reconciled to his absence by the companionship of her own close kin - with whom she would probably in any case have spent more time than with her husband.

Even where a wife does accompany her husband to Sumatra, the tradition of family solidarity still plays a useful part, often enabling some of their children or other dependents to be left behind with kin - at least until they

have established themselves in their new home. On arrival in Jambi, the sense of mutual dependence of close kin makes it possible for them automatically to be integrated within the household of a sibling, cousin or other kin already living there. In this way, kin ties smooth the way for the emigrant rather than binding him irrevocably to his home village as is the case in centripetal societies, such as Bali.

Village Life and Religion

Social relationships within Ana'banua are expressed mainly through intensive visiting, often daily, of close kin and other intimates, and through participation in life-crisis celebrations, which are not only important social functions but are also ritual imperatives. The religion of most of the people of Ana'banua is a syncretic version of Islam: even the most highly educated still preserve many elements of the older religion which venerated and feared the ancestors, seeking to avert their vengeance by the performance of a wide range of intricate and scarcely understood rituals. At life-crisis celebrations, held in every home on the occasion of births, circumcisions, marriages and deaths, Islamic and customary beliefs are combined without any sense of incongruity or sacrilege; Muslim prayers and readings from the life of the prophet often precede the making of offerings to the ancestors.

The To Tenrita (invisible ones) - ancestors, and other spirits - are easily angered and their wrath has constantly to be averted by the meticulous observance of the numerous rituals laid down by custom. The commonest explanation for why a ritual is performed, or why particular objects and procedures are used in the ritual, is that this is what the ancestors used to do, and they would be displeased if their descendants were to deviate from the correct forms. Offerings are made to the To Tenrita of sokko patanrupa (rice of four colours) - glutinous rice, black, white and dyed yellow and red - and of benno (popcorn), betel, and other foods. Although these offerings are in fact eaten by the participants in the ritual, the spirits are said to "sniff" the food, and to be content.

The ancestors and other spirits are not only placated but also bribed:

Petta Cannu (the Canat's wife) says it is contrary to religion for people to promise to perform something if their prayers are answered. But often people do berniat (intend, aim, wish) in this way; for example, they will promise on the top of Pattirosompe (the conical hill above Séngkang) that if their wish is fulfilled, they will kill or release a hen or a goat on the summit (Ana'banua, May 1971).

Nowadays sacrifices are prohibited by the government as being un-Islamic, but other offerings are still made, not only of food but also of ritually significant acts.

In April 1971, I climbed with a friend to the top of Pattirosompe. While we were recovering from the strain of the climb, we saw a party of women and children coming up the same almost perpendicular path which had nearly been the death of us. One young woman was carrying a baby. It seemed that the baby had been seriously ill and she had vowed that, if it recovered, she would bring it to the top of Pattirosompe to mattojang (swing). An old woman poured some water over a large stone on the peak, which she said was used for making wishes. Then she drove a hook into the wooden roof of the hut on the summit, hung a sarong from it and placed the baby inside for a few minutes, swinging it very gently.

There are many similar shrines - sacred stones, trees, hills - where people can go to make a covenant with the spirits. These places are often known by the name of the mythical hero with whom they are associated, often by a royal title: Puang or Petta. Thus there is a sacred mountain near Kalola (to the north of Ana'banua) called Puang Massora:

People go to the mountain to ask for their desires. For example, if I make a wish to have a child, I promise that presently when this is accomplished, I will sacrifice a goat on the mountain. There is a stone there where people pray for things. They also go there if they want to merantau (Juliati).

Only the name of the spirit of the place is known; all details of his life and deeds have long been forgotten.

During the rebellion the guerillas pursued a fanatical attack on all un-Islamic customs, and destroyed many sacred places. Since the return of peace, the government has often been equally unsympathetic to many of the old rituals, considering them to be signs of superstition and backwardness. For this reason, many of the old agricultural festivals and communal rituals are no longer held, particularly in major centres of government, such as Ana'banua and Gilireng.

I Rabi's father was formerly Matowa, head of the farmers. When it was time to begin work in the sawah, the Kepala Kampung (village head) would instruct the Matowa to summon all the farmers to manré sipulu - to eat together. They would kill a water-buffalo, goats. The farmers would give rice and money to buy a water-buffalo. Everyone could eat, but the farmers paid the expenses. This has not happened again since the Japanese came.

At this time, everyone would pray that the harvest would be a successful one, and promise the spirits that they would hold a great festival of celebration. If the rice-crop was good, buffalo, goats and chickens were killed and eaten by the villagers, and traditional games were held: mappadendang (girls in traditional costume pounding imaginary rice), mattojang (swinging), sila' (a kind of fencing). If the harvest failed, there was no celebration, for the spirits were considered to have broken their side of the bargain.

In 1970 there was an unusually good harvest, so good in fact that it was said that people had often not bothered, through sheer boredom, to harvest all the crop. Some people had obtained 12 tons of paddy from one hectare of

sawah (this seems unbelievable and is certainly an exaggeration). As a result, the Kepala Daerah Wajo' had announced that a pesta rakyat (people's festival) would be held in Ana'banua, the capital of Maniangpajo, since this kecamatan had exceeded all others in rice-production that year. In fact, for various reasons the festival was never held: first Séngkang, the capital of Wajo' was partially razed by fire, then the General Elections had to be organised. The reasons may have been valid, but the people of Ana'banua considered them to be no excuse for breaking a vow: the failure of the rains and ensuing drought in 1971 was almost universally attributed to the failure to hold the promised thanksgiving celebrations. Some people carried their attack (although it was never expressed openly) to a general criticism of the neglect of traditional planting and harvest festivals. One haji, a returned migrant, claimed: "Formerly the rains never failed at the time for working the sawah. Now, because there is no longer unity of the people, since the beginning of the rebellion there has never been a successful harvest". Similarly, in neighbouring Gilireng, the refusal of the Kepala Wanuwa to perform the traditional annual ceremony of carrying the arajang (regalia) of the royal house of Gilireng around the village is held to be the cause of various disasters from fires to crop-failure. (The Kepala Wanuwa told me that no such ceremony is conducted in other villages, so he feels ashamed to celebrate it there, in case they are condemned by others).

The discontinuance of the traditional agricultural festivals means that there are no longer any communal ritual activities to encourage a feeling of community solidarity and to break down the barriers between kinship-neighbourhood clusters. A notable feature of Ana'banua village is therefore an almost complete lack of community identity, although there is some identification with the wanuwa of Ana'banua as a whole: thus people of the wanuwa - all of whom are known as To Ana'banua - are seen as possessing certain characteristics in common (for example, their peacefulness is contrasted with the thievery and violence of the To Gilireng, the people of the wanuwa of Gilireng). Another important consequence of the failure to hold harvest festivals today may be a growing lack of confidence of many people in the future of the area: cajolery of the spirits through such rituals was a means of guarding against the vagaries of nature; deprived of this device, they are defenceless and exposed to all the whims and caprices of the spirits. This situation may soon change, for many villages around Ana'banua have begun to celebrate planting and harvest again in the old manner, while other people organise private festivals of thanksgiving which kin and neighbours are invited to attend. The government too appears to be relaxing its disapproval of the old customs - it was rumoured that they too

were worried that the prolonged drought in Wajo' might be due to neglect of the correct observances. In the meantime, many people - farmers with no crop to care for - have lost heart and left for Sumatra.

Islam and Non-Islam

The devout Muslims of Ana'banua fall into two major sects, which view each other with a certain amount of mutual suspicion and contempt, although there is no open hostility between their members: close kin may be adherents of different sects and at most times of the year the more fervent attend the mosque together. During the fasting month, separate services are conducted, but many people attend both varieties, for they are regarded as social as well as religious occasions. The Aliran Chalwatiah, an ecstatic Sufi order, is particularly strong within Ana'banua, where the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola is its leader (chalifah) as his father, the Arung Ana'banua was before him. Adherents of this sect claim that 75-80 per cent of the village population are members, but my survey of the village revealed that it is predominant only within the village centre, and that the "fringe-dwellers" know little of it - or indeed of Islam in general. The Mohammadiyah, a puritan Muslim sect, has a far smaller number of members, mostly drawn from the village intelligentsia (teachers and civil servants) and traders. (In the survey group, 41 per cent of households were Chalwatiah, 49 per cent were Muslims of no particular sect, and only 3 per cent were Mohammadiyah).

Not all the people of the wanuwa of Ana'banua are even nominal Muslims. To the south of Ana'banua village lies Bulosé, where 80 per cent of the population - more than 800 people - follow the Pattalotang religion. (Three per cent of households in the Ana'banua survey were adherents). The theory of this religion is in fact almost identical with the practice of most Muslims in the wanuwa. Indeed, the Pattalotang appear effectively to be a ritual descent group, consisting of all the bilateral descendants of a certain prophet or culture-hero who laid down the ritual procedures that his descendants should follow. The group is defined by religious belief rather than by descent, but in practice its members were all born into Pattalotang families and conversion (usually of the Muslim spouses of members) is a rare occurrence. The group tends to be endogamous, most members marrying either within the village or with people from the few other areas where the cult is found.

Apart from their rejection of Islam, the Pattolotang of Bulosé are remarkably similar to another ritual descent group, that of Petta Bila. The Kepala Wanuwa of both Ana'banua and Kalola (they are first cousins) are members of this group, which consists of all the bilateral descendants of Petta Bila, the prince of Bila; they are under an obligation to perform the

ritual of "reading" the arajang (specified ritual objects) whenever some event of moment, such as a wedding or a death, occurs within the group. Both the Pattolotang and the descendants of Petta Bila also have the custom of frequently visiting the grave of their founding father - usually once a year - to clean the gravestone and eat a ritual meal together.

The Pattolotang have registered their religion as "Hindu", although they freely admit that it is no such thing. Official recognition as followers of one of the "great religions" - apart from Islam - enables them to escape from the persecution they at one time endured, being forced, for instance, to be married by an Islamic official according to the rites of Islam. After the appointment of the Camat in office at the time of my stay, this policy was no longer followed, for his wife herself had many close kin who were Pattalotang and they therefore adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the group and its religious beliefs.

Village Specialists

There are a few craftsmen (panre) in the village - goldsmiths, carpenters, dressmakers - but most of the specialists of Ana'banua have quasi-religious or religious functions. The mosque officials - the Imam, Khatib and Bilal - are employed by the government and, besides their duties at the mosque, they officiate at weddings and read Islamic scriptures and say prayers at rituals, receiving a small fee for their services. More traditional specialists are the sanro' (dukun in Indonesian) and the calabai. Sanro' are men or, more usually, women who are skilled in healing with charms and incantations, who are experts in arranging rituals, or less frequently are skilled sorcerers. Those sanro' who are healers often also act as local midwives. There is one trained midwife in the village but the services of the sanro' are cheaper, and they provide additional magical protection - through rituals and the making of a special amulet for the new-born infant. The government recognises the importance of these local midwives and has introduced a training programme for them. One of the sanro' of Ana'banua, a jolly, middle-aged woman, had attended a midwifery course in Séngkang and proudly displayed her certificate and the book in which details of all births attended by her are recorded - by her daughter since she herself is illiterate.

Calabai are transvestities who fulfil important functions in Bugis society. They appear to have been the priests of the pre-Islamic religion, and some of the calabai of Séngkang and Watan Soppeng (the capital of Soppeng daerah) and other large towns still perform as spirit mediums at special rituals to placate ancestral spirits; these ritual specialists are known as bissu and use a special language, basa bissu, when they are in trance. Some calabai are also sanro'. Most calabai today are experts in wedding ceremonial

or act as cooks at large parties of the aristocracy, mainly those given to celebrate a wedding. There are also calabai who perform as professional dancers at ceremonies and festivals; these dress entirely in female attire, in contrast to the calabai who are bissu or experts in wedding ritual, whose dress is a mixture of male and female attributes (sarong tied in the female way but worn with a man's shirt instead of a woman's kebaya).

There are three calabai in Ana'banua. La Tikka ("La" is the title of a male commoner) is an old man - proud, crusty and rather lonely, always happy to find someone willing to listen to his tales of the wonders of former times; he was the household manager of the establishment of the Arung Gilireng (the prince of Gilireng, the former principedom lying to the east of Ana'banua). He is an acknowledged expert on wedding ceremonial and traditional dances and songs, and is called in to preside over the weddings of many of the highest nobility of Wajo'. On these occasions he is paid a high fee - Rp. 20,000 or more - but there are only a few such weddings each year, and usually only in the "wedding season" following the harvest; the rest of the year he lives on his savings and by doing a little sewing.

La Fa'go and his former disciple Safira are expert cooks who prepare food for most of the larger weddings in Ana'banua and surrounding areas. La Fa'go is a tall, gaunt, haughty man, dressed entirely in women's clothes and with a cascade of long hair which he constantly sweeps impatiently into a loose bun. He is a renowned sorcerer, often consulted by young men whose suits have been rejected and who seek in revenge to prevent their loved ones from being married to others; conversely his aid is sought by parents whose daughters have failed to marry and who suspect that they may have been "locked" in this way. In late 1971, La Fa'go and Safira returned to Ana'banua after a year in Jambi, where great profits can apparently be made by calabai, since weddings there are conducted on a grand scale and great efforts are made to ensure adherence to traditional ceremonial - which the calabai alone are held to know in full. In January 1973, I came across La Fa'go again in Jambi: he was planning to stay there during the harvest season - the time of weddings - and to return to Ana'banua later in the year to catch the wedding season there too.

Earning a Living

In the entire wanuwa of Ana'banua, according to the Kepala Wanuwa, 90 per cent of those who work are petani (farmers). These include both pa'galung, cultivators of galung or sawah, and pa'dare', who work dare' or ladang (shifting fields). The remaining ten per cent consist of traders (five per cent), civil servants (two to three per cent) and the rest are coolies. In the village of Ana'banua, the emphasis on agriculture is not quite so pronounced.

TABLE VI: MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF SAMPLE GROUP

Type of Occupation	Women		Men		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture:						
Pa'galung	-	-	46	52	46	22
Pa'dare'	10	8.5	3	3	13	6.5
Total farmers	10	8.5	49	55	59	28.5
Weaving	40	34	-	-	40	19
Trade	7	6	8	9	15	7.5
Civil Servants and Teachers	3	7	7	8	10	5
Labourers	-	-	9	10	9	4
Penggembala sapi	-	-	6	7	6	3
Sewing	3	2.5	-	-	3	1.5
Other	3	2.5	7	8	10	5
Total employed:	66	56	86	97	152	73.5
Unemployed	-	-	2	2	2	1
Landlord	-	-	1	1	1	0.5
Domestic duties	52	44	-	-	52	25
Grand total:	118	100	89	100	207	100

NOTES:

In the 72 households surveyed, 118 women and 89 men are employed or available for employment: this latter category consists of all men and women aged 14 years and above, excluding those still at school and the aged and chronically sick. However, two boys under 14 years work as penggembala kerbau, and four schoolboys also work after school hours - one is a pa'dare and the other three are penggembala sapi (cattle herders). These children have also been included in the table.

Pa'dare': In addition to those noted, three penggembala sapi cultivate dare' in their spare time.

Traders: Six pa'galung trade during the dry season: if they were entered as traders, there would be a total of 14 men (nearly 16 per cent of all men) engaged in trade.

Labourers: Five of these work in the rice-mills; the rest work for the P.U. or do casual labouring jobs.

Penggembala sapi: Three of these cattle-herders are schoolboys working in their spare time.

Sewing: One of the pa'galung works as a tailor during the dry season.

Other occupations include: women - two harvesters, one teacher of religion; men - three penggembala kerbau and one each of ahen oto ("motor agent" - see below), bus employee, owner of a brick factory and barber.

Unemployed: One of these is the son of a wealthy civil servant - he has just completed secondary school and is waiting for his father to find him a job; the other is a clothes-presser (tukang seterika) who has moved from Séngkang in search of more profitable employment.

In the sample of 72 households, only about 55 per cent of men were full-time farmers, while 9 per cent were full-time traders, 8 per cent civil servants and 10 per cent labourers (see Table VI). The reason for this more even spread of occupations is the importance of Ana'banua as a centre for local administrative services and trade. Another occupation invariably omitted from estimates of occupational distribution is weaving, the major form of gainful employment for most women and one in which 34 per cent of adult women in the sample were engaged. Weaving is often considered by local officials to be strictly a part-time occupation, a kind of hobby, but as we shall see, it provides the major cash-income for most households, and thus enables the purchase of the numerous items which they are unable to produce for themselves. It is also one means of achieving a small redistribution of income between rich and poor, for real or artificial silk sarongs are one of the few goods the poor produce which the better-off are prepared to pay well for. A few women are also petty traders or shopkeepers, and some make dresses or embroider household linen. Few are engaged in agriculture in Ana'banua village proper, but in hamlets just outside the village, mainly in Massupatédongé, most women help their husbands to work dare' or even open dare' themselves.

Contexts of Employment

The only big employers of paid labour within the village are the government and the rice-mills. Since Ana'banua is the capital of the kecamatan of Maniangpajo, many of the services which the kecamatan provides are centred in the village. Opposite the pasar stand the sprawling white-painted brick offices of the kecamatan, employing 37 civil servants (including officers of the religious affairs division). The same building houses the military command for the kecamatan, for down to the level of the kecamatan every administrative division has its military equivalent. Ana'banua is also a police headquarters, although five of the eight police who make up the kecamatan force live with their families in a government hostel one kilometer to the north of the village, and another two are based in Gilireng. There are four schools within Ana'banua - three primary schools (SD) and one lower secondary school (SMP), the only one in the kecamatan. Between them the schools employ 24 teachers, most of whom live within the village.

Although the government is thus a considerable employer of labour, the opportunities for employment of local people are restricted, for both education and influence are required to obtain such highly-prized jobs. Many of the civil servants and teachers, 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 offices bringing both popular recognition and a relatively high standard of living.

The poorer people of Ana'banua benefit less from opportunities supplied by the kecamatan government than from the road-building programs of the provincial and daerah public works departments, which have in recent years taken on many unemployed local people - usually on a temporary basis - to work as labourers on the roads. La Goga and La Baba, whom we met above, were employees of the Wajo' public works department, receiving an official salary of Rp. 4,000 per month. This compares quite favourably with the salary of a teacher on Rp. 5,000 a month, but it has a drawback: the salary is not necessarily paid regularly each month, and at the time I met them, La Goga and his son-in-law had for some time been paid on a daily basis, which meant that they were only paid when there was work for them to do.

Far more important as employers of labour, and a stop-gap for many poor sharecroppers who have run out of money and rice, are the two big rice-mills. These mills are penggilingan padi, which means that they are capable of threshing rice with straw (padi) as well as polishing rice. There are also numerous smaller mills (penggilingan beras) which handle only beras, rice which has already been threshed by hand. 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, receiving a fixed percentage in payment. If the harvest is poor, many people who would normally bring their rice to be milled prefer to pound it themselves, and the small rice-miller goes out of business. The larger penggilingan beras and the two big 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 western half of the peninsula when the harvest is in full swing there, while planting has just begun in Wajo'. They 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 cheap and other areas where rice-prices are rising in the period of waiting for the rice crop to reach fruition. The largest penggilingan padi belongs to one of South Sulawesi's biggest 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 scale production day and night. It is remarkable for the possession of its own electricity generator, operating machinery and powerful spotlights which bathe the whole compound in brilliant light. It also owns a fleet of trucks which regularly ply the route between Sengkang and Makassar, bringing in fresh supplies of unhusked rice for milling and taking away polished rice for sale in Makassar and other towns.

The rice-mills provide permanent employment for only a small number of people for they tend to take on much casual labour in the peak period of

operations after the harvest in Wajo' and neighbouring Sidrap, and gradually to reduce the number of employees during the year until they are down to a skeleton staff in the few months before the harvest begins. The lucky ones who remain employed by the two big mills throughout the year are in a fairly comfortable position.

La Dado is a pleasant, well-built, self-assured man who worked as a truck-driver in Paré2 during the rebellion. For the last eight years, he has worked in the Lumbung Desa (village granary) rice-mill, managed by Andi' Amin, and is now on the fixed staff, receiving a regular monthly salary of Rp. 3,000. He is overseer of the machinery. He says that Andi' Amin is his punggawa (in the traditional political system of Wajo', the mediator between the common people and their rulers) - I think he simply means that A. Amin is his protector, his patron.

What a salary of Rp. 3,000 means in real terms may readily be demonstrated by calculating La Dado's basic cash requirements. For every family, the first essential of life is rice. La Dado's family consists of his wife, his wife's mother, and his three sons, aged two to seven years. Since an adult male consumes at least 10 kilograms of rice a month, and women and children proportionately less, the total minimum rice requirement for this household may be estimated at 45 kg. per month (see Appendix B). At a fairly constant price of Rp. 26 per kilogram, La Dado would therefore have to spend Rp. 1,170 a month on rice alone - but rice is by far the largest item in the budget of most Bugis, and anything else purchased is optional. Thus, this family has nearly two-thirds of its income free for the purchase of foods and other goods which are seen as extras, rather than as essentials: fish, vegetables, oil, sugar, tea, coffee, condiments, clothing. It is not surprising that they have been able to save enough from La Dado's earnings recently to buy a modest but comfortable and almost-new house, costing Rp. 42,500 - equivalent to well over a year's total income.

At the other end of the scale are the casual employees of the mills, such as La Dado's brother-in-law Ballahu (whose unsuccessful venture into polygyny was described above):

La Ballahu is a cheerful, confident man, married to La Dado's elder sister. He has also lived in Paré2 for some time. Later he worked for the civil defense in Kalola. Since 1968, he has been living in Ana'banua and working at Andi' Amin's rice-mill, as a labourer. He is paid Rp. 100 per day, but the work is not fixed - he only gets paid a wage if there is work for him to do. If there is no work available in the mill, he helps some rich farmers - relatives of his wife at Callacu - and is paid in sheaves of rice, sometimes 100, sometimes 200 sheaves (i.e., 1-2 tons of padi, or unthreshed rice), but in 1970 he only received 30 sheaves (300 kg of padi), so in 1971 he did not bother to work sawah again. His wife is ill and cannot work, but his daughter weaves about two sarongs a month; for each sarong she receives about Rp. 500-600 (a profit of only Rp. 200-300) as she only recently learnt to weave. (A skilful weaver is paid up to Rp. 1,000 per sarong).

Ballahu has a large family of six children, five of whom live at home (a daughter is at school in Séngkang). His monthly rice requirement is a minimum of 55 kg, costing Rp. 1,430 or almost Rp. 50 per day - half of his daily wage, if he is paid. This family thus leads a hand-to-mouth existence. The two eldest sons, aged 12 and 14, have already had to leave school to become *penggembala kerbau* (buffalo-herders), for which they will be paid in much needed rice.

Although the income which most labourers receive from the rice-mills is not adequate to support them and their families throughout the year, it provides a useful source of supplementary earnings. The mills have the great advantage of requiring most labour at times which fit conveniently into the agricultural cycle - usually in the five or six months after the harvest. This enables many landless peasants to spend half the year sharecropping sawah, and the rest of the year working in the rice-mills.

La Cokéng and his wife are both very poor, with no land at all. He was born in Gilireng, she in Lamata' (villages to the east of Ana'banua, in hilly countryside). La Cokéng now sharecrops one hectare of sawah belonging to Petta Bau Maggalatung (one of the highest nobles of Ana'banua) at La-manu-manu - "far away". In 1971, when the harvest failed, he received only one *karung* (basket) of padi, about 100 kg of unthreshed rice, or the equivalent of about 50 kg of milled rice. "Not enough", he commented. When he is not farming, he works in the mill managed by Haji Wacong, the largest one in the village, receiving Rp. 2-3,000 per month.

In 1971, it is clear that, had there not been this additional source of income, La Cokéng and his large family - he has five children under fourteen - would have starved, as their annual rice requirement is 500 kg minimum, or ten times the actual income in rice received.

Apart from the government and the mills, there are no other regular employers of paid labour. Occasionally labourers may be required to carry the goods of merchants into the pasar, to help with house-building, or to fetch wood or water, but these jobs are neither permanent nor well paid: earnings for a full day's work range from Rp. 50 to Rp. 200. Towards the end of my stay in Ana'banua in mid-1972, there was talk of a new factory to be opened by the firm of Haji Beddu Solo' (which owned the large rice mill); this would process *gaplek* (dried cassava) and thus not only provide employment but also a market for an easily produced crop, capable of being grown on poor and badly-watered land.

The growing number of buses and trucks which pass through Ana'banua provide some of the young, unmarried men of the village with an erratic livelihood. These are Ana'banua hippies, mostly the sons of landless widows, who earn a small cash income as *ahen oto* ("motor agents"): their job is to find transport for people wishing to make a trip, usually to Séngkang, Pará2

or Makassar. The employees of the buses (or sometimes trucks) which they stop pay them a small fee - Rp. 25-50 - as a reward for finding customers for the bus service, and as an encouragement to them to recommend this particular bus company to other potential passengers.

The Camat's daughter says Lamma is an ahen oto, as well as doing other odd jobs. He often comes to the house of the Camat to deliver goods. "If someone wants to go somewhere by oto (car, bus, truck), he stops that oto for them. He does all sorts of jobs and stays at different houses every night". ... Lamma often stays in the house of Sitti, an elderly widow. He does not always live here; often he stays in the house of "Pet Aji Ampa" (Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua). Sitti said that if he made some money - Rp. 25, Rp. 50 - he gave it to her for his food. If he doesn't make any money, she still feeds him. She says that he does not like living with his mother or his sister. He is probably a welcome guest in most houses, for he plays the kecapi (a kind of crudely-fashioned lute) and sings long epic tales of events from Ana'banua's recent history.

By mid-1972, seven buses and a "Datsun" (a kind of large motor-car acting as a mini-bus) were travelling between Sengkang and Makassar via Paré2 every day: all of these had to pass through Ana'banua. The village is thus far from isolated and villagers frequently make trips to Paré2 or Makassar, often financing the journey by carrying locally woven sarongs to the city and bringing back Javanese batik cloth and articles of clothing for sale to acquaintances at home. The buses are invariably packed to overflowing as the bus employees make much of their income from the fares of extra undeclared passengers (hence their willingness to give a small commission to the ahen oto who bring them custom). In addition to human cargo, bags of rice, crates of vegetables, chickens, eggs, coconuts and other fruit are crammed into every available space within the bus and piled high on the roof: these are sometimes intended for sale in Makassar but often simply as gifts for relatives there.

Traders Great and Small

After farming and weaving, trade is easily the most important occupation for both men and women. Although it is true that: "Ana'banua does not produce big traders; these are found only in Sengkang" (Kepala Lingkungan Jongkang), there are several traders who are considered to be wealthy by village standards, while many rich landowners become richer still by investing in a little trade on the side. The most extensive and most highly-capitalised trade is carried on by the specialised dealers in rice. These are middlemen who buy threshed or unthreshed rice direct from the farmer (or from a smaller trader), have it milled, and transport it by hired truck to Makassar or Paré2 for resale at a profit - often a very substantial profit.

La Dako is a trader in rice, which he sells to the government. If the government does not want to buy any more, he sells it wherever there is a market for it (for example, in Makassar or Paré2). In 1970, he made a profit of Rp. 50,000. In 1971 (despite the failure of the crop in Ana'banua) his profit was the same; he still made a profit because he bought rice from other districts. He is also one of the largest landowners of the village with 15 hectares of sawah in Lompoé and Kalola, all of which is rented out. He lives in the Lompoé sector of the village, in a large, wooden house with a corrugated iron roof and lots of furniture, all pretty new looking. He also has a rice-mill (a penggilingan beras only) recently built near his house; he says that it does not have much work - "it is just to provide food".

Raufe Ancung takes rice (for sale) to Pare2 and Makassar. Usually his profit is Rp. 25,000 per annum.

Not all traders are so successful. For some it is little more than an enjoyable but not very profitable hobby:

When he was in his teens, Andi' Sinu' visited Jambi three times, each time staying for a year or two; but when he was eighteen, his father called him home and married him to a young girl of higher birth than he, and an only child owning seven hectares of sawah and five hectares of kebun (gardens). Now that he has a family, he no longer goes abroad, but marriage does not seem to have completely cured his wander-lust. He rents out all his wife's sawah, and carries all kinds of agricultural product to Makassar. He usually gives it to a relative who is a makelar (broker) to sell for him. The profits are uncertain: "Sometimes I make a loss, if the price falls; sometimes I make Rp. 2-3,000, but that is almost gone before I come home. There are lots of expenses - what's more, I want to go to the flicks!" In general, he does not think that trade is a profitable occupation.

Many of the wealthier farmers, especially the well-to-do landowners of Lompoé, turn trader during the slack period between harvest and planting (from about October to April). Some deal in rice or other agricultural produce, such as beans, maize and ground-nuts, or in forest products; but many take silk sarongs - for which Wajo' is the chief centre of production - to far-distant parts of South Sulawesi, where they fetch prices three or four times higher than the paltry sum paid to the weaver.

La Dadi, who lives in Lompoé, constantly goes to and fro from here to Bulukumba (in the far south of the peninsula) by motor-bike. He sells sarongs there. They are expensive there; he can get Rp. 2,500 for a synthetic sarong, Rp. 1,800 if he wants to come home and no one has bought it yet. Here the finest sarongs sell for only Rp. 1,000.

Women too become traders in sarongs:

Marauleng sells sarongs in Makassar, Paré2, Pangkajéné. She makes a profit of about Rp. 1,000 a month. When I visited her house in Lompoé in April 1972, she was away; she had gone to Pénrang (to the north of Paré2) for a month to sell sarongs.

Some traders range even further than this, making flying visits to Jambi and

other areas of Bugis settlement (such as Toli2 in northern Sulawesi).

Haji Ko'da was telling me about Lompoé, where he was born and once became Kepala Kampung. He says everyone there is a farmer, a trader or a pa'sompe. There are many hajis. After the harvest, the men go off to trade, to merantau; they take with them tobacco and sarongs. Before planting begins, they come back again. Haji Ko'da only takes two months for the journey there and back. He brings men's shirts, radios and so on back from Jambi. Usually he can make a profit of Rp. 30,000 but often he also makes a loss, if he spends money too freely, or his tobacco is rained on and spoiled.

La Paturusi is a trader who comes and goes to Kampung Laut, in Jambi. He takes tobacco, sarongs and so on with him, and brings back pots and pans, glasses etc. He is 30 now, and began to merantau in about 1960 (when he would have been about 19). His sister-in-law told me: "He's never there for long. If he leaves in the fourth month, he comes back in the eighth". His father is a wealthy landowner, who seems to support most of his children. Thus, La Paturusi's elder brother, La Malaka, is a wood merchant but appears to make very little profit from it. This does not matter too much, as his father supplies them with all the rice they need. His wife and daughter told me: "It is not fixed how many litres of rice he (La Malaka's father) will give us. Sometimes we get 50, sometimes 100 litres. When that's finished we ask for more". La Malaka's father also helped them to build their present large house.

The point which I hope has emerged from these extensive case-histories is that all these traders are rich - at least by village standards. They can afford to take the risks involved in such trade, and they are also not unduly worried if the profits of their ventures are small since they are clearly mainly interested in engaging in work which is exciting, in gaining a varied experience rather than in making a large financial profit. Those who do not have the security of sufficient land to provide for their basic needs cannot afford to enter into speculative trade with other districts or other islands; they must confine their activities to local trade as petty shopkeepers or peddlers in the pasar.

It is impossible to estimate with any certainty the number of families supported wholly or partly by the trade of the market-place, for its trading population constantly fluctuates. Few depend entirely upon an - in general - unprofitable trade for their livelihood.

Hajji is a trader and farmer, with a warung (small shop - really just a stall) in the pasar. At the moment (May 1972) he only sells in the pasar on Wednesdays, because he is working in the sawah. He, his wife and his son are all traders on a small scale. He and his son work one hectare of his father's land, while his wife minds their warung. Their profit is Rp. 200-300 a week: "Only a little because we only buy our goods here, we don't travel around - we have lots of other work to do". Hajji is from Buloé, and his religion is Pattalotang. His father, Singkerru, has a shop near the pasar.

Those who do rely solely upon the trade of the pasar for their living are mainly widows and women deserted by their husbands: they have no other source of income since they have no land to let. These women are the sellers of fruit

and vegetables and the keepers of the numerous coffee-stalls (warung kopi), selling coffee and home-made snacks and cakes. According to the Kapala Wanuwa, these petty traders have no capital of their own; they borrow goods from other people and repay them when they make a sale.

Sakka is a very pretty, pleasant young woman (about 30?), who owns a small, rather dilapidated bamboo coffee-shop in the pasar. She has twice knowingly become the second wife in a polygynous marriage - perhaps a reflection of both her poverty and her looks. Her present husband lives with his first wife at Jalang (on the coast of Wajo'). She lives above the warung with her younger sister (who weaves) and her son by her first marriage. She also supports her very ancient grandmother and two younger half-sisters, who live in a tiny hovel on the outskirts of the village. They have no land and the warung madodongi (slumbers, i.e., it is not flourishing). At the most, she makes Rp. 500 a week.

This sort of very low income seems to be typical of most of the market-sellers. Since all lack capital, they are unable to buy the large range of goods which might attract customers. They become dependent upon building up a relationship with their customers, winning a personal loyalty which will compensate for their inability to offer more and better goods.

Guru Johar (a primary-school teacher) has a special arrangement (langganan) with one of the regular fruit-sellers, who has a permanent stall in the pasar. She regularly buys bananas from her and, if she has no ready cash, pays the fruit-seller only when she receives her salary. The fruit-seller keeps no written record of the debt (she probably cannot write); she simply totals up all the credit-sales in her head. Jo thought she probably would not have such an arrangement with many people - mainly with people on a salary - and would therefore have no trouble recalling such debts.

Buyers are also often quite eager to build up a langganan with traders, since this usually entails small favours such as goods on credit or at a slightly reduced price. Thus, my teenage friend Juli, who did not receive a salary or indeed much money at all, claimed to have a langganan with a seller of bananas and with a stall selling mixed goods, such as soap: she obviously firmly believed she was getting a better price from these traders.

The biggest local traders are the owners of the two permanent shops on the southern front of the pasar (one of them Hajji's father, Singkerru) and the two sellers of és (crushed ice with syrup and fruit), whose warung stand side by side on the main road to Séngkang, facing the market-place. But these traders mostly also own land with which they supplement the erratic income brought by trade in an area where the supply of money fluctuates sharply with the size of the harvest, and a drought ruins not only the farmer but also the trader who supplies him with goods and buys his produce for resale to others.

Weaving

The main cash income of most households is derived from the sale of sarongs, since agricultural production is in general for subsistence only. The making of

sarongs has long been one of the most characteristic features of the Wajo' economy, and a skill for which the women of Wajo' are known throughout South Sulawesi. In 1840, Brooke observed that:

The chief manufacture of the Bugis land is the cloth for sarongs; and on the product of this cloth the families generally obtain what little money they require ... the manufacture is chiefly carried on by females; in every house a number of handlooms being at work (Brooke, 1848:117-8).

The economic importance of weaving in the domestic economy has thus altered little, although there have been changes in technique. In the nineteenth century, the sarongs produced were of cotton, but later the weavers of Wajo' switched to silk, grown mainly in the cooler sub-montane region of Soppeng, to the southwest of Wajo'. In Ana'banua, I knew of only three families who cultivated silk-worms, but so great was the labour of collecting mulberry leaves to feed them that they were able to produce only enough silk to weave sarongs for themselves with no surplus for sale.

Today the majority of weavers make sarongs of imported Japanese artificial silk; these fetch a far lower price than sarongs of real silk, but the yarn is far cheaper and easier to work. In the important weaving centres along the eastern shores of Lake Tépé, such as Impa², numerous small weaving factories (generally family-run) are found; these often have a dozen or more upright looms, operated by a foot-peddle, producing cotton sarongs, in addition to the traditional back-strap looms used for the weaving of fine silk sarongs. In Ana'banua - with one exception - weaving is a small-scale cottage industry, most households possessing one or two back-strap handlooms. A skilled and conscientious weaver can finish a sarong in six days and sell it for Rp. 500 to Rp. 1,000 (for an artificial silk sarong) - a profit of Rp. 200-700 when the cost of the yarn (Rp. 300 per sarong) and perhaps having it dyed by a specialist is subtracted. The poor are regrettably rarely able to find the answer to their economic problems in weaving, since they are often unable to obtain a loom, or if they do possess one they cannot afford the cost of the yarn; they must therefore borrow yarn from a dealer and are then under an obligation to sell him the finished product for a fraction of its true value, often receiving only Rp. 200 in payment for a week's arduous labour.

Although the vast majority of village women know how to weave, far fewer are skilled in dying silk yarn (this is one of the reasons for using artificial silk, which is already dyed). A handful of women - I knew of only three - are specialists in painting designs in dye onto the yarn to be used as the weft; for this they charge a small fee (Rp. 100 in one case). One of these craftsmen, a widow called Pu Benniang, was running a small family business with her daughters when I first met her in early 1971; they dyed yarn,

painted designs - usually patterns of flowers and leaves - onto the weft and themselves wove sarongs on back-strap looms. By early 1972, Pu Benniang had expanded her business and had six upright, foot-operated looms in operation, weaving silk sarongs at the rate of one sarong in two days, compared with a minimum completion time of six days for a handwoven sarong. This gives some indication of how profitable production of sarongs can be. Indeed, if a family has no land to work itself or to let, and no adult male to sharecrop the land of another, weaving may be the sole source of livelihood; this applies particularly to the numerous households consisting of only adult women (often sisters or a mother and her daughters), all the men of the family having died, or married another wife, or emigrated.

A Minimal Cash Economy and Migration

Ana'banua, like most of the rural areas of South Sulawesi, has an economy which has been highly monetarised for well over a century, and in which cash is required to buy many of the necessities of life and all of its comforts; and yet the opportunities of earning a living outside agriculture are strictly limited. As we shall see in Chapter V, agriculture too is unproductive, and the only people who can make a profit from it are the large landowners with many hectares of sawah at their disposal. For most peasant-farmers, agriculture is strictly a subsistence activity, and one which to many seems to involve too much hard work for too little benefit. When they see that months of hard labour from dawn till dusk can at best feed them, but leave no surplus for any of the good things of life; when at the same time they hear stories from returned migrants of the wealth to be earned by honest toil in the rantau, it is small wonder that many become dissatisfied with the limited penny-pinching world of Ana'banua and yearn for the more affluent existence of the pa'sompe.

Before we go on to see how the majority of people in Ana'banua - the farming families - make a living, and how the discontent of many crystallises in a decision to emigrate, it is important to consider in detail the status system of Wajo' and Ana'banua, and the ways in which the concept of rank is manifested in kinship and marriage, and in the political system. For the rigidities of the ranking system also play their part in encouraging many people to transfer the scene of their endeavours and their hopes to Sumatra.

CHAPTER III: SOCIAL STATUS AND KINSHIP

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 (and often end) 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 their families belonging to different status categories - for these categories are not endogamous groups. Thus in order adequately to explain the system of kinship and marriage to be found in a Bugis village, such as Ana'banua, it is essential first to describe the complicated system of ranks which form part of the ideology of Bugis society, and to see how this ideology of rank in practice affects social relations within Ana'banua.

It is significant that the only three extensive works dealing with the societies of South Sulawesi - Chabot (1950), Friedericy (1933), and Pelras (1971) - show a dominant preoccupation with social status which is reflected in their titles: "Verwantschap, stand en sexe in Zuid Celebes" (Status, rank and sex in South Celebes); "De standen bij de Boegineezen en de Makassaren" (Ranks amongst the Bugis and Makassarese); and "Hierarchie et pouvoir traditionnels en pays Wadjo'". This emphasis on the traditional hierarchy of rank faithfully reflects the obsession of informants, particularly those of the noble class, with questions of social status and hereditary prestige.

The Theory of Bugis Rank

It may be useful to outline briefly Friedericy's schematisation of the division into ranks said to prevail in Wajo' before the introduction of Western rule led to a "blurring of the distinctions within Makassarese and Bugis society, distinctions that nowhere found, and still find, stronger expression than in the status system" (Friedericy, 1933:448). In Wajo', distinctions of status were meticulously and minutely defined, despite the fact that here, as in other Bugis states such as Soppeng and Boné, the number of the pure-blooded royalty by the end of the 1920s scarcely ran into the tens (Friedericy, 1933:465). Basically, society in Wajo' - as in many parts of Southeast Asia - was divided into three main social categories: the nobility, commoners and slaves. But the fact that none of these categories constituted endogamous groups prevented the formation of a caste system, with clear-cut distinctions between nobles and

other social classes. A complication in the definition of the nobility was introduced by the bilateral character of the kinship system, for not only property but rank too were derived from both parents, and transmitted equally through both males and females. Since it was thus impossible to assign a child clearly to the rank of one or other of its parents, where a hypergamous marriage had occurred, this resulted in an extraordinarily complex system of intermediate ranks, to which in theory all members of the society could be precisely assigned. The rank of each individual was considered to lie exactly midway in the scale of ranks between those of his father and of his mother. If we take as the original ranks the royalty of the purest "white blood" and the commoners with no pretensions at all to exalted descent, then marriages between these two ranks, and between their offspring, will in time produce a complex pattern of intermediate ranks arranged on a scale between pure royalty and those of wholly common origin.

Let us look then at Friedericy's account of this system of ranks, based upon the careful and detailed research of M. Van Rhijn, Assistant Resident in Wajo' until 1930 (Friedericy, 1933: 453-4). This compilation is substantially supported by information supplied more recently by Haji Andi' Ninnong, the last Petta Ranreng Tua of Wajo' (Pelras, 1971:188). Wajo' society, at least ideally, consisted of five major ranks: (1) the ana'matola ("children of the succession"); (2) the anakarung (Arung children); (3) the tau deceng ("good people"); (4) the tau maradeka (freemen); and (5) the ata, or slaves. The first two categories together constitute the nobility, while the third and fourth form the commoner class. Below them all are the slaves. But this is but a brief sketch of a far more detailed scheme: I. Ana'matola: the Arung Matoa and all the greatest chiefs of Wajo' belong to this category. Like all the royal families of South Sulawesi, they claimed putative descent from a semi-divine ancestor (male or female) who had come down from the heavens to bring order to the chaotic world of men. Thus the Petta Ranreng Tua - chief of Tua, one of the three divisions Wajo' - possesses a genealogy showing her descent from no less than seven To Manurung ("people who have descended"). The larger category of ana'matola is further subdivided into four ranks, some of these fragmented yet again into still more minute distinctions of rank. Perhaps the most important distinction (although Van Rhijn fails to emphasise this) is between those of the purest blood, whom the Petta Ranreng Tua, H. A. Ninnong, terms the ana'sengngeng (sengngeng means "whole", "complete"), and those who are the offspring of a man of pure blood by a wife of lower status. According to Van Rhijn, the sub-ranks of the ana'matola are:

(I.1) the ana'matola in the true sense, in which category he includes both those of the purest blood from both father and mother (whom we have seen may

more precisely be called ana'sengngeng), and also the children of an ana'matola man and an ana'sangaji wife, that is, a woman of the rank immediately beneath him.

(I.2) ana'sangaji are the children of an ana'matola man and an ana'rajeng wife.

(I.3) ana'rajeng are the children of an ana'céra sawi woman; they are further divided into ana'rajeng lebbi (whom H. A. Ninnong calls also rajeng matase'), whose father is ana'matola, and slightly below them in rank are the ordinary ana'rajeng, children of an ana'sangaji father. Immediately below this rank H. A. Ninnong places the ana'sawi, the issue of a union between an ana'sengngeng man and a tau décéng woman; such a marriage finds no place in Van Rhijn's scheme.

(I.4) ana'céra ("children of the blood") are subdivided into: (a) ana'céra sawi (H. A. Ninnong calls these ana'céra sisseng) who come from the union of ana'matola and maradéka; (b) ana'céra pua (or more correctly paéwa), the children of their father's slave; (c) ana'céra ampulajeng, children by the slave of someone else according to Van Rhijn, by the slave of another wife according to H. A. Ninnong; (d) ana'céra ata dapureng, born of one of the lowest "kitchen slaves" (Van Rhijn) or of the slave of one of their father's kin (H. A. Ninnong).

II. Anakarung: these are the offspring of alliances between ana'céra sawi men and tau maradéka wives. Included in this group are many of the arung (local rulers) of Wajo' - chiefs of the petty princedoms of which Wajo' is composed - although Van Rhijn considers that, strictly speaking, most of these should in fact be included in the following category.

III. Tau décéng: these consist of the true tau décéng, descendants of anakarung "whose blood is still more debased", and the tau tongeng karaja, descendants of the tau décéng. In practice these two groups are no longer distinguished; to them belong "the respectable middle-class people who call themselves Daéng" (Friedericy, 1933:454). H. A. Ninnong does not trouble to make any distinctions within the category of tau décéng: to her they are simply freemen of distant noble ancestry (Pelras, 1971:188).

IV. Tau maradéka (or tau sama): these comprise the mass of the people, and include freed slaves and their descendants as well as those who have always been free.

V. Ata: this group consists both of inherited slaves (ata mana) and freemen who have become slaves through committing an offence (ata mabuang); for example, if a thief is helped to repay the value of stolen goods, he becomes the slave of the person who helped him. Men who have committed no offence at all may also become slaves by merely borrowing money; however, such debt-bondsmen are still considered to be freemen (maradéka).

Although in reality there is a continuous gradation in rank from the highest ana'matola down to the tau maradéka, there is in theory a clear line of demarcation between the nobility down as far as the level of anakarung, and the commoners whose upper stratum is composed of the tau décéng. There is thus an arbitrarily selected cut-off point between the two important estates of the society (slaves here, as elsewhere, have no social identity). The distinction between these estates and the various ranks which compose them is popularly conceived in terms of the purity of the blood of the members of each rank. A series of marriages with women of lower rank results in a progressive dilution of the "white blood" of royalty until at last the point is reached where the blood of the children of such a marriage is considered too "thin" for them any longer to merit the status of noble. The rise and fall of statuses through intermarriage between ranks is commonly discussed in mathematical terms. Thus, a man of the highest birth (ana'matola) is considered to be 100 per cent royal; an ordinary commoner has no royal blood at all. If a man who is 100 per cent royal marries a commoner woman, their children are considered to be 50 per cent royal (ana'céra); if one of their children in turn marries a commoner wife, the offspring of this union are only 25 per cent royal (anakarung); should one of these children again marry with a commoner woman, their children would no longer be considered members of the noble class and would not be entitled to use the noble title of Andi'. These "not-quite nobles" are one of the most important constituents of the tau décéng class from which the notables of most villages are drawn.

This system of division of the whole society into ranks may be complicated, but at first sight it also appears comprehensive and clear-cut. In fact, however, the precision of the system is an illusion for this is by no means the only classification of ranks which exists. Thus, Andi' Paramata - considered to be perhaps the most learned genealogical expert in Wajo' - had produced another scheme of classification (cited at length in Pelras, 1971:189) which differs in several important respects from the versions given by both Van Rhijn and H. A. Ninnong. Part of the confusion seems to have arisen as a result of extensive intermarriage between the nobles of different states, each with their own slightly divergent ranking systems. Thus Andi' Paramata does not give the ana'sangaji (I.2 in Van Rhijn's classification) as a separate rank, since he considers this to be a rank proper only to Boné; in Wajo', he says, the union of ana'matola and ana'rajeng matase' produces not an ana'sangaji but simply an ana'matola.

Popular Conceptions of Rank

In Wajo' today, only the highest nobles still remember much of the hierarchy of ranks, and even they tend to speak only in terms of the broader categories of

rank. Thus, Andi' Hasan Machmud, eldest son of the Petta Ranreng Tau, recalled only the following ranks (March 1971): patola or matola (these were, he said, 90 to 100 per cent); rajeng matase' (about 80-85 per cent); ordinary rajeng (70-75 per cent); céra (50 per cent: children of a "full" noble father and a commoner mother); and below these the anakarung who are "just descendants of the nobility". Like most nobles, A. Hasan does not distinguish different ranks within the commoner class - or indeed mention this class at all. Commoners, in turn, have only the vaguest notion of the numerous distinctions of rank within the nobility. The Petta Ranreng Tua commented (April 1971):

Formerly the ade' was written down. There was a definite regulation and people were not allowed to deviate from this. . . Nowadays people no longer know the ade'. Most of them don't know the ranks of the nobility - they only know if someone is a high noble or not so high. However, people do still use the term ana'matola for someone of the highest rank.

Only a few specialists, such as Andi' Paramata, recall all the intricate details of the ranking system and are able - through knowledge of genealogies - accurately to assign individual nobles to their appropriate rank. The assistance of these specialists must be sought when a marriage between high nobles takes place, in order to assess the propriety of the marriage, for a woman should not marry beneath her, and also to determine the amount of the sompa, the nominal bridepiece which symbolises the rank of the bride. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Widespread ignorance of the intricacies of the ranking system means that few people are able precisely to place others - or even themselves - in the scale of rank. This introduces an element of flexibility into a theoretically rigid system. Vagueness about the precise evaluation of rank enables constant minor adjustments to be made, sometimes unconsciously, often quite deliberately. Acceptance by others of an individual or family's claim to higher status almost invariably depends not on an objective assessment of the genealogical basis for the claim, but on the wealth or political office of the people concerned. The fact that rank is traced through both male and female lines increases the confusion and the difficulty of precisely establishing rank. Genealogical knowledge tends to be hazy in the extreme - many people do not remember even their own grandparents - but those ancestors whose names are preserved are the ones of highest rank, particularly those who have held an office locally or within the state as a whole; no matter how distant such connections may be, they are carefully cherished and publicised, while the actual remoteness of the descent link is played down. Telescoping of genealogical ties with a

distant socially prestigious ancestor is not uncommon. There is also a tendency to emphasise what are in fact purely affinal links with important personages. Thus, in the written genealogy of the Petta Ranreng Tua, a woman of the highest birth in her own right, many of the royal houses of South Sulawesi are included, some of whom - such as the Datus of Soppeng - seem to be affines rather than ancestors. It is thus not a genealogy in the strict sense but a depiction of the total relationships - both of descent and of marriage - of the Petta Ranreng Tua with the royalty of the Bugis-Makassar states. Ties of affinity are an expression of the alliances which have been established with other great families, and these in turn reflect the social status, power and prestige of those who have initiated such alliances.

It is probable that formerly, as today, an individual's status was compounded of the office held by himself or his close kin as well as the purity of his blood. A man who held high office was entitled to respect, even if it was whispered that his blood was rather too "thin" as a result of frequent intermarriage of his forebears with commoner women. The finer distinctions of blood were irrelevant to most practical concerns. What mattered were the broad categories of *ana'matola*, the pure-blooded royalty who supplied the ruler and highest officers of state; the *arung*, chiefs of the petty princedoms of which Wajo' was composed and their families; the *tau décéng*, wealthy and respected commoners; the *tau maradéka*, the freemen; and the *ata*, the slave class. Rank in the popular view was seen mainly as an attribute of office and relative prestige. Consequently the broad categories of rank which were generally applied did not correspond precisely with the minute categorisations of Bugis theories of social structure: thus an *arung*, a petty ruler, considered himself and was accepted as *anakarung*, even though in fact his ancestors might have so frequently intermarried with commoners that his rank strictly speaking should have been no higher than *tau décéng* (Friedericy, 1933:463). Indeed, a *tau décéng* informant in Ana'banua, a descendant of the rulers of Ana'banua, claimed that the *tau décéng* and nobility (*anakarung*) of the *wanuwa* were of almost identical rank: the only difference between them was that "the nobility hold power; the *tau décéng* do not" (Guru Pangerang). There is a lack of precision in the definition of not only the nobility but also the *tau décéng*: while strictly speaking they should be remote descendants of royalty, in fact today (and probably formerly) any wealthy commoner tends to be seen as *tau décéng*, although there may be no remembered trace of noble blood in his ancestry. (This point will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V).

Slavery

This more general classification of the population by rank has survived to the present day, with the exception of the category of *ata*: slavery was officially abolished by the Dutch in 1906, and the dependence of former slaves upon the *arung* class has gradually faded away with the decline in the ability of the *arung* to support large numbers of servants and followers. Slaves as a distinct class seem to have been associated mainly with the great chiefly houses: thus the transvestite La Tikka, who now lives in Ana'banua, is proud of the fact that he was formerly the *ata* and household manager in Gilireng for the Cakkurudi, one of the six great chiefs of Wajo'. He was also manager of a troupe of *pa'joge*, court dancers. Now that there is no longer a Cakkurudi, he considers himself to be the slave of Petta Jikki, mother-in-law of the Camat of Maniangpajo and a grand-daughter of a former ruler of Wajo'; he says that if he wants to eat, usually he goes to his "Petta" and she gives him food. Formerly, according to Brooke's account of Wajo' society in 1840, slavery was widespread (1848: 64-5):

The wealth of all classes consists of slaves, or more properly serfs. Every freeman possesses, according to his means, a certain number of men and women who perform all the labour of tillage and domestic drudgery. The serfs raise rice, catch fish, weave sarongs for the use of their master's household, and the superfluous portion of them are required to support themselves in the best manner they can.

It seems that many of these "serfs" were debt-slaves (*sanra*) and therefore in fact also included in the category of freemen.

Since the cessation of slavery as an institution, the slave class has merged with the freemen as a whole until now it is rare to find any memory of slave origin of the people of a village such as Ana'banua. This may be partly due to a polite forgetfulness on the part of ordinary people, and a deliberate covering up of the shameful past on the part of the *arung* - who are the people best qualified to know who is of slave descent. Kennedy, when he visited Boné in 1949, was told that while former slaves belonging to a raja were usually proud of their status (as La Tikka is of his), other slaves became angry if they were referred to as such; it was said that slaves often "go to other places and lie about their past and where they come from" (Kennedy, 1953: 107-8, 211). I noticed that when asked their rank, some commoners stressed that they were *tau maradéka* (freemen): "We have no rajas, and no slaves". One woman defined *tau maradéka* thus: "No-one can order us around, our parents have never been subjugated, none of our ancestors were poor people". The term *tau sama* (ordinary people), while describing what is theoretically the same rank, leaves open the

possibility that the possessor of such a rank is in fact of slave descent.

What is evident in Ana'banua is that certain individuals and families are in a clearly dependent position upon the wealthier and more influential arung and appear to have a hereditary connection with them, carrying the assumption that they will offer assistance at all times of need, such as life-crisis ceremonies. Thus, I Sabaria, an elderly woman who had been married and quickly divorced as a young girl, was tau sama in rank but said that she was "atanna Petta Sammeng", the slave of Andi' Sammeng, Kepala Wanua of Kalola and a son of one of the last Arung Ana'banua. She spends much of her time in his house and is always asked to help with any festivities or rituals there; she is very poor and appears to live mainly on charity, supplemented with rice earned by harvesting. For some time I lived in the house of a niece (sister's daughter) of Andi' Sammeng. Bunga, a young girl of about fourteen, was a servant there. Although confident to the point of cheekiness, she was obviously very poor and totally dependent on the family she lived with for food and the ragged clothes handed down to her. I was told that her father was the bilal (muezzin) at the mosque - a position that often seems to be filled by poor people - and that her mother had been a servant of the same arung family; they are said originally to have come from Enrékang, and are therefore not "true" Bugis. Origin from one of the mountain areas of South Sulawesi is quite often associated with slave or servant status; indeed some people deny that there have ever been Bugis slaves, but only Bugis debt-bondsmen. Another characteristic feature of relations of dependence is the way they are transmitted from one generation to the next. The Petta Ranreng Tua's daughter, Haji Andi' Muddariyah, told me that if someone wants to marry a servant (formerly a slave) in a noble household, then the master is responsible for paying all the expenses associated with the wedding; but when this servant has a child, he or she will be sent to the house of the master to become a servant in place of the parent.

The High Nobility of Wajo'

The ana'matola and anakarung of Wajo' have never constituted a self-contained noble caste with no links, apart from those between ruler and subject, with the other ranks of the society. In fact, the frequency of inter-marriage between men of the nobility and women of the commoner and slave classes meant that there were numerous ties of affinity crossing the apparent barriers of rank. Ana'matola and anakarung thus had numerous close kin - siblings even - of markedly lower rank than themselves; the major distinction between them was that the high nobility were qualified by birth to succeed to the offices of the state of Wajo' in the case of ana'matola,

and to the position of arung of a wanuwa or petty kingdom in the case of anakarung. Formerly, rulers of Bugis kingdoms and their constituent wanuwa were wont to take numerous wives: the ruler of Soppeng was reputed to have a hundred wives in the course of his life. At least one of these wives - not necessarily the first - was almost invariably a woman of equal rank, but many of the others were commoners or even slaves. When the ruler died, there was no automatic right of succession by any particular one of his children. The only rule was that the successor should be of appropriate rank. Thus, in choosing a successor to the office, the kin of the deceased ruler had regard not only to the personality and ability of each of his numerous children - daughters as well as sons - but also to the rank of their mother. The last Petta Ranreng Tau, Haji Andi' Ninnong, was chosen in preference to any of her elder siblings because of the high birth of her mother, a grand-daughter of the Addatuang (ruler) of Sidenreng and herself the Arung Tépé, Andi' Ninnong was thus what many Bugis call bocco - "the highest one, the one who has no equal" - because both her parents were rulers.

The highest offices of all the Bugis states were open to women. Although there has never been a woman Arung Matoa, the elective ruler of Wajo', the position of Arumponé, ruler of Boné, has several times been filled by a woman, and there have also been many women rulers of Luwu'. Within Wajo', all the other high offices apart from that of Arung Matoa have often been occupied by women. Thus, when Brooke visited Wajo' in 1840, four out of the six great chiefs were women: "These ladies appear in public like the men; ride, rule, and visit even foreigners, without the knowledge or consent of their husbands" (Brooke, 1848:75). While some of these women rulers may have been mere fronts for ambitious and able husbands, in many cases it is clear that they were perfectly competent and often highly imperious rulers in their own right.

We may take Haji Andi' Ninnong, the Petta Ranreng Tua, as a case in point. Due to the frequency of marriage of nobles with women of lower rank, the purity of blood of even the great chiefly families of Wajo' has become much diluted until today it is considered that only the family of the Petta Ranreng Tua are of truly royal blood, having carefully preserved their high rank through a series of carefully chosen marriages with close cousins, often with first cousins (this is a form of marriage viewed with slight distaste by most Bugis commoners, who consider first cousins to be like siblings). Andi' Ninnong's father died when she was still a small child and an elder half-brother of lower birth became acting Ranreng Tua until she was

old enough to take on the responsibilities of the office. Since her mother had been Arung Tépé, Andi' Ninnong was also eligible for this office but she was already preoccupied with her duties as Ranreng Tua and so her husband became Arung Tépé. It is clear that in the discharge of her duties, Andi' Ninnong herself was active and entirely independent of her husband, who was too preoccupied with a multitude of hobbies to have any interest in the affairs of state. One of their daughters, Haji Andi' Muddariyah, described him thus:

Father was always starting up factories to make perfume and so on, but they never came to anything. His hobby was experimenting, but because he had never been to school, nothing ever succeeded. He was full of ideas, but did not have the educational background for them. He was an architect, an artist, he liked to create things, but he was not capable. Formerly, people never thought about going to school. He had his own laboratory, mixed things up, he wanted to make perfume - once he bought hundreds of pineapples for this! He was very sosial (i.e., he had a social conscience) and often gave his sarong or his shirt to poor people in the street. He did not like to give things to important people. He was never angry - too busy for that! He did not do any work; it was only mother who used to work.

Thus, it is clear that in this case at least, the wife was both in fact and in name the ruler, while the husband's office was no more than a sinecure.

Haji Andi' Ninnong today is a tiny, highly intelligent and unself-consciously tyrannical woman in her seventies. She was one of the highest officials in the government of the Onderafdeeling of Wajo' under the Dutch, the member of the Zelfbestuur ("self-government council") entrusted with Finance. Today neither she nor any of her children hold political office, yet she and the most forceful of her daughters continue to have great influence over the Kepala Daerah and other high officials, an influence which largely derives from the fact that many of them lived in her house as children, while they attended school - a kind of page system which has left its mark on all those who fell within her influence for many years of their childhood and youth. The Kepala Daerah quite frankly admits that if the Petta Ranreng Tua - for such she is still called - wants to talk to him about some matter, it is he who goes to her and never the other way around. When a grandson of the Petta Ranreng Tua was married in 1972, the wedding was treated as a state occasion, financed most lavishly from government funds.

Formerly the power and wealth of a great chief's household was enormous by comparison both with the petty arung of the time, and with their own present position. Before the Revolution, which was supported by the Petta Ranreng Tua, her family never had to buy anything. The rakyat (people),

according to H. Andi' Muddariyah, used to bring praus full of fish, coconuts and other produce. Each house within their area of influence, mainly within Tépé, had to give them eggs: "They did not give them every day, but there were many houses and therefore many eggs. If people did not want to give rice or eggs, they could give a chicken instead. There was usually one house set aside just for rice, another for coconuts - there were so many coconuts that the walls were built of them". These vast accumulations of foodstuffs and other goods were needed if the high nobility were to fulfil the role expected of them. Whenever a life-crisis ritual was celebrated by such a family, not only their own numerous kin but the common people of all the surrounding area expected to join in the festivities. In 1840, Brooke observed "the custom observed subsequent to the burial of a person of rank, of feasting the poor" (1848:87): after the burial of the Petta Mapalaka, Ranreng Talo'tenreng, "the feasting of the poor was continued for many days, and large quantities of provisions, consisting of buffalo and goats' flesh, fowls, sweetmeats, etc., were cooked on the occasion, the expense being defrayed by presents from the friends of the family. Their offerings varied from nine Spanish dollars to one, according to their means" (1848:88).

When there was a wedding proposed in the house of a great chief, people began coming to the place to help or just to watch many weeks or months before. H. Andi' Muddariyah says that three months before her elder sister, Andi' Manawara, was married to a first cousin, people were already coming to their house and had to be fed: "Sometimes, thirty old people would come, who were too old to help but wanted to join in the fun". Their kin helped them by giving numerous gifts: 50 sarongs, 32 kerbau which were slaughtered to feed the guests, more than 100 gold rings. When Andi' Manawara's son married his first cousin (mother's brother's daughter) in 1970, many people still came to join in the wedding preparations: "If they know there is to be a wedding, people just turn up". Thus, in Wajo', as in other pre-industrial societies, one of the chief's main functions was the collection and redistribution of goods. Large-scale ceremonies, at which numerous people were fed lavishly and well, served to increase the prestige of the chief and to give him (or her) a reputation for generosity which won the loyalty of their subjects (cf. Sahlins, 1958).

Apart from large-scale distributions of food on special ritual occasions, chiefs such as the Ranreng Tua were also expected to perform more personal services for their subjects: their rights to a share in the labour and the produce of their people were balanced by often quite onerous duties. These were of two kinds. Firstly, they were expected to help the poor financially,

particularly on ritual occasions. For example, when one of his poorer subjects died, the chief supplied the shroud in which the body was wrapped before burial. If someone was too poor to arrange the marriage of his child, he turned to the Datu (prince) for help and the latter was obliged to pay all the expenses of the marriage: the bridewealth or dowry (depending on the sex of the person whose marriage was arranged), the cost of the wedding celebrations, the gifts to be presented to the bride or groom. Andi' Muddariyah explained it thus:

We had to assume responsibility for all the expenses. There were some people who were capable (of paying themselves) but just wanted to marry in the Datu's house. But there were others who had nothing at all. We always agreed to help. It was our duty to help people who could not help themselves. Formerly, all the rakyat knew us well. Often they were our kin. We had to give fearlessly. If we were not prepared to spend money, the rakyat also would not want to give anything to us.

This tradition of giving financial assistance to the poor continues, but on a much diminished scale. During the Revolution, the Petta Ranreng Tua supported the revolutionary cause against the Dutch and lost both her husband and one of her sons in the struggle. Her home became a centre for the opponents of the Dutch regime in Wajo' until eventually they were obliged to move to Makassar. For fifteen years here they continued to support all the followers who had accompanied them from Wajo', although they were no longer able to draw upon their sawah at home for supplies of rice. As a result, much of their gold was sold in order to live through these difficult years. According to Andi' Muddariyah, "everything was finished".

This is clearly an exaggeration, for the Petta Ranreng Tua still owns a vast area of sawah and they own two houses and have many valuable antiques in their possession. They cannot, however, ever hope to regain the level of affluence which was theirs in former years, when they owned the whole of Lake Témpe and let out sections of it each year to the highest bidder. There is now a certain discrepancy between their present means and the expectations others have of them. While they still live in large and well-appointed houses, entertain often and lavishly, and give valuable gifts at weddings they attend, they cannot afford to subsidise the marriages of any but their closest poor relations and servants of the house.

The other obligation of a Datu to his or her people has still retained much of its force. This is the obligation to bring good fortune to their people, to bestow upon them some small fragment of the mystical power which the highest nobility - and particularly those who hold the greatest offices of state - are believed to possess. This is an aspect of the belief in the descent of the royal families from To Manurung, beings from the heavenly

world, and their possession of arajang, regalia of office which are usually said to have magically appeared in, for example, the loft of the Datu's house. (The political significance of the arajang is discussed in Chapter IV below). The supernatural powers of the high royalty in Wajo' and other Bugis states were believed to enable them to call forth or prevent disasters, such as flood, fire and crop-failure. These mystical powers might also be exercised on a smaller scale, through the belief that anything which has been associated with the person of the Datu carries within it some of his or her strength. Formerly, according to Andi' Muddariyah, they could rarely wear a garment more than once before someone asked them for it: "It was very lucky to wear something which a Datu had previously worn". The Datu was also habitually given far too much food to eat and the scraps remaining on the plate were given to people as a kind of medicine, to make the sick well again or the barren fertile. In March 1971, I saw such an incident at a post-wedding party in the home of a boy who had been married the previous day. The Petta Ranreng Tua had travelled to Atapangé, some thirty kilometers from Séngkang, to attend this party, for the groom and bride were both her kin. Here she was given an enormous plate heaped with food, with the explanation that the leftovers were to be given to a woman whose children had all been dying young, in the hope that she might at last be able to bear living children. Apart from such specific boons sought from the Datu, his or her presence at a wedding is considered almost to ensure the success of the marriage. According to the Petta Ranreng Tua's grand-daughter, Bau Tungke, so important is it to many people that the Datu should attend their weddings that they sometimes present her with a dozen plates of cakes when issuing the invitation, to place her under an obligation to come. So strongly does she herself feel this obligation - cakes or not - that she often forces herself to go even if she is tired or unwell and, if it is really impossible that she herself should attend, she sends one of her daughters or grand-daughters instead.

Formerly, the Datu or Arung was held in such respect and awe by the common people that they would not stand up when addressing him nor would they dare to look him in the face. If they were riding on horseback or in a cart and wished to pass a high noble, they would have to dismount and ask permission to continue - walking - on their way. Indeed, the Camat Maniangpajo (H. Andi' Tantu) told me with some amusement that he had read in a newspaper in the 1960s that a certain Camat (unnamed) somewhere in Wajo' still took offence if people passed him on horseback. He explained that previously the person of a raja or datu was considered keramat - sacred,

having supernatural qualities:

Whatever the raja wanted, the people would simply obey, without question. The Dutch were clever and used this great power of the rajas to their own advantage, by confirming the rajas and their descendants in their positions and governing through them. Only those of (royal) descent could become local rulers, and it did not matter if a man was illiterate, so long as he was of the right descent - in fact, the Dutch preferred illiterate rulers! (Most of them were not truly illiterate since they could read and write in their own language, but they did not know Indonesian or understand Latin characters). Nowadays people don't believe any longer that nobles are sacred beings who cannot be contradicted.

The Camat thought that this was a good thing: "It is alright to be a little higher than other people, but not too much so". In fact, although most people show no more than a certain respect and greater decorum in the presence of nobles of high rank, the old traditions of self-abasement of commoners in the presence of their social superiors still persist in many areas. In particular, poorer people, especially those from remote villages, go to great lengths to avoid physically placing themselves in a higher position than a member of the nobility; on entering the house of an arung or datu, they immediately crouch down on the floor to deliver their message.

The position of the ana'matola and the anakarung in Wajo' has naturally changed with the attainment of Independence, the abolition of the traditional hereditary offices, and the introduction of a partly elective system of government. Whereas before the highest offices of government were entirely monopolized by ana'matola, today individuals of lower rank hold high office. As proof that the government of Wajo' is now entirely democratic, the Kepala Daerah (Andi' Unru) cited the fact that he himself has attained the position of head of government in Wajo' although his father was only a wanuwa chief - a mere Arung. In fact, what we see in Wajo' is not a democratisation of government but a redistribution of offices between members of the higher status levels, so that while office is now achieved by the more able and ambitious rather than being ascribed to those in the appropriate line of succession and with blood of sufficient purity, the circle of "achievers" today still tends to be limited largely to those who even before Independence would have been at least eligible to become the Arung of a wanuwa, although perhaps debarred from higher office. This probably appears a greater change to the high nobility than it does to the mass of the commoner class, who have a long tradition of extreme respect and fear of their local rulers and in general little experience of dealings with the ana'matola holders of the highest offices of Wajo'. To many of them, the distinction may be far from clear between those nobles entitled

to succeed to the position of Datu - a Ranreng, say, or the Cakkuridi - and those who are eligible only to the office of Arung of a wanuwa. Their confusion is not surprising in view of the fact that all the great chiefs also had hereditary rights to certain wanuwa and often placed a son or other ana'matola kinsman as Arung there.

The political role of the higher nobility will be discussed more fully in the following chapter, on "Social Status and Political Power"; for the present we must confine our analysis to their role within a system of prestige valuations which affect the quality and intensity of inter-personal interactions within the society. This can be more clearly seen if we narrow down our field of vision from Wajo' as a whole to one of its constituent wanuwa - Ana'banua.

Social Status in Ana'banua

Ana'banua has never been the seat of any of the great chiefs of Wajo': indeed its name - which may be translated as "child wanuwa" - indicates its subordinate status within the confederation of Wajo'. The Arung Ana'banua were thus effectively rulers of the second rank, not to be classed with the great families such as those of the three Ranreng or the Cakkuridi of Gilireng. They were anakarung not ana'matola. Unlike the ruler of Gilireng, the Arung Ana'banua did not possess arajang, sacred objects which were believed to influence the prosperity of the whole wanuwa and were ceremonially cleaned, presented with offerings and paraded around the village in an annual thanksgiving ceremony. Although the Arung Ana'banua did have the right and duty to perform certain rituals known as arajang, which involved the use of specified ritual objects, these were for the benefit only of the descendants of Petta Bila, a mythical royal ancestor who had laid down this ritual as well as imposing certain ritual prohibitions upon all his bilateral descendants. Thus the ruler of Ana'banua did not have either the high birth or the other attributes of authority 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 wanuwa of Ana'banua and the neighbouring (and closely associated) wanuwa of Kalola, there are three main status divisions commonly recognised. The Bugis call these tingka' or "levels".

(1) Arung: descendants of former Arung Ana'banua and of the rulers of other wanuwa.

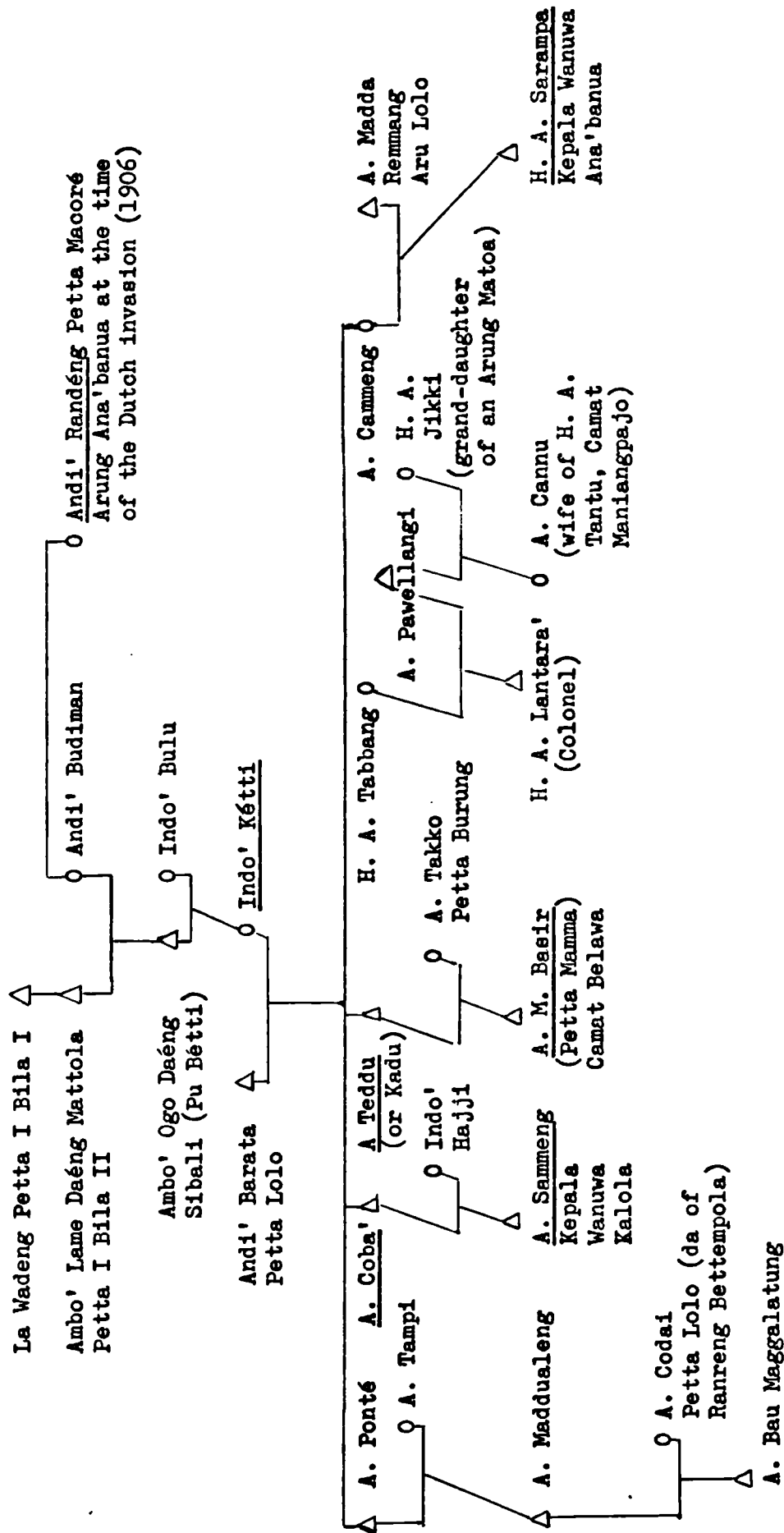
(2) Andi': lower nobles with no direct relationship to a former ruling family. These are roughly equivalent - or sometimes lower - in status to tau décéng, the upper level of the commoner class.

(3) Tau maradéka or tau sama: ordinary commoners. Although there are a few ana'matola living in Ana'banua, they do not play any important political role and therefore tend not to be seen by most villagers as differing in any important sense from the anakarung descendants of the Arung Ana'banua.

Thus far, I have loosely referred to the various categories of rank as "classes" or "status levels". Sahlins (1969:240) has suggested that categories of rank in primitive societies should be designated "status levels" rather than "social classes", a term which he considers should be reserved for the social strata of market-dominated societies, since "status differences in kinship societies do not, as a rule, depend on differences in private wealth". The term "status level" fits in very well with Bugis usage and also with the ideology of rank, which sees an individual's tingka' as being a direct representation of his birth. According to Bugis theories there is thus no economic connotation attached to the various major ranks of society. In fact, however, as I will demonstrate more fully in Chapter V, there is an economic element in the evaluation of the lower ranks: the distinction between the tau décéng and the tau sama is based as much on relative wealth as upon relative purity of blood. For the higher ranks, the ana'matola and anakarung, access to different kinds of political power is the defining criterion and purity of blood is one of the bargaining counters in the struggle for power. The manipulation of marriage alliances was the most important weapon in the fight for political supremacy, not only because the ties created through marriage could in themselves be politically useful, but also because marriage provided the chief means for the expression of rank or for making claims to a higher rank.

Although the division between nobles - called andi' - and non-nobles is in theory distinct, and one's rank automatically and irrevocably assigned at birth, in practice the fact that there is intermarriage between various status levels, and that rank is derived from both parents, introduces an element of flexibility into the system. Apart from a few families, such as that of the Petta Ranreng Tua, who have been careful only to marry their equals and thus to preserve their high status, marriages in many cases take place between persons of unequal rank. This results in constant fluctuations in social status even within the same kin group, with one branch of the family raising its rank through carefully chosen marriages, while another declines in status. Within the group of descendants of past Arung Ana'banua, conceptual distinctions can be made - and are made by members of these arung families - which are based on relative purity of blood. Let us consider the much condensed genealogy of the kin-group of the

TABLE VII: GENEALOGY OF THE ARUNG ANA'BANUA AND DESCENT-GROUP OF PETTA I BILA



NB. This genealogy is condensed by the omission of all but the most politically and socially significant members of the arung group. Individuals who have at some time governed in Ana'banua-Kalola have their names underlined.

Arung Ana'banua which is given in Table VII. Within this group of kin are three major divisions of rank. Petta Bau Maggalatung is of the highest rank within the village for his mother was of very high birth, the daughter of a Ranreng Bettempola - the most powerful of all the Chiefs of Wajo'. Somewhat lower than him in rank is Haji Andi' Sarampa (Pet Aji Ampa), the Kepala Wanuwu Ana'banua, and an "uncle" of Petta Bau Maggalatung since he is a first cousin of Andi' Maddualeng, the latter's father. H. Andi' Sarampa is in turn of higher rank than his first cousin the Kepala Wanuwu Kalola, Andi' Sammeng, whose mother was only tau décéng, while both parents of the Kepala Wanuwu Ana'banua were andi'.

To most of the people of Ana'banua, however, the arung families form an undifferentiated upper class. The only distinctions perceived within this class are not based on rank but are between those who hold power and those who do not, those who are rich and those who are less well-off. The holding of political office in itself confers high rank in the eyes of the people: thus Andi' Sammeng - as the son of a raja and himself a Kepala Wanuwu (another kind of raja) - enjoys a high social status which owes little to the genealogical purity of his blood. In truth, on a strict analysis of his genealogy Andi' Sammeng is probably not a noble at all but should have descended into the ranks of the tau décéng - but we have already noted the discrepancy which exists between the ideology and the reality of rank.

Symbols of Rank

Formerly distinctions of rank were more conspicuously shown in variations in dress, housing and behaviour. Thus dark green could only be worn by nobles of high birth, and even today if a bride of lower rank than that considered appropriate wears a green ba'ju bodo (semi-transparent silk blouse) at her wedding, there is much criticism of this breach of customary etiquette. The size, shape and decorations of a man's house were one of the clearest indications of his rank. Only the highest nobility were entitled to use as staircase a covered ramp, made of bamboo and resting on a small platform instead of directly on the ground; people of lower rank used an ordinary staircase of poles or planks, without a covering roof. One of the clearest marks for determining the status of a high noble was the number of overlapping tiers of the gables at each end of the roof. Only the ruler of a major kingdom was entitled to seven gable-tiers, such as those found in the palaces of the Arumponé (ruler of Boné) or the Datu Soppeng (ruler of Soppeng); the Arung Matoa of Wajo' - as primus intra pares rather than supreme ruler - had only five gable-tiers, the number reserved to ana'matola of the purest birth. Four gable-tiers denoted a noble of the

second rank of the ana'matola and three tiers a noble of the third rank or a petty ruler, while two tiers were a sign of the petty nobility and often also used by tau décéng with claims to noble descent. In Ana'banua, the use of these signs of rank is no longer in fashion and newer houses lack any of the older indications of status derived from birth: these have been replaced by modern indicators of economic success, such as corrugated iron roofs and fine wooden walls with windows (instead of the traditional gaps between the planks to let in the light). Three gable-tiers can still be seen on the large wooden house which was the residence of Arung Ana'banua Petta Coba' and which is now inhabited by his son, the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola. A few other members of the old royal family of Ana'banua likewise have houses bearing some indications of the high rank of their occupants. These houses are called by a special term - saoraja - which means "great house", instead of the usual term for house, bola.

The most pervasive indicators of rank are terms of address. All members of the nobility, both ana'matola and anakarung, are given the title of Andi', or Andi' Bau for those of the highest blood, such as the family of the Petta Ranreng Tua. When a man or woman of high birth reaches mature years, or attains high office, he or she is then generally known as Petta followed by his or her name or office: thus the child Andi' Bau Maddeng will in later years be known as Petta Bau Maddeng or if, say, he becomes Camat, he may be given the title of Petta Camat. A man or woman of slightly lower birth may be called Puang (generally abbreviated to Pu) followed by his or her name; for example, the wife of the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola, Andi' Ruga', is addressed as Pu Ruga'. Indeed any individual of good but not necessarily noble birth, who is much respected may be addressed in this way. Petta is a term of reference, not a term of address: a person of high rank is addressed by a social inferior as Puang.

The question of titles of rank is complicated by the fact that terms of address indicating social status are also kinship terms denoting relative age of siblings (see Appendix C). Amongst the nobility, an older sibling is referred to as Puang, while a younger sibling is called Andi'. These terms should also be extended to older and younger cousins, but differences of rank may result in a reversal of the terms one might expect, from the respective ages of the parties, to find used: thus Andi' Cannu, the wife of the Camat of Maniangpajo, a young woman of high birth, addresses her much older cousin, the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua, as "Di'" (i.e., Andi') and is called "Puang" by him, because of their mutual recognition of her higher rank. Amongst commoners, an elder sibling is called Daéng, a younger is Anri' (although Andi' or Indi' are also often used); but the term Daéng can also

denote a member of the tau décéng. Even more commonly used titles for tau décéng today are Ambo' (which means father) and Indo' (mother), titles which may be given to a tau décéng child at babyhood. Great importance is attached, particularly by the high nobility, to the use of the correct terms of address in order to define precisely the relative statuses of individuals. This can result in what seem anomalous usages: for instance, the wife of the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua is referred to as the elder sister of her child (Daenna Andi' X), since she is a commoner and therefore of lower rank than her own children, who are thus unable to call her "Puang".

The appropriate title to use for an individual may be a matter of some dispute, for the borderline between - in particular - the nobility and the tau décéng is in practice far from distinct. In theory it is precisely defined: if an ana'matola man marries a commoner woman and if their son and son's son likewise both marry commoners, then the offspring of this third hypergamous marriage are no longer andi' but sink into the tau décéng. In this case, they no longer have the right to be called Andi' but must, if a man, be addressed by the tau décéng title of Ambo' or the commoner title of La, if a woman as Indo' or I (followed by her name). A young trader of my acquaintance called himself Andi' Sinu, but some people refused to allow him this title and referred to him simply as La Sinu : this was because his father, father's father and father's paternal grandfather had all married commoners. It was said of Andi' (or La) Sinu that the "white blood" of royalty had become too thin in his veins. Similarly, the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua has half-siblings who are not called Andi' because they were children of his father by a commoner wife: since there had been several such marriages in earlier generations, it was considered that their rank had sunk too low to any longer be classed as noble, whereas the high birth of the Kepala Wanuwa's mother ensured that he remained an undisputed noble. His own children by his present commoner wife are still however, called Andi' although their blood has again become "thin"; this once more suggests the importance of office-holding for reversing the decline in status which inter-rank marriage would otherwise produce. If a family is wealthy and well-respected, this may also result in others over-looking their over-frequent marriages with commoners.

Popular assignment of tau décéng status is likewise greatly influenced by considerations of wealth and respect for personal qualities. Frequently if a man is well-to-do and self-confident, owning much land and a large house with the symbols of present-day affluence - chairs and tables, four-poster beds, a corrugated iron roof - it is assumed that he must have some, perhaps forgotten, noble connections. The size and mixed population of the

village makes it difficult for people to know with certainty the origins of all its inhabitants. Apart from those people who may or may not be tau décéng in the strict sense of the word, there is a well-defined group of tau décéng who have intermarried with the family of the Arung Ana'banua for generations and whose status, wealth and prestige are indisputable. They have a distinct consciousness of belonging to particular status level and possess an ideology which stresses achievement of wealth and social recognition. This ideology has driven many members of this group to migrate in order to seek greater power and riches than they could find at home, where their close kin-ties with the anakarung have brought them close to the centres of power while their inferior rank has made it impossible for them to accede to the high offices of the wanuwa and the state. This is still largely true today, for although the offices of Kepala Wanuwa are elective, they have in many areas - including Kalola and Ana'banua - been monopolised by descendants of former Arung. On the other hand, some new avenues of social mobility have opened up to the more ambitious tau décéng: notably teaching and the civil service.

Marriage between Ranks

There is a certain patrilineal bias in the assignment of rank which arises from the strongly held conviction that a woman should never marry beneath her. This is the reason why in all discussions of the ranking system it is assumed that in marriage between people of unequal rank, the man is the higher in rank. And indeed, it very rarely occurred in the past - nor does it often happen now - that a woman of high rank is married to a man of lower birth. Indeed, in many Bugis and Makassarese areas, such as Boné and Gowa, there were very strong sanctions against such alliances. Kennedy (1953:100) was told that in Boné such a marriage was considered a cause of disaster - of droughts and crop-failure - and was punished by death: the man was often put to the sword, while the woman was thrown into the sea and drowned. Later, under the Dutch, this severe punishment was replaced by exile: the woman was separated from her husband for five years (Kennedy, 1953:105). In Wajo', the ade' was less rigid and a woman of high birth could marry a man of lower rank if he was "brave, rich, clever or a man of religion" (Andi' Hasan Machmud). Thus, a commander of the army was often able to marry a noble woman, whatever his own rank:

People who are clever or brave can rise (in status) but they cannot become real nobles - their children cannot become rajas (Andi' Hasan).

In practice, wealth appears to have been the most important qualification for a man to earn the right to intermarry with the nobility. An older sister of the Petta Ranreng Tau - in fact, a half-sister by a mother of

lower birth - at the end of the nineteenth century was married to a wealthy commoner, presumably a tau décéng since he bore the title of Daéng. He was a merchant with considerable property in land and houses in Singapore, all of which had to be given to his prospective bride before the marriage proposal could be accepted.

An unequal marriage of this kind is only ever allowed when a higher than usual bride-price has been paid. The payments associated with a marriage take two forms. Firstly, there are contributions of cash, livestock, rice and so on which the groom's family make to help the bride's parents to meet the expenses of the wedding feast: these payments, which are agreed in discussions between the two sides before the wedding, are called dui ménré, literally "money which rises". The second kind of bride-price is the sompa, a nominal sum specified by the bride's family at the time of the marriage - but this is never actually paid and is thus not a matter for negotiation between the families of bride and groom. It is the dui ménré which is raised to extraordinary heights where a marriage is proposed by a man of wealth but low birth. In February 1971, I witnessed an example of a noble girl "marrying down" in Boné. This marriage was said to be the first occasion in Boné that a girl of noble birth had married a commoner and it created a sensation. Friends of the family claimed that the bride's parents had demanded what they considered to be an impossibly high bride-price to discourage the parents of the prospective groom from continuing with their suit. Due ménré was set at Rp. 550,000 in cash and 100 grams of gold, together with large quantities of sugar, butter, flour and everything that the bride's family was likely to need for the wedding festivities. Instead of the young man's parents accepting defeat and retiring gracefully, they felt so shamed by this contemptuously high bride-price that they raised the sum demanded and the marriage went ahead - although in an atmosphere of ill-concealed hostility. The father of the groom, who came from Témpé in Wajo, was the owner of the Ridha bus company, one of the largest in South Sulawesi. He clearly wished to raise his social status to the same high level as his economic standing through the marriage of his son to a noble girl. Where a marriage of this kind occurs, it is considered that the parents have "sold" their daughter - on other occasions the money and other gifts given by the groom's family are regarded as assistance to the bride's family in meeting the expenses of the wedding festivities.

Hypogamous marriages in general seem to be associated with the rise of wealthy and ambitious men from the commoner class, usually through success in trade. Thus, a tau décéng informant in Ana'banua (Ambo' Upe)

told me how his father, Daéng Maroa', had married his mother, Andi' Palettai, during the Dutch colonial period. They were not kin and Daéng Maroa' was of lower rank: as a result he had to pay dui ménré of 100 ringgit (silver coins), one slave,* a kerbau and a piece of sawah. He was fortunately a rich man - a policeman and trader - and could well afford this. Ambo' Upe claims that his mother's family "were all andi': before this time, there had never been a marriage with someone who was not of the same rank". This is a statement commonly made with reference to such marriages and indicates both their rarity and the shame attached to them. This shame is somewhat less if the groom is tau décéng, as Ambo' Upe's father was: "He was a daéng so it was still possible for him to marry an andi'; if someone is not a daéng it is usually impossible - unless a great deal of dui ménré is given".

In view of the comparatively high cash incomes which may be earned in the rantau, it is not surprising to find that returned migrants are prominent among those men who seek a wife of higher birth. A first cousin of Ambo' Upe, Andi' Bali, married his daughter to a man who had actually been born in Jambi, in Kampung Laut:

When he wanted to marry, he came to Ana'banua - his parents were To Ana'banua. He was a distant relative of Andi' Bali. They were not of the same rank so he had to pay a very high bride-price to marry Andi' Sa'dia (Andi Bali's daughter). This was the first time anyone had given Rp. 100,000 as dui ménré. Twenty-four days after their marriage, Andi' Sa'dia accompanied her husband to Kampung Laut, but she died there: she was pregnant and had high blood pressure.

Although such a marriage is expensive by Ana'banua standards, so great is the inflation of bride-prices in Jambi that Rp. 100,000 would not be considered excessive there - and marriage to a noble girl from one's home region carries considerable prestige.

In Wajo', the marriage of a woman with a man of lower birth has an adverse effect on the status of her children: whereas the children of a noble father and a commoner father are normally still given the title of Andi', the offspring of the alliance of a commoner man with a noble woman are generally denied this title. There is a well-known Bugis saying which justifies this practice: "Ambo'émí mappabbati, indo'é attarongmi" (only father is the measure of rank, mother is only the receptacle). Since the rank of the children of a hypogamous marriage is in fact accepted as being higher than that of their father, it seems that the denial of noble status is largely a mark of disapproval of what is generally considered (at least by the nobility) to be an improper marriage. However, in the Bugis

* Since slavery had already been abolished, he probably in fact paid an equivalent sum in cash.

migrant communities in Malaysia and Sumatra this rule is less rigidly observed and the children of a commoner by a noble wife are given the title of Andi'. Thus, the children of the Ranreng Tua's elder sister, Petta Bau Paria, are all called Andi', although their father was only tau décéng.

The advantages for social mobility of marriage to a woman of higher rank are clear, but it is more difficult to understand why a man of high birth should wish to marry a commoner - or even a slave. One important reason is that such a marriage is far cheaper: the parents of a noble girl, especially if they are ana'matola, are expected to give lavish wedding feasts extending over at least three days and the groom and his kin have an obligation to contribute generously towards the expenses of the wedding. In addition, the high rank of the bride is indicated in the course of the marriage ceremonies by exchanges of rare and precious gifts - again raising the cost of the whole proceedings for the groom, since he must agree before his proposal is accepted to give rings, other jewellery, make-up, clothing, sarongs and numerous other items to the bride, while politely returning any gifts which the bride's family makes to him. Another reason for hypergamous marriages is that a man of very high rank may quite simply be unable to find himself a wife who is his equal. Moreover, equality of rank is not the only - or even the primary - consideration in the arrangement of a marriage: close kin relationship may sometimes outweigh the disadvantage of the bride's lower birth. Relative wealth is also taken into account. Although the bride's parents are not obliged to make any payments to the groom, and the gifts they send him in the course of the wedding ceremonies are returned, nonetheless they usually help the young couple to the best of their ability. If they are rich, they may give the bride and groom large sums of money and property, such as sawah, fish-ponds or a house. So long as the marriage lasts, the man can expect to receive financial assistance from a wealthy father-in-law. Today we find that the political influence or office of the bride's father is also taken into account. The daughter of a high civil servant or army officer may be seen as an excellent match, even though she is of lower birth.

Before and during the Dutch colonial period, men of the nobility - particularly those who had become rulers - tended to marry numerous times and many of their wives were chosen on the basis of their looks rather than their rank. Marriages could be entered into lightly and ended with as little fuss, so long as the bride's social standing was low: wives of this kind were little better than concubines. A daughter of one of the last

Arung Ana'banua, Petta Teddu, told me that her father "probably had about 20 wives and more than 50 children" - but most of his liaisons had been so casual that she knew little about them. In Boné, in 1950, Kennedy (1953:200) was told that there was much marriage with women of lower rank because "it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free". Brooke in 1840 had observed the same lack of respect for wives of low rank: "The rajahs", he wrote, "have wives of inferior rank; but on marriage with a woman of their own class, these wives are divorced" (1848:75). Until quite recently, it very often happened in Wajo' that men of the ruling class took one or more wives of low rank before they undertook the far more onerous responsibility of marriage with a woman of their own rank. It is notable that the elder half-siblings of Andi' Ninnong (such as Petta Bau Paria) were all of lower birth than she, for it was only in his middle years that her father, the Petta Ranreng Tua, had married a wife of equivalent rank. The Camat Maniangpajo, Haji Andi' Tantu, had also married three commoner wives - and had four children by one of them - before he finally married his present wife, Petta Cannu, a woman of even higher birth than he. He had to agree to divorce his current commoner wife, the mother of his children, before his suit was accepted. Nowadays it far more often happens that first marriages take place between nobles of more or less equal rank, for it is no longer respectable for a government official to have more than one wife: this makes it far more important than formerly for a first wife to be of the appropriate rank. It is possible that as a result, the high nobility of Wajo' and other Bugis areas may be becoming more exclusive in their choice of marriage partners, with a consequent diminution in the wide range of ties of marriage and kinship which formerly bound them to the commoner class of their own state.

Kinship and Marriage

An individual's closest social ties are invariably with his own kindred, kinship links being recognised up to a range of third or fourth cousin and beyond, although kin more remote than third cousin tend to be referred to simply as siajeng (or famili) - relatives - and the exact genealogical relationship cannot be traced. Apart from a few members of the high nobility with specialised genealogical knowledge, most individuals trace kin links by extension from their parents' kinship ties: for example: "Abu is my second cousin (sapu kadua) because his father was my mother's first cousin (sapu sisseng)"; they have no knowledge of their exact genealogical relationship. Indeed trying to collect genealogies in a Bugis village is an anthropologist's nightmare: unless ego was personally acquainted with his

greatgrandparents or even his grandparents, he is unlikely to remember their names or to know anything about them - unless one of his ancestors was of high birth or office, in which case his name will be passed down through the generations.

The kinship system is bilateral, with equal weight being given to kin on both the father's and the mother's side. Inheritance is also bilateral, both male and female children receiving equal shares in a parent's property, with one exception which has already been noted: namely, that the child (usually the youngest child, particularly the youngest daughter) who has cared for the aged parent, on his or her death receives the family house in addition to a share in the rice-fields and other property. In the absence of living children, a person's property is divided amongst his or her siblings; if they are also dead, first cousins (both cross- and parallel-) may have rights of inheritance in the land which originally belonged to their common ancestor. Titles are also inherited by both male and female children and offices too were frequently held by a daughter of the former ruler or chief.

Close kin are expected to assist each other in times of need and at life-crisis ceremonies: birth, circumcision, marriages and death. Often relatives come from distant villages in order to attend such ceremonies, particularly if a wedding is to be held. The most intense social interaction and intervisiting is between close kin (siblings and first cousins in particular), who are often close neighbours too, since there is a strong tendency for newly-married couples to build their houses in close proximity to the parents and siblings of one spouse. This results in the development of the residential kinship clusters within the village which were mentioned in Chapter II.

Marriages, particularly first marriages - are with few exceptions arranged by the parents and the bride and groom often meet for the first time after the marriage has been solemnized (the bride's father or legal guardian signs the wedding contract on her behalf). The bride may be very young. Today, she is generally aged between 14 and 16 years but formerly girls were married off at a very early age, often before reaching puberty: a surprising number of married women in their thirties or older (10 per cent of women in the sample group) claimed that they had never menstruated before the birth of their first child. Quite often the bride is most unwilling to marry, since it means that she will be forced to leave school if she is attending one (and school-days are happy ones for Bugis children) and take on new and onerous duties. Not surprisingly, first marriages sometimes quickly break up - indeed, if the bride or groom takes a strong

dislike to his or her new partner, the marriage may end in divorce within a few weeks without ever having been consummated. Before the marriage can take place, long negotiations are conducted between the parents of the prospective bride and groom to determine the sum of money and other gifts (cloth, sarongs, rice, one or more water-buffalo) - the *dui ménré* - which will be paid to the bride's parents, mainly as a contribution towards the cost of the wedding party. If the bride subsequently refuses to accept her husband, these gifts must all be returned - often a great hardship for the parents since the money, buffalo and so on will already have been used for the wedding festivities. For this reason, strong pressure is put on the young bride to accept her husband.

Even if the girl already knows her husband and has even been his girlfriend (although this is very rare) she would be ashamed to speak to him or sleep with him too soon or people will jeer at her, saying: "They really did know each other before the marriage!" Usually she will refuse to have anything to do with him for about five days. But if the girl does not know her husband, her resistance may be more prolonged, lasting for a week, a month, even - in extreme cases - for several months or even years. Usually her family help to break down this resistance by, for example, waiting until she has gone to sleep and then leaving her alone in bed so that her husband is free to come to her. Often the husband's chance comes during the traditional three-day visit to the groom's home after the marriage.

Sometimes the bride is so adamant in her refusal to have anything to do with her husband - even to speak to him - that the marriage ends in divorce. Indo' Emeng (daughter of a rich tau *décéng*) was married to a cousin against her will and never liked her husband. During the visit to his family at Jongkang, he constantly followed her around and tried to become intimate with her until eventually, unable perhaps to get rid of him in any other way, she stabbed him three times in the arm and immediately returned home. They were quickly divorced (*Juliati*).

More often, however, the girl gives in to persuasion: out of over 100 women covered by the sample survey, only five claimed that their first marriage had never been consummated.

If a marriage can survive the first critical year, it often proves extremely enduring. Thus, out of 75 first marriages of men in the sample group, 51 were still extant and more than half of these had already lasted for more than ten years. Four marriages had ended in the death of the wife and 20 in divorce - 12 of these within the first two years of the marriage. Marriages with kin did not appear to be any more or less stable than those with non-kin, nor were there any significant differences between marriages with different categories of kin. Nor were marriages with women from the same or nearby villages more stable than those where one spouse came from a more remote part of Wajo' - and both kinds of marriage were equally common. It is only marriages with women from other

districts of South Sulawesi which show a very high divorce rate - perhaps due to differences in custom as well as to a natural reluctance on the part of the wife to be separated by great distances from her kin. One must conclude that the stability of most first marriages is due less to close kin-ties or common origin from the same village or wanuwa and more to a natural reluctance of the young couple to disappoint the high hopes that their parents and kin have that the marriage will last and justify the money spent on it. The fact that men and women in any case have their own relatively self-contained social worlds, and in the first months or years of marriage generally spend much of their time with their own natal families, tends to smooth the transition to marriage in most cases. Once the couple have a child, they usually become devoted parents and the danger of divorce or separations begins to recede. Divorces after more than five years of marriage are comparatively rare.

TABLE VIII: FIRST MARRIAGES OF MEN (SAMPLE GROUP):

KIN RELATIONSHIP TO WIFE

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cousins:				
sapu sisseng (1st)	2	1	-	3
sapu kadua (2nd)	9	4	-	13
sapu katellu - kaeppa (3rd-4th)	9	3	-	12
Other kin	13	3	1	17
<u>Total kin:</u>	33	11	1	45
<u>Non-kin:</u>	18	9	3	30
 Total Marriages:	 51	 20	 4	 75

Although ties of kinship do not appear to make any great contribution to marriage stability, nonetheless the normal and preferred form of marriage is with kin, usually with cousins (i.e., kin on the same generation level) but also with people who are simply *siajeng* (where the exact kin relationship is unknown) and with classificatory uncles and nieces. Marriage between adjacent generations of kin is permitted - except with a sibling's child - and a man may even marry the daughter of a first cousin, his classificatory niece. It would, however, be considered unnatural for a man to marry his classificatory aunt unless the relationship was very remote indeed and could be reclassified as simply one between *siajeng*. I was told that parents look not for wealth but for close kin relationships: "It is only those who are close who are sought". One noble informant (Andi' Ongko) claimed: "People here marry kin, be they stupid, be they ugly -

so long as that is what their parents want - but when they have had one or two children they marry again!" The most highly regarded marriage is with a close cousin (either cross- or parallel-), usually with a second or third cousin, for first cousins are widely regarded as being too like siblings to marry. Moreover, a divorce between first cousins is likely to damage the intimate relationship between their parents. (However, as we have seen, marriages with first cousins may be deliberately sought by the high nobility). Among the wealthier families, particularly the tau décéng, first marriages with non-kin are very rare, although a second or subsequent marriage may be with an unrelated woman. Poorer people of the tau sama rank are rather more likely to marry non-kin, but even they almost invariably express a preference for marriage with cousins. Marriages between remote kin, for example fourth cousins, are sometimes deliberately arranged in order to bring the kin-group back together and ensure that the relationship is not forgotten. A marriage with a distant kinswoman in, for example, Témpé (adjoining Séngkang), is a means of maintaining a convenient tie with a town: a surprising number of wives in fact prove to have come from Témpé. One also finds wives sought among kin or acquaintances in Paré2 for the same (undeclared) reasons.

In view of the intensity of interaction of each individual with the locally-based segment of his kindred, marriages between close kin may be regarded as a means of limiting kinship ties with their associated obligations of frequent intervisiting and mutual assistance at life-cycle rituals. Another motive for cousin marriage is a desire to prevent the fragmentation of landholdings which results from the practice of dividing land and property amongst all children, both male and female. An example of a marriage in which the property motive was dominant occurred in the family of one of my closest informants. The father of the girl, Messi, had migrated to Sumatra in the 1950's leaving his wife and daughters behind. Since he had no intention of returning to Ana'banua, his land became the property of his children - held in trust for them by their mother. His brother sought to arrange a marriage between his son and Messi in order to gain control of the land which Messi's father had inherited from their parents. Although Messi's mother was not on particularly friendly terms with her husband's brother, and she and her kin were dissatisfied with the amount of bridewealth offered, she was obliged to agree to the match, for in the absence abroad of Messi's father his brother, according to Islamic law, became her Wali or legal guardian, with the right to give her away in marriage.

Amongst the highest families, first marriages are often arranged with close cousins of equal status in order not only to prevent the dispersion of property beyond the circle of close kin, but also to maintain the purity of blood of the future offspring of the marriage. Since the number of arung families is very small (at the most, two per cent of the village population), they tend to marry relatives from other wanuwa and even from other daerah. Marriages of commoners in general take place within the wanuwa and with a few closely-situated villages in adjacent wanuwa; the majority of marriages occur within a radius of about five kilometers from the village of Ana'banua. However, there are not infrequent cases of marriages with people from distant areas, usually a kinsman who has moved to a remote part of South Sulawesi or even abroad - perhaps to Sumatra - and wishes to reaffirm his kin-ties with relatives in his place of origin.

Because of a tendency towards endogamous marriages both within the kin-group and within the local village cluster, one might expect to find the existence of closed bilateral descent groups. However, the formation of discrete groups based on bilateral descent is in fact precluded by the fact that not even first marriages are invariably with kin (although in the majority of cases there is a kinship link) or they are with *siajeng* so remotely connected as to be little more than fictive kin; second and subsequent marriages (the divorce rate is fairly high) are even more frequently contracted with non-kin. There is, however, one ritual descent group consisting of the bilateral descendants of a former prince, Petta Bila, who meet regularly to conduct a ritual designed to ensure the safety and well-being of the group as a whole and of particular individuals, especially prospective brides or grooms. The family of the former Arung Ana'banua are the most important members of this group and the organisers of all ceremonies. Not all descendants of Petta Bila belong to the arung but all, by definition, have some traces of royal descent. There are about fifty members resident within Ana'banua and nearby villages; descendants living elsewhere rarely either attend or organise such rituals.

In summary, the chief basis for association, friendship and moral or material aid is kinship, but kin-groups are not clearly structured. They consist basically of a conglomeration of overlapping kindreds, each individual tending to recognise not only his own kindred (to about third cousin range) but also the kindreds of kin and affines with whom he has intimate personal ties. In this way there develop loose groupings of related households whose most intense social interaction is with each other, although friendships with neighbours, more remote kin and non-kin with common interests are by no means precluded. They tend, however, to lack the

easy assumption of mutual obligation and willingness to assist that is found between close kin.

Rank and Kinship

Differences in rank influence who one will marry, the form of the marriage ceremony, and the kin relationships established by marriage. In the choice of a spouse, inequalities of rank constitute a limitation of the sphere of potential brides: a commoner cannot in general aspire to marry a noble girl, while - at least in contracting a first marriage - a noble will nowadays usually seek to marry a girl of approximately equal rank and wealth. However, as we have seen above, it does sometimes happen that a wealthy man may be able to use his superior control of material resources to acquire a wife of high birth but inferior wealth. In this way he ensures that his children will inherit not only riches but also a rank higher than his own.

The marriage ceremony provides an opportunity for the reaffirmation of rank and the display of wealth. The weddings of the high nobility are marked by a series of lavish feasts, often lasting up to five days and consuming vast quantities of livestock, rice and other foodstuffs. Rank is manifested in the form of the elaborate ceremonies, arranged by calabai (transvestites) in the case of weddings of great families and involving large numbers of attendants for both bride and groom: their wet-nurses (formerly very numerous for children of the high nobility), girl relatives dressed in silk sarongs and the *ḥaju bodo*, small boys in white suits and caps. Weddings of lower nobility and commoners also involve much dressing up and complicated ceremonial, although generally the festivities last only one day and are considerably less expensive. In all weddings, a definite affirmation of the rank of the bride is made at the time of nikah, the signing of the marriage contract, when the groom's father is asked what sompa he will pay for the bride. The sompa is a brideprice theoretically paid by the groom's family which indicates the rank of the bride. It is stated in terms of old currency, no longer in use: one or more katti of silver are in theory paid for a high noble, 88 rella (reals) for a tau *décéng*, 44 rella for tau *maradéka* and 22 rella for those of lower rank, such as former slaves (in fact, the latter sum is rarely requested). Although the sompa can theoretically be converted into modern currency, at the rate of Rp. 1,000 per rella, in fact this is rarely paid, being purely an indicator of rank. It is said that the sompa "given" for a girl should never be less than her mother received - a restatement of the belief that a woman should never marry below her, thus lowering the rank of her children.

Marriages of the nobility are often a means of creating advantageous political alliances, or consolidating the political strength and wealth of a powerful family by ensuring their children do not marry outsiders. Formerly, the numerous marriages of the rulers of Bugis states were designed not merely to gratify the excessive sexual desires of the raja but also to create links with other ruling families, with the chiefs of smaller domains within his kingdom, and often too with influential and wealthy commoners. The frequent marriages of the former Arung Ana'banua have given their descendants a wide circle of relatives of almost every social rank. These constitute a large pool of potential supporters, as do the children of former wet-nurses, who are regarded as siblings and are prohibited marriage-partners. With the decline in the practice of multiple marriages, and in the use of wet-nurses, the circle of real and fictional kin of the arung is bound to narrow increasingly, as more remote kin become too "shy" (ma'siri') to remind their social superiors of their relationship, and as the number of new marriage alliances with non-nobles and non-kin decreases. There seems now to be a tightening of the ranks of the arung. As their political position becomes potentially less secure with the introduction of elective political offices, and as their wealth declines through the progressive fragmentation of their land, they become more anxious to maintain the purity of their blood, on which their claim to superior privilege and prestige depends. It is unlikely, however, that they will ever become an endogamous caste because of the importance to them of wealth and official position, which makes them ready to contemplate intermarriage with rising individuals who are from successful business families or who have achieved high civil or military office. If commoners of intelligence and education succeed in entering the higher ranks of the civil service and army in increasing numbers, it is predictable that inter-rank marriages will also begin to increase. Thus an increased exclusiveness of rank may in time give way to a blending of ranks and to the creation of a new upper class deriving its position from wealth and education.

CHAPTER IV: SOCIAL STATUS AND POLITICAL POWER

The political system of South Sulawesi was, at least on the surface, radically altered after the attainment of Independence, and - to an even greater degree - after the waning of the Kahar Muzakar rebellion in 1960. In this year, a governmental system on the Javanese pattern was introduced throughout the province, replacing completely the system of government by hereditary rulers which had been continued and strengthened by the Dutch. In Wajo', the 20 wanuwa which had composed the former confederation were grouped into 10 kecamatan conforming to the governmental structure now found throughout Indonesia; the wanuwa became subdivisions of a kecamatan and thus corresponded to the Javanese desa (see Table I above).

Although an elective political system has officially replaced one based upon hereditary rights to office, the old ideology of political power as an attribute of royal descent is far from dead. In much of South Sulawesi, political leaders continue to operate within two systems for the recognition of power and prestige: the traditional system in which authority and high status derive from purity of "blood" and descent from an hereditary ruler, and the modern system, based on the Indonesia-wide model, which confers power and respect upon the holders of government offices, both elective and appointive. (Here "traditional" and "modern" are used as shorthand descriptions for political systems which will be outlined more fully hereafter). In Makassar and some other areas, the modern system has prevailed and individuals of high traditional status have lost political authority; elsewhere a compromise solution has been reached with high government offices (even - perhaps especially - elective posts) being held by the same individuals who would have become rulers under the traditional system. Nowhere is this more true than in Wajo', where the descendants of former rulers still so completely monopolise the vast majority of offices that the daerah has attained a certain notoriety: in Makassar it is a cliché widely used by more "progressive" officials to describe Wajo' as "masih féodal" (still feudal) and the Wajo people as "kolot sekali" (very conservative/old-fashioned).

The Traditional Political System

The former political constitution of Wajo has already briefly been described above (Chapter I), as a confederation of petty princedoms (wanuwa) linked as allies (represented as "brothers"), as vassals ("children") and as "slaves" of more powerful princedoms within Wajo'. Those varied relationships reflected the nature of the expansion of the former tiny kingdom of Wajo', through conquest and the making of strategic alliances,

TABLE IX: POPULATION INCREASE, POPULATION DENSITY AND REDISTRIBUTION OF SAWAH IN WAJO'

Modern kecamatan	Dutch wanuwa	Population 1930	Population 1971	% increase	Area/ Km ²	Density/ Km ² (1971)	Sawah area (hectares)	hectares sawah/ inhabitant (1971)	Sawah as % of area
1. Sabbangparu	Liu Ugi Wage	5,324 5,818 8,508							
	Total	19,650	35,309	80	131.07	269	2,045	0.06	16
2. Pammana	Pammana	18,525	34,753	88	155.22	224	3,624	0.10	23
3. Tempe	Tempe Sengkang	7,861 10,081							
	Total	17,942	39,878	122	38.10	1.047	378	0.01	10
4. Takkalalla	Bola-Lempong Peneki	10,139 6,206							
	Total	16,345	39,417	141	352.94	112	10,890	0.28	31
5. Sajoanging	Penrang Akkotengang- Sakkoli	7,264 15,321							
	Total	22,585	33,396	48	320.60	104	12,788	0.38	40
6. Majauleng	Paria Tosora Rumpia	11,495 3,870 5,990							
	Total	21,355	29,244	37	230.79	127	10,346	0.35	45
7. Belawa	Belawa (Orai & Alau)	25,538	32,743	28	177.22	185	4,593	0.14	26
8. Tanasitolo	Tantjung Lowa	15,823 5,700							
	Total	21,523	32,240	50	153.49	210	4,872	0.15	32
9. Maniangpajo	Ana'banua Gilirang	7,798 7,613							
	Total	15,411	17,470	13	236.17	74	7,967	0.46	34
10. Pitumpanua	Pitumpanua	13,642	27,775	104	626.24	44	7,722	0.28	12
GRAND TOTAL:		192,516	322,225	67	2,567.06	125.5	65,225	0.20	25

Note: The figures for area of sawah are those given for 1967 but it is assumed that there has been no significant change since this time.

until the name Wajo' ceased to be associated with any particular wanuwa and became identified with the whole congeries of associated wanuwa. Similarly, the name To Wajo' (Wajo people) came to be proudly borne by all the inhabitants of the constituent wanuwa, at least in their relations with outsiders. In the references of nineteenth century English and Dutch writers to the activities of Bugis traders and colonists, it is generally remarked that most of these were To Wajo': thus it seems that at this time the people of Wajo' identified themselves very strongly with the confederation of Wajo' rather than with the whole Bugis-speaking people or with their own wanuwa. Terms of identification tend to vary depending upon context: today, in dealings with people from other parts of Wajo', an individual will identify himself by the name of his wanuwa, as To Ana'banua, To Gilireng and so on; in relationship to people of other daerah, however, he considers himself to be To Wajo', while on travels outside South Sulawesi he refers to himself by the Indonesian term orang Bugis (a Bugis person) in contradistinction to members of other ethnic groups.

From its foundation in the fifteenth century, Wajo' developed a Constitution which was remarkable for its complexity and the way in which it established a system of checks and balances ensuring a wide distribution of power, the internal autonomy of its constituent wanuwa and control by the various princes (arung) over the elective ruler of Wajo' as a whole, the Arung Matoa. The power to elect and dismiss the Arung Matoa was in the hands of the Arung Ennengé, the six great chiefs of Wajo'. The most important of these were the three Ranreng, associated with the three divisions (limpo) of Wajo' - Bettempola, Talo'tenreng and Tua - from which the original state of Wajo' was thought to have developed. The Ranreng Bettempola was the highest and most influential office-holder: he it was who became acting ruler of Wajo' in the interim period between the death or overthrow of an Arung Matoa and the appointment of his successor, and it was he who informed the Arung Matoa of a decision by the Arung Ennengé that the ruler had failed in his duties and should be dismissed. This repudiation of the Arung Matoa was signified by the Arung Bettempola appearing before him with his songkok, or cap, tilted to one side and a spittoon in his hand; these signs of disrespect told their own story and, without any words being exchanged, the ruler knew at once that he had lost his office (Abdurrazak, 1964:21).

The other three Arung Ennenge were the Pa'baté Lompo, known as Pilla, Patola and Cakkuridi, who were originally the war-leaders for the divisions of Bettempola, Talo'tenreng and Tua respectively; they were called after the colours of their flags, pilla meaning "red", patola "multi-coloured",

and cakkuridi "yellow". In practice, the three divisions of Wajo' were symbolic rather than political entities, and the pa'baté lombo were no more than particularly prestigious wanuwa chiefs: thus the office of Patola was generally held by the Datu Pammana and the Cakkuridi was usually also Arung Gilireng.

To return, however, to the theoretical Constitution of Wajo' enshrined in the lontara' (manuscript records of laws, myths, genealogies)* held by the great families of the state: According to this Constitution, the Arung Matoa, together with the Arung Ennengé constituted the Petta Wajo, or "Princes of Wajo'", who were entrusted with the government of the state, the formulation of codes of law, and defence against external aggression and the decision to wage war. Below them were the Arung Ma'bicara or "spokesmen" (literally, "talking chiefs"), thirty in number. Each Ranreng was supported by four Arung Ma'bicara entrusted with the task of deciding disputes referred to them by other less important Arung Ma'bicara (six in each division). In addition there were three Suro-Ribateng, one for each division, who acted as delegates or official representatives for Bettempola, Talo'tenreng and Tua respectively, upon the orders of the three Ranreng, the Baté Lombo or the Arung Matoa. Together, the Arung Matoa, the Arung Ennengé, the thirty Arung Ma'bicara and the three Suro-Ribateng - forty office-holders in all - constituted the highest governing body in Wajo', the Arung Patappuloé, the "forty chiefs" (see Table VIII).

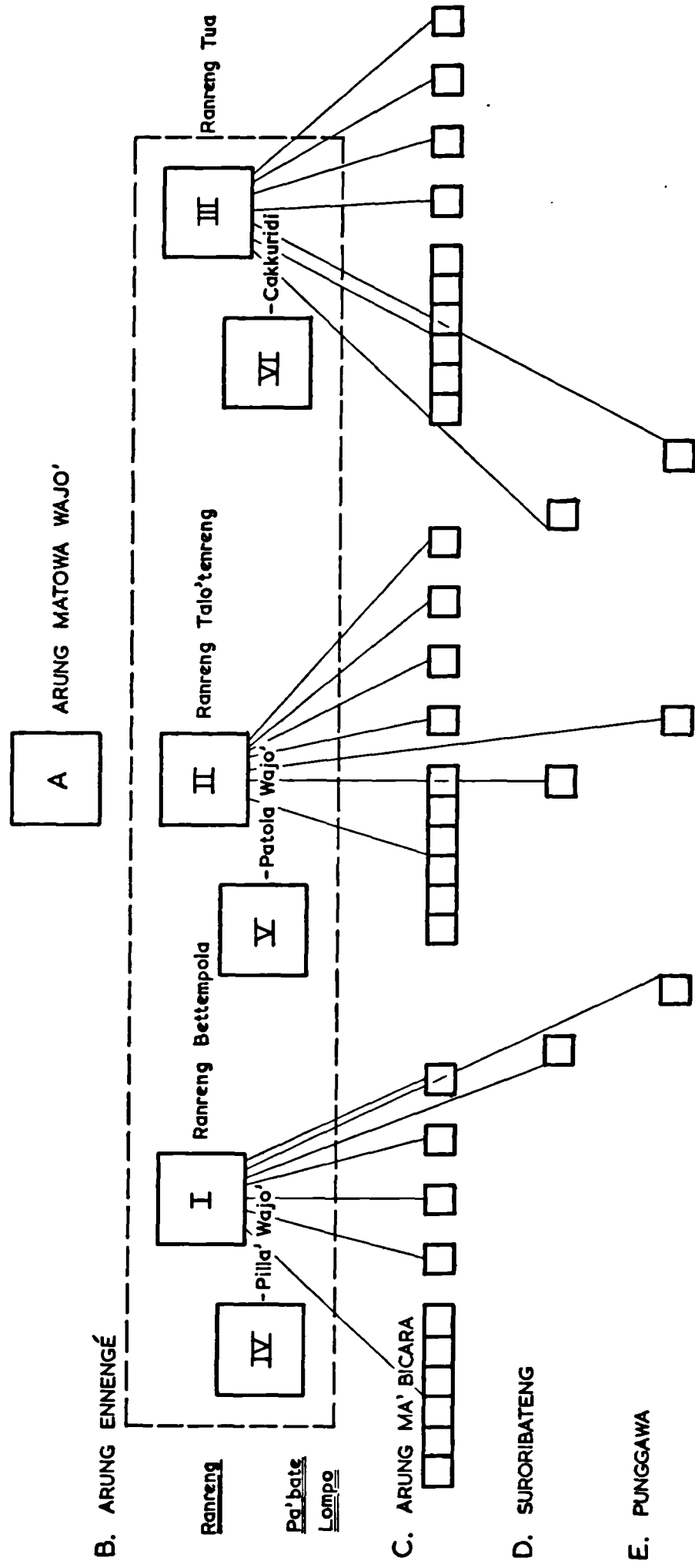
The supposedly "democratic" nature of the Wajo' Constitution is most clearly demonstrated in the office of Punggawa. There were three of these officials, one for each division. A punggawa was often referred to as inana tau maégaé, or "mother of the masses", a term which reflected his role as intermediary between the common people and their rulers. In fact, however, he acted rather as mediator between the great chiefs of Wajo' and the Arung Lili, the petty princes of the allied or vassal wanuwa (lili) of the three divisions (limpo). It was his task to convey the decisions of the Petta Wajo' to the Arung Lili. He also assisted the latter in settling disputes and dealing with problems which they themselves had proved unable to resolve within their domains; if the Punggawa himself was unsuccessful, the case might be referred to the Arung Ma'bicara or - if they too failed to find a solution - to the Arung Ennengé and, in the last resort, to the Arung Matoa. A decision reached by the Arung Matoa together with the Arung Ennengé and Arung Ma'bicara was final and no further discussion was allowed (Abdurrazak, 1964, Chapter IB).

After the Dutch assumed control of the internal affairs of Wajo' in 1906, they quickly introduced changes which converted the Petta Wajo' into

* These were formerly written on lontar-palm leaves.

I THE GOVERNMENT OF WAJO' IN FORMER TIMES (based on Abdurrazak, 1964)

A+B+C+D = Arung Patappuloé ri Wajo' (the forty chiefs of Wajo'), otherwise known as Puang ri Wajo'



civil servants in charge of government departments, made most of the Arung Lili into kampong heads, and dispensed altogether with the other offices of state. Since the old Constitution was so completely swept away, it is difficult today to assess to what extent it was ever a working reality. Most descriptions of the governmental system of Wajo' date from the period of Dutch indirect rule, or are based upon the Bugis lontara', with their ideal picture of the offices of state arranged in a regular and largely symbolic pattern of balanced oppositions. However, we do have some indication of how the system worked in practice, in the pre-Dutch period, from the observations of a perceptive and relatively unbiased visitor to the state in 1840 - James Brooke.

Brooke's description of the Wajo' Constitution closely matches that given above, with one exception - the reference to a "general council of the people" below the Council of Forty (Arung Patappuloé) and the three punggawa. According to Brooke (1848:63), the Council of Forty was appealed to in all cases of importance and must reach a unanimous decision: failing this: "the general council is convened through their pangawas, and the ultimate decision of the question rests with the aru matoah". The general council was "composed of the heads of villages and all the respectable freemen, who are convened on extraordinary occasions, to state their opinions and discuss important questions, without, however, having the power of arriving at a decision". Perhaps more effective as a check on the often arbitrary rule of the princes of Wajo' was the influence of the punggawa:

With them only it rests to summon a meeting of the council of forty. They possess the right of veto to the appointment of an aru matoah. Their command alone is a legal summons to war, no chief or body having the right, or even authority, to call the freemen to the field. The census of the population and the appointment of freemen, as heads of towns or villages, are in their hands, with many other privileges (1848:62-3)*

Their rights and privileges were strongly upheld by the punggawa against encroachment:

"If the rajahs wish to call the people to war", they said, "they cannot do so without our permission; we are a free people" (1848:80).

Brooke was not deceived by these moderating influences upon the power of the princes into believing Wajo' to be a democracy for, he noted, "their

* Curiously, Brooke states that: "The election of these pangawas rests with the people, and is generally hereditary" (my emphasis). This apparent contradiction may refer to a common Bugis practice whereby an office-holder is chosen from amongst a number of heirs.

practice is very much at variance with their written laws". As Brooke saw it:

The Government of Wajo' is feudal, and comprised of numerous rajahs, independent, or nearly so, living in their own districts, possessing the power of life and death, and each surrounded by a body of slave retainers or serfs attached solely to the fortunes of their master ... The encroaching and arbitrary spirit of the rajahs is the source of the principal mischief in Wajo', and the dissolute habits and unpublished crimes of their followers produce the worst results (1848:61-2, 71).

At this time, Wajo' had been without an Arung Matoa for six years: the six great chiefs had been unable to agree upon a successor since they were torn by the conflict - described in Chapter I above - over the succession to the neighbouring state of Sidenreng. That struggles for territory or influence, as well as examples of simple trouble-making were not isolated incidents is attested by the Sedjarah Wadjo (History of Wajo'), which records numerous disputes over the succession to kingdoms and chiefdoms, over the theft of goods (considered a sign of daring rather than a criminal act) and other great or petty misdeeds.*

Despite the often arbitrary nature of the rule of their chiefs, it appears that the freemen of Wajo' participated to a considerable extent in the political affairs both of the state and of their own wanuwa of birth or residence. They lacked the right to govern but possessed the freedom to hold and express their own opinions, although probably only the more respected of them would actually have done so before a chief. In all important and exciting events, the common people were spectators and participants. Thus, if a chief received a letter from another chief or ruler, it was read aloud for the benefit of the whole assembled crowd and a public discussion began of its contents and the appropriate reply, a discussion in which it is true - in the example witnessed by Brooke - the chief speakers were office-holders, such as the punggawa, or individuals of influence (for example, an "old haji"), while the company generally merely expressed approbation or disapproval for their views (Brooke, 1848: 120-1).

The freemen also played a role in the installation of an Arung Matoa. At this time:

all the rajahs, the freemen, and their respective followers, are present, forming a vast body of people. One part of the ceremony is curious and characteristic. The chief about to be elected urges his unfitness for the office. "I am foolish", he says. - "I am pusillanimous - I am poor". The response is, "Wajo is wise - Wajo is brave - Wajo is rich". Great rejoicings take place, and allegiance is sworn to the elected monarch (1848:121-2).

* Abdurrazak, 1964: see page 76 for an example of a succession dispute (regarding the wanuwa of Tépé) and page 77 for theft by the Arung Pénéki of salt sent by a raja of Boné to Wajo'.

Some of the wealthier and more respected freemen achieved political office: these were drawn from the class of sea-going traders or nakoda. Hajis appear also to have had some say in deliberations concerning affairs of state; thus, when Brooke (1848:148) visited the Arung Bettempola to urge him to appoint the Arung Matoa, he was supported not only by the punggawa but also by several hajis. They probably derived their influence not only from their superior religious merit, but also from the wealth required, and symbolised, by the making of the haj to Mecca; the vast majority of hajis were doubtless present or former traders.

Within the wanuwa - as within Wajo' as a whole - there was considerable devolution of power from the political head to subordinate office-holders. The political structure of Wajo' in fact resembled a set of nesting boxes, with Wajo' being composed of thirty wanuwa, each possessing almost complete internal autonomy, and with each wanuwa in turn often being divided into two to four limpo, each with its own head (matoa or macoa) and subordinate officials. The arung (ruler) was often - particularly in the larger wanuwa and where he was not only a local ruler but one of the great chiefs of the state - a symbolic leader only, actual political power being exercised in his name by a regent. Thus in Paria, while the titular head was the Arung Paria, executive power was in the hands of the arung malolo (malolo = young), assisted by a number of dignitaries with specialised functions: pallima (war), pakkaté (agriculture) and passaé (intermediary with the people). Each of the three limpo of Paria had its own senior and junior arung. In addition, Paria had five vassal wanuwa attached to it, and these in turn had their own local governments: for example, Laérung in the limpo of Tengnga had an arung and officials in charge of war, agriculture and relations with the people (Pelras, 1971: 173, 219). In Gilireng, the arung was also normally Cakkuridi Wajo' - one of the Arung Ennengé - and the actual government of both Gilireng proper and the subdivision of Arajang was entrusted to a Sulléwateng, usually a close relative of the Arung Gilireng - indeed, the Arung was not infrequently succeeded by the Sulléwateng Gilireng, who was often a younger brother or son. This was a common pattern in Wajo', the multiplication of offices ensuring that many of the numerous offspring of the princes could achieve political office. The fragmentation of political units into smaller units, each possessing their own administrations, also resulted in very close ties between local rulers and the people of the often tiny domains under their sway.

At the bottom of the political hierarchy were the villages (kampong). The officials of each wanuwa, such as the pallima, passaé, etc. mentioned above, not only together constituted a council (Hadat) to advise the arung

and execute his commands, but they also individually usually had some kampongs under them. Within each village, a special position was held by descendants of the family which had founded the settlement. These were called anang and the oldest and most important among them was appointed uluanang, chief of the anang; he was responsible mainly for the settlement of disputes in an amicable fashion or for bringing unresolved disputes before the Hadat. The uluanang played a role in the designation of candidates for the office of arung - for there was no automatic right of succession by, for example, the eldest son - and also for membership of the Hadat. They were also summoned to attendance at important meetings. They were considered as representatives of kin-groups - the basic units of society - against the royal government. Other local officials were the macoa kampong, who were consulted on special topics and whose job closely resembled that of the uluanang, the macoa paddare' (concerned with agriculture), macoa pakkaja (fisheries) and macoa pabbalu (trade) and - the lowest functionary - the parrenung or saréang who summoned kampong members to attendance at meetings, transmitted the instructions of the Hadat and so on (Ablij, 1938: 532-4).

Limits of Traditional Political Power

The picture presented of Wajo' in the pre-Dutch period is of a society in which a complicated system of checks and balances - with each political leader being responsible to other office-holders above or below him - prevented the worst excesses of power. It also enabled the people of the commoner class, while debarred by birth from succession to the majority of political offices, nonetheless to participate directly or through the uluanang and other dignitaries in government at the local level. The plundering and violence of chiefs and their vast retinues of followers appears to have been largely directed against rival chiefs and to have been part of a power struggle aimed at establishing political supremacy within a political system in which princes were over-abundant and every office had numerous claimants. If chiefs exploited their subjects, they were likely to lose the people upon whom their power depended, for in a situation where land was abundant and population sparse, harsh rule could readily be eluded by flight and there were doubtless many chiefs ready and willing to offer refuge to immigrants from other wanuwa. Gullick's description (1958:113) of the checks on the power of chiefs in the Malay Peninsula could equally well be applied to the Bugis states:

A chief had to hold and if possible to increase the population of his district ... If he oppressed them unduly or failed to protect them against marauders, the people would flee and settle elsewhere.

That the Bugis chiefs succeeded in gaining and holding the loyalty of their subjects is suggested by the fact that when South Sulawesi was torn by conflict after the Dutch intervention in 1667, the large groups of émigrés who shifted to other islands were almost without exception led by their prince - not fleeing from him!

The history of the growth of the state of Wajo' illustrates the importance of population mobility as a controlling influence upon the behaviour of their rulers. Before Wajo' became firmly established as a unified state and was able to begin its expansion, several abortive attempts at the formation of petty kingdoms had been made: under a good and wise ruler, settlements had been founded and had flourished, only to decay again and to lose all their inhabitants when the leadership fell vacant or an unjust ruler succeeded as arung. It is notable that in agreements made between many of the most notable early rulers and their subjects the right of the people to leave the kingdom was guaranteed. For example, after the misdeeds of the third king of Wajo' had led many of his subjects to leave the kingdom for neighbouring states, he was dismissed by the Arung Bettempola (and subsequently murdered); the Arung Bettempola then made a solemn promise to the people of Wajo' that their freedom and independence would be safeguarded and that they would receive justice in all matters; moreover, he declared:

If you wish to leave, you will not be detailed; if you wish to stay, you will not be ordered to leave; the door of Wajo' is open to go out, the door of Wajo' is open to come in ...
(Abdurrazak, 1964:39)

This promise became part of the ceremony for the installation of a new ruler, the new Arung Matoa guaranteeing the right of free entry and exit from the state in return for a commitment by his future subjects that they would fulfil their duties towards him (Pelras, 1971:174-5). An adage, not only inscribed in the lontara' but also widely known by the people of Wajo' to this day, proudly declares their independence from their lords:

Maradeka to Wajde; ade'nami napopuang.

That is: "The people of Wajo' are free; their custom (ade') only is their master". This custom, however, was by no means a charter for either democracy or anarchy but only for a mild form of government by a highly privileged, greatly respected aristocracy, whose powers were restricted by the customary expectation that they would fulfil their side of the social contract with their people: that they would ensure the prosperity and safety of their domain, and provide just rule, in return for the loyalty and support of their subjects. This support included the making of certain prescribed gifts when a buffalo was sacrificed or the crop was harvested;

and if a ceremony (for a birth, ear-piercing, marriage etc.) was held in the house of the arung, his subjects were expected to bring presents appropriate to their wealth: a few eggs, a piece of white cloth, a sheaf of rice from the poor; a silk sarong, one or two sacks of rice, or a buffalo from the rich.

The chief income of the arung was derived from land, forests and fishing-grounds attached to the office: these will be further discussed in Chapter V. There were no taxes imposed on the population of Wajo', only upon foreigners: for example, the pallawa tana paid by strangers who came to take a wife in the wanuwa (this was proportional to the sompa - the bride-price indicative of the bride's rank). The most important taxes were those levied on markets and on vessels entering port (Pelras, 1971:205-6). The encouragement of trade was thus a matter of great interest to Wajo's rulers, one eighteenth century Arung Matoa (reigning 1715-36) actually establishing a kind of state bank to finance trade: the profits were divided between the depositors and the Arung Matoa (Abdurrazak, 1964:63).

Political Authority and the Supernatural

The right of the nobility to monopolise the high offices of wanuwa and state was legitimised by their claim to descent from supernatural beings, who had descended from the heavens or ascended from the underworld to become the rulers of men and establish order in human society. The purer the "white blood" of a prince, the greater the mystical awe in which he was held and the firmer the belief in his power to influence the forces of nature.

Car cet ordre dont ils sont le fondement, ce n'est pas seulement l'ordre social c'est aussi l'ordre cosmique. Entre eux et le territoire placé sous leur sauvegarde, il existe un lien d'une force extrême, et c'est ce qui explique que l'arung puisse être destitué si la récolte est mauvais (Pelras, 1971:182).

As we have already seen in Chapter III above, the belief in the supernatural power of the arung - or at least those of the highest birth - still lingers on in Wajo'.

The authority of the rulers of Bugis states and their constituent wanuwa was also derived from their association with the arajang, sacred heirlooms of the state held by its royal family. The cohesion of Bugis (and Makassarese) states was maintained to a great extent by the veneration paid to these arajang, which were considered to possess supernatural powers - chiefly the power to harm through natural disasters, warfare or personal misfortune, those who failed to pay homage to them. In the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa, the sacred objects of state (there known as gaukang) - the most important of which were a flag and a sword - were in 1949 still

worshipped by the 200,000 inhabitants of the state. They were displayed at special ceremonies at which they were smeared with the blood of a sacrificial animal. This ritual generally occurred at large annual celebrations before planting and harvest, and to celebrate life-cycle events in the royal household, such as birth, circumcision and marriage, and occasionally when a person had to fulfil a vow or leave on a long journey. This ceremony was performed again, after a long period of neglect, in 1971. The kin-groups of the noble (but non-royal) heads of the adat communities of which Gowa was composed also possessed sacred objects; so too did some large kin-groups of commoner rank who derived from their possession a large measure of their influence and prestige: indeed, as Chabot has pointed out (1967: 201-3), since the Makassarese - like the Bugis - have a bilateral kinship system, the large size and cohesion of these kin-groups is partly due to the fact that numerous individuals have chosen adherence to the family holding the sacred objects in preference to the other alternative allegiances, based on kin ties, open to them.

In the Bugis state of Boné, the king, the Arumponé (= Arung Boné), was believed to derive his authority from the possession of attributes of office, the arajang, consisting of a state canopy, a sword, a kris and a lance. When the raja of Boné was installed in power by the Dutch Government in 1932, an essential provision of the contract between them was the return of his state "ornaments", which had been placed in the museum in Batavia in 1906 after the conquest of Bone the previous year. The state regalia of Gowa were also returned on the installation of the raja in 1934. "Without these important heirlooms their authority as rulers could not be complete". In Bone, the maintenance and care of the arajang were - as in most Bugis states - entrusted to bissu, transvestites with special ritual authority (Veen, 1935: 58-9). The bissu were calabai (see Chapter II) who had become ritual specialists; they often acted as spirit mediums and had their own peculiar language - basa bissu - which they learned through apprenticeship to an older bissu and used exclusively when in trance.

In Wajo', no ritual objects existed to symbolize the unity of the state as a whole, but each constituent wanuwa possessed its own arajang, generally a battle-sword and a flag but often more humble objects, such as a knot of grass in Sompe', a basket of feathers in Ugi (Pelras, 1971:183). Frequently the arajang were cared for by a bissu but they might also be entrusted to a male or female Sanro', or ritual-specialist, who would visit these objects in the loft in which they were stored. Thus in Gilireng, an important wanuwa and the seat of the Cakkuridi Wajo', a female sanro'

visited the arajang every Thursday evening - malam jum'at (the eve of Friday), generally regarded as a time of great supernatural danger. The sanro' burns incense and makes offerings of water and food, such as puffed rice and nuts. Sometimes she is entered by the spirit of the arajang (which appears to be equated with the ancestors of the royal house of the Cakkuridi Wajo' and Arung Gilireng): the spirit may enquire about members of the royal family or forecast disasters, such as fire or drought. The dukun may be summoned by the arajang specially to receive such warnings. In order to avert the disasters prophesied, the people must make offerings specified by the spirit, such as cakes, fried chicken, coconut milk and sweet palm wine (tuak manis); after these have been "read" by the arajang, they are given away to the children of the village.

The arajang of Gilireng consist of two iron parang (swords) in a stand and a large parcel wrapped in yellow cloth, lying on its side, known as Petta Cakkuridi - the same title as that borne by the chief whose family own the arajang. One of the swords is also wrapped in cloth and bears a title: Petta Manurungé, the Prince who has descended (from the heavens). The arajang are surrounded with supernatural peril: they could not be brought down from the loft for me to see them clearly for fear of retribution, and people were afraid to open a basket containing some old flags which stood by the arajang, fearing that there might be snakes inside, as was said often to be the case (eventually a young calabai opened it). Petta Cakkuridi in particular is an object of great mystical danger; no-one dared to unwrap this parcel, nor could anyone (in April 1971) remember it ever having been opened: thus its contents are generally unknown. (However, a son of the last Cakkuridi told me that he had unwrapped the parcel during the revolution against the Dutch in accordance with a tradition that in times of danger the Petta Cakkuridi would reveal, by certain signs, if the future would bring success or misfortune. He found it to contain a doll, which fortunately bore signs predicting success). The arajang are said to have suddenly appeared in the attic of the house of the Arung Gilireng. This is why one of the objects is called Petta Manurungé - manurung means to descend.

Wajo' under the Dutch

When the Dutch extended their authority to Wajo' and other Bugis states in 1906, they sought to preserve the existing political system and to bolster the authority of the Bugis ruling class in order to govern through them and thus save the expense of a largely expatriate civil service. The traditional privileges and powers of the Arungs were, however, radically transformed as a result of the Dutch "rationalisation" of the political

structure of each state, whereby smaller political units were systematically incorporated within larger administrative divisions. In Wajo', a major effect of Dutch rule was that the power and prestige of the Arung Ennengé, and particularly of the three Ranreng, was greatly increased by the division of the state into three districts bearing the same names as the three theoretical subdivisions (limpo) of Wajo' - Bettempola, Talo' tenreng and Tua. Previously there had been no fixed allocation of wanuwa to each of these limpo. Under the Dutch, the Ranreng each acted as coordinators for a number of wanuwa: thus the Ranreng Bettempola was given authority over nine wanuwa (including Ana'banua, Gilireng and Tancung) and the Ranreng Talo'-tenreng and Tua controlled five and four wanuwa respectively. According to H. Andi' Ninnong, the Kepala Wanuwa (wanuwa head) - as the Arung was now called - was usually a relative of the Ranreng for that division: "The Ranreng used to put their kin there. Thus the Kepala Wanuwa Akkoténgéng, Pénéki, and Pénrang were all of the descent group of Tua. Often a grandson, or a nephew, was placed there".

The Arung Matoa and the Arung Ennengé under the Dutch constituted the Zelf-Bestuur (self-governing body), and from 1931 government offices, such as finance or public works, were allocated to each of the members of this council (Abdurrazak), 1964:75-7). However, as the Sedjarah Wadjo points out: "The one who held government leadership and power was the Cipil-Gezaghebber (civil administrator) while the Arung Matoa and the Arung Ennengé were no more than puppets" (Abdurrazak, 1964:75).

One of the effects of the administrative reorganisation was thus to convert the chiefs of Wajo' from purely or largely local rulers, with only symbolic authority within Wajo' as a whole, into a central governing body, backed by a civil service and operating from the onderafdeeling capital of Sengkang: they became higher in prestige at the same time as they became more isolated from the people.

The Dutch civil administrator gradually created a system of government in line with Dutch colonial policy. A census of all adults was carried out and all inhabitants who were of age were obliged to carry kartu penduduk (resident's cards); a head-tax and later an employment-tax were collected, while roads were constructed with compulsory labour (rodi or heerendienst). People of noble descent could purchase exemption from the rodi, a policy which greatly promoted the writing of elaborate genealogies proving the existence of some aristocratic ancestral connection. The rodi was greatly resented and widely evaded - indeed, the desire to escape from this onerous obligation was given as the reason for emigration of the majority of the large Bugis community in Benut, Johore (Malaysia), who had left the wanuwa

of Paria in Wajo' in the decades following the Dutch occupation.

The minor wanuwa chiefs were from 1931 increasingly entrusted with the collection of local taxes and with presiding over the lower court (Hadat-Ketjil) for their own area. The kas wanuwa (wanuwa treasury) derived its funds from the market-tax and fees paid in lieu of rodi-service. The Hadat-Ketjil dealt with minor criminal cases and infractions of government regulations (Abdurrazak, 1964:78). The Kepala Wanuwa each had under them several Kepala Kampung (village heads). This was a new office created by the Dutch: previously, as we have seen above, local affairs were in the hands of the village elders and the only authority recognised by the people was that of the wanuwa chief or one of the six great chiefs of the kingdom. In the Dutch administrative reorganisation, some wanuwa were reduced to the status of kampung, their Arung becoming a mere Kepala Kampung; while within other larger wanuwa village units were created, sometimes based on a pre-existing village but often arbitrarily constructed by grouping together a number of hamlets. The Kepala Kampung was generally chosen from amongst the relatives of a present or former wanuwa head or from kin of a member of the Zelfbestuur or from the non-noble "better families", that is, the tau décéng: Abilj (1938:539) found that of the kampung heads in Wajo', 37.3 per cent were related to a present or former member of the Zelfbestuur or wanuwa head and 51.2 per cent were drawn from the "better families". In general, the effect of Dutch rule was an increasing rigidity in the political system and a heightening of the divisions between social strata: a more inflexible application of the *ade'* (customary) regulations regarding appointments to offices made it difficult for an ordinary commoner to find any place in the affairs of government. Education in the Dutch schools was reserved to members of the nobility, a privilege which - like the right to exemption from rodi (corvée) labour - was designed to bind the noble families more closely to Dutch colonial rule. A side-effect of this policy may, however, have been that wealthy commoners felt their political ambitions to be frustrated at home and were driven to emigrate: it is notable that, among the emigrants of the colonial period, a very large proportion bore the titles of Daéng or Ambo' generally used by well-to-do commoners with some kinship connection with the nobility.

Since Independence

The attainment of Independence did not end the dominance of the nobility in local government in South Sulawesi. In most daerah they continue to play an important role, partly due to the educational advantages they enjoyed under the Dutch, partly to their superior economic position, but also to the high regard in which the members of former ruling families are

still held by many of the people of the province. Wajo's reputation for "feudalism" seems to be supported by its recent political history, in which the dominance of the nobility has been more marked than in any other area. From 1957, when Wajo' became an autonomous daerah separated from Boné, the Bupati Kepala Daerah has been a member of a former ruling family and aristocrats have played an important role in all departments of government: at that time, three of the five members of the governing body were nobles. In the new system of government introduced in December 1960 the Kepala Daerah and three of the other four members of the Cabinet (badan pemerintah harian) were high aristocrats and 14 of the 30-man People's Representative Council or D.P.R. (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), including the Chief Deputy (Wakil-Ketua), bore the aristocratic title of Andi'. Until 1960, Wajo' remained divided into 20 wanuwa; early the following year, an administrative reform grouped the various wanuwa in ten kecamatan: Sabbangparu, Pammana, Tépé, Tanasitolo, Maniangpajo, Belawa, Majauleng, Takkalalla, Sajoangin and Pitumpanua. Eight of the ten Camat (heads of kecamatan) were andi'; five of these were former Kepala Wanuwa (Abdurak, 1964:84-7).

In Wajo' then government remains largely an aristocratic prerogative, but changes have occurred in the political system which pose a threat to the preeminence of the nobility - a threat which has so far been successfully overcome. Firstly, the fact that Wajo' has become incorporated into the Indonesian polity has meant that skills appropriate to a complex and highly sophisticated system of government have become essential attributes of Wajo's leaders: education and ability have partly superseded noble descent as qualifications for high office. As a result we find that the Kepala Daerah, for example, is not drawn from the descendants of a former Arung Matoa or Ranreng but is the son of a former Kepala Wanuwa: he is thus of noble birth and fairly high social status in the traditional system, but in the Dutch period he would have been considered to be of too humble rank to achieve the highest political office in the land.

The shift in emphasis from high birth to success in nationally highly valued occupations - particularly the attainment of high rank in the army - has led to an increase in mobility within the noble class* but has

* It has already been suggested above that the various status divisions of Bugis society do not constitute "classes" in the Marxist sense, since there is not necessarily an identity of economic interest between individuals holding the same social status (although, as I demonstrate in Chapter V, there is a class element in social status). This does not, however, seem to me to preclude the use of the term "class" in its more general meanings of: "a division of society according to status", or "a number of individuals (persons or things) possessing some common attributes, and grouped together under a general or 'class' name; a kind, sort, division" (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary). The term as used in the rest of this thesis should be understood to mean simply a division of society, defined by the members of the society, and not an economic grouping.

not as yet permitted access of non-nobles to many significant political offices. This position seems likely to be consolidated by the growing tendency for the government to recommend only sons of nobles (usually, by definition, their own relatives) for entry to the APDN - the civil-service college which increasingly supplies holders of higher offices, such as that of Camat. The attempt to modernise the administration by making academic qualifications obligatory thus seems likely in Wajo' to lead to an increase in domination of state affairs by the offspring of the old regime.

The second change in the role of the ruling families has resulted from an increasing Islamicisation of Bugis society since Independence and accompanying attempts to discourage and discredit older religious beliefs - which in fact do much to support the privileged position of the high nobility, the supposed descendants of heavenly beings. This process began with the Kahar Muzakar rebellion, when the rebels' Islamic zeal led them to destroy many of the arajang, lontara' and other remnants of the pre-Islamic ancestor cult, such as trees and stones regarded as shrines and associated with famous heroic figures. Even after the end of the rebellion, official disapproval of the performance of traditional rituals continued due to the influence of the central government, which wanted Indonesia to appear a modern, progressive nation, free from all traces of superstition and "pagan" practices. The deliberate neglect of agricultural festivals has already been mentioned in Chapter II; rituals involving the traditional regalia of the various wanuwa have also fallen into disrepute.

Formerly each year at the time for planting paddy, the two swords belonging to the arajang of Gilireng were cleaned with lemon juice and incense was burnt; then they were carried in procession around the village of Watan Gilireng - the capital of the wanuwa - while the mysterious Petta Cakkuridi remained as always secluded in the loft. A buffalo was sacrificed and presented to the arajang, with a pyramid of sticky-rice (sokko) in four colours: black, white, red and yellow; the food was then eaten by all the villagers. This ceremony was conducted regularly every year before work began in the fields (and thus had the useful effect of synchronising the beginning of planting), until the rebellion, when it was prohibited by the guerillas. Then it was performed again for a few years until 1968 when the new young Kepala Wanuwa again banned the ceremony, considering it to be old-fashioned and in conflict with Islam. He admits that the older people (above forty) still want to hold the ceremony, but he puts them off by saying that there is no time for it. If the crop fails, the older villagers complain to the government that the failure is due to non-observance of the ceremony.

In Ana'banua, ceremonies for the arajang of Petta Bila are performed with great frequency, but as participation in them is confined to descendants of Petta Bila, these rituals perform a different role than those performed for the arajang of a whole wanuwa in the keeping of the family of its hereditary arung. They serve to maintain the solidarity of a body of kin rather than symbolizing the unity of the wanuwa community.

The third potentially revolutionary change is that some offices have become elective: while the Kepala Daerah is elected indirectly - by the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (D.P.R.) - the posts of Kepala Wanuwa are filled by means of direct elections conducted amongst all adult residents of the wanuwa. However, far from providing the means for an influx of fresh blood and talent to the administration of these most fundamental of political units, the elections reflect the deep conservatism of most of the people of Wajo': the successful candidate is usually an andi' and very frequently a descendant or close relative of the former ruler of that wanuwa.

Gilireng, 26/2/71: ... Andi Mulaélo is very shy and retiring, as well as being exceedingly small and youthful in appearance. Yet in the elections for Kepala Wanuwa (Gilireng) held in 1968 he received the vast majority of votes - 900 out of 1,400 or so, while the other three candidates each received less than 300 votes. None of the other candidates was bangsawan (noble). He confessed quite freely that the reason he was elected was because he was keturunan, of the "descent"; apparently the rakyat (people) like it that way. He says: "It is always bangsawan who become kepala wanuwa. All of Wajo' is like that, from above to below". (Andi M. is the greatgrandson of a former Cakkuridi and a protege of the last Arung Gilireng, now a high civil servant).

Local political leaders thus derive their influence within the community not only from their office or their own personalities and qualifications, but also from their preexisting position of high status based on birth and on the mystique associated with descent from a former Arung. The intermingling of various sources of power - derived from political office, traditional status and religious position - may be clearly seen in Ana'banua.

Ana'banua

In the pre-Dutch period, Ana'banua - as its name (meaning "child wanuwa") suggests - was a vassal or "child" (ana') wanuwa of Bettempola. Under the Dutch, the adjoining wanuwa of Kalola was linked with Ana'banua to form one administrative unit within the division of Bettempola. After Independence Ana'banua and Kalola once more became separate wanuwa and in 1960 - together with the wanuwa of Gilireng and Lamata - they became part of the newly created kecamatan of Manianga (North Wajo').

The village of Ana'banua provides an interesting case-study for the interplay of status based on nationally defined and recognised political office and status derived from purely local ingredients of prestige. The

village is the capital not only of the wanuwa of Ana'banua, but also of the kecamatan of Maniangpajo. It is, in addition, the home of the Kepala Wanuwa of the adjacent wanuwa of Kalola. Thus within one village we find two locally elected leaders and their immediate political superior - who is not elected by the people of the area but appointed by the daerah government in Séngkang.

The Camat

The Camat of Maniangpajo is a lonely figure in Ana'banua, standing above and yet apart from its social life. For most of the period of my stay in the village, the office of Camat was held by Haji Andi'Tantu, the son of a former Arung Paria and married to a wife of even higher birth, Petta Cannu; she is related affinally to the family of the Arung of Ana'banua (her father took as one of his wives a sister of two Arung Ana'banua - she was also the aunt of the Kepala Wanuwa of both Ana'banua and Kalola). The Camat and his wife were therefore through both birth and wealth - both owned extensive rice-lands - entitled to respect within the village, while the Camat's high office brought him considerable deference. And yet effectively they were ostracised by the high society of the village, consisting of the two Kepala Wanuwa and their close kin. Except when they had official business to conduct with the Camat, or when a formal invitation was issued to a wedding or other celebration, the local elite rarely visited the Camat's house. This was a source of much distress to the Camat and his wife, who are gregarious souls and would have liked nothing better than to receive a regular flow of guests.

The isolation of the Camat and his family was perhaps partly a result of their own pride, which offended the equally great pride of the local arung. When the Camat spoke at a social gathering, all others kept quiet but with an air of discomfort; when the Camat's wife walked down the road with a party of local noble women, they followed her at a discreet distance, reflecting the felt social distance between them. This social barrier may have been partly the result of Petta Cannu's conscious emphasis of the status distinction between herself and members of the local nobility.

Ana'banua, 23/4/71: Petta Cannu was talking about the subtle variations in language which indicate the relative status of the people conversing. With bangsawan, the rakyat use very polite language while the bangsawan will use ordinary everyday language with the rakyat. ... She also says that in the villages she is usually called "puang" (elder sibling) even by much older people, and she calls them "andi'" (younger sibling); because of her higher status she is deemed older.

Even the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua - a much older man - is addressed by her as andi'. However, fine distinctions of status are habitually observed

within the nobility of Ana'banua and elsewhere in Wajo'. The local nobility were probably offended less by the assumption of superiority based on rank than by the unspoken but pointed insistence on the super-ordinate social position of the Camat as the highest political office-bearer in the area.

This position, founded as it is on the patronage of the central daerah government, lacks the support of local custom: the office of Camat, in the eyes of the local nobility, does not have the same legitimacy as the two Kepala Wanua derive from their descent from former rulers of the area. Their sense that a large part of their "legitimate" political authority had been usurped by the Camat was doubtless reinforced by his dogmatic style of government and his social manner, which turned a social gathering into something approaching an audience by the Camat for his subordinates, in which the Camat himself told stories and joked to a group of politely attentive and almost silent listeners. However, personalities were less important than the nature of the office itself as a source of irritation: when H. A. Tantu was replaced in early 1972 by a Makassarese civil servant - again of good birth and married to a member of the Wajo' nobility but lacking any pretensions to higher social status and with a soft and unassuming manner - the new Camat and his family again encountered a complete lack of social acceptance by the Ana'banua arung families.* A story I heard about neighbouring Belawa suggests that hostility between the local royalty and the appointed Camat may be not uncommon:**

The Camat occupies a position of considerable power within his own area. He has a large staff working for him in the spacious kecamatan offices next to his house. H. A. Tantu himself took little direct part in the direction of the activities of his office-staff, preferring to issue general directives from his home - where his wife, a very able and intelligent young woman, could advise him. However, although the day-to-day running of the office was left to his staff, the final say was emphatically

* It should perhaps be pointed out that while the social isolation of the Camat was an observed fact - and one which attracted comment within the village - the reasons for it were not known and are here merely surmised since no direct information on this point was ever obtained in the course of an interview with the parties involved.

** Sengkang, May 1971: Bau Muddariyah (daughter of the Petta Ranreng Tua) was very amused at the news that a son of the Camat of Belawa (Petta Mamma) is to marry the daughter of his "enemy", a son of the former Arung Belawa. She says this is a perkawinan politik (a political marriage) designed to placate the bride's father, who was angry that Petta Mamma had been appointed Camat instead of a member of his own family.

his. Agriculture, minor public works, education, sport, police, religious affairs (including the registration of marriages and divorces), the census and minor civil cases are all the responsibility of the Camat. H. A. Tantu took a particularly close interest in the development of agriculture in the kecamatan, attempting to increase productivity by issuing directives that rice should initially be planted in plots adjoining the farmer's house - where it could be protected and even watered by hand - and that transplanting should begin on a specified date to prevent the uneven planting pattern which tends to lead to heavy crop losses through the depredations of pests moving from one area of standing rice to another. He also organised Muslim prayers for rain. However, during 1971-72, all his efforts were in vain since drought prevented planting in all but a few naturally marshy areas and much of the crop was eaten out by mice.

Another matter in which the Camat took a direct interest was the settlement of civil cases. Where the parties involved in a case - generally concerning disputed ownership of land - live in the same wanuwa, the dispute is generally brought before the relevant Kepala Wanuwa, but where the disputants come from different wanuwa or even different kecamatan, or where a large amount of property is at stake, the Camat may be asked to adjudicate. A settlement is reached through a discussion of the case with the disputants and their supporting witnesses and anyone else brought in to provide specialised information about the background to the case.

Ana'banua, 21/7/71: From 1.30 until after 4 p.m. (in the Camat's house) a group of men from Jongkang discussed the question of the ownership of a small piece of sawah. A man from Jongkang had migrated to Sumatra 30-40 years' ago and died there without children. According to ade', his land must be divided among his siblings and their descendants. A grandchild of one of these siblings was now claiming that he had not received a share of this land. He lives in Majauleng (another kecamatan) and had never met his cousins who had consequently divided the land among themselves. There was a long discussion led by the Camat in which the facts of the case were discussed over and over again, endlessly, from time to time turning up some new piece of information or revealing contradictions. ... By the end everything was amicable and everyone seemed satisfied with the verdict that finally emerged from the discussion (that the claimant was entitled to an equal share - amounting to about half a hectare of land).

The most frequent visitors in the Camat's house were the select handful of civil servants who had, through an informal process, become his closest aides; one of these became so attached to H. A. Tantu that - when the latter was transferred to Siwa - Pak Supu followed him, leaving his wife and family behind. (He was not, in any case, very fond of his wife).

This small group of followers acted as the Camat's eyes and ears, bringing him news from all over the kecamatan about the progress of the harvest, activities in different villages, disputes, the conduct of various lower officials; they complemented and perhaps corrected the information flowing through the more formal channels of Kepala Lingkungan and Kepala Wanuwa. The wives and children of these men were the helpers and companions of the Camat's wife and children; they were always the first people called upon for help whenever some social or ceremonial event, requiring the preparation of large amounts of food and drink, was anticipated in the Camat's house.

In Ana'banua, as elsewhere in Wajo', no clear distinction is drawn between public and private activities, between the duty owed to the office and obligation felt towards the individual holding the office. In November 1971, H. A. Tantu's niece (wife's sister's daughter) was married in Ana'banua to her second cousin, a grandson of Arung Ana'banua Petta Teddu. The wedding reception was delayed until December, when it was held with full pomp and ceremony. Many of the men of the village were set to work for weeks beforehand, chopping wood every night for the huge cooking fires which they needed. They were also organised to build the reception hall on the green before the kecamatan offices, to carry water from the river, to slaughter chickens, goats and water-buffalo. Women of the village made cakes and helped with preparations for the wedding-feast. Dozens of girls dressed in their finery - stiffly starched transparent silk blouses in brilliant primary colours (the baju bodo) worn with handwoven and painted silk sarongs - and greeted the guests, escorting them to their seats and waiting upon them. The staff of the kecamatan and wanuwa dropped their other duties and for several weeks devoted themselves almost exclusively to the wedding preparations. No-one appeared to feel that the Camat was overstepping the limits of his authority and imposing upon the people of the wanuwa. He was behaving as any Bugis raja might be expected to do - calling upon his people to help him celebrate an important family occasion in return for the privilege of participating in a feast and witnessing a spectacle that had not been known in the wanuwa for decades.

Local Dignitaries

The Camat derives his power from outside the village and wanuwa of Ana'banua. His prestige and influence are therefore of a different order than those of the local arung families. Since the Arung Ana'banua tended to take numerous wives, the group of anakarung still resident - either permanently or intermittently - in the village is large and forms the upper class of Ana'banua society. We have already seen in Chapter III that

this upper class is itself divided by distinctions of status and that the holders of the highest local political offices are not in fact nobility of the highest rank found within the village. Thus, Petta Bau Maggalatung, who falls within the first division of rank, takes no active part in politics. However, his high rank and extensive land holdings - he is probably the biggest landowner in Ana'banua - entitle him to respect and ensure that his opinion is generally sought on matters of local importance. When the Camat calls a meeting to discuss, for example, the failure of the rains, Petta Bau Maggalatung is often included in this informal "cabinet". Other members of the local arung - siblings and cousins of the two Kepala Wanuwa - are also treated with considerable respect by the people of the area, but hold no actual political power. Their influence over the local population, however, enables the arung group as a whole to dominate political appointments within the twin wanuwa of Ana'banua and Kalola. This was strikingly demonstrated in 1967 when they arranged the total defeat of Andi' Massiara in his attempt to gain re-election as Kepala Wanuwa Kalola: he had incurred their displeasure by taking a second wife while his first wife - the younger sister of Andi' Sammeng - was making the haj to Mecca. Andi' Sammeng himself stood for election against Andi' Massiara and won a resounding victory. As the first wife of the defeated candidate commented with glee: "How could he (Andi' Massiara) be elected after divorcing me? Kalola is part of Maniangpajo, I am a cousin of the Camat Maniangpajo, and how would it be if the Camat was angry?"

Also of great political and social importance to Ana'banua are members of the local nobility who have achieved high office within the daerah or provincial spheres. Thus, Andi' M. Basir (Petta Mamma), the Camat B lawa, is still a person of some importance within Ana'banua where his father, Petta Teddu, was Arung and he himself was Kepala Wanuwa and later the first Camat Maniangpajo. His elder brother, Andi' Alimuddin (Pet Ali), has also achieved high office within the administration of Wajo', as Kepala Bagian Pemerintahan (head of the administration). He still frequently visits Ana'banua and is a useful link between the local and district administrations. A first cousin of the two Kepala Wanuwa and A. Alimuddin, and half-brother to Petta Cannu (the Camat's wife), is Haji Andi' Lantara' - an awesome figure for he is a colonel in the Indonesian army. Perhaps because of his political pull, or his great wealth, he has been able to gain control of a vast tract of hill-country in Maniangpajo where he has established a large herd of cattle - for cattle-rearing is a new and potentially lucrative industry in South Sulawesi, and one which the nobility

of Wajo' have adopted with some enthusiasm.

The Kepala Wanuwa

The two Kepala Wanuwa are to a much greater extent the "natural leaders of society" than any appointed Camat can be. We have already seen how Andi' Sammeng in 1967 challenged the sitting candidate for the post of Kepala Wanuwa Kalola. In the same year, Haji Andi' Sarampa stood for the post of Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua against seven other candidates. These included two Kepala Lingkungan, a soldier, a civil servant and two nobles: the husband of a first cousin (A. Alimuddin's younger sister) and her half-brother by a wife of inferior birth. The result of the elections for Kepala Wanuwa - the appointment of members of the former ruling family - was almost a foregone conclusion: it is still widely accepted in the area that only those of royal descent have the right to rule.

Ana'banua, 4/8/71 (house of the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola): Andi' Sammeng came in with an Imam from the mountains to the north, who talked about the attachment of the rakyat to their ade' and their raja; he said the raja was their ade'. If their raja died, they would always seek his child as successor. If a man were not of the descent, he could not become a leader. Thus, A. Sammeng has become Kepala Wanuwa Kalola because his father was raja of Ana'banua (of which Kalola formed a part).

By many people of Ana'banua, the two Kepala Wanuwa are indeed still seen, and treated, as rajas. Visitors, particularly poor peasants from remote hamlets, often refuse to stand upright in the presence of the Kepala Wanuwa and use numerous other expressions of respect and self-abasement.

Ana'banua, 20/7/71: As we were leaving A. Sammeng's house, a boy came to see him with some request. He went down on his knees in front of the door and stayed in this position while talking ...

The fact that Andi' Sammeng still lives in the saoraja (royal residence) of his father, Petta Coba', heightens the impression he creates of being a traditional raja still with all the privileges and obligations of traditional royalty. His large rambling house on stilts consists mainly of a huge hall, with a porch in front and sleeping and kitchen quarters behind. The house is always full of visitors from the village and from other areas: kin, people from his wanuwa seeking advice or aid, members of the religious sect of which he is leader - the Tarékat Chalwatiah.

The Kepala Wanuwa Kalola thus has a large personal following which he owes partly to an open friendly disposition and the ready welcome he gives to guests, but also to his role as the leader of the Chalwatiah and as the chief instigator of the rituals associated with the descent group of Petta Bila. Haja Andi' Sarampa, the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua, is also a

member of the Chalwatiah but less active or enthusiastic in the conduct of its affairs than his cousin. He is a strange person, whose unpredictable swings of mood make him unpopular among all but his closest relatives and diminish his following among the people of the wanuwa - although he appears to be an energetic and reasonably efficient Kepala Wanuwa. A distinct cleavage within the arung group of Ana'banua is associated with the two Kepala Wanuwa. While all members of the group are closely related, they tend to live in two separate clusters around the houses of Andi' Sammeng and H. Andi' Sarampa and to interact most intensely only with other members of their own neighbourhood cluster, while visiting between the clusters is intermittent. Andi' Sammeng is surrounded by the largest group of relatives, consisting of a tight kernel of houses belonging to his siblings and then beyond these the houses of uncles and cousins, nephews and nieces; many of these are not nobles but tau décéng for his father and uncles frequently intermarried with members of this rank, to which his mother also belongs. The kin cluster associated with the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua is far smaller. Apart from the unreliability of his moods, H. Andi' Sarampa may also have lost the support of some of his kin as a result of his impetuous second marriage to his saudara sesusu - the daughter of his former wet-nurse. This is a kind of marriage which Bugis popular belief regards as frankly incestuous: the frequent deaths of his children by this wife are widely attributed to the fact that their union is an immoral one, offending the spirits of the ancestors.

Both the Kepala Wanuwa have powers of patronage arising from their personal and their elected positions. In their capacity as wanuwa heads they are able to dispense a limited number of appointments - to the minor offices of Kepala Lingkungan and staff of the small wanuwa offices - which are all considered quite lucrative jobs by village standards. In their personal capacity as landowners, they can grant sharecropping rights to landless supporters. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua is far richer in land than the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola, whose father squandered his property and produced many children by numerous wives, all of whom had to share the land left by him. As a result, H. Andi' Sarampa is able to some extent to compensate for his lesser personal popularity by his greater ability to attract a circle of poor people dependent upon him for access to land and employment. He has also brought many poorer families into his wanuwa, and thus increased its population and labour force, by granting them plots of government land for their houses and gardens.

The Chalwatiah

The Chalwatiah is one of the Sufi tarékat, "orders of mysticism, which ... (afford) a more emotional approach to God than other more restrained forms of worship" (Steinberg, 1971:42-3). It involves physical gyrations during prayers calculated to work the participants into a frenzy and sometimes leading to trance. In South Sulawesi, the centre of the tarékat is the village of Patté'ne in the Maros area, where it has flourished since the early decades of the century. In 1920, Andi' Barata - Andi' Sammeng's father's father - brought the beliefs of the Chalwatiah to Ana'banua, where he had become Arung - although his wife, Indo' Kétti, was in fact entitled by birth to this office rather than he. He is said to have been the first male Arung Ana'banua -formerly the ruler had always been a woman, and succession had passed to a daughter or niece of a deceased Arung. Under Andi' Barata's son, Andi' Coba' the Chalwatiah flourished and gained a massive following - mainly because the Arung himself became Chalifah or spiritual leader. In general in South Sulawesi, the tarékat Chalwatiah has tended to support the traditional ade' (Usman Hamsar, 1963:2). This means that it tends to reinforce the position of the hereditary rulers. Certainly Andi' Sammeng, who has replaced his father as Chalifah, is treated with a respect amounting to subservience. Whenever there is a wedding, illness, a funeral, or any other sad or happy occasion in the house of Andi' Sammeng, numerous members of the tarékat come spontaneously to assist and participate. They thus constitute a massive following that their leader can call upon for help not only in sect-affairs but in more personal matters too. All members of the arung group in Ana'banua are Chalwatiah, as are their kin (such as Andi' Alimuddin) who now live elsewhere. On the 7th June each year, the birthday of Andi' Coba', a huge number of guests assemble in Andi' Sammeng's house to celebrate the occasion. In 1971 about 500 people gathered there: relatives from Ana'banua alone numbered over a hundred, and there were many other kin and members of the tarékat from Sidrap, Soppeng, Boné and Makassar as well as other parts of Wajo'. An even more important occasion is the anniversary of the birth of the founder of the Chalwatiah in South Sulawesi, whose daughter is married to Andi' Sammeng. On this day, the 16th May, thirty or more cars and trucks, laden with people, leave Wajo' to join in the ritual of remembrance which is celebrated at Patté'ne.

Descendants of Petta Bila

Common membership of the tarékat Chalwatiah is one of the bonds which keep the arung group in Ana'banua together and prevent the friction between the two kin clusters within the arung from degenerating into open conflict.

Their solidarity is also maintained by the performance of rituals enjoined by their common ancestor, Petta Bila - or, more correctly, Petta I Bila - the prince of Bila.

Perhaps because of his role as the head of a large circle of kin, and his more pleasing and consistent character, it is Andi' Sammeng too who has become the chief upholder of the traditions belonging to the descent-group of Petta Bila. Both he and Haji Andi' Sarampa' derive their descent from their grandmother, Indo' Kétti. All descendants of Petta Bila - and they are scattered widely throughout northern Wajo' and the daerah of Sidrap - are entitled to perform his rituals and are supposed to follow the ritual prohibitions laid down by him: they should, for example, refrain from eating certain foods and from initiating any new activity on the day of pasa' Wajo' - one of the market-days in a five-day cycle. The main ritual consists of "reading the arajang", which in this case does not take the form of imperishable heirlooms but of certain prescribed categories of objects - flaming torches, held by children; a canopy indicating royal rank; certain kinds of food (sticky-rice, boiled eggs, palm-sugar) commonly used in rituals, all laid out on a prescribed number of plates arranged according to a fixed pattern. Only descendants of Petta Bila can participate in the ritual or touch any of the objects used, but once the arajang has been "read" the food is often distributed to other people present who are not members of the descent-group. Any descendant can in theory hold this ceremony, but in practice only those who are also of the arung class have the confidence to do so. Thus Haji Andi' Sarampa' also has the right - which he occasionally exercises - of conducting the ritual in his own house, but it is only Andi' Sammeng who in fact does so with any regularity.

Both Kepala Wanuwa are highly respected for their high birth and their political office, but the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola derives additional prestige and a much larger following from his role within the Tarékat Chalwatiah and the descent-group of Petta Bila. His greater popularity is undoubtedly regarded with envy by the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua, and this gives rise to a certain restrained tension between the groups of kin supporting them.

Attitudes to Government

Public participation in politics is almost non-existent since the domination of the arung group is absolute and unchallenged. The only influence that most individuals can hope to have upon public policy and the distribution of the spoils of office is through attaching themselves to the person of one of the Kepala Wanuwa or the Camat. The alternative

to this is emigration, and this is indeed the course which has been adopted by many ambitious members of the wealthy, prestigious tau décéng class. The political as well as economic and personal reasons for emigration will be further discussed in the next two Chapters.

To most people, the present political order is not so much a check on ambition as a force affecting the way they seek their livelihood. In Kali Baru, Tanjung Priok, I met fishermen from the Wajo' coastal area who complained bitterly about government oppression. In Sulawesi, they said, they were not free: "at the most three days each week can be used to seek one's living, four days are taken for government work". In Ana'banua I heard no strong complaints against local officials - and indeed there was little evidence of exploitation. People here, as elsewhere in South Sulawesi, are supposed to give labour service (kerja-bakti), repairing roads and tidying up the area before their houses, but this duty is rarely taken seriously. Civil servants are the few people who make any pretence of doing their kerja-bakti on Fridays, but even then it rarely amounts to more than a little desultory grass-trimming, while more essential tasks - such as the repair of much used but derelict village bridges - are neglected. Both the Kepala Wanuwa and the Kepala Lingkungan under their authority appear reluctant to push people to do things.

Ana'banua, 2/8/71: According to Pak Malu, the Kepala Lingkungan Lompopalua, people are usually called out for kerja-bakti on a Friday, or a Sunday, when there is the need. Previously people were frequently beaten, but if the rakyat are mistreated, they will run away, merantau. Now it is not like that - he is patient with people. If someone does not want to work today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day he can be persuaded to. Only if he refuses completely to work will he be reported to the Camat - but if Pak Malu reports people too often, he too will be in trouble. Each morning and evening he prays that people will behave well.

The chief way in which government impinges on the lives of the people is through the taxation system. Apart from the maintenance of order and the dispensing of justice, the chief responsibility of the Kepala Wanuwa is the collection of a tax in kind on the rice-crop: this Ipéda tax is levied at a fixed rate according to the quality of the land, ranging between 180 kg of padi per hectare for sawah of the first grade (kelas I) to 140kg for the worst grade of rice-land (sawah kelas III). However, as one informant pointed out, sawah kelas I in Ana'banua is the same as the lowest grade of land in fertile Soppeng. If a farmer receives no crop or a very low yield, he is usually released from the obligation to pay the Ipéda. However, there is an understandable reluctance on the part of the Kepala Lingkungan, who collect the tax, to allow too many people to escape altogether from paying at least some of the tax - the only pay the Kepala

Lingkungan receives is an eight per cent share of the rice he collects on the government's behalf. The Kepala Wanuwa also is partly paid in kind for his services, receiving two per cent of the total amount of rice assembled from all the lingkungan (there are seven of these in Ana'banua). Although the Ipéda is supposed to be a flat-rate charge related to the area farmed, in general it is believed to be calculated as a percentage of the crop - most people think it is ten per cent - and in fact the amount paid in Ipéda seemed to fluctuate with the rice-yield, but in an erratic and unpredictable fashion. The impression one gained was that the tax-collectors were struggling to apply tax regulations which they themselves barely understood and which had in any case been evolved to fit Javanese conditions, where irrigation prevents the kind of dramatic fluctuations in crop which commonly occur in Wajo'.

In early 1972, the government of the daerah of Wajo' were much distressed by reports that had been sent to the central government in Jakarta which asserted that the people of Wajo' were emigrating because they were oppressed by the local government, especially through the imposition of unlawful taxes. The Kepala Daerah Wajo' assured me with great earnestness that this was not so, that To Wajo' in fact emigrate mainly because of the lack of adequate irrigation facilities, which prevent them from making an adequate living. From what I myself saw in Ana'banua, and from complaints made to me by local farmers, it was clear that the present taxation system on the national model does in fact cause hardship because it is not adjusted to the actual incomes of households. If a man works only a small plot of sawah, his income in rice may in any case be too small to support his family, yet he is still expected to pay Ipéda at the fixed rate. In a bad year, unless he is released from paying tax, his position becomes even more difficult. The situation in Ana'banua is often compared unfavourably with that in Jambi, where it is widely believed that people pay no taxes. One returned migrant told me: "In Jambi, there is no disturbance by the government, there's no Ipéda. Here there is Ipéda, all sorts of taxes. We are taxed but we don't know where it goes. It is heavy for the rakyat". A woman interviewed told me that she and her husband would definitely merantau if they had the money: "In the rantau people don't pay Ipéda, they themselves keep the whole yield of their sawah". In 1971, the yield her husband received from their sawah shrank to one-quarter of the amount produced the previous year, but the Ipéda they paid was only reduced by half. "This is the reason many people run away and go across the sea".

Here we see a deep-seated resentment of many people against the conditions which oppress them: a government which does little to help them in practical ways, taxes which they can often ill-afford to pay, all of these made unendurable for many by frequent failures of the rice-crop upon which they mostly depend for their livelihood. It is easy to see the attraction which Jambi has for them - a land in which, they believe, they will be free from irksome government exactions and able to achieve a more affluent life-style. The next Chapters will enable us to assess whether the unflattering comparisons of Wajo' with Jambi are justified.

CHAPTER V: WEALTH, POVERTY AND THE LAND IN WAJO'

For the people of Ana'banua and elsewhere in Wajo' no less than in other parts of Indonesia, the land provides the chief means of livelihood. Despite the mushroom growth of cities, the government's urgent attempts to promote industrialisation, and the avid search of international companies for oil and minerals - despite all this, the economy of the archipelago is still essentially agrarian. Pelzer (1963b:118) points out that: "The primary production sector - which yields peasant food crops, smallholder and plantation export crops, livestock, fish, and forest products - provides well over half the national income and is a source of livelihood for more than sixty per cent of Indonesia's gainfully employed inhabitants. By far the most important of its divisions is that of peasant food crops, which alone accounts for more than one-third of the national income".

In the wanuwa of Ana'banua, as we have seen in Chapter II, it was estimated that 90 per cent of workers are petani - farmers of some kind - and within the village of Ana'banua, despite a far wider range than usual of employment opportunities, more than half of adult men work in agriculture. Moreover, many people classed as engaged in some other occupations often derive a large proportion 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 arrangements. But everyone - not only the farmers and landowners and their families - is to some extent dependent on agriculture and affected by the success or failure of the harvest. If the harvest fails shop-keepers and pasar-traders can find few customers for their goods, the smaller traders in agricultural produce are unable to buy up rice locally for sale in the western part of the peninsula, and the great majority of the smaller rice-mills (penggilingan beras) must close down. There is in general less cash around to buy consumer goods, and this includes the sarongs whose sale provides an essential part of the income of many households. The government too is hard hit by a wide-spread crop failure since the bulk of taxation is collected in the form of rice, and salaries of government employees are also partly paid in rice. When large areas of Indonesia are afflicted by drought, as in 1971-72, a general slowing down of expenditure on important development schemes - such as projects to repair roads and expand irrigation - is inevitable. In Wajo', the fragile balance between sufficiency and want is all too often tilted towards scarcity and near-famine, for here dependence upon agriculture is combined with an inability to control the

most basic ingredient of successful agriculture - water.

Patterns of Land Use

The striking imbalance in population between Java and the Outer Islands, and between different areas within the Outer Islands, is related partly to soil fertility but also largely to the way in which the land is used: the mode of cultivation. The two basic types of agriculture practised in Indonesia, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, are shifting cultivation (or swidden agriculture) and wet-rice cultivation in flooded fields (sawah). The high population densities of Java and Bali have been achieved through their elaboration over many centuries of intricate and highly efficient irrigation systems feeding a complex pattern of wet-rice terraces. Elsewhere in Indonesia, wherever higher concentrations of population are found, they are almost always associated with the adoption of sawah cultivation as the basis of their economy. But in most parts of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and elsewhere, shifting cultivation is still widely practised and accounts for the inability of these areas to support more than a small and scattered population.

1) Shifting cultivation: Pelzer (1945:17) has defined shifting cultivation as "an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than of crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labour only; employment of the dibble stock or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods". The field of the shifting cultivator is typically a clearing made in the forest, known as a ladang in Indonesian, a dare in Bugis. The cultivator clears and burns a patch of land and plants a mixed crop of cereals, such as millet, hill rice and maize, or tubers such as yams and sweet potatoes, interspersed with bananas, sugar-cane and other plants. These are sown among the half-burned debris and blackened stumps of the ladang. In the first year of cultivation, the soil is generally free of weeds and grass and rich in humus and the ash of burned plant matter; an excellent crop is almost invariably produced. In the second year, however, soil fertility is less and weeds begin to invade the clearing; the harvest is far inferior, and in subsequent years - if the land is still used - the returns diminish rapidly. In general, therefore, the ladang is abandoned after only two, or at the most three, years of use. Under favourable conditions, belukar (second-growth forest) springs up, and in time equals the luxuriance, although not the variety of plant forms, of the original forest. Ideally belukar is not cleared again by the cultivator until the fertility of the land has been restored. According to Gourou (1961:31): "The period of fallow under forest must last between twenty-five and thirty

years for an adequate amount of organic matter to be deposited on the soil". In practice, however, it is more often only eight to fifteen years before the belukar is cut down to make another ladang.

The pattern of long periods for regeneration of the land, alternating with short periods of cultivation, is the ideal, but all too often the cycle of rebirth of the forest is broken. We find, in fact, that "the practice of shifting cultivation has altered the character of vegetation beyond recognition over wide areas in South-eastern Asia. Instead of a dense, primeval rain-forest, we now find extensive open grass-lands resulting from the tool of the shifting cultivator, fire" (Pelzer, 1945:18-19). Once grass areas, called alang in Indonesia, have become established, they tend to catch fire every year - or are deliberately set on fire by hunters to promote a growth of young grass which will attract their prey, or by herdsmen to provide fresh feed for their cattle. Frequent fires in grass-land not only prevent the forest from growing again, but even force back the surrounding woodland, extending the area of savannah. The spread of grass is particularly rapid in areas with a pronounced dry-season, where the danger of fierce conflagrations is most extreme and plant regeneration at its slowest. South Sulawesi is such an area, with its clearly defined rotation of wet and dry seasons which accompanies the alternation of the monsoons.

Formerly, before the population of South Sulawesi attained its present density, it seems certain that most of its inhabitants subsisted by ladang culture, and in areas of relatively low population density this continues to be the basis of the local economy. Thus in Ponré, a Bugis mountain community studied by Friedericy (1932) in about 1930, the village owned seven large plots of land in the surrounding forest (it was belukar rather than primary forest). Each of these plots was cleared by the entire community, divided among the individual households and farmed for two successive years, then left to lie fallow for twelve. In Wajo', it seems probable that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population had already increased to such an extent that over-intensive ladang cultivation had already impoverished the land and that vast areas had been denuded of their forest cover.

It is impossible to date with any certainty the period when Wajo's population first began to exceed the constraints of its mode of production. It seems probable that in the early seventeenth century, the heartland of Wajo' at that time - the area immediately to the north of the Cénrana river - was already becoming over-populated. Formerly, temporary clusters of population had formed wherever a strong leader of noble birth had been able

to establish himself as Arung; but these concentrations of people had tended to disperse as quickly as they had gathered if the first Arung or his successors failed to live up to their initial promise. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Wajo' was a well-established and powerful confederation of states with a growing population. From the lontara' (manuscript records) detailing the early history of Wajo', it appears that there was already some sawah cultivation at that time, but apparently it was insufficient to support the people of Wajo' who in the 1620's experienced five years of famine, when no padi was obtained. The Arung Matoa of the time was held responsible for the failure of the harvest, and dismissed from his office (Abdurrazak, 1964:57). There was still, at this time, uncleared forest land available for settlement, and the commonest answer to food shortages was the movement of small groups of people to new areas. Thus according to the history of Laérung, a tiny vassal kingdom of Paria (now part of kecamatan Majauleng), at a time which may be roughly placed in the first half of the eighteenth century, two separate groups of settlers came from Kalola (to the northwest) and Walanga (to the southeast) and opened land at the place which they later called Laérung; they chose to settle here because there was water and virgin forest gave promise of good crops of rice (Pelras, 1971:181).

By the early nineteenth century, much of Wajo' had become savannah. In the 1820s, Wajo' Bugis sailors visiting Singapore told Crawford (1856:87) that around the great lake of Wajo', unlike Sumatra and Borneo, there were "extensive prairies or grass plains, unencumbered with heavy timber, and yielding pasture for horses and oxen". Brooke, in 1840, saw this scene for himself. In the coastal region of Wajo', near Doping, there was a "grassy plain which stretches as far as the eye can reach in every direction, and ... terminates towards the sea in low mangrove swamps" (Brooke, 1848:56). Along the Cénrana River, Brooke noted "much cultivation of rice and Indian corn behind the fringe of wood at the back of the grassy plain" (page 145), while on another branch of the river, the Walanaé, "the narrow steep on the right is covered with fields of Indian corn and rice" (page 91). This suggests that ladang cultivation was still quite widely practised - the mixture of crops and use of plots in woodland or on sloping ground is characteristic of this culture - but that the land available for opening of further ladangs was rapidly being exhausted. The spread of grassland may well have been encouraged by the practice - now prevalent - of setting light to the dead grass at the end of the dry season to encourage the growth of fresh green grass to feed water-buffalo, cattle and horses (which we know from Crawford were already

kept in large numbers in the early nineteenth century); fires may also have been lit in areas more remote from habitation to provide feed for the wild deer which the Wajo' nobility have long loved to hunt. For several weeks in April, the hill country in Wajo' is shrouded in smoke as spurts of flame race across the grasslands. Without these fires, young trees would soon begin to clothe the empty hills.

Unfortunately, in transforming the vegetation of an area from forest to savannah, the shifting cultivator renders the land useless for cultivation by his usual means. Either the people of the place must develop more sophisticated techniques - of which the most efficient in tropical conditions is wet-rice cultivation - or they must move away, or suffer an inevitable decline. The breakdown of the Mayan civilisation has been attributed to declining crop yields and the spread of grasses, which left the population of the cities without adequate supplies of food. Pendleton sees the downfall of the Khmers in Cambodia as stemming from the same cause and asks "whether the development of cogonals (alang2) might not have been an important contributing factor in the dying out of some of the other civilisations of the tropics, notably that of Anuradapura, in Ceylon" (Pelzer, 1945:20). We might also consider the possibility that emigration from Wajo' from the late seventeenth century was not only a reaction to political turmoil but also the result of a growing population increasingly over-exploiting the land upon which it depended, and in the process destroying its productive potential. The increasing involvement of many Wajo' people in seaborne trade may also have stemmed partly from this cause.

In Wajo' today, only 19 per cent of an area of 2,567 square kilometers is still forested. The average population density for the district is 74 per square kilometer, but the distribution of population is very uneven, ranging from over 1,000 in the kecamatan of Tépé, which includes the town of Sengkang, and 269 in Sabbangparu, down to only 44 in Pitumpanua, the remote region of hills rising to mountains in the northeast (see Table IX). In Maniangpajo, the population density of the kecamatan as a whole is 74, but while the hill country in the northern parts of Kalola and Poleonro is almost uninhabited, the wanuwa of Ana'banua, with its greater expanse of relatively level ground, is far more closely settled with a population density of 96 per square kilometer in 1970. In wanuwa Ana'banua - as in other well-populated areas of Wajo' - the forest has been almost totally destroyed (only 0.3 per cent of the wanuwa is forest), and grassland has taken its place: almost 4,600 of its 8,000 hectares are covered in grass. As a result, ladang cultivation is now quite rare in this area: in 1970, while 32 per cent of the wanuwa was under sawah cultivation, only nine per cent

was devoted to ladangs or dare'. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua told me that the Dutch had forbidden tree-cutting in the mountains to prevent erosion. "Now there is lots of erosion because people cut down all the trees and scrub, plant maize two times, and then move on; the forest does not grow again". The government of the daerah of Wajo' has also become concerned about the effects of this erosion: one of its most serious consequences has been the silting up of Lake Tépé, with the result that yields of fish have fallen steadily and disastrously - for the chief source of protein for most of the people of Wajo' is the fish harvested from this lake, and sold fresh or dried in pasars throughout the area. In 1971, further destruction of the forest to make ladangs was forbidden by the provincial government.

It is difficult to foretell what effect this government prohibition will have, for while in Ana'banua the cultivation of dare' is at most times relatively insignificant, in other areas it remains an integral part of the subsistence economy. In April 1971, when I visited Gilireng, the rainy season had not begun and so rice had not yet been planted in the sawah, but maize was being grown in the surrounding hills, in dare'. The Kepala Wanuwa told me:

Some people have only dare'. They are planted with coconuts, bananas, and with maize beneath them. Padi is grown too. then the land is left empty for 3-5 years
 Padi can be grown for two years/before it is cultivated again.
 After five years, one can make a dare' again in the belukar, the small forest. When the coconut and banana trees are big, the land cannot be used to plant padi again. There is land also which cannot be planted with coconuts - on the edge of the forest where there are many (wild) pigs.

Here we clearly already have a situation where the land available for ladang cultivation is already in short supply, and increasingly restricted by the conversion of many areas into groves of fruit-trees (a cash-crop). If the government interdiction of further forest clearing is followed, the fallow period - already far too short - is likely to diminish still further, and the years of continuous cultivation to increase until in the end a wasteland is produced. It seems more probable that the restrictions will be evaded unless and until greatly improved irrigation facilities enable the people of Wajo' to rely on sawah-production for their basic food supplies.

In Ana'banua, most people have a strong preference for wet-rice cultivation; but if the rainfall is too scanty to fill the sawah, the only alternative to starvation for poorer families is often to open dare' in the hills. This possibility is becoming increasingly restricted, not only by government restrictions on the practice of shifting cultivation, but also by the development of a livestock industry which has led to vast tracts of hill-country being turned over to private entrepreneurs for grazing herds of

cattle. To the east of Ana'banua, one such concession of 2,000 hectares stretches from the Ana'banua-Siwa road northwards into the hill region of Kalola. This belongs to Colonel Andi' Lantara', a high army officer and aristocrat, a half-brother of the Camat's wife. In 1966, Colonel Lantara' established a small kampung at Bulu Massumpatédongé (Kerbau's Nose Hill), about 4 km to the east of Ana'banua; the settlers were several families brought from Passeloreng, a small village far to the northeast across the border in Pitumpanua. Petta Lantara' (as he is called) gave financial assistance to build houses in a hollow in the hills, where a small stream winds its way between clumps of trees. For three months they were supported, and a mosque and school were built for them. Their children went to school for the first time: as a result there are primary school pupils in Massumpatédongé aged up to 20 years. People were allowed to open dare', where they grew maize, hill rice and bananas. At first these gardens were ploughed with a tractor (which indicates that they were made in grassland), but this subsequently broke down and they now use hoes. Most families still support themselves from the produce of their dare', which they shift frequently. The Kepala Kampung, Pak Mattola, told me (May 1971) that these dare' are "not private property, they are worked for Petta Lantara'" - but in fact it seemed that the entire yield from these fields was consumed by the cultivators. Here both men and women work in the fields, and indeed several dare' have been opened and are cultivated by widows and their children. The purpose of moving people to this spot was to obtain herdsmen for Petta Lantara's cattle. According to Pak Mattola:

Everyone here can be summoned by Petta Lantara'. Many people look after his cattle. They become penggembala sapi (cattle herders). They don't receive a salary, but for every four calves born, they receive one. The cattle have not yet been divided. Most people will sell their share. If Petta Lantara' does not want to buy, they will sell to someone else. The price is Rp. 3,000 to Rp. 20,000 for each head of cattle, depending on its size.

All the people of this kampung are very poor; they just me-numpang2 (follow others). Most go to Ana'banua and Sidrap in the harvest season to earn some padi, as none of them have sawah of their own.

Livestock reared in Wajo' are exported though Paré2, mainly to Hong Kong, and this new industry is likely to prove a highly profitable one for the few owners of large herds - all of whom appear to be members of the high Wajo' aristocracy. The effects upon the poorer peasants of Wajo' are probably far less desirable. As Hildred Geertz (1963:71) has shown, the presence of cattle in an area has important ecological ramifications:

The grazing of the cattle on swidden (ladang) land which should be permitted to lie fallow prevents full replacement of the tree cover and promotes the development of uncultivable grassy prairies, thus cutting down on the land supply. This appears to be especially the case in the drier portions of Indonesia ...

In future then, when the wet-rice crop fails, many peasant farmers may find themselves with no means of earning their own subsistence in Ana'banua and similar areas, and may be driven from the land. It is probably the failure of sawah agriculture to develop, while the possibilities of shifting cultivation have shrunk, which accounts for Maniangpajo's minimal rate of population increase in the last forty years: from 15,411 in 1930 to 17,470 in 1971, or an increase of only 13 per cent - well under half a per cent per annum (Table IX).

2) Sawah cultivation: About a quarter of the land of Wajo' is now devoted to sawah, or galung as they are called in Bugis. Unlike the paddy-fields of Java and Bali, by far the greater part of these lack irrigation and are thus entirely dependent upon an erratic rainfall. In Wajo', strangely, the normal Southeast Asian pattern of high population density being closely correlated with a high proportion of sawah does not seem to apply. As Table IX shows, many of those kecamatan with the greatest concentrations of population are also those with the lowest proportion of sawah. Tépé contains the capital and only large town of Wajo', Séngkang, and should therefore be excluded from this discussion, but Sabbangparu, Pammana, Bélawa and Tanasitolo are all purely rural areas with very large populations - and a relatively small proportion of sawah to support their people. At the other extreme, Maniangpajo has a far greater area of its land in sawah, but the lowest population density after isolated Pitumpanua.

How may we explain this phenomenon? One possible explanation lies in the precariousness of wet-rice cultivation in Wajo' due to its dependence upon the rains: if too little rain falls, or the rainy season begins too late or ends too early, an almost total crop-failure occurs. In such conditions, the kind of mixed agriculture practised in the densely populated areas has the effect of spreading the risks: while the yield from agriculture in a good year may be less than in areas devoted to wet-rice cultivation, in a bad year there is more certainty of getting some return for one's labours. The four kecamatan listed above have other in-built advantages. All have easy access to Séngkang: Tanasitolo, Pammana and Sabbangparu adjoin ^{Lake} Tépé, while Belawa lies across the lake from Tépé- Séngkang and goods can be cheaply and quickly carried to and fro by prau. Tanasitolo is a great centre for the weaving industry, while all these areas are able to derive a cash-income from growing vegetables and fruit for the Central Pasar in Séngkang. Bélawa, Tanasitolo and Sabbangparu derive another

benefit from their location bordering Lake Tépé: every year, in the dry season, considerable stretches of moist and fertile land are uncovered as the waters of the lake recede. Perhaps the most important feature of these lands fringing the lake shore is that they are owned communally by the peoples of the lake region, and are redistributed every year. This means that whatever the inequalities in the ownership of other land, everyone in the lakeside villages has a chance to cultivate some land every year, without the obligation to share its fields with anyone else.

Those kecamatan which in recent decades have been most renowned for a high rate of emigration - Takkalla and Sajoanging on the coast, and Majauleng and Maniangpajo inland - not surprisingly all demonstrate lower population densities, although not very much lower in the case of Majauleng. This is probably largely due to the effects of the rebellion, which were particularly severe in these areas, but may also possibly arise in part from their heavy dependence upon sawah cultivation, and the consequent precariousness of their economic base. The existence of extensive sawah areas in these kecamatan may also promote emigration in another way, through the relatively large income which sawah agriculture intermittently produces. Although yields from wet-rice cultivation in general are highly irregular, if the harvest is good a peasant-farmer may receive a considerable income in rice, the equivalent of quite a large lump sum advance in cash. Once sufficient rice has been set aside for a household's needs in the coming year, there may still be a surplus to spend on property: buying or improving a house, or investing in a share in a rice-mill or a warung. If a farmer has become increasingly discontented in Wajo' and has property of this kind to sell, he is in a position to finance the emigration of himself and his family at any time he chooses to put his house or other property up for sale. A small farmer, whose rice income is habitually too low to have enabled him to accumulate capital in the form of property, may nonetheless be able to raise enough cash to pay for at least his own fare to Jambi by selling all or most of his crop immediately after the harvest and departing forthwith. In order to test out these hypotheses in practice, let us now turn to a detailed examination of the agricultural economy of Ana'banua.

Land Ownership, Wealth and Rank in Ana'banua

Within the wanuwa of Ana'banua, the average area of sawah per household is nearly 1.8 hectares; this compares very favourably with the average for all Wajo' of about one hectare per household. It is enough land to support an average-sized household of five members and still leave a surplus for sale - at least in a year of adequate rainfall. But in fact

the majority of people own far less sawah than this, for there are great imbalances in the distribution of land. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua considered that at least half the households of the area owned no sawah, while a very small number - probably ten people at most - owned relatively extensive tracts of sawah, ranging from ten to twenty hectares. My own survey of ten per cent of households largely supports these estimates. Of 72 households in the sample, 39 or 54 per cent owned no land at all, while a further four households (six per cent) owned only 0.2 to 0.4 hectares of sawah - not enough land to support an average household even in an exceptionally good year. On the upper end of the scale, however, the survey suggested that there were rather more large landowners than the Kepala Wanuwa had believed, for within the sample group alone there were four households with over ten hectares of sawah, and one of these owned 23 hectares.

TABLE X: DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN SAMPLE GROUP

N.B. It proved impossible to collect data about the amount of sawah owned by three of the 72 households; it was, however, possible to ascertain that they did in fact own land.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of households</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
no land	39	54
amount of land unknown	3	4
0.2-0.4 hectares	4)	6)
0.7-0.8 "	2) 6	3) 8
1 hectare	6)	8)
1.01-1.50 hectares	2) 12	3) 17
1.501-2 "	4)	6)
2.01-3 "	4)	6)
3.01-4 "	1) 6	1) 8
4.01-5 "	1)	1)
5.01 hectares and above	6	8
	72	100

The Kepala Wanuwa had also said that the biggest landowners were of noble descent. This too was borne out by the survey, for the owner of 23 hectares is Petta Bau Maggalatung, who it may be recalled is one of the people of the very highest birth in Ana'banua and a descendant of the Arung Ana'banua through his father, and through his mother from the Ranreng Bettempola. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua is himself one of the biggest landowners with an estimated 15 to 20 hectares of sawah. The Kepala Wanuwa Kalola, his first cousin, by contrast has only about five hectares of sawah because his father, Petta Coba' married many times and had twenty children.

Moreover, it is said that he liked gambling: he was a "playboy" and constantly sold his sawah to finance his expensive hobbies. Since property is in general divided equally among all children on the death of their parents - unless a prior distribution of property has been made - the wealthiest of the local aristocracy are those who came from the smallest families. The richest man in the village, although he lives there most infrequently, is Petta Haji Basso, a first cousin of the Kepala Wanuwa Kalola who had the good fortune to be the only child of an only child (his mother), and also to marry a very wealthy noblewoman. His land holdings, scattered over several kecamatan, are estimated at between 30 and 50 hectares.

In Wajo' in former times, rights in land were established by the simple process of clearing and cultivating a patch of soil. The cultivator, however, possessed the right to sell or pledge only the labour and costs he had expended on the land, and the plants he had sown there. Residual rights in the land remained vested in the community and if a plot was left uncultivated for a specified length of time, the Hadat of that area could assign it to another. The period of grace varied between three and seven years for sawah, and was generally only three years for kebun (gardens). These cultivator's rights, however, applied only to the tana-tana limpo, the lands belonging to each limpo or sub-division of a wanuwa. Much uncleared land fell within two other categories, the tana arajang and the tana ongko. The tana arajang consisted of a clearly defined expanse of uncultivated land reserved to the office of the ruler of that place. They were in general fertile lands, well suited to cultivation. They might be cleared by anyone, and the cultivator thus earned the right to use the land he had cleared but not to sell or pledge it. Moreover, he had to pay each year a rent of fifty per cent of the crop produced. Although the land was considered the property of the office of ruler, rather than the possession of the individual occupying that office, it is not difficult to see that this land could quite easily be converted into private property, and this must often have happened in the period of confusion which followed the Dutch intervention in Wajo'.

The ongko were certain areas of grassland or forest, and also fishing grounds, reserved to the use of the Arung of the place. The ongko ala and ongko jonga (ala means "woods", while jonga are deer) were stretches of savannah (alang²) and young forest (belukar) set aside in every wanuwa as hunting-grounds for the numerous kings and princes of Wajo'. These reserves could not be cleared for cultivation without the consent of the ruler, but as the pressure of population increased it seems probable that they were

more and more frequently thrown open for cultivation. In Wesseling's account of land-rights in the wanuwa of Bélawa, written in 1938, he mentions that: "the ancient ongko for a long time have been made into sawahs, but the king (the Aru Belawa) still retains his rights, the clearers (of land) pay annually ten per cent of the crop as a sort of tribute to the king, but otherwise have in general the usual rights of clearing with all that follows from these (right to sell or pledge the land or rather the labour put into it)" (Wesseling, 1938:399).

In addition to the possibility of lands pertaining to the office of Arung becoming regarded as his private and inheritable property, the wide command of labour enjoyed by the princes of Wajo' - in particular the services of their slaves - enabled them to have cleared and cultivated on their behalf extensive areas of land. The role often played by the Arung as the bankers for their wanuwa also served to increase their control of labour and thus of land. They often had huge granaries filled with the rice produced by their own lands, as well as the rents paid to them by occupiers of parts of the tana arajang and the ongko. Formerly, according to the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua, if a poor man came to them asking for help, he would be lent, for instance, ten sheaves of rice. After the harvest, he would repay the loan, either in kind or by helping for a few days on the Arung's land.

In theory, rank is derived purely from birth and has no economic basis, but it is easy to understand how the Arung became owners of such vast areas of land that their descendants, even after the land has been divided and redivided in each generation, are still among the bigger landowners in most areas of Wajo'. (Although, as the Kepala Wanuwa remarked wryly: "There is nobody as rich now as the rajas were formerly - now our children are too good at buying cars, and finishing all our money".) But if ranks are not based on wealth, it is difficult to interpret the fact - revealed by the sample survey of the village (Table XI) - that tau décéng on average own more land than tau sama, and are far more likely to have some land at all. They are, moreover, better off in other ways: far more tau décéng families live in large wooden houses with a corrugated iron roof - an important modern status symbol - than is the case with the tau sama, more than half of whom own only small thatched bamboo huts. The kind of house a man owns is one of the clearest indications of his income-level: an iron-roofed house can rarely be bought for less than Rp. 150,000 and is thus a clear proof of affluence, while a bamboo hut, costing generally Rp. 4-6,000, betokens poverty. Those richest in land tend also to own the most expensive houses. Thus Petta Bau Maggalatung, with his 23 hectares of sawah,

TABLE XI: OWNERSHIP OF LAND BY RANK: TAU DÉCÉNG AND TAU SAMA

<u>Land owned</u> (hectares)	<u>Tau-deceng</u> (percentage)	<u>Tau sama</u> (percentage)
no land	21.4	68.3
0.2-0.4	3.6	7.3
0.401-0.8	-	4.9
<u>sub-total</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>80.5</u>
0.801-1	14.3	7.3
1.01-1.50	7.1	-
1.501-2	10.7	2.4
<u>sub-total</u>	<u>32.1</u>	<u>9.7</u>
2.01-3	14.3	-
3.01-4	3.6	-
4.01-5	3.6	-
<u>sub-total</u>	<u>21.5</u>	-
5 and above	<u>7.1</u>	<u>4.9</u>
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0

Note: In the sample of 72 households, there was only one household in each of the categories ana'matola, andi' and ata. These have therefore been excluded from this table. They own respectively 23 hectares, seven hectares (in fact, the property of the household head's mother-in-law, who is ana'matola), and no land at all.

owns one of the most valuable houses in the village: built of stone, its arched doorways give it an attractive Spanish air. He considers that if he sold it today, it would fetch at least Rp. 700,000. Although it is possible by hard work, by sharecropping land or trading, to achieve a reasonable level of income, very few people with little or no land are able to raise themselves into the income bracket where they could afford the luxury of roofing a house with corrugated iron, although several of the more industrious and inventive landless families (who are nearly all tau sama) have built or bought quite large and pleasant thatched wooden houses.

But let us return to the question of the superior wealth of the tau décéng. According to the ideal construct of the ranking system, tau décéng are people whose percentage of royal blood has become too "thin" for them to lay claim any longer to the title of andi'. But as we have seen in Chapter III, while many tau décéng households - notably those related to the family of the Arung Ana'banua - have clear connections with royalty, and are not infrequently even able to trace a genealogical link with a royal ancestor, others are able to provide no such proof of the authenticity of the claim, imputed by themselves or by others, that they are tau décéng. Often if a man is wealthy and possesses the symbols of wealth (such as a corrugated iron roof and a wide range of furniture), it is assumed that he

must be tau deceng.

April 1972: I asked Raufe Ancung (a rich trader) if his children would be tau sama like him, or tau décéng like his wife. He was not sure, but when I suggested they would be tau décéng if they were rich, he and his wife both laughed and were surprised that I knew this. They said: "Indeed, it's like that now".

The fact that well-to-do people of this kind often have ties of kinship or affinity with andi' is seen as clearly demonstrating that they are tau décéng in rank, although in fact it is not necessarily an indication of their own descent from the nobility. Thus, if A's mother's sister B married a noble, then A will have sapu sisseng (first cousins) - the children of B - who are andi', but this does not make him a descendant of nobility. The general lack of any precise knowledge of genealogies, whether of oneself or of others, enables such inconvenient details to be passed over in silence.

April 1972: I noticed that Juli (a friend in the village) tended to regard well-off people as tau décéng. Thus, when she came with me to visit La Tuwo (a very wealthy trader) she was not convinced when La Tuwo's wife claimed that they were tau sama, especially when the latter mentioned that many of her relatives are andi'.

The generally superior wealth of the tau décéng suggests then that this is not only a rank but also an economic class, although - like classes elsewhere - there is not always a complete identification between economic and social status: there are both poor tau décéng and rich tau sama, but they are exceptions to a more general rule. The two aspects of the concept of the tau décéng - rank derived from birth, and economic class - tend to become confused. It is probable that in the past, tau décéng really were invariably remote descendants of royalty and derived their wealth from this fact, from the share they received in the land of some distant Arung ancestor. As a result, relative wealth in land and other property has for non-nobles become equated with the rank of tau décéng, which is thus attributed to those who have no right of birth to bear the titles or hold the high status proper to this rank.

While riches may lead to an upgrading of rank, poverty may equally well result in loss of a rank to which an individual is entitled by birth. This probably applies to people of andi' rank still more than to tau décéng, since there is more social prestige involved in a claim to the title of andi', and its wrongful assumption (in the eyes of society) is likely to be more hotly contested. Perhaps from fear that their claim will not be recognised, poorer members of the nobility not infrequently allow their title to lapse.

August 1971: Andi' Amin says there are various kinds of andi': 100 per cent, 75 per cent, at the lowest 25 per cent (royal blood). But it depends on their wishes. Nowadays, people still want to be called andi' although their blood is too thin. If they are rich or hold high rank (in government or the army), they must be of andi' descent! There are also many of andi' descent who have wiped it out (menghapus). If they are poor, they are ashamed to be called andi' - they have become small, so they menghapus. Formerly, there was a regulation, there were limits between ranks, but they don't exist any more. It is people who are always leaders who like to use that title (i.e., andi'). If a person is andi', he is ashamed to carry goods on his back and so on: if he has to do this sort of work, he wipes out his title.

It is not only a feeling of personal shame (siri') which leads people voluntarily to accept a decline in rank. Others too tend to be reluctant to grant recognition of high rank to the poor. Thus, when a girl from a remote mountain village was to be married in Ana'banua from the house of her aunt, I was told that she was a descendant of the Arung of that area and yet she was called simply Énoma. A relative explained the discrepancy thus:

She is of noble descent but that's the way things are - because her standard of living is not good, she is poor, she is not called andi' here. In her own village people say andi', but not here.

Agriculture in Ana'banua

We have now seen that there is a clear correlation between rank and ownership of property, notably of land, with members of the higher ranks - the anakarung, andi' and tau décéng - forming the wealthier section of the society. Later, we shall consider how this ties in with our general view of Ana'banua as an emigrant society: in what way do the various combinations of rank and riches promote or inhibit emigration? First, however, let us examine the agricultural economy of Ana'banua, since this forms the basis for all distinctions of wealth and indirectly for fluctuations in rank.

The agricultural cycle in Ana'banua moves in tune with the seasonal alternation of wet and dry. In a year of normal rains, the ground is usually damp enough for seeds to be sown in March or early April for transplanting to prepared sawah before the end of April. The sawah are ploughed with a pair of kerbau (water-buffalo), and seed is sown broadcast in a small field, or even in the corner of a field. In other cases, however, seed is sown on dry land, such as vegetable gardens, where the seedlings are less likely to be disturbed by roaming kerbau - although wild pigs are sometimes a nuisance at night. Raising seedlings on dry land has a great advantage in an area such as Wajo', where there is little irrigation and the rainfall is erratic. Whereas seedlings from a wet nursery must be

transplanted within forty days or they become too developed, they may remain in a dry nursery for as long as three months before transplanting (Grist, 1959:116). Those farmers who use a wet nursery therefore tend to be those whose sawah is low-lying and naturally rather swampy, so that they can feel some certainty that transplanting will not be unnecessarily delayed.

All agricultural operations, apart from harvesting, are carried out by men. Whereas in most parts of Asia, women plant out padi seedlings in the water-filled fields, in Wajo' this too is the task of the men. If a farmer is working a very tiny plot of land, he and his family can handle the entire task of transplanting themselves. The more usual procedure, however, is for a group of kin and neighbours to plant out seedlings in the fields of each farmer in turn. Their wives bring rice and cakes to the sawah for them, so that the procedure acquires a festive air. In the case of a large landowner, such as the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua, the word quickly goes round that his sawah is to be planted on such-and-such a day and many people gather to help, less through altruism than for the sake of the food supplied. "If people work in the morning, they are given rice and fish (if there is any); if in the afternoon, they get ketan (glutinous rice) with red-sugar sauce only. People who don't have any land, such as the people in the pasar, are often called to help with everyone's planting" (Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua). With ordinary small farmers, this sort of payment is not offered: help with transplanting is strictly a reciprocal affair.

While the rice is growing, the fields must be kept well-weeded. They should also remain flooded at least until the padi flowers, when the water level can gradually be lowered until by harvest time the field is dry (Grist, 1959:28). In fact, however, throughout Wajo' the farmer has little control over the water-supply. While in Ana'banua the sawah tend to dry out before their time, in other areas - such as the coastal region - the sawah may still be so wet at harvest time that the harvesters suffer dreadfully from the attentions of leaches. Pelras (1974:363) considers that as a result of the difficulty of maintaining an adequate supply of water, most farmers tend to keep the water level in their fields too high, in an attempt to guard against insufficiency of water at a later date. Another result of the lack of irrigation is the widespread practice of water-theft - farmers creeping out in the night to let water from the sawah lying slightly uphill^{flow} into their own fields. Thus a civil servant (La Sabe), with five hectares of sawah which he rented out at Belawa, complained that the yield from this had been halved in 1971 because "the water was taken".

If all goes well, by July the grain is filling out; the rice is said to be "pregnant" and a ceremony is held by the farmers to celebrate the prospects for a successful harvest. Now the padi has to be protected against the depredations of the birds. Strings to which strips of white cloth are attached are stretched across the fields and small boys are stationed on platforms at the edge, where they jerk the strings and shout themselves hoarse to frighten away the birds. Between August and October, the rice is ready to be harvested, the actual date depending on the variety planted, for different kinds of rice have different maturation periods: the fastest growing variety used in Wajo' matures in about four months.

The padi is harvested by hand, small knives being used to cut each head individually; just enough stalk is left for the rice to be held easily. Although this method is slow, it is also extremely thorough and makes the most of small crops. In 1970 there was an exceptionally good harvest in Ana'banua-Kalola and sickles were used for harvesting, since it was impossible otherwise to cope with such a heavy crop: usually this method of harvesting is not allowed as it is considered a sin, a grievous affront to the goddess of the padi, Sangyang Seri. The poor and landless people of the village benefit from the traditional method of harvesting, for its slowness makes it essential for all but the smallest farmers to call in others to supplement the labour of their own families. At harvest time, poor people come from other areas too - from Séngkang, Tanasitolu, Sidrap and elsewhere - to help with the harvest. Everyone is paid in kind, usually one sheaf for every ten harvested (although the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua says that if the padi is not good, with poorly filled heads of grain, a larger share of the amount harvested may be given). Many families obtain quite a large proportion of their rice supplies in this way. One person can, it is said, earn as much as ten sheaves of padi (equivalent to about 80 kg of unhusked rice) during the harvest season: this is enough to feed an adult for about six months, if he is eating mainly rice, and somewhat longer if the diet is supplemented with vegetables and maize. By harvest time, all but the wealthiest families are living mainly on maize.

Apart from payment of the harvesters, a large or medium landowner has many other expenses, for he must also reward the men who bind the sheaves (a skilled job), who collect together the sheaves in one place, and who load their horses with padi and carry it from the fields to the farmer's house. All of these are paid in kind, the binders and carriers of sheaves at a fixed rate of two sheaves for every 100 bound or carried. The pack-horse owners are paid according to the distance the crop has to be carried: thus for a distance of seven kilometers, they receive ten out of every 100

sheaves; if the distance is only two kilometers, their share falls to three sheaves in a hundred. A farmer who does not own his own kerbau is sometimes obliged to hire a pair (although he always tries to borrow them from friends or kin): payment for this hire is also made at the time of the harvest and amounts to 50 sheaves for one kerbau, or 100 sheaves for a pair. As the maximum yield per hectare is usually 300 sheaves or three tons of padi, by the time a farmer with one hectare of sawah has paid all these costs, plus the land-tax (Ipéda) of about 26 sheaves per hectare, he may have very little left to feed his own family in the coming year. A small landowner or tenant farmer (with one hectare or less) may be able to avoid all additional expenses by using the labour of his household and reciprocal exchanges with neighbours, but he still must pay the Ipéda from the limited yield of his land: even in a good year, the balance remaining for home consumption is often inadequate.

Years of Want: 1971-72

So far, I have described the normal agricultural cycle, but it is a cycle which I never actually observed under normal conditions. In 1971 and 1972, the time I spent in Ana'banua, much of South Sulawesi and indeed Indonesia as a whole suffered from a prolonged drought which destroyed all hopes of a successful harvest over wide areas. Ana'banua was extremely hard hit by this drought, which in 1971 reduced the area of sawah planted by two-thirds. Half of the rice fields actually sown were eaten out by mice - probably because of the irregular planting pattern for swampy areas were sown a month or more before the drier fields. A bizarre situation resulted in which some people were preparing to harvest their crop, while others were only just beginning to transplant their seedlings.

The Camat Maniangpajo had foreseen that the rains might be late in 1971, and ordered people to sow rice in late March on dry ground in their yards, where it could be watered by hand and would be ready for transplanting as soon as the rains began. Unfortunately, in the following months only enough rain fell to fill the sawah lying in natural hollows, while vast expanses remained bone dry. As a result, by July the seedlings had been in the ground too long and had already begun to bear fruit, although only of tiny grains of dwarf-sized plants. Some of these were later transplanted to the sawah in the hope that there would be a second growth of rice, for most people had already used up the seed rice saved from the previous year's harvest. By August, many farmers had begun to plant maize, or sometimes peanuts, in order to have something to live on in the year ahead. In many parts of the area, even this was a futile effort, for the intermittent light rain was not enough for rice but was too much for maize, so that both kinds of crop failed.

People began to open dare' (ladangs) in the hills to the east of Ana'banua and to plant cassava. There was also sufficient rain for hill rice (asé dare) to succeed, although the yields from this kind of dry-land agriculture are invariably much lower than those which - in normal conditions - can be obtained from wet-rice cultivation.

In 1971, a yield was received from only 327 out of 2,497 hectares of sawah in the wanuwa of Ana'banua. Fortunately, in neighbouring Kalola, where some Ana'banua residents own land, a normal crop was received. Many people from Ana'banua went there to join in the harvest. In Ana'banua itself in 1971, the vast majority of farmers received no yield at all, or one so pitifully small that it "only made them sad". But if 1971 was a disaster, 1972 was total tragedy - a year of such unrelieved dryness that even maize and peanuts could not grow. Many people did not stay to see the tragedy out: by April, many farmers had decided not to grow padi but to merantau, because it was already clear that once again there was going to be insufficient rain. As a result, many landowners who usually rented out their sawah were unable to find anyone to work the land, so many tenant farmers had gone off to Makassar to work as labourers, or emigrated to Jambi. As the emigrants from the village commented: "If we stay here, what are we going to eat?"

Landlessness

While the position of the landless peasant in Ana'banua is not to be envied, he is luckier by far than people without land in areas more remote from the centres of economic life in South Sulawesi. The village is comparatively rich in opportunities for employment outside agriculture, and it is also relatively easy to rent land from local landowners who have abandoned farming for other more interesting activities, or from the local aristocracy who have so much land they do not need to work at all. It is not surprising then to find that many of the landless families in Ana'banua have come from elsewhere, moving down from the hills to the east or from the overcrowded lake districts of Tanasitolu to the south and Bélawa to the west.

The sample survey of Ana'banua's population suggests that 60 per cent of households have either no land or too little to make a living (Table X). In this position, a household has two courses of action open to it: either its members must sharecrop land, or they must find some other source of income. Often both courses of action are combined: the men rent land during the agricultural season and work as labourers or petty traders for the rest of the year, while their wives make a steady cash income by weaving or sewing. Out of 38 landless households in the sample group, I found that

17 or 45 per cent were employed only as tenant farmers, while a further six household heads supplemented agriculture with trade, woodcutting, and work as cattle-herders for Petta Lantara at Massumpatédongé. Most of the other landless households gained a precarious livelihood from trade or labouring, usually in the two large rice-mills.

Those peasants - both the landless and those with too little land - who sharecrop sawah, do so under a wide range of tenancy agreements. The most usual agreement is for the crop to be divided equally between tenant and landlord, but this still leaves room for further conditions to be introduced about who is responsible for payment of the Ipéda land tax, and for any other expenses which may arise. How these questions are answered depends usually upon whose kerbau will be used to plough the land, for kerbau are probably the main limiting factor in local agricultural production. Without kerbau, it is impossible for a household to work more than one hectare, hoeing it themselves - an arduous task which few would be likely to attempt. If a tenant farmer has his own kerbau, he is often offered special sharecropping agreements whereby the landlord agrees to pay the Ipéda from his own share of the crop, or even offers the cultivator a larger share of the yield: two-thirds or three-fifths. The wise tenant farmer therefore saves all the money he can spare and invests it in kerbau - and quite a major investment it is, as they cost from Rp. 20,000 to Rp. 45,000, depending on sex and age. If the cultivator owns neither kerbau nor tools, such as a plough and harrow, he is likely to be subjected to very unfavourable tenancy agreements. Thus Ali, an enterprising young farmer with no land of his own, became extremely discontented with the manner of dividing the crop on the two hectares he sharecropped: since the landlord owned the kerbau and tools used, he insisted on taking three-fifths of the yield, while Ali received only two-fifths. He therefore invested money he had saved over many years in a pair of kerbau, and changed his landlord.

Tenancy agreements tend to be unstable, usually because the tenant becomes dissatisfied with either the division of the crop or with the quality of the land he has been given to work. If he finds that after a year's work, he receives but a poor yield in rice, he is likely to either abandon agriculture for a while, or find another piece of land to cultivate in the hope that it will prove more profitable. An F.A.O. report has pointed out that: "A high degree of tenancy is associated with unstable conditions. ... Neither the landlord nor the tenant gives much thought to the productive factor - the land. The tenant is unwilling to improve the land, for none of the value created by his efforts will accrue to him.

The landlord is unwilling to improve the land, for he cannot trust the tenant. Thus, land improvement, with a corresponding increase in productive efficiency, does not and cannot take place in this unhealthy situation" (Grist, 1959:380). I only knew of one case where landlord and tenant were making efforts to improve the land by applying fertiliser: in this case, the tenant, a particularly industrious man, was working over three hectares of sawah which he had already sharecropped for four years, and obviously intended to continue to cultivate indefinitely. It is only if the tenant is happy both with the land he is working and with his landlord that there is any chance that he will invest time and part of his income in measures to improve the fertility of the land.

Deficiencies of Agriculture

The prevalence of tenancy has the effect that much of the land of Ana'banua is underutilised. Whereas an owner-farmer takes advantage of the six months of the dry season to grow secondary crops, such as maize, peanuts and beans in his sawah, the lands which are rented out for rice cultivation during the rainy season are all too often left empty in the dry, kerbau being allowed to wander freely across the fields. This failure to cultivate large areas of land for half the year not only reduces the quantity of food produced, but also means that an excellent opportunity is missed to reestablish the fertility of the sawah through a rotation of crops. Leguminous crops, such as peanuts and beans, have particularly beneficial effects upon the soil.

It is not surprising to find that even in a good year, yields of padi production are low. I examined the production of 15 farms in Ana'banua: of these, five were worked by tenants, three were cultivated by their owners but were very tiny - only 0.2-0.3 hectares, and the remainder (with areas of 1-4 hectares) were operated by owner-farmers. In 1970, the harvest was considered excellent and yet the average yield was only 760 kg of milled rice per hectare, and the highest yield recorded was 1,248 kg. Some households not included in this survey claimed to have produced 3 tons of padi, or 1,560 kg of milled rice, in the same year, but even this yield is low by comparison with those achieved in most parts of Java or indeed in South Sulawesi as a whole, where the average yield for the entire province is 1,200 kg of milled rice per hectare - quite a high yield by Ana'banua standards. The variation in crop yields is also very great: many farmers experienced a 100 per cent drop in production between 1970 and 1972, from one to three tons of padi to nothing. By contrast, studies of crop variability in wet-rice cultivation in Central Thailand showed a maximum crop variability of 22 per cent. (Hanks, 1972:166).

The infertility of the soil and extreme variation in crop yields in Ana'banua both spring from the same source: the lack of irrigation. Not only does an efficient irrigation system ensure that the growing padi plants are never deprived of water at a crucial stage in their development; it also means that the sawah are supplied with valuable minerals dissolved in the water supply. Even where the irrigation water is not particularly rich in minerals essential to plant growth, nonetheless the soil benefits from the oxygen carried by flowing water: "Where the paddy field remains under stagnant water for any length of time growth is affected, probably because decomposition of organic matter depends largely on oxygen and in the absence of oxygen nitrates cannot be formed" (Grist, 1959:29). Formerly a limited amount of land in Ana'banua (only about 100 hectares) was irrigated from small dams; but these fell into disrepair during the rebellion. More recently, in 1969 and 1970, very large sums allocated by the central government were spent on irrigation works, consisting of two dams: one of these was at Salo' Lama'garang, the small stream encircling the village which supplied water to the Dutch irrigation network; the other was at Salo' Dua, the river (or large stream) about two kilometers to the north of Ana'banua. Both of these projects proved a complete failure as a result of inefficient supervision of the construction work by district officials. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua was incensed by the fact that the dam built at Salo' Dua at a cost of over a million rupiah burst as soon as the first rains swept down the stream: what particularly appalled him was that the surrounding earth walls, raised by a work-group of local men, withstood the force of the flood, while the concrete dam built by a Sengkang contractor gave way immediately.

The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua sees the lack of irrigation facilities as the basis of the economic problems of the area. He was scornful, when I talked to him in June 1972, about efforts to encourage the development of Wajo' through repairing roads. As he said, with a note of despair in his voice: "What is the use of building roads if there are no goods to carry on them?" At that time, a truck owned by one of the local nobility (Andi' Tenri Angka) had for long been out of use for lack of a load to carry to the cities of the west coast. Since almost nothing was produced from the land in 1971-72, there was also little to trade to other parts of the province. The Kepala Daerah Wajo' (in May 1972) also saw lack of adequate water supplies as the district's greatest problem, and the reason why so many of its inhabitants emigrate. He explained that it was particularly difficult to construct irrigation systems in this area because the rivers are too deep: they almost invariably flow at a much lower level than the

surrounding land. In 1927, the Dutch had done a survey on this question and found that 17,000 hectares could be irrigated from the Gilireng River, 9,000 hectares from the Bila River, just over the northern border with Sidrap, and a further 7,000 hectares from the Siwa River in the far northeast of the district. But since that time, there has been extensive erosion due to tree-felling in the hills and the rivers have become shallow as a result of the large quantities of silt deposited. Now they are more difficult to dam: the daerah government was (in 1972) unlikely to be able to finance the building of these dams for at least six years.

A further impediment to the development of agriculture in Ana'banua, and probably elsewhere in Wajo', is a shortage of kerbau, essential for working sawah in this area. During the rebellion, large areas of sawah went out of production because many of the kerbau required for ploughing had been slaughtered by the rebels for food. In Wajo', the number of kerbau declined from 54,000 in 1951 to 18,000 in 1961; in Boné, the decrease was even greater, from 50,000 to 5,000. Horses, the chief means of transporting heavy loads (such as newly harvested padi) were also killed by the rebels for food (Shamsher, 1967:72). Formerly, kerbau were bred in Ana'banua, but the breeding stock were wiped out during the rebellion: a herd of 50 kerbau was taken by the rebels in the course of a single raid. The village has never recovered from this disaster. Kerbau calve only once a year, but unfortunately this occurs at the time they are needed for ploughing: since they are in such short supply, they tend to be put to work and the calf is all too often lost as a result. Even in excellent years, almost ten per cent of the sawah of wanuwa Ana'banua remains uncultivated due to the shortage of draught animals. If a man lacks kerbau of his own, he must borrow them - but usually they are lent for a day at the most, for in a good year everyone wants to plough their land at the same time, as soon as the rains have begun in earnest. Hiring kerbau is too costly a business for all but the largest landowners to contemplate the idea. The Kepala Wanuwa considers that about 500 kerbau should be bought by the daerah government to supplement the existing inadequate numbers: this would cost about Rp. 15 million, a sum that the government is unlikely to be able to afford, particularly after two years of crop failure have drastically cut its income from land taxes. But as the Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua pointed out: "If it is always like this - no irrigation, no kerbau to help the farmer - in the end the inhabitants of Ana'banua will be finished: at the most, the family of Pak Wanuwa will still stay here!"

Making Ends Meet

Most studies of agriculture in tropical regions refer to "the poverty

of the cultivator and his consequent heavy burden of debt, usually contracted at high rates of interest" (Grist, 1959:380). This pattern is probably repeated in many parts of Indonesia. Prewar village surveys in rural Java showed "that many of the peasants who owned tiny holdings were heavily indebted; they retained only a small share of the yield, the larger part going to money-lenders". Thus, it is common to find that "peasants who appear to be independent and in control of their land are in reality sharecroppers" (Pelzer, 1963b:126).

In Ana'banua, by contrast, the money-lender is unknown. Here I recorded few cases of financial indebtedness or of borrowing money from any but close kin. The few exceptions were some landless labourers whom the head of the religious affairs department was forced to employ to build his house, because it was "better to pay them to do something than have them asking for money". Farmers seem rarely to borrow money. Indeed, the Kepala Wanuwa complained that one of the chief impediments to the development of agriculture in the area was the lack of credit facilities for farmers. Formerly, as we have seen, it was possible to borrow rice from the Arung to tide a family over a difficult period. Now it is more difficult: "farmers cannot get credit; at the most, if they go to Senggang two or three times, then they might". They must take with them letters from the Kepala Wanuwa, Kepala Lingkungan and others certifying that they do in fact possess so many hectares of land to offer as security - "but they still are not helped". The Kepala Wanuwa commented rather bitterly that it was only Solo and Padaidi (the two big companies owning fleets of buses and other enterprises) who were given credit: farmers were not.

How then do small farmers manage to find money not only for daily living expenses but for implements, seed and other production costs? A partial answer is that most farmers manage without credit by cutting their expenses to the minimum. Seed is not generally bought but saved from the last harvest: this makes a crop failure in two successive years a disaster, since often even the seed rice must be eaten to tide the family over another year. Tools, such as ploughs, are often made by hand from wood found in the forest. Labour for the small farmer costs nothing since he and his family can generally perform all the tasks of cultivation themselves, or with the help of reciprocal labour exchanges with kin and neighbours. They can even harvest all their own crop if the yield is small. The most crucial need of the pa'galung, the sawah cultivator, is ownership of kerbau - or the possibility of borrowing them. Landlords whose tenants lack kerbau or tools of their own in fact offer them a form of credit when they lend their own draught animals and implements: their return on the loan is the

higher share of the crop which accrues to them.

Quite apart from the costs of production, a farmer also requires money to buy food to supplement the rice he produces, as well as other items such as soap, oil for lamps, matches and clothing. Although a family can produce some vegetables, fruit and eggs to supplement the rice diet, there are other imported foodstuffs which are common items in the household budget, such as tea, coffee, salt, spices, and sometimes fish (either fresh or dried). Pelras (1974:372) has estimated that over and above the rice required for consumption during the year, a household must produce more than half as much rice again to sell in order to buy other necessities of life: thus a hypothetical household consisting of grandparents, parents and four children will need 900 kg of milled rice for food alone - including rice used on ceremonial occasions - but an extra 500-600 kg will have to be sold to provide essential foods which the household cannot produce itself. Thus a household of this size must each year produce at least 1,400 kg of rice in order to meet all its consumption requirements. In fact, of course, many families never eat fish, and rarely buy coffee and spices; but if we accept these estimates as optimal requirements, which would provide a reasonable standard of consumption, then this implies that a household needs to produce about 175 kg for every household member. In the course of my survey, I found that only farmers with one hectare of sawah or more were able to count on a rice income of this size, and then only if the rains did not fail. If we average out the income received by 18 farming families in 1970 and 1971, then the ten households controlling one hectare or more received an average income of less than 140 kg per head, while those with 0.8 hectares or less obtained a maximum income of only 61 kg of rice per head. It is thus only the very largest landowners who are in a position to sell some of their rice to buy extra food and other goods. Saing, whose wife owns 11 hectares of sawah, received three tons of padi (1,560 kg rice) even in the bad year of 1971; he was able to set aside one ton to feed himself, his wife and three children in the coming year, and to sell the other two tons of padi. Cégé, who owns one hectare of sawah, produced three tons of padi in 1970 but nothing in 1971; he therefore was obliged to use all his rice for his family's consumption needs. He told me: "We never buy rice. We have enough to eat, but there is never any surplus". Many households do not even have enough rice to feed themselves during the year, but must supplement their rice stocks with maize. At the bottom end of the scale are households such as that of Kalénna, a widow whose son works their 30 are (0.3 hectare) of sawah. They live in a tiny bamboo hut and are dressed in rags. Their diet reflects their poverty: "We usually eat maize;

occasionally we eat rice".

Agriculture for many of the peasant farmers of Ana'banua is thus frequently too unproductive to provide for their basic consumption needs. How then do they manage without recourse to the financial assistance which peasants in so many regions of the world regard as a necessity? For the majority of families in Ana'banua and elsewhere in Wajo', the cash needed for basic purchases can usually be obtained through weaving sarongs, which are sold either locally or in other districts where they fetch a much higher price. In general, the less well-off a family is, the higher the rate of sarong production: weaving two sarongs a month - the usual maximum - entails hard, back-breaking labour for much of the day every day of the week, something few women would be prepared to endure if the need were not great. Another sign of poverty is the care with which the pekarangan, the house-yard, is cultivated. Whereas families with a moderate or high income tend to neglect the pekarangan, leaving it empty or badly tended, poor families surround their houses with a dense mass of vegetation, green beans, maize and cassava growing interspersed with sugar-cane, bananas and sometimes pineapples. To the northeast of the main village, at Kampung Kéra, land has been set aside by the Kepala Wanuwa for poor families to settle. Each family has a plot of government land of about 30 are, where they grow maize, bananas and cassava to supplement the rice the men obtain by sharecropping sawah. Most of these families moved to the new hamlet in 1966-69 and built or bought small bamboo houses; they pay no rent for the land they live on. Many of these people, especially the men, have come from small villages in other areas - mainly from Kalola, Bélawa, Lamata', Paria (kecamatan Majauleng), and Passeloreng (kecamatan Pitumpanua). They are all very poor; in every household I was told: "We never have sufficient". As one woman commented, surprisingly cheerfully: "We can't buy so much as a shirt. There is nobody poorer than us". In helping these families by providing land for them at Kampung Kéra, the Kepala Wanuwa may have been trying to prevent the drain of people from the wanuwa which has made it increasingly difficult for landlords to find tenants to work their land. He was probably also following a long-established tradition whereby the nobility act as local patrons.

Many of the wealthier andi' of Ana'banua have a certain number of people whom they have helped at some time, and upon whom they can call. Thus Andi' Amin - manager of one of the large rice-mills - was seen as the "punggawa" (boss) of his employees, who felt that they could "ask him for assistance or money" (Ballahu). The quite literal hunger of many poor people makes it easy to enlist their help, in harvesting and other tasks.

Thus, I was told by Ballahu that a large group of men I had seen chopping wood until far into the night for the Kepala Wanuwa were poor people; because they were poor "it is considered that they can be ordered around". They were rewarded for their labour with either food or money. Some of the big landowners also dispense a certain amount of charity to the people who work for them. Thus, in 1971, when La Bang received no rice at all from the sawah he was renting, his landlord - Petta Bau Maggalatung - gave him 50 sheaves of rice. The Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua claims that he and other landowners often give harvesters a larger share of the crop than they are strictly entitled to receive. Although such gestures may arise largely from a feeling of obligation to help the less well-off, they also have the effect of creating a circle of people with reason to feel grateful towards them, and morally bound to answer any calls upon their labour.

While landless people tend to be amongst the poorer members of the society, poverty and landlessness are by no means synonymous. Having enough to live on depends very much on the ability to work, and we have many instances of peasant farmers with no land of their own who through hard work and careful saving have been able to raise their standard of living. Lantani, for instance, sharecrops over three hectares of sawah - a very large area for one man to work alone. Through saving, he has been able to buy himself a kerbau and a horse. During the dry season, he uses his horse to pull a béndi, one of the small carts used to carry people and goods to market. He can make about Rp. 200 to Rp. 300 each week; not a great deal of money, but enough to supply all the cash needs of his family. He describes his economic position as "average"; this is because he has "lots of work to do - early in the morning I leave the house, and don't come back until evening". La Odi also owns no land but through working the sawah of others, he has been able to save enough money to buy two kerbau and a horse; some years, he does not farm but hires out his horse to carry maize and padi. These men show the possibilities for achievement which exist within the society.

The poor of Ana'banua are in general the unfortunate or the feckless. Apart from the wealthiest families, or those with a secure salaried income, most households from time to time go through a period of relative deprivation if the harvest fails. But there are some people who at all times do not have enough for the necessities of life. They include the women without husbands who make a precarious living from selling produce or cakes and coffee in the pasar. An elderly couple I found growing vegetables on half a hectare of rented land told me that they usually did not have enough to eat; the husband was ill and could do little work, and

all their children had emigrated to Sumatra. Ill-health may take a serious toll of the family's resources. Thus La Massi owns one and a half hectares of sawah and for many years also had the use of over a hectare of sawah belonging to his wife's brother, who was in Jambi. One might have expected this family to be quite prosperous, but Massi's wife has been seriously ill with tuberculosis for a long time. A neighbour told me (April 1972): "All the time he has to sell their gold, kerbau, sawah, until everything is finished. She has been ill for seven years, and her poor husband has to sell his padi to buy medicines. Usually they don't have enough to eat. They are forced to sell their property". It was predicted that Massi would probably have emigrated long ago, but his wife was too ill. They were forced to stay in Ana'banua, growing poorer and poorer.

Other families which were poor seemed to be in this position through lack of drive or of organisational ability. There were several households which owned tiny patches of land, not enough to make a living, and yet instead of renting-in more land they simply made do with what they had, apart from a little harvesting or casual labour. There were others who rented land, but under such unfavourable terms that it was scarcely worth their while. Still others, disliking agricultural labour, made an inadequate living through intermittent labouring jobs or by working as "ahen oto", stopping buses for a small fee. Many of the poorer households were people who had moved into the village comparatively recently, and were perhaps not yet aware of the opportunities which existed for raising their standard of livelihood: it is far more difficult to find a good landlord and make a favourable sharecropping agreement if one is not familiar with the existing system in the village, particularly if one has been accustomed to still more arduous conditions elsewhere.

Emigrants from Ana'banua

Although, as I have tried to show, it is usually possible to make a living in Ana'banua, and even to improve one's economic position, this does not mean that life is anything but difficult for most people apart from the few big landowners and traders, and civil servants on regular salaries. Agriculture is not only an occupation demanding a large expenditure of effort and skill: the farmer also needs a good pinch of luck. To experience a total crop-failure after months of toil is an all too common fate, and one which drives many farmers to an extremity of frustration and despair.

Andi' Sinu' complained about the difficult farming conditions in Wajo': there is not enough rain, no irrigation (unlike Sidrap), and the ground is hard to work. Usually, during the padi-growing season, a man is out in the sawah from five in the morning until six in the evening, resting in a pondok (shelter) in the middle of the day. He says this is why people migrate.

The fact that farming is known to be both easy and profitable in Jambi means that discontent with conditions in Ana'banua very frequently hardens into a resolution to emigrate.

If a peasant farmer finds himself in an increasingly precarious position, where he could not sustain another reduction or failure of the rice harvest, emigration is generally seen as the obvious answer, and he may sell his house, his kerbau (if he has one), and his remaining store of rice to finance the trip to Sumatra. It is considered shameful to sell the land handed down from one's forefathers, and few settlers in Jambi would admit that this happened, but in fact a family in very dire straits not infrequently sell everything they possess in order to emigrate. 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 failure and therefore have no need to leave Ana'banua - nor any desire to do so. The largest group who remain at home are the poor, who have nothing to sell and hence must simply tighten their belts and subsist on the produce of their house-gardens or dare', supplemented by casual labour when it is available.

Here we are talking about the kind of panic emigration which accompanies an economic crisis. At other times, there is a steady trickle of emigration by people who are attracted by the prospects of becoming rich in Jambi, or who simply want to go there for a trip to see what it is like and visit their relatives. In my survey of Ana'banua, I found that nearly 30 per cent of households included one or more returned migrants; but while a very large proportion of tau décéng families (64 per cent) included former migrants, far fewer tau sama households (only 22 per cent) had members who had at some time emigrated (see Appendix B). This does not mean that tau sama do not emigrate, but they are far less likely to return to Ana'banua. More than half of the tau sama families I interviewed had very close kin - siblings or children - living in Jambi or elsewhere in Sumatra. Many of these had left the village during the rebellion, in the late 1950s or early 1960s. The disruption caused by the rebellion was also the cause of emigration by most of the tau décéng interviewed, but they had returned to Ana'banua after peace had returned, while most tau sama migrants had remained in Sumatra. This discrepancy is related to the far stronger economic position of the tau décéng. The vast majority of returned migrants were owners of a hectare of sawah or more, while those whose kin had emigrated, never to return, were in general either landless or owners of very small patches of land. The reason for this close relationship between

a weak economic position and permanent emigration is not difficult to see: there was nothing for such people to come back to Ana'banua for, except perhaps for a brief visit to see their kin, and often to encourage them to emigrate too.

To summarise: those who emigrate are neither the very rich, members of the local nobility whose high status is closely tied to continued residence in Wajo'; nor are they the very poor, who cannot afford to move elsewhere. Emigrants are drawn from the middle-income level of people who are able to raise sufficient cash to cover the expenses of the journey to Sumatra. But these people may be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are reasonably well-to-do farmers or traders, often of the tau décéng, many of whom emigrated for relatively short periods during the rebellion, when it was difficult for them to make an adequate living; many members of this category continue to spend periods in Sumatra - on trading expeditions or to open land as an investment - but they rarely settle there permanently. In this they differ from the second category of migrants who have just sufficient capital (in the form of a house, perhaps a kerbau, a little land and the rice from the previous year's harvest) to be able to pay their fares, yet do not have a strong financial stake in Ana'banua and thus have little incentive to return once they have emigrated.

Effects of Emigration

One of the surprising features of the pattern of land ownership in Ana'banua is the lack of the kind of extreme fragmentation which generally accompanies a system of equal inheritance of property by all children. In a village in central Java, which also has such an inheritance system, Penny (1971:14) found that 63 per cent of families own some land (a higher proportion than in Ana'banua), but only 1.8 per cent of households own over 0.8 hectare. By contrast, in Ana'banua fewer people have land, but those who do own land have far larger areas at their disposal. Moreover, only a very small proportion of land owners hold less than one hectare (see Table X above). The concentration of land ownership is largely the result of emigration, operating in two ways. Firstly, those who decide to sell everything and emigrate permanently are likely to be those who own very small amounts of land in any case. Secondly, where an emigrant does not sell his sawah, it remains in the care of his kin at home and is treated as their own property until he or his descendants return from the rantau. (This can lead to very difficult land disputes when the grandson, or even more remote descendant, of an emigrant who departed in the mists of antiquity, decides to come to Wajo' to claim his heritage). Many families own land-holdings of one hectare or more only because most of their kin are in Jambi. Thus, a widow, I Gatta, and her younger sister

hold one hectare of sawah belonging to their father, and this is worked by the younger sister's husband; but the only reason that they have any land at all is that both their father and all their siblings have migrated, leaving them in full possession of the sawah.

At first glance, the fact that permanent migrants are drawn mainly from the middle income levels seems likely to lead to a yawning chasm between rich and poor. In fact, this does not occur, largely because not all those who receive a moderate income emigrate. Moreover, the position of those who remain is greatly improved by the emigration of their siblings and cousins, since this leads to a reversal of the tendency towards land fragmentation. I never heard anyone give as a reason for emigration the desire to give kin the use of his land; but whatever the conscious motivation behind a decision to move to Jambi, it does usually happen that while some siblings emigrate, at least one nearly always stays at home to look after whatever land the family owns. If a whole sibling-group emigrates, their land is usually left with some other close kin, who have full rights to use the land as their own so long as the real owners remain in the rantau. Thus the Mangku (local headman) of Sungai Ayam in Jambi told me (January 1973) that all his siblings and his mother had followed him to Sumatra; their sawah at Lakadaung, about 4 km to the south of Ana'banua, was left with a first cousin, who was allowed to keep its entire yield. Not only the landed benefit from the emigration of a considerable (although uncounted) proportion of Ana'banua's people. The landless too are helped by a decline in competition for tenancy of sawah. Tenants are now in such short supply that it is far easier for them to pick and choose both the land and the landlord they want - and to determine to a much greater extent than before the conditions under which they are to work the land.

We have so far discussed purely economic reasons for leaving Ana'banua, but it is possible that more complex considerations drive some people from their native village. These revolve around the tension we have already identified between the concept of rank as derived from birth, and the economic expectations which are attached to the notion of the rank of tau décéng. The fear of falling in rank due to failure to achieve the necessary economic status may push some people to leave home in the hope of fulfilling the role-expectations of their rank. Others may equally be enticed to migrate by the prospect of actually achieving a rank denied them at home. These themes will be further explored in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER VI: THE SUMATRAN MIGRATION

Origins of Bugis Settlement in Sumatra

The settlement of Bugis along the Sumatran coast is the latest in a series of waves of migration from South Sulawesi to other parts of the Malay world. From the seventeenth to the early years of the twentieth century, the major areas of Bugis settlement were in Kalimantan and the Malay Peninsula, and in the Riau Archipelago, strategically situated between the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. From these key areas, Bugis adventurers and traders were for long able between them to dominate the politics and the trade of the western half of the Indonesian archipelago. But for at least a century most of the Bugis moving into these areas have been peasant farmers interested mainly in acquiring land. In the rantau they became in effect shifting cultivators who carved out landholdings from the forests of the coastal areas. Most shifting cultivators in Kalimantan and Sumatra normally plant rice and other crops for a year or two on fertile virgin soil, but then they are forced by declining yields to move on. From the turn of the century, however, increasing numbers of shifting cultivators of all ethnic groups in these regions began to diversify their economy: instead of allowing the land to revert to forest they planted tree-crops, particularly coconuts and rubber, on their ladangs before they abandoned them. Several years later, when the trees were mature, the original cultivator returned to harvest the crop which awaited him. The Bugis settlers in Kalimantan and the Malay Peninsula were not slow to join in the expansion of smallholder production of cash-crops in the first decades of the twentieth century: indeed, it seems probable that it was this very expansion which stimulated the emigration of ordinary peasants from South Sulawesi, for former emigrants had more often been traders or fighting men. In Kalimantan, these peasant-migrants have grown both rubber and coconuts, but in most places where Bugis agricultural settlements have sprung up, coconuts have become by far the most popular cash-crop. This may be partly due to a preference for quick returns, for although the coconuts are less profitable than rubber the trees begin to yield about three years earlier. The choice of crop is, however, probably largely an aspect of the nature of the areas of settlement: low-lying, rather swampy coastal regions, easy of access and excellent for rice production in the early years, but generally too damp for rubber to flourish. Coconut palms, by contrast, are happiest in such marshy lowland areas.

In the early years of settlement, it was possible for Bugis migrants both to raise their own food and to obtain a cash-income through constantly

clearing new land to grow food-crops while the older clearings were converted into coconut gardens. Inevitably this process eventually ground to a halt as suitable land for further cultivation became exhausted. Consequently settlers were forced to depend entirely upon cash-crop production for a living, since there was no longer free land available for them to grow their own food. They thus lost the chief defense of small-holders against the fluctuations of the world market: the ability to switch from cash-crop to food production. The ill consequences of this dependence were felt quite early in Malaya, where Malay peasants (as well as Indonesian immigrants) had begun to switch from rice to rubber before the end of the nineteenth century. Coconuts also became a profitable cash-crop as the margarine industry (which used coconut oil) rapidly expanded from the turn of the century. Coconut smallholdings became widespread along the west coast of the peninsula, where heavy clay or peat soils were unsuited to the more lucrative rubber crop: the west coast of Johore (an area of intensive Bugis settlement) is particularly noted for the importance of its coconut production (Fryer, 1970:255-6). As a result of the almost total concentration of peasant farmers on cash-crops, increasingly large quantities of rice had to be imported into Malaya. During the 1914-18 war, "this extremely vulnerable food position of Malaya brought hardship to the people and a great financial burden to the government" (Pelzer, 1945:56). Indeed, the inflation in food prices at this time was so remarkable that it has become one of the landmarks in the history of the people of Malaya. Thus, I once met a Bugis woman in Ana'banua who claimed that she had been born in Johore "at the time rice was expensive"; although she did not herself know the date of her birth, it was clear from other evidence that it must have been about 1915.

Overcrowding in the old areas of Bugis settlement not only limited the amount of land available for food-crop production but also meant that there was little or no free land remaining for further settlement. The stories of Bugis who were living in the rantau between about 1915 and 1930 suggest that a common pattern at the time was frequent movement from one settlement area to another in search of a more adequate livelihood. New immigrants from Sulawesi to Benut in Johore or to Pontianak (southwest Kalimantan) often quickly moved on to greener pastures. Thus Haji Manda', who was born in Paria, Wajo', in 1900, accompanied his parents to Benut in 1917; they remained there only two years then moved to Sungai Terap in Indragiri, where an acquaintance was opening land. Haji Manda' claims that in 1971 "many Bugis" began to enter the coastal region of southeastern Indragiri and northeastern Jambi. Most of these new settlers came from

Benut and Pontianak, probably driven out by the high prices for food and low returns for cash-crop production at that time. In the 1920's, although conditions improved, the shift to Sumatra continued due to the growing pressure on land. La Réwo, a charming, garrulous old man of about 70, told me how as a young bachelor in 1923 he had migrated with his parents and five brothers to Pontianak. They came from Macannang, a kampong in the hills about seven kilometers to the southeast of Ana'banua, but part of the wanuwa of Paria. Although his néné' (his grandfather's brother) had left 10 hectares of coconut gardens in the Pontianak area, this land had to be shared with many people, for his own children had also migrated.

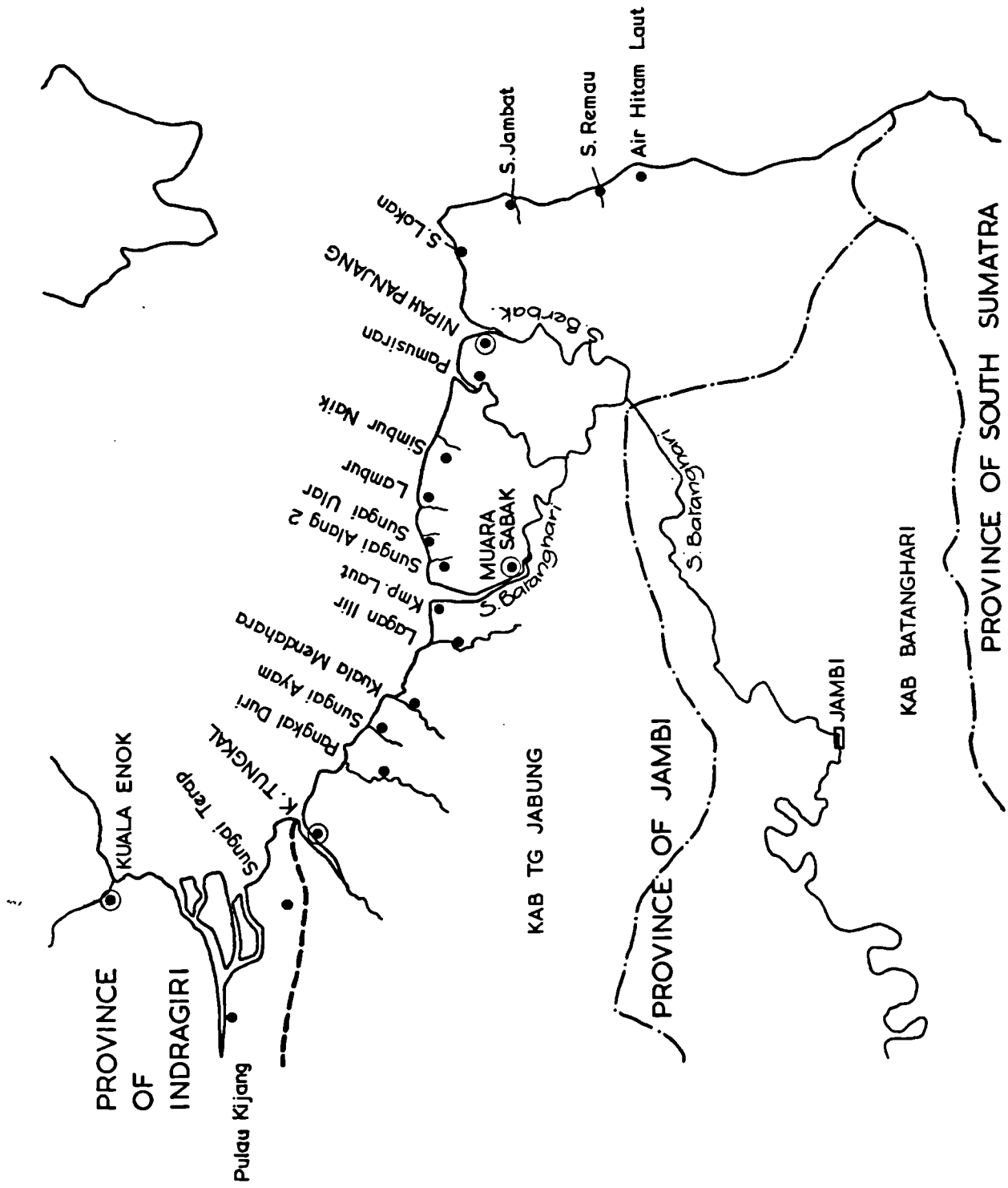
It was difficult (payah) there ... land was already limited, and there were many people. In the hills there was lots of land - but people were not willing (to go there). Sulawesi people did not want to open land if it was in the hills. Why did they leave Sulawesi if not that it was too hilly? ... Father said: "It's too difficult to make a living here". He had already merantau to Tanjung Batu (in Riau) and to here (Jambi). He said: "It is better if we go to Tungkal (Jambi) - Tanjung Batu is difficult too".

And so, after only a year in Pontianak, they all moved to Jambi and opened land at Parét Dua (Canal Two), Kuala Tungkal. (Interview in Pangkal Duri, Jambi, January 1973).

From the 1920's, not only were Bugis moving to Sumatra from the older settlement areas but many were beginning to come direct from Sulawesi, for their kin already in the rantau had sent word that there was abundant land there, free for the taking. The areas of Bugis settlement were all located on the eastern coast of Sumatra, in the Indragiri and Jambi provinces. In the following discussion of Bugis colonisation of the Sumatra coast, Jambi will be considered in particular detail for it has for some decades been the most important area of modern Bugis immigration and it is, moreover, the region to which almost all Ana'banua migrants have moved.

Early Settlement on the Jambi Coast

The eastern side of Sumatra consists of a low plain, traversed by mighty rivers such as the Musi and the Batang Hari (on which the town of Jambi stands) and by numerous smaller streams. These wend their way, heavy with mud and vegetation, towards the shallow waters of the South China Sea. Great quantities of silt, pushed out from these rivers, have produced extensive deltas which have been constantly expanded, checked only by the strong tidal currents which sweep the estuaries. The salt-drenched marshes fringing the coast support dense belts of mangroves and further inland of nipah palms. Elsewhere thick, often virgin, forests clothe much of the plain. The rainfall is heavy, although not evenly distributed over the year: in Jambi, the wettest months are usually September to April and this is the



MAP V

COASTAL REGION OF JAMBI

Key

----- Provincial boundary

----- Kabupaten

□ Provincial Capital eg. Jambi

○ Kabupaten eg. K. TUNGKAL

● Kecamatan Capital eg. --

{ MUARA SABAK

time when padi is grown. Robequain (1958:161) considers that "the dampness of the soil on this almost level ground and the density of a half-drowned forest that is difficult to clear away have been great obstacles to settlement and exploitation".

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the area was occupied only by wandering groups of hunters and gatherers, except for tiny principalities - such as Jambi and Palembang - sited on a few of the larger rivers. These have an ancient history as trading centres - Jambi (Malayu) was first mentioned in a Chinese source of 671 AD and Palembang was the site of the great contemporary empire of Srivijaya (seventh to fourteenth centuries) - yet they were probably never important population centres (Hall, 1968:42, Wolters, 1967). It was not until the nineteenth century that the agricultural potential of the region was exploited.

With the opening of the Suez Canal - which made the Straits of Malacca replace the Sunda Strait as the best route from Europe to the Far East - and with the expansion of the ports of Penang and Singapore, the east coast of Sumatra suddenly found itself most favourably placed to take advantage of a growing world market for tropical produce. From the 1860's, the rich volcanic soils of Deli were exploited by Dutch tobacco planters; later rubber was also grown by plantations in this area. Further to the southeast, European plantations were less important than the spontaneous adoption of rubber cultivation by the people of Jambi (from 1904) and later of Palembang: this development was assisted by the proximity of these two regions to Singapore and its market. In Jambi rubber was particularly important; in some districts it became "the main business, one-fifth of the population taking part in it exclusively and the greater part of the kampong having a collective plantation as well" (Robequain, 1958:163).

Despite these developments, Jambi was still, in the early years of the present century, exceedingly sparsely peopled, and the population was moreover unevenly distributed, most being settled in the somewhat less water-logged western areas. The vast coastal swamps were almost deserted apart from the occasional Malay fishing kampong, usually sited on a river mouth, or the floating villages of the Orang Laut ("Sea People" or "Sea Gypsies"). As late as 1930, the total population of the regency was only about 235,000 in an area of 44,924 square kilometers - a population density of only 5.4 per square kilometer (Volkstelling 1930, IV:91; Pelzer, 1963a:14). Just over half of the population in 1930 were Jambi Malays; in the north-west they blended culturally and linguistically with Minangkabau, the second largest ethnic group (nearly 25 per cent). There was also by this time a sizeable immigrant population of Banjarese from Southeastern

Kalimantan (7 per cent) and Javanese (5 per cent). By contrast, in 1930, there were only 1,335 Bugis (0.57 per cent of the total population) in the whole of Jambi. The movement of Bugis to eastern Sumatra had only just begun at this time.

The Banjarese preceded the Bugis as immigrants to the coastal areas of Jambi and, even earlier, to Indragiri, the regency bordering Jambi to the north and equally sparsely populated. They may also have evolved the characteristic form of exploitation and settlement - on canals dug by the settlers themselves at right angles to rivers. These canals (paret) control water-supply to the land and act as the only highways in this swampy coastal region - very similar to the homeland of the orang Banjar. Bugis settlement began in the Indragiri-Jambi border region in about 1917, when suitable land for settlement in Pontianak and Benut was becoming scarce. As we have seen, most of these early settlers were in fact moving on from the older colonies - few, if any, came direct from Sulawesi at this early stage. According to informants, the first areas settled by Bugis were Témbilahan, Kuala Énok and Sungai Terap, all in the southeastern coastal region of Indragiri; soon afterwards, the first Bugis settlers began moving southwards into Jambi. Many immigrants entered Jambi through Kuala Tungkal, a growing port-town with a regular shipping connection with Singapore. According to La Réwo, in the 1920's there were two ships a week, on Sundays and Wednesdays: "One was a Chinese ship, the other Dutch. They brought Banjarese and Bugis". Few Bugis actually settled in Kuala Tungkal because "they were shopkeepers there, not people making kebun (gardens)". Kuala Énok - the biggest settlement after Tungkal - had a far larger Bugis population for this was an area where many canals were dug, rice and other crops grown, and coconut palms planted. Sungai Terap, close to the Jambi border, was another area of predominantly Bugis settlement. In the mid-twenties, when La Réwo arrived in Jambi, Sungai Terap was already bustling:

There were two to three thousand people along that river: in one paret there were about 100 people - and how many tens of paret were there?

Although Bugis were in the majority in Sungai Terap, the Penghulu (headman)* until the war was a Malay and Banjarese and Javanese also settled in the area.

This mixed population was characteristic of the early settlements on the Indragiri-Jambi coast, where no ethnic group constituted such an overwhelming majority of the population that it was able to command the numbers of people necessary to clear the forest and dig canals along the lower reaches

* See Table XII below for the meaning of "Penghulu" and other offices

of a river. But although the population of a river as a whole was a mixture of peoples, generally the settlers of each parét - who had dug the canal and worked the land along its banks - were all Bugis, or all Banjarese, or all Javanese, and had a leader (kepala parét) of their own people - usually the man who had organised the opening of the parét. Where the kepala parét was from Wajo', his followers also tended to be To Wajo', and likewise with To Boné. Thus not only were Bugis concentrated in particular localities, but Bugis from specific areas in Sulawesi also tended to form clusters in Sumatra. The majority of Bugis were from Boné or Wajo'; they were almost equally balanced in numbers. Certain wanuwa within Boné and Wajo' were strongly represented: To Boné came from Tanétte-Riatang and Palaka, from Palima, Apalla, Cina, Bulóé and Mare' (nearly all coastal areas), while To Wajo' originated from Paria, Ana'banua and Atapangé (all inland areas). Within the Sumatran settlements, people from different wanuwa of, say, Wajo' lived side by side and regarded themselves primarily as To Wajo'. They continued to identify themselves strongly with their own district at home - with Wajo' or Boné - rather than with all ethnic Bugis, and as the numbers of Bugis settlers in Jambi increased from the early 1930's there was a growing tendency for To Boné and To Wajo' to settle in different areas.

In the early years of settlement, Bugis from Boné appear to have been in a majority. This may be related to the fact that by the early twentieth century they had largely taken over Wajo's role as the home of sailors and prau-traders: the former trading towns of Wajo' had by then for long been cut off from the sea, and many Wajo' traders had moved to ports elsewhere - to Paré2 (in Sulawesi), Pasir and Samarinda (in Kalimantan) and Singapore. Boné, on the other hand, with its long coastline, had several active small coastal ports and many of its population were sailors and fishermen. Because of this greater orientation towards the sea, To Boné generally emigrated by prau, which meant that they could come direct to Sumatra at very little cost. As a Boné Bugis immigrant to Jambi told me: "Boné people, so long as there is a prau at Bajoé (the largest port) - they depart!" Emigrants from Wajo', by contrast, had to arrange transport to Makassar and raise sufficient funds for the journey by ship via Java and often Singapore to Jambi. As a result, Wajo' immigrants were - at least initially - almost certainly drawn from rather wealthier strata of society than the Boné immigrants: they were not rich but included far fewer poor people among them.

Before the Japanese occupation, Boné immigrants tended to settle at Pulau Kijang (Indragiri) or Sungai Batara (Jambi), while the chief area of

Wajo' Bugis settlement was at Pangkal Duri, first opened to settlement in about 1937. The first Penghulu of Pangkal Duri, Daéng Mangati, was from Ana'banua and close kin to the Arung Ana'banua. Not surprisingly then migration from Ana'banua in the few years before the war tended to flow into Pangkal Duri. In this first phase of immigration, however, the numbers of Bugis settlers from any part of Sulawesi were still comparatively small. It was not until after the outbreak of the Kahar Muzakar rebellion in 1950-51 that the flow of immigrants became transformed from a trickle to a flood. In the late 1950's and the 1960's, Bugis settlements spread like wildfire, leaping from one river mouth to the next in a seemingly inexorable march towards the south. Sungai Ayam (an important area of settlement for To Ana'banua) was opened in 1952 by Haji Daéng Patékke, who was a cousin (sapu kadua) of Daéng Mangati and acting as his deputy. By 1958-59, land was already in short supply in Sungai Ayam and people began to shift to rivers further south - to Mendahara, Lagan, the mouth of the Batang Hari. Earlier the southward march of the Bugis had been checked at the borders of the marga (desa) of Berbak, kecamatan Nipah Panjang, because the Pasirah (kepala desa) was afraid that he would be unable to control them: according to his successor, this Pasirah believed that "Bugis always quarrel and are courageous (berani); this was the reason his spirit was not able to confront these people". It was only after 1957 that Bugis began moving into Nipah Panjang in any numbers. Pamusiran was settled at this time by To Boné, many of them moving from Kuala Enok because it was difficult to make a living there, particularly at the time of Confrontation with Malaysia (1962-65) when inflation in Indonesia leapt to heights the Republic had never experienced before: old settlement areas such as this were particularly hard hit as they were dependent on the sale of copra for their livelihood. Many of their inhabitants were forced to move to the south, to clear forest land for growing rice and other food-crops. Another Boné settlement was established in 1964 at Air Hitam (Black Water) and soon after a Wajo' kampong grew up on the twin river of Remau. Three years later, another Wajo' settlement was made at Teluk Piai. Wajo' and Boné Bugis have, since the war, almost invariably colonised different areas because (according to the present Pasirah Berbak) they "rarely agree. If orang Wajo' and orang Boné don't form clusters, there is trouble - they are always killing each other". However, "since 1965 there have been fewer killings - it seems there is already an understanding between them". This change is probably also related to the gradual transformation of the Jambi coastal region from a wild frontier society to

a string of peaceful, settled communities linked by an apparently efficient administration and often now provided with services, such as police, education and health, by the provincial government.

Further expansion of the area of settlement along the coast is no longer possible, for the southern part of kecamatan Nipah Panjang, stretching to the border with the province of South Sumatra, has been set aside as a reserve for wild animals: rhinoceros, tapir and a few wild elephants are found here. Since land has already been opened at a few points along the coast of this reserve, existing settlements have been legalised but no more forest is to be cleared to the south of Air Hitam or for more than five kilometers from the coast. As a result of this prohibition, a land shortage is developing along the Jambi coast. The government has organised a resettlement programme to provide land further inland for the surplus population of Pamusiran - all To Boné - where they will mainly grow coconuts, as the land is too high for rice-cultivation. Many Bugis are beginning to move from Jambi into south Sumatra, where many are beginning to clear forest land near Sumsang, at the mouth of the Musi River. Once unoccupied forest land here is exhausted, the possibilities for further extension of Bugis colonisation in coastal areas will be very limited. A new ecological adaptation will become necessary to replace the present heavy dependence of the Bugis colonists on access to uncleared coastal lands.

The Bugis Economy in Jambi

Bugis settlers on the Sumatran coast have developed a specialised economy closely adapted to the conditions which - until recently - prevailed in this region. This adaptation consists of making use of the advantages of the vast coastal swamps - the fertile soils which have been deposited by numerous streams and rivers - while at the same time controlling and turning to good use their major disadvantage, the tendency to become water-logged marshes. As Tempany and Grist (1958:161) have pointed out, the numerous low-lying swamps of the wet tropics "are of little value in their natural state but when drained can be highly productive since they are not leached to anything like the extent of upland soils, while they have usually been enriched by transported mineral material". The transformation from a wilderness of mangroves and nipahpalms to fertile arable land is achieved by the Bugis through the creation of an extensive network of drainage canals.

Whether by accident or design, in digging these canals the Bugis (and the Banjarese) have managed to harness the great force of the tides: when the tide ebbs, the water of the rivers flows out to sea; as the tide rises, the river water is pushed inland. If a series of canals are dug at right

angles to a river, the automatic oscillation of the water-level allows drainage at low tide and irrigation at high tide. In Jambi, the rice agriculture which is practised by using the tides is called sawah pasang-surut (ebb-and-flow sawah). It is highly productive because the high initial fertility of soil which has never before been cultivated is to some extent maintained as a result of deposits of rich river mud left behind when the tide-driven river waters withdraw from the irrigation canals. A similar system of irrigation was developed by the French in Cochinchina where the swampy Mekong delta region was transformed into one of the rice bowls of Asia through the construction of a system of canals; as in Jambi, these "rectilinear canals serve at the same time for drainage, navigation, and irrigation" (Pelzer, 1945:65).

In Cochinchina the building of the canal system was backed by the financial and administrative resources of the colonial government. In Jambi, the development of canal systems on most of the rivers of the coastal region has been a product not of government action but of individual initiative. It is a process which has passed through two stages, which may be very loosely characterised as "capitalist organisation" and "cooperation". My information about the first of these stages - the "capitalist" phase - is scanty, for most of my migrant informants in both Wajo' and Jambi had settled in Sumatra after Independence and the outbreak of the Kahar Muzakar rebellion. The few older informants who came to Jambi or Indragiri in the 1920's and 1930's describe a settlement process which seems rather different than the one which we see today. It appears that land clearance and development at that time were largely initiated by wealthy entrepreneurs, who employed poorer settlers - often recent immigrants - and sometimes local Malays to work as labourers for them. According to La Réwo, people like his own family who had brought money with them, or earlier immigrants who had already increased their capital, usually hired labourers to dig canals and clear the forest for them. Thus when his father and father-in-law opened up Parét 5 (canal 5) at Pangkal Duri in 1937 about thirty men joined in this project. They were nearly all "people who had just come from Sulawesi" because they had no money and were therefore content to work for wages. Settlers who had been in Jambi for some time were not willing to take on such work for, as La Réwo asked with scorn: "Who wants to be hired?"

As Bugis colonists flowed into Jambi in increasing numbers, the mode of organisation of settlement gradually changed. Probably this shift occurred mainly after the war, particularly during the period of the rebellion when large numbers of people linked by ties of kinship or common

origin from the same village in Sulawesi began to move to Jambi. At the same time, settlers in the older Bugis kampongs near the Jambi-Indragiri border were beginning to feel the urge to expand to new areas. Large groups of men began to band together to open up land, digging canals and clearing the forest by gotong-royong (mutual cooperation). The usual procedure in opening up new land is for a small group of four or five men to set off by boat from one of the older settlements to explore the coast in search of a river suitable for development. Once they have selected a site, they return to their kampong to collect their kin and friends and set out once more for the chosen river. As the word spreads that new land is to be cleared, other small bands of men begin to arrive: initially these come from the village of the original pioneers, but later they are joined by people from other areas of Jambi and by new immigrants from Sulawesi. Soon the first settlers are followed by their wives and children, by other kin, and by a steady stream of people looking for virgin land to clear, until before very long all the land suitable for agriculture has been opened up and the whole process must begin again elsewhere.

Usually the opening up of an area is initiated by one man, often in fact acting as the representative of a group of close kin: he is regarded as the "opener of the land" (pembuka tanah) and generally becomes the first headman of the new settlement which has grown up under his leadership. Formerly pioneering was an entirely spontaneous activity, but today the pembuka tanah must first obtain government authority (from the Pasirah) to initiate land clearance. They are also supposed to pay a tax of Rp. 1,500 for every canal dug, but in many districts - such as Nipah Panjang - this tax is not collected in order to encourage people to enter the area and expand the area under agricultural production. Once permission has been granted to clear land within a specified area, the leader of the pioneering group is free to organise the clearing and allocation of the land. Several independent parties form to open canals, usually consisting of groups of kin and acquaintances under a leader, the kepala parét (canal headman): often these people have come to the new area as a separate group. The course of the canals is laid out at right angles to the river, usually extending inland for a distance of about 1,500 to 2,000 meters. Usually the site chosen for a canal is some distance from the sea, since this avoids the risk of salt-water being driven up the canal by a particularly high tide. As density of settlement increases, however, people wishing to open new land are forced further downstream and must build barrages at the river end of their canal to protect the land against the incursion of the sea: this adds greatly to their expenses. The canals not only provide an

irrigation network, they also serve as roads allowing people to pass freely to and fro in small canoes: this is particularly important in the initial stages of opening the area, since the surrounding land is still a tangled thorn-ridden wilderness.

The forest land on each side of the canal is divided into long narrow strips, about two hectares in area, and these are allocated in equal shares to each member of the party which dug the canal. These allotments are cleared by all of them working together, starting with the land of their leader. This is the only reward he receives for his efforts in organising the work-party - and often too in financing their voyage to the new area. He is given no more land than the others, but since his allotment is cleared first it is invariably placed in the most favourable position, near the confluence of canal and river. This means that his land is often particularly fertile, since many centuries of river silt have been deposited along the river-side; it also makes it possible for him, if he wishes, to go into business as a trader or owner of a rice-mill or copra-factory, sending off goods from his own jetty on the river.

Nowadays the first crop grown on newly cleared land is almost without exception rice, but this was not so in the earlier "capitalist" stage. Pioneer settlement of new areas at that time was undertaken primarily as a business venture and the kind of agriculture practised reflected the dominant preoccupation with making a profit. The early settlers in Sungai Terap (opened up in about 1922) were apparently not interested in growing their own rice but preferred to plant coconuts straight away on newly-cleared land. While the coconut trees were still immature, they grew bananas, pumpkins, root-crops and sold these to buy rice, imported from elsewhere. A migrant from Boné (Haji Hasan), who came to Kuala Énok with his parents in 1934, says that in this area also people planted only coconuts. La Réwo claims that up until the war settlers were unwilling to grow rice in ladangs: "What was the use of leaving Sulawesi if we were going to work ladangs? People planted rubber, coconuts - that was all". While they waited for these cash-crops to mature, they bought food from traders: this was the reason why newcomers who had little money were obliged to hire themselves out as labourers. After 1930, more and more people began to see the advantage of growing their own food in a time of depressed prices for copra. Haji Hasan's family were forced to move from Kuala Énok in 1938: although they owned extensive coconut gardens, they found it difficult to make a living. Most of the family moved to Pulau Kijang, a new settlement area, where they grew rice. They commuted between the two areas, spending the rice-growing season in Pulau Kijang and the rest of the year working

their gardens at Kuala Enok.

In all the post-war Bugis settlements, the basis of the economy at first has always been rice cultivation. For a few years after the jungle has been cleared, the soil is exceptionally fertile and rice can be planted in land which has been scarcely touched by the hoe. The seeds are usually planted in August to November, depending on when the rains begin: September to April is usually the rainy season, but when I visited Jambi in January 1973 - a time of drought throughout Indonesia - the rains had only just begun and rice prices had risen to extraordinary heights (from a usual Rp. 40 per kilo to as much as Rp. 75). The rice crop is usually harvested in April or May. Most households work about two hectares of rice-land with little difficulty, for there is no need to plough the soil and in many areas the seed is sown directly in the fields rather than being raised in seedbeds first. At harvest-time, however, they begin to feel the need for extra help to bring in the crop. Yields are heavy: never less than one ton of padi per hectare and in newly-cleared areas often well over three tons. Extra labour for harvesting can rarely be found in the surrounding area, for everyone else has a crop to bring in. This is therefore the time when kin are strongly urged to come from Sulawesi to join them. Not only kin but anyone at all with a pair of willing hands is welcomed by the settlers and provided with food and shelter during the harvest season. The harvesters are paid in kind, receiving usually one in five of the sheaves harvested: this compares with one in ten in Wajo'.

Settlers in Jambi are often pleased to finance the migration of kin from Sulawesi, not only because it expands their social network in their new homeland but also because new immigrants provide a pool of labour. The fact that the rice-growing seasons in Wajo' and Jambi alternate in time introduces a strong seasonal element into migration, with people in Wajo' waiting until the harvest has been completed there in about November before they sell their property, and most of the rice-crop just brought in, and begin the journey to Sumatra. Most migrants leave Wajo' in about February and arrive in Jambi a month or two later in time for the harvest there. If their emigration expenses have been paid for by a kinsman in Jambi, they are under a moral obligation to help him with the harvest; once this has been completed they are free to move on to some other area where they can seek land of their own. Their share of the harvest, earned by their own labour, enables them to start off life in Jambi with sufficient food to last them until they can obtain a crop from their own land. The attitude of the kinsman who brought them to Sumatra is said to be: "If you already have enough capital to be able to eat, and want to seek other work, go and seek

it then, so that we (kinsmen) can progress together". Kin are always preferred to strangers as helpers in farming - although sometimes the farmer has no choice but to take in "other people" (non-kin) - because it is considered that only kin can be really trusted: they have the same views on life, they are "of one spirit" (sejiwa).

Once a recent immigrant has earned some rice to support himself, he is usually anxious to obtain land of his own. This is frequently impossible in an existing settlement, for all available land tends quickly to be taken up in the first rush of colonisation. It is therefore necessary to clear new land and if he hears that a new area is in the process of being opened up, he may leave for there forthwith to ask for a share in the forest along that river valley. But it is not only newcomers who join the movement to new areas. Long-established settlers are also often anxious to acquire more land, particularly if their existing holdings are beginning to show a decline in fertility. Generally, after about four years, crop yields begin to fall due to depletion of the soil and the invasion of weeds. According to the Camat of one subdistrict (Muara Sabak), the Bugis are lazy and unwilling to hoe the land and clear away the weeds, as Javanese would (the Camat himself was of Javanese descent); they prefer to plant coconut palms and save themselves the trouble of further cultivation. This is not in fact a sign of laziness - for numerous informants commented on the Bugis capacity for hard work - but of an unwillingness to expend their energies in unprofitable ways. And so, as rice-yields begin to decline, coconuts are planted over a widening area until eventually the whole valley cleared from the forest has been converted to coconut gardens. At this stage, there is little for the farmer to do but wait for his trees to bear fruit - which in the favourable climatic and soil conditions of the region takes about four to five years, compared with fifteen years or so in many parts of Wajo'. At this stage in the development of the settlement, where rice-cultivation has largely given way to coconut planting, many settlers decide to leave their coconut gardens to look after themselves while they move to a new area of settlement to the south, there to repeat the same process of land accumulation: clearing forest, planting rice for a few years and then turning their land over once more to coconut gardens.

The Bugis settlement pattern thus has the peculiar feature of drawing in large numbers of people in the early years of land clearance, when an adequate supply of labour is needed to dig canals, fell the jungle and harvest the rice crop, and then at a later stage of development, when the land is planted with coconuts, rendering most of the inhabitants of the area redundant. It is this which provides the motive force for the continued

Bugis expansion throughout the rantau (coastal areas) of the western archipelago, a movement which appears almost as inexorable as the flight of a plague of locusts. However, Bugis settlers have in general been most welcome "eaters of the forest", for they have transformed a previously empty and underdeveloped region into one with a growing population, a surplus of rice and a large export trade in copra. Before Bugis began to enter Jambi in numbers in the 1950's, there was little rice grown except in the Kerinci district (southwest Jambi) and rice prices were exceedingly high: this is said to have been one of the factors which attracted Bugis to the province to grow rice. Between 1960 and 1965, the area under rice-cultivation increased by 50 per cent: this increase occurred above all in the kabupaten of Tanjung Jabung, composed of the entire coastal region of Jambi - or the area in which all Bugis immigrants, almost without exception, are found. It is estimated by government officials that it is largely as a result of Bugis immigration that the population of kabupaten Tanjung Jabung has doubled within ten years (1961-71).

The mode of cultivation of the Bugis - an advanced form of shifting cultivation - results in a high mobility of the population of coastal areas. In one kampong on the lower reaches of the Batang Hari River, the headman claimed that once the fertility of the soil decreased and coconuts were planted, 70 per cent of the population moved to the south, mainly to the province of Sumatra Selatan (South Sumatra).

They just leave their land, they don't use it again. Some plant coconuts and then go away; presently when there is a yield, they come back again. So we (village headmen) have problems - whether they go out or come back, nobody reports to us - they just go. They don't consider anything, they just make huts to live in. If they want to stop work here, they leave.

Consequently, the population of Bugis settlements tends to fluctuate dramatically. Thus Pangkal Duri was first opened by settlers from Johore and Indragiri in about 1937 and became a popular receiving area for immigrants during the rebellion. However, as uncleared land became exhausted and cleared land was converted to coconut production, the population shrank from 18,000 in 1959 to 6,000 in early 1973; immigration to the area has now almost completely ceased. Another area reported that its population, after falling sharply with the increase in the area of coconut gardens, is now beginning to rise again because the coconut palms planted earlier are starting to bear fruit and their owners are returning to enjoy the profits of their labours. In Sungai Alang², I found that the number of women fell sharply between 1971 and 1972, while the number of men remained constant. The reason given for this was that in previous years, many men had moved to the south in search of new land, leaving their wives and children behind.

Once the land had been cleared and they were sure there was no danger ("You know what it is like in the jungle - there are lots of wild animals"), once everything was ready they brought their wives and families out to live with them. From the drop in the census figures, it seemed that nearly 200 wives had been taken away by their husbands in this one year.

Once an area has reached the stage where its coconut gardens are in full production, settlement becomes more permanent. Life also becomes more comfortable. In the pioneering years, when most people are moving frequently from one area to another in search of fertile virgin land, they live in tiny huts which reflect their sense of impermanence. Moreover, as the Malay headman of one Bugis kampong commented: "They are able to endure suffering; when they go to clear the forest, they put up with eating only sago and rice". Once they are able to depend on the produce of their coconut gardens, their whole way of life changes. Thus, in the older settlement areas, we find large, well-built houses with an abundance of furniture. People dress well and the women are adorned with gold. Most significantly, the white cap of the haji is everywhere to be seen - for the crown of Bugis ambition in the rantau is to make the haj to Mecca and thus gain not only religious merit but the prestige which accrues from such an obvious display of wealth. Riches and coconuts are closely associated in the minds of people of the Jambi coast, as is indicated by remarks such as:

People are rich in Kuala Enok. Most of them are people who have been there for a long time and have many coconut palms.

Only two per cent of people in Sungai Ayam are hajis, because the coconuts here have only just begun to bear fruit.

It is this prospect of becoming rich through their own labour which attracts many people to Jambi.

Their ambition seems to be grounded in reality, for most of the richest men on the Jambi coast are said to have attained their wealth through sheer hard work. Thus the biggest landowner in Sungai Ayam was Haji Makka, who had come there from Sulawesi in 1955, a few years after the area was opened up. He now owns eight hectares compared with the average ownership of two hectares. According to his nephew, the Mangku:

Indeed he likes to work hard, he is clever too. He only works on the land. You might say that all his land was opened by him alone - this is his land here! Before, this land had no value, it was called tanah buang ("thrown-away" land), yet this was the first land to give an example of what fine coconuts could be grown.

An even more striking example of the fruits of hard work is provided by Haji Hamede of Sungai Ular, who is said to own nearly 100 hectares.

He never stops working, he works all the time - planting coconuts, planting padi, when people finish planting padi, he goes to his mill to help mill rice. There is no end to his work. He says that he thinks that he still has the chance to work now - when he is old, perhaps his spirit will still want to work but he will not have the strength. This is the reason he pushes himself now.

Not all people can hope to become as rich as this, but everyone who leaves Sulawesi for Sumatra comes with the expectation of improving his lot.

Jambi and Sulawesi Contrasted

Let us summarise first the economic advantages of emigrating to Jambi - advantages which are widely broadcast by kin and friends in the rantau. In Wajo', they say, we are "half-dead" (setengah-mati) with work during the rice-growing season, toiling in the fields from before dawn until after dusk. The ground is hard and - except for very small areas - rice-fields must be ploughed using water-buffalo, which are in short supply, expensive to buy or to hire, and difficult to borrow except for short periods. Moreover there is no irrigation and the rains often fail for several years in succession. Farmers are unable to obtain credit and are too heavily taxed for the low incomes most obtain. Jambi contrasts favourably with Wajo' on every one of these points. Formerly, there was no taxation in the coastal part of the province; today taxes are collected in kind on agricultural land but farmers are more capable of meeting tax obligations since their incomes are far higher. The land is fertile and is easily worked using at most a hoe; there is no need to invest money in buffalo or expensive equipment. It is unnecessary to grow rice in embanked fields since the rainfall is heavy and has never been known to fail. Most important of all, land is abundant due to a very low population density (only twelve persons per square kilometer in the coastal region compared with 62 in South Sulawesi). Hence a hard-working and ambitious man may become the owner of as much land as he cares to clear. Since it is easy to save money from the sale of surplus rice or copra, many people are able to further extend their land-holdings by buying additional land from fellow settlers moving on to a new area or returning to Sulawesi. The Penghulu Pangkal Duri underlined the difference in opportunity between Wajo' and Jambi: in Sulawesi, he said, there are people utterly without property - "from their grandparents to their grandchildren too they have nothing" - while in the rantau, by contrast, "we can make wealth".

There are opportunities in Jambi not only for making a better living but also for having a greater say in the affairs of the community. The dispersed pattern of settlement is reflected in a wide distribution of political authority. The smallest unit in the political hierarchy - the

TABLE XII: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF JAMBI
(with particular reference to kabupaten Tanjung Jabung)

<u>Administrative Unit</u>	<u>Office-Holder</u>
<u>Propinsi</u>	<u>Gubernur</u> : as in South Sulawesi.
<u>Kotapraja</u> (1) and <u>Kabupaten</u> (5)	<u>Walikota</u> <u>Bupati Kepala Daerah</u> : as in South Sulawesi.
<u>Kecamatan</u> : 4 in Tg Jabung*	<u>Camat</u> : appointed by Gubernur from state civil service.
<u>Marga</u> : 5 in Tg Jabung (kecamatan Muara Sabak is divided into two marga)	<u>Pasirah</u> : no equivalent in South Sulawesi. Three out of the five marga in Jambi cover identical territories to the kecamatan of the same name. The difference in role between Pasirah and Camat in this case is that the Pasirah is the elected representative of the people of the marga while the Camat is an appointed civil servant. In kecamatan Muara Sabak, the Camat has also been elected Pasirah of the smaller administrative division, marga Sabak,
<u>Kepenghuluan</u> (= desa): 2-22 in each marga	<u>Penghulu</u> : equivalent to a kepala desa or kepala wanuwa in South Sulawesi
<u>Kemangkuan</u> (= lingkungan)	<u>Mangku</u> : equivalent to kepala lingkungan in South Sulawesi. Usually headman of a kampung and its surrounding area. Appointed by the Penghulu.
<u>Parét</u> (canal)	<u>Kepala Parét</u> : Headman of a canal and its adjacent farms. Equivalent to a Kepala Rukun Tetangga (head of a neighbourhood association) in South Sulawesi and elsewhere. Appointed by Penghulu. Often the man who first opened up the canal area.

* Tanjung Jabung comprises the whole coastal region and northern part of Jambi. Bugis settlers are mostly found in the kecamatan of Muara Sabak and Nipah Panjang.

parét - is equivalent to the rukun tetangga (neighbourhood cluster) in Sulawesi, but whereas the latter has minimal autonomy and its leader lacks authority, the parét is an entity of some importance and with a degree of independence, and its leader is a man of considerable influence. Political office, at least initially, is achieved rather than inherited, usually through leadership of the project to open up that area. The man who first initiated settlement in that place is called the pembuka tanah - the opener of the land - and almost invariably becomes the first headman (mangku) of the kampong, or even Penghulu, equivalent to a Kepala Wanua in Wajo', with authority over several kampongs. The leader of the work-party which opened a canal likewise automatically becomes kepala parét (canal headman): the word parét here denotes not merely the canal itself but also the land on either side of it and all the people of the canal-area. These men may be slightly better-off than average: they are more likely to have attracted followers to join them in their pioneering venture if they could provide transport for them to the chosen area. This does not mean, however, that only the wealthier migrants may become headmen. One often hears stories of settlers who started off as labourers helping others, or as sharecroppers on rented land; who later joined a party of pioneers opening up forest land; and finally - having acquired some wealth themselves - became the leaders of a group of pioneers, pembuka tanah in their own right.

In the older settlement areas, opened in the early "capitalist" stage of immigration, the pembuka tanah was often a man of wealth and relatively high rank, not someone who had - sometimes literally - worked his way from rags to riches. In these Bugis colonies we find that the leader was often a tau décéng, who had been chosen as headman because of the prestige which his royal descent and kin connections brought him: this enabled him to attract followers and to have his authority accepted. Indeed the Panghulu Pangkal Duri, who himself claimed descent from an Arung Gilireng, asserts that Bugis settlers in Jambi would be unwilling to accept the leadership of anyone who was not of royal descent, either a noble or tau décéng. In fact, in many of the newer settlement areas, commoners have become leaders; it is only in the earlier colonies that tau décéng show an overwhelming preponderance. This may be partly due to their relatively greater wealth, which enabled them to bring large numbers of followers with them to the selected area of settlement and to pay wages to the labourers who at that time did much of the actual work of developing the land. It is possible that at that time too there was a greater respect for royal birth than we find now in Jambi, where Bugis are mixing with Banjarese, Malays and Javanese who do not share their traditions, and where moreover they have been able to

experience directly the possibilities of achievement, both of wealth and political authority. Despite this increasingly democratic spirit, leadership in areas such as Sungai Terap and Pangkal Duri, which were settled before the war, continues to remain a monopoly of the kin-group of the first semi-aristocratic headman.

Tau Décéng and the Pioneer Settlement of Jambi

In earlier Chapters, I have suggested that tau décéng (and lower nobles) emigrate for reasons which are often very different from the usual pre-occupations of commoner *pasampe*: they are far less likely to be driven by necessity - since they are normally already relatively well-off - and far more likely to leave their homeland for personal reasons. Among these reasons may be frustrated ambition, for as we have seen the number of political offices in Wajo' in Dutch times was strictly limited and accession to office restricted to those of the highest birth within the kin-group of the deceased ruler. Thus, if tau décéng wished to become powerful, they were forced to emigrate. One of the *anakarung* of Ana'banua told me that none of his relatives of pure royal blood had ever left Sulawesi for they were rich and powerful in their own land; it was only kin of lower birth - for instance, the children of a commoner or slave wife - who emigrated in order to seek their fortune. They usually succeeded in this aim:

If they have property, it is they who are powerful. They can be considered to be nobles - no-one would dare to say that they are not nobles of pure blood.

In fact, what most commonly happened in Indragiri and Jambi was not that tau décéng were regarded as nobles but that they were considered to be the same as nobles, since they too were of royal descent. The story told by La Réwo about the acceptance of a tau décéng leader in Pangkal Duri is instructive:

The reason Daéng Mangati became leader was that in Sulawesi he was indeed a descendant of a raja, he was indeed a leader. So when he arrived here, we were happy to be led by him. He went to Malaya first, but just for a trip; he didn't need to make gardens, he was simply looking for kin - wherever there were many followers to be found, there he became leader. He didn't know how to clear land, how to make canals. He had enough in Sulawesi, he just wanted to look up his kin there, his followers, people who came from Sulawesi. He had plenty of property in Sulawesi but he liked to travel around. He went to Benut (Malaya), to Tanjung Batu (Riau), he travelled about. He did not want to stay there, so he came here, he opened land here.

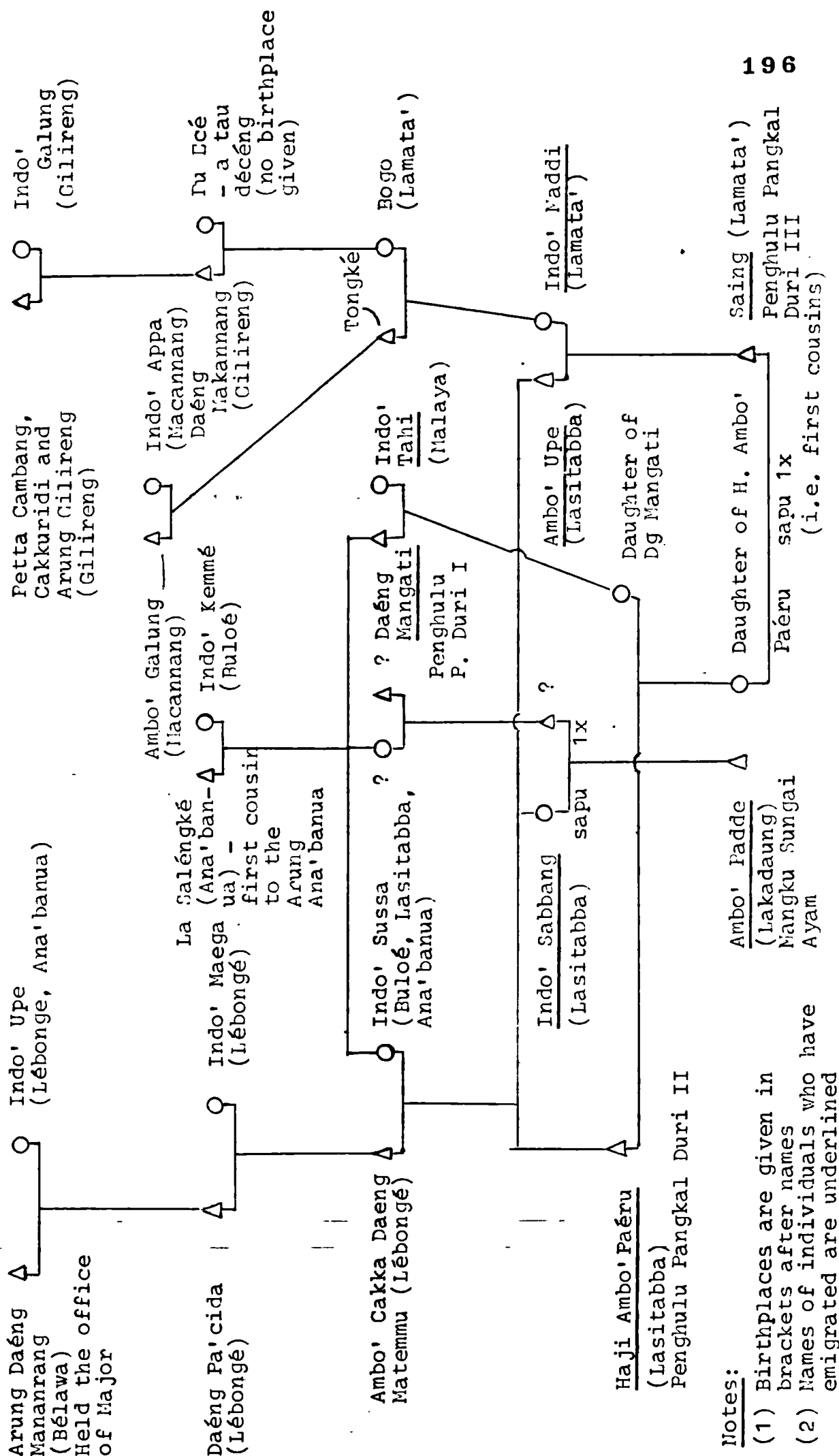
He was the opener of the land, the *pembuka tanah*, only in the sense that he was accepted as leader by those people who were actually clearing the forest for settlement. As La Réwo commented: "He was *Penghulu*, not *kepala paret*". Daéng Mangati came from Ana'banua and was close kin to the Arung Ana'banua.

Many other areas were opened by other tau décéng, often by close kin of Daéng Mangati. Thus Kuala Énok, according to La Réwo, was opened by Haji Daéng Paliweng, who was also from Ana'banua and a second cousin (sapu Kadua) to Daéng Mangati. A distant kinsman from Macannang, Haji Daéng Parani, opened land at Sungai Terap. In Riau too, a close cousin, Pu Beddu, became Penghulu at Sungai Bessi. Probably most of these men had not left Sulawesi with the expressed intention of achieving political authority elsewhere. Thus, Pu Beddu's nephew, Guru Pangerang, claims that his uncle left Ana'banua because the girl he wished to marry was given as wife to another. A lower noble, Andi' Cunu', left Kalola as a bankrupt in 1937: he had been Kepala Kampung Awotaraé and a man of wealth and importance, but like many men of means at this time had become infatuated with the motor-car and lost much of his money in consequence. (Emigration to recover money squandered in buying cars seems to have been quite common in the late 1930's). With what Andi' Cunu' could salvage from the wreck of his fortune, he migrated to Kuala Énok and subsequently became Daéng Mangati's deputy in Pangkal Duri. He is now a haji and a very wealthy old man, living in Sungai Lokan, Nipah Panjang, and frequently flying to Sulawesi to visit kin in Kalola.

Whatever the reasons for migration, once in the rantau many tau décéng were able to turn their superior wealth, confidence and prestige to good use and to win high political office, which they then often sought to make the prerogative of their kin-group. Daéng Mangati showed considerable skill in welding alliances with the more important of these kin, as well as with non-kin of influence, by marrying his daughters to them and by himself taking numerous wives. He remained Penghulu until his death in 1953 when his second cousin, Ambo' Unga, became acting Penghulu until an election was organised for this post in 1956. Haji Ambo' Paéru - who was both nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law to Daéng Mangati - was elected. (Ambo' Unga, who felt disgraced by this defeat, moved to another area). After Ambo' Paéru died in 1972, he was himself succeeded by a nephew (brother's son) who was married to his daughter and had acted as his deputy for many years. Thus in each case, the post of Penghulu was transferred to a man who was both the nephew and son-in-law of his predecessor. Marrying the headman's daughter seems, in fact, to be a recognised technique for attaining political power. Guru Pangerang claims that: "Bugis are taught - When you arrive in the rantau, seek out the man who holds power and make yourself his servant, so that he will not be on his guard against you. After a few years, if a Bugis is clever, brave and honest, usually he becomes the son-in-law and finally the successor of the man in power".

TABLE XIII: GENEALOGY OF THE PENGHULU PANGKAL DURI

Details supplied mainly by Pak Saing, Penghulu Pangkal Duri since 1972



Although ambitious tau décéng sometimes leave Wajo' in search of the authority and prestige denied them at home, they are not by any means revolutionaries or even radicals. In the rantau they often seek to recreate a hierarchy of rank and political power which closely resembles the one they left behind, but with one difference: it is they who now hold the highest political offices. They seek to assert and maintain their monopoly of office by surrounding themselves with the mystique of royal descent and the claim to possess in consequence natural ability for leadership. Thus, Penghulu Saing claimed that "Bugis cannot be given a leader who does not have (royal) descent". He himself claimed that he derived "white blood" through his mother from Petta Cambang, Cakkuridi of Wajo' and Arung Gilireng (see Table XIII). His first cousin, Ambo' Padde, the Mangku of neighbouring Sungai Ayam, agreed that Bugis preferred their leader to be tau décéng: if anyone else became headman, people felt lazy, they were unwilling to do anything. But to the south of Pangkal Duri, in the newer Bugis settlements, these attitudes were far less frequently expressed. While it was true that the headmen of Bugis kampongs were quite often tau décéng, this was by no means automatic and their higher rank seemed to be little emphasised. In Kuala Mendahara, for example, I met Haji Passuloi, whose father, Haji Ambo' Diming, had opened Paret Pulau Mas in 1954 with the aid of "hundreds of kin" from his village of Lamata'. Although Haji Passuloi was related to the Penghulus of Pangkal Duri (Ambo' Paéru had been his third cousin), he did not share their preoccupation with high rank. He felt that "becoming Penghulu is not due to one's descent - so long as someone is clever, he has influence. It seems that here, there's no restriction".

Tau décéng and noble emigrants from Wajo' seem to have played their most important role in the early years of pioneering in Kalimantan and Malaya and later on the Sumatran coast, at a time when emigration was still both an expensive and a relatively hazardous affair. It required both a modicum of wealth and - above all - a considerable ambition to become rich, to achieve power, sometimes (like Andi' Cunu') to recover a position of wealth and influence which had been lost through folly or misfortune. Their journey to the rantau was a leap into the dark of a kind which a migrant no longer has to face, for now the destination is well known and holds few terrors. Moreover, the migration process has become relatively well-organised: there is an established procedure to follow. Most important of all, there are kin already settled in the rantau ready to receive the new-comer. As La Réwo commented: "People are happy to come, because we have everything ready for them here. There are padi, bananas, sugar-cane - they just have to come and start eating! For people in the old days it was different, life was difficult".

Chain Migration

Many people now move to Sumatra mainly because they are encouraged to do so by their kin or by other acquaintances from their home-village who have already migrated. The history of the family of Daéng Mangati illustrates this process of chain migration. Haji Ambo' Paéru, for instance, left Ana'banua in about 1935, spent three months in Benut, Johore, then moved to Indragiri (to Tembilahan - an early area of Bugis settlement) where he assisted an uncle, also from Ana'banua, who was a trader in copra. In 1942 he moved to Pangkal Duri, becoming a trader in rice. He married the daughter of Daéng Mangati, his mother's brother, and in 1956 replaced him as Penghulu. Similarly, Saing, who succeeded H. Ambo' Paéru as Penghulu, migrated from Sulawesi during the rebellion because he was unable to obtain employment there and knew that his father's brother held high office in Jambi. He went straight to Pangkal Duri where he became assistant to his uncle, the Penghulu, and married his daughter. The Mangku of the nearby village of Sungai Ayam, Ambo' Padde, was also attracted to Jambi by his influential relatives there. In 1938, his father - a sister's son of Daéng Mangati - was encouraged to come to Pangkal Duri by Daeng Mangati, who told him that it was easier to make a living there. Subsequently, Ambo' Padde, who had been left behind by his father, was also called to Pangkal Duri together with his father's mother, Daeng Mangati's sister. Ambo' Padde became the Penghulu's clerk in Pangkal Duri and subsequently (in 1960) moved to Sungai Ayam - which had been opened in 1951-52 by a second cousin of Daéng Mangati.

All the present holders of important government posts in this area have thus been induced to emigrate by relatives who spoke of the economic advantages of Pangkal Duri by comparison with Ana'banua and neighbouring wanuwa and promised them assistance and jobs. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Pangkal Duri and Sungai Ayam are also emigrants from Ana'banua, often relatives of the first settler, Daéng Mangati. Sometimes they have emigrated because a kinsman in Sumatra has asked them to come, often sending money for the voyage or returning to Ana'banua to fetch them; many have, however, emigrated of their own accord and at their own expense, knowing that they have relatives 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 already settled there.

When emigration from Wajo' takes place with the encouragement and assistance of kin in Sumatra, money may be sent to them to pay the expenses of the journey. But informants in Jambi claimed that often if they sent money their relatives still would not come: they were afraid to make the

journey alone and refused to leave their village unless a kinsman came to Sulawesi to fetch them. At times of hardship, such as those resulting from the drought of 1971-72, large parties of emigrants left for Sumatra, frequently led by an individual who had come from Jambi for this purpose or who had migrated on a previous occasion and was familiar with the procedure to be followed. In most cases, however, emigrants are not sent money or fetched but are given a promise of support by their kin in finding work and accommodation upon arrival. They are thus obliged only to find sufficient money to pay the cost of the passage to Jambi via Makassar and Jakarta. Since emigration generally occurs early in the year, soon after the harvest in Wajo' (September to November), they are able to raise some money by selling all their stocks of rice, confident in the assurance 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. Houses are also frequently sold, but land is generally retained, even where the prospective emigrant has no immediate plans to return to Sulawesi: their land is, they say, 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 no longer belongs there, that he has become a stranger in his own land - and who knows whether he will return or not? Thus, it is only in conditions of the direct necessity that a man will dispose of his rice-fields in order to emigrate.

When a rush of emigration occurs, as was the case in 1972, it becomes increasingly difficult to find buyers for houses and other property; I heard of one case of a man who had been trying for months to sell his rice-mill in order to join his relatives in Jambi, but could find no buyers in this time of scarcity. It was probably because of the difficulty of raising funds for the journey and also because poorer people were anxious to emigrate that there was a rise in people arriving in Jambi by prau rather than by ship in early 1973: it was considered quite exceptional that To Wajo' should be prepared to come by prau. Conditions such as these also provide an opportunity for certain enterprising and - by Bugis standards - unscrupulous individuals to make a profit by paying the fares and escorting a large party of assorted emigrants from Wajo' to Jambi on condition that they work for them, in effect as coolies, until their debt is repaid. However, informants claimed that such practices were rare and expressed strong disapproval of such behaviour, which they said was that of a lintah-darat ("land leech" - in other words, a usurer).

Many emigrants are assisted by a Pengurus Perantau (migration organiser), who arranges accommodation for them in Makassar and Jakarta, travel between

Makassar and Jakarta and on to Jambi, transport within Jakarta and all the necessary letters of authority from the police. Without this assistance it is said that emigrants are often cheated in the big cities. During the rebellion, most migration through Jakarta was handled by a merchant from Kalola, Haji Ganyu, and he continues to assist many emigrants from Ana'banua and Kalola since - although there are now fifteen reception centres for migrants in Tanjung Priok (the port of Jakarta) - migrants usually prefer to employ the services of an organiser with whom they can claim some family connection. H. Ganyu receives Rp. 12,000 from an emigrant to cover the cost of the journey from Makassar to Jambi (Rp. 8,000) and of the other services he provides: transport, accommodation, and the arrangement of police authority to travel. If an emigrant attempts to make his own arrangements and is ignorant of the real expenses of travel to Jambi, he may pay as much as Rp. 20,000.

Bugis Society in Jambi

Due to the short period spent in Jambi (less than a month), it is difficult to generalise about the similarities or differences between Bugis society in the homeland and abroad. Informants in Jambi claimed that there was no essential change in, for instance, relations with kin, arrangement of marriages, observance of traditional ceremonies and so on. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that in the Bugis settlements in Jambi - as in many other migrant communities - there is a stricter observance of traditional practices than in modern Sulawesi. Thus, I was told by a returned migrant in Ana'banua that whereas in Wajo' traditional planting and harvest ceremonies have been banned for years and many sacred places destroyed by religious fanatics, in Sumatra people still gather together for ritual meals before planting and after the harvest or if, for example, someone is ill. In Jambi, as in Ana'banua, there is a high rate of cousin marriage and young men are often sent back to Ana'banua to be married to a cousin there. There are occasional instances of men marrying non-Bugis, but these are said to be extremely rare - probably no more than five per cent of all marriages - and it is almost unheard of for a Bugis girl to marry a non-Bugis. This is due to a strong sentiment of Bugis solidarity and of superiority to other ethnic groups. However, although there is a definite feeling that "We are Bugis" as opposed to other peoples, we have already seen that within the Bugis population there are divisions between Bugis from different areas and that To Wajo' consider themselves to have little in common with To Boné. Within the Wajo' emigrant population, while people identify to some extent with their wanuwa of origin and will state that they are To Ana'banua or To Gilireng, this does not

constitute a basis for the formation of groups based on common wanuwa origin: it is far more important to establish a kin link than to hail from the same wanuwa (although in the absence of kin ties with anyone in the village of settlement, membership of the same wanuwa in Wajo' provides some basis for claiming an acquaintance).

Marriages appear to be organised on a massive scale and with full traditional ceremonial. As in Wajo', bride and groom have rarely met before the wedding. The brideprice paid is many times as much as that generally asked of the groom's family in Ana'banua, usually well over Rp. 100,000 - another reason for the frequent contracting of marriages with cousins in Wajo'. The transvestites who organise weddings in Sulawesi are in great demand in Jambi to dress the bridal couple, to arrange the procedure of the ceremony - for they are acknowledged experts in the ade' of weddings - and to supervise the cooking of food for the numerous guests. They make large profits from the exercise of their profession in the wedding season which follows the harvest. Two of Ana'banua's three transvestites have been to Jambi several times: one of them (La Fa'go) was in the kampong of Sungai Tawar, Mendahara, when I called there in January 1973. The third transvestite, old La Tikka, was also eager to merantau: in Jambi, he said, he would be paid Rp. 10,000 and receive a complete set of clothes and ornaments for every wedding, while in Wajo' he is given only Rp. 1-2,000 with perhaps a sarung or some rice for helping with even the most important of noble weddings.

Migration and Social Mobility

Emigration provides a means for ordinary people not only to obtain greater wealth than is possible in Wajo' but also to achieve a rise in social status.

The history of the family of Daeng Mangati has already illustrated the way in which men with claims to aristocratic descent have been able to carve out a position of power in the rantau and consolidate their monopoly of political office. Their strong tendency to arrange marriages between first cousins expresses a desire to maintain the purity of their blood, upon which they base the legitimacy of their authority. Other individuals of lower birth have sought to raise their status by intermarrying with the Wajo' nobility: we have seen how, in Ana'banua, a girl of noble birth was married to a commoner, born in Jambi but of Ana'banua origin, but only upon payment of 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 husband generally derive their status from her and take the noble title of Andi'. In Wajo', this is not allowed;

although the birth of the mother affects the status of her children, they are not regarded as nobles unless their father is of noble birth. There is thus a patrilineal bias in the inheritance of rank which is conveniently overlooked in the rantau if the person claiming noble status is also a man of property.

Higher status can also be achieved by emigrants through making the haj to Mecca. In Jambi, it is said 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 said that 1,000 out of a population of just over 11,000 had already become haji, and that 99 percent of these were Bugis. This compares with, at the most 20 haji out of a population of 4,000 in Ana'banua. In Sumatra, a haji has prestige equal to that of a man of noble descent (except perhaps in the older areas of settlement, where the tau décéng are more securely entrenched in positions of authority). They also command considerable respect if they return to visit Ana'banua, since a haji's cap is an indisputable sign of wealth.

Returned emigrants also acquire prestige in Ana'banua by displaying material goods they have bought - gold watches, radios, cassette-recorders - and by distributing presents, both money and gifts of cloth and other items, to their relatives in the village. Indeed, the expectation that a returned emigrant will shower largesse upon kin and friends is so high that some settlers in Jambi expressed reluctance to return 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 in smuggling expeditions to Singapore.

The demonstration effect of visits by Ana'banua people settled in Jambi results in continued emigration. Apart from emigration financed and arranged by kin abroad, there is considerable spontaneous emigration which is largely due to the impression made by returned emigrants, with their flashy clothes and tales of the wealth to be won in Sumatra. Prior emigration thus provides the incentive for further emigration and often the means to make the move from Sulawesi. Emigration is not considered an unusual step to take, since every emigrant has numerous predecessors and many contacts with the area of settlement. The Wajo' Bugis kampongs in Jambi are little more than an extension of Wajo' society in a new environment. Despite this fact, emigration remains regarded as an exciting adventure since - although the emigrant is moving to an almost identical social situation - he must pass through many new experiences en route, particularly in Jakarta, and these add a spice to what might otherwise be regarded as a move dictated purely by economically rational considerations.

Migration and Courage

The idea of merantau as an act of daring reinforces the Bugis concept of themselves as men of exceptional courage - and in fact some men appear to emigrate mainly in order to prove their bravery and competence. Thus, one elderly man in Kalola told me that the reason he wanted to visit Jambi was that he would feel himself to be a much better person for having merantau just once in his life; he would be able to look the arungs in the face and talk to them with confidence. There is a strong feeling that Bugis abroad can compare themselves most favourably with the other peoples they encounter, who are often condemned as pusillanimous and lazy. To quote Guru Pangerang again:

Bugis consider themselves to be braver than other bangsa (ethnic groups). They are proud - but in fact many are cowards. In the rantau, outside their own region, they do not want to be thought to lack courage. So if anything happens which is unjust, they straight away begin to fight ... Bugis are active, dynamic. Malays are static, so long as they have enough, that will do. Usually in the lands across the sea a Bugis may become a coolie: then he does not want to let people know that he is Bugis. Only when he has become "boss" does he tell other people.

It is the determination of many Bugis not to allow themselves to be bested by others which gives them a bad reputation among other peoples of Indonesia. The Malay Penghulu of Kampong Singkep (Muara Sabak), a mainly Bugis area, compared the quick tempers of the Bugis with the live-and-let-live attitude of the indigenous Malays:

Bugis often fight with each other, rarely with other people. It sometimes happens that they return to Sulawesi, quarrel there but only settle it when they get back here. They fight about land, about women, they even want to die for forest! Their land may be only one cubit (he demonstrated with his fingers how tiny it was), but if someone takes it, they are willing to die for that too. As for us (Malays), we don't want to get involved in things like that. The reason is that we - the people of this place - have their own viewpoint: What is the point of dying like this? We must just go and find some other land.

The Camat Muara Sabak agreed with this assessment of the Bugis character: "Their blood rises quickly. If we are travelling by prau, we collide, one prau capsizes, this too can lead to stabbings".

Bugis are also held, both by others and by themselves, to be restless and easily dissatisfied. A Luwu' Bugis (Fachruddin), who lived amongst Wajo' people in Tanjung Priok and had travelled widely in the rantau, had some very harsh things to say about the Bugis of both Wajo' and Bone:

To Wajo' are never satisfied with their lot ... If a friend is rich, they become jealous of him and merantau in search of wealth. But in fact there are no Bugis settlers who are rich. They rarely settle permanently in one place but move continually - thus they cannot achieve permanent wealth. For example, in Kuala Enok, as

soon as the coconut palms are three years' old (i.e., just becoming established) they are sold and the owner moves on again. In Kalimantan, when the rubber trees are five years' old they are sold. In Jakarta, if a man feels unhappy, discontented, he will sell all his fishing equipment and move elsewhere. It is the same story in all parts of Indonesia - Wajo' people rarely settle for long or care for their property continuously. They move because they feel resentful, revengeful, they have a grudge against someone, they feel that they are cleverer or stronger ... they are too ready to believe the stories of others and to be attracted to some other place ... They move continually until finally they are dead in the middle of the road. (To Bone were much the same but more capable of cooperation than To Wajo').

Although Fachruddin's description of Wajo' Bugis behaviour is clearly too negative - it is not true, for instance, to say that no Wajo' migrants become rich - it does nonetheless give a fair picture of a certain kind of impatient, unsettled individual quite commonly encountered in the rantau. The clerk of Sungai Alang², a Wajo' settlement, likewise referred to the perpetual discontent of some migrants:

After he has moved to Sungai Benu or Teluk Piai, he decides that his income there is not satisfactory. He begins to think that when he was living in Alang² he was quite a big man, so he returns here, he brings his family back here, sells his land again. So that person keeps on going round in circles. He always wants to be free - he thinks he will be happy if he can make a good income without spending too much time (Achmad Rifai).

This approach to life is puzzling for more stable settlers such as Haji Passuloi: he was quite unable to understand why one of his brothers had gone off to Nipah Panjang to open a paret.

In fact, if we want to open land here (in Kuala Mendahara), a hundred, two hundred families would not use up the land here. I don't know why he went away - if you think about it, his family is here, really everything is here.

This roving quality may seem a sign of instability to others, yet it is this very trait of discontent with one's present surroundings and an often unfounded optimism that there is something better to be found elsewhere which perhaps characterises pioneers everywhere. These are the men who blaze the trails which others follow, who open up the areas which later migrants settle. As a result of their successful ventures, migrants continue to be attracted to Jambi in a steady stream, despite all efforts of the Wajo' and Boné governments to halt the exodus of many of their people. Migration has become both a common and an acceptable activity. It may be precipitated by some specific cause - grief at the death of parents or a child, anger and shame at the remarriage of one's husband, the need to earn money in order to complete one's schooling or to marry - or it may result from the build-up over many years of dissatisfaction

and despair with the natural conditions and economy of the homeland. Whatever the precipitant may be, the underlying cause of emigration is always the fact of prior emigration. The countless migrants who have left Sulawesi in the past for other regions have both created a tradition for others to follow and established a bridgehead in the new land to which new settlers may safely go.

CONCLUSION

Little remains to do now but to collect together the tentative conclusions which are threaded through this thesis. Bugis migration has been seen as the outcome of a process which began far back in time, and the society which we see today has therefore been shaped by the experience of continued movements of people outside the home region. Indeed, so many Bugis have flowed out to other parts of the Malay world, and formed clusters there, that the society can no longer be considered to be contained within its homeland of South Sulawesi. It is joined by ties of constant interaction of people and information with the Bugis settlements in the rantau. As a result, it is difficult to determine which aspects of the home society predispose its members to move away, for it is possible that these very features may themselves be the outcome of migration in the past. The enjoyment most Bugis show in travelling (whether to the next village or to another island) and the avid interest they have in other regions and other societies are in striking contrast to the lack of any desire to see or know about the outside world which is shown by the members of many peasant societies: the Javanese are a notable example of this (Koentjaraningrat: Personal Communication). But although both love of travel and a desire to know about foreign lands undoubtedly predispose many Bugis to emigrate, this outward orientation has probably itself been formed by their long tradition of roving.

We must therefore abandon the search for first causes and consider the society as it is. There have been many concrete reasons for discontent with conditions in the Bugis homeland over the centuries: the internicine strife which followed the Dutch intervention in the region; the rebellion of the post-Independence period; the uncertainties of a precarious economy. There have been equally sound reasons for moving to the rantau, where far greater opportunities existed of making an adequate living in peace. That many Bugis people, particularly in Wajo' and Boné, have weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of leaving their homeland and decided to emigrate is related to the nature of the society. Perhaps in this context, the most significant feature of the society is the contradiction between an ideology which expresses the bravery, diligence, enterprise of Bugis as a whole and the other ideology - that of rank - which excludes all but those of the highest birth from the exercise of any individual

initiative. Ambition is both socially recognised and encouraged and yet the rigidities of the social structure prevent the expression and satisfaction of the desire for social or economic betterment. The only outlet for unfulfilled ambition is emigration. Perhaps we may generalise the significance of ambition in Bugis migration to other Indonesian societies. Thus, the Javanese, who are unenthusiastic migrants, may also lack a desire for change or improvement. Their religious beliefs certainly seem to suggest this: according to Hildred Geertz (1963:44), they believe that the "principal way to maintain personal inner strength is to limit radically desires and impulses", among them presumably the impulse to attempt positively to transform their lot. The Makussarese, on the other hand, may be reluctant to emigrate for quite different reasons. Although - like the Bugis - they possess a highly stratified society, there is considerable room for political manoeuvre with ambitious men rising in status, supported by a growing body of kin (Chabot, 1950).

For the Bugis, as we have seen, the ambitious man is often forced to carve out his sphere of influence outside his homeland. It is such restless, discontented individuals who become the pioneers of new settlement areas abroad. Once a base has been established, a quite different kind of migrant is attracted, generally lacking the strong ambition of his predecessors but moved by a quiet desire to improve his living conditions. In this second phase of migration, as we have seen, the high value which Bugis place upon ties of kinship plays an important role: it provides the motivation for former migrants to encourage further migration in order to surround themselves with their own kin, and it also facilitates movement in other more practical ways by providing prospective migrants with the security and sometimes financial support that most need in order to contemplate leaving their home. Since kinship ties are far stronger than any sense of community solidarity - particularly in a large village such as Ana'banua - the only impediment to movement for most people is their own timidity, and this their kin in the rantau do all in their power to overcome. The solidarity between kin, and to a lesser extent the solidarity of a Bugis from the same district, in the rantau are initially adaptive mechanisms for coping with a new and potentially hostile environment. They provide the basis for the creation of new associations and new communities, and are the means whereby emigration is encouraged and strengthened.

In its effects on the home society, the rantau may serve the same function as the "frontier" in American history, acting as a "safety-valve" to drain off discontent. The wild young men of Bugis society have traditionally sought their adventures in the other regions of the archipelago and the existing social and political order has thus remained unchallenged.

GLOSSARY

All words of Bugis (Bg), Indonesian (I) or Dutch (D) origin which have been used more than once are listed here. Definitions of Indonesian words are mostly taken from Echols and Shadily (1970).

ade'	custom, customary regulations or law (Bg)
afdeeling	division, administrative unit below the province (D)
ahen oto	motor-agent (I) - see page 77 above
aji	haji (Bg): one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca
Ambo'	father (Bg) - also used as title for a man of the tau décéng, the upper level of the commoner class
andi'	noble title, younger sibling (Bg)
arajang	sacred objects, regalia (Bg)
arung	ruler (Bg)
Arung Ennengngé	The Six Chiefs (of Wajo') - see page 118 above
Arung Matoa	title of the ruler of Wajo'; often abbreviated to Aru Matoa (Bg)
ata	slave (Bg)
bangsa	nation, people; race; ethnic group
béndi	dog-cart (Bg); cf. Indonesian <u>dokar</u>
beras	milled rice (I)
calabai	transvestite (Bg) - see page 71 above.
camat	head of a subdistrict or kecamatan (I)
daéng	older (commoner) sibling (Bg) - also used as a title of the tau décéng
daerah	district (I)
dare'	garden or shifting field (Bg): equivalent to both <u>kebun</u> and <u>ladang</u> in Indonesian
datu	prince (Bg)
desa	village complex (I)
dui ménré	bride-wealth (Bg)
famili	kin (I)
galung	wet-rice field, sawah (Bg)
hadat	advisory council (Bg, I)
Hadat Ketjil	lower court under the Dutch (I)
haj	pilgrimage to Mecca (I)
haji	one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (I); cf. aji
kabupaten	regency (I)
kampong	village; by extension, homeland (Bg)
kamponna tauwé	a foreign country - lit. "the land of (other) people" (Bg)
kebun	garden, smallholding, plantation (I)
kecamatan	subdistrict (I)
kepala paret	canal headman (I)
kepala wanuwa	headman of a wanuwa (<u>desa</u> in Indonesian), (Bg)
kerbau	water-buffalo (I)
kongsi	commercial association (I)
kotamadya	municipality (I)
kuala	estuary, river mouth (I)

ladang	dry or shifting field, swidden (I)
lambo'	kind of Bugis sailing vessel
limpo	division of a state or wanuwa (Bg)
lontara'	manuscript, originally written on lontar-palm leaves (Bg)
malam jum'at	the eve of Friday (I)
marga	administrative division in southern Sumatra (I) - see Table XII above
matoa, matowa	head of a limpo (Bg)
merantau	to go abroad; to leave one's home area; to wander about; to take a trip; to emigrate (I)
nakoda	captain of a prau, a sea-going trader (Bg)
onderafdeeling	subdivision (D)
orang	person, people (I)
orang Banjar	Banjarese, person or people of Banjarmasin
orang Bugis	Bugis person or people
pa'dare'	cultivator of a garden, shifting field or smallholding (Bg)
padi	growing or unthreshed rice (I)
pa'galung	cultivator of wet-rice (Bg)
Pak	father; Mr (I)
palari pinisi	fast prau (Bg): palari means "racer"; pinisi refers to the kind of rig-"fore-and-aft sails with standing gaffs" (Collins, 1936:12)
pasar	market, market-place (I) (<u>pasa'</u> in Bugis)
Pasirah	head of a marga (I)
pasompe	migrant, wanderer, sailor, anyone who crosses the sea (Bg)
pembuka tanah	opener of the land; organiser of a pioneering venture (I)
Penghulu	headman (I) - see Table XII
penggembala	herder of water-buffalo
kerbau	
penggembala sapi	cattle-herder
penggilingan	mill for threshed rice (I)
beras	
penggilingan padi	mill for unthreshed rice (I)
Penghulu	headman (I) - see Table XII above
perantau	wanderer, emigrant, settler (I)
Petta	royal title, prince (Bg)
pondok	hut, shelter of bamboo (I)
Puang	royal title; title of respect for older person of the nobility (Bg)
rakyat	people, the populace, the public (I)
Ranreng	title of three of the highest chiefs of Wajo' - see page 118 above (Bg)
rantau	inlet, bay; reaches (of a river); abroad, foreign country (I)
rodi	forced labour (I)
sagro'	shaman, healer, sorcerer (Bg): cf. Indonesian <u>dukun</u>
saoraja	royal residence (Bg)
sapu	cousin (Bg) - see Appendix C
saudara sesusu	siblings of "one milk" - the relationship between the foster child of a wet-nurse and her own child (I)
sawah	wet-rice field (I)
siajeng, siajing	kin (Bg)
siri'	shame, shyness (Bg)
sokko	sticky rice (Bg)

sompa	immaterial bride-price stated as a measure of rank (Bg) - see page 114 above
sungai	river (I)
tana	land, country (Bg)
tana Ugi	Bugis lands (Bg)
tanjung	cape, promontory
tau décéng	"good people", the upper level of the commoner class (Bg) - see page 86 above
tau maradáka	freemen (Bg)
tau sama	commoners (Bg) - see page 86 above
To	people (Bg)
To Ana 'banua	Ana 'banua people
To Manurung	people who have descended from the heavens, supernatural beings
To Ugi	Bugis
To Wajo'	people of Wajo'
wanuwa	country, kingdom or principedom; now an administrative division equivalent to the desa (village cluster) (Bg)
warung	small shop, stall (I)
warung kopi	coffee shop
warung nasi	eating-house
Zelfbestuur	self-governing council under the Dutch colonial administration (D)

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

Note: Individuals bearing the titles of Haji (abbreviated to H.), La and Pak are listed under their personal names.

H. Abdullah bin Mohammad Said - Bugis merchant; Singapore, September 1971

Achmad - Pasirah Berbak; Nipah Panjang, January 1973

Ambo' Padde - Mangku; Sungai Ayam, January 1973

Andi' Abdul Majid - Bugis merchant; Singapore, September 1971

Andi' Atjo - former Arung Paria; Paria, March 1973

Andi' Hasan Machmud - eldest son of H. Andi Ninnong, the last Ranreng Tua; Sengkang, March 1971

H. Andi' Muddariyah - sister of the above; my host in Sengkang on numerous occasions in 1971-72

Andi' Muri - Kepala Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, 1960-71; Pénéki, March 1971

H. Andi' Ninnong - Ranreng Tua of Wajo'; member of the Zelfbestuur under the Dutch; numerous interviews in Sengkang about Bugis ade', early emigration etc.

Andi' Ongko - from Tanru Tédong; married to a niece (sister's daughter) of Andi' Sammeng; my host in Ana'banua in the first half of 1972

Andi' Paramata - expert on Bugis ranking system and genealogies; lives in Sengkang

H. Andi' Sarampa - Kepala Wanuwa Ana'banua

Andi' Sammeng - Kepala Wanuwa Kalola

H. Andi' Tantu - Camat Maniangpajo, 1967-72

Andi' Unru - Kepala Daerah Wajo'

Andi' Zainal Abidin - Dean of the Faculty of Law, Hasanuddin University, Makassar; an acknowledged expert on Bugis custom and literature

Fachruddin Chamid Daéng Maggana - Secretary of the Gabungan Koperasi Perikanan (Fishing Cooperative Association), Pasar Ikan, Jakarta, June 1971; a Bugis from Luwu'

H. Ganyu - Pengurus Perantau (migration organiser), Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, August 1972

Guru Pangerang - Deputy Head of the SMP (secondary school), Ana'banua; a tau décéng and second cousin (sapu kadua) to Andi' Sammeng

H. Rahim - Member of the DPR (parliament) for kabupaten Tanjung Jabung; a Bugis from Boné; Kuala Tungkal, January 1973

Juliati - teenage girl, a member of a family of traders in Ana'banua

Pak Mattola - Kepala Kampung (strictly, Kepala Rukun Tetangga), Massumpatédongé, May 1971

H. Passuloi - Migrant from Lamata', now a shopkeeper and trader in Kuala Mendahara; January 1973

La Réwo - Bugis from Macannang, Wajo'; migrated to Pontianak and later to Jambi in 1923-24; now lives in Pangkal Duri. A bright and voluble old man. Interviewed January 1973

Rohani Adam - my Makassarese informant; lived in Watamponé, the capital of Boné, as a child (her father was head of police) and therefore speaks perfect Bugis

Saing - Penghulu Pangkal Duri; emigrated from Lamata' in 1957; interviewed in Muara Sabak and Pangkal Duri in January 1973

APPENDIX A: STATISTICAL DATA ON SOUTH SULAWESI

Sources used in Chapter II on the geography, demography and economy of South Sulawesi were as follows:

1) Geography: mainly based on Robequain (1958).

2) Population: Data on the distribution of ethnic groups in the region is derived from the Census for 1930 (Volkstelling 1930, V), which gave a breakdown of the ethnic composition of each onderafdeeling.

Recent population figures come from the 1961 and 1971 Censuses (Sensus 1961 and Sensus 1971): unfortunately, these did not enumerate the population by ethnic group, which makes it impossible to know with any certainty how many Bugis-speaking people are resident in South Sulawesi today, and how many live in other regions of Indonesia.

The rate of population increase is difficult to assess due to a change in the administrative boundaries of the region in 1964, when South Sulawesi was separated from Southeast Sulawesi; figures for the total population before 1964 refer to the whole area of South and Southeast Sulawesi and cannot therefore be directly compared with more recent figures. Shamsher (1967:58) considered that the population of South Sulawesi "was probably increasing annually at the rate of 2%". Makaliwe (1969:18) cites the opinion that "the annual rate of growth is now approaching 3 per cent"; but he comments that, in view of very high infant mortality and a steady rate of emigration, the net rate of growth may be "much lower, perhaps less than 2 per cent". The Census data for 1963 and 1971 (Shamsher, 1967:58; Sensus 1971:101) suggest an even lower rate of increase, from 4,813,618 to 5,189,227 - a growth rate of less than one per cent per annum. However, the fact that much of South Sulawesi was still in the hands of the Kahar Muzakar rebels in 1961-63 makes any population data collected (or estimated) at this time highly unreliable. Population densities for various districts are cited in Shamsher (1967:58-9).

3) Agriculture and the Economy: Most of the information on this subject comes from Makaliwe (1969) and Shamsher (1967). Additional data was provided by a Bank Pembangunan Indonesia (Indonesian Development Bank) report on the economy of South-Southeast Sulawesi (Sjahrial Wahab, 1963). Rice cultivation in South Sulawesi is described by Pelras (1974). Pelras (in a personal communication) also supplied the figures for sawah area in Wajo' given in Table IX. Evidence of the relative cheapness of rice in South Sulawesi is provided by Penny

(1971:48): he states that average rice prices in Central Java in 1970-71 varied between Rp.38 and Rp.40 per kilogram compared with an average price in Wajo' of Rp.26 per kilo.

4) Land use and Population Density in Ana 'banua: The following statistics were supplied by the office of the wanuwa Ana 'banua in May 1971:

Cultivated area -	sawah:	2564.09 ha.	} 3262.98 ha.
	ladang:	698.89 "	
House-land (pekarangan)		67.60	
Forest (hutan)		20.75	
Rivers (sungai)		77.15	
Grass-land (perumputan)		4580.29	
Total land-area		8007.87 ha.	or 80.08 km. ²

Population:	7,660
Popn. Density:	95 persons per square kilometer.
No. of households:	1,478
Per household:	sawah 1.73 ha.
	ladang 0.46 ha.
	pekarangan 0.04 ha.

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE SURVEY OF ANA'BANUA

In the last three months of my stay in Ana'banua (April-June 1972), I carried out a survey of households drawn at random from the 1971 Census records for the wanuwa of Ana'banua. The sampling universe consisted of 782 households in the 14 census blocks which covered the actual village of Ana'banua. These fell within four lingkungan: Alau Salo, Bola Mallimpong, Lompopalua and Salo Dua. Ten per cent of these households - 78 in all - were chosen by drawing numbers from a box.

Since the village of Ana'banua does not constitute an administrative division, I defined it as being all those houses clustered around the central core of pasar and government offices and extending along the roads to Sengkang, Paré 2 and Siwa. The village limits were regarded as being set at the points where rice-fields broke the succession of houses lining the highways. Although the census blocks chosen for sampling in general coincided well with the area defined as constituting Ana'banua village, there was one major exception: the inclusion of the hamlet of Massumpatédongé, in the hills four kilometers to the east. The same census block also contained Kampung Kéra, another hamlet slightly separated from the main village cluster. The unintentional incorporation of these hamlets in the sample proved a happy chance, for it meant that I was led to explore parts of the surrounding countryside which I had previously scarcely known and to meet people of an entirely different kind to any I had previously encountered - the very poorest landless peasants.

Actually carrying out the survey proved to be a task of some considerable difficulty. Not only was I ill at the time, but to make matters worse the rains began in early May - for several weeks deceptively heavy rain fell in brief spells and tempted many farmers into the fields to plough the soil and transplant rice-seedlings (which later withered and died when the rain again ceased). Thus, at the very time when I was most anxious to find people at home and complete the survey, most men were completely unavailable for most of the day. I was therefore forced to conduct most interviews late in the afternoon or even after dark when the farmers had returned from the fields. This entailed many perilous walks home in pitch-darkness along narrow paths with the churned mud of rice-fields on either side. Some farmers I never succeeded in meeting, for if their fields were

very remote they often slept in a hut on the land they were working, or returned only in the middle of the night. In these cases, I collected what information I could from wives, siblings, other kin. If only the wife could be contacted, it was possible to obtain details of household composition, births and deaths, marital histories of household members and economic data of a very general nature, but it often proved difficult to find out exactly how much land was owned or rented, how much padi was produced (and how much actually controlled where the farmer was a tenant): thus only a very partial picture could be built up of the domestic economy of these households. This is the reason why my data about, e.g., rice production or incomes in rice are drawn from comparatively small samples, since the information collected from many households was incomplete or patently inaccurate. Even where I was able to interview both husband and wife, it was sometimes difficult to find out exactly how they made a living, since they themselves tended to keep no strict account of their income each year; this was particularly true of shopkeepers and petty-traders who tended to say: "Money comes in and goes out - we don't know how much we make."

Interviews of some kind were conducted with 73 out of the 78 households selected. Five households could not be contacted: two due to lack of time, three because they could not be located or had moved away. Two of the households in the sample in fact proved to be combined under one roof and to constitute a single unit of production and consumption: they were therefore treated as one household, which reduced the size of the final sample group to 72 households.

The schedule of questions used asked for information about a wide range of topics, some relevant to the theme of this thesis, some more appropriate to a study of kinship and marriage in Ana'banua: much of this latter material has not as yet been fully processed. To summarise, the following data was sought:

I General Information

(1) Household Members: details for each member of sex; date and place of birth; migration; marital status; relation to household head; occupation; education (if any); knowledge of Indonesian. Some of the information obtained is summarised in Tables II, IV, V and VI. Similar information was collected about any absentee members with the addition of notes on their reasons for absence and place and

period of residence away from home.

(2) Demography: births and deaths in the preceding two years were recorded.

	<u>Births</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	
1970 males	9	-	
females	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	(one child, one adult)
total	<u>16</u>	<u>2</u>	
1971 males	6	2	(one child, one adult)
females	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	(2 children, 3 adults)
total	<u>16</u>	<u>7</u>	

Thus, while births remained constant in the two-year period, there was a sharp rise in the number of deaths, quite possibly due to inadequate nutrition during the drought which began in 1971. The same apparent trend continued in 1972: three deaths (one child, two adults) were recorded within the sample group up to June 1972.

(3) Religion: There was only one household where husband and wife belonged to different religious sects (he is Ahlu Sunna while she is Chalwatiah): the household was recorded as following the husband's religious affiliation. The figures for the different denominations were:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Islam (no particular sect)	35	49
Chalwatiah	29	41
Mohammadiyah	2	2.5
Pattolotang	2	2.5
Ahlu Sunna	2	2.5
No religion (not interested); and no data	<u>2</u>	<u>2.5</u>
	<u>72</u>	<u>100</u>

II. Marriage

- (1) Males: complete marital histories.
- (2) Females: the same supplemented with data about fertility (numbers of children, deaths, etc.).

III. Domestic Economy

- (1) Ownership of Property: Most people owned at least a house and the size and type of this could be used as a fairly accurate estimate of the financial resources of the owner. Houses were arranged on a scale from one to six, a price-range of about Rp.4,000 up to Rp.1,500,000.

Scale	House Type	Tau		Tau		Ana 'matola & Andi'		Total	
		Décéng	%	Sama	%	%	%		%
6	Stone, iron roof: large/medium	1	4	-	-	1	50	2	3
5	stone, iron roof: small; and wood, iron roof: large/medium	17	63	9	21	-		26	36
4	Wood, iron roof: small	-	-	2	5	-		2	3
3	Wood, palm roof: large/medium	3	11	8	18	-		11	15
2	Wood, palm roof: small	2	7	6	14	1	50	9	12.5
1	Bamboo, palm roof	4	15	14	33	-		18	25
0	Sharing with kin or living in pondok (shelter)	-	-	4	9	-		4	5.5
		27	100	43	100	2	100	72	100

(2) Employment: details were collected of employment of all household members and their incomes in an attempt to assess the cash income of the household as a whole: this proved totally unsuccessful as few people had any idea of their actual incomes over a period of time, only of what they were paid for specific jobs (if they were, say, labourers or ahen oto) or of what their maximum or minimum earnings in a week or month might be (e.g. shopkeepers).

(3) Land Ownership and Control; Income from Land: The amount of land owned provided a more satisfactory measure of wealth and rice received was a more reasonable indication of actual income than any estimates obtained of cash income. This information also demonstrated the existence of a clear correlation between rank and wealth (represented by amount of land owned).

<u>Land Ownership and Rank</u>							
Land owned (hectares)	Ana 'matola and Andi'		Tau Décéng		Tau Sama		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Up to 0.80			7	29	33	85	
0.801-1.50			6	25	3	7.5	
Above 1.50	2	100	11	46	3	7.5	
			24	100	39	100	

(4) Consumption: An attempt was made to assess the consumption needs of households and to compare these with their actual income in cash or in rice. It was estimated that the minimum monthly rice requirement for an adult male was 10kg. Requirements for other members of the household were calculated using Lusk's coefficient (Epstein, 1967).

<u>Household members</u>				<u>Consumption Unit</u>
Males above 14 years				1.00
Females above 14 years				0.83
Males and females of 10 years but below 14 years				0.83
"	"	"	of 6 years but below 10 years	0.70
"	"	"	of 1 year but below 6 years	0.50
"	"	"	of below 1 year	Nil.

APPENDIX C: BUGIS KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The kinship terminology of the Bugis - in particular, terms of address - reflects the all-pervasive significance of rank. Different kin terms are used between nobles to those used by commoners, and yet another set of rules comes into play where two kinsmen are of different rank. How a kinsman is addressed depends as much on the relative rank of the people concerned as upon their kin relationship. For example, if the mother of a noble is of lower rank than he (tau décéng or a commoner) she is referred to as daéngmu or "your (non-noble) older sibling" rather than as indo'mu, "your mother".

The general rules for terms of address used between nobles are that a kinsman or affine of (1) a higher generation is addressed as puang; (2) the same generation is called puang if older, andi' if younger; (3) a lower generation, e.g. a nephew or niece or grand-child, is called by name only: in this latter case andi' should not be (but often is) used, as the word means "younger sibling". Between non-kin of the nobility who regard themselves as being of the same or different generations, exactly the same rules apply. Where generation and age do not coincide, a combination of terms is often used. Thus one noble girl I knew had an aunt called Andi' Alang who was many years her junior; she therefore addressed her as Pu Alang di', which may be roughly translated as "Aunt Alang younger sibling" - for she regarded her as being both aunt and younger sister.

Commoners also often extend the terms used for kin to refer to other people, particularly if they are close associates. Thus, an older person regarded as being of the same generation is often addressed as daéng ("older sibling"); a person of a higher generation may be called ua' (aunt or uncle) or - if quite old - néné' (grand-father or grandmother). Younger people are commonly called andi' or indi' or just di', meaning younger sibling.

In the list of kinship terminology which follows, terms used only between nobles are marked (N), those only used by commoners (C). Where no symbol is given, this means that a term may be used by people of any rank. A couple (husband and wife) are called malaibini; a nuclear family (husband, wife and children) are malaibini marana'. Members of the extended family of parents, children, grandparents and grandchildren are called kaluarga, while all other kin are

referred to as siajing. Non-kin are called tau laingé, "other people".

Consanguinous Kin:

	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>
parents	to matowa	-
father	ambo'	ambo' (C), puang (N). Noble children often call their father by his title: thus, he may be addressed as Pet Aji if he is a haji; or they may use a pet-name for him, such as Papa or Papi. Petta or Etta, formerly used only by nobles as a term of address for their father, is now sometimes used also by commoners - rarely now by nobles.
mother	indo', ema'	indo', ema'. A wet nurse (<u>indo' pasusu</u>) is also called indo'. The co-wife of one's mother is called puang if of noble birth, ua' if a commoner.
child, children	ana'	name of child or ana'. Before a baby has been given a name, it is called by a special baby-name: noble babies are called Baso if a boy, Bessé if a girl; commoners call a boy Baco, a girl Becé.
son(s)	ana'burané	Name or ana'
daughter(s)	ana'makkunrai	" "
sibling(s)	silassureng	always addressed as older or younger sibling.
older sibling	kaka'	puang (N), daéng (C).
younger sibling	anri'	di', andi'.
half sibling(s)	sikaforo	puang if of the same or higher rank, daéng if of lower rank (N); daéng if older, di' if younger (C).
brother	pada burané ana'burané	(man speaking) (woman speaking) addressed as older or younger sibling.
sister	sipo ana'dara pada makkunrai	(man speaking) (woman speaking) addressed as older or younger sibling.
grandparent	néné'	puang (N), néné' (C): no distinction in speech is made between grandfather and grandmother.
grandchild	eppo'	name or ana'.
father's or mother's sibling	amoré	puang (N), ua' (C): a noble speaks of an uncle/aunt as "my puang so-and-so", e.g. Andi' Tantu is referred to as "Pu Tantu-ku" by his niece.

	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>
sibling's child	anoré	name or noré. If an uncle/aunt is almost the same age as a nephew/niece, the latter may be addressed as di' (younger sibling).
first cousin	sapu sisseng	as for siblings.
2nd cousin	sapu kadua	" " " - sapu kadua are the children of first cousins.
3rd cousin	sapu katellu	children of sapu kadua.
cousin's child	anoré	name or noré, i.e. referred to in the same way as a sibling's child.
parent's cousin	amoré	Cf. terms of address for parent's sibling.

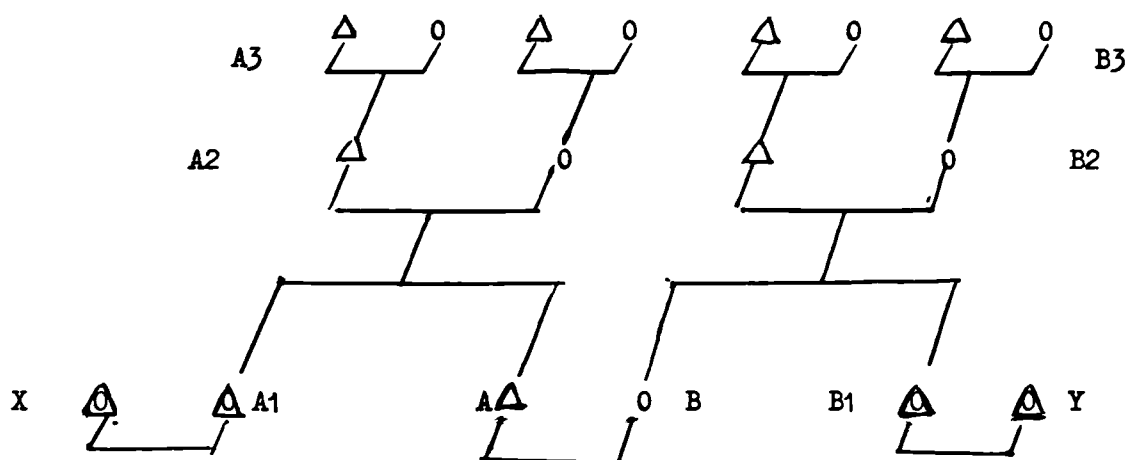
Affinal Kin:

wife	béné	di' or name. Teknonymy is common: thus a woman who has a child called Daru may be referred to (and even addressed) by her husband and others as Indo'na Daru (Daru's mother).
husband	lake	puang (if of higher rank), daéng (if of the same rank). Teknonymy is also commonly used for men, e.g. Daru's father would be referred to by his wife and others as Ambo'na Daru.

There is a certain reluctance to use the terms *béné* and *lake* in referring to one's own or another's wife or husband. It is much more polite to speak to a woman of *anu-mu* - which means "your what's its name"! If one knows the family well, the problem may be avoided by using the name of one of their children as in the example of Daru's parents cited above. I have heard women refer to their husbands also as *kaka'* (older sibling), while one woman spoke of her much older husband as *ua'ku* (my uncle).

parent-in-law	matua	puang, petta, etta (N), ua' (C). A sibling or cousin of one's spouse's parents is also called <i>matua</i> and addressed in the same way.
child-in-law	manitu, manétu	ana' or name.
spouse's sibling	ipa, ifa	puang if older, andi' if younger (N); daéng " " di' " " (C). Cousins of a spouse are addressed the same way.
step-father	pura'ambo'	puang (N), ua' (C).
step-mother	pura'indo'	" " - the same terms are used for another wife of one's father.
step-child	pura'ana'	ana' or name.

There are some more complicated affinal relationships recognised which may best be represented by a diagram.



After A and B marry:

- (1) their two sets of siblings A3 and B3 are siteppateppang to each other, as are the cousins of both A and B.
- (2) the parents of A (A2) are baiseng to the parents of B (B2); A2's siblings and cousins are also baiseng to the siblings and cousins of B2. Similarly the grandparents of A (A3), their siblings and their cousins are baiseng to B3, the grandparents etc. of B.
- (3) X, the spouse of A1 (A's sibling) is selaleng ("one path") to Y, the spouse of B's sibling. The spouse's of cousins of A are also considered to be selaleng to the spouse's of B's cousins.