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# FROM ECONOMIC ACTOR TO MORAL AGENT: KNOWLEDGE, FATE AND HIERARCHY AMONG THE BUGIS OF SULAWESI

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## Introduction: Explaining and Interpreting Bugis Mobility

Contradictions abound in accounts of the Bugis, an Islamic ethnic group—over three million strong—whose homeland is the southwestern peninsula of Sulawesi in eastern Indonesia, but whose members have spread throughout the archipelago as traders, fisher folk, and farmers. As the historian Anthony Reid has queried in regard to the Bugis homeland:

There are some profound contradictions in the picture we have of this region. Can it be at once marked by slavery and by a love of freedom; by a strict sense of hierarchy and a spirit of individual enterprise; by a tenacious clinging to old beliefs and rituals and an openness to change?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Anthony Reid, "Pluralism and Progress in Seventeenth-Century Makassar," in *Authority and Enterprise among the Peoples of South Sulawesi*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde 188, ed. Roger Tol, Kees van Dijk, and Greg Acciaioli (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), p. 56.

Curiously, the former term of each of these analytical oppositions is most prominent in accounts of the Bugis in their homeland. For example, in Shelly Errington's *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm*, the Bugis and the neighboring Makasar peoples are presented as organized in classic Indic states structured by a pervasive sense of hierarchy that defines ruling aristocrats as a higher order of beings descended from spirits of the Upperworld.<sup>3</sup> Entourages of commoner followers are described as seeking the protection and governance of noble patrons, whom they recognize as possessing the right to command by virtue of the white blood they have inherited from their spirit-ancestors and their ability to concentrate potency, the immaterial power permeating the universe. On the other hand, those who have observed the Bugis outside the homeland have remarked primarily the fiercely egalitarian ethos and achievement orientation of these migrant communities. In addition, they have tended to portray these migrant Bugis as predominantly economic actors whose endeavors proceed from largely commercial motives. Alfred Russel Wallace's impressions of a Moluccan trading community in the nineteenth century are typical:

I dare say there are now near five hundred people in Dobbo of various races, all met in this remote corner of the East, as they express it, "to look for their fortune," to get money any way they can. They are most of them people who have the very worst reputation for honesty as well as every other form of morality—Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese, with a sprinkling of half-wild Papuans from Timor, Babber [Babar] and other islands—yet all goes on as yet very quietly. This motley, ignorant, bloodthirsty, thievish population lives here without the shadow of a government, with no police, no courts, and no lawyers; yet they do not cut each others' throats, do not plunder each other day and night; do not fall into the anarchy such a state of things might be supposed to lead to. It is very extraordinary! ... Here we may behold in its simplest form the genius of Commerce at the work of Civilization. Trade is the magic that keeps them all at peace, and unites these discordant elements into a well-behaved community.<sup>4</sup>

In the modern context of massive steamships and air freight, Bugis two-masted schooners (**pinisi**<sup>5</sup>) and other traditional trading ships continue successfully to ply

<sup>3</sup> Shelly Errington, *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago, The Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise: A Narrative of Travel with Studies of Man and Nature* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962 [1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1869], pp. 335-336. For an illuminating discussion of how Dobbo fit into a continuum of types of trading communities in the Malay archipelago as a whole, see Heather Sutherland, "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos, 1700-1850," in *Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, Anthropologische Studien VU 11 (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), pp. 145-165.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout this essay, I have attempted to indicate the languages to which various terms belong by alternating the typeface of characters used. **Bold** is used for terms from the Bugis language, *italics* for Bahasa Indonesia and dialects of Malay, **bold underlined** for terms from other indigenous languages of Indonesia found in Sulawesi and elsewhere (e.g. *bahasa* Makasar or Makassarese, Kaili, etc.), and underlined for Dutch. In Bugis terms other than place names now accepted into Indonesian, **é** stands for a front central unrounded vowel (IPA [e]), while **e** stands for the central reduced vowel schwa, formerly called in the Bugis philological literature e-pepet.

interisland trade,<sup>6</sup> and communities of Bugis farmers and fishermen continue to market their crops and catches throughout the Outer Islands. And such small-scale interisland trade and pioneer settlement continue to be seen as crucially dependent upon kinship and leader-follower networks, competition for rank, and entrepreneurial acumen, but not upon the operation of cultural beliefs that place the operation of practical reason in a larger cosmological framework. As Andrew Vayda has (more recently than Wallace) put it, “however widespread and persisting the values and beliefs related to mobility may be, they are simply irrelevant to explaining a great deal of Bugis behavior.”<sup>7</sup>

What I want to explore here is precisely the wider cultural underpinnings of Bugis endeavors in the periphery—their “values and beliefs related to mobility”—in order to render problematic the phrase “looking for their fortune,” a phrase that some observers of the Bugis have glibly glossed as an exclusively economic pursuit. For that very phrase—*mencari rejeki* in the Bazaar Malay that has long been the lingua franca of the archipelago—is not quite as immediately intelligible as Wallace and others make it out to be. Nor can Bugis practice in the regions beyond their homeland be reduced to the economic motivations seemingly so salient in the notion of seeking one’s fortune. Certainly, practical considerations have strongly influenced the ebb and flow of Bugis migration, whether in regard to the flight of the inhabitants of the Wajo’ domain to escape the devastation wreaked by the Dutch and their Makasar (and other Bugis) allies after the fall of Makassar in 1669,<sup>8</sup> which launched the first great diasporic Bugis wave, or in regard to the droughts of 1971-72 and 1982-83, which greatly increased the outflow of Bugis from South Sulawesi. However, such material considerations do not fully “explain” the constant outflow of Bugis from their homeland in South Sulawesi, in good times and bad, reflected in census figures that consistently indicate the lowest population growth in the archipelago outside Java.<sup>9</sup> Such migration, as well as the range of economic endeavors in which Bugis engage once they have settled in the periphery, is conducted as well in terms of a set of understandings concerning the moral significance of labor and other activities, particularly their contribution to maintaining, enhancing, or even losing status and a sense of honor (*siri*). Thus, the task of interpreting Bugis activities requires that one consider them not simply as economic actors reacting to downturns and upturns in the homeland economy (and security) and responding to potentially lucrative opportunities in the periphery, but more complexly as cultural agents whose strategies of gaining a livelihood are inflected by values and beliefs that can even result in sometimes decidedly unprofitable courses of action.

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<sup>6</sup> Howard Dick, “Prau Shipping in Eastern Indonesia,” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 11,2 (1975): 69-107; 11,3 (1975): 81-103.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew P. Vayda, “Actions, Variations and Change: The Emerging Anti-essentialist View in Anthropology,” *Canberra Anthropology* 13,2 (1990): 40.

<sup>8</sup> Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde 91 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 141-142. Similarly, the scorched earth policy conducted in South Sulawesi by Qahhar Mudzakkar and his Darul Islam rebels from 1950 to 1965 also resulted in a substantial increase in Bugis fleeing their homeland as “internally displaced persons” (IDPs). See Barbara Sillars Harvey, “Tradition, Islam, and Rebellion: South Sulawesi 1950-1965” (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> Reid, “Pluralism,” p. 55.

### Defining “Good Fortune”: From Profit to Fate

Wallace’s phrase “to look for their fortune,” or, as I prefer to render the Bugis phrase, **masappa dallé**, “searching for good fortune,” is indeed one of the stock phrases Bugis have ready to deliver when asked what they are doing so far from their homeland. During my own research in a community of Bugis migrants settled on the shores of Lindu, a highland lake ringed by wet-rice fields carved out of the surrounding jungle of what is now Lore Lindu National Park in Central Sulawesi, many of my informants responded to my queries concerning why they had ventured there with the simple answer that they were searching (**masappa**), usually leaving the object for which they were searching unspecified. When pressed to specify what they were seeking, they—like Wallace’s merchants pursuing their trade in faraway Dobbo—would then declare that they were searching for “good fortune” (**dallé** or *rejeki*). But further inquiry revealed that the meaning of this goal to them encompassed more than simply desire for material wealth. “Searching for good fortune” encoded more than a pursuit of profit; it entailed a quest guided by some of the most basic tenets of Bugis culture, a search for knowledge as well as riches, embracing a way of seizing one’s fate that revealed both a complex conception of the relationship between personality and destiny, and a commoners’ ideology that challenged the indigenous nobility’s evaluation of fundamental hierarchy. Exploring the cultural background of this stock phrase thus reveals not only that the activities of Bugis migrants on the margins are informed by cultural conceptions in dialogue with those notions depicted as authoritative in the homeland, but also that glib generalizations concerning adherence on the part of entire populations—“the Bugis”—to such key notions as the nature of hierarchy must be tempered by a recognition of the divergent evaluations and perspectives upon authoritative tenets that emerge in commoner counterideologies.

Like the English term “fortune” that Wallace used in his characterization, the Bugis term **dallé** has both a restricted and general significance. Good fortune may indeed be largely a matter of material wealth. In his dictionary of the Bugis language, B. F. Matthes gives as the first gloss of **dallé** the Dutch term *winst*, “gains” or “profit.”<sup>10</sup> Analogously, the Bugis word **barakka**<sup>11</sup> was first defined for me by one young Bugis man as referring to a talent for acquiring wealth, a “gift” which the current *imam*, the head of the local mosque, exemplified in having successfully expanded his kiosk into a veritable store (*toko*). But both terms can connote far more. In Bugis, as in most of the languages of western Central Sulawesi, **barakka**’ (or simply **baraka**, as in many of the local languages besides Bugis) can be rendered in Indonesian not only by the cognate term *berkat*, whose translations include “blessing,” “favor,” “thanks to,” and

<sup>10</sup> B. F. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1874), p. 400.

<sup>11</sup> Besides the simple gloss *zegen* (“blessing”) in Dutch, Matthes also characterizes **barakka**’ as a gift given by someone who has received many blessings from Heaven, including having attained high rank, having gathered many riches, having reached a ripe old age, or having achieved a great eminence through some other means. Such a gift may be a sum of gold, a dagger, or anything that might bring to the recipient the same general blessings from Allah that the giver has received in the past. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 202. The *Encyclopedia of Islam* defines the original Arabic word from which the Bugis term derives as “blessing ... beneficent force of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere, and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order.” H. A. R. Gibb et al., *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (New Edition, Volume 1: A-B) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), p. 1032.

“profitable,”<sup>12</sup> but also by *keramat*, meaning “sacred,” “holy,” or “having supernatural qualities.”<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the term *dallé* refers not simply to economic success, but to the general good fortune that can accrue to one in the course of a life, whether that be apparent in an abundance of children, a respected status in the community, or material plenitude. In this more extensive meaning, the term contrasts with *toto*, which, although usually glossed simply as “fate” or “destiny,”<sup>14</sup> was used by Bugis at Lake Lindu most often to comment on the misfortune suffered by a person, suggesting the resignation with which one’s lot in life must be borne. Indeed, a recital of woes could elicit the observation: “**Makkoronni totonna tau é!**”—“Such is the lot of humankind!”<sup>15</sup>

Despite the emphasis on gaining a livelihood (*nafkah*) in many responses to queries concerning motivations for coming to Central Sulawesi, Bugis migrants were concerned also to emphasize that other aspects of their situation in the regions beyond their homeland attracted them to Lindu. One trader explained his decision to come to Central Sulawesi, where he constantly shuttled back and forth between his gardens at the coast and his daughter’s home and kiosk at Lindu, by a desire to “cleanse his eyes” by seeking new experiences that could break the routine of life in one place. Another Bugis emphasized how coming to Lindu released him from the burden of obligations imposed by his former official positions in South Sulawesi. In contrast to his situation in the South, where restrictions on land use were enforced by the government, here he could be “free” (*bebas*). Another man from the same region also emphasized the freedom from restrictions Lindu offered, the extensive land that could be cleared as one wished, the wood that could be obtained so easily for building. This man’s brother stressed yet another dimension in recounting his own decision to move to Lindu. Although the occupation of palm sugar processing in South Sulawesi had provided him with a meager (though steady) income, he felt impelled to leave the South only when two of his children died within twenty-five days of each other. Soon after that misfortune, he took leave of his mother and family and proceeded to Central Sulawesi to establish not simply a new livelihood—indeed, he ended up processing palm sugar once more at Lindu—but a new life,<sup>16</sup> one in which he might more readily seek good fortune.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> John M. Echols and Hassan Shadily, *Kamus Indonesia-Inggris* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition) (Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1989), p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>14</sup> Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 318. See also M. Ide Said, *Kamus Bahasa Bugis-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977), p. 209.

<sup>15</sup> All phrases and more extended passages with no citation appended to them are taken from my field notes among Bugis in Central Sulawesi covering the periods November 1980 to February 1981, July 1981 to January 1983, and January to March 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Bugis seek to change their fortune not only by such strategies as changing their location, but also by changing their names. The Bugis are by no means the only ethnic group to engage in this practice in the archipelago. Name-changing among Javanese is quite common, and for much the same reason (Valerie Hull, personal communication).

<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, of all the children this man subsequently fathered in Central Sulawesi, none has died.

### Knowledge, Witchcraft, and Fortune

Bugis do not perceive such misfortunes as the death of one's children as merely an arbitrary occurrence or even simply a bestowal of calamity by spiritual beings. Not simply a matter of capricious fate, misfortune is also a result of human efforts, and particularly human efforts at obtaining knowledge (**padisengeng** or *ilmu*). Yet, despite the possibility of such misfortune, many Bugis at Lindu emphasize that they are searching not simply for riches and experience in the *rantau*, the regions outside their homeland, but also for knowledge. Unlike the stated objectives of members of many mobile ethnic groups in Indonesia, such as the Minangkabau of West Sumatra,<sup>18</sup> the quest upon which these Bugis embark cannot simply be satisfied by formal education and social advancement. Among commoners like those at Lindu, it is often a quest for magical knowledge (*ilmu gaib*). Such knowledge encompasses methods of protecting oneself against physical and spiritual penetration by others and ways of achieving one's aims in relation to them. These techniques can be made known to learners only in the context of private sessions with a willing teacher (**guru**). The man whose children had so suddenly died claimed to be particularly adept at one aspect of such knowledge—invulnerability magic. While proud of this expertise, he also attributed all his misfortunes to it. Understanding such ambivalence requires examining some Bugis notions of knowledge.

**Padisengeng**, the term used for “knowledge” among the Bugis of Lindu, derives from the root **iseng**, “[to] know or be acquainted with.”<sup>19</sup> To know something (**misengi**) is distinguished from being clever or accomplished in some endeavor (**macca**). Whereas the latter concerns competence at some skill—linguistic, physical, or intellectual—or in the pursuit of some livelihood, “knowing” something is a different issue, a matter of understanding (**akkaleng**).<sup>20</sup> However, knowledge can be dangerous. Often talked about as if it were a transmissible substance, knowledge can be sent to affect people in various ways, including making them ill or perhaps killing them. Even the transmission of knowledge in the learning situation can be a hazardous undertaking.

For the Bugis, witchcraft is not innate; it is learned. Although they may speak of it as a matter of descent (*keturunan*), it is not transmitted automatically through the blood or by any other physical means. Rather, the apparent lines of descent arise from the likelihood (at times the necessity) that a parent will teach the techniques of witchery and ensorcellment to his or her child. However, most often a young person goes forth seeking teachers of knowledge beyond the family. Such teachers may be relatives (**seajing**) or unrelated (**to laing é**, literally “other people”), famous or unknown, noble or commoner. Most importantly, they are known to control certain sorts of knowledge,

<sup>18</sup> Despite the avowed commercial orientation of the Minangkabau, the emphasis on acquiring experience and knowledge as a motivation for leaving one's homeland (*merantau*) also reveals an orientation to wider concerns. See Mochtar Naim, *Merantau: Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1984).

<sup>19</sup> Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 902; Said, *Kamus Bahasa Bugis*, p. 83.

<sup>20</sup> **Akkaleng**, like its cognate Indonesian *akal*, is a notoriously difficult term to translate. Such glosses as “reason” invoke a Western tradition where Reason is opposed to Will and Emotion, contrasts that do not permeate Bugis usages in quite the same manner. “Intelligence” is more general, but perhaps too intellectual. “Understanding” as a faculty is closer, but perhaps the Greek term *nous* captures more of the active purposefulness of the term.

whether love magic, invulnerability magic, or other types, and are willing to transmit that knowledge.

Such knowledge cannot be taught publicly. Its transmission requires a **taréka**<sup>21</sup> session, a one-to-one meeting between learner and teacher. Such a tutorial is preferably conducted in an isolated, uninhabited setting, whether a field hut or abandoned house or even a graveyard. The preferred time is a Thursday night, the night preceding the day of mosque service, when spirits, alternately termed **sétang** (“maleficent spirits”), **tau alusu** (“invisible persons”), or **tanrita** (literally, “the not-to-be-seen”) are most likely to be lurking in the vicinity. There the particular spells and associated techniques and restrictions that the learner seeks are revealed once the recipient has assumed a properly receptive stance. Such receptivity involves not only the proper attitude, but also a set of physical preconditions: the pupil must be sitting on a white cloth and wearing a black felt cap (*songkok*), and clenching a needle in his or her teeth. The learner must also make a payment for such knowledge, usually taken in the form of a set fee. Such fees range from Rp.5000 for a love magic spell at the lower end of the scale to a water buffalo or equivalent (now worth as much as Rp.5,000,000) for the more powerful forms of invulnerability magic. Without such payment the spells are said to be ineffective.

Unfortunately, one doesn’t always get what one pays for. Instead of obtaining the specific knowledge he or she is seeking, the unsuspecting pupil may end up receiving instead the knowledge of the **poppo**<sup>22</sup> or the **parrakang**. Both **poppo**’ and **parrakang** may be glossed as sorts of witches.<sup>23</sup> Whereas the **parrakang** reportedly roams about seeking to satisfy its craving to eat the viscera of victims, the **poppo**’ is often described simply as stealing objects, such as jewelry, fruit, or chickens, though it too possesses the capacity to render victims ill or even to kill them. In addition, whereas the **parrakang** is terrestrially bound, the **poppo**’ can fly and is identifiable by its telltale sound—“po’po’po’po’ ...”—when flitting about. The **poppo**’ essentially remains a human being that can, nevertheless, fly, whereas the **parrakang** is transformed into a semi-ethereal being with some of the same characteristics as a **sétang**. Indeed, that is why the **parrakang** can penetrate a victim’s viscera and eat its way out from within.

In an interesting structural inversion, whereas the **parrakang** remains an intact human being that eats other people’s viscera, the **poppo**’ does not regale itself in the same way. Instead, the **poppo**’ must remove and store its own viscera (usually in the attic of the house) before being able to fly and attack others. The following story I collected of an unsuspecting Bugis man who married a wife from the village of Sawitto who turned out to be a **poppo**’—indeed, another informant described Sawitto as a village whose population consisted entirely of **poppo**’—illustrates this characteristic, as well as teaching how to deal with these witches:

<sup>21</sup> In this context, the term **taréka**’ has little to do with gaining access to proper Islamic learning or to mystical brotherhoods or regimens. It refers specifically to this one-to-one encounter with a teacher for the transmission of such esoteric knowledge as magical spells. Cf. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 356; Echols and Shadily, *Kamus Indonesia*, p. 554.

<sup>22</sup> In Kaili, the local language of the Palu Valley and the lingua franca of the hinterland in which Lindu is located, and in the national language Bahasa Indonesia, the cognate term **popo** is used to refer to this sort of being. Among the Bugis, the alternative term **peppo**’ is used in some regions.

<sup>23</sup> Matthes defines **peppo**’ as “a female tormenting spirit” (*een vrouwelijke kwelgeest*), so named after the sound she makes. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 99.

When it was the middle of the night, the man's wife began to get jumpy, as she already wanted to fly off. When her husband had fallen asleep, she took a "Dutch wife" [i.e. a bolster] and covered it with her *sarung*, laying it down beside her husband. When he first awoke in the middle of the night, he got up and wondered why his wife had become a pillow. So he took counsel with himself and formed a plan. Another night he pretended to sleep, snoring loudly, but he was actually observing his wife. He saw her climb on top of the house, which then shook, and then he heard the sound "po'po'po' ... " He then took some boiling water and climbed to the rice barn/attic (**rakkiang**). He saw there a small cooking pot with his wife's stomach in it, as she would not be able to fly were her stomach not removed. So he took the boiling water and poured it all over the stomach. When it was almost daybreak, his [now returned] wife said to her stomach, "Come into your place. Do not enter it wrongly." Her husband then said, "Why do you tell it to go in? I have already poured boiling water on it." His wife then died.

The knowledge of the **poppo'** that is transmitted in the learning session is described as penetrating the self (**alé**) or body (**wattakkalé**) of the learner without the recipient being aware (*sadar*) of what is happening.<sup>24</sup> The knowledge of a **parrakang** may also be obtained in such unsuspecting fashion. As one informant put it:

There is no special training in order to become a **parrakang**. In fact, one becomes a **parrakang** quite without knowing it. For example, when a woman<sup>25</sup> wants to study how to weave quickly to finish her sarongs, she does not know she has become a **parrakang**, but when she thinks she is asleep, her spirit [**sumange**]<sup>26</sup> is wandering around as a **parrakang**.

Becoming a **parrakang** is a matter of the appropriate kind of knowledge entering one's flesh, after which one cannot help but act as a witch of this sort. In contrast, one can explicitly request a **taréka'** session in order to become a **poppo'**:

One way of studying to become a **poppo'** is to be taken to a large tree with a teacher standing on one side, while the learner stands on the other. The teacher asks whether the learner can see him or her. If the learner responds "no," the teacher pierces the tree with a needle and then asks again. This is repeated until

<sup>24</sup> Matthes provides a phrase illustrating this process: **nadilalengini padisengeng-peppo' ri alénna**, "s/he is already penetrated by the knowledge of the **poppo'** in her/his self." Matthes, *Boegineesch Woordenboek*, p. 592.

<sup>25</sup> The reasons Bugis tend to characterize **peppo'** and **parrakang** as primarily female when asked for examples (although when pressed some Bugis will admit that males can also be so transformed, especially in the case of **parrakang**) deserve further inquiry. Certainly, this identification is related to woman's status as most likely heir to the house, for it is in the house that most such attacks are believed to take place. Indeed, although a family may inhabit a house before its walls have been set in place, at least a few panels of folded-over palm fronds must first be placed so as to cover the front gable, as that area is "the path of the **poppo'**" (**lalenna poppo' é**), the passage by which it enters and leaves a domicile. Men are the ones who wander around as human beings, sailing (**masompe'**) to far lands to find a livelihood, while women are seen ideally as remaining in the house, weaving sarongs and cooking. Perhaps they are conceptualized, at least by some Bugis, only as attaining a mobility commensurate with, and hence threatening to, that of men when transformed into **parrakang** or **poppo'**.

<sup>26</sup> Although one might expect the Indonesian cognate term *semangat* to be used as an equivalent of Bugis **sumange'** for this detachable spirit or soul, often the Bugis at Lake Lindu tended to use the Indonesian term *roh* when discussing these matters in Indonesian with me.



the student is able to see the teacher through the tree. This indicates that the person can already see into the mind [*hati*, literally the liver] of others.

More often, as in the case of receiving **padisengeng parrakang**, becoming a **poppo'** is the result of being given the "wrong knowledge" (**padisengeng sala**, also meaning "bad knowledge") when requesting to study such "good knowledge" (**padisengeng décéng**) as healing techniques.

Not only the transformations effected by such knowledge, but also the subsequent actions of the knowledgeable are presented as beyond the control of human agency or volition. As indicated in the passage above, the spirit (**sumange'**) of the person rather than the person as a whole roams about as a **parrakang**. A **poppo'** does not make the victim ill as a result of any conscious wish on the part of the person having such knowledge. Rather, the knowledge impels the person to act so. The person is simply carried away (*terbawa-bawa*) once the knowledge has penetrated her or him. The person is no longer aware (*sadar*); s/he no longer remembers (**maringerrang**). One informant even declared that the person who is the **poppo'** does not her-/himself fly, but instead a spirit familiar of the **poppo'** takes flight, while the person continues moving on the ground. Paralleling the role of the spirit of the **parrakang**, this **sétang** "fulfills the knowledge" (*memenuhi ilmunya*) of the **poppo'**. It is this **sétang** that inflicts illness upon victims, bringing about the diarrhea that causes them to die in two or three days. During this time, the actual person whose **sétang** is wreaking such devastation is unaware, as if sleeping.

Receiving the knowledge of the **parrakang** or **poppo'** certainly does not help the student attain the primary aims for which he or she originally sought instruction. Even when the desired knowledge is attained, the results may be no more conducive to realizing "good fortune." When I let it be known that I wished to study the knowledge of the **parrakang**, I was counseled to restrict myself to the two sorts of knowledge that were relatively less harmful: love magic (**padisengeng makkunrai**, literally "knowledge of [the] woman") and invulnerability magic (**padisengeng oroané**, literally "knowledge of [the] man"). Eventually, by feigning the pursuit of a widow in the capital city, I convinced one man to teach me a number of love magic spells in a **taréka'** session. Indeed, the relative ease of obtaining such spells confirmed just how relatively innocuous they were considered to be. For example, **cenning rara** (literally, "sweet of blood") are the spells allowing the practitioner to appear youthful and healthy, with an alluring bloom in her/his visage. Such spells may succeed in enticing a desired member of the other sex without producing any harmful side effects for the spell caster. Indeed, **cenning rara** and other sorts of love magic were regarded as rather common, having analogues among indigenous Central Sulawesi peoples, such as Lindu **gompj** or Kaili **inti kaderona**, the knowledge used by Kaili women to render their victims incapable of leaving the region.<sup>27</sup>

However, invulnerability magic is a type of knowledge that ineluctably results in harmful consequences for the practitioner. **Padisengeng oroané** is the knowledge that renders its user impenetrable, whether in regard to the physically intrusive

<sup>27</sup> Popular stereotypes present the Kaili area of the Palu Valley and surrounding mountains as a sort of "land of the lotus eaters." The traveler is said to be unable to forsake the area once having partaken of *daun kelor*, the leaves of the *merunggai* tree (*Moringa sp.*), which are used as a vegetable. **Inti kaderona** is the type of Kaili knowledge that exerts the same influence.

agent—dagger, bush knife, or bullet—or the spiritually invasive—the attacks of **parrakang**, **poppo'**, and other sorts of knowledge. Indeed, **padisengeng oroané** was regarded as the Bugis knowledge *par excellence*. In the view of the Bugis, the indigenous peoples of Lindu and elsewhere in Central Sulawesi would nurse their grievances once offended rather than reacting immediately to any slight or injury. After a period of festering dormancy, their desire for revenge would issue forth as **opo-opo** or **doti**, the black magic whose intention is specifically to slay its victim.<sup>28</sup> The Bugis declared that in contrast they would not harbor their shame (**siri'**); they would act directly in response to it, preferably thrusting a dagger into the offending party. Hence, the only magic for which they would have constant need is **padisengeng oroané**, calculated precisely to parry such attacks.

Unlike simple love magic, invulnerability magic is characterized as quite “hot” (**mapella**), and therefore difficult to handle. Even when it is explicitly offered to them, people (indeed, even one’s own children) may refuse to receive such knowledge, for its use entails a number of restrictions. Most importantly, a man<sup>29</sup> may not change his underpants while an active practitioner of this magic. These underpants, preferably sewn from the cloth on which the recipient was sitting while learning this magic in a **taréka'** session, are themselves considered “hot.” As an expression of their heat, these pants will stand for no congeners, no competitors, and are likened to a person who is always fighting, sharpening his bush knife, perpetually on the lookout for opponents to engage in contests and thus prove that nobody can defeat him. Such pants will not allow the practitioner to wear another pair, as if these underpants could admit no sartorial peer. Yet, as in the case of witchcraft, the practitioner is not fully aware (*sadar*) of this attitude. Even if he has the money, he simply does not remember (**maringerrang**) to buy any other clothes.

Just as the **poppo'** may be unaware of the influence its spirit or **sétang**-familiar exercises upon others, so the practitioner of invulnerability magic does not himself parry the attacks of others. Rather, he is protected by his shadow (**to lotong**, literally “the black one”).<sup>30</sup> If a person feels threatened by **doti** or similarly malevolent knowledge sent by others (**to laing é**), he summons his shadow to act as his protector, using a spell such as the following:

Oh, Black One, Great One in the midst of the world, you guard me day and night; the slave of the Lord God pays homage to Him. If there is a person intending evil against me, awaken me; if I am being washed away, bring me close [to shore]; if I am drowning, cause me to float. I, the slave of the Lord God, pay homage in this world and in the world to come [literally, “arriving at the day that is beyond”]. Thanks be to God the All-Powerful, whose Messenger is Mohammed.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, pp. 391-392; Albertus C. Kruyt, “De zwarte kunst in den Banggaai-archipel en in Balantak,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 72 (1932): 727-741.

<sup>29</sup> While also available to women, **padisengeng oroané** was usually associated with the desires and practices of men, just as **padisengeng parrakang** tended to be associated with women.

<sup>30</sup> Although the equation was never explicitly made for me, a person’s spirit (**sumange'**) was often described in terms that paralleled those of a **to lotong**, especially in regard to its ability to wander freely on its own.

<sup>31</sup> The original Bugis spell runs as follows: O La Bolong, La Maraja ri laleng lino, iko mampirika' esso wenni, atanna Puang Ala Ta'ala massompa lao ri alénna. Ko engka tau kira-kira maja'ka', tedduka'; ko

Thus beckoned, and properly subordinated to Allah, the shadow will destroy any evil knowledge directed against the person commanding the shadow. If the person is to be stabbed, only the shadow, rather than the practitioner's body, will be struck by the blade.<sup>32</sup> A person is advised to summon the shadow to perform this protective function especially when she or he is about to fall asleep, for that is the time when one's spirit is inclined to wander by itself and is thus most vulnerable to the incursions of knowledge sent by others.

**Padisengeng oroané** may thus render the adept invulnerable to the assaults of others' knowledge. However, its use also has an unfortunate side effect. Any enterprise undertaken by a user is bound to fail: the practitioner cannot obtain good fortune. The palm sugar manufacturer earlier mentioned attributed the death of his children in the South to his practice of invulnerability magic. When, within a period of only a few weeks at Lindu, another informant lost two cows and a horse and then was forced to abandon his boat's motor to the waters when inadvertently encountering the guardian spirit of the lake, who had apparently caused a whirlpool to engulf his boat, his wife attributed the string of misfortunes to his continual indulgence in such magic and threatened to divorce him if he didn't throw it away (**mabbiang**).<sup>33</sup> This man had frequently prided himself on his ability to send against others the knowledge that caused them to itch uncontrollably when they failed to do his bidding, withheld something from him, or were suspected of committing a theft or other transgressions. Rendered invulnerable to the incursions of others, the practitioner of such knowledge seems impervious also to the bestowal of good fortune.

Bugis notions of fortune as a substance offered and their beliefs concerning the appropriate attitude one must adopt in order to receive this "substance" properly inform numerous domains of Bugis thought. Just why resistance to penetration by bullet, knife, or knowledge should entail an inability to encounter or receive good fortune<sup>34</sup> rests upon notions of the body as an organizing metaphor of Bugis culture. For the Bugis world is a world of correspondences, where not only structures but also modes of action are modeled on a number of basic assemblages.

### The Body as Organizing Metaphor

In the world as conceived by the Bugis, many structures, both abstract and physical, are modeled on the notion of the body (**alé**).<sup>35</sup> For example, the system of kin

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**malika', parapéka'; ko tellenga', pakkawanga'. Ia' atanna Puang Ala Ta'ala massompa ri lino lettu ri esso ri munri. Barakka' la ilaha ilela Mohammadam rasulullah.**

<sup>32</sup> The Bugis customary prohibition (**pémmali**) against felling a tree from a position that causes one's shadow to fall upon the tree is obviously related to this notion of the shadow being a part of oneself that can directly receive blows.

<sup>33</sup> Greg Acciaioli, "How to Win Followers and Influence Spirits: Propitiation and Participation in a Multi-Ethnic Community of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Anthropological Forum* 6,2 (1990): 218-223.

<sup>34</sup> The Bugis are not unique in the archipelago in espousing this view of the operation of knowledge and its consequences. For example, in East Java individuals believe that if a person makes an offering at Gunung Kawi, the object of one's request at the time may very well be obtained, but other aspects of one's fortune are bound to suffer. Such compensatory balancing of fortune and misfortune was believed to be exemplified when the family of the entrepreneur who established Bentoel cigarettes suffered a number of deaths after he undertook a pilgrimage to Gunung Kawi.

<sup>35</sup> Errington, "Embodied Sumange' in Luwu," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42,3 (1983): 545-570.

terminology expresses successive ascending and descending generations beyond the three generations spanning the relationship of grandchild (**eppo**) and grandparent (**néné'**) by adding qualifiers that symbolically move down the body:

<b>eppo ri wakkang</b>	grandchild from the lap	ChCh
<b>eppo ri uttu</b>	grandchild from the knee	ChChCh
<b>eppo ri wettampiti</b>	grandchild from the thickness of the calf	ChChChCh
<b>eppo ri lebo ajé</b>	grandchild from the instep of the foot	ChChChChCh
<b>eppo ri pale' ajé</b>	grandchild from the sole of the foot	ChChChChChCh
<b>eppo ri sarompéang</b>	grandchild from what is scraped along the sides [i.e. in the interface with the ground] <sup>36</sup>	ChChChChChChChCh

Similarly, the structure of the house is conceived as a body.<sup>37</sup> In a house-consecration (**macéra bola**) rite, a shaman (**sanro**) directs the offerings of the four varieties of sticky rice—white, black, red, and yellow—not only to the navel of the house (**posi bola**), but also to the four surrounding houseposts that define the extent of the “body of the house” (**alé bola**). These offerings to the defining points of the “body of the house” precisely parallel the offerings to the four elder siblings who preceded the emergence of a newborn in the released amniotic fluid of birth,<sup>38</sup> as given in the **pénré tojang** rite to celebrate the first time that a child is separated from its parents to sleep alone in a hammock made from a suspended sarong. Thus, the bodies of living creatures and

<sup>36</sup> Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 792; cf. Said, *Kamus Bugis*, p. 64, a less complete listing with some errors in transcription. The same body locators can be added to terms for ascending generations of ancestral grandparents, as the specifiers are reciprocal. It is not fortuitous that the system of kin terminology reaches to the seventh ascending and descending generations with its body template. Just as four (and, with an added center or navel, the number five) connotes wholeness in **assalamakeng** rites and other contexts, so the number seven expresses completeness in cosmological schemes. For example, the sacred spring at Juara in Boné, South Sulawesi, contains seven types of water, corresponding to seven colors: **makudara** (green), **magau** (blue), **maridi** (yellow), **macella** (red), **makamumu** (purple), **maputé** (white), **sikola'** (brown). (Interestingly, black is not included in this list, leading me to surmise that this listing may have been extemporaneously constructed for my benefit.) When the Bugis man who had lost his livestock and boat motor prepared his first offering to the spirit of the lake after his string of misfortunes, he insisted on seven kinds of rice-porridge for this offering. In fact, many magical practices depend upon actions performed in groups of seven. If one wishes to counteract another's anger, one should take seven steps backward, for that will neutralize one's opponent by allowing her/his anger to run its full course before any blows are launched, just as Hawa (i.e. Eve) was taken from Adam's seventh rib (this juxtaposition was my informant's). If an opponent's eyes flash seven times, her/his anger will subside and all will turn out well. The medicine made from a mixture of water and the seventh drop of blood from a woman's vagina during her delivery is an especially potent concoction to ensure the smooth emergence of a baby when given to another woman experiencing a difficult delivery. Ultimately, this dependence on the number seven as a sign of wholeness or completion is cosmologically based. For the Bugis believe that just as the sky has seven levels, as does the underworld, so we human beings live in the seventh level of the land between. Errington points out that her noble informant, the former **Opu Pa'Bicara** or principal minister of Luwu', described the cosmos as having seven directions: right, left, front, back, up, down, and center. Errington, “Embodied Sumange’,” p. 547.

<sup>37</sup> Shelly Errington, “The Cosmic House of the Buginese,” *Asia* 1,5 (1979): 8-14; cf. Christian Pelras, “La Maison Bugis: Formes, Structures, et Fonctions,” *Asie du Sud-est et le monde Insulindien* 6,2 (1975): 61-100.

<sup>38</sup> The notion of the four spiritual siblings of the child is a common one throughout the archipelago. Anthony Forge mentions a cognate notion from Bali, the **kanda mpat**. Anthony Forge, “Tooth and Fang in Bali,” *Canberra Anthropology* 3,1 (1980): 9.

houses are similarly “animated,” each with its own **sumange’** and each subject to the same sorts of incursions. Just as a person’s **sumange’** may fly away when the person is subjected to an unexpected shock—a condition labeled **asséddingeng**<sup>39</sup>—so the **sétang** that guard a house may forsake it when the house is subject to influences contrary to its proper condition. When a bitch gave birth to a litter of puppies inside one Bugis family’s house, the household head had to sponsor the whole sequence of ceremonies prescribed when a house is first occupied to propitiate the offended spirit guardians of the house. Had he neglected these rituals, his family would have been subject to the misfortunes that had befallen others who had neglected to perform the proper set of rites to purify a house rendered unclean (**macarépa** or **marota’**).

The house is thus not only guarded by particular spirits, but it is also a receptacle whose condition is crucial to determining whether or not its occupants can be the recipients of good fortune. When another householder was discussing the extensions he planned for his house, he emphasized that the house could only be expanded in certain directions. This orientation for expansion was not determined by an objective grid based on some criterion independent of all specific locales,<sup>40</sup> but was specified in relation to the significant sources of “good fortune” at Lindu. Doors to the house must not open by swinging out “against” the wet-rice field adjacent to the domicile nor “against” the lake or streams feeding into it, for that would be to close off the good fortune that flowed from these sources, whether manifested as an abundance of rice or a plethora of fish.

### The Flow of Knowledge: Good Fortune as Vector

A similar emphasis pervades the Bugis concern with maintaining one’s own body in proper orientation. For example, the people who sleep facing to the north are protected from being struck by others’ knowledge, for they are already regarded as dead. If someone is struck with an illness when sleeping in this position, it will pass quickly. If people sleep facing to the east, in order to avoid misfortune their feet must be placed at an angle so that they are not stepping on the direction of Mecca (*kiblat*). When sleeping in a boat, people should lie down initially facing Mecca to the west (**mangolo urai**), though the direction to which they ultimately are brought by the motions of the sea does not matter.

In such notions, both fortune and knowledge are presented as vectors, directed flows to which the recipient must be properly oriented to receive or parry. Such a characterization of good fortune is not usually associated with the Bugis. In her analysis of the concept of potency, Errington presents the image of **sumange’** as “cosmic energy [that] suffuses and animates the world.”<sup>41</sup> This energy is concentrated

<sup>39</sup> Errington, “Embodied Sumange’,” p. 548.

<sup>40</sup> The Bugis language does distinguish the cardinal directions north, south, east, and west. Although these derive from terms that literally indicate upridge and downridge as the basic axis, like the Balinese direction terms **kaja** and **kelod** (David Stuart Fox, personal communication), Bugis **maniang** “south” (literally, “go upwards”) and **manorang** “north” (literally, “go downwards”) are now used as cardinal direction indicators independent of any geographical landmarks or differences in altitude.

<sup>41</sup> Errington, “Embodied Sumange’,” p. 545. Christian Pelras largely accepts this characterization in his notion of *sumange’* as the “individual’s vital energy.” Christian Pelras, *The Bugis, The Peoples of South-East Asia and The Pacific* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 200.

differentially in persons, objects, and places of greater or lesser potency (e.g. to a greater degree in nobles than in commoners). As my description of usages surrounding **sumange'** indicates, the Bugis at Lake Lindu espoused no such animatistic<sup>42</sup> notion of **sumange'**. Rather than persons, objects, or places being loci of differing amounts of an impersonalized energy, each such entity possesses an individualized **sumange'**, a notion exemplifying the traditional theory of animism<sup>43</sup> in its emphasis on individual souls. Among the Bugis of Lindu, the **sumange'** is likened to an image, but an ethereal (**alusu'**) one of the object it animates. The **sumange'** is thus the image of oneself perceived in dreams. Not only the person as a whole, but even the parts of the individual could each have their own **sumange'**. For example, if two youths are fated to become marriage partners (*jodoh*), then the **sumange'** of the girl's clitoris (**céllé-céllé**) will climb the steps of the house of the boy, making the distinctive sound "**cikuka**." The **sumange'** of the male's penis (**lasso**) responds with "Thanks be to God!" (*syukur*). The spirit of the woman's clitoris then returns to her house, as the woman then can confidently wait for the actual marriage proposal from the man.<sup>44</sup>

However, Bugis at Lindu did speak of **dallé'** in a manner that corresponded more closely to some aspects of undifferentiated energy. As the concern with orientation—both bodily and residential—indicates, these Bugis treated it very much as a flow, one that could be blocked or admitted, rejected or received. It had magnitude, the measure of which could be in part controlled by particular modes of acting. For example, some Bugis warned of overindulgence in **lawa cappa' utti**, a dish of young banana blossoms mixed with roasted grated coconut and vinegar, tamarind, or dried mango. By their reasoning, just as the banana blossoms shrink as the fruit grows, so one's good fortune will dwindle if one indulges in such fare too often. When determining where the navel-post of a new house should be placed, the house-shaman (**sanro bola**) must place a small piece of wood or bamboo in the ground three times. If, after such placement, the piece is found to have extended its length, the good fortune of the householder will be sure to increase if his house is centered at that spot. However, unlike diffuse energy that can be differentially concentrated, good fortune was described as a flow with a definite direction, one requiring a specific stance to receive it. It is thus, like knowledge, a vector that requires a particular orientation for its reception. Just as learning **padisengeng** requires the specific context of the **taréka'** elicitation session, so obtaining good fortune requires a certain approach to life, one emphasizing a receptivity both active and passive.

<sup>42</sup> Robert R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion* (London: Methuen, 1909).

<sup>43</sup> Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom* (2 volumes) (Boston, MA: Estes and Lauriat, 1871).

<sup>44</sup> Even Errington's own descriptions at times also argue for an animistic rather than an animatistic conception of **sumange'**: "The house has its own **sumange'**: the spirit that hovers at the navel-post, called the Ampo Banua (roughly, 'lord of the house')." Errington, "Embodied Sumange'," p. 547. Also, "... until the stump falls off, the baby's navel is not yet sealed over; the baby's **sumange'** will fly away." Errington, "Embodied Sumange'," p. 554. It is an individualized spirit that can be named or fly off, not a concentration of cosmic energy. However, as has been suggested by Roxana Waterson (personal communication) and others, nobles may very well argue for a concept of power or soul as an undifferentiated mass of which they share a greater portion, thus justifying their elevated social positions, while commoners may tend to argue for the qualitatively and quantitatively similar spiritual essence of each individual, thus negating the claims of nobles to greater power. The divergence between the conceptions of Errington's noble informants in Luwu' and those of my commoner informants at Lindu is thus to be expected on such grounds.

Obtaining good fortune is not simply the result of having the appropriate knowledge. On the contrary, knowledge can block the entry of good fortune. As noted above, whereas **padisengeng oroané** shields its practitioner from penetration by physical or spiritual means, it also ensures failure in all undertakings, whether raising a family, conducting a business enterprise, or whatever. It thus engenders the state termed **cilaka**, the condition of perpetual misfortune affecting not only the possessor of such knowledge, but also those with whom s/he associates, especially a spouse and children. Although the mechanics of this linkage were never explicitly elaborated for me, the logic of the analogies here presented indicates that the erection of a fence (*pagar*<sup>45</sup>) by such knowledge to repel the incursions of others also entails repulsing whatever good fortune might be flowing toward the adept. Just as closing the windows and doors of a house while eating<sup>46</sup> repels the incursions of others' knowledge, which might well be directed at a person during this vulnerable period, so rendering the body closed to attack also renders the person unable to receive the good fortune headed that way. Indeed, it transforms the individual into a certain kind of person.

### Good Fortune and Good-for-Nothings: Vagabondage and Invulnerability

As one informant phrased it, only the **tau laosala** can successfully practice **padisengeng oroané**. However, as the logic of the situation often reveals, the practice of invulnerability magic often transmutes a person into a **tau laosala** or **tau laolao**. Literally "those who go wrong[ly]" or "those who gad about [aimlessly]," these **tau laosala** are the community's vagabonds and rogues, those who flit hither and thither without any fixed abode or specific work, in short without any purpose in life. **Tau laosala**—most often youths in their teens and twenties—are the men without a home who attach themselves to a different household every few weeks. They typically would share a portion of the proceeds from their fishing with the head of the household in which they were residing in return for some meals and floor space in which to sleep. Fishing one week here, horse-driving the next week there, helping to establish wet-rice fields the following week in yet another locale, these **tau laosala** were marked not only by their occupational inconstancy, but most saliently by their residential flux, by their not having a permanent home. Residential and commensal mobility within the community branded them as good-for-nothings, those who didn't even know where they would next eat and sleep.

Yet, however much they might denigrate the current crop of listless youths, Bugis householders recounted with raucous nostalgia their own experiences as **tau laosala**

<sup>45</sup> Errington has argued that invulnerability is not a matter of creating an impenetrable peripheral surface, but of a greater concentration of potency at the navel (**posi**) of a structure, whether a person, house, or realm. Errington, "Embodied Sumange'," p. 565. However clearly that may have been stated by nobles situated at the navel of the body politic in Luwu', the Bugis in the peripheral setting of Lindu quite explicitly talked about invulnerability in terms of creating a hard (**matedde'**) surface or fence around oneself so that bullets and magic would bounce off. Of course, such an emphasis on the power of the periphery is intelligible coming from informants in a migrant community, who would consider the socio-geographic periphery as important as, if not more significant than, the center.

<sup>46</sup> Meals are a time of particular vulnerability due to the lack of concentration directed to the outside world by those partaking of food, as well as due to the opening of the mouth, an aperture of potential penetration into the body.

when they were younger. Whether boasting about their ability to guzzle palm wine or to stay up all night (**madoja**)<sup>47</sup> gambling, they were eager to emphasize their prowess in such activities and to declare themselves champions (*jago*, literally “cock”) in such undertakings. The man who had lost his boat motor in his encounter with the guardian spirit of the lake was particularly keen to recount how he could deceive others during the years he wandered around Kalimantan and East Malaysia while in the army, picking up six wives in the process (all suitably married and then divorced, he was quick to add). One time he was especially thirsty after a long walk in South Kalimantan. After eyeing the young coconuts in one family houseyard and pondering how he might obtain some, he dropped some “medicine” (*obat*) into the family’s well that soon induced bouts of fearsome diarrhea. Shortly thereafter, he passed by their house, inquired about their apparent ill health, and offered his services as a healer (**sanro**), who by chance was carrying a proper remedy (*anti*) with him. This medicine he was willing to administer for the modest fee of a few young coconuts. By this means, he obtained not only the immediately desired coconuts, but also the local reputation as a healer that served to ensure a continual supply of such rewards. Such is the behavior deemed typical for the **tau laosala**.

Being a **tau laosala** is not merely a matter of behavior; it is also a matter of knowledge. And the knowledge most closely associated with the **tau laosala** is invulnerability magic or **padisengeng oroané**, the “knowledge of the male.” Most every Bugis man at Lindu would regale willing listeners with stories of his own feats when still practicing the “knowledge of the male” or the marvelous achievements of some relative or associate who was the *jago* nonpareil in using such knowledge. One man from Sidenreng-Rappang talked endlessly of Usman Balo, a guerrilla leader during the *gerombolan*, the period of “banditry” ushered in by Qahhar Muzakkar’s Islamic secessionist rebellion in South Sulawesi.<sup>48</sup> Usman Balo constantly eluded the government forces seeking him (and still managed to attract over one hundred wives while on the move). Another man told of a cousin in Jakarta who would sprout a third testicle as a sign of how bold (**warani**) he was whenever he was angry. His whole body would then become like a rock. A relative of this man never tired of relating the

<sup>47</sup> Once again Errington’s characterization of **madoja** (**maroja** in the Luwu’ dialect) contrasts starkly with the ethos I encountered at Lindu. Among the nobles of Luwu’ with whom she resided, **maroja** was seen as an active maintenance of alertness throughout the potentially dangerous time of the night in order to guard or care for a person in an imperiled state, whether a newborn child in its third night after birth, an ill person, or someone about to enter the married state. Appropriate activity for the vigil included listening to the “I La Galigo” epic recited by a high-ranking noble, within whose circle of potency commoners could feel sheltered. Although the Bugis fisher folk at Lindu also pulled all-nighters on the eve of such ceremonies as weddings, boat- and house-consecrations, and the **pénré tojang** rite for babies, they considered them an opportunity for communal cooking and gossip (among the women) and all-night gambling binges (among the men), punctuated by leisurely indulgence in cookies and coffee, rather than as situations requiring collective vigilance to shield from intrusive harm a person or an object about to undergo a major transition. One is reminded of the analogous contrast on Java between the courtly dances of Surakarta and Yogyakarta marking installations and other important, and hence potentially dangerous, transitions in the courts with the boisterous processions of Sundanese commoners before circumcisions and similar events in West Java. Randal Baier, “Sundanese *Kuda Renggong*: Processions and Dancing Horses in Sundanese Village Celebrations” (unpublished paper presented at the conference “Vital Arts of Southeast Asia,” Fifth Annual Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, February 20-21, 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Harvey, “Tradition, Islam and Rebellion.”



exploits of Bolong Manyala, so named because half of his body was black (**bolong**) while the other half was white like lightning flashing (**manyala**). This figure was particularly expert at repulsing bullets:

If the government wanted to kill him, he could become invisible to them, even if he was only one meter away. Once the army was searching for him in Takkalar district. He was awakened by a woman of the household [in which he was then staying] and told of the soldiers' coming. Although they passed each other on the stairs, Bolong Manyala made it out of the house. If the stairs had been any narrower, they would have run into each other. He then appeared in a place a little way off, yelling "If it is Bolong Manyala you are after, here I am!" The soldiers shot at him and saw his body fall, but when they went to inspect his body, he appeared in another spot and bellowed the same taunt. All in all, he delivered the same challenge to the army three times. He had a head of stone<sup>49</sup> and did not want to be controlled by the government at all.

Despite the adulation directed toward such figures, mature Bugis men recognized that the **tau laosala** represented a stage in the life cycle that eventually had to be transcended. The **tau laosala** who command a wealth of invulnerability magic are perpetually in a condition of **cilaka**, that circumstance of life where no endeavor undertaken can succeed. (Even the *gerombolan* eventually failed!) In order to emerge from such a condition of perpetual fiasco, the adept would have to throw away (**mabbiang**) such knowledge in order to become a respected householder who could carry through projects to a successful conclusion, who was not simply a "lazy person" (**tau kuttu**), but knew how to work (**majama**). Even Bolong Manyala was described as relinquishing his boldness when he later became "aware" (*sadar*). No longer a *jago*, he turned to practicing right knowledge (**padisengeng décéng**) as a healer. The awareness of a mature person is usually referred to in Bugis as remembering (**maringerrang**), of being able to focus (**matuju**) one's thoughts. And what is remembered is primarily a matter of place.

### Remembering Place: Moving and Staying Put in Social Life

The Bugis term **onro**, which is most often glossed as "place," is marked by both geographical and social connotations. The definition in M. Ide Said's dictionary of spoken Bugis identifies both physical location (*tempat*) and social status or rank (*derajat*, literally "degree," and *pangkat*, "social position") as meanings of **onro**.<sup>50</sup> Matthes's dictionary begins its entry<sup>51</sup> with a number of derived verbal forms that emphasize keeping one's whereabouts constant or a general physical stasis. For example, **monroi daranna**, literally "her blood remains," signifies that a woman is not menstruating, thus implying that she is pregnant. However, the signification of the term in relation to social status also emerges in other forms he cites, such as **to mangonrong**, a debt slave.

<sup>49</sup> The term *kepala batu* in Indonesian connotes both lamentable stubbornness and commendable persistence.

<sup>50</sup> Said, *Kamus Bugis*, p. 142.

<sup>51</sup> Matthes, *Boeigineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 836.

Thus, like the term **empo**<sup>52</sup> used by the neighboring Makasar people, Bugis **onro** locates objects and individuals in a space that is both physical and social.

Such dual significance—one not unfamiliar to us in our own usages, such as “knowing one’s place”—accords well with the functioning of Bugis society, especially the organization of social occasions. Social status is negotiated and validated precisely in such contexts as the organization of seating arrangements at a wedding feast or a similar ceremony. As Susan Millar has shown, in such settings, physical place indexes relative rank. Ladies of higher rank sit on the upper platform at the front of the kitchen partaking of cakes, while lower status “co-workers” toil at the pots beneath them. Hosts agonize over where to seat their guests, endeavoring always to reserve the front-row seats for the guests of highest rank. Traditionally, in the Bugis-Makasar area, nobody could ever be seated on a level with the rajah. Indeed, when a carriage ordered from Europe was assembled for one of the rulers subordinate to Makassar, all agreed it was unsuitable, for the driver’s seat was higher than that of the rajah.<sup>53</sup> Physical placement thus signifies “social location.”<sup>54</sup>

Becoming aware (*sadar*) or remembering (**maringerrang**) is largely a matter of knowing one’s position and the behavior appropriate to it. It is also, however, an affair of creating this position, of negotiating for a generally recognized place in the local society, for not all social actors acknowledge or take account of the framework of social positions in the same way. When asked to classify types of people, Bugis may respond by invoking a number of schemata. The traditional system of status levels (**wari**<sup>55</sup>) is presented in standard accounts of Bugis social structure<sup>56</sup> as based on the scale of purity manifest in relative whiteness of blood as inherited from both parents. White blood symbolizes purity of pedigree in a line traced to the **to manurung**,<sup>57</sup> heavenly

<sup>52</sup> A. A. Cense and Abdoerrahim, *Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff/Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, 1979), p. 204.

<sup>53</sup> Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> Susan Bolyard Millar, *Bugis Weddings: Rituals of Social Location in Modern Indonesia*, Monograph Series 29 (Berkeley, CA: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1989).

<sup>55</sup> According to Matthes, the term **wari**’ is related to the Makasar and Bugis term **barrisi**, meaning “line” or “stroke,” “row” or “series” (Dutch *streep* or *rij*). The term is thus cognate with Indonesian *baris*, which is the gloss Said gives for the term **wari**’ in his dictionary of modern Bugis. Said also provides the translation *tuturkan*, to “relate,” “narrate,” or “tell about.” **Wari**’ thus has the sense of prescribing an unfolding narrative in a proper series. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 641; Said, *Kamus Bugis*, p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875); H. J. Friedericy, “De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* 90 (1933): 447-602; Christian Pelras, “Hiérarchie et pouvoir traditionnel en pays Wadjo,” *Archipel* 1 (1971): 169-194, and *Archipel* 2 (1971): 197-223; Pelras, *The Bugis*, pp. 168-171.

<sup>57</sup> Various scholars have interpreted the **to manurung** tales in the “I La Galigo” myth cycle as reflecting the actual origin of larger confederacies among smaller-scale Bugis communities. P. J. Kooreman explicitly advanced the theory that originally independent small village-realms (*onafhankelijke rijkjes*) controlled by elders were unified into larger domains (*regentschappen*) by the ancestors of the contemporary regents and high nobility. Contemporary historical research has confirmed that this process of consolidation into “complex chiefdoms” was already well under way by the fourteenth century. Jennifer Nourse provides an interesting variant of this cycle for Central Sulawesi, noting how it reflects the influence of Bugis-Makasar migration in the region. P. J. Kooreman, “De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden,” *De Indische Gids* 5,1 (1883): 167-200, 358-384, 482-498, 637-655, and *De Indische Gids* 5,2 (1883): 135-169; Ian A. Caldwell, “South Sulawesi A.D. 1300-1600: Ten Bugis Texts” (PhD dissertation,

beings who descended to the land in order to establish kingdoms among the Bugis in a time of chaos. This sanguineous criterion of inherited status may often provide the starting point for appraising people's status, especially by nobles who can make claim to such descent, but it is not the exclusive criterion for assessment of status.<sup>58</sup> Persons may also be evaluated by the extent to which they have mobilized their faculties of understanding (**akkaleng**) and focused their "inner" capacities (**bateng**).<sup>59</sup> As evident in the stories recounted above, people are also evaluated in terms of their command of spiritual knowledge. The Bugis who settled in the periphery at Lindu, however, most often appraised their fellows in terms of their relation to geographical place. Their assessments focused upon how much people moved about in the periphery.

Most disdained, but begrudgingly envied, were the **tau laosala**, those bold but lazy folks (**tau kuttu**) who were constantly gadding about among households in the area. Regarded with wistfully scornful tolerance, the **tau laosala** were still permitted to stay in the community precisely because they had yet to find their place. They were not, however, the only ones who disdained a fixed location. Several men were labeled **tau léccé'-léccé'**, persons always moving around. Unlike the **tau laosala**, they were constantly moving between, rather than within, communities. In each village where they stayed, they usually had a steady occupation and fixed residence. Often householders responsibly supporting families, they knew what they wanted to do, but could seemingly never find the right place to do it. One archetypical **tau léccé'-léccé'** in the Lindu community was respected both for his capabilities as a trident fisherman and for his services as a healer and performer of house consecrations (**sanro bola**), but he never seemed to settle down. Not only was his route to Lindu the most circuitous of any of the Bugis who had come to settle in the shore community, but during my stay in the field he was more often away than not, checking the piscatory prospects of other lakes on Sulawesi's northern peninsula or tending his gardens near the coast of the Strait of Makassar. This man not only followed his peripatetic life style, but enthusiastically endorsed it with the following analogy:

Think of the chicken. If it stays in only one place to feed, it only knows the food of that one place. If the food is all gone in one place, it moves to another to find food again. That's the way it is for human beings too.

His mother-in-law, who continued to run the kiosk at the family residence at Lindu, admitted her shame (**siri'**) over the protracted absences of her errant son-in-law. Though other community members might mock his continual ramblings, he was still always accorded a seat of honor at weddings and other ceremonies held at Lindu. Another example of a **tau léccé'-léccé'** was the Bugis man who had established a wet-

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The Australian National University, 1988); Jennifer W. Nourse, "Sawerigading in Strange Places: The *I La Galigo* myth in Central Sulawesi," in *Living Through Histories: Culture, History, and Social Life in South Sulawesi*, ed. Kathryn Robinson and Mukhlis Paeni (Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, in association with *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, 1998), pp. 134-150.

<sup>58</sup> Greg Acciaioli, "Distinguishing Hierarchy and Precedence: Comparing Status Distinctions in South Asia and the Austronesian World, with Special Reference to South Sulawesi," in *Precedence: Status and Social Differentiation in the Austronesian World*, ed. M. P. Vischer (Canberra: Pandanus Press, forthcoming).

<sup>59</sup> Susan Bolyard Millar, "On Interpreting Gender in Bugis Society," *American Ethnologist* 10,3 (1983) : 479-481.

rice field of more than a hectare in extent and one of the largest houses at Lindu, but moved back down to the coast in order to tend another man's ducks. Soon after, he moved yet again to the Palu Valley to follow the same line of work with another flock. By the time I was leaving the field, he was rumored to be on the verge of returning to Lindu. As another Bugis man summed him up, "**De' natentu onronna**" ("His place is not fixed").

Contrasted with these perpetual wayfarers were the **tau monro onro**, the "persons who stay in (a) place." Among the Bugis at Lindu, this label had far different connotations than one might expect, given its meanings in South Sulawesi. While investigating patron-client relations in Soppeng, formerly a minor kingdom and today still very much a showcase regency for development projects and other activities in the Bugis heartland, Millar discovered that local leaders (**tau matoa**, i.e. "elders") were evaluated according to how many **tau monro onro** they could mobilize. Initially glossing these **tau monro onro** as "people located in the space," Millar proceeded to characterize them more fully as "followers who locate themselves under the influence of a tau matoa, where they can enjoy the certainty generated by the tau matoa's superior ability to gauge the *bateng* of others and to know what is appropriate in all situations."<sup>60</sup> In her interpretation of the term, Millar thus accentuated the social notion of followership, of being encompassed in the space dominated by a recognized leader.

However, the Bugis of Lindu accorded the term **tau monro onro** a very different signification and significance. Quite simply, a **tau monro onro** was one who remained at a place, who stayed put in a specific geographical location. In this usage, the **tau monro onro** was placed in opposition to and contrasted with the itinerant **tau laosala** and the **tau léccé'-léccé'**; such a person was identified as a settler *par excellence*, rather than as a follower contrasted with a leader. However, being a **tau monro onro** does not entail taking root permanently in a community. In fact, the **tau monro onro** was contrasted with the **tau matette'**, "a person who is settled or fixed (*tetap*)," also called the **tau mapong**,<sup>61</sup> "a person who takes root." Such a person remains permanently in a place, living to see her/his grandchildren grow up there. In contrast, to be a **tau monro onro** only requires settling down for a period long enough to harvest the good fortune (**dallé'** or *rejeki*) that a place may offer to the occupant. One Bugis elder, who had settled in a community in the Palu Valley from which some Bugis families had proceeded to Lindu, put it as follows, in a passage he explicitly labeled a piece of advice (**pangaja'**) to migrants:

<sup>60</sup> Millar, "On Interpreting Gender," p. 480.

<sup>61</sup> The Bugis root **pong** encompasses a number of related meanings that often form a complex in this culture area. It may signify "trunk," "tree," or "financial capital," among other meanings. Specifically, it may refer to the bottommost part of the trunk. It is also used to signify the lowest part of a branch, the section that is closest to the trunk. This basic meaning can be extended to encompass such related notions as "origin," "source," "spring," "beginning," "base," "ground," "essence." Derived terms, such as **apongeng** ("origin"), often signify these more abstract meanings. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, pp. 87-89; Said, *Kamus Bugis*, p. 157. **Pong** is thus the Bugis reflex of the "origin" root for all the structures of precedence found throughout the Indonesian archipelago and the wider Austronesian world, linking to all the metaphoric dualities that depend upon contrasts between trunk and tip, center and periphery. See, for example, Elizabeth Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange among the Mambai of East Timor* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) and Vischer, *Precedence: Status, and Social Differentiation*.

If you go wandering, you must wait five years to see whether you encounter good fortune. If you stay for one year and want to move on, so will the fortune in your life be unsettled. If you stay for three years, then the coconut trees you planted will not yet have yielded their fruit. If you stay five years, then there will already be fruit.

One of his classificatory grandsons, evidently having taken such advice to heart, justified his own resolute persistence at Lindu, despite the opportunities offered elsewhere, in words that expressed the contumely typically heaped upon perpetual wanderers by the **tau monro onro** settled at Lindu:

One shouldn't always be influenced by reports of how good things are in another place. For example, if one plants a vegetable like eggplant [here in Kanawu] and then hears how fertile it is in Tomado, one might be influenced to uproot it and plant it there. Then hearing how things are in Anca, one might uproot it again to plant it there. One then does the same thing when one hears how good it is in Kangkuro. Finally, one ends up with nothing more than a dead vegetable. Such is the fate of a person who doesn't settle down.<sup>62</sup>

However, being left with a dead vegetable on one's hands is not the only misfortune that could result from failing to persist in properly rooted endeavors. Even the failure to exploit fully the possibilities of a place or situation is perilous.

### Transgressing Place: The Swollen Belly

To leave a place prematurely, rejecting with disdain the (potential) benefits proffered, puts a person at risk of incurring the condition labeled **mabusung**. In the Bugis **lontara'**<sup>63</sup> manuscripts, **mabusung** refers to the swollen belly,<sup>64</sup> often fatal, with which a person is afflicted as a spiritually induced punishment for failing to show proper respect toward a superior, whether a deity, departed ancestor, or a living rajah or other high noble. Indeed, the courtly **lontara'** manuscripts customarily begin with the invocation "May I not be afflicted with a swollen belly ..." (**aja' umabusung**<sup>65</sup>), for the recitation of ancestral names in the genealogies that comprise the bulk of such texts can be interpreted by the ancestral spirits as an act of impudence.<sup>66</sup> Errington has nicely epitomized such a traditional context of **mabusung**:

<sup>62</sup> The contrast between my **tau léccé'-léccé'** informant's plucky chicken, foraging ever farther afield for new sources of food, and this **tau monro onro** informant's hapless horticulturist, dragging around his wilted vegetable, epitomizes the variant evaluations that members of these two categories of persons accorded to perpetual relocation in search of good fortune.

<sup>63</sup> As the name **lontara'** indicates, Bugis manuscripts were originally incised on lontar palm leaves. Most all such manuscripts still in use have been transcribed into notebooks with regular paper, although all such writings—almanacs, genealogies, chronicles, origin tales, etc.—are still referred to by the term **lontara'**.

<sup>64</sup> The term can, however, also refer to the visible condition of pregnancy, with no connotations of anticipated difficulties or death.

<sup>65</sup> Caldwell, "South Sulawesi."

<sup>66</sup> Using the given name of an individual is a highly disrespectful act, for it indicates the speaker regards the addressee or subject as still a child. When possible, titles taken either from the rank system or some office held should be used. Commoners with no such sobriquets to boast of usually resort to teknonyms

A lower person who has direct inappropriate contact with forces too potent for his or her own potency will become afflicted with malady or misfortune. Such a state of affliction is called **mabusung**. So, for instance, a person who looked directly at the ruler, especially into his eyes, would suffer **mabusung**; so would a person who failed to get off a horse or close an umbrella when passing in front of a high noble's house.<sup>67</sup>

Among the Bugis of Lindu, however, the state of **mabusung**, which manifests through a variety of symptoms, with death as the likely outcome, results from somewhat different sorts of encounters and entails divergent realizations of misfortune. Three incidents at Lindu were commonly cited to exemplify the causes, content, and consequences of **mabusung**. The death of the woman Jumalia<sup>68</sup> was described by one informant in the following terms:

Jumalia had been sick for some time before she died in the middle of last year. She had first vomited a half pail of blood in Sadaonta, when [her husband] Abu brought a horse from Tomado for her. Two days later she was vomiting blood, but not a lot. He then brought her to Bamba. People say that after she had finished laying out some salted fish to dry, she went down to the lake to bathe. There she was afflicted [**ampa-ampareng**; *keteguran*] by the spirit guardian [**pajaga**] of the place. Bamba is such an unhealthy place because of that guardian. Jumalia used to blurt out everything like a little child. That is why she wasn't warned. She was unconscious for a week before dying. During that time Abu was always opening her eye with his fingers, but her condition was unchanged.

This account of Jumalia's death<sup>69</sup> emphasizes her childlike (indeed childish) qualities, which rendered her susceptible to just such an attack by a spirit. Children, particularly

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among themselves, thus indicating the mature status of the addressee or subject as a married person with children. Even spouses are likely not only to refer to each other by teknonyms, but also to address each other by these means.

<sup>67</sup> Errington, "Embodied Sumange," p. 567. While Errington's account of **mabusung** is quite in accord with others' characterizations of this term based on textual sources, her definition of **kasalla'** as the suffering caused by inappropriate contact with "lower" people and things is more open to question as a general Bugis usage. Neither Said nor Matthes lists such a form for the root **salla'** ("cut" or "separate"), although it may be a term used only in Luwu', which thus has no equivalent in the standard Boné dialect that forms the baseline for Bugis dictionaries. Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 739; Said, *Kamus Bugis*, p. 174. However, Errington's interpretation of the example of a village woman who went mad due to beheading a thieving cat does seem suspect. The cat is certainly not a lower being. Indeed, Bugis throughout the peninsula regard cats as sacred (*keramat*), as I also discovered upon being berated by my hosts when I threatened to throw one of the family cats out of the field hut where I was staying after it had snatched the one piece of fish gracing my plate at dinner. The cat is often depicted as the companion of Sangiang Serri, the mythological bestower of rice to humankind, sometimes even as her incarnation. Misusing or abusing a cat induces misfortune not because the cat is a lowly creature treated inappropriately, but because it is the form or familiar of a powerful spirit, whose beneficence is not to be regarded lightly. Sofyan Anwar Mufied, *Ritus Tanah: Studi Analisa Deskriptif tentang Upacara Tanah yang Berkaitan dengan Adat Bertani Padi di desa Mangempang* (Ujung Pandang [Makassar]: Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Hasanuddin, 1981), p. 36.

<sup>68</sup> The name of this woman has been altered, as is the case with all Lindu Bugis personal names used in this essay.

<sup>69</sup> Many villagers recognized, of course, that Jumalia's symptoms indicated that she was suffering from tuberculosis (*penyakit TBC*), but what finally occasioned her death, as opposed to what was producing her

on the third day after their birth or upon moving to a new house, are believed to be especially vulnerable to the incursions of spirits, resulting in the state **ampa-ampareng**.<sup>70</sup> Other members of the community, however, presented an account of Jumalia's meeting with this guardian **sétang** that emphasized a very different reason for her death:

Before her death, Jumalia was summoned by what she took to be a person standing in a boat. This figure wanted to give her a gold necklace, but demanded that she come down from the house alone to get it. Because she was afraid, she woke up her husband, but when Abu went outside, there was nobody there. This is an example of **mabusung**, rejecting good fortune (*menolak rejeki*). Not long after this she became ill and died a short time later in Tomado.

In this account, Jumalia died not because of the capricious cruelty of the local spirit guardian, but because she refused the "good fortune" he offered in the form of a gold necklace. Here the state of **mabusung** eventuating in death did indeed result from an inappropriate contact with a source of greater potency. But what was inappropriate about the encounter was Jumalia's rejection of an apparently beneficent bestowal.<sup>71</sup>

**Mabusung** was also invoked to account for the partial paralysis of Hamid. Soon after he had opened up wet-rice fields with his family, Hamid began to doubt that the shore hamlet Kanawu would ever develop into a real village, a prosperous settlement rather than a temporary assemblage of huts. He was said at one point to have declared in disgust, "Just what kind of a village is this?" Despite the protestations of his wife that they should at least keep their land and boat motor, leaving their eldest son behind to tend them, Hamid sold everything and returned with his family to the South, though not before beating his wife for her initial intransigence. Nonetheless, he returned to Central Sulawesi after only a few months, having been unable to find work while in the South. Shortly thereafter, while he was working as a power saw operator in the forests near the coast, a tree fell on him, paralyzing both legs. Unable to afford the requisite operations to regain fully the use of his legs, he was brought back to Lindu. There he was eventually able to hobble around the hamlet supported by two branches used as staves. Yet, even then he remained outside the social life of the community. Although he was constantly invited, he would not enter anybody's house, since the injury had left him unable to control his bladder, which embarrassed him. Hamid had incurred the condition of **mabusung** by his declaration that the assemblage of houses at Kanawu would never amount to a proper *kampung*. Although no accounts ever alluded to the vengeful action of a named guardian spirit, it appears that Hamid's act of taking the place, Kanawu, in vain and forsaking it before he could suitably evaluate the fruits it had to offer was enough to earn such retribution. Hamid thus exemplifies how the person who fails to persevere as a **tau monro onro** not only cannot encounter good fortune, but may indeed incur grievous misfortune.

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condition and thus her vulnerability, is a different matter. For a classic exposition of the difference at issue, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

<sup>70</sup> Matthes, *Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, p. 800.

<sup>71</sup> As discussed below, sometimes the onset of **mabusung** is attributed not to the specific act of rejecting such a bestowal, but to the character trait such rejection reveals.

The condition of **mabusung** also figures in the explanation given by Andi Anwar for the catastrophe (*musibah*) he suffered, along with his boatload of Pipikoro resettlers, when they encountered the guardian spirit of the lake and almost perished in the whirlpool that claimed his motor. Many interpretations were offered to account for this calamity. To explain this incident, several indigenous Lindu people invoked the Kaili concept **masolora**, the certainty of encountering misfortune after having refused proffered food (or sometimes even accommodation).<sup>72</sup> The Pipikoro people had refused all invitations to eat and stay the night at the village center of Tomado, after attending a birth control clinic there. Instead, they insisted that they wanted to cross the lake to return home to Kanaan on the east shore that evening and noisily took leave in Andi Anwar's boat to do so, thereby incurring the condition of **masolora**. In contrast, Andi Anwar's wife attributed this culmination of the family's misfortune to her husband's persistence in employing various types of **padisengeng**, which she insisted he throw away or she would divorce him. After a period of anguished incomprehension, Andi Anwar himself decided that all his misfortunes were due to a condition of **mabusung**. A couple of years earlier, his mother had written him a letter, asking whether she could come to reside with him in Central Sulawesi. Andi Anwar never replied. He had originally run away from his family when in his early teens. One day his father had come into his room and, upon seeing the new guitar that his son had bought for himself with the money he earned selling kites he made for customers in Ujung Pandang, had grabbed the instrument and attempted to club his son with it. Andi Anwar adroitly evaded the blow, but, after his father shattered the guitar against a bedpost, he leaped out the window, ran off, and never returned home. For forty years he wandered through Kalimantan, Malaysia, and Central Sulawesi, not once going back to the South. He never remembered (**maringerrang**) his parents. But as his mother's letter indicated, he had been remembered.

Some informants, especially those of mixed Bugis-Arab ancestry, tended to gloss **mabusung** as the curse (*katulahan*) laid upon children who had forgotten, refused to acknowledge, or even rebelled against their parents, all acts of filial impiety (**doraka**).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Although the degree of danger involved in the condition of **masolora** was not thought to correspond to the magnitude or quality of the offering refused, Kaili and neighboring Kulawi people did declare that refusing coffee was particularly perilous. Just as coffee is bitter, so the misfortune the noncompliant guest will inevitably encounter will also be particularly bitter. (Unfortunately, my attempts to elicit a finely graded analogy of the bitterness of different types of food to the types or degrees of misfortune to be encountered proved unfruitful. Coffee is simply the most salient case, not a point in a continuum of food types.) Kaili **masolora** appears to have no precise Bugis analogue. The term **kampunangeng** was once offered to me as the Bugis equivalent, but most Bugis at Lindu did not recognize this word (and it is listed neither in Matthes's nor Said's dictionary). However, many Bugis came to acknowledge the reality of the **masolora** condition (just as they recognized the power of **doti** or death magic in Central Sulawesi). For example, one Bugis man relinquished his scepticism when he was involved in an accident with an oxcart shortly after refusing a meal at a Kaili acquaintance's house in the Palu Valley.

<sup>73</sup> Andi Anwar himself maintained that **mabusung** and **doraka** are different, but overlapping, conditions. In his view, whereas the former results from children forgetting or neglecting their parents, the latter, while also including those cases labeled **mabusung**, also covers the consequences of parents and other elders forgetting their own children or refusing to acknowledge them. However, the consequences of both actions are the same, for none of the projects undertaken by such neglectful children or parents—labeled in Bugis as those who “create a rift in the viscera” (**melle perru**, i.e. “cut the gut”)—will come to fruition. Some of the variation among informants in their conceptions of **mabusung** and its relations to other terms depends, in part, upon whether they related the notion to Koranic ideas or to the pre-Islamic Bugis



One woman of Arab descent constantly bemoaned the neglect she suffered from her own children, labeling such an attitude as a sin (**dosa**) against God that engendered the state of danger labeled by Bugis as **mabusung**. To illustrate her point, she related the story of Malingkunda Sikantang:

Malingkunda Sikantang was an irreverent child (*anak durhaka*), who could never be kept in line. He did not even know it when his father died. He wanted to sail off, but his mother forbade it, as she was already quite old, the poor thing. He went off anyway, and in the land of strangers he married a rich woman. After becoming a ship's captain, he returned to his home village. But he didn't acknowledge his mother, as he was ashamed of her in front of his wife. His mother could not endure this. So, she asked for help from God, declaring, "If he emerged from my womb and drank my milk, give me proof!" Her son was then drowned, losing all his possessions. If one asks for proof from God, it comes quickly.

The misfortunes entailed by **mabusung** could thus be sent by God at the request of rejected parents. Here, **mabusung** results not from rejecting blessings bestowed, but from failing to acknowledge and reciprocate those received.

#### Character and Fate: How a Bugis is Swollen

Such a failing could be attributed to qualities of character. While other people at Lindu were quick to ascribe Andi Anwar's misfortunes to the condition of **mabusung**, they also added that he encountered this fate precisely because of his character. He was singled out as a person who was "arrogant" (**takaboro'**, translated by either Indonesian *takabur* or *sombong*). Earlier on the day of Andi Anwar's encounter with the guardian spirit of Lake Lindu, all the local fishermen had met with fisheries department officials to discuss restricting the size of gill nets used in the lake. Andi Anwar had sat next to the head of the regency fisheries department, adopting with his legs stretched out in front of him an air of familiarity and ease with this visiting official. He felt himself entitled to assume this stance as they had been acquaintances when this official had held the lower post of supervising the Palu market where the fish from Andi Anwar's **bagang**<sup>74</sup> had been sold. However, in the opinion of the other Lindu fishermen, adopting such an attitude of familiarity with a high official, when his fellow fishermen at the lake felt constrained to show deference, was simply **takaboro'**,<sup>75</sup> for Andi Anwar was failing to pay proper respect to a superior and implying he had nothing to fear from him due to their previous acquaintance.

By doing so, Andi Anwar was also "making light" (*pandang enteng*) of other people, adopting a stance unwarranted by present circumstances. To regard oneself so is to

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conceptual context of hierarchical relations with local and ancestral spirits, which serves as one of the bases of the Bugis "practical religion," as elucidated in Pelras, *The Bugis*, pp. 197-203.

<sup>74</sup> A **bagang** is a large, rectangular structure, usually constructed of bamboo and rattan, in whose open center a large net is lowered and raised to catch various species of small fish. Before moving to Lindu, Andi Anwar had been a **bagang** owner-operator working in the Palu Bay.

<sup>75</sup> According to the woman of partial Arab descent whose opinions were mentioned earlier, the first instance of a figure who was **takaboro'** was an angel (*malaikat*) who refused to pay homage to Adam as the lord of the earth. Because of this denial, the angel was turned into a devil (*iblis*) and Hell created for him.

become “swollen” (**maboro**),<sup>76</sup> indeed at times to consider oneself higher than God. His actions and attitudes were thus not in keeping with his place. His very insistence on the noble title “Andi,” when he had been known simply as “Anwar” during his **bagang**-fishing days in Palu, was a further indication of this swollen attitude. People talked of him as someone who never wanted to be placed on the same level as others. If somebody claimed to be at the first level with respect to some skill or knowledge, whether fishing prowess, modern farming techniques, or knowledge of Bugis customs (**ade’**), Andi Anwar would claim to be at the second level. If that person reached the second level, Andi Anwar would already be at the fifth level. Not surprisingly, during my initial research time at Lindu, a total of less than two years, Andi Anwar’s stated age jumped over ten years, as towards the end of my stay he was attempting to claim the status of elder (**to matoa**) that would legitimate his leadership of the local farmers’ association. Yet, in a moment of truculent indignation over her husband’s and his friends’ addiction to gambling, it was Andi Anwar’s wife who, indirectly targeting her husband, ranted about the very absence of any such “elders” at Lindu:

There are no **to matoa** in this *kampung*. When the men get together to gamble, they don’t bother to pay attention to anything else. Back in Boné, if there is a party or other gathering, there is always a **to matoa** waiting at the door to let people in. Here there are many men who are already old [**macoani**], but no elders [**to matoa**]. Take Messi, for example. He will gamble until there are two batteries hanging from his ears,<sup>77</sup> but he doesn’t pay attention to anything else. So he is no **to matoa**.<sup>78</sup>

Indeed, others had assessed the character of most older Bugis men in the village in much the same way. Another villager, invoking the significance of knowledge (**padisengeng**), echoed this evaluation with the words, “There are some people who are just old; there is nothing that they know.” In his continuing attempts, nonetheless, to claim the status of “elder,” Andi Anwar was also characterized as “quick-tempered” (**matempo**), not only always ready to boast of his superior position, but also swift to

<sup>76</sup> Nobody ever directly linked the psychologically “swollen” quality of **maboro** with the literal meaning of **mabusung** as having a swollen belly. The former concept has the connotation of “swollen headed” in our own idiom. There was apparently no direct transfer of the quality of swollenness from the attribution of character, **maboro**, to the possibly physical manifestation and abiding metaphorical designation of the condition of misfortune, **mabusung**.

<sup>77</sup> Both because gambling for monetary wagers is illegal and because there really wasn’t much hard cash available among the fisher folk at Lindu, losers at such games as *domin* (dominoes) or the card games *jenderal* and *yoker* (both very similar to the Western card game Hearts) were compelled to suspend used-up batteries from their ears rather than forfeiting any money. Doug Miles (personal communication) has suggested that spent batteries may be a striking symbol of the loss of energy or potency that losing at such games might signify, but I was not sharp enough to have followed that potential lead while I was still in the field. In any case, gambling seemed more a matter of style, of exhibiting the proper flair in slapping down a card or domino, rather than simply a matter of winning, though habitual winners were also accorded the title *jago* (champion, cock). However, the men never said that it required a special sort of knowledge to win at gambling. Perhaps they were hiding something from me.

<sup>78</sup> Indeed, leader-follower relations at Lindu were referred to in terms of the *bos* (boss)-*ana’ guru* system that organized the system of fish production and distribution rather than the **to matoa-to monro onro** networks Millar discerned in Soppeng. Greg Acciaioli, “Kinship and Debt: The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi,” in *Authority and Enterprise*, pp. 211-240.

take umbrage when others stood in his way. Such attitudes earned him yet a further characterization as “puffed up” (**magempung**), as somebody who was always priding himself (*membanggakakan diri*) on being above others. Whatever might be the prerogatives of rank in the South, at Lindu such claims were simply presumptuous. As one informant summed it up: “In a *rantau* village everyone must be the same; everything else is a matter of history.”

In another context, Andi Anwar’s wife described him as a fellow who was always “talking big” (*tukang bercerita*, literally, “a craftsman of story-telling”), but who had nothing to back his stories up with. (She, after all, should know!) Ironically, Andi Anwar himself provided the Bugis aphorism that best summed up such behavior: **Magala’ tappi bangkung**—“the bush knife worn at the waist resounds.” As he explained, this adage refers to the sound a bush knife makes while swinging in its scabbard, as if happily boasting when hanging from the waist. Though the bush knife may make quite a din when outside the house tied to a moving person’s waist (usually a man’s), once hung on the wall inside the house, it is silent. The saying thus presents the image of a person who brags about all his accomplishments and acquaintances when traveling outside his home, but falls silent when visited at his (rather modest) house, for he knows the visitor can discern the impoverished reality behind his boastings. A person liable to **mabusung** acts in this way. This “swollen” attitude need not characterize only the actions incurring **mabusung**, it may also describe a person’s attitude, for adopting such a stance to the world often results from pride in one’s possession of knowledge. Delving too deeply into arcane knowledge can make someone insane (**ojangeng**), as a person comes to regard her/himself as God. Such an attitude entails no longer remembering one’s proper place; the person is thus no longer in a position to receive bestowals of good fortune.

Although Andi Anwar was the most likely target for such character attributions due to his own presumption of noble status and the perquisites of leadership he felt accruing to it, he was not the only person at Lindu characterized by such terms as **takabboro’**. Indeed, Hamid, forced to stay outside people’s homes and hobble around the village aided by a pair of tree branches because of his condition of **mabusung**, was most often portrayed in precisely such terms. Given his tendency to vent his temper upon others for the slightest offenses, he was consummately **matempo**. To declare that Kanawu would never amount to a proper *kampung* was to arrogate to himself knowledge that, in the nature of things, he had no right to presume. Thus, rejecting the potentialities of Kanawu was a presumption that followed from an unwarranted (implicit) claim to superior knowledge. Like a man who proclaims that the evil knowledge (**padisengeng sala**) of others can have no effect upon him, he was no longer in a position where he could focus (**matuju**) his awareness on the world outside to avert misfortune, let alone be properly oriented to receive good fortune. He too did not know his place at Lindu and suffered the consequences.

The character attribute **takabboro’** and the condition of being “swollen” associated with it thus index an orientation that entails a particular susceptibility to misfortune. This orientation is also expressed in actions that preclude the experience of good fortune. Such actions encompass not only the dramatic declarations and deeds that constitute major transitions in a life course, but also quotidian gestures and habits. The **takabboro’** person is inclined to throw things around, especially food that can still be

eaten. One woman, a prostitute who, by moving in with the young Bugis man who had impregnated her, had forced his shamed (**masiri'**) parents into quickly arranging a marriage between her and their son, was renowned for her temper tantrums during which she would hurl everything around her. Worst of all, she would even cast rice down upon the ground. As her brother-in-law remarked, "If rice is allowed to drop under one's head, then one cannot encounter the good fortune for which one is searching." To act in such a manner is to cast off the good fortune that has been brought to one in the form of this most essential food and thus to signal the rejection of good fortune in general.

Numerous customs (**ade'**) and prohibitions (**pémmali**) observed by the Bugis at Lake Lindu reflect this concern with modes of action which by their very form signify the rejection of *rejeki*. When a deer swam alongside one Bugis man's canoe in the lake, he immediately killed it, thus breaking the law that forbids the slaying of such protected animals in the national park that encompasses Lindu. When confronted with his deed, he argued that to have refrained from killing the deer would have been to reject such obviously proffered good fortune with all the unfortunate consequences such actions entail. Even an inadvertent act that might signify such rejection must be avoided or, once committed, atoned for. This same informant also related how one of his companions had been compelled to sponsor the annual consecration of Lake Sidenreng when he was still back in South Sulawesi, because some of the fish he had caught had accidentally fallen back in the water after they had already been placed in the boat. Such apparent refusals of bestowals, whether intended or not, are tantamount to regarding good fortune as cheap (**masempo dallé'**) and thus incur **mabusung**. Even dirt should be swept inside the house at midday before being swept out later. Simply talking too freely about what one has received from any source may be interpreted as a sign that the recipient fails to appreciate the value of the gift and instead regards it as merely "cheap." If a person has a propitious dream, then s/he should reveal it to no one for a week, lest the good fortune disappear, carried away by the wind.

Securing good fortune for oneself is not simply a matter of such observances. In the Bugis world, the correspondences of form and number that are determined by certain basic notions of totality—whether the seven levels of each part of the cosmos or the four spirits associated with the fundamental design of a body and with the basic elements of earth, wind, fire, and water<sup>79</sup>—inform the structure of all places. In such a world, even the most mundane actions portend and produce the most general and penetrating transformations in one's fate. It is a world where one must rise early every day lest good fortune fly away with the light and where one should kindle lamps in the evening before it becomes dark lest the continuity of good fortune be broken as the darkness disrupts the light. Yet, it is also a world where a person must work.

### Work and Hierarchy: Bearing the Social Order

Unlike many of the languages of Eastern Indonesia that have only a term for "activity" or "making," but no indigenous word best glossed as "work" or "labor," the Bugis language not only contains such a term for activity (**gau'**), but also a term that

<sup>79</sup> Acciaioli, "How to Win Followers," p. 226.

signifies work (**jama**). **Tau monro onro** do not simply stay at a spot long enough to receive its fruits; they work at obtaining them. Whether fishing or planting coconuts, coffee, or rice, they seek in some measure to determine their fate. For one does not fortuitously encounter good fortune; one works for it. Good fortune may be conceived as a flow or the bestowal of a guardian spirit, but this apprehension also requires an active seizing, whether by establishing wet-rice fields and an appropriately oriented house in an auspicious place or by spearing the deer that has swum alongside the boat. Indeed, such an active working toward good fortune is but the obverse of the active courting of misfortune by acts of challenge and rejection that induce **mabusung**.

Not all types of work are equal. Just as people at Lindu could be classified and evaluated according to how much they moved around in the periphery, so too they could be ranked according to how they made a livelihood. As part of his advice (**pangaja'**) to migrants, the Bugis elder quoted earlier produced the following hierarchy, whose levels are evaluated in terms of their relation to **akkaleng**. In contrast to **padisengeng**, knowledge that must be taught and learned, **akkaleng** here refers to the innate capacity of understanding, the framework of one's thoughts (*pikiran*) that constitutes one's mind (*hati*, literally "liver"). Thus, in his words of advice he presented this hierarchy as given in the very nature of the conceivable.

At the bottom are gamblers (**paboto**), the "excrement of understanding" (**tainna akkaleng é**). Even if land or goods are bestowed upon them, they will sell it back again in order to have the capital to finance their gambling. They must perforce become liars, ending up finally as thieves (**peloloang**), the lowest of the low. The "slaves of understanding" (**atanna akkaleng é**) are the "lazy persons" (**tau kuttu**), those individuals with no fixed work who just keep moving on to wherever the action is, wherever it is lively (**maroa**). The **tau laosala** are, of course, the archetypical **tau kuttu**. Indeed, the two terms were often used interchangeably. The "coolies of understanding" (**burunna akkaleng é**) are the people who work for a wage or salary. Such people may indeed toil, but when ready to go home they want only to receive their pay. Merchants (**padangkang**) function as the "ministers of understanding" (**menterinna akkaleng é**). They transcend the local setting. Through the commercial networks they have established, they can communicate with those far away, even abroad, to find out the current price of their goods. However, the "sovereigns of understanding" (**arunna akkaleng é**) are the farmers, specifically wet-rice farmers (**pagalung**). They alone do not receive from others, but only give of their fruits. When the harvest is finished, the farmers feed all the others; they need take from no one.

Such a hierarchy is quite at odds with the usual image of the Bugis concern with inherited rank and its prerogatives. Accounts of Bugis society in their homeland of South Sulawesi have stressed how people are ranked according to the purity or whiteness of their blood, as noted above in the discussion of **wari'**, or by the degree of potency they control by virtue of high status.<sup>80</sup> But among the Bugis of Lindu, a community of fisher folk, farmers, and kiosk operators that includes no undisputed nobles, people are judged by what they do, by the work they perform. Such a hierarchy thus constitutes the basis of a counterideology to the doctrine of inherited differences of worth.

<sup>80</sup> Errington, "Embodied Sumange'," pp. 546, 558.

Indeed, the sentiments underpinning such a reversal of standard evaluations were evident in the account of the origin of the nobility and the ruler (**arung** or *raja*) given by one informant:

Adam and Hawa [i.e. Eve] were having a fight with each other; they were quarreling. A child named Kabel had been born to them. Adam declared it was his child because he had placed it [in her womb]. Hawa declared that it was her child, because she had stored it [in her own womb].

So they each hoarded their genital fluids. From these each gave birth to a child. Adam's child eventually became hard, but Hawa's child was soft. It could not even stand. It had to be lifted up, since it was as if paralyzed. It was just carried around. Its elder sibling was always ordered to carry it.

So they considered how it could be arranged that this child of Hawa would still [always] be cared for by its elder sibling so that it could live. Thus, the descendants of Hawa were raised to the status of nobility because they were not able to work, to hoe the fields.

Each child married and had children. Eventually, the child of Hawa's son Kail came to regard his father as *raja*. He was always being carried around. Even if his father wanted to go out to defecate, he was carried. And so it has been passed down for those who become *raja*. Though when you think of it, there is really only one humankind.<sup>81</sup>

Many of the elements of traditional Bugis culture abound in this tale, including the prohibition that shields the highest nobility from coming into direct contact with the ground, the subservience of commoners to nobles, and the labeling of nobles by a term (**andi**) derived from that for younger siblings (**anri'**). The reasons given for these usages and the evaluations they imply are, however, all reversed from those usually offered by chronicles and noble informants. The commoners provide their services and accord respect to the sovereign not because he is a source of greater potency, but precisely because he is so lamentably impotent in every way. He cannot even defecate on his own. It is thus the bearers who sustain the social order, who are indeed its sovereigns, not the highly born(e). Ultimately, the greatest proof of good fortune is just such ability to give and thus sustain.

### **Conclusion: Re-embedding Beliefs and Values in Practical Action**

Briefly to recapitulate the underlying logic of these Bugis beliefs and values: for those Bugis who journey out to the periphery, searching for good fortune (**dallé'**) is a hazardous business. To go about obtaining it, wanderers must learn the proper

<sup>81</sup> The final irony in this story is that I recorded it from Andi Anwar, the one person who constantly insisted on his noble status at Lindu and thus suffered the consequences of being labeled as **takaboro'**, **matempo**, **magempung**, and all the other terms that indicated his "swollen" pretensions. Pelras has collected a similar text from South Sulawesi, indicating that the viewpoint expressed in this tale is not idiosyncratic. Christian Pelras, "Mitos, kebatinan dan perobahan dalam bidang agama dan kepercayaan di tanah Bugis," (Unpublished paper presented at the conference, "Trade, Society, and Belief in South Sulawesi and its Maritime World," organized by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, Leiden, November 2-6, 1987).

knowledge (**padisengeng**). That endeavor alone is fraught with peril. For they may end up instead with the wrong knowledge (**padisengeng sala**), becoming transformed instead into **poppo'** or **parrakang**. Even if they do manage successfully to learn the knowledge that can parry the incursions of others' maleficent knowledge, this accomplishment may repulse the very good fortune that they ultimately seek. Indeed, supernatural knowledge, whether good or evil, penetrates the body and acts outside the learners' awareness (**kesadaran**). It may also render persons so arrogantly "swollen" or "puffed up" (**takaboro'**, **matempo**, and **magempung**) that they not only reject the good fortune that could be obtained, but also incur the condition of **mabusung** that ineluctably brings misfortune with it. So, in order to be in a position to obtain good fortune, the Bugis must "throw away" (**mabbiang**) the knowledge that induces the character traits and associated actions that repel **dallé'**. Still, they must maintain a constant awareness, remembering (**maringerrang**) their place and all the (e)motions appropriate to this place and in accord with the structure of the cosmos. If they have the persistence of persons who stay in place (**tau monro onro**), working (**majama**) to open up sources of the good fortune that may then flow to them and maintaining the proper orientation to receive it, then they just might encounter the good fortune that enables them to become truly sovereign (**arung**) persons in regard to their own understanding (**akkaleng**), masters of their own fate, we might say, persons who sustain not only their own selves but all those around them.

Seeking good fortune in the periphery is thus a far more complicated endeavor than the simple pursuit of economic interests, as Wallace would have us believe of all those "Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese" in mid-nineteenth century Dobbo, and as Vayda would suggest of contemporary Bugis pepper farmers in East Kalimantan<sup>82</sup> and elsewhere too. Vayda has elaborated his "anti-essentialist" paradigm of anthropology into a more explicitly causal framework of analysis for explaining the relations between people and environments; in the process, he consistently questions the relevance of cultural understandings: "However widespread and persisting the ideals and beliefs related to mobility may be, they have little efficacy—and accordingly, little analytic or explanatory significance—with respect to a great deal of environment-related Bugis behavior."<sup>83</sup> While Vayda does not dismiss the efficacy of values and beliefs completely, his framework seeks rather, on the basis of a "conceptual version of methodological individualism,"<sup>84</sup> to establish the "sources"<sup>85</sup> of widespread cultural conceptions in individuals' practical calculations of economic advantage and security—their awareness or expectation of practical benefits, whether in the short or long term.<sup>86</sup> His explanation of the establishment of pepper plantations by Bugis settlers in East Kalimantan does not dismiss "widely held and long persisting

<sup>82</sup> Andrew Vayda and Ahmad Sahur, "Forest Clearing and Pepper Farming by Bugis Migrants in East Kalimantan: Antecedents and Impact," *Indonesia* 39 (April 1985): 93-110.

<sup>83</sup> Andrew Vayda, "Methods and Explanations in the Study of Human Actions and their Environmental Effects" (CIFOR/WWF Special Publication) (Jakarta: DIFOR and WWF, 1996), p. 5. For a view of Bugis attitudes and behavior towards the environment derived from Bourdieu's practice theory that contrasts with Vayda's ecological perspective, see Greg Acciaioli, "Bugis Entrepreneurialism and Resource Use: Structure and Practice," *Antropologi Indonesia* 57 (1998): 81-91.

<sup>84</sup> Vayda, "Methods and Explanations," p. 17.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

Bugis values and beliefs about mobility and migration”<sup>87</sup> as factors in how these migrants have used their environments, but he does seek to emphasize how other nonideational factors—such as their extensive social networks and the external socioeconomic forces operative in a chain of historical events stretching back to initial colonization by the Dutch—have promoted or reinforced those ideas. Ultimately, he accords these latter factors greater causal efficacy in explaining Bugis interactions with the environment.

While I agree that contextualization of culture in social, political, and economic frameworks is necessary for understanding the efficacy of ideas—how the ideational is transformed into the ideological and thus operates to reproduce systemic inequalities and sometimes to transform sociopolitical systems—it is important as well to give due weight to the internal logic of those cultural systems as ideational structures. Individuals’ decisions can sometimes be decidedly unprofitable, as their reactions to the death of their children or even to crop failures tend not to be entirely practical in orientation, but are mediated by their understandings of such recondite notions as “fate” and “good fortune.” Not only does even an elementary understanding of just what is meant by such a seemingly simple phrase as “searching for good fortune,” which at first hearing can sound so much like practical profit seeking, require an analysis to discern the kinds of knowledge necessary to the successful seeker, but it also requires exploration of the types and sources of misfortune that one might encounter instead. Ultimately, one is led from a consideration of the operation of the marketplace to the most recondite notions of personhood and fate that orient actors in their daily undertakings. Just as a full explication of the phrase “making a killing in the stock market” would require a student of American culture to probe beyond investment strategy to the fundamental moral canons by which Americans justify their everyday treatment of others, so too making sense of the stock phrases that Bugis (and other) informants casually offer in the field often leads from embarrassingly obvious glosses to recondite interpretations of the most fundamental cultural assumptions encoded in quotidian conversation, assumptions that often produce very practical effects.

Paying attention to how Bugis commoners in the sociogeographic periphery articulate notions of good fortune also reveals how very different their conceptions of personal worth are from those of nobles located in the center. As noted above, generalizing from her field work among the Luwu’ elite, Errington has presented a portrait of Bugis society in which nobles, inherently superior by virtue of their white blood, rule by virtue of the potency they concentrate in themselves. From this perspective, politics is the constant display of how much of the universe’s **sumange’** or potency one has concentrated through the conspicuous abnegation of effort.<sup>88</sup> However, for the Bugis commoners of Lindu, life is not about evidencing potency; **sumange’** is not a substance that some people concentrate to a greater degree than others. All beings, indeed all things and even their parts, have **sumange’**, a vital spirit, but these discrete entities are not concentrations of a formless energy. What one seeks to accumulate is not potency, but good fortune, itself seen as a transmissible substance, but not one that can be weighed in each individual to determine that person’s relative

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>88</sup> Errington, *Meaning and Power*, p. 287.



inherent worth. "Searching for good fortune" is an activity requiring constant effort, indeed everyday work, to ensure that one is not only receptive, but is able to seize the good fortune that may be approaching. Encoded in the notion of good fortune and all the idioms of knowledge and activity that surround it is another version of Bugis ways of living, a version intoned by often muted fugitive voices, yet still posing a counterideology that challenges the authoritative rendering of this culture proclaimed in pomp by the highly placed.

So, this rather extended unpacking of "searching for good fortune" has sought to demonstrate that, in order to understand how Bugis go about the task of living, it is just as necessary to consider a broad-ranging set of cultural ideas concerning questing for knowledge as a moral project as it is to investigate practical strategies for earning a livelihood. In many ways, Kathy Robinson has presented a convergent account that seeks to situate Bugis migration as a "cultural category and cultural practice," noting how the constant endeavor of "improving one's material circumstances" must also be seen as a quest structured by a moral idiom of "sacrifice, struggle and suffering" that emerges in migration narratives offered by Bugis informants. Yet, her account still emphasizes the element of "economic opportunity" and the "tradition of outmigration for economic reasons" of these "national entrepreneurs," if only in deference to the emphases of Bugis written accounts of their own traditions; Robinson's analysis thus largely neglects the larger cosmological embedding of accounts of migration and activities in the *rantau*, the region beyond the homeland.<sup>89</sup> In his magisterial survey of the Bugis, Christian Pelras also gives due credit to both the practical and spiritual dimensions of Bugis activities, but he sometimes tends to emphasize the operation of Bugis "practical religion" in their overt rituals and to ignore religious responses embedded in the most quotidian of daily activities.<sup>90</sup> What the foregoing account has hopefully demonstrated is that even in the most practical contexts of deciding where to live, how long to live there, and what to do to make a living—in short, how to make a livelihood and a life—Bugis operate according to sets of beliefs and values that situate their actions in an apprehensible moral universe of consequentiality.

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<sup>89</sup> Kathy Robinson, "Inter-ethnic Violence: The Bugis and the Problem of Explanation," in *Beyond Jakarta: Regional Autonomy and Local Societies in Indonesia*, ed. Minako Sakai (Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing, 2002), esp. pp. 150-154.

<sup>90</sup> Pelras, *The Bugis*, pp. 197ff.

