

**The navel of the perahu:
meaning and values in the maritime trading economy of a Butonese village**

by

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**I certify that this thesis is my own work and
that all sources have been appropriately
acknowledged.**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Southon". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M" and "S".

Michael Southon

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Introduction

Aims

This thesis examines the symbolic associations and cultural values underlying the sailing/trading economy in a village on Buton, an island about 100 kilometres long, situated off the southeast peninsula of Sulawesi, in the centre of the Indonesian archipelago (see Maps 1 & 2). The thesis argues that the perahu, as well as being a means of livelihood, expresses ideas about the social and cosmic order, and is the main focus of political processes in the village.

A boat is a dwelling of a sort, a 'floating house', and houses in Indonesian societies are much more than shelters from the elements. They often "constitute a ritually ordered structure...a representation of a cosmological order" (Fox 1993:1). Indeed, in some societies of the region the house is primarily a temple, or a repository for relics of ancestors, and only secondarily a place of residence (Waterson 1991:43). Boats, likewise, have a symbolic significance that is as important as their economic function. Thus Nootboom writes: "It often happens that a ship is not chiefly, and frequently, it happens that it is not at all, an object of economic importance, but rather a ceremonial object playing a part in important social and religious events" (Nootboom quoted in Tobing 1961:186) and Tobing states: "...Indonesian vessels are microcosmic unities...reflections of the macrocosmic order". There are numerous examples in the ethnographic literature of Eastern Indonesia in which boats, and activities related to sailing, serve as important metaphors for social processes.¹

The original intention of this study was to examine the economic parameters of the sailing economy of a Butonese village, and show how individuals - boat-owners, boat captains, and crew members - pursued different economic strategies within those parameters. I was interested in

patron/client relationships based on indebtedness; the way in which these relationships were reflected in the organization of labour; the relationship between households and boats as units of production; whether boat-owners were entrepreneurs who saw their boats as a form of capital, or whether the perahu was operating in some pre-capitalist mode; the 'structure' of the inter-island sailing/trading economy; how captains and crews obtained information on the availability of, and demand for, different cargoes throughout the archipelago, and how - based on this information - they made decisions on where to sail.

During the first period of fieldwork I gathered a considerable amount of information on the movements of boats, the cargoes carried, the purchase price and sale price of the cargoes, crew composition, and the different formulas used for dividing income from a voyage.

However, this approach resulted in a 'quantitative' picture of the economy, divorced from the background of meaning within which economic activity occurred. It became increasingly apparent during the second field trip that there was a strong symbolic dimension to the perahu economy, and that the activity of sailing must be understood in the light of these symbolic associations. For instance, the boat is regarded as a person, the result of conjugal relations between husband and wife. Both the construction of the perahu and the trading voyage are symbolically rendered as being analogous to the processes of domestic reproduction.

It also became clear that the perahu as a symbolic domain was of great importance politically. Success in trading (as well as the safety of the boat and crew) is believed to derive from a 'navel' that is drilled into the keel at the launching of the boat. The navel of the perahu is drilled by a ritual expert (*pande*) who is believed to possess a high degree of the magical knowledge, or *ilmu*, that brings good fortune. This ritual expert is also the wealthiest man in the village, and owned a fleet of ten perahu *lambo*; his wealth is regarded as

evidence of his spiritual prowess. He was also the founder of the village and most of the population of Lande II regard him as an 'origin figure'. Thus it became evident that in Lande the perahu is a domain in which symbolic, political, and economic processes all intersect.

The original project also foundered because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable economic data. Information about indebtedness and the sources of capital for trading voyages is in some ways more private and inaccessible than, for instance, information about the meaning of the rituals involved in boat-construction, itself the subject of a great deal of secrecy. Most boat-captains seem to engage in the practice of under-reporting profits from a voyage (*'makan owi'*; literally, 'eating the boat-owner's share'), or at least are suspected of doing so. Obtaining information from captains about their trading contacts on other islands, and the trading arrangements they enter into with those contacts - referred to by one captain as "*rahasia juragan*" or "captains' secrets" - is therefore difficult.

My aim in this thesis is to examine how villagers represent the activity of sailing and trading on perahu through an analysis of both the social organization of the perahu economy and the ritual related to boats. The examination reveals that while the boat is represented in terms of certain metaphors drawn from the household, the boat in turn is used as a metaphor for expressing political relations within the village.

Chapter 1 contrasts the two populations that inhabit the area under study, one oriented towards agriculture, the other oriented towards the sea. It also locates the sailors within the traditional Butonese class structure, examines the history of the village, and discusses a core group of boat-owners, their relationship to the founder of Lande II, and the latter's control of house and boat ritual.

Chapter 2 describes the technology of the perahu *lambo* and reviews the development of the *lambo* within the history of the perahu economy in eastern

Indonesia. The chapter also gives an account of the structure of the perahu economy in terms of cargoes and trade routes, and describes the social institutions involved in a voyage and the relationship between boat-owner, captain and crew. The institutions surrounding a voyage - such as the borrowing of perahu and the formulas for division of profits - are discussed again in a later chapter in an examination of the cultural values underlying the organization of the voyage.

Chapter 3 examines the contribution made by the perahu economy to the household economy and the relationship between the household and the boat-crew as units of production.

Chapter 4 discusses symbolic associations in the construction of the boat and in the institutions surrounding the voyage. Symbolism in the physical structure of the perahu focuses mainly on the keel, which is the foundation of the perahu both structurally and conceptually. Two rituals are performed on the keel; one for joining the keel sections and one for drilling a hole in the keel. Both rituals liken the building of the perahu to the conception and birth of a child, and emphasize the complementarity of husband and wife in the process of boat-building. The hole in the keel is the source of the perahu's future safety and good fortune, and the drilling of the hole involves the transmission of life from the ritual expert to the perahu. This ritual encapsulates not only ideas about good fortune, but also an aspect of power relations within the village.

The discussion of symbolic associations in the social organization of the voyage argues that the perahu, those who sail in it, and relations between those who own perahu and those who borrow them, are symbolically cast in the idiom of the nuclear family.

Chapter 5 examines the role of esoteric knowledge in village life, and argues that the perahu economy is an arena in which status is achieved by the acquisition and demonstration of knowledge or *ilmu*. The most esoteric of all perahu *ilmu* is the ability to drill the *lamba puse* in the keel, because the act of

drilling the *lamba puse* constitutes the transmission of life from *pande* to perahu. Through the rituals he performs the *pande* is seen by villagers as the source of prosperity and safety. It is argued that the symbolism of the perahu not only contains a world-view, but expresses power relations in the village.

Fieldwork

This thesis is based on seven months' fieldwork, carried out in two periods: from January 1992 to April 1992, and from February 1993 to June 1993. I first visited the village of Lande in August of 1990, during a short visit to SE Sulawesi in search of a site for fieldwork.

During the first period of fieldwork, I focused on the perahu economy. I conducted a series of interviews with boat-owners regarding the movements of their boats over a two year period, crew membership, formulas for dividing profits, and the different cargoes and trade routes. I also obtained access to the pass-books (*pas jalanan*) of most of the thirty perahu in the village. These pass-books showed the date of arrival and departure of the perahu at different ports of call, the cargo carried, the number of crew and name of the captain and therefore enabled me to cross-check information obtained from interviews with boat-owners. During this first period of fieldwork I also carried out a census of 59% (68 out of 114) of the households of Lande II. At the end of the first period of fieldwork I made a short voyage in one of the village's perahu around the south coast of Buton, from Lande to Pasar Wajo.

In the second period of fieldwork I focused mainly on the symbolic associations of houses and boats. Most of my information came from a *dukun*² who was my neighbour and the younger brother of the man whose house I lived in and ate in. The older brother was a boat-owner and before he retired from the sea had been one of the most respected captains in the village. A third brother (the youngest) was also a boat-owner. Much of my time was spent in the houses of these three brothers. They were a prominent family in the village

since their older sister (now deceased) had married the founder of Lande II, La Molabi. I witnessed two boat-building ceremonies: a ceremony for joining the keel sections, and a launching ceremony that involves drilling a 'navel' in the keel of the perahu.

I spent my last month of fieldwork in the capital of Buton, Bau-Bau, carrying out interviews about the symbolism of perahu. There I witnessed another ceremony for drilling the navel of the perahu.

Review of Literature

The Butonese perahu *lambo*

Though they are less well known as seafarers than their neighbours the Bugis and Makassarese, the Butonese are probably the most wide ranging (Hughes 1984:152) of the six principal maritime ethnic groups in Indonesia (Bajau, Bugis, Makassarese, Butonese, Mandarese, and Madurese); in their distinctive vessel, the perahu *lambo* or *bote*, the various ethnic sub-groups from Buton and the surrounding islands sail as far west as Singapore, as far east as Irian Jaya, and as far south as Australia.

Until the 1980's there was very little information available on the Butonese perahu *lambo*. Dick referred to the Butonese *lambo* in his doctoral dissertation on Indonesian inter-island shipping (1977) and in his two papers on perahu shipping in Eastern Indonesia (1975a, 1975b). Gibson Hill briefly described the *lambo* or '*Lambok*' as he called it (1949:132-134) and Horridge discussed the design and construction of the perahu *lambo* (1979). As Macknight observed: "Our information on praus from the islands of the south and southeast peninsula of Sulawesi, especially Butung and Bonerate, is tantalizingly slight, though this is an area of great importance in the development of at least one variant of the modern *lambo*" (Macknight 1980:124). Since Macknight made that observation the literature on the Butonese *lambo* has

been added to by Hughes' doctoral dissertation on the role of cargo sailing vessels in the Indonesian inter-island shipping system (1984).

Dick, an economic historian, refers to the Butonese in various contexts. He notes that they are the last of the maritime ethnic groups (*suku*) to follow a monsoonal trading pattern, sailing west to Java with the east monsoon and returning to Sulawesi, and beyond to the Moluccas, with the onset of the west monsoon (1975a:84). He notes that the Butonese carry copra between Maluku and Gresik where they exchange the copra for manufactured goods which they take back to Maluku to exchange for further cargoes of copra.

Horridge, a biologist who has made an extensive investigation of the evolution of eastern sailing vessels, carried out a study (1979) of the design and construction of the Butonese perahu *lambo*. He shows that the *lambo* is a combination of western design and traditional methods of construction and argues that there is a mis-match between construction and design that results in a number of weaknesses in the hull. He also notes that the *lambo* occupies a niche as the small trading vessel of eastern Indonesia, small enough to carry its own cargoes (as opposed to carrying freight for middlemen) and to be crewed by an extended family.

Hughes is an economist whose dissertation (1984) concerns the role played by perahu shipping within the Indonesian inter-island shipping system. Hughes carried out fieldwork on Kaledupa (among other places), one of the Tukang Besi islands, lying 40 kilometres southeast of Buton. He traces the change amongst Butonese from a single east monsoon return voyage to continuous, year-round sailing. This change was made possible through the increased seaworthiness of the vessel brought about by the introduction of the bamboo bilge pump and the use of polypropelene instead of coconut fibre for the ropes and stays of the perahu (1984:171). The bilge pump replaced the former practice of baling which was often impossible with a full cargo, while the use of polypropelene instead of coconut fibre meant that ropes and stays

did not have to be replaced nearly so often. He discusses the impact of motorization on the sailing perahu of the Tukang Besi islands, and the differing responses of the three main Tukang Besi islands to that process. Hughes also provides valuable information about the formulas for dividing profit on Kaledupa perahu, and suggests how the system for dividing profits may have evolved over the last forty years.

Anthropological literature on south and southeast Sulawesi

Recent research in south Sulawesi has focused on two issues: Bugis migration and the relationship between spiritual power and politics. Lineton (1975) and Acciaioli (1989) both addressed the issue of migration, Lineton from the point of view of a 'sending' community, Acciaioli from the point of view of a 'receiving' community. Acciaioli examines the ideas motivating Bugis who migrated from South Sulawesi to the Lake Lindu area of Central Sulawesi. He shows that these migrants were driven not only by the desire to improve their economic circumstances, but also by a desire to acquire magical knowledge (*ilmu gaib*). The acquisition of such knowledge is in turn closely bound up with the search for good fortune. Acciaioli sketches out the anatomy of good fortune or *dalle*, as an undifferentiated energy, a vector or a flow which "can be blocked or admitted, rejected or received" (Acciaioli 1989:278). Lande villagers likewise conceive of success in trading as being the result of good fortune (*rejeke*) and all the rituals and practices surrounding the building of the boat and the voyage itself are aimed at increasing good fortune. The ideas of the Bugis at Lake Lindu concerning good fortune provide a useful context for discussing the role of similar ideas in the perahu economy of Lande.

Atkinson (1989) and Errington (1989) focused on the relationship between spiritual or mystical power and political power. Millar (1989) also did fieldwork amongst the Bugis, and studied the status system in the context of marriage ceremonies. Atkinson is concerned with the relationship between

ritual symbolism and social relations. Through an analysis of the *mabolong* - a shamanic healing ritual - she shows how "ritual processes and political processes intersect" (1989:7). Atkinson argues that the ritual/symbolic domain is the political domain, that "the *mabolong* not only expresses a cosmology but constitutes a polity as well" (1989:159). Similarly, the perahu in Lande is a ritual/symbolic domain that expresses certain aspects of a world-view, but it is also a political arena in which individuals acquire and demonstrate esoteric knowledge or *ilmu*.

Errington shows how local ideas about 'power' or spiritual potency (*sumange'*) provide an organizing metaphor for relations in the house, the kin group, and the state. *Sumange'* is a cosmic energy that pervades the world and imbues both animate and inanimate objects. In humans, *sumange'* attaches at the navel from where it spreads out, becoming ever thinner towards the periphery. Houses, boats, kin groups and states are also thought of as having a 'navel' or potent centre, a concentration of *sumange'* which protects the realm of the house, the boat, the kin group, or the state from outside penetration.

The connection Errington draws between mystical power and political power is of some relevance to the Lande perahu economy. In Lande, perahu are given a 'navel', or *lamba puse*, which is the source of the perahu's safety at sea, and good fortune in trading. The *lamba puse* is drilled by a ritual expert or *pande* who transmits his power to the navel of the perahu. In addition to his spiritual power, the *pande* also had a degree of political power; he is regarded as having been the founder of the village and one of his surviving sons is the current village headman, while another of his sons was the previous village headman.

Some of the ideas that Errington puts forward in Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm have been widely criticised and so before discussing her work any further, those criticisms should be addressed. Much of the criticism applies less to Errington's account of the ideas and beliefs that

underlay power relations in the former kingdom of Luwu than to her attempts to place Luwu in the regional and historical framework of Southeast Asia. For instance, Fox (1991) is mainly concerned with Errington's creation of a grouping she calls the 'Centrist Archipelago' whose societies are hierarchical, are concerned with centres and navels rather than binary oppositions, and are Indic in origin. Such a grouping cuts across, and ignores, existing groupings based on ethnographic and linguistic research. Furthermore, Errington's appeal to Hindu origins to explain the pre-occupation with centres leads her to ignore the long history of Islam both in Sulawesi and in Java. Caldwell (1991) likewise rejects Errington's comparative framework; her view that Luwu was an Indic state and that it conformed to the 'mandala model' of political power outlined by Anderson (1972) for Java.³

However, in this thesis I am not concerned with Errington's broader propositions but only with the connection she draws between spiritual or mystical power and political power. The only criticism with regard to this aspect of Errington's work is that the model she puts forward of the relationship between spiritual power and political power is an elite view, probably not shared by the non-elite Luwurese (Caldwell 1991:111). This criticism is supported by Acciaioli's work amongst Bugis commoners. Errington's informants were nobles, former rulers of the kingdom of Luwu. In their accounts, **sumange'** was an energy that pervaded the universe but collected in a concentrated form around certain nodes, such as people of high status. The quantity of a person's **sumange'** was proportional to that person's status through birth. The **sumange'** of a high status individual enclosed and protected the **sumange'** of low status individuals. Acciaioli's informants - migrants to a Bugis colony in central Sulawesi - were of lower status and had a more egalitarian view of **sumange'**. In their accounts, each person had an individualized **sumange'**, "the image of oneself perceived in dreams" (Acciaioli 1989:277). In the view of Lake Lindu commoners, one person's **sumange'** would

presumably not be able to encompass another's. The different models of **sumange'** espoused by the Luwu nobles and the Lake Lindu commoners probably reflect their different positions within Bugis society (Waterson 1991:116).⁴

Another major ethnographic work on Sulawesi is Robinson's study (1986) of the development of capitalist relations in a mining town in South Sulawesi.

Regarding Southeast Sulawesi, and Buton in particular, there has been very little research. Schoorl - a Dutch anthropologist - has done fieldwork on Buton and has published two papers. Schoorl is mainly concerned with the history of state formation on Buton ('Power Ideology and Change in the Early State of Buton', 1986) but has also done some ethnographic research on religious beliefs ('Belief in Reincarnation on Buton', 1985).

Linguistic research on Buton consists of Anceaux (1987) and van den Berg (1991); the former is a dictionary of the Wolio language (the official language of the state of Buton), the latter is a preliminary article on the Cia-Cia language.

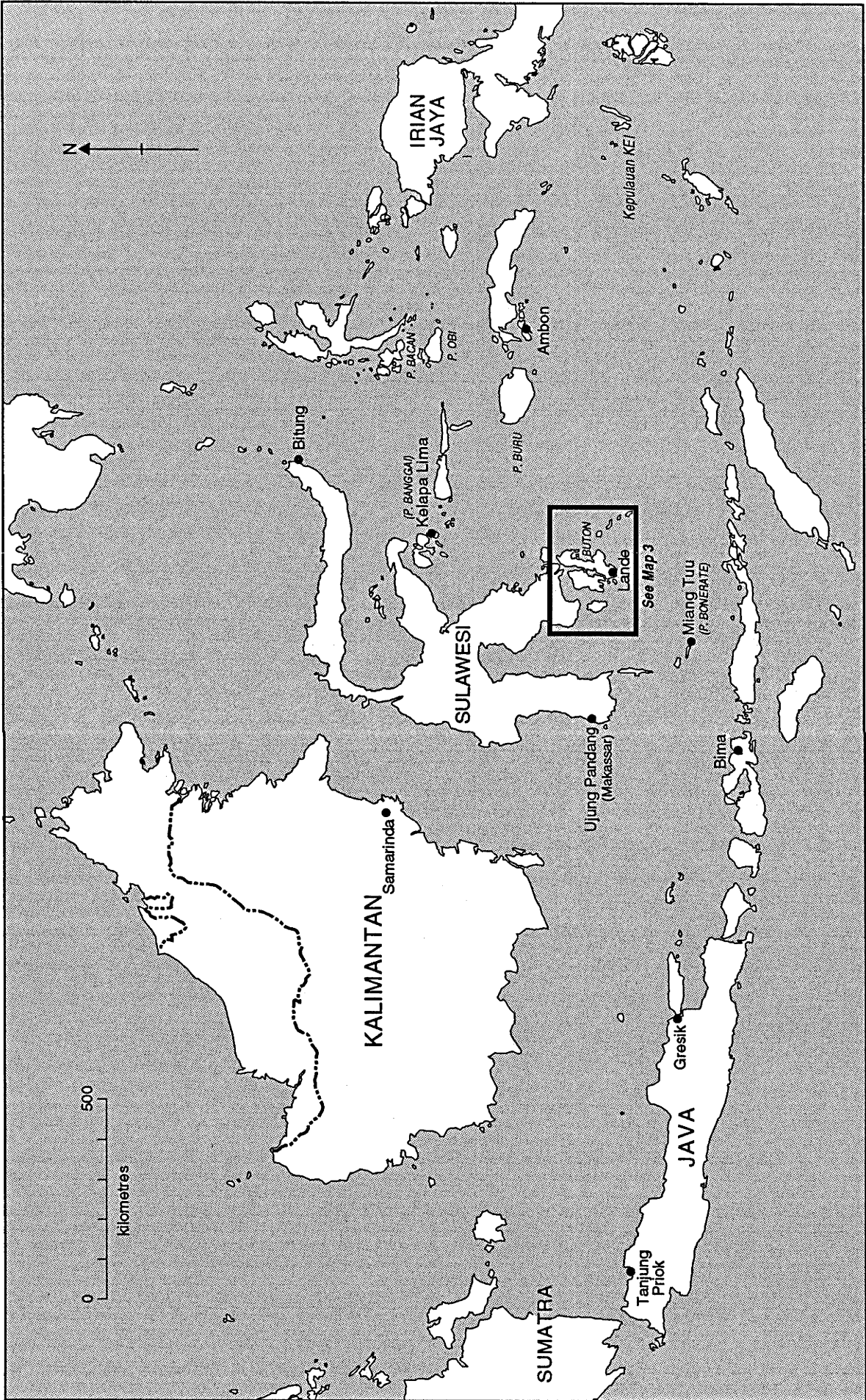
Historical sources on Buton

Most of my understanding of the history of Buton is based on Schoorl's work. Vonk (1937), the Dutch Resident on Buton in the 1930's, provides economic and ethnographic sketches of Buton as well as a chronology of the major events in the relationship between Buton and the Dutch from 1613 to 1937. The Butonese historian Milku Zahari (1977) has written a three-volume history of Buton detailing the successive reigns of Rajas and Sultans and also discussing customary law and the system of government. Another Butonese scholar, Laode Aegu (n.d.), provides a history of the introduction and development of Islam on Buton, and there are other unpublished papers by Butonese (Moersidi, Alihasan) on various aspects of religion, customary law, and government. While on Buton I obtained from the late Milku Zahari's son a number of documents written in the Wolio language (but in Arabic script): the '*Sarana Jurubahasa*' (a set of regulations for official translators dealing with merchant ships), the *Kanturuna Mohelana* ('The Lamp of Sailing'), and the *Kaluku Panda* ('The Short Coconut Palm'). The two latter documents are both allegories; the first uses the imagery of sailing to describe a code of ethics, the second uses the imagery of planting crops to explain the reproductive role of husband and wife.

The island of Buton

History

Buton is first mentioned in historical accounts in a VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or Dutch East India Company) document of 1613 (Schoorl 1986:1), a contract between the VOC and the Sultanate of Buton, signed by La Elangi (1597 -1631) - the 4th Sultan of Buton - and Captain Scotte.

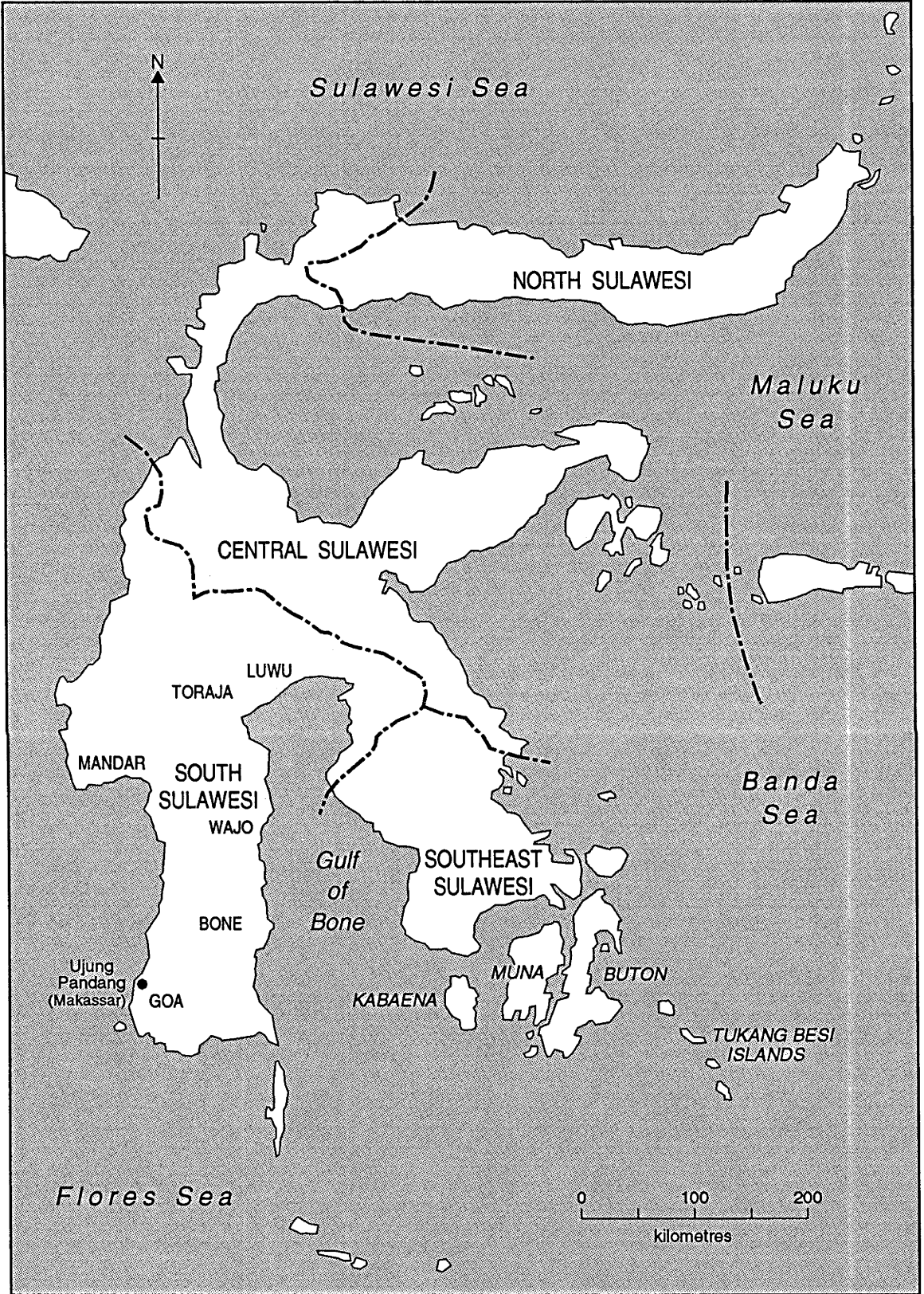


Map 1. Indonesian Archipelago.

Prior to the arrival of Islam, Buton was under Hindu influence⁵ from the kingdom of Majapahit (Schoorl 1985:124). Butonese traditions claim a strong connection between the kingdom of Wolio and the Javan kingdom of Majapahit through the marriage of the first monarch of Wolio - Queen Wakaka - to a son of the Javan monarch, Prince Sibataru.

The kingdom of Wolio was centred on southwest Buton. There is a tradition of an older and rival kingdom centred on the southeast of the island, in the region of Lasalimu. According to a Butonese historical tradition (La Ode Aegu n.d.:2) this kingdom was founded in about 900 AD by Bataralete and his followers, immigrants from Central Sulawesi. This same historical account records that before Bataralete's arrival the area had long been settled by immigrants from India.

According to Butonese tradition Islam was introduced to Buton in 1540 when the sixth Raja of Buton - Murhum - converted to Islam and became the first Sultan of Buton⁶ (Schoorl 1986:1). However, historical sources state that Buton was conquered and converted to Islam by Ternate in 1580 (Vonk 1937:165, Schoorl 1986:2). By the time of van den Broecke's visit in 1615, Buton was no longer a vassal of Ternate. There followed a period of flux in which Buton became a pawn in the constantly shifting power struggle between the kingdoms of Makassar, Bone and Ternate, and the VOC. This power struggle was partly about control of the spice trade, and since Buton was strategically situated on the spice trade route, it became one of the stakes in that power struggle. In 1626 Buton was occupied by Makassan forces (Vonk 1937:166), and again in 1637 (Schoorl 1986:16), and yet again in 1655 (Vonk 1937:169). In 1660 the VOC made a treaty with Makassar that guaranteed there would be no more attacks by Makassar on Buton. In December of the same year Buton made a treaty with Arung Palaka of Bone, to support the latter in his struggle against Makassar. In 1666, in response to the Butonese treaty with Arung Palaka, the Makassans sent a fleet of 20,000 soldiers to punish Buton (Vonk 1937:169). In



Map 2. Sulawesi, showing the former Kingdoms of South Sulawesi.

1667 Admiral Speelman and Arung Palaka jointly attacked the Makassan forces on Buton and conquered them. In the same year, as part of the continuing Dutch effort to control the spice trade, Speelman settled an annual fee on the Sultan of 250 guilders in compensation for the destruction of all clove trees on Buton.

With the Treaty of Bungaya in 1667, following the subjection of Makassar by the Dutch, Buton became independent of both Makassar and Ternate, and was incorporated in the "territory administered under the Pax VOC" (Schoorl 1986:2). From then onwards, Buton was brought more and more under Dutch control. Whereas a contract in 1776 stated that Buton would lose its sovereignty to the VOC if breach of contract occurred, a new contract in 1873 declared that the kingdom of Buton was part of the Dutch East Indies and acknowledged the Netherlands as overlord (Schoorl 1986:loc cit). Dutch control was further strengthened in 1906 with a new contract giving the Dutch Government the right to interfere in the Sultanate's internal matters. The Sultan initially refused to sign this treaty but later agreed to do so when the first Resident of Buton arrived with three warships and a detachment of infantry (Vonk 1937:179).

It appears that by 1906 the state of Buton was already in the process of collapse. Schoorl suggests that opium addiction may have led to the moral decay of the nobility. Contemporary reports indicate that members of the aristocracy had begun plundering the interior and taking slaves from amongst the third estate or commoners (Schoorl 1986:17).

Buton remained a Sultanate after Indonesian Independence until it was dissolved in 1960, following the death of the last Sultan, La Ode Falihi.

Butonese and the maritime tradition

The oldest reference to sailing on Buton occurs in Butonese origin myths. According to one such myth, a Chinese named Teweke sailed to Buton from China, following the vision of a woman who appeared to him as a bright light.

He landed at the Cia-Cia village of Wabula on the south coast of Buton. The remains of his boat - called *La Kambaibunga* in Wabula, and *Wa Kambaibunga* outside Wabula - can still be seen in Wabula. The remains consist of a keel with bow- and stern-post, and a quarter-rudder. The quarter-rudder is clearly very old, but the keel has been replaced. *Wa Kambaibunga* is a sacred site or *sangia*, and is said by Butonese to be the ancestor of all perahu on Buton.

Another origin myth concerns two canoes, *Wa Salamata* and *Wa Salabose*. *Wa Salamata* was supposed to travel at such high speeds that it could not be seen. On Fridays it would travel to Ternate for evening prayers and be back on Buton the same day.

The contemporary Butonese trading vessel - known as the perahu *lambo* or *bote*, but usually referred to by the Cia-Cia/Wolio term '*bangka*' - was probably introduced to Buton in the 1920's. The history of the *lambo* is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Prior to the introduction of the *lambo* - which is in part a copy of a European design - there were a number of more traditional vessels in use on Buton.

The *banya* was a boat used by the Butonese 'navy'. A low-lying vessel of 16 tons, with a crew of 10 oarsman a side, it carried four cannon on the aft deck, and 2 cannon on the fore deck, and was used only around the coast of Buton. The low profile of the *banya* made it difficult to be hit by cannon shot. The *palari*, a Bugis vessel very similar to the *pinisi*, was used for trading. The hull of the *palari* is built up from an Austronesian canoe hull by the addition of planks. A vessel often mentioned in Lande is the *jarangka* which was in use from about 1800 to 1900. The word *jarangka* is recorded in Anceaux's Wolio Dictionary as meaning "outrigger canoe" (Anceaux 1987:48). The *sope-sope* was the vessel most recently in use, before the introduction of the *lambo*. It was a sailing boat of 5 tons and carried a rectangular matting sail, called a *layar tanja* rig (see Figure 1).

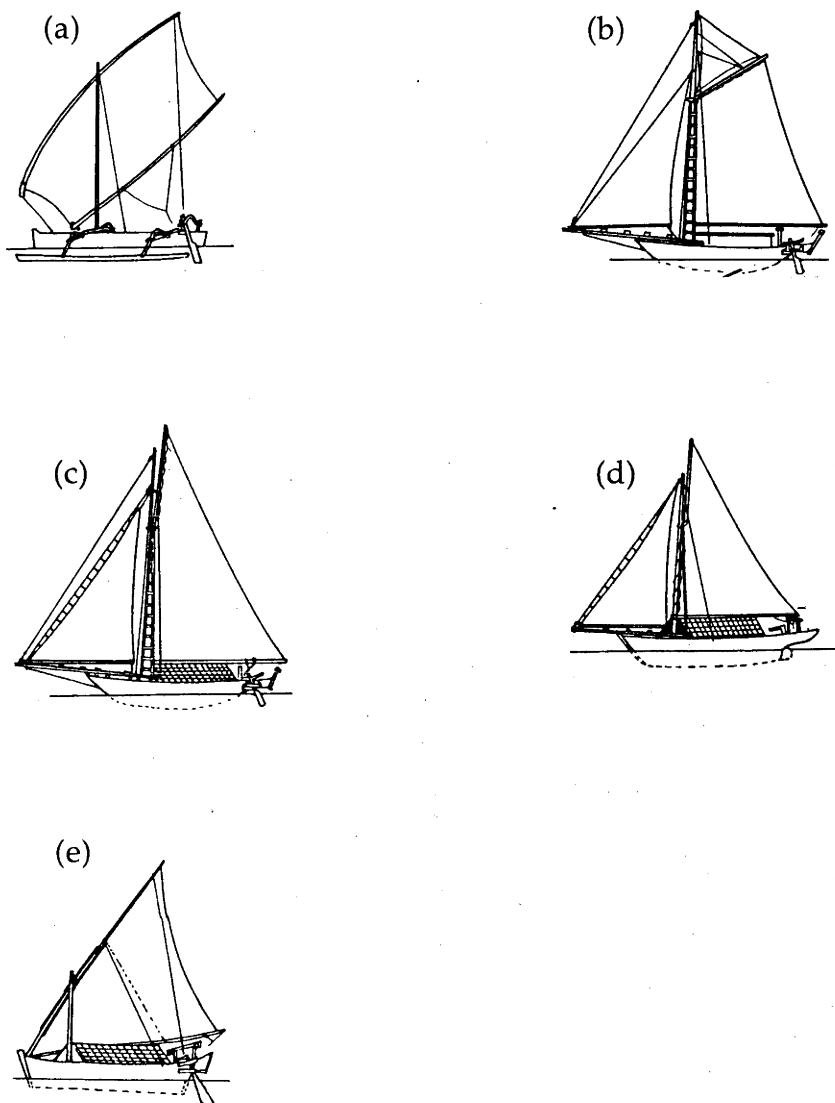


Figure 1. Different rigs used by perahu in the Sulawesi region. (a) Buginese or Makassarese *layar tanja* rig, (b) Mandar *bago*, (c) West Sulawesi quarter-rudder *lambo* as in (b) but with slope-roof deck-house and *nade* rig, (d) Butonese *lambo*, with *nade* rig as in (c) but with centre rudder and counter-stern (*pantat bebek*), (e) *Sekoci* hull (in which the stern- and stern-post meet the keel at a sharp angle) with Madurese *leti* rig, Makassarese rudder supports, and slope-roof deck-house. (Diagram and caption adapted from Horridge 1986:34).

The island of Buton is strategically situated on the trade route between Java and the 'spice islands' (Ambon, Ceram, Banda), and for this reason has long been involved, in various ways, with inter-island trade. Bau-Bau, the capital of Buton, was a port of call for ships engaged in the spice trade. Some idea of the importance of this trade for Buton can be gained from the *Sarana Jurubahasa*, a set of regulations governing the conduct of official translators. These translators were charged with collecting import and export taxes and harbour dues, and witnessing financial transactions between traders. The document is more than its title suggests and is in fact a maritime trade law governing the behaviour of both Butonese and foreign traders. As Schoorl observes: "We can deduce from the fact that there was a separate legal regulation for this sector (a *sarana*) that this was considered an important area in the kingdom of Wolio" (Schoorl 1986:22).

In addition to collecting taxes and harbour dues in the Port of Bau-Bau, the Butonese were also involved in a more active way in inter-island trade, as can be seen from the various attempts by the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries to restrict Butonese trade. A contract in 1667 between the VOC and Buton, signed by Admiral Speelman, prevented Buton from trading in spices, but by 1721 this rule had been relaxed (Schoorl 1986:24). One of the most important items of Butonese trade was slaves. By an ordinance of 1701 the VOC granted permission to the Sultan of Buton to bring to Java for sale each year 50 to 60 slaves (Fox 1983:259). But Buton exceeded this quota and was warned by the Dutch in 1715 not to transport too many slaves to Batavia. In 1718 Buton sent 200 slaves to Java, after which the VOC imposed a limit of 60 slaves per year. In response, envoys from the Sultan of Buton requested that the quota be increased, and argued that the economic survival of the Sultanate depended on this trade. The Dutch duly increased the quota to 80 slaves per year (Schoorl 1986:25).

Buton also had a flourishing boat-building industry. Ligtvoet, who was Secretary of Native Affairs at Makassar noted:

"The main source of livelihood for the Butonese is trade and shipping. They build the praus (their name for ship) themselves. The island of Binongko was, according to Speelman (p.551), famous in his time for the praus made there. In the western parts, the praus from Buton voyage as far as Singapore, but they are especially numerous in the eastern parts of this Indian archipelago, where they often work as cargo vessels" (Ligtvoet quoted in Schoorl 1986:20)

A Military Memorandum of 1919 provides an estimate of the number of perahu in the Sultanate of Buton:

"We also find a great many sailing praus in this country, their size varying between 60 and 1,000 picol. There are about 300 of them, spread over the islands thus: Buton: 52; Muna: 10; Kabaena: 6; the Tukang Besi islands: about 200, of which 100 on Binongko, 44 on Roembia Poleang.⁷ The most seaworthy praus are to be found on Binongko. They are used for the long voyages to Makassar, Java, Timor, Ambon, etc." (Military Memorandum of 1919, quoted in Schoorl 1986:20)

It will be noted that in 1919 the Tukang Besi islands had twice as many perahu as the rest of Buton. Contemporary perahu figures (see Table 1) show that almost half of Butonese perahu are still found in the Tukang Besi islands. One of the reasons for the large proportion of Butonese perahu in the Tukang Besi islands, both traditionally and in the present, is that these islands have exceptionally poor soils, making agriculture barely viable. The population has been forced to seek a living through other occupations, such as sailing/trading. Another of these occupations is blacksmithing, as the name 'Blacksmith (*Tukang Besi*) Islands' implies.

Table 1
The distribution of perahu *lambo* in *Kabupaten Buton* in 1987, by *Kecamatan*.

<u>Tukang Besi islands</u>	
Wanci	222
Tomia	138
Kaledupa	58
Binongko	175
sub-total	593
%age of total	46.2
<u>rest of Buton</u>	
Sampolawa	161
Pasar Wajo	78
Batauga	90
Kabaena	115
Kabaena T.	87
Lasalimu	19
Sorawolio	0
Bungi	0
Kapontori	0
G.U.	9
Lakudo	5
Mawasangka	1
Poleang	53
Poleang T.	30
Rumbia	1
Wolio	23
Betoambari	16
sub-total	688
%age of total	53.7
total	1,281

source: *Kabupaten Buton Dalam Angka*, 1987: pp.273 & 274

A note on typefaces

In this thesis different typefaces have been used to indicate different languages. *Italics* indicate the Indonesian language, underlined indicates the Dutch language, ***italics*** indicate the Cia-Cia language, ***italics underlined*** indicate the Wolio language, **bold** indicates the languages of south Sulawesi, and *italics underlined* indicate the Arabic language. Some Wolio words are found in the Cia-Cia language, in which case they are treated as Cia-Cia words.

Notes

- ¹ Barraud (1979:75) writes of Tanimbar: "...la bonne marche de la societe se compare a la marche du voilier ou de la pirogue de guerre.". Adams (1974:337) notes of a village on the island of Sumba: "I propose that the ship symbol reflects a deeply embedded conception of the community as an interdependent self-contained entity and that this conception significantly influenced community life and its symbols".
- ² I will avoid misleading translations, and simply use the term used in the village, the Bahasa Indonesia *dukun* (in Bahasa Cia-Cia *obisa*, though this term was rarely used). The *dukun* assisted women in childbirth, performed chicken auguries, and carried out traditional healing.
- ³ States that conform to the 'mandala model' are said to be defined more by their centres than by their boundaries, and to be concerned more with control of people than with control of territory. In keeping with this model, Errington argues that boundaries were of little concern in relationships between states in South Sulawesi. But Caldwell points out that Bugis histories are replete with wars fought over control of territory (Caldwell 1991:116).
- ⁴ The issue of whether **sumange'** is diffuse or individual arises not only in Errington's and Acciaioli's treatment of the subject, but also in the wider literature on *semangat*. Endicott endeavours to clarify the issue. He adopts a definition of *semangat* that exactly encompasses the two different models of **sumange'** put forward by Errington and Acciaioli; Endicott's *semangat* as 'vital principle' corresponds to Errington's **sumange'**, while his *semangat* as *nyawa, roh* corresponds to Acciaioli's **sumange'** as 'ethereal image' of the person (Endicott 1981:63).
- ⁵ Schoorl has documented the existence on Buton of belief in reincarnation which he attributes to Hindu-Javanese influence from the kingdom of Majapahit in the period before Buton was Islamicized (Schoorl 1985:124).
- ⁶ According to another tradition (that seems to be current throughout southern Buton) Islam was brought to Buton by an Arab trader named Abdul Wahid, who made his first landfall on the eastern arm of the Bay of Lande. The first people on Buton to be converted to Islam are said to have been the inhabitants of Burungasi, a village that lies three kilometres from Lande.
- ⁷ It is not clear why the author of this memorandum has subsumed Rumbia Poleang under the Tukang Besi Islands, since Rumbia Poleang is part of the mainland of Sulawesi (see Map 3).

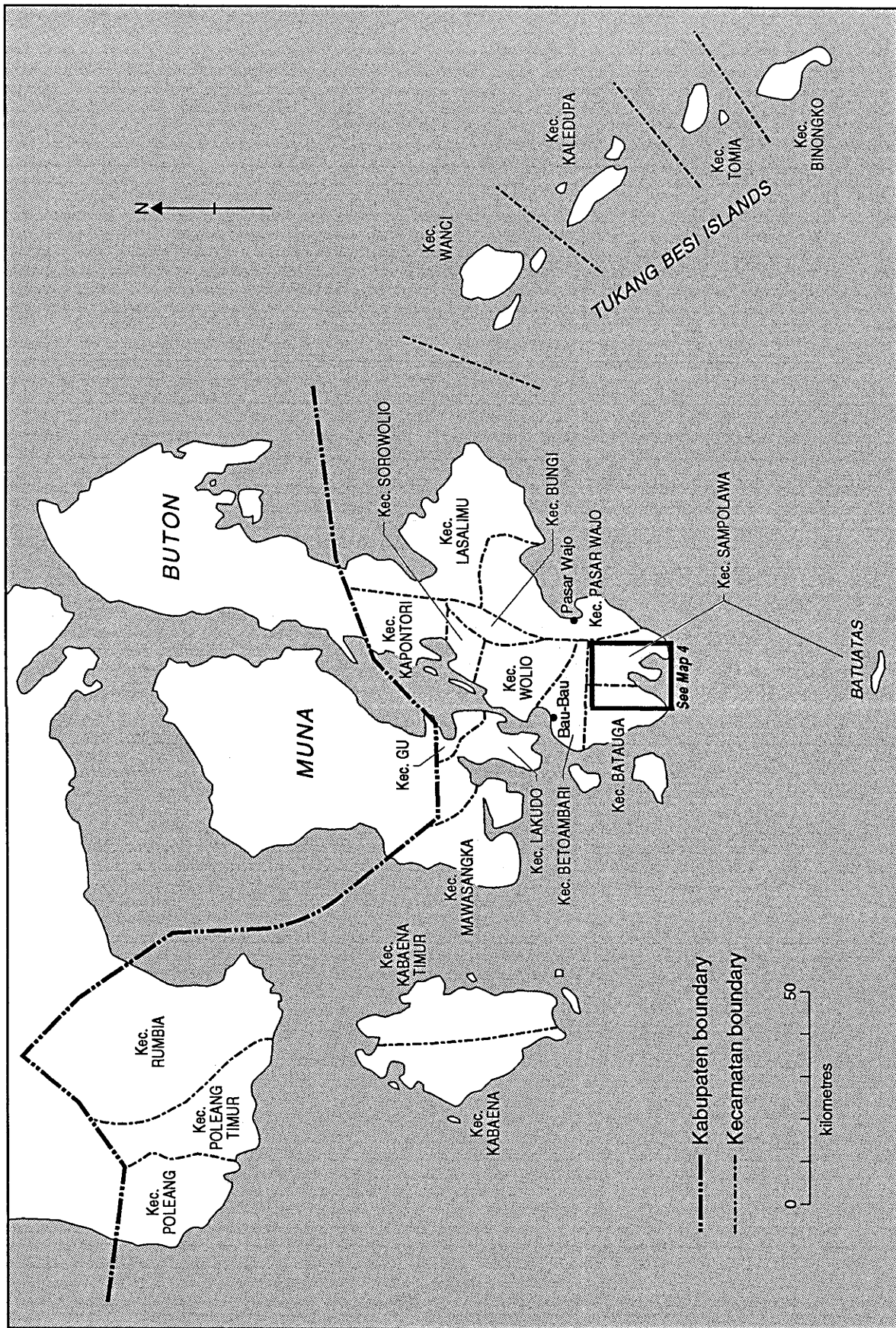
Chapter 1 - The Village of Gerak Makmur

This chapter describes the history of settlement at Gerak Makmur and how that history relates to relations between the two populations which comprise the village: the agriculturalists and the sailors. The division between these two populations coincides to a certain extent with the division of the village into ~~four~~^{five} hamlets; the sailors belong to the hamlet of Lande II and the agriculturalists belong to the other four hamlets. The discussion focuses on Lande II and the existence in Lande II of a core group of boat-owners who are related to the founder of the hamlet and the first man to settle at Gerak Makmur. This background is important for the discussion in Chapter 5 of how the control of boat ritual relates to village politics.

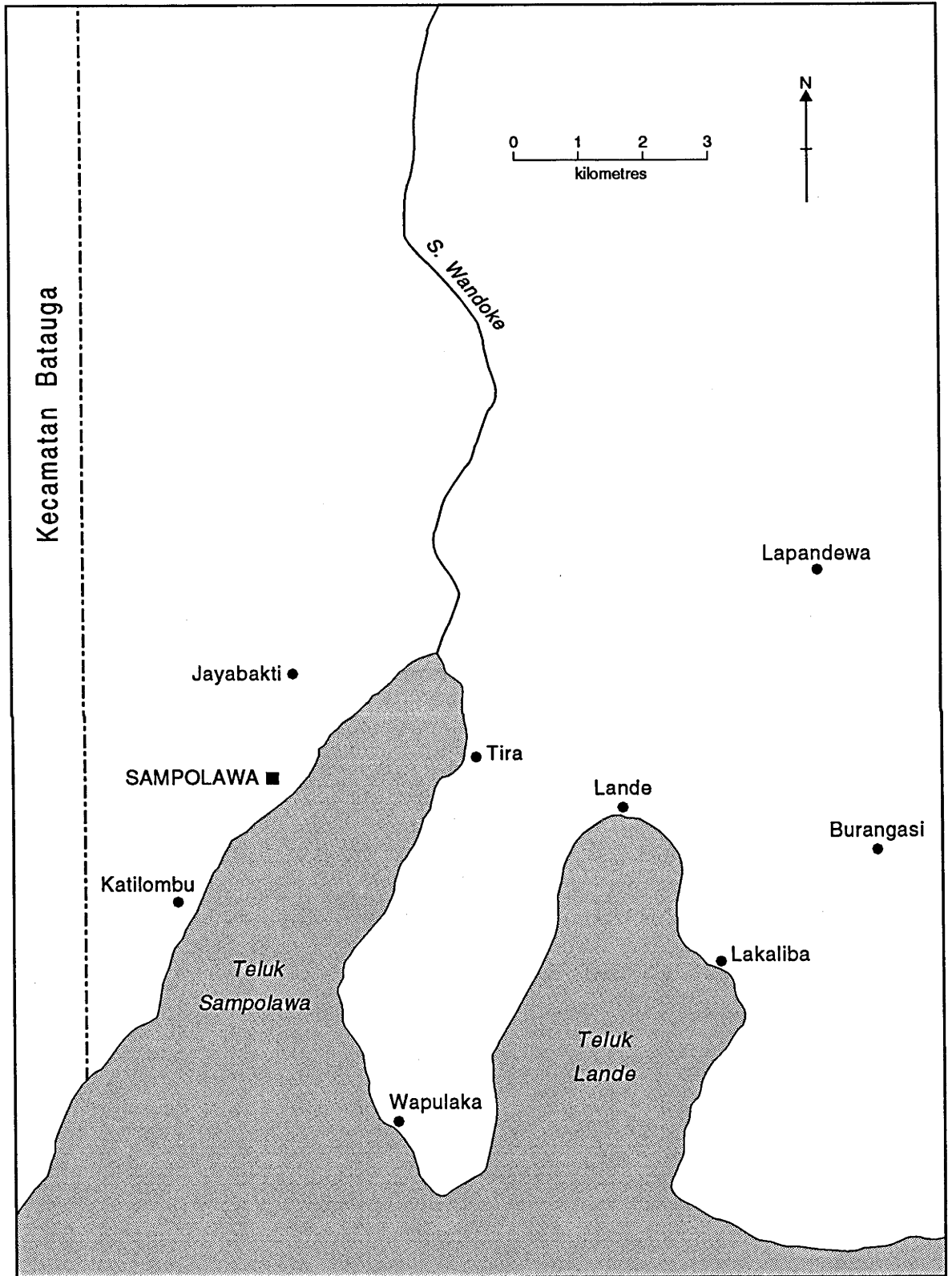
Population of the village and the area

The *desa* of Gerak Makmur lies at the head of the Bay of Lande, one of three bays at the southern end of the island of Buton (see Map 4). Gerak Makmur, which had a population in 1991 of 2,278 (Kantor Pembangunan Desa, 1991/1992), is located in the *Kecamatan* (or District) of Sampolawa, in the *Kabupaten* (or Regency) of Buton. The village comprises five *dusun* or hamlets: Lande I, Lande II, Indu, Wadawah, and Sempa-Sempa. These five *dusun* form an unbroken settlement that follows the curve of the beach, along a narrow strip of flat land at the head of the Bay. A hundred metres from the beach, the land rises steeply to form a broad plateau - about 20 metres above sea level - that stretches back for three or 4 kilometres to the mountainous country of the interior.

The population around the Bay of Lande and its hinterland can be divided into two types: the original inhabitants of the area, who live (or lived until recently) in hill villages some distance from the strand, and who are oriented towards agriculture; and newcomers to the area, who have settled on



Map 3. The Kabupaten (Regency) of Buton.



Map 4. The Kecamatan (District) of Sampolawa.

the shoreline, and are oriented primarily to sailing/trading and fishing. Until the early decades of this century, most of the population of south Buton lived in hill villages, often with some kind of fortification, set back a few kilometres from the coast.¹ Those who did live close to the sea, made their settlements on top of cliffs, safe from raiding pirates. Raids by pirates from Tobelo (North Maluku) still figure prominently in the oral history of the area. That these raids were a serious problem can be seen from a Dutch report on Buton, of 1842:

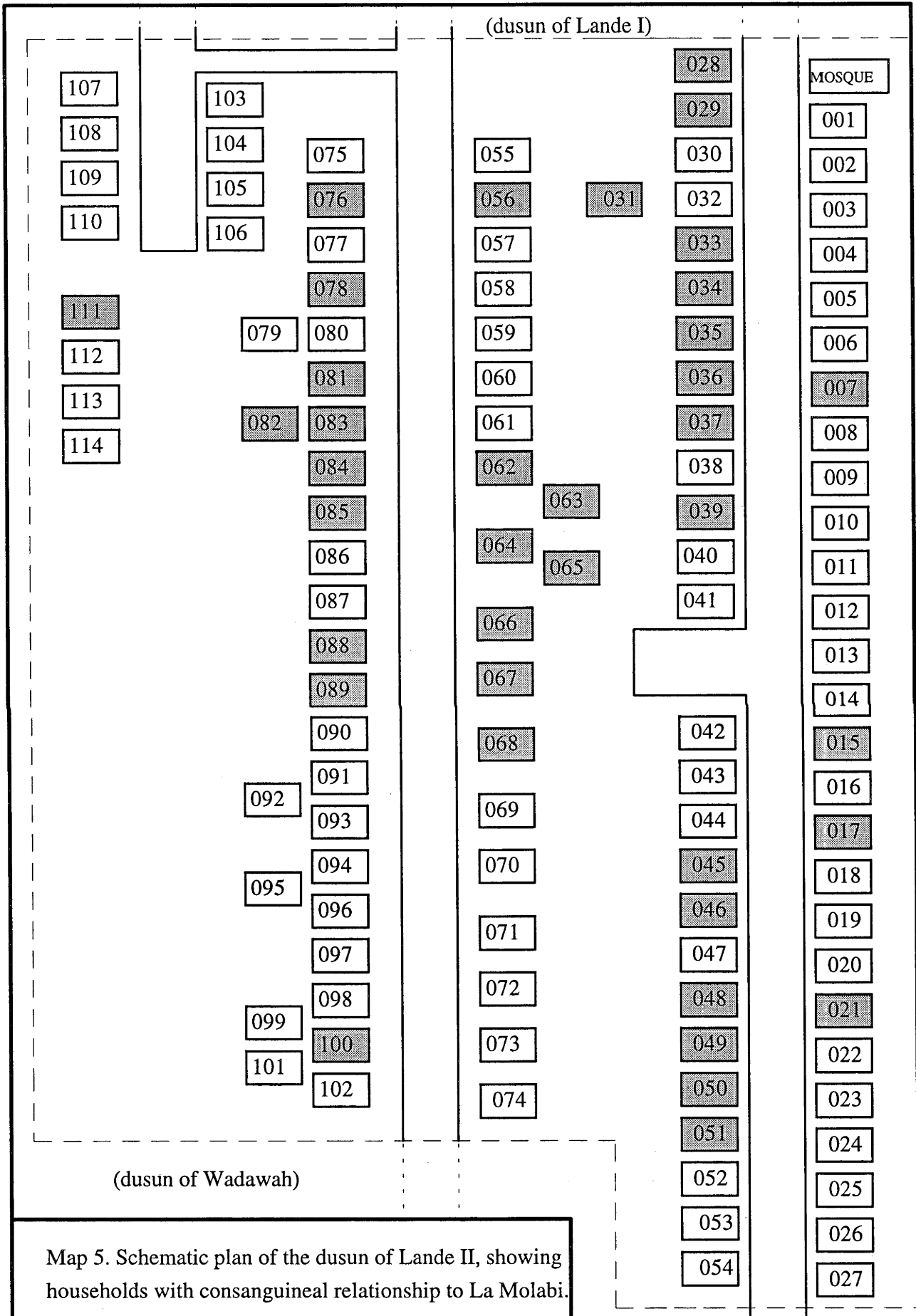
"...we know nothing about the population, only that repeated attacks from pirates have driven the people gradually away from the coast, and have also decreased the population..."
(Commissioners van Schelle and Tobias in a report to the Governor General Van der Capelle, quoted in Schoorl 1986:26)

As the area became more peaceful with the extension of Dutch control into the outer islands, people began settling on the shorelines.

The largest of the agricultural villages is Lapandewa (population 3,427), lying three kilometres inland from Gerak Makmur. Lapandewa and its hinterland was formerly one of the 72 *kadie* or autonomous districts which comprised the Sultanate of Buton. On a hilly ridge on the eastern arm of the Bay, lies the village of Burungasi, whose inhabitants are also agriculturalists. The three other agricultural villages of the area - Sempa-Sempa, Wadawah, and Indu - have now moved down from the hills to Gerak Makmur.

The hamlet of Lande II

Seen from the plateau above the village, Lande II appears as four rows of houses lining the two parallel streets that run the length of Desa Gerak Makmur (see Map 5). On the street closest to the sea - which villagers call the 'High Street' or *Jalan Raya* - lies the Mosque, and almost opposite, the large and prestigious cement house of La Nagara, son of La Molabi. Adjacent to La Nagara's house and directly opposite the Mosque is the house of one of La



Molabi's daughters. Like most Lande houses, this house is wooden and built on piles, but unlike the other houses its piles are set on concrete plinths. It is called the 'high house' (*rumah tinggi*), partly in reference to its height off the ground but also because it was La Molabi's house. Most of the houses in this part of Lande II belong to La Molabi's descendants, the descendants of his siblings, and his relatives by marriage. This, together with the location of the Mosque, make the eastern end of the hamlet the seat of moral authority in Lande II.

Table 2
Households in Lande II with consanguineal or affinal relationship to La Molabi

Household No.	relationship to La Molabi	
	consanguineal	affinal
007	ZSD	
015.	S	
017	MDSS	
021.	BDD	
028.	D	
029.	D	
031.	S	
033.	S	
034.	D	
035	DD	
036.	ZS	
037.	Z	
039.	MDSD	
045.	ZDD	
046.	BS	
048.	BS	
049.	BD	
050.	ZDD	
051	ZD	
055.		WBS
056.	BD	
062.	BD	
063.	BD	
064.	ZS	
065.	ZD	
066	ZD	
067.	BD	
068.	MDSS	
075.		WBD
076.	S	
077.		WB
078.	MDSD	WB
081.	D	
082.	DD	
083.	BS	
084.	ZD	
085	ZS	
088.	MDSD	
089.	MDS	
100.	ZDS	
106.		WBD
111.	D	

source: field notes

Post-marital residence tends to be uxorilocal. The typical pattern is that the newly married couple lives with the wife's parents for several years, and then builds a small house adjacent to the wife's parents. Informants give several reasons for this pattern: the attachment between daughters and parents is stronger than between sons and parents; as the parents get older they need the help of their daughters with household tasks; and the co-residence of the newly married couple with the wife's parents is an economic burden which the husband's parents would resent, since they have just paid bridewealth to the wife's parents.

After a few years, the husband builds a small house made of *rotan*, usually nearby the wife's parents, and the couple moves out of the latter's house. Over the next few years, the couple invests any surplus cash in planks of wood. Men who are at this stage of the household development cycle often sail on perahu carrying cargoes of timber and take their share of the profits in the form of planks. Eventually they build a much larger house, either of teak wood or of 'second class' timber, and the original shack becomes the kitchen at the back of the new house. This second house may itself be superseded by a third, even larger house, to which the first two houses become a rear extension. Thus the houses of Lande II often display a visible history of the household's development over time.

An important aspect of life in Lande is the round of Islamic celebrations in which each household invites members of other households to feasts that mark the important days in the Islamic calendar. These events constitute the public life of the village and are held in the front room of the house. They create a male world in which women are seldom visible. The men sit cross-legged, lining the walls, their seating positions publicly affirming each man's status relative to another.

Another focus of public life is the twice-weekly market with its numerous coffee shops (*warung*), though these occasions bring together not only Lande II people, but agriculturalists from far flung villages in the hinterland who come down to the coast to sell their produce in the market.

History of settlement at Gerak Makmur

The first people to settle at Gerak Makmur were the forebears of Lande II. The core of the Lande II population is descended from a man called La Ngapa and his five children - three brothers and two sisters. La Ngapa's house was the first to be built in the village, and is known by villagers as the 'origin house' or *rumah pusaka* (lit. 'heirloom house'). His name is rarely mentioned since there is a prohibition on the use of names of people in the grandparental generation. One of La Ngapa's sons - La Molabi - is regarded as the founder of Lande II. Of the 115 households in Lande II, 38 of them are related consanguineally to La Molabi (see Table 2, Figure 2, and Map 5).

La Ngapa and his children moved to Lande from Tira, a village located on a mountainous peninsula separating the Bay of Lande from the neighbouring Bay of Sampolawa. They moved down to Lande at the instigation of a nephew of the last Sultan of Buton - La Ode Abdul Aziz - who was at that time the *Lakina*² of Lapandewa. He either encouraged them or ordered them to move down from the hills, where they had been subsistence farmers, to the beach, and to start building perahu. The move occurred during the Japanese occupation. Since the Japanese were short of shipping and were using native perahu to transport war materials (Bugis *pinisi* were carrying nickel for the Japanese, from the town of Pomalaa on the mainland of southeast Sulawesi), it is possible that the *Lakina* of Lapandewa was acting at the behest of the Japanese.³

Numbers refer to households on Map 5.

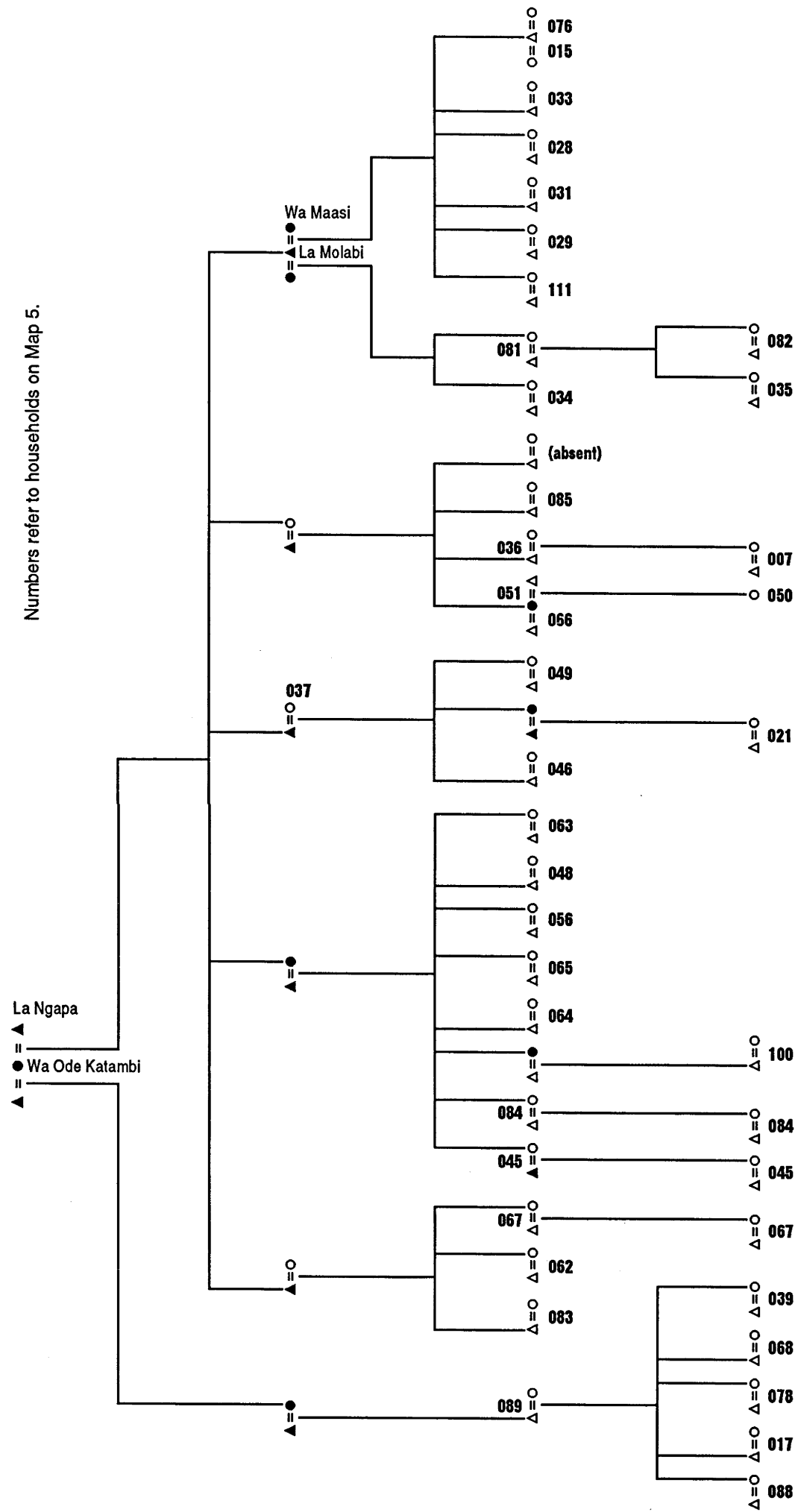


Figure 2. Genealogy, showing the core group of Lande II.

In the years from 1943 to 1989 (the year of his death), La Molabi built up a fleet of ten perahu, and became the wealthiest person in the village.⁴ He made his wealth in the cotton and cloth trade. His boats took raw cotton from Flores to Buton, and returned to Flores with cotton sarongs, woven on Buton. The Dutch Assistant Resident on Buton in the inter-war period noted that Butonese sarongs were exported to Ambon, Makassar, Bone, Java, and Sumatra, and that Butonese sarongs were much in demand because their dyes did not run (Vonk 1937:62).⁵

Some years after the arrival of La Ngapa's family, people began moving down from the village of Lapandewa to form the settlement of what is now Lande I. The other three *dusun* - Sempa-Sempa, Wadawah, and Indu - settled at Gerak Makmur in 1971 when they were moved down from the hills by the army following the PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*) disturbances, which continued on Buton much later than elsewhere in Indonesia. The PKI found most of its support on Buton amongst the inland agriculturalists, the '*orang gunung*', who belonged to the lowest of the three ranks (*papara*) of the state of Buton, and comprised the poorest sector of Butonese society. With the arrival of the three *papara dusun* in 1971, the settlement was formed into a *desa* and given the name Gerak Makmur (lit. 'Movement of Prosperity').⁶

Though there has only been settlement at Gerak Makmur since the early 1940's, the place has long been the site of a market. Its position at the head of the Bay of Lande made it a natural point of exchange between the agricultural villages of the hinterland and traders who arrived by sea from Bau-Bau. It was also the site at which tribute payable to the Sultanate was collected from the *kadie* of Lapandewa.

Language

The people of Gerak Makmur speak both the Cia-Cia language and the Indonesian language. Cia-Cia - which has numerous dialects - is spoken in the southernmost part of Buton, roughly south of a line between Bau-Bau and Pasar Wajo (Van den Berg 1991:305). It is also spoken on the island of Batuatas and on the island of Binongko (the southernmost island of the Tukang Besi chain). Wolio was the official language of the Sultanate of Buton and is still spoken in and around Bau-Bau.

Linguistic differences in southern Buton coincide to a certain extent with the traditional rank divisions in Butonese society. Cia-Cia is the language of the commoners while Wolio is the language of the nobility. Wolio speakers in Bau-Bau jest about the Cia-Cia language and regard its speakers as 'country bumpkins'. The name 'Cia-Cia' is itself a derogatory term, meaning 'not-not' in the Cia-Cia language, probably imposed by Wolio speakers.

An important dichotomy in this thesis - the difference between houses and boats - can also be correlated with linguistic differences. Most of the words used in Lande for boat-parts are from the Wolio language, while most of the words for house-parts are exclusively Cia-Cia.⁷ This suggests that the language of sailing (along with the technology and the institutions of sailing) reached the Cia-Cia areas from the Wolio-speaking area of Bau-Bau. This theory is consistent with the fact that sailing/trading was traditionally the preserve of the nobility in Bau-Bau.

Sailors/Traders and Agriculturalists

Within Gerak Makmur there are two quite distinct economic orientations; the people of Sempa-Sempa, Wadawah, and Indu are agriculturalists, and are the traditional land-owners of the area, while the people of Lande II (and to a lesser extent Lande I) are oriented primarily to the

sea through fishing and sailing, and have no traditional rights to land in the area.

There has been, and still is, a certain amount of economic interdependence between the agriculturalists and the fishermen/sailors. In the 1950's and 60's, before the three agricultural villages were moved down to the beach, the coastal population exchanged fish with the inland population for agricultural produce. On balance, the sailors seem to have been more dependent on the agriculturalists than the latter were on the sailors. Due to the vagaries of trading, incomes from sailing were less predictable than incomes from agriculture. After 1971, when the agriculturalists moved down to the beach, the sailing population started cultivating crops themselves. Some say that the adoption of agriculture by the sailors occurred by example, because of the close proximity of the sailors to the agriculturalists. Others say that it was a Government initiative to provide the sailing population with a subsistence base to complement an economy that was otherwise mostly dependent on cash inputs.

Though the sailors have been less dependent on the agriculturalists for food since 1971, they now borrow money from them as capital for buying cargoes. Agriculturalists are said to have a greater cash surplus than the sailors. This could be partly because yields from agriculture are more predictable than incomes from sailing, and partly because of different expenditure patterns. For example, agriculturalists rarely educate their children beyond elementary school, whereas a major aspiration of the sailors is secondary and higher education for their children, leading to Government jobs. In general, the agriculturalists operate much more within a subsistence economy than do the sailors.

Another facet of the relationship between agriculturalists and sailors is that the agriculturalists sail as passengers on perahu owned by Lande II people. Since the early 1970's, many men from the agricultural villages have been

spending up to six months a year as itinerant labourers in other parts of Indonesia. This annual exodus of people from the hinterland, bound for places such as Buru island and east Kalimantan, has provided the sailors with a valuable 'cargo'.

Paralleling the economic differences between the sailors and the agriculturalists is a status difference. The sailors, who describe themselves as 'people of the shore' (*orang pantai*), see themselves as quite different from the agriculturalists, whom they refer to as 'people from the mountains' (*orang gunung*).

This difference has to do with the traditional division of the Butonese state into four estates: the *kaomu*, the *walaka*, the *papara*, and the *batua*. The *kaomu* and *walaka* actually represent a single class that split as a result of an internal power struggle. This struggle was resolved by means of power-sharing, in which the ruler was drawn from amongst the *kaomu*, but the *walaka* chose the ruler (and could depose him) and watched over the *kaomu* as guardians of the *adat*, the law of the state. The *kaomu* were the 'executive', the *walaka* the 'legislative'. Together the *kaomu* and the *walaka* formed the aristocracy (though the *kaomu* were higher than the *walaka* in the sense that the Sultan was chosen from their ranks and not from the *walaka*) and used the aristocratic title of *Ode*. They formed "one unit, in contrast to the ordinary people, the *papara*" (Schoorl 1986:4). The *kaomu* and *walaka* lived within the walled surroundings of the palace (*Keraton*) at Bau-Bau, each forming a *kadie* or district, of which there were 72 in the state of Buton. The *papara* were the commoners, the 'villagers', and made up the other 70 *kadie*. The *batua* were slaves. If we consider the *kaomu* and *walaka* to represent one class, and the *papara* and *batua* to represent two other classes, the state of Buton conformed to the division into three ranked categories that was a common feature of Austronesian societies.

It is not clear where exactly the sailors - and in particular La Molabi's origin group - fit in this traditional Butonese class structure. They themselves claim to belong to the nobility (*bangsawan*) through the marriage of La Molabi's father, La Ngapa, to a *kaomu* woman, Wa Ode Katambi. But descent is reckoned in the male line, and the offspring of such a marriage do not inherit their mother's title *Ode*. La Molabi and his siblings are rarely referred to as *Ode* and few of their descendants use the title. When asked why they do not use the title *Ode* while claiming to belong to the nobility, they say that they have dropped the title out of habit. But some of the agriculturalists say they have no right to the title and add that the use of the title *Ode* by people who cannot trace descent from the nobility in the male line was formerly an offence punishable by death. There is a general ambivalence in Lande about the use of the title *Ode* (no doubt titles that were jealously guarded in the days of the Sultanate are now being appropriated by people who would not have dared to do so fifty years ago). High-ranking Wolio informants in Bau-Bau entirely dismissed the notion that La Molabi's group are descended from nobility, saying that there have only ever been *papara* in that area of Buton. In terms of their position within the Butonese ranking system, La Molabi's group would probably have traditionally been located in the interstices between the nobility and the commoners. Schoorl identifies a number of such interstitial groups; people who were the progeny of a noble woman and a commoner man or people who had been demoted from the nobility for certain offences (Schoorl:1986:4).

The claim by Lande II people to be higher in rank than the neighbouring agriculturalists certainly accords with the fact that sailing and trading was traditionally associated with the nobility.⁸ Agriculture is regarded with disdain; one of La Molabi's nieces said that formerly La Molabi's group had owned all land in the area of Gerak Makmur, but because they wanted

nothing to do with agriculture these forebears had given the land to the mountain people, in exchange for the right to demand tribute from them.

The class differences between the people of Lande II (the sailors) and the people of Sempa-Sempa, Wadawah, and Indu (the agriculturalists), are expressed principally in marriage rules and the arrangements for bridewealth. The people of Lande II say they do not inter-marry with the people of Sempa-Sempa adding that they do not marry into communities that have a *parabela*, the *parabela* being the head of a *papara* village. Sempa-Sempa, Kaindea, and Tambunaloka all have a *parabela*.

However, marriages between Lande II people and agriculturalists do sometimes occur. The worst such marriage - from the point of view of Lande II people - is between one of their daughters and man from an agricultural village. This is because the children of such a marriage lose their mother's status since descent is reckoned in the male line. These kind of marriages are discouraged either by banishment of the couple from the village,⁹ or through the demand by the girl's family of such high bridewealth that the man withdraws his suit. Bridewealth is calculated in *boka*, the former unit of currency in the Sultanate. The number of *boka* and the value of a *rupiah* in *boka* varies according to the status of the man relative to the woman he is marrying. For a man marrying a woman of the same class, the bridewealth is 40 *boka*, calculated at Rp.2,400 per *boka*. For a man of lower class marrying a woman of higher class, the bridewealth is 80 *boka*, calculated at Rp.3,600 per *boka*. If the status difference between the woman and the man is considered sufficiently great, the bridewealth demanded may be as high as Rp.1,000,000, the purpose being to prevent the marriage taking place.

Although villagers still put some importance on the traditional Butonese class structure, they also state that education is replacing inherited rank as a status marker; achieved status is replacing ascribed status. Thus, on numerous occasions when discussing the status differences between nobility and

commoners (between those who have the title *Ode* and those who do not), people pointed out that what mattered now was education; at a wedding feast, for example, a commoner who had completed high school and entered the military or the police would be seated 'higher up' than a member of the nobility who had only completed elementary school. The difference between the sailors and the agriculturalists can largely be seen in terms of modernity and the degree of involvement in the modern state. Villagers often represent the difference as a contrast between the emphasis of the agriculturalists on customary law (*adat*) and the cycle of traditional feasts marking the planting and harvesting of maize, and the emphasis of the sailing population on education and government jobs.

Though they cultivate one or two maize crops a year, the sailors emphasize that they do not like agriculture and are not accustomed to hard physical work. They point out that sailing is a higher status activity because it involves less manual labour. An important indicator of status is the colour of the skin, especially for women. Lande people say that in a large market, one can always tell the '*orang pantai*' from the '*orang gunung*' because the latter have darker skins. The darker skins of the '*orang gunung*' are due to their greater involvement in agriculture and longer exposure to the sun, especially on the part of women. In the agricultural population, women do most of the agricultural work, whereas in the sailing population women spend most of their time indoors, and put great value on having a 'white' skin.

One of the requirements for successful agriculture in this part of Buton is guarding the crop against wild pigs. This requires living in shacks in the hills for three months of the year (the agriculturalists of Sempa-Sempa, Indu, and Wadawah cultivate two maize crops a year and so spend most of the year living in the hills). The sailors do not like to do this, since it implies a low-status lifestyle that they associate with '*orang gunung*'. Consequently, many sailing households lose half or more of their annual maize crop to wild pigs.

The economic and status differences between the sailing population and the agricultural population are accompanied by a muted hostility between the two populations. Some Lande II people say of the Sempa-Sempa people that they have no 'self respect' (*harga diri*), that they have no 'rank' (*derajat*). On the other hand, the agriculturalists say of La Molabi's group that they have no history (*tidak ada sejarah di sini*). However, their lack of history in the area is the very basis on which La Molabi's group claims ascendancy over the agriculturalists and they frequently point out with pride that they are newcomers to the area (*kita pendatang di sini*).

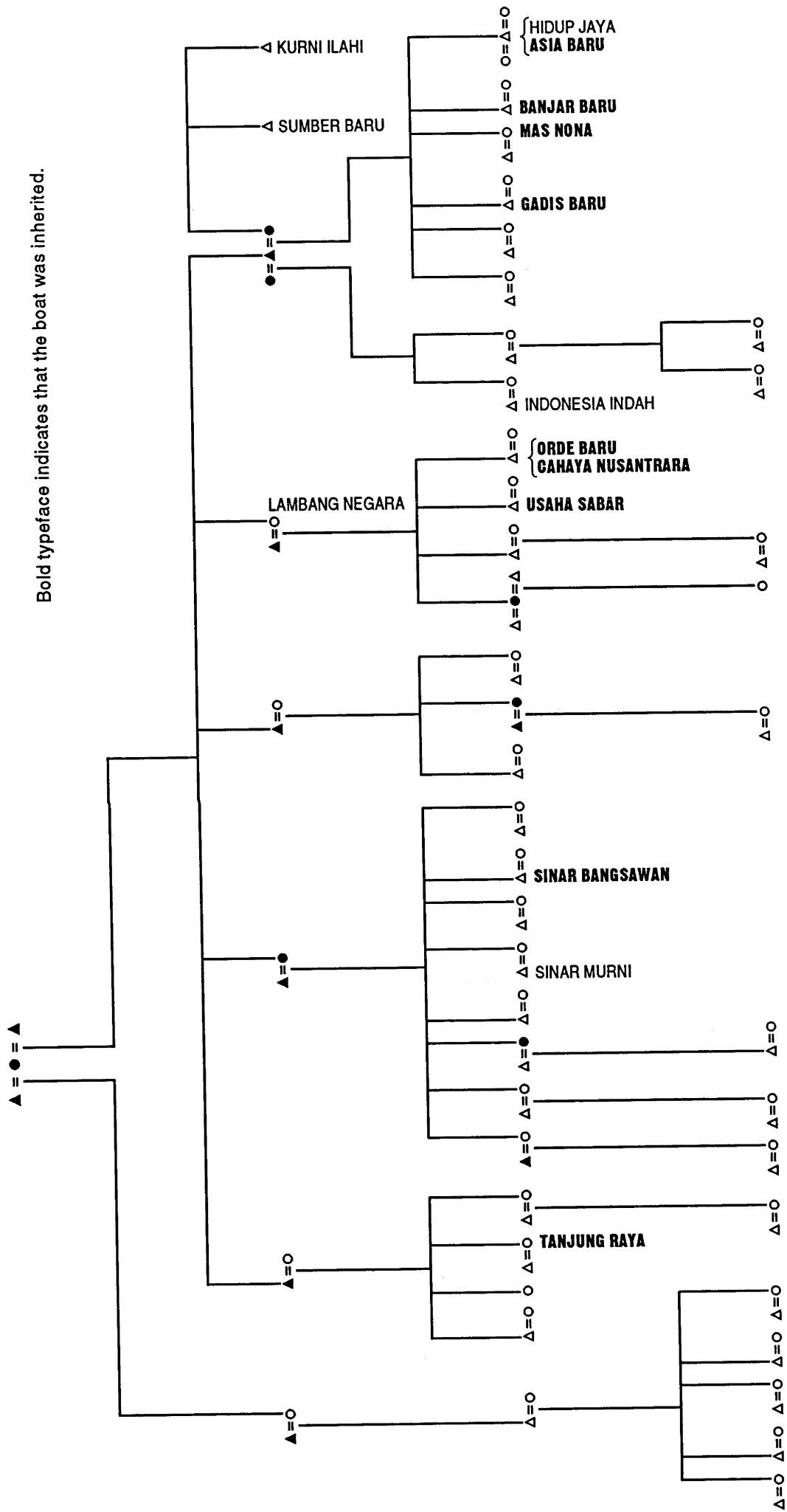
Another dimension to the difference between the two populations, the sailors and the agriculturalists, stems from the period of PKI activity (1965 - 1970). The sailing population (and in particular La Molabi's descent group) was not involved in the PKI, and was aligned instead with the Islamic party MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslim Indonesia*). It was amongst the agricultural population or 'orang gunung' - the poorest sector of Butonese society - that the PKI found most of its support on Buton. According to Lande II people, the entire population of Sempa-Sempa (which was then known as *Kabuea*) was summoned to Bau-Bau in the early 1970's to answer charges of belonging to the PKI.

Boat ownership

The perahu *lambo* in Lande II can be divided into two groups: those that were inherited by their present owners and those that were built by their present owners. Of the twenty-two perahu in Lande, nine were inherited and the remaining thirteen were built by their present owners. All the perahu that were inherited belong to people descended from La Molabi's father (see Figure 3) while all but one of the perahu built by their present owners belong to people who are either related to La Molabi by marriage or not related to him at all (see Table 3). There are thus two groups of boat-owners: the original boat-

owners and their descendants and a group comprising parvenus to boat-ownership, people whose families became boat-owners in a later generation.

For those who built rather than inherited their boats, boat-ownership is a stage within the development cycle of the household. La Rangani, for example, spent most of his sailing life as a captain on one of the perahu belonging to La Molabi, and only in 1972 did he begin buying timber to build his own perahu. In 1989, when he was already in his sixties, the boat was completed and launched. Typically, a man spends his early years at sea, using surplus income to build a house (as soon as possible after marriage) and to make subsequent extensions to the house, and to educate his children. During these years he may also start buying occasional baulks of teak with which to eventually build a boat. These baulks of teak are a secure investment for surplus cash since the timber seasons and improves with age. The process of accumulating timber for a boat may last many years - in the case of La Rangani's boat Sumber Baru it spanned a period of eighteen years. Late in life, at about the time a man might want to retire from an active life at sea, the boat is finished and launched. As a boat-owner he now has a secure income (he receives two to three crew-shares, or alternatively, a tenth of the trading capital plus profit) and no longer has to endure the rigours of a life at sea.



Bold typeface indicates that the boat was inherited.

Figure 3. Genealogy, showing boat-ownership amongst the core group of Lande II.

Table 3
Perahu *lambo* in Lande II and their owners' relationship to La Molabi

boat	relationship to La Molabi	
	consanguineal	affinal
<u>inherited:</u>		
Gadis Baru	S	
Mas Nona	D	
Asia Baru	"	
Banjar Baru	S	
Sinar Bangsawan	ZS	
Orde Baru	ZS	
Cahaya Nusantara	"	
Usaha Sabar	ZS	
Tanjung Raya	ZSD	
<u>not inherited:</u>		
Lambang Negara	Z	
Sinar Murni	ZDH	
Hidup Jaya	S	
Sumber Baru		WB
Kurni Ilahi		WB
India I	none	
India II	"	
Cahaya Indah	none	
Karya Jaya	none	
Jaya Makmur	none	
Usaha Baru	none	
Indonesia Indah		DH
Budi Luhur	none	

source: field notes.

Notes

¹ An example of a fortified village is Tira, situated on the peninsula between the Bay of Sampolawa and the Bay of Lande. Tira is perched on a cliff that drops sheer down to the sea fifty metres below. The only access to the village is up a flight of wooden steps in the cliff face.

² The title of a member of the nobility appointed by the Sultan to oversee a *papara* village.

³ A brother of the *parabela* of Lapandewa referred to the Lakina as 'kejam' or cruel, which could be a veiled reference to his having cooperated with the Japanese.

⁴ After he died, in 1989, La Molabi's estate became the subject of a protracted legal battle between the children of his first wife and the children of his second wife. The estate consisted of four perahus, two houses in Bau-Bau, and a large *warung*, also in Bau-Bau.

⁵ The export of cloth from Buton seems to have had a long history. Schoorl notes the following:

"Apollonius Scotte stayed on Buton from 17 December 1612 to 9 January 1613. He saw some possibilities for trade with Buton. He made an agreement with the king that the VOC would import cooper coins and exchange these for Butonese woven cloth (called Tannettes) which were in high demand in the Moluccas...We also have information about Buton from the same period, probably from Stalpaert van der Wiele (Jonge, de, 1865:149 and 159). This reference mentions the Butonese cloths, which could be bought very cheaply and were in great demand in Ceram." (Schoorl n.d.:22)

⁶ The village is still referred to by its old name - Lande - and the name Gerak Makmur is very rarely heard.

⁷ The following words used in Lande for boat-parts are all found in the Wolio language:

panggawa = sail

kokombu = mast

uunea = keel

kala = sheet (of a sail)

lamba puse = ritual navel in the keel of the perahu

koli-koli = dugout canoe

tajo = rib of boat

kancurai = bowsprit

tali tambera = standing rigging

uli = rudder

kasongko nodeke = deck hatch

The following words used in Lande for house-parts are not found in the Wolio language:

kabilai = first house-post to be erected

kuri'i = generic term for house-post

sumapa = horizontal beam

kimbohu = ridge-pole

cucumbo = upright post supporting ridge-pole

The words used in Lande for 'house' and 'boat' reflect this same linguistic division: the word for boat - *bangka* - is the same in Wolio, while the word for house - *ka'ana* - is only found in Cia-Cia (in Wolio the word for house is the Austronesian cognate term, *banua*)

⁸ Schoorl writes: "The sailing praus were very important for the *kaomu* and *walaka*. If they did not hold an office in the Sultanate, they could still perform valuable work in connection with the shipping business, and also earn an income in this way." (Schoorl 1986:22)

⁹ I know of one case of this in Lande II.

Chapter 2. The perahu economy

The history and design of the perahu lambo

The term *lambo* is used to describe a number of similar types of vessel, one of which is the Buton *lambo*. On Buton these perahu are seldom referred to as 'perahu *lambo*' but rather as *bangka*, an Austronesian cognate word generally interpreted to mean 'canoe'.¹ A Bau-Bau informant said that the word '*lambo*' is Bugis, and has only recently entered the Butonese vocabulary. He added that when he was a child these boats were known on Buton by the Dutch word '*bot*'. I have used the term 'perahu *lambo*' in this thesis since that is the term used in the literature.

What defines the *lambo* as a general type is the western hull in which the stem- and stern-posts are set at an angle to a straight keel. In the traditional Indonesian hull, by contrast, the stem- and stern-posts curve end-to-end into the keel (Horridge 1981:xiv).

The Butonese *lambo* are usually between 10 and 40 tons (Horridge 1981:66), and have a length of up to 40 feet. They may be either ketch-rigged, or gunter-rigged (see Figure 1), but the ketch rig has almost disappeared in favour of the gunter rig, which can be managed by a smaller crew. Most *lambo* nowadays are single masted. There still remain some double-masted *lambo* but they were much more common before the 1960's (Gibson-Hill 1949:134).

The defining features of the Buton *lambo* lie not in the rig but in the shape of the keel, stem, counter-stern, and the central rudder (see Figure 1:d). The most distinctive feature is the overhanging counter-stern. The rudder hangs directly under the stern rather than behind it, which makes it very easy for the *lambo* to load and unload at jetties; the boat is simply backed up stern-first against the wharf without dismantling the rudder (Horridge 1979:11).

The stern itself - known as a 'clipper stern' - is elliptical rather than square. This feature and the rudder tube are the two weakest points in the

construction of the *lambo*. The Butonese *lambo* follows the Indonesian custom of having a long permanent deck-house amidships, which extends from behind the mast to within 5 feet of the stern.

Gibson-Hill, writing in the 1940's notes that the best *lambo* were built on the island of Bonerate in the Flores Sea (Gibson-Hill 1949:133). Broch, writing about Bonerate 40 years later, states that the island is renowned for its skilled shipbuilders (Broch 1981:51). The building of *lambo* on Bonerate can probably be attributed to Butonese influence; Broch notes that the people of Bonerate are 5th generation descendants of Butonese immigrants (Broch 1988:fn4).

The Butonese *lambo* is basically an Indonesian version of the small western trading sloop or cutter of the late 19th century (Horridge 1981:66) and was probably copied from a European design sometime in the 1920's. Nootboom writes that in 1932/33 the perahu *lambo* was being introduced to Ende as the 'English model'. Collins, writing in the 1930's, records in his book Makassar Sailing, that Bugis boat owners had already perceived the advantages of the *lambo* over the much larger *pinisi* (from the English 'pinnacle'): "the lives of the ships may be so prolonged without limit; but they are clumsy craft and need very large crews, so that many of their owners would gladly exchange them for *lambos*, as they call boats of modern European design and rig" (Collins 1937:21).

Horridge has attempted to identify the prototypes of the *lambo* from among the many western vessels that could be found in South East Asia during the last century. He suggests a number of possible origins but dismisses the idea of a Dutch origin: "While the *lambo* could have been a copy of many boats in the English speaking world of 1890, it seems less likely to have been copied from the Dutch" (Horridge:1979:7). He then notes that the Broome pearl luggers at the turn of the century were superficially similar to the *lambo*. But there are major differences which rule out the pearl luggers as a prototype. He concludes that Singapore was most likely the origin of the *lambo*:

"We can be confident that gaff-cutters were built at Singapore for white men; indeed one old Butungese sailor told me he thought the *lambo* design spread from there...My theory is, therefore, that the local boat-builders included skilful Butungese and Makassarese who were shown how to build handy cutters and sloops for English customers in ports such as Singapore, and that they soon carried the design in their heads to their coastal homes" (Horridge 1979:8).

Since publication of that monograph, Horridge has put forward a further hypothesis for the origin of the *lambo*. Records of the Royal Batavian Yacht Club show that in the 1920's a number of wealthy Dutch imported European cutters and sloops to Java. It is possible that the *lambo* was copied from these vessels.

Outwardly, the *lambo* is a copy of western rig, hull and plank lines (Horridge 1979:iv)² but as Horridge argues, its construction shows a misunderstanding of the principles involved in the design of a boat of this sort. The western hull is designed to be built of flexible planks pinned onto a rigid frame of ribs. But in the *lambo*, the hull is built first, as a rigid shell of planks, joined edge-to-edge with dowels. The ribs are added later. This follows the traditional Indonesian method of boat construction. The hull, instead of being built of flexible sawn planks, is built of heavy baulks of hardwood that are carved to fit the curvature of the hull. The ribs therefore provide very little support, and the hull is held together by the sheer weight of the carved planks, and the pressure of the water outside the hull, rather like an inverted arch. There is therefore a mismatch between the materials, the design, and the construction method (Horridge 1979:iv).

Horridge has identified a number of problems that result from this. One of these problems occurs in the midline of the hull, below the stern. In the western method of construction, the curvature of the stern is achieved by bending flexible planks, sometimes by steaming, onto the pre-formed frame. In the *lambo*, this curvature is achieved by inserting small sections of plank, carved to shape.³ This method makes it very difficult to keep the two halves of the stern together. Horridge describes a nearly complete *lambo* hull in the Kei islands which had split down the midline under the stern. The builder told

Horridge that "he had had so much difficulty trying to keep the two halves of the counter together that he was thinking of abandoning the whole boat and using the wood for another one" (Horridge 1979:26).

A further problem lies in the forces exerted by the mast on the keel. In a boat with a fore-and-aft rig, the tension exerted by the stays on the hull, and the compression on the mast, all concentrated at one point on the hull, are much greater than the forces driving the boat (Horridge 1979:10). In a western design, the pre-formed frame of ribs, which provides the support for the hull, also takes the downward force of the mast when the boat is under full sail. The mast is stepped into a cross-beam which forms part of the internal frame of the boat. But in the *lambo*, the mast sits directly on the keel. This, combined with the fact that the keel is not made of one long piece of timber, but of three shorter sections, means that an enormous downward pressure is concentrated on a very small area.

Two interesting points emerge from the way in which the Butonese have adopted the perahu *lambo*. Firstly, although the design was new, the construction methods were traditional, and this has resulted in numerous weaknesses in the hull. Secondly, the *lambo* was adopted much later than other western-style Indonesian perahu, such as the Bugis *pinisi*. Horridge suggests that, like some western nations that industrialized comparatively late, the Butonese have the advantage over other sailing groups who had copied earlier western designs. As Gibson-Hill observed, the *pinisi* captains of the late 1930's could already see the advantages of the *lambo* - its greater versatility and smaller crew size - but were unable to adopt the *lambo* as they were already committed to their existing technology.

Horridge argues that the explanation for the expansion of the Butonese in the first half of this century lies partly in the technology of the perahu *lambo*, which has allowed the Butonese to carve out a particular niche in inter-island shipping. The larger Indonesia perahu - such as the Bugis *pinisi* and the

Sumateran *nade* - are difficult to fill with a perahu's own cargo because working capital is insufficient. The larger the perahu, the larger the proportion of the cargo that is carried on a consignment basis, from which the perahu receives only freight income (Dick 1975a:99). The *lambo*, because of its smaller size, is ideally suited to small trading, and its profit per cubic metre of cargo is therefore higher than on a larger perahu. Another adaptive advantage of the *lambo* is the small crew size. The *lambo* can be manned by a crew of three or four (though before the 1960's, when *lambo* were ketch-rigged, they required a crew of twice that size) and can therefore be a family enterprise. As Horridge concluded: "the *lambo* had the advantage for trade in this century over other types of perahu because its rig makes it fairly independent of the seasonal turn-around of the monsoonal winds, its counter and rudder design makes it convenient for loading at small ports, and its size is just sufficient for it to earn a living for the master and crew of two or three" (Horridge 1979:33). However, the size of the *lambo* is not in itself sufficient to explain the development of the Butonese niche in inter-island shipping, since there are Bugis *pinisi* of the same size as Butonese *lambo* (Dick pers. com.). Attempts to explain social phenomena purely in terms of technology are in general unsatisfactory.

History of the perahu economy in Eastern Indonesia

The purpose of this section, which is based largely on the work of the maritime economist Howard Dick (1975a, 1975b, 1977, 1987), is to provide an historical framework in which to situate the sudden adoption of sailing by the founder of Lande II and his siblings.

1891 to early 1930's

The greatest source of competition for Indonesian perahu in this century has been the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (The Royal Paketnavigation Company) or KPM, established in 1891.

The Lombok campaign of 1894 and the pacification of the outer islands ushered in a period of political stability that resulted in a boom in trade. But it was the KPM, and not perahu shipping, that benefited from this trade: "by 1910 the Company had extended its services to most ports of any commercial significance and prahus were progressively relegated to the role of feeder vessels" (Dick 1975a:I:75).

Towards the end of the First World War, perahu shipping regained a foothold in inter-island trade. There was a minor boom in perahu construction, resulting from "a shortage of steamer tonnage in the archipelago and the high level of freight rates". Perahu broke away from their role as feeder shipping, and started operating on steamship routes, carrying bulky and low-rated commodities such as timber (Dick 1987:105)

In 1923 the KPM decided to take action to stem this growth in perahu shipping. The company's aim was to "reduce the profitability of prahu shipping to the point where new prahus would no longer be built, and the fleet would gradually diminish by attrition" (Dick 1987:107).

With this end in view, the KPM opened new steamship lines from Makassar to the Mandar coast, and from Makassar via Bulukumba to the

southern islands of Selayar, Jampea, and Bonerate. On these routes the KPM charged the same rates of freight as perahu, and was soon able to capture a larger share of both trades, though at little profit:

"Between the Mandar coast and Makassar in 1922 the KPM and the prahu fleet had carried about the same amount of cargo; in 1923 the KPM carried almost twice as much. On the southern feeder line the KPM was carrying almost three times as much cargo in 1923. These inroads on the prahu trade soon had the desired effect. By the end of 1923 it could be reported that "...the so-called "wild" (tramp) prahu shipping, which previously did good business, now has left no satisfactory employment and is turning to places further north (ie. Donggala etc)..." (Dick 1975a:107).

By the late 1920's, however, it was clear that the KPM's efforts were having an unexpected consequence; the opening up "of this hitherto surprisingly remote part of the archipelago" to regular steamship services stimulated a boom in local trade in the Sulawesi area, and the perahu fleet benefited as much from this trade expansion as the KPM.

Early 1930's to outbreak of WWII

The fall of commodity prices during the Depression brought about a revival of perahu shipping, and at the same time a reduction in demand for modern shipping:

"Perahu shipping is expanding not insignificantly, which must also be observed as a crisis phenomenon. Because of the very bad state of the market, and the small demand which rules everywhere, many are giving preference to very cheap but uncertain and unreliable transport above quick and safer liner service" (Makassar Chamber of Commerce, 1932, quoted in Dick 1975b:77)

The War period

During the Japanese occupation, all Dutch shipping had either been sunk or had fled the archipelago; the entire volume of inter-island cargoes therefore fell to the perahu. It was during this boom period in perahu shipping

that La Molabi's family moved down from the hill village of Tira to Lande and started building and sailing perahu.

The Japanese organized perahu shipping as part of their war effort, "requiring prahus greater than five tons to be licensed and prahus greater than ten tons to be brought under the control of associations or bureaus in Jakarta, Surabaya, or Makassar" (Dick 1975a:79). There is anecdotal evidence of this from the commander of a British submarine:

"We spent more than a week off the south coast of Celebes, vainly searching for enemy traffic. We saw nothing through the periscope but white-sailed praus...On the tenth day, being due to leave patrol, and despairing of anything better to attack, we moved further into the Gulf of Boni to investigate the native schooners which...had been pressed into service by the Japanese to carry nickel ore westward from the little port of Pomalaa. We had been authorized to sink these schooners if they were engaged in this traffic, but as they were known to be manned entirely by natives I had made up my mind that I would sink them only if I could do so without causing any loss of life to their crews" (Edward Young 1957:241)

It was estimated in 1946 that 50 per cent of the perahu fleet of South Sulawesi had been lost (Dick 1975a:79).

The 1950's and 1960's

Political instability and a general economic decline during the 1950's and the 1960's made for conditions "which were ruinous for motorized shipping" (Dick 1975a:81), but under which perahu shipping thrived:

"smuggling and various forms of extra legal trading, stimulated by foreign exchange regulations and political instability, also created many opportunities (for perahu), especially after 1953 when the political situation in South Sulawesi deteriorated into anarchy" (Dick 1975a:81).

The modern shipping sector was severely affected by the general breakdown of infrastructure (congestion at ports, shortage of spare parts), and also by the stifling effects of a burgeoning bureaucracy. None of these problems affected the perahu; they were not dependent on spare parts, they were able to load and unload independent of port infrastructure, and they were largely free of

bureaucratic controls. Furthermore, the expulsion of the KPM from Indonesian waters in 1957 left a vacuum in inter-island trade which the perahu sector was quick to exploit (Dick 1975a:81).

1967 to the present

The fortunes of the perahu sector declined with the restoration of economic order after 1967. A major factor in this decline was the entry into inter-island shipping of Chinese. The Chinese had been unable to invest in perahu shipping (*Pelayaran Rakyat*, lit. 'People's Shipping') because of ethnic exclusion by the five maritime suku. They had been unwilling to become involved in the modern shipping sector (*Pelayaran Nusantara*, lit. 'Archipelago Shipping') because of the degree of bureaucratic control. But they now invested in wooden and steel-hulled motor vessels of between 100 and 500 metric tons (*Pelayaran Lokal*, 'Local Shipping'). *Lokal* shipping was virtually unregulated. Chinese investment in *lokal* shipping has meant that *Lokal* vessels have 'much better access than perahu shipping to both finance and cargoes, especially to cargoes of consumer goods which are so important in the outward trade from Java' (Dick 1975a:82).

Between 1966 and 1973, 'total inter-island cargo flows increased by 263 per cent' and while 'Nusantara shipping maintained its share by growing at almost the same rate, the growth of flows of cargoes carried by *lokal* shipping increased by almost 450 per cent but for perahu shipping by less than 150 per cent' (Dick 1975a:84); '...if 1965 is taken as the base year, prahu cargoes not only failed to keep pace with the overall rate of growth of inter-island cargoes but actually declined 30 per cent in absolute amount' (Dick 1975a: loc.cit.).

While these figures do show a decline in the general perahu economy, they do not necessarily indicate a decline in the perahu *lambo* economy. Firstly, not all perahu *lambo* cargoes would have appeared in the above figures since these figures are from the major ports and many perahu *lambo* were not trading in the major ports (Horridge 1979:33). Secondly, perahu *lambo* were not

necessarily subject to the same economic forces affecting larger perahu shipping; the fact that perahu *lambo* were able to trade on their own account (rather than depending on freight cargoes) means that they may have been insulated from the impact of some of the changes affecting the general Indonesian perahu economy.

Nevertheless, there was a decline in the Butonese perahu economy that corresponds to the changes outlined above. This decline can be seen in the population and perahu statistics for the island of Kaledupa, off the southeast of Buton. There were 109 perahu *lambo* recorded on Kaledupa in 1974 (Hughes 1984: Table 7) but by 1987 this figure had fallen to 58 (see Table 1). Table 4 shows the changing population levels on Kaledupa from 1954 to 1991.

Table 4.
Changing population levels on Kaledupa island, 1954 - 1991.

1954	1969	1973	1980	1987	1991
14,208	18,730	17,970	15,397	16,149	14,161

source: *Kabupaten Buton Dalam Angka 1987* (p.63) and *Penduduk Indonesia 1957*, (p.87).

From 1954 to 1969 the population of Kaledupa increased by 31.8 per cent. This corresponds to the boom in perahu shipping throughout Eastern Indonesia between 1958 and 1968, brought about largely by the expulsion of the KPM in December, 1957 (Dick 1975a:81). Throughout the 1960's and 70's copra, and to a lesser extent cloves, were the mainstay of the Kaledupa perahu economy (Hughes 1984:172). In 1972 the price of copra fell dramatically, and from then on the copra trade was in decline. Between 1969 and 1991 the population of Kaledupa fell by 24.3 per cent. Hughes reports that "because of an increase in population almost all of the land had been taken into cultivation but by the mid-1970's holdings had in many cases become fragmented into

small plots that could not support a family" (Hughes 1984:169). Many households were now unable to cultivate the annual maize crop, which was the traditional occupation of the seafarers during the west monsoon. The response to this land shortage was to extend the sailing season. Because of improvements in the seaworthiness of the perahu - the introduction of the bamboo bilge pump and the use of synthetic fibres instead of coconut fibre for the boats' ropes and stays - it was now possible to sail throughout the year (Hughes 1984:171). The extension of the sailing season, however, could only compensate in part for the declining revenues from sailing, and the growing pressure on agricultural resources. By 1982 some of the population of Kaledupa had begun to migrate to Taliabu island "where there was a substantial Butonese community, many if not most of whom came from Kaledupa. The settlers were becoming farmers, principally cultivating cloves, in what was in effect unofficial transmigrasi" (Hughes 1984:172). This same trend can be seen in the other *Kecamatan* dependent on sailing. In these *Kecamatan* there was no fall in population levels, but the population grew at a much lower rate than in the *Kecamatan* not involved in the sailing economy. Table 5 divides the *Kecamatan* of *Kabupaten* Buton into two groups - 'sailing' and 'non-sailing' - according to the ratio of people to boats in 1987.

Table 5

Ratio of people to boats for all *Kecamatan* in *Kabupaten* Buton, in 1987.

'Sailing'	population	no. of perahu <i>lambo</i> ¹	ratio of people to boats
Wanci	32,069	222	144:1
Tomia	12,928	138	93:1
Kaledupa	16,149	58	278:1
Binongko	11,152	175	63:1
Sampolawa	24,903	161	154:1
Pasar Wajo	27,668	78	354:1
Batauga	20,695	90	229:1
Kabaena	12,013	115	104:1
Kabaena T.	13,101	87	150:1
'non-sailing'			
Lasalimu	12,578	19	662:1
Sorawolio	04,070	0	4,070:0
Bungi	07,562	0	7,562:0
Kapontori	07,247	0	7,247:0
G.U.	16,210	9	805:1
Lakudo	14,401	5	2,880:1
Mawasangka	25,025	1	25,025:1
Poleang	19,498	53	367:1
Poleang T.	16,264	30	542:1
Rumbia	26,092	1	26,092:1
Wolio	26,153	23	1,137:1
Betoambari	28,017	16	1,751:1

source: *Kabupaten Buton Dalam Angka*, 1987: 273,274¹ These figures include both mechanized and non-mechanized perahu *lambo*.

Table 6 shows the population figures for all *Kecamatan* in *Kabupaten* Buton between 1973 and 1991, and the percentage change in population over that period. 1973 has been taken as the base year because the long-term decline in the Butonese perahu economy seems to have begun at about that time (population figures for *Kabupaten* Buton are available as far back as 1954). It can be seen from Table 6 that the 'sailing' *Kecamatan* had an overall population growth, between 1973 and 1991, of only 18.3 per cent while the 'non-sailing'

Kecamatan had an overall population growth, during the same period, of 51 per cent.

Table 6
Population census figures for all *Kecamatan* in *Kabupaten* Buton, 1973 - 1991

'sailing'	1973	1980	1987	1991	% change 1973-91
Wanci	27,917	30,415	32,069	33,452	
Binongko	11,900	10,410	11,152	11,606	
Tomia	15,496	12,739	12,928	13,072	
Kaledupa	17,970	15,397	16,149	14,161	
Sampolawa	20,546	21,327	24,903	26,176	
Pasar Wajo	23,529	23,793	27,668	28,004	
Batauga	11,558	18,223	20,695	22,290	
Kabaena	19,790	21,803	12,013	13,095	
Kabaena T.	-	-	13,101	14,086	
sub-total	148,706			175,942	18.3%
'non-sailing'					
Lasalimu	09,387	10,688	12,578	13,836	
Sorawolio	-	03,223	04,070	04,560	
Bungi	-	-	07,562	08,338	
Kapontori	06,395	06,181	07,247	07,890	
G.U.	30,657	27,976	16,210	17,367	
Lakudo	-	-	14,401	13,818	
Mawasangka	17,119	21,633	25,025	27,145	
Poleang	19,587	27,071	19,498	20,953	
Poleang T.	-	-	16,264	14,566	
Rumbia	11,918	15,602	26,092	24,086	
Wolio	47,893	28,553	26,153	29,735	
Betoambari	-	22,105	28,017	33,643	
sub-total	142,956			215,937	51.0%
TOTAL	291,662			391,879	34.36%

N.B. The *Kecamatan* Kabaena Timur, Sorowolio, Bungi, Lakudo, Poleang Timur, and Betoambari were all formed after 1973.

source: *Kabupaten Buton Dalam Angka, 1987 and Type Klasifikasi Perkembangan Desa, Kabupaten Buton 1991/92*

Winds, Cargoes and Trade Routes

The easterly winds begin at the end of April and continue until the beginning of November. During the month of November the winds become changeable. Towards the end of December the winds start blowing from the west and continue until the end of March, when they drop away. In the month of April the winds are again changeable (see Map 6).

The west monsoon is accompanied by strong waves which can pose a danger to perahu *lambo*. This, together with the fact that most of the agricultural work is done during the west monsoon, means that the east monsoon is the most active sailing season.

Table 7 shows the departure and arrival dates over continuous periods for nine Lande perahu, amounting to a total of 29 'sailing years'. Table 8 shows the number of times the voyages listed in Table 7 occurred in a given month. Figure 4 presents in graph form the information shown in Table 8; it can be seen that although there is a marked increase in the number of voyages which occurred during the east monsoon, sailing continued throughout the year.

Lande perahu *lambo* carry a wide range of cargoes throughout eastern Indonesia and as far west as Gresik on Java. The *pas jalanan* or sailing passes record the following cargoes: cashew nuts, onions, bananas, taro, rice, wheat, maize, coconuts, copra, cloves, kapok, palm thatch, wooden roofing shingles, timber, mattresses, cupboards, fertilizer, empty bottles, junk iron, car-tyres, asphalt, cement, passengers, clothes, and a mixed assortment of shop stores described in the log-books as *barang campur* or *bekal*. Table 9 lists 98 voyages made by Lande perahu between 1985 and 1992. Table 10 gives a breakdown of the different cargoes carried in the voyages recorded in Table 9. The most frequently carried cargoes were timber, salt, and taro (*keladi*), in that order.

An important variable in planning a voyage is the different stowage factors of different cargoes. Some cargoes, such as salt and cement, have a very high stowage factor (they occupy a small amount of space relative to their weight) while other cargoes, such as mattresses, timber, and copra, have lower stowage factors. Different cargoes are combined, where possible, to make maximum usage of the perahu's carrying capacity. For example Lande perahu often carry salt and mattresses together. A full cargo of salt leaves unused space in the hull that can be occupied by an additional cargo of mattresses without adding much to the overall weight.

Keladi

Keladi is grown on the island of Banggai and is shipped principally to Ambon, but also to the islands of Sulabesi (adjacent to Taliabu), Taliabu, Buru, and Seram in the province of Maluku, and Muna and Buton in the province of Sulawesi Tenggara (see Map 7).

The movement of *keladi* between Banggai and Ambon is on a NW/SE axis, and is therefore a cross-wind trade, since the prevailing winds in the Moluccas are from the south and north. This means that the *keladi* trade is not restricted by the monsoonal pattern.

Keladi is planted in July and harvested in July of the following year. It is harvested according to demand, and what cannot be sold at a given time is left in the ground where it keeps better than above ground. Most *keladi* is sold between July and December of the year after planting, but perahu *lambo* arriving in Banggai from January to June of the following year can still find cargoes of *keladi*. Lande perahu *lambo* engaged in the *keladi* trade arrive in Banggai in August, and from August to December make between 2 and 5 voyages from Banggai to Ambon. Lande crews buy their cargoes of *keladi* on Banggai from the village of Kelapa Lima.

A Butonese middleman - who comes from the village of Lakaliba, adjacent to Lande - exercises a monopoly over the *keladi* trade from Kelapa Lima. This man borrows a certain amount of capital from agriculturalists in the village of Lapandewa and lends half this capital to Lande II boat-owners or captains in return for a commitment that in August they will sail to Banggai and buy *keladi* from him. He takes the other half of the capital to Banggai island in May or June, 2 months before the *keladi* harvest is ready, and gains the rights over as much of the *keladi* as he can, while it is still in the ground. He does this by lending small amounts of money to the *keladi* growers against the forthcoming harvest.

When the Lande perahu arrive at Kelapa Lima in August, the middleman informs them that he will buy a cargo of *keladi* for them if they hand over to him the money he lent them two months earlier. With this money - the other half of his original capital - he gains rights over the remaining *keladi* in Kelapa Lima. He then loads up Lande perahu with cargoes of *keladi*. The crew sells the *keladi* on Ambon for Rp.2,500 per *kaleng* (a large tin) of which Rp.1,200 is returned to the *keladi* middleman as the purchase price of the *keladi*. The middleman also receives two crew-shares in respect of the cargo, since the *keladi* belongs to him. Lande informants say the middleman makes two profits (*makan dua kali*): firstly, the cost price of the *keladi* is calculated at Rp.1,200 per *kaleng* whereas the middleman buys it from the *keladi* growers at Rp.800 per kilo, and secondly, the middleman receives two crew shares since he owns the cargo of *keladi*.

Salt

One of the main sources of salt in eastern Indonesia is Bima, on the island of Sumbawa (see Map 8). Salt can only be dried during the dry season (May - November), and so the production of salt is seasonal. However, because large quantities of salt are stored in warehouses, it is available all year round,

though the price rises as stocks diminish towards the end of the wet season (November - April).

Lande perahu take on cargoes of salt at Bima, and sell it on Buru (where it is used in salt licks for cattle) and Ambon (where it is used for drying fish). Bima lies south-west of Buton. During the west monsoon, from December to April, perahu *lambo* are unable to sail west of Buton, due to a combination of head-winds and strong waves. The shipment of salt from Bima is therefore an east monsoon activity, and mainly occurs in the months May to November.

Salt has the advantage over other cargoes that it is relatively cheap. A full cargo of salt costs about Rp.700,000 (20 tons x Rp.35 per kilo), whereas a full cargo of timber costs about Rp.3,100,000 (20 cubic metres x Rp.155,000 per cubic metre), and a full cargo of *keladi* costs about Rp.1,950,000 (1,500 *kaleng* x Rp.1,300 per *kaleng*). Furthermore salt can be sold for four or five times its purchase price. By comparison, timber and *keladi* are usually sold for two-and-a-half times their purchase price.

There is fierce competition amongst the salt merchants of Bima to capture the trade of perahu *lambo*. Villagers say that before they have even dropped anchor, motor launches representing the different salt merchants go out to the perahu and try and secure their custom through inducements. Most Lande crews engaged in the salt trade, however, regularly buy their cargoes from the same merchant. Traders from whom a Lande crew or captain regularly buys cargoes are called *langganan*. These *langganan* reward their regular customers; every second time a perahu buys a cargo from a salt merchant he gives the crew a new set of sails, several tins of paint, and cigarettes. Furthermore, if the crew wants to buy 20 tons of salt, but only has sufficient capital to buy 10 tons, the salt merchant lends the crew the other ten tons, which is paid for on the return trip, without interest.

Timber

The main sources of timber are the islands of Obi and Bacan in the province of Maluku (see Map 9). From these two islands, timber is carried to Bitung in northern Sulawesi, to Ternate in northern Maluku, to Maumere on Flores, and to Bau-Bau on the island of Buton.

Although timber is available all year round, trading and freighting of timber is mainly a west monsoon activity. One reason for this is that most of the timber carried by Lande perahu comes from the Port of Ocimaloleo on the island of Obi, and sailing perahu can only gain access to this port during the west monsoon. In the Moluccas, the East and West Monsoons blow from the north and south respectively. The Port of Ocimaloleo faces south, which means that during the east monsoon - when the winds in the Moluccas blow from the south - this anchorage is too rough to be used by perahu *lambo*.

The movement of timber in the northern Moluccas (from Bacan to Bitung) is on an east/west axis. With the prevailing winds blowing either from the south or north it is therefore a cross-wind trade and can be carried on throughout the year.

Timber is carried both as a perahu's own cargo and as freight but as a trade cargo it is far more profitable than as freight. Boat-owners or captains who have insufficient capital often do a number of freight trips in northern Maluku, and use the proceeds to buy a cargo of timber in Obi.

In terms of patron/client relationships between Lande sailors and the middlemen from whom they obtain their cargoes, the trade in *keladi* and salt represent two ends of the spectrum; the *keladi* middleman exercises a monopoly on the supply of *keladi*, whereas the salt merchants compete with each other for clients among the Lande perahu.

The monopoly on *keladi* is the only instance of its kind and Lande boat-owners and crews are in general not easily drawn into exploitative relationships of this kind. If Lande crews lack the trading capital to buy their

own cargoes, they carry cargoes on consignment, for which capital is not required. This point was made quite clearly in the following interview with a boat-owner:

"It doesn't matter...we can still look for freight, because there are many people from different places with capital, such as the timber traders, for whom we carry freight. Whatever there is in the different areas, that's what we carry. Its not difficult for perahu *lambos*, whether or not we have capital, its not difficult. Its up to the boat-owner, if he wants for example to use trading capital, okay, we trade, if freight, okay, freight. Because we can always look for freight. Because perahu *lambos* are still needed in other parts (of Indonesia) which don't have perahu *lambo*, such as Maluku, Irian Jaya, they don't have perahu *lambos*. Its just Buton alone that has perahu *lambos* for carrying (cargoes) from village to city..." (excerpt from a recorded interview with a boat-owner)

(Tidak apa-apa juga...masih bisa cari frak yang disebutkan frak, sebab banyak dari lain-lain itu ada modal yang, sepertinya kayu kita muat. Apa saja yang ada di daerah-daerah lain itu, kita bisa muat. Itu tidak menjadi kesulitan bagi perahu lambo, modal dan tidak ada modal, tidak menjadi kesulitan. Itu terserah dari si pemakai perahu itu, kalau dia mau, umpamanya mau mencari modal, ya modal, kalau cari frak, ya frak. Sebab masih membutuhkan perahu lambo di daerah-daerah lain, sebab di daerah-daerah lain itu tidak mempunyai perahu lambo. Sebab di daerah-daerah lain, seperti Maluku, Irian Jaya itu, tidak mempunyai perahu lambo. Khususnya daerah Buton sendiri ini, yang ada perahu lambo untuk mengangkut dari desa ke kota...).

Typically, a crew that lacks trading capital makes a number of freight voyages and then uses the accumulated revenue from those voyages to buy its own cargo.

The borrowing of perahu and the institution of kapiompu

The most important aspect of the organization of sailing in Lande is the borrowing of perahu. It is an institution which breaks the nexus between household and boat and moves the boat out of the private domain into the public domain. During its construction the boat is identified with the household unit of husband and wife, with relationships *within* the household. But after the launching of the boat these symbolic associations are superseded by associations suggesting relationships *between* households; the borrowing of

boats is likened to marriage and the boat indemnity or *kapiompu* is likened to the bridewealth.

The borrowing of perahu takes place through the institution of *kapiompu* (informants translate this word by the Indonesian *bebanan*, meaning a financial burden). Once a captain has assembled a crew, a conference (*musyawarah*) is held in the boat-owner's house between captain, crew, and boat-owner, with the village headman, the *Imam*, and other villagers present as witnesses. The boat-owner and captain negotiate the value (*nilai*) of the perahu, and the formula to be used for dividing the profit from the voyage. No money is used in the institution of *kapiompu*. The captain signs a receipt for the perahu in which it is stated that he will pay half the value of the perahu, should the perahu be lost at sea. The responsibility for the other half of the value of the perahu remains with the boat-owner; it is said that half the value of the perahu sails with the captain and half stays in the house of the boat-owner.

The reason given for this arrangement is that if the receipt were to state the full value of the boat, the boat-owner would lose rights in his boat. The captain could use the receipt as proof of ownership and attempt to sell the boat in a foreign port. In an example given by villagers, if the *kapiompu* was set at 4 million *rupiah*, and the captain was liable for the whole amount (rather than half), he could sell the boat on Ambon for 6 million *rupiah*, return 4 million to the boat-owner, and make a profit of 2 million.

The borrowing of boats is an important part of the ideology that underlies the organization of sailing. This ideology can best be described by paraphrasing an expression often used by villagers: 'searching for a living together' (*mencari nafkah bersama-sama*). The arrangements that surround the borrowing of boats might be thought of as simply a way of safeguarding the property of an absent boat-owner. But the borrowing of boats involves more than this, for even when the boat-owner sails on his own boat, the boat is still borrowed. This was emphasized in the following dialogue with a boat-owner:

MS: So are all boats that sail borrowed?

Boat-owner: They are borrowed. Even if I'm (sailing) alone (ie. when the boat-owner captains his own boat). For example I'm the boat-owner, even if I sail alone, that constitutes borrowing. Borrowing.

MS: Borrowing from the boat-owner?

B-o: (Borrowing from) the boat-owner.

MS: But if the boat-owner sails with his perahu, that doesn't (constitute borrowing)...?

B-o: Borrowing!

MS: That's also borrowing?

B-o: That's also borrowing.

MS: It doesn't matter that the boat-owner is on his own perahu?

B-o: (Even though) he's on his perahu, its borrowing, it constitutes borrowing. In other words, when we sail, searching for a living together with the boat-owner, that also constitutes borrowing.

MS: *Jadi di sini semua perahu yang berlayar dipinjam?*

Boat-owner: *Dipinjam! Biar saya sendiri. Umpamanya saya tuan perahu. Biar saya berlayar perahu sendiri, itu merupakan pinjam juga. Pinjam.*

MS: *Pinjam dari yang empunya?*

B-o: *Yang empunya.*

MS: *Tapi kalau yang empunya berlayar dengan perahu, itu tidak (merupakan pinjam)...?*

B-o: *Pinjam!*

MS: *Pinjam juga?*

B-o: *Pinjam juga.*

MS: *Tidak apa-apa yang empunya masih ada di perahu?*

B-o: *Masih ada di perahu, pinjam itu, termasuk pinjam. Maksudnya pinjam, kita berlayar itu, mencari, mencari nafkah bersama-sama dengan tuan perahu, itu juga termasuk pinjam.*

This statement suggests that the borrowing of the boat is based on an ideology of 'searching for a living together'. The principle that the voyage is a joint venture can be seen in the following case, where a boat-owner about to embark on his own perahu was temporarily divested of ownership of the boat, as if to reinforce the principle that those who put to sea together share the risks equally:

On his boat's previous voyage, the boat-owner La Pasi had been cheated by the captain, who had withheld a part of the boat-owner's share (the *owi*). The matter had been resolved by the village headman, but La Pasi decided to sail with his perahu on its next voyage in order to witness the transactions and ensure that he received his full share. The pre-voyage conference was attended by La Pasi, the new captain, three of the crew-members, the village headman, the *Imam*, and two other villagers. Two

issues were negotiated during the conference: the value of the *kapiompu* and the formula to be used for dividing profits from the voyage. However, La Pasi was not allowed to deal directly with the captain⁴ but had to negotiate with the latter through the village headman. For the purpose of the conference the village headman was the boat-owner and would continue to be so for the duration of the voyage. I was told that La Pasi, along with the other crew members and the captain, was effectively borrowing the boat from the village headman. If the boat suffered an accident it would be the village headman - as boat-owner - who would collect the *kapiompu* money from the crew members (though he would then hand it over to La Pasi).

The *kapiompu*, as well as being a financial guarantee for the boat-owner, is also a kind of social contract that binds together all the parties involved for the duration of the voyage. This can be seen in the following two conditions. If the boat-owner takes his share of the profit before the voyage is over, the captain and crew are no longer liable for the value of the boat if it is damaged or lost at sea (the example given to me was that the boat-owner might travel by ferry to Ambon to meet his perahu and take his share of the profits, in which case the return leg of his perahu's voyage - from Ambon to Buton - would not be covered by the *kapiompu*). Similarly, if a crew member leaves the boat before the voyage is over he must pay the crew members who remain on the boat his share of the value of the indemnity; the amount of the *kapiompu* divided by the number of crew members. This money is regarded as a penalty and would not be refunded to the crew member, even though the boat returned safely to the village.

A concomitant of the principle that those who sail on a perahu share the risks equally is the idea that decisions about where to sail and what cargoes to buy should be made jointly. There is a great emphasis in Lande on the *musyawarah* or conference, and the reaching of decisions through consensus:

"...the cargoes that we carry, such as (empty) bottles, timber, we decide together in the conference. No-one can make that decision alone, it must be together. If there is no agreement, you can't sail."

(...*musyawarah*, barang yang kita ambil, umpamannya botol, kayu, terserah *musyawarah* kita bersama. Tidak boleh diambilkan keputusan sendiri-sendiri. Harus bersama. Kalau tidak ada setuju, tidak bisa berlayar.) [transcript of a taped interview with a captain].

Shared risks and joint decision-making⁵ suggest a slightly different meaning than is conveyed by the English word 'crew'. It might be more correct to speak of the crew members as traders. Historical evidence suggests that the modern day 'crews' of Lande boats may have developed out of a group of independent traders who came together for the purpose of the voyage. Regarding the nearby island of Kaledupa, Hughes notes the following:

"Until mid-1940's, as most of the crews were then neither literate nor numerate, the space in the perahu had been physically divided in order to avoid disputes. Each man bought his own cargo to fill his allocated space." (Hughes 1984:174 - emphasis mine).

Crew members on Bugis vessels also used to trade on their own account. Tobing, commenting on the 'Navigation and Trade Law of Amanna Gappa', notes that:

"The fourth category consists of passengers without cargo. Properly speaking people in this category do not belong to the crew. It must be pointed out that the members of the crew are at the same time traders" (Tobing 1961:152 - emphasis mine).

This arrangement, in which the trading vessel is not a single enterprise, but an aggregate of individual enterprises, has a long history in Indonesia, going back to at least the 17th century:

"The traders swarmed out by dozens and hundreds along every coast and throughout the whole world of Indonesia and Southeast Asia, flocking together by thousands at the stapling points. Yet the figures on these many traders should be considered alongside the figures on the movements of ships and goods. The traders arrived by hundreds, there were only a tenth as many ships. Taking a very conservative figure of eight thousand traders from India and the Moslem countries further west and a thousand from China travelling overseas to Indonesia each year, if one apports the amounts of goods to the traders then there are a few *picul* of silk and sandalwood per trader, a single chest with a few dozen pieces of silk cloth, a few *corges* of porcelain, a few dozen bags of pepper, a few *bahar* of cloves and nutmegs, a few hundredweight of mace...The international trade of Southeast Asia was a small-scale peddling trade. The traders, shipping out with their goods by dozens on long voyages...They went out

either as independent pedlars, perhaps in companies, or as traders on *commenda*." (van Leur 1967:132 - emphasis mine).

The idea that the trading practices of the Bugis and Butonese have their origin in Malay trading arrangements of the 17th century and earlier is supported by Schrieke's argument that the Makassarese and Bugis made the transition from "a purely agrarian society" to a society of seamen and traders through the practice of *commenda*. After the fall of Malaka to the Portuguese in 1511 the hub of international trade in Southeast Asia shifted to Makassar. It was after this influx of Malay and European traders, argues Schrieke, that the Bugis and Makassarese became involved in maritime trade:

"At first all the trade of Makassar was in the hands of foreigners, who settled there and to whom the local princes and nobles sold rice. But soon the latter began to take part in commerce, first by bottomry (i.e. by lending money to be returned with interest at the conclusion of the voyage) and then by fitting out ships, until gradually the whole people, first the Makassarese and later the Buginese became successful navigators..." (Schrieke quoted in Lineton 1975:12)

Other authorities dispute such a view. Macknight for instance (pers com) argues that the Bugis were involved in maritime trade long before the fall of Malaka, and that the arrangements on Bugis and Makassarese boats developed out of those societies themselves.

Whatever the historical antecedents are for the contemporary organization of trading voyages in Lande, the borrowing of the boat is the most important institution in the sailing economy for it gives formal expression to the ideology underlying the organization of sailing - the sharing of risks and joint decision-making.

Ideologies in any society often conceal the real relations operating between its members. In Lande the ideology that the voyage is a joint venture in which all stand to gain or lose together is belied by certain aspects of the organization of the voyage. Firstly, captains often receive commissions from merchants in return for their custom. Furthermore, it is almost axiomatic in Lande that captains supplement their legitimate share of the profits by under-

reporting the boat's earnings to the boat-owner. Secondly, one of the two alternative formulas for dividing profit from a voyage gives the boat-owner a secure income, even when the crew makes a net loss. Both these issues are discussed in the section below. Thirdly, there is some evidence (discussed in Chapter 3) that in some cases long-term indebtedness may form the basis of the relationship between crew-members and boat-owners.

The boat-owner, the captain and the crew.

The captain⁶ (*Juragan*) is the 'father', the crew (*sawi*)⁷ are the 'children'. Together, and for the duration of the voyage, they comprise a single 'household' (*perahu termasuk satu rumah tangga*). One of the reasons that relationships within the *perahu* are based on those of the household may be that the household provides the only safe model on which five or six men, who are often unrelated, can spend three to six months at sea together, in a confined space. Amongst the Bugis the house is an environment where the competition for status is relaxed because each person knows his own position with regard to every other individual (Errington 1989:71). The same is true in Lande. This is an example of the house providing a metaphor for organizing relations on the boat. It is the reverse of the more frequently documented symbolism in which the social unit of the boat serves as a metaphor for organizing relations in the house or in the society at large. This issue - the bi-directionality of house and boat symbolism - is discussed in Chapter 5.

All those on a *perahu* defer to the captain (*tunduk di bawah Juragan*). This applies even to boat-owners, who sometimes sail as crew-members on their own *perahu*. This principle of hierarchy on the boat would seem to be in conflict with the ideology of the voyage as a joint enterprise, discussed in the previous section. Certainly, the degree of hierarchy on the boat is limited to that necessary for the safe and efficient operation of the boat. A captain who treats his crew harshly (*kejam*) is poorly regarded and acquires a reputation that

makes it difficult for him to assemble crews in the future. The ultimate sanction against an overly-domineering captain is that the crew may abandon the boat in a foreign port, leaving the captain alone and unable to return the perahu to the village (this can also occur if the crew suspect the captain of cheating). The boat, like the house, is a domain in which strict rules of etiquette must be observed. A captain who spoke abusively to the crew would be offending not only the crew but the spirit of the boat. A boat-owner's wife said that the boat is like a daughter and the captain like their daughter's husband. They would no more tolerate a 'cruel' captain than they would a son-in-law who ill-treated their daughter.

Just as fathers seldom show anger towards their children, neither should captains show anger towards their crew. Whether at sea or on land, showing anger is a sign of weakness. One who has inner power achieves his ends with a minimum of outer display. The following account, of how one captain would dismiss a troublesome crew-member, was given as an example of '*ilmu Juragan*', the 'inner power of captains':

On returning from the voyage, the captain and the crew would go to the boat-owner's house and say that they wanted to rest for a few months and would not be making another voyage. They would make this known in the village. A few days later they (minus the offending crew-member) would return to the boat-owner's house and say they had changed their mind. Two or three days later the crew-member would see that the perahu had gone, with the same captain and crew, and would suddenly realize that he had been 'stood down'.

The relationship between boat-owners and captains is generally tinged with suspicion, and on most perahu there is a high turnover of captains. In Lande it is almost axiomatic that captains supplement their legitimate share by under-reporting profits to the boat-owner. According to a local proverb:

*"Sawi makan atas karang,
Juragan makan atas kertas"*

(The crew eats rocks (coral),
The captain eats paper)

'The captain eats paper' refers to the practice of obtaining receipts that overstate the amount a cargo was bought for and understate the amount it was sold for. The suspicion (and perhaps the expectation) that captains embezzle⁸ funds is so strong that some captains said that they make sure all their business transactions are witnessed by another crew-member.

Dividing the profits from a voyage

There are potentially three parties to the division of income from a trading voyage: the boat-owner, the crew, and the owner of trading capital. The trading capital may be owned by the boat-owner or the crew, or it may be owned by a third party. The boat-owner either receives a fraction of the purchase price of the cargo plus profit, or he enters the share system with the crew, and receives a share of the profit only.

In the first type of arrangement, the boat-owner receives one-tenth⁹ of trading capital plus profit. In this arrangement the boat-owner always receives an income, even if the voyage makes a net loss, since he receives one-tenth of the trading capital used on the voyage. This reflects the often-stated principle that the boat-owner is immune from financial loss: "*yang empunyai tidak tahu rugi*" (lit. "the boat-owner doesn't know ruin/loss).

In the second type of arrangement the boat is counted as 'a person' and the boat-owner receives a certain number of 'crew-shares' in respect of his boat. If the boat counts as two people (*perahu termasuk dua orang*), and there was a crew of five including captain, the profits would be divided by seven. The boat-owner would receive two-sevenths. Here the boat-owner only gets a share of the net profit, whereas in the previous arrangement he receives a share of the

trading capital plus profit. The risks are greater for the boat-owner in the second type of arrangement, but the rewards are also greater, if there is a good profit from the voyage.

In a pre-voyage conference which I attended, much of the discussion concerned the issue of *'makan di tengah'* or 'eating from the centre'. This is the practice in which the crew's food costs during the voyage are taken from the trading capital. The alternative to *'makan di tengah'* is *'cabut bersih'* ('taking out clean'), in which the boat-owner receives his share before the crew's food costs have been deducted. If the arrangement is *'makan di tengah'*, the boat-owner normally receives two-and-a-half shares; if the arrangement is *'cabut bersih'*, he receives only two shares. In some cases the boat-owner pays a share of the food costs proportionate to the number of shares of the profit he receives; if he receives three shares in eight of the profit, he also pays three shares in eight of the food costs. The principle operating here is that if the boat counts as three people in the division of the profits, it also 'eats' as three people (*'makan sebagai tiga orang'*).

Both the above arrangements give a low return to the boat-owner relative to the crew, especially since the costs associated with maintaining the boat come out the boat-owner's share.

The owner of the trading capital either receives 5% interest per month or a share in the profits of the voyage. As with the boat-owner, the first arrangement gives the money-lender a secure income from the voyage whereas in the second arrangement, the owner of capital runs the same risks as the crew. In the second type of arrangement, the money-lender receives one share for every Rp.500,000 of trading capital.

In a variation on this arrangement, the share of the profit that would normally go to the crew is divided in two equal parts; one part goes to the crew, and the other part to the lender of the trading capital. This formula gives

a very high share to the money-lender and a correspondingly low share to the crew.

Most people consider this arrangement too heavily weighted in favour of the money-lender (*'terlalu berat'*) and it is seldom used nowadays. In the 1960's, when trading capital was much harder to obtain than it is now, this formula - called *'bagi dua untung'* - was standard practice for a trading voyage.

A striking feature of the above arrangements is that the returns to the boat-owner - in respect of the capital invested in the boat - are low, especially when compared with returns on the other form of capital used in a voyage. The owner of the trading capital is rewarded at the rate of one *bagian* or share for every Rp.500,000 of trading capital. If we apply the same rate of return to the boat, and assume that the boat is worth Rp.4,000,000 (a conservative estimate), then the boat-owner would receive eight *bagian* or shares, instead of two or two-and-a-half. The fact that investment in the perahu is rewarded at a much lower rate than investment in trading capital supports the argument made later in the thesis that the perahu is not regarded as a capital investment.

Although the returns on a boat are low, the boat-owner in Lande does have a degree of security that the crew does not have since one of the two alternative formulas gives the boat-owner a guaranteed income, regardless of whether the voyage makes a profit or not. In Lande the advantages of boat-ownership are perceived to lie primarily in the fact that the boat-owner has a secure income and that he no longer has to put to sea.

The division of income from a freight-carrying voyage is much simpler. The crew's food costs are deducted from the freight charge, which is then divided in three; the boat-owner receives one-third and the crew receives two-thirds.

Notes

¹ Variations on the word '*bangka*', meaning 'canoe', are found as far east as Hawaii, and as far west as Madagascar (Doran 1981:19).

² Gibson-Hill states that the *lambo* (which he refers to as the '*lambok*') "is modelled fairly closely on European lines, though it is a rather clumsy copy of the original" (1949:132).

³ The planks - or rather baulks of timber - in the Butonese *lambo* hull do seem more prone to coming loose than would long planks pinned to a pre-existing frame, as in the European method of construction. Cargoes of loose, heavy objects are known to be dangerous. In August 1992, a perahu *lambo* set out from Binongko carrying junk iron, bound for Java. The perahu was old and in poor condition. The crew was warned before leaving Binongko of the danger of carrying loose iron. In the straits between Lombok and Bali it encountered heavy seas which caused the cargo of iron to smash through the bamboo matting that keeps cargo from coming in contact with the timbers of the hull. The loose cargo of iron, beating down on the hull, soon pried loose a timber in the hull, and the boat went down very quickly. All those on board drowned. The perahu had been sailing with another perahu, also from Binongko. The crew of the first perahu signalled its distress, using a torch, but the second perahu was unable to go to its assistance, as it was itself in trouble.

⁴ One of the participants in the conference (which was recorded) stated this quite clearly.

⁵ Macknight notes a similar ideology in the historical voyages of the Makassarese:

"...there is the quite remarkable equality of all members of the crew under the master...there is the striking feeling of interdependence between the various parties. All bear some risk. Even the outfitter and owner stand to lose their whole investment in the event of a disaster. Similarly, all benefit in fixed proportion from a successful voyage" (Macknight 1976:23).

⁶ Until recently perahu in Lande had two captains, a 'sea captain' (*Juragan laut*) and a 'land captain' (*Juragan darat*). The former was in charge of navigation, the latter was in charge of trading transactions and dealings with Port authorities. Geurtjens (1910:337) and Barraud (1985) both note the existence of sea captains and land captains in the Kei Islands, though their role is purely ceremonial.

⁷ The word *sawi* is not Indonesian or Malay and seems to be restricted to South and Southeast Sulawesi.

⁸ Trading on one's own account is regarded with the same opprobrium as embezzlement. During fieldwork a boat-captain was relieved of his position by the boat-owner, who traveled out to Ambon to take charge of his own boat and sail it back to Buton. If the boat-owner had not done this, the crew might have abandoned the boat in Ambon. The captain who had been dismissed returned to Lande as a passenger on another perahu. Later conversations with the dismissed captain revealed that his fault lay not in cheating but in attempting to trade on his own. Having completed the trading transactions agreed to in the pre-voyage conference, the captain had used some of his own capital to buy his own cargo for the return trip to Buton. He told the crew that he would pay the boat-owner and crew a freight charge for the cargo. However, the crew insisted that the cargo be treated as communal, and that they be paid by dividing up

the profits from the sale of the cargo, in the normal way (the captain would have received an extra share by virtue of the fact that he owned the cargo). The crew's reaction in this case shows the strength of the ideology that the voyage should be a joint enterprise.

⁹ Some boats still adhere to an earlier formula called '*sebelas cabut satu*' (eleven take out one) in which the boat receives one-eleventh.

Chapter 3 - The Economic Relationship between Houses and Boats

There is a strong symbolic connection in Lande between the boat-crew and the household, as will be seen in the following chapter. In reality, however, boat-crews and households are often quite separate (indeed it might be supposed *a priori* that things which are symbolically equated are likely to be different). This chapter examines the relationship between houses and boats in terms of the organization of labour and the contribution made by sailing to the household economy.

Income from sailing in the household economy.

Most households in Lande receive an economic input each year from four types of activity: sailing/*merantau*,¹ fishing, agriculture, and small-scale market trading by women.

In Lande the word *merantau* refers to any journey away from the village in search of income - including sailing on village perahu - but the word also has a more specific meaning as a journey to find work on land in another part of Indonesia. Villagers engaged in *merantau* work in shops in Kalimantan, fish in Irian Jaya, work on construction sites in Singapore, in timber mills in Maluku. Most of the young men of Lande are away on *merantau* at any given time. Although work in distant parts is often said to be lucrative - such as working on construction sites in Malaysia - in practice men often return from these journeys empty-handed. There are also accounts of men who want to return to Lande but have not even enough money for the passage home. The reasons why people embark on *merantau* are not wholly economic. In many Indonesian societies there is a strong tradition of men making a journey away from home whose purpose is as much to gain knowledge as it is to gain wealth. Lande men, for example, often speak of *merantau* more in terms of the experience (*pengalaman*) that they gain than in terms of the money that they earn. The

explanation for male *merantau* also has to do with an idea that is widespread in Southeast Asia that men are mobile, women immobile. In Lande, a man who never goes on *merantau* is looked down upon; as one informant put it, such a man 'is like a cow sniffing at the wind'. The same informant said that even sailing on a Lande perahu was not really *merantau*, for a man on a perahu has still not left the household (*masih rumah tangga itu*).

Fishing is done by night from sail-powered dugout canoes using hook and line. Most villagers fish in the Bay of Lande but some sail out to a distance of six kilometres. The Bay is dotted with large bamboo poles floating on the surface which are anchored to the sea floor. Algae growing on these poles attract small fish which in turn attract larger fish. Much of the night fishing is done around these poles, using pressure lamps to attract the fish. Fishing is regarded as a low status activity and villagers sometimes state with pride that they have never fished or that they do not know how to fish. One Lande youth who is in senior high school in Bau-Bau and who plans to join the Army in Ambon, stated that his grandfather - La Molabi - forbade him to ever go fishing on the grounds that he might get accustomed to it and not seek a career. Fishing is physically arduous and involves loss of sleep; over the long-term it is thought to result in ill-health and a shortened life-span. Most households have a male member who fishes when not sailing or engaged in other forms of *merantau*. Of those who fish some go out only twice a week - the night before the two markets on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Others fish four nights a week, selling their catch in both the Lande and the Sampolawa markets. A few individuals fish every night of the week.

Agriculture in Lande consists of an annual maize crop, cassava, and one or two crops of onions. Lande II people have no traditional rights to land in the area. In May or June, at the beginning of the agricultural cycle, two representatives of Lande II go to the *parabela* (the traditional head of a village of the *papara* rank) of Sempa-Sempa and ask to borrow land by ritually

requesting two plates of food. The *parabela* then calls a conference and members of both villages go up into the hills at the western end of the Bay where the *parabela* apportions plots of land for the forthcoming maize season. The apportioning of land to be used by Lande II people is part of an annual ceremony in which the *parabela* decides which areas are to be laid fallow and which areas are to be cultivated. The Sempa-Sempa people charge the Lande people no rent for this land which is the poorest in the area. The Sempa-Sempa people cultivate better land, higher up the hills.

From August to November the gardens are weeded and cleared, ready for planting. The crop is planted in November and harvested at the beginning of March. The work connected with maize is done by both men and women. Households whose male members sail during the west monsoon (in addition to the east monsoon) do not plant a maize crop for that year due to a shortage of man power.

Women engage in a variety of small-scale trading activities such as buying and selling rice and lontar sugar, and making biscuits and cakes for sale in the market. Between Lande I and Lande II there are about 15 full-time women traders. These women buy rice in Bau-Bau and sell it in the four weekly markets (Lande and Sampolawa). The days between markets are spent winnowing the rice.

Of these four types of activity only sailing on perahu *lambo* (and some kinds of *merantau*) provide substantial cash incomes. Almost all of the agricultural produce of Lande II is for household consumption. Fishing generates a small cash income but most fish caught by Lande II people is not sold but consumed within the household. The trading activities of women likewise provide small incomes adequate only for the day-to-day subsistence needs of the household. For major expenses, such as schooling of children, building a house, clothing, medicine and household utensils, a cash income must be sought outside the village. It is said in Lande that every able bodied

man must leave the village at least once a year in search of a cash income. A former boat captain - La Rangani - said that during most of his adult life he spent only two months of each year in the village. Table 11 presents the results of a survey on the incidence of *merantau* in Lande II in the first four months of 1993. Fifty-two of the 114 households of Lande II - or 45.6% - had a member on *merantau* during that period.

Other observers have noted that sailing makes little or no contribution to the household economy. Broch, writing about the village of Miang Tuu on the island of Bonerate, notes:

"...the major effect of this trade is not economic, in terms of the wages earned by the sailors...Rather, the most important effect of this trade is that a large number of young village men are absent from four to eight months a year. Their time away coincides with the months of the annual food shortage in the village. Thus their absence is economically important, if not necessary, in order for the Miang Tuu environment to provide enough food for the population at its present size without external inputs" (Broch 1988:75).

Put in other words, Broch is saying that the money the men earn as sailors amounts to less than the value of the food they would consume in the village if they were to spend those months at home instead of at sea. While this may be the case now, a Bonerate proverb indicates that sailing must at one time have been an important source of cash income:

"From the fields we get our food, from the sea we get the seasoning for our food, and from the praus we get money" (Broch 1983:151).

Hughes notes that in Bira, South Sulawesi, income from sailing is also minimal:

"Now when seamen came back to Bira, said A.R., and this was only rarely because they had to pay their own way home as the motor perahu almost never returned, they were empty handed. They made virtually no contribution to the welfare of their families" (Hughes 1984:200).

Seen from this perspective, the perahu is little more than a subsistence platform that allows the removal of a large part of the male population during periods of critical food shortage in the village. It is certainly possible to view seasonal trading voyages as an adaptation to a marginal environment, especially in the case of Butonese from the Tukang Besi islands and the islands of the Flores Sea, where soils are even poorer than they are on Buton. Periodic dispersal on perahu *lambo* may allow these communities to maintain higher population levels than the local environment alone would sustain.

The reason crew-members in both Bira and on Bonerate receive such minimal incomes from sailing is probably that they occupy an extremely marginal position in the perahu economy. The boats on which Miang Tuu men sail are not owned in Miang Tuu but in the capital of the island with which Miang Tuu has "a marked pattern of centre/periphery" relations (Broch 1981:51). Similarly, the Bira boat-owners had lost control of their vessels to traders who had financed the installation of motors in the Bira perahu (Hughes 1984:195). In Lande by contrast, relations between those who sail on boats and those who own the boats are far more equal, since the boats are fully owned by the villagers themselves. A crew in Lande receives a substantial share of the profits from a voyage. Table 12 lists the purchase and sale price of cargoes on ten voyages by Lande perahu, and shows how the profits from those voyages would have been divided, according to one of the two alternative formulas used in Lande. Table 13 shows that on average the crew received 3.1 times as much as the boat-owner over the ten voyages recorded in Table 12.

Some attempt can be made to estimate the contribution of sailing to the household economy in Lande by comparing known incomes from certain voyages with estimated household cash requirements. The average share for an individual crew-member over the ten voyages² listed in Table 10 is Rp.416,574³ (see Table 14). Villagers estimate that the minimum cash requirements for an

average family are Rp.50,000 per month or Rp.600,000 per year. If one member of a household made one voyage per year, he would therefore provide about two-thirds of the household's minimum annual cash requirements. Some households have more than one member who sails on perahu, and some men make more than one voyage per year. In Lande II there are twenty-two perahu; if each perahu carried five crew-members and made one voyage a year these 22 perahu would represent 110 crew-members. If each crew-member came from a different household, 96% of Lande II households would receive most of their annual cash income from sailing.

Although trading voyages are the most important source of cash in the household economy, inputs are intermittent, with long periods between. Some men send money home by postal order, while others send money home with the crews of other perahu returning to Lande. If a man is away for a long period without sending money home, his wife may be forced to borrow money. This kind of indebtedness may form the basis for recruiting crews to particular perahu.

Boat-crews and Households

In maritime societies the unit of production and the household unit are often far less congruent than they are in agricultural societies. This is because activities such as fishing and sailing tend to have a more marked sexual division of labour than do agricultural activities, and at the same time tend to require larger work units than does agriculture (eg. hauling a net, sailing a boat). Boats in Lande have a crew of between four and six adult males. Few households in Lande can supply this number of adult men, particularly since one adult male in each household generally remains in the village to fish and provide for the protein needs of the household. Before the introduction of the gunter rig in the 1960's, the labour requirements of a perahu *lambo* would have

been even further beyond the capacity of a single household, as the ketch-rigged *lambo* required a crew of about eight.

In the last chapter it was seen that the borrowing of boats potentially separates the boat from the house as a social unit. Boats are borrowed by people who do not belong to the boat-owner's household or even to the same village.⁴ The relationship between boat-crews and boat-owner's household as units of production varies considerably from boat to boat. In some cases the two are almost identical while in other cases there is a sharp separation between them. An example of the former is La Rangani's perahu Sumber Baru.⁵ The crew of Sumber Baru is usually drawn from a cluster of three adjacent households that comprise La Rangani and his unmarried sons and his two daughters and their husbands.

There is a tendency in Lande for men to serve as captains on the boats of their fathers-in-law which suggests that becoming a captain is part of the process of acquiring a wife. Captaincy may be a form of 'bride-service', a way in which prospective husbands prove their worth to their future fathers-in-law. Boat-owners are said to prefer a captain who is a son-in-law since such a captain is more trustworthy and less likely to under-report earnings to the boat-owner than one who is not. However, rumours in the village indicate that captains who are sons-in-law are no more trustworthy than other captains. Perhaps the real advantage to the boat-owner, of a captain who is a son-in-law, is that the money at least stays within the family. One informant stated that a captain who is a son-in-law is more likely to cheat; the boat-owner is reluctant to dismiss him knowing that the latter could abandon his daughter, leaving her and her children without a means of support.

One advantage of a boat being crewed by the boat-owner's extended household is that the profits from a voyage are not dispersed amongst the separate households at the end of the voyage. In this way, the revenue from one voyage can be used as trading capital for the next voyage. However, the mere

fact that the crew come from the same household is not necessarily a guarantee that the profits from sailing can be progressively accumulated. The boat-owner La Rangani often complained that he was forced to carry freight cargoes because he was never able to accumulate sufficient capital to buy his own cargoes. This was because his sons, on reaching Java at the end of a freight-carrying voyage, would spend their share of the profits on clothes and entertainment.⁶

In other cases, however, the boat-owning household has no members sailing on its perahu. This may be because the household is at an early stage in the development cycle and none of the children are old enough to sail on a perahu, or it may be because the boat-owner's sons are pursuing careers outside the village. An example of this is the perahu Kurni Ilahi, owned by La Rangani's brother, La Pasi. La Pasi's perahu is usually crewed by men from outside his household, even though he has two sons old enough to sail. One of these sons is in the police on Ambon and the other is completing high school in Bau-Bau and plans to join the Army. La Pasi uses the earnings from his perahu to finance the education of his sons and to pay for the other costs associated with their careers. The two brothers - La Rangani and La Pasi - both own boats but the way in which the boat is articulated to the household is quite different in each case. This difference can be seen no where more clearly than in the way their daughters have married. Through the marriage of his two daughters, La Rangani has gained two sons-in-law who have built houses adjacent to La Rangani's house and who serve as captains on his boat. La Pasi, on the other hand, has married his oldest daughter to a school-teacher in Bau-Bau, and is making efforts to marry his second daughter to a policeman in Bau-Bau. Whereas La Rangani's household and extended family is structured around the boat, La Pasi's household is dispersed, as his sons pursue careers in the Army or Police, and his daughters marry Government officials in Bau-Bau. But the

perahu is no less an integral part of La Pasi's household, since he would not be able to secure his sons' careers without the income from his boat.

This kind of separation between the boat-crew as an economic unit and the boat-owner's household is apparent in an even stronger form in the case of the two boats owned by La Ode Maroso. La Ode Maroso has moved to Bau-Bau and his two boats are permanently crewed by men from the village of Tira.

Although crew-members rarely come from a single household, they are said to form a single household for the duration of the voyage. There is a parallel analogy on land, in the relationship between the captain's wife and the wives of the crew-members. The crew-members' wives defer to the captain's wife and call her 'mother' or *Ibu*. Like their husbands at sea they are also said to form a single household. As one informant explained, the wives of crew-members feel drawn together since their husbands share the same fate. Forty days after the perahu has sailed they go together to the boat-owners' house to perform a ritual prayer for the safety of their husbands.

Hughes notes that amongst the Bugis of Bira the connection between wives of crew-members is not merely symbolic:

"Not only did the seamen themselves become dependent on the Juragan but a similar dependency grew up between the wives and families of the seamen and the wives of the Juragan...The dependence of a family on the wife of a Juragan sometimes reinforced that of the seaman on the Juragan. A man might be unhappy sailing for a particular Juragan but could be unwilling to change because his family considered itself well looked after by the Juragan's wife" (Hughes 1984:193).

I found no evidence in Lande of such economic dependency amongst the wives of crew-members. However, Lande women are often forced to borrow money in their husband's absence, and this borrowing could well form the basis of long-term indebtedness. Such indebtedness might be one of the factors determining crew-membership. Though I have no positive data to show that this happens in Lande, I was told that individuals do borrow money between

voyages and use their earnings from the voyage to pay off these debts. This is certainly the case amongst the Bugis, as Lineton notes of the Wajo:

"When it is time to go to sea again, most sailors leave provision for their families in their absence - money and basic foodstuffs, borrowed in most cases from the owner of the prau. The crew thus begin the voyage in debt" (Lineton 1975:27).

Notes

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- 1 The Malay word *rantau* means 'shoreline or reaches of a river' (Echols and Shadily 1990:449) but has also come to mean a journey away from one's village or homeland in search of a living (hence the verb *merantau*)
- 2 These ten voyages are of varying lengths of time. None of them occurred over a period of more than one year and in some cases a voyage recorded in this Table is not the only voyage made by that crew on that perahu in that year. For this reason the figures for annual incomes from sailing are minimal rather than maximal.
- 3 Hughes estimates annual income for a crew-member on a Binongkonese perahu *lambo* carrying mangrove poles between Java and Belitung would be Rp.625,000 if the boat was carrying freight, or Rp.467,000 if the crew was trading on its own account (1984:128).
- 4 Lande perahu that carry asphalt are almost always crewed by men from the village of Dongkala. This is because loading and unloading asphalt (by shovel) is extremely arduous work and Lande men are not prepared to do it. The village of Dongkala lies adjacent to Pasar Wajo - the source of asphalt on Buton - and so its men have become accustomed to this kind of work.
- 5 Perahu in Lande are not given names in the Cia-Cia language. The Indonesian names are given because of the requirements of boat registration. These names are seldom used in daily conversation. The boats are referred to instead as 'the boat of (*bangkano*) so-and-so'.
- 6 There seems to be a cultural expectation that unmarried men are unable to save money and it is often said that unmarried men bring very little back from trading voyages. If this is so, it must be related to the idea (discussed in Chapter 4) that men are dispersers, women nurturers.

Chapter 4 - The Symbolic Associations of Houses and Boats

This chapter gives an account of symbolism, firstly in the physical structures of house and boat, and secondly in the social institutions surrounding the voyage. The chapter shows how the boat is symbolically modelled on the house, and how both houses and boats express certain ideas about the roles of men and women. The chapter also shows that the boat is represented as a person, the result of conjugal relations between husband and wife. Another important aspect of the symbolism is the transference of potency to a ritually constructed navel in the keel of the perahu. This issue is discussed in the next chapter.

Informants state that houses are female, boats are male: "*rumah berarti perempuan, perahu berarti laki-laki*". This equation of the house with the female and the perahu with the male is symbolically achieved by incorporating measurements from the wife and the husband in the house and the boat, respectively. The measurement for the house posts is taken from the wife's body, while the measurement for the keel is taken from the husband's body.

The house precedes the boat chronologically; a man may not build a boat until he has built a house. The house also precedes the boat symbolically; in construction, and in the institutions surrounding a voyage, the perahu is modelled on the house. Although the symbolism in the perahu points to an equation of boats with houses, the similarity is said to be only superficial (*hanya diumpamakan*). They are like fresh water and salt water; in appearance the same but in taste quite different (*rasanya lain*). As an example of this difference, the house is said to be higher in rank than the boat. Wolio informants state that timber from a boat may not be used in the house; a house containing timber from a perahu would fall in rank (*jatuh di derajatnya*).

Another difference that informants draw between houses and boats concerns the alignment of the timbers. The vertical timbers in a house must be aligned so that the bottom of the tree is at the base of the house, the top of the tree at the top of the house, while the horizontal timbers must be aligned so that the base of the tree is at the front of the house and the top of the tree is at the back of the house. In a perahu the direction of the grain does not matter,¹ because the perahu 'turns right and left' (*putar kiri kanan*). But the house is immobile and must be 'straight' (*lurus*).

The division of houses and boats into the female and male domains is reflected in property rights. In the case of houses and boats not inherited but built after marriage, the house belongs to the wife and the perahu belongs to the husband. If the couple should separate, the wife takes the house, the husband takes the perahu. In the case of inheritance, the house goes to the youngest daughter, the boat to the eldest son.² This is an ideal rather than a factual statement since two women, who both have brothers, have inherited boats.³

Although houses are equated with women and boats with men, both houses and boats have male and female attributes. Both are founded upon the relationship between husband and wife. This is reflected in the fact husband and wife refer to each other as 'of one boat'⁴ (*sabangka; bangka* means 'boat', *sa* is a nominal suffix meaning 'one'). A man may not build either house or boat until he has married.⁵

The House

The first timber in the house to be erected is the *kabilai*, one of the twelve posts that support the house and raise it off the ground. The ritual for building a new house focuses on the *kabilai*, which is the source of the household's future good fortune and health. In this respect it is equivalent to the keel of the perahu. The joint where the horizontal floor joist (*konta*) passes

through the *kabilai* has the same ritual importance as the tenon-and-mortice joints in the keel of the perahu and is made by the same *pande* who makes the joints in the keel of the perahu.

The distance from the bottom of the *kabilai* to the joint for the floor joist is determined by taking a measurement from the wife's feet to either the vagina, the navel, or the breasts. A house-post measured to the vagina is said to bring most fortune since the vagina is the origin of human life (*semua manusia berasal dari sana*) and indeed of good fortune (*semua rejeki dari sana*); the measurement to the navel is also said to bring fortune, since the belly receives food (*tambah lama, tambah makan*); the measurement to the breasts is said to bring less fortune since over time the breasts become dry (*tambah lama, tambah kering*).

There seem to be three principles operating in the symbolism of these measurements. Firstly, there is the idea of genealogical origins associated with the image of vagina and navel. Secondly, there is the idea of things that are capable of receiving, contained in the image of vagina and belly (stomach). The house is likewise a receptacle; according to a Bau-Bau informant, if a house is to be built on a slope, the front door should face up-hill, not down-hill, so that good fortune (*rejeki*) can enter (*masuk*). Thirdly, there is the contrast between things that increase over time, as opposed to things that decrease over time. Acciaioli, in a discussion of Bugis ideas of good fortune, notes that eating the blossom of the banana tree is considered to decrease one's fortune, since as the fruit ripens, the blossom diminishes. Breasts, like banana blossom, diminish with the passage of time. These different measurements for the house-posts are ways, then, of aligning the house with natural 'laws' of good fortune. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The house is divided into three areas, based on the human body: *boba* (the front room), *tonga* (the middle room), and *tambe* (the rear room) (see Figure 5). *Boba* means 'mouth', *tonga* means 'middle', and *tambe* means

`buttocks'. *Boba* must be wider than *tambe* because the mouth is larger than the anus. *Tonga*, representing the belly, must be wider than either *boba* or *tambe*. *Boba* is the male domain of the house. On formal occasions, when guests are invited, the women of the household withdraw to the back of the house. *Tambe* and *tonga* are the female domains of the house. In many houses the male members of the household use *tonga* and *tambe* as much as the female members, but male guests (unless they are close family) never venture past *boba*. The metaphor of the body is continued in the division of *boba* into head (*pochu*) and foot (*singku*). *Pochu* is on the same side of the house as the *kabilai*, *singku* on the opposite side. The higher the status of a guest, the closer he is seated to *pochu*; the lower his status, the closer he is seated to *singku*. At ceremonial meals, the gradations between *pochu* and *singku* provide a public forum in which to state the subtle differences in status between individuals. As a rule, a guest always attempts to sit one or two places `down' from the position his status entitles him to, and only after repeated entreaties from the host does he eventually, with an outward show of reluctance, move `up' to his rightful place.

This three-part division of the house (*boba*, *tonga*, *tambe*) is also found in Bugis houses but whereas the division in Lande houses is horizontal and corporeal, the division in Bugis houses is vertical and cosmological. Errington notes three levels in the Luwu house; the *rekeang* (the space under the roof), the *sullu'* (the space underneath the house), and the middle space (the *kale banua*) in which people live. She notes that: "This tripartite division in architectural space parallels the tripartite division of the cosmos: the Upper World, associated with the potent and revered ancestral spirits, the Middle World, where humans live; and the Lower World, associated with the sea" (1989:73).

While a three-part division figures prominently in the symbolism of both houses and boats, there is also emphasis on the complementary opposition

between two elements of a contrasting pair ('above' and 'below', 'in front' and 'behind', 'right' and 'left'). These contrasting pairs always refer back to the fundamental pair of husband/wife, male/female.

The husband is said to be 'above', the wife 'below'. The 'above' and 'below' pair can be seen in the ridge-pole (*kimbohu*) of the house, and the keel of the perahu. The ridge-pole is referred to as the 'captain' (*juragan*) or husband and is an inversion of the keel which is said to be the 'wife' or 'mother'. The contrasting pair 'in front' and 'behind' can be seen in *boba* and *tambe*, and also in the forward and aft sections of the keel. Another contrasting pair in the house is the hearth and the front steps. The hearth must be built immediately after the front steps are completed. The hearth is female and represents 'staying in the house', while the front steps are male and represent the coming and going of *merantau*.⁶

The Boat

The focus of symbolic associations in the perahu is the keel which is made of three sections: *ompu bangke i rope* - the forward section; *ompu bangke i wana* - the aft section; and *uunea*⁷ - the middle section (see Figure 6). *Ompu* means to 'tie together'. *Bangke* (not related to *bangka*) literally means the carcass of an animal; its significance in this context is not clear (though in Indonesian '*bangkai kapal*' means the remains of a wrecked ship). *Rope* means 'prow'. The literal meaning of *wana* is not clear.

The lengths of the three keel sections reflect the dimensions of the three parts of the house. The forward section of the keel (*ompu bangke i rope*) corresponds to the front room of the house (*boba*). Just as *boba* must be wider than *tambe*, so *rope* must be longer than *wana*. The middle section of the keel (*uunea*) corresponds to the middle room of the house (*tonga*). As the middle room of the house must be bigger than either the front room or the back room, so the middle section of the keel must be longer than either the forward section or the rear section. And as the front room of the house is male and the rear room is female, so also the forward section of the keel represents the husband and the aft section represents the wife.

'In front' connotes formal power while 'behind' connotes instrumental power. The house is run by the wife from *tambe*, while *boba* is associated with the formality of receiving guests and holding formal meals celebrating the important days in the Islamic calendar. This same gender division between instrumental and formal power is carried over into the perahu. Informants made a number of statements assigning instrumental power in the perahu to the female, at least symbolically:

"Its the wife who steers the perahu...the wife is like the helmsman in the perahu...its the wife who guides the perahu...its the woman who holds sway within the perahu...the one who manages the perahu is the woman, so the husband is like the leader or captain...its the woman who knows the contents of the perahu...its the woman who orders things in the perahu"

(isteri yang mengumudikan perahu...isteri sebagai jurumudi dalam perahu...isteri yang menertipkan...perempuan yang memegang kuasa dalam perahu...yang kelola dalam perahu perempuan, jadi suami seperti pimpinan atau anachoda... perempuan yang tahu isinya perahu. . . perempuan yang mengatur dalam perahu) [statements made by various informants in Lande and Bau-Bau].

These statements might be taken to mean that in the perahu the 'female' is more important than the 'male'. But an informant denied this, saying that the helmsman may hold the tiller but he takes his orders from the captain (the helmsman is equated with the wife, the captain is equated with the husband). Waterson raises this very issue when she questions whether the contrast between 'bow' and 'stern' can be equated with the status distinction in the house between 'front' and 'back', since the boat is steered from the stern:

"Ship symbolism, which appears particularly frequently in eastern Indonesian societies, also raises an interesting point about the possible status implications of a division into 'bow' and 'stern'. Superficially, one might be tempted to equate these divisions with 'front' and 'back' and to assume that the front is the superior section. Boats, however, are controlled from the stern. Once again, the essential complementarity of male and female is probably more important." (Waterson 1990:198, fn.13).

But the response of the Lande informant suggests that the status distinction between 'front' and 'back' holds for the boat as much as it does for the house. This status distinction is tempered, however, by the symbolism evoking male/female complementarity (eg. the joining of the keel sections).

The middle section of the keel (*uunea*) is associated with productivity; it is described as 'the place of the product' (*penempatan hasil*). Lying as it does between *rope* (husband) and *wana* (wife), *uunea* signifies the product of the union between husband and wife, which biologically is the baby but in the symbolism of the perahu is the cargo. *Uunea* is also referred to as the *pemisah*; the thing that separates husband from wife.

An alternative symbolism for the three keel sections relates not to 'husband and wife' but to 'mother and children'. Thus in another account the middle section of the keel is said to be 'the mother', while the aft and forward sections are said to be 'the children'.

Once the three keel sections are joined, their separate meanings seem to become less important; the keel as a whole is now female, in some contexts representing the wife, in other contexts, the mother.

It is worth considering whether a keel made of three sections has a functional, as well as symbolic, significance. Informants state that it is hard to find a straight piece of timber the length of a perahu *lambo* (10-15 m.). Also, if the keel is damaged it is often only necessary to replace one of the three sections. If the keel were made of one section, the entire keel would have to be replaced. On the other hand, a keel made of three sections is not as strong as a keel made of a single length of timber. For this reason, motor perahu are always built with a keel made of a single length of timber. On balance, the symbolic significance of the three-section keel seems to outweigh any functional purpose it may have. A keel made of a single length of timber would have no counterpart in the human body (*tidak ada dalam badan manusia*). Such a keel would have no movement in it. It would be lifeless.

The length of the keel is determined by taking a measurement from the husband's body. Thereafter, the perahu is spoken of as "being part of the body of" the husband (*termasuk badan dia*). There are a number of alternative accounts of how the measurement for the keel is taken. In one account a string is used to measure the husband's height. This string then becomes the unit of measurement for the keel. The keel may be any length, but it must be divisible by that unit. The excess is trimmed in equal proportions from the forward and aft sections.

In another account, the measurement for the keel is taken from the husband's belly. There is disagreement on how this measurement is taken. In

one version the keel is measured with a string that is then wound around the husband's belly. The two ends must overlap the navel by about six inches. This is said to represent the hands folded across the belly in Islamic prayer. In another version the string must begin and end at the navel. The distance by which the string overlaps the navel is then trimmed from the keel. In yet another account, the measurement from the belly is taken from the wife, not the husband. An additional measurement is taken from the husband, the unit of measurement being the distance from the heel of the foot to the ball of the foot. The important point with regard to all three accounts is that the specific measurements of a perahu are based on an individual's body; boats, like houses, are 'individualized' or 'customized'.⁸

There are four tenon-and-mortice joints in the keel. The tenon represents the penis,⁹ the mortice represents the vagina. The joining of the three keel sections represents copulation. The night before the ceremony, the *pande* who will perform the ceremony must sleep with his wife.¹⁰

At the joining of the keel sections the boat-owner's wife sits on the left hand side of the keel, the husband on the right hand side. At each joint, a small quantity of gold, a piece of white cloth, a leaf from a certain tree, and four grains of rice are inserted into the mortice. A square of white cloth is then placed over the tenon. These four squares of white cloth (one for each of the four joints) are cut from a length of cloth measuring the height of the wife plus the distance from shoulder to elbow. The husband and wife sleep on this cloth the night before the ceremony for joining the keel sections.¹¹ On the eve of any major undertaking, husband and wife sleep together. It is believed that the pleasure (*enaknya*) of copulation is transferred to the project about to be undertaken and so brings about good fortune. The tenon is then tapped home, pushing the white cloth (semen) into the mortice (vagina). When the joint is closed, a few centimetres of the cloth protrude on all sides of the joint. This

excess cloth is said to be 'what remains' (*yang sisa*). The significance of 'yang sisa' will be discussed later.

There are two different accounts of the order in which the keel sections and the stem- and stern-posts are joined. According to one account, the sections are joined in the order shown in Figure 6a, starting from the bow and working towards the stern. In this explanation the keel represents the house; one enters the house from the front and progresses to the back. According to another account, the sections are joined in the order shown in Figure 6b. The explanation for this order is that after joints 1 and 2, the keel is like a recumbent woman waiting to be joined by her husband, who is represented by *tangara i wana* and *tangara i rope* (joints 3 and 4). The latter account certainly accords with statements by other informants that the keel as a whole represents the boat-owner's wife. A man's wife is the foundation (*landasnya, dasarnya*) on which he ventures out in to the outside world. She protects his soul while he is away at sea (*menjaga nyawanya*) and even when he is at home she is considered responsible for his well-being. Though he leaves his wife when he goes on a voyage, she is still with him in the form of the keel. As one captain put it: "the keel is my surrogate wife" (*lunas pengganti isteri saya*).

After the keel sections are joined, construction of the perahu begins. Once the perahu is complete, a second ceremony is held in which a hole - called *lamba puse* - is drilled in the keel. No more than a year should elapse between the *ompu bangke* and *lamba puse* ceremonies. This may be because the period between the joining of the keel sections and the drilling of the 'navel' is likened to the period of pregnancy.¹²

There are two interpretations of the meaning of the *lamba puse*. The common interpretation is that it represents the navel, in which case the hole is drilled perpendicular to the keel (*lurus*). The more restricted interpretation is that it represents the vagina, in which case the hole is drilled at an angle to the keel (*miring sedikit*):

"If it is straight, like this, it isn't valid. It has to be at a slight angle. Then it conforms to the human body....So the *lamba puse* is at a slight angle. The *lamba puse* on La Haji's (La Molabi's) perahu are not the same as the *lamba puse* on other people's perahu. On other people's perahu, the hole must be made like this (indicates a vertical hole). Haji,¹³ who was the man who made the *lamba puse*, always gave them a straight *lamba puse*, because people didn't understand, they didn't ask. But if someone understands, he asks: 'This one is straight, that one is slanting towards the front; which is the correct one?'. And one who knew would reply 'Ah, that's the right one, because in human sexual intercourse it isn't straight, it is slanting" (from a recorded interview with La Hasiati, *dukun*).

(Kalau lurus begini, tidak sah. Melingka miring sedikit, baru cocok dengan ukuran manusia. Adanya manusia bagaimana? Jadi dia miring sedikit. Itu lamba pusenya perahunya La Haji, lain dengan perahunya orang. Perahunya orang, harus di lobangkan begini. Haji (yang tukang lobang ini), harus lurus, karna orang tidak mengerti, orang tidak mengerti itu. Tidak tanya. Tapi kalau orang mengerti, dia tanya: 'Di sini lurus, di sini dia miring, dia miring di muka, sebenarnya bagaimana ini, karna miring begini?'. Ada satu orang tua bilang 'Ah, itu sah! Adanya manusia baku ambil itu, dia bukan lurus begini, dia kasih miring'").

The ritual for boring the *lamba puse* begins at the moment the sun rises over the hills to the east. The *pande* (ritual expert)¹⁴ sits on the keel, his feet either side of the point where the hole will be drilled, his knees drawn up to his chest. His feet form a 'V' shape that is said to represent the vagina. The drill-bit represents the penis. He is enshrouded in a long piece of white cloth which extends from under his feet, up his back and over his head, and hangs down in front to his waist. The foetal position he adopts symbolizes the infant in the womb and the white cloth symbolizes the purity of the unborn. It also protects him from penetration by the evil thoughts of others and allows him to concentrate all his spiritual powers on the drilling of the *lamba puse*. The future safety of the vessel and its crew, and good fortune in finding cargoes, are all said to derive from the inner power which he focuses on the *lamba puse* as he drills the hole. He holds the drill-bit to his mouth, blows on it and whispers

an invocation. He then turns the drill-bit to the keel, and at the point where the hole will be drilled, taps it into the wood three times. The three taps on the drill-bit, like the three taps on the chisel when the keel joints are being made, represent sexual intercourse. The third tap is hard and represents ejaculation.¹⁵

The *pande* holds his breath while drilling the hole.¹⁶ According to one explanation this is derived from a practice called *piontoki*¹⁷ in which the breath is held during sexual intercourse. It is believed that this practice conserves energy and thereby increases an individual's lifespan. Through the practice of *piontoki* people are supposed to have reached the age of 150. In the same way, holding the breath while drilling the *lamba puse* is supposed to extend the life of the perahu. Another explanation is that the breath is equated with the spirit, and by holding his breath during the drilling, the *pande* is able to transfer some of his own spirit to the perahu.

The boat-owner's wife sits underneath the hull, facing the rising sun, on the left-hand side of the vessel (the boat is raised up on blocks 1 or 2 metres off the beach). She holds a plate underneath the keel, at the point where the drill-bit will emerge. The plate, which must be white, represents the womb. As the drill-bit emerges, wood-shavings fall on to the plate. These wood-shavings represent semen that enters the vagina and reaches the womb. The wood-shavings that are brought up with the drill-bit on to the upper side of the keel represent semen that fails to enter the vagina. They are referred to as "*yang sisa*" or "what is left over" (the idea of something that is 'left over' is a recurring motif in the symbolism of perahu). In another interpretation, the wood-shavings that fall down represent 'life', while those that are brought up by the bore represent 'death'. This is consistent with the symbolism (discussed later) concerning semen that enters the vagina (which represents 'life') and semen that remains outside the vagina (which represents 'death'). Both kinds of wood-shavings, those that 'enter' and those that do not, are put aside and wrapped in white cloth. They are kept by husband and wife for the life of the perahu¹⁸ and

used by the boat-owner's wife to protect her husband while he is away at sea. There is a certain symmetry operating here: the husband goes to sea with a keel that represents his wife; his wife stays at home and guards his soul with wood-shavings from the same keel, that represent her husband's semen (semen or *'air setitik'* represents the soul).

The perahu is said to be given life at the moment the *lamba puse* is drilled. In many societies of Southeast Asia the navel is associated with ideas about the soul. Thus in Malay societies a person's soul makes its appearance at the moment the umbilical cord is severed (Endicott 1981:51). And in Bugis society the navel is thought to be the point of attachment of a person's *sumange'* or 'soul-stuff' (Errington 1989:43,51). In the *lamba puse* ceremony the sawdust from the hole in the keel represents the umbilical cord, and the falling of this sawdust out of the keel is analogous to the severing of the umbilical cord.

The life or soul of the perahu exists apart from the physical structure of the perahu. This can be seen in the re-building of perahu. During fieldwork a motor perahu was entirely re-built (the work began during the first period of fieldwork and was finished 13 months later, during the second period of fieldwork). The work progressed by removing an old plank and replacing it with a new plank, working from the stern to the bow. By the time the work was finished, not a single piece of timber remained from the original boat. When the builders were asked why they had done this, instead of abandoning the old boat and simply beginning the new boat from scratch, they gave two reasons. In a practical sense it is easier to follow the design of the old boat. But more importantly, they said, the old boat 'already has good fortune' (*sudah ada rejeki*). The implication is that the boat has an existence above and beyond its physical structure, which remains even when all its timbers (including the keel and the *lamba puse*) have been replaced.

The husband then drops two small coins of Dutch currency through the *lamba puse*. These coins fall into the plate below, held by the wife. One coin is male, the other female. Together they represent semen. The manner in which the coins fall carries a portent (*tanda-tanda*) of good- or ill-fortune, which is interpreted by ritual experts. The dropping of coins through the *lamba puse* recalls the insertion of gold into the four joints of the keel of the perahu. In both cases, the underlying idea is that just as semen deposited in the womb is returned in the form of a baby, so coins deposited in a symbolic womb will be returned with increase (it is significant, in this connection, that 'interest' in the Cia-Cia language is *ana no doi* or 'child of money'). Collins makes similar observations with respect to the Bugis. Discussing a former ritual in which the boat was launched over seven young women in their first pregnancy, he notes:

"This was an attempt at the transference of human lives to inanimate things with a further refinement. The perahu was to receive not only the seven women's lives but the beginning of seven more lives within them. She was to bring forth interest by success in her ventures. At the time I thought of the Malay expressions for capital and interest, a tree and its flower; and remembered that children too are called flowers, interest that comes from a couple's use of their capital, their bodies." (Collins 1936:221).

Pelly gives another instance of the same symbolism when he records that at the keel-joining ceremony in Ara, one or two pregnant women must be present as symbols of a cargo-laden vessel ('*Diusahakan agar ada satu dua orang wanita yang hamil sebagai lambang muatan perahu yang sarat*' [Pelly 1975:25]). Dropping coins through the *lamba puse* in Lande also recalls the belief, referred to earlier, that a man's earnings from *merantau* should be given to his wife.

Two chickens - one male, one female - are then sacrificed over the *lamba puse*. The blood falls onto the keel and drips through the *lamba puse* onto the beach below. This blood either represents first menstruation or loss of virginity;

a perahu that sails before having had the chicken sacrifice is likened to a woman who has not yet reached adulthood (*perempuan belum dewasa*).¹⁹

Before the chickens are sacrificed, a handful of uncooked rice is placed on the keel of the perahu. The way in which the chickens eat the rice is closely observed by ritual experts. If either male or female chicken does not eat, it means that either husband or wife has not made sufficient effort (*'tidak usaha'*) in building the perahu.

The manner in which the chickens die is 'read' by ritual experts for signs regarding the fate of the boat and of the crew who will sail in it. If the chickens die close to the *lamba puse*, the perahu's fortune is said to be 'close' (*rejeki dekat*), if they die several metres or more from the *lamba puse*, the perahu's fortune is said to be 'far away' (*rejeki jauh*). The chickens' bodies are then cut up; the right wings, the right feet, and the heads are placed in the bows; the left wings and left feet are placed in the stern.

A wooden dowel, made from frangipani wood, is then hammered into the *lamba puse* (the significance of frangipani is probably that its flower is white, signifying semen and purity). In other accounts, the wooden dowel is hammered into the *lamba puse* after the boat is launched. As the boat enters the sea, water rushes up through the *lamba puse*. This water is stored in a bottle and becomes the 'sacred water' which accompanies the perahu on all voyages.

In both the Cia-Cia and Wolio languages *puse*²⁰ means 'navel'. In Cia-Cia, *lamba* (not related to *lambo* which is of Bugis origin) means 'something that it is done with string'. To frighten pigs away from their maize gardens, people tie a tin can to a length of string which they pull from within the garden shack. This action is known as *lamba*, as is the action of casting a net around a shoal of fish. However, Wolio speakers denied this etymology. They said that *lamba* means to 'drive something out' (cf. Anceaux 1987:90, "to drive (cattle) with outstretched arms"), and that it refers to the functional purpose of the *lamba puse*. When the boat is in 'dry-dock' (*dok*) the *lamba puse* is used to

drain bilge-water out of the hull. Equally well, it allows water to enter the hull, thus preventing the boat from being lifted up off its blocks by the rising tide.²¹

Throughout the life of the perahu, at intervals of two or three years, chickens are sacrificed over the *lamba puse*. When profits from trading are poor, the perahu is thought to be like a woman who has stopped menstruating. 'Washing' the *lamba puse* with blood (*kasih mandi lamba puse dengan darah*) is supposed to stimulate the flow of good fortune.²²

The *pande* then rotates a coconut around the *lamba puse*, eight times to the left and nine times to the right.²³ This symbolizes birth and is derived from the ritual in which the umbilical cord is tied with a cotton thread, wound around eight times to the left and nine times to the right. There are various interpretations of the significance of the figures eight and nine.²⁴ One interpretation (given by the *dukun*) is that birth usually occurs after nine, but sometimes after 8, months pregnancy. Another interpretation is that the figure eight represents the four sides of the human body (*empat persigi*), multiplied by 2 to represent husband and wife. The figure nine represents the '*empat persigi*' of husband and wife, plus one, on the principle that there must always be something 'left over' (*empat persigi kali dua, sisa satu*). Yet another interpretation is that eight and nine make seventeen, which is the number of *Rakaat* (unit of Islamic prayer ritual) performed in one day (this explanation only accounts for the figure 17, and not for the figures eight and nine²⁵). Whatever the precise meaning of the figures eight and nine, it is clear that they signify birth; the umbilical cord - as noted above - is tied eight and nine times, and in a ceremony held 40 days after birth called 'rolling the coconut' (*ndo ndo kunde'e*; *ndo* = to roll, *kunde'e* = coconut), a coconut is rolled around the mother eight times to the left and nine times to the right.

The coconut is then split in half, an action that represents birth, the opening of the womb. The two halves of the shell are thrown onto the keel. The 'male' half of the shell (which has three dots on the cone) must land facing

down, the 'female' half must land facing up. They are repeatedly thrown until they land the 'right' way up. This part of the ceremony is again interpreted by ritual experts for signs regarding good- or ill-fortune.

A male goat is then sacrificed outside²⁶ the boat, on the left-hand side of the vessel. The stump of the head is rubbed over the outside of the hull, from right to left, three times on each side of the hull. This is supposed to ensure that all the planks in the hull are sound. Food offerings are placed inside the hull, one on each of the three keel sections, and children are summoned to eat them. These food offerings are said to invoke good fortune in finding cargoes. The perahu is now launched. At the moment it touches the water, the perahu is said to be married to the sea, which is female. In other accounts, the sea is the perahu's mother and is said to carry or hold ('gendong') the perahu as a mother holds her child to her breast. This interpretation is consistent with the idea that the launching of the perahu represents the emergence of the baby from the womb. The perahu is then turned to the right,²⁷ through 180 degrees, so that the bows now face the beach. 'Right' signifies male, and the action of turning the perahu to the right represents the fact that the perahu is the property of the male members of the family.

The *lamba puse* ceremony bears a number of similarities to the ceremony - called *ndo ndo kunde'e* - held forty days after birth. In this ceremony the mother sits on a mat consisting of 9 slats of split bamboo, holding the baby in her arms. A coconut is then rolled around her, eight times to the left and nine times to the right. The coconut is then split over her head, so that the water cascades over her and the baby. The two halves of the coconut - one 'male' and the other 'female' - are then thrown on to the floor (as in the *lamba puse* ceremony) until they land the 'right' way up. A plate is placed in the middle of the mat, containing a large mound of white rice with a hard-boiled egg pushed in to the top of the rice, and a cooked fish. Four smaller plates are placed at each corner of the mat. Each of the smaller plates contains a quarter of

the contents of the central plate. Four children - 2 boys and 2 girls - are then summoned to eat the contents of the four smaller plates. The *dukun* then takes 4 leaves of the liboh tree and places ash on each leaf. He places the leaves on the ground outside the front of the house, in an 'L' shape. The first 2 leaves lead away from the house, the 3rd and 4th leaves turn to the right. He returns to the house, picks up the baby and descends the front steps. He steps on the leaves - as if they were stepping stones - two paces in front of the house and two paces to the right. He then returns to the house and places the baby in the arms of the father's mother. The rolling of the coconut around the mother is derived from the ceremony conducted at the time of birth, in which a string is wound around the umbilical cord, eight times to the left and nine times to the right. The splitting of the coconut represents birth. The coconut water falling on the mother's head represents blood. This blood is said to cleanse her of any sin incurred in having sexual relations in the preceding 40 days. The hard-boiled egg placed on the mound of white rice represents 'air setitik' or semen. It stands for human life that is yet neither male nor female. The ashes placed on the four leaves represent semen, or the father. The ground on which they are placed represents the mother (earth is female, as is the sea). The action in which the *dukun* carries the baby out of the house and turns to the right signifies the removal of the baby from the wife's origin group to the father's origin group. This is reinforced when he then returns to the house and places the baby in the arms of the father's mother. One informant explained the turning of the baby to the right as representing the fact that the baby is the product of the father, not the mother. The elements common to both the *lamba puse* and the birth ceremonies are the following: (i) the rotation of a coconut 8 and 9 times, (ii) the splitting of the coconut, (iii) the throwing of the two coconut halves until they land the right way up, (iv) the placement of food offerings, (v) the turning of the baby to the right; the turning of the perahu to the right.

While most of the symbolism in the perahu concerns the keel, there are also meanings given to the planks that form the hull. There are 17 rows of planks forming the side of the hull (see Figure 7). The first 15 rows are made of short planks called *dopi cumpo-cumpo*. At the centre of each row of *dopi cumpo-cumpo* is a plank whose ends are down rather than up. This central plank is called *ina na dopi*, the "mother plank" (*ina* = mother, *dopi* = plank). The first *ina na dopi* must be centred exactly over the *lamba puse*. The *ina na dopi* is the first plank on each row to be installed. Just as the keel - which is female - is the foundation for the rest of the perahu, so the "mother plank" (also referred to as the *induk papan*) is the foundation for all the other planks. The planks either side of the *ina na dopi* are said to be 'children'.

A particular kind of joint - called *parapalea* (see Figure 7) - is used for joining the planks of the hull. The *parapalea* contains a number of symbolic associations. In one account, the lower half of the joint is female, the upper half is male, reflecting the fact that the 'man is above the woman' (*laki-laki di atas perempuan*). In another account, the lower half is the 'mother', supporting the upper half, which is the 'child'. The idea operating here is the same as in the keel and *ina na dopi*; the mother is the foundation for everything above.

The first row of *dopi cumpo-cumpo* (excepting the *ina na dopi*) is called *sarempa*. In Wolio *rempa* means "unable to walk" (*sa* is a prefix). This probably refers to the fact that these planks do not stand upright (they lie at about 30 degrees to the keel). They are also likened to the children of the keel (the keel being 'mother').

The number of planks forming the side of the hull must be odd. Odd-numbered planks represent 'life' or 'profit', even-numbered planks represent 'death' or 'ruin' (*hidup/mati/hidup* or *laba/rugi/laba*). This is another instance of the principle that there must be something "left over" (*yang sisa*). Even numbers do not bring good fortune, since what is even is already complete, whereas the odd number (the 17th plank; '*yang sisa*') looks for an additional number to

make it even. In the example given by informants, a husband and wife are already complete ('even'), but a single person ('odd') looks for a partner (good fortune). In another explanation, the even number represents husband and wife while the odd number represents the birth of a child. According to yet another explanation, numbers in the perahu must be odd so that in the event of an accident at sea not everything will be lost - something will be left over with which to start again. This echoes a statement by a villager that though a perahu may return from a voyage with little or no profit, what is important to the boat-owner is that he still has his perahu and there is still the possibility of another voyage. The idea operating in all these explanations seems to be that what is incomplete contains within itself the possibility of renewal or increase, whereas what is complete is closed.

The institutions surrounding a voyage

Borrowing the perahu

The first stage in the organization of a voyage is the request by a captain to borrow a perahu. Four days must elapse before the boat-owner gives his response. This is said to derive from the four days that must elapse before the bride's family responds to a request for its daughter's hand in marriage. If the boat-owner agrees, a conference is held between the boat-owner and the captain. At this conference, which is witnessed by the village headman and other elders, two matters are discussed. Firstly, the formula that will be used to divide the profits from the voyage. Secondly, the amount of money that the captain agrees to pay the boat-owner in the event that the boat is lost at sea.

This sum of money is called *kapiompu*. There are two explanations of the etymology of the word *kapiompu*. A Wolio informant stated that in the Wolio language *ompu* means to 'tie together', while *kape* is a prefix that means 'instrument' or 'alat' (*kapentoroia* = sight on a gun; *kapepeki* = nutcracker; *kapetando* = chopping board). The literal meaning of *kapiompu* could therefore be 'an instrument for joining together' (Cia-Cia informants emphasize that *kapiompu* serves as a 'tie' or 'ikatan' between boat-owner and captain). However, a Cia-Cia informant offered quite a different explanation.

In the Cia-Cia village of Wabula, the word *kapiompu* means to ruin something. The example given by informants was a statement a mother might make to her son; *topiompumo ana'no mia*, meaning 'you have ruined someone else's daughter' (*kamu perkosa anaknya orang*). The informant added that the son would then have to marry the girl. If the statement were made about a third person, *topiompumo* would become *kapiompumo* (*mo* is a suffix referring to an action which is finished). This explanation of *kapiompu* contains the idea of something being damaged (someone else's daughter/property/perahu) and the offender then making retribution (by marrying the girl and paying

bridewealth/compensating the boat-owner). The explanation given by Wabula informants is all the more convincing, since there are no perahu there and informants seemed to be unaware of the Lande meaning of *kapiompu*, as an indemnity for the boat.

Some informants state that *kapiompu* is like the bridewealth.²⁸ The arrangement by which half the value of the perahu sails with the captain while half stays with the boat-owner is likened to the arrangement in which the husband's family pays the wife's family only half the value of the bridewealth. The purpose of this is to discourage the husband from abandoning the wife. In the event of separation, a conference is held by village elders to decide who was at fault. If the husband is found to be at fault his family must pay the wife's family the other half of the bridewealth.²⁹ Another parallel between *kapiompu* and bridewealth may be that if the husband's family was to pay the full bridewealth, the wife's family would lose rights in their daughter, just as the boat-owner would lose rights in his boat if the captain's receipt were to state the full value of the boat.

In former times the boat-owner's household would supply the captain and crew who were borrowing the boat with an earthenware water pot (*guci*), 2 plates and a number of other articles. These objects are said to be like the household items that a daughter takes with her when she marries. The boat-owner's household also supplies the captain and crew with food for the first 2 or 3 days of the voyage. This food consists mainly of parcels of rice cooked in coconut leaves (*katupa*). Informants emphasized that *katupa* prepared in the boat-owner's household must accompany the boat on the voyage, even if the crew are not related to the boat-owner.

Departure of the perahu

On the day the perahu sails from the village, the *pande* boards the perahu at dawn and performs a number of rituals. He is paddled out to the

perahu in a canoe (*koli-koli*) which approaches the perahu from the right-hand side. While still in the canoe he douses the right-hand side of the hull with sea water, three times. This is said to derive from the marriage ceremony; as the bride or bridegroom steps over the threshold of the parents-in-law's house, her/his feet are washed three times, signifying the start of a new life. As noted earlier, a boat-owner waits four days before responding to a request by a captain to borrow his boat, just as the bride's family wait four days before responding to the request from the bridegroom's family for its daughter's hand in marriage. These two facts - the four days wait, and the ritual dousing of the perahu - suggest that the borrowing of the perahu is likened to marriage.

The *pande* boards the perahu with his right foot first and goes to the aft deck, where he sits down cross-legged and draws a sign on the deck, the Arabic character `alif'. This character has a particular significance on Buton, representing the union of male and female.

He then goes to the bow and recites an invocation for the raising of the anchor, after which the captain raises the anchor. If the captain is unmarried, however, he may not raise the anchor, since the anchor represents a man's wife. This symbolism of the anchor as `wife' again suggests, like the keel as `mother', that women symbolically represent the idea of safety, stability, immobility. This was emphasized by one informant who said that an unmarried man drifts like a boat without an anchor: `there may be land, but where is he going to anchor?' (*`ada darat tapi mau berlabu di mana?*). A symbolic equation of the anchor with the wife is also noted by Collins, writing about the Bugis:

"Every palari (a type of Bugis sailing vessel) used to carry an anchor made of wood and stone, much larger than the rest, for use only in emergency. It was believed, and still is by the older men, that if this anchor is dropped and drags, the prahu master's wife has taken a substitute." (Collins 1937:124).

Another symbolic association equates the anchor with the placenta and the anchor rope with the umbilical cord. In this analogy the anchor represents the security of the womb and the raising of the anchor (the beginning of the voyage) represents birth.

Before embarking on a voyage, or any other kind of *rantau*, a man must obtain permission (*izin*) from his wife. This reflects the great emphasis placed upon harmony between husband and wife as the *sine qua non* of good-fortune; to leave against one's wife's wishes would be to invite ill-fortune. More specifically, men believe they are protected by their wives while they are at sea but such protection might be less effective if a man were to leave without his wife's blessing. As mentioned earlier in the context of the saw-dust from the keel, the wife is thought to hold the fate of the perahu (*'menjaga nyawanya'*) while it is at sea.

However, she is only able to protect the boat and her husband as long as she is faithful. In former times the wife lit a lamp the day her husband sailed from the village and would not let the lamp go out until her husband's return. This had the obvious implication that she was largely confined to the house (in order to tend the lamp) during her husband's absence. Any misconduct on her part is thought to endanger the perahu and her husband. To the extent that these practices and beliefs prevent infidelity, they clearly have an important function in a situation where men are absent from the village for six months or more of the year.

The idea that the woman protects the soul of the man has to do with the notion of female immobility as against male mobility. An informant stated that a woman is able to guard a man's soul because she is fixed, constant³⁰ (*tetap*) whereas the man is 'turning right and left' (*putar kiri kanan*) - a reference to the perahu constantly changing tack. There is here an association of ideas that is found elsewhere in Indonesia. Immobility - particularly female immobility - is often associated in Indonesian societies with supernatural power (Waterson

1990:192,193). In Toraja society, for example, the officiant who observes the prohibitions associated with the rice-growing cycle must not travel too far afield while the rice is ripening. The office is held by a woman precisely because it is the woman who 'stays put' (Waterson 1990:192).

Financing the voyage

The capital outlay for a voyage comprises two parts; the money that is spent on rope and sail-cloth, preparing the boat for the voyage, and the money that will be spent on buying a cargo. The money that is spent on readying the perahu for sea is called the 'rope money' or 'tali', since most of it is used to replace ropes and stays.³¹ The 'tali' money is likened to semen³² that does not reach the womb, while the 'cargo money' is likened to semen that reaches the womb and produces a child: "That which falls does not become cargo, like the rope money, the left-over money that is used for buying rope" (*Yang jatuh tidak jadi muatan, sebagai itu uang tadi, sisanya uang, dibelikan dengan tali*). However, the semen that fails to reach the womb is just as important as the semen that reaches the womb: "If there were nothing that fell, neither would there be humankind" (*Yang jatuh, pada hal jatuh, kalau tidak jatuh, tidak ada manusia juga*). Similarly, the money spent on tali is just as important as the money spent on cargo: "If there are no ropes, you cannot sail" (*Kalau tidak ada tali, tidak bisa berlayar*). The idea that semen that fails to produce life is just as important as semen that produces life is also expressed as "without death there can be no life": "*Macam juga manusia, kalau hanya mau hidup saja, mau kubur di mana?*". The symbolism concerning semen that fails to reach the womb and money that is spent (or 'wasted') on tali, is another instance of the principle that there must be something 'left over' (*yang sisa*).

This idea occurs again in the institution of the 'perahu's share'. In the division of the profit from a voyage there is a share that is intended specifically for the maintenance of the perahu. In Cia-Cia this share is called *owi no*

bangka. In Wolio it is called *uwe no bangka*. In Cia-Cia, *owi* has no other meaning than 'the perahu's share', but in Wolio, *uwe* means 'water' (*uwe no bangka* means 'water of the perahu').³³ A Wolio informant states that the reason the perahu's share is called 'water of the perahu' has to do with the bottle of sacred water that is taken on a voyage. This water is 'made' by the *pande* at the time of the *lamba puse* ceremony, from a few of the wood-shavings from the *lamba puse*. The water is sprinkled around the boat, or on crew-members, either when the boat is in serious difficulty, or when a crew-member falls ill. When the level of water in the bottle has almost reached the bottom, the bottle is topped up with ordinary water, which then becomes 'sacred'. But the bottle is never allowed to run dry; some of the previous water must always be left over ('*sis*a') in order to turn the new water into sacred water. In the same way, a proportion of the profit from a voyage - *uwe no bangka* - must always be left over in order to prepare the perahu for its next voyage. Likewise, a few cents are always left in the house.

The act of sailing is itself likened to sexual intercourse. The perahu is male; the sea is female,³⁴ full of trials and temptations (*cobaan*). Again, an analogy is drawn with marriage. A strong wind is likened to lust for a woman.³⁵ The sails, ropes and stays are likened to the institution of marriage ('*persiapan kawin*'). In the same way that lust for a woman is channelled into the institution of marriage, so the raw energy of the wind is harnessed by the ropes and sails of the perahu. Conversely, an unmarried man is likened to a perahu without ropes and sails; he drifts without direction, driven hither and thither by wind and waves.³⁶

The role of captain

A woman is said to be responsible for the health of her husband. Since the captain is taking the husband (as a crew-member) away from the wife, this responsibility passes from the wife to the captain. Within the perahu, the

captain is likened to the father, the crew to his children. If a crew-member dies during a voyage the captain is stood down for a period of three years. He is said to be lacking in *ilmu* (*kurang ilmunya*). During the three years he must increase his *ilmu* (*tambah ilmunya*). If a child of the captain dies during or after birth, it is likewise said that he is lacking in *ilmu*. He may not sail again as captain until he has fathered another child (*ganti anak yang mati*).

The captain's responsibility for the health of the crew - known as the '*hak Juragan*' - continues for a period of 40 days after the perahu returns to the village. After that time the responsibility returns to the wife. Two alternative explanations were given for the '*hak Juragan*' during the 40 days after the perahu returns to the village. In both explanations, there is a symbolic equation between the safe return of the perahu and a mother giving birth: "the perahu arriving safely is the same as a mother giving birth" (*perahu datang dengan selamat, sama dengan Ibu bersalin*). In the first explanation, the '*hak Juragan*' derives from the husband-wife relationship. Husband and wife abstain from sexual relations for a certain period before birth (some say 5 months), and for 40 days after birth. This period of sexual abstinence between husband and wife seems to provide the basis for the '*hak Juragan*'. The captain is responsible for the crew during the voyage, and that responsibility continues for 40 days after the return of the perahu (which is equated with birth) in the same way that sexual abstinence between husband and wife continues for 40 days after birth:

"The captain of the perahu, when he sails from the village, abstains from sexual relations, he isn't with his wife any more, he stops having sex. For 40 days after returning to the village, he is still within his responsibility. After 40 days, he is free of his responsibility as captain, in the same way that in the household, 40 days after birth we can begin again to have sexual relations"

(Juragan perahu tadi, karna keluar dari kampung sudah puasa, tidak ketemu lagi dengan Ibu, tidak, sudah berhenti ini (indicates sexual relations), ah, jadi datang 40 hari, masih di dalam tanggungjawab, sudah lewat 40 hari, sudah lepas tanggungjawabnya Juragan, macam kita di rumah tangga, selesai 40 hari kita sudah mulai ini (indicates

sexual relations). (excerpt from a recorded interview with La Hasiati, *dukun*, Lande)

According to another explanation, the captain is symbolically equated not with the husband of a woman who has just given birth, but with the *dukun* who delivers the woman's baby. The captain is responsible for the health of the crew in the same way that the *dukun* is responsible for the health of the mother and baby, and his responsibility for the crew and the perahu ends forty days after the return of the perahu in the same way that the *dukun's* responsibility to mother and baby ends forty days after birth (at the ceremony called *ndo ndo kunde'e*).

The return of the perahu

On returning from a voyage, a man hands over all his earnings to his wife. To do otherwise would bring ill-fortune. Even for small items, such as cigarettes, a husband asks his wife for money. The belief that women are the proper caretakers of money has to do with ideas about fertility, ideas which are made explicit in the rituals for joining the keel sections, drilling the *lamba puse*, and launching the perahu (the insertion of gold into the keel sections, the dropping of coins through the *lamba puse*, and, in the case of the Bugis, the former practise of launching the perahu over the bodies of pregnant women). A woman is seen as a receptacle, capable of receiving and keeping income in the same way that the womb receives semen. Similar ideas operate in Bugis society, where men are thought to be spendthrifts, incapable of saving money or using it wisely. A man "disperses in the act of creation...To be concerned in any way with conserving wealth is to be 'like a woman'..." (Errington 1989:262). In this region of Indonesia female and male roles are conceived of in terms of retention and dispersal, respectively.

Discussion

Three main issues emerge in the symbolism of houses and boats in Lande: the transfer of potency to a ritual centre (the hole in the keel); the male/female relationship; and the representation of the boat as a person. The first of these issues is discussed in the next chapter.

The male/female relationship

In Lande great significance is placed on the conjugal pair and there is a preoccupation with reproduction. In this respect Lande society is similar to at least one other society of the region - the Wana of Central Sulawesi (Atkinson 1990:67,74,75). According to Lande beliefs about procreation, the soul or life is provided by the male while the female serves as a receptacle. As an informant put it, the movement of copulation is like the inhalation and the exhalation of the breath; thus it is the man in copulation who gives life. This is also how villagers conceive of economic activity; the man deposits his income from *merantau* in the house (womb) where the woman nurtures it. This set of ideas based on the metaphor of procreation underlies a sharp division in Lande between the roles of men and women; women stay (*tinggal*) while men search for a living (*mencari nafkah*).

In the symbolism of houses and boats the relationship between male and female is not a simple opposition between these two categories, but a more complex relationship in which opposites are contained within each other. Fox has called this 'recursive complementarity': "anything that is categorized according to one component of a complementary pair can potentially contain elements of its complement" (1989:46).

The house is female and immobile and represents the inner world; the boat is male and mobile and represents the outer world. This set of contrasts is repeated in the house. The rear room is female and represents the private inner world. It is also the locus of instrumental power since the wife controls the

household budget and runs the house. The front room is male and represents the outer world of guests and public life. It is the locus of formal power. The inner and the outer, fixity and mobility, are also encapsulated in the contrasting pair of the (female) hearth and the (male) front steps.

Most of these complementary pairs are also found in the boat. The forward keel section is male, the aft keel section is female. The forward section represents the formal power of the husband (as captain) while the aft section represents the instrumental power of the wife (as helmsman). There is also the contrast between mobility and immobility; when asked why the forward section of the keel is longer than the aft section, an informant replied that the forward section 'pulls' (*tarik*) the aft section along.

Following Fox (1989:46, fig.1), these recursive elements can be illustrated in the following way:

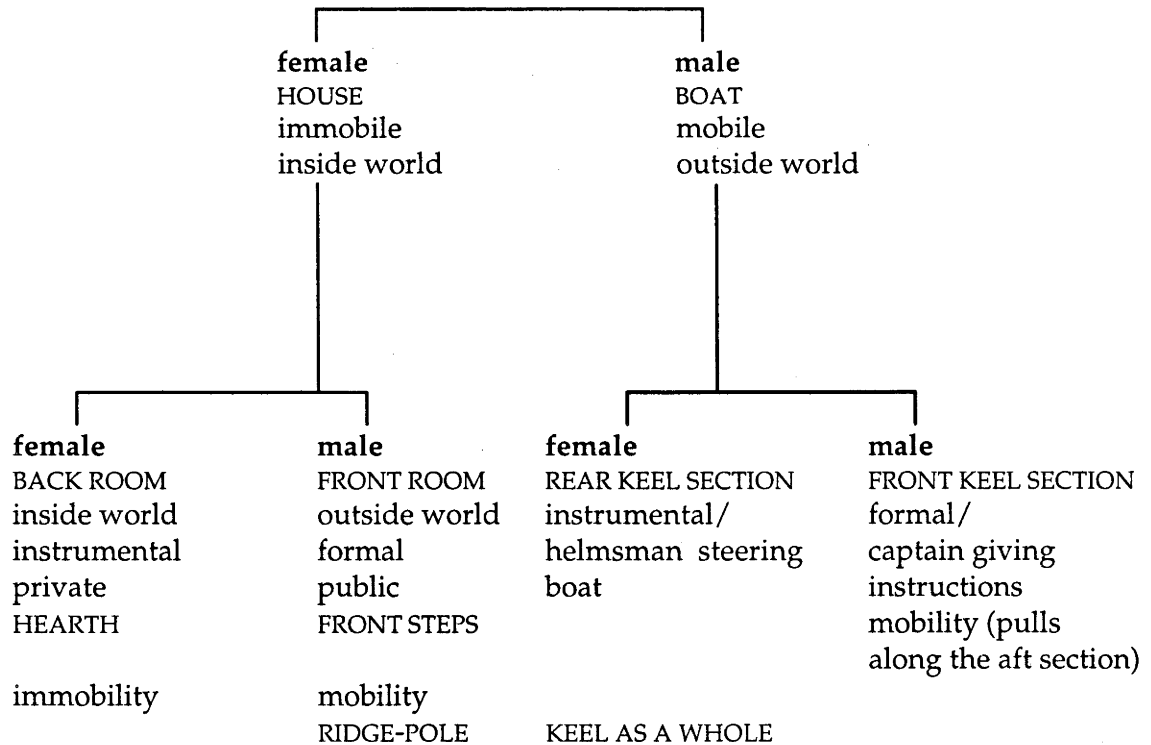


Figure 8. Recursive complementarity in house and boat.

This recursive complementarity in Lande reflects the fact that the two economic domains - the house and the boat - are both founded upon the relationship between husband and wife. The economic relationship between husband and wife is metaphorically represented as analogous to their relationship in procreation. This relationship appears to be asymmetrical, since the origin of life is the male, and indeed the (male) *dukun* often said that the woman 'only receives' (*hanya terima*). However, a female informant discussing the same issue said that 'the man only brings goods (home), the woman receives them' (*laki-laki hanya bawa barang, perempuan terima*); evidently these two roles - 'depositing' and 'receiving' - may be equally highly regarded depending on the gender of the informant.

Other indications of complementarity in the male/female relationship are that a man may not build a boat until he has married and built a house, and that husband and wife play equally important roles in the boat-building rituals. Complementarity is also implied in the terms of address and reference used by husband and wife. They refer to each other as 'of one boat' (*sabangka*) and address each other as 'father (*ama*) of (plus name of eldest child)' or 'mother (*ina*) of (plus name of eldest child)'. As Millar notes of the Bugis (Millar 1983:485), the only term in Lande associating a married male with household headship is the Bahasa Indonesia '*kepala rumah tangga*'.

While at one level the boat (and house) is represented in terms of the general category male/female, at another level the boat is represented in terms of the specific forms that the male/female relationship takes. Three variations of the male/female category are used to make statements about the boat; husband and wife (*suami/isteri*); father and mother (*bapak/ibu*); and bridegroom and bride. The first two variants of the male/female relationship are used to represent 'internal' processes: the building of the perahu and the social organization within the perahu. The last variant represents 'external' processes: relationships between those who own perahu and those who borrow them.

The *suami/isteri* relationship provides the symbolic model for the building of the perahu. The joining of the three keel sections represents sexual union between husband and wife, resulting in the 'conception' of the perahu. Though certain other aspects of male/female symbolism indicate hierarchy, the joining of the keel sections suggests equality. As Luem notes of East Java: "This equality or harmony (between husband and wife) guarantees continuity, as for example in the context of procreation where, in the moment of absolute equality between man and woman, a child is conceived" (Luem 1990:10). But this equality in the joining of the keel sections is tempered by two contrasting pairs, suggesting hierarchy: 'longer' and 'shorter', and 'front' and 'behind'. Since the keel is on a horizontal plane, the contrasting pairs 'above' and 'below' are not available, but this is overcome by making *rope* longer than *wana*, so that 'higher' and 'lower' are translated into 'longer' and 'shorter'. The contrasting pair 'in front' and 'behind' is evident in the male forward keel section and the female aft keel section.

The father/mother (*bapak/ibu*) relationship can be seen in the keel as the mother, the captain as the father, and the crew as the children. The keel is said to be the mother since it is the structural support for everything else in the perahu. This imagery is repeated in the central plank of the hull, the *ina na dopi* (lit. 'the mother plank') which is the first plank to be installed in each row, and is said to support all the other planks in the row. While the *suami\isteri* (husband\wife) relationship is represented on a horizontal plane (the keel), the *bapak/ibu* relationship is represented on a vertical plane, with the keel (mother) below and the captain (father) above. This vertical orientation is repeated in the house, where the ridge-pole or *kimbohu* (running the length of the roof), is the 'husband' or 'captain'. The keel of the boat and the ridge-pole of the house seem to be mirror-images of each other; the perahu is a male domain and has a symbolic female in the form of the keel; the house is a female domain and has a symbolic male in the form of the ridge-pole.

In the third variant of the male/female relationship, the perahu is represented as a young woman and a potential bride. This can be seen in the *lamba puse* ceremony, where the chicken sacrifice represents either the first menstruation or the loss of virginity. The borrowing of the boat is likened to marriage and the captain who borrows the boat is likened to the son-in-law. This can be seen in the rituals surrounding the borrowing of the perahu: the four days that elapse before the boat-owner replies to a request by a captain to borrow his perahu; and the dousing of the perahu three times before it sails.

To summarize, gender symbolism in house and boat operates either through contrasting pairs of the general category male/female or through analogy with the specific forms that the male/female relationship takes. In the case of the latter, the symbolism is unidirectional; social forms from the household are used as organizing metaphors for the boat; in the case of the former the symbolism is bi-directional: male and female are defined in terms of house and boat as much as vice-versa.

In the male/female opposition 'male' has a higher status than 'female' (male is 'above' rather than 'below', 'longer' rather than 'shorter', and 'larger' rather than 'smaller') but this is mitigated by another opposition - mother/child - in which the female as 'mother' is given primacy (the keel as 'mother' and foundation, the *ina na dopi* as the 'mother plank' supporting all other planks).

Gender construction in Lande seems to differ from that of neighbouring societies. Errington, for example, states that in "this part of Island Southeast Asia (the 'Centrist Archipelago') gender differences tend to be down played in ritual, economics, and dress; ...and male and female are viewed as complementary or even identical beings in many respects" (Errington 1990:39). And Atkinson notes of the Wana of Central Sulawesi: "rather than conceptualizing male and female roles in procreation as complimentary, Wana ideologically assert their identity" (Atkinson 1990:75). In Lande male and female are certainly complementary but gender differences are not 'down

played'. Indeed, the very complementarity of male and female in Lande is posited on their fundamental difference.

Perahu as Person

While at one level, the perahu is associated with different permutations of the category male/female, at another level the perahu is represented as the human body, without regard to gender. The keel represents the backbone, the stem-post is the head, the stern-post represents the feet, the boat's ribs are human ribs, the anchor is the placenta, the anchor rope is the umbilical cord, the drain-hole in the keel is the navel, and the gong is the voice of the perahu. A thin plank running around the deck (the gunwale) is called *wiwi kapala*, the 'lips of the boat', and the fore and aft doors of the deckhouse represent the mouth and anus, respectively (recalling *boba* and *tambe* in the house). Another aspect of the perahu as human being is revealed in the way that people sometimes refer to a perahu as 'being part of the body' ('*termasuk badan dia*') of its owner.

As is suggested by the ritual for joining the keel sections (representing copulation) and the ritual for launching the perahu (representing birth), the perahu is thought to be the child of the boat-owner and his wife. Just as the baby is taken down from the house, is turned to the right and given to the father's mother, so the perahu is pushed into the sea, turned to the right, and presented to the (male) boat-owner.

The symbolism in Lande, whether it represents the perahu as child, as bride, or as various aspects of the male/female relationship, essentially casts the perahu in the idiom of the nuclear family. The perahu participates in a voyage as a 'person' (or more precisely as two, two-and-a-half, or three 'persons', depending on the formula used for dividing profits) and the concept of the boat as a capital investment seems not to exist. Other indications that the perahu is regarded as a person rather than capital are that perahu may not be

sold³⁷ and that each perahu carries within its keel its owner's unique measurements; whereas capital is mobile and interchangeable, the perahu in Lande is fixed and unique. In the Lande perahu economy 'capital' is personified and the building and owning of boats is an enterprise more concerned with the processes of domestic reproduction than it is with the logic of capitalism.

House and boat symbolism elsewhere in Indonesia

In Lande the symbolic system represents the various activities associated with the boat in the idiom of the nuclear family. Observers in other parts of Indonesia, however, have focused on a reverse kind of symbolism; the boat as an organizing metaphor for the house and for the society at large. In this section I examine the issue of 'directionality' in the symbolism of houses and boats and argue that the symbolism operates in both directions: the 'boat as house' and the 'house as boat'.

'House as Boat'

Vroklage noted a pervasive influence of boats on house design throughout Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Oceania. He found most evidence for this in the 'saddle roof' which he called the 'ship roof' (Waterson 1990:20). Lewcock and Brans note the following influences of boats on houses: (i) the building in the form of a stored boat, (ii) the building in the form of a boat's hull, (iii) the building in the form of a boat in full sail, (iv) the building in the form of a platform carried on two boats, (v) the building with a boat placed on its ridge (vi) the building with a ridge-piece in the form of a boat, (vii) the building with a roof in the form of a boat upside down (1975:107-117).

While the boat has influenced house design, it has also been used to represent relations within and between houses. In the Kei and Tanimbar

islands both Barraud and McKinnon recorded instances of the boat being used as a metaphor for expressing ideas about marriage alliance. A bride is said to be like a boat ready to depart (Barraud 1979:218). The origin of this symbolic equation can be seen in the former practice in which a boat was given by the wife-takers to the wife-givers as part of the bridewealth which replaces the woman in marriage exchanges (Barraud 1985:110). Nowadays the boat is substituted by a ceremonial object called the 'keel of the sailing boat' which is given by the wife-takers to the wife-givers (Barraud 1985:127). A correlation between the boat and the bridewealth can also be seen in Geurtjens' observation in the Kei islands that the sale price of the boat is used as bridewealth (Guertjens 1910:335). McKinnon describes a form of marriage called "they launch a ceremonial boat" (1991:23) and records the following phrase in relation to a certain marriage custom: "If the anchor is not taken up the ship cannot sail" (1991:254). In an analogy that is still more direct, the household itself may be represented as the crew of a boat. Thus Kana notes that: "Like the members of a village, the members of a house form a group of passengers on a perahu" (Kana 1980:228).

The boat may provide an organizing metaphor not only for the house but also for the society as a whole: "In the case of Tanebar-Evav society, whatever the value level we deal with, a reference to the sailing boat (ie., a boat and its inhabitants) at sea - that is, to the whole - is always to be found. The true nature of this society is to be a boat sailing on the sea." (Barraud 1985:129). The whole village may be spatially organized as a boat (Manguin 1986:190) and village leaders may be symbolically equated with boat captains. Thus on Tanebar-Evav the main ritual offices bear the titles 'Land Boat-Captain' and 'Sea Boat-Captain' (Barraud 1985:120). In Lande, the statement by a villager (referred to in Chapter 5) that the villagers are like passengers on a boat and that it is only the captain (the village headman) who understands how it works,

is another instance of the social unit of the boat being used as a metaphor for social organization of the village.

'Boat as House'

The boat symbolism in Bugis society documented by Pelly in Ara (1975, 1977) and Collins in Bira (1936,1937), like the symbolism in Lande, operates predominantly from house to boat. The major rituals in the construction of the Bugis perahu are the joining of the keel sections and the drilling of a hole in the keel. The three keel sections are given tenon and mortice joints that represent penis and vagina. The joining of the keel sections represents copulation (Pelly 1975:26). Once the keel sections are joined the keel is thought of as an embryo in the womb. The ritual expert (**punggawa**) recites a prayer which takes the form of an entreaty by a mother to her baby (in the womb) to be content and calm until birth; the **punggawa** is the 'mother'. The period from the joining of the keel sections to the launching of the perahu is thought of as the period of pregnancy (Pelly 1975:60, 1977:102,103). At the ceremony for the launching of the perahu (**pamossi**), a hole - the **possi** - is drilled in the keel by the ritual expert. This hole represents the navel of the perahu and the sawdust from the hole is likened to the umbilicus. In the same way that the umbilical cord of the baby is kept as a charm against future illness, so the sawdust from the hole in the keel is put aside (Collins 1936:224). It is mixed with coconut oil which is sprinkled on the keel in times of danger at sea. The **punggawa** - who was likened to the 'mother' at the keel joining ceremony - is now likened to the midwife who ties the umbilical cord of the baby. The launching of the perahu represents the birth of the perahu. The symbolism in the construction of the Bugis perahu is almost identical to that involved in the construction of the Butonese perahu. Like the Butonese symbolism, it relies on metaphors drawn from the household: the husband and wife producing the child.

The same symbolism can be seen on Tanebar-Evav, where 'the three main logs on which the keel rests during construction are called 'the mother' of the boat, and receive food offerings at the time of the launching ceremony, when the mother is to be separated from its child' (Barraud 1985:127).

My purpose in this discussion has been to show that the symbolic relationship between houses and boats, which has been presented in the literature as operating predominantly from boat to house, operates equally strongly in the reverse direction; if the boat is a model for the house (and society) so also is the house a model for the boat. The pre-occupation with 'boat to house' symbolism has led to an approach which explains boat symbolism in terms of "the primacy of boats in the heritage of the people" (Lewcock and Brans 1975:107). As Waterson notes: "symbolic parallels...between boat and house...need not be explained as some cultural survival of a literal boat community in the Austronesian past" (Waterson 1991:93). Rather than viewing boat symbolism as a cultural survival, it may be more useful to view both 'house to boat' and 'boat to house' symbolism in functional terms. The household unit is more cohesive than the boat-crew and so it provides a convenient metaphor for organising relations on the boat. Similarly, the tightly-knit unit of captain and crew is more cohesive than the society as a whole, and so it provides a powerful metaphor for talking and thinking about the larger society. The relevant factor in understanding house and boat symbolism is not 'the primacy of boats' but the principle that the more cohesive unit is used as a metaphor for the less cohesive unit.

Notes

¹ This is not so for other parts of Indonesia; in the whaling boats of Lembata all the 'base' ends of timbers must point to the prow of the boat, and the masts must be positioned base down (Waterson 1990:125).

² (a) The same holds true on the island of Bonerate, whose population is descended from Butonese: "Inheritance perhaps favours the youngest daughter by giving her the right to her natal home..." (Broch 1983:157).

(b) Informants said that in practice the boat is often owned jointly by the sons, but that in the event of a dispute amongst the sons, the oldest has the right of inheritance.

³ This does not necessarily invalidate the rule that women do not inherit boats since in both cases there were extenuating circumstances. One woman inherited her father's boat because all her brothers had left the village. The other woman (a daughter of La Molabi) inherited a boat because her father owned more perahu than he had sons.

⁴ Mark Donohue (pers. com.) reports that on the neighbouring island of Muna, husband and wife refer to each other as *miano lambo*, possibly meaning 'people of one boat'. Another linguist (Paul Geraghty, pers. com.), who has worked for many years in Fiji, states that in Micronesia husband and wife often address each other by the term for 'canoe'.

⁵ (a) La Nane started building the perahu Harapan Sry before he was married, intending to marry a certain woman. However, before the perahu was completed, the woman died. La Nane handed the boat over to his father to complete.

(b) One informant denied that a man must be married before building a perahu. La Ode Muhammad Amir, a Wolio speaker from Bau-Bau, who was the son of the last Kepala Distrik of Sampolawa, said that he built two perahu while still a bachelor. Another informant, also a Wolio speaker, said that it is not necessary that a prospective boat-owner be married in order to carry out the ceremony for joining the keel sections; if the man building the boat is unmarried, the *pande's* wife officiates at the ceremony, in the place that would normally be occupied by the boat-owner's wife.

⁶ The 'staying' or 'tinggal' role of women was emphasized by a woman informant in the following way: ideally, a man should die before his wife - the husband goes to the after-world ahead of his wife and builds a house, ready for his wife, because women do not know how to build houses ("we don't know how to build houses, we only stay", "*kita tidak tahu bikin rumah, kita hanya tinggal*").

⁷ For a discussion of words for boat parts in the languages of the Buton area, see Liebner, 1990.

⁸ In addition to the measurement for the keel, there is also a measurement for the horizontal part of the stem- and stern-posts (see Fig 5). This length must be twice the distance from the husband's thumb to fingertip, when the hand is outstretched. The significance of this measurement is that the distance from thumb to fingertip is said to be the distance from navel to penis.

⁹ In public, the tenon is referred to as the 'kaki'; in private, the Dukun refers to it as the 'pelau' (penis).

10 This also applies to the *lamba puse* ceremony and the ceremony for putting up the first house-post. A *pande* whose wife dies loses his *ilmu* and, unless he re-marries, may not perform these ceremonies again.

11 La Hasiati (the *Dukun lahir*, or midwife shaman) laid the keel of the perahu, *Sumber Baru*. His wife had recently given birth and was still within the 40 day period in which husband and wife may not have sexual relations. The *pande* who performed the ritual for joining the keel sections told La Hasiati to postpone the joining of the keel until the 40 days were over, since he must sleep with his wife the night before.

12 Informants said that in Islamic thinking, pregnancy is considered to last a year, not 9 months (*hamil satu tahun*).

13 La Molabi was one of only two men in the Desa of Gerak Makmur to have made the pilgrimage or *Haj* to Mecca.

14 According to a Wolio informant in Bau-Bau, it is more fitting (*wajar*) that the boat-owner, and not the *pande*, drill the *lamba puse* (and join the keel sections), since the keel represents his wife, and the act of drilling the *lamba puse* (and joining the keel sections), represents sexual intercourse. According to this same informant, though the *pande* may drill the hole, he does it with the inner conviction that it is the boat-owner who is drilling the *lamba puse*: "He prays that the one who holds the hole is the husband" ("*Bapak [the pande] niat bawah yang memegang lobang, suami*"). The informant added that if the boat-owner understands the symbolic significance of drilling the *lamba puse*, he will drill it himself, the *pande* merely reciting the invocation. The prayer or invocation (*doa*) is less important than an inner, non-verbal conviction (*yakin*), or intention (*niat*), behind what he is doing. The act of drilling the *lamba puse* makes the perahu complete: "I pray that my property is complete" (*saya mohon bawah lengkapi milik saya*).

15 If timber on a boat is to be replaced, before work can proceed, the keel must be struck three times by the ritual expert. Similarly, if a house is to be pulled down, the *kabilai* must be struck three times.

16 In one of the *lamba puse* ceremonies which I witnessed, the *lamba puse* took forty-five minutes to drill, so hard was the timber used for the keel (in the end the boat was launched without having completed the hole, for fear that the crowd of helpers who had been assembled to haul the boat into the water would disperse). The hole was begun by the *pande*, but three other men took turns drilling the hole as well. Each of these four men held his breath while drilling.

17 *Piontoki* is derived from the word *antoki*, meaning to "fill up" (Anceaux 1987:6), though it is not clear to me how this meaning relates to the instance under discussion.

18 Two brothers - La Hasiati and La Rangani - built a perahu together. La Hasiati built the right-hand side, La Rangani built the left-hand side. Shortly after the boat was completed (in 1989) they quarrelled, and La Rangani wrested ownership of the boat from La Hasiati. At the time the keel was laid, La Rangani was away sailing in the Moluccas, so the keel carries La Hasiati's measurements and he and his wife were given the wood-shavings from the *lamba puse*. After the quarrel with La Rangani, La Hasiati threw the

wood-shavings away, an action designed to bring ill-fortune to the boat and its owner.

19 Other informants state that a boat that has not had the *lamba puse* drilled is like a girl who has not yet been through the rite of seclusion (*dipingit*). It is the rite of *pingit*, in which a girl is secluded for eight days, that marks the transition to adulthood.

20 The word *puse* is probably a derivative of the Austronesian cognate word *pu*, meaning 'origin'. *Pu* is also contained in other Cia-Cia words, such as *ompu*, meaning grandparent, and *ompu-ompu*, meaning grandchild.

21 (a) On Binongko island the hole in the keel is called *leleika*; in the Wolio language *lelei* means 'to run (of liquid), leak out, flow away' (Anceaux 1987:94).

(b) Collins records two other uses for the *lamba puse*, or 'possi' as it is called amongst the Bugis:

"`And is this possi' I asked, `made only that the blood may go through the perahu's keel? It might be used to let water out when she is on the beach. Has it any other uses?'"

The Karaeng talked again with Ape, then said:

"`Yes, Tuan. The master of a prahu sits with the possi between his legs and pulls out the plug. If the jet of water rises above his head, the prahu is sound. If not as high, there is something wrong. And when the prahus are loaded masters listen to their possis, and can tell by the noise they make if the prahu can take any more cargo'" (Collins 1936:219).

(c) The expression 'law of *lamba puse*' (*hukuman lamba puse*) is found in several Wolio documents, but it was not possible to determine from the context what relationship this legal term has with boats.

(d) Perahu in Bau-Bau are given a second *lamba puse* called the *kahambana lamba puse*. *Kahambana* means 'ancillary' (*kahamba* = help, assistance, contribution given at family feast or a burial [Anceaux 1987:55]); the purpose of this second hole, situated about six inches behind the *lamba puse* proper, is to drain water out of the bilge. Informants said that the plug in the first *lamba puse* may not be removed (*tidak bisa diganggu*). There is here a clear separation between the symbolic and functional aspects of the hole in the keel.

22 The purpose of this ritual could also be to restore the perahu's soul. Errington notes that amongst the Luwurese humans are constantly shedding their *sumange*' (Errington 1989:52). A ceremony - called *Pakurusumange* - is performed to 'coax back' the dispersed *sumange*'. Cuisinier describes similar Malay rituals for recalling a missing soul - *sambut semangat* - and repairing a damaged soul - *membuat semangat* (Endicott 1981:35).

23 In a *lamba puse* ceremony held during fieldwork, the coconut was rotated around the *lamba puse* three times in one direction and four times in the other direction. The *dukun* said this was a mistake, that the figures three and four represent death. He was disparaging about the *pande* who had performed this ceremony and asked rhetorically "why would we want to go to sea with the meaning of death, when sailing is about life, about searching for a livelihood?".

24 McKinnon states: "The four-five (and the eight-nine) combination is common throughout Indonesia as an image of wholeness" (1991:254).

- 25 This is an example of what appears to be the superimposition of Islamic values over an older stratum of meanings. Another example of this is the explanation (described earlier in the chapter) that the string used for determining the length of the keel must overlap the navel at both ends since that is the position of the hands when folded across the belly in Islamic prayer. What makes these Islamic explanations seem to be later additions is that they are completely unrelated to the major symbolic themes of navel, soul, and procreation. I have not addressed in this thesis the issue of the religious/cultural origins of the ideas contained in the Lande symbolism; such a task is extremely difficult - if not impossible - in Indonesia, where the Austronesian past has been overlaid by the successive influences of Hinduism, Sufism, and orthodox Islam.
- 26 In Butonese boats, unlike Bugis boats, four-legged animals may not be sacrificed inside the vessel.
- 27 Wolio informants state that in Wolio tradition, the boat is not turned to the right, but left to its own devices. If it turns to the right it is a sign of good fortune, if it turns to the left, a sign of ill fortune.
- 28 In one interview a captain referred to the *kapiompu* as the 'mahar', or bridewealth.
- 29 A divorce occurred in the village during fieldwork. The husband's family was not required to pay the other half of the bridewealth since it was the wife's decision to separate, not the husband's.
- 30 The idea that the woman is constant, the man inconstant is also contained in the symbolic equation of the female with the sun, the male with the moon. The waxing and waning of the moon is said to be like the rising and falling of male sexuality.
- 31 Nowadays, with the use of polypropylene ropes, the ropes and stays have a much longer life than previously. In former times, when the ropes were made of coconut fibre, they would have to be replaced much more frequently.
- 32 The word used to refer to semen is 'air setitik'. 'Air setitik' is an important concept in Butonese Islamic mysticism. Individuals who have reached a certain level of spiritual attainment are said to be able to transform themselves into a drop of semen (*air setitik*).
- 33 'Water' is *we'e* in Cia-Cia. It seems that Cia-Cia has borrowed the term *uwe no bangka* from Wolio, transformed it into *owi no bangka*, and then lost the original meaning of 'water of the perahu'. If this is so, it would support the contention of Wolio people that all the traditions associated with perahu originate in Wolio society.
- 34 Sexual intercourse on perahus is forbidden. It is believed to cause the boat to capsize, since that would be the position of the boat (mast down, hull up) if the boat were having sexual intercourse with the sea (the sea is female; the perahu is male; the mast represents the penis).
- 35 Impotence the night before a voyage is regarded as a sign (*tanda-tanda*) that the voyage should be postponed.
- 36 A Wolio informant told me that an unmarried man is like a 'bird' (*burung*); he has no place of abode and (by implication) lies outside the social order which distinguishes humans from animals.

37 There are two instances in Lande of boats having been sold but there is nevertheless an idea that boats should not be sold.

Chapter 5 - Knowledge, good fortune and power

In this chapter I show that the perahu is a political as well as an economic domain, that it is an arena in which individuals gain prestige through the acquisition and demonstration of various types of esoteric knowledge. Furthermore, I argue that the perahu is a vehicle that translates spiritual power into political power.

The pursuit of knowledge

A major pre-occupation of Lande villagers is the acquisition of knowledge or *ilmu*. The importance of this activity in the political life of the village can be seen in three examples of individuals whose status in the village is the result of the acquisition of certain types of knowledge: a boat captain, a *dukun*, and a *pande*.

La Ode Malino is a small wiry man who has sailed on perahu all his life and is one of the most respected boat captains in the village. Like a number of men in the village he cultivates an air of reserve, wariness and inner control, rarely laughing or displaying emotion. He wears a *keris*¹ (ornamental dagger) in his belt, hidden under his shirt. He describes himself as '*berani*' or brave and relates a number of stories that illustrate this quality.

La Ode Rabalai's daughter had been made pregnant by a young man from Flores. Immediately it became known, the couple fled to La Ode Malino's house. He was out at the time attending a village meeting, but his wife sent word to him to hurry home. Once home, La Ode Malino took down a long sabre from the rafters of his house, and took up a position inside the front door. Before long the father arrived with a machete, demanding that the young couple be handed over; he wanted to kill both the young man and his own daughter (La Ode Malino explained that the father wanted to kill the youth because he had brought shame on his daughter, and wanted to kill his own daughter because she had brought shame on her family). La Ode Malino drew his sabre and told the father that he would cut him down if he took another step; that he would guard with his own life anyone who took refuge in his house. The father withdrew, the young man escaped from the village, and after a few days the daughter was able to return to her family without danger.

In relating this story, La Ode Malino stressed that his power or quality of *berani* came from the sabre, a talisman (*azimat*) inscribed with Arabic characters. Amongst his other *azimat* is a long narrow strip of paper folded concertina-wise, inscribed with passages from the Koran. In another story, he related how the District policeman had surprised La Ode Malino and his friends gambling in La Ode Malino's house. The policeman attempted to arrest them and though he was armed, was insufficiently '*berani*' to go through with it. This also was a demonstration of La Ode Malino's inner power, obtained through possession of *azimat*. In another illustration of his power, La Ode Malino described his relationship with La Nagara, a man who has both temporal authority (he is village headman) and sacred authority (he is the village *pande* or ritual expert). He said that while La Nagara could summon (*panggil*) any other man in the village to his house, he would not dare summon La Ode Malino; he was not sufficiently '*berani*'.

The esoteric knowledge of La Ode Malino falls into the category referred to in the village as *ilmu Juragan* or 'the science of captains'. Much of this *ilmu* involves a kind of meditation in which decisions on where to sail and the length of a voyage are reached through awareness of the body. The issue to be decided is thought of as a choice between right and left. The practitioner then focuses his mind on different parts of the body; a feeling of warmth or cold in the left or right arm provides an indication of which course of action is appropriate. Another such practice involves inhaling and exhaling through alternate nostrils.

All captains are expected to have a certain amount of *ilmu Juragan*. When villagers compare the reputations of different captains it is never in terms of their trading ability or business acumen, but in terms of either their *ilmu* or their honesty. Captains nowadays are said to be 'captains' in name only, or 'paper captains' (*Juragan kertas*); literate, and skilled in dealing with Port authorities, but lacking supernatural powers. The captains of an earlier era - a

few of them are still alive but no longer sail - are said to have been able to call up the wind or subdue it at will. They could snap in two the mast of a perahu that was beating them in a race for a prized cargo. Or they could slow down a competing perahu by making an island suddenly appear in its course. Through his *ilmu* a captain was also able to cure crew-members of illnesses and prevent mishap to either boat or crew (indeed a captain was expected to do this, and as noted in the previous chapter, the death of a crew member during a voyage was a sign that the captain was lacking in *ilmu*).

La Hasiati is a well-respected *dukun*, who assists at childbirths throughout the *Desa* of Gerak Makmur and as far away as Lapandewa, and cures the mentally disturbed (*orang gila*). He is also considered an expert in 'reading' chicken sacrifices for signs of good- or ill-fortune. La Hasiati and his brother La Rangani (who was a renowned captain) both studied (*berguru*) under the same teacher in Sampolawa, but La Rangani wanted the magical powers used by captains to control wind and waves, whereas La Hasiati wanted to understand the ontological basis of the different domains of body, house and boat:

"He was La Rangani's guru and mine. We had the same guru. But La Rangani went into the field of captain's *ilmu*. I didn't want that (captain's *ilmu*). I wanted this, the existence of humanity. Captain's *ilmu* is about perahu, but where do perahu come from? From humankind!"

"Satu guru dengan La Rangani, dengan saya, satu guru. Tapi dia jurusan Juragan. Saya tidak mau perlu itu. Saya perlu ini, adanya manusia. Itu (ilmu) Juragan (tentang) perahu, tapi adanya perahu dari mana? Manusia!" (excerpt from a recorded interview with La Hasiati)

The relationship between teacher and student often lasts several years or more, and involves numerous ritual payments to the teacher. These ritual payments are accompanied by verses (*pantun*) that extol the virtue of esoteric knowledge, such as:

"I give you money,
 Money that I could finish,
 But you give me knowledge,
 Knowledge that will not finish until the end of the world"

(*Di situ diberikan uang,
 Saya bisa kasih habis,
 Tapi diberikan ilmu ini,
 Dunia kiama, baru bisa habiskan*)

"The fish is dead because of the bait,
 Humankind is stupid because of the mind"

(*Ikan mati karna umpan,
 Manusia bodoh karna budi*)

La Hasiati - the main *dukun* of the village - studied under a nobleman from Sampolawa. He became a follower of this man, sailing as a crew-member on his *perahu* for four years. During this time La Hasiati raised forty dozen chickens, sold them on the island of Ambon and used the proceeds as ritual payments to his teacher.

An important category of *ilmu* in Lande II comprises the rituals for building houses (*ilmu rumah*) and boats (*ilmu perahu*). The village headman - a son of the founder of the village - is recognized as being the most knowledgeable in these kinds of *ilmu*. He performs nearly all the rituals for building houses and boats. He also determines auspicious dates for the departure of *perahu*, the building of new houses, and other less important undertakings. This latter function provides an almost daily confirmation of his authority in the village, as people come to his house to seek advice on the most auspicious time and date to start a voyage or erect a new house-post. With regard to the departure dates for *perahu*, his position as village headman reinforces his role as *pande*. Boat owners require a stamp from the village headman in their *perahu*'s sailing pass (*pas jalanan*) before the *perahu* can leave the village. If the *pande*'s authority in determining auspicious dates for sailing is defied by a boat-owner, he can use his power as village headman to withhold the stamp in the *pas jalanan*.

The village headman, La Nagara, acquired his *ilmu* and the calendar for determining auspicious times and dates from his father, La Molabi, who was the former *pande* or ritual expert of Lande. La Molabi (now deceased) was known for his perahu *ilmu* throughout southern Buton and his services at boat-building rituals were sought by people as far away as Bau-Bau. La Molabi is said to have acquired his *ilmu* from a *pande* in Dongkala, a village in the Bay of Pasar Wajo about 40 kilometres west of Lande. La Nagara's possession of this knowledge has given him the moral authority and political following that resulted in his being twice elected village headman. La Nagara's position in the village with regard to his monopoly on certain types of knowledge was described in the following way by one of his sister's husbands: "We (ie. the rest of the village) are like passengers on a ship; we don't know how it works" (*kita hanya menumpang macam di kapal, tapi artinya kita tidak tahu*).

Knowledge in Lande is not uniform; there are different versions of the meaning of a ritual and different understandings of how a ritual should be performed. This margin for different interpretations is the space within which people vie with each other for status. My own relationship with the *dukun* (my main source of information on house and boat symbolism) illustrates this. Throughout our conversations he would demand to know who else I had asked about the meaning of house and boat rituals and what answers they had given. He would then shake his head and say that their answer had been incorrect and that their knowledge was less than his. A number of instances of such differences in knowledge and its interpretation were cited in the previous chapter: the *lamba puse* is seen as both navel and vagina but according to the *dukun* many villagers are unaware of the second interpretation; the *dukun* and the village headman gave differing accounts of the order in which the three keel sections are joined, and gave different explanations for that order; there were at least three different accounts of how the measurement for the keel is taken from the husbands body and the *dukun* stated that the measurement is

also taken from the wife's body - contrary to other accounts - but that very few villagers know this because it is done in the middle of the night; some villagers state that the three keel sections represent the three ties on the shroud of a body laid out for burial - the *dukun* vehemently denies this, saying that sailing is about life not death.

The clearest examples of how esoteric knowledge is used in competition for status occurred between villages rather than within Lande II. One such instance concerned the departure date for a perahu. A captain from the neighbouring village of Lakaliba had borrowed La Rangani's boat Sumber Baru for a forthcoming voyage. The crew was also from Lakaliba and the boat had been anchored off the beach at Lakaliba for about a week, pending the determination of an auspicious date for departure. An old and respected Lakaliba man - La Rangani's father-in-law - decided that the following Wednesday would be an auspicious date to sail. La Rangani's household set about making the rice cakes (*katupa*) with which the boat-owner's household supplies the crew. A few days later La Nagara (village headman of Lande II) announced that his late father (La Molabi) had said Wednesdays were not auspicious and that the perahu should leave on the Friday instead. The captain replied that in Lakaliba that particular Friday was not considered to be a good day. While the two villages debated back and forth over the appropriate day to sail, the *katupa* - intended for the first three days of the voyage - had to be eaten on land, much to La Rangani's annoyance. The stalemate continued for about a week, the Lakaliba *pande* asserting his authority because the captain and crew were from Lakaliba, and La Nagara asserting his authority since the boat and its owner were from Lande II. The Lande II *pande* prevailed in the end and the boat departed on a day set by him.

Another example of differing interpretations of perahu *ilmu* occurred in a boat-launching ceremony. The boat had been built by Lande boat-builders for a man who came from the nearby island of Batuatas. This man's brother, La

Rajana, is married to one of La Molabi's daughters. La Rajana had received from his father-in-law some of the esoteric knowledge for drilling the hole in the keel, and so he performed the *lamba puse* ritual, part of the ceremony for launching a perahu. This was itself a challenge to La Nagara's ascendancy in the village, for he alone would normally perform such a ritual. After the *lamba puse* had been drilled, the ritual expert rotated a coconut around the hole three and four times instead of eight and nine times. One of the chickens sacrificed over the keel made a certain noise, interpreted by the Batuatas camp as a good portent. In the privacy of his house, La Hasiati later criticized both the performance and the interpretation of the ceremony; the rotation of the coconut three and four times (instead of eight and nine times) indicated death and was appropriate for a funeral ceremony but not for a boat-launching; and the noise that the chicken had made - far from being a good portent - was a sure sign that a crew member would die at sea within the year. The conclusion drawn by Lande villagers was that La Rajana's *ilmu* was not as 'strong' as La Nagara's.

The Boat as an expression of spiritual and political power

Much esoteric knowledge in Lande is concerned with obtaining good fortune or *rejeki*. One way of obtaining *rejeki* is by aligning oneself, and one's actions, with the order of the universe. An example of this is the belief that house timbers should be aligned so that the grain runs in the same direction as it did when the tree was in the ground. Waterson notes that this practice is widespread in Southeast Asia and that its purpose is to ensure that the house retains the life-force (*semangat* or *sumange'*) that animated the tree (Waterson 1990:136). Another example is the great importance attached to performing tasks at auspicious times. Complex calendars based on the phases of the moon are used to set the time and date for events such as the departure of perahu, the raising of the first house-post, the joining of the keel sections of the perahu, the drilling of the *lamba puse*, the planting and harvesting of crops, and even the

conception of children.² Good fortune is secured by synchronizing human action with the phases which underlie the movement of nature or the cosmos. The principle that good fortune is dependent on alignment or harmony can also be seen in the belief in Lande that husband and wife should be in agreement. La Hasiati, in comparing himself with his two brothers, La Rangani and La Pasi, noted that they have both been successful as boat-owners, whereas he has not. He attributed this to the fact that there is harmony (*setuju*) between them and their wives, whereas he often argues with his wife. In Bau-Bau some *dukun* serve as matchmakers, ascertaining the compatibility of potential spouses by the number of letters in their names. Errington notes the same concern with the idea of harmony, or *cocok*, in Luwu: "Husband and wife, similarly, must discover after their wedding that they *cokcok* (sic), if they are to remain married" (Errington 1989:59).

Another instance of the principle of alignment is the idea that if a house is to be built on a slope, the front door should be facing up hill so that the house can receive good fortune, since good fortune flows downhill.³ This recalls Acciaioli's observation that the Bugis of Lake Lindu present fortune as a "vector", as a "directed flow" (1989:277) that "could be blocked or admitted, rejected or received" (1989:278).

While good fortune is contingent on things being aligned or in harmony, it can also be obtained through the transfer of potency. An association between potency and prosperity has already been noted in the boat-building rituals where the metaphors of insemination and pregnancy are used to invoke success in trading. In Butonese thinking sexual potency is closely associated with spiritual potency; there is a belief that men of high spiritual attainment are able to transform themselves into '*air setitik*', a drop of the water (semen) which is the origin of life.

This concern with potency can be seen in a dualism in Lande between *hakekat* and *sareat*. These words are derived from the Arabic terms *haqiqa* and

sharia which are two of the three levels of purification (*sharia* = the Muslim law, *tariqa* = the mystical path, *haqiqa* = the Truth [Schimmel 1978:16]) in the Islamic mystic path of *tarekat*. The fact that the words *haqiqa* and *sharia* properly belong to a threefold division, yet are used in Lande as a binary opposition, suggests that the words *hakekat* and *sareat* have been borrowed from Islam to translate an indigenous dualism.

In Lande *hakekat* refers to the invisible essence of things, while *sareat* refers to the visible world. *Hakekat* is the *alam kecil* (literally the 'small universe'), the hidden reality. *Sareat* is the *alam besar* (literally the 'large universe'), the coarse, visible reality. There is a causal relationship between these two levels of reality. The visible world is a manifestation of the invisible world; it is said that '*sareat* is sent by *hakekat*' (*sareat disuruh oleh hakekat*). A similar dualism is found in the former Bugis kingdom of Luwu in the opposition between **malinrung** and **talle**. In Luwu the visible world is only the outward sign of an invisible world of potency (Errington 1989:46). The visible world (**talle**) does not exist in its own right but only as a shadow, a reflection or a consequence of the invisible world (**malinrung**).

In Luwu, one aspect of this invisible potency is a person's soul or **sumange'** which is attached at the navel but is not "contained or bounded by the skin or body" (Errington 1983:559). The **sumange'** of a very high status individual "spreads far out into the social world, encompassing the lesser **sumange'** of his followers" (Errington 1979:14). In some respects **sumange'** is more akin to a universal energy than it is to a soul, since it pervades the universe and exists in both animate and inanimate objects. It is not evenly distributed and collects around certain nodes; some individuals and objects have more **sumange'** than others. Individuals who are thought to be particularly potent gather around them followers, who are drawn towards them in an attempt to increase their own **sumange'**. Such individuals become, like the navel-post of the house, the source of the prosperity and safety of the

polity, whether it be a local kingroup or the state: "...the ruler is the **sumange'** of the kingdom. His presence at the navel spreads out into the world, protecting and encompassing the kingdom, just as the spirit of the house living at its navel-post protects the house's occupants, just as the **sumange'** of the individual attached at his navel spreads out and protects him from harm and penetration" (1979:14). **Sumange'** is acquired primarily through meditation, but secondarily through transmission from one individual to another. In Luwu, houses and boats are given ritual navels which act as the point of attachment for the **sumange'** of the house or the boat. The ritual navels of houses and boats protect their human occupants and ensure prosperity.

Sumange' is a cognate of *semangat*, a word found in many parts of Southeast Asia which refers to an invisible force that animates the universe (Cuisinier 1936, Endicott 1981). Schoorl records that the concept exists on Buton, as *sumanga*, meaning 'spirits of the ancestors' (Schoorl 1985:119), and Vonk (the Assistant Resident on Buton) refers to the word *soemanga* in a discussion about Butonese beliefs in spirits (Vonk 1937:42). Lande people do not use the word *sumanga*, or a cognate word, but instead refer to the life-force of a person or perahu as *nyawa*. *Semangat*, *nyawa*, and *roh* are three terms closely associated in meaning that are used in the Malay language to refer to various aspects of soul (Endicott, 1970:47).

The soul or *nyawa* of the Lande perahu is transferred to the perahu during the *lamba puse* ceremony. The *pande's* inner state during the drilling of the *lamba puse* is of great importance since the future safety of those who sail in the perahu and their success in trading derive from this hole which is the seat of the perahu's soul. The *pande* covers himself with a white cloth to ensure the purity of his inner focus. While drilling the *lamba puse* the *pande* holds his breath - which in Lande is synonymous with *nyawa* - as if by doing so he is able to transfer his own soul-stuff to the perahu.

It is possible to see in the *lamba puse* ceremony a nexus between spiritual power and political power for the *pande* is also the village leader. It may be that the perahu is a vehicle that translates spiritual power into political power. In a society where much is thought to depend on good fortune, the *pande* - as a source of good fortune - is in a powerful position to bestow or withhold his favours, whether it be in the *lamba puse* ceremony or in the setting of auspicious dates for the departure of perahu. On the other hand there is a case for arguing that spiritual power is political power and requires no mechanism of conversion, as argued by Geertz (1980) in his study of the 'theatre state' in 19th century Bali and by Benedict Anderson (1979) in an essay on power in Javanese culture. As Atkinson expressed it: "...the power conjured in Balinese courtly ritual was not a reflection of 'real power' located elsewhere in the state; instead, it was simply what power there was" (1989:9).

Whatever the case, the drilling of the perahu's keel is a ritual where symbolic action aptly expresses political relations; the *pande* drills a hole in the keel that is the source of the perahu's prosperity, while he himself has an identical role in the life of the village. Furthermore, the hole in the keel represents the navel of the perahu while the *pande* is regarded as the origin figure of the village.

Notes

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- 1 The wearing of a *keris* is a custom more associated with the Bugis than the Butonese. Amongst the Bugis the *keris* is a talisman that connotes potency (Errington, 1989:59).
 - 2 An allegory written in the Wolio language (the *Kala Kupanda*, or Short Coconut Palm) uses the metaphor of planting seeds to explain the most auspicious times of the day and days of the week in which to conceive a child.
 - 3 This information was given by an informant in Bau-Bau but was later confirmed by a Lande person.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the meanings and values underlying the perahu economy of a Butonese village through an examination of the social organization of the perahu economy and through an analysis of the symbolic associations contained in boat-building rituals and in the physical structures of houses and boats.

The most significant aspect of the social organization of the perahu economy is the institution of *kapiompu* and the borrowing of perahu. All perahu in Lande that put to sea are borrowed; this is the key principle in the organization of sailing. The borrowing of perahu is based on an ideology that the voyage is a joint venture and that the risks to the boat must therefore be borne equally. So important is this principle, that boat-owners who sail on their own perahu are sometimes nominally divested of ownership of their perahu for the duration of the voyage, thereby emphasizing that the perahu is being borrowed. The same values can be seen in the emphasis which villagers place on the pre-voyage conference between boat-owner, captain, and crew. It is said that decisions on where to sail and what cargoes to carry must be reached through consensus. These values may reflect the fact that crew-members on Butonese perahu were in earlier times traders in their own right. While the voyage as a joint venture is an important principle in the Lande perahu economy, it does disguise a certain degree of inequality in the relations between boat-owners and crew-members. Firstly, a commonly-used formula for dividing profit from the voyage gives the boat-owner a guaranteed income from the voyage, even when the crew makes a net loss. Secondly, there is some evidence that long-term indebtedness between crew-members and boat-owners may be the basis for recruiting some crew-members to certain perahu.

The institution of borrowing perahu is also important because, like marriage, it stands at the juncture between the household and the wider

society. Whereas the building of the boat emphasizes processes within households, the borrowing of boats emphasizes processes between households.

Villagers say that houses are female, boats are male. This is a generalization that fails to capture the recursive complementarity in which opposites are contained within each other and the symbolic inversion in which the boat appears on some levels to be more female than male. But the statement does nevertheless reflect a basic division between the economic roles of men and women. Men embark on perahu, on voyages into the outside world in search of a living, while women stay in the village, within the confines of the house. This kind of division is widespread in Indonesia. In many societies of the region men embark on annual journeys in search of wealth or wisdom. Conversely, women are often associated with immobility. But the Lande view of male and female economic roles also reflects local ideas about procreation according to which the male gives life while the female receives it. Similarly on the economic plane, the husband brings home cash income which he deposits in the house where the wife 'husbands' it. This parallel between procreation and economic enterprise is clearly stated in the *lamba puse* ceremony where the husband drops coins through the hole in the keel which are received by the wife in a plate representing the womb. On one level the coins represent semen while on another level they represent the husband's income from *merantau*.

If ideas about procreation provide the basis for the way in which Lande people divide male and female economic roles, these ideas also inform their perception of trading itself. One informant explained that a man deposits semen in a woman who then returns that substance nine months later - increased many times over - in the form of a baby. The application of this model of increase to economic activity can be seen in the way that the trading voyage is likened to the period of pregnancy and the return of the perahu with the product of trading is likened to birth. The parallel is made explicit in the '*hak Juragan*' where the captain of the boat is said to be like the midwife while

the boat and the product of the voyage are said to be like the mother and the new-born child.

The building of the boat is also represented in terms of procreation. The keel-joining ceremony represents the moment of conception, the period between the keel-joining and the boat-building is likened to pregnancy, the *lamba puse* ceremony represents the tying of a baby's umbilical cord, and the launching of the boat is likened to birth.

In the *lamba puse* ceremony there is a mixing of metaphors, for while the ceremony represents the tying of the umbilical cord, it also represents copulation and the transmission of life to the perahu. According to Lande beliefs about procreation, the spirit - which is synonymous with the breath - is given by the male. In the *lamba puse* ceremony the *pande* holds his breath during the drilling of the hole, as if by doing so some part of the *pande's* soul is transmitted to the perahu.

These life-giving rituals have important implications for understanding the perahu economy, for in Lande the boat is thought of as a person rather than an investment of capital. The boat is a person in two senses: it is the child of the boat-owner and his wife but it is also the body of the boat-owner himself, and carries in its keel his own unique measurements. Not only is the perahu regarded as a person, but the borrowing of the boat is represented as a marriage between the captain and the boat-owner's daughter and the profit from trading is represented in terms of human reproduction. In Lande the building and owning of boats and the trading voyage itself are seen by villagers more in terms of the processes of household reproduction than in terms of the logic of capitalism.

While the household is a metaphor for thinking about the perahu, the perahu in turn becomes a metaphor for expressing power relations within the village, and even a instrument of those relations. The *pande* who performed the rituals that guaranteed safety and prosperity in sailing was both the village

leader and founder. He was also the wealthiest man in the village and owned the largest number of perahu. One of his sons is now the village headman and is regarded as the successor to his father's position as the foremost ritual expert of the village. There is a parallel between the *pande* drilling the navel of the perahu and his position as the political centre of the village. This is an example of what Atkinson terms "...congruences between symbolic forms and social processes" (Atkinson 1989:8). If the drilling of the navel of the perahu is one metaphor for relations of power in the village, another such metaphor is 'captain of the boat'. In describing the *pande*'s monopoly on perahu *ilmu* (the knowledge required for setting auspicious dates on which to sail, and for performing boat-building rituals), a villager likened the *pande* to the captain of a ship, and the other villagers to passengers on the ship, who do not know how the ship works and depend on the captain. In summary, while on one hand the boat is defined in terms of the house, on the other hand the life of the village is defined in terms of the boat; if at one level the boat is a house, so also at another level is the village a boat.

Glossary

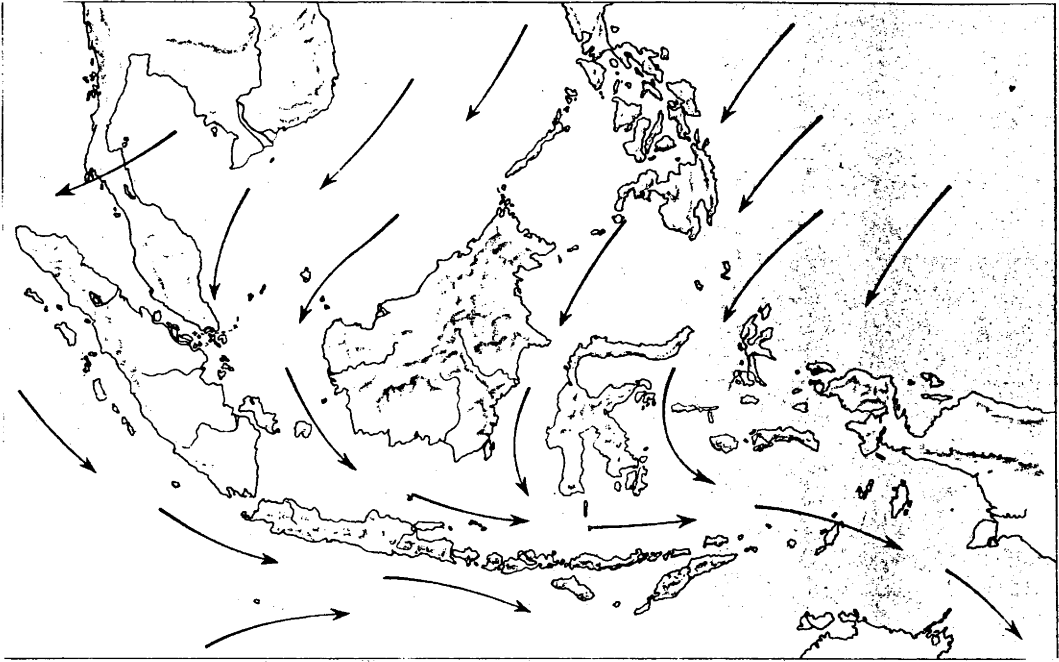
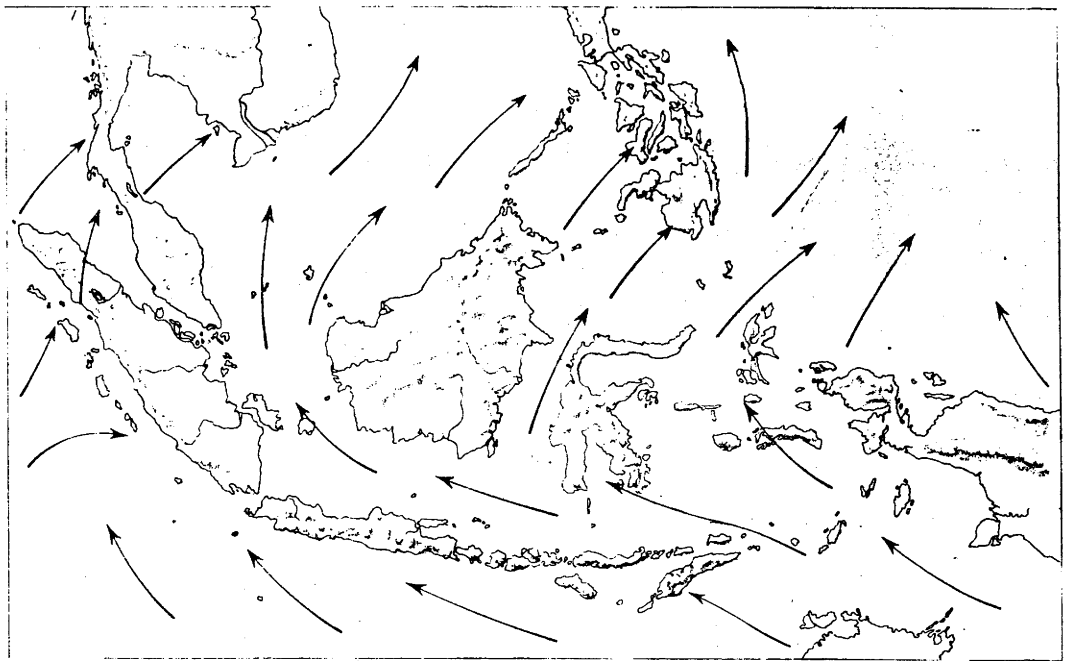
Cia-Cia terms

<i>ama</i>	=	father
<i>ana no doi</i>	=	interest
<i>bangka</i>	=	boat
<i>batua</i>	=	slave
<i>boba</i>	=	mouth
<i>boka</i>	=	unit of currency
<i>ina</i>	=	mother
<i>ina na dopi</i>	=	mother plank
<i>jarangka</i>	=	type of boat
<i>ka'ana</i>	=	house
<i>kabilai</i>	=	first house post
<i>kadie</i>	=	administrative district
<i>kaomu</i>	=	the first rank in traditional Butonese society
<i>kapiompu</i>	=	an arrangement between a boat-captain and a boat-owner whereby the captain takes responsibility for half the value of the boat
<i>katupa</i>	=	rice cakes provided to the crew of a boat by the boat-owner's household
<i>kimbohu</i>	=	ridge-pole of house
<i>koli-koli</i>	=	dugout canoe
<i>konta</i>	=	horizontal floor joist
<i>kunde'e</i>	=	coconut
<i>lakina</i>	=	title of a member of the <i>kaomu</i> appointed by the Sultan to oversee a <i>papara</i> village
<i>lamba puse</i>	=	hole drilled in the keel of the perahu that serves as a drain-hole and represents the perahu's navel
<i>ndo' ndo' kunde'e</i>	=	ceremony held forty days after birth
<i>Ode</i>	=	title of member of the nobility
<i>ompu bangke</i>	=	name of the ceremony for joining the keel sections
<i>ompu bangke i rope</i>	=	the forward of the three keel sections
<i>ompu bangke i wana</i>	=	the aft of the three keel sections
<i>owi no bangka</i>	=	the magical water that is taken on voyages, lit. 'water of the perahu'
<i>pande</i>	=	ritual expert
<i>papara</i>	=	the lowest of the three ranks in traditional Butonese society
<i>parabela</i>	=	the title of the head of a <i>papara</i> village
<i>parapalea</i>	=	the name of a particular type of joint used to join the planks in the hull of Lande perahu <i>lambo</i>
<i>pochu</i>	=	head
<i>sabangka</i>	=	reciprocal term of reference used by husband and wife, meaning 'of one boat'.
<i>sawi</i>	=	crew
<i>singku</i>	=	feet
<i>sope-sope</i>	=	type of sailing craft
<i>sumanga</i>	=	soul
<i>tambe</i>	=	behind, buttocks
<i>tanda-tanda</i>	=	sign
<i>tonga</i>	=	middle
<i>uunea</i>	=	the middle section of the keel
<i>walaka</i>	=	the second of the three ranks in traditional Butonese society

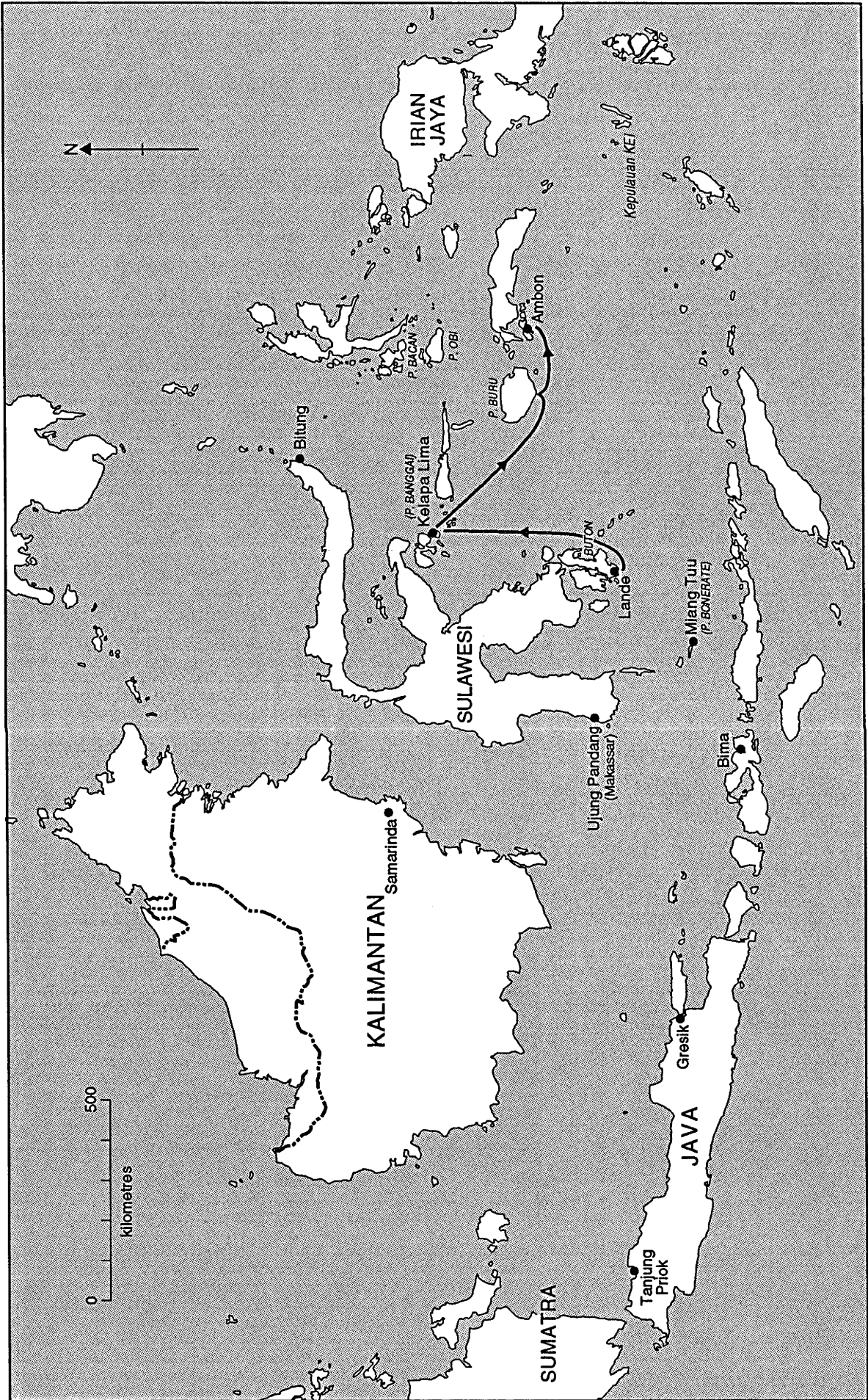
Indonesian terms

<i>bagian</i>	=	share, part
<i>Bapak</i>	=	father
<i>desa</i>	=	village
<i>dukun</i>	=	traditional healer
<i>dusun</i>	=	hamlet
<i>Ibu</i>	=	mother
<i>ilmu</i>	=	knowledge
<i>Juragan</i>	=	captain
<i>Kabupaten</i>	=	Regency
<i>Kecamatan</i>	=	District
<i>keladi</i>	=	taro
<i>merantau</i>	=	a journey away from one's village in search of income or knowledge
<i>pas jalanan</i>	=	sailing pass
<i>pinisi</i>	=	type of Bugis sailing craft, from English `pinnace'
<i>rejeki</i>	=	good fortune

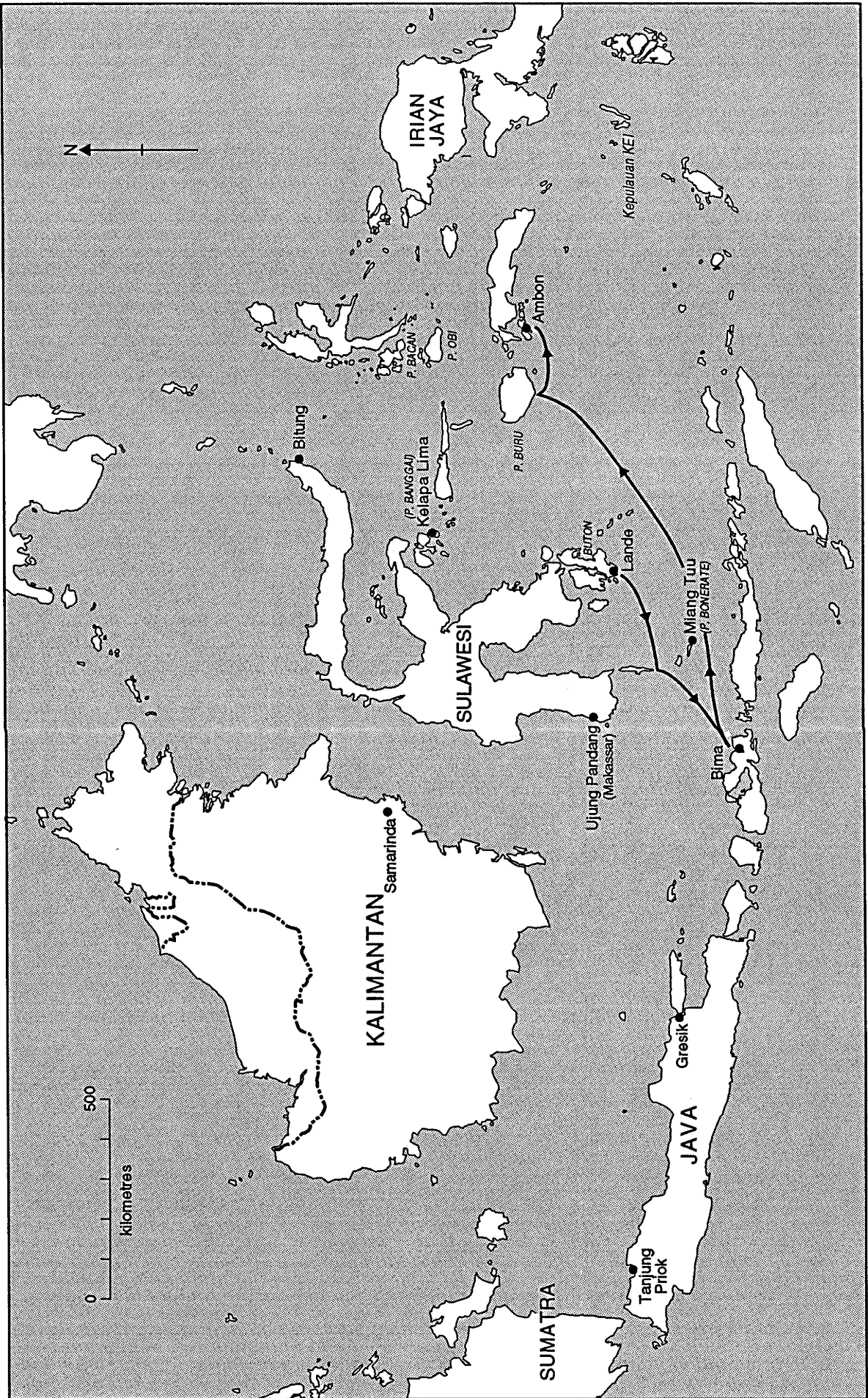
Appendix I (Maps)

West Monsoon**East Monsoon**

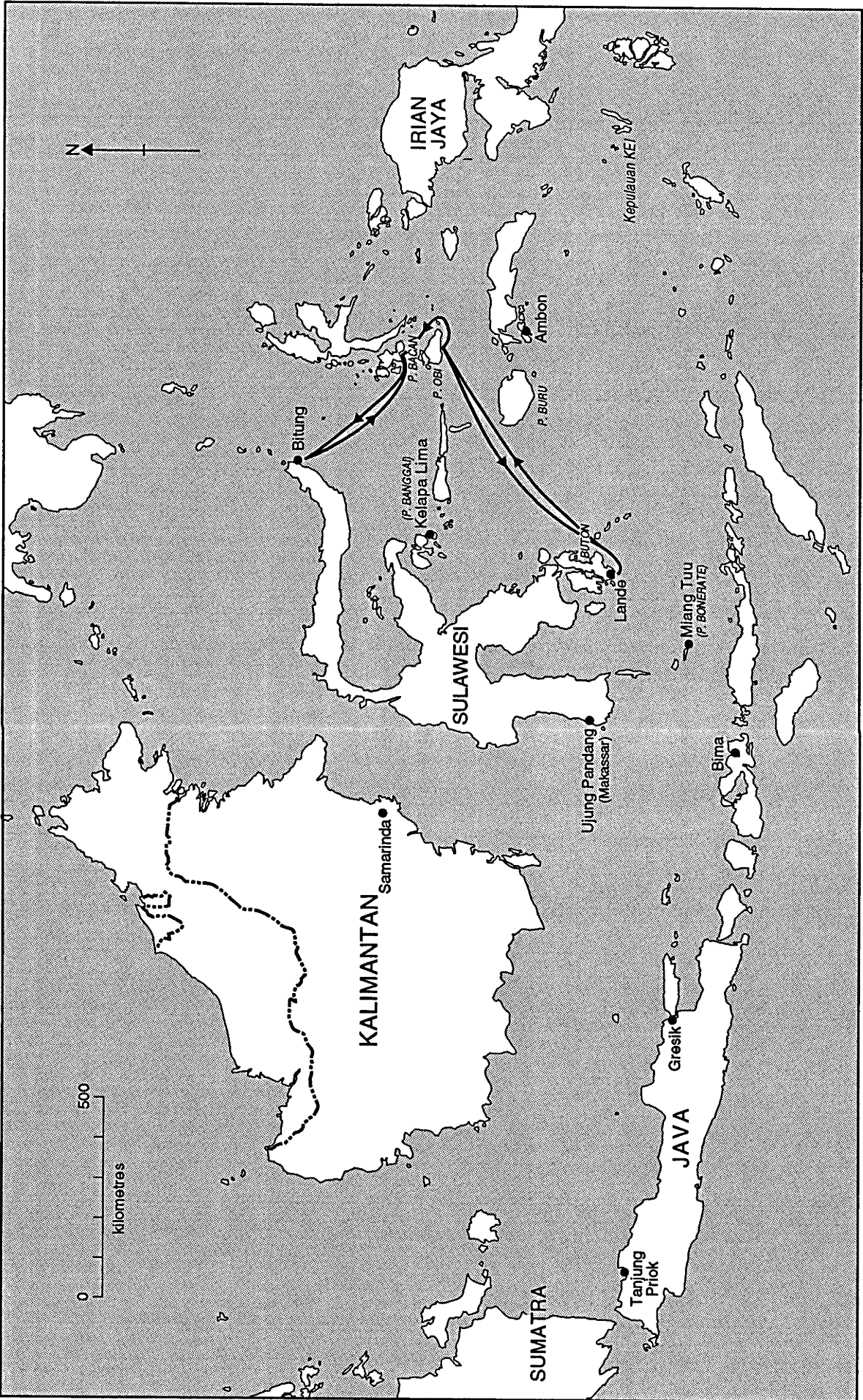
Map 6. Monsoonal winds in Indonesia (from *Atlas Indonesia dan Dunia*, Penerbit Djambatan, 1951:31).



Map 7. Indonesian Archipelago, showing trade route for Lande perahu carrying keladi.



Map 8. Indonesian Archipelago, showing trade route for Lande perahu carrying salt.



Map 9. Indonesian Archipelago, showing trade route for Lande perahu carrying timber.

Appendix II (Tables)

Table 7
Periods spent sailing for ten Lande perahu

Boat	Away	In Lande
India II	26.12.86-17.03.87	17.03.87-07.05.87
	07.05.87-29.07.87	29.07.87-10.09.87
	10.09.87-27.10.87	27.10.87-01.12.87
	01.12.87-19.12.88	19.12.88-04.04.89
	04.04.89-27.10.90	27.10.90-27.08.91
	27.08.91-26.12.91	26.12.91- ?
Indonesia Indah	22.09.88-10.10.89	10.10.89-13.10.89
	13.10.89-13.12.89	13.12.89-29.12.89
	29.12.89-01.01.90	01.01.90-22.02.90
	22.02.90-10.07.90	10.07.90-08.09.90
	08.09.90-17.12.90	17.12.90-02.03.91
	02.03.91-01.06.91	01.06.91-12.07.91
	12.07.91-02.10.91	02.10.91-03.10.91
	03.10.91-26.10.91	26.10.91-26.10.91
	26.10.91-19.11.91	19.11.91-02.12.91
	02.12.91-20.01.92	20.01.92- ?
Tunas Muda	10.11.85-14.07.86	14.07.86-09.08.86
	09.08.86-23.11.86	23.11.86-13.12.86
	13.12.86-27.01.87	27.01.87-19.04.87
	19.04.87-05.01.88	05.01.88-18.11.88
	18.11.88-20.12.88	20.12.88-21.02.89
	21.02.89-16.05.89	16.05.89-19.06.89
	19.06.89-28.12.89	28.12.89-30.05.90
	30.05.90-14.12.90	14.12.90-24.06.91
	24.06.91-21.12.91	21.12.91- ?
	Sinar Bangsawan	
22.01.86-28.02.86		28.02.86-13.05.86
13.05.86-29.05.86		29.05.86-11.06.86
11.06.86-26.08.86		26.08.86-09.09.86
09.09.86-16.10.86		16.10.86-12.12.86
12.12.86-19.04.87		19.04.87-24.04.87
24.04.87-06.10.87		06.10.87-27.02.88
27.02.88-01.07.88		01.07.88-19.09.88
19.09.88-20.02.89		20.02.89-20.03.89
20.03.89-20.03.90		20.03.90-12.05.90
12.05.90-30.06.90		30.06.90-28.08.90
28.08.90-01.11.90		01.11.90- ?
Asia Baru		? -07.05.89
	19.08.89-07.01.90	07.01.90-02.02.90
	02.02.90-10.03.90	10.03.90-28.08.90
	28.08.90-15.12.90	15.12.90- ?
Mas Nona	30.08.90-17.02.90	17.02.90-26.05.90
	26.05.90-08.12.90	08.12.90-18.12.90
	18.12.90-28.02.91	28.22.91- ?
Usaha Baru (M)	17.11.90-03.02.91	03.02.91-02.04.91
	02.04.91-10.06.91	10.06.91-10.09.91
	10.09.91-30.01.92	30.01.92- ?

Sumber Baru	29.07.89-02.12.89	02.12.89-06.01.90
	06.01.90-30.06.90	30.06.90-28.07.90
	28.07.90-24.11.90	24.11.90-21.01.91
	21.01.91-02.05.91	02.05.91-15.07.91
	15.07.91-04.02.92	04.02.92- ?
Jaya Makmur	23.05.89-02.12.89	02.12.89-16.12.89
	16.12.89-08.02.90	08.02.90-07.04.90
	07.04.90-21.03.91	21.03.91-20.12.91
	20.12.91-28.02.92	28.02.92- ?
Usaha Baru (H)	24.08.90-28.11.90	28.11.90-02.02.91
	02.02.91-16.03.91	16.03.91- ?
Karya Jaya		07.06.85-31.07.85
	31.07.85-06.10.85	06.10.85-07.10.85
	07.10.85-30.11.85	30.11.85-14.12.85
	14.12.85-16.04.86	16.04.86-03.05.86
	03.05.86-12.06.86	

source: *'Pas Jalanan'* or Log Books of Lande perahu

Table 8.

The number of times the voyages listed in Table 7 occurred in a particular month.

perahu	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
India II												
1987					-	-	-		-	-		-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1989				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1990	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1991									-	-	-	-
Tunas Muda												
1986	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
1987	-				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988												-
1989			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1990						-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991							-	-	-	-	-	-
Sinar												
Bangsawan		-			-	-	-	-	-	-		-
1986	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
1987			-	-	-	-	-				-	-
1988	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1989	-	-	-		-	-			-	-		
1990												
Mas Nona												
1990	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	-	
Usaha Baru												
1991		-	-									
Cahaya Indah												
1990		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Usaha Baru												
1991	-			-	-				-	-	-	-
Sumber Baru												
1990	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
1991		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-
Karya Jaya												
1986	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1987					-	-	-			-	-	
1988		-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	
1989	-	-	-		-	-				-	-	
1990					-	-	-		-	-	-	-
1991		-	-		-	-	-	-				-
total	13	17	16	15	21	21	21	17	22	24	19	19

source: field notes.

Table 9
Voyages of Lande perahu.

Voyage No.	Cargo	Route	Name of perahu.
1.	Atap Sirap ¹ ;	Lande to Samarinda/Buru;	<i>India II</i>
2.	Atap Sirap/Cashew Nuts;	Lande to Samarinda/Buru;	<i>India II</i>
3.	Rice/Flour/Copra/Timber/Cement;	Lande to Bacan/Ternate;	<i>India II.</i>
4.	Timber/B.C. ² ;	Lande to Obi/Bitung;	<i>India II.</i>
5.	Timber/Copra/B.C.;	Lande to Obi/Bitung/Taliabu/Ambon/Java;	<i>India II.</i>
6.	<i>Keladi</i> ³ ;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon;	<i>India II.</i>
7.	Salt;	Lande to Bima/Taliabu;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
8.	Salt;	Lande to Bima/Taliabu/Kayoa/Bacan/Obi/Seram;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
9.	Atap Nipa ⁴ ;	Lande to Sampara;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
10.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Muna;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
11.	Atap Sirap;	Lande to Samarinda/Batuatas;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
12.	Atap Nipa;	Lande to Sampara;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
13.	1 Cow;	Lande to Kendari/Lande;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
14.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon/Buton/Sulabesi;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
15.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Buru;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
16.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Buru/Ambon/Taliabu/Seram;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
17.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Buru/Ambon/Seram;	<i>Tunas Muda.</i>
18.	Salt;	Lande to Bima/Lande;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
19.	Timber;	Lande to Obi/Lande;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
20.	Lande to Bima/Kendari/Bau-Bau/Muna;		<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
21.	Timber;	Lande to Ambon/Lande;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
22.	Atap Sirap;	Lande to Tenggara/Adonara/Binongko/Samarinda;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
23.	no cargo;	Lande to Obi/Bacan/Ambon;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
24.	Asphalt;	Lande to Pasar Wajo/Muna;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
25.	Atap Sirap;	Lande to Samarinda/Lande;	<i>Sinar Bangsawan.</i>
26.	Aspal;	Pasar Wajo to Muna/Buton;	<i>Asia Baru.</i>
27.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon/Seram/Muna/Buton;	<i>Asia Baru.</i>
28.	Timber;	Lande to Obi/Lande;	<i>Asia Baru.</i>
29.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Sulabesi/Buru/AmbonMuna;	<i>Asia Baru.</i>
30.	Asphalt;	Pasar Wajo to Kendari/Muna;	<i>Mas Nona.</i>
31.	Kapok/Timber;	Lande to Ambon/Obi/Bau-Bau;	<i>Mas Nona.</i>
32.	Asphalt;	Pasar Wajo to Muna;	<i>Cahaya Sakti.</i>
33.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon/Buru;	<i>Cahaya Sakti.</i>
34.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Buru/Ambon/Seram;	<i>Cahaya Sakti.</i>
35.	<i>Keladi</i> ;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon/Lande;	<i>Usaha Baru II</i>
36.	Iron/Empty Bottles/Maize/Cloves/Salt/B.C.;	Lande to Ambon/Java/Bima/Lande;	<i>Usaha Baru II</i>
37.	<i>Keladi</i> /Atap Nipa;	Lande to Banggai/Ambon/Buru/Kendari;	<i>Usaha Baru II</i>
38.	Asphalt;	Pasar Wajo to Kendari/Kolaka;	<i>Cahaya Indah.</i>
39.	Timber/Copra/B.C./Asphalt;	Lande to Bacan/Bitung/Ternate/Obi;	<i>Cahaya Indah.</i>
40.	Salt;	Lande to Bima/Obi/Bacan;	<i>Sumber Baru.</i>
41.	Kayu/Garam/Besi/B.C.;	Lande to Ambon/Buru/Gresik;	<i>Sumber Baru.</i>
42.	Cement/Salt;	Lande to Buru/Ambon/Haruku;	<i>Sumber Baru.</i>
43.	Timber;	Lande to Obi/Buru/Bacan/Bitung;	<i>Sumber Baru.</i>
44.	Copra/Timber;	Lande to Obi/Kofiau/Ternate/Muna;	<i>Usaha Baru I</i>
45.	Timber;	Lande to Obi/Wangi-Wangi;	<i>Usaha Baru I</i>
46.	no cargo;	Lande to Flores;	<i>Harapan Jaya II</i>
47.	Salt;	Lande to Bima/Sultra;	<i>Jaya Makmur.</i>
48.	Timber;	Lande to Maluku/Bau-Bau;	<i>Jaya Makmur.</i>
49.	no cargo (looking for kayu);	Lande to Maluku;	<i>Sinar Jaya.</i>

50. *Keladi*; Lande to Banggai/Ambon; *Sinar Jaya*.
51. *Keladi*; Lande to Banggai/Buru/Wowonii; *Harapan Sry*.
52. Salt; Lande to Bima/Lande; *Harapan Sry*.
53. Salt; Lande to Bima/Ambon; *Harapan Jaya I*
54. Asphalt; Lande to Pasar Wajo/Kendari; *Harapan Jaya I*
55. Atap Sirap; Lande to Samarinda; *Harapan Jaya I*
56. Clothes/Cloves; Surabaya to Binongko/Bacan/Bitung; *Budi Luhur*.
57. Salt/Mattresses; Lande to Seram; *Banjar Baru*.
58. Salt; Lande to Bima/Ambon/Hariku/Buton/Muna; *Jaya Makmur*.
59. Timber; Lande to Obi/Lande; *Jaya Makmur*.
60. Salt/Triplex/Lime; Lande to Seram/Buton/Kendari/Bima/Buru/Ambon; *Jaya Makmur*.
61. Timber; Lande to Obi/Bau-Bau; *Jaya Makmur*.
62. B.C./Pia-Pia/Bekal; Batuatas to Tanimbar/Dobo/Aru/Java; *Indonesia Indah*.
63. Copra/Passengers; Lande to Buru/Bau-Bau; *Indonesia Indah*.
64. B.C.; Batuatas to Flores/Buton; *Indonesia Indah*.
65. Passengers/Cashew Nuts; Lande to Buru/Bau-Bau; *Indonesia Indah*.
66. B.C./Mattresses/Copra; Lande to Dobo/Aru/Java; *Indonesia Indah*.
67. B.C.; Lande to Batuatas/Dobo/Aru; *Indonesia Indah*.
68. Mattresses; Lande to Seram/Kei/Dobo; *Indonesia Indah*.
69. Timber/Copra/Passengers/Cashew Nuts/Mattresses; Lande to Bacan/Ternate/Obi/Buru/Buton; *Indonesia Indah*.
70. Timber/Kapok; Lande to Flores/Solor/Adonara/Buton; *Karya Jaya*.
71. Timber/Salt; Lande to Flores/Bima/Seram/Obi/Ambon; *Karya Jaya*.
72. Timber; Lande to Flores; *Karya Jaya*.
73. Timber/Bananas/Coconuts/Salt; Lande to Flores/Bima/Lande; *Karya Jaya*.
74. Salt/Mattresses/Timber/Cashew Nuts/Copra; Lande to Buru/Seram; *Karya Jaya*.
75. Salt; Lande to Flores/Solor/Adonara; *Karya Jaya*.
76. Timber; Lande to Flores/Solor/Adonara; *Karya Jaya*.
77. Dried fish; Lande to Flores; *Karya Jaya*.
78. Atap Nipa; Lande to Sampara/Lande; *Karya Jaya*.
79. no cargo; Lande to Obi; *Karya Jaya*.
80. no cargo; Lande to Flores; *Karya Jaya*.
81. Cashew Nuts; Lande to Flores/Bau-Bau; *Karya Jaya*.
82. Asphalt; Lande to Pasar Wajo/Muna; *Karya Jaya*.
83. no cargo; Lande to Taliabu; *Karya Jaya*.
84. Timber/Cashew Nuts; Lande to Flores/Bau-Bau; *Karya Jaya*.
85. Timber; Lande to Buton/Flores; *Karya Jaya*.
86. Timber; Lande to Buton/Lande; *Karya Jaya*.
87. Dried fish/Cashew Nuts; Lande to Flores/Lande; *Karya Jaya*.
88. Dried fish/Cashew Nuts; Lande to Flores/Bau-Bau; *Karya Jaya*.
89. Dried fish/Rice/Copra; Lande to Flores/Bau-Bau; *Karya Jaya*.
90. Mattresses; Lande to Buru/Ambon/Haruku; *Karya Jaya*.
91. Mattresses; Lande to Bacan/Makian/Tidore/Jailolo; *Karya Jaya*.
92. no cargo; Lande to Wetar/Flores; *Karya Jaya*.
93. Timber; Lande to Obi/Wowonii/Bau-Bau; *Karya Jaya*.
94. Baju Kema/Salt/Timber + Bananas/Empty Bottles/Cloves; Lande to Pasaruan/Bima/Buru/Ambon/Seram/Lande; *Lande Indah*.
95. Cloves/Empty Bottles/Bekal/Salt; Lande to Pasaruan/Bima/Lande; *Lande Indah*.
96. Salt; Lande to Muna; *Lande Indah*.
97. Mattresses/Timber; Lande to Bima/Taliabu/Banggai/Buru/Seram; *Harapan Sry*.
98. Salt/*Keladi*; Lande to Bima/Taliabu/Banggai/Buru/Seram; *Harapan Sry*.

Notes:

1. Atap sirap = wooden roofing shingles
2. B.C. = 'barang campur' = general merchandise sold in shops
3. *keladi* = taro
4. Atap nipah = palm thatch

Table 10
Analysis of cargoes recorded in Table 9

<u>Cargo</u>	<u>no. of times carried</u>
Timber	= 25
Salt	= 22
Taro	= 14
General merchandise	= 10
Copra	= 9
Cashew Nuts	= 8
Mattresses	= 7
Asphalt	= 7
Shingles (Atap Sirap)	= 6
Cloves	= 4
Palm thatch	= 4
Dried fish	= 4
Empty bottles	= 3
Passengers	= 3
Kapok	= 2
Cement	= 2
Junk iron	= 2
Rice	= 2
Bananas	= 2
Clothes	= 1
Lime	= 1
Maize	= 1
Coconuts	= 1

Table 11

A survey of all households in Lande II which had a member on *merantau* in the first four months of 1993.

001	one person sailing on India II, from Bau-Bau (mattresses) to Halmahera to P.Obi (timber) to Bau-Bau.
002	one person fishing on P.Obi.
004	two h/hold members selling goods in Irian Jaya
010	one person sailing on India II
012	one person fishing in Irian Jaya.
013	one person sailing on Cahaya Indah
014	one person working with copra on Pulau Seram
016	one personsailing on Usaha Sabar
017	one person sailing on Usaha Sabar; one person sailing on India II
020	one person fishing in Irian Jaya
022	one person sailing on Usaha Sabar
024	one person sailing on Karya Jaya
025	one person on <i>merantau</i> to Pulau Obi
028	one person sailing on Mas Nona
035	one person sailing on Usaha Sabar
037	one person on <i>merantau</i> to Irian Jaya; one person on merantao to Malaysia
038	one person sailing on La Pango's motor-boat
041	one person on merantao to P.Bangka
043	one person sailing as Juragan on Indonesia Indah
042	one person sailing on Karya Jaya
045	one person sailing on Indonesia Indah
046	one person on <i>merantau</i> on Buru
047	one person catching shark on motor-boat from P.Obi, one person on <i>merantau</i> in Samarinda
051	one person sailing on Karya Jaya
052	one person sailing on perahu lambo Karya Jaya
053	one person sailing on Karya Jaya
054	one person sailing on Karya Jaya
056	one person sailing on Kurni Ilahi
062	one person sailing as Juragan on India I
063	one person sailing on motor-boat to Singapore
071	one person sailing on Jaya Makmur
072	one person sailing on Cahaya Indah
074	one person working on coconut plantation, Pulau Buru
075	one person sailing as Juragan on Sumber Baru
076	two people sailing on Hidup Jaya
077	four people sailing on Sumber Baru
078	one person working in shop in Fak-Fak
079	one person on <i>merantau</i> in Tehoru (Ambon).
081	one person sailing on La Pango's motor-boat
083	one person sailing on India I
084	one person sailing on perahu from Bacan
085	one person sailing on p.l.India I
086	one person fishing in Irian Jaya.
087	one prson fishing in Irian Jaya
088	one person fishing in Irian Jaya, with La Made.
090	one person sailing as Juragan on India II
091	one person fishing in Irian Jaya, with La Kiki
094	one person fishing in Irian Jaya
099	one person fishing in Irian Jaya
106	one person sailing on Sumber Baru
107	one person sailing on India II

112

one person sailing on perahu from Wapulaka;
one person on *merantau* to Pulau Gamumu

Number of households with a member on *merantau* = 52

Table 12
Division of profits for ten voyages by Lande II perahu

Notes:

1. In the following calculations food costs for the whole crew are calculated at the rate of Rp.1,000 per day (2.5 kg of rice per day x Rp.400 per kilogram).
2. unless otherwise stated, it is assumed that the trading capital belonged to the boat-owner.
3. The formula used in the following calculations is that in which the boat-owner receives a tenth of the trading capital plus profit, unless it is known that another formula was used.
4. It is assumed, for the sake of convenience, that on each of the following voyages there was a crew of five.

1.

Boat: Cahaya Indah

Cargo:

buys salt in Bima, sells salt on Bacan
 buys salt in Bima, sells salt on Muna
 carries asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Banggai
 carries asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Muna
 carries asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Muna
 carries asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Muna
 carries asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Kendari

Duration: all voyages occurred between May 1992 and April 1993

Details:

1st trip - buys 28 tons of salt @ Rp.25 p/kilo, sells salt in Bacan @ Rp.95 p/kilo
 2nd trip - buys 30.5 tons of salt @ Rp.25 p/kilo, sells @ Rp.50 p/kilo
 3rd trip - carries 38 tons of asphalt from Pasar Wajo to Banggai @ Rp.13,500 per ton
 4th trip - carries 30 tons of asphalt to Muna @ Rp.10,000 per ton
 5th trip - carries 30 tons of asphalt to Muna @ Rp.10,000 per ton.
 6th trip - carries 32 tons of asphalt to Kendari @ Rp.13,000 per ton

Analysis:

1st trip
 (duration = 3.5 months)

0,700,000	= capital
1,960,000	= profit
2,660,000	= sale price
- 0,266,000	= boat-owner's tenth
2,394,000	= balance
- 0,700,000	= capital
1,694,000	= crew

total for division amongst crew = 1,694,000; minus food costs (105 days x 2.5kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kilo = 105,000) = 1,589,000; divide by 6 (5 crew plus one share for capital); one share = Rp.264,833

2nd trip:

(duration = 2.5 months)

0,762,500	= capital
0,762,500	= profit
1,525,000	= sale price
- 0,152,500	= boat-owner's tenth
1,372,500	= balance
- 0,762,500	= capital
0,610,000	= crew

total for division amongst crew = 610,000 minus food costs (75 days x 2.5kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kilo = 75,000) = 535,000; divide by six (5 crew plus one share for capital); one share = Rp.89,166

3rd trip:

(duration = 3 weeks)

513,000	= freight charge (38 tons x 13,500 p/ton)
- 21,000	= food costs (21 days x 2.5kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kilo = 105,000)
492,000	= balance
- 164,000	= boat-owner's share (1/3)
328,000	= crew's share (2/3)

total for division amongst crew = Rp.328,000 divide by 5 = Rp.65,600

4th trip:

(duration = 2 weeks)

30,000	= freight charge (30 tons x 10,000 p/ton)
- 14,000	= food costs (14 days x 2.5kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kilo = 105,000)
16,000	= balance
- 05,333	= boat-owner (one third)
10,666	= crew (two thirds)

total for division amongst crew = 10,666; divide by 5 = Rp.2,133

5th trip

(duration = 2 weeks)

30,000	= freight charge (30 tons x 10,000 p/ton)
- 14,000	= food costs (14 days x 2.5kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kilo = 105,000)
16,000	= balance
- 05,333	= boat-owner (one third)
10,666	= crew (two thirds)

total for division amongst crew = 10,666; divide by 5 = Rp.2,133

6th trip:
(duration = three weeks)

416,000	= freight charge (32 tons x 13,000 p/ton)
- 021,000	= food costs
395,000	= balance
- 131,666	= boat-owner (one third)
263,333	= crew

total for division amongst crew = 263,333; divide by 5 = Rp.52,666

one crew-share for all trips =

264,833	
089,166	
065,600	
002,133	
002,133	
052,666	
Rp.476,531	= total for one crew member
Rp.724,832	= total for boat-owner

2.

Boat: Tunas Muda (see Voyage No.16)

Cargo: buys *keladi* on Banggai, sells on Ambon

Details:

1st trip buys *keladi* Rp.1,200,000, sells Rp.3,700,000

2nd trip, ditto.

3rd trip, ditto.

4th trip, ditto.

Duration: 30.5.90 - c.28.12.90

Trading capital: no info.; assume trading capital belonged to boat-owner and earned 2 shares

Analysis:

1st trip:

1,200,000	= capital
2,500,000	= profit
3,700,000	= sale price
- 370,000	= boat-owner's tenth
3,330,000	= balance
- 1,200,000	= capital
1,130,000	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 370,000 x 4 trips = 1,480,000

total for division amongst crew = 1,130,000 x 4 trips = 4,520,000; minus food costs (210 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 210,000) = 4,310,000; divide by 7 (5 crew plus 2 bagian for capital); one share = Rp.615,714

3.

Boat: Cahaya Sakti (Voyage No.34)**Cargo:** buys *keladi* on Banggai, sells on Ambon**Details:**1st trip - buys 800 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1,100 p/*kaleng*
sells *keladi* @ Rp.2,500 p/*kaleng*2nd trip - buys 900 *kaleng* @ Rp.1,100 p/*kaleng*
sells *keladi* @ Rp.2,500 p/*kaleng*3rd trip - buys 900 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1,100 p/*kaleng*
sells only 700 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.2,500 p/*kaleng*
(remaining 200 *kaleng* divided amongst crew)**Trading capital:** no information; assume trading capital belonged to boat-owner and earned 2 shares.**Duration:** 24.6.91 - 15.12.91**Analysis:**

1st trip:

880,000	= capital
1,120,000	= profit
2,000,000	= sale price
- 200,000	= boat-owner's tenth
1,800,000	= balance
- 880,000	= capital
920,000	= balance for division amongst crew

2nd trip:

990,000	= capital
1,260,000	= profit
2,250,000	= sale price
- 225,000	= boat-owner's tenth
2,025,000	= balance
- 990,000	= capital
1,035,000	= balance for division amongst crew

3rd trip:

990,000	= capital
960,000	= profit
1,750,000	= sale price
- 175,000	= boat-owner's tenth
1,575,000	= balance
- 990,000	= capital
585,000	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 200,000 + 225,000 + 175,000
= 600,000

total for division amongst crew = 920,000 + 1,035,000 + 585,000 = 2,540,000
minus food costs (180 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 180,000) = 2,360,000;
divide by 7 (5 crew plus 2 shares for capital); one share = Rp.337,142.

4.

Boat: Usaha Baru**Cargo:** buys *keladi* on Banggai, sells on Ambon**Duration:** August - December, 1991**Details:**1st trip - buys Rp.1,500,000 of *keladi*; sells *keladi* for Rp.2,100,000.2nd trip - buys Rp.1,500,000 of *keladi*, sells *keladi* for Rp.2,100,000.3rd trip - buys Rp.1,500,000 *keladi*, sells *keladi* for Rp.2,100,000.4th trip - buys Rp.1,500,000 *keladi*, sells *keladi* for Rp.2,100,000.5th trip - buys Rp.1,500,000 *keladi*, sells *keladi* for Rp.2,100,000.**Analysis:**

1,500,000	= capital
600,000	= profit
2,100,000	= sale price
- 210,000	= boat-owner's tenth
1,890,000	= balance
- 1,500,000	= capital
390,000	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = $210,000 \times 5 = 1,050,000$ total for division amongst crew = $390,000 \times 5 \text{ trips} = 1,950,000$; minus food costs (180 days \times 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 180,000) = 1,770,000; divide by 7 (5 crew plus 2 shares for capital); one share = Rp.252,857.

5.

Boat: Sumber Baru (see Voyage No.41)**Cargo:** carries timber to Gresik; buys salt in Gresik, sells on Buru; carries fertilizer from Teluhu to Masohi; carries iron from Buru to Gresik.**Details:**

- timber to Gresik as freight; freight fee = Rp.2,100,000.

- salt from Gresik to Buru is crew's own cargo but no information on transaction.

- fertilizer from Teluhu to Masohi; freight fee = 525,000

- Iron from Buru to Gresik; freight fee = 2,925,000

Duration: = 6.1.90 - 24.11.90**Analysis:**

2,100,000	(timber)
525,000	(fertilizer)
2,925,000	(iron)
<hr/>	
5,550,000	(total)

boat-owner receives one-third = 1,850,000

crew receives two-thirds = 3,700,000; minus food costs (330 days \times 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 330,000) = 3,370,000; divide by 5; one share = Rp.674,000

6.

Boat: Sumber Baru (see Voyage No.43)**Cargo:** carries timber as freight from Bacan to Bitung, twice.**Details:** total freight fee for both cargoes = Rp.2,100,000**Duration:** 15.7.91 - 4.2.92**Analysis:**

2,100,000 = total
 boat-owner receives one third = 700,000

crew receives two thirds = 1,400,000; minus food costs (195 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 195,000) = 1,205,000; divide by 5; one share = Rp.241,000

7.

Boat: Harapan Sry (Voyage No.51)**Cargo:** buys *keladi* on Banggai, sells on Ambon.**Details:**1st trip - buys 700 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1000 p/*kaleng*; sells *keladi* @ Rp.1,500 p/*kaleng*2nd trip - buys 600 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1,100 p/*kaleng*; sells *keladi* @ Rp.1,750 p/*kaleng*;3rd trip - buys 400 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1,200 p/*kaleng*; *keladi* not sold - 'untuk makan'.**Duration:** Sept to December, 1990.**Analysis:**

1st trip:

700,000	= capital
350,000	= profit
1,050,000	= sale price
- 095,454	= boat-owner's eleventh*
954,546	= balance
- 700,000	= capital
254,546	= balance for division amongst crew.

2nd trip:

660,000	= capital
390,000	= profit
1,050,000	= sale price
- 095,454	= boat-owner's eleventh
954,456	= balance
- 660,000	= capital
294,456	= balance for division amongst crew.

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 95,454 x 2 = 190,908

total for division amongst crew = 254,546 + 294,456 = 549,002; minus food costs (120 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 120,000) = 429,002; divide by 6 (5 crew plus one share for capital); one share = Rp.71,500

* On this voyage the boat-owner received one-eleventh (*sebelas cabut satu*)

8.

Boat: Harapan Sry (Voyage No.52)**Cargo:** buys salt in Bima, sells on Taliabu island; buys *keladi* on Banggai, sells on Buru (makes three such trips).**Details:**

1st trip - buys 13 tons of salt @ Rp.45 p/kilo, sells salt on Taliabu island @ Rp.100 p/kilo.

2nd trip - buys 700 *kaleng keladi* @ Rp.1,200 p/*kaleng*, sells on Buru island @ Rp.2,200 p/*kaleng*3rd trip - buys 700 *kaleng of keladi* @ Rp.1,300 p/*kaleng*, sells on Buru island @ Rp.2,250 p/*kaleng*4th trip - buys 700 *kaleng of keladi* @ Rp.1,300 p/*kaleng*, sells on Buru island @ Rp.2,250 p/*kaleng***Duration:** September to December, 1991.**Trading Capital:** capital belongs to boat-owner for which he receives one share.**Analysis:**

salt:

585,000	= capital
715,000	= profit
1,300,000	= sale price
- 130,000	= boat-owner's tenth
1,170,000	= balance
- 585,000	= capital
585,000	= balance for division amongst crew

keladi:

1st trip

840,000	= capital
700,000	= profit
1,540,000	= sale price
- 154,000	= boat-owner's tenth
1,386,000	= balance
- 840,000	= capital
546,000	= balance for division amongst crew

2nd trip

910,000	= capital
665,000	= profit
1,575,000	= sale price
- 157,500	= boat-owner's tenth
1,417,500	= balance
- 910,000	= capital
507,500	= balance for division amongst crew

3rd trip:		
	910,000	= capital
	665,000	= profit
	1,575,000	= sale price
-	157,500	= boat-owner's tenth
	1,417,500	= balance
-	910,000	= capital
	507,500	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 130,000 + 154,000 + 157,500 + 157,500 = Rp.599,000.

total for division amongst crew = 585,000 + 546,000 + 507,500 + 507,500 = 2,146,000; minus food costs (160 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 160,000) = 1,986,000; divide by 6 (5 crew plus one share for capital); one share = Rp.331,000.

9.

Boat: Harapan Jaya (Voyage No.53)

Cargo: buys salt on Bima, sells salt on Ambon (makes 2 such trips).

Details:

1st trip - buys 25 tons of salt @ Rp.35,000 p/ton, sells salt @ Rp.100,000 p/ton.
2nd trip - buys 25 tons of salt @ Rp.35,000 p/ton, sells salt @ Rp.100,000 p/ton.

Trading capital: belongs to crew-members so no extra share is calculated in respect of capital, nor is capital deducted from the amount to be divided amongst the crew.

Duration: May to August, 1991

Analysis:

1st trip:		
	875,000	= capital
	1,625,000	= profit
	2,500,000	= sale price
-	250,000	= boat-owner's tenth
	2,250,000	= balance
-	875,000	= capital
	1,375,000	= balance for division amongst crew

2nd trip:		
	875,000	= capital
	1,625,000	= profit
	2,500,000	= sale price
-	250,000	= boat-owner's tenth
	2,250,000	= balance
-	875,000	= capital
	1,375,000	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 250,000 x 2 = 500,000

total for division amongst crew = 1,375,000 + 1,375,000 + (capital) 875,000 = 3,625,000; minus food costs (120 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 120,000) = 3,505,000; divide by 5 (5 crew, no share for capital); one share = Rp.701,000

10.

Boat: Banjar Baru (see Voyage No.57)**Cargo:** buys mattresses in Bau-Bau, sells mattresses on Ambon; buys salt in Bima, sells salt on Ambon.**Details:**

- buys 15 tons of salt @ Rp.30 p/kilo, sells salt @ Rp.150 p/kilo.

- buys 80 mattresses @ Rp.20,000 each, sells @ Rp.40,000 each.

Trading Capital: Borrowed from village of Tira @ 5% interest per month.**Duration:** April to July, 1990.**Analysis:**

2,050,000	= capital
3,400,000	= profit
5,450,000	= sale price
- 545,000	= boat-owner's tenth
4,905,000	= balance
- 410,000	= 5% interest p/month x 4 months
- 4,495,000	= balance
- 2,050,000	= capital
2,445,000	= balance for division amongst crew

total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only = 545,000

total for division amongst crew = 2,445,000; minus food costs (120 days x 2.5 kg rice @ Rp.400 p/kg = 120,000) = 2,325,000; divide by 5 (crew = 5); one share = Rp.465,000

source: fieldnotes

Table 13. Ratio of boat-owner's share to crew's share for the 10 voyages listed in Table 12.

a = total for division amongst crew

b = total share for boat-owner in respect of boat only

c = ratio of boat-owner's share to crew's share

1.	a =	2,382,655
	b =	0,724,832
	c =	1:3.2
2.	a =	4,310,000;
	b =	1,480,000
	c =	1:2.9
3.	a =	2,360,000;
	b =	0,600,000
	c =	1:3.9
4.	a =	1,770,000;
	b =	1,050,000
	c =	1:1.6
5.	a =	3,370,000
	b =	1,850,000
	c =	1:1.8
6.	a =	1,205,000;
	b =	0,700,000
	c =	1:1.7
7.	a =	0,429,002;
	b =	0,190,908
	c =	1:2.2
8.	a =	1,986,000
	b =	0,599,000
	c =	1:3.3
9.	a =	3,505,000
	b =	0,500,000
	c =	1:7.0
10.	a =	2,325,000
	b =	0,545,000
	c =	1:4.2

average ratio of boat-owner's share to crew's share = **1:3.1**

Table 14. Summary of individual crew shares for the 10 voyages listed in Table 12.

1.	0,476,531
2.	0,615,714
3.	0,337,142
4.	0,252,857
5.	0,674,000
6.	0,241,000
7.	0,071,500
8.	0,331,000
9.	0,701,000
10.	0,465,000
total =	4,165,744
average share =	Rp.416,574

Appendix III (Figures)

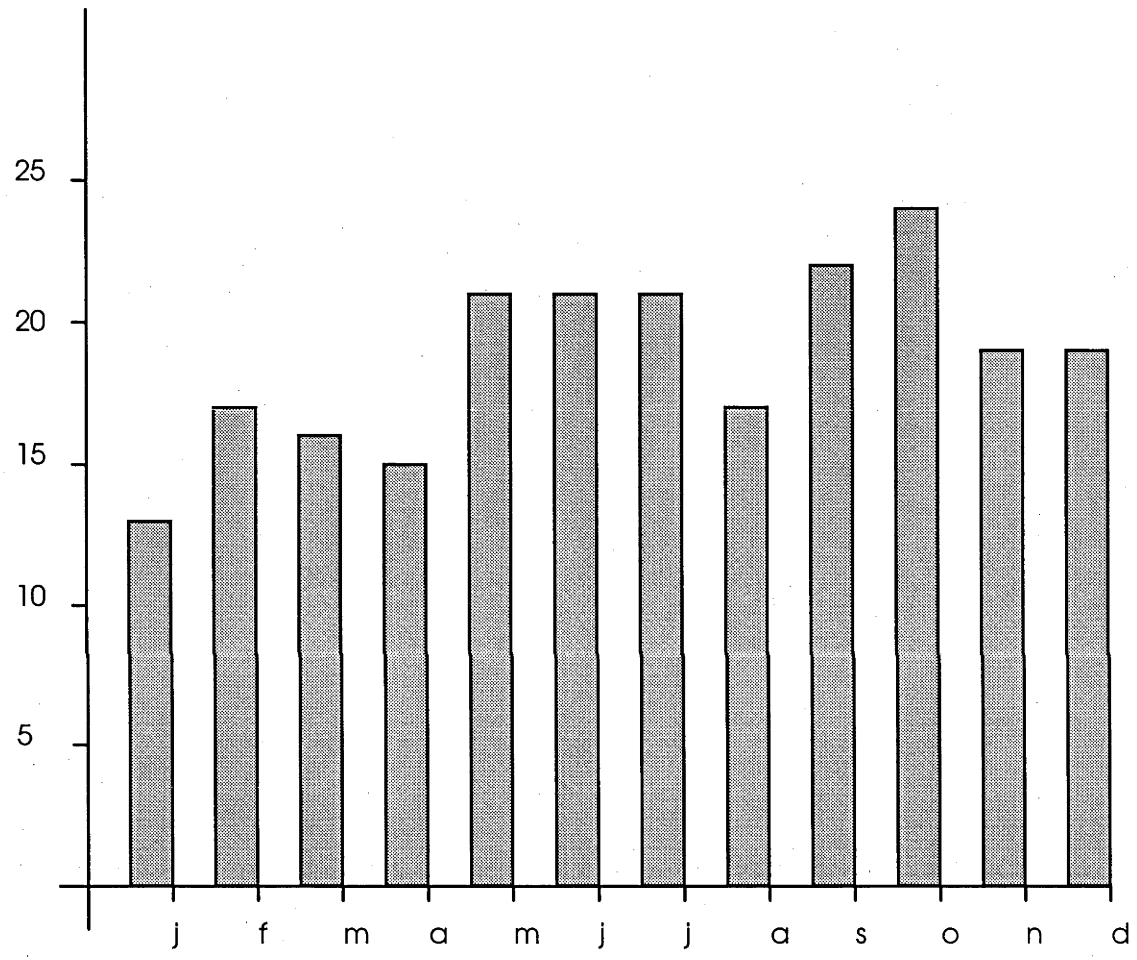


Figure 4. Graph showing seasonality of voyages listed in Table 7.

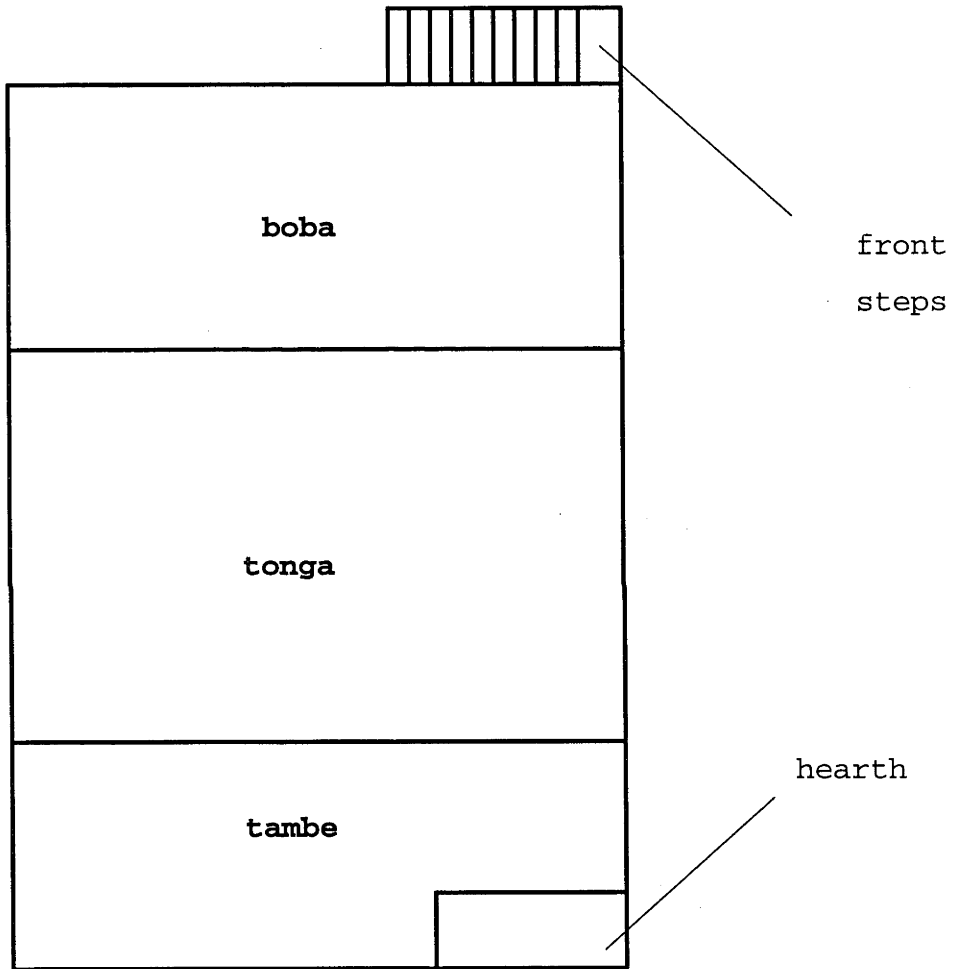


Figure 5. Floor plan of house.

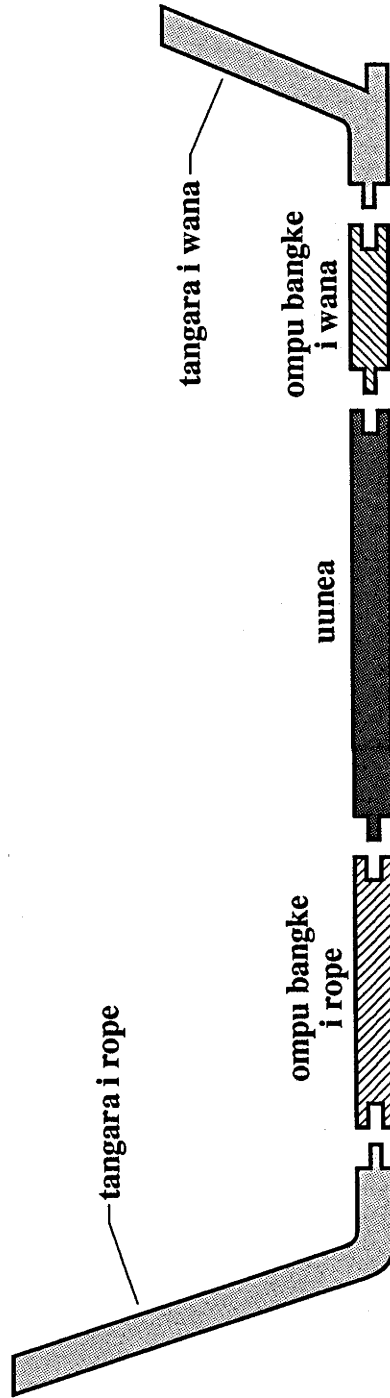


Figure 6. The keel sections of the perahu lambo.

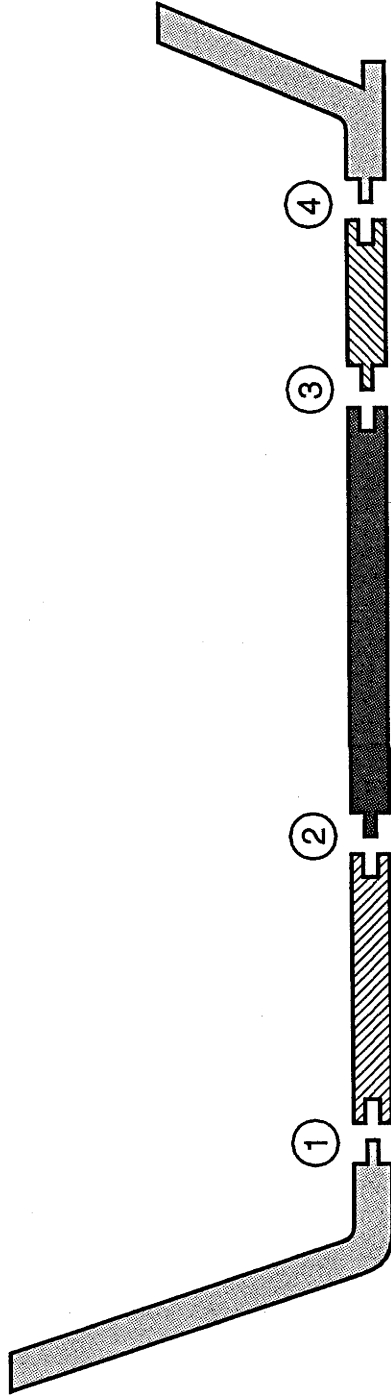


Figure 6a. Order in which keel sections are joined (first version).

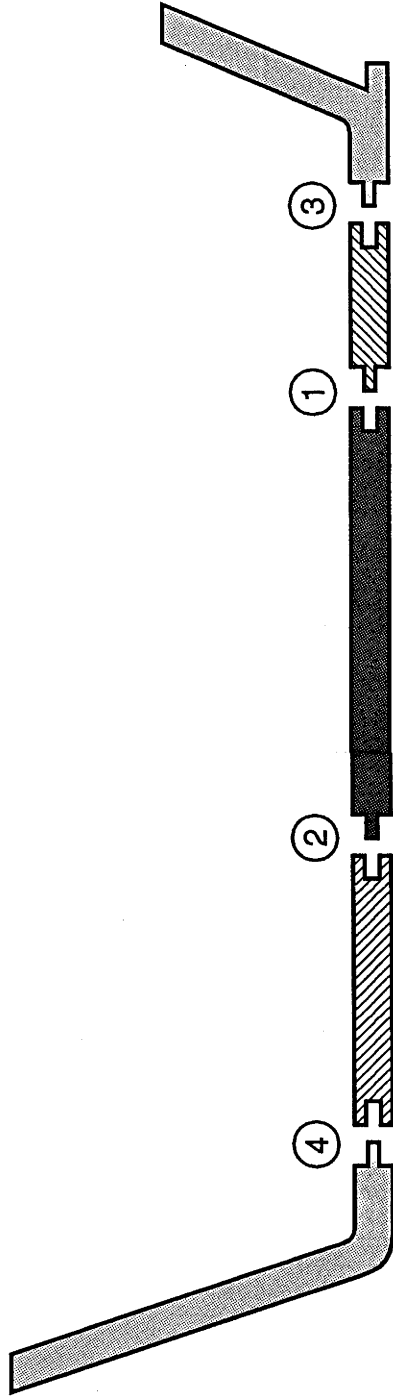


Figure 6b. Order in which keel sections are joined (second version).

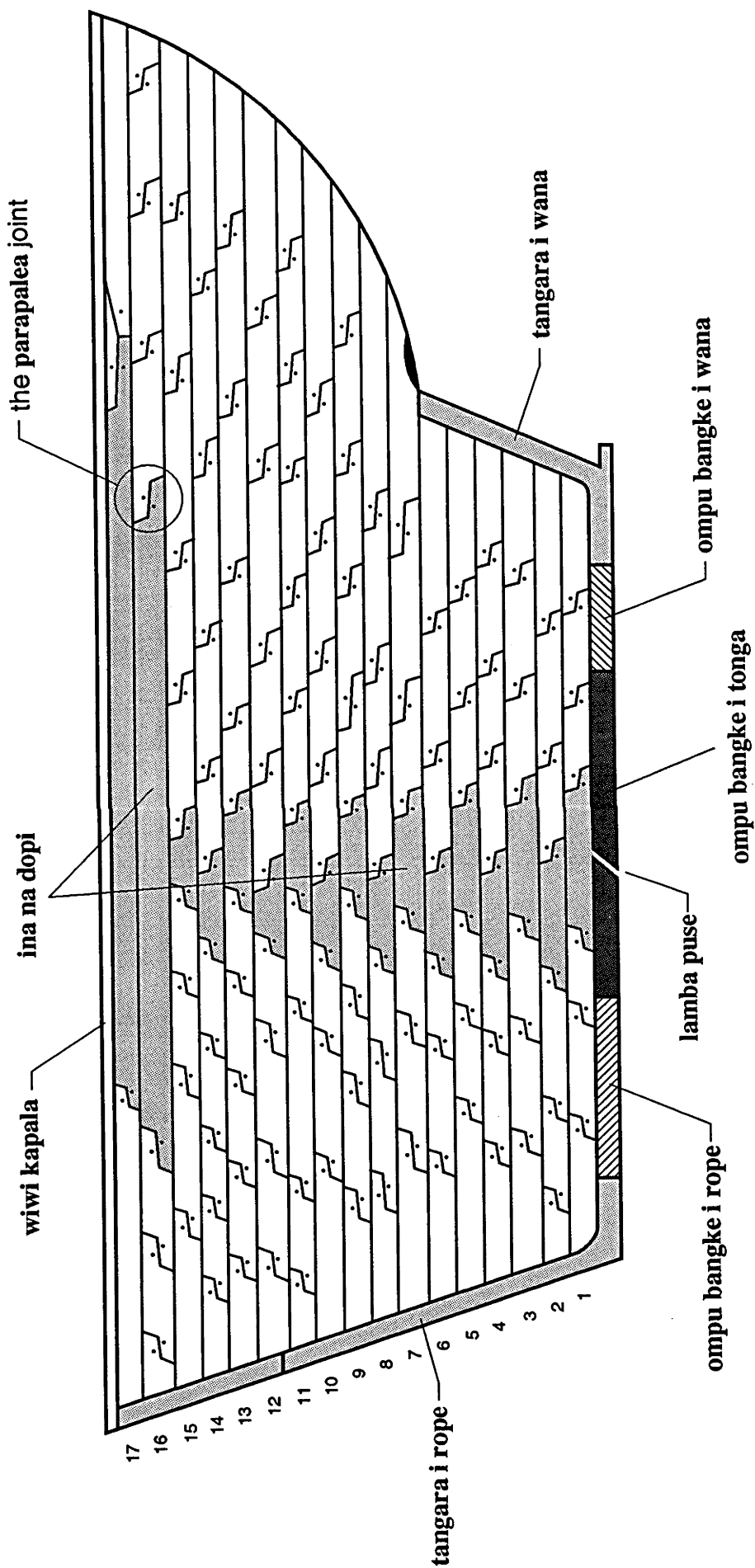


Figure 7. The hull of the Lande perahu *lambo*, showing the plank design.

Appendix IV (Photos)



Photo 1. A typical house in Lande II.



Photos 2 & 3. Perahu *lambo* careened at low tide for maintenance work.





Photo 4. The new keel of a perahu under repair, showing the mortice joint. The keel comprises a single length of timber instead of three sections since this is an engine-powered perahu. The three-section keel is considered to be too weak to bear the weight and vibration of an engine. Note also that the new keel is longer than the old keel; the length of the boat will be increased slightly.



Photo 5. The hull of a perahu lambo with the lime caulking removed to show the plank design. Note the *parapalea* joint.



Photo 6. The crew of a perahu *lambo* at the start of a voyage.



Photo 7. The captain takes the tiller as a perahu sails out of the Bay of Lande at the beginning of a voyage. The *songko* (black cap) is worn at the rituals for a departing perahu and is not removed until the perahu reaches the open sea.

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