"WHEN THE BONES ARE LEFT"

A Study of the Material Culture of Central Sulawesi

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Helsinki 1992
Suomen Antropologinen Seura
The Finnish Anthropological Society
Transactions No. 31

Transactions of The Finnish Anthropological Society No. 31

Editor in chief: Jukka Siikala
Cover design: Timo Lagerkrans

Published by The Finnish
Anthropological Society
Helsinki

ISBN 952-9573-99-5
ISSN 0356-0481

Text processing: from disket
Printing and binding: Gummerus Printing,
Jyväskylä, Finland 1992

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PREFACE

It is surely no coincidence that a doctoral thesis dealing with material culture, and as such rare in anthropological research over the past few decades, should be presented at the University of Helsinki. The Department of Ethnology at the University of Helsinki has a strong tradition of research in material culture. Back in 1975, when I first began studying anthropology, all students, including those taking anthropology, had to complete a course in Finno-Ugric ethnology. My first seminar paper was in fact on a subject dealing with material culture for Professor U. E. Lehtonen. I have therefore been involved with material culture and research into it ever since I entered the University. My research disposition and theoretical premises do not, however, have their roots in the Finnish research tradition. On the contrary, I have had to dissociate myself from Finnish ethnological research and to seek my methodological and theoretical models in the international anthropological research tradition.

The historical approach in my work likewise dates back to my early days as a student, when the late Professor Aarne A. Koskinen was still teaching and conducting research at the University of Helsinki. Although fieldwork was an integral part of his research activity, even information acquired in the field was always placed in its broader historical context. To Professor Koskinen the historical perspective and comparative cultural studies were in fact vital elements of anthropological research.

Finland is a peripheral area in Indonesian studies. It has no tradition of Indonesian research and thus no extensive materials. As a result I have had to spend years tracking down source materials in a number of European countries, Australia and Indonesia. On the other hand Finland's peripheral location (in the anthropological research sense) and in particular the absence of an Indonesian research tradition have afforded me great freedom in my work, unencumbered by any "school".

The immediate stimulus for my research into Central Sulawesi came from the collections in the National Museum of Finland made by the Finnish missionary Edward Rosenlund, which I had a chance to investigate while working as a student at the museum. Since Rosenlund there have been several Finnish missionaries working in Central Sulawesi right up to the present day; Finland is, therefore, by no means completely unfamiliar to the people of Central Sulawesi.

The "fieldwork" for this study has mainly been done in the stores of various museums, and as anyone familiar with museum work and collections well knows, such work could not have been performed without the assistance of diverse museum curators and members of other staff. I am therefore indebted to several persons, such as Kaisa Grönholm, Marjatta Parpola and Pirjo Varjola (Helsinki), Marianne Antons and Jelena Soboleva (St. Petersburg), Kirsten Aarmo (Oslo), Inger Wulff (Copenhagen), Gunilla Amnehäll (Gothenburg), Ine Suhardini (Jakarta), Arnold

Rahim (Palu), Wilhelmina H. Kal (Amsterdam), Anneke Veldhuizen-Djajasaebrata (Rotterdam), Pieter ter Keurs (Leiden), Brigitte Khan Majlis (Cologne) and Urs Ramseyer (Basel). I wish to express my warmest thanks to all of them.

Research into Indonesia conducted in Finland is faced with the eternal problem of material because the archives, libraries and museums containing material are scattered all over the world. The financial support of the Academy of Finland has given me an opportunity to visit several museums and libraries and made it possible to meet experts on Indonesian culture and societies at the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. I spent six weeks in 1989 in Canberra, where I had an excellent chance to meet other scholars of Indonesia; my thanks for this opportunity and for advice go to Professor Roger Keesing, Professor James J. Fox, Peter Bellwood, Ph.D. and especially to Professor Greg Acciaioli for his detailed comments and much kind advice over practical problems of travelling to Central Sulawesi.

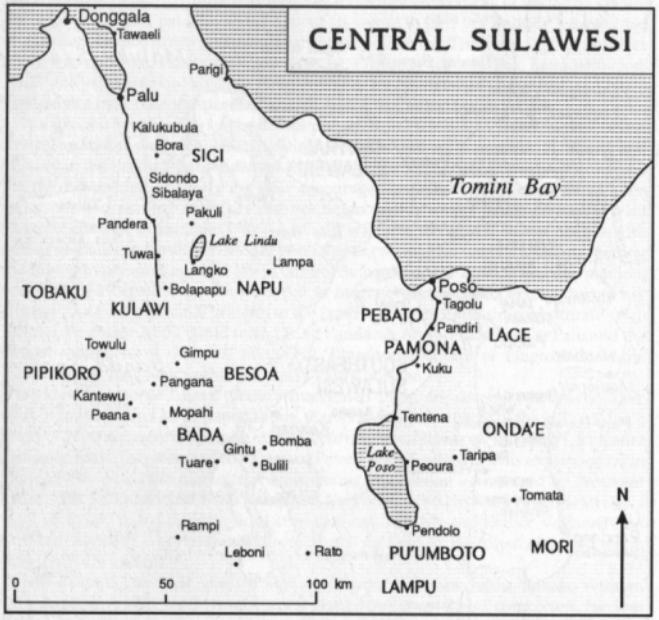
The ground for this work was in fact prepared in Helsinki in January 1987, when several distinguished scholars studying Oceania met at a seminar "Culture and History in the Pacific." I am indebted to all of the participants of that symposium who kindly commented on my work and encouraged me. But the material I had been collecting and reading for years did not begin to live until I had a chance to visit Central Sulawesi in summer 1989 – so that I was able to connect visual images with names of places so familiar to me for years. I spent about four weeks travelling, getting to know the surroundings and life in Central Sulawesi, in the areas where my material was collected decades ago. I was lucky to meet several helpful persons during my journey, but I am especially grateful to the family of Bapak Zainuddin Abdulrauf from Kulawi, Professor Abu Hamid from Ujung Pandang, Arnold Rahim from Palu and the Finnish members of the staff of the SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) Marjo Karhunen, Anna-Leena Saukkonen and Paula Vuorinen.

Besides the people I have already mentioned there are several others who have made comments and recommendations, thanks to the participants of the post graduate seminar of cultural anthropology at the Department of Ethnology in 1988-91, its leader Professor Matti Sarmela, and to Professor Peter Metcalf, who gave his expert advice in spring 1990. When the manuscript was nearing completion it was read by Professor Juhani U.E. Lehtonen and Timo Kaartinen, Lic.Pol.Sc. who gave me valuable advice. I wish to thank Susan Sinisalo who corrected my English and Esther Velthoen and Gregory Acciaioli who translated from Dutch to English the ritual descriptions in chapters 7.4.3. and 8.3.

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Jukka Siikala, without whose initiative this work would never have been started and completed. He was always ready to discuss any problems arising at different stages of my work and to help me by directing my attention at the crucial problems and by guiding me in my search for the answers.

Thanks to financial support from the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Kordelin Foundation and the Research Council for Humanities of the Academy of Finland I have been free of other work obligations and have been able to concentrate on my own research. The departments of Sociology and Ethnology at the University of Helsinki have offered research facilities. To the Finnish Anthropological Society I am grateful for making the publication of my work possible. Finally, I wish to thank my husband Markku and my son Juhana, whose patience has so often been put to the test in preparing this thesis.

Map 1. Sulawesi.



Map 2. Central Sulawesi.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Kaili-Pamona Speakers of Central Sulawesi

Sulawesi, or Celebes as it used to be called, is the fourth largest island in the Indonesian archipelago. It lies on the equator, between the island of Kalimantan and the Moluccas (Spice Islands). Sulawesi is an ethnically complex region and Central Sulawesi perhaps the most complex of the four provinces of Sulawesi; there is no commonly agreed system of ethnic classification of the population.[1] The Kaili-Pamona speaking people live in the province of Central Sulawesi *(Sulawesi Tengah)*, in the mountainous central part of the island. This province covers an area of 74,000 square kilometres and is populated by about 1,200,000 people, of whom 70,000 today live in the capital of the province, Palu. The Kaili-Pamona speakers inhabit the regencies of Donggala *(Kabupaten Donggala)* and Poso *(Kabupaten Poso)*,[2] mainly the central highlands of these districts. (*Sistem Ekonomi Tradisional* 1985, 26–27.)

The Kaili-Pamona speakers are closely related linguistically; their languages belong to the Kaili-Pamona sub-division of the Central Sulawesi language group and are among the Austronesian languages spoken over large areas of Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979). Pamona-speakers are today called To Pamona,[3] although they are still better known as the East Toraja (Toradja)[4] or Bare'e-speaking Toraja, the names introduced by the Dutch missionaries Nicolaus Adriani and Albert

1 For further details of the ethnic classification in Sulawesi see the article by Babcock (1982, 116–).

2 In 1980 *Kabupaten Donggala* had about 580,000 and *Kabupaten Poso* about 266,000 inhabitants (*Sistem Ekonomi Tradisional* 1985, 26–27); in 1982 *Kabupaten Donggala* had about 608,000 and *Kabupaten Poso* 280,000 inhabitants (Suradi 1983/1984).

3 There were about 134,000 To Pamona living in *Kabupaten Poso* in 1980 (Yunus & Siti 1983/84, 11).

4 I have followed the modern Indonesian spelling, which differs to some extent from the spelling introduced by the Dutch and used in old sources prior to 1972, oe = u, dj = j, j = y, tj = c and ch = kh.

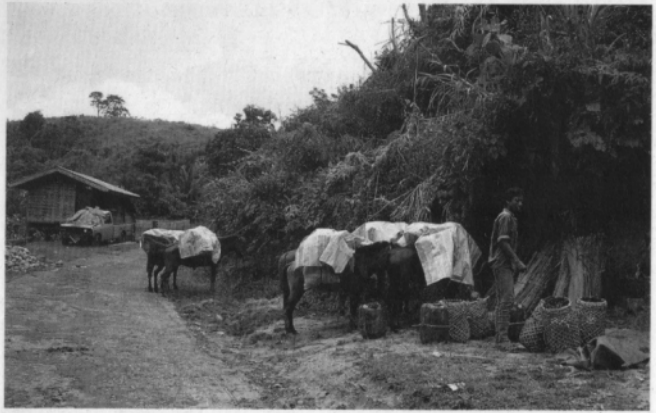


Figure 1. Even today travelling in the highlands of Central Sulawesi is still laborious on foot or horseback, since few of the villages are connected by roads. Gimpu 1989. Photo by Kotilainen.

C. Kruyt at the beginning of this century. Adriani and Kruyt called the Kaili-speaking people the West Toraja (Toradja). Nowadays the Kaili-speakers are commonly divided into three ethnic groups *(sukubangsa)*, To Kaili, To Kulawi, and To Lore, or sometimes into four groups, in which case the To Pipikoro are considered a separate ethnic group (*Etnik dan Logat* 1988/1989; Yunus & Siti 1983/1984, 4–).

Even today travelling in the highlands of Central Sulawesi is still laborious on foot or horseback, since few of the villages are connected by roads. Apart from the coastal areas and some river valleys, of which the Palu Valley is the largest, Central Sulawesi is shaped by mountain ranges covered with dense tropical rain forest. Most of the rivers in the valleys between the mountain ranges are not navigable because they are narrow and shallow or swiftly-flowing. Most journeys, both between the inland villages and between the coastal area and the highland villages have to be made on foot or on horseback. The coastal area, being more easily accessible from outside, has for centuries belonged to the world-wide network of trade routes; and the peoples living in the coastal regions have long traded with the Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, British, and Dutch. Although the interior parts of Sulawesi remained unknown to the Europeans until relatively late, it would be a mistake to conclude that the region was cut off from the trade networks. The material culture of Central Sulawesi at the beginning of this century actually suggests the coexistence of a strong indigenous handicraft tradition and products made outside the region in South Sulawesi, Java and India.

When the Dutchman Albertus Christiaan Kruyt started his work as the first

missionary in eastern Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 1890's, the area was inhabited by people living in small villages. Before the Dutch arrived in Central Sulawesi in 1905 and forced the villagers to move to the valleys, these villages were built on steep hill slopes. Because there was little space, the houses stood close to one another; the ground was practically a dunghill, and water usually had to be fetched from the foot of the hill. The number of houses varied from two to ten, the inhabitants from 40 to 200. Each village included a number of households, which together constituted a large kin-group that sometimes numbered a few dozen, sometimes a few hundred members. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 75, 77; Kruyt 1929, 1.)

The people in a Pamona village were always related; a stranger could obtain a place in such a village only by marrying one of the daughters of the land. Sometimes it happened that some families broke away from the large kin-group and founded a new village not far away. Usually the inhabitants of the new village felt close ties with the mother village, so they did not build a temple for the veneration of the ancestors and continued to use the temple in the mother village. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 109, 164.) Thus people living in the same village shared a group of ancestors who had founded the village and its spiritual centre, the temple. The village temple, in the Pamona language a *lobo*, was the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits and symbolized the common origin of the related people. The sacrificial feasts celebrated by the whole village or tribe centred around these common ancestors, especially the founders of the village, the village temple and the courageous head-hunters. Residence was closely linked with kinship. And because all the villagers were related, it is sometimes difficult to determine from Adriani's and Kruyt's descriptions when the relation utilized in connection with certain ceremonies or actions was based on kinship and when on residence.

Unfortunately Adriani and Kruyt used in their accounts the Dutch words *familie*, *gezin*, and *huisgezin*, which have in Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) been translated as kin-group, family and household, without any definition. In Pamona the terms analogous to the Dutch *familie* seemed to be: *tina*, "kin-group", "blood relationship", "woman", "wife"; *potu*, "blood relative" in a limited sense, "members of the same generation"; and *ja'i*, which means "kin-group", related people in a broad sense (Adriani 1928, 112, 599, 841). For the To Pamona the notion of kinship and kin-group appeared to be quite loosely determined.

At the beginning of this century Pamona society was rather egalitarian compared with many other societies in Southeast Asia. There were two social classes: free commoners and slaves. Prestige was based on personal attributes or endeavour, not on inherited titles and property. Village and tribal chiefs were elected among men of potent character and the ability to make decisions and act. All men could gain status as brave head-hunters and warriors, while women could acquire a reputation as competent shamans. There were among the To Pamona distinct social roles which could be indicated by particular attributes, such as the head-hunter's headcloth with special decorations or the shaman's clothing and ritual objects. I have not, however, found any objects associated with village or tribal chiefs and used as tokens of their authority. Kin-groups owned some valuables such as copper dishes, textiles and old arms which were passed down from generation to generation or presented to another kin-group as part of bridewealth.

In this respect there was a distinction between the To Pamona and the Kaili-speaking groups. The To Kaili, contrary to the To Pamona, were divided into three

social classes: nobles, commoners and slaves;[5] and people of noble descent had the right to use some distinctive objects as signs of their status. Only noble people were allowed to wear golden ornaments, and noble women in Kulawi wore a special broad-brimmed hat adorned all around its edge with red tape and small tassels of cloth (Kaudern 1940, 36–37). In addition, the formation of a noble class resulted in greater accumulation of property, often in the form of textiles and copper items, among the Kaili-speakers than was the case among the To Pamona.

The most significant social unit seemed to be the family or *gezin*, as Adriani and Kruyt called it. The family was a group of people living, eating and working together. The husband moved on marriage to his wife's home, where they spent at least some years before they were able to cultivate their own fields. Thus a family consisted of a couple with their children, foster children and possible sons-in-law, grandchildren, and wife's parents. Several families might live in the same building but each family apparently had its own household unit, made noticeable by its own hearth or right to part of a certain hearth. From this originated one of the Pamona terms to indicate family, *sombori*, meaning "family which lives in a special part of the house, on one side of the hearth" (Adriani 1928, 759). Cooking and eating together had special symbolic meaning.[6] Although a number of Kaili and Pamona villages were populated by people who were conscious of being related to one another and descended from the same mother village, they did not consider themselves as belonging to the larger political group, which caused the Dutch colonial officers administrative problems.

1.2. About the Term *Toraja*

As Joost Coté (1979, 42), who has examined the history of missionary work in Poso district, writes, A. C. Kruyt was the first to apply the term *Toraja* generally to the tribes of north-central Sulawesi in 1897. Prior to that time, Kruyt as well as other Europeans referred to the inhabitants of this area as *Alfurs*, a term previously applied to the inhabitants of the northern peninsula of Sulawesi and interior groups in the Moluccas, especially Ceram. Kruyt was introduced to the term *Toraja*, widely employed in South

5 In Kulawi the nobles were called *maradika*, free landowners *todea*, and slaves *batua*, later *perentah*, since slavery was abolished by the Dutch. Both Kaudern and Kruyt discuss the origin of the noble class among the To Kaili. According to Kaudern (1940, 35) the inhabitants of Kulawi said that there had been *maradika* from ancient times, but like Kruyt he seemed to prefer the theory of foreign descent, "the *maradika* class may just as well be a foreign cultural element which from the coast has penetrated into the interior of the island". Similarly Kruyt claimed that the noble people of Central Sulawesi probably originated from the Bugis and Mandarese in South Sulawesi. According to Kaudern (1940, 36) the nobles were to a certain degree isolated from their fellow villagers, since they were not allowed to marry a person not of noble birth. A *maradika* man might take a slave girl for his second or third wife, in which case the woman became his equal and her children were noble.

6 A family could also be called *sa'opoti*, *'opoti* (Adriani 1928, 528), or *sangkuntu*, (= *sancombori*). This latter name derives from *kuntu*, a bench in the temple, part of which belonged to a certain family. (Adriani 1928, 301).

Sulawesi to refer to the non-Islamized people of the area, during his trip to Palopo in January 1897. (Coté 1979, 42–43.) People living in the coastal district of South Sulawesi started in the 17th century to call the people living in the interior of the island *Toraja*. Torajas have customarily been divided into three groups: Sa'dan (Southern) Toraja, Western Toraja, and Eastern Toraja (Bare'e) (Lebar 1972, 130). As far as is known, only the Southern Torajas have identified themselves as Toraja.[7]

Kruyt himself explained his adoption of the term *Toraja* to replace the name *Alfurs* as follows: "The term had become so widely known in the European world that we did not hesitate to extend its application to all the inland tribes, if only to avoid the name *Alfur* or *Alifur*, which gave occasion for much misunderstanding" (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 2, cited from Coté 1979, 43). The term Toraja introduced by Kruyt quickly became known among the Europeans because of his extensive writing on Toraja. Evidence of this acceptance is, for example, the fact that Fritz and Paul Sarasin (1905 I, 198) fully adopted it even though they remarked that the term was not used by the islanders themselves.

In a monograph published in 1912 Adriani and Kruyt called the inhabitants of eastern Central Sulawesi *Posso'sch-Todjo'sche*, *Oost-Toradja'sche group* or *Bare'e-Toradja;* people living in western Central Sulawesi *Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche* or *West-Toradjasche group;* and those living in the southern district *Sadang-group* (1912 I, 3). In 1912 Adriani and Kruyt still most frequently used the term *Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche group* and merely mentioned the name of Western Toraja. Not until 1938 did Kruyt begin to employ the term Western Toraja widely, when he published his book on Western Toraja. Sometimes the people of the western area were also called *Sigi'sche Toradja's* and *Berg-Toradja's* (Adriani and Kruyt 1912 I, 5).

Actually there seem to have been very few who, like Walter Kaudern, protested against the use of the term Toraja to refer to the inhabitants of Palu and Poso districts. Kaudern (1944, 2) wrote:

> To avoid all mistakes I should like to let the To Saadang and the To Rongkong keep the name of Toradja, to which they have the right of priority, and find another name for the tribes living in the northern and eastern parts of Central Celebes. I think the simplest way out of the difficulties would be to call the tribes of the former group South Toradja, those of the latter, North Toradja. We arrive at the following classification: (1) South Toradja. Toradja in the original meaning of this word. Saadang Toradja etc. (2) North Toradja. Acc. to Kaudern: Poso Toradja, Paloe Toradja, Koro Toradja; Acc. to Adriani & Kruyt: East Toradja, West Toradja.

7 For a more detailed discussion of the use of the term Toraja see Nooy-Palm (1979a, 6–8) and Pekan (1977, 21–).

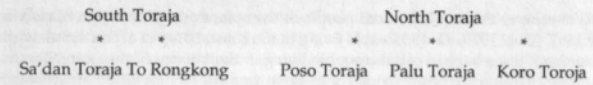


Figure 2. The ethnic classification according to Kaudern.

The term *Toraja* was used exclusively in scholarly literature to refer to the inhabitants of Central Sulawesi until the 1970's. Coté (1979) was probably the first non-Indonesian scholar to adopt the term *To Pamona* to refer to the inhabitants of the Poso district. His meritorious thesis was not, however, published, and even today the term Toraja is still better-known than the more correct names for the ethnic groups introduced by Indonesian scholars. Coté gives as his motive for using this name: "There is no indication in the literature that the tribes of the Poso, Laa and Kodina river valleys referred to themselves by a collective name, although the inhabitants of adjacent regions identified them generally as To Lage, the name of the largest and possibly oldest of the Pamona tribes. Each of the tribes named itself after a founding village which, in many cases, only existed as a revered landmark. The tribes were nonetheless linked by a shared mythology which referred to their common legendary origin in the village of Pamona." The people around Lake Poso in Central Sulawesi indicated this common origin when in 1958 they decided to express their ethnic identity by introducing the name of To Pamona. Similarly, Kaili is the name of the original village of the Kaili people, probably destroyed by the Mandar in the 17th century.[8]

The credit for the fact that the name Toraja was replaced by more appropriate native terms goes to the Indonesian research project *Tim Prasurvey Kebudayaan di Sulawesi Tengah* directed by Masyhuddin Masyhuda, which sparked off study of the culture of Central Sulawesi in 1971. This research project has published several reports of its results (see for instance Masyhuda Masyhuddin 1977, 1979/1980; *Monografi Daerah Sulawesi Tengah 1–4* 1976/1977; *Ethik dan Logat ...* 1988/89, 1; *Etnis dan Logat ...* 1977). As a result of these studies the people of Central Sulawesi were divided into four ethnic categories *(sukubangsa):* Kaili and Kulawi in the regency of Donggala, and Lore and Pamona in the regency of Poso. The languages spoken by these groups are Kaili by the Kaili group, Kaili and Pipikoro (Uma) by the Kulawi group, Napu, Besoa and Bada' by the Lore group, and Pamona by the Pamona group.[9] Sometimes the To Pipikoro are separated from the To Kulawi into an independent ethnic group; in the course of this study I often distinguish the To Pipikoro as an autonomous group in order to trace the geographical origin of some object or cultural feature more accurately.

"The PDKC (1973)[10] discusses the use of the term Toraja for the group of languages

8 Gregory Acciaioli, personal communication 1989.

9 See also Noorduyn 1991, 75–97.

10 Perw. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1973. Kekerabatan Bahasa-Bahasa di Sulawesi Tengah. PDK, Palu.

found in Central Sulawesi. Evidence is given showing that there is no cultural basis for this name. The term Toraja as used by the present inhabitants of Sulawesi only refers to a language group of northern South Sulawesi Province and is to be considered a separate group both culturally and linguistically. The PDK therefore suggests the name Kaili-Pamona for the Central Sulawesi sub-group as being more appropriate. This terminology utilizes the names of the two major languages of the sub-group, Kaili and Pamona (Bare'e)." (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979, 32.)

According to Kruyt's classification Kaili, Kulawi and Lore belonged to the Western Toraja, and Pamona roughly goes with the Eastern Toraja. However, Adriani grouped the To Lore with the Eastern Toraja on linguistic grounds but Kruyt did not agree on ethnographical grounds. The present ethnic grouping of Kaili-Pamona speakers indicates the same features as Adriani's and Kruyt's reports, namely greater diversity among the Western Toraja than among the Eastern groups.

1.3. Sources

1.3.1. Accounts of Colonial Administrators

The written records on Central Sulawesi extend over a period of two hundred years, though the most relevant material concerning the people and the life of this region was gathered during the period from 1892 to 1927, and sources before the 19th century are scarce. Three main groups of written sources can be distinguished; accounts by Dutch colonial administrators, missionary accounts, and reports by foreign travellers and scholars. The most important source concerning Pamona and Kaili culture before the establishment of Dutch colonial rule and during the first decades thereafter were, however, the reports of the Dutch missionaries.

Although the island of Sulawesi has for centuries belonged to the world-wide network of trade routes, the interior parts of this island remained unknown to the Europeans for an amazingly long time. There had been a European presence in Sulawesi since the Spaniards extended their activities to the Gulf of Tomini in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The Dutch were able to hamper Spanish trade between the Tomini Gulf and Manila, thus finally forcing the Spaniards to leave the Indonesian archipelago altogether in 1663.

The first European to visit Lake Poso and the interior of Central Sulawesi was Controleur Jhr. J. C. W. D. A. van der Wyck from the office of the Assistant Resident of Gorontalo in October 1865. This expedition remained, however, unknown until Nicolaus Adriani published an account of van der Wyck's journey in the *Indische Gids* of 1913 (Adriani 1913b, 1612–18). The reason for this late publicity was that van der Wyck's report was not, as a result of his expedition, discovered until after the death of his former superior, J. G. F. Riedel, in December, 1911, when it was found amongst his personal papers. The report by W. J. M. Michielsen, who travelled to Lake Poso in July 1869, suffered the same fate as that of van der Wyck. Michielsen's own account of his observations has been lost, but his diary has survived and was published by Adriani as *De reis van den heer W. J. M. Michielsen naar het Posso-Meer, 12–17 Juli 1869*

(1913a). Riedel's withholding of information caused annoyance in scientific circles, and in 1895 Professor Arthur Wichman publicly accused the amateur ethnographer and erstwhile Assistant Resident of Gorontalo of perpetrating a crime against science (Coté 1979, 2).

Early colonial sources seem to give very little reliable information about the life of the peoples of Central Sulawesi. These administrators made only brief visits to this rather inaccessible region and were not able to create lasting contacts with the indigenous population.[11] They chiefly relied on the missionaries for information on the culture and customs of the To Pamona. For example, the results of missionary A.C. Kruyt's work were reported in the *Colonial Reports* as if he were a pioneering government official. Administrative accounts would indeed be valuable sources if the main focus of the research were on the To Pamona's encounter with Dutch rule and its influence on the indigenous culture.[12]

Joost J. P. Coté, who has studied the history of the To Pamona writes (1979, 41): "Riedel's article of 1886 purported to be an authoritative account of the inhabitants of the Poso area but his map (originally van Wyck's map) of the region indicates that, while there is some correspondence in nomenclature, geographical positioning is largely incorrect. Again Baron van Hoëvell's apparently scholarly piece, written in 1891, added little accurate information." Thus the ethnographical information available on the life of the Kaili-Pamona speakers and their encounters with Dutch colonials was based on the material gathered by several Dutch missionaries and some travellers who visited the area.

1.3.2. Missionaries' Accounts

1.3.2.1. The Work of A.C. Kruyt and N. Adriani

Until the Dutch missionary Albertus Christiaan Kruyt began his extensive geographical, linguistic and anthropological studies in 1892, very little was known about the inhabitants of Central Sulawesi. The reports of colonial administrators were few and superficial and included a great deal of mistakes and inexactness. The Netherlands Missionary Society decided on 25.2.1889, at least partly owing to the request of colonial administrators, to start missionary work in Poso district, Central Sulawesi (Arts 1986, 86). Albertus Christiaan Kruyt was selected to pioneer a new mission field to be opened in 1889. To accompany Kruyt, the Netherlands Bible Society

11 For example, the article *De Berglandschappen behoorende tot de onderafdeeling Paloe van Midden-Celebes* by R. Boonstra van Heerdt (1914), which portrays the scenery and to some extent the clothing of the people of Tole, Benasu, Tobaku, Lindu and Kulawi.

12 Koentjaraningrat (1979, 18) drew a parallel between the activity of the Dutch and the British colonials in the East Indies and writes that most of the Dutch civil servants during the early part of the 19th century seemed to have lacked knowledge of and paid little attention to the peoples of Indonesia. This was, according to Koentjaraningrat, due to the lack of an institution in Holland for the training of colonial civil servants.

decided in 1895 to send Nicolaus Adriani, who was at that time reading Indonesian languages at Leiden University. Further, in 1903, missionary Ph. H. C. Hofman started to work in the Poso district and a little later, in 1909, missionary P. Schuyt was sent to Kuku (To Pamona).[13]

In 1891 the first Dutch missionary, A. C. Kruyt, was escorted to the mouth of the Poso river by the Assistant Resident of Gorontalo, Baron van Hoëvell, to begin his "civilizing" work among the "heathen" population. (Coté 1979, 28.) From the beginning A. C. Kruyt collaborated with the Dutch colonials, acting as an expert and advisor on the people and languages of Central Sulawesi. He acted as a link between the indigenous population and the Dutch colonial rulers, and never questioned the presence of Dutch power in this district.

A. C. Kruyt (1869–1949) was the son of a missionary, born in East Java in 1871, but educated entirely in the Netherlands by The Netherlands Missionary Society. His education included seven years at the Society's own training school in Rotterdam, where he studied among other things theology, mission history, Indonesian language, culture and religion. Kruyt was influenced by Christian socialism and the modern theological interpretations of the Groningen and the Modern school, as well as by the ideas espoused in the theological circles of Utrecht University. As regards the anthropology of religion, he took an anti-rationalist, anti-Tylor position, although he appears to have been influenced by the then current evolutionary ideology. (Brouwer 1951, 11; Coté 1979, 63.)[14]

Even though Kruyt wrote in 1902 that "colonization goes more and more against my grain," he recognized that the administrators' actions helped him in converting the To Pamona to Christianity, and after twelve years of unfruitful labour, he welcomed government intervention in Central Sulawesi. The support for Kruyt's work expressed by the colonial officials represented not only their concern to promote the expansion of Christian influence in Central Sulawesi; equally significant was the rivalry that existed between the administrations of Menado and Makassar. (Coté 1979, 36, 65.) Kruyt's extensive ethnological research was motivated by the realization that in order to graft Christianity successfully onto the Pamona society, the missionary had to understand the mental and cultural world inhabited by the indigenous people. By speaking their language and intellectually sharing their cultural heritage, the missionary or teacher would be able to pursue the tribesman through the layers of shared experience to flush out the individual in order to engage "the mind". (Coté 1979, 95–96.)

As stated earlier, both A. C. Kruyt and N. Adriani wrote extensively about the

13 Schuyt wrote an article *Van dag tot dag op reis naar de landchappen Napoe, Besoa en Bada* (1911) and during his stay in Kuku in 1909–12 acquired a collection (at MLV, Rotterdam) which includes some extraordinary ritual objects.

14 His son, Jan Kruyt (1970, 61, cited from Coté 1979, 62), described his father as: "... impulsive by nature, which manifested itself clearly in his decisions and attitudes. Considered superficially, he could therefore be regarded as inconsequential ... Against this is the fact that he worked very methodically so that a strict order existed in his division of time and labour." Jan Kruyt argues (1970, 61) plausibly that his father established for himself a place in Pamona society through his forceful personality, physical build and endurance and spirited involvement in intertribal affairs.

culture of Kaili-Pamona speakers.[15] Their main work, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes*, of which the first edition was published in 1912 and its greatly extended and renewed second edition in 1950–51, was above all the creation of A. C. Kruyt. N. Adriani was his co-writer but he died before the publishing of the second edition and was responsible only for the third part of the first edition, which dealt with the languages. The second edition of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's* is included in Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) and translated for that purpose into English.[16]

Although Kruyt started to collect material for his missionary goals, he later undoubtedly had more "scientific" aims to gather and publish material about Pamona culture. He did not publish his most extensive ethnographical monographs until 1938 and 1950–51, by which time he had brought to an end his actual missionary work. He also gathered new material among the Kaili-speaking people in 1924–1927 for governmental purposes, as he wrote in the introduction of *De West Toradjas*. Of course Kruyt's material is influenced by his religious thought and animistic theories, but he nevertheless had some kind of knowledge of the anthropological theories of his time.

I cannot wholeheartedly agree with Richard Downs, who writes (1956, VII): "All of his (Kruyt's) writings, however, were marred by a preoccupation with a succession of dubious theories and the absence of a critical approach to his material, both of which were no doubt in large part due to his lack of anthropological training." When Kruyt started writing in the 1890s, the anthropologists themselves were seldom able to produce equal monographs based on fieldwork outside Western culture. Only in hindsight can fieldwork based on anthropological theory be demanded before its birth! The anthropological theories of the time were founded chiefly on second-hand observations. It is certainly true that anthropology as a science developed enormously during Kruyt's long working period. Anthropological research at the beginning of the fifties had undoubtedly developed a more advanced theoretical apparatus and tradition of empirical fieldwork, a development which Kruyt was apparently unable to follow. In spite of his dubious theories on magical influence, which he called *measa*, and his animistic ideas (Kruyt 1906, 1918, 1919, 1920a), A. C. Kruyt's works do offer an extensive, rich ethnography of Central Sulawesi.

Although Kruyt's motivation was evangelical, he actually did material collecting in the field, at a time when most distinguished anthropologists were practising armchair research. Kruyt's strategy was largely the same as that of the modern anthropologists. He really tried to get to know how his people thought, to find a reason for their actions and by participating in their rituals to deepen his knowledge. Coté, who has made a cautious study of missionary work in the Poso area, describes Kruyt's action as follows:

> Kruyt's annual reports over the first years indicate that he worked to a basic plan in which time hardly mattered. The first stage of his plan was the cultivation of personal contacts to enable him to gain free access into the village community. He achieved this by studying the language and culture of the people, by providing medicines, by developing personal contacts with village chiefs, by offering gifts and by contributing to the expenses of village festivities. In the second stage, he confirmed and cemented such contacts by placing demands on these relationships by requesting overnight accommodation, by requesting permission for the erection of a house for a *guru*, by asking villagers to listen to and comment on simple sermons and by asking parents to send their children to school. Thirdly, when sufficient mutual trust had been established, Kruyt would begin seriously to preach the Christian message. (Coté 1979, 67.)

15 See the bibliography of Adriani's works in *Verzamelde Geschriften* by Adriani and the list of Kruyt's publications in Brouwer 1951.

16 Direct citations of the second edition in this study refer to the English text in HRAF.

At the outset of his career A.C. Kruyt wished only to "modify traditional culture to the point where the acceptance of Christianity and European ethics would not be inhibited". But after years of unfruitful work he realized that only through a quite radical and externally initiated change forcing the villagers to lose contact with the ways of their ancestors would the To Pamona become powerless to oppose his missionary work. (Coté 1979, xiii, 66.)

Nicolaus Adriani (1865–1926) was a linguistically trained missionary.[17] He was sent to Poso in 1895 by the Netherlands Bible Society with the task of preparing a Bare'e language version of the Bible. While he involved himself from time to time in the routine work of the Poso mission, he considered his primary task to be the study of languages. A convinced Christian, a believer in the need to educate the indigenous population, and a firm supporter of the government's policy to curb the expansion of Islam, he disagreed with the harsh effects of Controller Engelenberg's colonization policy. There was a noticeable cooling in relations between Kruyt and Adriani as the mission developed. Engelenberg wrote to Kruyt on April 26, 1907: "... I noticed some time ago that Dr. Adriani was not on my side. It certainly was a surprise to discover that his position was a long way from mine and that he did not give me moral support." (Coté 1979, 73–74.)

A number of anthropologists have in their works mentioned the ethnographical materials collected by Adriani and Kruyt. Since the publication in 1956 of Downs' thesis *The Religion of the Bare'e-speaking Toradja of Central Celebes*, few scholars have taken the trouble to go carefully through the original material and have been content with that presented by Downs. The work by Downs is indeed still the most recent extensive study in English of the culture and life of the Kaili-Pamona speakers. Downs himself gave as the goal of his work (1956, VII): "The purpose of this book is to make a critical analysis of N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt's well-known monograph, *De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, with a view to obtaining a clear and relatively concise picture of the religion of these people."

Downs' book is a summary of the works by Adriani and Kruyt (1912, 1950–51) and as such acts as a guide to their material. Downs does not make a comparison with material collected among other Kaili-Pamona speakers than the To Pamona; nor does he place the material in a historical perspective. The relationship between the material dealt with by him and other material is thus very vague. The conclusions drawn in the

17 Adriani defended his doctor's dissertation on the grammar of Sangirese in 1893 in Leiden. For Adriani's personal history see also Kraemer 1930 and *Verzamelde Geschriften* (Adriani 1932 I).

chapter Conclusions (1956, 106–107) and in his earlier article *Head-hunting in Indonesia* (1955) are clearly based on the structuralist tradition of the Leiden school.

Downs emphasises the dual nature of the Pamona view of the world: "The two poles of the universe were associated with various pairs of contrasting symbols and values such as day and night, male and female, life and death, good and evil, sun and moon, etc. which together constituted the totality of human society" (Downs 1956, 106). Somewhat to his disappointment he was, however, forced to admit that no corresponding dualism was to be found in the socio-political organization (Downs 1956, 51).

Although Downs' thesis was based almost completely on Adriani's and Kruyt's material on the Bare'e Toraja, his critical review of the sources is quite superficial (1956, VII). He writes: "The task is complicated by the fact that there was such a considerable lapse of time between the first and second editions, for one gets a distinct impression that many of the changes found in the second were very likely due to changed conditions. The first edition was based on research in a period (from 1892 onward) during most of which the Toradja had suffered practically no interference from the Dutch. After 1905, however, intervention on the part of both the government and the protestant missions became increasingly intensive. In most instances, however, it is hard to decide what the reason for the changes were, as Kruyt hardly ever explained them. One is usually, therefore, forced to rely in such cases on one's common sense and the logic of the religious system as a whole as well one can induce it from the rest of the data presented." I have not found so many inconsistencies between the first and the second editions of the *De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*; for example the ritual descriptions are almost identical, the versions of the second editions just being more detailed.

Downs did not take advantage of Kruyt's and Adriani's unpublished archive material at the Hendrik Kramer Institute in Oestgeest, while Coté laboriously went through this material during his research. I have so far only briefly examined Kruyt's archive material, and my first impression is that he published almost all the information he collected in Central Sulawesi. A more profound study of this material would surely sustain a more critical review of the sources because the archive material also includes Kruyt's diaries from 1894–1899, 1914–1915, and 1916–1922. These diaries might throw light on the most acute problem concerning the critical review of Kruyt's material, in other words, what he was able to observe himself during his stay and several visits to different villages, and in which respect he relied on second-hand observations and his informants' knowledge. Thus, as Downs noticed, the published sources include very little information about the collecting of and background to the material.

In the published material there are very few comments that reveal how Kruyt and Adriani collected their material. One of these comments can be found in Kruyt's article *Het Koppensnellen der Toradja's van Midden-Celebes, en zijne Beteekenis* (1899b, 149): "The research took more than a year, because I wanted to hear the opinions of many different people from various tribes. If you ask only one person, he will give his personal opinion, which later on will appear to differ from the more generally prevailing concept. And this is exactly the reef where many researchers flounder, they end up with somebody, who, because of his contact with strangers has taken on their outward signs of civilization, and thereby knows some Malay, usually someone who has lost his original ideas, especially about a matter as philosophical as head-hunting."

Sarasins (1905 I, 219) gives indirect evidence of Kruyt's observations:

> Missionar Alb.C. Kruyt ist einmal Augenzeuge gewesen, wie die von einem Kriegzug heimkehrenden Männer einen Kopf nach Hause brachten. Unter dem Schlagen der Trommeln und dem Judel der Menge wurde der Kopf in die oben beschriebene Delle des Fussbodens gekegt; dann versammelten sich die Männer um ihn hin; man reichte ihm Reis und Sirih zum Kauen und redete ihn an, als ob er lebte. Durch seinen Tod, hiess es, sei bewiesen, dass er in dem Streitfall, der zum Kriege geführt, Unrecht gehabt habe. Der Schädel wurde dann im Lobo aufgehängt.

Apart from the reports of colonial officers mentioned earlier I have found very few early records in addition to Kruyt's and Adriani's works about the To Pamona. The accounts of the travels of the Swiss scientists Fritz and Paul Sarasin in Central Sulawesi in 1893–96 and 1902–3 (1905) do include some observations about the people and their customs but they do not offer any reliable, profound ethnographical descriptions. The travel accounts of the German Professor Albert Grubauer *Unter Kopfjägern in Central-Celebes* (1913) and *Celebes. Ethnologische Streifzüge in Südost- und Zentral Celebes* (1923) also contain some scattered details of the To Pamona whose usefulness, compared to his pictures and object material, is questionable.

1.3.2.2. Missionaries Among the Kaili-Speaking People

By the 1890's the Western Torajas, i.e. the Kaili-speakers living in the Palu Valley and even in the surrounding mountains, had been in touch with the people living in the coastal area for quite a long time. They had traded with the coastal middlemen and merchants and some of them had been converted to Islam. But the mountainous part of western Central Sulawesi, being much more difficult to penetrate, had few contacts with the outside world. The first Europeans to visit these districts were the missionaries Kruyt and Adriani. They went to Parigi, Palu, Sigi, Kulawi and Lindu in 1897, but could not continue to Napu, as they had planned, owing to the hostility of the natives at Lindu.

After the submission of Central Sulawesi under Dutch colonial rule, the interior parts of the country were visited by more Europeans: civil servants, soldiers and missionaries. A. C. Kruyt travelled to Tawailia, Napu, Besoa and Bada' in 1908 (Kruyt 1909, 350; Kruyt & Kruyt 1921), and again with his son Jan in 1918–19. Later he visited the western part of Central Sulawesi several times in 1924–1927 in order to gather material for his book *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes I–IV* (1938).

In 1938 A. C. Kruyt published his four volumes of *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes*, which include almost 2,200 pages of ethnographical description. He explained that initially the government of the East Indies intended to finance the book and Kruyt would have been temporarily in the service of his government during that time. But the great cut-down in expenses in the government's budget in 1921 cancelled this plan (Kruyt 1938 I, 2).

Kruyt did not spend any longer periods among the Kaili-speakers in the way he did among the eastern groups, but he did travel in this region several times between 1897 to 1927. Actually, while writing *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes*, he travelled every

year from 1924 to 1927 for three months in western Central Sulawesi. In 1924 he made an interim report on Napu and Besoa, whence he continued to Kantewu, Tole, Tobaku, and later to Kulawi, Lindu and Sigi. During his next journey in 1925 he mostly studied the mountain groups in Tawailia, Napu, Besoa and Rampi. In addition to his own material he included in *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes* material gathered by Woensdregt, Ten Kate and other missionaries among the To Lore.

Two Dutch missionaries, P. Ten Kate (1880–1918) and Jac. Woensdregt, also came to work among the To Lore; Ten Kate spent eight years in Napu from 1909 to 1917, having been sent there by *Het Nederlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap* (Adriani 1919). Both of them wrote articles about life in the mountain region, such as *Het Ende-feest* (1913), *Het Moraego* (1915) and *Napoesche verhalen* (1919) by Ten Kate. Jac. Woensdregt worked as a missionary among the To Bada' in 1913–23, and wrote several articles about their culture: *De Landbouw bij de To Bada' in Midden Selebes* (1928), *Verloving en Huwelijk bij de To Bada' in Midden Celebes* (1929a), and *Lijkbezorging bij de To Bada' in Midden Celebes* (1930b) etc.

In 1913 the Salvation Army opened a mission in Kulawi under the leadership of the Dutchman H. Loois, and later in 1918 in Kantewu. The first missionaries in Kantewu were the British couple Leonard and Maggie Woodward. Some Finnish officers of the Salvation Army also worked among the Kaili-speakers. Ethnographically the most productive of them was Edward Rosenlund, who worked for eight years between 1918–1928 chiefly in Kulawi. While there he collected a lot of artifacts, took photos, made a film, and wrote several newspaper articles about the local culture.

1.3.3. Reports of Travellers and Scholars

The first report on Central Sulawesi by a European observer is probably Navarrete's account in the 17th century, in which he devotes some paragraphs to describing the coastal area. The first European travellers in the interior part of Central Sulawesi were the Swiss scientists Paul and Fritz Sarasin, who set out on their journey across Sulawesi from Palu to Palopo in 1902–03 and had earlier, in 1893–96, travelled in South and Southeast Sulawesi. During their journey they were able to map the waters running along the Sarasin line and fix the direction of the mountain ranges. They were the first Europeans to visit the district of Gimpu, Bada' and Leboni. Paul and Fritz Sarasin's book *Reisen in Celebes* (1905) is a typical travel account, including some very accurate descriptions of the landscape, the physical appearance of the inhabitants and their buildings, costumes and implements, but it lacks almost completely information about their religion and society.

The German professor Albert Grubauer travelled in both the eastern and the western part of Central Sulawesi in 1911. He wrote about his experiences during this journey in his travel accounts *Unter Kopfjägern in Central-Celebes* (1913) and *Celebes. Ethnologische Streifzüge in Südost- und Zentral-Celebes* (1923). Grubauer's works offer some interesting information, but compared with his photos and object collections, their relevance is poor. He also gathered a large collection of objects now deposited in St. Petersburg and Cologne.

The Dutch geologist J. H. Abendanon conducted research in Central Sulawesi in 1909 and 1910. He made only natural scientific observations and did not write

anything about the life of the Kaili-Pamona speakers. He was followed by the American collector H. C. Raven, who visited Lindu, Kulawi, Gimpu, Bada' and Besoa in 1916. Raven published merely a short description of bark cloth making (1932) but he collected, funded by the American William Louis Abbott (1860–1936), about 800 ethnographical objects which are deposited at the National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. (Taylor 1985, 5.)

The Swedish zoologist and ethnologist Walter Kaudern (1881–1942) spent some years from 1917 to 1920 in Central Sulawesi, mainly in the western part, collecting zoological and ethnographical material. His large collections are deposited in Gothenburg, Sweden. After his expedition to Sulawesi Kaudern devoted himself more and more to ethnography, served as the head of the Ethnographical Department of the Gothenburg Museum (1932–1942), and published a great deal of his results from his expedition in the series *Ethnographical Studies in Celebes*.

Kaudern travelled to Sulawesi in 1917–1920 "in order to contribute to the solution of the zoo-geographical questions connected with this island," as he himself writes. Besides his zoological work, he intended to study the natives of the country as far as his time permitted (Kaudern 1925a, 1). Actually, the ethnological side of Kaudern's work turned out to be very extensive, consisting of a travel account *I Celebes Obygder I–II* (1921), six volumes of *Ethnographical Studies in Celebes* (1925–1944): *Structure and Settlements in Central Celebes* (1925a), *Migrations of the Toradja in Central Celebes* (1925b), *Musical Instruments in Celebes* (1927), *Games and Dances in Celebes* (1929), *Megalithic Finds in Central Celebes* (1938), *Art in Central Celebes* (1944) and several articles.

Kaudern's natural history background is easily discerned from his descriptions of the material culture of western Central Sulawesi. He was also trained in zoology, geology, botany and geography. (Wassen 1942, 173). Kaudern describes and classifies his ethnographical material in detail, using a natural scientific method. He would appear to have been influenced by Darwinian evolutionism, which he tried to apply to these ethnographical objects. He constantly tried to find the origin of cultural traits in decorative motifs, the structures of buildings, and clothing.

The disadvantage of Kaudern's natural historical training was his ignorance of social life and religion. Although his accurate descriptions of the material environment are valuable, his material includes very little information about the society and everyday life if one excludes his article about the genealogy of some noble families in Kulawi (1940). This has greatly affected his interpretations – and unfortunately in some cases misinterpretations – of his material. Kaudern himself compared his own material with that of Kruyt, Adriani, Sarasins, and Grubauer, and stated (1925a, 29) that developments had proceeded so quickly that at present very little is left of the original culture. Villages and heathen temples had been levelled to the ground, and new villages had been built according to modern principles. The old dresses, the weapons, the adornments, the heathen feasts, and much more belonged to bygone time.

As we have seen, most of the ethnographical records of the life of the Kaili-speakers are quite recent. In spite of Navarrete's report and some of Kruyt's articles, they are chiefly based on material collected in the 1910–1920's. Accounts of the culture before Dutch colonial rule in 1905 are almost completely lacking.

After Downs's dissertation two decades passed before scholars again became interested in the culture of Central Sulawesi. Since 1975 several new Indonesian studies about the culture of the Kaili-Pamona speakers have been published, such as *Proyek Pengambangan Media Kebudayaan* (1976/1977), *Proyek Invertarisasi dan Doku-*

mentasi Kebudayaan Daerah (1979/80, 1983/84a, 1983/84b, 1985, 1986), *Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Sulawesi Tengah* (1977, 1979/80, 1980/81, 1983, 1988/89) and *Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah* (1977/78) reports published by the Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan R. I. There are some other recent works such as *Het Zendingsveld Poso. Geschiedenis van een Konfrontatie* by A. C. Kruyt's son J. Kruyt (1970), J. Coté's unpublished M. A. thesis *The Colonization and Schooling of the To Pamona of Central Sulawesi, 1890 to 1924* (1979) and one article by J. A. Arts (1986) which deal with the territory of Sulawesi Tengah. All the non-Indonesian works mainly deal with the missionary and colonial history of the eastern part of Central Sulawesi except for Gregory Acciaioli's dissertation *Searching for Good Fortune: The Making of a Bugis Shore Community at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi* (1989), which although it does not directly examine the Kaili-speakers but the Bugis immigrants does give valuable information on the history of western Central Sulawesi.

1.3.4. Museum Collections

No systematic study or catalogue has been made of objects gathered from Central Sulawesi and deposited in various museums. Some museums with large collections have, however, published catalogues of their collections, such as *Publikationen aus dem Königlichen Ethnographischen Museum zu Dresden* by A. B Meyer & O. Richter (1903),[18] *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums* by H. H. Juynboll (1925, 1927), *Catalogue of the Ethnographic Collection: Oceania, America, Africa. Perth Museum and Art Gallery* by Dale Idiens, *A Guide to the Sulawesi. Ethnologic Collection* by the National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta (1984) and, of course, Walter Kaudern's works giving a thorough account of his collections from Sulawesi. Simon Kooijman's study *Ornamented Bark-Cloth in Indonesia* (1963) includes some material on Kaili-Pamona speakers. Apart from Kooijman's study and to some extent Kaudern's works these catalogues usually describe the objects in collections without studying them in any detail. Despite these catalogues there are several extensive and important object collections which have not been published anywhere.

To get a general overview of the available material on Central Sulawesi I have inquired at several museums around the world. Another way to trace these objects has been to try to track down people who have visited Central Sulawesi and may have gathered museum collections. So far I have found out that at least the following museums have noteworthy collections from Central Sulawesi: the National Museum of Indonesia (Jakarta), the Museum Negeri Sulawesi Tengah (Palu), the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden), the Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam), the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (Rotterdam), the Museum für Völkerkunde (Basel), the Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara (Delft), the Rautenstrauch–Joenst–Museum (Cologne), the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (St. Petersburg), the Royal Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh), the Perth Museum and Art Gallery (Perth), the Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde

18 Most of these objects are at this moment at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel.

(Dresden), the National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen), the Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum (the Ethnographical Museum of Gothenburg, Gothenburg), the National Museum of Finland (Helsinki) and The Smithsonian Institution (Washington D. C.).

Many of these museums have kindly sent me information on their collections, but in many cases the only way to get to know the collections has been to visit the museum. I have so far had an opportunity to visit the following museums: the National Museum of Finland, the City Museum of Hämeenlinna (Finland), the National Museum of Denmark, the Ethnographical Museum of Gothenburg, the Museum of the University of Oslo, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, the Tropenmuseum, the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, the Museum für Völkerkunde (Basel), the Museon (The Hague), the Rautenstrauch–Joenst–Museum, the Museum Nasional (Jakarta), the Museum Negeri Sulawesi Tengah and the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg. This analysis is based on the published material and the material documented during these visits.[19]

The use of museum material as a source of anthropological study is at least as problematic as the use of written ethnographical material. As George Stockings (1985, 4,5) puts it "Removed, however, from their original contexts in space and time, and recontextualized in others that may or may not seek to recreate them, the meaning of the material forms preserved in museums must always be acutely problematic"..."there is inherent in the museum as an archive of material objects a fifth dimension beyond the three of materiality and the fourth of time or history. Since the objects thrown in the way of observers in museums were once those of others, there are relationships implicit in the constitution of a museum which may be defined as relations of "power": the expropriation (not only in an abstract etymological sense, but sometimes in the dirty sense of theft or pillage) of objects from actors in a particular context of space, time, and meaning and their appropriation (or making one's own) by observers in another".

In any case the accumulation of artifacts in museums is often a matter of chance. In this process a central role is played by the collector who gathered a particular specimen to represent a particular "culture". The collector's idea of the object's worth, i.e. its aesthetics, representativeness, "otherness", has determined the contents of our anthropological museums. An ethnographical object is above all a specimen of "otherness".

While reading Adriani's and Kruyt's accurate descriptions of Kaili-Pamona speakers' rituals, one constantly runs into ritual objects which are very rare or not to be found in the collections of any museum. The world of their rituals differs greatly, depending on whether one is reading Adriani's and Kruyt's works or studying the available museum material. Most of the objects used in ritual contexts were not durable, but gifts of nature such as plants, pieces of animals, blood, or complicated ritual surroundings which were built and demolished in situ. In addition to this, people were of course disinclined to give up their sacred artifacts and family valuables.

19 The museum material used in this study will be presented in detail in Appendix 1.

In this respect Kaudern's collection is a pleasant exception. His large, probably the largest material collection from Central Sulawesi, consisting of over one thousand items, includes several interesting objects which are absent from most other collections. His natural science background led him to gather ethnographical material as systematically as specimens of nature. He collected artifacts from all kinds of "species", objects which many collectors have regarded as unimportant and neglected.

As regards the geographical representativeness of Kaudern's collection, from some districts, such as Kulawi, Pipikoro and Onda'e, the supply of artifacts is plentiful, and from other districts, such as Tawaelia and Lage, there are but few objects, and yet the most eastern districts inhabited by the To Pamona, merely the To Onda'e, are represented in Kaudern's collection. To fill in the gaps Kaudern studied representations in books and above all the collections of a great number of European museums. (Kaudern 1944, 3.) Most of Kaudern's objects were gathered among the Kaili-speakers in 1918–20; the collection from the Onda'e (a group of To Pamona) is also large and valuable.

During their travels in Sulawesi in 1893–96 and 1902–3 Fritz and Paul Sarasin made collections, part of which was published by Meyer and Richter in 1903. At that time about 140 specimens from the Sarasins' collections were deposited at the Königliche Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft zu Dresden, but most of these objects, are now at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel. Most of the items in this collection, about 120 objects, originate from the To Pamona (Onda'e, Pebato, Lage, Lampu), and only 20 specimens come from the western part of Central Sulawesi (Bada', Napu, Kulawi, Sigi, Palu, Parigi, Sausu). Objects collected during the Sarasins' journeys are also deposited at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. This collection (no. 1456), donated in 1904 to the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde by the Sarasins, includes about 90 objects from the area of both the Kaili-speakers (Bada', Leboni, Gimpu, Kulawi, Pakuli, Palu) and of the To Pamona (Poso Lake, Lage, Pebato).

Professor Alfred Grubauer also collected ethnographical objects during his short, one month's journey in Central Sulawesi in 1911. About 550 of these objects were bought in 1914 by the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg (acquisition no. 2317). These objects originate mostly from western Central Sulawesi (Bada', Napu, Kulawi, Palu Valley). The To Lampu is the only To Pamona group represented in Grubauer's collection. This St. Petersburg collection includes some interesting and – as regards this study – relevant objects which I shall return to later. St. Petersburg has a large selection of Grubauer's photos, some of which have been published in his books. Another collection acquired by Grubauer during his travels in Central Sulawesi is at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum in Cologne. This also has a small collection of Grubauer's photos.

A. C. Kruyt's extensive work also included the gathering of ethnographical objects; for some reason his material has spread all over the world. I have found material collected by Kruyt in the National Museum of Denmark, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, the National Museum of Indonesia, the Tropenmuseum and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde. The National Museum of Denmark was given about 20 objects collected by A. C. Kruyt in 1891–92 as a donation from A. Lübbers in 1908 and 1919. The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde received collections (about 170 specimens) from Kruyt in 1899 (no. 1232), 1901 (no. 1300) and 1903 (no. 1377). Surprisingly enough Kruyt's collections are poorly documented and mostly referred to in Juynboll's catalogue just as "Toraja."

In addition to Kruyt's material, according to Juynboll's *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums* the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde has several other collections from Central Sulawesi.[20] The museum received donations from Baron G. W. W. C. van Hoëvell in 1890 (no. 776, about 20 "Toraja" objects), 1904 (no. 1424), and 1905 (no. 1505) and from Dr. M. Weber in 1890 (no. 804),[21] J. E. Jasper in 1908 (no. 1647 about 50 items). Besides these there are some other large collections: the largest one, about 500 objects, is no. 1926, which was donated by the Bataavisch Genootchap van Kunsten en Wetenshappen in 1916. About 20 objects come from collection no. 1008, which originates from an exhibition held in Batavia in 1894, and about 100 objects from Central Sulawesi were bought by the museum in 1911 (no. 1759).

There are in all about 1,000 objects at the Rijksmuseum Museum voor Volkenkunde which Juynboll classified as originating in Central Sulawesi. About 300 of them are generally marked "Central Sulawesi" without any more specific location, about 170 objects are classified "Toraja." And only about 250 objects are located more accurately. About 130 of these originate from the western area (Kulawi, Bada', Palu, Kaili, Napu, and Leboni) and the remaining 230 objects from the eastern part of Central Sulawesi, 170 referred to generally as "Poso", and others from Pebato, Lage, Onda'e and Lampu. This means that although there are in Leiden a large number of objects, probably the earliest collected among them, these collections are very difficult to use as source material. Many of them are composed of material from different origins. They are very seldom equipped with accurate notes of origin and written reference material.

One of the largest Central Sulawesian collections is owned by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D. C. For this the Institution is indebted to the collector William Louis Abbott, who financed H. C. Raven's collecting work in Central Sulawesi in 1916. The Smithsonian Institution's Central Sulawesi collection includes about 800 specimens (Accession 61, 662: Catalog nos. 301, 201–301, 494, received 1917; Accession 62, 904: Catalog nos. 304, 101–304, 280, received 1918). The items in this collection all come from the western part of Central Sulawesi (Bada', Pipikoro, Kulawi, Lindu). Walter Hough published an article *The Buffalo Motive in Middle Celebes Decorative Design* (1932), which is based on this material.

The Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam possesses several engaging material collections gathered by Dutch missionaries and colonial administrators in various parts of Central Sulawesi: A. C. Kruyt, who worked for several decades in the Poso region; P. Schuyt who lived in Kuku (Pamona district) between 1909 and 1912; P. Ten Kate who stayed in Napu (To Lore) 1909–1917; Woensdregt, who worked as a missionary in Bada' (To Lore) 1913–1923; and G.M. Wigman who worked as a colonial administrator *(controleur)* in Palu 1916–1921.

Perhaps the least known of the significant material collections is that of the National

20 I visited the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in 1988 and again in 1991, but only a minimal part of its collections was accessible because of the renovation of the museum building. For this reason I chiefly depend on Juynboll's information.

21 Weber's items are located under "Toraja", "Palopo" or "Luwu". He visited only the region of Luwu and Southern Toraja in 1890 and thus it is questionable whether any of his objects originate from the northern groups. He published information on these objects in his article *Ethnographische Notizen über Flores und Celebes* (1890).

Museum of Finland. A Finnish officer in the Salvation Army, Edward Rosenlund (1895–1930), who worked as a missionary among the Kaili-speakers for a total of eight years between 1918–1928, collected over 500 specimens (VK 5002: 1–249, received 1922; VK 5114: 1–267, received 1930). There are in Rosenlund's collection materials from Bada', Besoa, Rampi, Tole, several villages in Pipikoro district, Kulawi, Lindu, and some objects from the southern region, Rongkong. In addition to these objects the National Museum of Finland owns some of Rosenlund's manuscripts and photographs, and the Finnish Film Archive has a film made by him during his stay in Sulawesi. Rosenlund's collection includes some rare specimens, such as clothing worn by chief priests in Bora.

Other missionaries have contributed, too, by collecting objects among the Kaili-speakers. The small collection of the Finnish Salvation Army officer Hilja Valo is at present in the City Museum of Hämeenlinna. Specimens collected by the British Salvation Army officer Woodward in 1930- are deposited at the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh and Perth Museum and Art Gallery. According to the *Catalogue of the Ethnographic Collection: Oceania, America, Africa. Perth Museum and Art Gallery* these items are from the Palu Valley.

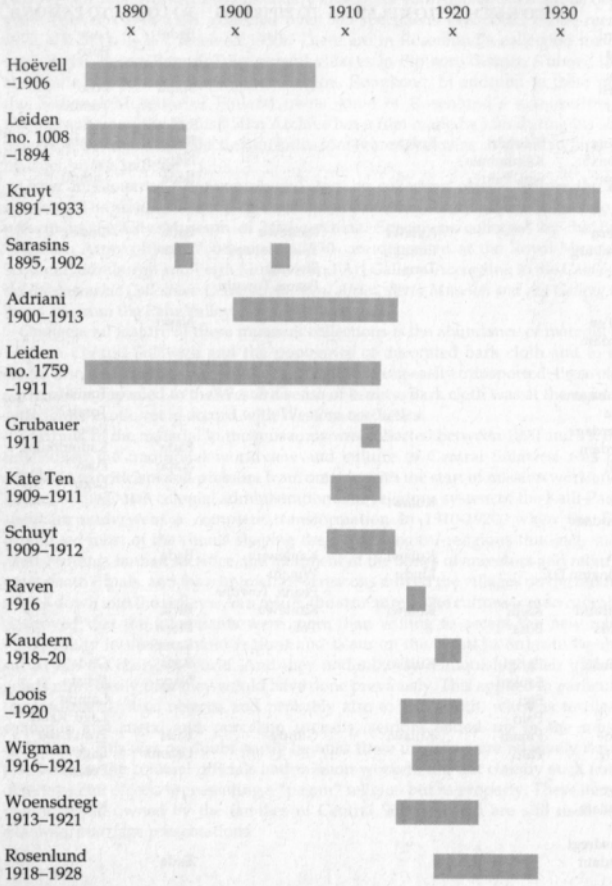
One general feature of these museum collections is the abundance of material from western Central Sulawesi and the popularity of decorated bark cloth and to some extent also weapons. It seems likely that besides being easily transported, these objects particularly appealed to the Western sense of beauty. Bark cloth was at the same time sufficiently exotic yet in accord with Western aesthetics.

The bulk of the material in the museums was collected between 1890 and 1930, at a time when the traditional worldview and culture of Central Sulawesi was being subjected to criticism and pressure from outside with the start of mission work and the advent of the Dutch colonial administration. The religious system of the Kaili-Pamona speakers underwent a complete transformation in 1910-1920, when the Dutch prohibited most of the rituals shaping their cosmological-religious thinking, such as head-hunting, human sacrifice, the treatment of the bones of ancestors and reburial at great death rituals, and for administrative reasons moved the villages on the mountain slopes down into the valleys. As a result, the structure of the culture was so completely destroyed that the inhabitants were more than willing to accept the new religion (Christianity in the mountain regions and Islam on the coast) in order to be able to survive in the changed world. And they undoubtedly relinquished their traditional goods more easily than they would have done previously. This applied in particular to the traditional ritual objects, and probably also to bark cloth, whereas textiles, for example, and metal and porcelain utensils, seldom ended up in the museum collections. This was no doubt partly because these utensils were relatively rare, but also because the colonial officials and mission workers did not classify such familiar objects as cult objects representing a "pagan" religion but as property. These items are therefore still owned by the families of Central Sulawesi and are still used as, for example, marriage presentations.

Table 1. Geographical distribution of the museum material from Central Sulawesi

	TO KAILI	TO KULAWI	TO PIPIKORO	TO LORE	TO PAMONA
Adriani Jakarta				Bada'	Lage Poso
Hoëvell Leiden				Napu	Poso Tomini
Grubauer St. Petersb.	Sidondo Kalukubula	Kulawi		Bada' Napu	Lampu
Cologne	Sigi, Palu Sidondo			Bada' Napu	Lampu
Kaudern Gothenburg		Kulawi Lindu Toro	Kantewu Tole, Mohapi Siwongi Peana, Towulu	Bada' Besoa	Onda'e
Kate Ten Rotterdam				Napu	
Kruyt					
Copenhagen					Tomini
Jakarta					Toraja?
Amsterdam					Poso
Rotterdam				Bada'	Kadombuku
Leiden				Napu	Poso Lage
Loois Amsterdam		Kulawi			
Raven Washington D.C.		Kulawi Lindu	Kantewu Winatu Peana, Towulu	Bada'	
Rosenlund Helsinki	Kaili? Bora	Kulawi	Kantewu Tole	Bada' Besoa Rampi	
Sarasins Basel	Parigi Saussu Sigi Palu	Kulawi		Bada' Napu	Onda'e Pebato Lampu Lage, Rano?
Leiden	Pakuli Palu	Kulawi	Gimpu	Bada' Leboni	Poso Lake Lage Pebato
Schuyt Rotterdam					Kuku
Woensdregt Rotterdam				Bada'	
RMV, Leiden					
other collections	Kaili Parigi	Kulawi		Napu	Poso Onda'e Pebato

Table 2. The periods during which the Central Sulawesian collections were made



1.4. Material Culture as an Object of Research

1.4.1. Anthropology and Material Culture

The mainstream of Western anthropology from the 1920's until the 1980's focused methodologically on fieldwork and theoretically on synchrony and structure, rather than on diachrony and history. One consequence of this synchrony-oriented anthropology[22] has been that the study of material culture has been divorced from cultural and social anthropology. However, some recent studies (see, for example, the works of Marie J. Adams 1974, 1977, 1980; Arjun Appadurai 1986; Mattiebelle Gittinger 1979; Ingersoll & Bronitsky 1987; Adrienne Kaeppler 1985 and Annette Weiner 1983, 1985, 1987; Annette Weiner and Jane Schneider 1991) have indicated that the interpretation of material culture might also be central to anthropological theory. By interpreting art and other objects as one of several related kinds of symbol systems, it is possible to re-examine the interrelatedness of social and cultural forms within societies.

Although some interesting new approaches to the study of material culture have been published recently, only few researchers besides Annette Weiner (1985, 1987, 1991) have paid attention to the relation between the concept of time and objects. One of the rare studies of time and material culture is Anita Volland's article (1987, 113–) *Metaphors of Time: Symbolic Dimensions of Polynesian Staff Images*, in which she studies a class of Polynesian artifacts, primarily staff images, which played a major role as material referents linking "sacred chants, concepts of cosmological and genealogical source, continuity and vitality, and, more prosaically, legitimation of power and privilege". A view of time as genealogical characterized the conceptual world of many Polynesian peoples, most explicitly in Eastern Polynesia.

Volland focuses in her article on the staff-images widespread in Polynesia which usually consist of two basic components: the staff-form itself and its bark-cloth wrappings. She interprets the meaning of these staffs; it seems likely that in a number of cultures in Central Polynesia the ritual act of unwinding the wrapping moved one closer and closer to the source of supernatural power embodied in the wooden core. If the core element of a god-form was, as in the case of the Rarotongan staff, a symbol of genealogical principles of origin and generation, then the two identities of the *Poo*, active supernatural power and remote temporal origin, were united in one physical configuration. The Rarotongan staff was the embodiment of the idea of "source", as well as that of "power". In this context the linear bark-cloth wrapping takes on another significance. As the act of unwinding the cloth moved one closer and closer to the source of the god's power, so did it also move one from the present deeper and deeper into the past. Finally, one arrived at the core, the source of being in the night of the *Poo*.[23] In this interpretation, then, the staff, in its form as a genealogical counter,

22 Soviet anthropology has to be excluded in this case, see, for example, Tokarev 1974.

23 The Polynesian concept of the *Poo* is a classic example of mythic time. For Polynesians the *Poo* was both something that had existed in the remote past and that was the ancestral source of being, and an ever present reality involving active supernaturals. The *Poo* was the source of all supernatural power, both in a temporal and in an instrumental sense. In fact supernatural power and the *Poo* were really coterminous; one implied the other. (Volland 1987, 122–123.)

represents the concept of source *(tumu)*. This idea was visually expressible (as in the case of the *to'o*) only by implying both the ancestral source and the appended line of being (the large head at one end, as well as the series of notch-like figures). The linear wrapping "leading back" to the source represents (again, as in the *to'o*) the continuity of time.

Before the 1920's, anthropology was extensively practised in museums. Since that time the mainstream of anthropology has shifted to universities, and become more social science oriented and increasingly interested in studying both mental products and the political and social reality of people (Ames 1986, 27–28). Barrie Reynolds (1983, 210) presents several interrelated reasons for this gap between the museologists and the anthropologists. According to him, studies of material culture were unfortunately identified with the more extreme diffusionist school of thought, whereas understandable efforts were made by the new functionalist approach to be distanced from diffusionism.

It is true that there has been little theoretical development associated with studies of material culture. Research on museum collections has never, or at least not since the diffusionist era, played an important role in the development of anthropological theory. At the same time, the relationship between the teaching of anthropology and material culture research has also weakened or become non-existent. As mentioned above, there have been some recent indications of a revival of interest in material culture studies by anthropologists but also by sociologists and ethnologists. In particular, interest in symbolism has led some anthropologists to look more carefully at visual material and to recognize the need for theoretical approaches.

George Stocking (1985, 6) formulates the relation between anthropology and material culture as follows:

> Despite its history of exclusion from museums devoted to fine arts, and of negative evaluation by universal humanistic or evolutionary aesthetics standards, the material culture of non-Western peoples has undergone a process of aestheticization since its original emplacement in museums. This has resulted in part from the relativization (and universalization) of Western aesthetic standards, and in part from processes which have recontextualized the production of traditional items of material culture. Items which once had multiple functions, so that their aesthetic elements could only be isolated by abstraction, have often had their functions reduced in scope by processes of acculturation, with the more utilitarian functions transferred to the products of Western technology. Insofar as they continue to be produced, items of traditional material culture are reconceptualized from both the native and the Western perspective in aesthetics terms – whether those of curio kitsch or fine art. Thus objects of "material culture" – which in traditional contexts often had spiritual value – are respiritualized (in Western terms) as aesthetic objects, at the same time that they are subjected to the process of the world market. As their productions become entangled in the market nexus, some of those who were or might have been native craftsmen are transformed into artists in the Western sense.

The objects in our museums speak to us in many ways – through their shape, their size, their composition – giving us a visual image. But without any reference to the society or environment from which they generate, they remain in our minds labelled "primitive art"; and the visual images created by them get the reference point of

departure from our own conceptual system and system of symbols and meanings. Anchoring objects, earlier separated from their original context, back to their authentic cultural and social setting is impossible. In the course of this work, I have became convinced that museum collections alone are not able to speak about their life among the people who made and used them. You need a good deal of ethnographic material to combine with objects. In this case, there are luckily numerous written records dating back to the same period of time and the same places as the objects examined. Another problem which becomes evident on comparing ethnographical records with museum material is the fact that there is much material which never enters the museum collections. It cannot to be moved, or preserved, or collectors have almost systematically neglected those items.

It has generally been difficult for Western scholars to accept the information offered by their informants in many non-Western societies about material culture. They simply have not believed what their informants have told them about their experiences of their material environment or labelled it as "magic". Very often the Westerners have considered the answers offered absurd and illogical, and tried to find some kind of rational ground for these people's irrational ideas of the inanimate world. And the question of the relations between persons and things is one of the areas where the attitudes of Western culture are most often taken for granted; things are seen to belong to persons, as property and above all as symbols of personal status and residues of personal life-histories (Humpreys 1981, 8–9), although individualism as regards goods and property seems to be quite recent in Western culture, too. As Clifford writes (1985, 237), "C. B. Macpherson's classic analysis of Western "possessive individualism" (1962) traces the seventeenth-century emergence of a sense of self as owner."

One reason might be our ancestor anthropologists' dubious theories about the material culture which we have not yet transcended, for example, Tylor's fetishism: "the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects." He continues: "Fetishism will be taken as including the worship of 'sticks and stones', and thence it passes by an imperceptible gradation into Idolatry" (Tylor 1970 (1871), 230). Or take Frazer's theory about the foundation of magic in the law of similarity, an effect resembles its cause, and the law of contact, things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance, after the physical contact has been severed (Frazer 1963 (1922), 14–).

As Stanley Tambiah recently said (1984, 340), all societies have their versions of "fetishism" of objects. But "the manner in which objects and persons are intertwined and evaluated differs according to each society's cosmological design and cultural grid, in which social, divine, animal, and object hierarchies are mutually implicated."

The idea of cognitive relativity, in other words, the logic we bring to bear in our descriptions of the world, is not universal, but rather a function of our immediate techno-environmental circumstances and our particular linguistic and ideological heritage (Littleton 1985, vi), has hardly influenced the anthropological study of material culture. According to the Western rationality the world is clearly divided into living beings including people and animals, and inanimate things such as stones, shells, textiles. This classification between tangible objects and living beings is very basic and indeed, the concept of material culture indicates this distinction. An artifact is for Western scholars merely an object, without the ability to act as a source of power or as a subject itself. When non-Western people told about their notions and beliefs in association with material culture, they were stigmatized as magic, mystification,

pagan, superstition, and objects were often classified as amulets, idols or fetishes.[24]

As a result of the missionaries and early travellers, some of these non-Western objects ended up in American and European museums, where they were labelled "primitive" or "tribal" and classified and displayed first according to unilineal evolution and later into cultural groups. Another attempt to classify "primitive" objects was to call them art objects, which in a Western sense they seldom were, and at the same time to exclude, (by which criteria?) some other objects, calling them "crafts". Adrienne Kaeppler writes (1979, 180) that while Western artists found in Melanesian art stimulation and a supposed affinity to expressionism and surrealism, many artists relegated much of Polynesian art to the second-class category of "craft". So "primitive" art found its place in Western aesthetics and got its market value in the international art business.[25]

1.4.2. Reading Material Culture

> Material culture, like all other social phenomena, poses problems of interpretation. These problems arise, in part, because of a need to discover what material culture represents, what it means and what it says. Ricoeur's work deals in elegant and wide-ranging fashion with the issues of language and meaning, action and interpretation, subjectivity and the will, and history and narrative. (Moore 1990, 85.)

The study of material culture, as Henrietta Moore above suggests, includes issues of interpretation. Recent studies of text and textuality (Hanks 1989) offer one potential solution to this problem. Inspired particularly by Paul Ricoeur's works on the interpretation of text, and greatly indebted to Henrietta Moore (1990) for her analysis of Paul Ricoeur's writings and problems of the interpretation of material culture, I have applied implications of textual analysis to material culture and interpretation. As Moore shows, many of Ricoeur's statements concerning the interpretation of text also seem to be relevant to the interpretation of material culture.

> All human phenomena which may be deemed to have textual characteristics – that is, all those capable of undergoing an objectification comparable to the fixation of discourse by writing – are susceptible to interpretation. This view offers us the possibility of applying Ricoeur's theory of interpretation to material culture provided it can be demonstrated that material culture undergoes the necessary process of objectification. I have argued elsewhere that material culture can be considered as a text precisely because it is the product of the inscription of meaning and meaningful action on the material world (Moore 1986). (Moore 1990, 111–112.)

24 "An *amulet* is a small object that you wear or carry because you think it will bring you good luck and protect you from evil or injury." (*Collins Cobuild English* ... 1989,45.) "An *idol* is a statue or other object that is worshipped by people who believe it is a god" (*Collins Cobuild English* ... 1989, 719). A *fetish* is an "object worshipped by pagan people because they believe a spirit lives in it" (The *Advanced Learner's* ... 1963).

25 See more about ethnography and art in Price 1989, 82–.

As John Thompson (1981, 53) notes while studying Ricoeur's theory of interpretation, "the semantics of discourse in general, and the concept of the text in particular, provide Ricoeur with a foundation for the development of a general theory of interpretation. This theory seeks to integrate explanation and understanding in a constructive dialectic which is rooted in the properties of the text." According to Ricoeur (1976, 23) the text may be regarded as a work of discourse submitted to the condition of inscription. This implies that the text is a structured totality irreducible to the sentences of which it is composed (Thompson 1981, 51). And what we write, what we inscribe is according to Ricoeur, the *noema* of speaking. "It is not the speech *event*, it is speech itself in so far as it is *said*" (Ricoeur 1979, 76). The text does not therefore consist of observations themselves but of their textual representation.

Material objects, being coherent, independent and durable, could be distanced from their context of creation and thus made open to several new interpretations during their life history. The problems encountered in the interpretation of an object arise from these characteristics, since an object can – due to its ability to be distanced and made independent in the course of its natural life span – be transferred from one place to another by means of trade or some other form of exchange. Or else, being relatively or highly durable, it may be transferred a long way in time from its origin, be preserved for hundreds of years and easily outlive its human users. And viewing the ethnographic objects in museums as manifestations of culture, a further, radical distancing from their original context has taken place. In attempting to interpret objects as part of the social structure or system, the problem may be approached from the direction of textuality and the objects viewed as part of the representations of the text.

Besides being a work of discourse,[26] a text is a written work.[27] And the realisation of discourse under the condition of inscription displays a series of characteristics which effectively distance the text from the circumstance of speech (Thompson 1981, 52). Ricoeur has introduced the concept of distanciation, which he divides into four

26 Ricoeur has distinguished four traits of discourse: firstly "discourse is always realized temporally and in a present, whereas the language system is virtual and outside of time". Secondly discourse has reference, i.e. it refers back to its speaker. Thirdly discourse refers to a world which it claims to describe, it is in discourse that the symbolic function of language is actualized. Fourthly in discourse messages are exchanged; in this sense, discourse alone has not only a world, but another person. These four traits of discourse taken together constitute speech as an event. Writing Ricoeur calls "the full manifestation of discourse", but although spoken discourse is recognized as an event, what is written is not an event as an event but the meaning of the speech event. (Ricoeur 1979, 74–76.)

27 Due the event character of discourse it exists in a temporal and present, this means that it appears and disappears until it is fixed by writing. "As a simple change in the nature of the medium of communication, the problem of writing is identical to that of the fixation of discourse in some exterior bearer, whether it be stone, papyrus, or paper, which is other than the human voice ... the human fact disappears. Now material 'marks' convey the message." (Ricoeur 1976, 26–27.)

principal forms, into the analysis of a text. Let us now take a look at the four forms of distanciation and the textual quality of material culture. Objects may be examined as part of a textual representation, or as Moore says (1990, 112): "Material culture embodies meaning, it is the product of meaningful action, and it is involved in the reproduction of meaningful action in determinate social and historical contexts."

The manufacture of an artifact is a procedure fixed in time and space but tangible objects outlive that moment. The creator of the object had in her/his mind some idea concerning the purpose and content of the product to be made. The first interpretation can feasibly be traced back to this moment of creation. However, as Moore (1990, 112) argues, "what is inscribed in material culture is not actuality of past actions, but their meaning; that what material culture signifies does not coincide with the intentions of individual producers/actors." The meaning surpasses the event of saying or making and so the objective meaning of a text or an object is something other than the subjective intentions of its author.

New interpretations emerge when an object has been temporarily or spatially distanced from its origin. A transaction from the owner to the next, from "the reader" to the next adds a new element of interpretation. In Thompson's (1981, 52) words: "Whereas in spoken discourse the intention of the speaking subject and the meaning of what is said frequently overlap, in the case of writing this coincidence fails to obtain." The text is addressed at an unknown audience, and as well it is freed from the ostensive references of the shared situation of production. In the same way as the author's intention and the meaning of the text cease to coincide, the intention of the object's creator and its meaning will be detached. According to Ricoeur the dissociation of the verbal meaning of the text and the mental intention is what is really at stake in the inscription of discourse. Not that we can conceive of a text without an author or an artifact without a maker; the tie between the creator and the product is not abolished, but distended and complicated by adding a new dimension, a reader.

Ricoeur's solution to this problem when the face-to-face relation is replaced by the more complex relation of reading to writing is that the text has meaning and structure without an original context of creation. Although the author is not present, the text still remains a discourse told by someone, said by someone to someone else about something. Ricoeur illustrates this using an example from material culture. "If we cancel out this main characteristic of discourse, we reduce texts to natural objects, i.e., to things which are not man-made, but which, like pebbles, are found in the sand" (Ricoeur 1976, 29–30). Similarly, artifacts made or used by men have enduring elements outside the act of production.

The distinction between sense and reference is very helpful with regard to the analysis of material culture, as stated by Moore (1990, 112). According to Ricoeur the reader must seek not the internal constitution of the text but rather that which points toward a possible world. "To understand a text at this level is to move from its sense to its reference, from that which it says to that which it says it is about" (Thompson 1981, 54). Or to use Moore's (1990, 113) expression:

> The arguments about sense and reference stress the interdependence of these levels of analysis, but the theory of interpretation also emphasizes that what the text as a whole (the plot, in this instance) refers to, what it means, what it 'talks about' cannot be reduced to or adduced from the structural analysis of its internal relations of meaning alone. The ability of a text to refer to a world outside itself, through an act of interpretation, is linked to the issue of polysemy.

The meaning of a text is not actualized until it is put in a social and historical context; the interpretation emerges when a reader grasps the material form of the message and combines it with a social context. One consequence of this view on the status of text is that it is inescapably historicized, since concrete readings always occur in socio-historical contexts and are subject to interpretive conventions. (Hanks 1989, 104). Again to quote Moore (1990, 114): "The fundamental point of Ricoeur's work is that things (words, actions) find their meaning in their context of use, and that it is also in this context that new meanings may be created through metaphorical extension."

The fact that textual and material artifacts possess non-situational references which outlive the immediacy of contextual reference; and that the meanings are actualized in a socio-historical context by "reading" and creating an interpretation through metaphorical extension, offers a solution to the confrontation between the totally relativistic and the totally situational approaches of interpretation.

When "reading" material culture, one at once faces a problem from which are derived the meanings of objects applied in various social and ritual contexts. Victor Turner has extensively examined the symbolism of rituals and paid attention to the role of objects in a ritual context, perhaps more than any other anthropologist so far. He (1982, 16) defines a symbol quite broadly: "A symbol is something that represents something else by association, resemblance, or convention." Turner often refers to his formulation already presented earlier (Munn 1973; Turner 1967a; 1967b, 254–; 1977; 1982,16) and since then constantly cited by other anthropologists that many symbols stand for many things and thoughts at once. Such symbols Turner calls *multivocal*, literally "many voiced"; *multivalent*, having various meanings or values; and *polysemous*, having or being open to several or many meanings. We might conclude that an artifact's meaning is actualized in the socio-historical context.

Turner suggests that an indication of that object's meaning might be found in the external form and observable characteristics of the object: its material, shape or colour. Turner writes of the significance of colour. "Usually, there is a link between a symbol's perceptible features and aspects of its meaning: red often means blood, white a state of unblemished purity (though it may also represent semen, sunlight, milk, or blankness); black may stand for the implicit fertility of black clouds, or it may mean death or faeces. "Natural" resemblances are culturally selected." (Turner 1982, 16–17.)

In addition Turner has distinguished three sources of meaning for ritual objects: *exegetical* meaning, *operational* meaning and *positional* meaning. By exegetical meaning he means that the significance of "a ritual symbol will be assigned by exegetes to its role or place within a religious myth or heroic tale. Analysis thus stops at myth, which replaces a representational mystery by a verbal mystery." The operational meaning of an object is equated with its use, the way it is handled during ritual action. The positional meaning of a ritual object "derives from its relationship to other symbols in a configuration, a Gestalt, having properties that cannot be derived from its parts or be considered simply as their sum. The object may be part of a cluster of similar or different objects; it may occupy a central or a marginal position. It may be strikingly contrasted with another object." (Turner 1982, 18–21.)

Although both "words" and "things" constitute communication between people or groups of people, they have commonly been opposed; Arjun Appadurai (1986, 4) writes of this:

> Contemporary Western common sense, building on various historical traditions in philosophy, law, and natural science, has a strong tendency to oppose "words" and "things". Though this was not always the case even in the West, as Marcel Mauss noted in his famous work *The Gift*, the powerful contemporary tendency is to regard the world of things as inert and mute, set in motion and animated, indeed knowable, only by persons and their words. Yet, in many historical societies, things have not been so divorced from the capacity of persons to act and the power of words to communicate.

In her article *From Words to Objects to Magic: Hard Words and the Boundaries of Social Interaction* (1983) Annette Weiner parallels words and objects as exchanged in the processes of social interaction. She argues (1983, 692) that "the penetration of personal space by the use of words or objects constitutes for Trobriands the basic work of interaction". "Like weighted arrows, words, objects and magic spells are projected towards another person's personal space. The rules of proper social conduct denied the use of 'hard words' in intimate social interaction among the Trobriands; if someone wanted to express negative emotions, it was done by objects. Anger may always be expressed in yams."

Weiner (1983, 690) actually argues that objects are more powerful carriers of a message between people or groups than words because they have properties of durability and rarity. "Before objects decay, they may circulate for a period of time. As they move between individuals, objects take on value, representing the histories of their movements and of the individuals who fashioned, owned and exchanged them. In this way, objects become rare things which increase their weightiness".

The power of objects is generated out of the Maussian notion that things are a part of oneself. Objects say things in a situation which allow an individual's personal space to remain unviolated when the truth is stated publicly.

On examining, say, ritual objects, we cannot regard them merely as symbols in the sense that they point to relationships or meanings outside the ritual. Ritual objects are the vital elements of a ritual, influencing and acting as a means of bringing about the change at which the ritual aims. Just as, according to Siikala (1987, 279), the careful choice of words and their precise location produce a narrative that is no longer mere speech but becomes "an artifact", so a ritual object is clearly in the nature of an artifact, an entity capable of influencing and not only of communicating. "The ability to influence is founded above all on the fact that the listener recognises in it the qualities that make it influential" (Siikala 1987, 279). The listener recognises the genuineness of the object, the symbols which, in this precise context, evoke the shared and public meanings of the community.

1.5. About this Study

Although missionaries, civil servants, anthropologists, and other scholars from various countries have assiduously gathered material and studied the cultures of the Indonesian Archipelago, very few comparative studies have been published since F. A. E. van Wouden's pioneering work *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* of 1935. During the past decade some kind of general overview of Eastern Indonesian societies has begun to form due to several meritorious case studies and the first comparative works. The first comparative study of Eastern Indonesia to appear since Wouden's research was *The Flow of Life. Essays on Eastern Indonesia* edited by Professor James J. Fox in 1980. Later Fox edited *To Speak in Pairs. Essays on the Ritual Languages of Eastern Indonesia* (1988). Fox writes in his introduction to the *Flow of Life* (1980, 1):

> As such, this collection is an effort to carry forward the program originally envisioned in the 1930s by the Professor of Anthropology at Leiden University, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, and his students. Their goal was to document the societies of eastern Indonesia, to measure theory against the ethnographic realities encountered in fieldwork, and thereby, to advance anthropological understanding to a further level of comparative insight. Unfortunately, this program was curtailed by World War II and frustrated by subsequent political events.

A number of crucial common features have been suggested to determine Eastern Indonesian societies, such as asymmetric alliance in marriage, paired dualism in different symbolic forms; and the house built to reflect the social and cosmic order is a structure of symbolic importance (see, for example, Errington 1989, Fox 1980, 10; Kroef 1954). Compared to Eastern Indonesia the central and western Archipelago have deserved even less comparative research. One of the first attempts is Shelly Errington's book *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (1989), in which she has made some comparisons between the societies of Eastern Indonesia and those of the "Centristic Archipelago", as she calls the area of several islands stretching from the Malay Peninsula through Borneo, into Java, Sulawesi, the Moluccas, the Philippines, excluding Ceram and Sumatra. The abundant source material collected by early civil servants, missionaries and travellers in the Indonesian Archipelago surely deserves a new analysis and evaluation in a comparative perspective by contemporary anthropologists.

While reading the rich ethnographical sources describing the culture of the Kaili-Pamona speakers, one immediately becomes aware of the importance of material culture in their rituals and social practices. Material culture played a central role in all of their rituals and in most of their social, juridical and economic situations. The basis for the juridical system was the system of fines. The basic idea in their medical treatment was to transfer the qualities of medicines to the body of the sick person. Compensation or reward was an indispensable element of society – for all efforts were reimbursed by a complicated system of rewards. Social relations were likewise manifested by materials, a good example of which was a bridewealth.

The aim of this study is to examine how material culture was utilized in Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 1900's to conceptualize the notions of cosmos and society; how visual modes of expression were embedded in the social structure and how the ritual and belief systems were related to objects. Material culture can be

analysed from a number of different angles. Ecologically-oriented research is concerned with the relationship between the manufacture of the object, its use, and the environment. The technical approach looks specifically at the object's construction and manufacturing process, whereas the technological approach is primarily concerned with the context in which the object is used. The study of material culture can further concentrate on the role of the object in production or the exchange of objects and services (as a commodity). Social analysis in turn focuses on the attitude of people and groups to objects and the social control over their use, while linguistic and folkloristic analysis reveals how, and by what metaphors, people speak and have spoken of their objects. All these different approaches should involve an ideological-symbolic analysis, not as an analytic "superstructure" but as an integral part of all the approaches. (Arvidsson et al. 1990, 11–12.) I have in my own research concentrated specifically on the symbolic analysis of objects, while at the same time trying to remain aware of other roles and alternative ways of analysing material culture.

My point of departure is that the domain of material culture is also a surface manifestation of the underlying structures of society, so that the principles or conceptualizations of principles regarding the notions of being a person, the structure of society and the cosmos are also revealed by means of material culture. Objects are part of society and their structure of social reality. They communicate meanings; symbolic action is social action. In addition an object, rather than being a reflection of pre-existing social relations, in a real sense constitutes them. I do not argue that this is done in the same way in every culture, or that every object owns "deep cultural meanings"; there are many secular, domestic objects used for utilitarian purposes. As Adrienne Kaeppler writes (1989) when surveying Polynesian art, there are still very few anthropological studies of art or, one could continue, more generally of material culture, which are part of competent ethnographies.

In the course of this study I shall primarily focus on two themes with regards to the role of material culture in Central Sulawesi; firstly how the concept of time was objectified by means of tangible objects, and secondly how material culture was used as part of the action determining the relation between the human world and transcendence. In all cultures objects seem to have had a special role as regards people's ideas of the past; they have very concretely brought the past among us. Similarly, objects have universally been used at rituals and religious ceremonies as means of establishing the relation between people and transcendence. In other words, it could be said that the core of this study consists of time and space; two concepts which in Kaili-Pamona ideology were closely linked to each other.

I have therefore chosen groups of objects which seem to be the most relevant for the focus of this study. The objects selected in order to examine the concept of time include bridewealth, bones of ancestors and heirlooms. Each of these object complexes contained several types of objects. The bridewealth consisted of woven textiles, copper plates, copper rings, water buffaloes, pigs, even sago trees and slaves. Also present in death rituals were in addition to the bones themselves, bark cloth, death masks and brass spirals. The heirlooms of ancestors embraced several kinds of objects, such as hair and nails of the deceased person, textiles, copper dishes and other metal items. The concept of transcendence will be examined primarily by studying the shaman's attributes, clothing and special ritual objects, but also by paying attention to the treatment of the bones of the ancestors.

This study is primarily based on the material deposited in several museums in Europe and the extensive ethnographical records collected and published by Nicolaus Adriani and Albert C. Kruyt during their work in Central Sulawesi from 1892 to 1928, supplemented by other written sources. Although Adriani's and Kruyt's material has been used by several researchers, such as Downs (1956), Hertz (1907), Huntington and Metcalf (1979), I still consider their records relevant to new interpretations concerning Kaili-Pamona society at the beginning of this century.

One of the problems of this study has been that because both the topic and the geographical extent of the work are so comprehensive, it is impossible to present all variations of the source material in every detail. There might therefore be contradictions between some parts of the data and generalizations made in this study. At the first stage of this work I assembled and studied both written and museum material collected among all Kaili-Pamona speakers in order to perceive the general features of their culture. But because the ethnographical material is so extensive, it was impossible to include it all here; thus in the analysis and conclusions the focus is on the To Pamona material, to which the material from other ethnic groups is compared. However, the museum material presented and employed in the course of this work includes quite representative object material collected among both the Kaili-speakers and the To Pamona.

I consider it relevant to discuss all the Kaili-Pamona groups as one cultural complex even though there are obvious diversities between various ethnic groups. At least the material culture within Central Sulawesi seemed to possess many uniform features with some variations from one group to another. The manufacture and use of bark cloth is a good example of this consistency; all the Kaili-Pamona groups had produced bark cloth using the same kinds of tools and the same method. The decorations of bark cloth and the meanings related to its use have, however, varied slightly from place to place.

The various chapters of this study approach the research subject from different angles so that each main chapter constitutes an independent entity. It is nevertheless my purpose to make the chapters form a narrative in which the plot consists of objects, concepts of time and transcendence. I have attacked the problem of method via the observations on interpretation recently put forward in research into text and textuality. In my examination I chiefly rely on the observations of Paul Ricoeur on the interpretation of text, and I have not even tried to extend this section to a broader discussion of the problems of interpretation. I have tried to debate the theoretical issues strictly with reference to the ethnographical material from the area in question and to expound my theoretical approaches as they arise in the material for treatment. In addition I have tried to make a careful regional and historical analysis using the sources available to me. Chapter two therefore attempts to assess the position of Central Sulawesi in the international trade network from about 1600 to 1900, the merchandise brought to the area at different times, and the relationship between the local manufacture of bark cloth and imported textiles. It will thus be viewing the Kaili-Pamona community as part of a broader political-economic network.

It became apparent in the course of my study that no strict distinction can be made in the concepts of time and transcendence prevailing in Central Sulawesi and that they are firmly interwoven. The "memory" of their non-literate communities relies on the oral tradition and material relics; in examining the concept of time anthropologists have tended to focus on the oral tradition, myths and genealogies, and paid less attention to material objects. Chapter three analyses the Kaili-Pamona concept of time

via the Evans-Pritchard concepts *structural time* and *ecological time*, and also in relation to the people's attitude to their cosmology, their genealogy, especially the role of the ancestors in the community. The relationship between the time concept and material culture will be examined via bridewealth, family valuables, heirlooms and the bones of ancestors. The concept of transcendence will be approached above all via the ritual objects used by shamans, but also in the light of the ritual treatment of the bones of the ancestors in the great death feast.

The people of Central Sulawesi, as of other parts of Indonesia, regarded certain objects, such as old weapons, metal utensils and above all textiles imported to the area, as family heirlooms. These objects will be examined in the light of the Kaili-Pamona concept of ownership and property. The family valuables were collectively owned by the community and were passed on from one generation or kin to another, chiefly as part of the bridewealth or as heirlooms, though property could in certain cases also be used to benefit some member of the kin, such as to pay off a debt. The ultimate right to ownership nevertheless lay, according to the Kaili-Pamona concept, with the gods, the spirits of the ancestors and other spirit beings. But the family valuables were not only property: they were also potential objects of ritual significance with the power to affect people's vitality. I shall in this context be discussing the point made by Mauss (1990 (1925), 12) that the idea of effectiveness incorporated in the items which originate from other realities has to be combined with the system of sacrifice.

The main category as far as my research was concerned consisted of textiles and their relationship with the making of bark cloth. I went on the assumption that all the early textiles in Central Sulawesi had been imported from outside and that the local people made only bark cloth. Textiles were above all objects of social and ritual significance and were classified as family valuables or ritual objects. At the time bark cloth was widely used as the material for everyday clothes, but white, painted bark cloth was also used in the making of ritual objects. By comparing textiles and bark cloth I approach the concepts of external and indigenous and through them manifestations of the concept of transcendence in Central Sulawesi. Bark cloth and its role in Central Sulawesi are in fact mentioned in several chapters, but chapter nine further summarizes the observations made and tries to integrate bark cloth with other debate on the role of material culture. From the examination of concrete objects I shall then proceed to their role in society and practices. This will be done by means of marriage presentations.

Chapter seven examines the relationship between the human and invisible world, and especially the part played therein by objects. My examination is based on the observation that a parallel can be drawn between shamanism, the sacrifice system and secondary burial in the sense that in all these rituals man seeks to contact the transcendental forces and thus to cross the border between the human and spirit worlds. Here I shall specifically be making use of material culture, for as Hubert and Mauss (1964) have pointed out, man and god are not in direct contact in a sacrificial situation – it is either not possible or it would be too dangerous – and the object therefore acts as a medium. It may therefore be assumed that similar symbolism is attached to objects and their meanings used in sacrificial rites, shamanistic rites and death feasts. The symbolism of sacrifices has been studied in the greatest depth, and I begin with observations on it. Using the descriptions of some rites (in chapters 7.4.1., 7.4.3. and 7.5.1.) and ritual objects now in the museums and once used by shamans, I examine the way objects were used in Central Sulawesi as a means of interaction

between man and the spirit world and debate whether the assumptions concerning sacrifice can be generalised to shamanism.

The examination of time and transcendence culminates in an analysis of the ritual secondary burial at the great death feast. Among the To Pamona the passing of man to the invisible world of spirits was marked by the great death feast held about a year after his death, during which his bones were cleaned, wrapped in white bark cloth and brought to the temple to attend the last feast on earth among the family and villagers. Some To Pamona equipped the bundles of bones with masks *(pemia)* reminiscent of a human face, headdresses and spiral brass ornaments. The great death feast was the last meeting on earth of the dead and their relatives before transferring to the spirit world and becoming ancestral spirits. After the feast the bones were placed in a cave near the village, where they received no more attention.

2. EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON CENTRAL SULAWESI

2.1. Trade before the 19th Century

The island of Sulawesi has for centuries belonged to the world-wide network of trade routes, and the peoples living in the coastal regions have carried on trade for a long time with the Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, British and Dutch, as well the Bugis and Makassarese from South Sulawesi. However, the interior parts of this island remained relatively unknown to the Europeans until the beginning of this century. Although a sustained Dutch presence in Central Sulawesi was initiated only since the last decade of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of the area had long had to reckon with the presence of other foreigners in the area. For instance, the Spanish had a trading station in Parigi at Tomini Bay in the middle of the 17th century; they abandoned it, however, in 1663 because the governor of Ternate Simon Cos cut off all supply of rice. (Adriani & Kruyt 1898, 408.)

The history of Central Sulawesi[1] has not yet been studied extensively and there is only erratic information concerning the historical and political background of trade in that area. The available records nevertheless suggest that the external influences on Central Sulawesi intensified greatly in the seventeenth century; and the people living in the coastal area were apparently at that time introduced to an increasing extent to contact with foreigners.

Even before the 17th century the Indonesian Archipelago and also the island of Sulawesi had already been on the route of both European and Asian merchants, but after the 17th century South Sulawesi, especially Makassar, gained a more prominent status as a centre of commerce reaching to the Eastern Archipelago. Above all the Bugis and the Makassarese carried on extensive maritime trade using South Sulawesi,

1 An exception to this is Terence Bigalke's work (1981; 1984) on the history of the Sa'dan Toraja living in the southern part of Central Sulawesi.

Makassar in particular as their entrepot; their voyages reached Malacca in the west and Australia in the east (Macknight 1973). As early as in the 16th century the Bugis had regular markets for their booty in Malacca, where they sold the slaves they had captured, as well as rice, some gold, swords and other articles made of iron. They bought Gujarati, Bengali and Coromandal cloths in Malacca but conveyed cloths imported by the Dutch East India Company from India as well. These textiles were traded by the Bugis in Toraja country, supposedly in northern Central Sulawesi as well. (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962, 86; Nooy-Palm 1979b, 81.)

In the course of the seventeenth century South Sulawesi emerged as the leading cloth exporter of the Archipelago. This process was certainly assisted by Makassar's success in becoming the main staging point for non-Dutch spice traders heading towards the Moluccas and by its conquest of such established export centres as Sumbawa (1617) and Selayar. (Reid 1988, 94). At that time South Sulawesi was indeed in the focus of international trade competition, which Bassett (1958, 20–21) describes as follows:

> The Portuguese of Negepatnam replaced the Danes as the most serious rivals of the English Company in the Macassar cloth market. In fact the Danish Company ceased to function officially after 1649, although individual Danes still visited the port from Tranquebar. Even the Dutch found that the combined imports of cloth by the English, Portuguese, Danish, Malay, Javanese and Indian merchants made the sale of their own cloth at a reasonable profit almost impossible. The most obvious method of finding a new market for the growing stocks of Indian cloth in Macassar seemed to be the development of a prosperous trade with Manila. Contacts with the Philippines and the Spanish Moluccas were greatly improved in 1645 when a Spanish fidalgo, Pedro de Lamatta, arrived at Macassar from Manila with 70,000 reals and set himself up as the Spanish resident in the country.

As the trade between Makassar and Manila intensified, so probably did the trade activities in the western coastal area of Central Sulawesi. At the same time there began intensified migration from South Sulawesi to other areas and most likely also to Central Sulawesi. As Acciaioli (1989, 65) asserts, "the Palu Valley and its surrounding mountains have long constituted a frontier for Bugis movement outside their homeland of the Southwestern peninsula." Bugis emigration is generally considered to date from the fall of Makassar to the Dutch in 1669, and it is undoubtedly true that from this date Bugis began moving in increasing numbers to various parts of Southeast Asia. One change took place in the nature of the migration; until this period movement outside the region of South Sulawesi had been limited to those Bugis and Makassarese engaged in trade. (Lineton 1975, 174).

Similarly, in Central Sulawesi migration proper was preceded by contacts with merchants from South Sulawesi and probably also from more distant countries. According to a legend, Islam was first brought to the area in 1606 by Datu Karama, a trader from Minangkabau. The spread of this religion along the coast was then furthered by Arab merchants, some of whom settled in the coastal region. However, the main outside influence upon the inhabitants of the region was according to Acciaioli (1989, 74), exercised by the peoples of South Sulawesi, especially the Mandar and the Bugis. Kruyt already suggested that the ruling class of the Kaili region had moved in from outside, probably from South Sulawesi. Recent works (Acciaioli 1989,

67; 1990) agree that the influence of the Bugis and other groups from South Sulawesi began earlier and was more important than has earlier been supposed.

Unfortunately, little is known today about the trade articles and ways of commerce in seventeenth century Sulawesi. Some sources nevertheless suggest that the exports from Central Sulawesi included iron, coconuts, bark cloth, gold and rice. The Spanish Captain Navarrete, who visited the west coast of Central Sulawesi in 1657, wrote: "The Men are always employ'd in making Oil of Coconuts, of which they sell very much, and pay a great deal as Tribute to the King of Macassar. Whilst we were there, he sent to demand of them 90,000 Pecks of Oil" (Cummins 1962, 109–110). He also described how the people of that Kaili region were dressed in paper, which obviously referred to the bark cloth garments still commonly worn in Central Sulawesi in the 20th century. Navarrete went on to report that a great deal of the paper was carried to Manila and Macao, where he had seen excellent bed-hangings made from it.

Navarrete added that men in women's clothing, probably male transvestites, were very rich and full of business, for "they had the Monopoly of the Office of Goldsmith" in that area. Cummins (1962, 110) notes that Navarrete must have encountered this phenomenon earlier in the Philippines, but he was apparently wrong, since several other records have later reported men who dressed and behaved as women. Even at the beginning of the 20th century there were still several male transvestites in Sigi, in Palu Valley, who acted as shamans. It is likely that gold was already being washed in the 17th century from the rivers of the highlands, particularly in Bada', Besoa and Napu districts, as was done continuously in the 20th century. Although the highlanders washed gold, they were not able to work this material and the art of goldsmith was wholly absent among them. The gold was earlier used merely to pay tributes and fines to the *magau* of Sigi or other rulers; later, when Chinese traders settled in the district, gold was bartered for other articles. (Kruyt & Kruyt 1921, 407.) Gold was worked by the Bugis goldsmiths established around Palu; all this perfectly coincides with Navarrete's record.

Besides gold, Sulawesi almost certainly provided other areas with iron. According to Reid (1988, 110) the likeliest source for the nickel-rich iron used in making the laminated krises of Majapahit in Java was Central Sulawesi. He writes:

> Lateric ores containing up to 50 percent iron and substantial nickel traces were found very close to the surface, notably around Lake Matano and in the upper reaches of Kalaena River (Kruyt 1901: 149–50). Sulawesi iron could be exported through the Gulf of Bone, which was controlled by the kingdom of Luwu, or through the east coast of Sulawesi, dominated in the sixteenth century and earlier by the kingdom of Banggai (Mascarenhas 1564, 433–34). Both Banggai and Luwu are mentioned in the Nagara-kertagama (1365:17) as tributaries of Majapahit, which suggests that their iron exports may already have been important then. In the sixteenth century the spice-exporting kingdoms of the Moluccas drew their iron and weapons from the same source. ...
>
> Luwu may well owe its role as the crucible of Bugis kingship (around the fourteenth century) to the iron it was able to channel from the hill peoples who mined it to Javanese and other traders. In the middle of the seventeenth century "Luwu iron" was still one of the major exports from Makassar to eastern Java (Speelman 1670A:111). Cheaper iron was by then available from Chinese and European sources, but the kris makers of Java still seem to have preferred the nickel-rich Sulawesi iron in order to create the essential contoured-wave design (pamor) on their blades. Even around 1800 this central Sulawesi iron was still being sought by kris makers of South Borneo, who needed to mix it with cheaper imported "true iron" so that the nickel traces would bring out the pamor pattern (Marschall 1968:138). (Reid 1988, 110).

2.2. Trade and Tribute in the 19th Century

When considering the external influence on Central Sulawesi and also the political and economic condition of Central Sulawesi before the 20th century, a clear distinction has to be made between the coastal area, i.e. Palu Valley and Tomini Gulf, and the interior mountain region. The inhabitants of Palu Valley and of Tomini Gulf had for centuries been in contact with foreign merchants and sailors, while the people living in the central highlands had less contact with people from outside their own area and had preserved more of their traditional religion and way of life. In the beginning of the 20th century most of the coastal residents had converted to Islam and, due to extensive trade, imported cloths had replaced the traditional bark cloth garments; while for instance no one in Bada' situated in the mountainous interior had converted to Islam in 1908 when Kruyt (1909, 372) visited the area. Islamic traders from Palu Valley arrived in Bada' occasionally, but their presence had little influence on the traditional beliefs and customs.[2]

Foreign merchants, the Bugis, Mandarese, Gorontalese and Chinese, settled on the coast of Poso and Palu districts and brought with them a few trade articles and bartered them with the highlanders, who again carried their barter articles from the inland. The most significant import articles seemed to be various types of cloth, Chinese ceramics[3] and copperware and Javanese and/or Bugis copper work. Sulawesi was not able to supply the luxury goods such as sandal wood and spices greatly desired by international trade which made the Moluccas a famous centre of early trade, but in the 17th century such articles as iron, coconuts, bark cloth and perhaps gold were exported. Later in the 19th century, when raw materials were needed for expansive industry all over the world, important export products were coconuts, rattan, beeswax, wood, hides and rice. (Adriani & Kruyt 1913, 407; Hollander 1864, 271.)

One indication of the distant trade contacts are the coins found in the area. The Sarasins obtained a bead collar from Kulawi (MVB, Basel no. 709; see fig. 3, 91), which besides its different coloured beads was adorned with pieces of sheet copper, small copper bells and coins. These copper bells, which have also been found in Northern Sulawesi, Borneo and Eastern Indonesia, were probably made by the Chinese in China itself or more likely in the colonies founded in for instance, Borneo (Foy 1899; *Sieraden*

2 Even today 98% of the inhabitants of *Kecamatan Lore Selatan* (Bada') are still Christians (Syamsidar & Abu 1986, 27).

3 According to Masyhuda (1978) the Chinese ceramics found in Central Sulawesi date from 1766 B.C. to 1912 A.D.

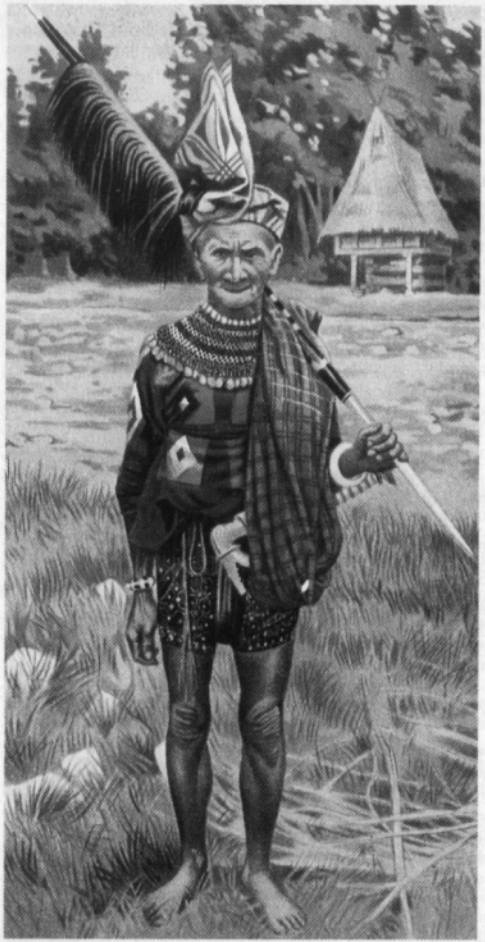


Figure 3. One indication of the distant trade contacts are the coins found in the area. To Melatoinda from Kulawi wearing a bead collar similar to no. 709 MVB, Basel, which is adorned with coins. Kulawi 1902. Source: Sarasins 1905 II, Plate II.

... 1984, 139). The collar was equipped with Chinese coins, coins made by the British East India Company in 1804 and 1835, especially for Sumatra, and some coins probably from Malacca (Millies 1852; Netscher & Chijs van der 1864, 188).

Contacts between the inhabitants of Central Sulawesi and strangers were until the 20th century largely regulated by trade and tribute. As a matter of fact the Dutch colonial administration had reached the inner part of Central Sulawesi by 1905 and missionary work was started about ten years earlier. It might even be assumed that the highlanders' conceptions of the external world and foreigners were before the arrival of the missionaries and colonial officials largely formed by the flow of artifacts. Here I wish to signify the analogy between the exchange of trade artifacts and the tribute paid to the rulers. "Commercial exchange" was carried on only with "strangers", someone from outside one's own group; trade with a fellow villager was impossible because people were obliged to take care of each other and give necessary supplies without payment. Similarly, the ruler to whom the tribute was paid was considered an outsider and he was brought into play only against strangers (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 126).

Before the arrival of the Europeans Kaili-Pamona speaking people lived in small politically and administratively independent villages and recognized a very loose tribal[4] affinity which was activated primarily during inter-tribal wars and great village ceremonies, such as great death feasts and harvest feasts. Some To Pamona groups acknowledged the supremacy of the *datu'* of Luwu in Palopo; whereas some tribes in the northeast region paid tribute to the ruler of Tojo; some in the east to the ruler of Mori; and some to the ruler of Sigi; while most of the To Kaili were tributary to the *magau* of Sigi. There was no presumption that the *datu'* of Luwu controlled all the territory lying between itself and its geographically most distant tributary grouping (Errington 1989, 221). The *datu'* was considered a source of well-being and abundance like ancestors and gods. The villagers had to pay some tribute to him, but the *datu'* did not interfere in everyday life or inter-village and inter-tribal matters.[5]

The following quotations illustrate the nature of tribute payments. "At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year, usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotu that it was time to collect the tribute for the Datu. This was called *mepue*, 'to recognize the lord' (*pue*). This tribute consisted of beeswax, bark cloth, goat's hair, and palmwine" ... "Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Luwu every nine years." (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 122–123.) In addition to bringing homage, the To Pamona were also obliged to help the *datu* of Palopo with buffaloes whenever a feast was to be celebrated at court (Adriani and Kruyt 1950 I, 125). The To Bada' also considered the *datu* of Luwu their master and brought him gold, headbands, horns, rice and bark cloth (Kruyt 1909, 368–9).

4 Adriani and Kruyt used the term "tribe" to refer to a group of villages which recognized a common village of origin.

5 The relation between people and the ruler seemed to be very similar to that of the To Wana and the rulers to whom they paid tribute (Atkinson 1989, 188).

2.3. Imported Textiles and Indigenous Bark Cloth Production in Central Sulawesi in about 1900

Notions of external and internal are among the central themes of my study; these concepts will be examined by considering the foreign influence on Central Sulawesi. Next I wish to review the foreign element in Central Sulawesi in about 1900, using as an indicator on the one hand the presence of imported textiles, and on the other hand local bark cloth production. When the Dutch missionary Albert Kruyt arrived in Central Sulawesi in 1892, the inhabitants of the district still commonly used garments made from bark cloth (*fuya*).[6] Apparently, the Kaili-Pamona speakers did not weave but prepared their garments and other cloth articles from bark cloth as they had apparently done for centuries (Kotilainen 1990). Holmgren and Spertus have, however, suggested that the people of northern Central Sulawesi, by which they apparently referred to the Kaili-Pamona speakers, might earlier have been able to weave:

> Nineteenth-century observers failed to explore the significance of textile patterns in Toraja culture, and because almost no early examples remain, information about the meaning of designs is now virtually unavailable. In recent years, however, early weavings have emerged from several other Toraja regions that were largely spared the disruptions of the 1950s, and to which the Galumpang and Rongkong people traditionally traded their textiles until the early twentieth century. These textiles include familiar Galumpang and Rongkong genres, but also unknown types that suggest the existence of heretofore unrecognized weaving centres in north Toraja, among the Palu and Poso Toraja. (Holmgren & Spertus 1989, 19.)

My point of departure in this study is, however, that the textiles utilized in Kaili and Pamona society at the time of my study came from outside the community and the inhabitants themselves regarded them as external. By contrast, the beating of bark cloth was native to the area and an elemental part of their indigenous knowledge.

In about 1900 bark cloth was continuously beaten all over the inner highlands, in Kulawi, Lindu, Pipikoro, Bada', Napu, around Lake Poso and even in some villages in the Palu Valley, such as Pakuli, which is situated some kilometres south of Sigi. Pakuli and Bada' seemed to be the most important centres of production wherefrom the bark cloth was bartered to other regions. Thin white bark cloth manufactured in Pakuli was traded, for instance, to the south, to Kulawi, where people were able to beat merely coarse brown bark cloth, but also to the coast, where this tradition had wholly vanished. Similarly, elaborately painted bark cloth items made in Bada' spread by means of trade and as a result one frequently finds in museums bark cloth garments collected in various parts of Central Sulawesi which were originally produced in Bada' district. Although the people living in the coastal area no longer manufactured *fuya*, they did to some extent wear garments made of bark cloth. When Adriani and Kruyt made one of their journeys across Central Sulawesi in 1896, women in Sausu, the To Winotu and the To Petapat living in Parigi wore bark cloth garments. Nevertheless, the art of weaving had already been introduced to Parigi, probably by the Bugis. (Adriani & Kruyt 1898, 387, 402, 404, 474, 485, 498, 512; Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 419.)

It is highly likely that bark cloth had been produced earlier all over the island of Sulawesi, whereas at the beginning of the 20th century it was beaten merely among the Kaili-Pamona speakers and in the Lamala district, at such places as Bunutek and Kalibanbang (Kaudern 1921 II, 259–, 271). However, sources dating from the 19th century witness that bark cloth was still being made in Minahassa and Gorontalo at that time (Palm 1961, 62; Schwarz 1878, 248–); besides there is in museums, for example in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, bark cloth from the northern peninsula of Sulawesi. An indication of more extensive distribution in earlier times is the import of *fuya* from Central Sulawesi to other parts of the island where that material was no longer produced.

White bark cloth was bought by the Chinese, who took it to China, where it was used to enshroud corpses and as a protective layer inside wooden vessels lined with a layer of sheet copper. The Chinese firm Sie Boen Tiong in Gorontalo, which had been engaged in extensive trade in Tomini Bay since 1857, told Adriani and Kruyt that in the last century there was a significant export of *fuya* to Surabaya and Singapore, where this material was used as an underlayer in connection with the coppering of vessels. The Gorontalese and Bantinks in Minahassa also bought *fuya* from Poso district and used it as mourning clothing.[7] (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 326; 1951 III, 301; Rosenberg 1865, 23.)

It is possible to make a clear distinction between the coast and the highlands by surveying the intensity and spread of bark cloth production and the prevalence of exported clothing articles. I have earlier studied (Kuisma 1981, 61–2) the way the bark cloth blouses reflected the gradual penetration of the Kaili area by the outside world. The first sign was the use of cotton thread and bits of single-coloured cotton cloth in the ornamentation of the blouses, then the use of patterned cotton fabrics and imported colours instead of natural ones. Finally the imported fabrics superseded the bark cloth altogether, first in men's and then in women's wear.

Before the 20th century woven textiles were still rare, and those imported to Central Sulawesi had little practical value. These early cloths merely had ceremonial and ritual significance. They were worn at feasts, were present in rituals, and played a central part in exchange relations. However, at the beginning of the 20th century ready-made cotton goods started to replace bark cloth as garments; but the art of beating bark cloth has not completely vanished even today in Central Sulawesi. As far as I know, the To Pamona no longer make *fuya;* but in the interior parts of western Central Sulawesi, among the To Pipikoro and the To Lore, the women are still able to manufacture coarse

6 In the eastern part of the Archipelago the trade term for bark cloth was *fuya*, a word that is a corruption from the Minahassan *wuyang*, in Kaili, "women's sarong" (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 301).

7 Also according to Meyer and Richter (1903, 58) decorated bark cloth sarongs were traded from Poso to other regions of Sulawesi. They mention one woman's sarong and man's sarong of bark cloth in the museum collection in Berlin which were obtained in Gorontalo but were most likely produced in Poso area.

Figure 4. Ibu Yolitino from Pandera presents her bark cloth making implements. Pandera 1989. Photo by Kotilainen.

dark brown bark cloth from which blankets and skirts are made.[8] According to Kaudern the making of bark cloth had disappeared in Palu Valley when he visited it in 1917–28, but in 1989 I still met an old woman in the village of Pandere, about 60 km from Palu, who was able to prepare fine white bark cloth (see figure 4).

Thanks to the textile trade even peripheral areas of the Indian Archipelago, such as Central Sulawesi, were part of worldwide commerce. A good example of this is the worldwide trade in Indian silk double *ikat*, often called *patola* (singular *patolu*). The export of Indian fabrics to Southeast Asia was already flourishing in the precolonial era, first in the hands of Indian merchants and later by the Portuguese, Dutch and English (Bühler and Fischer 1979, 278). From 1500 onwards the Europeans became increasingly involved in developing the precolonial export and trade in *patola*, which reached its height in the 17th century. But in the 18th and 19th centuries the sale of Indian cloths, above all in Indonesia, must still have been important. It continued, but on an ever decreasing scale, until the Second World War. The very early import of Indian fabrics via two ancient trading centres has been established with certainty. It

8 I was able to acquire a bark cloth skirt and sarong from Kulawi in August 1989. The skirt was made from coarse black bark cloth and the sleeping sarong from brown bark cloth. These items now belong to the National Museum of Finland. See also the information given by Aragon (1990, 45–).

Figure 5. Young people from Kulawi. The women's skirts are made of various imported cloths. Kulawi 1920–30. K.I.T., VIDOC, Album 187/26, neg. 94/28.

was done by way of Makassar, where the Dutch had founded a settlement in 1603 and where *patola* were sold at the beginning of the 17th century. (Bühler and Fischer 1979, 279, 293.) However, seemingly very few genuine silk *patola* reached Central Sulawesi; most of the textiles brought to that area were inferior cotton imitations of *patola* and other types of printed and painted Indian cloths.

It is not known when and from where the first woven textiles arrived in Central Sulawesi, but they were possibly *batik* or *ikat* cloths from South Sulawesi, or *patola* cloths or their imitations exported by the Dutch East Indies Trading Company from India or the British East India Company. This probably happened from the 17th century[9] onwards when the VOC (Verenijde Oost-Indische Companie) started to reinforce its position in Sulawesi; the cloth trade between Makassar and Manila intensified; and so did migration from South Sulawesi. In addition oral family traditions tell that some old textiles have been owned by families for several centuries.[10] European textiles started to appear in the district after 1905 (Kruyt 1933, 182–).

At the beginning of the 20th century there were several types of textiles in use in

9 Adriani and Kruyt (1951 III, 274) used the name de O.I. Compagnie van Voor-Indië, which is translated in HRAF as the East India Company of British India.

10 Personal communication, Bapak Zainuddin Abdulrauf, Kulawi, August 1989.

Figure 6. The To Bada' women still wear garments of the same design as the bark cloth garments in the beginning of this century. Gintu 1989. Photo by Kotilainen.

Central Sulawesi: *patola* imitations, printed and painted Indian cotton, *kain sarita*, *ikats* from southern Central Sulawesi, factory-made European cloths of various quality and colours, cloths made by the Bugis, cloth money from Buton, and even cloths from Manggarai (West Flores) and Selayar are mentioned. I am not able to deal with all these cloths but will focus on the *bana (mesa)* textiles by which names the Kaili-Pamona called the first textiles to appear in their area. A comparison of different sources – ethnographical accounts, museum collections, old photographs and terms used for various textiles – indicates that at least the following kinds of textiles were included in *bana* cloths: early *patola* imitation, Indian cotton and their imitations, *ikat* cloths from Rongkong and Galumpang, *plangi* cloths, *sarita* cloths probably made in Holland, and *ikat* cloths dyed after weaving. Some other types of cloth may also have been considered *bana* cloths as well, even *ikats* from Eastern Indonesia, but the information is vague.

One reason for the obscurity of the material is that woven textiles escaped the attention of the early observers of Central Sulawesian culture; for instance, Walter Kaudern does not write about textiles at all in his work *Art in Central Sulawesi*, probably owing to the fact that he considered woven textiles foreign to that culture. In some cases he mentioned imported cloths in his travel account *I Celebes Obygder*. Adriani and Kruyt often mentioned woven fabrics in their records but they are quite vague in their statements and seldom specify what kind of cloth is concerned. They used to speak of "precious", "old-fashioned" or *bana* cloths. Furthermore, they enclosed very few pictures to their articles and books. It is also important to notice that

the available records concerning the utilization and production of cloth in Central Sulawesi are quite recent, reaching back merely to the 1890's, an era when numerous diverse textiles arrived from different quarters.

3. OBJECTS AND THE CONCEPT OF TIME

3.1. Memory, History and Relics: Three Sources of Past Knowledge

David Lowenthal (1985) presents three sources of past knowledge: memory, history and relics. In a society without written accounts of past events and deeds, memory and history are closely related. The historical knowledge of the society is preserved and reproduced in narrative form in myths and genealogies. Anthropologists have customarily paid more attention to these narrative forms of historical knowledge than to man-made relics in examining the concept of time. This third form of past knowledge suggested by Lowenthal, artifacts, has primarily been the domain of archaeological study. In this study I shall focus on these tangible forms of "human memory". In the study of memory and remembering, in addition to the recent emphasis upon language and discourse, attention has begun to be paid to the role of artifacts and material culture. For instance, Radley (1990, 57) argues that "remembering is something which occurs in a world of things, as well as words, and that artifacts play a central role in the memories of cultures and individuals".

Instead of the word "relic" I shall use the more general term "object" or "artifact". A relic is described as "an object, custom or tradition which has survived from the past into the present and is still used or practised" (*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* 1989); and while examining the relation between the concept of time and objects, I consider it relevant to include perishable objects which have not survived.

> Memory, history, and relics offer routes to the past best traversed in combination. Each route requires the others for the journey to be significant and credible. Relics trigger recollection, which history affirms and extends backward in time. History in isolation is barren and lifeless; relics mean only what history and memory convey. Indeed, many artifacts originated as memorial or historical witnesses. Significant apprehension of the past demands engagement with previous experience, one's own and other's, along all three routes. (Lowenthal 1985, 249.)

As Lowenthal says, objects alone would be arid paths to the past; they have to be blended with other kinds of knowledge. That is why I have in the course of this study explored besides objects themselves all available ethnographical material concerning the life of the To Pamona and Kaili-speakers at the beginning of this century. These records reveal a quite simple but puzzling picture of their concept of time. The time reckoning of the Kaili-Pamona speakers was wholly in the service of agriculture. The time that the crop needs in order to reach fruition was called *ta'u* by the To Pamona and *hampare* by the To Bada'[1]. The word *ta'u* was, however, seldom used to indicate time. Usually facts from the somewhat distant past were referred to by naming events that were fresh in the minds of most people, such as the death of a prominent chief, an epidemic of smallpox, an important head-hunting expedition, the capture of a village by the enemy, or the conclusion of peace. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 263–264; 1951 III, 14–15; Woensdregt 1928, 144.)

Time was not actually measured by duration from one moment to another but by space measures. Thus the days were named according to the position of the moon at sunrise. The concerns of agriculture and these alone gave the names of the days. The time of day was named according to the position of the sun (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 16–). This close parallelism between time and space is conspicuous in the following citation from Adriani (1932a III, 124): "In Bare'e the Malay word *tempo* is now used for 'time', there being no equivalent. The Torajas express their notion of time in terms of measurements, meaning the distance which the sun has travelled. But curiously enough this word *tempo* is now used as synonymous with 'measure', and people will say: "He does not time his words," "His manners exceed all time."

In describing the Nuer concept of time E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1968, 94–95) distinguished two kinds of notions of time: those that are mainly reflections of the Nuer's relations to the environment, which he called *oecological time;* and those that are reflections of their relations to one another in the social structure, i.e. *structural time.* These two ways of conceptualizing time could be recognized in Central Sulawesi, too. Although the Kaili-Pamona speakers very seldom measured time, primarily merely when dealing with agriculture, they surely had a sense of the duration of time. Human experience reveals duration in the form of life circle; birth, marriage, giving birth, and death follow each other. Every person supplied with memory, even a selective one, has some sense of duration. In addition to individual experience of time there is society's, more collective construction of time which might differ from culture to culture. Anthropologists have argued that this collective representation of time is related to the structure of the kinship system, marked by genealogy, ancestry, lineage, but also to the cosmology and religious beliefs present in the society. Thus when we are speaking of time, we are dealing with the continuity of society and kin groups; and also with cosmological immortality. Religion explains the link between the life of human beings and primaeval time and immortality. Furthermore, supernatural beings

1 In Bada' *hampare* was six months, in Besoa (To Lore) eight months. The people also recognized *pare balanda*, the "Dutch year" which lasted 12 months. The age of children was calculated according to garden area where men had planted. Thus age statements were not accurate. (Woensdregt 1928, 144–5.)

do not exist just in time but also in space, which might be close or distant, clearly defined or obscure. I shall examine the concept of time and space focusing on ancestors and communication between human beings and supernatural beings.

Anthropologists have devoted considerable study to the concept of time, and suggested two ways of comprehending it: linear durational and cyclic time (see, for example, Geertz 1973, Leach 1961, Bloch 1977). Jukka Siikala concludes the crucial points of this discussion among anthropologists as follows:

> The lengthy anthropological debate on different concepts of time has now culminated in the two opposing concepts of cyclical and linear time. According to the relativist view linear time is characteristic of western society and culture, whereas the "traditional cultures" exist in a cyclical time that is greatly tied to the annual cycle. This opposition incorporates not only a strong basic ideological assumption but also an erroneous simplification arising out of this assumption. It must admittedly be conceded that the above view would appear to support the opposition, but allowance must also be made for the multi-layered nature of the time concepts of all cultures. Mixing these layers results in untenable, over-simplified opposition. (Siikala J. 1989, 218–219.)
>
> Continuity, which signifies some individual existence in time yet at the same time permanence despite the passing of time, provides a basis for all human culture and human intercourse. By means of continuity we are able to recognise individual events and thus to make analogical comparisons. One basic prerequisite for this fundamental property of human culture is, however, that something remains the same and something else changes. In brief, it calls for the simultaneous co-existence of both a linear and a cyclical concept of time in all cultures. (Siikala J. 1989, 227.)

3.2. Kinship and the Duration of Time

> From another point of view material culture may be regarded as part of social relations, for material objects are chains along which social relationships run, and the more simple is a material culture, the more numerous are the relationships expressed through it. (Evans-Pritchard 1968, 89.)

While examining the conceptualizing of time in a certain society, anthropologists have often focused on kinship systems. A classical example of this is Evans-Pritchard's notion (1968) of *structural time*. He distinguished various points of reference to the structural system of Nuer's time-reckoning: firstly, it is partly the selection of points of reference of significance to local groups which give these groups a common and distinctive history; partly the distance between specific sets in the age-set system; and partly the distance of a kinship and lineage order. Of great significance is Evans-Pritchard's remark (1968, 107) that "the movement of structural time is, in a sense, an illusion, for the structure remains fairly constant and the perception of time is no more than the movement of persons, often as groups, through the structure."

As far as the individual is concerned death seems to be the limit of his/her life history. Duration has expired and continuance could be achieved merely by means of the continuity of kinship. Adriani writes (1932c I, 193) unambiguously that the To Pamona did not believe in the immortality of the soul, in its "proper" meaning; here

Adriani apparently refers to the Christian notion of soul. He continues that the To Pamona believes only in the immortality of his family. Man is immortal in his family, and remains as a member of the family, which continues to exist hereafter. "More interesting than the opposition between linear and cyclic time is, it would seem, the problematic opposition between continuing time and static time," as Siikala says (1989, 222). How have the people of Central Sulawesi solved this contradiction?

For one thing the cosmos of the Kaili-Pamona speakers consisted of the realm of human beings but also of the invisible realm inhabited by ancestral spirits, spirits and gods. Death marked the end of one sphere, life on earth, but the spiritual element of the human being transferred to another realm and continued to live as an ancestral spirit. Death meant the expiration of the bodily part of the human being but the soul was made free from the body at the great death feast, and that was done very concretely by cleaning the bones. In this way duration was achieved by means of a transfer from one place to another. Time was reversed by place; one could even suggest that place substituted time. However, time terminated in a sense; time in the social meaning, i.e. with regard to human society. This termination of social duration was marked by the cleaned bones stored in a cave after the feast. And the continuity of kinship was achieved by the following generations.

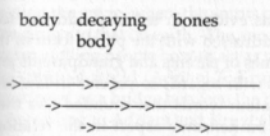


Figure 7. The course of human life according to the To Pamona.

The Kaili-Pamona speakers traced their descent bilaterally, so everyone stood in the same relationship to the members of his father's kin-group as to those of his mother's (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 271). This meant that the group of kindred very quickly became extensive. The genealogical memory of the To Pamona was shallow; it usually consisted of only two or three generations back. Walter Kaudern writes (1940, 38) that he found it difficult to acquire information from the noble families of Kulawi about their descent, since mostly they did not know their family more than two, perhaps three generations back. Furthermore, a person could change his name several times during his life. A name might be changed in the case of illness in order to recover; when the first child was born, the parents abandoned their original names and started to use teknonymic names, father or mother of their child. But occasionally a married man would go back to his original name.

The kinship terminology used in Central Sulawesi divided people into generational layers. The layer just above the self consists of parents and their siblings. The following illustrates kinship terminology in the Pamona language. Father was called *papa;* other male relatives belonging to the former generation were called *papa* or *tama*, and all female relatives *ine* or *ine bu'a*. Grandmother was *tu'a, du'a bue*, grandfather *kai, ngkai* or *papa tu'a*, grandchildren *makumpu*, and great grandchildren *makumpu wukutu*. The

ego, and his or her siblings and cousins, tend to be classified together. All sisters, brothers and cousins were called *kasangkompo*, "what is from one stomach", while biological sisters and brothers were sometimes named *kasangkompo sangku mpuse*, "from the same umbilical cord". Further parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law were all named *mania*. The ego's children and their siblings form the layer junior to the ego's. Women, especially grandmothers, seemed to occupy a central role among the To Pamona family; and the kin-group in the broad sense of the word was *ya'i* or *tina*, which actually meant "woman", "members of one kin-group", literally "of one woman". Actually the position of women in the family and kin-group was so significant that Adriani and Kruyt suggested that the To Pamona society might once have been matriarchal (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 271, 320.)

As we have seen, the most crucial criterion for kinship terminology was the division into different generations. The Pamona language also has several terms illustrating the generations as layers: *sampebete* (from *1. bete* = to raise, come out), *silapi katuwu mami* (from *lapi* = layer), "to belong to the same generation"; *potu*, *mopotu*, *topisa* (= people of the same layer), "blood relation of the same generation" (Adriani 1928, 65, 348, 599). In Central Sulawesi the generational layers appeared to form a structure of authority; members of senior generational layers should protect and direct those in junior ones, while junior people should respect and obey senior ones. The ancestors were also part of this structure of authority.

Respect for the generations before the ego was evident in terms of address, too. Members of the older generation were always addressed with the plural form of the pronouns in the second and third person; the names of parents and grandparents and of those of their level were not mentioned, and with regards to parents-in-law and their equals one went so far as not even to mention words that sounded like their names (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 92). The most burdensome aspect in the relations between the husband and his parents-in-law was the prohibition against uttering their names – not only theirs, but also those of his wife's grandparents, uncles, and aunts[2] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 321).

Marriage and sexual regulations aimed above all to prevent intercourse between closely related persons from distinct generations. Intercourse between closely related persons such as father and daughter, grandfather and granddaughter, uncle or great-uncle (aunt or great-aunt) and sisters' and brothers' child or grandchild, brother and sister was regarded as grave incest, which could be expiated only by the death of both guilty parties. This prohibition applied to step-parents and step-children, too. Prohibited action would arouse severe disapproval among the gods and ancestors and cause death and disaster for animals, people and crops. (Fokkema 1915, 213–; Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 272–.)

When a man and a woman who were not of the same generation but whose relationship was a distant one wished to marry, this difference could be abolished. The man was obliged to pay a fine in order to make his generation the same as the generation of the woman. This fine was usually called *wence ntida*, "to push the boundary aside". In Pu'u-mboto its name was *owosi mbata*, "for the chopping through

2 In Pu'u-mboto and Bancea "buying the name of one's parents-in-law" (*maoli to'o mania*) (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 322).

of the fallen tree-trunks", i.e., for clearing away the obstacles that stand in the way of the marriage.[3] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 176–7.)

Each generation was viewed rather as a separate layer; and the ego traced his or her origin to a couple *(sampu'u)*[4] from the senior layer. Continuity was achieved by the fact that the generations usually overlapped each other in duration and several generations had common ancestral or senior layers which were respected. Distinct layers were united by means of common ancestral laws and common duty towards the forebears. The hierarchy in the society was based primarily on seniority; and this set of relations included both the living and the deceased members of the community. This picture of generations as separate layers was parallel to the cosmology of the To Pamona; thus the Upperworld and the Underworld were formed from nine or seven layers inhabited by spirits and gods.

3.3. Ancestors as a Bridge between the Past and the Present

Ancestors or spirits of ancestors held a central position in the society of the Kaili-Pamona speakers. The feeling of unity was not limited to the kin-group or village on earth but extended to the invisible realm. The village community continued to exist beyond the grave, where the spirits of the deceased members of the community lived a life similar to that on earth. The ancestors and rules constituted by them regulated the society, telling people how to act as members of society and how to communicate with the spiritual world (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 105). One could say that the ancestors functioned as a bridge between the past and the present.

According to Adriani and Kruyt (1950 I, 108) ancestors were regarded as the source of well-being and fertility of the community; it was the duty of human beings to maintain the cult of the ancestors, to protect their village, and have children. The power of ancestors was seen to be present in the objects related to and once used by them, too. The obligation to maintain the cult of the ancestors was satisfied by holding sacrificial feasts and undertaking head-hunting expeditions. People thought of the ancestors as guests at the meals which took place on these occasions. With their offerings they gave their ancestors food so that the latter could remain strong in order to be able to give their descendants life and health. People express it this way: "We give food to our gods; for if we do not do this, they make us sick and we die."

I now wish to examine the relation between people and their ancestors departing from the two different modes of articulating the relationship between the past and present presented by Valerio Valeri (1987). He calls the first mode *paradigmatic*, which emphasizes the analogy between certain events in the past and certain events in the present. The second, *syntagmatic*, emphasizes relationships of temporal contiguity between events. In the case of the relationship between Kaili-Pamona speakers and

3 The fine was commonly a buffalo; but, for example, in Pebato a copper plate, a piece of *balacu*, and a sarong were given (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 277).

4 According to Atkinson (1990, 75) the To Wana call *tau sampu'u* people who derive from the same place or stock and *mpu'u* means to be pregnant and to give birth.

their ancestors, both the *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* modes seemed to be present. We might ask why the ancestors had such power over living human beings, in other words why the past had such privilege over the present. Valeri (1987, 7–10) points out some reasons for the past's privilege over the present which also seem relevant to determining the supremacy of ancestors over the living in To Pamona society.

The fact that "the present is open-ended; the past is already finished" ... "favors the typification of the past events: rough edges are smoothed, what was incomplete is made complete, what was imperfect is made perfect, until the past in effect may become the type, the rule itself." (Valeri 1987, 7.) This is evident in the case of the ancestor regulations for in To Pamona society everyone was subjected to a norm that was dictated by these laws. It consisted of rules which had been handed down by the previous generations, and the neglect of it was punished. If a member of the society repeatedly offended against the wishes of the ancestors, he would be excluded from the community and be declared dead. This system of rules clearly represented the type itself.

But the will of the ancestors was not always evident; in a new situation the wishes had to be interpreted again and again and new rules adapted. And because the adaption of the rules depended on the circumstances, and the resolutions were determined by place and time, the customs constituted by the ancestors were somehow changing all the time. This meant that the relation between people and the will of the ancestors was not a stable and unidimensional one but a dialectical one in which the past and the present were combined to reproduce the future.

"The ordering power of history is thus analogous to the ordering power of ritual: both are based on making a transcendent reality present; one by connecting with it through time, the other through space. Or more exactly, both, in sacred history and ritual time and space, become one and the same." (Valeri 1987, 9.) Deified ancestors represent transcendent powers par excellence, and through ritual caretaking, in this case, by cleaning the bones of the deceased from the mortal parts of the human body, they were promoted and transformed into immortals. In fact, time and space were united.

In the minds of the To Pamona the notions of time and of the supernatural world seemed to be closely linked, just as the society was closely paralleled with the cosmology. One could speak of one common universe where both human beings and transcendent beings are living side by side, with the exception that supernatural beings, although they are present all the time, are not seen by human beings all the time. I call the world of human beings the visible world and the supernatural world the invisible world. For the To Pamona both these worlds are present all the time although there is a boundary between them which human beings are not usually able to cross. One exception was the shaman, who had the ability to transfer from the visible world to the invisible realm and back again during shamanistic sessions. Human beings travel between these worlds during her/his course of life; she appears at birth from the invisible world, lives her life on earth until the soul ultimately leaves the body and she is no longer able to breathe. After that she spends some time in the Underworld, until after the great death feast she will become an ancestor and transfer to the sky, to the realm of spirits and gods.

"Finally, the past's power to found the rules to be followed in the present is due to the fact that it furnishes concrete proof of their duration and of their ability to make the society endure" (Valeri 1987, 10). The fact that the society had survived from generation to generation by following the rules of ancestors gave evidence of the ancestors' knowledge about the universe. They had the ability to handle disorder in the community and even the displeasure of the supernatural beings. But they were capable of doing that just as long as the society remained coherent, without constant contacts with the outside world. The To Pamona recognized that the ancestors had neither the knowledge nor the means to struggle against the outsiders, the missionaries and the Dutch colonials. This was natural because, according to the To Pamona, ancestors had significance only for the members of the kin-group or the tribe. They had no power over outsiders.

For the To Pamona the past was present in the form of ancestors living in the invisible world; this is also evident when we examine the heirlooms of ancestors. The ancestors and human beings were dependent on each other. The ancestors observed human beings' deeds, blessed or punished them in the form of sickness, death or loss of crops or animals. They had god or spirit-like powers. They depended on human beings who were obliged to feed them. One can separate the daily intercourse between people and ancestors and expiatory action. The first is done frequently in the forms of small food offerings and giving to the dead their share on all occasions. But when the ancestors are displeased, people have to make special expiatory sacrifices, usually a blood sacrifice or even a human sacrifice.

3.4. The Cosmos

The people of Central Sulawesi experienced that besides the tangible world around them, there were other realms or realities inhabited by gods and spirits. The universe included both a visible realm *(lino)*,[5] which could been seen, touched, smelled, tasted, and an invisible realm, which could be reached only by means of souls (*yangi*, Mal. *langit*, the Upperworld and *torate*, the Underworld). Although people normally did not see or experience invisible realities, these were as tangible and real as the human world. This is clear from shaman's songs, which picture this realm, its inhabitants and environment very concretely. All these realms were present here and now, continuously. They were separate but not distant from each other. There was a border between them but it could be crossed by both souls of human beings and numerous spiritual beings which lived in nature and the sky.

The earth was pictured as a flat surface surrounded by the ocean. On the horizon, there were two holes in the earth's surface, one in the east, one in the west, through which the sun rose, when it had finished its course in the Underworld, and in which it set after it had shone upon the earth during the day. The sky, which curves over the earth like a dome, was often referred to as a place of lightness. This lightness was particularly associated with the shining of the sun, and its benevolence influenced the

5 *Lino* means human world, visible creation; *to lino* inhabitant of the earth, opposite to *rate*, inhabitant of the Underworld; *malino*, bright, clear, translucent; *tau malino*, someone with pure blood, i.e. a free person. (Adriani 1928, 381.)

well-being and fertility of human beings, crops, and domestic animals.[6] (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 370, 374.)

The soul of a shaman was able to enter the other realities during the shaman's ascent to the sky. Similarly human beings were transferred from earthly beings to spirits at the great death feast, after which they were able to enter the realm of ancestral spirits. Actually some kind of intangible aspect was continuously present in human beings, in the form of spiritual force or potency, called *tanoana*.[7] People's souls, *tanoana*, could travel between the human world and the realm of spirits. The supernatural beings were not usually seen but they could announce their will to human beings in diverse ways. People would be able to read various signs, such as sounds of birds, falling trees, rain, thunder and other natural phenomena, and interpret the will of supernatural beings. People had obligations with regards to these spirits and gods; and if they neglected these duties, they were punished by means of sickness, death, loss of crops or animals. Supernatural beings had power over the life of human beings in good and bad. They could bless and give abundance of food and children and thus guarantee fertility. This relationship was reciprocal and thus the supernatural depended on people's benevolence.

These supernatural familiars included gods, the spirits of ancestors, and numerous spirits which inhabited the air, the earth, and the Underworld. According to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 2) the first group, the high gods, played only a small part in the religious life of the To Pamona. Only the chiefs, who acted as intermediaries between the people and these higher beings,[8] and the shamans who maintained regular intercourse between the world of human beings and the realm of gods and spirits, were able to tell something about them. Among these gods were identified Lai, who "up there rules the sky" or "up above in the sky covers our heads", Lise "rice goddess", and Ndara, "a woman under the ground, bears our feet on her hands", hence "Father sky" and "Mother earth"; and further Pue-di-songi, "the lord in the little room, in secret" to whom the shamans travelled in order to fetch the souls of human beings. Pue-di-songi sat in a house in which the souls of all human beings hang on strings. It was said that the hair of this god consisted of strings of beads, in order to show that he was full of vital strength. In addition to these gods was Pue-mpalaburu, "who lives at the rising and the setting of the sun" and was regarded as the creator of human beings. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 2–7; Kruyt 1935a.) While merely the chiefs and shamans had knowledge concerning these high gods, the spirits of ancestors and those of nature were more familiar to all members of the community.

It was essential for the cosmic equilibrium to maintain intercourse between people and beings from other realities; this communication was endured by means of

6 According to Adriani's dictionary (1928) there are several expressions in the Pamona language which refer to the lightness of the sky. *Raa* means visible, bright, clear, light, good; *rara*, *merara* shine; *reme* the sun, sunny, day, bright; *rawa* the sun, air, light, the spirits of the air; *eo* shine, day, light.

7 Adriani and Kruyt used in their records the Dutch words *ziel*, *levenskracht*, *levensgeest* to refer to the invisible, spiritual aspect of human beings, i.e. Pamona *tanoana*. In this work I normally use the term soul or in Pamona *tanoana*.

8 Adriani and Kruyt did not describe in more detailed how this was done.

divination, "buying," offerings,[9] blood sacrifice, shamanism, and invocation. All these acts aimed at maintaining and restoring the relationship between people and gods. In the Pamona case most of these means of communication were comparable to the means of social relations and the ways of maintaining them with fellow people. So the affiliation with invisible forces was not so unlike the relation with co-people. Bride-wealth is a good example of this parallelism; it in many ways resembled "buying"; the legal system with its fines and death penalty was also parallel to "buying" and even sacrifice. By this I wish to indicate that in many ways similar rules regulated the relationships both between people in the social sphere and between human beings and gods. Another crucial feature of communication between people and the invisible world among the Kaili-Pamona was the prominent role of objects. In most cases objects played a central part in this intercourse, and in the course of this study I shall attempt to ponder why objects were so appropriate as means of communication.

The Kaili-Pamona speaker very concretely felt dependent on spirits and gods because if he displeased these beings, they punished him so that he became sick or misfortune befell him. One could distinguish firstly action which was aimed at preventing sickness and other misfortunes and secondly action aimed at restoring good relations and equilibrium between humans and supernatural beings. Almost all natural formations – stones, trees, mountains but particularly the earth – were inhabited by supernatural beings who seemed to own them. Human beings could safely use these natural resources only if they had won the right to do so from the spirits of the place. This permission was sought by means of divination, offerings and an act which Kruyt (1923) called "buying", *oli*. Kruyt gives several examples of how the To Pamona acquired the right to use water, ground for house building, clay for potting, earth for cultivation by "buying" it with cloth, bark cloth, beads, copper, or iron items.

Divination was used to learn the god's will concerning some action beforehand. In addition human beings were obliged "to feed" the spirits with offerings. These food offerings varied from presenting simply an areca nut to a complete meal with rice and meat. Food offerings were used in several circumstances, for instance in order to lure spirits into contact, to mark communication, to give the god's their share of products of the earth. Invocation was usually done in connection with offerings and sacrifice.

If people had behaved against the will of supernatural beings, the relationship between people and spirits and gods had to be reestablished by means of sacrifice. The sacrifice was usually coupled with an invocation, which always had the same form and content; an opening, which was often praise, then what one wished for, and finally it was reported what would be given as an offering. For instance, the following was chanted in connection with the planting of rice (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 28–29):

> O Lord Former, you who dwells at the rising and at the setting of the sun and at the other extreme ends of the sky. You who rules all things, who has torn apart

9 I use the term 'sacrifice' of offerings which includes presenting and killing living creatures such as animals and human beings to the gods: The word 'offering' I use in a more general sense.

> our fingers and toes, who has bored our ears in our heads, who has split our eyes and our mouth. You, God of the upper world, who grows downward like the *tombu* liana and maintains us; if you are lying on your back, then turn over onto your stomach, and hear us. And you, Goddess of the earth, who supports the soles of our feet and maintains us; should it be that you are lying on your stomach, then turn over onto your back and hear what we have to say. And you, Indo i Rondo-eo, who sets out seven times a day around the earth, who sees our deeds and hears our words, pay attention to what I shall say. We are now going to plant rice. You, Goddess of the earth, shut the mice and insects in the ground, so that they do not ruin our plantings. You, God of the Upper World, shut all the ricebirds in their cages, so that they do not render fruitless our work and our trouble. Here are a buffalo and a pig, here are chickens, which we give to you.

Transgressions *(sala)* that displeased the gods were acts against the customary law, indecent and strong words, adultery and incest, neglect of the cult, i.e. not bringing sacrifices, disregard of admonitions and directions that the gods gave people by means of bird cries and other signs. Sickness, misfortune, accidents, and disaster were regarded as punishments of the gods. To the Kaili-Pamona speaker, vice and punishment were closely bound to each other; but since he did not always know whether he was sinning, he concluded from the sickness or disaster that befell him that he had sinned. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 27.)

3.5. The Soul

Every human being, according to the To Pamona, had a spiritual potency (soul) called *tanoana*[10]. The *tanoana* of the To Pamona was a spiritual element, separate from the material body of the human being and easily parted from it. Although *tanoana* was considered a spiritual element, it could materialize in the form of human hair, hair of maize, black ashes and other similar materials (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 512). All the people of Central Sulawesi seemed to have had quite similar conceptions of the soul of the human being; and indeed most of the Pamona notions and customs related to the *tanoana* accounted here prevailed in the same or in a slightly different form among the

10 The To Wana living to the east of the To Pamona also comprehend that a living being has a vital element, *koro*. *Koro* is the term applied to a living body as both a physical entity and an animate being: one's *koro* is one's physical being, that which gets dirty, itchy, bathed, and groomed, that which feels strong, weak, healthy, or sick... *Koro* in the sense of "soul" is featured strongly in shamanic discourse. (Atkinson 1989, 103–5.) But the To Wana are also familiar with the word *tanuana*, which Atkinson (1989, 106) translated as "dream agent"; and their concepts in this regards closely resemble those of the To Pamona. "The *tanuana* is a tiny image of its owner, residing in the crown of the head at the fontanelle. Of all the hidden vital elements, the *tanuana* most resembles its owner in feelings and behaviour. In contrast to the *koro*, which is something of a home body, the *tuanana* is a wanderer (*taa rodo* – literally, "not settled"), the only vital element that can safely leave its owner without bringing on illness."

Kaili-speakers (Kruyt 1938 II, 224–). The Kaili-speakers used various names for this soul or *levensgeest*, as Kruyt (1938 II, 225–6) called it in Dutch; the To Lore called it *tanuana'*, the To Pipikoro and the To Kulawi used the word *kao*, or *wao*, and the To Kaili living in the coastal Palu region *wayo*. Further the shamans called the soul of human beings *tanimbulu*.[11]

The ideal *tanoana* was described by a shaman when she went to the Lord of the Sky to ask for reinforcement of *tanoana* (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 131):

tanimbulu raintimo	healthy (cool) *tanoana*
bayo ngkaro lintetemo	a soul that stays home quietly,
tanimbulu raintimo,	cool soul
bemo nawei ndaduru,	which is not permitted to be taken along,
bemo nanale raanti.	is not allowed to be carried off.
Tanimbulu raintimo,	Cool *tanoana*
anu nadumpino batu,	which pressed by a stone,
anu nadumpimo kayu.[12]	has been crushed under a tree
	(so that it cannot get away,
	but remains with the owner).

The To Pamona of Sulawesi, like several other peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago and elsewhere, associated coolness with health and hotness with sickness (Wellenkamp 1988a, 1988b). The term for health, coolness, *raintimo, ranindi*, comes according to Adriani (1928, 236) from the root word *rindi*, which means "wall". If Adriani is correct in this, one could conclude that coolness literally means that the soul is encircled, protected by a wall or fence. Indeed many of the To Pamona ritual acts were aimed to protect a person from bad consequences. This idea, the need for protection, was expressed very clearly in connection with sickness and mourning customs. Adriani and Kruyt wrote (1951 II, 167) that they often found a sick person shut up in a compartment that had been portioned off in the dwelling with pieces of cotton and bark cloth. No light or air penetrated it. In this way people tried to protect the sick person from evil influence from the outside.

As soon as the deceased had been taken to his last resting place, mourning *(ombo)*[13]

11 The To Pamona were familiar with other terms referring to the spiritual element of human beings, too. *Sumange'* (from Bugis) was a "death soul"; *angga* meant a "ghost, personality of a deceased person", and things which did not belong to anyone were called the "property of the *angga*"; *lamoa, raoa* in some cases meant "spirit, mind, inner consciousness". (Adriani 1928, 18, 738; Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 411.) *Angga mpuse*, "navel soul" was considered to live with the placenta or originate from it. It accompanied a person during his lifetime (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 410).

12 *Tanimbulu = tanoana, raindi = ranindi* (from *rindi*); *maranindi*, cold, fresh, moist, name of herb used as remedy; *inosa maranindi*, "cold breath", good health; *rindi*, wall; *morindi*, be enclosed. (Adriani 1928, 603, 612, 636, 811.)

13 1.*ombo*, "mourning", "prohibition sign". 2. *ombo; maombo*, down fallen; *kayu ombo* (*kayu yombo*) "down fallen tree", the one who has been killed during a head-hunting expedition. (Adriani 1928, 519).

set in. Mourning customs were described as an enclosure *(bente)*[14] to protect people against the evil influence of the dead person. For this reason the To Pamona speak of the "tying fast, making strong" and the "knocking over" of the mourning. An old man in Poencu (Pebato) explained to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 516) the use of the mourning customs as follows:

> When we went off to fight, the women who remained behind observed all sorts of things *(morame)*, through which they made it easier for the men on the warpath and supported them. In the same way we observe the mourning customs *(moombo)* in order to help the soul of the dead person so that it may not have misfortune and so that it may have a successful journey to the Underworld.

The widow and the widower were protected in a very concrete manner after the corpse was carried out; they were surrounded by rain mats and pieces of bark cloth in a compartment called a *lengo*,[15] "screened off". The widow or the widower remained in this compartment usually for three days, sometimes less, in any case until the shaman had done her work. As the old man above said, the mourning customs aimed to help the deceased on his journey to the realm of the dead, but they also protected the close relatives whose soul might, it was feared, follow the deceased. The term cool *(maranindi, ranindi)* is not used only to describe a desirable state in human beings, health, but some plants such as betel leaves, banana *(pisang)* trunk, were considered cool and brought recovery while some plants were classified as hot, such as gambier. At the consecration of shamans, when the girls had to jump over a row of pigs intended as offering animals, at the end of each row was a piece of banana trunk. It was said that the banana is cool, and the life of the girls and shamans should also be cool. The sacrificial animals were regarded as hot but they brought with them coolness (Adriani & Kruyt 1950–51 I, 268; II, 105, 182, 197–8).

When the main pole of a new temple *(lobo)* was to be erected, a brave man invoked the gods, Pue-mpalaburu and Ndara, and the gods "on the two sides of the sky". When the hole was dug, the white hen with which the divination was made was thrown into the hole, with a little piece of human skull. Usually a skull that was already owned was used for this. People did this in order "to make cool" the ground *(nakaranindi ntana)*.[16] (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 189.)

During his/her life time the soul of the human being was called *tanoana*, "life source" or "vital strength". The To Pamona referred both to the vital strength of a person, by which he is able to move, talk and eat, and to his personal substance, which can decrease, slacken, and be replenished and strengthened with another *tanoana*. Sickness and weakness were caused by the absence of *tanoana;* and if the separation lasted a long time, the person died. (Adriani 1928, 811; Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 409.)

When a child was a few months old, the shaman performed a ritual called *mampa-*

14 *Bente* means "a fortification of wood or bamboo around a village"; *mobente*, "in order to fortify" (Adriani 1928, 62).

15 *Lengo* means "shelter, screen, protect, shade, overshadow"; "go in, enter" (Adriani 1928, 365).

16 Adriani and Kruyt (1950 I, 189) assumed that a human skull was buried under the main post earlier.

potanoana, "to provide the child with *tanoana*". During this ritual she brought a *tanoana* from the sky and united it with the body of the child. Most of the Pamona healing practices aimed to strengthen the *tanoana* and tie it firmly to the body of a human being. It was a special task of the shaman to care for the soul of human beings. The *tanoana* of a small child, in particular, was loosely connected and could easily be separated by some invisible power or spirit. The purpose of *mampapotanoana* was also "in order to attach the *tanoana* firmly to the child"; "in order to make the child's bones strong". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 151, 411.)

3.6. Conclusions

As I have asserted earlier, three sources of society's past knowledge could be perceived: memory, history and relics. Anthropologists have customarily studied narrative forms of historical knowledge while examining the concept of time, whereas material culture has been primarily the domain of archaeological study. In the course of this study the concept of time will be examined by focusing on the material culture combined with available written ethnographical material. The point of departure will be the fact that in all societies objects, due to their distinctive characteristics – perishableness and imperishableness, stability and movability – have represented the duration and termination of time in a particular way.

An artifact is able to survive a human being and could be transferred from one individual to another. Furthermore, in the course of time an artifact gained a life history of its own. Indeed, material objects can move through time and space in exchange, creating bonds between temporarily or locally distant people or groups of people. Similarly objects have been symbolically important means of communication between the tangible, human world and the intangible realm of supernatural familiars. There are probably some universal strategies for conceptualizing material culture originating from our common experience as human beings, but the meanings given derive greatly from the structure of society and the cosmological ideas behind it.

Following Evans-Pritchard's formulation, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of time concepts, firstly time-reckoning based on changes in nature and man's response to them, i.e. *ecological time*, and secondly *structural time* reflecting the interaction of social groups. Anthropologists have frequently argued that the collective representation of time is related to the structure of the kinship system, marked by genealogy, ancestry, lineage, but also to the cosmology and religious beliefs present in the society. Thus when we are speaking of time, we are dealing with the continuity of society and kinship; and also with cosmological immortality. Religion and cosmology tend to explain the link between the life of human beings and primaeval time and immortality.

These two ways of time-reckoning, namely the ecological and the structural, could be recognized in Central Sulawesi, too. The Kaili-Pamona speakers traced their descent bilaterally but their genealogical memory was shallow; it usually consisted of just two or three generations preceding the ego. Perhaps the most significant feature of the Kaili-Pamona kinship system was the strict separation of distinct generations and the picturing of them as layers. This was manifested in several ways; for instance, the Pamona language includes terms which illustrate generations as layers: *silapi katuwu*

mami (from *lapi* = layer), "to belong to the same generation"; *potu, mopotu, topisa*, "people of the same layer", "blood relation of same generation". Further, the most crucial criterion for kinship terminology was the separation of different generations. Marriage and sexual regulations were also aimed at preventing intercourse between closely related persons from distinct generations.

In Central Sulawesi the generational layers appeared to form a structure of authority; members of senior generational layers should protect and direct those in junior ones, while junior people should respect and obey senior ones. The ancestors were also part of this structure of authority. They and the laws passed by them regulated the society, telling people how to act as a member of society and how to communicate with the spiritual world. One could say that the ancestors functioned as a bridge between the past and the present, and this was done using two different modes of articulating the past and the present, i.e. *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic*. Respect for the generations before the ego was evident in addressing, too. The continuity of kinship was achieved by the fact that generations usually overlapped each other in duration and several generations had common ancestral or senior layers which were respected. Distinct layers were united by means of common ancestral laws and a common duty towards the forebears. The hierarchy in society was based primarily on seniority; and this set of relations included both the living and the deceased members of the community. This picture of the generations as separate layers was parallel to the cosmology of the To Pamona; thus the Upperworld and the Underworld were formed from nine or seven layers where spirits and gods lived.

Assuming that the domain of material culture is also a surface manifestation of the underlying structures of society, then the principles or conceptualizations of principles with regards to the notions of time are revealed by means of material culture. Actually an object, rather than being a reflection of pre-existing social relations, in a real sense constitutes them. One can then expect to find the notion of structural time expressed by material culture, such as family valuables, bridewealth, heirlooms and bones of ancestors, which are closely related to the kinship system and ancestors.

Most of the objects present in these assortments were not owned by individuals but were among the collective family or kin-group possessions. In Central Sulawesi it was impossible to distinguish between the social and religious domains of society and these objects were for this reason both socially and ritually significant. For instance, heirlooms were part of the economically important property, but in addition, they were ritually potential objects by which the power of ancestors was transferred to the descendants. In the following chapters the relation between tangible objects and the social and cosmic structure of Kaili-Pamona society will be discussed in detail. This will be done by examining marriage presentations, family valuables, particularly the heirlooms of ancestors, the bones of ancestors, and shamans' ritual objects.

4. FAMILY VALUABLES

4.1. The Concept of Family Valuables

Throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, anthropologists have encountered an important group of objects called family valuables or heirlooms, in Indonesia *pusaka*. The content of the *pusaka* might alter from island to island; frequently this assembly of things includes textiles, jewellery, and metal items such as swords and spears. For instance, Nobele (1926, 110) writes that *pusaka* (in the local language *mana* or *eyanam to dolo*) among the Sa'dan Toraja living in southern Central Sulawesi was never allowed to be divided but always remained in the control of that member of the family who was considered the most competent to take care of it. The products of possession were divided among the descendants of the family which had originally collected the *pusaka*. This *pusaka* property was inseparably related to the tribe house *(tongkonan layuk)* of the family. However, the strategy for using these valuables on social and ritual occasions varied from one society to another. In Eastern Indonesia they have constantly played a central role in marriage ceremonies as presentations between kin-groups and as burial gifts. Often they were classified as "male" or "female" valuables; according to Susan McKinnon (1989, 41), for example in the Tanimbar Islands, Eastern Indonesia, "Male valuables, as representations of male activity, are associated with ideas about death, heat, isolation, singleness and the differentiation of discrete entities. Female valuables, as representations of female activities, are associated with ideas about life, coolness, multiplicity and the continuity of relationships."

The notion of time will be examined first by studying family valuables generally: I shall then deal with a special group of family valuables, i.e., the heirlooms of ancestors, before proceeding to a particular category of textiles, *bana (mesa)* cloths; and finally discussing the notion of foreign in this context.

Correspondingly, the missionaries Adriani and Kruyt, who were the first reporters of life and customs in Central Sulawesi, were astonished at the Pamona way of collecting and storing valuables. These valuables had little utilitarian significance or direct economic value but they were above all meaningful in social and ritual contexts. Adriani and Kruyt wrote (1912 II, 311):

People often possessed a great amount of textiles, which were stored in some kind of basket *(bungge)* in the house but more often in the rice granary. In everyday life these valuables had little meaning. We have known chiefs who owned Bugis trousers stitched with gold and silver thread but always wore a *fuya* loincloth. We have seen a lot of copper dishes *(dula)* in the rice granary but our meals were served in plaited, less valuable baskets. One man told us that he had seven copper *sirih* boxes but he did not use any of them. Just at some festive occasions were copper dishes used and the master of the house wore trousers. The main purpose to collect these dishes was to have them when one had to pay fines. A great number of these were also put with the deceased in the chest.

Adriani and Kruyt also pointed out that after Dutch colonial rule was established in Central Sulawesi the inhabitants' attitude to their valuables changed; they were no longer obtained as eagerly as earlier, and for a long time carefully preserved garments, cloths and copper dishes passed into everyday use. This transformation of attitude indicates that valuables were embedded in the general notion of property; and when the indigenous structure of thinking and living was destroyed by the new rule, it inevitably affected the use and concept of valuables.

4.2. Property, Ownership, and Family Valuables

It is evident that the Kaili-Pamona notion of family valuables was embedded in the concept of ownership and in the whole structure of society and the cosmology. Thus when considering the idea of ownership in Central Sulawesi before this century, the concept of society must in many instances be expanded to include not just the living but the dead, the ancestors and supernatural beings of various kinds. Because of the ultimate ownership of everything, things and nature, belonged to the transcendental beings, spirits and gods, while human beings merely had the right to use these things and the products of nature. In the human world it would be more appropriate to speak of the right of usage rather than of ownership. The supernatural creatures had to be recognized constantly, their approval had to be acquired and they received their share in the form of offerings. Hence, the concept of property, which in Western ideology is considered above all economic and social, i.e. between members of human society, in the Kaili-Pamona case always embraced the transcendent and religious aspect of life. Owing to this transcendence, an object might be regarded as a potent item which is able to transfer the power of its former owner or energy from its origin.

This idea of potency incorporated in the items which originate from other realities has to be combined with the system of sacrifice. As Mauss remarks (1990 (1925), 12): "Hence it follows that to make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself." The spirits and gods were, according to Pamona cosmology, true owners of the things and possessions of the world. One could continue with Mauss's words (1990, 16): "With them it was most necessary to exchange, and with them it was most dangerous not to exchange." Actually Mauss used the To Pamona as an example in this connection.

> Yet already another theme appears that no longer needs this human underpinning, one that may be as ancient as the potlatch itself: it is believed that purchases must be made from the gods, who can set the price of things. Perhaps nowhere is this idea more characteristically expressed than among the Toradja of Celebes Island. Kruyt tells us 'that there the owner must "purchase" from the spirits the right to carry out certain actions on "his" property', which is really theirs. Before cutting "his" wood, before even tilling "his" soil or planting the upright post of "his" house, the gods must be paid. Whereas the idea of purchase even seems very little developed in the civil and commercial usage of the Toradja, on the contrary this idea of purchase from the spirits and the gods is utterly constant. (Mauss 1990, 16.)

This idea of the final ownership by gods and spirits is evident in connection with land rights, too. To begin with it is significant to recognize that land rights and their inheritance were not central to the Pamona kinship system. Their economy was based on the cultivation of rice by swidden farming (slash-and-burn technique). Hunting, fishing, and gathering supplemented this production. There was no shortage of land and therefore each family could get a new area for cultivation when it wished. Families had the right to use the land which they had laid down for some years but they did not own it. Each tribe, i.e. a group of villages with an identified common origin or village of origin, had at its disposal an area of land whose boundaries were known exactly. The right to that land was grounded on the fact that the ancestors of the tribe had cleared the virgin forest. The right was based on the trouble that they had put up with and the heavy work that they had performed to fell the forest giants and to make the ground plantable. In the same way, the territory of a village was regarded as the legacy of the ancestors. They were the real owners, who kept their rights to the land. Thus when the land was to be cultivated, this might not be done without their knowledge; and at least part of a rice field had to be cultivated according to the rituals dictated by the forebears. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 9–10; Kruyt 1924b, 404.) The To Pamona seemed to associate swidden agriculture in particular with their ancestors, and when wet rice was introduced to the region, their attitude to rice cultivation and ritual practices changed.

At the end of the 19th century the Kaili-speakers began to cultivate wet rice *(sawah)*, although swidden cultivation has survived to some extent to the present day. Kruyt thought that this new method of rice cultivation was introduced by a new noble class who had migrated from the south. He continued to speculate that these people might have brought water buffaloes with them as well. There seemed to be a close link between *sawah* agriculture and the noble. The cultivation of *sawah* fields largely depended on water buffaloes, which made the ground loose. The nobles owned most of the buffaloes, and although commoners might have some animals, only the noble families possessed large herds. Everywhere people appeared to have the idea that the rice fields would not flourish if people resisted the noble, chief, or ruler. Their supremacy was legitimated by religious and cosmological premises, in other words, the hierarchy was founded on religion. To some extent, it could be claimed that among the Kaili-speakers the noble class had come between human beings and supernatural beings, being somehow paralleled with the deified ancestors of the To Pamona. And being so, the nobles were considered the source of power and potency which could affect the life of men, animals and crops. This is seen in, for instance, the fact that the chief of the Kaili area gave every household a bunch of rice, the grains of which were

mixed with other grains and used as seed rice. In the same way, the land had every year to be made fruitful by the blood of a water buffalo given by the noble chief.[1] (Kruyt 1924a; 1938 I, 505–7.)

Each family in the community had its property, but the other members made claims upon it in case of a crisis in the community. Then the families with the most flourishing cattle had to supply most animals for the common feasts. Among the To Pamona all villagers were responsible for taking care of each other when necessary, while among the Kaili-speakers, the nobles were the proprietary class whose support was sought (Kruyt 1938 I, 505). There were some energetic commoners who owned cattle and cloths but generally the property was much more unequally divided among the Kaili-speakers than among the To Pamona. For instance, the difference in the amount and content of bridewealth manifests this. The basic idea of ownership and rights was similar among the To Pamona and the Kaili-speakers but the noble class and its prerogatives and wealth had modified the Kaili concepts, as we have seen.

Most Pamona households owned a few domestic animals and a supply of cotton goods, which was kept in the rice granary. The wealthy people again had piles of copper dishes or cloths packed in baskets and stored in the house or in the rice granary. These cloths and dishes did not play any role in everyday life but were used only on ceremonial occasions or in order to pay fines.[2] All members of the household could demand these possessions as their due. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 311.) This household property apparently refers to the possessions which were gathered by a couple during their marriage and which, after their death, were inherited by their children. It consisted of rice, cotton, chicken, pigs, tools and household implements (Kruyt 1938 III, 154–155). Both sons and daughters had the right to inherit their parents' property but often the daughters got more. Daughters usually got rice, poultry and pigs, while sons got cotton, household implements and tools.

In addition to family property, there was kin-group property consisting of water buffaloes, sago trees, bamboo groves, cotton, hereditary slaves and, among the To Kaili, *sawah* fields. Membership of a particular kin-group was actualized in the form of kin-group property, payment of bridewealth and fines, and in connection with contributions and participation in ceremonies. Several families belonging to the same kin-group could lay claim to common kin-group property. Some of this property could be sold only if the purchase price benefitted the entire group. An individual could, however, get a piece of this property if other members entitled to it agreed to this. The children had a right to the kin-group property of the father as well as to that of the mother. But if a man married in another village, he was not allowed to take any of that property with him. The kin-group wealth was closely connected with a certain

1 In Lore the chief was called *pue tampo*, "master of the ground"; and as an explanation of the fact that the nobles owned a lot of gold, water buffaloes and slaves it was in some places said that their wealth came from the spirits (*touta*) (Kruyt 1938 I, 502, 506).

2 Kruyt (1928, 333; 1929, 3) also mentions that in Poso the goods stored in the rice granary usually consisted of pieces of white cotton which were used for fines and when the owner or one of their nearest relatives died, in which case, a number of these pieces of cotton were buried with him. These cloths must have been the *balacu* unbleached cotton of inferior quality which was commonly used to pay fines.

territory and was controlled by the women, who generally remained in their native village. And such possessions were generally under the management of a woman who stayed in the village. The fact that people from different tribes could lay claim to kin-group property frequently led to difficulties. Adriani and Kruyt (1950 I, 148–9; see also Kruyt 1929, 2) asserted that this might have been one reason for favouring marriages between the children of brothers and sisters, because in this way the number of those entitled to the kin-group property was limited.

There were several types of objects which could be classified as family valuables in Central Sulawesi; the most important group seemed to be woven textiles imported to the area by foreign merchants, but copperware, especially copper dishes *(dula)*, was also frequently mentioned, and sometimes also beads, Chinese ceramics, swords and spears. Slaves were also considered part of the kin-group property; slaves whose parents or grandparents had belonged to the same family were called "hereditary slaves" and were extensively paralleled to the other kinds of valuables. Apart from buying freedom for slaves of mixed blood *(sinambira)*, hereditary slaves could not become free. They were called by similar terms as other heirlooms *watua panta*, "hereditary slaves", *watua ntau tu'a*, "slaves of the ancestors", *watua mana'i*, "heirlooms", sometimes even *ngkai*, "grandfather". (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 142; Kruyt 1895a, 122–3.)[3]

A member of the family could lose the right to use the family slaves by mistreating them or by remaining out of the country for years; or by not contributing to the payment of debts or fines or the bridewealth of the kin-group's slaves. Sometimes a person lost his right to the kin-group's slaves if he married one of the female slaves. In this case it was said: "You have married part of our joint property in slaves and you therefore have no further rights to the rest." (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 232–3.)

The family valuables, which in Central Sulawesi consisted above all of cloth and copper items, were carefully stored in rice granaries in order to be used for special purposes: to pay fines, to be displayed at rituals, to be presented as part of bridewealth and burial gifts. Usually people designated one piece of their accumulated goods as *datu nu ayapa*, "ruler of the cotton". This piece might never be used, for this called other cotton to it (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 467). It is interesting to compare this *datu nu ayapa* with Annette Weiner's (1985, 210–) concept of *inalienable wealth*. Inalienable goods could not be detached from their origins. According to Weiner these "possessions" are imbued with affective qualities that are expressions of the value an object has when it is kept by its owners and inherited within the same family or descent group. Age adds value, as does ability to keep the object against all the exigencies that might force a person or a group to release it to others.

3 According to Sahido (1981, 10) Kulawian noble families used to possess besides festive clothes swords, shields, spears, *tai ganja* and *sanggori* ornaments, bronze, brass, silver and gold dishes, foreign ceramics and *mbesa* cloths.

4.3. The Potency of Objects

In his book David Lowenthal explores relics in our Western culture, where they bring the past into the present while nevertheless remaining mute, static, dead due to our rational attitude to the material world. I shall later study the heirlooms of ancestors, which could be called relics; but contrary to the relics of the Western world, they are not dead but full of potency. Shelly Errington (1989, 59–61) and Stanley Tambiah (1984, 335–) examine in their studies the potency of objects in Southeast Asia. Errington writes "People want to augment their own potency, and to that end they seek potent items, which they wear around their waists or keep in their houses. Following instructions from voices in dreams that tell them where to dig, they often are successful in finding fragments of ancient pottery, and sometimes old daggers or pieces of iron, considered to be ancestral leavings." The most potent objects – the *arajang*, "ornaments" or "regalia"[4] in English, which included leavings of past rulers – were owned by the *akkarungeng*, i.e. the polity of Luwu. According to Errington (1989, 123) a collection of sacred objects inherited from the ancestors was an omni-present feature of Southeast Asian states, and the importance of such collections in the political life of South Sulawesi cannot be overestimated.

In the Buddhist tradition of Thailand the potency of objects originated from the saints and the Buddha. "Amulets (like relics) act as "reminders" of the virtues of the saint and the Buddha, and the saints act as "fields of merit", in which laymen may plough, sow, and harvest through their donations" ... "these saints are seen as capable of transmitting their charisma to persons directly or, more usually and lastingly, through amulets they have charged and activated" (Tambiah 1984, 335). But as we shall see, the potency of objects might generate from diverse sources issuing from the society's social and political ideology and religious beliefs. In the case of Luwu the source of potency is a person's *sumange'*, spiritual energy, in its purest form the energy of the highest, the ruler or the ex-rulers; while in the case of Buddhist Thailand the potency is derived from the religious experts, saints and the Buddha. Errington calls (1989, 127) high nobles, and especially the datu of Luwu, living, breathing talismans, ritual objects.

In my opinion, Mauss was referring to the same kind of potency when he wrote: "What imposes obligation in the present received and exchanged, is the fact that the thing received is not inactive. Even when it has been abandoned by the giver, it still possesses something of him" (Mauss 1990, 11–12). The question concerning "the spirit of things" presented by Marcel Mauss in his essay *Essai sur le Don, Forme Archaïque de l'Échange* has since its publication in 1925 stimulated a debate that still continues in the domain of anthropological research. I am not going to discuss whether Mauss's interpretation of Maori *hau* was correct, or whether Sahlins (1972), Weiner (1985), Parry (1986, 1989) or Howell (1989) had more authentic interpretations of this problem. What I am going to do is to examine the material culture of Central Sulawesi starting with Mauss's principles about the potency of things.

4 The rulers of northern Central Sulawesi, such as the ruler of Bone, owned regalia called *arajang*, which consisted of spears, drums, swords, banners, etc. (Inghuong 1983, 12–13).

Parry's contribution (1986) to the discussion of the "spirit of things", in which he pointed out the evolutionary view of Mauss's theory, was significant and illustrating. Bloch writes (1989, 168–69):

> Mauss's essay on the gift is perhaps one of the most fundamental yet most misunderstood texts in anthropology. The misunderstanding comes from the fact that it has been homogenised in anthropological theory in general, and in economic anthropology in particular, together with totally incompatible ideas. This point has been made most clearly by a recent careful reading of Mauss's famous essay on the gift by J. Parry, which genuinely reconstructs the original intentions of the author. Parry points out how first and foremost The Gift is an evolutionary study of transactions. For Mauss the earliest stage of prestations were what he calls 'total prestations', involving groups and clans in massive reciprocal exchanges. ... Rather, Mauss chooses to focus on a later stage characterised by gift exchange. Gift exchange differs from total prestations in that it may occur between individuals. ... This third stage, as Parry shows us, is characterised by the attempt to separate moral obligations and economic interest. (Bloch 1989, 168.)

The Kaili-Pamona cosmology was based on the general principle of the absence of any absolute disjunction between persons and things. The human, animal, and plant worlds were so interrelated, all having been created by the same divine power, that it was not considered strange if trees and plants produced human beings (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 379). According to the Kaili-Pamona categorization people and things were not completely opposite and detached from each other; therefore tangible objects might also own potency or energy, which according to Mauss's theory originated from the owner of the thing. According to Mauss (1990, 10) the gift is strongly linked to the person, embodies the person and creates an enduring spiritual bond between persons. But it is clear that this bond created by things is in fact a bond between persons, since the thing itself is a person or pertains to a person. Hence it follows that to give something is to give a part of oneself.

The most powerful objects had descended from heaven, from the gods or from supernatural agencies living in the environment. For like the sky, fields, the ground, some trees, rivers, lakes and stones also had their own spirits. Some of these beings were regarded as capricious, such as tree and earth spirits, and that is why they were feared. Every spot on earth had its own spirit, which was encountered whenever a field was laid out or a house built. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 40–67; Kruyt *Rijstgeest*, 3.) There were, however, some tree, water and stone spirits with which people wished to come into contact in order to receive from them supernatural power or some special remedy. These talismans usually offered protection against penetration from outside by making people invulnerable. The power of the talisman originated from its former owner and transferred to the new one.

For this purpose a person went alone at the midnight hour to a particular tree, to the place where a river empties into a large stream, or to a whirlpool in the river, or to a stone; places where the spirits living there were known to be powerful. Having arrived at the place, he sat down and waited to see what would happen. When the spirit appeared, it asked, "Why have you come here?" The person answered: "To ask you for a means of being invulnerable." Sometimes the spirit showed him the means immediately, sometimes he had to choose from among several things. This was called

mobaratapa, which comes from the Malay *bertapa*, "to be solitary". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 68–69.)

4.4. The Heirlooms of Ancestors

In this chapter I shall examine a special group of family valuables which could be called the heirlooms of ancestors. The heirlooms of ancestors could be paralleled with talismans which had emerged from the spirit world; or be considered a special type of talismans whose potency generated from the fact that they were once owned by ancestors. Among the Kaili-speaking people the nobles had to some extent replaced ancestors as a source of potency corresponding to the situation in Luwu described by Errington (1989, 122–3).

> Their 'effectiveness', like that of higher people, pervades their clothing and ornaments, their hair and fingernails. Understandably, these precious fragments are not discarded when a person dies; his or her descendants keep them as talismans, although they may forget the name of the potent ancestor who produced them. Similarly, people keep the pieces of broken china, old iron pots, knives and so forth that they have dug up, guided by voices in dreams. The ancestor who produced the leavings is anonymous, so the relation of the artifact's owner to the ancestor is impersonal. But people connect themselves to the ancestors by cherishing these potent fragments as talismans, tapping ancestral potency through caring for the objects. Kept and passed on through generations, these leavings are called *mana'*, roughly, "inherited potent items". Every family, noble or not, has *mana'*.

The Kaili-Pamona speakers used to maintain the bond with their ancestors by body parts and heirlooms from the deceased. They had a general belief that the blessing of the deceased was connected with objects that were owned by them. These objects were called by the To Pamona *panta ntau tu'a, panta ntau piamo*,[5] *mana (mana'i)* or *sosora*, "heirlooms or inheritance of ancestors". (Adriani 1928, 425, 550, 565, 771; Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 142.)

Powerful objects might originate from an ancestor, a cultural hero or a supernatural being. An example of heirlooms left behind by a legendary culture hero, Lasaeo, were the carefully kept spears of the Poso Lake area in Bancea, Onda'e and Palande. Waibunta was said to have received a spear with seven blades. The spear that is kept in Bancea as an heirloom from the ancestors *(panta ntau piamo)* was a badly weathered and rusty blade, the shaft of which was lost in a fire. This shaft was said to have been inlaid with gold. Formerly this heirloom was treated with great reverence, and a little mat was spread before it whenever it was brought out. Now it is stuck in the wall without further ado. In the olden days, when rain was desired, the blade was placed in

5 *Tau piamo* means "the ancestors"; *wawai ntau piamo* "the customs of the ancestors"; *i piamo* (from *pia, impia*) "in the old days" (Adriani 1928, 565).

water; if dryness were desired, then it was placed on the drying rack above the fire. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 25.)

Comprehension of the ancestors' continuous ownership of things to a certain extent explains the importance of the heirlooms and the idea of blessing connected with them. In this context, we have to distinguish between memories of individual ancestors whose hair, nails and heirlooms were honoured by family members and used as talismans, and ancestors as a group who were remembered by a kin-group or a whole village. In Central Sulawesi ancestors were regarded as a group rather than identified as certain forebears or a couple to whom the descent was counted owning to the cognatic descent.

Often hair and nails of the deceased were placed at the bottom of the basket in which the cotton goods were kept, in the hope that through this the possessions would endure. This was done particularly with the hair and the nails of a rich person. There were people who kept hair and nails of six generations. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 74–75, 467.) The nails and hair of the deceased person were cut with a knife. This knife was wrapped with the nails and the hair in a piece of *fuya* and packed in a cloth basket. The reason given was that the spirit of the deceased person could not then take possession of it. The knife was not used for any other purpose. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 91.)

Because of their benevolence and ability to augment the vitality of human beings, fields and animals, these heirlooms used to be employed in connection with diverse rituals (Kruyt 1896, 8–9). However, the extensive material of the Kaili-Pamona speakers provides only a few detailed illustrations of how the heirlooms were utilized in rites. Perhaps the most important ritual where heirlooms are known to have been present was the temple feast, i.e. the head-hunting feast after a victorious head-hunting expedition. Kruyt's (1895a, 11) first description of this ceremony is from the year 1895: "All villagers and some people from the vicinity assemble in the temple *(lobo)*; a few old swords, heirlooms of ancestors, are on the above-mentioned rack hung with skulls. First everyone will be provided with a decorated bark cloth headband, whilst several also have a piece of bark cloth over their back and chest *(ambulea, abe)*. Some have in addition sashes of bark cloth around their body. Then the shaman touches the ankles, knees, hips and shoulders of the participants, and taps their heads seven times with an old sword wrapped in a rain mat with some bark cloth garments"[6]

Later Adriani and Kruyt (1950 I, 359–) gave a more detailed record of this *mompeleleka* ritual, which mainly agrees with the earlier one:

> On the evening preceding the feast the shamans recite their litany, in which they inform the spirits of the ancestors of the coming events. They also perform their dance *(motaro)*, which shows a stylized sham fight against the evil powers in the air; they do this around the people assembled there. One of them does the same on the stair landing.

6 The Kaili-speakers also had in their possession old weapons which were stocked in the temple; A.C. Kruyt mentions (Kate 1913, note 10) that the To Napu told him about an old spear which had disappeared from their temple and was suspected as having been taken away by the Dutch patrols who visited Napu.

Then one of the old swords, heirlooms of the ancestors, is wrapped in a rain mat together with a few painted pieces of bark cloth clothing; with this one of the leaders[7] of the feast touches the ankles, knees, hips, and shoulders of the participants and then taps them on the head with it seven times. While doing so, he speaks: "Only when I am powerless will my relatives and my children be mortally affected because they are wearing painted headcloths." In the beginning of this incantation this act is called *mosangadi yu*.

After this the following took place in the Lake region (and presumably elsewhere): boys were dressed up with a colourful cloth *(sinde)* around the waist, a headcloth, and with a spiral ornament *(sanggori)* fastened in their hair. These boys were then given quasi instruction in the handling of weapons, "in order later to be able to take the place of their fathers, when the latter died or were no longer able to bear arms." This was done only with the sons of free people *(kabosenya)*.

This sword wrapped in a rain mat is apparently a ritual object called an *empehi*, although this term has not been mentioned in this connection. The *empehi* was made out of a rain-mat *(boru)* without a ridge, consisting of 17 pandanus leaves and purposely of very small pattern; inside the rain-mat was wrapped a metal implement such as a sword, a knife, a needle, and herbs used as medicine, and often also a piece of white bark cloth. The whole packet was tied in a special way with seven loops *(ndatimbu'u papitu)* (Adriani 1928, 146–7). An *empehi* was used on several ritual occasions besides the temple feast, and although the principal content and form of this ritual object remained the same, it differed somehow and could be used differently in various rites.

In one part of the consecration feast for the shamans each girl was seated on an object called an *empehi*[8]. This object was made out of a rain-mat *(boru)*, inside which an axe, a knife, a needle, some piece of bark cloth and cotton, a small bamboo drinking vessel *(wanga)*, four areca nuts, seven tobaccos *(dudu)*, bloodwort, and other magic herbs were wrapped, after which the whole was tied in a special way. This *empehi* was regarded as a vessel full of vital strength *(tanoana)*, a storage battery from which some was imparted to the people. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 372; 1951 II, 93–4).

The *empehi* was also used during the *mopatawi*, the feast in the smithy; in this case the rain-mat contained seven little packets of finely chopped herbs, a branch of bloodwort, a chopping knife or axe, and some pieces of bark cloth. The joints of the participants were sometimes touched with the *empehi*, but usually the persons who were treated went to stand or sit on it. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 410–; 1951 II, 93; III, 332.) When the shaman had fetched the *tanoana* of the child from the sky and fastened it to the child *(mampapotanoana)*, a ceremony called *mo'oyuti* took place. The name means "to tie something to something" and refers, according to the explanations, to the fastening of the soul of the grandmother to the child, although on this occasion nothing was tied. For this the child sat on a folded rain-mat, in which a knife and bloodwort had been wrapped. The shaman cut an areca nut into four parts; two of them she inserted on

7 According to the earlier account, the shaman touched the participants with an old sword wrapped with bark cloth in a rain mat.

8 In Onda'e this object was called *buru mpotunda*, "rain-mat to sit on".

opposite sides of the entrance to the house in the binding of the roof; one piece she put in her basket, and the fourth was put under the place where the child slept. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 156.)[9]

In some healing rites the *empehi* was employed by a shaman; this was called *napapaupi kumu* "to let sit on the blanket" or *napapapu'a wukotu*. For this the child stood in front of the shaman, who touched various parts of the sick body with a bark cloth blanket. Finally she put the blanket on the child's head and then moved it up and down seven times. In front of the sick one laid a chopping knife wrapped in a rain-mat, an object that was called *empehi*. Now the shaman tapped against the knees seven times, after which the child went to sit on the *empehi*. She then declared: *Mapu'a wukotunya*, "his knees have been broken" (i.e. I have broken his knees). (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 169.)

The *empehi* was obviously considered a very powerful object, characterized as "a vessel full of *tanoana*", "a storage battery of *tanoana*", thus a ritual object which was able to strengthen the soul. But where does the object derive its potency from? Firstly, in most cases it was made by shamans who were specialists in life-giving rites. Secondly, the *empehi* apparently consisted of things regarded as effective and able to augment the *tanoana:* such are a branch of bloodwort, plants and herbs used as medicine, and metal items which were at least in some cases ancient heirlooms of ancestors. Also interesting is the structure of the *empehi:* powerful objects wrapped in rain-mat and tied with seven loops; we will discover this same structure later in connection with other ritual objects, such as *rare* (see chapter 7.5.3.).

4.5. Conclusions

In Central Sulawesi, as indeed throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, anthropologists and other observers have encountered a particular group of objects called family valuables or heirlooms, in Pamona *panta ntau tu'a, panta ntau piamo, mana* or *sosora*, "heirlooms or inheritance of ancestors". Although the heirlooms of ancestors were characterized as special types of talismans, there is a clear difference between talismans and pure heirlooms; both are potent objects, but a talisman could be used by a person for individual purposes, for protection and health, but heirlooms of ancestors, being part of kin-group property and owned by a group of related people, were not used primarily by individuals but rather on behalf of the whole society or group of people.

There were several types of objects which could be as classified family valuables in Central Sulawesi; the most important group seemed to be woven textiles, imported to the region by foreign merchants, but also copperware, especially copper dishes *(dula)* were frequently mentioned and sometimes also beads, swords and spears. Even slaves

9 In Pu'u-mboto the *mo'oyuti* takes place on the occasion of the celebration of the temple feast *mompeleleka*. The whole ceremony would then consist in having someone, with the child in her arms or in the carrying cloth, dance along in the row of women who perform the shaman dance (*motaro*).

were considered a part of kin-group property analogous to the other kinds of valuables. These possessions were generally under the management of one of the kin-group's women who stayed in the village. If a man married in another village, he was not allowed to take anything of that property with him. However, the children retained a right to the kin-group property of the father as well as to that of the mother. Kin-group property was used as payment of bridewealth and fines and as contributions of important ceremonies such as the great death feasts.

The notion of family valuables was embedded in the Kaili-Pamona concept of ownership and further in the whole structure of their society, which must be expanded to include also ancestors and supernatural beings. In the Pamona-Kaili community time is made up of layers, i.e. generations, following on chronologically from one another, the order of which was strictly defined. In the case of ancestors the layer structure broke down and its place was taken by the collective group of all ancestors. As a result time, as a chronological concept, also ceased to exist and the marking of time came to a halt. For the ancestors were thought to be constantly present, admittedly in a different reality but in regular communication with the human community. The ultimate ownership of everything, things and nature, belonged to the transcendental beings, spirits and gods, while human beings merely had the right to use these things and the products of nature. Hence, the concept of property, which in Western ideology is considered above all as economic and social, i.e. between members of human society, in the Kaili-Pamona case always embraced the transcendent and religious aspect of life. Owing to this transcendence an object might be regarded as a potent item which is able to transfer the power of its former owner or energy from its origin.

According to the Kaili-Pamona categorization people and things were not completely opposite and detached from each other; therefore tangible objects might also own potency or energy, which according to Mauss's theory originated from the owner of the thing. According to Mauss the gift is strongly linked to the person, embodies the person and creates an enduring spiritual bond between persons. So the blessing of the ancestors being closely linked to the objects used and owned by them earlier was transferred to their descendants.

The comprehension of the ancestors' continuous ownership of things to a certain extent explains the importance of the heirlooms and the idea of blessing connected with them. In this context, we have to distinguish between memories of individual ancestors whose hair, nails and heirlooms were honoured by family members and used as talismans, and ancestors as a group who were remembered by a kin-group or a whole village. In Central Sulawesi ancestors were regarded as a group rather than identified certain forebears or a couple to whom the descent was counted owing to the cognatic descent.

Because of their benevolence and ability to augment the vitality of human beings, fields and animals these heirlooms used to be employed in connection with diverse rituals. As an example of these objects was demonstrated a ritual object made of a rain-mat including metal items, herbs, bark cloth, etc. and tied with seven loops; this was called *empehi*, "a storage battery of life spirit".

5. TEXTILES AS HEIRLOOMS

5.1. Cloths Imported from India

5.1.1. The *Patola* and Their Imitations

The Kaili-Pamona speakers called the textiles first imported into their district by the collective name *bana (mesa)* or *ayapa ntau tu'a*, "cotton of the ancestors" (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 274). A comparison of diverse sources – ethnographical accounts, museum collections, old photographs and terms used for various textiles – indicates that at least the following kinds of textiles were included in *bana* cloths: early *patola* (singular *patolu*) imitations, Indian cotton and their imitations, *ikat* cloths from Rongkong and Galumpang, *pelangi (plangi)* cloths, *sarita* cloths and special *ikat* cloths which were dyed after weaving. Some other types of cloths may have been considered *bana* cloths, too, even *ikats* from Eastern Indonesia, but the information is vague.

Indian cotton cloths are known to have been exported to Indonesia from the fifteenth century onwards; according to van Leur (1967, 334) possibly even earlier. The chief product carried eastward by the Indians to exchange for Indonesian products was cotton cloth from Coromandel and Gujarat. In 1619 the Dutch Company estimated that its annual sale of Coromandel cloth in Indonesia amounted to 3 650 *corges*. If one calculates that in 1603 the Dutch trade made up an one eighth of all the cloth trade with Indonesia, then there must have been a total sale of twenty thousand *corges*, or four hundred thousand items, in Indonesia per year. Alongside this the amount of tapestries and light textiles imported from Persia and Chinese cloths were of practically no importance, and the amount of Javanese and Balinese cotton cloth brought on the market can be estimated at a few thousand pieces at the most. (van Leur 1967, 127.)

There are indications that the first woven textiles to come into the possession of people in Central Sulawesi were cloths exported by the East India Company (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 274). Reference is apparently made here to the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which carried on trade in the Indian Archipelago from the beginning of the 17th century until 1801. In this trade textiles played a crucial role. The To Pamona still had pieces of cloth provided with the trademark of VOC in their possession at the end of the nineteenth century (see specimen no. MLV 27898). These

cloths were most probably printed cotton imitations of Indian *patola* textiles called *sinde* in Central Sulawesi. These fabrics were classified as the most precious *bana* cloths and were carefully stored and passed down from parent to child. The available museum collections and terms listed in Adriani's dictionary indicate that besides genuine silk *patola* and its imitations several other sorts of fabric were imported from India to Central Sulawesi.

Until recent times textile researchers have paid special attention to silk double *ikats (patola)*, while other types of fabrics imported from India to Indonesia have aroused much less interest. Other types of Indian cloths are, however, more significant as regards Central Sulawesi, for I have not encountered in the museums any genuine silk *ikat* cloth originating from Kaili-Pamona district, or found any other indisputable evidence of their presence in that area. There may well have been *patola* in that region, as in North Sulawesi and among the Sa'dan Toraja, but it is unlikely that it featured in any large quantities. Central Sulawesi, especially the interior part of it, was introduced to international trade later than such places as the Moluccas, where a large amount of Indian silk *ikats* ended up with the rulers of the district in order to guarantee the flow of merchandise (Fox 1979). It is, however, true that the early import of *patola* via two trading centres in Makassar and North Sulawesi has been established with certainty. It was done by way of Makassar, where the Dutch had founded a settlement in 1603 and where *patola* were sold at the beginning of the 17th century. Via these ports the genuine silk *patola* might have reached the Kaili-Pamona district, but there is no evidence.[1]

All the textiles probably of Indian origin from the Pamona-Kaili district which have so far emerged from the museum collections are imitations of genuine silk *patola* or other kinds of printed and painted cotton fabrics. In view of the high esteem enjoyed by *patola* in Indonesia, it is no surprise that attempts were from an early stage made to imitate them by cheaper methods. To a certain extent this happened in India itself. At Ahmedabad in Gujarat, cotton pieces with *patola* designs were made for export purposes, using mordant dyes. In Indonesia, such pieces have been found in Bali, Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas and Sulawesi. Presumably they were used as a substitute for real *patola*. For example, it is reported that this type of cotton fabric played a role as dowry in Northern Sulawesi. (Bühler, Fischer & Nabholz 1980, 19.)

The costume of the main shaman in Poso consisted of a long jacket of chintz and a piece of cotton as a sarong. Kruyt (1895a, 13) asserts that these cloths were to the To Poso what the *patola* cloths were to the Minahassans. It was said that these cloths, which were carefully preserved, derived from ancestors. According to Kruyt chintz with this pattern was no longer made, but it reminded him of old pictures and paintings, like the cloths worn in 17th and 18th century Holland. Kruyt continued, "Because it is well-known that the old company arrived also in this region and pieces of chintz were presented and traded to the chiefs, it is likely that these cloths originate from that time. An old chief said to me that 'perhaps they descend from the Dutch.'"

Bühler and Fisher (1979 I, 158) describe the early cotton imitations of double silk *ikats*

1 According to Adriani (1928, 717) *sinde* is a kind of shawl of silk or half-silk material (from Bugis *cinde*) woven in various colours. It was one of the old cloths, some of which still remain, used on ceremonial occasions. This might refer to genuine silk *patola*.

which, according to them (1979 I, 281), have been found only in Indonesia and were produced exclusively in India:

> There are cotton fabrics from various parts of Indonesia but not from India whose pattern arrangements and motifs are very reminiscent of *patola* and are sometimes even identical with them. Woven in plain weave, these cloths are mainly patterned in white on a red or reddish-violet ground. In addition there are often also black areas and blue ones that usually merge into the red ground. The dyeing of the ground of the older pieces has usually been done with the help of a mordant (usually alum) applied with blocks and a dye containing alizarine. Black is also applied with blocks, the blue areas are done either in batik technique or, more probably, painted on by hand. One receives the impression of cheap mass produced goods throughout. (Bühler & Fisher 1979 I, 158.)

Early imitations of *patola* cloths have been detected in such places as Sumatra (Palembang), Bali, Sulawesi (Minahassa, Toraja, Makale), the Moluccas (Nusa Laut near Ambon) and western New Guinea (Bird Head area) (Bühler & Fischer 1979 I, 281–2). So far I have found among the museum material from Kaili-Pamona area a total of six *patola* imitations,[2] which according to Bühler's and Fischer's classification could be regarded as early *patola* imitations made in India. All these fabrics have been acquired by the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam (MLV 27897, 27898, 27899, 27900, 278901, and 27902) from missionary A.C. Kruyt in 1933. The catalogue information reveals that they were called *cinde (sinde)* and were obtained in Poso. On the basis of their decoration these *sinde*s could be classified into three groups. To the first category belongs a cloth with diamond pattern centre field (MLV 27902) which resembles a *patolu* imitation from Bali in Basel (no. 15626; Bühler & Fischer 1979 II, fig. 47) as well as a silk double-ikat from Lomblen, Eastern Indonesia in Basel (Bühler 1959, Pl. 3). Guy (1989, fig. 17) identifies this type of cloth as a silk *patolu* from Gujarat, Western India made in the 19th–20th century.

The second group includes three mordant dyed *sinde* cloths (MLV 27898, 27899, 27900)[3]; all of them are made of handspun coarse cotton and decorated with the same kinds of printed motifs in red, white and black. Their length varies from 260 cm, which seems to have been the original length, to 116 cm. Cloth MLV 27898 has an import stamp of the VOC. This type of cotton *patolu* imitation was apparently quite common and widespread in Indonesia since similar fabrics, presumably manufactured in Gujarat, India for the export market in Indonesia, have been found both in Sulawesi and in Sumba and Bali (Bühler & Fischer 1979 II, Pl. 73; Gittinger 1982, 139, fig. 124, Guy 1989, fig. 16). According to Guy this sort of *patolu* imitation dates from the late 18th century, which coincides with Kruyt's information in the museum catalogue that

2 In addition to this there is one woman's blouse (MLV no. 27908) which is adorned with a piece of *cinde* cloth. A.C. Kruyt acquired it in Poso.

3 Holmgren and Spertus (1991, 81) write that the genuine *patolu* which these cloths imitate is "widely dispersed in the western and central parts of the archipelago. It is probably one of the oldest and most traditional types of export *patolu*. It must have circulated for a considerable period of time – or have struck a particularly resonant chord, for reasons we cannot guess – to achieve such popularity among Indonesians."

the first textiles collected by him dated from the 18th century. The third group contains two specimens (MLV 27897, 27901) also called *sinde*. They are of cotton, patterned by printing with red, white and black colours, and their motifs to some extent resemble the MLV 27902. Kruyt estimated that his specimens dated from the 17th or 18th century, which seems quite early.

According to information in the Rotterdam museum catalogue (MLV 27897), originally written by A. C. Kruyt in a letter in 1933, "De tjinde wordt in de Poso-streek Sinde genoemd," that is, "the tjinde were called sinde in Poso." Most likely the To Pamona merely called the early *patola* imitations of the above type *sinde*. Indian cloths acquired later had different names, such as *mbesa keli, lanta mboko, saulu*. There seems to have been confusion and dissimilarities concerning the use of the term *cinde;* it was used for silk *patola*, their imitations and local silks. Gittinger (1982, 152) explains the use of these terms:

> An important term in the eastern trade that does not appear in Saris' list is *tjindai* or *chinde*, which is related to the Indian word *chint*, meaning "spotted" or "many colored". Originally these *tjindai* were mordant-painted and dyed cotton fabrics, but at some time the term *tjindai* or *tzinde* becomes associated with silk; when we first encounter it in the trade lists of 1603 and 1605 it is given as *tchyndes* and *tzinde* and is described as being colorful silk cloth or silk with red stripes. In Indonesia the word now seems to be associated primarily with weft or double *ikat* on silk, especially when done in floral patterns. Originally, however, this term may have referred not to *ikat* but to dyed cotton. (Gittinger 1982, 152.)

Similarly, the word *patola* or *patolu* has been employed to refer to several kinds of Indian fabrics. According to Gittinger (1982, 152), "From its use in the literature of the sixteenth century, one Indian scholar has concluded that the term *patola* was used for both patterned silks and cottons, although later it was applied exclusively to the Gujarati double-*ikat* silks. Therefore, when this term is used in early trade lists we cannot be sure what variety of multicolored textile is intended." The distinction concerning the utilization of textile terms in various part of Indonesia has caused more confusion for the terminology of diverse cloths in early trade. The term *patola* for cloths is standard mainly in the eastern part of Indonesia, not only for silks but for cotton textiles as well. Otherwise we know it only from North Sulawesi, Sumba and – though the reference is questionable – Lomblen (Bühler & Fischer 1979, 301).

The term *patola* is sometimes also mentioned in the accounts from Central Sulawesi. In poetry *bana* fabrics are sometimes called *patola;* this term seemed to be customary for these old cloths in Minahassa, thus named after the marked skin of the python *(patola)* (Kruyt 1938 I, 87). Further, there is a story from Parigi which tells how a baby was nursed by a sow under the dwelling. When the child grew up and no longer needed milk, she was brought to the house in a precious *patola* cloth. (Kruyt 1938 I, 87.)

The early imitations of *patola* textiles, called *sinde* in the Poso district, were perhaps the most important *bana (mesa)* fabrics in Central Sulawesi. They were used at the most significant rites and they played a particularly central role in agricultural ceremonies. At the temple feast the house fathers dressed up in their best finery, and put around their waist an old-fashioned shawl, such as were formerly imported by the East India Company. These pieces of clothing were used only for this occasion and after the feast were carefully put away. The people knew the following little verse about the wearing of *bana* on this occasion (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 362-3):

I sikomo kusudoka,	You pounder [4] I use for support,
da mampowewe patola,	in the use of *patola* as loincloth.
Tima i ayu mpesomba.	Take the pounder of worship,
Nupampebao-baoka.	so that you invoke the gods with it.

The use of *sinde* cloth is explicitly mentioned in connection with rites of rice cultivation: at the harvest feast of the Kaili-speakers a *wunca* tree (pole) was adorned with precious *sinde, mesa* cloths (Kruyt 1938 IV, 210); similarly, among the To Pamona, when the stalks cut off from the *pesua*[5] were spit on with chewed magical herbs and placed in the harvest basket. This basket was beautifully rigged up: with a *sinde* cloth or some other *bana* fabric wound around it, various herbs and plants were fastened to it and it was hung with little bunches of rice ears and covered with a colourful cloth (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 137). There is a photo (figure 17) picturing a *sinde* cloth, an early imitation of *patola*, taken in Pentana in about 1930 showing a sick person being treated by three shamans accompanied by five men playing musical instruments. One of these men is apparently wearing a *sinde* cloth as a sarong.

Actually the ritual meaning of *sinde* cloths is given in a myth which narrates the origin of rice:

> There were two orphans, who nourished themselves with all sorts of refuse. One day the sun rose in all its glory, and the orphans, in their misery, wished to die on that day, so that the sun would take along their souls to the realm of the shades under the earth. When the sun had just passed the zenith, they heard a heart-stirring sound, but they saw nothing. It vibrated through the air and emitted a whistling tone. Finally they made out something vague in the air. When it had come close, they saw that it was a decorated bamboo, packed in white bark cloth and wrapped in a cotton shawl *(sinde)*. This is the reason that *sinde* is used at all sacrificial ceremonies in the field. When the decorated bamboo with the *fuya* and the *sinde* around it had landed in the yard the orphans saw that is was tied with seven ropes *(ndatimbu'u)*. They opened it and found rice grains in it. These had made the tinkling noise, and therefore one kind of rice still always bears the name of *pae njengi*, "tinkling rice". In the beginning the children did not know what this was, but gradually it was revealed to them how they had to deal with it. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 4–5.)

Mesa textiles were the most prominent item of bridewealth among the To Kaili, and if Kruyt (1938 III, 111) is correct that these *mesa* fabrics were those traded by the VOC from India to Central Sulawesi, they, too, were most likely early imitations of the *patola* textiles called *sinde* by the To Poso.

4 This pounder was an ebony staff resembling a tool used for husking rice. The ritual staff was, however, employed merely at the temple feast.

5 The *pesua* is the name for the four sheaves of rice tied together, i.e. the starting point for the harvest (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 108).

Figure 8. Kulawi women wearing festive clothes of different imported cloths (*ikats*, Indian cloths). Kulawi 1920-30. K.I.T., VIDOC, Album 187/25, neg. 94/27.

5.1.2. Other Indian Cloths

Besides silk *patola*, colourful and durable printed and painted cottons have frequently been found in Southeast Asia. According to Guy (1989, 50), together with plain cotton cloth and cloths decorated with a simple stripe, cloths with this repeating floral design must have formed the staple of the Indian textile trade in Southeast Asia. These cotton cloths lack finished ends and were cut to lengths of around six-and-a-half metres, too much for a *sarang* and more akin to the standard dimensions of a *sari*.

Old photos and museum collections illustrate that besides the imitations of *patola* textiles mentioned earlier, several other kinds of Indian fabrics were imported to Central Sulawesi. The terms used for these printed cottons seem to have been even more complex than those for Indian *ikats*. Guy (1989, 50) writes that "the term *sarasa* occurred frequently in the trade records and is widely accepted to refer to cotton cloth with painted and /or printed decoration, which has been mordant treated and dyed, often with added painted colour. The precise meaning of the term seemed to be obscure but it may be derived from the Gujarati term *saras*, meaning 'good quality'." The term *sarasa* did not occur in Central Sulawesi; there were other recognized terms to refer to Indian cloths, such as *mbesa keli*, *lantamboko*, *saulu*, *maburi bunga bunga* and *see-see*.

One of these terms, *saulu* (*caweli*, Bugis *caulu'*[6]), is described as a *bana* cloth. *Saulu* is a Bengali cloth[7] which was earlier imported to Central Sulawesi but no longer in the early 1900's and was used on ceremonial occasions; *pesaulu* means "decorating of bark cloth according to the pattern of this textile" (Adriani 1928, 689). *Pesaulu*, "like the pattern of *saulu* cloth," is a *tumpal* motif (Adriani & Kruyt 1912, Pl. 11). This information indicates that the patterns of the Indian textiles were imitated and applied to bark cloth. Probably this was done with other types of motifs, too. This might explain why, despite the vast amount of source material, there is so little information concerning the meaning of the patterns on bark cloth. The plates of the first edition of *Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas* (1912) give names of motifs, but it is likely that some or all of these motifs were imitated from textiles and the names were given by local people according to their resemblance with some familiar thing often derived from the plant or animal world.[8] I presume that there was indigenous decoration on bark cloth but that it is difficult to recognize because all the known bark cloths are quite recent, the earliest specimens dating from the end of the 19th century and most of them from the 1920's and 1930's, by which time the textile tradition was well established.

Let us now take a look at some examples of textiles probably of Indian origin found in the museum collections and other source materials. Similar Indian textiles to those

6 This cloth was in old Javanese called *caweli*, in Malay *caul*, a fine sort of cloth, porbably derived from Tamil *cawali*, *cawuli*, cloth, drapery (Kern 1920, 303–304).

7 These fabrics might originate from a place called Caul since Kern (1920, 304) mentions a citation from Alexander Hamilton's book *A New Account of the East Indies* published in 1727: "CHAUL, in former Times, was a noted Place of Trade, particularly for fine embroidered Quilts; but now it is miserably poor."

8 Several scholars have tried to distinguish and interpret the motifs on bark cloth garments from Central Sulawesi but with poor results (Kaudern 1944, Kooijman 1963, Loeber 1916–17, Tichelman 1940a and Tichelman 1940b).

found among the Sa'dan Toraja and pictured by Gittinger (1982, fig. 131, 149) were also traded to the Kulawi district and are still owned by some local families.[9] Gittinger describes this cloth as an Indian cotton, with resist patterning in red and dark blue, called by the Sa'dan Toraja *lotong boko*, "black back."

Flower-patterned fabrics were popular among the people of Central Sulawesi; and although not all of them were traded from India but were produced in Europe and Indonesia, too, the Indian cloths were probably the most prominent group among them. Some floral textiles from Kulawi are illustrated in Soelarto & Albiladiyah *Adat Istiadat dan Kesenian Orang Kulawi* (see, for instance, figures 48 and 49); unfortunately the information concerning these textiles is poor, and the text merely mentions that textiles called *langit-langit* were used as wall hangings. Some of these flowered cloths have been found in museums. Two specimens in Rotterdam (MLV 27903 and 27904) are one-sided printed or painted cotton cloths, both with similar yellow or brownish-red floral motifs. Both cloths originate from Poso and are, according to Kruyt, Indian chintz. Identical cloths were worn as articles of clothing and used to cover a corpse at the burial ceremony. A photo taken in Kulawi shows a woman with this kind of cloth bound around her upper body[10], and photos taken by Edward Rosenlund in Kulawi in the 1920's (SK VKK 400:24, 23; figure 26) show a body covered by flower-patterned cloths, one of which was of this type.

Other textiles which are according to the acquisition information probably of Indian origin are a handspun, mordant-printed cotton (MLV 27905) decorated at the ends with *tumpals* and in the middle with rows of flower motifs. Kruyt acquired this specimen in Poso before 1933 as well as another (MLV 27906) Indian cloth painted with red, white, reddish black and green in Javanese sarong pattern with a double *tumpal* in the middle. G. H. Wigman was also able to obtain an Indian cotton cloth (MLV 24999) with *maburi bunga bunga*, floral motifs in reddish brown, black and greenish white printed on one side. According to the catalogue information by Wigman of 1921 this was known in North Celebes as "fosso" cloth and used by noble brides and girls at feasts.

One cloth *(mbesa keli)* (SK VK 5114:189) collected by Rosenlund among the To Kaili of Bora in the 1920's further deserves attention. This printed cotton is coloured brownish red, light blue, dark brownish violet and green and consists of three similar sections, each having two end panels containing bands of decorated *tumpals*.[11] Rosenlund gives the following note: "Name *mBesa keli*. An antique batik from Celebes. The most antique piece of cloth that I have been able to get hold of there. It was formerly the property of the powerful prince of Sigi. Nowadays represents capital. At great festivals they hang up such antique pieces of cloth under which the priestesses perform their dances. The price of this piece was earlier 7 slaves and 7 buffaloes. Acquired at Bora. Provenance unknown."[12] Marjatta Parpola suggests (1982, 261) that this fabric was

9 See also Soelarto & Albiladiyah figure 50.

10 See the photos from K.I.T., Amsterdam Album 187/24, Neg. 94/26 and Album 187/25, Neg. 94/27 (figure 8).

11 A detailed description of this cloth is given by Marjatta Parpola (1982, 259).

12 Source: museum catalogue SK VK 5114:189; original text in Swedish, English translation cited from Parpola 1982, 258–9.

printed and painted in India for export to Indonesia not later than around the turn of the century.

Cotton textiles decorated with flower motifs were employed as other *bana* and *mesa* cloths in various social and ritual contexts. They are mentioned as having been worn over their heads by shamans in Besoa (To Lore) as they drove away mice, which were considered to be sent by the spirits of ancestors from the field (Kruyt 1938 IV, 120), and again the *batuwali*, a canopy for the deceased was adorned with a curtain, for which people preferred to use flowered cotton (mostly *sunde*, a kind of red-flowered cotton), since in the realm of the air spirits it is also so colourful and beautiful. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 470.) The favour of these bright-coloured cloths might indeed derive from their association with the sky, which was pictured as bright, colourful and full of light.

5.2. Cloths from Southern Central Sulawesi

5.2.1. *Kain Saritas*

Sarita cloth is a long, narrow textile with designs of scrolls, tendril-like forms, circles, and even buffalo. The designs were worked by a resist process that must have resembled batik. Gittinger (1979, 203) points out that: "This evidence of a wax-resist technique on an island not heavily subjected to Hindu-Buddhist cultural influences provides a rallying point for those who claim that batik was indigenous to the archipelago, and not just an imported craft from India." Actually, there are two kinds of *saritas:* the indigenous ones made in southern Central Sulawesi and those made in Holland and imported to Central Sulawesi. (Nooy-Palm 1989, 166).

According to van Nouhuys imported *saritas* were manufactured by the cotton mills of Fentener van Vlissingen and Co., Ltd. in Holland from 1880 onwards and exported to Indonesia until approximately 1930 (Nooy-Palm 1979b, 81; 1989, 171). In these imitations, the resist was applied by means of wooden blocks, and then the cloth was dyed indigo. The imprecise register of the blocks is often discernible on these textiles.[13] It is possible to distinguish between those textiles that were imported and those that were probably made in Sulawesi. Some of the *saritas* that were apparently made in Sulawesi have stippled lines, suggesting that a blunt tool was used to apply the resist; others have designs with continuous contours, implying the use of another type of instrument. In these pieces beeswax was used as the resist substance, whereas the Dutch apparently used a combination of other substances. (Gittinger 1979, 203–4.)

Among the Sa'dan Toraja *sarita* textiles were flown from tall poles set before the great houses at funerals, or used as part of the shaman's headdress or that of the wooden figure carved to represent a dead person. They were considered to be sacred in origin. (Gittinger 1979, 202–3; *Weefsels uit …*, 8–9.)

Although several photos especially from Kulawi witness that *sarita* cloths or their imitations were frequently worn by men and in more recent times also by women as articles of festive clothing, there are very few *sarita* cloths belonging to Kaili-Pamona

13 For further details see Nooy-Palm 1989, 171–172.

Figure 9. *Sarita* cloths or their imitations were frequently worn by men and women as articles of festive clothing. Kulawi, about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:15.

speakers in the museums. *Saritas* were worn by men wrapped around the waist and by women as skirts during the round dance in Kulawi; see, for instance, the photos VKK 400:15 (figure 9) and VKK 400:17 (SK, Helsinki) taken by Edward Rosenlund in Kulawi before 1920. *Saritas* are still owned by Kulawian families and used on ceremonial occasions such as marriage ceremonies. Apparently the real batik cloths and their printed imitations were used side by side. This is suggested by, for instance, the two specimens obtained by Rosenlund in Kulawi (SK VK 5002:99 and 100); the first (SK VK 5002:99) was identified by Parpola as a genuine batik *sarita* of cotton, which she describes as follows "motifs natural beige, ground resist-dyed dark blue", while the second cloth (SK VK 5002:100) is an inferior copy of the first and was supposedly produced in Holland (Parpola 1982, 259). Parpola describes the latter specimen: "The ground is resist-dyed dark blue with the pattern reserved white. The material is smooth factory-made cotton. The strip of cloth has been cut out of a broader fabric and the sides have been left unfinished. The ends have been folded and stitched by machine and the fringes have been added. On both sides of a broader middle area the different motif areas have been arranged symmetrically."

According to Rosenlund both fabrics were used in a similar way as the *bandera*, a cloth that is used for tying the sword that is part of men's festal attire. The fringes are left hanging down to the knee on the left side under the sword. This seems to have been the most frequent role of *sarita* cloths in western Central Sulawesi, for Wigman also reports that his specimen (MLV 25449) was worn by young men as *bandera "morego"* in Palu. This particular cloth is batiked in blue and white, probably mordant printed, and was possibly made in Holland and imported to Sulawesi, although according to the catalogue "might be 'batik' from Bada', but rather imported".[14]

5.2.2. *Ikat* Cloths

As photos taken at the beginning of this century show, various kinds of *ikat* cloths used to be extensively owned and are still possessed by Kaili and Pamona-speaking people. Many of these textiles were classified as *bana* or *mesa* cloths. Identifiable from these photos are, besides the Indian and *sarita* cloths, *ikat* cloths made in Rongkong and Galumpang, *pelangi (plangi)* cloths probably made in southern Central Sulawesi, and a cloth called *talitobatu* of uncertain origin. Most of the *ikat* cloths encountered in northern Central Sulawesi were presumably produced in the Rongkong and Krataun valleys in southern Central Sulawesi, and traded to other parts of Central Sulawesi for various uses. Although individual examples of these textiles had entered private collections and museums earlier, these weavings were not identified by scholars as

14 There is a photo (figure 10) taken in about 1925 (KITLV, no. 5519) which illustrates "three textiles from Bada": a printed *kain sarita* like MLV 25449, an *ikat* cloth from Sigi similar to MLV 25432d, and an ancient *talitobatu* loincloth like MLV 25451. All the textiles mentioned above were acquired by Wigman from western Central Sulawesi in 1916–1921. I consider it very likely that this photo really represents textiles obtained by Wigman and deposited at the MLV in Rotterdam.

Figure 10. "Three textiles from Bada'": a printed *kain sarita* like MLV 25449, an *ikat* cloth from Sigi similar to MLV 25432d, and an ancient *talitobatu* loincloth like MLV 25451. KITLV, DGI, no. 5519.

having been made by the To Rongkong and To Makki until around 1920; before that time they were regarded as Bugis or originating from an entirely different island. Textile experts have suggested that this wrap *ikat* technique has not been practised within these areas for many centuries. The similarity between To Makki and Kalimantan Dayak designs suggests the possibility of culture contact between the two regions in pre-colonial times. (Chrystal 1979, 60; Kahlenberg 1977, 53; Kartiwa 1987, 57–8.)

When A. C. Kruyt visited the area at the beginning of this century, the To Rongkong wore in daily life garments made from imported textiles and used their *ikat* cloths merely as funeral shrouds. The corpse was first shrouded in white cotton, in an old imported *mawa* cloth, and finally in an *ikat* cloth called a *poritutu*. (Kruyt 1920b, 374; Kruyt & Kruyt 1920, 14–15.) Outside Rongkong and Galumpang these cloths have been in wider use. Textiles of both origin are decorated with designs of hooked diamonds called *sekong* or *sekon* or a series of arrow like forms. These *sekong* motifs are often interpreted as a series of interlocking human figures representing ancestors (Jager Gerlings 1952, 110–111; Kartiwa 1987, 58).

There appeared to be present in Central Sulawesi many kinds of *ikat* textiles, perhaps the most ancient type of which are three cloths (SK VK 5114:260, 261 and 262) in the possession of the National Museum of Finland[15], one quite similar at the Museon in The Hague (no. 6926), and one sarong *(sora langi')* in the collection of Jeff Holmgren and Anita Spertus (Khan Majlis 1984, colour photo). The first three specimens were acquired by the Finnish missionary Edward Rosenlund at Bora, Palu Valley between 1922 and 1928. All the cloths have been sewn together from several pieces each 44–73 cm wide. These warp *ikats* are woven from dark blue, dark red, reddish brown and natural cotton. The information by Rosenlund on these cloths reads:

> Name *maburi*. Antique fabrics from the inner parts of Celebes.[16] Used nowadays generally as bridewealth, also as skirts by wealthier women. It was customary earlier to have to pay a *maburi* as a fine for offending a person of noble birth, for instance by coming upon her in the act of bathing, etc.

The two other fabrics resembling those mentioned above were collected in the 19th century; that belonging to the collection of Holmgren and Spertus in the Palu district and that deposited at the Museon having obscure provenance, being identified only as "Toraja."

Another kind of *ikat* cloth is represented by two specimens from the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam (MLV 25000 and 25641), which although not exactly alike resemble each other; both were acquired in the Palu district in about 1920. The fabric MLV 25641 is characterized as a loose *ikat* cloth in four pieces. Both the middle parts form a great *sekon* pattern framed with diamonds and dips, limited at the ends by a band of sharp points, all *ikated* on the warp with white and reddish brown

15 Marjatta Parpola described these cloths in detail in her article (1982, 256–7).

16 It is unclear whether Rosenlund means here that the place of provenance is in the "inner parts of Sulawesi" or if he refers to the place of acquisition, that is, Bora which, however, is located some 20 km from the coast. I consider it more likely that he meant that these cloths were traded from the inner parts of the island (see also Parpola 1982, 257).

savings on blue-black. Both side parts have striped patterns. According to the acquisition information this specimen was collected in the Palu district but manufactured in Rongkong. The other quite similar cloth (MLV 25000) was according to its collector Wigman commonly used in Kulawi but imported from Palopo, which is the capital of Luwu south of the Pamona area. These *ikat* textiles were worn by women both young and old, noble and common, as a skirt at various feasts. This is also proved by several photos showing girls ready for a round dance dressed in skirts made of *ikat* cloths.[17] It is also mentioned that old women wore them daily up to their death and after that they were enshrouded in them. Thus the information concerning these cloths points to provenance from the Rongkong area; this is further indicated by other information attached to similar cloths found in other areas. Compare, for example, the one presented by Nooy-Holm (no. 200 in 1975, 65), which she states was collected among the To Sa'dan Toraja but was imported there and made in Rongkong; Jager Gerlings (1952, fig. 32 which is TM 556–43) also shows an *ikat* cloth which comes from Rongkong.[18]

In addition to the cloths mentioned a special type of *ikat* called *talitobatu* was owned by the people of northern Central Sulawesi. Holmgren and Spertus were able to acquire a rare piece of *ikat* cloth, the manufacturing of which they describe (1989, 56) as follows: cloths "were woven uncoloured, with a complex and ever-changing network of tiny slits which predetermined the pattern that would emerge when the fabrics were later dyed. After weaving, small sections of fabric were wrapped and tightly bound between the slits; these areas remained protected (reserved) while the entire textile was plunged into the dye bath. The bundles were cut open and other portions retied for the next color staccato." This weaving technique was called *tannunan dasi*, "sewn or needlework weaving" in Rongkong. (Jager Gerlings 1952, 40.)

Such *ikat* cloths are seldom found in museums; apart from one specimen collected by L. and J. Langewis (TM 1752–8), Suwati Kartiwa (1987, 17) presents one textile of this kind *(tali tobatu)*,[19] and Wigman further acquired one *mbesa talitobatu* (MLV 25451) in the Palu district. The provenance of the *tali tobatu* displayed by Kartiwa is obscure, labelled only "Toraja". It is described as "a shawl decorated with ikated hooks and triangular tumpals". According to Wigman (MLV 25451) his specimen was used as a loincloth by a noble person; moreover it is asserted that it "zou in Bada' geweven zijn", i.e. "might have been woven in Bada'". It is true that Bada' is the homeland of human-like stone megaliths to which the name *tali tobatu* might refer, because *tali* is a headcloth, *tau* means a person and *batu* is a stone. There are, however, no other references indicating that the inhabitants of Bada' wove textiles, and the tradition of making bark cloth was very strong in that area. The Bada' people may actually have been the most skillful makers and painters of bark cloth in Central Sulawesi.

17 See, for instance, photos (SK VKK 400:15 (figure 9), 23, 24; K.I.T., VIDOC, Album 187/22 (figure 11), 23, 26 (figure 5)) showing women wearing skirts made of *ikats* of this type. All these photos were taken in Kulawi in about 1920–1930.

18 Holmgren and Spertus present one ceremonial sarong which to some extent resembles these *ikats* (1989, 68 no. 28). They claim that this cloth might be "a true Palu weaving" from the time before the 20th century.

19 This *tali tobatu* is probably located in the National Museum in Jakarta.

According to Holmgren and Spertus this ikat cloth tie-dyed after weaving is called *pewo* or *mbesa tali to batu*[20] (Holmgren & Spertus 1989, 56). The first name *pewo* is not a special term for this type of cloth but a common name for a loincloth used by men (Adriani 1928, 565). Rosenlund states that *pevo* means "a cloth to cover one's private parts" (SK VK 5002:97,98). A loincloth was named *pewe* in Lore, *pewo* in Kulawi, Pipikoro and Kaili and *bauga* by the To Pamona (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 280; Kruyt 1938 IV, 248).

Of the problem regarding the provenance of this cloth, Holmgren and Spertus (1989, 56) write, "Despite the early attribution of one *pewo* to Rongkong district, southeast Toraja, all recently found examples have emerged from the north Palu district, which supports our supposition that Palu, in addition to Rongkong and Galumpang, was a separate Toraja weaving centre." As I have already argued, I am not able to agree with Holmgren's and Spertus's suggestion of a separate weaving centre in Palu district. And as regards this *talitobatu* cloth, the origin of its production is likewise obscure. I am more inclined to approve Langewis' suggestion that it was made in Rongkong (Jager Gerlings 1952, 40).

It has been indisputably proved that *talitobatu* was used as a loincloth *(pewo)* by men in the Palu Valley area among the To Kaili and classified as a precious *mesa* cloth, but this does not directly confirm that it was made in the Kaili area. As mentioned, the Palu Valley was an important centre of trade, probably the most significant one in northern Central Sulawesi, at least since the 1600's, and many kinds of imported textiles both from India and southern Central Sulawesi appeared there. According to Langewis, *tali tau batu* was wound around the head of the deceased by a close relative, "if the deceased had fabricated or owned it, it was wound around the head by a close relative, and thus worn by the deceased at the funeral" (Jager Gerlings 1952, 40).

Rongkong *ikat* cloth is mentioned a few times as clothing at agricultural rituals. Among the To Kaili the leader of the harvest rituals preferred to wear white bark cloth, or multi-coloured cloth. The leader wore a precious cloth from ancient times if she possessed one, or a Rongkong cloth (Kruyt 1938 IV, 136). At the harvest feast in Besoa (Kruyt 1938 IV, 196) both the shaman and the participants put on the finest clothing; the shaman was dressed in white with variegated coloured cloth (probably Rongkong *kain*) over it.

The To Pamona and most of the Kaili-speakers used cloths from Rongkong and Galumpang as part of their festive clothing, such as skirts and shoulder cloths (Kruyt 1938 IV, 248). These *ikat* cloths and Indian cloths seemed to be parallel, since they were worn side by side as articles of clothing. After the Indian cloths, native fabrics traded probably from southern Central Sulawesi stood in the highest repute (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 275). Imported *ikat* cloths were also used in connection with funerals, and especially as items of bridewealth.

Holmgren and Spertus have suggested that some of the ancient cloths that have emerged from Palu and Poso in recent years and which preserve features of extremely old Indonesian weaving evident elsewhere in the Archipelago might have been woven

20 Human-like stone megaliths have not been found in the Palu Valley area, as Holmgren and Spertus write (1989, 56), but in the Lore district (Napu, Besoa and Bada') southeast of the Palu Valley.

Figure 11. The To Pamona and most of the Kaili-speakers used *ikats* as part of their festive clothing, such as skirts and shoulder cloths. Kulawi, about 1920-30. K.I.T., VIDOC, Album 187/22, neg. 94/24.

by the "Palu Toraja" rather than traded from the weaving centres of southern Central Sulawesi, as was earlier supposed (Holmgren & Spertus 1989, 68; Khan Majlis 1984, colour photo). Unfortunately there is very little information on the textile trade carried on in the inner part of southern Central Sulawesi; the sources merely mention that textiles from Rongkong were traded to the area of Kaili-Pamona speakers; for example, that "when the To Pada came to show their respect to Peana (Pipikoro), they brought with them *ikats* from Rongkong (*poritutu*)" (Kruyt 1938 I, 180); so we do not exactly know what kinds of textiles were traded.

The entire area inhabited by the Kaili-Pamona has in all probability had an unbroken bark cloth making tradition ever since the neolithic era. The technique was probably brought to the area by the Austronesian speakers (Kotilainen 1990). This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the art of weaving was familiar to them, too. The making of bark cloth and of textiles by weaving could have existed side by side. No irrefutable proof has, however, so far been found in Central Sulawesi that the art of weaving was known before the present century. Spertus and Holmgren claim that some old *ikat* textiles that are older and differ in style from those found in other areas have recently been found in the Palu and Poso districts, i.e. areas inhabited by the Kaili-Pamona. Some stone monuments have also been found in the Lore region the origin of which is a mystery; the megaliths similar to them found in different parts of Indonesia have been linked by some textile researchers with the art of weaving.

If Spertus and Holmgren are right, it is surprising that there is no information on the technique of weaving in the existing sources, ethnographic descriptions or the oral tradition, though admittedly these for the most part date only from the beginning of this century. The few early documents preserved from the 17th century mention bark cloth but not woven textiles.

My point of departure in this study is, however, that the textiles utilized in Kaili and Pamona society at the time of my study came from outside the community and the inhabitants themselves regarded them as external. By contrast, the beating of bark cloth was native to the area and an elemental part of their indigenous knowledge. The narrative tradition of the area does not seem to include a myth telling how people learned to weave, but in the myths textiles do arrive ready-made from heaven. It is true that in the myth bark cloth is also said to land from the sky as a ready piece, but there is also a story telling how the people living in the inner parts of Central Sulawesi learned to make bark cloth while the loom was handed to the coastal dwellers (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 24):

> Having arrived at Pamona Saweringading (the rulers of Luwu) distributed the heirlooms that had been brought from Tolewua. To the tribes that lived near the coast he gave Rumongi's loom, and that is why these people are skilled in weaving. Those who lived in the mountains received the copper beating-board and the copper beating-hammers, with which they make their clothing out of bark cloth *(fuya)*. Saweringading took the copper spear and the copper weeder with him to Palopo, where they are said to be part of the regalia *(arajaa)* still.

Again, textiles were imported to Central Sulawesi, and especially the Palu Valley, where these textiles were found, from at least the 18th century onwards and possibly earlier, from India and the southern parts of Central Sulawesi, possibly even Eastern Indonesia. The noble Kaili families in particular probably had and still have more old

textiles than in the eastern regions, where the hierarchy was not so marked. Woven textiles were greatly valued, were kept in the family as far as possible and used if necessary as, for example, bridewealth. It is thus possible that the old textiles have been exceptionally well preserved among the Kaili-Pamona. One reason was that they were so highly valued in the community. And although considerable research was conducted in the area between 1900 and 1930, virtually no Western researchers visited the region between 1930 and the early 1980's.

5.2.3. *Sudalangi* Cloth

The Indonesian word *pelangi (plangi)* means 'rainbow', and in Hitchcock's words "this vividly describes the effect produced by a tie dye technique" that is found principally in central and western Indonesia. Hitchcock (1985, 51) describes this technique: "to achieve the patterns, sections of cloth are gathered together and bound tightly, the tied area and folds serving as a resist. After dying, the cloth can be untied to reveal the patterns. .. Designs produced in this manner have wavy or curved patterns that merge into each other at the edges, hence the rainbow title."

Pelangi textiles were also known among the Kaili-Pamona speakers, although I have not found any in the museum collection. However, they were part of the family cloth valuables, at least in Kulawi.[21] Moreover, the ethnographical sources mention an ancient *bana* cloth called *sudalangi* (from Bugis *sudalangi'*), which was earlier used by the To Pamona at temple feasts (Adriani 1928, 732). *Sudalangi* was not ordinary *ikat* work; the cloth was first woven from uncoloured thread, whereupon little sections in the shape of tufts were wound around and the cloth was coloured (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 275; J. Kruyt 1922, 425). Judging from this description, *sudalangi* might be a *pelangi* cloth. According to J. Kruyt *sudalangi* or *roto* was made in Rongkong.

Sudalangi ikat from Rongkong was used by the Napu women as skirts at great death feasts and it was also fastened to the *kate* (see further chapter 8.3.; Kruyt 1938 III, 507). *Sudalangi* was employed at agricultural rites when the "rice mother" was made; the leader of the harvest rites tied four sheaves firmly together with a strip of *suka* bast by means of 4 or 8 loops ... She planted her forked staff in the middle of the four stools and at the same time let it lean a bit toward the east. In Onda'e the leader of the harvest threw around the whole thing a *sudalangi* cloth used only for this purpose, which bears the name of *topi lamoa*, "skirt of the gods". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 108.) Association between *sudalangi* and the realm of the gods reveals the fact that the house of the High God, who was sometimes called Opo, was occasionally described in the following way: "It stands on a single post of gold; the floor beams are of copper, the walls of rice, the rafters of iron, and the roof of *sudalangi*" (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 132).

21 See, for instance, Solearto & Albiladiyah fig. 51, which illustrates a *pelangi* textile.

5.3. *Bana* and *Mesa* Textiles

In speaking of *bana* cloths Adriani and Kruyt use such expressions as "old-fashioned cloth" or "precious cloth". The people living in western Central Sulawesi, the Kaili-speakers, called these textiles *mesa* or *mbesa*[22], except for the To Lore, who like the To Pamona called them *banas*. These *bana* or *mesa* cloths were not worn daily but carefully preserved as family valuables and ritual textiles. *Bana* (from Malaya *benang*) is an old-fashioned term for all coloured textiles, by which all ancient textiles still employed on ceremonial occasions were called at the beginning of the 20th century (Adriani 1928, 44–45).

Similarly, the Sa'dan Toraja of South Sulawesi subsumed their most precious textiles under the categories of *maa'* or *sarita*, and kept them in baskets and used them only on the occasion of a major ceremonial event. *Maa'* are usually wide rectangular cloths in varying sizes and could be either imported from India via Java or indigenous, made in one of three regions: Pangala', Riu, or La'bo', a complex of villages in Kesu'. *Sarita* cloths were also imported from Holland and manufactured locally in southern Central Sulawesi. According to Nooy-Palm *maa'* are particularly difficult to classify because there are so many kinds, and because the Toraja names for them can be confusing. *Maa'* are considered holier than *sarita*; but in addition the Toraja have some very sacred cloths without a group name which fall outside the categories of either *maa'* or *sarita*. (Nooy-Palm 1989, 166, 167.)

At the beginning of the 1900's there were already in Central Sulawesi, besides *bana* and *mesa* cloths, other kinds of cloths, i.e. factory-made European cloths and textiles made by the Bugis designed primarily for clothing. But even then *bana* and *mesa* fabrics were still highly esteemed because of their ritual and social implications. Furthermore, the To Pamona seem to have had a special category of *bana* textile called *ayapa lamoa*, "consecrated cloths", to which no reference is made in sources concerning the Kaili-speakers. The term *ayapa* (from *ai-apa* = *apa*, a thing, goods) means "woven cloths"; *lamoa* denotes spirit, god, ancestor, transcendent, outside the human world, something from the spirit world, i.e. textiles from the invisible world (Adriani 1928, 7, 337). *Lamoa* is used to refer to European goods, too.

Ayapa lamoa were worn by women during the planting of rice seed in the fields. This is described as follows: "The man is followed by a woman, who will presently distribute the seed rice to the female planters. She has a basket of seed in her hand; she is dressed in clothes that are used only on ceremonial occasions *(ayapa lamoa)*." (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 60–61.) Similarly the father of the house put on a loincloth of old-fashioned, multicoloured *bana* on ceremonial occasions, such as temple feasts, which also was part of the consecrated clothing *(ayapa lamoa)* (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III,

22 New sources suggest that the use of the term *mbesa* has changed; today it seems to be equal to the Indonesian *kain adat*, being used of both bark cloth and cotton (Djenen 1983, 32–33; *Upacara tradisional* ... 1984, 86, 90, 91). The information given by *Upacara tradisional* ... is, however, confusing, for *mbesa lalangi*, which is hung around the corpse during the burial rite, is mentioned as *mbesa lapegeli*, *kain adat* made of the bark cloth (see page 96), while *mbesa lalangi*, pictured in figure 8, is apparently cotton cloth. Moreover, the bark cloth garments illustrated in figure 3 are called *ikat kepala*.

280). In addition, at the great death feast the skull of a woman was placed in a basket and covered with a precious cloth *(ayapa lamoa)*, so that the dead person would not be angry at having her head taken away. If the skull came from a man, then it is placed in a shield and covered with a special kind of fabric that is called *boa'a* (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 538). *Boa'a* is a cotton cloth resembling the weave of bath towels, used to cover the sacks in the field in Lage. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 59).

Ayapa lamoa seemed to be closely related to agriculture since when harvesting started, at the offering table on the *pongkaresi* (i.e. place where all agricultural activities have to be started), a square rack was made and hung with consecrated cotton *(ayapa lamoa)*. The wife of the leader of the field complex withdrew into this enclosure in order to make offerings of the rice collected. One object that the female leader always had with her or in the vicinity during the harvest was the harvest basket. The basket is always covered with a consecrated cloth. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 81, 102). Further, at the harvest feast the consecrated cloths of men and women were placed on the poles.

The available sources do not reveal the nature of *ayapa lamoa*, stating simply that they were considered precious *bana* textiles but they might be *sinde* cloths, which seemed to be the most treasured textiles among the To Pamona. *Ayapa lamoa* seem particularly to have been associated with the cultivation of rice and agricultural rituals and were further present at temple feasts when the gods and ancestors were invoked. These textiles were obviously related to the well-being and fertility of both fields and human beings. They also appeared to refer to the ancestors by their name and role at various ceremonies, and in a similar way the source of fields' opulence was the ancestors. One's own *bana* or holy cloth could not be taken to another village, for by doing so one would also forfeit the blessing that was attached to this cloth. This idea clearly indicates that the *bana* was closely associated with the ancestors, because the territory of a village was regarded as a legacy from the ancestors and was therefore sacred to the people. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 10, 275.)

A picture survey of Adriani's and Kruyt's works (1951 III; 1938 IV) indicates that at least *ikat* and *sarita* cloths from South Sulawesi were more common among the western groups (the Kaili-speakers) than among the To Pamona. Several women wore a skirt made from *ikat* cloth and men had around their waist a *sarita* batik cloth or its imitation.[23] The more common prevalence of these textiles among the Kaili-speakers was likely associated with the greater hierarchy among them. The To Pamona were divided into two classes: the free and the slaves; while the Kaili-speakers also had a noble, ruling class. A noble class surely suggested accumulated property among the

23 *De Bare'e Sprekende Toradja op Midden Celebes* by Adriani and Kruyt includes two pictures (plates 39 and 114) in which a woman appears to have a skirt made from *ikat* cloth. Kruyt's book about the Kaili-speakers (1938 IV) includes several photographs illustrating people dressed in woven textiles. In most cases a woman wears a skirt made from *ikat* cloth; a girl from Biromaru (plate 12), women from Kulawi (plate 38), a bride from Kulawi (plate 39), women dancing *raego* in Kulawi (plate 41), a woman from Besoa (plates 145, 146), women from Bada' (plate 183), etc. *Sarita* cloths seem to have been used by men as waistbands: a boy from Bora (plate 14), from Kulawi (plates 41, 42). It is more difficult to identify *patola* cloths from these pictures. Plates 14, 41, 47 (Kruyt 1938 IV) probably illustrate a *patola* cloth or its imitation. Unfortunately these photographs are undated.

Figure 12. Early imported cloths called *bana* were an essential part of the ritual surroundings forming enclosures and canopies around and above ritual places. Kulawi?, about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:27.

wealthiest families, and as was earlier stated, *bana* or *mbesa* cloths were a precious part of family and kin-group property. Bark cloth could not have such cash value. It appeared to be linked with the customs of ancestors and old religious beliefs, particularly shamanism.

The category of *bana* cloths thus includes several types of textiles of different origin but seem in Central Sulawesi to have had qualities by which they could be classified in the same category of holy cloth. Before the arrival of these exported textiles, the To Pamona were probably familiar only with bark cloth. The most striking difference between woven textiles and *fuya* was the textiles' durability. They could be passed on from generation to generation, while articles made from bark cloth lasted less than a year if they were used as garments, and certainly not for centuries, even if carefully stored in granaries. Not until the appearance of woven textiles could kin-group property be passed on in the form of cloths from one generation to another. The *banas* were not worn in daily life, but carefully stored and passed down from parent to child. They were used at sacrificial rites attached to offering tables and other offering structures. They did not completely replace bark cloth in these situations but were present side by side with pieces of bark cloth; *bana* cloths were presented as "price" to spirits and gods, too. They were an essential part of the ritual surroundings forming enclosures and canopies around and above ritual places. Among the To Kaili in particular *mesa* cloths were an obligatory part of bridewealth. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 274; Kruyt 1933, 182–3.)

Dualism between life-giving and life-taking rituals was characteristic of the To Pamona religious beliefs. Women, above all the shamans, were responsible for the life-

giving rituals, and the agricultural and the healing rites; while head-hunting and the temple feasts connected with it were men's ritualistic spheres. This dualism was also manifest in the material culture. Thus clothes that were used in association with agriculture could not be used at temple feasts or burial ceremonies, and vice versa. By doing this people would expose themselves to misfortune, and even run the risk of becoming sick. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 274.)

The second marked distinction between woven textiles and bark cloth was their different accessibility. Almost every woman was able to beat bark cloth and clothe her family herself, while imported textiles, coming from outside the region, were rare and very expensive. They certainly were not obtainable by all families. Textiles were superior to bark cloth, being rare and expensive, more durable, beautifully coloured in bright and resistant colours. These qualities, along with the fact that the textiles apparently generated outside the society of Kaili-Pamona speakers, made them potent, significant objects. In many cases they were considered powerful ritual objects.

5.4. The Charm of the Foreign

I have here discussed some ritually and socially significant objects such as heirlooms of ancestors and imported textiles. As the role and the use of the *bana (mesa)* textiles demonstrate, foreign goods were classified as potent items. Actually, the socially and ritually most meaningful objects were often brought from outside the group or society where they were employed. Their value thus arose from the fact that the local people did themselves not produce them; furthermore, these valuables were rare or their distribution was restricted, their origin might be unknown, obscure and frequently considered transcendent.

Barraud (1990) gives an example of how valuables which originated outside the Kei Islands were used as part of marriage presentations, and states that the foreign element is, as many rituals and myths demonstrate, often considered superior.

> The presentation of a cannon, in replacement of life going out, emphasizes the very fact that, in giving life outside themselves, houses remain wholes ... According to this model, the highest value is attached to ideas or things which do not belong to one's own place (be it a house, a village or the society in a restricted sense), but which belong to an external world. (Barraud 1990, 215, 221.)

Similarly, among the To Kaili-Pamona speakers several valuables which were brought from outside their region were considered mighty, *lamoa* objects. Kruyt remarks (1896, 11) that all objects which awakened the To Pamona's admiration were considered to derive from the gods; so the house of Kruyt was called *banua lamoa*, "the house of gods", and Europeans were commonly called *anak lamoa*, "the children of gods", because they were able to manufacture steamers, guns, rifles, and other marvellous items.

The word *lamoa*[24] means a god, a god-like being such as a deified ancestor, spirits of nature and air spirits, further spirit, mind, conscious. In addition objects consecrated to the gods, such as the *pokae* (a Ficus tree) constructed in the field at the start of farming activities, and the wooden implements in the smithy, were regarded as *lamoa; wawu lamoa* is a wild pig, *manu lamoa* is a wild hen which belongs to the bush spirit, *nawu lamoa* was the name for a field or part of a field where the ceremonies dictated by ancestors were conducted. (Adriani 1928, 337.) These examples reveal that the concept of *lamoa* indicates above all something associated with the transcendent realm, a being or thing which is derived from outside the human world. Calling imported goods *lamoa* shows that they too were apparently thought to come from the realm of supernatural beings.

Adriani and Kruyt describe (1898, 417–419) the funeral of a prominent chief, Papai Hainta, from Parigi (on the Tomini coast) in which several artifacts from outside Central Sulawesi played a central role.[25] The coffin was placed on a wooden stand and covered with a white cloth; above it was a canopy adorned with pieces of cloth of various colours. On the coffin were piled seven mattresses on which the deceased rested. Every morning and evening twelve women waved their fans. They had some strange objects with them, such as a *bulumara*, a *pimpowayo*, an *abuwangi* and an *ompa* or table-mats. The three first mentioned objects were ancient heirlooms of the Dutch. *Bulumara* was a piece of cardboard on which colourful feathers were pasted. It was said that the original *bulumara* was lost and these were made by the Parigese themselves. Presumably they were a mural decoration from Ternate or Ambon equipped with parrot feathers. The *pimpowayo* used to be a pair of mirrors or pictures but had weathered and became unrecognisable. The *abuwangis* were two round wooden trays in black and red decorated with golden flowers, probably from Java. They were used to burn perfume. All these objects were wrapped in a piece of white cloth as a sign of mourning. Adriani and Kruyt also mention a remarkable ancient black staff, about one yard long and adorned with silver mountings on both ends. On one end of the staff was the monogram of the Dutch East India Company, VOC, and above it T, which apparently referred to the Ternate. On the staff was also written PRIGE, a misspelling of a name frequently used in old Dutch. To the other end of the staff was attached a silver coin showing an East Indian ship in full sail. This heirloom further included two copper helmets like those used by soldiers in the 16th century.

Kaili-Pamona concepts of external and potency coincide with Errington's argument (1989, 291) that while in the hierarchical states of Southeast Asia such as Luwu, the potency was gained from the ruler inside the society, in more egalitarian societies, which she calls "hill tribe", the source of potency lay outside. People moved outside to find and acquire it: to the forest, the source of spirit familiars; to the coast. Considering the Kaili-Pamona speakers, this reasoning makes sense; the potency was achieved outside the human world from the spirits and gods living in the other reality, or by

24 In one of his early articles (1894) Kruyt named the Creator who according to the myth fabricated the first woman and man, *lamoa*.

25 The Dutch, and before them the Portuguese and Spanish, traded to Indonesia various strange objects such as pikes, swords, copper helmets and breast-plates, which the local people esteemed highly (van Hoëvell 1908).

means of head-hunting from other groups. According to the gender roles men acquired potency by head-hunting and trading foreign articles such as textiles and metal items, while women had the knowledge to communicate with the spirit world as shamans. The men were clearly horizontally oriented outside the society (on the earth's surface), so they travelled outside the village during their war expeditions and trading trips. The women stayed in their village but they had the ability to travel vertically, to enter other realms by means of their innate ability of mind. Actually my impression is that although women stayed inside, they were superior to men because of their cosmological knowledge. This, however, changed during the colonial period, when the men typically started to communicate with foreigners, as they had done earlier, and in this way gained political power, while women's religious power was reduced because of new religions, Islam and Christianity. Actually, woven textiles seem to be more closely linked with the men who traded them, whereas the bark cloth production was considered a female activity.

I am aware that the relationship between gender and material culture in Central Sulawesi would deserve more elaborate examination. This is not, however, possible in the present context, since gender analysis would require that the scope of the study be broadened to take in the rituals and ritual objects connected with head-hunting, especially the temple feast after the successful head-hunting expedition and the items used in cultivation rites. For it appears that the role of the Pamona male as head-hunter and maintainer of the rites surrounding the ancestors was likened to the ability of the female to create new life by giving birth to children, by tending the rice and people's souls. The men thus approached the spirits of the ancestors in the temple and made sacrifices to them, while the women saw the rites surrounding the crops and acted as shamans.

5.5. Conclusions

Socially and ritually meaningful objects often appear to be brought from outside the group or society. So also among the Kaili-Pamona speakers, valuables which were generated outside their region were considered mighty, *lamoa* objects. The concept of *lamoa* indicates above all something associated with the transcendent realm, a being or thing which is derived from outside the human world. Textiles were perhaps the most prominent items among these valuables, being given as marriage presentations and on several other socially and ritually important occasions. The first textiles exported to Central Sulawesi were collectively called *mesa (mbesa)* by the To Kaili and the To Kulawi, and *bana* or *ayapa ntau tu'a*, "cotton of ancestors" by the To Lore and the To Pamona. These *bana* and *mesa* cloths were not worn daily but were carefully preserved as family valuables and ritual textiles. At the beginning of the 1900's there already were in Central Sulawesi, besides *bana* and *mesa* cloths, other kinds of fabrics, i.e. factory-made European cloths and textiles made by the Bugis designed primarily for clothing. Yet the *bana* and *mesa* fabrics were still highly esteemed because of their ritual and social implications.

Furthermore, the To Pamona seem to have had a special category of textiles, apparently more sacred than *bana* cloths, called *ayapa lamoa*, "consecrated cloths". The sources do not explicitly reveal what kinds of textiles *ayapa lamoa* were, but they might

have included early imitations of Indian double silk *ikats (patola)* termed *sinde* by the To Pamona. The *sinde* were the most treasured textiles among the To Pamona. *Ayapa lamoa* were particularly identified with the cultivation of rice and agricultural rites and, further, they were present at temple feasts when the gods and ancestors were invoked. These textiles were obviously related to the well-being and fertility of both fields and human beings. They also appeared to refer to the ancestors by their name and role at various ceremonies.

The category of *bana (mesa)* cloths included several types of textiles with different origins: early *patola* imitations, Indian cotton and their imitations, *sarita* cloths, *plangi* textiles and several kinds of *ikat* cloths originating probably from southern Central Sulawesi. Before the arrival of these exported textiles the inhabitants of northern Central Sulawesi were most likely familiar only with bark cloth. The most striking difference between woven textiles and *fuya* was textiles' durability. They could be passed on from generation to generation, while articles made from bark cloth lasted less than a year if they were used as garments, and surely not for centuries.

Not until the appearance of woven textiles could kin-group property in the form of cloths be passed on from one generation to another. Sources indicate that woven textiles were more common among the western groups (Kaili-speakers) than among the To Pamona. The more common prevalence of these textiles among the Kaili-speakers was likely associated with the greater hierarchy among them. The To Pamona were divided into two classes: the free and the slaves; while the Kaili-speakers had in addition a noble, ruling class. A noble class surely suggested an accumulated property among the wealthiest families, and as earlier stated, *bana* or *mbesa* cloths were a precious part of family and kin-group property. Another marked distinction between woven textiles and bark cloth was their different accessibility. Almost every woman was able to beat bark cloth and clothe her family herself, while imported textiles were rare and expensive. They surely were not obtainable for all families.

Woven textiles were superior to bark cloth, being rare and expensive, more durable, beautifully coloured by bright and resistant colours; these qualities, besides the fact that textiles were considered to emerge outside the society of Kaili-Pamona speakers, made them very potent, significant objects. In many cases they were considered powerful ritual objects; they were used at sacrificial rites attached to offering tables and other offering structures but they had not completely replaced bark cloth in these situations but were present side by side with pieces of bark cloth; *bana* cloths were presented as "price" to spirits and gods, too. They were employed as ritual enclosures and canopies around and above ritual sites. Moreover, among the To Kaili *mesa* cloths were an obligatory part of bridewealth.

6. PRESENTING BRIDEWEALTH IN CENTRAL SULAWESI

6.1. Marriage in Central Sulawesi

The ceremony which designated the solemnization of marriage was quite similar all over Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 20th century, excluding the To Kaili, among whom Islam had already started to modify the traditional marriage customs. The core of the marriage ceremony was the removing of the bridegroom in a nuptial procession from his natal home to that of his bride and the hanging of his sword and betel bag near the bride's sleeping place. For hanging the sword a bridegroom had to present a gift to the bride's family. Thus in Central Sulawesi it was the husband who moved to live with the family of his wife; he nevertheless retained some rights to his kin-group property and could demand a part of it in order to pay fines or his daughter's bridewealth. But he was not allowed to take any kin-group possession with him; similarly, his children had rights with regards to their father's kin-group property.

During the nuptial procession one of the bridegroom's companions carried his sword, another his betel bag, a third had with him a special part of the bridewealth which had to be handed over during the solemnization of the marriage. The To Pamona called this portion of bridewealth "the seven" *(sampapitu)* or "reward" *(tombo)*. Often the leader of the procession said a prayer before they left home:

> "O you who are up above, and who are down below. Here are two people whom we shall permit to marry. You, gods, hold fast their life spirit *(tanoana)*; put them in an iron container *(pasoyo labu)*, so that they may live long, that their marriage *(pombekekeninya)* may be of long duration; do not let them die until they scratch each other's grey hair."[1]

1 *Mombekare uwa*; this is said of an aged couple who have remained faithful to each other into their old age and who now delouse each other's grey head (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 302).

The persons who carried "the seven" in the nuptial procession must preferably still have both their parents, sisters, and brothers alive. Several precautions had to be followed during the wedding procession. If it started to rain, "the seven" was returned to the bridegroom's home. The persons who carried this also had to be careful not to bump their feet against anything or to stumble. The worst thing that could happen was if a cooking pot was broken on the way. When the bridegroom arrived at his new home, the leader of the procession announced that "the seven" and the bridewealth were there so that the life of the couple may later be blessed. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 302–303, 305.) The union of bride and bridegroom was symbolized by a common meal during which the bridal couple ate together from one basket or plate. In Pu'u-mboto (a Pamona group) a copper bracelet in which an egg was set on end was placed on the rice in the basket from which the bridal couple ate together. Before they started to eat, the bridegroom took the egg and the bride the bracelet. When the meal was over, the escorts of the bridegroom usually returned home.

Throughout Central Sulawesi the marriage ceremony included the rite of hanging up the bridegroom's sword near the bride's sleeping place and presenting a gift for that. Apparently, this present was not counted as bridewealth proper and was considered a separate gift. This happened among the To Pamona in the following way (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 305):

> The bridegroom's sword and *sirih* bag are taken by a woman or girl (often the one who carried the bride as a small child) and hung up in the bride's chamber. She asks: "Where is the reward for hanging up the sword and *sirih* bag?" This reward consists of a piece of black cotton and bears the name of *posambarue ndaoa* or *posambarue lamoa*. *Sambarue* is the name for the co-wife of one man; with the addition of *ndaoa* or *lamoa* the expression means "a spirit co-wife", "a co-wife of nothing". Besides the gift that she receives for the hanging, she may also appropriate the contents of the *sirih* bag, which in addition is well provided with areca nuts and *sirih* fruits.
>
> Sometimes one says in connection with the hanging up of the sword: "Call the members of your kin-group, call your children, your grandchildren" *(kio-kio ja'imu, kio anamu, kio makumpumu)*, a wish that the marriage may be blessed with children and grandchildren and the kin-group may visit the couple often. Another wish that is expressed on this occasion is: "The hanging (of the sword) calls out, not many nights after this the sword will be followed by another," that is to say, may another wedding soon follow.

For one thing, the sword and the betel bag were, besides the loincloth, symbols of man closely associated with their owners and carriers. How things were categorized as male and female objects becomes evident for instance when a child was lured to appear during the childbirth in Bada'. To the child was said (Woensdregt 1929a, 358): "If you there inside are a boy, come out, here is your sword, spear, rifle, shield, trousers, blanket, jacket and headcloth. If you there inside are a girl, come out, here is your skirt, blouse, bracelet, headband, ricecord, winnower, cooking pot, and basket, we take care of you well, too."

In Sigi (in the Kaili region) the system of presenting gifts when entering the house and hanging up the sword was the most elaborate; there also the meanings of gifts were more evident than among other Kaili-speakers. Over the entrance to the house a spear *(doke)* was placed "in order to stab the stairs". This custom of sticking a metal

weapon next to the stairs of the bride's house was practised among several other groups, too. In Sibalaya the leader of the ceremony counted from 1 to 7 while he stabbed and said: "May the bride and bridegroom have an iron constitution (Dutch *gestel*) and grow very old, so that they never become sick." The second gift, a betel nut, was made "in order that the voice comes out", i.e. so that the bride and her parents would be kind to the bridegroom. The third present was called *pesua* or *pesua paturu* "to step in the sleeping place", and it was a copper dish among ordinary people, a *mesa* cloth among the wealthy[2]. This gift was aimed at the bride's mother. Sometimes other things were given too, such as a sword, *(powombo)* "to open the door", a Chinese ceramic plate *(pinekaso)* "to cut the rattan belt used by young girls", etc. (Kruyt 1938 III, 97–8.)

The present for hanging up the sword had diverse names: in Napu and Tawailia it was called *perere*, "to handle, to touch", while in Besoa, a part of it, two pairs of copper bracelets were called *perere*. In the Pipikoro region this gift was *kenia*, "brought along", referring to the fact that the man moved to live with his wife, i.e. "the sarong brought the man along"[3] (Adriani 1928, 274). The meaning of this gift was said in Napu to be "in order that the children of the couple will stay alive"; or in Gimpu (Pipikoro) it was said, "I lay this headcloth on here as my *kenia*, so that the sun will rise, so that the moon will be seen, so that he will become very old, he will not die because of *adat*", or "I hang the sword up, the sword which has brought forth, the sword which benefits – fortune (bliss) – brought with", or "in order that many children will be born". (Kruyt 1938 III, 83–96.)

In other places the objects presented for hanging the sword were similarly named. In Napu and Tawailia a string of sea shells *(pehampa)* and a copper bracelet *(kala)* were presented; and in Bada' bark cloth garments and a piece of black cloth, and the purpose of these things being *popohungke' liwu*, "to lift the bed curtain or cloth". Furthermore, in Besoa two pairs of copper bracelets *(perere)* were donated, "to handle", and it was said that the bracelets allowed the bridegroom to touch the breasts. In addition were handed over two pairs of copper anklets *(pampahowa)*, "in order to let hear voice", i.e. so that the bride shall speak to the bridegroom. In Rampi were far more objects presented than among other groups: a hatchet, rice, a copper bracelet, 7 beads, 7 Chinese duits *(kaete)* wrapped in two fathoms of black cotton, two stalks of grass tied together, and two Rongkong cloths or two ordinary cloths *(lipa)*, "to set the foot on the bed"; "to open the bed curtain"; these were given to the mother of the bride.[4] According to Adriani (1928, 348) the *lipa* is a woven sarong made by the Bugis or made according to the Bugis model.

On the basis of the above illustrations of "hanging up the sword" it could be

2 In Sibalaya this cloth was of a type called *toborone* (Kruyt 1938 III, 98). I have not found any more information on this cloth type.

3 That is *tuama nakeni ntopi; mongkeni*, "to be pregnant" (Adriani 1928, 274).

4 In Kulawi a hatchet or/and a copper dish was presented, in Lindu it was named *koo tanuana*, "power for soul", in Toro *lempi paa* "basis (foundation) of legs or bones?, on where to sit". In Pakawaa were donated a copper dish and a bark cloth sarong, *pesongge*, "in order to open the bed curtain", or a copper dish, 7 or 9 ceramic dishes, named *panggani*, "brought with". (Kruyt 1938 III, 95–6).

Figure 13. A bride and bridegroom from Kulawi. Kulawi, about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:14.

assumed that the gift was not a particular, identical object everywhere but rather several kinds of objects. This diversity of objects utilized in social and ritual contexts was characteristic of the cultures of Central Sulawesi; often the meanings and even terms used for socially and ritually significant objects were close to each other while the objects themselves might be rather discrete. The most frequently mentioned objects as "presents of hanging up the sword" were cloths: a piece of black cotton, bark cloth garments, Rongkong *ikat* or other *mesa* cloths; and copper items: dishes, bracelets or anklets. Sometimes a hatchet is mentioned. We will find these same objects as part of "the seven", and discuss them more in that connection.

However, one often mentioned object, a piece of black cloth, deserves attention here. In Onda'e "the head" of the cloths must always be a piece of black cotton called *posambarue* (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 24). *Sambarue* means "a co-wife of a man"; *posambarue ndaoa, posambarue lamoa* is the name of a gift which was part of bridewealth. When it was brought to the house of the bride, it was asked: "Where are shield and sword?" When they were brought he put there a piece of black cloth, betel, nuts and tobacco (Adriani 1928, 679). It should also be mentioned that, when the marriage presentations had been paid in full, both families prepared a basket in which were placed a piece of black cotton and a strip of nuts. These baskets were then handed to each other by the parties. This was also called the *posambaru* and was intended as *pontu angga ntau tu'a*, "for the deceased", as their share of the bridewealth. It was not placed on a sword or shield as Adriani (1928, 679) reports but it was given a place somewhere in the house and no further attention was paid to it.

This gift for hanging the sword, as the names given to it explicitly indicate, allowed the bridegroom to enter the sleeping place of his bride, in other words, "to open the curtain", "to handle", "to touch the body of the bride" and copulate with her. But you might ask to whom this present was directed? The fact that this gift was presented in order that the couple might have several healthy children is constantly made clear at the hanging of the sword. The main reason thus seemed to be to guarantee that they would be blessed by children. Sometimes the ceremony had to be performed according to tradition. A marriage had to be approved by the gods and spirits, and the ancestors in particular, not merely by living relatives, otherwise they might become annoyed and punish the couple in the form of childlessness. At the same time the present for hanging up the sword had to be seen as the first part of the presentations followed by "the seven" and the bridewealth proper. All these together constituted the steps to create a new generation and thus assure the continuity of the kin-group. Briefly, this first present permitted the first step, that is, a man 'as a stranger' coming from another house was allowed to enter the house and also the sleeping place of the bride.

6.2. The Bridewealth

According to the Pamona and Kaili marriage customs the husband's kin-group was obliged to hand over a bridewealth to the kin-group of his wife. The To Pamona called this payment *oli mporongo*, "marriage price", or *saki mporongo*, "marriage fine", the To Lore *holo* "price", and other Kaili-speakers *oli*, like the Pamona-speakers. When the bridewealth was presented as a whole at the conclusion of the marriage, the wedding ceremony was called by the To Pamona *mebolai*, "to fetch or make oneself a home". If

the principal part of the bridewealth was not given until later, the solemnization of marriage was called *mopawawa*, "to lead the bridegroom to his bride". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 300–302; Kruyt 1938 III, 107.)

All Kaili-Pamona speakers seemed to divide the bridewealth into two parts: the first part was presented at the solemnization of marriage when the bridegroom moved from the house of his parents to that of his bride's family, while the second portion had to be settled not later than when the first child was born. The To Pamona called the first part *au papitu*, "the seven" or *tombo*, "reward", whereas the Kaili-speakers obviously did not have a particular term to refer to that portion as a whole; they did, however, have specific terms for various objects which were part of it. By contrast, the To Pamona appeared not to have a specific name for the second part of the bridewealth which the To Lore named *koro holo*, "the body", and the To Kaili *wata holo* or *wata oli*. The content and role of these two parts of the bridewealth will be discussed later on.

When determining the size of a bridewealth, a distinction was made between a girl who was marrying for the first time and a divorced woman or a widow. In addition, the To Kulawi, To Pipikoro and To Lore demanded a higher bridewealth for the oldest and the youngest daughters than for the other daughters of the family, sometimes even more than had been paid for her mother. If the oldest or the youngest daughter died, the higher bridewealth was requested for the next oldest or youngest daughter. (Kruyt 1938 III, 115; Woensdregt 1929a, 260.) One reason for this divergence might be the fact that special attention was commonly paid in ritual situations to the first and the last of one generation; family members of the same generation or layer were considered as closely related and devoted to each other. This was particularly observed at burial ceremonies.

When asked the reason for the difference between the size of the bridewealth of the oldest and youngest daughters and that of the other daughters, various answers were provided: "The bridewealth of the oldest and the youngest must compensate what the father has paid for their mother." If the father had not contributed anything to the bridewealth of his wife and it was donated by his relatives alone, he did not receive any of the bridewealth of his oldest daughter and it was distributed among his relatives. But the bridewealth paid for his youngest daughter was wholly for him. Concerning the distribution of the bridewealth of middle daughters, the replies varied, however. People agreed that the father did not get it. In some places it was said to belong to the family of the mother, in others it was divided between the relatives of the mother and those of the father. (Kruyt 1938 III, 116.) In the Pamona area the kin-group of the bridegroom was responsible for collecting the bridewealth. There was a rule that one may not ask for a larger bridewealth for one's daughter than had been given for the bride's mother. The bridewealth was received by the bride's father, foster father or, in his absence, by a brother or another member of the kin-group. The father distributed the goods among those who had contributed to bringing together his own bridewealth. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 314.) Thus the bridewealth brought by the daughter compensated for the bridewealth paid for her mother by her father's kin-group. A daughter's marriage was seen as a repetition of her mother's marriage.

The size of the bridewealth depended upon the prosperity and extensiveness of the bridegroom's kin-group as well. This was more obvious among the Kaili-speakers because of the greater variation in their prosperity, hierarchy and status. In western

Central Sulawesi people recognized two types of bridewealth customs: *wati kodi*, "small *adat*", and *wati bose*, "big *adat*", which dictated the amount of the bridewealth; "small *adat*" was for the commoners and "big *adat*" for the nobles. The bridewealth requested by wealthy noble families might be extravagant[5]. Kruyt (1938 III, 113) gives an example of an extensive bridewealth presented by a royal Kaili family in Kaleke; this bridewealth of seven *pole* consisted of 7 slaves, 14 water buffaloes, 28 ancient *maburi* cloths (presumably of Indian origin), 28 swords, 28 *tawa kelo* dishes, 28 *pinekaso* dishes,[6] and 4 golden *taiganja (taijanja)* ornaments[7] (Kruyt 1938 III, 113).

Although the content of the bridewealth, i.e. the things presented, varied from one place to another, there were several common features concerning the bridewealth customs of all Kaili-Pamona speakers. Throughout Central Sulawesi it was called *oli (holo)*, "price", sometimes *saki*, "fine", being the same term as that used in the legal sense of paying fines. The term *oli* was also used in a sacrificial context, it was "a price" offered to spirits and gods as compensation in various situations (see chapter 3.4.).

All Kaili-Pamona speakers also seemed to presume that the child belonged only to the kin-group of the mother until the bridewealth was settled in full. Even if the wife died without children, the bridewealth still had to be completed. If the husband died, his relatives fulfilled the payment. If the wife was going to re-marry, the new husband was obliged to pay the bridewealth and consequently gained the right to the children and was considered their legal father. It was commonly said that if the bridewealth was neglected, the children would be idiots.

The first part of the bridewealth usually included a fixed number of things while the size of the second portion altered according to the rules given earlier. The To Pamona measured their bridewealth by pieces *(wia)*, and each *wia* consisted of ten articles. The most important one was the first *wia (pu'u)*[8]. The basis *(pu'u)* was often a water buffalo, but it could be a slave or a sago tree. If the bridegroom's kin-group was not able to present a buffalo as a basis of bridewealth, the bridegroom might offer a betel buffalo, an areca nut buffalo, or a firewood buffalo for their use. The other *wias* consisted of pieces of cotton, copper plates, ceramic bowls, chopping knives, spears, and copper anklets. Among the To Pamona living in the eastern part of the region, from 40 to 100 *wias* were usually asked, and people living in the western region not more than 37 *wias*. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 23–24; 1951 II, 315–316.)

Before the arrival of the Dutch in Central Sulawesi, a miniature skirt or sarong of

5 Later in the 1970's there were in Kulawi three kinds of bridewealth: the first, the greatest, was paid when both bride and bridegroom were of noble family, the second size when a noble person married a commoner, and the smallest one when both bride and bridegroom were commoners (Masyhuda et al. 1977 vol. 3, 82–3).

6 *Tawa kelo* and *pinekaso* are old Chinese ceramic dishes.

7 See more about these ornaments in Kaudern 1944, 314–20.

8 *Pu'u* means a tree trunk, especially the lowest part of the tree, basis, origin (Adriani 1928, 581). Adriani and Kruyt mention (1951 II, 311) that "the seven" is the basis of bridewealth (*pu'u*) but this is in contradiction with later information that the first *wia* is the basis, i.e. *pu'u*. In their earlier edition of 1912 they do not mention *pu'u* in connection with bridewealth at all.

simple weave *(kalokompo* or *sawu, sawu ngkere)*[9] was commonly used as the basis *(pu'u)* of the bridewealth in Pu'u-mboto, Palande, Pada, and here and there in Lage and Onda'e. These "cloth moneys" have frequently been found in various parts of Sulawesi but not so often among the Kaili-Pamona speakers; the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam owns one (no. 27915) and the Tropenmuseum (nos. 817–1, 817–2)[10] two specimens of this cloth collected by A. C. Kruyt in Poso. "Cloth money" was used on the island of Buton as a means of payment since the beginning of the 17th century. It was said that "it was the privilege of the princesses and other women of the court in Buton to weave these cloths" (Catalogue of the Tropenmuseum no. 668–133a).

Because of its small size and unfinished manufacture,[11] it did not have any practical value as an item of clothing. It was kept for use at subsequent marriages in the family, and thus such a piece moved from one kin-group to another. As long as someone had it in his possession, he used it as *alisi ndoko*, "underlayer of the clothing basket *(roko)*", in which he stored his supply of cloths. It was believed that through this the supply would increase. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 17; Kruyt 1933, 174.) Probably these pieces of cloth were among the first woven cloths known among the To Pamona as they were, according to Kruyt (1933, 174), among the To Mori. Their special features were rareness, age, and their high price, especially compared to their value in Buton, equivalent to a water buffalo.

As a part of the bridewealth this *kalokompo* cloth was called *saenggo rapu*, "that with which the hearth is entirely shifted". Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 317) explained the meaning of this: "For with the handing over of the bridewealth for which the *kalokompa* was the basis, the young man moved from the cooking place of his parents to that of his parents-in-law." In other words, he was symbolically separated from his natal household and united to that of his wife's. As was mentioned earlier in connection with hanging the sword of the bridegroom, the fact that the bridegroom moved to the house of his bride was reported as "the sarong brought the man along", so when the *kalokompo* was the basis of the bridewealth, this was made very explicit.

Besides "basis", the To Pamona spoke of "branches" *(ra'a)* of bridewealth; there were three types of branches: in the forest (sago tree), on the premises (a pig) and in the home (pig iron). Among the To Kulawi and To Pipikoro the bridewealths were classified in three kinds: of one *pole*, two *pole* and three *pole*, according to size. *Pole* means an off-cut, off-chopped piece. One *pole* consisted of a pile *(tere)* of *dula* dishes. Sometimes the number of copper dishes belonging to one *pole* was 16, now and then 15. Sometimes the number of objects in each *pole* was the same, i.e. two *poles* 32 or 30 pieces etc; now and then the first *pole* was 15, the second 14 and the third 13 *dulas*, so three *poles* totalled 42 dishes. In some places it could be as many as seven *poles*. Besides copper

9 *Sawu* means sarong, so *sawu ngkere* is "zoo maar een sarong", "een sarong voor de grap", i.e. "a sarong for fun" (Adriani 1928, 698; catalogue of the Tropenmuseum no. 817–1).

10 In addition to these cloths the Tropenmuseum has a large collection of cloth money acquired from South Sulawesi (Nos. 61–34, 668–133a, 668–133b, 668–133c, 668–133d, 668–133e) and from the island of Buton (Nos. 336–1–7, 1894–3A, 1894–3B, 1894–3C, 1894–3D, 1894–3E, 1894–3F).

11 The threads of the skirts were often of unequal thickness; the woof was not always put in properly, and over an area of 17 cm of the warp no woof threads had been attached (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 316).

dishes for each *pole* a buffalo cow with calf was demanded, and sometimes also a slave or slave couple were presented. (Kruyt 1938 III, 112.)

The people of the Kaili region recognized *oli alima*, *oli papitu* or *oli sasio*, i.e. bridewealth of 5, 7 or 9 according to the prestige of the bride. Originally these bridewealths consisted of as many objects as mentioned. Kruyt gives an example from Sibalaya (Sigi) of an *oli alima* that included 4 sheep and 1 goat; an *oli papitu* of 6 sheep and 1 goat; an *oli sasio* of 8 sheep and 1 goat. The goat was called *balengga oli* "the head, the most important part". The value of various objects also varied from place to place. For example, in Pipikoro one *mbesa* equalled two copper dishes *(dula)*; in Kulu one *mbesa* made 10 *dulas*. Not all copper dishes were of the same value, for there were dishes of several kinds and sizes. The *mbesa* cloths were also of different value; that recorded most often was *maburi* cloth, "black, dark" alluding to its dark colours. (Kruyt 1938 III, 111.)

Although the general ideas regarding the bridewealth and its payment in full were quite similar all over Central Sulawesi, the things required and their number varied. In this respect, one could approximately distinguish four areas with diverse customs: the To Pamona, To Lore, To Kulawi-Pipikoro, and To Kaili; indeed, this division seems to parallel more generally the cultural and historical variations in this area, and even to coincide with the contemporary ethnical and linguistic classification of Central Sulawesi (see Introduction). Next I shall examine the content of the bridewealth in various parts of Central Sulawesi. And as the following example illustrates, the content of the bridewealth was not randomly collected but was fixed by tradition. Kruyt (1923, 176) writes that when a marriage ceremony was nearing, his wife decided to give the young couple some household items as a present, such as a small lamp; but her gift was rejected and she was told that household items may not be included in the bridewealth.

6.3. The First Part of the Bridewealth

I shall chiefly examine the first part of the bridewealth of the To Pamona, nevertheless comparing it with that of other groups, particularly the To Lore, since accurate information on other groups is rather scare. That part of the bridewealth which had to be handed over during the wedding ceremony was called by the To Pamona "the seven" *(au papitu* or *sampapitu)* or "reward" *(tombo)*. *Tombo* was an old-fashioned term which was still used to refer to "the seven"; a cotton sarong which belonged to it was also called *tombo*, a bark cloth sarong *rapi ntombo* "the twin of *tombo*", and a copper dish on which all things were laid *pe'u'laya ntombo* (Adriani 1928, 888).

"The seven" in the Poso district consisted of seven objects of copper, iron, beads and cotton; usually a copper dish, a knife, a necklace, a headcloth and trousers for the father, and a sarong and blouse for the mother. These were not usually very expensive, valuable objects. What was significant was their "intrinsic potency". The number of objects, seven, was also important because it had beneficial power. Seven was a full number among the To Pamona. When something reached its highest point, it was counted as seven. The To Pamona expressed their notion of time in terms of measurements, meaning the distance which the sun has travelled. At noon the sun had reached the seventh position, in other words, its highest point in the sky. (Adriani 1932b III, 124.) Apparently the seventh position of the sun was parallel to the highest layer of the heaven inhabited, according to Pamona cosmology, by the high gods. In addition to their visible form mighty objects such as iron and copper items, beads and cloths possessed some invisible element that made the family prosperous. (Kruyt *Het Leven …*, 7).

The *au papitu* consisted of seven objects, but they were not always the same kind of objects, and they did not bear the same names everywhere. The list that occurred most often among the To Pamona was as follows (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 311–312):

(1) A copper plate *(dula)*, "for loading the compensation on" *(pe'ulaya ntombo)*. All other objects were put on this plate (Kruyt 1923, 175).

(2) A sarong for the bride, "compensation or reward" *(tombo)*. A metal object, a copper ankle ring, a betel box, or a rix dollar was put into the sarong. This object was called *uneki ntopi*, "kernel (core, heart) of the sarong".

(3) A sarong of bark cloth *(kumu)*, "the twin brother of the *tombo*" *(rapi ntombo)*. Added to the *kumu* was a piece of pig iron which was called *poncore*, "what is brought up out of the ground".

(4) A string of beads, "the band for the sarong" *(so'o ngkumu)* which was wound around the *kumu*.

(5) A copper bracelet or ankle ring.

(6) A sarong for the mother of the bride.

(7) A loincloth for her father.

The first three names were the same everywhere but the objects that were given and their purpose differed somewhat.[12]

In Lore the marriage presentation consisted of four types of things: water buffaloes, pigs, chopping knives, sword and (or) hatchet (axe). At the wedding ceremony in Lore pigs, a hatchet (axe), sword or chopping knife were presented. The pigs, sword and hatchet could at the beginning of the 20th century be substituted by pieces of cloth, but apparently not in earlier times; Kruyt (1938 III, 108) speculates that the original bridewealth might have consisted of pigs and iron items.

The pig or pair of pigs presented at the marriage ceremony were called *poboëngi*, "by which *moboë* (to provide pigs as a part of bridewealth) took place"; according to Kruyt these animals were intended as the beginning of the young couple's stock. In Tawaili they were called *ulu saka* "the beginning of emergency dwelling", i.e. "the beginning of everything". In Bada', according to Kruyt, the pig was called *mata omi*, "nipple", "in

12 Among the To Onda'e (a group of the To Pamona) "the seven" included a copper plate, a sarong, a *kumu*, a headband, a copper betel box, two earthenware bowls, a sarong for the mother, a loincloth for the father, a sarong, a jacket, and a headcloth for the bride (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 311).

order to compensate the milk by which the bride had been nourished"; and according to Woensdregt (1929a, 261) the first pig was named *mata umi'*, "so that the breast of the young wife will fill with milk when she has given birth to a child", and the second pig *tomepauba'*, "which/who carries the child". According to Kruyt the hatchet (axe) was in Bada' called *tome mpauba*, "that which the bride carries in her sarong" (child?). In Napu and Besoa the hatchet was named *pohudaa*, "sitting place", thus the foundation on which the bridewealth rested; similarly in Tawailia it was *pomesoa*, "sitting place". The sword was called *peluhi*, "what is put next to it", probably referring to the hatchet. Umana Ngela, the chief from Napu district, said that the *pohudaa* (hatchet), *peluhi* (sword), pigs and cotton were especially aimed at the mother of the bride as compensation for the care she had given her. (Kruyt 1938 III, 108–109.)

When comparing the content and terms used for things as a part of "the seven" among the To Pamona and the To Lore (i.e. Napu, Besoa, Bada'), and on the other hand among other Kaili-speaking groups, it is worth noting that the things presented varied quite a lot although the terms used resembled each other and the meaning and role of the seven was rather similar all over Central Sulawesi. For instance, among the To Kaili the first part of the bridewealth consisted of a sword, a spear, and a large ceramic dish. The buffalo and copper dishes were called "the bridewealth proper", *wata holo, wata oli*. This latter part was seldom presented at the marriage ceremony but was paid later when the wife was pregnant or after the birth of the first child. (Kruyt 1938 III, 118.)

The core of "the seven" was a sarong for the bride *(tombo)*, "compensation", inside which was a metal item called an *uneki ntopi*. *Uneki* is an old form of *une* and means kernel, heart, the inner part, the centre piece (Adriani 1928, 501). This term has a direct reference to the fertility of the field, for when rice sacks were piled up in the field, a heap of rice called an *uneki* was set in the middle, and the other sacks were piled around it. The fertility of women and that of rice fields were paralleled in many ways in agricultural rituals. Several types of objects could, it seems, feature as part of "the seven", as *uneki*, but it had to be a metal object. Among the To Lore a pig was analogous to the sarong, and although these things differ, both were considered feminine and the names given allude to the fertility of woman. The sarong for the bride or the pig among the To Lore were intended as compensation or rather to secure the fertility of the bride.

In addition to the first sarong, which probably was more recently at least made of cotton, another sarong of bark cloth called a *rapi ntombo*,[13] "the twin of the *tombo*", was offered; this sarong also contained a piece of metal, a *poncore*, "what is brought up out of the ground". The only meaning I can find for this sarong is that it was "the twin" or the spirit of the other sarong in the same way as every human being has two elements: body and soul. This interpretation is supported by the fact that it was made of bark cloth, which was "spirit cloth". To this bark cloth sarong was added a string of beads[14] as the band, i.e. it was fastened by these beads. This too signifies that the

13 *Rapl* means a twin; *merapi* to ask, to request; *merapi* was also used when making offerings and asking something from the gods or spirits, for example *merapi baru* to bring an offering in order to get plenty of palm wine (Adriani 1928, 616).

14 In one connection Kruyt writes (1923, 175) that a string of beads was aimed at the mother of the bride.

second sarong was related to the soul of the bride, for beads were considered powerful objects which, for example, the shamans wore while working. The tying of a cloth including a piece of metal was also commonly practised by shamans during their performances, for instance, the *empehi*, which was dealt with in chapter 4.4., is just such a ritual object.

A copper plate "for loading the compensation" on which all the other objects were placed was the basis of all other items. Copper as a material, and the round shape held special symbolical meaning among the To Pamona. A copper ring was needed on all occasions when much depended on the future and disturbing influences had to be removed (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 295). Hence a copper ring was offered when a shaman was invited to cure a sick person, and generally when people were asked to perform an act which brought them in contact with the invisible world. It was often included in offerings; and these rings were also used as small fines in order to restore the balance that had been disturbed through a transgression of the rules of ancestors.

Before marriage a ceremony which was called *motinuwui* took place in Kulawi. A shaman who performed that rite told Kruyt that by means of air spirits *(tampilangi)* she informed the deceased grandparents and great grandparents of the bride and bridegroom of the impending marriage. This was first done to the grandmother of the bride, or if she was still alive to the great grandmother. In this connection the young couple offered four copper dishes; these were placed on the lap of the shaman. After the ceremony they were stored by the bride's parents, while to the spirit of the grandmother was said: "The body (material) of the dish is for you, the soul *(kao, wao)* here is for us." (Kruyt 1938 III, 106.)

As mentioned earlier, "the seven" had to be handed over in connection with the solemnization of the marriage although the greater part of the bridewealth was not given until later. The names and the contents of "the seven" indicate that these goods were given to the bride and her parents and not distributed to the kin-group: a copper bracelet (note: only one, although Poso women always wore dozens of them) for the mother, a piece of cloth for a loincloth for the father (Kruyt 1923, 175). Actually the wedding ceremony also included several other exchanges of goods between the bride's and bridegroom's kin-groups, and not only "the seven". The purpose of the *au papitu* seems to have been to guarantee "the blessing" in the form of offspring. This part of the bridewealth was to transfer and compensate for the fertility of the woman. It was a custom that if the couple remained childless, the husband gave "the seven" again in the hope of being blessed with children.

6.4. The Second Part of the Bridewealth

This portion was in Lore called *koro holo*, in Kaili *wata holo, wata oli*. *Koro* means "life, body, self" (Adriani 1928, 321), *wata* "down cut or fallen trunk", *oli* is "price, value" (Adriani 1928, 516). The second part of the bridewealth was in Lore called *koro holo* "the body of the bridewealth", i.e. the bridewealth proper, and it consisted mainly of water buffaloes and iron items. For the poor and slaves this was usually just a pig and an axe, or a pig, an axe and a chopping knife. The number of objects and animals varied according to the class and prosperity of the kin-group. Usually 1, 4, or 7 water

buffaloes were offered but sometimes more, even 30 or 100[15]. In some places other things were added to the buffaloes, such as a piece of cloth, *bolintuda*, "a rope" in Napu. Instead of water buffaloes the gifts might include gold-dust, a piece of *sawah* field, a piece of woodland, and bamboo or coconut trees. The missing part of the bridewealth could further be copper plates or dishes, coconut trees (only in Bada') and a packet of salt. (Kruyt 1938 III, 109–110; Woensdregt 1929a, 260–261.)

Among the To Kaili the most important part of the bridewealth proper were the *mesa*, *mbesa* cloths which the Dutch East India Company imported on a large scale from India to the Indonesian Archipelago. Mentioned most often were *maburi* cloths, the term *maburi* deriving from the cloths' dark colours. What is confusing is that several other types of cloths besides Indian cloths were called *maburi* in Central Sulawesi, for example some *ikat* textiles. There is no exact information on what these *maburi* cloths looked like but they were probably early imitations of the Indian *patola* textiles called *sinde* in Central Sulawesi. In addition to the cloths water buffaloes, spears, swords, and ceramic plates were presented in the Kaili region. (Kruyt 1938 III, 111–2.)

The bulk of the bridewealth in the western highland of Central Sulawesi, among the To Kulawi and To Pipikoro, consisted of copper dishes called *dula*. As mentioned earlier, the size of the presentation was counted in *pole*. One *pole* usually included 15 or 16 copper dishes, two *pole* 30 or 32 dishes and the highest three *pole* or 45 or 48 *dulas*. To the dishes were added water buffaloes, one cow with a calf for one *pole*, two for two *poles* and three for three *poles*, and a slave or slave couple. These were supplemented by things such as cloths *(mesa)*, chopping knives and hatchets. (Kruyt 1938 III, 112.)

Copper dishes most probably produced outside the area have been found all over Central Sulawesi. As their central role in the bridewealth shows, the To Kulawi and To Pipikoro assigned them great value. I have not found any accurate knowledge stating where these copper dishes came from and since when they were traded to Central Sulawesi. Often the sources simply state that they came from Java or were made by the Bugis. I consider it more likely that they were made by the Bugis, perhaps by those who settled in the coastal area of Central Sulawesi rather than by Javanese copper casters. The *dula* dishes originating from Central Sulawesi are seldom found in museums, though according to the written records some families owned dozens and even hundreds of them. The ones that have found their way into museums, such as that in Rotterdam and in Helsinki (MLV 19100, 19101; SK VK 5114:131, 132, 133, 134), are so coarsely made that they could hardly have been made by Javanese experts (see Jasper & Pirngadie 1930). But there seem to have been copper dishes of varying quality and value in Central Sulawesi; and although at least most of them were not excellent pieces of copper work, the inhabitants of Central Sulawesi classified them as precious family valuables meaningful in ritual and social contexts.

Some copper ornaments such as bracelets, ankle rings and spiral-like ornaments

15 In Bada' the seven buffalos were called *pobirantu'i* or *pobirantu'a* "in order to serve as buffalocow"; *polaki'i* "in order to serve as buffalo bull"; these two were the beginning of the livestock; *pombawa'a baru* "in order to bring palm wine"; *porarei* "in order to supply residence"; *tonawaru'i* "to provide the clothing"; *topotoro'i* "as residence"; *pepaumau* "for the going to the feast" so that these buffaloes will be slaughtered at the marriage feast and lure guests. (Kruyt 1938 III, 109–110; Woensdregt 1929a, 260–261.)

called *sanggori* were bought from the To Mori, who were skillful copper casters, but there is no indication that the To Mori manufactured copper dishes. Copper items bought from the To Mori were bartered for cloths or water buffaloes. A set of ankle rings *(langke)* and a set of 30 or 60 bracelets *(tinampa)* were worth a buffalo. Some Kaili-Pamona speakers were able to forge iron and make swords, knives, axes, points, etc. The people of Central Sulawesi also made simple brass items, such as clapper-bells and pellet-bells, probably by melting down metal objects imported to the region. But this skill declined after the import of ready-made items. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 319–, 330, 334; Kaudern 1927, 72–; Kruyt 1901, 148–).

The chopping knives, as part of "the body of the bridewealth" were in Besoa called *wongko*, "what there on the top comes", in Bada' and Rampi *peluhi*, "what next to it put is" (Woensdregt 1929a, 260–261). These chopping knives were useless pieces of iron; often a worn-out chopping knife no longer fit for use was laid aside for the bridewealth. According to some the number of chopping knives had to be ten times the number of buffaloes, thus one buffalo and 10 chopping knives, four buffaloes and 40 chopping knives, seven buffaloes and 70 chopping knives. (Kruyt 1938 III, 110.)

This second part of the bridewealth was the economic part in the sense that it consisted of items considered as property. Its content varied according to the region in question and the prosperity of the families involved. There was, as we have seen, a preference for buffaloes in Lore, copper dishes in Kulawi and Pipikoro, *mesa* cloths in Kaili, but often these items were substituted by other valuable objects, or other kinds of property could be presented. Among the To Pamona this was perhaps the most flexible; the bridewealth proper had to include one expensive entity: a slave, most often a water buffalo or a pig, sometimes sago palms or a dog, in addition to pieces of cotton of diverse colours: red, black, yellow, copper plates, chopping knives, spears, copper bracelets, etc. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 24.) As in Eastern Indonesia the objects used in marriage payments in Central Sulawesi also consisted mainly of items brought in through trade and deriving prestige from their foreign origin (Barnes 1980, 119).

6.5. The Role of the Bridewealth

The To Pamona used to say that "the bridewealth clears up the eyes of the children" *(oli mporongo mampaporaa mata nu anaggodi)*[16] so that they see their father, or *oli mporongo paporaa (poraa) mata nu anaggodi*, "the bridewealth is 'clear-maker' of children's eyes". (Adriani 1928, 600; Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 317). The To Bada' likewise called the second part of the bridewealth *matana anake*, "eyes of children" (Woensdregt 1929a, 262). Until the bridewealth had been paid, the children had no father and they belonged only to the mother, or rather to the mother's kin-group.

The expression "the bridewealth clears up the eyes of the children" *(oli mporongo*

16 In the first edition Adriani and Kruyt expressed this in a slightly different way: the bridewealth served to *mompaporaya mata ana*, "in order to the eyes of the children *raya* 'heart, interior, inward' to give," so that they need not be ashamed. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 24–25).

mampaporaa (poraa, paporaa) mata nu ananggodi) includes an interesting word, *poraa*. The basic word is *raa*, which in the Pamona language has two different meanings. The first meaning of the term *raa* originates from the word *daa*, which means blood, and the second meaning probably from the word *rara*, bright, clear, visible. In both meanings *raa* has been used in several ritual contexts. *Raa*, in the first meaning, blood, is present in *naporaa*, "in order to bloody", and *ndaraasika*, "to paint with blood". Both *naporaa* and *ndaraasika* were used for the blood sacrifice. *Rara* refers to the brightness of the sky and *raa, moraa to* the brightness of colours and patterns, for example in a sarong. (Adriani 1928, 600, 617.)

A child was owned by the whole kin-group, not just by its parents. This became evident in association with adoption customs. It commonly happened among the To Pamona that a child was brought up by the parents' sisters or brothers instead of the biological parents. Neither kinship terminology distinguished between parents and their sisters and brothers or their sisters and brothers-in-law. All male relatives belonging to the former generation were called *papa* or *tama*, and all female relatives belonging to that generation *ine*. However, the father's sisters and brothers were not called by these names until the bridewealth was paid in full, while the relatives from the mother's side were referred to by these names from the beginning. Similarly, the mother's sisters or brothers had the right to adopt the child without restrictions while the father's relations gained this legitimacy after payment of the bridewealth. (Kruyt 1899a, 81–.) The adopted child had the same rights and obligations to its foster parents as a child had to its biological parents. The foster father was obliged to collect the bridewealth for his foster son and received his foster daughter's bridewealth as well. The To Pamona had an idea that the father's brother or sister acquired the right to the child by contributing to the bridewealth of the child's mother. In the same way, masters acquired the right to their slaves' children. Thus the child belonged automatically to its mother's kin-group from birth and was later united to its father's descent group by the bridewealth.

When a child was born, the husband's kin-group hastened to pay the bridewealth. Because if the child died soon after birth, the lack of this payment was regarded as the cause of death. If the husband died before this obligation had been fulfilled, people said of this payment *wuku maoli wuku*, "bones buy bones". Perhaps this could be interpreted as the man, already an ancestor himself, gives in order to have descendants. Even if the deceased did not leave children, the bridewealth had to be paid. The wife's death, even if she left no children, did not release the man from the obligation to pay the bridewealth. This was called *peoli mbuku*, "the price of the bones". If we start from the premise that the primary role of the bridewealth was to create or secure the link between the children and their father's kin-group, the obligation to pay the bridewealth even in a childless marriage could be interpreted as an extension of kinship outside the nuclear family, thereby forming a network of other relatives.

Comparable to bridewealth was the gift which a free man was obliged to give if he produced a child by his slave without being married to her. This gift bore the name of *pewali mata*, "for the creation of eyes", i.e., of regard, namely for the child who now gets a father. The content of this present resembled that of a bridewealth. The basis was a water buffalo; to this were added a piece of *cinde* (an Indian cloth), a piece of yellow, a piece of black, a piece of white, and a piece of red cotton; these goods were placed on the buffalo. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 141–142.)

On presentation of the bridewealth part of the bridegroom's kin-group property was transferred to the kin-group of the bride, most commonly to the kin-group of the bride's father; and the transfer of property somehow compensated for the bridewealth paid by the bride's father. The aim of this transfer was to gain the right to the coming children, i.e. to secure the continuity of the kin-group. I am to some extent inclined to compare bridewealth to offerings, the "price" paid to the gods and spirits. Like a sacrifice, the bridewealth created a bond between separate beings, and in both cases the notion of compensation to a hierarchically superior is present.

In the social sense (the human community) the temporal continuum consists of the generations following on one from the other, but Central Sulawesi had a generation hierarchy based on seniority. It was thus natural to distinguish between the generations and there was thus no natural continuum between them, at least as regards the father's kin. An attempt was made to bridge this gulf in the same way as the gods were approached, by means of sacrifice. Things or bridewealth were accordingly used as an aid, for they are by nature transcendental and have a temporal durability extending beyond one generation. This does not mean that bridewealth did not also signify the transfer of property from one group to another; this was the trend, especially in the more hierarchical western area.

Obviously the bridewealth acted among the To Pamona as a link between the past and the present, even the future. By means of it the new-born was connected with the ancestors of the father's descent group. In the same way, the father, his brothers and sisters were linked with the next generations, and thus the first step to becoming ancestors themselves sometime in the future was made possible. While the bridewealth acted as a link between the past and the present, it likewise operated as a bond between the kin-group of the bridegroom and that of the bride.

6.6. Conclusions

The essence of the marriage ceremonies all over Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 20th century was the accompanying of the bridegroom in a nuptial procession from his natal home to that of his bride, the hanging of his sword and betel bag near the bride's sleeping place, and the presenting of the first part of the bridewealth. For hanging the sword the bridegroom had to present a gift to the bride's family. This was not counted as bridewealth proper and was considered a separate presentation. The gift "for hanging the sword", as the expressions "to open the curtain", "to handle", "to touch the body of the bride" indicate, was to allow the bridegroom to enter the sleeping place of his bride and copulate with her. This present must be seen as the first part of the presentation followed by "the seven" and the bridewealth proper. All these together constituted the steps needed to create a new generation and thus to assure the continuity of the kin-group.

According to the Pamona and Kaili marriage customs, the husband's kin-group was obliged to hand over a bridewealth to the kin-group of the wife. The To Pamona called this payment *oli mporongo*, "marriage price", or *saki mporongo*, "marriage fine", the To Lore *holo* "price", and other Kaili-speakers *oli*, like the Pamona-speakers. All Kaili-Pamona speakers seem to have divided the bridewealth into two parts: the first part was presented on the solemnization of marriage, when the bridegroom moved from the house of his parents to that of his bride's family, while the second portion had to be

settled not later than when the first child was born. The To Pamona called the first part *au papitu*, "the seven" or *tombo*, "reward", whereas the Kaili-speakers obviously did not possess a particular term to refer to that portion as a whole; they did, however, have specific terms for various objects which were part of it. By contrast, the To Pamona appeared not to have a specific name for the second part of the bridewealth, which the To Lore named *koro holo* "the body", and the To Kaili *wata holo* or *wata oli*.

The first part of the bridewealth did not consist primarily of economically significant objects but of symbolically meaningful items which were intended above all to transfer and compensate for the fertility of the woman. This was revealed most explicitly by the Pamona customs of presenting the first part, called "the seven", while among Kaili-speakers the same ideas were more ambiguously expressed. The names and the contents of "the seven" indicated that these goods were given to the bride and her parents and not distributed to the kin-group: a copper bracelet for the mother, a piece of cloth for a loincloth for the father. However, the prime symbol of fertility was a sarong for the bride called "compensation or reward", which included a metal object called the *uneki topi*, "core of the sarong".

The second part of the bridewealth was the economic part in the sense that it consisted of things considered property. It did not consist of the same things everywhere but could vary according to the region in question and the prosperity of the families involved. As we have noticed, there was a preference for buffaloes in Lore, copper dishes in Kulawi and Pipikoro, *mesa* cloths in Kaili, but often these items were substituted by other valuable objects, or other kinds of property could be presented. Among the To Pamona this was perhaps the most flexible; the bridewealth proper had to include one expensive entity: a slave, most often a water buffalo or a pig, sometimes sago palms or a dog, in addition to pieces of cotton of diverse colours: red, black, yellow, copper plates, chopping knives, spears, copper bracelets, etc.

On the presentation of the second part of the bridewealth, part of the bridegroom's kin-group property was transferred to the kin-group of the bride's father; this transfer of property compensated somehow for the bridewealth paid by the bride's father. The aim of this transfer was to gain the right to the coming children, i.e. to secure the continuity of the kin-group.

As regards the relation between the notion of structural time and the presentation of the bridewealth it is worth noting that, as I have said before, the temporal continuum consisted in Central Sulawesi of generations – described as layers – following on chronologically from one another. Between these layers was a hierarchy based on seniority, and it was thus natural to distinguish between them. Temporal continuity was achieved by the simultaneous presence of the different generations. Obviously the bridewealth acted in Central Sulawesi as a link between the past and the present, even the future. By means of it the new-born was connected with the ancestors of the father's descent group. In the same way, the father, his brothers and sisters were linked with the next generations, and thus the first step to becoming ancestors themselves was made possible. While the bridewealth acted as a link between the past and the present, it likewise operated as a bond between the kin-group of the bridegroom and that of the bride.

7. OBJECTS AND THE INVISIBLE WORLD

7.1. Transcendence and the Symbolism of Objects

As regards the communication between the human world and the intangible realm of spirits, the system of sacrifice is essential; the theories of sacrifice may therefore offer a meaningful point of departure for scrutiny of the role of objects in this communication, especially since material culture plays a central role in rites of sacrifice. But because the problem of sacrifice has been discussed so extensively by both historians of religion and anthropologists, it would be impossible to review the whole discussion in this connection. I shall therefore attempt to concentrate merely on some approaches to the study of the role of objects in connection with sacrifices.

Crucial to the theory presented by Hubert and Mauss in *Essai sur la Nature et la Fonction du Sacrifice (1899)*[1] is that the sacrificed object is seen as a gift which establishes contact between the world of the sacred and that of the profane. Man and god are not in direct contact but the thing consecrated serves as an intermediary between them. This contact is achieved during the sacrifice when the sacrificer, the official, and the sacrifice are first consecrated, i.e. they are brought into a sacred state of separation and interdiction. According to Hubert and Mauss (1964, 9) sacrifice always implies a consecration; in every sacrifice an object passes from the common into the religious domain.

Although sacrifice has been the object of much anthropological interest, the concrete objects which are the essential part of this action have seldom been in the focus of research. As Hubert and Mauss (1964, 12) write, man and god are not in direct contact; the thing consecrated serves as an intermediary between the sacrificer and the divinity to whom the sacrifice is usually addressed. Of the recent contributors to the study of sacrifice, Valerio Valeri has contemplated the symbolism of objects sacrificed in Hawaii. Valeri (1985, 37) defines sacrifice as "any ritual action that includes the consecration of an 'offering' to a deity. This offering is made up of one or more

1 References are made to the English edition *Sacrifice: Its nature and function* published in 1964.

individuals belonging to species having symbolic values exploited in the course of the ritual. In addition to this principal component, always made up of living and edible beings, the offering may consist of inanimate objects such as bark cloths."

One might then ask, like Beattie (1980, 30): "What, then, in sacrifice does the thing sacrificed stand for or symbolize?" And Beattie, like many other researchers, answered that the thing sacrificed seems to stand for (probably among other things) the person or persons who are making the sacrifice or upon whose behalf the sacrifice is being made. As Marcel Mauss pointed out long ago, in giving man gives, albeit in a metaphorical sense, part of himself, and in the ritual offering made in sacrifice to a god or a spirit man is likewise symbolically giving part of himself.

Valeri (1985, 50) has formulated this further: the 'objects' for sacrifice are not chosen at random, and the offering, or some of its components, "must evoke not only the deity and the sacrificer, but also the results sought by the sacrificer. This evocative power may reside in the name of the species chosen to function as the offering, in its physical properties, or in a combination of the two." The object given symbolizes the sacrificer, and often the god and the aim of the sacrifice as well.

Usually and ideally another living creature is sacrificed, because in being itself alive, it most appropriately symbolizes the life that is being offered; and most typically in blood sacrifices the animal offered is a domestic animal, apparently because domestic animals are most closely identified with the people on whose behalf the sacrifice is performed. The close association of the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is intended with the being sacrificed is also revealed by Valeri's assertion concerning the human sacrifice. "And, in fact, if the offering is the symbol of the sacrificer, nothing is a more appropriate symbol for him than parts of his own body: hair, teeth, eyes, and so on. Far more effective than these metonymic symbols of the sacrificer is his supreme metaphoric symbol, the human victim. Closer to the sacrificer than all other offerings, the human offering is endowed with the greatest value and efficacy. Beyond human sacrifice remains only the sacrificer's own death. In fact, this death is the logical limit of the sacrificial system and gives it its full meaning. For it is precisely the sacrificer's death that the sacrifice aims to avoid by representing it. Thus we are led to consider human sacrifice not as a separate category but rather as the ultimate form that every sacrifice may take – or the essence common to all sacrifices." (Valeri 1985, 49.)

Although I have so far only discussed objects as offerings, I shall not be focusing on the role of material culture in sacrificial action but employing ideas concerning the symbolism of sacrifice in order to explore other groups of objects, such as shaman's ritual objects and the treatment of the bones of the ancestors. Since, besides sacrifice, other rites also include an aspect of communication between human beings and invisible forces, the objects employed on these occasions might bear the same symbolic features as sacrificial action. Hence ritual objects in general might symbolize the people seeking the contact, the spirit or the god concerned as well as the aim of the ritual action.

Shamanism, secondary burial and sacrifice are parallel ritual actions in the sense that they all represent passage from the visible to the invisible realm, a process by means of which human beings attempt to communicate and cross the border between the two realms. That is why it may be possible to detect the same kind of symbolism in all these ritual performances. Rites performed by a shaman and secondary burials do indeed embrace offerings, so they all aim to rejuvenate human life and restore the equilibrium between human beings and gods.[2]

Generalizing the points made on the symbolism of the things for sacrifice, we might conclude that ritual objects as a whole symbolize the person for whom the rite is performed, the spirits and gods which are invoked, the aim of the ritual performance, and include some laments which mark the contact between the two distinct realms. In addition, ritual objects might be categorized (as was discussed in chapter 4.3.) as potent, vigorous items which are able to influence the health and life of people, their harvest and domestic animals.

Among the Kaili-Pamona speaking people it was the shaman's special task to act as a medium between the people and the transcendent beings living in the invisible world. That is why the most important group of objects examined in the ritual context is the shaman's equipment, including clothing, various herbs and plants, food offerings and special ritual objects such as a small roll of pandanus leaves and vigorous plants and herbs called "the dwelling place of soul" *(rare)*, or a rain-mat including metal items, pieces of cloth and bark cloth, plants, herbs, etc. called *empehi*, "a storage battery of life spirit", or "the spirit house" *(woka)* made by shamans.

In some cases ritual objects are for their owner or user "very strong symbols", in other words, more than symbols which stand for something; they are objects with different qualities and powers from the tangible objects in our mental categories. The *woka* is not just a symbol of a spirit's house, it is a spirit house. The *rare* is a dwelling place of a human soul, just as the human-like figure in Central Sulawesi was a substitute for a human being. In these cases ritual objects cannot be regarded as direct symbols of other things; they are objects outside our categories, things which often refer to relations between things and people or are able to affect the world.

Examination of the shaman's attributes must link in with more general discussion of the role of shamanism universally or in a special society or group of people. Shaman's equipment has been studied to some extent but the existing studies mainly deal with shamanism among the hunter-gatherers of Siberia, where the material culture differs greatly from that of Sulawesi. Research has revealed that the Siberian shaman's dress bears symbols of the animals acting as his helping spirits, in the hope that the characteristics of these animals will be transferred to the shaman. The researchers studying Siberian shamanism have further noted that the shaman's technique of ecstasy demands a special dress acting as a medium for his transformation (Lönnqvist 1985). The Siberian shaman's dress also has iron or bone appendages resembling a human or animal skeleton which symbolize the death and rebirth experienced by the shaman during the ecstatic visions of his initiation period. Further, dress represents the mysteries experienced by the shaman and is the dwelling place of the spirits (Siikala Anna-Leena 1987, 213).

Indeed, some studies have recently been published on shamanism in Indonesia, such as Penelope Graham's *Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature* (1987) and Jane Monnig Atkinson's *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship* (1989). Atkinson briefly reviews (1989, 182–) the material culture used at shamanistic rites among the To Wana focusing on betel and food intended as gifts and sacrifices to deities.

2 Atkinson (1989, 181–) has paid attention to the theories of exchange and sacrifice in her work on Wana shamanship.

If we apply the assumptions concerning objects in sacrifice to the shaman's ritual objects, we might assume to find: objects signifying the person on whose behalf a healing rite, for example, is performed; elements symbolizing the spirits and gods whose attention is to be caught; some clues indicating why the rite is realized, and features denoting the contact between the human world and the intangible world. And since the shaman's task was primarily to take care of people's souls, one might expect to find potent items able to increase a person's vitality. In addition there might be objects signifying the shaman's role and status. It is, however, significant to remember that ritual objects and their use were just one element of the shaman's performance as a whole; reciting, dancing and other acts were an integral and significant part of shamanistic work and the meaning of the rite could be interpreted only by examining all these aspects. I nevertheless intend to concentrate here on material culture and its particular role, without venturing to handle and construe the complete action.

Symbols and the rituals which embody them are man-made and conventional. A symbol can usually be interpreted only in and for the culture in which it occurs. There are, however, certain symbols which contain the same range of meanings among widely differing peoples, suggesting that in these cases there is a natural association between the symbols and their meanings. Thus Victor Turner (1967a, 58–) has pointed out widespread symbolic characteristics of three basic colours, white, red and black, which he suggests are related to important bodily products: white is the colour of semen and mother's milk; red is the colour of blood – maternal blood, or blood shed in war or in hunting; black is the colour of faeces and bodily dissolution. From these facts, natural symbolic meanings for the colour suggest themselves. The question then arises over the degree to which sacrifice as well as other ritual action employs natural symbols rather than arbitrary cultural symbols.

According to Bourdillon (1980, 22) "since sacrifice is so widely used as a central religious ritual, it would seem in this sense to be a natural symbol. On the other hand, since it contains so many different themes and different interpretations, any natural associations between the act of ritual sacrifice and its meaning is not at all clear. In fact there are a number of natural associations between different aspects of sacrifice and various meanings it can communicate. The following are some of the more important aspects of death and killing which have natural and frequent symbolic uses in sacrifice."

In the first part of this study the focus was on the relation between the notion of time and social structure, and attention was especially paid to the duration and continuity of time. Similarly, the concept of connection seems to be essential in the communication between people and the spirit world. But whereas in the first case the aim was duration between distinct events, in the latter case it was to create constancy between two separate worlds or places.

7.2. Shamanism in Central Sulawesi

As Mircea Eliade (1987, 202) writes, shamanism in the strict sense is preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Inner Asia but similar magico-religious phenomena were observed in North and South America, Indonesia, Oceania, and elsewhere. Eliade continues:

> Because of their shared characteristics, there is every reason to study them together with Siberian and Inner Asian shamanism. But the presence of a shamanic complex in one region or another does not necessarily mean that the magico-religious life of the corresponding people is crystallized around shamanism. This can occur (as, for example, in certain parts of Indonesia), but it is not the most usual state of affairs. Generally, shamanism coexists with other forms of magic and religion.

Throughout Central Sulawesi the shaman was the most important religious expert acting as a medium between the human world and the invisible realm. She was able, using altered states of consciousness, to enter the world of the spirits and communicate with gods and spirits as a representative of co-human beings; and to bring back messages from these supernatural beings. (Adriani 1932d II, 197.) The expertise of the shaman was utilized on several occasions during people's life circle but especially during sickness. A shaman was called when the reason of the sickness was suspected to be the separation of the soul (*tanoana*). When a child was a few months old, a shaman performed a rite called *mampapotanoana* in order to unite the soul of the child to his body. The shaman also had several tasks in connection with death: it was presumed that the deceased person could easily take the *tanoana* of living relatives with him to the Underworld, and the shaman brought them back; similarly the soul of the deceased might need a shaman's attention (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 158). Because the corpse lay swimming in the body fluid, it was supposed that the soul of the dead was choking in the realm of the dead because of flooding; and it was the shaman's task to rescue the soul from this state.

Further, at a house-warming a shaman enumerated all the constituent parts of the house and said something about them. This naming stripped them of the possible harm they might be able to do "so that this will not shorten the lives of the occupants". The shaman also united the *tanoana* of the occupants to their new dwelling. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 159.) She also asked the agricultural god Pue-ura for the rice soul so that the rice to be planted might prosper. Shamanistic rites were prohibited during the harvest and harvest feast, apparently because it was feared that the soul of the rice might escape during these rites and return with the shaman to the sky. The soul of the rice was called by the same name as the soul of the human being, i.e. *tanoana mpae*. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 159, 161).[3]

When two blood relatives repudiated each other, it was said that they had cut through the umbilical cord which was the symbol of blood relationship and a shaman could join the umbilical cord again (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 161). When people

3 According to Atkinson (1989, 107) the To Wana also called the soul of the rice *tanuana*.

returned from a journey, they had to be stripped of the evil of the foreign land. The shaman did this by beating them with a bunch of magic herbs. This was called *moaro (moarosi)* "to beat with a branch with leaves".

Pamona shamanism displayed several features widespread in shamanistic cultures, such as the notion of a three-dimensional cosmos, consisting of the Upperworld, the Underworld and the earth; the concept of a spiritual element which could separate from the body; and the idea of the shaman's spirit familiar, in the Pamona case *wurake*. However, Pamona shamanism had some characteristic features which distinguished it from the shamanism of other regions, even from the shamanism of other parts of Central Sulawesi.

The most crucial feature was that among the To Pamona the shaman's role was intended merely for women. The men's task was to promote the well-being of the community as warriors and head-hunters; every male had to participate in a war expedition at least once in his life. According to Downs (1956) participation in a head-hunting expedition was men's initiation rite and comparable to the ritual at which all women were consecrated as shamans, although not all of them later became practising shamans. Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 77) interpreted this to mean that while men acquired vital strength *(tanoana)* by means of fighting with the enemy and taking their heads, shamans obtained *tanoana* from the sky by means of travelling there.

A man could act as a shaman in the Pamona community but in that case he had to change his gender and become a women, to behave and dress as such; he was then addressed as "mother" (Adriani 1932d II, 195–). These male shamans were called *bayasa*, a word which originally meant "deceiver", someone who passes himself as something other than what he really is (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 78.) Among the Kaili-speakers it was also more common than among the To Pamona for men to appear as shamans[4] or *tobalias (topobalia)*, as the Kaili-speakers called them. One special class of Kaili male shamans consisted of the transvestites of Bora parallel to the Bugis *bissu* custom.

In Parigi (Tomini Bay) there used to be shamans who were called *wurake*. Most of them were women, but there were also some male shamans *(bayasa)* who dressed and behaved as women. But according to Adriani and Kruyt (1898, 427) they originated outside Parigi, often from Napu. When Adriani and Kruyt visited Parigi, the inhabitants had already been converted to Islam, but traditional shamanism seems to have been a mixture of various influences since they mention six types of shamans who communicated with spirits from different regions: *wurake tobugi* with Bugis spirits, *wurake tampilangi* with spirits from the mountains such as in the Kulawi and Napu regions, *wurake ompuni* with Gorontalese spirits, *wurake bone* with Bugis spirits, *wurake totasi* who agreed with *wurake ompuni*, and *wurake topeule* (*peule* is a witch) with spirits from Palu and Tawaeli.

The inhabitants of Sigi (To Kaili) were to a large extent already converted to Islam when Adriani and Kruyt visited the area in 1896 but traditional shamanism was practised continuously (1898, 472). Shamans still wore a headcloth in the pagan

4 Among the Iban *manang bali* was a 'transformed' shaman, often referred to in the literature as a transvestite shaman (Graham 1987, 173–4); *manang* is a shaman and *bali* means "to change in form", i.e. the same idea as that behind the Pamona *bayasa*.

Figure 14. A Kaili shaman from Donggala. KITLV, DGI, no. 4353.

manner though the other women no longer did. They were called *baliya* and restored people at a ritual called *wurake*. There were also other kinds of shamans called *ajenja* who communicated with *tampilangi* spirits.

The second distinctive property of Pamona shamanism was that the Pamona shaman did not go into a trance while working, although the Kaili shamans for example did. I would, however, not detach Pamona shamanism and the shamanism of people living in western Central Sulawesi (the West Toraja) as definitely as Kruyt did (1938). Indeed Kruyt did not regard the shamans of the To Pamona as real shamans and called them priestesses, reserving the term shaman exclusively for the religious experts of the Kaili-speakers. His most critical concern was that the Pamona shamans did not utilize spirit possession; Kruyt regarded this as vital to shamanism. Adriani also admitted (1932d II, 197) that the Pamona priestesses were not shamans because they were not possessed by spirits. However, recent studies have revealed that there was a great variety of differences in shamanistic cultures even in Siberia. The cosmological notions and the tasks of the shaman to heal and tend the souls of the people were similar all over Central Sulawesi (see also Atkinson 1989). The differences were related to other structural forms of society and the Kaili-speakers were not at all a homogenous group in this case.

A Pamona shaman was called *tadu mburake*, "female commander of the *wurake* spirits" (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 70); *tadu*, a word from priestly language, is an intentional mutilation of *tawu*,[5] which is synonymous with *pu'u*, "lower end of a tree trunk, groundwork". The shaman's litany was divided into three parts: foundation *(pu'u)*, trunk *(wata)* and branch *(ra'a)*[6]. *Tadu* occurs in many compounds in the sense of "leader, predecessor", such as *tadulako*, "predecessor during the running", i.e., commander in an undertaking; *tadu mpomota*, "female leader of the harvest". The complete title of the shaman is *tadu mburake*, "predecessor in the priestly work", properly speaking, "female commander of the *wurake* spirits".

7.3. The Shaman's Clothing and Equipment

7.3.1. The Shaman's Costume in Western Central Sulawesi

Throughout Central Sulawesi the shamans were not distinguished from other people externally in daily life; only when they went to practise their occupation did they put on garments and carry objects by which they could be recognized as shamans. Shamans got married, gave birth to children, and worked at home and in the fields as ordinary women; most of the male shamans also dressed and acted like women. Although there was a shaman's position, it was not the role of a religious expert devoted wholly to that occupation. An exception to this were the Sigi shamans, *bayasa*,

5 *Tawu*, thick part of something, swollen part, swollen testicles; *tawu ngkayuku*, the foot of a coconut palm (Adriani 1928, 822).

6 According to Atkinson (1989, 217) the Wana shaman sought the reason for a person's illness called *pu'u*, "base", "origin", "foundation".

who acted primarily at the court of the *magau* of Sigi in Bora[7]. These *bayasa* or *balia (walia)*[8], as e.g. Grubauer (1913, 570) called them, were comparable to the *bissu*, who were men dressing and behaving partly like women who took care of the ornaments and performed the appropriate rituals at several courts of the princes in South Sulawesi. (Chabot 1950, 154.)

The information concerning shaman's clothing and the objects used by them while working is based on both ethnographical records and the available museum collections. The problem with museum collections is that the catalogue references are often poor and vague. I have therefore tried to be careful and to include only museum objects with clear references to shamanism. After examining shaman's clothing in Central Sulawesi I shall be turning to the ritual equipment utilized by shamans studying some ritual descriptions.

Very little is known about the shaman costume of the Kaili-speakers. The available accounts are ambiguous and only few garments are to be found in the museums. Fortunately there are, however, more detailed records of the To Pamona groups. Almost every Kaili shaman wore everyday clothes when she was not working and she/he did not differ from the other villagers. Only the shamans of the *monuntu Bada'* branch in Bada' and the female main shaman in Napu dressed constantly in white bark cloth. In Bada' there were two kinds of shamanism: *monuntu Bada'* and *monuntu Lambu'* (Rampi shamanism); the former kind of shaman always wore white *fuya* while working, the latter everyday clothing (Kruyt 1938 II, 501).

When the To Lore shamans were performing their rites, they were dressed all in white, except for the Rampi shamans of Bada'. Elsewhere, i.e. among the To Kulawi and Pipikoro, they wore their usual festive clothing and a special hood (*mua* or *bobo*) over their heads. In Napu this hood was decorated with lobster patterns *(pebungka)* and the hood of the main shaman with rombs. The male shamans covered their faces with long head hair or a carrying sarong. (Kruyt 1938 II, 523.) I have not found any such headgear in the museum collections, though Grubauer did acquire two hoods (MAE 2317–101 and 102) and one collar (MAE 2317–100) made of white bark cloth from Bada'. But according to his information these hoods were worn by widows (see picture in Grubauer 1913, 531; 1923, Pl. 67).

Although Kruyt writes that the Kulawian as well as the Pipikoroan shamans were dressed in their normal festive clothes while acting, there are in the museum collections some cotton and bark cloth blouses which might have been worn by acting shamans. These blouses are of the same design as the women's dance blouses in Kulawi: short sleeves, a straight lower edge (Kuisma 1981, 35). They are, however, made of white bark cloth and decorated with painted red motifs, while the women's festive blouses were commonly made of coloured bark cloth or, in more recent times, of cotton and decorated with appliqué and embroidery (Kaudern 1921 II, 42). Among

7 The information concerning these Sigi shamans is poor and it is unclear whether they were found outside the Sigi region. However, all the available references to them are from the Sigi area or nearby regions such as Bora, Sidondo, Kalukubula. According to Adriani and Kruyt (1898, 472) the real Sigi consisted of four villages: Bora, Sigi, Watunonju and Oloboju; Sidondo, Sibowi, Sibalaya, Pakuli and Bangga being its feudal states.

8 The To Wana call the spirit familiar *walia* (Atkinson 1989, 349).

the patterns on the shaman blouses made of bark cloth is an unusual cross motif the points of which end in an irregular triangle or circle. In Kulawi this motif was called *torona*, which means a young girl, but according to old Kulawian people it illustrated some wild plant. People did not know any more about this motif but it may have had religious significance because it occurred only in the shamans' blouses worn on ritual occasions. (Kaudern 1921 II, 95.) One cotton shaman's blouse (TM 91–7a) has motifs similar to those of the bark cloth blouses in Kaudern's collection. These patterns, like those of one shaman's blouse made of bark cloth in Rotterdam (MLV 25445), could also be interpreted as star and sun motifs.

Among the To Kaili (including Sigi) shamans usually dressed in a blouse made of white, yellow or red cotton; or sometimes in a blouse of bark cloth painted with yellow and red motifs. Earlier the headband was made of bark cloth: the middle part of it was yellow. The ends were red, and it was adorned with fringes. The equipment of the Kaili shaman also included a red fan. In addition male shamans fastened a spiral-shaped copper ornament to their hair, as did the head-hunters during their expedition. (Kruyt 1938 II, 524.)

The Sarasins give a description of this spiral-like head ornament in the village of Beka in the Palu Valley in 1902. This ornament *(balalunki)* was, according to them (1905 II, 69–70), used by both head-hunters in Kulawi and shamans *(balian tampirang)* in Palu.

> Auf einem freien Platze unweit vom Fluss hielten Balians Tänze ab, um Kranke zu heilen, von denen sie gerufen waren. Der Patient sass auf einer Matte unter einem Baldachin mit einigen Leuten neben sich. Um diese kleine Gesellschaft führten nun sowohl einige Priester, als Priesterinnen einen trippelnden Tanz auf, wobei wütig auf das Tamtam geschlagen wurde; eine eigentliche Tanzfigur war nicht zu bemerken, es war blos ein Herumtrippeln, ohne viele Körperwendungen. Die Priester trugen das Spiralschwert der linken Kopfseite angedrückt, mit der Spitze nack vorne und festgehalten durch ein aus Fuya bestehendes Kopftuch, aus welchem ein Büschel von zurechtgeschnitten und mit bunten Läppchen verzierten Hahnenfedern hervorschaute. Die Priesterinnen erschienen in weisse Fujajäckchen gekleidet und trugen Binden in Haar. (Sarasins 1905 II, 70.)

7.3.2. The Clothing of the Sigi Shaman

Grubauer writes that he encountered in Sidondo, Palu Valley an interesting curiosity: Kaili priests *(walia, balia)*, i.e. Sigi shamans. They belonged to three categories: the highest shamans were called *ratu*, those belonging to the second class *jnja (jinja?)*,[9] and the third group *tambilangi (tampilangi)*. Grubauer regarded these shamans as women but all other sources state that they were men who dressed and behaved like women (Sarasins 1905 II, 75), being perhaps transvestites like the Bugis *bissu*. Shamans of the first group *(ratu)* wore a distinctive headdress *(talim-buso)* resembling a bishop's mitre,

9 Kruyt mentions (1938 III, 576) *jinja* or *ginja* spirits which could not speak. That is why the shamans who worked with these spirits did not speak but danced only; the air spirits were commonly called *tambilangi*.

a blouse made of white bark cloth and adorned with black motifs *(baju sinjulo)*, a fine sarong *(sarong mbesa)* and a knife *(katando)*. Shamans of the second class wore a red head ring or rather a headband equipped with two yellow triangles and decorated with stitching and mice. Their costume also included a red-yellow bark cloth poncho-like garment *(alua)* and a shoulder cloth *(slendang sinjulo)*. In their hand they had a bunch of sacred red plants, probably bloodwort (cordyline), which they used for sprinkling. The *tambilangi*[10] shamans wore on their forehead a long red and yellow fringed bark cloth headdress which reached to the back. (Grubauer 1913, 570–572.) Many of these articles of clothing mentioned by Grubauer are in the museums in Cologne and St. Petersburg, where the objects acquired by Grubauer have been deposited (Grubauer 1913, 571 and 573 show pictures of these objects; see figure 15). Sigi shamanism was apparently a mixture of *bissu* phenomena and the traditional shamanism of Central Sulawesi.

A complete costume of a Sigi shaman,[11] probably of a main shaman, was collected by G. W. Wigman, who acted as *controleur* in the subdivision of Palu in 1916–1921. This outfit, including two headdresses *(talim pusu)* resembling a bishop's mitre (MLV 25432a–1, 25432a–2), a poncho-like garment of painted bark cloth *(iwo aluwa*, MLV 25432b), a white cotton blouse *(badu ntinoka*, MLV 25432c) equipped with two "wings" and adorned with appliqué, an *ikat* sarong (MLV 25432d) and a belt *(pompove-tai*, MLV 25432e), is now in the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam. Comparison of this costume with other garments of Sigi shamans in the museums and the available photos (see figures 14, 15 and 16) shows this outfit to be quite typical of a Sigi main shaman. There were, however, some variations, although the articles of clothing were similar.

All the blouses of the Sigi region are of almost the same design: a straight hem (shorter at the back), tight sleeves and a square or round opening for the head; attached to the back are two pieces of cotton or bark cloth as "wings". Although the model was similar, the material and decoration of the blouses varied; a blouse could be made of white bark cloth or cotton, and it could be adorned by appliqué of dark brown bark cloth or by painted motifs. Blouses MLV 25432c and RJM 29022 are examples of shamans' tunics decorated with appliqué; the former is made of white cotton and the latter of white bark cloth. Perhaps the most elaborate shamans' blouses are nos. SK VK 5114:173, 5114:174 from Bora, which were according to Rosenlund's information used only by the head shamans *(bayasa)* in Bora at great feasts.

The headdress of Sigi shamans differed most definitely from that of other shamans in Central Sulawesi. Grubauer distinguished three categories of shamans marked by a special headdress and headgear similar to all these are to be found in the museum collections: "a bishop's mitre" of the shaman of the first class called *talim pusu, talim buso, tali puhu*,[12] a headdress of the second type, "the horned headgear" seems to be

10 *Tampilangi* means an air spirit which commonly acted as a shaman's assistant.

11 There is in the Museum Negeri Sulawesi Tengah in Palu a complete costume of a Bora shaman which includes a blouse quite similar to RJM 29022, a poncho-like garment, a typical headdress, bells with clapper and a unique necklace made of white bark cloth with red tassels at the ends. See also *Daftar Benda-Benda Koleksi* … 1983, nos. 6–10.

12 See MLV 25432a–1, MLV 25432a–2, SK VK 5114:186, RJM 29025a, RJM 29024, MAE 2317:96, MAE 2317:97.

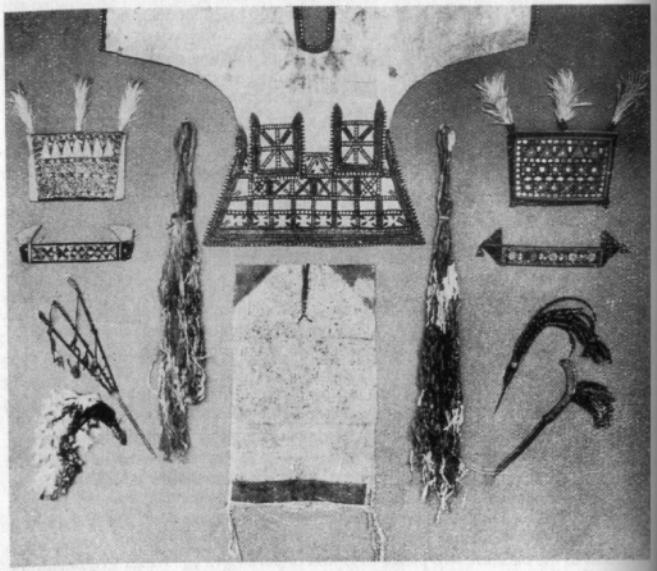


Figure 15. Garments used by Sigi shamans. Collected by Grubauer 1911 and deposited in Cologne and St. Petersburg. Source: Grubauer 1923, 72.

more rare (MAE 2317:98) as is the third type of headdress made of a bunch of bark cloth and used by the shaman *tampilangi* (MAE 2317–95, RJM 29023). All the headdresses of shamans in the first class are made of red and yellow cotton and are the same rectangular shape. They are decorated with embroidery and appliqué with cotton cloth and cotton thread of various colours, mice, small pieces of mirror, pieces of sheet copper and metal thread; attached to the top of most head-dresses are feathers. The decoration of all the headdresses is in principle similar: on the upper part is a row of triangles *(tumpals)*, the middle and lower part are divided by vertical and horizontal lines into squares, inside which are appliqué or stitched motifs, often flowers.

The other types of headgear are simpler: that of the second class of shaman is more like a band made of yellow and red cotton and equipped with two "horns"[13]. This does

13 Compare this headdress with the *bissu's siriwatta* made of yellow and red lontar palm leaves (Matthess 1872, 9, Pl. II fig. h).

Figure 16. Head shamans from Bora. Bora about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:30.

have embroidery and appliqué, but less than that of the first type. The headdress of the third class of shaman closely resembles that of other shamans among the Kaili-Pamona speakers, being a bunch of bark cloth with long fringes down the back.

The 'mitre' headgear of the first class of shamans is of such peculiar design that it presumably has some kind of prototype. No information has been found to indicate where, by whom and for how long these headdresses have been produced. The

prototype might even be a Spanish bishop's mitre from the 16th century, which could have reached the Kaili area via Minahassa or Gorontalo. Indeed, the Gorontalese court dancers had a headdress (for instance MVB 374, RMV 776/14) which resembled the Spanish bishop's mitre and also the headdress used by Sigi shamans. Costumes dating from the Spanish period were very popular and highly esteemed at the courts of Central Sulawesi, Buton and Ternate until the 19th century (Rosenberg 1878, 230). I have not found any records proving that the *bissu* of South Sulawesi used this kind of headdress.

On the other hand the decoration on this headgear resembles the motifs on imported Indian cloths with *tumpals*, areas divided by vertical and horizontal lines and flower patterns; so one could also speculate that motifs from imported cloth were copied onto these headdresses in the same way as they were copied onto bark cloth garments. In Sigi, where these headdresses were worn, there must have been an abundance of imported cloths owned by the ruler and other noble families. The shamans of the Kaili area also used imported cotton cloths as their sarongs and for ritual purposes, such as to cover the participants' heads on ritual occasions. Cloth SK VK 5114:189, which was most probably traded from India, was according to Rosenlund formerly owned by the prince of Sigi; in the 1920's similar kinds of cloths were suspended in Bora so that the shamans could perform their dances under them.

7.3.3. The Costume of the Pamona Shaman

Among the To Pamona old-fashioned, serious shamans dressed in a skirt of bark cloth which was coloured brown with *ula* juice and was dotted with red and yellow spots made with *kasemba* (aniline dye) and curcuma. The jacket,[14] usually also of bark cloth, was filled with pleats next to one another and coloured by halves. The headband, too, was coloured half red, half yellow. Often stripes that crossed each other were drawn across the jacket with black and yellow dye.

In addition to reciting their litanies and performing all sorts of ritual acts at the consecration feast for girls, the shamans were kept busy during the morning hours by making for the girls sacred objects with which they were attired as shamans. This involved the painting of the bark cloth jackets and skirts which the girls wore during the holy acts on the last day of the feast. Usually the girls sat nearby in order to learn the art of painting, which was a priestly task. A girl who had not undergone consecration had to be careful not to touch the shaman's ritual objects, for if she did, she would fall sick or acquire a chronic ailment of the neck. And only girls who had been consecrated could wear painted bark cloth clothes. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 87.)

> After the morning meal, at around noon on the first day of the feast, all the girls are assembled in the temple or the feast-hut. Here the shamans, under the leadership of the head *tadu*, are busy dressing the girls and women completely in white *fuya:* skirt (sarong), *baju*, and headband. The *baju* is not the jacket with sleeves that is worn in daily life, but the *ambulea* (Lage) or *sandake* (Pebato, Onda'e), an oblong four-cornered piece of *fuya* in which a hole is cut in the middle; the head is stuck through this hole, so that one half covers the back, the other, the chest. Around the waist this piece of clothing is tied around the body with a band. All the clothes are painted with red and yellow figures with *alomi* and *kuni* (curcuma).[15] Thus, the headband too is half red, half yellow; the material is *inodo raula mate*, i.e., bark cloth which has been brushed with *ula* juice in such a way that it has become soft. This headband bears the name of *tali rakoyo*, because it hangs from the cranium down the neck and is thus worn, as it were, on the back *(rakoyo)*. All these clothes are made and painted by shamans and a few women who have learned the art. The people explain that the clothes must be white because the girls want to show themselves white of heart *(mabuya raya)*, i.e. willing to become shamans.[16] The tribe of the To Wingke-mposo are an exception to this: here the *fuya* clothing was coloured entirely yellow. The intention, however, was the same, because people picture the sunlight as yellow as well as white, and the girls to be consecrated rise toward the sunlight. (Adriani and Kruyt 1951 II, 91.)
>
> With all these activities the better part of the morning has passed, and the sun already stands high in the sky before all the girls are ready to take part in the last act of the feast. The girls are all in their white clothes, with the *pebanca ndompu* on their heads, and on this in turn rested a sun hat *(tinii, sorue)*[17], and with a bunch of magic plants and the knife decorated by the shaman (to which some sugar palm leaves have been added) in their hands. This knife bears the name of *piso rai*. The clothing of the shamans is not the same everywhere. Sometimes they wear a cotton skirt of a pattern that is called *antilasa*. Often they have a sarong of *fuya* rubbed with *ula* juice, dotted with red dye *(kasumba)*, and a jacket of fine *fuya* that has been made soft *(ndaula mate)*, coloured red. We also saw *baju* of *tulle (badu rawa)*. But they always have a sun hat on the head, decorated with bells and red *kandorua* flowers. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 104–5.)

The poncho-like garment and the headdress made of bands of bark cloth which seemed to be the most important garments of the Pamona shaman will be discussed later in chapters 7.3.4. and 7.3.5.

All over the Kaili-Pamona area shamans used to wear a lot of beads and bells of various sizes and kinds while performing their rites. Around the waist, shoulder or over the jacket were hung strings of beads.[18] In addition to this a string of beads was often used as a ritual object by shamans. The edge of this string of beads was often trimmed with little copper jingle-bells *(ginggiri)*, or the shaman had a bunch of these little bells hanging on the belt. According to Kaudern (1927, 84) the shaman *(tobalia)* rang the bell holding it over the head of the person who was to be cured in order to call

14 There are no such blouses or skirts in the museum collections.

15 According to Kruyt (1935b, 564) all over Central Sulawesi the bark cloth used at consecration feasts was painted yellow; similarly the ritual surroundings constructed for various rites were decorated with yellow plants. Yellow referred to the brightness of the sun and thus to the Upperworld.

16 When a woman undergoes the *pompakawurake* for the second time, she need no longer be in white.

17 See more about the sun hats in Kruyt 1934.

18 For example, strings of beads nos GEM 26.9.218, 26.9.225, 51.23.1579, 26.9.473, 51.23.1576, 51.23.1577.

Figure 17. A sick person being treated by Pamona shamans at Pentana in about 1930. The shamans are wearing headdresses and poncho-like garments made of bark cloth. K.I.T., VIDOC, File 7/11, neg. 854/18.

the spirits. The bells tied round the neck or the wrist of small children were believed to protect the bearer. In some places in the eastern part of the country people claimed that these bells are the chicken of the *wurake* spirits. Another ornament, a copper disk called a *mpilo-mpilo* or *pimpilo*[19], was attached underneath on the large collar that the shaman wore on her jacket. (Adriani and Kruyt 1951 II, 118.)

Kruyt mentions (1938 II, 524) that he saw in Besoa a broad bead collar similar to that pictured in Sarasins' book (1905 II, plate II) which is further like that collected by Sarasins in Kulawi (MVB 709; figure 91). They were apparently known everywhere among the Kaili-speakers, though most of the specimens come from Kulawi and were used on several occasions: besides shamans (figure 20) by noble men such as Madika Tomelatoinda from Kulawi (Sarasins 1905 II, Pl. II see figure 3), by a bride and bridegroom from Kulawi (photo SK VKK 400:14; see figure 13) and by a woman attending a funeral in Kulawi (photo SK VKK 400:24, 23; see figure 26). These beaded

19 There are no such copper disks in the museums. *Mpilo-mpilo* is also the name for little figures of wood or copper that are used when removing sickness; people say that they represent the sickness that must be removed.

collars seemed to be both family valuables worn on special occasions and ritual objects worn by shamans while acting.

In addition to bells and strings of beads every Kaili shaman had a clock or bell with a clapper. These bells hung from a cord round the men's waists, or in the sword so that it would clang during running; it was also indispensable for the shaman during the session because its ringing lured the patient's separated soul. (Kaudern 1927, 74; Kruyt 1938 II, 525.) I will not discuss all the metal bells found in the museums and will briefly mention just a few specimens. The *bayasa* shamans of Bora fastened bells to the waist or hips during their dance, such as the two pairs of cast brass bells with clapper in Rosenlund's collection (SK VK 5114:15, 16, 17, 18). They are fastened to each other by a piece of white bark cloth; the other end of the band is painted violet. Both shamans and head-hunters used similar bells when in action.[20] While the little jingle bells seem to have been used to lure the spirits, these larger bells with clappers were said to drive evil spirits away (SK VK 5002:190, 191).

7.3.4. The Shaman's Headdress

The article of clothing most conspicuously identifying the shaman of Central Sulawesi was a headdress made of white bark cloth. In Kulawi, Lindu and among some Pipikoro groups a shaman wore a special headband called *tali batanda* or *tali potaya* in Kulawi, *tali kabirei* in Lindu, and *tali ntiyinu* in Tobaku. This headband was usually coloured yellow and decorated with red paint on the forehead, sometimes with more colours. (Kruyt 1938 II, 523.) Kaudern painted a picture of the To Kulawi shaman Tina Neo wearing this kind of headband; there is also a photo from Kulawi taken in about 1918–20 showing two old shamans wearing this particular headband. (Kaudern 1921 I, 240; fig. 97; see figure 18). Some of these bands are to be found in museums (GEM 51.23.860, 51.23.861, SK VK 5002:123, 124 and TM 91–7b, which is however, a little different, with a hole in the middle). Furthermore there are slightly different headdresses such as a broad band without fringes from Bada' (RJM 27932) and a similar band with fringes from Lampu (RJM 27933). It is nonetheless difficult to determine whether such bands were worn just by shamans because they were quite commonly worn by all men and women on ritual occasions.

Among the To Pamona the last day of the consecration feast for shamans was particularly busy. Piles of strips of coloured bark cloth were brought into the feast building. From this the girls made themselves an ornament called a *pebanca ndompu*, "which resembles the inflorescence of the *rompu* (a sort of wild palm)". *Pebanca ndompu* is a bunch of coloured *fuya* strips twisted in the middle like a rope; and put around the head of the girl so that the loose ends hang down the back like tassels, resembling head hair hanging loose. Sometimes just the ends of a piece of bark cloth are cut into fringes. Through this ornament the girls were promoted to shamans, for the *pebanca ndompu* was part of the equipment of the shaman in function. The To Pebato sometimes also called this head ornament *tali ndakoyo*, "headband that is worn on the back like a

20 See, for instance, also SK VK 5114:13, RJM 27916 and RJM 28104, which were used by warriors, and MLV 25424, which was probably worn by a shaman.

Figure 18. Tina Neo, a Kulawi shaman wearing a headband of painted bark cloth. Painting by Kaudern, Kulawi, 1918. Kaudern 1944, Plate LVIII.

basket", with the strap over the forehead. This head ornament was also called *pesese, penesése, pinesése* in Onda'e. (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 151–; 1950 I, 102; 1951 II, 102–103; Kaudern 1921 II, 200.)

This head ornament made of bands of bark cloth belonged to the equipment of a practising shaman and through it the girls were promoted to shamans at the consecration feast. (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 151–; 1950 I, 102–; Kruyt 1935b, 565–66.) Kruyt (1935b, 566) suggested that this headdress might represent the radiation of the life force which the shaman brought along with her hair from the sky. Furthermore, it was used by the men at the temple feast after a victorious head-hunting expedition and consequently the packets of bones were adorned at the great death feast with this headdress. The bone-gatherers also wore *pebanca ndompu* round their heads while at work. According to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 535) this bunch of bark cloth strips represented the headdress of the deceased. Kaudern acquired seven head ornaments *(penesése)*[21] in Taripa, Onda'e. Judging from the museum index cards these bands were used to tie the spiral-shaped ornament *(sanggori)* to the death mask of the bone packet.

At the temple feast in connection with head-hunting a representative of each family had around the head a bunch of coloured strips of *fuya* when he approached the transcendent beings by invocation. The strips of this headdress were so long that they hung down the back almost to the floor. Immediately after the pounder[22] came down, the members of the family sitting around put their hands on the lower end of it, or they held on to the bark cloth strips hanging down from the head, in order to take part in the invocation. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 363). On this occasion the bark cloth strips apparently linked people with the invisible beings and transferred the message of invocation to the Upperworld. A girl was likewise promoted to a shaman by means of a *pebanca ndompu* headdress, and a deceased person might be promoted to an ancestor.

7.3.5. The Poncho-like Garments

Both Adriani and Kruyt and Kaudern agreed that the original garment used to cover the upper body in Central Sulawesi was probably a poncho or vest-like garment made from bark cloth.[23] This garment was still in use on ceremonious occasions, such as the consecration feast for shamans and the head-hunting feast at the end of the 19th century. According to Adriani and Kruyt (1901, 151–; 1912 II, 223; 1951 III, 277) there were two kinds of poncho-like garments consisting of a rectangular piece of thin bark cloth with an opening for the head in the centre. Firstly, the *ambulea*, "that which is worn over the shoulders" was worn only by women and was not decorated. It was worn over the naked body, leaving the arms and sides of the body uncovered. The *ambulea* was so long that it reached down to the knees. Secondly, the *abe* worn both by women and men over their ordinary clothing was of the same design but narrower. This latter kind of garment was often decorated with paintings.

21 Nos. GEM 26.9.221, 26.9.222, 26.9.468, 26.9.967, 51.23.1570, 51.23.1571 and 51.23.1574.

22 This is an ebony staff used only at the temple feast.

23 Poncho-like garments were commonly worn by the peoples of Southeast Asia and Oceania; see Ihle's study (1939), which includes information on pocho-like garments in Sulawesi, too.

If Adriani and Kruyt distinguished the *abe* and the *ambulea* correctly, all the Pamona garments in the museums should be classified as *abes*. This would be in accordance with the information given by Kaudern that these garments were called in Taripa *abe*. However, *ambulea* were intended especially for the adornment of the consecrated girls at the consecration feast. These garments were then painted red and yellow. Similarly, female shamans from Pentana (To Pamona) wore *ambuleas* clearly decorated with paintings according to a photo taken in about 1930 (see figure 17). It may be unnecessary to classify these garments into separate groups because they look quite similar and their use did not differ greatly. Furthermore, the information given by the authors is not accurate.

Table 3. Poncho-like garments from Central Sulawesi in the museums

MUSEUM	NUMBER	COLLECTOR	PLACE	TIME
Helsinki	VK 5114:175	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:176	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:179	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:180	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:181	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:182	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:183	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:184	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Helsinki	VK 5114:185	Rosenlund	Bora, To Kaili	1922–28
Gothenburg	26.9.215	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	26.9.452	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	26.9.472	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1551	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1552	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1553	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1554	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1555	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1556	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1557	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1558	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Gothenburg	51.23.1559	Kaudern	Taripa, To Onda'e	1919
Leiden	43:79	Rosenberg	Poso	–1864
Leiden	1759/47	?	To Pebato	–1911
Leiden	1759/48	?	To Pebato	–1911
Leiden	1759/49	?	To Onda'e	–1911
Dresden	17987	?	To Lage	?
Frankfurt	N.S.29691	Speyer?	Poso?	?
Cologne	29021	Grubauer	Sidondo, To Kaili	1911
Rotterdam	254332b	Wigman	Sigi	1916–21

Among the To Onda'e and the To Pebato the *ambulea* was called a *sandake;* among the To Pue-mburake a *sindake* (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 277). Kaudern (1921 II, 44–45) calls all such garments *abe*. The name *ambulea* seems to be used by the To Lage especially. Rosenlund terms the poncho-like articles of clothing used by shamans in Bora (the To Kaili) *alua;* the To Lore – at least the To Bada'– were aware of this term, too (Kruyt 1938 II, 510). The To Lore also had an article of clothing called a *kulambe* which was also a square piece of bark cloth with a hole for the head and was worn over other clothing on some particular occasions, such as when visiting a house of mourning. Anyone who did not have one or a piece of bark cloth to make one quickly bound strips of bark cloth round his neck. At the consecration of a new dwelling six persons dressed in *kulambes* spent some days in a screened part of the house. This had the same oblong form as the buffalo hide *(humba)* which Kruyt saw in the temple of the village of Lamba in Napu. A *humba* is an oblong piece of buffalo hide with a hole fo. the head; with this garment a shaman adorned himself at a healing feast in the temple when a prominent chief was sick in Napu. (Kruyt 1908, 1298–9; 1938 II, 246–7.)

I have found in museums 29 such garments which most likely originated among the Kaili-Pamona speakers; in addition to them there are some garments (MU 54387, 54388, 54389, 54390) with ambiguous information concerning their origin such as Minahassa?, Toraja?. Indeed, this type of garment was also used in other parts of Sulawesi, at least by the To Mori (TM 495–89, 90, 91). The To Mori called it an *abe* and it was, according to Ritzema, used by men at temple feasts.

As table 3 shows, 18 of these garments were collected among the To Pamona groups, mostly from the To Onda'e. The only garments found outside the To Pamona region are the nine *aluas* acquired by Edward Rosenlund in Bora, one by Grubauer in Sidondo and one by Wigman in Sigi. Although the museum specimens originating from the Pipikoro and Lore areas are absent, poncho-like garments were known at least in Bada', where the *monuntu Lampu'* shamans dressed for a consecration ceremony in an *alua*, as it was called in Bada'. The *alua* was a rectangular piece of white bark cloth, in the middle of which was a round hole. The corners of the *alua* were painted yellow with curcuma so that it resembled those used in Sigi. After the feast the *aluas* were preserved by the owners at their house. (Kruyt 1938 II, 510).

Most of the available garments are decorated with paintings: horizontal lines divide the space into parts, which are adorned with zigzag lines and other geometrical motifs, sometimes also flower, star and sun motifs. An exception is GEM 51.23.1551, which is lavishly decorated with figurative images such as water buffaloes, human beings and plants. The patterns and the style of decoration found in these poncho-like garments are typical of other bark cloth attires, too. The sources do not reveal whether there is any religious or cosmological significance attached to these motifs.[24]

The most representative selection of these garments was obtained by Walter Kaudern during his visit to Onda'e in 1919. These bark cloth articles had survived among the To Onda'e for an amazingly long time; indeed Kaudern describes the To Onda'e as the most conservative of the To Pam na groups at the time of his journey there. According to Kaudern (1921 II, 44–5) a *abe* was employed at death feasts in order to enshroud the bones of the deceased and it was also worn by boys when they were initiated as men and warriors at the temple. The garment used by the initiates was, however, more simple and decorated only with red and yellow. Kaudern is

24 "In terms of what has been said about the meaning of the designs of the *siga*, it is highly probable that the occurrence in the patterns of the ceremonial ponchos also symbolizes the connection between the objects in question, the head-hunting complex, and the upperworld sphere." (Kooijman 1963, 28–29.)

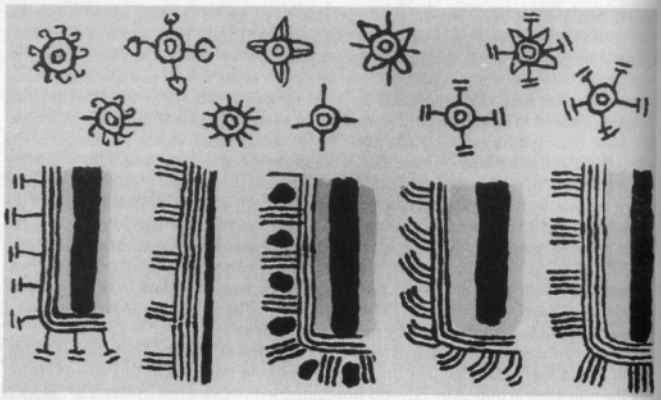


Figure 19. Designs on a bark cloth blouse of a Kulawi shaman no. GEM 51.23.893. Kaudern 1944, Plate XLIX.

perhaps here referring to the temple feast or some other ceremony because the To Pamona men did not have an initiation ceremony comparable to that of the girls.

Both the *abe* and the *ambulea* were worn only on ritual and ceremonial occasions, although it has been suggested that this type of garment might have been in use earlier as everyday clothing.[25] During a feast at the temple after a successful head-hunting expedition called a *moncoyo* or *mompeleleka* many men and women covered the upper part of their body with an *abe*. In addition many had sashes of painted bark cloth *(saludende)* hung round their body. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 359.) According to Adriani and Kruyt (1901, 151–) an *abe* was worn only in connection with a feast in the temple or in a temporary feast hut.

Both the *abe* and the *ambulea* were worn by the sick during the healing rituals. According to Kaudern the bones of the deceased were dressed in *abe*s during the great death feast in Onda'e. Other authors do not mention such usage, and Adriani and Kruyt merely record that the bones of the deceased were dressed up in fine clothes. Kaudern also mentions that the boys were dressed in an *abe* during their initation ceremonies; however, the boys did not have special initiation rituals among the To Pamona but the girls were promoted to shamans. Kaudern might refer to the head-hunting feast which Downs (1956) parallels with the girl's consecration feast.

25 Kaudern refers to some bark cloth garments from Minahassa which he saw at the museum in Weltevreden, Java. He probably means the Museum Nasional in Jakarta (1921 II, 44–45).

7.3.6. The Role of the Shaman's Clothing

In sum, the shaman's costume in Central Sulawesi was not particularly elaborate but consisted of some articles of clothing, of which a headdress and a poncho-like garment were most common. The most elaborate clothing was worn by the Sigi shamans. Articles of clothing made of bark cloth were beaten and decorated by the shamans themselves; the art of painting bark cloth articles seemed to be a special shaman's task. The garments seemed to be closely related to the shaman's role as healer and religious expert; they were not so much prerogatives of power or status, or especially valuable objects comparable to family valuables. Exceptions were the beaded collar worn by shamans but also by others and regarded as a family valuable, and of course the spiral-shaped head-ornament *(sanggori)* worn by both head-hunters and some shamans.

The heavenly origin of the shaman's costume, a skirt and a *pebanca ndompu* head ornament, is described in a story about Lebonjoo, the first shaman. During the consecration feast *pomparilangka*, when the time had come for Lebonjoo to go to the water to bless the women and girls, she did not have a skirt to put on, for she had done her work naked and sitting down. Lebonjoo was on the point of bursting into tears from embarrassment. Then all of a sudden people heard in the air and in the ground the sound of the ordinary drum and of the beakerdrum. The sound came steadily closer, but because people said something about it, it moved away again into the air and into the ground. Then there suddenly fell on the floor of her dwelling a skirt (sarong) without seams, neatly folded, together with a piece of bark cloth and a *pebanca ndompu* (an ornament of the shamans). The sarong was given the name of Ranondo-lipu, "village protector". Lebonjoo dressed herself in these garments and then went to the water.

In Saemba people said that Lebonjoo asked for the skirt in the following words (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 83–84):

Sawuku Ranondo lipu, *sawu endo-endo nceko*	My sarong Village Protector, sarong that brings to mind the address.
sawu gundu mpombayole, *sawu mpantuduka kowa*	skirt of the sleeping thunder, sarong that provided you bandaging (which lets you wrap yourself in it)
palintomu togumora.	with which you go to meet the head-hunters.
Sawu mpinenggali-nggali, *pinenggali-nggali bandi.*	Sarong of very fine texture, the magnificent texture of cotton.
Sawu malaro sangkani, *nagunggi nto Badaragi,*	Sarong that is entirely red, which (during running) is made to roar by the To Bada',
nagunggi nto ngGasolora.	is made to roar by the people of the west.

After the recitation of these verses the skirt, neatly folded, fell into Lobonjoo's lap; it was beautiful in design and colour without seams. While Lebonjoo put on the skirt, she recited:

Ndatumonggi randa ncawu,	The inside of the skirt flutters (during the unfolding in order to put on),
ndamuncubaka ri lengka, *liu lama ri sowana,* *da ntulamba lai dasa.* *Rundu ntaponampe-nampe.*	it lifts up to the breath, as smoothly it swings to the right, and then lies down on the floor. When it is put on, we tie it together … etc.

The parallelism between shamanism and head-hunting was obviously emphasized by garments and ritual objects used by both shamans and head-hunters, such as the headdress of bark cloth *(pebanca ndompu)* and the poncho-like garment worn by the men at the head-hunting feast after a victorious expedition when the gods and spirits were invoked like acting shamans. In addition both shamans and warriors hung round their waists similar bronze bells, and some Kaili shamans wore spiral-like head-ornaments of brass which were the symbols of head-hunters. Similarly the bones of male ancestors were adorned with tokens of a head-hunter, that is, a *pebanca ndompu* headdress and a spiral ornament. The shaman's "weapon", a branch of bloodwort, was paralleled with the most significant ritual object of the head-hunter, that is, a branch of sugar palm called a *towugi* by the To Pamona.

The analogy between women's role as shamans and men's as head-hunters was nicely revealed in connection with the harvest feast when the To Pamona erected two banana tree poles 3 to 4 metres apart and adorned them with various objects. The poles were called *ambarale*[26] or *toko sora*, "the decorated pole", *toko mpayope*, "pole of descent" (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 132–135):

> On top of the poles, in the form of a cross, are attached a pair of wooden crosspieces, on which all sorts of objects are hung: in the one tree the girls hang home-made sleeping mats, betel baskets, betel bags, rain mats, bark cloth head and shoulder cloths for the men; on the other the men give a place for their gifts to the girls: pieces of cotton for a jacket, skirts *(lipa)*,[27] large beads, waistbands *(sulape)*.[28] In addition betel boxes filled by the men hang there.[29] Finally both poles are decorated with consecrated clothes *(ayapa lamoa)*:[30] the one pole with the clothes that the women wear at various ceremonies when they appear as shamans and leaders in the field work; the other pole is decorated with the consecrated clothes that the men wear at temple feasts. In addition they try to give more lustre to the poles by hanging up little mirrors, pieces of copper-plate, and similar glittering trifles. During the erecting of the poles, people try to ward

26 *Ambarale* is probably the name for two little houses in which originally the gifts lay, later replaced by two poles; in poetry it was called *wunja*, the name that the harvest pole bears among the Kaili-speakers (Adriani 1928, 13; Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 132).

27 *Lipa* is a woven sarong made by the Bugis or according to Bugis model; a variegated *lipa* is called *saulu*, a *lipa pandala* is coloured red (Adriani 1928, 384).

28 *Sulepe* is a waistband of woven cloth or metal, imported goods (Adriani 1928, 737).

29 Adriani and Kruyt mention (1951 III, 133) that in Pebato they saw hanging on the pole a cradle with a cucumber in it as "child".

30 The *ayapa lamoa* was discussed in chapter 5.3.

off many possible harmful results from this singing:

Banya da botoki pae, *mangawangu ambarale.* *Pawanguku ambarale,* *da napeou mburake.*	It is not to compete with the rice, that we erect the *ambarale*. That I erect the *ambarale*, is in order to provide shelter for the *wurake* spirits.

Commentary

Note that women presented home-made objects which they had manufactured by themselves while the men offered goods which they had traded outside the community.

When the poles are standing on end, then the *sowala*, the boys and girls who have taken part in the *molinga*[31], come to sit around them, while the rest of the villagers swarm around them in a large circle. Now the objects on the poles are addressed in the strophes, first of all the consecrated cloths *(ayapa lamoa)*, in this manner:

The women ask:

Da kupeoasi, aka, *ince'e ara nunjaa?* *Da kupeoasi ndona,* *ince'e njaa to'on ya?*	Let me be allowed to ask, brother, what this indeed might really be? I ask you for information, men, what can this indeed be?

To this the men answer:

Nakanoto ndaya, ndida, *sinde pai panjaira.*	So that you may be certain, women, these are *sinde* and *panjaira* fabrics.[32]
Nakanoto ndaya ndona, *sinde ayapa lamoa.*	So that the men too may know it, these are cloths of the consecrated clothes.

Now something is also said of the gifts: The women again ask:

Da kupeoasi, ralu, *nja ince'e njau?*	Let me be allowed to ask, friend, what is that yonder?

Whereupon the men answer:

Se'e anu ri mangkana, *tanda mata ri sowala.*	That which you see there on the right side, is a remembrance of the girls.

31 *Molinga* is part of the harvest feast which symbolizes an improvised marriage between boys and girls (see Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 131–).

32 *Sinde* is an Indian cloth, probably an early imitation of *patola* fabric imported to Central Sulawesi (see chapter 5.1.1.). I have not found any information on *panjaira* cloth.

The women:

Ane tanda mata, ndona,	Concerning the remembrance of the men,
se'e boru da totonya.	here is a rain mat as a gift in return.
Ane tanda mata nabi,	And regarding the remembrance of the prophet,
se'e totonya nu ali.	I place this mat opposite it.

Before the poles are dismantled and the gifts distributed, men and women, each through the voice of one of them, recite the famous deeds that they have done. A man goes to stand by the pole of the men; he walks around the pole seven times, during which, after each circuit, he goes to sit in a squat and sings a verse. After him a woman does the same around the pole of the women: she sings of her celestial trips to the gods, her journeys through the celestial seas, during which the crescent of the moon served as her celestial boat. In the last couplet man and woman both exorcise the harm that their appearance might have caused.

The general meaning of this rite was evidently to promote fertility and guarantee the fruitfulness of the rice field also in the future, but at the same time it clearly indicates the men's and women's different but complementary roles in their society as regards the well-being of people. Women acted as shamans and agriculturalists and men's duty was to fight against enemies as their ancestors had done. This distinction was not as clear among the Kaili-speakers as among the To Pamona, where men more frequently acted as shamans and the shaman rites included features resembling the head-hunting feasts among the To Pamona. But the role of shaman was apparently considered as female among the Kaili-speakers, too.

Shamans' blouses and headdresses signify the task of shaman, i.e. his or her journeys to the sky in order to fetch the *tanoana* of human beings. Some blouses had "wings" and often they were decorated with star and sun motifs. Furthermore the feathers with which the Sigi shaman's headdress was decorated signified the trip in the air. The colours of shaman garments – white, yellow and red – similarly carried symbolical implications.

Black, white, red and yellow had special meanings among the To Pamona, holding a central role in their symbolic system of rituals as among several other ethnic groups, too.[33] The most significant feature of the colour classification of the Kaili-Pamona speakers was the distinction between light *(mabuya)* and dark *(maeta)* colours (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 83).[34] White and yellow, which often seemed to be classified as the same colour, referred to the lightness and brightness of the sky and the sun and thus

33 Among the Bugis of the Lindu shore community in western Central Sulawesi according to Acciaioli (1990, 226) "the universe, and along with them a variety of different experimental domains, all of which are divided into four elements" that is white related to water, bone and white rice offerings; black to earth, flesh and black rice offerings; red to fire, blood and red rice offerings; yellow to wind, breath and yellow rice offerings.

34 *Maeta* is derived from the root word *eta* meaning "dark coloured, black, dark blue, dark grey", whereas *mabuya* comes from *buya* meaning "white, light coloured" (Adriani 1928, 76, 154).

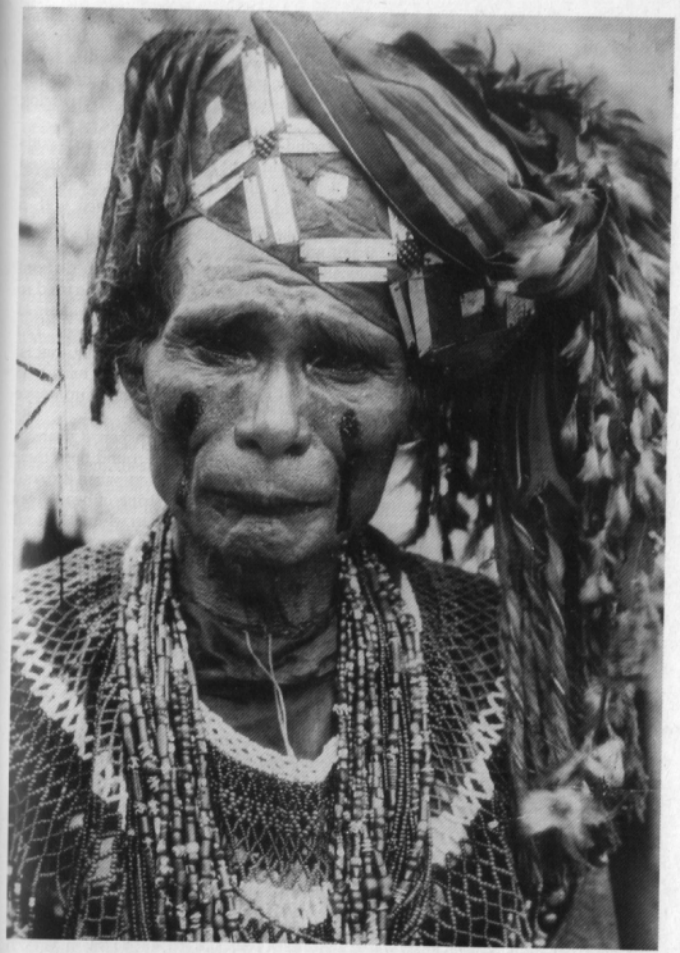


Figure 20. Beads were considered to be powerful objects which could affect the soul of the human being. A shaman wearing a bead collar and strings of beads. Western Central Sulawesi, about 1936. K.I.T., VIDOC, File 49/1.

the realm of gods and spirits. But white also denoted loyalty, respect, submission, while on the contrary red was considered rebellious, offensive; so, for instance, the tribute to the ruler of Luwu had to consist of white rice, white chicken (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 51; Kruyt, *De Krokodil* ..., 20). Black indicated flesh, particularly the decaying parts of the body and thus death. Red was the colour of blood, symbolizing the vitality of life but referring to killing as well.

The shaman's work, travelling to the Upper and Underworld to meet various gods and spirits was dangerous and her own soul thus had to be strong. This was achieved by means of several strings of beads and a belt including vigorous plants, stones, etc. which she wore round her neck and waist; in addition she was equipped with a "weapon", i.e. a branch of bloodwort (cordyline). The beads appeared somehow to affect the soul of the human being and that is why shamans used them frequently. The To Pamona considered beads to be magically powerful objects. In order to demonstrate that there were a lot of soul *(tanoana)* in the house of the Creator, people used to say that there are a lot of articles made of beads. Some stories said that the hair of the Creator was made of strings of beads. (Kruyt 1940, 263–4; Kruyt *Rijstgeest*, 17.) A constant search was likewise made for *tanoana* in a copper or iron container, that is, soul full of power. Apparently beads, copper, iron and stone, being of hard and enduring materials, were considered strong objects which could favourably influence the soul of human beings. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 148.)[35]

As a ritual object a string of beads was utilized, for instance, when a shaman transferred her soul to the apprentice by putting a string of beads round both their heads, the ends of which were tied together. She acted in the same way when the soul of a dead shaman was to be transferred to another. In this case a string of beads was placed round the head of the deceased, which was held by the one to whom the soul was to be transferred, while a shaman did the recitation and stroked both persons in turn with cordyline. The string of beads was called "the bridge" across which the soul passed. (Adriani and Kruyt 1951 II, 114.)

35 Although beads appear to have been very important ritual items in Central Sulawesi, they have, for problems of source criticism, been given only a very cursory treatment here. Only very seldom are beads in the museum collections accompanied by any information stating that they were specifically used for a ritual purpose. Appendix 1 presents some strings of beads in Gothenburg (GEM 26.9.218, 26.9.225, 51.23.1579, 26.9.473, 51.23.1576, 51.23.1577) that were most probably used on ritual occasions. I have not, however, had an opportunity to see these beads and to examine them in detail and have had to rely on the information given in the museum catalogue.

7.4. The Use of Ritual Objects by Shamans in Central Sulawesi

7.4.1. Uniting the Soul (*Tanoana*) of a Child among the To Pamona

When a child was a few weeks old, a shaman performed a ritual called *mampapotanoana*, the main purpose of which was to fetch the soul of the child from the realm of the gods and spirits and unite it to the body of the child. Before the shaman went to her client, she gathered herbs and other things that she would need. She put these in a large betel bag, which was not called *watutu*, like the everyday betel bag used by all men and women, but *laga*, which presumably means "comrade" (Adriani 1928, 328–9). This bag was made by shamans for each of their pupils. A cordyline branch was stuck into this bag. Into this bag the shaman also put a copper duit, a copper bracelet, several pieces of areca nut, some native cigarettes, beads, and pieces of plants used for medicine: wild cinnamon, curcuma, ginger and Kaempferia rotunda, a plant to whose strong-smelling root is ascribed the power to chase away spirits. This bag was given to the girl on the last day of the consecration feast. If the girl actually did train later to be a shaman, she would use this bag. But even if she did not become a shaman, she would nevertheless carefully keep the bag. Kaudern collected several bags and boxes with various "medicine" from Taripa, Onda'e.[36]

Whenever a shaman left to perform her work, she tied round her waist a belt *(so'o ngkompo)* which was supposed to give her power to cure the sick. This belt was a long, small bag of bark cloth or cotton filled with all sorts of herbs and pieces of plants and trees as remedies, bound with a number of ties *(ndatimbu'u)*, so that the belt had more or less the shape of a sausage. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 99–100.) The female leader of the harvest also used to wear the same kind of band around her waist; according to Kaudern it was in Onda'e called *so'o mpesua* (GEM 51.23.1583), while that employed by shamans was *so'o mpowurake* (GEM 51.23.1584). (Kaudern 1921 II, 198–9.) In addition to Kaudern's specimens there are some other examples of these sausage-like cloth bands including pieces of plants and other powerful "medicine"; sometimes scalps and copper rings were fastened to them. Besides those used by shamans (for instance specimen SK VK 5002:161), objects such as these were carried by warriors and probably also by ordinary men and women to protect against sickness (GEM 51.23.757, SK VK 5114:114, RJM 28091).

The shaman's ritual objects and their utilization during the shamanistic session will now be examined by presenting and commenting on the rite "uniting the *tanoana* of a child" among the To Pamona and among the To Bada', as well the healing rite called "shaman work on the ground" among the To Pamona. The first version of the rite "uniting the *tanoana* of a child" *(mampapotanoana)* among the To Pamona was published in 1912 by Adriani and Kruyt; the following description is, however, that published by the same authors in 1951 II, 126–128, 151–156.[37]

36 See GEM nos. 26.9.216a–b, 26.9.217, 26.9.220, 51.23.1503, 51.23.1604, 51.23.1615, 51.23.1616, 51.23.1617, 51.23.1618 and 51.23.2170. These bags or boxs included besides packets of medicine stones, beads, shaman's waistbands, bowls, pieces of wood, fruits and plants, etc.

37 The following ritual descriptions are cited from the English translation of Adriani and Kruyt's work (1950–51) in HRAF. These descriptions have been shortened and edited by the author.

PREPARATIONS

Preparation of the child

When the shaman has come to the family that called her, the first thing she does is to brush the baby with medicine and to massage *(gere)* it, in order to remove from the body of the little one what might be able to obstruct the entering of the *tanoana*.

Preparation of the ritual equipment

Then she prepares a little basket *(kaboba)* with husked rice, an egg, three, five, or seven pieces of areca nuts (Areca catechu) and as many betel leaves, sometimes even a like number of native cigarettes *(dudu)*, and a string of large beads. The basket is wrapped with a piece of *fuya*, into which fringes have been cut; across the strips of the fringe alternating black and yellow stripes have been drawn. The basket is covered with *fuya*. When the ceremony is finished, it is kept in the house.

Now the shaman tears off a strip from a piece of *fuya* and from a bloodwort leaf and ties them together at the end, after she has counted them off from one to five.

Commentary

A Pamona shaman used to carry her indispensable ritual equipments in a betel bag or in a plaited box such as those acquired by Kaudern in Taripa (GEM 26.9.217, 26.9.216a–b, 51.23.1616, 51.23.1617, 51.23.1618, 51.23.1615, 26.9.220, 51.23.1503, 51.23.1604 and 51.23.2170). They included, for example, herbs and plants considered vigorous so that they are able to strengthen the patient; always was present the most sacred plant among the To Pamona, namely a branch of bloodwort (*soi*, Cordyline terminalis) which seemingly was constantly employed by shamans everywhere in Central Sulawesi and in Northern Sulawesi, too. According to a myth this plant was brought from the sky where houses and grounds of the gods were enclosed with it by the first shaman. There are other stories of a heavenly origin, too; but also some stories according to which *soi* originates from the blood of a slain leader in battle *(tadulako)*. Only shamans may plant *soi*, or in any case it has to be a woman who has undergone the consecration ceremony. There are two types of cordyline: "red cordyline", *(soi dolo)* and "white cordyline", *(soi buya)* or "border cordyline" *(soi ntida, soi ngkatona)*. "Red cordyline" was used by shamans "so that the face of the sick person may quickly be blooming, be red again". White cordyline was present at burial ceremonies.

The shaman prepared a *kaboba*, a round basket plaited of pandanus leaves and commonly used to store rice (Adriani 1928, 231), where the offerings for the spirits and gods were placed. The shaman took this basket with her to the sky and brought the soul of the child back in it.

Preparation of the child

Then she moves *(marayoka)* the basket around five times above the child, during which she counts from one to five. Then she takes a piece of her medicine and chews it; she puts a second piece of it on a piece of *fuya*. This latter she places, together with the strips of *fuya* and bloodwort just mentioned, lengthwise on the body of the child and cuts off the strips the height of the baby's mouth. While doing this, she speaks: "My child, just as I cut off the bloodwort and the *fuya*, so also will your speech appear; you will call your father and your mother and speak of grandfather and grandmother." The cut-off pieces of cordyline and *fuya* may not be thrown away; they are tied together and placed in the basket.

The shaman again moves the basket around above the head of the child *(marayoka)*, counting from one to five; she says in connection with this: "My child, do not cry any more; if the *wurake* spirit of your grandmother should tease you (literally, prick with the finger), let her stop the teasing; if you are crying for your *tanoana*, I am going now to fetch it."

Commentary

Interesting in this part is the moving of the basket around above the head of the child which is named *narayoka* from the root word *rayo* meaning "something from which comes out power" (Adriani 1928, 604). *Marayo* could be done for a person or a sacrifice animal with a basket including offerings or with a spirit house *(woka)*. The sources do not explicitly disclose the meaning of this act but it was done frequently at rites and seemed to be associated with reinforcing the soul of a person or animal of sacrifice. Further, in some cases it might denote on whose behalf the ritual action, for instance sacrifice or healing rite, was performed.

The shaman goes under her *pelawo*

She puts this basket next to her when by and by she crawls under her *pelawo* bag in order to recite her litany. A branch of the cordyline that has been used for this ceremony is planted, "so that the child will grow up successfully just like the cordyline". Before the shaman goes under her bag, she performs a few steps of the *taro* dance with the baby in her arms.

Commentary

The *pelawo* under which a shaman sits while reciting is a wide, bark cloth sarong fastened to the ceiling-beam (Adriani 1932d II, 203; Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 376). Similarly the consecrated girls made their journey to the sky sitting under a white cotton tent (Adriani 1932d II, 199). The purpose of the *pelawo* was apparently to screen the shaman from the looks of other participants and at the same time to enhance the image of her disappearance and ascent to heaven. This is also hinted by the fact that the shaman stamped her feet on the floor after her return. Furthermore the *pelawo* could be pictured as a tunnel through which the shaman was able to pass onto the roof of the house and from there further to the sky. She was said to travel there in the rainbow or in her sun hat. It is worth noting that a sarong was considered a token of woman.

The shaman's journey

The litany that the shaman recites on this occasion is the same as the one that she recites on other occasions as far as the stem *(watanya)* is concerned, i.e., that part in which she describes her journey to the heavenly realm ... (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 151–152.)

Commentary

Shamans' litany was divided into three parts: firstly *pu'u*, "lower part of trunk, beginning", secondly *watanya*, "trunk", and thirdly *ra'anya*, "branch". In the first part she recited how the offering food was prepared, in the second part she explained how the soul of the shaman ascended onto the ridge of the house wherefrom her spirit familiar *(wurake)* fetched her, and how she continued her journey to the sky. The third part *(ra'anya)* differed according to the rite

concerned while the *watanya* was always the same. (Adriani 1928, 600; Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 377.) *Wata* means "down cut, over fallen tree trunk"; *wata ngkoro*, means "body" or rather "corpse" because *wata* was used for dead and *woto* for living body (Adriani 1928, 931.) This indicates a parallelism between shamanism and head-hunting.

The shaman's journey is continued

In her litany the shaman takes leave of the housemates; her soul climbs up along the slats and beams inside the house; she lifts up the roof covering, comes out onto the ridge of the dwelling, and from there she exorcises the spirits that make the air-space unsafe. …

On her journey through the air-space the shaman has all sorts of encounters. She meets souls *(tanoana)* of people who will die soon. The souls sit on the coffin of a blood relative who has just died. The shaman tries to seize these souls in passing in order to take them back again to earth, to their owners. Sometimes she does not succeed because the coffin falls on her.

Sometimes, too, the shaman meets a colleague from another village who is on her way to the Lord of the Sky for the same purpose. During such an encounter the colleagues offer each other betel. … Much more frequent are her encounters with all sorts of evil spirits *(mayasa)* that try to prevent her from going farther. …

What above all costs the shaman much effort is breaking the walls that separate the different layers of the sky. There are nine of these layers … Each time the shaman arrives at a new partition of the heavenly layers, she makes it known in her litany that she is having a hard time, because the partition is made of stone, and she has to make a hole in it with her knife (*mbora langi*, "sky piercer"); or she has to stab a hole in it with her spear; this is called, "stabbing with the lance". The shaman makes the effort needed to pierce the partition known by heavy belching and groaning.

When she has reached the next heavenly layer through the hole she has made, the latter closes by itself. Each time she has passed through a layer, she says:

Sanapimo montendeu,	A layer has been passed,
sanapimo montelamba;	a layer has been crossed;
gea rawa ntakawale,	through the air (piercing the air) goes our journey,
bora langi ntakayamo.	we seize hold of the sky-piercer.

In each heavenly layer she must again fight with the spirits living there in order more to clear a path. When she has finally passed the ninth sky, she heaves a sigh in her litany:

Ncali ri kalotonginya,	Having climbed up into the cold,
ncali ri kagondemenya.	having arrived in the clearness.

But to this she adds the lament:

Ncali ri kasampuloya,	Having climbed up into the tenth sky,
ncali kumeroncamaka,	having arrived there I collapse (from fatigue),
da mabotu inoweku,	my breath threatens to stop,
da ntedio rangaluku.	my soul is restless.

(Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 126–128.)

Commentary

For her work the shaman was equipped with a knife called a *katando* (specimens are RJM 29020, SK VK 5114:6 and 7) by which she must pierce the heavenly layers on her journey to the spirit realm in the air. For each of the girls the family had made available a knife with the appropriate handle; but at the consecration feast the shaman plaited around the handle bands of yellow-orchid stems, black climbing ferns, and red-coloured rattan. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 99–100.) The journey of the shaman was actually described as being quite similar to that of the head-hunters: battles against evil spirits, many kinds of obstacles, exhaust and finally fulfilment of her task. The tasks of female shamans were again equated with those of male head-hunters.

"The branch" of the litany

Then follows the "branch" *(ra'anya)*, which is meant especially for the *mampa-potanoana*. This "branch" begins thus:

Let me go to call the breath, to call the *tanoana* nearer; breath that is long, vital strength that lasts long; which is found in the bamboo of the sword, in the bamboo of the glittering things; which is in the stone-bamboo, which is piercing from cold, which is the zenith of coolness (is healthy through and through).

Come quickly, breath, hurry, *tanoana;* accompanied by female soul (or male soul), together with vital strength; may it (the soul) in the sleeping-sarong be accepted, taken along in the little lime box; well hidden, well concealed, securely fastened in its abode; when it has been securely fastened, may it be put in the tops of the bunch of herbs (which has been placed in the betel bag of the shaman); carried off in the sleep-sarong, stowed in the betel bag; in order to fill the betel bag with it, in order to provide it with provisions, it has been put in the *sirih* bag.

Commentary

Here is characterized the ideal kind of *tanoana:* vital, very cool, securely fastened, i.e. a healthy soul which does not depart from the body.

Asking for the *tanoana* of the child

So then the shaman comes to the Lord of the Sky and asks for the *tanoana* of the newborn child. Pue-di-songi answers: "Just look for yourself to see where the *tanoana* that you come to seek may be; if you find it, then take it along." By way of explanation the shaman tells in connection with this that in the house of the god it is so full of *tanoana* that the god himself no longer knows which *tanoana* belongs to the one child, which to another. For that reason the shaman must look for it herself. This is very difficult for her, because if she takes along the wrong *tanoana* to earth, one that does not belong to the child, then it will never become a strong person.

The spirit-slaves

Luckily the spirit-slaves, the *tawani*, whom she has with her are clever beings. These slaves know the appearance of the *tanoana* that is sought; they "smell" where it is to be found. The slaves go to look and they find the *tanoana* in the *pasoyo gala* or the *pasoyo labu*, that is, in containers of copper and iron, i.e. well-kept.

The slave says to the shaman in the litany: "The *tanoana* is not sitting properly in the container; it is lying on its stomach." The shaman says to the slave: "Blow hard on it, so that it may breathe again." The slave takes the *tanoana*, blows on it, and hands it to the shaman.

The *tanoana* is brought back in the bag
She puts it in her betel bag, in which there is also a stone, which is to make it strong. Then she ties the bag securely, so that the *tanoana* may not escape. She puts the bag in the little basket described above, which she has standing next to her, and returns to earth.[38]

The shaman's return
Since the litany in connection with the *mampapotanoana* is not as long as the one that is used for curing the sick, it is still the middle of the night when she has finished. The shaman then waits for early morning and in the meantime goes to sleep, with the betel bag with cordyline beside her.

Commentary
The To Pamona paralleled the life of a man with the course of the sun in the sky. Sun-rise was a metaphor of birth and life, and sun-set of death. This notion was revealed constantly both in the everyday life of the To Pamona and in their ritual practices. When a tree was felled for the main post of the temple, it was addressed with raised axe: "I will catch no sleeping sickness by chopping down this tree. Borne by the rising sun, my life shall be prolonged by it; my life shall not be shortened because I fell you, the one that I will use for the main post, which is tied with copper wire" (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 188–89).

Preparing the rice
At the break of day two bowls or baskets of rice are made ready, one for the shaman and one for the *tanoana*. In the first bowl there is glutinous rice with a boiled egg, which has been taken out of the shell, and *ubi* (Manihot esculenta?) cut in pieces; in the second are found only glutinous rice and egg, for the *tanoana* does not eat *ubi*.

The shaman brings the *tanoana* back
The mother now goes to sit before the shaman, with her child on her lap and with her face turned toward the east; around her gather several other persons who do not feel well and who wish to benefit from the vital strength that the shaman has brought along. She has tied in the tops of the cordyline the *tanoana* or *inosa* (breath) that she has with her; the bunch is full of it.

Commentary
In the Pamona language east was called *bete, mebete*, i.e. rise of the heavenly body; and similarly *pebete ntanoana nja* meant time, the place where someone was born; or it could rather be translated as a source of soul *(tanoana)* (Adriani 1928, 65). The east is where the sun rises and hence the source of spiritual potency. All rituals related to life-giving, strengthening of the *tanoana* had to be performed toward the sun-rise, the east[39]. The temple had two entrances, one on the east

38 The description given here of the fetching of the *tanoana* by the shaman was not the same among all tribes; all the presentations agreed that the shaman gatheraed the *tanoana* from all over and in as large a quantity as possible. A large part of the litany consisted of a list of places where she went to look for the *tanoana*.

39 Among the Sa'dan-Toraja living in South Sulawesi the division between ritual oriented to the east and rituals adjusted to the west is more prominent. Rituals of the east promote the

side and one on the west. On ceremonial occasions the people went in the west entrance and out through the eastern one, in order to have their face always turned toward the sunrise. The gods and the spirits of the sky were always invoked with the face turned to the east; correspondingly offerings to the gods and spirits were placed on the east side and to the death spirits on the west side (see, for instance, Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 176; 1951 II, 105, 475, 544–5).

The shaman fastens the *tanoana* to the child
She now takes this bunch in her hand and recites her litany, which begins with the words:

Petutumo lai pa'a,	Bend forward over my thigh,
kupabubu tanoana.	so that I may scatter *tanoana.*
Lai pa'a nupetutu	Over my thigh you are to bend over,
kupabubu panimbulu.	so that I may pour vital strength over you.

While reciting, she places the leaves on the child's head for as long as a minute or two or three. After that she does the same thing, much more briefly, for the mother and the others present. Then she turns back to the baby again and repeats the blessing with the bunch of leaves several times over the child and the people. Finally she shakes out over the child the bag *(watutu)* in which the stalks of cordyline have stood; out of it rice, maize, and *jole kojo* (Coix lachryma jobi L.?) fall on them; this is the materialized vital strength.

Commentary
As the above description reveals, the soul could materialize, so that life strength also had a material consistency.

Feeding the *tanoana*
After this the shaman moves *(narayoka)* the bowl (the basket) with rice and egg over the head of the little one, squeezes some fine grains of rice between her fingers and dabs some of this on the crown of its head and brushes its lips with it. She rubs some betel chewing and curcuma over the child's forehead and covers this with a piece of *fuya*, and blows on it; she also does this to both feet and hands.

Commentary
On several occasions the *tanoana* of a person was fed with rice by a shaman. The rice was placed on the crown of the person, sometimes on a joint, because it was believed that the *tanoana* and apparently other things too could enter the body through the crown and joints.

Asking the *tanoana* to stay with the child
She addresses the *tanoana* as "my child" and admonishes it not to go anywhere: "Be calm, here is your food. Now remain here, do not go to the right or left, and

welfare of man, the well-being of his animals and plants, while rituals of the west have to do with death. "The significance of the opposition between east and west is further underscored by the fact that "Eastern" rites are also referred to as *rambu tuka'*, smoke that ascends, while "Western" rites may be spoken of conversely as *rambu solò*, smoke that descends" (Nooy-Palm 1986, 3–4).

you will never lack food. Do not go away; I have now made you strong, and here are your parents. O *tanoana*, think no longer of your grandparents and other deceased members of the kin-group (from where I have fetched you); if they call you, do not answer them; only when I call you are you to answer (are you to come)." People say that the relatives in the hereafter lure back the child's *tanoana*; if the child is threatened badly or suffers want, then it responds to this lure.

A string of beads

In addition to the rice that is pressed on the child's head, the shaman sticks a string of beads on its head hair with beeswax. This string of beads is called *tinari*, "that which makes or gives shape, form". In the same way she sticks some birds' feathers on the hair.

Commentary

As a ritual object a string of beads was utilized, for instance, when a shaman transferred her soul to an apprentice by putting a string of beads round the heads of both of them, the ends of which are tied together. The same was done when the soul of a dead shaman was to be transferred to another. In that case a string of beads was placed round the head of the deceased, which was held by the one to whom the soul was to be transferred, while a shaman did the recitation and stroked both persons in turn with cordyline. The string of beads was called "the bridge" across which the soul passed. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 114.)

The beads appeared to affect the soul of the human being somehow and that is why shamans used them frequently. The To Pamona considered beads powerful objects. In order to demonstrate that there was a lot of *tanoana* in the house of the Creator, people used to say that there are a lot of articles made of beads. Some stories said that the hair of the Creator was made of strings of beads. (Kruyt 1940, 263–4.)

Sacrifice

After the treatment of the child, a basket with sacrificial food is placed on the altar *(lampa'ani)* outside the village. Here the death spirits *(angga ntau mate)* are invoked: "Do not think any more about taking away the child's *tanoana*; here is our expiatory sacrifice *(polanga)*, so that it may not become sick. The spirits in the forest, in the house, in the water are asked not to make the child sick by taking the *tanoana* or by making the child frightened so that it gets convulsions.

Commentary

Langa means "to feel calm, tranquil", *langari*, *polangari* is a conciliatory gift to annoyed spirits or people, "that which calms down" (Adriani 1928, 340–1).

Making a spirit house *(woka)*

Finally the shaman makes a little spirit house *(woka)* and places in it the basket, which she has moved five times over the child. She adds to this a little bamboo *(suka)* with palm wine and the remainder of the rice, some of which she has taken in order to press it on the crown of the child's head. In doing this, she says: "Here is your food, and I give you this so that you will have pity on the child and will give it a long and strong breath." When the *woka* has been hung up in the roof, people believe that there descends into it a *wurake* spirit that watches over the child and drives away anything that might harm its *tanoana*.

Commentary

The *woka*, "spirit house" will be examined in the next chapter.

Winnower

In the meantime a meal has been prepared and the portions are passed around. For the shaman, in addition to her usual share of the meal, a special "dish" has been prepared, consisting of a winnower with yellow-coloured rice on it; in the middle of this has been set the head of a chicken; around it a ring of pieces of chicken liver; then a ring of eggs, and around it in turn a ring of pieces of chicken meat. This gift is called *lebati* or *polebati*. All present must touch the winnower.

In Lage the *polebati* consists of two winnowers; on the one lie seven packets of rice and an iron weeding tool *(salira)*, on the other six packets of rice and a knife. The winnowers are covered with a piece of white cotton. Actually these pieces should be torn into seven and six strips; but they are left whole so that the shaman can use the cotton to make an article of clothing from it.

In addition to the *polebati*, three more baskets with rice are prepared: one with "food for the shaman" *(kina'a ntadu)*, one with "food for the bag in which the cordyline stood" *(kina'a mbatutu)*, and one with "food for the *tanoana*" *(kina'a ntanoana)*. The last-named rice is distributed among those present; some of it is also taken to those who could not be present at the ceremony.

Commentary

Seven *(pitu)* was a number symbolizing fullness among the To Pamona. When something reached its highest point, it was counted as seven while six *(ono)* was said to be without a head, and therefore inauspicious. In this context it is remarkable that seven is the number with which they reinforce the salutary effect of the sun, whereas six is used to undo the negative effects of the *rampo*. Seven is the perfect, powerful number, in augury the number that gives victory. (Kruyt 1918, 252.)

When the sun, according to the Pamona time evaluation, reached its seventh position *(sawimo)*, it shone in the zenith (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 373); seven was thus the highest position of the sun and paralleled apparently with the seventh layer of the heaven where the highest gods lived. In connection with offerings the numbers seven and six played a crucial role: the little ladder of the offering table on the east side had seven rungs, the one on the west side six; offerings to the malicious spirits, such as the death spirits, included six pieces, to the high gods seven (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 144, 146, 157).

This analogy: life, vigorous – seven and death, ominous – six was clearly revealed in connection with divining with maize kernels. The diviner took the maize kernels in his closed hand and blew into his fist between thumb and forefinger. Then, while he continually poured the maize kernels from one hand to the other, he said: "Come here, rising of the sun; come here, setting of the sun. You, *oyu*, I want to question you. You are neither man nor fire (?), but yet you can tell me what I want to know. Whether my way be smooth as a *bomba* stalk, whether my life will be good, whether one will not take my life from me: I ask you this, *oyu*, tell me this."

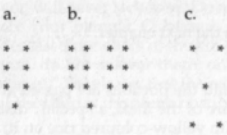


Figure 21. Divining with maize kernels.

After uttering these words, some of the maize kernels are allowed to fall to the floor; the ones that remained in the hand were put away for the time being. Now the kernels on the floor are counted out, two by two, three pairs, with one kernel at the head as shown in a. Once a figure like a. has been constructed, then a second one is begun, and, if necessary, a third one. The nicest case is if the second and the third figures can be completely constructed without a single kernel left over. If only two or four pairs can be made for the second or third figure and a single kernel is left over for the head, then this is also regarded as a rather favourable sign. It was unfavourable if there was not a single kernel left over for the head. This means death. Thus in this divining it is a matter of even and odd numbers. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 23–24.)

7.4.2. "The Spirit House" *(woka)*

"The spirit house," *(woka)*[40] consists of a little floor of plaited bamboo slats from 2 to 3 square decimetres in area, called *salaa;* on each corner of this little floor hangs a small bamboo by way of a post: the little floor hangs on the four little ropes that are fastened to the corners, and over the ropes a little piece of bark cloth is spread as a roof. This bark cloth is painted with black and yellow stripes as bark cloth employed by shamans commonly was. The whole is decorated with little strips of young sugar palm leaves and strips of bark cloth. Onto the little bamboos are tied chicken feathers, which mark the object as a spirit dwelling, and in each corner of the little floor is struck a *kandoruangi* blossom. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 97.)

During the consecration ceremony for the girls the shamans taught them to make little houses *(woka)*. They were regarded as houses of shamans' spirit familiar *wurake* and shamans were responsible for taking care of these houses and rebuilding them when needed. The shaman did this every time she went to do her work with a patient. These little houses were called *woka*[41], which means "hung up", because at the end of the feast they were hung up in the ridge of the house where the shaman had done her

40 *Woka* means "hung up"; *memboka* "to make and hang up in the ridge a spirit house" (Adriani 1928, 972–3).

41 The To Mori living east of the To Pamona used the word *woka* for a small basket into which was fastened bark cloth strips (more detailed description in the Tropenmuseum acquisition information 658–11, 12, 13). This represented a house where the soul of people was considered to live. It was placed up under the roof of the house like the *wokas* of the To Pamona. (Kruyt 1935b, 568–9.)

work. In houses which a shaman had visited several times to do her work, there sometimes hung dozens of these little houses. The occupants had to make sure that the roof did not leak at the point where the *woka* hung; for if the rain fell on it, people would become sick. If a *woka* fell from the roof because the cord broke or was gnawed through by a mouse, then the person for whom this object was made would die soon. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 97, 144.)

Some kinds of offering baskets or "houses" were apparently hung from the ceiling throughout Central Sulawesi: there are specimens in museums from Kulawi (GEM 26.9.39, 51.23.822) and Pipikoro (GEM 26.9.413, 51.23.114, 51.23.1235) which resemble Pamona spirit houses. Further, the To Napu made for the rice spirit a miniature house with a bark cloth roof and into this house were placed food offerings and two figures, a man and a woman of banana wood, clothed in painted bark cloth (Kruyt 1938 IV, 67).

These offering places are made of slanted wood, often adorned with strips of white bark cloth, one of them also having a piece of bark cloth as a roof like a real *woka*. Information concerning the use and role of these offering places is, however, quite scarce; it is merely said that offerings were placed for spirits, and sometimes for spirits which caused sickness or for death spirits. Three specimens could, according to their structure, be classified as actual spirit houses: one (MVB 511, see picture and description in Meyer & Richter 1903, 87) collected by Sarasins in Lembongpangi (Lampu, To Pamona) and the other two acquired by Ten Kate in Napu (MLV 17948, 17949).

When Kruyt asked in Besoa who lives in these *woka* houses, he was told: "Our sickness." In Pu'u-mBoto (Pamona) two spirit houses were made at every healing ritual: one for *anitu*, the spirits of ancestors, and one for Pue Ura, the spirit of the rice field. In Napu these spirit houses were called *tambi-tambi* (air spirit?) and in addition to feathers bore the head of a chicken. (Kruyt 1920a, 29.)

In this little house were placed small offerings such as rice, egg and areca nuts. Among the To Lage and the To Onda'e the shamans helped the *wurake* spirits in the fight against the evil powers in the air, and for this reason among these groups a *towugi*, a branch of sugar palm used at the temple feast, was added to the *woka; towugi* was a young sugar palm leaf on which the village spirits in the temple were said to live. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 97.)

At the *mampapotanoana* ritual when the soul of the child was fetched from the sky and attached to the child, the shaman made for every child a little spirit house *(woka)* and placed in it the basket which she had moved five times over the child. She added to this a little bamboo with palm wine and the remainder of the rice, some of which she had taken in order to press it on the crown of the child's head. In doing this, she said: "Here is your food, and I give you this so that you will have pity on the child and will give it a long and strong breath." The *woka* were hung up in the roof and people believed that a *wurake* spirit watched over the child and drove away anything that might harm its *tanoana*. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 155.)

Similarly, on the first day after a death the shaman fashioned many little spirit houses *(woka)*. An offering stand was set up and decorated with young sugar palm leaves; on two sides were placed little ladders of bamboo, decorated with little boards: a food offering was put there. On the second day the shaman interrupted her recitation and came down. With her betel bag and bloodwort in her hand, she ran round the stand seven times amidst ruffles on the beaker-drum. When she then came back into the house, she performed the *taro* dance. When the little spirit houses *(woka)* had been provided with yellow-coloured rice, the meal took place. When this was concluded,

the occupants of the house of the deceased gathered together, and the shaman moved *(ndarayoka)* the little spirit houses around above them seven times; this was called *motoro woka*, "to turn the *woka* round". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 158–9.)

Both the Upperworld and the Underworld were thought to consist of seven or nine layers, each of which was inhabited by certain kinds of spirits. In the fifth layer of the Upperworld lived the *wurake*[42] spirits which assisted the shamans during their celestial journeys to the air. The *wurake* were pictured in the form of human beings, but not clearly visible, dim, and their bodies were white, clothed in white bark cloth or old, costly cloths. Their domestic and social life was considered to be entirely like that of human beings, but contrary to the people they were immortals. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 33.) Celestial features associated with *wurake* spirits are clearly represented by these "spirit houses": white bark cloth, feathers, hanging from the ceiling, reaching towards the sky.

7.4.3. Uniting the Soul of a Child among the To Bada'

The ritual "uniting the soul of a child" took place in Bada' seven nights after the birth of a child, according to Woensdregt (1930a, 323) seven days after taking the child to the water, before which the child was not allowed to be taken outside the house. This ritual had the same meaning as the *mampapotanoana* among the To Pamona, i.e, it was intended to connect and make strong the soul of a newborn child. It was called *meawoloi*[43], "to provide with a string of beads" according to Kruyt (1938 III, 281) and *motinuwu'i*, "endowed with soul" by Woensdregt (1930a, 322–324) in Bada' and Besoa and *mopanumbai* in Napu. Before the performance of this rite the child was not allowed to wear a string of beads or to enter the temple. Usually several children took part in this ceremony at the same time. At least one of them had to belong to a noble family so that this family would provide a white water buffalo for the occasion. The ritual was conducted by a female shaman or a male shaman dressed in a woman's skirt and blouse "in order that he could wear a string of beads". The following description of this ritual in Bada' is cited from Kruyt (1938 III, 281–83):[44]

> Calling the *tampilangi'* spirit
> The shaman calls a *tampilangi'* spirit; when this spirit has taken possession of her, it is given boiled rice flour *(tinapu)* to eat, and then the shaman, or rather the spirit who has taken possession of her, handles the children in turn.
>
> Commentary
> Here the difference between shamanism in Pamona and Lore becomes evident; in Pamona the shaman made a journey to the sky assisted by her spirit familiar,

42 *Wurake* presumably means "pop upwards", which refers to the journeys that the shamans made in the air in order to regain *tanoana*, with the help of the *wurake* spirits (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 32).

43 According to Woensdregt (1930a, 324) part of this ritual was called *moawoloi*.

44 The following ritual description was translated from the original Dutch text (Kruyt 1938 III, 281–283) by Esther Velthoen and Gregory Acciaioli in 1991.

whereas in Bada' the spirit familiar approached the shaman who herself did not depart.

> The *tampilangi'* is replaced by the soul of the child
> After the *tampilangi'* spirit has left, the soul of the child enters the shaman, and she starts crying like a child. They say that this is the soul of the child's placenta. According to the people, this soul has the appearance of the child. The shaman is offered clothes, which are said to be for the child. "Here are your clothes," they say. Then she stops crying and appears to be happy.
>
> After the soul of the child has left, it is replaced by the *anditu tumbua*. The possessed shaman stands up and descends the stairs of the house, and requests some of the side-dish from those who are busy cooking it. Having come back into the house, she is again given boiled rice flour. This rice flour has to be mixed with coconut flesh; the shaman smells it, and if she notices that it has not been mixed with coconut flesh, she refuses to eat it.
>
> In Gintu (Bada') an *anditu tomeopi*, a spirit that causes people to die in great numbers, was summoned to manifest itself in the shaman. The explanation given was that these spirits would become angry if they were left out, and cause the child to die. After that a *toperondo* had to take possession of the shaman, this is a spirit that watches over the child as long as it is small, so that the *tomeopi*, mentioned above, will not harm the child. While speaking to the spirits, the child is called *ana mbuli* (*mbulia* in Pamona), because this is the term in the language of the spirits.
>
> Commentary
> The To Pamona also had an idea that a child has a navel soul *(angga mpuse)* closely related to the placenta. Some people thought that the navel soul was replaced by another soul *(tanoana)* when a shaman united it to the child. According to Adriani (1928, 16) the spirits of ancestors living in the temple were called *anditu* in Bada' (*anitu* in Pamona) and the life soul was called by the To Bada' *tanuana'*.
>
> A string of beads for the child
> Only after these negotiations with the spirits, they proceed to the actual matter at hand: for each child the shaman threads seven beads, the string with beads is tied around the neck of the child, before which the shaman counts from one to seven. Others put the beads on the child's head six times, and the seventh time the string is pulled over the head to the neck. In Gintu (Bada') the shaman first touches the child's toes, then the knees, the fingers, the shoulders, and finally the crown with the beads before she ties the string around neck of the infant. According to Woensdregt (1930a, 324) the shaman draws a cross with the beads on the forehead of the infant before she ties it around its neck. "When the child has worn the string of beads for a certain amount of time, the string is broken during the night, and put aside. The shaman is called on this occasion, and says: *"He! natata' tokui' awolongku'"*, "Well, the mice have chewed at my necklace". She pretends to be very surprised" (Woensdregt 1930a, 324). Beforehand the beads are smeared with buffalo blood, with which the forehead of the child is also dabbed.
>
> Commentary
> Atkinson (1989, 93–4) mentions that a Wana shaman could hasten the arrival of the spirit by the spirit familiar attracting object such as a betel nut, a pretty stone

and the like; this object serves as a "bridge for the spirits". The To Pamona often employed a string of beads as a bridge along which the soul was transferred from a shaman to a person treated at the ritual session.

Strengthening the soul of the child
The shaman waves a sword over the child, while pronouncing the wish: "May your soul *(tanuana')* be strong." She sings a line of which I do not know the meaning: *"Inaleu wetu goro ntari donaleo"* (on another similar occasion the line was sung differently: *"Elemoma elee, dararia ntona suwu-suwu ri samai"*). Each child is patted with cordyline leaves, starting from the hands up to the head and then downwards along the back. In Hanggira in Besoa the children were patted with a parcel containing a bamboo tube used to blow up a fire, a broom of rice stems, cordyline and a small bell.

Commentary
Here too a string of beads is the most important ritual object and it is used in the same way among the To Pamona.

Strengthening the soul of the other participants
After all the children have been treated in this manner, it is the turn of the adults; they too are dabbed with buffalo blood on their forehead, while the shaman says: *"Tuwu labu komiu"*, "May your life be (as strong) as iron".

Dividing of the buffalo
The slaughtered buffalo is divided: the leading shaman receives a hindleg, and in addition to that fifty parcels of boiled rice, and twenty five parcels of a side-dish.

Communal meal
Then the communal meal takes place, and the shaman prepares a portion of food for each of the children. The child does not eat this food itself, but the mother, an aunt or a cousin does so for it.

Rewards
Everybody who has in some way rendered services to the mother and infant is rewarded at this occasion. These rewards are all handed over to the people with the words: "I endow you (with this reward) because you have supplied your grandchild with life force, so that you will have a long life."

The treatment of the child's mother
As has become clear, the child's mother is treated on the occasion in the same way as the child. She is furnished with beads previously smeared with blood, "because it is said, her life force might possibly have gone away after the birth of the child". The possessed shaman is also asked whether the infant will be fortunate or unfortunate, whether it will have a long life or die soon. If the prophecy is unfavourable, the parents of the child will sponsor ...?

The ceremony during which the soul of the child was attached to her was among the To Bada' in principle like that celebrated among the To Pamona: the shaman acquired the soul of the child from the transcendent world among the To Pamona by travelling there and among the To Lore by assisting the spirit familiar *(tampilangi')*. Then the shaman connected the soul to the body of the child in both cases by means of a string of beads and a branch of bloodwort. After that the soul was fed and an object was swung above the head of the child. In both cases this ritual also included offerings, and other participants besides the child were affected by the vital strength brought from the Upperworld.

7.5. Healing rituals

7.5.1. Shaman Work on the Ground

The Pamona shaman usually acted by travelling to the sky, but she could do her work on the ground, too *(mowurake ri tana)*. This happened if, for instance, the patient dreamed that his *tanoana* had been seized by a tree spirit. Then one of his relatives went to the tree indicated in the dream and set up a little offering table at the foot of it. Then the offerer invoked the tree spirit and asked it to return the seized soul. In exchange he offered it "a white buffalo", meaning an egg. But in some cases this was not enough, or people thought that they were dealing with an especially powerful spirit. Then a shaman was called in, who acted as has just been described, but in a more roundabout way, with an appeal for the help of the *wurake* spirits. The following description of a healing ritual among the To Pamona is cited from Adriani and Kruyt 1951 II, 140–143.[45]

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RITE

Preparation of a basket by the shaman
When the shaman comes, she prepares her little basket, which she holds on her lap during the recitation of her litanies. In it are her betel bag with herbs and the branch of cordyline, the stalk of which has been wrapped in white *fuya*. She also puts in the basket three pieces of areca nut for the spirits *(bela)* from whom she asks back the *tanoana*, and seven pieces for the *wurake* spirits whose help she is going to invoke for her work. This basket is moved seven times over the head of the patient *(ndarayoka)*.

Commentary
The number of pieces in the offering seemed to indicate the deity or the spirit for whom the offerings were presented. Most often seven pieces were offered, which was symbolically the highest number among the To Pamona; seven pieces were given especially to generous, life-giving high gods and air spirits. Six pieces were offered to malevolent spirits such as death spirits, tree spirits *(bela)*, while five, three or two pieces are seldom mentioned.

Preparation of baskets by the housemates of the sick person
The housemates of the sick person have prepared the necessary offerings: two little baskets, in each of which lie a few small packets of rice, at least six, at most

45 The following ritual description is cited from the English translation of Adriani and Kruyt's work (1950–51) in HRAF. The description has been shortened and edited by the author.

twelve, usually seven or nine. One basket is "for the betel bag" of the shaman, i.e., for the *wurake* spirits, the other for the *lebagi* (perhaps *bela*). In addition there is a little basket with rice that has been mixed with egg yolk and *ubi* (sometimes also with coconut, but this is not required); the *tanoana* that is expected back is welcomed with this.

Making the figures
Two dolls of sugar palm fibre (Malay *ijuk*), or of *welonti* wood (Homalanthus populifolio), are also made. These dolls bear the name of *tolokende*, "little man", and *toloke'o*, "little woman". The dolls are dressed in yellow clothes, the one as a man, the other as a woman.

Commentary
In these words *tolo* is the prefix to, "human being", with the diminutive infix *ol*, and *kende* = *kede*, which now means "guy, boy, little chap", but was originally the penis. Similarly, in the second name, *ke'o* for *kelo (kela)*, there is supposed to be an old word for "vagina". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 140.) These figures will be examined in detail later in chapter 7.5.2.

Erecting an offering table
Outside the village a little offering table *(lampa'ani)* is set up; this is a top made of small bamboo slats, about 30 decimeters square, supported by four bamboo legs, about 1 1/2 meters above the ground. Sometimes the table top is triangular; in this case it rests on three legs. The edges of the top are decorated with the young leaves of the sugar palm and with pieces of *fuya*. On the little offering table are hung and placed: a bag plaited out of palm leaf, with some husked rice in it, a shard of a cooking pot, and a small bundle of wood that has been set afire. A small chopping knife, a sword, and a spear, all carved out of wood, are also placed there.

Planting a banana sprout and erecting a bamboo stalk
Under the little table a banana sprout is planted, and next to it a bamboo stalk, which leans toward the east, is set in the ground. This stalk is called the ladder along which the spirits descend.

Commentary
Offerings for the benevolent spirits were usually placed in the eastern part of the offering table or stick and those for the harmful spirits in the western part of the offering place.

Setting an offering stick
Furthermore, next to the offering table is placed an offering stick, on which a little basket has been fastened, with betel and tobacco in it, and to which have been added a hair from the patient and a thread from one of his garments.

THE HEALING RITE

The patient is united to the offering table
When all this is ready, then the shaman, who has in the dwelling meanwhile been rattling off her recitation for a while in her *pelawo* bag, goes with the sick person down the stairs of the house. The sick person takes his place behind the little offering table on a piece of wood and holds a rattan line in his hand, the end

of which is fastened to the little table. If more than one sick person is being treated, then all hold on to the line. If the patient is not able to go down, then the rattan line is made so long that it reaches into the dwelling.

Commentary
Here it is explicitly stated on whose behalf the sacrifice is made.

The shaman addresses the evil spirits
The shaman, who has also sat down on the ground, now begins again to recite a litany, in which she informs the spirits that they have landed in the wrong place, that there are better places where they (the spirits) can strike their blow.

The invocation of the village elder
When the litany is finished, one of the village elders stands next to the offering table and invokes the *bela* spirits. In this invocation the old one enumerates spirits *(bela)* of all the mountains and forests he knows. Here is an example that was recorded in Pebato:

"O grandfather Buya-sumpi (white mustache) and grandfather Owaje, Tagoralangi, who lives on the mountain Pebato, who lives near the village of Tamungku; all you spirits who are in the river Poso; Torombalili (whirlpool), spirits on the mountain Tamungku-bangke, spirits near the village of Mo'api, spirit Indo i Baralo'o, spirits near Yayaki, you want to listen to what I say; spirit at Tangkalese, spirit near the village of Pebato, spirit on the mountain Banggai lanto, spirit Takaranja, spirit near the white stone, spirit near this our village. Here you are, here we are. Whether you live in the rice basket, whether you are in the house; here is our error (that is to say, the compensation or the offering for our error). Here is a person whom we have fitted out with clothes. You do not want to remain in this land; this land is not good; it is full of mountains and abysses. Your only way is the primeval forest Wana-mpompangeo (the divide between Tomini Bay and the Gulf of Mori); and then there is yet another way, namely, the primeval forest of the To Napu (divide between Tomini Bay and Macassar Strait); you want to go away, you do not want to stay with us."

Then one continues: "Here I bring you a human couple, and here, too, are their provisions. Come and take them, and do not come back again and again to my child (my blood relative). Take these (dolls) to your children, and even if you want to send them there upside down, that you must know."

Commentary
This invocation clearly refers to a human sacrifice, but instead of a living couple, two figures are presented as substitutes.

Chasing the spirits away
After this invocation the shaman strews rice grains in the direction in which the bamboo stalk has been placed. A chicken is also thrown in this direction, but presently is pulled back by a string that is tied to its foot. It is said that this chicken flying up carries away the offering.

The figures are exchanged for the *tanoana* of the sick person
The two dolls are addressed: "You married couple, I have given you to the *bela*, do not look around at us any more."

The link between the sick person and the spirits is cut down
Finally, the invoker cuts through the bamboo stalk; if he succeeds in doing this with one blow, then this is a favourable sign, and the sick person will recover.

SECURING THE EFFECT OF THE RITE

Informing that the ritual had been finished
With this the ceremony has come to an end, and everyone returns home. At the foot of the stairs the person who has addressed the spirits calls: "O people in the houses, is there someone here who has just been treated by a shaman?" Then the shaman, who has already climbed into the house, answers "He is no longer here, I have already brought a banana tree for him at the beginning of the grass field". The banana sprout alludes to the story that the gods had condemned the people to live like the banana tree: when the sprouts have appeared at the foot of the mother trunk, the tree dies. The sense of these words is thus: I have given the sprout, thus the mother trunk remains alive. Sometimes people also claim to have sold the sick person "on the other side for betel". After this answer one again calls from below: "Then we shall just go on."

Offering for the death spirits
Once back in the house, the lid, plaited out of pandanus leaf, of the bamboo salt-container with some rice in it, is hung by the stairs for the death spirits; to it are added six little packets of rice and two small bamboos with palm wine. Along with this, people call: "You death spirits *(sumangali)*, here is your share. Do not think of us any more; we are no longer related to one another. Even if the steps of the stairs wear out from your continuous visits, we shall not permit you to take along the *tanoana* of So-and-So. Therefore cease your visits."

Commentary
The death spirits are presented with six pieces as offerings; the number six was associated with death.

Securing the *tanoana*
The sick people whose soul *(tanoana)* has been brought back from the spirits go to sit beside one another in a huddle, with their faces turned to the east and their eyes cast down, for they are not permitted to look up at the mouth of the shaman. The latter shakes her betel bag in which the cordyline had stood and the *tanoana* appears in the form of rice hair, maize hair, blond human, and black human hair. All of this is distributed among the sick; each person must receive some of it.

Commentary
The east was considered the source of the *tanoana*. Here again the shaman attached the soul in its materialized form to the patient.

Feeding the *tanoana*
After that the returned *tanoana* is given something to eat. For this the shaman moves the above-mentioned basket with yellow rice over the heads of the patients. During this the following prayer is said: "O Lord God, who is above, who has created this earth and with whom is the eternal breath; here we are with our entire family and kinsfolk; give us back our health, so that we may work our fields with joy, so that the spirits *(bela* and *anitu)* can no longer make us sick. For we have taken them their share outside of the village. And if you see that someone comes again to do us harm, then prevent him from doing so, for you are

the master of the breath. Here is the food for the *tanoana*, which I put down for it, so that it will not go anywhere." (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 140–143.)

The aim of this healing rite was to return the soul of the patient which evil spirits had taken. This was achieved by means of a sacrifice consisting of various food offerings and items but also two human-like figures which served as a substitute for a human couple.

7.5.2. The Human-like Figures

The above healing rite employed a peculiar ritual object, a human-like figure made of wood or sugar palm fibre (Arenga Saccharifera); actually this seems to have been one of the most common ritual objects in Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 20th century. According to records emerging from that period these figures were known and used everywhere among the Kaili-Pamona speakers and most probably also by the To Mori (Kaudern 1921 II, 64; Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 421; Kruyt 1919, 85). Several specimens are to be found in museums.

Table 4. The distribution of wooden and sugar palm fibre figures in Central Sulawesi in about 1900

WRITTEN RECORDS:			MUSEUM COLLECTIONS:	
PLACE	DATE	FIGURE	PLACE	FIGURE
To Kaili			To Kaili	
Pakuli	1902	wooden		
		sugar palm		
To Kulawi			To Kulawi	
Kulawi	1902	sugar palm	Kulawi	sugar palm
	1918	sugar palm		
Lindu	1918	wooden	Lindu	wooden
	1911	sugar palm		
To Pipikoro			To Pipikoro	
Kantewu	1918	wooden	Kantewu	wooden
Tole	1918	wooden or sugar palm		sugar palm
Towulu	1918	sugar palm	Towulu	sugar palm
Siwongi	1918	sugar palm		
Tobuku	1918	sugar palm		
To Lore			To Lore	
Bada'	1905	sugar palm	Bada'	sugar palm
Napu	1909?	sugar palm		
Napu	1911	wooden or sugar palm		
To Pamona			To Pamona	
Pamona		wooden	Pamona	sugar palm
		sugar palm		wooden
Lampu	1911	wooden or sugar palm		

Sources: Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 421; Grubauer 1913, 406, 474, 528–9, 558; Kaudern 1921 I, 330, 387–8, 432, 438, 445; II 64, 88–9, 154; Sarasins 1905 II, 20, 57, 111; not including the specimens recorded by Kruyt (1938 II), according to which figures were found almost everywhere among the Kaili-Pamona speakers.

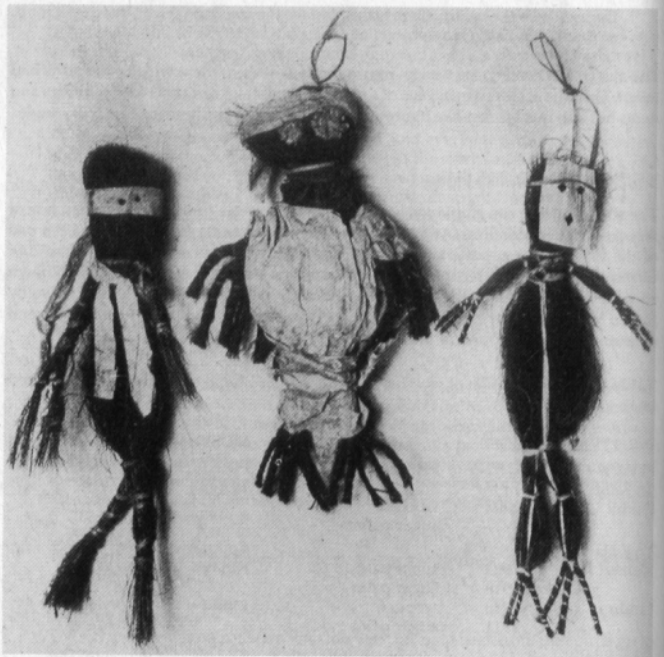


Figure 22. Three human-like figures made of sugar palm fibre. Source: Grubauer 1923, 52.

Both wooden and sugar palm fibre figures were called *pentau* in Kulawi and Lindu, *pinetau*, "what stands for a man" in Pipikoro, *tatuana*, *tatauna*, "small human being" by the To Bada' and *tolokende*, *toloke'o* by the To Pamona.[46] In Bada' people used also to speak of *motolohi tauna*, "to exchange people", i.e. to exchange the life of a threatened person into a sugar palm figure (Kaudern 1921 I, 330; Kruyt 1938 II, 299; Woensdregt 1928, 166). In several Kaili languages *tau* means a person, a human being (Barr, Barr &

46 Grubauer mentions (1913, 528) that "his men" (probably men of his escort) called the sugar palm fibre figures which they saw in Bada' *potau saki*, "substitutes of sickness".

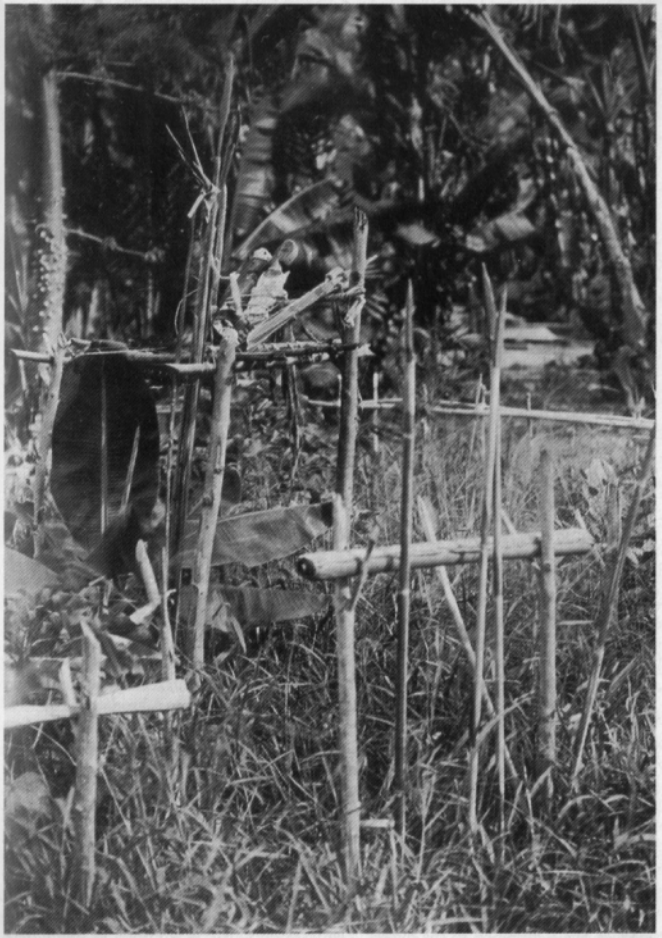


Figure 23. Two wooden human-like figures representing a woman and man were placed on the village entrance to protect against sickness. Tagolu, Bada', 1911. Photo by Grubauer. RJM no. 15486.

Salombe 1979, 90, 96); *tolo, montolo* means to check, to exchange for something of the same kind. (Adriani 1928, 886). *Tolokende* was made of wood and represented a woman, whereas *toloke'o*, made of sugar palm fibre, was considered a man (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 170). Among the To Pamona sugar palm was commonly identified with men as a source of palm wine and as a *towugi*, a ritual object consisting of a branch of sugar palm and used by head-hunters at the temple feast. Elsewhere it is, however, mentioned (Adriani 1928, 273; Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I, 381) that the figure was dressed up in men's clothes when the patient was a woman and in woman's clothes when it was a man.

Woensdregt (1928, 166–9) describes how these figures were made by the shaman in Bada' for expiatory sacrifice before starting the rice planting; he states that they were allowed to be made only in villages where there was a temple. For this purpose the shaman made four male and one female figure of sugar palm fibre and bound them with *kabau'* bast (Aleurites triloba). The male figures were dressed in a loincloth and headcloth of white bark cloth and the female in a blouse, shirt and headcloth of white bark cloth; all had faces of white bark cloth. The man was provided with a wooden sword, spear and shield and the woman had on her back a basket containing an egg and rice. According to Woensdregt the weapons of this man-like figure were not so that he could fight the evil spirit but just to symbolize maleness.

There were thus two kinds of figures: those made of black sugar palm fibre *(ijuk)* and those made of wood. All were unrefined representations of men or women; and there did not seem to be any disparity regarding the role and the use of these two types of figures. However, the *ijuk* figures might have been more common – at least they are reported in the sources more often – and of the 29 identified museum specimens 21 are made of sugar palm fibre and one includes both a wooden figure and a *ijuk* figure (MLV 12125). The known wooden figures are coarsely carved human-like statuettes 15 to 57 cm tall, and made of various types of wood, such as banana wood. The face features are usually carved clearly, similarly female or male genitals are easily identified. The specimens acquired in Kulawi and Pipikoro do not have any adornments or clothes, while those found among the To Pamona (RJM 29042a, b) were wrapped in white bark cloth.

The figures made of sugar palm fibre seem almost without exception to have had at least one piece of white bark cloth which represented the face in which eyes, nose and mouth were cut (see figure 22). But often these dolls also wore a headband made of white bark cloth, sometimes a loin cloth, sarong or blouse of the same material. In a few cases they were equipped with ornaments or weapons: figure HKM 3364 is the most elaborate for it has around its neck a string of beads, around its waist seven miniature wooden swords and stripes of white bark cloth. According to the accession information by the Finnish missionary Valo it was placed in front of the house to protect the family against malignant death spirits. When death spirits arrived, they would find the doll, tear it and be satisfied.

In some cases wooden and sugar palm fibre figures were used together; there is one specimen of this type (MLV 19125) from Kuku (To Pamona) which consists of two human-like figures, a bigger one carved of wood and a smaller made of *ijuk*. The smaller one is fastened to the bigger. The wooden figure is wrapped in white bark cloth painted blue, black and yellow, correspondingly the sugar palm figure has a loin cloth of bark cloth and a piece of white bark cloth representing the face. According to the accession information this object was used in connection with sickness, maybe at

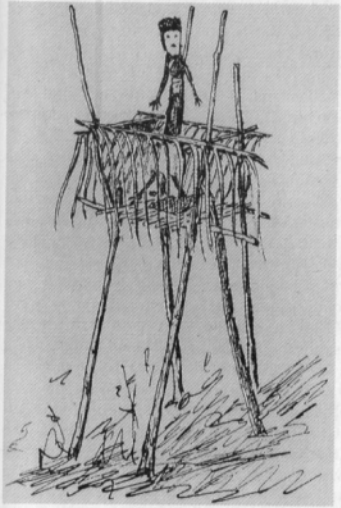


Figure 24. An offering table with a human-like figure from Pangana, Pipikoro. Drawing by Kaudern about 1918. Kaudern 1921 I, 388.

a healing ritual in the way recorded. The *ijuk* figure had a loin cloth and was apparently a man while the wooden one was wrapped in bark cloth and represented a woman.

In Pipikoro images of crocodiles or lizards were also made of sugar palm fibre and placed on offering tables in the same way as the human-like figures. Kaudern writes (1921 II, 88–89) that when the weather had been very dry for six months in Tobaku and the crops were in danger of failing, the villagers erected a small offering table to which, instead of human figures, was attached an animal figure resembling a lizard (see GEM 51.23.2188).

These wooden and *ijuk* figures can hardly be called works of art of aesthetic merit; on the contrary, they are very simple, rudely made representations of human beings or animals and not elegant in their appearance. They primarily had ritual relevance based on the notions obviously widespread and common in Central Sulawesi of sickness and the system of sacrifice. They could scarcely be likened to the widespread ancestor images of the Indonesian Archipelago (Feldman 1985) since there is no evidence that they represented or referred to ancestors. Throughout Central Sulawesi they were employed in connection with healing rituals as a substitute for a person. Kruyt (1938 II, 299–) gives several descriptions of how these figures played a role at curing rituals in Sigi, Pakawa, Pipikoro, Bada', Besoa and Rampi, where they were employed especially if the sickness was caused by tree or earth spirits. As for *montolasi* healing ritual two human-like figures, *tolokende* and *toloke'o*, were made among the To Pamona, a male one of sugar palm fibre because the man taps the palm wine, and a

female one of wood. The clothes in which these dolls are dressed are made of bark cloth and coloured yellow with curcuma. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 170.)

All authors appear to have understood the meaning of these dolls in principle, similarly stating that the figures acted as scape-goats or substitutes for the sick person. But it was often thought that the evil spirit had entered the sick person and this was removed and transferred by the shaman to the human-like figure, sometimes by means of the patient's hair or thread from his clothes (Kruyt 1919, 95; Sarasins 1905 I, 20).

The desire for protection might have precipitated the custom of setting figures near the entrance of the village or on the path leading to the village and on the top of the walls around the village. Often small offering tables or baskets were placed near them. In Kulawi people used to erect small offering tables on the footpaths near the entrance to the village and attach to them small human-like figures made of sugar palm fibre with a face of white bark cloth in order to "protect themselves against evil spirits which brought sickness with them", "when the evil spirits saw these figures they considered them human beings, entered into them and left the villagers alone". (Kaudern 1921 I, 330, 332.) The Sarasins likewise discovered at the entrance to the village of Badagajang in Bada' in 1902 a sugar palm fibre figure which looked like a warrior with a sword and a shield in its hand and a face fashioned as usual from a piece of bark cloth. (Sarasins 1905 II, 111.)

There are some descriptions by early observers from Lampa, To Napu by Kruyt in 1907, by Hoefman in about 1909 and by Grubauer in 1911 about placing human-like figures on the embankment round the village. The village of Lampa was entrenched by a two metre high bamboo embankment with figures *(tangkilando)* made of sugar palm fibre picturing warriors, protectors of the village at five points along it. Their faces were made of white bark cloth and they had feathers attached to their headgear. In addition they carried shields, swords and spears. (Grubauer 1913, 474; Hofman 1909, 45; Kruyt 1908, 1297; photo: Grubauer 1913, 474; Kruyt 1908, Pl. XLI, fig a; see figure 25.)

Wooden or sugar palm fibre images were attached to offerings, for example, in many places in Pipikoro so that there was a small basket or *tempat* for spirits with a human-like figure hanging in the house. In some cases a small altar was erected to which a figure was fastened accompanied by some areca nuts and rice. (Kaudern 1921 I, 387–8; photo p. 388; figure 24.) Similarly Grubauer encountered at the edge of the woods in Bada' on the Padalolo plateau during his journey in 1911 a human-like *ijuk* figure covered with white bark cloth and next to it a basket with rice and areca nuts. To one corner of this offering place were fastened fringes of bark cloth which swayed in the wind. According to the natives all sicknesses are caused by evil spirits who have taken the sick person into their possession. In order to drive it away these symbolical figures were made into which he drove the evil spirits. These figures were placed at the crossroad near the house of the sick person in order to prevent the renewal of the sickness. (Grubauer 1913, 528–29, fig. 290 in p. 530.)

Kruyt recounts (1919, 84) another use of human-like figures in connection with rice cultivation in Pebato (To Pamona). When the inhabitants were afraid that coitus might harmfully affect the rice crops, they made two wooden dolls, a male and a female with prominent genitals and clothes. These figures and some betel nuts were placed on the western edge of the rice field. They were addressed: "You must carry all evil: it will no longer affect us." The dolls were then left in peace. They acted as substitutes.

It is evident from the specimens that these figures were substitutes for human beings

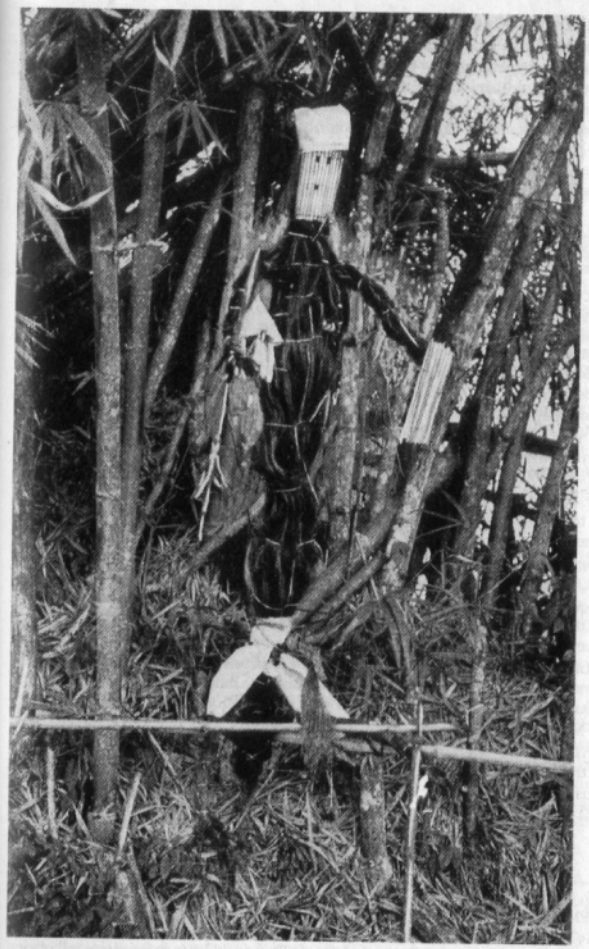


Figure 25. The village of Lampa was entrenched by a bamboo embankment with figures made of sugar palm fibre. Lampa, Napu 1911. Photo by Grubauer. Grubauer 1923, 51.

into which the evil spirits would enter, or they were "human sacrifices" to the spirits and gods who had taken hold of a human soul and were thus part of the system of sacrifice. They apparently represented the person on whose behalf the rite was organized, and being made of a non-durable material, sugar palm fibre or wood, were not expected to last and were left as such after the rite. These figures were nearly always equipped with pieces of white bark cloth, which was commonly associated with transcendence.

7.5.3. "The Dwelling Place of the Soul" *(rare)*

There was in Central Sulawesi one significant ritual object applied by a shaman, namely a *rare (dare)*, which is a little packet or roll of pandanus leaves. In this packet, which is usually as thick as the thumb and 7 to 8 centimetres long, there are leaves, cut into pieces, of bloodwort and other vigorous plants such as *iku masapi*, "eel tail" (Dianella ensifolio); *pasara* (Coleus astropurpureus), a very rapidly growing herb which when picked continues to live for a long time; *kakumba*, "thick-maker" (Bryophyllum calicynum), a plant with thick leaves; *towaa-waa*, "the reddish", a plant with little red flowers; and other plants, too. All of this is tied securely with *suka* string in seven loops *(ratimbu'u)*. A shaman made such a packet for each girl who attended the consecration rite. (Adriani 1928, 618; Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 100.)

So far I have not found any *rare in* museums; Kaudern's collection does, however, include a number of small packets, i.e. pieces of plants and trees wrapped in a piece of cotton or bark cloth, and tied with a cord.[47] Kaudern called these packets "medicine". They were among the shaman's "medical instruments" stored in betel bags or baskets and used to cure patients. They were also employed by experts of the agricultural rituals. The medicine packets acquired in Taripa, Onda'e might be the same magic herbs, called *petaki*, wrapped in a piece of cloth and tied, which according to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 101), the shaman always carried with her in her betel bag.

Besides several other objects, such as bark cloth articles of clothing, the shamans manufactured for the girls to be consecrated at the *pomparilangka* ritual a small packet called a *rare*[48]. This was carried by the girl like a baby. At the end of the feast the shaman counted off the *rare* with the words: "May it not go up, may it not go down (may it remain as it is), it is finished, an end has come to it up to ... so that we may take along in our hand what you have as proof that you will have children (that is to say, the *rare*). May your lifetime reach the seven, indeed, up to two times seven" (the highest that can be reached in a lifetime). After the feast, the *rare* was stuck in the ceiling of the girl's dwelling. Each girl kept her *rare* in her betel bag or tied it to a rafter in her house, so that from there the *rare* "will look after the life of the girl". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 100.)

47 See GEM nos. 26.9.219, 26.9.227, 26.9.229, 51.23.1594, 51.23.1624, 51.23.1625, 51.23.1626, 51.23.1627, 51.23.1628 and 51.23.1629.

48 A *rare* is also made for the rice during the harvest. Then, in addition to the plants full of vital strength, the shaman also puts rice stalk cut in pieces into the packet. This *rare* is kept in the harvest basket *(pere mpomota)* or in the rice pile. The *rare* is to see that the field prospers, that it is not ruined by vermin.

The *rare* was considered to be the dwelling place of human beings' soul, in Pamona *tanoana;* apparently every person (at least among the To Pamona, since there are no records from Kaili-speakers,) owned a *rare*, which was hung from the ceiling of the house. The shamans removed the soul of occupants from the old house to the new and made the *tanoana* of the occupants calm in the new, still strange dwelling. For this, new spirit houses *(woka)* were made and added to the old ones, which had been transferred from the abandoned house, in the ridge of the new house. The *rare*, the packets of herbs that serve as a dwelling place for the *tanoana* of the occupants, were conveyed from the old dwelling and restored or renewed by the shaman, in order afterwards to be given a place in the roof of the new house. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 159.)

A *rare* was also employed by shamans at death rituals. When the corpse was lying in the coffin, a ceremony took place through which the shamans tried to prevent the soul of living persons from following the coffin.

> For this the closest relatives squat down by the coffin and are covered with a piece of precious fabric *(bana)*. A shaman holds in her hand some young, not yet unfolded sugar palm leaves, together with a little bell and a basket with a branch of bloodwort in it. With these objects she taps on all the heads under the cloth and after that on the coffin. She repeats this seven times. Then she taps on the corpse seven times, from the feet to the head, amid the droning of her litany. These objects bear the name of *rare;* they are wrapped in *fuya* and this packet is thought to hold on or to contain the soul *(tanoana)* of the survivors. This ceremony bears the name of *mowurake mpo'onto tanoana*, "priestly work to check the soul"; sometimes also *montende rare*, "to raise the *rare*", but the meaning is different from that of the like-named ceremony that is held on behalf of a deceased shaman.[49] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 494.)

Unlike the soul of ordinary people, which travelled after death to the Underworld, the soul of a shaman at once ascended to the sky, the invisible realm of spirits and gods. The *tanoana* of a deceased shaman was equipped by a ceremony named *motende rare*, "to raise the *rare* (to the sky)".

> When the corpse of the shaman had been placed in the coffin, a spear to which a little bell was tied and a sun hat, the shaman's symbol of dignity, were placed at the head end of the coffin. With the spear the leading shaman, followed by several women, ran round the house of death seven times, shaking the weapon again and again. Three men then went to sit on one side of the corpse and four women on the other side, and these people alternately handed one another the *rare*. In Onda'e, where the shamans on their journeys in the air fought with the *wurake* spirits, a *towugi* was sometimes used instead of *rare*. This was a branch of sugar palm leaves on which the spirits of ancestors resided in the temple. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 514.)

The *rare* was described as "with which life is tied"; sometimes, *bente wurake*, "spiritual fortification". *Rare, ndare, dare* means "dwelling, abode" in priestly language. In one

49 The *motende rare* also took place for the corpse of the last survivor of a group of brothers and sisters, so that he (she) would not take the rice soul along to the realm of the dead.

case Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 100–) mention that the life *(katuwu)* of the person stays in the *rare*, not the soul *(tanoana)*, although on other occasions they reported that it was the *tanoana* which dwelt in the *rare*.

Now and then a check was made to see whether the seven-loop binding of the *rare* was still secure. If this became loose, then the packet had be tied anew immediately, so that the life of the owner would remain secure. Particularly when a troop of men was on the warpath, a careful examination was made by the shamans to see whether their *rare* hanging on the roof was still intact. If the leaves packed in it looked decayed, then a new *rare* had to be made, for which a *wurake* ceremony had to be held with the necessary offerings. If the *rare* was left in its decaying state, the owner on the warpath would be uneasy and act rashly. After the renewing of his *rare* he would feel strong and calm again, for his life *(tinuwu)* had been made secure again.

The To Pamona had a widespread idea that every person's soul hung in the house of the Creator. They hung from various kinds of cords such as cotton thread, *suka* bast, copper wire, and if the cords became loose and broke, the person would die. When someone became very old, his life cord was considered to be made of copper wire. Usually people were not able to describe what these souls looked like, but some people mentioned a *rare* in this connection. (Kruyt 1940, 264.) This obviously indicates that the *rare* was regarded as a metaphor of human life. Actually the structure of the *rare* is parallel to the ideal kind of soul, the *tanoana* of the healthy, well person which is cool and stays with the person (see chapter 3.5.). The *rare* included vigorous herbs which made the *tanoana* strong. The herbs were wrapped in a piece of cloth, i.e. well protected and tightly tied with loops so that the *tanoana* would not depart.

7.6. Conclusions

Shamanism, secondary burial and sacrifice are parallel ritual actions in the sense that they all represent a passage from the visible to the invisible realm, a process by means of which human beings attempt to communicate and cross the border between the two realms. This is why it may be possible to detect the same kind of symbolism in all these ritual performances. In all these actions – sacrifice, shamanism and secondary funeral rites – material culture is employed in order to achieve contact between people and the transcendent powers. So the tangible objects which are present on these occasions may bear the same symbolic features. As Hubert and Mauss have asserted in their study of sacrifice, man and the god are not in direct contact and consecrated objects serve as an intermediary between them. The object is closely associated with man, and since direct contact is either not possible or it is dangerous, the object acts as a substitute. Thus the sacrifice always symbolizes its giver; this is manifest most concretely in the secondary burial, when man himself is the matter transferred to another reality.

The above chapters have examined the role of objects in rituals by describing three rites conducted by shamans. Some of the objects are vital in all rituals, others belong only to certain rituals. And since the shaman's task was primarily to take care of people's souls, one could expect to find potent items able to increase a person's vitality. Shamans always had with them a betel bag and/or a basket containing vigorous plants, herbs, stones, etc. to reinforce the *tanoana* when this was carried by the

shaman back to its owner. The most powerful and sacred of the shaman's ritual objects was a branch of bloodwort wrapped in pieces of bark cloth by which the shaman augmented a person's soul. The shaman's work always included several offerings such as native tobacco, betel and areca nuts for various spirits and gods. In addition there were objects such as a shaman's headdress and a poncho-like garment signifying the shaman's role and status.

But in addition to these objects shamans made and used particular ritual objects such as *woka*, *rare* and human-like figures. These constituted a category of objects for which there is no counterpart in the Western material world. They were an integral part of the religious and cosmological order of the area. The shamans themselves made the ritual objects they would be using and these did not as a rule include valuable objects imported from elsewhere. The ritual objects were mostly made from local plants, herbs and bark cloth by the shamans themselves. It was one feature of these objects that they were only used on certain ritual occasions. Whereas the *bana* textiles, for example, bore economic, social and ritual significance, the objects made and used by the shamans appear to have had only a ritual significance.

Objects which clearly indicated the contact between the human and intangible world included the *woka* "spirit house", the earthly dwelling of the spirits, the condition of which symbolized the relationship between people and the spirits. Its colour and materials (e.g. bark cloth and feathers) symbolized the Upperworld and the fact that its inhabitants have their origin in heaven. The "spirit houses" were, however, placed in the ridge of the house and thus concretely verified the communication between man and spirit, one aspect of which is the making of offerings. The *woka* was a firm manifestation of the link between man and spirits, i.e. between earth and the other reality, and it thus bears features characteristic of offerings, as was assumed at the beginning.

The *rare*, a packet of herbs, was considered to be the dwelling place of human beings' souls; apparently every person, at least among the To Pamona since there are no records from Kaili-speakers, owned a *rare* which hung from the ceiling of the house. The *rare* was described as "with which life is tied"; sometimes, *bente wurake*, "spiritual fortification". The *rare* was regarded as a metaphor of human life. Actually the structure of the *rare* was parallel to the ideal kind of soul, the *tanoana* of a healthy, well person which is cool and stays with the person.

Objects signifying the person on whose behalf rites were performed were sugar palm fibre and wooden figures which were commonly made and employed all over Central Sulawesi in connection with several ritual occasions. All the sources appear to have understood the meaning of these dolls in a similar way, stating that the figures acted as scape-goats or substitutes for the sick person. But it was often thought that the evil spirit had entered the sick person and was removed and transferred by the shaman to the human-like figure, sometimes by means of the patient's hair or thread from his clothes. It is evident from the specimens that these figures were presented as substitutes for human beings into which the evil spirits would enter, or as "human sacrifices" to the spirits and gods who had taken hold of the human soul and were thus part of the system of sacrifice. They apparently represented the person on whose behalf the rite was organized, and being made of non-durable material (sugar palm fibre or wood) were not expected to last and were left as such after the rite. These figures were nearly always equipped with pieces of white bark cloth, which was commonly associated with transcendence.

8. "WHEN THE BONES ARE LEFT"

8.1. Rituals of Death in Central Sulawesi

A person died when the soul stayed away permanently. After death another soul, the death soul *(angga)* appeared. Death was not a sudden event but a process during which the dead person himself and his surroundings slowly became aware of the incident. This liminal stage was obviously dangerous because people did not exactly know when the *tanoana* was replaced by the death soul and when the status of the person changed from living to dead. That is why it appeared to be important to separate different sequences by means of ritual actions and mark them clearly by ritual objects.

To begin with the deceased was still treated as a living person. When a person ceased to breathe, he/she was dressed and put on a sleeping mat in that part of the dwelling most suitable for this. Most bodies were surrounded with *batuwali*, "a little chamber for the dead person".[1] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 470–.) As long as the corpse was in the house, it was given food. Usually the corpse remained in the house for three nights, during which the house was full of people who kept watch over the corpse. The change from living to dead did not take place until the fourth day after the death, which was called *mata mpoli koi*, "little *mata mpoli*". It was considered the end of full mourning. During this day the deceased was separated from his dwelling and buried. "Little *mata mpoli*" was followed by *mata mpoli bangke*, "the great *mata mpoli*", 8 or 9 days after death. By the end of "the great *mata mpoli*" the deceased had arrived in the Underworld. According to Adriani and Kruyt the To Pamona earlier had the idea that the Underworld was the destination of human beings; the idea of the Upperworld was embraced later on.

Before the arrival of the Dutch colonials in 1905 the To Pamona used to celebrate the great death feast *(mompemate, motengke)* during which the bones of the ancestors were

1 A chamber for the deceased such as this was also made among some Kaili-speaking groups, at least the To Napu (Kruyt 1938 III, 482).

Figure 26. The burial ceremony of a noble person in Kulawi about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:23.

ritually treated.[2] Some Kaili-speaking groups, at least the To Lore living in western Central Sulawesi also celebrated the great death feast called *ende*, which in many ways resembled the *mompemate*. They did not take out the bones of the deceased in order to clean and dress them as the To Pamona did but they did preserve some coffins and corpses which were brought to the temple at the *ende* feast. In order to preserve these corpses the body fluids were run off into a pot. (Kruyt 1938 III, 466–; Ten Kate 1913.)

There are also signs among other Kaili-speakers of customs related to secondary burial, although this was not practised at the end of the 19th century. For instance, when Adriani and Kruyt (1898, 501–) visited Kulawi in 1896, corpses were buried. But sometimes the corpse of a chief was kept in its coffin on a stand above the earth. The To Kulawi did not seem to know the feast during which the bones of the deceased were cleaned and reburied. In Lindu, too, the corpse of a chief was placed in a wooden coffin and after seven years opened in order to collect and transfer the bones to a smaller box. This box was preserved under a house. (Adriani & Kruyt 1898, 519.) Adriani and Kruyt supposed that secondary burial had vanished as a result of the expansion of Islam in the Palu Valley and further in the Kulawi.

Even at the end of the 19th century the purifying of the bones still appears to have been quite extensive among the To Pamona. There is information about this ritual among all the To Pamona groups. One of the earliest accounts was given by Fritz and Paul Sarasin (1905 I, 231) from Lampu in the southern part of the To Pamona district. The Sarasins came across a small hut with five baskets near the village of Lembongpangi in 1895 . These baskets were covered with bark cloth and contained human bones. They apparently awaited the final burial in their temporary burial place.

It was not only colonial rule and Christianity that tried to abolish the custom of cleaning the bones, since Islam was also against it. If people converted to Islam made it known that they wished their bones be left in peace during the great funeral feast, the relatives cleansed their graves and covered them with white bark cloth and took the nails and hair of the deceased person to the feast. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 530.)

2 Adriani's and Kruyt's book (1951 III) includes two photos (76, 77) by P.Schuyt in which people are just returning from the corpse hut with packets of bones. The text does not say where and when these pictures were taken but missionary P.Schuyt worked in Kuku (To Pamona) 1908–1912 (Kruyt J. 1970, 374).

Table 5. The course of human life according to the To Pamona

BIOLOGICAL EVENT	BIOLOGICAL CONDITION	SOUL	RITUAL
CONCEPTION	*placenta*	*angga mpuse* navel soul	
BIRTH	*living body*	*tanoana* soul	*mampapotanoana* uniting the *tanoana* with the body of a child
DEATH*	*decaying body*	*angga ntau mate* death soul	3 days after death a person becomes aware of death burial 4th day after death *mata mpoli kodi* to separate the dead from his dwelling *mata mpoli bangke* final day of mourning 8th or 9th day after burial
CLEANING OF BONES*	*bones*	*angga ntau tu'a* spirit of ancestor *anitu* spirit of ex-head-hunter	*mompemate* or *motengke* the great death feast

8.2. The Great Death Feast among the To Pamona

The only comprehensive records of To Pamona funeral rituals are those by N. Adriani and A. C. Kruyt. Walter Kaudern's book *I Celebes obygder* (II, 200–202) gives a short description of this ritual among the To Onda'e. Kaudern did not, however, witness this ritual himself but got his information from the old inhabitants when he visited Onda'e in 1919. At that time the To Onda'e no longer celebrated the great death feast. Kaudern wrote that he met a teacher in Taripa who had never attended a *motengko* feast and a *mompemate* feast only once. Nevertheless, there were still objects which had been used in connection with the *motengko* feast; and Kaudern was able to acquire a good collection.

It is impossible in this connection to present and analyze all the Pamona death customs and burial rituals. I therefore refer to the detailed account of these practices among the To Pamona in the works of Adriani and Kruyt (1912; 1951 II; Kruyt 1895b). However, I shall describe at some length that part of the secondary burial rituals which directly related to the ritual treatment of the bones of the ancestors. Adriani and Kruyt gave two versions of the To Pamona funeral rituals: the first was published in 1912 and the second in 1950–51. These descriptions are identical in their broad outline; the second account is, however, more extensive and detailed, giving more information than the first one. I shall discuss the differences between these descriptions in the commentary part of the ritual account.

Adriani and Kruyt do not explain how and when they collected their material – whether their account was based on one ritual observed by them or whether they collected information on several occasions. Probably the latter case applied. The Dutch colonial officials prohibited the cleaning of bones after their acquisition of power in Central Sulawesi in 1905. Thus Adriani and Kruyt were able to observe Pamona funeral rituals for one decade.

The secondary burial was called *motengke* by the To Pamona living in the eastern territory (To Lage, Onda'e, Pada, Rompu, Kadombuku, Palende); those such as the To Pebato, Wingke-mposo, living to the west *mompemate*. The difference between these two forms was not great. The *mompemate* was simpler, lasting only three days and held in a hut erected for it, while the *motengke* was celebrated in a temple and lasted seven days. In addition, at the *mompemate* the bones of the deceased were made into packets, while at the *motengke* they were dressed as dolls. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 528.)

The people whose task it was to clean and collect the bones of the deceased were called *tonggola*, "eldest", "chief", "leader". In the forenoon of the first day of the feast the bone-gatherers went to the corpse huts in order to start their work. The preparations for the *tengke* feast proceeded as follows (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 535–):[3]

THE FIRST DAYS/ PREPARATORY STAGE

Going to the graves

In the forenoon of the first day of the feast, after the morning meal, hence around 11 o'clock, all of the bone-gatherers go to the graves and corpse huts. Usually they run there as if possessed, in order to make their longing known to the deceased. The sign that they are indeed possessed is that their ears go up and down like the wings of a bird in flight. For the ears are the wings of the head: the soul *(tanoana)* of the *tonggola* thus flaps its wings out of longing for its relatives. They are followed by a large part of the guests (especially children), who go to watch the gathering.

Chasing the spirits away

Most *tonggola* have a cordyline leaf in one hand and a reed staff *(pasa)* in the other; these objects represent spear and shield. When they have come close, they

3 The following ritual description is cited from the English translation of Adriani and Kruyt's work (1950–51) in HRAF. The description has been shortened and edited by the author.

throw them at the graves (stands) and utter the victory cry *(mepoku)*. People intend by this to chase away the spirits roaming about the graves. If they did not do this, then while gathering up the bones of the dead they would notice that one of the bones had disappeared from the coffin, taken away by the spirits.

Commentary

The bone-gatherer was called *tonggola*, which means "eldest, chief, leader"; similarly the shamans (two men and four women), who were among the To Napu the leaders of the *ende* feast, were called *mantolako* "leaders". Among the To Pamona in addition to the *tonggolas* five shamans and two men conducted the ceremonies. Adriani and Kruyt (1912 II, 121; 1951 II, 534) write that the title *tonggola* "is thus either not appropriate for the bone-gatherers, but has been transferred to them from the real priests and priestesses, or (what is more probable) the original functions of the *tonggola* have now been distributed among "priests" and "Levites", who have both received the name of *tonggola*". The bone-gatherers also used objects such as a cordyline leaf and a headdress consisting of strips of *fuya* dyed in various colours *(pebanca ndompu)* which were commonly used by shamans at work.

Cordyline terminalis (soi) was the most sacred plant among the To Pamona. There are two types of bloodwort or cordyline: "red cordyline", *(soi dolo)* and "white cordyline", *(soi buya)* or "border cordyline" *(soi ntida, soi ngkatona)*. "Red cordyline" was used by shamans in their work, "so that the face of the sick person may quickly be blooming, be red again". "White cordyline" has light green leaves and owes its name to the circumstance that it was planted on cleared land in order to indicate the boundaries of the fields. At funerals people waved over the corpse and stroked the participants on the crown of the head with "white cordyline" in order to make the separation between living and dead. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 160–.) It is not mentioned which kind of *soi* was used by the *tonggola*.

According to the above description the cordyline was used by bone-gatherers as a shield against the evil spirits. Similarly the shamans were equipped with cordyline as their sword, shield or spear when they fought with the spirits in the air. The bone-gatherers were apparently in close contact with the Underworld and that is why they had some characteristics of shamans during their work. We may ask why there had to be a ritual specialist for this work instead of the shamans who usually contacted the gods and spirits. The shamans among the To Pamona were specialists in taking care of human beings' soul and they were not allowed to be in contact with death, particularly a corpse.

Offering

Before the coffins are brought to the ground, people put down betel *(sirih-pinang)* and sprinkle the coffins with husked rice, while asking the dead to make their bones dry.

The sham fight

Then a couple of male *tonggola*, armed with a real shield and sword, hold a sham fight around the grave; after that the bones can be gathered.

Commentary

This transitional period between death and the treatment of the bones was considered an especially dangerous time when evil spirits might harm people.

Opening the coffins
Like lunatics, the *tonggola* (the women especially are very passionate in this) fall upon the coffins, which have been opened by male *tonggola* after the coffin had first been jerked upward nine times and downward nine times *(ndariko)* (Lake region). In some areas the rattan bindings that hold coffin and lid together are cut with the knife with which the hair and nails of the deceased were also cut off. The reason for the excitement lies in part in the circumstance that the *tonggola* must overcome a feeling of nausea. There are those who told us that they had to summon up their courage and grit their teeth so that their spirit *(lamoa)* would come to conquer their aversion. If the corpse had been buried, then the men turn over the earth with pointed sticks while the women scrape it away with their hands so as to reach the bones as quickly as possible.

Commentary
The cleaning of bones is here illustrated realistically, paying attention to the feelings and reactions of the bone-gatherers. In this connection a knife is mentioned by which the hair and the nails of the deceased were cut; this knife was introduced earlier as an heirloom in chapter 4.4.

If the corpse is not found
It occasionally happens that the corpse is not found at the spot where they are digging (the graves have often become unrecognisable a few months after the burial). People then claim that the dead person is angry and has moved to one side. They spit medicine on the spot in order to make the bones appear; they dig to the left or to the right of the spot, until they have found them. The hole from which the corpse is taken for the feast is called *talomba*.

Competition over the death's head
There is wild competition among the female *tonggola* as to who will be the first to take possession of the death's head. The one who succeeds receives for this the head of a pig when the rewards are handed out. The death's head, as dirty as it is, is pressed to the breast, it is sniffed at, and all sorts of cries of lamentation to bemoan the dead are uttered. When the diggers have indulged in this to their heart's content, then they dig deeper for the other bones.

Removing the fleshy parts from the bones
Sometimes they open coffins with corpses whose fleshy parts have not yet entirely decomposed; this is removed by pulling the bones through a hand closed around them or by scraping off the rotting parts with a bamboo splinter. Sometimes they grope for bones with their hands in the corpse fluid; bones that are still connected with one another are cut loose with a knife. The excited *tonggola* do not seem to be bothered by the stench. Sometimes they came upon a corpse that had remained whole, completely dried out *(e'o)*. Such a corpse was left whole, but the arms and legs were bent over in a squatting position, in order to be able to carry it on the back during the ceremonies of the feast for the dead.

Counting the bones
When the bones of a corpse have been gathered and, with the flat of the hand or with *ta'ombu*, a kind of balsam (Blumea balsamifera), cleaned of the dirt clinging to them, they are ostensibly counted. In the excitement, however, this does not come out right; in addition, people do not know how many bones there should be. If one or more bones are missing from the skeleton, people claim that the soul of this person will not leave the people in peace.

The bones are wrapped in a piece of *fuya*
A piece of bark cloth *(fuya)* is spread on the ground. Among the To Lampu people have ready for this a piece that has been painted with hearts of a sort and bears the name of *pauba angga*, "carrying cloth of death souls". On the piece of cloth is first put the death's head, and then the bones are put in a pile and tied together into a packet, the bones of a man with eight bands, those of a woman with nine. People had to be careful that the long bones were lying in the same direction, and that the lower end was directed downward when the packets were set down. For the *motengke* the bones are arranged in such a way that a monstrous doll is made out of them. Usually the bones are packed in several layers of *fuya*, for people claim that if the packing is too thin, the backs of those who carry the bones will become cold.

Commentary
A couple of times during their stay in Central Sulawesi Adriani and Kruyt came across old people who protested against the fact that cotton was increasingly being given to the dead to take into the afterlife. Bark cloth had been the clothing of the ancestors, and one person even claimed that the soul was not admitted into the Underworld if it arrived there clothed in cotton. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 492.)

The bone packets are put in a basket
The packets of bones are placed in a basket and protected from the rays of the sun by means of a sun-hat (at some feasts for the dead we saw Chinese and European umbrellas already being used for this, to the annoyance of the old people).

Carrying the packets of bones
The bones are carried not only by the *tonggola*, but also by others who have loving memories of the deceased. To each one who carries a packet the shamans officiating at this give a strip of *fuya* and a leaf of cordyline. The bones of a Chief or prominent person are carried in front in the procession. If they have to cross a brook, then the bearers may not wade through the water, but they must walk over a bridge that has been built for this occasion; otherwise people believe that the little boxes *(sosoronga)* in which the bones are kept will soon rot from moisture. This transferring of the bones to the village is called *momumu*, "to conduct oneself quietly, modestly". ...

Commentary
Dryness was associated with bones as well as with ancestral spirits while wetness alluded to the decomposing state of the body. The carriers of the bones are equipped with a branch of bloodwort and strips of bark cloth, which were usually shaman's ritual objects; this seemingly marks the close contact between the carriers and the transcendent.

Washing the hands
Not far from the site of the feast, troughs of palm leaf are placed along the path; these contain water mixed with mashed fruits of the *katimba* and the *kasimpo*, two species of Amomum, whereby the water has become acid. With this water the *tonggola* wash their hands, each in his (her) own trough.

Stabbing the buffalo
Before the packets of bones have been placed in the hut intended for them,

everyone who carries a packet stabs at a tied buffalo. Only those who carry the bones of slaves and lowly people do not do this.

Commentary
The stabbing indicates on whose behalf the sacrifice is being conducted.

Medication with the death's head
When they have returned to the site of the feast with the carrying baskets containing the bones, one of the death's heads is brought out and wrapped separately in a piece of *fuya*. One of the oldest female *tonggala* now medicates with this head everyone who feels unwell in any way, and the children too. While counting from 1 to 7, she touches the patient with the head on the right knee, right hip, right shoulder, head, left shoulder, left hip, left knee. Finally she further taps with the death's head 2 x 7 times on the crown, brushes with it over the forehead, and calls out: "Your indisposition is better." This tapping is called *me'ukudi* or *ndapapotawika*.[4] After this ceremony the bones are taken to a buffalo tied up at the site, where the male *tonggola* stab at it. …

Commentary
The use of a death's head as a remedy for sick people was formerly common among the To Pamona. People took for this purpose the head of a blood relative who had reached a ripe old age when he died, or of someone who had been sick for years before he passed away. This death's head was not taken to the cave with the other bones after the feast for the dead, but was placed in a basket (among the tribes who have the *tengke*, together with the wooden masks – *pemia*) and stored in the rice granary.

The packets of bones are taken to the feast hut or the temple
After the ceremony just described, the packets of bones are taken to the feast hut (for the *mompemate*) or the temple (for the *motengke*). Then the strips of *fuya* and the cordyline leaves that were distributed beforehand among the male and female bearers of the bones are gathered and placed in a basket. These things must not be lost; the one who watches over them gives them packets of rice and pork to eat. At the *mompemate* the packets are simply put down in the middle of the hut, on the floor, over which mats have been spread. Widows and widowers take their place next to the bones of their spouses.

Dolls are made out of the bones
At the *motengke* dolls are made out of the bones, as has already been said; these are clothed with costly material. Much work is made of the bones of women in particular: necklaces and beads are hung around the neck; numerous copper bracelets shine on the arms. A wooden mask is tied in front of the doll's head. The difference between the mask of men and women consists in the fact that to the former, on the head, in the middle is attached a spiral-shaped ornament *(sanggori)* for men. This *sanggori* is part of the war outfit of the champion *(tadulako)* … Behind the knob for the *sanggori* another hole has been burned in the

4 This *me'ukudi* is also called *melokaya*, "to look for raspberries (Rubus pungens)". This name is a paraphrase and really means "to go to look for something tasty, something good", such as children who go out to find raspberries. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 538.)

mask, into which a second head-ornament is stuck, namely, the *widu*, which in this case is a long reed stalk with little feathers tied to it. Later we shall become acquainted with another kind of *widu* and shall take the opportunity to point out the significance attached to this ornament. The masks for women sometimes have holes at the height of the ears, into which earrings are stuck. Furthermore, the dolls of men and women are fitted out with beautiful headcloths and headbands. Those of the women are called *tali pampa;* they are made of the inner skin of the bamboo; this is covered with red cotton and on it are fastened little gallows of sheet copper, from which hang little strings of small beads. Furthermore, behind the death's head is also fixed a bunch of *fuya* strips, which bears the name of *pebanca ndompu*, "what resembles a flower cluster of the *rompu* wild pinang". These strips have been brushed with different colours and are to represent the hair of the deceased….

A burning torch
A huge resin torch is kept burning also during the outfitting of the bone packets, the round dancing with them, and the placing of them on the catafalque meant for them. And at the end of the feast for the dead the participants let themselves be "counted off" on a burning torch. A shaman presses a chopping knife in the hand of each one in turn, and with this she thrusts at the torch six times, counting 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Finally, the seventh time, she touches the torch with the knife and pokes with it a little in the boiling resin. The use of the burning torch, according to the assertion of the To Pamona, is to prevent the sacred acts that are performed from harming the health in one way or another…

THE FOURTH FEAST DAY/ THE FEAST PROPER STARTS

Making the catafalque
Whereas at the *mompemate* the packets of bones are placed together in a pile, at the *motengke* more work is made of their abode in the *lobo*. As has been said, the *motengke* lasts seven days, but the last three days, which correspond to the three days of the *mompemate*, are the real feast days. On the morning of the fourth day the dwelling of the deceased is erected in the middle of the village temple; a few bunches of ornamental bamboo (Mal. *buluh kuning*), cordyline, and sugar cane are brought into the temple. Everyone who is to co-operate in erecting this catafalque is tapped seven times by one of the shamans with the hand against the building material; after that one can go to work without fear.

The catafalque is called *solikaro*, "she whose body has died", an indication for "death soul". It is nothing other than a strong native couch, about two meters long and 1 1/4 meters wide, while its flooring lies 1 1/4 meters above the floor of the temple. The frame of this couch is made of yellow ornamental bamboo, and the floor is put together with sugar-cane stalks placed next to one another. Moreover cordyline branches and sugar cane are also fastened to the corner uprights. The entire catafalque is surrounded by pieces of precious cotton *(bana)*. On the railings of the apparatus hang several shields and swords, while a couple of spears are also fastened to it. Into each corner upright is stuck a *widu;* this looks different from the one mentioned above. It is a little apparatus made of wood or bamboo twigs, between which fine basketwork is put; there are also some that are arranged differently, with blue and red cotton wound around or with tinfoil pasted on. All *widu* correspond in that they are provided with chicken feathers on the ends. …

The packets of bones thus spend three nights on the catafalque; during these nights they bear the name of *sumunculi*. During the night of the last feast day they are no longer placed in the *solikaro*, and for that reason this night is called *wengi soa*, "empty night".

Commentary
This catafalque in many ways resembles, i.e. in its structure and adornment, the enclosure erected for girls at the consecration ceremony for shamans.

Performing the *ende* dance
When the *solikaro* is ready, female slaves each take one of the dressed packets of bones in a long cloth in front of the breast, just as Europeans in the Indies have their children do. The bearers range themselves, along with the shamans, around the catafalque; they hold fast to a rattan line that runs around the catafalque and, amidst the roll of the beaker drum *(karatu)*, dance the step of the *ende* dance seven times around the stand. This is called *moende poso*.

The bone dolls are placed on the catafalque
When this is finished, the bone dolls are placed on the catafalque.

Offering
As an offering, a chicken and a small pig are carried around the catafalque seven times, after which one takes a bit of blood from the ear of the pig and the comb of the chicken; if the pig is a little female, then the chicken must be a cock; if the former is a male, then a hen is added to it. After the blood has been taken, the animals are released. The corner uprights of the catafalque are brushed with the blood.

Chasing the evil spirits away
Then one of the priests (male shaman) arms himself with sword and shield and makes circuits around the *solikaro*, for the purpose of keeping all the evil powers away.

The role of the widow and widower at the feast
At the *tengke* the widow or widower must always remain in the vicinity of the catafalque, near the bones of the spouse. There food is brought to him or her. When betel is handed to them, this is rolled up in a dry sugar palm leaf. The following day the dolls are carried around, and people dance with them as on the previous day. Then the packet is taken to the one who has cleaned the bones, the *tonggola*. The latter prepares two baskets, one for the widow (widower) and one for the person who counted her (him) off. Each basket contains a chopping knife, a comb, a piece of *fuya*, a piece of cotton, and a little bamboo with palm wine; cuts have been made in this bamboo container, in which are jammed seven strips of *fuya*, seven pieces of pig's liver and pork, and small packets of rice *(winalu)*. The bamboo container bears the name of *wanga mojali*, "bamboo container provided with ear pendants".

The conducting shamans
At the feast for the dead several shamans conduct the ceremonies and sing the required litanies. At the *mompemate* their number is not prescribed, but at the *montengke* these must be seven, five true shamans and two men. These men cannot be called priests; they need not know the death litanies; they only walk with the five shamans, who continually recite their litany. According to the explanation of the To Pamona, these men are to protect the shamans against an attack by evil spirits on their journey on which they finally lead the death souls to Wawo-maborosi, the land of spirits in the sky; they must also chase back the souls of deceased persons who want to follow the shamans back to earth when they leave the city of the dead.

Healing with a basket containing ashes
When "the seven" are to begin the death service, a large, flat, four-cornered basket *(taru)* containing ashes is brought into the temple. This basket with ashes is to represent the "hearth of the bones" *(rapu mbuku)*. Everyone who does not feel well or who considers this desirable for whatever reason has his foot counted off on this hearth by one of the shamans. The patient then takes with him a folded piece of *fuya* and a basket, objects that become the property of the shaman after the counting off from 1–7. When all who wish it have had a turn, "the seven" range themselves around the "hearth of the spirits". They not only hold on to one another by the hand, but they are also tied to one another by ribbons of *fuya*, which are placed around two of them each time. Slowly walking around the basket and spitting into it each time, they rattle off the death litany with which they lead the souls of the deceased to the heavenly realm.

Commentary
There are some differences in the information concerning the basket containing ashes which was brought into the temple. According to Adriani and Kruyt's first edition (1912 II, 135) this basket represented "geestenhaard" *(rapu nu angga)*, while in the second edition (1951 II) it was called "hearth of the bones" *(rapu mbuku)*, but later in the text "hearth of the spirits".

The role of shamans at the feast
The task of the shaman at the feast for the dead is thus to bring back to earth from the city of spirits in the Underworld the souls of the persons whose bones are brought to the feast hut or to the temple, in order afterwards to take them as renewed beings, as risen from death, to the heavenly realm, to Wawo-maborosi. The content and the tenor of the litany through which this is done are the same for the *mompemate* and the *motengke*, only, as has already been said, everything is simpler at the first-named feast, through which it is clearer from the *mompemate* that the whole feast is meant as a last gathering of living and deceased. They eat together; therefore baskets with rice and side dishes are repeatedly brought into contact with the packets of bones, after which they are handed around among the celebrants; the latter take out a few grains of rice and eat them. In addition, many miniature earthen cooking pots have been fired, which are given to the dead to take along when they return to the land of shadows *(tetoro)*. Hence these pots bear the name of *kura tetoro*.

The shaman fetches the dead from the Underworld
Preceding the leading of the death souls by the shamans, which bears the name of *montolako*, "to act as leader", is the summoning of the dead from the Underworld. How real all this is felt appears clearly from the beginning of the Death Song in which the dead are summoned by the shamans. The fetching of the coffins from the hut or from the grave has the result that the souls of the dead who have temporarily had their abodes in the Underworld now appear from the abodes and come to earth in order to participate in the feast, because what is done to the bones also happens to the soul. ...

The shamans have concentrated inwardly and in their minds have gone to the Underworld from where they accompany the dead to earth.

Welcoming of the dead by relatives

In the temple the death souls that have returned to earth are ceremoniously welcomed by their blood relatives. This is done in the following way.

Close to the western entrance to the temple are placed two beaker drums, between which an ordinary drum is set up. In addition to the shamans and the bone-gatherers, who live in the temple by virtue of their office, it is filled with kin-group members and guests who come to watch or to participate in the summoning of the souls. All of them have sat down on the floor of the temple, eerily illuminated by the flickering light of a few torches. A couple of old shamans go around in the building and hand out to those present pieces of roasted banana, which is said to have come from Wawo-maborosi. Then another shaman comes with a cock, with which she first taps on the drums seven times and which she then has touched by everyone present. Now a path is cleared between the people toward the western entrance of the temple, and a shaman walks up and down on it seven times, sprinkling rice continually, for the purpose of preparing the way for the death souls that are to enter. Those present try their best to catch a few grains of the sprinkled rice; they then put them in their hair on the crown.

Commentary

While life was identified with the east, death was associated with the west. When the soul of a dead person was taken to the Underworld, the journey there always went toward the west (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 475). The sun fell down through the hole in the west during its journey to the Underworld. While setting the sun took along the souls of the deceased, but in addition to that all evil, stain, and disaster as well (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 374). The west in Pamona language is called *soyo, sompagi*, which means the place where the sun sets. Before the To Pamona were forced by the Dutch colonial officials to build their houses in the valleys, near the existing tracks and roads, they always tried to erect their dwellings in such a way that the ridge lay in an east – west direction; as they said, "following the path of the sun". And the entrance was made in such a way that anyone entering the dwelling faced toward the east, the rising of the sun.

Summoning the souls of the dead

After these preparatory activities the summoning of the souls begins. A man takes his place in front of the drums. Beginning low and then swelling, he beats a short roll on the drum standing on the right and one beat on the big drum. Then again a roll on the beaker drum standing on the left and one beat on the big drum; he does this seven times. The drummer then receives a headcloth of *fuya* and is replaced by another; this one also beats seven rolls and likewise receives a piece of *fuya*. After that the drummers take turns without counting the beats; one beats rolls in the manner described until one becomes tired from it, and then another one takes over. This way of beating rolls, by means of which the spirits are summoned, is called *momeno-meno*, an imitation of the roll. This continues throughout the night until morning comes.

The songs for the deceased at the *mompemate*

As soon as the souls of the deceased have been taken to the temple and have been welcomed by their blood relatives, the large crowd comes in its turn to pay homage to the dead. At the *mompemate*, from the fall of evening until morning comes men and women run around the feast hut in a wide circle at a certain pace in time with the lines being sung. In the song they begin with a number of verses in which they express their longing for the dead and their gladness over seeing them again.

The beginning goes as follows:

Yakumo baincandema	.....?
reme ntonya se'e lau,	the sun is still in the sky,
sape ende ntonggolaku,	and the hut is already ringed by the ones dancing.
I Sinci ode anaku,	Sinci, oh my child,
kulike da napembangu.	I wake you, so that you will get.

After that the song quickly proceeds to singing about important events from recent times, which at some feasts is done in the form of *kayori*, at others in free verse. People spend a lot of time over a *kayori* and a line of song, sometimes even half an hour, by repeating it again and again, inserting certain refrains. The person who knows the new line or the new *kayori*, either because he himself is the author, or because the poet has given him the words, starts the song, and soon the whole crowd repeats what has been sung and adds the refrains, until the leader of the song starts the same thing anew, reviving the tune again, which the singing crowd has greatly lowered. The women start in later than the men; their voices stand to those of the men about like tenor and bass. There is singing with great fervour throughout the night; those who get tired slip out of the circle unnoticed and are immediately replaced by others, for the circle may not be broken (they must be joined together, *megunggumaka*), for they believe that otherwise the pigs will continually break through the enclosure around the fields and ruin the crops. Those who do not find a place in the circle around the feast hut range themselves, on other spots on the feast site, in circles around the *moraego*. After they have now paid due homage to the dead in several lines of song, they then go on to the politics of the day.

Commentary

The behaviour of relatives and friends designates that the deceased really are thought to have returned back on the earth so that they have to be informed of occurrences meantime; they are considered as social beings interested in the gossip of co-villagers.

The songs for the deceased at the *motengke*

At the *motengke* the singing about the dead takes place in the temple around the catafalque. Since there is less space here, three circles are usually formed around one another. The way in which the verses are sung is also different from that at the *mompemate*. The song is called *motengke*. In general it can be said that at the *motengke* the singing about the dead is done more seriously than at the *mompemate*. On the first evening on which this song and dance are performed, they are interrupted by one of the feast givers, who addresses the guests while standing on the centre plank of the temple. With a piece of wood that he has in his hand he again and again gives a blow on the floor between his sentences. This is called *motoe*. In his address he admonishes the friends and relatives from far and near not to quarrel if someone sees a debtor, he should not dun the latter at the feast, but after the conclusion of it follow him to his house; someone who finds something that does not belong to him should place on the catafalque the

object found, so that the owner may find it. At the end of this address the song is continued.

The *tengke* song consists of fixed verses, but the couplets that are sung are composed during the feasting. All sorts of subjects of the day, debts, disputes, peace, and war, are recited in song, and many Chiefs use this song to indicate to one another their opinions about one thing or another. Only the beginning and the end of the *tengke* song are fixed verses. The beginning runs as follows:

Make a little space so that I can walk.
My heart is moved at the sight of the catafalque.
The poor mother is taken away by Tagerore (?).
Here is Kombengi, the leader of those who jump over the planks.
It is alas difficult for the poor orphan to run.
Here we gather to take leave of those who are going to Maborosi.
The mask has been broken, because the bird Ruringi has alighted upon it.
We can no longer show any love, now we must creep forward cautiously.
Our demonstration of love is over, my dear child.

The end of the *tengke* song runs as follows;

The feast for the dead is only this night and tomorrow's day,
and they will still see in motion the world of men.
Prepare them well, the Upperworld (earth) will become Underworld.
Let us then tie firmly the ornaments of the catafalque.
My poor child has only continual homesickness.
Up to the top of the mountain Maborosi…?
The demonstration of love is over, the desire to see again does not diminish.
My song climbs up along the side walls of the roof.
I shall take him (her) to another place.

The purpose of this *tengke* song is to have the souls brought into the temple take part in the affairs of the earth inhabitants.

A sham marriage

A custom that is practised only during the singing of the *tengke* song and during the song around the bone-hut at the *mompemate* is the *mokalu*. Namely, on the occasions mentioned it is permissible for a man to propose to a girl, with whom he then performs the round dance, singing and walking. For this the man places his elbow on the girl's shoulder, while it is permitted for him to touch her face and breast. This going around together of man and girl is called *mokalu*. For this favour the man gives the girl a sarong or some other gift. When the girl has enough of this quiet wooing, she hangs a white cotton or *fuya* sarong around the shoulders of her knight, and the relationship between the two is again broken. If during the *mokalu* someone walks between the couple, he is fined with a buffalo, "for as long as the two hold fast to each other, they are man and wife".[5]

5 Among the To Lage, the free people permit only their unmarried daughters to *mokalu*. If in this tribe one saw grown-up girls do this, one could be sure that they were slaves. The To Pebato and other tribes were not as strict in this respect. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 549.)

THE FIFTH DAY OF THE FEAST

Carrying the bone dolls around the temple

At the break of day the *tengke* song was stopped. After the morning meal (thus on the fifth day) at ten o'clock "the seven" got ready again, followed by female slaves who carry the bone dolls in the manner described. The bearers are treated with respect; one may not reproach them or become angry at them; they are served choice food because they stand in close relationship to the dead whom they carry. They walk with the bones, preceded by "the seven", around the temple with measured steps, while "the seven" recite their litany. Toward the fall of evening the *tengke* song is again sung during the entire night.

Providing the deceased for their journey to the sky

The following morning "the seven", together with the bearers of the bone dolls, go to make their circuits around the *solikaro*, in order now to take the dead to the land of shadows in the sky for good. For this reason, before the circuits begin, the packets of bone are provided with everything needed; a second woman walks beside the bearer of the bones and brings with her all the articles of clothing that people want to give the dead person to take along (after the conclusion of the feast the owners take these articles of clothing back home with them). Furthermore, the female slave carries along with the bones a sun hat, a sleeping mat, a sword, a little bell *(dio-dio)*, a miniature earthen pot with some rice in it, and a miniature basket in which rice is customarily kept. In the just named basket *(sumpa)* there are placed pieces of banana, *ubi*, and sugar cane. All of this the dead person is said to take along. In addition, before the circuits began, a basket with husked rice, a rain mat, and a cock have been sacrificed for each dead person. These things are not taken along during the circuits, but, after having been consecrated by the shamans, they are given to them as a gift. According to the shamans, the chicken is to serve the souls as a conveyance to the realm of shadows.

Escorting the deceased to the sky

Thus equipped, shamans and bearers walk around the catafalque, the former continually intoning their litany. During the night that follows this night, "the seven" once again stand in the midst of the people who are singing the *tengke* song. The latter then cease for a while. Now "the seven" walk around alone, without the bones of the dead, and recite the conclusion of their litany, in which they announce that they have arrived in Wawo-maborosi. When they have taken leave of the deceased at the foot of the mountain, they suddenly run over to the opposite side in order to make it known that they are now on their way back to the earth, without the dead, whom they have taken away.

THE SEVENTH DAY OF THE FEAST

Counting off the participants of the feast

Amid all sorts of signs of boredom among most of the guests, the seventh and last day, the high point of the feast, has finally arrived. In the village temple bustling activity prevails, for many are having themselves "counted off", i.e., one of the shamans grasps the hand of a person, in turn, at the same time pressing a knife in it. With this knife she taps seven times on a burning resin torch, after which she pokes around a bit with it in the resin. In the same manner each

person's hand is also counted off on a basket of rice, which has been brought into contact with the bones of the deceased. According to the shamans, the one and the other are to serve to free the guests and the feast-givers, especially the members of the kin-group of the dead concerned at this feast, from all prohibition and mourning regulations, so that they will not become sick from all the influences that might emanate from the feast.

Taking leave of the souls of the deceased
Now all the bearers squat down on the floor of the temple with their packet of bones, and the shamans sprinkle over them the rice on which the people have just been counted off; they are also sprinkled seven times with water. "The seven" arrange themselves in a circle and intone a short litany in which they take leave of the souls that they have accompanied; they tell them that they must now just go walking off and must no longer return to earth.

Slaughtering the buffaloes
At the *mompemate* a buffalo, firmly tied to a stake, stands at a spot outside the feast side, and everyone who feels like it gives the defenceless animal a stab with his sword or a thrust with his spear, until it finally succumbs. Most of the time they try first to cut its Achilles tendon, so that the buffalo, even if it might free itself, could no longer harm its attackers. This act is called *metida mbuku*, "to sever, as it were, the bones (of the buffalo)". It is assumed that the deceased themselves slaughter the animal.

This comes out even better at the *motengke*. Here not one buffalo stands tied up, but several, insofar as possible one for each deceased person. When now on the last day all activities have been concluded, all of those present hasten to the site where the buffaloes have been tied to stakes. The packets of bones are also taken there by the bearers; as they leave, the bones must be carried down along the western stairs, whereas those taking part in the feast go down the eastern stairs. Young men, who have addressed themselves festively, each take a pack of bones from the bearers, press this in the left arm, and, with the bared sword in the right hand, run toward the defenceless animals, each of them striking a blow with the razor-sharp sword. All men and boys who lay claim to the name of being brave now stab and thrust freely, until all the buffaloes lie dying. The bearers are lightly touched with the blood of one of these animals, and they in turn touch the dolls' masks.

Killing the pigs
On this last morning of the feast many pigs are also killed. The spear is waved around seven times over the first pig; then the animal is stabbed in the axilla, and the bearers and their packets are brushed with the blood streaming out. With the blood of the second pig, the guests are touched on forehead and cheek.

Bathing the packets of bones
Now the bearers again take the packets of bones from the men and take them to the bathing place, where benches have been made ready; the packets are placed on them, and the bearers go to bathe in place of the deceased.

Farewell gifts for the dead
After this the bones are not taken into the temple any more, but the bearers go with them to various feast huts and to the houses of the village in order to take leave of relatives and friends. The dead are then given *sirih pinang* and packets of rice, which are stuffed into the cloth in which the packet is carried.

These gifts are taken along when on the following day the bones are carried to the cave.[6]

Storing the packets of bones under the rice granary
Finally the packets, now divested of their finery, are set under a rice granary in order to be taken to the cave after the feast. With the finery of the packets in their hands, the women perform the *taro* dance.

8.3. The Great Death Feast among the To Napu

Missionary P. Ten Kate witnessed the last great death feast *(ende)* celebrated by the To Napu in Watutau in 1912 and gives an account of this ritual in the article called *Het Ende-feest*. This article includes A.C. Kruyt's comments on Ten Kate's text. Ten Kate is apparently the only Westerner to have reported this ceremony among the Kaili-speakers. This last *ende* feast lasted just three days, whereas earlier it used to take one month. The number of slaughtered buffalo was smaller as well, ten instead of the 23 earlier required. Ten Kate writes that he supplemented his own observations by means of other participants' information. The following is the description according to Ten Kate (1913). In the commentary section I shall discuss Kruyt's comment on this description and his information about the *ende* ritual in his book (1938) which is primarily based on Ten Kate's account.[7]

THE PREPARATIONS

Preparation of the drums
These *karatu*'s were already set out in May and then sprinkled with the blood of a slaughtered buffalo by Umana Kaba. After that they were drummed on every evening. These drums were located to the north of the temple *(howa)*, and were played by three men. Down a hastily built set of steps, one of the male shamans descended from the west side of the temple, armed with a hacking knife, because the usual lance and sword were not permitted. Spitting ahead of himself, he approached the drum-players, who were also spitting without touching each other, then he struck the hacking knife against the underside of the first drum, and pronounced the often used expansion-formula, to which the shaman, a *kabilaha* himself, added a prayer for the expansion of the *kabilaha*. This was performed at each drum. Each time he moved away further and further and turned around at the corner of the temple. After the third time he returned to the temple ...

Shamanic songs *(mantolako)*
On Sunday evening a so-called *mantolako* took place here in Watutau (formerly

6 Only among the To Lampu are the bones sometimes taken to the temple, where they are mourned over by all those present (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 551).
7 The following ritual description was translated from the original Dutch text by Esther Velthoen and Gregory Acciaioli.

this took place in Lengaro). Two male and four female shamans came together in a house.[8] They started by singing a blessing over the useful plants, mentioning not only the cultivated trees, but also forest trees with edible fruits. After that the second part started; a description of the journey to the land of the dead. None of them, however, arrived there, because while singing the *napesawii anitu*, a spirit took possession of them, which means that while they were singing, they started to shake heavily, which was followed by movements of the arms and legs, and chattering of the teeth, so that bystanders had to hold their arms, legs and lower jaws. After that they became *bongo*, "deaf, numb". By pounding on the floor with wood the spirits were driven away.

Offering

The next day around twelve o'clock we were picked up for another preparatory ceremony. They took us on the old (pre-Dutch) road that leads to Lamba, because we had to go to a grass plain, which the new road does not pass. This plain, called Popadupaa, "place of having come together", is located to the west of Lamba, the old village of origin, where the feast would be held. There were not many people, only one female *tuana* (noble) and four male ones, the shamans and a number of slaves. I did not notice much of the preparation, because everything had yet to be fetched: a chicken, a cooking pot and fire wood. Only the pig was already there. It should have been a red one. In absence of such a red pig, as was now the case, a black one will suffice if accompanied by a red chicken. It appeared to me that a few brown feathers were enough to make a chicken red. It took a long time before everything was on hand. When everything was ready the pig was positioned with its head pointing to the north, and was bound tightly. A grass-stalk *(tile)* with a few shreds of bark cloth *(nini)*, was planted to the east of the animal, and then sprinkled with chicken blood. Subsequently Umara Mora took a hacking knife and waved it seven times over the pig, while counting from one to seven, after which he said: "I puncture the pig, I stab the pig, so that we do not get malaria bellies, so that people multiply, the buffaloes multiply and the gardens succeed."

Then he stabbed the pig in both sides, seven times *(motambuku)* all together, after which another man, the *topapakonto*, dealt the animal the fatal stab. After that the pig was treated the usual way; the blood was collected, the skin was scorched and scraped off, and the meat divided.

Making a new opening and steps *(dalambatu)* in the temple

The next day was still preparation, although in name only, because all the guests were present, and the ceremony started already in the afternoon. When I arrived at approximately 10 o'clock in Lamba, they were busy erecting the *dalambatu* ...

Now I can proceed to describe the *dalambatu* (see figure 27). As the coffins that were to be brought in were very large, and the entrance of the temple small, a new wide, entrance was made at the top of the steps. A gently sloping ramp made of bamboo, so that it would not be too burdensome to carry the heavy coffins inside the temple. When I said that it might be a good idea to keep the

8 To Ten Kate's amazement he saw Umana Mora, a prominent man from Wuasa, among them. After having inquired about this, he learnt that Umana Mora had inherited this position from a deceased relative.

Figure 27. The *dalambatu*, a new opening and steps were made in the temple for the great death feast in Lamba. Lamba, Napu 1912. Photo by P. Ten Kate. Kruyt 1938 IV, Plates no. 130.

dalambatu (after the ceremony), because this entrance was so much easier (to use) than the other, I received as an answer that it would be torn down, because it was a path of the dead. They were willing to build a new, narrower one. On the occasion of the *podalambatua*, the making of this entrance, a buffalo was slaughtered. Then a few men brought pieces of wood on which the coffins were to be placed. having done this, everything was ready for the coffins to be fetched.

Summoning the dead

The shamans appeared, outfitted in full regalia, with yellow fringed *fuya* wound around their heads, and a *taroka* branch (cordyline or Dracaena Terminales) on their backs, stuck in the folds of their carrying-cloth wrapped around their loins. Most of them carried a small basket of hulled rice. The foremost one had a hacking knife instead. Having arrived at the *hawane* fence (*hawane* is an Ericacee) that surrounds the hut of the dead *(daeo)*, the foremost shaman, Umana Mora, spoke to the dead. He said: "You hear it and will not give me a malaria belly, I am still a child, and although only a child, I have you as my gods and do not give me a malaria stomach, let the *tuana*'s (noble) multiply, let the slaves multiply, let the buffaloes multiply, so that the rice and all that has been planted may have a successful yield.

Commentary

The Napu shamans here had the same kinds of ornaments as the Pamona shamans; their headdresses consisted of yellow fringed bark cloth headdress

Figure 28. Carrying the coffin with bones to the temple at the last great death feast in Napu. Lamba, Napu 1912. Photo by P. Ten Kate. Kruyt 1938 IV, Plates no. 132.

wrapped around their heads, and on their backs they wore a branch of the bloodwort.

Carrying the coffins with bones to the temple
Subsequently he cuts through the fence. Once again he repeats the same words, after which he gave the first blow to open the door that was closed with small roof planks. Then many others joined in to help. During all these actions rice has been sprinkled on the crowd of onlookers. The coffins now were taken one by one out of the hut of the dead, and carried on many shoulders to the temple (see figure 28). On the way they were regularly sprinkled with rice … When the last coffin entered the temple, the rice was finished off, there was literally a shower of rice that clattered down on to the roof the temple. Taking the coffins into the temple is called *mambusa*, "to put down". On the occasion of this *pambusaa* a large buffalo was slaughtered. Formerly the custom was to wait two days after this. After that they *"mampopoende"* for the *tuana*'s of Gaa, on which occasion four buffaloes were slaughtered, two outside the village rampart for the *tuana*'s, and two inside for the *topoende*, the celebrants. After that they rested for four days. Then they *rapopoende* the family of Umana Dapa and slaughtered six buffaloes, of which two were outside the village ramparts for the *tuana*'s, and rested for six days after that. Finally, they *rapopoende* the family of the *tuana*'s of Sabingka and slaughtered ten buffaloes.

Drumming
Around six o'clock in the evening the drumming *(motara karatu)* took place. A *karatu* is a tall drum standing upright. There were three of them, which were distinguished as father, mother and child, probably in accordance with the oldest coffin, in which a man, a woman and a child were buried. There is a peculiarity that I should mention with regards to this coffin. It was called *kau i Lemba*, "the coffin of the Paluese", and was also called *au motani kauna*, "whose wood is set apart", because when there was a fire in Lamba, the coffin either dragged itself or was dragged by a woman, beyond the reach of the flames. The man who was buried in this coffin was named Topuasa, a Muslim, the founding father of the Umana Tahungki family.

Singing
The singing *(motengke)* took place in the night. If you ask what it is, they reply "singing". People walk behind each other, but some will lay their hands on the shoulders of the one in front of them. They indicated the beat with one light and one heavy step. The song that was sung and continuously repeated is a summing up of the number of buffaloes that were slaughtered and whose eyes had become blind because of having been killed.

Invitation for the celebration
The next morning the *topekaa* goes around, just as on the preceding night. In the evening he calls out: "You hear it, those who are on this side: go fetch palmwine early so that you will be here quickly to *moende*, in the evening the *wini bu'u* will bite, pass it on." In this manner he goes around the village as a crier.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE FEAST

Invitation for celebration
In the morning the *mekaa* sounds: "You people on this side, put on your (best) clothes, the *karatu*-drummers are coming out, the *topoende* are being called, so that they will start the *moende* quickly, so that the *wini bu'u* will soon come down to the ground, so that the buffaloes will soon be stabbed."

Making a circle around the coffins
It took a quite a long time before they started. The aim was to make a closed circle around the coffins. The shamans came and started to walk in circles on this innermost dais, and were followed by a few others, but the circle was not yet complete. Umana Koba called as loud as he could to get people together, but the To Napu only do something when they feel like it, and among the ones that did come only a few *tuana*'s were to be seen. Later on I asked Umana Koba whether the dead would not be angry since he had to call for so long and they were not very promptly honoured. No, he answered, because the circle was complete in the end.

Moese
When the circle was complete, they started the *moese*. The first day the *poese i lalu* took place, and the next day the *poese i raoa*. The distinction proceeds from the place where the *wini bu'u* are carried; the first day on the inner dais *(i lalu)*, the second day on the outer one *(i raoa)*. During the *moese* the participants stand with their faces towards the dead. They hold on to one another by their sarongs,

which are held with both hands, so that they form a closed circle. The circle may not be broken for even a moment.

Drumming
Inside the circle stood the *karatu's*, on which a special beat was played called the *bisolo bimbi ntau mate*. The circle danced to the beat with the steps as follows: two steps forward with one leg, pull forward the other leg to where the first one is, stand still, and then a genuflection. In the meantime the hands were lifted up at each movement. When everyone had moved seven times (four times to the right, three times to the left), the *wini bu'u* were fetched.

Commentary
The participants formed a circle around the deceased in the same way as among the To Pamona.

Bone-clothes
This word means bone-clothes, and it represents the clothing of the dead. It consists of painted strips of *fuya*, of which a great number is tied together. A long piece of rope *(kate)* is tied to it. This *kate* is put into the hands of the participants without breaking the circle. One man carries the *wini bu'u*. A *slendang* (carrying cloth) was held by many others. When the *slendang* and the *wini bu'u* were arranged properly, the most prominent shamans joined the circle as well, while making sure that the circle was not broken. Then they continued to sing while walking around the coffins. This singing is called *moboki-boki*. I do not know the words of it, nor those of the next song *motipo-tipo*. I was more fortunate with respect to the third song *mopanipumu*. It started with *panimpunu langkemu*, after which *lengke* (ankle-ring) is replaced by a different word, and by doing so the clothing of a man and woman are described, mentioning successively ...

Commentary
According to Kruyt (1938 III, 511–2) the To Napu made a packet called *wini bu'u*, "skirt or clothes of the bones", which was handled at the great death feast in a similar fashion to the packet of bones of the To Pamona. The *wini bu'u* consisted of seven chopping knives folded in strips of coloured bark cloth. During the death litany people standing around the coffin with bones hold a rope fastened to this packet. In the *ende* song it was named "the great one". After the feast bark cloth strips of the *wini bu'u* were divided among the noble and middle class people, who hung them up in the field when they started to plant rice. The chopping knives were given to the leader of the ceremony.

Killing the buffaloes by the dead
During the singing of the last part, the *wini bu'u* was detached from the circle as carefully as it had been attached. The rope was connected to all the coffins, after which the *wini bu'u* was brought outside to kill the buffaloes, two this time. The buffaloes lay fastened to the foot of the *dalambatu*. As I remained inside, to see what happened there, I could not hear what was being said outside. I did see what they were doing. Umana Mora, armed with the *wini bu'u* and a hacking knife, waved it seven times over the animals. The next act should have been the *motambuku*, as had happened with the pig on the Monday before. This was not allowed, so that the animals would not suffer. There were many objections to not performing the *motambuku*, and people had already told me that they would not heed the prohibition. In the end they found a solution, that shows their tendency to hairsplitting. The neck was hit seven times with the hacking knife on the spot

Figure 29. Shamans participating in the last great death feast in Lamba. Lamba, Napu 1912. Photo by P. Ten Kate. Kruyt 1938 IV, Plates no. 133.

where the death blow should have been given. After each strike, he let the *wini bu'u* follow. Then the animal was killed, and its companion was dealt with in the same way...

Commentary
The *wini bu'u* was carried and used as a substitute for a deceased person just as the packet of bones was used among the To Pamona, so the above *wini bu'u* represented the persons who killed the buffaloes.

Singing at night
At night the *motengke* took place again. Now the song was changed in accordance with the larger number of buffaloes that had been slaughtered. A few names are different as well.

Communal meal
Before they started to eat at about midnight, food and then palmwine were given to the dead. The food was placed in bowl that had been carved on the coffin under the animal head. After that they sat down, dropped some food through cracks in the floor and started to eat themselves.

THE SECOND DAY OF THE FEAST[9]

Sprinkling blood on the drum
In the morning before the *moende* started, the ritual action called *mowahe topokaratu* was performed, which was certainly done every day. A old female shaman brought a chicken, that was killed in a bamboo sieve. Somebody standing in the sieve, caught the blood in his hand and sprinkled it on the *karatu* drummers and on the *karatu* itself. Then they gave the dead a betel bag, whose the ingredients were several years old.

Moende
The *moende* took place in the same way as on the previous day, with a few minor differences, as there were two circles, and for a while even three, the *wini bu'u* was in the outer circle, and the number of slaughtered buffaloes was four.

THE THIRD DAY OF THE FEAST

Motengke
When I arrived Friday morning, they were still engaged in *motengke*, in which people moved one behind the other (not holding hands), in two rows. This time I saw a particularly large number of *tuana*'s participating, among others the head of the domain…

Providing the deceased for their journey to the sky
It was the last day of the feast and this involved its own special qualities, because it was the last day of the last feast. The dead were given supplies for the journey. A buffalo liver was cut into small pieces, and each seventh piece was stuck on a skewer. When they were finished, they placed seven of these skewers on the front of each coffin. Only the coffin *au motani kauna* received eight. In the meantime the *motengke* was continued, and outside people continued to dig. After a little while the shamans came out of the Lembo in procession, and proceeded to the hut of the dead. The dead were addressed, then, while husked rice was being sprinkled, two of them went inside to hack through the rattan floor beams (the floor itself was missing).

Taking leave of the dead
Subsequently they returned. In the temple a symbolic good-bye took place. Two stems of the *bolowatu* (Oxytenanthera sinuta, Gamble), that was called *buko* (a type of reed), were laid crosswise on the coffins. On the south side, which was the place of the *topokaratu*, they cut off three pieces, and on the opposite side the *topoende* cut off four pieces. Then these bamboo stems were taken out through the roof on the north side of the temple.

Storing the coffins in the burial pit
In the late afternoon the burial pit was ready. When this was made known, a few

9 According to Ten Kate the second day he had a teacher meeting and he could therefore not attend the feast. However, his pupil, whose father was one of the leading shamans, substituted for him and took notes.

people laid the beams from the hut of the dead in the pit. In the temple they started to get ready to take away the coffins. Before that however, they had to *moende* in a circle including the shamans and the *tuana*'s. This is called *popahubaka tengke*. They were singing: *solo mpio wumbu solo katengke i wumbu liasa pendele tengke solo mpio nananga kabure kongka tuwo ngkorongia kutima dambuli i waana saliwana*. This verse too, I could not translate. When the circle dispersed, one saw several people break out in cries of mourning at various coffins.

But the carriers came to take away the coffins. This was not so easy, because a number of women jumped up and down while joined in a dance proceeding back and forth in front of the coffins and sometimes shooed the carriers away. This is called *mamperampai tuana* (to steal the nobles). In the end all the coffins were placed in the pit in the same order as in the temple.

Preventing the souls of the people from following the dead
On Friday evening a number of further rituals were performed in each house. They started with *mopalindo*. A bowl of boiled rice mixed with crabs, was placed on a high beam in the house, and then the soul *(taunana)* of all the inhabitants is summoned together, so that they will not follow the dead who return to their villages after the feast has ended. Then the way is blocked so that the dead will not enter. A fence of *tile* (pondweed, knot-grass?) and *topekai* (a kind of raspberry) was made around all the houses and rice-barns, in whole of Napu. After it had become completely dark, a small light was placed on one of the beams under the house. Then the dead are chased away. Throughout the village you can hear the inhabitants beating with bamboo slats at the door openings, while uttering smothered shouts.

As the above ritual description shows, the great death feast of the To Napu was very similar to that celebrated among the To Pamona. The purpose was apparently to transfer the souls of the deceased persons to the sky, i.e. make them spirits of ancestors. The structure and various acts of the rite were also parallel to those among the To Pamona. However, the feast celebrated among the To Napu was more simple and its manifestation was not as obvious as among the To Pamona, so instead of the bones of ancestors a *wini bu'u* consisting of seven chopping knives wrapped in strips of bark cloth was treated.

8.4. The Packets of Bones

At the *mompemate* ceremony, among the To Pebato and To Wingke-mposo, the bones were wrapped in white bark cloth after the cleaning and brought to the feast hut; while at the *motengke*, among the To Lage, To Onda'e, To Pada, To Rompu, To Kadombuku and To Palende, a more complicated procedure took place. In the latter kind of feast dolls were made out of the bones. These dolls were clothed with costly material and adorned with necklaces, beads and copper bracelets. A wooden mask *(pemia)* was tied in front of the doll's head. To the mask of men was attached a spiral-shaped ornament, a *sanggori*. This *sanggori* was a part of the outfit of the warrior. Behind this ornament was stuck another head ornament, a *widu*, which was a long reed stalk with little feathers tied to it. Furthermore, the dolls of men and women were clothed with headcloths or headbands. Behind the death's head was also fixed a bunch of bark cloth

strips, which was called *pebanca ndompu*,[10] "what resembles a flower cluster of the *rompu* (wild pinang)". According to Kaudern the packets of bones were clothed in Onda'e with a poncho-like garment called an *abe*. Other authors did not mention this garment being used in connection with bone packets. (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II, 132–3; 1951 II, 539–40; Kaudern 1921 II, 200.)

These dolls most likely generated from the To Mori, who called their death dolls *tonuana*. They were employed both at small and great death feasts among them (TM 1342–1, 1002–1, 2). The wooden masks bear the name *pemia*, a word that again points to Mori as the country of origin for this custom. For *pemia* is derived from the Mori word *mia*, "human being"; *pemia* thus means "made after the model of a human being, image of a human being". Another, less common word for this mask is *kalio*, which is pure Pamona and means "likeness of a face". (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 539–40.) The dolls made by the To Mori were more elaborate than those of the To Pamona, being fashioned like real dolls with arms and legs made of cotton cloth and adorned finely with men's or women's clothing.[11]

Some death masks *(pemia)* are to be found in the museum although they were used in only a restricted area among the eastern To Pamona groups and not at all by the Kaili-speakers. Further, they were important ritual objects, closely associated with ancestors. It is therefore no wonder that people were reluctant to give them up. Actually it is amazing that Kaudern and Schuyt were able to acquire several death masks. One explanation may be the missionary work proceeding at that time and the fact that the rituals at which death masks were used were no longer celebrated.

The Göteborgs Ethnografiska Museum has in its possession three *pemia* masks (26.9.471, 51.23.2165, 51.23.2166) collected by Kaudern during his expedition to Central Sulawesi in 1918–20. All of them come from the village of Taripa, To Onda'e, which Kaudern visited in 1919. Kaudern obtained one mask from missionary Ritzema and two from an old native woman who told him that the masks were those of her deceased parents. Other museum examples were gathered by Baron G. W. W. C. Hoëvell in 1898 among the To Lage (RMV 776/37) and missionary Kruyt before 1903 in Lage, too (RMV 1377/1). In addition the Sarasins obtained two death masks from Poso (MVB 1237, 1238) and P. Schuyt three masks from Kuku (MLV 19122, 19123, 19124) (Kaudern 1944, 72–; Juynboll 1927, 56; Snelleman 1913). Besides the *pemia* masks in the museums there are written reports of the appearance and use of these objects. Kruyt (Kaudern 1944, 74) gave an account of several *pemia* masks, stating that they were fabricated merely by the To Lage and the To Onda'e and not by other Pamona groups.[12]

10 In Onda'e this bunch of bark cloth strips was called *penesése* or *pesése* (Kaudern 1921 II, 200).

11 Good examples of these Mori death dolls are nos. 1342–1, 1342–2 and 1002–1 in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

12 Adriani's and Kruyt's book (1912 II) includes a picture of two death masks. One of these might be number 1377/1 in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Grubauer also mentions the *pemia* masks (1913, 440) which he was able to acquire in Kuku and gave an illustration of these masks (1913, 441; see figure 30). Grubauer's collection in St. Petersburg includes one *sanggori* ornament from the village of Kuku but no death masks, so far as I know.

Figure 30. Death masks used at the great death feast among the eastern Pamona groups. The mask was tied in front of the doll made out of the bones. Photo Grubauer 1923, 61.

All the known masks look quite similar. They are carved from light coloured wood, supplied with a stalk by means of which it was fastened to the packet of bones in front of the death's head. There are slight differences in the size (from 54 cm to 75 cm) of the face and in the facial features painted on the wooden surface. The masks represented both men and women. The male figures have a knob with a hole in it in the middle of the head. Through this hole the *sanggori* was attached. Behind the knob another hole was burned for a spiral ornament, into which the *widu* was stuck. Sometimes the masks of women had holes for earrings and painted lines on the cheeks imitating face decoration of women typical in Central Sulawesi.

Making these death masks was regarded as dangerous work and required payment, which consisted of cotton, bark cloth, a chopping knife, pork, and also a resin torch, which was handed lighted to the artist. A huge resin torch was kept burning during the fitting out of the bone packets, the round dancing with them, and the placing on the catafalque meant for them. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 540.)

The *pemia* masks were used only in connection with the great death feast, never on any other occasion. After the conclusion of the feast for the dead, when the bones had been taken to a cave, the death masks, together with other ornaments of the feast, were hung up in the rice granary. Death masks were not intended exclusively for a certain person and were used at subsequent feasts, either for the bones of the same deceased, if these were fetched for the second time, or for those of someone who had died in the meantime. If the bones of a beloved deceased person were not present because he had died a great distance from home, then the *pemia* meant for him was stuck in the ceiling of the temple. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 540.)

The *sanggori* is a spiral-shaped brass ornament which has the form of an eel or a snake, twisted spirally, with a couple of small, fringe-like gills at the head turned inward. As seen in the figure, the ornament looks like a slightly coiling animal. A head, seen from above, is shown in the inner end of the spiral. The eyes of most specimens are quite small. Occasionally there may be two hollows into which pebbles are inserted. Low ridges extend from the head to the tail.

Spiral-shaped brass ornaments have found their way into the museums[13] more frequently than death masks, because they were spread more extensively all over Central Sulawesi from To Mori in the east to To Kulawi in the west. This kind of ornament was, it seems, also used in Minahassa, Northern Sulawesi and in Lojnang in Northeast Sulawesi (Kaudern 1944, 320). According to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 III, 289) this ornament was manufactured by the To Mori and imported from there to the To Pamona and other groups living in Sulawesi. When someone needed a new *sanggori*, he personally had to provide the maker with the necessary copper,

13 There are four in St. Petersburg (MAE 2317–63, 2317–64, 2317–65, 2317–66), three in Helsinki (SK VK 5002:160, 5114:47, 5114:48), two in Basel (MVB 736, 737) and two in Gothenburg (GEM 26.9.469, 26.9.470). Kaudern (1944, 321) mentions one *sanggori* no. 12685 at the Dresden Museum which originates from "Posso-Alfuren", as the To Pamona used to be called; and one (no. Ic 38799) in the Berlin Museum?, which was acquired by Grubauer from Bada' (Kaudern 1944, 322). Besides these he gives an illustration of three others, no. 1895 from Kantewu, no. 1487 from Kulawi and no. 2437 from Onda'e. These numbers might refer to Kaudern's own collection (see figure 31).

usually imported copper dishes or coins, as the raw material (Adriani & Kruyt 1913, 406). The known specimens were gathered between 1911 and 1928 among the To Onda'e, To Lampu, To Kulawi, To Bada' and To Kaili – all over Central Sulawesi.

As Kaudern's (1944, 327–) review reveals, spiral-shaped brass ornaments were used extensively in Sulawesi, most commonly as tokens of warriors. The leader of a troop of head-hunters adorned himself with one; he tucked his long head-hair through the lowest winding of the spiral and thus tied it firmly to his head. We have reason to believe that in daily life it was little used. The To Pamona and the To Mori used *sanggori* to adorn the packets of bones of male deceased persons at the great death feast *(tengke)*, too. There is no information telling of the presence of this ornament at death feasts among the Kaili-speakers; but in Kaili and Sigi (Palu Valley) male shamans and patients wore a *balalunggi*, as it was called in that district during healing rituals[14] (Kaudern 1944, 323–; Kruyt 1938 II, 79, 524–). Kruyt (1938 II, 596) also reported that both girls and boys in the Palu Valley adorned themselves with *balalunggi* at the teeth mutilation feast.

The *sanggori* of a deceased head-hunter was often accompanied by a *widu*, a sort of plume, often in the shape of a fan. It was attached behind the *sanggori* at the back of the head of the bone packet (see figure 218, Kaudern 1944, 326). Among the To Mori all men could wear a *widu* ornament, but among the To Pamona only the bones of the ancestors, the catafalque, i.e. the dwelling of the deceased in the temple were equipped with a *widu*. People saw in the *widu* a wing with which the dead person lifted himself to the celestial realm.[15] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 289; Kruyt 1920a, 31.) *Widus* are rare in museums, and only two have been located: one (RMV 1377/3) from the To Lage at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde collected by Kruyt and one from Kulawi in Gothenburg (GEM 26.9.286) by Kaudern.

The bones of female ancestors were adorned in Poso with a headband called a *tali pampa*. According to Kaudern (1944, 330–) in Tomata, To Onda'e female participants at the great death feast also wore this headdress.[16] Kaudern paralleled the *tali pampa* headdress with the *widu* worn by men. These ornaments could perhaps be further paralleled with the feathers and blouses equipped with wings used by shamans during their celestial journeys.

The meaning of death masks is revealed in the song by which the shamans lured the deceased to return to earth and have a communal feast with the living before the final transfer to the sky:

14 Kaudern himself once witnessed in Kulawi a healing ceremony to improve the health of the old chief Tomai Lingku. During this ceremony a *balulunggi* was tied on the head of Tomai Lingku. (Kaudern 1944, 325.)

15 Kruyt (1920a, 31) also wrote that the meaning of the *widu* was to neutralize the bad influence of the corpse. This statement was related to Kruyt's theory about *measa*, the magical influence of many kinds of objects and actions, and the neutralization of these fatal effects.

16 The Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum (51.23.1605 a-d, 51.23.1619 a, b) has two of these headbands.

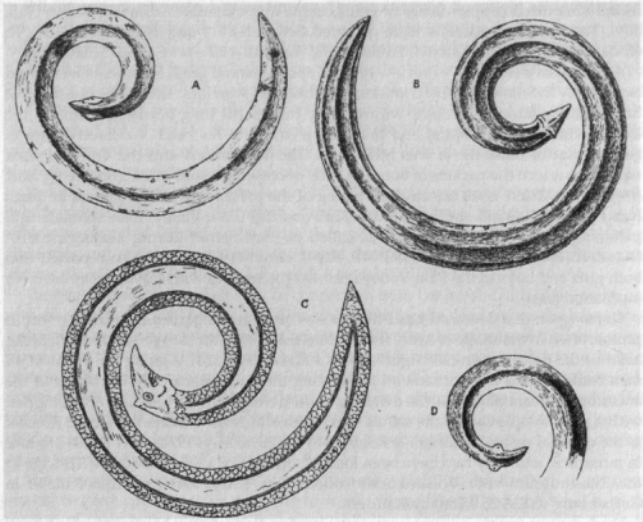


Figure 31. Spiral-shaped brass ornaments according to Kaudern 1944, fig. 216. A. from Kantewu, B. from Kulawi, C. from Poso, D. from Onda'e.

Join your limbs; stand up, you dead.
Come up to our feast hut, we come to invite you here.

The dead:
We want to remain lying, but cannot remain here.
We would like to get up, but our bodies are stiff.
Open our coffins, then we will come up…
There the lids already creak, here above our heads.

The shaman:
Grandfathers, will you now get up, we have come to awaken you.
Grandmothers, Mothers, Aunts, will you come along with us.
Uncles, Fathers, Sisters, Brothers, stand up, come along with us.
Come back to earth; do not remain down there below.

The dead:
I try to straighten up, but my bones are stiff.
My neck, my back, my arms, alas, they are hard as stones.
Give me a loincloth to dress myself with;

a *sirih* bag, a headcloth, a sword with handsome sheath.
and me, give me a sarong and a jacket around my limbs;
a headcloth for my hair to dress myself with.
And let break open as quickly as possible the lid, at which, I lying on my back, have looked up so long.
Now I stand upright, but I can only walk with difficulty.
I have crept to the stairs with my stiff limbs.
Now I descend carefully down the stairs.
I anxiously measure my paces, I count my steps.
Now I stand on firm ground and turn around and around,
and stagger on slowly, until I come to the earth.
(Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 543 –4.)

Representations of human beings were rare in the art of Central Sulawesi, apart from the human-like figures made of sugar palm fibre or wood discussed in chapter 7.5.2. Some carved wooden figures or human genitals appeared in temples; information concerning them is very scare and there do not seem to have been any ritual actions regarding them. They may have represented or referred to ancestors, like those found among other groups in the Indonesian Archipelago (Feldman 1985). Death masks were hence present only at the great death feast; they did not receive any attention afterwards. Their role was to transform the deceased persons temporarily back to earthly beings, make them human-like so that they would for the last time be able to celebrate with her relatives and friends. Hence they marked a momentary change of status from supernatural being to social being. The *pemia* did not accompany the ancestor to the Upperworld but was preserved in the rice granary and used at subsequent feasts.

Just as the bone packets represented human beings, referring to the social roles of men, i.e. head-hunting, they owned features indicating the celestial aspect. This double role was clearly possessed by the *widu*, which was considered a sign of worthiness with which, in the olden days, a free man was supposed to adorn himself when he went off to war. Coincidentally, it served in folk tales as wings with which the hero lifted himself up into the air to continue the fight there whenever he was tired of fighting on the ground. So at the great death feast the *widu* also referred to the journey to the sky. On the catafalque it thus figured as wings with which the "smell", the "shadow" of this spirit dwelling, was transferred to the heavenly realm. There the other spirits would recognize it by its *widu* as the dwelling of the distinguished, the free. When, some time after the feast for the dead, people went on a head-hunting expedition for the dead, they took along the *widu* of the bone packet and placed this in a cut that was made in the stomach of the victim. If they did not have time for this, then the ornament was placed on the corpse of the one slain.

8.5. Ancestors Are Called "Bones"

Three days after her/his death, a person became aware of her/his death. After the separation of the soul *(tanoana)* from the body, it was replaced by *angga*, the "death soul". The To Pamona made a distinction between *angga*, "death souls", and *angga ntau tu'a*, "spirits of ancestors". The former were the spirits of people who had just died, and for whom the elaborate secondary mortuary rites had not yet been arranged. Adriani and Kruyt did not make any clear distinction between these two souls. They did, however, report that the souls of those who had just died were feared; and people preferred not to come into contact with them. When the great death feast had been celebrated, the death soul became an honoured ancestor, and in this state it helped, blessed, and punished its descendants. Among the spirits of the ancestors was a special group called *anitu*.[17] They were the spirits of the ancestors in the temple *(anitu ri lobo)* and those in the smithy *(anitu ri kolowo)*. Among the former, people had in mind particularly those who were slain in battle and the founders of the village. They were the protectors of the settlement who were invoked particularly in connection with head-hunting. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 70–71, 73)

People do not appear to have had a fixed idea about what happened to the *tanoana* after death. A general conception among the To Pamona was that the *angga* looked like the person to whom it belonged, but smaller.[18] In addition it was black and owned characteristics of the corpse: worms, wrinkles and holes in its face. This death soul was closely associated with the decomposing state of the corpse. Everything that was done to the body had an effect on the death soul.[19] (Adriani and Kruyt 1912 II, 109–110; 1950 I, 447–8.)

As Hertz (1960 (1907), 45) has suggested, "Indonesian sources have allowed us to see a kind of symmetry or parallelism between the condition of the body, which has to wait a certain time before it can enter its final tomb, and the condition of the soul, which will be properly admitted into the land of the dead when the last funeral rites are accomplished." This analogy between the state of the human body and the soul was very conspicuously exposed in the course of Pamona death rituals and by their notions of two elements, the soul and the human body. The Pamona death rites were regarded as a classical example of secondary burial phenomena both by Hertz (1960) and by Huntington and Metcalf (1979). When Hertz's work was published in 1907, the information about "the Alfurs", as the To Pamona were at that time named, was insignificant; he was able to cite only one article, *Een en ander aangaande het geestelijke en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso Alfoer*, published by Kruyt in 1895. Huntington and Metcalf were able to utilize more extensive data published by Adriani and Kruyt as well as Downs (1956); they nevertheless seemed to depend principally on Downs's interpretation of Adriani's and Kruyt's material.

17 The To Bada' called *anitu* the spirits of ancestors and some spirits of nature (Woensdregt 1925, 19).

18 This mainly refers to notions of death among the To Pamona, bacause information on Kaili-speakers is more scare.

19 The bad polluting influence of the corpse was called *bata* by To Pamona living in the Poso district (Kruyt 1919, 132).

Huntington and Metcalf (1979, 15) and Metcalf (1982, 107) later demonstrated that Hertz, for his analysis of the symbolism of the decaying corpse, borrowed from Hubert and Mauss (1898) their account of the nature of sacrifice: "What connects secondary disposal with sacrifice is the conception that objects must be destroyed in this world in order that they may pass to the next. Hertz saw that what applied to the sudden destruction of sacrifice also applies to the slow one of decomposition."

The great death feast among the To Pamona was comparable to a sacrifice; in both cases the human world and the intangible world came into close contact with each other. But while in sacrifice people's presentations were transferred to the realm of spirits, in the death rite the human being himself was transferred. Or to use Hubert's and Mauss's expression, we could say that death establishes "a means of communication between the sacred and the profane worlds through the mediation of a victim, that is, of a thing that in the course of ceremony is destroyed" (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 97).

However, not all people had their bones separated from the decaying part of their body and brought to the great death feast. The people who did not get special ritual treatment were: people dying of smallpox or leprosy, men slain in battle, stillborn children, women dying in childbirth, and people killed because of incest. Indeed, the fact that people who die a violent death or by accident are the object of special death rites seems to be rather universal (Hertz 1960, 85). People who died from smallpox or leprosy did not get a coffin;[20] their bodies were buried wrapped in tree bark or bamboo. The reason given was "so that the sickness will not pass to other people". People also said that these bodies were buried without a coffin so that they would decompose more rapidly, and with the disappearance of the stench it was believed that the danger of contagion had also disappeared. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 487.)

Similarly, stillborn children did not get a coffin, but were wrapped in a rain mat, in *fuya*, or in sugar palm fibre, and buried under a rice granary, in the eavesdrop on the west side of the dwelling or at a three-forked or four-forked road. Or the body was tightly wrapped and hung in a tree wound around many times with cord. Sometimes a stillborn child might be buried in an earthen pot called a *kowei ntana*, "gift for the ground". The body of a stillborn first child got special treatment in many regions. It was put away in a hole that was made in a large, living tree. The head of the child was placed downward, after which the hole was nailed shut. This was done so "that the child's *tanoana* would not return to earth and call the *tanoana* of other children, so that the latter would also be stillborn or die soon after birth." (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 489.) This special treatment of stillborn babies was probably, as Hertz (1960, 84) has pointed out, due to the fact that "since the children have not yet entered the visible society, there is no reason to exclude them from it slowly and painfully. As they have not really been separated from the world of spirits, they return there directly, without any sacred energies needing to be called upon, and without a period of painful transition appearing necessary." The child has not yet become a social being so there is no need to terminate him as a member of human society.

Men killed by enemies were wrapped in sugar palm fibre *(ijuk)* and tied with seven bands of *suka* bast (Gnetum gnemon), after which they were placed on a stand or in a

20 Prominent persons who died from smallpox might be given a coffin but it was not opened at the great death feast. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 488).

hut. A prominent man might get a coffin, but it was not covered with a lid but wrapped with sugar palm fibre and laid in a cave. Their bones, however, were not brought to the death feast; they were covered on this occasion with white bark cloth. When a woman died in childbed, the corpse got a coffin; it was not placed on the stand, but carried directly to the cave. This happened because her bones were not taken to the great death feast. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 383, 488.)

Thus stillborn children, incestuous couples, men killed by enemies or women dying in childbed were not promoted to the ancestors at the great death feast. Apparently they could not become ancestors, at least deified ancestors who were paid special attention and honoured by descendants; and because the reunion was impossible and death was for them eternal, it was pointless to wait until their bones were purified. One might ask whether they had failed in their duty to promote the well-being of their kin-group. They had not fulfilled their social obligations as members of human society which for men was to fight enemies and for women to give birth to a new generation. And that is why for them death meant the termination of life, not a transfer to another realm.

Secondary funeral rites explicitly indicated the symbolism of three elements of the human body: the soft part of the body, bones and soul. The soft parts, being of decomposing material, vanished after death and returned to the earth; the second element, bones, being more durable, symbolized the flow of life in the form of continuing generations; and the third element, the soul, being eternal, shifted to the invisible world of ancestral spirits.

There are two characteristics peculiar to the bones of the ancestors: *hardness* and *whiteness*. The distinction between dark and light was essential to the To Pamona colour classification. This distinction between light, white and black, dark was revealed in connection with To Pamona rituals, too. Black was related to death[21] and apparently the decomposing corpse, while white and also yellow were connected with sunshine and life. The dead living in the Underworld were thus named "dark people" before the great death feast. They were considered pitch black, in agreement with the night in which they lived, whereas people living on the earth were white in accordance with the daylight in which they rejoice (Kruyt 1973 (1941), 75–.)

The ancestors of the Kaili-Pamona speakers were often metaphorically referred to by the expression *wuku*, "bones".[22] *Wuku* (= *buku*) means bones, kernel, pit, seed in the Pamona language; *bauga mbuku*, *topi mbuku*, loin cloth, sarong for the dead (Adriani 1928, 958). The term "bones" was used in some illustrative contexts. For instance, when a child was born, the husband's kin-group hastened to pay bridewealth, since if the child died soon after the birth, the lack of this payment would be regarded as the cause of death. If the husband died before this obligation had been fulfilled, people used to say "bones buy bones" *(wuku maoli wuku)*. Likewise, the wife's death, even if she left no children, did not release the husband's kin-group from the commitment to pay the bridewealth. Then the payment was called "the price of the bones" *(peoli mbuku)*. Furthermore, if a widow or widower wished to remarry before the second burial, he or she was obliged to pay a fine "to step over the bones" *(lumpa'i wuku)*.[23] (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 318.)

This use of the expression "bones" instead of ancestors *(ntau tu'a)* obviously arose from the To Pamona custom of separating the bones of the deceased person from the decaying soft parts of the corpse during the great funeral feast, usually a year after the death. By means of this act, the death soul *(angga)* was transferred into the spirit of the ancestor *(angga ntau tu'a)*. This transformation depended on the condition of the corpse. The body had to become divested of anything characteristic of material beings, namely, the stench of the body undergoing decomposition. The purified bones were buried, customarily, in a cave near the village; and the ancestor was united with his formerly dead relatives in the Upperworld.

The great death feast was of a collective nature; it was meant as a last gathering of the living and the deceased. They celebrated together for the last time. The bones of the ancestors were not treated as cult objects either during the funeral feast or later; they received no offerings, invocations or other ritual worship. They were left to rest in peace. The bones represented that part of the human body which will be able to survive the life of an individual human being on the earth, in other words, the duration of social life in the form of kinship. The bones of the ancestors, being hard and imperishable, obviously symbolized the continuity, even the immortality of the kin-group, while the rotting soft part of the body was connected with the temporary condition of the human body. The termination of social life was clearly marked by storing the bones in a cave near the village without paying any more attention to them afterwards. Of course the ancestors were remembered with offerings and invocations, but these were not directed at the bones but at the ancestral spirits, who were continuously present in another realm.

21 During the burning of the felled trees when forest land is cleared, if anyone becomes black from contact with the charred wood he will repeatedly hear people say, "You look just like a dead person" (Kruyt 1973, 75–).

22 Similarly *bu?u* in Bada' and Besoa (To Lore), *buku* in Palu (Kaili), *voku* in Kulawi and *vuku* in Pipikoro means bone (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979, 91–97).

23 Among the To Bada' living in western Central Sulawesi people also used to say *mopalingka'i bu'u*, "to step over the bones", if a widow hastened to remarry before the great death feast, *moweiha* (Woensdregt 1930b, 604).

9. THE ROLE OF BARK CLOTH IN CENTRAL SULAWESI

9.1. Bark Cloth and Textiles Compared

In the course of this study I have examined the role of woven textiles in Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 20th century; and I concluded that the first imported textiles were family valuables carefully preserved and transferred from one generation to another. At the same time they were significant ritual objects, classified as potent items. In order to fully understand the situation we have to turn our attention to bark cloth since the production of bark cloth was still widely practised in the highlands of Central Sulawesi at the beginning of the 1900's (see chapter 2.3.). We have to examine these two groups of cloths together and try to identify their reciprocal relationship at different points of time in the history of Central Sulawesi. For their relationship was not static during their co-existence; on the contrary, it constantly changed and was modified by external impulses and the ideas and concepts of the inhabitants.

My point of departure is that bark cloth production is indigenous in Central Sulawesi, while woven textiles were traded (see the more detailed discussion of this matter in chapters 2.3. and 5.2.2.). I here wish to examine the role of bark cloth and will pass over the manufacturing process because there are several sources recording this process (see, for instance, Adriani & Kruyt 1901; Aragon 1990; Kaudern 1944; Kennedy 1934; Kooijman 1963; Kotilainen 1990; Raven 1932).

The earliest account of inhabitants' clothing in Central Sulawesi is probably that of the Spanish Captain Navarrete, who visited the west coast of Central Sulawesi in 1657:

> It is in this Kingdom where Men and Women are clad in nothing but Paper, and that not being lasting, the Women are always working at it very curiously. It is made of the Rind of a small Tree we saw there, which they beat with a Stone curiously wrought, and make it as they please, either coarse, fine or very fine. They dye it all Colours, and twenty paces off it looks like fine Tabby. A great deal of it is carry'd to Manila and Macao, where I have seen excellent bed-hangings made from it; they are the best you could desire in cold Weather. When it rains, Water being the Destruction of Paper, those People strip, and carry their Clothes under their Arm. (Cummins 1962, 109–110.)

Supposing that Navarrete's observations were correct, we may conclude that in the middle of the 17th century the inhabitants, both men and women, of the coastal area of Central Sulawesi were still commonly dressed in bark cloth. When Valentijn, some decades later at the beginning of the 18th century, visited Poso, he wrote that women were dressed from head to foot in bark cloth. This implicitly suggests that men had started to wear textiles. But I consider it very likely that men living in the highlands of the inner part of Central Sulawesi were still wearing bark cloth garments, as they presumably did until the end of the 19th century. The Dutchman G.W.W.C. van Hoëvell reported that at the end of the 19th century the most important material of clothing of *Alfuren* in Tomini Bay was still bark cloth. (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 161.) In about 1900 still several kinds of garments were made of bark cloth: shoulder cloths, skirts, carrying sarongs, blouses, headbands, headcloths, loincloths, betel bags, several kinds of ritual garments used by shamans and head-hunters, cloths to enshroud corpses, to present as offerings, to pack and carry loads, to give as payment to shamans, to pay fines, etc.; whereas today bark cloth is used primarily for women's skirts and blankets.

The early fabrics imported from India and southern Central Sulawesi were large, costly pieces of fabrics which were seldom cut or tailored,[1] only later, probably at the end of the 19th century, did quantities of cheap, factory-made textiles arrive to replace bark cloth as a clothing material. The first textiles were too expensive to do that; when they were used as articles of clothing, they were worn as skirts and shoulder cloths for festive occasions. In Central Sulawesi woven textiles first had a primarily ceremonial significance, while bark cloth apparently remained for quite a long time as the principal source of raw material for everyday clothing.

Seemingly textiles replaced bark cloth easily in some social and ritual usages while in some other cases the use of bark cloth resisted the spread of cotton cloth and preserved its position. And sometimes bark cloth and woven fabrics were used side by side or alternatively. We might presume that there were also roles reserved only for textiles because of their rarity, durability, ability to last from generation to generation, acting as part of family or kin-group property, a family valuable which could be presented on e.g. marriage. It is possible that the introduction of textiles influenced the social and religious system in Central Sulawesi. At least it made possible the acquisition of heirlooms because woven fabrics, unlike bark cloth, were able to last for decades and even centuries, whereas a piece of bark cloth of good quality could be used as a sarong for about 7–8 months, blouses not as long. For feasts people made very thin, fine bark cloth garments treated with *ula*-juice to make their surface glossy; these garments lasted only a few days. (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 145.)

As we have seen in the course of this study, besides the artifacts employed for utilitarian purposes there were in Central Sulawesi objects that could be classified as

1 There is in Rotterdam (MVL 27908) one woman's blouse collected by A.C. Kruyt in Poso which is adorned with a piece of *sinde* cloth, i.e. an early imitation of Indian *patola*.

family valuables or ritual objects. Bark cloth was used as a raw material for both the artifacts in everyday use and for ritual purposes; coarse dark bark cloth primarily for the former purpose and white painted bark cloth for the latter. Imported textiles, however, were to begin with part of the family valuables and ritual objects and later, when fabrics of cheaper qualities arrived, also the material for everyday clothes.

Bark cloth could hardly be classified as a valuable using as the criterion its rarity or preciousness, because every woman was able to produce bark cloth from local raw materials. Nor was the knowledge of its production in any way restricted. It is true that the painting of bark cloth could in some areas only be done by consecrated women, yet all women took part in this ritual.

If the assumption that all textiles in Central Sulawesi had foreign provenance is correct, bark cloth production was not able to influence the production of textiles as it did the local weaving production all over the Indonesian Archipelago. There are, however, indications that the textiles modified bark cloth production. This probably happened in several ways: some bark cloth articles were replaced by cotton ones. For instance, people earlier made large pieces of bark cloth by joining several small pieces together, but imported textiles very soon replaced these large cloths and their production ceased (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 144). Moreover, the decoration on textiles was applied to bark cloth.

9.2. Bark Cloth and Transcendence

9.2.1. Bark Cloth and Shamanism

In some contexts bark cloth was still preferred to textiles at the beginning of the 20th century before missionary work and the Dutch colonial administration caused drastic changes in the indigenous religious and ritual life; this was partly because the available woven fabrics were not suitable, but also because bark cloth possessed some particular ritual and symbolic meanings. Bark cloth was able to survive after the arrival of woven cloths as ritual garments such as poncho-like garments and head-dresses worn by shamans and head-hunters, as shrouds for corpses and bones and as offerings. White painted bark cloth used to play a central role in many rituals of the To Pamona (see Aragon 1990; Kotilainen 1990). Before every prominent ceremony shamans were kept very busy making and painting bark cloth. Thus before a consecration ceremony for a house in Bada' many bark cloth strips 6 cm wide, and 60 cm long were painted with red and yellow stripes and the ends were cut into fringes. Those for men were painted with transverse stripes and those for women with lengthwise stripes (Kruyt 1938 II, 32). The painting of bark cloth for ritual purposes was sacred work restricted to the shamans, who taught the girls how to do it during their consecration feast.

Shamans throughout Central Sulawesi, and Pamona shamans in particular, were clothed in a white bark cloth garment and employed ritual objects decorated with or wrapped in this material. During the consecration feast for shamans the Pamona girls were not allowed to come into contact with cotton; they wore white bark cloth only. When the To Pamona became Christians, the use of bark cloth at sacrificial feasts and other rituals at which they came in contact with the gods fell into disuse. But for some

Figure 32. A shaman from Bora wearing a blouse and poncho-like garment made of bark cloth. Bora about 1920. Photo by Rosenlund. SK, VKK 400:34.

time it was still considered necessary for the female leader at the harvest to be dressed in bark cloth, for the corpse of a deceased person to be wrapped in at least one piece of bark cloth, and for the widow to wear a headband or a jacket or a shawl of bark cloth as a sign of her widowhood. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 III, 173–4.)

At the beginning of the 20th century the Kaili shamans already quite often wore clothes of cotton but they had a headdress made of bark cloth. Moreover the Sigi shamans were dressed in ancient articles of clothing such as bark cloth tunics, headdresses and poncho-like garments like those used by the To Pamona. Similarly some To Lore shamans were dressed wholly in white bark cloth while working.

Shamans' ritual objects very often included or consisted of strips or bands of white bark cloth, often painted with red, yellow or black motifs. A branch of bloodwort, the most sacred plant among the people of Central Sulawesi and an indispensable article of an acting shaman, was tied with strips of bark cloth. A ritual *empehi*, "vessel full of life spirit", included pieces of bark cloth; human-like figures made of wood or sugar palm fibre were adorned with clothes or strips made of bark cloth; "a spirit house" *(woka)* was decorated with strips of bark cloth, etc.

9.2.2. Bark Cloth and Death

At funerals white bark cloth was used among the To Pamona to enshroud the corpse. Similarly the purified bones of the deceased person were wrapped in several layers of white bark cloth by the bone-gatherer at the great death feast. Indeed extensive manufacture of bark cloth preceded the celebration of the great death feast once the prohibition on the making of bark cloth was lifted after the harvest feast. The making of bark cloth was forbidden during the growing of the rice, during the great death feast or when the body of a deceased person had not yet been buried. (Adriani & Kruyt 1901, 146.)

The people living in western Central Sulawesi, the Kaili-speakers, also used to enshroud the corpse with bark cloth. First a sleeping mat was spread out on the ground, on which a piece of coarse bark cloth, a piece of fine bark cloth,[2] the clothes of the deceased and pieces of cloth were placed. Finally the corpse was placed on all these cloths (Kruyt 1938 III, 396). When missionary Ten Kate stayed in Napu (To Lore) in about 1909–1911, the custom of putting ready-made woven textiles with the corpse had become common. But there were still people who demanded bark cloth in connection with burials. (Ten Kate 1913, 38, 45.) At the court of Bora and Sibalaya the corpse of a noble person was always packed in bark cloth which had been acquired from Pakuli (Kruyt 1938 III, 396). Walter Kaudern also witnessed the use of bark cloth as the shroud for a deceased person in Kantewu, To Pipikoro, in 1918 (1921 I, 369).

One interesting example of the use of bark cloth was a packet called *wini bu'u*, "skirt of the bones" which was among the To Napu handled at the great death feast like the packet of bones of the To Pamona. It consisted of seven chopping knives folded in strips of coloured bark cloth. During the death litany people standing around the chest

2 This fine bark cloth was called *tobula* in Bada', Napu, Besoa and Kulawi; *sinsulo* in Lindu and *sinjulu* among the To Kaili and To Sigi (Kruyt 1938 III, 396).

of bones held a rope fastened to this packet. In the *ende* song it was called "the great". After the feast the bark cloth bands of *wini bu'u* were divided up among the noble and middle class people, who hung them in the field when they started to plant the rice. The chopping knives were given to the leader of this ceremony. (Kruyt 1938 III, 511–12.)

9.2.3. Bark Cloth, Spirits and Ancestors

Reports of the presence of bark cloth at sacrifices are numerous: the offerings used to include pieces of bark cloth fastened to the offering table or rack, but in addition to that a stick of *bomba* (Maranta dichotona) to which strips of bark cloth was attached was raised near the offering place. It was commonly said that this stick with a strip of bark cloth was an offering to the gods (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 8) or, more particularly, that pieces of bark cloth acted as a substitute for a person. For instance, at an offering in connection with smallpox, a bamboo stalk with the leaves on it was erected nearby, and to it were tied little strips of bark cloth *(dode)* as representatives of the villagers (Adrian & Kruyt 1951 II, 203).

According to Adriani and Kruyt (1951 II, 173) the strips of bark cloth were sacrificed on every possible occasion by tying them to a bamboo or a reed stalk in order to get rid of a sickness or taint with this little strip. They describe how a sick person was cured: A bamboo stake *(bate)* was stuck into the ground next to him; a pig was laid at his foot. The officiant stabbed the animal to death with a bamboo knife and then rubbed against the stake from the bottom to the top with the bloodied knife, against which he pressed a piece of bark cloth. The knife and the bark cloth were fastened to the top of the stake. Actually the use of bark cloth as a substitute for a person appeared to be common among both the To Pamona and Kaili-speakers as well; it was done on several occasions. For instance, before a head-hunting expedition men tied strips of bark cloth to the rattan ring *(haropu)* which was attached to the ceiling of the temple and these bands were used by the temple feast participants as substitutes for themselves. (Kruyt 1938 II, 37–89.)

A natural way to employ strips of bark cloth was tying; bands of bark cloth wrapped round the wrist united participants at a temple feast. These strips of bark cloth were kept in a rack on the middle ceiling beam of the temple, from which pieces of captured human skulls were also hung, as was everything used in connection with the temple festivity. (Adriani & Kruyt 1950 I, 191).

Moreover the great death feast of the To Pamona included a rite "healing with a basket containing ashes". A large, flat, four-cornered basket *(taru)* containing ashes was brought into the temple. This basket with ashes represented the "hearth of the bones" *(rapu mbuku)*. Anyone who did not feel well or who considered this desirable for whatever reason had his foot counted off on this hearth by one of the shamans. The patient then took with him a folded piece of *fuya* and a basket. The shamans not only held on to one another by the hand, they were also tied to one another by ribbons of *fuya*, which were placed around two of them at a time. Walking slowly round the basket and spitting into it each time, they rattled off the death litany with which they led the souls of the deceased to the heavenly realm. (Adriani & Kruyt 1951 II, 543.)

The cultivation of rice included numerous rites in which offerings of bark cloth were always present. In Bada' the leader of the agricultural ritual offered a piece of yellow,

Figure 33. An offering stick with a human-like figure of sugar palm fibre, decorated with strips of bark cloth. Lindu 1911. Photo by Grubauer. Grubauer 1923, 52.

white and black bark cloth: "Here are your clothes, your Majesty, so that he will not make us sick when we cultivate your living place" (Woensdregt 1928, 158). White bark cloth was frequently present in rituals where people came into close contact with supernatural powers: spirits, gods, and ancestral spirits. Bark cloth was recognized above all as a material used by ancestors and spirits. For this reason people used to wear bark cloth, preferably ancient pieces of clothing such as poncho-like garments, when they approached the spirits of the ancestors and other transcendent powers. Likewise the bones of the ancestors were wrapped in bark cloth; it was said that cotton was not allowed in the heavenly realm. In addition the offerings included pieces of bark cloth intended as clothes for the spirits.

Kruyt got an unpretentious explanation concerning the custom of presenting bark cloth to the ancestors: "We people who live on the earth have learnt to know new articles which our ancestors did not know. We take them over because they are useful, but the spirits of our deceased ancestors who live in the spirit world have not learnt to know these things and so they hold on to what they had earlier; the spirits always eat tubers, wear bark cloth because they did not know textiles" (Kruyt *Rijstgeest*, 4).

Consequently, in the minds of the people living in Central Sulawesi bark cloth was closely associated with ancient customs, ancestors who had practised them and who continued to observe these customs. In spite of their simple structure, strips of bark cloth seemed to be *multivalent* or *polysemous*; they were employed in many ways and possessed several roles. Bark cloth was among the offerings presented as clothes for the spirits but it also acted as a substitute for the persons on whose behalf the ritual was held. Further, according to Adriani (1928, 127–8), a *dode*, a bamboo stalk to which little strips of bark cloth was tied, was erected near offerings in order to inform the spirits that something was ready for them.

Examination of the relationship between bark cloth and the concept of time clearly reveals its link with the ancestors, its significance as an object known to and used by the ancestors. And since people were still dependent on their ancestors, their blessing and approval, they sacrificed bark cloth to the ancestors and dressed in it when approaching the ancestors' spirits. But because bark cloth is a perishable material, it was presumably not a socially or economically significant heirloom or family valuable and its importance was specifically religious and ritual. The importance of bark cloth as regards to the spirits and ancestors derived from the fact that the people of Central Sulawesi were themselves capable of producing bark cloth, of repeating the manufacturing process and thus producing an object similar to that made by their ancestors. Temporal continuity in relation to the ancestors was not therefore confined to the ownership of certain objects but to knowledge of the manufacturing process itself. Bark cloth also acted as a link between the human and the spirit world, thereby connecting two separate places – the world of man and the world of spirits.

10. TIME, TRANSCENDENCE AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN CENTRAL SULAWESI: CONCLUSIONS

10.1. "Marvellous Things Arrived from an External World"

A host of marvellous objects found their way in the course of trading to the Indonesian Archipelago: Chinese ceramic and brass objects, Indian textiles, European weapons, helmets and coats of mail made in the 16th and 17th centuries, all of which the local inhabitants were eager to receive as gifts or to exchange for local goods. These imported objects were generally classified as goods coming from outside the region and thus occupied – as foreign elements often do – a higher position than the indigenous goods. They became family valuables (*pusaka* in Indonesia) which were used in ceremonial exchange, e.g. as marriage and funerary presentations. In Central Sulawesi they were called *panta ntau tu'a, panta ntau piamo, mana (mana'i)* or *sosora*, "heirlooms or inheritance of the ancestors". And being part of the collective, inalienable kin-group property, they were transferred from one group to another, for instance, as part of the bridewealth, but they were also significant, powerful ritual objects. The power of ancestors was considered to be present in the objects related to and used by them.

Often the socially and ritually most significant objects originated from outside the group or society; and their value derived from the fact that the local people did not produce them themselves. This was the case in Central Sulawesi (see chapter 5.4.). Moreover, these valuables were usually rare, or their distribution was restricted and their origin obscure. They were frequently considered to be transcendent. But despite the fact that the imported objects acquired similar meanings in different areas, their merging with the community's concept system nevertheless produced clear differences of meaning. The reason for this lay in the characteristic features of each community and the historical-political background to the region. Due to the regional differences in the spreading of trade, mission work and colonialism to the Indonesian Archipelago, different objects found their way to different parts of the islands, similar objects reached

areas at different times, and the availability of the objects most in demand varied.

The foremost category of goods imported to Central Sulawesi were textiles from India and southern Central Sulawesi, Chinese ceramic and bronze items, and copperware originating in Java and the Bugis colonies. Few details are, however, known of the trade articles brought to Central Sulawesi before and in the 17th century. One of the rare sources, Navarrate's report dating from the middle of the 17th century, mentions that the inhabitants of the Kaili district were dressed in bark cloth and does not allude to textiles at all. Similarly, information concerning, for instance, the age and the origin of the bronze coins, bells and ceramics of likely Chinese origin are sparse. As I have pointed out before (see chapters 2.1., 2.3. and 5.5.1.), woven textiles were probably imported to Central Sulawesi from the 17th century onwards, or at least imports of these items increased considerably during that century, when Makassar became an important textile trading centre. Trade between Makassar and Manila also picked up in the 17th century, and the Southern Sulawesi traders, who were active dealers in Indian textiles, began to spread in growing numbers to different parts of Southeast Asia, including Central Sulawesi. Central Sulawesi was not apparently a very important trade area in the early days, i.e. before the 17th century, because it was not able to supply the luxury goods such as sandal wood and spices greatly demanded by international trade which made the Moluccas a famous centre of trade. The fact that imitations of Indian *patola*, which were later arrivals, have been found in Central Sulawesi but not the genuine silk double *ikats (patola)* indicates this too.

The To Pamona called all the textiles still employed on ceremonial occasions at the beginning of the 20th century *bana*, while the Kaili-speakers called them *mesa* or *mbesa*, apart from the To Lore, who like the To Pamona called them *banas*. As the study of imported textiles showed (chapter 5), the category of *bana (mesa)* cloths consisted of several kinds of textiles of various origin, such as Indian *patola* imitations, other printed and painted Indian cloths, *ikat* cloths from southern Central Sulawesi, *sarita* cloths, etc. The most remarkable difference between the imported textiles and locally made bark cloth was the textiles' durability. The former could be passed on from generation to generation, while articles made of bark cloth lasted less than a year if they were worn as garments. One could argue that not until the appearance of woven textiles could property be passed on in the form of cloth. Actually, textiles, along with copper dishes, formed the most important part of family and kin-group property.

In addition to the *bana* cloths the To Pamona had another category of textiles, *ayapa lamoa*, "consecrated cloths", which illustrates the second distinctive feature of imported textiles, i.e. their categorization as things from outside, from the external world. The word *lamoa* means "spirit, god, ancestor, transcendent", thus *ayapa lamoa* were textiles from the spirit realm. The sources do not explicitly reveal what kinds of textiles or *bana* clothes were included. These most sacred cloths were used at agricultural rituals and at temple feasts when the gods and ancestors were invoked.

10.2. The Flow of Artifacts

Contacts between the Kaili-Pamona speakers and the outside world were largely regulated by trade and tribute even before the arrival of the European traders, missionaries and colonial administrators; actually their concepts of the external and

foreign were to a large extent formed by the flow of artifacts (see chapter 2.2.). The Kaili-Pamona were used to paying tributes in the form of goods to the little kingdoms along the coast; the attitude to spirit beings, deities and the spirits of ancestors was likewise founded on the circulating of various objects, for example in the form of offerings. The relation between human beings and transcendent powers was maintained by divination, "buying", offerings, blood sacrifice, shamanism and invocation, and in all these ritual actions objects played an important part. The idea of exchanging goods with foreigners was thus not at odds with the local world of beliefs and ideas – it was a natural part of it. The concepts of society included that of "alien", "external", and this especially tied in with the concept of the transcendence. In other words, anything that came from outside the community was regarded as originating in the spirit world, and the land, its products and also certain individual objects were owned by the spirits and ancestors. Humans acquired the right to use them by giving the "real owners" something in return. This exchange was called "buying" (in the Pamona language *oli*). It was not therefore necessary to create a category for European or Indian goods, since these came under the existing category of external goods (in the Pamona language *lamoa*). The people of Central Sulawesi were probably not in the least surprised when the foreign strangers offered them gifts and wanted to exchange goods with them. What did undoubtedly surprise them were the peculiar goods as such, being new and wondrous and quite different from the local goods.

10.3. Ritual Objects

It became apparent in the course of my work that the material culture of the Kaili-Pamona speakers included classes of objects that were given meanings quite other than those of Western culture. Objects could, according to them, be potential "artifacts" with the power to influence relations both between humans and humans and spirits. This property was particularly marked in objects entering the community by way of trade, in the "talismans" donated by spirit beings and the ritual objects given by the gods to man. The potential nature of objects sprang from the idea that owner and object cannot be completely separated from one another, and that the object transmits something of its origin and its owner so that the power transmitted by it can be actualized in a new situation.

The firm relationship between object and man was also manifest in the way an object could act as a human substitute, for example in an offering. The things sacrificed symbolically evoke the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is intended. One of the most common ritual objects in Central Sulawesi were the human-like figures made of sugar palm fibre which were discussed in chapter 7.5.2. These simple figures were commonly attached to offering sticks or tables near the entrance of the village in order that the evil spirits would enter them instead of people, or they were presented as a substitute for a human being as a sacrifice. They obviously represented the person on whose behalf the sacrifice was made.

The most important ritual specialist among the Kaili-Pamona speakers was the shaman, whose expertise was utilized on diverse occasions during people's life circle. The shaman's main task was to look after the human being's soul (in the Pamona language *tanoana*), to fetch it back from the other realms when needed, to make the

soul strong and to calm it down so that it would stay with its owner. Because when the soul departed, the person became sick, and if this separation lasted long enough, the person would die. The attributes employed by the shaman while working consisted of several kinds of things, including objects aimed at augmenting or reinforcing the soul. These objects, the shaman's costume and other attributes, are examined in chapter 7. The objects with the power to increase human power and believed to originate in the other world were often durable ones (see chapters 4.3. and 4.4.). Durability was among the Kaili-Pamona speakers associated with potency and for that reason hard, enduring things, such as beads, stones and metal items, were considered powerful and to increase the vitality of the soul. Thus, for instance, the *empehi*, "a vessel full of *tanoana*", a ritual object employed in several rites in order to augment the soul of a human being, commonly consisted of metal items such as an ancient sword.

10.4. Gender and Material Culture in Central Sulawesi

Hard, durable objects are often classified as "male" and soft ones as "female". The classification into male and female nevertheless varies; for example, bark cloth was classified in Central Sulawesi as a female product, whereas woven textiles (usually classified as soft and female) were clearly male. Both the Pamona men and women did society a great service by acquiring or making the objects important to the community and by ensuring the continuity of society by means of ritual activities. According to the gender roles men practised head-hunting and traded foreign articles, such as textiles and metal items, while women had the knowledge to produce bark cloth and communicate with the spirit world as shamans. The men clearly took a horizontal outward direction when they went off to war or on trading expeditions. The women stayed in the village but were able to travel vertically, to enter other realms by means of their innate mental ability. My impression is that although the women stayed inside the village and did not have contact with foreigners, they were superior to men because of their cosmological knowledge. This, however, changed during the colonial period, when the men mainly communicated with foreigners, as they had done earlier, and gained more political power, while the women's religious power was reduced because of the new religions, Islam and Christianity.

The roles of the To Pamona men and women and their association with material culture were elegantly revealed at the harvest feast, when they erected two banana poles called "poles of descent". The women adorned one pole with home-made sleeping mats, betel baskets, betel bags, rain mats, bark cloth head and shoulder cloths for men, and the men the other with pieces of cotton for jackets, skirts, and large beads for the girls. The poles were also decorated with consecrated cloths *(ayapa lamoa)*; the one pole with clothes worn by women at various ceremonies in their role as shamans and leaders in the field, and the other with clothes worn by men at the temple feast. Before the poles were dismantled and the gifts distributed, men and women recalled their famous deeds as shamans and head-hunters.

10.5. "Material Objects Are Chains Along Which Social Relationships Run"

As I have demonstrated in chapter 9, the imported items differed from those made by the Kaili-Pamona speakers themselves not only in that they were more durable but also in that the availability of the imported goods was limited, thereby making them rare and valuable. The ritual significance of the imported goods was to begin with thus primary, but they gradually acquired more features of valuables. This process was most conspicuous among the Kaili-speakers, where the prestige goods accumulated among the ruling noble families. This meant that in addition to acting as important ritual objects, these goods quickly became property remaining as far as possible within the family or kin. It is not possible to deduce from the sources whether these roles were mutually exclusive – probably not; the same object possibly occupied different roles on different occasions. For in Central Sulawesi there was no clear distinction between socio-economic and religious activity, and the same structure of authority based on observance and honouring of the rules laid down by the ancestors and gods applied to the entire field of human activity. Human society consisted of generation layers following on from but clearly distinct from one another and linked by knowledge (maintained by common rituals) of their common origin.

In studying bridewealth I have tried to throw light on the role of material culture in creating and maintaining social relations. For marriage, and as a consequence the birth of a new generation, was in Central Sulawesi a complex process, the different stages of which were marked by the exchange of gifts. This process began with betrothal, discussion of which lay beyond the scope of the present work. The next stage was when the bridegroom hung his sword beside the bride's bed and presented a gift. The "outsider" was thus given permission to enter the bride's household and share her bed.

This presentation was followed by the first part of the bridewealth, called "the seven" by the To Pamona, and later by the second part of the bridewealth. The first part of the bridewealth was handed over on the solemnization of the marriage. As the analysis in chapter 6.3. demonstrates, the first part of the bridewealth was given to the bride and her parents to compensate the fertility of the bride and affirm the blessing in the form of offspring. The principal role of the second part of the bridewealth (discussed in chapters 6.4. and 6.5.) was to create or secure the link between the child and her/his father's kin-group. The bridewealth further signified the transfer of property from one kin-group to another, thereby determining the relationship between the wife-giver and the wife-taker.

The marriage presentations consisted of several kinds of objects both indigenous and imported, durable and non-durable, such as textiles, garments of bark cloth, metal items, slaves, trees, etc. The variety of things was most prominent among the To Pamona; "the seven", consisting primarily of objects classified as female, referring to the fertility of the women, and the second, the economic part of the bridewealth, consisting of several kinds of things considered as property. Copper dishes *(dula)* were preferred among the To Kulawi and *mesa* textiles among the To Kaili, as items in the second part of the bridewealth. The bridewealth acted in Central Sulawesi as a link between the past and the present, even the future. By means of it, the new-born was connected with the ancestors of her/his father's descent group. In the same way the father, his brothers and sisters were linked with the next generation, and thus the first step to becoming ancestors themselves at some point in the future was made possible.

10.6. Bark Cloth and the Concept of Time

The concept of time of the Kaili-Pamona speakers was decisively influenced by the ancestors and their power to affect the lives of their descendants. The past and even the future were present in the form of ancestors living in the invisible world. Similarly, the material culture of Kaili-Pamona society reflected the dialectical relation between the past and the present; they made the abstract concept of time more concrete by fixing it in tangible objects. Of the material culture described in this thesis, the objects of greatest importance as regards the concept of time and the other world were textiles and bark cloth. Although both imported textiles and indigenous bark cloth expressed time, transcendence and social activity, they clearly did so in different ways, due to the different meanings assigned them by society. These differences were founded on their divergent material properties and also their different position on the axis made up of the internal and external concepts prevailing within the community.

The method for my research is founded on the application of Paul Ricoeur's analysis of text interpretation to the study of material culture. In interpreting the different meanings attached to bark cloth and woven textiles I have tried to allow for the meaning of both the object itself and of the characteristics in it, and also for the position of the object in the community as a whole, the overall context. And not until I examined an object (in this case textiles) in relation to other corresponding elements (such as bark cloth) did a full picture begin to emerge in different historical-social contexts.

The raw material needed to make bark cloth was available everywhere. Every woman in all probability knew how to make it, so the value of the product depended chiefly on the work put into it. True, the fine, painted bark cloth for ritual use was made by shamans and its use was limited. Bark cloth clearly occupied two roles. On the one hand it was the material for everyday clothing, while on the other hand it was the material for ritual garments. In addition to this it was present in some form or another on all ritual occasions. The meaning or sacredness of the bark cloths used on ritual occasions sprang from their divine origin as told in the myths, or from the fact that they were made by a religious expert, a shaman, who possessed the power to approach the divine beings and to interpret their will. But the two roles of bark cloth were quite distinct; the same object was not likely to act both as a commodity and in a ritual context.

Bark cloth, its manufacture and use, was closely linked with the ancestors. It was the material used by the ancestors and it was therefore constantly offered to them as gifts. The bones of the ancestors were, for as long as the great death feast was celebrated among the To Pamona, wrapped in white bark cloth even though textiles were already being used in the area. Furthermore, the participants on ritual occasions dressed in old-fashioned bark cloth garments such as poncho-like garments and headdresses when approaching the gods and the spirits of the ancestors. Bark cloth was also associated with the gods and spirit beings, who were thought to be dressed in it and to whom it was sacrificed.

The important point revealed on examination of the relationship between bark cloth and the ancestors was not that the ancestors had owned or used a particular piece of bark cloth but that their descendants continued to manufacture it and thereby observed their ancestors' customs. The property of the object thereby actualized was not its durability and thus its age, as is often the case in determining the link between material culture and the concept of time. What was significant was the fact that the

Kaili-Pamona speakers were themselves capable of reproducing the object, of repeating the manufacturing process and with their own hands of producing an object similar to that made by their ancestors. Temporal continuity in relation to the ancestors was not therefore confined to a particular object but to the manufacturing process itself. The ancestors were respected by making or preserving an object that would in view of the poor lasting properties of bark cloth have been impossible. It is not therefore surprising that the manufacture of white bark cloth continued for as long as the traditional beliefs and cosmological concepts of the Kaili-Pamona speakers persisted, even though imported textiles had already begun to take the place of bark cloth as the material for everyday and festive garments. The continuity of time was thus achieved by emphasizing the analogic relations between certain events in the past and certain events in the present, in other words, the continuity of time was in this case founded on the paradigmatic mode of articulating time.

10.7. Time and the Durability of Objects

The role of textiles in conceptualizing duration relied on a second cultural mode of articulating the past and the present, i.e. the syntagmatic, which emphasizes the relation of temporal continuity between events. The power of durable objects abides in their ability to travel in time, thereby uniting distant events and peoples. As has been repeatedly pointed out, durable objects were especially important as links between distinct groups of people such as kin-groups, generations creating social continuity and securing the continuity of time as a social phenomenon, giving continuity to separate events, bridging them temporally. And compared with bark cloth, woven textiles were durable. The early imported textiles were also closely connected with the ancestors. They were above all "heirlooms of ancestors" and were collectively known as *ayapa ntau tu'a*, "cotton of ancestors". The striking point about the imported textiles and other durable objects is that a given article was able to preserve and to create continuity by virtue of its characteristics. The object itself was important, unique, and preserving it and passing it on was important to the community. The relationship was founded on ownership or exchange of the object itself. If the object was, furthermore, rare, such as an imported valuable, its uniqueness and the desire to keep it in the group's possession increased.

The two diverse cultural modes of articulating the past and present, the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic, and their manifestation in the material culture of Central Sulawesi, both appeared to be present in the most important ritual of the To Pamona, the great death feast. As I have said before, the ancestors occupied a central role in the Kaili-Pamona concept of time. The well-being of the human community depended on their wishes and the observance of certain customs, but the ancestors also continued to exist in another reality.

The secondary funeral rite among the To Pamona explicitly signified the symbolism of three elements of the human being: the soft parts of the body, the bones and the soul. The To Pamona metaphorically called their ancestors "bones" *(wuku)*. The bones of ancestors purified at the great death feast clearly represented the element of the human being able to survive the life of an individual on earth, in other words the duration of social life in the form of continuing generations. The bones of the

ancestors, being hard and imperishable, obviously symbolized the continuity, even the immortality of the kin-group, while the decaying soft part of the body was connected with the temporary condition of the human body symbolizing the temporary nature of life on earth. The third element of the human being, the soul, being eternal, switched to the realm of ancestral spirits in order to continue its existence there. At that moment the duration of time was actually replaced by a transfer from one place to another. As the description of the secondary funeral rite illustrates, the bones of ancestors were wrapped in white bark cloth. While the bones signified the duration of time owing to their enduring material characteristics, bark cloth, owing to the distinct meanings discussed in chapter 9, alluded to the second mode of actualizing the past and the present, i.e. people's ability to follow the ancestors' wishes by producing things similar to those made and used by them. As I have demonstrated, the bones referred to the society and immortality in the form of generations, whereas the bark cloth represented the immortality of the soul alluding to transcendence.

10.8. The End of the Journey into Otherness

Objects are in all cultures significant elements of social, economic and ritual activity. But the types of objects used on a given occasion and the means assigned to them vary from one society to another. The concepts of material culture of modern Western man and the inhabitants of a non-Western "traditional" community clearly differ in two ways. Both see a clear link between man and object, but they give this relationship different interpretations. Modern Western man regards an object primarily as personal property, as a status symbol and part of his personal history. Non-Western man, by contrast, seldom regards an object exclusively and primarily as his personal property. As my study of the material culture of Central Sulawesi has shown, cultures exist in which the individual has virtually no right of ownership, only the right to use an object. The right to own nature, land and many objects was reserved for divine beings or the collective kin-group. Secondly, "rational" Western man makes a clear distinction between the animate and inanimate world, as a result of which he regards material culture as passive and dead. But in many non-Western cultures, and probably in Western culture itself in times gone by, an object might be regarded as active and potent. The relationship between man and object is firm, mutual and effective. An object may act as a symbol or substitute for a human at e.g. sacrifices, but it may also contain potential power.

The examination of the material culture of Central Sulawesi showed that an object may derive its meanings from at least the following properties: its origin (whether it was made in the community or imported), its durability, colour symbolism, availability and rarity. Material culture can be used in two ways in analysing the concept of time. Firstly, in being transferred from one place to another or temporally from one generation to another, a durable object forms a link between people or groups of people beyond the confines of human life; and secondly, objects similar to those made by previous generations can continue to be made, thereby creating continuity by repetition. In the former case the continuity is based on the uniqueness or authenticity of a given object. The continuity is then founded on ownership, the

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possession of a particular valuable object or its strategically important exchange, whereas in the latter the significant thing is the ability of the community to manufacture a particular object, in which case the act of renewal is more important than ownership.

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