

Riddles and the dead

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DESCRIPTION

Among the West Toraja of Central Celebes, posing riddles is associated not with the agricultural cycle (as among the East Toraja) but rather with wakes, the vigil held over a corpse before burial. The author relates the telling of riddles to other practices which are designed to keep the dead at a respectful distance away from the living and to help insure the success of crops.

SOURCE

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In our volumes on the Bare'e speaking Toraja¹ of Central Sulawesi,² Dr. N. Adriani and I have written in some detail about the posing and solving of riddles among members of the East Toraja group.³ It is apparent that the posing of riddles is closely related to rice cultivation among these peoples, for it is only at the time that the rice grains emerge that members may engage in this diversion. As soon as the rice mature and harvesting has begun, the posing of riddles must come to an end.

This seasonal limitation on the posing of riddles presumes the positing of a magical connection between this pastime and the emergence of the rice. Quite often the primitive attempts to influence the workings of nature through actions that are analogous to what is hoped for: just as a solution ensues upon the posing of a riddle so it follows that nature will make the ears of rice with their grains emerge from the plants. This relationship is very clear to the primitive.

Among the members of the West Toraja group,⁴ however, the posing of riddles is not directly related to agriculture. Here riddles are propounded only on the occasion of holding a vigil over a corpse, especially the corpse of a noble, as a commoner is quickly buried as soon as he dies. The corpse of an aristocrat—somebody of noble rank—was formerly left two or three nights above ground in order that the burial could wait for the arrival of family members who lived far away. Leaders of groups on friendly terms with the deceased were also invited to the burial. This could only be done for nobles, since all the guests had to be entertained, a task requiring a good deal of rice and the slaughter of many domestic animals. The house of the deceased was thus full of people, and if it was too small the corpse was brought over to the village temple. Playing games dispelled the tedium of keeping a vigil over the corpse and posing riddles to each other was one of the principal of these games. [p. 384] This could be done only while keeping a vigil over a corpse. It was strictly forbidden if nobody had died in the village.

In all probability the briefness of the period during which the West Toraja could amuse themselves by posing riddles and the rarity of the opportunities for doing this were the reasons they were not as proficient as the East Toraja in this art. Among the latter it had become a kind of sport to coin new riddles. It could also be the case that the West Toraja had less to do with riddles than the East Toraja because the oral literature⁵ of the former was less developed than that of the latter. However, this cannot yet be assessed, as the oral literature of the Western group has yet to be fully investigated.⁶

However that may be, there are few riddles known to be of West Toraja origin. The Bada' region constitutes an exception to this, as people there often pose riddles. The

Bada' also constitutes an exception to the rule holding for the West Toraja group in regard to the time when this pastime can be pursued. The propounding of the riddles here is not firmly linked to a particular time, but is most often done when the rice grains emerge, as is the case for the East Toraja.⁷ We will leave this exception to the rule outside of consideration here. It probably arises from the powerful influence the East Toraja have had on this region.

Among most groups of the West Toraja division, the posing of riddles is called *mowaino*, a term that immediately recalls *mowailo*, the term for this game among the East Toraja. Other terms occur in only a few groups: *motangkutera* among the Bada' and *tanamatea* among the Kulawi people.

It is to be expected that, given the connection with the specific time at which this game is played, many riddles would have reference to the deceased. In Tamungkolowi⁸ to the west of Kulawi, the following riddle is posed: There is someone whose name is Ido (or Ado); who is that? The answer comes in a chorus: The deceased. Then someone speaks again: There is someone who is called Yodu (or Yada); who is that? And the audience answers: The shroud of the deceased and the eyes sprinkled with gold dust. Again someone speaks: There is someone who is called Yudo; who is that? The chorus answers: The spear and sword of the dead person.

The arbitrariness of the meanings of the names Ido, Ado, Yodu, Yada and Yudo is indicated by what I was told in Toro, located at the south of Kulawi. There when someone asks: There is someone whose name is Yuda; who is that? The answer goes as follows: The drum (in the temple). [p. 385] To the question: There is someone standing on one leg who is called Udu: Who is that? Comes an answer: The coconut tree. It is further asked: There is someone whose name is Yodu and who stabs someone else; who is that? And the solution goes: The pestle that comes crashing down into the rice mortar. Again: Someone whose name is Yado spends the whole day beating on a drum; who is that? The answer: The wind that blows through the leaves of the *rumbia* tree⁹ and thereby creates a noise as if someone were gently beating on a drum. Whenever the solution to a riddle is found, the one who initially posed the riddle says: Your mouth will be kicked by a horse or you will be bitten by a dog or a pig.

In Siwongi (Tobaku) someone standing on the ground below will ask: Why are you just sleeping in your house and not working? From the house of mourning comes the answer: We're not doing it on purpose, but we're tired from all the round dances. The term "the sleeping one" is meant to refer to the deceased.

In Towulu¹⁰ (Tobaku) the following riddle is posed: there is a house without doors and windows, but there is only a door in the middle leading downwards; it is inhabited by twenty people. The answer: The coffin and the deceased lying inside, the hole in the bottom of the coffin being that through which the body fluids run out; and the twenty people the fingers and toes of the deceased. The riddle: There is someone pursued by a mountain; it can touch him, but not seize hold of him. The solution: The corpse in the coffin. Another riddle: There are trees whose branches touch each other, and in between them is a fruit. Solution: The coffin, which is carried away by the bearers at both ends.

And finally: There is someone who swings on a piece of rattan (*motidodoe*), the swing breaks and it becomes dark. Solution: The coffin, which is laid to rest in the grave with a rattan cord that is then cut.

In Rampi the riddles related to the dead are of a somewhat different nature. For example, it is said there: I have lost something. I look for it, but cannot find it. I follow the river and find it at the river's mouth. Solution: The dead person has gone away, and he can only be found in Palapi, the land of the dead located at the seashore and thus at the mouth of the river. Riddle: I receive a little tray of rice, but when I go to eat from it there is nothing there. Solution: The spouse who was still alive the day before, but today is no longer. Riddle: A white water buffalo swallows a person. Solution: The corpse in the coffin.

As I have mentioned already, the corpse of a noble is often placed in the temple where there is more room for the numerous guests who come to see the deceased. It is thus to be expected that many riddles are derived from this setting. I [p. 386] noted a few riddles of this sort in Banasu.¹¹ They are of the following nature: Someone¹² has many eyes; who is that? Answer: The roof of the temple, for it is covered with small boards (i.e. shingles) and daylight can be seen through the many chinks. Someone has only one testicle; who is that? And someone has a skirt on: who is that? One then points to the images of male and female genitals that are carved in the woodwork of the temple.

If the riddles that relate to the dead and the temple testify to a paucity of wit, I think I can also show in the case of riddles of the general sort a difference from those of the East Toraja as regards the wittiness that finds expression. I mention but a few here: From Banasu: Somebody has two moons. Solution: A woman who has a shell bracelet on each wrist.

From Winatu: Someone wears a golden sunhat, but does not want to be seen by anybody. Answer: A herd of water buffalo that is covered with large flies. – There is someone who walks on his head and sticks his feet in the air. Solution: A diving duck (*ngaa*). – There is someone who goes backwards. Solution: the shrimp.

From Rampi: Seen from far off he shakes his head. Seen from close by, he holds it still. The taro plant (*Colocasia*), whose large leaves are easily stirred by the wind, but are still again when one comes up to it. – Cut the mother down and the child steps into her place. The Banana tree, whose trunk is felled only to be replaced by the sprout emerging right next to it. – There is a man sold for a sword covered with tin foil: A frog used as bait to catch eels. – Look for what bursts out through a mountain: A bamboo tube thrust through the dike of a wet rice field to conduct water from one field to another. – A black hen turns in for the night and emerges white in the morning: Night and day.

In the Palu valley riddles have already been influenced by the contemporary situation. Here are a couple of examples: A Dutchman fights with forty Kaili¹³ men and they are evenly matched: A white ten-cent piece is worth as much as 40 copper cock-farthings.¹⁴ A religious scholar's son comes to Medina from Mecca and is not allowed in the mosque:

Dollars, which are acceptable currency in Mecca, but are not accepted at government offices.

The examples given here are sufficient to give an impression of the nature of the riddles that are commonly posed to dispel the boredom of keeping a vigil by a corpse among the West Toraja. The question that now obtrudes itself upon us is: Why is [p. 387] the posing of riddles the amusement that is resorted to whenever there is a death? For it is clear that these two factors are closely related, since the propounding of riddles is forbidden under normal circumstances. Whenever this prohibition is ignored, it can be surmised that a noble has died.

Whenever an answer is given to the question “Why do you pose riddles only if there has been a death?” it always goes something like this: “We do this to cheer up the deceased so that he won’t go to the land of souls crying.” This is also the reason given for playing other games at the death vigil. This explanation has perhaps a certain element of truth, for it is in the nature of the Toraja to ignore what they find unpleasant or frightening, to act as if there were nothing to fear and thereby to ward off whatever they are afraid of. It may thus be the case that they are trying to make the deceased think that he is not dead, a thought that should cheer him up. But this explanation is difficult to apply in the case of riddles, as the majority of these refer to the deceased and his burial.

At the ethnological conference held on January 8, 1927, in Amsterdam, J. Kreemer turned his attention to this matter in an address entitled “Riddle and Rite” (an account of this lecture is given in *Mensch en Maatschappij*, volume 3, 1927, pp. 169–171). Ultimately, Kreemer asks himself, “Might it not be the case that the propounding of riddles in this context (i.e. that of a death) is a native dodge intended to outwit the spirit of the departed by placing him at loss?” However, I believe that the answer to this question of whether or not the distinguishing feature of a riddle is its inducing a state of confusion in the listener, these riddles are intended precisely to arouse the deceased from the delusion that he is not dead, as the examples given above demonstrate. I believe that originally the posing of riddles was tied to agriculture and, as has already been mentioned, served to make the rice ears emerge with all due speed and fullness. The propounding of riddles in the event of a death must thus also be related to agriculture.

In the first place, we should examine the relationship which the Toraja imagine the dead to maintain with agriculture. It is generally assumed that animists expect from the dead nothing but assistance in their cultivation. Generally speaking, this is not exactly the case. The Toraja anticipate help from the deities and spirits that they invoke in the context of farming. In large part the deities are personified natural forces: the life-giving power of the sun, the procreating potency of the earth, and so forth. And where the deities and spirits lack the pronounced [p. 388] character of natural forces, it is not always clear whether we have to do with a nature-spirit or with the spirits of the deceased. But if the latter is the case, it is the souls of members who have died long ago.

People are afraid of the dead who have just recently died, though not of the person of the deceased, but of what killed him. And because the soul that continues to live cannot be kept strictly separate from the cause of death, one is thus afraid of the deceased himself.

Whatever killed the person also operates upon the crops in a destructive manner and because of that the deceased must, appropriately enough, always be excluded from the fields rather than his assistance being invoked. Funerary ceremonies have the aim of dispatching the deceased as speedily as possible to the land of souls, so that he can wreak no harm on those left behind, and above all on the crops.

All sorts of ways are tried to keep the deceased from entering the rice fields. One of the means of effecting this in the event of a death is to lay out a garden for the deceased. If the dead person wants to busy himself with agricultural work, he must thus engage in such labor at his own field. For example, whenever anyone dies in Bada' after the burial a field—a tiny patch of ground not quite two meters square—is prepared for him (*mamponolia'a to mate*). The land is worked a bit with the left hand. All the types of crops that are customarily planted in the dry-crop fields are thrust into the ground here upside down, the upper ends in the earth, the roots turned to the top. In the making of the fence around this field the poles are placed so that their upper ends come to stand in the ground. In the land of souls everything is always done in precisely the opposite way it is performed on earth. The deceased is thus expressly called upon not to go to the real fields, but to remain content with this patch of ground.

In Rampi a patch of ground about a yard square is separated from the rest of the field; this is done on the west side of the field in that the dead travel to the west and come back to the earth from that direction. The patch is indicated with three reed stalks laid on the ground in the east, north, and south; the west side remains open. Some people plant nothing in this patch: the deceased is merely addressed as follows: "You may plant anything you want here, but don't come to my field." Other people plant kernels of corn, squash, cucumbers and Job's tears, after having cut out the germ from the kernels so that nothing will sprout up. In this case also the dead persons are told not to come to the fields. [p. 389]

In Moa, Pili, Banasu, and Kantewu little gardens for the dead are made on the side of the trail that leads to a block of fields. It is presumed that the dead will remain at this little garden when passing by and will not proceed to the fields of the living. The patch of the ground is encircled with a strip of bark cloth, upon which has been conferred as much magical power to stop spirits as is bestowed on the *biro*-(*wiro*- in Bare'e) stalk (*Saccharum spontaneum*).¹⁵ In these *bonea to mate*, fields of the dead, are planted all sorts of crops that are customarily planted in the people's own fields. Thereafter these plots are no longer cared for.

The To Tolee even go a bit farther: the members of an agricultural society, that is, those who followed the lead of the same agricultural priest, set aside a portion of their fields and divide this into small pieces of about a square foot each. All those who have died in recent years qualify for such a plot. In Toro also, each deceased person is given a small plot of land where some rice and corn are planted.

In Kulawi and Tobaku little fields are laid out on the side of the trail. This is done when planting of the people's own fields is finished. It merits comment that the miniature gardens laid out for the dead everywhere among the West Toraja are only unirrigated

fields. I have never been told of a case where a miniature-wet-rice was established for the deceased.

In many areas of the Palu valley where the inhabitants have converted to Islam, these little fields for the dead are still erected with the idea that they will then not interfere with the actual work in the fields of the living.

The same custom is found in the mountains bordering the Palu Valley to the West, the region inhabited by the Pakawa and ri Io peoples. The ri Io people set aside a plot of ground from the field by laying down four pieces of wood. In this space they make four holes in the earth in which the dead can plant their rice. The dead are then harangued as follows: "This is all for you, *rate*.¹⁶ Don't come to our fields."

It is a general custom among the Pipikoro people, and most probably among the other groups also, to erect a gate on the trail leading to the fields before the rice harvest begins. On this gate are hung some corn and other fruits of the field together with herbs that are said to have the power to keep spirits away. This partition is called *popuha*; the dead may come to this spot to take what is offered to them there. The idea is that they will not [p. 390] proceed beyond this point to the fields and there wreak havoc and ruin the harvest by their very presence.

In Toro a bit of rice is brought to the graves of the deceased on the day the harvest is to begin, and the following is said: "Here is your rice. Don't come into our fields." When the harvest in Tobaku has been gathered, a bit of rice (*padi*) is laid on a winnow and this is placed on the ground in front of the field house. The following is then said: "this is for you, oh dead ones. Take it away and be gone!" after a few moments, the rice is taken away, pounded and cooked, and then eaten up.

In Kulawi a miniature tube is even made from banana peels on this occasion, just like the one made from bark or bamboo on a large scale to store rice. This miniature cylinder is filled with rice chaff and is set on the ground before the hut. At this point the dead are informed that this is for them. The tube remains standing there until it rots away.

Whenever anybody in Rampi dies in a field house, cane stalks (*biro*, *wiro*) that are supposed to drive away the baleful influence of the deceased or whatever killed him are placed around the hut. Only after the last funerary meal, when it is presumed that the deceased has taken off for the land of souls, is the barricade taken down again.

When a death in the village takes place while people are harvesting, those who are occupied with this task may not go to the house of the deceased in some regions. And where this is nevertheless allowed, they must in any case not touch the corpse, and also may not partake of the funerary meal. Clearly, the fear that the dead can exercise a pernicious influence upon the crops through those who stand in such a close relation to these crops has inspired this prohibition.

In Sigi whenever someone dies during the harvest, the members of the family of the deceased must leave off harvesting. After one or three days they may return to harvesting,

but the leader must then proceed just as she did at the beginning of the harvest: she first cuts off the three ritual bunches before the other members may take part in the work.

In Tobaku I inquired if the corpse was sprinkled once with rice, as is sometimes done among the East Toraja. My informants were startled by the question: No, such a thing is never done, for then the entire harvest would certainly fail. Whenever during the harvest a very close blood-relative of one of the harvesters dies, this worker may certainly go to the place of the deceased, but beforehand a hen or a [p. 391] small pig is slaughtered and its blood brushed on the bunches of rice that have already been cut. Incense is kindled on this occasion and only then may she leave, but she may not sleep in the house of the deceased. Whenever a woman returns to the field after her visit to the house of the deceased, she must wriggle through a split *bomba*-stalk (*Maranta dichotona*)¹⁷ and after she is through the cleft, the two halves of the stalk clatter together again and she sets down next to it a banana dressed as a woman. The intention is clear: All that she may have had of the influence of the deceased is left behind or, as others express it, now the deceased can no longer follow her to the fields.

In Kulawi nothing is slaughtered in such an instance, but the harvest leader lights incense near the rice and speaks to the rice spirit, for this spirit must not take fright and go away. It is necessary for people to go to the house of the deceased, but upon return the incense is again kindled and they set to work without further ado.

It is a widespread custom to address the deceased at the burial of the bringing of the last offering to the grave (the dead person's provisions for the journey to the land of the souls). The deceased is always earnestly requested to proceed "straight ahead" and no longer to look back on the living.

It is also a general belief that if a peculiar noise is heard or a corpse's smell perceived, the soul of the deceased is in the vicinity. Instead of coaxing the spirit to come or showing any touch of friendliness, people try in all sorts of ways to chase it away.*

Given everything mentioned above, it appears very obvious that instead of depending on the assistance of the deceased, people endeavor to maintain him at a proper distance. This is done with special regard for the rice, so that the dead person will not destroy the precious crops.

If we now reflect again on the posing of the riddles in the house of the deceased, we are brought as a matter of course to the following train of thought: Among the East Toraja the propounding of riddles serves in a magical way to help the rice to bear fruit and to facilitate its emergence (the solving of riddles). In the case of the West Toraja the posing and solving of riddles must exercise the same power [p. 392] for the benefit of the rice, but in this case not directly in order to promote the re-emergence of the fruit, but by means of the magical potency that emanates from the solving of riddles to strengthen the crops and to protect them against the annihilating power of the dead.

It is remarkable that the posing of riddles has been invested with such contrasting functions for the East and West Toraja. The explanation for this must be sought, in my

opinion, partially (though not wholly) in the contrasting measure of mingling that has taken place between the original (?) inhabitants of the land and a people that came on the scene later and that probably brought rice with them. Among the East Toraja this intermingling of the two peoples was more pronounced than among the tribes of the West Toraja. Other differences between these two branches of the same greater ethnic group must also be explained by reference to this greater or lesser intensity of the intermingling of the two peoples in the two named groups.

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AUTHOR'S NOTES

* One can also encounter the custom that the widow and some close relatives of the deceased may eat no rice for a certain period of time after the death, which is also to be ascribed to the fear that the dead person would exercise a destructive influence on this food-stuff. However, it would appear from the circumstances surrounding this usage that we have here to do with something else.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

1. Throughout this translation I use modern Indonesian spellings for the names of places and groups given in the text. The major differences from the old Dutch orthography are as follows:

Dutch:	oe	j	dj
Indonesian:	u	y	j

Indonesian plurals are unmarked. Hence, Toradjas in the original text becomes Toraja in the modern Indonesian.

2. See Adriani, Dr. N. & Alb. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, Landsdrukkerij (Batavia, 1912–1914). For the sections on riddles see vol. II, pp. 254–255, and vol. III, pp. 370–374. A new edition of the first two volumes of this work, completely revised by Alb. C. Kruyt, was published in 1950–1951 in the series *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 54, 55 and 56* (Amsterdam). The original third volume, however, was never republished.

3. The original text reads here “bij de *West-Toradjagroep*,” (emphasis mine). However, not only are the volumes mentioned concerned with the *East Toraja*, for which *Bare'e* speaking Toraja is an equivalent, but the rest of the article makes clear that it is the *East Toraja* for whom is posited a direct connection between agriculture and riddles, while riddling among the *West Toraja* has a more direct relation to the dead. The *East* or *Bare'e*

speaking Toraja was comprised by those groups inhabiting the area around Lake Poso in eastern Central Celebes (the province Sulawesi Tengah in the modern governmental nomenclature). These groups now refer to themselves as the To Pamona. (In the language of Central Sulawesi, *to* is a counter indicating person or people.) The West Toraja included the peoples of Lore (i.e. the To Bada', To Besoa, To Napu, and the To Tawaelia), the To Rampi of South Sulawesi, and all the peoples of what is now Donggala regency up to the southern portion of the northern neck of Sulawesi inhabited by the To Tawaelia, thus encompassing such peoples as the To Kulawi, To Pipikoro, To Tolee, To Tobaku, To Pakawa, To ri Io and the various Islamicized groups of the Palu Valley, among whom the To Kaili and To Sigi were predominant. More detailed information (and a set of maps showing the locations of all the peoples and villages mentioned in the text) can be found in: Alb. C. Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes*. 4 volumes. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XL. Uitgave van de N.V. NoordHollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij (Amsterdam, 1938). For a discussion of riddling in relation to marriage negotiations among the West Toraja—a context Kruyt fails to take into account here—see in the latter work, volume II, Chapter XIV, section 75. A recent discussion by an Indonesian scholar which cogently argues for the inappropriateness of applying the term Toraja to the peoples of Central Sulawesi is the following: Prijanti Pakan, “Orang Toraja: Identitas, Klasifikasi dan Lokasi.” *Berita Antropologi: Majalah Ilmu Social dan Budaya*. Tahun IX, No. 32–33 (September–December 1977).

4. See footnote 3 for an explanation of why West Toraja is rendered here, rather than directly translating the term for East Toraja given at this point in the original text.

5. The use of the term oral literature in this context follows the usage of such folklorists and anthropologists as W. P. Murphy, see his “Oral Literature” in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 7, pp. 113–136 (October 1978). The original text does not include the Dutch equivalent of “oral.”

6. For the most extensive and amply annotated published collection of tales from a West Toraja group, see Jacob Woensdregt, *Mythen en Sagen der Berg-Toradja's van Midden-Selebes*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel LXV, Derde (3rd) Stuk. G. Kolff & Co. (Weltevreden, 1925) & Nijhoff ('s-Hage, 1925). It is odd that Kruyt does not take this study into account when mentioning the paucity of studies on West Toraja oral literature.

7. The major indigenous peoples of Lore (i.e. To Bada', To Besoa, and To Napu) have always posed a bit of a classificatory conundrum for the ethnology of Central Sulawesi. Adriani classified the Lore groups as Eastern Toraja on the linguistic ground of whether or not verb forms had tense. In contrast, Kruyt felt them to be more closely allied to the West Toraja. He tried to use the indigenous term for the copula to distinguish these two branches. However, although *re'e* was used by all East Toraja groups, The West Toraja did not manifest such homogeneity. Whereas all the groups to the west of the Lore region used *ria* for the copula, the Lore peoples used *ara*. Thus, he was finally reduced to labeling the East Toraja the *re'e* people, but had to resort to a disjunctively defined category—the *ria* and *ara* people—for the West Toraja. (See Kruyt, *De West Toradjas*,

vol. I, p.6). He also attempted to justify the inclusion of the To Lore among the West Toraja groups on ethnographic grounds, in particular by reference to the three following criteria: The West Toraja buried their corpses and were done with them in eight or nine days, while the East Toraja placed the coffins on stilts and performed an elaborate mortuary ceremony after the flesh had rotted away. The west Toraja had true shamans (i.e. functionaries who were *possessed* by spirits), while the East Toraja had no shamans, but only specialists who could detach their souls from their bodies and travel to the spirit world. Most of these specialists were women among the East Toraja. When men performed in such a capacity among them, they dressed as women. Finally, women among the West Toraja had their incisors and eyeteeth knocked out entirely, while among the East Toraja, women's teeth are simply filed, as were men's teeth in both groups. However, none of these three criteria cleanly distinguishes the two branches either. Although commoners in Lore were buried, nobles were sometimes accorded a treatment similar to that shown corpses among the East Toraja. In some cases, the coffins were permanently stored in the village temple and periodically consulted as sources of augury for undertakings such as warfare. The people of Lore also had both true shamans (to adopt the strict definition Kruyt invokes) and spirit travelers, and at least among the To Napu, male priests might be transvestites. In the Northwestern section of the West Toraja region women did not undergo tooth evulsion. Hence, none of these criteria makes for a clear division of the two categories. In fact, this very article mentions many of the characteristics that make such a classification rather fuzzy. It is perhaps best to admit that we are dealing with a number of differences among subregions that do not all neatly correspond to each other (just as isoglosses on a resemblances (à la Wittgenstein) indicates that the peoples of Lore are truly transitional in relation to their western and eastern neighbors). However, it should be noted that for administrative purposes, the Lore region has been assigned to the kabupaten (regency) Poso by the Indonesian government. Through this administrative connection and due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the present inhabitants of Lore belong to the Protestant Church whose headquarters are at Tentena on Lake Poso, they have come to resemble more and more the peoples of the Poso region (i.e. the East Toraja, or the To Pamona as they now label themselves). In fact, the Lore groups are now often called "orang Poso pegunungan" (i.e. the mountain Poso people).

8. The present name of this village is Tangkulowi.

9. *Rumbia* is the local term for a type of sago palm (when it is fully grown).

10. Although the original text here reads Tewoeloe, all maps I have seen use the spelling Towulu (or Towoeloe in the old Dutch orthography).

11. Kruyt uses the spelling Banahoe, while I have replaced the *h* with an *s*, in accord with modern Indonesian spelling. Many of the indigenous languages of central Sulawesi have either an *s* or an *h* but not both. In the Moma language spoken in Kulawi to the north of this village, the absence of an *s* would result in the pronunciation Kruyt transcribes.

12. *Koi*, the term Kruyt uses in the text for the subject of the riddles from Banasu, seems to be some sort of second personal plural pronoun that can be used as an impersonal

subject (e.g. “You can find out how many things by asking,” to take an English analog). I have thus retained the translation “someone” in these instances to maintain consistency with the other riddles. Purists may substitute “you”.

13. The Kaili are the predominant ethnic group of the Palu Valley.

14. Cock-farthings (“haantjesduiten”) were copper coins stamped with the emblem of a rooster. In the early twentieth century they were the smallest-denominated coin then in circulation in the Celebes. F. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Residentie Ternate*, E. J. Brill (Leiden, 1890), p. 134, noted that in Central Sulawesi 360 cock-farthings went to the guilder, which suggests 36 cock-farthings for a ten-cent piece.

15. The *biro* plant is a type of cane (known as *glagah* in Javanese or *kaso* in Sundanese) whose pith may be eaten as a vegetable when young. See J. J. Ochse, *Sajur-Sajuran Negeri Kita*, trans. N. St. Iskander. 3rd Edition. Balai Pustaka (Jakarta, 1952), p. 102. For further references on the ritual uses of the *biro* among the West Toraja in such contexts as house dedications and warfare, see index under *biro* in the fourth volume of Kruyt, *De West Toradjas*.

16. Among the To Pakawa *rate* is their term for what the person becomes after death. For an explanation of what happens to the soul of the dead according to the To Pakawa, see Kruyt, *De West Toradjas*, vol. III, p. 518.

17. *Bomba* is a term in both the languages of Kulawi and Pipikoro used to designate a type of cane usable for tying articles or when split for thatch roofing.