THE RELIGION OF THE BARE'E-SPEAKING TORADJA OF CENTRAL CELEBES

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THE RELIGION OF THE BARE'E-SPEAKING TORADJA OF CENTRAL CELEBES

PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN OP GEZAG VAN DE RECTOR MAGNIFICUS Dr. A. E. VAN ARKEL, HOOGLERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER WIS- EN NATUURKUNDE, TEGEN DE BEDENKINGEN VAN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE TE VERDEDIGEN OP WOENSDAG 11 JULI 1956 TE 14 UUR

DOOR

RICHARD ERSKINE DOWNS
GEBOREN TE CAMBRIDGE, MASS. (U.S.A.) IN 1920

UITGEVERIJ EXCELSIOR - ORANJEPLEIN 96 - 'S-GRAVENHAGE

Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia
„Bataviaasch Genootschap
van Kunsten en Wetenschappen"

Promotor: Prof. dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong

Lemb. Kebudajaan Ind.
Bat. Gen. Perpustakaan
tanggal 1. 11. 1956
asal-usul No. 1720 A

PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL RI.
Tanggal : 16 Maret 2012
No. Induk : 18601/PN-MUSEUM/'12
BIB - ID :
Beli / Hadiah : Ex. Museum

To my parents
To my wife

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PREFACE

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. It may seem odd that this should be deemed necessary, but it should be clear to any one with more than a superficial acquaintance with this work that the mass of ethnographic data contained in it is poorly organized and full of unexplained inconsistencies.

Adriani was a linguist, and his share in the first edition of the book was limited to an account of the Toradja's language and literature, which constituted its third volume. Subsequent to its publication he wrote many articles and gave many lectures about the Toradja in which he discussed other aspects of their society, though usually in rather general terms. These have been gathered together in his "Verzamelde Geschriften". He also prepared a dictionary of the Bare'e language, "Bare'e-Nederlandsch Woordenboek", which was published posthumously, and also contains much ethnographic information.

Kruyt was responsible for the other aspects of the social and religious life of the Toradja in the first edition. The second edition, which appeared in 1950-1951, not long after his death, had been almost entirely rewritten and greatly expanded by him. In it he claimed to have incorporated the views and findings of Adriani subsequent to the first edition as well as his own, but as he did not distinguish between their opinions, the responsibility for the entire second edition must be his. The third volume of the first edition was omitted from the second.

In addition to this main work on the Toradja Kruyt discussed them in many separate articles and books. All of his writings, however, were marred by a preoccupation with a succession of dubious theories and the absence of a critical approach to this material, both of which were no doubt in large part due to his lack of anthropological training. On the other hand his enthousiasm, honesty and enormous capacity for work enabled him to collect a mass of ethnographic data, which, stripped of his interpretations, is unquestionably of great value.

It would have been helpful in trying to arrive at an accurate picture of the religion of the Toradja if there had been other literature on this people with which Kruyt's statements could have been compared, but with a few minor exceptions this is unfortunately not the case. 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

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 as one can induce it from the rest of the data presented.

For the sake of convenience I have referred in this book to the second edition of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradjas" by the volume number alone, or occasionally by its final year of publication (1951) as well, to distinguish it from the first edition, which is always referred to by its year (1912). Adriani's Bare'e-Nederlandsch Woordenboek" is abbreviated to "Wdb.".

I have followed modern Indonesian usage in spelling the words in the native languages. Thus "tj", "j", and "dj" equal respectively English "ch", "y" and "j" and "u" equals Dutch "oe".

INTRODUCTION

The Toradja peoples of Central Celebes were divided by Kruyt into three groups: the East, West and South Toradja. Toradja is a collective name, meaning "highlander", originally applied by the people of Luwu to the people living above their capital, Palopo, in the valley of the Sadang River, and later extended by the Europeans to other tribes which appeared to belong culturally to the same people.

The East Toradja all spoke, with dialectal differences, the same language, designated in accordance with native custom by its word for "no": *bare'e* and its variants. The tribes speaking this language were relatively homogeneous as opposed to the others in Central Celebes, and it was decided, therefore, to limit this study of Toradja religion to them, although the religious forms would appear to have been fundamentally similar throughout the entire area. Kruyt included the Taa-speaking To Wana and To Ampana further to the east among the East Toradja, but they have been much less well studied and differ enough in their culture to justify leaving them aside in this book (Kruyt, 1930). Exception is also made of the Mohammedan Toradja living along the shores of the Gulf of Tomini in the kingdom of Todjo.

The Bare'e-speakers were separated from the West Toradja by the Tineba and Takolukadju mountains. On the south they were bounded by the Kingdom of Luwu, on the east by Mori and on the north by the Gulf of Tomini. The population was concentrated around Lake Poso and along three main river valleys: that of the Poso in the north, the Laa in the east and the Kalaena in the south (I, 3f.). The various tribes were located roughly as follows.

The Poso basin

To Wingke-mposo, "people of the shores of the Poso". They inhabited the northern half of the eastern lake shore, the mountainous country to the north of the lake, both banks of the Poso River as far as Batu-nontju and its right bank to the Tomasa River. They formed a rather loose tribe often divided up into smaller groups [1].

The *To Pebato* lived to the west of the Poso River, where they took the place of a tribe now practically extinct, the To Pajapi. Kruyt believed the To Pebato's ancestors to have been To Wingke-mposo from Tinoe (I, 44, 137).

The *To Lage* were found to the east of the Poso River. They and the To Onda'e in the Laa basin were the most powerful of the Bare'e-speaking peoples and probably among the oldest. Both, Kruyt felt, had preserved very old customs and traditions (I, 37).

Between the To Lage and To Onda'e was a small group (about

1) Kruyt was apparently somewhat confused on this point. Cf. I, 44, 110 and Kaudern, II, 118-21. Although the latter even doubted the existence of a single tribe of this name Rev. J. Kruyt has assured me that they did exist as such.

600 in 1899) who called themselves *To Peladia*. They considered themselves to be an independent tribe, composed of elements from both Lage and Onda'e, but were not so regarded by other tribes, and were claimed by both the To Lage and the To Onda'e (I, 37; Kruyt, 1899c: 600ff.).

The *To Kadombuku* and the *To Rompu* formed two small enclaves in Lage territory, the first at the lower end of the Tomasa River and the second further up in the mountains to the southeast along the east bank of the Kinapapua River. The To Kadombuku were converted to Islam by Mandarese in the first half of the nineteenth century, but had since reverted to their old religion (I, 39).

The southern half of the eastern shore of Lake Poso was inhabited by a few hundred people divided up into *To Wisa*, *To Buju* and *To Longkea*, of which the last was the most important (I, 35).

The *To Palande* lived in the mountains between the southern end of the lake and the Masewe River. Although this region does not belong to the Poso basin this tribe is included here as its members would seem to have come from the To Lage, whom they resembled in many respects. They were a fairly young tribe (I, 56).

Along the right bank of the Kodina River were the *To Lamusa*, a small tribe but a relatively important one due to their function as intermediary between the kingdom of Luwu and the other Toradja tribes subject to them (I, 32).

The *To Pu'u-mboto*, "the people at the foot of the mountains", came from the Kalaena River in the south to the western half of the Kodina basin in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They, the To Bantjea and the To Lampu differed noticeably in language and customs from the rest of the East Toradja (I, 33f.).

The *To Bantjea* lived along the western shore of Lake Poso in the basins formed by the Kaia, Owini and Pandjo rivers. They resembled the To Pu'u-mboto in appearance, clothing and customs (I, 35).

The Kalaena basin

The peoples living here were separated from the Poso tribes by the Takolukadju mountains and were referred to collectively by the people of Luwu as the *To Lampu*, or "wild people". They were subdivided into the *To Salu-maoge*, who lived along the upper reaches of the Kalaena, the *To Rompu* or *To Tawi*, south of the Takolukadju mountains, and the *To Lewonu*, along the main road from Malili to Palopo (I, 63ff).

The Laa basin

The *To Onda'e* occupied the central and northern parts of the Walati basin, as far north as a line drawn eastward from Tentena, at the head of the Poso River (I, 37, 49ff.).

The *To Pakambia* lived along both sides of the Jaentu River. The messianic movements called *mejapi* found the most response among them (I, 59ff.; Adriani and Kruyt, 1912a).

The *To Pada* inhabited the Laa plain, bounded in the south by the mountains of Mori, in the east by the Peleru and in the north

by the Pompangeo mountains. They were formerly sub-divided into several smaller tribes: the *To Walu, To Kalae, To Tamanda, To Pu'u-mbana* and the *To Pada*. The first three were so small as to be hardly known to the surrounding peoples. The To Pu'u-mbana came from Lage and Rompu and settled at the foot of the Peleru mountains (I, 61ff.).

This geographical arrangement of the tribes, however, does not everywhere correspond to one made along linguistic or ethnographical lines. According to Adriani (Adriani and Kruyt, 1912: III, 17f.) the various Bare'e dialects were to be grouped as follows: the To Lage, To Rompu, To Kadombuku, To Wingke-mposo, the small tribes along the eastern shore of Lake Poso, To Onda'e, To Palande and To Lamusa all spoke one dialect with very small differences. The To Pakambia and To Pada spoke a dialect practically the same as that of the To Lage. The dialect of the To Pebato differed somewhat from that of the first group, but that spoken by the To Pu'u-mboto, To Bantjea (Adriani called them the To Binowoi) and the To Lampu differed considerably from all the rest. It could be called the "*are'e* dialect", as *bare'e* was here shortened to *are'e* and in places even to *ae'e* and *aee* (Cf. also 1951: I, 3).

Kruyt also made a distinction between western and eastern tribes, the former including the To Pebato, To Wingke-mposo and To Pu'u-mboto, and the latter the To Lage, To Onda'e, To Pada and To Palande (I, 266; II, 40). The second group all had a class of hereditary slaves, whereas the first did not, but it is hard to tell how extensive or consistent the cultural differences were between them as Kruyt only referred to this division incidentally in his book. Be that as it may, this division was apparently of no functional significance to the Toradja themselves.

Exact census figures for the various tribes are not available. Kruyt was of the opinion that the population had remained relatively stable since the coming of the Dutch (except in Lage and Onda'e, where it had declined considerably) and gave figures from the 1930 census. This reported approximately 31,000 Bare'e-speaking Toradja, excluding those of Todjo (I, 75f.).

The various tribes did not form organized political units. There were no tribal chiefs or functionaries of any kind native to Toradja society, with the possible exception of Onda'e (see below). The members of one tribe, however, were all conscious of being related and of having the same mother village, for which the tribes were often named, and several tribes, at any rate (specifically mentioned were Bantjea, Onda'e and Palande - I, 24f.; Kruyt, 1906: 224f.), had tribal regalia. They joined together for common purposes, especially against their enemies, and they attended each other's death feasts, etc., but apart from this the villages were independent of each other (I, 109f.).

There was little feeling of solidarity between tribes, except in instances where the memory of a common origin was recent enough to keep them on friendly terms. They were always ready

to make fun of one another and wars were frequent between them. Sometimes closer relations would grow up between two tribes, usually as a result of a service performed by the chief of one for the other (I, 111).

The tribes did, however, recognize a higher authority in the rulers of the kingdoms of Luwu and Mori. The To Pada and To Pakambia (those to the east of the Jaentu River, at any rate – those to the west of it sometimes recognized Mori and sometimes Luwu) came under Mori and the rest under Luwu. Of the two the more important was the *datu* of Luwu, the *datu ri tana* of Mori having formerly been his vassal I, 119, 129ff., 60). His authority was, to be sure, only nominal according to western standards, as he merely required a small tribute in goods every once in a while – usually at intervals of more than a year [2]), and contributions of buffalo for court feasts. He did, however, also call on his subjects from time to time for help in wars against other kingdoms, which the Toradja were usually quite ready to provide. So long as the tribes carried out the above duties the *datu* paid little attention to them. He owed his power and influence to his possession of the *gaukang* or *aradjang*, the royal insignia. The Toradja said of him: "He is our god (*lamoa*)," and Kruyt added: "They found it precisely so 'godlike' and 'ancestor-like' of the datu that he let them fend for themselves and never interfered with them, because he thereby left their adat untouched. And this is the task of every chief". The *datu* supposedly had white blood in his veins. If an ordinary Toradja were to touch him his abdomen would swell up and he would die. The success of the rice harvest was in his hands, and if people were to rebel against him he would turn the rice in their cooking-pots to worms. He could also cause an epidemic of any one of nine different diseases to ravage the country (I, 127f.).

The *datu* of Luwu gave the title of *karadja* or *tongko* (called *mokole* by the Toradja) to the village chiefs of Tamungku (Pebato), Towale (Wingke-mposo), Pantjawu-enu (Lamusa) and Tando-mbeaga (Onda'e) with the duty of collecting tribute and transmitting it to him (I, 118). It was said that the To Onda'e, alone of these tribes, had had a paramount chief before the *karadja* was appointed by Luwu, though there is no proof of this, the whole institution possibly having been evolved under the influence of Luwu. The *karadja* of Onda'e came originally, according to tradition, from the village of Kodja, but their seat at the end of the last century was Tando-mbeaga. The rest of the Onda'e villages considered themselves more or less subject to it, and among other things they helped build the temple there, which was particularly large and handsome. The *karadja* was assisted by a secondary chief called his *witi*, or "foot", because he used to send him out on missions. The people in their "neighborhood" brought them both a specified portion of all pigs killed, and every other year the *karadja* received ten percent of the rice yield. One year his fields were worked for him by the "population" and the next year those of the *witi*. Wine from a newly tapped palm was brought to the *karadja*, and it was believed that this would make the tree

2) Lage and Onda'e, however, each sent a slave every nine years I, 123).

give a large amount of sap. Several villages collaborated in the construction of his house (I, 52f.). Although Kruyt said that the To Onda'e were the only tribe having a paramount chief, he spoke elsewhere of "the chief of the To Pada", and since they apparently had only one temple for the whole tribe, at Perere, it is possible that this held for them as well (Kruyt, 1907: 870; 1899b: 207).

The most important unit of the tribe was the village. Before the Dutch government interfered they were always built by preference on hills or mountains tops to facilitate their defence. Where possible they were surrounded by an earthen or coral-stone wall. They were widely separated, but the members of a single tribe saw to it that their villages were still close enough together so that they could hear each other's drums in case of need. The number of houses in such a village varied from two to ten and the number of inhabitants from forty to two hundred (I, 165).

Little care was taken in the building of the houses (except in Lage and Bantjea) and no attempt was made to keep them in proper condition. Unless the terrain made it necessary to build them in a row the houses were scattered about the hilltop, often at different levels. Each house contained several nuclear families, usually from four to six, though Kruyt saw one house in Buju-mbaju with sixteen (I, 170). The To Lage and To Onda'e, however, tended to build single-family houses (I, 183). There were further several rice barns (*ala, poniu, poniua*), one to a family (if two families shared one a partition was made dividing the storage space in two) (III, 142), a smithy (*kolowo, komali*), which stood at the foot of the hill on which the village was built as close to the water supply as possible, and also served as a sleeping-place for travelers, and a temple (*lobo*). All villages had a temple unless they had been recently settled from a mother village (I, 165).

All the families in a village were closely related. Marriage was matrilocal, and one usually tried to marry within one's own village, or, if this was not possible, at least within one's own tribe (II, 287). This endogamic tendency was apparently even stronger in Kruyt's time than before that, as marriages between first cousins had become quite common, whereas formerly second cousins were the closest relatives who could marry without a piacular offering for incest (II, 283).

The kinship terminology was based for the most part on the generation principle, no distinction being made between the two sides of the family (II, 271ff.). This same principle also applied to marriage regulations. Thus marriage or sexual intercourse between persons of different generations was disapproved of, or, in the case of close relatives (parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, uncles or great uncles or aunts or great aunts and sisters' or brothers' children or grandchildren) regarded as incestuous. Brothers and sisters were of course also included in the incest prohibition (II, 273ff.). As we have just seen, marriage between full cousins used to be forbidden as well, and it was still frowned upon by many. It was also considered bad to marry one's brother's wife's sister, though on the other hand it was thought particularly desirable for a man to marry his sister's husband's sister (II, 283ff.).

Toradja society was divided into two classes, slave and free. The former were called *watua*, the latter *kabosenja*. *Kabosenja* means "the great one(s)" and was also used for the heads of families and for the village chief (I, 113). As we have seen, however, not all the tribes had an hereditary class of slaves. Kruyt mentioned specifically the To Lage, To Onda'e, To Palande and To Pada as having one and the To Pebato, To Wingke-mposo and To Pu'u-mboto as having only purchased or captured slaves (I, 137f.). Unfortunately he did not specify the nature of the slaves held by the other tribes. It may be that they followed the distinction into eastern and western groups referred to above in this respect.

The lot of the slaves was in general not a very hard one. After marriage they set up their own households and tilled their own rice fields and sometimes amassed a considerable amount of property, which increased their master's respect for them (I, 144). The non-hereditary slaves could buy their freedom (I, 143), but on the other hand only purchased slaves or prisoners were used as sacrifices (I, 137). Marriages between slaves and free women were forbidden and marriages between free men and slaves were disapproved of, though they frequently occurred. Their children were "half" free, unless the husband bought his wife's freedom (her master or family could refuse, however) and were divided evenly between his family and her master's. If two slaves of different masters married, their children were also evenly divided between the masters. In some regions the sons went to the master of the husband and the daughters to the master of the wife; in other regions they were accorded alternately to the two masters, the first child going to the master of the mother (I. 140f.).

Slaves were regarded as inferior beings and were required to treat their masters with the greatest respect. Disobedience automatically affected a slave's health, and even if he had sinned unconsciously he could only avoid the consequences by washing himself in water in which his master had dipped his hair. A striking example of the bond between master and slave was the practice of having a slave step on his master's head when the latter had a headache and vice versa when the slave was suffering from one (I, 139f.). In spite of their inferior status, however, some slaves were greatly respected for their intelligence and trustworthiness and were favored by their masters (I, 143f.). Moreover, as we shall see below, most of the leaders on head-hunting raids were slaves.

The position of the village chief (*kabosenja*) was not hereditary. The man who best combined the qualities of courage, eloquence, generosity, organizational talent and resoluteness was accepted as such. When a chief began to get old he was not immediately replaced, but was helped by a younger man who gradually took over his duties and usually replaced him when he became too old or died (I, 114). The chief did not rule; his job was to consult with the family heads on matters which concerned the village as a whole. He did not give orders, but could only persuade (I, 115). Although the chiefs had no authority outside their own villages occasionally one of them distinguished himself by particular per-

sonal qualities and thereby enjoyed a certain degree of influence over several neighboring villages (I, 117f.).

The Toradja knew only three penalties: death, fines and corporal punishment. The last of these, however, was only applied to slaves (I, 213). The first was applied in cases of murder, incest, adultery and treason. Witches, sorcerers and the dangerously insane were also killed. Death sentences were carried out by surprise attack. Sorcerers and witches, however, were always killed by members of another tribe. In some cases, for example incest and gross disobedience on the part of slaves, the sentence was carried out so that the blood of the guilty person did not touch the ground. Whenever a tribe executed a fellow member methods were used which ensured the sharing of the responsibility by many (I, 213ff.).

Murder called for revenge, If the murderer belonged to another tribe war resulted, unless the injured side felt itself too weak, in which case in addition to a fine the tribe of the murderer had to provide a slave to be killed by the victim's relatives. Wars were usually settled after a few deaths on each side by the mediation of neutral chiefs (I, 214). In cases within the tribe the victim's family demanded that the murderer be handed over to them. Unless he had already caused his family particular annoyance in the past, however, a slave was usually given in his place to be killed by the victim's family, and if there had been a reason for the murder a fine was often substituted for blood revenge (I, 214f.).

All other offenses were compensated for by a complicated system of fines, which were applied according to the general rule of three "pieces" (*wia*) for sins of the mouth, five for those of the hands and seven for those of the whole body. The size of the fine depended on what was demanded as "piece": for example, a coin, hen, bolt of cotton, buffalo or human being (I, 200). The payment of a fine was always a family affair, and so led to long discussions between the families (or villages) concerned and involved the services of the village chief as arbitrator or spokesman of one's case. If one refused to accept a fair settlement one lost one's supporters. If the claimants lost, they had to pay a fine themselves, usually as high as the one they had demanded of the other party (I, 195 ff.). For every unpleasant sensation the Toradja could demand the payment of a fine from the person who had caused it, and even though he might not feel like doing it himself he would be urged on by his family, who would point out that the ancestors demanded that the adat be fulfilled (I, 195; Adriani, 1932: III, 105f.).

In cases where no decision could be reached ordeals of various kinds (fire, earth or water) were resorted to (I, 207ff.). Naturally it was sometimes clear that justice had not prevailed, but then the outcome was accepted as the will of the ancestors (Adriani, 1932: III, 107).

Most nuclear families had a few domestic animals, including buffalo and pigs, and a supply of cotton goods. All members of this family had a claim to these possessions, which were partly inherited and partly acquired by the husband. The extended family also had property, usually consisting of a herd of buffalo, sago stools, bamboo clumps, etc., which was shared by the nuclear

families which made it up. This property could only be sold for the benefit of the whole family or, if for an individual member, with its consent. It was generally administered by the head of the family (1912: I, 153; Adriani, 1932: I, 175). In the second edition (1951: I, 148) Kruyt said that a woman usually had control of the property because the men often married outside the village or were so often absent on long trips. This may, of course, have been a more recent development. The children of both sexes retained their rights to the family property of both parents after marriage, and this may incidentally have been a contributing factor in the endogamic tendency mentioned above. Although individuals and families often tried to keep their possessions to themselves every one was expected to share them with the rest of the community, and generosity was considered a virtue. Rich people were particularly respected for the liberal contributions they made to religious feasts (I, 148ff., 108).

The land belonged to the tribe as a whole, and its boundaries were exactly known (III, 9.). Each village used as much land as it needed to feed itself, moving to another part of the tribal territory when this was necessary. A village moved as seldom as possible, however. Aside from the exhaustion of all the land in the vicinity other reasons for abandoning a site were its proved or suspected indefensibility or an unusual amount of sickness (I, 166f.). Each year the villages divided up the land among the individual families for cultivation, though a family retained a certain right over any virgin land outside the tribal territory that it had cleared itself for a few years. The virgin forest (*pangale*) was open to every one for hunting, collecting or tilling, though it was advisable to ensure the friendship and cooperation of the nearest tribe by giving it small presents. A tribe could also acquire territory by gift or purchase (III, 10; I, 40).

The main crop was dry rice. Wet rice, though long grown on a large scale by the West Toradja, was only introduced to the East Toradja by the Dutch (III, 7ff.). The second most important source of food was maize. It was considered inferior to rice and was only eaten, except as a relish, when the rice supply was low (III, 198). Both Coix agrestis and millet were cultivated, but apparently much less than they once were (III, 153ff, 236ff.). Sago was taken both from the sago palm (Metroxylon) and from the arenga palm (Arenga saccharifera) and in small quantities from the *take*, a forest tree resembling the arenga, but smaller (Wdb.). The Metroxylon was planted chiefly, however, for its leaves, which served as roofing. Wine was made from the arenga and this was also distilled to make *ara*. A strong kind of rice beer was also brewed. Coconuts, bananas and papaya were commonly found and wild chestnuts were eaten as well. Sugar cane was eaten, though only here and there in Onda'e was sugar made from it. Animal food was obtained by hunting and fishing. Domestic animals (buffalo, fowl, pigs and goats) were only killed and eaten on ceremonial occasions. Dogs and cats were not eaten (III, 185ff.).

It is hoped that this necessarily brief and sketchy account has provided sufficient background for the understanding of the religious institutions of the Toradja, to which we now must turn.

PART I

BELIEFS

Chapter I

COSMOLOGY

The universe was divided, according to the Toradja, into the upperworld, the earth and the underworld. The earth was flat and was surrounded by the world sea. In the middle of the sea was the *puse ntasi*, "navel of the sea". This was described in some stories as a hollow where nine currents flowed in and out causing the tides. In others it was said to be a rock in which there was a cave into and from which the nine currents flowed, or which was inhabited by a crab whose comings and goings caused the tides. On this rock grew a mango tree, *taripa djambi* or *djandji*, which in the literature of the Mohammedan Toradja was said to be inhabited by Lise, a dual figure sometimes appearing as an evil woman and also as a goddess of the rice (see below) or to have a single fruit guarded by a Garuda, with a crocodile at the foot (1912: III, 390n., 441n., 442).

At two points on the horizon, east and west, were holes for the passage of the sun on its course through the heavens and under the earth. At the western hole was a tree in which the souls of the dead pressed their nails as they passed on their way to the underworld. At this point the way split in two, on path leading to the upperworld and the other to the underworld. Two male buffalo stood guard there (I, 374, 415n.).

The earth was sometimes thought of as being born by a giant buffalo [1], though according to the shamans it was supported by Ndara, the earth goddess, on her head or on the palms of her hands. These different conceptions determined the reactions people had to earthquakes (I, 370f.).

The upperworld rested on the earth like a cupola, supported at the horizon. It was made up of seven or nine layers, which were inhabited by various orders of gods and spirits. In the litanies of the shamans they were pictured as being made of solid stone through which the shamans had to carve their way on their trips to heaven (II, 127). In the mythology [2] they were represented in various ways, such as nine villages or nine mountain plateaus (I, 371; 1912: III, 407, No. 72; Adriani, 1933: II, No. 129).

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1) Kruyt gave its name as Toralindo, which he translated by "who is in the earth", but this is obviously a mistake for Toralino (cf. Wdb. sub lino) Cf. also II, 348, where Toaralino, "who lives under the earth", is said to be the husband of Ndara, the earth goddess.

2) I use "mythology" to include myths, legends and folk tales because Adriani and Kruyt failed to distinguish between them. Since the attitude of the people whose property they are is the crucial criterion in distinguishing the various forms, it is impossible to do it with any certainty on the basis of the stories themselves.

The upperworld could be reached in a variety of ways; by means, for example, of a coconut palm, a rattan, a liana, a chain, earth thrown up to form a road, a shaman's hat, a bird, the rainbow, the sun or moon, etc. (I, 370ff.; 1912: III, 407, No. 70). There was a time, however, when heaven and earth were close together, so that it was easy for the people to visit the gods (I, 371).

The underworld similarly consisted of seven or nine layers (I, 374; Adriani, 1933: II, No. 89, 93, 98). Communication with it was relatively easy, as it could be reached directly via various holes in the ground. The dead got there via the hole at the western horizon and a giant palm tree growing in the underworld whose crown reached to the opening (I, 464ff.; Adriani, 1933: II, 88).

The sky was pictured by the Toradja in the form of a circle or as a square obtained by connecting the four cardinal points of the compass. The circle and square were consequently commonly used as symbols for the universe (I, 372).

The sun played an important role in the religious conceptions of the Toradja, even though one cannot speak of sun worship in this connection in any strict sense. It was said to be a ball of fire drawn through the sky each day (at night it lighted the underworld) by a man, who according to some people was Lasaeo, the Toradja culture hero. The life of man was compared to the course of the sun, and it took the souls of the dead with it to the underworld along with all evil and misfortune. Houses were built with their ridges running east-west so as not to cross the sun's path. It was most closely associated with the chief god, Pue mpalaburu, who was often spoken of as being "at the rising and setting of the sun", and whose eye it was (I, 372ff.).

The moon was also important to the Toradja. It was not worshipped, however, any more than was the sun. According to an old man quoted by Kruyt the moon was not a god (*lamoa*) but only an instrument of the gods. It was usually considered to be a woman and was married to the sun. It was said to have once lived on earth, and was often called the daughter of Lise. The dark spot in the moon was an iron waringin tree, and all waringins and birds supposedly came from this tree. Eclipses of the moon were caused by fights between the sun and moon. The latter was said to be good because it made people young again when they died (I, 382-87). Its phases determined the auspicious and inauspicious days for working in the fields and various other enterprises (III, 16ff.).

A constellation called Tamangkapa, "wing-flapper", (formed by the Pleiades, Orion's belt and Sirius) was said to have been a mythical rooster, Manu tadia, who once provided the people with rice but returned to heaven because of mistreatment. According to one story he later returned to the earth in the form of Lasaeo. The positions of this constellation played an important part in agriculture (I, 390f.). Other stars, though two of them, the morning and evening stars, had minor roles in the mythology, were of little concern to the Toradja (I, 387-94).

The Toradja had an understanding of how clouds and rain are formed, but they also attributed rain to various supernatural

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causes. It was said to be the tears of the ancestors, or the urine of the spirits of the air with which they fertilized the earth. It was also thought, however, that there was a place in heaven where many waringin trees grew which produced rain, or that there was a large pond there which a guardian let overflow in the rainy season. Rain could also be withheld or given by the gods and the ancestors, and various actions automatically brought it on, such as washing an earthenware pot in running water, cutting a piece of salt on a *djongi* tree, urinating in a crack in the ground, incest, adultery, etc. Various birds and animals, particularly frogs, could moreover influence the rain (I, 395-404).

While this by no means exhausts the data collected by Kruyt on the Toradja beliefs regarding the universe it does, I believe, include those essential to an understanding of the form of their religion. Other aspects of these beliefs will appear in the course of this book.

Chapter II

GODS AND SPIRITS

1. THE GODS

There were two primal gods, *Lai* and *Ndara*, associated respectively with the upperworld and the underworld. Little was known about them, however. Of Lai, the male god (*lai* = Malayo-Polynesian *laki* = man), it was said: "Lai up there rules heaven", and "Lai up in heaven covers our crowns". Sometimes he was described as "the man in heaven". (II, 3). He does not seem to have had any specific functions, though in one invocation quoted by Kruyt he was asked for the *tanoana* (soul) of the rice and said to be the one who filled the rice baskets (1918: 251). He was not the only one so credited, however. It is also possible that he and Ndara were meant by or included in the common invocation "Oh, gods above, oh, gods below" (*boo lamoa sindata, boo lamoa silau*)[1)]

Ndara, the female god (*ndara* = Malay *dara* in *anak dara* = girl, virgin), lived under the earth (II, 3) or was sometimes equated with it (III, 104). 'Ndara, a woman under the earth, carries our feet on her hands". "Ndara carries the stones on her head; the stones carry the earth; the earth carries the trees; the trees carry the human beings". "Ndara bears the earth on her head; when she scratches herself there is an earthquake". She was often also called Indo i Tuladidi, who, as we shall see below, was an agricultural goddess whose hair consisted of rice ears (II, 3).

Of more concern to the Toradja were *Pue di songi*, "Lord in the little room" and *Pue mpalaburu*, "The Maker". The first of these lived in a dark room of a house on the top layer of heaven (II, 4). He had rice ears as hair and maize kernels as teeth and was asked to make the rice crops succeed (III, 38; Kruyt, 1918: 251). He was frequently visited by shamans in search of the *tanoana* (souls) of sick people. On such occasions he would make light and call the inhabitants of heaven together to discuss the case and then advise the shaman as to where she could find the missing soul. He was not active himself, however, but would only give orders to the lesser gods, among whom was his assistant, *Ngkai mantande songka*, Grandfather who receives the orders". His hair was made of beads and he sat in a house where the souls of all men hung on strings. He would cut them down (thereby killing their owners) or bind them up more securely according to the orders he received (II, 4f.).

Pue mpalaburu or, as he was sometimes called, *i Manta'a tau*, "Creator of man" (I, 458; II, 153; Kruyt, 1940a: 258), was the most important of all the gods, and, it would seem, the only one well known to the people as opposed to their shamans. According

1) In the first edition Kruyt thought this only referred to the gods in general, wherever they were (I, 268), but in the second he said that the Toradja did have Lai and Ndara in mind (II, 4).

to the latter he was the son of Lai and Ndara or Tuladidi (though Ndo i ronda eo – see below – was also said to be his mother, and Tuladidi his wife (II, 41). He was visited by shamans in his house on the ninth layer of heaven (II, 132f.), but in invocations was addressed as "he who lives at the rising and the setting of the sun", to which was frequently added, "and at the other two ends of heaven". When asked, however, if Pue mpalaburu were the sun the Toradja would reply, "Certainly not, the sun is the eye of Pue mpalaburu" (I, 375). He was thought of as a blacksmith who forged and reforged people, thus maintaining the human race. The floor of his house was made of fingers and toes, his head decorations (*sanggori*) were ribs and his sirih bag was made of human skin or a skull. He was addressed as "...the one who tore apart our fingers and toes, provided our shin-bones with joints (?) split our lips, pierced our ears and hollowed out our noses". There are numerous stories of misformed people who made the trip to him in heaven in order to be remade. He would direct them to a shed full of hammers for forging all kinds of animals and human beings. The shed was dark, which made it difficult for them to choose the right one, but they were helped by a firefly, who for a small reward would light on the one they wanted. Pue mpalaburu would then take the "soul" from the defective body and reforge it, after which he would blow life back into it and show the result to his daughter, Bantieli, "the fastidious one", who would suggest various improvements (II, 5ff.).

Much more important were his functions as provider of *tanoana* and as punisher of certain sins. In this he was helped, as was Pue di songi, by Ngkai mantande songka and Indo nTegolili, "Mother who goes around". She travelled nine (or seven) times each day and night around the earth and told her master everything that people did wrong (some spoke, however, of a man and woman performing this function). It was she "who overtakes the sins with the mouth, with the hand and with the whole body, great and small sins..." (II, 6, 280; 1912: II, 10).

Pue mpalaburu instituted the system of fines for transgressions against one's fellow man [2] and if some one failed to respect these rules he ordered Ngkai mantande songka to cut the thread on which his soul hung. It was said, therefore, that, "He who is quick in the fining of his fellow man has a long life". Pue mpalaburu was mainly concerned with punishing those offenses which affected the foundations of their society: incest, intercourse with animals, the breaking of oaths, lying, stealing, etc., and his punishments were violent and sudden."...he orders a crocodile to devour the liar; he makes a falling tree crush the thief; incest he punishes with long drought or with severe hurricanes, and he makes his wrath about other transgressions known by earthquakes, earth-falls and landslides, by which extensive plantations on the mountains are sometimes destroyed" (II, 6; 1912: I, 270f.) [3].

Although Pue mpalaburu was the supreme god, creator of heaven

2) The ancestors were apparently also credited with having set these fines. Cf. Adriani, 1933: II, 123.

3) The ancestors were also said to punish incest by causing landslides which destroyed the rice. (III, 79).

and earth, etc., he was not always presented in such an awesome light. In at least two stories the tarsier, the trickster of Toradja mythology, gets the better of him. In one of these the tarsier is summoned by Pue mpalaburu to account to him for his conduct. He refuses to come, however, maintaining that he is not a creation of Pue mpalaburu but that he exists in his own right. It is decided that the argument which ensues will be settled by their attempting to choke each other. Pue mpalaburu, however, only succeeds in hurting his fingers, whereas the tarsier tears his opponent's head from his body. He replaces it at Pue mpalaburu's entreaty, but the latter recognizes him now as his superior (1912: III, 380f.).

Ndo i ronda eo, "Mother who lives in the sun", was said to be the mother of Pue mpalaburu. Her home was in heaven next to that of Pue di songi. "Ndo i ronda eo holds the root of heaven fast (II, 6). The To Palande said she was an agricultural goddess who lived in the eastern part of heaven, and the To Onda'e that hers was another name for the rice goddess Siladi. She would also seem to have shared the function of Indo nTegolili: "And you, Ndo i ronda eo, who go around the earth seven times a day, who see our deeds and hear our words..." (II, 29).

Just as the male gods in heaven had wives there, Ndara would seem to have had a husband in the underworld, *To ara lino*, "He who is under the earth". Kruyt's information on this point is rather confusing, however. He gave only one instance in which To ara lino was represented as being the husband of Ndara (II, 348), though he mentioned at another point some one called *Kai ntoara lindo* (*lindo* must be a misprint for *lino*, "earth" - cf. Wdb.), which he translated unaccountably as "Grandfather, keeper of the earth", and who was possibly the same person. He reported seeing an old man in Pu'u-mboto prepare sirih for chewing and place it on a buffalo to be sacrified, saying: "I give you here sirih, buffalo, so that you will go up to Pue mpalaburu and to Kai ntoara lindo to tell him (sic) that you have been killed". (II, 281). In view of the general practice of invoking simultaneously the gods of the upper and underworlds it would not seem unlikely that the buffalo was being asked to report to both of these. An "Ngkai" also appears in the underworld in a shaman's litany, showing her the way to the city of the dead (II, 160).

Another god of the underworld was *i Kombengi*, "the night", who was the evil one of the Toradja mythology (Wdb.). In Pu'u-mboto he was said to draw the moon through the sky (I, 383) and he was mentioned as the leader of the dead in a funeral song (II, 584). A story in the first edition has him disappearing into a cave after having warned various animals that human beings were too clever for them (I, 246).

As appears from the above, the relationship between Lai, Pue di songi and Pue mpalaburu is not very clear. Kruyt thought that Pue di songi was probably the same as Lai, but then the functions of Pue di songi and Pue mpalaburu coincided at several points. Both lived in a house on the ninth layer of heaven, both ruled heaven, both gave orders to Ngkai mantande songka, both punished transgressors and both were asked by the shamans for the *tanoana* of

the sick. The Toradja themselves, it would seem, were not in agreement as to which of the two was the more important. Some said the one was and others said the other. According to Kruyt Pue di songi was the inactive god living at the zenith of heaven, whereas Pue mpalaburu was the active one who concerned himself with human beings (II, 6). Elsewhere he wrote, however, that Pue di songi was the high god of the shamans, but practically unknown to the rest of the people (Kruyt, 1925: 81). Of course, it is not surprising that there should be some confusion as to the identity of these gods, and there is no point in speculating as to whether or not two or even all of them were the same. Rather they would seem to represent so many aspects of the male powers of heaven. As will become clear in the course of this book, they were certainly held to be individual figures, though more often than not their membership in a group of powers was more important than their distinct personalities.

There were various accounts of the creation of the earth and mankind, which was the work of these upper gods. In one of these it was said that Ndara, who originally lived in heaven, committed incest with her nephew and was therefore banished by the gods. Pue mpalaburu decided that she should be let down into the world sea on a copper wire. As she floated in the water foam collected about her, hardened and turned into earth, completely covering her. It grew ever thicker and greater in extent and finally grass and trees grew on it. At this point Pue mpalaburu called the people of heaven together to discuss what to do about her. He proposed to send people down to clear away the weeds, and acting on the advice of the shaman, Indo i Toliba, sent down a recently married couple for this purpose. They took nothing with them but a chicken's egg. As they passed through the layers of heaven they came across people in each one who were busy with the different stages of growing rice, from clearing the undergrowth to harvesting, and from each layer they took the tools there being used. Once arrived on Ndara they laid four branches over each other, pronounced the appropriate magic formula and found themselves in a house. The egg which they had brought with them hatched after seven nights and produced a rooster, which they called Manu tadia. He was full grown in a short time and spewed forth everything that they desired.

The couple got a son and daughter who married when they had grown up and their parents were dead. Pue mpalaburu wanted to kill them for having committed incest, but Indo i Toliba said not to, as there would be no one left to keep Ndara clear of weeds, and besides they couldn't have found any other marriage partners. She suggested that they be told to let a hen or pig drift down the river in a trough (*moandu sala*) so that their evil would no longer cling to them and their child would live. The couple followed this advice and had many progeny, who spread over the earth (II, 3f., 9f.).

A much simpler account, no doubt of foreign origin, as the Sanskrit name of Dewata would indicate, was the following. "In the beginning this earth did not exist: we had an island drifting in the sea. Then it happened that Dewata looked down and said to his

wife: 'Let's throw down some earth'. Thereupon they kneaded a clump of earth and threw it into the sea. It became a large land inhabited by people". The rest of the story is concerned with the origin of rice (Adriani, 1932: II, No. 127).

There was apparently only one story, however, which spoke of an actual creation of the first human beings. Lai and Ndara decided to make them. "They charged i Kombengi with this work. He made two human figures of stone (according to others, of wood), a man and a woman. When he was finished with this work, he put his creation on the road between the lower and upper kinddoms so that all the spirits who came by there saw the two people. In the evening i Kombengi's creation was discussed, and the gods found that the calves were not round enough. The gods came to have another look and remarked that the belly stuck too far out. Kombengi made a new human couple and this was approved by the gods; and yet they thought that the woman should also have something protruding on the genitals. Therefore the creator took a bit of the foreskin from the man and made the labia majora of the woman from it.

"When both images were entirely satisfactory to the gods, Lai returned to his home in heaven to make "eternal (lit. "long") breath" (*inosa marate*) for that human couple. Kombengi, however, let the wind blow against them, thereby giving them breath. That is why the breath returns to the wind when man is dead". (1912: I, 245f.). In the second edition (1951: II, 7) Kruyt gave a slightly different version of this story. There he said that "the gods above" and "the gods below" decided to make the couple (no mention was made of who did it) and that *Pue lamoa* returned to heaven for the "long breath". Whether this second version is more correct or commoner I cannot say. At any rate they agree in making the creation the work of the upper and underworlds, with the evil role being taken by the latter.

Before passing on to the specific spirits of the upperworld and earth something must be said about two general terms, *raoa* and *lamoa*. The first of these meant "the air and the spirits living in it, everything which surrounds man, the environment, the surroundings" (Wdb.). It was also applied, however, to man himself, where it meant his "spirit, feelings, inner consciousness" (I, 411). The spirits for which the term was used were sometimes good and sometimes evil. Thus we find *raoa* inhabiting the fields consecrated to the gods (II, 3), at another place turning up as "war spirits" (I, 351) and elsewhere as *raoa banua*, "house spirits" (II, 3), but they were also enemies of the *wurake*, the guardian spirits of the shamans, translated here by Kruyt as "the evil forces in the air" (II, 38), and were said, along with the *majasa*, to make women sterile (II, 348).

Lamoa was used for the gods, spirits and ancestors; for a person's "spirit, feelings, inner consciousness"; for things consecrated to the gods, such as the *pokae* in the fields and the wooden models in the smithy; for wild pigs and fowl (they belonged to the spirits of the forest); for things one didn't want to mention by

name, such as certain diseases and coitus and often for things of which one was afraid (Wdb.; II, 3).

Together these two words, which overlap to a large extent, cover the whole field of the supernatural and that part of man which is most closely connected with it. At one time Adriani equated *raoa* with *mana* (1932: III, 241). His conception of *mana*, however, as "an impersonal mystical force or magical potency in which everything shares or can share" obviously does not correspond to *raoa* or *lamoa*. Actually the idea of an impersonal force does not appear from any of the examples given by him or Kruyt, and it is obvious that he was reading it into the predominantly "animistic" ideas of the Toradja to make them fit into a theoretical opposition of animistic and dynamistic beliefs, the latter of which were supposedly on the wane.

The ideas expressed by *raoa* and *lamoa*, however, correspond closely with the conception of *mana* as it is actually found in many if not all parts of Melanesia and Polynesia. Hocart, after an examination of a large number of usages of the term culled both from his own investigations on Fiji and Eddystone and from the literature, concluded: "so far from being praeanimistic, the word [*mana*] is out and out spiritualistic; it is almost, if not entirely, confined to the action of ghosts and spirits, who, whatever their origin, now go under the same name as the ghosts: *tomate* in Mandegusu, *kalou* in Fiji, *'atau* in Uvea, *aitu* in Samoa". He defined it as "the response (generally, if not always, of spirits) to prayers and charms". (Hocart, 1914). In a later article (1922) he emphasized the practicality of the Polynesian conception of *mana*, connoting, as it did, prosperity and success. He pointed out, moreover, that it was usually attributed to chiefs and priests and associated it with the doctrine of the divinity of kings. In a third article he equated *mana* with the supernatural (1932).

Firth's investigations in Tikopia confirmed Hocart's findings. There, too, *mana* (or *manu*, the two words being roughly equivalent) was a gift of the gods: "I asked if *mana* lay simply in the chief as a man. My question made him laugh. He replied: 'No, friend. His *manu* is given hither by the spirits. When he asks it of the spirits, if the spirits wish to give it hither, they give it. and therefore I say that the chief is *manu*. A chief who is *manu*, the spirits just continually rejoice in their desire towards the chief.'" Nor was *mana* an abstract conception: "I put a question as to whether there could be *manu* alone independent of these material things. He said, "there is no *manu* alone of itself, there is *manu* of the rain, *manu* of the food, but no *manu* only. We look at the rain which has fallen, that is the *manu* which will come, come to the new chief".

Nowhere here do we find the notion of *mana* as a mysterious force pervading the universe. Indeed, for Firth the traditional idea of it was a theoretical abstraction of the anthropologists (Firth, 487) (Lévi-Strauss expressed a similar opinion of Mauss' conception of *mana*, which was at the basis of his theory of magic. 1950: XLV). What we do find, however, is the same identification of *mana* with the supernatural in general and with gods, spirits and ancestors in particular that we found expressed in *raoa* and

lamoa. Where they differ is in respect to the attribution of *mana* to chiefs and priests. The Toradja chiefs were not divine and the nature of the contact of their shamans with the supernatural was quite different from that of the Polynesian priests. This perhaps accounts for the fact that the Toradja terms lack the connotation of prosperity and success. The only figure in Toradja society who did correspond to the divine chiefs of Polynesia was the *datu* of Luwu, who was, it will be remembered, considered a *lamoa* and whose powers were indeed of a supernatural order.

If such terms as *mana*, *raoa* and *lamoa* can be taken as equivalent to the supernatural it is easy to account both for the apparently universal occurrence of such conceptions and the wide range of phenomena to which they can be and are applied. With the universe divided into the natural and supernatural everything which appears not to fit into the first category must perforce belong to the second. The dividing line between the two is of course drawn differently in different societies and the nature of the contact between the two varies as well, so that the content of these terms is not everywhere the same.

2. THE SPIRITS OF THE UPPERWORLD

The most important of these spirits were the *wurake*. They lived mainly on the fifth layer of the upperworld in *Tana-kaloe-loe*, "hanging land" (II, 32). They inhabited villages whose descriptions varied but which agreed in their magnificence. According to one shaman they were surrounded by seven walls made respectively, beginning with the inside one, of gold, silver, iron, stone, earthenware, wood and bamboo. According to another they were defended only by a hedge of cordyline, the sacred herb which formed an indispensable part of the shaman's equipment. They bore a great variety of names: some, for example, were named after trees or plants; other names were compounded with "sea" (*daga*), "heaven" (*langi*) or "lightning" (*kila*); still others referred to local peculiarities, as in "where the road splits", "in the watery regions", "the drums never cease", etc. (II, 35f.). The houses were built, some shamans said, on golden piles, the floor beams were made of sugar cane, the walls of cordyline, the rafters of swords, the roofs of white bark cloth, and the window openings were covered with little bells. According to others the houses were supported by a single golden pile, the floor beams were of sugar cane, walls and roofs were made of rice-ears. The houses were also described as floating in the air without supports of any kind. They were occasionally destroyed by floods and had to be restored (II, 36f.).

The *wurake* were human in form, quite beautiful and perfect, but hazy like a *limbajo* (ghost, spirit, shadow). Their skin was white and they were dressed in white bark cloth or costly old cloths (*bana*). "They adorn their hair with stars and use the moon as a hat (*iahi naposorue*)." They were immortal, regularly renewing themselves, but aside from that lived pretty much

as human beings do. Each shaman had a guide and helper among them to which she gave a personal name. It is impossible to find a common denominator in these names, however, the meaning of some of which Adriani and Kruyt could not discover. For example: "to whom all heaven dwellers come", "brother who has reached the acme of heroic deeds", "mother what can be done about it", "lord cold hand" (who cures all diseases), "loose beads of golden bronze", "mother cap with horns", "many-colored parakeet bowl", "the swell is blown away", "who is on the rising moon", "daylight in the shelter of the flowers", "knight of the splendid thunder", "mistress of those who make the lightning flash freely", "who has ribs as horns on his war cap", "who has fingers and toes as floorboards". (II, 33ff.). Kruyt said that it was usually female *wurake* who were invoked by the shamans, but this is not obvious from the names he recorded.

Some people maintained that the *wurake* had once been human, whereas others claimed that they had always been spirits. Still others said that some of them had once lived on earth. Another theory was that the *wurake* were the souls of dead infants, which went to the sky where they grew up, instead of going to the usual abode of the dead in the underworld (*Torate*), but this would seem to have been confined to Pu'u-mboto, where the shamans called their *wurake* assistants *muli*, "child" (II, 33, 123, n. 11).

The *wurake* did not grow their own crops, but fed themselves from the offerings made them by the shamans and by magic. If they particularly felt like having food from the earth and none was offered they would comb their hair, and if one of these hairs hit a human being he would get sick. Wars, which were the main concern of the chiefs, were frequently conducted against the *majasa*, and *raoa*, "spirits who make people sick", and other evil spirits. As Kruyt pointed out, however, all spirits made people sick from time to time, and the *wurake* sometimes fought with the *majasa* and sometimes against them. Jealousy among the spirits with respect to the earth dwellers was one cause of war between them. While the fields were being cultivated, for example, the agricultural spirits were offered to and the *wurake* neglected and in the still period it was the other way around. The people suffered from these wars, as they made them sick (II, 37ff.).

The rest of the spirits of the upperworld, with the exception of the *longga*, were usually evilly disposed toward human beings. The *longga* could vary their length at will and wore beards. If one met one of these spirits and held him fast he would give one everything asked of him. *Ngisi longga*, "longga teeth", was the name for bronze hatchets or spades found in the ground which would make their possessor rich (I, 405; Wdb.).

Majasa would appear to have been a general term for spirits of disease, wherever they were located. As we have seen, they were sometimes spoken of as the enemies and at others as the allies of the *wurake* in the sky. The spirits of the temple and smithy (*anitu*) were also called *majasa* (Wdb.), and it was a common name for the smallpox spirit (II, 204). They were said to cause sterility in women (II, 348), and used transitively the word meant simply "to make sick" (Wdb.).

The *dimalele*, who were evil without exception, lived on *banggai-lanto*, "floating island", in the sky (II, 38). The name would appear to be a contraction of *adi malele*, "roving prince" (II, 101). They were the chief enemies of the *wurake* and the shamans (II, 126).

The *sobugo* (or *sobigo*) were either a group of evil spirits or a single one. Adriani gave the following definition: "an evil deity who can only be kept in a good disposition by regular offerings; also the name of a small doll of sugar palm fibres that is used at sacrificial ceremonies" (Wdb.). In one place Kruyt also mentioned *Sobugo* along with *Gongga*, as an enemy of the shamans (II, 119). *Gongga*, incidentally, is mentioned nowhere else. The word means "necklace" in general, but was used more specifically for the string of shells used by head-hunters (Wdb.). Except for this one instance, then, Kruyt always spoke of the *sobugo* in the plural. They lived on the south side of heaven (II, 38) and were sometimes dispatched by the *wurake* to take away people's *tanoana* (souls) when they felt they had been neglected (II, 129). They also chose people for the job of fetching and cleaning the bones of the dead for the second funeral. They would make young people, as a rule, of either sex sick. These people could only be cured by being struck with a skull (*moungkubi*), and thereafter they would accompany experienced bone-collectors at funerals until they became competent to perform this function independently (II, 534).

The *weopu* were evil spirits wearing yellow jackets, who lived where the sun rises (II, 38). In the first edition their location was further specified as being on *Tana lanto*, "floating country" (1912: I, 275). They were also said to accompany the shamans on their way to heaven (II, 144),

The *to wawo jangi*, "people on top of heaven", were said to draw the sun through the sky. They were in the habit of fishing for people with hooks in order to get helpers for this task. These hooks caught in people's mouths, causing swelling of the tonsils (II, 171).

Finally, a certain *sauali* was sometimes mentioned on the north side of Lake Poso in connection with comets, when it was said that "*sauali* is travelling in his steamboat". Kruyt could find out no more about him, but comets were always a bad sign (I, 389).

3. SPIRITS OF THE EARTH

One of the *majasa* discussed above was the smallpox spirit, *sagala*, which was the name for the disease as well (II, 203ff.). He was described as a large black man with protruding mouth and with quills all over his body. Contact with them or his spear would give people the disease. The soles of his feet were round, causing him to leave circular tracks in the ground. The medicine-men (*sando*) who treated the disease were supposedly on good terms with him and knew his name, of which Kruyt gave three examples: *wuadja*, *karambau* and *toringka*. Elsewhere, however, the first two were merely said to be interjections (Wdb.; I, 204n.), and the *toringka* were represented as being disease spirits in

their own right (II, 9; and III, 111, where all three appear long with *sagala* as so many evil spirits). *Sagala* was a member of the *datu* of Luwu's family and his children were masters of other diseases: *sonsi* (chicken pox), *kumobo* (dropsy), *gampa* (measles), *buti* (?) and *dato* (?) (the *datu* himself, it will be remembered, was said to control various diseases). His home was on one of the mountains thought to be inhabited by spirits: Tamungku ntana, Watu mora'a or Liwuto.

Bela was a general name for spirits of trees, stones and the earth (II, 54ff.; 62ff.). Another even more general but less common term, including the spirits of trees, earth and water, was *mbolai*, sometimes shortened to *lai*. Still other names were *longkiba*, *siduja* and *tedodo* (II, 54). All of these except *bela*, however, belonged to the language of the shamans, according to Adriani (Wdb.) [4]. Kruyt spoke of a certain *mamanu-ngkalaja* as the "kingdom of the *bela*" without giving its location, thought the context would seem to place it in the underworld (II, 135f.). They lived, however, mostly in big trees, of which each village had a number in its vicinity feared for their inhabitants, in oddly shaped stones or caves and on all hills and mountains. Among the tree spirits the most feared were those of the waringin, known as *angga (n)tuwa nunu*, "spirit of the waringin". The tree spirits were masters of the forest animals, and the hunters "language" was supposedly developed to avoid words that would offend them. The *torio-rio*, which was either another name for the *bela* (Wdb.) or who were the latter's slaves, were herdsmen of the wild pigs, who did so much damage to the crops. All *bela* were extremely touchy and would make people sick by taking their souls (*tanoana*). They also had sexual relations with the Toradja. Some people lived alone in the forest because they were married to one, and many women claimed to have been made pregnant by them. Children born of such unions were described as albinos (which were rather rare among the Toradja) or as having various other unusual physical characteristics. They did not live long, as they were soon taken by the *bela*. Aside from taking people's *tanoana* they also "spoke" to them and possessed them. In the first case a person was said to be *kemboa*, "with a spirit". He suddenly felt ill and dizzy and perspired all over his body. This could, incidentally, be caused by ghosts as well. A person or animal possessed by a tree spirit (*masuntju(l)oki*) was dangerous and attacked other people.

The *bela* found in stones were also sometimes called *seta* (from the Buginese from Arabic *shaitan*, "devil"). They all had names given to them by the local populations, but some of those on mountains were well known throughout Central Celebes. The spirits of innumerable stones were offered to by hunters. Others

4) Kruyt also gave bolagi as equivalent to mbolai, but Adriani did not give this meaning for bolagi, which was used for head-hunters by those staying behind or by the members of a raiding party who did not participate in the actual attack (Wdb.; I, 307). According to a note by the editors of the Woordenboek, Adriani had originally equated mbolai and bolagi, but this was apparently a mistake, judging by the data on the language of the shamans available.

were invoked for rain or drought and for various other purposes: healing, success in war, palm wine, etc. A few were worshipped as protectors of villages (II, 62ff.; for the last see Kruyt, 1938: I, 454ff.).

Besides those living in trees there were various other forest spirits (II, 59). The *angga rumombi* wandered about carrying heavy burdens, which caused them to sigh audibly. They did no harm, however. *Mangobi* or *bukubehe* or *buhehe* (the second two were onomatopoeic for the bleating of goats) was a very dangerous spirit who lived in caves. It was best to flee if one came across him, but if it was too late then one still had a chance to escape if one could make him laugh, because then his long lips would curl back and cover his eyes. *Kalamau* (the name is from a Buginese term meaning "angel of death") appeared in various forms, sometimes as a buffalo without horns. He attacked people and made them sick. The corpses of his victims turned black and bled at the nose. He would cause sickness and death in a family whose house was built in the path of his wanderings (I, 169). The *todugu* and *kombeli* were two tribes of spirits who merely scared people by shouting boo! (*beo*) at them.

Every spot on earth had its own spirit, *tumpu ntana*, "owner, lord of the ground". One was careful not to annoy them, as they were just as touchy as the tree spirits. Their permission had to be obtained for clearing a field or building a house or village (II, 62; I, 168, 177). They were invoked before carrying out the ordeal conducted by sticking spears in the ground (*mogego*) (I, 208) and when burying a corpse in a region where none had been buried before (II, 507). They made the rice thrive in the fields (III, 189), filled the sago palms with sago (III, 202) and sometimes sowed arenga palms (III, 220). They were also invoked by hunters (III, 356f., 360, 363).

The most powerful water spirits lived in the sea. Kruyt called them *bolagi ntasi* (II, 59), but this was probably a mistake for *mbolai ntasi* (see note 4). They ate only fish and lived in various villages called *Limpu-daga*, ("depth of the sea"), *Daga-moembo* ("undulating sea"), *Daga-ramputi* ("white sea"), *Pondale-nggoni* ("where the gong is") and *Tokaluku-lue* ("hanging coconuts"). According to Adriani the last of these was the name of a *wurake* village (Wdb. sub *loeë*), but since the names of the villages of the water spirits and the *wurake* were so similar it is quite possible that confusion existed on this score. Adriani also listed the first three names, along with *Daga pandai*, as referring to water spirits and not to their villages. However that may be, the spirits of the sea made people sick by taking their *tanoana*, which was revealed to them in their dreams (II, 60).

These spirits were chiefly of concern to the shamans. Better known to the rest of the people were the spirits of lakes and rivers, called *torandaue*, "the water dwellers". They were human in form, except that their mouths protruded like the snout of a pig. They wore white clothes, were exceptionally keen of hearing and were generally well disposed. Some places in large rivers, however, were greatly feared for the spirits living there. When they had been insulted or harmed by people they gave them fever

by throwing white stones from the river beds at them which penetrated their bodies (II, 60, 197). Contact, including intermarriage, between the water spirits and the Toradja was frequent, just as in the case of the tree spirits (II, 60f.). In another section (II, 420) Kruyt recorded a story of the origin of "the god of the water", Torandaue, who was supposed to live at the bottom of the sea. He used crocodiles to hunt with and overturned boats if he was annoyed. It is not clear whether or not he was male or female, as at one point Kruyt spoke of "she" and immediately thereafter of "he". In a version he published some years earlier (Kruyt 1940: 247-252) he said that Torandaue became the mother of the water spirits, which were generally thought of as being female. However, nothing in his later work indicates that the latter were predominantly one or the other.

Dangerous water spirits who inhabited deep places in rivers and rapids were called *imbu*, the same as *tumpu*, "lord, owner". They were usually thought of as snakes, but could also have various other shapes as well: *imbu kajoro* ("rope-*imbu*"), *imbu konau* ("arenga-*imbu*"), *imbu baula* ("buffalo-*imbu*"), etc. They tried to drag people under or carry them away with the current when they crossed the river (II, 61). *Imbu* was apparently also applied to some other water spirits, however, as an example quoted by Adriani indicates: *imbu tau to randa ue to'onja*, "*imbu* [resembling] human beings are called *to randa ue*". (Wdb.). The story referred to above relating the origin of Torandaue speaks, moreover, of an *imbu ntasi*, "*imbu* of the sea" (II, 420).

4. AGRICULTURAL GODS AND SPIRITS

Although these were not associated with a single region of the cosmos or confined to a single type of supernatural being, they are grouped together here for the sake of convenience.

In the first place, most of the upper gods were concerned with the crops. Thus *Lai* was asked for the *tanoana* of the rice and was said to fill the rice baskets (Kruyt, 1918: 251). *Ndara* was often called *Indo i Tuladidi*, a specifically agricultural goddess (II, 3) and was asked to chase bad things away so that the rice would succeed (III, 55). *Pue di songi* had rice ears as hair and maize kernels as teeth and was also asked to make the rice crop successful (Kruyt, 1918: 251). *Ndo i ronda eo* was said by the To Palande to be an agricultural goddess and by the To Onda'e to be the same as *Siladi*, also an agricultural goddess (II, 41) and was asked for rice (III, 104). *Pue mpalaburu* was married to *Indo i Tuladidi*, was asked for rice (III, 104), was consulted about the *tanoana* of the rice if a preceding crop had failed (II, 160) and was complained to by the agricultural expert (*sando mpodjamaa*) if a crop was bad (III, 24). *Kombengi*, finally, was invoked along with many others after the rice harvest and asked for a good crop the following season (III, 138n.).

Next there were several gods associated exclusively with agriculture. One of the most widely known of these was *Pue ura*. It is not clear, however, whether this figure was male or female. When

discussing this category of supernaturals Kruyt spoke of her as a goddess (II, 40f.), but everywhere else he referred to him as a god (II, 51, 110, 159, 193; III, 32, 166) and so did Adriani (Wdb.). Nor is it certain what the name itself means. The To Bada (a West Toradja tribe bordering on the Bare'e-speaking group) said it meant "Lord [who] chases away", namely the rice birds which damaged the crops (II, 41n.; Wdb.). Kruyt thought it probable, however, that *ura* was an old word for rain, comparing it to Malay *hudjan*, Waibunta *ura* and Seko *urang* (II, 41f.). Around Lake Poso she (he) was said to live in a spiritual village called *Opo* ("lord") (II, 41), and the shamans supposedly went to heaven to fetch the soul of the rice (*tanoana mpae*) from her (him) on the eve of planting (III, 159f.). Pue ura was worshipped more by the western tribes (To Pebato, To Wingke-mposo and To Pu'u mboto) than by the eastern ones (To Onda'e, To Lage and To Palande) (II, 40).

Less well known, it would seem, was *Indo i Tuladidi* (or *Taludidi* or *Todidi*), whose name possibly meant "the yellow one". She had rice ears as hair and was said to be the wife of Pue mpalaburu. Hers was also a second name for Ndara, and Adriani called her an earth goddess. Kruyt suggested that the Toradja perhaps thought in this connection of a collaboration between heaven and earth in the form of Pue ura and Tuladidi, which is quite possible, but would then make it more likely that Pue ura was male and not female (II, 41; Wdb.).

According to the To Onda'e Ndo i ronda eo was another name for *Siladi*, a goddess living in the east. She was mainly invoked when work was begun on laying out the fields (II, 41).

In addition to having Ndo i ronda eo as an agricultural goddess the To Palande spoke of two Siladi, one male - *i Ntjiladi Baginda Ali* - who lived in the southern part of heaven, and the other female - *Ndo i Ntjiladi*, "Mother Siladi" - who lived in the northern part. They also told of an unnamed goddess who had given rice to a shaman when the latter first came to fetch it from heaven. Each year she brought the grain to the rice (II, 41).

Lise was a rather complicated figure. The name would seem to be the same as Sa'dan *lise'*, Makassarese *lisere'* and Buginese *lise*, meaning "seed, seed grain, contents" (II, 48; Wdb.), and she was thought, indeed, to bring the grain to the rice. According to Kruyt she came in the form of the *djeekuli*, a small, blue bird which made its nest in the rice fields around the time the grain began to form in the rice plants, laid its eggs and supposedly returned to heaven after the harvest. Actually it is not clear that the Toradja considered Lise and the *djeekuli* to be one and the same, and many of them believed the bird to be a messenger from Pue ura or some other agricultural god (II, 48 ff.). Kruyt thought she used to live in the moon (II, 49; Kruyt 1935a) and said she was often called the mother of the moon (I, 382). In a harvest litany, however, she was conducted back to the *wurake* at one point (III, 179) and to the ninth layer of heaven further on (III, 182). The Toradja themselves, he said, always replied "in the sky" when asked where she lived (Kruyt 1935a: 115) and that is most likely as close as one can come to it. She was worship-

ped only by the eastern tribes, especially the To Onda'e and To Lage, being known elsewhere as an evil woman (II, 49). The first two tribes accorded her both an evil and a beneficent aspect (Kruyt 1935a: 117). Some tribes, moreover, did not refer to her as *Lise*, but simply as the "spirit of the rice" (Kruyt did not give the Toradja term for this), but all tribes sent her away after the harvest (ibid.).

A pair of sisters who had the same function as Lise among the eastern tribes were *Indo i losi* and *Indo i laoe*. The first was drawn up to heaven by "spirits", taking the seed rice with her, and her sister (an hermaphrodite) went to the underworld, promising to make the people's crops succeed in compensation for the rice her sister had taken. Both were said to bring the grain to the rice, and according to Kruyt the second was "practically equivalent to the rice goddess". (I, 54f; II, 33; III, 114; Wdb.).

Another dual figure was *Sumboli*. The root is *woli*, meaning "turned about, in [an] unusual direction, backwards". According to Adriani he was "an old agricultural god, now one of the decorative figures in stories, songs and riddles... so named because he walks on reversed feet, with the foot soles on top". He also had horns on his knees (Wdb.). According to Kruyt he was originally a feared god who turned things upside down from time to time, but could also straighten things out. He was usually accompanied by *Lagoni* (probably from *agoni* or *agori*, meaning "bearer, servant"), who, when he appeared independently, acted the same way Sumboli did (II, 49; Wdb.). In the mythology Sumboli was sometimes malicious and tyrannical and sometimes he was merely the servant of the prince or chief, but he had no definite character. In riddles he was the owner of the thing to be guessed (II, 54).

A couple of whom little is recorded were *Sarengge* and her husband *Sareo*. They had strings of beads as hair and were asked for rain (Wdb.). In an early work Kruyt called them "very powerful gods" necessary for the success of the harvest. They had rice stalks as body hair (Kruyt, 1925: 103).

There were next several groups of spirits concerned with agriculture. There were seven *lamoa ri pebetea*, "spirits in the east", whose bodies were quite smooth, with all the orifices closed. They were invoked when the new rice was eaten, as their task was to see to it that the food people ate stayed in them so that they wouldn't immediately feel hungry again (II, 52).

The *mokompo ganda*, "who have bellies like drums", and the *wojo sajae*, "a section of bamboo", made it impossible for people to satisfy their hunger if they were annoyed with them. The first lived in the east and the second in the west (II, 52).

The *rampo* were a host of gluttonous spirits generally believed in. Under various leaders, such as *Lantjadako*, "the pilferer", they stole food at feasts, made rice disappear mysteriously from the barns and entered people, who as a result could eat and eat without getting fat. They lived especially on high mountains, like the Pompangeo (II, 52f.). One of their leaders, *Rao*, caused eclipses by swallowing the sun (I, 378).

The *peongka*, "to survey the surroundings from a high point",

had a destructive influence on the food value of the rice. They were asked not to come any closer than the ridge of the house to look at the people (II, 54).

The *lamoa ri sumbi*, "spirits at the edge of the fields", kept the wild animals away from the crops (II, 51). The *lamoa ri wobo ntu'a*, "spirits on the tree stumps", brought birds to the fields which ate the crops (II, 51). The *lamoa ri ara mbata*, "spirits under the felled trees", (also called *tolonggono'u*) appeared as insects resembling earwigs which lived in the ground and destroyed the rice plants, or as another kind which ate the leaves. They also controlled the mice (II, 51f.).

In the ground, finally, were the *tumpu ntana*, "owners, lords of the ground", who were thought to make the rice thrive (III, 189).

In addition to all these gods, goddesses and spirits each family had its own agricultural spirits, *lamoa nawu*, "spirits of the (rice) fields". In many ways they resembled the *wurake*. They formed societies as the latter did, and it was the females among them who were mostly invoked. They competed with each other for the favor of the living and some said that the male *wurake* married the female *lamoa nawu*. In general the *lamoa nawu* were ancestors who had been successful in agriculture or people who had made a name for themselves as agricultural doctors. To judge by their names, however, it would seem that they were not usually thought of as individual ancestors; for example: "mother heavily overhanging", mother almost ripe cucumber", mother who goes along the edge of the rice field (to guard it)". Some names were known in several tribes. One of these, incidentally, was said to be *Talise dolo*, "red *talise* tree", which Kruyt mentioned elsewhere as a village of the *wurake* (II, 42ff., 35).

Although each family had its own *lamoa nawu*, they were also divided into groups with which different practices and ceremonies were associated. Though these differences were small the success of the crops was thought to depend on their strict observance. In Onda'e there were three groups: *Lamoa nTo Onda'e*, *Lamoa nTo Kodja* and *Lamoa nTo Bomba*, named after three of its most important villages. Onda'e gave its name to the tribe, Kodja was the original home of the *karadja* of Onda'e and Bomba was its oldest village. It is not known what the relationship may have been between these three villages in the past, but when Adriani and Kruyt were there the worshippers of these three groups were found scattered throughout Onda'e. Thus in most of the villages two or three of the groups were represented. Moreover, if a To Onda'e had had a poor harvest for a few seasons he was apt to change his allegiance to another group. The *Lamoa nTo Onda'e* lived in "the sky at the bending of the good cordyline stem", and their villages were called "the nine layers of heaven", "the everywhere visible plain" and "the mountains which lie opposite each other". The *Lamoa nTo Kodja* inhabited "the pinang place where the moon floats about on the same level as the swaying of the *wunga* plants". No location was given for the *Lamoa nTo Bomba*.

Those tribes living around Lake Poso and the To Pebato had two groups of these spirits: the *lamoa rawaja* and the *lamoa rapampa*. These names refer to the method of protecting the spot in

the ground where the first offering of sirih-pinang was buried before the soil was cleared for planting: in the first case it was fenced in (*rawaja*) and in the second four sticks were planted at an angle in the ground so that they crossed (*rapampa*). The first group were much less numerous than the second (in the ratio of one to ten, it was said), but they were more important; they were called, indeed, the elder brothers and sisters of the *lamoa rapampa*. Some even said that the *lamoa rawaja* were gods by nature, whereas the others had once been human beings, and they were equated with the gods of the smiths (*lamoa ntopompalu*).

The *To Tinoe* (they belonged to the To Wingke-mposo) called the *lamoa rawaja lamoa momburu*, after the *momburu* ceremony held for them. In Palande the *lamoa rawaja* were called *to kumambu olo* and the *lamoa rapampa wua nto rano*, "fruit of the lake dwellers". The To Pu'u-mboto had yet another group of spirits, called *lamoa mosou*, after the little house (*sou*) made for them when the harvest was begun.

Besides this division into two main groups the *lamoa rapampa* themselves were further differentiated, though Kruyt considered the differences too small to report (II, 44ff.).

Chapter III

THE DEAD

The commonest term for the dead was *angga* or *angga ntau mate*, "*angga* of (a) dead person(s)". *Angga* is the same word, according to Adriani, as Tagalog *akap*, Malay *tangkap* and the Javanese root *kap*, *kěp*, meaning "grasp, seize", and in the form *maanggapi* means "to grasp with the claws or with bent fingers". He defined *angga* as "ghost, apparition, personality of a dead person", but it was not only applied to the dead. *Angga mbajau* was a "spirit who lives in a cave"; *angga ewo* (- *mpada*, - *bose*, - *ntomba*), "*angga* of the grass" (" - of the plain", "large -", " - of the pools") were alternative names for buffalo; *angga rumombi* and *angga* (*n*)*tuwa nime* we have already come across as spirits of the forest and waringin respectively and *angga apu* were the heat waves visible above fires or heated ground. Things belonging to no one were said to be the property of the *angga* (Wdb.). The word was also used for various spirits inhabiting parts of houses and domestic utensils (Wdb. sub *kolalima*). Alternative terms for *angga* were *kaburu* ("bogey") and *walilajo* ("wandering spirit") (Wdb.). *Angga* were generally thought to look like the person they came from, but smaller, black and wearing a chin cloth like those bound around the heads of corpses. The recently dead resembled corpses, but later resumed their old appearance. They could also take the form of all kinds of animals. They came to feed on the crops as mice, pigs and rice birds. They appeared most commonly, however, as snakes and birds. In the mythology they came to aid people in distress in the form of horse-flies, fire-flies, ants and other insects (I, 448, 414). Crocodiles were particularly important as representatives of the dead and the underworld. The Toradja believed that there were two kinds of them; those with four toes were just ordinary animals, but those with five toes were ancestors and were called *ngkai*, "grandfather" (actually the term included all the male members of one's family of one's grandfather's generation and older). Crocodiles served too as agents of the gods and ancestors of the underworld, punishing people on their behalf for their sins. Nevertheless, although the Toradja usually left crocodiles alone, they would hunt and kill any crocodile that had taken a pig, dog or human being (I, 12; Kruyt, 1934-35).

The dead did not form an undifferentiated group, however. In the first place, distinction was made between the recently dead, referred to as a rule simply as *angga* and the revered ancestors for whom the main death ceremonies (*pompemate*, *tengke*) had been performed, the *angga ntau tu'a* (II, 70). To judge from the references to the dead in Kruyt's book, however, it would seem that this terminological distinction was not closely adhered to, *angga* often being used indiscriminately for all categories of the

dead. There were also other names for the dead. *Sumanga* (from Malay *sumangat*) [1] would appear to have been used for those long dead (I, 453, 456; II, 160; III, 43, 360), but Kruyt also said that it was merely a term used by people who had had much contact with foreigners (I, 448), and in one instance he reported, the *sumanga* were enjoined to stop their regular visits to a sick person: "Think no more of us; we are no longer related" (II, 142), which would seem to put them in the category of the recently dead. *Tau piamo*, "people of yore", was still another designation for the ancestors (Wdb.; I, 25; II, 75).

The *angga* of the first category were capricious and harmed the living in innumerable ways. According to Adriani they lived in the forest, in caves, large trees, etc. (Wdb.), whereas Kruyt said they kept returning from the underworld, where they were sent at their funerals (II, 70). However that may be, they were hardly to be distinguished in their behavior from the unfriendly earth, water and forest spirits described above. They were invisible except to a few people called *tau monata josa*, "people with sharp eyes", who usually claimed to have a medicine which made them temporarily clairvoyant (I, 451). The odor of corpses, burnt hair, *kudu* (Kaempferia rotunda) or of chewed medicine which was applied to sick people, however, betrayed their presence. Sounds of grumbling, or cracking or rattling of pans over the fireplace, or of steps in an apparently empty house or of howling like a dog also indicated that they were near (I, 450f.). They wandered about in the evening by the light of the evening star, *silo angga*, "torch of the *angga*". For this reason the Toradja didn't go out at this time of day unless it was necessary, and when they did would carry a flaming piece of wood to keep the *angga* at a distance (I, 390). They were most fond of frightening people by making branches of trees fall in front of them and so forth, but they also made people dizzy (*kemboa*) by "speaking" to them, as did the tree and earth spirits (I, 451). They also took the *tanoana* of the living to the underworld, and it often happened that people threatened to take revenge on somebody or other after their death (I, 452).

Physical contact with an *angga* left a mark on the body. An itching, burning spot meant that the person had been touched by one; if greenish spots appeared, he had been bitten or beaten by one (Kruyt, 1906: 399). Since only misfortune or death was to be expected from an encounter with ghosts they were driven away by various means: incantations, the burning or chewing and spitting of certain herbs, etc. (I, 452).

Many of the dead never went to the underworld (or if they did lived apart from the others), but remained on earth to plague the living; they were those who died a violent death. It was generally thought that they wandered about frightening people, but particular abodes were also ascribed to them (I, 473f.). The *bolinde* or *angga melombo* ("*angga* who make a dull sound") or *angga poi* (from the cry of pain they gave) were the souls of people killed in battle. "They are conceived of as having human form, but without

1) Kruyt writes sumanga or sumangali indiscriminately, but Adriani gives only the first in this meaning, calling the second a kind of herb - Wdb.

a head. They carry their head under their arm, and when they want to see they lift up the arm so that the eyes in the head can see. Others say that they see with the nipples of their breast. The *bolinde* walks with its arms stretched out before it to keep from running into things. Every month he goes on the prowl (*melao*) in the night of the moon in which he fell, and then one hears his sound as the howling (*moguangi*) of a dog. From the neck wound comes a bubbling sound as of boiling water that can be heard at a great distance. Now and then blood and filth from the rotting body spout from the wound. When a *bolinde* pursues some one and he bespatters him with his filth the person immediately feels cold: he becomes sick and dies within a few days. Even though the person being pursued climbs into a tree, the filth or blood can reach him because it spouts upwards. If this happens while one is on the warpath that person will be killed on a subsequent raid. Sometimes the *bolinde* appears as a flame" (I, 461). They lived on Mt. Kambetu'e, near Tangkambulontji (others said Sawia-deli). Lightening flashed there constantly, as the blood flowing from the neck wounds became lightning, and the drums were beaten continually. The drinking water was full of worms. According to others these ghosts lived in Moraa leboni, "among the *leboni* trees", which was situated on a lake filled with blood. The ghosts of Kambetu'e often fought with those of Tangkambulontji, which resulted in tremendous thunder storms (the sound of their guns). The leader of the latter was called Talapi, and whenever he wandered about among people he brought contagious diseases. The leader of the former was called Oa, and he used to be invoked before head-hunting raids (I, 474f.).

The souls of women who had died in childbirth were also feared, though not so much as elsewhere in Indonesia according to Kruyt. These spirits retained their human form except that their backs were split along the spine, which deformity they hid by letting their long hair hang down over it. The two halves of their bodies could expand into wings to enable them to pursue their victims more swiftly. Some said they were followed by their children (the children of women who died in giving birth were usually put dead or alive into their mothers' coffins), who peeped like chickens while the mothers clucked like hens. These spirits were called, therefore, *rengge ana*, "the loud peeping of a child" (the name *puntiana*, so common in Indonesia, was only known to the coastal people). They particularly attacked women pregnant with boys and men walking alone. From the first they tried to tear out the foetus, and from the second to tear off the penis. In the first case they could assume various forms, such as that of a small goat that keeps bumping its head against the udder as it suckles, or a chick that picks food, or a bat that bites everything to pieces inside the woman. The *rengge ana* were thought to stay near their graves, in thickets or trees (waringin or *djongi*), on hills, at the sources of rivers or swampy places, or especially at the site of abandoned villages. Although it was generally believed that the souls of such unfortunate women didn't go to the underworld, Kruyt found some old people in various tribes who said that they did, but lived there apart from the rest

of the dead. In Tentena one man said they wandered around the earth for nineteen nights to avenge themselves for their misfortune and then went to *Torate* (I, 462f., 474).

In addition to these two categories, those who died from contagious diseases, such as smallpox, and others who for some reason or other failed to receive a proper burial were not admitted to *Torate*. The former went to two mountains, Tangkambulontji (close to the northwest corner of Lake Poso; some said Ganti, near the confluence of the Puna and its tributary the Pinale) for what Kruyt called the "northern" tribes (though he must have meant "western" or at least "northwestern"), and Liwuto or Lipu-mpue (approximately half way between the Tomini and Mori Gulfs) for the eastern ones. The spirits of these two mountains were enemies (I, 474; III, 23). It will be remembered that those of Tangkambulontji, whose leader, Talapi, was a bringer of disease, often fought with the *bolinde* of Kambetu'e. Around Wotu the souls of smallpox victims went to the sea, as that was the direction from which the smallpox spirit was thought to come (II, 207).

The souls of human sacrifices and witches (*tau mepongko*) had their own villages, too, and there were even people who claimed that some of those who went to the official abode of the dead lived under the houses in which they had died and others in the trunk of the tree from which their coffins had been cut (I, 474). Still another place considered to be a home of the dead (whether it was for the dead in general or for a particular category of them is not clear) was a hill in the former territory of the To Pajapi, near the present village of Kasiguntju, called *Nakota-angga*, "provided with an earthen wall by the souls of the dead". The inhabitants of Kasiguntju often heard dances, the beating of drums and the singing of cradle songs from there at night. Some people saw rattan fields and villages there which had disappeared when they returned (I, 475).

It was said above that the "good" *angga* went, with few exceptions, to *Torate* in the underworld. Although this was apparently the most common conception various other destinations were ascribed to them as well, with the result that there is considerable confusion in Kruyt's writings on this score. As this confusion arises mainly from conflicting beliefs of the shamans and the rest of the people in this matter and with respect to the purpose of the funeral ceremonies, it will be discussed in connection with the latter. It should be noted here, however, that aside from the belief that the dead were permanently taken up into the society of the ancestors, there was an equally widespread one that the souls of the dead died several times, a man's eight times, a woman's nine, becoming smaller each time until they finally disappeared. Some thought that they became smaller animals and insects in the process, others that they finally turned into water which evaporated at the "navel of the sea" (*puse ntasi*) and formed clouds, which in turn fell back on the earth as rain. Still others believed that the souls became dust, which was dispersed by the wind (I, 460).

The attitude of the Toradja toward their ancestors was quite different from their attitude toward the ghosts just described.

Whereas the latter were kept at as great a distance as possible, the aid of the former was asked for on almost all occasions of any importance (II, 71). The nature of these occasions and the ways in which the ancestors were invoked will be discussed in part II below.

There was finally a distinct group of ancestors of great importance called *anitu*, an Austronesian word of wide distribution (Wdb.; II, 73n.). Here, aside from its general meaning of "spirit", it was used for the spirits in the temple (*anitu ri lobo*) and in the smithy (*anitu ri kolowo*). About the latter Kruyt gave practically no information, so that it is impossible to say what kind of spirits they were or how they were related to the former. The *anitu ri lobo* included primarily the souls of heroes killed in battle and others who had distinguished themselves by their courage and fighting skill during their lives, and the village founders (II, 73; Adriani, 1932: II, 193). Kruyt once quoted an "educated" Toradja as saying: "*Anitu* are the souls of *kabosenja* [freemen and chiefs] of the old, old times", (Kruyt 1899a: 196), and in his *Animisme* (Kruyt, 1906: 395) he said that all people who had influenced the life of the tribe were included in this group. The *anitu* were not worshipped as individuals, however, and the overriding importance of head-hunting in the eyes of the Toradja probably accounts for the emphasis put on their function as protectors of the village in war. They lived under the roof of the temple in the bundle of arenga leaves (*towugi*) ceremonially deposited there by the head-hunters on their return from a raid, and for this reason a small, poisonous snake (*ule alo*) [2] that lived there was thought to be an incarnation of the *anitu* and was never killed. An alternate name for these ancestors was *pue ri wumbu*, "Lord under the ridge" (II. 74).

2) According to Kruyt this snake (Coluber erythrurus) was green (II, 74, 89, 453), but both Adriani (Wdb.) and Th.van Ardenne, who wrote an appendix to the first edition of "De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's" on the To Lampu (1912: II, 403), it was black with a red sheen on top (from the head to the neck, according to the latter).

Chapter IV

THE SOUL

The Toradja had several words for the soul or life principle or force, or whatever one may choose to call it, which distinguished the living from the dead. A general word for "life", or "living" was *tuwu*. It was also used for the germ of plants. *Katuwu* was "life", "situation in life"; *tinuwu* was "age", "length of life"; *mampatuwu* meant "to keep alive", "support", "bring up" (Wdb.).

Inosa was "breath, length of life, life force, conceived of as the visible form of life". It was also used as *raja* in the sense of "feeling", "state of mind" (Wdb. sub *osa*). Other terms for *inosa* in the vocabulary of the shamans were *lambui*, "the blower, the wind", and *inowe*, which was a variant form of *inosa* (Wdb.).

Wajo (called *bajo* by the shamans) and *limbajo* meant "shade", "shadow", "soul", "life spirit", "mirror image" (Wdb.). Probably a variant of *limbajo* was *lambojo*, which was used for the "evil insides" of witches which preyed upon their victims (Wdb.).

As we have already seen, *lamoa* and *raja* were also used to refer to a person's mind, spirit or feelings.

A term which was used more than the others for the spiritual part of man conceived of as an independant personality, though not exclusively so, was *tanoana* (also called *tanimbulu* by the shamans). It would appear to have been derived from *to ana*, "homuncle", and was often described as "a little man the size of the little finger" (Wdb.; I, 413). The *tanoana* could leave or return to the body at will, chiefly through the top of the head, which was also called by this name, or by the nose (sneezing) or by the joints (1912: I, 248f.). When one was caught in the rain while the sun shone (an inauspicious sign) one would strike the top of one's head and call to the *tanoana* not to go away (I, 389). It might also fail to return with its owner form a trip (II, 58) or voluntarily accompany an *angga* to the underworld (II, 494); Dreams were caused by the *tanoana* leaving the body to go wandering, and therefore it was dangerous to wake somebody suddenly, as his *tanoana* might not have had time to return (I, 416).

Because it was so easily separated from the body the *tanoana* was extremely vulnerable and constantly in danger of being taken by malicious ghosts and spirits or punitive gods and ancestors, as we have seen.

Tanoana was said to come from heaven and, at least according to the shamans, also hung in the house of Ngkai mantande songka there (II, 5). When the shaman fetched *tanoana* for a young child from heaven for the first time (see *mampapotanoana* below) she had to be careful to get the right one for the child – otherwise it would not develop into a healthy adult – but she also got apparently undifferentiated *tanoana* for him from various other sources at the same time. Distinction was made as well in the same ceremony

between female and male *tanoana*. Identical twins were thought to share the same *tanoana* and so were a child and a parent it strongly resembled (II, 371, 405).

The *tanoana* could manifest itself as snakes, mice, toads, birds, fireflies, butterflies and all manner of insects and small animals. Rain worms were called *tanoana ntau*, "*tanoana* of human beings", and in Lage they went so far as to say that brown ones were the *tanoana* of nobles and black ones those of slaves (I, 413ff.). Shamans sometimes brought back the *tanoana* of sick people in the form of corn silk, rice hair and human hair (II, 142f.).

Tanoana was thought to reside in various parts of the body, particularly in the liver, blood, hair, nails, saliva, perspiration and excreta, though it is not always clear from Kruyt's account whether the Toradja always thought specifically of *tanoana* in connection with these things. They remained in invisible contact with the people from which they came and could be used to harm those people indirectly. Hair and nails could serve as substitutes for the whole person and they were taken from the dead in order to transfer their *tanoana* to their survivors. All parts of the body and its excreta as well as the voice and the glance had the power of acting on other things. Sometimes they had the effect of strengthening and sometimes of weakening, sometimes of healing and sometimes of making sick. In some stories for example, rice is said to originate from the blood of a human being (III, 5f.), but menstrual blood would destroy tobacco plants (II, 265). Saliva was applied to sore spots to cure them, but at the same time it was thought that if somebody came into contact with another person's saliva either he or a close member of his family would die (I, 423). In most instances, however, Kruyt did not show that the Toradja actually thought that *tanoana* was involved, and it would be surprising if they did (I, 418-29ff.). Iron also had such power, which in the first edition Kruyt attributed to its having *tanoana*, without, however, offering any evidence that this was really the case (1912: II, 349f.). In the second edition he made no mention of it (III, 331 ff.).

When the *tanoana* became permanently separated from the body or destroyed the person died and became an *angga*. What became of the *tanoana* when this happened did not present a serious problem to the Toradja. Most of them had no idea what happened to it, and others when pressed gave various answers, such as that it became wind or stayed in the sky (I, 447). A few individuals had more elaborate ideas about the soul. One such was that men had eight and women nine *tanoana*. One of them went to Pue mpalaburu after death, whereas the others stayed on earth and went to the underworld. According to another everybody had two souls during his life, his *tanoana* on his back and his *angga* on the front side of his body. They often disputed with each other and one's life course depended largely on which one was the stronger of the two (I, 412f.).

Although a person was generally thought to have only one *tanoana* he was accompanied throughout his life by the soul of the placenta from which he was born, the *angga mpuse*, or "navel *angga*", also known as *Pue rou* or *angga rounja*, "lord (or *angga*) who lies and sleeps by one's side". *Pue rou* walked before one and protected

one against all dangers until one's preordained end was at hand, for he was sent to announce one's fate to one in the womb. On the other hand some said that the *angga mpuse* stayed in the maize fields at a certain time of the year. The fields were avoided as much as possible at that time for fear that these spirits would enter one's body and make one sick. They supposedly frightened people by making a growling sound, and could also be heard under the eaves of the houses or where placentas were buried during a high wind. Still others equated the *angga mpuse* with the smallpox spirit (I, 410f.). The *angga mpuse* thus shared the dual character of the dead in general, that of malicious ghost and helpful ancestor.

It was also commonly believed that some people were born with a crocodile, snake or stone as twin brother or sister (II, 372).

Not only human beings had *tanoana* but also at least some animals and plants. The *tanoana* of the rice played an important role in the growing of this crop, as will be seen below, and both buffalo (III, 265; Kruyt, 1906: 133) and dogs (Kruyt, 1906: 132) were said to have *tanoana*. Other plants and animals were not specifically reported to have them, though it is possible, considering the close relationship between man and all other living things, that they did (cf. 1912: I, 263ff.). It would seem more likely, however, that the Toradja only attributed the possession of *tanoana* to those which were of particular importance to man. Various particularly vigorous plants, such as cordyline, pieces of which would shoot up again when planted, were used ritually and medicinally. They were called *mentuwu* for this reason, but nothing indicates that the Toradja conceived of them as having *tanoana* which could be communicated to people (1912: I, 266ff.; Wdb,).

In the first edition of the "Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas" Kruyt translated *tanoana* by "soul substance" (*zielestof*). He had first used this word in 1906 at the suggestion of Chantepie de la Saussaye as an improvement on "soul" as used by Skeat in his "Malay Magic" (1900: 579). He defined it as follows: "This soul is a fine, etherial substance which animates, makes live all nature, and therefore we want to call this soul 'soul substance', to distinguish it from the spiritual man which lives on after death, which we call 'soul'" (1906: 2). Twelve years later he withdrew the term under the influence of the dynamistic theories of van Ossenbruggen (Kruyt, 1918: 233ff.; van Ossenbruggen, 1915). He quoted there, in criticism of the term "soul substance", Snouck Hugronje, who had said: "I fear that the expression 'soul substance' will cause one section of the readers to decide that the whole idea is silly, and another section to see soul substance in everything". Kruyt recognized that many of the phenomena which he had explained by this concept had nothing to do with "soul" and now used "magically working force" to explain most all the beliefs and actions of the Toradja, though he admitted that they themselves explained them "animistically".

Kruyt's abandonment of the term, however, did not prevent Snouck Hurgronje's prophecy from coming true. Warneck, for example, used it in describing the religious beliefs of the Batak (Warneck, 1909), Perry attempted to show that the concept of

soul substance had been introduced to Indonesia by the bearers of the "megalithic culture" of that area (Perry, 1918) and in 1919 Rivers accepted Kruyt's "soul substance" as constituting a variety of soul which "...may be regarded as a principle underlying the magico-religious beliefs and customs of the Indonesian, which is as comprehensive in its sphere as is our own principle of gravity in the explanation of the material universe" (Rivers, 1926: 101). More recently the concept was described in the latest edition of Notes and Queries (1951: 176f.), and said to be the basis of a large body of magic and religious beliefs and practices.

This is not the place to examine the beliefs regarding the soul throughout southeast Asia, but it should be obvious that no such doctrine was held by the Toradja. It is true that a man's soul could appear in various material forms, was in certain circumstances divisible, could be transferred on occasion to other people and that certain animals and plants had a similar soul, but this is a long way from saying that the whole of nature was imbued with an identical substance which was freely transferable to everything in it.

Chapter V

SORCERERS AND WITCHES

The Toradja were plagued not only by evil spirits, but by sorcerers and witches as well. One kind of sorcerer was called *to-pokantu* (*tau mekantu*) or *topodoti* after the "poisons" (*kantu, doti* – the second is a Buginese term and denotes a particular kind of *kantu*) which they used. A *kantu* was ordinarily made from some object or other by the sorcerer. Tobacco, a piece of bamboo, a root, a knot or a piece of iron, etc. was wrapped in a leaf, rendered invisible and thrown toward the intended victim. It penetrated his body unnoticed, made him sick and eventually killed him. Sometimes, however, it was buried where he would step on it, with the same results. According to some people, however, the *topekantu* invoked the aid of the dead to achieve his ends. He took the object to be used as *kantu* to a grave and gave it to its occupant, who threw it onto the roof of the person whom the sorcerer wished to harm. The result was the same as with the first two methods (II, 176f.).

Apparently no particular diseases were attributed to the use of *kantu*, rather it would seem that the Toradja were prone to suspect sorcery in most cases of sickness or death (II, 176, 457). In one place (II, 457) Kruyt said that in case of death the first thought was of sorcery, second of some possible offense against the gods. Elsewhere, however (II, 27), he said one first thought of a sin against the gods in case of sickness or misfortune. The truth of the matter probably is that it depended on the circumstances and the personality of those concerned which of the two came first to mind. For other causes of illness and death see below. Kruyt mentioned only one specific symptom of sorcery. A method of determining a sick person's chances of recovery was to feel the sword-like extension of the breastbone. If it seemed to be turned inward he would soon die; if it was normal he would recover; but if it couldn't be felt at all he was a victim of sorcery (II, 168). Less specifically, if a dying person suffered greatly it was thought likely that a sorcerer was tormenting him, perhaps by pinching his soul in the crack of a roof beam (II, 459). Thus sorcerers also apparently had power over people's souls, though this is the only mention made of it.

Sorcerers were also possessed of the "evil eye", with which they could make people and animals seriously ill and spoil crops (I, 429f.). Thus a particular disease of maize was attributed to it (III, 150). Both sorcerers and witches were fond of sucking the blood of infants and visited them (often in the form of fireflies) in their cradles for this purpose (II, 397).

If somebody thought he was suffering from *kantu* he called in a masseuse (*topopagere*) to remove it, though some tried to remove it themselves by shaving a piece from the *lori ngkantu*

("*kantu*-fat") tree, chewing six bits of it and then swallowing them. Innumerable vegetable preventitives were used, however, to make one immune to sorcery. They bore the general name of *sama ngkantu* or *sama doti*, "that which nullifies *kantu (doti)*" (II, 177f.). The head-hunter's talisman *(gongga)* contained, among other things, odd-shaped pieces of coral which prevented these substances from penetrating the wearer's body (I, 271f.). Ginger, curcuma and *kudu* (Kaempferia rotunda) were used both as preventitives and cures. If some one dreamed of one of them he thought that he was either being attacked by a sorcerer (they used them to introduce their poisons) or that the *anitu* were after him. If he got sick afterwards he had to be treated with the same substance (III, 159). Pregnant women kept *kudu* in their sirih pouches as protection against sorcerers and witches, and mothers rubbed their babies with it for the same reason (III, 165).

Sorcery could be learned from others for payment (II, 176), but its power could also be acquired inadvertently by chewing lime in which the saliva of a sorcerer had fallen (III, 234). The method by which sorcery was learned was secret, but it was said that its practitioners had a special object, shaped like a cucumber, which was the source of their power. When its owner rubbed his or her hand over it it imparted something to it that made others who came into contact with it sick. The possesser of such an object was, moreover, forced to use it, as if he didn't it would make him sick (II, 176).

Both men and women practised sorcery, and it does not seem that one sex was more given to it than the other. The only example Kruyt gave of a specific case of sorcery was that of a women executed for it in 1901. She had once struck a coconut tree in anger when refused a coconut by its owner and a few days later the tree had died. At another time she had patted a child on his head and fondled him and three days afterwards he was dead. Finally she struck a boy on the back with a young unfurled palm leaf because he was slow in fetching water for her. The next day a large wound that Kruyt could not cure developed on the spot where she had hit him, and seven days thereafter the boy died. This was the last straw. The woman was forced to undergo the ordeal by pitch and, being proved guilty by it, was executed (II, 176f.). Not only individuals, however, were suspected of being sorcerers, but whole tribes had a reputation for it and the Toradja and the people of Luwu accused each other of it. There were, of course, other supernatural means of harming one's fellow man, though they did not constitute sorcery. Cursing, for example, could make a person sick (II, 179), and it was possible to hurt some one through part of his body (nails, hair), its excreta or something that had been in contact with it (I, 421). A so-called poison could also be prepared from various kinds of wood. It was hidden in a scabbard or sirih box, and anybody stepping over them would get ulcers on his body. Both the poison and ulcers bore the name of *pominta* (from Malay *peminta*, fate). The only person who could cure the victim was the poisoner. He was not punishable, however, as it was considered the victim's own fault if he had been so foolish as to step over the poison (II, 178).

Panarasi, "that which makes (another) submissive, tames, subdues", had fatal consequences. The person who used it, *tau mopanarasi*, introduced the "poison" into his victim by an effort of will while talking in a friendly way with him. A moment later the latter would lose consciousness and die not long afterwards (II, 178f.).

There were three kinds of witches. [1] The first of these, *tau mepongko* ("some one who shortens himself, leaves a part of himself (his body) behind"), could change themselves, or rather their *lambojo* (for this word see above, p. 33), into any animal or object at will so as to be able to approach their victims unsuspected. "The glance of some one who is walking alone in a lonely place falls on an animal or object, but at that very moment it disappears and in its place he sees an inhabitant of his village or somebody from its neighborhood standing there. That person, however, has taken on a frightening appearance: the hair on his head stands straight up; he flaps his ears; his tongue is very long, so that he puts it around his neck or around his forehead as a hair-band". He then hypnotized the victim, cut his head off and placed it in the middle of the path, ordering it to warn him if anybody should come along and cut the body into pieces to get at the liver. This he first roasted in a fire started by letting wind on dry twigs and then consumed. Finally he reassembled the body by licking the pieces together and revived the victim. The latter died shortly thereafter and the scars, till then invisible, turned blue. It was generally thought that these witches revived the corpses of their victims in order to eat their livers once again, and many stories were told of men who took advantage of this to get back their wives by killing the witches when they had revived them. If a brave man died at the hands of a *pongko* he was buried with a sword with which to defend himself against him. This belief also provided a means of discovering the identity of a *pongko*. If some one was suspected of having been the victim of one, his coffin was rubbed in with itch-producing substances, and if some one had a bad itch the day after the funeral he was sure to be the witch (I, 431ff.; Wdb., sub *pongko*). If, moreover, a corpse had been "eaten" by a witch it rotted quickly and smelled unbearably (II, 412). Corpses were therefore guarded while still in the houses to protect them from the *pongko* (II, 472), and the body of an important person was guarded by a *tandojae* who stayed with it until the bones had been put away at the main funeral (II, 505).

The second kind of witches bore the name of *tau mebutu*, "people who break themselves off". They were also called *o'o* from the noise they made flying through the air. They separated their heads from their bodies and flew around with their insides attached to them, using their ears as wings. They alighted on the roofs of houses and let their insides down through them to suck the blood of their victims or perched on the edges of cradles to do the same to babies. They most often attacked pregnant women,

1) Kruyt called them "werewolves" in the 2nd edition in contradistinction to "witches" (heksen) and "sorcerers" (tovenaars). In the 1st edition and in his Animisme he reserved the term "werewolf" for the first of the three kinds to be discussed here and called the second kind "witches". Wilken also followed this usage. Adriani and Kruyt, 1912: I, 254-263; Kruyt, 1906: 109-119; Wilken, 1912: III, 25-39).

however, in order to eat the liver of the children they were carrying (I, 436). In contrast to the *tau mepongko* who operated both in the daytime and at night, the *tau mebutu* only worked at night. If their heads couldn t get back to their bodies by dawn, they died (I, 437).

The *To Lambunu*, as the third kind of witches were called, differed from the others in that they came from outside the community. They were a people living somewhere to the east, near Banggai, according to some. A legend has it that they were descended from an inhabitant of Lono'u, a village supposedly once situated near Kandela, near the southeastern end of Lake Poso. He was expelled for being a witch and founded Lambunu in Loinang. According to the shamans, whose *tanoana* had supposedly visited Lambunu, its inhabitants were the size of children. They planted no crops, but came to feed on those of the Toradja in the form of hornbills, *koro-koro* (a small variety of hornbill) or crows and sometimes as monkeys or pigs. If disturbed they "ate" or "struck" the people. They were particularly fond of cassava and maize. They were most feared, however, for their witchcraft. They would appear in a village as human beings and ask for food, and if they didn't like the way they were received would eat the liver of the person – sometimes those of a whole village – who had offended them. If some one became suddenly ill, with a high fever, and the liver was thought to be missing, even though no ordinary witch had been encountered, it was assumed that the sufferer had been attacked by a To Lambunu. They were not always unfriendly, however, and were said to have made alliances with many people and villages in return for some service rendered them in the past (I, 442ff.).

As in the case of sorcery, there were no particular diseases connected with witchcraft, though in general those which occurred suddenly or led to a quick death aroused suspicion (I, 439). A succession of deaths or those felt to be particularly untimely also led people to believe that witches were at work (Adriani 1932: I, 39). If the mouth of a corpse stayed open and the tongue protruded, it was a sign that the person had been "eaten" by a witch. This was also the case if there were blue spots on the face or body or if it disintegrated rapidly, as mentioned above (II, 464).

In these circumstances, of course, protection was essential. There were various charms for this purpose, such as curcuma (III, 160) and *kudu* (Kaempferia rotunda) (III, 165), and some people had small holes made in the stumps of their teeth in which they put anti-witch charms (II, 442). Various charms were put into or attached to cradles, some of them called *ti(n)adjo angga*, "(against) the regular visits of spirits". Among the latter were apparently included both sorcerers and witches, thought Kruyt did not attribute blood-sucking anywhere else to the former (II, 397). There were also signs that witches were on the prowl, as when the *tengko* bird called at night instead of in the daytime as it usually did (II, 18). If a dog repeatedly showed his teeth he was thought to be possessed by a witch (III, 246), as was a cat who miaowed at unusual times (III, 251).

Because of the nature of their attacks there was little to be

done for the witches' victims. It was felt, however, that if the spell over them could be broken they would be able to name the witch and thus have a chance of recovery, and there were people who claimed to have medicines that could do this (I, 439). Another treatment consisted in having a masseuse (*topopagere*) remove the leaves which *pongko* supposedly put in their victims' bodies in place of the livers and to introduce a chicken's liver as a substitute (II, 179).

Witchcraft was said to be "a gift from the Gods" (*pombai lamoa*), and in general one was either a witch by nature or became one by contagion. A child, for example, could become one by eating the left-over rice of his witch-father. Or anybody who drank from a bowl from which a witch had drunken or took lime in which a witch had stuck a finger moistened with his saliva, or who even leaned his head against something against which a witch had leaned his head shortly before ran a grave risk of becoming a witch himself (I, 438). Danger was seen by some in eating rice from a maize sieve as it would give one the ability to see through people, with the result that one would be tempted to eat their livers (III, 195). At any rate, it would seem that in contrast to sorcery, witchcraft could not be learned, and ordinarily not cured, though there were some people, generally foreigners, credited with the ability to do the latter (I, 438). [2]

Neither sex had a monopoly on witchcraft any more than on sorcery. Anybody acting at all strangely was readily suspected, and the Toradja apparently were extremely careful not to do anything which could make a strange impression. Slaves were also apt to be accused if it was thought that they had had a grudge against a person who had died from witchcraft (Adriani, 1932: I, 39). Witches were also said to possess certain physical characteristics which distinguished them. They had restless, bulging eyes with a green lustre; the skin of their faces was darker than usual, especially around the eyes and their lips were lighter in color because the saliva excited by the chewing of sirih didn't stick to them and make them black. They were also supposed to be restless in their sleep and fireflies sometimes came from their mouths (I, 438).

Some of the tribes were notorious for the number of witches they had. The To Pu'u-mboto were one of these, and they were, therefore, a good source of human victims for the religious ceremonies of other tribes (I, 445).

Witches and sorcerers both met the same fate: they were subjected to the pitch test and, if found guilty, were put to death. A certain kind of pitch and various itch-producing substances were put into a large sherd of a cooking-pot and set afire. The accused's right hand was wrapped in leaves, leaving the middle finger bare. Sirih-pinang was placed on the ground and the gods above and below were invited to indicate his guilt or innocence. The pitch was then extinguished and the tip of the uncovered finger was dipped into it for a moment. After a couple of days the pitch was removed, and

2) Kruyt was quite definite on this point. Cf., however, Wdb., sub tombonoea: "... teacher (male or female) of magical arts, from whom one could learn, for ex., to work with kantu or to act as a tau mepongko ..."

if the finger appeared to have been burned, the accused was guilty (I, 441). Such people, however, were never executed by their fellow villagers, but by members of other communities, who were usually glad of the opportunity of obtaining victims for sacrifice. They were brought to a deserted place and cut to pieces (though in some districts this method was avoided because of the danger of contagion from the blood). The executioners kept the heads as a reward, but even if they didn't, the head, arms and legs were severed from the body and buried separately (I, 441). Although it happened that people were accused without sufficient grounds merely so that they could be sold as sacrificial victims (I, 445; II, 523), witches were said to have been greatly feared, and they had to have many deaths attributed to them before they were brought to justice (I, 440). If they were proved innocent the accusers had to pay a fine (I, 442). Of course, the chances of this happening were small, and Adriani was convinced that the Toradja applied this ordeal for sorcerers and witches expressly so that they would have practically no chance of escaping punishment (Adriani, 1932: I, 237). Sometimes people accused of being witches reacted so violently that no one dared approach them, and those found guilty often taunted their judges and boasted of the number of people they had "eaten up" (I, 442).

It would seem that witch trials used to be rather common – Adriani estimated that they resulted in more deaths than head-hunting did (Adriani, 1932: I, 39), and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the Netherlands authorities succeeded in preventing the Toradja from executing such people (by substituting banishment for the death penalty), to say nothing of eradicating the belief in them. For the Toradja they were like mad dogs, and they couldn't understand why the Dutch wanted to protect them (I, 446).

What conclusions, now, can be drawn with respect to witchcraft and sorcery among the Toradja? Navaho witchcraft was analysed by Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946: 172-181) as an outlet for anxiety and aggression and as a means of social control. They also spoke of it as "plugging up certain holes in the ideological system". Although the material available here does not allow positive confirmation of this approach to the subject, I see no reason for doubting that it would be applicable to the Toradja as to any other society. There can be no doubt that accusations of witchcraft and sorcery against people and their execution relieved such feelings as they described [3], but is it not possible to say just what was responsible for these emotions.

Nadel accepted Kluckhohn's and Leighton's approach in writing of witchcraft among the Nupe (Nadel, 1954: 163-206), but was particularly concerned to show why it was there predominantly attributed to women. This was due, he concluded, to two different reasons. In the first place to sexual antagonism on the social level, resulting from the contrast between the ideal and actual behavior of the females; and in the second place, on a deeper level,

3) The existence of these feelings is confirmed, I believe, by the extensive system of fines mentioned in the Introduction, which gives an impression of extreme sensitiveness and aggressiveness on the part of the individual Toradja.

to the fundamental antagonism of the sexes. He saw it, thus, as a universal problem (ibid., 179):

> "Different cultures fashion the normal social relationship between the sexes in widely diverse ways, as has been amply demonstrated in the work of Margaret Mead. But few societies can by this means fully resolve the conflict of sex antagonism. If the society makes the men the socially dominant sex, it is able to compensate for the surrender of virility but fails to express the importance of the woman as sexual partner and procreatrix, and hence invites male fears of female revenge; and if the social dominance of men is reduced, either by design (as in some societies) or in consequence of uncontrollable social processes (as in Nupe), this produces the kind of situation we have been discussing. There is some evidence that a carefully balanced relationship between the sexes can avoid this impasse. But where it does not, the psychological mechanism of projection, with its offer of vicarious or fantasy hatreds, comes into play."

If this analysis is correct, then Toradja society was apparently one of the few which successfully avoided this impasse. The evidence to which Nadel referred was presented by the Kao-Nyaro people of the Nuba Hills (Nadel, 1950: 354ff.). Although the balance there achieved involved a system of dual descent that is absent here, the sexual division of labor among the Toradja was such that neither sex apparently needed to have feelings of guilt or resentment with respect to the other. Whereas the men were head-hunters, the women were shamans. The latter did not form a distinct class, but tilled the fields as did other women and were almost always married. Their wages were low and in general they didn t try to deceive their patients. Just as the ideal man was the successful head-hunter, the ideal woman was the competent shaman (II, 116f.). The authority of the men in the social and political life of the community was tempered, moreover, by the enhanced position of the women due, no doubt, in large part to the custom of matrilocal marriage (II, 323ff.).

Nadel also attempted to answer the question of why there should be a belief in witchcraft at all, and in doing so related this belief to the conception of the design of the universe. Thus, according to him, if there is faith in an "ultimately just and benevolent order of things" then belief in witchcraft provides a loophole for the injustice and evil with which one is inevitably confronted from time to time in this life. If, on the other hand, there is no ultimate good, if there is "no promise of certainty nor any supreme design", witchcraft fulfils "a deeply seated desire for certainty" by providing "an arch-enemy with whom at least you can reckon, on whom you can vent fears and hatreds, and over whom you may hope to triumph..."

This is, however, a psychological explanation and therefore a partial one. Nor does the Toradja universe correspond very well with either of Nadel's two types. Of course, a people's beliefs must find response in their psychological makeup or they would cease to be held, but the forms they take are determined by the

culture. As we have seen above, the Toradja did not believe in an ultimate good which would compensate for the ills and injustices of this life (indeed they had no desire to depart it for an after-life which they conceived of as drab and unpleasant), nor did they feel that the gods were indifferent to them. Rather, their universe was essentially an ambivalent one. Human society was part of it and shared the same character. There were good and bad people as there were good and bad dead and gods and spirits. Although human society was part of the universe, it was separated to a certain extent from the rest of it. Contact with the supernatural, however, was both necessary and dangerous. This contact could be legitimate or illegitimate (shamanism, head-hunting, etc. as opposed to sorcery and witchcraft), and the latter could be either sought (sorcery) or unsought (witchcraft). As we have seen, however, the distinction between the attributes of sorcerers and witches was not always sharp, and in practice they were both often hard to distinguish from that broad class of ghosts and malicious spirits the *angga* [4]. This resemblance of evil persons to the *angga* corresponds to the close association of the shamans with the good spirits, the *wurake*. The Toradja beliefs concerning witchcraft and sorcery were thus an integral part of their religious system as a whole, and cannot be satisfactorily explained without reference to it.

4) When witches returned to the corpses of their victims their coming was announced by snakes, which were usually taken as manifestations of angga (I, 433).

Chapter VI

DISEASE AND DEATH

As we have seen, the creator's intention to give human beings eternal life was thwarted by Kombengi, the god of the night. According to other myths the people were asked whether or not they wished to be immortal and made the wrong choice, either through ignorance or due to the interference of the evil Lise (II, 11f.).

Not only did human beings have to die, but they were predestined to die at a certain time and in a certain way. One belief was that Pue mpalaburu or one of his messengers asked children just before they were born what fate they chose. Another belief was that the gods decided the matter themselves and sent the "navel-soul" (*angga mpuse*) to announce it to the child in the womb (II, 13ff.).

Despite this belief in man's mortality and predestination, however, the Toradja recognized many causes of sickness and death which were in direct contrast to it. Thus the chief god, almost all the spirits, the dead and witches and sorcerers, as we have seen above, made people sick or killed them either because the latter had offended them or transgressed laws or customs, or because the former were simply evil by nature. They usually did this either by seizing a person's *tanoana* and acting upon it in some way or other, by possessing him or by introducing some object or other into his body. There were, however, various other causes of illness. Cursing some one or acting disrespectfully towards him could make him sick (II, 179f.); so could bad dreams, ominous bird calls (II, 191) and the breaking of food tabus (II, 115); or one could have some inborn weakness which prevented one from ever being quite healthy (II, 181).

Diseases were often considered to be caused as well by infectious substances of one kind or another which penetrated the body. They had to be then either transferred to something else or removed by massage. There was a noxious substance called *bata* which emanated from a corpse (II, 150, 447), or could be released by such dangerous occurrences as the bursting of a pot on the fire (Kruyt, 1918: 237) or which might be present for some unknown reason. Thus when a man left his house to go fishing he would stick his spear in the ground behind him and throw some of the earth which stuck to it toward his house, saying, "if any bata is threatening me, then let it not follow me" (III, 90). It was also thought to be present when a village suffered much from disease and had to be removed (II, 207; Kruyt, 1919: 133).

Similar to *bata* was *bui*. This was "the evil influence of a magically dangerous occurrence, such as inauspicious bird-calls, the breaking of a cooking-pot, laughing at an animal, etc.; also used in the sense of set-back, adversity, and, as adjective, bringing misfortune, making unsuccessful" (Wdb.). Ceremonies were per-

formed to remove *bui* from head-hunters before they set out, when they returned and at the feast celebrating their success (I, 290, 345, 365), and boys were incised to let the *bui* out of their penises, which would otherwise prevent them from getting children (II, 437).

Measa was used for innumerable actions, happenings and situations which were thought to have harmful consequences. It was *measa* if a buffalo bore twins (Wdb.), if an adult wet his bed (I, 425), if people committed adultery (II, 327), if a hen cackled in an unusual way (Wdb.), if an earthenware cooking-pot broke on the eve of a trip (Kruyt, 1918: 237), if an infant laughed in its sleep (Kruyt, 1919: 37) or cried a lot (ibid., 50), if one had a nocturnal emission of semen (ibid., 73), if dogs mated in the house (Kruyt, 1920: 53), etc. These things could, of course, result in sickness or in all kinds of misfortunes and catastrophes.

In short, disease could be the result of punishment for the sins of man and of the action of evil forces. The sins could be both of commission, as against the laws or customs of the community or the natural order of things, or omission, as in neglecting offerings to the gods and spirits or failing to perform necessary rituals. The transgressions could be either conscious or unconscious, and the punishment for them could occur at the hands of supernatural beings or automatically. The evil forces were found both in the community and in the supernatural world, and both personalized, in the form of spirits and ghosts and witches and sorcerers, and non-personal, as in noxious substances or influences.

PART II
PRACTICES

Chapter I

INTERMEDIARIES

1. SHAMANS

Among the Bare'e Toradja the role of shaman was open only to women or to men who posed as women. They were called *tadu* (*tadunja*, according to Adriani) or *tadu mburake*. *Tadu* was the equivalent in the shamans' vocabulary of *tawu*, "foot", "bottom", "basis", used here as "leader". The full name meant thus "leader of the *wurake*" (II, 77f.; Wdb.).

The male shamans were called *beli* or *bajasa* [1]. They dressed and acted as women and were addressed as "mother" or "aunt". There were very few of them, however; in 1901 only seven were found in the whole Poso depression. The usual reason given for their becoming shamans was fear of fighting. A few were sexually underdeveloped (1951: II, 78f.; 1912: I, 362; Wdb.).

All women who had the desire or talent for it could become shamans. The daughters of shamans often learned the art from their mothers. Often a girl felt the desire to become one when she had been cured of a severe illness, and others were led to take it up by dreams of creeping into the covering *(pelawo)* used by shamans. The position was also open to slaves, but very few of them took advantage of it, supposedly because they did not have sufficient free time (II, 77).

One became a shaman by serving an apprenticeship. The length of time this took depended on how quickly the pupil could learn the litanies and various techniques required (II, 111, 113). The process was aided by transferring the "spirit" (the Toradja term was not given) of the shaman to the apprentice by putting a string of beads around both their heads and reciting the appropriate litany (also not given). It is not clear whether this was done once or repeatedly (II, 114). From time to time they also sang a song of obscure meaning addressed to the moon (II, 112). Once a pupil had learned enough to perform the work independently she took leave of her teacher, giving her a few presents, which varied according to the former's means, but which usually consisted of a few lengths of cotton and bark cloth (II, 114).

Some girls, of course, had to give up the work, and others who

1) One gets the impression from Kruyt that b a j a s a was the usual term, but according to Adriani b e l i was the proper one, though b a j a s a was also used in a figurative sense. In the form n d a b a j a s a, namely, the latter means "castrated". Kruyt, curiously enough, asserted in both editions that b a j a s a had originally meant "deceiver". Wdb./1912: I, 362; 1951: II, 78.

could never learn the litanies properly made poor shamans, who were only called upon when absolutely necessary. It was dangerous to stop being a shaman – the *wurake* would make one sick, but some did it, especially the less capable ones. It also happened that a shaman died before her pupil had been properly trained, in which case the latter might fear to continue under another lest she follow a method in contradiction to that of the first one. This might make her sick, lame, blind or even kill her. When a shaman did give up her work she called in another shaman to free her from her *wurake* helper and escort it back to the sky (II, 113).

The shamans had to abstain from eating buffalo, deer, mice and the leaves of the *suka* plant (Gnetum gnemon), and a couple of other plants in some tribes. This was supposedly done in deference to the *wurake* helpers, who didn't like these foods. Actually the taboos extended to the whole adult female population, as no woman would eat things forbidden to the shaman who had led her at her initiation (*momparilangka*). In daily life the shamans dressed and worked in the fields as other women did and most of them were married. Some men had no objection to their wives' being shamans and enjoyed the extra income it brought in. Others did not like it, however, feeling that people would think that they couldn't support their wives by themselves, and a common reason given for not marrying a shaman was that she would neglect her family and her work in the fields. Some men wouldn't permit their wives to become shamans, as they were afraid this would destroy the harmony of their *tanoana*, with fatal consequences for the man. A shaman's husband and children were also in constant danger of breaking her food taboos, which could result in their sickness or death (II, 114f.).

Several factors would seem to have contributed to the high esteem in which the shamans were held by the rest of the Toradja. In the first place the fact that they lived and worked as other women and received little pay for their services - none of them lived from it alone - meant that they did not form a separate class. Kruyt was also convinced that with few exceptions they didn't try to cheat their patients. They were finally the possessors of the society's knowledge of the gods and spirits of the upperworld (II, 116f.).

The chief function of the shamans was to retrieve the *tanoana* of sick people from the supernatural beings who had taken them by sending their own *tanoana* out after them. In this they were aided by their guardian spirits among the *wurake* [2]. These excursions were described in litanies, as Adriani and Kruyt called them, of about twelve hundred lines. They were in verse form with four feet of two syllables, sometimes iambic and sometimes trochaic, and in the special language of the shamans. The grammatical structure of this language was the same as that of Bare'e, but its

2) The Bare'e shamans were thus not possessed by supernatural beings as were their neighbors to the west, and for this reason Adriani and Kruyt chose to call them "priestesses" and Loeb, "seers", to distinguish them from the inspirational type. I prefer, however, with Lowie, to use the term "shaman" in its original sense of somebody who has established personal contact with the spirit world, thus including both types (Loeb, 1929; Lowie, 1948: 350f).

vocabulary consisted largely of garbled words (the largest category), alternate words, old forms, circumlocutions and some foreign words, taken from neighboring languages [3]. The language was not understood by the people as a whole, and not even the shamans understood everything in the litanies they recited (1912: III, 36ff.; 1951: II, 121f.; Adriani, 1932: III, 1ff.; Kruyt, 1933).

The content of the litanies varied from one shaman to another. Some parts of them were often shared by several shamans, but not entire litanies. This was perhaps due to the difficulty of memorizing them – they were partly unintelligible and were not in rhyme - and to the fact that some shamans skipped whole sections or changed their order or lengthened or shortened them in places at will (1912: III, 667). They contained properly, however, three main sections: the *pu'unja*, "foot (of a tree)", in which was told how the food to be taken along as offering was prepared; the *watanja*, "trunk", the longest part of the litany, in which the shaman's trip on the rainbow or her hat to the land of the *wurake* with her *wurake* helper and slaves (*tawani*) taken in battles between the *wurake* and evil spirits, and the *ra'anja*, "branches", which were concerned with the particular purpose of her trip (1912: I, 377). The shamans went thus first to the *wurake*, and if the *tanoana* was not to be found there they went on to Pue mpalaburu or Pue di songi at the top of the upperworld, to the *bela* or *angga* or to the underworld in search of it (II, 123ff.).

The litanies were recited inside an enclosure formed by a bark cloth sarong tied together at the top and suspended from the roof of the house. This *pelawo*, as it was called, reached to the floor, thus obscuring the shaman completely from the view of the others. Doors and windows were closed and nothing could be done to disturb her while she was in it, as this would endanger both her and the patient. A litany had also to be finished under all conditions. If the shaman stopped in the middle the patient would die, and she would be fined for having caused his death. Even if the patient died during her performance she had to complete it, and, interestingly enough, after it was over she would fine the people who had called her in for having made a fool of her. The litanies were recited at night, and the shaman usually did not emerge from the *pelawo* until dawn. If she did she waited till then to apply the recovered *tanoana* to the patient (II, 120).

Before going to the patient the shaman gathered together the various herbs she would need and put them in a special large sirih pouch (*laga*). She supposedly wore a bark cloth sarong colored brown with red and yellow spots, a pleated bark cloth jacket, one half colored, the other not (what the halves or colors were is not said) and a head band half red and half yellow. The jackets were often further decorated with intersecting black and yellow stripes.

3) According to Kruyt (1933) this language was the same thoughout tha Bare'e-speaking area. It is not clear, however, whether or not he meant by this that it was more uniform than Bare'e itself. Adriani said that the foreign word content varied according to the user's proximity to one or the other of the neighboring tribes (Adriani and Kruyt, 1912: III, 51).

Presumably, however, this costume was not essential, as none of the shamans appearing in the photographs (1951: Platen, 65, 66) is dressed in this manner. They wore in addition a long thin pouch filled with various herbs and charms and tied with numerous knots around their waists, many strings of beads, small bells along the edges of the jacket and hanging from the girdle and pieces of brass attached to the lower edge of the jacket's large collar. On their heads they wore a kind of broad-brimmed hat (*toru, tinii*). Inside the *pelawo* the shaman held in her hands a branch of cordyline, the bottom of which was enclosed in her sirih pouch, which rested on her thigh, while seated upon a chopping-knife and beads. In the hollow of her knee she held a second knife for cutting through the layers of the upperworld (II, 118f.).

When and if the shaman had returned with the *tanoana* it was applied to the patient at dawn by striking him on the head with the branch of cordyline and fed by placing a bit of cooked rice and egg in his hair. Offerings of rice were made for the shaman, for the soul, for the "rice barn" and "small rice barn" and for the tree spirits (*bela*) and "souls of the dead". Whether the last two were always included or only on certain occasions is not clear (II, 136ff.). The shaman's ritual was completed by her sending her *wurake* helper back to the upperworld (*mowurake mpompalakana*) [4].

The payment received by a shaman for her work varied according to whether she did it in her own village or elsewhere, and how long it lasted, and it differed from tribe to tribe. A normal wage in Lage was a piece of cotton of indeterminate size, some polished rice, a sheet of bark cloth, an egg and a brass bracelet (II, 139).

Although no mention was made of it in this account of a typical ritual, the shaman presumably also made a *woka* for the *wurake*, as Kruyt said elsewhere that they were made every time a shaman helped a patient (II, 97; 1912: I, 369). They consisted of a floor two to three decimeters square of plaited bamboo strips from each corner of which a small bamboo was hung as a pile. The floor was suspended by strings attached to each corner and meeting at the top, and the whole was covered by a piece of bark cloth painted with black and yellow stripes as roof. It was decorated with strips of young arenga leaves and bark cloth, chicken feathers were tied to the piles and a *kandoruangi* flower was affixed to each corner of the floor [5]. The *woka* were hung from the roofs of the houses of the patients (the basic meaning of *woka* was "to hang"), and care was taken that the roof did not leak above them, for if rain fell on one its owner would get sick. If it fell from the roof for any reason its owner would die (II, 97). Offerings were made by the shamans to the *wurake* in these miniature houses,

4) In the first edition Kruyt said that this mowurake mpompalakana was performed if the mantende rare, "to toss up the rare", which, he said, served the same purpose, was not. He described the latter as follows: "The priestess makes the rare jump up and down in a little basket toward the end of her litany till she tosses it in the air, toward the spirits. Hereby she conducts the wurake-spirit which has helped her back to its home" (1912: I, 379). Cf., however, two other accounts of montende rare below the chapter on funeral ceremonies.

5) A drawing of a woka is given in Meyer and Richter, 1903: Taf. XIX, No. 1.

and in at least one instance, on the occasion of the *mampapotanoana* (see below), a *wurake* was supposed to come and live in it to watch over the person for whom it had been made. When people moved to a new house the old *woka* were taken along and new ones were made by a shaman for the people as well, supposedly so that their *tanoana* would feel at home in the new house (II, 159). *Woka* were also made, however, at the feast in the smithy (*mopatawi*) for the spirits of the smithy (*anitu ri kolowo*), who came to live in them (III, 333). [6].

Another article made by the shamans on various, though not all occasions, was the *rare*. It is not easy, however, to get a clear idea of just what it was, as its composition varied and Kruyt gave contradictory accounts of it. He described it when made at the girls' initiation (*momparilangka*) as consisting of leaves of cordyline and other vigorous plants cut into pieces and rolled in a pandanus leaf, the whole being tied together with seven knots. It formed a package as thick as a thumb and seven to eight centimeters long. It was described as "with which (the) life is bound" (*po'usi ntinuwu*) and also "*wurake* fortress" (*bente wurake*). One was made for each girl, who either kept it after the ceremony in her sirih pouch or tied it to a rafter of her house, so that it would "look at the person's life" (*mampapeole katuwu ntau*). It was checked every once in a while to see that the bindings were tight; if they were not the package was immediately tied up again. Kruyt claimed that *rare*, *ndare*, *dare* meant "dwelling, abode" in the language of the shamans, and added, "In the *rare*, thus, stayed the life of man, life preserved outside the body; in the *rare* is no *tanoana* (life soul), but *katuwu*, 'life'". Adriani, however, did not relate *rare* to *dare*, "dwelling", but to another *dare* meaning "thong of buffalo hide" (Wdb.), and Kruyt, moreover, said elsewhere that the *rare* contained the *tanoana* of their owners (II, 159, 514). It is obvious, therefore, that these ideas belonged to Kruyt and not to the Toradja (II, 100).

Rare were given to head-hunters to take with them on raids. They rubbed them over their bodies from head to foot before closing with the enemy in order to make their muscles strong (I, 293). Kruyt also said that their *rare* which hung from the roofs of their houses were inspected while they were away to make sure that they were in good condition. If the leaves had rotted new *rare* were made, for which the reciting of a litany and offerings were necessary (II, 100). A *rare* was also made at the rice harvest and kept in the harvest basket or rice stack. In this case pieces of rice stalk were included in the package (II, 101). At the funeral ceremonies, finally, a *rare* was made of a young arenga leaf, a small bell and a little basket containing a twig of cordyline, all wrapped up in bark cloth. Once again Kruyt said that they contained the *tanoana* of the people, but without quoting the Toradja to prove it (II, 494). The most that can be said of these *rare* then, I believe, is that they were charms which served to strengthen or guard their owners and which remained in some way or other connected with them even though physically separated from them.

6) Kruyt reported that in Pu'u-mboto a shaman made two woka every time she treated a patient, one for the anitu and one for Pue ura.

The services of shamans were invoked on a great variety of occasions. Kruyt, indeed, believed that they could be summoned in all difficult situations, even though it might not be quite necessary (II, 161). They had regular roles at the funeral ceremonies, where they retrieved the *tanoana* of the living from the underworld and rescued the dead from the juices of their decomposing bodies at the first funeral, and conducted the ceremonies at the second funeral, by which the dead were conducted to their final destination. Their services were also necessary at certain stages in the growing of the rice, as at the *polanggo* feast preceding the planting of the rice, when a shaman fetched the soul of the rice. She also did so if the rice plants weren't healthy, and was invited in time of drought to persuade the *wurake* to give rain. They performed the *mampapotanoana* ritual for every child, inaugurated new houses, performed rituals for head-hunters before they set out on raids, for people returned from trips and for those who had narrowly escaped a great danger, and they reconciled blood relatives who had disowned each other (II, 149ff.).

There were also cases of illness which could be treated by rituals not requiring the aid of a shaman, such as the *mompatirani* for possession by *bela*, the *mowase* for various kinds of severe illness, and those dealing with possession by *anitu* or *lamoa nawu*; but in all these instances shamans could be invited to treat the patients, particularly if the illnesses were very severe or had not responded to other treatment (II, 139ff.). Most of the rituals mentioned here will be described in more detail, however, in the chapter on rituals below.

2. SANDO

Aside from the shamans there were several other people in each village skilled in caring for the health of its inhabitants and their crops. They went by the general name of *sando* (II, 169, 189). The *topopagere*, or "masseuses", were exclusively women. Their technique consisted in chewing a certain root or other vegetable substance and spitting it on the painful part of the patient's body, rubbing over the spot with a sirih pouch filled with various herbs, the paw of a marsupial, eagle claws, cat claws and the teeth of a crocodile, and finally squeezing out through the skin the object which had supposedly caused the pain. Some *topopagere* showed the objects they removed (of which there was an apparently endless variety), whereas others claimed they were invisible or would transfer themselves to anybody who saw them. The Toradja themselves, it would seem, sometimes doubted the genuineness of the first method. It was assumed that the removal of the object from the body left an internal wound which had to be treated by chewing and spitting various other vegetable substances on the spot.

The art of *mopagere* was learned by placing one's hand under that of the *topopagere* as she worked. Many of the masseuses, however, called in the help of a spirit or a dead person (*angga*) before setting to work. One woman claimed that it was not she

but the soul of her dead child who removed the objects for her (II, 173ff.).

Those men or women who were particularly skilled in the technique of treating patients by chewing and spitting things on them (nearly everybody knew something of it) were called *topopasupa* (II, 189).

There were also *sando* (though not in every village) who were supposedly capable of warding off smallpox. They all claimed to be acquainted with the smallpox spirit, which was the source of the faith the people had in them (II, 203ff.).

In addition to the *sando* who treated the sick there were *sando mpodjamaa*, mostly men, who were concerned with ensuring the success of the crops (III, 23f.). Each of these *sando* had connections with a particular spirit, with whom he conversed at night in the presence of the villagers and who gave him various things, such as rice, herbs and ritual formulas, to promote the growth of the crops. These spirits bore such names as "beads of pure gold", "complete fringe of beads", etc. The initial contact between a *sando* and his helper was made by the latter. In an example related by Kruyt the man was sick at the time and the spirit who appeared to him was a woman. Whether or not the male *sando* always had female helpers Kruyt did not say.

The *sando mpodjamaa* did not concern himself with the ordinary course of events in the fields (except where his own fields were concerned), but was called in under unusual circumstances, particularly if the prospects for the harvest were bad. At this time he apparently did not limit himself to seeking the aid of his spiritual helper, but performed all kinds of rituals designed to prevent the failure of the crop, made sacrifices, invoked and took to task the agricultural spirits (*lamoa nawu*) and even went to Pue mpalaburu to complain of the situation. The latter would then summon the agricultural spirits and berate them for letting the rice fail, for their job was only to look after the fields, the success of the harvest being his responsibility. These *sando* also had special methods for bringing rain, though there were a great variety of methods known to every one (III, 74). They did not limit their activities to their own villages, but were often called in by other villages which did not have a *sando*. Successful ones were treated with great respect. They were paid exclusively in rice, receiving from one to five percent of the harvest.

If the *sando mpodjamaa* could summon rain, there was another specialist, *sando mpoudja* (*udja* = rain), who was expert at keeping rain away. He (they were always men) would install himself at a point where he could oversee the fields and would keep a big fire going, feeding it with various plants whose names made them propriate for his work. Whenever a cloud appeared he would fan the fire so that the smoke rose in its direction and would blow chalk from a knife toward it. He also blew at it over a pouch containing secret rain-chasing articles or chewed and spat particular vegetable substances at it. His work was called *mongkarokasi*, "to scrape something away" (III, 42). Although it would appear from his book that these people could only keep rain away, Kruyt told elsewhere of a famous *sando* who was credited with being able

to produce rain or drought for a certain number of days (Kruyt, 1920: 88f.).

There were finally *sando mpae*, or "rice doctors", of whom Kruyt only said that they were older women who directed the storing of the rice in the barns (III, 142).

3. AGRICULTURAL LEADERS

Apart from these "doctors" there were two or three agricultural leaders, *tadulako mpodjamaa*, in each village. They were older men who were particularly skilled in this work and who had a good knowledge of the gods and spirits and the necessary rituals. They directed the activities of the various groups into which the villages were divided for cultivating the fields and made the offerings [7].

Although the crops were grown under the leadership of men, the harvest was directed by women, who were called *tadu mpomota*, "harvest leader". Each house chose its own leader for this work (1912: II, 272ff.; 1951: III, 99ff.).

4. HEAD-HUNTING LEADERS

Still another figure with a religious function was the head-hunting leader (*tadulako*). His job was to act as intermediary between the men and the *anitu*, the ancestors primarily concerned with head-hunting (I, 259ff.).

5. CHIEFS AND FAMILY HEADS

In daily life the role of intermediary between the ancestors in general and the living was filled by the family heads for the individual families and by the chiefs for the village as a whole.

The activities of these various persons will be discussed further later on. The purpose of this chapter has merely been to give a survey of all those who in some way or other represented their fellow villagers in their contact with the supernatural world.

7) At one point in the second edition Kruyt said that these tadulako were usually women (III, 23), but two pages further on stated that a „house-father" acted as tadulako for an agricultural group, and everywhere else as well referred to them as men. (1912: II, 245f.; 1951: III, 22f.).

Chapter II

THE TEMPLE

Every village of any importance had its own temple, easily distinguishable from the other houses by the solidity of its construction. It was large enough to hold a few hundred people (Adriani, 1932: II, 313) and was entirely built of wooden planks, which probably explains the most common name for it, *lobo*, which means "plank" in the language of the To Bada, neighbors of the Bare'e Toradja to the west. An alternative name was *sowali*, equivalent of several Indonesian words meaning "smithy", "temple", "council house" and "abode of the dead". The shamans called it *taram-pa* (Wdb.).

Judging from the pictures of temples available (Adriani and Kruyt, 1951; Platen, No. 61, 62; Sarasin, 1905: I, 218, 229; Grubauer, 1913: 407, Meyer and Richter, 1903: 73) the details of their construction, in particular with regard to the support of the floor and walls, varied somewhat from tribe to tribe or region to region, but the general form was apparently the same everywhere (I, 190ff.) [1]. The temples ran east-west, with entrances at the eastern and western ends. On ceremonial occasions one always entered by the latter and left by the former, so as to have one's face toward the sun (I, 190). A notched log provided access at either end. They were usually cut from heavy tree-trunks, shaped like prahu and were sometimes decorated with carved figures, though what kind of figures was not said. The floor was supported by a large number of piles sunk in the ground. Six heavier ones ran through to support the three roof beams. The walls were formed by long horizontal boards along the outer edges of the floor. They did not quite reach the low-lying eaves. Around the walls on the inside ran a platform about knee-high which served as sleeping-place for those participating in the temple feasts.

Along the middle of the floor ran a heavy plank, called *patasi ndaruntju*, "plank on which is pounded", because the family heads stood on it and pounded it with their paddy-pounders when invoking the *anitu*. In the middle of this plank was a small depression called *tabo mbo'o*, "bowl for the head". According to the Sarasins (Sarasin, 1905: I, 277) it was usually undecorated, but they described the one in the temple at Manangalu (Lampu) as being framed by figures resembling buffalo horns (ibid., 219) and that in Tamungku (Pebato) was "surrounded by a tortoise-like figure, one side of which ends in a buffalo head" (ibid., 277). From their drawing of it, however, the whole figure could easily be taken as representing a buffalo as seen from the top.

Along the inside edges of the raised platforms were heavy planks, *dopi* or *patasi mpoende*, "planks for dancing". Inside them were smaller, loosely fitting boards, *dopi ntjareko*, "rattle planks", which were rattled (in the mythology at least) to call

1) A ground plan is given in the first edition. 1912: I, 286.

the family heads together for discussion. There were fireplaces in two or more corners of the temple for cooking.

Directly above the *patasi ndarumtju* was the center loft beam, or *paladuru* (probably from *pala*, "rack", "loft", and *duru*, "collect", Wdb.), whose extremities rested on the cross beams, *pantuka*, which joined the corner posts. On the under side of the *paladuru* two crocodiles were usually carved in relief, one stalking and ape-like figure and the other with one in its jaws (see 1951: Platen en Kaarten, Bl. I). In Salu-maoge snakes were portrayed as well. All the reptiles faced east. From this beam hung a rack, *wontjea*, to which the pieces of captured heads were attached, as well as various other things used at the temple feasts.

A post, the *tumampu*, usually carefully carved and painted and partly hollowed out, rose from the center of the *paladuru* to the roof. In the temple at Tando-mbeaga (Onda'e) the figures of a man and a woman with disproportionately large genitals were carved into it. Thin props ran from the upper part at an angle to the roof. Also fixed to the post was a small shelf on which were laid the arenga leaves used at the head-hunting celebrations (*towugi*), and on these dwelt the *anitu* in the form of a small snake (*ule alo*) (Adriani, 1932: III, 61).

Such figures as were found on the *tumampu* of the temple in Tando-mbeaga were also carved on the four corner posts of the temple in Lembo-mpangi (Lampu), and almost all temples had carvings of female breasts and genitals of both sexes on the posts. In the *lobo* at Langgadopi (Onda'e) coitus was represented by two joined genitals, and in some (Labongia in Pebato and Buju-mapipi in Pakambia, for example) lizards were carved in association with vaginas or female breasts (cf. also Kruyt, 1898: 81f.). Buffalo horns were fixed to the posts here and there and served as racks to hang visitor's swords, etc. on.

A bundle of bamboo stalks hung from one or both of the center posts. The spirits were supposed to descend into the building via them. The *lobo* also contained several relics, usually old swords and spears.

The gable-ends of the *lobo* were usually divided, it would seem, into three overlapping sections, leaving air spaces between them. At the peak of each gable was an ornament consisting of two carved planks fixed to the edges of the roof and crossing at the peak, and a single carved plank jutting forward from their point of intersection. The clearest reproductions of such an ornament are given in Meyer and Richter (1903: 73; Tafel XVII), but how typical this one was is hard to say. Adriani and Kruyt gave several names for them, but no detailed descriptions - none at all of the forward part. Those called *petengke*, *tupaki* or *andju-andju* were said to be in the form of combs (the last also in the form of a plume), whereas the *bangku-bangku* resembled sword hilts (Wdb.). Sometimes they were called *naga*, the one at the front of the temple being the head and the other the tail (1912: II, 157). Whether or not there was any difference between the two was not said. The forward part of the one reproduced in Meyer and Richter clearly resembles a crocodile, with spinal ridge and feet. At first glance the other two parts resemble wings, and it would not be surpris-

ing if the ornament as a whole represented a winged reptile, in view of the carvings of the hornbill and ancestral snake found on the enclosure built for the initiation of the girls (see *mompari-langka* below). The Sarasins, moreover, reproduced a sword and scabbard decorated with the head of a crocodile and the beak of a hornbill (Sarasin, 1905: I, Taf. VI). In each of the planks, however, is carved a horn-like figure. They meet in the center of the construction, forming a crescent-shaped figure which could be taken either for a crescent moon or the horns of a buffalo. These two planks together, moreover, strongly resemble the war cap with horns cut from sheet brass and tipped with feathers (I, 254; Meyer and Richter, 1903: Taf. XIV, No. 22).

Chapter III

RITUALS

A. Regular rituals

1. HEAD-HUNTING [1]

There were various motives for fighting, which apparently occurred quite frequently before the establishment of Dutch control in Central Celebes. Arguments about slaves, buffalo, bamboo clumps, ill treatment of a member of another tribe, failure to pay fines, etc., were sufficient to start hostilities. Sometimes unprovoked attacks were made to steal salt or to get a head when a party had failed to get one from their intended enemy. All attacks were, of course, avenged.

Heads were always taken in combat when possible, but raids were often made for the express purpose of obtaining them. A head was necessary for ending mourning for an important person, and for the consecration of a temple. Young men took heads to prove their bravery to girls, and it was sometimes done to prove one's innocence with regard to some accusation or other. Apart from such specific grounds, however, there was the general one that the health of the villagers and their crops depended on the taking of heads (I, 236ff.).

When it was necessary to have a head for some purpose or other and there was no current feud which could be capitalized on, the Toradja could always fetch one from their traditional enemy to the east, the To Kinadu. This name was applied to all the tribes living in the mountains at the top of the southeast peninsula of Celebes, principally around Lake Matano and Lake Tuwuti. Some of them recognized the authority of Luwu and some that of Mori, and the Toradja were required to give notice to or get permission from the *datu* of Luwu before setting out on an expedition to them (I, 238ff.; 1912: I, 202). Kruyt wrote earlier (Kruyt, 1898: 58) that only heads could be taken on such raids and nothing destroyed. Anything stolen had to be given to the *datu* [2].

Fighting was always regarded as an ordeal. If the cause were just the ancestors would help their descendants and make them victorious; if it were unjust they would let them be defeated. It was always necessary, therefore, to have a grievance (*tadea*) against the enemy (I, 244). The Toradja were assured of victory against the To Kinadu, however, because the latter had once

1) This is a revised and somewhat expanded version of an account published elsewhere. Cf. Downs, 1955: 41ff.)

2) The Bare'e Toradja had two other traditional enemies, the To Loinang and To Wana on the northeastern peninsula. The fighting with the first of these, however, was limited chiefly to the tribes under Todjo, and the feud with the second, which dated only from shortly before the Dutch government became active there, was carried on principally by the To Lage (1912: I, 202f.).

wantonly tortured and killed two of the Toradja's ancestors. This constituted an eternal grievance and one that the ancestors demanded be regularly avenged (I, 293f.) [3]. An unusual amount of sickness or a poor harvest were taken as signs from the ancestors that they should take heads from the To Kinadu. As a man said to Kruyt, "When no blood of the To Kinadu has been shed on the earth for a considerable time, the crops do not flourish". The To Kinadu looked on the feud in the same way, and would send a challenge to the Toradja if there had been no fighting between them for a long time. The *anitu*, it was also said, were fed with the scalps and heads of the enemy, and if they weren't fed they would "eat" the people and make them sick. It was necessary to fight regularly "so that the *anitu* could follow the spears of the fighters, and would find no reason to strike their relatives with the sword and make them sick" (I, 240, 246f.).

There was no set time for head-hunting, but it was usually done while the crops were ripening or during and after the harvest, when the men had sufficient free time for it (I, 236; Kruyt, 1923: 8; Adriani, 1932: I, 41).

Raiding parties usually consisted of about ten to twenty men, though sometimes small armies were assembled from large areas and often only a few individuals would set out on their own without even notifying the village elders. In general all able-bodied youths and men were eligible to participate and were expected to do so fairly frequently. Reasons for not doing so were various: fear, anger against one's fellow villagers, the existence of a relative in the village to be attacked, ominous dreams or signs, etc. If the whole village was involved the elders decided who should go and who should stay behind to guard the village (I, 241ff.).

A raiding party from a single village had a single leader, *tadulako*, who directed the whole operation. Larger groups usually had two leaders, one who directed the raid as a whole and a second one who led the actual attack. Sometimes a village chief went along, but then as the second leader. Most of the leaders of both kinds, however, were slaves. The *tadulako* was treated with great respect while in function and everything was done for him. He was responsible for all the members of the group and had to abstain from eating certain foods, doing certain things and using certain words while in enemy territory (I, 259ff.).

No special dress was worn, except that particularly brave men took along a fighting cap with two brass horns on it, which they donned in battle to attracted the enemy to them. Each man carried a sword, a spear and a shield, and a few had guns. The sword-hilts of those who had passed through all the warrior grades could be carved in the form of a crocodile head (I, 253ff., 368).

Various talismans were also carried. The most important of these was a string of shells called *batu rangka*, "stone with branches", after the Octopus shells of which it was usually composed. It was also designated by the ordinary word for necklace, *gongga*. Among the eastern tribes (To Lage, To Onda'e, To Pada, To Palande) every *tadulako* had one which he hung around his

3) A longer version of the myth is given by Kruyt in Gonda, 1947: 139ff.).

neck as a charm. These were distinguished, however, from a special one used for trapping the *tanoana* of the enemy (*malapa mamũ*). The western tribes, on the other hand (To Pebato, To Wingke-mposo, those around Lake Poso, To Pu'u-mboto), had but one to a village, and they were used exclusively for the latter purpose. When not in use it was kept on the rack (*wontjea*) in the temple. The *anitu* were thought to follow the string on raids to ensure victory for the troop. It was "fed" with the blood, brains and pieces of the scalp of the enemy, and if it were left at home for a long time it would get hungry and "eat" one of the villagers (I, 264ff.).

Each man wore a *gongga* of his own across his right shoulder and under his left arm. It consisted of a long, thin pouch, the part over the chest being divided into a number of sections. The latter contained various objects which were supposed to protect their owner. Between the sections teeth of crocodiles, snakes, monkeys and pigs were hung. These *gongga* were worn not only on raids, but in daily life as well (I, 270ff.).

In addition to these talismans the men carried various "medicines" calculated to take away the enemy's will to resist (I, 276ff.). They also took along a present from a girl or woman - something that they had used. It served to make its bearer brave in battle (I, 282ff.).

When a raid was decided upon the day for departure was fixed by the *tadulako* and the village chief on the basis of what were considered to be favorable and unfavorable days (I, 278f.). Food, including special rice to be used for trapping the *tanoana* of the enemy, was prepared by the women (I, 280f.). Then followed a series of divinations to determine the success of the undertaking in advance (I, 284ff.). As the time for departure drew near close attention was paid to all kinds of signs and omens (I, 291f.). On the day of departure an offering was made in the temple to the *anitu* to acquaint them with the grievance against the enemy and to ask their aid. Finally the shaman performed a ritual to secure the warrior's *tanoana* to them so that they would not desert them in battle [4] and gave them *rare* to make them strong. After this the *lobo* was closed for the duration of the expedition. It was now necessary to leave (this was usually at night), and if there were still some reason to wait it had to be done outside the village in the smithy or in a hut set up en route (I, 292ff.).

During the absence of the men the women had to adhere to a large number of restrictions and perform various ritual acts in the village to ensure the success of the expedition and the safety of its members (I, 302ff.).

On the way to enemy territory the *tadulako* watched various animals and birds for omens. Care was taken to avoid certain actions which would spoil the chances of success. While in enemy territory, for example, no food or water, etc. was taken without leaving behind "payment" for it to keep from giving the enemy a grievance which could be used against them (I, 295ff.).

Once they had arrived at a point a half day's march from the

4) See the ceremonies attending the first funeral below for a description of this ritual.

enemy village they set up camp, building a hut (or huts) in which they would live for a few days while preparing the attack. Two scouts were sent out ahead to reconnoitre and to carry out the *malapa manu*, "to release the fowl". This consisted in burying the ash of the fowl and egg which had been used for divining before the troop had set out inside the enemy village or just outside the gate where the enemy would be sure to step on it. The shell string was laid on the ground, a hole was dug in the center of it and the *tanoana* of the enemy lured into the ring. It was believed, namely, that once they had the enemy's *tanoana* in their power they could easily defeat them. After waiting for auspicious signs they sometimes divined with the shells and then took them away with them (I, 306ff.).

Once the scouts had returned and the decision to attack had been made, the men accused each other of imaginary offenses, for which they demanded the payment of fines. These disputes were settled by the *tadulako*, who set the fines to be paid, all of them quite trifling. When they had been paid he would say: "Our homes are far apart, but now we are close together; we are again related". This was called *ulisi ngkoro*, "with which one's faults are made good" (I, 311).

After this the *tanoana* of the enemy were once again lured, this time with the rice which had been specially prepared for the purpose. It was then cooked and divided among the men, who ate part of it on departure and the rest en route. Just before the men set out the *tadulako* divined twice again with the shell string to see if the raid would be successful and if they would suffer any losses (I, 311ff.). Some of the men, including the *tadulako*, stayed behind to guard the camp. He "supported" the fighters by neutralizing unfavorable bird-calls and "securing" favorable ones, continuously calling on the gods for help and repeating the *tadea* while striking the ground with his hand (I, 314f.).

The methods of attack varied with the circumstances. The usual practice was to ambush an enemy party, but a direct assault was sometimes made on a village if it was not heavily defended, and sometimes large forces even laid siege to one. Any kind of trickery used to obtain victims was justified. To keep their courage up the attackers chewed certain herbs which made them "warm inside". The Toradja seem to have been very much afraid of particular forms of hysterical seizure (*tontoa*) which prevented a person so afflicted from fighting properly or defending himself (I, 315ff.).

Men, women and children were equally suitable as victims. Heads were taken when possible (it was usually necessary to get away as soon as possible to escape counter-attack), though one head was considered enough for victory. At the same time it was strictly forbidden to look at, touch or mutilate a victim's genitals or breasts, as to do so would spoil one's own *tadea* and provide one for the enemy. Cutting a woman's breasts, moreover, would prevent one from getting any children, as one would have destroyed "the source of food".

The raiders then returned to the attack camp with the heads, where ceremonies were performed over them and the scalps were

divided up. According to a *tadulako* from Pebato scalps were taken "because on the crown is that which makes a person strong. When we take the enemy's scalp the *tanoana*of the relatives of the person killed accompany us too; they are eventually weakened by this and die". The pieces of scalp were nailed to the *paladuru* in the temple, fed to the shell string, carried as talismans, used to cure cases of possession and buried in the maize fields to keep the mice away, etc. Usually only one or two of the skulls were taken back, however, if several were taken. The uses to which they were put will be described below. Sometimes a bit of the brains was eaten (I, 333ff.).

If one of the attackers was killed and his head had not been taken by the enemy, his body was buried by his comrades on their way back or taken all the way home if the victim had been an important person. The bones of those buried en route were later fetched for the second funeral. If the head had been taken, however, most tribes did not bury the corpse, as its death had obviously been the punishment for some offense or other committed by its owner. It was examined, however, for a sign indicating whether or not its comrades would be successful in avenging it (I, 331f.).

Just before leaving the attack hut the men would walk around it seven times to the right and seven times to the left, hack the roof seven times and give the victory cry. Then they would sing a few lines of the head-hunters' song (*dolu*), in which they urged their *tanoana* not to stay behind [5]) and invited the *tanoana* of the enemy to accompany them so that they would have them in their power for the next raid and could easily defeat them. On the way back the raiders took all sorts of measures to protect themselves from the souls of people who had been slain (*bolinde*), both friend and foe (I, 342ff.).

The troop arranged to arrive in the morning at a point within shouting distance of the village, where they sat down and chewed sirih. The *tadulako* proceeded to erect a symbolic barried across the path, spat some medicine on it and rubbed some on the foreheads of the men "in order that all the evil (*bui*) from the enemy country which might be clinging to the men shall remain behind at this barrier (*djompo*)" (I, 344f.). The *tadulako* blew seven blasts on his trumpet, upon which the others started shouting and stamping on the ground to announce their return to the villagers and the *anitu*. They then resumed their way to the village, stopping repeatedly to sing a few lines of the *dolu*, alternated with blasts on the trumpets.

Some of the villagers would come out to meet them and feed them ginger and throw rice over them. Then a fowl was killed. Closer to the village a dog was found tied up and was also sacrificed. Finally by the gate of the fortifications a pig, or sometimes a buffalo, was found and killed. It was said that in the old days a human being was killed at this point if the raid had been particularly successful. In some districts those who had stayed behind would waylay the men and stage a mock battle with them, using head-cloths as weapons. Some of them (often women) became pos-

5) Examples of the dolu are given in 1912: III, 617ff.

sessed and would bite the skulls, and old men often fainted from the excitement (I, 344ff.).

The *towugi* was now prepared from a branch of the arenga palm. The leaves were torn into strips, so that they hung like a fringe from the branch, and a piece of scalp was fastened to it. While this was done the raiders sang the *dolu*. It may or may not be significant that they spoke of the scalp in it as being "like a gift from the *wurake*, come from heaven". Each of the raiders tied a strip from the *towugi* to the scabbard or hilt of his sword, and the rest of the people, especially the sick, who expected a speedy cure from it, tied pieces around their necks. The *towugi* was then carried into the village by the boys. Those from six to twelve years of age were assembled and struck seven times against the heart with a skull, whereupon they gave the victory cry. They finally made six passes at it with a sword, striking it on the seventh (I, 347f.). Scrapings from the skull were also mixed with their rice to make them fierce fighters when they grew up (I, 337).

Once inside the village the raiders first went to the rice barn, where mourning was ended for the widow or widower. Then every one repaired to the temple, where an old man first addressed a final word to the dead person [6]).

The *moganda*, "to beat the drums", was then celebrated, at which the skulls were brought into the temple (the *towugi* was attached to the outside of the temple or a rice barn until the *mompeleleka* feast). Towards evening the skull was placed in the hollow for the head (*tabo mbo'o*) in the center floor plank and fed. The *tadulako* addressed it, saying, "Here is your food; take it and eat, so that you will be able to call your relatives and lead them to us, and show us a safe path along which we can penetrate again into your country". In song the victim's soul was invited to take his place at the ridge of the temple, where other spirits, it would seem, were put as well: *raoa* and a certain kind of talisman (*matia*), *sobugo* and *majasa*. The *anitu* were then fed with rice and the ceremonies were ended with a meal. Food was first offered to the enemy, and during the meal every one fed his *tanoana* by placing yellow rice on the crown of his head (I, 349ff.).

The nights during this and the following feast were spent in singing and dancing. An antiphonal song about the raid which had just taken place (*merobu*, an alternative term for head-hunting, *menga'e*) was sung, with the girls taking one part and the youths the other. A second song, *enlo*, accompanied by dancing, described the various stages of the raid (I, 354ff.).

The final feast was the *mompeleleka*, "to go round with something", or *montjojo*, "to thrust something into something", which also took place in the temple and lasted two days. The first name referred to the carrying around the temple of the *towugi*, and the second to the thrusting of bamboo sword slivers into the roof at the end of the feast. It chiefly served to allow every one, men women and children, who had not participated in the raid to do so symbolically by acting it out. On the eve of the feast the shamans recited their litanies to inform the ancestors of the coming events and performed a battle dance (*motaro*) against the evil spirits in the sky. At one stage of the proceedings scrapings of a skull were

6) See for this the account of the funeral ceremonies below.

sprinkled over rice, which was apparently offered to the ancestors by placing it for a while on the *paladuru* and was then distributed among the participants, some of whom ate it while others smeared it on their heads. This was called *mosale*, which meant "sharing", though it was apparently only used for this ceremony (Wdb.). Toward the end of the feast the *anitu* were invoked (*mesomba, mebao*) by the heads of the several families. They were told of the crimes of the enemy and assured that there would be no end to the taking of heads (I, 358ff.).

The final ritual was called *moarosi*, "to strike with a leafy branch", in which the family heads squatted on the floor in a row from east to west, holding bundles of slivers from the bamboo swords which the women and children had used that morning to hack the skulls with during the re-enactment of the raid. A cloth was spread over them and a shaman went along the row from west to east seven times, striking continuously on the cloth with a bundle of herbs to remove all the *bui* which might be clinging to them. Then rice was thrown over the men and they suddenly jumped up in a great tumult and stuck the bamboo slivers into the roof of the temple. The ceremonies were then ended with a huge feast (I, 365f.).

As we have seen in the course of this account the Toradja hunted heads for several reasons and used the heads taken for a variety of purposes. Kruyt believed that the purpose of head-hunting was to get *tanoana* from the enemy, just as the shamans brought it from the upperworld (II, 77). The most important reason given by the Toradja, however, was that if they didn't do it their ancestors would punish them by making them sick or spoiling their crops. Once taken the heads and scalps were used for a variety of ends in the same manner as other charms, but the Toradja did not speak of *tanoana* in this connection. The *tanoana* of the enemy were taken to weaken them, not to strengthen their attackers. The fact alone that a single head was sufficient for victory indicates that it was a symbolic act and not a matter of gathering a life-giving substance. Moreover, head-hunting was a reciprocal affair, so that there could be no net gain in *tanoana* for one side as against the other. The Toradja also had no idea of gaining servants in the hereafter by it, the only service expected of their victims being that of leading more of their people into the victor's hands.

If heads were not taken with these ends in view there must still have been some logic behind it all. Fortunately Adriani collected quite a few stories or myths in which head-hunting was the main theme and they throw a revealing light on the nature of the activity as a whole. I shall briefly summarize some of them here.

Ta ngKota Lolowe, a man who lived on the other side of the sea, attacked Ta Datu and Indo i Datu and murdered them and their fellow villagers. After Indo i Datu died a boy was born from her body and was found by Sumboli and Lagoni. The latter named him Tambuja and reared him. When he could barely walk he asked who his parents were, and on hearing their fate set out with Sumboli

and Lagoni to avenge their deaths. When they arrived at Ta ngKota Lolowe's village, where he lived with seven wives and a daughter, Tambuja challenged him to a duel. After an heroic struggle with enormous weapons Tambuja was victorious and set out for home with Ta ngKota Lolowe's head and a bamboo flute in which the latter had put his daughter, Kota Lolowe, at her birth. She kept putting her hand out of the flute to give her father's head sirih and the head gave directions all the way back to the village and after their arrival there as to what was to be done with it. The head repeatedly asked Kota Lolowe to come out of the flute, but she refused until the head-hunters' feast had been celebrated. When Tambuja first saw her he fainted, but she revived him. Ta ngKota Lolowe's head was finally crushed on the center plank of the temple and sometime later Tambuja and Kota Lolowe were married (Adriani, 1933: II, 157ff.).

This myth is interesting for several reasons. It represents first of all an initiation - when Tambuja sets out to avenge the death of his parents he is barely old enough to walk, but by the time he arrives at the enemy's village he has grown to heroic size. Secondly, his opponent lives on the other side of the sea. Thirdly, the hero acquires the daughter of his enemy as wife.

In almost all the Toradja head-hunting myths the hero's opponent lives either on the other side of the sea or in the upperworld. In one story the hero kills Ta Datu and Sumboli after reaching their village by riding through the sky on the rainbow, a standard means of getting to the upperworld. He is then thrown by his grandmother into the underworld, where he takes the heads of their ghosts (1912: III, 424f.). In another one a hunchback mistreated by his elder brothers finds two girls in a bamboo. Later his brothers die and The King of the West, Bangka Rondo (whose body was red), and a woman "who lived in the upperworld" attack him in turn and take away the two girls while he sleeps. He follows and successfully challenges them in each case and finally marries one of the girls, who straightens out his body, making him into a handsome young man. A man from the sea marries the other girl. (Adriani, 1933: 131f.). In No. 87 of the same collection Motanda Inta marries a girl from across the sea and is attacked by The King of the West, who kills him. His wife, however, kills The King of the West and those who come to avenge him: Fathom-Chest, Bangka Rondo, The Man with whom the Rain Is, The King of the Horizon and The King of the East. In the meantime she has rubbed her body with oil, thereby impregnating herself, and has given birth to a son, Molana. He is now attacked and killed by With a Sun-Jacket, but is later revived by a girl in the form of a bird and takes With a Sun-Jacket's head in revenge. He later marries the girl (ibid., 137ff.).

In No. 88 a baby and his mother's brother kill Bangka Rondo, "who lived in the upperworld", in revenge for the death of the baby's parents and take his seven wives, whom they divide up among themselves and their companions. The hero has in the meantime become a full-grown young man (ibid., 142ff.).

In No. 92 With a Moon-Body avenges his father by killing the Man with whom the Rain Is (ibid., 150 ff.).

In No. 93 Motanda Wuja, "who has the moon as sign", is thrown into the underworld at birth. He later returns with the help of a girl from another village and kills his father. Later on Motanda Wuja and his son kill Ta ngKaro Udja, "Father (Uncle) of the Man with whom the Rain Is". After a while his son kills Bangka Rondo, his grandfather's brother, and from a third expedition brings back the head of Mangge ngGoluku, his wife and many prisoners. Finally he marries Molemba Dolo, "Red-Jacket", from the east and Kota Lolowe (ibid., 152ff.).

In another myth with an Oedipus theme Lae mPanjopu throws his new-born son into a river by a waterfall because he has a spot on his chest that shines like the moon. The son falls into the underworld and is brought up by the Old Woman. When he has grown up his mother provides him with clothes and weapons and he returns from the underworld, kills his father and takes his mother and the rest of his family to his home (ibid., 156).

Finally, in the myth of Sese nTaola, obtained from the Mohammedanized Toradja of Todjo along the coast of the Gulf of Tomini, the hero is a child with an enormous appetite who causes his parents so much trouble that they try to kill him. He soon leaves home, and after a series of adventures arrives at the sea with a number of followers acquired en route. After several months of swimming, and having killed the sea snake which blocked their way, they reach the other side. In the first village they overcome a cannibal couple and continue on their way, each of the followers finding a wife in successive villages. Sese nTaola goes on to a village whose inhabitants have been devoured by a Guruda (the Garuda of Hindu mythology). In a drum he finds a girl, Lemo nTonda, who had followed him from the village of the cannibal couple, and despite her warnings he challenges the Guruda and the other six members of his family. He kills the first six, but he and the father Guruda kill each other in the final duel. Lemo nTonda revives Sese nTaola, but shortly thereafter he goes to sleep for a month. While he is asleep Datu nTo Wawo Jangi (King of the Sky) abducts Lemo nTonda, and when Sese nTaola wakes up he follows them to the sky, kills him and returns with Lemo nTonda. This is repeated six times with her being taken successively by Datu nTo Mata Eo (King of the Sunrise), Datu nTo Kasojoa (King of the Sunset), Datu mPajompo Jangi Sambira (King of the North), Datu mPajompo Jangi Sambiranja (King of the South), Torokuku mBetu'e (The Star Bird) and Momata Tibu (Puddle-Eyes). Throughout these battles he is helped by the Wind King, his sister's husband. As in the fight with the Guruda Sese nTaola is killed by his last opponent and is once again revived by Lemo nTonda. She then also revives the inhabitants of the village, including her own parents, and a feast is given, after which Sese nTaola, his brother-in-law, their wives and their followers set out to visit Sese nTaola's parents. Each time he had slept between battles his soul (*tanoana*) had gone to his grandfather, To randa Ue (The Man who Lives in the Water) where he built a copper boat, which now served to transport them across the sea. En route they are attacked this time by the Man with whom the Rain Is, Ligi nToja, Bangka Rondo, Fathom-Chest, Mobangka Tae (Ebony-Back?), Mobangka Labu (Iron-Back?), and

SteelPourer. Sese nTaola and his brother-in-law are both killed this time by the last of these, but are revived by the boat. Finally they arrive at Sese nTaola's village, where everybody has been dead during his absence. They come back to life at his return, however, pay him a fine for having mistreated him, shower him with gold and receive him and the others into the village, where various Islamic feasts are celebrated. The story continues with the exploits of his and his brother-in-law's sons (Adriani, 1902: 1ff.).

In these stories head-hunting appears as an initiation or "rite de passage" in which the hero passes from childhood to maturity by means of a struggle which takes place in the cosmic sphere. In this process he is usually pictured as dying (by being killed, descending into the underworld, or going to sleep) and being revived in order to slay the enemy (generally "on the other side of the sea" or in the upperworld) and as returning in triumph to his village with the head of the enemy and a wife. In the myth of Sese nTaola the people in his village were also dead in his absence and come back to life at his return (this is also the case in No. 87, though omitted from the summary for the sake of brevity), which shows that they have undergone the same rite of renewal.

This conception of head-hunting as a ritual of renewal in which the people of the earth participate in the cosmic opposition of the upper and underworlds constitutes, I believe, the fundamental reason for its association with health and fertility. That the parts of the heads themselves are conceived of as having a direct influence on these things as well is not surprising in view of the Toradja's conception of things supernatural as being both purposeful and automatic in their actions, but they do not appear to have provided the primary motive for the custom.

2. INITIATIONS

a. Mampapotanoana

The most important ritual performed for young children [7]) was the *mampapotanoana*. Although it did not constitute an initiation in the usual sense of the term it did mark in a way a first stage in the child's progress toward becoming a full-fledged human being and member of the community, and is therefore included in this section.

It was performed for all children before they were a year old. Most people said it was done when a child first laughed. It was also done if a child cried or was sick often, and some waited for a large *powurake* for curing the sick, when it could be done at

7) Their introduction to the earth and water and the first cutting of their hair and nails were also ritual occasions. Cf. II, 407f., 410f., 417ff.

less expense. The name itself means "to provide with *tanoana*" 8). Various reasons were given for it. An infant's *tanoana*, it seemed, was only loosely attached to him and could easily go astray or be taken from him, for example by an eagle *(kuajangi)* who would take it to the *wurake*. Because a child's *tanoana* was uncontrolled it had to be protected by a *wurake:* "The name of a *wurake* must be hung on the child." It was also said that a child's *tanoana* had to be securely tied to him, or that the ceremony was performed to make his legs strong. Some thought it could be held for several babies at a time, others not, as they would fight for the *tanoana* among themselves and the strongest would get the most, which would shorten the livens of the rest (II, 411f.).

The first thing the shaman did was to apply medicine to the infant's body and massage it, supposedly to remove anything which could prevent the *tanoana* from entering it. She then prepared a small basket with rice, egg, sirih-pinang, sometimes cigarettes and a string of large beads. It was wrapped about with a piece of fringed bark cloth decorated with black and yellow strips. The basket was covered with bark cloth. Then she tore a strip of bark cloth from a sheet of it and a strip of cordyline from a leaf, counted them off one to five, and tied them together at one end. Next she described a circle with the basket over the child while counting from one to five, chewed a piece of medicine, laid a second piece on a piece of bark cloth, put it and the above-mentioned strips lengthwise on the child's body and cut the strips off by its mouth, saying: "My child, just as I cut the cordyline and the bark cloth, so will your speech appear; you will call your father and mother and speak of grandfather and grandmother." The pieces of bark cloth and cordyline were put in the basket. She then waved the basket again in a circle over the child's head, counting up to five, and said, "My child, cry no more; if the *wurake* of your grandmother is poking you, let it stop poking you; or if you're crying for your *tanoana*, I'm going now to get it." Next she struck the child five times on the crown with a bunch of cordyline, shaking the leaves into the basket each time. The basket she put beside her in the *pelawo* during the recital of her litany. A piece of the cordyline was later planted "so that the child will flourish just like the cordyline."

In the litany which followed the shaman described her efforts to get *tanoana* for the child. The places where she sought it varied from tribe to tribe or region to region. Kruyt said that the shamans always sought it everywhere and in the largest possible quantities, and this would seem to have been true for the tribes around the Lake, where it was taken from the ancestors, i Manta'a tau (Pue mpalaburu) and from two birds, Tolelengkidji (Tolelengkii) and Tolelengkaa, who stole the *tanoana* of little children. It was apparently not the case, however, in other places. Thus in an account not attributed to any one tribe or district the shaman was said to have to get the *tanoana* belonging to the particular child from Pue di songi, otherwise it would never become a vigorous person. The To Wingke-mposo took the *tanoana* of an old To Kina-

8) In the first edition (1912: II, 62) and in Adriani's "Woordenboek" the ceremony was called mowurake tanoana. Its full extent, however, had apparently escaped Kruyt up to that time, as he gave there only a very brief account of it, saying that it lasted only a moment in the morning.

du, so that the child would live as long as its former owner. The To Pebato shamans, finally, stole it from the mouth of Pue mpalaburu.

The litany for this occasion being shorter than usual, it was finished in the middle of the night. The shaman, therefore, slept till dawn, when she applied the *tanoana* acquired to the child. The mother held the child on her lap, facing east, and the shaman placed the cordyline on its head several times and also on that of the mother and others present who did not feel well and wished to profit from the occasion. She also shook corn silk and similar objects over its head, applied rice and medicine to it and medicine to its hands and feet and asked the *tanoana* to stay with the child and not listen to the calls of the child's dead relatives. Beads and feathers were also fixed to its hair. A *woka* was made and hung from the roof of the house with the idea that a *wurake* would come to live in it and look after the child (II, 151ff.).

Another ceremony, *mo'ojuti*, "to tie something to something", supposedly followed the *mampapotanoana* at an indefinite interval. At it the spirit *(lamoa)* of the grandmother was said to be attached to the child, but Kruyt could find out little about it. It may have been a preliminary to or equivalent of the girls' initiation *(momparilangka)* (II, 156; Wdb., 514n.).

b. Momparilangka

Similar to the head-hunting ritual in many respects was the *momparilangka* or *mompakawurake*, an initiation ceremony for girls. According to the first edition the first of these names was used by the western tribes and the second by the eastern ones (1912: I, 365). It took place every three to five years (Kruyt, 1935b: 550), and though no special time of year is mentioned it would seem safe to assume that it fell in the slack period between harvest and planting, because of the extensive preparations it required and its duration. The best day for it was determined by listening to the call of the *powiwi* or *mamboi* bird (1912: I, 365).

The ceremonies were performed either in the temple, as was the case with the western tribes, of which the To Pebato and To Wingke-mposo were the principal, or in a special hut *(bantaja)*, which the eastern tribes, principally the To Lage and To Onda'e, erected for the occasion. The To Palande and To Lamusa, on the other hand, used the temple if they had one in the village or built a hut if they didn't. This distinction between the eastern and western tribes, incidentally, was reversed with respect to the funeral ceremonies *(motengke, mompemate)* (II, 87).

All girls, both slave and free, were expected to have participated at some time or other, usually somewhere between the ages of 3 and 14. Sometimes it was done younger, but then by proxy, and sometimes a girl was older, if her family hadn't been able to afford it earlier. Some women took part twice, once as a child and once again later on if they decided to become a shaman, though this was not necessary, and it was sometimes repeated for a child who remained sickly after the first time. No one, however, ever participated more than twice. If a girl did it for a second time

she did not enter the enclosure *(langka mpealo-alo)*, but just put her clothes in it, though she took part in the rest of the activities. Girls from other villages of the same tribe could participate, and this was done if there were too few of them in their own villages to justify putting on a *momparilangka* there or if a child had remained sickly and it was felt desirable to repeat the ceremony.

Only those boys who showed a definite tendency to act like girls and who were thus destined to become *beli* later on took part. A man who first later in life decided to become one did not undergo the initiation. Sometimes men suffering from leprosy or rheumatoid arthritis participated in hopes of being cured. Childless women also did so sometimes for a second time in order to get children. (II, 85f.).

The *momparilangka* was directed by a head shaman, assisted by a few colleagues. Each of these, who in this function were called *tombonua* [9]), had charge of three or four, sometimes as many as five pupils (II, 86).

The duration of the ceremonies depended on where they were performed; if they were held in the temple (as by the western tribes) they lasted seven days, if in a hut (as by the eastern tribes), three days. (II, 87). They were sometimes prolonged, however, if there were too many candidates for the number of shamans available (ibid., 86).

The *momparilangka* required the most extensive preparations of all the Toradja feasts. The shamans spent days painting bark cloth head-cloths and bands and collecting various herbs; large quantities of pinang blossoms and nuts had to be gathered, and many small knives, hatchets and spearpoints had to be made as well as six to ten swords with fancy scabbards. White cotton and bark cloth, baskets and mats, sun hats *(tinii, sorue)*, cordyline, palm wine, a pig for each girl participating, rice, beads, copper rings and bells were also necessary. (ibid., 88f.).

An enclosure, the *langka mpealo-alo* was set up in the center of the temple or hut. A framework with a raised floor was erected of yellow bamboo or sometimes of sugar cane. A small chopping-knife and needle were placed in each bamboo and a white cotton cloth was hung over the framework to form the walls and ceiling. The resulting construction was usually about three meters square. It corresponded to the sack *(pelawo)* into which the shaman crept to recite her litany. Around the enclosure a frame was made of four heavy planks standing on their long sides, the ends of which were carved to resemble the heads of hornbills *(alo)*, which gave them their name of *dopi mpealo-alo*. These planks were furthermore painted with figures of snakes, supposedly representing the *ule alo*, the ancestral snake which lived in the temple. The *dopi mpealo-alo* were stored in the roof of the temple between ceremonies. When new ones were necessary only a head-hunting leader could cut down the tree for them and they could be worked only by men who had invoked the ancestors in the temple *(mesomba)*. The enclosure was decorated with strips of colored bark cloth, young

9) According to Adriani their full title was tombonua mburake. Tombonua was used for men or women who taught "magic arts". Wdb. See above, part I, Chapter V, note 2.

arenga leaves, inflorescences of pinang and coconut and sprigs of various herbs. The posts were wound with cordyline and behung with swords, spears and shamans' hats. From the roof were hung a couple of bamboo racks on which were laid sticks with pieces of iron tied to them, one stick for each girl within the enclosure *(pasoda labu,* "place where one hangs up the iron"). In Onda'e and Lage wooden birds were hung from the framework called *Tokaju-gundu,* "inhabitant of the thunder-tree" and *Tokaju-lantu,* "inhabitant of the tree which rises above all other trees". The full name of the first tree was *Kaju-gundu-sangka-langi,* "tree which thunders across the heavens" (Wdb.) [10]. It was a waringin which supposedly stood next to the former village of Lepati (referred to as Mungku Maragi, "colorful mountain" in a litany) in Lage (Wdb.; II, 91).

In contrast to the *langka mpealo-alo* the remainder of the floor of the temple or hut and any extensions built on to it were called *lando* (this word was also used in *tana lando,* buffalo pasture (II, 89ff.; Wdb.) [11]).

The girls assembled in the hut or temple toward noon of the first day, and after having been washed with coconut milk or water from special receptacles, according to the custom of the tribe in question, they were dressed by their leaders in white bark cloth clothes which were painted with red and yellow figures [12]).

Once dressed the girls lined up and followed the head shaman, who danced the *motaro* with a ceremonial spear *(lipongi)* in her hand, seven times around the *langka mpealo-alo.* Each girl held a branch of cordyline in her hand with which she struck the person in front of her. Then each one was counted off and shown her place in the enclosure by her leader: "So and so shall not experience any ill effects from climbing up into the *langka;* her life will be vigorous, because she is being installed today in the *langka;* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7." After all the girls had gone inside the curtain two of the shamans danced *(motaro)* around the *langka* to prevent evil spirits from entering it. A pig and a fowl were then brought in and carried seven times around the enclosure. Then they were slaughtered and each of the girls was touched on the cheek with their blood. Finally two shamans passed among the girls with their spears, which each girl had to touch, and then danced *(motaro)* once again seven times around the *langka.* During all these activities the *karatu* drum was beaten constantly (II, 91ff.).

The floor of the *langka mpealo-alo* was thickly covered with sleeping mats and each girl was seated upon an object called *empehi,* which consisted of a miniature rain mat in which were wrapped a hatchet, a knife, a needle, some bark cloth and cotton

10) Kruyt translated (II, 91): „tree belonging to him who thunders...", but I can see no reason for this.

11) The description of the langka mpealo given in the first edition (1912: I, 365f.) differs to the extent that the dopi mpealo-alo were said to form the foundation of the enclosure and that two sun hats were spoken of, one hanging on each of the "broad sides" of the curtain. Whether these differences reflect local variations or a misinterpretation by Kruyt of an account given him of a ceremony which he had not seen it is impossible to say. Cf. also Kruyt, 1934: 311.

12) Earlier Adriani and Kruyt said that the ambulea, the special kind of jacket that was worn, was never decorated, but this may represent a local variation. Adriani and Kruyt, 1901-04: XIV, 152. In Wingke-mposo yellow bark cloth was worn on this occasion. II, 91.

cloth, a small bamboo drinking cup, four areca nuts, seven cigarettes, cordyline and various other herbs. Once inside the enclosure the girls had to remain there for the duration of the ritual, except for the performance of a few shamanistic activities under the guidance of their leaders. They urinated through the cracks in the floor, and for purposes of defecation a covered platform about ten meters long was usually built out from the temple. The girls were accompanied by their leaders to the end of the platform, where they relieved themselves, to protect them from assault by the evil forces in the sky in the form of two great birds, *tolelengkaa* and *tolelengkidji* (which we have already come across in connection with the *mampapotanoana*) or *toea* (another term for *kongka*, "kite"). The girls ate as little as possible and drank only palm wine to check the working of the bowels, though supposedly one who really had the call to be a shaman felt not the slightest need to defecate (ibid., 93ff.).

It is not possible on the basis of Kruyt's material to give a consecutive account throughout of the *momparilangka* nor to distinguish except in one instance between the ceremony as performed in hut or temple. It may be broken down, however, into daily activities and those of single occurrence. Each morning and evening the girls were trained in the shamans dance *(motaro)* by their leaders, who led them in it around the *langka*, and in dancing over a series of mats *(molontjo ali)* in preparation for the *molontjo wawu* of the final day. At dawn and at sunset every day they performed the *mongkabe eo*, "to beckon the sun to oneself". The girls assembled outside the *langka*, in the morning to the east of it and in the evening to the west of it. Each held a piece of bamboo to which a cordyline leaf and a woman's jacket had been attached. The shamans recited seven strophes of their litany concerning the rising and setting of the sun to the accompaniment of the *karatu* drum, and at a given moment the girls began to beckon to the sun with their bamboo sticks while the shamans grasped their spears and thrust them toward the sun. The *mongkabe eo* was supposedly done "in order that the sun come quickly to the zenith; in order that it set successfully after the completion of its daily task." The beckoning of the sun was "to rouse the desire to perform the shamans' dance *(motaro)* so that the people will play," and the thrusting toward it was "to arouse the desire to fight so that the enemy shall not conquer these companions of the *wurake* who have mounted to the sky." In Pebato the shaman beckoned the sun into a bowl, and the ceremony was there called "to catch the sun" *(mantande ando)*. At some time or other during the *momparilangka* each girl was given a spiritual husband, presumably a *wurake*. They could be seen during the *mongkabe eo* holding a sham fight in the sun (ibid., 98f.).

The mornings were spent making various things necessary for the performance of shamanistic duties and painting clothes to be worn on the final day. These included the shaman's medicine pouch, bark cloth girdles and the *rare* (ibid., 99ff.).

The nights were spent in reciting litanies, though Kruyt did not give much information on this point. Some people said the shamans did this to train the girls, whereas others claimed they did it to

give the impression that the girls themselves were doing it and had thus already become full-fledged shamans. At any rate each girl was taken under the *pelawo* by a shaman for instruction, which she paid for with a piece of white cotton, a dark shoulder cloth, a brass bracelet, a string of beads and a sword (ibid., 95).

One of the litanies concerned the *mooko lipu*, "to erect a village". The houses of the *wurake*, namely, were thought to suffer frequently from floods, so the shamans and their pupils mounted en masse to the sky to assist them in restoring one of their villages in return for their help. On this occasion the girls were taught how to make the miniature houses *(woka)* the shamans made when curing their patients. Once this was over the so-called *mooko lipu tanoana mpae* (also *mooko lipu raoa* according to the Wdb.) was performed in order, said Kruyt, to bring the life spirit of the rice down to earth from heaven. This apparently consisted in raising up and down a basket, in which were placed three bunches of cordyline whose stems were wrapped in bark cloth, to the accompaniment of an unspecified litany (ibid., p. 95ff.).

The shamans also performed the *mampu'a wukotu*, "to make the knees bend", on the girls. This was a curative ritual used on sick children of both sexes. The girl straddled the above-mentioned *empehi*. The shaman squatted beside her, counted up to seven and seized her by the lower part of her legs, so that she came to sit on the *empehi*. The shaman then picked at the back of her head with the point of a sword to remove the disease, while reciting a litany (ibid., 95f, 169).

Among the To Lage and To Onda'e the second night was of particular importance (the ceremonies lasted three days there), as the *dimalele*, evil spirits of the upperworld, came to attack the people. Every one returned to the village from the field huts, all doors and windows were closed and swords and spears were tied to the door posts. Most of the villagers came together in the feast hut, where they first shared a meal with the dead *(angga ntau mate)* and the gods *(lamoa)*. After this the shamans, supported by all present, waged a dramatic battle with the evil spirits. It was concluded by a brief version of the head-hunters' feast *(mompeleleka)* (II, 101f.).

On the final day the girls dressed up in special clothes and were ceremonially bathed, anointed and sprinkled with coconut milk. Then an oracle was performed on each girl with two halves of a coconut to see if her trip to the spirits had turned out well for her. Next an oracle was carried out with a rooster to see if any of the girls would become a shaman [13]).

These ceremonies took most of the morning. Toward noon the girls danced *(motaro)* seven times around the *langka mpealo-alo* and left the hut or temple by the east door. Before they set foot on the ground their feet were counted off from one to seven. They then proceeded to a spot where a number of pigs (the number varied from tribe to tribe) were laid in a row on the ground about

13) In both editions Kruyt said the girls sucked the rooster's beak seven times, but elsewhere (Kruyt, 1920: 4f.) he said that he saw this only in Lage and that everywhere else a piece of its comb was cut off.

seventy centimeters apart with their heads pointing toward the temple or hut. The head shaman, holding spear and sword, danced seven times in both directions over the pigs, followed by the girls. When each girl had finished the shaman pretended to pick something out of her with her knife. While this was going on a man held a battle dance around the pigs. The whole ceremony was called *molontju wawu*, "to run over pigs". The pigs were finally slaughtered and everybody present was touched with their blood on the cheek or forehead (II, 104ff.).

Once this was over every one headed for the river. A man performed a war dance around the girls on the way and the shamans recited part of their litanies. A spot was chosen by the river where a *pokae* tree grew. If there was none one was transplanted from elsewhere [14]). It was called in this case *kaju tonamda*, "three which observes". The shamans and girls approached the tree with white bowls containing sirih-pinang, beads and tobacco, stuck their knives in the ground around it, which had been cleared of weeds, hung their hats on it and sat down under it. The shamans then addressed seven gods and spirits: the *wurake*, To Palemboadi (nowhere else mentioned), the *anitu ri lobo*, the *lamoa nawu*, the *sobugo*, the *anitu ri kolowo* and Pue mpalaburu. Then a man (sometimes two) held a war dance around the tree. It was addressed and asked if one could expect good fortune and the man attempted to cut it down with one stroke. The girls seized its leaves (the one who got the ones from the top would certainly become a shaman) and danced around the tree once more.

The girls then proceeded to bathe in the river. First, however, the shamans took the girls hats and moved them seven times back and forth over the water *(ndarajo)*, scooped up some of it along with a particular kind of water bug and let the girls drink from it. The entire proceedings at the river were called *mopandajora* after this ceremony. While the girls bathed the shamans recited their litanies to the accompaniment of drums *(karatu)*. Once bathed the girls donned the new bark cloth clothes which the shamans had painted for them during the preceding days. A shaman told Kruyt that the gods from the upper and underworlds met at this ceremony. So far as she knew it had only really happened once, when the culture hero Lasaeo lived on earth, but the ceremonies were still observed that had been performed then (II, 106ff.).

On the way back to the village leave was taken from the *wurake* at a specially planted tree, *kadju mburake*, "*wurake* tree", or *kadju mpopaata*, "escort tree". Just outside the village the procession was attacked by men with the stems of a certain plant. They were soon defeated and the girls and shamans returned in triumph to the temple or feast hut (II, 108f.).

After a moment the girls swarmed out again over the village, taking anything they felt like. According to the Toradja: "They show themselves to the *bela* to show that they aren't afraid of them because they have been received into the guild of the *wurake*. In this function they may take everything they want to, and one must give them everything they ask for" (II, 109).

14) Cf. the role played by the pokae in the rice fields in section 4 of this chapter.

Back in the temple or hut the girls hands were scratched and beads and herbs were supposedly rubbed inside the palms. This was done to give them the power of removing disease-causing objects from people's bodies *(mopagere)* and to make everything that they planted flourish. Finally the girls took off their special clothes and donned their white ones, which they kept on until they were worn out (II, 109f.).

The ostensible purpose of the *momparilangka* was to introduce the girls to the *wurake* and to train them as shamans. Aside from particular features corresponding to the religious beliefs of the Toradja, however, the ceremonies followed the usual pattern of initiation ceremonies. Thus the girls were separated from the rest of the community in an enclosure, where they underwent a symbolic death (seclusion, restrictions on eating and defecating) and received instruction, and from which they emerged newly born (counting off of the feet before they touched the ground, bath at the river) in a new status. In this respect it parallelled the head-hunting ritual as it appeared in the mythology. The girls' initiation also took place in the cosmic sphere, but whereas the head-hunters were aided by the ancestors in the underworld, the shamans were helped by the *wurake* in the upperworld. Thus the two rituals were complementary, expressing the ties of the community with the two poles of the universe.

c. Incision, teeth-shortening, burns, ear-piercing

As we have seen, head-hunting itself constituted the main initiation for males. In addition, every youth was supposed to be incised, have his front teeth shortened and inflict several burns on himself. No elaborate ceremonies were held for these operations, however.

Boys were incised *(montindi, mopatindi)* anywhere from their sixth to fifteenth year. If a boy had had sexual intercourse before the operation, however, it was thought to be dangerous both for him and the operator and could have harmful effects on the rice plants. It was usually performed on the occasion of some sacrificial feast or other, though some of the older boys who were ashamed to have it done in public asked an uncle or some other blood relative who had killed at least one enemy to do it for them separately. Often boys performed it on each other in the forest. The most desirable occasion for it was on the return of a successful raiding party, either during the *moganda* or *mompeleleka*. It was most often performed, however, during the feast for the new rice in the smithy *(mopatawi)*.

During the *moganda* it was done under a rice barn, if there was one near the temple; if not the notched log serving as steps was taken from one and placed on the ground near the temple for the boys to sit on. The boys to be incised were seized and brought together there, not without opposition on their part. Each boy in turn was seated facing east on the log, a fresh skull, the head-hunting trophy of arenga leaves *(towugi)*, a brass tray (in Lage)

or rice block (in Wotu) (elsewhere - I, 360 - Kruyt also gave the head of a slaughtered buffalo as a possibility) with the *tadulako* facing him. The boy was then struck with the shell string *(batu rangka)* and the victory cry was given. The *tadulako* inserted the tip of his sword under the prepuce, rubbed the blood from it while reciting a charm to prevent the loss of blood, and struck it with a coconut shell used as cover for a rice pot, a skull or (in Palande) a piece of bamboo. Wood could not be used for this. While this was going on the war song *(dolu)* was sung. The blood was washed away with water in which certain vigorous plants *(mentuwu)* had been placed.

In general women were not allowed to watch the operation, for which various reasons were given. Either the wound would fail to heal or become infected, or the women themselves would suffer from sore eyes or swelling of the vagina. Others said they stayed away from shame. Nowhere, however, could the parents be present, as that would shorten the boys' lives.

The Toradja gave several reasons for incision. It enabled one to get many and healthy children by removing the evil *(bui)* from the penis; it made the person himself healthy, for the spirits would no longer bother him, having gotten their due; and it made one brave. Only few boys refused to undergo the operation, and they were heaped with scorn (II, 434ff.).

Boys had their teeth shortened when they felt they had grown up, at any rate after they were incised and before they were married. It was more dangerous, however to operate on a boy who had already had sexual intercourse, and therefore only some one who had killed an enemy could safely do it.

It usually took place towards dusk or when it was already dark, and was performed without ceremony, although the boy had to keep quite still lest he endanger the life of the operator. The front teeth were usually sawn off close to the gums and then filed even. The teeth were placed in a bowl with a brass ring to make the stumps left in the mouth "cool", and after about three days were thrown away in the forest or buried, for if pigs or fowl bit on them, it would hurt the stumps. Uneven pieces of the gums were cut away with a bamboo splinter, and the teeth were blackened and polished with vegetable substances (II, 439ff.).

Burns *(torokiki, torobokiki, babaki, torobabaki)* were made on a youth's upper and (or) lower arms, sometimes on the backs of his hands and once in a while on his thighs. Tinder scraped from the arenga palm was applied with saliva to the desired spot, ignited and kept burning by running back and forth, which also helped one resist the pain. The wounds were kept open for a while to aid in the formation of scar tissue.

These scars served various purposes. The dead needed them, for example, to buy fire with in the underworld, to which they were refused admittance by its guardian, Langkoda, if they didn't have them. Spirits would see them as fire and be frightened away, or the smallpox spirit would take them for smallpox scars and

leave the person alone, The gods would think they were battle wounds and help one to escape from the enemy out of pity, and they proved a youth's bravery in the eyes of the girls (II, 444f.).

Girls also had their front teeth shortened or, as in Pu'u-mboto, Salu-maoge and Wotu, knocked out completely. The reason given for the latter operation was that a woman had once bitten off her husband's penis in passion and that it was therefore decided to remove all women's teeth as a precautionary measure.

It was done before a girl started to menstruate – otherwise worms would come into the teeth – and at the same time it declared that the girl was ready to be married. This would limit the age pretty closely, except that it was not uncommon for girls to have sexual intercourse before they menstruated for the first time. The operation was apparently performed the same way for girls as for boys (II, 439ff.). In Pu'u-mboto it was done during the *momparilangka* (II, 435), but elsewhere there was apparently no preferred time for it.

Most girls had their ears pierced as well, though it was not obligatory (1912: II, 80). It no longer had any religious significance, being done, it was said, to attract attention by hanging all manner of pretty things in the ears. Only one woman claimed that it had the same purpose as boys' burns, to buy fire, namely, in the underworld, and one other said that it was an old custom instituted by Pue mpalaburu (II, 442ff.).

3. FUNERALS

The Toradja had two funerals, which were separated by a considerable length of time. At the first of these the bodies were placed in temporary huts outside the village; at the second the bones were cleaned and given a definitive burial in caves.

Lamentations for the dead person began the moment he expired. They were always improvised, but stereotyped: it was said how much he was missed, he was asked why the mourners couldn't have gone in his place and his virtues were summed up. For many of the mourners, at least, it was a purely formal affair, unconnected with feelings of affection for the dead person. Many young girls, it would seem, participated merely to show off their voices. Men hardly ever took part in it and some were even quite annoyed by it (II, 461f.).

The corpse was laid out soon after death, preferably by some one who fetched the bones for the second funeral *(tonggola)*, otherwise by an older member of the family. It was not washed, nor were its clothes usually removed, new and handsome ones being put on over the old ones or laid over the body. Cloths were bound about the knees, arms and around the head under the chin to make the body easier to carry and to keep the mouth from falling open. Now and then gold dust, a gold piece or beads (preferably white)

were put into its mouth, supposedly as food for its *angga*. In Pu'umboto they said on this occasion: "Just as white as the beads will be the grain of the rice which you will give us. Do not come to us in the guise of pigs, mice or rice birds; give us the grain *(po'oe)*." Sometimes beads were placed on the eyes, a small mirror on the chest and pieces of money on the cheeks and forehead (II, 465f.).

A bit of the hair and the nails of the dead person were cut off and made up into a package along with the knife used for this purpose. They were either carried about or kept in the house (presumably by the closest relative, though from other remarks it would seem that the hair and nails of much loved or admired persons were in great demand) for a long time – by some as long as six generations. During the first funeral, from the time the body was removed from the house until the *moombe ue* had been performed (see p. 83 below), this package served as a substitute for the dead person, a bit of everything one ate or chewed being placed beside it. Hair and nails were said to be kept "so that his *tanoana* will be transferred to us". Many said that they allayed their longing for the dead, and others, "We keep hair and nails in order not to forget the dead, and the dead will then bless us." They were also used as medicine for the crops, and it was said that,"If we didn't cut off the nails of the dead they would pinch off the rice ears with them or dig up the roots of the plants." A widow would keep the hair of her dead husband "so that his *tanoana* would not part from hers", but would throw it away when she remarried (II, 467f.).

Once the corpse was dressed it was laid on a mat in the most appropriate part of the house and a sort of canopy *(batuwali)* was built over it. The *batuwali* (the word probably once meant "room" -Wdb.) consisted of four bamboo posts with cross bars, covered with a piece of cotton or sleeping mat to form the roof, and with curtains hung from the cross bars. Pinang blossoms were hung from the posts and beads by the head of the corpse. Beside the body was a basket with sirih-pinang and an egg, which served as its food. The *batuwali* was further decorated with various cotton goods, some of which later accompanied the corpse as presents (II, 469f.).

While the body remained in the house it was fed. The food was placed beside it and removed after an hour and given to a slave to eat. At some point or other during the proceedings a buffalo and a few pigs were killed, the former being intended to serve as a means of transportation to the underworld for its master. The house was always full of people, especially at night. A circle which could not be broken was formed around the *batuwali* in order to protect the dead person from witches or the souls of the dead. The hearth fire and a torch had, moreover, to be kept burning. The people keeping watch could not sleep for a moment, as this would not only endanger the corpse but their own *tanoana* could easily be seized and taken to the underworld (II, 470ff.). Round dances *(kajori, raego)* and certain singing games were prohibited during these nights, though various others were especially performed on these occasions. Chief among the latter were the *djondjo awa* and the *lina*, which formed the greatest at-

tractions for the young people. The first of these consisted in reciting improvised couplets which were alternated with a refrain beginning with the words *djondjo awa*. Kruyt thought these words probably came from *ndjo'u-ndjo'u wawa*, meaning "go, go, accompany him" or "take him away", referring to the dead person. The *lina* was a song, plaintively sung, each line of which ended with the meaningless word *lina*, which Kruyt thought came from *linga*, "to sing", but which the Toradja equated with *ine*, "mother". The two games were alternated. They were said to be performed to distract and console the *angga* now that it had to leave the earth, and in them the *angga* was first taken on a trip to another region and then conducted to the underworld, or, in at least one case, to Buju mpotumangi, "the mountain of weeping", where it was handed over to other souls of the dead who had come to meet it. When leave was taken from the *angga* it was asked not to take the *tanoana* of the rice and other plants with it to the underworld, which would make the crops fail. Throughout the *djondjo awa* and *lina* a man and a young girl carried on a conversation of a piquant nature.

These two games were compared by the Toradja with the *mopasangke*, performed at the time of the harvest (see below). According to both Adriani (1912: III, 544f.) and Kruyt they had no religious significance, presumably because they did not accomplish an actual removal of the dead person to the underworld, which was done later by the shaman, but they were nevertheless felt to be more than mere games and could have serious consequences for the participants. In the Lake district an old man or woman performed the ritual of tearing a stalk in two *(mantjela panga)* before they were started so that the young people would suffer no ill consequences from them, and those present were not allowed to fall asleep or leave before the end for fear that their *tanoana* would remain in the underworld (II, 474ff.).

The coffin was called either *bangka* or *jumu*. The second of these was a general term meaning "covering"; the first meant "boat", and was still used in Pu'u-mboto in this sense. That the coffin was indeed thought of as a boat is born out by the fact that if one dreamed of somebody rowing in a boat it was assumed that that person would soon die.[15]) The coffin was hollowed out of a tree trunk split lengthwise to form a cover, called *lakinja*, "the man", and a receptacle, called *tinanja*, "the woman". Aside from the handles at either end, which were sometimes carved in the form of animal heads (Kruyt had seen those of pigs and goats) and which supposedly had no particular significance, the coffins were not decorated (II, 481ff.; 1912: II, 90).

There were various categories of people, of course, who did not get one. One was made only for valued slaves, the others being wrapped in bark or pounded bamboo and buried in the ground. People who had died from smallpox or leprosy did not get one either, except for particularly respected persons, and in their case special precautions were taken and their bones were not fetched later on for the second funeral. There was no common

15) In the first edition Kruyt said that b a n g k a was used "south of Lake Poso". It is not clear whether or not this dream interpretation was limited to the same area as well (1912: II, 90f.).

practice with respect to those who had died from an accident. Women who had died in childbirth were given one, but they were brought directly to the caves and their bones were also not brought back for the second funeral. The corpses of stillborn children and infants of two or three days and those executed for incest also received special treatment (II, 487ff.).

Various things were put into the coffin along with the body depending on the region or tribe. Around Lake Poso rice was put in the coffins of people who had possessed a great deal of it during their lives, whereas in Lage no rice was put in for fear that this contact with the dead person would make the crops fail. It was a general rule, however, in contrast to the West Toradja, not to put iron objects, particularly sharp ones, in coffins as this was thought to have bad consequences both for the crops and the people themselves. Distinction was also generally made in preparing the coffins for males and females II, 490ff.).

Before the coffin was removed from the house a shaman performed the *mowurake mpo'onto tanoana*, "shaman's ritual to hold back the *tanoana*", over the closest relatives, supposedly to keep their souls from following the coffin. They squatted down near it and were covered by a costly old cloth *(bana)*. The shaman then touched all the heads under the cloth and finally the coffin with a *rare* consisting of a young arenga palm leaf and small bell and a basket in which was a branch of cordyline. This she repeated seven times and then touched the corpse with it seven times from the feet to the head while reciting a litany. This was also called *montende rare*, "to toss up the *rare*", which was also the name of another ceremony performed over the corpses of shamans, shortly to be described. It also closely resembles the ritual performed for the departing head-hunters to prevent their *tanoana* from deserting them *(ma'onto tanoana ntau anu malai)*. They sat in a group facing east and were covered with a sheet of white cotton. The shaman then struck them on their heads with a branch of cordyline *(moarosi)* and afterwards gave them *rare*, which they rubbed over their bodies before attacking the enemy in order to make their muscles strong (I, 293).

Unfortunately Kruyt did not record the litanies recited on these occasions, so it is impossible to be sure of their significance, but it would seem that in all the cases the purpose was to prepare the people for a hazardous journey. The funeral ceremony was performed according to Kruyt to keep the *tanoana* of the surviving close relatives from following the dead person, but as we shall see, they too were supposed to be in the underworld while in mourning, so it is possible that the ceremony served to prepare them for this trip. As the dead person was similarly treated with the *rare* it may also have been done with the same intention. This, at any rate, was the explanation given by the Toradja for the *montende rare* performed over the corpse of a shaman.

When removing the coffin and on the way to its temporary shelter outside the village everything was done to prevent the soul of the dead from finding its way back to its home, except in the case of people who had left no relatives of the same generation behind.

It was removed through the window, or if it was too small a wall was taken out for this purpose, and sometimes (generally in the case of infants) it was let out through the floor. Contact between the *angga* and the living was several times ritually broken on the way to the hut (II, 494ff.).

The small hut which served as temporary resting place for the corpse *(tambea)* was a pile construction erected a short distance to the north, south or west of the village. It was never built to the east of it, as the village would then lie in the path of the *angga*, which went to the west. Account was also taken of the prevailing wind, to reduce to a minimum the smell of the rotting corpse in the village. It was solidly built, with no walls and a low roof. The roof was laid on differently than in houses for the living and the notched tree trunk which served as a ladder was placed so that the steps faced downwards, as the dead saw everything reversed. Long bamboo poles, each with a piece of white cotton attached, were erected about the hut. In the Lake district there was one on each side, elsewhere four, one at each corner, and in Palande six, three on each side. The poles, which bore the name of *lae ntula*, "pole with sign", were cu. down when a head was brought in to end the mourning (II, 502f.).

Upon arrival the coffin was placed in the hut with the feet pointing west. A hole was made in the bottom in which a long bamboo was inserted which reached to the ground and served to drain off the juices of decomposition. Then (in Lage at any rate and also Kruyt presumed, elsewhere) the shaman performed a ritual to lure back the *tanoana* of family members which might have gotten into the coffin so that they would not be taken by the *angga* to the underworld. The cover was then placed on the coffin, which was bound about with rattan, eight times for men and nine for women. Finally the cracks between the two parts were filled with fungus and covered with strips of bark cloth. A sleeping mat, a food basket, a cooking pot, the dead person's sirih pouch and sword and a few other articles and food were either hung from or laid on the roof of the hut.

Somewhat different customs were observed with respect to the corpse of a shaman. According to Kruyt these were to be explained by the fact that the soul *(angga)* of a shaman did not go to the underworld *(Torate)*, but to Mungku mpe'anta-anta, "the mountain which serves as resting place", in "the land of the *wurake* spirits in the sky". This was supposed to be where the roads from the upper and underworlds came together. Unfortunately, however, in the litany which Kruyt quoted in this connection her soul was spoken of as going to *Nanggi* or *Linduju*, both names for the underworld. Supposedly to demonstrate that her "soul" went to heaven a small bamboo was placed in her mouth as a blow pipe through which she blew her "breath" *(inosa)* to the sky. As we have seen, however, *inosa* is "life force" and is closely akin to *tanoana*, thus quite different from *angga*. The ceremony by which, according to Kruyt, the shaman's soul was brought to heaven was called *montende rare*, "to toss up the *rare*". According to the Toradja it served "to equip the dead person's *angga* (for its trip)"

(mampapoiwo angga ntau mate). The *rare* [16]) was not actually tossed in the air, however, but only passed back and forth between three men on one side of the coffin and four shamans on the other, while the latter recited the above-mentioned litany. When the coffin had been removed from the house it was set on the ground and a shaman walked seven times around it with a spear in her hand, saying that the dead person was not allowed to take things with her to *Nanggi* or *Linduju*. Although Kruyt first said the the *montende rare* was performed to bring the soul of the shaman to heaven he later said that it was done to prevent her from taking the "life force" of things with her and added that therefore in Pu'umboto it was called *mo'ontobi*, "to put an obstacle in the way" to prevent her soul from going to the underworld instead of to heaven. He offered no proof for this last assertion, however, and we have already seen an almost identical pair of terms used for similar ceremonies for the ordinary dead *(mowurake mpo'onto tanoana* and *montende rare)*. If these ceremonies did indeed have such a different significance, as Kruyt maintained (II, 494), it is not clear from the data he presented. Moreover, the bones of the shamans were collected along with the others at the second funeral, where they underwent the same ceremonies. It is of course possible that a double destination was accorded the shamans, within their *inosa* or *tanoana* going to the *wurake*, with whom they had been so closely allied in life, and their *angga* going to the underworld.

The corpses of shamans, finally, had polished rice thrown over them, as did those of agricultural *sando* and those who left nobody of their own generation behind, to prevent them from taking the soul of the rice with them (II, 498), and shamans guarded the death house two nights after the removal of the corpse to prevent its *angga* from returning to seize the *tanoana* of its relatives (II, 513ff.).

A hen or rooster, depending on whether or not the dead person was female or male respectively, was also tied to the hut or coffin. It was called *tandojae* or *tando ijae*, which meant "end of the section (of bamboo or similar plant)". According to a man in Lamusa everybody got such a fowl, but only the one for some who left no generation mates behind was called *tandojae*. Whether this was actually the origin of the term, as Kruyt supposed, or was only a rationalization on the part of the Toradja is hard to say, however. At any rate, the Toradja could offer no explanation as to the purpose of the usage, and the fowl could be taken by any one outside the community.

For the corpse of an important person a slave was designated as *tandojae;* at least that was the case in Onda'e, Lage and Lamusa according to the first edition (1912: II, 101) and Adriani (Wdb.). He slept in the hut at night and kept a torch burning, and in the daytime he kept the flies away and wiped up the liquids from the corpse. His main duty was to prevent witches from "eating up" the body. He could talk to no one and took his food where he could

16) In Onda'e a towugi was used instead of a rare (II, 514n.).

find it. Nobody could object to this because "the *tandojae* lives as an *angga*, and who would have an *angga* in service". The *tandojae* stayed with the corpse until its bones had been fetched for the second funeral, and he returned then to a changed status. In some places he changed masters or was sold, in others he was no longer treated like the other slaves, but with some distinction. In most tribes, however, he became a free man, built his own house and tilled his own fields. Nevertheless he was treated as something of an outcast and was not supposed to be well-disposed toward his fellow man (II, 504f.).

After the coffin had been deposited in the hut leave was taken from the dead person. There was no set formula for this, though the sentiments expressed were apparently always pretty much the same. For example: "O father (mother), we have put everything for you down here. Stay here. Your (dead) relatives are coming to keep you company, and among them is also so and so, who will tell you what you must do and not do. As for us, whom you have left, we too have some one whose orders we obey." "This is the end of our relationship. This far you have a claim on us as your children. We are making the steps of your house black. Do not come back to us." "Here you have your food. Give us rain so that our rice will succed, and give us dry weather so that we can burn the wood on our fields. Do not let any rice birds loose on us, or mice or pigs." Later on people returned from time to time, however, to bring food for the *angga (melo'a)*, as, for example, when people were called together to work in the fields *(mesale)*. Otherwise the dead would come to fetch it themselves (II, 506).

Although official leave had been taken from the dead person his soul was still thought to return to visit the living, especially the first night after the disposal of the coffin [17]), and for this reason the *batuwali* was left standing for eight nights (for a man) or nine nights (for a woman) after his death. If it was broken up earlier the sleeping mat was left for this length of time. Torch and hearth fire were kept burning and sirih and food were placed by its side (II, 509f.). The shaman was helpful in preventing these visits, as she could see the *angga*. On this first night after the removal of the corpse she also descended to the underworld to fetch the *tanoana* of the relatives which might have followed the soul of the dead person there (II, 512; 156), and eight days after the removal (for a man; nine days after for a woman) she performed a ceremony with the aid of the *wurake* to rescue the *angga* from the juices of its decomposing corpse *(moombe ue)* (II, 512, 158).

It is difficult to get a clear idea of the period of mourning *(ombo)*. Whether this is due to conflicting practices or only to confusion in Kruyt's mind is hard to say. In the first edition (1912: II, 101) we are told that the general mourning began with the death of the person mourned. In the second edition (1951: II, 516) it is said to have started as soon as the corpse had been brought to the hut. Again in the first edition it was said that the day after the decease was a day on which it was forbidden to work in the fields

17) Elsewhere (I, 449f.) Kruyt said that the third night after the death was particularly dangerous, but he also said there that this coincided with the mata mpoli kodi (see below), which only adds to the confusion.

(umapo) (II, 101) and in the second that the day after the removal of the corpse was *umapo* (II, 510). "Toward the beginning of the evening after the removal of the corpse some one goes through the village calling, 'From the moment that the fowls go to roost until they come off again (after the second morning) there is mourning'." During this period no one could go to the fields, perform round dances or scream and shout. It the dead person had been somebody of importance mourning lasted longer, usually seven days. When this was announced it was added, "May nobody go work in his field as long as the mourning lasts; may nobody pick anything from his field; may no stranger take any palm wine; may no one quarrel and shout". The restrictions during the period of mourning were much more severe in this case and even more so if an important chief had died. Then even audible belching or the eating of hot spices was punishable. No particular measures were taken as a rule when discarding the one-day mourning *(ombo ntjaeo)*, but when it lasted longer it was necessary for a member of the family from another village to bring a buffalo for this purpose, or a human head might have to be taken (II, 516ff.). An old man in Pebato explained the purpose of these customs as follows: "When we went out to fight, the women who stayed behind did all sorts of things by which they made it easier for the men on the warpath and supported them. In the same way we observe the mourning customs to help the soul of the dead person so that it will not have a bad time of it and will have a happy trip to the underworld" (II, 516).

Aside from the general mourning there were special restrictions for a widow or widower. Until the body had been removed she (unless otherwise stated what follows applied equally to widows and widowers) remained by its head with a female companion of her family, who mourned with her, at its foot. A man likewise shared the mourning with a male member of the family (around the Lake a widow had eight companions and a widower nine). When the body was removed she was surrounded by rain mats and pieces of bark cloth, forming a small cubicle *(lengo – lengo bulu* according to Adriani: Wdb.) in which she remained as a rule for three days, sometimes less, "in any case until the shaman had finished her work [18])." In Pebato she had to sit with her knees drawn up, only being allowed to stretch them once in a while one at a time. She was not supposed to defecate, and for this reason ate as little as possible. Before she left the enclosure the rain mats were rolled up and counted off on her head, and thereafter when she went out (which she did as little as possible) she had to put a folded rain mat across her head. She could not let the sun's rays or rain fell on her and could therefore only bathe at night by the light of the moon. She could only go to the fields eight days (a widower nine) after the removal of the corpse, and even then with a rain mat on her head. She could not speak to men during the mourning period and could only remarry after the second funeral had been performed (in some tribes, however, she could do this as soon as a head had been taken for the dead person). In most tribes

18) In the first edition (1912: II, 103) this was said to be done after the death of her husband.

there was no special clothing prescribed, though in some the widow had to wear unpainted white bark cloth and in Pebato and Wingke-mposo her jacket and head-band were painted yellow. It was also generally forbidden for her to eat rice during this period. When the mourning was discarded she was ritually reintroduced to all the things which had been denied to her (II, 519ff.).

These two stages of the mourning for the widow or widower were marked by the *mata mpoli kodi* and the *mata mpoli bangke*, "small" and "great" *mata mpoli*, respectively. According to Adriani (Wdb. sub *mata*) they fell on the day after the third night and the day after the ninth night after the removal of the corpse. In one place (II, 510) Kruyt said they fell on the third and eighth or ninth nights after the removal. Elsewhere, however, we read: "Ordinarily the corpse remained three nights in the house, because the fourth day, thus that of the burial, then counted at the same time as the end of the deep mourning, so that people could do things again which are forbidden during those three days. This fourth day bears the name of *mata mpoli kodi* 'small *mata mpoli*', which was followed nine nights after the decease by the *mata mpoli bangke*,'the great *mata mpoli*'. If the corpse was taken away after two nights, then the mourning customs had to be observed another two days after the burial" (II, 472). On page 474 Kruyt confirmed that the *mata mpoli kodi* fell on the fourth day after the death of the mourned, but on page 527 and in volume I, page 449 it was said that it was on the third day after his death. Whenever they were, however, on both these days food was ceremonially brought to the dead person. On the first of them measures were taken to keep him away from his former home, as on this day the *angga* was thought to visit all the places he had been accustomed to go to during his life. After the *mata mpoli bangke* the *batuwali* was taken down and the sleeping mat rolled up, after which the whole house and its inhabitants were swept with a bunch of cordyline "to remove the smell" (II, 510f.).

In the case of the death of an important person, however, mourning was not ended until a head had been taken for him. Till then the mourners could put on no new clothes or take sirih from another's pouch, nor could coconuts be taken from the trees. If the village was at war then a head was taken from the enemy; otherwise a slave or somebody suspected of witchcraft or sorcery was bought from another village, brought home and cut to pieces. The person who had contributed most toward his purchase gave the first blow, holding onto the victim's hair, and he also took the head 19). The mourning could also be ended with a head taken by another tribe if necessary. The close relatives of the dead person were responsible for getting the head or sacrificial victim. A widower would not dare return until he had got one by some means or other, even if it took three years or longer. Part of the bands which bound the corpse, or part of the strips of bark cloth used to tie up the packages of bones for the second funeral (elsewhere they were said to take the *widu*, a reed with feathers which was

19) In the first edition (1912: II, 106) it was said that one of the children of the deceased gave the first blow; if there were none then it was done by a close relative.

attached to these packages and also placed around the catafalque on which they rested - Kruyt, 1920: 31; II, 541) were taken along and inserted in the belly of the person killed. From this one would conclude that the taking of a head was also a sequel to the second funeral [20]).

At the ceremonies ending the mourning the widow was told not to stay in the underworld, as she had been freed from the mourning restrictions by victory. The poles around the hut in which the coffin rested were cut down and a piece of the scalp of the victim was inserted in a notch in one of the handles of the coffin. Then the dead person was calmed by singing to him: "Lie down again dead one, in the abode of the dead *(Nanggi)* is the resting place of your soul" [21]). Then everybody returned to the village, where the clothes of the widow or widower were cut through and the mourning was declared to be ended. The leader of the troop of head-hunters cut a notch in the ridge pole on the east side of the house and inserted a piece of scalp in it, and then everybody repaired to the temple, where an old man addressed the dead person for whom the mourning had just been ended: "Do not come to us in the form of mice or pigs, because we have mourned your death. From now on we will be happy: we will play the drums and sing; you see to it that our rice succeeds". After a few strokes on the drum he continued: "Any one who has anything to claim from others may demand payment from the debtor; he who wants to set out against the enemy or wants to marry let him go ahead, for the mourning period is over" (II, 523ff.).

After some time a second funeral was held for the bones of the dead. How soon this was done depended on various circumstances. In the first place a plentiful harvest was necessary because of the enormous amounts of food consumed, and for this reason was usually celebrated shortly after it. This had the further advantage that there was sufficient free time for it (Adriani, 1932: III, 24, 57, 112) [22]). It could not be celebrated every year in each village, however, because of the high cost, so either a village waited a few years until there were enough dead to make it worth while, or did it jointly with one or more other villages. If there was no opportunity for holding a regular funeral, and certain signs, such as sickness or a plague of mice, made it urgent, then an emergency feast was organized which lasted only one day and to which no guests were invited (II, 530; Adriani, 1932: I, 179f.).

This second funeral took two forms, called *mompemate* and *motengke*. According to the first edition the second of these originated in Mokupa in Lage and spread from there over the rest of Central Celebes. It was later abandoned by many tribes, even by the village of Mokupa itself, as being too costly, so that it only remained in force in Kadombuku, Lage, Rompu, Onda'e and Pada. Some tribes, however, retained them both, distinct from each

20) In his „Animisme" Kruyt said that it was compulsory when the funeral had been held in the temple (Kruyt, 1906: 415).

21) Here, unexplainably, tanoana is used for "soul".

22) In another connection Kruyt said, however, that it was held in October or November, when the fields had been cleared and were ready for planting, so that the dead could help with this work (Kruyt, 1929: 8).

other: the *mompemate* was celebrated for those whose ancestors had undergone this ceremony and the *motengke* for the descendants of people who had had the *motengke* performed for them. Nevertheless it would seem that the shamans taught that the souls of those whose bones had received the first treatment went to *Rato ngkasimpo*, whereas the others went to *Wawo maborosi* and that every *motengke* was preceded by a *mompemate* (1912: II, 128f.).

In the second edition this contradictory account is not referred to and we are merely told that the *motengke* was practised by the above-mentioned tribes (with the addition of the To Palande), whereas the *mompemate* was celebrated by the To Pebato and To Wingke-mposo (II, 528). The former was most likely taken over from the To Mori *(tingke* was a kind of song in Mori) and spread to the eastern tribes from Mokupa, which had since abandoned it for the original *mompemate* (II, 531). Both apparently conducted the souls to the same destination, *Wawo maborosi*, and the ceremonies were much the same. The principal differences were these: the *mompemate* was simpler, taking only three days instead of the seven required for the *motengke;* the former was conducted in a specially constructed hut, whereas the latter took place in the temple; at the first the bones were simply gathered together in packages, whereas at the second they were made up as dolls and provided with masks (II, 528).

Kruyt assumed that because the West Toradja and the To Wana had no second funeral for the bones of the dead that this was also originally true of the Bare'e Toradja, and that with the *mata mpoli bangke*, therefore, their dead were definitively disposed of. "After it the dead had arrived in the underworld and they were left there: they could now no longer exercise any damaging influence on the life of the people, on the crops and live-stock. By means of the *mompemate*, however, the dead received a higher destination. As souls of the dead in the land of the ghosts under the earth they could only spread death and destruction. They had to be transported to heaven, the kingdom of light and life, so that from there they could bless their descendants as apotheosized ancestors. This promotion was subject to one condition: the corpses had to be free of or freed from that which was characteristic of their material existence, namely the stench of the rotting soft parts of the body" (II, 528).

It is difficult to know just how to interpret this. According to many statements by both Adriani and Kruyt the dead went to the underworld at the first funeral, but were not admitted to the city of the dead there until they had been freed from the stench of their rotting bodies (1951: I, 471; II, 157, 490; 1912: II, 109; Adriani, 1919: 70; 1932: I, 204). The matter is complicated by the great profusion of names for the abode of the dead. In discussing the *mompemate* and *motengke* Kruyt said that the souls of the dead were removed from the underworld, *Rato ngkasimpo*, and transferred to *Wawo maborosi*, a mountain in heaven (II, 528). In the first edition, however, he recorded a story proving the existence of the latter place in which it was said that a group of shamans had descended to the realm of the dead, landing on *Wawo maborosi* (II, 129) (in the second edition the story is repeated with the ex-

ception that the shamans are merely said to have succeeded in reaching that place (II, 531).

Rato ngkasimpo, "the Amomum plain", was thus a waiting place for the dead between funerals. Other of these waiting places were *Waju wune*, "eight piles of earth" (I, 470; II, 529) 23); *Rato leboni*, "leboni-tree plain", and *Sandjoo* (I, 471). *Nanggi* and *Linduju* were apparently general terms for the underworld and the abode of the dead in it (1912: II, 115; Wdb.; Adriani, 1933: II, 79).

All these names were, it would seem, known only to the shamans. For the rest of the people there was only one abode of the dead, *Torate* (I, 447, 450, 456; II, 529; 1912: II, 109). The dead descended to it via a hole in the earth at the western horizon, at the bottom of which a pinang tree grew in the underworld. If the person was really dead the tree bent its crown toward him so that he could climb on to it and then deposited him on the ground. There he was confronted by a pig with a black back and white belly and long translucent tusks. The *angga* tossed it an egg, which it swallowed without trouble, and then a kemiri nut, which it tried in vain to crack with its teeth. This gave the *angga* the opportunity to escape and proceed to a river containing half clear and half red water. This it crossed by means of a log which was floating in it (if the person were not really dead his weight would sink the log) and came to a crippled blacksmith, Langkoda, seated before his smithy. Children he allowed to pass unmolested. He asked men, however, how many heads they had taken and women how many lovers they had had 24). If their answers failed to satisfy him he broke them on his anvil and they were not admitted to *Torate* (I, 465ff.).

The life in *Torate* was generally thought to be sombre and unpleasant, but it was also said that the souls were happy there. They carried on the same activities as the people on earth, but it was said that the rice seldom succeeded because it was ruined by all the buffalo given to the dead by the living. This was all to the good, however, because if it did succeed it would fail on earth. Therefore food had to be brought to the graves regularly, otherwise the dead would steal the soul of the rice. It was also said that the food in the underworld consisted of rotten wood, earth, worms and other revolting things (I, 472f.). They spoke the same language as the living, but gave the words opposite meaning or interchanged the first and last syllables (I, 450).

The passage quoted above, thus, in which it was said that the dead were conducted to a final resting place in heaven after they had been freed from the smell of their bodies, must represent a belief restricted to the shamans. This belief, moreover, must have developed in the period between the two editions of "De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas", for it is hard to believe that it could have escaped the attention of both Adriani and Kruyt during their long stay in Central Celebes before 1912. It is conceivable that it was an internal development favored by the primary concern of the shamans with the upperworld, but it seems to me that

23) In the first edition it was said that some shamans claimed it was the place the souls went before being conducted to Rato ngkasimpo at the mompemate (1912: II, 129).

24) This according to the first edition (1912: II, 112). In the second Kruyt said both men and women were questioned as to their sexual achievements.

a more likely explanation would be that it was due to the intensive and relatively successful missionary activites of the Dutch in this area. However this may be, the reconstruction of the development of the funeral practices which Kruyt attempted on the basis of the belief is obviously incorrect.

To return to the ceremonies themselves, the course of events at them was briefly as follows [25]). About eleven in the morning of the first day the bones were fetched by the bone collectors *(tonggola)*, roughly sorted out and made up into packages. When they returned to the village one of the oldest female *tonggola* treated everybody who felt the least bit sick with one of the skulls. After this the bones were brought to the feast grounds where the male *tonggola* slaughtered a tethered buffalo. At the *mompemate* the bones were then deposited on mats on the floor of the feast hut. At the *motengke* they were first made up like dolls, provided with masks (*pemia*, from Mori *mia*, "human being", or *kalio*, "image of a face") and placed on a catafalque (*solikaro*, from Mori, possibly meaning "those whose bodies are dead"). There was one type of mask for females and one for males, the latter being distinguished by two decorations *(sanggori* and *widu)* traditionally belonging to the equipment of head-hunting leaders. After the ceremonies they were stored in the rice barn along with other decorations from the feast and were used again for succeeding funerals. The *solikaro* consisted of a solid bench about two by one and a quarter meters, the bottom of which was about one and a quarter meters above the floor. It was surrounded by pieces of costly cotton *(bana)* and decorated with cordyline, sugar cane, swords and shields, and a *widu* of slightly different design than the one described above was stuck into each corner post (II, 534ff.).

The souls of the people whose bones had been assembled were brought from the underworld by the shamans. At the *mompemate* there was no prescribed number of them, but at the *motengke* there had to be five plus two male assistants. The litany described how the dead were waked, dressed themselves and were conducted through the underwprld to the pinang tree which they climbed to reach the earth, where they came out in Mori (to the east of the Toradja), and finally were led to the temple or feast hut. There they were welcomed by their relatives and entertained by them and the rest of the participants with singing and dancing. In the songs the dead were brought up to date on the current affairs of the living. During this part of the ceremonies, which lasted a whole night from dusk to dawn, the men were permitted to ask a girl to be their partner. The man rested his elbow on the girl's shoulder and was allowed to touch her face and breast, in exchange for which he gave her a sarong or some other present. When she had had enough of it she would hang a white cotton or bark cloth sarong over his shoulder and the relationship would be ended. While they were together they were considered to be man and wife (II, 542ff.).

The next day the *angga* were conducted by the shamans to their final resting place (II, 550).

25) Somewhat different customs were followed in Onda'e, Pu'u-mboto and Salu-maoge, but the general purpose of the ceremonies was the same (II, 556f.).

On final day one of the shamans performed a brief ceremony for the participants, in particular for the members of the dead person's families, to relieve them of all restrictions and prohibitions connected with mourning and to keep them from being made sick by various influences which the funeral ceremonies might have on them. Then in a short litany the shamans took final leave of the souls of the dead. After this buffalo and other animals were slaughtered. The men held the packages of bones under their left arms while hacking away at the buffalo with their swords. When they had finished the female bearers took the bones to the river and bathed themselves in their place, after which they took them around to the various houses so that they could take leave of their friends and relatives. Then the bones were deposited in miniature coffins, often the bones of two or three people in a single one, and placed temporarily under the rice barn. Towards the end of the afternoon the shamans and the bone collectors were paid and the piles of the hut in which the bones had lain were cut through. At the *motengke* the catafalque was similarly destroyed the following morning. That evening all the souls and spirits which might have remained behind were driven away (II, 550ff.).

One or two days after the feast the bones were brought to the caves, of which each village had one for its dead. A basket of sirih-pinang and a bag of unpolished rice were put with them, the latter "so that the rice of the living will succeed", and the dead were addressed for a final time: "We are parting now from each other; you stay here and we go back" (II, 555).

The miniature coffins in which the bones were placed were called *parawa* or *sosoronga*. Around Lake Poso cylinders were made from tree trunks for the bones, and the latter term was reserved there for these. Those having the form of a box were said to resemble the larger coffins used for the bodies, and the covers were decorated in various designs with chalk and soot. Unfortunately the form of the coffins was not described in any detail, so it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to their possible symbolism. Kruyt did publish two reproductions of them, however, one a drawing and the other a photograph. The drawing (1951: Platen en kaarten, bl. VI) shows two sets of scroll-like ornaments at either end of the box which apparently served as handles for the top and bottom parts. They are so stylized, however, that it is hard to read any meaning into them. The cover of the box in the photo, however (1951: Platen, No. 79) has handles in the form of crudely carved animal-like heads with long necks. The heads, moreover, are not identical, the one on the right having a pointed beak, whereas the one on the left resembles more the handles of Toradja krisses in the form of crocodile heads (cf. 1951: Platen en kaarten, bl. II-V; Sarasin, 1905: I, Taf. VI; Meyer & Richter, 1903: Taf. XVI). Of course one cannot judge by a single example, but this coffin bears a striking resemblance to a Ngadju-Dajak one reproduced by Schärer (1946: Abb. 20) in which one end of the coffin bears the head of the hornbill and the other the head of the water snake, symbols of the upper and underworlds respectively. That this resemblance is more than coincidental is made likely by the examples of it we have already

encountered in the enclosure built for the *momparilangka* and in the decoration of the temple.

When one looks at the funeral ceremonies as a whole one is immediately struck by their resemblance to the initiation for girls, the *momparilangka*, and head-hunting. The period between the two funerals corresponds to the seclusion and symbolic death of the girls and to the symbolic death of the head-hunter, which is represented in the mythology by his descent into the underworld. At the end of their ordeals the girls and head-hunters returned to the community in a new and higher status; likewise the dead, after their period of waiting between the society of the living and that of the dead, were finally admitted to the latter in the status of revered ancestors. Death was symbolic in the one case and real in the other, but it served the same purpose of a transition between two states in both.

Although death can thus be regarded as an initiation, it was not, of course, of sole concern to the individual, any more than were the *momparilangka* and head-hunting. The parallel between the latter and the funeral ceremonies is particularly close in this respect. The Toradja themselves compared mourning to the actions taken by those who remained at home during head-hunting raids to support the raiders, and in the mythology the village was pictured during the absence of the hero as being temporarily dead, only to be revived on his return. The parallel to this is found in the mourning of the widow or widower, who underwent an actual seclusion like that of the participants in the *momparilangka* and was recalled from the underworld when released, at least partially, from mourning by the successful head-hunters.

Viewed in this light the relationship between death and head-hunting is not one of replacing a village's losses in "life force" or "soul stuff" or of taking vengeance on the outside world for the injury inflicted on the community by the death of its members. For those who had died the funeral ceremonies meant a permanent transition from the state of the living to that of the dead. For the community, which participated in this transition, it could only be a temporary one, part of the cycle of life and death, and had to be combined therefore, as it were, with the full-cycle ritual of head-hunting [26]).

4. AGRICULTURE

Although the Toradja cultivated a great variety of plants, rice was the principle crop and demanded by far the most ritual care. This section will, therefore, be devoted exclusively to it. It will be impossible, however, to give a detailed account here of all the ritual activities carried on in connection with it, which included not only dealings with the gods and spirits, but a vast number of

26) For a similar interpretation of funeral ceremonies see Hertz, 1907.

actions which were deemed to have a direct effect on the rice. The main stages in its cultivation will be indicated and a brief description of the most important rituals will be given, which should be sufficient to show the role played by the tilling of the soil in the Toradja's religious conceptions.

In the mythology the rice was usually said to have come directly from the upperworld, from a rooster or, as did all useful plants and trees, from a human body (III, 201). In one story it was stolen from heaven (III, 3f.), in another it was given by a man from heaven to his earthly wife (Adriani, 1933: II, No. 103) and in yet another it fell from the sky (III, 4). According to other tales it was coughed up for the first time by a rooster, which, as we have seen, was associated with the sun, the culture hero, Lasaeo (Lord Sun) and the constellation Tamangkapa (III, 5). It was also told that an incestuous couple (or their son) turned into fowl and then planted rice (III, 5). It also came from the body of a boy mistreated by his parents. He rolled over a field cleared for planting, and as he struck against the tree stumps his blood spurted out over the ground and later turned into rice plants (III, 5f.). In the story mentioned above (Chapter I, Section 1) in which Dewata created the earth, he sent two of his children, a couple, down to it to cultivate the soil. Because they had no seed, however, he sent them their younger sister with instructions to cut her to pieces in the field. They did so, and after a month her body had turned into rice (Adriani, 1933: II, No. 127). When simply asked who had taught them to grow rice, the Toradja always said Lasaeo (1912: II, 238).

Time in general was reckoned by the moon. Each month there were eight or nine days on which it was forbidden to work *(umapo)*. Some of these were universally respected, others depended on local custom [27]).

The times to start clearing the forest for the new fields and for planting were determined by the positions of the constellation Tamangkapa. When it was just visible over the horizon at dusk the clearing was started; the rice was planted when it appeared just before or past the zenith (III, 11ff.).

Before the work could begin the sins of the community had to be floated down the river *(moandu sala)* [28]). This was a simplified version of the *morambu langi*, which was performed for serious

27) Kruyt once wrote (Kruyt, 1935a: 121) that all these prohibited days fell in the waning period of the moon, but judging from the account given of them in both editions of De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradjas this was not so. (III, 14ff.).

28) Kruyt said that the mopatawi, a feast for the new rice in the smithy, must also have been held before work on the new fields could begin (III, 22), but as it was celebrated right after the harvest it will be described there. In the first edition he said that the moandu sala was also held in Lage immediately following the harvest. Elsewhere it was usually done before clearing the forest, but must have been performed at the latest before the planting (1912: II, 246).

cases of incest (see below, under B.). The same gods were invoked at it, however: Pue mpalaburu, Indo ntegolili and Ndara. It was usually done by the village as a whole under the leadership of a *tadulako mpodjamaa*, though occasionally it was performed by a single group of families or even one family, particularly if it had been postponed till the planting (III, 20ff.).

We have seen that for the purpose of tilling the fields the people were divided into work groups which worshipped different spirits and followed different practices. In addition they were further divided into followers of the "three", "four", "five" or "seven" "customs" *(wua)*. The differences between them consisted mainly in doing everything in the fields by threes, fours, fives or sevens. The adherents of the "four" and "five" "customs" were by far in the majority (III, 34).

Before leaving the village the leader of each work group divined with a fowl and with strings in his house to see if the crop would succeed [29]). In some tribes (Onda'e was mentioned) a shaman informed Pue mpalaburu or Pue di songi on the eve of the following ceremony that the work was to be started and to ask his blessing on it (III, 28).

The next step was the *mombakati*, "to mark something". Before dawn of a particularly favorable day of the month each work group assembled in the forest on the land allotted to its leader. A spot was chosen where a *pokae* tree (Ficus erecta) grew; if there was none, one was transplanted from elsewhere (it made no difference if it died later on). A tree was preferred which leaned toward the east and which had a parasitic plant growing on it. The *pokae* was called "the tree of human life" *(kadju katuwu ntau)* [30]). It had grown from the body of some one who had had special power over rain and sunshine: "Therefore this tree became our god *(lamoa)* in the fields". According to a story recorded in the first edition the ancestors instructed their descendants to plant the tree so that they would have a ladder by which to enter the fields (1912: II, 240).

Various signs which foretold the fate of the coming activities were observed and then a couple of square meters of the ground around the *pokae* were thoroughly cleared. Then sirih-pinang, beads and tobacco were prepared for the owner of the ground *(tumpu ntana)*, tree spirits *(bela)*, ancestors *(sumanga ntau tu'a)* and to make the ground cool. They were buried and sticks of *pokae* wood were planted around them. The leader then invoked first the gods above and below, who were asked for their help in the coming season. Next he addressed the dead *(sumangali anu mate)*: "Perhaps you have come to watch us, or perhaps you are laughing at us because we don't follow the rules properly, for we are dumb, blind and deaf; do not come and speak to us. If you hadn't insisted on leaving us you would still be with us and it would be you who buried the sirih-pinang in the ground.

29) According to the first edition the first of these was done for the entire village and the second by each household at its own field (1912: II, 235f.).

30) It was also called agaloe, lamoa or lamoa bolinde, the last referring to the transplanted ones, which died (Wdb.).

You have served the gods of the fields whom we now invoke, for we have taken your place. Even though we do something of which you don't approve, do not speak to us about it, so that we won't get feverish and sick, so that we will stay healthy as long as we till this field". Finally he addressed the *pokae* itself: "You, *pokae*, whose second name is *kadju ndatunde* ("tree which is persuaded to help"), we have chosen you above all other trees. Whenever we come to do anything in the field we will give you food, you who watch over the field. If we do anything wrong you must put it right, if we sin with our mouths, with our hands or with our bodies you must let us know of it". The leader then cut some of the undergrowth around the cleared spot with a certain number of strokes and chopped down the *pokae* sticks with a single blow. A day or two later the ground around the *pokae* was inspected for omens (III, 30ff.).

The spot where the *mombakati* was performed was called *pongkaresi*, "sweeper, scraper". Kruyt said this referred to the *pokae*, which was supposed to sweep away all the evil influences on the plants and in the air. The verb *mongkaresi*, however, refers to the weeding of the ground around the *pokae* (Wdb. sub *kare)*, so that this would seem to be rather doubtful [31]). Once the *mombakati* had been performed in the leader's field each of the households installed a *pongkaresi* in their own. They were located in the eastern part of the fields, but were the center of all activities there. A field containing a *pongkaresi* was called *nawu* (from *inawu*, "where the ground has been cleared of undergrowth"). There all religious regulations had to be strictly followed and offerings inaugurated all activities. Usually, however, a household cultivated another field as well, called *bonde*, where these regulations and rituals were largely neglected (III, 33ff.).

Before starting to clear the rest of the ground, members of other families had to be invited to help *(mesale)*. On this occasion offerings were made principally to the agricultural gods and the *angga* (III, 35ff.). At a meal prepared during the cutting of the undergrowth food was offered to the *pongkaresi* and the leader prayed: "O Lord God (Pue lamoa or Pue di songi) who have rice ears as hair and maize as teeth; here you have your rice and palm wine; you eat first. We ask you to make our rice succeed this year so that we will again have something to give you to eat" (III, 37f.).

Before the trees were felled the *bela* were persuaded to leave those in which they were living and move elsewhere, and an offering was made at the *pongkaresi* for the agricultural gods. The latter was repeated before the trunks were cut into pieces (III, 39f.).

Once the trees were down the rain doctor *(sando mpoudja)*, or if he was not successful, a shaman, kept the rain away until the fields could be burned (III, 41ff.). At this time the "gods" *(lamoa)* were asked to fan the flames, the wind was summoned from all

31) Actually it is not clear what the difference was, if any, between pokae and pongkaresi. In the first edition (1912: II, 240n.) Kruyt said that some Toradja thought they were two names for the same tree, whereas others thought they referred to different sorts of Ficus. The root of pokae (kae) means "to dig" (Wdb.).

directions, "fire of the master of the majasa" *(apu pue majasa)* was asked to burn the logs and the ancestors *(sumangali ntau tu'a)* were asked to keep the rain away (III, 43f.). Before the remains were cleared away various plants besides rice were planted around the *pongkaresi*. A hut was built for the agricultural gods and the ancestors next to it and they were invoked with somewhat more ceremony than on the preceeding occasions (III, 44f.).

They day before the rice was planted a big feast, *molanggo*, was given at which a large number of gods and spirits were invoked. It was sometimes said that it served to "bring the *anitu* and the *lamoa nawu* together", but Kruyt did not mention either among those invoked. These were, first of all, Ndara, the earth goddess, who was asked to drive away everything bad so that the crop would succeed, and Pue mpalaburu, who was to protect the people from evil and give them the grain of the rice. Then Ndo i ronda eo and Ndo i ntjungata dila (apparently an agricultural goddess – she was not mentioned elsewhere) were also asked for the grain of the rice. Next the leader drenched the earth with the blood of a fowl and split a stalk *(mantjela panga)* to remove the sins of the people. Then he invoked the tree stumps and, at the edge of the field, the *bela*. Just outside the field, by the path which led to it, the *rampo* (gluttonous spirits) were asked to stay away. Even the improper words which might have been spoken by the people and which could have an ill effect on the crops were disowned. Finally a couple of square meters of ground were set apart and planted for the *angga*. The seeds of the pumpkins, cucumbers, rice and maize which were planted there were bitten so that they wouldn't come up, otherwise the crops of the living would fail. The *angga* were then addressed: "Come you dead to plant your rice, for you will do it tonight; tomorrow we do it. Make our field shrink so that we will soon be finished with the planting. Do not come to look at our field and do not visit us in the form of mice and pigs". Then the leader and a few companions sat down to a meal with the *angga* (III, 50ff.).

Before dusk that afternoon the youths were encouraged to play at striking each other's calves *(mowinti)*, a rather painful endurance contest. This was done on other festive occasions as well, but was obligatory on this one, as it was thought to have a beneficial effect on the crops (III, 54).

During the night, while the young people performed round dances, a shaman recited a litany in the field hut in which she asked the *wurake* for the soul of the rice *(tanoana mpae)*. She brought back a couple of rice grains, which were planted by the *pongkaresi*, where the rice soul for the whole field was thought to stay till the harvest (III, 58).

The next day before dawn the seed rice was ritually treated and the planting was started at sunrise. This was done by both men and women, the former making the holes with dibble sticks while the women followed them with the seed, the whole being carried out with considerable ceremony (III, 58ff.).

When the rice plants were about a foot high the field was weeded. This, too, was accompanied by ritual. The agricultural gods were invoked at its commencement and the *angga* were offered rice when it was over (III, 71f.).

While the rice was growing various things were forbidden which might have a bad influence on it (III, 75ff.). At the same time rituals were performed to encourage its growth. Shortly after the weeding it was "given a bath" *(mompariu)*, and a few days later a feast was held to promote the budding of the ears. This went by various names, depending on the tribe, such as *montompu*, "sprinkle", *mompapekaa*, "try to make complete", *mooli oenja*, "buy the rice grain" (III, 80ff.).

When the rice began to set it could be called by its name for the first time since it had been planted (III, 83f.). During the same period the telling of stories was also forbidden, and literary activity was ceremonially reintroduced by the telling of riddles at the *montompu*. Their solution was, namely, thought to aid the setting of the rice (III, 91ff.). About this time the *djeekuli* bird arrived in the fields, supposedly bringing with it the rice grain. Kruyt also said that it brought the *tanoana mpae*, but as he offered no proof of this and since it had already been brought by a shaman at the *polanggo* feast, this would seem unlikely 32).

By the time the rice was ripe and preparations were being started for the harvest the telling of riddles was once again forbidden. Now *bolingoni* were sung and stories were told. The first of these were four-line poems in which a great variety of subjects were treated; most of them, however, concerned the harvest and the weather. They were sung as accompaniment to the work in the fields (1912: III, 505f.). The stories were told at night before and after the harvest (as this went on all night people busy with the harvest were too tired to participate). They were taken quite seriously, for no story could be left unfinished, no one could leave in the middle of one and no joking or fooling was allowed, all of which would sooner or later have fatal consequences. These stories, which included all kinds of themes (Cf. 1912: III, 374ff; Adriani, 1933: II), were said to contain the soul of the rice and were interpreted as being about the rice. There were also stories, however, dealing specifically with the rice, which appeared in them as a woman, youth, orphan or animal (III, 93ff.).

As we have seen, the leader of the harvest *(tadu mpomota)* was a woman. A *beli* (male shaman) could also fill this role, and in the *bonde* (fields where there was no *pongkaresi)* a man could do it, but then dressed as a woman. The *tadu mpomota* wore special clothes and was bound to various ritual restrictions designed to prevent the *tanoana mpae*, which it was her duty to guard, from leaving (III, 99ff.).

On the eve of the harvest the gluttonous spirits *(rampo)* were chased away and the fields and the houses of their cultivators were closed to all outsiders by means of a sign erected at its entrance. On this occasion many different gods and spirits were invoked, including Ndara, Pue mpalaburu, Ndo i ronda eo and Lantjadako (a *rampo*) (III, 103f.).

32) Cf. also p. 24 above for other conceptions regarding this bird (III, 79f.).

At dawn the next day a ceremonial procession was held to the field. When she arrived at the hut there the leader first invoked the dead, whom she asked not to mislead the harvesters, but to guide them in their work, and then she and her helpers made packages of harvest "medicines". Next she prepared what was variously called *pesua*, "place of entering" (in Onda'e, Pada, the lake district, Pu'u-mboto and Salu-maoge – Wdb. sub *kara)*, *karanja*, "smith's hearth", originally "hard core", "center of something", and, less commonly, *potunda mpedongga*, "seat of the harvest" and *pompakapupu*, "where (the harvest) is ended". The field was conceived of as a human body, and the leader chose a spot for the *pesua* on its chest, thus in the upper part of the field, but on the left side of it (Kruyt did not say in what relation it stood, if any, with the *pongkaresi*). There she sought out a rice plant that suited her (various criteria were followed), bound it together with three others and treated them with various medicines. A small hut *(kandepe pesua)* was erected over them (III, 104ff.; 1912: II, 279). Close by the *pesua* she ceremonially treated and cut another plant, the *tadulako mpae*, "leader of the rice", and then proceeded to harvest alone for a certain number of days (III, 108ff.).

Then a preliminary harvest feast (*mangore*, "to bring into the house") was celebrated, at which the new rice was ceremonially prepared and eaten. It was also offered to the gods and spirits – Kruyt mentioned Ndo i laoe, an agricultural goddess, the house spirits *(lamoa banua)*, evil spirits *(lamoa madja'a)*, the "gods above" and the dead – and to the various parts of the house and its furnishings (III, 111ff.).

For the rest of the harvest the leader was helped by girls and women and sometimes even youths and men. The rules according to which it was carried out and the precautions and restrictions which had to be observed served the purpose of preventing the *tanoana mpae* from escaping and of ensuring a plentiful yield (III, 118ff.). These included the use of a large number of alternative words for things connected with the field, harvesting and cooking of the new rice (III, 127ff.).

Towards the end of the harvest, when some of the families had finished with their fields and if the yield had been good, the youths assembled before one of the houses in the village and sang verses *(molinga)* to the girls, who had come together there. The verses mostly concerned the events of married life (examples are given in 1912: III, 542f.). This was repeated a few times, but not on consecutive nights. The final night the youths and girls assembled in a house, where they sang the verses while seated opposite each other. They were assumed to be married, and the verses were about a trip made to a distant place. In some tribes this was followed by the description of a trip to the upperworld on the rainbow in order to inform the gods that the harvest was nearly over (III, 131ff.).

The next day (this sometimes preceded and sometimes coincided with the harvest feast) the *molinga* was ended with the *mopasangke*. Two poles about three meters high were erected three to four meters apart. They were called *ambarale* (which probably refer-

red originally to the two miniature houses which used to be set up instead of the poles), *toko mpajope*, "pole of descent", or *toko sora*, "decorated pole". Cross bars were attached to the tops of the poles and presents hung from them, those for the women on one pole and those for the men on the other. In addition the ritual clothes *(ajapa lamoa)* of the shaman and harvest leader were hung on the one and those worn by the men at the head-hunting feasts on the other. The youths and girls who had taken part in the *molinga* sat around the poles and the rest of the villagers ranged themselves around them in a wide circle. Verses were sung back and forth between the men and the women, first about the poles and then about the separation of the youthful couples. Before the poles were dismantled and the presents exchanged, a man walked around the men's pole seven times, squatting down after each time around to sing verses. In these he asked that no misfortune befall him for taking down the pole and boasted of his heroic deeds as a head-hunter. A woman then did the same around the women's pole, bragging of her trips to the upperworld in the moon (III, 132ff.; 1912: III, 538ff.; Wdb.).

Early in the morning of the harvest feast *(mpadungku*, "to bring to an end", or "bring (something) to its point of destination") the leader went to her field, where she cut the rice ears from the *pesua*. In some districts she was accompanied by a man, who gave the victory cry the moment she did this. One or more knots were tied in the stubble and *kandoruangi* blossoms were placed in them as *widu* (other *widu* decorated the bone coffins and catafalques and were placed in the bodies of the enemy – see above p. 85).

The rice she put in her harvest basket along with that which she had cut from the *tadulako mpae* at the beginning of the harvest, sirih "to be used as drum sticks", a piece of pinang leaf-sheath "to serve as center plank *(palasi)* of the temple", half a coconut shell "as head covering" and a lobster shell and snail shells "as dishes". A trumpet was made for her from rice straw and she blew it a certain number of times over the basket (III, 136f.).

The feast was then held at the field hut, where rice from all the fields (one bundle from each) was brought. Colored rice was placed on an altar outside it, with water, palm wine and a pig at its foot. Then an elder stood by it with a white fowl in his arm and his right foot on the pig, and invoked a long series of gods, whom he asked to give even more rice the following year. In the example given by Kruyt the names of most of the principle gods of the upper and underworlds appear, but also many not mentioned elsewhere which appear to belong to agricultural spirits. After this the pig and fowl were carried around the hut and altar seven times followed by all the harvest leaders. This was called *magolili tonggola*, "to walk around the *tonggola* (the hut in which the coffins were placed)". The fowl was killed above the rice and its feathers were stuck in the ground around it. The blood of the pig was allowed to flow into a hole in the ground. Those present dipped their fingers in it and marked their cheeks with it (III, 138f.).

While all this was going on the harvest was celebrated, if it had been particularly successful, by the singing of the *tawanggu*. They resembled the *bolingoni* sung during the harvesting, but

were more serious in character. In Onda'e the rice goddess there, Lise, was conducted back to the upperworld at the end of it (III, 170ff.). The youths made trumpets from rice straw and engaged in mock battles with the rice stubble as weapons (III, 139).

After the meal the harvest leaders led the way back to the village, bringing their rice with them, where a bit of it was ceremonially stamped (III, 140f.).

When the rest of the rice had dried and had been brought to the village it was stored in the barns on an auspicious day under the guidance of a *sando mpae*, a woman who was expert at this. Offerings were made to the *rampo* (gluttonous spirits) and (or) the dead *(angga)* and then she started piling up the rice in the barn. First came a layer of pinang, stones, harvest herbs *(tipa)* and forked twigs and then a bundle made up of the rice from the *tadulako mpae, the pesua* and enough other rice to make it of substantial size. Various other specially prepared bundles were placed on top of it before the mass of the rice was brought in. While doing this she invoked a great number of agricultural spirits and asked them not to take the rice away and to see to it that it lasted a long time (III, 142ff.).

The first rice to be taken from the barn could only be eaten by its owners, who made a small feast of it *(moloresi)*. After this the feast in the smithy *(mopatawi)* could be celebrated (III, 146).

The name *mopatawi* meant "to sprinkle with the cooling brush", in reference to its main ceremony. The Toradja gave various reasons for its performance. It was supposed to "remove the faults of the people connected with iron from them and the crops, so that their *tanoana* will be strong". "Life" was also sought at it *(mampepali tinuwu)*.

The ritual was conducted by the oldest smith and performed on all members of the village. The smith offered a white fowl and a pig to the gods (Kruyt did not say which) in the same way it was done at the harvest feast and asked them (among other things not recorded) to remove the spear points, chopping knives and bamboo splinters they had stuck into the people's bodies and to make the coming rice harvest successful. Then he moistened the ankles, knees, hips and crown of each person as they squatted on an *empelu* (such as made for the girls at the *momparilangka*) by the anvil. As he finished with each person he gave him (her) a knife and a hammer, with which he or she went through the motions of forging.

While this was going on a number of *woka* (see the section on shamans above) were made and the *anitu ri kolowo* were invited to come and live in them. They were asked further to remove their swords, hatchets and knives from the people's bodies, make them healthy and give them rice. A *lamoa* was also made and hung from the loft beam. It consisted of wooden models of spear points, chopping knives and hatchets hung from a bamboo bow and arrow. The head of a fowl was stuck onto the point of the arrow and its feathers were attached to the ends of the bow. If this *lamoa* were

not hung there, the Toradja said, the iron would melt and be unworkable or the smith would get sick (III, 331ff.).

Seen as a whole the growing of rice was a sacrificial ritual. The rice, which came from the upperworld, was cared for as a human being as it developed and was finally killed and given a funeral at the harvest feast. All this was done with the aid of practically all the gods, spirits and ancestors of the upper and underworlds. We find here, thus, the same notion of death and revival connected with the two poles of the universe that was behind head-hunting and the *momparilangka*, and it can be no coincidence that the respective roles of the men and women as head-hunters and shamans were celebrated at the *mopasangke*.

B. Contingent rituals

The distinction I have made between regular and contingent rituals is, of course, not a rigorous one. Heads had to be taken regularly, but at the same time there were many particular occasions for it; funerals for the bones of the dead were held at fairly regular intervals, but those for the newly dead were naturally of irregular occurrence; and some of the ceremonies connected with agriculture, such as the *moandu sala*, were usually performed in response to particular situations or events. The rituals or groups of rituals described above, however, may be said to have been predominantly periodic in character, whereas those to follow were primarily incidental [33].

1. MOANDU SALA, MORAMBU LANGI

It will be remembered that some marriages normally prohibited could be made if preceded by a piacular offering for incest. This took two forms, depending on the degree of proximity of the people concerned. The simpler of the two was called *moandu sala*, "to float (the) evil away". The couple concerned went to the river with a white fowl and a pig. They either sat on the rope attached to the latter or on the stick used to carry it or both animals were carried around them seven times. A hole was dug beside them. An elder then invoked the gods: "O you above and you below, here is our present of reconciliation *(polanga)*, which we give in place of X and Y (the names of the guilty persons), who have been stupid, so that the guilt will be taken from them and floated down the river and rain and drought will regularly alternate. May the water take away their guilt and dump it into the abyss, through the yellow places in the river, through the white and through the dark, till it comes to the sea and the latter propel it and bring it

33) Nadel's division of Nupe rituals into "fixed" and "movable" (Nadel, 1954: 68) is essentially the same, but I have avoided his terms because, with the exception of those connected with agriculture, the rituals of the Toradja were not fixed by the calender.

to where it falls down below." Then clothing of the man and the woman were placed in the hole and the fowl and pig were killed, while the couple placed their hands on them, by a brother or cousin of the man, who first said: "Here are two people who have committed incest; actually they sould be killed themselves, but we now kill a pig and a fowl in their place." The blood was dripped onto the clothes in the hole, which was then closed up. Part of the blood was mixed with water and sprinkled on the couple and their fellow villagers. Part of the pig was eaten (but not by the guilty couple) and the rest was thrown into the river. Either before or after this meal the couple walked a way into the river, let an old jacket float away and called, "My guilt has been removed" (II, 278ff.).

For the more elaborate form, *morambu langi*, "to becloud the sky", the man had to provide a male buffalo and the woman a brown striped pig or one with a white belly *(wawu bala)*. In addition one or more white fowl were required (II, 277). On the way to the river the guilty man often had mud thrown at him and buffalo dung stuffed in his mouth. An altar *(lampa'ani)* was erected there and a hole or two intersecting ditches running east southeast - west southwest (or east northeast - west northwest) and north - south. The pig was placed near it or them and surrounded by red cotton, while the couple squatted there too and were covered with white cotton. The leader (presumably an elder) invoked the gods with his right foot on the pig and a white fowl under his arm: "Pue mpalaburu, who made mankind, who tore the fingers apart, split the mouth and pricked through the nose and ears; if you are lying on your back, turn over on your stomach and listen to my words. Ndo i ntegolili, who overtake the sins with the mouth, the hand and the whole body, great and small sins, listen to what I have to say. And you there below, Ndara, who carry the earth on your head, if you are lying on your stomach, turn on your back to hear what I have to say. You have seen the sin of our children, who will now marry each other. Their guilt is certainly very great, but here we have an offering of reconciliation *(pesumbo'o)*, a pig and seven pieces of cotton as substitutes for their persons. Look no longer upon their sin and make their marriage happy. Prevent all harmful animals who threaten our fields, cattle plague and contagious diseases from approaching us, so that they will not come upon us as a result of the sin of our children, who are now being married." In addition various local spirits were often called to witness the ceremony. Fowl and pig were killed and their blood dripped into the hole. The buffalo was then killed after being addressed (in Pu'u-mboto, at least): "I give you here sirih, buffalo, so that you will go up to Pue mpalaburu and to Kai ntoara lino (cf. above, p. 14 for this figure) to tell him (sic) that you are dead. Say then: I have not died from a disease or any kind of evil, but I have been slaughtered by the human beings to speak about people who are not of the same generation. I put the marriage of these two right again, so that they will get children easily and the harvest will succeed." He then speared the buffalo, which was finished off by the others. After the meal which followed a miniature

prahu, in which were placed various things (not everywhere the same), including clothes of the couple, an egg and (or) a coin touched by all the villagers, parts of the animals sacrificed and various edible plants, was floated down the river. When this had been done every one passed under a miniature gate *(djompo)* set up on the bank and were treated with medicine (II, 280ff.).

From the name of this ceremony, "to becloud the sky", one would imagine that it was a means of warding off impending drought, but Kruyt recorded an instance of the use of a symbolic form of incest to make it rain. A rooster and a sow were killed by the river, joined and bound tightly together with a piece of cotton. Then the village chief, who performed the ceremony, invoked the gods: "O gods above and below, if you have pity on us and want us to eat this year, give us rain. If you don't give us rain, well then, we have buried here a rooster and a sow in intimate embrace" (I, 399). Kruyt did not say why these particular animals were chosen in all these instances, but it seems likely that they represented the upper and underworlds, the rooster, as we have seen, being associated with the former and the pig with the latter, where a white-bellied pig *(wawu bala)* guarded the tree which led to it. They were, moreover, the usual victims in sacrifices to the gods of both. The idea would seem to be that after the initial separation of heaven and earth (which was occasioned by the incest of Ndara with her nephew), which established the future order of things, they could never again be joined together [34]).

2. MANTJELA PANGA

A common method of avoiding the consequences of a fault which one might have or actually had committed, was *mantjela* (or *mantjepa) panga*, "to tear apart a forked grass-stalk", also simply called *mondeati, mondeapi, moreapi*, "to tear apart". The guilty person (or some one acting in his place, such as the head of the family) held in his left hand a forked stalk of a particular kind of grass, sirih, a split pinang nut and some gambier. These he dipped in a bowl of water in which a coin had been placed and sprinkled it seven times to the east and six times to the west, or he dripped it on the person or persons for whom the ceremony was being performed, seven times on each side. If, for example, it was done after a quarrel between two persons he spoke as follows: "O Pue mpalaburu, who are at the rising and the setting of the sun and at both extremities of heaven, etc. Hear what I say: Here are people who have had a quarrel with each other, and they have sinned with the mouth. But I tear here the grass-stalk, the sirih-fruit, the pinang-nut apart for them." Then he tore with his right hand the things in his left in two, laid one half on the ground and the other in a tree and said: "Not until the two halves of the forked grass-stalk come together again shall my sin again cling to me." For an important occasion a fowl, pig or buffalo had to be sacrificed.

34) This tends to confirm the contention of Lévi-Strauss that the prohibition of incest was the primary regulation of society. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1949: Ch III.

An individual also performed it in simplified form when he felt that danger might be threatening him. He would tear a grass-stalk apart and say: "If I have sinned with my mouth, hand or whole body, I hereby remove the sin from me" (II, 31f.).

3. MOMPATIRANI, MONTOLOSI

When it was thought that a *bela* had taken a person's *tanoana* a shaman was not always called in to get it back. A relative would go to the tree or other place indicated in the patient's dream as the dwelling-place of the spirit, erect an altar and place rice, pinang and an egg on it. Then he would call the spirit and ask him to return the *tanoana*, in exchange for which he was offered a "white buffalo", by which was meant the egg. This was called *mompatirani* (II, 140).

Another method of accomplishing this, which could also be performed by any one, involved the making of two dolls, one male, the other female, which were offered to the spirit in return for the *tanoana*. This was called *montolosi*, "to give something in place of something" (II, 170f.).

A shaman could also do it, however, in which case the ceremony (called then *mowurake ri tana)* was much more elaborate. After she had retrieved the patient's *tanoana* and applied it to him she invoked Pue lamoa: "O God above, who created this earth and who has the eternal breath, here we are with our whole family and kindred; give us our health again, so that we will till our fields with joy, so that the spirits *(bela* and *anitu)* can no longer make us sick. For we have brought their share outside the village. And if you see that one is coming again to harm us, prevent him, for you are the master of the breath. Here is food for the *tanoana*, which I set down for him, so that he will not go away" (II, 140ff.).

4. MOWASE

Mowase, "to apply blood to", was an elaborate ceremony performed for various purposes: to cure a patient whom other means had failed to help or one who had become suddenly ill without apparent cause or one whose ailment was thought to be due to the wrath of Pue mpalaburu. It was most often done, however, when several people had become seriously ill in a village (II, 144). Other occasions mentioned were when children were still born or died shortly afterwards (II, 373), when one could not get children (1912: I, 385) and when prisoners of war were brought back to the village (I, 340). It could be performed with or without the aid of a shaman; in the latter case an old man or woman led the ritual.

The shamans (there was more than one when it was performed for a large number of people) fetched the *tanoana* of the patients on the eve of the ceremony and applied them to them on the following morning. Then everybody descended to the ground, where an elaborate altar *(lampa'ani)* was set up and a pig was placed at its foot. An elder then addressed the gods in the usual manner,

his right foot on the pig and a white fowl in his arms: "O Pue mpalaburu at the rising of the sun, O Pue mpalaburu at the setting of the sun, who are on both sides of heaven, i Ndara there below, if you are lying face down turn this way to hear what I say. O Pue di songi, Ngkai mantande songka, who let the liana on which I hang grow downwards, who have separated the fingers. If you have turned upwards, turn this way. Here are we. Whether we have been guilty with the mouth or with the hand, here are a pig and a fowl, which I hold, and a buffalo; for our guilt we have brought a buffalo, a pig and a fowl. Whether our transgression stays in the rice bamboo, in the rice basket or in the house, here are a buffalo, a pig and a fowl, which bear our guilt". The animals were slaughtered, their blood was caught and mixed with the finely chopped leaves of various vigorous plants and water. The shamans then rubbed the bodies of the patients with it. Part of the animals was hung up as offering, part went to the shamans as payment and the rest was consumed at the meal which followed (II, 144ff.).

5. SMALLPOX

Among contagious diseases the most feared was smallpox. The defense against it was entrusted to a *sando* specially qualified for the job (see above, p. 53). When it was rumored that the disease was approaching he erected gates of disease-preventing plants at the entrances of the village and, beside them (or one of them – it is not clear which), an altar *(lampa'ani)*. Rice, rice chaff (for the dogs of the smallpox spirit), sirih-pinang and cigarettes were placed on it for the smallpox spirit, and nearby a bamboo with the leaves still on it was erected. Strips of bark cloth were tied to the latter to represent the villagers. The *sando* then invoked the spirit and asked him to pass by the village, but if he came through anyway then not to make too much havoc there.

The *sando* also prepared water with herbs supposedly received from the smallpox spirit himself and distributed it among the villagers, who sipped it morning and evening. They also had special water poured over them each morning. Usually everybody was told to disperse in the fields for three days. When they returned the village went into mourning *(moombo)*. All contact with other villages was forbidden.

If the disease broke out in the village there was little to be done about it. The *sando* prepared and distributed "medicines" (whether of not he did this for the sick as well as the others is not clear) and the sick had water poured over them to cool them off. Various foods were forbidden them as well. Many fled to the forest during an epidemic. Those who stayed home would only approach a house containing sick people with a leafy branch between them and it. The mourning restrictions, of course, remained in force.

When the disease had run its course the village was abandoned for a short time by its inhabitants "to seek the cold (health)". Then a shaman removed the contagion from the people *(moarosi)* and the disease was driven away *(moura bata* – for *bata* see p. 45

above), usually by floating it down the river in a miniature boat 35). This was followed by a meal (II, 203ff.).

6. MOAROSI

The *moarosi* just mentioned was also performed for people either setting out on or returning from a journey. The shaman first called in the help of the *wurake*, then stroked the people from top to toe with a package of vigorous plants *(mentuwu)*, recalled their *tanoana* and applied them to their heads. Then the people were covered with a piece of cloth and the shaman recited a litany to remove the evil from them while striking whem with a bunch of herbs containing cordyline and various others with sharp leaves and thorns. When she had finished she shook the cloth out the window and threw it on the roof (II, 149).

The rituals described in this section do not by any means constitute all of those which could be included in this category. I have not discussed, for example, the ceremonies connected with the consecration of a house (II, 159) or with curing people possessed or sickened by the *anitu* or various spirits (II, 147ff., 170ff.). Nor have I discussed separately the various methods of conducting ordeals or of divining, which have been referred to frequently throughout this book. They would not, however, have fundamentally changed the picture of Toradja ritual life presented by those above.

35) In the case of other contagious diseases this was apparently done by going about striking everything with the bunch of herbs used for the moarosi, calling "go away, bata" (II, 150).

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

In spite of the many uncertainties with regard to details which have been met with in this book, it will be agreed, I believe, that the data form a reasonably coherent whole and that certain conclusion can be drawn from them.

First off all, of course, the religion of the Toradja was exclusively self-centered. Although many of its elements were obviously of foreign origin and though in its general beliefs it resembled those of other people in that part of the world, it was felt by the Toradja to be of concern only to themselves. For this reason they had at first no interest in Christianity and could not understand why Adriani and Kruyt wanted to convert them to it. As they saw it, only people belonging to the same family and thus having the same ancestors could worship the same gods (Adriani, 1932: I, 163).

This brings us to the second point, namely, the dominant place accorded the ancestors in their religious life. Knowledge of and contact with the gods and spirits, with the exception of the creator, Pue mpalaburu, was largely confined to the shamans, whereas the dead were of concern to and could be approached by all the people. The strength of this belief is shown by the fact that many of the Mohammedan Toradja of Todjo placed Ala ta'ala in the underworld as the ruler of Maka (Mekka), the city of the dead (II, 234). When, moreover, the Toradja abandoned their own religion in favor of Christianity they held a final feast with the dead to let them know that they would no longer adhere to the old customs, because they were going to follow "a new road" (II, 72, Adr. 1932: II, 332).

Although the ancestors were most important to the Toradja, however, their view of the world was clearly dualistic. This was expressed by their conception of the universe as divided into upper and underworlds with the earth and human society in between. 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. This was not a static conception, however, as constant alternation between the two halves was necessary for the continuation of life, and an absorption into or repetition of this cosmic cycle appeared to be the theme of the principal rituals.

This dichotomy was not, however, a rigorous one. Thus there were evil spirits as well as good ones in the upperworld and the ancestors as well as the evil Kombengi in the underworld and neither male nor female deities were confined to one or the other. The attitude of the Toradja toward the various supernatural and forces was also seen to be ambivalent. Although they recognized

the basic polarity of the universe, the characteristics associated with its two extremes were diffused throughout it.

The same can be said of Toradja society. The division of labor between the sexes for both ritual and other purposes corresponded to the cosmic dualism, but the society was further unorganized and the principle of evil was diffused throughout it.

It is obvious, then, that to say that a religion is „dualistic" does not give a very precise picture of it or the society to which it belongs. Dualism is rather an organizing principle that can be realized in a great variety of ways (Lévi-Strauss, 1949: 95). Therefore, in spite of its essentially conservative nature, connoting as it does a balance or cyclical alternation of powers, it is readily susceptible to change in the way in which it is expressed. We have seen from the agricultural spirits and work groups and from the political organization in Onda'e that Toradja social structure may not always have been as amorphous as it was in Adriani and Kruyt's day. One can only speculate, however, as to whether or not the sexual dualism recorded by them was a survival of that earlier organization or a successor to it.

The interpretation of head-hunting presents a similar problem. There is evidence from other parts of Indonesia (cf. Downs, 1955) that head-hunting was associated with social dualism. Here its conceptual background was shown to be dualistic, but in practice it was not connected with any dual organization of Toradja society. This does not mean, however, that it is to be regarded as a survival of such an organization, which need not have existed at all, but simply that dualism was its rationale.

There are many matters connected with the religion of the Toradja which have not been discussed in this book and which usually are found in books on religion. My chief aim, however, has been to try to see it as a whole and to establish the main features of the interrelation of its parts and its connection with the social organization. To have tried to do more would have been a rather hazardous undertaking considering the nature of the data available.

Another would probably have organized the material differently and stressed other facts, but I believe that the picture presented here is essentially correct. The final proof of it, however, can only be provided by similar analyses of the religions of related peoples.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

BKI : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. 's-Gravenhage.
MNZG : Mededelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap. Rotterdam.
TBG : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Djakarta.
VMKAWL: Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde. Amsterdam.

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STELLINGEN

I

De bewering van Goldschmidt, dat het Mauss, in zijn „Essai sur le don", er meer om te doen was de eenheid van een patroon aan te tonen dan zijn varianten te ontdekken en te analyseren en dat daarom zijn opstel eer een laat overblijfsel was van het vroege evolutionistische genus dan van een vroege species van het methodologische systeem van de moderne sociale anthropologie, wijst op wanbegrip bij Goldschmidt t. a. v. van Mauss en zijn plaats in de geschiedenis van de ethnologie.

(W. Goldschmidt, Review of: The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Society. Marcel Mauss. American Anthropologist, LVII, p. 1299).

II

Men kan niet, zoals Leach dat getracht heeft te doen, het *gumsa* systeem van de Kachin verklaren als een product van imitatie door Kachin hoofden van Shan prinsen.

(E. R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma, London, 1954).

III

Men kan niet met recht spreken van „sociale psychologie" als een aparte tak van wetenschap.

IV

Er dient in Nederland een fonds opgericht te worden om daarvoor in aanmerking komende studenten in staat te stellen fieldwork te verrichten als onderdeel van hun opleiding in de culturele anthropologie.

V

Afgezien van zijn verhouding tot Indonesië verdient het aanbeveling dat Nederland medewerkt aan een internationale oplossing van de kwestie Nieuw Guinea.

VI

Stellingen dienen als vereiste voor het verkrijgen van de graad van doctor te vervallen.

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