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Ethnographical Studies in Celebes

RESULTS OF THE AUTHOR'S EXPEDITION
TO CELEBES 1917–20

IV

GAMES AND DANCES
IN
CELEBES

With 1 Coloured Plate, 33 Maps, and 132 Figures

by

Walter Kaudern



This color plate
"Natives dancing the moraego"
has been rotated and enlarged
on the following page

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Plate I.



Painting in oils. W. KAUDERN. 400 cm. × 220 cm.

Natives dancing the *moraego* by the light of a fire of logs.

To

Doctor

Fritz Sarasin

Basel

and

The Memory of

Doctor

Paul Sarasin

PREFACE.

In the publication of the present work the Author was assisted by a grant from the Swedish Government to whom I beg to tender my respectful thanks.

The expenses of the work have also in part been defrayed by grants from the Längman's Cultural Funds as well as by the Hvitfeldt's Bursary Funds, to the trustees of which I beg to express my grateful thanks.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the trustees of the "Stiftelsen Lars Hjertas minne" at Stockholm for a generous grant which enabled me to visit in 1927 the Ethn. Museums of Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, St. Gabriel at Mödling, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Cologne. Thus the investigations that form the subject of this book are not only based on the toys of my own collection but also to a great extent on objects from the Malay Islands contained in the European Museums.

To my friend Baron E. Nordenskiöld I hereby offer my sincerest thanks for many a valuable piece of advice, and for his kindness of placing at my disposal a study in the Ethn. Museum at Gothenburg.

I am also much indebted to Professor Doctor Ole at Oslo for his ready courtesy at my visit to the Ethn. Museum for the study of the Lumholz collection from the Pnihing Tribe in Borneo.

To all the officials of the foreign museums that I visited in 1926 and 1927 I hereby beg to tender my sincere thanks, especially to Doctor Juynboll, Director of the Royal Ethn. Museum at Leiden who in many ways assisted me in my work.

I also desire to express my obligations and thanks to the Director of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam, Prof. van Eerde to his assistants Dr. Goslings and Dr. Lamster, as well as to the Director of the Prince Hendrik Museum at Rotterdam, Dr. v. Nouhuys.

I am also greatly indebted to the Director of the Berlin Museum f. Völkerkunde, Prof. Dr. Stönner, as well as to Dr. Preuss and Dr. Meinhard of the same Museum, to the Director of the Dresden Museum, Prof. Dr. Jacoby and his assistant Dr. Heydrich, to the Director of the Linden Museum at Stuttgart, Prof. Dr. Fischer, to the Director of the Ethn. Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Prof. Dr. Lehman and his assistant Dr. Vatter, to the Director of the Ethn. Museum of Vienna, Prof. Dr. Röck and his assistant Dr. Wölfel, and to Pater W. Schmidt and Pater Koppers at Mödling.

My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. S. Hallberg, head librarian of the Gothenburg City Libtary as well as to Dr. S. Grén Broberg, librarian of the Gothenburg City Library for sparing no pains to procure the books I required for my work

As a token of my gratitude for their interest shown towards my researches and of my admiration of their pioneer work in Celebes I have dedicated this book to Dr. Fritz Sarasin and to the memory of the late Dr. Paul Sarasin.

I also desire to acknowledge the assistance I have received from many sources in direct contribution of information. My thanks are especially due to the following persons: the Governor of Boeton, Mr. D. Baretta, the 'Controleur" of Bolaang Mongondou in N. Celebes, Mr. Allaad of Kota Mobagoe, Mrs. Adriani Gunning, the S. A. officers in the Dutch East Indies Mr. O. Strandlund, Mr. E. Rosenlund, Miss L. Boström, Miss H. Palm, and Miss T. Englund, the two Swedish engineers Mr. S. Fremer in Celebes and Mr. A. Wieslander in Billiton, and Dr. E. Mjöberg of Stockholm.

The plate in front as well as some portraits are copies of paintings in oils that the writer made in Celebes. Some of the photos are not my own, but kindly placed at my disposal by my friend Mr. O. Strandlund, or else made by the photographer of the Ethn. Museum at Gothenburg. A copy of one of Elbert's photos was kindly sent me by the Director of the Frankfort Museum, Prof. Dr. Lehman. All drawings and maps are made by the writer.

Some stereotype plates were kindly lent me by Mr. K. O. Bonnier, the publisher of my Swedish book "I Celebes Obygder".

The geographical names as well as native words as a rule are spelt in Dutch in order to keep conformity with the Dutch literature, the one being of most importance to my subject.

The translation into English from my manuscript was carried out by my wife. We are very much indebted to our friend Mr. M. Leijer for all pains taken in revising the translation.

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Errata.

P. 31, l. 11 from the top, *read* requiring *for* reqviring.
,, 48, l. 1, *read* riding *for* reding.
,, 152, l. 6 from the bottom, *read* islands *for* island.

INTRODUCTION.

This volume of my Series "Ethnographical Studies in Celebes" chiefly is devoted to games and toys. A short chapter on dances has been appended, although my knowledge on this subject is rather imperfect. A thorough study of the native dances would have required much more time than I could spare, as well as better linguistic information than mine to understand the songs accompanying the dances.

As to games and toys, the bulk of my collection of toys hails from the north-western part of Central Celebes, from where as yet toys are very little known, but I have also toys from North Celebes and North-East Celebes.

My own experiences I have amplified with those of earlier authorities as well as by the study of the collections in the Ethnographical Museums of Leiden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Basel, Dresden, Leipzic, Vienna, Munich, Stuttgart, Oslo, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, a number of objects in these Museums being figured in this book.

In the following list are given all the toys that I acquired in Celebes. The numbers in a parenthesis refer to objects at present belonging to the Ethnographical Museum of Gothenburg. The other numbers are those of my original catalogue.

North Celebes:

No.	39, 40: Horsewhips	Goeroepahi.
»	319: toy drum[1]	Modajag.
»	365: sail boat	Bwool.

[1] See Vol III p. 130.

No. 554: buzzer	Modajag.
» 556: do,	»
» 557 (26.9.597): do,	»
» 567 (26.9.660): bamboo stilts	»
» 568: do,	»
» 569: two half coconut shells used as stilts	»
» 570, 571: bamboo pea-shooter for discharging pebbles	Modajag.
» 583, 584 (26.9.609): bamboo zithers[1]	»
» 585, 586 (26.9.661): bamboo pea-shooter	»
» 611—614:[2] *rere*[3]	»
» 615: pop-gun of bamboo	»
» 616: bamboo pea-shooter with two springs	»
» 617: spinning top	»
» 642: toy drum[4]	»
» 698: squirt gun	»
» 699: piece of coconut shell for the *Logo* game	Mojag.
» 700: stick with which to play *logo*	»
» 710, 711: bamboo zithers[1]	Modajag.
» 742: bamboo pea-shooter with two springs	»
» 776 (26.9.595): pop-gun	»
» 814: bridle	Kota Bangoen
» 822: buzzer	»

Central Celebes.

No. 1036: Horsewhip	Koelawi.
» 1065, 1067: bridles	»

[1] See Vol. III, p. 130.
[2] See Vol. III, p. 162.
[3] See Vol. III, p. 42 and 48.
[4] See Vol. III, p. 114.

No. 1188, 1201 (26.9.49), 1202, 1203 spinning tops	Koelawi
» 1316 (26.9.61), 1317, 1318, 1330 (26.9.60), 1331 dolls	Koelawi.
» 1334: toy shield	»
» 1337: toy shield with rattling pegs[1]	»
» 1382: doll	Kantewoe.
» 1434: spinning top	Koelawi
» 1569: doll	»
» 1611, 1649 (26.9.154): tops	Kantewoe.
» 1824b: pop-gun	»
» 1926: buzzer, made of a nut-shell[2]	»
» 1934: battledore	»
» 1935: shuttlecock	»
» 2093, 2094 (26.9.158): birds plaited from Pandanus leaves	»
» 2173: single-membrane toy drum of bamboo[3]	Doda.
» 2208: buzzer made of a nut-shell	Tole.
» 2218: bridle	Toro.
» 2300: pop-gun of bamboo	Kantewoe.
» 2320: walking stick	Koelawi.
» 2326: sail boat with a counterpoise	Donggala.
» 2333: *logo* piece	Kantewoe.
» 2334: *pimpi*, a puzzle	Tamoengkolowi.
» 2340: buzzer made of two mango stones	Donggala.
» 2341: seed of an Anona fruit, spun by means of a fragment of china	»
» 2386, 2387: tops	Tentena.
» 2559 (26.9.464), 2560, 2561: tops	Taripa.
» 2580: canoe from Lake Poso	Tentena.
» 2581: canoe from Poso on the Tomini Gulf.	»

[1] See Vol. III p. 161, 162.
[2] See Vol. III p. 199, 200.
[3] See Vol. III p. 117.

No. 2589, 2590 (26.9.508): cross boomerangs of bamboo	Kelei.
» 2591, 2592, 2593 (26.9.507): *tela*, kind of boomerang	»
» 2594: three bamboo splints used for the Tela game	»

North-East Celebes.

No. 2644: single-membrane bamboo drum[1]	Kalibambang.
» 2678: "wind-mill"	Pinapoean.
» 2692: two *logo* pieces and a stick	»
» 2694: humming toy of bamboo[2]	»
No. 2718: top	Tamboenan.
» 2741: wings of a "wind-mill"	Pinapoean.
» 2747: shield	»

Boeton.

No. 2794: kite made from the leaf of a fern	Baoe Baoe.

In the great work on Celebes "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" by ADRIANI and KRUYT, the latter authority gives an account of games and toys occurring among the Bare-e speaking tribes in the north-eastern part of Central Celebes. MEYER and RICHTER in Vol. XIV of the "Publikationen aus d. Kön. Ethn. Museum zu Dresden" mention some toys from Central and North Celebes. GRUBAUER in his book "Unter Kopfjägern in Central-Celebes" has very little to tell about games and toys in this part of the island.

Among early writers on games and toys in Celebes we notice GRAAFLAND, SCHWARZ, and above all MATTHES, the former two describing games in Minahassa in N. Celebes, the latter giving an excellent survey of toys as

[1] Se Vol. III p. 201.

[2] Se Vol. III p. 117.

well as games occurring in the Macassar Peninsula among the Orang Bugis and the Orang Macassar.

A classification of games and toys in distinctly separated groups is rather a difficult undertaking. If, for instance, we were to divide them into games played without an implement, and games associated with some kind of implement, similar games would be referred to different groups.

The classification might be founded on the age of the performers, but I was unable to carry out such a classification, not knowing at what age different games and toys are in favour with the children. Besides some toys appear to be popular with children of all ages, which for instance is the case of the top.

In the following I have divided the games as practised in Celebes, so far as I know them at present, into eight large groups. My classification does not claim to be the best one possible, but it seems rather useful for my purpose.

A. IMITATIVE GAMES.

I. Games imitating the pursuits of adults.

a. **Games for boys:**
Headman of the village;
War;
Hunting;
Rounding up buffaloes;
Catching the thief;
Toy boats;
Toy carts.

b. **Games for girls:**
Helping mother;
Beating of bast cloth;
Playing house;
Doll play.

II. Games in wich children imitate animals.

Cock game;
Pig game;
Crocodile game;
Bat game;
Toy buffaloes;
Butting buffaloes;
Animals plaited from strips of leaves.

B. GAMES REQUIRING PHYSICAL STRENGTH OR SKILL.

I. Sports solely being bodily exercises:

Wrestling;
Boxing;
Kicking;
Swimming;
Frog game;
Hand clapping game;
Jumping between paddy pestles;
Tug-of-war;
Horse races;
Sailing;
Horseman and horse;
Tag;
Blind-man's-buff;
Motoetoe djaja,
Walking round a pole;
Bôeloékôempa (snapping at a chaplet suspended in front of a baby).

II. Sports requiring skilful handling of some implement:

Stilts;
Walking on coconut shells;

Sledging;
Swinging;
Football;
Shuttlecock;
Stone thowing;
Flipping seeds;
Flipping shells;
Throwing of clay pellets, seeds, etc., by means of a sticks;
Pisóe, contrivance for throwing stones;
Slings;
Throwing-sticks;
Spinning Anona seeds spun by means of a fragment of china;
Blowing bubbles;
Alangga-langga, a game with *kemiri* nuts;
Maletje, a game with *kemiri* nuts;
Bille, a game with pieces of coconut shells;
Tingge, a game with pieces of shell;
Top, twirled between the hands.
Spinning tops;
Logo game;
Kicking coconut shells;
Tela game;
Cross-boomerang;
Kites;
Trundling;
Marbles;
Bowling clay pellets against one another;
Cracking nuts;
Breaking sugar cane;
Mogonde, fighting with *poeso* stalks;

C. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

See vol. III of this series.

D. MECHANICAL TOYS:

Pop-gun;
Squirt-gun;
Bamboo pea-shooter;
Cross-bow;
Bow;
Buzzer;
"Wind-mill."

E. SINGING GAMES:

Moöelengkaroe and others.

F. GAMES OF SOLVING A PROBLEM:

Riddles;
Hide and Find;
Puzzles:
a. Bow-string puzzle, *pimpi;*
b. Disentangling of a plate of wood from a string;
c. Ring Puzzle;
Unfolding cunningly plaited strips of leaves;
String Figures.

G. ROUND GAMES.

I. Games requiring clever calculation:

Chess;
Backgammon;
Gala game;
Tiger game;
Galatjang game.

II. Games combining skill with chance.

Cards.

III. Gambling games:

Tongko-tongko game;
Spinning die;
Maketja game;
Pitching pennies;
Djipe game;
Mapanta game.

H. PLAYING WITH LIVE ANIMALS:

Pet animals;
Insects as living kites;
Cock-fights;
Horse-fights.

Games.

A. IMITATIVE GAMES.

I. Games imitating avocations in the daily life of adults.

Naturally these amusements will be different for boys and girls respectivaly, the latter imitating the work of their mothers, the former the occupations of their fathers and other men. Such imitative plays for boys are playing at war and hunting, playing with boats, and with toys representing domestic animals. Girls are fond of playing with dolls and of playing house.

Boys' Games.

Headman of the village.

This game is recorded only from the Orang Macassar and the Orang Bugis in the Macassar Peninsula by MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethnogrphie van Zuid-Celebes", p. 129. He calls this game "het kamponghoofdje spelen", but he does not explain the way it is played, only referring in a note to his two dictionaries "Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek" and "Boegineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek". On page 84 of the former book MATTHES states that the name of this game, *ágâlla-gallârañg*, is derived from the word *gâllara*, meaning "to put the bridle on a horse" and *gallârañg*, headman. In his Bugis Dictionary he gives the word *magâlla-gâllarăñg*.

War.

In olden times when the Toradja of Central Celebes were independent of the Dutch, head hunting was commonly practised and the tribes often made war upon one another.

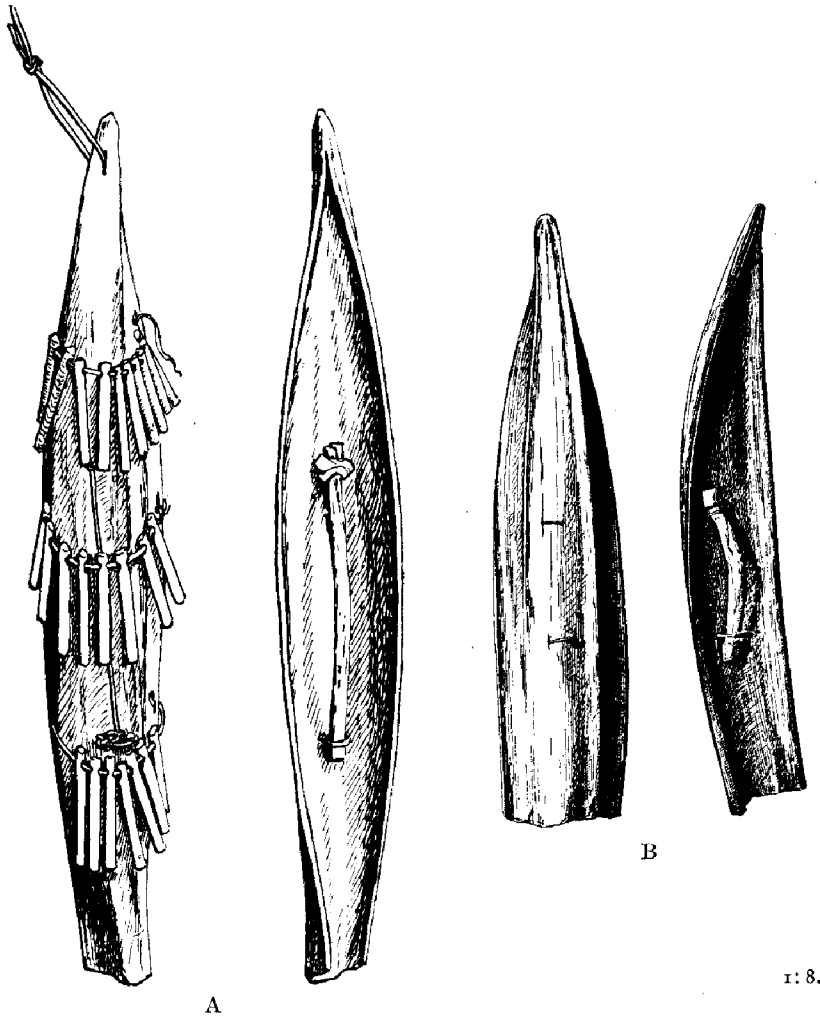

Fig. 1. *Toy Shields.* A from Koelawi, C. Celebes; B from Pinapoien NE Celebes. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 1337; B id. No. 2747.)

Every man strove to become a reputed warrior and to take as many heads as possible. Under these circumstances it may naturally be supposed that the boys would imitate the fights of the men. After the Dutch became the masters of the

interior of Central Celebes, head hunting as well as wars have ceased, and the boys' war play more or less appears to be forgotten. I myself never saw any children playing at war in Central Celebes, but I suppose they still do sometimes, because in the district of Koelawi I acquired for my collection two toy shields, made from the spathe of the coconut tree. This spathe has more or less the shape of a canoe with pointed ends. Inside, an arched branch, serving as a handle, is attached to the spathe by means of strips of split rattan, (Fig. 1). Such shields appear to occur also among other tribes than the Toradja. At the village of Pinapoean in the district of Lojnang in NE. Celebes, toy shields are made from the same material as the Koelawi shields with the difference that the Pinapoean shields are not fitted with rows of rattling pegs as one of my Koelawi shields.



1: 8.

Fig. 2. *Walking-stick*, or possibly *Toy Spear*. Koelawi, NW. Central Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2320.)

Possibly the stick adorned with a tuft of feathers (Fig. 2) is a toy spear. I got it from a little Koelawi boy who was walking about with it in his hand. It is not likely to be a walking stick, however, since the natives of Koelawi seldom use such a stick, but it resembles rather much a spear with its tuft of hair near its distal end.

KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" Vol II, p. 385 writes the following of boys' war play: "Spiegelgevechten worden geleverd, waarbij de zachte stengels van de *poeso*-plant de speren zijn en een stuk van den pisangstam het schild." He does not state, however, whether there are only two boys fighting, or several boys join in the game forming two sides who attack each other.

In the above mentioned work by KRUYT this authority on page 390 of Vol. II mentions a kind of game which I think should be characterized as a war-dance, to which I shall recur later on.

Hunting.

At many places in Celebes the natives are keen hunters. In Bolaang Mongondon in N. Celebes I met with several professional hunters, and in Central Celebes big parties of natives sometimes go out shooting deer. As a rule the hunter brings his dog to track the game whether he is alone, or accompanied by another hunter, or there is a hunting party.

Boys naturally take a great interest in the hunting practised by their fathers, and often they themselves are skilled hunters of birds, using, at least in Central and North Celebes, blow-guns for this purpose. But they also like to play at hunting big game.

This is a very simple game, probably not following any special rules and not requiring any implements. One boy personates the deer, or wild boar, some boys are dogs, other boys the hunters, all chasing the game.

A special kind of hunting game is the frightening away of the swarms of birds that invade the paddy fields when harvest time is nearing. For this purpose the boys will use some kind of missile, but this game is no imitation of an occupation of adults, since men, when hunting birds, never use the weapons employed by boys to scare away intrusive birds.

This occupation, however, is no real hunting, since it chiefly serves the purpose of frightening away, — not killing — the birds. For this reason I have referred this occupation to the games which I have called sports, requiring a skilful handling of an implement, but to which no special rules are connected.

Rounding up Buffaloes.

No domestic animal is of greater importance to the natives in Central Celebes than the buffalo. It is necessary for the cultivation of paddy, and no great religious festival could be celebrated unless a number of buffaloes were killed, the meat of which is eaten. Up till now the value of gems and precious garments were compared to that of so or so many buffaloes. A bride-price as a rule will include a certain number of these animals, and a fine very often has to be paid in buffaloes. It is the task of the men to look about for the buffaloes, but mostly the animals are free to roam over the grounds as they like, and gradually they run more or less wild. When the natives wish to kill a buffalo, they first have to find it and then to catch it with a lasso, or rather a thong or snare. This is not an easy task, and it offers many exciting points. No wonder that boys like to play at catching buffaloes.

Among the Poso Toradja the boys appear to take a great interest in this game of which KRUYT gives a vivid description in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" Vol. II, p. 75. It runs as follows: "..... kleine jongens loopen op handen en voeten en stellen de buffels voor; anderen, die op enkele der buffels (op den rug hunner kameraden) zitten, hebben touwen met lussen in de hand. Langzaam naderen de bereden en de onbereden buffels elkaar. Dicht bij elkaar gekomen laat de buffelvanger zich van den rug van zijn geimproviseerd rijbeest afglijden en terwijl de beide buffels met de koppen tegen elkaar stooten, zooals in werkelijkheid ook geschiedt, legt de vanger den wilden buffel den strik om den poot, en haalt dien aan. Voortdurend het korte geloei der buffels uitstootende, schopt en trapt de gevangene, en wanneer de vanger niet bij machte is het touw te houden, ontsnapt de buffel met strik en al. En dit spel is zoo echt, dat hij, die een buffel voorstelt, nimmer in de verzoeking zal komen zijne handen te gebruiken om den strik los te maken."

Catching the Thief.

This is a game recorded by MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethnographie v. Zuid-Celebes" where, on page 129, he mentions this game among the amusements of the Bugis children. In his Bugis Dictionary this authority on page 600 states as follows: "*Mátolôlañg-tolôlañg*, soort van kinderspel, waarbij één van de jongens als't ware steelt, en daarom door de anderen achterna gezeten wordt." He says the word is derived from the Bugis verb *lôlañg*, to go. *To-lôlang* means a person going out to steal.

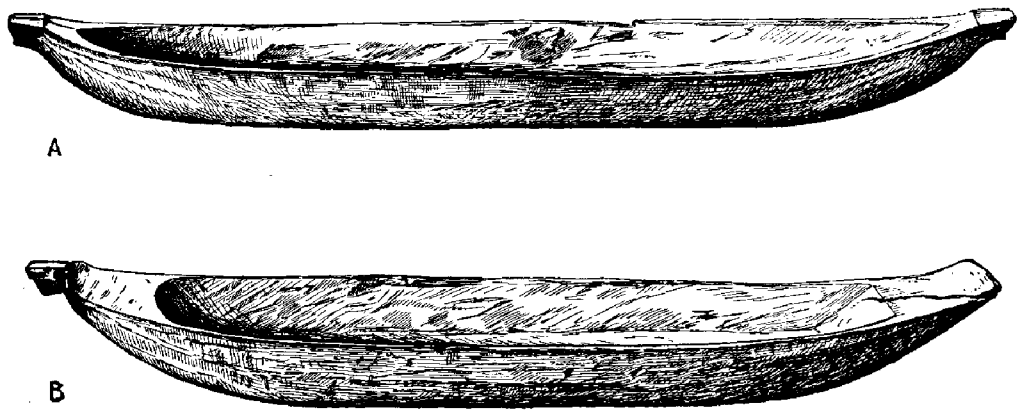

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Fig. 3. *Toy Canoes.* NE Central Celebes. A from Poso, on the coast; B from Tentena on the northern end of Lake Poso (A KAUDERN. coll. No. 2580; B id. No. 2581.)

I never saw this game in the interior of Central Celebes, which is not surprising, the Toradja as a rule being honest people, among whom stealing is a crime rarely met with.

It is quite different with the population on the coast, which at many places has been strongly influenced by the Mohammedan Orang Bugis.

Toy Boats.

In the interior of Central Celebes the native children do not appear to play with boats, probably because there are very few lakes, and most rivers are too swift to allow

navigation. At the mouth of the rivers crocodiles prevent children from playing with boats, and the same is the case at Lake Poso, a big lake situated almost in the centre of Celebes.

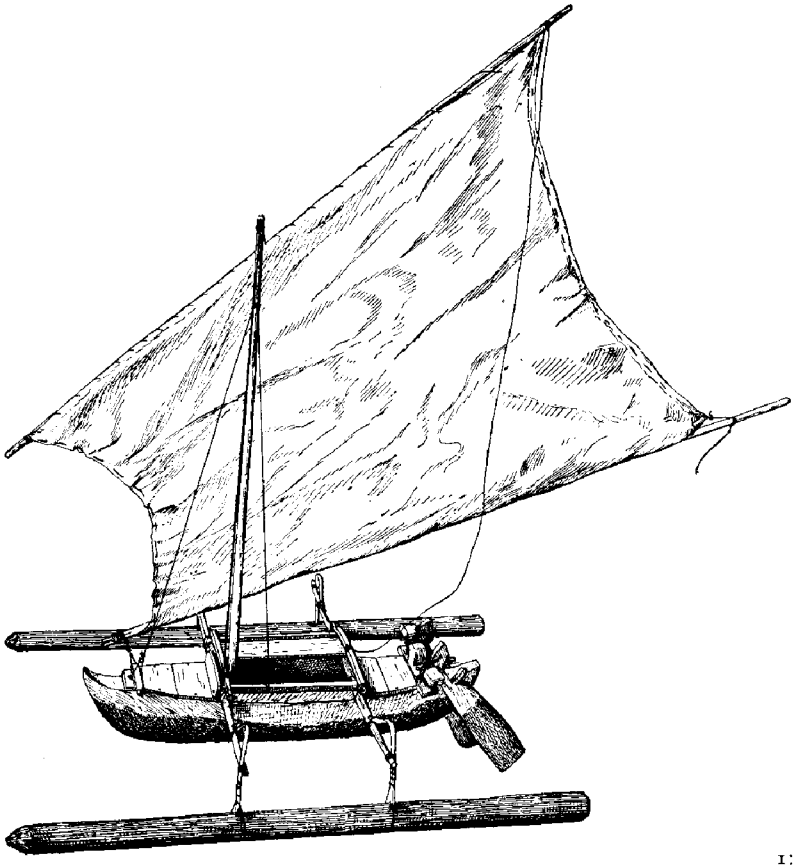

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Fig. 4. *Toy Boat.* Donggala. NW. Central Celebes. The counterpoises as well as the sail are out of proportions to the body of the boat. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2326.)

Strange to say I did not see any toy boats neither in Lindoe, nor in Bada where the natives use canoes, and where no crocodiles are found but my visit to these districts was a rather short one, and possibly children play with boats, only I did not happen to see it.

At the village of Tentena on Lake Poso I acquired a couple of canoe models of rather good make, one of the type used on Lake Poso (Fig. 3 B), another of the type common at the village of Poso on the coast the Tomini Bay (Fig. 3 A). Possibly these models are toys, but it may also be that they were models made for the school at Tentena.

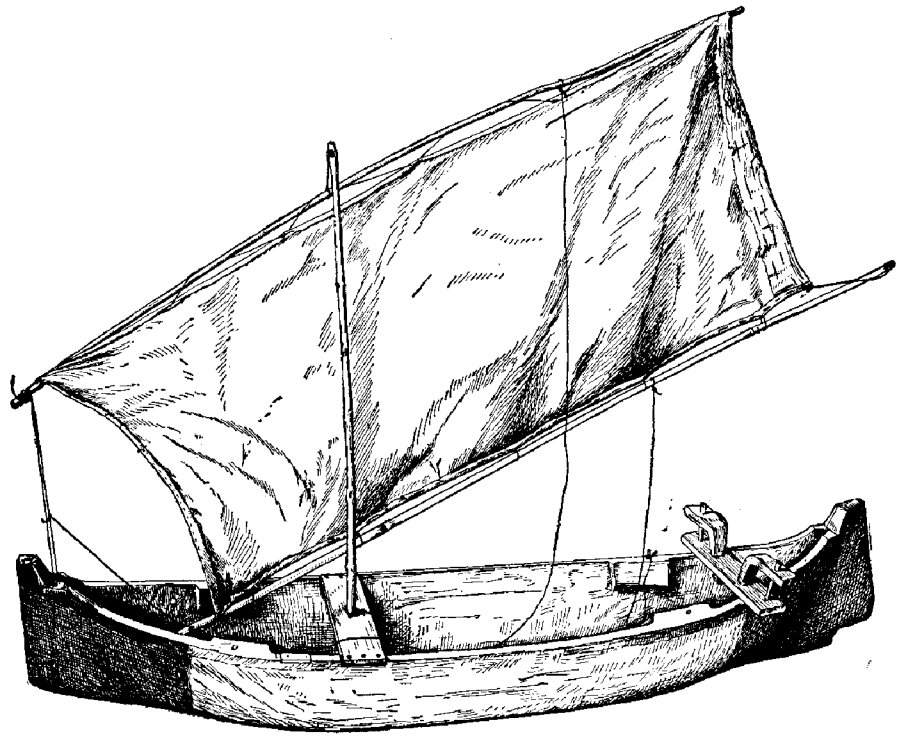

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Fig. 5. *Toy Boat.* Bwool. N. Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 365.)

On the coasts of Celebes I often watched boys playing with their small boats, which like a big native boat had two counterpoises, one at each side (Fig. 4). Sometimes the boats were fitted with a special mast carrying at the head a kind of screw propeller with four blades which revolved when the vessel was sailing.

In N. Celebes was acquired a toy boat at Bwool. As will be seen in Fig. 5 it has no counterpoises.

At Loewoek on the south coast of NE. Celebes I often noticed boys playing with small boats of the same pattern as those commonly used on the coast (Fig. 6).

At Donggala on the coast of NW. Central Celebes the youngsters used to amuse themselves in a special manner. They had canoes just big enough to carry one boy. Close to the shore, or, better still near the long pier they would fight, trying to upset the boats of one another. As soon as a boat was turned upside down, its owner hurried to catch it in order to turn it right again, jerking it till it was

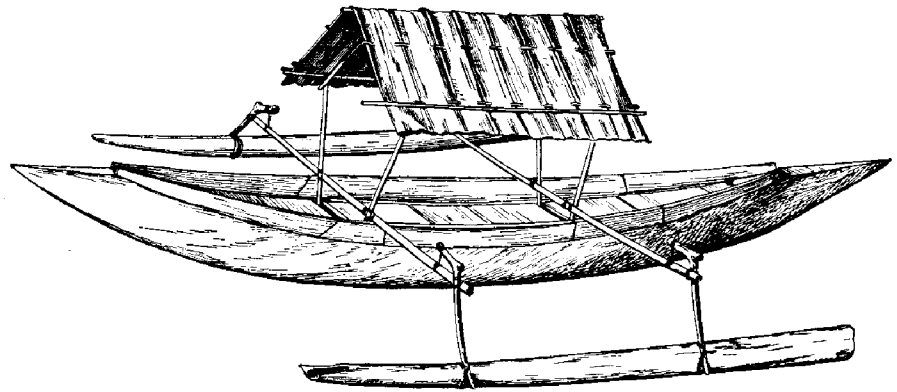

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Fig. 6. *Toy boat.* Loewoek. NE. Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2665 [26.9.754].)

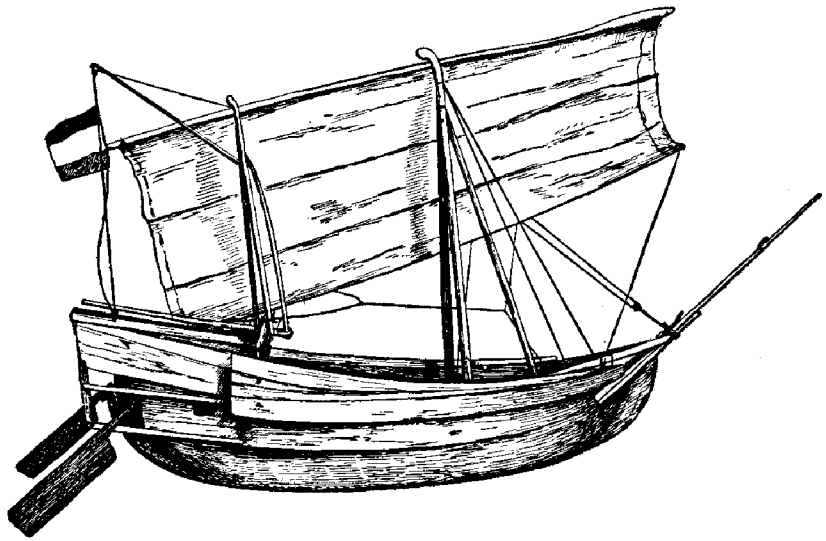
empty, when he climbed into it and began chasing the boy who had upset him in order to revenge himself on him.

In the Macassar Peninsula the children play with toy boats of very simple construction according to MATTHES, who in his "Bijdragen" p. 129, states the following: ". . . het praauwtje spelen of schuitje varen, waarbij men een vaartuigje van pisangbast op het water laat drijven."

From this it would seem as if the Bugis children made their toy boats from the bananaplant, presumably from the leaf stem, but it is strange that they should not make more solid boats, the Orang Bugis being a tribe who knows

how to make several kinds of boats, some of which even are sea-going and very well built. Under these circumstances it seems likely to my mind that the Bugis boys make boats of the same pattern as those commonly used on the coasts of their country. In his two Atlases MATTHES figures a great number of boat models some of which highly resemble toys.

ELBERT records toy boats from the Island of Boeton, situated to the south-east of Celebes, an island much in-



After ELBERT

Fig. 7. *Toy boat.* Boeton.

fluenced by the Bugis culture. On page 211, Vol I, of his book "Die Sunda-Expedition" he writes as follows: "Man merkt sofort, dass ihre Väter Seefahrer sind, denn die liebste Beschäftigung ist ihnen der Bau von *kleinen Schiffen.* Diese sind sehr getreu den grossen Fahrzeugen nachgebildet und völlständig seemässig ausgerüstet, mit dreiteiligen Masten, Hinterdeckaufbau mit Steuer, Segel aus Karôro-Geflecht oder Zeug, langem Bugspriet u. a." (See Fig. 7).

To judge from the statements found in books, toy boats are common on all coasts in the Malayan Archipelago.

RIEDEL for instance in his book "De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen" records this toy from a great number of the small islands situated between Celebes and New Guinea.

Toy Carts.

In the interior of Celebes where there are no roads, only tracks, and no wheeled vehicle can be used, children naturally have no toy carriages. On the coast, for instance in the Macassar Peninsula, in the Paloe Valley in NW. Central Celebes, as well as at some places in N. Celebes a cart pulled by oxen very often will be used to transport goods from one place to another. This cart is the model of the toy carts of the children. At some places they will make a cart from the peel of the shaddock, an orange, the peel of which is about an inch thick. The body of the vehicle consists of half a peel or a little less, two round plates cut out from the peel make the wheels, and a peg piercing the body of the cart serves as the axle. Another peg makes the pole, and the vehicle is ready for use.

These "shaddock carts" I saw in Mongondou in N. Celebes as well as in the Island of Boeton, both of which are places strongly influenced by foreign cultures. The shaddock tree not being native to Celebes, it seems rather likely that the toy cart of shaddock peel is no native invention in this island.

Girls' Games.

Helping Mother.

The native girls, when still babies, often will be seen imitating the house-work of their mothers. A little girl will accompany her mother when she goes to the river to fetch water in a long bamboo cylinder, or to the forest to provide the family with the necessary supply of fuel. She will join the women pounding and winnowing paddy, and you may see a child pounding away with a pestle so big

that she can barely handle it. At the beginning all is mere play but as the girl grows the play is turned into hard work.

This play in reality is education since it tends to teach the child the work of grown-up people.

Boys to a certain extent play in a similar manner, but you will not often see a boy helping his father, presumably because men as a rule do not work very hard, leaving the lion's share of the work to the female members of the family.

Beating Bast Cloth.

Making bast cloth is a woman's work of great importance in Central Celebes. I myself did not see any girls playing at making bast cloth, but KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 75, gives a vivid description of a little girl trying to imitate her mother making cloth. It runs as follows: "Kleine meisjes ziet men zitten naast hare moeders aan een hoekje van de plank, waarop de boombast wordt geklopt tot kleedingstof. Terwijl de moeder in ernst rusteloos met dit werk bezig is, zit het kind op een overgeschoten stukje boombast te kloppen met een gezicht of ze het werkelijk meent. Bevochtigt de moeder den bast om dezen week te maken, de kleine doet hetzelfde; vouwt zij het stuk bast om de dubbele laag tot één te klappen, de kleine doet het zelfde met haar stukje."

Playing House.

The little Toradja girl likes to cook just as European children do. The ingredients used for cooking appear mostly to be nothing but wet sand and small leaves. I did not often se children playing house, but KRUYT seems to be of the opinion that it is a common game. In "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 385, when speaking of games, this authority says: "Op dezelfde wijze ziet men kleine meisjes nat sand in kokosdoppen koken, om dit daarna als rijst aan elkander voor te zetten."

Doll Play.

Real dolls I only know from the central part of Celebes, but very likely dolls are used in other parts of the island although I have no reference as yet.

The dolls of the Toradja girls are very simple. During my short sojourn in the eastern part of Central Celebes I did not see any dolls, but according to KRUYT this toy is known here. In "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol II, p. 385, he states the following: "Een maïsklos wordt gesust, ingebakerd en gewiegd, zooals het meisje later moeder geworden, dit met haar kind zal doen."

In the north-western part of Central Celebes we find dolls of more humanlike shape, and here they do not represent babies but adults. True enough, the body is very simple, but the clothes are of rather careful make. For my collection were acquired seven such dolls, six of which hail from Koelawi, one from Kantwoe. All are of about the same size, and resemble one another as to the way they are made, but the six Koelawi dolls differ nevertheless in some respects from the Kantewoe doll.

The body of the Koelawi dolls is a flat piece of wood, ten centimeters long by a breadth of one centimeter and a half. The creature has neither arms, nor legs. In the upper part of the stick there are two notches, one at each side, to indicate a head (Fig. 8 A, B, and C). Three specimens have slightly below the middle of the stick another pair of notches representing the waist (Fig. 8 A), two specimens lack a waist (Fig. 8 B), and the lower part of the body of one specimen is much wider than the top, making it easy to fasten the skirt of the doll (Fig. 8 C).

As a rule the Koelawi dolls have hair made of blue cotton yarn, which is attached to the head by means of some *nompi*, a kind of black stuff made from burnt resin and used as colour by the natives. The dolls have no nose, no mouth, and no eyes.

The dress of the Koelawi dolls is a skirt, a tunic, and a hair-band. Five of my dolls have a skirt of bast cloth of the same pattern as the crinoline of the Koelawi women, although simpler, having only two flounces instead of three. The skirt of the doll is a cylinder, knotted round the waist the upper and shorter part of the cylinder being folded over the lower part of the skirt (Fig. 9 A and B). Four dolls have their skirt made of white bast cloth, and the edges of two of these skirts are adorned with small tas-

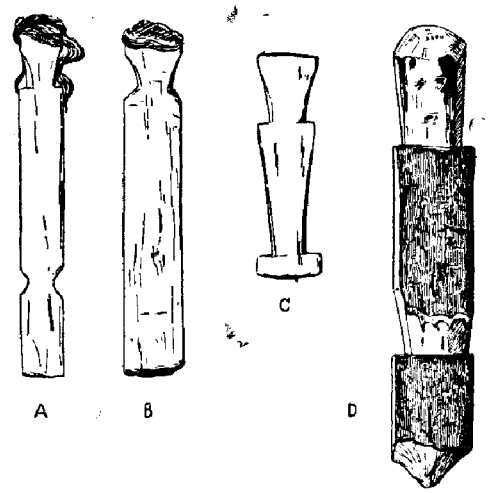


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Fig. 8. *Dolls' bodies.* NW. Central Celebes. A, B, and C from Koelawi; D from Kantewoe. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 1331; B id. No. 1317; C id. No. 1318; D id. No. 1382.)

sels made of strips of black, red, and yellow bast cloth (Fig. 9 A). The skirt of the fifth doll is made of a kind of coarse bast cloth, in the native language called *noenoe*. The top of this skirt is black, the bottom reddish brown, one side of the cloth being black, one side reddish brown (Fig. 9 B). One skirt is of blue cotton (no. 1569), the upper flounce bordered with white cotton cloth (Fig. 9 C).

All my six Koelawi dolls wear bast cloth tunics, three of which are red, one black, one yellow, and one white, the latter with brown edgings. Four tunics are adorned with



Fig. 9. *Dolls* from NW. Central Celebes. A B, and C from Koelawi; D from Kantewoe. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 1331; B id. No. 1317; C id. No. 1318; D id. No. 1382.)

small spangles of mica, pasted on to the cloth with *nompi*. The black and the yellow tunics are adorned with these spangles in front as well as at the back, the two red tunics are spangled only at the back.

The hair-band is a strip of yellow bast cloth, folded and wound round the head, and knotted at the back (Fig. 9 A).

As mentioned before, the Kantewoe doll resembles to a certain extent the Koelawi dolls. The body of the former is, however, much bigger than that of the latter, and consists of a piece of a branch the bark of which has been peeled off round the head and the waist of the doll. As will be seen in Figs 8 D and 9 D this doll has a face, small notches representing eyes and a mouth.

The dress of the Kantewoe doll is similar to that of the Koelawi dolls. A skirt of the same pattern as the Koelawi skirts, only narrower, and made of coarse black bast cloth, is tied round its waist. Round the upper part of the skirt a strip of red bast cloth is wound several times. The red girdle fits rather closely to the body, covering the upper part of the skirt. The meaning of this I do not know. I never saw any such garment in Kantewoe. The tunic of this doll is made of white cotton with a little red collar round the neck and a red edging at the bottom of the back of the tunic. The head-band is a strip of red bast cloth, nearly one centimeter broad, with fringed ends, knotted at the back (Fig. 9 D).

Whether these dolls are really native or not I cannot decide. At any rate, dolls of European make do not appear to be known in this part of Celebes. I gave some dolls to the children in Kantewoe, but I never saw them playing with them.

As mentioned before, there are hardly any records of true dolls from any other part of Celebes, and in none of the European museums that I visited did I find any dolls from Celebes.

Under the heading "Spielzeug" MEYER and RICHTER on p. 52 of the "Publikationen K. Ethn. Mus. zu Dresden" mention a couple of dolls from Bwool in N. Celebes. To judge from their description these dolls, however, seem to be of so careful make and fitted with so great a number of adornments that in all probability they are not of native make, if they be true dolls at all, which seems doubtful to my mind.

II. Games in which children in some way or other imitate animals.

In some of these games the children themselves act the part of animals, in other games there is a toy representing an animal. MATTHES on p. 129 of his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", enumerates a number of games of the former kind: the cock game, the pig game, the crocodile game, and the bat game. The horse game, also mentioned by MATTHES, I think we had better refer to another group of games, being a kind of competition sport and not simply meant to imitate horses.

Cock Game.

On page 668 of his Bugis Dictionary MATTHES states the name of this game to be *sâkko-sâkko-manóe*. At Macassar it is called *sôngko-sôñgko-djâñgañg*, at Bantaeng *roko-rokoëng*, according to the same authority. Thus it seems as if this game would be rather common in the Macassar Peninsala. The players, who are divided into two sides, hide at some distance from one another. The children engaged on one side by turns then crow like a cock. The other side are to guess the name of the player who crowed. If they are successful the player who crowed is obliged to leave his party and join the opposing side.

Pig Game.

In his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes" MATTHES records a game in the Bugis language called *mabawi-bawi*, from *bawi* which means pig. In his Bugis Dictionary MATTHES states the game simply to be this: one boy is a pig defending its young.

Crocodile Game.

This is closely similar to the Pig Game. One boy pretends to be a crocodile guarding its eggs. According to MATTHES's Bugis Dictionary, the name of this game is *maboewa-boewadja, boewâdja* meaning crocodile.

Bat Game.

This game which MATTHES records from the Macassar Peninsula also appears to be very simple. Boys riding a stick, their heads wrapped in a *sarong*, imitate big bats. The Bugis name of the game is *bîkó-bîkó, biko* meaning bat.

In all probability there are other simple, improvised games not only in the Macassar Peninsula but in many other places in Celebes, although hitherto overlooked by researchers.

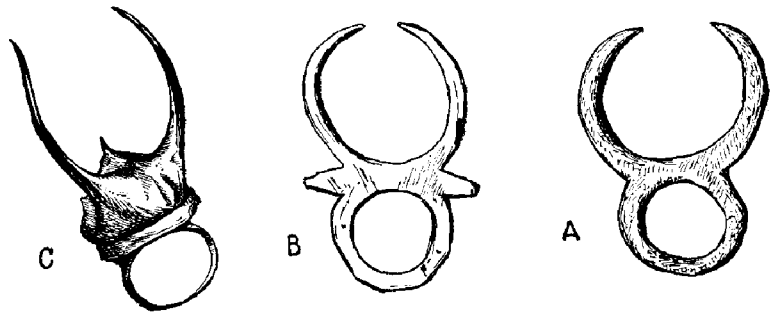
Toy Buffaloes.

Sometimes boys will make toy buffaloes. At the villages of Pangana and Kilo in the district of Tole in NW. Central Celebes the children made a kind of simple buffaloes from the buds of a banana cluster. A cluster of bananas always ends in a big, red pointed bud. Even when a certain number of flowers have opened, the bud remains closed. This bud the children use for making buffaloes, simply fitting it with four sticks to stand on like legs, just as Swedish children make cattle out of spruce-cones. At Pangana I saw in September 1918 some children playing with quite a herd of such toy buffaloes, putting them out to graze, and having a little enclosure where the cattle could be kept, presumably imitating the big enclosures surrounded by bamboo thickets, which at many places in Celebes are used for buffaloes.

Butting Buffaloes.

At some places in the Malayan Islands the natives arrange buffalo fights to see whose buffalo is stronger. Such fights, however, I never saw in Celebes, but in Central Celebes the children will imitate two buffaloes butting each other, in placing a small ring of horn, fitted with two horns, on their finger. With these rings they attack one another.

I have not seen these rings myself in Celebes, but in some European Museums. There are two specimens in the Dresden Museum (Fig. 10 A and B), and two specimens at Leiden. The Leiden Museum Catalogue states as follows



1: 2.

Fig. 10. *Rings with horns.* A and B are horn rings made to represent the horns of a buffalo. Toys of the Poso Toradja, A from the To Rano. C is a finger-ring adorned with the prothorax of a Coleopter with processes resembling buffalo horns.
(A Dresden Mus. No. 17442; B id. No. 12586; C Leiden Mus. No. 43/63.)

of the latter: "No. 1300/13 Kinderspeelgoed, van buffelhoorn (*tondoe baoela*), twee stuks, in den vorm van een paar buffelhoorns aan een ring. — Zij worden door kinderen uit hoorn of uit den hoef gesneden; zij steken het voorwerp aan een vinger en bootsen daarmede vechtende buffels na. Toradja's."

The label of one of the Dresden specimens (Fig. 10 A) states that this ring was collected by Doctor ADRIANI, who acquired it from the To Rano, *i. e* the natives living north of Lake Poso. This seems to indicate that the horn ring is known at least among the so-called Poso Toradja.

In the literature there is no record of this game from any place outside Celebes, and there are no such rings in the European museums that I visited, exept in the Linden Museum at Stuttgart, where I found a specimen, No. 1148/612, of the same pattern as those represented in Fig. 10 A and B. The label states this ring to be collected by GRUBAUER at Bundu in British N. Borneo, and it says: "Spielzeug aus Horn, Sungo." The statement that this ring hails from Borneo may be correct, but as a matter of fact GRUBAUER has made many mistakes, and having made ethnographical collections also in Central Celebes, the ring in question may have been mixed up with his Borneo collection. Therefore I think we need further evidence from Borneo to prove that the buffalo horn ring really is found in that island.

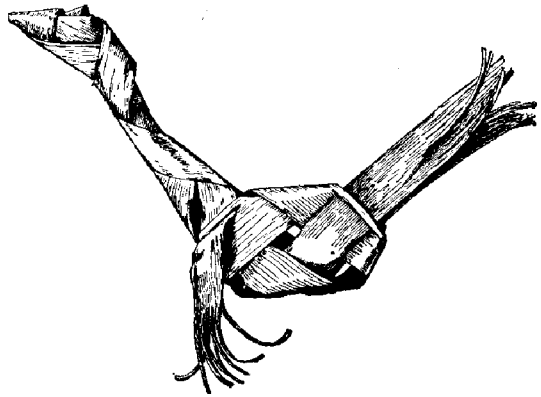
In the Leiden Museum there is a finger-ring slightly similar to the buffalo horn ring (Fig. 10 C). The Museum Catalogue states the following: "No. 43/63 *Oalimo*, vingerring verzierd met den kop des Atlaskevers[1] (Geotrupes atlas). Behoort tot het toilet eener dansmeid. Gorontalo."

In all probability this ornament is not of native origin in Celebes. A dancer at Gorontalo is not likely to be a native of Celebes, and even if she was so, her dance is Javanese, or it imitates the Javanese dance.

Animals plaited from strips of leaves.

In Koelawi as well as in the districts on the Koro known as Pipikoro, it is usual for children to plait two strips of palm leaf into a birdlike figure meant to represent the domestic fowl. The ends of one strip make a head, those of the other strip two wings (Fig. 11). Such plaited toys representing birds as well as other animals and even fruits appear to have a wide range in the Malayan Islands, but strange to say KRUYT does not mention them from the eastern part of Central Celebes which may be taken to indi-

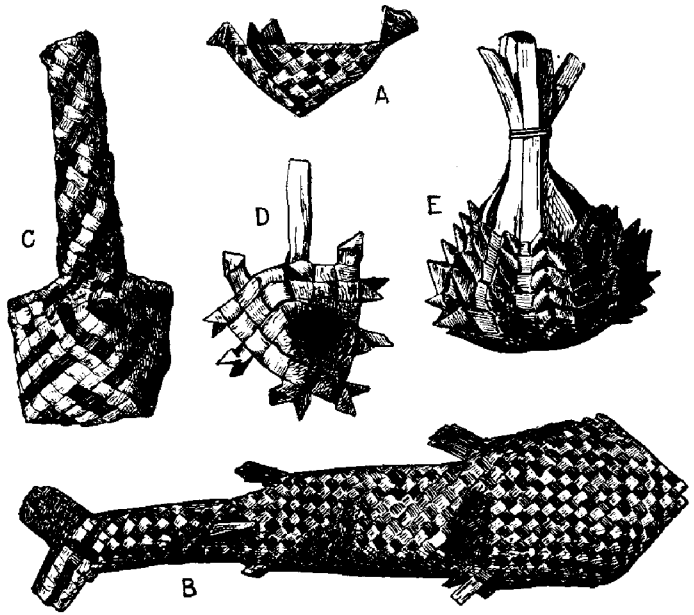
[1] Should be prothorax, since the head itself has dropped off.



1: 4.

Fig. 11. *Toy bird.* Plaited of Pandanus leaves. Kantewoe. NW. Central Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2093.)

cate that they do not occur among the Poso Toradja. On the Island of Boeton ELBERT collected a number of plaited toys of which he writes the following in his book



From ELBERT

Fig. 12. *Plaited toys.* Boeton. A bird; B shark; C and D rattles, E *Doerian* fruit.

"Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, p. 219: "Erstaunlich reichhaltig sind die aus Palmen- und Pandanusblättern geflochtenen Spielsachen. Alles was die kleinen Kunstler fesselt, wird nachgebildet; so entstehen niedliche Vögelchen (manumânu), Haifische (mongiwa), Puppen (kamimia) und sogar die beliebten zackigen Durian-Früchte (dûria)", Fig. 12.

Evidently the art of plaiting palm or Pandanus leaves into birds is not confined to the Malayan Archipelago. In the Ethnographical Museum at Gothenburg there are such birds from S. America.

B. GAMES REQVIRING PHYSICAL STRENGTH OR SKILL.

Under this heading I have brought together a number of rather different games, all of which require from the performer a certain amount of bodily strength, rapidity of movement, agility, or a dexterous handling of a certain implement.

The games in question may conveniently be divided into two main groups, not altogether distinctly separated from one another, however, since some games could be referred just as well to one group as to another.

In the first group we find all games the chief aim of which is the strengthening of the body by means of exercise, in the second group games which require from the players a skilful handling of a certain toy, or implement, some of these games not being played by any rules, other being connected with certain rules of the game.

I. Sports solely being bodily exercises.

Wrestling.

According to MATTHES, wrestling is a sport practised in the Macassar Peninsula among the Orang Bugis and the Orang Macassar. On page 292 of his "Makassaarsch-Hol-

landsch Woordenboek" he gives for *sitappâssañg*: "elkander nederwerpen, worstelen, het zwitsersche ringen". In his Bugis Dictionary there are two words for wrestling. On p. 55 we notice "*siyagappôwañg:* elkander neêrsmijten, worstelen, het zwitsersche *ringen*", and on p. 274 "*mâtîkâñg*, ook genomen in de beteekenis van het Zwitsersche *ringen* of *worstelen*. *Matikâñgi*, ergens om vechten, om vorstelen, bijv. om vruchten. Geb. van jongens".

In the districts that I visited I never saw any boys wrestling. KRUYT does not record this sport from the Poso Toradja, and GRAAFLAND does not mention it in his book on Minahassa in N. Celebes. Thus it may be that wrestling is a sport in Celebes only known in the Macassar Peninsula.

Boxing.

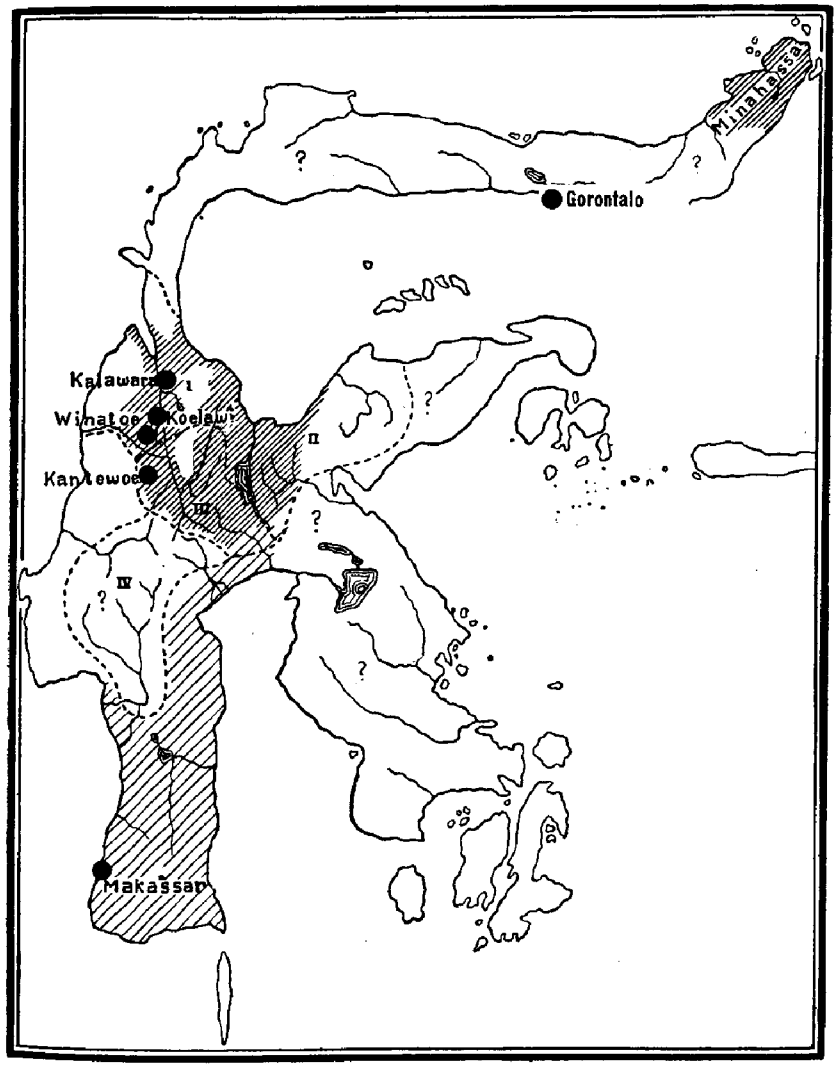
This sport just as the previous one appears to recorded only from the Macassar Peninsula. MATTHES mentions it in his "Bijdr. tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", and in his two Dictionaries he gives some details. In his Macassar Dictionary, p. 404, we read: "*sidjâgoeróe*, elkander met vuisten slaan, boksen." In his Bugis Dictionary we find three words for boxing, indicating different manners in which the fist is held in striking. "*Tañpôèwi*, slaan, of stompen doch zoo dat de vuist als 't ware overend staat (p. 308); *gâmpo*, met de vuist slaan of stompen, doch zoo, dat de vuist als 't ware ligt, met de palm van de hand beneden, môpañg (p. 58); *djôèlóe*, met de vuist slaan of stompen, doch zoo, dat de vuist als 't ware ligt, met de palm van de hand boven, lêñgâñg (p. 471)". The Bugis *sitañpôèwi*, or *sidjôèlóe* corresponds to the *sidjâgoeróe* of the Macassar language.

In all probability boxing is not native to Celebes. Presumably boxing as well as wrestling were introduced into this island from E. Asia, where these sports are practised.

Kicking.

(Map 1.)

This is a favourite sport among the native boys in Celebes. In Koelawi as well as in Kantewoe in NW. Central



Map 1. Kicking in Celebes.

Celebes the schoolboys often entertained themselves with kicking. One boy would take his position with his feet apart, one foot firmly planted on the ground. The other

boys by turns would try to kick this foot from under him, hitting it below the ankle. Not seldom the kicks administered in this way were very hard to endure, but some boys in spite of violent kicks kept their position without wincing.

This game appears to be exactly the same among the Poso Toradja, where it is called *mowinti*, according to KRUYT, who describes it in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 388. There is a similar game, *motimbojoe*, in which the foot is not kicked from under the boy but dislodged by by means of a blow with the fist.

GRAAFLAND in Vol. I, p. 283 of his book "De Minahassa" records this sport from Minahassa, saying: "Echt alifoersch is daarentegen een spel, dat wij nog nergens elders hebben gezien of beschreven gevonden. Het is het *mawintih*. Moeten wij dat woord en de zaak tevens in eenen beschrijven, dan zouden wij het vertalen door "kuitschoppen". Een jongen zet zijn eene been voruit, en steunt het vast tegen den grond. Een ander komt op zijde van genen, en schopt of slaat met zijn voet of zijne scheen, met groot en woest geweld den eersten tegen de kuit. Soms komt de slag zoo geweldig aan, dat de kuit splijt, en het bloed naar alle zijden henen spat. Dit is vooral dan het geval, als zij het spel reeds eenigen tijd hebben volgehouden. In enkele gevallen zijn er sommigen ook met gebroken beenen afgekomen. Wij hebben dit spel ook door volwassen Sangireezen zien spelen."

Evidently *mawintih* is the same word as the Bare-e *mowinti*. In Kantewoe and Koelawi I never saw this game so roughly played as described by GRAAFLAND.

In his book "De landschappen Holontalo etc.", RIEDEL on page 144 mentions a sport called *mobinti*, which may be identical with the *mowinti* of the Poso Toradja. Speaking of men's games RIEDEL says: " . . . en de *mobinti*, het met geweld slaan der kuiten van twee personen tegen elkander, een spel van den geringen man."

In the Macassar Peninsula the game is slightly different. MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 128, describes it as follows: "Ook heeft men eene soort van spel, waarbij twee of drie jongens zich naast elkander plaatsen, met het eene been voor- en het andere achterwaarts, terwijl dan twee of drie andere jongens één voor één zoo hard mogelijk met hun eene been tegen die drie vereenigde beenen aanslaan (Boeg. *lanjtja*, Mak. *lâñjdja*)."

There is no detailed account of this game in MATTHES's Dictionaries, but on p. 557 of the Mac. Dictionary is given a game called *sêmpá*, which appears to be similar to the above described kicking. We read: "*sêmpâ, ásêmpá, áñjêmpá*, achteruit slaan, schoppen; soort van spel, waarbij de jongens elkander schoppen."

In Koelawi and Kantewoe and at other places in the north-western part of Central Celebes I think the sport of kicking is practised at any time of the year, but according to KRUYT it is not the same with the Poso Toradja in the eastern part of Central Celebes. This authority on p. 388 of Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" writes as follows: "Dit kuitschoppen en kuitslaan doet men op feesten waar veele menschen bij elkaar zijn. Bepaald voorgeschreven is het bij het plantfeest, omdat de geesten het bij die gelegenheid gaarne zien."

This statement does not explain the meaning of the game but it makes it likely that it is not a mere pastime but rather a magical performance connected with the natives' belief in spirits whom it is necessary to please in order to get good crops, and no doubt the game is an old one in Celebes. If it is native to this island, or not, I cannot decide, but as far as I am aware there is no record of this game from any place outside Celebes.

Certainly "Encyel. v. Ned. Indië", Vol. IV, page 58, states that "kuitschoppen" and "kuitslaan" are sports commonly known among the natives all over the Malay Islands, but they only refer to KRUYT's statement from C. Celebes.

Swimming.

On the coasts of Celebes the natives take a great pleasure in bathing and swimming. In the interior of the country the natives also are fond of bathing, but swimming cannot be practised at many places. All big rivers are too swift and small rivers too shallow to allow this sport. In the big lakes such as Lake Poso, the crocodiles prevent the natives from bathing.

As mentioned in the foregoing, it was a favourite sport with the boys at Donggala to chase one another in small canoes, a sport which could not be carried on unless the players were skilled swimmers. Other boys, having no canoes, but bathing at the same time as those trying to upset the canoes of one another, would fight for the possession of a small canoe when upset, and those standing on the pier occasionally would join the party playing in the water either of their own accord, or they were pushed into the water by some practical joker on the pier. I never saw any races or real swimming games at Donggala.

At Bwool, a village on the north coast of Celebes, to which I payed a short visit, natives of both sexes, adults as well as children, took a great pleasure in bathing every evening before sunset. Small children kept close to the shore in shallow water. They did not wear any clothes. Those who could swim preferred deep water. All wore a sarong which the men tied round their waist, the women under their arms.

In the Macassar Peninsula the boys appear to be very expert swimmers, playing for instance tag while bathing. MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 128, describes their games in water as follows: "Ook in het zwemmen zijn ze meestal zeer bedreven. Van daar dat de jongens dikwerf al zwemmende krijgertje spelen. Dit spel heet dan in het Boegineesch en Makassaaarsch zooveel als *met zout spelen* (Boeg. *mápâd̃̃je-pâd̃̃je*, Mak. átj̃éla-tj̃éla),

omdat zulks meestal in zee geschiedt. Het water wordt dan eerst terdege geroerd, zoodat er belletjes ontstaan. In dit schuim moest ieder zijne vingers steken, en wie te laat komt, zoodat de belletjes reeds verdwenen zijn, moet het eerst de anderen vangen. Zoodra hij één der jongens achterhaald heeft, moet deze op zijne beurt de krijger zijn, enz.

The Bantâëñg heet dit spel *kraal-eendje spelen* (*kîtí-kîtíbâlañg*).

Som swordt dit *zwemspel* ook nog met een andere benaming bestempeld, die zoowel in het Boegineesch als Makassaarsch te kennen geeft, dat de jongens om beurten *met de vingers in het waater te knippen en zoodoende een zeker geluid voort te beengen hebben.* En hij wien dit mislukt, moet dan het eerst de andere jongens al zwemmende zien te krijgen."

Frog Game.

In the Macassar Peninsula there is a game practised by small girls, exactly like the game in Swedish called "hoppa kråka", at which the performers jump from a squatting position, skipping like a bird. MATTHES in his "Bijdr. tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes" calls it the frog game. To judge from his Dictionaries, the game is practised among the Orang Macassar as well as among the orang Bugis. In his "Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek" we read on p. 44: *"koenrêpá, ákoenrêpa,* soort van kinderspel, voor kleine meisjes. Deze zitten daarbij op de hurken, en met de handjes nevens den schoot. In deze positie moeten zeij even als kikvorsehen in de hoogte springen."

In the Bugis Dictionary there is on p. 24 the same description of the game, which in the Bugis language is called *mákoeñrêpá.*

Hand-clapping Game.

MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 130, mentions a game which he calls "Handjeklapp". In his Bugis Dictionary we find on page 312 the word *tempo*

which is rendered with "klappen, kloppen, met de hand op iets slaan", and "*Têm̃pa-Dj̃âwa*, soort van kinderspel, te verglijken met ons *handjeklap*, gespeeld door twee kinderen". In the Macassar Dictionary there is on page 287 the same explication.

I never saw this game in Celebes, nor do such authorities as GRAAFLAND, KRUYT, and ELBERT record it from this island, which makes it likely that it is only known in the Macassar Peninsula. Its name here, *Têm̃pa-Dj̃âwa*, Javanese Hand-Clapping, points to Java, from where the game in all probability was brought to Celebes. However, I have no reference of any hand-clapping game from Java, nor from any other place in the Malayan Islands. This does not preclude the possibility that it is known a little everywhere, at least in the western part of the Archipelago, since in the eastern part of Asia hand-clapping games are common and in great favour with the natives of China, Japan, and Korea, according to CULIN (Korean Games, p. 48).

This authority states that "Hand-clapping is played by children in the Eastern United States in practically the same manner as in Eastern Asia", which must be taken to indicate that this is a game of great age and conservative nature. According to CULIN it was known among the ancient peoples living on the coasts of the Mediterranean. He says in the above work on page 48: "The Romans and the ancient Greeks and Egyptians were familiar with the fist and hand-clapping games, of which they appear to have had a great variety".

Under these circumstances the Hand-clapping game may just as well have come to the Malayan Archipelago from the Mediterranean countries as from Eastern Asia.

Jumping between paddy pestles.

I myself have not seen this sport but GRAAFLAND records it from Minahassa in N. Celebes and KRUYT from Central Celebes, and evidently it is just the same in both places.

GRAAFLAND describes it as follows in "De Minahassa", Vol. I, p. 285: "Over twee balken, die parallel twee voet van elkander liggen, plaatst men dwars een paar stukken hard en zwaar hout, ter lengte wan viif à zes voet en ter dikte van ongeveer drie rijnl. duimen. Gewoonlijk bezigde men de rijststampers—dodutu (Mal.), alu (Al.)). Die zware stokken zijn rond en glad, en glijden gemakkelijk over de beschreven balken.

Aan weerzijde der balken zitten mannen, die de einden der stokken vasthouden, en gereed zijn ze van elkander te doen verwijderen en snel weder tegen elkander te slaan. Terwijl nu de stokken zich verwijderen, springt iemand er met snelheid tusschen in, maar verlaat ook weder even snel de plaats, of zijne beenen of een derzelvde zijn tusschen de stokken gekomen, vastgeklemd en zwaar bezeerd. Het komt dus aan op vlugheid in het springen. Degenen, die de stokken vasthouden, doen die hoe langer zoo sneller bewegen, en het springen en wagen wordt in dezelfde mate ook hachelijker. Zelden liep dit spel (*doduto* spel genaamd) af zonder ongelukken van gekneusde beenen of gebroken ledematen."

Among the amusements connected with the harvest feast of the Poso Toradja, KRUYT in Vol. II, p. 291 of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" mentions this game, and on p. 388 he describes it as follows: " . . twee rijststampers worden door twee tegenover elkander zittende personen horizontaal vastgehouden en op bepaalde maat, op twee op den grond liggende balken en daarna tegen elkaar geslagen. Een ander springt dan tusschen deze stampers in; hij moet maken, dat zijn been zich niet tusschen de stampers bevindt op het oogenblik, dat ze tegen elkaar geslagen worden, waartoe het noodig is om strikt in de maat te springen."

It seems likely to my mind that this sport originally was of a magical performance, since it was practised by the Poso Toradja in connection with the paddy harvest which is always celebrated with a great number of reli-

gious, or magical ceremonies, and in all probability it was not confined to Minahassa and the eastern part of Central Celebes. True enough, I did not see it in Koelawi in NW. Central Celebes where I spent more than eight months, but this may be due to the fact that I arrived at the end of May when the harvest was finished.

Being a sport which is practised in connection with the paddy harvest it comes easy to assume that it was introduced into Celebes with the cultivation of paddy, possibly with the cultivation of paddy in flooded fields.

If this was the case, we could expect the sport to be known in the Macassar Peninsula among the Orang Bugis and the Orang Macassar as well as in Java, from where the cultivation of paddy in sodden fields presumably was carried on to Celebes.

WEULE in his "Leitfaden der Volkerkunde", p. 132, describes a similar game from Borneo. We read as follows: "Wollen die Dajakfrauen das geisttötende Reisstampfen unterbrechen, so legen sie zwei Stampfer quer, zwei andere senkrecht dazu darüber. Zwei Frauen ergreifen die letzten, eine dritte tritt in das Stampfervierеck. Jetzt schlagen die ersten beiden die oberen Stampfer im Takt, aber in den verschiedensten Modifikationen gegen die unteren und gegeneinander, wobei die Tänzerin Sorge zu tragen hat, dass sie in den kritischen Augenblicken weit über aller Gefahr in der Luft schwebt."

Since the game is known also among the Dyaks of Borneo, it seems likely to my mind that it has, or had, a wider range in the Malay Archipelago than would appear from the statements found in the literature.

Tug-of-war.

(Map 2.)

At least in NE. Celebes this sport appears to be connected with the harvest festival. During my sojourn in Lamala in 1919 a harvest feast was given near the village of

Soekon. In the entertainments partook a Dutch lieutenant who represented the Dutch Government in this part of Celebes, a number of native village headmen, schoolmasters, and a great number of children attending school. This was the first time that paddy had been cultivated in wet fields, the natives up to that date only knowing how to grow it in fields cleared with fire.

When the cutting of the paddy, straw by straw, was finished and the spikelets had been made up into bundles just so big that they could be clasped in one hand, the party entertained themselves with various pastimes of European as well as native kind.

The Tug-of-war was one of the amusements on this occasion. The rope was a rattan, about twenty meters long. In the field where the paddy had grown it was placed on the ground, the middle of the rope resting on top of the low bank of earth that separates the squares of a paddy field from one another. Some boys and young men seized the opposite ends of the rope, one party endeavouring to pull the other party over.

This sport is so closely similar to the European game that one is inclined to think that it was introduced from Europe. There are, however, several facts pointing to another origin.

The Tug-of-war is not unknown in the eastern part of Indonesia (Map 2). RIEDEL in his book "De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Celebes en Papua" records it from Babar, a small island situated to the east of Timor. On p. 364 we read as follows: "Bij langdurige droogte wordt des avonds de *rawuhui latona* gespeeld, de zoogenaamde *hela rotan*." There seems to be a special kind of "pulling rope", practised by children, RIEDEL on the same page stating: "De kinderen speelen met. . . . een tow van twintig meter, waaraan van beide zijden getrokken wordt. Deze pret heet *pesìpes*."

Rope-pulling according to the same authority also is a

sport among the natives of the Ceramlaoet or the Goram Islands.[1] On p. 186 of the above quoted book he says: "De kinderen... hebben... het towtje-trekken, *dalenga desa taliraa*." He does not give any further particulars, but it seems to be a sport merely for children, since he adds that girls may join in it till they are ten years old.

SACHSE in his book "Seran en zijne bewoners" records the Tug-of-war from Ceram. On p. 164 he writes: "Bij het 'hela rotan' verdeelt men zich in twee partijen, die aan een lange rotan trekkende, elkander zoeken te overmeesteren, Dit spel geschied alleen bij volle maan." This restriction as to time no doubt invests the performance with a magical or religious character.

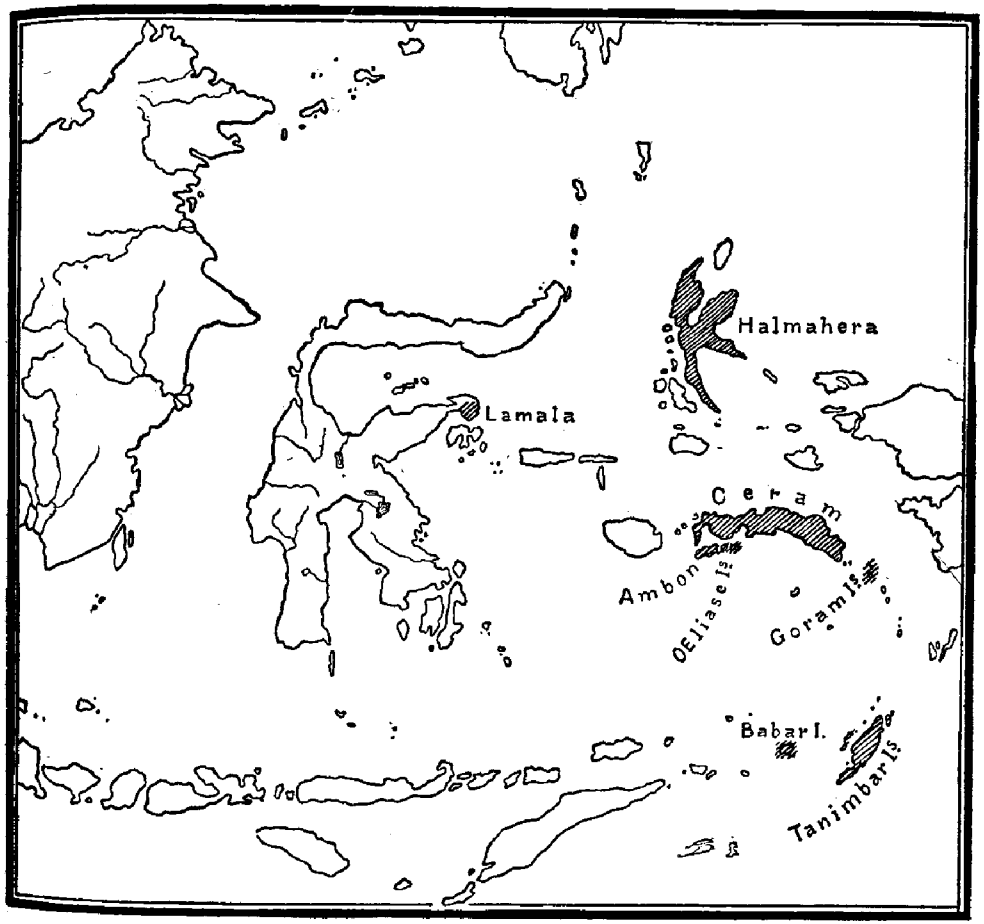
RIEDEL also records the Tug-of-war from Ambon as well as from the small islands to the east of Ambon, the so called Oeliase. He does not mention any special island of this group which makes it likely that the sport in question is practised in all of them. In "De Sluik- en kroesharige Rassen" he writes on page 84 as follows: "Het zeer geliefkoosde spel der volwassenen is de *rihi wua* of het trekken aan den rotan, aan wiens eene uiteinde de mannen en aan het andere de vrouwen met krachtinspanning trachten de overwinning te behalen. Dit spel heeft ook onder begleiding der *tihalo*[2] plaats."

Although RIEDEL does not say that the Tug-of-war is a sport connected with the harvest, the fact that men will pull at one end of the rattan, women at the other, seems to point to its being a fecundity rite in the form met with in Halmahera. In "BUSCHAN, Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, p. 910, HEINE-GELDEBN writes: "Für die Fruchtbarkeitsfeste sind häufig symbolisch dargestellte geschlechtliche Handlungen (z. B. Tauziehen zwischen der Gesamtheit der Jünglinge und der Mädchen bei mehreren Naga- und Kuki-Tschin-Stammen und auf Halmahera)... charakteristisch."

[1] RIEDEL writes these names Seranglao-, or Gorong I[s].

[2] Kind of drum.

Evidently the Tug-of-war is played in the same manner in Halmahera as by the natives of Ambon and the Oeliase Isls, and, since it is a fecundity rite in Halmahera, I do not think we are far out if we presume that the same is the case in Ambon and the Oeliase Isls.



Mao 2. The Tug-of-war in E. Indonesia.

SCHRÖDER describes a special kind of tug-of-war with which the natives of Nias amuse themselves. The sides, each from three to twelve persons, will range in a line seizing the hands of their neighbours, and endeavoring to pull their opponents over a mark in the middle.

As far as I am aware there are no further literary records of the Tug-of-war in Indonesia, but a Salvation Army officer, who worked for fifteen years in Java, tells me that the tug-of-war is a sport often practised by children in that island. The Malay term "hela rotan" (to pull the rattan) is an expression you will often hear, which makes it likely that this sport is more commonly known in the Malay Archipelago than would appear from the rather scarce records found in the literature. A close investigation of the matter no doubt would prove that the game of Tug-of-war is, or was, known also in the western part of Indonesia as will as in the Little Sunda Islands. We can also expect to find it in the Malay Peninsula, since HEINE GELDERN records it as a fecundity rite among the Naga and Kuki Tschin Tribes living further to the north.

The Tug-of-war also is practised in China and Japan. In his book "Korean Games", p. 35, CULIN states the following: "The tug-of-war is a common amusement among schoolboys in Japan under the name of *Tsuna hiki*, or "Rope-pulling". In a note at the foot of the page we read as follows: "According to *The Japanese Months*, on the 15th day of the eighth month, in the old calendar, people turned out to admire the full moon and made offerings to it of *dango*, a kind of cake made of rice, beans, and sugar. This sport known as "Tug-of-war" — in Japanese *Tsuna-hiki*, or "rope-pulling" — afforded amusement on the same evening to the boys of rival villages or to contending parties belonging to the same place, grown-up persons sometimes joining in the fun. Each party furnished itself with a large rope made of rice-straw, having a loop at one end. A stick was passed through the two loops, thus uniting the ropes, and then the two sides commenced to tug. Whichever party was pulled over the dividing line was derided and crowed over, and the same ignominy befel the party whose rope happened to break during the strain. This practice, however, is now a thing of the past.

From the middle of July to the middle of August is an anxious period for the farmers, whose rice plants are in danger of perishing from lack of water, should no rain fall for several consecutive days."

From this is evident that the Tug-of-war formerly was a magical performance in Japan, possibly a rite of fecundity meant to make the paddy prosper.

In Korea the Tug-of-war still seems to be connected with the harvest, CULIN in his above quoted book, p. 35, writing as follows: "TJOUL-TA-RI-KI — ROPE-PULLING (TUG-OF-WAR). This is played by any number of boys at a certain time of year, about the 15th of the first month. In the country the entire population of districts and villages engage against other districts or villages at this season. It is believed that the village that wins will have a good harvest. The rope is of straw, two feet in diameter, with its ends divided into branches. The men take the main stem, and the women the branches. The latter frequently do more than the men, as it is customary for them to load their skirts with stones on these occasions. The *Dictionnaire Coréen Français* gives the name of this rope as *Kei-tjoul*, and defines it as a "rope which they pull by the two ends to secure abundance".

Lastly I wish to mention a special form of this sport as practised at Laur in the central part of New Mecklenburg. In his book "Das Kind", PLOSS on p. 288 describes this game. Some boys or young men will take opposite sides, and the boys engaged on one side will lie down on the ground, on their backs, putting their feet to the ground, one end of a long rattan in their hands. Their opponents will pull so as to make the boys on the ground sit up. In case of success the sides are changed. The author does not tell whether this sport is practised in connection with a harvest festival.

Into Lamala in NE. Celebes the Tug-of-war may have been introduced from Ambon with which island it has several cultural elements in common. This may to a certain extent be ascribed to the Ambonese schoolmasters, working

in the missionary schools in this part of Celebes. There is however, reason to think that the Tug-of-war is of much older date than mission in Lamala.

As mentioned before, the natives diverted themselves with the Tug-of-war at a harvest feast. On the same occassion they danced the *soemawi*, a dance which when I saw it was quite decent, but twenty years ago was followed by wild sexual orgies every night for two or three weeks at the time of the harvest.

The Tug-of-war, as well as sexual intercourse we meet as fecundity rites among other rather primitive tribes. HEINE GELDERN in "Buschan, Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, p. 910," writes:

"Für die Fruchtbarkeitsfeste sind häufig symbolisch dargestellte *geschlechtliche Handlungen* (z. B. Tauziehen zwischen der Gesamtheit der Jünglinge und der Mädchen bei mehreren Naga- und Kuki-Tschin-Stämmen und auf Halmahera) oder aber eine tatsächliche geschlechtliche Vermischung ohne Rücksicht auf das Eheband oder sonstige Regeln charakteristisch, wie sie bei gewissen orgiastischen Festen der Tangkhul-Naga in Manipur, einiger Taistamme im nördlichen Tongking, einiger Dayakstämme in Westborneo und stellenweise im östlichen Indonesien als Fruchtbarkeitsritus vorkommt."

Thus we see that the Tug-of-war and sexual orgies as fecundity rites occur at some scattered places from the westernpart of Burma to the most easterly tracts of Insulinde. In all probability they have their origin in common, and it seems likely to my mind that the Tug-of-war and the *soemawi* both are of old date in Lamala.

Possibly the Tug-of-war, which strangely enough does not appear to be generally known in Celebes, was introduced into Lamala from the Sultanate of Ternate, the Sultan formerly being the master of the eastern part of NE. Celebes, and the intercourse between Ternate and NE. Celebes being considerable.

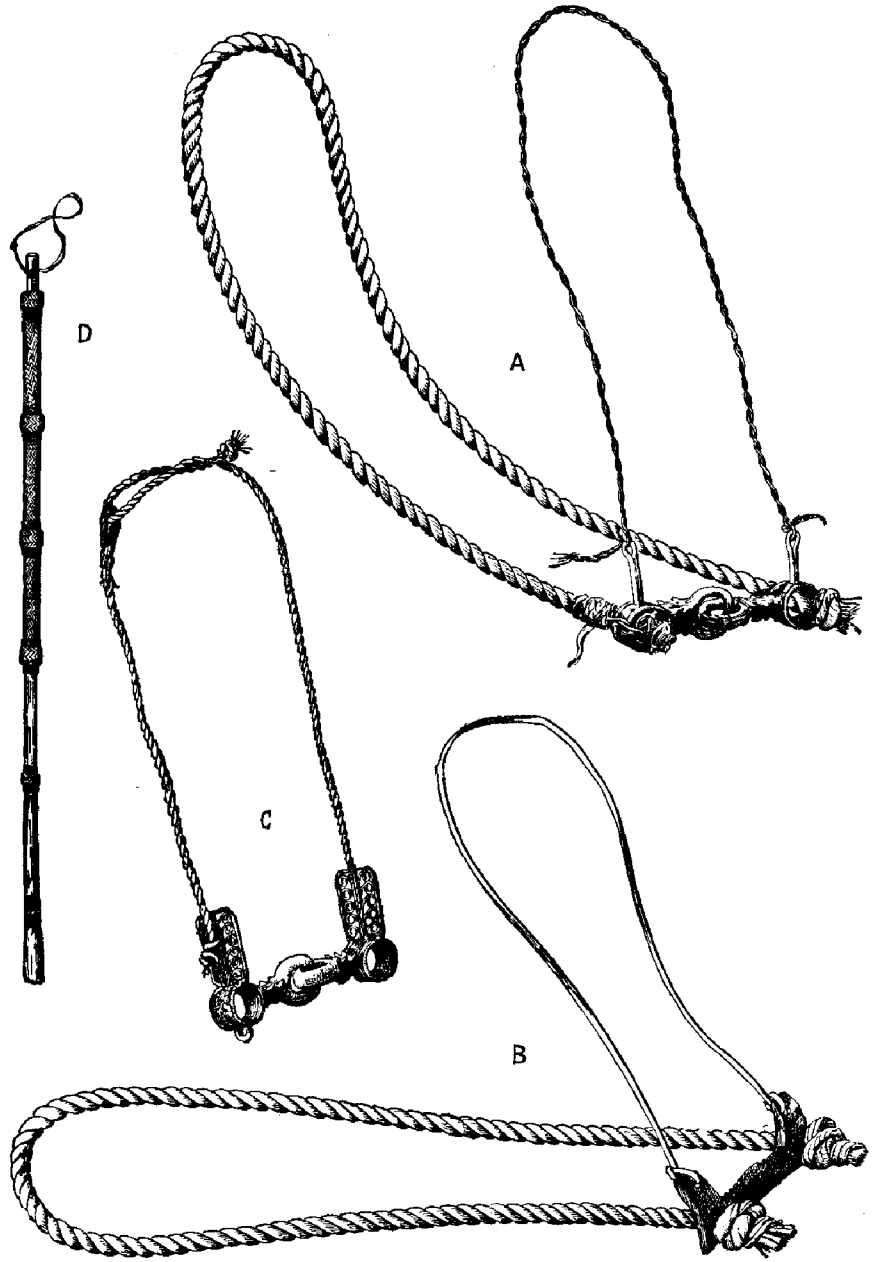


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Fig. 13. *Bridles and Horsewhip.* NW. Central Celebes. A, C, and D from Koelawi; B from Toro.
(A KAUDERN coll. No. 1065; C id. No. 1067; D id. No. 1036; B id. No. 2218.)

Reding and Horse Races.

The sport of riding naturally only can be practised in Celebes in such districts where there is a plentiful supply of horses. In the mountain districts of NW. Central Celebes there are only few horses. In Pipikoro no horse was ever seen, the Koro being to swift to allow a horse to cross it. The natives of this district believe that if such an animal were brought into their country, this would not fail to bring misfortune. In Fig. 13 is seen a bridle and a horse-whip that I acquired in Koelawi.

Among the Orang Bugis and the Orang Macassar who have a rich supply of horses, riding is a favourite sport which they display especially in hunting deer. The same is the case in the Paloe Valley. Also The natives of Parigi are said to be clever horsemen. In N. Celebes the horse also is used for riding.

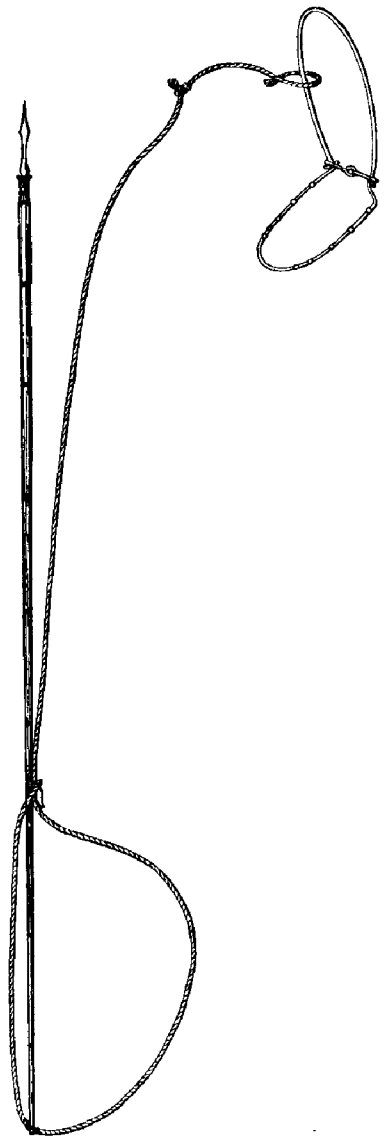
In the Paloe Valley the natives for ordinary riding place a cushion on the back of the horse but they do not fasten it with a girth. They sit on it, riding astride, with their heels pressed against the sides of the horse, and it is rather a strange sight to see a man seated in this manner galloping along, now and then urging on his horse with a kick in its flank.

When hunting deer the natives ride bare-backed, seated on one side, one foot raised to the withers, grasping the mane between the first and the second toe. They dash over plains and through the bush, pursuing the deer, a method of hunting that demands skilled riders.

Among the Poso Toradja hunting on horseback is unknown, and they hardly seem to use the horse for riding. When I visited their districts in 1919 I saw only a few horses, which in all probability were lately introduced into the country. KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" does not mention the horse when speaking of the domestic animals of the Poso Toradja.

Apparently horses and the sport of riding do not appertain to the Toradja, exept in the Paloe Valley, where horses as well as deer-hunting from horseback probably were introduced by the Orang Bugis. In the Macassar Peninsula, where deer-hunting is a great sport, the native princes used to arrange splended hunting parties.

In his "Bijdr. tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", MATTHES describes deer-hunting on horseback, and in the March number 1849 of "Das Ausland", we find on pp. 207 and 208 a vivid description of such a deer-hunt, which I shall quote below. It runs as follows: »Ihr Hauptvergnügen ist aber die Jagd zu Pferde, welche vorzüglich gegen Hirsche und wilde Büffel angestellt wird. . . . . Zu dieser Jagd dressieren die Makassaren und Buginesen die besten ihrer vortrefflichen Pferde, und kein Europäer kann es wagen ohne die grösste Lebensgefahr mitzujagen. . . . . Solche Jagdpferde heissen sie Kuda perlari (Rennpferde). . . . Wenig Pferde halten es lange aus, wie man leicht aus der Beschreibung dieser Jagd einsehen wird."



From MATTHES.

Fig. 14. *Lance with snare.* Attached to the bidle. Used by the natives in the Macassar Peninsula when hunting deer from the horseback.

"Der Jäger sitzt auf makassar'sche Weise zu Pferde, d. h. er hat nur ein kleines loses Kissen, und soll eher den

Rücken des Pferdes, als seine Cluteen wund reiten; an dem messingenen Gebisse ist eine Schlinge fest gemacht, und die Zügel von Rottang hält er mit ausgestrecktem linkem Arme hinter den Ohren desselben gefasst." (Fig. 14).

Notwithstanding their prowess in riding, the Orang Bugis, the Orang Macassar, and the natives of the Paloe

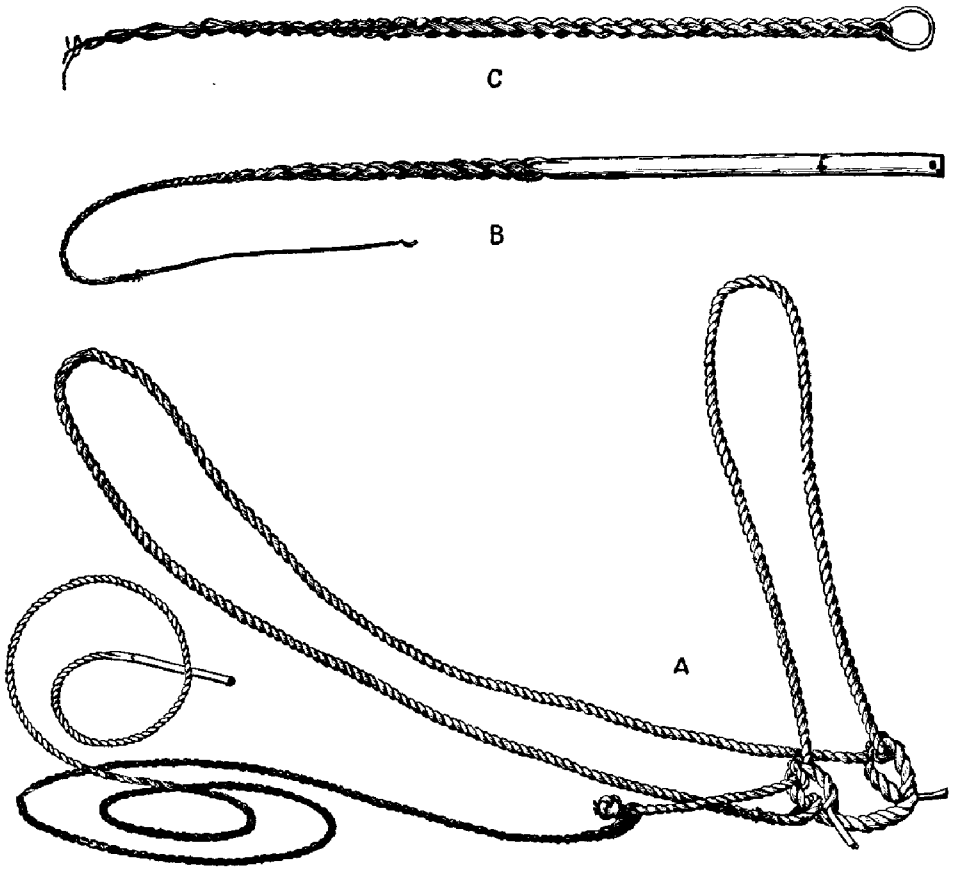


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Fig. 15. *Bridle and horsewhips.* Mongondou. N. Celebes. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 814; B id. No. 40; C id. No. 39.)

Valley, never arrange horse races in European style, a fact which MATTHES points out in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. van Zuid-Celebes".

Lately the Dutch have introduced horse races into Celebes. At Goeroepahi, a gold mine in Bolaang Mongondou

in N. Celebes, the New Year was celebrated with horse races as well as other diversions. In a clearing in the forest a race-course was made, decorated with streamers and flags. From the top of a small hill the European spectators watched the races. The horses were of the small breed common to the Malayan Islands, and the jockeys were small native boys riding without a saddle and without stirrups. As a rule they did not even use the short rein (Fig. 15 A), having in each hand a whip plaited of rattan (Fig. 15 B, C) with which they furiously belaboured the flanks of their horses. They guided their steeds with kicks in the ribs, all the time shouting at the top of their voices. Now and then a horse would stumble and the little jockey would roll to the ground, but in no time he would catch his horse, mount it, and go on at a wild pace.

Most of the young riders understood their business very well, and some of them were so clever that if they had gained only half the length of a horse from a rival, they did not allow him to pass, be his horse ever so swift. A great many horses and jockeys appeared, one event following upon the other, and it was not until late that the races were finished. The winner of the prize got a Dutch flag as a token of victory, and with this flag in his hand the owner of the winning horse rode in triumph through the village.

Similar races are arranged at most big places in Celebes where the supply of horses is sufficient, but just as at Goeroepahi they were lately introduced by the Dutch.

Sailing.

In Celebes I never saw any real sailing matches, but often two boats bound for the same place would compete with one another to see who would be the first to get in.

In the beginning of 1917 I made a trip from Menado, the chief town of Minahassa in N. Celebes, to Palaes, a small village on the coast further to the north-east. Two big fishing boats took us back to Menado. Each boat was rowed by

eight men, four on each side. Singing and striking the gunwale with their paddles, and keeping good time, they did their best to come in first to Menado. These fishermen, however, were no natives of Celebes. They had come from Ternate, or some neighbouring island, the natives of which often visit the bigger places on the east coast of Celebes, where they will stay to fish for some time.

Horsemen and Horses.

This is a children's game that I have not seen myself, but MATTHES records it in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", writing on page 129 of this book: "het paardje spelen, of zoo als de Makassaren het noemen *hoofddoekje gooijen*, omdat de eene helft der jongens voor paarden, de andere voor ruiters speelt, die elkander al rijdende een hoofddoek toegooijen, zoolang totdat die valt."

In his Bugis Dictionary, p. 848, he gives the Bugis word for this game *takâñja-kañjârañg*, from the word for horse, *añjârañg*. According to his Macassar Dictionary, p. 223, the game in this language is *bôêwang-bôêwang pasâpoe*, from *bôêwang*, to throw, and *pasâpoe*, a kind of handkerchief. The dictionaries do not provide us with a full description of the game. They only say that a boy who drops the handkerchief, or who fails to catch it, has to change with his "horse", the "horse" then becoming a rider.

This game appears to be an imitative game, but I have no record of any game in which adults mounted on horseback throw an object between them.

Tag.

In his Bugis Dictionary MATTHES describes a kind of tag, the name of which is *malôdjo-lôdjo*, from *lôdjo*, leech. It is played like this. By drawing lots is decided who is "It". This is done by taking the same number of long, narrow leaves as the number of the boys who are going to play. In one leaf is made a knot. The boy who draws this leaf is "It". When he has caught another boy, he must cling to him like a leech.

According to MATTHES's "Bijdr. tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", pag. 129, there is another Tag game, in the Bugis as well as the Macassar languages called *dênde*. The boy who is »It» in *dende* must hop on one leg when trying to catch one of the boys playing. *Dênde* means to stand on one foot.

In all probability the *dende* is not native to Celebes, since no similar game is recorded from any place in that island. It may have been introduced from the west, or the south-west, possibly from Java, but there is, as yet, no record of such a game from Java.

A similiar game, however, once was practised in the southern part of Europe. HIRN in his book "Barnlek" on page 91 makes a comparison between the Blind-man's-buff and the hopping Tag. If we adopt the explanation that the one who is "It" represents the devil, the Hornie game as well as Blind-man's-buff are similar to a kind of tag practised by the classical peoples, at which a hopping person tries to tuch one of the party with a stick, it is said in imitation of the one-legged spirit Empusa, whom some linguists consider to be a fury and other say is identic with Hekate himself.

The similarity of the old classic game with the *dênde* is so striking that I am inclined to think that they are the same game, which would not be impossible, the intercourse between SE. Europe and W. Asia being in olden times considerable. From Europe it may have spread to India over Persia, and from India it possibly found its way to the Malay Archipelago during the Hindoo Period.

This explanation may seem rather strained. It is a matter of fact, however, that this is not the only cultural element which has found its way from Persia over India and Java to South Celebes. In Vol. III of this Series

I have shown that for instance the double clarinet in all probability spread along the same line from the west to the east.

Blind-man's-buff.

This game also is recorded by MATTHES from the Macassar Peninsula, and it seems to be the same as the European game, although the natives of Celebes call it the "Cat game". MATTHES does not give any details neither in his "Bijdragen", nor in his Bugis Dictionary, in which is stated on p. 258 that *mámêyoñg-mêyoñg* comes from *mêyoñg*, cat, and that the cat game is similar to Blind-man's-buff.

No doubt this game, just as the previous one, is alien to Celebes, since it is not known to the tribes slightly or not at all influenced by foreign cultures.

Outside Celebes Blind-man's-buff is known at widely separated places. In Java, the European as well as the half-blooded children amuse themselves with this game which they call "Jacob, where are you?". My informant, a Salvation Army officer, could not tell whether this game was known to the Javanese children or not.

According to CULIN, Blind-man's-buff is known in Japan, Korea, and China (Korean games, p. 54); In Europe we meet it under various names.

Not knowing how the game is played in Celebes it is impossible to make comparisons, but it is to be noticed that the name of the game, Cat game, does not refer to the blinding of the person who is "It", as is the case in all other languages. According to CULIN, the Korean name is *Ka-mek-tjap-ki* which means "in the dark catching", the Japanese word is *Me kakushi*, "Eye hiding". The Bugis "Cat game" rather corresponds, to some European names such as the Swedish "blindbock", the German "Blinde Kuh", and "Blind Harie", the latter according to Hirn meaning the blind, hairy one, *i. e.* the Devil, or some of his assistants. HIRN is of the opinion that in all probability the person

blinded represents an evil-minded spirit, the Devil, or a demon, or a dangerous animal wanting to butt whom it can get at.

The Bugis Cat game may have derived its name from the cat, being rather dangerous, at least to certain kinds of small animals. Besides, at many places apart from Europe the cat is considered to be evil-boding. At the village of Kanda in Ondae in Central Celebes I heard a tale of a cat who was offended by a girl and who brought on an earthquake.

The origin of Blind-man's-buff in Celebes cannot be cleared up until we know its distribution in the Malayan Islands, of which the literature as yet has nothing to tell as far as I am aware.

Motoetoe djaja.

This is a very simple game that ADRIANI describes in his dictionary, page 880. We read as follows: "*Motoetoe djaja* (*L. montoetoe djaja*), een spel: één loopt rechtop, een ander houdt zich aan hem vast en volgt hem in gebukte houding, telkens vragende: toetoe[2] djaja, djelamo? vertel waar we zijn, zijn we er al? antw.: *bapa*, nog niet."

Walking round a pole.

This is an amusement for babies recorded by MATTHES in his "Bijdragen", p. 131. A pole is driven into the ground, a bamboo cylinder is slid over it, and a handle is attached to the cylinder. The child will take hold of the handle and walk round the pole, learning to walk in this manner.

Bôêlóekôêmpa.

This is a toy for babies recorded by MATTHES. A sort of chaplet is made from Lontar leaves and adorned with bits of cloth of different colours. It is suspended in front of a baby lying on its back, and the child will take a pleasure in

snatching at the chaplet. In his Bugis Dictionary, p. 220, MATTHES says that this toy because of its multitude of colours is called *bôêlóekôêmpa parêga-êga*, from *êga*, *mâêga*, much. The corresponding word is in the Macassar language *bôêlóekôêmba*.

II. Sports requiring skilful handling of some implement.

In this group I have brought together a number of games at which the skill in handling an implement or toy is the essential thing, the bodily exercise being of less importance.

Stilts.

(Maps 3 and 4.)

In Celebes stilts are mentioned from Minahassa and Mongondou in N. Celebes, from the Paloe Valley, the Poso District and Mori in C. Celebes, as well as from the Macassar Peninsula. Moreover I also have a reference from the Island of Boeton, situated near the coast of SE. Celebes. (Map 3)

Stilts in Celebes are as a rule made of bamboo. In Mongondou in N. Celebes I acquired for my collection two pairs of stilts, Noss. 567 (26. 9. 660.) and 568, which are made of rather stout bamboo. The length of the stilts are respectively 187 cm. and 185,5 cm. with a thickness of 3,5 cm. at the bottom where they have their greatest width. About 46 cm. from the ground there is a foot-rest. This is a bamboo cylinder closed by a node near its outer end and pierced by two opposite holes. It is slid over the stilt and kept in position by means of a branch left in the stilt (Fig. 16 A).

The performer, in mounting his stilts, does not place his feet in the same manner as do our European children. He supports the whole sole of his foot on the foot-rest, pushing the stilt between his big toe and the toe next to is (Fig. 16 B).

The present Dutch "Controlleur" at Kota Mobagoe, in Bolaang Mongondou, Mr. ALLAD, in a letter kindly made the following communication as to the stilts of Mongondou as well as the coconut shells used in the same manner as stilts. "Het Mongondousche woord voor *steltenloopen* en *op klapperdoppenloopen* is *mogilangkadan* (prefix: mogi-). Wil man bepaald doen uitkomen, dat op van bamboe gemakte stelten wordt geloopen, dan wordt *i aog* achtergevoegd; bij het gebruik maken van klapperdoppen kan dan *i oeká* worden achtergevoegd."

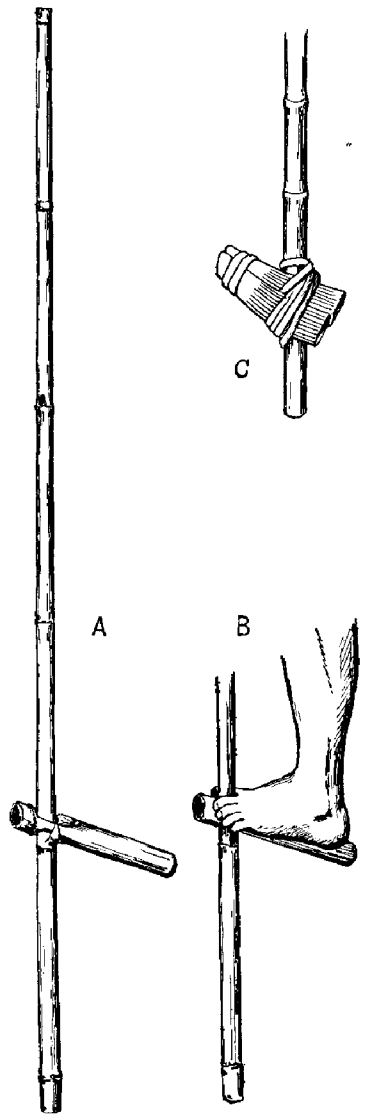

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Fig. 16. *Bamboo Stilts.* A (B) from Mongondou, N. Celebes, C from Sumatra. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 568; C after KRÄMER, Vienna Mus.)

In his book "De Minahassa", Vol. I, p. 283, GRAAFLAND in 1898 records this sport from Minahassa which is situated to the east of Mongondou. He saw it at Tomohon and at Tondano, but he does not give any details, thus we do not know whether the performer walks on his stilts in the European manner or not. Anyhow, stilt-walking appears to have been a sport much in favour with the natives of Minahassa, since, according to GRAAFLAND, a Governor of this province was obliged to forbid the use of stilts, people mounted on stilts easily being able to steal without entering a house by the staircase.

KRUYT in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend Gen." XLI, in a note at

the foot of page 52 mentions that the missionary Mr. SCHWARZ has told him that stilts are used by the natives of Minahassa.

Stilts are not unknown in Central Celebes although they are not recorded from the tribes living in the inaccessible mountain districts on the Koro and its tributaries and on the upper Paloe River. Yet, the possibility is not precluded that stilts could be know even in these tracts, since, according to a Salvation Army officer Mr. ROSENLUND, who worked for several years in NW. Central Celebes, the sport of walking on coconut shells is known also among some Koro Toradja Tribes in the interior. At all places where stilt-walking is practised in Celebes, the sport of walking on coconut shells also is known, and for this reason common stilt walking may be known in the interior of NW. Central Celebes too.[1]

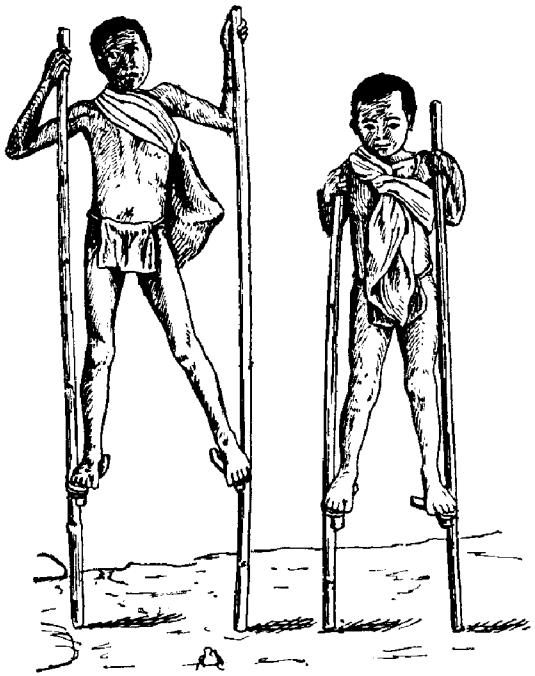
According to Mr. ROSENLUND, boys as well as girls walk on stilts in the Paloe Valley. The stilts are made of bamboo, and the children grasp the stilt between their big and second toe, placing the sole on the foot-rest in the same manner as do the Mongondou children. The Kaili word for stilt is *tilako*, the corresponding verb *motilako*.

KRUYT records stilts from the Poso Toradja. We read on p. 388 of Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" the following: "Het stelten loopen (*moloko*) is aan geen tijd gebonden, en het wordt gaarne gedaan, bijna uitsluitend door jongens. De stelt is een stuk bamboo, waaraan door middel van rotan een stukje hout stevig verbonden is. Sommige jongens hebben groote vaardigheid gekregen in dit spel. Dikwijls tracht men elkanders stelt onder het loopen weg te slaan. Ook is heel aardig de muziek, die men met de stelten weet te maken: men springt dan op een van de twee stelten, terwijl men met de ander op den grond

[1] In a letter which I received quite recently Mr. ROSENLUND writes; "You ask if I have seen stilts in Koelawi. Certainly. I believe that they are known a little everywhere, and I am quite positive about having seen stilts in the Paloe Valley, in Gimpoe, and Palolo."

stampt, waardoor een hol geluid in den bamboe ontstaat; dit wordt afgewisseld met tikken tegen de andere stelt."

In Fig. 17, a copy of a plate in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", the construction of the stilt is seen. The length appears to vary a good deal, the stilts reaching the performer to his breast or to his shoulders. The stilts of a third boy



Form KRUYT

Fig. 17. *Boys walking on bamboo stilts.* Poso Toradja, NE. Central Celebes.

in KRUYT's plate are still higher. The foot is placed transverselly in European style.

In "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen." Vol. XLI, p. 51, KRUYT states that sometimes the foot-rest is up to one meter and a half above the ground.

With the Poso Toradja, stilt-walking is allowed at any time of the year, which may be taken to indicate that it is no ritual performance with them nowadays, even if it may have been so originally.

Stilts apparently are not merely a toy with the Poso Toradja, KRUYT in 1897 in "Mededeel. Ned.Zend. Gen.", Vol. XLI, page 52, stating: "In de tuinen gebruikt men de stelten om niet met de modder in aanraking te komen, en om de rijstplanten niet te beschadigen. Het zijn meest slaven, die zich in het steltenloopen oefenen; zij moeten er dan ook iederen dag op uit. Over het geheel genomen wordt er echter weinig op stelten geloopen."

This employment of stilts makes it likely that they were not introduced here by Europeans, even if the manner of placing the foot is the same as in Europe, a supposition which is confirmed by a statement made in a letter to me from Mrs. ADRIANI. She writes: "In Posso heb ik veel zien steltloopen, *in het bovenland vooral*;[1] ik geloof niet dat Hollanders of Minahassaers het er ingevoerd hebben. Maar met zekerheid kan ik daar niets zeggen. *Al in het begin van onze komst in het Possoland heb ik het gezien.*"

If stilt-walking was known when Doctor and Mrs. ADRIANI as first Europeans came to live among the natives of the Poso district, especially being practised in the highlands, it can hardly be doubted that stilts are older in this district than the European culture.

KRUYT also records stilts from Mori, a district situated to the south-east of the Poso Districts. In 1899 when KRUYT and ADRIANI made a journey through the districts in the eastern part of Celebes, they also visited Mori. In "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XLIV, KRUYT gives an account of the ethnographical results of this journey, and on page 247 he enumerates stilts among games, saying: "De spelen hebben allen hun tijd; zoo mogen de genoemde spelen gespeeld worden tusschen den rijstoogst en het planten van den rijst." If this refers also to the use of stilts, there is a difference in stilt-walking in Mori and in the Poso District, where, according to KRUYT, this sport is not confined to any special time of the year.

[1] The italics are mine.

I have no reference from the SE. Peninsula of Celebes, but I dare say stilts are known there too, since they are found further to the south-east in the Island of Boeton. When I stayed for some months in Boeton I did not see any stilts, but in a letter the Dutch Governor of the place, Mr. P. BARETTA, tells me that children in Boeton walk on stilts. He writes: "Stelten heeten *kaodaoda*. Voor op stelten loopen bestaat geen werkwoord. Men zegt, ana ana itoe tè kaoda odana = dat kind loopt op stelten (tè = met)."

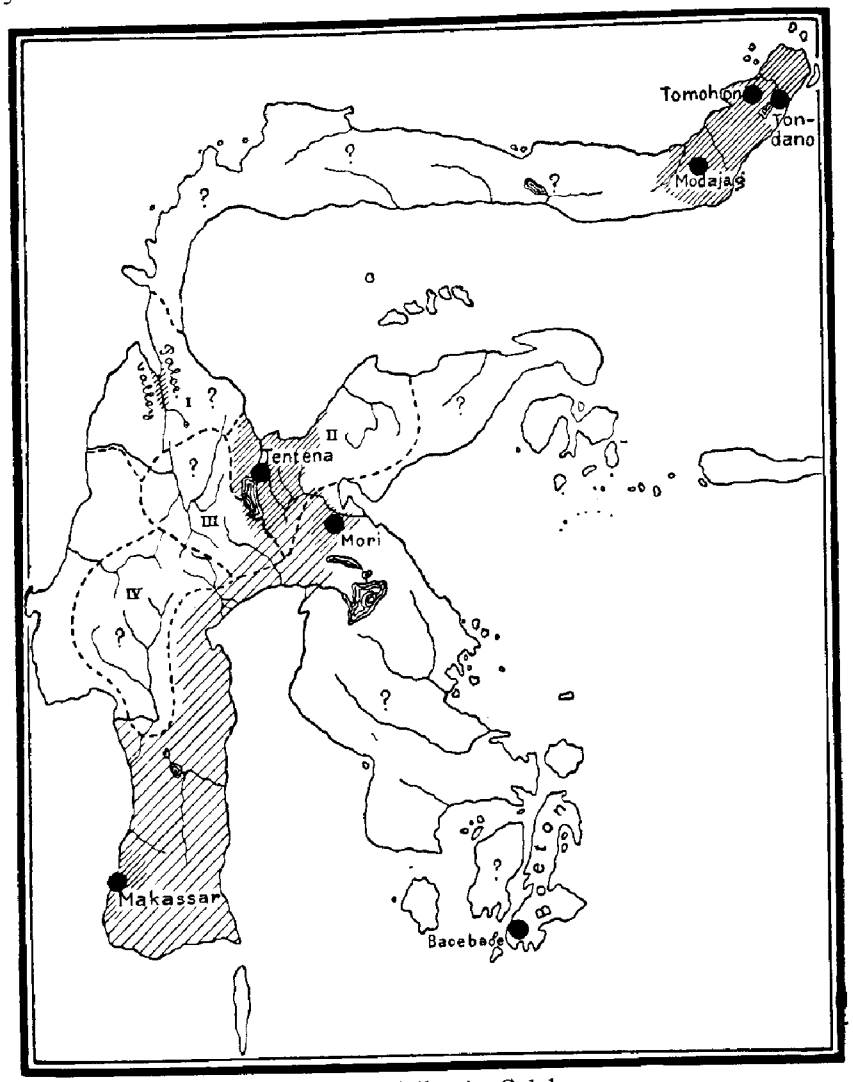
Stilts are also used in the Macassar Peninsula according to MATTHES. This author enumerates in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 129, among other amusements, stilt-walking, "het reusje spelen, ons op stelten loopen". In his Bugis Dictionary, p. 533, we read: "*Málôñgga-lôñgga*, op stelten loopen. Lôñgga, soort van reus."

MATTHES does not give any particulars as to the construction of the stilts, or the manner of walking on them. A Swedish engeneer, Mr. S. FREMER, whom I met and who lately spent seven years in the Macassar Peninsula tells me that the children place their feet transversely on the foot-rest.

The fact that two kinds of stilts are found in Celebes, one in the northerly part of the island, another in the Macassar Peninsula and among the Poso Toradja, and the To Mori, may mean that stilts were introduced into Celebes from different quarters. The same kind of stilts as used in N. Celebes and the Paloe Valley we meet in Japan. In the other islands of the Malay Archipelago there also seem to be stilts, with crosswise as well as lengthwise foot-rests. In the literature, however, there is but a single record of stilts from Indonesia, but from private letters and from conversation I learnt a good deal of the stilts of Java, Sumatra, Billiton, and Malacca.

A Swedish S. A. officer, Miss BOSTRÖM, tells me that in the towns in Java European as well as half-breed children

often will be seen practising the sport of stilt-walking in the European way. Whether the native children used stilts my informant could not say, but another S. A. officer, Miss



Map 3. Stilts in Celebes.

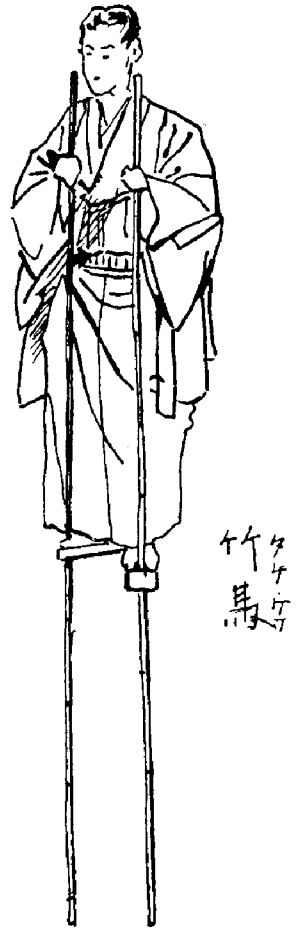
I Paloe, II Poso, III Koro, IV Saadang Toradja.

ENGLUND, who worked among the natives, had seen Javanese children walking on bamboo stilts. Occasionally a child would walk in the Japanese manner, placing the full length of the sole on the foot-rest.

A friend of mine, Mr. O. STRANDLUND, who has been living in Java for many years and visited different parts of the island, gives a detailed account of the stilt in Java. He states that stilts are used all over the island. The word for stilt is *djangkoengan*, and the corresponding verb *djadjangkoengan* in Javanese, Soendanese, and Malay. Only boys amuse themselves with this sport. They stand on the foot-rest with the whole of their foot, but they do not grasp the stilt between their toes, the bamboo being too thick, but they press their big toe against it, in that manner guiding the stilt.

In the Ethn. Museum of Vienna there are a pair of bamboo stilts from S. Sumatra, which KRÄMER figures in his book "West-Indonesien". His representation of these stilts in this book is reproduced in Fig. 16 C. Evidently the foot here should be placed transversely to the foot-rest.

In the literature there seem to be no more records of stilts in Sumatra, yet they may have rather a wide range in this island. A Swedish S. A. officer, working at Koendoer on the east coast of Sumatra, nearly on the latitude of Singapore, states in a letter to me that stilts are used in the interior of the country. The natives call them *ingkaoe*, As a rule they are made of bamboo, and he says the foot-rest is at the back of the stilt, not at one side as in European stilts. This no doubt must be taken to indicate that the the sole should press on the foot-rest similarly as in Mongondou and in Japan. (Fig. 18).



From CULIN.

Fig. 18. *Japanese Stilt-walker.*

A Swedish engineer, mr. A. WIESLANDER, working in the Island of Billiton, wrote me the other day in answer to my question if the stilt is known in Billiton the following: "*Stilts*. As to the native name in Billiton of this implement, an elderly man called them *djinka djinke*, but he is from Java, thus there is the possibility that this is a word used in Java. Small boys here say *djalan sama djangkong* (walk on stilts).

As a rule stilts are made of wood, but there are also bamboo stilts. The foot-rest is at right angles to the stilt and kept in place by means of a strecher underneath the foot-rest. In case of bamboo stilts the foot-rest is lashed to the stilt with slips of rattan, in case of wooden stilts is nailed on to the stilt".

Stilts also are known to be used in the Malay Peninsula. Dr. MEINHARD of the Berlin "Museum f. Völkerkunde", kindly communicates the following: "Ein Paar Stelzen habe ich nur unter der Nr. I C 24481 gefunden. Sie stammen von den Benua und werden nach der Katalogangabe auf alten Padi-Feldern benutzt, wo eine best. Art Nesseln wächst. Sie sind etwa 2,10 m. hoch und bestehen aus einfachen geraden Baumästen mit Zweigansatzen als Fussstütze."

It seems most likely to my mind that in this case the foot is placed transversely to the foot-rest. A remarkable fact is the use of the stilts in paddy fields, the same being the case in the eastern part of Central Celebes, as described by KRUYT.

The stilts of the Poso Toradja may have come from Loewoe, a mighty kingdom in the south inhabited by Orang Bugis, the influence of whom was considerable even among the wild tribes of the interior of Celebes. The fact that Mrs. ADRIANI states that stilts were used especially in the mountain districts in the interior of E. Central Celebes speaks in favour of the presumption that the stilt here found has come from the south and not from the coast in the north.

Stilt-walking in Celebes, either the foot be placed across or along the foot-rest, is in a certain respect different to this sport as practised in Europe. The Celebes method is seen in Fig. 17. The boy, in walking, will hold the stilts in front of and him, his arms bent, contrary to the European method with more or less down-streched arms and the stilts at the back of the shoulders.

The Poso Toradja possibly having learnt stilt walking from the Orang Bugis, it would be of great interest to know how these natives themselves as well as the Orang Macassar got aquainted with stilts. The scanty statements found in MATTHES's books do not allow any conclusions as to the origin of the stilts in the Macassar Peninsula, but possibly the name of stilt-walking, *malongga-longga*, the name of a giant, intimates that stilt-walking formerly was a ritual performance.

Of course this is mere conjecture, but at all events I do not think we make a mistake if we assume that the stilt in the Macassar Peninsula as well as in Indonesia in general is of pre-European age, but whether it is a true Indonesian cultural element, or whether, e. g., of Hindoo origin, I leave unsaid. There is, however, no proof of a Hindoo origin of the Indonesian stilt. Certainly stilts are known in India and are even used for ritual purposes, but not in connection with such a being as a giant. CROOKE, in "Folk-Lore" XXV, p. 81 writes:, "Children and young men swing and walk on stilts in the fields, or play with little grooved wheels of wood and brass, to which a long string is tied, the wheel being thrown into the air and dragged back again, the theory being that the crop will grow as high as the stilt walker, or as long as the swing or wheel ascends into the air."

Yet it is not excluded that the Hindoos in Java could have used stilts also for other ritual purposes, and that the stilt from Java found its way to South Celebes during the Hindoo Period of the Malayan Islands.

It is noteworthy that another toy, the squirt-gun, which plays so important a part at the Indian Holi feast, also is found in the Macassar Peninsula, and there is reason to think that it was introduced into Celebes from Java during the Hindoo Period, to which I shall recur in a later chapter of this book.

There is, however, also the possibility that the stilt is older in Indonesia than the Hindoo culture, since stilts are found at many places far to the east, where Hindoo culture never penetrated. Stilts are used for instance, or were so formerly, by several Polynesian peoples.

As mentioned in the foregoing, in the Paloe Valley as well as in Mongondou in N. Celebes the foot is placed longitudinally to the foot-rest, a method also met with in Japan (Fig. 18). The similarity of the stilts as well as the method of walking by grasping the stilt between the toes, is so striking that I think it cannot be attributed to mere chance. It seems most likely to my mind that these stilts are closely allied.

As to the Mongondou stilts I should say they are one of the cultural features that from the Philippines, or via these islands, were brought to N. Celebes, the inhabitants of which, at least those in the eastern part, are supposed to have immigrated to Celebes from the north. It would be of great interest to learn what kind of stilts are used in the Philippine Islands, but unfortunately no representations of them have been published, and there are no specimens in the museums that I have visited. VANOVERBERG in "Anthropos" in 1927 gives an account of the games of the Iloco Tribe, among which are enumerated stilts, but he does not give any details of their construction or use. The name, however, he states to be *agkadankadan*, which resembles the Mongondou word for stilts, *mogilangkadan*.

The Japanese stilts are not likely to be of Chinese origin. Unfortunately I have not seen any Chinese stilts, and in representations found in the literature, e. g. for

instance in J. DOOLITTLE'S "Social Life of the Chinese", Vol. II, page 248, the construction of these stilts cannot be closely followed, but certainly they are neither of common European, nor of Japanese type. They appear to be lashed to the feet of the performer like some kind of shoe on top of a pole. The performer is free to move his hands at will. CULIN in "Korean games", page 9, states that stilts were introduced into Korea from Japan within the last ten years, *i. e.* in the eighteen eighties. In Japan stilts in all probability are made of bamboo, the Japanese name being *take uma*, bamboo horses.

If the Japanese stilts should not prove to be autochthonous Japan they might be one of the Malayan features of the Japanese culture, and under these circumstances there is the possibility that the stilts of Japan, the Philippines, Celebes, Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Malay Archipelago are of great age. Certainly the way in which the foot rests on the stilt is not the same, but the manner of holding them is similar, which points to an origin common to them all.

Below are given the names of stilts, as far as they are known to me.

Celebes:

Mongondou:	*mogilangkadan* = to walk on stilts *? langkadan* = stilt	ALLAD
Paloe Valley:	*motilako* = to walk on stilts *tilako* = stilt	E. ROSENLUND
Poso Toradja:	*moloko* = to walk on stilts *loko* = stilt *moloko* possibly = *mojoko*, "in de hoogte gaan, opvliegen."	ADRIANI
Bugis:	*malongga-longga* = to walk on stilts, to be like a giant. Longga, a kind of giant.	MATTHES

Boeton: *kaodaoda:* stilt
ana ana itoe tè kaoda odana = the child walks on stilts } BARETTA

Java: *djangkoengan* = stilt
djadjangkoengan = to walk on stilts } O. STRANDLUND

Billiton: *djangkong* = stilt
djinka djinke = stilt } A. WIESLANDER.

S. Sumatra: *iangkaoe* = stilt, E. ROSENLUND

New Zealand: *pou-toko*, HAMILTON

Philippines: *agkadankadan*. VANOVERBERG.

Japan: *take uma* = bamboo horses. CULIN
chikuba = bamboo horse
sage-ashi, *taka-ashi* } HAMPDEN and PARLETT

China: *po kióh mu*
po kio hy
kao kiao

Of course this list is too incomplete to allow any conclusions to be drawn as to the relation between the stilts of different localities, but it seems a remarkable fact that stilts are used in a closely similar way at such widely separated regions as Japan, E. Central Celebes, and the Marquesas Islands. In all these places the performers sometimes will hop on one stilt trying to pull down an opponent, as described by KRUYT from the Poso Toradja (see page 58).

MORSE in his work "Japan Day by Day", Vol. II, p. 81, states the following of stilt walking in Japan: "The boys often hop on one stilt and with the other endeavor to dislodge, or pull down an antagonist, and in this way get up lively contests."

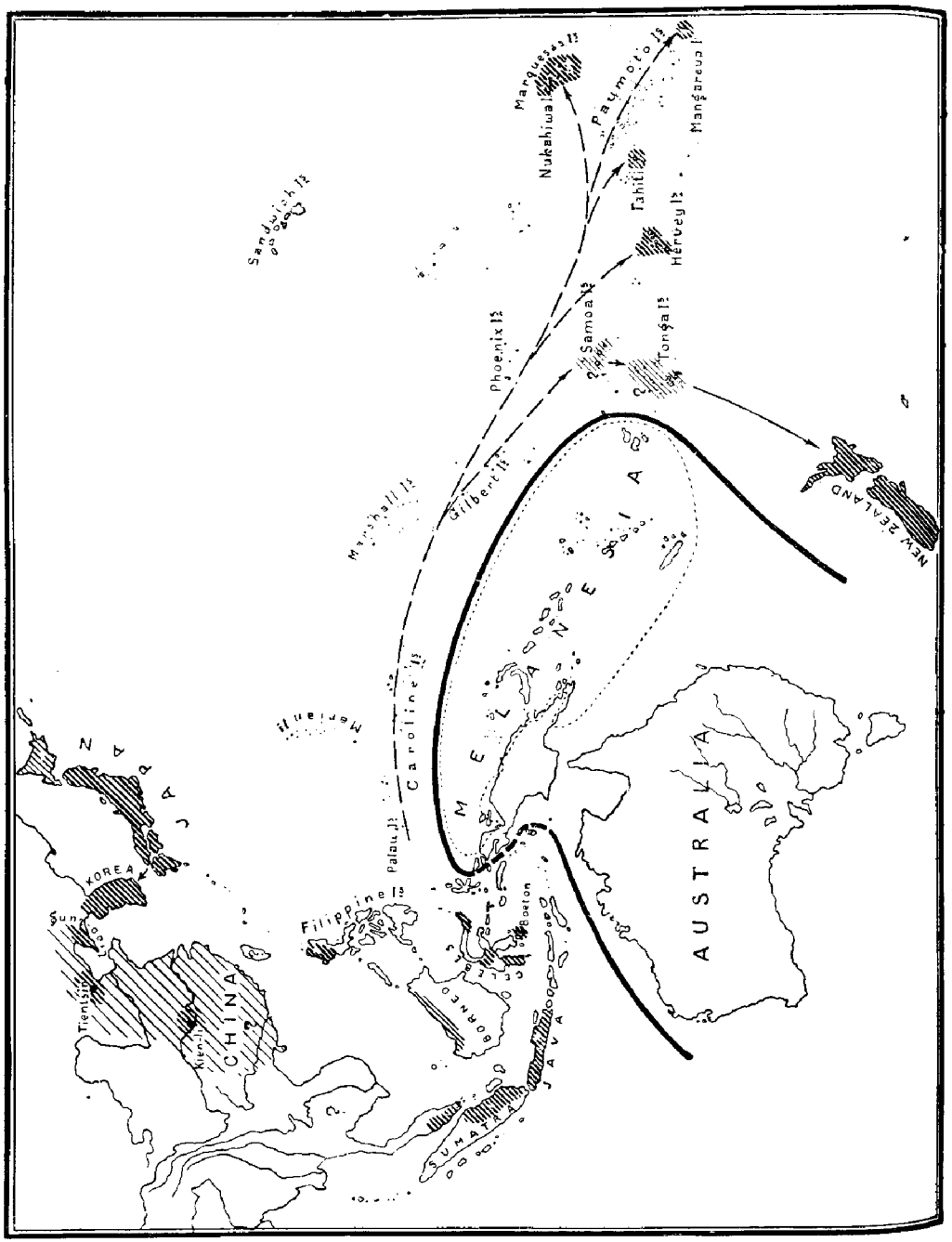
In "Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt" Vol. I, p. 146, LANGSDORFF writes the following, referring to the Marquesas Islands: "... und auf einem Bein oder Stab balancierend, mit dem andern seinen Gegner während des Laufes umzuschlagen sucht. Der zu Boden gestreckte wird zum allgemeinen Gelächter und Gespötte."

Also in Tahiti this game appears to be practised, LOWI in "The American Anthropologist" 1928, p. 158 writing: "Two boys about ten years old, though for a few minutes relieved by a somewhat older player, were walking on stilts about $4^1/_2$ feet in hight, the footrest, which was tied on, being but 2 feet above the ground. Each player kicked with his stilt against his adversary's, thus trying to bring him down. At times a badly aimed thrust would produce the ludicrous result of making the player turn his back to his opponent."

The similarity of the game at all these places is so striking that it may be taken to indicate that the games are really allied.

In this connection I want to recall the fact that in Minahassa stilts formerly were used by thieves. The same appears to have been the case in New Zealand (Map 4), HAMILTON in "Maori Art", p. 379, stating: "In one of the Maori legends Whiro and Tama-te-Kapua are made the gods or patrons of thieving, though both of them are well known ancestors, who flourished, the first three generations before, and the second at the time of the migration to New Zealand, about 1350. They went on stilts (*pou-toko*) when going to steal, so that their foot-steps should not be traced, and to enable them to reach the high stages (*whata*) on which food was kept."

It may appear somewhat strained to interpret such a similarity as this as founded on affinity, but we must remember that the Maori People in all probability emigrated from the Tonga Islands or from the Samoa Islands in the north (Map 4). These emigrants being accustomd to use



stilts for stealing purposes, it seems quite likely that the natives of the Samoa and the Tonga Islands should be aquainted with this custom, and although I have no reference, I think it quite likely that stilts were used for the same purpose in the groups of islands situated between the Samoa Islands and Indonesia, such as the Gilbert Isls, the Marshal Isls, the Caroline Isls, and the Palau Isls.

The stilts in E. Central Celebes rather closeley correspond to the stilts in the Marquesas Isls, the stilts in both places being made of bamboo, the foot-rest being an angular piece of wood one leg of which is lashed to the stilt (see Figs 17 and 19). The chief difference is that the Marquesas stilts are of much better make than the Celebes stilts. The foot, however, is placed in the same manner, evidently they are seized in a similar manner (see Fig. 19), and the game is almost the same.



1: 15. From Ratsel.

Fig. 19. *Stilts from the Marquesas Islands.*

Considering the sameness of the stilts of Indonesia, Japan and Polynesia, it does not seem altogether impossible that they all have their origin in common. Perhaps they all originated somewhere in S. Asia. Primarily they may have been used for practical or ritual purposes, having in the course of time declined into a mere toy. Whether the stilts with a longitudinal or a transverse foot-rest are older is difficult to say. Perhaps both emanated from a stilt simply made from a straight

branch with a small projecting branch on which the foot was placed, as recorded for instance from Tahiti by W. GILL in his "Life in the Southern Seas", p. 65.

East of Indonesia at the present day stilts appear to be confined to certain parts of Polynesia according to LINDBLOM in his two papers on "The Use of Stilts", 1927 and 1928. He enumerates the following places: New Zealand, Marquesas Islands (Nukahiwah), Hervey Islands, Tahiti and Paumoto Islands (Mangarewa). See Map 4. Lindblom is of the opinion and rightfully, I think, that formerly stilts had a wider range in this region than nowadays.

In the foregoing I have pointed out that when the migration of the Maori People to New Zealand took place, stilts in all probability were known in the Tonga as well as the Samoa Islands, in which case the distribution has followed the same line as the migrating people. In Map 4 is given the presumed line along which the stilt spread over Polynesia.

Noteworthy seems the fact that stilts do not appear to be recorded from Melanesia and New Guinea. This seems to support the theory that the stilt in Polynesia was contemporary with the Polynesian migration.

"Stilts" or sandals of coconut shell.

(Map 5.)

In Celebes there is a pastime somewhat similar to stilt-walking, viz. children walking on the halves of a coconut shell, which they attach to their feet, with the mouth of the shell towards the ground. For these "stilts" they use the thicker, rounded half of a coconut shell from which they remove with a chopper the bast as well as all prominent edges to make it more comfortable to the foot to rest on. The shell is kept in position differently in Mongondou in N. Celebes and in Central Celebes. In the former district, where I acquired for my collection a pair of coconut "stilts"

(No. 569) the children make two holes, one at each side of the shell, through which they knot a strip of bast so as to make a loop for the foot, similar to that of a sandal. In order to prevent the shell from slipping off, there is a long strip of bast or a withe attached to the loop, and this strap the performer holds in his hand in walking (Fig. 20 A). As mentioned in the foregoing, the Dutch "Controlleur" at Kotaobagoe, Mr. ALLAD, in a letter kindly states that the native name of this game is *mogilangkadan*, the same as given to the sport of stilt-walking. If you want to point

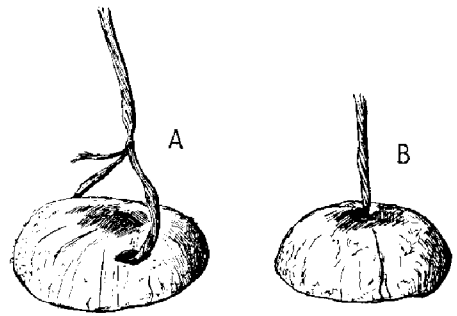


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Fig. 20. *Coconut »Stilts», or Sandals.* A from Mongondou, N. Celebes; B from the Poso Toradja, NE. Central Celebes. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 569.)

out that you are walking on coconut shells you should say *mogilangkadan i oká*, in case of bamboo stilts you add *i aog*.

In Mongondou I only saw small girls walking on coconut shells.

In Central Celebes the coconut "stilts" probably occur in a good many places. True enough, I did not see any such "stilts" in NW. Central Celebes, but the Salvation Army missionary, Mr. E. ROSENLUND, who worked here for several years, states in a letter to me that they are used by all Kaili Toradja in the Paloe Valley as well as in the mountain districts in the interior by most Koro Toradja tribes. Like the bamboo stilts, they are called *tilako* in the Paloe Valley. Here they are kept in place only by means

of a strap of bast knotted through the shell and passed between the big and the second toe. With this string the performer is able to press the shell to his foot (Fig. 20 B).

KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 388, records the same game from the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes. He writes: "Een gewijzigde vorm van het steltenloopen, is het loopen op kokosdoppen, dat ook *moloko* heet." The "stilts" are of the same model as those in the Paloe Valley.

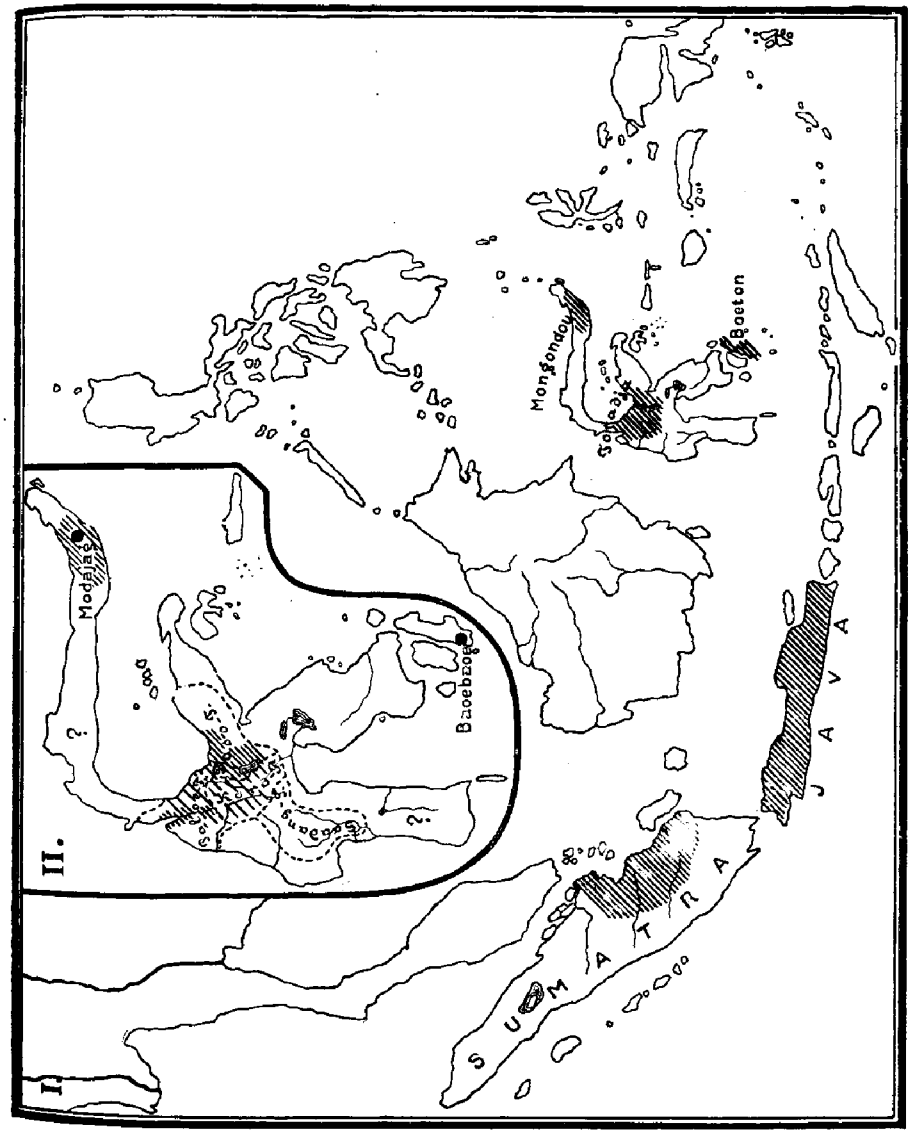
Whether this game is known in the southern, the north-eastern and south-eastern parts of Celebes I was unable to ascertain. During my sojourn in NE. Celebes I did not see any children walking on bamboo stilts or coconut shells, but of course this does not prove that they are unknown there. In the Island of Boeton just to the south-east of Celebes I did not see stilts either, but the present Governor of this province, Mr. BARETTA, kindly informs me in a letter, that the coconut "stilt" is used in Boeton.

As regards South Celebes it seems rather a remarkable fact that MATTHES does not mention walking on coconut shells in his books.

Outside Celebes the coconut "stilt" is known in Sumatra and Java, and very likely at many other places, from which, however, I have no reference as yet. (Map 5)

The Swedish engineer Mr. A. WIESLANDER in Billiton in a letter which I received only lately states that children in Billiton walk on coconut shells. This sport they call *main sepatoe batok* (to play at — shoe — coconut shell). The shell is strapped to the foot with a string passed through one of the apertures. It is secured to the shell by means of a slip of wood tied to the string inside the shell.

True enough, I have not seen any coconut stilts from Java, nor is there any record of such a toy in the literature, as far as I am aware, but my friend the S. A. missionary Mr. STRANDLUND in a letter to me states that in Java it is a common pastime for children to walk on coconut



Map 5. Coconut »Stilts« in Indonesia.

shells. Often two empty milk tins will be substituted for coconut shells. The tin is pressed to the foot by means of a string knotted through a hole in the bottom of the tin. These straps the performer takes in his handes.

VETH in his work "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, p. 124, states that in Central Sumatra walking on coconut shells is rather a common game, and Mr. ROSENLUND, at present stationed at Koendoer, on the east coast of Sumatra, writes me the following: "Here in S. Sumatra in the interior of the country coconut "stilts" of the same kind as used in the Paloe Valley are commonly known. They are called *teroempa tempoeroeng*.[1] The strap generally is a strip of bast from the *waroe* tree.

VETH'S description of the toy in question runs as follows: "De halfe kokosnoten liggen met het open gedeelte op den grond en hebben aan den top een kleine opening, die het mogelijk maakt een eind tow aan de binnenzijde met een dwarshoutje te befestigen. De jongens gaan met de voeten op de bolle zijde staan en nemen de towen, die tusschen den grooten en den tweeden toon doorlopen, in den hand. Er is eenige oefening noodig om op zulke klompen te loopen; maar het scheen dat de jeugd zich op vele plaatsen reeds geoefend had, zulk een hol geklots deed zij bij dit spel hooren."

According to KRUYT, as a rule only the Poso Toradja girls practise walking on coconut shells, and the same appears to be the case in Mongondou. How it is in the Paloe Valley, Mr. ROSENLUND does not state in his letter.

It may be of interest to note that the coconut stilt as well as the bamboo stilt of Mongondou differ from those found in E. Central Celebes. This may mean that the origin of the Mongondou stilts, whether made of bamboo, or from coconut shell, is another than that of the two kinds of stilts of E. Central Celebes. Possibly the Mongondou stilts were introduced into Celebes from the north, the latter from the

[1] *Teroempa* = sandal, *tempoeroeng* = coconut shell.

south, but of course this is a mere conjecture as long as we have no record of the coconut stilt from the Macassar Peninsula. It is rather interesting to observe that the construction of the coconut sandal of Sumatra corresponds to that of Central Celebes, contrary to the Mongondou coconut "stilts" which are rather similar to Japanese sandals (Fig. 21), both being kept to the foot by a loop, but with the slight difference that the loop of the Japanese sandal is divided in two by a small string attached to the forepart of the sandal, the Mongondou "stilt" being fastened to the foot partly by means of a strap which the performer holds in his hand.

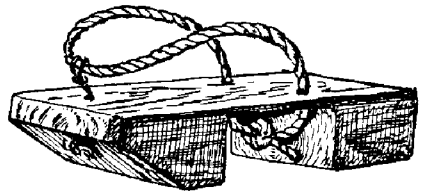


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Fig. 21. *Japanese wooden sandal.*
(Gothenburg Mus. No. 2554.)

It would be interesting to know whether there are sandals in the Philippine Island, and if so, whether they are of the Japanese or the Mongondou model. When I paid a short visit to Manila and Cebu in 1920 I did not see any sandals or stilts, and in no European museum that I visited are there any such objects.

It is strange that the natives in Celebes call the coconut sandals "stilts", the game of walking on stilts being quite different from walking on coconut shells. If we knew the etymology of the Mongondou word *mogilangkadan*, the Kaili *motilako*, and the Bare-e *moloko*, this might help us to solve the problem in question. In Celebes as a rule the prefix *mo* indicates the verbal form. In Bare-e for instance *gantji* is top, *mogantji* to spin a top. According to Mr.

ALLAD at Kota Mobagoe, *mogi* in *mogilangkaden* is a prefix, and this seems to correspond to *moti* in *motilako*. Dr ADRIANI is of the opinion that the Bare-e *moloko* may be connected with *mojoko*, to fly. In ADRIANI'S Bare-e Dictionary recently published, we read on page 402: "1. *joko* (vgl. *loko* en Leb. *melẽka*); *mojoko*, vliegen, *to mojoko*, vlieger, w. t. v. *tontji*, vogel".

As to whether this interpretation of *moloko* is correct I cannot say, but it is difficult to see how stilt-walking and a word meaning "to fly" could be connected. I wonder if not all the Celebes words for walking on stilts or coconut shells: *moloko*, *motilako*, *mogilangkadan*, and even the Javanese *djadjangkoeng* mean "to be tall", and if they are not allied with the Samoan word *malanga*. KERN in his book "De Fidjitaal etc.", page 213, writes: "*Malanga*, oprijzen, zich opmaken (*maranga*[1] oprijzen). Sang. *marangẽ*, hoog . . . Sumb. *djangga*, hoog." Or, could the Bare-e *loko* be connected with the word *toko*, which means a pole as used for poling a boat. ADRIANI in his Dictionary renders this word as follows: "*toko* (. . . Mak. *takang*, Boeg. *tẽkĕng* . . .) stok, staf . . ." MATTHES in his Bug. Dictionary, page 276, states: "*tokong* . . ; bamboezen gebezigd om het vaartuig voort te duwen, wij zouden zeggen om te *boomen*." The same word is found in the Fiji language. KERN in his book "De Fidjitaal etc." on page 134 states: *doko*, stok, boom (waarmêe men boomt). Andere uitspraak van *toko* (z. d.)." In Bare-e there is a verb *motoko-toko* which means to use a walking-stick, and therefore in the verbal form of *toko* in the meaning of walking on stilts, conceivably *t* has been changed into an *l*, *moloko*, to distinguish it from *motoko-toko*.

If this theory of mine should prove to be correct the bamboo stilts in all probability are older than the coconut "stilts", which may be a substitute for boys' high bamboo stilts, intended for girls.

[1] Maori language.

Sleds.

I myself have not seen any sleds in Celebes but KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 387, describes a kind of sled like a wooden trough used by the Poso Toradja children as a plaything.

After heavy rains when the hills are slippery the children will amuse themselves sliding down the slopes in their troughs, like our children do in winter sitting, or lying on their sleds. This sport is called *mogoelalangi* in Bare-e.

Although recorded only from the Poso Districts this sport may be known also at other places, such a simple game as this easily being overlooked by researchers. I spent nearly three years in Madagascar and never saw children amuse themselves with sleds, but nevertheless this form of amusement is known in that island. PLOSS in his book "Das Kind", p. 281, when speaking of the Hova children, writes as follows: "Auch eine Art Schlitten machen sich die Kinder, auf denen sie von grassigen Hügeln heruntergleiten."

Swings.

(Map 6.)

GRAAFLAND in his book "De Minahassa", Vol. I, p. 282, states swinging to be a common amusement with the children in Minahassa. Their swing is simply a rope attached to the branch of a tree. They sometimes play all day long with their swings.

Although many games as met with in Minahassa are almost the same as our European games, we cannot take for granted, GRAAFLAND says, that they were introduced into the country from Europe. The thoroughly native name of such a sport as swinging, for instance, makes it likely that it is native to Minahassa. At Tondano the verb to swing is *matatingkajong*, in the Sonder dialect it is *matambereng*, other dialects having other words according to GRAAFLAND.

In no district of N. Celebes, NE. Celebes, or C. Celebes that I visited I saw the native children diverting themselves with swinging. KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" does not mention swinging neither when giving an account of the native games, nor when speaking of the merry-makings connected with the harvest festival which makes it likely that this sport is unknown to the Poso Toradja. I have no reference from SE. Celebes, but MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 12, describes what he calls a Royal swinging feast, in Bugis *ritâro pêre*, at Boelo Boelo, a place in all probability situated to the south of Bone in the Macassar Peninsula.

At this feast the young princesses, one by one, would seat themselves in a swing, Bug. *pêre*, and if a prince was attracted by a princess he would take his handkerchief and tie it in front of her as if to protect her from falling out of the swing. This was considered to be a declaration of love, and later on, if the little princess liked her wooer, they were married. MATTHES states that at Segêri, on the west coast, north of Pangkadjene, such a swinging feast still (in 1875) is celebrated at harvest-time.

In his two Dictionaries MATTHES mentions swinging. In his Macassar Dictionary, p. 354, he speaks of a kind of children's hammock, or swing, called *trôëñg-lîpá*, made from a *sarong*, a rather long piece of cloth which is used for a woman's skirt. The ends of the *sarong* are attached to the ceiling. In Bugis this swing is called *tôdjañg-lîpá* from *tôdjañg*, which means children's cradle arranged like a swing. On page 128 of the same book we find *pêré*, swing, and on page 516 *pêré-rirêré*, a swing rocked by means of a rope or *pabåkkåñg*. *Rirêrekåñgi pêréë* is given as "rocking the swing to and fro".

From this it appears as if swinging whould be rather a common amusement of the Orang Macassar and the Orang Bugis, but the only place mentioned by MATTHES where it is practised in connection with the paddy harvest is Segêri.

According to the Swedish engineer Mr. S. FREMER swinging at harvest-time also is practised in the districts situated north-west of Lake Sidenreng, the so-called Adjataparang District. My informant says the girls will swing one by one, rocked by young men. The swing is a short board, through which the ropes are fastened with knots. Here swinging in all probability is a fecundity rite, or it was so in olden times.

Further to the north, in the south-western part of Central Celebes, swinging appears in many parts to be an important fecundity rite with the so-called Saadang Toradja. In a paper called "De Toradja's van de Sa'dan[1]-, Masoepoe-en Mamasa-rivieren," KRUYT on p. 352—353 treats of this subject. Just as in Adjataparang swinging is practised in connection with the paddy harvest at Rimbon[2], Manipi, and Tagari. At Rimbon the swing is called *kendong*. Here sometimes four women, or girls, will occupy the swing together. One of them must know how to sing the harvest song which should be sung when the party is swinging. In this song they thank the spirits for the paddy of this year and ask them to give still more next year.

KRUYT says that at Tagari the women in olden times would adorn themselves with golden fancy articles for the swinging. Occasionally men, or boys may be seen swinging.

At Manipi, according to KRUYT, the swings should not be put up until the paddy is brought to the place where it is to be dried. Here each village has a swing, and men as well as women join in swinging. As a rule two or three persons will swing together in the same swing, sometimes even men and women together. Also at Manipi the natives sing a song, adulating the heavenly paddy as well as the paddy of Batoe pela, a place where the first paddy was planted in this district.

[1] All Dutch maps give Saädang. In this Series I have spelt this name Saadang.

[2] This place I was unable to find on available maps. Possibly it is a place called Rimboeng in my maps.

Sometimes the natives will amuse themselves with swinging for a whole month, or until the swing breaks down. When the paddy has been stored in the barns the swinging in any case will cease.

Still further to the north the swing keeps its ritual character, but the time for using it is another, according to KRUYT. At Tondok litak, Baroepoe, Pangala, and Mamasa the natives will start swinging when the paddy has ceased blooming and the kernel begins to develop. They will leave off as soon as harvesting begins. Young people of both sexes are fond of swinging, especially in the evening in their free time. They do not sing when swinging, but nevertheless the performance is considered to favour the growth of the paddy kernel. The rope for a swing is twisted from the black *aren* fibre, or from thongs of buffalo hide, or a big rattan is used. The swings are attached to the branches of the trees.

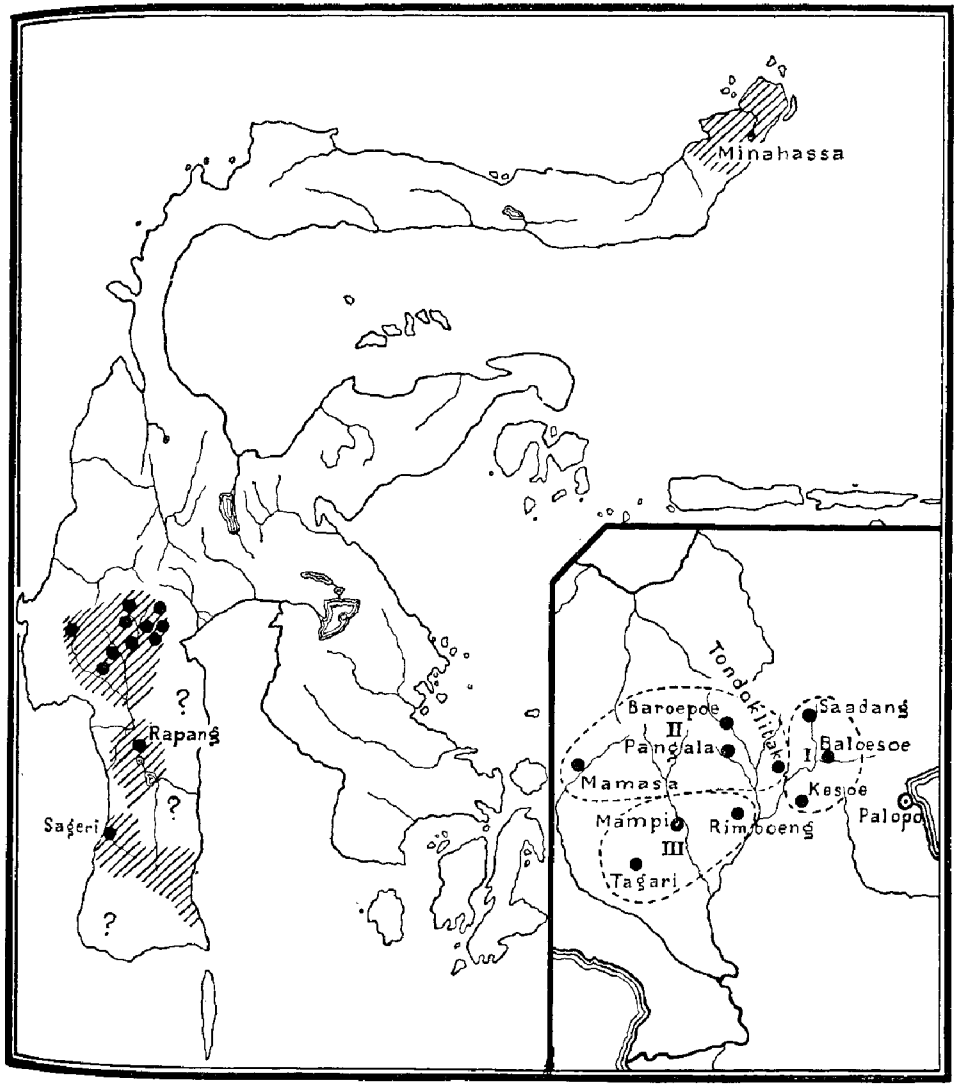
In the districts further to the north-east the swing appears to have lost its ritual character, having become a mere pastime. According to KRUYT, this is the case at Sa'dan[1], Kesoe[2], and Baloesoe, where swinging is allowed at any season. Swinging is called *mendojang* at Saadang, Kesoe (? Gesang), and Baloesoe. At Mamasa swinging is *ma'sinition*, at Rimbon (?Rimboeng) *kendong*.

We have seen above that swinging is practised in the Macassar Peninsula as well as in the northern peninsula of Celebes, but for the rest it appears to be unknown in that island. In Minahassa as well as in the Macassar Peninsula the influence of foreign cultures no doubt was stronger than in any other part of Celebes, and for this reason it seems most likely that the swing is one of the foreign cultural

[1] Sa'dan see page 81.

[2] There is no place of this name in the maps at my disposal. Perhaps Gesang, to the south-west of Rantepaoe, is the locality alluded to, the spelling of native names very often being rather different with different authors.

elements here. To Minahassa the swing presumably came from the north like many other things. I have, however, no reference from the Philippine Islands, but in Japan and



Map 6. The Swing in Celebes.

Korea swinging is a common amusement. Also in China it is practised. CULIN in his beautiful book "Korean Games", p. 34, 35, says: "Swings are suspended from branches of

trees, or where there is no available tree two poles are erected as a support. Young men and women of the same family often swing together. Grown men also practice swinging. The object is to go as high as possible and touch the branches of the tree. Swinging is a spring sport common in the fifth month . . . In Japan men and boys swing, both the swing and the act of swinging being called *Buranko*. In China swinging is called *Tá ts'au ts'in*."

It would be interesting to know if the natives of Minahassa are seated or standing when swinging, but GRAAFLAND does not give any particulars on this point. To judge from the figures in CULIN'S book, Japanese as well as Korean children stand up in the swing, contrary to the custom in Europe as well as in the Macassar Peninsula.

The swing, like a great number of other cultural elements possibly found its way from Java to South Celebes. I have, however, no reference from Java. Salvation Army officers who worked among the natives, tell me they never saw this sport among the Orang Java, but European children and children of mixed breed in this island would be seen to indulge in swinging.

In the islands to the east of Celebes the swing does not seem to be known since RIEDEL in his great work "De Sluik- en Kroesharige Rassen tuschen Celebes en Papua" does not mention is.

I have no record of the swing from Borneo. Presumably swinging is not practised here at harvest-time, or NIEUWENHUIS would have mentioned it when giving a detailed description of festivities connected with agriculture in his book "Centraal Borneo".

In Sumatra this sport evidently is known. VAN HASSELT in Vol. III of "Midden-Sumatra" states that children sometimes will be seen swinging, but he adds that this sport does not seem to be especially in favour with the young people. To judge from the figure given by VAN HASSELT, the seat is a kind of chair suspended from a branch of a tree.

On one occasion he saw another kind of swing made from a rattan, in which a Koeboe woman was swinging with her baby, but he does not figure this swing, or give any details, thus we are left in the dark as to its appearance.

Although there is no record of the swing from Java, the fact that in the Macassar Peninsula swinging at least at some places is practised in connection with the paddy harvest seems to point to Java. Possibly it was introduced into S. Celebes from this island with the cultivation of paddy in wet fields, which may have taken place during the Hindoo Period.

Be this as it may, in India swinging occurs and still keeps it ritual character. HABERLAND in "Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, p. 512, writes as follows: "Ein anderer Brauch, der schon im altindischen Agnikult auftritt, ist das *Schaukeln*, gleichfalls von Dardistan bis Birma und über die ganze Halbinsel hier und dort zu verfolgen. In Bengalen findet ein besonderes Fest des Schaukelns des Hirtengottes Krishna statt, wie ja auch die Legende von den schaukelnden Hirtenmädchen, die der Gott mit seinem Flötenspiel bezaubert, auf diesen Brauch besonderen Bezug nimmt."

The similarity of the swinging rites of India and of the Macassar Peninsula is so striking, that it can hardly be explained unless we assume an origin common to both. The chief difference is this: the Indian feast is celebrated in honour of Krishna, the god of shepherds whilst the feast in Celebes is devoted to the spirits of fecundity, divinities which, however, are closely related, the former protecting cattle-rearing, the latter agriculture.

Football.

(Map 7.)

At the present day the male youth will often be seen playing football in European style at the big places on the coast of Celebes and adjacent islands, and in all pro-

bability this sport will spread to the interior of the country. The play-ground often is a lawn with goal-posts, and the ball of European make, but occasionally the players will content themselves with a big shaddock for a football, as was the case at Baoe Baoe in Boeton with the younger native players.

Beside the European football there is a similar game with a light hollow ball of rattan open-work, bundles of two or three strips of rattan crossing one another in three directions. Specimens from Loewoek and Boeton have a diameter of 15—20 cm. and have rather big openings. A specimen in the Leiden Museum, No. 37/247, from the Mac. Peninsula measures only 10 cm., but the plaiting evidently is the same as that of the balls from Loewoek and Boeton. The Catalogue states: "nach dem Dreirichtungssystem *a jour* aus Gruppen von drei Rottanstreifen geflochten."

Although the rules of this game are rather simple it is not altogether easy. At Loewoek where young men and older boys amused themselves with this sport, the Malay name of which is *sepak raga* (*sepak* = kick; *raga* = ball), the players, standing rather close to one another, ranged in a circle measuring about 5 m. across. The object of the game is to kick the ball with the inside of the foot, sending it from one player in the ring to another without the ball touching the ground. If we leave out of consideration small differences in parrying the ball, the *raga* game appears to be much the same throughout Indonesia.

In the literature it is recorded from the Macassar Peninsula as early as in 1859 by MATTHES. In his "Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek" he mentions the football plaited of rattan, not giving any particulars, however, of the rules of the game. The explanation of a plain figure found in MATTHES's Atlas, Plate 13, Fig. 8, runs as follows (Dictionary p. 898): "*Râga*, bep. *ragâya*, ronde bal van gevlochten rottan. Boeg. idem, Mal. *boewah râga*[1]. —

[1] The meaning of this I do not know. According to the Malay-Dutch and Dutch-Malay Dictionary by MAYER, *boewah* means: "vrucht, bol, knop", and *raga:* "grof, doorzichtig of a jour gevlochten mand, ben of korf, ook bal van katoen of rotan voor het *sepak-raga*, of voetbalspel. The same authority states that *sepak* means "trap met de voet of poot, achterwaarts of ter zijde". Nowhere is intimated that the rattan ball should be called *boewah raga*.

Áraga, met een *râga* spelen." The corresponding Bugis verb is *mádâga* (Bug. Dictionary p. 484).

Later, in 1875, MATTHES in his "Bijdragen t, de Ethn. v. Zuid. Celebes", on page 129, gives a more detailed account of the *raga* game. We read: "Voorts is zeer in zwang het spelen met een' bal van gevlochten rottan (Boeg. en Mak. *râga*), dien men zoo lang mogelijk nu eens met de handen en armen, dan eens met de voeten en beenen omhoog werpt en opvangt, totdat hij ten slotte valt."

In ADRIANI'S Bare-e Dictionary, published in 1928, the football is also recorded from the Poso Toradja. We read as follows: "*sepa* (uit het Boeg.) bal van gevlochten rotan, gebruikt bij het Inlandsche voetbalspel, bij de Toradja's niet inheemseh; de sepa wordt ook gebruikt om er droge kokosvezels in te bergen, die tot prop op het voorlaadgeweer dienen; *mesepa* (Mal., Jav. *sepak*), schoppen (zooals een paard); *mosepa*, met den bal spelen."

In the Leiden Museum there is a *raga* specimen from the Macassar Peninsula, No. 37/247, which in all probability was acquired by MATTHES. BAKKERS in a paper "Het vorstendom Boni" published in "Tijdschr. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk", Vol. XV, records the *raga* from Bone in the south-western part of the Macassar Peninsula.

In the Ethnographical Museum of Vienna there is a *raga* collected by CZURDA, an army surgeon in the Dutch East Indies 1867—1882. The locality given is South Celebes, no particular place being mentioned, but very likely it hails from Malasoro, where CZURDA made most of his collections. The pattern in this ball is different from all *raga* balls that I have seen, this specimen not being hollow. It is quite solid, filled with plaited work like that of the surface (Fig. 22 C).

All these records of *raga* from the Macassar Peninsula might induce us to think that the *raga* game chiefly is confined to this part of Celebes. This is, however, not the case. I myself have seen it at Loewoek in NE. Celebes, as well as in the Island of Boeton close to the coast of SE. Celebes, and it can hardly be doubted that it is known a

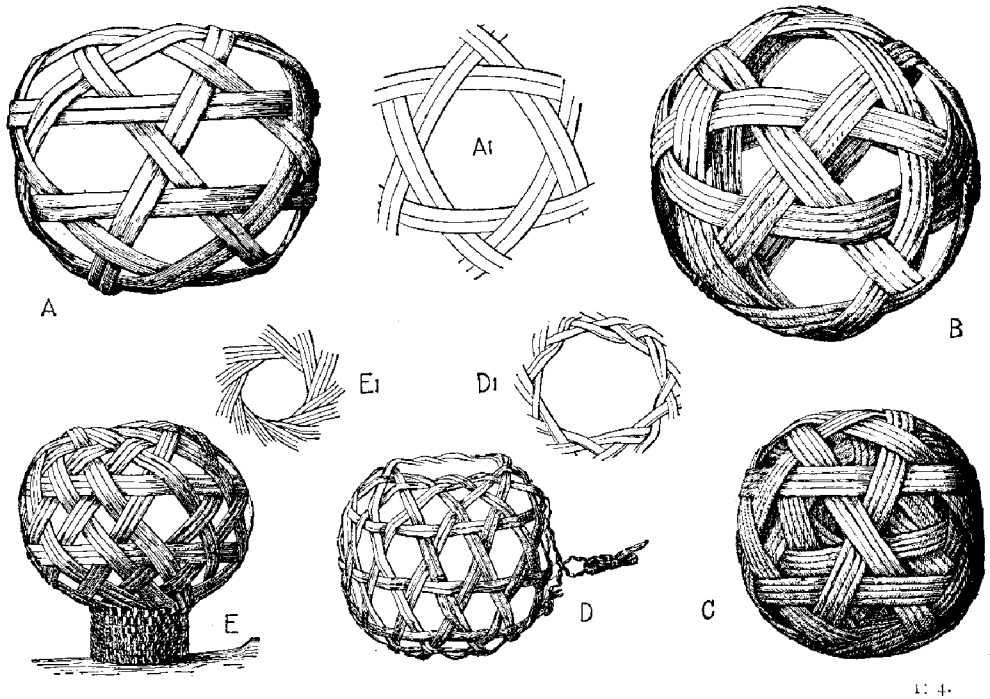


Fig. 22. *Balls plaited of rattan.* A, B, and C footballs, *raga;* D use uncertain; E attached to the sheeth of a sword for keeping cotton. A from the Philippines; B from Sumatra; C from the Macassar Peninsula; D from Kantewoe, NW. Central Celebes; E from Nias. (A Vienna No. 42991, B Leiden No. $^{820}/_{17}$, C. Vienna No. 17535, D KAUDERN coll. No. numbre; E Stuttgart No. 64050.

little everywhere round the coasts of Celebes and adjacent islands. ENGELHARD in "Mededeelingen over het eiland Saleyer" in "Bijdr. T. L. Vk." 4:e volgr. VIII, p. 315, states that the *sepak raga* is practised in Saleier, an island situated to the south of the Macassar Peninsula.

GRAAFLAND in his book "De Minahassa", does not mention it among native games, and I myself never saw it

either in Minahassa, or in Mongondou where I spent more than one year. RIEDEL, however, mentions this game from Gorontalo in his paper "De landschappen Holontalo etc". On page 144 we read as follows: ". . . . de *mosepa*, een spel der aanzienlijken, hetwelk met een bal van rotang, hoetia, gespeeld wordt." Unfortunately I did not discover this record in time to mark it in Map. 7.

As to Central Celebes KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", published in 1912, does not speak of the *raga* game; but, as mentioned before, ADRIANI in his Dictionary of 1928 gives the word *sepa*, saying the game is not original with the Toso Toradja. Possibly it has lately been introduced into the districts inhabited by the Bare-e speaking tribes.

In the north-western part of C. Celebes, where I stayed for nearly a year, I never saw the natives amusing themselves with the sport in question. If it should be known there, I presume it cannot be a very common game. At the village of Kantewoe, however, I once found on the ground a small ball plaited from strips of rattan (Fig. 22 D). I could not get authentic information about the object in question, but the natives did not care for it and said I could have it if I liked. This "ball", the diameter of which is about 9 cm, has two big opposite openings (Fig. 22 D[1]). The ball is not plaited quite in the same way as the *raga*, in which two parallel circles are crossed by six circles which also cross one another (Fig. 22 A, B, and C).

The Kantewoe "ball" has three parallel circles and eleven crossing circles. The size is about the same as that of a certain kind of rattan ball used in the Island of Nias where the natives attach it to the upper part of the sheath of a sword (Fig. 22 E). The specimen here reproduced is in the possession of the Linden Museum at Stuttgart (No. 64050). It is adorned with no less than seventeen points of deer horns, knotted all round the ball. These are purposely left out in my figure in order to make the plaited work visible. As

will be seen in this figure the ball rather much agrees with my "ball" from Kantewoe not only in size but also in the great number of crossing circles, which in the Nias ball are twelve (Fig. 22 E[1]). Such sword balls are, however, not known to be used in C. Celebes, which makes my find at Kantewoe difficult to explain. There is the possibility that it was used as a basket, similarly to the *sepa* of the Poso Toradja, since at one side there is a handle or a loop (Fig. 22 D, to the right).

The *raga* does not appear to be known from the so-called Saadang Toradja in the south-western part of C. Celebes. At least KRUYT does not mention it in his paper "De Toradja's van de Sa'dan-, Masoepoe- en Mamasarivieren".

In Lojnang in the interior of NE. Celebes where I stayed for a month I saw no *raga*, and I have no record of the game from SE. Celebes, but of course it is quite possible that the *raga* may be known on the coast of the north-eastern as well as the south-eastern peninsula.

Besides from Celebes the *raga* is recorded from several places in Indonesia. I have already mentioned the islands of Saleier and Boeton in the neighbourhood of Celebes. In the eastern part of the Archipelago it is recorded from Bima in Soembawa, from Flores, Babar, Boeroe, and Soela as well as from the Sangi and Philippine Islands in the north, and the Palau Islands in the north-east.

In the Leiden Museum may be seen a *raga* No. 458/95 from Bima, E. Soembawa. Curiously enough the Museum Catalogue states that according to the giver, J. BROERS (1884), the *raga* game is not practised in Bima. JONKER in his "Bimaneesch-Hollands Woordenboek", published in 1893, states: "*sempa* . . ., schoppen; *sempa raga* (Mal. sepak raga), met den bal spelen". ELBERT who paid a visit to Bima at a later date (? 1911) mentions the *raga* game, saying in Vol. II, page 114 of "Die Sunda Expedition": "Bekannt sind ferner das Ballspiel und das Werfen mit Steinen in

Löcher." He also records this sport from Nanga Pandan on the south coast of Flores in the same book, page 187. We read as follows: "Während der Abend die Floresen wieder vergnügt vereinte, ergaben sich die Endenesen im Dorf dem Fussballspiel ("sepa raga", raga = Fussball), welches sie in derselben Weise wie Bugis und andere höher stehende malayische Stämme ausüben." In the Ethn. Museum of Frankfort there is a *raga*, No. 15163, collected by ELBERT in Flores.

I have no reference from the so called South-Western Islands, but at Cologne there is a *raga* from Babar, one of the islands of the group called South-Eastern Islands. In PLEYTE'S "Ethn. Atlas v. d. Zuidwester- en Zuidooster-Eilanden", is given a figure, Pl. VII, Fig. 6, representing an object which looks like a *raga*, but fitted with a small loop like the Kantewoe "ball". No explanation being given, it is impossible to know which object this figure represents.

The Leiden Museum has a ball af rattan from Ceram, which may be a football. The Museum Catalogue only states the following: "No. 1030/35 Voetball? Honitetu. Seram. Geschenk van Prof. K. MARTIN te Leiden". MARTIN, however, in his book "Reisen in den Molukken", does not mention the *raga* when speaking of the native games and sports of Ceram. From Boeroe he mentions the *raga* in the above book, page 354, writing: "Auch den bekannten, geflochtenen Fangball (*raga*, hier *ragan* genannt) sah ich an der Südküste von Buru, in Kawiri, zum Spielen benutzt; die Leute wussten ihn dort sehr geschickt mit Händen und Füssen zu schlagen. Dagegen habe ich diesen Ball an der Nordküste so wenig bemerkt wie den Tatabuan-kawan[1], was möglicherweise einer Zufälligkeit zuzuschreiben ist."

Thus at the time of MARTINS visit to the Molucca the *raga* game is sure to have been practised at least on the south coast of Boeroe. Whether it is known in adjacent islands, such as Ambon, Ceram, and the Oeliase Islands is

[1] Musical instrument.

doubtful, since MARTIN does not mentions it from these islands, nor does RIEDEL in "De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Nieuw Guinea", or SACHSE in "Seran en zijne bewooners".

As to the Soela Islands, v. HULSTIJN in his "Memorie over de Soela-eilanden" says the aborigines do not know any games, but among the Mohammedan population the *raga* game appears to be a favourite sport during *Poewasa*, *i. e.* the Mohammedan Lent. Presumably the *raga* game is practised in Soela Sanana, and in the western part of Taliaboe, where, according to v. HULSTIJN's map, Mohammedanism prevails.

I have no reference from Halmahera or Ternate, but in the Island of Siaoe, the biggest island of the Sangi group, the *raga* game is a sport much in favour with the natives, according to DINTER "Eenige Geogr. en Ethn. aanteekeningen betreffende het eiland Siaoe", page 366. DINTER states that only men take part in the game, which is almost the same as described in the foregoing, *i. e.* the players range themselves in a circle trying to keep the ball in the air as long as possible. In case a player should miss the ball and the ball fall to the ground the game is finished, and immediately a new game will begin. The natives go in for this game with great ardour, and they keep playing hour after hour. Instead of kicking the ball they sometimes will hit it with the elbow. DINTER states the name of the ball to be *sepa*.

VANOVERBERGH in his paper "Iloco Games" states the *raga* to be known among the Iloco Tribe in the Philippines. On page 236 we read as follows: "(*Agsi*)*sipa*. A boy's game, very often indulged in by adults. The *sipa* is a very light ball, about as large as a common baseball, made of openworked woven rattan or bamboo. The players try to keep it up in the air by kicking it, generally with the heel or side of the foot."

In the Linden Museum at Stuttgart there is ball of

rattan, No. 42911, which hails from Mindanao. (Fig. 22 A) The label states: "Ball aus Palmriet, gebraucht zum Spielen eines Volksspiels, Visayan, Mindanao. Saml. Prof. W. P. WILSON. Philadelphia 1905". In all probability the *raga* game is practised by the Visayan in Mindanao in general, since WILSON does not give any special locality and calls it "Volksspiel". Possibly it is known also among the Visayan living outside Mindanao. In my map I have, following KROEBER's map in "Peoples of the Philippines", shaded the part of Mindanao inhabited by the Visayan, and with a dotted line marked the whole territory occupied by this tribe.

A ball similar to the *raga* is found in the Palau Islands to the east of Mindanao. The game is played in the same manner as the *sepak raga*, but here boys as well as girls will engage in the game. In his book "Das Kind" PLOSS-RENZ on page 284 writes as follows: "Wieder kommt eine Zeit da sieht man kein Kind, ob Knabe oder Mädchen, ohne den würfelförmigen Spielball, den sie sich selbst aus grünen Kokosblättern geflochten haben. Finden sich mehrere Kinder zusammen, so wird der Ball in die Höhe geschlagen, immer wieder hochgetrieben von jedem, in dessen Nähe er fliegt. Wer ihn fehlt oder fallen lässt, wird ausgelacht."

Unfortunately PLOSS-RENZ does not give the name of the ball or the game.

If we turn to the western part of the Archipelago we meet the *raga* in Borneo, Sumatra, and in some smaller islands as well as in Malacca and Siam in Asia. From Java I have but a single reference, VETH in his great work "Java", stating the *raga* to be known in this island, not giving any further details, however. A Salvation Army officer who worked for fifteen years in Java, says she never saw a *raga*. Possibly the game is not commonly known.

In the Linden Museum at Stuttgart there is a rattan ball No. 73188 of common pattern from Poeloe Laoet, an island close to the south-eastern coast of Borneo. The label

only says: "Poeloe Laoet, Dr. BURGER, 1911". The plaited work is the common one, only there are alternately three and four rattan strips in each circle, with the glossy side of the rattan turned outwards. The diameters are 14 and 15 centimeters respectively.

Poeloe Laoet being situated close to Borneo, it seems rather likely that the *raga* also would be known in adjacent parts of the big island, although, as yet, there is no record, nor any specimens in the Museums that I visited. There is also the possibility that the *raga* game rather lately was introduced to Poeloe Laoet by the Orang Bugis from the Mac. Peninsula.

From the northern part of Borneo the *raga* is known. BURBRIDGE in his book "The gardens of the Sun", p. 243, states the following of the *raga* game of the Kadjan in Sarawak: " . . . watching the young Kadyans playing at football on the beach. The players stand in a circle, three or four yards in diameter, and the ball is kicked in the air by the player to whom it falls nearest. To do this properly requires great dexterity, as the ball is struck with the sole of the foot; and a party of good players will thus keep a ball in the air for several minutes, by each kicking it upwards just as it is about to fall. The ball itself is a light hollow one, of rattan open-work, about the size of an ordinary cricket ball".

Strangely enough the *raga* sport does not seem to have a wide range in the northern part of Borneo, or LING ROTH in his great work "The Natives of Sarawak", would have given more localities than the one above.

In Dutch Borneo the *raga* game is not unknown, NIEUWENHIUS in "Centraal Borneo", Vol. II, p. 36, saying: " . . . den volgenden morgen vermaakten de jonge mannen zich reeds luide met het balspel voor onze woning, toen wij naar buiten traden". This was at Bloeöe on Upper Mahakkam, but NIEUWENHUIS does not state to which tribe the players belonged. Presumably they were Kajan. From

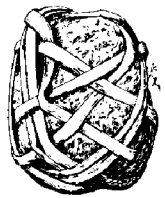
the lines quoted above is not evident that the game was the *sepak raga*, but on page 146 the author gives a detailed account of it, making it obvious that the sport was the *raga* game and that the Kajan as well as the Malays are acquainted with the game. I shall quote NIEUWENHUIS's description in full. It runs as follows: "Onder deze bedrijven staken mijne roeiers zich, na een bad in de rivier, in hun besten lendedoek en hoofddoek, en begonnen op het vrije plein van het hoofd, dat anders voor hanengevechten diende, een balspel, waarbij een uit rotan gevlochten, zeer lichte bal met den arm of het been naar boven wordt geslagen in de richting van een ander, die aan de tegenovergestelde zijde van den kring staat. Deze zendt hem op dezelfde wijze terug en wanneer geoefende spelers goed op dreef zijn, mag de bal den grond niet raken. Hetzelfde spel houdt tegen den avond ook dikwijls jonge Maleiers bezig, die het in handigheid van de Kajans ver winnen."

The match in question was played at Batoe Sala on Upper Mahakkam by NIEUWENHUIS's Kajan boatmen. The author does not state whether the natives of the place were acquainted with this game themselves. Of his visit to Long Kap he writes as follows, page 200: "Ongevoelig betoonden zich de Pnihing-vrouwen niet voor de oplettendheden, die de Kajan's haar eerst in het algemeen en later meer individueel bewezen. Als vroeger reeds in Batoe Sala gaven de jongeren onder de mannen tegen den avond een voorstelling in het spelen met een rotan-bal, wat hier een bijzonderen indruk moest maken, aangezien de Pnihing-mannen dit niet doen."

At Oslo in Norway there is in the Ethn. Museum a rather small ball, No. 31596, in the LUMHOLTZ collection from the Pnihing Tribe. The label states it to be a "Children's ball. Lā-ga". It measures about 8 cm. by nearly 7 cm. and is plaited of rattan but of inferior make (Fig. 23.). Whether this really is a ball for the *raga* game seems doubtful, since it is filled with moss. This reminds one of the *sepa* of the Poso Toradja, who stuff it with dry coconut

fibres, which they use as wads in their muzzle-loaders. Again, the name of *laga* no doubt is the same word as *raga*, many languages changing an *r* into an *l*. NIEUWENHUIS visited the Pnihing tribe in the eighteen-nineties, LUMHOLZ in 1917, and of course there is the possibility that the *raga* game was introduced into the district on account of NIEUWENHUIS's visit.

Where NIEUWENHUIS's Kajan coolies, who very likely came from Upper Kapoeas, learnt the game we do not know. His statement that the Malays are skilled *raga* players no doubt indicates that the game is an amusement well known



1: 4.

Fig. 23. *Ball* plaited of rattan, filled with moss. Pnihing. C. Borneo. (Oslo Mus. No. 31596.)

among the Malay population on the coast. Presumably it spread from the west coast to the interior of the island along the rivers.

From the area west of Borneo and Java there are several records of the *raga*, especially from Sumatra. In Vol. XII of the Leiden Museum Catalogue, page 218, mention is made of two specimens, Nos. 63/7 and 820/17, both from Bengkoelen in the south-western part of Sumatra. The locality from which the latter specimen originates (Fig. 22 B) is Manna. These two balls are plaited in the usual manner, the former with bundles of three rattan strips, the latter with four strips in each bundle. They measure 15 cm. across. To these balls belong some round pieces cut from the spathe of a palm. They should be attached to the inside of the foot to protect the ankle of the player.

In Vol. XIV, page 99, another football of rattan is recorded. It originates from some place on the west coast of Sumatra. This ball, No. 1926/603, differs a little from the common type, being made of two balls, one inside the other. The Catalogue states: "Fussball (raga), von Rotan, rund aus zwei ineinander schliessenden Kugeln bestehend, die nach dem offenen Dreirichtungssystem von Gruppen von drei Streifen geflochten sind". It measures 14 cm. across.

VAN HASSELT in the great work "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, p. 126, records the *raga* from the district of Palembang, and in Vol. I, p. 348, he describes the *raga* game as played at Moeara Laboeh, E. Sumatra, near the Djambi border.

The game in Palembang he describes as follows: "Geleidelijk komen wij thans tot de bespreking van het *balspel*, maijen ragô, in Rawas maïn tjèpak genoemd, een spel dat zoowel door jongens als door meer volwassenen gespeeld wordt. Het vereischt veel vaardigheid en is een gezonde lichaamsbeweging tevens. Wanneer tegen den avond een aangename koelte de hitte des daags komt vervangen, dan vereenigen de jongelieden zich op het dorpsplein, en is men overeengekomen dat er met den bal gespeeld zal worden, dan plaatsen de medespelers zich in een kring op een onderlingen afstand van tien of twintig meters. Een hunner houdt den van rotan gevlochten bal, die een middellijn van 20 centimeters, in de hand, werpt hem omhoog en schopt hem onder het neervallen met den voet de lucht in, vaak ter halver hoogte van een klapperboom. De anderen zien scherp toe waar de bal te land komt, en hij die het dichtst bij staat, schopt hem weder omhoog nog voordat hij den grond heeft bereikt. Het doel van het spel is den bal geruimen tijd van den een naar den ander te doen vliegen zonder dat hij den grond aanraakt, en bekwame spelers kunnen het een kwartier lang voortzetten, in welken tijd de bal meer dan honderdmaal weggeschopt en opgevangen is. Wanneer iemand den bal niet juist zoo opvangt, dat hij hem met kracht kan voortwerpen, dan bepaalt hij

zich tot een lichten slag, en vangt hem daarna op met het hoofd, met den schouder of den elleboog totdat de bal eindelijk neerdaalt zooals het behoort en hij een oogenblik later in suizende vaart door de lucht snort. In de Padangsche Bovenlanden raakt men den bal gewoonlijk met de teenen of met de wreef, in Rawas met de binnenzijde van den voet, die daarvoor bekleed wordt met een schijf leder of oepih pinang (de bladscheede van den pinangpalm), welke schijf in Boven-Rawas *terapa*, lager aan de rivier *terompèt* heet."

At Moeara Laboeh, where the natives used to play in the market place, the ball is called *ragô*, according to VAN HASSELT.

The *raga* also is known in districts farther north. In Berlin as well as at Frankfort there are such balls from the Karo Batak. The label of the Berlin specimen, No. I C 20129, says: "Hipak-raga, Fussball, G. MEISSNER, Karo Batak", that of the Frankfort specimen runs as follows: "N. S. 9978. Fussball. Karo-Batak. Gekauft von Herrn R. HEINZE. Leipzig".

HAGEN states the *raga* to be known in C. Sumatra on the border between Djambi and Palembang. In his book "Die Orang Kubu auf Sumatra" he says the rattan football is a toy found among the primitive tribe called Orang Koeboe. On page 91 of the above book we read: "Von Spielen habe ich nur das Fussballspiel bei ihnen wahrgenommen, das angeblich ausschliesslich von Knaben ausgeübt wird. Der Ball besteht aus einem einfachen Rottangeflecht von der auch bei Malayen und Batak üblichen Form. . . . Einen Knöchelschutz habe ich nicht bemerkt, derselbe mag aber in Form eines Stückes Palmblattscheide wohl bestehen, obgleich ich der abgehärteten Kubuhaut schon zutraue, dass der innere Fussknöchel auch ohne Schutz imstande ist, den harten, wenig elastischen, kindskopfgrossen Rottanball aufzufangen und mit einem kräftigen Schlag wieder in die Höhe zu treiben."

HAGEN brought with him a *raga* from the Orang Koeboe. It is in the Museum at Frankfort at present. The label says: "No. 3325. Fussball. Kubu. Muara Bähar. Aus Rotanggeflecht. Kinderspielzeug. Für das Museum angekauft durch Herrn Hofrat Dr. B. HAGEN während seiner Forschungsreise Februar bis August 1905 nach Sumatra und Banka".

There is no doubt that the *raga* is known among the Orang Koeboe, but it seems most likely to my mind that with them it is a loan from the more civilized Malays, the culture of whom this primitive tribe living in the forests, partly adopted, a fact that can be traced for instance in their musical instruments.

The *raga* also is recorded from some islands near Sumatra, *i. e.* Banka, Riouw, and Nias. In the Leiden Museum there is a specimen from each of the first two islands. Both are slightly divergent from the usual type. Similarly to the Leiden specimen No. 1926/603 they consist of two balls, one inside the other. Of the Banka ball the Museum Catalogue, Vol. IV, p. 146, says: "370/3346 Fussball (Modell) *à jour* gearbeitet, kugelförmig, nach dem Dreirichtungssystem aus parigen Rotanstreifen geflochten. Im Inneren ein zweiter, vollkommen gleicher aber kleiner Ball. — Für das Fussballspiel (*sipak raga*), wobei man einander den Ball mit dem Fuss entgegen wirft. Dm. 3,5 cM.[1]"

In the same Volume, page 196, the following is stated of the Riouw ball: "370/3158. Fussball (*sepak raga*), doppelte Schicht von, nach dem Dreirichtungssystem geflochtenen Gruppen von drei oder vier farblosen, schmalen Rotanstreifen. — Für das Ballspiel. Dm. 12 cM".

Thus the double *raga* ball appears to be used in the islands to the east of Sumatra. It is rather remarkable that such a ball also should be found on the west coast of Sumatra, considering the fact that the common simple type occurs in the south-western part of Sumatra, in the central

[1] Evidently this is a slip of the pen, possibly meant for 13,5 cm.

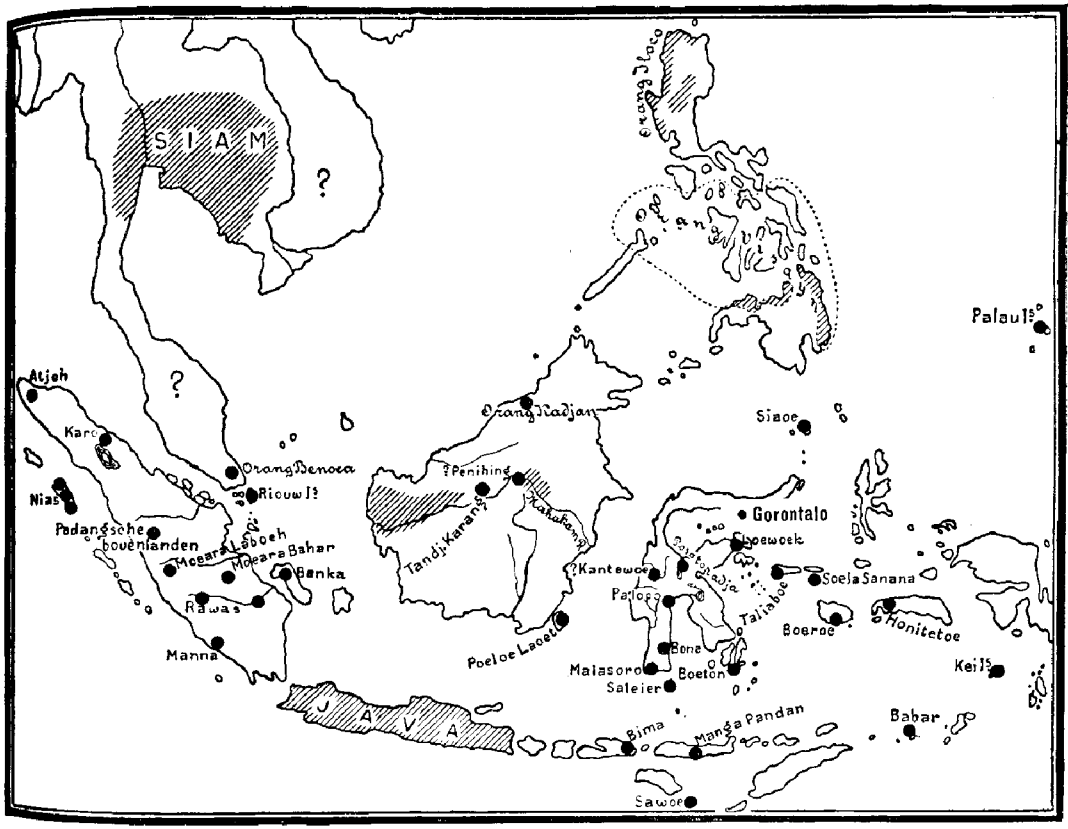
part among the Orang Koeboe, among the Orang Batak further to the north, as well as in Nias. Possibly the statement that the Leiden specimen No. 1926/603 came from the west coast is not altogether trustworthy. In the Museum Catalogue, Vol. XIV, is only said that the ball is a gift from the "Bataviasch Genootschap v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Juni 1916", but who collected it is not stated, nor from where it originates, nor the date of its acquisition. Thus it is not precluded that the locality as given may be an error. At all events, until we have an authentic record of the double *raga* ball from the west coast of Sumatra, I think we must regard the provenance of the Leiden specimen No. 1926/603 as uncertain.

In Nias the *raga* game evidently is commonly known. SCHRÖDER in his great work on that island records this sport from the northern, central and southern parts of Nias. The native name is said to be *si faràgò* all over the island.

There is no record of the *raga* from any other of the small islands in the neighbourhood of Sumatra, but it appears to be known in Malacca. In the Berlin Museum there is a specimen, No. I C 24546, the label of which says: "Ball für Kinder. STEVENS. Orang Bĕnûa. Malakka". Unfortunately no definite locality is given, but the ball may have come from the most southerly part of the peninsula to judge from STEVENS's book "Materialien zur Kenntnis der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka". The Orang Benua here being mixed with Malays there is the possibility that the Berlin specimen No. I C 24546 is of Malay origin, no *raga* ball being known from any primitive Malay tribe in Malacca. From Siam I have a reference, found in "Das Kind", page 269, by PLOSS-RENZ.

No doubt the rattan football is found at many more places than those enumerated in the foregoing. Evidently it is no special Celebes toy. The *raga* game as well as the ball itself being almost the same at widely separated pla-

ces points to a common origin. But did the sport spread from west to east, or vice versa? Or is it native to Indonesia? These are questions perhaps impossible to answer satisfactorily at present If the sport extended



Map 7. The *Raga* Game in Indonesia.

from west to east, it is strange that the *raga* does not appear to be a common game in Java.

I think the *sepak raga* cannot be a very ancient game in the Archipelago, considering that the construction of the ball, the rules of the game, and the native names of it vary so very little. Below is given a table with the native names of the ball in different localities.

Sumatra		
Karo Batak	Hipak-raga	Berlin Ethn. Mus.
Benkoelen, Manna	Tjipak, Njipak	Leiden Cat. XII
Riouw	Sepak raga	» » IV
Banka	Sipak raga	» » IV
Nias	Si faràgò	SCHRÖDER "Nias"
Borneo, Pnihing ...	Laga	LUMHOLZ, Oslo Mus.
Soembawa, Bima ...	Raga	JONKER Bim. Dictio.
	Sempa raga, met den bal spelen	
Flores	Raga, Fussball	ELBERT "Die Sunda-Exp.", II.
	Sepa raga, Fussballspiel	
Celebes:		
Orang Bugis	Râga, bal v. gevlochten rottan.	MATTHES Bug. and Mac. Dictionaries.
	Mâdaga, met een raga spelen.	
	Másêmĩpa ragâë, den bal schoppen, met den bal spelen.	
Orang Macassar...	Râga, bal v. gevlochten rottan.	
	Árâga, met een raga spelen.	
	Añjêmpá ragâya, met de bal spelen, eigenl. de bal schoppen.	
Bare-e speaking Toradja	Sepa, bal v. gevlochten rotan.	ADRIANI. Bare-e Dictionary.
	Mosepa, met den bal spelen.	
Gorontalo	Mosepa, met den bal spelen.	RIEDEL.
Boeroe	Ragan.	MARTIN.
Soela Isls	Raga-sipa, voetbalspel.	v. HULSTIJN.
Talaud Isls. Siaoe...	Sepa.	DINTER.
Philippines Luzon...	Sipa, football.	VANOVERBERGH.

It is difficult to pronounce an opinion on the origin of the *raga*, but it does not make the impression of an old, truly Malayan toy, at all events not in Celebes and adjacent islands, where it is known chiefly among the Mohammedans on the coast, who were more or less influenced by the Orang Bugis. Noteworthy seems the fact that it is practised in some places especially during the so called *Poewasa*, or Mohammedan Lent.

This may be taken to indicate that the *raga* in the eastern part of the Archipelago is connected with the Mohammedan culture, and was brought here at the same time as Mohammedanism. This can hardly have been earlier than in the fifteenth, or the sixteenth century when the Orang Bugis and Orang Macassar under Mohammedan influence played a really important rôle in the eastern part of the Archipelago.

Possibly the Orang Bugis got acquainted with the *raga* game when they began to extend their commercial connections to Sumatra, provided that the game is older in this island than in the Macassar Peninsula, which, in my opinion seems rather probable.

Games similar to the *sepak raga* occur at several places in E. Asia. CULIN in "Korean Games", records football from Japan, where it appears to have been a game much in favour at the Court. He gives a figure (Fig. 24) which "represents ancient Japanese nobles of the highest rank playing Foot-ball". The ball is not a ball plaited from strips of rattan but a round bag filled with hair, but the method of playing appears much the same as in Indonesia, a number of men standing in a circle and kicking the ball between them.

In Korea and in China there is a similar game, the ball, however, being replaced by a shuttlecock. In "Korean

Games", page 29, CULIN writes: "The Korean shuttlecock consists of a flattened ball made of cotton cloth and filled with clay or ashes, having a feather from a pheasant's tail stuck in the top. Shopkeepers play the game in the streets to keep their feet warm. The *Tjye-ki* is kicked from one person to another, and may be put in place to kick with the hand. The Chinese character *kin*, "foot-ball", is given



From CULIN

Fig. 24. *Football in Japan.*

as an equivalent for *Tjye-ki* in the *Dictionnaire Coréen-Francais, Tcha-ki*, "kicking", is apparently from the Chinese *tik*, "to kick". In page 43 CULIN says that the Chinese labourers in the United States, who came from Kwantung played a kind of shuttlecock similar to *Tjye-ki*.

Whether the Korean and Chinese shuttlecock kicking be connected with the Indonesian *sepak raga* is difficult to decide, the balls being altogether different, although the

manner of playing is much the same. There is the possibility that both originate from a game of great age in eastern and south-eastern Asia, from which they have differentiated in the course of time into three variants, one in Korea and China, one in Japan, and one in Indonesia.

The *sepak raga* does not appear to be connected with heathen rites, at any rate not at the present day, since it is not generally known to the natives in the interior of, *e. g.*, Celebes and other islands.

The Mohammedans, on the other hand, are familiar with it and like to play it at the time of their Lent, which may indicate that it is of Arabian origin. However, I have no reference to any Arabian tribe, and neither in Zanzibar nor in Madagascar did I ever see any Arabs amusing themselves with any game of this sort.

SCHRÖDER in his book "Nias", p. 254, suggests that the *sepak raga* originates from a rite that has declined into a mere game. He says: "Heeft dit zoo algemeen verspreide spel geen mytischen zin?"

Shuttlecock.

(Map 8.)

The only place in Celebes where I saw the children play at shuttlecock was at Kantewoe. A shuttlecock in my collection from this locality is made from a kind of very hard bamboo, nearly as thick as a finger and 8,5 cm. in length. One end is closed by a node, into the other end three white hen's feathers are stuck (Fig. 25 A[1]). The battledore which is of very soft wood has the shape of a spade, the handle being three centimeters broad (Fig. 25 A). In playing, two children send the shuttlecock between them, the game, I think, not being subject to any rules.

Strange to say the shuttlecock does not seem to be recorded from any other place in Celebes, but outside this island it is known in the western part of the Archipelago.

In the Berlin and Stuttgart Museums I found a similar toy from Karo in Sumatra, and at Leiden a specimen from Nias. SCHRÖDER's description of the game in Nias makes

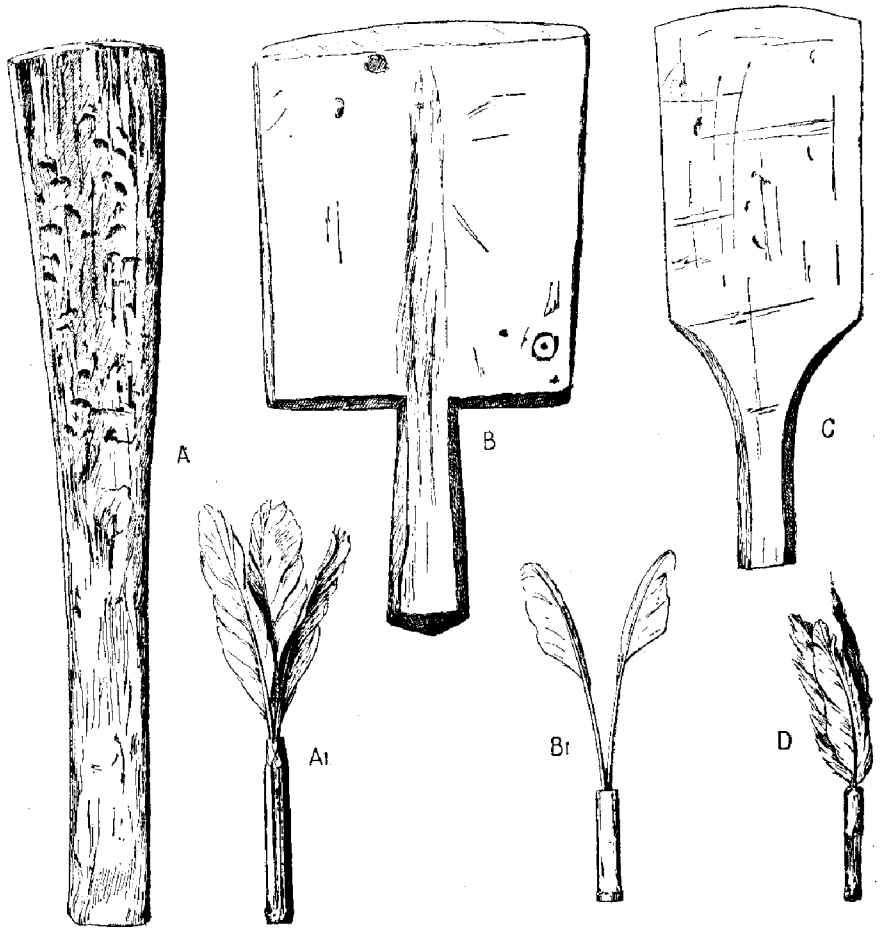


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Fig. 25. *Shuttlecocks and Battledores from Indonesia.* A, A¹ from Kantewoe, NW. Central Celebes; B, B¹ and C from the Karo Batak, Sumatra; D from Nias. (A and A¹, KAUDERN coll. Nos. 1934 and 1935; B, B¹ Berlin Mus. No. I C 20127; C Stuttgart Mus. No. 4124; D Leiden Mus. No. 1895/26.)

it evident that it is exactly the same as played in Kantewoe, only the shuttlecock is a little different.

The battledore of the Berlin specimen No. I C 20127 is almost square, measuring 15—13 cm. by 16 cm., with a

short handle, 10 cm. by 3—3,5 cm. (Fig. 25 B). The shuttlecock is a slip of bamboo with a node at one end, two white hen's feathers stuck into the other end, the proximal part of the vane being cut away (Fig. 25 B¹). The label of this toy states the following: "TONTAL, Kinderspielzeug, von 4—6 Kindern gespielt. Schlagbrett und Federball. *Karo.*"

The Stuttgart specimen is closely similar, the shuttlecock, No. 4123, being of bamboo, 6 cm. in length, with a node, and in the opposite end two white hen's feathers, the vane of which is cut away in the same way as in the Berlin specimen. The battledore, No. 4124, is not quite so broad as the Karo specimen in Berlin, and only slightly shouldered (Fig. 25 C).

The labels of these objects say: "No. 4123. *Total.* Federball. Kinderspiel, Sumatra. G. MEISSNER", and "No. 2124. *Tampar-Tampar* Schagbrett zum *Total* Spiel. Sumatra. G. MEISSNER".

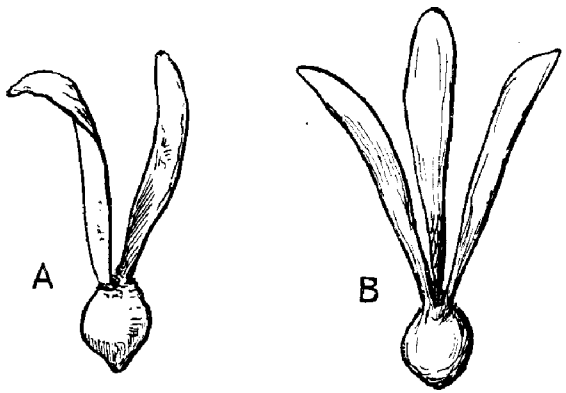
Further to the south the shuttlecock also appears to be known. In Plate XXXVII, Fig. 4, VAN HASSELT in his "Ethn. Atlas" belonging to VETH's great work "Midden Sumatra" reproduces a strange aiate fruit which he states to be used for a shuttlecock, the big tree, *kajoe agoeng*, on which it grows being common in Rawas, *i. e.* Palembang (Fig. 26 A).

Such a shuttlecock as this I do not know of from any other place in Indonesia, but there is at Cologne a rather similar specimen from the Kimberly District in NW. Australia. (Fig. 26 B). The label says: "Kinderspielzeug aus Früchten wird durch die Luft gewirbelt."

As mentioned above, the shuttlecock is commonly known in Nias. In the Leiden Museum there is a specimen from this island. The battledore is closely similar to that of the Karo specimen, the shuttlecock resembling that of my Kantewoe specimen. In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XIV, p. 40, we read as follows: "1895/26 und 1798/88 Federballspiel

(N. N. *fabiri*, S. N. *si fàmodsji bu manu*); 26 Bambusröhrchen, worin einige Hühnerfedern gesteckt sind; 88 Spatel (*bàgò* oder *hàmbò*) von braunem Holz, das Blatt rechteckig mit abgerundeten Ecken und einem kleinen trapezoiden Auswuchs auf der Mitte; der Stiel rechteckig, nach dem Ende hin dicker. — Beim Federballspiel müssen die Federn stets in der Luft bleiben. *S. N.* 1895/26: L. 14; 1798/88: L. 22,5, gr. Br. 6 cm."

At my visits to Leiden I did not see the battledore, but to judge from the above description it is a little shorter and much narrower than the Karo specimen. As seen in



1: 6.

Fig. 26. *Shuttlecocks*, made of an alate fruit.
A from Sumatra (after VON HASSELT); B from Australia, Cologne Mus..

Fig. 25 D, the shuttlecock is closely similar to the Kantewoe specimen with the slight difference that the small bamboo cylinder is shorter, and at one end pared off. The feathers exactly resemble those of the Kantewoe specimen.

In Nias there is, however, also another kind of shuttlecock. The shuttlecock, No. 1895/26 and the battledore, No. 1798/88 have been presented to the Museum by SCHRÖDER, the former in 1914, the latter in 1911, but in his great work on Nias, he describes another shuttlecock than the one represented in Fig. 25 D. On page 254 he gives an account of the game which I shall quote below:



From NIEUHOFF

Fig. 27. *Children playing with shuttlecocks* outside the Orphan Asylum at Batavia in the seventeenth century.

"No. 20 *Veeren-Zweefspel* (N. *fabiri*, Z. *si fàmodsji bu manu*). Enkele kippenveeren, vier in den regel, worden aan het benedeneinde door middel van een prop van was samengevoegd. Met een plankje (bàgò of hàmbò) drijft men die veeren naar boven, verhinderende, dat zij op den grond vallen."

Possibly one type is found in N. Nias, the other in S. Nias. From C. Nias SCHRÖDER does not record the shuttlecock.

In no museum that I visited was there a single specimen of the shuttlecock from Java, Borneo, the Little Soenda Islands, or from the Molucca, and I have failed to discover any record of this toy in the literature, except from Java.

NIEUHOFF in his account of his journey to the Dutch East Indies, published in 1732 but treating a journey in the seventeenth century, has a plate on p. 270—271 representing the childrens hospital at Batavia (Fig. 27). We see the house in front of which some children are playing. Their dress is European. To the left two boys are playing with a shuttlecock, sending it between them with their battledores. There is no explication given of the plate but on top of it we read: "The hospitall for children of Batavia". If we examine the shuttlecock we shall find it made of four feathers stuck in a lump of some material which is not bamboo. Possibly it is wax just as in the shuttlecock from Nias as described by SCHRÖDER.

It can hardly be doubted that the game of shuttlecock is the same as met with at Kantewoe, in Sumatra, in Nias, and in Batavia, but is it a native game to Indonesia, or is it of foreign origin? To answer this question I think we must turn to Eastern Asia where the shuttlecock is known in China, Korea, and Japan. Especially in Japan the game is rather similar to the game in Indonesia. In China and Korea no battledore appears to be used. CULIN in his book "Korean Games", p. 43, states that the Chinese labourers in the United States who came from Kwantung did not

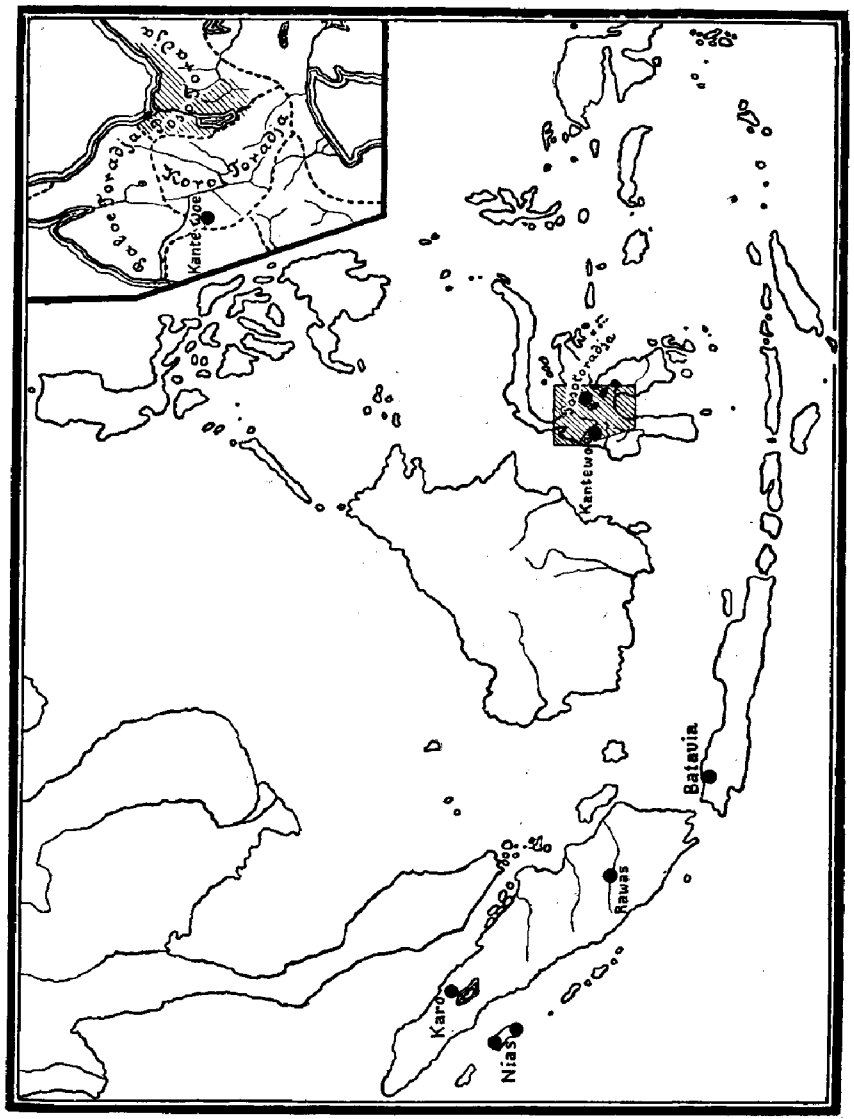


Fig. 8. The Shuttlecock in Indonesia.

know any game of ball played with a bat or racquet, but they played a kind of shuttlecock with their feet, similar to the Korean *Tjye-ki*. The Chinese shuttlecock is made from several pieces of snake-skin, weighted with a Chinese coin with several feathers stuck in the top. The Korean shuttlecock, according to CULIN, consists of a flattened ball made



From CULIN.

Fig. 28. *Japanese ladies playing with the shuttlecock.*

of cotton cloth and filled with clay or ashes, having a feather from a pheasant's tail stuck in the top. Also in Korea the shuttlecock is kicked. CULIN has a plate in which are represented three boys kicking a shuttlecock in much the same way as do the natives of the Malay Archipelago when playing *sepak raga*.

According to CULIN, the Japanese play the shuttlecock with a bat. On p. 40 of "Korean Games" we read as follows: "In Japan the girls only play with the shuttlecock. It is their customary amusement at the New Year. They use a battledore, *Hago ita*, usually made of *Kiri* wood, or in the cheaper kinds of *Sugi* or cedar, and having pictures, such as famous actors, on one side. The *Hago*, or shuttlecock is made of the seed of the *Mokuran* into which several small feathers are fastened." (Fig. 28.)

If we compare the Japanese battledore with the Indonesian ones, such as for instance the Stuttgart specimen from Karo, we shall find a striking similarity between them, and very likely the Japanese and the Indonesian game are closely related, but my material from Indonesia is too scanty to allow of any reliable conclusions. Below I give a list of the few names of the shuttlecock, the battledore, and the game, that are found in the literature at my disposal.

Country	Shuttlecock	Battledore	Game	Authority
Celebes Poso Toradja		—	Pontjomboe jangi	KRUYT
Sumatra Karo	Tontal			Berlin Museum
»	Total	Tampar-tampar		Stuttgart »
Nias		Bàgò or Hàmbò	Fabiri or si famodsji bu manu	SCHRÖDER
Japan	Hago	Hago ita	Hago asobi	CULIN
Korea	Tjye-ki	—	Tjye-ki, Tcha-ki	»
China	Kai mò in	—	T'ek in	»

The only names in this list that appear to be connected are the Japanese *Hago* and the Nias Bàgò. If the two words should prove to be allied, they would point to a common origin of the shuttlecocks of Japan and Nias. With the limited material at our disposal it is, however, impossible to tell if the shuttlecock came from Japan to Nias or vice versa.

In the eastern part of Central Celebes there is an allied game recorded by KRUYT, who says the children amuse themselves by throwing into the air corn-cobs in which are stuck some hen's feathers. They call this game *pontjomboe jangi*. ADRIANI, in his Dictionary, page 750, states: "*somboe* (Mor. [id.]), met een stok of een lans naar boven steken, in't biz. onder door de vloerlatten, om iemand die daarop slaapt te treffen.... *montjomboe jangi*, den hemel doorsteken, een kinderspel, waarbij men allerlei voorwerpen naar boven werpt, bv. maïs-kolven met kippeveeren er aan."

I have not seen this sport at any place in Celebes that I visited. Possibly the game is a survival of some game with spears, although, as far as I am aware, no such game is known from Celebes, at all events not from the Toradja in C. Celebes.

NORDENSKIÖLD in his "Comp. Ethn. Studies", Vol. II, page 110, describes a similar game from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The natives call it *sóuki*. Two boys throw between them a shelled corn-cob adorned with hen feathers.

Stone-throwing.

In different parts of Celebes I saw children as well as half-grown boys throwing stones, sometimes for mere amusement, sometimes to scare away buffaloes or dogs, but this sport never had the character of a game, which on the other hand appears to be the case in the Macassar Peninsula, MATTHES in his "Bijdragen tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes," p. 128, among other games also records stone-throwing. In his Bugis Dictionary, p. 103, he gives an account of this sport. It runs as follows: "*mápâttó*, soort van spel, waarbij men een' paal of bamboes, die op zekeren afstand in den grond geplant is, met steenen tracht te raken".

On the coast children sometimes will be seen playing at making ducks and drakes, a pastime also well known among the Poso Toradja. ADRIANI in his dictionary describes this game as follows: "*tineba* (missch. v. d. st. *teba*); *motineba*, keilen, platte stenen over het water laten scheren om ze te doen opspringen; men houdt daartoe den steen tusschen duim en wijsvinger gekneld en knipt hem met den wijsvinger der andere hand weg."

VAN HASSELT in Vol. III, p. 127, of "Midden-Sumatra" by VETH, enumerates this game among those practised by the Malay children in C. Sumatra, saying: "Wil men ook het keilen met platte steentjes over de oppervlakte van het water tot de spelen rekenen...."

From Minahassa in N. Celebes GRAAFLAND records a kind of stone-throwing, which evidently is similar to our Jackstones. In "De Minahassa", Vol. I, p. 281, we read as follows: "De jeugd vermaakt zich al vroeg met steentjes, die zij opwerpen, als ten onzent by het bikkelen. Het doel van het spel is eveneens om al de steentjes op te rapen."

These games with stones are so simple that it seems hardly necessary to assume that they should be allied.

Seed-flipping.

This is an amusement recorded by MATTHES from the Orang Bugis as well as from the Orang Macassar. In Bugis it is called *magatti*, from *gatti*, flip (Bug. Dict. p. 59). The game is played as follows. A boy takes a number of seeds in his hand and throws them on the grund. One of the seeds he flips in the direction of another seed in order to hit it. If he should fail, or hit more than one seed he has lost, and the turn goes to another boy who gathers the seeds and spreads them on the ground, an so on.

Shell-flipping.

This is a girls' game, rather similar to *magatti*, of which ADRIANI gives an account in his Bare-e Dictionary. *Tingge* is the shell of a shell-fish, and *motinggi* the name of the game, and it is played as follows. A girl takes a shell from a *boa* or *kasombo* between her thumb and forefinger and with the

forefinger of her right hand she flips it toward a shell that another girl has placed on the ground for her to aim at. In the Dictionary is stated that the *boa* is a mussel commonly found in streams, the *kasombo* an edible shell-fish also used for ornamental purposes, which occurs in the lower course of the Poso. This shows that the game is not a game peculiar to the coast.

Throwing clay pellets, seeds, etc., by means of a stick.

In Celebes children are often seen flinging clay pellets, small fruits, or seeds by means of a stick. At Modajag in Mongondou in N. Celebes as well as at Kantewoe in NW. Central Celebes this was an amusement much in favour with the children. They used clay pellets as projectiles. Mr E. ROSENLUND, a Salvation Army officer who worked among the natives of the Paloe Valley in NW. Central Celebes, tells me in a letter that the children in that district use small fruits, or seeds for projectiles, stuck to a *lidi*, the rib of a leaflet of the coconut palm.

ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary states the following: "*pondo*, slinger, en gespleten bamboe of rotan, met een steen of frucht er tusschen, die men er mee wegslingert; *mepondo*, met een slinger werpen, alleen alo jongensspel (vgl. *bisoë*[1])."

In all probability this sport is farely widely known in the Malay Archipelago.

NORDENSKIÖLD describes a similar sport from the interior of South America. Here the children use a springy leaf rib to which they fix some small object. The rib is then tensed and when released the projectile is propelled.

In Sweden in the neighbourhood of Stockholm it was a common entertainment when I was a boy to fling clay-pellets by means of a rod.

No doubt this game was invented more than one time, and at more than one place, and it is therefore possible that it is autochthonous of Celebes.

[1] See Addenda.

Pisóe.

This is a contrivance for throwings stones, discovered in C. Celebes by GRUBAUER when he visited the districts of Bada and Behoa in November 1911. The specimens that he acquired he reproduced and described in his book "Unter Kopfjägern in Central-Celebes", p. 495.

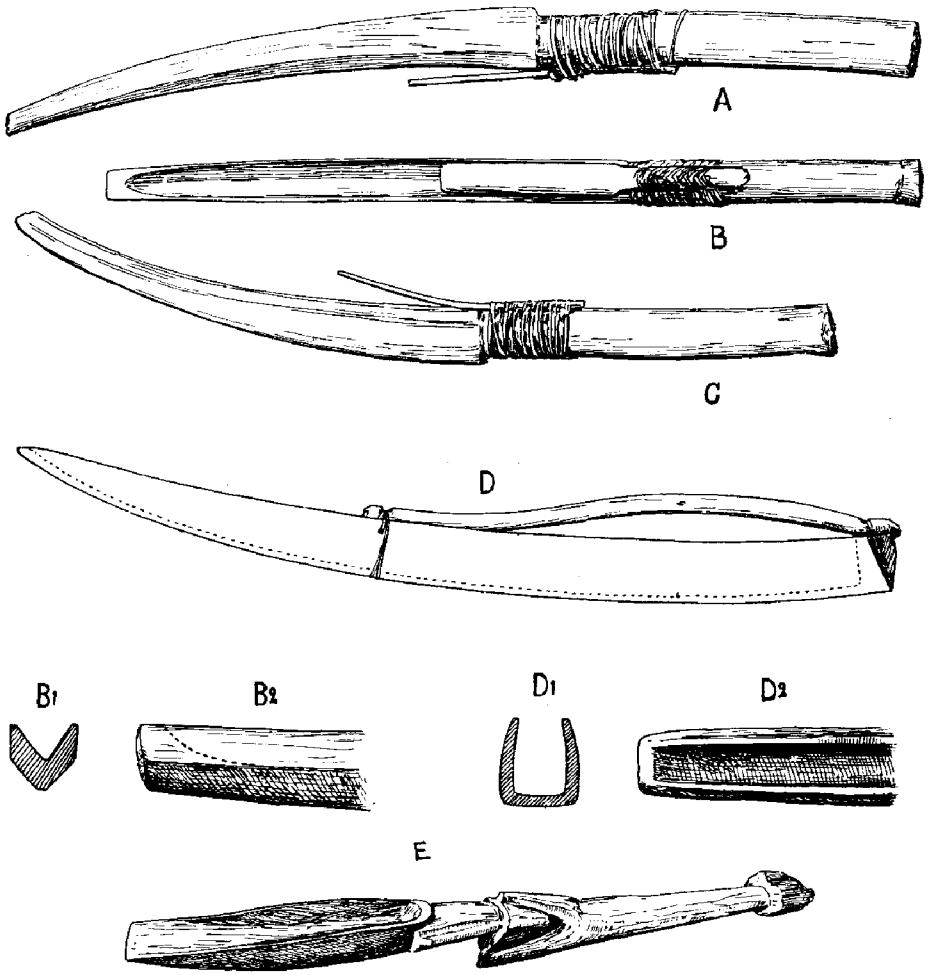
This "sling", if so I may call it, is of gutter shape tapering toward the distal end which is slightly curved. It is fitted with a handle. At the bottom of the proximal end of the groove a small springy plate of wood is fixed, keeping the pebble in place for discharging (Fig. 29 A, B, C). The native name of it is *pisóe*. According to GRUBAUER, it is used by boys to scare away the numerous birds that infest the fields when the paddy is ripening.

Strangely enough GRUBAUER is the only author who has seen this contrivance in C. Celebes, or in Celebes generally.

Although I visied Bada as well as Behoa I did not see it, presumably because my visit happened in a season when the paddy already had been harvested, the boys thus having no reason for using their *pisóe*,.

Whether this *pisóe* is characteristic of Bada and Behoa, or has a wider range in Celebes, or possibly in Indonesia, further researches may perhaps reveal. However, it cannot be said to be a mere toy, but not being a real weapon and being used by boys, I have judged it most correct to mention it among toys from Celebes. Like the common sling, it may formerly have been a deadly weapon in the hands of adults, which in the course of time has been superseded by weapons of greater efficiency. As to where its origin lay before it came to Celebes, or from what implement it developed is impossible to decide, the material being far too limited for anything beyond conjectures. If it is not a product of native invention in Celebes it may be a derivative of some implement used in everyday life.

I do not know of any such implement from Celebes, but in the Berlin Museum I saw a long narrow boat bailer from Ceylon (Fig. 29 D), the shape of which is similar to that of



1:7. A, B, C, form GRUBAUER

Fig. 29. *Pisóe* (A, B, C,) implement used for slinging stones in the Behoa District in C. Celebes. D, boot bailer from Ceylon; E id. possibly from NW. Australia. (A, B, C, after GRUBAUER; D Berlin Mus. No. I C 35402; E Gothenburg Mus. No. 2654.)

the *pisóe* from Bada and Behoa. Still more striking is its similarity with the bailer from W. Australia reproduced in Fig. 29 E. This specimen, which is in the Ethn. Museum

at Gothenburg, is carved in one piece similarly to the *pisóe*, with a handle and a narrow groove. If a thin plate of wood was lashed to the handle, the scoop could very well be used for the same purpose as the *pisóe*.

The conjecture that the *pisóe* is a derivative of a boat bailer would be confirmed if we could point to a boat bailer of the same shape in the districts of Bada and Behoa, or in those tracts of Celebes where canoes are used, but unfortunately there is in my collection no such scoop, nor have I seen such an implement from Celebes in the museums which I visited. The name *pisóe* supplies no clue as the names of those bailers are not known to me. In Vol. III of this Series I have shown that several cultural elements have entered western Central Celebes from the south, and in Vol. II, I have adduced a great number of facts speaking in favour of the presumption that the tribes at present living in Bada and Behoa immigrated from the south. Under these circumstances it would not be unreasonable to suppose that this *pisóe*, or its presumed original form, a long narrow boat bailer, came to C. Celebes from the south. I was unable to procure any proofs of this theory, but possibly the word *pisóe* may be related to the Rotinese words *paso*, *pisok*, *piso*, which mean splash, sprinkle, squirt, according to JONKER.

The Sling.

(Map 9.)

KRUYT in the great work "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" records the sling from the Poso Toradja in the eastern part of C. Celebes. On page 387, Vol. II, of the above book we read: "Steentjes slingeren met den slinger (*pondo*), doen jongens ook gaarne. Een lang smal lapje katoen of geklopte boomschors wordt met het eene einde aan een der vingers vastgemaakt; het andere einde houdt men los in de hand. Dit eind wordt bij het slingeren losgelaten, zoodat de steen, die in den slinger gelegd is, vrij kan vegvliegen."

Evidently this is a very simple sling, in all probability

owing to its being a mere toy nowadays. KRUYT does not state whether this sling is known to all Poso Toradja tribes, or limited to certain districts, nor has he brought to Europe any specimen of this interesting implement.

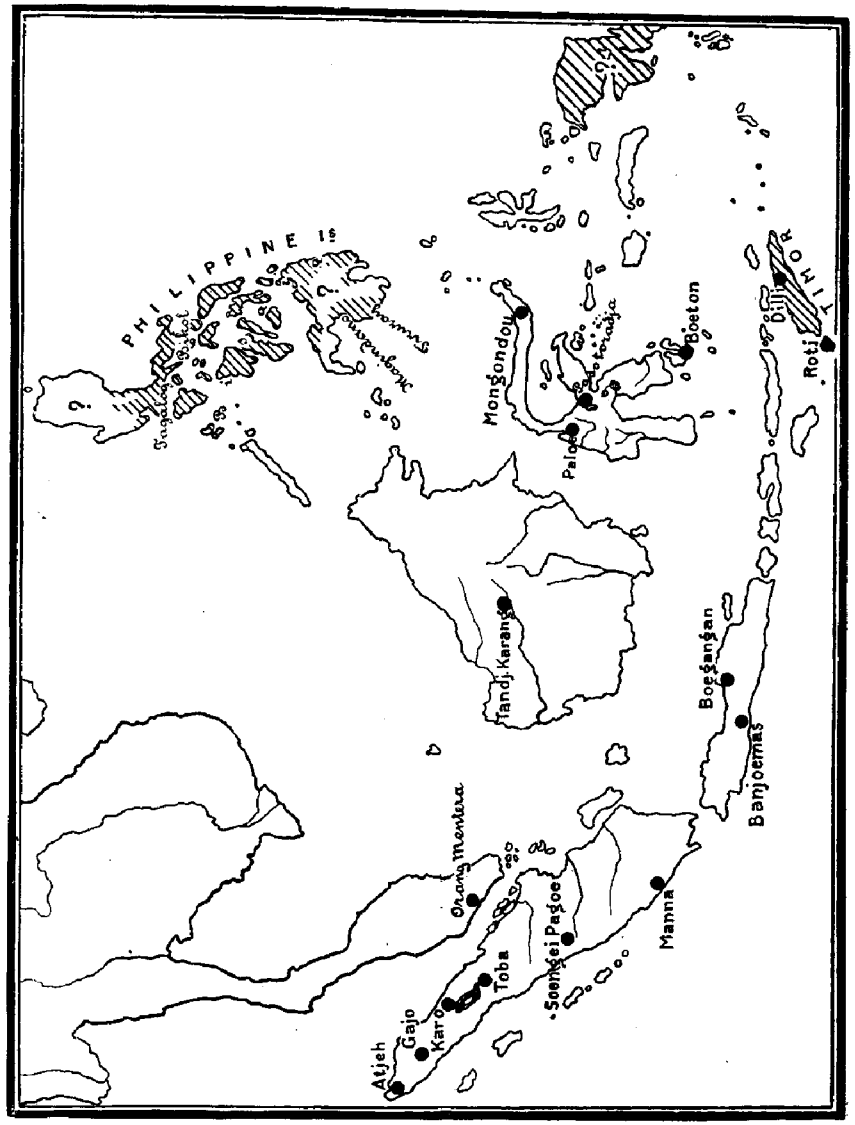
According to ADRIANI's Bare-e Dictionary, *pondo* only means a stick, split at one end used to sling stones or small fruits. The name of the common sling is *bisoë*[1]. On page 728 of the Dictionary is stated: "*soë* . . . schommel, . . . *bisoë*, slinger van een blad met een liaan of iets derg. er aan, waarmee men een steen wegslingert; , . . *ane ndapebisoëka masi ira padika watoe*, als men met een bisoë slingert, dan scheurt het blad waarin men den steen heeft gelegd."

I myself did not see any sling during my journey through E. Central Celebes, and in none of the numerous Ethnographical Museums on the European Continent that I visited was any sling from Celebes to be found, but nevertheless the sling may be quite commonly known in Celebes. I have made inquiries about the sling through persons living in Celebes, and received the following information.

Mr. ROSENLUND, a Salvation Army officer, for five years working in the Paloe Valley, NW. Central Celebes, tells me that in the Paloe Valley the native children will use a simple sling, called *soewai* in the Kaili language, consisting of a strap of some material, about three centimeters wide, with which they sling small stones.

As to N. Celebes, the sling may be known, although, as far as I am aware, there are no specimens in the museums, or records in books. In answer to my inquiries the Dutch "Controleur" in Mongondou, Mr. ALLAAD, kindly states that the sling is known among the natives of Mongondou. He writes: "De slinger is bekend in Mongondou. Van de daarvoor gebruikte woorden noem ik hier *kokambit*." This seems to imply that in the Mongondou language there are several words for sling, which I suppose must be taken to indicate that the natives use several kinds of slings.

[1] See Addenda.



Map 9. The Sling in Indonesia.

From the Island of Boeton, not far from the south-eastern coast of Celebes, I have a reference. I am very much indebted to the Dutch Governor of the Province, Mr. BARETTA, for some interesting particulars of the sling in Boeton. He states that the sling is called *kasasambi* and is made of a rattan or a cord. The "stone" is a young coconut, or some other hard fruit. The sling was not used as a weapon in war, but in sham fights between two *kampong* or villages. The combatants first attacked one another with slings and finished with belabouring each other with their fists. These contests were especially common in the villages round Kraton, the village where the Sultan resided. On these occasions people often were seriously hurt, and for this reason the Dutch Government had to prohibit the contests in question.

The sling of the present day in Celebes in all probability is a survival from a period when it was a weapon in the hands of adults, and nowadays it appears to be an implement of no consequence to the natives not only of Celebes but in all the Malayan Archipelago.

True enough HEINE GELDERN, when writing of the peoples of SE. Asia in "BUSCHAN, Illustr. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, p. 878, says the sling is used as a weapon in the Malayan Archipelago, but he does not give any instances, only saying: "Das Werfen von Steinen aus freier Hand als Kampfmittel, besonders bei der Verteidigung von Befestigungen, ist stark verbreitet. *Im Indonesien auch die Steinschleuder.*[1]"

From this we get the impression that the sling would be commonly used as a weapon in the Malay Islands, which, however, I think is incorrect. Certainly the sling may be found in many localities, but it has no doubt lost its character of a real weapon, being at present a mere toy, or possibly it serves to scare away small winged thieves from the paddy fields.

[1] The italics are mine.

In the islands between Celebes and New Guinea the sling does not appear to be known, at least there is no record of it in books that I have consulted. RIEDEL in his great work "De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua", does not mention the sling, nor does MARTIN in his "Reisen in den Molukken", and SACHSE does not record the sling as a weapon in Ceram when treating of the weapons of the natives of this island in his book "Seran en zijne Bewoners". In PLEYTE's "Ethn. Atlas van de Zuidwester- en Zuidooster-Eilanden" there is no representation of a sling, and v. HULSTIJN in his book on the Soela Islands does not either mention this implement.

JONKER in his "Rotineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek", records the sling from the small Island of Roti, far to the south-east of Celebes. On page 135 of this book is stated: "*fido*, Bo., Bi., T.[1] idem = pilu 2, slingernd omhoog werpen zooals steenen, klompjes modder, enz," and "*fifidok* = *pipiluk*, slinger." Thus "sling" is in the chief dialect in Roti, the Termanu Dialect, *fifidok, or pipiluk*, with the corresponding verb *fido*, which is the same in the three dialects: Bokai, Bilba, and Ti. The latter dialect appears to have a second word for "sling" and the verb "to sling", JONKER on page 753 writing: "*piü* 2, T. = *fido*, werpen met een slinger; *pipiük* = *pipiluk*, slinger". Evidently *pipiluk* means a common sling as well as a rod or stick for throwing stones or lumps of clay. On page 485 of Jonker's Dictionary we read: "*pipiluk*, K. *pipilu*; Ba. *mpimpilu*; R. *pipiru;* D. *pipilut;* On. *pipirut;* T. *pipiük*, (Tett. v. Dilli *tali fafiruk*, Tim. v. Aramasi *biut;* vgl. pipiü), het slingerend werpen; *slinger* of *stuk hout*[2] om daarmede slingerend te werpen".

In the Appendix to the Dictionary are given some of the words in the dialects spoken in Roti. On page 753 JONKER states: "*pilu-palo*, Bo. sub *pipiluk*, slinger?" The words for sling in Timor, *tali fafiruh* and *biut*, no doubt are

[1] Bo = Bokai dialect, Bi. = Bilba dialect, T. = Ti dialect.

[2] The italics are mine.

closely related to the corresponding words of all the dialects in Roti.

The statements found in JONKER's Dictionary give the impression of the sling being a common toy in Roti.

I have no more record of the sling from the Little Sunda Islands than the above from Timor, and Roti. ELBERT does not mention it in "Die Sunda-Expedition", in no museum that I visited was there a sling from these Islands, and as far as I can find JONKER in his "Bimaneesch-Hollands Woordenboek" does not give any word for sling.

In Java the sling may be found, but no European Museum that I visited contains a real sling from this island. In the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XI p. 28, however, is listed a sling among the outfit of a young shepherd. The Catalogue says: "No. 1108/174 *Hirtenknabe mit Zugochs*, der Knabe auf die möglichst festliche und vollendete Art und Weise gekleidet, wie dies nur unmittelbar nach dem Ende des Monates der Fasten (Jav. puwasa), dem sogenannten Javanischen Neujahr, stattfindet . . ."

Then all the cloths and equipment of the shepherd are enumerated including a sling, in Javanese called *bandring*. The shepherd is a small figure originating from Kalibening, Banjoemas. Strange to say the Catalogue does not record a single specimen of real sling from Java, which I suppose must be taken to indicate that the sling at the present day has lost its character of a weapon in this island, possibly being kept only as a more or less religious attribute, since the Leiden Catalogue states that the shepherd wears the rich dress only used at the Javanese New Year, after the end of the month of Lent.

Possibly the sling still is kept as a toy in Java, but, as yet, I have no reference. At Leiden there is a large collection of toys from Java, but no sling is found among them. In his book "Een blik in het Javansche volksleven" MAYER enumerates several Javanese games but he does not

mention the sling, nor does VETH so in his great work "Java".[1]

To the north of Celebes the sling seems to be commonly known in most of the Philippine Islands, or to have been so formerly. FRIEDERICI in a paper "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Trutzwaffen" on page 27 states as follows: ". . . so haben auf den Philippinen zum mindesten die Tagalen, Bikol, Bisayos, Tiruray und Magindanao einstmals die Schleuder geführt."

From Borneo I have no record of the sling as a weapon, but NIEUWENHUIS on p. 91 of Vol. I of his book "In Centraal Borneo", speaks of a kind of simple sling used as a toy. We read as follows: ". . . zag ik de kinderen aan den Mandai spelen met slingers van lange grasbladen, warmede zij stukjes aarde zoover mogelijk over de rivier wierpen. In het met bosschen bedekte Borneo heeft de slinger echter geen praktisch nut." If this simple sling for discharging lumps of clay is a native invention in Borneo, or it should be regarded as a degenerated form of the ordinary sling is not clear from what NIEUWENHIUS says about it, but he seems to be of the opinion that a sling would not be a very useful weapon in the woody Island of Borneo.

In Sumatra the sling appears to be used all over the island. In the Leiden Museum are slings from S. Sumatra as well as from C. Sumatra, and at Frankfort there are two slings from the Batak in the northern part of the island. In the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XII, p. 115, are listed two slings, Nos. 939/16 and 939/16a, from the

[1] Quite recently I happened to meet a Swedish S. A. officer, Miss Palm, who has been working in Java ever since 1911. She told me that at Boegangan, a beggar colony near Semarang where she had been stationed, the Javanese boys were very fond of making slings. For the strap they would, if possible, use a piece of bicycle tubing to which they attached one or two strings or strips of rattan, on each side. No bird was safe when there was a boy about with his sling. Even the domestic fowl were hunted by the young marksmen which caused the manager of the colony to prohibit altogether the use of slings.

district of Manna in S. Sumatra. Their native name is stated to be *panah 'umban*, or *gutok 'umban*. According to the Catalogue, the slings are used to scare away monkeys from the paddy fields. How they are made is not quite clear from the discription given in the Catalogue. No. 939/16 is made of the bark or bast of *Artocarpus Blumei* Trécul, and No. 939/16 a of string made from *Boehmeria nivera* Gandich. The former has a total length of 118 cm. with a middle part of 8 cm. The corresponding dimensions of the latter are 108 and 3,5 cm. The strap meant to hold the stone is said to have the shape of a pointed oval to which are attached two flat thongs, one of which ends in a loop. Presumably these slings are of the same construction as the sling depicted by VAN HASSELT in "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, Plate XXVI, Fig. 4, here reproduced in Fig. 30.



1: 10.
From V. HASSELT
Fig. 30. *Sling.* Soengei Pagoe, Sumatra.

In all probability this specimen is the one of which the Museum Catalogue, Vol. X, p. 96, states the following: "268/74 Schleuder (paumban tali) von grauem Tau, fest geflochten, rautenförmig, mit zwei Schnüren, deren eine in einen geflochtenen Ring endet". This specimen was acquired by the Dutch expedition to Central Sumatra in 1877—1879. The sling figured by V. HASSELT was acquired by that expedition at Soengei-Pagoe. On p. 33 of Vol. III of "Midden- Sumatra", V. HASSELT writes: "Nog van een wapen moeten wij melding maken, en wel van den slinger, *oemban tali*, die, uit tow gevlochten voor het werpen van steenen dient, en om den fellen knal die zich daarbij doet hooren, ook gebruikt wordt voor het verjagen van varkens en herten uit de bebouwde velden".

Whether the name of the sling is *oemban tali* or *paoemban tali* is impossible to tell, since V. HASSELT uses both

expressions, writing: "*Oemban tali* van Soengei-Pagoe . . . Wegens den fellen slag . . . gebruikt men de *păoemban tali* ook om het wild uit de rijstvelden te verjagen".

Although at the present day the sling appears to be used to scare away animals and birds bent on despoiling the crops, it formerly was a weapon used in war. The Leiden Catalogue, quoting V. HASSELT, states the following: "Früher wurde bei den vielen kleinen Kriegen zwischen den Dörfern die Schleuder auch als Kriegswaffe benutzt". The Leiden specimen measures 100 cm. by 9 cm.

Also among the Batak the sling is rather common, or so it was not long ago. At Frankfort there are, as mentioned above, two slings from these tribes, one presumably from the Toba, another from the Karo. The label of the former (Fig. 31 B) states: "No. 14049 Schleuder. Toba'sche Nationalwaffe. Ankauf von Professor W. VOLZ, Breslau 1911". No definite locality is given, but the statement as to the sling being a national weapon implies that it is commonly used in the whole district.

Of the second specimen (Fig. 31 A), is stated: "No. N. S. 9965 Schleuder, *Goli bawong*, Karo Batak, Gekauft von Herrn R. HEINZE. Leipzig". The construction of these slings can easily be seen from the figures on p. 128. The Toba sling is 172 cm. long, the material being similar to that of common twine. The Karo sling has a length of 176 cm. It is made from some rather coarse fibre, braided like a tress of hair. Also in the northern part of Sumatra the sling appears to be commonly known. FRIEDERICI in his paper "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Trutzwaffen", page 27, records it from the districts of Acheh and Gajo.

Of the sling in Nias the Leiden Cat., Vol. IV, p. 52, says that formerly it was used as a weapon in S. Nias, which, however, according to LINDBLOM is erroneous.

North-east of Sumatra we meet the sling in the Malay Peninsula. In the Berlin Museum is contained a sling from

the so-called Orang Mentera, who live in the south-western part of Malacca according to STEVENS's map of peoples in his "Materialien z. Kenntnis der wilden Stämme auf der

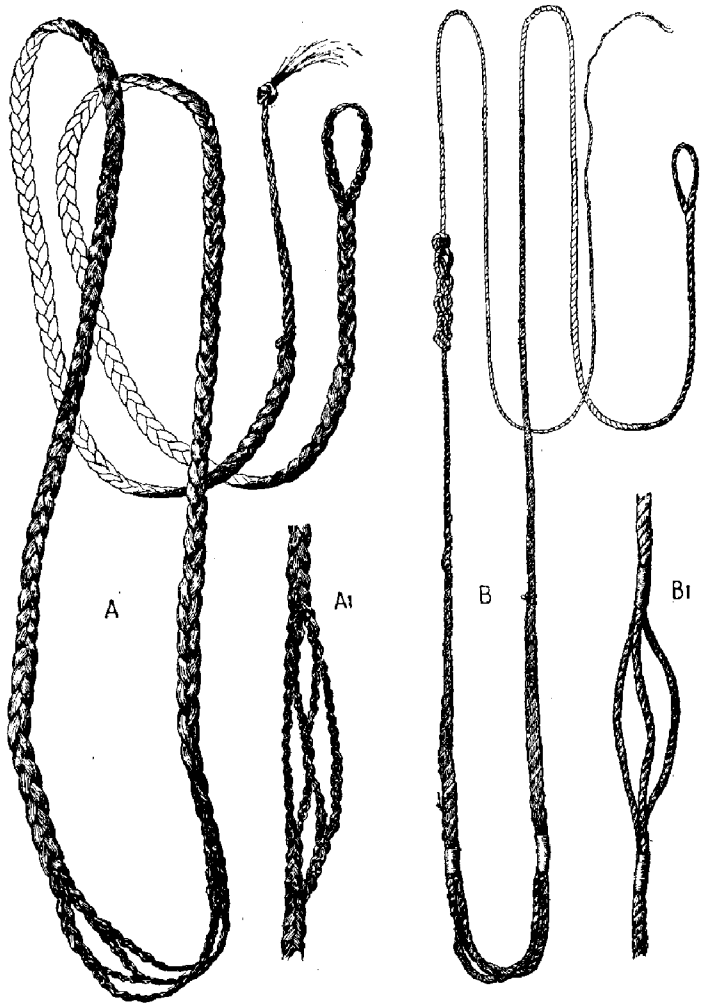


Fig. 31. *Slings from Sumatra.* A from the Karo Batak; B from the Toba Batak. (A Frankfort a. M. No. N. S. 9965; B id. No. N. S. 14049.)

Halbinsel Malâka". The label of this sling (Fig. 32) states: "I C 24651 *homban tali*, Schleuder aus "trup" = Rinde (Mal. tĕrap). Spielzeug der Kinder der Mĕntĕra: doch soll sie auch für Spiel (monkup etc.) und im Kriege gebraucht

worden sein. Orang Bĕlêndas von West-Malaka, sog. Orang Mĕntĕra. VAUGHAN STEVENS. Mal. *humban tâli*".

This sling is rather similar to the Karo sling, the material being coarse fibres woven together like a plait of hair. The strap in which the stone is placed is composed of six small plaits.

Closely similar slings are found in the region east of Indonesia. The specimen represented in Fig. 33 A came from New Guinea. It is found in the ethnographical collections of the Priory of St. Gabriel at Mödling, near Vienna. The label of this specimen, No. III 1136, states that it hails from the tracts of the Empress Augusta River. It is 175 cm. long, made of strong fibre, plaited in the usual manner, one end being formed into a big loop. The strap is composed of six small braids. This sling is so strong and of so good a make, that in all probability it was used as a weapon, which also may have been the case with the Karo sling, and the sling from the Malay Peninsula as described above.

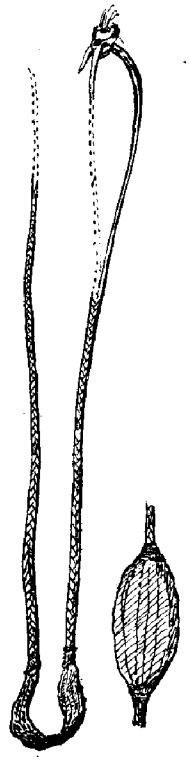


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Fig. 32. *Sling from the Malay Peninsula.* (Berlin Mus. No. I C 24651.)

The records of the sling in Indonesia as quoted above in all probability do not give a correct idea of its geographical distribution in this region. I did not always have access to the literature necessary to my work, and probably a close study of for instance old Javanese books and legends would have helped to throw a light upon the early range of the sling in Java and in the Malay Islands in general. At all events it can hardly be doubted that in olden times the sling was commonly used in Indonesia, having at present declined into an implement used to scare away intruding beasts from the fields, or into a mere toy.

From which locality the sling found its way into Indonesia is very difficult to decide, our knowledge of its range

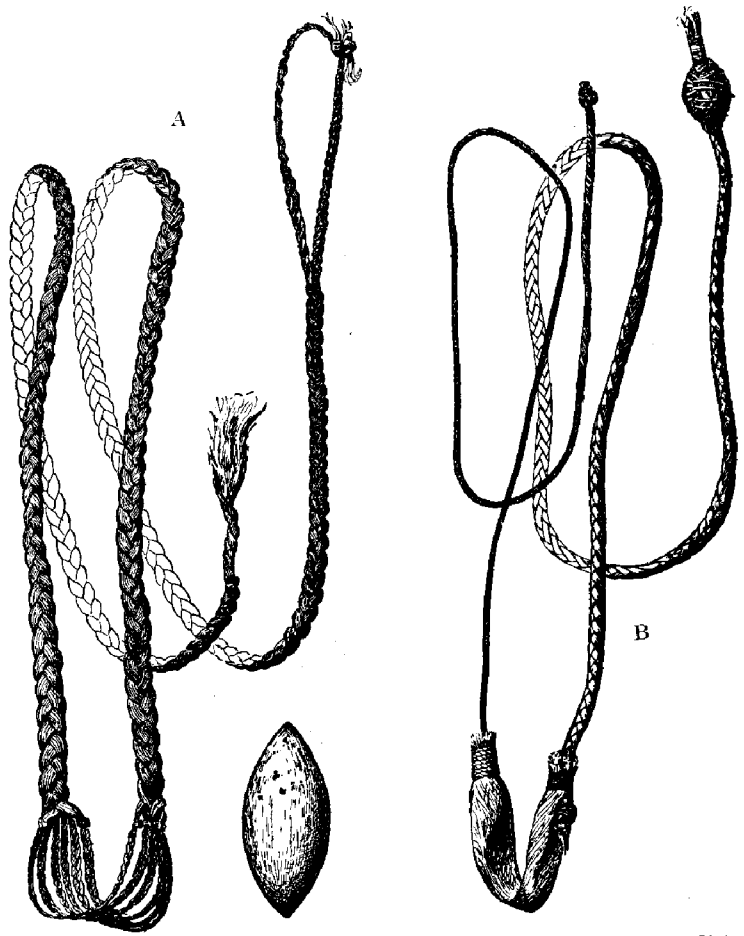

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Fig. 33. A. *Sling with sling stone.* New Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the Empress Augusta River. (Mödling, St. Gabriel, No. III 1136).

B *Sling from New Guinea.* The thicker end plaited of four thin rattans, the thinner end a common twine. The centre of the sling in all probability is a scrap taken from the edge of the spathe of a palm leaf. (Gothenb. Mus. No. 4772.)

in this region still being very imperfeet. The native names given in the list below do not appear to help us to answer is question.

Country	Tribe, locality or dialect	Name of the sling	Authority
Malacca	Orang Mentera	homban tali humban tali	Berlin Mus. STEVENS
Sumatra	Karo	Goli bawong	Frankfort Mus. HEINZE.
»	Soengei-Pagi	Oemban tali Paoemban tali	Leiden Mus. Cat. X v. HASSELT.
»	Manna	Panah 'umban Gutok 'umban	
Java	Banjoemas Kalibening	Bandring	Leiden Mus. Cat. XI
Celebes	Paloe Toradja Paloe Valley	Soewai	E. ROSENLUND
» »	Poso Toradja » »	Pondo Bisoë	KRUYT ADRIANI
Roti	Termanu Dialect Korbaffo Dial. Baä Dial. Renggou Dial. Dengka Dial. Òe-nale Dial. Ti Dial. Bokai Dial.	pipiluk pipilu mpimpilu pipiru pipilut pipirut pipiük ? pilu-palo	JONKER
Timor	Dilli Aramasi	tali fafiruk biut	

Outside Indonesia the sling occurs, or did so, nearly all over the world except in Australia. A paper lately published by LINDBLOM, "Die Schleuder in Afrika und anderwärts", treats of the range of the sling in Africa and elsewhere. LINDBLOM, however, does not enter upon the question of how it reached Indonesia. I do not think that the sling is an invention made in the Malay Islands. It seems more likely to my mind that it was brought on to these Islands from the continent of Asia, or possibly from New Guinea and the islands of the South Pacific.

In Asia the sling appears to be rather scarce nowadays, occurring now here, now there, but in such a manner that

we get the impression that it once must have been used all over this continent. According to LINDBLOM, it is or formerly was found, in Assyria, in Old Palestine, and Persia, as well as in historical time in S. Arabia, in East Turkestan, among the Kirgheez in Central Asia, among the Tadschik of Afganistan, among some highland tribes in India, and the Tschuktsch in NE. Asia. To these records from Asia we can add another, the Orang Mentera in the Malay Peninsula, where the name of the sling is *homban tali*, a name which approximates the words for sling in Sumatra, making it likely that the slings of these countries are closely allied. There are no records of the sling from intermediate localities between Malacca and India.

The sling has a wide range in the region east of Indonsia, *i. e.* in New Guinea and the Islands of the South Pacific, for instance the Bismarck Archipelago, the Trobriand Islands, the New Hebrides, the Fiji Islands, New Caledonia, Micronesia, Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii, and the Marquesas Islands, and it seems rather a remarkable fact that it is not recorded from any locality between Celebes and New Guinea such as the Moluccas, Ambon, Ceram, Soela, etc.

Thus the sling in Indonesia appears to have no connection neither towards the east, nor towards the west, but it seems likely that it has, or formerly had, a wider range in SE. Asia as well as in the islands between Java and New Guinea than would appear from the statements found in the literature and the scarce specimens in the museums. Presumably it found its way to Malacca from the central part of Asia, and from the Malay Peninsula was brought on to Sumatra and adjacent small islands and over Java and the range of islands to the east, on to New Guinea and the Islands of the South Pacific.

We get the impression that the sling is of great age in Indonesia. It is certain that it came to this region already before the Hindoo Period and that it is a relict from a pure Malayan or still earlier migration. It would, however,

seem as if the sling was unknown to the earliest and most primitive inhabitants of the Malayan region, *i. e.* the so called Negrito and Weddoid peoples of which small remnants are found nearly all over Indonesia.

It then remains to investigate the occurrence of the sling among the real Malayan peoples in Indonesia, which HEINE GELDERN divides into Primitive Malays, Old Malays, and Young Malays as given in the table below. Of these the latter two in all probability make one group, the Old Malays having, however, to a great extent kept their old original culture contrary to the Young Malays who have been strongly influenced by foreign cultures.

Country	Locality	Tribe	Group
Malacca	—	Orang Mentera	Primitive Malays
Sumatra	Karo	Batak	Old Malays
	Toba	Batak	Old Malays
	Soengei-Pagoe	—	? Old Malays or Young Malays.
	Manna	—	? Old Malays or Young Malays.
Borneo	Mandai	Dyak[1]	Old Malays
Java	Banjoemas	Orang Java	Young Malays
Celebes	Paloe Valley	Paloe Toradja	Old Malays
	Mongondou	Orang Mongondou	? Old Malays
Boeton	—	—	? Old Malays
Timor	Dili	—	? Old Malays
	Aramasi	—	? Old Malays
Roti	—	—	? Old Malays

As will be seen from this table, in Indonesia the sling chiefly appears to be known among the so called Olds Malays and Young Malays. There is but one record of the sling from the Primitive Malays, *i. e.* the Orang Mentera in the

[1] According to HEINE GELDERN, "BUSCHAN Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, page 715, so-called Ulu-Ayer-Dajak.

Malay Peninsula. From the Negroid and Weddoid peoples as well as from the Papua in the eastern part of the Archipelago there is no record of the sling, which possibly may be taken to indicate that it is unknown to them.

If I should venture to pronounce an opinion on the first appearance of the sling in Indonesia I should say it came to this region with the immigrating proper Malays and disappeared under the influence of foreign higher cultures. For this reason the sling at the present day is chiefly met with among the so-called Old Malays who more or less have kept their original Malayan culture, but even among most of these tribes the sling nowadays appears to be absent, or it has lost its character of a weapon, having degenerated into a mere toy.

This refers to the type represented by the Malacca sling, the two slings from the Batak in Sumatra, as well as the New Guinea sling represented in Fig. 33 A, a type of very wide range throughout the world. FRIEDERICI in his paper "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Trutzwaffen", page 27, mentions for instance the Inca in S. America and the natives of New Pommern. Possibly there has also been a sling of another type in Indonesia, a type that FRIEDERICI in his above mentioned paper, page 30, calls No. 1 among the sling types found in the Bismarck Archipelago. In Fig. 33 B of this book such a sling from New Guinea is seen. I never saw this kind of sling in Indonesia, but as mentioned in the foregoing, a Swedish S. A. officer, Miss Palm, who for some years worked among the natives at Boegangan, a beggar colony near Semarang on the north coast of Java, told me that among the children at Boegangan it was customary to make slings from at piece of bicycle tubing to which they attached one or two strings at either side. Whether this degenerated sling be a relict form from a period when it had a wider range in Indonesia, or it be a westerly offset of a Melanesian sling type I cannot decide at present.

The Throwing Stick.

(Map 10.)

In the Macassar Peninsula there occurs a throwing stick which, however, is no true toy, as it is used to kill, or to scare away the numerous birds who revel in the fields when the paddy is ripening. But being used only by boys I have judged it better to class it with the toys than with the weapons.

Having not myself had the opportunity of acquiring any throwing sticks in Celebes I shall have to refer below to specimens in the European Museums as well as to statements found in the literature.

The first record of the throwing stick is given by the Governor of Celebes VAN HOËVELL, in "Int. Arch. f. Ethn." Vol. XV, p. 201. He writes: "Op een meiner laatste inspectie-reizen in de Noorderdistricten van Zuid-Celebes zag ik, door den Controleur H. P. WAGNER daarop opmerkzaam gemaakt, te Pangkadjene eenige opgeschoten knapen bezig op de sawah's met kromhouten naar vogels, zoovel op stilzittende als in de vlucht, te werpen. Met vervonderlijke juistheid wisten ze de dieren te treffen en ze de vleugels of de pooten lam te gooien, zoodat ze dan gemakkelijk te vangen waren.

De kunst om aan de werphouten een richting te geven, dat deze terugkeerden naar den plaats van waar ze geworpen werden, zooals met den echten boomerang het geval is, verstonden ze echter niet.

Makassar 25 Mei 1902, C. W. W. C. VON HOËVELL."

Some of the throwing sticks collected by v. HOËVELL are figured in the above quoted publication as well as in "Verslag Rijks Ethn. Museum" 1901—1902, Plate I.

Several specimens from Pangkadjene are found in the museums of Leiden, Basel, and Dresden. The cousins SARASIN acquired some specimens at Maros through the Dutch "controleur" WAGNER. They state that these angular

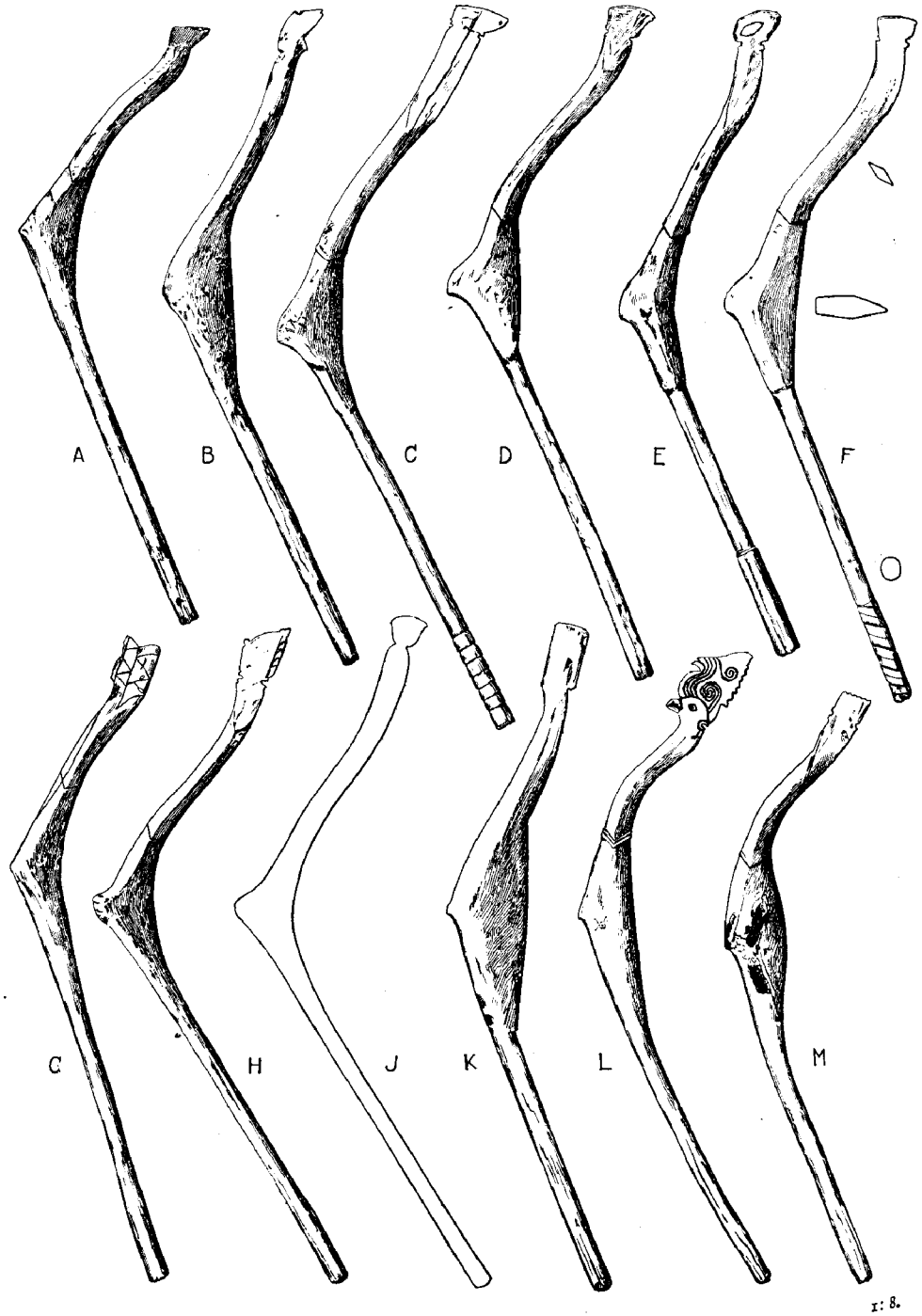

Fig. 34. *Throwing Sticks.* From Pangkadjene in the Macassar Peninsula.
(A Dresden Mus. No. 18001; D id. No. 18002; E id. 18003; G id. No. 18004; K id. No. 18000; L id. No. 18005; B Leiden Mus. No. 1456/121; C id. No. 1368/4; F id. No. 1396/3; H id. No. 1368/2; J id. No. 1368/3; M Frankfort a. M. No. N. S. 45.)

throwing sticks were used to scare away birds in the paddy fields. In Vol. II, p. 231 of their "Reisen in Celebes", they figure a fine specimen from Pangkadjene.

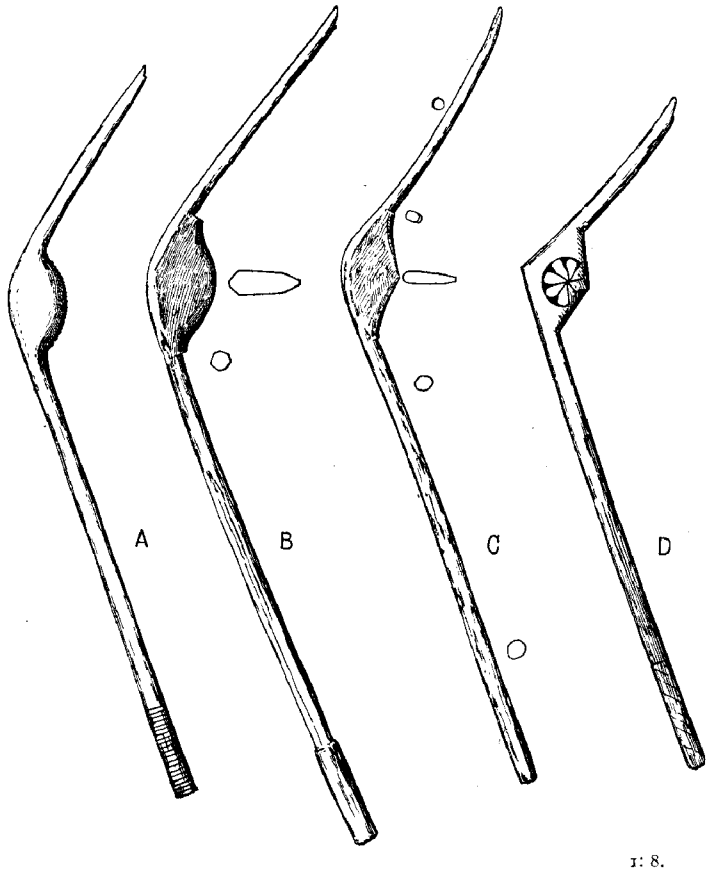

Fig. 35. *Throwing Sticks* A, B, and C from Maros in the Macassar Peninsula. D possibly from Ceram. (A Frankfort a. M. No. N. S. 378, B Leiden Mus. No. 1456/122, C id. No. 1396/1, D Vienna Mus. No. 93.)

As far as I am aware these throwing sticks of boomerang shape are only recorded from Pangkadjene and Maros, both places situated a little to the north of Macassar.

A close examination of these throwing sticks reveals the fact that there are two types, one at Pangkadjene,

another at Maros. In Fig. 34 are represented a number of throwing sticks from the former place, and in Fig. 35 four specimens of which A, B, and C hail from Maros. As seen

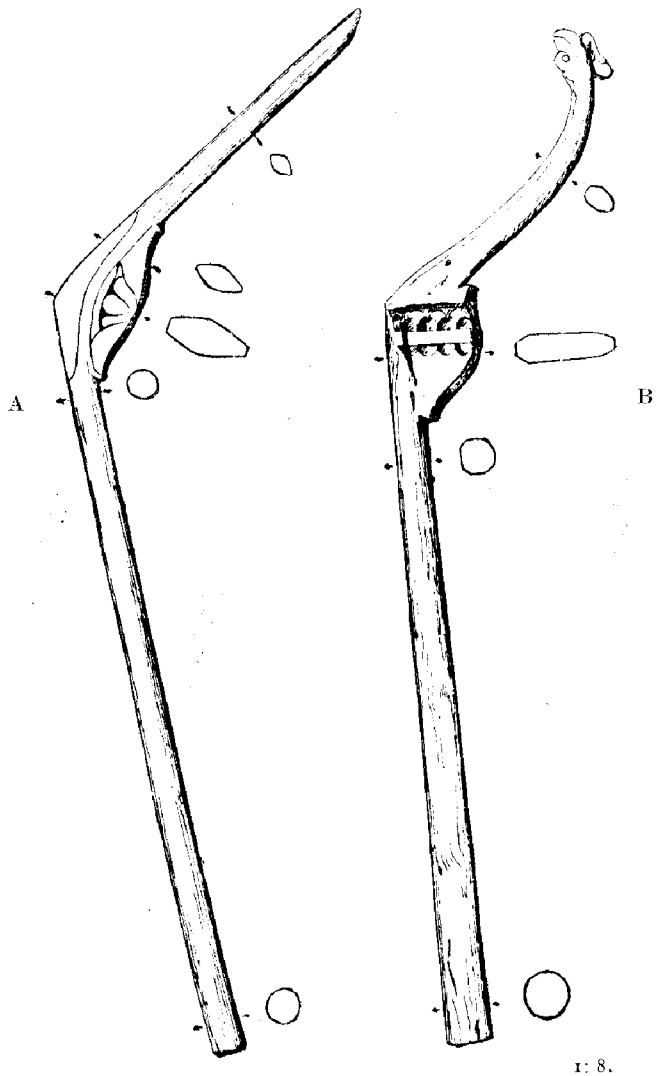

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Fig. 36. *Throwing sticks.* Maros, Mac. Peninsula. (A Gothenburg Mus. No. 28.10.14; B id. No. 28.10.15.)

in these figures the two types differ considerably. In no case I found any throwing stick from Pangkadjene of Maros type, or vice versa.

According to the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XVI, pages 82 and 83, the native name for throwing stick is *padimpah*, possibly also *parimpah*, at Maros as well as at Pangkadjene.

In Celebes the boomerang shaped throwing stick seems to be an isolated and strange phenomenon. From other places in Indonesia as well as from Celebes throwing clubs or cudgels are recorded, but no throwing sticks appear to be found outside Celebes. HEINE GELDERN in "Buschan Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II, p. 867 writes the following: "Am häufigsten sind Keulen auf Celebes. Hier sei nochmals auf die mit Metallsplittern besetzten Keulen der Toala verwiesen. Aber auch sonst findet man da und dort auf der Insel, besonders im Süden, hölzerne Kolbenkeulen, sei es als Waffen gegen Diebe, *sei es als Wurfkeulen zum erlegen von Fischen.*[1] .... Ebenfalls auf Celebes verwendet man knieförmig gekrümmte, bumerangähnliche Wurfhölzer zur Vogeljagd. *Auf beiden Seiten zugespitzte, als Kriegeswaffen dienende Wurfhölzer sind aus Borneo und von der Malaiischen Halbinsel bekannt.*"[1]

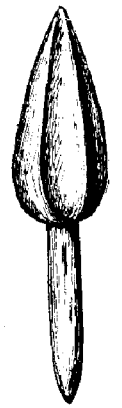

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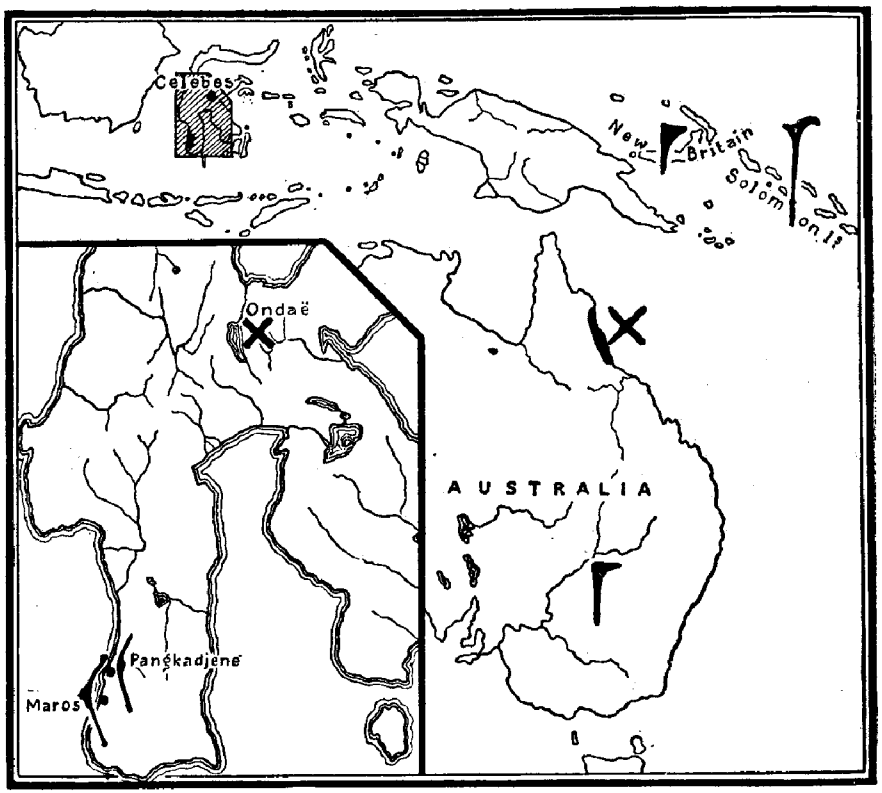
Fig. 37. *Throwing Club.* Mac. Peninsula (Vienna Mus. No. 17407.)

Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity of seeing these throwing sticks. Possibly they are similar to the throwing sticks in Celebes. A throwing cudgel from the Macassar Peninsula, now contained in the Ethn. Museum in Vienna, No. 17407, is represented in Fig. 37.

Thus there is no proof of the boomerang-like throwing stick being known in Indonesia outside the Macassar Peninsula in Celebes, yet there is the possibility of such a stick existing in the Moluccas, since in Vienna there is a specimen No. 93 (Fig. 35 D) rather similar to the three Maros specimens. The Museum being removed to another building at the time

[1] The italics are mine.

of my visit, it was impossible to ascertain from which locality was the object in question, but it was kept in the old Museum in a cupboard only containing collections from Ceram. Thus there is the possibility that boomerang-like throwing sticks are found in this island, although as yet, there is no record of this implement in the literature.



Map 10. Geographical distribution of the boomerang-like throwing stick and cross-boomerang in Celebes and Australia, and of Australian, New Britain, and Solomon Isls. clubs similar to the throwing stick.

Outside Indonesia we meet throwing cudgels or clubs in India, in Australia, and in the Islands of the South Pacific. Of the Indian clubs HABERLAND on p. 538, Vol. II of "BUSCHAN Ill. Völkerkunde", says: "Ausserdem sind bumerangartige Schlag- und Wurfkeulen aus Holz, Elfenbein,

Eisen im Süden wie im Norden (Paliyan, Gond, Paharia usw.) und bei den Kol in Gujarat in Vervendung."

It seems a remarkable fact that all these peoples using throwing cudgels are rather primitive tribes of Austronesian or Dravidian origin.

In Australia where the boomerang appears in a great variety of forms, a special culture, as we know, has been called the boomerang culture to distinguish it from an earlier period when the natives used a simple, straight, not flattened cudgel, but no boomerang.

BUSCHAN on page 55 of Vol. II of his "Ill. Völkerkunde" states that the boomerang belongs to the oldest culture of Oceania, having come to Melanesia from Australia. He writes: "Die älteste Kultur auf Oceanien, die sich allerdings nur noch in geringen Spuren nachweisen lässt, kam mit den ersten Einwanderern von Australien nach Melanesien. . . . . So findet sich die Stabkeule nur noch auf Neuhannover und den benachbarten Inseln sowie auf Viti, *die Wurfkeule gleichfalls auf dieser letzten Gruppe, auf einzelnen Inseln der Neuhebriden und Hawaii*[1] . . . ."

Thus it may be that the throwing club occasionally found in Indonesia is a survival from a period when it was commonly used in the whole region, or the greater part of it, from SE. Asia throughout the Malay Archipelago to Australia.

As to which primitive people, migrating from the west towards the east, was the original bearer of the throwing cudgel and the boomerang is a question perhaps at present impossible to answer with any approach to accuracy, and it may be questioned whether such a common throwing club as the one in Fig. 37 belonged to the same culture as the boomerang-like throwing stick from the Macassar Peninsula.

Remarkable seems, however, the fact that this throwing

[1] The italics are mine.

stick, especially the form found at Pangkadjene, is similar to certain throwing sticks from Australia and New Britain (Fig. 38 B and C) and to striking clubs from the Solomon Islands (Fig. 38 A).

In Fig. 38 C is represented a throwing stick from SE. Australia, at present in the Ethn. Museum of Gothenburg (No. 180). Like the Celebes sticks its head is flat, and its proximal part rather long with a grooved handle. The chief difference is that the head of the Celebes sticks has a long neck. The Australian throwing stick appears to be used chiefly for the same purpose as the throwing stick of Celebes, *i. e* for hunting birds.

Also the throwing stick from New Britain, No. 84287 in the Vienna Museum, is to a certain extent similar to the Celebes throwing sticks, although it is shorter and broader, but like most Pankadjene sticks it has a flange projecting from the angle.

In spite of the difference of size the club No. 3848 in Vienna from the Solomon Isls. greatly corresponds to the Celebes throwing sticks. If its head had been a little more pointed, the shape would have been almost identically similar to that of a Pangkadjene stick. The difference of shape may be owing to different use, the big Solomon club having the character of a war-club not meant to be thrown. The label states it to be used for ceremonial purposes.

The similarity especially of the Pangkadjene throwing sticks to certain clubs in Australia and Melanesia makes it likely that the culture in Celebes has kept some features of an early culture, which at present is found to the east and south-east of Celebes, and which has been kept up longer in Celebes than in the rest of the Malay Islands (Map 10).

This is, however, mere conjectures. It is impossible to make any conclusions to be depended upon before the material culture of Indonesia in general has been subjected to close investigation, especially that of the islands situated between Celebes, New Guinea, and Australia.

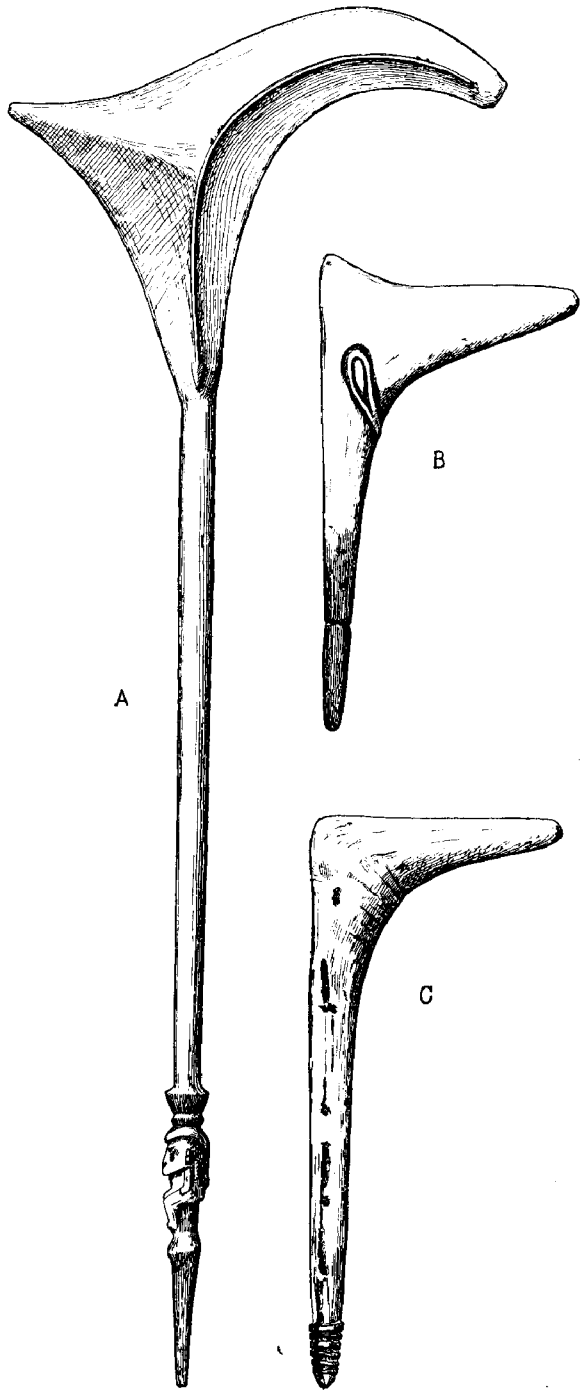


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Fig. 38. *Clubs*. A Ceremonial club from Guadalcunor, Solomon Islands; B and C throwing clubs, B from New Pommern and C from Australia. (A Vienna Mus. No. 3848, E. P. I 223; B id. No. 84287; C Gothenburg, Mus. No. 179.)

Spinning Anona seeds.

This amusement which consists in flicking off a seed of the Anona fruit so as to make it spin round I only saw at Donggala on Strait Macassar. The toy is nothing but the hard, smooth and empty shell of an Anona seed, one end of which is cut off (Fig. 39). The performer with the thumb of his right hand nips the shell sharply against a small fragment of china ware, so as to make it revolve with great rapidity on some flat surface. The children would rival in keeping their seeds going for a long while.

Possibly this game is not known among the Toradja in the interior of the country, where the natives do not

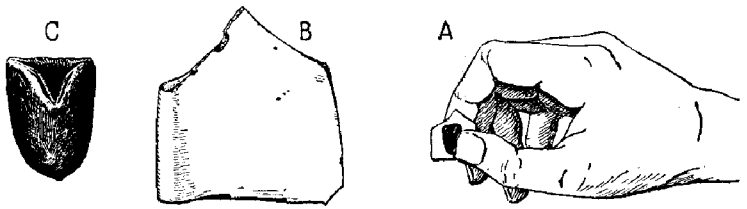

Fig. 39. *Anona Seed flipped by means of a fragment of china.* From Donggala in NW. Central Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2341.)

plant any Anona trees, contrary to those living on the coast, where several kinds of Anona are met with.

This amusement being very simple, it would not be surpising if similar toys were found to be known in many places where some hard smooth seed or fruit is available.[1]

Blowing Bubbles.

This is a game practised by the Poso Toradja childen, as described by ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 996. In Bare-e it is called *mowoera* from *woera*, foam. The children do not know the trick of blowing soap bubbles, but instead blow into the fresh stem of *Jatropha curcas*, with the result that a bubble, *woera*, appears at the far end.

[1] See Addenda.

Alangga-langga.

In MATTHES's Mac. Dictionary, page 473, mention is made of a game with *kemiri* nuts, called *alangga-langga*, from "*langga*, ergens op rusten . . . , ergens op doen rusten". He gives a very summary account of the game, only saying: "*alangga-langga*, soort van kinderspel waarbij men *kemiri*-noten tracht af te gooien van een bamboe, die op een paar andere noten rust (lâñgga)". The name of this game in Bugis is *malangga-langga*.

Maletje.

This is another game with *kemiri* nuts which MATTHES describes in his Bugis Dictionary, page 579. The game is played like this. Some *kemiri* nuts are placed in a row and a player tries to hit one of them with another nut. In case of success the player wins all nuts to the left of the one that he hit. The nut on the extreme right is called *oeloe*, which means the beginning of something, the head. Whether this game is known among the Orang Macassar is not stated. No word corresponding to *maletje* is given in the Mac. Dictionary.

Bille.

In his Bugis Dictionary, page 213, MATTHES gives an account of this game. Two children, or two parties play. One side will place some coconut shells in a row on the ground. By turns the children of the other side hop on one foot to a mark, the player carrying a piece of coconut shell, moving it from the palm to the back of his hand, to his toes, to the top of his head, etc., and from the mark he should try to hit one of the shells on the ground with his own shell. If the first player should fail, the second takes his turn and so on. If all the players of one side fail, the sides are changed. MATTHES does not record this game from the Orang Macassar, but he states it to be known at Bonthain where it is called *bile-bile*.

Twirling-top.

This very simple toy, made from a seed or a fruit pierced by a spindle, is widely distributed throughout the world, and was probably invented in different places and at different times. Its similarity to a distaff is striking, but if the two are genetically connected I cannot decide with the small material at my disposal.

The twirling-top is found at several places in Indonesia. The specimen represented in Fig. 40 D hails from the Island of Taliaboe to the east of Celebes, Fig. 40 E is from the Orang Benua in the Malay Peninsula. According to HEINE GELDERN, these natives live in the Riouw Islands to the south of Malacca, but the specimen in question in the Berlin Museum was collected by STEVENS, who made researches in the Malay Peninsula. STEVENS states that the Orang Benua are found in the south-western part of Malacca.

I myself did not see this toy in Celebes, but GRAAFLAND in his book "De Minahassa", records it from this part of Celebes, stating on page 282 of Vol. I the following: "Ook maken zij draai- of drijftolletjes, door in den vrucht van den *tagalolo*, die tot het geslacht der *ficus* behoort (*Ficus septica* SPRENG.), een dun stokje te steken, het in de hand rond te wrijven, en dan los te laten".

In all probability these twirling-tops also occur in other parts of Celebes, at any rate on the coast. Perhaps there is something in the fact that KRUYT does not record this toy from the Poso Toradja, nor did I see it among the Paloe and Koro Toradja who do not know the art of weaving or spinning.

In a top from the Soeloe Islands, now in the Berlin Museum, No. I C 26791, the seed or fruit of the above described twirling-tops has been changed for a body of wood (Fig. 40 B). In the top No. 370/3083 from Nias, at Leiden, the body simply is a piece of coconut shell.

An improvement of the twirling-top is making it in one piece. Such tops are found in Celebes, but to how wide an extent I do not know, having in my collection only a single specimen from Koelawi No., 1434 (Fig. 40 A).

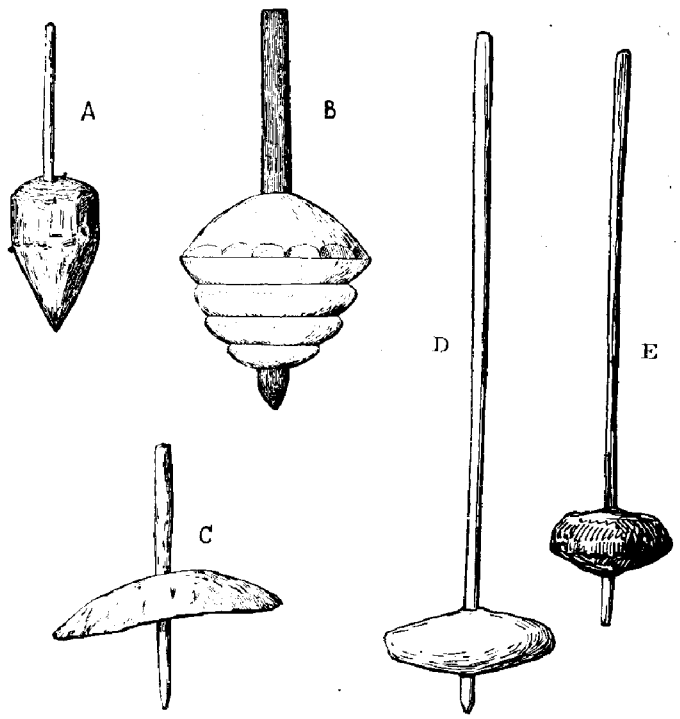

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Fig. 40. *Twirling-tops from Indonesia.* A from Koelawi; B from the Soeloe Islands; C from Nias; D from Taliaboe, Soela Islands; E from the Orang Benoea in Malacca.

(A KAUDERN coll. No. 1434; B Berlin Mus. No. I C 26791; C Leiden Mus. No. 370/3083; D id. No. 1900/79; E Berlin Mus. No. I C 24473.)

Spinning Top.

(Maps 11, 12, 13.)

This top has a wide range in Celebes, and in the interior of the country it is a favourite toy.

The top game is described by several authors from different parts of Celebes as well as from other places in Indonesia, but the top has not yet been subject to a thorough

investigation. There are a great variety of forms and types which in all probability are confined to certain geographical areas.

In Celebes we meet several types, but we do not know if they all are derived from a single type, nor along which lines the top spread over the island.

During my sojourn in Celebes I acquired for my collection a number of tops of different shape from various districts, and later I have supplemented this material of my own by studying a great number of tops from Indonesia and adjacent regions found in the Museums of Leiden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Berlin, Cologne, Frankfort, Dresden, Stuttgart, Basel, Stockholm, Vienna, St. Gabriel at Mödling, and Oslo.

I have chiefly studied the shape of the tops, but no doubt a thorough investigation of the rules of the game at different places would help to answer the question as to whence the top came to Indonesia and at what period it appeared in this region.

In the following I shall endeavour to make clear so far as it is possible, (1) the geographical distribution of the top in Indonesia and adjacent regions, (2) the variation of the top and the distribution of the different types, (3) the native names of the top, and (4) the rules of the top games.

By means of such an investigation we might be able to decide (1) if the top is imported to Indonesia, or (2) whether it is autochthonous in this region, and, if so, how the top developed into the numerous types at present found in Indonesia, and (3) along which lines the different types dispersed over Indonesia and especially over Celebes.

1. Geographical Distribution of the Top in Indonesia. (Map. 11).

As mentioned above, the top is very common all over the Malayan Region. In the list below are given all localities from which I have a reference, either having seen the top

myself, or found a reference in the literature to which I have had access. The tops which I have examined are preceded by an asterisk.

N. Celebes:	
*Minahassa[1]	Graafland. Rotterdam Mus.
*Bolaang Mongondou, Modajag	Kaudern
C. Celebes:	
Donggala	Kaudern
Paloe	»
Kalawara, Paloe Valley	»
*Koelawi	»
Parigi	Kruyt
*Mapane	Sarasin. Basel Mus.
Poso	Kaudern
Kadomboekoe	Meyer and Richter Berlin Mus.
*Lage	Adriani. Berlin Mus.
*Tentena	Kaudern
*Taripa, Ondae	»
*Kantewoe	»
*Napoe	Grubauer. Berlin Mus.
Bare-e Speaking Toradja	Kruyt
Loewoe	Grubauer
Mori	Kruyt
NE. Celebes:	
*Lingketeng, Lojnang	Kaudern
SE. Celebes:	
Tobela	Grubauer
*Kolaka	Elbert Frankfort Mus.
*Moena	Elbert Frankfort Mus.
*Boeton	Elbert Frankfort Mus.

[1] See Addenda.

SW. Celebes:

Orang Bugis	MATTHES
Orang Macassar	»
*Macassar	Berlin Mus.
**Talaud Islands* (Karkelang)	Dresden Mus.
Sangi Islands (Siaoe)	VAN DINTER
**Soela Islands* (Soelabesi)	VAN HULSTIJN Leiden Mus.
**Boeroe*	Berlin Mus.
**C. Ceram* (Seti Tr. and Manusela)	RIEDEL. Leiden Mus., Cologne Mus.
Ambon and *Oeliase*	RIEDEL
**Taninbar*	Cologne Mus.
**Babar*	» »
**Leti*	» »
**Kisar*	RIEDEL. Berlin Mus.
Wetar	RIEDEL
**Alor*	Berlin Mus.
**Timor* (S W. and N E. Timor)	» » E. F. KLEIAN
Roti	JONKER
**Flores*	E. F. KLEIAN Leiden, Berlin and Dresden Mus.
**Soemba*	Leiden and Rotterdam Mus.
**Soembawa* (Bima)	JONKER
**Bali* (Boeleleng)	Leiden and Rotterdam Mus.

Java:

*Soerabaja	Leiden Mus.
*Kediri	» »
*Banjoemas	» »
*Bagelen	» »
*Buitenzorg	» »
*No special locality given	Leiden and Berlin Mus.

N. Borneo:

*British N. Borneo	Dresden Mus.
*Sarawak	LING ROTH. Cologne Mus.
*Doesoen	Cologne Mus.
*Ranan?	GRUBAUER.
*No special locality given	Leiden and Stuttgart Mus.

W. Borneo:

*Landak, W., Menjoekei	Leiden Mus.
*No special loc. given, Dyak	Vienna

C. Borneo:

*Upper Mahakkam, Longglats	NIEUWENHUIS. Leiden Mus.
*Tandjoeng Karang, Mendalam Kyan	NIEUWENHIUS. Leiden Mus.
*Pnihing	LUMHOLZ. Oslo Mus.
*Long Navan	MJÖBERG. Stockh. Mus.
*No special locality given	Rotterdam Mus.

S. Borneo:

*Kwala Kapoeas	Berlin Mus. Stuttgart Mus.

N. Sumatra:	Stockholm.
Acheh	SNOUCK HURGRONJE
*Gajo	Amsterdam Mus.
*Karo	Berlin and Rotterdam Mus.
*Batak	Dresden Mus.

C. Sumatra:

*Palembang, Rawas	Leiden Mus.
*Orang Koeboe	SCHEBESTA. St. Gabriel, Mödling

S. Sumatra:

*Benkoelen	Leiden Mus.
*No special locality given	Stuttgart Mus.

**Banka*	Leiden Mus.
**Poeloe Toedjoe*	Rotterdam Mus.
**Mentawei*	Dresden Mus.
Nias	SCHRÖDER.
**Si Maloer*	Leiden Mus.
Malay Peninsula:	
*Negri Sembilan, Linggi	Dresden Mus.
*Orang Djakoen	Berlin »
*Orang Mentera	» »
*Orang Benoea	» »
*No special locality given	Stuttgart »
Philippine Islands, Iloco	VANOVERBERG.

This list, although comprising a great mumber of localities, no doubt has many gaps. There is no reason to think, for instance, that the top should not be known in Ternate, Halmahera, the Banggaai Archipelago, Lombok, and Billiton[1], although we have no reference from these islands.

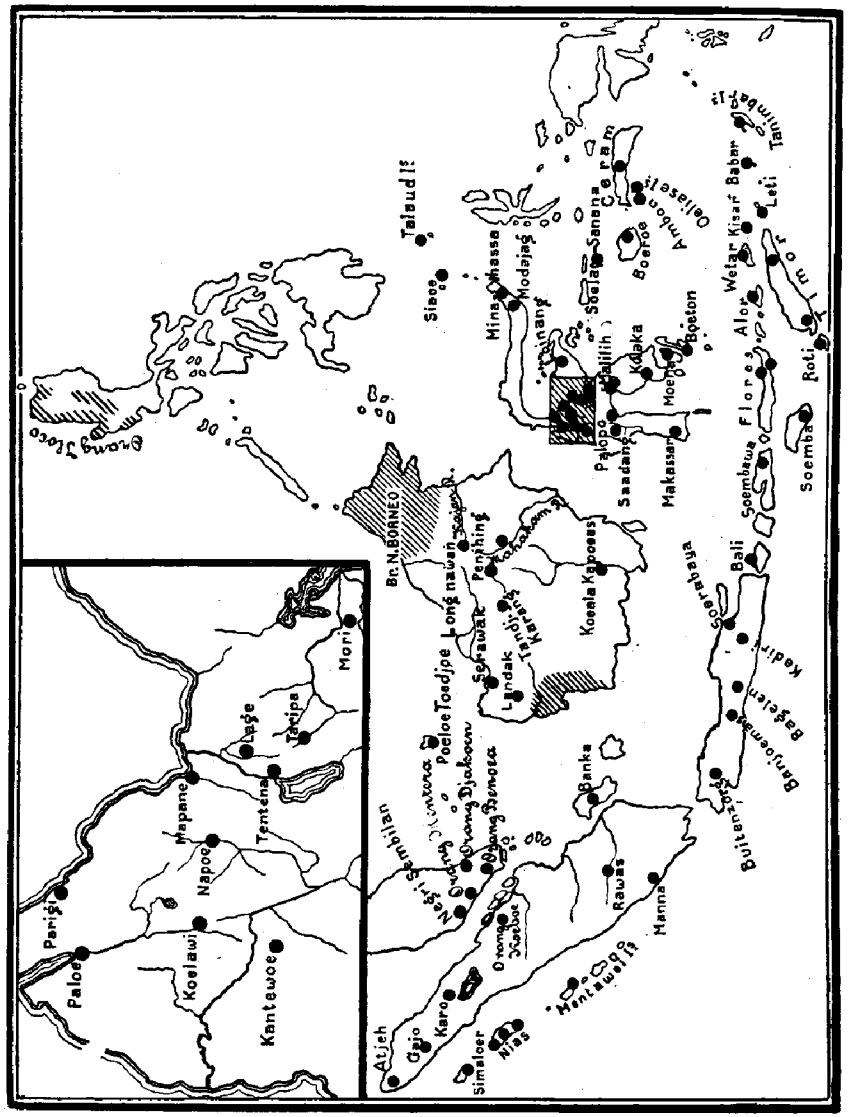
No doubt the top is a toy of great age in Indonesia, since it is found all over this region not only on the coasts but in the interior of the big islands.

2. VARIANTS OF THE TOP AS FOUND IN DIFFERENT ISLAND.

(Map II.)

In **Celebes** we meet at least four, perhaps even five or six, rather different top types, one in N. Celebes, two or possibly three in C. Celebes, one in the Macassar Peninsula, and one in SE. Celebes.

[1] Mr. A. WIESLANDER, a Swedish engineer in Billiton, in a letter states that in this island tops occur. A specimen which he depicts has a height of 7 cm. and a diameter of 3 cm. The upper cone is very low, about one-third of the height of the lower cone in the point of which an iron peg is found. There are also bigger tops than this, but as a rule not so slender. The height of another top exactly equals its greatest diameter. The name is *gangsingan* on the east coast, *gasing* on the west coast.



Map II. Geographical distribution of the top in Indonesia.

In N. Celebes I acquired at Modajag in Mongondou a specimen No. 617, shaped like a cone with a fairly sharp point (Fig. 41 B). This top was wrapped with cord that was pulled around. It has a small hole near its point, which in all probability has nothing to do with the fastening of the pulling string. It appears to have been made by some insect before the wood was carved to make a top.

Tops of this type seem to occur also in Minahassa, the district situated immediately to the east of Mongondou to

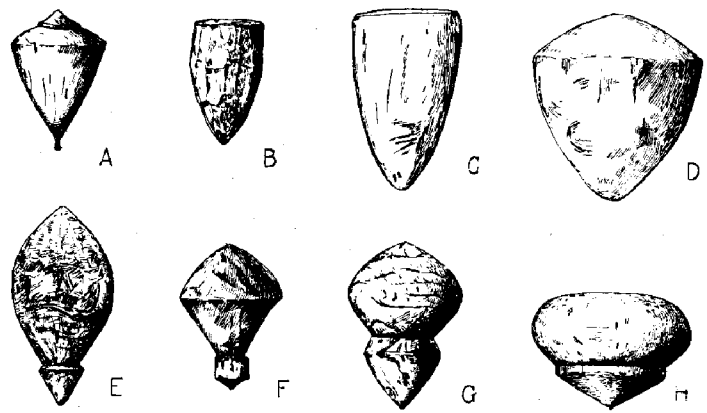


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Fig. 41. *Tops from Celebes, Moena, and Boeton.* A from Macassar: B from Mongondou, N. Celebes; C and D from Minahassa, N. Celebes; E from Pinapoean, N E. Celebes; F from Kolaka, S E. Celebes; G from Moena; H from Boeton. (A Berlin Mus. No. I C 9837; B KAUDERN coll. No. 617; C and D Rotterdam Mus. No. 1124 d and b; E KAUDERN coll; No. 2718; F Frankfort Mus. No. N. S. 14835 a; G. id. No. N. S. 14529 a. H id. No. N. S. 14935.)

judge from two specimens in the Ethn. Museum of Rotterdam. One of these tops, No. 1124 d, is almost identically similar to my specimen from Modajag although of greater size and with a less sharp point (Fig. 41 C). The second specimen, No. 1124 b, is a rather clumsy cone with a blunt point. Unlike the top No. 1124 d the face of this top is slightly convex (Fig. 41 D).

I was unable to ascertain whether this is the only type occurring in Minahassa. GRAAFLAND who states the top to

be a common toy in Minahassa does not give any details as to its shape, only saying on page 282 of Vol. I of "De Minahassa": "Nog hebben zij den zoogenaamden priktol, dien zij in het maleisch *pion* noemen (sond.[1] *warah*). Zij trachten daarmede vooral een anderen *pion* te raken, en gillen het uit, als dit het geval is."

The statement that *pion* is the Malay name of the top no doubt is an error, top in Malay being *gasing*. Pion evidently is the Portuguise word which appears to be used here beside genuinely native names such as *warah*.

No doubt the top is also found in the western part of the northern peninsula of Celebes, *i. e.* at Gorontolo, Bwool, Toli Toli, and Tomini, although there is no reference from these places. It would be interesting to know how far westward the simple conical type prevails. In C. Celebes this type appears to be altogether absent. Here the top always, more or less, has the shape of an egg or a spool. We distinguish at least three rather different types, two of which have a number of variants.

Of all tops occurring in C. Celebes the type found among the Poso Toradja is perhaps the simplest, although often of very good make.

KRUYT several times in his books mentions the top from E. Central Celebes for instance in his Bare-e Glossary 1894, in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen." 1897 and 1900, as well as in Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's".

MEYER and RICHTER in 1903 in "Publ. Kön. Ethn. Mus. zu Dresden" give a short account of places in Celebes where tops occur. In C. Celebes they mention Mapane, Lage, Kadomboekoe, and Mori.

As mentioned before, the top found in the eastern part of C. Celebes more or less has the shape of an egg, or a spool with rather blunt points (Fig. 42 A—K). As seen in

[1] Sond. = Sonder, district in the interior of Minahassa, to the south of Tomohon and east of Lake Tondano.

these figures there is a circular incision at one end making this end look like a pointed cap or head. The size of the tops varies a good deal, but the form only slightly. In Ondae the tops are of comparatively elongated, oval shapes (Fig. 42 A and B), contrary to Tentena, where they are more stout (Fig. 42 D and J). In Ondae the pointed cap is small (Fig. 42 A and B), at Tentena it is much bigger (Fig. 42 D and J), and biggest perhaps in two specimens from Napoe, in Berlin (Fig. 42 G and H).

It may perhaps be questioned whether these two specimens, Nos I C 38689 e and I C 38689 c, really came from Napoe, since in the same museum are found several tops from this district which are of quite another type (Fig. 42 L—R), viz. one occurring further to the west, to which I shall recur later on. It seems most likely to my mind that the majority of the Napoe tops in the Berlin Museum are representatives of the true Napoe type, the other two specimens having been introduced from the east, either imported, or manufactured by one of the numerous slaves which the To Napoe brought home from Pebato and adjacent districts. Unfortunately I have no Pebato top in my collection, nor have I seen such a top in any museum.

In Ondae I saw a single top which was symmetrical, *i. e* there were circular incisions in both ends (Fig. 42 C).

In the Berlin Museum is a specimen, No. I C 30268 from Lage, collected by Dr. ADRIANI, of the shape and size commonly found in the eastern part of Central Celebes, only with the slight difference that the ends are rather pointed (Fig. 42 E).

At Leiden there is a top No. 1300/11 a which is stated to have come from the "Toradja, Midden-Celebes" (Fig. 42 F). It was collected by Dr. KRUYT. The height of this top is about the same as that of the foregoing, but the ends are obtuse, making it thicker and more clumsy. Possibly this specimen comes from another tribe than the Berlin specimen.

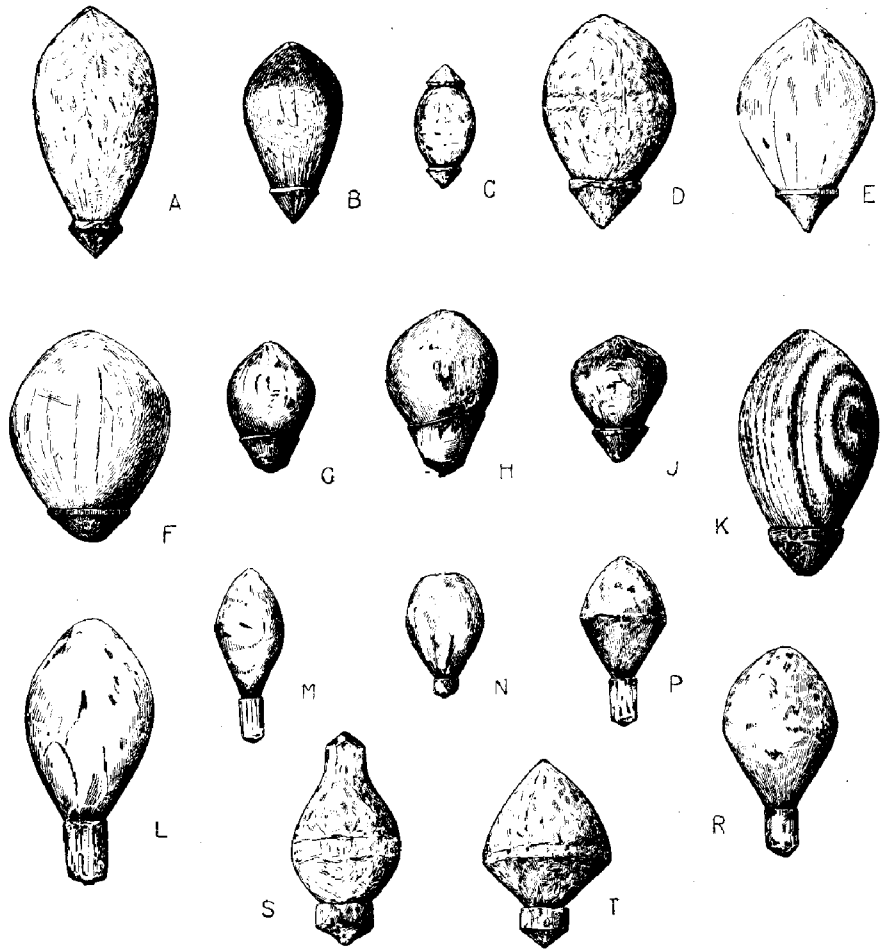

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Fig. 42. *Tops from C. Celebes.* A, B, and C from Ondae, D and J from Tentena, E from Lage, F from the Poso Toradja, G, H, L, M, N, P, R from Napoe, K from Mapane, S from Kantewoe, T from Koelawi. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 2560, B id. No. 2561, C id. no number; D id. No. 2387; J id. No. 2386; S id. No. 1611; T id. No. 1188; E Berlin Mus. No. I C 30268; G id. No. I C 38689 e; H id. No. I C 38689 c; L id. No. I C 38689 a; M id. No. I C 38689 h; N id. No. I C 38689 f; P id. No. I C 38689 g; R id. No. 38689 b; F Leiden Mus. No. 1300/11 a; K. Basel Mus. No. II C 525.)

The Mapane top, No. II C 525, in the Basel Museum (Fig. 42 K) was collected by the SARASINS. Strangely enough this specimen is stated to have been acquired from the Bugis at Mapane. MEYER and RICHTER in "Publikationen

K. Ethn. Mus. zu Dresden", Vol. XIV page 82 a write as follows: "Kreisel, von Bugis in Mapane erhalten", and further on: "Danach ist das Stück toradjasch, nicht bugisch", which I suppose must be taken to indicate that the Bugis top is different from that of the Toradja. As seen in Fig. 42 K, the Mapane top in all essential points agrees with the tops from Tentena and Taripa.

The tops that I saw in Lojnang in NE. Celebes I think should be referred to this type. A specimen No. 2718 which was acquired at Pinapoean is closely similar to the Ondae tops although a little more spool-shaped (Fig. 41 E).

In the north-western part of C. Celebes the shape of the top differs rather much from the type described above, and here we distinguish two, or perhaps rather three, slightly different forms, one in Napoe, one in Koelawi and one in Kantewoe. Among these the Napoe tops seem to vary most (Fig. 42 L—R). As seen in the figures the Napoe tops are comparatively small, ovale or fusiform with a neck or spindle of various length ending in a very low cone.

The shape of the specimen No. I C 38689 g (Fig. 42 P) approaches that of the Koelawi top. During my sojourn in Koelawi in 1918 I obtained a number of tops, all being closely similar (Fig. 42 T). As seen in this figure the neck or spindle of the Koelawi top is much shorter and more pointed than that of the Napoe top.

The neck of the Kantewoe top (Fig. 42 S) to a certain extent resembles that of the Koelawi top, but the body has not the shape of a double cone but of a pear.

A feature common to the tops from Kantewoe, Koelawi, and Napoe is their cylindrical neck ending in a cone on which the tops revolve, unlike the tops from Lojnang and E. Central Celebes, which are spun on the pointed end of the body itself, which has been given the shape of a pointed cap, separated from the body by a circular incision. This may be taken to indicate that the top of NW. Central Celebes has a different origin, or that it developed along

another line than the top of the eastern and north-eastern part of the island. The native names of the tops appear to confirm such a supposition as will be seen in the following.

A study of the tops in the southern part of C. Celebes no doubt would have been of great interest to my subject, but unfortunately there is in the museums that I visited not a single top from the Saadang Toradja in the south-western part of C. Celebes, from Loewoe on the north coast of the Bone Golf, or from Mori, a district to the south-east of those inhabited by the Poso Toradja, from which places, however, I have a reference. KRUYT in his paper "Eenige Ethn. Aantekeningen omtrent de Toboengkoe en de Tomori", 1900, records the top from Mori, and in another paper "De Toradja's van de Sa'dan-, Masoepoe- en Mamasarivieren", 1923, he states it to be found among the *tae* speaking Saadang Toradja. In a list of words in GRUBAUER's "Unter Kopfjägern in Central Celebes" is given the word *gasing*, top, from Loewoe.

I had the opportunity of sketching one top from each of the two southern peninsulas, and I have besides examined a couple of tops from the islands of Moena and Boeton, situated close to the south-eastern peninsula. In all probability the toy is commonly found in both peninsulas, MATTHES in his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", p. 130, recording it from the Orang Macassar as well as from the Orang Bugis who call it *gasing*.

ELBERT acquired a top at Kolaka in the SE. Peninsula. This specimen is now in the Frankfort Museum. GRUBAUER in the list of native words mentioned above gives the word *hule* for the top of the To Bela who live in the tracts of the big lakes on the borders between C. Celebes and the SE. Peninsula.

In Berlin there is a rather small, well-made top of light brown wood from Macassar, No. I C 9837, rather different from the tops already described (Fig. 41 A). It has the shape of a double cone, one cone, however, being very low

with a very low conical cap or head. The opposite end is fitted with a sharp iron point on which the top is spun. Possibly this type is the one common to the Macassar Peninsula, MEYER and RICHTER, as mentioned above, intimating that the Bugis top is different to that of the Toradja.

Although of quite different proportions, the different parts of the Macassar top can easily be paralleled with those of the Poso Toradja top, if we turn the conical cap or head downwards. The chief difference is that in the Macassar top the lower of the two cones, constituting the body of the top, carries the head, which in the Poso Toradja top forms the top of the higher cone.

In the same way the different parts of the tops from Minahassa and Mongondou may be paralleled with those of the Macassar top, provided that we turn the tops from N. Celebes point upwards. The Rotterdam specimen No. 1124 b from Minahassa for instance, to a certain extent resembles the Macassar top, having the shape of two cones, one of which is much flatter than the other, but with the difference that the top from Minahassa has no head. There is, however, the possibility of the top from N. Celebes having developed along another line, of which more further on.

The only top from the SE. Peninsula that I have seen, is the specimen No. N. S. 14835 a at Frankfort, collected by ELBERT at the village of Kolaka. This comparatively small top (Fig. 41 F) is made from some yellowish gray wood. It measures only 6,7 cm. The shape is closely similar to that of the Koelawi tops.

The Kolaka top can easily be derived from the common double cone type with a head, only the proportions are different, the head of the Kolaka top being much bigger than that of a common top.

At Cologne there is a top No. 818, which possibly hails from SE. Celebes. It is an almost symmetrical double cone,

measuring about 6 cm., with three parallel engraved circles. I had not the opportunity of examining it closely, for which reason I cannot here give but a shetch (Fig. 48 C).

In the islands to the south-east of the SE. Peninsula tops in all probability are just as common as in Celebes. ELBERT brought home a specimen, No. N. S. 14529 a, from Moena, and another specimen, No. N. S. 14935, from Boeton, both now in the Frankfort Museum.

Both specimens are of good make, the former (Fig. 41 G) of slightly yellowish brown, the latter (Fig. 41 H) of almost mud-coloured wood. The shape of these tops is rather different from that of the tops described in the foregoing. Especially is this the case of the Boeton top which is a short and thick cone with an iron point in its flatly conical cap or head. In Boeton there is according to the present Governor Mr. BARETTA also a fusiform top with two points.

From the **Talaud Islands** I have seen but a single specimen, No. 11581, at Dresden. This is a rather small top, measuring only 6,2 cm. between the points. It has the shape of two irregular cones, one of which has a rather low, conical head (Fig. 43 E). In transverse section the middle of the top is slightly elliptical. It is made of some heavy almost black wood, presumably the so-called *kajoe besi* (*kajoe* = wood, *besi* = iron). The label states it to have come from Karkelang, the biggest of the islands of the Talaud group, which in Dutch maps is called Karakelang or Karakelong. This top to a certain extent corresponds to the tops in E. Central Celebes and NE. Celebes.

Also in the **Sangi Islands** the top is commonly known. DINTER on page 367 of "Eenige geogr. en ethn. aanteekeningen betreffende het eiland Siaoe", speaking of children's games, says: "De bij de Siaoesche jeugd in zwang zijnde spelen zijn o. a. het tollen (moekasing)." The author does not describe the top, nor does he figure it, so therefore no comparison is possible.

From the Soela Islands I have seen a top in the museum at Leiden. It hails from Soela Besi, or Soela Sanana. This specimen, No. 1900/350, has the shape of an egg (Fig. 43 F) with a small head in the butt end and a sharp iron point in the opposite end. It is made of brown wood and measures 9 cm. Its greatest diameter is 5 cm.

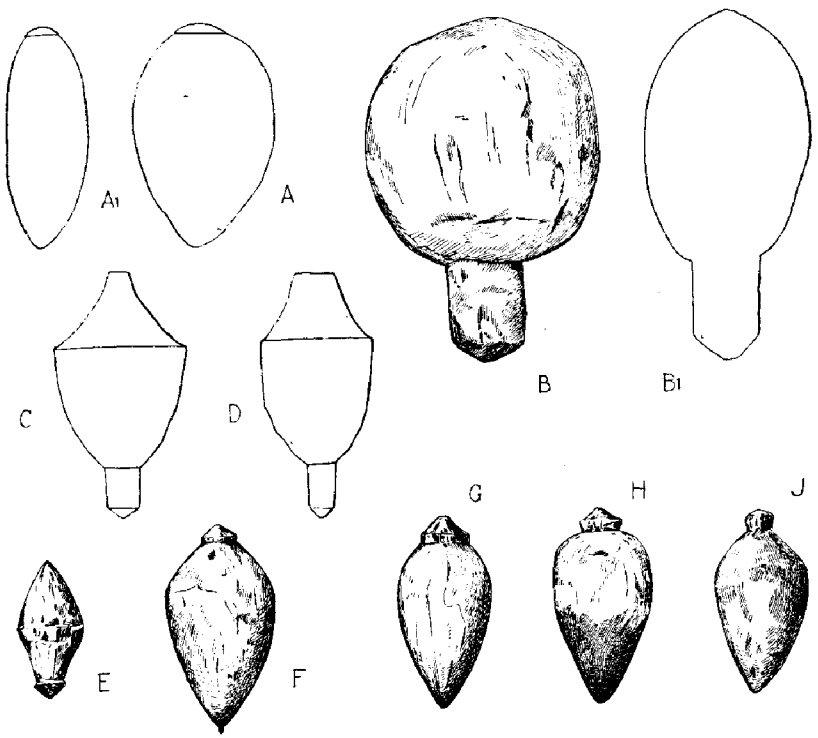

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Fig. 43. *Tops from the Molucca.* A, B, C, and D from Ceram; G, H and J from Boeroe; F from Soela Besi; E from Karkelang in the Talaud Is. (A, C, D Cologne Mus. D No. 30205; B Leiden Mus. No. 1995/6; G. Berlin Mus. No. I C 22594; H id. No. I C 22459; J id. I C 22596; F Leiden Mus. No. 1900/350; E Dresden Mus. No. 11581.)

In Berlin there are four tops from **Boeroe**, Nos. I C 22459, I C 22594—22596, all more or less egg-shaped, one end rather pointed and with a comparatively small head (Fig. 43 G, H, and J). The shape of the head as well as the size varies a little, but on the whole they are rather

similar to the tops from E. Central Celebes and closely correspond to the top from Soela Besi.

One of the four tops, *viz.* No. I C 22459, came from Kajeli on the coast of Boeroe. Contrary to the other three specimens, the pointed half of this top is painted black (Fig. 43 H).

From Ambon I have not seen any tops, but no doubt they are found also in this island, since Reidel records this toy from the neighbouring Oeliase Islands.

In **Ceram** the top appears to be commonly known, and even the limited material at my disposal clearly shows that there are several forms. At Leiden there is a specimen, No. 1995/6 from the central part of the island. As seen in Fig. 43 B this top is rather big, and in shape different from all tops described in the foregoing. The body is almost spherical, but slightly laterally flattened with a cylindrical head, or rather spindle, ending in a low cone. The height is 15,5 cm., the diameters 10,5 cm. and 7,5 cm. Such big flat tops are not known from any other locality in the eastern part of the Malayan Archipelago, but in the interior of Borneo flat tops are common.

At Cologne there are three tops from C. Ceram, one of which is laterally flattened (Fig. 43 A and A1). The other two tops have a circular transverse section (Fig. 43 C and D). The first specimen (A) of rather bad make, has a height of about 10 cm. It is of irregular ovate shape with a very small cap or head in the butt end. This specimen originates from Manusela, a locality that I cannot find either on RIEDEL's, or on SACHSE's maps. The other two tops, which are stated to be from the so-called Seti Tribe differ considerably from the tops already described as seen in Fig. 43 C and D. They have a height of about 11 cm. with a comparatively big body and a cylindrical neck ending in a low cone. The body is composed of two distinctly marked cones, the surface of one cone being concave, that of the other convex. The top of the concave cone is cut off.

In all probability tops are not confined to the central part of Ceram. RIEDEL in his work "De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papoea", when speaking of Ceram on p. 131 writes: "Het spel der jongens bestaat uit .... *larao kahururu*, het draaien van tollen". No special locality being mentioned I suppose this must be taken to indicate that the game is known all over the island.

From Ceram Laoet, the Banda, Kei, and Aroe Islands I have not seen any tops, but very likely the top is known also in these islands. It would be interesting to know the forms found in the three first groups, which are linked in between Ceram and Tanimbar, since the two Ceram tops have some features in common with the tops of the islands between Timor and the Kei Islands.

The top also is found in the so-called South-Eastern Islands and the South-Western Islands. I have seen tops from Tanimbar, Babar, Leti, and Kisar of a type much different from the tops already described. How far westward this type is found, I was unable to learn, but in Berlin there is a top from Alor of this type. Among these tops the two from Tanimbar and Babar, the islands furthest to the east, are those which are least differentiated. There are at least some specimens which even approach the Napoe and Koelawi tops (Fig. 44 D).

At Cologne there are four tops from **Tanimbar** (Fig. 44 F, G, H, and J). The specimens F, H, and J have a short and stout body, one end of which is pointed. The opposite end in the specimens H and J is rounded and carries a rather long cylindrical neck or spindle ending in a cone which in the top J is low, in H rather high and pointed. The body of F has a flat face and a long neck which does not end in a cone. The tops H and J thus could be spun either body downwards, or spindle downwards, the top F only body downwards.

The top G in Fig. 44 is a kind of twin top, the low cylindrical body having two opposite necks, each ending in a low cone.

At Cologne there are two tops from **Babar** (Fig. 44 D and E), both closely similar to the Tanimbar tops. Especially is this the case with the specimen represented in Fig. 44 E.

The tops found in the **South-Western Islands** and in Alor still more deviate from the common type, all three specimens that I have seen being closely similar to one another and forming a type of their own, or rather a type

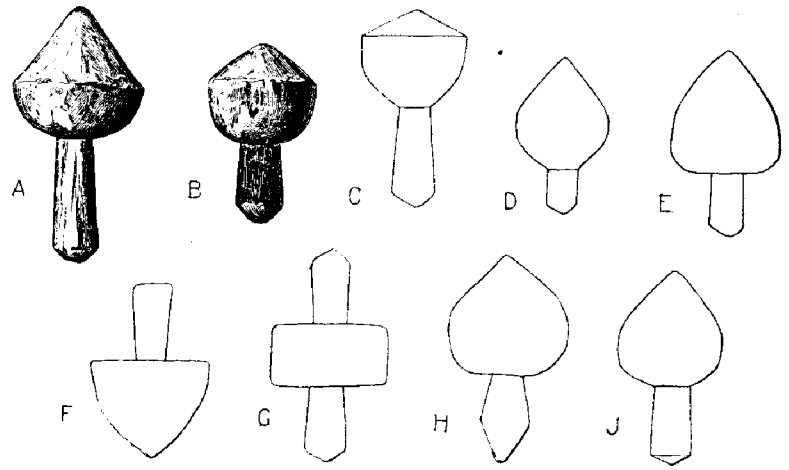

Fig. 44. *Tops from the South-Eastern and South-Western Islands.* A from Alor; B from Kisar; C from Leti; D and E from Babar; F, G, H, and J from Tanimbar.
(A Berlin Mus. No. I C 18987; B id. No. I C 19481; C—J Cologne Mus.)

standing at the extreme wing of the tops of this kind. Two of the three specimens are from the South-Western Islands, one from Kisar and one from Leti, two islands situated close to one another just north-east of Timor. The Kisar specimen is in Berlin, No. I C 19481 (Fig. 44 B). The body of this top is a half-sphere combined with a low cone and a long cylindrical neck ending in a low cone. The total height of the top is 8 cm., and its biggest diameter nearly 5 cm.

The Leti specimen is at Cologne. It is closely similar to the Kisar top, with the slight difference that the cone is lower, and the neck or spindle longer. The total height is about 9 cm. (Fig. 44 C).

The top from **Alor** is in the Berlin Museum, No. I C 18987. The label states it to be from "W. Alor". This may mean either the western part of Alor, or the western of the two main islands of the Alor group. The top is closely similar to the Kisar top, the cone, however, being higher and the spindle longer (Fig. 44 A). It is made of red brown wood. Both points are worn, the top evidently having revolved on the cone as well as on the spindle. The same is the case with the Kisar top.

It would be of interest to see some tops from Wetar, situated just east of the Alor group, but unfortunately there is not a single specimen in the museums that I have visited, and RIEDEL, who records the top from this island in his work "De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen etc.", does not figure it. On p. 433 he. states the native name of this game in Wetar to be *raplihu edur*.

The top is recorded from nearly all the islands that under the name of **Little Sunda Islands** form a continuation of Java eastward. The tops vary a good deal in these islands, but most of them can be referred to the egg-shaped or double cone type with a head of variable size. In Soemba there is, beside this type, a top exactly similar to the Mongondou top in N. Celebes.

In Berlin I examined three tops from **Timor.** The specimen No. I C 21214 is from Laga, NE. Timor, No. I C 21705 from Lakko, E. Timor, and No. I C 9191 a from SW. Timor. These tops are of rather different size and shape (Fig. 45 C, D, and J), although they all are double cones with a head at one end.

The shape of the small top No. I C 9191 a (Fig. 45 J) is rather similar to some tops from Tentena in Central Celebes. It is made of light yellowish red wood. The height is only

5,5 cm., the diameter 4,2 cm. To this top belongs a cord to which a little peg is knotted in order to provide a better grip for the player's hand.

No. I C 21705 (Fig. 45 C) is a double cone, the two cones being distinctly marked. One is rather high, the other low, with a pointed head. It is made of yellowish white wood, and it measures 11,7 cm. by a diameter of 6,3 cm. It has been spun on both points. Tops of this shape are

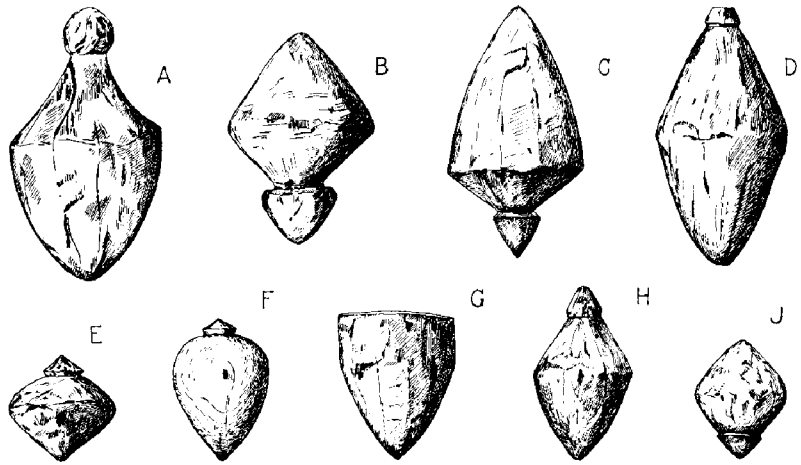

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Fig. 45. *Tops from the Little Sunda Islands.* A and B from Flores; C, D, and J from Timor, E and F from Bali; G and H from Soemba. (A Leiden Mus. No. 1710/58; F id. No. 370/889; G id. No. 858/130; B Dresden Mus. No. 10830; C Berlin Mus. No. I C 21705; D id. No. I C 21214; J id. No. I C 9191 a; E Rotterdam No. 11595; H id. No. 16348.)

also found in Java, and of course there is the possibility that the top in question is imported from Java, or made by an Orang Djawa.

The top No. I C 21214 (Fig. 45 D) has the shape of two rather high, irregular cones which imperceptibly merge into each other. One end is carved so as to make a small conical head, the top of which is flattened. The opposite end on which the top has been spun is much worn. The top measures 12 cm. by a diameter of 6 cm. Also this top is made of yellowish white wood. To the top belongs

a cord with a little peg at one end. Although this top has the shape of a double cone, the proportions are rather different to those of the common double cone top. From no place in Indonesia do I know of any top exactly similar to this one. Possibly the specimen in question was brought to Timor by a foreigner, or it may have been manufactured by a foreigner living in this island. Far to the west of the Malayan Islands, however, closely similar tops are found. In Berlin there are two specimens, No. I C 35676 a and b, from Chota Nagpur in India (Fig. 52 L), which in all essential features correspond to the Timor top. The similarity is so striking that one is almost inclined to think that the top No. 21214 was brought to Timor by some Indian merchant.

In **Soemba** we meet at least two types of the spinning top, one a single cone with a flattened face (Fig. 45 G), the other a double cone with a conical cap or head (Fig. 45 H). At Leiden there are two specimens of the former type, Nos. 858/129 and 858/130, both from E. Soemba. The fomer which is painted yellow, measures 4 cm. by 3,5 cm. The latter top is not painted. It has a height of 7 cm. by a diameter of 5,5 cm. At Rotterdam there is a top of the double cone type, No. 16348, but no special locality in that island is given. This specimen rather closely corresponds to a great number of tops from Indonesia. It measures 8 cm. by a diameter of 4,5 cm. (Fig. 45 H).

To judge from the material at my disposal, there appears to be but one type of top in **Flores.** At Leiden there is a specimen, No. 1710/58, from the north coast of the island as well as a specimen, No. 804/12, from Sikka, at Dresden, a specimen No. 10830, and in Berlin a specimen No. I C 18089, all double cones with a more or less distinctly marked conical head. Of these, three specimens are closely similar but the top from the north coast differs in minor details (Fig. 45 A), being slightly bigger and of more elongated shape. Besides, one half is slightly concave, ending in a head which looks like a button. This top is

made of grayish wood, and in all probability it was painted black, the paint since having been rubbed off. The top measures 12,5 cm. by a diameter of 7—7,5 cm.

The other three tops are double cones, both cones being nearly of the same height with a distinctly marked conical head. The Leiden specimen No. 804/12 is mentioned and figured by WEBER in "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.", Vol. III, Appendix, p. 33, Plate V, Fig. 12. It has a height of 8,7 cm. by a diameter of 6 cm. The Dresden specimen (Fig. 45 B) is made of rather heavy, light brown wood. The top evidently has been spun on both points, but chiefly, I think, on its head. The measurements are 9,8 cm. by 6,6 cm. The Berlin specimen also is made of light brown wood, but it is smaller, with a head less sharply marked than in the other two specimens. It measures 7 cm. by 5,4 cm.

I have not had the opportunity of seeing any tops from Soembawa and Lombok, yet it cannot be doubted that tops are found also in these islands. JONKER in his "Bimaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek", on page 38, gives the word *kawongga*, "tol, speelgoed".

From **Bali** I have seen two specimens, one at Leiden, No. 370/889, and one at Rotterdam, No. 437/11595, the latter from Boeleleng on the north coast of Bali. The Leiden specimen is ovate with a small conical head at the butt end. It is made of some grayish wood and measures 6,5 cm. by 4,5 cm. (Fig. 45 F).

The Rotterdam specimen is a short double cone with a low conical head (Fig. 45 E). In all probability it was spun on the point opposite to the head. The height of the top is not fully 5 cm.; the diameter just as much.

Although rather different, these two tops no doubt should be referred to the double cone type with a conical head. The shape of the Leiden top is rather similar to that of the Boeroe tops and certain tops from Java. The Rotterdam top more corresponds to the three tops from Flores as well as to the smallest specimen from Timor.

In **Java** the top in all probability is a very common toy. At Leiden they are fairly well represented, numbering, twelve specimens in all. In Fig. 46 I have arranged them according to their shape, without any regard to the localities where they were collected. We distinguish two types, one

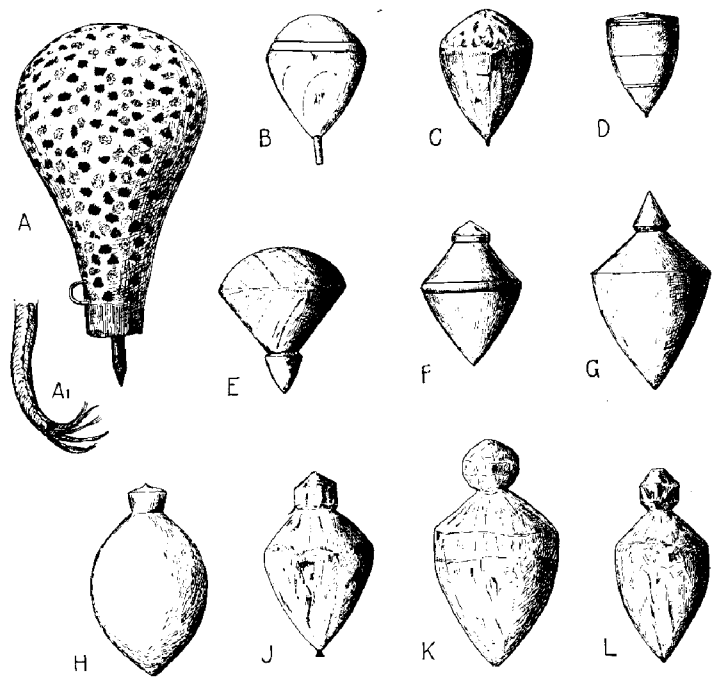

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Fig. 46. *Tops from Java.* A and H no special locality given; B, F, (L) from Banjoemas; C from Buitenzorg; D from Soerabaja; E, G, and J from Bagelen; K from Kediri.
(A Berlin Mus. No. I C 26556 b; B Leiden Mus. No. 370/1891; C id. No. 880/59; D id. No. 370/1905; E id. No. 370/1899; F id. No. 370/1893; G id. No. 370/1898; H id. No. 1001/49; J id. No. 370/1900; K id. No. 625/52; L id. 370/1892.)

with a head, one without a head, the latter having the shape of a single cone with a slightly convex face, the former more or less shaped like an egg or a double cone. A specimen No. 370/1899 is an intermediate form (Fig. 46 E).

In the Berlin Museum there are a couple of very big tops which have the shape of a pear (Fig. 46 A).

Although the material from Java at my disposal is fairly ample, it is not sufficient for supplying an answer to the question whether the different variants are characteristic of certain localities.

All the Leiden tops are described in Vol. XV, p. 19 of the Leiden Museum Catalogue, for which reason I am chiefly going to compare the different types here.

The Leiden specimens are:

No. 625/52	from	Kediri (Fig. 46 K)
No. 370/1892	»	Banjoemas (Fig. 46 L)[1]
No. 370/1900	»	Bagelen (Fig. 46 J)
No. 1001/49	no special locality given	(Fig. 46 H)
No. 370/1898	from	Bagelen (Fig. 46 G)
No. 370/1899	»	» (Fig. 46 E)
No. 370/1893	»	Banjoemas (Fig. 46 F)
No. 370/1891	»	» (Fig. 46 B)
No. 880/59	»	Buitenzorg (Fig. 46 C)
No. 370/1905	»	Soerabaja (Fig. 46 D)
No. 370/1906	»	»

The first four tops are hand-made as well as No. 880/59, all the rest are turned, possibly for the reason that they were meant for a Colonial Exhibition at Amsterdam in 1883.

As seen in Fig. 46 J, K, and L the hand-made specimens are rather similar. The top No. 1001/49 is to a certain degree a type of its own among the Javanese tops (Fig. 46 H). The body of this top has the shape of a regular spool with a cylindrical neck ending in a low cone. There is no circular incision.

The top No. 370/1898 (Fig. 46 G) is rather similar to a top from Timor (Fig. 45 C).

[1] According to the label this top also is No. 625/52 from Kediri, but according to the Catalogue there is only one specimen from Kediri. A specimen No. 370/1892 from Banjoemas I have not seen in the Museum, but the specimen that I have represented in Fig. 46 L cannot be this top since the measurements do not correspond to those of the top from Banjoemas, as given in the Catalogue.

I think that the top No. 370/1899 from Bagelen (Fig. 46 E) may be referred to the same type, although the cone opposite to the head has been replaced by a convex surface. This makes it resemble some tops that have no head, such as the top No. 370/1891 (Fig. 46 B) and would justify its classing as an intermediate form between tops without a head and those fitted with a head.

Yet, I do not think it correct to homologize the point of the top No. 370/1899 with the point of a top without a head, even if the not pointed end is rounded as in the tops Nos. 370/1891 and 880/59 (Fig. 46 B and C). The rounded end of No. 370/1899 no doubt corresponds to the point of the tops without a head, as will be evident if we compare the top No. 370/1891 with the top No. 370/1893 and 880/59. Evidently the specimen No. 370/1893 is a top of common double cone type with a distinctly marked head, although it is low (Fig. 46 F), but round the centre of the body two parallel groves are incised, which also are found in the top No. 370/1891 (Fig. 46 B), which top is from the same locality as the former specimen. The cone on which 370/1891 is spun is exactly similar to the cone of the headless No. 370/1893, which makes it likely that those cones correspond to one another, in which case we may well assume that the head of the top No. 370/1891 has been altogether reduced and the cone replaced by a convex surface.

The shape of the top No. 370/1891 closely corresponds to the top No. 880/59, with the difference that the former is turned and adorned with two circular incisions which are absent in the hand-made top No. 880/59.

To these egg- or pear-shaped tops with a single point and no head the two big Berlin tops perhaps should be referred (Fig. 46 A). Both specimens are of about the same size. The one represented in this book has a height of 14 cm. by a diameter of 9 cm. A big iron peg is driven into the lower end of the top. Both tops are made of wood and

painted all over pink, sprinkled with black and red dots. The rather thick cord of this top is 106 cm. long and overlayed with a covering of cotton. As seen in the figure there is an iron loop near the point of the top by means of which the cord is secured when wound round the top.

No doubt this top has some features in common with such a top as the one represented in Fig. 46 B and C, and possibly it evolved from such types as these, but the two big Berlin tops may also be allied to such a top as the specimen from Sumatra repesented in Fig. 51 G. To settle this question, however, a much wider material than that at my disposal would be neaded.

Not far from the type represented by the top No. 370/1898 (Fig. 46 G) stand the two small well made tops from Soerabaja, although the lower cone has been reduced into an almost plane surface. Possibly there once was a small head, now broken off. Both tops are turned, No. 370/1905 of brown wood, which the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XV, p. 19, states to be *sawo* (Mimusops LIN.). The other top is of black horn. Both are adorned with rings engraved round the cone as well as in the almost plane face. Both tops are fitted with an iron peg on which they are spun, which is also the case with the tops Nos 370/1891 and 880/39.

Also in **Borneo** the top appears to be commonly known on the coast as well as in the interior of the country, but unfortunately the material at my disposal from this big island was rather scanty. Evidently there are several types, but my material is insufficient to allow any conclusions as to the geographical distribution of the types.

In the list below are given the twenty-six tops from Borneo that I examined.

No. I C 12570 Koeala Kapoeas, SE. Borneo. Berlin (Fig. 47 N)

No. 1219/342 Tandjoeng Karang, Mendalam Kajan. C. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 47 L)

No. 1219/343 Tandjoeng Karang, Mendalam Kajan. C. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 47 K)
No. 1219/334 Tandjoeng Karang, Mendalam Kajan. C. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 47 J)
No. 1219/345 Tandjoeng Karang, Mendalam Kajan. C. Borneo. Lieden (Fig. 49 A)
No. 1308/211[1] Upper Mahakkam, Longglats, C. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 49 B)
No. 11630 and 11631, C. Borneo. Rotterdam (Fig. 49 E and D)
No. 27.2.236. Long Navan. Upper Kajan. C. Borneo. Stockholm (Fig. 49 C)
No. 31590 (444 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 D).
No. 31593 (446 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 A).
No. 31591 (443 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 B).
No. 31592 (445 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 C).
No. 31595 (448 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 E).
No. 31594 (447 coll. L.) Pnihing, C. Borneo. Oslo. (Fig. 50 F).
No. 894/30 2sp. Menjoekei, Landak District, W. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 47 F and E).
No. 25996 and 25997. Dyak. W. Borneo. Vienna (Fig. 47 A and B).
No. 19750. Sarawak. NW. Borneo. Cologne (Fig. 48 B).
No. 1156/12 N. Borneo. Leiden (Fig. 47 D).
No. L 1560 I. N. 805 N. Borneo. Stuttgart (Fig. 47 C).
No. 25644 British N. Borneo. Dresden (Fig. 47 M).
? No. Doesoen. Cologne (Fig. 48 A).
No. L. 1148 I. N. 614 Ranan. Stuttgart (Fig. 47 H).
No. L 1148 I. N. 613 Ranan. Stuttgart (Fig. 47 G).

[1] The Leiden Mus. Cat. gives 1208/211 which is a misprint no such series existing, though well a series 1308.

Among these tops we distinguish seven different types, four of which have a more or less circular transverse section, the section of the remaining three types being elliptic. As a rule the former seem to be comparatively small tops, the latter of big size.

The type most commonly met with in Borneo appears to be a top of the shape of an egg or a double cone with a rather low head. Of this type are the tops No. I C 12570, No. 1219/342, and No. 1219/343 as well as No. 1156/12, the first from SE .Borneo, the following two from C. Borneo, and the last one from N. Borneo. This may be taken to indicate that the type is found all over the island.

The top No. I C 12570 is of yellowish white wood, and has not been much used. It appears to have been spun on the point opposite to the head. It has a height of 8,2 cm. by a diameter of 5 cm. (Fig. 47 N).

The top No. 1219/343 is made of the dark brown *kajoe besi* ("iron wood"). It is adorned with a carefully carved belt round its centre, and these carvings are filled with white lime. Besides there is an ornament in the shape of four tin tacks driven into the top at equal distances round its centre. This top has a height of 7 cm. by a diameter of 4,5 cm. (Fig. 47 K).

The top No. 1156/12 is made of dark brown wood without any ornaments. Its dimensions are 11 cm. by 8,5 cm. (Fig. 47 D).

To this type I think the top No. 19750 at Cologne should be referred (Fig. 48 B). It is made of dark brown heavy wood, measuring 7—8 cm. in height and as much across. Thus it is much shorter and stouter than the previous top. The head is rather wide and made like three steps. This top is similar to some tops in the Malay Peninsula.

No doubt the top No. 1219/334 (Fig. 47 J) also should be referred to this type in spite of its two heads, a feature also found in a top from Ondae in Celebes. Round its centre

there are a series of small iron or tin tacks. This top is made of hard wood of light colour. It measures 11 cm. by a diameter of 6 cm.

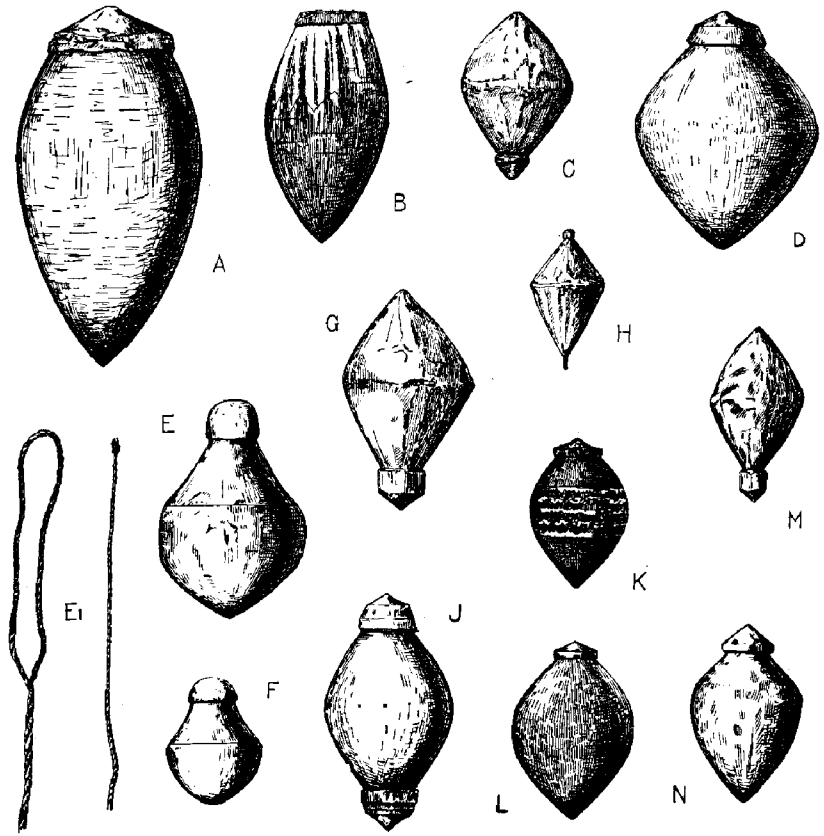

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Fig. 47. *Tops from Borneo.* A and B from the Dyak, W. Borneo; C and D from N. Borneo; E and F from Menjoeki, NW. Borneo; G and H from Ranan; J, K, and L from Tandjoeng Karang, C. Borneo; M from British N. Borneo; N from Koeala Kapoeas, SE. Borneo. E^1 the loop and the end of the pulling string of E (A Vienna Mus. No. 25996; B id. No. 25997; C Stuttgart Mus. No. L 1560 I. N. 805; G id. No. L 1148 I. N. 613; H id. No. L 1148 I. N. 614; D Leiden Mus. No. 1156/12; E id. No. 894/30; F id.; J id. No. 1219/334; K id. No. 1219/343; L id. No. 1219/342; M Dresden Mus. No. 25644; N Berlin Mus. No. I C 12570.)

The two specimens in Vienna, the locality of which is W. Borneo, I think should be referred to another type than the previous one, even if the head of the bigger top, No. 25996 (Fig. 47 A), is rather similar to that of some of these tops. Although spool-shaped they are quite different from them as is easily seen if we compare Figs. 47 A and B with D, K, L, and N in the same figure. The head of the smaller top has a flat top, the head of the bigger top is a low cone as mentioned before, the diameter of the head of both being rather big. No. 25996 is of heavy red-brown wood, No. 25997 of almost black wood. The label states the native name of these tops to be *banka*.

The third kind of small or middle sized round tops is represented by four tops: No. 25644 from British N. Borneo (Fig. 47 M), a specimen at Cologne from Doesoen (Fig. 48 A), and the two specimens from Ranan (Fig. 47 G and H).

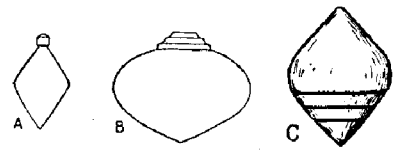

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Fig. 48. *Tops from Borneo and SE. Celebes.* A from Doesoen, B from Sarawak, C from SE. Celebes, all in the Ethn. Museum at Cologne. (B No. 19750.)

Among these only one specimen is stated to hail from British Borneo, but for several reasons I think they all are from NE. Borneo. The Cologne specimen is stated to be from Doesoen, which I suppose means the Orang Doesoen in the interior of British N. Borneo, as given by LING ROTH on his map in Vol. I of his work "The natives of Sarawak and British N. Borneo". There is, however, in C. Borneo on Upper Barito a district called Doesoen, but no tops of this shape being known from Central Borneo it seems most likely to my mind that the Cologne specimen came from Doesoen in British N. Borneo. As to the two specimens from Ranan, collected by GRUBAUER, I have in vain looked for such a place on maps of Borneo at my disposal. Judging from their shape, they may have come from the same tracts

as the specimens at Cologne and Dresden. The smaller top (Fig. 47 H) in form and size closely corresponds to the Cologne specimen from Doesoen, and the shape of the bigger top (Fig. 47 G) is rather similar to that of the Dresden specimen (Fig. 47 M).

Since tops of this kind are not known from any other part of Borneo, it seems rather likely that the two Ranan specimens hail from NE. Borneo.

The small Ranan top revolves on an iron peg, driven into the end opposite to the head, the other three tops of this kind in all probability were spun on either point.

To the fourth type of small round tops I have referred a couple of peculiar looking tops in the Leiden Museum, both from Menjoekei in the district of Landak, NW. Borneo. Both specimens, which have the same number, *viz.* 894/30 (Fig. 47 E and F), are mentioned in NIEUWENHUIS's book "Quer durch Borneo", as well as in the Leiden Museum Catalogue. In spite of their rather strange shape I think they may be paralleled with most tops of the common double cone type, only here the bigger cone is strongly convex whilst the smaller, which in the figure is turned upwards, is slightly concave. The latter is fitted with an almost semi-spherical head. Naturally the top has been spun on the opposite end. The bigger specimen, which is provided with an iron peg, measures 10 cm. by a diameter of 7 cm. The corresponding measurements of the smaller specimen are 6 cm. by 4,5 cm. The Catalogue states the bigger top to be made of *ketapan* wood, the smaller of *djamei* wood.

For spinning the tops there is a cord, 166 cm. long, with a very big loop at one end (Fig. 47 E[1]) obviously meant to be passed round the hand of the performer. The cord tapers towards its end where a small knot is found.

Beside these tops there are in Borneo, as mentioned before, laterally flattened tops all of which appear to originate from the central part of the island. The two very

big specimens Nos 1219/345 and 1308/211 were acquired by NIEUWENHUIS in the very heart of Borneo. The former is from the Mendalam Kajan at the village of Tandjoeng Karang, the latter from the Longglats on Upper Mahakkam.

The top No. 1219/345 (Fig. 49 A) is made of dark-brown heavy wood. The section shows an almost regular ellips. It has a prominent head. On either side of the body there is an ornament like a four-leaved clover, The hight of this top is nearly 28 cm., the long axis of the transverse section nearly 13 cm., the short axis 5,5 cm.

The top No. 1308/211 (Fig. 49 B) is of the darkbrown *kajoe besi* ("iron wood"). The section of this specimen is not quite elliptic, one end of the ellips being more rounded. The head is comparatively big, forming an immediate continuation of the body of the top.

The Mahakkam top is more than 23 cm. high. The major axis of the ellips is about 13 cm., and the minor 8 cm., thus it is not quite so flat as the previous top. The shape of the head also being different, it is not unlikely that these tops are the representatives of two variants occurring with different tribes, *i. e.* the Mendalam Kajan and the Longglats. How wide a range these big tops have in C. Borneo we do not yet know, but possibly in the central part of Borneo also another kind of flat top is found.

Although exceptionally large, these tops are not the biggest ones in Borneo. NIEUWENHUIS in his book "In Centraal Borneo" Vol. I, p. 185, tells us that the natives sometimes play with tops having a weight of several kilos.

At Rotterdam there are two tops of which is stated that in all probability they came from C. Borneo (Fig. 49 D and E). Although laterally flattened these two specimens, Nos 11630 and 11631, differ quite considerably from the two big tops described above, having almost the shape of a pear with a sharply marked, elongated head, on which they are spun. The opposite end is rounded. The top No. 11630 has a

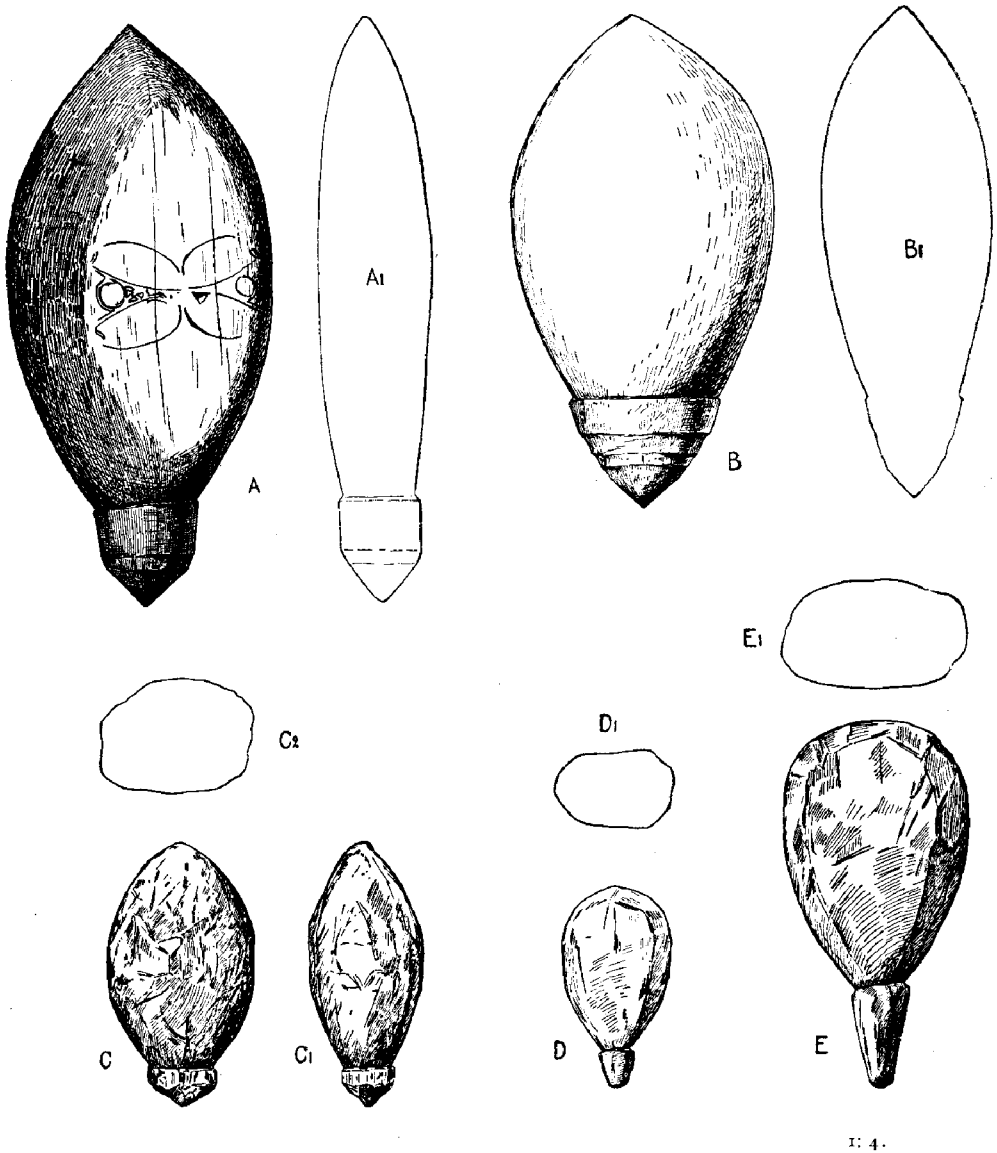

Fig. 49. *Tops from C. Borneo.* A from Tandjoeng Karang; B from Upper Mahakkam; C from Long Navan on Upper Kajan. (A Leiden Mus. No. 1219/345; B id. No. 1308/211; C Stockholm Mus. No. 27.2.236; D Rotterdam No. 11631; E id. No. 11630.) A^1 and B^1 longitudinal sections of A and B; C^2, D_1, and E^1 transverse sections of C, D, and E.

height of 17,5 cm. by 9 cm. and 5 cm. The corresponding measurements of No. 11631 are 9,5 cm. by 5,5 cm. and 3,5 cm.

In the Ethn. Museum at Stockholm there is a top, No. 27. 2. 236, from Borneo (Fig. 49 C), acquired by MJÖBERG from the Kenja Tribe. This top is slightly laterally flattened, yet to a certain degree it differs from the two Leiden specimens. It hails from Long Navan on Upper Kajan, not far from Mount Tiban in Dutch Borneo.

This top of heavy brown wood is much smaller than the flattened specimens acquired by NIEUWENHUIS, and the make is much inferior to that of the tops from Upper Kapoeas and Upper Mahakkam with their smooth surface and symmetrical shape. The Long Navan top measures about 12,5 cm. One axis of the section is 7 cm., the other 5,5 cm. The body, however, is somewhat irregular. There is a sharply marked neck or head ending in a low cone. The label states the native name to be *asing*.

In the Ethn. Museum of Oslo are contained six tops from the Phnihing Tribe in C. Borneo, collected by LUMHOLZ. Four of these are heavy big tops with a height from 15,5 cm. up to 18 cm., one is very small, not quite five centimeters, and one is of a type of which there is no parallel among the tops in Indonesia that I have seen.

The specimen No. 31590 (444 coll. L.), which measures 15 cm. by a diameter of 9 cm., is a double cone with a head ending in a low cone (Fig. 50 D). It has chiefly been spun on the point opposite to the head. The material is heavy, brown wood, the whole surface being rather smooth. The label states the following: "Rund snurrebas av tungt brunt trä. '(443—448) *Boe-ang*. Top(s) for playing.' Lengde: ca. 14 cm. Saml. CARL LUMHOLZ''. The words placed between single commas evidently are LUMHOLZ's own statement, the numbers 443—448 referring to the six tops in his collection. That the name of the top should be *boe-ang*, seems doubtful, *boewang* in Malay simply meaning "to throw", for instance *boewang dadoe*, to throw the die.

No. 31593 (446 coll. L.) is a top of almost the same height as the foregoing specimen. It measures 16 cm., but contrary to this top it is flat, the diameters of its section

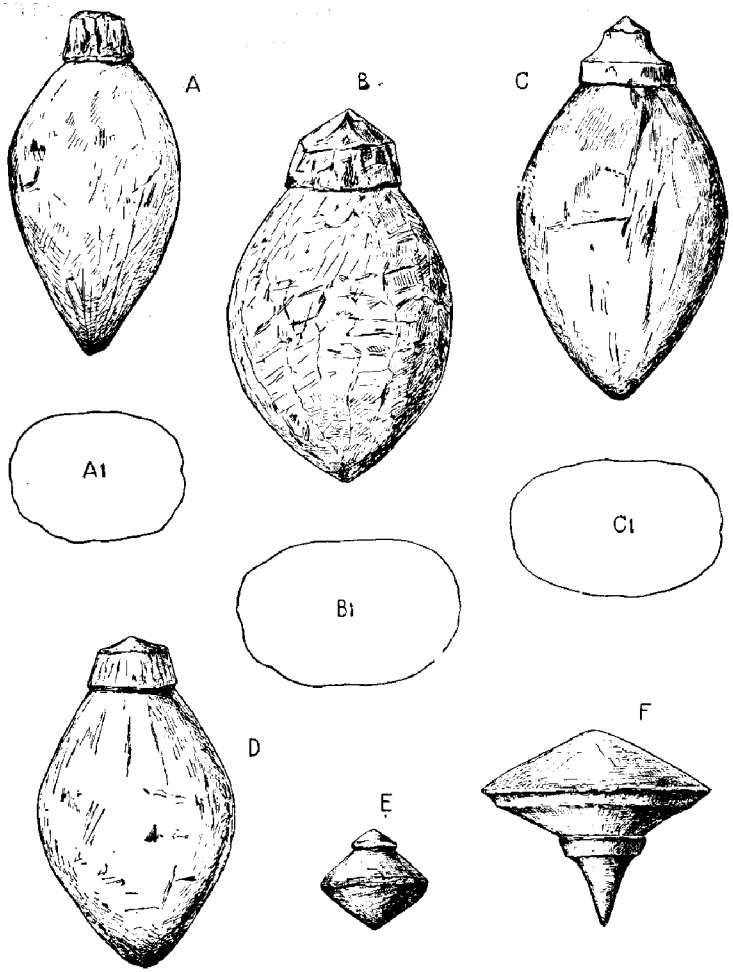

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Fig. 50. *Tops from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo.* (A Oslo Mus. No. 31593 [446 coll. L.]; B id. No. 31591 (443 coll. L.]; C id. No. 31592 [445 coll. L.]; D id. No. 31590 [444 coll. L.]; E id. No. 31595 [448 coll. L.]; F id. No. 31594 [447 coll. L.])

being respectively 8 and 6 cm. (Fig. 50 A). The head, the height of which is not quite 2,5 cm., has a flat top. It has of course been spun on the opposite point. It is made of

brown wood, but the surface is not so smooth as in the foregoing specimen.

No. 31591 (443 coll. L.) is a big and somewhat flat top of heavy brown wood with a big head ending in a cone with a rather sharp point, which is not worn from spinning (Fig. 50 B). Evidently the top has been spun on the opposite point. The height of the top is 17,5 cm., the diameters of the section, which like the previous specimen is a somewhat irregular ellips, are respectively 10,5 cm. and 7 cm. (Fig. 50 B^1). The surface is uneven.

No. 31592 (445 coll. L.) is a rather fine specimen, with a smooth surface and a nicely carved head (Fig. 50 C). It has been spun on the point opposite to the head. The height is 18 cm., the diameters of the section 10 cm. and 6,5 cm. (Fig. 50 C^1). The material is brown wood.

No. 31595 (448 coll. L.) is a top of quite another type the width being slightly greater than the height. It is an almost symmetrical double cone with a conical head (Fig. 50 E).

No. 31594 (447 coll. L.) is made of heavy dark brown wood. The height is 9 cm., the width about 10,5 cm. It is a double cone, the cones, however, being very low, about 3 cm. There is a big pointed head on which it has revolved. The height of the head is 4 cm., the diameter of the basis as much (Fig. 50 F). As seen in the figure, the top is not altogether symmetrical.

In **Sumatra** we meet some peculiar top types. The material at my disposal, in all eleven specimens, shows a greater variation than the tops of Java and Borneo. In the following list are given the numbers, localities, and Museums of the specimens that I have examined.

No. 939/28 Benkoelen. Leiden (Fig. 51 E)
No. 268/266 Palembang, Rawas. Leiden (Fig. 51 J)
— Orang Koeboe. St. Gabriel, Mödling. (Fig. 51 H)
No. 15216 Karo Batak. Rotterdam. —

No. I C 20125 a Karo. Berlin. (Fig. 51 B)
No. I C 20125 b » » (Fig. 51 C)
No. 7803 a Batak, N. Sumatra. Dresden. (Fig. 51 D)
No. 7803 b » » » —
No. 45/395 a Gajo, N. Sumatra. Amsterdam. (Fig. 51 F)
No. 45/395 b » » » » (Fig. 51 G)
No. 4126 Sumatra, no special locality given. Stuttgart. (Fig. 51 A).

Among these tops the specimens Nos. 268/266 from Palembang and 45/395 a from Acheh are representatives of the rather common egg-shaped type with a head. The former especially corresponds to the tops in Boeroe as well as to the top from Soelabesi, the top No. 370/889 from Bali, and No. 370/1900 from Bagelen in Java. The other specimen is more allied to the Boeroe top No. I C 22459 and certain tops in Java.

The top No. 268/266 (Fig. 51 J) is of yellowish brown wood, with a regularly egg-shaped body and a cylindrical neck or head ending in a cone. It has a height of 8,8 cm. and a diameter of 5 cm.

The specimen No. 45/395 a (Fig. 51 F) is likewise ovate, but here the head is a small double cone, as seen in the figure. The measurements are 8,2 cm. by 4,2 cm.

Of the same type as these two is the top that P. SCHEBESTA acquired from the Orang Koeboe. (Fig. 51 H). This specimen, which is in the Museum of St. Gabriel at Mödling is, however, stated not to have been used as a top, but as a kind of wedge in a frame drum. Thus we cannot take it for granted that the Orang Koeboe know the spinning top as a toy. HAGEN in his book on the Orang Koeboe does not mention the top, but this of course does not prove that it is unknown to them. HAGEN did not stay any length of time with them, so he may have overlooked it.

Be this as it may, the top at Mödling certainly has been used as a top. It is a double cone, one cone being

much lower than the other and fitted a neck which ends in a low cone, the point of which is an iron peg. Evidently the top has not only been spun on the iron peg, since the opposite end of the top is much worn. It is made of grayish white wood and measures 12 cm. by a diameter of nearly 7 cm.

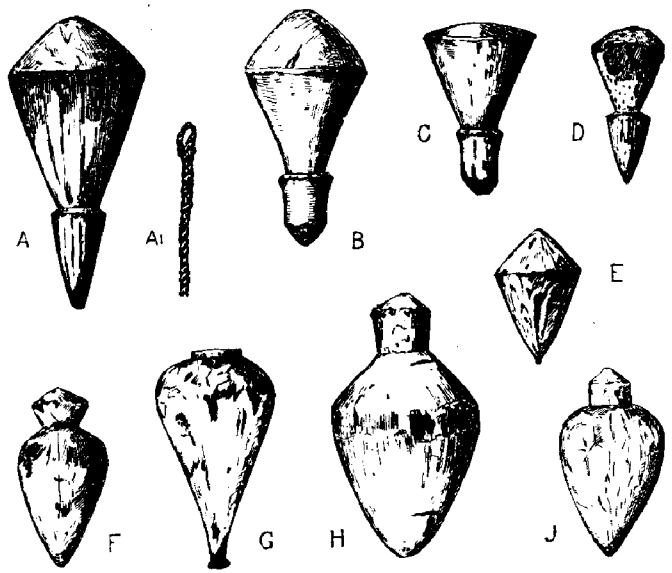

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Fig. 51. *Tops from Sumatra.* A no special locality given; B and C from the Karo Batak; D from the Batak; F and G from Gajo, N. Sumatra; E from Benkoelen; J from Rawas, Palembang; H from the Orang Koeboe. (A Stuttgart Mus. No. 4126; A1 upper part of the pulling string of A; B Berlin Mus. No. I C 20125 a; C id. No. I C 20125 b; D Dresden Mus. No. 7803 a; E Leiden Mus. No. 939/28; J id. No. 268/266; F Amsterdam Mus. No. 45/395 a; G id. No. 45/395 b; H Mödling, St. Gabriel.)

The top No. 45/395 b is from the same locality as No. 45/395 a, but of different shape, looking like a pear (Fig. 51 G). It has a fairly broad iron edge at the pointed end. At the opposite end there is a small neck with a flat top portion, presumably corresponding to the head in the tops No. 268/266, No. 45/395 a, and the Koeboe top. Tops with a very low head appear to occur sporadically in the Malayan

Islands. Such specimens are No. 370/889 from Bali, and No. 1900/350 from Soelabesi. Tops still more closely similar to the top No. 45/395 b from Sumatra are found in the Malay Peninsula, as we shall see later on.

Of the remaining tops from Sumatra, five, or possibly six, originate from the Batak, three of which from the Karo Batak. These three tops, one at Rotterdam and two in Berlin, represent a type which appears to be quite different to that of the other two tops which appear to represent rather a type of their own.

The Karo top (Fig. 51 B and C) has a conical body with an almost plane or slightly convex face and a very big head or spindle at the opposite end. They are made of ordinary light wood. The colour of the Berlin specimens is almost white. One of them, No. I C 20125 a (B) measures 11 cm. by a diameter of 5,5 cm. The other top, No. I C 20125 b (C), is nearly 8 cm. by 5,2 cm. The Rotterdam specimen No. 15216 has a height of 8,7 cm. by a diameter of nearly 5,5 cm.

The two Dresden specimens, Nos 7803 a and 7803 b, are comparatively small. They are made of some kind of palm wood and have the shape of two cones, one resting on top of the other (Fig. 51 D). The small cone in all probability corresponds to the head of a common top, the bigger cone to the body of such a top. The height of No. 7803 a is 7,2 cm., and its diameter 3,4 cm. The corresponding measurements of No. 7803 b are 6,1 cm. by 3,3 cm.

Possibly these two strange types are confined to a rather small district, since no really similar tops are known from the other Malayan Islands. Until we get a richer material it is, however, impossible to pronounce a definite opinion on the origin of the Batak top or the line along which it developed.

In the Linden Museum at Stuttgart there is a top from Sumatra, No. 4126 (Fig. 51 A), no special locality being given. It stands rather near the Batak top No. 7803 a, but the proportions are different, and it is much bigger. It

has a height of 13,5 cm. and a diameter of 6,5 cm. The top is made of dark and heavy wood. The body is a double cone, but one cone is very low, as in to the Berlin top No. I C 20125 a (Fig. 51 B), from the Karo Batak. It would be closely similar to this top if it were not for the head, which in the Stuttgart top is a high and pointed cone, in the Berlin specimen a cylinder ending in a low cone. The head of the Stuttgart top better corresponds to that of the Dresden specimen No. 7803 a (Fig. 51 D).

The Stuttgart top has been spun by means of a string, 207 cm. long and of uniform thickness, made of *idioek* fibre. One end is fitted with a small loop, the other end is unravelled.

Its similarity to the above described Batak tops is so great and at the same time it is so different to other tops in Sumatra that it seems rather likely that the Stuttgart specimen is from the Batak District or some adjacent region.

In the Leiden Museum there is a top, No. 939/28 (Fig. 51 E), rather different to all other tops from Sumatra but closely similar to a couple of tops from the Island of Si Maloer (Fig. 52 E and F). The Leiden top, which is stated to originate from Manna in the Benkoelen District far in south-western Sumatra, is a comparatively small double cone without a head. The height is nearly 6 cm., the diameter 4 cm. An iron peg, on which the top has been spun, is driven into the higher cone. The label states the native name of the top to be *gasing kajoe*. To the top belongs a string, twisted of white cotton. It is called *tali gasing*.

In the islands near Sumatra tops are found, but not having seen but a few specimens, I cannot decide whether they really are good representatives of the common top, or they be more or less casual occurrences.

The material at my disposal from the islands to the west of Sumatra is a specimen from the Mentawei Islands and two specimens from Si Maloer. From the islands

to the east of Sumatra I have examined only a single specimen from Banka.

In addition I have seen a specimen which is stated to originate from the so-called Poeloe Toedjoe, "Seven Islands", but it is not said from which small island, or group of islands situated to the north-west of Borneo, it came.

The top No. 10926 from **Mentawei,** now at Dresden (Fig. 52 J.), has the shape of a rather long and thin spool with a head of ordinary size, which makes this top very similar to the top found in Lojnang in NE. Celebes. Evidently it can be referred to the double cone type with a conical head. The top appears to have been spun on the point of the head. It is made of grayish white wood. Its height is nearly 9,5 cm. and its diameter not quite 4 cm.

The tops from **Si Maloer** also are double cones but without a head. They revolve on an iron peg. The upper cone of the top No. 1857/41 is high with a sharp point (Fig. 52 E), that of the top No. 1862/30 low and rounded (Fig. 52 F). The former specimen is made of grayish wood and measures 11 cm. by a diameter of 5,5 cm. The latter top is of light grayish yellow wood. The measurements are 8,5 cm. by a diameter of nearly 4,5 cm. According to the Leiden Museum Catalogue, the bigger specimen came from Lebang, the smaller from Loegoe, both places in the Tapah District. Each top has a pulling cord. The cord of the bigger top is rather thick, 172 cm. in length, and to it is tied a square fragment of coconut shell (Fig. 52 E1). The cord of the smaller top is 114 cm. A small wooden peg is tied to its proximal end (Fig. 52 F1).

Exepting the Benkoelen top, I have not seen a single top from Indonesia exactly of the same shape as the Si Maloer tops. Even if the body of certain tops may agree with that of these tops, especially with the top No. 1857/41 (Fig. 52 E), they have a head, contrary to the Si Maloer specimens. Tops without a head are as a rule conical with a flat or slightly convex face. There are two specimens from Java Nos. 880/59 (Fig. 46 C) and 370/1891 (Fig. 46 B) the shape of which, however, very much approaches that of the smaller Si Maloer top as seen in the figures given of these tops. The low cone of the Si Maloer top has in the Javanese tops been reduced to a convex face. The iron point on which they are spun is a feature common to the Si Maloer tops, the Benkoelen top, and the Javanese tops Nos. 880/59 and 370/1891.

If this parallel is correct, the upper cone of the Si Maloer tops corresponds to the cone with the head in common tops.

At Leiden there is a top from **Banka,** No. 370/3347 (Fig. 52 H). It is a turned top of dark brown wood, the body having the shape of an egg. One end is pointed, the other end is fitted with a rather big head or cylindrical neck ending in a low cone. The top evidently has been spun on both points. It measures 8 cm. by a diameter of 4,4 cm. This top is rather similar to some Javanese tops, such as the top 625/52 (Fig. 46 K).

Among the tops from the Malay Islands there is at Rotterdam a specimen of so peculiar a shape that it can hardly be referred to any of the types described in the foregoing. The specimen in question, No. 7012 (Fig. 52 K), hails from one of the small islands situated between NW. Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, commonly known as **Poeloe Toedjoe,** "Seven Islands". The body of this top has the shape of a low cylinder ending in cones, one of which is slightly convex, the other slightly concave. One cone is fitted with a small conical head on which the top has revolved. At the opposite end there is a small cylindrical neck round which the pulling cord is wound. It measures 6 cm. by a diameter of 7,5 cm.

Possibly this top is allied to certain Chinese tops. At Dresden there is a turned, lackered top No 23464 from China (Fig. 52 M) the shape of which is similar to that of the top from Poeloe Toedjoe. The chief difference is that the Chinese top revolves on an iron spindle piercing the

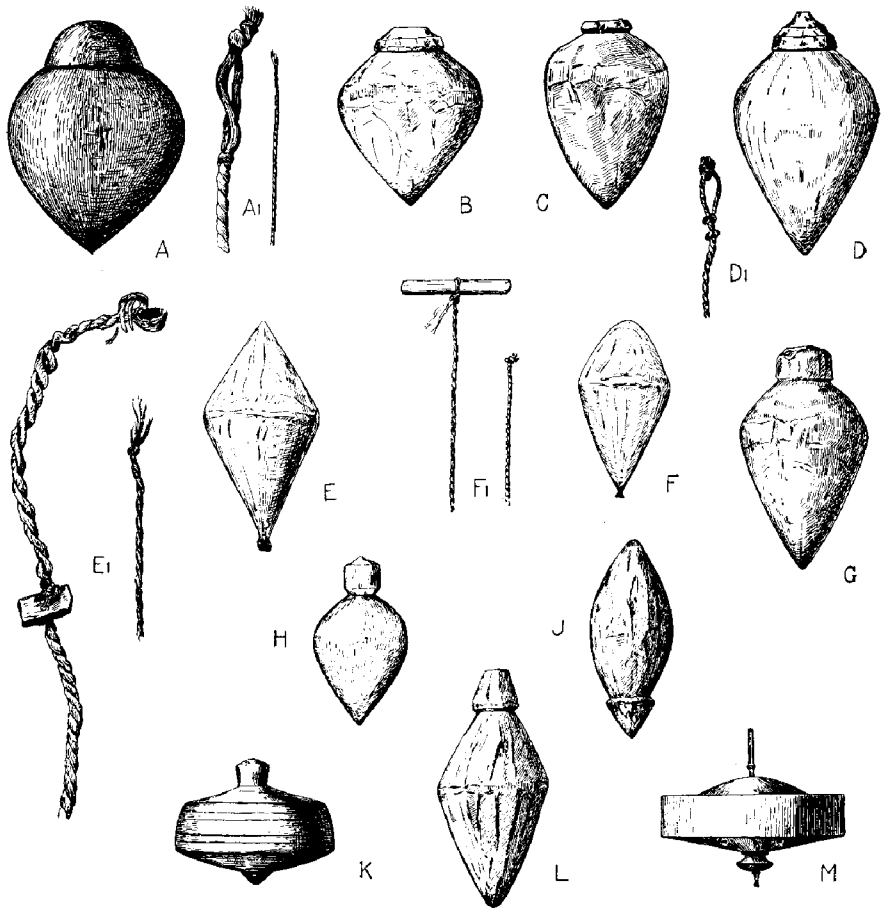

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Fig. 52. *Tops from the Malay Peninsula, the small islands near Sumatra, Poeloe Toedjoe, India, and China.* A—D and G from the Malay Peninsula; E and F from Si Maloer; H from Banka; J from Mentawei; K from Poeloe Toedjoe; L from Chota Nagpur; M from China. A^1, D^1, E^1, and F^1 pulling strings.
(A Stuttgart Mus. No. 12239; B Berlin Mus. No. I C 27781; C id. No. I C 24694 a; G id. No. I C 24560; L id. No. I C 35676 b; E Leiden Mus. No. 1857/41; F id. No. 1862/30; H id. No. 370/3347; D Dresden Mus. No. 26706; J id. No. 10926; M id. No. 23464; K Rotterdam Mus. No. 7012.)

body, which has the form of a lotus seed-pod. The top measures 8,6 cm. across.

In the **Malay Peninsula** the top appears to be just as common a toy as in the Malay Islands. In the Berlin

Museum are contained three specimens, at Dresden there is one, and at Stuttgart another.

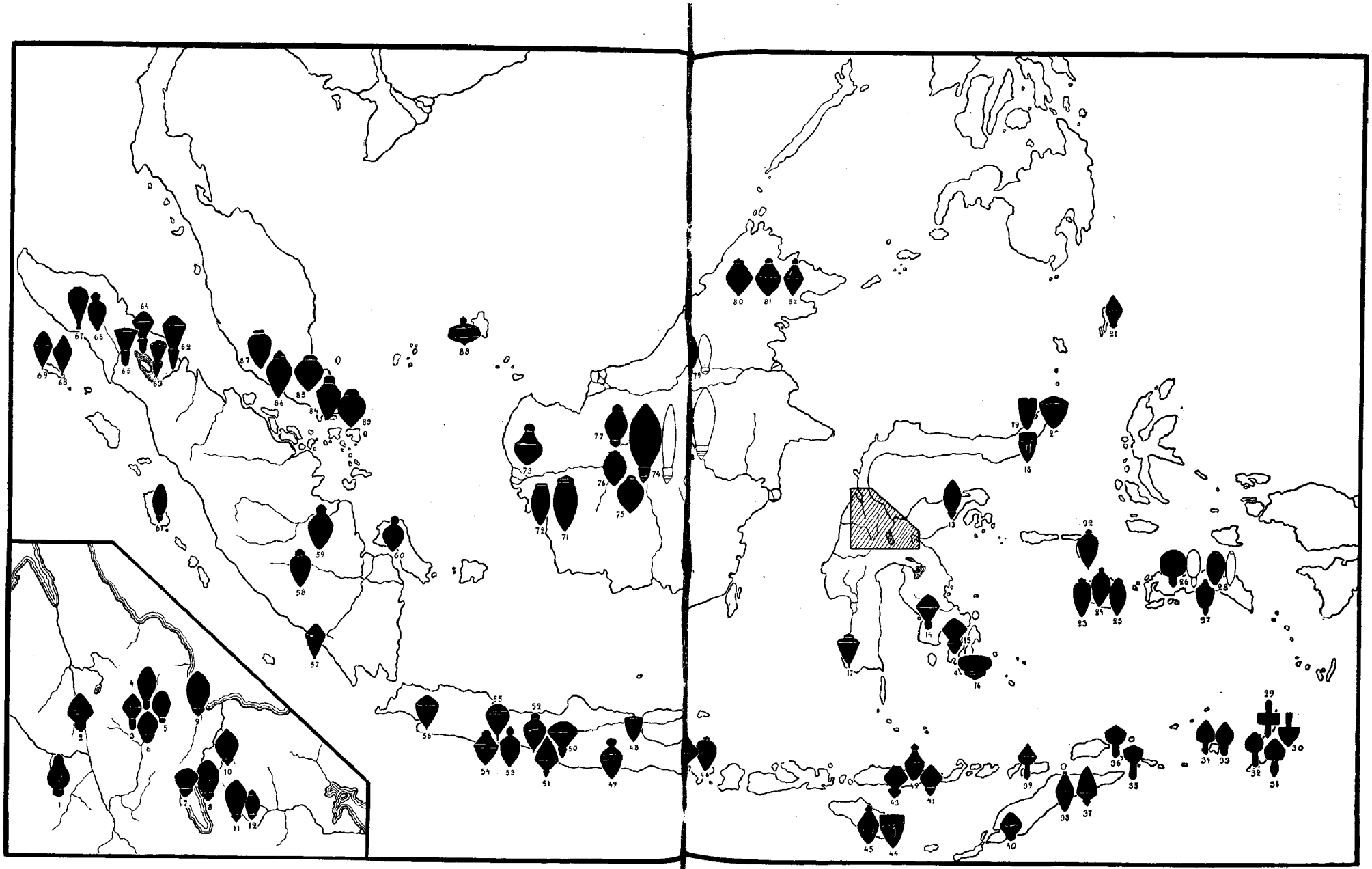
One of the Berlin tops, No. I C 24560 (Fig. 52 G), is from the so called Orang Benoea. No special locality is given. According to HEINE GELDERN ("BUSCHAN, Ill. Völkerkunde", Vol. II) this tribes live in the Riouw Islands, situated to the south of the Malay Peninsula, and possibly the top in question came from these islands. This top, however, as well as some similar tops were collected by STEVENS, who in his work "Materialien zur Kenntnis der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malakka", states the proper Orang Benua to be living in the south-western part of Malacca. This makes it likely that the top came from the Peninsula.

The top is made of heavy red brown wood. It has the shape of a somewhat pointed egg. Opposite the point on which it has been spun is a rather big cylindrical neck or head with an almost flat top. The shape of the body fairly closely corresponds to that of the Banka top (Fig. 52 H), but the neck is much lower and does not end in a cone. It has a height of 10,5 cm. and a diameter of 6 cm. To this top belongs a thin cord, tapering toward the distal end. The proximal end is fitted with a big loop to secure it to the hand of the user.

To judge from the tops found in the Museums of Berlin and Dresden, closely similar tops are found at least all over the southern half of Malacca. Of these specimens only one, the one at Dresden, is stated to be from a definite locality. The locality where the two Berlin tops were collected is not given, but they are stated to have been acquired from certain tribes living in the Malay Peninsula. These primitive tribes not being of altogether fixed abode, it is difficult to mark on the map the localities where the tops were acquired, but all three Berlin specimens appear to have been collected by STEVENS, and therefore I have tried to go by his map in "Materialien etc." (Map 12).

Map 12.

1	Kaudern coll.	1611
2	» »	1188
3	Berlin	I C 38689 g
4	»	I C 38689 a
5	»	I C 38689 f
6	»	I C 38689 c
7	Kaudern coll.	2386
8	» »	2387
9	Basel	II C 525
10	Berlin	I C 30268
11	Kaudern coll.	2560
12	» »	—
13	» »	2718
14	Frankfort	N S 14835 a
15	»	N S 14529 a
16	»	14936
17	Berlin	I C 9837
18	Kaudern coll.	617
19	Rotterdam	1124 d
20	»	1124 b
21	Dresden	11581
22	Leiden	1900/350
23	Berlin	I C 22459
24	»	I C 22596
25	»	I C 22594
26	Leiden	1995/6
27	Cologne	—
28	»	—
29	»	37415
30	»	37414
31	»	37412
32	»	—
33	»	—
34	»	36414
35	»	—
36	Berlin	I C 19481
37	»	I C 21705
38	»	I C 21214
39	»	I C 18987
40	»	I C 9191 a
41	»	I C 18089
42	Leiden	1710/58
43	Dresden	10830
44	Leiden	858/130
45	Rotterdam	16348
46	Leiden	370/889
47	Rotterdam	11595
48	Leiden	370/1905
49	»	625/52
50	»	370/1899
51	»	370/1898
52	»	370/1900
53	»	370/1892
54	»	370/1893
55	»	370/1891
56	»	880/59
57	»	939/28
58	»	268/266
59	Mödling St. Gabriel	—
60	Leiden	370/3347
61	Dresden	10926
62	Stuttgart	4126
63	Dresden	7803
64	Berlin	I C 20125
65	»	I C 20125
66	Amsterdam	45/395
67	»	45/395
68	Leiden	1857/41
69	»	1862/30
70	Berlin	I C 12570
71	Vienna	25996
72	»	25997
73	Leiden	894/30
74	»	1219/345
75	»	1219/342
76	»	1219/343
77	»	1219/344
78	»	1308/211
79	Stockholm	27.2.236
80	Leiden	1156/12
81	Stuttgart	L 1560/805
82	»	L 1148/613
83	»	12239
84	Berlin	I C 24560
85	»	I C 27781
86	Dresden	26706
87	Berlin	I C 24694 a
88	Rotterdam	7012



Map 12. Geographical distribution of different forms of tops in Indonesia.

The Dresden specimen No. 26706 from Linggi in Negri Sembilan (Fig. 52 D) is made of yellowish white wood. It is well made, and has the shape of an egg with a fairly sharp point on which it has been spun. The head is cut in several steps ending in a small plane surface. The measurements are 11,5 cm. by a diameter of 6,8 cm. The pulling string, similarly to that of the top I C 24560 in Berlin, tapers towards the distal end, the proximal end being fitted with a fairly big loop (Fig. 52 D1).

The Berlin specimen No. I C 27781 (Fig. 52 B), collected by STEVENS, is stated to have been acquired from the Orang Djakoen. According to STEVENS's map, this tribe lives in the southern part as well as on the south-eastern coast of Malacca. The top is made of some almost white wood with a slight orange tint. Its form is similar to that of the two previous tops, with the difference, however, that it is shorter and thicker. The head is lower, but the plane surface at its upper portion is larger than in the Linggi specimen. It has of course been spun on the pointed end like the tops from Linggi and Negri Sembilan. The measurements are 8,5 cm. by 6,8 cm.

The third top from Malacca, now in Berlin, No. I C. 24694 a (Fig. 52 C) was also acquired from a tribe characterized as Primitive Malays living in the western part of the Peninsula. The label states the following: "Orang Belandas, West Malakka, sog. Orang Mentera." According to HEINE GELDERN (Buschan, Ill. Völkerkunde, Vol. II, p. 701), the Orang Belanda and the Orang Mentera are two different tribes. STEVENS, however, holds the opinion that the Orang Mentera are a branch of the so-called Orang Belanda, at the time of his researches living in Malacca to the south of Negri Sembilan.

This top is made of heavy red brown wood. Its shape is similar to that of the foregoing three tops, but its head is much lower. The top has a height of 9 cm. and a diameter of 6 cm.

The four tops from the Malay Peninsula no doubt make a type of their own. Since all of them have been acquired from Primitive Malay Tribes in the Peninsula, this may be a type characteristic of these tribes. Noteworthy is perhaps the fact that the pulling cord of all these tops is fitted with a fairly big loop at the proximal end.

There is, however, at Stuttgart a top No. 12239 (Fig. 52 A) the label of which states it to have come from the Malay Peninsula. It differs rather much from the four tops from Malacca described above, and therefore it would have been of interest to know at which place in Malacca it was acquired. It is of too good make, I think,to have been manufactured by a Primitive Malay Tribe. The top is made of very heavy dark red brown wood, the surface being so smooth and bright, as to convey the impression of the piece being turned and polished. It has been given the shape of a rather short egg with a sharp point into which an iron peg is driven. At the opposite end there is a fairly big semispherical head, separated from the body by a narrow circular incision. The top measures 11 cm. by a diameter of 8,5 cm. There is a 209 cm. long cord the proximal end fitted with a big loop. It tapers towards the distal end (Fig. 52 A1).

Strange to say, none of the tops from Malacca are similar to the Sumatra tops that I have examined, but I think there is a striking correspondence between several Borneo tops and the ordinary Malacca type.

No doubt it would be of great interest to study the tops found in the districts further to the north in Farther India, but unfortunately there is no material at all from these tracts.

In Berlin there are two closely similar tops from British India, Nos. I C 35676 a and b from the so-called Kohl people. They were acquired at Chota Nagpur in Bengal. As seen in Fig. 52 L, they are double cones of rather crude make with a square head, the material being wood of light colour. The

cords are rather long. To the cord of the smaller top is attached a seed-pod in the way of a handle. The top No. I C 35676 a measures 14,5 cm. by a diameter of 7,7 cm. The corresponding measurements of No. I C 35676 b are 11,3 cm. by 5,3 cm.

This type does not appear to have any allied forms among the tops generally found in Indonesia, but there is one top, No. I C 21214 in Berlin, from Timor, already described on page 167 (Fig. 45 D) which so closely corresponds to the Chota Nagpur specimens that we might suspect it to be of Indian origin as mentioned in the foregoing.

The Rotterdam specimen from Soemba, No. 16348 (Fig. 45 H) also to a certain degree corresponds to the Chota Nagpur tops, but again it differs so much from these tops that I do not think we make a mistake if we attribute this correspondence to mere chance.

An investigation of the tops found in the Philippine Islands perhaps would be of interest to the question of the origin of the tops in Indonesia, but in no museum that I visited were there any tops from these islands.

3. Native names of the Top.
(Map 13).

In the foregoing we have seen that most tops found in Indonesia have the shape of an egg or a double cone with a head of variable size. As a rule we have no difficulty in deriving different forms from this type, whether of simpler, or of more complicated shape. In Fig. 53 I have represented a series of tops in order to indicate the possible evolution of one type into another, but of course this series is not the only one possible.

In the list below are given all native names of the top, compiled from statements found in the literature, or on labels in the museums, or from private correspondences, as well as those noted down by myself in Celebes. My idea

was to find out if a certain name is applied to a certain type or not.

Celebes.		
Minahassa (in general)	*Pion*	GRAAFLAND.
» , Sonder dialect	*Warah*	»
» , Tontemboean dial.	*Warai*	Mrs. ADRIANI
Koelawi	*Gasi*	ADRIANI and KRUYT.
Parigi	*Gasi*	» » »
Napoe	*Gahi*	Berl. Mus. Völkerk.
»	*Embe*	» » »
Poso Toradja	*Gantji*	ADRIANI and KRUYT.
Mori	*Gansi*	» » »
Tae speaking Saadang Toradja	*Gasing*	KRUYT.
Loewoe	*Gasing*	GRUBAUER.
Bugis	*Gasing*	MATTHES.
Macassar	*Gasing*	»
To Bela	*Hule*	GRUBAUER.
Kolaka	*Hule*	ELBERT.
Moena	*Hule*	ELBERT.
Boeton		
Baoe Baoe	*Gapi*[1]	ELBERT.
Talaud Islands		
Karkelang	*Asinga*	MEYER and RICHTER.
Sangi Islands		
Siaoe	*Kasing*	VAN DINTER.
Soela Islands		
Soelabesi	*Vag*	VAN HULSTIJN.

[1] This form seemed very strange to me. Mrs. ADRIANI, whom I consulted, tells me in a letter that it cannot be linguistically explained. Further inquiries at Baoe Baoe reveal the fact that the word for top is *gasi*, not *gapi*, in Boeton. My informant, the Dutch Governor of Boeton, Mr. BARETTA, states that in Moena the word for top, as far as he knows is the same as in Boeton, *i. e. gasi*.

Boeroe		
Kaiili	*Kalassen*	Berlin Museum.
Ceram	*kahururu*[1]	RIEDEL.
Kisar	*Pir-nä*	Berlin Museum.
	Pirne	RIEDEL.
Wetar	*Edur*	RIEDEL.
Alor	*Kotte*	Berlin Museum.
Timor	*Pïol*	KLEIAN.
Laga, NE. Timor	*Keihuri*[2]	Berlin Museum.
Lakka, E. Timor	*Edu*	» »
Flores		
Papang, Rioeng District	*Pala Mangka*	Leiden Museum.
No special locality	*Kotir*	» »
Roti	*Pio*	JONKER.
	Põpòdek	KLEIAN.
E. Soemba	*Pemaka*	Leiden Museum.
Soembawa		
Bima, E. Soembawa	*Kawongga*	JONKER.
Bali		
Boeleleng	*Gangsing*	Leiden Museum.
Java		
Soerabaja	*Kékéjan*	Leiden Museum.
Kediri	*Kékéjan*	» »
Bagelen	*Kekejan*	» »
»	*Panggal*	» »
»	*Gangsingan*	» »
Banjoemas	*Panggal*	» »
»	*Gangsingan*	» »
Buitenzorg	*Gangsingan*	» »
»	*Kasin*	» »
Borneo		
Koeala Kapoeas, SE.	*Bajang*	Berlin Museum.
W. Borneo	*Banka*	Vienna Museum.

[1] "Larao kahururu = het draaien van tollen."

[2] See Addenda.

Menjoekei, W.	*Gasing*	Leiden Museum.
Tandjoeng Karang, C.	*Asing*	» »
Long Navan, C	*Asing*	Stockholm Museum.
Upper Mahakkam, C	*Seing*	Leiden Museum.
Orang Pnihing, C.	*Boe-ang*	LUMHOLZ.
Sumatra		
Manna, Benkoelen	*Gasing kajoe*	Leiden Museum Cat.
Rawas, Palembang	*Gasing*	» » »
Batak, N. Sumatra	*Gasing*	Dresden Museum.
Karo	*Gasing*	» »
Billiton		
W. coast	*Gasing*	A. WIESLANDER.
E. coast	*Gangsingan*	» »
Si Maloer		
Lebang, Tapa	*Kesing*	Leiden Museum Cat.
Nias.		
N. Nias	*Gàòlò*	SCHRÖDER
» »	*Si fagadi*[1]	»
S. Nias	*Gàulògàulò*	
Banka	*Gasing*	Leiden Museum Cat.
Malay Peninsula		
Negri Sembilan, Linggi	*Gasing*	Berlin Museum.
Orang Djâkoen	*Gasing*	» »
Orang Belanda	*Gasing*	» »

From this list is evident that the name of *gasing* and its variants is the name commonly applied to the top in Indonesia, other names being confined to comparatively small districts. Possibly some of these words do not mean top but the wood of which the top is made. *Keihuri*, for instance, a top in Berlin from NE. Timor, is a name which I am inclined to suspect. According to *Kern* (De Fidjitaal, p. 144) there is a word *kahui* in the Tagal, Bikol, and Bisaya languages, which means "tree", "wood", and *kai* in Sundanese and the Aroe language, also is wood or tree. Possibly *keihuri* may be allied to these words.

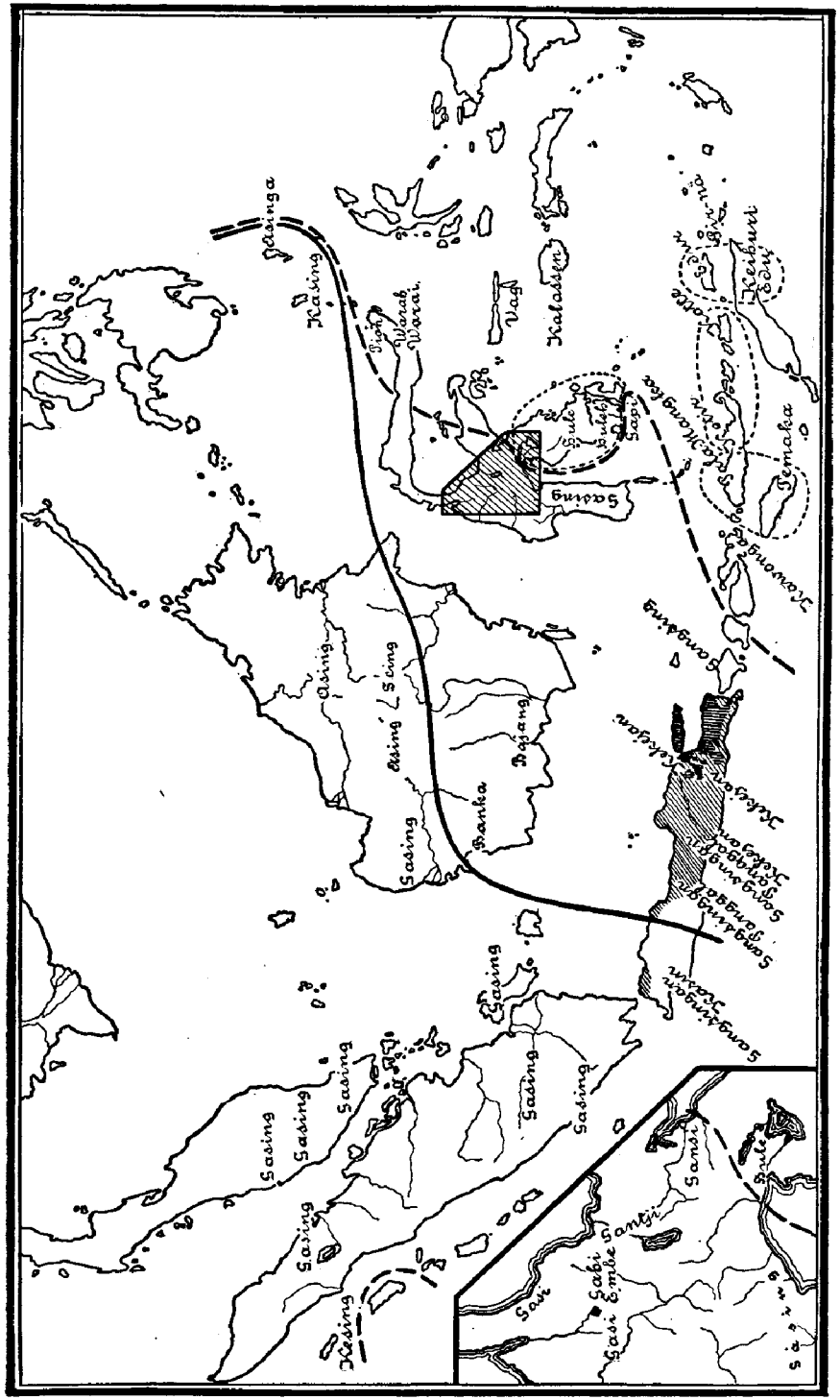
[1] See Addenda.

It often happens that mistakes arise when a native is asked to give the name of an object in his own language. He has for instance a walking stick in his hand. You ask, "What is that?" The man cannot imagine that you do not know that he has a walking stick in his hand, so he tells you it is made of ebony, and you are under the impression that the word given by the native means a stick. I think similar mishaps have befallen most explorers.

In the list given below, the native names of the top are ranged in groups according to their supposed affinity. In the last group are found various names which appear not to be allied to one another, or to those in the preceding groups.

Gasing.	Hule.	Kalassen.
Gasi.	Huleh.	Kawongga.
Gahi.	Keihuri.	Embe.
Gangsing.		Bajang.
Gangsingan.	Pemaka.	Banka.
Gansi.	Pala Mangka.	Kekejan.
Gantji.		Panggal.
Kasin.	Kote.	Pirnä (Pirne).
Kasing.	Kotir.	Boe-ang.
Kĕsing.		
Asing.	Pio.	
Asinga.	Piol.	
Seing.	Pion.	
	Warah.	
	Warai.	
	Wàg.	
	Edu.	
	Edur.	

From this list is seen that there are a great number of variants of the word *gasing*. Among the rest there appear to be very few allied words, the majority being words altogether different to one another.


Kasing
Kalaësen
Sasing
Asing
Sing
Banka
Sasing
Sasing
Sasing

In Java and in Bali we meet the forms *kasin, gangsing,* and *gangsingan. Kasin* only being known from W. Java, it could be supposed to be the Soendanese form of the *gasing* words.

Also in Celebes we find several *gasing* words. In the south-west a top is called *gasing*. According to MATTHES, the Orang Macassar as well as the Orang Bugis use this word, which is found as far northward as in the district of the Tae speaking Toradja living on the sources of the Saadang. KRUYT as well as GRUBAUER state the name of the top to be *gasing* also in the Loewoe District on the north coast of the Bone Gulf.

I have no reference from the districts immediately to the north of Loewoe, but further to the north we meet in NW. Central Celebes *gahi* and *gasi*, in E. Central Celebes *gansi* in the Mori language, *gantji* in Bare-e. Of these forms *gahi* and *gasi* no doubt are derived from *gasing*, but *gansi* and *gantji* seem to be derivatives of *gangsing*. Mrs. ADRIANI in a letter to me states the following: "In ontelbaar veel woorden staat een geprenasaleerde klank in de eene taal naast een niet-geprenasaleerde in een andere taal. In *gansi, gangsing* enz. is de geprenasaleerde *s* gemakkelijk te verklaren, als te zijn ontstaan onder de invloed van den nasalen sluiter *ng*. De vorm zonder prenasaleering (*gasi, gahi*, enz.) moet als de oudere beschowd worden."

Most languages in C. Celebes, being so-called open languages, have dropped the final consonants *ng, i. e gasing* has become *gasi* or *gahi, s* and *h* being equivalents in some languages in NW. Central Celebes. *Gansi* is the open form corresponding to *gansing* or *gangsing*. The Bare-e *gantji* corresponds to the Mori *gansi*, according to Dr. ADRIANI who on page 90 of Vol. III of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" states: "De palatalen van het Bar. *dj, ndj, ntj, nj*, vertoonen zich in het Morisch als *s, ns, n*".

It is, however, strange that the word for a top, *gantji, gansi*, as used by the Poso Toradja and the To Mori in E. Central Celebes closely corresponds to the name of the top in Bali and Java, contrary to *gahi* and *gasi* which correspond to the Bugis *gasing* in Celebes. How to explain this I do not know. It would not be altogether out of question to assume a direct importation of the top from Java or Bali to the eastern part of C. Celebes, like some musical instruments, but there is also the possibility of the top having been introduced from Java over Banggaai, where the influence of Madjapahit was considerable. Again there is the possibility of the top being so old a toy that it was known already to the speakers of the original Malay language.

The Sangi word *kasing* evidently is closely allied to *gasing*, but the Talaud *asinga* is more divergent from this form.

Also among the names not derived from *gasing* I think there are some words related to one another, but mostly these names are confined to a rather small territory. This seems especially to be the case to the east of the area of the *gasing* forms. According to GRUBAUER, the top is called *hule* in the districts round the big lakes of Towoeti and Matano, east of Malili. The same name ELBERT gives for a top from Kolaka in SE. Celebes. According to the same author the name of the top is *huleh* in the island of Moena, situated to the south-east of the SE. Peninsula, but possibly this is an error. The present Dutch Governor of Boeton, Mr. BARETTA, writes the following in a letter to me: "De door U gevraagde Moenaneesche woorden[1] kan ik U niet opgeven. De tolk hier beweerde dat er geen afzonderlijke woorden voor bestaan". Possibly *hule* is a special kind of wood of which it is customary to make tops.

In Timor we meet the word *edu*, in all probability the same as *edur*, the native name given to the top in Wetar situated not far from Timor. Besides there is the word *piol*, evidently the Portuguise *pion*, which E. F. KLEIAN gives in a list of words in Malay, Dutch, Rotinese, and

[1] Sling, stilts, and top.

Timorese in "Tijdschr. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", Vol. XXXVII, p. 208—284.

JONKER in his Rotinese Dictionary states the name of the top to be *pio* in Roti. On page 486 we read: "*pio*, ook in K., On., R. (Mal. v. Koepang, uit het Portugeesch: *pion*), tol: *nakaminak pio*, hij speelt met den tol". It is easy to understand that several Portuguese words have been adopted by the natives of these tracts, but it may be questioned whether the top was introduced by the Portuguese here. KLEIAN in his list of words gives *põpòdek* for top in Rotenese, *piol* for the same word in Timorese. In JONKER's Dictionary, however, *põpòdek* is not rendered with top. On page 489 the following is stated: "*pòde* 1, in alle dial . . . *a.* omdraaien, omkeeren, het binnenste buiten keren als een zak . . . *b.* zich omdraaien . . . *pòde-pòde*, steeds zich omdraaien, enz. *popòdek*, het draaien, enz . . . " It is nevertheless possible that *põpòdek* is the true native word for top in Roti, beside which also the Portuguese word is used at present. The same may be the case with *edur* in Timor.

To the west of Wetar, in Flores, are found the names of *kotte* and *kotir*. If they are allied with *edu* and *edur* I was unable to ascertain. In Flores there is another word for top, beside *kotir*, *i. e palamangka*. Possibly this is connected with *pemaka*, the name of the top in SE. Soemba.

In Java four different words are used for the top: *gangsingan* or *gangsing*, *kasin*, *panggal*, and *kékéjan*. According to the Malay-Dutch Dictionary by MAYER *gangsing* or *gangsingan* is Javanese. In the same book also is given *gasing*, which appears to be the Malayan form. My friend O. STRANDLUND at Bandoeng in Java states that *panggal* is Soendanese. He says the word is understood also at Bandoeng, but the one commonly used at that place is *gangsing* or *gangsingan*. To which languages *kékéjan* and *kasin* belong I was unable to learn, but possibly *kékéjan* may be Madoerese.

If I should venture to draw any conclusions from the

names of the top in Idonesia I should say the top once had various names in the Malayan Archipelago as is still the case east of the boundary line of the *gasing* forms. The names met with in S. Borneo (*bajang*, *banka*), Central and East Java (*kékéjan*, *panggal*), and C. Celebes (*embe* and *hule*) may be ancient local names.

Gasing, which I suppose to be a mimetic word, and which appears to be the only form as used in Sumatra, Malacca, Banka, and NW. Borneo, the region where the Malay proper is spoken, in all probability is a genuine Malay word. Possibly it originally was a local name of the top with the Malays in a restricted sense, which may originate from N. Sumatra, or the coasts of Strait Malacca. From these tracts they have some hundred years ago, presumably at the time when they embraced Mohammedanism, displayed an enormous expansion toward the east over the Malay Archipelago, chiefly by means of their commercial connections. By and by the Malay language became so wide-spread that at the present day it is a "lingua franca" throughout Indonesia. Under these circumstances it is not impossible that the word *gasing* dispersed over a great part of the Archipelago. The reasons speaking in favour of such a theory are: (1) In the region where the Malay language at the present day is the mother tongue of the natives there appears to be no other word for top than *gasing*, and the farther away from this region, the more varies this word. (2) S. Borneo, Java, and NW. Central Celebes form an intermediate zone, where *gasing* forms as well as local names are found. (3) In the extreme east and south-east only local names or the Portuguese name are used for the top, no *gasing* forms at all.

4. THE TOP GAME IN INDONESIA.

HIRN in his book "Barnlek", states that wherever in Europe the top be found, it appears to be spun with a whip, a method which is not commonly known in the Malay Islands, at least not by tribes whose culture has not

been strongly influenced by foreign cultures. I never saw a boy spinning a top with a real whip, and the authors who describe the top game in Indonesia never mention a whip as used in spinning the top.

On the whole the top game is the same all over Indonesia. Two boys play, or there is a party of boys, one of whom will throw his top. Another boy will aim at it with his own top trying to knock it out with a good shot and make it fall to the ground, while his own top keeps revolving on the playing ground.

A cord, as a rule tapering towards the end, is wound round one end of the top, the one with a head or neck, if the top has a head. To the thicker end of the string is often tied a small peg, a piece of coconut shell, a dry seed, or some other suitable object, or there is a loop, meant to secure the string to the hand of the player so as to enable him to give the top a sharp twirl when thrown. When the top is revolving on the ground it is left alone. Only once I saw at Kantewoe a boy whipping his top with the pulling cord.

The top game is nowadays generally a boy's game, but it may originally have been a game of adults, and of a ritual character.

KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 389, gives a detailed account of the rules of the top game, which is a most favourite game with the Toradja and exclusively practised by boys and young men. Even older men are delighted to partake themselves in this game either as players or as interested spectators who give vent to their approval of a fine shot, or to their disappointment at a failure.

Below I shall quote in full KRUYT's account which no doubt is the best and most detailed description of the top game in Celebes, if not in all Indonesia. I have also reproduced a plate found in his book of some boys playing top (Fig. 53). KRUYT writes: "De tijd voor het tollen

aangewesen vangt aan met het begin van den oogst, en eindigt, wanneer men de nieuwe rijstvelden begint te bewerken . . . . . De gewone gang van het spel is de volgende: Als een troepje jongelui gaat tollen, kiest ieder zich een tegenpartij. Een van hen zet zijn tol op, terwijl de ander er met den zijnen op mikt en er naar werpt. Raakt hij hem zoo, dat hij den opgezetten tol uitgooit, terwijl de zijne blijft draaien, dan mag hij, nadat zijn kameraad (die het dus heeft verloren) zijn tol weer heeft opgezet, daarop ten tweeden male werpen. Heeft de speler den tol bij het werpen niet geraakt, dan is hij verplicht zijn eigen tol op te zetten, opdat de ander er op werpe. Heeft de een den tol van den ander wel geraakt, maar niet uitgeworpen, zoodat beide draaien (dit noemt men *mombeoela*), dan moet worden afgewacht, wiens tol het langst blijft draaien. Deze heeft het gewonnen en mag weder op zijns makkers opgezetten tol werpen. Werpt men den tol van de tegenpartij uit en gaat de eigen tol ook niet draaien (*sipoeli*), dan begint men op nieuw.

Nu gebeurt het wel dat men in twist raakt, over de vraag wiens tol het langst is blijven draaien. Deze twist wordt dan op de volgende wijze beslecht: de een legt zijn tol op den grond, en de ander mikt er op eenigen afstand op. Daarna doet de ander hetzelfde. Raken beiden elkaars tollen, of missen beiden ze, dan gaat het spel door alsof er niets ware gebeurd. Raakt evenwel slechts één van beiden den tol van zijn kameraad, dan wordt deze geacht gelijk te hebben. Men noemt dit *mondoni* of *motonaa ntjaogoe*.

Soms ook tracht men een opgezetten tol van zeer nabij met zijn los in de hand gehouden tol uit te werpen. Dit is een woest spel dat den naam van *meloemba* draagt. Het gebeurt meermalen, dat de tol wegvliegt, en zoo ver in het gras terecht komt, dat men hem niet dadelijk terug kan vinden. Is het zoeken een poos lang te vergeefs geweest, dan zet een der makkers zijn tol op dicht bij de plek, waar men denkt, dat de verloren tol moet zijn. Daarbij zegt

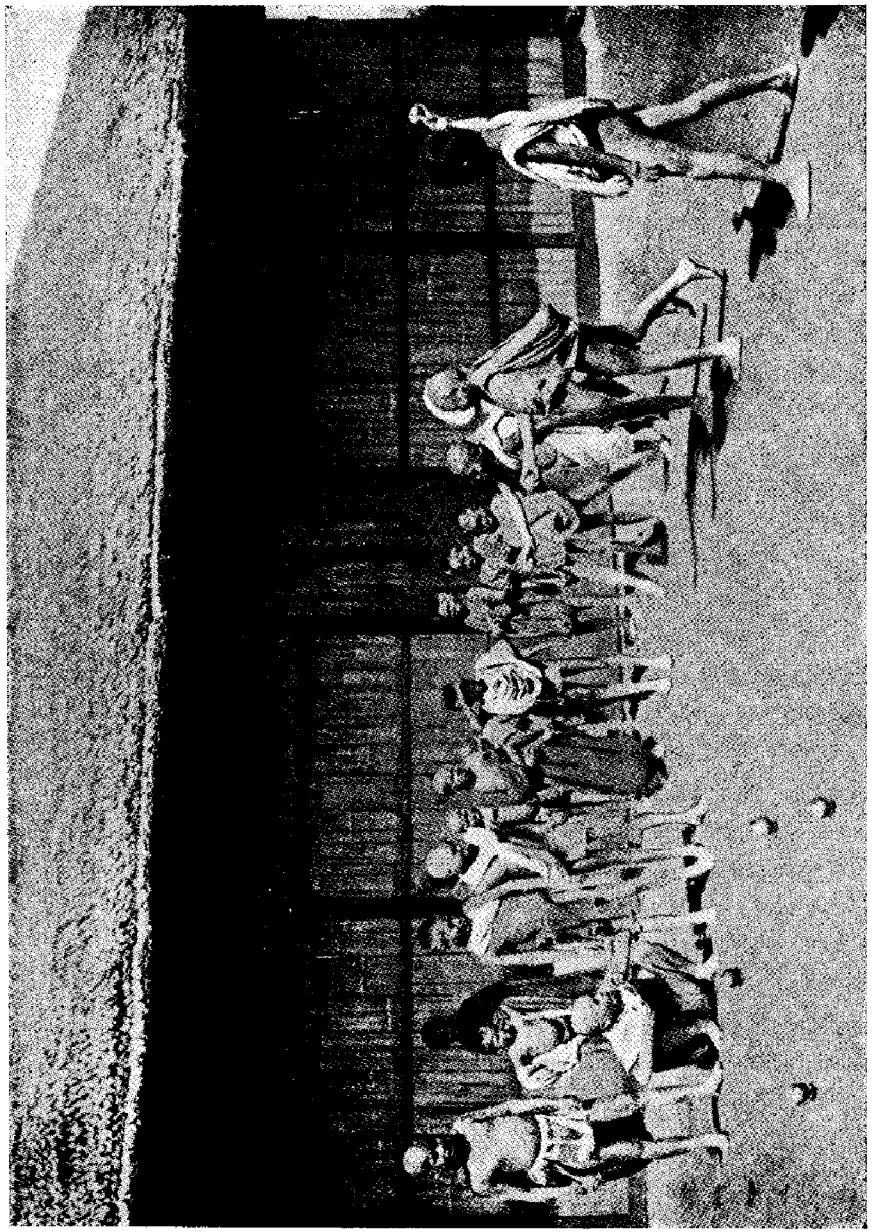


Fig. 53. *Poso Toradja children in C. Celebes playing top.*
From Adriani and Kruyt

men: "Wijs uw makker aan". Wanneer de tol dan is uitgedraaid, gaat men zoeken in de richting waarheen de punt van den tol wijst.

Na zonsondergang mag niet worden getold, daar men daarbij, naar het geloof, licht het oog van een geest met zijn tol zou kunnen raken."

Nieuwenhuis in his book "In Centraal Borneo", Vol. I, p. 185, describes the top game at a Kajan sowing feast at Tandjoeng Karang. We read as follows: "Buitendien is het zaaifeest de tijd wanneer de mannen zich met het tollen vermaken, waarvoor zij een platten, ovalen priktol gebruiken, met welken zij dien van den voorganger trachten uit te gooien, waarbij hun eigen tol mot blijven draaien, om het slachtoffer te worden van een opvolger. De oudere mannen hebben soms tollen van ijzerhout van verscheidene kilo's zwaarte. In de dagen, toen de meesten hunne tollen voor deze gelegenheid opnieuw hadden gesneden, was er op het pleintje voor de woning van het hoofd, tegen den avond altijd een gezelschap jonge mannen tot 30 jaar oud, die voor de vrouwelijke toeschouwers van boven, hunne vaardigheid en kracht ten toon spreidden."

The fact that the top game at certain remote places is confined to a special time of the year and is connected with rural performances makes it likely that in olden times it was a rural rite commonly known in Indonesia, but the rules of the top game hardly furnish a clue to the question how the top game came to Indonesia and how it spread over this region.

The above investigation, does it help us to answer the questions put by the author in the beginning of this chapter? The first question was this, "Was the top imported to Indonesia, or is it autochthonous of this region?" This problem has occupied several authors with different results. Some of them hold the opinion that the top from a single original

home dispersed throughout a great part of the world, other say the top was invented in more than one place. Some writers are of the opinion that the top was brought to Indonesia, E. Asia, and Melanesia by Europeans, that is to say it is of rather recent date, after the time of the great geographical discoveries in 1500.

HIRN in his book "Barnlek" in 1916 discusses this problem. He seems to be of the opinion that the question cannot be satisfactorily answered at present, but he is inclined to think, and rightly I should say, that it is not necessary to assume a European origin of all tops, and that the invention may have been made at different times and by different peoples in widely separated regions. As to Indonesia many facts speak in favour of the theory that it was known in this region long before the European culture gained a footing here. The very wide geographical distribution of the top throughout Indonesia, even to remote places in the interior of the big islands, makes it evident that the top is a cultural element of great age.

The rules of the game being different in Indonesia and in Europe also makes it likely that the two games are not closely connected, and if the top had been introduced from Europe, we should expect the shape of the top to be much the same all over the Archipelago. The great number of types found in this region point, I think, to a rather long period of evolution.

If the top had been introduced into the Malay Islands in the sixteenth century, it would indeed have spread extremely rapidly all over this region, and at the time of the Malayan expansion toward the east, the natives would already have given native names to the top, that were kept beside the new Malay name of this toy, *i. e. gasing*. The Malayan expansion, however, began rather early, possibly before the European era. At all events it took place, if it was not contemporary with the appearance of the Europeans here, shortly after that time, which would mean

that the Europeans had had at the most a couple of decades in which the top was dispersed all over the Archipelago. This, of course, is absurd. The first Europeans who came to Indonesia were not likely to amuse themselves with spinning tops.

Until irrefutable evidence is produced that the top was introduced from Europe I believe it to be a genuinely native toy in Indonesia. But if we assume the top to be native to Indonesia, how and when was this toy invented?

In spite of the great number of types it seems most likely to my mind, that all tops evolved from a single primitive type. In Fig. 54 is seen how it is possible to refer almost all kinds of tops to a simple, spool-shaped form with a circular incision round one end. With a richer material than the one at my disposal some type or other may prove to have followed another line of evolution than the one given in my figure, but the ultimate result would have been the same. The main point is that all types, even such strange ones as those from the South-Eastern and South-Western Islands, more or less shaped like a mushroom, the strange Batak tops, the single cone top with an almost flat face from Soerabaja, as well as the tops without a head can be derived from the simple spool form with a circular incision. But even this simple type can hardly be a conscious invention, and no doubt it had a prototype. In order to find out which, I am going to dwell for a little while on the method in which the natives handle the top.

In the foregoing I have mentioned that the top is wrapped with a long cord that is pulled around. Thus it would seem as if the top originated from some missile, in which case there is but one to be taken into account, viz. the sling. The cord corresponds to the sling itself, the top to the stone. The similarity of the cord of a top with a sling is indeed striking. Both of them taper toward the distal end, and the proximal end of the cord is often formed into a loop just as in the sling.

Fig. 54.

1	St. Gabriel	III 1133
2	Dresden	10926
3	Berlin	I C 22594
4	»	I C 22595
5	Leiden	268/266
6	»	1001/49
7	Berlin	I C 22459
8	Amsterdam	45/395
9	Leiden	1900/350
10	St. Gabriel	—
11	Leiden	370/889
12	Dresden	11581
13	Kaudern coll.	2718
14	Stuttgart	L 1560 I. N. 805
15	Rotterdam	16348
16	Berlin	I C 35676 b
17	»	I C 21214
18	Kaudern coll.	2560
19	Basel	II C 525
20	Stockholm	27.2.236
21	Leiden	1219/345
22	»	1300/11 a
23	Kaudern coll.	2387
24	Berlin	I C 30268
25	Kaudern coll.	2386
26	Berlin	I C 38689 e
27	»	I C 38689 c
28	Frankfurt	N S 14529 a
29	»	N S 14935
30	Berlin	I C 18089
31	Leiden	370/1893
32	»	370/1898
33	Berlin	I C 21705
34	»	I C 9837
35	Leiden	370/1905
36	»	370/1906
37	Stuttgart	4126
38	Dresden	7803
39	»	7803
40	Berlin	I C 20125
41	»	I C 20125
42	Rotterdam	15216
43	Leiden	370/1899
44	Berlin	I C 9191 a
45	Leiden	1219/342
46	Berlin	I C 12570
47	Vienna	25996
48	»	25997
49	Leiden	1156/12
50	Berlin	I C 27781
51	»	I C 24694 a
52	»	I C 24560
53	Dresden	26706
54	Leiden	1219/344
55	Rotterdam	11595
56	Leiden	804/12
57	Dresden	10830
58	Leiden	1710/58
59	»	894/30
60	»	894/30
61	Stuttgart	12239
62	Leiden	625/52
63	»	370/1892
64	»	370/1900
65	»	370/3347
66	Kaudern coll.	1188
67	Stuttgart	L 1148 I. N. 613
68	Dresden	25644
69	Stuttgart	L 1148 I. N. 614
70	Leiden	939/28
71	»	1857/41
72	»	1862/30
73	»	880/59
74	»	370/1891
75	Berlin	I C 26556 b
76	Amsterdam	45/395
77	Rotterdam	1124 b
78	Leiden	858/130
79	»	858/123
80	Kaudern coll.	617
81	Rotterdam	1124 d
82	Kaudern coll.	1611
83	Frankfort	N S 14835 a
84	Berlin	I C 38689 g
85	»	I C 38689 i
86	»	I C 38689 h
87	»	I C 38689 b
88	»	I C 38689 a
89	Berlin	I C 38689 f
90	Cologne	—
91	»	—
92	»	30205
93	»	—
94	Berlin	I C 18987
95	»	I C 19481
96	Cologne	—
97	»	36414
98	»	37414
99	»	37415
100	»	37412
101	Leiden	1995/6
102	Rotterdam	7012
103	»	11630
104	»	11631

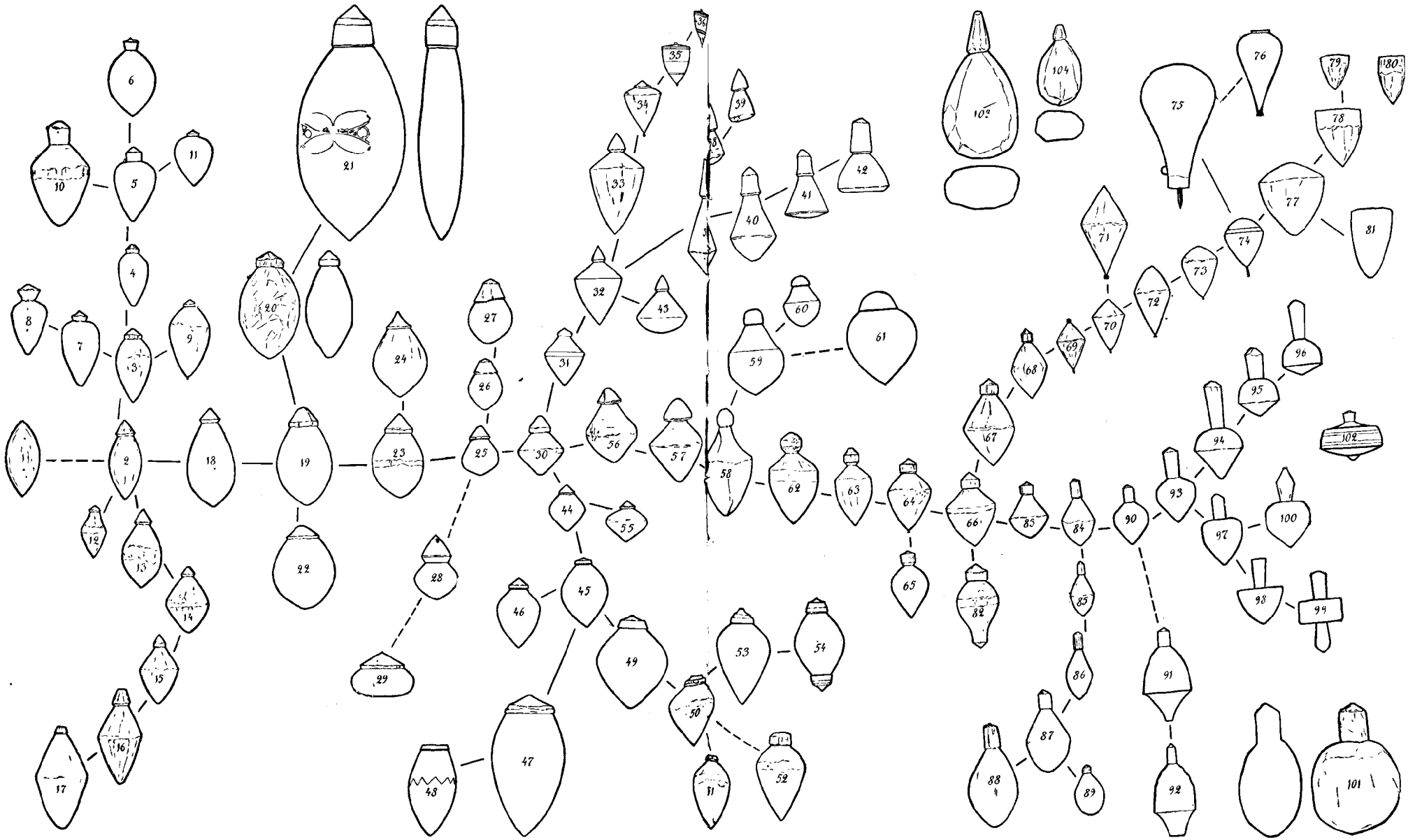


Fig. 54. Diagram showing how nearly all tops in Indonesia can be derived from the sling stone.

In the following table are given the dimensions of the cords as well as of the few slings that I have examined.

	Collection	No.	Locality	cm.	Material	Proxim. end	cm.
Slings	Frankfort	N.S. 9965	Sumatra	176	plaited *idjoek*	loop	4·5
	»	N.S. 14049	»	171,5	twined string	»	3
	St.Gabriel Mödling	III 1136	NewGuinea	174,5	plaited fibres	»	12,5
Pulling cords	Stuttgart	12239	Malacca	209	twined string	»	5
	Dresden	26706	»	—	» »	»	4
	Leiden	1862/30	Si Maloer	114	» »	peg	—
	»	1857/41	» »	172	» »	knot and slip of wood	—
	Stuttgart	4126	Sumatra	207	» *idjoek*	loop	1,5
	Leiden	894/30	Borneo	166	» string	»	12
	Berlin	IC 26556 b	Java	106	coarse string clothed with cotton	?	—
	KAUDERN	1202	Celebes		twined from strips		
			Koelawi	110	of cotton	knot	—
	»	1611	Kantewoe	128,5	hard-twined tapering string	»	—
	»	2387	Tentena	135	twined string	loop	2,5

A remarkable fact seems to be the correspondence of the loops of the slings and the pulling strings. The loop of a sling either is rather small, 3—4,5 cm., meant to pass over a finger or two, or it is big, 12,5 cm., evidently meant to pass over the hand of the thrower. Exactly the same is the case with the loop of a pulling string, the small loops varying from 1,5 cm. to 4,5 cm., a big loop measuring 12 cm.

If we compare the top with the stone of a sling we shall find that the simplest forms of the top in size and shape closely correspond to the common sling stone. Also their motion in the air is closely similar, both revolving round an axis through their points, in case the sling stone is placed with this axis at right angles to the sling.

In Fig. 54 is seen that such simple tops as those from

Ondae, Lojnang, and Mentawei closely correspond to the sling stones from New Guinea. There is but a circular incision wanting in such a stone, and we have an object closely similar to the Mentawei top. At Cologne there is a spool-shaped top from Celebes, about 6 cm. high, with three parallel, engraved rings and no head, still more closely corresponding to a sling stone (Fig. 48 c).

The size of the top as a rule seems to correspond to that of the sling stones from New Guinea and other islands in the neighbourhood of Indonesia. The very big tops from Borneo are exceptions which may be explained as highly specialized forms. For practical reasons such dimensions never could be given to a sling stone.

Celebes.	11,4 . 5,8	*Tanimbar*	9,8 . 6,7	11 . 5,9	13,5 . 6,3
9,8 . 7,3	8,1 . 4,5	7,8 . 5,5	8,8 . 6	7 . 4,5	6,1 . 4
10 . 6,4	5,6 . 4,5	9,5 . 5,5	7 . 5,4	8,2 . 5,6	*Mentawei*
6,7 . 4,7	5,6 . 2,7	8,8 . 4,8	*Bali*	16,5 . 8,5	9,3 . 3,9
11,4 . 6,5	9,6 . 5,4	9,6 . 5,3	6,5 . 4,5	10,6 . 5,7	*Si Maloer*
8,7 . 7,8	8,9 . 4,7	*Babar*	4,9 . 4,9	10,2 . 6	10,5 . 5,5
8,4 . 5	*Moena.*	8,6 . 5,1	*Java*	7,8 . 5,1	8,2 . 4,4
6 . 4,5	7,6 . 5,3	7 . 4,2	10,7 . 5,8	5,9 . 3,4	*Banka*
12 . 6	*Boeton*	*Kisar*	9 . 4,4	10 . 6,7	8 . 4,4
9,8 . 5,3	5,3 . 7,3	8,1 . 4,9	8,4 . 5,2	5,9 . 4,4	*Poeloe*
7,9 . 4	*Talaud*	*Leti*		27,2 . 12,5	*Toedjoe*
6,4 . 3,9	6,2 . 3	8,8 . 4,9	9,2 . 5,4	23,2 . 12,5	5,9 . 7,5
8 . 3,2	*Soela*	*Alor*	9,4 . 5,5	17,3 . 8,9	*Malacca*
5,9 . 3,5	9,1 . 4,9	11,6 . 6	6,8 . 4,7	9,5 . 5,1	10,5 . 5,9
7,5 . 5,2	*Boeroe*	*Timor*	6,8 . 6	12,4 . 7,3	11,4 . 6,7
6 . 4	8,7 . 4,4 .	12 . 6	5,7 . 4,7	*Sumatra*	8,4 . 6,8
5,9 . 3,2	8,6 . 4,3	11,7 . 6,3	6 . 4,4	10 . 5,5	8,9 . 5,9
8,8 . 5,6	8,2 . 4,2	5,5 . 4,2	4,7 . 3,4	8,2 . 4,2	11 . 8,2
10,8 . 6,5	7,2 . 3,6	*Soemba*	4,2 . 2,3	8,8 . 4,9	*Chota*
9,9 . 6,8	*Ceram*	8 . 4,6	14,8 . 9	10,9 . 5,6	*Nagpur*
8,4 . 5,7	15,5 . 10,5	7 . 5,4	*Borneo*	8 . 5,2	14,6 . 7,5
9,9 . 4,9	10 . 6,3	4,2 . 3,5	11 . 8,4	8,7 . 6,1	11,2 . 5,2
9,5 . 5,6	11 . 6	*Flores*	8,2 . 5,1	7,2 . 3,4	
5,7 . 4,1	11 . 5	12,7 . 7	8,2 . 4,4	6,2 . 3,3	
9,7 . 6				12 . 6,8	

In the above table are given the dimensions of all tops from Indonesia that I examined, except the Pnihing tops from Borneo which I saw only quite recently, and the tops at Cologne which I had no opportunity of measuring.

If all the measurements are ranged in a so called correlative table, page 217, we obtain two curves of variation, one indicating the height of the tops, the other the greatest diameter. (Fig. 55) Of course the number of the tops measured is much too small to give an exact measure, yet the curves may give a comparatively correct idea of the common size of the tops in Indonesia. If we leave out of consideration seven or eight very big tops which make the impression of being extreme forms, four of which originate from Borneo, we obtain rather natural curves of the variation of height and diameter of the top. The height as a rule turns out to vary from six to twelve centimeters, the diameter from 3,5 cm. to 7,5 cm., the majority being between four and seven centimeters.

These measurements fairly closely correspond to those of the sling stones that I have measured, but my material, in all four stones, of course is much too small to allow any conclusions to be depended upon. The measurements of the sling stones are given below.

No. III 1136	St. Gabriel, Mödling	9 . 4	cm.	New Guinea
No. N. S. 8553	Frankfort	7 . 3,7	»	Marian Islands
No. N. S. 8363d	»	6,3 . 3,4	»	» »
No. N. S. 8363c	»	5,8 . 3	»	» »

If we compare these measurements with those found in the correlative table, the height of the New Guinea stone turns out to exceed the average of the curve, and that of the Marian stones to exceed the height of the smaller tops. The diameter of the sling stones appears to be comparatively smaller than that of the tops, all four stones being a little below the average of the tops. Yet there are tops of more slender shape than the sling stones.

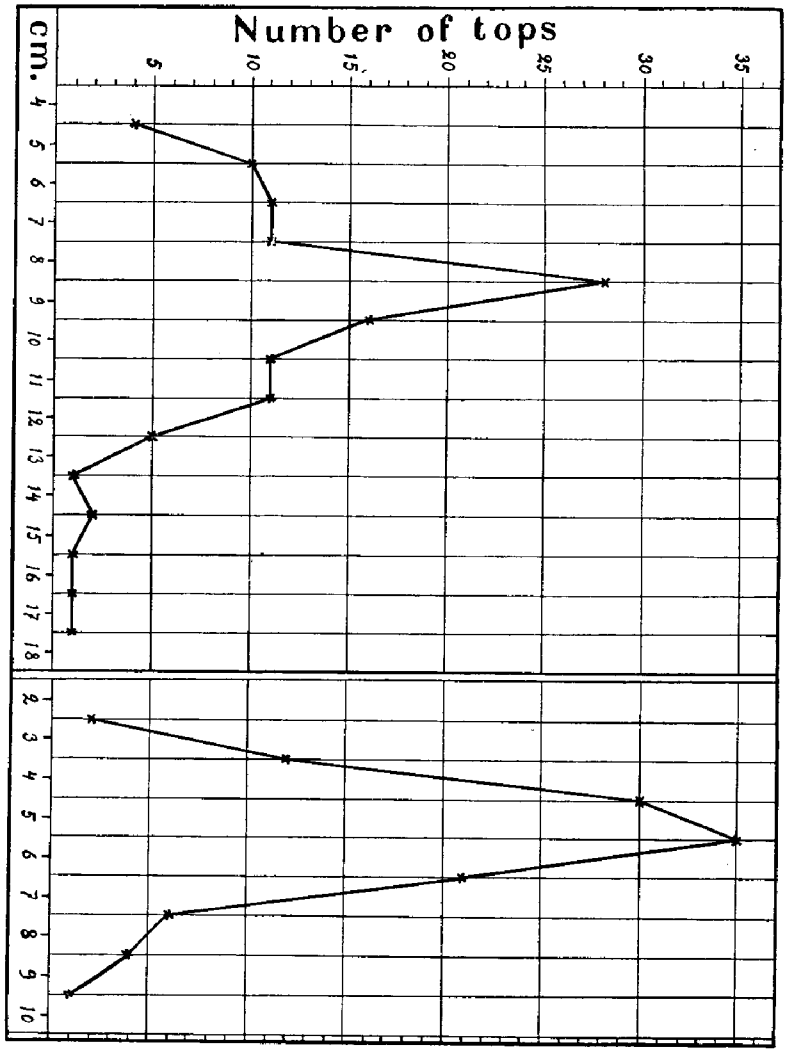


Fig. 55. Variation curve of the height and biggest diameter of the Indonesian tops.

The variation curve of the diam.

Correlative Table.

The height of the tops in cm.

	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
13																										
12																										
11																										
10																										
9																										
8																										
7																										
6																										
5																										
4																										
3																										
2																										

The greatest diameter in cm.

The variation curve of the height.

If we compare the four sling stones with the simple and in all probability primitive tops from Mentawei, Talaud, Boeroe, Soelabesi, and Ondae and Lojnang in Celebes, we shall find that the proportion between height and diameter is about the same. In the table below this is seen.

Tops, from:		*Sling stones, from:*	
Mentawei	9,3 : 3,9 = 2,4	New Guinea	9 : 4 = 2,3
Talaud	6,2 : 3 = 2,1	Marian Isls	7 : 3,7 = 1,9
Boeroe	8,7 : 4,4 = 2		6,3 : 3,4 = 1,9
	8,6 : 4,3 = 2		5,8 : 3 = 1,9
	8,2 : 4,2 = 2		
	7,2 : 3,3 = 2,2		
Soela	9,1 : 4,9 = 1,9		
Ondae	11,5 : 5,7 = 2,0		
	5,6 : 2,8 = 2		
	9,6 : 5,4 = 1,8		
	8,2 : 4,5 = 1,8		
Lojnang	8,9 : 5 = 1,9		

We thus see that neither the size nor the form of the tops disagree with the theory that the top evolved from the sling stone.

The chief difference between the method of using a sling and a top is the winding of the "sling" round the top, a step which is not very big after all. True enough, I have no reference from Indonesia, but WEULE states that the natives in German E. Africa use to sling stones by means of a cord wound on the stone and secured to the hand of the thrower by means of a loop at the proximal end of the cord. His representation I have reproduced in Fig. 56 A and B. In the same figure C is seen the right hand of the boy to the right in KRUYT's figure of boys playing with tops, which I have reproduced in Fig. 54. D in Fig. 56 is the top wrapped with its string. The similarity of this method of slinging stones and the method of throwing a top is obvious.

If my theory is correct, it seems most likely to my mind that the top is an invention made in more than one place, since the sling from very ancient times was widely distributed throughout the world. Even in the Malay Archipelago we cannot take it for granted that all the tops emanate from a single top, the sling no doubt having been used all over this region, but the fact that all tops here without

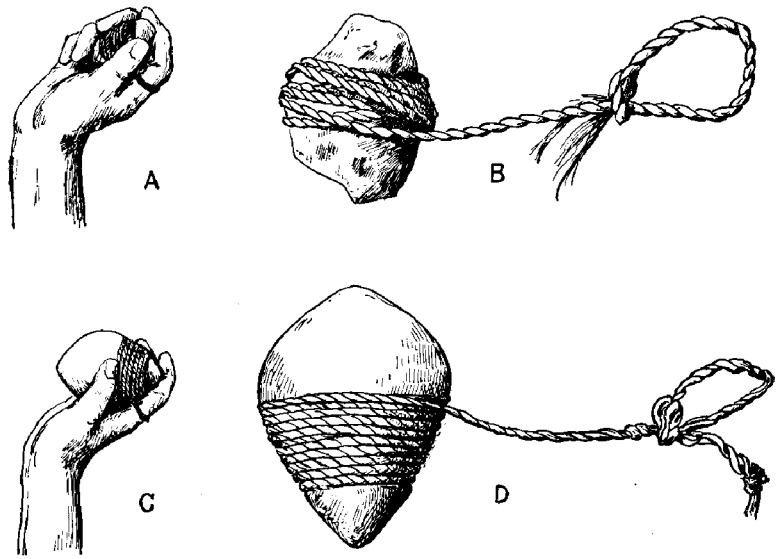


Fig. 56. *Stone-throwing* (A and B) by means of a cord wrapped round a stone. Vanjassa in Germain E. Africa (from WEULE). *Throwing of a top* (C), drawing from a photo by ADRIANI and KRUYT, in this book reproduced in Fig. 54, the boy to the right. *Top* (D) from Tentena on the northern shore of Lake Poso (KAUDERN coll. No. 2387.)

difficulty can be derived from a single primitive form (Fig. 54) rather suggest their having an origin in common here. The top game being the about same all over the region, and being different to this game in Europe and in Japan, points in the same direction.

In all probability the invention of the top was made at an early stage of the Malay culture, and at present it may be impossible to decide where the invention of the top was made and along which lines the different types were dis-

siminated over the Archipelago. For the present I think we have to content ourselves with stating that certain types often are confined to certain smaller or bigger districts. The tops in the Batak Districts, for instance, constitute a type of their own. The same is the case with the tops in Malacca and in part of North and Central Borneo, the tops in E. Central Celebes and NE. Celebes, the tops in the Soela Islands and Boeroe, the tops in the South-Eastern Islands and the South-Western Islands. Also the tops in SW. Sumatra and several Javanese tops seem to be the representatives of a special type. Other types appear at widely separated localities, as for instance the simple conical tops in N. Celebes and in Soemba.

Within a comparatively small district we sometimes meet two or more types promiscuously intermingled as in Central Java. In other places, as *e. g.*, in Central Celebes, either of two districts bordering on one another may have a type of its own.

The result of the survey of the Celebes tops is that there seem to be four main types. It is, however, difficult to pronounce an opinion on their correlation. The four types are represented by (1) the Macassar top (Fig. 41 A), (2) the Mongondou and Minahassa tops (Fig. 41 B, C, and D), (3) the tops in E. Central Celebes and NE. Celebes (Figs 41 E and 42 A—K), and (4) the tops at Kolaka in SE. Celebes and in Napoe, Koelawi, and Kantewoe in NW. Central Celebes (Figs 41 F and 42 L—T).

Among these, the third group no doubt is the most primitive, not being closely allied to the tops of the other groups but to several simple tops from various places in the Archipelago.

The Macassar top rather closely corresponds to several tops in the Little Sunda Islands, and perhaps especially to certain Javanese tops, which makes it likely that this form was introduced into the Macassar Peninsula from the contries to the south or the south-west of Celebes.

The type that I have referred to the second group possibly came to Celebes from the north, but as long as we do not know anything about the top in the Philippines we are reduced to mere conjecture.

The rather strange geographical distribution of the type in the fourth group is difficult to explain. We can hardly draw any safe inferences before we know which type or types are found in the districts round the big lakes of Towoeti and Matano and further to the north-west in the Kalaena Valley, in Leboni, Bada, Behoa, and Rampi and other districts round the tributaries and sources of the Koro. It is not altogether impossible that this type first appeared in Celebes somewhere on the northern or the eastern coast of the Bone Gulf, and from there was dispersed by the so-called Koro Toradja toward the north-west into the interior of Central Celebes. Similar tops occur in Java (Fig. 46 I) and in NE. Borneo (Fig. 47 G and M).

The Logo Game.

(Maps 14 and 15.)

In Celebes there is a very common game which is played with some more or less heart- or shield-shaped pieces of coconut shell and a couple of sticks. MATTHES has described it from the Macassar Peninsula where the natives call it *logo*. At other places it has other names, and sometimes it is a little differently played. I have seen it in Bolaang Mongondou in N. Celebes, in Koelawi and Kantewoe in NW. Central Celebes as well as in Lojnang in NE. Celebes. In addition GRAAFLAND records it from Minahassa in N. Celebes.

In the museums of Leiden and Berlin there are sets of coconut pieces with which to play the *logo* game, from the Macassar Peninsula as well as from Central Celebes, but no exact locality is given.

In Koelawi the children plant a *logo* piece with the point into the ground (Fig. 57 A). Close to another piece,

lying on the ground the convex side down, a stick is placed, which the performer strikes with his hand. A successful stroke will send the *logo* piece towards the standing piece and knock it down.

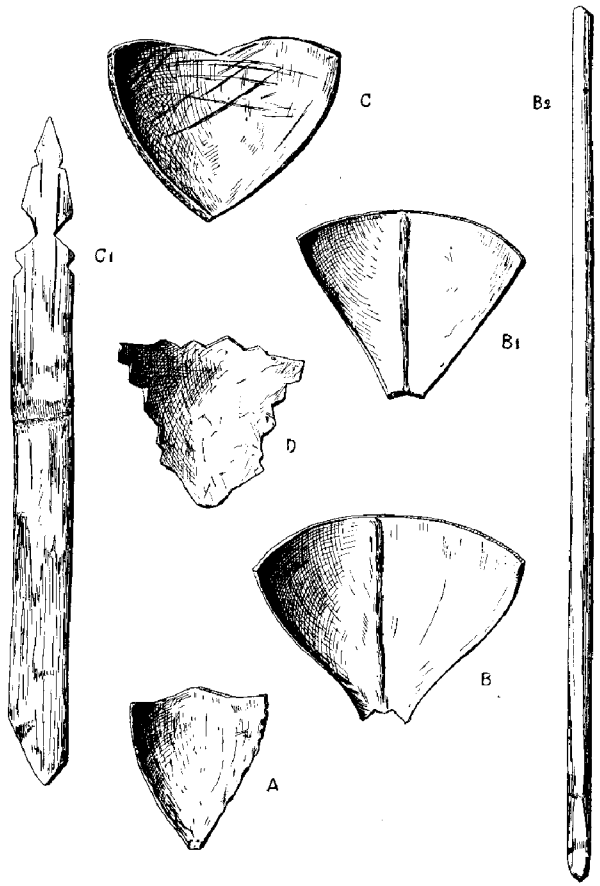


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Fig. 57. *Pieces of coconut shell and bats for the Logo Game.* Celebes. A from Kantewoe, C. Celebes; B, B^1, and B^2 from Pinapoean, NE. Celebes; C, C^1, and D from Mojag, N. Celebes. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 2333; B, B^1, B^2 id. No 2692; C id. No. 699; C^1 id No. 700; D id. No. 758 [G. M. No. 26.9 596].)

Our chief authority on the Poso Toradja, Dr. KRUYT, does not mention the *logo* game when giving an account of the games of these natives in his great work "De Bare'e-

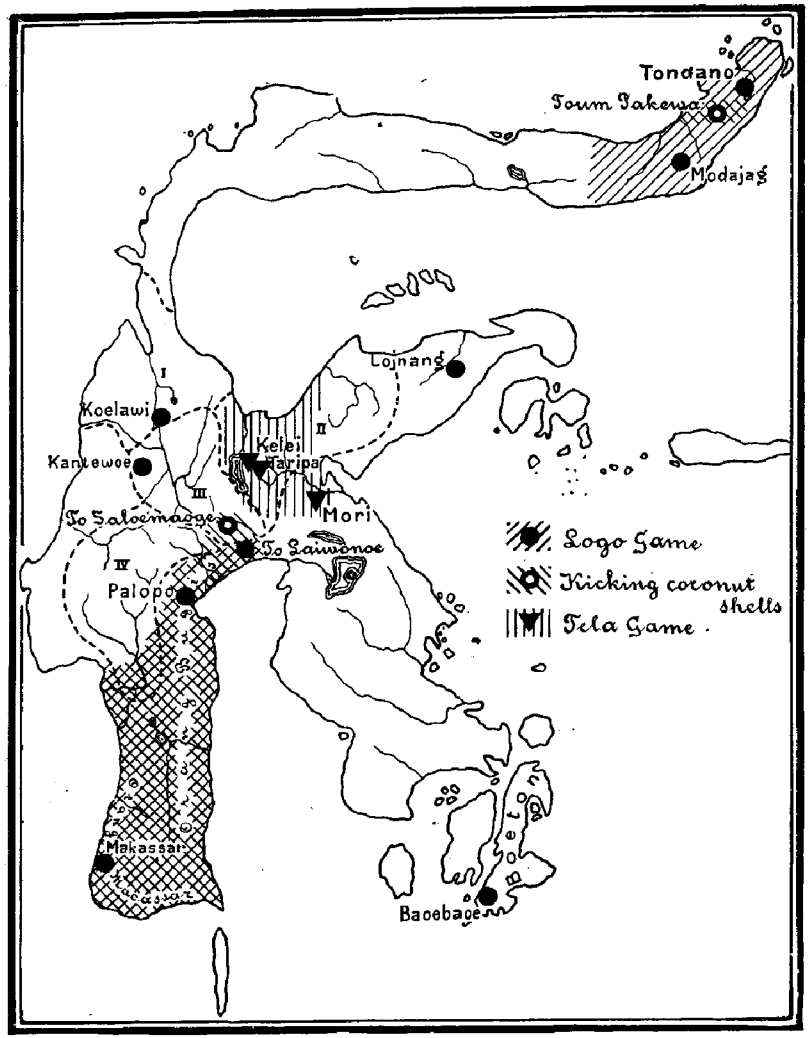
Sprekende Toradja's", but ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 401, gives the word *logo*, stating it to be a game in Lewonoe, which the natives have learnt from the Bugis.

As mentioned before, the game is known in Lojnang in NE. Celebes. At the village of Pinapoean I acquired a set of *logo* pieces. Here the game is called *balēle*. Two almost triangular pieces of coconut shell (Fig. 57 B and B_1) and two bamboo sticks are used in playing. One piece is stuck into the ground and supported by a stick. With the other stick the second piece is sent to hit the standing piece. At Pinapoean the boys counted points in case of success, which was the case also in Koelawi I think.

The Mongondou children had the same toy, but I never saw a real *logo* game. They would place a piece of coconut shell (Fig. 57 C and D) on the ground, its convex side downwards, striking it with a rather broad piece of split bamboo (Fig. 57 C^1) to make it whirl along the ground, until it stopped and spun for a while like a top.

GRAAFLAND in his work "De Minahassa", Vol. I, page 281, records the *logo* game from the district of that name. We read as follows. "Later spelen zij met in langwerpige driehoeken gesneden stukken van de schaal der kokosvrucht, *tampurong* geheten. Te Tondano heet dit *ma-uka*. Drie stukjes tampurong worden met de scherpe punt in den grond gestoken, en nu slaat men met een stok van bamboo in de richting van de plaats waar een ander stuk tampurong in den grond geplaatst is, Het doel is, het ander verwijderde stuk te raken."

There is no record of the *logo* game from SE. Celebes in books that I have consulted, and there are no *logo* pieces in the museums that I have visited, but as ELBERT in "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, page 219, records it from the Island of Boeton, it seems very probable that the game is also known in SE. Celebes. ELBERT says: "Zu einem Wurfspiel (*lodjo*) benutzt man meist in Herzform geschnittene Scheiben aus Kokosschale."



Map 14. Geographical distribution in Celebes of the Logo Game and similar.

In his "Mak.-Holl. Woordenboek" MATTHES has not much to tell of the *logo* game in the Macassar Peninsula. In his Atlas is given a very plain figure (Plate 13, Fig. 14), and in the Dictionary we read as follows on page 900: "*Lôgo*-spel. N. B. gespeeld met *lógo*'s of stukjes van de schaal eener kokosnoot, die door middel van stokjes voortgestuwd worden." On page 474 of the same book is stated that the name of the heart- or shield-like pieces of coconut shell is *logo*. The verbal form is *álôgo*. In his "Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes", page 130, the same author gives a more detailed account of the *logo* game. It runs as follows: "Zeer veel maken de kinderen bij het spelen ook gebruik van de klapperdop, hetzij zij ze halveeren, of in kleiner' stukken verdeelen. Nu eens brengen zij deze stukken met de *voeten*, dan eens met de *handen* in beweging, ten einde die van de makkers daarmede te raken, dan weder bedienen zij zich tegelijkertijd van bamboezen stokjes. Dit spel bestaat bij Boeginezen en Makassaren bekend onder den naam van het spel met de *lôgo's* of stukken kokosschaal. Deze *lôgo's* worden dan door de jongens met een bamboezen stokje voortgegooid, en hij die de *lôgo* van een' maat raakt, nadert ter lengte van zijn stokje; totdat hij de *lôgo* van dien maat bereikt heeft, welke daarvoor een streepje (Boeg. *âsoe*, Mak. *kôñgkoñg*, hond) aan krijgt." In a note at the foot of page 167 of the same book MATTHES states that sometimes the *logo* game is accompanied by singing. He writes: "Gedurende het *lôgo*-spel zingt men bij voorbeeld: *Tjîrî-nât, siñgôwá siñgâñga, si-tampârañg, si-bôêoie-bôêloe mêyoñg*, d. i.: (de logo) zij springt op (en raakt alle andere logo's), zoodat een ieder er verbaasd over staat; zij raakt zooveel logo's, als er kleine garnaaltjes in de zee, als er haren aan het lijf van een' kat zijn."

In the Leiden Museum there are two *logo* pieces, No. 37/248, of which the Catalogue, Vol. XVIII, only states that they are from S. Celebes. It is not stated who collected them, but originally they belonged to the so-called "Delftsche

Akademie". To judge from their size and form, these two *logo* pieces are those very primitively figured by MATTHES in his Atlas (Fig. 58 D and E in this book).

In Berlin there is a set of no less than six *logo* pieces, No. I C 9343, presumably from the Macassar Peninsula, since

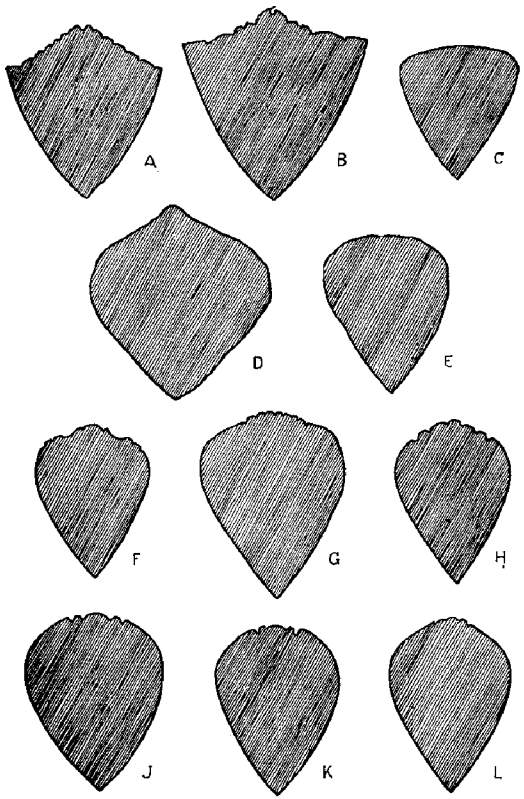


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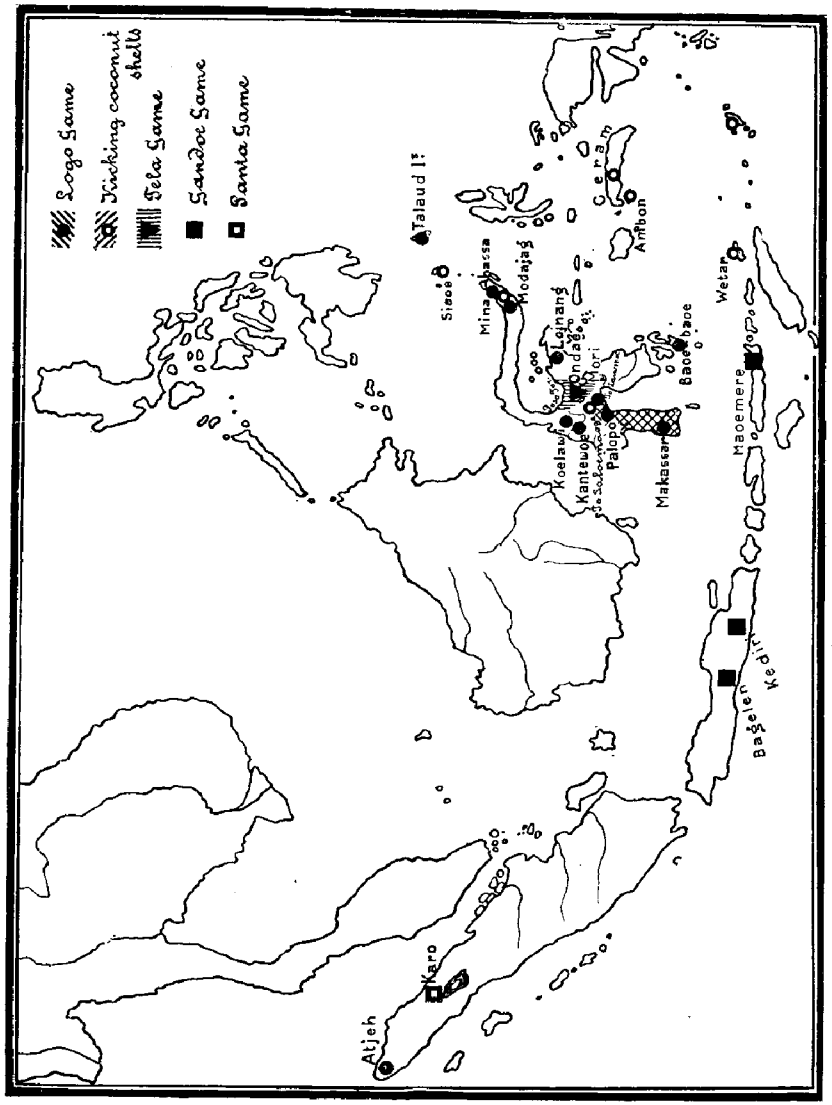
Fig. 58. *Pieces of coconut shell for the Logo Game.* Mac. Peninsula. (A, B, and C Leiden Mus. No. 804/261; D and E id. No. 37/248; F—L Berlin Mus. No. I C 9343.)

the label only refers to the above quoted works by MATTHES. It states the *logo* game to be practised by boys. All these pieces are fairly pointed and much better made than most other *logo* pieces that I have seen (Fig. 58 F—L). Possibly this may be taken to indicate that they originate from another locality than those kept in the Leiden Museum.



Map. 15. Geographical distribution in Indonesia of the Logo Game and similar.

At Leiden there is a second set of *logo* pieces (Fig. 58 A, B, and C). They are stated to be from Central Celebes and were acquired from WEBER, who in 1889 visited Palopo and adjacent districts. In all probability the *logo* pieces were obtained in these tracts. The label states: "*Kinderspeelgoed* (logo), bestaande uit een schildvormig en twee hartvormige stukken klapperdop; de bovenrand der beide laatste is van inkepingen en uitsnijdingen voorzien. — Met het schildvormige stuk wordt naar de beide versierde geworpen, die in den grond gestoken zijn; hetzelfde spel werd ook te Makassar gezien." A reference to MATTHES's books is added.

The shape of these *logo* pieces (Fig. 58 A and B) is a little different from that of the Berlin as well as the Leiden specimens, the two target pieces being almost triangular just like the *logo* pieces from Koelawi, but the upper edge is notched in the same manner as in the Berlin pieces, making WEBER's *logo* pieces an intermediate form between that found in NW. Central Celebes and that of the Macassar Peninsula.

Outside Celebes the *logo* game is recorded from the Talaud Islands. Meyer and RICHTER in "Publ. a. d. Kön. Ethn. Mus. zu Dresden", page 22, write: 'Ähnlich ein Kinderspiel von *Karkelang* (Talaut) im Dresdner Museum (11576), zu dem nur ein Stück Kokosnuss-schale (*oihi*) und ein (hier messerförmiger) Stab (*paperone*) gehören".

In all probability the *logo* game is not confined to Celebes and the Talaud Island, although, as yet, there is no record from other places in the Malay Islands.

Kicking Coconut Shells.

This is another game with coconut shells which may have rather a wide range in the Malay Archipelago. MATTHES in his Bugis Dictionary, p. 21, states the following: "*kadâro*, ... schaal. Mak. idem. — *Kadâro-kalôèkoe*, klapperschal. *Mákadâro*, speelen met de beide helften van een' klapperschaal. NB. De jongens schoppen om beurten hunne klapperdop voorwaarts, en trachten daarmede die van hunne kameraden te raken." According to ADRIANI, the natives of Saloemaoge in the Kalaena Valley in C. Celebes have learnt this game from the Bugis. In his Bare-e Dictionary we read as follows, page 45: "*Banga*, ... kokosdop, als inhoudsmaat . . . . *Mobanga*, in Saloem. een spel, v. d. Boeg. overgenomen: men houdt een kokosdop tusschen de voeten en mikt daarmee op een anderen dop."

The same game evidently is known in Siaoe, one of the Sangi Islands. DINTER in a book on Siaoe, when speaking of children's games, writes the following: "De bij de Siaoesche jeugd in zwang zijnde spelen zijn . . . . , het voortschoppen van een klapperdop (*Moedara*)."

In his work "De Sluik- en Kroesharige Rassen", RIEDEL repeatedly mentions that children play with "klapperdoppen". On page 84, for instance, he enumerates among toys from Ambon and the Oeliase Islands also "kalapadoppen" (= coconut shells), and on page 131 the same writer, speaking of Ceram, states: "De meisjes spelen met de *pakakoo* of *lokalai paka*, kalapadoppen." The game also is known in the Tanimbar Islands, RIEDEL on page 308 stating: "De spelen der kinderen bestaan uit het schoppen van kalapadoppen, ..." Also in Wetar the game in all probability is known. RIEDEL on page 433 says: "Ook spelen zij met kalapadoppen, *raplihu kanurak* . . ."

SNOUCK HURGRONJE in his work "The Achehnese", on page 191 of Vol. II mentions this game, which he calls "kicking the cocoanut", from the northern part of Sumatra. He says: "Meurimbang is the name of a game usually played by two boys one against the other. Each is provided with the top half of a cocoanut shell. Both are set on the ground at a certain distance from one another. One of the opponents kicks his own shell backwards, and if he hits that of his opponent a certain number of times he has the privilege

of giving his vanquished adversary a rub over the hand with the rough exterior of his shell."

In a note at the foot of the page, the translator of SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S book states as follows: "The Malays have a game called *porok* somewhat similar to this".

The Tela Game.

During my stay at the villages of Kelei and Taripa in Ondae in E. Central Celebes I saw children playing with flat pieces of split bamboo, which they called *tela*. These *tela* measure 20 cm. by 2,5 cm., they have square ends, and the edges of the long sides are slightly rounded off. One side of the *tela* is convex, the other side slightly concave in the middle (Fig. 59). The player took two *tela* in his left hand between his thumb and forefinger, possibly also using his middle finger, holding them like recumbent T. One *tela* should rest on the thumb, pointing toward the player, the other one on top of it at right angles as seen, in Fig. 60. The player raised his left hand in a level with his face, or even higher, and with a smart lash of the bat the top *tela* was sent flying. A clever player knew how to make his *tela* revolve in the air so as to describe an almost elliptic trajectory and return to the place whence it started. At Kelei, where this sport, *motela*, was a poupular amusement, there was a boy who was so clever that his *tela* always returned to him, so that he could hit it with his bat, but he was seldom able to make it return a second time.

The boys in Ondae in this manner seemed to amuse themselves with their *tela* without any special rules. They just took a pleasure in sending them into the air making fine shots, but sometimes the *tela* were used for a real game, also called *motela*. Three *tela* pieces of equal size were placed on the ground, leaning together with their top portions. Every boy of the party had a shot at them with his own *tela*, the object being to knock over the three standing

pieces. At Kelei only small boys seemed to devote themselves to this game, larger boys preferring the sport of sending their *tela* into the air. (Fig. 60)

The *tela*, too, is a toy known to the Bare'e speaking tribes in E. Central Celebes. In "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, p. 390, KRUYT describes the *motela* as played by the Poso Toradja children. One boy puts his two *tela* on the ground as well as his bat, all three pieces leaning against each other. From a distance another boy will

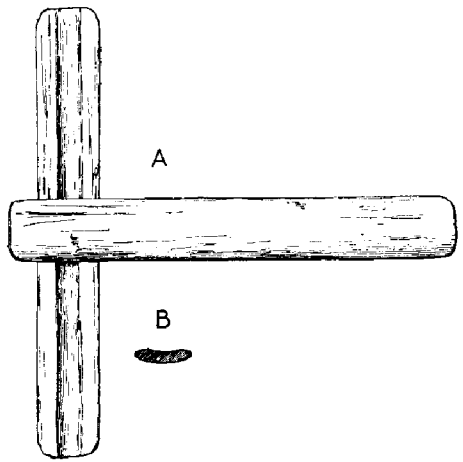


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Fig. 59. *Tela Boomerang*. Ondae, C. Celebes. A. The vertical bamboo splint with a bat is sent into the air where it describes a curve like that of a boomerang. B is the transverse section of a *tela* piece. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2591.)

shoot at them with his *tela*. He has two shots. If he does not hit this taget he has a third shot from the place where one of his tela landed, the one nearer the mark, but if he does not hit the mark with this shot he has lost, and must put his *tela* on the ground for the other boy to shoot at.

KRUYT states that *motela* chiefly is an amusement for girls and small boys. It should not be played just at any time of the year, but only from the beginning of the harvest up to the season when the fields are prepared for the transplanting of the paddy.

Evidently the *tela* game is also known in Mori, a district to the south-east of the districts of the Bare-e speakers, as ADRIANI in his lately published Bare-e Dictionary states: "*tela* (Mor. id.) houtje waarmee meisjes en kleine jongens spelen . . . *motela*, het *tela*-spel spelen."

In a paper called "Van Posso naar Mori" ADRIANI and KRUYT as early as in 1900 write as follows (page 247): "Van de spelen zagen wij . . . . het slaan van kleine plankjes, die de tegenpartij moet opvangen, (*mokela*, Barée: *motela*. De

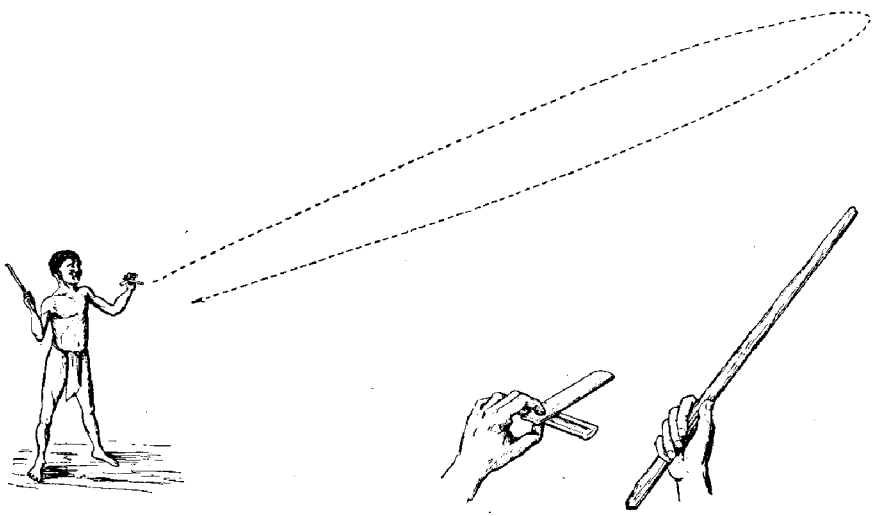


Fig. 60. *Boy playing with the tela.*

spelen hebben allen hun' tijd; zoo mogen de genoemde spelen gespeeld worden tusschen den rijstoogst en het planten van de rijst."

In the literature at my disposal there is no record of the *tela* game from any other place in Celebes or in Indonesia, and in no museum I have seen any *tela* pieces, but in Java and Sumatra there are games similar to the *motela* as well as to the *logo* game. The Javanese game is described in Vol. XV, page 20, of the Leiden Catalogue. We read as follows:" 370/1902 und 625/84 *Gandu*-spiel, bestehend aus

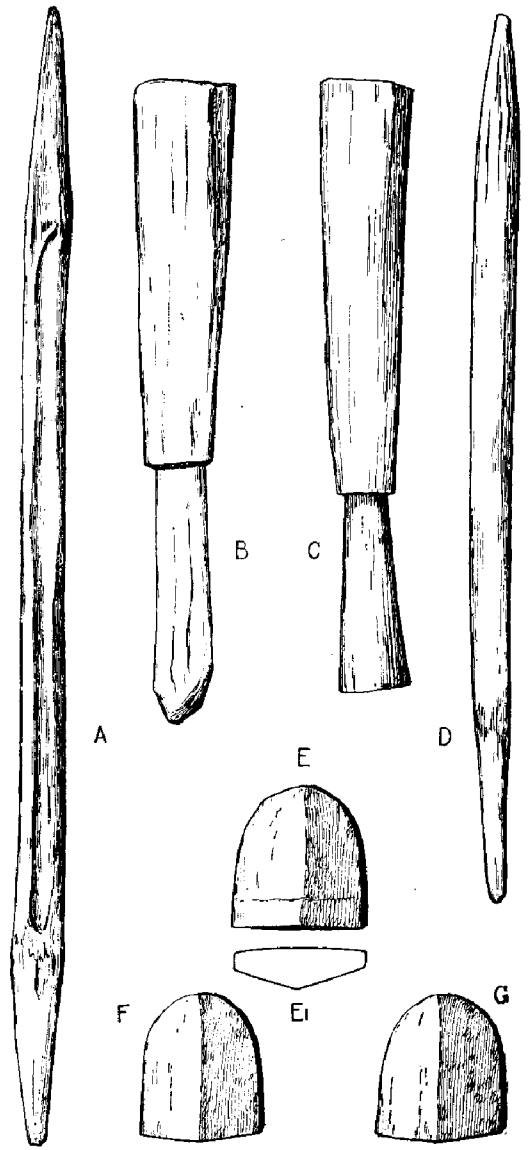
Paaren scheibenförmiger Kerne des *sawo*- (1902) oder des *bĕnda*- (84) Baumes. Dieses Spiel heisst *gandon* oder *bèngkat*, bisweilen kennt man diese Worte nicht und spricht dann nur von *bendan*. Der grösste Kern wird auf seiner Kante auf den Boden gestellt; in einiger Entfernung ist der kleinere Kern, den man mit dem Fuss nach dem aufstehenden grösseren Kern wirft, um denselben umfallen zu lassen. Fehlt man, so hat man das Spiel verloren. 1902: Bagelen, 84: Kĕdiri. Dm 5,1×5,7 und 4,2×5, D. 1,6—2,1 cm."

In Flores the same game, or a game closely similar to the Javanese game may occur, since the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XVII, page 112, says: 'No. 804/159. *Kinderspielzeug*, bestehend aus einem braunen, scheibenförmigen Kern und zwei grauen birnförmigen Kernen. MAUMERI. Dm. des ersteren 4,5, D. 1,1 cm."

The so-called *panta panta* game from Sumatra is recorded by MÜLLER from the Batak in 1893 in "Veröff. Mus. Berlin III". In the Museums of Berlin and Frankfort are found sets of *panta*, or *pata*, pieces. In Fig. 61 is seen a representation of the Frankfort specimen, which is closely similar to the Berlin set, in which, however, the two sticks are missing. The Berlin set consists of three pieces of split bamboo, one end tapering into a rounded point, and two bats. The label states the following: "I C 20126 *Panta-panta* (g. *pata-pata*) Kinderspielzeug; . . . eine Art Kricket. Ein Bambu wird aufgestellt, der andere in Entfernung flach auf den Boden gelegt, der Stock wird gegengestemmt und mit dem Schlägel geschlagen um so den aufgestellten "Stein" zu treffen. *Karo*."

SNOUCK HURGRONJE in his book on Acheh speaks of a game *mupanta*, but it seems to be a little different.

The similarity of the *logo* and *tela* games in Celebes, the *gandu* in Java, and the *panta panta* in Sumatra is quite obvious, and I therefore think we may safely assume that they are closely allied. But with the small material



1:3.

Fig. 61. *Pieces of wood and bats for the Pata Game.* Sumatra. (Frankfort a. M. Mus. No. N. S. 14317.)

at my disposal I find it impossible to pronounce an opinion on the origin of these games.

Noteworthy seems the fact that the rules of the games in Celebes and Sumatra are closely correspondent and rather

different from those of the Javanese game. Such a correspondence between Celebes and Sumatra I often had the opportunity of observing, but how to explain it I do not know. Possibly it may be the result of the lively intercourse that from olden times existed between the Malays in Sumatra and the Orang Bugis in the Macassar Peninsula.

The Cross-shaped Boomerang.

(Map 10.)

At the village of Kelei in Ondae the boys also played with a kind of cross-shaped boomerang. This game they called *motela*, like the foregoing.

The cross is made of two flat splints of bamboo, closely similar to the above described *tela*. They are lashed together to make a right-angled cross with limbs of almost equal length. The limbs of one specimen in my collection, No. 2589, are 25 cm. by 3,3 cm. The corresponding measurements of a second specimen, No. 2590, are 27,5 cm. and 28,5 cm. by 3 and 3,2 cm. (Fig. 62 A). The thrower with his right hand sends the cross into the air making it describe a curve approaching an ellips. Evidently it was far from easy to make a fine shot, at any rate it required greater skill than the game played with two *tela*. I only saw two boys who knew how to handle the cross-boomerang properly.

KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", does not mention such a toy as this, but in ADRIANI's Bare-e Dictionary is stated that the bamboo cross is known to the Bare-e speakers, although not used as a boomerang. On page 242 of his Dictionary we read: "*kalapenda* (Boeg. *kalapinrang*), een speeltuig van twee bamboelatjes (*tela*), kruislings aan elkaar gebonden, waarmee men werpt naar de *kalapenda* v. zijn makker, die het voorwerp op den grond heeft gezet, gesteuned door een stok." Evidently the game is played in the same manner as the *tela* game with two *tela* supported by the bat. The statement that the Bare-e *kalapenda* is

the Bugis *kalapinrang* possibly may mean that the bamboo cross also is a Bugis toy. In MATTHES's Bugis Dictionary, however, there is no toy called *kalapinrang*. On page 41 is stated: "*kalapîñrañg*, soort van Lôewoesche kleeding (La-Galîgo)."

There is no record of the bamboo cross being used as a boomerang in Indonesia, but in Queensland in Australia there is a cross-boomerang so closely similar to the boomerang from Ondae that I think they must be allied. In the Ethn.

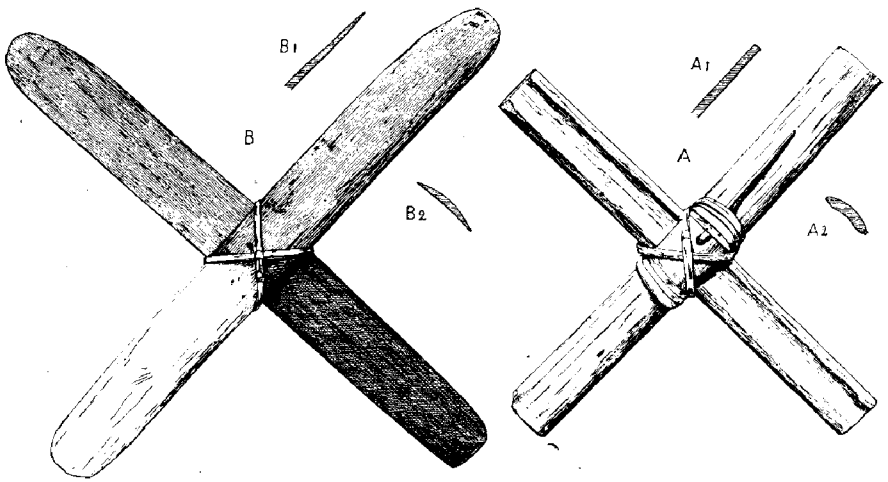


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Fig. 62. *Cross Boomerangs.* A from Ondae, C. Celebes; B from NW. Australia. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 2589; B Stockholm Mus. No. 16.1.3984.)

Museum at Stockholm is found a specimen, No. 16.1.3984, collected by Dr. PULLEINE in Queensland. The label says it is called *yalma*, but no further particulars are given. This cross is made from some light wood of light colour. The limbs are respectively 36,5 cm. and 36 cm. by 4 cm. They are only 5 mm. thick. The ends are rounded off and the limbs all round thinned down to an edge. The outside of the limbs is slightly convex, the inside concave similarly to the boomerang from Ondae. The limbs are lashed together with a strip of rattan in the same manner as the Ondae

cross (Fig. 62 B). In the Australian boomerang two of the limbs are painted with red, one is black, and one is white.

Such cross-boomerangs from Australia are also found in other museums. At Cologne, for instance, there is a specimen, No. 396, and at Frankfort a specimen, No. N. S. 12201, the latter very well made. Like the Swedish specimen, they both originate from Queensland. SARG, in a treatise called "Die australischen Bumerangs im städtischen Völkermuseum", describes the Frankfort specimen. He writes on page 12: "Er scheint nur an der Nordküste von Queensland, im Küstengebiet zwischen Cardwell und dem Mossman vorzukommen." (Map 10)

According to the same authority, the cross-boomerang is a toy in Queensland. He says on page 12: "Bei dieser Gruppe mag noch der Kreuzbumerang, ein aus zwei kreuzweise übereinandergebundenen, geraden, schwirrholzförmigen Brettchen bestehendes Spielzug für Männer und Knaben, das sehr gut fliegt und zurückkehrt, Erwähnung finden."

If the cross-boomerang in Ondae is not a local invention which is not likely, I suppose we must assume an origin in common of the Australian and the Celebes boomerangs, which means, I think, that this boomerang formerly had a wider range and was known at least in the islands situated between Celebes and Australia.

Kites.

The paper kite is a favourite toy on the coasts of Celebes. I saw children playing with kites in Minahassa and Mongondou in N. Celebes, at Donggala in NW. Central Celebes, at Macassar and on the Island of Boeton east of SE. Celebes.

In his dictionaries MATTHES describes several kinds of kites. In the Leiden Museum is found a kite, No. 37/249 from Celebes, possibly collected by MATTHES.

P. and F. SARASIN in their "Reisen in Celebes", Vol. I, page 35, record the paper kite from Kema in Minahassa. They write: ". . . . den Kindern zuschauend, die mit flieg-

enden Drachen spielten", and they add, "Als solche sahen wir zuweilen die harten, sterilen Niederblätter eines epiphytischen Farns, *Polypodium quercifolium L*, verwandt, indem am Stiele eine Schnur befestigt war." They figure such a kite, but to judge from the statement made by MEYR and RICHTER in Vol. XIV, page 52, of the Publications of the Dresden Museum the specimen figured was obtained at Bwool, a place on the north coast of N. Celebes to the west of Minahassa.

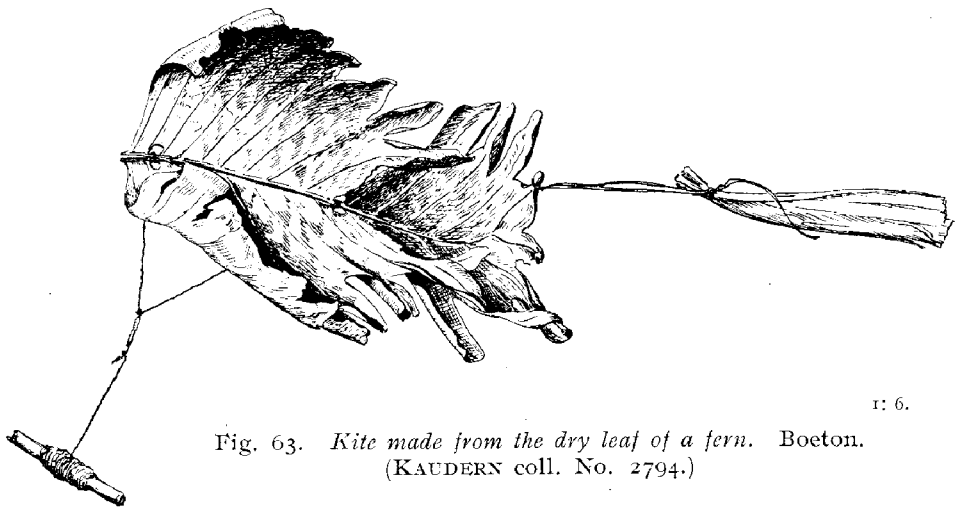

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Fig. 63. *Kite made from the dry leaf of a fern.* Boeton. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2794.)

Kites also appear to be known among the Poso Toradja, ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 555, stating: "*pasadja* (uit het Boeg. *pasadjang*), vlieger van papier, of van een groot droog boomblad, ook wel *manoe-manoe* genoemd; *mopasadja*, vlieger oplaten, een ingevoerd spel."

At Baoe Baoe in Boeton I acquired a kite, No. 2794, made of the same material as the SARASIN kite, *i. e.* the sterile leaf of *Polypodium quercifolium L.* To the point of the leaf is tied a strip of bast, 12 cm. long and to this some very thin leaf about 20 cm. in length, forming a tail. (Fig. 63). The two thin strings are of native make. One is attached to the centre of the midrib, the other near its points, the former being 14,5 cm., the latter 10 cm.

One may be inclined to assume that this kite is a simplified form of the paper kite, which no doubt is a toy of foreign origin in Celebes, but of course there is also the possibility of the leaf kite being older than the paper kite, a question, however, impossible to settle before we know the geographical distribution of the former, its native names as well as the native legends possibly connected with it.

I have not seen any intermediate forms between the primitive leaf kite and the paper kite in Celebes, but ELBERT in his book "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, page 219, describes a kite which may be such a form. He writes: "Drachenflieger (*patawàla* Buton, *kahâti* Muna) sind aus den leichten, dünnen Blättchen (*rō*) der Batate (*ondo, kolôpe* Buton) mühevoll mit Bambusfäden zusammengenäht..."

There is a great variety of form, size, and adornment in the paper kites. Especially the youths at Kraton in Boeton seemed to be clever kite makers. Their kites were particularly fine and fanciful.

According to MATTHES, kite in the Bugis language is *pasadjang*. There are many different kinds of kites. In his Bugis Dictionary he enumerates the following, page 717: "*Pasâd̃jañg-mărrá*, een vlieger die den vorm van een praauw heeft. Zoo heeft men ook een: *pasâd̃jañg-ôèlăñg*, of: *lili-kêtăñg*, in den vorm eener halve maan; zoo ook een: *pasâd̃jañg-kâppa-kâppalá*, in den vorm van een schip, een: *pasâd̃jañg-tâoe-tâoe*, in den vorm van een mensch, een: *pasâd̃jañg bôto-bôtoló*, in den vorm van het onderste eener flesch, een *pasâd̃jañg-Palêmbañg*, een Palembangschen vlieger, van achteren met een bundel reepen papier geplakt, een *pasâd̃jañg-mábôt̃jiñg*, een vlieger met een' staart, in den vorm van een *bôt̃jiñg*,[1] een *pasâd̃jañg-bête*, een' vlieger in

[1] The Bugis Dictionary, p. 193, states the following of this word: "*bôt̃jiñg*, gebez. van de manier, waarop krijgshelden en struikroovers gewoonlijk hun hoofdhaar dragen. Zij scheren het haar van voren een weinig weg, en laten het overige zoo lang mogelijk groeijen, zoodat er

den vorm van den visch *bête*, en een *pasâdj̃aŋ̃-sîpi*, of vlieger, welks bamboezen middenlat aan beide kanten door papier ingesloten is (*risîpí-ôèdj̃aŋ̃*).

N. B. Men heeft tweederlei soort van *vliegerspel*. Bij de eerste strijkt men tegen het touw gestampt glas (gâlasá) aan, en tracht dan zijn touw zoo tegen dat van een ander te brengen, *daar om heen te wikkelen* . . . dat dit doorgesneden wordt. Bij de andere soort tracht men eenvoudig elkanders *vlieger* te laten vallen, door met het touw van zijn eigen vlieger tegen den kop van zijns kameraads vlieger (ôèloe) aan te slaan, dien als 't ware oorvijgen te geven."

In the Macassar language kite is *lâyaŋ̃-lâyaŋ̃*, and the Macassar Dictionary gives nearly all the different kinds of kites as enumerated in the Bugis Dictionary.

Mr. FREMER, a Swedish engineer who worked for seven years in the Macassar Peninsula, tells me that the natives here will attach to their kites a kind of stringed instrument which emits a note when the kite is in the air. This method of flying kites may be known at more than one place in Indonesia. EVANS records it from the Malay Peninsula in "Inter-Ocean 1925", page 503. He writes "An automatic instrument of bamboo and rattan attached to the kite, makes a humming noise when the kite is in the air."

It can hardly be doubted that the paper kite with its numerous variants were introduced into Celebes either direct from China or perhaps Japan over Farther India or Java.

Trundling.

According to KRUYT the Poso Toradja children amuse themselves with wooden discs which they roll along a road. The natives give the name of *motalaniri* to this game, presumably an onomatopoeic word in imitation of the whizzing sound of the rolling disc. The To Poe'oe mBoto, a tribe

eene soort van staart ontstaat, die zij om het hoofd winden, en, na de punt naar binnen gestoken te hebben, met een hoofddoek bedekken."

living south of Lake Poso call this entertainment *motolonggooe*.

The Poso Toradja children, according to KRUYT, also make a hoop of rattan which they trundle, whilst other children attempt to throw a stick through the hoop as it rolls past them. This game is known as *motonggooe* in Bare-e, evidently the same word as the Poe'oe mBoto word *motolonggooe*, the word for trundling a wooden disc.

In ADRIANI's Bare-e Dictionary *tonggooe* is rendered by: "ronde schijf van hout of hoepel van rotan, die men laat rollen om er mee te spelen (Tor. II, 388)."

In the same book, page 48, another toy similar to a hoop is described. It is a kind of wheel without a rim, called *bangkóangi*. We read as follows in the Dictionary: "*bangkóangi* (vgl. 1. *bangko*); *mobangkoangi*, een jongensspel, waarbij bamboe of stokken bijeengebonden in den vorm van een kruis (als een wiel zonder band), een eind ver worden gegooid, om te zien hoever ze loopen." On the same page we find the word "1. *bangko* . . . . ; *mobangkoi*, *motabangkoi*. overhands gooien, waarbij de werpende hand wordt opgeheven en achterover gebogen."

These pastimes I have not seen in NW. Central Celebes, and MATTHES does not mention them from the Macassar Peninsula.

Marbles.

Marbles seem to be a favourite toy in Idonesia, the marbles, however, being replaced by round seeds or fruits. From Celebes such marbles are only known from the Macassar Peninsula. MATTHES in his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. van Zuid-Celebes", on page 130 states the following: "Ook pitten eener vrucht verstrekken dikwerf tot speelgoed. Zoo zal men bij voorbeeld één er van met de vingers voortknippen, ten einde daarmede een' andere te raken. Men vergelijke ons *knikkeren*."

In his Bugis Dictionary MATTHES gives a more detailed account of this game on page 59. It runs as follows: "*gâtti*, knippen met den vinger. Mak. *dâtté*, idem. Men heeft ook een' soort van kinderspel met pitten, bekend onder den naam van *mágâttí*. Één van de jongens begint met een zeker aantal pitten in de hand te nemen, en die naar goedvinden tegelijk over den grond uit te gooijen. Vervolgens kiest hij één van die pitten, om die met zijn' vingers *voort te knippen* en *één* van de andere pitten daarmeê te raken. Wanneer hij *misraakt* of *meer* dan *één* van die pitten *raakt*, gaat zijne beurt op een' ander' jongen over, die dan op nieuw aanvangt met de pitten uit te gooijen en verder op gelijke wijze voortgaat."

Bowling clay pellets.

This is a game in Bugis called *mápalâppo tâbo-tâbo*, which MATTHES mentions on page 131 of his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes". In his Bugis Dictionary, page 300, he gives a more detailed account of it. It runs as follows: "*Tâbo-tâbo*, ballen van klei. V. d. *mápalâppo tâbo-tâbo*, soort van kinderspel, waarbij de kinderen malkander ballen van klei toerollen, die tegen elkander stoten .... Wiens bal dan stuk gaat, uit elkander springt, verliest de partij".

There is no record of this game from any other place in Celebes but a similar game is known to be played in Sumatra, with the difference, however, that instead of clay pellets coconuts are used. VAN HASSELT in the work "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, page 127, describes the game as follows: "Met een enkel woord kunnen we hier nog melding maken van het *măadoe karambije* der Padangsche Bovenlanden, dat een equivalent kan genoemd worden van het eierkinken. De spelers werpen hunne kokosnoten tegen elkander en hij wiens noot het eerste breekt is verliezer."

The Nut-cracking Game.

This is a game mentioned by MATTHES in his "Bijdragen t. de Ethn. van Zuid-Celebes", page 130, and described in his Bugis Dictionary on page 491. Two boys play. They place for instance two *kemiri* nuts (Aleurites sp.) on the ground one on top of the other. One of the boys stamps on them with his heel and the owner of the nut first breaking is the loser. If both nuts should happen to break, the game is a draw. In the Bugis Dictionary we find the following account of the game (page 491). "*Paráppa*, kinderspel gespeeld door twee jongens met *pĕlléñg*[1]- of *nâné-pitten*[2]. De pitten worden op elkander gelegd, en dan wordt met den hiel er op getrapt. Wiens pit stuk gaat, heeft het verloren. Als beide stuk gaan, is het *pôèli* of *pâri*."

This game is not as yet recorded from any place in Celebes outside the Macassar Peninsula.

Breaking sugar cane.

Among the games in the Macassar Peninsula, which MATTHES enumerates in his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 129, there are two games with sugar cane. One of them is in Bugis called *mâpôlo táboe*, in the Maccassar language *ámôloñg tâboe*, which simply means to chop sugar cane. Of this game MATTHES only says the players try to cut through a bundle of suger cane with a single stroke of a chopper. The second game is called *madaoe taboe*, or *malanjtja taboe*. In his Bugis Dictionary, page 525, MATTHES states the following: "1. *râóe, mádâóe*, iets langwerpigs met den arm in de hoogte, ergens naar toe gooijen, bijv. een' lans, een stuk siukerriet. N. B. Dit laatste gewoon kinderspel; bij hetzelve trachten de kinderen met een stuk suikerriet zoo op een ander stuk suikerriet te mikken, dat dit laatste breekt;" The Macassar name of this game is *boetjoe taboe* (Mac. Dict. p. 179).

[1] *Kemiri* (Aleurites). [2] *Savo* (Mimusops Kauki L.).

Mogonde.

This is a game recorded from the Poso Toradja by KRUYT in Vol. II, page 385, of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's". It is not known to occur among any other tribe in Celebes.

The boys playing are divided into two sides and each side will gather twenty to thirty *poeso* stalks (*Amomum album Bl.*). These stalks, which measure about three feet, are piled in two heaps on the ground, at a distance of about twelve to fifteen feet from one another, and the game begins. The object is to lay hold of the *poeso* stems of the adversary. By turns the boys of one side, armed with a pointed spear made from the *Bambusa longinodis*, have a throw at the pile of *poeso* stalks of his opponents. A successful throw will pierce a *poeso* stalk, a *gonde*, which in this case is brought over to the pile of the winning side. The boy who makes a successful throw goes on until he fails to score, when another boy of the same side should begin. When all boys of one side have had their turn, the other side begins throwing by turns. The game is continued until one side has lost all their *gonde*. Then the loosers will take to their heels, or the winners will pull them by their ears.

C. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Several instruments emitting some notes or making a rattling noise are used as toys by the natives in Celebes. An account of these instruments is given in Vol. III of this Series, Musical Instruments in Celebes.

D. MECHANICAL TOYS.

The Pop-gun.

(Maps 16 and 17.)

This toy v. HORNBOSTEL and SACHS refer to musical instruments, calling it an explosion aerophone, but I prefer grouping it with the Celebes toys. The native children

not only enjoy the report of their guns, they also take an interest in observing how far the projectile carries.

In Celebes the pop-gun of bamboo seems to be known nearly all over the island. GRAAFLAND in his book on Minahassa, Vol. I, page 282, records the pop-gun from this district. He writes: "Verder vermaken zij zich met windroeren (Tond. *leletok*. Sond. *lulutaw*) te maken van bamboe, de lulu-tui hier, even als bij ons de gewoonte is met vlierstokken. Tot prop nemen zij gewoonlijk jonge, onrijpe en harde vruchten als: bramen, gora, lemoen enz."

MEYER and RICHTER mention a specimen from the Toemboeloe in the northern part of Minahassa, which is contained in the Dresden Museum. In the Dresden Mus. Publications, Vol. XIV, page 22, they write the following: "*Knallbüchse* (300) von *Rurukan* (*Toum Bulus*). Lauf 33,2 cm. l. und 1,3 cm. dick, aus einem Bambus, dessen Epidermis bis auf das hintere Ende, wo sie in Längsstreifen belassen ist und von einer umlaufend eingeritzten Spirale gequert wird, abgeschabt und der von zwei Seiten schräg zugespitzt ist. Stosskolben 36 cm. l., ebenfalls aus Bambus, mit etwa 4,5 cm. langer, im allgemeinen länglichrunder und bis 2,3 cm. breiter Handhabe. Vorn steckt im Rohr ein Pfropfen aus zusammengerolltem Blatte."

SCHWARZ records the pop-gun from the Tompakewa in the south-western part of Minahassa in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Genootschap", Vol. XXII, page 267. He states the native name to be *kĕkĕsorrĕn*, or *lŭtaw*.

In the district of Bolaang Mongondou immediately to the west of Minahassa I found the pop-gun a common toy. For my collection were acquired two specimens, Nos 615 and 776 (26.9.595), at the village of Modajag (Fig. 64 A and B). The barrel is a piece of bamboo, with rough surface. As a plunger serves a slip of bamboo with a broad handle. The barrel of the bigger specimen measures 33,1 cm. by a diameter of 7,5 mm. The wall of the barrel is 2 mm. thick. The corresponding measurements of the smaller gun

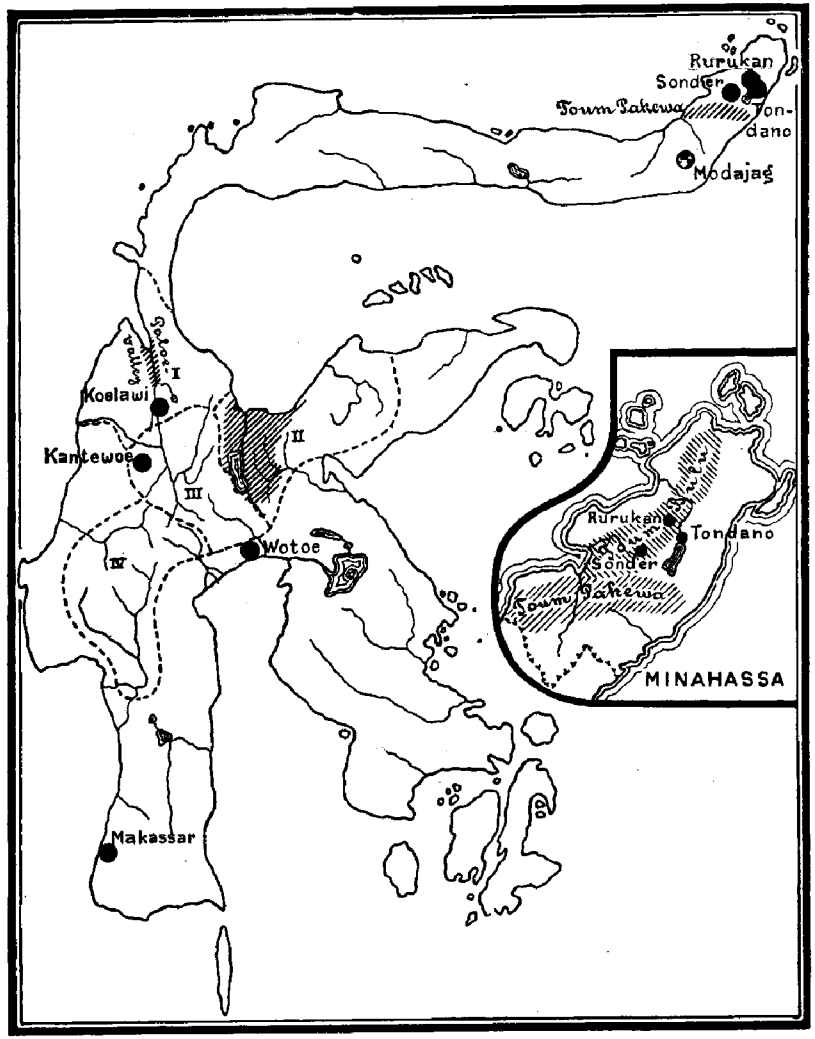
are 24,5 cm., 8 mm., and 5 mm. The distal end of the plunger of this specimen is frayed up into a great number of thin bristles like those of a brush, making the plunger fit tightly into the barrel (Fig. 64 A[2]). The Mongondou children as a rule for a pellet use the unripe fruit of a kind of wild growing betel-pepper, but I think they sometimes used other fruits too.

KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, page 388, records the pop-gun from the Poso Toradja in general, not mentioning any special tribe. He writes as follows: "Ook proppenschieters (*baladoe* of *baladjoe*) en blaasroeren (*sopoe*) zijn geliefd speeltuig. Deze voorwerpen zijn van een stuk bamboe gemaakt. Als prop in den proppenschieter gebruikt men graag de roode vruchtjes van den *lentoeroe*-boom. Met het blaasroer schieten de kinderen propjes klei, soms ook kleine pijltjes."

According to the same authority the pop-gun is also found at Wotoe on the Bone Gulf, to the west of the mouth of the Kalaena. In 'Mededeel. Ned. Zendl. Gen." XLII,p. 47, we read: "Vele kinderen zag ik met proppenschieters en blaasroeren van bamboe spelen".

I myself have seen the pop-gun in Kantewoe as well as in Koelawi in NW. Central Celebes. At the village of Kantewoe was acquired a specimen, No. 2300, similar to the Mongondou specimen No. 776. Contrary to the Mongondou pop-guns, however, the epidermis of the Kantewoe gun is smooth, and the end of the plunger is unfrayed. The gun is 20 cm. long by a diameter of 6 mm. The wall of the bamboo is 4 mm thick. The narrow portion of the plunger is two centimeters shorter than the barrel. In Kantewoe as well as in Koelawi were used the same kind of pellets as in Mongondou. Besides, I sometimes saw Koelawi children loading their pop-guns with clay balls as do the Poso Toradja children with their blowpipes, according to KRUYT.

The Salvation Army officer Mr. E. ROSENLUND in a letter kindly gives the following informtion: "The pop-gun is a common toy all over Central Celebes. I do not think that I have seen children using betel pepper for a pellet. In the Paloe Valley the centre part of the *makoe* flower (Eugenia aquea[1]) mostly will serve for a wad."



Map 16. Geographical distribution of the pop-gun in Celebes.

The pop-gun also is found in the Macassar Peninsula. At Leiden there is a specimen, No. 37/715, of ordinary size (Fig. 64 D). The handle of the plunger has been given the

[1] ADRIANI "Bare'e-Nederlandsch Woordenboek", page 423.

shape of the butt-end of a gun. The narrow portion of the plunger is only three centimeters shorter than the barrel, which measures 23,8 cm. by a diameter of 5—6 mm. The wall of the bamboo is about 3 mm. thick. The label of this specimen states it to originate from S. Celebes, which I suppose means the Macassar Peninsula.

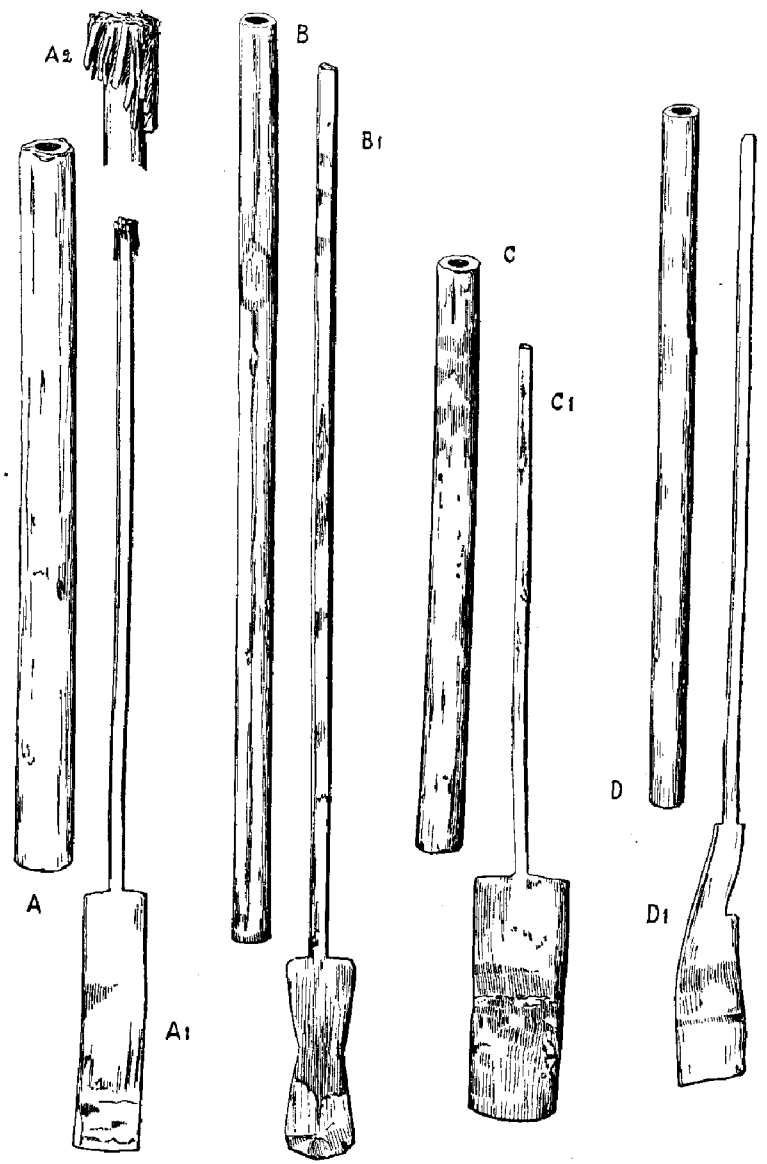
Although there is no record of the pop-gun from the north-eastern or the south-eastern peninsula of Celebes it seems quite likely to my mind that it should be just as common a toy there as in other districts of Celebes.

At the present day the pop-gun is a mere toy for children in Celebes, but in olden times even adults amused themselves with pop-guns. In "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen." Vol. XXII, 1878, SCHWARZ makes the following statement: "Vroeger hebben er zich ook ouden mede vermaakt, thans doen dit alleen knapen." The use of the pop-gun was not allowed all the year round, and evidently it was a pastime for the men. SCHWARZ says: "Ook voor dit spel was in de *taun* ('de cyclus der tuinoffers') de tijd bepaald, van de offers *manendé* en *mapawua* tot het *manempo*, daarna was het met het *pelii* belegd. Voor de vrouwen was er in dien tijd geene uitspanning bepaald."

Also among the Poso Toradja the pop-gun is a toy the use of which is resticted to a special time of the year. KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", page 388, says: ". . . is het proppenschieten alleen geoorloofd in den tijd na den rijstoogst."

How it is in Koelawi and Kantewoe I cannot tell for certain. True enough, I only saw children playing with pop-guns at the time when the paddy was harvested, yet I do not think it impossible that children nowadays would be seen shooting with their pop-guns at a season that formerly was forbidden for this toy.

In Mongondou I think the children were free to play with a pop-gun whenever they liked to do so.



1: 3.

Fig. 64. *Pop-guns from Celebes.* A and B from Modajag in Mongondou, N. Celebes; C from Kantewoe, NW. Central Celebes; D from the Macassar Peninsula. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 776 [G. M. 26.9.595]; B id. No. 615; C id. No. 2300; E Leiden Mus. No. 37/715.)

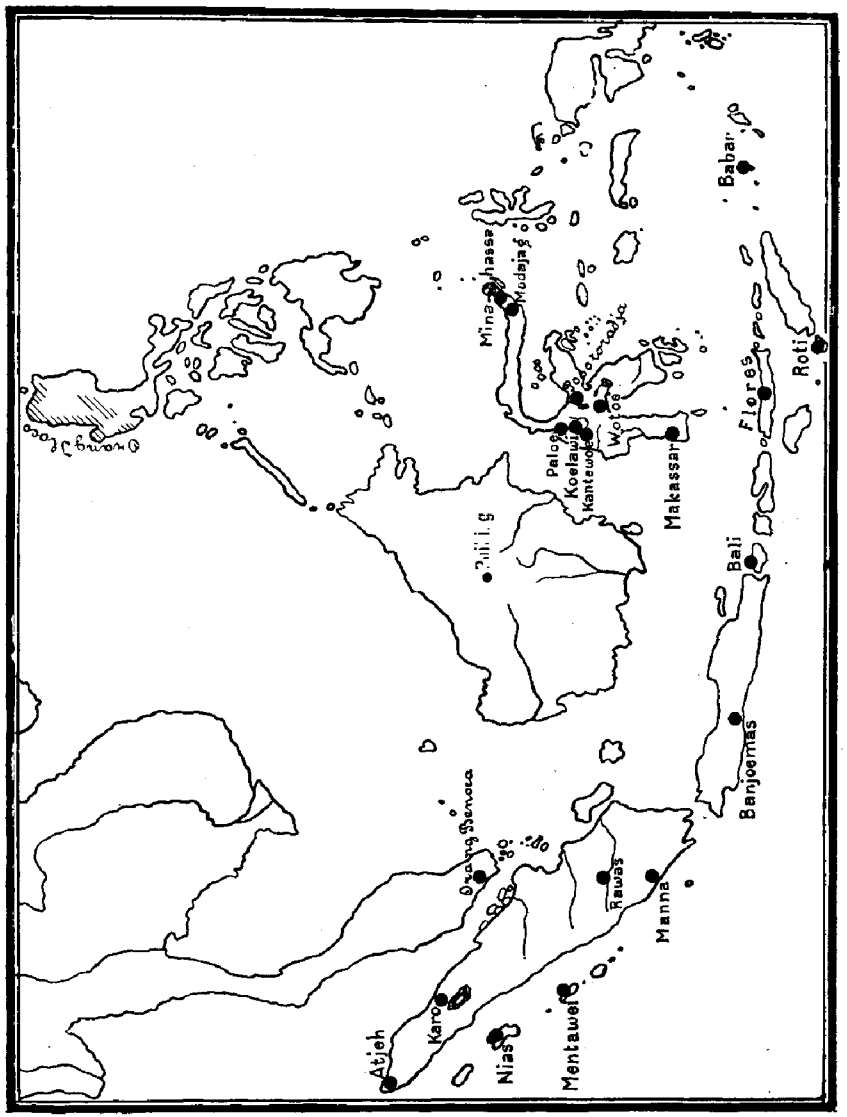
It can hardly be doubted that the pop-gun is a toy nowadays known all over Celebes. Formerly being used by men at a certain season, it seems likely that it was an implement used in magical rites, or as a means of divination, and that it is of every great age in Celebes.

The geographical distribution of the pop-gun in Indonesia as far as it is known to me is given in Map 17. In the east it is known in Celebes and in the Little Sunda Islands, in the west in Sumatra and adjacent islands. In Java as well as in Borneo it may be known, although, as yet, I have only a single reference from either of these islands.

There is no record of the pop-gun from the Molucca, at all events not in the works by KÜKENTHAL, MARTIN, VAN HULSTIJN, SACHSE, and RIEDEL. The latter author only mentions it from Babar, an island in the group called South-Eastern Islands. On page 364 of his book "De sluik- en kroesharige rassen etc.", he says, speaking of the games as practised by the children in Babar: "De kinderen spelen met . . . *puliëi*, een soort windbus van bambu."

TEN KATE in "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.," Vol. VIII, 1895, page 11, records and figures two specimens from Flores and Roti, both at present contained in the Leiden Museum. Of the Flores specimen, No. 842/182, the Leiden Catalogue of 1924, Vol. XVIII, gives a fairly detailed description. It runs as follows: "Pfropfenschiesser (*bus*), ein dünnes Bambusende, in dem ein Sauger aus Bambus mit rechteckigem Griff auf und nieder bewegt wird; um die Öffnung ist ein Streif *lontar*-Blatt spiralig, den Mund einer Trompete nachamend, gewunden, *Sikka*. L. 26, Dm. 3,5 cM." According to TEN KATE the native name of the stople is *klorot* (Fig. 65 B).

In "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.," TEN KATE states the following of the Roti specimen, No. 858/159: "*Knallbüchse* von ROTI. Dieselbe besteht aus einem Rohrcylinder, 66 cM. lang und 5,5 cM. Durchschnitt, der über die ganze Länge mit Rotan- und andern Pflanzenfasern umhüllt ist. Diese sind theilweise mit irgend einem Gummiharz überzogen, um die Bän-



Map 17. Geographical distribution of the pop-gun in Indonesia.

der besser an der Stelle zu befestigen. Derartige Knallbüchsen bilden auf Roti ein beliebtes Spielzeug der Knaben".

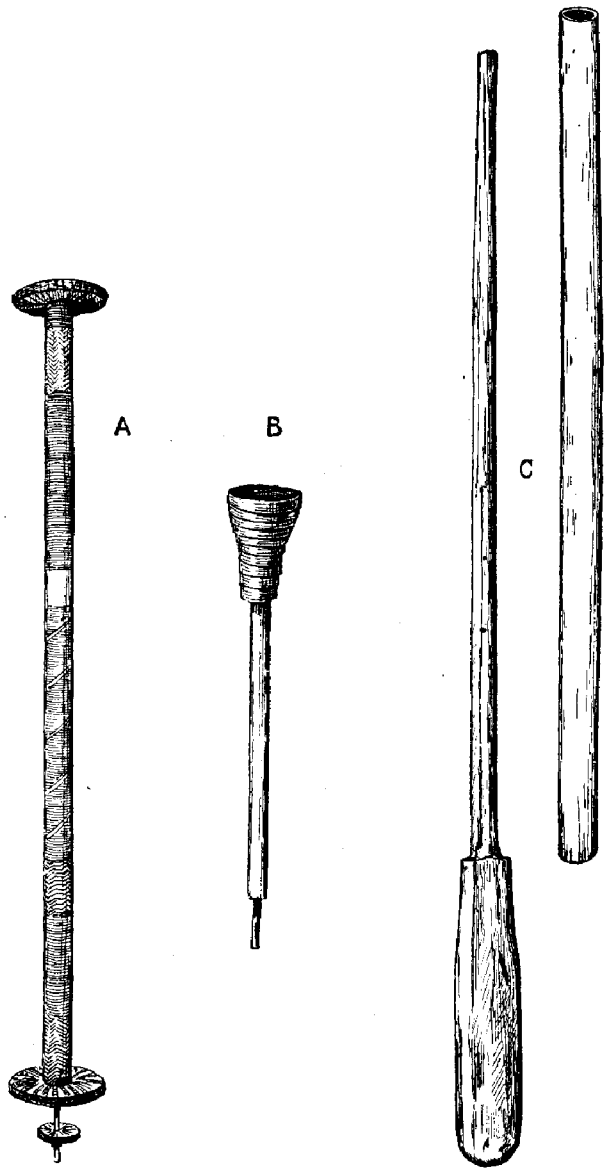
In Fig. 65 A, which is a representation of the Rotinese pop-gun, is seen that it is quite different to the pop-gun from Flores as well as to all specimens from Celebes. In the following we shall see that it is different also to the pop-guns of the western part of the Archipelago, at any rate to those that I have seen from Sumatra and Riouw.

In "Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", Vol. XXXVII, is a list of words in Malay-Dutch-Rotinese-Timorese by E. F. KLEIAN. Here the Malay *bĕdil boeloe* (*bĕdil* = fire-arm, *boeloe* = bamboo) is rendered in Rotenese with *sisilo milak*, in Timorese with *kĕnkāka*. In JONKER's Rotinese Dictionary, page 357, the following is stated: "*milak* . . . een fijn soort bamboe . . . . *sisilo milak*, bamboezen geweer, d. i. proppenschieter (alleen als kinderspeeltuig in gebruik . . .), *isi milak*, het kogeltje of de prop van een proppenschieter".

I also have a reference from Bali, which I found in "Enc. van Nederl. Indië", Vol. IV, p. 55, where toys from Bali are enumerated. The statement is made by VAN EEK.

Whether the pop-gun is a toy used at the present day in Java or not seems uncertain, no specimens from this island being contained in the museums that I have visited, and no records being found in the books I have studied. Yet, it cannot be altogether unknown in Java, since in the Leiden Museum there is a little model of a herdboy from Java whose equipment includes a pop-gun. In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XI, page 28, the name of the pop-gun is stated to be *bĕdilan* in Javanese, which is rather strange, since *bĕdil* in Malay means fire-arm, gun. MAYER's Malay Dictionary gives for pop-gun *boeloe lĕtoep* (*boeloe* = bamboo, *lĕtoep* = crack, report).

In the LUMHOLTZ collection from the Pnihing Tribe in Central Borneo, now at Oslo, there is a pop-gun, No. 31706 (387 coll. L.). The label of this specimen (Fig. 65 C) states



A c.1:8. B c.1:6. C. 1:3.

Fig. 65. *Pop-guns*. A from Roti; B from Flores; C from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo. A and B after H. TEN KATE. (A Leiden Mus. No. 858/159; B id. No. 842/182; C Oslo Mus. No. 31706.)

the following: "*pana sólu-kaa-pak*, latter word is the name of a plant, the leaves of which are made into balls, which are placed one into either end of a bamboo, just like the boys in Norway use a quill and raw potatoes." The plunger is made of dark brown, hard wood. It measures fully 37 cm., of which the handle occupies about 10 cm. The bamboo tube is a little longer than the narrow portion of the plunger. It has a length of 28,5 cm. by a diameter of about 13 mm. The surface of the bamboo is rather rough, and the wall a little thicker towards one end.

In Sumatra the pop-gun appears to be known all over the island. According to the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. VI, page 197, there is in the museum a specimen, No. 148/12, from Atjeh Besar. The Catalogue states the following: "Böllerbüchse, Ende Bambusrohr, durchlocht, das eine Ende etwas dünner zugeschnitzt; darin ein rundes Stöckchen. — Spielzeug. *Gr. A.*[1] L. 25, Dm. 2 cM."

MEYER and RICHTER in the Publications of the Dresden Museum, page 22 a, record three specimens, Nos 7808, 8303, and 8304 from the Batak in N. Sumatra, not giving the exact provenance, however. According to these authors the native name of the pop-gun in that locality is *pêtar-pêtar*.

In Berlin there are three specimens from Karo which all are catalogued under the number I C 20132. The native name is the same as given to this toy in Acheh, *i. e pêtar-pêtar*. All these specimens are of nearly the same size, the barrels measuring respectively 26,2 cm., 27 cm., and 27,2 cm. by an inner diameter of about 5 mm. The wall of the bamboo is 4—5 mm. thick (Fig. 66 B and C). The plunger is a little shorter than the barrel. The handles of two specimens have the shape of a spade, to which in one specimen there is attached a transverse cylinder of bamboo (Fig. 66 C[1]). The third specimen has no handle, but the proximal end is carved as if it were meant to fit in a handle. The distal end of the

[1] *Gr. A.* means Gross Atjeh = Mal. Atjeh Besar.

plunger is split up into a brush, similarly to the pop-gun No. 776 from Mongondou.

Farther to the south, at Rawas in Palembang, the pop-gun appears to be a common toy. VAN HASSELT in the work "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, page 125, writes as follows: "Schieten med de klakkebus zag ik veel in Rawas, waar de jongens dat speelgoed maken van bamboe kapal, terwijl zij als proppen stukjes van een keladi-stengel gebruiken of van de toemboeh lawak, eene grove grassoort."

At Frankfort there is a pop-gun of this type from Rawas. As will be seen in Fig. 66 D, this specimen is closely similar to the pop-guns in Karo, with the slight difference, however, that the distal end of the plunger does not form a brush (Fig. 66 D[1]).

At Leiden there is a specimen No. 939/30 from S. Sumatra of ordinary type. In Vol. XII, page 219, of the Leiden Catalogue the following is stated: "*Knallbüchse* (bĕbĕdil, B. E.); Bambusrohr; der Sauger bildet eine Ende Bambusrohr mit einem Teil eines Schräg hervortretenden Astes; in diesem Rohr stecht eine runde Bambuslatte. — Kinderspielzeug; als Kugel dienen die Früchte der *kendidaj*, B. S., einer wildwachsenden Holzart. Abt. Manna. *B.* L. 34, Dm. 1,2 cm."

The pop-gun also is recorded from some of the small islands in the neighbourhood of Sumatra as, *e. g.* the Mentawei Islands and Nias.

In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XIV, page 40, a specimen No. 1798/57 from Nias is listed. We read as follows: "Ballerbüchse (fànā gōwi); Ende Bambusrohr, an beiden Enden offen; darin ein platter Sauger desselben Materials, das eine Ende mit ausgezupften Fasern, das andere etwas dicker. *N.* Dm.[1] 34, Dm. 1,5 cm."

This specimen closely corresponds to the Karo specimens in Berlin, especially to the one without a handle. Possibly this was of the same kind as that of the Nias gun.

[1] Evidently a miswriting for L. (Länge).

I suppose the pop-gun is not a very common toy in Nias since SCHRÖDER in his great work on this island does not mention it when speaking of games and toys.

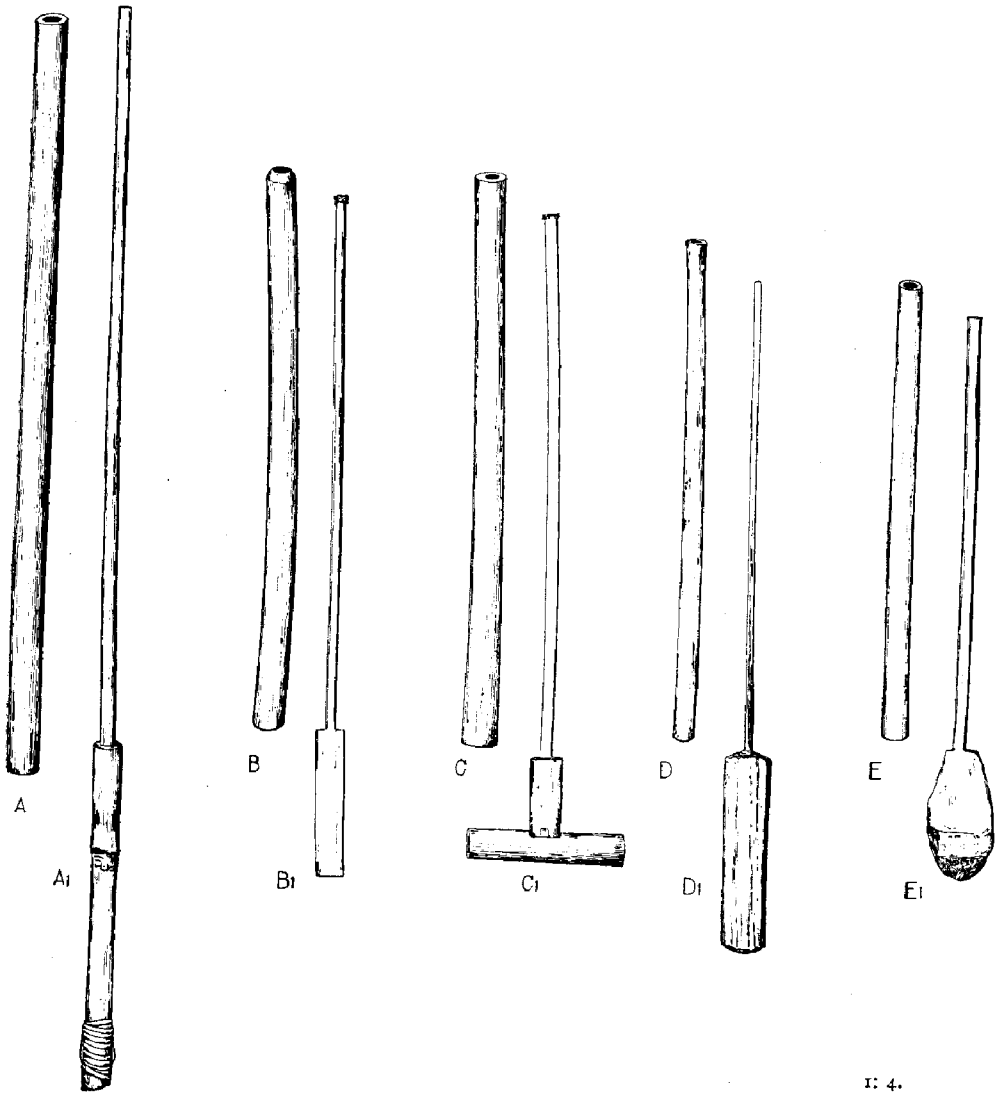
MEYER and RICHTER in the Publications of the Dresden Museum, Vol. XII, page 22 a, record a pop-gun, No. 10901, from Mentawei, where the natives call it *bäbätuët*. Also in Berlin there is a specimen, No. I C 36277, from these islands. As seen in Fig. 66 E and E^1 this specimen, although smaller, is rather similar to the pop-guns from Sumatra as well as from Celebes. The barrel has a length of only 21,4 cm. by a calibre of 8 mm. The wall of the bamboo is 2 mm. thick.

In the Berlin Museum is contained a pop-gun, No. I C 24506, from Orang Benoea. The label states: "Knallbüchse für Kinder mit Blätterpfropfen. Orang Benua." No special locality being given, and the collector being STEVENS, this specimen in all probability comes from S. Malacca. It is made of bamboo. The barrel is 35,7 cm. long and has a calibre of about 1,5 cm. (Fig. 66 A). The plunger is fitted with a handle (Fig. 66 A^1).

It can hardly be doubted that the pop-gun is a toy found in many places in the Malayan Archipelago, as for instance in Banka, Riouw, Moena, Boeton etc., although we have no record of it from these places as yet.

May be that our knowledge of the geographical distribution of the pop-gun in Indonesia is imperfect, yet it cannot be by mere chance, I think, that there is not a single pop-gun from Java or Borneo in the Ethn. Museums of Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam, Berlin, Dresden, Cologne, Frankfort, Stuttgart, Vienna, Basel. I can hardly believe that if it is found in these islands, not a single specimen would have found its way to the European museums. It therefore appears to me that the pop-gun is rare, if not altogether absent in Java and Borneo nowadays.

The similarity of the pop-guns in Celebes to those found in Sumatra and adjacent small islands seem to point



1: 4.

Fig. 66. *Pop-guns.* A from Malacca; B and C from Karo, Sumatra; D from Rawas, Sumatra, E from the Mentawei Islands. (A Berlin Mus. No. I C 24506; B and C id. No. I C 20132; D Frankfort Mus. No. N. S. 14107; E Berlin Mus. No. I C 36277.)

to one origin common to all of them. Presumably the pop-gun spread from west to east, *i. e* from Sumatra to Celebes. If this was the case we can hardly avoid to

assume that the pop-gun came to Celebes over Java, where, however, for some reason or other it nowadays mays have fallen into disuse.

When, and wherefrom did the pop-gun come to the Malayan Islands? These are questions almost impossible to answer satisfactory with the material at my disposal. Yet, I do not see any necessity of presuming it to be imported from Europe, since in many tracts where the influence of this culture is rather strong, the pop-gun seems to be rare, or altogether missing, whereas it is found at several places with a population of so-called Primitive Malays and Old Malays, *i. e.* tribes of rather ancient culture.

There is, however, the possibility of the pop-gun having come from the north, since it is a common toy in China, Japan, and Korea. CULIN in "Korean Games", page 29, states: "Boys make various kinds of guns of bamboo. Pop-guns in which paper wads are used, are called *tji-tak-tchong* (Chinese, chi, "paper" — ch'ung, "gun")". Of the Chinese pop-gun the same authority says: "In China (Kwantung) boys make pop-guns of bamboo, which they call *tá pic pok*", and of this toy in Japan: "Japanese boys make pop-guns out of bamboo, which they call *kami-deppo*, or paper-guns".

The native names as given to the pop-gun in different regions do not help us to throw much light upon their origin. In the list below are given the native names as far as I know them.

Celebes	Minahassa	
»	Tondano dialect	lĕlĕtok
»	Sonder »	lulutaw
»	Pakewa »	lŭtaw
»	» »	kĕkĕsorrĕn
»	Poso Toradja	baladoe
	» »	baladjoe
Babar		puliëi
Roti		sisilo milak

Timor	kĕnkāka
Java, Javanese	bĕdilan
Sumatra, Karo	pêtar-pêtar
» Manna	bĕbĕdil
Nias	fànā gōwi
Mentawei	bäbätuët
China, Kwantung	tà pic pok
Korea	tji-tak-tchong
Japan	kami-deppo

To judge from these names the pop-gun must be a toy of considerable antiquity in the Far East, or it had not so many different names. In the same direction points the statement made by SCHWARZ, that in Minahassa men were allowed to amuse themselves with the pop-gun only from the time of the *manende* and *mapawua* offerings until the *manempo*, as well as KRUYT's statement that among the Poso Toradja it should only be used after the paddy harvest.

I therefore think it probable that originally the use of the pop-gun also at other places was restricted to a special season.

For these reasons I suppose the pop-gun to be native in Indonesia. It would not be astonishing, indeed, if the invention of the pop-gun was made at an early cultural stage by the natives in a region where bamboo is so abundant as in the Malayan Archipelago, and where from the same material were made blow-guns for clay balls and arrows, the "fire pump", and presumably also the bamboo pea-shooter described in the foregoing.

The geographical distribution of the pop-gun is to a certain extent similar to that of the simple bamboo instrument called *rere* (see this Series Vol. III, Map 2 on page 59), both being found all over Celebes in the east, absent in Java and Borneo, and occurring in Nias and in the Malay Peninsula in the west.

The Squirt-gun.

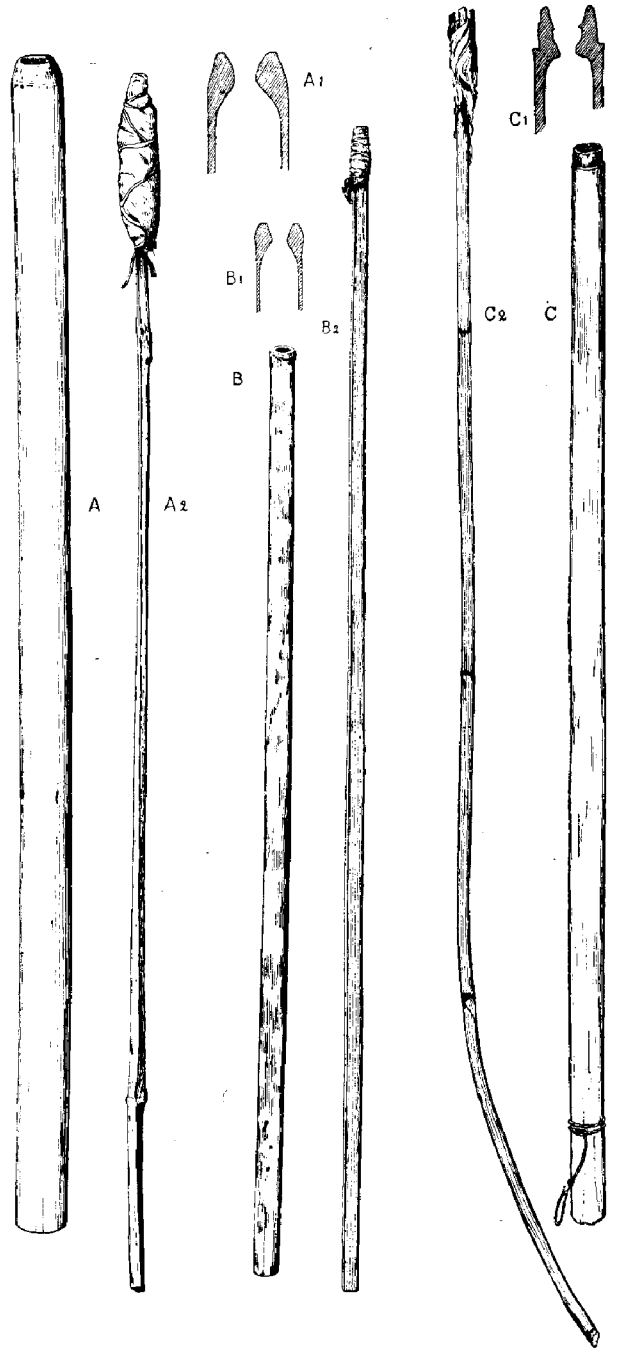
(Map 18.)

This toy is occasionally found in Celebes. In the Leiden Museum there is a specimen, No. 1256/120, from Maros in the Macassar Peninsula, presented to the Museum by P. and F. SARASIN. The Museum Catalogue, Vol. XVIII, page 62, states the following: "*Kinderspielzeug*, Spritze aus Bambus, am einen Ende etwas enger zulaufend, an beiden Enden offen; als Sauger dient ein Bambusstab, an einem Ende mit einem Stück weiss und rot geblümter Baumwolle umwickelt. — Bei dem Baden als Spielzeug gebraucht. *Maros*-Fluss. L. 69, Dm. 3 cm." (Fig. 67 A).

Also MATTHES records the squirt-gun from the Macassar Peninsula in his "Bijdr. tot de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 130, writing: ". . . met een waterspuitje spelen (Boeg. en Mak. *pana*, spuit.)" In his Bugis Dictionary he states the following on page 113: "*pâna*, spuit. — *Pana-oewâë*, waterspuitje (kinderspeelgoed). . . . *Mápâna*, met een waterspuitje spelen".

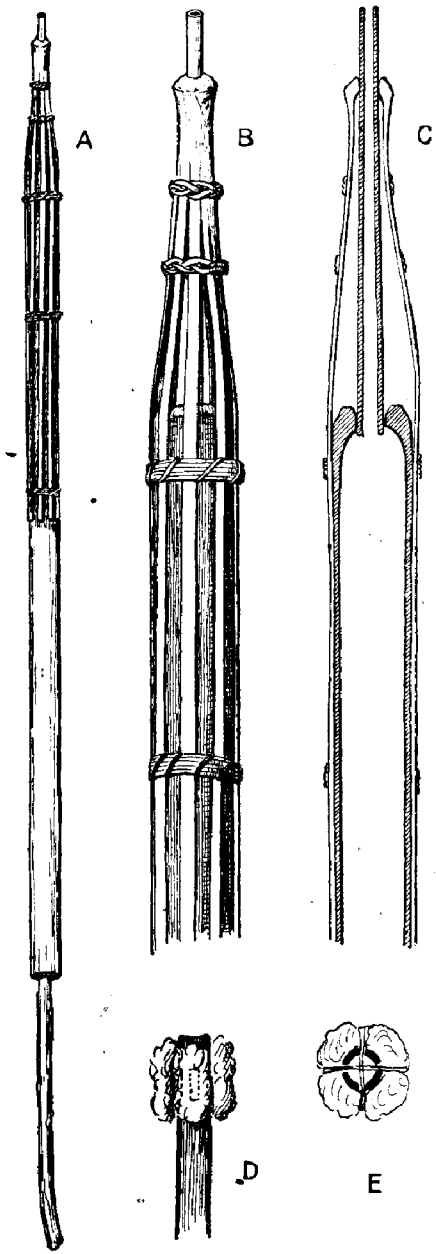
The squirt-gun also is recorded from the Macassar Peninsula by VAN DER VEEN in "Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", Vol. LXIII, page 373, We read as follows: "In Badjo en Rante Tabang komt het woord *pana* voor, en is daar de benaming voor een kinderspeeltuig, een soort proppenschieter, waarin water gezogen wordt, en waarmee men elkaar bespuit. Dit instrument wordt in Rante Pao'se en Makale'se *balili'lili' oeai* genoemd, watergeweertje. Het is een bamboe van een 50 cm. lengte, waarin zich een zuiger bevindt, die op en neer bewogen wordt. Door de knoop aan het uiteinde van de bamboe zijn een paar gatjes geboord."

At the village of Modajag in Bolaang Mongondou, N. Celebes, I saw children playing with squirt-guns of bamboo. Some of these were of the same size as the Maros specimen at Leiden, but as a rule I think they were smaller with a



1: 5.

Fig. 67. *Squirt-guns.* A from Maros, S. Celebes; B from Mongondou, N. Celebes; C from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo. (A Leiden Mus. No. 1456/1201; B KAUDERN coll. No. 689; C Oslo Mus. No. 31584 [387 coll. L]).



A 1: 10. B—E 1: 4.

Fig. 68. *Squirt-gun, fire-engine.* Island of Bonerate. (A [B, C] Berlin Mus. No. I C 17636; D [E] id. No. 17637.)

piece of corn-cob fitted to the end of the bamboo rod serving as a piston. The specimen in my collection, No. 698, is presumably made of *Bambusa longinodis*. It measures 52,8 cm. by a diameter of 1,4 cm., having at the distal end a node pierced by a very small hole (Fig. 67 B). The piston is a rag wrapped round a slip of split bamboo, 66,5 cm. long and 1 cm. broad.

In Mongondou I only saw children amusing themselves with squirt-guns when playing in the village, never whilst bathing.

ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 544, states the following: "*panadjiri, panagoeri*, spuit, eveneens een speeltuig, een bamboekokertje, met een aan het eind platgeslagen *kasimpo-*, *bomba-*, of *katimba*-stengel als zuiger; *mopanadjiri, mopanagoeri*, m. e. spuitje spelen."

In all probability the squirt-gun is not native to Celebes, but it is difficult to pronounce an opinion on its origin, our knowledge of its range throughout Indonesia as yet being imperfect. In

the museums that I have visited there are no squirt-guns from this region, except in Berlin, where I found two squirt-guns of bamboo from the small island of Bonerate, situated to the north of Flores (Fig. 68), and in Oslo where a squirt-gun from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo is contained.

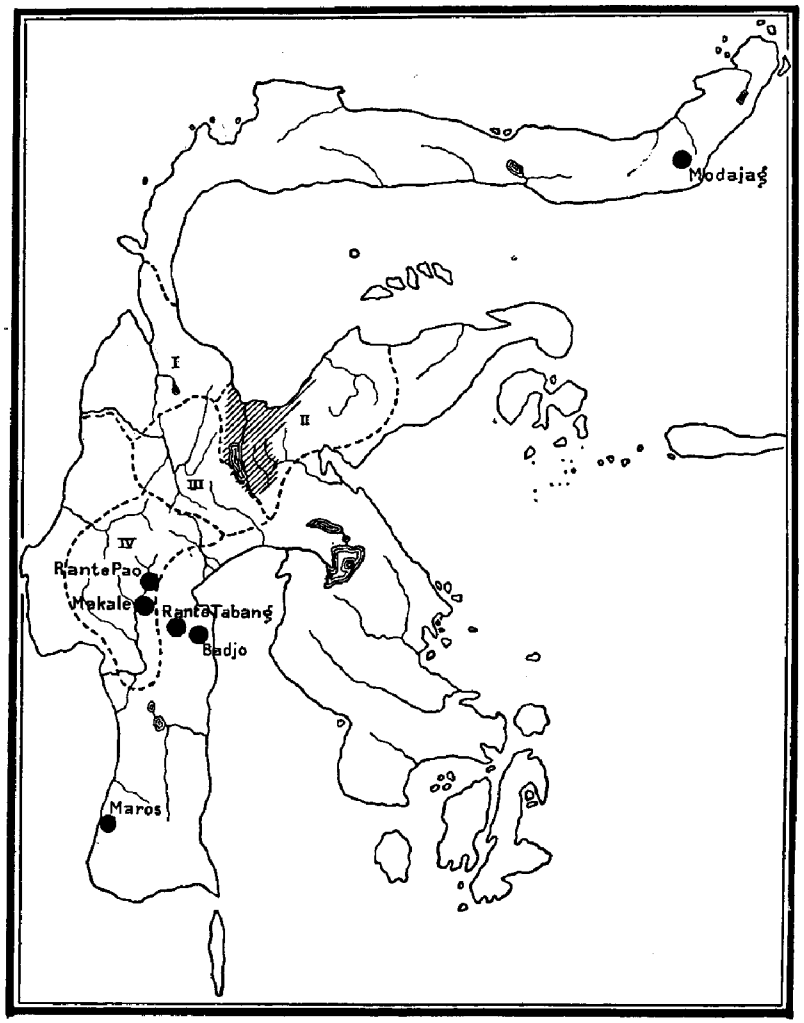
These squirt-guns, Nos I C 17636 and 17637, are much bigger than the squirt-guns from Celebes, and of much better make and construction. The label states that they were used to extinguish fire, their native name being *pendopallo*. The construction is seen in Fig. 68.

The Pnihing squirt-gun at Oslo, No. 31584 (387 coll. L) is collected by LUMHOLTZ (Fig. 67 C). The label states: "Leketöi, bestaende av ett åpet bambusrör, hvori er stukket en tynn bambusstang 'shoot water (toang) *pana to-ang*'." The barrel is a section of bamboo with a node in the distal end which is slightly shouldered. The wall of the node is perforated to allow water to enter into the barrel (Fig. 67 C^1). The length of the bamboo tube is 62,5 cm. by a diameter of 2 cm. The label states the piston to be made of bamboo. This, however, is incorrect. The material is rattan. As seen in Fig. 67 C^2 the proximal end is slightly curved, the distal end split into three points and wrapped with vegetable fibres. The piston has no handle.

Possibly the squirt-gun is more commonly known in the Archipelago than would appear from the sparce statements found in books and the dearth of specimens in the European Museums, since it is a well known toy in adjacent regions, *i. e.* British India, Korea, and Japan.

At the so-called Holi feast in India it is customary to use squirt-guns filled with red-coloured water. It is not impossible that during the so-called Hindoo Period of Java the squirt-gun found its way to Java as well as to other places in the Archipelago. But the squirt-gun may just as well have come to the Malayan Islands from the north, this toy, as mentioned above, being commonly known in China,

Korea, and Japan. According to CULIN, its Chinese name is *shui chit*. In Korea it is called *moultak-tehong*, in Japan *midzudeppo*.



Map 18. Geographical distribution of the squirt-gun in Celebes.

Until we know the range of the squirt-gun in Indonesia better, it is impossible to pronounce an opinion on its origin in this region.

Bamboo Pea-shooters

(Map 19).

At several places in Celebes children amuse themselves shooting with bamboo pea-shooters. In Central Celebes, however, I only acquired a single specimen of this toy at Kantewoe (Fig. 69 A). This gun, No. 1824 B, is made of a section of bamboo, 59 cm. long, with open ends and a node in the middle. Near one end there is a rectangular opening cut through the wall of the bamboo. A slip of split rattan is attached to proximal end of the gun, the flat side towards the bamboo. The distal end of the spring is thrust into the rectangular opening in front.

When the projectile, in Mongondou and Kantewoe a small stone, is to be discharged, the spring is secured by means of a catch, which, when released, will send the stone flying.

KRUYT does not record this toy from the Poso Toradja, but ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary gives the word *panabesi*, or *panaresi*. The Dictionary says: "een speeltuig van jongens, een bamboekoker, die horizontaal wordt gehouden en aan den wand van boven en van onderen van eene lange, smalle opening wordt voorzien; daar doorheen loopt een veerend bamboe-latje, dat met de hand wordt gespannen en losgelaten, waardoor het pijltje uit den koker vliegt; *mopanabesi*, *-resi*, met den geweerboog spelen." There is also the possibility that this is a cross-bow.

In the Paloe Valley the bamboo pea-shooter does not appear to be known. In answer to my question, the S. A. officer Mr. E. ROSENLUND who worked for several years in the Paloe Valley as well as in Koelawi, told me: "I cannot remember having seen the bamboo pea-shooter in Central Celebes."

In Bolaang Mongondou these shooters were common, and I had no difficulty in obtaining for my collection several specimens. Also at Menado, the capital of Minahassa in N. Celebes, I saw children playing with this toy.

The Mongondou specimens vary in size a good deal and also a little in construction. The smallest specimen (No. 571) has a length of 41 cm. and a diameter of 3 cm. The proximal, end is closed by a node, and 8,5 cm. from the distal end there is a rectangular opening into the tube. In all my Mongondou specimens the spring consists of a narrow rod of split bamboo, inserted into a small square hole in the proximal end of the bamboo tube and kept in position by a binding toward the centre of the gun. The free end of the spring, just as in the Kantewoe gun, rests in the opening in the distal end of the tube, but here the catch is omitted (Fig. 69 D).

Another similar specimen (No. 570) is 56 cm. long and has the same diameter as the foregoing. Here the proximal end of the spring is thrust into a hole behind the node (Fig. 69 B). The rectangular opening in front is fairly long, and the gun is fitted with a catch.

Two bigger specimens (Nos. 585 and 586) nearly measure 81 cm. by a diameter of only 2,3 cm. They are of better make than the two previous specimens. The proximal end of the spring pierces the cylinder in two opposite points, immediately in front of the node in the proximal end (Fig. 69 C).

Sometimes the children make a kind of double-barrelled gun, (Fig. 69 E). Such a gun (No. 616 in my collection) measures 107 cm. by a diameter of 3—3,3 cm. Almost in the middle of the cylinder there is a node. The two springs of bamboo are attached in the same manner as in the specimens already described. There are no catches.

Outside Celebes similar bamboo shooters are found in several places in the Malayan Islands. TEN KATE in Vol. VIII of "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.", page 10 and Plate I, Fig. 3, records such a bamboo gun from Belo in C. Timor where the natives call it *kilat auwan* (Fig. 70 A).

In the Rotterdam Museum there is a specimen No. 15214 from the Karo Batak in Sumatra. As will be seen in

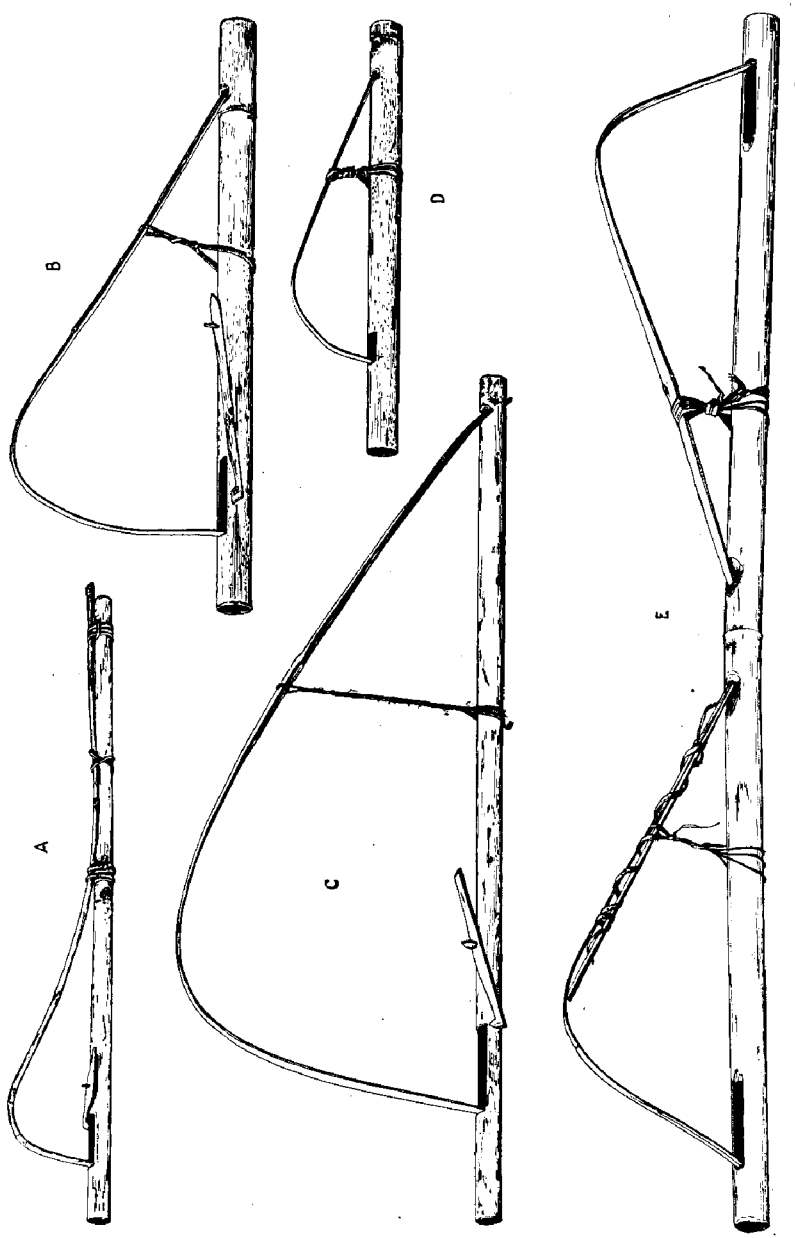


Fig. 69. *Bamboo Pea-shooters from Celebes.* A from Kantewoe, C. Celebes; B—E from Mongondou, N. Celebes. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 1824b; B id. No. 570; C id. No. 585; D id. No. 571; E id. No. 616.)

Fig. 70 B, this gun with its catch is closely similar to some of the Mongondou specimens, but contrary to all other bamboo shooters it has a kind of trigger, possibly in imitation of a real gun.

Also in the Linden Museum at Stuttgart is contained a bamboo shooter from Sumatra (Fig. 70 C), but its origin is not specified. The label only states: "No. 4127 *Betdil-betdil*, Kinderspielzeug. Sumatra. G. MEISSNER." Being altogether different from the Karo Batak specimen, it comes natural to suspect that it hails from some other district. In certain details it rather closely corresponds to some guns from Nias. The high, arched spring is passed through two opposite holes in the proximal end of the bamboo, and the free end has been given the shape of a small circular plate (Fig. 70 C^1).

At Leiden there are three specimens, Nos 1798/84, 1798/85, and 1798/86 from Nias. These guns, all of which hail from the northern part of the island, are called *fànā ngālô* according to the Museum Catalogue XIV. In Fig. 70 D, E, and F the construction of these comparatively small guns can easily be followed. Like the pea-shooters of the Poso Toradja described by ADRIANI, the free end of the rather low spring of the specimen No. 1798/84 pierces the cylinder in two opposite places (Fig. 70 D). The spring of the other two specimens form a high bow, the proximal end being passed right through the bamboo cylinder. In front, No. 1798/85 has a very long, rectangular opening in the upper side (Fig. 70 E). In No. 1798/86 three vertical pegs are driven through the bamboo cylinder, two being connected with a string. These may have been used for releasing the spring, though the exact manner of their working I cannot tell.

In Si Maloer, the island to the north of Nias, the bamboo pea-shooter also may be found. In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XIV, page 20, an object, No. 1857/40 is listed of which the following is stated: "Kindergewehr, aus Bambus und Rotan, mit welchem Pfropfen geschossen werden können. Lugu. Distr. Tapa. L. 46 cm." Unfortunately I have not seen this specimen, but I suppose it to be a bamboo

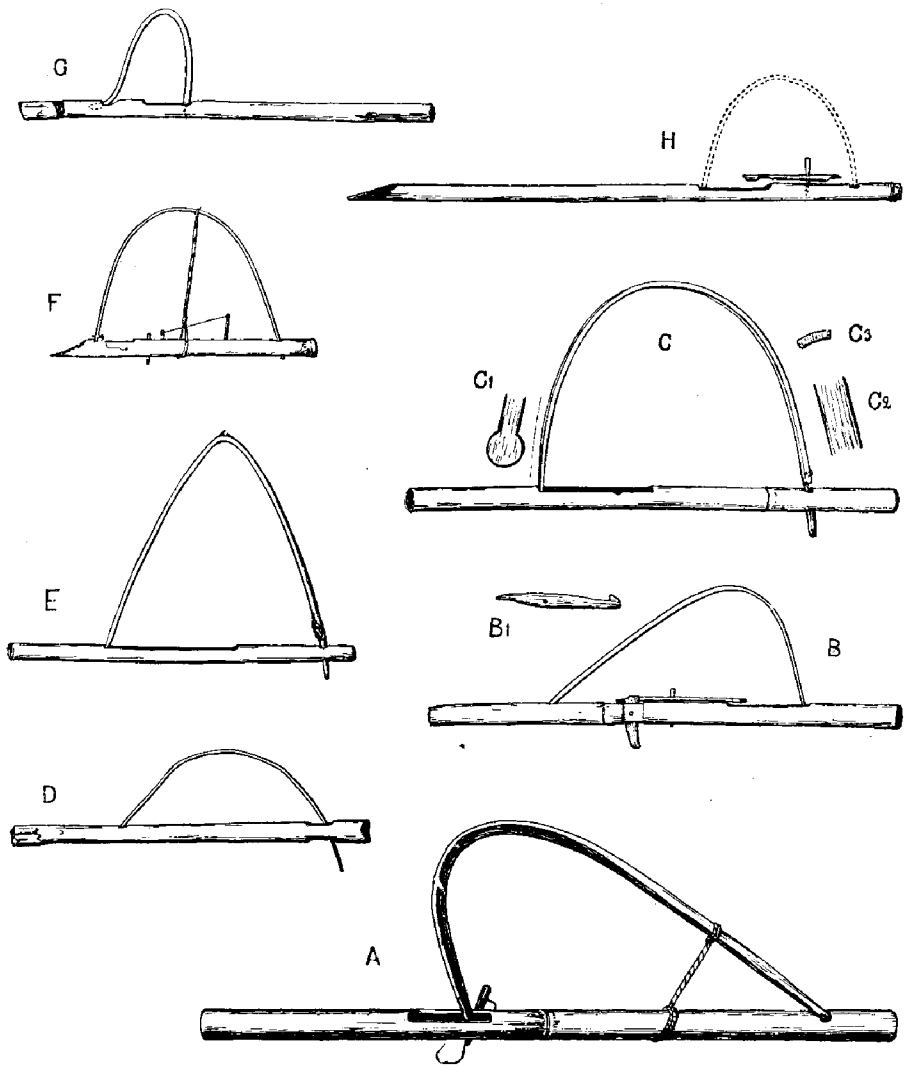


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Fig. 70. *Bamboo Pea-shooters from Indonesia.* A from C. Timor; B from Karo, N. Sumatra; C from Sumatra, the exact provenance not given; D, E, and F from Nias; G and H from the Malay Peninsula. (A after H. TEN KATE, Leiden Mus. No. 839/108; B Rotterdam Mus. No. 15214; C Stuttgart Mus. No. 4127; D Leiden Mus. No. 1798/84; E id. No. 1798/85; F id. No. 1798/86; G Berlin Mus. No I C 24549; H id. No. I C 27811.)

gun with a spring of rattan. Possibly it is similar to the spring-gun in the Malay Peninsula, which is rather different to the spring-gun in the Archipelago.

In Borneo the bamboo pea-shooter may be commonly known, although it is not recorded in the books that I have studied, or found in the museums on the Continent that I have visited. In the LUMHOLZ Collection at Oslo from the Pnihing Tribe in the very heart of Borneo there are, however, no less than four specimens differing from each other in construction.

The specimen No. 31582 (870 coll. L.) is closely similar to the Berlin specimens No. I C 27811 from the Djakoen Tribe, and No. I C 24549 from the Benoea Tribe in Malacca, the rattan spring being placed near the proximal end of the gun. This gun measures only 32 cm. by a diameter of 1,5 cm. (Fig. 71 C).

The specimen No. 31583 (869 coll. L.) is much bigger, measuring nearly 50 cm. by a diameter of fully 2 cm. Similarly to the previous specimen the rattan spring is placed near the proximal end, but contrary to this there is no node in the proximal end. The proximal end of the spring is passed right through the bamboo, its thin end once more entering into the bamboo and appearing at the proximal opening of the tube. The front part of the spring travels in a slitlike opening, 5,5 cm., in the wall of the bamboo in front of a node (Fig. 71 B).

No. 31586 (386 coll. L) is a still bigger specimen which measures 59 cm. The diameter of the bamboo is only 2 cm. (Fig. 71 D) The proximal end is closed by a node. As seen in the figure the proximal end of the rattan spring twice is passed right through the bamboo. In front the barrel of this gun is bevelled off.

Lastly there is the specimen No. 31585 (385 b. coll. L). This is a big pea-shooter measuring 55 cm. with a diameter of 2,5 m. (Fig. 71 A). The spring, a strong piece of rattan, is placed at some distance from the proximal end, which is closed by a node. Here the proximal end of the spring is not passed right through the bamboo, but pushed into the barrel at the proximal end of the channel in which the

distal end of the spring travels. In order to prevent the barrel from bursting, there is a binding of rattan round the barrel where the proximal end of the spring enters into it. As seen in Fig. 71 A there are three small round holes in

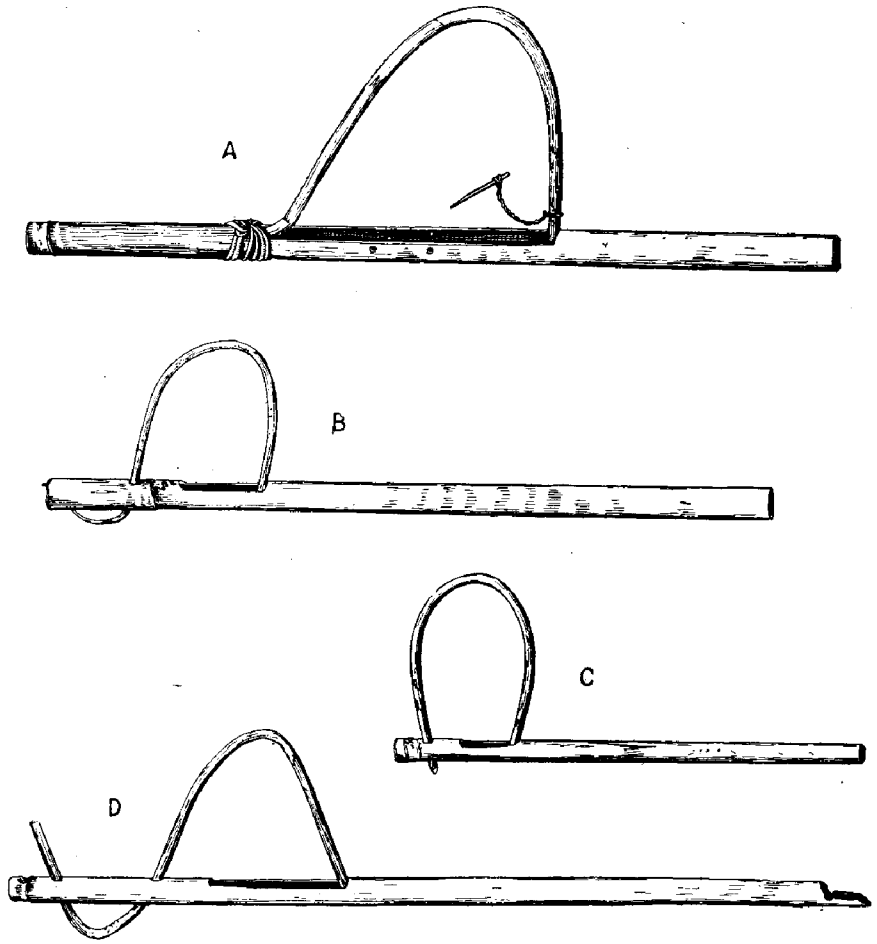

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Fig. 71. *Bamboo Pea-shooters from the Pnihing Tribe, C. Borneo.* (A Oslo Mus. No. 31585 [385 b. coll. L.]; B id. 31583 [869 coll. L.]; C id. No. 31582 [870 coll. L.]; D id. No. 31586 [386 coll. L.])

the wall of the bamboo, two of which are found just opposite to one another. At the bottom of the channel and at the same distance from the ends of the barrel as the third round hole, there is a small, rectangular opening in the

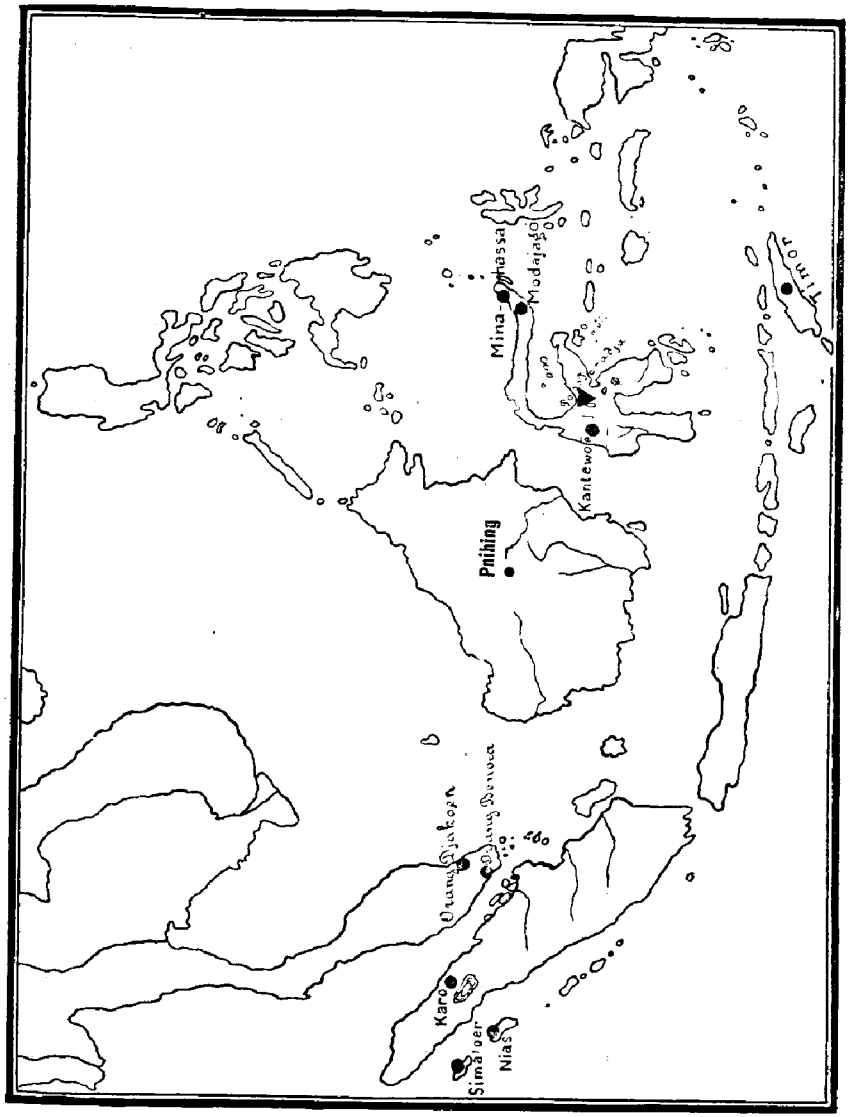
bamboo, measuring 15 mm. by 4 mm. The meaning of these holes as well as of a small peg attached to the front part of the spring is not clear. Possibly there has been some kind of trigger, at present lost.

In the Berlin Museum are contained two bamboo pea-shooters collected by STEVENS. One of these specimens, No. I C 24549, is from the Orang Benoea, the other, No. I C 27811, from the Orang Djakoen. No special locality is given, but being collected by STEVENS, the former specimen is likely to originate from the south-western, the latter from the south-eastern part of the Malay Peninsula. The label of the specimen No. I C 24549 states: "Kinderspielzeug um mit Körnern, Beeren u. s. w. zu schiessen". The label of No. I C 27811 says: "Spielgewehr der Djakun-Knaben. Als Kugeln dienen Pfropfen von Tapioca Wurzel". The most remarkable trait in these guns is the placing of the spring near the closed proximal end of the long bamboo cylinder. The spring of the Benoea specimen is a fairly short slip of rattan, that of the Djakoen gun is lost.

A close investigation in all probability would show that the bamboo pea-shooter has a wider range in Indonesia than would appear from the few references found in books and the stray specimens in the museums. The range of this toy in Indonesia appears, however, to be similar to that of some other objects mentioned in the foregoing. It seems to have its greatest frequency in Celebes and possibly in some other islands in the eastern part of the Archipelago, as well as in Sumatra and adjacent small islands and Malacca.

As far as I am aware there is no record of the bamboo pea-shooter from Java, nor are there any specimens in the museums that I visited. The same applies to the Philippine Islands. VANOVERBERGH, for instance, does not mention it in his paper "Iloco games", which seems to be a most thorough account of the games of this tribe.

Outside Indonesia this gun is recorded from widely separated part of the world, such as China, Africa, and



Map 19. Geographical distribution of the bamboo pea-shooter in Indonesia.

S. America. In the Ethn. Museum of Dresden is contained a specimen No. 23665 from China (Fig. 72 A), and at Gothenburg a couple of specimens from the Ashluslay in Chaco and the Chané in S. America (Fig. 72 C). A specimen from the Rovuma District in E. Africa is seen in Fig. 72 B.

Of course there is the possibility that the invention of the bamboo pea-shooter was made more than once, at different places. The great similarity of construction of all these guns, however, seems to point to an origin common to them all, but with the small material at my disposal it

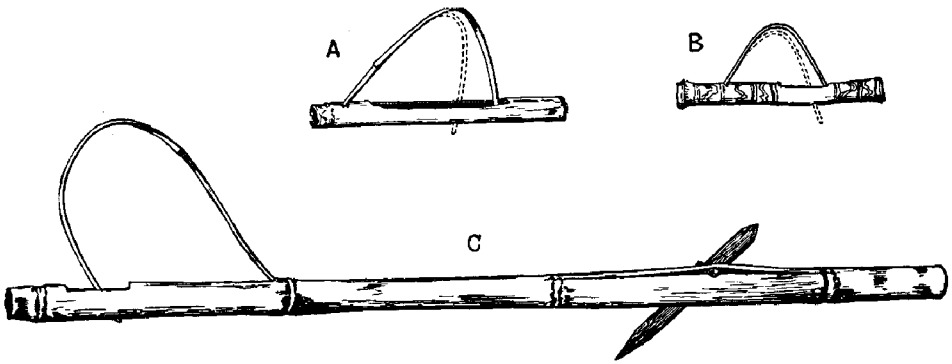


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Fig. 72. *Bamboo Pea-shooters.* A from the Aschluslay, S. America; B from China, C from the Rovuma District, E. Africa. (A Stockh. Mus. No. a1056; B Dresden Mus. No. 23665; C after WEULE.)

is impossible to educe its origin and dispersal through the continents. I shall have to content myself with mere conjectures.

The material required for making this kind of toy is in the first place a plant the stem of which is hollow, and at the same time strong; secondly some kind of material easily split, to serve as a strong and resilient spring.

In Europe I do not know of a single plant that would do for the barrel of a pea-shooter, but in the tropics the bamboo offers a most excellent material not only for the barrel but also for the spring. Another plant making a still better spring is the rattan. For this reason it seems

likely that this gun originated in a tropical, or subtropical, country where bamboo grows.

NORDENSKIÖLD in his "Comp. Ethn. Studies", Vol. II, page 114, is of the opinion that it is doubtful whether the bamboo "rifle" is a genuinely Indian invention.

In the Old World it is most commonly met with among tribes in. SE. Asia and the Malayan Islands, which may be taken to indicate that this region is its home, a hypothesis supported by the fact that these tribes are so-called Old Malays and Primitive Malays. The following table makes this clear.

Country	District	Tribe	People
Malacca	South-East	Orang Djakoen	Primitive Malays
»	South-West	Orang Benoea	» »
Borneo	Central	Orang Pnihing	Old Malays
Sumatra	Karo	Orang Batak	» »
Nias	North	Orang Nias	» »
Celebes	Minahassa	—	
»	Mongondou	Orang Mongondou	? Old Malays
»	Kantewoe	Koro Toradja	Old Malays
Timor	Central	—	» »

From this table is seen that the bamboo pea-shooter with one exception occurs with tribes preserving more or less their original culture, *i. e.* they are either Primitive Malays, or Old Malays. Among tribes having been strongly influenced by the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, the Chinese, or the European culture in the sixteenth an seventeenth centuries, the bamboo gun seems to be absent, a fact which may speak in favour of the supposition that it belongs to primitive Malayan culture. Whether the invention was made in the Malay Island, or on the continent of Asia, before the migration to the islands took place, is a question impossible to answer at present.

If the bamboo gun with a rattan spring should prove to be the original form, the invention of the gun cannot have

been made in the interior of Asia, where no rattan grows, contrary to the Malay Islands where this plant is abundant.

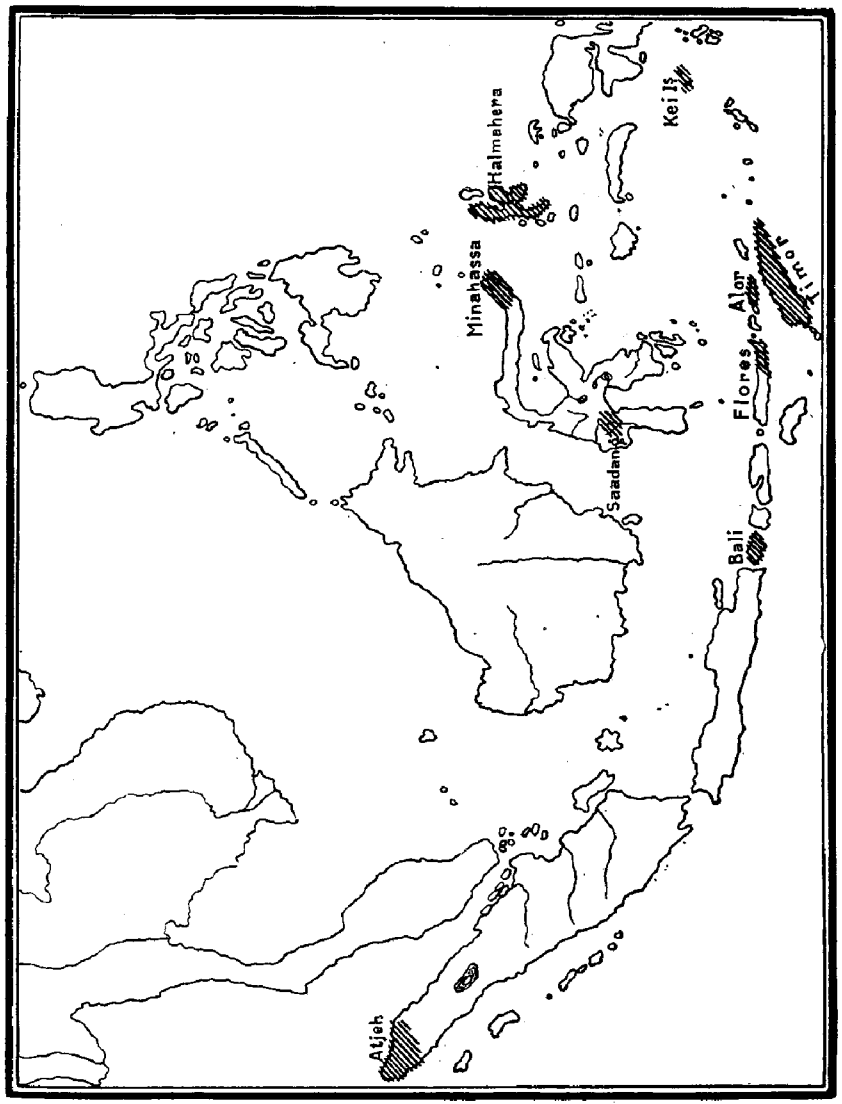
The Cross-bow.

(Map. 20.)

To the group of toys used for propelling a projectile we also should refer the cross-bow. This implement does not seem to be commonly known in Celebes. I never saw it myself, but GRAAFLAND gives a detailed description of it from Minahassa. In his book "De Minahassa", Vol. I, page 283, we read as follows: "De boog is bevestigd aan eenen dunnen koker van bamboe-tuï (V. M.)[1], en de pees loopt door eene insnede in den koker. Een klein rond stukje hout is in den koker gestoken en kan op en neer worden bewogen. De pees gaat door dat stukje hout, en de boog-pijlkoker is gereed. Als men nu een stokje in het verlengde eind van den koker doet, zakt het naar beneden; als men de pees nedertrekt, en die losgelaten zijnde, kan het stokje vijftig en meer voeten ver reiken. In sommige streken, waar de *Tou'm Pakewa* wonen, zijn dit voorwerp en het spel wel bekend. Te *Kawangkoan* heet het *wantir*. Het is ook bekend bij de *Tou'm-Bulu* en heeft te *Tanawangko* den naam van *lulutamĕn* van *lutam=schieten*. Ook bij de *Tou'n Sea* is het bekend."

The cross-bow appears also to be known among the Saadang Toradja in C. Celebes not as a toy but as a weapon used by adults. In a brief contribution entitled, "Aanteekeningen van den Heer J. H. W. VAN DER MIESEN over Boven-Binoeang" this author, in "Tijdschrift Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.," p. 373, says: "Blaasroer, schild en pijl en boog werden vroeger in den oorlog gebruikt". On p. 374 he describes this bow and arrow: "De boog heeft niet het gewone type, maar is wat wij in Holland een kruisboog

[1] Vulgar Malay. Bulu-tūi (M.) Bambusa longinodis. Mig.



Map 20. Geographical distribution of the cross-bow in Indonesia.

noemen. Een houten haan houdt het koord — hier rotan — in de gewenschte spanning en laat bij aftrekken het rotan-koord vrij, waardoor de pijl uit den boog vliegt. Deze kruis-boog was soms meer dan 2 M. lang."

From the easterly part of the Archipelago as well as from Sumatra I have several references. In "Int. Arch. f. Ethn." VIII, page 10, TEN KATE states the cross-bow to be found at Sika in Flores. According to PLEYTE whom TEN KATE quotes, the cross-bow also is known in Acheh in N. Sumatra, in Halmahera, in the Kei Islands, as well as in Alor.

According to HEINE GELDERN ("BUSCHAN, Ill. Völkerkunde," Vol. II, pp. 940—942) the cross-bow is found to the north of Sumatra in the northern Andamans where the natives use it shooting birds.

In the Dutch East Indies I was told that the cross-bow was known in Bali, a statement that I was unable to verify.

We notice that its geographical distribution is similar to that of several other cultural elements, *i e.* it is recorded from a region in the east as well as in the west, but from the big islands of Java and Borneo there is no record of the cross-bow.

PLEYTE holds the opinion that the cross-bow was imported to the Malay Islands, but TEN KATE thinks it rather likely that it is a native invention in this region.

HEINE GELDERN appears to be of the opinion that the cross-bow found in SE. Asia, including Indonesia, was imported from China. In Vol. II, p. 187, of "BUSCHAN, Ill. Völkerkunde," he says: "Die Armbrust ist von Norden her, aus dem südlichen China nach Hinterindien gekommen . . ." Again, he seems to admit some European influence, as on p. 942 he says of the cross-bow in the Andamans: "Europäischem Einfluss, vielleicht der Erfindung irgendeines Matrosen, verdanken wohl auch die nördlichen Inseln die zur Taubenjagd gebrauchte Armbrust."

To me it seems quite probable that the cross-bow in Indonesia is an imitation of the Spanish or Portuguese

weapons of the sixteenth century. The frequency of the cross-bow in the eastern part of the Archipelago points to such an origin, this being the place where the Spaniards and Portuguse first settled.

The Bow.

(Map 21.)

The bow has a wide range throughout the Malay Archipelago as a weapon. In the eastern part it is also used as a toy. From Celebes I have very few references. GRAAFLAND in his book "De Minahassa", Vol. I, p. 283 states the following: "Nog spelen de jongens met *pijl* en *boog*, hoewel niet overal. Wij vonden het spel bij de *Tou'n-Bulu, Tou'n-Sea, Tou-Lour*; maar bij de *Tou'm Pakĕwa* is het minder bekend, en bepaaldelijk in het district *Kawangkoan* niet. Te Sonder heet het *kĕkĕtitĕn*, maar in de overige districten van de *Minahassa* heet de boog *pitik* en de pijl *tingkana*. Het spel zelf heet dan *mapĕpitikĕn*. De kinderen kunnen dikwijls zeer behendig het doel treffen, hoewel de boog geen middel aanbiedt om het oog goed te richten. Hij is vervaardigd van een stuk gespleten bamboe, dat zeer veerkrachtig is, en een eind gespleten *rotan* tot koord."

The only bow that I saw in Celebes was a small bamboo bow in Mongondou. A bamboo arrow, with a number of prongs, fixed to the middle of the rattan string is guided by a small loop in the middle of the bow (Map 21). The boys used it for stabbing shrimps in shallow water at night, lighting each other with torches. The bow seems to be used for the same purpose by the To Ampana, who live to the east of the Poso Toradja on the northern coast of NE. Celebes. KRUYT in Vol. II, page 195, of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", when speaking of the bow, states the following:

"Zelfs als kinderspel is het niet meer bewaard gebleven, behalve bij de To Ampana, waar de jongens met pijl en boog op garnalen schieten. Dat men pijl en boog vroeger moet

gekend hebben, blijkt uit de *pana*, of boog, die nog te vinden is in iedere smederij." This refers to C. Celebes.

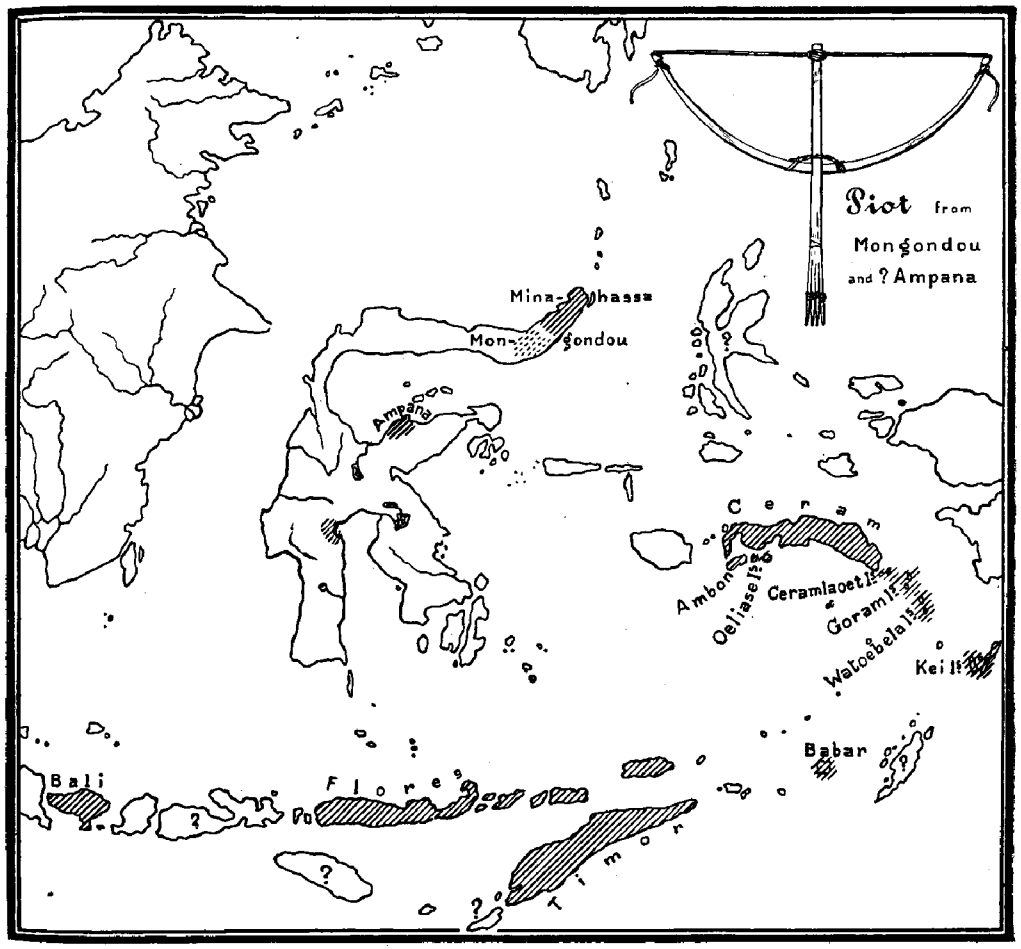
In a paper "De Toradja's van de Sa'adan etc.," 1923, KRUYT, on p. 373, says that there is no record of the bow among these natives, not even as a toy. "Van gebruik van pijl en boog its niets bekend, ook niet als kinderspeeltuig." With reference to KRUYT'S above cited paper VAN DER MIESEN says the following, p. 374, which refers to Boven-Binoeang: "Pijl en boog is thans nog kinderspeeltuig. Als de sawaharbeid een aanvang neemt, is de pijltijd aangebroken. De ouderen worden dan vaak door de kinderen bepijld."

The bow in Mongondou appears to be of the same construction as the symbolical bow in a blacksmith's shop. In the above book, page 349, KRUYT gives the following account: "Van den middelsten zolderbalk hangt een toestel af, dat aanstonds de aandacht trekt van ideren Europeaan. Het bestaat uit een tot een boog gebogen stuk bamboe; de koord is en stuk rotan. In het midden van den boog is een pijl van bamboe vastgemaakt, op welks punt de kop van een kip is gestoken; aan de beide uiteinden van den boog is nog een bosje veeren aangebracht. Aan de koord van den boog hangt een bos uit wit, zacht haut gesneden hakmessen, zwaarden, bijlen en lanspunten. Dit geheele toestel noemt men *lamoa* "god, goden".

In the Dutch-Bare'e Index of ADRIANI'S Dictionary under the heading "Spelen", games, is given the word *pana*, which means bow. The Dictionary, however, has nothing to tell of the bow as a toy. On page 544 the following is stated: "*pana* (Austron.), boog, vroeger een wapen der Toradja's, later nog in de smidse opgehangen, bij de modellen der wapenen en gereedschappen die daar werden gesmeed, Tor. II, 195, 349; *mata mpana*, pijl, *wajaa mpana*, boogpees."

RIEDEL in his work "De sluik-en kroesharige rassen etc.", records the toy bow from Ceram, Ambon, Oeliase Ceramlaoet, and Goram, from the Watoebela and the Kei Isls, and Babar. In Ceram it is used by boys in fishing. Under the heading

"Spelen" in "Enc. v. Nederl. Oost.-Indië", the toy bow is recorded from the Flores-Timor group as well as from Bali (Map 21). Presumably it also is known in Halmahera.



Map 21. Geographical distribution of the toy bow in the eastern part of Indonesia.

The Buzzing Whorl.

In Celebes I found two kinds of buzzing whorls. The principle is the same in both, only the material is different. At Donggala in the north-western corner of C. Celebes a

whorl, No. 2340, was acquired, the only one of this kind I have seen in Celebes. It is made from two mango stones. As seen in Fig. 73 A, one mango stone, the top of which is cut off and the contents removed, makes a handle in which revolves an axle to which a second mango stone is attached. The axle is made to revolve and reverse by means of a string which wrapps and unwrapps itself about the axle. The string is passed through a small hole in one side of the stone that serves as a handle. The mango stone forming the vane is of dark colour, possibly it was originally painted black. Its ends have been rubbed with white lime, which givs it the appearence of a rotating dark plate edged with white. Although I have but this reference from Celebes, I am inclined to think that this toy is known at more than one place in the Archipelago, since in the Leiden Museum is contained an identically similar whorl, No. 1993/26, from Roti, the small island to the south-west of Timor.

The second whorl from Celebes is a bamboo cylinder in which an axle revolves on the top of which a piece of coconut shell serves for a vane (Fig. 73 B). In my collection there are four such toys, Nos. 554, 556, 557 (26. 9. 597), and 822, all from the village of Modajag in Bolaang Mongondou, N. Celebes. The long bamboo cylinder is closed by a node at the bottom, and at one side pierced by a hole through which the pulling string is passed. As seen in Fig. 73 B, B^1 and B^2, the shape of the vane varies a little. A small wedge makes the vane fit closely to the axle.

Like the foregoing, this whorl seems to be a foreign element in Celebes. I never saw it in C. Celebes among the Toradja, nor in NE. Celebes. Similar toys are, however, found in other places in the Malay Islands. In Berlin there is a closely similar object, No. I C 17651. It is much shorter than my Mongondou specimens, only measuring 17,8 cm., the Mongondou buzzers having a length of 35 to 45 cm. The label of the Berlin specimen only states it to hail from the Dutch East Indies.

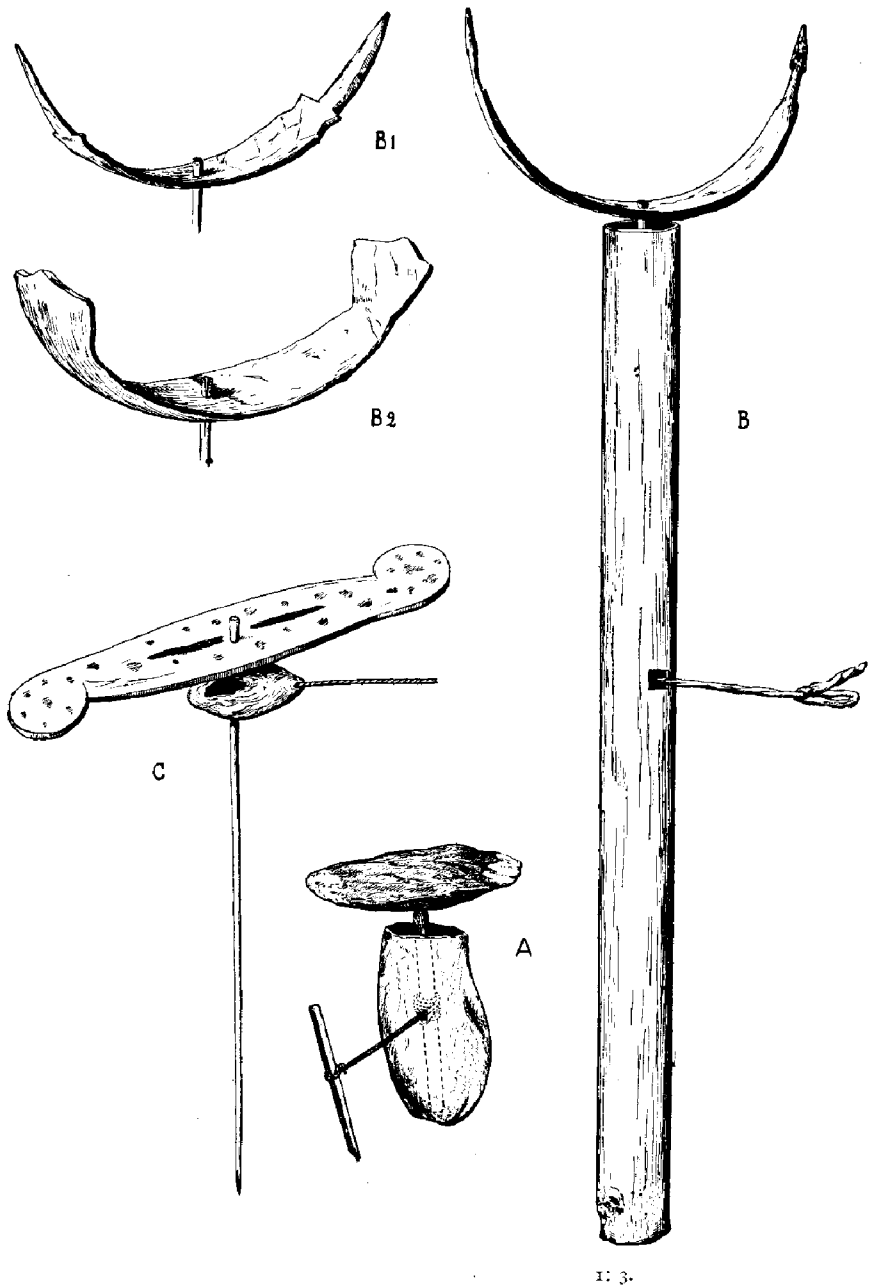


Fig. 73. *Buzzers.* A from Donggala, NW. Central Celebes; B, B^1, and B^2 from Mongondou, N. Celebes; C from Kediri in Java. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 2340; B id. No. 554; B^1 id. No. 556, B^2 id. No. 557 [26.9.597]; C Leiden Mus. No. 625/48).

In the LUMHOLZ collection at Oslo from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo there are two similar buzzing whorls, Nos. 31597 (955 coll. L.) and 31598 (956 coll. L.), Fig. 74. The latter of these specimens (B) consists of a dry empty fruit through which is passed a wooden axle about 23 cm. in length and with a disc of the same material on top, measuring 5,5 cm. across. The pulling string is tied to a rod of rattan, about 33 cm. long. The contrivance worked all right when I held the shell in my left hand, and pulled the string by means of the elastic rottan rod.

The specimen No. 31597 is a little different. Here are two discs, the top disc measuring 7,2 cm. across, the bottom one 6,2 cm. The lower part of the wooden axle is nearly twice as thick as the top. The springy rod of the previous specimen is here replaced by a small piece of quaintly carved wood (Fig. 74 A). The native name of both specimens is stated to be "*hanghut*, plaything for children".

At Leiden there is a very similar toy, No. 625/48 from Kediri in Java (Fig. 73 C). Here the "handle" is not a cylinder but the empty shell of a fruit. The axle is a slip of split bamboo, the vane a thin plate of wood, having almost the shape of an S. Its face is adorned with two dark blue lines and a number brown dots.

The Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XV, page 18, calls this type of buzzer a mill, "Mühle". In the same book a great number of "mills" from Java and other places are recorded, which makes it likely that this toy or similar ones are known practically all through the Archipelago.

In "Korean Games" CULIN records these buzzers from Korea and Japan. He writes on page 22: "*Seu-ram-i* — The Buzz. This receives its name from the sound it makes. There are two kinds . . . the other a tube of bamboo, which is held vertically, within which is an axle terminating in a kind of vane of different coloured paper, which is made to revolve by means of a string which wraps and unwraps itself about the axle". Of the Japanese buzz he says in the same page: "The second form is common in Japan, under the name of *Tambo*, or "dragon fly", a name which is also given to the flying toy, made by affixing a rectangular strip of

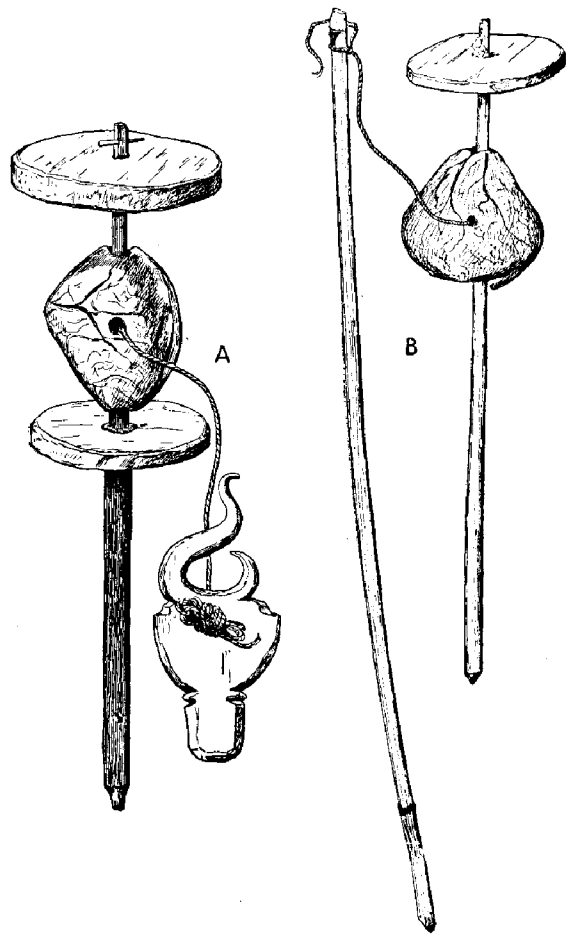


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Fig. 74. *Buzzers of the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo.* (A Oslo Mus. No. 31597 [955 coll. L.]; B id. No. 31598 [956 coll. L.])

bamboo, cut in a slightly twisted or screwlike shape to the end of a stick which passes through it."

In a note at the foot of page 22 CULIN adds: "This is also common in India. A specimen from Lucknow, called *charki*, is made of tin."

Among the European buzzers I am only going to call attention to a couple of Swedish buzzers of the same principle but made from a different material. In the province of Scania there is a buzzer made from an empty hazel nut, through which is passed a slip of wood, the upper end of which has a small head to prevent it from slipping through the nut. The lower end is stuck into a raw potato, which is made to rotate by means of a string attached to the axle. This toy is called "spånkäring", the name of the night-jar (*Caprimulgus europeus* L.) in that province. Fifty years ago closely similar buzzers were also made in Närike, a province west of Lake Mälar.

In the Ethn. Museum of Stockholm there is a buzzer, No. 00, 3, 45, 425, collected by HARTMAN in Salvador and corresponding to the Scanian buzzer with the difference that the potato is here replaced by a circular plate of wood.

No doubt a close investigation would show that this buzzer has so vide a range that at present it would be impossible to decide how it reached Celebes. Possibly the Mongondou buzzer is one of the cultural elements that were introduced into Celebes from the countries in the north.

"Windmills."

During my stay in Lojnang in NE. Celebes I noticed at several places a kind of big wind buzzers, attached to a branch of a high tree. The natives said it was a toy, but it can hardly be doubted that it had, or had had a more serious task to fill than that of being a mere plaything.

For my collection were acquired two specimens, Nos. 2641 and 2678, of which only the latter is complete. In Fig. 75 the construction of this wind buzzer can be followed. A bamboo cylinder measuring 55 cm. by a diameter of 3,5 cm., closed by a node near its top, ends in a narrow "spur" which is no less than 133 cm. long. Just above the node

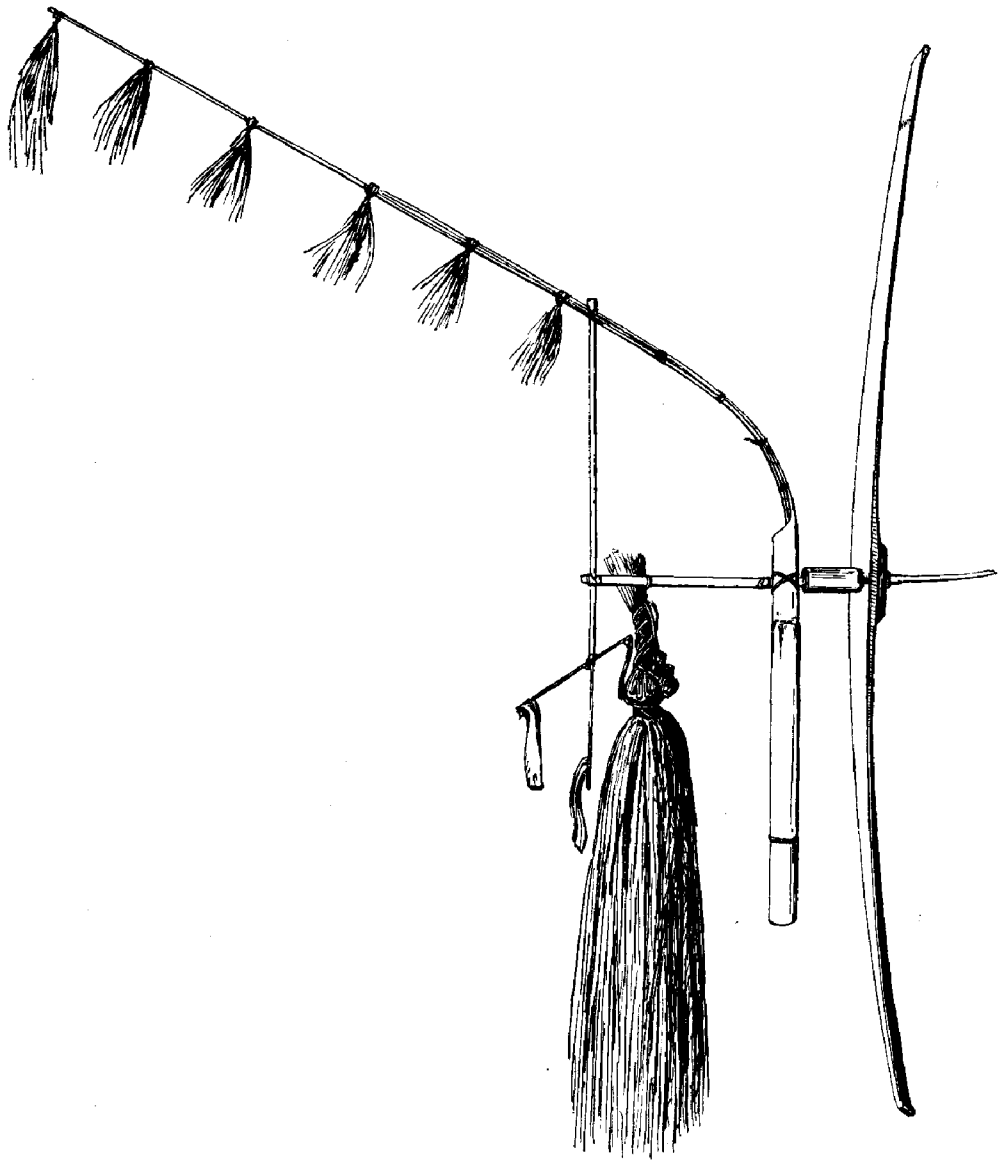

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Fig. 75. *Windmill.* Lojnang, NE. Celebes. (KAUDERN coll. No. 2678.)

the cylinder is pierced by two opposite, square holes, through which a wooden axle, 55 cm. long, is fixed. In front of the bamboo tube the axle is rather thick, but it ends in a slender rod. Over the thicker portion of the axle a piece of fairly

stout bamboo is slid, which is cut square to fit in a hole in the middle of the vane, or wing. The vane which is of light wood of light colour is thick in the middle, with thinner ends with a low transverse flange. The vane is slightly curved, and at the same time shaped like propeller blades with the convex side toward the bamboo cylinder. The transverse section of the vane has the shape of a bow.

The long spur is bent down, and by means of a slender rod attached to the square axle. From the lower end of this rod, as well as from a stick crossing it, depend strips of white cotton like streamers.

The spur is adorned with a number of tassels made of strips of palm leaves, the top tassel being bigger than the rest. From the axle depends a very big tassel of the same material as the small ones.

When the "windmill" is mounted on a tree, the bamboo cylinder is slid over a long stick which is lashed to a branch in the top of the tree. Then the mill is free to rotate to every gust of wind, the big wing like a common vane always facing the wind which makes the screw work.

My second specimen, No. 2741, only consists of a wing, 111 cm., by 4,5 cm. in the middle, and the small cylinder fixed to it.

These "windmills" I saw mostly everywhere in the district of Lojnang, NE. Celebes, especially at the villages of Pinapoean and Lingketeng.

Similar "mills" also occur in the Macassar Peninsula. The Swedish engineer Mr. FREMER tells me that he often saw them, at least in the western part of the Peninsula, and MATTHES in his Bugis Dictionary, page 135 mentions a kind of such windmills. He says : "*Pâlí-pâlí*, soort van kleine bamboezen of houten molentjes, tot verschrikking van rijstdiefjes en andere vogels, die op de rijstkorrels azen". No details of the construction of this object are given.

In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. XV, a windmill, No. 625/86 is the described as follows: "Mühle (Jav. *kitiran*)

bogenförmiges dünnes hölzernes Brett, in der Mitte am dicksten und von einem Loch versehen, in dem ein Stück Rohr befestigt ist, um eine Achse darin zu stecken. — Dieses Spielzeug wird in Bäumen gestellt, wo das Brett durch den Wind anfängt zu drehen und dann einen Laut hervorbringt. *Kĕdiri* L. 89, Br. 3,2 cm."

To judge from this description this mill is closely similar to the "windmills" in Lojnang.

In the same Catalogue several "mills" (Mühlen) are mentioned, but I rather think these are some kind of buzzers.

VAN HASSELT in the book "Midden-Sumatra", Vol. III, p. 127, describes and figures a mill similar to the mills in NE. Celebes. He says: "Zoo ziet men dikwijls nabij de woningen of op de ladangs, gewoonlijk in den top van een hoogen boom, een windmolentje (Pl. LXXXVIII), . . . Door een zeer eevoudige inrichting laat men deze *baliing-baliing*, die tevens windwijzers zijn, een klapperend of piepend geluid voortbrengen, dat tot op verren afstand hoorbaar is", (Fig. 76 A).

In the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XIV, page 20, a "windmill" from Si Maloer is registered which possibly may be of the Lojnang type. It is described as follows: "1874/22 Windmühle (*baling-baling*), von hellbraunem Holz; runder Stock, das Unterende zu dreien gesplissen, das Oberende dünner und zugespitzt; um dasselbe drehbar ein dickerer Querstock, der an der Spitze einen rechteckigen Flügel mit abgerundeten Ecken trägt. — Kinderspielzeug. Lebang, Distr. Tapah. L. 54 cm."

Lastly I want to mention that a "windmill" almost identically similar to the mill from Sumatra is found in the Malay Peninsula. In the Berlin Museum is contained a specimen No. I C 24704 from those parts, which, however, is only a model. It is represented in Fig. 76 B, a sketch kindly sent me from the Museum. The GRÜNWEDEL Catalogue states the following: "*Balling-balling*. Windmühle mit Äolsharfen. Sehr beliebt bei den Orang Mentera (Mantra),

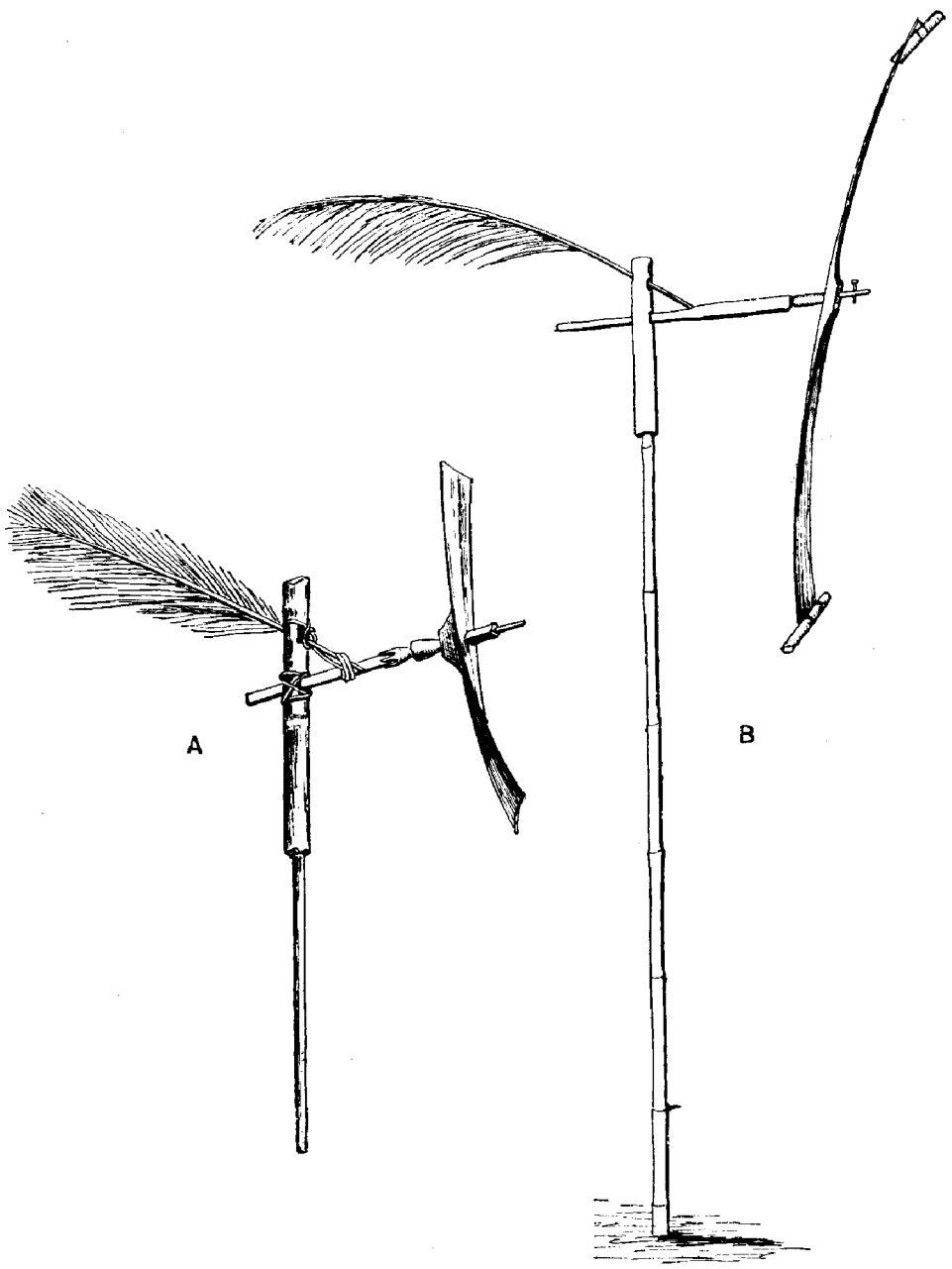

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Fig. 76. *Windmills.* A from Si-Lago, Sumatra; B from Malacca. (A after VAN HASSELT, B. Berlin Mus. No. I C 24704.)

obwohl sie die Äolsharfe (I C 24711) vorziehen. Bloss Modell: Kinderspielzeug. Die auf Bäumen stehenden 'tullor atas kayu' und auf der Erde stehenden 'passakun kayu' sind viel grösser. Samml. Vaughan Stevens. Volk: Orang Belendas von West Malakka, sog. Orang Mentera."

BALFOUR in his paper "Musical Instruments from the Malay Peninsula", page 8, describes a musical windmill used by the Malay children in the Patani States and Perak, which they hold in front of the body while they run against the wind. This makes the mill rotate, and loud-humming sounds are given out from the four bamboo pipes that are lashed to the vanes."

The name of this "windmill" is *baling*. Evidently it is also used in the same manner as in Sumatra and Lojnang in Celebes, as BALFOUR writes: "A *baling* is frequently fixed on the top of a high tree near the entrance to a village, in the belief that its notes call the wind, and so the rain. A similar practice obtains on the tops of mountains. In these cases the instrument is decorated with a palm leaf or stick, projecting at right angles to the lath on an inclined plane, from which bunches of cloth or grass depend, and it seems to be regarded as representing some kind of bird, of which the palm leaf or stick is the tail (*ekor*)".

I have no reference from Borneo. Yet it can hardly be doubted that the "windmill" is fairly commonly known in Indonesia, and it seems very probable that it found its way to Celebes from the west over Java, or possibly direct from Sumatra.

If the "windmill" first reached the Macassar Peninsula and from there dispersed to Lojnang we can expect it to be known on the coasts of the SE. Peninsula as well as in the islands of Moena and Boeton.

E. SINGING GAMES.

The children in Celebes have several games which they accompany by a rhyme or a song. KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", Vol. II, page 386, describes at length

a queer game called *moöelengkaroe*, which seems to be a combination of a number of rather incoherent games. In the account below I have divided the game into eight parts according to the different phases of the game.

(1). Two children, facing one another, sit on the ground, with their legs straight out. Grasping each others toes with their hands, and bending them forwards and backwards they sing:

Oele oele ngkaroe	Leach, leach
talinga ladike	dog's ear
mombeasoe gora	the pirates chase one another
ma'i ngkagora-gora.	merrily shouting they arrive.

(2). This verse finished, the children imitate the grunting of a wild boar.

(3). In this part of the game the players pretend that they have to cover a certain distance. After having repeated the verse they say: "Now we have arrived at . . . ." (the name of a place on the way is mentioned). Once more they say the rhyme and mention another place, going on in this way until they arrive at their village.

(4). Now they "divide the booty" between them, by pulling each other's fingers and toes. The toe or finger that cracks is for the *mokale* (free man), else it is for the *watoea* (slave). The free man and the slave are represented by two other children who stretch out their hands to receive their imaginary share of the booty.

(5). Then the children by turns give to the other children a task to perform. One says: "Go and fetch some wood, call your mates'". Another says: "Go and fetch some water, call your mates!" A task for the free man is for instance: "Go and wash your hair, call your mates!"

(6). This finished, the children gather in a knot, putting their hands on top of one another's, each hand clasping the stretched fore-finger of the hand below. One of the players

has a free hand and with the fore-finger of this hand he repeatedly taps the stretched index of the topmost hand in the pile. In doing so he recites together with all the other players the following verse:

Tii titimpodi
timpodi ngkalaena
kalaena ri oeë
ri oeë ntakoe loda
tondjoeka tadoeoda
be woengka kapooepika

A variant of this verse is:

Motoitowo loka
loka ingatia
Nggatia da ri oeë
oeë ntakoe loda
be wo'oe kapooepi.

(7). The owner of the topmost hand removes it, taps his fore-finger and puts it in his armpit. Then the next fore-finger is tapped and licked, and placed in the armpit. Finally the leader with his remaining fore-finger taps in the air, licks it and puts it under his armpit.

(8). Then the children say: "Let us buy them free!" Each child mentions what he wants for his hand. One says, "an egg and a hen", another "a buffalo", and so on. Then the hands are removed from the armpits, they make a show of eating them, and the game is finished.

As seen from the above account of the game, the first and the second phase have nothing to do with the third phase, which, again, has no relation to the fourth phase. The same is the case with the following two parts. The sixth, seventh, and eighth phases, however, to a certain extent are connected to one another. The opening as well as the end of the game corresponds to a great number of European games, *i. e* the performance of a certain ceremony is accom-

panied by the singing of a tirade in the same style as used in counting out. Possibly the second phase is meant to be the end of the tirade. Buying one's self free at the end of the game seems rather meaningless, no capture, or error having been madè which should be paid for with a fine.

Possibly the *moöelengkaroe* is a series of ancient rites, now corrupted. From which culture they originate is perhaps impossible to decide at present, but a close investigation of this kind of games in Celebes might help to throw a light upon the early culture of this island.

W. E. ROTH in "North Queensland Ethnography: Bulletin No. 4", in 1902 published a paper on "Games, Sports, and Amusements", in N. Queensland. On page 14 he describes a game, *Catching Cockatoos*, which is closely similar to phase VII of the *moöelengkaroe*. He writes: "*Catching Cockatoos* . . . . is indulged in by little boys and girls in the same districts as the preceding[1] . . . . Each hand is placed on top of the other as before, but in this case the fore-finger of the hand below is encircled by the thumb and three fingers of the hand above (Pl. XXII., XXIII.). These hands represent cockatoos sitting one above the other on a branch of tree. The one free hand in the group of players now makes a dart at the topmost fore-finger, the topmost cockatoo, which it catches in the fork between the fore and middle fingers, the fork being supposed to be a pronged spear. The "cockatoo" is then put up to the spear-owner's mouth (Pl. XXIV.), a click given — the sign of its being eaten — and handed in similar fashion to the other players, each in turn uttering the same note of satisfaction. The remaining birds are speared and disposed of on the same lines."

ADRIANI in Vol. III, pages 703—710 of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" gives a detailed account of several singing games, but having seen no such games myself in the districts that I visited, and lacking the necessary linguistic information, I do not propose to deal with these games.

[1] Cooktown, Cape Bedford, and the McIvor River.

F. GAMES OF SOLVING A PROBLEM.

Riddles.

In many places, and perhaps especially in the eastern part of C. Celebes riddles are a common diversion, but being games of literary character their study requires a thorough knowledge of the Indonesian tales and legends, as well as a better linguistic information than mine.

Hide and Find.

MATTHES is the only authority recording this kind of games from Celebes. In his "Bijdragen t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 129, he mentiones "verstoppertje spelen", and in his Bugis Dictionary he states on page 691: "*asôboe-soboeng*, het kwanswijs verbergen voor iemand; v. d.: verstoppertje spelen, teweten: med zaadkorrels, die men ergens onder den grond, binnen een' bepaalden kring verbergt". In "Encycl. Ned. Oost-Indië" is stated that the game of Hide and Find is very common in Java, Sumatra, and adjacent islands, as well as in the Riouw Lingga Archipelago.

Of course such simple games as Hide and Find may have been invented in more than one place, thus there is no necessity of assuming that they were passed on from one place to another.

Puzzles.

Puzzles do not appear to be recorded from Celebes, yet they are not unknown in this island. In the Museum of Dresden are contained a couple of puzzles from the Macassar Peninsula, and at the village of Tikala in Tamoengkoelowi, to the west of Koelawi, I found a bowstring puzzle.

Bow-string Puzzle, Pimpi.

Near a gate in a fence surrounding a slope on which the natives had a paddy field, I discovered a bowstring puzzle, suspended from a thorny rod. The natives were

not inclined to tell me anything about it, but at last they said it was a *pimpi*, a warning against a trap for catching deer, and possibly this was true, since there was a trap not far from the fence. When I came back to Koelawi with my new acquisition the natives at once cried: 'Oh, that is a *pimpi*", and they did not hesitate to tell me that a *pimpi* should be placed near a paddy field to make the paddy prosper.

Which of these two interpretations is the correct one I cannot decide, but I am rather inclined to believe in the statement of my Koelawi informants who knew me and were my friends.

Admittedly the *pimpi* is so ingenious a construction (Fig. 77 A) that it is difficult to understand why such an object should serve as a warning against a trap near the gate where I found it. A warning in such a case as this is of quite a different kind.

My *pimpi*, No. 2334, is made from an internode of some stout grass. It is 28 cm. long and of a diameter of one centimeter. Both ends are closed by nodes. On one side a strip of the outer coat of the grass is split away to make a string which is attached near the nodes. The string is only two millimeters broad. On this string there is a "rider", a slip of the same grass from which the bow is made. The middle of it, which is very thin, is folded over the string the ends are left their original form. The "rider" is secured to the string by means of a lock, through which the folded bow-string, when green and supple, was passed. Then the "rider" was hung in the loop, the lock pulled down, the bow straightened, and the "rider" will sit astride it. When the grass is dry you can hardly discover the trick.

The "rider" with the lock bears a certain resemblance to the native representations of human beings, and possibly it is meant to be a man, the lock corresponding to his arms, the two thick ends to his legs.

Be this as it may, the object no doubt would be supposed

to be such as to attract the attention of evil spririts and prevent them from injuring the growing paddy. The habit

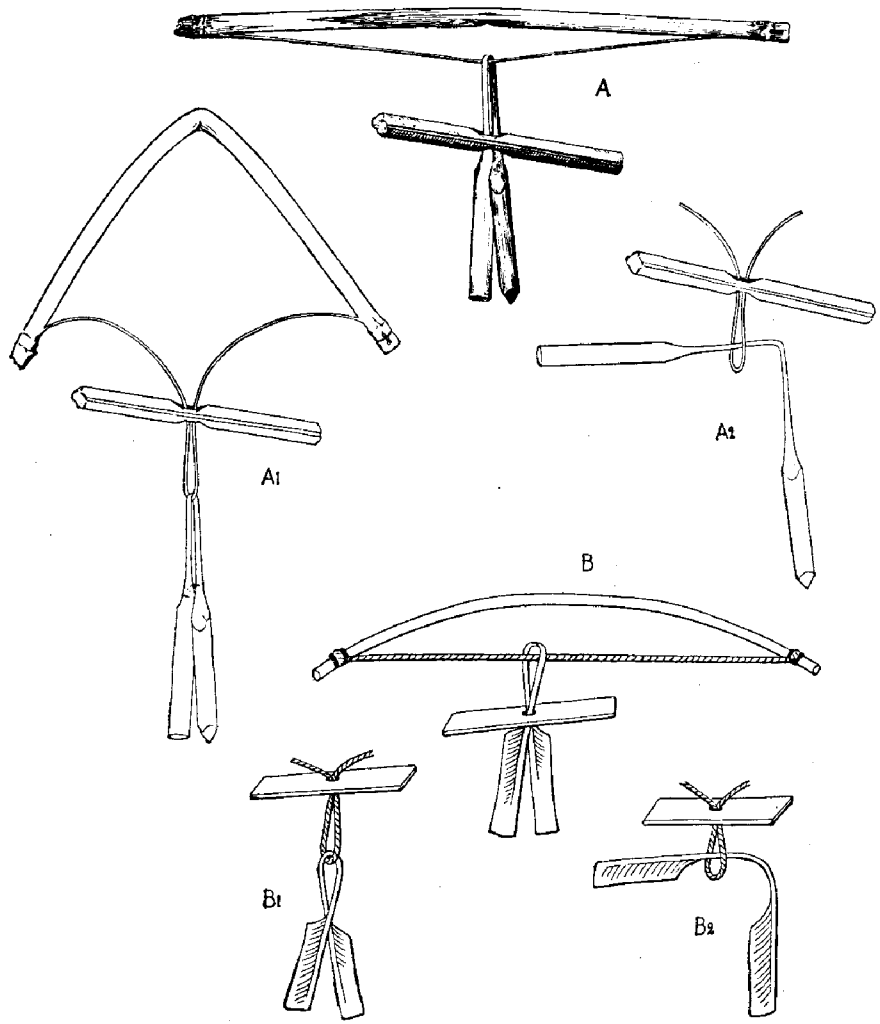

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Fig. 77. *Bow-string Puzzles.* A from Tamoengkoelowi, NW. Central Celebes; B from Guiana, S. America. (A KAUDERN coll. No. 2334, B after W. ROTH.)

of making a spirit stop for some time at a certain place by means of a puzzle put in his way is not altogether unknown to more or less primitive peoples.

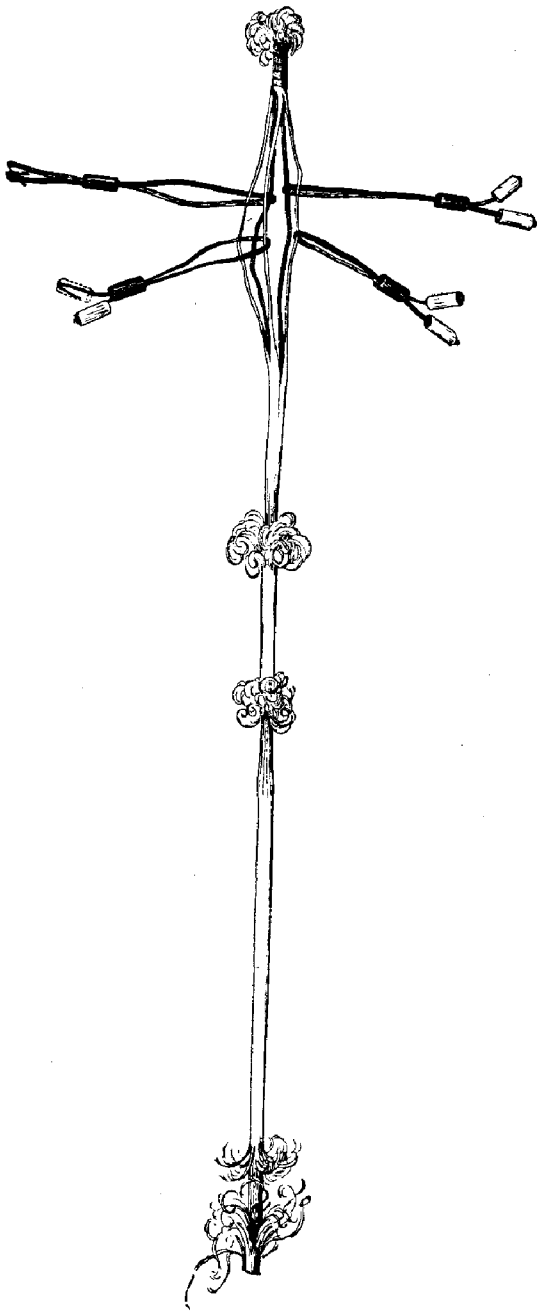

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Fig. 78. *Bow-string Puzzle.* Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo. (Oslo Mus. No. 31605 [959 coll. L.].)

It seems very probable that this puzzle is known also among tribes other than the To Tamoengkolowi and the To Koelawi. I have, however, no reference from any other place in Celebes, but in the Ethn. Museum of Oslo I found a puzzle of the same principle from the Pnihing Tribe in C. Borneo, collected by LUMHOLZ (Fig. 78). The label states: "No. 31605 (959 coll. L.). Borneo. Penihing. *'Njom* Puzzle.' Saml. CARL LUMHOLZ."

Strangely enough a puzzle almost exactly similar to the *pimpi* is found in South America. W. ROTH in "An Introduction of the Arts, Craft, and Customs of the Guiana Indians", page 550, describes and figures a bow-string puzzle (Fig. 77 B). This author writes: *"To remove the figure from off the bowstring without untying the latter* (Ara., Pat., Mak., Wap[1]). — The two pieces constituting the lower figure are usually cut from some tough leaf palm. The solution is easily found by bending the bow and pulling the string through the aperture in the cross-piece."

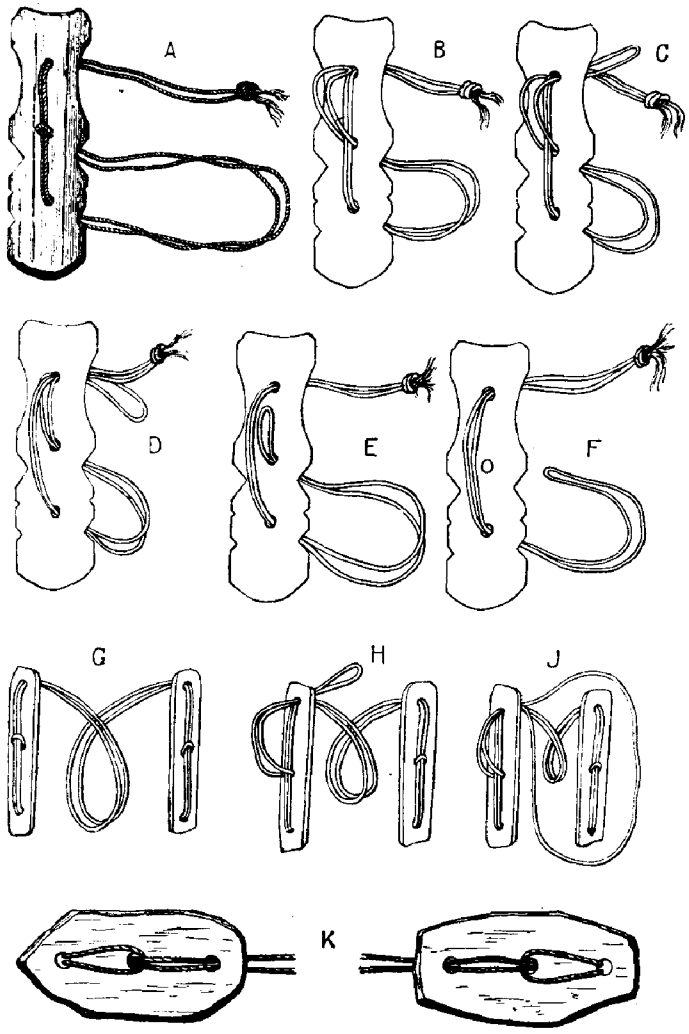
The similarity of the Guianan puzzle to the *pimpi* is indeed striking. ROTH states that the Indians of Guiana know a great number of puzzles. Possibly the *pimpi* is not the only puzzle known among the Toradja in C. Celebes, although they may have been overlooked, so far, by researchers, since in the Macassar Peninsula several puzzles are known.

The String-and-slat Puzzle.

In the Dresden Museum is contained a puzzle No. 5132 from Macassar (Fig. 79 A). A string, the ends of which are tied together, is passed through three holes in a flat piece of bamboo in such a manner that it seems impossible to remove it from the bamboo plate without untying the knot. How this is done can easily be followed in Fig. 78 B, C, D, E, and F. The same kind of puzzle, only slightly

[1] Ara. = Arawak, Pat. = Patamona, Mak. = Makusi, Wap. = Wapisiana.

different in details, also is found in Guiana (Fig. 79 G). In the above quoted work by W. ROTH, page 550, this authority



A—F 1: 4.

Fig. 79. *Puzzles.* A from Macassar, S. Celebes; G—J from Guiana, S. America; K from Warundi, Tanganyika, Africa. (A Dresden Mus. No. 5132, G after W. ROTH, K after WEULE.)

writes: "To remove the endless string that has been placed through three holes on each of two sticks .... The use of this puzzle has been recorded from the Carib .... It is

employed by Potamona and Makusi for similar purposes". The solution is the same as that of the Macassar puzzle and can be followed in Fig. 79 G, H, and I).

Exactly the same puzzle WEULE depicts in "Leitfaden der Völkerkunde", Plate 117, Fig. 7, here reproduced in Fig. 79 K. It originates from Warundi near Lake Tanganyika.

Also in Europe this puzzle appears to be known.

Ring Puzzles.

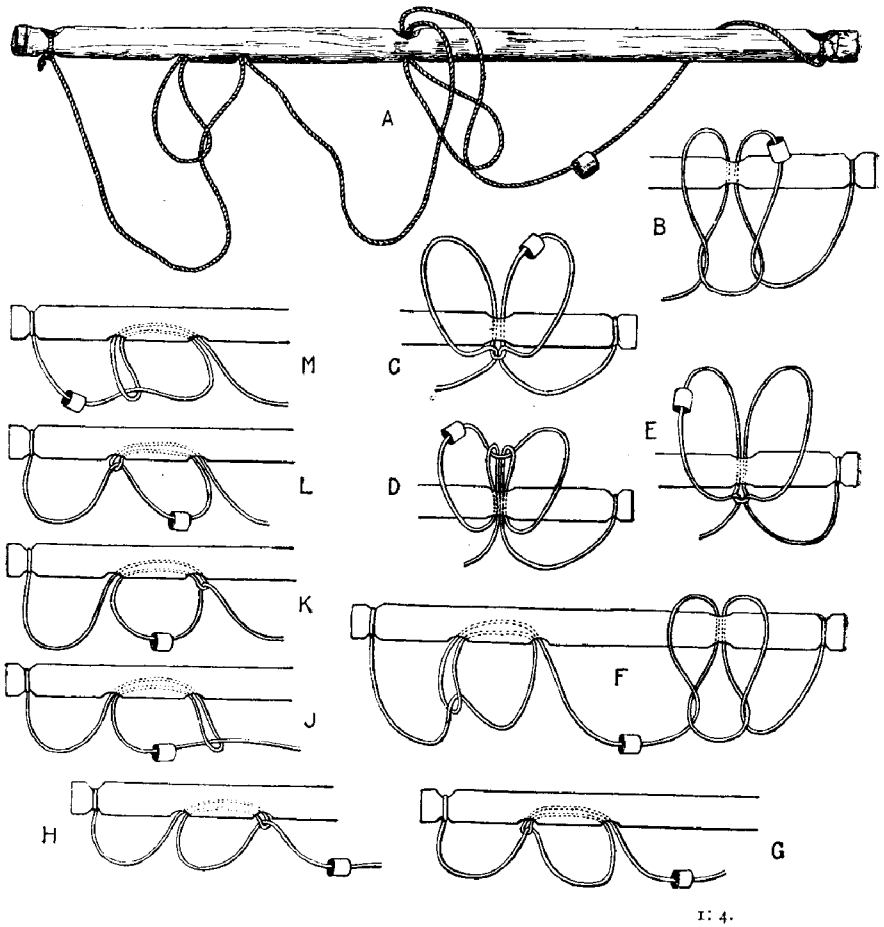
At Dresden there is another more complicated puzzle from Macassar (Fig. 80 A). A bamboo tube with a node at each end is pierced in its middle right through. Between the two holes and one of the nodes there are two holes in the bamboo tube at a distance of about three centimeters from one another. A string is threaded through these holes and tied to the ends of the bamboo. The problem is to move a ring from one loop to another. The solution can be followed in Fig. 80 B—M.

A similar puzzle is found in the LUMHOLZ collection from the Pnihing tribe in C. Borneo, now contained in the Ethn. Museum at Oslo. This puzzle corresponds to the bigger part to the right in Fig. 80 A, but with the difference that in the Pnihing puzzle there are two wooden balls instead of a ring (Fig. 81 B). The label of this specimen, No. 31603 (957 coll. L.) states its name to be *njom*, the same as given to the Pnihing puzzle which is represented in Fig. 78, and the object to move both balls to one loop.

In the Ethn. Mus. of Gothenburg there is a closely similar puzzle from the Island of Yap (Fig. 81 A). In this specimen, No. 25.25.121, the wooden balls have been replaced by two fruits or seeds.

E. NORDENSKIÖLD found the same kind of puzzle among the Itomana Tribe in S. America. As seen in Fig. 81 C, a specimen No. 15.1.1265 in the Ethn. Mus. of Gothenburg,

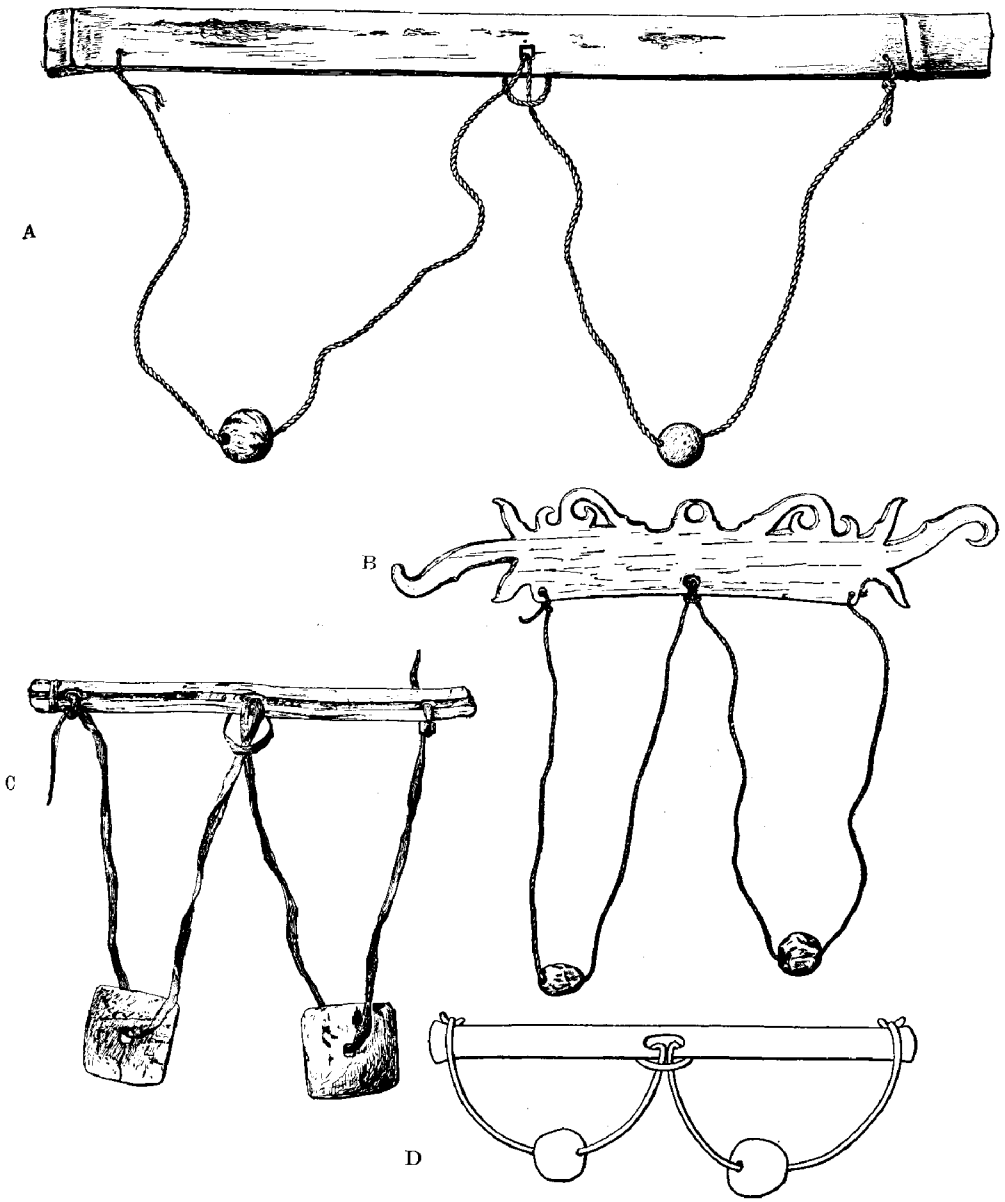
there are two wooden plates on the string. NORDENSKIÖLD holds the opinion that the object is to remove the plates from the string, which appears to be erroneous, such an operation not being practicable. Whether this puzzle is



1: 4.

Fig. 80. *Puzzle.* Macassar Peninsula. (Dresden Mus. No. 5133.)

native to S. America, or introduced into the country by Europeans, NORDENSKIÖLD cannot decide, but in Vol. III of his "Comp. Ethn. Studies", he calls into attention that similar puzzles also are found in Africa.

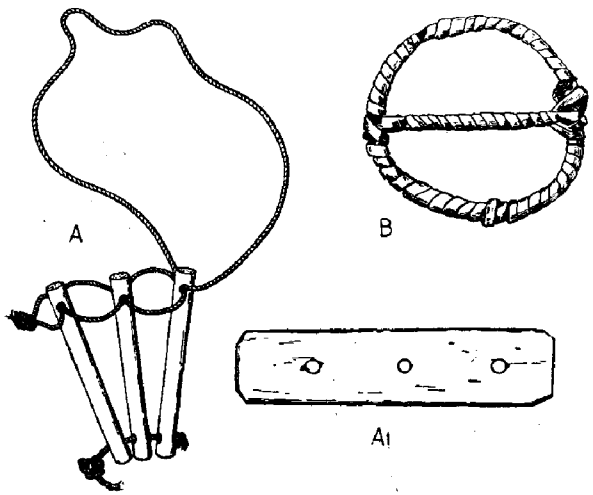


A, B, C, 1: 4.

Fig. 81. *Puzzles.* A from Yap, Oceania; B from the Pnihing Tribe, C. Borneo; C from the Itomana, S. America; D from the Hehe, E. Africa. (A Gothenburg Mus. No. 25.25.121, C id. No. 15.1.1265, B Oslo Mus. No. 31603 [957 coll. L.], D after DEMPWOLFF.)

From the Hehe Tribe in E. Africa DEMPWOLFF, in "Beiträge zur Volksbeschreibung der Hehe", describes and represents the same kind of puzzle, which is called *mukolango* (Fig. 81 D).

No doubt this puzzle has a very wide range, and an extensive material is necessary to solve the question of its origin.



1:4.

Fig. 82. *Puzzles from the Macassar Peninsula.* The meaning of these is not known. (A Dresden Mus. No. 12812, B id. No. 4997.)

In the Dresden Museum there are a couple of puzzles from Macassar (Fig. 82 A and B). The Museum Catalogue does not state how they should be used. Of the puzzle represented in Fig. 82 A and A^1 it only says that these pieces belong together. To the ring seen in Fig. 82 B in all probability a string, nearly two meters in length, had been attached in some way or other. It was now undone, and nobody knew anything about it.

I have mentioned these two puzzles only to show that most probably there are several more puzzles in Celebes, a study of which no doubt would be of great interest.

Unfolding leaves.

This is a kind of puzzle mentioned by MATTHES in his "Bijdragen t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 131. This authority writes: "Een veel kalmer spel is zeker het uit elkander halen van een op eigenaardige wijze tezamen gevouwen lontar- of pisangblad". In his Bugis Dictionary, page 529, he says the object is to unfold the lontar leaves without breaking them, or tearing them, which makes it necessary to examine the plaiting carefully and open it with great caution.

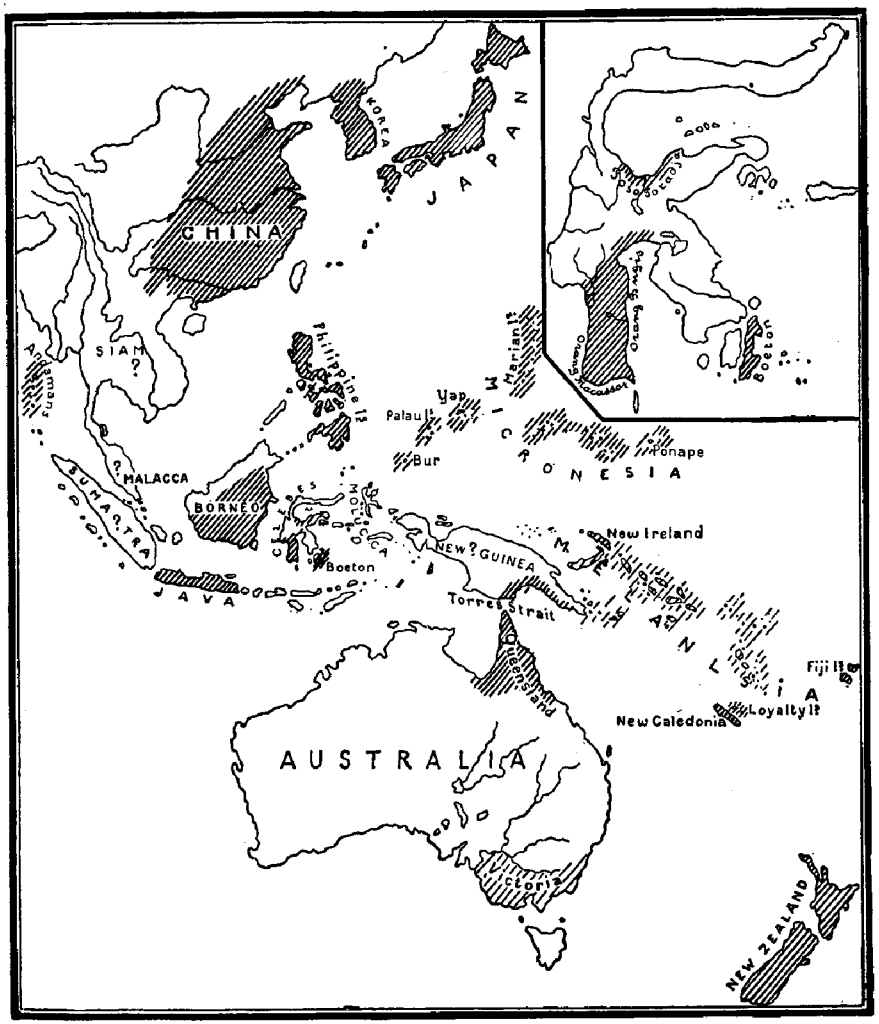
String Figures.

(Map 22.)

As early as in 1859 these games are recorded by MATTHES in his Macassar Dictionary, page 268. He writes: "*tôèká-tôèká*, naam van een soort van spel, dat door twee jongens gespeeld wordt. De een windt een touw in den vorm van een ladder om zijne handen, en de ander moet het alsdan daaraf ligten, zonder het tow uit malkander te halen". This kind of string figure also is known among the Orang Bugis, according to MATTHES.

Possibly the common string-figures are quite widely known in Celebes, at any rate on the coast. Mr. FREMER, a Swedish engineer in S. Celebes, tells me he saw this game at Maros, and ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 41, states the following: "*balimata*, Strand Bare'e (uit het Mal. *balik mata*), spelletje waarbij een snoer op allerlei wijzen om de vingers wordt gewonden en door een ander wordt overgenomen zoodat het telkens verschillende figuren vormt ("afnemertje"); *mobalimata*, afnemertje spelen; and. naam: *silingoe* . . . [in 't Amp. *sibalimata* of *salingoe* (Midden-Selebes)]."

In ADRIANI's Dictionary there is also the word *wanne* for string-figures. He says on page 925: "*wane* Strand-Bare'e (uit het Boeg. *wĕnne*); *mewane*, *mombane*, met towtjes



Map 22. String figures in E. Asia, Indonesia, and Oceania.

om de vingers "afnemertje" spelen, wat door de Moh. wordt gedaan bij 't bewaken van een lijk". Presumably the Bare-e speakers learnt the *wẽnne*, or *wane* from the Bugis. In MATTHES's Bugis Dictionary the word *wenne*, however, is not given as far as I am aware.

In "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, page 219, ELBERT records this game from Boeton. He writes: "Beachtenswert und ethnographisch wichtig ist das Vorkommen des *Schnurspiels* (kalalèsa), bekannt von den Indianern, Eskimos und melanesischen Stämme. Aus einem zusammengeknüpften Bindfaden schlingen die Knaben zwischen den Fingern beider Hände einfache Figuren, Rechtecke mit Diagonalen und Sternen . . . . . ;"

The geographical distribution of this game in Indonesia and adjacent regions as far as it is known at present seems rather strange (Map 22). It is known from various localities in the Andamans, Java and Borneo in the west, to the Fiji Islands in the east, and from N. Zealand in the south to Japan and Korea in the north.

VETH in his work "Java", Vol. IV, page 381, has recorded the game from Java, from the Dyak in Borneo, from the Orang Macassar and Orang Bugis in Celebes, from New Ireland, from Australia, and New Zealand, as well as from the Fiji Islands.

In "Leitfaden etc.", WEULE on p. 131 states that besides in Australia and Melanesia string-figures are also found in Java and Borneo, and NIEUWENHIUS in his book "Quer durch Borneo", Vol. II, p. 139, when giving an account of games indulged in by the Mahakkam Dyak, mentions "Figurenbilden mittelst einer Schnur".

To the above localities outside Indonesia I only wish to add that PLOSS in "Das Kind" states that string figures are known in the Marian Islands, in Yap, in Ponape, in the Palau Islands, in British New Guinea, and in Queensland.

W. ROTH in "Games, sports, and amusements", states string-figures to be known all over the northern part of

Queensland as well as on Torres Strait. Moreover he mentions the locality of the Western Port Ranges, Victoria, quoting BUNCE, "Australasiatic Reminiscences", p. 75, which makes it probable that this game is also known in SE. Australia. BUSCHAN states that string-figures are known in Micronesia. Also in Melanesia string-figures appear to be commonly known. In his lately published great work "Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier and Loyalty-Insulaner", p. 236, SARASIN, quoting COMPTON, says they are known to the natives of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, and that they closely correspond to the string-figures found in other areas of Melanesia.

KATHLEEN HADDON in "Cat's Cradle from many lands", records string-figures from the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and China.

According to CULIN'S "Korean Games", page 30, the same kind of amusement is commonly known in Japan, Korea, and China. The Japanese call it *aya ito tori*, the Koreans *ssi-teu-ki*. In southern China its name is *kang sok*. CULIN states that cat's cradle is usually played by girls in Korea and China.

I have no reference from W. New Guinea, the Molucca, Sumatra, N. Borneo, Malacca, Siam, French Indo-China, but I consider it probable that string-figures are also known in these tracts, since they are found in adjacent countries. I think it very probable that a close investigation in Celebes would show that this game has a much wider range than appears from the literature. It would be of great interest to learn whether the string-figures in Celebes correspond to the Melanesian or to the Asiatic string-figures.

G. ROUND GAMES.

On the coasts of Celebes we meet a number of round games only practised by adults. In all probability they are not of native origin in Celebes. I never saw any such

games in the interior of C. Celebes, nor in Lojnang in the interior of NE. Celebes. KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" does not mention them from the Poso Toradja, but ADRIANI in his lately published Bare-e Dictionary states that some of these games have from the Bugis dispersed to the Poso Toradja. They seem chiefly to be practised in the Macassar Peninsula, but they are also known from SE. Celebes as well as from adjacent islands, *i. e.* Saleier, Moena, and Boeton.

In Mongondou in N. Celebes, where the Bugis influence is strong these amusements are common, and the same is the case in most villages on the coast where a Bugis population have settled.

Having seen very little of these games myself I shall have to refer to statements found in the literature.

There are three kinds of round games: (1) games requiring of the players reflection and calculation; (2) games in which the success is not only decided by clever calculation but also by chance; (3) gambling games.

Games requiring clever calculation.

Chess.

In certain parts of Indonesia, for instance in Sumatra, chess is a very popular game, but from Celebes it is only recorded from the Macassar Peninsula, where it is no commonly known game, however. MATTHES in his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 126, states the following: "Ons schaakspel (Bug. en Mak. *tjâtoró*), 't welk, gelijk bekend is, zijn oorsprong uit Perzië ontleent, woodt onder Boeginesen en Makassaren, niet of althans hoogst zelden, aangetroffen"

Possibly chess is a game of recent date in Celebes and therefore not yet commonly known. In all probability it reached Celebes over Sumatra or Java. The word *tjatoro* evidently is the same as the Malay *tjatoer*, chess.

Backgammon.

According to MATTHES this is a game much in favour with the natives in the bigger villages on the coast of the Macassar Peninsula. In his Mac. Dictionary, page 302, and his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 126, he records two forms of backgammon. One is called *patabal-lang* and like the European game it is played upon a wooden board. It is practised only by the Orang Macassar. The other more common form is played on a diagram drawn upon the ground, with stones serving for men. This game in Bugis is called *adangang*, in the Macassar language *padan-gang*.

Backgammon has not reached the interior of C. Celebes, although it is known on the coast. I have seen natives entertaining themselves with it for instance at Donggala in NW. Central Celebes. Also in the Island of Boeton I saw the natives playing at backgammon. Presumably it came to Celebes from the same quarters as chess.

Gala Game.

This is a special kind of backgammon described at length by MATTHES in his Dictionaries. In his Atlas he depicts the board on which it is played (Plate 13, Fig. 12 of the Atlas). He writes in his Mac. Dict., p. 899:

"Het wordt, even als het dambord, gespeeld door twee personen op een bord met 49 vierkante vakken (Fig. 83), waarvan de met een kruisje geteekende *soelisañgka* (Boeg.) heeten, en wel met 10 zwarte, en 13 witte schijven.

De schijven worden in een regte lijn en nooit in de dwarste geschoven. Ook het slaan heeft in dit spel plaats, doch op geheel andere wijze dan bij het damspel. Wanneer één schijf tusschen twee schijven van de tegenpartij komt, niet ten gevolge van het primitieve opzetten, maar van het verschuiven der schijven, wordt die eene schijf geslagen (nigâla). Bij het opzetten der schijven, begint altoos hij,

die de zwarte schijven heeft; en deze moet dan voor de eerste keer altoos in het middelste vak zetten. Voorts zet men eerst al de steenen op aan de eene helft van het bord; dan pas schuift men ze over naar de andere helft. Hij die de zwarte schijven heeft, moet trachten om aan die andere helft van het bord *pôle* te krijgen, als wanneer hij het spel gewonnen heeft. — De taak van hem, die met de witte schijven speelt, is, om zulks te beletten. Het Boeginesche *pole* nu, waarvoor de Makassar zich bedient van *bâttoe-mi nâi* wordt genoemd, wanneer men de zwarte schijven zoo weet te plaatsen, dat men den vijand afsluit, en toch nog één van

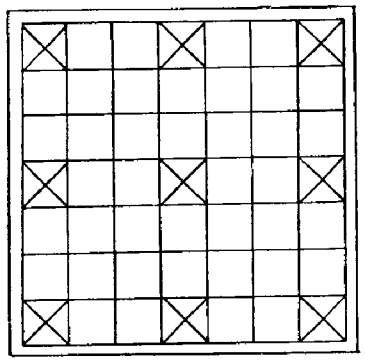


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Fig. 83. *Diagram of Gala Board.* From MATTHES.

zijn eigen schijven bewegen kan, zonder dat de tegenpartij daardoor gelegenheid krijgt om te slaan."

According to MATTHES *Gala* chiefly is practised by the Orang Boegis, but it is also known among the Orang Macassar.

Tiger Game.

In his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", MATTHES on page 29 mentions a game, *mamatjang-matjang*, similar to the game of "fox and geese". In his Bugis Dictionary, page 256, the following account of the game is given: "*Mâtjañg*, 't Jav. *matjan*, tijger . . . *Mámâtjañg-mâtjañg*, soort van spel . . . . . Het wordt insgelijks door twee personen ge-

speeld waarvan de een twee, de ander vier en twintig steentjes of schijven heeft. De twee steentjes of schijven moeten *tijgers*, de vier en twintig andere *menschen* voorstellen. De *tijgers* trachten *de menschen te dooden* (pawoẽno matj̃aŋ̃ge), d. i.: *de schijven te slaan*. De *menschen* moeten hun best doen, om de tijgers vast te zetten (oeragâïwi mâtj̃aŋ̃ge)."

MATTHES has not depicted the board upon which the *mamatjang-matjang* is played, but presumably it is such a board as figured by PLISCHKE in Vol. III of "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.

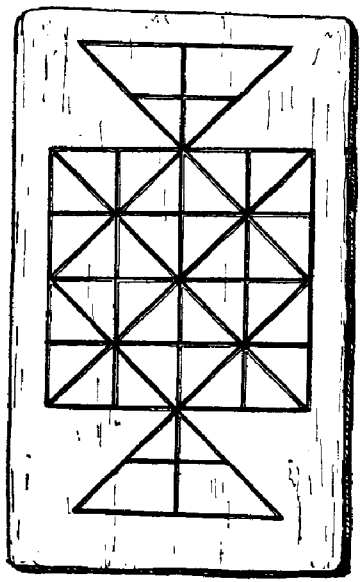


Fig. 84. *Diagram of "Tiger" Board.* From PLISCHKE.

in a paper called "Zwei Malayische Spiele". This representation of it is here reproduced in Fig. 84.

In all probability *mamatjang* is one of the games always found in the coast villages where Orang Bugis have settled among the natives of the place. In the interior of the country it appears to be unknown.

The game is recorded from several places in Indonesia. SNOUCK HURGRONJE in his book "The Achenese", page 203, states the following: 'Certain other games which enjoy a great popularity in Java also under the name of *machanan* or the 'tiger game' and some varieties of which resemble our draughts, are known in Acheh under the generic name of *meurimuëng-rimuëng* ('tiger game'). Although the actual origin of this game is no longer known, there can be no doubt of its having been introduced from India as is shown by the description in the *Qanoon-e-islam* of HERKLOTS Appx. p.p. LVIII and LIX, Plate VII, Fig. 3 of two games commonly played in S. India. Indeed the figure on which according to HERKLOTS the Mogul and Pathan game as it is called in South India, is played, is precisely the same as that on which the Achehnese play the tiger-game we shall first describe and the Javanese another variety of the same. HERKLOTS also mentions another game called Madranggam, played on the same board or figure, and which he calls 'four tigers and sixteen sheep'."

In "Encl. v. Ned. Indië", Vol. IV, page 57, the following is stated: "Dit spel ziet men veel op straat door Javanen spelen. Het figuur, waarin dit spel wordt gespeeld, komt zoowel in als buiten onzen Archipel veel voor."

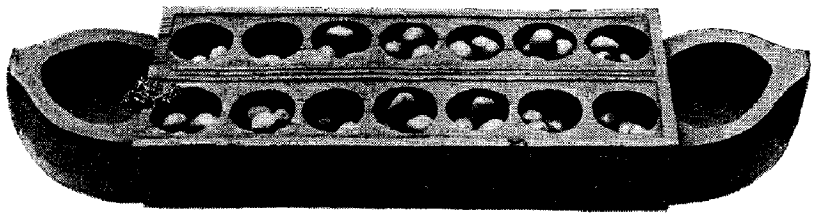
It may be that the game of *mamatjang-matjang* was introduced into Celebes from Java, yet the number of the men and tigres, 2+24, appear to be differnt in Celebes. In the above quoted work, the number of the pieces is stated to be 1+22, or 2+23. According to SNOUCK HURGRONJE, the pieces in Acheh are 2+23, or 5+15.

Galatjang Game.

This game which is known all over the Malayan Islands is described at length by MATTHES in his Mac. Dictionary, pages 84 and 898. It is played by two persons upon a board with a number of depressions (Fig. 85). The pieces are a number of round beans, often *bagore* beans. MATTHES says it is customary to play *galatang* during the time of mourning. He gives the following acconnt of the game

on page 84: "*galâtjañg*, soort van spel, gewoonlijk in rouwtijd gespeld."

Of the rules by which it is played he gives on page 898 b the following account: "Dit spel wordt gespeeld door twee personen, die het blok of bord zoo tusschen zich in plaatsen, dat zij ieder aan hunne regterhand een groote opening, *ânroñg* genaamd, hebben, welke dan ook elk als de zijne beschouwt. Nadat de zes, soms ook meer, kleine openingen, *kalôbañg* genamd, die ieder van de spelers vóór zich heeft, elk met zeven bagôrépitten, of dergelijke, gevuld zijn, begint men tegelijk uit één der *kalôbañg's* aan zijne zijde de pitten te nemen, en telt die, van de linkerhand naar de regter- voortgaande, één voor één in de daaropvolgende gaten, ook zijn eigen *ân-*



Leiden Mus. Photo.

Fig. 85. *Galatjang Game.*

roñg niet te vergeten, uit; alleen de *ânroñg* van de tegen partij wordt overgeslagen. De pitjes van de *kalôbañg*, waarin men het laatste pitje dat men in de hand heeft, uittelt, dienen om op dezelfde manier voort te tellen. Treft het echter, dat men het laatste pitje juist in zijn eigen *ânroñg* uittelt; zoo mag men op nieuw met één der *kalôbañg's* aan zijn eigen' zijde beginnen uit te tellen. Op dese wijze gaat het voort, totdat één der spelers het laatste pitje in een ledig gat uittelt, hetgeen *dôtjo* heet. Alsdan gaat de ander voort, totdat ook hij *dôtjo* wordt, waarop de eerste wederom aan de beurt komt, enz. Bij dit *dôtjo*-worden, valt op te merken, dat, wanneer men het laatste pitje in een' ledige

opening aan zijn' eigen kant uittelt, en er in de tegenover gelegen *kalôbañg* pitjes aanwezig zijn, men zeggen mag: *têmbámi*, en alsdan het regt heeft, om die pitjes tegelijk met dat laatste pitje in zijn eigen *ânroñg* te gooijen. Dit neemt echter niet weg, dat onze beurt voorbij is en de ander wederom moest spelen. Wanneer het eindelijk zoover gekomen is, dat één der spelers aan zijne zijde geen pitjes meer heeft om meê te tellen neemt men van weêrzijde de pitjes uit zijn' *ânroñg*, en ziet, hoeveel kalôbañg's men daarmede, evenals bij het begin van het spel, vullen kan. Zoo nu één der spelers één der *kalôbañg's* niet met zeven pitjes vullen kan; heet dit: *nisôèsoelóe-mi si-bâllá* (er is één huis in brand gestoken). Blijven er twee ledig, zoo spreekt men van: *misôèsoelóe-mi rôèwam-bâllá*, enz. — De ledig gebleven *kalôbañg's* worden met het een of ander digt gestopt en mogen niet meer gebruikt worden bij de eerstvolgende partij.

Zoodra nu wederom één der spelers buiten magte is om te tellen, vult men op nienw de *kalôbañg's* aan zijne zijde met de pitjes uit zijn' *ânroñg*; en komt men ook nu te kort, zoo worden al wederom één of meer der *kalôbañg's* digt gestopt. Hij, wiens *kalôbañg's* eindelijk alle digt gestopt zijn, krijgt een *kôñgkoñg*, af *streepje*, aan. En het spel is uit.

Heeft men echter het geluk, om bij de tweede of derde, of één der volgende partijen wederom al de *kalôbañg's* te kunnen vullen: zoo wordt één der digt gestopte *kalôbañg's* op nieuw gebruikt, en zoo duurt het spel soms met afwisselend geluk geruimen tijd voort."

The specimen depicted on p. 314 (Fig. 85) belongs to the Leiden Museum. In the Catalogue, Vol. XVIII, p. 60, it is listed as No. 37/246 and is stated to be from S. Celebes, no special place being mentioned. Its native name is said to be *pagalatjangang* and the pellets to be *bagore* beans (Caesalpinia Bonducella).

This game appears to be quite common in the Macassar Peninsula, and very likely it is known in most places on the coast. ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary states the following:

"*kalatja* (Strand Bare'e, uit het Boeg, *galatjĕng*), een spel dat v. d. Boeginesen is overgenomen en bij de Mohammedanen wordt gespeeld bij het bewaken v. e. doode; het is hetzelfde spel als het Mal. *tjongkak* en wordt met vruchtpitten in een blok met gaatjes gespeeld."

In "Enc. v. Ned. Indië" *galatjang* is stated to be known at the following places: Java, Bali, Acheh in N. Sumatra, C. Sumatra, and on the west coast of Borneo. The Leiden Catalogue records it from E. Soemba, where the board, however, is a little different, having thirteen depressions. Generally a board contains two rows of seven to nine depressions each. The board used in the Macassar Peninsula, as described by MATTHES, only has two rows of six depressions each.

Presumably the *galatjang* game was transferred to Celebes from Java or Bali. Whether this happened during the Hindoo Period, or whether the Mohammedans brought it with them I leave unsaid. The fact, however, that the game is chiefly known among the Mohammedan natives on the coasts speaks in favour of the latter alternative.

This game, which in the literature is generally called *mankale*, is very widely distributed. It is recorded from China in the east to Senegambia in the west. In Madagascar, at the time of my visits to this island, 1906—1907 and 1911—1912, it was a game much in favour with the Mohammedans on the coast. In the list below are given the native names of the game. The great number of names given to it by the natives makes it likely that it is an old game in Indonesia.

N. Sumatra. Acheh	tjato.	Encl. N. I.
» » »	tjoeka	» » »
» » »	djoenka	» » »
C. Sumatra	bajangkaq	» » »
» »	kălòléh	» » »

Java	dakon	Encl. N. I.
Bali	metjiwa	» » »
Borneo, west coast	tjonka	» » »
E. Soemba	matoe	Leiden Mus. Cat.
Celebes, Mac. Peninsula	galatjang	MATTHES
» » »	dâra-dâra	»

Dara-dara, according to Matthes, is a game played by the Orang Macassar and Orang Bugis. It is closely similar to *galatjang*, but the number of the pebbles placed in a pit in *dara-dara* are only four. On page 366 of the Mac. Dictionary MATTHES says: "*dâra-dâra*, soort van spel, veel overeenkomst hebbende met het *galatjang spel*. Alleenlijk bezigt men in stede van *seven*, slechts *vier* pitten voor iedere opening. Boeg. idem.

II. Games combining skill with chance.

To this group should be referred cards, dominoes, and the like. Of these games the natives in Celebes only appear to know cards. Chinese and Europeans may be seen playing dominoes, but never I saw natives of the country amusing themselves with dominoes, and in books there is no record of dominoes from Celebes, as far as I am aware. In the Mac. Peninsula cards have been known at least from the sixteenth century.

In 1859 MATTHES in his Mac. Dictionary, page 185, mentions cards. The native name is derived from *boeyang*, which means coloured paper. The corresponding Bugis word is *oedjang*. Cards are in the Macassar language called *boeyang-pakarenang*, the verbal form is *aboeyang-boeyang*. In his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", MATTHES records four kinds of card-games commonly known to the natives in the Mac. Peninsula. Of these, two are of Portuguese, and two of Chinese origine.

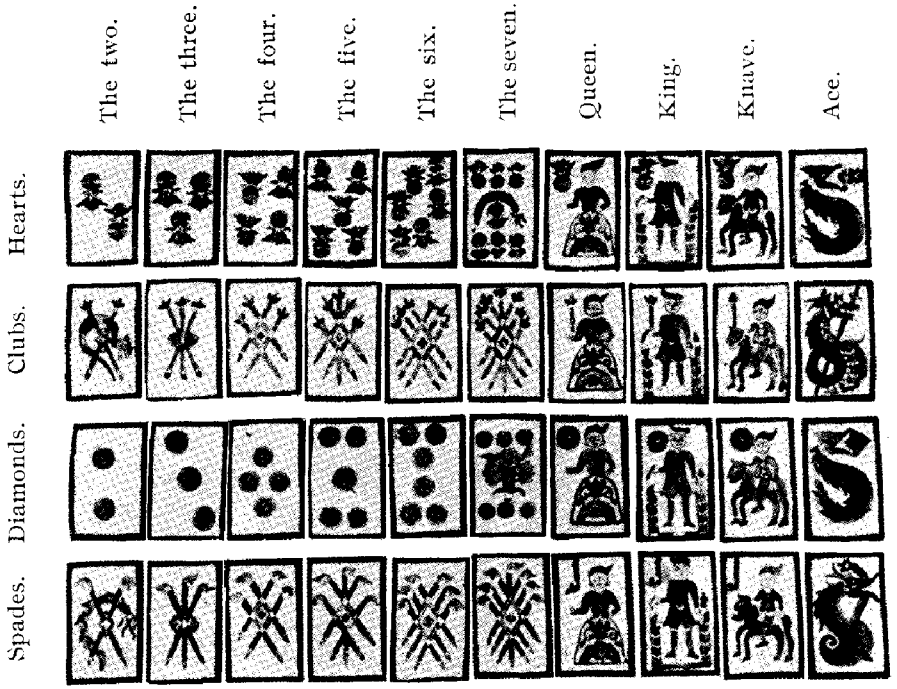
Omi.

This is the Spanish game, in Europe commonly known under the name of ombre. It was introduced into the Mac. Peninsula as well as into some of the Moluccan Islands by the Portuguese. The number of the cards, as well as nearly all terms, are the same in *omi* and ombre, but the terms are more or less corrupted. In "Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde", 1862, MATTHES published a paper "Korte beschrijving van het Celebesche kaartspel genaamd omi", in which he gives a detailed account of this game. In his "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", he states it to be the favourite game of cards of the natives in the Mac. Peninsula. *Omi* also is known among the so-called Saadang Toradja in the northern part ot the peninsula and adjacent districts of C. Celebes. GRUBAUER saw the natives play *omi* at the village of Tondong, to the north-west of Rantepao. On page 265 of his book "Unter Kopfjägern" he figures a pack of cards, but I think the order in which they are given is not correct. According to GRUBAUER, cards are called *budjang*.

I never saw playing cards among the natives in NW. Central Celebes, nor does KRUYT record cards from the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes, but ADRIANI, in his Bare-e Dictionary, gives the word "*boedja* (ontleend aan het Boeg. *ma'boedjang*), Strand Bare'e, speelkaart, *moboedja*, kaartspelen". This no doubt means that cards are known on the coast of the Poso Toradja Districts. In the interior of C. Celebes, however, cards appear not to be known as yet.

Also in the interior of North and NE. Celebes cards seem to be unknown, I myself not having seen cards in these districts, and GRAAFLAND not recording cards from Minahassa. I have no reference from SE. Celebes, but it seems rather likely to my mind that cards be known on the coast as well as on adjacent islands, such as Boeton. From the Island of Saleier, the Leiden Museum possesses a pack of

omi cards, No. 844/21. In "Eneycl. Ned. Indië," page 59, *omi* is stated to be a common game in the Islands of Bonerati and Kolas. These islands are said to belong to the Moluccas, but in all probability this is an error, the islands in question no doubt being Bonerate and Kaloa Toa, situated to the north of Flores.



From GRUBAUER.

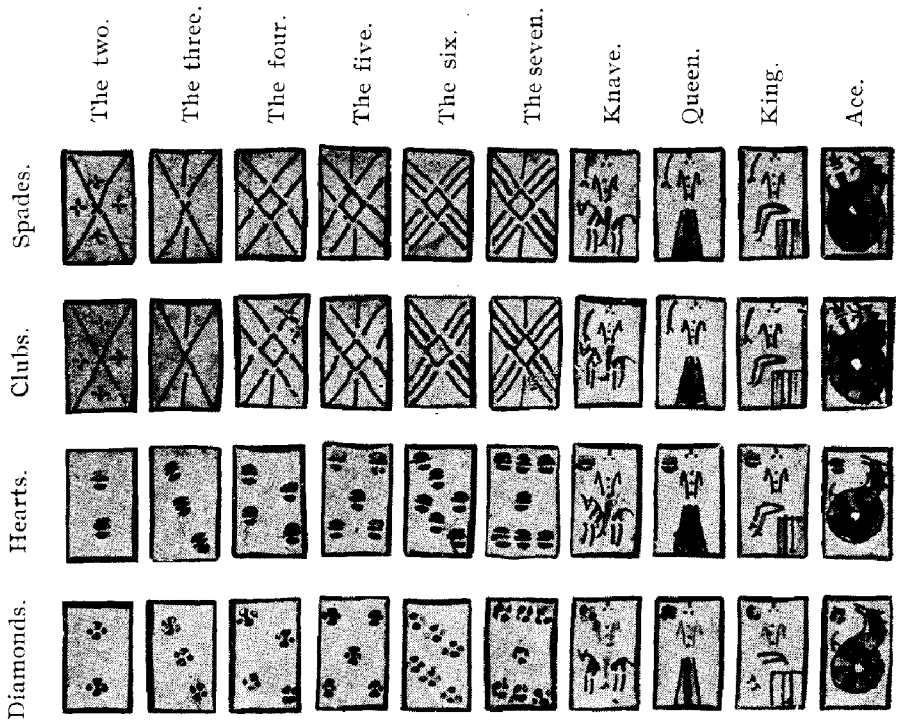
Fig. 86. *Pack of Cards.* Tondong, SW. Central Celebes.

The cards, generally measuring 7 cm. by 4,5 cm, are made of carton or pasteboard. The face is lined with white paper, the back with red paper the edge of which is doubled over making a red frame round the face of the card. The figure on the face is hand made. Owing to their primitive manufacture the edges of the cards frequently are anything but straight, and the face corrugated. The designs that they bear on their faces are often highly simplified, sometimes almost impossible to recognize.

The description of the cards as given by MATTHES, which I am going to quote below, refers to cards of rather good make, such as those figured by GRUBAUER (Fig. 86).

A pack of cards consists of forty cards of four suits:

(1) *Sapada* (Portuguese espada). The principal scrawl of the suit mark is meant to represent a sword (bottom row



1: 5. Gothenburg Mus. Photo.

Fig. 87. *Pack of Cards.* Maros, Mac. Peninsula. (Gothenburg Mus. No. 28.10.40.)

in Fig. 86), which can be changed into a mere stroke as is the case in the pack of cards acquired by Mr. FREMER at Maros (top row in Fig. 87).

(2) *Kaijoe* (Mal. tree) corresponds to clubs. The suit mark is a representation of a kind of walking stick (second row from the top in Fig. 86). In the pack of cards from Maros it is changed into a stroke similar to that of *sapada*, from which it differs only in colour, spades being green, clubs red.

(3) *Kopasa* (Portuguese copas) is hearts. The suit mark is a pineapple (top row in Fig. 86). Although conventionalized, the fruit with its green leaves in the top is easy to recognize. In the Maros cards the pineapple is represented by an oblong figure of horizontal bands of yellow, red, and green (second row from the bottom in Fig. 87).

(4). *Boelaëng* (Mac. gold) is diamonds. The suit mark is a little circular yellow speck as seen in Fig. 86, second range from the bottom. In the Maros cards it has been replaced by two yellow and two red almost triangular dots which alternate with one another (Fig. 87, bottom row).

The names of the cards of a suit are:

Assa (Portuguese az). This is always a dragon. In the pack acquired by GRUBAUER, it has the shape of an S with the suit mark in his open jaws (Fig. 86). In the Maros pack the dragon is a little different. The suit mark of hearts and diamonds are found in one corner, those of spades and clubs is a three forked scrawl drawn diagonally to the cards (Fig. 87).

Rei (Portuguese). The King in the Tondong cards is represented standing (Fig. 86), in the Maros cards sitting (Fig. 87). In both cases the suit mark is found in the upper corner to the left. In some cards the man is not badly drawn, in other cards, such as the bottom row in Fig. 87, the scrawl does not look much like a human being.

Sota (Portuguese). The queen, is a lady in long skirts. The suit mark is placed in the upper corner to the left. In the cards from Maros the Queen, just as the King, is a very simplified scrawl.

Djarang (Mac. horse) corresponds to the Knave. This is a peasant mounted on horseback. The suit mark is found in the upper left-hand corner.

Toedjoe-toedjoe (Mac. *toedjoe*, seven) is the seven. This is clearly apparent in hearts and diamonds where a row of

three suit marks is found at each top and bottom edge and the seventh pip in the middle. In spades and clubs seven swords are crossed, in the middle broken by a rhombic figure. The same is the case in the following cards.

The centre suit mark of hearts and diamonds of the Tondong cards is adorned with a dragon or some other kind of scrawl. The seven of these suits in the Maros cards have no such adornment.

Annang-annang (Mac. annang) the six.
Lima-lima (Mac. lima) the five.
Appa-appa (Mac. appa) the four.
Talloe-talloe[1] (Mac. talloe) the three.
Roewa-roewa (Mac. roewa) the two.

The suit marks of the two of spades and clubs cross one another like diagonals. In addition there is in the Tondong cards a dragon curled round the centre of the card (Fig. 86). In the Maros pack the corresponding twos have a little painted cross in the four triangles (Fig. 87).

The ace of spades is the highest card in the pack and is called *sapadila* (Portuguese espadilha). The card next to it is either the *two* or the *seven*, depending on what is trumps. If spades or clubs are trumps, the *two* is next to the ace of spades, if hearts or diamonds are trumps the seven of these suits is next to the ace of spades. The next card is the ace of clubs, which is called *basattoe* (Dutch basta). That is why the two of spades and clubs, and the seven of hearts and diamonds have a special ornament. A two or seven of trumps, is called *manila* (Port. manilha).

According to MATTHES, the order of the cards of a suit is changed when trumps. In the table below are found the names in the suits, as given by MATTHES in "Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", page 526.

[1] Encycl. Ned. Indië gives for the three *balloe-balloe*.

	Spades or clubs are trumps:		*Hearts or diamonds are trumps:*
1	*Sapadila*, assa sapada	1	*Sapadila*, assa sapada
2	*Manila*, roewa-roewa	2	*Manila*, toedjoe-toedjoe
3	*Basattoe*, assa kajoe	3	*Basattoe*, assa kajoe
4	*Pontoe*, rei	4	*Pontoe*, assa koepasa or boelaëng
5	*Djarang*	5	*Rei*
6	*Sota*	6	*Djarang*
7	*Toedjoe-toedjoe*, the seven	7	*Sota*
8	*Annang-annang*, the six	8	*Roewa-roewa*, the two
9	*Lima-lima*, the five	9	*Talloe-talloe*, the three
10	*Appa-appa*, the four	10	*Appa-appa*, the four
11	*Talloe-talloe*, the three	11	*Lima-lima*, the five
		12	*Annang-annang*, the six

According to MATTHES, *omi* is played by five persons, each receiving eight cards. The player having the lead is called *remaoe*, from the Portuguese *rei*, king, and the Malay *maoe*, want. The *remaoe* can make three calls:

(1) *pasoe* (pass) in case of bad cards;

(2) here MATTHES only gives the Dutch word *vragen*, ask, beg, *i. e.* he bids.

In this case the *remaoe* makes one of the suits trumps and the King of another suit to *agang*, or partner. If the two players make five tricks they have won the game (*ganjo*) and take the stakes of all five players. If they should make only four tricks they have to pay an amount half as big as the total of the stakes. This is called *rapponjo*. In case of less than four tricks, *diloe* or *codille* (Port. codilho) they must pay a sum equal to the stakes of all the players.

(3) *Toenggeng* (Mac. turn). The *remaoe* has a strong hand and is able to play single with open cards against all the rest of the party.

In his Mac. Dictionary, page 276, MATTHES states the following: "*Tôeñggeñg* (in het *Omi*-spel), = onze uitdrukking *Solo*, in het *Quadrille*-spel, dus genoemd, dewijl men dan doorgaans een moi spel hebbende, de kaarten openlegt. — Tôeñggeñg rôewa, *twee matador's:* Sapadîla en Manîla,

enz. NB. met een even getal matadors te vragen, of Solo te spelen, is *bâmbañg*, of *kâssipâlli*."

If the player who leads should pass, the next player has the call, and if he also passes, the next one calls, and so on. In case of all players passing, the player who has the ace of spades should make trumps. This is called *parisiki sapadila*.

Sometimes people do not allow a player who leads to pass. He is obliged to call, and then it is said to be *remaoe mange-mami*.

If a player has no court card he has to withdraw, which is called *kompara*. A player who has a suit of eight cards has won the game, which is called *galli*. A suit of eight clubs, *galli-kajoe*, is considered a bad omen, contrary to the suit of diamonds which is lucky. The former is called *bambang*, the latter *dinging-dinging*.

Kensi.

This is a card game, presumably of Portuguese origin, which is practised among the Orang Bugis. In his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 125, MATTHES states: "... het spel genaamd *kensi*, het Port. quinze, vijfteen, veel overeenkomt met ons vingt et un". In his Bugis Dictionary, page 48, he says: "... doch waarbij men niet tot 21, maar tot 15 telt." He does not give any further details of the game, nor does he state whether it is known among the Orang Macassar or not. The word is not given in his Mac. Dictionary.

Patoewi.

In MATTHES's "Bijdragen t. d. Ethn. van Zuid-Celebes" mention is made of two games of cards of Chinese origin, which occur in the Mac. Peninsula. MATTHES, however, does not furnish any details of these games, as he neither states the number of the cards in a pack, nor gives the rules of the

game, or the Chinese names. One of the games is called *patoewi* in the above mentioned book, in the Bugis Dictionary *apatoewing*. On page 374 it is stated: "*toewi*. In eene soort van Chineesch kaartspel, dat ook onder de Inlanders op Zuid-Celebes in gebruik is, noemt men twee kaarten van derzelfde soort: *si-tôewi*, een paar; van daar de naam van dit spel: *apatoewing*." (See Addenda).

Kowa-gonggong.

This is another game of cards of Chinese origin. It is played with the same kind of cards as *patoewi*, and it has the same name in the Macassar language. The Bugis Dictionary on page 46 states the following: "*kôwa*, beteekend in het *kowa-gonggong*-spel: de op tavel liggende kaart niet ruilen, maar voor de andere laten liggen". What this means is difficult to know when you have not seen the game yourself.

III. Gambling Games.

These games do not appear to be known among the natives in the interior of the country where the influence from the coast is only slight. As a rule it seems to be Chinese immigrants that imported gambling games to Java and other islands in the Archipelago. Among all the gambling games, which have put the Dutch Government to much trouble there are only two that have reached Celebes, the *tongko-tongko* and the *dadoe poetar*.

Originally the banker was a Chinese who held a Government licence, but according to a statement found in "Encycl. v. Ned. Indië", page 54, this was changed in 1918. At present any respectable person, native or Chinese, may have a banker's licence.

According to MATTHES, *tongko-tongko* appears to be more in favour with the natives in the Mac. Peninsula than the *dadoe poetar*.

Tongko-tongko.

This game is described at length by MATTHES in his Bugis as well as in his Mac. Dictionary, on p. 270 of the former book, and p. 286 of the latter. In either of his two Atlases is given a plain figure (Pl. 13, Fig. 9 of the Atlas).

Tongko-tongko is played with a six-sided die, each side being divided into a red and a white field (Fig. 83 B). As a rule these fields are ornamented with some engravings in the shape of a cross, or there are some scrawls which according

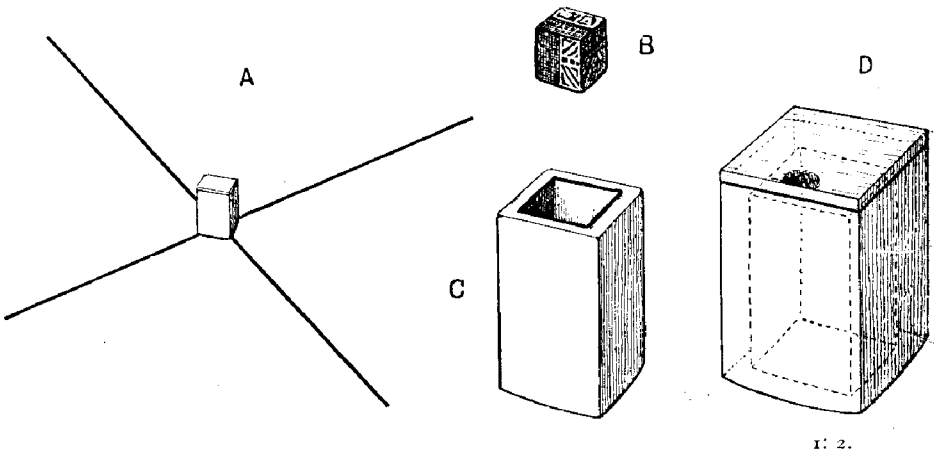


Fig. 88. *Tongko-tongko Game.*
A Tongko-tongko board; B the die; C its box, D outer box.
(Gothenburg Mus. No. 28.10.54)

to "Encl. Ned. Indië", Vol. IV, p. 60, are corruptions of the Chinese characters *thong* and *po*, which are rendered with "gangbaar", current, and "kostbaarheid", precious thing.

The size of the die varies. The two specimens, however, that I have seen are fairly small. A die in the Leiden Museum measures 1,7 cm., and a specimen at Gothenburg 1,2 cm. The die fits closely into a dice-box of brass (Fig. 88 C). The box of the Gothenburg specimen measures 4,1 cm. by 2,5 cm. The corresponding measurements of the Leiden specimen are 4 cm. by 2,7 cm. The small box fits

in a second, bigger brass box (Fig. 88 D), serving as a lid. The latter measures in the Gothenburg specimen 5 cm. by 3,6 cm., in the Leiden specimen 4,4 cm. by 3,7 cm.

MATTHES, when describing the box, does not mention its lid; in his figure, however, a lid is seen. The banker, in Bugis called *patiwi-tongko*, or *pampawa tongko*, in Mac. *paërang-tongko*, draws on a mat with charcoal a diagram in

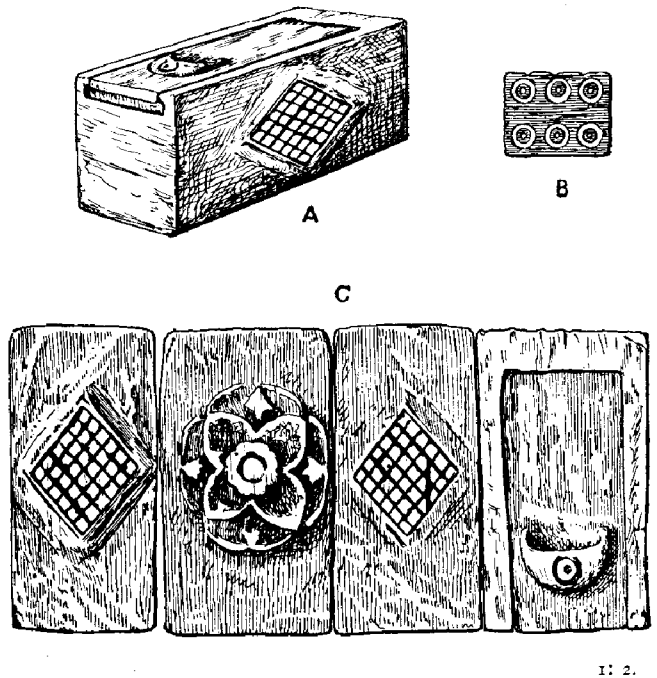


Fig. 89. *Box with Die* from Saleier (Leiden Mus. No. 1895/87.)

the shape of a small square from the corners of which radiate four lines Fig. 88 A. In Java it is customary to draw an outer square, which is not found in the figure given by MATTHES.

The game, according to MATTHES, is this. The banker places the little brass dice-box in the square, covering it with a cloth. The die is pushed into the box, nobody being able so see whether the red or the white part of it goes in first, and the players make their stakes, *tannang-mako*, Mac.,

atan-no or *tan-no*, Bug. There are several ways in which this is done. As a rule a player wins when the red half of the die is turned towards the field where he placed his stake.

Possibly there is another similar game in Celebes. In the Leiden Museum there is a die in a dice-box, No. 1895/87, of which the Museum Catalogue states: "Würfelgerät: 1° rechteckige Dose mit schiebendem Deckel, auf dem ein Halbmond; auf dem Boden eine Blume *en relief* und auf den Seitenwänden mit Kreuzen gefüllte Rauten *en relief*. L. 7, Br. 4, H. 3,5 cm. 2°. eine Anzahl Muschelringe (Aufsetzpfennige?). 3°. een unvollständiger Satz europäischer Spielkarten." (Fig. 89).

As far as I am aware no such game as this is recorded in the literature. Possibly it corresponds to the Javanese game called *Lien-po*, in which, according to "Encycl. Ned. Indië", beside a die also Chinese cards are used.

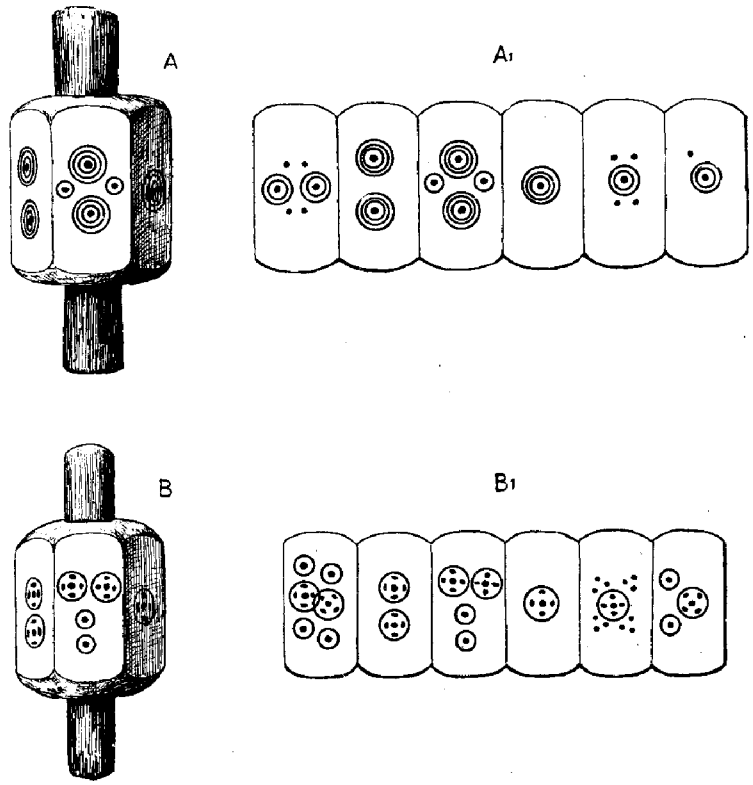
Spinning Die.

It would appear from MATTHES's "Bijdr. t. de Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes" as if more than one gambling game was known in the Macassar Peninsula, although he does not describe but the *tongko-tongko*. The *dadoe poetar* or spinning die, is not recorded in MATTHES's Dictonaries. DADOE, die, is given in both Dictionaries. In his Bugis Dictionary, page 392, he says: "*dadoe*, het Portug. *dado*, dobbelsteen. Mak. idem." The spinning die however, is not mentioned, possibly not being known in Celebes in MATTHES's days.

During my sojourn at the gold mine of Goeroepahi and the coffee plantation of Modajag in Mongondou, N. Celebes, I often had the opportunity of watching the natives when playing *dadoe poetar*, a game in great favour with the miners and labourers.

A rectangular piece of cloth, or a woven mat would serve for a board. A line in the middle divides it in two fields. On one side the line is flanked by a row of six squares

each of which has a number from one to six. On the opposite side, where the banker is seated, a plate is placed, and on this the banker spins a little, well made, six-sided spinning die, the sides of which are marked with 1—6 pips (Fig. 90). As soon as it begins to spin the banker covers



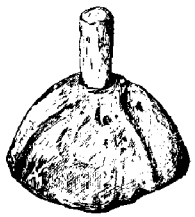
1: 1.

Fig. 90. *Spinning Dice.* Saleier.
(A and B Leiden Mus. No. 1895/85.)

it with the half of a coconut shell (Fig. 91), and the players make their stakes. When the die has stopped, no player is allowed to make a stake. The banker removes the cover and distributes the gains to the winner or winners. If for instance the six comes up the player or players win who have put their stakes in the corresponding field on the board.

It is, however, to be noticed that the natives of Mongondou never, or rarely, were seen joining a gambling party. The players were Javanese who worked in the mines or plantations.

The *dadoe poetar* was a most favourite diversion with these natives, and on the evening of pay-days, men, women, and children would gather round the spinning die on the mat, most of them as passionate gamblers, the rest as deeply interested spectators. The following morning all cash had changed hands more than once, and when his money was all gone, a player would stake a ring, a knife,



1:4.

Fig. 91. *Coconut shell with which to cover the Spinning Die.* (Leiden Mus. No. 1895/53.)

his own clothes, and even those of his wife and children (Fig. 92).

It can hardly be doubted that *dadoe poetar* is played in all places in Celebes where Javanese labourers and miners are employed, and I suppose it is also known in the big villages on the coast.

In the Leiden Museum there is a spinning die and a cover from Saleier. The Catalogue, Vol. XVIII, page 61, states: "1895/85 KREISEL, drei exemplare, aus Knochen, sechseckig, die Seitenflächen mit einem bis sechs Augen, durch Kreise mit Punkten gebildet. Achse aus braunem oder schwarzem Holz. — Bei dem Würfelspiel im Gebrauch. SALEIER. H. 4—4,5, Dm. 2—2,5 cm."

"1895/53. HALBE KOKOSNUSS mit zylindrischem, hölzernem Pflock in der Spitze. — Wird gebraucht bei dem

Würfelspiel den Kreisel zu bedecken. SALEIER. Dm. 12,5, H. 13 cm." (Fig. 91.)

The Leiden Catalogue records another similar game from Java. In Vol. XV, page 10, is stated: "880/65 *Chinesisches Spiel* (pintjir), bestehend aus zwei sechsseitigen Kreiseln aus schwarzem Holz, auf deren Seiten die Augen von ein bis sechs durch eine Anzahl eingeritzter und mit



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 92. *Javanese Coolies playing at Poetar Dadoe.* Modajag, N. Celebes.

weisser Farbe aufgefüllter konzentrischer Kreise gebildet sind; die Ober- und Unterseite des Kreisels ist gleichfalls mit konzentrischen, weiss aufgefüllten Kreisen verziert. Hierzu gehört ein schüsselförniges Stück Kokosnusschale, in der Mitte der konvexer Seite ein scheibenförmiger platter Knopf als Griff befestigt ist. — Die Kokosnusschale wird, nachdem die Kreisel in Bewegung gebracht sind, darüber gedeckt, worauf man raten muss, welche Anzahl Augen oben

zu liegen kommt. *Salatiga, Semarang.* Dm. Kreisel 2,3, H. 4,5, Dm. Kokosnusschale 13, H. 5,6 cm."

Of a specimen from Sumatra, the Catalogue, Vol. XIII, p. 218 says: "1035/49. *Würfelspiel.* a. *Rechteckiger Lappen* (*papah dadu*) geölten Kattuns, die Oberseite rosa gefärbt; über der Mitte der Breite ein schwarzer Strich, ein ähnlicher Strich nahe einer der Längsseiten und hier durch Querstriche kleine Rechtecke gebildet, worin ein bis sechs Punkten, wie auf einem Würfel angebracht sind (L. 99, Br. 87 cm.).

b. SCHEIBE (*apaj dadu*) aus braunem Holz; rund, auf der etwas konkaven Oberfläche ist mit rotem Siegellack eine dünne Scheibe Kokosschale geklebt (Dm. 8, D. 1 cm.).

c. KREISEL (*dadu putĕr*) aus Knochen, sechseckig mit ein bis sechs schwarzen Punkten auf den Seitenflächen; durch die Mitte steckt eine Achse aus Bambus (H. 4, Dm. 2 cm.) *Lampoeng*".

Evidently this game is exactly the same as practised by the Javanese miners and labourers in Celebes.

In the Leiden Catalogue, Vol. VIII, page 119, a couple of spinning dice from Karo are registered. Mr. L. J. PALMER VAN DEN BROEK, who gave the dice to the Museum in 1911, states that this game was introduced into Karo about twenty or thirty years ago.

Possibly the gambling games with a spinning die have been introduced into the Malay Islands by the numerous Chinese merchants und craftsmen who have settled on all coasts of this region.

Maketja.

MATTHES records several gambling games chiefly practised by children and young people. On page 24 of his Bugis Dictionary he mentions such a game called *maketja*. He describes is thus:

"Maketja, soort van kinderspel, door vier jongens gespeeld. Men neemt een hoop pitten, en verdeelt die vier aan vier. Als het precies uitkomt, zoo dat er geen overschiet (*taroena*), is de jongen, die de vierde zit, zooveel als bankier. Blijft er één over (*sedina*), zoo vervult N:o 1 die rol. Desgelijks wanneer er twee of drie overblijven (*doewanna* of *talloena*) N:o 2 of 3. De bankier neemt vervolgens weder een hoop pitten, en verdeelt die op nieuw vier aan vier. Hij, wiens nommer dan overeenkomt met het resteerend aantal pitten, krijgt van den bankier, wat hij opgezet heeft, de anderen betalen hun opzet aan den bankier. Indien er niets overschiet, krijgt de bankier alles wat opgezet is. Mak. *aketje*, idem. Jav. en Daj. *ketjek*."

This game also is known among the Poso Toradja. ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary states: "*kentji*, Strand-Bare'e (uit het Boeg. *ketje*); *mokentji* een spel met vruchtpitten, door 4 jongens gespeeld, in het Boeg. Wobk. beschreven."

In "Encycl. Ned. Indië" this game is not recorded from Java, but on page 60 a similar game called *mi^{n}-thoa^{n}* is mentioned.

Pitching Pennies.

In the Mac. Peninsula the young people, according to MATTHES, know several ways of tossing cash. In a note at the foot af page 166 of his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", MATTHES gives the following account:

(1). *Gotja-gotjang* (Bug. Dict. p. 64), *goyang-goyang*, Mac. Two children play. One player will throw some coins into the air. He wins all that fall face up, or reverse up as agreed upon when starting the game.

Sometimes there are more than two players and they first play for position. They draw a line, each player throws a coin, and the boy whose coin is nearest to the line becomes first player, and so on. The first player takes all the coins in his hand and throws them into the air. Those which fall face up are for him. Then the next player gathers the remaining coins and throws them, and he wins those falling face

up. The succeeding players then all have a throw, and the game is finished when the money is all finished.

(2). *Mapadere doewi*, Bug., *dere-dere*, Mac. (Mac. Dictionary, p. 367). From a slanting stone the players roll a coin by turns, the object of the game being to hit the coin of another player.

(3). *Tjampalle*, Bug. and Mac. (Bug. Dictionary p. 429) is similar to *gotja-gotjang*. Two boys play, throwing a coin into the air and guessing whether it will fall face up or reverse up. The Malay name of this game is *tjamplak*.

(4). *Apatjannerang*, from the Bugis *matjanne*, revolve, (Bug. Dictionary, p. 434). A coin is set spinning and a player has to guess whether it will fall face up or reverse up.

(5). *Malobang*, Bug. and Mac. (Bug. Dictionary, p. 555). The object of the game is to throw as many coins as possible at a time into a hole in the ground.

(6). *Mapaëte*, Bug. and Mac. (Bug. Dictionary p. 811). This is similar to *apatjannerang* but with the difference that the spinning coin is covered with a half coconut shell in the same manner as is done in *dadoe poetar*.

(7). *Ode-ode*, Bug. and Mac. (Bug. Dictionary, p. 822) Two coins are thrown on a stone. If both fall the same face up, the thrower wins, if they fall different faces up his opponent wins.

Djipe.

This game which MATTHES records from the Macassar Peninsula in his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 130, is simply as follows. A number of bamboo shivers, *djipe*, are thrown into the air and the players endeavour to catch as many of them as possible. The verb corresponding to *djipe* in Bugis is *masipa*, in Mac. *asipara*. A variant of this game is played with iron rods instead of bamboo shivers and receives the name of *masipa-bassi-kalling* in Bugis. MATTHES says these are children's games, but also women during

the time of mourning, will be seen amusing themselves in this manner.

ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary states the following: "*sipáti*; *mosipati*, een spel voor meisjes: bamboelatjes opgooien en bij neervallen er zooveel mogelijk met de handen grijpen, overgenomen van de Boeginesen (*mà'sipẽ*), gespeeld door de grafbewakende jongelieden bij den dood van voornamen in het Todjosche."

Mapanta.

This game is described by MATTHES in his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 130. *Panta* is the Bugis and Mac. word for the patella of a buffalo. Instead of throwing cash into the air, a patella is used, one side being marked for "face", the other for "reverse", the former for winning, the latter for losing. Over a pole, planted into the ground, the players throw their patellas by turns.

H. GAMES WITH LIVE ANIMALS.

Pet Animals.

In North and NE. Celebes I often noticed that the natives kept pet animals of various kinds, although mostly birds. Wild cocks are snared, for the purpose of serving as decoys for trapping other cocks, and several kinds of parrots are met with in the houses of the natives.

Of mammals I have seen the small Tarsius, common monkeys, and the dwarf buffalo, *Anoa*, and in all probability there are other kinds than these. When the natives have killed a female with young, or young ones they bring the latter to their house and try to keep them alive. They succeed in case their pets can eat cooked rice and bananas, the only food that the natives offer them, else the animals soon starve to death. This is always the case with the Tarsius, contrary to monkeys (Cynopithecus) which are met with as pets all over Celebes. I have seen them in

Minahassa, Mongondou, and Bwool in N. Celebes. In C. Celebes, where the forests to a great extent have been cut down, monkeys are fairly scarce, but in 1918 I received a specimen in Kantewoe that the natives had had for a year. I kept it and brought it home to Sweden, and it is still alive. In the Poso Districts I saw pet monkeys in some villages situated between Poso and Tentena, and at Loewoek in NE. Celebes I obtained a monkey from the natives. Also in the islands of Moena and Boeton, to the south-east of Celebes, the natives have pet monkeys.

It is quite interesting that the natives at some places have dwarf buffaloes, *Anoa*, for their pets as well as for practical purposes. In the mountain districts in NE. Celebes I saw young *Anoa* at several villages tethered to the piles underneath the houses, or kept in small enclosures. These animals the natives had caught when calves after having killed their mothers, and they reared them for some time in order to have the necessary supply of meet for some festival occasion. These animals, however, never become true domestic animals, even if they to a certain degree lay aside their native wildness and shyness, and they never breed in captivity.

In Mongondou the *djagoegoe*, or native chief, Mogoginta had two pet buffaloes, a male and a female, in a big enclosure, only for his pleasure.

Among the Toradja tribes in the interior of the country I never saw any pet *Anoa*, yet the smaller kind of dwarf buffalo, *Anoa fergusoni*, is fairly common in the western mountain districts where the natives often kill it.

In NE. Celebes I saw at a village on the north coast near Pagimana, inhabited by Orang Badjoe, some small chelonians as pet animals as well as a sea-gull.

Live Kites.

In Mongondou I often saw children playing with insects, mostly coleopters. They tied them up with a thin string of fibre, allowing the insect to fly but preventing it from escaping, just like a kite. Sometimes the coleopter was replaced by a butterfly or a cicada. Even a dragon (*Draco* sp.) might be seen fettered in this manner.

Animal Fights.

In the Malay Islands the natives are very fond of arranging fights between certain animals. Quails, doves, buffaloes, horses, and cocks are used for these contests. In Celebes only cock-fights appear to be practised. Horse-fights are recorded from the Island of Boeton, to the south-east of SE. Celebes.

Cock-fights.

In Celebes organised cock-fights only seem to occur in the Mac. Peninsula. In his Mac. Dictionary Matthes in 1859 makes some statements on the subject when speaking of the accessories necessary for a cock-fight. Later, in 1875, in his "Bijdragen t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes" he gives a detailed account of such a fight as practised in the Mac. Peninsula.

Matthes states that cock-fights are the favourite amusement of the natives. Great fights are arranged at festivals and on fair-days, and ordinary fights may be seen nearly every day.

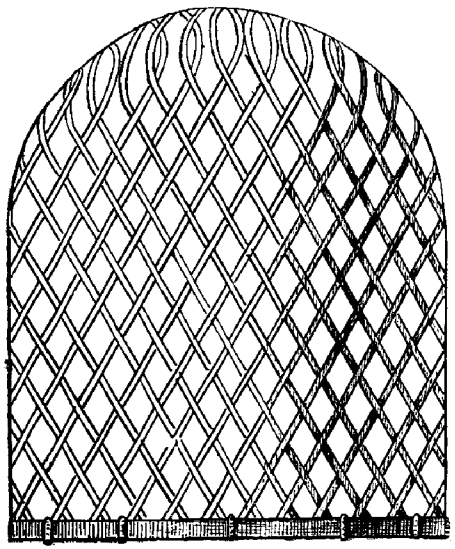
The game-cocks are so admired that in poems great heroes are compared to these animals. Matthes quotes several such Bugis poems.

The Orang Bugis as well as Orang Macassar most carefully attend to their game-cocks, even more than to their horses. A game-cock is kept in a basket some time before a fight (Fig. 93). Every night he has his bath and his shampoo to harden his muscles. On the day of the fight the comb as well as the wattles are trimmed down.

Cock-fights often take place in the open street, but

this is not considered the quite correct thing. The proper arena is an elevated, hard ground surrounded by a fence. Still better is a house the floor of which is made of split and flattened bamboo, covered with earth; sometimes there is a roof of similar construction.

Near the ground where the contest is to be held there is a place where the owners of the game-cocks meet to decide which cocks should fight against one another.



From MATTHES.

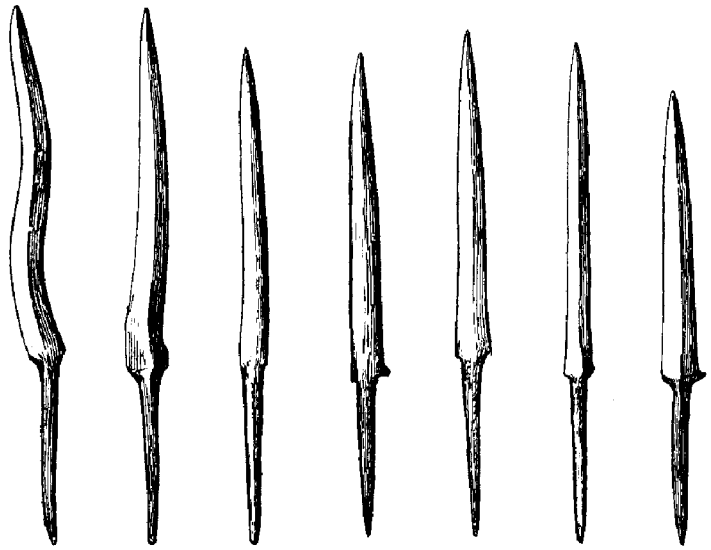
Fig. 93. *Basket in which a game-cock is kept.*

At a proper cock-fight there are two very important officials, the manager and the umpire.

The value of a game-cock is in the first place a question of pedigree, *i. e.* if he is of old and noble stock, and if he himself, or his ancestors have won great triumphs. Secondly, it is important that the game-cock should have been born at a sacred place. As especially valuable animals MATTHES mentions a fox-red cock from Bisampôle in Bantaëng and a white cock from Mangâsa, a place of sacrifice at Gowa.

A fine game-cock from Mecca could not be paid for with any gold in the world, MATTHES says.

In the third place the scales of the legs are of importance. The natives believe that the strength and courage of a game-cock can be estimated from these scales. In the Bugis Dictionary are given a great many terms referring to the scales and their position. Also in a note at the foot of page 161 of his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes" MATTHES gives some details concerning the scales.



1 : 2.

Fig. 94. *Steel spurs for game-cocks.* Mac. Peninsula. (Vienna Mus. No. 17646—17652.)

In the fourth place the colour of the feathers should be examined, a number of details being given in the Bugis Dictionary as well as in "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 162.

In the fifth place one has to find out how the cock sleeps at night. If he should happen to sit in the middle of the basket this is considered to be a bad omen. Finally the owners of the game-cocks should make out which days are lucky or fatal to their cocks.

When two cocks are chosen to fight they are provided with 6,5—8 cm. long, more or less lanceolate spurs (Fig. 94), the edge of which is extremely sharp. Most of these knives have a straight blade, only a few are slightly curved, or wavy like the blade of a *keris*. In the set seen in Fig. 94 from the Macassar Peninsula (CZURDA collection in Vienna) they do not vary much, contrary to the set figured by MATTHES in his Atlas, Plate VIII, Fig. 29.

As a rule only one knife is attached to the left foot of the cock. In his Bugis Dictionary, page 213, MATTHES describes various methods of placing the spur. It is generally fastened underneath the foot, but it may also be attached on top of it either on the inside or the outside. If a big cock is to fight a small one, the spur of the former is placed inside his leg at the height of his heel, or the big cock sometimes will fight without a steel spur.

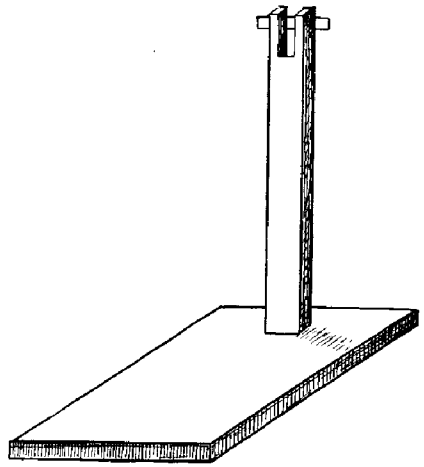
The spurs often are kept in a little case. In olden times a wooden splinter was also attached to the left foot of the game-cock. The purport of this MATTHES does not know. On page 122 of his "Bijdr. etc." he says: "Eindelijk mag ik niet verzweigen, dat men in oude tijden tegelijk met de kunstspoor ook nog een houtje aan den linkerpoot vastmaakte. Waartoe dit eigenlijk diende, durf ik niet te bepalen".

When everything is ready the owners of the two game-cocks appear on the arena with their animals, praising them in high-flown terms.

Cock-fights are always connected with betting. The wagers amount to very great sums at the occasion of a royal cock-fight, in which the game-cocks are most select animals of high pedigree. MATTHES states that once the sum of Fl. 2000 was laid on a cock at a fight at Gowa.

There are two kinds of wagers: (1) the *toro* which is fixed by the prince, or person arranging the fight and is for the owner of the winning cock; (2) the wagers of the spectators, which sometimes bet five to four, four to three, three to two on a cock.

After having praised their cocks, the owners for a while keep them facing one another to set them on, and then they let them go. The two birds, lowering their tail-feathers and raising their hackles then attack with the beak, and the fight commences. As a rule it does not last long. Soon one of the fighting cocks is seen breaking down, either he is dead or badly wounded, if he does not make his escape already at the beginning of the contest.



From MATTHES.

Fig. 95. *Parasila*. The head of a vanquished game-cock is placed in the fork.

Then the victor is relieved of his spur and brought to his fallen adversary to peck at him, the more furiously the better. This properly done, the cock is declared the winner of the fight.

Should the victorious cock refuse to peck at his adversary, the owner of this cock should be asked if he is willing to place the head of his cock in the so called *parasila*. If not he has lost the game.

In Fig. 95 a *parasila* is seen. Into one of the ends of a rectangular board, another and narrower board is set at right angles, having its top end bifurcated and joined with

a thin lath. According to MATTHES the head of the vanquished cock is placed in the fork for the victor to peck at. If the victor does peck, the owner of the worsted cock will lose his stake as well as his bird. Should the winner refuse to peck, the game is drawn or *pari*, and the owner of the defeated cock only has to give the left leg of his cock to the manager, unless he does not prefer to pay him the sum of five *doewit*.

The game also is considered *pari* if the victorious cock, immediately after having administered the death-blow to his adversary, should happen to crow.

In every-day cock-fights people are not so particular as this. A cock who has killed his adversary is declared the winner even if he should refuse to peck at his fallen antagonist, or crow immediately after having brought him down.

A cock that runs away instead of fighting will be brought back by his owner into the arena, but if he should run away three times without trying to peck at his adversary, his defeat is definite.

If both cocks should fall, badly wounded, or both run away, the game is *pari*. In case of *pari* one of the cocks is awarded to the umpire, and the other to the manager, but the owners may keep their cocks if they are willing to pay the sum of thirty *doewit* to the officials in question.

From the *toro*, the bets of the owners of the two fighting cocks, a deduction of thirty *doewits* are made from each *reyaal*, or Fl. 2. The manager receives ten *doewit*, the owner of the cock and the owner of the spurs the same amount.

MATTHES also mentions other kinds of cock-fights. He refers to a paper by BAKKER, called "Het leenvorstendom Boni 1866", to which I have not had access, in which a cock-fight at Bone is described. Here it is customary for the prince on occasions such as a wedding or a circumcision ceremony to arrange a cock-fight, which all district and provincial headmen are obliged to join, bringing their game-cocks in

order to let them fight in pairs. The owner of a vanquished cock must pay *se-kati se-taï*, or 88 *reyaal* (Fl. 176) and 88 *doewit*, but a headman does not pay this amount out of his own pocket. The inhabitants of his district are obliged to make up the required amount by public levy.

In his "Bijdr. etc", page 119, MATTHES states that at the cock-fights of the priests no high bets are allowed, and the cocks do not wear spurs.

Sometimes children arrange a fight between hens in imitation of the cock-fights of the adults. The hens are provided with spurs made from the very hard coat of the bamboo.

To judge from the statements made by MATTHES, cock-fights are practised all over the Mac. Peninsula and adjacent parts of C. Celebes, as well as in Loewoe to the north of the Bone Gulf. GRUBAUER in his book "Unter Kopfjägern" records cock-fights from Malili and Masamba. He gives a detailed account of this sport at Malili. It differs in some details from the cock-fights at Macassar as seen from the following description. The preparations and the choise of cocks and spurs are almost the same, but the fight itself as well as the final stage of the game is different. GRUBAUER on page 325 *et seq.* writes: "Das Duell konnte nunmehr beginnen. Zuvörderst reizte man die Hähne, d. h. der Herausforderer hielt sein Tier bei Kopf und Füssen fest und erlaubte dem gegnerischen Hahn einen Schnabelhieb auf den Kopf desselben, welches darauf veranlasst wurde, das Kompliment zu erwidern. Dadurch wurden die Kämpfer noch wütender und kampflustiger gemacht, als sie es durch die Anwesenheit und das herausfordernde Gekrähe so vieler anderer Artgenossen ohnedies schon geworden waren. Alsdann auf den Boden gesetzt, aber von ihren Besitzern noch immer festgehalten, lässt man sie auf ein Kommando los, worauf die Hähne in fast allen Fällen augenblicklich wütend über einander herfallen. Kneift dabei einer derselben, so gilt die Schlacht als für ihn verloren.

Eine Weile sah man jetzt nur gesträubte Federbündel herumwirbeln. Fürchterliche Spornschläge hagelten auf die Federpanzer, und bald färbte sich der Rasen vom Blute. Es kommt dabei vor, dass einem der Tiere bei solchem Kampfe der ganze Leib aufgeschlitzt wird, so dass die Gedärme nachschleifen. Entschieden is der Kampf, wenn ein Hahn das Hasenpanier ergreift oder wehrlos auf dem Rücken liegt. Dies letztere trat in dem von mir beobachteten Kampfe ein, und in diesem Moment wurden die Kämpfer getrennt. Der scheusslichste Akt des ganzen Vorganges sollte aber erst noch kommen. Der Besitzer des niedergekämpften Tieres ergriff nähmlich dieses und brachte es zu einer Art Bank, auf welche er den besiegten Hahn legte, um ihm mit dem Klewang den rechten Fuss oberhalb des Knies abzuschlagen. Solches war die brutale Strafe für die Niederlage desselben. Das so grausam verstümmelte Tier wurde nun nochmals seinem Besieger vorgeworfen und diesem erlaubt, seine Mordlust daran zu kühlen. Er stürzte sich sofort wieder auf sein jetzt völlig wehrloses, blutendes Opfer und zerhackte es jämmerlich. Nach diesem wiederwärtigen Vorgange ergriff der Eigentümer das unglückliche Tier abermals, um es zur Schlachtbank zu bringen und nun erst durch Abschlagen des Kopfes von seinen Leiden zu erlösen. Der blutüberströmte Rumpf wurde nochmals dem triumphierend krähenden und mit den Flügeln schlagenden Sieger vorgeworfen."

VAN DER HART in 1853 in his book: "Reize rondom het eiland Celebes", page 206, states that cock-fights as well as gambling were amusements much in favour with the natives of Parigi.

In the interior of C. Celebes and the NE. Peninsula cock-fights do not appear to be practised. KRUYT states that this sport is not known among the Poso Toradja, and the same is the case in NW. Central Celebes, where I have been myself. Of course an occasional combat between two cocks was always watched by the natives with

great interest, but they never failed to part them in time to save their lives.

At Gorontalo where the majority of the natives are Mohammedans, cock-fights as well as gambling, according to RIEDEL ("De landschappen Holontalo etc", p. 144) are amusements much in favour with the natives.

In Mongondou in N. Celebes the natives occasionally would be seen setting two cocks against one another, but I never saw them using steel spurs. (See Addenda.)

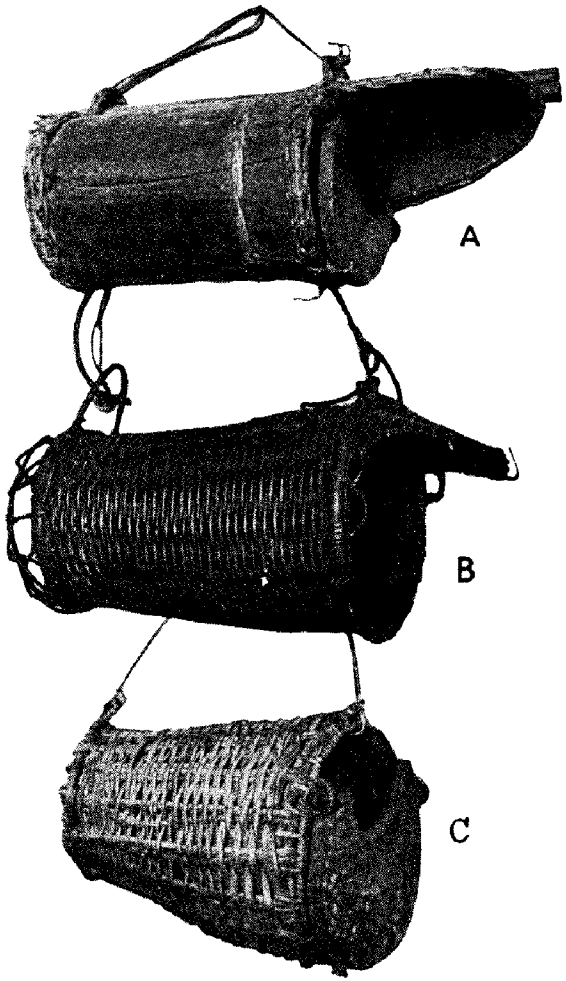
At the time when the cousins SARASIN visited Mongondou regular cock-fights may have been arranged. They write on page 96, Vol. I, of their "Reisen in Celebes" the following: ". . . dann folgten Ziegen, Hühner und einzelne in Rindenröhren sorgfältig untergebrachte Kampfhäne; am einen Ende der Röhre guckte der Kopf heraus, am anderen der Schwanz".

If these cocks really were game-cocks I leave unsaid. MEYER and RICHTER when describing two such baskets in the SARASIN collection (Vol. XIV of the Dresden Museum Publ.) one of which was from Mongondou, and the other from Oeloe, SE. Celebes, state that these baskets were used for the transport of decoy-cocks which the natives use to catch wild cocks in snares (Fig. 96).

GRUBAUER on page 326 of his book figures a number of objects used at a cock-fight such as a box for the spurs as well as two baskets of the same kind as those in the SARASIN collection. This appears to indicate that the cocks were brought to the place in these baskets.

My own experience agrees with that of MEYER and RICHTER. For my collection such baskets were acquired in Mongondou, at Lokodoka in the district of Bwool, in the small Island of Motoeo situated to the north-west of Kwandang, all being places in N. Celebes. In C. Celebes I got a basket of this type at Kantewoe, and at all these places the natives said they were used for carrying decoy-cocks, but in all probability the same kind of basket is used for the

transport of game-cocks in districts where cock-fights are practised.



1: 6.

Fig. 96. *Baskets in which the natives carry their decoy-cocks, or their game-cocks.*
A from the Island of Motoeo, N. Celebes;
B from Mongondou, N. Celebes; C from Kantewoe, C. Celebes.
[A. KAUDERN coll. No. 408(26.9.588); B. id. No. 736; C. id. No. 1917 a (26.9. 147)].

Presumably these combats are also amusements in SE. Celebes, since ELBERT records cock-fights from the Island of Moena close to the south-eastern coast of Celebes.

In "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, page 165, it says: "Als leidenschaftlicher Liebhaber vom Hazardspiel verliert er nicht selten Haus und Familie; ebenso verfolgt er mit sonst bei Eingeboren selten gesehener Erregung den Gang der Hahnenkämpfe, auf deren günstigen Ausgang gewettet wird."

There is no record of cock-fights in Boeton, and I myself did not see any such combats either at Baoe Baoe, or at Kraton, yet it seems quite probable that cock-fights are known there, in vieuw of the strong Bugis influence.

In all probability cock-fights from Java found their way to the Macassar Peninsula, whence this amusement dispersed along the coast of Strait Macassar as well as along the coast of the Bone Gulf.

It is difficult to pronounce an opinion on the age of this sport in Celebes, cock-fights from olden times being a popular sport not only in China, India, and the western part of the Orient, but also in Ancient Rome and Athens.

However, it seems most likely to my mind that cock-fights were introduced into Celebes at an early date, possibly during the Hindoo time of Java, at all events I suppose they were known in Celebes before the Mohammedan era, in spite of the fact that at present this sport is especially cherished by the Mohammedans.

As to the origin or invention of cock-fights I wish to make the following remark. All over Celebes wild fowl is very common. In the early mornings the cocks will often be seen fighting in open places in the bush. Frequently I have watched such fights, and in 1918 it once happened when I came driving along the main road in the Paloe Valley that two wild cocks were so deeply engaged in a fight that I nearly ran over them. That morning I counted twelve cocks on the road, or in the immediate vicinity.

These wild cocks on account of their pugnacity are caught by the natives to be used as a decoy in order to trap other cocks. As mentioned above they are transported in baskets such as those seen in Fig. 96.

Without too much stretch of imagination we may assume that such cocks, captured by the natives, were set against one another for the entertainment of a number of spectators, and this may have been the origin of cock-fights. It is not necessary to assume that these combats are connected with the domestication of fowl. It seems just as likely that these two are independant of one another, and it is not impossible that the arranging of cock-fights are of earlier date than the domestication of fowl. If this is the case, cock-fights originated in tracts where the presumed ancestors of the domestic fowl, the Bankiva fowl, is found, *i. e.* SE. Asia and adjacent islands. For this reason it seems probable that cock-fights were not introduced into Indonesia from any foreign country. Presumably they are a genuinely Malayan invention.

Horse-fights.

As far as I am aware no regular fights but those between cocks appear to be arranged in Celebes, but in Boeton horse-fights, according to Elbert, seem to be, or to have been, a sport much in favour with the natives. Elbert in Vol I, page 207, of "Die Sunda-Expedition", writes: "... auf dem spitzen Korallenkalkboden würde es auch gar nicht möglich sein, die Pferde genügend zu verwenden. Aber einem Sport dienen sie auf Buton nämlich Pferdegefechten, bei denen man, ähnlich wie bei Hahnenkämpfen, hohe Wetten eingeht. Die kleinen Hengste sind feurig genug sich gegenseitig tüchtig zu attackieren."

During a sojourn of four months in Boeton I never saw nor heard of any such contests. Presumably they were forbidden by the Dutch Government. (See Addenda.)

European games latcly introduced into the Dutch East Indies.

Beside the above described games the natives on certain occasions will amuse themselves with games that in recent times have been introduced by Europeans. After a generation or two they may have assumed the appearance of native games.

These sports are at present arranged by the Dutch on occasion of for instance the birthdays of the Royal family, which are celebrated with horse-races in places where horses are used, such as for instance Paloe in NW. Central Celebes and Kotamobagoe in Mongondou, N. Celebes. Another diversion that I have seen at Paloe, in Koelawi, and in Lamala, is climbing a greased pole. Other such diversions are sack races, hurdle-races, riding on a barrel slid over a horizontal pole from one end to the other etc.[1]

SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS.

In this survey of the games found in Celebes I have tried to make clear their geographical distribution not only in Celebes itself but in Indonesia, as well as the evolution, the meaning, and the origin of these games.

If we sum up all these facts, we arrive at an idea as to which games should be considered really native, or autochthonous to Celebes or Indonesia, and which have been imported into this region along with foreign cultures.

Below I shall begin with a short survey of the geograpical distribution of the games in Celebes and the manner in which they are played, and lastly as an inference of the whole, point out the cultures, or peoples, to which these games should be referred.

Geographical distribution of the games in Celebes.

Naturally the range of the games that have found their way to Celebes during different epochs and from different quarters is very variable. If we group together in maps the games whose geographical distribution is similar, we obtain with our present knowledge of the range of these games the following types:

[1] See Addenda.

(1) Games with a wide range in Celebes, probably known all over the island (Map 23).

(2) Games which as a rule appear to be known only on the coasts (Map 24).

(3) Games chiefly known in the Macassar Peninsula or the districts in Celebes opposite to Java and the Little Sunda Islands (Map 25).

(4) Games chiefly known from the Mac. Peninsula and the most northerly part of Celebes (Map 26).

(5) Games recorded from N. Celebes, C. Celebes and the Island of Boeton, immediately to the south-east of SE. Celebes (Map 27).

(6) Games only known from NE Celebes (Map 28).

(7) Games chiefly known from the northern part of the island, especially the northern peninsula, *i. e.* the districts towards the Philippines (Map 29).

(8) Games only known from Central Celebes (Map 30).

In addition there are several games the range of which in Celebes is too little known to allow their grouping with the above games, as will be apparent from the table below.

N:o	Games	Celebes				
		S.[1]	SE.[2]	NE.	N.	C.
1	Headman of the village;	+	—	—	—	—
2	War;	—	—	+	—	+
3	Hunting;	—	—	—	—	+
4	Rounding up buffaloes;	—	—	—	—	+
5	Catching the thief;	+	—	—	—	—
6	Toy boats;	+	+	+	+	+
7	Toy carts;	—	+	—	+	—
8	Helping mother	—	—	—	—	+
9	Beating of bast cloth;	—	—	—	—	+
10	Playing house;	—	—	—	—	+
11	Doll play;	—	—	—	+	+
12	Cock game;	+	—	—	—	—
13	Pig game;	+	—	—	—	—

[1] Includes the Island of Saleier.

[2] Includes the Islands of Moena and Boeton.

N:o	Games	Celebes				
		S.[1]	SE.[2]	NE.	N.	C.
14	Crocodile game;	+	—	—	—	—
15	Bat game;	+	—	—	—	—
16	Toy buffaloes;	—	—	—	—	+
17	Butting buffaloes;	—	—	—	—	+
18	Animals plaited from strips of leaves.	—	+	—	—	+
19	Wrestling;	+	—	—	—	—
20	Boxing;	+	—	—	—	—
21	Kicking;	+	—	—	+	+
22	Swimming;	+	+	+	+	+
23	Frog game;	+	—	—	—	—
24	Hand clapping game;	+	—	—	+	—
25	Jumping between paddy pestles;	—	—	—	+	+
26	Tug-of-war;	—	—	+	—	—
27	Horse races and riding	+	—	—	+	+
28	Sailing;	+	—	—	—	—
29	Horseman and horse;	+	—	—	—	—
30	Tag games	+	—	—	—	—
31	Blind-man's-buff;	+	—	—	—	—
32	*Motoetoe djaja,*	—	—	—	—	+
33	Walking round a pole;	+	—	—	—	—
34	*Bôeloekôempa* (snapping at a chaplet suspended in front of a baby.);	+	—	—	—	—
35	Stilts;	+	+	—	+	+
36	Walking on coco-nut shells;	—	+	—	+	+
37	Sledging;	—	—	—	—	+
38	Swinging;	+	—	—	+	+
39	Foot-ball;	+	+	+	+	+
40	Shuttlecock;	—	—	—	—	+
41	Stone-throwing;	+	+	+	+	+
42	Flipping seeds;	+	—	—	—	—
43	Flipping shells;	+	—	—	—	—
44	Throwing of clay pellets, seeds, etc., by means of a stick;	—	—	—	+	+
45	*Pisóe,* contrivance for throwing stones;	—	—	—	—	+
46	Sling;	—	+	—	+	+
47	Throwing-stick;	+	—	—	—	—

[1] Includes the Island of Saleier.

[2] Includes the Islands of Moena and Boeton.

N:o	Games	Celebes				
		S.[1]	SE.[2]	NE.	N.	C.
48	Spinning Anona seeds by means of a fragment of china;	—	—	—	—	+
49	Blowing bubbles;	—	—	—	—	+
50	*Alangga-langga*, a game with *kemiri* nuts;	+	—	—	—	—
51	*Maletje*, a game with *kemiri* nuts;	+	—	—	—	—
52	*Bille*, a game with pieces of coconut shells;	+	—	—	—	—
53	*Tingge*, a game with pieces of shells;	—	—	—	—	+
54	Top, twirled between the hands;	—	—	—	?	+
55	Spinning top;	+	+	+	+	+
56	*Logo* game;	+	+	+	+	+
57	Kicking coconut shells;	+	—	—	+	+
58	*Tela* game;	—	—	—	—	+
59	Cross-boomerang;	—	—	—	—	+
60	Kites;	+	+	?	+	+
61	Trundling;	+	—	—	—	+
62	Marbles;	+	—	—	—	—
63	Bowling clay pellets against one another	+	—	—	—	—
64	Cracking nuts;	+	—	—	—	—
65	Breaking sugar cane;	+	—	—	—	—
66	*Mogonde*, fighting with *poeso* stalks;	—	—	—	—	+
67	Pop-gun;	+	—	—	+	+
68	Squirt-gun;	+	—	—	+	+
69	Bamboo pea-shooter;	—	—	—	+	+
70	Cross-bow;	—	—	—	+	+
71	Bow;	—	—	+	+	+
72	Buzzer;	—	—	—	+	+
73	Wind-mill.	+	—	+	—	—
74	*Moöelengkaroe*	—	—	—	—	+
75	Riddles;	?	—	—	?	+
76	Hide and Find;	+	—	—	—	—
	Puzzles:					
77	a. Bow-string puzzle, *pimpi:*	—	—	—	—	+
78	b. Disentangling of a plate of wood from a string	+	—	—	—	—
79	c. Ring Puzzle;	+	—	—	—	—
80	Unfolding cunningly plaited strips of leaves;	+	—	—	—	—
81	String Figures;	+	+	—	—	+

[1] Includes the Island of Saleier.

[2] Includes the Islands of Moena and Boeton.

N:o	Games	Celebes				
		S.[1]	SE.[2]	NE.	N.	C.
82	Chess;	+	—	—	+	—
83	Backgammon;	+	—	—	—	—
84	*Gala* game;	+	—	—	—	—
85	*Tiger* game;	+	—	—	—	—
86	*Galatjang* game;	+	—	—	—	—
87	Cards;	+	—	—	+	+
88	*Tongko-tongko* game;	+	—	—	—	—
89	Spinning die;	+	—	—	+	—
90	*Maketja* game;	+	—	—	—	—
91	Pitching pennies;	+	—	—	+	—
92	*Djipe* game;	+	—	—	—	—
93	*Mapanta* game;	+	—	—	—	—
94	Pet animals ;	+	+	+	+	+
95	Insects as live kites;	—	+	—	+	—
96	Cock-fights;	+	+	—	+	+
97	Horse-fights;	—	+	—	+	—

From this list is evident that our present knowledge of the geographical distribution of the toys in Celebes is very imperfect. If we observe the number of games known in the five areas, we shall discover that this is very variable: In the Macassar Peninsula 61, in SE. Celebes 17, in NE. Celebes 11, in N. Celebes 34, and in C. Celebes 51.

This variation should in all probability be attributed to the fact that the Mac. Peninsula, Central and N. Celebes have been more carefully studied than NE. Celebes and SE. Celebes. The great number of games in the Mac. Peninsula are also due to the numerous round and gambling games chiefly practised by adults. It is rather strange that comparatively few games are known from N. Celebes, notwithstanding this part of the island having been fairly closely studied. That the languid natives of Mongondou do not amuse themselves with a great many games is not

[1] Includes the Island of Saleier.

[2] Includes the Islands of Moena and Boeton.

surprising to a person who has stayed in their district for some length of time, but that GRAAFLAND records so very few games from Minahassa, certainly is very remarkable.

Of all the games in Celebes only seven are recorded from all five areas. three are known from four areas, eleven from three areas, eighteen from two areas, and fifty-eight from only one area. Indeed, our knowledge of the games in Celebes must be scanty, since two-thirds of them are known from only one area out of five. The distribution of these games is the following:

	Areas in Celebes.				
	M.P.	SE.C.	NE.C.	N.C.	C.C.
Number of games	37	0	1	0	20

That NE. Celebes has a game which is not recorded from any other part in the island is not surprising considering the fact that this peninsula has been very little studied, but that not a single such game is recorded from SE. Celebes and especially from N. Celebes is rather strange, the culture of the latter part of Celebes being in several respects different to that of the rest of the island.

Equally strange is the fact that the Mac. Peninsula and C. Celebes only have 19 games in common. In the Mac. Peninsula 42 games not known in C. Celebes appear to occur, and in C. Celebes we meet 31 games not recorded from the Mac. Peninsula. Of course this must partly be attributed to the numerous round and gambling games found in the Mac. Peninsula, but apart from these there are fourty-eight games not recorded from the rest of Celebes. This may be taken to indicate that the games in the Mac. Peninsula and those in C. Celebes belong to different cultures, and it cannot there-fore be supposed to be merely accidentally that the games are so different in the best known parts of Celebes.

Such a table as that given in page 350 and following does not, however, give a satisfactory representation of the range of the games. This would require more detailed maps than

those of merely five groups. Games from C. Celebes, for instance, may be known only from a small district bordering on one of the peninsulas from which the game in question evidently found its way to C. Celebes. This no doubt is the case of several of the games of the Saadang Toradja in the south-western part of C. Celebes. The swing, games with cards etc. in all probability came here from the Mac. Peninsula, having, however, not yet reached the interior of C. Celebes.

From the above list is seen that such games as appear to be widely distributed in Celebes are either games very common all over the world such as, *e. g.*, swimming, and keeping of pet animals, or games played with some implement for which reason the latter category are better known than those not requiring toys or implements that could easily be collected by researchers and kept in the museums.

Map 23.

In this map are given games which appear to be known all over Celebes, or in the greater part of the island.

I. *The Spinning Top.*

The top, which is known almost from the whole island, from the coasts as well as from the interior, is perhaps the most common of all toys in Celebes. As mentioned in the foregoing there are a number of types that may be characteristic of certain districts.

II. *The Logo.*

This game has a wide range in Celebes, yet it is not so commonly known as the top. My material is too small to allow any reliable conclusions to be drawn, but it would appear as if it had differentiated a little, the coconut pieces being differently shaped in different districts.

III. *The Pop-gun.*

Although I have no reference I suppose the pop-gun also to be known in NE. Celebes and SE. Celebes, since it is a common toy in the Mac. Peninsula, in N. Celebes, and in C. Celebes.

IV. *Kicking.*

There is, as yet, no record of this sport from NE. Celebes and SE. Celebes, but being practised in the civilized Minahassa, the Mohammedanized Macassar Peninsula, and nearly all over C. Celebes, it is likely to be known at least in the districts of the two peninsulas bordering on C. Celebes.

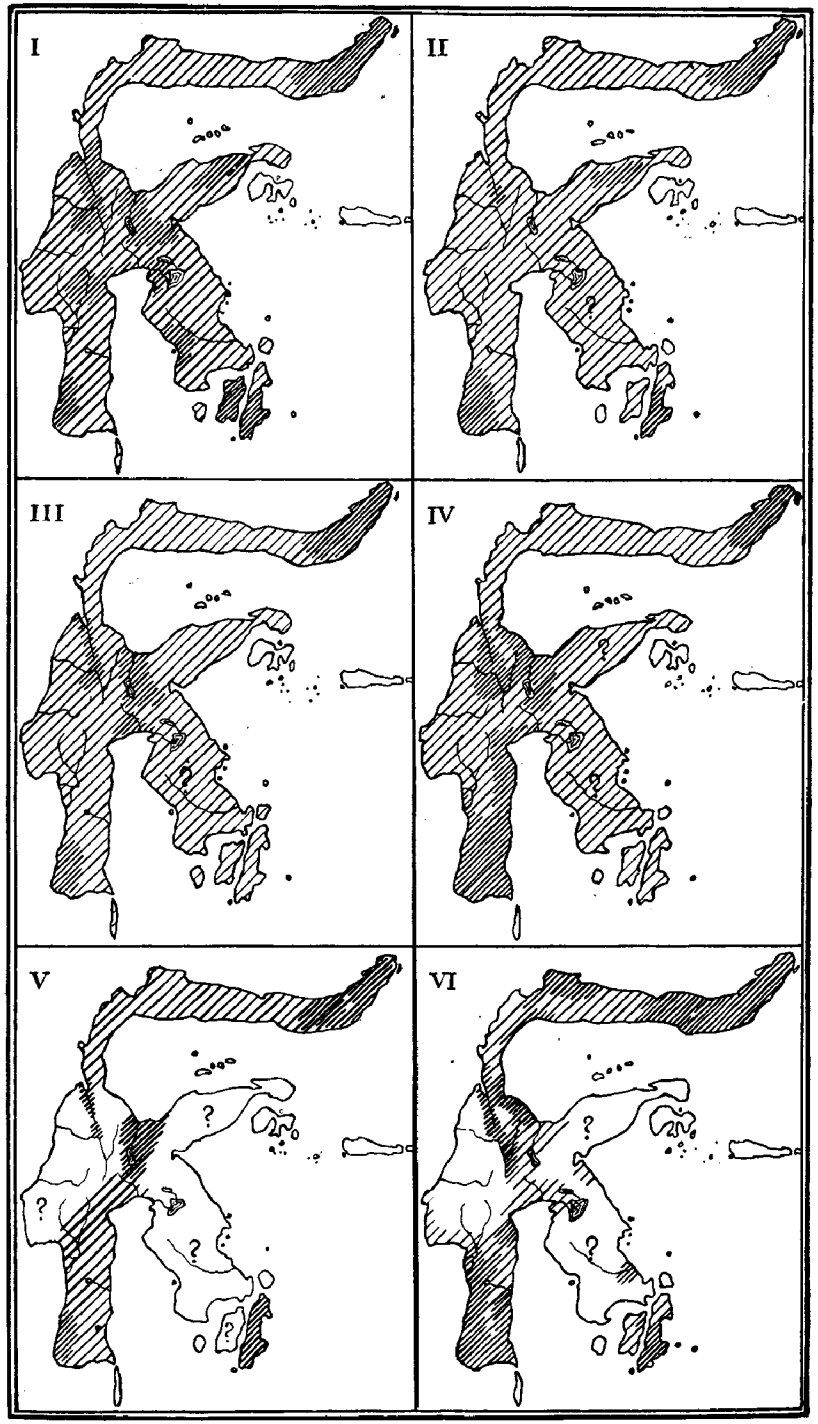
V. *Stilts.*

Stilts are known to be used as a toy in the Macassar Peninsula, in Central and North Celebes and in Boeton. There is no record of stilts from NE. and SE. Celebes, but in all probability stilt-walking is practised also in these districts, and for this reason I have grouped it with games having a wide range in Celebes.

It is, however, to be noticed that the construction of the stilts is not the same all over the island. In N. Celebes and NW. Central Celebes the whole foot is supported by the foot-rest, which is not very high above the ground.

In the Macassar Peninsula as well as in E. Central Celebes the foot is placed transversely to the foot-rest. As mentioned before, the stilts in these tracts in all probability have an origin in common. If this is the case, it seems most likely that stilts after having been introduced into the Macassar Peninsula dispersed towards the north and north-east to certain districts in C. Celebes, being dependencies of Loewoe on the Bone Gulf.

Whether the stilts with a longitudinal foot-rest came to Celebes from the north seems uncertain. True enough



Map 23. *Toys and games known from nearly all Celebes.* I. The top; II. *the logo;* III. the pop-gun; IV. kicking; V. stilts; VI. riding.

this kind of stilts is found in Japan, but it also occurs in Java, Sumatra, and Billiton.

Not being able to settle the question whether the stilts in Celebes really are two distinctly separate types which were introduced into the island from different quarters I thought is most correct not to group the stilts with a longitudinal foot-rest with toys known from N. Celebes, and those with a transverse foot-rest with toys known from South and Central Celebes.

VI. *Riding.*

This is a common sport which, however, has not reached the inaccessible mountain districts in the interior of the island. It can hardly be characterized as a sport chiefly known by the natives living on the coasts, since it is also practised on the plateaus of Napoe, Behoa, and Bada in the heart of Celebes, as well as in the Lindoe District in NW. Central Celebes.

To this group should also be referred the simple sport of stone-throwing, which is practised throughout the world among civilized as well as uncivilized peoples, as well as the habit of keeping pet animals, which I specially noticed in N. Celebes and NE. Celebes.

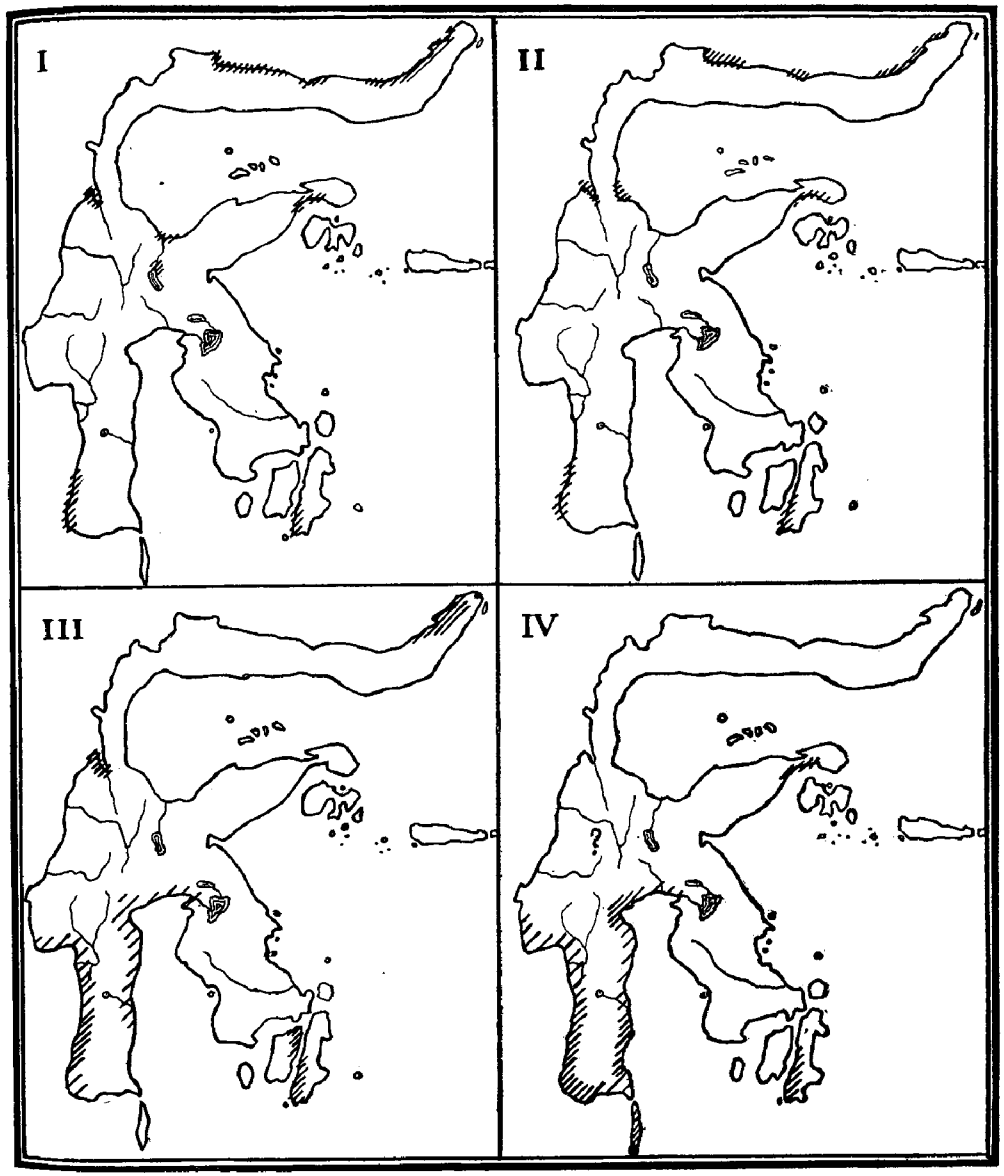
No doubt future researches will show that certain games, at present known only from somewhat restricted areas, have a wide range in the island.

Map 24.

Some games as a rule appear to be known only on the coasts. Apart from games conditional upon the presence of water, there are others that seem to be of foreign origin.

I. *Toy boats.*

Although I have but a few references, it can hardly be doubted that children on all coasts of Celebes play with



Map 24. *Toys and games known from the coasts and the lakes.* I. Boats II. swimming; III kites; IV. the *raga*.

boats. The same in all probability is the case all round the big lakes, I myself having seen it at Tentena on the northern shore of Lake Poso. Of course this is not a game imported from some other country but an imitation of the avocations of adults.

II. *Swimming.*

This sport is chiefly confined to the coasts, the crocodiles frequently making the lakes in the interior unsafe, and most rivers being either too swift, or too shallow.

The risk from crocodiles and sharks appears to be of no consequence on the sea-coast, the natives often being seen bathing in the open sea.

III. *The Paper Kite.*

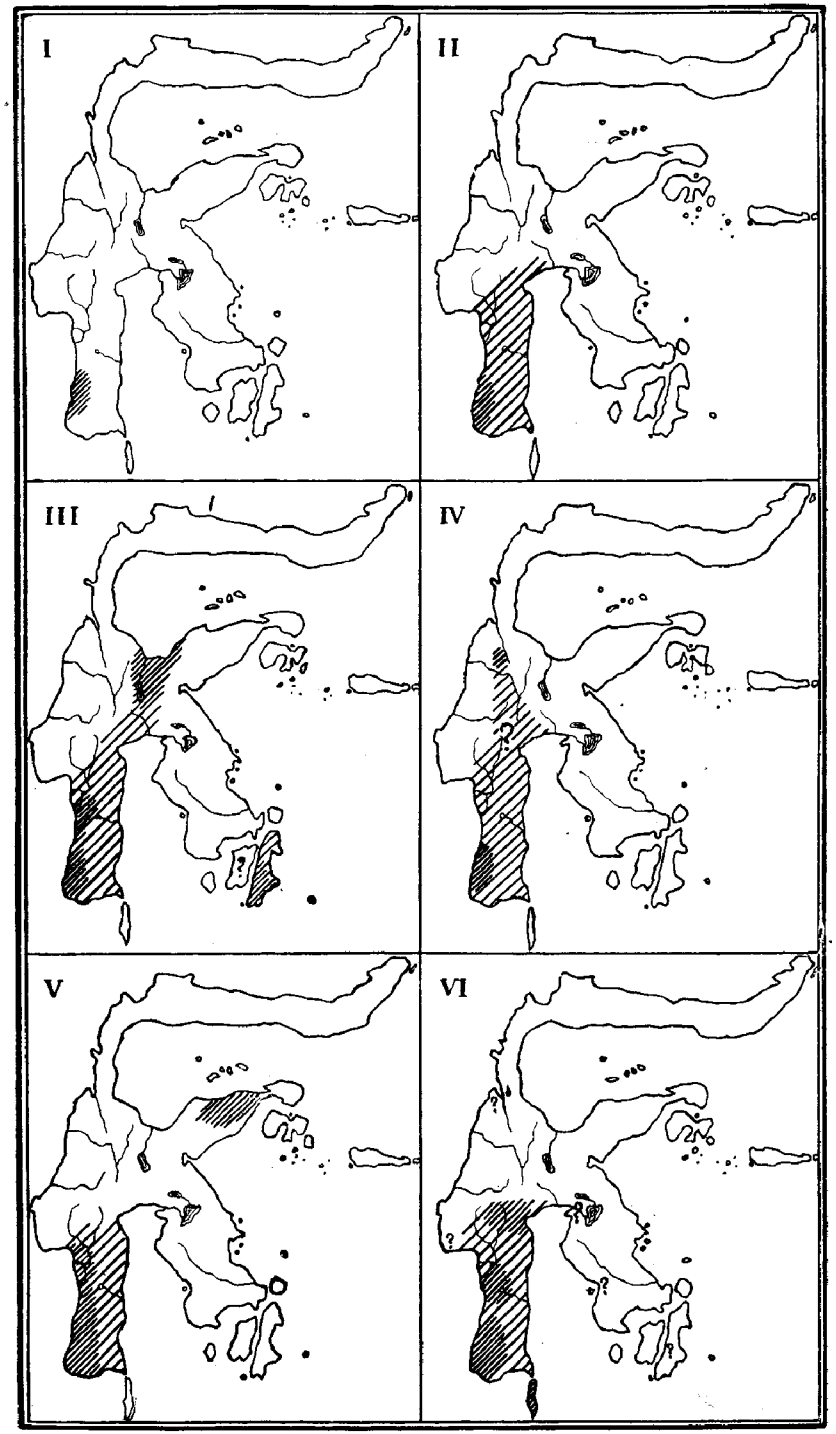
The kite appears chiefly to be known on the coast and in districts easily communicating with the coast, as is the case of the interior of Minahassa and Mongondou.

IV. *The Raga.*

In Celebes this toy chiefly is known from the Mac. Peninsula. The Poso Toradja have learnt the *raga* game from the Bugis, and in all probability the same may be said of the natives at Loewoek in NE. Celebes. I suppose it to be known on the coasts of North as well as Central Celebes, and therefore I have referred it to games chiefly found on the coasts.

Map 25.

Here is given in a series of small maps the geographical distribution of some games chiefly known from the Mac. Peninsula. Several round and gambling games we do not find in these maps, since I think it more correct to group them with games known from the coasts of Celebes.



Map 25. *Toys and games chiefly known from SW. Celebes (Mac. Peninsula).* I. Throwing-stick; II. breaking sugar cane (as well as a number of other games recorded by Matthes; III. string figures; IV. puzzles; V. "wind-mill"; VI. *omi.*

I. *Boomerang-like throwing stick.*

A most remarkable toy in the Mac. Peninsula is the boomerang-like throwing stick, only known from Maros and Pangkadjene. Presumably it is a cultural element having come to Celebes from the east.

II. *Sugar cane breaking.*

This strange sport only is known from the Mac. Peninsula. Being connected with the cultivation of sugar cane, and possibly originally a ritual performance, it may be that this game, or similar one's, are also found in other districts where the natives grow sugar cane.

III. *String Figures.*

This amusement is recorded from the Mac. Peninsula whence in all probability it dispersed to the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes, and from Boeton, for which reason I have grouped it with games known from South Celebes. A game like this, which is met with nearly throughout the world, is likely to be found also at other places in Celebes, of which, however, I have no reference. Possibly it is one of those periodical games that are in favour with everybody at a certain time and then go out of fashion for some time.

IV. *Puzzles.*

From Celebes only a few puzzles are known, most of which are found in the Mac. Peninsula. Only one, *viz.* the *pimpi*, is recorded from Tamoengkoelowi in NW. Central Celebes. In spite of the fact that no puzzles are known from intermediate localities, I have referred the *pimpi* to games from S. Celebes. The reason is this. NW. Central Celebes and the southern part of the Mac. Peninsula have other cultural elements in common, as yet not recorded from any intermediate district. This is for instance the case with a double clarinet (See Vol. III of this Series). It

is almost certain that this instrument found its way to the north-western districts from the south; and in all probability the same holds good of the *pimpi*.

IV. *The "Wind-mill".*

The geographical distribution of the "wind-mill" in Celebes is rather peculiar, being recorded only from NE. Celebes and from the Macassar Peninsula. A closer investigation may reveal it also in SE. Celebes, but I do not expect it to be known in North and Central Celebes. How it came to Celebes is a question impossible to answer at present.

V. *Omi.*

This is a game introduced into Indonesia by Europeans, in all probability the Portuguese. In Celebes it is likely to have first reached Macassar from where it dispersed all over the Mac. Peninsula and adjacent parts of C. Celebes. Although there are no records in books and no cards in the museums, I suppose the *omi* to be known in most places on the coast where Orang Bugis have settled.

Beside the above games there are several other games only known from the Mac. Peninsula. They are either children's pastimes, no toy being used, or they are round and gambling games.

Map 26.

Finally we have some toys the range of which makes it likely that they found their way to Celebes from different quarters, being for example known from the Mac. Peninsula and the most northerly part of Celebes.

I. *Swings.*

The swing is found all over the Mac. Peninsula and adjacent districts of C. Celebes as well as in Minahassa in N. Celebes. Possibly it came to the Mac. Peninsula from the south-west, and to Minahassa from the north.

II. *The Squirt-gun.*

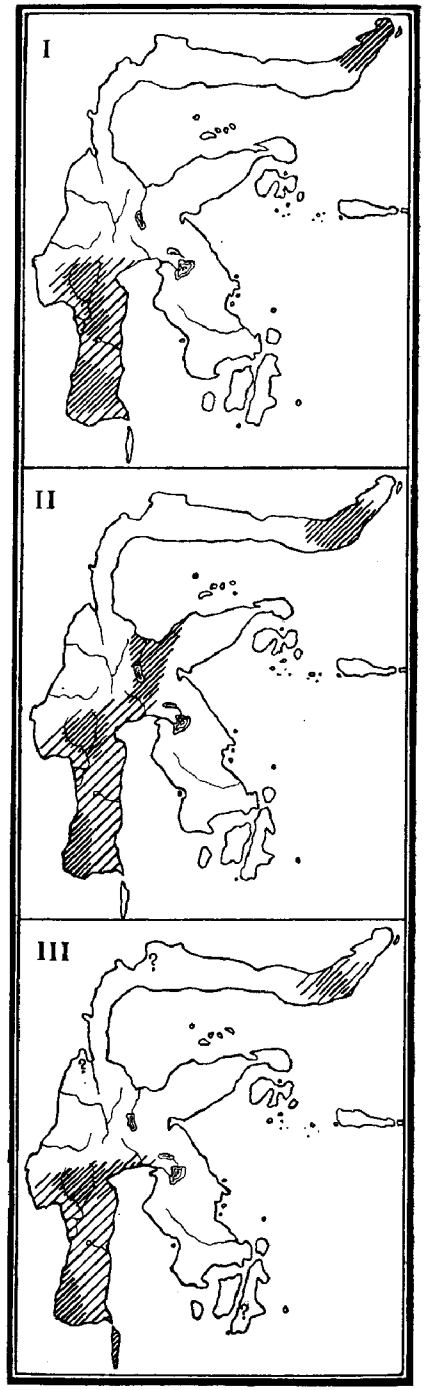
The range of the squirt-gun is rather similar to that of the swing. Besides from the Macassar Peninsula it is recorded from Mongondou, to the west of Minahassa, and from the Poso Toradja Districts.

III. *The Spinning Die.*

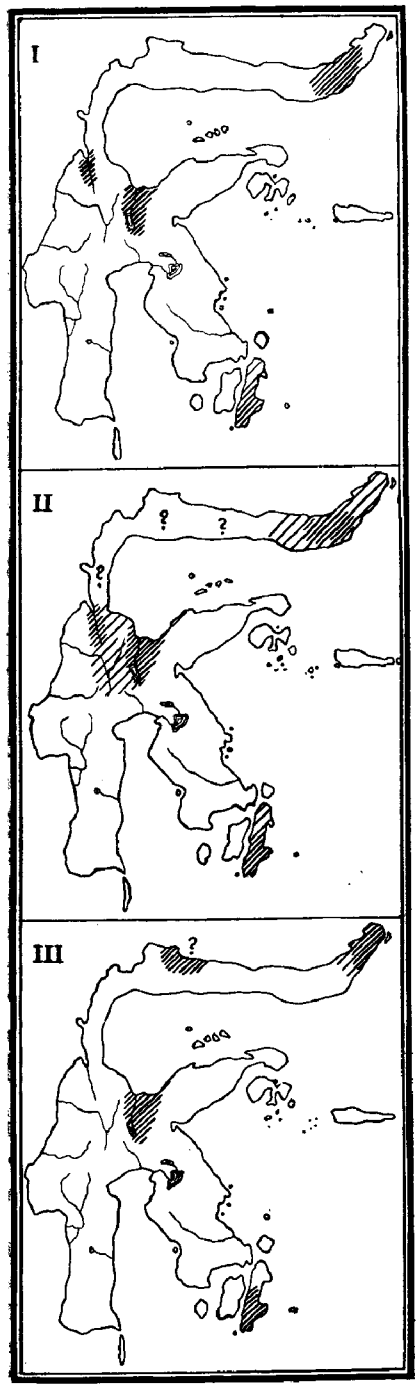
The game with a spinning die is a common amusement in the Mac. Peninsula as well as at the plantations and gold mines in N. Celebes. No doubt the game long ago was introduced into the Mac. Peninsula, but in N. Celebes in all probability it is of later date, having come with the Javanese coolies who are brought over from Java to work in Celebes.

Map 27.

In this map are given some games of rather wide range in the eastern part of Celebes. To this group I have referred games recorded from N. Celebes, C. Celebes and the Island of Boeton, immediately to



Map 26. *Toys and games chiefly known from the Mac. Peninsula and N. Celebes.*
I Swinging; II. the squirt-gun; III the spinning die.



Map 27. *Toys known from N. Celebes, C. Celebes, and Boeton.* I. Slings, II coconut "stilts"; III kite made of a dry leaf.

the east of SE. Celebes. As yet, there is no record of it from the Mac. Peninsula, NE. Celebes or SE. Celebes, but it may be that a close investigation would reveal them also in these districts. Surely the coconut stilts, or sandals have a wider range than the one given in this map.

I. *The Sling.*

This ancient weapon long ago became obsolete in Celebes, but in some places it seems to have survived as a toy. This is the case in the Poso Toradja Districts in E. Central Celebes, in the Paloe Valley in NW. Central Celebes, in Mongondou in N. Celebes, and in the Island of Boeton.

II. *Coconut "stilts" or sandals.*

The geographical distribution of this toy as far as we know it at present is similar to that of the sling, but in all probability it has a wider range in Celebes, being commonly known in Java, Sumatra, and Billiton.

III. *The Leaf Kite.*

Paper kites are known to be used in many parts of Celebes along the coast, The primitive kite made of a dry leaf, only is recorded from the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes, from Minahassa, and from the Island of Boeton. According to MEYER and RICHTER, it appears that this kite is also found at Bwool in the western part of N. Celebes, which, however, may be a mistake.



Map 28. *Games known from NE. Celebes.* The Tug-of-war.

Map 28.

Only few games in Celebes appear to have been introduced from the east, possibly owing to the fact that the games of the NE. Peninsula as well as of the SE. Peninsula are very little known. Among them all there is but a single game, that could be characterized as an eastern game.

I. *The Tug-of-war.*

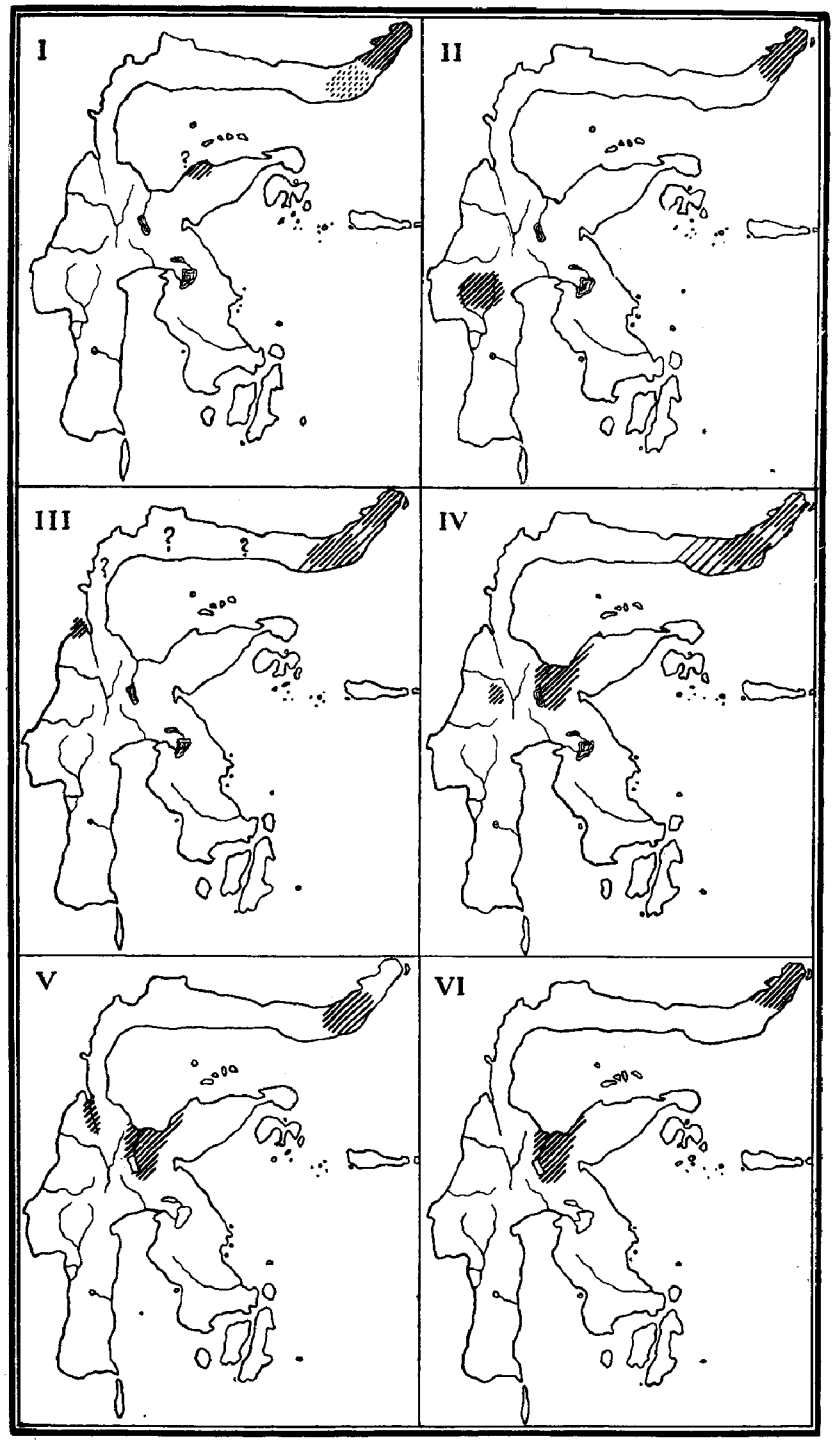
In the foregoing I have pointed out that this game appears to be known only in the most easterly part of Celebes, possibly having been introduced from the Molucca.

Map 29.

In this map are found games confined to N. Celebes, or adjacent districts in C. Celebes.

I. *The Bow.*

The bow as a true toy is only so far recorded from Minahassa in N. Celebes and the Saadang Toradja in SW. Central Celebes. In Mongondou and Ampana boys use a bow to shoot shrimps. In the rest of the island it is may be obsolete.



Map 29. *Toys and Games known from N. Celebes and C. Celebes.* I. The bow; II the cross-bow; III buzzers; IV the bamboo pea-shooter; V stone-throwing by means of a stick; VI. jumping between paddy pestles.

II. *The Cross-bow.*

This toy which appears to be found sporadically all over Indonesia is only recorded from Minahassa in N. Celebes and certain places in SW. Central Celebes among the so-called Saadang Toradja. In Minahassa it is possibly an imitation of a Portuguese weapon from the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese influence was considerable in this part of Celebes. How the cross-bow came to the Saadang Districts is not clear.

III. *Buzzers.*

This toy which is widely distributed not only in Indonesia but throughout the world, is only recorded from Mongondou in N. Celebes and Donggala in the north-western corner of NW. Central Celebes, but in all probability it is known also at other places.

IV. *The Bamboo Pea-shooter.*

In Celebes this toy is recorded from Mongondou and Minahassa in N. Celebes, Kantewoe in NW. Central Celebes, and the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes, but it is likely to have much wider a range in Celebes than would appear from these few references.

V. *Stick used as a sling.*

The method of squeezing a pellet of clay, a pebble, or a hard seed into the split end of a stick and then hurling the missil with a swoop is a sport known all over the world, I think. In Celebes, however, it is only recorded from Mongondou in N. Celebes, from the Paloe Valley and the Poso Districts in C. Celebes. A close investigation would perhaps justify its classing it with toys known in all Celebes.

VI. *Jumping between paddy pestles.*

This game is known from Minahassa in N. Celebes and from the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes. Being known

also outside Celebes, for instance in Borneo, we can expect it to have a wider range in Celebes than would appear from the above references.

Map 30.

In this map is given the presumed distribution of some toys and games as yet only recorded from C. Celebes.

I. *Mogonde,*

This game as well as *moöelenkaroe* and some other games are only recorded from the Poso Toradja by ADRIANI and KRUYT. Presumably at least some of them have a wider range. In *moöelengkaroe* for instance, there are essential elements which are found far beyond the boundaries of Celebes.

II. *Pisóe (contrivance for throwing stones).*

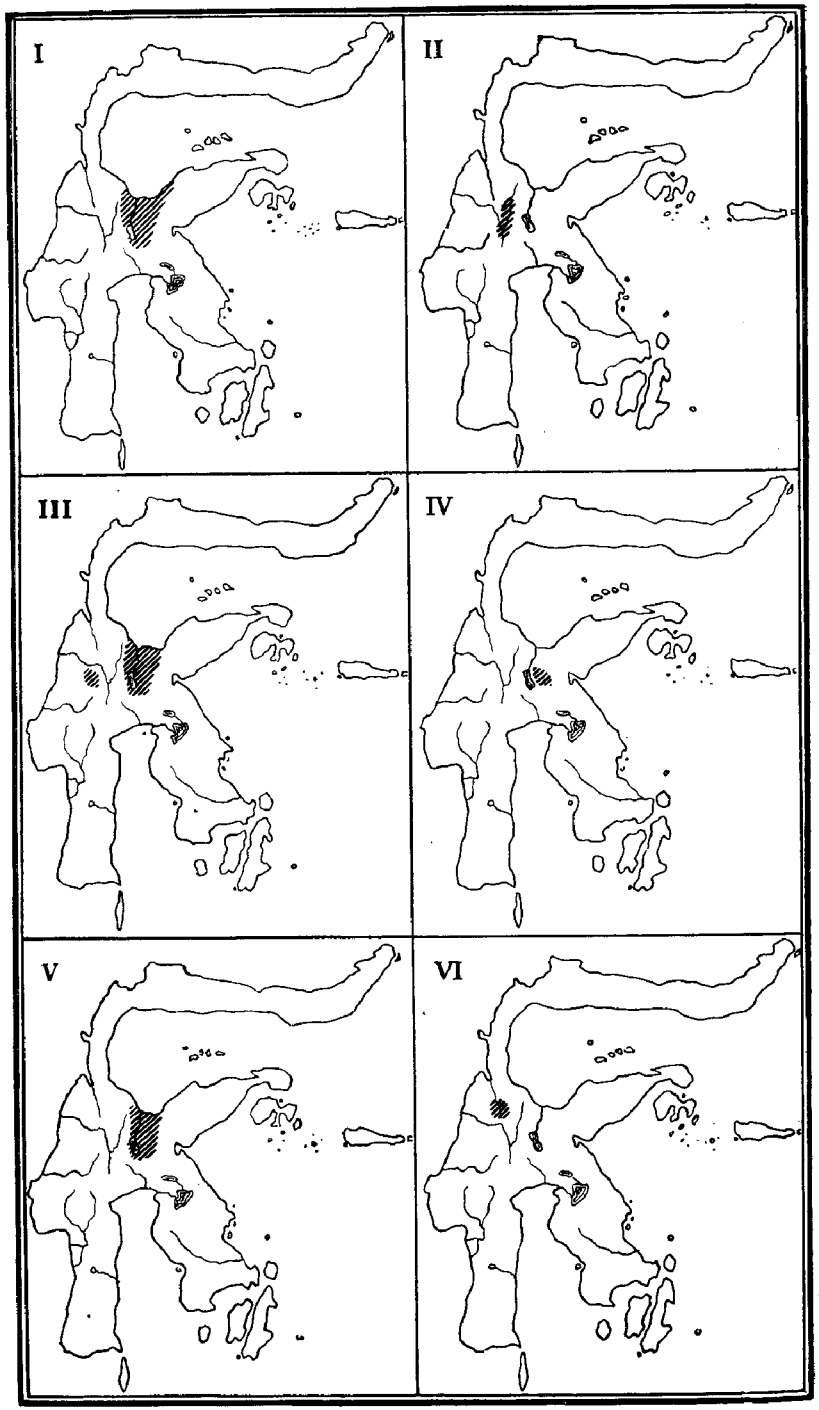
This is an implement, as yet only known from the so-called Koro Toradja in the heart of Celebes.

III. *Shuttlecocks.*

Strangely enough this toy only appears to be recorded from Central Celebes, where two forms are found, one occurring in E. Central Celebes, and another, which contrary to the former is played with a battledore, in NW. Central Celebes.

IV. *The Cross-boomerang and Tela boomerang.*

There is no record of these toys from any other place in all Indonesia than the Ondae District in E. Central Celebes. In the foregoing I have pointed out that the cross-boomerang also is found in NE. Australia. Possibly this toy in Celebes is a survival from some ancient cultural period.



Map 30. *Games and toys known from C. Celebes.*
I. *Mogonde* and several other games recorded by KRUYT; II. the *pisóe;* III. the shuttlecock; IV. the cross-boomerang; V. rings with horns; VI. top twirled between the hands.

V. *The Buffalo Ring.*

This toy which children apply to their fingers, butting each other like buffaloes, is only recorded from E. Central Celebes. Possibly it is also known in NE. Borneo, as the Linden Museum at Stuttgart possesses a specimen from that locality, collected by GRUBAUER. This toy, that evidently is connected with the domestic buffalo, may have a wider range in Indonesia than would appear from the few above references.

VI. *The Hand Top.*

Strange to say this top is only recorded from Koelawi in NW. Central Celebes. In all probability it is not autochthonous there, but it is impossible to say from where it came to C. Celebes before we know more about the range of this toy in Indonesia.

Beside the above games, several games not recorded from any other part of Celebes, are known in C. Celebes. KRUYT mentions a number of such games from the Poso Toradja in E. Central Celebes. The Anona seed, spun by means of a fragment of china ware, from Donggala, possibly is no toy characteristic of C. Celebes. Such a simple toy as this no doubt may occur in scattered localities and may easily be overlooked by researchers.

Method of playing the games and their purport.

In the foregoing, when treating each game and toy separately, I have tried as far as it was possible to give all circumstances under which a game is played. Below I am only giving a summary showing which games are played under similar circumstances, *i. e* what categories of people amuse themselves with different games, and the time when the games are played. The knowledge of this perhaps would help us to trace the routes along which they found their way to Celebes, as well their origin.

If, for instance, a game should prove to be practised in connection with the paddy harvest, this would seem to indicate that the game was introduced into Celebes with the cultivation of paddy, and if there are games connected only with the harvesting of paddy grown on wet fields, this no doubt should be taken to indicate that these games are of later date, having been introduced with the cultivation of paddy in wet fields.

Unfortunately very few observations of this kind have been made in Celebes, thus we cannot expect much of an answer to our question in this way. Besides, the original culture is often so strongly influenced by foreign cultures that it is being blotted out. Old customs rapidly go out of use, and the generation now growing up does not know the customs of thirty or forty years ago.

The performers of the games may be divided into five groups: (1) *to balia*, male or female priests, (2) men, (3) women, (4) children, and (5) games of everybody.

Among the games in Celebes I have not discovered a single one that is practised only by the *to balia*. On the whole I never heard that these people in C. Celebes ever joined in games. Some games, however, which chiefly are amusements connected with feasts of religious character may originally have been games of the priests. In other parts of Celebes they do not appear to be unfamiliar with games, as MATTHES states that the cock-fights of the priests in the Macassar Peninsula were rather simple affairs, the cocks not wearing steel spurs, and no high betting being allowed.

If we group the games with regard to the sex of the performers we shall find that most games are practised by men. Very few games are women's games. Among the games from E. Central Celebes KRUYT only mentions two that are practised only or chiefly by women. One of these is walking on coconut shells, and the other is the *motela*. The former pastime also in Mongondou was practised only by girls. Among the games recorded from the Mac. Peninsula there

are no games said to be games of the female sex, nor does GRAAFLAND mention any such games from Minahassa.

A closer study of this question no doubt would reveal several games for girls, for instance singing games. The swing of the Mac. Peninsula I think should be regarded as a toy of the fair sex.

Many games for men and boys are also practised by the other sex. Of course many children's games are "mixed games", and women may be seen gambling with men just as passionately as the men themselves. At all events this was the case in Mongondou among the Javanese coolies in the coffee plantations and gold mines.

A great number of games are practised chiefly by men. Most round and gambling games are men's games. Boys' games of course are those requiring strong muscles and agility, such as boxing, wrestling, kicking, swimming, throwing of stones, a boomerang-like stick, and a cross-boomerang. Our knowledge of the games is, however, not sufficient to allow their proper grouping with regard to the sex of the performers.

KRUYT in Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" makes some statements as to the time when certain games are played in E. Central Celebes, but from other parts of the island statements of this kind are very rare.

According to KRUYT, most games appear to be practised all the year round, but some are connected with agriculture. As a rule these games should not be played as long as the crops are standing. Such games are: shooting with pop-guns, jumping between paddy pestles, top spinning, and *motela* when played in the same manner as *mologo*.

Mowinti, the game of kicking at the ankle of an adversary is an amusement at the feast celebrated when the paddy is planted, but it is also allowed at other feasts, according to KRUYT. In NW. Central Celebes I think this kicking was practised without any restrictions at all.

In the Macassar Peninsula swinging is a pastime connected with harvesting, though slightly different in different districts, as already pointed out in the foregoing.

These games, which are connected with the paddy harvest and for this reason can be said to be of ritual character, presumably are of the same age as the cultivation of paddy, the most important cereal grown by the natives in Celebes. If we knew at what time the cultivation of paddy was introduced, this might throw a light upon the age of these games. There are, however, two methods of cultivating paddy: on fields cleared with fire, and on wet fields, the former no doubt being much earlier a method than the latter, and it would be difficult to know to which of the two methods of cultivating paddy any particular game should be referred.

If we wish to unravel the question whether a game originally was of a ritual character or not, it is not sufficient to consider the time at which it is played, it is also necessary to compare the Celebes games with similar games of other peoples. If we do so, many games turn out to have had a magic or ritual character, which they have lost, having by now subsided into mere games for childrens.

In other games we trace an implement of adults, at present out of use, but being kept as a children's plaything.

Some games and toys very likely never had a ritual character, or ever were useful things. No doubt they were invented by the children themselves.

Various kinds of sports naturally may be referred now to one of these types, now to another.

In the table below I have tried to arrange the games according to this principle, but I am quite conscious of the fact that I have not been altogether sucessful.

(1) Games of ritual character:

Mowinti, kicking;
Hand clapping
Jumping between paddy pestles;

Tug-of-war;
Blind man's buff;
Hopping Tag;
?Stilts (In E. Central Celebes stilts may have been of practical use in the paddy fields).
Coconut "stilts", or sandals;
Swings;
Football;
?Shuttlecock;
Tops
?Logo
Tela
?Kites
?Breaking sugar cane;
Pop-guns;
?Buzzers;
?Wind-mill;
Moöelengkaroe (singing game);
?Riddles;
?Puzzles;
?String figures.

To this group probably should be referred a number of singing and tag games, possibly also cock-fights.

(2) Toys originally used for practical purposes by adults:

Shield, spear, boat, cart, and similar.
Blow-gun;
Bow;
Cross-bow;
Throwing stick;
Cross-boomerang (possibly of magic character);
Sling;
Pisóe;
Stilts, in Minahassa and E. Central Celebes.

Certain sports such as riding, swimming, sailing-matches, wrestling, and boxing stand between this group and the following. The latter two, however, may have been of ritual character.

(3) **Children's Games in the strict sense.**

The rest of the games would then be mere pastimes, and they are very few indeed if we do not include with them the round and gambling games of adults. *Children's games* in the strict sense, may be the following.

Tobogganing down slippery hill sides;
Stone-throwing with the hand;
» » » a stick;
Flipping hard seeds;
Hand-top;
Trundling;
Marbles;
Breaking coconuts;
?Bamboo pea-shooter;
Using live insects for kites.

Origin of the games.

In many cases it is difficult to pronounce an opinion on the origin of the games in Celebes, their range in this island and in Indonesia in general, as well as the circumstances connected with their performance being insufficiently known.

It is, however, evident that the games were introduced from various, widely separated quarters, and that they belong to different cultures.

Below I have tried to group them according to their origin.

(1) Games with so wide a range throughout the world that at present it is impossible to decide where they rose. These games very well may have been independantly invented in different eras and among different peoples.
(2) Games only occurring in Indonesia, which may be considered autochthonous in this region.

(3) Games only known from Celebes, and probably native to this island.
(4) Games and toys the range of which points to an Australian-Melanesian origin.
(5) Games belonging to the Hindoo-Javanese culture.
(6) Games of Arabian-Mohammedan origin.
(7) Games introduced from E. Asia, China, or Japan.
(8) Games introduced by Europeans.

The list subjoined by no means pretends to be complete; and in many points it may be uncertain.

Group 1.

Numerous imitative games such as:
War;
Hunting.
Buffalo game;
Toy boats;
Helping father and mother;
Tag games;
Wrestling;
Boxing;
Swimming;
Hand clapping;
Sailing matches;
Shuttle-cock;
Stone-throwing with the hand, or with a stick, or sling;
Hand top;
Top-spinning game, which however, may be autochthonous in Indonesia;
Trundling hoops or wooden plates;
Marbles;
Pop-gun;
Squirt-gun;
Bamboo pea-shooter;
Buzzers;
Riddles;

Hide and Find;
Several kinds of puzzles;
String figures.

Group 2.

Kicking. This sport is mentioned from several places in Indonesia. In Celebes it appears to be known all over the island;
?Jumping between paddy pestles;
Deer hunting in the Bugis manner, which possibly may be original among the natives of S. Celebes;
Coconut "stilts", or sandals;
Raga game;
Logo game;
?"Wind-mill."

Group 3:

Buffalo horn rings;
Horse and horseman in Macassar style;
Stone-throwing with the *pisóe;*
Tela, splints of bamboo used as a boomerang;
Tela game;
Breaking sugar cane.

Group 4:

Cross-boomerang;
Throwing club or stick.

Group 5:

?Swing of the Mac. Peninsula;
?Squirt-gun;
Chess;
Draughts;
Tiger game;
Galatjang game.

Group 6:

Whether there are any genuinely Arabian-Mohammedan games in Celebes seems uncertain. Possibly some

games in Group 2 were introduced by Mohammedans, but even if this is the case, they no doubt came to Celebes over India.

Group 7:

?Tug-of-war, but only in case the game dispersed from the north to the south, to the Molucca, and from these islands on to Celebes.
Stilts in N. Celebes;
Swing in Minahassa;
Shuttle-cock played with a battledore;
Paper Kite;
Patoewi (game of cards);
Kowa gonggong (game of cards);
Spinning Die;
Pitching coins, and such like (possibly).

Group 8:

Cross-bow;
Omi (cards);
Kensi (cards);
Football.

Very few of the games in Group 5, 7, and 8 appear to have penetrated into the interior of Celebes. Such games are the stilts of the Poso Toradja, and the shuttlecock in Kantewoe, as well as some games in SW. Central Celebes such as the swing and games of cards. The tracts where games of cards are practised, are however, strongly influenced by the culture of the Mac. Peninsula, which in its turn was strongly influenced by foreign cultures.

Among the games in the Groups 2—4, there are a fairly good number that have found their way to the interior of C. Celebes, and the same, perhaps in a still higher degree, is the case with the games in Group 1. These games, which occur among tribes in the interior where the influence from foreign cultures is comparatively small, are either games

with a very wide range in Indonesia, or possibly in the world in general, or else they are relicts of earlier cultures.

It seems a remarkable fact that gambling games are unknown here, as these games are very much in favour with a great number of Indonesian as well as Polynesian peoples. Also games of solving a problem, as well as round games, appear to be absent, if we do not class the top, *logo*, *tela*, and shuttlecock among these games.

On the whole the Toradja in Central Celebes do not appear to be of an inventive turn of mind in the way of games and toys, as the only toy they posses that so far has not been recorded from another people is the *pisóe*, a contrivance for throwing stones.

Dances.

The natives in Celebes appear to be fond of dancing, and no doubt they indulge in various dances all over the island. Of some of these we have fairly detailed accounts but the dances in Celebes have not yet been subjected to a comparative investigation. I myself did not have the opportunity of seeing more than a few dances, and therefore the following account does not claim to be anythnig but a small contribution to our knowledge of the dances in Celebes, my object, however, being to make clear, as far as it is possible, the geographical distribution of the different kinds of dances, and their relation to the dances of other peoples in Indonesia.

A classification of the dances of course can be founded on several principles. We could, for instance, divide them into religious and profane dances, but at present it is rather difficult to unravel the true nature of a dance, since no doubt many dances, originally of ritual character, in the course of time have become common profane dances. To a great extent this is due to the restrictions connected with the surrender to the Dutch, who have prohibited head hunting and other ritual performances, as well as to the work of the missionaries and the schools, who have imparted a certain amount of European culture to the natives. In the following survey I have simply classed the dances into:

(1). *Rounds*. To this group should be referred all dances in which the participants form a closed circle, or part of

a circle. Possibly all these dances originally were ritual performances.

(2). *Contra dances.* Two or several persons partake in these dances, but sometimes a single person performs, dancing against a fictitious partner. As a rule these dances are war-dances.

(3). *Sacerdotal dances.* The performers are priests, males or females.

(4). *Professional dances.* The performers are professionals, mostly females. These dances appear to be of Hindoo or Arabian origin.

(5). *European dances.*

A. ROUND DANCES.

These dances no doubt are known all over Celebes, differing, however, in different places. Below is given an account of the rounds of various districts.

Central Celebes.

Several writers record rounds from this part of the island. A well-known dance called *raego* is described from the Paloe Toradja, the Koro Toradja, as well as the Poso Toradja. Similar dances are also known from the Mori District in E. Central Celebes and from the socalled Saadang Toradja in the south-western part of C.Celebes.

Paloe Toradja.

Koelawi.

In 1897 ADRIANI and KRUYT on their journey to Lindoe had the opportunity of witnessing a *raego* in Koelawi. On page 504 of "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen", Vol. XLII, 1898, they write: "In den avond ging men de raegodans uitvoeren . . . Men voerde dezen dans uit als in Sigi . . . De zang werd echter met rauwe stemmen en zeer ongemanierd gezongen."

The cousins SARASIN, who visited Koelawi in 1902 have nothing to tell of the *raego*, nor has GRUBAUER who paid a short visit to this district in 1911. A Dutchman, Captain BOONSTRA VAN HEERDT, who traversed and partly mapped the mountain districts in NW. Central Celebes in 1910 and 1911 records the *raego* from Koelawi, Lindoe, and other places, but he does not describe the dance. He enters, however, upon the meaning of the word *raego* and its verbal form *moraego*, but his explanation has been criticized by other authorities, of which more further on.

During my sojourn in Koelawi in 1918 I had the opportunity of making some observations, but unfortunately they are not sufficient to give an altogether satisfactory picture of the different kinds of *raego*.[1] Certain important feasts connected with dancing I had no opportunity of seeing.

Several Koelawi men told me that the *raego* was allowed as soon as the paddy was harvested and until the planting of the new paddy was finished, *i. e.* from May to November. Whether this is correct I had no opportunity of verifying. True enough, I never saw or heard of any *raego* at the end of 1918, or in the beginning of 1919, but possibly this was due to the fact that in that time the influenza ravaged in these districts, in a short time carrying off twenty per cent. of the inhabitants. Certainly there was a great festival connected with *raego* held in October, yet at that time the planting of the paddy was finished in a certain part of the district.

Be this as it may. It is nevertheless a fact that the natives of Koelawi indulged in the *raego* to their hearts' content at the season when the fields were left untilled. When we arrived in this district at the end of May in 1918 the harvest was just finished, and once or twice a week there was a *raego*.

[1] ADRIANI and KRUYT write this word *raego*, which, however, does not seem to correspond to the pronunciation in Koelawi which is *règo*, with a short French è in the first syllable.

At the close of the day we heard the men shouting and whooping on their way to the dance. The natives gathered now at one village, now at another, and there never seemed to lack a reason for arranging a *raego*. For the benefit of more useful work the Dutch authorities tried to limit these dances by an ordinance that only once a week the natives of a village were allowed to arrange a *raego*. This their coloured subjects easily got round. One night for instance there was a dance at Soengkoe, the next night at Mataoee, then at Boladangko and so on, no matter to them when there was only a few minutes' walk between the villages.

The dance seemed to be fairly uniform. It was just the same at all ordinary dancing parties, that is to say the dancers form a big circle, about half of which is occupied by girls — married women are not allowed to dance — the other half by men, all of whom are free to join in the *raego* whether married or unmarried. The majority of the male dancers, however, were unmarried young men. The girls walk two by two, or three by three, arm in arm, and the men in Indian file, with their left hand resting on the right shoulder of the man in front. (Plate I and Fig. 131 A).

Since an ordinary *raego* never begins until a couple of hours after sunset, it is welcome to the party when there is a moon to give its light to the dance. If not, a fire will supply the illumination. In Koelawi, contrary to the custom in E. Central Celebes, a fire is never lighted within the circle of the dancing natives. These slowly move with the sun, and the girls strike up a strange, monotone song. One of the older girls appears to be the leader who intonates the song. In singing, the girls hardly move the lips of their half open mouth, and the leading girl raised the bent palm of her left hand to a level with her mouth. The men take up quite another tune, now and then whooping, and with their right foot stamping on the ground in time.

This goes on for a long while. The steps appear rather complicated to an onlooker, yet every little girl in Koelawi knows them. Then some of the men leave the rank to join a girl, putting his left arm round her shoulders. The couples leave the circle and range side by side in a semi-circle outside the big circle, whilst facing the back of it. Similarly to the



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 97. *Moraego in Koelawi.* NW. Central Celebes.

men of this circle, they put their left hand on the shoulder of the next man to the left, but at the same time this arm is laid round the neck of the girl (Figs 97, 98 and 131 A[1]), the semi-circle moving usually in the same direction. When the men in the inner circle stamp, the dancers in the semi-circle bob three times. More couples leave the inner circle and join the semi-circle. Now and then a dancer will take a rest, sitting down on the ground where married



W. KAUDERN. Photo.

Fig. 98. *Moraego in Koelawi.* Outer semicircle. NW. Central Celebes.

women and children have gathered to watch the dance. Some couples leave the party and disappear in the darkness of the night. Whether there are different figures in the ordinary *raego* I cannot tell. I never watched it for a whole night until it finished in the morning. Twice I witnessed a so-called *moraego woentja*, a dance much more complicated than an ordinary *raego*.

This dance is performed on the occasion of a festival called *woentja*, connected with the cultivation of paddy in wet fields. In Koelawi the paddy is harvested at the end of April and the beginning of May, and then the fields are left lying idle during the following months which as a rule are rather dry. Towards the end of that time every village in Koelawi will arrange a so-called *woentja*, which is believed to make the crops prosper. On this occasion the natives raise a kind of maypole from which depend a great number of small bags plaited from palm leaves and containing cooked rice. The Malay name of this dish is *ketoepat*. The natives dance round the pole like we do round a maypole or a Christmas tree.

This "tree" (Fig. 99 A) consists of a strong bamboo of the kind that the Dutch call "ijzerbamboe", with the leaves stripped off and the smaller branches cut away, whilst the bigger branches are bent down and lashed to four long, vertical bamboo rods, two on either side. To make this "tree" steady, some cross-pieces of bamboo are added. The top is adorned with a big tuft of leaves. The small rice parcels are hung on the branches as well as on the cross-bars, and the "tree" is planted in the ground and supported by two bamboo poles. A native told me that this "tree" which is called *woentja*, has given its name to the festival.

Apart from Koelawi, I have seen this *woentja* "tree" at the following places in NW. Central Celebes: Banggakoro, Siwongi, Onoe, Kantewoe, and Peana (Fig. 100). I have also reason to believe that the natives of Benahoe are familiar with the *woentja*.

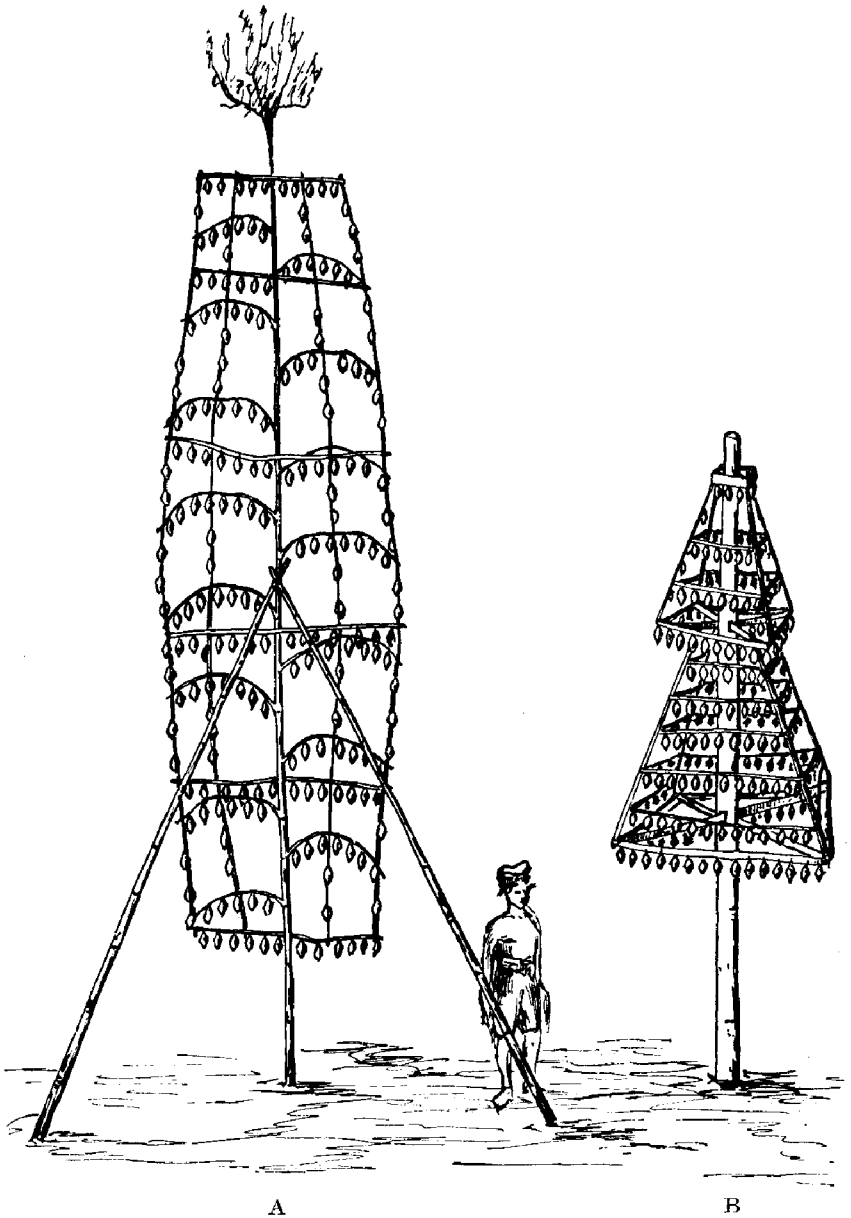
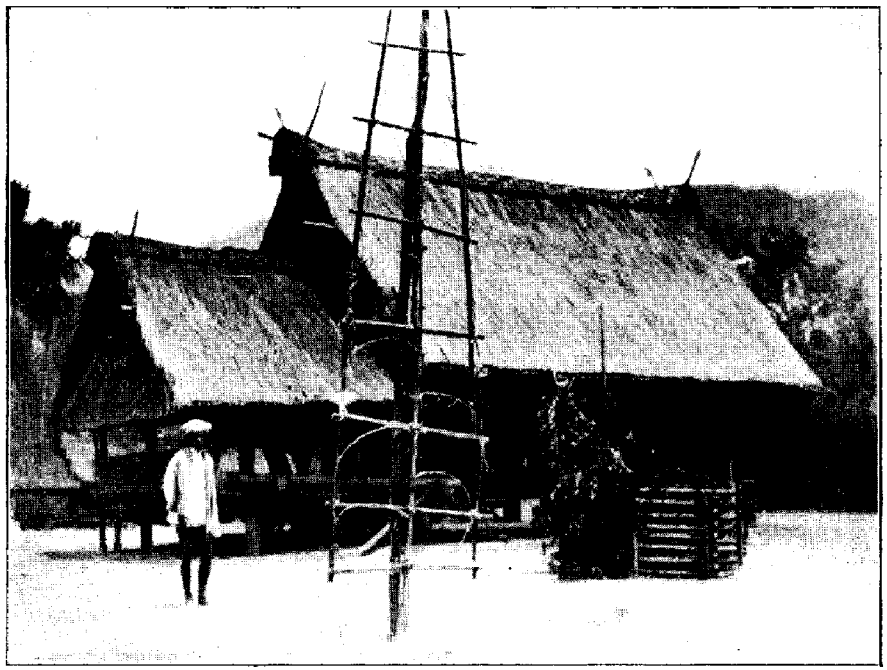


Fig. 99. *Woentja "trees"*. NW. Central Celebes. A is the kind generally seen; B is the "tree" used at a *woentja tarade*.

As regards attire, it is to be noticed that however plain the everyday suit or dress may be, all participants in a *raego* wear nice clothes, and on the occasion of a *woentja*, or some other great festival, they are sure to appear "in full fig" with ornaments and gems which attract the attention especially of a foreigner.



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 100. *A woentja "tree" deprived of its rice parcels.* Peana, NW. Central Celebes.

On August 27th in 1918 a great *woentja* was held in Koelawi. The ground was an open space in front of some houses situated in the *lida* (Koelawi: wet paddy fields). Together with some natives, dressed in their very best garb and lighting us with their torches, we went down to the *lida* to have a look at the spectacle. When we arrived they had already begun dancing the usual *raego*. There were several hundreds of natives. Some of them had come to dance, others to watch the performance as interested spectators.



O. STRANDLUND Photo.

Fig. 101. *Young Koelawi man dressed for the moraego.*

All the men wore very short knee-breeches, mostly of striped silk, picturesque headcloths of painted bast cloth, and costly silk *koemoe,* a garment in de shape of a wide cylinder, which all men and women fold over one shoulder, women, however, not at *moraego.* Round their waist a broad band is wound several times and in this is stuck a nice sword, perhaps in a silver sheath, and with a handle adorned with a big tuft of human hair. The upper part of the body is always naked, and for adornment a necklace is generally worn (Fig. 101).

The girls had put on their best crinolines of *noenoe,* a kind of coarse bast cloth, or, in case of rich people, of white cotton (Fig. 98). Their tunics were ornamented with bits of mica pasted on in dots and lines, or with some pretty embroidery. On their head they wore a head-dress, *tali oewa* (Fig. 102), or a head-band

of beads, *tali enoe* (Fig. 97), or a band of cotton with fan-like ends, *tali potaja,* (Fig. 103). Their ornaments consisted of necklaces and neck chains, ear-drops, bangles,



W. KAUDERN. Painting in oils.

Fig. 102. *Young Koelawi girl with a head dress called tali oewa.*

and a number of pellet- bells suspended in bunches of two or three bells from a rod (Fig. 104). These bells are tied round the waist and appear at the back just below the edge of the tunic. In addition to this *tiwoloe tiwoloe* there is a big bunch of fragrant leaves (Fig. 98).

The married women, who were sitting on the ground, were just as finely dressed as the girls, but they did not wear a *tiwoloe tiwoloe.*

The *raego* soon after our arrival ceased, and when the natives again started dancing this took place in front of the *woentja* tree. Some elderly men then formed a semicircle,



W. KAUDERN. Painting in oils.

Fig. 103. *Young Koelawi girl with a head band called tali potaja.*

and behind them some young girls, all facing the *woentja* "tree". Slowly they all began to move from right to left, all the time singing. The girls' chant, however, was more melodious and went in a slower tempo than that with which they accompany an ordinary *raego*. The men now and then

shouted or whooped, at the same time stamping on the ground and stretching their right hand towards the *woentja* "tree". It looked as if they were paying their homage to it. In moving round the "tree" males and females changed places, the line of girls finally forming the inner semicircle. Other men and girls joined in the dance with the ultimate result that there were two complete circles performing round the *woentja* "tree". From these two circles couples separated, just as in the common *raego*, making a third circle. At last

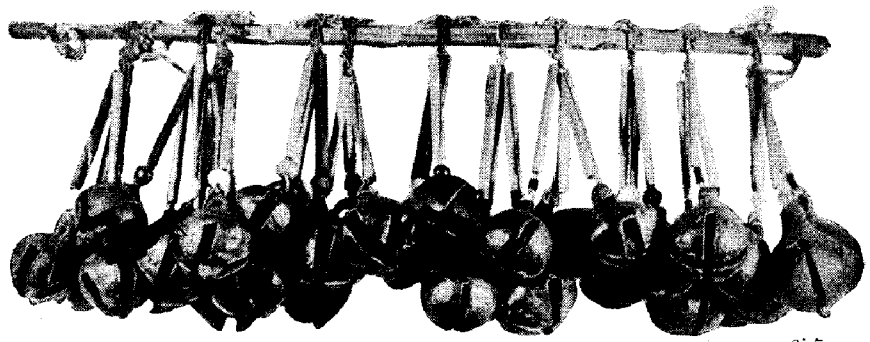


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Fig. 104. *Tiwoloe tiwoloe*, set of pellet-bells used by the Koelawi girls at *the moraego woentja.*

a great number of small girls, two by two and arm in arm, formed a fourth circle round all the dancing people (Fig. 131 B, B1, and B2).

I think the two inner circles stepped alternately in a binary and a triple rhythm. The small girls in the outermost circle made four steps to the left, paused for a moment, and again made four steps to the left, but this time the fourth step was a short step backwards. Again there was a pause followed by four steps, a pause and four steps, but this time the second step was a short step backwards.

The couples in the third circle moved with the clock-hands, made some short slow steps to the left, and at a certain step all girls bobbed five times, the men stamping on the ground at the first, the third, and the fifth bob. When the girls bobbed, their *tiwoloe tiwoloe* jingled. Like this the

dance went on until late, when the party was surprised by a heavy rain which scattered the participants.

There is another kind of *woentja*, more rarely seen, called *woentja tarade*, with a *woentja* "tree" made of the trunk of a beetel palm, not nearly so high as a common *woentja* "tree" and of rather different construction, as seen in Fig. 99 B).

Some natives said that no *woentja tarade* must be held before all the ordinary *woentja* had come to an end, but this seems rather strange considering the fact that the first *woentja* which I witnessed was a *woentja tarade*, held on July 21st in 1918 at the village of Soengkoe in Koelawi, and later, in the course of August, quite a number of ordinary *woentja* were arranged by the natives. I was told that in September a great *woentja tarade* was held, but this I could not attend, being at that time in Kantewoe further up the country. In all probability the *woentja tarade* is a festival connected with agriculture. Further on we shall see that this is the case in the Paloe Valley.

The above mentioned *woentja tarade* at the village of Soengkoe had already begun when I arrived. Having not followed it from beginning to end I cannot give a detailed account of the performance, but I think it was much the same as the usual *woentja*, a great number of natives dancing in concentric circles round the *woentja* tree. Also in this case the younger girls were in the outermost circle.

Beside at the *woentja* festivals the natives of Koelawi amuse themselves with *raego* at every religious performance of importance. In October 1918 a great festival called *kasawea* was held at Bolapapoe, the head village of Koelawi. This I could not attend as I was too far away to be able to reach Koelawi in time. I was told that the *kasawea* is still greater a festival than the *woentja*, and that it is celebrated every other year. Strangely enough the natives will then dance in the daytime, in a temporary shed. The dress of the participants is, if possible, still more gorgeous

than at a *woentja*. The great ladies wear a kind of diadem, or crown, as seen in Fig. 105, of which there were only four in all Koelawi. Another ornament seen on this occasion is the *halili enoe*, — *halili*, tunic, *enoe*, beads — (Fig. 106). I only saw it once at the funeral of a lady of high rank, when a



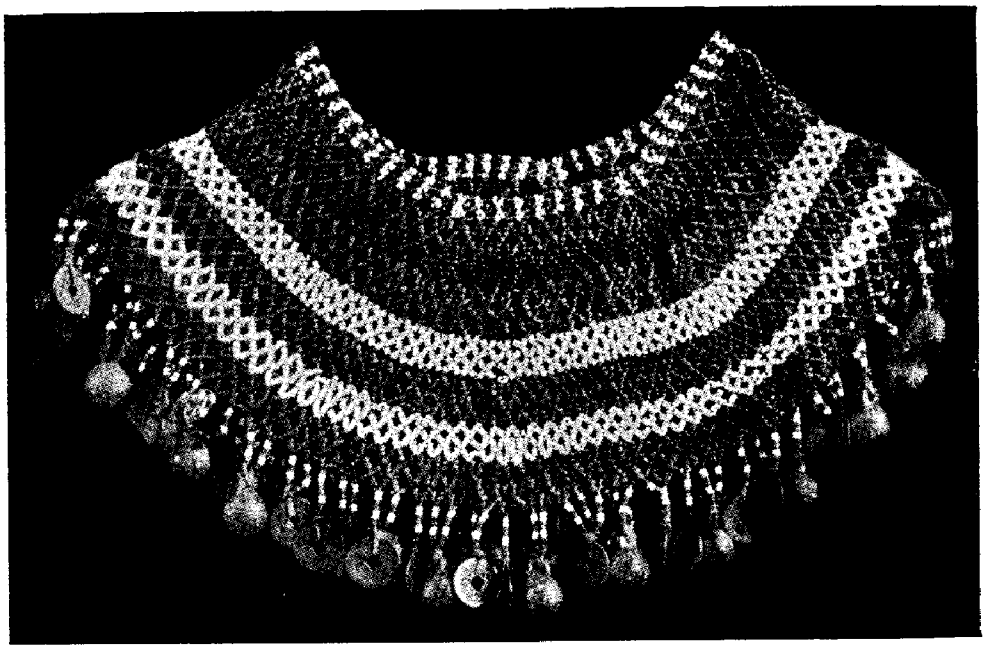
W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 105. Koelawi girl in festal attire. Her head dress is called *harada*.

morner woman, weeping at the coffin, wore it. On the occasion of a *kasawea* a great number of buffaloes are killed, at least one of which is killed in the village temple. I was unable to learn the real meaning of the *kasawea*, but it cannot be doubted that it was a festival of ritual character.

The *motaro*, a commemoration in honour of the dead, is another festival of great splendor, in all probability in conjunction with *moraego*, as is the case in the Lindoe District, bordering on Koelawi in the north-east, where I have witnessed a *motaro*.

The curing of a sick person by the native priests or priestesses, the *to balia*, is a performance also followed by a



From SARASIN.

Fig. 106. Collar of beads with a fringe of bells and Chinese coins, halili enoe.

raego. The sick person is believed to be possessed with an evil spirit, the object of the *to balia* being to exorcise it by their incantations.

In Koelawi there was an old man, Tomai Lingkoe, the former chieftain of the tribe. His legs were slowly withering away, making it impossible for him to move without assistance. Every year he called the priests, and a *balia* was arranged for the purpose of curing him from his suffering.

A fortnight before the *balia* was to take place, the people of Tomai Lingkoe's house began beating some big drums which were kept outside the house. This was supposed to attract the attention of the spirits and to invoke their aid.

On the day of the *balia* a great party in festal attire gathered on the banks of a stream, where two male *to balia* under various ceremonies gave poor Tomai Lingkoe a cold bath and arrayed him in his chieftain's garb that he had worn in the olden head hunting times. They mounted him on horse-back and brought him to his house, where a buffalo was killed to treat the guests. In the evening there was the usual *raego* dance in the open ground in front of Tomai Lingkoe's house.

From the foregoing is evident that in all probability every religious festival is followed by a round dance of *raego* type, which gives to this kind of dances a ritual character. Yet I do not think that every *raego* dance necessarily was connected with a religious performance. Often this dance may be a mere pastime, the participants on these occasions not being very particular about their dress.

Whether the natives of Koelawi, like certain other tribes, have a *raego* dance in the village temple I am not sure. Some natives said it had been customary to do so at certain great festivals.

Lindoe.

Also the natives of the Lindoe District amuse themselves with *raego* dances. I never had the opportunity of seeing such a dance in Lindoe, but the cousins SARASIN, who paid a short visit to this district in 1902, in their "Reisen in Celebes", Vol. II, page 43, state the following: "Während der Nacht wurde im nahen Dorf ein Fest abgehalten mit Raegotanz; immerzu ertönte Jodeln und Rufen bis gegen Morgen".

On my second visit to Lindoe, in January 1919, the natives celebrated a series of *motaro* in their villages, the

whole district not having such a feast in common, as may sometimes be the case according to what they told me themselves. I did not see any *raego* dance, but at the village of Langko a special dance was performed during daytime in the village temple on the very last day of my stay at this place. In the temple some boys with all their might and main were beating an ample-sized brass gong. Between-whiles some half-grown boys and girls indulged in a strange dance, gesticulating with their arms, clapping their hands, bouncing, and stamping on the floor, which made the heavy deals of the flooring clatter tremendously. All the time when performing, the dancing youths kept a grave face, but no sooner was the dance over than they laughed with all their heart.

To describe the dance is impossible. It was carried out at too rapid a tempo to allow a mere onlooker to follow its details. The performing persons moved clockwise in a circle, each of them executing a solo dance whilst alternately jumping forwards, turning round to the left and to the right, and jumping backwards.

Paloe Valley.

ADRIANI and KRUYT in their account of their journey to Lindoe in 1897 in "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen." XLII, 1898, state that the natives of Sigi amused themselves with *moraego*. On page 475 they write:

"Onder de spelen behoort in de eerste plaats de *raego*-dans. Deze verschilt in zooverre van dien te Posso, dat de mannen en vrouwen niet afzonderlijk loopen (als te Posso) maar de man aan iederen kant den arm om den hals van een meisje heeft geslagen. Ook bij de intermezzos', waarbij een gejuich wordt aangeheven van hi, hi, hoi, hoi! stampt men niet op den grond (als te Posso) maar gaat men op de hurken zitten."

To judge from the above account, the *raego* of Sigi has some features in common with the *raego* of Koelawi. ADRIANI

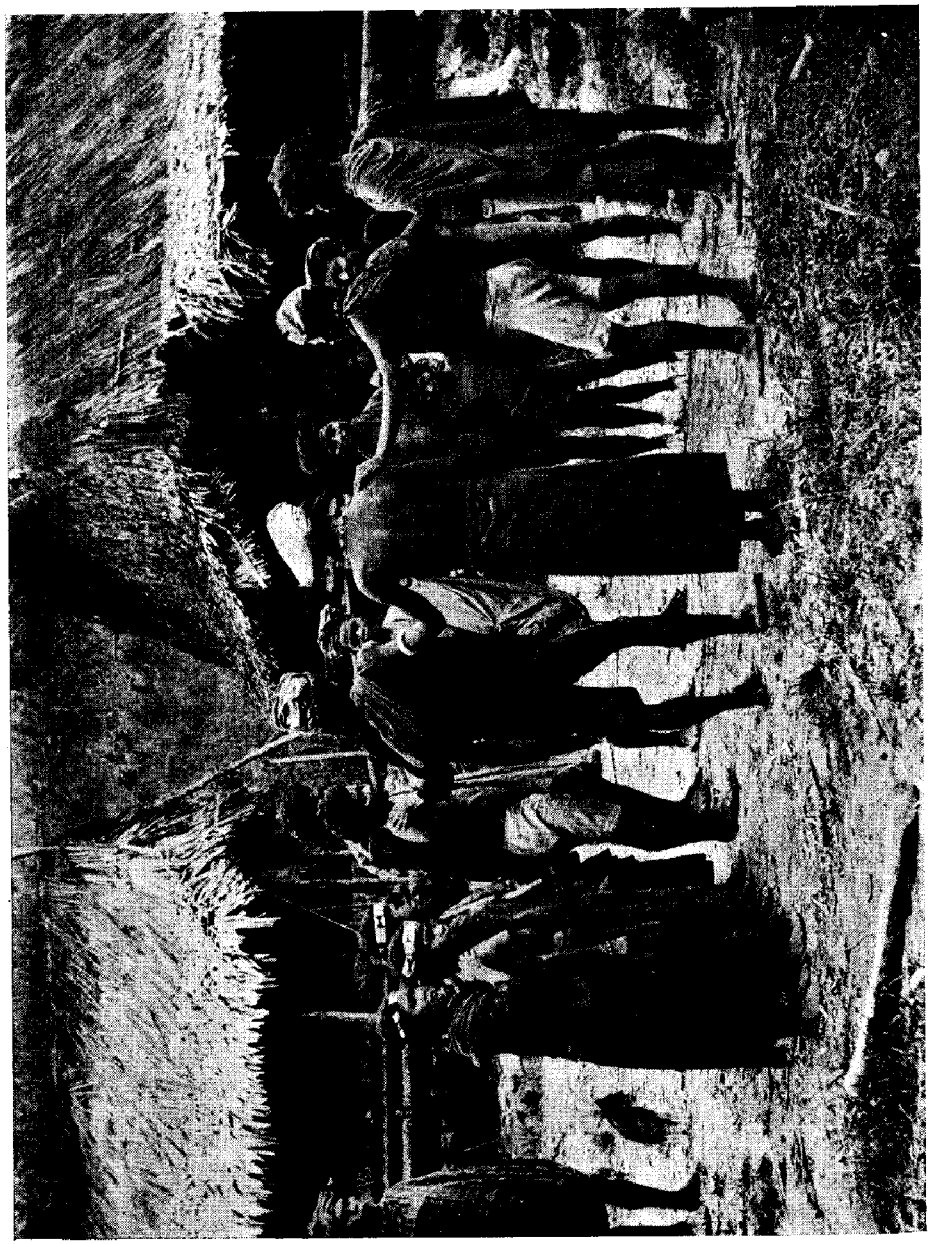
and KRUYT even appear to be of the opinion that this dance is quite the same in the two districts. As mentioned before they say of Koelawi: "In den avond ging men den *raego*-dans uitvoeren, ... Men voerde dezen dans uit als in Sigi, gelijk wij dien reeds beschreven hebben. De zang werd echter met rauwe stemmen en zeer ongemanierd gezongen."

My own experience of the Koelawi *raego* is that it differs quite considerably from this dance as described from Sigi by ADRIANI and KRUYT.

In the foregoing I have mentioned that the *woentja tarade* "tree" is known also to the tribes living in the Paloe Valley. The Dutch "Controleur" Mr. HISSINK in his "Nota van toelichting betreffende de zelfbesturende landschappen Paloe, Dolo, Sigi en Beromaroe", in "Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", Vol. LIV, part 1 and 2, states that in these districts in case of a protracted drought the natives arrange a feast called *moraja*. The headman of the districts summons a number of *to balia*, and the performance takes place in the village temple, here called *baroega*. After giving an account of the preparations in the temple, the dances of the different *to balia* etc., HISSINK writes (page 89): "Op den zevenden dag gaat men gezamenlijk baden (noawi) in de rivier en worden schoone kleeren aangetrokken. Men keert daarna terug bij de *baroega* en door the *balia* wordt een dans (*notaro nontikoenoendja*) uitgevoerd. Deze dans heeft plaats om een pinangstam,[1] waarom klapperbladeren zijn gewikkeld en aan welks boveneinde drie bossen padi worden vastgebonden. De dans bestaat uit zeven rondegangen op maat om de *woendja*. Daarna gaat men hieromheen zitten. Eene hoveelheid *ketoepat* en *djagoeng*[2] wordt aangebracht en aan de *woendja* vastgebonden. Tegen den avond begeven zich de *balia* in the *baroega*, en wordt door de genoodigden om de *woendja* een *rego*dans uitgevoerd

[1] *Pinang*, Areca catechu L., (Malay).

[2] *Djagoeng*, maize (Malay).



O. Strandlund Photo.

Fig. 107. Moraego at Biro. Tobako District, NW. Central Celebes.

(*morego*). Aan dezen dans mogen, wat de vrouwen betreft, alleen ongehuwden deelnemen. De jonge meisjes bevinden zich in het midden, de mannen in een kring er om heen. Zij leggen den linkerarm op den rechterschouder van hun buurman. Op maat van hun gezang een ronde dans uitvoerende, stampen zij met hun voet zoo nu en dan op den grond. De jonge mannen omhelzen nu de jonge meisjes met den linkerarm en bringen hen in hun kring, waar zij den rondedans volgen. Een van de jonge meisjes zingt een lied, waarbij telkens de andere invallen. Een der gebruikelijkste liederen is den volgende:

Lena oengkalo'a	De zon is reeds ondergegaan.
Tida mangoeli kalimpae'o	Van haar spreken wij niet meer
Tapolea'lia malinoe bengi	Wij dansen den geheelen nacht
Me'ongko mataro man-	Staande rondgaande, alleen
boengka langi.	hier onder den hemel."

As seen from this account the *woentja tarade* in Koelawi has many features in common with this *morego* danced round a *pinang* pole hung with *ketoepat* and *djagoeng*. Also the ordinary *woentja* tree, a bamboo pole on which eatables are suspended, appears to be known in Sigi, Dolo, Beromaroe, and Paloe. Hissink, in the above quoted periodical, gives a detailed account of the festival preceding the work in the fields to prepare them for the planting of the paddy. On page 91 he writes: "Om een in den grond gestoken bamboe, waaraan allerlei eetwaren zijn vastgebonden wordt nu een dans met gezang uitgevoerd, waarbij men aan de geesten voldoende regen vraagt voor de volgende sawahperiode. Daarna wordt er gegeten en gedronken."

Tobakoe.

In the district of Tobakoe on the Koro I witnessed a *raego* dance at Towoeloe as well as at Siwongi. At both places the dance was much the same as in the Tole District

of which more further on. To judge from a photo taken at Biro, another Tobakoe village, by the S. A. officer Mr. STRANDLUND the dance appears to be about the same as in the above villages (Fig. 108).

In pursuing literature on the subject I have not found any statements referring to *raego* dances in the mountain districts to the east of the Paloe Valley, or Parigi on Tomini Bay.

Koro Toradja.

Pipikoro.

In the districts often called Pipikoro, the inhabitants of which I believe to be closely related to the tribes living further to the south and the south-east, and which I call Koro Toradja, I have seen the *raego* dance at the villages of Pangana, Poraelea, and Ioentoe (=Onoe), all in the Tole District, as well as at Kantewoe, Peana, and Benahoe. At all these places the dance appears to be about the same.

On September 16th, 1918, I attended a *raego* in the temple of Pangana in the Tole district. In the afternoon some natives returned to the village from their clearings in the mountains, bringing maize, cucumbers, and other vegetables. Evidently they had already been told of our arrival at their village, since they were not the least surprised to see us. Some of them came up to us making a present of a cucumber, some maize and manioc.

In the evening when the natives had finished their meal, they gathered round us in the temple, where it is customary for a traveller to be put up for the night, to have a talk. Spirits ruled high, and finally they set about a *raego* dance, which certainly had not the character of a religious performance. It was nothing but a mere pastime. The natives ranged themselves in a circle round the centre post of the temple, the girls forming one-half of the circle, keeping close to one another, and holding one another with both hands. As seen in Fig. 108, the girls with both hands seize the arms of the girl in front a little above the elbow.

The men who formed the other half of the circle, put their left hand on the right shoulder of the man to the left, just like the natives do in Koelawi. All moved at a slow pace, clockwise (Fig 132 C). When the dance started, the girls struck up a song, in which the men joined, occasionally raising some inarticulate whoops. All wore their everyday suits and dresses.

Having danced for quite a long while, the party took a few minutes' rest, and then they resumed the dance. This time the semicircle of the girls, who were facing the centre post, moved against the clock. Occasionally they stopped, while the men at a quickened pace danced round them in an outer semicircle, moving counter-clockwise. Now and then the singing was interrupted by some whoops from the men who then made some steps in clockwise direction (Fig 132 D).

Again there was a pause, and then they started a third figure, fairly similar to the first one. The men, however, did not put one hand on their neighbour to the left (Fig. 108), and the girls did not make a circle together with them. Males as well as females moved separately on either side of the centre post. (Fig 132 E). The songs, I think, on the whole were about the same as at other places in Pipikoro, but they were more melodious and more pleasant than the Koelawi *raego* songs. All three figures were accompanied by different tunes, but I could only catch the one word *torona*, young girl. To judge from the expression of their faces, I should say it was a wooer's danee, the girls, however, pretending to be reluctant and indifferent to the homage which the men paid to them. They kept dancing for several hours, and we were lulled to sleep in our camp beds by their monotonous singing.

At Poraelea, formerly one of the Tole head villages, I watched a *raego* in the decayed temple when I visited this village on October 12th, 1918. The dance appeared to be exactly the same as described above from Pangana.

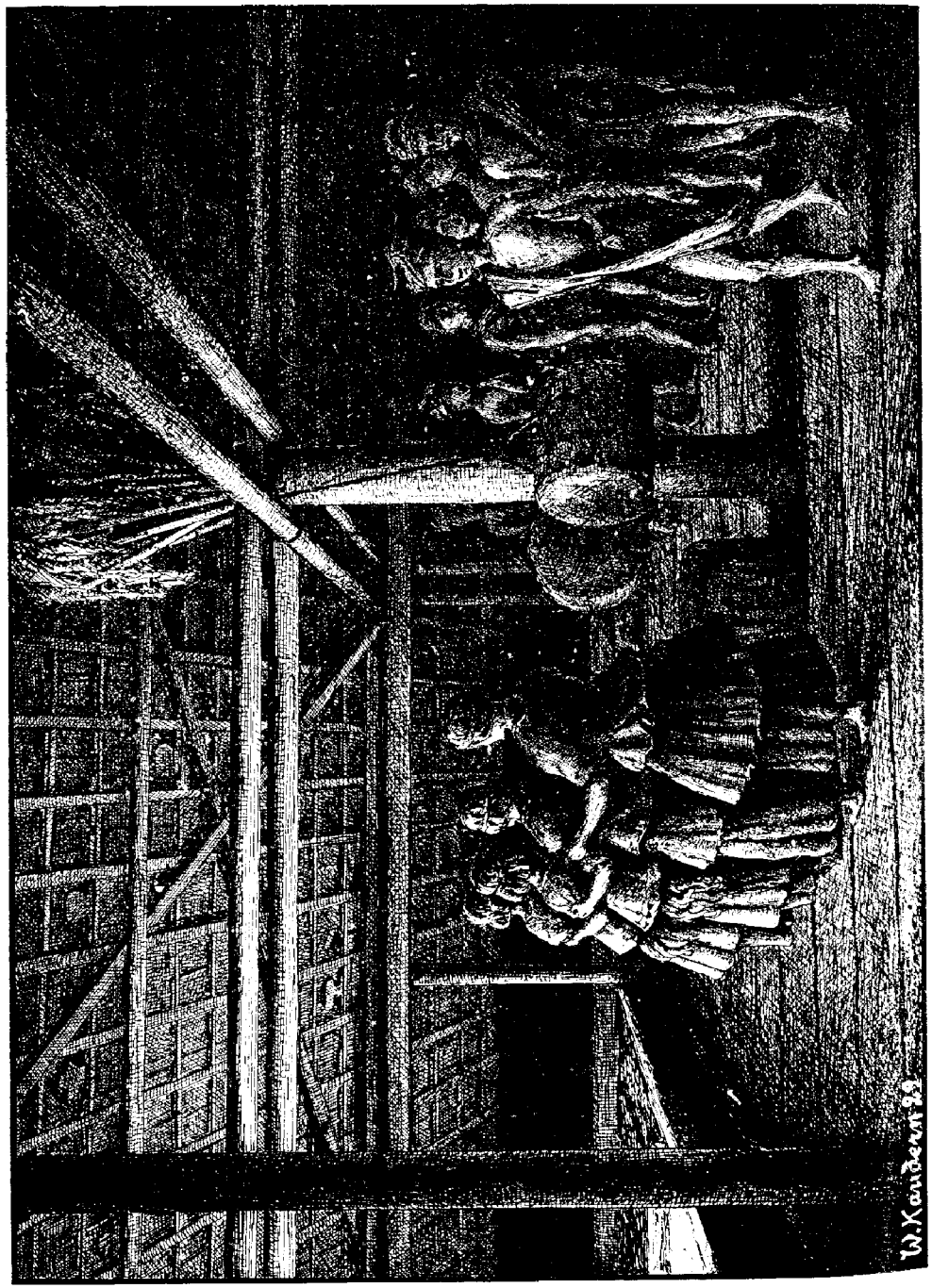


Fig. 108. *Moraego in the temple of Pangana, third figure.* Tole District, NW. Central Celebes.

Also at Kantewoe, Peana, and Benahoe the *raego* seemed to be the same, but I never saw the natives of these villages performing a dance in the temple. The ground was an open space somewhere in the village.

In Tobakoe, a district in Pipikoro far to the north-east, the *raego* is the same as in the rest of the Pipikoro Districts, but there seems to be a figure that I have not seen at Pangana, or in the Tobakoe villages I have visited. The S. A. officer M. STRANDLUND has taken a photo in the open air of a *raego* at Biro, showing an inner circle of men with a row of girls outside (Fig. 107). When I saw a *raego* in the Tobakoe villages of Siwongi and Towoeloe the natives danced in the temples, in the former place round the centre post. The temple of Towoeloe has no such post.

Napoe.

Other Koro Toradja Tribes from which the *raego* is recorded are the To Napoe, the To Leboni, the To Rampi, the To Poeoe mBoto, the To Bada, and the To Behoa. The Dutch missionary TEN KATE in an article, "Het Moraego" in "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen." 1915, page 333, states that in Behoa "to dance the *raego*" is *morego*, in Bada *moreigo*. I did not see any *raego* dance when I stayed for some days in these districts, thus cannot tell what the dance is like there. Possibly it may be the same as the *raego* in Napoe, of which he gives a detailed account in the above paper, page 332. It runs as follows: "Als men gaat *moraego*, gaat men op een daarvoor geschikt terrein staan en roept *hoohoohoo*, wat men in het Napoesch noemt *mombehehe* (Taw. *moboehoohoo*, Bes. *meboehehe*) of men roept hiihiia!, dat *mosasaita* heet (Taw. id., Bes. *mohiihii*). Dit gaat gepaard met een ver klinkend gezang der vrouwen, het *mempate*. Van lieverlede komen nu de liefhebbers uit de huizen en men vangt aan met het *merarona* (Taw., Bes. id.). De bewegingen zijn reeds als bij het *moraego*, alleen zijn tekst en wijse anders.

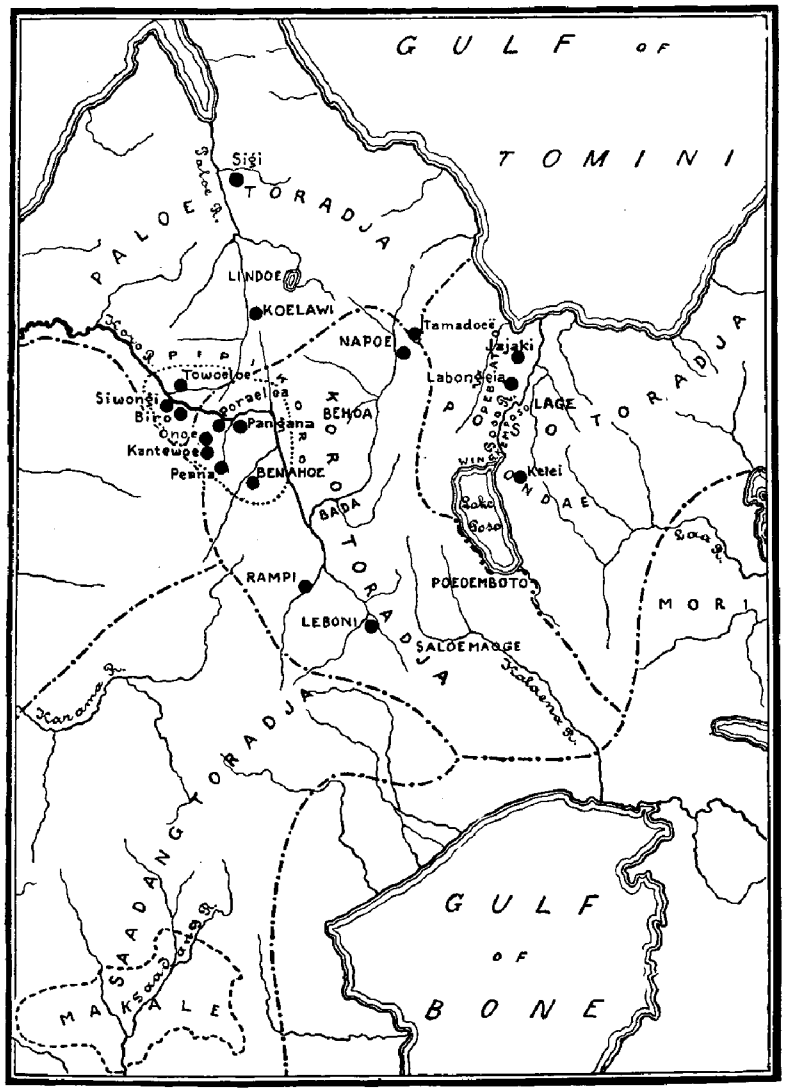
Zijn er genoeg deelnemers dan begint het eigenlijke *moraego*, dat, wil het goed zijn, volgehouden moet worden totdat de zon opkomt.

Bij het *moraego* vormen de vrouwen samen een halven kring, liefst twee aan twee loopend, terwijl ze elkaar vasthouden en hare vorgangsters. De mannen vormen een wijderen kring rondom, zijn evenals de vrouwen sierlijk uitgedost en leggen de buitenste hand op den binnensten schouder van hunnen voorganger. De mannen beginnen te zingen. Een poos later vallen de vrouwen in en zingen de mannen nog door, die ten slotte met een *mesaita* eindigen, waarbij ze eenige keeren op den boden stampvoeten. Wil men het heel mooi doen, dan behoort er het *meolo* bij. Eenige paren gaan terzijde staan, om de beurten een man an eene vrouw. Ze leggen de armen over elkaars schouders en volgen het lied met diepe en halfdiepe kniebuigingen en stampvoeten. De richting, waarin men loopt is willekeurig, met eene enkele uitzondering, waarover straks".

This appears to refer to the *raego* in the village of Tamadoeë, on the border of Tawaelia, a small district to the north of Napoe, and inhabited by Baria-speaking natives like the To Tawaelia, a tribe which I have referred to the Paloe Toradja (Vol. II of this Series). Here TEN KATE saw a round dance called *modondi*, of which he states the following on page 334 of the above paper.

"Toen ik het bovengenoemde *modondi* te Tamadoeë bijwoonde, draaide men steeds links rond en men vertelde mij, dat men bij het raego rechts om behoorde te draaien. Nu was dit feest *modondi* ter eere der rijst en gebeurde in de sawahs. De levensgeest, *tanoeana*, der rijst werd er door versterkt en in het *dondi*-vers noemde men deze *ntaminboeloe ntoroendoe*..... Het *modondi*, dat als een raego der dooden is te beschouwen, moet dus omgekeerd, dus linksom zijn."

Why the *modondi* should be looked upon as a *moraego* of the dead TEN KATE does not state. He ends his account thus: "Ik beschouw dus het moraego als eene vroegere po-



Map 31. *Localities in Central Celebes from which round dances of moraego type are recorded.*

ging om den levensgeest te versterken en dus als echt-heidensch".

From this account we learn that the natives when dancing the *raego* are free to move to the left or to the right, but at the village of Tamadoeë it is customary for the *raego* dancers to move with the clock. In a certain round dance performed in the paddy fields, to which they give the name of *modondi*, they move in an opposite direction, *i. e.* counter-clockwise. Possibly the natives of the adjacent district of Tawaelia dance similarly to the inhabitants of Tamadoeë who speak their language, *Baria*. Evidently *modondi* is a performance of ritual character, but whether the same is the case the ordinary *raego* is uncertain. TEN KATE says he does not know of any fact speaking in favour of such a supposition, and the songs that he has taken down he has not been able to translate.

Moraego in Napoe in several respects resembles this dance in Koelawi, certain details, however, being different. In both districts the girls walk two by two in a procession, and males and females later join in an outer semicircle. The difference is that in Napoe the men walk in a circle round the procession of girls, whereas in Koelawi the girls together with the line of men form a circle. The *raego* dance in Napoe appears to have very little in common with this dance in Pipikoro (Fig. 131 C).

Leboni.

From this district P. and F. SARISIN as well as GRUBAUER record the *raego* dance. Below I shall quote the account given by the former. They tell us that the natives of Leboni, when there was a full moon, offered to perform in front of their camp but they preferred to see the dance in the temple, where they arrived at nightfall. On page 125 of Vol. II of their "Reisen in Celebes", they describe the dance as follows: "Schon beizeiten waren die Trommeln im Lobo gerührt worden, um die Leute aus den nachen

Dörfern zusammenzurufen, und so fanden wir den Lobo von Menshen dicht besetzt, wie ein überfülltes Theater; in den Logenöffnungen sah man nichts als zusammengdrängte Köpfe; der Mittelraum war freigelassen.

Nachdem wir in einer der Logen Platz genommen, traten ein paar Knaben vor und fingen an, die herabgelassen dahängende grosse Trommel zu wecken .... Nach einiger Zeit kamen Männer und Franen die Treppen heraufgeklettert und formierten jetzt einen Ringeltanz: voraus ein Trupp Männer, der Hintermann mit der linken Hand auf der Schulter des Vordermannes; mit dem linken Fuss beginnend, werden vier Schritte ausgeführt, worauf nach getanem fünften Schritt mit dem rechten Fuss aufgestampft und darauf der vorgeschobene linke zurückgezogen wird. Darauf folgen die Frauen, erst im Paar, dann je zu dreien nebeneinander wandelnd; sie halten sich gegenseitig um die Hüften, wobei die Arme je zweier Personen auf dem Rücken sich kreuzen; die Schrittbewegung ist wie die der Männer. Man bewegt sich zunächst in der Richtung des Uhrzeigers nach einiger Zeit aber rückwärts schreitend gegen denselben (Fig. 131 D). Dabei findet fortwährend ein gedämpfter Gesang statt, von Zeit zu Zeit durch ein wieherndes Jodeln seitens der Männer unterbrochen; ó hŏhŏhŏhŏ, hüll hüll hüll hüll, ó hŏhŏhŏhŏ! Endlich bleiben sie im Kreise still stehen und singen noch etwas, worauf die Frauen sich setzen. Auch der Tomakaka[1] tanzte mit, aber unter die anderen gemischt, nicht als Anführer. Auch nahmen zwei Knaben am Tanze teil. Dann verfügten wir uns nach unserem Quartier zurück, hörten aber, dass bis zum Morgen der Tanz fortgesetst ward; das Jodeln ertönte die ganze Nacht hindurch, und es wurde erst still, als das Pochen der Fujaklopferinnen den neuen Tag ankündigte." (Fig. 131 D).

From this is seen that there is a striking resemblance between this dance and the *raego* as practised in Koelawi and

[1] Title of the headman of Leboni. In Koelawi I also noticed the headman, or *magaoe*, mingle with his subjects in the *raego* dance.

Napoe. Noteworthy is for instance the fact that the girls walk two by two, or three by three. The SARASINS do not give the native name of the dance in Leboni, only calling it a "Ringeltanz". The round that GRUBAUER saw at Leboni he calls *marengo*. TEN KATE states that "to dance in a round" is *raido* in the Leboni language. *Raido*, however, does not appear to correspond to the verbal forms *morego*, *moraego*, or *moreigo*, but rather to the substantives *rego*, *raego*, or *reigo*. ADRIANI in Vol. III, page 607, of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", writes *raedo*, saying that in the Leboni language *d* and *g* are used alternately.

To judge from GRUBAUER'S account of the *marengo*, we might suppose it to be a ritual dance, since it was performed in the temple in front of the wooden sculptures, which GRUBAUER calls their "gods" (page 357 of his "Unter Kopfjägern etc."). He also saw a *marengo* at another place in the Leboni District, *viz.* at Dodolo or Dondolo, situated further to the north-west, but he does not give any details of it.

Rampi.

GRUBAUER in his above book, page 391, states that the natives of this district indulge in the *marengo*. He writes "Um Mitternacht etwa veranstaltete man im Dorfe Marengo-Tänze. Der Spektakel der johlenden Männer dauerte bis in den frühen Morgen hinein, ... Wie in Leboni und Dodolo standen die Marengo-Ressourcen auch im Rampi-Tale mit der Wiederkehr der Reisbau-Periode im Zusammenhange."

The fact of the *raego* being connected with the cultivation of paddy in Leboni as well as in Rampi makes it likely that it is a ritual dance, or that it was so in olden times.

Poeoe mBoto.

In this district, which is situated on the southern shore of Lake Poso, the *raego* is very popular among the natives. ADRIANI in Vol. III, page 608, of "De Bare'e-Sprekende

Toradja's" states the following: "Daar vooral de To Poe'oe mBoto groote minnaars van het *moraego* zijn, is dikwijls de tegenwoordigheid van eene enkele Poe'oe mBoto'sche onder de gasten in een dorp ten N. van het Meer, aanleiding tot moraego."

In Vol. II of this Series I have referred the To Poeoe mBoto to the Koro Toradja, contrary to Doctor ADRIANI, who is of opinion that their language is more closely related to Bare-e. That they have much in common with the group that I call Koro Toradja, ADRIANI himself points out in an article in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen." 1915, page 334, referring to TEN KATE'S paper on the *raego* of Napoe. He writes as follows of *moraego* in this district: "De stammen, onder welke hij woont, zijn ongetwijfeld de meest hartstochtelijke beoefenaars van dezen reidans, en dat de *To Poe'oe mBoto* onder de Bare'e-sprekers de grootste *to poraego* zijn, is een trek te meer, dien zij met de bewoners van Napoe, Besoa, Bada, Leboni, Koelawi, Lindoe enz. gemeen hebben".

It would have been of great interest to know how the natives dance the *raego* in Poeoe mBoto, that is to say if it corresponds to this dance in the Koro Toradja Districts, or in the Poso Toradja Districts, where there are various forms of the *raego* as we shall see below.

Poso Toradja.

Ondae.

Personally, I have only witnessed the *raego* of a single tribe among the Poso Toradja, and I shall begin with an account of my own experiences and then compare them with the statements given in the literature.

When I visited the small village of Kelei in Ondae in 1919, I asked the headman of the village if it was customary in his district for the natives to indulge in a *raego* in the evenings. He answered in the affirmative and promised to arrange a dance that very evening.

As soon as it got dark we heard drum signals from the village which were answered by other villages in the vicinity, and we supposed this to be a call to come for a dance.

However, time went on, and hearing nothing like a *raego*, we went to bed. But no sooner were we asleep than we woke up at the well-known whooping pertaining to a *raego*. I dressed and went out to find some young men walking in a semicircle in the main road and singing a *raego* song. I asked them if it was not customary for the girls to join in the *raego*, whereupon some girls were called. Soon quite a number of people had gathered, and presently there were two parties dancing in the road.

In one of these, males and females were dancing in a circle, but not mixed. In one half of the circle were the men, in the other the girls. Their dance was quite simple, all slowly moving in a clockwise direction, their left hand resting on the shoulder of the person in front (Fig. 132A). The party was singing all the time, never stopping, and never changing into another figure.

The dance performed by the second party was more lively and also more complicated. Half a dozen young girls walked arm in arm close together. Outside the row formed by them half-a-dozen men moved in a semicircle with their left hand on the right shoulder of the neighbour in front (Fig. 132B).

The men began taking four steps forwards, the girls four steps sideways, and with their left foot a short step backwards. The men with their left foot stamped on the ground. The dancing party moved with the clock-hands, or for a short while in the opposite direction. Now the girls turned their back on the men, now they faced them, different figures following one another. This dance greatly reminded me of the *raego* I had seen in some Pipikoro villages, for instance the *raego* at Pangana.

The natives kept dancing for a good deal of the night, but not till daybreak. Of course this *raego* altogether had the character of a profane dance.

Pebatoe.

From this district the SARASINS record the *raego* dance, which they saw at the villages of Labongeja and Jajaki, when in 1895 they travelled from the coast of the Gulf of Bone right through C. Celebes to Tomini Bay. In Vol. I, page 279, of their "Reisen in Celebes", they describe the dance at Labongeja. They say: "Abends 9 Uhr bekamen wir vor unserer Hütte den Raego-Tanz zu sehen. Es nahmen daran fünf junge Männer und sechs Mädchen teil. Die Burschen trugen Schwerter mit ausnehmend langen Scheiden, welche, wie es in dieser Gegend Sitte, fast wagrecht nach hinten schauten, kurze Hosen, einen Sarong über eine Schulter geworfen, Kopftücher aus Fuja und Arm-, teilweise auch Fussringe. Die Mädchen waren durchaus in reinliche, schwarze Rindenkleider, Röcke und Jäckchen, gehüllt, welch' letztere um den Hals mit rotem Stoff und artiger Stickerei verziert erschienen. Um das Haar hatte die eine ein Stirnband aus Messingblech befestigt, zwei andere solche aus feinem, weissem Holz, mit senkrechten, schwarzen Strichornamenten geschmückt; ausserdem trugen sie Armbänder und viele Fingerringe.

Zunächst wurde die Lanze des Dorfoberhauptes in den Boden gesteckt, die Spitze nach oben. Um diese Lanze herum bewegte sich dann der kunstlose, höchst decente Tanz. Die Männer und die Mädchen bildeten je für sich eine offene Kette, erstere, indem je einer seine linke Hand auf die rechte Schulter des Vordermannes legte, letztere, indem jede die Linke um die Hüfte des Vordermädchens schmiegte. Die vordersten Glieder jeder Kette behielten natürlich die Hände frei (Fig. 132K).

Die beiden Ketten blieben stets voneinander getrennt und bewegten sich in langsamem Takte um den Speer herum. Dabei wurde der Fuss bei jedem Schritte zuerst halb und beim nächsten Takte ganz aufgesetzt; bisweilen bewegten sich die Ketten auch rückwärts. Von den Männern sang nun einer abwechselnd nach dem andern und die Mädchen

bildeten hierzu den Chor, eine sehr einfache, aber nicht ungefällige, stets sich wiederholende Melodie leise singend. Oft wurde der Gesang durch laute Ausrufe der Männer; illo ill ill ill illo ho ho ho! unterbrochen. Dann schlossen die Männer, nachdem sich noch weitere zu ihnen gesellt, einen Kreis, die Mädchen in die Mitte nehmend.

Um $^1/_2$11 Uhr liessen wir uns für das Fest bedanken und schenkten jedem Mädchen ein Halsband und einen Ring. Hierauf zogen sie ab, die Mädchen voraus, die jungen Männer sittsam hinterdrein."

Next day they witnessed a dance at the village of Jajaki. They write: "Am Abend bekamen wir wieder den Raëgo-Tanz vorgeführt. Die Kleidung war hier weniger gut, aber die Leute amüsierten sich besser als gestern und lachten viel, wie auch die Zuschauer. Die Jodelrufe der Männer klangen hier etwa wie: néih néh, tji, tji, ihi, ihi, do do!"

Evidently the *raego* at Labongeja was not unlike the same dance at Kelei in Ondae, the manner in which the girls hold one another as well as their steps, being, however, a little different. Remarkable seems especially the fact that the ranks move alternately to the left and to the right.

ADRIANI and KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" give a number of statements referring to the *raego* dance of the Bare-e speaking tribes, but they do not mention any special localities, or tribes, which no doubt would have been of interest, since it cannot be doubted that the dance is not altogether the same in all Bare-e speaking districts. ADRIANI, however, gives a detailed account of the songs accompanying the *raego* dance, and KRUYT makes some statements as to the time when this dance is allowed or forbidden. These statements are very interesting, but unfortunately there are as yet no such investigations made among other tribes in Celebes, which makes all comparisons impossible.

ADRIANI states that a *raego* is always preceded by a number of preliminaries. Four or five men, married and

unmarried, gather in an open space striking up a song called *rarona*, of which he only quotes four strophes, saying there are various kinds used on different occasions. The men sing at a slow, drawling tempo, often repeating a word or a sentence. A person not knowing the contents of these verses beforehand is hardly able to follow them.

As a rule the girls keep the men waiting a good while. If the four strophes are finished without the girls appearing, the men start singing another tune, summoning them to the dancing ground. This finished, the girls answer by a song the contents of which is that there is no hurry, they must chew their betel-pepper and have a chat. Seeing that the girls make preparations to leave the house and descend the stairs, the men strike up another song. Finally the girls are on the ground, but if they should still hesitate to join the men, these sing a couple of verses the burden of which is this: "Do not be shy, when we sing your praise, please come to us and turn your backs toward us." In dancing the girls form the inner circle, turning their backs toward the men who range themselves in an outer circle round them. Then the girls strike up a song to which the men answer, and so the dance will begin.

As soon as the girls have joined in the dance, they will sing together with the men. One of the men starts, and as soon as his mates recognize the tune they join in it, and the girls follow. Now and then the men will interrupt their song with a loud *ihihi hihi, hi jo hijo hijo-hijo*, stamping on the ground with their left foot. At the same time the right elbow is raised and turned forwards. The arm is outstretched so as to point at the face of a girl.[1] Then they repeat the same tune, or they take up another one.

When the men start calling for the girls, they walk round counter-clockwise, but when the girls have joined in the dance and the *rarona* is changed for the *raego* song the

[1] How this is possible is difficult to understand, ADRIANI having stated that the girls turn their back towards the men.

direction is reversed, all moving clockwise. This is called *tendelero*. The meaning of this word is not clear, according to ADRIANI. At this so-called *motendelero* the drawling *rarona* and *raego* tempo is changed into a perfectly regular cadence, like this: — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑. The song accompanying the *motendelero* is a quick and gay tune. As a rule it seems to be customary to keep dancing till daybreak.

ADRIANI does not give any particulars of the steps, or the manner in which males and females hold one another, but he enters upon the question of the meaning of the *raego* dance. As to the word *raego*, ADRIANI is of the opinion that in all probability it means a play or pastime. On page 607, Vol. III, of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" he says: "Het woord is algemeen bekend in de Tor. talen; het Bad. *raigo* is zeker wel een ouder vorm. Het Loin. heeft *mahaik* voor "zich vermaken, spelen". Daar in deze taal, de *h* voor *r* staat, zoo kan de stam van dit woord worden teruggebracht tot den vorm *raik;* en daar het Loin. de mediale sluiters tot tenues verscherpt, zoo kan *raik* uit *raig* zijn ontstaan. Neemt men dezen stam ook als dien van *raego* aan, dan is de *o* wel niet anders te verklaren dan als ontstaan uit *-a*, het welk dan het suffix *-an* kan zijn. Langs dezen weg is het huidige *raego* teruggebracht tot *raigan*, hetwelk dan de beteekenis "spel, uitspanning" zou moeten hebben. Deze beteekenis komt met den aard van het *moraego* geheel overeen. Het is, voor zoover wij zien, louter vermak."

ADRIANI thus holds the opinion that *moraego* is a mere pastime meant to give the young men an opportunity of courting the young women. In the *raego* songs there is nothing intimating a ritual character, and he states that the present generation has no idea of *moraego* ever having been a ritual performance.

The only occasion ADRIANI knows of on which it is necessary to arrange a *raego*, is when a person of distinction pays a visit to a village. Else the natives indulge in a *raego* whenever they like, and stop when they are tired. At the feasts celebrated in connection with agriculture, or a wedding, or in honour of the dead, it is customary to arrange a *raego* in the evening, dancing till daybreak.

ADRIANI states that it is not allowed to have a *raego* in a village in case there is a *powoerake* going on, a song performed by the priests, which seems to prove that the *raego* is a profane dance.

It is only forbidden to have a *raego* during harvest time. According to ADRIANI, the natives consider it improper to dance all night when they have to begin their work in the fields early in the morning and go on all day in a scorching sun. ADRIANI himself is of the opinion that the prohibition of the *raego* is owing to its boisterous character; the whooping and stamping on the ground is supposed to be dangerous. To support this theory ADRIANI points out that it is not allowed to thump a stick or a spear in the ground in the paddy fields.

People mourning for a relative must not join in a *raego*.

As soon as there is a feast, it is customary to have a *raego*. On weekdays the natives only indulge in a dance in case some natives from another village should happen to pay them a visit. Especially the To Poeoe mBoto of the southern shore of Lake Poso are known to be very fond of dancing, and as soon as they visit some friends in another district there is sure to be a *raego* in the evening.

As mentioned above ADRIANI states that there is nothing in the *raego* songs indicating a ritual character, yet he calls into attention the fact that there are songs that the natives themselves do not understand and cannot explain. Could these not be old corrupted rites? ADRIANI as well as KRUYT by some of their statements reveal that on some occasions the *raego* dance is not looked upon by the natives as an ordinary profane performance. I shall recur to this question later on. Here I shall only quote KRUYT's

account of the *raego* as given in Vol. I and II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's". On pages 74 and 75 of Vol. II KRUYT tells us how the children learn the *raego* songs: "Terwijl mannen en vrouwen in een kring loopen rondom een vuurtje en zingen, zitten eenige kinderen in het midden te luisteren of liever klanken op te vangen, en zij doen dit zoolang tot zij die klanken kunnen nadoen, die dan later door het gebruik hoe langer hoe vaster in het geheugen worden geprent".

I suppose it is the same in other districts. In Koelawi as well as in Kantewoe, children when quite small accompanied their relatives to the *raego* which they watched with an interest proportional to their age. In this way they no doubt by and by learnt the tunes as well as the steps.

KRUYT states that "mannen en vrouwen in een kring loopen". I suppose this must be taken to indicate that males and females together make *one* circle, like the *raego* I witnessed in the Ondae District. ADRIANI, however, says the girls walk in an inner circle, and the men round them in an outer circle. Possibly the accounts given by these two authors refer to the *raego* of different districts.

Notable is also the fact that the Poso Toradja dance round a fire, near which the children gather. As mentioned before the natives in the north-western part of C. Celebes never have a fire inside the circle of the dancing men and girls, but at a *moraego woentja* there is a *woentja* "tree" in the centre of the circle.

KRUYT gives some details of the circumstances under which a *raego* is not allowed. On page 417 of Vol. I he tells us that once, on the occasion of an epidemic of small-pox, the *to balia* ordered the natives to leave their villages and scatter in the mountains. On their return they were forbidden to make any noise, or to arrange a *raego*.

On page 20 of Vol. II we learn that a woman when pregnant must not indulge in a *raego*, or her child will always cry. On page 142 of the same volume KRUYT states that as

long as the so-called *tengke* song goes on at the festival celebrated in commemoration of the dead, it is not allowed to strike up the *raego* songs.

A wedding the Poso Toradja always seem to combine with *moraego* (page 20, Vol. II) which is continued throughout the whole night.

Saadang Toradja.

The so-called Saadang Toradja, who live in the south-western part of C. Celebes and the northern part of the Macassar Peninsula, are also known to indulge into various dances, one or two of which seem to be of *raego* type.

Not having visited this part of Celebes, I shall have to refer to the statements of Dutch writers. KRUYT in 1920 in a paper called "De To Rongkong in Midden-Celebes" in "Bijdr. t. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.", p. 387, states the following: "Het *ma'belo*, waarbij dit plaats had, duurt drie dagen. Een dans met sang, *soemenge* genaamd, wordt in het clanhuis (*banoea katongkonan*) uitgevoerd, en in de gewone woningen herhaald. Ook op den grond wordt gedanst."

NOBELE, a Dutch official who lived for a long time in SW. Central Celebes gives a very detailed account of the native dances in a paper not yet published, called "Memorie van overgave betreffende de onderafdeeling Makale". A copy of the manuscript has been supplied me by the Swedish engineer in S. Celebes, Mr. FREMER, and below is given the English translation of the part referring to the dances.

"The dances performed by males and females at the above festivals are:

A. At the *maroh-mahroh* and *maroek* the *mapasai* dance. Hand in hand the dancers range themselves in two lines facing one another; all the time bobbing, they advance with short steps. When they become excited they will dance singly, and then it often happens that they hurt themselves with a knife.

B. At the *maboegi:*

(1) The *nende* dance. The dancers hold each other by the hand, the palm upwards. All the time bobbing, they make a step (1/2 m.) sideways, raising their hands, whereupon the other foot is quickly placed along with the first.

(2) The *sonne* dance. The same as No. I, but at a slower tempo. The step sideways is shuffling.

(3) The *nakilloe* dance. Each person dances by himself, moving forward, bobbing and raising his arms, at the same time leaning forward.

(4) The *boeloe gatta* dance. The dancers range themselves in a circle, seizing one another by the upper arm just below the shoulder. Standing still, the body is alternately bent to the right and to the left in moving the feet, bobbing, and raising the arms.

C. At the *mabadong:*

(1) The *matimba* dance. The dancers range themselves in a circle, their left hand on the right shoulder of the person to the left, with the right arm raised at right angles. This arm is moved three times up and down, then stretched slantingly downwards and finally placed flat down, the right side. Then all make a quick step sideways.

(2) The *soerakan* dance. The same as No. I, with the difference, however, that the right arm is not moved up and down, and the right hand, instead of being put down the right side, is raised to its original position. The step sideways is shuffling.

(3) The *masambake* dance. The same as No. I, but the right hand is raised again before the step sideways is made. Besides, all movements are slower.

(4) The *bola patoeng* dance. Hand in hand, drawn up in a circle, moving their hands up and down, and bobbing, the dancers make a step sideways in quick time.

(5) The *randan marinding* dance. Also in this dance the dancers form a circle, hand in hand. Moving their hands up and down and bobbing, they make three steps sideways, stop for a moment with the right foot in front, and make a deep bow.

(6) The *palonde to tabi* dance. The same as No. B (4), but the song accompanying the dance is different.

The dances are accompanied by various songs nearly all beginning with a sucession of minims: 'he̋-e̋-e̋-e̋', and ending in a powerful refrain: 'he-éé-éé-éé'. From a distance such a song, especially at night, is far from unmelodious, but if you are close by, it is ear-splitting and monotonous."

Among these dances, some of which rightly should be ranged among contra-dances, none seem to correspond more closely to the *raego*. Yet they have some features in common, some being rounds, and in the *matimba, soerakan,* and *masambake* the dancers, similarly to the *raego,* put their left hand on the right shoulder of their neighbour to the left. The bobbing and moving by jerks we also recognize from *moraego*. The same is the case with the "he̋-e̋-e̋-e̋" and "he-éé-éé-éé" which no doubt should be paralleled with the whoops recurring at certain intervals in the *raego* songs.

I cannot enter upon a close comparison between the Makale dances and the *raego* dances of the Paloe, Poso, and Koro Toradja with the material at my disposal, but it seems rather likely to my mind that at least some details of all these dances have a common origin.

Mori.

From this district, situated to the south-east of the Poso Toradja Districts, ADRIANI and KRUYT in a paper "Van Poso naar Mori", page 189, state that the natives of Mori practise a round which they say has some characters in

common with the *raego*. Maroendoe, the headman of the district, summoned the natives to dance before his visitors, who describe the performance as follows: "Om een uur of tien in den avond klonk het bevel . . . 'Beneden zingen!' waarop eenige van de mannen en van de vrouwen, die zich in huis bevonden naar beneden gingen om te dansen en te zingen. De lieden van Petasia (en ook de berg-Tomori) hebben bepaalde tijden voor hunne zangen. Zoo was het nu de tijd van het *metuaa*, en geen andere zang mocht worden aangeheven. Mannen en vrouwen (wij telden toen 14 mannen en 26 vrouwen) schaarden zich in een' kring, hand aan hand, zooals wij de handen vouwen bij het gebed. Nu ging het zeer langzaam in het rond; de bewegingen bestonden in het verzetten van het rechter been, het bijhalen van het linker, het verzetten van het rechter, het bijhalen van het linker enz., zeer langzaam en min of meer rhytmisch. Waren de bewegingen eenvoudig en vervelend, het gezang was dit niet: met volle harmonische stemmen werd het lied gezongen, waarbij de vrouwen menigmaal een toon langer aanhielden, terwijl de mannen er doorheen zongen. Dit gedragen gezang bij het schilderachtig landschap, beschenen door de eerste kwartiermaan, en verlicht door een hoop brandend hout in het midden van den kring, deed ons onwillekeurig denken aan eene godsdienstige plechtigheid ter eere van zon en maan. En oorspronkelijk moet dit ook het geval zijn geweest. Maroendoe dicteerde ons, wat er werd gezongen".

Similarly to the *raego* of the Poso Toradja, there is a fire in the centre of the circular dance, but the steps appear to be different as well as the manner in which the dancers hold one another. There seems to be no stamping on the ground, and no whooping, so typical of the *raego*, or ADRIANI and KRUYT are sure to have mentioned it in their account of the dance.

Walking hand in hand in a circle more corresponds to the *bola patoeng* dance and the *randan marinding* dance in Makale, but for the rest the similarity with these dances is not very great. The Mori round dance, however, much reminds me of a dance which I saw in the Lamala District in NE. Celebes.

In Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's" KRUYT mentions a couple of dances not connected with the *raego*, but he does not state whether they are rounds or not.

On page 141 an account is given of the last day of the festival in commemoration of the dead. When the parcels containing the bones of the dead have been deprived of their festal garb and placed underneath a paddy barn, the women, with these garments in their hands, perform a dance called *motaro*. ADRIANI in his Bare-e Dictionary, page 819 states: "*taro* (vgl. *ndaro*, *tadjo* en Bik. *tarok*, Minah. t. *tarĕk*, Mong. *tajok*, Bis. *talok*, Tag. *talik*, Negr. *tarak*, Mor. *metaro* "vis-a-vis"); *motaro*, een zekeren dans uitvoeren, die bij verschillende gelegenheden (*momparilangka*, *tengke*) door enkelen afzonderlijk, of man en vrow tegenover elkaar, wordt gedanst."

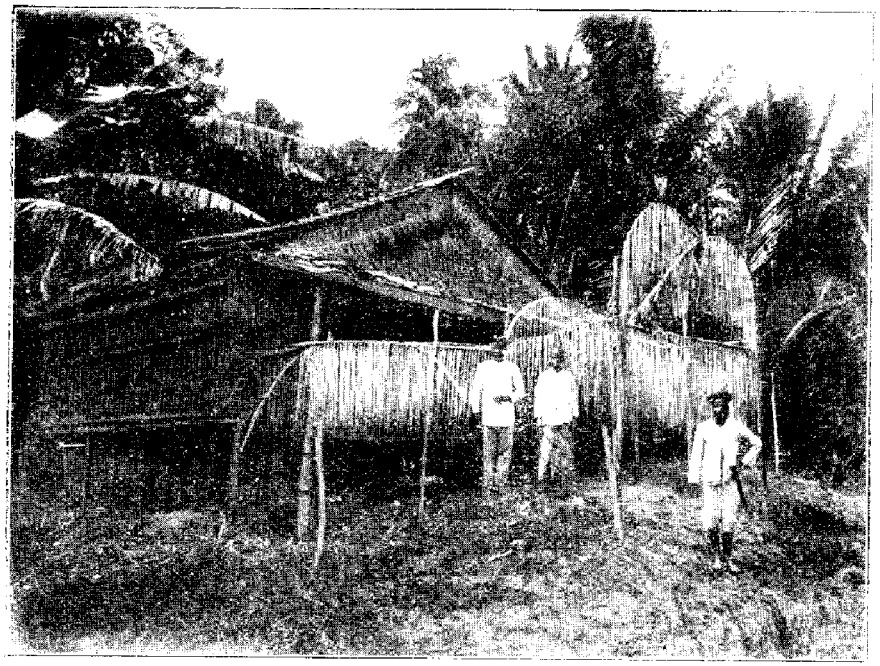
From the To Lalaeo, a Toradja Tribe living on the north coast of the north-eastern peninsula, KRUYT in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", p. 144, records a round dance called *ende*, performed by women on the occasion of a festival in commemoration of the dead. The author does not give any details of the dance, but evidently it is a performance of ritual character.

North-East Celebes.

I have no reference from this part of Celebes beyond the one from the To Lalaeo given above, but I have myself seen some rounds in Lamala and Lojnang during my sojourn in these districts in 1919.

Lojnang.

On the occasion of various festivals the natives indulge in a dance called *montontila*. When we arrived in Pinapoean, a mountain district in the eastern part of Lojnang in the evening of December 12th, the natives arranged a party to welcome us. Then I had the opportunity of seeing the *montontila* in which the younger men and women, married and



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 109. *Palm leaf decorations* in front of a house in which the natives performed the *montontila* dance. Pinapoean, NE. Celebes.

unmaried, took part. The dance was performed in a shed which I think was built to give a shelter to the Dutch patrols when they visited the district. On account of the party there was a decoration of palm leaves in front of the house (Fig. 109). The dance is a rather tedious performance but nevertheless much in favour with the natives. Males and females ranged themselves into two separate circles, the performers walking behind one another, both hands

resting on the shoulders of the person in front. Singing a monotonous song they slowly walked counter-clockwise (Fig. 132 G). Now and then the song became more vociferous, the men stamped on the floor and jumped so violently that it was a wonder that the flooring, narrow splints of bamboo, were proof against such a trial as this. When this stamping and jumping reached its climax they moved arm in arm. All of a sudden they resumed their tedious trot. In this way they went on all night long till the break of the day.

At the present day there is nothing about this dance giving to it a ritual character.

No doubt *montontila* and *moraego* have some features in common. In both cases males and females form separate groups. In the case of *moraego*, males and females make a circle together, or the women's circle is surrounded by that of the men. The manner in which the men seize one another in the *raego* is not so very different from that of the *montontila* after all. In both cases they walk in Indian file in a circle, putting one or both hands on the shoulders of the person in front. Also this slow walk, accompanied by a monotonous song, alternating with leaping, stamping, and whooping, is very similar in both dances. The names of *moraego* and *montontila*, however, do not appear to be allied. Yet the dances have so many traits in common that it does not seem altogether impossible that they may have a common origin.

Lamala.

During my visit to the village of Soekon in the western part of the Lamala District, the Dutch Governor got up an entertainment on account of the harvesting of the first paddy grown in wet fields in this part of Celebes. Such pastimes as climbing a greased pole were arranged by the Governor and the Ambonese schoolmasters, thus not characteristic of the district.

Here the natives were accustomed to grow their paddy in fields cleared with fire, and the harvest was celebrated at a festival accompanied by round dances. I was told that in olden times it was customary to dance in a temporary structure all night. Now the natives offered to perform before us on the open ground round the greased pole, the trunk of a betel palm.

They started dancing the *soemawi*, in which males as well as females took part. The leader, or *lotoe*, struck up a song, slowly walking counter-clockwise round the *pinang* trunk

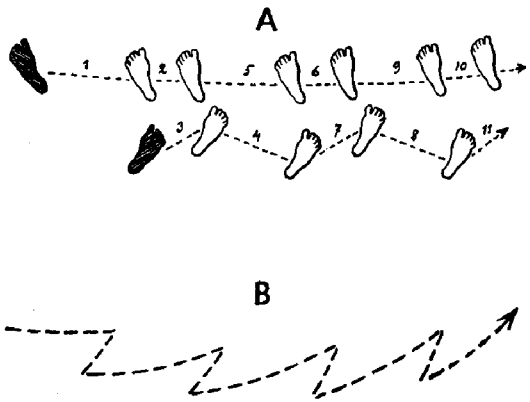


Fig. 110. *Dancing-steps.* A *Soemawi* steps; B young girls round dance. Lamala, NE, Celebes.

representing the centre post of the house. Soon other people joined him, and shoulder pressed to shoulder they slowly moved in a circle against the clock, their face turned towards the pole (Fig. 132 J). The steps were quite simple: two steps with either foot, resting on every second step of the right foot (Fig. 110 A).

In olden times this dance was at daybreak followed by another one, performed only by young women. To show us this dance, our friends ranged themselves into a wide circle with a fairly great interspace between the dancers; holding in their half outstretched hands a shawl or cloth, they moved in quick bounds counter-clockwise. All women

performing before us were not equally clever dancers. Some of them were skipping along rather awkwardly, whilst others displayed wonderfully graceful dancing, better than anything I had seen before in Celebes.

At Soekon the natives danced the *soemawi* only for a short while, and it was quite a decent dance, but in olden times it was not so. When the *lotoe* had started the dance and kept dancing until he was tired, he went to sleep in the circle. Now and then a couple would leave the rank to enter into the circle where they indulged in wild debauches, the rest still continuing dancing and singing round them, all veiled by the darkness of the night.

The same dance and the same orgies were resumed night after night for two or three weeks at the season when the festival of the paddy harvest was celebrated.

I was unable to learn whether it had been customary to wear a special dress or any special ornaments on this occasion, yet it cannot be doubted that the dances as well as the sexual orgies have the character of rites bearing upon the furtherance of the crops.

South-East Celebes.

As early as in 1849 SCHMIDTMÜLLER in "Das Ausland", page 342, states that the natives in SE. Celebes are very fond of dancing, but he does not give any details of their dances.

In his work "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. I, page 268, ELBERT says that the inhabitants of the southern districts of SE. Celebes are fond of circular dances. It is not quite clear if this refers to the whole territory he visited, *i. e.* from Roembia in the south to Kolaka in the north, but I rather think it does. ELBERT writes: "Besonderer Beliebtheit erfreuen sich die Ringtänze, bei denen die beteiligten Männer unbekleidet und die Frauen mit Röckchen aus Palmblattstreifen, ähnlich wie im Kraton des Kulturstates Buton die

Prostituierten (padjogi, Tänzerin), auftreten. In der Landschaft Mengkoka sah ich die Tänze gelegentlich eines Festes (lulo) beim Grosshäuptling von Kolaka, in welchem Orte die Zivilisation bereits manche Veränderungen der alten Sitten bewirkt hat, und wo bei dieser Gelegenheit schöne, buginesische Gewänder getragen werden. Die Tanzenden reichen sich die Hände und bewegen sich langsam im Kreise, wobei sie taktmässig vorwärts hüpfen, indem sie den rechten Fuss schnell und fest aufsetzen und den anderen nachziehen. Die zu einem schleppenden, choralartigen Gesang (susua) nötige Musik wird mit Trommeln und bei Fürsten ausserdem mit Gongs ausgeführt. Die Maronene begleiten diesen Gesang noch ausserdem auf geigenartigen Instrumenten mit Saiten aus Messingdraht. . . . .

Die Gesänge (mekada, Maronene) bei solchen Tänzen sind vorwiegend religiösen Inhaltes oder liefern eine Darstellung aus dem Heldenmythus . . ."

From this it would almost appear as if the dance was the same in Roembia in the south as in the more civilized village of Kolaka in the north, and that the primitive dress, naked men and women in skirts of leaves, only belongs to the fairly primitive To Maronene in the interior of Roembia.

To judge from ELBERT'S foto of a dance at Kolaka in honour of the *makole*, the native headman (Fig. 111), men and women alternate in the circle, interlocking fingers with their neighbours, the palm of the left hand turned backwards, that of the right hand forwards. In the foreground, however, there is a range of girls, not alternating with men, which may be a casual occurrence.

The manner of dancing is in some respects similar to the round dance of the Saadang Toradja as well as to a certain extent to the *soemawi* in Lamala, and still more it resembles the round dance in Mori.

Like many circular dances in Celebes, those in Kolaka have a ritual character.

KRUYT in a paper published in "Tijdschr. Ind. Land-, Taal.- en Volkenk.", LXI, 1920, makes some statements referring to the rounds of the so-called To Laki in the interior of the Kolaka District. On pages 435 and 436 he mentions a round called *moloelo*, and on page 451 he gives the following account of it: "In het dorp Singgere hadden we gelegenheid de uitvoering van een paar soorten van het *moloelo* bij te wonen. Men onderscheidt *moloelo dimba*, waarbij de maat door een trom en bekken aangegeven wordt, en het *mosoesoea*, waarbij gezongen wordt en de trom zwijgt. Van



ELBERT Photo.

Fig. 111. *Round dance at Kolaka.* SE. Celebes.

den zang kent men nog vijf soorten: *oehoehoe, hoina, sindawa, owe-owe* en *anakoe*. Men zong ons een stuk van deze onderdeelen van *loelo* voor, maar ik heb daarbij niet kunnen merken, dat er onderscheid is in der over het geheel eentonige en sombere wijs. Terwijl men zingt, houdt men elkaar bij de handen vast, en beweegt zich met langzame passen van links naar rechts.

De pas van den reidans, waarbij de trom wordt geslagen. is veel levendiger. Ook hierbij beweegt men zich van links naar rechts. De linkervoet wordt voorgezet, waarna deze tweemaal wordt opgelicht met den hiel op den vloer, als om de maat te slaan. Dan trekt men den linkervoet weer naast den rechter, beide beenen worden om beurten op en neer bewogen, waarna met het rechterbeen hetzelfde gedaan wordt als zooeven met het linker. Hierna doet men twee passen naar rechts, en dezelfde bewegingen van zooeven worden herhaald. Onder dit dansen worden ook de handen, die elkaar vasthouden rhytmisch op en neer bewogen. Dit dansen met de trom mag alleen gedaan worden in de woning van den priester, *boeakoi*. Het dansen waarbij gezongen wordt, mag in elk huis gedaan worden. Slechts bij uitzondering heeft dit *moloelo* op den grond plaats. Men vertelde mij dat dese reidans door een der vorsten, Bokeo, van Mekongga is ingevoerd, waarom hij den bijnaam gekregen heeft van Sangia niloelo.

Dit dansen heeft bij allerlei gelegenheden plaats: bij den aanvang van de akkerwerkzaamheden, bij het planten en na den oogst; in den ouden tijd, wanneer men van een sneltocht teruggekeerd was, werd gedanst; bij een bruiloft. Men kan zeggen, dat het loelo eene uitiging is van blijdschap, zoodat het bij elke gelegenheid gedaan wordt, waarbij veel menschen te zamen zijn met een vroolijk doel. In tijden van ziekte en begrafenissen wordt er dan ook niet ge-*loelo*."

Also these rounds of the To Laki have some features in common with the dances in the Saadang District, in Mori,

and in Lamala. Like the dances in Lamala, they appear sometimes to be connected with sexual orgies, KRUYT on page 435 stating the following after having quoted a legend which the natives had told him: "Toen gebeurde het eens, dat men een feest vierde, waarbij den gehelen nacht gedanst werd (*moloelo*). Toen de hanen begonnen te kraaien, bij het aanbreken van den dag, gaven alle mannen en vrouwen zich aan elkaar over zonder er op te letten met wie zij gemeenschap hielden."

VAN DER KLIFT on page 470 adds the following to KRUYT'S account: "Tusschen de zangen bestaat wel onderscheid. Het *ho'ina* bijvoorbeeld is veel levendiger en minder eentonig dan de ovrige zangen. Het *owe-owe* is meer neuriend."

In a note at the foot of the same page he states that the "grass" skirts, mentioned by ELBERT, do not occur at present (1921). He writes: "Tweemaal heb ik in het Maroneneland (Roembia en Polea) een reis gemaakt (in 1916 en 1921). Ettelijke malen heb ik den reidans zien uitvoeren, maar nooit heb ik de bedoelde grasrokjes zien dragen."

He states that the men wear their best cotton suits, the women a *sarong* (skirt) and a tunic which in front as well as at the back is shaped like the tail of a swallow. Also in "Organ der Ned, Zend. Ver.", June 1921, pp. 81 and 82, he treats of this question, but unfortunately I have not had access to this periodical.

Thus, according to VAN DER KLIFT, the dress of the women in the southern part of SE. Celebes would be the same as figured by ELBERT from the Island of Kabaena and at Lankapa in Roembia (Fig. 112). Compare ELBERT "Die Sunda-Expedition", Vol. II, Plate III, Fig. 3 and 4, and Plate XXVI, Fig. 1.

Unfortunately ELBERT has no representation of the skirt made of strips of palm leaves, yet there is no reason to doubt that formerly such skirts were used in SE. Celebes, as late as in 1909 but perhaps only on special occasions,

when ELBERT visited this part of Celebes. Possibly they were out of use already in 1916 when VAN DER KLIFT made his first journey to Roembia, which would not be surprising seeing that old customs are rapidly disappearing as a result of intercourse between the natives and foreign nations.



From ELBERT.

Fig. 112. *Maronene women.* Lankapa in Roembia. SE. Celebes.

Although there is no record of rounds from the eastern part of SE. Celebes, or from Moena and Boeton, islands immediately to the south-east of SE. Celebes, it can hardly be doubted that such dances are, or formerly were, practised, by the natives.

ELBERT for instance, does not mention any rounds from Boeton, and I myself did not see anything that could be called a round dance, neither in Baoe Baoe on the coast,

nor in Kraton, situated on top of the hill east of the town. In Kraton, however, I several times noticed that late in the evenings when there was a full moon, the men were singing in the market place. The purport of the song I was unable to learn; the natives put me off saying they were standing there singing for their own amusement. As a matter of fact the songs reminded me not a little of the *raego* songs, so well known to me from the interior of C. Celebes. Once I noticed that the natives had ranged themselves into a circle, moving slowly to the right. Whether they held one another by the hand I could not distinguish from a distance in the gathering dusk, and on my arrival the party stopped singing.

I am rather inclined to think that this was a survival of some old Boetonese round, similar to the *raego* or the *moloelo,* which fell into disuse when the natives adopted Mohammedanism.

From Kabaena, an island situated due south of Roembia, ELBERT gives a fairly detailed account of a round dance that he saw in October 1909. On p. 10, Vol. II, of "Die Sunda-Expedition", he tells us that the chief headman arranged a feast in his honour to thank him for all the presents that he had distributed among the natives.

ELBERT first describes the preparations: a roof was erected to protect the guests against the sun, seats and sleeping accommodation were arranged, buffaloes were fetched, paddy stamped and winnowed, etc.

On the day of the feast a meal was prepared, and towards the evening the natives made a big fire, whilst people came down from the hills lighting themselves with torches. Soon the big drums summoned the natives to dance (*moloelo*) round the fire. ELBERT gives a detailed account of the attire of the participants which seems to be the same as in Roembia. On p. 11 he describes the dance as follows:

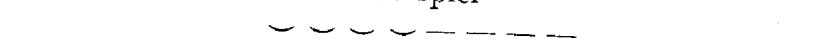
"Die Festteilnehmer, Männer und Frauen, ordnen sich, nun ohne jede Regelmässigkeit. Sie legen die rechte Hand in die linke des Nachbarn, sie beim Tanz rhythmisch zum

Takte der Musiek auf und ab bewegend. Langsam schiebt sich die Kette nach links im Kreise um das Feuer, sich also drehend im Sinne des Uhrzeigers. Die Tanzenden gehen zuerst zwei Schritte nach rechts vor und einen kleinen halbrechts wieder zurück, dann von neuem einen Schritt vorwärts, vier ganz kurze rückwärts und halblinks seitwärts. Gleichzeitig wiegen sie zweimal den Oberkörper leicht auf der linken Fussspitze.

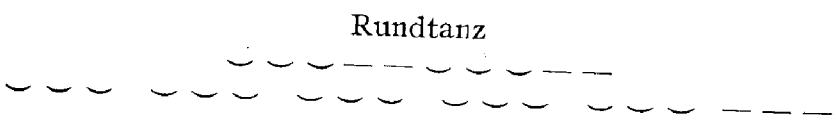
Ausser diesen gewöhnlichen Bewegungen des Rundtanzes, der oft stundenlang ohne Unterbrechung dauern kann, wird, wenn die Stimmung gehoben ist, folgender Vor- und Rücktanz aufgeführt. Man tritt mit vier schnellen Schritten bis dicht an das Feuer, wirft dann plötzlich den Oberkörper nach hinten und hüpft, diesen wiegend und das rechte Bein nach vorne werfend, wieder vier Schritte rückwärts. Beginnt der Wein seine Wirkung auszuüben, so vollziehen sich diese Bewegungen oft mit grossem Temperament und erinnern an den amerikanischen Kakewalk. Im Gegensatz zu diesem Tanz wirkt eine dritte Art schwerfällig. Die Kette wird in zwei oder vier kleinere aufgelöst, die Leute schreiten in Zickzacklinie rückwärts und schieben sich, langsam rechts dehend, um das Feuer.

Die Musik der Trommeln klingt sehr eintönig; mit zwei Stäbchen werden zwei verschiedene Klänge, nämlich durch Anschlagen mit der breiten Seite ein tiefer und mit der schmalen ein höher Ton erzeugt. Dadurch, dass sie nun bald laut, bald leise in kurzen oder längeren Pausen erklingen, entsteht eine einfache Melodie. Ich habe versucht, die Takte durch Zeichen der Kürze ⏑, und Länge —, sowie der stärkeren Betonung, in Folgenden wiederzugeben.

Vorspiel



Rundtanz



Vor- und Rücktanz



The natives kept dancing all night, and not until the sun had risen far above the horizon did they seek sleep. In spite of the dance being fairly monotonous the participants after having imbibed considerable quantities of "Rohrwein" by degrees became excited. Elbert says:

"Wenn aber die Leute, durch den fortwährenden Genuss des Rohrweines angefeuert, in wilder Extase um den glühenden Holzhaufen springen, selbst in Feuer stürmen und die Beine wie toll in die Luft werfen . . . Solche Momente ungezügelter Tanzlust können für den beschauenden Europäer unangenehm werden, da mit ihr alle Schranken fallen".

No doubt this dance in several respects agrees with other round dances in SE. Celebes. Certainly it had not at ritual character when Elbert saw it, but this is a question upon which he does not enter.

North Celebes.

From Minahassa GRAAFLAND records two rounds, *makaria* and *maramba*. Of these the former seems to be similar to the *soemawi* in Lamala as well as the round at Kolaka; the latter more corresponds to the *raego* in C. Celebes.

In Vol. I, page 292, of "De Minahassa", GRAAFLAND gives an account of the *makaria* dance. *Makaria* means "to associate with", or literally "friendly". In the Sonder Dialect the word is *makarapi*, which literally means "to be together with". Hand in hand the participants line up in a circle, first moving slowly, but by and by in a quicker and more lively tempo. Finally they become excited and indulge in unchaste attitudes and movements. They accompany their dance with various songs. In the beginning

they invoke the help of the *empoeng*, the benevolent spirits or gods, but soon these songs are followed by songs of vulgar innuendo which fire their imagination, and finally they throw all decency to the wind.

GRAAFLAND states that certain young girls, after having taken part in the *makaria* for some nights, even in the middle of the day behaved as if they were lost to all shame. Here we must not forget that GRAAFLAND looks upon the matter with a missionary's eyes. The natives themselves in all probability did not characterize these debauches as immoral. Possibly they were connected with some kind of phallus cult, and should perhaps be considered altogether moral.

As a rule the natives indulge in the *makaria* in the evening and make a night of it, especially when there is a moon. It is not only on festal occasions that they dance the *makaria*. GRAAFLAND does not enter upon the details of this dance, the songs accompanying it, or the dresses of the participants. He does not see any religious elements in this dance, but, as mentioned before, it possibly may be a rite of fecundity, or connected with some kind of phallus cult.

Maramba, the second dance mentioned by GRAAFLAND, does not appear to be commonly known in Minahassa. On page 294 he states that this dance is only practised in the northern part of the districts as well as on Lake Tondano.

Similarly to the *makaria*, the natives arrange a *maramba* whenever they like to do so, and it is not connected with any religious festival or performance. The dance is this. The participants range themselves in a single file, putting the right hand on the shoulder, or both hands on the shoulders, of the person in front. Sometimes men and women will dance separately, but mostly they mix. They move in a circle, all the time screaming at the top of their voices. To begin with they dance at a slow pace and with propriety, but gradually the dance will become wilder and wilder and more objectionable from our moral point of view.

The first part of the song accompanying the dance refers to why it was arranged, the second part alludes to the relations between two lovers.

Finally GRAAFLAND quotes som verses that were sung on the occasion of a *maramba*. The *makaria* and the *maramba*, as well as certain other dances, are accompanied by the music from the *kolintang*, a set of gongs placed on a wooden frame and played with short wooden sticks often ending in a knob. GRAAFLAND, on page 298 of Vol. I, states: "Deze instrumenten worden bespeeld door groot en klein, en door ieder die vaardigheid heeft in het tokkelen en variatie weet te brengen in de muziek. Deze is echter zeer gering, daar men slechts over drie of vier tonen te beschikken heeft. Een enkele maal is het stel volledіger, maar de tonen vormen geen geregelde en ook niet een volledige gamma. Zoo hebben wij wel enkele malen een aangenaam geluid aan die kolintang's hooren ontlokken, maar in den regel is het eene eentonige, vervelende, geestdoodende muziek. De gong, die er bij behoort, en die slechts een grooter en zwaarder bekken is, geeft een baastoon aan, die zelden een zuiver accord vormt met de andere tonen. Soms wordt het spel wild en razend, als de dansenden, en dan kan U hooren en zien vergaan."

Evidently the *maramba* has several elements in common with the *raego* dances: (1) the participants form a circle one behind the other, (2) one or both hands rest on the shoulder or shoulders of the person in front, (3) the singing is boisterous.

Whether the sexual orgies connected with the *maramba* are greater than those of a *raego* is a question I cannot settle; certainly they are not so obvious in the *raego* as in the *makaria*.

GRAAFLAND states that the *maramba* is not connected with any religious festival, yet I do not think it altogether impossible that the *maramba*, similarly to the *raego* dances, originally was a dance of ritual character, presumably connected with some kind of fecundity cultus.

I have been unable to obtain an authentic representation of the *makaria* and *maramba* dances. In Vol. XIV of the Publications of the Dresden Museum, MEYER and RICHTER on Plate III, Fig. 1, represent a round danced at Tomohon in 1839, in this book seen in Fig. 121. Similarly to the *maramba* the dancers are here lined up in a circle, putting one or both hands on the shoulders of the person in front, but they are only men in festal garb, which makes me think that this round may be connected with the war-dance seen in the same plate. The text does not offer any explanation. In Fig. 2 of the above plate to the right there is a band playing the *kolintang* (Fig. 120).

P. TEN KATE in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen", 1915, page 333, makes the following statement: "Moraego is over geheel Midden-Celebes bekend en ook gebruikelijk in de Minahassa". In a list of words for *raego* dances he says that the Tontomboean-speaking natives have two kinds of dances: *marani* (to make a noise) which is similar to ordinary *moraego*, and *maramba* (to stamp one's feet), a *raego* arranged in a new house when taking possession of it.

Whether the natives of Minahassa and Mongondou, the district to the west of Minahassa, still indulge in rounds seems uncertain. During my stay in these tracts, from February 1917 to April 1918, I never saw or heard of such a dance, or any dance at all, with one exception, a war-dance, of which more further on. Yet, it can hardly be doubted that rounds in olden times were just as common here as they still are in C. Celebes. That rounds have gone out of use in Mongondou may be a result of the natives having adopted Mohammedanism.

From other localities in the northern peninsula such as Gorontalo, Bwool, Tomini, Toli Toli there is no record of any rounds, yet in all probability the natives of these places in olden times were familiar with these dances. In the mountain districts in the interior of the Toli Toli District where a Toradja population lives, it is quite likely that the natives still have some kind of *raego* dance.

B. CONTRA-DANCES.

Contra-dances are known from practically the whole island of Celebes, two or more persons dancing vis-a-vis, or a single person dancing against a fictitious partner. As a rule these dances appear to be performed by men. Yet, women are known to join in war-dances, and there even appear to exist dances in which only women perform. Below I propose to give an account of what is known about these dances and their distribution in Celebes.

Central Celebes.

Paloe Toradja.

Only twice, at Paloe and in Koelawi, I have seen a contra-dance in districts inhabited by Paloe Toradja Tribes. In both cases the performers were men.

Koelawi.

In the beginning of June 1818, Koelawi was visited by a Dutch official of high rank from Donggala. To entertain this big-wig two natives were ordered to perform a war-dance before the Europeans.

The two men were in gala attire: short silk breeches, a handsome head fillet of painted bast cloth, and a bead necklace. Armed with their shields and swords they got into position at a distance of ten or fifteen meters from one another. Uttering some ejaculations they began brandishing their weapons and shields, crouching, stamping on the ground, and bounding forwards and backwards. At last their shields met, at which they swung their big swords to and fro in the air.

Occasionally this ended the fight; at other times the men retired apart, and then advanced as if following certain rules, one of them finally administering a blow at the other man's shield, who then was considered vanquished

On this occasion as well as the one represented in Fig. 113, the upper part of the body was naked, just as in a *raego* dance, but I was told by the natives that sometimes the performers of a war-dance wear a jacket of dark blue velvet with silver embroidery of the same kind as used in Lojnang in NE. Celebes, of which more below. In Koelawi I never saw a native dressed in this garment, but once a man brought a jacket to sell to me.



O. STRANDLUND Photo.

Fig. 113. *War-dance.* Koelawi, NW. Central Celebes.

Paloe Valley.

On April 30th in 1918 there was a festival at Paloe which I attended. In the afternoon two natives performed a strange dance in an open space. In spite of the fact that the men were not dressed in festal attire and did not use shields and swords I think the dance was a kind of war-dance similar to this dance in Koelawi. Each armed with a stick the two men executed a kind of sham fight. The performance did not have any special meaning, it was only arranged to entertain the public.

I have no reference to war-dances from other Paloe Toradja tribes, but in all probability they are commonly known among these tribes.

Koro Toradja.

I have not seen any war-dances in districts inhabited by Koro Toradja tribes, and so far as I am aware there is no record of such dances in the literature.

Poso Toradja.

I have not seen any contra-dances among tribes belonging to this group, but that such dances formerly were common among them is evident from what KRUYT tells us in "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's". When giving an account of their games he describes on p. 390 of Vol. II under the heading "Spiegelgevechten", these contra-dances, saying:

"Het houden van spiegelgevechten (*momose*) had vroeger veel plaats, vooral bij gelegenheid van doodenfeesten. Het werd dan gedaan bij wijze van tijdverdrijf, en om lof in te oogsten van de talrijke toeschouwers. De twee strijders staan tegenover elkaar; gewoonlijk zijn zij alleen gewapend met een schild, terwijl zij met den rechterarm zwaaien, als hielden zij een zwaard in de hand geklemd. Met eenige sprongen naderen zij elkaar, terwijl zij hunne schilden doen trillen. Hunne oogen bliksemen, terwijl zij den afstand meten, die hen van elkaar scheidt, en die steeds kleiner wordt. Met eenige snelle passen trekken zij zich terug, om met één sprong weer tegenover elkaar te staan, op één been wiegende, en het andere naar achter opgeheven. Iedere spier trilt. Nu eens links, dan weder rechts uitwijkende, trachten zij elkaar nu eens te ontwijken dan te benaderen. Zoo gaat het voort tot zij moede worden en aan het spiegelgevecht een einde maken.

Soms geeft ook wel eens één enkele man de voorstelling van een spiegelgevecht met een denkbeeldigen vijand. Zulk

eene vertooning duurt altijd maar een oogenblick, want de strijder, die voelt dat aller aandacht op hem alleen is gevestigd, wordt spoedig verlegen en staakt zijn spel."

Thus there appears to be two kinds of contra-dances performed by men, the one performed by a single person possibly more or less being a casual occurrence. KRUYT is of the opinion that these dances are mere pastimes but the fact that they are performed especially on the occasion of a festival in commemoration of the dead gives to them the character of ancient ritual performances.

Among the Poso Toradja, we meet with a ritual dance, according to KRUYT, performed by women, in such a manner that I think we should group it with war-dances. In Vol. I of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's," KRUYT gives an account of the tasks of the priestesses. He states that on the occasion of a certain festival called *momparilangka*, when all women have to do duty as priestesses, they dance the *motaro*, which he describes as follows, page 366: "Deze dans heet *motaro* en is de meest gracieuse der Toradja'sche dansen, welke wij bij verschillende gelegenheden toogepast zullen zien. Het *motaro* wordt steeds uitgevoerd door vrouwen, hetzij door eene enkele, of eenigen achter elkaar, of wel twee tegenover elkaar. In de rechterhand houdt de dansende eene speer, bij andere gelegenheden een zwaard, in de linkerhand heeft zij een blad van de Dracaena terminalis, het schild tegen booze geesten. Op de maat van een bijzonder tromgeroffel worden vlugge passen voor- en achteruit gemaakt met rhytmische buigingen van het lichaam, en soortgelijke bewegingen van de eenigszins naar voren gestrekte armen. Het treft aanstonds ieder, dat het *motaro* in fijner, eleganter vormen de bewegingen bij een spiegelgevecht weergeeft. Men moet het *motaro* dan ook opvatten als een gevecht met de geesten om dezen af te weren of te verjagen."

In connection with this account are given all occasions on which it is customary to hold a *motaro*. KRUYT states

that it is clearly apparent that the priestesses, when performing the *motaro*, engage in a pretended fight with the spirits. This makes me think that it has for its prototype some kind of war-dance performed by men, since the handling of sword and shield is no work pertaining to women.

Saadang Toradja.

Whether in the districts inhabited by the To Saadang and allied tribes there are contra-dances of the same kind as the war-dance that I saw in Koelawi, we do not know. Among the dances from Makale described by the Dutch official Mr. NOBELE, there is but one dance, *mapasai*, which is a contra-dance, two lines of performers moving against one another (see page 419).

There is no record of contra-dances from other districts in C. Celebes, yet in all probability some form or other is known all over this part of the island.

Malili.

At Malili on the border between Central and SE. Celebes GRUBAUER in 1911 witnessed a contra-dance, which he describes in his book "Unter Kopfjägern", page 19. He writes as follows: "Im Laufe des Nachmittags kam die ganze Radja-Gesellschaft zum Hause des Herrn v. A., vor welchem nun Kampfspiele der Tobela stattfanden. Einzeln und in Paaren standen sich die gegenwärtig in Frieden lebenden, aber bis vor kurzem noch Todfeinde gewesenen Vertreter der verschiedenen Stämme gegenüber, um nach mimischer Herausforderung unter gellendem Jauchzen und schrillen Kampfrufen aufeinander loszustürmen. Mit grotesken Sprüngen und Drohbewegungen umkreisten sich die Kämpfer, in tollem Wirbel schlugen sie ihre schmalen, schlanken Schilde gegeneinander, kreuzten sich die — vorsichtshalber — hölzernen Schwerter, denn allzuoft schon wurde aus solchen Kampfspielen blutiger Ernst."

North-East Celebes.

In Lojnang in the interior as well as in Lamala in the eastern part of the NE. Peninsula I have seen contra-dances. So far as I am aware there is no record of such dances in the literature.



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 114. *Single war-dance.* Lojnang, NE. Celebes.

Lojnang.

December 1919 I spent in the district of Lojnang, and during that month I three times had the opportunity of seeing a war-dance. The day after our arrival in Pinapoean, the eastern part of Lojnang, we were welcomed by an old

man; Tomai Lagongga, who performed a war-dance before us, dressed in the attire of his father who had been *talenga*, or chieftain of the head hunters (Fig. 114). This dance is called *mapos* in Pinapoean.

Tomai Lagongga wore short silk breeches and a jacket



W. KAUDERN. Painting in oils.

Fig. 115. *The same man as in Fig. 114, showing his head-gear, adorned with a soealang, made of the tusks of a babirusa.*

of black cloth, and over it another jacket of very dark blue velvet with silver embroidery, similar to what I saw in Koelawi. Round his waist was wound a long sash of silk in which the big chopping knife or sword was stuck. On his head he had a sort of turban the frame of which was a

roll of coarse brown bast cloth over which was wound a long narrow band with fringed ends which depended from the head-gear at the left side, where an ornament called *soealang* was fixed (Fig. 115). This is made of two babi-rusa tusks, one from the upper and one from the lower jaw. In his right hand the *talenga* had a spear, in his left hand a wooden shield.

The dance was performed in an open space in front of the house of the schoolmaster, where we lodged. The *talenga* started making some pirouettes, alternately jumping forwards and backwards and swinging his spear in the air as if contending with an invisible adversary. After a while the old man bent one knee, put the shield on the ground and placed the spear slantingly across it. Then he sprang to his feet and cutting capers he extemporized a song of welcome to us. This finished, he again grasped his spear and shield and started dancing, alternately striking the shield on his left knee and on the spear. The old performer grew more and more excited. Two young girls now joined in the dance, holding in their hands a cloth which they waved as if to egg him on. At last our man was tired and the performance was at an end.

In the Lingketeng District, immediately to the west of Pinapoean, I was welcomed with a similar dance on the 17th of December on my way to the Tamboenan District, west of Lingketeng. The head-gear of the *talenga* was here a little different to that of Pinapoean. The turban was a double neck-cloth of bast cloth with fringed ends, coiled up so as to make a crown, and wrapped with a length of mottled cloth. Its long fringes depended like a big tassel at the left side of the head. The *soealang* was attached in front, with its point turned to the right.

I was told that in case of war it had been customary to have a second *soealang* at the back of the head-dress, with its point turned to the left.

Next day I arrived at Tamboenan. In the evening

the inhabitants of the village gathered in an open space and a middle-aged man stepped forward, dressed in the *talenga* garb. A piece of cloth, rolled to make a ball, was placed on the ground, in all probability representing a head. The dress worn by the *talenga* was the same as in Lingketeng and Pinapoean. The turban was similar to that of the former place, with the difference, however, that the big tassel was found to the right of the head, as well as the *soealang*, the point of which was turned backwards.

Making various rhythmical gambols the man executed a sham fight in front of the ball on the ground. Five young girls danced opposite to him on the other side of the "head", waving a cloth as if to encourage him. The spectators grew more and more interested, and when the ecstasy reached its climax they were quite mad with excitement. They beat a huge copper gong, clapped their hands, jumping and screaming at the top of their voices. Even old people became for a while young again, and a gray-headed woman was seen jumping up and down, her hair streaming round her head. No doubt she lived over again past days when this dance, *oemapos*, was performed on the return of the head-hunters to their village after a successful expedition.

Lamala.

During my stay in NE. Celebes I also had the opportunity of seeing a war-dance in Lamala, as mentioned above. At the village of Kalibambang a war-dance called *tjakalele* was performed in our honour. Whether this is the native name of the dance here I leave unsaid, since it was an Amboinese schoolmaster who called it so. In his island as well as all over the Molucca the word *tjakalele* is used for the performance in question.

Two young men, each with a shield in his left hand, one with a spear, the other with a big chopping knife or sword in his right hand began to fight, alternately retiring and advancing, dodging or parrying off a stroke. They were

dressed in common cotton breeches and a jacket of the same stuff.

Peling.

To the east of NE. Celebes is found the Banggaai Archipelago. The biggest of these islands is Peling, and



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 116. *The village headman of Boelagi in Peling ready to perform a single war-dance.*

here I saw in February 1920 in the village of Boelagi a war-dance similar to the *mapos* of Lojnang. Together with a Dutch lieutenant I arrived late in the evening on February 11th to Boelagi, and the following morning the natives in our honour performed a war-dance in the market place.

Several men appeared on the stage, dancing in their proper turns, but here no women joined in the dance. The men were armed with shield and spear, or shield and sword, the headman of the village even with shield, spear, and sword.

The dance was performed at a very quick tempo. In rhythmical bounds the man sprang forwards swinging his sword or spear, then he whirled round on one foot, made a

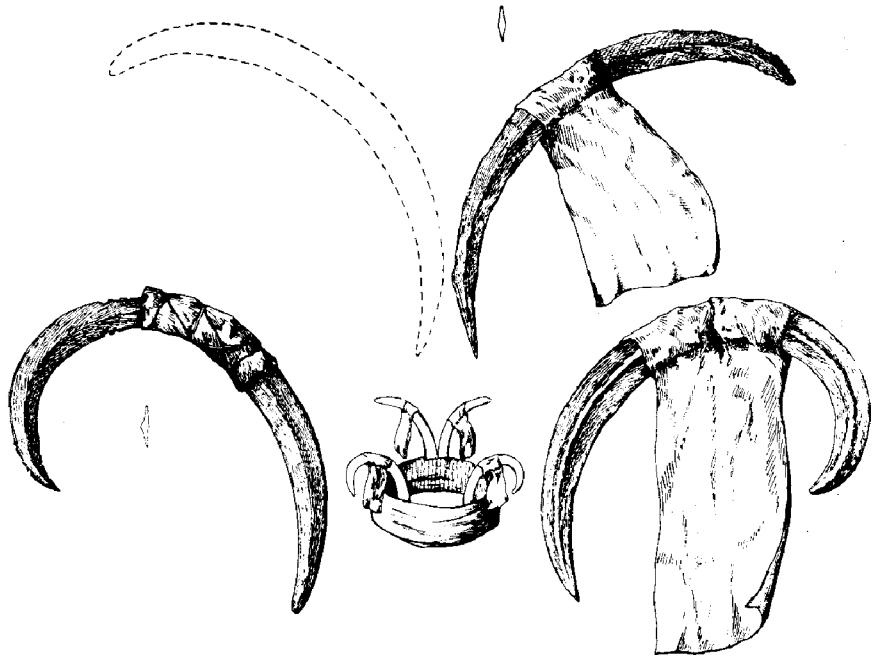


Fig. 117. *Head-gear of the headman of Boelagi.* Peling.

new assault, an so on at so violent a rate that he could not keep it up for long at a time.

Finally the head man could not resist the temptation of giving a performance before us. On account of the visit of the lieutenant he wore an antiquated Dutch uniform. Now he seized his shield and his spear with his left hand, his sword with his right hand, and entered with enthusiasm upon the war-dance of his country (Fig. 116).

There was nothing particular about the men's dress, but for the military cap of the headman, from which rose three



W. KAUDERN Photo.

Fig. 118. *Girl and yong men dressed for the festival in commemoration of the dead.* In the girl's hair-band are attached some ornaments of brass similar to the *babirusa* tusk in the cap of the headman of Boelagi. Tomata in Ondae, E. Central Celebes.

black crescents with a piece of red cloth attached to each of them. On a close inspection I found that the ornaments were *babirusa* tusks, split lengthways (Fig. 117). From where these strange ornaments had come nobody could tell, and nobody knew that they were the tusks of the *babirusa*, an animal which does not live in their island, but is found in Celebes to the west and in Soela to the east of Peling. They were very old and had been in the family of the headman for several generations.

The ornaments, strange to say, are closely similar to a kind of brass crescents, *widoe*, attached to a head band, *tali pampa*, formerly used in certain districts in E. Central Celebes, *i. e.* Ondae and Pada (Fig. 118). In front of the head-band there are two *widoe*, their points turned away from one another, and at the back there is a single *widoe* with a forked top. Originally the similarity with the *tali pampa* had been still more striking. Before the headman wore a cap, the tusks had been attached to a head-band, or turban. The halves of the curved tusks from the upper jaw had been fastened at the temples, those of the less strongly curved lower jaw close to one another at the back, whith their points turned from each other, like those in front. Now one of the back ornaments was lost (Fig. 117).

Conceivably the natives of Boelagi in some way or other may be connected with the tribes in E. Central Celebes. Their appearance was rather different from that of the other Orang Seasea in Peling, but they no doubt to a certain degree resembled the natives of Lojnang. A close investigation might perhaps reveal a kinship with certain tribes in Celebes, and the dance that I saw at Boelagi may simply be the same as the *oemapos*, or *mapos* of Pinapoean.

South-East Celebes.

From Kolaka in Mengkoka ELBERT records war-dances performed by two men. In Vol. I, page 269 of "Die Sunda-Expedition" he writes: "Unter den Klängen der Musik

führen auch *Zweikämpfer* in Kopfjägertracht allerlei Scheingefechte mit den verschiedenen Waffen auf, tanzen umeinander, machen plötsliche Seitensprünge oder Ausfälle, rennen alle Augenblicke mit den Schilden zusammen und schlagen mit ihren Schwertern Hiebe gegen einander. Die



From ELBERT

Fig. 119. *War-dance.* Roembia, SE. Celebes.

ringsherum hockende Menge zollt den Fechtern, welche, durch Palmwein-genuss angeregt, manchmal in eine wahre Wut geraten, reichen Beifall. Stundenlang dauern diese Kriegsspiele, bei denen alle Männer der Reihe nach ihre Kräfte erproben" (Fig. 119).

In all essential points this dance seems to correspond to the dance that I saw at Kalibambang in Lamala. True enough, ELBERT states that the performing men appeared "mit den verschiedenen Waffen", but in his photo one of them has a spear, the other a sword, just as at Kalibambang. The only difference seems to be that the Kolaka men wear cuirass and a helmet.

I do not suppose this dance to be confined to Kolaka. I am inclined to believe that it is known at least all over SE. Celebes.

North Celebes.

When I stayed in this part of the island, from February 1917 to April 1918, I did not see any war-dances like those described above, yet they are not unknown here.

Minahassa.

MEYER and RICHTER in Vol. XIV of the Publications of the Dresden Museum reproduce in colour two water-colour sketches from Minahassa, made in 1839. In one of them two men from Menado are represented. To the accompaniment of a *gamelan* they perform a war-dance similar to the dance at Kolaka and Kalibambang (Fig. 120). In the other is seen a great number of men in war attire. Some of them are ranged in two lines and dancing a contra-dance, the rest are forming a circle, like a round dance in C. Celebes (Fig. 121). Both water-colours refer to the time when the inhabitants still were heathens.

The arms of the two men from Menado are identical to those used by the men at Kalibambang and Kolaka, that is to say both have shields, in this case very likely made of brass or overlaid with brass, one has a spear, and the other a sword (Fig. 120). The dress, however, is different, the two men from Menado wearing a festal garb. Their head-gear is a turban in various colours, adorned with a tuft of beautiful feathers,

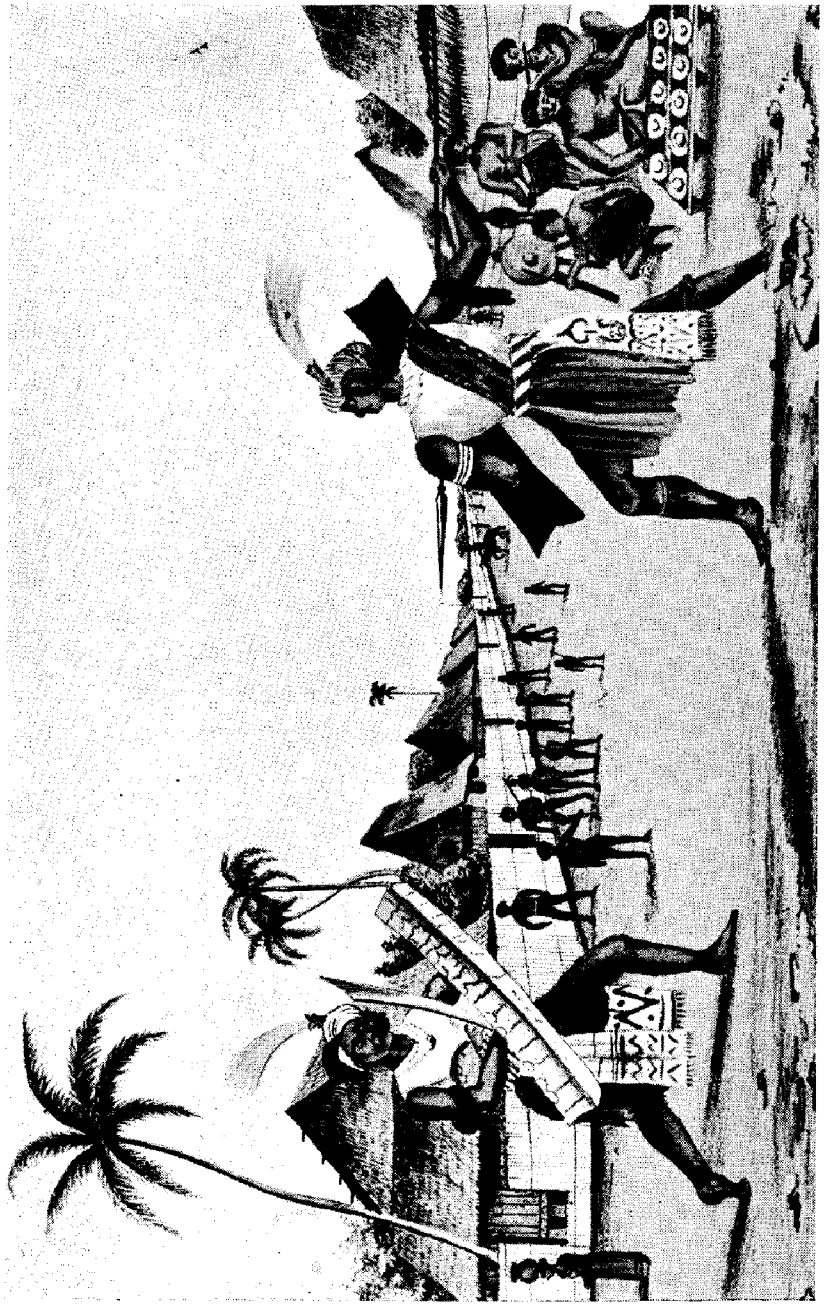
possibly from the bird of paradise. They have a white shirt without sleeves, and round the waist a gaudy sash from which two long ends depend. One of the men over his shoulder has a blue sash edged with red. Whether they wear breeches or a loin cloth cannot be ascertained from the figure. A small red handkerchief is tied round the upper part of the right arm, and one of them has three white bracelets round his left arm. The same man also wears rings round his left arm and rings just below his knees. The red, blue, green, and yellow makes their garb look rather gorgeous.

C. VAN DER HART in 1853 in his "Reize rondom het Eiland Celebes", has a picture representing a couple of natives in "war costume", but they rather look as if dressed for a war-dance than for military service. In all probability they are wearing the attire of the performers of a dance similar to that of the two men from Menado. One of them is armed with a spear, the other with a sword. The attire as well as the shields of the two men are so different that it would seem as if they were the representatives of two tribes, as also stated by MEYER and RICHTER.

The difference in dress between the warriors figured by V. D. HART and those in the pictures from 1839 in all probability should be attributed to the fact of the men being natives of different districts inhabited by different tribes, the former from Kakas on the southern shore of Lake Tondano, the latter from Menado.

Neither V. D. HART nor MEYER and RICHTER have given any details of the war-dance in Minahassa, but GRAAFLAND on page 131 of Vol. I of "De Minahassa" states the following: "Hun eigenlijk *tjakaléle* (L. M.[1]) schijnt ons toe meer inheemsch te zijn; de overeenkomst met de gewone dansen van de voorvechters der bewoners van den Indischen archipel is duidelijk. Het is wel eens aardig te zien, hoe zij

[1] Low Malay. On page 130 is stated that the natives of Minahassa call the performance in question *mahasasau*.



From MEYER and RICHTER.

Fig. 120. *War-dance*. Minahassa, N. Celebes.

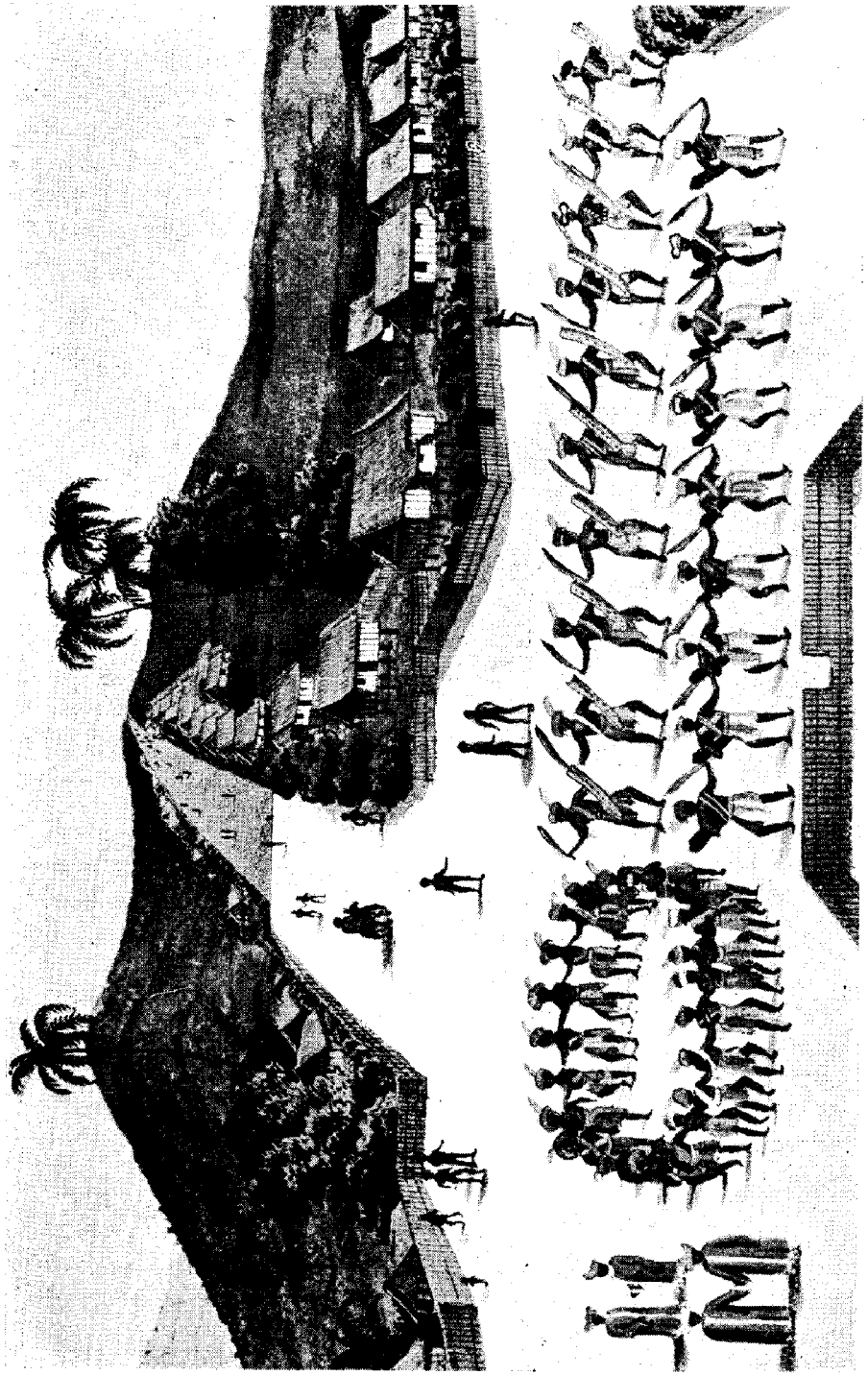
hunnen denkbeeldigen vijand uitdagen, nazetten, ontwijken, met eenen linkschen, rugwaartschen draai of sprong hem overvallen, en het uitgillen, als zij hem zoo op eens hebben geveld. Degenen, die bekend staan als meesters in de kunst moeten deze bij velerlei gelegenheden vertoonen. Wij hebben het gezien bij het werken aan wegen, of het trekken van hout, zoowel als bij feestelijke gelegenheden."

As mentioned before there is also in Minahassa a contra-dance performed by a great number of warriors. To the right in the picture figured by MEYER and RICHTER (Fig. 121) is seen in the market place of Tomohon two ranks of warriors in festal garb, armed with shield and spear, engaged in some kind of dance, of which, however, no details are given.

C. V. D. HART in his above quoted work describes a dance at Kakas that no doubt is similar to the dance in the picture. On page 178 he says: "Een veertigtal Halfoeren, prachtig in hun krijgskostuum gekleed en gewapend, rukte in goede orde onder trommelslag aan, en schaarde zich in slagorde voor het huis. Hunne wapens bestonden uit pieken, assagaaijen of werpspiesen en klewangs, terwijl het onafscheidelijke schild, waarmede zij de slagen of stooten afweren, door iedereen gedragen werd. Hunne kleeding, die mij echter voorkwam zeer ongeschikt te zijn om ten strijde te gaan en veel had van eene die bij tooneelvoorstellingen gebruikt wordt, was schilderachtig aan hun lichaam bevestigd en deed eene goede uitwerking."

Here follows a detailed account of the dress of the warriors, which is seen in Fig. 122.

Of the fight itself he says: "De troep had zich inmiddels in twee partijen verdeeld, die verbeelden moesten vijandig tegen elkander over te staan, en weldra begonnen met ons te onthalen op een spiegelgevecht, waarbij zij ons al hunne krijgslisten lieten zien. Het aanvallen en dergelijke evolutien meer, werden zoo duidelijk mogelijk door hen vertoond. Nu en dan hoorde men een raauwen gil of een dof gekerm van



From MEYER and RICHTER.

Fig. 121. *War-dance.* Minahassa, N. Celebes.

een getroffen of stervenden vijand, die met ijsselijk verwrongene gelaatstrekken ter neder viel: in één woord, het was voor o s, die dit nog nooit gezien hadden, een zeer belangrijk tafereel. Nadat zij omtrent een half nur met



From V. D. HART.

Fig. 122. *Warriors in festal attire,* presumably for the performance of a war-dance. Kakas in Minahassa, N. Celebes.

elkander geschermutseld, en door vlugheid en wendingen ons de spierkracht en vlugheid van hun lichaam hadden doen opmerken, trokken zij weder in dezelfde orde af, als zij gekomen waren."

To judge from the above accounts of war-dances in Minahassa, these dances posessed no ritual character whatever, at any rate not in the nineteenth century. They appear to have been performed chiefly in honour of a guest of high rank, in this case Dutch officials. The war-dance described by V. D. HART was arranged by the natives on account of the visit of a special delegation on bord of two warships visiting Minahassa in 1850. The description given by GRAAFLAND refers to a visit that the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, Mr. DUYMARG VAN TWIST, paid to Menado in 1855. We have no accounts earlier than these, but it can hardly be doubted that they give a correct idea of the war-dances in olden times before the natives came into contact with the Europeans.

As late as 1919, when the then Governor General Count VAN LIMBURG STIRUM paid a visit to Minahassa, a war-dance in the old style was performed to entertain him, the natives having on that occasion got out ancient garments, weapons, and ornaments. Unfortunately I was unable to procure a photo or a description of the performance in question.

Mongondou.

In this district, which borders in the east upon Minahassa, war-dances similar to those in Minahassa appear to have been performed on festal occasions.

An old man Sikona, of the village of Modajag, told me that it had been customary on certain occasions to arrange a war-dance. If I understood Sikona rightly the natives drew up in two lines, armed with wooden shields and very long, magnificent spears and executed a sham fight. In order to show me how they danced, Sikona with his right hand seized a spear, raising it horizontally on a level with his shoulders. In his left hand he had a plain wooden shield which had been made when a war-dance was to be performed some years ago when their Rajah was buried with

great pomp and splendour. The old man began jumping, leaping, and stamping, now at a quick rate, now slower, occasionally raising his spear and shaking it so as to make the pellet-bell at the lower end jingle.

Whether there existed a war-dance only performable by *two* men I was unable to ascertain. From other places in N. Celebes, such as Kwandang, Paleleh, Bwool, or Toli Toli in the west I have no reference of any war-dances, yet it seems quite likely that such dances were formerly practised all over the northern peninsula.

South-West Celebes.

(Mac. Peninsula.)

Among the Orang Bugis and Orang Macassar we meet with several kinds of contra-dances according to MATTHES. He states three of them to be of foreign origin. On page 127 of his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", he says that these dances, which are performed by men and have the character of a kind of war-dances, are more lively than those of professional dancers.

The *léñggo* is a dance known among the Orang Macassar as well as the Orang Bugis. It is performed by a single man. MATTHES does not give any particulars about the steps, the dress, or the weapons of the performer.

Another dance is the *pângñja*, Bug., *pâñjñja*, Mac., which is performed by two men, no details, however, being given.

MATTHES does not make any statement as to the origin of these two dances. Possibly he may be of the opinion that they are more or less native to the Mac. Peninsula since he states that the following three dances have been introduced from other islands.

In the first of these dances, which in Bugis as well as in the Mac. language is called *sêre-Bândañg*, two men perform.

MATTHES states it to be a kind of "Bandasch" dance, *i. e.* a dance as practised by the natives in the Banda Islands far to the east.

The second dance is in both languages called *sêre-Malokoe*. On page 728 of his Bugis Dictionary he states as follows: "*sêre, másêre*, geb. van . . . alle soorten van dansen; bijv.: *Másêre-Malôkoe*, op de wijze der Molukkers dansen. Mak. idem. Dit is eene soort van krijgsdans door 12 personen uitgevoerd. Van daar *serêñg*, een' group van 12 dansende personen (La-Galigo). Ongeveer in 1600 zou deze dans door *Madjira*, broeder van *Mandarsjah*, koning van Ternate, te Makassar bekend geworden zijn. De Ternatanen zoude volgens de legende op het denkbeeld van dien dans gekomen zijn door het gezigt van eenige vogels, die door de lucht fladderden".

The third dance is native to the Island of Madoera. The dance itself as well as the performing men are called *gambo*. On page 55 of his Bugis Dictionary MATTHES states: *gâmbo*, 't Jav. *gamboeh*, soort van Madureesche dansers, met schild, boog of dadap, en gekleed met een' saroñg en lange sjerp, *sonde* genaamd . . . Mak. idem".

Possibly the *sêre-Malôkoe*, in which twelve men perform, may be allied to the war-dances in N. Celebes performed by a number of persons, since the influence of Ternate has been considerable in Minahassa as well as in Mongondou.

To make comparisons with contra-dances occurring in other parts of Celebes is impossible, no particulars about weapons, dresses, etc., of these dances in S. Celebes being given. The solo dance called *lenggo* possibly may be similar to the *mapos*, or *oemapos* of Lojnang, and the *panjtja*, performed by two men, may be allied to other war-dances of dual performance in Celebes. It would have been of interest to know whether the weapons in the Mac. Peninsula are sword against sword as in Koelawi, or spear against sword as in the eastern part of Celebes. At Malili, where

the Bugis influence is strong, the performers of the war-dance, according to GRUBAUER, use sword against sword. Possibly the same is the case in the Mac. Peninsula among Orang Bugis and Orang Macassar.

C. SACERDOTAL DANCES.

Beside the dances described in the foregoing mention is made in the literature of some native dances that cannot be referred either to rounds, or to contra-dances. Especially this is the case with certain dances of more or less religious character performed by priests and priestesses who accompany their magical performances with dances.

Central Celebes.

During my sojourn in NW. Central Celebes I did not see any ceremonial dances performed by priests, yet it is not excluded that such dances occur. I had not the opportunity of attending all the great feasts in Koelawi and Kantewoe, but I was told that on certain of these occasions special dances were performed that may have had the character of sacerdotal dances.

Of this type no doubt is the *motaro*, at any rate certain parts of it, as described by ADRIANI and KRUYT. Among the Poso Toradja it is only when incantations or other ritual performances are going forward that the priestesses (or priests) engage in dances. They do not dance in a circle, nor against one another, but more or less in Indian file.

Even among the so-called Saadang Toradja this kind of dances appear to be practised to judge from some statements made by J. KRUYT in a paper called "De Boea' en eenige andere feesten der Toradja's van Rantepao en Makale". He decribes at length some religious rites and mentions dances connected with them. On page 56, for example, he says: "Hierop gaat de *toboerake mangaloek* op de *tangadok*

kaloea, d. w. z. met een zwaard in de hand voert ze een dans uit, waarbij ze drie pas vooruit en dan weer drie pas achteruit doet (nondo)."

A *toboerake* seems to correspond to a *to balia*, priestess or priest, in C. Celebes. J. KRUYT in the above paper only states that the character of the *toboerake* is evident from her performances. On page 52 he points out that this person always is a woman or a hermaphrodite.

On page 63 of the same paper he says that on a certain day of the festival all natives in festal attire proceed to a place called *kala'paran*. In front there is a man, *tomano'bo'*, who dances in full armour.

In all probability several dances of this kind occur in Central, North-east and South-east Celebes, although there is no record in the literature.

North Celebes.

From Minahassa a couple of sacerdotal dances are recorded by GRAAFLAND, called *mangolong* and *matarek*. The former, which he calls a "death dance", he describes on page 297 of Vol. I of "De Minahassa". He writes: "Men kleedt zich daartoe feestelijk, en plaatst zwarte of roode langwerpige kappen op het hoofd. In dit costuum bezoekt men, al weenende (moämeh), het graf des overledenen. Terugkomende maakt men dansende bewegingen. Het zijn meest gewrongene bewegingen van armen en ledematen. In meergemelde aanteekeningen zien wij dezen dans tot een onderdeel der dooden-fosso's[1] gebracht. Het heet daar: 'dat alle vrouwen op het erf dansen, beteekenende om daardoor eenen plaatsvervanger te verzoeken, die nog beter is dan de overledene(!)'."

From this it would appear as if the *mangolong* was of a more or less religious character.

[1] *Fosso* seems to mean a rite by means of which ancestors, or certain spirits are worshipped.

This applies evenmore to of the *matarek*. According to GRAAFLAND, this priest dance is not quite the same all over the country. It is performed at all more important *fosso* feasts solely by priests, or, in the southern part of Minahassa by priestesses.

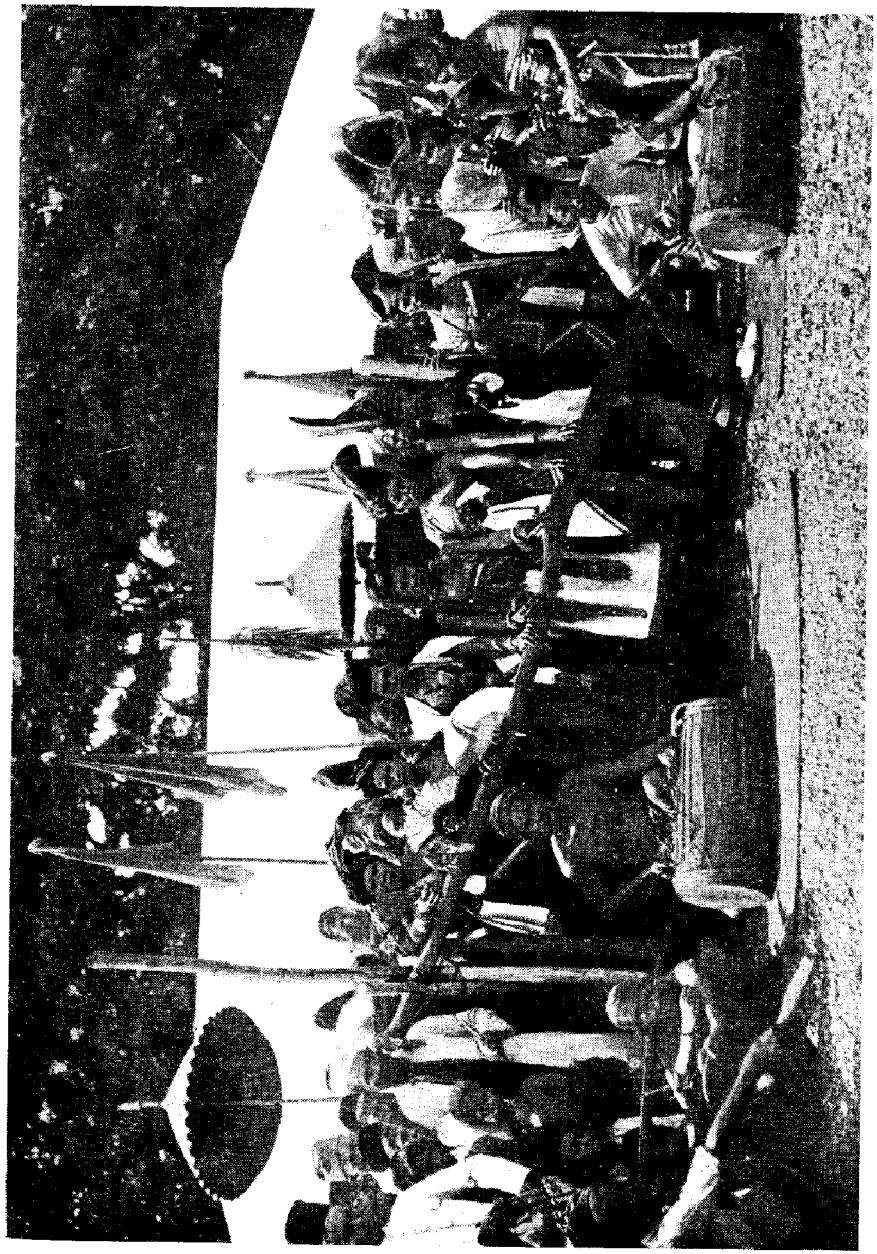
The performers wear over their shoulders and round their loins a fine garment called *kain patola*, and on their head a cloth which they have adorned with flowers and leaves. Round their shins they often tie red handkerchiefs. In their hands they carry leaves such as "daun tawaan" and "daun woka" which they wave about, or they have a sword which they handle so furiously that it is a wonder none of the spectators is hurt.

The dance is performed on a plank measuring ten to twelwe feet by eighteen inches. On this they move, now slowly on tiptoe, now springing or dancing forwards and backwards. Having reached the end of the plank they quickly turn round, all the while brandishing with their swords. When a performer is tired he leaves the plank and another person takes his place. In this manner they go on, perhaps the whole day and certainly all night long.

Occasionally a priest may become quite mad with excitement, even to the length of attacking the spectators with his sword.

The *mongolong* and the *matarek*, similarly to the war-dances, are always accompanied by *kolintang* (*gamelan*) musik.

Religious ceremonial dances are also recorded from Mooeton on the western coast of Tomini Bay, where VAN HOËVELL in 1891 saw such a dance. After having inhaled the vapour from the incense, seven priestesses became exalted and started dancing. This dance was resumed for several consecutive nights and all the time accompanied by music. VAN HOËVELL does not give a more detailed description of this performance, but he describes at length the professional dances to which I shall recur in a following chapter.



S. FREMER Photo.

Fig. 123. *Priests, bissoe, at a gankang, or plough feast.* SW. Celebes.

South-West Celebes.

(Macassar Peninsula.)

Ceremonial dances performed by priests may be fairly common in this part of Celebes in spite of the scanty statements found in the literature. In a paper, "Over de Bissoe's of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boeginezen", MATTHES in 1872 treats of various magic performances in which the Bugis priests and priestesses indulge. He gives a detailed account of all the implements used by these persons, but his descriptions of their dances are rather summary.

JASPERS in a paper in "Zeden en Gebruiken bij de Makassaren", published in "Nederl. Indië Oud en Nieuw", Vol. X, 1926, describes a so-called ploughing feast, at which the *bissoe* dance. The native *adat* does not allow a person to start working in his fields before the ploughing feast has taken place, the day of this feast being fixed by the prince of the country. JASPERS on page 344 writes as follows: "Met het oog op eventueele adatsovertreding werd vroeger uit praktische overweging door den vorst het tijdstip bepaald, waarop de koninklijke ploeg voor den rijstbouw het voorbeld zou geven, n. l. eenige dagen of weken vóór den voor den veldarbeid meest geschikten tijd.

Een dag of wat vóór het ploegen wordt de statieploeg uit zijn bewaarplaats gehaald, en in een tijdelijke baroega of loods ondergebracht. Het ploegfeest zal een aanvang nemen. Uit den geheelen omtrek stroomen de menschen naar de woonplaats van hun vorst.

De *bissoes* een kast van heidenpriesters, of sjamanen, die nagenoeg uitsluitend vrouwelijke eigenschappen hebben, zijn door den vorst opgeroepen, en beginnen nu om den in het midden van de baroega staanden ploeg een dans uit te voeren.

Na afloop hiervan begeven zij zich naar een voor het publiek afgesloten ruimte, alwaar zij weer beginnen te dansen en welzoodanig dat zij tenslotte er het bewustzijn bij verliezen.

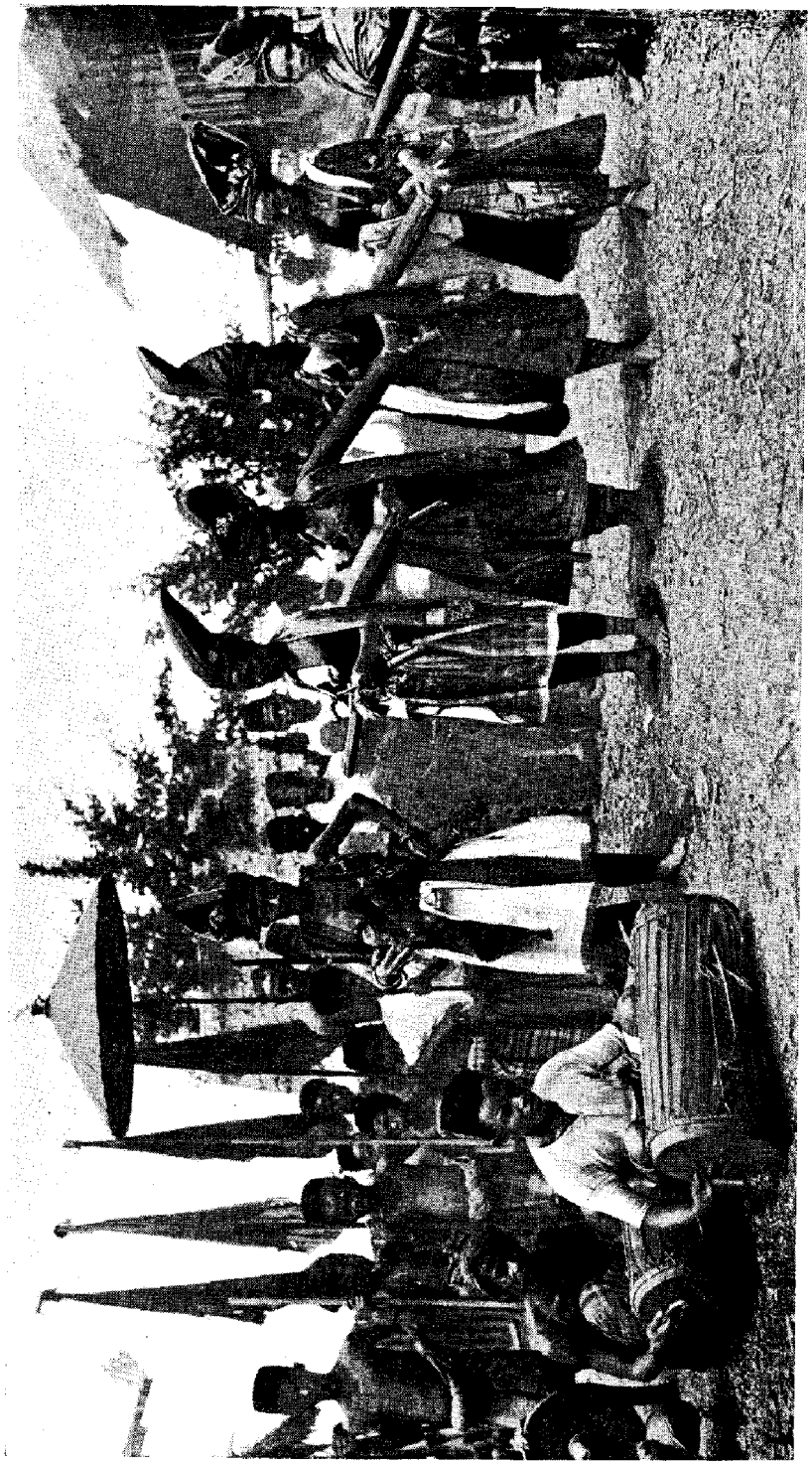


Fig. 124. *Priests, bissoe, performing a dance, having rattles in their hands.* SW. Celebes. S. FREMER Photo.

Dit laatste beschouwt men als het in contact komen van deze priesters met de geesten."

The Swedish engineer Mr. FREMER, states that the *bissoe* perform ritual dances on the following occasions:

(1) Before the natives start working in the paddy fields.
(2) When a prince assumes his duties as a regent and receives a so-called *gankang*.
(3) When there is an epidemic.
(4) In case of war, before taking the field against the enemy.

Mr. FREMER has a photo (Fig. 123) taken at a *gankang* feast. In this the *gankang* appears to be a plough of rather primitive construction. On this occasion a great number of *bissoe*, the keeper of the *gangkang*, and some female slaves had gathered and a buffalo was killed. Two girls on guard near the *gankang* had lighted candles in their hands. The *bissoe* performed a certain dance moving in Indian file, now at a slow pace, now at a quick time, gesticulating with their arms and hands, and twisting the body. The guardian of the *gankang*, with a straight sword in his hand leads the file of priests, some of which had cylindrical rattles in their hands as seen in Fig. 124.

According to Mr. FREMER the dance performed by the *bissoe* is always about the same as described above. The *gankang* is not necessarily a plough. It may be other objects hands, as in other places.

In connection with dances performed by professionals. I wish to mention an Arabian danse-du-ventre that, according to Mr. FREMER, was introduced in the Macassar Peninsula by an intinerant party, a man with his wife and daughter and a musician who played a small piano. The girl did some singing in Arabic, and her father in English, whilst the mother performed a danse-du-ventre, although fully clothed. Her dance was imitated by the natives, and very quickly spread over the Macassar Peninsula, but the performers

were boys dressed up as girls. At present it is said to have been prohibited by the Dutch authorities since it was abused for perverse purposes.

This dance will have originated from Egypt, and its name was *mŏsseri* or *másseri*.

In connection with sacerdotal dances we could expect to meet in Celebes masked dances, so common in many parts of Indonesia. HEINE GELDERN in "BUSCHAN, Ill. Völkerkunde", p. 911, says; "Maskenfeste und Maskentänze sind auf dem Festlande ziemlich selten, häufiger in Indonesien . . . Besonders häufig sind sie auf Borneo . . . . Sie fehlen auch auf Sumatra und Java nicht . . . . *kommen bei Makassaren und Bugi auf Celebes vor*[1] und sind im östlichen Indonesien nicht selten . . ."

It seems, however, doubtful whether the Orang Macassar and Orang Bugis actually are aquainted with masked dances. In no museum that I visited were there any masks from Celebes, nor is there in the literature any representations of masks from this island. During my stay in Celebes I never heard anything about masked dances.

D. PROFESSIONAL DANCES.

(Map 32)

Under this heading I am going to describe dances performed by male or female professional dancers.

Central Celebes.

From the interior of C. Celebes no professional dances are recorded, but on the coasts of Bone Gulf and Tomini Bay at the courts of some native princes the custom of having professional dancing-girls has been introduced under the influence of a foreign culture. This seems especially to be the case in districts dependent of the once so

[1] The italics are mine.

mighty Loewoe on Bone Gulf, the capital of which was Palopo.

GRUBAUER in 1911 at Malili attended a feast in celebration of the birthday of the Dutch Queen. In his book "Unter Kopfjägern in Celebes", page 18, he gives an account of the



From GRUBAUER.

Fig. 125. *Professional dancing-girls.* Malili. SE. Central Celebes.

performances of some dancing-girls. He writes: "Als weitere Festveranstaltung reihte sich eine Produktion von 6 Boni-Tanzmädchen an. Der zum Einschlafen langweilige, sog. Badjóge-Tanz bestand in rhythmischen Geh- und Drehbewegungen der nichts weniger als schönen, dafür aber desto phantastischer aufgeputzten Tänzerinnen, die sich im engen

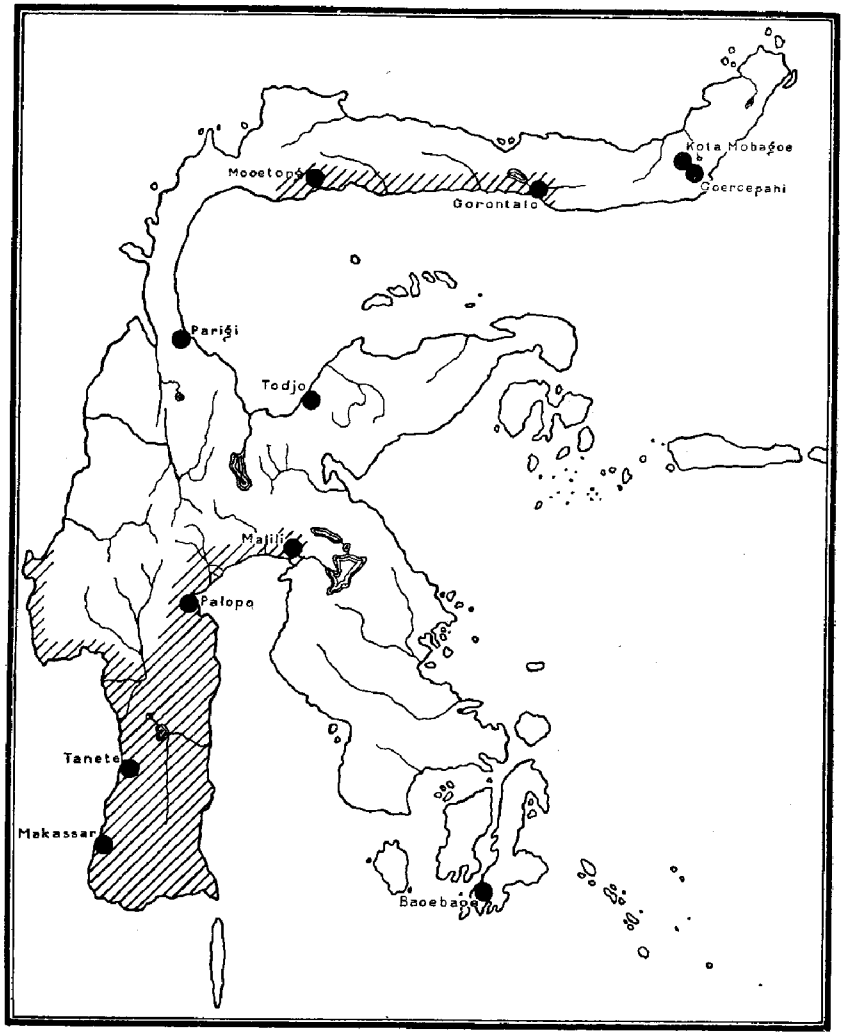
Kreise langsam um sich selbst drehten und ihre unschönen, eckigen Bewegungen mit einem krähenden Gesang in den höchsten Fisteltönen begleiteten, während ein paar alte Weiber auf mit den Händen geschlagenen Trommeln die Vorführung akkompagnierten". (Fig. 125.)

To judge from GRUBAUER's photo, the girls wear a common *sarong*, skirt, and over their upper body a veil and probably also a *kabaja*, a jacket open in front and with long sleeves. Their hair is oiled and brushed up, and at the back of the head a plate almost in the shape of a half-moon is attached, from which depend long strings of beads over both shoulders. This head-dress is closely similar to an adornment for a dancing girl from the Mac. Peninsula, now contained in the Leiden Museum (Fig. 130 A). In all probability the head-dress of the Malili dancing-girls is copied from the head-dresses used at the courts in the Mac. Peninsula.

In their right hand the Malili girls, similarly to all dancing girls, hold a fan. The object of the dance seems only to be the entertainment of the prince, the court, and the guests.

From Parigi on Tomini Bay I have a couple of references. ROSENBERG 1865, in his "Reistogten in de afdeeling Gorontalo" page 41 states: "In eene vrij groote loods, het vergader- of stadhuis, vond ik het hoofd zitten, een bejaard man, die den titel van djoegoegoe voert; hij vermaakte zich met naar een paar dansmeiden te gluren, die onder een eentoonig gillend gezang, waartoe eenige mannen op pauk en gong de maat sloegen, nog eentooniger ligchaamsbewegingen maakten, stijf en onbevallig. Ze waren eigenaardig toegetakeld met een zonderling hoog opstaand versiersel op het achterhoofd, twee bonte omslagdoeken als sjerp over de schouders en gewone Chinesche waaijers in de handen."

VAN HOËVELL on page 70 of a paper "Een Bezweringsfeest, Mapasaoe, te Mooeton" in "Int. Arch. f. Ethn.", Vol. V, 1892, states that all independent Rajah in the districts on Tomini Bay keep professional dancing-girls, as a rule a number of four. He figures a head-dress of such a girl



Map 32. *Localities in Celebes from which professional dancing-girls, pačjoge, are recorded.*

(Fig. 130 E), only stating its provenance to be Tomini Bay. I shall recur to this later on when speaking of the dancing-girls at Gorontalo, as described by HOËVELL.

A. KRUYT in a paper "Een en ander aangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer" in "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XLI, page 47, states: "Het orkest wan koelintang en gong met de daarbij behoor-



From MEYER.

Fig. 126. *Dancing-girls and drummers.* SW. Celebes.

ende dansmeiden (*padjoge*) aan de hoven van Todjo en Parigi is eene navolging van de Boeginesen."

South-West Celebes.

The custom of keeping dancing-girls at the courts once had a wide range in the Mac. Peninsula, and no doubt is of old date. How it is at present I was unable to learn,

but there still are some places where dancing-girls divert their masters with their performances.

A special kind of professional dances are those performed at the courts only by princes and princesses. MATTHES in his "Bijdr. t. d. Ethn. v. Zuid-Celebes", page 126, states: "De voornaamste dansen, zijn: het Boeginesche *mádjâga* of Makassaarsche *ákarêna*, dat evenals het Boeg. en Mak. *salôñreñg*, enkel aan de hoven door prinsen en prinsessen geschiedt. Bij het laatste heeft men altoos 2, 4, 6, 8 en nog meer personen, doch steeds een even getal."

Of the common dancing-girls he says: "Danseressen van minder allooi, die evenals de Javaansche *roñggeñg's* voor geld nog wel eens meer dan enkel haar dansetalent veil hebben, heeten onder Boeginesen en Makassaren *padjógé*, terwijl de man die tegen betaling van eenige duiten, hetzij 10, 30 of 60 duiten, de eer geniet van met haar te mogen dansen, den naam draagt van *pañgîbiñg*."

In a work, "Album von Celébes-Typen", MEYER in 1889 figures some dancing-girls in various postures (Plates 32, 33, and 34 of the Album). In Fig. 1 of Plate 34 is also seen a drummer, in Fig. 3 of Plate 32 a dancing-girl with a male partner. The dress of all dancing-girls is seen in Fig. 126. The man seems to wear nothing but a long *sarong* and a head-cloth. The head-gear of the girls is similar to that of the Malili dancing-girls.

MEYER's explanations of the figures are very short. The following details of Figs. 3 and 4 in Plate 32 are given: "Tänzer und Tänzerinnen. Der Kopfputz ist aus buntem Papier oder dgl. und heisst Djungge (bug. und mak.). Die öffentliche Tänzerinnen, Tanzmädchen, heissen Padjóge (b. und m.)".

In the Leiden Museum Catalogue, Vol. XVIII, Plate IV, Fig. 1, the head-gear of a dancing-girl from the Mac. Peninsula is figured (Fig. 130 A). JUYNBOLL on page 57 states: "N:o 37/174. Kopfschmuck (djungge), aus Bambus verfertigt, mit Papier beklebt, halbmondförmig mit zwei

Bambuszähnen. An beiden Seiten ein langer herabhängender Schwanz aus sechs (should be eight) rechteckigen Platten mit gebogenen, kurzen Seiten und durch Sätze von fünf vertikalen Stäbchen verbunden, unten rote Kattunlappen.



S. FREMER Photo.

Fig. 127. *Dancing-girls, pakarena.* SW. Celebes.

Alles mit rotem, grauem und schwarzem Papier beklebt und mit weissen und schwarzen Blumen bemalt. — Für Tänzerinnen. S.

L. 100, Br. 34 cm."

Mr. FREMER states the following court dances to be

known at Tanete, situated in the Mac. Peninsula between Macassar and Parepare. The name given to the performers is *padjaga*, from the dance which is called *djaga*. It is performed only when the Rajah, in this case a woman, entertains guests of high rank, and it is performed by girls and young men of old and noble families. Their teacher is a sister of the Ranee, assisted by old female slaves.

First the girls appear, slowly dancing in Indian file, grouping themselves in different ways, and then the young men dance in the same manner as the girls.

This *djaga* may correspond to a dance which MATTHES calls *madjaga* in Bugis, and *akarena* in the Mac. language. FREMER, however, mentions two other kinds of dancers, different from the *padjaga*, the names of whom are *pakarena* and *parabana*.

The *pakarena*, according to FREMER, are young girls of good family, dancing as a rule at some small native court. Generally six girls join in the dance. They have no special dress but wear a great number of ornaments belonging to the Ranee. Over their right shoulder they have a silk shawl. Their blackened hair is smoothed back and dressed on top of the head, their faces are powdered or painted white. In front, below the roots of the hair there is a fillet (Fig. 127). They dance by threes abreast, one group in front of the other, moving slowly all the time. An old women accompanies their dance with ancient songs with motives from olden times, and two or three men beat their drums which are of Hindoo type.

The *parabana* are only one or two girls dancing a dance similar to the so-called *tandak*, *i. e.* the performers make a series of strange movements with their arms, legs, and body in time to the music, which in this case is supplied by a number of *rabana*, or frame drums, as well as by singing.

The *padjoge* are professional dancing-girls, who are paid for their performances.

The statements made by FREMER do not altogether agree with those made by MATTHES, but there is the possibility of the dances being different at different places and having changed since the middle of the nineteenth century when MATTHES wrote his books. In the table below I have paralleled the dances, or performers, the names of which appear to be allied.

	Acc. to MATTHES:	Acc. to FREMER:
Court dances	*Madjaga*, Bug.	*Padjaga*, Tanete.
	Akarena, Mac.	*Pakarena*, at small courts.
	Salonreng, Bug. and Mac.	— — — — — — — — — —
Public d.-g.	— — — — — — — — — —	*Parabana*
	Padjoge, paid dancing-girls.	*Padjoge*, paid dancing-girls.

From the above is seen that our knowledge of this kind of dances in the Mac. Peninsula is rather imperfect. They well deserve a close study before they are changed, or go out of use.

South-East Celebes.

There is no record of court dances, or public professional dancing-girls from this part of Celebes, yet I think they are not unknown there, since ELBERT in Vol. I, page 268, of "Die Sunda-Expedition" mentions such girls from Kraton where the Sultan of Boeton lives. When speaking of the dress of the participants in a round dance in the Roembia District, he says: " . . . mit Röckchen aus Palmblattstreifen, ähnlich wie im Kraton des Kulturstates Buton die Prostituierten (padjogi, Tänzerin), auftreten."

During a sojourn of four months in Boeton I did not see any dancing-girls dressed in such skirts either at Kraton, or at Baoe Baoe. Once I saw a public dancing-girl but her dress was almost the same as worn by the girls at Malili which GRUBAUER figures.

In June 1920 a Chinaman gave a great party in honour of a baby whose hair was to be cut for the first time.

To entertain his guests he had hired a dancing-girl who was anything but beautiful. Her dress was frightful: a long, bright green skirt, a red jacket, and a head-dress of beads and glittering threads. In either hand she had a fan. Her dance, performed on a woven mat spread out in the street in front of the Chinaman's house, was extremely simple. She slowly walked on her mat, turning her body and her head, and making gestures with her fans, yet she seemed to try to attract the attention of the spectators by the supposed elegance of her manners. Every young man who paid an amount in accordance with his circumstances was allowed to have a dance with her.

The performances of her partner was much more exacting than her own, requiring, indeed, great skill of a person claiming to know his business. Hopping on one foot and waving his arms, his head bent forward, the gentleman approached his lady at a furious rate, then he suddenly turned away from her, hopping in another direction, sometimes facing her, sometimes turning his back to her, but always by the rules of the dance.

In case the partner be a gentleman well up in his dance, the girl also made her best, but if he was a boy, or a young man not properly knowing how to dance, she lost her temper, and the spectators applauded when she boxed the ears of a boy with her fans.

The whole performance was a very bad copy of the often wonderful dances of Javanese dancing-girls.

North-East Celebes.

From this part of the island I have but a single reference to the dances in question, *i. e.* from the Todjo District on the southern coast of Tomini Bay, to the east of the Poso Districts. As mentioned in the foregoing, page 000, KRUYT states that there are professional dancing-girls at the court in Todjo, and it seems to me quite probable that the same is the case also at other native courts on the coast as well as in the Island of Banggaai, to the east of NE. Celebes where a Rajah resides.

North Celebes.

From the northern part of Celebes, court dancing-girls in the literature are recorded from Gorontalo and Mongondou. At the gold mine of Goeroepahi I saw a Javanese dancing-girl perform when the Javanese coolies celebrated their New Year.

Gorontalo.

As early as 1865 ROSENBERG in his work "Reistogten in de afdeeling Gorontalo", Plates I and II, figures a dancer and a dancing-girl at the court of the Rajah of Gorontalo (Figs. 128 and 129). In Plate IV is seen two other kinds of head-dresses (Fig. 130 C and D), but the author gives very few details of the dance itself. On page 30 he says: "Feestelijke gelegenheden worden door dans en zang opgeluisterd, doch hebben voor den Europeeschen toeschouwer weinig aanlokkelijks. Alleen de kleeding der handelende personen, vooral die der mannen, is niet onbevallig; ze is steeds eigendom van een of ander hoofd."

Some years later, in 1870, RIEDEL in his paper "De landschappen Holontalo etc", on page 145 states as follows: "De spelen zijn: Onder de vrouwen *de motidi*, een soort van amazonendans met schild en kris; *de maä podjongge* en *molinte*, welke met de *menari*[1] in maleische landen veel overeenkomst hebben. De laatste geschiedt uiterst bedaard met zang. De beurtzang van den man welke bij deze gelegenheid mede zingt heet *bomborionoe*."

Of these the *motidi* appears to be a sort of war-dance performed by women, and possibly should be referred to contra-dances. The *maä podjongge* and the *molinte* may be the same as the dances performed by the Bugis *padjoge*.

[1] *Menari* = to dance, Mal.



From ROSENBERG.

Fig. 128. *Dancer.* Gorontalo, N. Celebes.



From ROSENBERG.

Fig. 129. *Dancing-girl.* Gorontalo, N. Celebes.

As mentioned before, MEYER in 1889 in his "Album von Celébes-Typen" in Plate XII, Figs. 1—4, represents some dancers and dancing-girls from the court of the Rajah of Gorontalo. The attire of the dancers is almost the same as seen in ROSENBERG's figure. Also MEYER's representation of a single dancing-girl is similar to ROSENBERG's figure of such a girl. In other pictures, however, representing three dancing-girls, one dancer, and two musicians, the girls wear dark dresses and their faces are painted white. The man is attired in long, wide trousers and a dark jacket.

According to MEYER's explanation of the figures, page 9, the dancing-girls are called *padjongge*. Moreover he says: "Der Kopfschmuck der Tänzerinnen heisst *Ulu-Ulu*, das Brusttuch *Tiao*, die Brustbedeckung *Apela*. Die Tänzerinnen sind geschminkt und singen in einförmiger Weise bei ihrem aus langsamen Bewegungen bestehenden Tanze. Bei Gelegenheit eines Besuches, welchen ich dem Radja von Gorontalo zusammen mit dem damaligen Assistent-Resident Riedel im Jahre 1871 abstattete, tanzten und sangen diese Mädchen in einem Nebenraume während der ganzen Zeit der Audienz in nicht störender, discreter Weise."

VAN HOËVELL in his paper "Een bezweringsfeest (mapasaoe) te Mooeton" mentions dancing-girls from Gorontalo and other places on Tomini Bay. In March 1891 he witnessed a feast connected with magical performances at Mooeton, situated far in the west on the coast of Tomini Bay. The eldest daughter of the Rajah who had been ill of some feverish disorder, had begun to recover, and in order to make her recovery complete her father arranged a feast. The author tells us that seven priestesses performed on this occasion. In front of the princess they gathered in a circle inhalating incense fumes until they reached a state of ecstacy, became cataleptic and fell into convulsions. People poured out rice over them, and gradually they rallied. Then they put on a kind of head-fillet, *tandoek tandoek*, closely similar to a certain hair-band found in Koelawi (Fig.

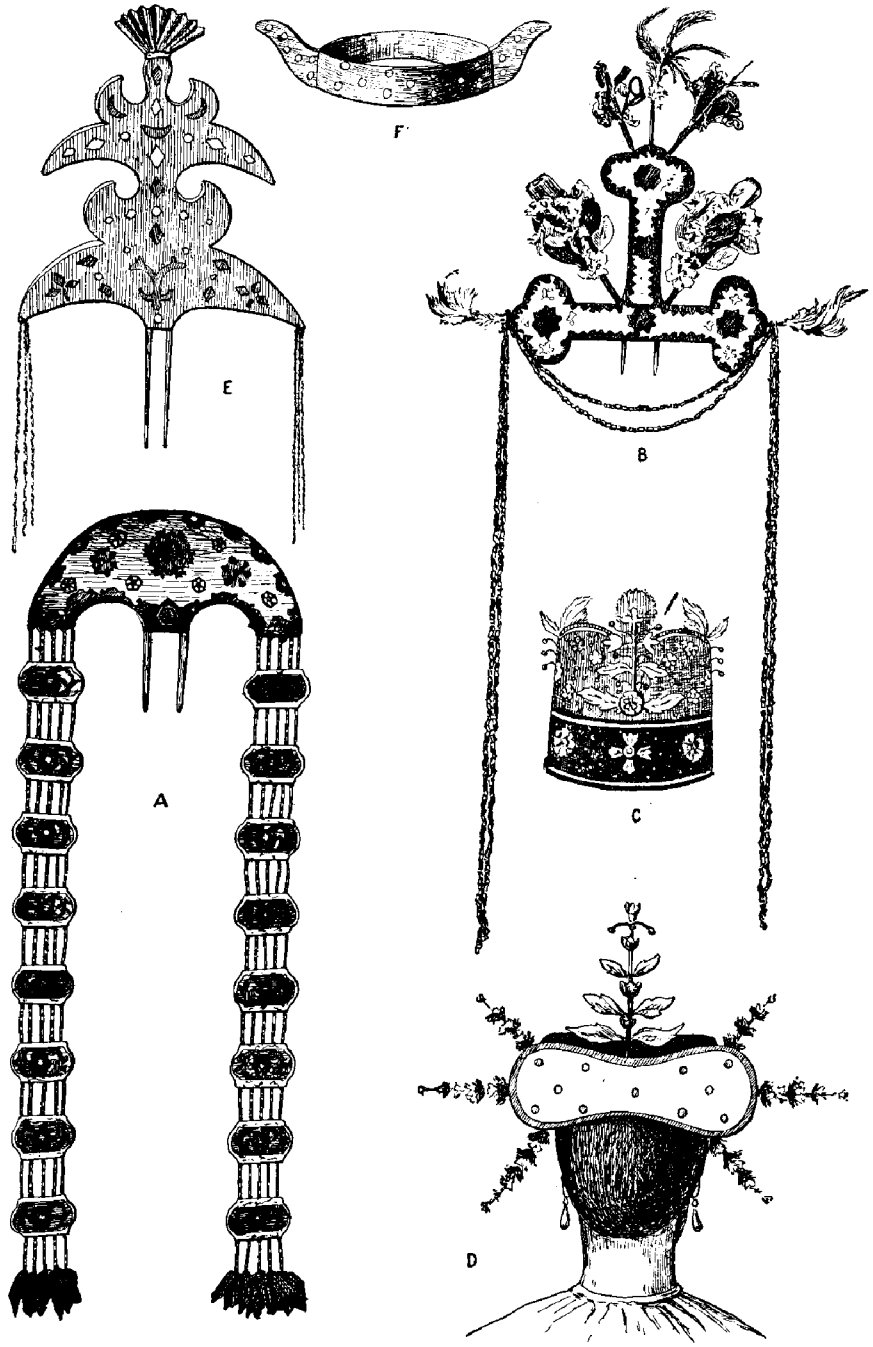


Fig. 130. *Head-gears for dancing-girls.*
A from S. Celebes; B, C, and D from Gorontalo N. Celebes; E and F from Mooetong, N. Celebes. (A from Leiden Mus. Cat. XVIII; B from MEYER and RICHTER; C and D from ROSENBERG; E and F from v. HOËVELL. A Leiden Mus No. 37/174; B Dresden Mus. No. 66).

130 F and Fig. 102), and with a *keris*, or dagger, in one hand they began to dance. HOËVELL does not give any details of this dance, on page 70 only saying: "en begonnen daarna eindlooze convulsieve dansen uit te voeren, met getrokken kris de booze geesten afwerende of bevechtende . . ." This dance was carried on for several consecutive nights, the music not pausing for a moment.

On the last day of the feast a buffalo was killed, and the meat was served up. During the meal the guests were entertained by dancing-girls. VAN HOËVELL writes on page 71: "De priesteressen traden af, en de gewone danseressen, *padjongé's*, luisterden nu verder het feest met hare dansen op."

Thus at Mooeton there were sacerdotal dances as well as professional dancing-girls.

At the foot of page 70, where V. HOËVELL speaks of the priestesses, we find the following note, which, however, seems to refer to the professional dancing-girls: "Deze danseressen zijn afstammelingen van vroegere slaven. Alle zelfbesturende Radja's in de Tominibocht en ook de distriktshoofden in de afdeeling Gorontalo hebben stellen, in den regel vier, van deze danseressen, die tevens hetaeren zijn en die bij feestelijke gelegenheden worden uitgehuurd om niet alleen als priesteressen van Terpsichore op te treden, maar ook als meretrices te dienen en zoodoende 'corpore quaestum facere.' — Toch worden zij volstrekt niet geminacht, doch staan bij de bevolking in eere, misschien wel, omdat wij in deze wanverhouding en losbandigheid niets anders te zien hebben dan een overblijfsel van godsdienstige prostitutie, zooals wij dat zoo sterk bij de shamanen of balian's von Borneo terugvinden."

In all probability this refers to the *padjoge*, since immediately after this account it is stated that the dress of the dancing-girls in places situated on Tomini Bay is but slightly different from that of the Gorontalo girls. To the Leiden Museum he has given a complete dancing-girl dress,

figured in Plate IV. Moreover, VAN HOËVELL in the same note, when speaking of the head-dress of the dancing-girls, calls them *padjonge*, which proves that his remarks do not refer to the priestesses. He writes as follows of the headgear of the dancing-girls: "Terwijl dat der Padjongé's te Gorontalo aan 't Grieksche kruis herinnert . . . waarschijnlijk ten gevolge van Portugeeschen invloed, heeft dat waf in de Tominibocht gebruikt wordt, een geheel anderen vorm." (Fig. 130 E).

The explanation of the figure of the head-dress of the Gorontalo dancing-girls runs as follows, page 71: "*Boeloeboeloe* of hoofdtooisel van hout met papier bekleed en met bosjes witte vederen, kunstbloemen en afhangende snoeren van veelkleurige kralen versierd." Of the head-dress as used at other places on Tomini Bay he states on page 70: "Het hoofdtooisel in de Bocht gebezigd, en *widoe* genoemd wordt vervaardigd van de lichtgeele glimmende binnenbast van den pisang en met roode en groene lapjes, stukjes spiegelglas en loovertjes versierd. — Met twee lange bamboezen pennen wordt het in de *kondeh*[1] gestoken."

In the Publications of the Dresden Museum, Vol. XIV, MEYER and RICHTER figure the head-dress of a dancing-girl at Gorontalo, acquired by SARASIN (Fig. 130 B). On page 36 they give a detailed description of it, which I do not quote here, the figure showing that it is closely similar to other such head-dresses from this place.

On the whole all these head-gears from Celebes to a certain degree are similar, and the same is the case of the dress of the professional dancing-girls.

MEYER and RICHTER in the above mentioned work figure a head-gear which they call "Helm der Leibgarde des Radjas von Gorontalo". It is, however, exactly the same thing as worn by the dancers of the Raja, according to ROSENBERG as well as MEYER. MEYER and RICHTER are of

[1] *kondeh*, Mal., hair gathered into a knot.

the opinion that this is a loan from Ternate where in 1896 some of the troops of the Sultan wore a kind of tall shaks similar to those used at the time of Frederick the Great.

Mongondou.

In a paper, "Allerlei over het land en volk van Bolaang Mongondou", by WILKEN and SCHWARZ, published in "Meded. Ned. Zend. Gen.," 1867, is stated that the customs of having dancing-girls at certain occasions has been introduced also in Mongondou. On page 342 is said: "Volksvermaken zijn in Bolaäng-Mongondou niet vele. Dans is daar onbekend. Doch bij bruiloftsfeesten van de koninklijke familie en van de eerste rijksgrooten heeft men in den jongsten tijd, in navolging van Java, dansmeiden, zijnde slavinnen die door hare heeren verhuurd worden."

Whether these girls were so-called *padjoge* is not evident from the above statement.

At Goeroepahi in Mongondou I saw a Javanese woman who danced with her partners for money like a *padjoge*, which as a rule appears to be a prostitute. This, however, was not the case at Goeroepahi, the women dancing being married to one of the Javanese foremen and enjoying general esteem. She performed on the occasion of the festivities connected with the Javanese New Year in 1917. The *passar* in the Javanese village was tidied up and decorated with young leaves of the sugar palm (Arenga saccarifera), and paper garlands in bright colours. A number of Chinese lanterns at nights spread their dim light over the party assembled in the shed.

At one end of the *passar* there was a Javanese *gamelan* orchestra, in front of which a mat was spread for the dancing-girl. On that mat she kept dancing for nearly three nights and three days, hardly over pausing, and all the time the *gamelan* was playing. The musicians as well as the woman were well paid for their work. She was a person of attractive looks and fine figure. Her dress was a yellowish

brown batik *sarong*, or skirt attached underneath her shoulders, leaving them as well as the upper part of her body bare. The skirt came down to her bare feet. Over her shoulders she had put a long, transparent veil falling down over her bare arms, each of which were adorned with a glittering bracelet.

At the beginning of the performance the woman stepped forward on the mat where she remained motionless for some time, the musicians, however, furiously belabouring their instruments. Then she began stepping on her mat, slowly and noiselessly, moving her arms in a strange way. All of a sudden she began singing in a shrill falsetto a Javanese song. After having displayed her charms for some time she paused and sat down on the floor.

When she rose, a big, large-limbed Javanese came up to her with a red veil on a tray. Bobbing and gesticulating with their arms the couple went out among the people in the *passar*, the man with his tray in front, the lady close behind him. The gentlemen who wished to dance, put a silver coin on the tray and the most generous among them was the first to be entrusted with the red veil as well as the lady.

The dance which followed was similar to her previous stepping on the mat when she was alone. Her first partner was a Javanese gentleman in a European suit, wearing socks and shoes. He walked round the lady, kicking and bobbing in a ridiculous manner, at the same time gesticulating with his arms and hands. Once he approached her as if to embrace her. The spectators cheered, but at this moment he turned round and pretended not to see her. Then the pair again resumed their stepping, now approaching, now retiring, but never touching one another. They were just like two cats going round hot milk. At last the gentleman put the red veil round the lady's neck and the dance was finished.

The lady, however, was not left to repose for many seconds, as quite a number of gentlemen were anxiously

awaiting their turn to have a dance with her. All dances were more or less similar to the first one, but finally several gentlemen joined in the dance, one of them however, as the leader.

As mentioned before, this was an altogether Javanese dance in which the natives of Mongondou did not join.

E. EUROPEAN DANCES.

The common European dances have also been introduced into Celebes, but so far as I know they are only practised by the natives of Minahassa, who to a large extent have adopted European culture.

SUMMARY.

Among the above described dances only the rounds, the contra-dances, and the ritual ceremonial dances may be more or less native to Celebes.

All dances performed by professionals, as well all the court dances performed by high-born girls and young men no doubt have been carried on to Celebes from Java with one exeption, *viz.* an Arabian danse-du-ventre.

If we leave these dances as well as the European ones out of consideration we have to find out whether the more or less native dances belong to different cultures or not. As to the ceremonial dances of the priests, my material was too limited to allow of any conclusions. Among the better-known rounds and contra-dances we distinguish various types that possibly are connected with different cultures.

Rounds.

The rounds that have been described from Celebes are classifiable in three groups. To the first group I have referred the dances of *moraego* type. In these men, as a rule unmarried, and girls dance in one or several circles, but never mixing in the primary circle, of which the men form one part, the girls another.

To the second group I have referred round dances consisting of a single circle in which men as a rule alternate with girls. In some localities married women join in these dances.

A third kind of round dances are those in which the participants move in a circle without holding one another.

Of these rounds we have particulars chiefly about those of the first and second group, referring to the way in which they are performed and to the places where they occur.

As seen in Map 33, the geographical distribution of the first and the second group is on the whole different. Dances of *moraego* type appear to occur chiefly in the northern part of Central Celebes, inhabited by Paloe, Poso, and Koro Toradja, in Lojnang in NE. Celebes, as well as far to the north-east in a certain part of Minahassa. Also from the Makale District in SW. Central Celebes a *moraego*-like dance is known, but the details given of it are too vague to form the basis of any conclusions.

Dances of the second type are chiefly known to occur in the eastern part of Celebes, *i. e.* in districts from which no dances of *raego* type are recorded. Exceptions are Minahassa in the north-east and Makale in the south-west, where dances of both types are known. In both districts, however, dances of the second type appear to be more common than dances of *raego* type, at all events in Minahassa they are recorded only from a small district in the north. This may mean that the two types belong to different cultures, but which of these is the older in Celebes is perhaps impossible to decide at present.

If dances of the second type only were found in the eastern part of Celebes we could have suspected them to belong to the Moluccan culture, or to the cultural elements that spread along a line from the north to the south, *i. e.* from the Philippines in the north on to the eastern part of N. Celebes, the eastern part of NE. Celebes, and as far as to the islands south-east of Celebes.

The occurrence of such a dance among the so-called Saadang Toradja in SW. Central Celebes seems, however, incompatible with such a theory, yet we meet among the Saadang Toradja several cultural elements diverging from the remaining part of Celebes, but similar to corresponding elements in the Philippines.

Both types of dances originally appear to have been closely connected with agriculture, which makes it likely that both are fecundity rites, and this explains the sexual intercourse accompanying these dances, especially obvious in the dances of type 2. This type we therefore should be inclined to surmise to be of great age, sexual fecundity rites having a wide range in Indonesia, a fact I have pointed out in the foregoing when treating of the tug-of-war.

A remarkable fact seems to be that the round dances of type 2 only occur in the southern and eastern parts of Celebes *i. e.* those parts which were strongly influenced by the mighty kingdom of Madjapahit with its Hindoo culture. Thus there is the possibility that these circular dances with their strongly pronounced sexual character, are connected with the Siwa cult.

If this is the case, the *raego* dances may be older than the dances of type 2, and may formely have had a wider range. In districts where they now are absent they would then have been ousted and replaced by rounds of type 2. In Minahassa the *moraego* dances have not yet altogether been superseded by the dances of type 2.

Another fact pointing to the *raego* dances being older than the rounds of type 2 is the great variety of the former dances, contrary to the latter which are much the same in all places where they occur. In Minahassa in the north, in the Saadang Districts, in Mori in C. Celebes, in Roembia and Kabaëna in SE. Celebes, the participants join hands with their next neighbours in the circle. It is only in Lamala that the natives dance in a circle without joining hands with their neighbours, but instead dance shoulder pressed to

shoulder. Thus it would almost appear as if this type of dance was of too recent origin to have become differentiated into a number of variants.

It is quite different with the dances of *raego* type. Although they are met with in a comparatively small area, with a couple of offshoots towards the north and the north-east, there are many variants. This I have tried to make clear in two diagrams (Figs. 131 and 132).

In Lojnang the *raego* varies mostly from the *raego* dances of C. Celebes, as men and women form separate circles (Fig. 132 G). How it is performed in Minahassa is not quite evident from GRAAFLAND's statements. Of the *maramba* he says: ". . . mannen en vrouwen soms geschieden, maar meest door elkander", which may mean that men and women form two circles as in Lojnang, or that part of the circle is formed by men, and the other part by women.

A study of the *raego* dances of the Paloe, the Poso, and the Koro Toradja who all are great lovers of these dances, shows that they are distinctly different in different districts. In Koelawi, Napoe, and Leboni, and possibly also in some adjacent districts, the girls when dancing the *raego* walk two by two, or three by three in a procession, either locking arms, or with their arms crossed behind them (Fig. 131 A, B, and C).

In Pipikoro, *i. e.* Tobakoe, Tole, Kantewoe, Peana, and Benahoe, the girls walk singly, half-way behind one another, or almost side by side, whilst with their left hand they grasp the left upper arm of the next neighbour to their left or in front, and place their right hand on the right shoulder, or on the bend of the right arm, of the same girl.

The Poso Toradja girls when forming one of the circles, walk almost side by side and arm in arm, but in case they form one half of the circle together with the men they put their left hand on the right shoulder of the person to the left, similarly to the men (Fig. 132 A and B). In the eighteen-nineties the To Pebato of the village of Jajaki danced in a manner similar to that usual in Pipikoro (Fig. 132 K).

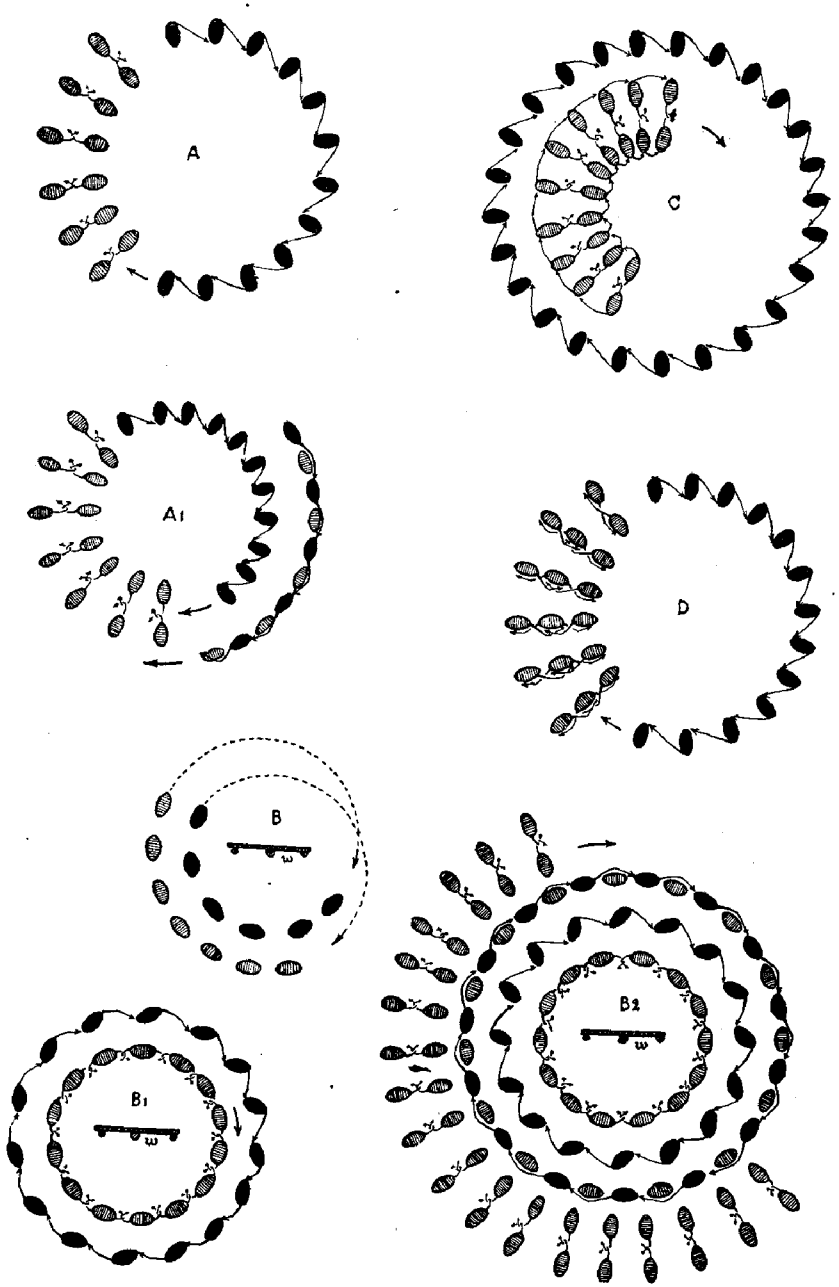


Fig. 131. *Diagram showing moraego dances.* NW. Central Celebes. A and A[1], the usual *moraego* in Koelawi; B, B[1], and B[2], *moraego woentja* in Koelawi; C *moraego* in Napoe; D *moraego* in Leboni; w, *woentja* "tree"

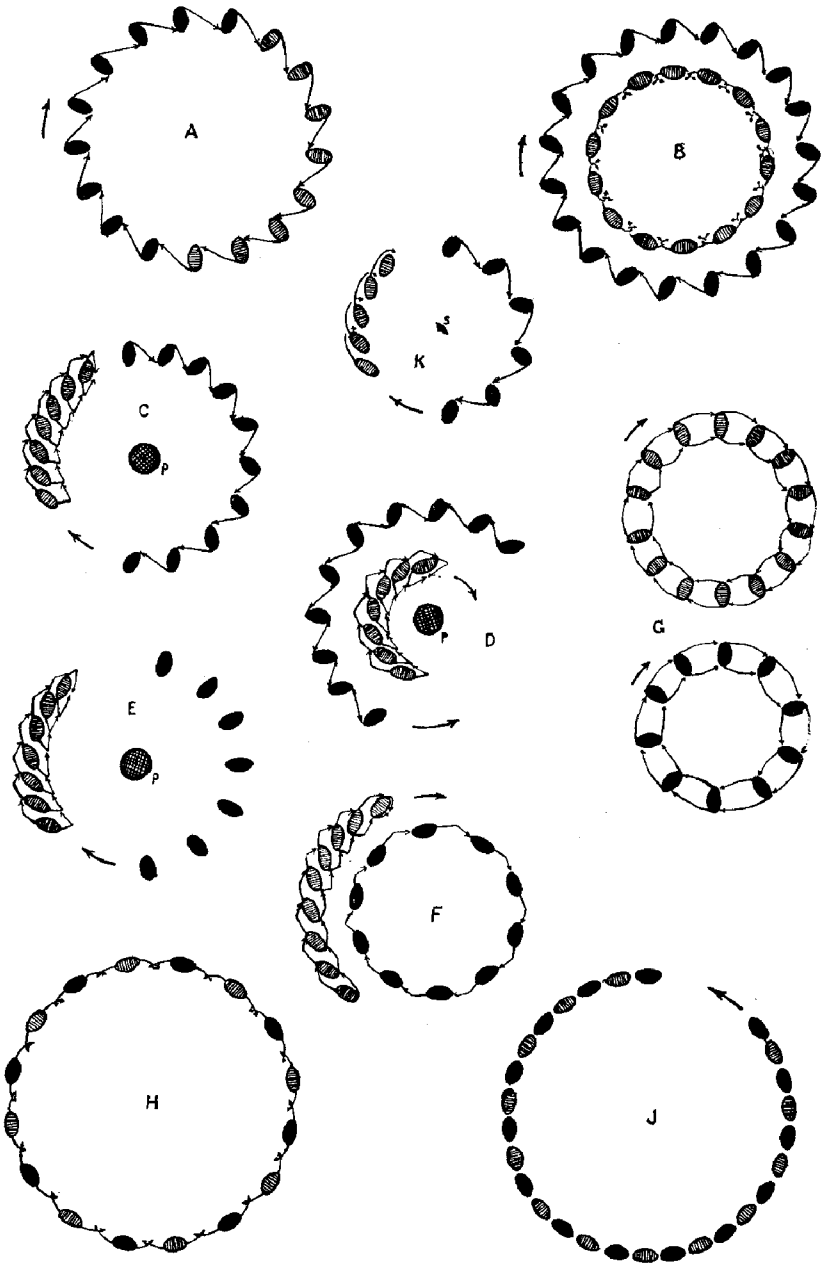


Fig. 132. *Diagram showing the moraego and other round dances in Celebes.* A and B, *moraego* at Kelei in Ondae, E. Central Celebes; C, D, and E, *moraego* at Pangana in Tole, NW. Central Celebes; F, *moraego* at Biro in Tobakoe, NW. Central Celebes; G, *montontila* in Lojnang, NE. Celebes; H, round dance in Makale and Mori, C. Celebes, in Minahassa, N. Celebes, at Kolaka and in Kabaena, SE. Celebes. J, *soemawi* in Lamala, NE. Celebes; K, *moraego* at Labongeja in Pebatoe, E. Central Celebes; P, centre post of a temple; S, spear stuck into the ground.

Moreover there are a number of different minor details as seen from the foregoing account of these dances, but they appear to be of no consequence.

Of course it is difficult to pronounce an opinion on the question which way of grouping and holding one's neighbours is the original one, but I am inclined to believe that the custom of men and girls to form separate groups is the original form, since it is the most common one, and since the *moraego woentja*, which is a ritual dance, begins with the men (?priests) and the girls forming two concentric circles round the *woentja* "tree" (Fig. 131 B and B). — It is also to be noticed that the second figure of a *moraego woentja* is exactly the same as one of the *raego* dances that I saw at Kelei in Ondae (Fig. 132 B), which may be taken to indicate that this is an ancient figure.

In the same way the outer circle of the Koelawi *raego*, formed by couples of men and girls may be a later specialization of the simple round. This outer circle originally may have been an element of a dance connected with a fecundity rite. In Pipikoro where the participants in a *raego* do not form an outer circle of men and girls, a couple sometimes will disappear for a while to devote themselves to a more intimate intercourse. If the participants form an outer circle of couples, like the natives do in Koelawi, this is not necessary, since this gives to lovers the opportunity of exchanging familiarities.

In some districts these familiarities are subject to certain rules to judge from some statements made by KRUYT in Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", pp. 139 and 146. This is called *mokaloe* and occurs among the Poso Toradja only at the commemoration in honour of the dead in connection with the so-called *tengke* song. On p. 139 KRUYT says: "Bij de genoemde gelegenheden namelijk is het den mannen geoorloofd een meisje te vragen, met wie zij dan de rei zingende en loopende uitvoeren, dat is: op wier schouder de man dan zijn elleboog legt, terwijl het *hem geoorloofd is haar gelaat en borst aan te raken*[1]... Bij de To Lage staan de vrijen alleen hunne nog niet huwbare dochters toe te *mokaloe*. Waar men onder dien stam volwassen meisjes ziet *mokaloe*, kan men er verzekerd van zijn, dat het slavinnen zijn. De To Pebato en andere stammen zijn niet zoo streng op dit punt." In a note at the foot of the same page KRUYT adds: "Bij Sigiërs, To Napoe en To Koelawi *heeft dit mokaloe ook bei den gewonen raego-dans plaats*.[1]

Of the *mokaloe* in Napoe, which is connected with the commemoration of the dead, KRUYT says on page 146: "De To Napoe mogen bij deze gelegenheid ook met gehuwde vrouwen *mokaloe*, maar met dezen mag den man niet medegaan naar haar huis. Iedere jongeling heeft een meisje, waarmee hij danst, en naar wier woning hij meegaat om er te eten en er den nacht door te brengen."

Thus it would seem as if this *mokaloe* occurred in the common *moraego* only among tribes among whom it is customary to form an outer circle of couples, the men putting their left arm round the shoulders of their girls and having their right arm free.

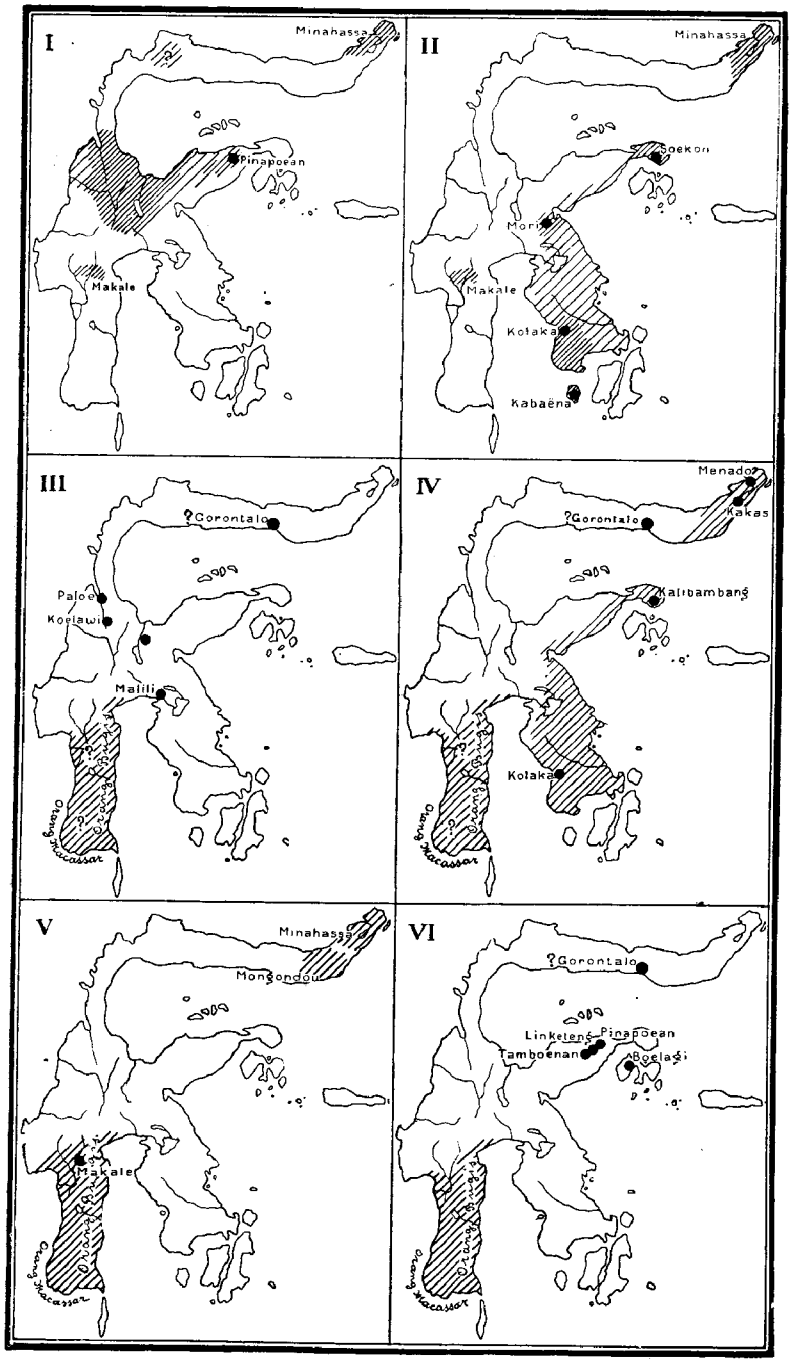
Contra-dances.

A close study of these dances in Celebes no doubt would show that they belong to different cultures and have a different meaning. At present these dances seem only to be performed to entertain a guest of distinction.

A common feature of all these dances seems to be that they are performed by warriors, or men dressed in war equipment. In all probability these dances originally were connected with war and head-hunting or perhaps even had a ritual character. This was no doubt the case with the *mapos* that I saw at Tamboenan in NE. Celebes.

If we leave out of consideration the contra-dances performed either by several men, or a single man, which are

[1] The italics are mine.



Map 33. *Geographical distribution of some dances in Celebes.*
I. Round dances of *moraego* type; II. Round dances of *makaria* type; III. contra-dances performed by two persons armed with swords; IV. contra-dances performed by two persons, one armed with a sword, the other with a spear; V. contra-dances performed by several men. VI. contra-dances performed by a single person, fighting with a fictitions adversary.

not sufficiently known to me, it remains to consider whether the contra-dances performed by two men are of the same kind in all places.

As seen in the foregoing, they are performed by two men who deliver a sham fight in which they display great agility, strength, and alertness. The weapons, however, appear to be different in different districts. In Minahassa, at Menado as well as at Kakas, in Lamala, and in Kolaka, the men have the same weapons, *i. e.* their defensive weapon is a shield, but the weapon of offence is a spear against a sword (Map 33 IV). The same may be the case in the Macassar Peninsula.

In the western part of C. Celebes the weapons of offence of both men are swords (Map 33 III).

How it is in E. Central Celebes is not quite clear. To jugde from GRUBAUER's account of the war-dance at Malili, it would appear as if the two men were armed with swords, since he does not mention spears and says they had wooden swords to preclude the possibility of accidents. From KRUYT's account it seems as if the offensive arms of the Poso Toradja possibly might be spear as well as sword, but again when he speaks of sham fights in Vol. II of "De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's", page 390, it would appear as if the men performing fought only with swords.

MATTHES does not give any details of the weapons used in the Mac. Peninsula by men delivering a sham fight, but as mentioned before it seems quite likely that they use sword against spear, at least in one of these performances.

From Gorontalo we have no statements on this subject, but in a figure (XII, 4) in "Album von Celebes-Typen" four of the dancers of the Rajah are seen armed with swords and shields, which points to their using but swords in their sham fights.

It is therefore possible that there are two kinds of sham fights, one of which is only found in the eastern part of the island, the other in the north-west if not in all the west of Celebes.

A close study in the different districts is however necessary to unravel definitively this question. Yet it should be noted that the geographical distribution of the sham fight between two combatants using spear against sword to a certain degree is the same as that of the round dances of type 2. In the same manner the distribution of the sham fights in which two swords are used is about the same as the dances of *raego* type. (Compare Map 133 I with III, and II with IV).

Addenda.

Page 34. — A kind of kicking game also seems to be practised in Mongondou. WILKEN and SCHWARZ when treating of children's games in this district in Vol. XI of "Mededeel. Ned. Zend. Gen.", p. 343, says: "Ook volgen kinderen, zelfs volwassenen, even als in de Minahassa, bij eenige spelen het vechten der hanen na, door met de binnenzijde van den voet elkander te schoppen. Vele dier spelen bestaan in schoppen en trappen op verschillende wijzen".

Pp. 116, 120 — Mrs ADRIANI has kindly made inquiries in Java through Dr. ESSER, a Dutch linguist at present engaged in publishing Dr. ADRIANI's posthumous works, as to the meaning of the word *bisoë*. She writes: "Dr. ESSER schrijft mij uit Java dat de twee meisjes uit Poso die hij in huis heeft, het woord *bisoë* voor 'slinger' niet kennen, wel *pondo*. Hij zegt: 'Welbekend is het slingeren met behulp van een blad, dat scheurt wanneer men den steen wegslingert; de steen vliegt dan uit de opening (scheur) naar voren. Erg precies kan men dus niet mikken met zoo'n slinger. Meestal gebruikt men een blad van den *konaoe* waarvan men de slippen in den hand houdt, dus zonder touw. In Mori slingert men altijd met zoo'n scheurend blad, men gebreuikt daarvoor de *lepo*-plant (Bare'e *soeli*). De uiteinden van het blad worden daar omgebonden met een of ander touwtje en aan een eindje daarvan (van dat touw) maakt men een stokje vast, waarbij men den slinger vasthoudt. De steen is dus in dit geval om zoo to zeggen, wel verplicht om het blad te scheuren, daar hij er anders niet uit kan.' Tot zoover Dr. ESSER."

No doubt the word *pisóz*, given by GRUBAUER for a contrivance for throwing stones in Bada and Behoa in C. Celebes, is the same word as ADRIANI's *bisoë*.

Page 144. — According to SCHWARZ ("Med. Ned. Zend. Gen", XXII), there is in Minahassa a game no doubt similar to the spinning of *Anona* seeds. There are two kinds of oaks, *Loiang sela* and *Loiang rintek*, the former with bigger acorns than the latter. Both kinds appear to be used, as SCHWARZ says: "Beide soorten dienen den kinderen tot speelgoed, om ze als kleine tollen te laten ronddraaien".

Page 149. — According to SCHWARZ ("Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", XXII, p. 264) there are different kinds of spinning tops in Minahassa. The game appears to be the same as in C. Celebes. Formerly it was not permissible to spin tops all the year round. In SCHWARZ's days it was a game for boys and young men, but in olden times it may also have been practised by adults. As late as in 1878 this was still the case at remote places. SCHWARZ writes the following of the top in Minahassa:
"*Warai* (tol) van verschillende vorm.
Warai rantai — hooge tol.
Warai limpĕr of *rimpĕr* — van boven platte tol.
Warai luntungngan — van boven bolle tol.
Warai lompeng — lage tol.
Warai mĕsaru, letterl. te vertaalen door: de naar elkaâr toegekeerd staande tollen. Deze tol heeft den vorm van twee tollen, die met de platte bovenzijden op elkaar zijn gelegd; zoo  . *Saru, sumaru, masaru* — met het gelaat naar iets of iemand toegekeerd staan.
Warai papaku of *wawatok*, letterl. de tol waarmede geslagen of getroffen wordt; dus genoemd omdat deze tol vooral bestemd is bij het tolspel om de *warai* der tegenpartij te treffen. *Paku* — spijker; *maku, mapaku* — spijkeren;

papaku — waarmede wordt gespijkerd; dikwijls is deze tol onderaan van een ijzeren pin voorzien. — *Watok, matok, mawatok* — den tol der tegenpartij treffen; *wawatok* — waarmede dit gedaan wordt. *Marai, mawari* — tollen.

Daarmede vermakten zich niet alleen knapen en jongelingen, maar ook bejaarde mannen. In zeer afgelegene nagĕriën gebeurt het nog wel eens, dat men, daar onverwachts komende, eene groep mannen aantreft met veel leven en vrolijkheid zich op een erf of midden op den weg met het tolspel verlustigende. Daarbij is het de groote kunst om bij het opzetten van den eigen tol daarmede den reeds draaijenden der tegenpartij te treffen, (mapaku mawatok). Hij, wien dit het meest gelukt, is de groote overwinnaar.

Bij de Heidenen was dit spel slechts geoorloofd in den tijd tusschen de offers *manĕmpó* en *musĕw*, waartusschen verscheidene maanden verliepen. Bij het *musĕw* werd op het mawarai weder het *pĕlíi* gelegd."

Of the top in Mongondou WILKEN and SCHWARZ in Vol. XI of "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", p. 343, say: "Het tollen is een geliefde uitspanning van de jongens."

Page 197. — According to Riedel ("De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen etc."), the top game in Ceram is called *larao kahururu*, the latter word in all probability meaning top. The label of a specimen in the Berlin Museum states the top to be called *keihuri* in NE. Timor. Possibly *kahururu* and *keihuri* are *allied*.

Page 198. — According to SCHRÖDER, the top game in N. Nias is called *gaolo* as well as *si fagadi*. This seems rather strange, since he says that kicking a football is *si farago*, which in the Malay Islands as a rule is *sepak raga* (sepak — to kick). It therefore would seem as if *sifa* corresponds to *sepak*, and *rago* to *raga*. In the same manner *gadi* may correspond to *gasi* and its ground form *gasing*, the word commonly used for a top in Sumatra.

Page 228. — In Vol. XXII of "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", SCHWARZ at length describes a game similar to *makadaro*. The native name of this game is *matakoi*. It is played with the halves of a coconut shell, here called *takoi*, and some small splints of bamboo, *tatakoi*. Only women but of all ages, play at this game which is allowed at a certain time of the year, the same when the men play with tops.

Matakoi is played by two persons, or several pairs join into a group of players, each pair having a single *takoi* which is placed in the centre of a circle. Sometimes the *takoi* simply is a stone. Each player has a *tatakoi*, the purpose of the game being to hit with it the *takoi* in the circle. SCHWARZ mentions no less than twelve different ways of throwing a *tatakoi:*

(1). *Mamintjir.* The *tatakoi* is held between the heels and kicked backwards so as to hit its target.

(2). *Mangombó.* The *tatakoi* is placed between the feet, and the player will jump in the direction of the *takoi*, finally sending the *tatakoi* towards the *takoi*.

(3). *Mangompĕr.* The *tatakoi* is put on top of the foot of the player who sends it to hit the *takoi*.

(4). *Manusu.* The player kicks her *tatakoi* with the tips of her toes.

(5). *Mangopit.* The player holds her *tatakoi* with her toes.

(6). *Mamópó.* The *tatakoi* is held between the knees of the player who approaches her target by a series of jumps, ending in projecting her *tatakoi*.

(7). *Mamekó.* The *tatakoi* is placed in the bend of the knee.

(8). *Mangolot.* The player puts her *tatakoi* on her neck, advancing with her head bent down, toward the *takoi*. Having reached it she drops her *tatakoi* so as to hit the *takoi*.

(9). *Maneinteng.* The same as the foregoing but with the difference that the *tatakoi* is placed on top of the head.

(10). *Maláus*, or *Mangaláus.* Standing still, the player with her hand rolls her *tatakoi* toward the *takoi*.

(11). *Malĕntu.* Standing close to the *takoi*, the player bends backwards and with her right hand drops her *tatakoi* so as to hit the *takoi*.

(12). *Mamola.* With the *tatakoi* in her hand and her eyes shut the player walks in the direction of the *takoi* endeavouring to hit it with her *tatakoi*.

A player who manages to hit the *takoi* in every case is declared winner of the game.

Page 250. — The statements referring to the measurements of the pop-gun No. 842/182 from Flores are divergent. The Leiden Mus. Catalogue XVII says it has a length of 26 cm. and a diameter of 3,5 cm. TEN KATE in "Int. Arch. Ethn." gives for this gun 18 cm. by 1—2,5 cm.

Page 279. — As early as in 1878 SCHWARZ mentions the bow from Minahassa. He says it is a toy for boys, made of bamboo. As a rule it is called *wentir*, in the Tombulu Dialect its name is *pitik*. The arrow is called *ĕlad*. *Mentir mawentir*, to shoot with a bow (and arrow); *winĕntir*, the target.

Page 309. — According to WILKEN and SCHWARZ chess is also known in Mongondou. On p. 343 of "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XI, they say: "Ook het schaakspel is in Bolaäng Mongondou niet onbekend. De gereedschappen voor dit spel vervaardigd men zelf. De vakken op het bord zijn door inkervingen gemaakt, en de verschillende stukken uit hout gesneden. De namen der verschillende stukken zijn naar hun denken en hunne taal gewijzigd."

Page 325. — *Patoewi* appears to have been known in Mongondou as early as 1867, WILKEN and SCHWARZ writing in "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XI: "Behalve dit spel is het chinesche kaartspel (*patoei*) zeer algemeen

bemind. Menigeen verspeelt alles wat hij bezit, maakt schulden, en gaat stelen."

Page 333. — According to WILKEN and SCHWARZ different kinds of gambling games are commonly played in Mongondou, even among children. On p. 343 of "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XI, they say: "Zelfs kinderen ziet men op den weg munt of kruis spelen."

Page 337. — In "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen.", Vol. XI, WILKEN and SCHWARZ state that in the eighteen-sixties cock-fights were common in Mongondou. Like the horse-fights they were chiefly arranged on festal occasions by persons having a Government licence, and were always connected with high betting.

Page 348. — WILKEN and SCHWARZ state in Vol. XI of "Med. Ned. Zend. Gen." that horse-fights are much in favour with the natives of Mongondou. As in the case of cock-fights, a Government licence must be taken out, but sometimes this seems to have been neglected.

The two missionaries tell us that the natives of Mongondou kept special fighting-horses. To set them on, a mare was brought in among the stallions. If a horse runs away he is brought back until he is willing to fight. A horse is deemed to have lost when it drops to the ground. Fighting-horses are often covered with scars and wounds.

Page 349. — A game that might be supposed to have been invented by Europeans is the throwing of a greased coconut among a crowd with a prize for anyone able to catch it and keep it. VAN DER HART in his "Reize rondom het Eiland Celebes", p. 177, tells us that he attended a feast arranged by the "Resident" of Menado, who entertained his guests by making the natives scramble for a greased coconut.

This game, however, no doubt is of native origin. GRAAFLAND in "De Minahassa, Vol. I, pp. 234—237, describes a festival called *mawawerit*. This occasion of

public rejoicing is preceded by eight days of *fosso* ceremonies, that is to say pigs are killed, their entrails examined, and so on. This competition for a greased coconut is an amusement which the natives indulge in when the festival has reached its climax.

The meaning of this festival is a question the writers do not enter upon, but I rather think it may have been connected with a fecundity cult.

The *mawawerit*, according to GRAAFLAND, was not celebrated all over Minahassa. On p. 237 he says: "Zonderling, ook dit feest hebben de zuidelijken niet. Eens is het te Sonder gegeven, omdat een groot heer het wilde, hoewel men verklaarde het niet gewoon te zijn."

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