

# **The To Rongkong in Central Celebes**

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## DESCRIPTION

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of the upper Rongkong valley (in present-day South Sulawesi Province) had not yet converted to Islam. In this paper the author and anthropologist, Albertus Kruyt, reports information that he gleaned during a brief stay among them. His findings touch on various topics including geography, past migrations, village social structure, house construction, agricultural ceremonies, headhunting, taboos, crime and punishment, marriage, childbirth, sickness, and death and burial.

## SOURCE

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## VERSION HISTORY

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## The To Rongkong in Central Celebes

by

Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt

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Some months ago I was traveling with Mr. J. Kruyt through the western parts of Central Celebes. According to traditions and stone objects found in various places of Central Celebes, immigrants must have penetrated these parts. The purpose of our travels was to gather information about an earlier culture which might have existed amongst the tribes living here, so that through comparison we might be able to determine what influence the immigrants may have had on the original inhabitants. We hope to publish the results of this trip and of other such trips related to the aforementioned comparative research at a later date. However, we have collected so much information not directly related to the original purpose of the trip that I have decided to publish a number of separate articles.

In all villages where we stayed for an extended period of time, I have studied the same phenomena, so that I have a fair degree of certainty regarding the reliability of the information I acquired. We collected most of our data at the upper reaches of the river. Therefore it is quite possible that the customs of To Rongkong living downstream might differ somewhat, more so since they have been converted to Islam. We think, however, that the influence of this conversion has been relatively minor, because the people have continued to sacrifice pigs and dogs, although they no longer eat the flesh of these animals. Mr. P. Kare, road supervisor at Masamba, was our interpreter. I gained insight concerning the justice system from Mr. Waworuntu, who for three years lived amongst the To Rongkong as a Assistant Governor. [p. 367]

The Rongkong area takes its name from the big river which is formed by numerous tributaries in the southwest of Central Celebes. Its waters flow southeast through the mountains, and after that, as it reaches the plains at Luwu, it continues in a more southerly direction.

The only constructed road which allows access to this mountain area follows the right-hand bank of this river. There are not many villages along this road; most of the settlements are some distance away from the river. The most densely populated area is the source area of the Rongkong. It lies on a plateau at an altitude of approximately 1500 m. The villages there are grouped around the main settlement Limbong, which is by far the biggest village of the To Rongkong.

People of the low-lying villages have been converted to Islam, while above the village Tandung the people have remained heathen.

The To Rongkong are a sub tribe of the Sa'dan Toraja. They separated from their mother tribe to find a new place to live. The tradition concerning this event is so widely and generally known that it leads us to believe that this country was populated not too long ago.

The leader of the immigrants was a certain Lalong. He seems to have followed the old road when he left his own land and settled close to the plains. From there his descendants ventured out into the mountains, following the course of the Rongkong. They have maintained contact with their fellow tribesmen near the plains, and the track between Limbong and Barupu is very well used.

Another aspect which points to a fairly recent separation of the tribes is the fact that the language used by the To Rongkong is no different from the Sa'dan language even in a dialectical sense (this according to linguist Dr. H. van der Veen).<sup>1</sup>

The separation must also have taken place before the Sa'dan Toraja took on a new culture which was marked by a very elaborate death ritual. We do not find these rituals amongst the To Rongkong. Neither did we find amongst the To Rongkong the evils of gambling (dice) or cock-fighting which [p. 368] were introduced to the Sa'dan Toraja with the new culture. From this we must conclude that the separation took place before the new culture took its full effect. It is even quite probable that the move was a direct result of the changes forced by the immigrants.

I will not elaborate here on the details of the move. I will also refrain from giving a more detailed description of the countryside. I refer you to the report of the trip which I compiled with Mr. J. Kruyt, and which was published in *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the To Rongkong the village forms a unit of which the Tomakaka is the chief. In the motherland Tomakaka has become the name of a class in society. However, amongst the To Rongkong Tomakaka is more of a title and has retained more of its original meaning of 'elder.' Every village has a Tomakaka, and all Tomakaka are equal in rank as far as the government is concerned. However, the people themselves know that villages such as Parara, Makakende, Lena, Tandung, Salu, Paku, Buka and Kanandede are the original settlements from which others have arisen. The chiefs of these original villages are considered to be of a higher standing than those of the 'branch' villages. Whenever one of them died, a human sacrifice was required. Officially there are no districts in Rongkong. In

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<sup>1</sup> [translator's note: This is an oversimplification. See Van der Veen's fuller statement on this topic published nine years later in his article "Nota betreffende de grenzen van de Sa'dansche taalgroep en het haar aanverwante taalgebied" (see the References for complete bibliographic citation).]

<sup>2</sup> [footnote 1, page 368] Volume 64, pages 3–16.

practice, the branch villages feel very much part of their mother villages, thus forming an informal district system.

Some villages have a Matua Kombong, a kind of assistant chief. He will be the first one to learn about grievances which may exist amongst the people. If he can, he will settle the matter. If he thinks he is incapable of settling the matter, he will refer it to the Tomakaka, the real village chief. Sometimes people may bypass the Matua Kombong, and take a case straight to the Tomakaka. This is called *tengkai o'bi*, which means 'to bypass customary law.' In that case the culprit had to present a buffalo to the Tomakaka, who in turn would kill a pig to acknowledge receipt of the buffalo. This is why the name given to the pig was *pantarima*.

The sovereign of Paloppo, to whom the To Rongkong [p. 369] are subject, may from time to time require the people to work for him. If any didn't turn up for work without the prior knowledge of the Tomakaka, the latter was entitled to take a buffalo from the unwilling worker.

Amongst the cases decided by the Matua Kombong would be those related to the shifting of boundaries. Boundary markers consist of *Dracaena* plants. If the accused is found guilty, he is required to kill a pig, which is called *tamapadang*. If the guilty person refuses to comply, the chief (Tomakaka) will take a buffalo from him and in return kill a pig. In this case the Tomakaka does not take ownership of the buffalo, but rather holds it in trust. If at a later stage a villager is fined a buffalo and is unable to pay this fine, a buffalo held in trust is used to pay the fine (note from Mr. Waworuntu).

Theft is not common amongst the To Rongkong. They distinguish between merely taking someone else's property and theft by breaking and entering. In the first case the guilty is required to return the property or its value. If, however, a thief has opened a chest or a rice shed to take from its contents, then he has to pay with a buffalo. If the value of the stolen goods is greater than the value of the buffalo, additional payment will have to be made. When the one who was stolen from receives the buffalo, he has to kill a pig in return (*pantarima*) (note from Mr. Waworuntu).

If a case in those days could not be decided on, the people would use trial by ordeal, which consisted in dunking, and which was called *silaunan owai*.

Each village has a Siaja and a Pongarong, which especially in the Upper Rongkong make up the village leadership together with the Tomakaka. One could call the Siaja the right hand of the village chief. I assume that at times he completely replaces the Matua Kombong. He is the man who knows the local customary law, and he helps the village chief to decide cases of law. The Pongarong is mainly involved in agriculture. [p. 370] Whenever the agriculture of the To Rongkong is discussed later, the task of the Pongarong automatically comes up. When sacrifices have to be brought, the Siaja can replace the Pongarong.

The Tomakaka usually lives in the biggest house in the village. His house also looks much stronger than the other houses. This is not so surprising, since it is the clan house. It is built and maintained by all the villagers together. It is called *banua katongkonan*. During construction the people will periodically kill a pig and a chicken, and apply the blood to the posts and beams. Nothing is put underneath the stones on which the posts stand. On many occasions, such as the beginning of the planting of the rice, or during diseases of epidemic proportions, the village people meet at the clan house to bring sacrifices and to call on their gods.

A very peculiar practice is the use of the clan house as a refuge for those who have deserved death. If one has committed a crime for which the penalty is death and he manages to take refuge at the *banua katongkonan* then his life is safe. If the guilty was a free man he paid with a buffalo, if he was a slave he paid with an old piece of cotton called *mawa*. Of course the master paid for the slave.

If the pursuer also went into the clan house, even if it was not with the intention to kill, he became guilty of a serious crime for which he had to pay with a buffalo.<sup>3</sup>

The difference between free men and slaves (*kaunan*) seems to be less amongst the To Rongkong than it is amongst the Sa'dan Toraja. [p. 371] Or perhaps better said: the difference is less noticeable. In general the To Rongkong give the same democratic impression as many tribes in Poso. A couple of times I asked a Tomakaka if he believed a slave was from a different ancestry than a free man. Both answered that both slaves and free men are of the same ancestry.

Even though the class difference between slave and master is less significant than it is amongst their mother tribe, the Sa'dan Toraja, yet the slave shows a great superstitious reverence for his master. He will never use his master's cup to drink from, or use his master's eating utensils to eat with. If he wants to consume what his master has left behind, he will transfer it to his own cup or dish. A slave will take care never to position himself with his back towards his master. He will take care not to step on his master's sleeping mat or to speak before his master invites him to do so. If he trespassed any of these rules, calamity might befall him (*ma'busung*). Usually the slave's belly will swell up after trespassing one of these rules. No one could give us a remedy for this. Only in the case of unknowingly trespassing would a simple confession turn the disastrous consequences away. The object used by the slave is thrown away.

The To Rongkong build their houses quite differently from their relatives, the Sa'dan Toraja. The foundations are more or less the same: posts stand on flat stones. These posts

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<sup>3</sup> [footnote 1, page 368] We have not found this right of refuge amongst any other people of Central Celebes. The Kayan of Borneo seem to have a similar practice. Like most of the Dayak tribes the Kayan live in a longhouse. It is forbidden to kill anyone inside a house. Hose and McDougall point out that a Kayan was free to kill his slave, as long as he did so outside of the house. If a hooligan fled inside the house he could not be killed there. However, he might be knocked unconscious, dragged out of the house and killed outside (*The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. II, page 200).

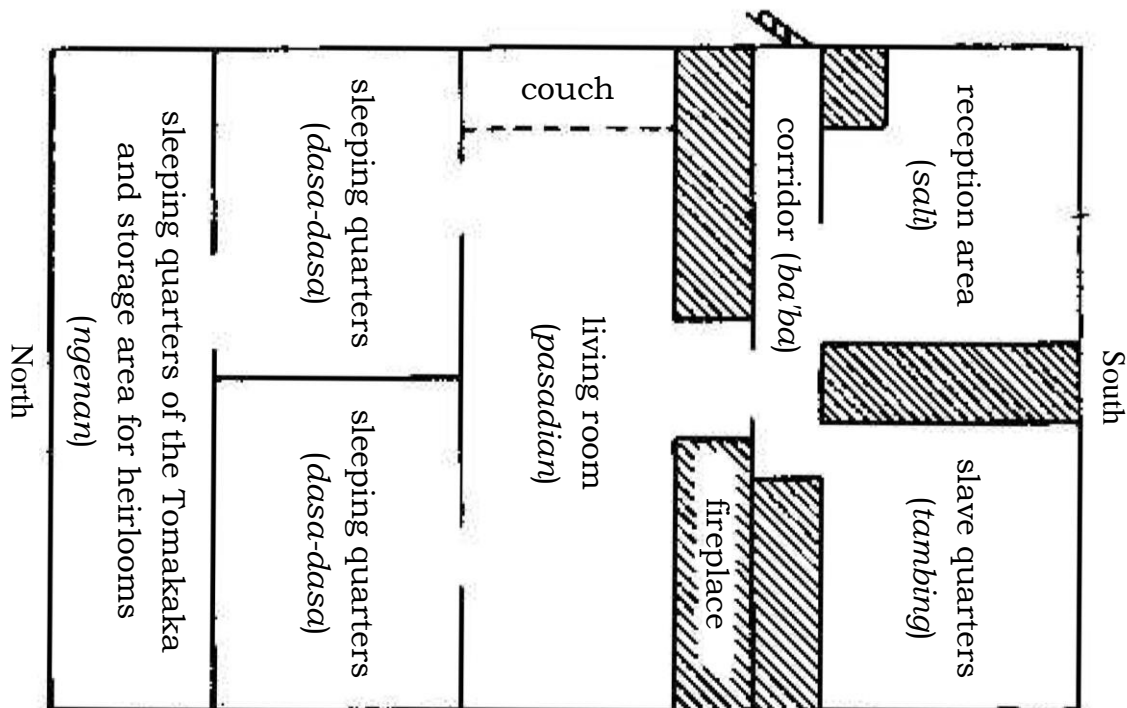
have holes chiseled in them at regular intervals, in which braces are inserted. Apart from giving strength to the structure, these braces are also used to tether the buffaloes underneath the houses. The peculiar shape of the Sa'dan houses with their saddle-shaped roofs is not found amongst the To Rongkong. The homes are decorated with buffalo heads carved out of wood, and horns. While the horns of the killed animals are kept inside the house, the jawbones and the rattan rings (*enobalulang*) to which the animal was tied [p. 372] when it was killed, are collected underneath the house.

When a clan house or *banua katongkonan* is built, special care is taken that the ridge of the roof runs north-south. The entrance to the house then faces north. With ordinary houses the roof always follows the course of the river. This is understandable, since these people, following the course of the river, penetrated deeper into the interior, the ridge of the roof pointed to whence they came.

Only in the village Limbong did we find rice sheds that were decorated with the same colorful and rich decorations as the storehouses of the Sa'dan people. When we enquired we found that the Sa'dan people had provided these decorations. So it appears that the To Rongkong had not brought that skill with them.

In Limbong we found a single dwelling which stood on stones turned on end as posts. These stones were one meter tall. This house belonged to an ordinary villager.

The floor plan of the To Rongkong dwelling is more intricate than that of the Sa'dan people, although both seem to have a traditional division into three parts. To give an idea of such a floor plan I have included a drawing of the dwelling of the Tomakaka of Limbong. The drawing speaks for itself.



Floor plan of the dwellings of the Tomakaka of Limbong [p. 373]



The villages are not very big; rarely does one find more than ten houses in one place. Only Limbong is a big village. It is peculiar, in that it was built on terraces and has earthen walls around it. They must have found it necessary to build these walls as a protection against enemies, as Limbong is the furthest outpost in this region. However, we were told that Limbong has never been attacked by an enemy. The To Rongkong are not a war-loving or fighting people. We may assume that the Sa'dan people were also a peace loving people, until they were forced to make war by their sovereigns.

We visited the blacksmith at Limbong, as forging of iron is a very common practice amongst the To Rongkong, although not as common as it is amongst the To Seko. There must be a lot of iron ore in the mountains around Limbong. According to a visiting mining engineer the layers of iron ore stretch out over a large area. Just as in the Posso region, iron forging has become less attractive after the coming of Government. The cost of iron tools, imported by the Chinese traders, was too low to make the laborious task of digging for ore worthwhile.

The smithy, *porendean*, at Limbong is not much different from that type of building found elsewhere in Central Celebes. We saw there a large stone which was used as an anvil to hammer the slag out of the molten iron. This stone anvil is called *porambakan*. A smaller one called *tandaran* is made of iron and is used to forge iron into tools. Hammer, *palu*, and tongs, *sipi*, are no different from those used by the Posso Toraja people.

When a smithy is built or repaired, the people kill a hen and a pig. Even when bellows, *sauan*, are made and the wooden cylinders, in which the pistons run, are bored, they will first kill a hen and apply the blood to the wood which is later to be hollowed out.

Iron in itself seems to play a less important role amongst the To Rongkong than it does amongst the Posso Toraja. There does not appear to be a time when it is ritually prohibited to forge iron. There are only some [p. 374] limitations with regards to the state of the rice crop. During the harvest, for instance, it is quite acceptable to forge machetes and rice knives, but one must not forge tools for digging during that time. Those men who have pregnant wives must not be involved in forging, and must not even come near the forge, so that no harm will come to the baby. There seems to be no stigma about the touching of iron in general. It is quite acceptable to include iron objects in the coffin for burial.

The Rongkong women are very skillful at *ikat*. Tradition has it they brought this skill with them from their place of origin i.e. the Sa'dan area. The Sa'dan people themselves no longer practice this skill. I will not go into this any further, as Mr. J. Kruyt has studied this skill amongst the To Rongkong in depth, and he will write a separate article about it.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> [translator's note: This article was published in 1922 under the title, "Het weven der Toradja's." See the References for the complete bibliographic citation.]



Notably the Rongkong women do not use their fine *ikat* cloth in every day life. They keep the beautiful cloth to decorate the bodies of their dead. For themselves they use ordinary cloth, either home woven or purchased from a merchant.

In the olden days the women would have woven their cloth using leaf fibers of a tree which looks much like the areca palm and is called *ka'du*. Later they planted their own cotton, but when cotton thread became available from the merchants they ceased planting cotton. Only during the European war, when no cotton thread was imported, did they once again plant their own cotton and spin their own thread.

The To Rongkong knew nothing about an industry which involved making cloth out of the bark of certain trees. This is not surprising, as they brought the art of weaving from their place of origin. It was not introduced to them at a later stage. Some men would occasionally make a loincloth out of the bark of the *ta'ra* tree (*terap* in Malay). The bark is beaten with a stick until it becomes supple. Most men however wear cotton loincloth. [p. 375]

Notably the women wear very little in the way of decoration or jewelry in their daily lives. In the villages that have converted to Islam they usually do not cover the head. Further up the river they usually wear a headband which keeps their hair together. This band, called *tali-tali*, is sometimes made of cotton, sometimes of a palm leaf, sometimes of the interior of a bamboo. The cotton bands are often nicely decorated with various colors. When travelling, women always bring a large sunhat, *sarong*, with them. The men wear either a headcloth or a basket made of rushes. This keeps their long hair together.

The women often use the roots of a fragrant grass, *bunga indan*. They carry a piece of root with them in a cotton cloth. By adding coconut oil they make a kind of fragrant oil which they rub into their hair.

We did not see many beads. In Uri we found a boy wearing a necklace of ordinary beads, amongst which we noticed some so-called *muti sala*. These old beads are called *masa'* here and we were told these had been bought in Seko.

In every village we found one or more stones, usually three, referred to as *laso batu*, 'stone penises.' These stones carry the same meaning as the *tumotowa* amongst the Tontemboan in Minahassa. They supposedly give strength and prosperity to the community. Later on I come back to this in relationship with the headhunting of the To Rongkong. Other than that I will not dwell on this any more as the significance becomes really clear when compared to the use of stones by other tribes. We will deal with that subject later in a separate study.<sup>5</sup>

As is the case in the Sa'dan area, the irrigated rice terraces along the Rongkong river really stand out. The people are really skillful at constructing these terraces against

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<sup>5</sup> [translator's note: See among others the author's 1932 article "L'immigration préhistorique dans le pays des Toradjas Occidentaux."]

sometimes very steep mountains. Rice is the staple food, and [p. 376] it is never planted on dry ground. The people also occasionally plant Colocasia (*upe*), cassava, maize (*dale*), and yams. After the death of a family member they are not allowed to eat rice for three days. This indicates that at some time they must have fed themselves with crops other than rice. When we asked they could not remember such a time.

As previously noted above, it is the Pongarong who regulates all agricultural efforts. Neither the Pongarong nor the Siaja, who are both entitled to make sacrifices to the gods, are paid for their work. However, whenever there is a celebration with a meal, three portions are separately prepared: one for the village chief (the Tomakaka), one for the Pongarong and one for the Siaja. Each of them also receives a certain portion of every animal which is killed, with the exception of chickens. The position of Pongarong and Siaja are inherited. If the office holder dies or retires and he has no son, or he has a son who is not capable, then a cousin may be appointed.

When the rice harvest is finished, the Pongarong will announce the *kumande panito*. This is a meal which signals the end of the year. The Pongarong will go around the village on the night before, and he will call all to assemble at the Tomakaka's rice shed the following day. This is why this shed is called *alang kasiturusan* 'the shed where all assemble.' On the floor that is usually found under these houses, they put out twenty-two sheaves of the Tomakaka's rice. After the celebrations ten of these are set aside to serve as sowing rice, while the Pongarong takes the other twelve home as his share.

The shed is surrounded by a hastily erected bamboo fence which is clad with old cloth called *mawa*. The villagers crouch around this fence. When everything is ready, the Pongarong or the Siaja calls on the spirits, *dewata*, after which they kill a pig, a hen, and a dog. They cook the meat from these animals and eat it during the meal which takes place afterwards.

With this *kumande panito*, the old harvest year is finished. Three days later they start with the cultivation of the dry [p. 377] fields, where they plant the crops mentioned earlier. When they look for a suitable plot of ground for cultivation they have to watch for a lot of things. If for instance they find on their plot of ground a liana which has grown into a knot, whoever works that plot will not be prosperous. That knot will entangle all good influences and prosperous growth and therefore will not do the workers any good. This is why they put a piece of wood in the loop, and they kill a dog near it and hang its insides on that liana. The loop then has something to entangle and the power of the dog will prevent any evil.

Several months go by while the fields are not being worked. The Pongarong knows roughly when he must begin looking out for the Pleiades. By their position in the sky he knows when they should start cultivating the terraces. The Pleiades are called *borong-borong*. Sometimes they are referred to as *manuk* 'bird,' although this name is usually given to Sirius. Orion's Belt is called *tomalemba* and its sword is called *madika*. The last three stars, which the Posso Toraja people regard as the wing of a rooster (a rooster can be seen when one looks at a combination of the Pleiades, Orion and Sirius) are called by

the To Rongkong Borong-borong's wife, while *tomalemba* is called Borong-borong's slave, which already appears from its name 'bearer' (someone who carries on the shoulder). Finally *manuk*, or Sirius, is said to be the Pongarong's hen.

The position of these stars can be observed both at dawn or at dusk. At dusk the Pleiades must be a fair distance above the eastern horizon to be sure that the time for breaking the ground has arrived. At dawn, however, most of the combination of these stars must have disappeared from sight. The position at dusk is called *randukan doke*, the position at dawn is called *rombe*. This is the time to check over the irrigation system. Whenever a new channel is dug, or an old one is about to collapse, they kill a dog or a hen, or sometimes even a pig. The blood of the animal is sprinkled in the water or on top of the retaining wall. Part of the blood [p. 378] is caught on a banana leaf, to determine whether the wall is going to be strong enough to resist the force of the water. If the surface of the blood has a lot of bubbles, they can be sure that the wall is going to be alright, if the surface of the blood is smooth they can be sure they will have trouble with that wall.

Also the gallbladder (*pa'du*) is examined. If it is nice and full, that is a good sign. They take part of the insides and the lungs of the sacrifice, wrap it in a leaf and jam it in an offering stick which is planted on the spot. Such an offering stick, called *takala*, is an ordinary piece of wood which is split at one end so that the wood is in four parts. Whatever they wish to give to the spirits (*dewata*) is jammed into this split.

The people at Baropa (Lemo) are a mixture of To Rongkong and folks from Seko. Their chief told us that they bury the insides of the sacrificial dog in their rice field.

The buffaloes, which up to now have been wandering around unrestrained, are now tethered underneath the houses, because they are going to be needed for plowing. The animals have to go through a ceremony which is aimed at giving them strength for the task ahead, and also to ward off any evil influences which are released by tilling the earth. This ceremony is called *ma'sarampu* and takes place at the *banua katongkonan*, the clan house.

The entrance to the stable underneath the house is on the east side, where the main post of the house is also located. Attached to this post are three stalks of *beang* (a type of cane, *Miscanthus japonicus* Anderson).<sup>6</sup> They call the *beang* 'the weed by eminence of the *dewata*.' Also hung on the post are: two bamboo tubes, one filled with chicken blood, the other filled with pig's blood; the shell of a coconut with rice flour; and a bamboo tube with water. They mix the flour with the two types of blood and the water in the coconut shell, and add a number of herbs, which all Toraja tribes believe have healing properties. Some of those herbs are: *sumaniu*; *riwu-riwu* (*riwu* means thousand, the power thus lies in the name of the plant which [p. 379] is supposedly able to procreate thousands); *tabang* (*Dracaena terminalis*); *tile* (*Andropogon helepensis* [sic] Stapf,<sup>7</sup> a type of cane which is used a lot in religious ceremonies); *kadangsule*; *pulu-pulu* (its power again lies in the

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<sup>6</sup> [translator's note: Identified today as *Miscanthus floridulus*, giant Chinese silver grass.]

<sup>7</sup> [translator's note: That is Johnson grass, *Sorghum halepense*, or a similar *Sorghum* species.]

name of the plant, which means ‘to cleave’; the life force of human, animal or crop will cleave to the owner, it will not go away); *iko masapi* (*Eranthemum malaccense* C. B. Clarke, the secret of this half-shrub lies in its indestructible life force).

They rub some of this mixture on each buffalo’s forehead, using a brush made of chicken feathers. The offering to the spirits, *dewata*, is tied in the *beang* leaves; a little piece of every part of the pig and the chicken killed for this occasion, and a little bit of boiled rice, all tied in a leaf. Then they have a meal together. The meat of the sacrificial animals is cooked in split bamboos, which are piled up at the foot of the main post. The people insist on using *beang* for this ceremony. *Beang* increases by forming lots of young sprouts at its base. By using *beang* the people hope their cattle will similarly increase.

The Pongarong is the first one to plough his field. He will have his plough, called *tengko*, pulled up and down his field three times.

For this occasion again all villagers assemble and have a ceremonial meal. The Pongarong kills a hen as a sacrifice to the spirits, *dewata*, and takes some of its feathers and jams these into the offering stick, *takala*, which is planted on the spot (this is true of all hens which are killed as a sacrifice to the spirits). The next day everyone ploughs their own fields. After the plowing is finished the fields are harrowed, *iepa*. Harrowing does not require another ceremony.

In their agricultural efforts, the people usually help one another; this is called *kesaro*, ‘with pay.’ The owner of the field has an obligation to feed those who help him and also to go and help those who helped him. They will often kill a dog to go with these meals. Sometimes they agree to help one another without [p. 380] providing a meal. This is called *sisaro*, ‘to hire one another, to pay one another.’

At this time a lot depends on the weather. If the rain does not come they kill a hen and they call on the spirits, *dewata*, to bring the rain. They are very fearful of rain storms (*uran bara*). They say, “If a storm breaks loose, a Tomakaka is about to die.” To ward off a storm like that they throw fire outside and they hang the *talikuran* (the back brace<sup>8</sup> of the weaving equipment) in the doorway.

When the fields are ready the rice is sown. The To Rongkong seldom work with seed beds. Mostly the seeds are sown directly into the field. It is not mixed with soil or sand to get a better spread. This is why the Rongkong rice fields look rather untidy. Where the crop has been too densely sown they remove some of the surplus to transplant to areas which have been thinly sown. They do not have an official ceremony for planting, but most families have a special meal by themselves, for which they kill a chicken. The three village officials mentioned above will give a pig on this occasion.

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<sup>8</sup> [translator’s note: Dutch *lendejuk*, that is, the bar, strap or ‘yoke’ which passes behind the weaver and rests in the small of the weaver’s back. The reference here is clearly to a kind of body-tension loom.]

There are no taboos related to the sowing of the rice. When a person who is busy sowing his fields receives news of the death of one of his relatives, he must finish sowing his fields before he goes to mourn the dead person. The basket in which the rice has been kept must not be placed on the ground upside down, because the seeds will then not germinate. Instead they will rot in the ground.

During the growing season there are few regulations to comply with. One has to be careful not to make toilet too close to where the water enters the field, as this could harm the crop.

During this time the Pongarong and the Siaja must stay in their villages as much as possible, since these two officials have [p. 381] a special relationship with the rice crop. They are more or less responsible for the entire village's crop. Should one of these two leave the village, then the rice could lose its vigor, and the crop would come to nothing. And if the Pongarong or Siaja has to leave the village at all, he has to kill a pig upon his return. The villagers eat this pig together. By this sacrifice any foreign or evil influences the guardian of the rice might have picked up during his time away from the village are rendered powerless.

During this waiting period people should keep away from the graves. They must especially not cut any wood near the graves. If any one does not abide by this they have to kill a pig in order to avert the evil caused. This is called *ipataman padang*. The situation is worse still if fire has burned the wood or grass on any of the graves. In that case two pigs must be killed, one at night and the other the next morning. The second one is probably killed to acknowledge that the evil caused by the burning has indeed been removed. It is therefore called *pangaku tana padang*. Amongst the To Rongkong converted to Islam, people are not allowed during this time to pile stones on a grave such as the Buginese would normally do.

The people are not allowed to work on their houses or rice barns. They probably reason, "There is no crop to be stored yet, and yet you are already making preparations for storage; surely you will find there will not be anything to be stored." The same reasoning is probably also used to ban attendance at the *pa'beloan* feast. This feast is always celebrated after the harvest. Therefore, to attend one before the harvest can only be bad. You are acting as though you had already finished with your crops, but you have not even started yet.

Once the rice is 'pregnant' (its ears start swelling), all kinds of regulations come into force again. This is a time of great tension as everyone is anxious to see whether the ears are full [p. 382] or empty. First of all the village needs to be cleansed now, that is: all evil (meaning mainly extramarital relationships) have to be removed or otherwise dealt with, so that this 'evil' will not have a negative influence on the setting and the ripening of the ears.

The ceremony of doing away with this evil is called *paperompon*. Whoever has committed any 'evil' confesses this to the Pongarong. The entire village assembles once again at the

*alang kasiturusan*, where the Pongarong offers a hen to the spirits and the people have a common meal. Of every part of the hen a small piece is wrapped in a leaf and placed in the offering stick, *takala*. The next day the *ma'dasi'sing* takes place. This is a ritual very much like the above described *paperompon*. The purpose of this ritual is to block all entrances to the rice fields, so that no evil influences can enter and spoil the crops.

When they return from this ritual, the Pongarong goes around the village announcing that the taboos, *pemali*, will be operating the next three days. If anybody wants to leave the village for a longer period of time, he has to do so within those three days. After the three days are over, nobody is allowed to come near or enter the village or leave it for several days.

After the three days, the Pongarong goes around the village again to announce that everyone has to abide by the *pemali* regulations from now on.

It is a long list of *pemali* they have to abide by, and there are probably quite a few more they have not told us about. One *pemali* the officials soon come to know about is that during this time no one is to work the ground. If you do, the mice will come out in large numbers and eat your rice crop. This means that the government cannot undertake any road works which require the moving of dirt at such a time. So instead they restrict themselves to other types of maintenance such as bridge repairs, keeping weeds down, etc. [p. 383]

They are not allowed to fell any live trees at this time because a relative of the offender would surely die. They are not allowed to pour water on the fire; it would cause the crops to die. They must not burn bamboo; it would cause the rice to wilt. A peculiar one is that they must not use a *boru* (rain cape) at this time. They probably think that if you carry a rain guard around with you then you are asking for it to rain, whereas they are very anxious for it to be dry just then. During the night they must not make any noise, especially like that of treading the rice. It would wake up the mice and bring them into the fields. They must not rinse or wash their clothes. they must not twine ropes. Burning lime and smoking out bee's nests are prohibited, probably because the heat could damage the crop. Holding a digging tool (*pebua*) is also prohibited, probably because they think they might confuse the rice if they were doing so while they were waiting for the rice to ripen. These tools after all are used in the preparation of the fields.

All these *pemali* taboos have to be observed for several days. At Uri they told us three days; at Limbong they lasted for seven days. When the *pemali* period is finished they go and clean their fields (*ma'pata*). This cleaning, however, consists only of removing the weeds from the edges of the field.

Now the *ma'rampang* takes place. All villagers on the same day kill a chicken in every field. If a man owns four fields he will kill a chicken in one field, his wife will kill one in the next. and other relatives will take care of the other fields. Even the children are involved in this ritual. Some of the hen's blood is sprinkled on the crop, while some of the feathers are attached to some of the rice plants at the edge of the field. They then move



around the field clockwise and so doing form a magic circle around their field which will ward off any evil from outside the field. In the night following the *ma'rampang*, [p. 384] all *pemali* taboos mentioned above have to be observed. Finally they have another common meal at the oft-mentioned *alang kasiturusan*, where again they kill a pig and a hen. Only then are they allowed to start cutting the rice.

In every field are placed some windmills that make a screeching sound when turned by the wind. These windmills, called *kalunteba*, serve to chase away the rice thieves.<sup>9</sup>

While they are cutting the rice they are not allowed to utter any indecent words. This also applies later on when the rice goes into the barns. The knife used for cutting the rice is called *rangkapan*.

Each rice barn, *alang*, has an open area near it, which is very carefully cleaned each year just before they start cutting the rice. This is where they dry the bundles of rice. This drying area is called *tusang*. If the terraces are too far away from the village to bring the rice back daily, they will have a *tusang* near those terraces.

When the field has been completely dried off, the owner puts on a meal. Before they tread the new rice needed for this meal, they kill a hen. They take some of the blood and sprinkle it on the rice and on the fire. This occasion is usually attended by the family only, but they will often send portions of the meal around to families living nearby. As long as the harvest is not complete they are not allowed to sell any of the crop.

Before they put the rice into the barn they spit on it a mixture of saliva, *laia* (ginger root) and *sa'aku*. This latter plant I have not been able to identify. They say they do this so that the crop in storage will not get spoiled somehow, and will not shrink too quickly. They assume that certain spirits come and take away from their rice. These spirits are called upon at this ritual, and asked to go elsewhere. For the same purpose they hang leaves of the *lansat*,<sup>10</sup> the lemon and the *tagari*<sup>11</sup> up in the barn. The power of the *lansat* lies in the fact that it bears a lot of fruit. The lemon is believed throughout [p. 385] the Archipelago to be able to ward off spirits and evil influences, and the *tagari* is a plant which in the whole of Central Celebes plays an important role in all sorts of animistic and dynamistic rituals.

During or after the harvest they used to go headhunting so that they could celebrate the *ma'bu*a or *ma'belo* feast. Sometimes, after a year of crop failure, they would take an oath at the start of the new planting season to go headhunting if the next crop would be successful. With the To Rongkong headhunting is part of growing rice. They just simply say, "If there is no headhunting, the crops will fail."

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<sup>9</sup> [translator's note: Probably a type of bird.]

<sup>10</sup> [translator's note: *Lansium parasiticum*.]

<sup>11</sup> [translator's note: Flax lily, *Dianella* sp., cf. Malay *tegari*.]



The old Tomakaka of Kanadede, Ne'Awang, told us that when their ancestor Lalo-lalo still lived in the lowlands, the To Rongkong used to get the required human heads at Pantilang. This Pantilang lies on the main road from Masamba to Wotu. That is also where the boundary is between the language areas of the *tae* and the *bae'e* (*are'e*, *ae'e*, *iba*). So the To Rongkong used to get the heads from the To Lewonu which belonged to the Bare'e language group. However, after this man Lalo-lalo moved to Parara, their headhunting trips would go as far as Mamuju, and they would get their heads at Lotong. The people from that region never came to the Rongkong area to retaliate. Sometimes they would get the heads at Riu in the Sa'dan region, but this would happen only if they had a problem with the people of Riu because, after all, they are related. Usually they would go out in small groups of ten. The leader of the expedition was called *tumpu lau*, 'the expedition master.' During such an undertaking, they would take special notice of the call of the *seke*, a bird which in the Poso region is called *kere-kere*, after the sound it makes. If the bird's call sounded like "kere-kere," they could not count on success. If the call sounded like "seke-seke," then the trip would be successful.

If a group was out headhunting, the wives of the participants were not allowed to sleep during the daytime, wash clothes, beat or hit anything, weave, untie their hair, roast an animal, or sit with their legs stretched out in front of them. These rules were called *pemali* [p. 386] *musu*. In the houses of the participants the fire was not allowed to go out, their sleeping mats had to be rolled up first thing in the morning so that no one could tread on them, no one was allowed to sit themselves down in the hall of a house owned by a participant, and nothing from that house was allowed to be given away, not even fire. If any of these rules were violated, the head hunters would experience the adverse effects thereof.

They used the following divination to ascertain whether one of the fighters was wounded or dead. They put a large potsherd into the fire. When this was nice and hot they took some grains of rice between their fingertips. While they dropped these on the potsherd, they would say, "This is for N. N." (mentioning one of the fighters' names). If all of the grains jumped out of the potsherd when they popped, then this was proof that the person whose name had been mentioned was fit and well. If one of the grains remained in the potsherd, then that was proof that the person whose name had been mentioned was wounded or dead.

When the party returns, the captured head must be left outside of the village. The fighters enter the village, and as they have been expected, a dog and a pig have been kept ready. These are killed and eaten. After that the captured head is taken to the village stones (*laso batu*). These are rubbed with the head and also the rice is brought into contact with the head. Then it is hung up in a small house which has been erected near the village stones. The fighters used to get two buffaloes for a reward, one for their leader, the other for his followers.

At this time the *ma'belo* feast is also celebrated. I cannot give a detailed description of this feast, as the information I gathered concerning this feast was often confused. The village

stones, *laso batu*, are decorated with young *aren* leaves.<sup>12</sup> They hang up a drum which is beaten several times a day. At such an occasion a lot of [p. 387] animals seem to be killed. At Lena they even told us that every family contributes a buffalo, three pigs and a dog for this feast.

As already mentioned, the human head is kept in the little house near the stones until it is dry, after which it is kept in the rice barn. The scalp, which has been peeled off, is sprinkled with lime and dried. Then it is cut up into small pieces and distributed amongst the people. These pieces are kept in the betel bag. Other pieces are attached to six strips of young *Arenga* leaf (called *balaba*) and these are tied to a bamboo stake. This stake was attached to the gable in such a way that the pieces of scalp would be out in the open. This all served “to ward off sicknesses and to increase crop vitality.”

The *ma'belo* at which this ritual takes place lasts for three days. A dance with song, called *sumenge*, is performed in the clan house (*banua katongkonan*), and repeated in their houses. They also dance out in the open. On this occasion the village stones, *laso batu*, are decorated with young *Arenga* leaves. Now that headhunting is illegal, they use an old head for these festivities.

Now I will focus on some of the domestic aspects of life of the To Rongkong. They make little fuss about weddings (as do the Sa'dan Toraja). One could hardly speak of a dowry. The value of this dowry is found rather in the heavy penalties for unfaithfulness or for causing marital disputes.

If the proposal is favorably received by the girl's parents, the groom will give the parents a gift of betel, areca nut, gambier, tobacco, a sarong and a bodice. This gift is called *pangan* (*pangan* means 'areca nut,' from which it appears that the ingredients for chewing constitute the main part of the gift, a sarong and bodice being added later). When slaves are involved, they make even less fuss. The wedding then takes place with mutual consent, no gifts are exchanged. [p. 388]

The marriage is considered a fact after a meal has been shared. This meal must always take place in the bride's home. To have this meal in the groom's home (or his village if he came from a different village) is taboo, *pemali*. The women perform a dance, *ma'jaga*, accompanied by the sound of a small drum, called *tempa*. The wedding feast is called *sinasuan*.

One or two days after the feast, the groom takes his bride to his own home. Amongst nobility a buffalo is killed on this occasion. This is called *si'along*. On arrival, the man shows all his possessions to his bride, who now has control over them. They smear some of the buffalo's blood on both the man's and woman's right hand. This symbolizes the mixing of their blood. They are now of the same blood.

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<sup>12</sup> [translator's note: *Arenga pinnata*.]

According to the Assistant Governor's notes, on this occasion the groom's relatives would give all kinds of presents to the young bride and her relatives. These gifts would include pieces of cotton, old cloths (*mawa*), bodices, iron tools, etc. The bride would get the most valuable parts. We don't interpret this to be a dowry, as nothing is required to be given back in the case of the woman's misbehavior.

Cousins are not normally allowed to marry, although sometimes permission is given, as long as a pig is killed to ward off any bad effects of such a marriage. This pig is called *rabang katonan*, meaning 'to overthrow the boundary.'

Intercourse between brother and sister, parent and child, uncle / aunt and niece / nephew, or any two people from the same family but different generation is regarded to be incest. Even in the worst cases of incest, the guilty parties are never killed. Instead they hold the *rambolangi*. This word means 'to cover the sky' i.e. with clouds, so that rain will fall. The purpose of this ceremony is to prevent a drought which would have been the result of the incest.

With the *rambolangi* the guilty man has to kill a buffalo, [p. 389] the woman has to kill a pig, and a piece of the man's trousers is burnt. The guilty parties are not allowed to eat any of this sacrifice, as it is their substitute. Then they pretend to throw a cat into the river. The cat is swung in such a way that it lands back on the bank. This cat is no longer allowed into the village. Each time it turns up, it is chased away.

A cat is used in the *rambolangi* ritual because they believe, as in Central Celebes, that a storm will occur each time a cat is abused. And after all it is the rain they are after.

It is taboo to tease, hit or kill a cat. People usually didn't tell us what would happen if someone did this, but the old Tomakaka of Kanandede assured us that the soul of a person who abused a cat would turn into a cat. Reverence for cats is further shown in that they are buried in a cotton rag.

There is a heavy penalty on adultery. If caught in the act, the adulterers may be killed. Otherwise, the penalty is eight buffaloes for nobility or one buffalo for slaves. These are the extremes according to Mr. Waworuntu. Nowadays they just kill a buffalo to reconcile the offender with the spouse. The former will also give a buffalo to the latter, called the *pamaya indan lembang*. When the aggrieved spouse receives the buffalo, the matter is settled, and as a sign he gives the offender a pig, called *pantarima* ('for a receipt'). The offender also gives a piece of cotton to the village chief.

If a marital dispute has occurred which might lead to a divorce, the parties are sometimes reconciled by the payment of a buffalo. If a divorce has taken place, the wife gives her ex-husband a pair of trousers and a piece of cotton which he may use as a sarong. The man gives nothing to his ex-wife. [p. 390] We have not been able to ascertain if the same rule applies in the case the man had caused the divorce. Possessions accumulated during the time of the marriage are divided up evenly, and so are the children.

Commonly, divorced parents will get back together; this is called *sirenen* or *silangkea*. However, they cannot live together again until each has killed a pig.

When pregnant, the woman and to a certain extent also her husband have to watch out for a number of things. She may not singe leaves<sup>13</sup> near a fire for the purpose of making them supple for the storage of rice or other things, as this could cause a miscarriage. To sit in the doorway could cause difficult labor. To sit with one's back toward the fire could result in difficulty with the afterbirth. The woman's hair must not be cut during the pregnancy; this prohibition does not apply to the man. What the man specifically must observe I have already mentioned above: he must not forge iron, must not even go near the forge, because the blood of the pregnant woman might turn a rusty color, which is viewed as a bad sign.

The woman gives birth in a sitting position. Just as elsewhere in the Archipelago, the cord is not cut until after the afterbirth has appeared. The afterbirth is placed in a cane basket and buried on the east side of the house in a spot between the dripline where water falls from the roof and the first row of piles. If the baby is a boy they will let out a war cry, *kumalasi*; if a girl they will shriek with a hi, hi, hi, called *metawa* (cf. Malay *tawa* 'to laugh').

At this stage, the woman must not go near a fire; she would get a fever. Even less would a fire be built next to her to warm her up. Three days after the birth, mother and child come down out of the house to bathe. When they touch the ground, a hen is moved three times over their heads in a circular motion, then it is killed and prepared for a meal. If the [p. 391] Tomakaka's wife gives birth to a child a buffalo is killed.

If a woman dies during childbirth, all women still able to bear children go to the river to bathe. They let their sarongs float down river just a little, to quickly snatch them up again. When all have finished, some people will call from the bank, "Why are you bathing?" One of the women answers, "Because someone died in child birth." After that ritual they need not fear any evil influences from the death.

The people shorten the teeth of all young people. If they don't, the youngster will be scorned. They will ask him, "Do you want to dig the ground?" (viz. using his teeth for digging). Normally they only shorten the upper teeth. Men sometimes have their bottom teeth shortened as well. Women never have that done.

There is no relationship between the shortening of the teeth and marriage. The person doing the act receives no reward, and there are no special rituals involved.

When people are sick they bring offerings near a rice shed. For each sick person they erect a *karara*. This is a piece of bamboo, split at the top into thin strips which are woven to form a kind of basket into which the offerings may be placed. They tie a piece of a young *Arenga saccharifera* leaf to the bamboo, making sure it points north. In one of the

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<sup>13</sup> [translator's note: From the context probably the leaves of *Phrynium pubinerve* or a related species.]

offering baskets we saw a piece of banana leaf with some raw cotton, a small piece of bamboo tube with water and another one with palm wine. The Pongarong or the Siaja call on the spirits (*dewata*) for this offering while their faces are turned eastward. On this occasion they kill a pig and a number of chickens (usually one per sick person). The feathers from the chickens are placed in the offering stick mentioned earlier (*takala*).

When the sky at sunset is turned red, they believe sickness is about to come upon them. All who notice it take some ashes from the fire and throw them outside, to counteract the bad effects of this natural phenomenon.

All kinds of signs tell the people that death [p. 392] is about to visit them. When the common owl (*karak*) or a smaller species (*totosi*) calls near a house, they say that soon a death will occur in that house. Especially the dog is very important in all this. The To Rongkong have numerous occasions where they will sacrifice a dog. When a dog starts howling for no reason, they believe an important person is about to die. If a dog jumps out of a window, it must be killed at once, otherwise sickness will enter that house. If two dogs are copulating inside a house, they must be killed, otherwise the owner of that house will die.

The burial of a person of standing naturally differs significantly from that of a common villager. The difference is not so much in the mode of burial, but rather in the amount of fuss made during the burial and time of morning. The burial customs of the To Rongkong people are a lot simpler than those of their tribesmen in the Sa'dan area. We conclude from this that these customs were introduced to the Sa'dan Toraja people at a later stage. The storage of corpses in rock graves is totally unknown in the Rongkong area. All the dead are buried in the ground, both the free and the slaves, some with, others without a coffin.

Below I give an account of the burial of a Tomakaka, as told by people from Kanandede, Uri and Limbong. In connection with studies as to when and how the cat was introduced to Central Celebes, it is worthy to note that the death of a person is never mentioned to the cat, as the Toraja people from Rante Pao always do. The body is washed by either the children or the next of kin of the deceased. They pour water over his face only. The rest of the body is wiped with a wet cloth. Then they dress the body. A woman is dressed in three or four sarongs and a couple of bodices. A man is dressed in several trousers, jackets and headcloths.

On this occasion a buffalo is killed which is called *pa'diu* (*ma'diu* is 'to bathe'). The following day, the body is taken to a reception area (*sali*). The wall which separates this area from the [p. 393] slaves' quarters (*tambing*) is often removed to make more space.

The body is positioned on its back, parallel with the apex of the roof: north-south. They put no food with the body, only his betel bag, *sepu*, and all who come to mourn the dead person put a prepared betel quid in the bag. They put some gold dust into the body's mouth. When the eyes won't shut, they see this as a sign that the dead person is asking for more buffaloes that they had planned.

Women seat themselves around the body to wail. The widow positions herself at the head of her deceased husband and wears a piece of white cotton around her head. As long as the body is in the house, the widow is not allowed to eat, usually three days. She is allowed drinks and betel nut. The only kind of food she can eat during this time is roasted corn, which has been ground and mixed with water so it resembles coffee. The corn used for this drink, however, must not be roasted in the house where the body lies in state. The widow does not need to be fed, as is the case with some other tribes. When the body is carried away, the widow must remain in the house until a group of men return with a human head. The leader of this group will take the widow by the hand and lead her outside. After this the widow is free from all taboos related to bereavements.

Let's return to the corpse, which was put inside the *sali*. Enters the *uragi*, the undertaker, one of which is found in every village. The Sa'dan Toraja call him the *to makayo*, or the *to mebalun*. He oversees everything related to the corpse. The *uragi* is treated by his fellow villagers as an ordinary person. With the Sa'dan Toraja people a good deal of repugnance is noticeable in their relationship to the undertaker. His wages consist of three fathoms of cotton, two machetes (*labo*), an axe and the brisket with three ribs of each buffalo killed. He also receives the head of the animal killed by the grave side, the so-called *pa'pailiang*.

The *uragi* then wraps the body in some cloth: first in white cotton; then in an old piece of imported [p. 394] cotton (*mawa*); and lastly in *poritutu*, a piece of traditional Rongkong *ikat* cloth. They can leave out the *mawa* if there is none available. What with the continued use of the *mawa* and no new imports, this type of cloth can be hard to come by. A Rongkong *poritutu*, however, must be present.

It would be appropriate to compare the dressing of the body with the wrapping of a present. The body is placed lengthwise in the cloth, after which the sides are rolled up together about the tummy and the chest, and the ends are tied together by the head and the feet. The parcel is then tied up with three belts, one around the knees, one around the chest, and the third one around the neck, so that the human form is more or less retained. At this time they kill another buffalo, called *kurudusan*.

On the third day the body goes into the coffin, at which time another buffalo is killed. This animal is called *pa'paiduni*, 'for the putting in the coffin.' Usually they keep some coffins in stock. In every village we saw some under the rice barns. They look rather odd because they are so narrow. The bodies are put in them on their left sides. In the villages Sulu Rante, Kawalea and Mariri, we found a small coffin industry. For a buffalo one could buy four or five of these coffins, for a piece of *ikat* cloth, two coffins. In Limbong they don't make coffins; the reason they gave was because a Tomakaka lives there. It seems that they regard this work as abhorrent, and therefore it should not be done in the Tomakaka's village. The imported coffin must be slightly altered before it can be used. It is again the *uragi* who makes the first few cuts in this task, after which others will help him.

Weapons and jewelry are buried with the deceased, as are one or more pieces of sugarcane.



On the fourth day the great death feast is celebrated. All the relatives and friends of the deceased gather together. This is the *pa'ladara*. Four to fifty buffaloes are killed in a space called the *pa'ladaraan*, [p. 395] and then they have the death meal which is put on for all the guests, who during this time have stayed in huts erected for this purpose around the *pa'ladaraan*. Usually there is a *uru* tree (*Michelia celebica*) in the *pa'ladaraan*. The buffaloes are tied to this tree before they are killed.

Finally, on the fifth day the body is carried to the grave, which lies to the west of the *pa'ladaraan*. The bodies of slaves are simply carried down the steps. For a Tomakaka, one of the walls of the house is removed and the body lowered through the gap. Now another buffalo is killed (*pa'paliang*, 'the putting in the grave').<sup>14</sup> Again it is the *uragi* who starts and supervises the digging of the grave. It is usually the same depth as a person's height. They must not step over the grave, as this would cause the rice crop to fail. If it happens inadvertently, in order to ward off impeding harm the person must kill a pig by the rice barn, where such ceremonies usually take place (the *alang kasiturusan*). The crops would also be put in danger by spitting into the grave. It is further taboo, *pemali*, to step over the coffin. If a dog were to jump over the coffin it would have to be killed right away.

The To Rongkong dig their graves east-west. The deceased is laid with their head pointed east, so that their face is turned south. To do it any other way would result in many people dying. The To Rongkong who settled further inland, at Lemo (Baropa) bury their dead with the head pointing south and the legs pointing north, so that the face is turned westward.

After the body has been lowered into the grave, it is filled up with dirt (led again by the undertaker). The next day they erect a hut over the grave (*bangunan banua*), on which occasion they kill a buffalo, a pig, and a dog.

When they return from the grave, they block the road back to the village with bamboo stakes and rails, to which *Arenga* leaves are attached. A dog is tied to one of the stakes of this barrier, and they hang up a machete, a betel pouch, and a band for girding one's sword. [p. 396] These objects did not belong to the deceased, but have been donated by one of the relatives.

The day after the funeral is considered to be a taboo day, *ipelawei*. No work is to be done, and all the Tomakaka's subjects tie grass or weeds to their heads as a sign of mourning. It doesn't matter what kind of weeds are used. If a Matua Kombong or ordinary village chief fails to observe this custom, he is punished with a buffalo, which is killed in respect of the deceased Tomakaka. In the case of an ordinary villager, his clothes and machete are taken

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<sup>14</sup> [translator's note: On page 393, spelled *pa'pailiang*.]



off him. If at all possible, the people who went out to get a human head should be back from their expedition on this day.<sup>15</sup>

This head has to be obtained from the To Seko. I will return later to this custom, when I write in more detail about this tribe. When they return with the head, they first kill the dog, then they move to the grave, where they throw the head on top of the hut three times. After that they take it to the *pa'ladaraan*, where the great death meal is held, and there the head is burnt, after which everything is left to itself. The troop who went and obtained the head are given two buffaloes, a pig and a dog. One of the buffaloes is killed and eaten, the other one is taken away alive.

In the evening of that day, they sing and dance at the death house. The singing is called *sumengo*. The next day the *malolo* takes place. They kill from one to ten buffaloes and a pig, and after all that they are allowed to eat rice again. After the death of a Tomakaka, his subjects are not allowed to eat rice for several days.

The final ritual takes place the next day, the *mambase bubung*, 'the cleaning of the pit.' This ritual involves the sweeping of the death house with brooms made out of the midribs of palm leaflets, and the accumulated rubbish is thrown out of the [p. 397] village. All the villagers assemble again by the Tomakaka's rice barn, the *alang kasiturusan*, to share a meal for which a large pig is killed. At sunset that day, a chicken is killed and roasted and thrown away. Which direction it's thrown doesn't matter. This is considered to be the last food given to the deceased. They call this *makaruwen*. After this they no longer care for the deceased. They assured us that no more food is taken to the grave, and the hut is left to deteriorate.

Ordinary people are buried on the day they die. If they can't afford a coffin, they are buried without one. They put it this way: if a buffalo and a pig are killed for a deceased, they get a coffin, otherwise they don't. People who died an unnatural death, and children who died before they had teeth, are wrapped in cotton and buried. They don't erect a hut on their graves, but plant some cuttings of *sendana*<sup>16</sup> and *tabang* (*Dracaena*) and place three stones, one at the head, one at the feet, and one in the middle. The next of kin are not allowed to eat rice for three days. This custom is called *maro'o*.

While these people were very open, I gained very little knowledge about their beliefs concerning the soul and life after death. The usual answer I received was: "We don't know what happens to a person after he dies." They did however have a name for the place where the soul supposedly goes. In Parara they called it Marupa'tang, which must lie to the west. In Tandung they also told us that the souls go westward towards Tolondo. In Kanandede they called the place of the souls Molalondong. In Uri and Limbong they

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<sup>15</sup> [footnote 1, page 396] This was not always the case. We were told in Seko—whence the victim had to be obtained—that the envoys sometimes had to wait a month before the To Seko were able to deliver a man.

<sup>16</sup> [translator's note: Possibly sandalwood, *Santalum album*, cf. Malay *cendana*.]

called it Tua Londo' or Tana Walling. Here they insisted that the soul follows the course of the sun.

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