

Studies on Balantak

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DESCRIPTION

This article is a wide-ranging ethnographic treatise concerning the Balantak people of the eastern peninsula of Sulawesi, Indonesia. The first part of the article covers various topics including origin story and flood story; native governance and tribute paid to Banggai; settlement patterns and traditional house construction; crime and punishment, including trial by ordeal; dreams, divination, and auguring; bark cloth manufacture; iron working; and hunting. The second part concentrates on the spirit world of the Balantak, the types of spirits, and offerings made to the spirits.

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Studies on Balantak

by
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Part I: Some remarks about Balantak and its inhabitants

Summary of the region

The eastern peninsula of Celebes has sometimes been compared to a toadstool; the end of it has the shape of a hat, which rests on a handle. On top of this handle lies the subdivision capital, Luwuk. The hat has been divided into a northern and a southern half. In the northern part live the Saluan people, whose ruler formerly lived in Boalemo. This place was destroyed by a united army of Ternate, Banggai and Gorontalo people in the second half of the previous century (see my article “De To Loinang van den Oostarm van Celebes,” *Bijdragen*, vol. 86, 1930, pp.340-343).¹ The Saluan people [p. 329] have spread over a large part of the eastern arm of Celebes.

The southern part of the hat of the toadstool is inhabited by another people, who call themselves *mian* (‘person’) *Balantak* and who denote their language with *basa Balantak*. They are certainly related to the Saluan people, but their language and morals differ very much from each other, so that the Balantak form an independent branch of people. The Saluan language uses the word *madi* for negation, the Balantak language uses the word *sian* (*sien*).

¹ [footnote 1, p. 328] Here and there I have mentioned various traditions dealing with the occasion which gave rise to the quarrel between Lalogani and Mapaang, brother and sister, which led to the end of Boalemo. A new version, which existed among the inhabitants of Balantak, can be added to this: The subjects of Mapaang ate fish every day, because their mistress possessed a fish-eagle, that flew to the sea every day and provided all the people with food. Once a number of people from Mapaang met some of Lalogani’s subjects. The former asked the latter what their daily food was. They answered: “Peas.” The others, who themselves ate well on fish every day, considered this so ridiculous that they laughed at Lalogani’s people. When this was reported to Lalogani, he became very angry and blamed his sister for everything ill. In order to revenge herself Mapaang took the enemy into the country.

[map inset after p. 328]



This country is divided into two districts: the southwest is called Lamala, the northeast is called Balantak. Administratively these two districts don't form a whole, but each of them is supervised individually by the *kapitan laut* in Luwuk, who in his turn is responsible to the ruler of Banggai. When in this paper Balantak and mian Balantak are spoken of, the whole area, thus both districts together, are intended, unless it is explicitly expressed that the district of Balantak or the village of that name is meant.

The name of Pokobondolong is often heard being used instead of Balantak. This would be the name that the Ternate people gave to the area; it is said to mean 'very many people.' Between the two parts of Balantak small dialectal differences in the language are to be found. For example, in Lamala they often say *e* where in Pokobondolong the word has an *a*; *mien* for *mian* 'human being'; *sien* for *sian* 'not'; *laigen* for *laigan* 'house,' etc. In the puzzles, which I had the school children of Mantok (Lamala) write down, however,

many used *a* where other wrote *e*. Some words differ too. Such little mutual deviations can be found in the morals and customs too.

A couple of years ago a large part of the Balantak (*sian*-speaking) people embraced Christianity. At the time of a census held in 1930 there were 6075 Christians out of a total native population of [p. 330] 11,189 (5801 in the Balantak district, 5388 in the Lamala district). People who wish to be baptized continue to report from the heathen population.

Creation, flood and dispersion of the people

The stories of the mian Balantak about the creation of the world and the people are as fantastic as those of other tribes in these areas. For what follows I have—apart from my own notes—made use of a couple of traditions, which the former administrator Becking noted down in his unpublished “Nota van Toelichtingen,” which lies in the archive of Luwuk.

It is remarkable that the people here in the east of Celebes carry everything back till the flood. This is probably connected with the fact that the people here on these islands and small peninsulas are surrounded by the sea. In Boalemo, in the Banggai archipelago, and here in Balantak the first people have always come from elsewhere in a box or proa. Perhaps an old fact has still been preserved in this story, namely that these countries were inhabited by folks who came from overseas.

In Balantak they tell that *Pilogot mola*, the Lord of heaven, dropped a box in the form of a proa from the firmament on a rattan. The box was called *bengka-bengka*² and the rattan was of the *uwe wiwine* ‘female rattan’ type.

In the box there were two naked human beings, brother and sister, and on top of the box were sitting a hen and a cock. The box descended onto a piece of land, called Pinontuan, a mountain one kilometer to the north of the village of Mantok. The sea receded and the piece of land became bigger and bigger. There were three trees growing on that land: a *kau dulupan*, a *kau bintonu* and a *kau walanse*. [p. 331]

When the land had reached a wide expanse, both human beings came out of the box and lived on that ground. They had already lived there a long time, the three trees had already grown tall and the chickens had multiplied themselves considerably, but the couple remained without offspring. This was because they didn’t know that to this purpose they had to exercise sexual intercourse with each other. Not until they had watched repeatedly how chickens copulated, it occurred to them that they could follow this example.

The rattan on which the box had been dropped formed the way between heaven and earth. If the couple needed something, the man climbed upwards and then the Lord of

² [footnote 1, p. 330] Among the To Poe’oe mBoto, a division of the East Toraja group, a coffin is called *bangka*, a word that must have formally had the meaning of ‘vessel’ here.

heaven provided them with everything they needed. But in the long run they planted themselves various things and when they could provide for their own needs, fellowship with heaven along the rattan was broken up.

This story as to how the first people came into Balantak is not generally known. Some couldn't say how they had come to be in Pinuntuan;³ but that the first people have lived right there, [p. 332] is known to everyone. And they know their names too: the man is called Topulu⁴ and the woman is called Labololing.

Then the story of the flood follows, of which two versions exist. The first makes it appear that this catastrophe was the result of the incest committed because the first human beings, who were brother and sister, lived together as a married couple. The second version says that the flood had to serve to clear away the human race, because it had become too numerous. Both stories agree in that it was a hornbill that announced the catastrophe. Sitting in one of the trees already mentioned he announced to the people: "The world will perish, all people will die, so make yourselves a proa in order to save yourselves." In one of the versions it is told, in addition, that a man climbed into the tree where the bird sat; there he found an old woman. This was *Kele'*, the goddess of the earth, who lived inside the earth, but now came in the appearance of a hornbill so as to warn the people against the approaching catastrophe. *Kele'* 'woman' watches over the people. In another story it is told that as the brother and sister started living as husband and wife, enormous rains came and the ground split. The people, alarmed, didn't know what to do. Then *Kele'* came up to them and told them to go into the forest and catch a pig and throw this into the crack in the earth. They did so and the earth closed itself and the rain stopped.

Upon *Kele'*'s advice the couple tied a long rattan rope to the tree, the other end of which had been fixed to the proa. She promised to visit them once more three days before the flood would come. At this second visit she told them that when their house was

³ [footnote 1, p. 331] The former administrator Becking mentions the name Pinotunuan in his "Nota" and tells the story, which explains why this place is called by this name, which means 'the place which has been burnt.' Namely, the couple cut down the *kau bintonu*, one of the three trees mentioned, in order to make a proa from the trunk. As they didn't yet have axes, they had to fell the tree by making a fire at its foot. When the tree fell, the soil was accumulated, so that a hill was formed, which became called Pinotunuan after the burning of the tree. As for hollowing out the tree, fire was used too, after which the charred part was scraped away with shells. All sorts of other trees grew out of the leaves of that tree, which spread all over the place when the tree fell. None of my informants was familiar with this story. *Tunu* has the meaning of 'grilling' and cannot be used for making a fire near or on top of a tree trunk. I myself haven't heard any name other than Pinuntuan.

⁴ [footnote 1, p. 332] In West Peling the *duanga topulu* (*duanga* 'vessel.' *topulu* a sea cucumber, *Holothuria edulis*) is spoken of in a myth. This ship ran ashore on the mountain of Lipu Babasal while the earth was still covered all over with sea. Then a woman came out of this vessel, who formed the first human couple.

shaken by an earthquake, [p. 333] they should climb into the vessel because in that case the flood would come the following day. They should take along food for fourteen days. The flood came, the vessel was lifted upward, the rattan held out, and when the water had sunk again the couple landed back on Pinuntuan.

The other story says that the earth was full of people, as the Lord of heaven did not allow them to die. When the people had grown old, they laid off their old skin and continued their life totally rejuvenated. Finally there were so many people on earth, that they walked in each other's way. Then the goddess of the earth came in the appearance of a hornbill in order to bring an end to this untenable situation. From all the inhabitants of the earth there was only one couple that attached belief to the announcement of the bird that the people would be destroyed. This couple made a proa, through which they were saved when the flood came. The vessel was led higher and higher by the rising water until it reached the residence of *Pilogot mola*, the Lord of heaven. He put shrimps before his visitors; but the people didn't want to eat them. Then he gave them bananas, and they ate this. This is the reason why the people, who inhabited the earth after that, don't throw off their skins anymore like shrimps and continue life rejuvenated (according to the representation of these folks), but that they die like the banana tree when young sprouts have sprouted up at its foot. With this, the danger was averted that later on there should be another 'clearing away' of people.

The couple saved from the flood had two daughters and a son. Their parents worried themselves as to how things would turn out if brother and sister married each other; certainly there would come another catastrophe. In order to prevent this they decided to take their children to different places. They had their son live on the mountain of Tolimbang near [p. 334] the village of Molino; one of the daughters was placed on the mountain of Ue Batang near Eting; and the other one was assigned the mountain of Siapa near Lalipoa as a residence.

It didn't take long until the couple had another three children, this time two sons and one daughter. When they had grown up, the parents sent their daughter to the mountain of Tolimbang without telling her that the young man living there was her brother. When brother and sister met each other, they married and no calamity came forth from the incestuous engagement, because they didn't know that they were brother and sister. The same thing happened with the two sons, who were sent to their sisters on Ue Batang and Siapa. These couples became the ancestors of the people in Lamala, and the inhabitants of the village communities still consider the named mountains to be holy places where the ancestors continue to live as spirits, *pilogot*. Every time when they want to undertake something important, especially when they want to make a journey, *pilogot* are called and asked to give prosperity and bring the traveler home safely.

For the inhabitants of the Balantak district the holy mountain is situated near the former village of Gobee. The traditions of these people show a remarkable correspondence with those from Lamala, which the same descent of both parts of the *sian* people speaks about. In the first place the name of the place of the tribe: Kau Totolu, 'the three trees,' is reminiscent of the three trees that grew on the holy mountain of Pinuntuan

near Mantok. The first couple was let down there from heaven in a big ceramic pot (*tampayan*), which indicates influence from outside. This couple, which lived in Kau Totolu, had one son and two daughters. The son was a very cheerful child, who already walked when he was only one month old. He married one of his sisters (here the tradition [p. 335] is elaborated less than in Lamala). Within a short time the number of people had grown to 300, because none of them died. But through this quick increase people quarreled a lot and everyone followed his own way, because there was no leader who could say how it should be.

In order to bring an end to this disorder, a large family council was convened, where a leader was to be chosen. But it didn't come to that and instead they decided to break up. The people divided themselves into four parts: one stayed in Kau Totolu (Gobee); another part went to Pinotua, which is situated between Gobee and the present village of Talima; the third part went to Tana Tuu 'real land,' which lies near Gobee of the sea-side; and the last group moved to Dale-dale at the sea, the present village of Balantak (Dale-dale is said to mean 'healthy region'). This last part secluded itself fairly quickly from the others, which was not a great surprise, as inhabitants of the beach soon develop a different character than inlanders, and this process is accelerated by strangers who come and settle among them. That is the reason why the first three parts of the tribe call themselves *mian Bense*, while the folks from the village of Balantak are called *mian Dale*. The last ones spread along the coast to Teku, Pangkalaseang, Dondo and Raung. The *mian Bense* partly made off downward too; their main establishments were Talima and Tongke on the coast (*bense* would—according to Becking—mean 'mother village' or 'collection of houses').

The dispersion of the members of the tribe, however, did not avail much for the purpose with which it had been undertaken, because the number of people increased again as quickly as before, because they didn't die; quarrels were the order of the day. They robbed each other's wives and nobody did justice. Then the flood came, as has been described above, and made an end to the [p. 336] abuse. The only people who survived from the flood were a mother with two children, a boy and a girl. They stayed on the mountain of Singkul near Talima. This woman was called Sinongki; her children married each other and they became the ancestors of a new human race.

It is clear that there is a lot of confusion and that at least two traditions have been mixed up, as happens so often among primitive people. The division into four clans has to come after the flood, of course.

The ruler of Banggai

In Lamala they even have the rajah of Banggai come from Balantak. They tell: after the earth was peopled again, they once kept a great offering feast in the tribal village of Pinuntuan (*sumawi*). An angry spirit (*mena*) made for the sound of the drums and gongs, which were beaten at the priest's dance (*omosulen*). This monster had nine heads, and it ate all the people in the village except one woman, who succeeded in hiding herself in one of the drums.

Then one a time there came a man, called Mata u Eo. He was very surprised that not one living soul was to be found in the whole village. So he beat on one of the drums, assuming that the people in the vicinity would make for this sound. But a voice sounded from inside the drum: “Don’t do that because it hurts me!” After that the woman appeared. She told what had happened and requested Mata u Eo not to beat on the drum, otherwise the *mena* would come again. The foreigner, however, kept drumming and it didn’t take long until the spirit with the nine heads came out. In his attack Mata u Eo cut off one of his heads, but the monster did not desist. In every attack he lost one head, until it was dead. Then the stranger married that woman, and [p. 337] begot a son through her, who received the name of Sembelengon (*sembelengon* is the name for ‘afterbirth’ in Banggai).

In this story we immediately recognize the tale of Sese nTaola among the Poso Toraja.⁵ This story contains various traits which characterize it as a sun myth. This is further confirmed by the name of the hero in the Balantak story; they couldn’t tell me what his name means, but *eo* is ‘sun’ in Bare’e (*ilio* in Balantak) and *mata u eo* is the sun disk. That here we are dealing with the sun will appear from what follows too.

Sembelengon became the ruler of Banggai. Once he went to the field with his wife and left his son behind under the care of the nurse. He instructed her: “Make sure that the boy doesn’t stick his hand into that water barrel over there.” This barrel was full of ‘gold water.’ Once, when the nurse didn’t notice, the boy stuck his hand into it and it was covered with a coat of gold. The nurse tried to wipe it off, but the gold water crept further and further over the arm and body of Sembelengon’s son and finally his whole body was covered with it and he had become a nugget of gold.

Sembelengon was so grieved at the loss of his son that he didn’t want to be ruler anymore. Now everyone looked for a rajah, but it didn’t go well with any of them who were appointed. In their despair the people finally appointed the cat, which walked around in the royal palace, as ruler. Then the people besought Sembelengon to be willing to be a rajah again. He accepted this under the condition that they would take good care of his son, who had become a nugget of gold, and that they would render him the necessary honor. This [p. 338] happened: the gold was wrapped in cloths of red cotton and honored as *balakat* (Malay *berkat*), ‘beneficial.’ In the report that I gave of “De Vorsten van Banggai” in the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, still other traditions about these *balakat* of Boneaka can be found.

One of Sembelengon’s brothers was called Lubange; he is said to have stayed in Balantak.

⁵ [footnote 1, p. 337] *Laolita i Sese nTaola*, published by Dr. N. Adriani. The text can be found in *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, volume 51, 2nd part; introduction and translation in *ibid.* volume 55, 1st part).

The leaders of the country

The leaders of the mian Balantak are of foreign origin. In Lamala they can still tell you, that a *kapitan laut* from Banggai, called Saribulan, came to Mantok in order to marry. His son Pomali was buried there. The descendants of these foreigners became the leaders, *tonggol*. Formerly there were *tonggol* in Mantok, Kalimbang, Molino, Sualangen Bolobak. Later on three of them received the title of *pau basal* ‘child of the big one,’ in the sense of ‘little *basal*,’ the usual title for distinguished leaders in the Banggai archipelago (both words *pau* and *basal* are Banggai). So they had: *pau basal na tano Bense* ‘the *pau basal* of the country of the Bense’ in Mantok;⁶ *pau basal na lipu sambira* ‘the *pau basal* of half the village,’ in Molino; and the *pau basal Sualang* in the place of the same name.

In the east part of this country they had leaders of foreign origin too, which appears from the names that denote that they were Moslem and therefore did not come from Banggai. Old myths were connected with their arrival. Likewise they tell that the *sangaji* from the village of Balantak and the hinterland are descended from a certain Sukurunan, a man who [p. 339] descended from heaven among the present-day Batu Biring. This Sukurunan, Becking tells, must have had the gift of self-fertilization and bearing children, because he had a son and a daughter without marrying, called Adam and Latima, who married later on and had nine children. From these children there are known: Sowoali, first leader; Tutu Sapma was *bolian* (shaman); Mohammad, whose descendants embraced Islam; Aru Malulu planted trees; Bagina Ali did the heavy work; Sawalina became the second leader; and Aajawali became the third leader.

Tribute for the rajah of Banggai

From of old people acknowledge the ruler of Banggai as their lord. This is self-evident to the mian Balantak, “because he is related to us.” In the east of the country the *sangaji* in the village of Balantak, who probably soon embraced Islam or who was already a Moslem as a stranger, became his representative. In the west, where the inhabitants didn’t have any establishments at the sea, the ruler appointed a stranger as *sangaji* in Lombok. When the ruler considered the time having come for paying the tribute (*ruru*), he sent the *kapitan laut* to the mainland of Celebes. He applied respectively to the *sangaji* from Balantak and Lombok and they in their turn sent someone to the *tonggol* in the inland in order to inform him that the tribute should be collected. On their trip into the interior the messengers used a joint of bamboo, which they blew on as a trumpet. Such an object is called *popuukon*. When the population, which lived spread out, heard this sound, they knew there was something to do and that they had to make their way to the leader. [p. 340]

⁶ [footnote 1, p. 338] The clan of Bense obviously stretched out further to the west than one would conclude from the traditions. Unless the title means that the *pau basal* in Mantok possessed power over the Bense clan, who lived in the east of the country.

On behalf of the ruler, the *tonggol* was informed as to how many piculs⁷ of wax and how many piculs of husked rice the lord of the country expected to receive from this region. The *tonggol* divided this quantity among the families so that everyone knew how much he had to bring in. The families were divided into groups according to the number of able-bodied men, which every family counted. Those which consisted of several able-bodied men were called *bababu*, those with few *sunduki*. The former had to pay more than the latter. The ratio was given as five and three. For Lamala, the tax on beeswax amounted to one picul, on husked rice 300 *usoki*. The *usoki* is a measure, which is manufactured from the leaf-sheath of the sago palm, in the form of a carrying basket (*basung*). An *usoki* contains six *gantang*; the *gantang* is a measure made of a large type of bamboo; it is one span in length and can contain about one and a half to two kilograms of rice. A carrying basket (*basung*) is counted to contain two *usoki* or twelve *gantang*. Such quantity is then called one *otutuan*. The total rice tax therefore amounted to the not insignificant quantity of about 3150 kilograms or fifty piculs.

The members of the village community took everything together to their leader, from where it was carried to the *sangaji* in Lombok and Balantak. When everything was ready, three proas were fitted out; every village or rather community had to supply one rower. Most of the time the *sangaji* went and took the tribute to Banggai himself. If he was unable to go, he had one of the *pau basal* go in his place. When there was something special to discuss in the capital, one or more of the Balantak leader went along too.

When they arrived in the capital, they first stayed at the *jougugu*'s, then at the *panabela*'s or *hukum tua*'s, and finally at the *kapitan laut*'s, under whose guidance the tribute was taken to the residence of the ruler. This did not happen until about three days after they arrived in Banggai. [p. 341]

Also in the case where a death had occurred in the ruling family, the *kapitan laut* crossed over to Balantak in order to make an imposition. In addition *kain*⁸ was divided among the population; ostensibly it was sold, but in actuality twice as much rice was asked for it as the cotton was worth; this last thing is denoted with the Malay word *tolongan* 'help.'

Their own leaders, *pau basal* and *tonggol*, took a small part of the tribute and paid themselves. Furthermore, every member of the village community, both men and women, worked on their fields one day during the rice year. When they judged matters, they received a part of the fines which were inflicted; this is called *uduraa*. The leader was also helped by the people when his house was erected, and when any calamity or death happened to him in the family, they rendered help in different ways.

⁷ [Editor's note: A picul is a shoulder-load, sometimes given an exact value of 137 pounds.]

⁸ [Editor's note: Malay *kain* literally means 'cloth,' but as used in this document it specifically refers to pieces of cloth which had a recognized value in trade.]

They claim that there were no slaves from their own people. A mian Balantak would have never been sold, and they never allowed it to come that far, that someone had to be sold to a stranger because of his debts. They did come and sell mian Sea-sea from the island of Peling in this country; however they were not called 'slave,' although they know the word for it, *ata*. They called the ones bought 'child,' and they were taken into the family totally. The price for a person was given to me as sixty reales or sixty copper plates (*dulang*).

The spread-out living of the population

On the sketch maps which were made by the patrol commanders who first surveyed the country after the occupation by the government, one reads a lot of names of 'villages.' A couple of old people told me that in that old time there was no talk of village, i.e. collections of [p. 342] houses. Where the *pau basal* or the *tonggol* stayed, there stood about three to six houses, but for the rest of it the people lived spread out family-wise over their fields. So we have to speak of village communities, which call themselves after the place where the leader lives. And furthermore every piece of the land had its own name. The borders of the area of such a village community are well-determined by brooks, mountain ridges and other peculiarities of the land. Within those boundaries the members of the clan could freely lay out their fields, but outside of it, only with the permission of the leader and the elders of the community to which the terrain belonged.

This spread out living was according to the testimony of the people themselves the reason why they had to suffer so much from the Tobelorese pirates. These folks penetrated into the country and killed and robbed the people, without the field complex a little further on noticing anything about it. They can tell you how these Vikings shot with bow and arrow, and perhaps this is the only reason that they became familiar with this weapon. They know its name, *bokasan* (not *bakasan*), but I have not found anything which could indicate that even in the old times they used bow and arrow. They don't even know it as a children's toy. According to their claims, the mian Balantak have never fought against any other people apart from the Tobelorese.⁹ [p. 343]

Not until after the Dutch Indies Government had come and put things in order did real villages come into existence, at first in the mountains. Gradually they have come and established themselves on the coast. Names like Molin, Mantok, Binutik, Eting, which formerly were placed in the interior, can now be found on the coast. Mantok has become one with Sobol. Kalimbang is still divided: one half of the population lives on the beach, the other still lives in the mountains. Both halves are by themselves too small in order to

⁹ [footnote 1, p. 342] They could tell me about one inland fight, namely of the inhabitants of Mantok against those from Basama. They couldn't say what the motive for that war was; it must have been a contest between the leaders (*tonggol*) of both of those places. The two parties were used to meeting each other on a place which is still called Asa'an, i.e. place where one grinds, because there is a stone on which they sharpen their swords before they pass on to the attack. This war took three years and ended with the death of Umporon, the *tonggol* of Basama.

justify the foundation of a school, so that these people, who formerly had a school of their own, should now lack one. In the long run the inland will be depopulated and the people will have concentrated together only on the coast.

Building houses

Since the people did not have a fixed house in the ‘village,’ but settled where they had their fields, and since these fields as a result of overcropping were laid out on a different plot every year, setting up a new house was a job returning nearly every year for the mian Balantak. If someone set up a house, he first had to convince himself whether the place where he wanted to do that was good and that it didn’t have any evil hidden within itself, since it would reveal itself later on. In order to determine this, he stuck a piece of wood into the ground that he had cleared of weeds and shrubs so as to be able to start building. He addresses the stick in the following way: “If I shall die on this spot, I shall have a dream tonight; if I shall not die here, I won’t dream.” Then he ties a piece of rattan around his left ankle; he does this, he says, so that his soul (*santuu*) won’t withdraw from his body and wander about, because everything the soul experiences and sees, his master will dream. This asking for a sign is called *montotol*. [p. 344]

He allowed not allowed to pull his leg up in terror during that night (this is called *pongkodi*). If this should befall him, then he should look for another place in order to build his house. The stick, which is planted on that spot, is not removed until the house is erected.

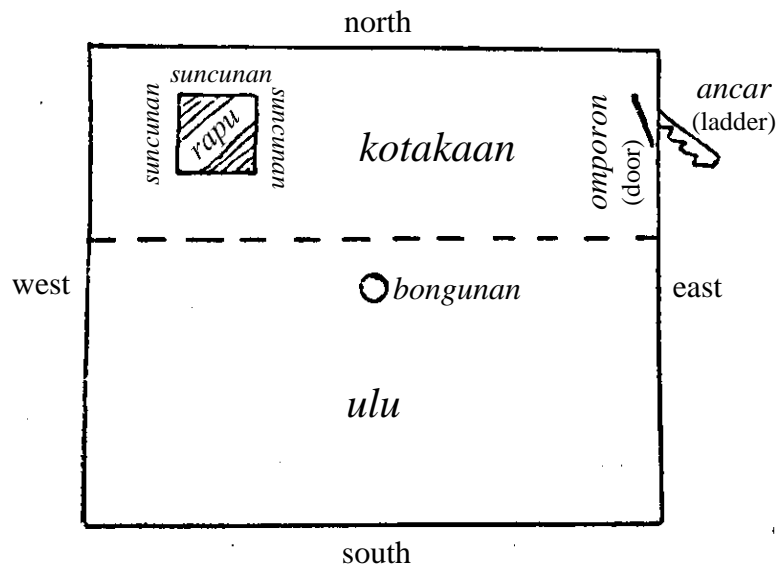
If the night passes along dreamless, he collects the necessary wood. For their houses they are not allowed to use wood of trees that climbing-plants and lianas have wrapped themselves around, because in that case the spirits (*din*) would always cause the people who live in the house to be ill. Trees which are obstructed in their fall by lianas and other trees are also left unused. No sacrifices are brought to trees which the people want to cut down for building their houses, because all trees upon which they think to notice something special are kept untouched.

When the necessary wood has been collected, they start erecting the house. First a hole is dug for the middle pole, the *bongunan*. In this hole they lay a small package containing scraps of lead and copper and some beeswax. Nobody could tell me why specifically these things are put into it. Metals are often used as to increase the vital strength of man in a magical way and to avert bad influences. The lead can be meant to make the house ‘heavy,’ i.e. to let it be solid. Wax is in most cases used for ‘sticking’ something, either in order to attach the soul of the inhabitants to the house, so that it won’t go away, or (and this is more likely) in order to have the parts of the house stick together, and to make the house solid with it.

The people were not used to helping each other in erecting a house, perhaps a result of the fact that they lived so far away from each other. But sometimes they hired someone, who was an expert in building houses, and who gave guidance to the different jobs of the housemates. [p. 345] Such a person received as a reward two bunches of rice per day.

The old houses consisted of one big room. The roof beam was laid east-west. The staircase, *ancar*, a tree trunk with an odd number of notches was located on the east or west side and always to the side of it, thus near the long side of the house. On that side

along the whole length they had a broad porch on the other end of which was placed the hearth. On this porch, which carries the name of *kotakaan*, guests were received, and there the household discussions took place. The floor of the remaining part of the house was higher than that of the porch. There one could find the living room and sleeping room of the family. There was no wall between the *kotakaan* and *ulu*, as the



Floor plan of a Balantak house

raised part is called. This space is not even subdivided during the night by means of mats or fuya cloth; the little children sleep in the back of the house with the parents; the bigger ones more in the direction of the door. Only in big houses people sometimes constructed a fixed room, called *olis*, but it wasn't used for sleeping; rather it served as a place to put the offering plates for the household spirits and to store all kinds of goods.

The space round about the fireplace, *rapu*, carries the name of *suncunan*. They only stayed there for cooking and warming themselves at the fire during cold nights. They ate on the *ulu* when there were no guests. The floor, *dasar*, was always made of flattened *pering* bamboo, which was otherwise split into slats; the walls were made of the [p. 346] leaf stalks of the sago palm (*kumbaal*; the wall is called *bombong*). The door, *omporon*, consisted of the same material. Often a ceiling, *parawawo*, was laid into the house.

Houses of this form are not made anymore, unless as huts in the field. Everywhere in the villages one now sees houses in the Minahasan style among those who have embraced Christianity, while the Moslems prefer the more closed Buginese houses.

When the hearth is made, the space set apart for it is covered with *bu'ese*-leaves, after which soil is poured on it; the number of baskets that they use is not counted. This is the last thing that they do to the house, because in the evening of the following day fire is made in the fireplace and the family settles in the new house. The fire may not be brought over from another dwelling, but must be made new. They know different ways of making fire. When a spark from flint and steel is caught on a bit of sugar palm tinder (*baru*), this

is called *kaluli*. A flint and steel of *Bambusa longinodes* (*kambangan*) with a piece of a porcelain bowl, is called *lean*. Fire-making with a saw, for which they use the same type of bamboo on top and on the bottom, is called *mongkokor*. For a fire drill they use *saro* wood, both for the spindle as well as for the hearthboard which is bored on. This is called *momiol*.

If it is an ordinary house they move into, no festivities will take place. But if a larger house is inaugurated, such as a house of more wealthy people, many family members are invited to come and help bring over the possessions and the food set apart for the meal, because everything must be brought into the house as a single affair, after which a meal takes place. On this occasion the offering plates [p. 347] for the household spirits are carried over too. Some of the blood of the chickens that are slaughtered for the meal is brushed on all the joists of the house in order to make it solid.

The furniture is placed in the house too. Apart from the pillow (*tangonan*), which is filled up with dry banana leaves or corn silk, and the sleeping-mat (*ampas*), the furniture consists mainly of earthenware pots (*kuren*) and other eating utensils and baskets. Of the latter they have quite a few. The one used most is the *basung*, a basket in the form of a truncated cone, made from the leaf sheath of the sago palm; it is carried with a pair of carry straps over the shoulders on the back. They have them in all sorts of sizes. Dr. W. Kaudern gives a description of them with pictures in his book *I Celebes Obygder*, volume II, p. 263. From a decoration with black threads (probably a climbing-fern which the Poso people call *paka*), that he notices on the back of one of the baskets, he thinks he sees a remainder of a different way of applying the carry straps, as is still usual in Mongondow. It is more likely that this is an expression of artistic sense; in Poso the same sorts of baskets, which there are called *baso*, are often provided with this *paka* and with red-colored rattan with decorations.

Other baskets are *tauale*, a short square basket made from rattan; this one can be made considerably bigger by placing a rain mat (*tindung*) in it, so that the loading space becomes bigger. *Karandang* is a large basket made of rattan; the *kai* is the Poso *kayu*, a carrying basket made of rattan with a bottom and three sides. By placing sago leaf sheaths one can give an enormous size to this carrying apparatus. This basket is used exclusively by men. The *buntong* is a basket, the frame of which has been covered with coconut fibers. The *doson* consists of bamboo stakes that are connected to each other by means [p. 348] of rattan in the form of a fishing-trap. These are especially used for conveying dammar. All these baskets are carried on the back.

For use around the house they have smaller baskets, like the *ponang* made of rattan; and baskets with lids for storing husked rice, like the *kaile*, which is made of the bark of *Maranta dichotoma*.

Theft and its adjudication

One result of the spread out living of the population must have been that formerly little use was made of the leader's jurisdiction (*pau basal*, *tonggol*). Because they didn't

have a lot of contact with each other, crimes didn't happen a lot. Lesser offenses were settled among each other. This included, in the first place, thefts, which, incidentally, did not happen very often according to people's testimonies. The rule was that when someone had stolen something and the thief was caught, he had to give back double the value of what had been stolen. If someone for example had taken someone else's machete, then he had to give it back and in addition another machete. What is added to what has been stolen is called *obulus*.

Stealing rice was handled in the same way. If only a few bunches had been stolen, then for *obulus* not the same amount was asked, but less. It is as if they excuse taking away a little rice and do not consider it very bad. This is certainly connected with the custom which they have on the Banggai archipelago and in many parts of Celebes, that someone, who passes along a field or a coconut tree, is free to take from the grain, the cucumber and coconuts so as to allay his hunger, provided he doesn't take that much, so that he makes a load of it that he takes home. For that reason, taking away several bunches is punished more severely, not with *obulus*, [p. 349] but with inflicting a fine (*motaro*): four plates, eight yards of *balasu* cotton, one kain, and one hen. What was stolen had to be returned. The hen is slaughtered in order to reconcile the rice-goddess, *burake'na pae*, who otherwise would make the owner of the rice ill from anger over what had been stolen from her rice. To that purpose blood from the hen is brushed on the forehead of the person robbed and his family (*mangarara'i*).

If the thief could not pay the fine inflicted, his family helped him with it. If they were not able or willing to do that, the matter was discussed with the leader, *tonggol*. Often he helped pay the fine and persuaded the person harmed to be satisfied with a lower fine. Several folks have assured me, that no mian Balantak had ever been sold because of his debts, as has been remarked above. If the culprit could not pay, they often dropped the whole issue in order to require it later on from his children or grandchildren.

If someone was accused of a theft, and he denied having done it, it became a lawsuit. Most of the time it ended with holding a trial by ordeal, and this could only be ordered and arranged by the leader.

For holding a trial by ordeal the members of the whole village community came together at a deep spot in the river. "*Pilogot* up there, who have created human beings (man) and have engraved their traits, look down (*sisiron*) upon us. *Pilogot* down here, who carry the human beings and punish them, look up (*lelengea'on*) to us." Thus are the opening words with which the deities are invoked. Then they are informed as to who accused whom of what and their intervention was called to indicate who was right. After that for every party one man dived into the water, who while doing that held on to a stick planted in the bottom of the basin. At such an occasion there was always a lot of [p. 350] excitement and tension. They believed that the one who dived under for him who was wrong, would not be able to hold out a long time, because this pressed him in his nose and mouth.

Thus those who were involved in the matter did not submit themselves to the trial by ordeal of diving (*mengkakiop*), but they hired people for that, whom they knew of, that they had ‘a long breath.’ The pay they received for that consisted of a couple of plates or three yards of inferior cotton (*balasu*). If the accused was found to be guilty in this way, then he had to pay the fine which had been levied on the crime he was accused of. If it turned out that the accuser had accused the other falsely, then he was fined for that, *motaro*. Sometimes it was agreed upon beforehand by both parties how much each one would pay, if the other one turned out to be right. Making such an agreement is called *batangka*.

Apart from diving they are familiar with *mensingkom besi* too; here the accused should hold a piece of glowing iron; if the palm of the hand didn’t get any burns, the accused was considered innocent. Other divine judgment like casting spears, sticking one’s hand into boiling water and the like are not known to them.

In order to prove their innocence, they quickly pronounced a curse over themselves, which would be realized, if they were guilty. They don’t have a name for this. The fixed expression used for this is: “Heaven and earth may crush me to death between them if I have done it.”

Usually they don’t know who it was, who took something away. They try to determine this by auguring, *momulos*. Especially *momulos na ikiran* ‘auguring with a rice winnowing basket’ is used for this. A rope is fixed to the rim of the winnow, while the other end of it is held by the questioner (medium). He asks whether A took the missing properties. If the winnow [p. 351] doesn’t move, the investigation is continued: “Perhaps B has done it?” In every question the name of someone is mentioned, who had already stolen something earlier, or whom they consider able to do this for one reason or another. At a certain point the winnow lifts itself up and taps on the floor when a particular name is mentioned, which movement is repeated a couple of times. This is evidence that the person mentioned is the culprit indeed. The medium has to hold the rope tightly, because according to the information given, the winnow sometimes flies up wild and hits against one of the bystanders (not the one mentioned).

A way of making the thief unhappy is the *mongoolung*. To that purpose they need someone who understands the art. In his work the practioner uses a bowl filled to the brim with water; he covers it with a cloth of white cotton and calls the soul of the thief. Not long after that, they say, a human eye becomes visible on the surface of the water; if it lies near the right wall of the bowl, the thief is in the neighborhood; if they see it on the left side of the bowl, he lives further away. If they don’t want to make the thief unhappy, the magician strews some chalk on the eye. If after one or two days they meet someone with eyes hurting, he is accused of having taking away what is missing. If the magician sticks a needle into the eye that has appeared on the surface of the water, the thief will become irretrievably blind.

If someone was hurt in an accident, three hens and one dog should be given: the former were sacrificed to the domestic deities (*pololo*’) and other spirits (*mangawauwau*)

in order to invoke their protection, so that the wound may heal soon. The dog was killed in order to *mampepas*, that is nullify the result of the influences that work magically (in this case: having the dog ‘take away’). That someone wounds his fellowman is never [p. 352] indeliberate or accidental, but the result of a necessity, aroused by the release of a magical force. In addition, the person who inflicted the wound had to nurse the wounded person and give him medicines until he had recovered.

In case of homicide, the expenses of the funeral are borne equally by the killer and the dead person’s family.

*Preparing fuya*¹⁰

In olden times the mian Balantak were thrown totally on their own resources for providing themselves a house, furniture, and clothing. As far as the last is concerned, this was formerly made of beaten bark. Beating the fuya is called *momonutu*. The beating plank, which is supported on both sides by a piece of banana stem or a block of wood, is called *taanan*. The beating was women’s work. Here we can talk in the past, because they don’t do this anymore, except perhaps here and there in remote places.

For fuya the bark of these trees was used: *gonggolon*, *torop*, and *ua* or *ree*.¹¹ The outer bark is scraped off with a machete, after which the bast is laid into the water in order to ferment in order to be beaten afterwards. When beating, a woman sits in front of the shelf with her legs stretched out and stuck underneath. First the bast is beaten soft with a round wooden club with notches, called, *popool* or *pansali*. Then it is worked with stone hammers, which have been provided with lengthwise grooves, so that the weak fibers of the bast won’t tear apart from each other. Nearly everywhere on Celebes, [p. 353] where the preparation of fuya has not disappeared from memory, these stone hammers are used and they are called *ike* everywhere, alongside other descriptive names (Kaudern gives pictures of *pansasali* and *ike* in his book, p. 102, volume II, p. 262). In Balantak people had bought these hammers, but they don’t know whom they bought them from or where they came from. There were not many in the country, so that the women borrowed them from each other.

When the bast had been beaten out into broad pieces, these were dried. In order to make them flexible, they were crumpled up and again worked with the club. None of the trees mentioned is planted; they grow in the forest. The fuya they got from each of them is different in fineness. Headcloths were made from the finest sorts; the coarser sorts served for jackets (*badu*; a woman’s jacket is *bakata*), sarongs (*baakan*), loincloths (*ara*) and

¹⁰ [Editor’s note: The term *fuya*, widely used across Sulawesi for ‘bark cloth,’ is a corruption of Minahasan *wuyang* ‘woman’s skirt of bark cloth.’]

¹¹ [footnote 1, p. 352] Dr. W. Kaudern, who tells something about beating fuya in Balantak in his work mentioned earlier on, volume II, pp. 260–261, also mentions three trees, but not the *gonggolan*. Instead he gives the *ree* and the *ua*, which he calls *wowua*, perhaps wrongly interpreted from *kau ua*, as two different trees.

blankets (*puman*). Fuya is generally called *baakan*, like the woman's skirt, which was made of it.

When all the work on the field was finished and the rice ears started coming up, a woman settled down to preparing her clothing material. When the rice had become ripe, she let this work rest and exchanged the beating hammer for the rice-cutting knife.

Forging

People say they have known the art of forging, *umutu*' (compare *momonutu*' for 'beating fuya'; Bare'e: *tutu*, Javanese, Malay, *tutuk* 'stamping') from of old. It is possible that they learned the art from others, but any memory of that has disappeared. This art didn't go further than forging machetes, swords, spear tips and the like. In Mantok there are no blacksmiths, they told me, but they are found in Binutik and Kalibambang.

The blacksmith, *pande*, has his pair of bellows, *busaan* (the pistons are the *pombusa*), set up in a hut that [p. 354] carries the name of *tutukan*. There one can find the anvil, *tandasan*, too. They don't know the actual oven with the erected stones, such as is found among e.g. the East Toraja. A fire of charcoal is made in a slight excavation in the ground in front of the pair of bellows, which discharges into a pipe of stone or baked clay, called *soongan*. The fire is blown by the air that the pair of bellows presses through the *soongan*. This open fire where the iron is heated is called *pontunuan*.

The pair of bellows consists of two tubes made of a heavy type of bamboo; the pistons which move up and down in it are two round blocks of wood, to the rims of which a large number of pieces of cotton¹² have been attached. These pieces let the air pass through when the piston is lifted up, but close it off when the piston is lowered.

For tools the blacksmith has his hammer, *ponutuk*, and his pair of tongs, *asip*. When someone requests the smith's help, he has to provide the charcoal and reward him with rice. From the time that the ears of the rice appear until after the end of the harvest, forging is not allowed. No ceremony is held in the smithy. Nothing of the application of iron as medicine or of fear of its mysterious force has come to my ear.

Hunting

In olden times the people of Balantak were thrown back on their own resources for their maintenance. Within living memory their main food has been rice. I won't speak here about cultivation of rice and other food-stuffs. I will relay to the reader some things about that in this journal, in my article "De Rijstbouw in Balantak." I only mention here that the mian Balantak have never known the art of tapping palm wine from *Arenga saccharifera*. This indicates that these people have led an isolated existence for a long time. [p. 355]

¹² [Editor's note: Dutch *katoen*, presumably cotton cloth.]

Under normal circumstances these folk enjoyed meat only as far as hunting and fishing delivered something. Domestic animals (chickens, pigs, dogs, cats, and later on goats) were only slaughtered at special occasions (sacrificial feasts). Hunting was done a lot. Hunting is called *lumako*, which in other languages of Celebes means ‘walking.’ The people hunt with dogs, *aute*’ (my informants had never heard the word generally used on Celebes for ‘dog,’ *asu*). Dogs used to be inexpensive: for one *kain* they got a dog; sometimes animals that had already proved their bravery cost two *kain*.

When people bought a dog, the signs which the animal had on its body were noticed; they think that they can conclude from these whether it is brave and whether his master will have a lot of benefit from it. The bravest dogs are said to be those that have two nipples on the skin of the penis. In the same way when all the nipples of the dog don’t stand opposite each other in pairs, but form a zig-zag line when they are connected with each other, this is a sign of bravery. If all the nipples stand opposite each other in pairs except one pair, such a dog is called *aute*’ *kauri* ‘lefthand dog’: such a dog won’t catch many wild animals. Signs other than the position of the nipples are not noticed.

They also tell that in old times the palm civet, here called *aute*’ *alas* ‘forest dog,’ was used as a hunting dog. There is a story about a man who found a cub of such a civet and raised it. When it had grown up, he took it along when he went hunting and soon the animal became the leader of all dogs. Every time his owner went hunting the civet caught something, and more than once he killed the wild animals himself. Once his master was sick and the animal howled that they would take him along on the chase. But the man couldn’t get up. Then the animal became angry, bit his owner in the throat and killed him. [p. 356]

If someone had several dogs, there was always one in the group that preceded the others and inspired them through its example. Such a dog is the *tanaas* ‘predecessor.’ It gets the same food as the other dogs, but his owner distinguishes it above the other animals. It is said that such a *tanaas* doesn’t bark at the wild animals, but immediately pounces upon its prey. When such an animal that has brought his owner so much benefit dies, it is not simply placed under the ground like the carrion of other dogs, but the owner first wraps it up in a piece of cotton.

When one of the members of the family has gone hunting, the other housemates needn’t take notice of particular things so as not to spoil the hunter’s luck, as happens elsewhere. Dreams are often taken notice of: if someone sees something in his sleep which indicates misfortune, he won’t go out that day. If in the dream he carried a corpse to the grave, or brought along a *kolondion*¹³ fruit from the forest; if he has touched a woman’s breast in the dream or if he has split a sago tree in order to beat pith from it or if he has cleaved a coconut as to eat its meat, then if at all possible the man will go out the following morning, because his dream has told him that he shall be lucky. If, however, he dreams that he fights with someone and loses, the dogs will be afraid of the pigs and will

¹³ [Editor’s note: More correctly *kolundion*, a kind of palm tree.]

not be willing to attack. When in my dream I see a bunch of coconuts lying on the ground and I don't feel like taking them along; or I dream that I request something from someone, but that person refuses to give me what has been asked for, then it is better to stay at home, because in that case I won't catch any wild animals. Likewise when someone dreams that he carries a load of some article, e.g. pumpkins or cucumbers, and finds it too heavy and lays a part of it on the road.

If someone in the house becomes angry with [p. 357] a dog before he leaves home and curses the dog, e.g. by saying: "May a pig tear you up!" he has to postpone his intention to go hunting until the following day, because if he goes immediately the curse will be fulfilled. A dog should not be given toadstools (*tambata*) or peas¹⁴ for food, because through those it will lose its bravery. The same thing would happen if it was hit with a ladle.

When the hunter is on his way, he pays heed to the sound of the *tontongo* bird. If he hears it, he immediately goes back, because if he would go on and meet a pig, it would kill one of the dogs, or if this didn't happen, it would hurt the hunter. If the bird makes its sound heard during the night, near the spot where the meat of the hunting catch is roasted, they should indeed go out the following day, because then they will be lucky.

If the hunter has wandered around, spending a large part of the day in the wilderness without meeting a pig, there is nothing else except to return home and try again the following day. If something like that happens a couple of times in a row, it is clear to him that for one reason or another the spirits of the trees, *bela*, are angry with him; he then has to appease them with an offering of six chickens. This offering is brought onto the premises of the house. The mian Balantak don't know anything about a hunter's language.¹⁵

The disappointments during the chase give the hunter the feeling that he is dependent on the invisible powers, that are not well-inclined towards him, in this case the tree-spirits, that are called *bela*. This word means 'friend' as well and in order to keep in with these spirits, they bring them offerings. From time to time such an offering is brought into the forest, and at the end of it they return back home and do not go out hunting until the following day. For this offering, a plate is placed on [p. 358] the ground and on it a very simple figurine is laid, which is nothing more than a slat of a span in length, on one side of which a face and profile has been cut. This wooden statue is called *ata* 'slave,' and represents the personification of the hunter himself or of his accompanying spirit (*pololo*'). A cloth made of a peculiar texture is laid over the figurine. Such a cloth is called *motombing* and represents the personification of the human being or of his

¹⁴ [Editor's note: Dutch *erwtjes*, but one must wonder if beans are intended.]

¹⁵ [Editor's note: That is to say, a special register of the language used while hunting, see among others Grimes and Maryott (1994).]

substitute.¹⁶ Then the hunter calls the *bela*, offers them betel nut, and asks them to give a lot of prosperity in the chase. At the end of this simple ceremony he buries the statue in the ground and takes the plate and cloth back home.

Hunters tell a lot about people living in the forest; they are a kind of savage. A shaman (*bolian*) who hunts a lot claims that they have the same appearance as the mian Balantak, but their body is very hairy. Hunters only hear the sound of their voices, when they let their cries resound through the mountains. The people call them *mentailobo* and they are afraid of them. It once happened, they told me, that a hunter who had gone out on his own was found dead in the forest, the body being covered with scratches. This had been the work of the *mentailobo*. Among the objects which have played a role in the pagan public worship and had been handed in by those people, who had decided to become 'real Christians,' I found an object that very much resembled the tooth of a python; they told me that this was the tooth of a *mentailobo* that had been found in the forest.

Most of the time a hunter stays away for only one day, and returns to his home again towards evening. If he spends the night in the wilderness, he builds himself a [p. 359] small hut, which carries the name of *sa'u*. In erecting it no prescription whatsoever is taken notice of. forest

When the pig has been killed, the hunter lays his headcloth and his machete on the animal and speaks: "I buy this animal from him to whom it belongs." This is called *mancambongi* (perhaps the Bare'e *mancumbani*, see Adriani's *Bare'e-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* s.v. 'sumba'). After that he ties the headcloth again on his head and inserts the machete into the sheath. If the hunter is alone (not counting a child, that often accompanies him), he carries the booty home on his back. If they are two adults, they carry the animal between them hanging on a pole. Having come home (or into the hut), the pig is disemboweled and then laid on a fire in order to scorch its bristles. While the hunter turns the animal about from one side to another, he speaks: "Here I scorch the pig and his parents, brothers and sisters and children, I scorch all of them here." When the animal has been scorched and scraped, the brisket is cut out square and the lungs and liver are removed. Part of the meat is cooked in pots, another part is roasted above the fire on racks. When everything is cooked, a piece of liver is cut into small morsels: nine of those morsels are laid on the front side of the cutting block, *datalan*, six behind it, and three on top of it. Then the hunter calls the spirits of the trees, *bela*, and invites them to come and eat, and for which he asks them to give him an even bigger pig when he goes out hunting next time. This is called *mokiparawai* or *mokitarai*. Not until after bringing this offering they can enjoy the wild meat.

When eating the meat a number of prescriptions are to be observed. One is, not allowing to walk while eating from the catch, because then one would be visited by badly

¹⁶ [footnote 1, p. 358] I will inform the reader about *ata* and *motombing* in my article "The spirit world of the mian Balantak" in this journal.

suppurating wounds, *tamu*. The pork meat may not be served on a [p. 360] plate, but should always be served in trays made of sago leaf sheaths or in coconut shells. The meat may never be cooked together with anything else other than salt. The prohibition to use plates is based on this: all sorts of foods come on plates. All of this is *doso*, that is to say breaking these prohibitions will result in one not having luck the next few times on the hunt.

When several people go out hunting together, one of them is leader, *tanaas*. At the division of the catch, those who have dogs with them receive more from the catch than those members of the company who went along without dogs. Everyone who asks for it is given a piece of the catch; such a piece is called *posora*. Only the chin (*asi*), the sirloin (*buku bolo'an*) and the piece where the nipples can be found, may not be given to others, but its meat should be eaten by a hunter and his family. The jawbone is hung up near the open fire like a sort of trophy (originally probably to lure more wild animals).

On the chase they use the hunting spear; its blade is provided with a barb. Such a weapon carries the name of *durukan* or *kalait* (compare Malay *kait*); if it has a barb on both sides, it is called *tibat*. The blade of this spear is tied to the shaft by means of a strong rope but can be removed easily. When the blade pushes into the body of the animal, it lets loose from the shaft; the latter catches on trees and prevents the animal from running.

A second weapon which is often used is the blowgun, *soput*. As in other parts of Celebes it is manufactured of two joints of *Bambusa longinodes* which are equally wide and the partitions of which have been cut away; these are let into a wider bamboo tube of about two yards in length, the partitions of which have been pierced through and made equal with the wall. [p. 361] The darts are made of wood of a palm which very much resembles the areca and carries the name of *salampangana* 'false areca palm.' The darts are called *anak soput*; the tip of a dart is cut through halfway, so that it breaks off and remains in the body. In others, barbs have been cut out; these are called *belebelebeng*. These darts are kept in a bamboo quiver, called *pisolo* (Kaudern calls it *kades*—more correct *kadees*—but this is a case in which tobacco is kept). The tips of the arrows are provided with poison that has been prepared from the sap of the *gonggolon*, the same tree the bast of which they beat into fuya.¹⁷

In regard to this poison, I here copy the description which Mr. Becking gave of its preparation in his "Nota van Inlichtingen":

"The darts have each time been poisoned with the sap of the 'spuk' tree (*getah gonggolon*). The poison is called *upas* and is produced by making incisions in the bast of the tree, from which flows a milk-white sap. By cooking they have this sap coagulate and then it produces a kind of gutta-

¹⁷ [Editor's note: In that this tree is used for both bark cloth and poison, there can be little doubt that Balantak *gonggolon* is the antiar tree, *Antiaris toxicaria*.]

percha, which is brushed onto the tip of the dart. Before this takes place, they first mix the *getah* with the blood of a black caterpillar, the so-called *ular kayu*, which is called *kungkumie* here. The poison is extremely active and mortal. When a person is wounded, he gets severe fevers, the body turns black, and within a few hours life passes away. Sometimes the working is so strong that an animal wounded with it dies within fifteen minutes. When collecting this poison they wait until the tree is stout and mature and has lost enough of its leaves, because then the poison is strongest. The people claim that when the *getah* is not mixed with the *kungkumie*, the result won't be directly mortal, only the limbs and the muscles are paralyzed. Unmixed it is called *upas*, mixed *tomalas*. As antidote people use [p. 362] the roots of the *bayem utan*, the so-called red amaranth, mixed with mother's milk. This mixture is taken into the mouth as a pulp and is further mixed with the flesh of the head of a shrimp. The amaranth root mixed with mother's milk is already enough to avert the mortal working of the poison. However, in order to heal the wound totally mixing the medicine with the shrimp flesh is necessary. Furthermore, poison is made of a little fish, here called *onding*. This fish has the characteristic that it can blow itself up. If the poison is prepared from the genitals of the *onding*, then eating it is mortal too, which is not the case with the *upas* or *tomalas* poison, as this is only mortal in inflicted wounds." So far Mr. Becking.

It goes without saying that they know how to make traps and lay snares too. The *botikan* is the spring-lance. If the wild animal runs against a stretched rope, the spear shoots through its body, driven through by a tightened bar, which works like a spring and springs open when the rope is moved. The *talong* is a snare which is laid on the ground. In the middle of the snare they place a piece of wood that holds a pole stretched tightly bowed; by treading on this piece of wood the pole lets loose and as it stretches itself, it sends the snare and the animal along with it into the air. In another apparatus the pig runs against a clasp holding high a block of wood. The clasp lets loose and the block of wood falls on top of the animal. It is frightened and makes a jump forward, so that it runs into sharpened bamboo stakes, *ramba*, which have been set up there for that purpose.

Apart from wild pigs the anoa, *balulang*, is hunted too. Dr. Kaudern was told that this animal had disappeared from the area. One of my informants denied this and said that more than once he had caught an anoa with his dogs. The babirusa, here called *balangoan*, must have formerly been [p. 363] here, but it has been eradicated or it must have retreated, because the people don't encounter it anymore in the forests. Both marsupials, which are found here—the large one is called *kuse* and the small one *boloto*—are brought down with the blowgun. The meat of the python, *bintana*, and that of a sort of large frog, *depu*, is eaten; not mice. The deer, *donga*, has only recently (in the last couple of years) come into the area. One of my informants, a man in his fifties and a native from the district of Balantak, said that when he was still a boy there weren't yet deer in Balantak. In Mantok the first deer wouldn't have been seen until 1914 (?).

The Leader (*pau basal, tonggol*) could only assert hunting rights over the anoa. Of every dwarf buffalo that was captured, the hunter had to give 30 strips of meat to him. They didn't know land boundaries with regard to the chase; everyone could hunt wherever he wanted.

Naturally, the inhabitants of the mountains formerly did little fishing. If someone wanted to go to the sea and the night before he dreamt that he took betel leaves or bananas from the tree, he won't come back home empty-handed. When there is a halo around the moon, they say that there will come a lot of fish of a certain kind. In Malay this fish is called *tandipan*, in Balantak *busukan*. A lot of fish are stabbed with the fishing spear, which has three iron points.

Part II. The spiritual world of the mian Balantak

When we make acquaintance with the spiritual world of the inhabitants of Balantak, we quickly hear the word *pilogot*. In the east of Celebes, spiritual beings are also [p. 364] denoted with this name among the Banggai and Saluan people.¹⁸

Pilogot above

Pilogot mola stays in the sun and from there he looks down on mankind and another *pilogot* stays in the earth. When both of them are called, e.g. when making an oath, when holding a divine judgment, one says: "*Pilogot* up there, look downward (*sisiron*), *Pilogot*

¹⁸ [footnote 1, p. 364] In Tobelo on Halmahera we find this word back in *pilogutu* or *pilogutu ma tau*. A. Hueting thinks ("De Tobeloreezen in hun Denken en Doen," *Bijdragen* 78, 1922, pp. 186–187) that this word has come from Banggai to Halmahera, because the object which is denoted with it is from a foreign origin. "By it they understand primitive houses, a roof on four poles with a plank bridge in it, on which one finds: a shield, a machete, a lance and a drum; most of the time the weapons mentioned are wooden imitations of them. Usually there is found too: a man's head coarsely carved out of wood, very seldom hollowed with a cranium inside. The compartment is surrounded with palm leaves (*bilere*) and you always find a dish in it on which some incense is burnt fairly regularly. Intermittently a feast is celebrated for the spirit living in it on the occasion of which incense is burnt too, and food is offered in the normal way. They expect protection from this as well as healing in case of sickness, but it is used as a bad fetish too as to destroy persons." From this description, one would draw the conclusion that the *pilogutu* of the Tobelorese have a lot in common with *Balani* of the Banggai archipelago (see "De Zwarte Kunst in den Banggai-archipel en in Balantak," to be published in this journal).

The meaning, however, which they in these tribes attach to the spirits that are indicated by this name, is different. Among the inhabitants of the Banggai archipelago he is the patron spirit of the family ("De *pilogot* der Banggaiers en hun Priesters" in *Mensch en Maatschappij*); among the Saluan people he represents a more distinguished type of spirit, the ancestor of the family ("De To Loinang van den Oostarm van Celebes," *Bijdragen* 86, 1930, pp. 401 ff); among the people of Balantak they denote a higher spirit with it, namely the creator: *Pilogot mola*.

down there, [p. 365] look upward (*lelengea'on*); indicate which of these two men is right.”

When people speak only of *Pilogot*, they mean the one living in the sun. They also call him *Tumpunta* ‘he who possess us, our owner.’ *Pilogot* notices carefully what the people do. All evil that is committed is punished by him, especially making false oaths and committing incest. If the latter was still reconcilable, this was done by bringing an offering, called *monsimput gorong* ‘protecting the throat’ because the people believe that *Pilogot* cuts off someone’s throat as a punishment for such an evil, kills his children, or causes him disadvantage in some other way. *Pilogot* has given a patron spirit to every human being, called *pololo*’ about which more will be said later.¹⁹

Pilogot below

People don’t know how much about ‘*Pilogot-in-the-earth*.’ Some claim that there is only one *Pilogot*: *Pilogot mola* in the sun. An ex-priest told me: When *Pilogot mola* had made mankind, he had a spirit live in the earth too; this one is called *mian monsolung* ‘the one that carries’ (namely in a sling on the back, like one does with little children); this spirit carries the human beings and protects them against evil spirits and dangers.

Furthermore, they often talk about an old woman who lives in the earth and who has the name of *Kele*’ (*bangkele* and its variants in different languages of Celebes means ‘woman’). When still only a few people lived on earth, it often happened that brother and sister married with each other. When this happened for the first time, it started raining enormously and the earth cracked as a result of the [p. 366] incest committed. The first human beings were intensely frightened by this. Then *Kele*’ appeared from the earth and she told the inhabitants of the earth to slaughter a pig and put this in into the crack in the earth. When they had done this, the crack closed itself again and the rain stopped. Since then one always follows this custom after incest is committed.

Kele’ has a large pig, called *bokio’ ni Kele*’. When this animal ... itself²⁰ against one of the four posts on which the earth rests, the *potukon na tano*, a heavy earthquake takes place (*lili*). The people then shout: *Montong!* “Stop!” and *Taru!* “Beeswax!” This latter expression included the wish that the earth be as wax, sticking together, so that no cracks come about in it.

Kele’ is always introduced as a very old woman, who is favorably inclined towards mankind. Probably *Pilogot-in-the-earth*, *mian monsolung*, and *Kele*’ are one and the same person; but if one would ask the people after it, they say they don’t know.

¹⁹ [footnote 1, p. 365] An eclipse of sun or moon is called *sabakon*. When this happens, they think of a monster fish, *garongo*, in the atmosphere, that wants to swallow the sun or moon. Then they make a lot of noise so as to frighten the monster, and they call out: *Lua tumpu mai!* “Spit out our master!”

²⁰ [Translator’s note: By mistake the verb is missing in this clause.]

To these two principal deities, one a man, the other a woman, no particular sacrifices are brought. At the offering feasts which are held, *Pilogot mola* receives his share (they say), but this is not specially indicated. I haven't heard of offerings being brought to *Kele'*.

The name *Pilogot* is sometimes given to the spirits that live on the mountains of Tompotika and Pinuntuan too. The first is considered the ancestor of the people in the east part of Balantak, the second the one of the west part. They were defined with the name of *berkat* too, with which is meant spirits from whom special power and blessing go out (Malay *berkat*). The people didn't go in order to bring them offerings in their residence; but when they went out for a journey, they invoked their help beforehand; they did this too when dangers threatened, attacks from enemies (Tobelorese), or when sickness approached them. In Balantak one finds more such holy mountains, where the ancestral deity [p. 367] of a subdivision of the people was said to live, like the Tolimbang of the inhabitants of Molino, the Ue Batang 'river' at Eting and the Siapa at Lalipoa.

Burake

The lower spirits are regularly brought offerings. A category of them are the *burake*, a name which is generally used among the East Toraja; further to the west it disappears. In Balantak they indicate higher spirits with it. They live on high mountains. Once one of these mighty *burake* begot—in the old time, when the inhabitants of Balantak still lived in their tribal village Pinuntuan—twins with a woman, one of which was a human child, the other one a squirrel (*do'u*). When both had grown up, Do'u said: "I return to my father on top of the mountain." Then he disappeared. That mountain is the Tompotika, which is also called Keneng Kelang.

Burake stay on the beach, in mountains, in the sun. If someone has cut into a tree or into stones, which a *burake* chose to be its residence, it makes that person sick. He shall not be healed until the *burake* has been reconciled by offering a hen.

The spirits of the rice, who have their residence on the fields, are also called *burake*: *burake'na pae*. About these spirits something will be said in my article "De Rijstbouw in Balantak" in this journal.

The spirits of trees

Another category of spirits live in big trees, on which many orchids have settled; especially in banyan trees (*tamparang*) they keep their residence. They are called *sangke*; children especially have to be careful not to come too near these trees, because the spirits particularly have it in for them. (If this *sangke* has the same meaning as in Bare'e, it means 'catch in flight,' and this would then be said of catching the child's soul, through which the child becomes sick.) [p. 368]

Another sort of tree spirit is called *bela*, as among the East Toraja. These are especially important for the hunter, because they are the spirits that supply them the wild

animals. I have spoken about them in my article, “Some remarks about Balantak and its inhabitants” in this journal.

Earth spirits

Spirits live in the earth too. The best-known are the *tambolo tano*; but there are *teenak* and *burake tano* too. They cannot tell you what the difference between these types is. To these spirits pigs are sacrificed, which does not apply to the rice spirits or the numerous vague spirits that wander around and are called *din* after the Arabic *jin*; these are considered Moslems, because they have been taken over from foreigners. When mice threaten to destroy the crops, they say that these are the spirits of the dead, but nevertheless they entertain the belief that it is the *tambolo tano* who send these little animals; therefore an offering is brought to them, so that they will call back the quadrupeds.

Sacrificing to the spirits in general is called *mangawauwau*, which in general means ‘do something, make something’ (Loinang *mombau*). When they sacrifice to the spirits of the earth, rice and a chicken’s egg are laid on a leaf that has been spread out on the ground; meanwhile the spirits are spoken to (*moliwaa*) in order to make the wish of the people known to them.

Water spirits

More than once the earth spirits are worshipped together with the water spirits. For both of them dogs are slaughtered, when the priest has declared that one of them or both sorts have made someone ill. This only happened when the people have neglected offering to the water spirit (*din na weer* ‘water spirit’) when they planted sago near a pool or spring. If one finds such a pool or spring in the wilderness, it is said, that it was the goodness of the *din na weer* that lives there, which caused [p. 369] one to find the spot; the water spirit led the human being to it. If they want to plant sago there, they first have to make an offering meal, at which a pig, a goat, a big and small dog, and a number of chickens are slaughtered. Such a ceremony is called *mangarop din na weer*. There has to be a priest present in order to speak to the spirit (*moliwaa*). The goat and the chickens are slaughtered at home, but the pig and the dogs are for the water spirit (*tambolo tano*) that lives there, and of whom they say that it is malicious. The pig especially serves to ensure that the sago they will plant there will prosper well. They say that they slaughter the dogs so that the *tambolo tano* will eat the livers of the animals and not those of the people.

Sea-spirits are *din ndalangon*.

In the east of Central Celebes the rainbow is often brought into connection with the tree spirits. In Balantak, however, no special significance is attached to the rainbow (*tandalo*). At its appearance, for example, they don’t stop working, nor do they do this at the rumble of thunder, *gorung*. It is, however, inadvisable to point to it with a stretched finger, because then one would fall ill with a sickness called *tamu*, which makes one think of leprosy: here the fingers and the toes rot off the body. Only when on the sea do

they pay attention to the rainbow: if one appears, they look as quickly as possible for a safe harbor, because then a storm will soon break loose.

Tompudau and Balani

In Balantak we come across some names of spirits that we also encountered on the Banggai archipelago. For example they have *Balani* (Malay *berani* ‘brave, courageous, fiery’). These *balani* stay on the beach and in the forest. When the whole village march out of the mountains to the beach for the *mansa’ei* (*momosu’i*), the ceremony at which the rice spirits are given their departure so that they will return to their country on the other side of the sea, [p. 370] three *boyo*, bamboo tubes with rice, and three chickens are given to *Balani*. When people go into the forest in order to hunt and lay snares, they first offer to *Balani*, so that he won’t make the hunter ill.

Balani are male spirits that always carry a spear. When they want to punish someone, they throw the spear and then that person gets stinging pains. When a *balani* settles in a priest, he poses wildly, screams and fences around himself. He then calls through the mouth of the priest: “If you sacrifice to me, I will protect you with my spear, but if you are negligent, I will kill you with my spear!”

Exclusively dogs are sacrificed to *balani*. These are the only animals with which nerve cavities, that are found in the lower jaw, are augured. Consulting the lower jaw oracle of animals is an art of the priests on the Banggai archipelago. I have informed the reader to some extent about this in my article “De *Pilogot* der Banggaiers en hun Priesters” (in *Mensch en Maatschappij*). Here little sticks are stuck into the nerve cavities of the lower jaw of the sacrificial animal and from the position of these sticks something is concluded. This art of auguring is not developed among the mian Balantak as much as on the Banggai archipelago. It works like this: if one or both nerve cavities on the left side is curved, this means that the offerer will be buried soon; if this is the case with one of the cavities on the right side, the offerer will within a short time bury a family member. If a third cavity can be found near the two normal ones, this always has an unfavorable meaning, especially when this third cavity is found near the upper ridge of the jaw.

With such an unfavorable sign, it is always *Balani* that must be reconciled. In other words: the one so persuaded must with an offering avert the threatening [p. 371] danger, which has been found out about from the oracle. At the sacrificial feast for the household, it sometimes also appears from the investigation of the bowels of the sacrificed hen that *Balani* demands a dog.

In Banggai we have come to know of *Tompudau* or *Tompidau* as the god of the chase. Among the inhabitants of the islands just mentioned *Balani* and *Tompidau* have fixed residences near the houses of the people. This does not apply to the Balantak, as we have already seen with *Balani*. *Tompidau* wanders through the forests too, often accompanied (*mamarawi*) by *Balani*. Among the Banggai people a junction of these two spirits is found too. The *tompidau* are male and female creatures: *tompidau molane* and *tompidau baune*. The spirits of the forest, which have been mentioned above, are said to be slaves

of the *tompidau*. If a hunter repeatedly receives a lot of booty or he catches wild animals in his traps and snares without intervals, he has to give a feast of the same sort as the *mangarop din na weer*, described above for water spirits. At home, goats and chickens are slaughtered for *din na alas* ‘spirits of the forest,’ who, like the water spirits, are described as good and loving towards the people. By contrast pigs and dogs are killed in the forest for the male and female *tompidau* and for *balani*; the former so that they will keep on blessing, the latter so that they won’t have the hunter or the members of his family fall ill. They told me that they never wait long with such sacrificial feasts, out of fear that a disease will break out among the chickens, which would prevent the people from offering; and then the entire household would be made ill by *Balani*.

The mian Balantak know *Sama* too, who assures the Banggai people of a rich harvest of fish. Likewise for this spirit they don’t make a residence. When they return with a lot of fish from the beach into the mountain, they used [p. 372] to say: “*Sama* accompanied me.” At domestic sacrificial feasts this spirit is also sacrificed a hen. The fish eagle carries the name of *lain sama* ‘Sama’s wing.’

A priest who had embraced Christianity told me that the latter three types of spirits are not originally Balantak, but were taken over from the Banggai people. This is possible. Then they have lost their character of domestic gods and have become general gods. The words used for distinguishing the *tompidau* into male and female are *molane* and *baune* (in Banggai the words for male and female are *malane* and *boine*, Sea-sea: *moluko*; in Loinang: *mo’ane* and *boune*).

Pololo’

We have seen above, that when *Pilogot mola* had made mankind, he gave a patron spirit to each one of them; this is the *pololo’* ‘who follows, accompanies.’ This is the spirit of the placenta of the human being; he stays in a house of two or three plates that have been placed near one of the walls (it doesn’t matter which one). These household spirits, which are called *pilogot* among the Banggai people, therefore do not live in the central pole of the house, as is the case on the islands. Those plates have to be handled carefully: one should not spill water on them, nor hit against or nudge them, because this makes *pololo’* angry and then he makes one of the house members sick. At the occasion of a sacrificial feast more plates are added to those already present for various other spirits that are invoked and are said to stay in the house temporarily. After the feast these plates are removed again.

The spot where the sacrificial plates are placed is called *pontowe’ian*. Every time when they undertake something important, when they set out for the field or return from it, they lay some betel nut on one of the plates and [p. 373] inform *pololo’* (*moliwaa*) of what they are going to do or what they have done, and ask for a blessing on it.

Pololo’ is, as has been said, the spirit of the placenta; it is kept in the house, wrapped in a basket with ashes. Every child that is born in the family has a *pololo’*, “but children come forth out of their parents,” a priest explained to me, “and so their *pololo’* is one

with the one of the parents; although there are as many *pololo'* as the family has members, in actual fact there is only one *pololo'* for that family." Nevertheless they stick to the plurality of the *pololo'* of one family. They say that when someone dies, his *pololo'* disappears, but in difficult circumstances of life they invoke the *pololo'* of his deceased parents too.

Special significance is attached to the *pololo'* of a stillborn child. It is considered to be extremely active. At a family-feast, when they sacrifice (*mangawauwau*) to the *pololo'* of a stillborn child, if something like that has appeared in the family, an extra hen is consecrated. They ask it to protect the brothers and sisters of the stillborn child (about the strength ascribed to the corpse of such a child, see "Van Leven en Sterven in Balantak" in this journal).

Upon questioning several people whether the *pololo'* accompanies the soul to the city of the dead or whether it has its own place, the answer was always: "No, it disappears." From this we see that the *pololo'* is considered the personification of life and that it maintains the family.

Pololo' accompanies every inhabitant of the house; especially children are said to be protected by *pololo'*. Below we will speak about the worship of these spirits at the sacrificial feasts.

Every adult has a holder or representation of his *pololo'*. This is a strip of cotton, that is called *motombing*. It is a coarsely textured of unequally spun cotton threads, woven so loosely, that it [p. 374] resembles sackcloth. These strips have the size of a medium size handkerchief. They are known over the entire eastern arm of Celebes, in Mori and in the area of the East Toraja group and in Luwu and have played a role over there. The owner of the house keeps the *motombing*. If he wants to go out hunting for a couple of days, he first goes into the forest with his *motombing* and also takes along a wooden figurine; this object hardly deserves the name of figurine, because it is wooden slat of a span in length, on which a head has been carved; this is called *ata* 'slave.' In the forest he places a plate on the ground, lies the *ata* on it and covers it with the *motombing*. Then he speaks (*moliwaa*) to the spirits of the forest (*bela*). Informing them of his intention, he asks for a rich booty and offers them 'clothing,' namely the *motombing*, for it. After this invocation, he sticks the cloth between his clothes, but buries the *ata* on the spot and then returns back home. This ceremony is called *mansambongi* and its purpose is that the spirits will give a lot of wild animals and will have the pigs run into the snares that are laid.

When someone travels far from home either oversea or overland, he doesn't take along his *motombing*, but during his absence the strip is laid on one of sacrificial plates of the *pololo'*, and a copper betel box, completely filled with betel nut ingredients, is placed on top of it. This remains so till the traveler has come back.

Dr. Kaudern (*I Celebes Obygder*, II, chapter 11) relates: "When the dead is laid into the coffin, just before the lid is laid on it, they brush over the face with an old white cloth, *motombing*; this cloth is folded together; they have caught the spirit of the dead in it. This

cloth is then brought near the clothes that hang in the house, whereby according to their opinion the dead receives clothes for his journey to the realm of the dead. After that they carefully put away the cloth.” Thus far Dr. Kaudern. [p. 375]

The people I asked about this said they were not used to wiping the face of the dead with his *motombing*, but they thought it was possible that others do this. The life fluid is thus caught in the cloth, which was the personification of his *pololo*’ during life. In any case, the cloth is put away carefully.

If a *motombing* is lost through fire or in another way, this doesn’t mean much; they then bought another one. These cloths were woven in Luwuk and they bought them for ten measures (*usoki*) of husked rice apiece. In the bride price there should always be such a *motombing*.

Wooden ‘figurines’ (*ata*), as described above, were made for the big sacrificial feast for the domestic gods too. Then there had to be at least three that were laid on one of the sacrificial plates. Nothing is done and they are not mentioned in the instructions to *pololo*’ or other spirits. At the end of the feast they leave one of these *ata* lying on the plate; the others are buried on the spot where they killed the dog that was necessary at such a sacrificial feast. None of my informants could tell what significance these *ata* had. They doubt that they are meant to be substitute of man. Nevertheless I believe that this is the meaning of these figurines. That they are buried indicates that they are set apart for the spirits of the earth, the spirits that most often waylay the life of the people (that the *ata* would be the substitute of the priest, as Kaudern mentions, is not likely). In the collection of heathen objects that the inhabitants of Mantok handed in when they decided to be Christians, such a figurine was found too.

Priests

Now that we have made acquaintance with the spirits, which the Balantak man thinks he is surrounded with, we have to track how he gets in touch with them. Everyone can perform simple, sacrificial actions and invocations [p. 376] for himself. But when the worship is more complicated, such as larger sacrificial feasts which touch not only on the individual, but also the family and the clan, and when higher spirits appear on the scene, which the normal villager is not used to dealing with, he needs a medium and calls a priest or priestess.

A priest is called *bolian* (for this word see *Tontemboansch-Nederlansch Woordenboek* by J. A. Th. Schwarz, s.v. ‘walian,’ p. 577). Among the priests one finds both men and women. For the sake of convenience, however, in what follows I only speak about priests.

Signs, that prove that someone is predestined to become a priest: a lot of talking in one’s sleep; dreams in which spirits and other strange things are seen; posing strangely until insanity. It can happen that someone falls ill and cannot be healed, whatever remedies are applied. Then a priest turns up, who decides by means of the oracle of the

span of the hand that the disease has been caused by a spirit that makes efforts to settle in the sick person, take possession of him. Then after a long time the sick person starts to tremble and shake through the intervention of the priest and after a short while he has been healed.

Now the recovered person comes to serve in apprenticeship with the priest, and he tells the initiate how he has to explain the various twists of the bowels of a hen; how he has to consult the oracles (*bapulos*); in short, he is consecrated into all knowledge and crafts of the profession. Usually this education takes two years, during which time the apprentice (*tabas*) follows the master. After that, he can appear independently, but his consecration as a priest takes place with a small sacrificial feast, which carries the name of *melembeti*. At this occasion a hen is slaughtered, and then the master passes the spirit of a deceased priest onto the candidate, so that he receives the power and [p. 377] help of this dead person. How this is done, they could not (would not) tell me.

The master does not receive any reward for his education, but every time when the apprentice is called to lend assistance, he gives a part of the wages received to the master. He keeps this up until the latter's death. When an old priest has passed away, all of his students come to his funeral and give something to the dead person in his coffin and ask him to pass on some of his strength and power to them. They only try to achieve this by speaking to the dead person (*moliwaa*). The few utensils of the deceased person, with which he restored life to sick people, may not be buried; they are preserved or used by a child or grandchild of the deceased, when he becomes a priest.

The priests who have assembled at the death of their master are not allowed to have any active share in the funeral. They, the carriers and bringers of life, are not allowed to come into contact with anything that is hostile to life, such as that which killed the master. In order to serve in case of death, they use another type of priest, who carry the name of *bolian na mena* 'the priests of *mena*.' *Mena* are spirits, which accost the soul (*santuu*) of the deceased so as to molest it. These *bolian* then have to make sure that the soul arrives unhampered in the city of the dead. We come back to them and their work when we mention something about the delivery of corpses. So as to distinguish from this category, the normal priests, who serve the living, are called *bolian na wauwau* 'sacrificial priests.'

The *bolian* does not distinguish himself in anything from other people in daily life, neither in clothing nor in habits of life. There are hunters among the priests; everything someone else eats, they may eat too; e.g. pork meat and anoa meat too; pumpkin [p. 378] (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) and vegetable fern (*paku*) too, things that are often prohibited to the priests and priestesses among the East and West Toraja.²¹

²¹ [footnote 1, p. 378] In this part of my investigation, they told me that not until the arrival of government at the beginning of this century did they know that the type of fern *paku* produces such a good vegetable. They learned this from the Ambonese and Minahasan teachers, who came and settled among them. This type of fern is called *lingkong* in Balantak.

The priest's work

The people don't quickly decide to have a sacrificial feast, because a lot of expenses are connected with it. They never know how much it will cost, because when the signs of one animal are unfavorable, they must have other animals at hand that can be sacrificed after the one which predicts unfavorably. If they have decided to have a sacrificial feast, one of the housemates is sent to the priest with a copper betel box full of betel nut and the message whether he is willing to come in three days' time and do his work. The box with areca nut ingredients remains behind in the priest's house for the time being, so that he will receive dreams through this medium, in which it is revealed to him what is the cause of the disease of him for whom his help has been called. Later on the box is given back. The betel nut, with which the priest is invited, carries the name of *pondolo' bolian*.

When the time has come for the beginning of the ceremony, someone goes to fetch the *bolian*. He comes in his daily clothes; he doesn't bring along anything. The *Dracaena* branch (*tabang*), which he needs in his work, is kept ready by the person who called him. The priest arrives at around 7 o'clock in the evening. When he has gone up, he sits down on the mat that people have spread out for him and chews betel. In the meantime they have laid around him everything he needs in his work: three, six or nine plates, on which he will lay the sacrifices to the various [p. 379] spirits; young coconuts; three or six *bubungan* (these are bamboo tubes around which has been tied a fringe of coconut leaf, and which will later on be used to hold coconut water); an equal number of *boyo* (bamboo tubes into which later they will put husked rice in order to give this to the spirits as food for their journey); furthermore tobacco and husked rice. In the center of all this stuff to be sacrificed lies a tied-up, living hen. The plates have been covered over with a strip of white cotton.

What the priest does during this night is called *mo'iku*. First he speaks to the domestic deities (*pololo'*) and all the spirits of the surrounding area are called together by him so as to be witnesses of his work. Then he keeps quiet for a while, gets a shock through his body, and then starts trembling. This is the sign that the first spirit has taken possession of him, because there are different higher creatures, which will manifest themselves in him one after another. When a spirit wants to leave the priest, he announces this with the words: "I leave." Then the priest lays his hand on his forehead and suddenly pulls it away at a stretch; then another spirit enters him, a *din*, a *burake*, a *pololo'*, sometimes a *pilogot*. He doesn't smoke, only in cases when a sea spirit, *din ndalangon*, manifests itself, does he ask for a cigarette. Being inspired thus is called *lansu'on*.

Sitting next to him the *bolian* has a bowl with coconut oil; from time to time he rubs his hands with it, and brushes them over his face. Later on he brushes some of this oil on the forehead of the sick person too.

Most spirits speak Balantak. But more than once spirits from other countries manifest themselves in the *bolian*, e.g. from the Boalemo, who speak Saluan; or from the Banggai Islands, who speak Banggai. For example the sea spirits, *din ndalangon*, do the latter but these come from overseas, from Banggai. Even Buginese and Arabic spirits sometimes

enter the priest and then he jabbars some [p. 380] words in the language of those beings, which they make audible through his mouth. A priestly language does not exist, so they don't have interpreters in order to interpret the priest's words for the bystanders.²²

At a certain point the *bolian* says that there are no more spirits that want to manifest themselves, and then they go to sleep.

Not until the following morning does sacrificing start. After the *bolian* has called (*moliwaa*) e.g. the *burake* of a certain place, from whom he expects special help in this case, he offers this spirit three chickens, which are held by the sick person and his housemates. Because such a sacrificial feast is of some size, it benefits those who are healthy too. They will certainly have done one thing or another for which the spirits want to punish them as well; but at this feast they can already reconcile the unknown evil, before the punishment for it comes over them. The fact itself, that they have neglected the spirits by not sacrificing to them over a long period, is enough to bring calamity over the house. By means of such a sacrificial feast, a clean sweep is made in every respect.

Then the priest offers another three chickens to another spirit, e.g. to *Pilogot mola*, who lives in the sun at sunrise and at sunset. It works like this from one to the next, so that soon the hens that are consecrated to the spirits number upwards of fifty. At every dedication the priest calls the *din* from the surroundings too, so as to be witnesses that he indeed brings the sacrifices. Not until the end of the ceremony, however, are the chickens slaughtered. At each dedication the priest moves the *Dracaena* branch up and down in his hand and counts from [p. 381] one to nine, from one to six, from one to three. At each dedication the spirit called enters him, so that it seems as if the priest receives the offering himself. The spirit then relates through the *bolian* that it accepts the chickens and that it will give blessing and prosperity for it.

Sometimes a goat is brought into house. The *bolian* dances (*omosulen*) around the animal with a saucer of coconut oil in his hand, and when the spirit, for whom this offering was intended has entered him, he regularly brushes some oil over the animal; meanwhile he jumps and dances ever more wildly until he has gotten out of self-control. The people claim that this part of the ceremony has been adopted from Banggai. At any rate, the circumstance proves that something like that is only done with a goat, and that this part of the action is from a later time, since goats were not introduced until a more recent time. In Balantak only the priests are familiar with *omosulen*, and only they are allowed to perform this dance. On the Banggai Islands nearly all the villagers in most areas know this dance and perform it at festive occasions (see my "De *Pilogot* der Banggaiers en hun Priesters" in *Mensch en Maatschappij*).

²² [footnote 1, p. 380] Mr. Becking is incorrect when he says in his "Nota van Toelichtingen": "The *bulian* (read: *bolian*) use different words in their conjurations, that are not used in daily life, the so-called *bulian*-language."

From the bowels of a slaughtered chicken the *bolian* sometimes finds out that one spirit or another demands still another sacrifice. The demand may even be made that, in addition to all the animals that they sacrificed, a dog must be killed before the sick person can be healed. The dog is beaten to death, in contrast to pigs, goats and chickens, which are slaughtered. The dog's meat is eaten. Only dogs that have been killed with the purpose of taking away the poison, *doti*, that someone has conjured into the body of a fellow man, so that the sick person can be healed, is not eaten.

According to my informants, this offering of sacrifices to the various spirits takes [p. 382] about two hours. After that, the chickens and other animals are slaughtered and a large meal is prepared from the meat. After it has been served, the feast is over and everyone departs. As has already been said, the offering plates for the deities (*pololo'*) are placed on their spot, and other plates, which served for the spirits that only came into the house during the feast, are put away.

It goes without saying that when only a small indisposition has to be cured, not all that much fuss is made of it and the people can suffice with a couple of chickens. When someone has fallen ill, because an angry fellow man has conjured some object or another into his body, such as a piece of bamboo, an onion, a small stone, or the like, this is removed from his body by rubbing. Such work, however, is not done just by priests; other people understand this art too.

Sometimes the priest finds out that the cause of the illness is that the soul has left and does not want to return to the body. Then they have to *mangolongkol*. Then the priest places a saucer in front of himself with some coconut oil on it, into which a shell bracelet and a copper coin has been laid; next to it stands a bowl with water, which is covered with a strip of white cotton. While the priest now continually beats softly on the saucer with the *Dracaena* branch, he calls the soul (*santuu*). When he has done this for some time, he leaves this for a while, sometimes even until the following morning. Then the cloth is carefully removed from the bowl, and he looks to see if he can discover something in it: a piece of dirt from the roof or something like that. If this is the case, then they consider themselves convinced that the soul is in the water; the sick person is washed with it and in this way the soul is returned into the body.

As with all primitive-natured peoples, the spirits play a role in all circumstances of Balantak life. [p. 383] In my article "De rijstbouw in Balantak," I explain why the help of the priest is called for in relation to the work on the field.

At the birth of a child, a priestess (men don't lend themselves to this) is called when the child is only a few days old. A hen is slaughtered and the *bolian* speaks to the accompanying spirit (*pololo'*) of the newborn, and requests him to take good care of the child. They say that *Pilogot mola*, the great spirit who lives in the sun, gives a *pololo'* to the unborn fetus while still in the womb. At birth the priestess ties a particular type of grass around the child's wrists in order to prevent the soul from leaving the child. As wages she receives a hen, a plate, and a two yards of inferior cotton (*balasu*). This ceremony is called *mombukasi* or *momuuti*.

The help that priests render in other circumstances of life automatically comes up for a discussion when we discuss the different phases in the life of the Balantak people.

Even in circumstances that aren't immediately applicable to the spirits, the priest's help is invoked. In daily life, it often happens that a severe quarrel breaks out between husband and wife. Often they are so embittered that they both hold the end of a piece of rattan, which is cut through by a third person, through which they express their feelings that they never want to know anything from each other anymore, nor want to speak, nor want to have sexual intercourse with each other; no more than two pieces of rattan can come together again, will they approach each other. After cutting, one of them throws his piece to the east, the other to the west. This is called *mamantas asip*.

Sometimes man and wife do this when they are so embittered with each other that they don't consider the words, which the leader, [p. 384] *tonggol*, separated them from each other with, to be sufficient.

If the two who have denied each other in this way want to recover the mutual bond later on, this cannot happen without much ado, because then the evil results would reveal themselves in the death of the children and other catastrophes. For such things they need the priest, although the spirits don't have anything to do with it directly. In such cases it concerns nullifying the effect of spoken words with something positive. Then the priest cuts off a hen's crest and brushes the blood of it on the foreheads of the persons who have to be reconciled with each other. He does the same with a piece of *Curcuma (songi)*. Meanwhile he relates why he does it like this: this serves in order to bring these two people to each other again. Sometime after that both of them slaughter a pig, so that the curse of the oath they made may not afflict them, through which they would become sickly and ailing.

Sumawi

Everything that has been described so far applies to the few persons on whom the priest has bestowed his care. Now and then they do their work on behalf of the whole clan, of the whole village. Such a large sacrificial feast, through which the wellbeing of the village community is assured, carries the name of *sumawi*. This is the name of a round dance that is performed on those festive days every evening. In the time when Balantak was still totally pagan, this dance could only be performed at this clan feast; that's why the name of this dance is applied to the whole ceremony. Later on, when most of the population had embraced Christianity, they danced it on other occasions as well, when the native pastors of the Christian church did not forbid it. Dr. Kaudern saw this dance being performed in Sukon and he gives the following description of it: [p. 385]

“They danced *sumawi*, which men and women participated in; a presenter or dance leader, *lotu*, starts with a song and slowly turns in the direction of the sun around the central pole in the dancing room, in this case around the banana trunk. Soon more folks join and pressed shoulder to shoulder they slowly turn around the central pole from left to right. The pace is very

simple: everyone does two paces with each foot and at the second pace rests on the right foot. When it dawned this dance was replaced by another one, performed only by young girls. They dance in a quick pace in a wide circle and a short distance from each other. Every girl holds a shawl or cloth in her half-stretched hand and with quick paces they turn along a circle in the direction of the course of the sun.” (*I Celebes Obygder*, volume II, chapter 2).

As a supplement to the *sumawi*, it can be said that the participants hold onto each other by interlacing their fingers. Pity, that Kaudern does not mention the name of the girls’ dance; presumably it is *mosoiri*, a dance that resembles the *omosulen* in many respects. When primitive people embrace Christianity, the earlier holy dances are often profaned, as has been the case with the dances in Central Celebes. That in the performance of such dances a lot of immorality took place is certainly true; but the description that Dr. Kaudern gives of it is probably exaggerated, and it probably comes from Ambonese and Minahasan teachers, who according to my experience like to tell things from their perspective.

The *sumawi* feast was celebrated irregularly, with an interval of between five to up to ten years. When life passed along without important events, it could take a long time before they decided to perform it, because there were very high expenses connected with it. If during a number of years less children than usual [p. 386] had been born, or if during some time more people had died, while there was no infectious disease as a cause; if the number of domestic animals increased remarkably slowly; or if the crop had produced only little fruit during a couple of years, then the leader, *tonggol*, and the most distinguished and richest villagers assembled and discussed whether they could not try to obtain more prosperity for the clan by having a *sumawi* feast.

The motive for such a feast, however, could equally be of the opposite nature: if the village had enjoyed special prosperity for two or three years, the people started thinking: “Wouldn’t it be possible, that in due course adversity would follow upon this prosperity?” Then soon the question would come up for discussion: “Wouldn’t we celebrate the *sumawi* feast in order to assure prosperity, and avert the fearful adversity of coming over us?”

The people needed a lot of preparation for such a feast, so that it took about a month. The necessary sacrificial animals should be ascertained for the village community: one person would take care of two pigs, the other person for one, the third promised to cede from his goats and every family had to have quite a few chickens at their disposal. Then a large shed was built. The shed built in Mantok at the last *sumawi* feast measured forty yards in length and twenty-four in width, according to the leaders of that time. Such a hut is called *saroa*.²³ The central part of the floor is made of bamboo, but around it a broad

²³ [footnote 1, p. 386] Dr. Kaudern gives the name *lantang* for this hut; *lantang*, Poso *lanta*, is a word, attested perhaps across the whole of Central Celebes, that indicates a hut or the floor of a

corridor of planks has been laid; this corridor is called *sisiran*. On this floor the priests and their apprentices perform the *omosulen*, the priestly dance, [p. 387] and here also the crowd moves at the *sumawi* dance that is performed every night until morning dawns. In this shed (*saroa*) everyone assembles in order to call to the spirits (*moliwaa*) and to dance (*omosulen*, *sumawi*). People don't eat here; this happens in the houses, under roofs and in the open air.

When everything is ready and the people assemble in the *saroa* for the first time so as to start the feast, the *mongosuka* takes place. Then a heavy stalk of a yellow bamboo (*timbo taring*) is fetched. It is erected in the center of the shed and decorated with coconut leaves and flowers. This stalk is called *tunggul* (Kaudern gives: *bubungan*; this means roof beam). At nightfall the priests assemble around this stalk, and there all sorts of spirits manifest themselves in them, after which they start dancing on the wooden corridor (*omosulen*). When they have done this for a while, they return to their houses in order to eat. No sacrifices are laid down for the spirits near the stalk. Is it only said that sufficient betel nut must always be there. This however is not for the spirits, but for the use of the priests.

When the people have eaten at home, they assemble again in the shed in order to *sumawi* under the leadership of the *lotu*. The *lotu* is the poet-chanter. He starts singing while he makes the dancing pace described earlier on, while he slowly proceeds over the wooden corridor (*sisiran*). The strophes which he sings are repeated by the dancers in all sorts of modulations. Then the *lotu* strikes up a new strophe, which for some time is repeated by the crowd. In this way it goes on during the whole night. When the round dance is in good progress, the *lotu* withdraws to the center of the shed, but he keeps providing the crowd with new strophes, as soon as one is finished. Making and prompting these strophes is called *lumotu*. At the [p. 388] *omosulen*, drum and gong are beaten as to indicate the rhythm; this does not happen with the *sumawi*.

This goes on for six nights: the priests *omosulen* and the crowd *sumawi*. The seventh day is called *libayan*. On that day people from neighboring villages are invited as guests to come to the feast. The leaders have three pigs slaughtered. The meat is divided among the different families who prepare it to set before the guests at the big meal. During the night excitement is particularly high, because all the guests join in the *sumawi*. The following morning everyone returns to his residence.

In the meantime the villagers continue the feast. The priests receive their manifestations at the bamboo stalk, which is called 'the place where priests and spirits meet each other.' The crowd continue their nightly dances. When this has lasted another six nights, the seventh day is again *libayan*; then the guests turn up again and pigs are slaughtered for them.

house; in Balantak it is also used for the huts which boys make for themselves in the branches of trees so as to be safeguarded against mosquitoes.

When they have had *libayan* four times, the leaders agree upon making an end to the feast. The day on which this will happen is fixed, and many guests are invited to come. This day is called *balaki'na* 'the big one.' On the eve of the big day small huts are made around the feast shed (*saroa*) where the sacrificial animals are brought together to be sacrificed; these small huts are called *balaidi*; there the animals will be slaughtered. At the latest *sumawi* feast in Mantok twelve pigs, twenty goats and a great number of chickens were slaughtered on the last day of the feast.

On the morning of the last day the priests leave the *saroa* with the crowd and make their way to the huts where the sacrificial animals have been tied. This solemn gait is called *malaumo na balaidi* 'descending to the huts.' Then the priests have their heads covered with a strip of cotton, because if [p. 389] they didn't do this, *Pilogot mola*, the Lord of heaven, who lives in the son would 'split their stomach,' Presumably this means that they will get severe stomach pain. At the sacrificial animals, the priests speak to the spirits (*moliwaa*) and dedicate to each of them the animals which have been set apart for it. All of this has already been determined beforehand. When they are ready, they begin slaughtering them. The animal's blood is not used in any particular way. The meat is again divided among the houses of the participants of the feast, whose inhabitants have to cook the meat for the guests: every family is assigned a group of guests to care for. Not until nightfall is everything ready and the big meal takes place. At the end of it everyone assembles in the *saroa* and the *sumawi* dance is performed for the last time.

The next day the feast has officially ended and the guests return back home. But for the leaders of the feast it is still a busy day. The wages need to be prepared for the priests who have rendered their services at the feast. These wages are called *batarai bolian*; it consists of plates, cloths made of fuya, chickens, and husked rice. The *lotu* receives a share equal to the priests.

With this the largest part of the day goes by, and in the evening the last act of the feast takes place, the *momusu' burake* 'chasing away the spirits.' To that purpose the priests assemble around the bamboo stalk and spend time speaking to the spirits (*moliwaa*). They inform them that the feast, which was given in their honor, has now been terminated, and that they can now return to their different residences.

During the feast days the priests are free in their movements: they may enter and leave the feast shed at will without needing to take any precautions, except covering the head at the *malaumo na balaidi*. [p. 390]

After a few days, once they have recovered from their fatigue from the feast, the feast shed is broken down. The bamboo stalk is thrown away without much ado. What is still useful of the wood and the covering from the roof is employed for other purposes. The rest is thrown away.

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²⁴ [Editor's note: Kruyt cites the title as both "Nota van Toelichtingen" (note of explanation) and "Nota van Inlichtingen" (note of information) but presumably these refer to a single work. I have not been able to track down anything more about it than what Kruyt himself mentions.]

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Editor's notes

by David Mead, January 2005, revised March 2018

(1) Headings and subheadings have been given a consistent format throughout the document. Heading styles were inconsistent in the original, which in fact was submitted to *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* as two separate articles (corresponding to parts 1 and 2 of the present work), but which the journal editors combined and published together under a single title.

(2) Double quotation marks have been replaced by single quotation marks where the intent is to gloss a Balantak word or phrase.

(3) Spelling of Balantak and other vernacular words has been brought up to date so as to follow current orthographic practice. Primarily: *oe* was replaced with *u* (with subsequent dropping of dieresis); *dj* was replaced with *j*; *tj* was replaced with *c*; and *j* (elsewhere) was replaced with *y*.

(4) Vernacular words and people group names are no longer pluralized, thus “among the West Toraja” rather than “among the West Toradjas.” Depending on context, then, a phrase such as “the *bolian*” could refer to a single *bolian* (priest) or to several. (In English this is often disambiguated by number agreement with verbs, demonstratives and/or pronouns, e.g. “This *bolian* is...”, “These *bolian* are...”)

(5) A convention was adopted of italicizing all scientific names and most vernacular words, excepting those which are names of persons or places, such as the names of villages or the names of mountains (even when these have a meaning in the vernacular). Names of gods or spirits are everywhere italicized, even when some of these terms appear to be used as a god's or a spirit's personal name (the text does not always make this clear). The very commonly used phrase mian Balantak ‘Balantak people,’ however, was left in regular (unitalicized) font.

(6) As is typical of articles of the period, Dr. Kruyt incorporated some well-known Malay words into the Dutch text. For today's reader, who may not know the Malay term, the following substitutions were made:

beringin	banyan (tree)
rotan	rattan
pisang	banana
bayam	amaranth
aren	sugar palm
pikul	picul
sirih	betel
pinang	areca (nut)
sirih-pinang	betel nut

Note that a betel nut quid actually consists of *three* main ingredients: leaf or fruit of the betel pepper plant, endosperm of the fruit (viz. 'nut') of the areca palm, and lime (calcium carbonate).

(7) References to other works and names of journals cited by the author were left untranslated, e.g. "De Rijstbouw in Balantak." Translations of titles as well as full bibliographic citations can be found in the supplied bibliography.