

Rice growing in Balantak (eastern arm of Celebes)

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From laying out a field to harvest festival, this article describes the customs, practices, and animistic beliefs that formerly surrounded the planting and harvesting of rice in the Balantak area of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia.

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by
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The district of Balantak lies opposite the Banggai archipelago on the eastern arm of Celebes. It occupies the southern half of the head of the peninsula, the north half of which is inhabited by the Saluan people, who have spread further to the west as well. The inhabitants of the Banggai archipelago and those from Balantak have had a lot of communication with each other, and this has—according to the information people have given me—always taken place in a friendly way.

It is not the right place here to discuss to what extent both peoples are related to each other. Along with many similarities, they exhibit many differences. With regard to agriculture there is a large distinction between them. The Banggai still keep to cultivating yams and taro, and rice is only planted here and there in places where Islam has obtained a foothold, while the people of Balantak practice only the cultivation of rice.

It is very likely that these people formerly fed themselves with tubers, but nowadays rice is generally accepted as the principal food. This change in the culture must have taken place a long time ago, because all recollections of earlier circumstances in this regard have disappeared. A reason for this difference may be that the Balantak are less conservative than the Banggai people. This is reflected in the embrace of Christianity by both peoples: the former [p. 124] have embraced the new religion more generally and radically than the latter.

Such changes in the life of animistic peoples such as accepting rice cultivation are only possible under a certain pressure from above. This pressure has presumably been wielded by the rulers of Boalemo on the north side of the peninsula. These rulers must have been strangers, who brought rice to the peninsula, probably via the Banggai archipelago. We suggest that after subjecting the Saluan and Balantak people to them, they forced them to cultivate rice. When through the influence of Ternate the rulers of Banggai had become more influential, in the second half of the eighteenth century the kingdom of Boalemo was destroyed by the united forces of Banggai, Ternate and Gorontalo. The influence of the rulers of Banggai on their subjects has always been small (see “De Vorsten van Banggai,” *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 1931).

The Balantak and Banggai people had in common that they lived very much spread out over the country. They did not know villages in our sense of the word. The village was the residence of the leader, *tonggol*; here three or four houses stood near each other and the whole surroundings were called after the name of this spot. Everyone felt being a member of such a village community, and this feeling of solidarity showed up most when

the clan feast *sumawi* was celebrated. The landed property of each village community was generally known: the borders were determined by mountains, hills, brooks. Within this area every member of the clan had the right to clear woodland. This land was then considered the property of the person who cleared it and his family. If someone from a different family from the same village wanted to lay out a field on that ground, he had to ask permission from the clearer, and as rent he gave a share of the yield for it, twenty from every five hundred bunches. This is called *monsoi*. In the long run, however, when the clearer's family has used the field a great number of years, it is reckoned again as belonging to the village property, upon which others [p. 125] can lay out their fields as well without paying for the right. The people say: The clearer "has already eaten his sweat from it," i.e. the trouble of clearing has been rewarded already a long time ago. Disputes must have arisen sometimes, when someone wanted to uphold his right on the ground longer than the others considered reasonable. The *tonggol* had to decide in such cases. On fields he hasn't cleared himself, someone has a right as long as he uses them.

If someone wants to come and garden from another village community, he only needs to ask permission from the leader, *tonggol*. He doesn't pay rights, but especially the stranger is expected to live in friendship with the neighbors and to help with work of a general kind.

The Balantak people are not familiar with transferring a piece of land at the marriage of one's son, nor with selling it, as is usual on the Banggai archipelago. The field stays in the possession of the village community and cannot be alienated.

All know that the rice was brought from the south, via Banggai; they therefore always direct themselves to the south when calling to the rice spirits. Rice is called *pae*; Job's tears (*Coix agrestis*) is *koruron*; foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) is *paroyan*. Yams (*uwi*) and taro (*ombulon*) are planted too. They had never known rice paddies. These weren't laid out until after the arrival of the Government.

The constellation that the Balantak people direct themselves to for opening the fields is the belt of Orion, *mian motolu* 'the three people.' The Pleiades carries the name of *mian badaan* 'the great number of people,' and Sirius is called *pakawai*. However, it is Orion's belt which is observed. When it stands in the middle of the sky around 7 o'clock p.m., they start the work on the fields. If they wait longer, the rice won't succeed. I have not encountered any story that stars should have formerly been people.

A long time beforehand they have determined for themselves where they are going to lay out the field. When they [p. 126] start, they first bring into the house an offering of betel nut to the ancestors of the family. He is called *pilogot* in the Banggai archipelago, in Balantak they call him *pololo*'. They call upon the ancestor (Lamala: *moliwaa*, Balantak:

morobu),¹ and request him to guard him (the caller) well, so that the *burake'na pae* 'rice spirits'² won't make him sick.

It is claimed that *burake'na pae* consists of a family: husband, wife, and children; but they don't know what they look like. Pigs are never sacrificed to these rice gods, or to the spirits that are indicated with the name of *din (jin)*, because they contend that these spirits are Moslem. On the day prior to planting rice they slaughter a hen for *burake'na pae*, but others do this afterwards. From the condition of the bowels of the bird they try to find out whether the rice will succeed. If the predictions turn out unfavorable, they slaughter another hen and they continue this until they have killed one whose bowels promise something better. This is called *mosilolowai burake'* (Dr. Kaudern calls this *batunu*; this word however has the generic meaning of 'grilling'). The purpose of this is to ensure that the *burake'na pae* won't lay claim to the services or worship of the people before the crop bears fruit. Before they start planting, they first erect an offering table in the field, which carries the name of *pino'unan* (Dr. Kaudern writes *tipuunian*; this is [p. 127] incorrect). *Burake'na pae* are said to live on it in order to take care of the rice.

The people are afraid of the rice spirit, because it can quickly make someone sick. If some of the rice on the field gets burnt, however little it may be, he becomes very angry. The same happens when people angrily chop tree trunks or stems. The *burake'na pae* possesses a couple of slaves, called *tapuare*. In serious cases the rice god sends them to the transgressor in order to kill him. These *tapuare* are not worshipped like Kaudern says in *I Celebes Obygder II*, chapter II (the report there, that the *Tapuare* resemble the rice-goddess *Lise* in Onda'e, makes one suppose that here these *tapuare* have been exchanged with *burake'na pae*; a supposition which I pronounced previously, that Kaudern's *tampuare* stand for *tumpuare* 'owner of the rice,' has turned out not to be correct).

When the rice spirit has lost its temper it has to be reconciled with an offering, which carries the name *tambo*. But these spirits lose their temper because of all sorts of little infractions with regard to the uses of the fields, and they make the people ill. Therefore they always feel afraid toward them and call for help from the guardian spirit of the family in order to safeguard themselves against their invisible attacks.

¹ [footnote 1, p. 126] Balantak is divided into a western part, Lamala, and an eastern part, Balantak or Pokobondolong. The people from Lamala also call themselves: *kami*, *mian Balantak*. As far as I could trace, with regard to the language there were only differences in some words. Where Balantak is mentioned next to Lamala, the eastern part is meant. When Balantak is used by itself, the whole area is intended.

² [footnote 2, p. 126] In Balantak the name *burake* is used for a category of spirits that live in the fields, on the beach, in the trees, and on the mountains. In connection with this, people say that a mighty *burake* lives on top of the mountain Tompotika. Among the Saluan people, related to the mian Balantak, *buhake* is a general name for spirits that settle in priests among others. Among the speakers of Bare'e the *wurake* are spirits of the sky that help priestesses in their attempts to fetch vital strength for the sick from the lord of heaven.

After their help has been invoked, the worker makes his way to the ground which he shall farm. He has plugged his ears with leaves, because he is not allowed to hear any cries from the birds; in that case he should go back home. He also does this when on his way he finds a dead mouse, a dead bird, or any other dead animal; or when a tree has fallen over the path which he is following. Back home he slaughters a hen for the ancestor of the family, and offers some betel nut, so that the spirit may arrange the matter with the *burake'na pae* and no evil will come forth from it for the man. This sacrificing in order to avert any evil carries the name of *mangawauwau*, which simply means 'to do, to make.' The following day he goes and tries his luck again. [p. 128]

If a party of fathers of households have agreed to open their fields together, the terrain is first divided, and indications are made in the trees marking how far each one's field will reach. In such a company no leader is chosen, as is done in many districts of Celebes; but they arrange and divide the work among themselves. When the parts which everyone will farm for himself have been marked, everyone goes to a spot on his terrain and clears it of weeds and small trees. When they farm the field for the first time, no attention is paid to signs; only when an entwined liana is found does this have a meaning: if the loop that the creeper forms is round, this means, that the field will yield a lot of rice; if the loop is flattened, this is a sign that the worker, who wants to make it a field, will die soon unless he takes another field instead.

Not until he has come home from opening the field does the worker remove the wads from his ears. The following day is spent collecting the necessary food so as to be able to spend the next couple of days without any interruption on further working the ground.

The bird to which the most significance is attached is the *dee* (Poso: *tekateka*, *Phoenicophaeus calyrorinchus*); if it utters its *e, e, e, e!* in staccato, this has an unfavorable meaning. If it cries *ke, ke, ke!*, people can be at rest. Once the work on the field has made progress, the cries of the owl *koang* are also heeded. The most favorable sound which he can give is when he lets his crying be heard five times on the right side and three times on the left side: in that case man can count on a rich harvest! If the bird keeps calling, this is very unfavorable. It may mean that the owner of the field has to die during that particular year. Then back home they try to nullify the unfavorable working of the cries by sacrificing, *mangawauwau*, to the ancestor, so that he may double his strength in order to protect the threatened person. [p. 129]

Unfavorable bird cries, from which evil develops, are *mambara* 'bringing calamity.' Apart from the *mangawauwau* just mentioned, they may kill a dog, so that the threatening evil (*mambara*) may affect the dog instead of man, as they express it. The dog has to make the evil powerless. This killing of the dog is called *mompepas*.

When they have finished weeding and cutting weeds and shrubs (this type of work is called *sumapar*), they proceed to cutting down the trees, *mantara'i*. Nothing particular is taken notice of for this. It may happen that they cut two or three days on one giant of the forest, but still it does not want to fall. Then they think: probably something is wrong with this tree; perhaps it even has an owner (there is a spirit living in it). Back home the

worker talks to the ancestor again (*pololo*; *moliwaa*), and calls for his intervention in order to induce the tree's owner to go away, or to take away what prevents the tree from falling. As among perhaps all Indonesian peoples, the inhabitants of Balantak revere banyan trees (*tamparang*) the most. They call the spirit living in it *sangke*. They also have their residence in large trees to which many orchids are attached. Especially children should be on their guard for these spirits, because they easily fall ill through the influence of these invisible creatures. Nevertheless people cut such trees down too.

In order to have the wood dry quickly, the branches are cut into pieces; this is called *monsoso*. Before they pass on to burning the wood (*monsuap*), the ancestor is first spoken to (*moliwaa*). They ask for his intervention, in order that the wood may be consumed well. The fire which is intended for burning the wood must be made new. Nowadays they do that with flint and a piece of steel, while catching the spark on a bit of tinder from the sugar palm. This flint and steel is called *kaluli*. If they don't have these at their disposal, then they [p. 130] light fire with a ceramic potsherd (from a ceramic bowl) and a piece of dry bamboo (*lambangan*, *Bambusa longinodes*). Such strike-a-light is called *lean* (after the ceramic pottery, which carries the same name). They know the fire-saw too: a slat of dry bamboo is sawn quickly back and forth in a groove in a piece of bamboo. Fire making in this way is called *mongkokor*. In addition they make fire by drilling, *momiol*; the spindle, as well as the board on which the spindle is twirled back and forth, are made of *saro* wood.

The last thing to be done in the field before they can pass on to planting is the *roemakat*; then the branches which have not been consumed by the fire are piled in heaps and burned. When the ground has been cleared, they determine the day on which the rice will be planted.

It has already been mentioned above that people sacrifice to the *burake'na pae*, the rice spirits, and that an offering table is erected for them. The bowels of the hen that is slaughtered at this occasion are investigated (*momile kompona manu*). A very favorable sign is when an intestine is noticed, that bends in a sharp corner. They also read from the position of the intestines whether the owner of the field and his family will prosper or not in that year. If the hen did not predict favorably, they take another one and if necessary this is repeated up to a third time; people who are wealthier kill even more hens. After the investigation, the bowels are thrown away and the hen is eaten.

Early in the morning on the day when the rice will be planted, the owner of the field or his wife goes to the offering table, *pino'unan*, in the field. His ears have been plugged with wads. There he speaks (*moliwaa*) to the *burake'na pae*, and requests the spirit to come and live on the offering table. Before he expresses this request, he counts from one to nine, then from one to six and finally from one to three. In all silence he next jabs three or six holes in the ground around the offering stand, and drops in seed. When doing this he [p. 131] needn't close his eyes. After this ceremony he returns home. Once it has become clear day, men and women go and plant the field: the men make holes in the soil (*montudak*) with their dibbles (*potudak*), and the women follow them, depositing (*monguu*) some grains of rice into every hole. The seed is called *pae lumpane*, that is,

threshed rice, because the grains have been trampled (or even better: rubbed) off the stalks with the feet. A betel fruit and an areca nut are placed in every carrying basket (*basung*) with seed. When handing out the seed to the women, who drop it into the holes, nothing is taken notice of.

As long as the seed has not come up, no meat of the anoa (*balulang*) is allowed to be taken into the field. Even someone who has eaten this meat in a different location has to stay away from the field (like the Saluan people, the Balantak people are used to keeping live anoa).

Some make a fence around the field (*mambala*), other don't do this. Weeding the ground between the rice plants is called *rumau*.

When doing all these kinds of jobs, the days of the month (moon days) are taken notice of, because one should take care not to do any fieldwork on days which are prohibited to the family. The names of the days (nights) are: *gora'ion*, *kopinduana*, *torotoluna*, *taraparapaatna*, *pirilima'na*, *toronomna*, *piripitu'na*, *parawalu'na*, *pirisio'na*, *piripompulo'na*, *kama'asana*, *timumun*, *malai*, *toposuur*, *tumba*, *warani* (full moon), *kobinsiran*, *katumbe*, *kasoa*, *tumangara*, *olot*, *kumoto*, *koliu*, *ola*, *mantatar*, *tu'or*, *ole mola*, *poso*, *lalom*, *lalom*, two dark moons.

As is usually done among the peoples on Celebes, the days of the first half of the month are counted; the vowel of the ordinal prefix changes according to the vowel of the cardinal.

From these days no one specific number have been determined as prohibited times because the name of the day or a peculiarity of the position of the moon gives rise [p. 132] to it. Rather for every family the days upon which they are not allowed to work in the field are different. These are, namely, the days on which the father, the mother, or a child from that family died. If they didn't bother about them, the crop would be destroyed by pigs or mice. The connection between the dead and their forms of appearance (mice, pigs) is very clear here. It is said plainly that mice are the souls of the deceased. They are sent by the spirit of the earth, *tombolo tano*. Then they spread out a banana leaf on the border of the field, upon which dried rice and chicken meat have been laid and meanwhile the spirit of the earth is called (*moliwaa*) to ask him to call back the mice. Beyond that they help themselves by setting up traps and laying snares.

If rice birds (*peret*) are troubling them, they may not chase them away, because otherwise many more would come. But everywhere in the field they plant glue sticks in order to catch as many as possible.

If there is a disease in the crop, the usual means against it is that they bundle together the leaves from a number of plants. They then light this, and with that smoking nosegay they walk between the plants, in the hope that they can drive away the disease with it. After smoking the crop, nobody—not even the owner—may come into the field for three days. If a large part of what has been planted does not come up, they wonder what the

reason may be; then they have a priest (*bolian*) come, who by means of auguring, *momulos*, has to discover the cause of this misfortune. The priest comes, lays one hand on top of the other, blows between them and rubs them over each other. Meanwhile he murmurs and asks the rice spirits (*burake'na pae*) whether they have prevented the seed from coming up. Then he sets out the span of his right hand on his left arm: the fingertips of both middle fingers are laid right on top of each other and then he measures upwards: he sets out the span three times, and then measures back; if with the second [p. 133] span the tip of the middle finger reaches the base of the hand, then the answer is negative; if it reaches further (over it), it is affirmative. In the first case the priest continues his investigation and asks if the dead are the cause; or otherwise the spirits of the earth. When they have obtained certainty on this, they sacrifice to the ancestor at home (*mangawauwau*). He is requested to convene the rice gods and all sorts of spirits (*din*) and to beg them not to hamper the growth of the crop. If the oracle has indicated that indeed the *burake'na pae* has caused the evil, it happens that a rice spirit manifests itself in the priest and asks for a goat as an offering; he then adds which color the animal should be.

If there seemed to be a considerable danger of failure, in the old times they sometimes crossed over to Banggai in order to fetch water from Boneaka, one of the *balakat*, holy places, in order to sprinkle the crop with it (See "De Vorsten van Banggai," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 1931). The ruler of Banggai himself didn't have anything to do with agriculture among the Balantak people. They never asked him for medicine or a blessing for the crops. Neither did he ever give rice to the company which came and brought the tax, *ruru*, to him, as some rulers on Celebes sometimes do; such rice is then mixed with the seed to make it more vigorous.

If the rice fails, this is considered evidence that they have angered the *burake'na pae* in one way or another. They promise to slaughter a peace offering (*tambo*) to them. At an appropriate time, before they start with a new field, they slaughter a goat and a number of hens for them.

When the rice is ripe, the day is determined when they will start cutting. Early that day, around 4 o'clock in the morning when everything in nature is still quiet, the housewife goes to the field and from an arbitrary spot cuts three ears. She lays them on a tree trunk and covers them with a tree leaf. This [p. 134] work is called *mongolo'i* 'starting'; the three ears carry the name of *pongolo* 'the beginning.' Then she returns to the garden hut.

When it has dawned, all those who have been appointed to harvest or who offered themselves for it, go out harvesting. They start with cutting the rice along the sides, going continuously from right to left, deeper and deeper into the field. All the harvesters have a small basket (*kelenun*) hanging on their waist. In the *kelenun* of the woman leader of the harvest there is a small packet with harvest medicine, called *botur*. In these baskets the cutting women place the ears that have no stem and therefore cannot be tied together into bundles. Such ears are called *runtop*.

The knife with which the ears are cut is called *kalapini*; it has the same form as that used in Poso and in most other districts of Central Celebes. Those who help with harvesting receive two large bundles of rice as payment, which carry the name of *timpa*, while the other bundles of normal size are called *puut*. Everyone ties the cut stalks into bundles himself, and lays them down on open spots, which are made by trampling down the straw. So the bundles lie spread all over the field. Not until the whole field has been harvested are the bundles collected in order to dry them. When the rice is dry, they pile them up; such a pile is called *dompu* (Bare'e: *dompu* 'group, crowd, herd').

People are unfamiliar with the use of a harvest register when speaking, nor do they know any harvest songs.

When about half of the field has been harvested, the owner of the field goes to the forest to collect various kinds of leaves that serve as medicine. From these leaves she makes a packet, and also encloses a stone in it. This packet is called *botur* like the aforementioned packet in the basket of the woman leader. She lays this packet between the three stools of rice that had previously been planted around the offering table (*pino'unan*), the residence of the *burake'na pae*. She ties these clumps fast to the table. After that next to the [p. 135] clumps she erects a miniature house standing on four poles and supplied with two floors, one above the other. On each floor she lays four small bundles of rice, and then she asks the rice spirits to settle in it.

At the same time they hang four of these small bundles on the wall in the garden hut, or in the house (if the field is not too far removed from the village). These bundles don't carry a name. Last of all they cut the ears of rice that had been tied together with the offering table (*pino'unan*). These are then made into one bundle together with the eight small bunches from the *burake* house. This bundle and the four small ones that had been hung on the wall of the hut or of the house are laid in a basket (*kelenun*), and it is fastened to a rafter so that the mice cannot reach them, because it is still a couple of days before the harvest feast is celebrated and the rice has been stored in the barn. Before this feast takes place, people may not yet eat from the new rice.

Each family (sometimes other people join) celebrates the first of the two harvest feasts for themselves; this is simply called *mangkaan pae u'uru* 'eating new rice.' For that purpose the men from the family go out fishing and hunting, in order to procure the amount of meat necessary for the meal to be prepared. The women pound some of the new rice; to this is added the rice that was lately cut at the *pinu'unan*. During this work no particular customs are observed. There always needs to be a priest (*bolian*) at the feast, because he slaughters the hens so as to find out from the intestines what the future will be like for the family. It is the priest, too, who makes four very small packages of rice when the food is cooked; he sticks one of them between the slats of the floor; a second one he places in the roof; a third he lays near the fireplace, and the fourth he lays in the basket (*kelenun*), in which lay the ears of the three recently cut stools of rice. They do this, they say, to prevent people from falling ill. Then he prepares some food on a banana leaf: rice, meat and liver from a hen. He places this leaf with food on the spot where [p. 136] the offering plates for the ancestors of the family can be found. He adds a couple of very

small bundles of rice, and ties a live hen there. That place has been decorated festively with flowers and leaves.

Then the priest addresses (*moliwaa*) the ancestor and the spirits (*burake, din*), informing them about the purpose of the festivity and requesting them to bless the family continually. He finishes with: "Come and eat!" After this, the meal takes place; but before they help themselves, everyone smears a few grains of rice on his or her stomach in order to prevent getting a stomachache from the new food (in his book *Celebes Obygder*, II, chapter 11, Dr. Kaudern calls this feast *mansai kelenun*; none of the informants was familiar with this expression; probably the great harvest feast *mansa'ei* is confused with the first domestic feast).

When all the families from the same village community have finished their household feasts, the major harvest feast takes place. At this time the *burake'na pae* are given permission to return to their dwelling place, which is "on the other side of the sea." This feast is called *mansa'ei* in the western part of this area (Lamala), *momosu'i* in the east. There is some difference in its performance. In Mantok, where I got most of my information, every family keeps ready a small bamboo tube filled with pestled rice and decorated with young coconut leaves. Such a tube is called *boyo* (*woyo, wolo, bolo* are all words which often occur for 'bamboo' in Celebes languages). They gather these containers in one of the big houses of the village where the collective meal is held, a repetition of the domestic feast. This is called *momboyoi* 'to provide with *boyo*.'

After the meal, everyone who is able goes to the beach. Every village in the mountains had its own place for that. In this way the people from Mantok go to Bugin (a place near Sobol, which nowadays has become quite an important commercial center where the packet boat calls every month). Near Bugin the beach is covered with mangroves (*tongke*). In the middle of this beach forest, [p. 137] a small tree trunk with many branches was erected. The branches were stripped of their leaves. The bamboo containers were hung on the branches, each one together with a betel fruit and an areca nut. This tree is called *tongke* too. In addition, fifteen live hens were set free. The birds spread among the mangroves, and in most cases died there.

Among the company was a group of five priests (*bolian*) who arranged everything, and who, when the tree with bamboo containers was ready, gave a speech to the *burake'na pae*. In that speech they told the spirits that it was now the proper time for them to return to their country; the people had provided them with things to take with them; and besides what they had been offered, they should also take along all diseases and troubles that tormented the people. When during the following year they should see from overseas the smoke ascending from the wood of the new fields that were being burned, they had to hurry back to Balantak. At the end of the ceremony a meal was held on the beach, a parting meal for the *burake* spirits. (Dr. Kaudern was told that in this part of the country the sacrifices were offered to the rice spirits on a rice winnow (*ikiran*) as a form of proa; they didn't know anything about this in Mantok, nor had they ever heard of it.)

In the east part of the country people prepare a vessel in which the bamboo containers are collected. This vessel is taken to the beach, where it is pushed into the sea to have it float away, after the rice spirits have been spoken to as described. Dr. Kaudern was lucky that during his visit to Balantak in 1919 they were celebrating the harvest feast. He tells of it:

“In the villages Binuntik, Kalibambang, Lonas, Londo, Sepe, Balantak and Gobe, in each place as part of the *momosui* they made a boat of about three meters length from sago leaf sheaths, *duangan kalawi* (proa made of sago leaf sheaths). It had the form of a Ternate boat and was loaded with rice that had been prepared in different ways: especially piles of ketupat³ ... [p. 138] A priest or priestess invokes *Tampuare* and declares in front of the spirit that the rice harvest has succeeded, and that he can now return to his residence in peace. The people don't know where the residence is. The food in the boat and on the winnow are eaten, and the boat is put away until next year's feast.”

A picture of the boat is shown to us in figure 106 of Dr. Kaudern's work.

That people eat the cargo of the boat themselves and put the vessel away for the following year are clearly changes made under the influence of Christianity.

The rice may not be stored in the barn (*alang*) until until after the *mansa'ei* (*momosui*). Such a barn (see figures 108 and 113 in volume II of Kaudern's work) is very similar to those which are used in Poso. In most cases some families have a barn in common. The space inside has been divided into compartments, in which everyone can store his own rice. When entering, the *botur*, the packet of herbs that was lying among the clumps tied around the offering place, is laid on the floor and the bundles are piled on top of it. When the rice has been stored and the barn is locked, it may only be opened when someone comes to buy rice, however little the amount may be, for the value of a plate or some yards of cotton. All members of the families to which the barn belongs may go inside, and they needn't dress in a special way.

The rice mortar is called *ndula-ndulan* (see figure 98 in volume II of Kaudern's work), and the pestle *pomeso*, thus words which deviate strongly from the usual words across Celebes. People like to pound with the pestle in the empty mortar using a certain rhythm. This is called *meteendu*. This entertainment is not limited to the time at the end of the harvest; they already start it when the rice is growing, and stop it when the harvest feast has been celebrated, and the rice spirits have been sent home.

Not so many rules are observed with cooking and eating as is the case, for example, in Poso. Eating rice from the lid of the pot or from a sieve (*piisan*) is not [p. 139] prohibited.

³ [Editor's note: *Ketupat* is an Indonesian word referring to rice boiled in wrappers woven from the leaflets of coconut fronds. In Kruyt's 1933 article "Van Leven en Sterven in Balantak" we learn that the Balantak word for this is *katupat*.]

Among tree leaves, there are none in which the rice may not be packed, etc. But also in Balantak the cook always makes sure that a rice spoon (*aru*) or ladle (*leang*) is never left standing in a pot after being used. The result would be that if someone intended to do us evil by means of black magic then our inward being would not be strong enough to resist it; or if someone intended to kill us, we would certainly be hit by his spear.

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