



A GUIDE TO THE

Sulawesi

ETHNOLOGIC
COLLECTION

NATIONAL MUSEUM

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NATIONAL MUSEUM

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Kata Pengantar

Sejak Tahun 1970 Museum Nasional telah dibantu oleh sejumlah wanita Indonesia dan Asing yang bekerja sama secara sukarela. Mereka tergabung dalam Ganesha Volunteer.

Berbagai kegiatan yang bertujuan membantu Museum Nasional telah dilaksanakan. Dalam hubungan ini Ganesha Volunteer antara lain menyelenggarakan kegiatan "Panduan dalam bahasa Asing". Kemudian kelompok ini melangkah lebih lanjut dengan membantu penyusunan suatu Buku Petunjuk Koleksi dalam bahasa Inggris. Buku tersebut disusun dalam kerja sama dengan Seksi Etnografi, melalui tukar menukar pendapat dan bentuk kerja sama yang saling menunjang.

Sesungguhnya Buku Petunjuk Koleksi ini direncanakan untuk diterbitkan dalam bahasa Indonesia dan Inggris. Namun karena berbagai pertimbangan, buku bahasa Inggris lebih dahulu diterbitkan.

Buku ini khusus ditujukan kepada para wisatawan dan pengunjung awam asing. Buku yang berisi keterangan umum yang diperlukan sebagai pengantar untuk memahami koleksi Sulawesi pada Museum Nasional.

Memang sudah sepatutnya kalau disampaikan penghargaan dan terima kasih kepada para anggota Ganesha Volunteer yang telah mengerahkan tenaga mereka pada usaha penyusunan buku petunjuk ini. Sebagian dari mereka telah meninggalkan Indonesia sebelum buku ini diterbitkan, namun mereka tentu termasuk dalam ucapan penghargaan dan terima kasih ini.

Kiranya kerja sama ini dapat ditingkatkan di waktu yang akan datang.

Kepala Museum Nasional

Foreword

Since 1970 The National Museum has been assisted by Indonesian and non-Indonesian ladies who have worked together as the Ganesha Volunteers.

The Volunteers have carried out a variety of activities in help of The National Museum. The Ganesha Volunteers have undertaken, among other activities, guided tours in foreign languages. This group, furthermore, assisted in putting together a Guide to the Sulawesi Ethnologic Collection in the English language. This was done with the thoughtful cooperation of the Ethnology Section.

Actually these books are slated for publication both in Indonesian and in English; several considerations have led to the English edition being given priority in publication.

This Guide is intended for foreign tourists and visitors in general. It is required as an introduction to help in understanding The National Museum's collection of materials from Sulawesi.

It is indeed most proper that we express our appreciation, and extend out thanks to the members of the Ganesha Volunteers who have devoted their efforts in compiling this Guide. Some of the members had left Indonesia before this book was published, but they are included, of course, in our gratitude. It is our hope that this collaboration can be enhanced in the years ahead.

The Director,
The National Museum

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I. Introduction

INDONESIA

The Indonesian archipelago is a vast island chain stretching nearly 5,149 km. west to east (91 degrees west and 141 degrees east longitude) and 1,770 km. north and south of the Equator (6 degrees north and 11 degrees south latitude). Some 13,677 islands comprise the archipelago of which about 6,000 are inhabited. The land mass totals 1,904,354 km² with a total sea area four times the land area. The Indian Ocean lies to the west and the Pacific Ocean to the east.

Indonesia is located between the Asian mainland and the Australian continent. It forms a land bridge that from prehistoric times brought a series of migrations to the islands and beyond. During the Ice Age, one large land mass stretched from the Asian mainland down through Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Java to Bali. On the eastern side of the archipelago, New Guinea and Australia were also part of a connected land mass. A third land bridge joined the Philippines to Sulawesi around 10,000 B.C. When the ice in the northern hemisphere melted, the sea

surrounding these land areas rose, and the islands of the Indonesian archipelago on the east and west were formed.

The major islands of the archipelago may be divided into the Greater Sunda Islands (Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Borneo), the Lesser Sunda Islands, also known as Nusa Tenggara, (Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Timor and Flores), Maluku and New Guinea. Indonesian territory encompasses the western section of the island of New Guinea, known as Irian Jaya, and the lower two-thirds of the island of Borneo, known as Kalimantan. As of the 1982 election figures, the population of Indonesia was estimated to be 152 million, the fifth most populous nation in the world. A large proportion of the population is located on a few islands, with nearly two-thirds on Java alone.

Structurally, the Indonesian archipelago is divided into three distinct areas: the western islands of Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Bali which rest on the Sunda shelf; the eastern islands of Irian Jaya (New Guinea) and the Aru islands which rest on the Sahul shelf; and the islands in between. Today, relatively shallow waters surround those islands on the more eastern and western parts of the archipelago, with the seas in between, near the islands of Nusa Tenggara, Maluku and Sulawesi, reaching depths of 15,000 feet. Geographically, the islands on the west more closely resemble Asia, while those on the eastern side are more similar to Australia. The islands in the middle represent a third distinct area, although some geographers prefer to describe this area or parts of the area as a transitional zone between the east and west.

The animal life within Indonesia varies according to the three areas of the archipelago described above. Types of animal species are found in the western islands that do not exist in Irian Jaya, while the marsupial species found in Irian Jaya do not appear in Java, Bali, Sumatra, or Kalimantan. The region in

the middle represents a third unique faunal area.

The plant life found in the Indonesian archipelago is as rich and varied as its animals. Indonesia is part of the Melanesian botanical region, which includes the Malay Peninsula south of the Isthmus of Kra, the Indonesian archipelago, the Philippines and all of New Guinea except for the Solomon Islands. The Melanesian floral region is characterized by tropical rainforest vegetation, a type of ever-wet vegetation, with as many as 40,000 plant species recorded, including many varieties of commercially valuable timber. This region is distinctly different from the botanical regions of mainland Asia and Australia.

Extreme geographic fragmentation and diversity is found throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The islands are located on the earth's volcanic belt, and Indonesia has been described as the most volcanic country in the world. Both volcanic eruptions and earthquakes are regular occurrences as the archipelago continues to undergo dramatic geological change. The most memorable example in recent times is the eruption of the island of Krakatau in 1883, killing 30,000 people and sending this 2,000-foot-high island back into the sea.

There are more than 400 volcanoes throughout the archipelago, and about 100 of them are still active. Volcanic activity, however, varies throughout the islands from regular volcanic eruptions in certain regions (Java and Sumatra) to little or no activity in other areas (Irian Jaya and Kalimantan). The volcanic eruptions bring not only death and destruction but also produce some of the most fertile soil in the world.

With its proximity to the Equator, the single most important climatic characteristic of the archipelago is an abundant rainfall. No island of the archipelago receives less than 101.6 centimeters of rainfall a year. There are two seasons in Indonesia: wet, generally October to April, and dry, April to October. This

varies within the area from parts of Sumatra and Kalimantan, near the Equator, which have no dry season and receive up to 230 to 260 centimeters of rainfall a year, to parts of Nusa Tenggara which experience desert-type climates interrupted by rain spells. Either extreme causes problems. In both the tropical rain forests and the dry eastern islands agricultural production is difficult.

Indonesian coastal temperatures range between 21 degrees and 33 degrees centigrade, while slightly cooler temperatures are found in the higher elevations. Humidity is high throughout the archipelago, with an average minimum of 60%.

INDONESIA — ETHNIC GROUPS

A tremendously complex and varied ethnic pattern is found throughout the Indonesian archipelago. As a result of almost continuous migrations to the islands from early prehistoric times, the original Indonesians and their culture have been continuously influenced by a variety of races and cultures. Because of the archipelago's great geographic and ethnic complexity, and the varying degrees to which the individual islands were exposed to outside influences, the people of the archipelago must be studied as a collection of unique ethnic and linguistic units rather than as a single unified group.

Anthropologists even cannot agree on the number of ethnic groups which exist in Indonesia. LeBar, for instance, sets out ninety separate ethnic groups within the Indonesian archipelago, while Fischer distinguishes twenty-seven major groups. For this summary the ethnic map found in the National Museum will be used, and only ethnic groups included will be discussed.

SULAWESI – GEOGRAPHY

One of the five big islands of Indonesia, Sulawesi lies like a gaunt-limbed insect in the centre of the archipelago. Although it was tenuously joined to the Philippines during the earliest stage of the Pleistocene Period, tectonic action severed the unstable land bridge, isolating those species of flora and fauna which had evolved by that time and creating a unique zone of wildlife in Indonesia.

The shape of the island is curious. It consists of four narrow peninsulas separated by wide bays and joined in the middle, each with a spine of mountain ranges running down the centre. The island of Sulawesi is approximately 1,287 kilometers long and between 193 and 58 kilometers wide covering a total land area of 186,000 square kilometers. Its 3,218 kilometers of coastline is generally fringed by coral reefs. Mountains are both volcanic and non-volcanic. The southwest Latimojong range averages 3,000 meters above sea level with Rantaimario at 3,440 meters. Wide rift valleys between the mountain ranges contain several lakes capable of sustaining the peoples living around them. Of these, Lake Towuti in the southeast is the largest. Other important lakes are Tempe and Sidenreng in the southwest, Poso in the centre, and Limboto and Tondano in the north. Rivers are narrow and generally not navigable. The two major ports are Ujung Pandang in the southwest and Manado in the north.

The climate in Sulawesi is hot, but tempered by sea winds. The temperature ranges from 32° C on the coast to 18° C in the mountains. The Equator passes through Tambora on the northern peninsula. There are two seasons. The wet season is brought by winds blowing in from the Indian Ocean from November to March. The dry season is brought by winds from Australia to areas south of the Equator. After crossing the Equator, they become wet southwest winds bringing rain to the

nothern peninsula, which is wet most of the year. Rainfall varies, reaching as much as 295 cm in the southwest leg to 53 cm around Palu in Central Sulawesi. High areas receive more rain than the lowlands, and slopes brushed by ascending winds receive more rain than those passed by descending winds.

Communities are mainly agrarian, using labor intensive traditional techniques. A wide variety of staples, vegetables and fruits are grown. Meat is supplied by domestic and wild animals; hunting is a popular pastime. Fishing is carried out in the seas, lakes and rivers. Copper, nickel, iron, gold, silver, asphalt, coal and mica are mined, and copra, coffee, and striped ebony are exported. Products which have been the mainstay of life in Sulawesi are coconut, sago, bamboo and a variety of other palms and grasses, corn, some cotton, damar and wax.

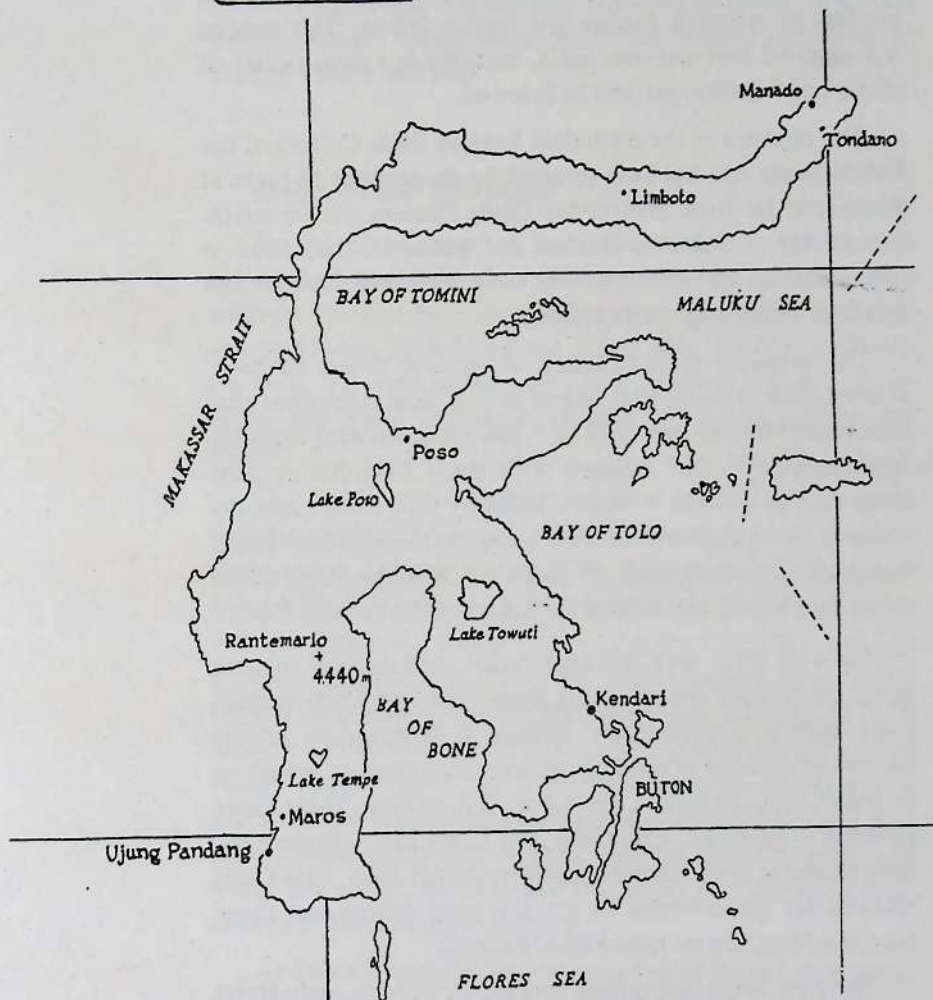
The island of Sulawesi is divided into four provinces: South Sulawesi with its capital at Ujung Pandang; Southeast Sulawesi with its capital at Kendari; Central Sulawesi with its capital at Poso; and North Sulawesi with the city of Manado as its capital. Each Province has a Governor and a Regional House of Representatives. All small islands lying between 4° North Latitude, 7° South and between Longitudes 119° East and 126° East come under the jurisdiction of the nearest province.

SULAWESI - HISTORY

When the last glacial period ended around 10,000 B.C. and the seas rose around the world, the islands of Indonesia reached their ultimate form. That early man was already there is clear from archaeological evidence uncovered in Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi. He had arrived at a time when the islands were still a part of great land masses stretching down from the north.

From about 10,000 to 2,000 B.C. Sulawesi was a meeting,

SULAWESI



mixing and dispersing place of races and cultures as man moved back and forth in his search for a satisfactory habitat. As Asian and Melanesian immigrants settled along the coastline, the older inhabitants retreated further and further inland. This process was repeated over and over again, resulting in a great variety of ethnic and linguistic patterns in Sulawesi.

The presence of the Australoid Toalean Blade Culture of the Middle Stone Age has been revealed by excavations in caves at Maros, not far from present-day Ujung Pandang on the southwestern tip of Sulawesi. Hunters and gatherers, they lived in cave entrances and decorated the cave walls with stencils and paintings having magic connotations.

The majority of Indonesians of historic times, however, descend from peoples who arrived during slow migrations that took place over the next 500 to 1,000 years. Arriving from the Asian mainland, they brought with them Neolithic or New Stone Age technology, as characterized by their stone tools, the polished quadrangular and oval axes, that have been found throughout the archipelago. In Sulawesi, New Stone Age settlements have been located along the course of the Karama River.

Some of these later arrivals brought their original cultures fairly intact from central China during the late Chou period. Chou culture is particularly evident in Kalimantan. Others underwent cultural adaptation by long intermediary residence in Indo-China, producing the Dong Son culture. These three elements — Neolithic, Late Chou, and Dong Son — formed the basic elements in the Indonesia culture that evolved. Late Chou artifacts are characterized by asymmetrical designs and those from the Dong Son by symmetrical patterns.

The New Stone Age culture overlapped with the early Metal Age. Bronze and iron came into use. Socketed bronze celts from this period have been excavated in Central and South Sula-

wesi and the islands of Selayar and Buton. Great pottery burial jars that mark this era have been found in the northern islands of the Indonesian archipelago, including Sulawesi, and have yielded beads, earthenware, porcelain sherds, and tools of copper, bronze and iron.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

By the first century A.D., Indonesian traders had moved across the seas, establishing trade routes to distant lands. New religions traveled back along these same routes, first Hinduism and Buddhism from India and much later, Islam from Persia, via India. The new religions arrived in the coastal trade communities and their influence gradually spread throughout the islands.

The Hindu and Buddhist religions brought writing skills, and Indonesia's first historical records resulted. Inscriptions on stone attest to kingdoms in East Kalimantan and West Java around the 5th century. A few small bronze statuettes and one bronze Amaravati Buddha dating between the 2nd and 5th centuries indicate the possibility of penetration into western Central Sulawesi. (This Buddha, Inventory Number 6057, is located in the Bronze Section of the National Museum.) The theory has also been put forth that the central importance of the water buffalo's horns in Central Sulawesi culture could have been related to the cult of Siva,¹ and the use of flowers, holy water and sacred oil in certain rites in South Sulawesi is reminiscent of Hindu temple practice.²

As Sulawesi entered the era of recorded history, it seems to have been made up of many isolated tribes based on kinship units. These units were, on the whole, disunited, except in certain instances when intertribal cooperation was needed for

defense or head-hunting expeditions. It was only as the powerful Hindu-Javanese kingdoms expanded in the 12th century, and 15th and 16th centuries, that part of Sulawesi came under strong outside influence. In those areas of Sulawesi touched by these influences there developed the concept of supernaturally sanctioned kingship and a rigid social stratification. It was primarily in the inaccessible parts of Central Sulawesi that a chieftain class never developed; here the administration was in the hands of the family elders who elected from among themselves a headman.

At the height of its power, the Majapahit Kingdom of Java extended its influence throughout the archipelago, and some historians believe that Sulawesi became part of this mighty naval empire. Majapahit controlled the seas and therefore the trade, which was its sustenance. Chinese, Persian and Gujarati Moslem merchants frequented Indonesian ports to trade in the exotic products natural to the region. The port of Makasar, today known as Ujung Pandang, was a collection point for goods from islands further east, gathered by the intrepid sailors of South Sulawesi; Ternate Island in northern Maluku performed a similar role for the rare products offered by Irian Jaya, Halmahera and North Sulawesi.

As the Majapahit Empire declined in the 14th century, power gaps developed which allowed the rise of new states. Ternate, Ujung Pandang and others flourished and grew into small kingdoms enriched by the international trade in which they could now deal directly as independent states. Each rushed to control his sources, and there was strong competition which often resulted in piracy.

ISLAM

Early in the 15th century the tide of Islam that would eventually push the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms aside began its

sweep across the archipelago. The rise of the city of Malacca on the southwestern coast of the Malay Peninsula provided the springboard for Islam to begin its slow but steady march eastward through the islands. Carried by Moslem traders along the trade routes, it eventually reached the farthest ends of the archipelago. The already weakened Majapahit kingdom fell around 1520, but not before a new force had entered the scene: the Portuguese arrived on the island of Sumatra in 1509.

THE EUROPEANS

The Portuguese captured Malacca and from there moved eastward, reaching North Sulawesi in 1512. They gave the island its first known name, Celebes. The most important kingdom in the region at that time was the Sultanate of Ternate, located on the very small island of Ternate in northern Maluku. During the 15th century Ternate had brought under its jurisdiction the greater part of the northern peninsula and eastern coast of Sulawesi, as well as the islands that stretched from Sangir-Talaud in the far north to Buton in the south. Ternate is also said to have encompassed the most southern part of Mindanao in the Philippines.

The control exercised by Ternate was tolerant. The Sultan reserved the right to approve or disapprove of candidate rajas and demanded annual tribute in the form of those trade goods valued by the Arabs, Chinese and, soon, the Europeans: tortoise shell, *trepang* (sea cucumber), spices, wax, *damar*, sandalwood, ebony, pearls, and for Ternate itself, rice. In 1522 Portugal was given permission to establish a fort in Islamic Ternate and to practice the Christian religion. Manado, located on the northern tip of the north peninsula of Sulawesi, became a regular stopping point on voyages to and from Malacca. Portugal then set about establishing a foothold on North

Sulawesi, beginning with the conversion of the Raja of Manado and more than one thousand of his people to Catholicism in 1563.

Relations between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Ternate deteriorated after its Sultan was murdered at the instigation of two Portuguese. As a consequence, Ternate became actively anti-Portuguese and thereby anti-Christian as well. Portuguese power by this time, however, was already being undermined by Spanish interference. The Portuguese were expelled from Ternate, Manado and Minahasa in 1575. Spain came to Portugal's aid, but not before the Dutch had arrived and seized the opportunity to develop a relationship with Ternate.³ Nevertheless, the Dutch were defeated and the new Sultan of Ternate taken prisoner in 1606. The Spanish took over Portuguese holdings in North Sulawesi, until forced out by a combination of local resentment of their treatment of the natives and pressure from the Dutch. The effect of the Spanish contact, although brief, was lasting in the Manado area, and is still in evidence in some forms of dress, dance, music and terminology.

The Dutch erected a post in Manado in 1657, and the northern arm of Sulawesi was united for the first time under the Raja of Manado. The Raja, however, lost the trust of his people and in 1670 lost his throne as well, with Manado becoming a district under Dutch rule. In 1679 Minahasa, located on the northern peninsula, signed a contract acknowledging the United East Indies Company of the Netherlands sovereignty over the area. Proselytizing, which had come to a halt with the eviction of the Spaniards, was resumed, this time in Calvinist Presbyterian form. Sermons were conducted in the Malay language.

Northern Sulawesi was the Dutch rice granary. From here

it supplied the needs of the entire Maluku region. Other trade products were tortoise shell and Sloetia Minahasa bast cloth. Manado, so conveniently located, became the meeting place for the islands and states of northern Sulawesi. This was a time of relative peace, lasting until wars with the neighboring Bolaang-Mongondow state began, wars which were not settled until 1756 when the boundary between the two states was conclusively defined.

During the 16th century, the small kingdom of Gowa in South Sulawesi brought under its control not only much of accessible Sulawesi, but East Kalimantan, Bima, Sumbawa, West Flores, Sula, Seram, and Buton Island as well. Gowa entered into an agreement with the kingdom of Ternate late in the 16th century to ensure trade sources and to encourage the spread of Islam.

Ujung Pandang, the capital of Gowa, was a trade centre for products from the east. Foreign ships anchored in the harbor to dispose of their trade goods, to replenish their supplies and to purchase exotic products, such as spirits and sandalwood. Portuguese, Dutch, British, and Danish traders were frequent visitors and were permitted to establish trading posts. Ujung Pandang, ruled by the enlightened Hasanudin and his father before him, became a cosmopolitan city with peoples of all races mixing. Many religions were practised, although the official religion of Gowa was Islam. When the Malay port of Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, the Roman Catholics fled to Ujung Pandang with their relics, making that city a centre of Catholicism at that time, second only to Macao and Manila.

When the Dutch gained control of the important trading center of Malacca, they instituted their monopoly system and free trade moved to Ujung Pandang. The Dutch were allowed to operate in Ujung Pandang until their politics became so

difficult that they were forbidden entry into town. For many years the Sultan of Gowa resisted Dutch demands that he not trade with foreign ships and that he stay out of Maluku and Manado. The Dutch, however, found allies in Bone and Buton, and with a large force of trusted Ambonese men brought Gowa to its knees in 1667, forcing it to sign the Bungaya Treaty which ended Gowanese power forever. Many of the local inhabitants, the Buginese, found life under the Dutch unbearable and there was a large migration to other islands. They fled to East Kalimantan, Riau, East Sumatra, and Java, where they settled in colonies, and to the high seas where they took to piracy to harass colonial shipping. The Roman Catholics fled once again with their relics, this time to Flores.

The Treaty of Bungaya guaranteed the freedom of neighboring Bone, in recognition of the aid which had been given against Gowa. As an independent state, Bone was allowed to trade as it wished. Quietly, Bone consolidated its forces, gradually spreading its influence throughout the south of Sulawesi. Resisting all Dutch attempts to limit its power, Bone ultimately proved to be a most troublesome ally.

By the time British warships appeared off the coast of South Sulawesi in 1797, Bone had succeeded in isolating the Dutch in their forts in Ujung Pandang, Bantaeng and Balukumba. The Dutch, hard-pressed by a combined British-Bone front, surrendered Ujung Pandang to the British in 1812. The return of the Dutch in 1816 was not welcomed by Bone and they moved their business to Singapore, trading for weapons to use against the Dutch. Bone held out until 1905, when its raja was captured and sent into exile. The Dutch were then in *de facto* control of all of Sulawesi and the dependent islands until Indonesia's independence was recognized by the Netherlands in 1949.

Little was known about Central Sulawesi, the land inhabited by the people generally known as the Toraja, until the incursion of Christian missionaries during the latter part of the 19th century. These missionaries were under instructions to keep complete accounts of their travels, and their journals and correspondence provide some of the only records of the region prior to Indonesian independence. In the western districts there was a weak Buginese overlordship with tribute being paid thereto. The centre of this area today is the coastal town of Palu, capital of the Province of Central Sulawesi. Eastern Toraja also experienced Buginese suzerainty through the Sultanates of Mori and Luwu. South Toraja is now a part of the Province of South Sulawesi. Kingships developed in those parts closest to the Buginese lands; otherwise, throughout the central part of Sulawesi, village structure was basically an individual settlement of kingship groups headed by a council of elders.

The Toraja resisted all attempts at outside authority. The Bugis traded with the Toraja through the Bajau sea nomads, the only people tolerated by the fearsome Toraja warriors. Buginese power, whether Gowa, Luwu or Bone, in the Toraja-lands was exerted through the intermediation of tributary kingdoms along the coastlines. It was not until the 1960's that real progress was made in the building of roads, schools, and hospitals and a centralized government administration became an effective reality.

On March 8, 1942 the Dutch surrendered Indonesia to the Japanese. During the Japanese occupation, Indonesian nationalist efforts were curtailed, but on August 17, 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender, Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesian independence in Jakarta. After 350 years of colonialism, the islands were united under one flag, the Red-and-White of Indonesia.

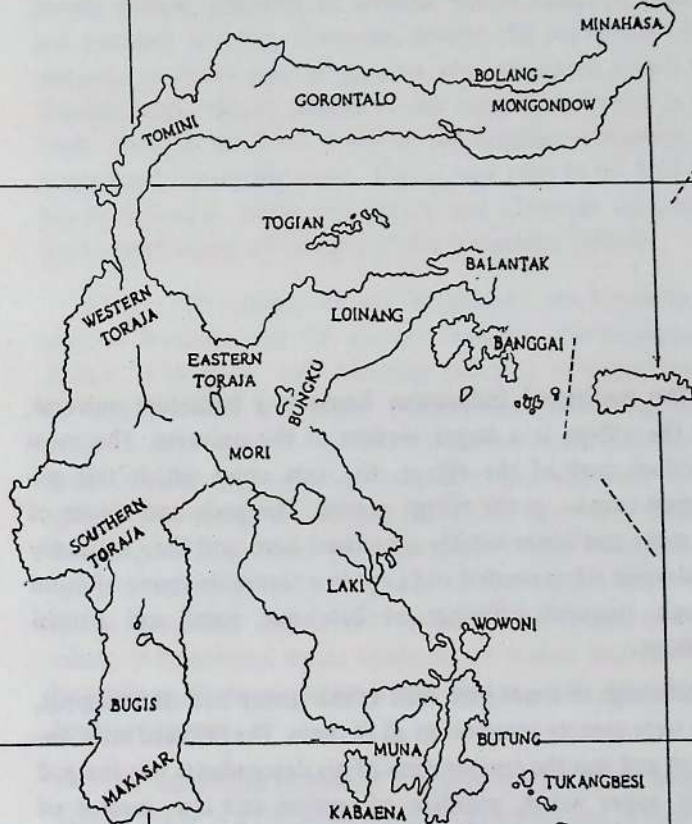
The Indonesian national motto is "Unity in Diversity".

During the pre-Christian era and the early centuries many similarities, ethnic and cultural, existed between the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago. It was only as the influences as described above from India and China and in later years from the West came to play an increasing role in Indonesian society, that the diversity within and between the islands became more apparent. The ability of the Indonesians to accept and absorb new ideas while retaining the old also contributed to the rich culture that one finds here today. With an understanding of the geography and history of the islands of Indonesia, it is possible to appreciate the Indonesian culture and also the strength of its unity.

SULAWESI – ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

The peoples of the island of Sulawesi manifest great ethnic variety, from the Minahasans in the far north, whose fair complexions have been enhanced by extensive inter-marriage with Europeans over the centuries, to the dark Toala people of the southwest, a very small, disappearing tribe whose people have retained ethnic purity through isolation. In Sulawesi and its satellite islands, four systems of adat law are recognized: Minahasa, Gorontalo, Toraja and Bugis--dominated South Sulawesi. An ethnic breakdown which would account for language-family and other similarities contains twelve divisions: Sangir-Talaud, Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow, Gorontalo, Tomini (Toli-Toli), Toraja, Loinang, Bungku-Laki, Makasar-Bugis, Muna-Butung, Toala (perhaps no longer in existence), and the Bajau Sea Nomads. Each has its own family of dialects belonging to the greater Malayo-Polynesian class, with those in the north closely resembling the languages of the Philippines. Since independence, however, Bahasa Indonesia has been Indonesia's national language and its use all over the archipelago is a strong unifying influence in this ethnically diverse nation.

ETHNIC GROUPS OF SULAWESI



... there were also good spirits and
the good looked after agriculture and cured illness;
the evil brought misfortune and were not to be angered. The
soul was believed to be a life force given by the gods at creation,



II. Religion and Ritual

The traditional Indonesian house is a miniature universe, and the village is a larger version of the universe. The most important part of the village, the axis upon which this microcosm turns, is the village centre. The gods and spirits of the upper and lower worlds are closest here, and they are easily called upon when needed and kept in a favorable frame of mind through frequent offerings of betel-nut, food and animal sacrifices.

Although in times past each ethnic group had its own gods, there were aspects common to all of them. The first and most important god was the creator. One of his descendants was the god of the upper world, guardian of custom and law, creator of souls, and governor of destinies. The other descendant was the god of the underworld, who was the preserver. Neither was whole without the other. There were also good spirits and evil spirits. The good looked after agriculture and cured illness; the evil brought misfortune and were not to be angered. The soul was believed to be a life force given by the gods at creation,

not only to men but also to animals, plants, stars, mountains, rivers, weapons, customs and laws.

The greater part of the Indonesian population is now Moslem, the lesser part Christian, mainly Protestant. Some few people remain attached to ancient beliefs based on animism and ancestor worship. However, despite the conversion of the majority to Islam and Christianity, the indigenous beliefs seep through many rituals related to the most basic events in life: birth, burying the dead, parts of the marriage ceremony, and sowing and harvesting crops. This is true even in the Minahasa, North Sulawesi, where the Dutch and Christian missionaries have erased nearly all vestiges of the indigenous culture.

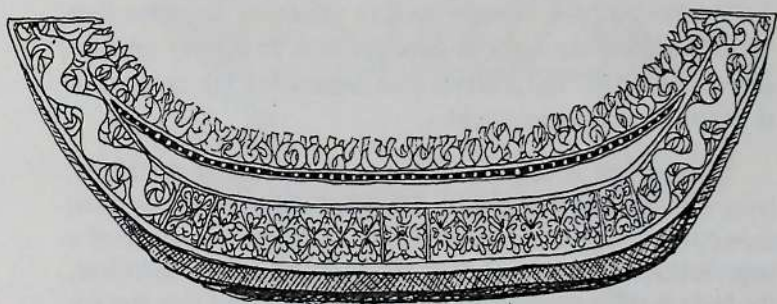
Today, 89 percent of the Minahasans are Christian, 7.3 percent Moslem, and 2.4 percent Buddhist. Nevertheless, the *dukun*, or shaman, and offerings still play an important part in births, deaths, marriages, planting and harvesting. Rituals center around ancestor spirits, but nature spirits and spirits of dead parents and close relatives who live near men are also given attention. It is still believed that a man's final destiny is determined by the way he lived. A good man becomes a good spirit, a wicked man an evil spirit. Offerings are made to the spirits at certain times, such as at the full moon or when a village is threatened by an epidemic or natural disaster. The intermediary in these rites is the *dukun*, especially one with healing powers.

The main faith embraced by the people of South Sulawesi is Islam. There is a Christian community composed of newcomers from Maluku, Minahasa and Toraja who live mostly in the cities. A small portion, all of whom live in Tana Toraja and vicinity, follow the ancient belief of the Toraja people, *aluk to' dolo'*. This early belief is classified by the Government as belonging to the Hindu-Dharma group.

Aluk to'dolo', the 'Rituals of the Old People', is composed of a total of 7,777 rituals, brought to earth by the last of the heavenly ancestors, which govern ceremonial life. Two sets of opposing forces dominate ritual behavior. One is between the upper world and the under world, the other between east and west. Man and earth are in the middle. East and west are used for the orientation of behavior: one turns east when addressing god, and west when communicating with the spirits of the dead. The ceremonial world is divided between life ceremonies, which take place when the sun rises and death rituals, which are carried out when the sun sets. Priests who officiate at ceremonies concerning rice may not attend death ceremonies. Puang Matua, the most important Toraja god, established the rituals and created humans, animals, and most objects associated with the upper world. The earth is kept in place by Pong Tulakpadang. He lives in the under world but carries the earth on his shoulders with the help of minor gods. *Puya* is a sort of purgatory between the two spheres where Pong Lalodong, the lord of the hereafter, is the judge.

The Islam which first came to South Sulawesi was not only monotheistic but it was of a mystical form. The Bugis found it easy to accept the new faith which had much in common with their own beliefs. Islamic laws were incorporated as the fifth element in their system of norms. Ancient rituals in honor of the ancestors, the preservation of spirit houses, pre-planting rites and house-raising ceremonies continued, inspired by Islam. Orthodoxy did not begin until the revival movements of the 20th century. And so, although the wedding ceremony still contains rites of ancient origin and is conducted by an expert in ritual, it begins with and is sanctioned by the Islamic rites.

Objects



17951

COFFIN - LID

Wood

Length (approx.) - 3 m.

Height in centre - 40 cm.; at ends - 90 cm.

Sa'dan Toraja, South Sulawesi

The object is the lid of a coffin, fashioned in the shape of a Toraja *adat* house which resembles the shape of a boat. Locally known as *kayu rapasan*, it is used to store the body of the deceased in a limestone cave until such time as a second and

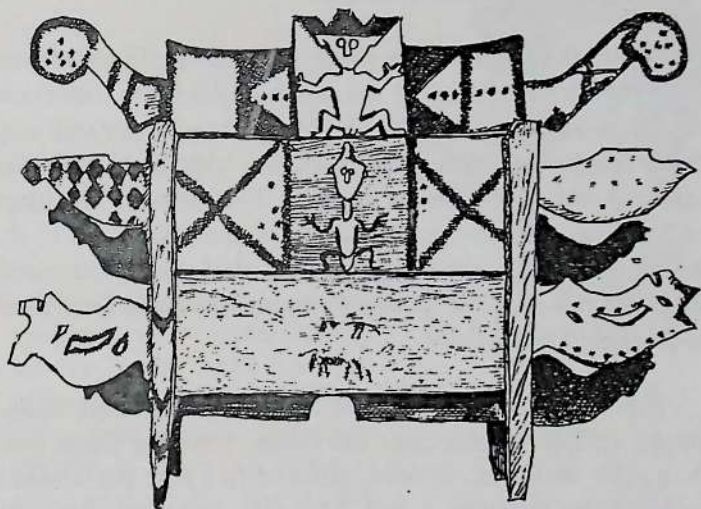
final interment in a cliff grave can be properly held. Before the corpse is put into the coffin, it is laid out in state in the house while the body fluids are drained off. Preliminary funeral rites are observed during this time as well. Only certain people may have a double burial. Formerly, when headhunting was practiced, only someone who had taken heads was eligible. Now, since headhunting has disappeared, only someone with an ancestor who had taken heads is eligible. He must, however, also be able to afford the minimum sacrifice : 9 water buffaloes and 25 pigs.

When the time has come to complete the burial rites, a ring of houses is built around an arena, where the family of the deceased will stay during the ceremonies. In the center of the arena a funeral tower is built, also in the shape of an *adat* house. The coffin is brought back to the house from the limestone cave and the body is 'brought back to life' by taking it out of the coffin. The coffin is then returned to the cave, where it is stored until needed again.

The corpse is laid out in the central room of the house, lying with its head to the south. It is wrapped in pandanus mats, sacred cloths and a red cover which is sewn in the shape of a large bolster. After several days and specified animal sacrifices, the body is taken down to the reception floor of the rice granary where it is decorated with gold and silver ornaments. Sacred cloths and beaded *kandaurE* neck ornaments are hung nearby. A *tautau*, or wooden effigy made in the image of the deceased, is carved out of bamboo. When a large animal sacrifice is planned, more than the minimum 9 buffalo, the *tautau* is made of jack-fruit wood. The body is finally removed to the funeral tower and, after several days, to the cliff grave which has been prepared. Every step of the entire process is marked by the sacrifice of animals according to a rigid, ageold prescription, and the meat is distributed to relatives, friends and helpers.

The funeral is the most important event in Toraja life. It is

practiced along the same lines by adherents of *aluk to'dolo* and Christians alike. However, since the double *rapasan* funeral involves tremendous expense, funerals today are often much simpler affairs and involve one funeral only. In the latter case, there is no need for coffins, only the funeral tower.



2895 A
COFFIN
Wood

130 cm. x 100 cm. x 37.5 cm.
Tongasawang, North Sulawesi

Large burial jars have been a common feature of North Sulawesi culture since pre-historic times. Baked clay or stone was used. The people of Tongasawang, North Sulawesi, however, usually buried their dead in chests of wood. These chests were made in the shape of houses with human figures carved on the ridge of the roof, and were raised off the ground by four legs. The Tongasawang painted their coffins black, red and white.

Black paint was derived from huntstool, white from pig clay and red from pig's blood. The body was bound in a squatting position just as his last breath was drawn. It was covered in cloths and put in a chair or on a bed with silk patola cloths from India, weapons, jewelry and other status symbols. A canopy was erected over him, a plate of food set before him. The poor buried their dead in hollowed out logs, the wealthy in fine coffins such as that displayed.

Often the figures with which a coffin was decorated were connected with the life of the person buried inside. This example has a squatting man on its lid. His hands, each with only three fingers, are raised. He is wearing what could be a two-cornered hat, common in the early 19th century. The figure of a woman appears in the middle of the bottom part of the coffin, wearing a necklace and head decoration. Underneath are indistinct sketches of men on horses. The coffin bears traces of black and white paint.

The people of Mori buried their corpses in small house-shaped coffins erected near the village. When the bones were clean, the skull was removed, attached to a stick and wrapped up so as to resemble a doll. This doll, *tunuwanas*, was then taken to the house where the deceased had lived. It was kept there for 10 to 20 days during which it was served food and drink. Festivities were held in the village accompanied by the slaughter of many water buffalo. Dances were performed nightly in which the dancers wore the same costume as the doll. At the end of the festivities, the *tunuwanas* was taken to distant mountains for final burial.

The headdress of the *tunuwanas* exhibited indicates that the deceased was a man. A female would also have been distinguished by tatoo marks on the face and pierced ears. The doll was made to resemble the deceased and received its soul.

16652

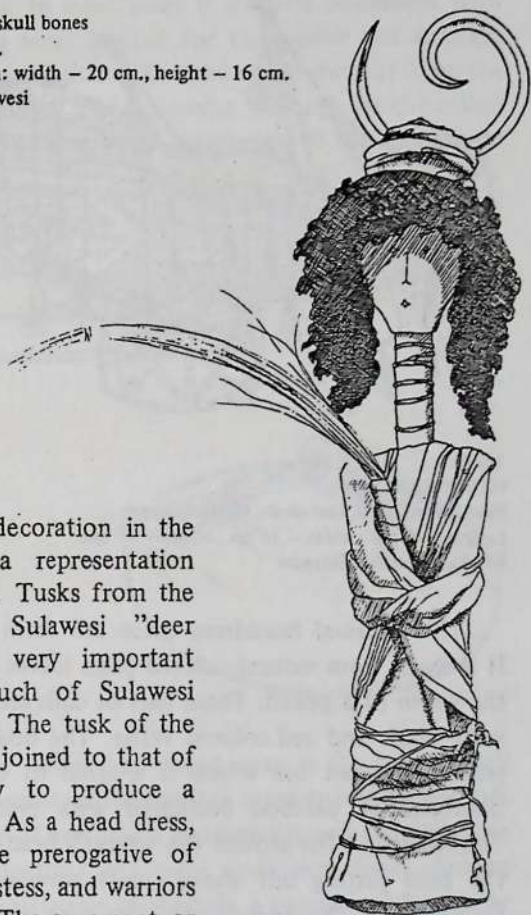
SOUL DOLL

Wood, cotton, brass, skull bones

Total length - 68 cm.

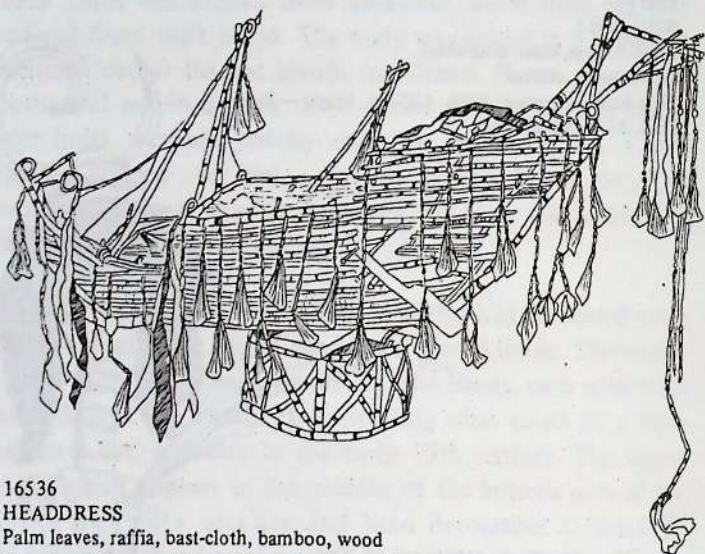
Brass head decoration: width - 20 cm., height - 16 cm.

Mori, Southeast Sulawesi



The brass decoration in the headdress is a representation *babirusa*, tusks. Tusks from the *babirusa*, the Sulawesi "deer pig", form a very important element in much of Sulawesi ornamentation. The tusk of the upper jaw was joined to that of the lower jaw to produce a graceful spiral. As a head dress, tusks were the prerogative of a priest or priestess, and warriors and chieftains. The ornament, or the tusks them selves, was always

worn with the point and spiral pointing upwards and the point on the right side. It was believed to have the power to drive out demons, to heal, to avert danger and to signify heroism in battle. The doll is carrying a broom, the significance of which is not known.



16536

HEADDRESS

Palm leaves, raffia, bast-cloth, bamboo, wood

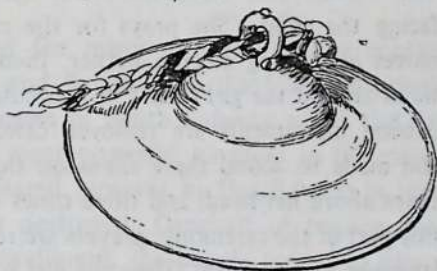
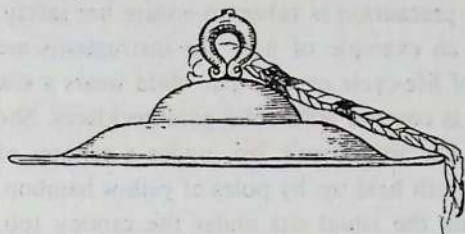
Length - 86 cm.; width - 30 cm.; height - 47 cm.

Kolaka, Southeast Sulawesi

This unusual headdress takes the form of a sailing boat. It is made from natural colored palm leaves rolled up into bars the width of a pencil. These bars or coils are bound at intervals with black and red colored raffia. The boat sits on top of a porous wooden bar which is secured to the top of a wide headband of bamboo decorated with pieces of rolled leaf. The headband fits around the wearer's head over the eyebrows, the boat jutting out above, most probably with the prow facing front. The boat is complete with masts and rigging and is decorated with bast-cloth tassels.

Such a headdress would have been worn only by a great man when returning from a head-hunting foray by boat rather than by land. There are a variety of styles, each for a different purpose and a man of certain status.

Head-hunting was a part of the religion and ritual of many Indonesian peoples. In most cases it was not connected with cannibalism. Heads were hunted for the power and strength of the men who owned them; the head is still thought to be the most sacred part of the body, housing the soul. Head-hunting was necessary for the continued well-being of the village and the crops.



16771
CYMBALS
Brass, cloth
Diameter - 20 cm.
South Sulawesi

Every Buginese family has stored away in the attic a small basket filled with some of the family's most sacred possessions. These are a variety of percussion instruments, and their purpose is to prevent misfortune and warn away evil spirits. Among these items are a small pair of cymbals, a pair of iron bars to be knocked against each other, and an uncut band of tightly woven fabric which if pulled sharply taut produces a soft bang.

The instruments are kept in a special basket, *baku pa'bale*, normally colored yellow and in three tiers, the lid of one level forming the box of the next. The basket is taken down by the mistress of the house only when needed for ritual purposes. Its

removal is marked by a special rite involving incense, oil, uncooked rice and prayer. When the daughter of the house marries and moves out, she may borrow her mother's equipment until such time as she is able to acquire her own set. Sets are inherited through the female line.

The ceremony which marks the transition of a six-year old girl from babyhood to pre-puberty is a very crucial time in the child's life, and every precaution is taken to ensure her safety. The ceremony offers an example of how the instruments are used in the context of life-cycle events. The child wears a silk sarong, and her chest is covered with solid gold necklaces. She is made to sit upon her wet-nurse's lap, under a canopy of ancient, sacred batik cloth held up by poles of yellow bamboo. The woman who leads the ritual sits under the canopy too, facing the child. She prays for the child's well-being, as she moves a smoking incense burner, then a lighted candle, three times around the girl's head in a circular motion. Then the percussion instruments are removed carefully from their basket, and made to sound three times on the child's left side, three times above her head, and three times on her right side. During this part of the ceremony, prayers are recited in the secret ritual language of the Bugis. Then the girl is dressed in several sheer blouses, the first traditional costume she will ever have worn. The girl then is handed pieces of black, white, and yellow cakes of sticky rice. Popped rice is showered on her. She then is lifted up by one of her uncles and passed from hand to hand by all the men present, high off the ground, all around the outer perimeter of the house. The ceremony ends there, and the girl is brought back to sit alone under the canopy until everyone has gone home.

The set of percussion instruments on exhibit is slightly larger than the usual family collection. It belonged to a *bissu*, a priest, and was used in village ceremonies.



III. Weaponry

Records show that for many centuries trading contacts existed between Java and Sulawesi. In the 17th century the Bugis and Makasar peoples of South Sulawesi under the Raja of Gowa formed the most powerful kingdom in the eastern islands. They were defeated, however, by Dutch forces in 1669, and their capital was destroyed. Deprived of trading, their traditional means of livelihood, the people turned to piracy, and their audacious voyages played a vital role in bringing the *keris* dagger to Sulawesi. Originally crafted on Java at the highly sophisticated Hinduized courts of the central kingdoms, the *keris* was carried to the outer islands. Numerous variations in both shape and material are now found in Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan. In Sulawesi the *keris* evolved into a symbol of wealth and a part of ceremonial dress.

Other weapons have been used on Sulawesi. In the northern regions, chopping knives, *sabel* or *peda*, served not only as killing weapons but also as agricultural tools. In Minahasa, the *peda* and shield featured in some traditional dances as well. The spear was used as a weapon and to hunt wild animals.

In Central Sulawesi the spear was used in battle, for hunting animals and for spearing fish. The poison-tipped blow dart was a formidable weapon with a range of up to 200 meters. Great chopping swords were used, as well as *keris*, and were similar to those found in the Buginese regions. According to traditional or *adat* law, if a man drew his *keris*, he had to fight to the death.

Both the *keris* and sword were used in Southeast Sulawesi for close-combat fighting, while spears, javelins and blow darts were employed for greater distances.

The Bugis and Makasar people of South Sulawesi are famous warriors. After the defeat of Gowa in 1669, they waged constant war over the next two hundred years against the United East Indies Company. Weapons used were the spear, called *bessi*; poisoned lance, *kanjai*; short stabbing knife, *badik*, which is worn by Buginese men at all times; and a *keris*, called *tappi* or *sele*.

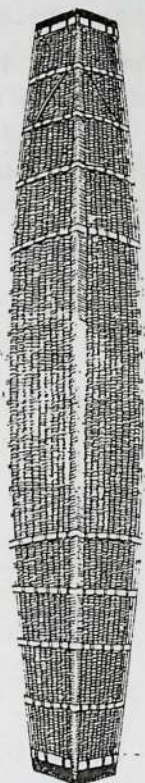
To the people of Tana Toraja of the south central highlands, *keris* were not appreciated as weapons, but were regarded as symbols of wealth and prestige. Because of their fine workmanship, *keris* may convey an aura of grace, but they are seldom thought of as sacred. Men may wear *keris* at certain rituals such as the *rapasan* burial ritual, and women may wear a pair of *keris* male and female, in special ritual dances.

Toraja *keris* models follow the Javanese or Balinese anthropomorphic-handle style, which confirms their origin from Buginese imports. Later Toraja craftsmen made copies. The blade may be imported from Java or Bali; it is usually curved. The difference in style between the Toraja *keris* and the original import is seen in the handle and scabbard. The handle is often shaped as a stylized bird's head, with an elongated neck forming the grip. The bird is a symbol of courage.

safety and success. The scabbard is usually rectangular in shape, similar to the Javanese gayaman style, and possibly carved from wood, bone or ivory. The scabbard is commonly bound with rattan strips or encased in a metal sheath similar to Javanese and Balinese models. Occasionally a sheath is decorated in imitation of the common rattan binding.

A feature of the Sulawesi *keris* scabbard is the flattened, shoe-shaped projection at the bottom. This indicates that the *keris* is not slipped into a belt but is tied to the waist. The sash used to tie the *keris* is deemed important and is often beautifully decorated.

Objects



8823

SHIELD

Rattan

Length - 103 cm.; width - 20.5 cm.

To Lampa, Central Sulawesi

The shield is held in the left hand, knife in the right. It is a defensive weapon but can be rendered offensive in close contact by metal spikes on the outside surface. The shield, known locally as a *tambuk* has narrow ends and spreads out in the middle. These ends are sometimes used as battering rams. Shields may be made of wood, leather or rattan.

16669

BATTLECAP

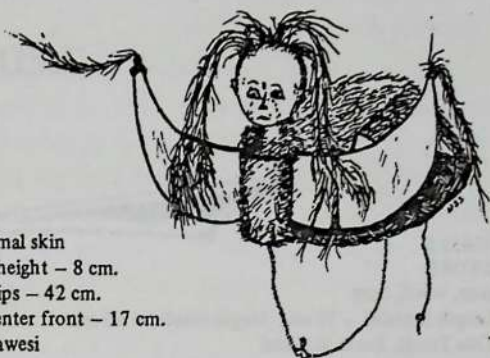
Rattan, brass, wood, animal skin

Cap diameter - 19 cm.; height - 8 cm.

Distance between horn tips - 42 cm.

Height of ornament in center front - 17 cm.

Bada region, Central Sulawesi



The Toraja people of Central and South Sulawesi wore special clothing, such as battle caps braided from strong rattan, to protect themselves in battle. This cap would have belonged to a champion fighter. It is decorated in the front with a brass crescent shaped like the water buffalo's horns. In the center of the horns is a small wooden piece simply carved to represent a man in a style typical of the Bada region. The cap was originally covered with animal skin.

Among the Sa'dan Toraja, swords often have religious significance. An ancient sword with a decorated handle of carved horn is called *la'bo penae*. It is believed that these swords came down from heaven with the ancestors. They are used during rituals for the dead, as well as during *rumbu tuka'* feasts (feasts of the east) where they serve to dispel evil influences. During the *maro* and *ma'bugi'* rituals, the *la'bo' penae* are used to inflict blows during trance.



16651 B

SWORD

Iron, wood, horn

Length (handle) – 30 cm ; length (blade) – 60 cm.

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

The sword is worn by men during a ceremony which takes place after a successful campaign, in celebration of winning battle. All free men many wear this sword, and generally each family possesses one which is passed down from generation to generation. Some *la'bo'penae* are 300 years old. Previously, the swords were made in Tana Toraja, but today the necessary materials are no longer available nor are there any qualified smiths to make them.

The blade is sharp on one side and is sometimes damascened. For battle, it is dipped into powerful poisons. The sword is stored in a wooden sheath and worn slung over the shoulder.

The handles of traditional swords were made of bone or horn, shaped to fit the warrior's hand, and carved in the personal design of the original owner. The sword exhibited bears the eight-headed *pa'ulukarua* motif. The end of the sheath flattens to form an elliptical disc.

As some *la'bo penae* are considered to have magical powers, the sheathed sword lives in a quiet place, stored in a rattan box called *bakabua*. This special box may also contain other treasures or items with magical attributes, such as a *keris*.



IV. Music

Sulawesi has a rich variety of musical sounds. The coastal areas have been affected by Javanese, Arabic and European cultural influences. A greater selection of musical instruments exists in the coastal areas than in the hinterlands which have remained relatively free from outside influences. Many types of bowed instruments are found along the coast, as are bamboo instruments resembling the clarinet or oboe. In the Christian areas there is an emphasis on Western-style harmony, while in predominantly Islamic areas, there are florid melodic lines with a distinctly Arabic sound.

In the interior, musical instruments reflect an older culture. There is a predominance of instruments made from bamboo and drums with Malaysian characteristics. Rhythmic elements are strong in this music; rhythm rather than harmony is the underlying force of unity.

Certain instruments are found throughout Sulawesi, such as the mouth harp, bull roarer, bamboo-tube zither, end-blown and transverse flutes, tuning forks and drums of diverse sizes

and shapes. It is also reported that some ethnic groups in Sulawesi play the nose flute.

Some musical instruments that appear to be unique to Sulawesi are still popular. The *kulintang* of Minahasa in the north is well known. It is a xylophone of wooden keys that produces tunes with a distinct western harmony. Several are played at one time. There are wind ensembles made of bamboo or, occasionally, zinc tubes of varying lengths and widths. These are used to play marching music, orchestral entertainment and church music, primarily in North Sulawesi. The most important instrument among the people is the human voice, which is used both in combination with instruments and alone to transmit history and folklore through chanted epic poems.

Objects

III C 17

LUTE

Wood, buffalo hide, coconut shell, fibre

Length - 84 cm.; Diameter - 12 cm.

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

This particular instrument is a fine example of the bowed lute of the Tana Toraja peoples. The bow, however, is missing and it has only one string.

The characteristic of the *keso-keso* its local name, is that the neck of the instrument passes through a coconut-shell resonator which forms a foot at the bottom end of the instrument. The string, made of a local fibre, is strung from the neck of the lute and over the resonating box. It is not raised by a bridge. The neck of the lute is made of wood decorated with carved geometric patterns colored red, white and black. The resonating box is half a dried coconut shell covered with a piece



of buffalo hide. There is a thumb-size hole in the back side of the coconut husk resonator.

The *keso-keso* is played in groups of two or three in accompaniment to songs sung in three voices. The *keso-keso* is still made and played today.

21175

FLUTE

Bamboo

Length - 43.5 cm.; Diameter - 1.5 cm.

Sangir, North Sulawesi



This is a side-blown or transverse flute. The mouthpiece is on the side close to one end. There are four finger holes and one end of the flute is open. There is no information available about the scale used on this flute or with what other instruments it might have been played.

21148

BAMBOO ZITHER

Bamboo

Length - 53 cm.; Diameter - 9 cm.

Sangir, North Sulawesi



The *salude* or bamboo-tube zither is a percussion instrument used to mark time. It is found all over Indonesia with this basic shape. However, the number of strings and placement of sound holes varies from island to island and from one ethnic group to another.

This particular instrument is closed at both ends by nodes of the bamboo. There are three sound holes placed at regular intervals along the length of the bamboo tube. Two strings are made by cutting strips from the surface of the bamboo between the two nodes. The ends of these strings are wrapped with rattan to prevent them from breaking off; they are raised by small notches of wood which are placed under the strings near the nodes at each end. A wooden clapper is attached to the upper string over the middle hole, to prolong the vibration of the string.

In some cases, the bamboo zither is struck with a wooden stick to produce sound; in other cases the strings are plucked. Often the hand is cupped over the sound hole to modify the sound.

The tube zither was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to dancing and also in combination with other instruments in a musical ensemble.



21173

TUNING FORK

Bamboo

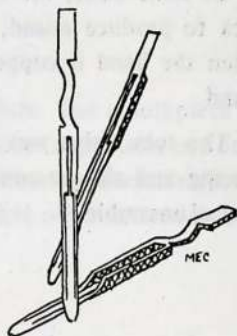
Length - 60.5 cm.; Diameter - 4.5 cm.

Sangir, North Sulawesi

The *sasesahing*, the local name for this musical instrument, is found among most tribal groups on Sulawesi and the satellite islands. It is shaped like a tuning fork and is played in much the same way.

There are two fork-like prongs carved out of the bamboo, and at the nodal end-of-these cuts are two small square holes. The end, which is held in the hand, retains its tube form and is closed by a node in the bamboo. The prongs of the bamboo tube are struck against the wrist of the player. Vibration of the prongs and the column of air which sweeps into the bamboo tube produce a sound. This instrument is played by women and children, rarely by men.

21170
MOUTH HARP
Bamboo, string
Length - 20-21 cm.; Width - 1 cm.
Sangir, North Sulawesi



The mouth harp is an instrument found on most of the islands of Indonesia. It is used alone or in conjunction with drums.¹ In Sulawesi it is used for religious ceremonies and rites or purely for entertainment.

The mouth harp is generally played by holding the two outer prongs between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand and putting the instrument between the lips. The cord at the far end is pulled with the player's right hand. The cavity of the head acts as the sound chamber and the sound is altered by changing the shape of the mouth. In some cases the central tongue of the instrument is loaded with resin. In Java, the use of the *rinding* is related to rice culture.



V. House Models

The style of house in which people live is greatly influenced by a variety of external factors; among them, terrain, climate and custom. In Sulawesi, geographical land barriers have caused differing degrees of social and culture exchange among the various regions, resulting in diverse styles of architecture. Prior to the era of European contact, the people of Sulawesi lived primarily in large rectangular houses raised high above the ground on thick pylons. In the north the houses were made of wood; in the southwest of bamboo matting. *Ijuk*, or sugar-palm thatch, covered the roofs, later to be replaced with corrugated zinc plates. Several families descending from a common ancestor live in one house.

The Minahasan house in North Sulawesi has a large open room in the front which is used as a reception hall. A central hall runs from the front to the back of the house, with the back portion serving as storage space for rice. Sleeping rooms are built off either side of the hall. The kitchen is typically a semi-detached building at the back of the house. In 1845, there was

a disastrous earthquake which took a great toll on this kind of structure. Thereafter, house posts were lowered and the houses were made smaller.

The traditional Buginese house of South Sulawesi has a different plan. Stairs rise to a small verandah where guests wait for an invitation to enter the sacred main room of the house. The main room is enclosed and extends the width of the house. In the middle of this room is a central pillar where the protective spirit rests. Behind the main room is the bedroom of the parents, and beyond that the daughters' room. Sons spread their sleeping mats in the front room. Originally the kitchen was located in the front of the house; now it is usually at the back on a level lower than the principal rooms. Decoration consists mostly of fancifully-woven bamboo matting. Rice is stored in the attic, the highest and therefore most exalted place in the house.

Perhaps the most interesting houses of Sulawesi are those found in a relatively small region along the northern border of the Province of South Sulawesi. These buildings are decorated with geometrical motifs which have the power to protect the inhabitants from misfortune. With walls made of wood and roofs of bamboo, these houses are sturdy to stand for centuries, although not a nail has gone into their construction. A flight of steps along one long side leads into the central room with its sacred pillar. To either side, at a higher level, are the quarters for the head of the household and a room for the grandparents and honored overnight guests. The rice granary is a separate structure. Guests are received on the platform underneath the granary.

The major occupations and pre-occupations of a cultural group play an important part in choosing locations considered suitable for houses. The Minahasans are traders, and they locate

their houses along the main roads. The Buginese, a seafaring people, place their houses so the back door faces the rivers where their boats are moored. In Tana Toraja, where inter-tribal warfare was an everpresent concern, houses were scattered on hilltops for easier defense.

Not all Sulawesi houses are built on land. The Bajau live along the coast in bamboo houses built of rafts. The Tondano live above a lake in the north; one entrance of their simple houses leading to the shore and the other to a boat landing on the lake.

Objects



21759

TONGKONAN HOUSE MODEL

Bamboo and wood, no nails, no hinges

Height - 63 cm.; length - 424 cm.

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

Banua tongkonan, community or *adat* houses in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi, conform to the fixed requirements of ancient traditions, rite offerings and prayers. They belong to one family group having a common ancestor and are managed by the eldest female in the family. When the structures deteriorate, they are repaired, until they are no longer repairable. The oldest house still standing, at Ke'te' in the Rantepao area, is reputed to be five hundred years old.

The *banua tongkonan* is the universe; it is also a boat. The roof represents the sky, but the rooms are given the same names as the parts of a boat. The house must stand with its front pointing to the north, the source of happiness; the entrance must be on the east side, which is associated with life. The houses once were built on the top of high hills, as protection against enemies; most have been moved to lower locations in recent times.

Adat houses stand on solid octagonal poles. They have a rectangular floor plan divided into three rooms of varying levels. The south room, called the *sumbung*, or captain's bridge, is used today as a kitchen. The central room, *sali* or midship always faces the east to ensure peace and security. The *sali* serves as general living and sleeping quarters. In the middle of this room is the central post of the house, rising like a mainmast to the roof, where the sacred family heirlooms are kept. The north room, called *tangdo*, is for grandparents and guests; verandahs or *longa* are built along the north end of the houses for honored guests and other prominent people.

The most spectacular feature of the house is its sweeping roof in the shape of a boat, commemorating the legend of the

first Toraja people who arrived in Sulawesi in a storm, pulled their boats to shore and used them as roofs. The three-layered roof is made of a thick carpet of halved bamboo covered with rice straw, over which banana leaves are spread. The roof is supported by a strong central post, usually decorated with buffalo horns which indicate wealth.

Walls are richly decorated with painted engravings of symbolic geometrical designs. A sun disc symbolizes the source of life; a rooster, strength and virility; the sea crab and stylized buffalo head represent courage and bravery; *sirih* leaves, offerings to the gods. All these designs are meant to ward off evil spirits. They are painted with natural pigments; yellow to represent the gods, red for blood, black for the underworld, and white for bones. Windows are small and ceilings are low.

Houses are built with the long sides facing east and west with rice barns in a row in front. (See object number 16735.) The barns are smaller replicas of the *banua tongkonan*, and the number of barns a house has is indicative of the wealth of the family. One house at Nangala has fourteen rice barns. The rice is stored in the upper section of the barns where only women are permitted to enter. The platform underneath the rice barn, *sali 'alang*, serves as a reception area as well as extra sleeping space for guests during mortuary feasts. It is open on all sides and slightly raised off the ground.

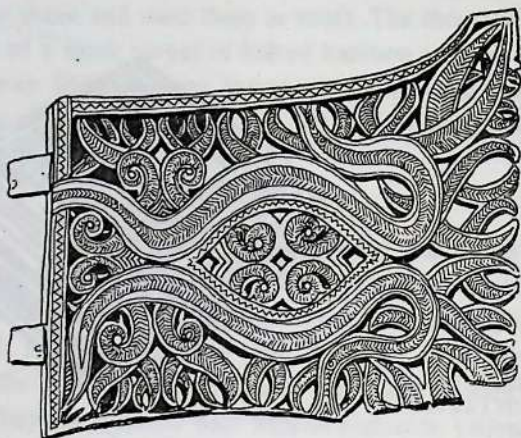
The *banua tongkonan* accommodates the nuclear family and its descendants until there is no more room. Those who move out settle around the ancestral house in more humble, often unpainted and undecorated structures. The matriarch remains in the *banua tongkonan*. The *tongkonan* holds the family together.



25428
HOUSE CARVING
Wood
Miniature models -
Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

This display is one miniature model of the kind of panels that are used to decorate the outer walls of Toraja *adat* houses and rice granaries. Some houses are only partially covered, others not at all. The use of these panels was determined by the status of the man who originally built the house.

Most panel motifs are believed to protect the residents of the house from misfortune and to express a wish that the family prosper. Certain panels may only be used by special people and therefore indicate status. Status was not only acquired through descent, wealth and power, but also through the success at headhunting. As an example of the status symbol, a representation of the *keris* may be used only by what we would term a nobleman, that is, a man who has enough power and wealth to secure such a precious object. The rooster motif is the privilege of men who have manifested extraordinary bravery in battle and in headhunting.



17952
CARVING
Wood
49 cm. x 64 cm.
Sa'dan River area
Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

The southern Toraja are famed for their use of geometrical designs combined with figurative elements to decorate wood surfaces. This panel features a pair of symmetrically worked snakes. It has two small projections at one end which would have been fitted into the wall, with the panel sticking out perpendicularly from the wall and the snakes' tails near the joint. It might have been joined to the end of a floor beam.

The snake motif has very ancient origins in Indonesia, preceding the Hindu period, but it is not a common ornament in Tana Toraja art. When used in Toraja, its main purpose was to decorate the wooden coffins of wealthy people. This type of coffin is no longer used; therefore, neither is the snake motif. It is possible that the snake, changing its skin, was a symbol of life after death. In rare cases, houses were decorated with two snakes presented asymmetrically or symmetrically, in which case they may have been the symbol of long life.



VI. Household Objects

Household objects include everything used inside the house: cooking utensils, eating and drinking vessels, tools, furniture and furnishings, carved wall panels and screens, toys and games. All these objects were functional but aesthetic values have not been sacrificed for utility. Beauty is evident in shape as well as ornamentation. Many household objects are used for ceremonies.

The function of the object determines the material used. Since some materials, such as bamboo for containers and grasses for plaiting, are naturally available throughout Indonesia, similar items are found in different regions. Designs, motifs and shapes provide each with a distinctive, regional flavour. Some items are unique to one region only.

There is a tremendous variety of materials and techniques used: wood, bamboo, rattan, grasses and palm leaves, brass, animal horn, bone, shell, clay gourds and even the stones of fruits. Some materials are used in their natural colors; some are colored or merely darkened for added effect. In Sulawesi, the

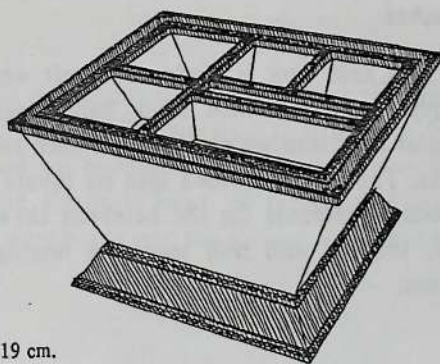
predominant colors used to decorate wood and bamboo are red, black, and white.

Techniques vary according to the material. With baskets, plaiting and coiling are common, and the coils are sewn together with a variety of different stitches. Brassware is either cast in piece moulds, giving solid or hollow forms, or a *cire perdue*, lost-wax moulds. Gold and silver may be filigreed or embossed. Pottery may be made on a primitive wheel rotated by one foot leaving the hands free to pull the clay or by the paddle-and-anvil process. Indonesians are skilled woodcarvers, as is evidenced by intricately carved house walls and the fine relief carving and fretwork found on smaller wooden objects, such as spoons.

The technique itself may create the pattern or design without any further embellishment, as for instance, in the diagonal patterns on plaited baskets and mats and the stitchings used to hold basket coiling together. Bamboo, gourds and pottery may be incised and colored or left plain. Pottery may also have impressed or attached patterns. The contrast between background and pattern may be deepened by burning after the pattern has been incised or by filling in the grooves with black resin, soot or chalk.

Whatever the material, technique or design involved, the objects on display demonstrate, through their continuing use in many cases today, the tenacity of traditions in Indonesia.

Objects



2698

SIRIH BOX

Wood

Length - 27 cm.; Width - 19 cm.

Height - 11.5 cm.

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

Sirih-pinang or the betel-nut chew has been a part of Indonesian daily life and ceremonies since time immemorial. It is chewed during the day to provide stimulation and to prevent hunger pangs. It is exchanged during various parts of the wedding ceremony. It is offered to the spirits during rituals and to guests as a sign of welcome. *Sirih-pinang* is symbolic of unity, for as it is chewed the several ingredients become one and

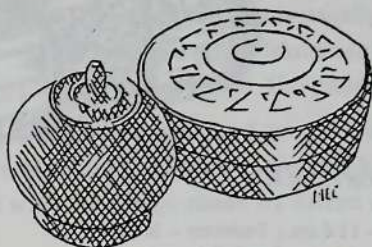
inseparable. It is symbolic of perseverance, for *sirih* is bitingly hot and bitter at first taste, becoming warm and fresh as one chews. It means that a promise or agreement concluded with the chewing of *sirih* will be maintained. To refuse *sirih* is to invite enmity, and at one time could have meant war or revenge. Chewing *sirih* with another is a sacred, intimate act.

In view of the importance of the betel-nut chew, considerable care goes into fashioning the containers and materials used. For ceremonial use a *sirih* box may be made of solid gold. Silver, brass and wood are more common, but cloth, beads, bamboo, gourds, coconut shell and basketry are also used. In Tana Toraja metals are not easily obtained; *sirih* boxes therefore, are generally made of wood. Individual containers for portable use are made of bamboo tubes, small gourds and cloth pouches.

This *sirih* box is made of a soft white wood. It is very simply decorated with black bands incised with geometric circular lines into which chalk has been rubbed to render them white. The box is divided into six square sections to hold the various ingredients for the betel-nut chew: *gambir*, betel-nut, lime, tobacco and *sirih* leaves. A mixing pot fills the sixth section.

Sirih or betel-nut sets come in many styles. All parts of the same set would be identical. These two items belong to two different sets. They were used to hold lime and *gambir*, two ingredients of the betel-nut chew.

Brass founding is one of the crafts for which the Butonese are known. These two items were made in the *a cire perdue* or lost-wax process and are very modestly decorated.



16484 A & B

GAMBIR/LIME POTS

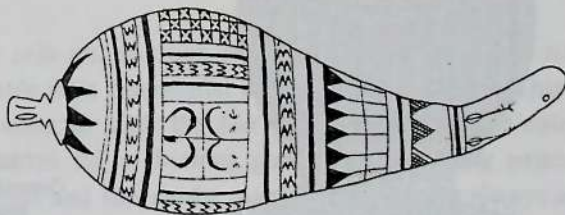
Brass

A. Height - 6 cm.; Diameter - 5 cm.

B. Height - 3 cm.; Diameter - 6.5 cm.

Butung Island, Southeast Sulawesi

Lime is one of the ingredients used in preparing the betel-nut chew. The container on exhibit was used to store lime. It is made from a gourd and has been incised with jagged *tumpals*, geometrical motifs, and a buffalo head, all typical of Central Sulawesi. The designs were burnt into the surface with a red-hot piece of coconut shell.



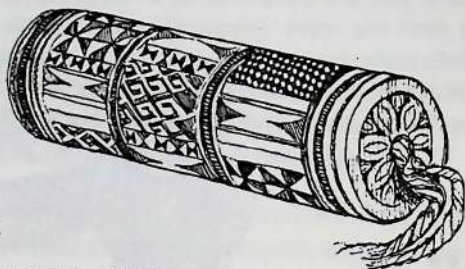
9213

LIME POT

Gourd

Height - 16 cm.; Diameter - 5 cm.

Poso, Central Sulawesi



23539

LIME CONTAINER

Bamboo

Height - 11.6 cm.; Diameter - 3.1 cm.

Rongkong, Luwu, South Sulawesi

In South Sulawesi bamboo tubes were a popular material for all sorts of containers. Bamboo is available everywhere, is sturdy, and needs little work to turn it into useful objects.

This container was used to store lime for making *sirih-pinang*, the betel-nut chew. The bottom aperture is stopped with a wooden plug, and the top is fitted with a wooden lid. Lid and tube are engraved with geometrical motifs which have been colored black.



16718

DRINKING CUP

Coconut shell, rattan

Height - 12 cm.

Diameter at top - 9 cm.

Sa'dan River area,

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

Among the Sa'dan people of Tana Toraja, a man drinks from a pedestaled goblet, locally known as a *kararo*, and eats from a pedestaled bowl. The drinking cup is usually a dried coconut shell set in a finely woven rattan framework which covers the bottom half of the shell and forms the pedestal.

These cups are still being made and used in the same form today. Clay goblets are also used, colored to resemble the coconut shell, and incised with the design made by rattan work.



6304

KETTLE

Bronze

Height to top of handle - 20 cm.

Height to top of lid - 16 cm.

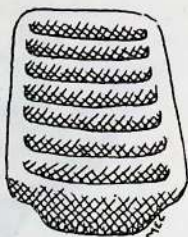
Length - 21.5 cm.

Mandar, South Sulawesi

The *sirih* set, spittoon and water kettle were, and still are, inseparable from ceremonial life in South Sulawesi. This kettle carries water to wash the feet of an honored guest entering a house or to fill a drinking glass. The travelling prince, the bridegroom and the newly married couple, are always accompanied by these symbols of status during ceremonies. Each household endeavors to have a *sirih* set of quality equal to its rank and a spittoon and kettle made of equally suitable material.

The spittoon and kettle belonging to a prince might be made of gold, whereas that of an ordinary household would be made of brass. It is possible to ascertain the origin of the kettle from its particular style.

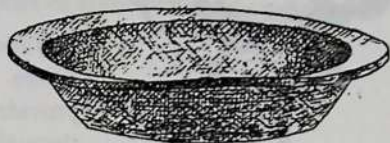
When employed in entertaining exalted guests, everything is presented in a number appropriate to the rank of the guest. For example, a ruling prince might be served twelve cakes by twelve young women of suitable status, and he would drink from twelve cups filled from twelve kettles borne by twelve bearers.



16943 A
SAGO MOULD
Earthenware

Length - 23 cm.; Width - 15 cm.; Height - 8.5 cm.
Kajang, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi

In areas where rice cultivation is limited or nonexistent, sago is the basic staple. Flour is extracted from the pith of the sago palm and made into porridge and cakes. Cakes are formed by pressing moist sago flour into earthenware moulds and baking it in hot coals. Because they could keep for years, such cakes were not only used by the native population but were frequently used as ship's stores by European vessels exploring Indonesian waters during the 18th century.



16713

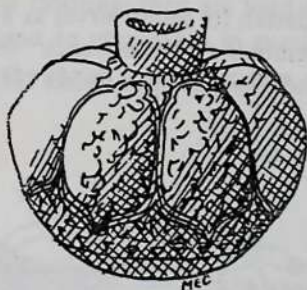
EATING BOWL

Wood

Length - 21.5 cm.; Width - 14 cm.; Depth/Height - 4.5 cm.

Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

In Tana Toraja women traditionally eat from wooden bowls without pedestals. This bowl is in the shape of a leaf; the other is the more common round shape. The local name for these bowls is *kandian*.



12203

WATER VESSEL

Earthenware

Height - 14 cm.; Diameter - 17 cm.

Bajoa, South Sulawesi

This kind of water vessel has a rounded base and normally stands on a rattan ring. Patterns have been cut into the clay while it was not quite dry, after which it was fired. Although the origin is given as Bajoa, the vessel is identical in style to Takalar pottery.



16485

OIL LAMP

Brass

Height - 31 cm.

Butung Island,
Southeast Sulawesi

Various vegetable oils and, where available, mineral oils provided fuel for simple lamps throughout Indonesia. Sometimes these lamps, called *Pelita*, were merely small cylinders filled with inflammable oil and simple wick. Sometimes they were very decorative. This oil lamp comes from the island of Butung or Buton in Southeast Sulawesi. It stands on a long pedestal, resembling the structure of old Dutch lamps. The oil container is on top of the pedestal; its spout serves as a flint. The bowl of the lamp itself resembles a fighting cock: the spout is the head and beak, the handle swings upward like tail feathers.



16748

TINDER BOX

Wood, metal, flintstone

Length - 7 cm.; Height - 3 cm.

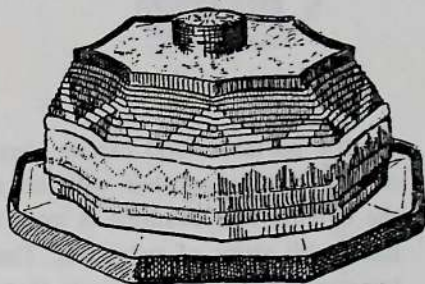
Width - 6 cm.

Sa'dan River area, Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

The small wooden box is fitted with a metal blade on one side. Set in the top is a lidded compartment. Nearby is a piece

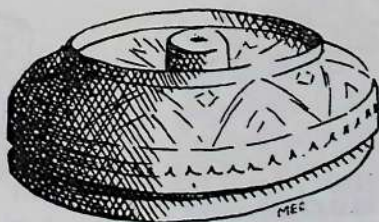
of quartz which functions as a flintstone. The quartz may have been stored in the compartment. To light a fire, the flintstone is rubbed against the metal blade to create a spark, which in turn ignites dried coconut hair or grass held ready nearby.

16865 C
SMALL BASKET
Padanas leaves
Dish; 27 x 27 cm.
Cover; bottom - 20 x 20 cm.
top - 10 x 10 cm.
Makasar or Bugis, South Sulawesi



Baskets play an important role in the Sulawesi home. They are used to store food, sewing, and clothing; they are used to carry food in ceremonial parades and to take cakes to guests. Great imagination is evidenced in the shape and decoration of the Sulawesi *baku*.

16918
FOOD CONTAINER
Pandanus
Lid : Height - 11 cm.
Diameter - 39 cm.
Base : Height - 6 cm.
Diameter - 39 cm.
Bone, South Sulawesi



This is a food container and lid, probably used for guests, made of fine pandanus leaves.

16797

FOOD/CLOTHING CARRIER

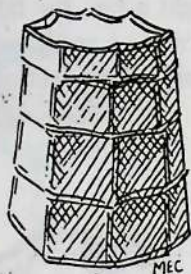
Orchid fibre, palm leaf

Height - 42 cm.

Diameter - 25-36 cm.

Makasar or Buginese.

South Sulawesi



The portable food carrier consisting of several trays fitted on top of one another with lid and handle is used all over the Orient. This example is made of plaited orchid fibres and lined with strips of palm leaf. The two pieces of embroidery lying in the top layer indicate that the carrier can also be used as a clothes container. In either case, it would often have been used to carry gifts.



16751

BASKET

Pandanas

Length - 20 cm. ; Width - 16 cm.;

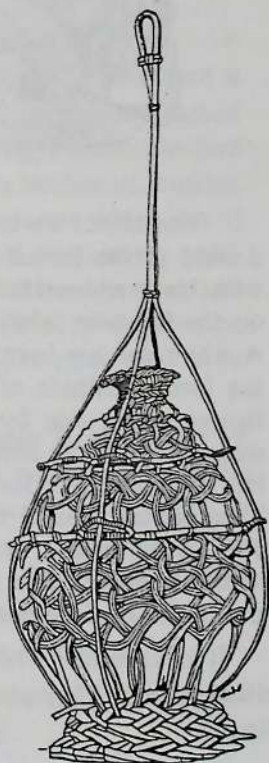
Height - 20 cm.

Butung Island, Southeast Sulawesi

This basket consists of a flat rectangular tray and a triple-tiered top. The top has a knob in the centre in the shape of a lotus flower. The basket is woven in a plain weave in brown and natural-colored pandanus fibres.

8843
BASKET
Rattan
Height - 68 cm.; Diameter - 21 cm.
Tolampu, Central Sulawesi

The basket and lid are made from plaited rattan in the shape of a pot. This object could be used in a steamer to hold rice or other food, or to store dried fish and fruit.





20984

FIGURINES

Terracotta

Height - 12 cm.

Width - 8 cm.

Takalar, South Sulawesi

This object is a terracotta figure of a Bugis of Makasar male dressed in the formal *sigara* headdress which has been painted with black and white bands. He wears a *keris* in his waistband on the left side, white bracelets on his arms, and a hairknot. A white dot has been painted on each temple. He is sitting in the formal attitude of the region. With this item is a pair of figures sitting side by side on a bridal sofa. Both man and woman wear white arm bracelets; the lady wears a white necklace. Her hair is in the formal *simpoleng tetong* hairknot and has been painted around the hairline in black outlined with white dots, as is a bride's. A great deal of attention has been devoted to the hairstyles. She has a white left elbow and white circles around her ear-lobe perforations.

It is uncertain whether these figurines are toys or have a ritual purpose. They possibly have some relationship to ancestor figures.

23548

COCK SPURS

Bamboo, metal

Length - 15,4 cm.; Diameter - 2 cm.

Palopo, Luwu, South Sulawesi



Cock-fighting is very popular in Indonesia. A good bird is an important possession. A great deal of ceremony is attached to the preparations for the fight and the fight itself. The bird is shampooed and massaged each night to harden its muscles. It is kept in a special cage. The owners decide which day is lucky for their cock to fight. On the day of the fight the comb of the cock is trimmed, the feathers plucked from its rump and the spurs cut off. Metal blades are then fitted to the stumps, usually only one blade on the left foot. The blade used to be dipped into a very strong poison.

In the arena, the owners encourage their birds to fight by fluffing up their feathers and pulling their tails. Sometimes the birds are swung at each other until their beaks almost touch to put them in a fighting mood. Large bets are usually placed on the outcome; the cocks fight until one is killed. Despite slight variations in custom in different areas, cock-fighting seems to be an exclusively male pastime and has its origins in ritual.

This case, which comes from South Sulawesi, consists of a set of seven spurs and is made of bamboo.

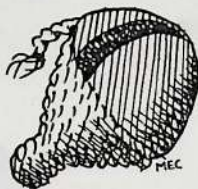
20288

SPINNING TOP

Wood, string

Height - 12 cm.

Napu, Central Sulawesi



Spinning tops in Indonesia have two functions. They are used as ritual objects and as toys, not only for children but also for grown men. These tops are made from dried *balitako* or *nyamplung* fruit and are called *gangsungan*.

Children frequently compete with each other to see who can spin his top for the longest period of time. In one of its ritual uses, the top is spun by the ritual expert for the length of the story that he relates to the people encircling him. Some tops are made with an aperture in the side to produce a humming noise as they spin. In Sulawesi playing with tops after sunset was forbidden as a flying top might hit a ghost in the eye.



VII. Personal Ornaments

The people of Sulawesi adorn themselves in a multitude of ways. Before Islam and Christianity reached the island, clothing did not have the importance it has today. Wealth, social level, marital status, degree of initiation and other aspects of the person that needed to be displayed were manifested in jewelry and tattoo marks. As clothing became more essential, it continued to reflect status, primarily through coloring and designs. Thus, there is clay jewelry for the slave class in the regions where slaves were forbidden to wear metal, puberty discs for young girls, solid two-kilogram bracelets for the wealthy, imported sheer sarongs and shell-polished cotton sarongs for royalty, as well as sacred painted sashes and metal horns for the shamans.

Traditional jewelry in Sulawesi takes many forms and uses a wide variety of materials: rattan, horn, shell, bones, teeth, seeds, feathers, resin, glass, coral, agate and carnelian beads, clay, copper, brass, gold and silver are all used. There are finger rings, bracelets for the wrist, forearm, upper arm and

ankles, necklaces, ear drops, belts, puberty discs, *keris*, and swords, headbands, headdresses, ornamental hairpins and hairbands and circlets to go around the hairknot, small discs to stick on each side of the forehead, and square, round and rectangular pieces of metal to be sewn onto blouses, skirts and scarf fringes. Metals were moulded through the lost-wax or *à cire perdue* process, or cut into shaped plates and pressed. Filigree, so well known today in South Sulawesi as *kendari* work, is not a Sulawesi craft and has, therefore, never been used in fashioning traditional jewelry.

Throughout Sulawesi many traditional personal objects are still highly valued. In the south, jewelry is very important as a status symbol. The painted cloths of the Toraja are so sacred that people do not like to talk about them to strangers. In Central Sulawesi, the headhunting-related motifs on blouses and headcloths which replaced tattoos lost most of their significance when headhunting died out, although it is still a matter of pride to be the owner of a blouse or headcloth marked with designs earned by one's forefathers. In North Sulawesi, the absorption of foreign cultures and religion was so complete that citizens of the region are now trying to rediscover their lost forms of personal adornment.

Traditional clothing normally consisted of rectangles or tubes of locally manufactured cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body as a skirt or breechclout. Bast cloth, made from the inner bark of trees, was a favorite material. Since it is not woven, bast cloth techniques and clothing are described in this section rather than in the textile section. Trousers and shorts, blouses and jackets became more important as the society progressed into modern times and in some cases show undeniable evidence of foreign contact.

Bast cloth is a fabric made from the fibrous lining of tree

bark, which is soaked until soft. The softened strips are beaten together into a large sheet of cloth. Until recently, bast cloth was the only material available in Central Sulawesi for clothing. It was made into men's breechclouts, short trousers, sarongs, jackets, blankets, head wrappings, *betel* bags, and burial shrouds. Locally-woven textiles were rare, and manufactured cottons did not become available in any quantity until the 1920's.¹ The making of bast cloth increased during World War II, when there was nothing else available, and it is still practiced in some places.

Most of the trees providing the right sort of bast grow wild in the forest. Of them, the most commonly used in Central Sulawesi was, and still is, the *nunu* a member of the banyan family. Paper mulberry, however, was deliberately cultivated for use in the production of a fine white cloth which was used for festive dress.

To obtain the bast, the tree is felled, the bark severed longitudinally and removed, and the fibrous bast lining scraped free. The bast is beaten with sugarpalm leaf stalks, washed and wrung out. The damp strips are wrapped in air-tight *kon-buno* leaves and left in a damp place to rot for from one day to three weeks, depending upon the quality of cloth desired, the type of tree bast, and the method of preparation. The leaf-wrappings are then removed, and the soggy mass of fibres is laid across a springy plank made from yellow *wolasi* wood and beaten into a sheet of cloth using stone-headed beaters (Inventory Number 2865). Strips of fibres are laid beside each other with the edges overlapping and are beaten until they become joined. Smaller sheets of cloth are joined, or felted, into larger sheets in the same way. Tubular sarongs are formed by beating both ends of one sheet together into a cylinder; no sewing is needed.

The beating takes place in a special shed constructed solely for this activity, or on a platform built under the raised floor of the house. Beating does not take place inside the house, for fear of accidentally hurting, and thereby angering, any spirits that might be present.

A worker will have a whole set of beaters of varying sizes and shapes. Those for the rougher work are made of grooved rectangles of stone, usually a green stone, set in frames of springy rattan. As the cloth becomes thinner and more supple, finer wooden beaters are used. The wood is often the striped ebony which abounds in the forests of Central Sulawesi. To prevent tearing, the rapidly thinning cloth is folded several times before being softened with the finer beaters. Water, sprinkled on from time to time to prevent drying, is kept by the side of the worker in a calabash or coconut-shell container.

The cloth is hung out to dry, but before it has completely dried out it is taken down and beaten once again with a smooth round, striped-ebony stick (Inventory Number 17581). Finally, for durability, the cloth is treated with tree sap, painted on with a chicken-feather or coconut-fibre brush, one coat on the inside and three to four coats on the outside.

Most basts produce cloth, which is used for daily wear and blankets, although a flounced skirt may be made for festive wear. Brown cloth is seldom decorated.

When this brown cloth is dipped in a mixture of bark and ashes in boiling water or smeared with a combination of chewed *bo'E* juice and *sakoti* (a spice which has been chewed by youths whose teeth have been recently filed and are being blackened), and then soaked in swamp mud, it becomes black. Black skirts are used by women as daily wear.

White bast cloth can be obtained by boiling the bast before

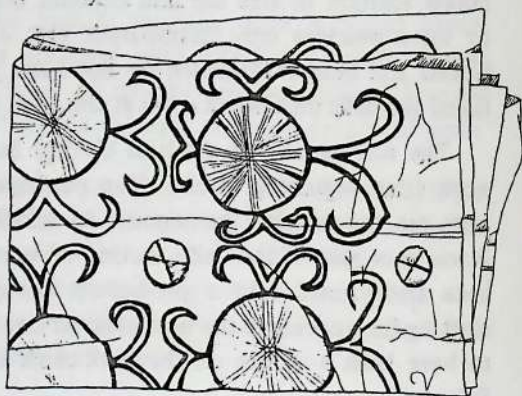
setting it out to rot. The finest white cloth comes, however, from the paper mulberry, which does not need to be pre-boiled, but which must be given a special beating with a very heavy stone-headed beater to make the fibres pliable before felting can proceed. White bast cloth is always decorated with painted motifs, and sometimes the whole surface is dyed. It is used for women's skirts, jackets for both sexes, and headbands and headcloths. Soaking white cloth in ricefield mud produces grey.

Transparent cloth is the most valued and fragile of the bast cloths. It is obtained by saturating white bast cloth with a boiled solution of tree sap and coconut meat. Good for two to three wearings only, transparent bast cloth is made into jackets and headcloths which are dyed and painted with traditional symbolic motifs and worn at the most important festivals.

The making of bast cloth in Central Sulawesi is woman's work from beginning to end. Men participate only when the trees are too big for the women to handle alone. Although it was once part of the daily routine of women, it has recently been transformed into a pre-harvest occupation to produce clothing for working in the ricefields. At one time, Kulawi seems to have been a centre of the bark-cloth industry in Central Sulawesi.

Objects

17580
SKIRT
Bast cloth
Length - 94.5 cm.
Circumference - 249 cm.
Poso, Central Sulawesi



This is a women's sarong made from white bast cloth, known as a *topE kumpE* in Sulawesi, and is worn in such a way as to resemble a full, two-flounced skirt. This effect is achieved by tying the sarong very tightly around the hips and folding the excess upper edge down over the sash, pressing with the hands to form a flounce. The sarong would have been worn for ceremonial occasions. A fitted blouse (Inventory Number 16883) would have been worn over the sarong, and a headband (Inventory Number 16687) would have held up the woman's long hair.

The entire surface of the cloth has been covered with regularly-spaced circular, winged motifs in black outline. It is thought to be one of the "buffalo head-flying bird" motifs and may also have some relations to the sun and its radiations.²

By the early 20th century imported cottons were already replacing bast cloth in Central Sulawesi. Today, cotton-synthetic blends are favored for sarongs and burial shrouds, and cheap cotton is used for blouses.



16883

BLOUSE

Bast cloth

Centre length — approx. 50.5 cm.

Full width — approx. 84 cm.

Central Sulawesi

This woman's bast cloth blouse from Central Sulawesi, known as a *lemba* or *karaba*, was obtained in Poso but was probably made in Kantewu. Color and quality indicate that it is part of a ceremonial costume.

The natural color of the blouse is off-white. It has been dyed yellow, leaving undyed borders along all edges and the high waistband. The yellow dye was obtained from *morinda* or *curcuma* roots. Diluted resin may have produced the faded black lines. Red could have come from either a boiled *morinda*-betel lime solution or *alomi* fruit. They shiny black dots are

discs of mica stuck on with black resin. The colors were painted on with a leaf stalk or a piece of bamboo, such as the three-pronged bamboo stylus exhibited under Inventory Number 27246 which enables the drawing of three parallel lines simultaneously.

Decorating bast cloth was once the work of priestesses and sometimes men who "dressed like women and also appeared to act as shamans, another prerogative of women."³ The motifs are a variation of the "buffalo head-flying bird" motif. They are headhunters' symbols and would once have indicated the woman's position in society, determined by what rung of the headhunting ladder her man stood on. The surface of the blouse with the more intricate ornamentation — the mica discs for example — is actually the back of the blouse.

Women in the highlands of Central Sulawesi still wear the *lemba* or *karaba* with a three-flounced bast cloth skirt for ceremonial use and formal occasions. However, as these beautifully decorated but somewhat fragile blouses wear out (and they cannot be washed more than two or three times), they are being replaced by appliqued cotton copies, with the appliqued ornaments becoming less and less intricate, and even trimmed with gold braid.

This is the only type of fitted-blouse pattern to be found in Indonesia which is made of a cloth produced through traditional techniques. A similar blouse pattern is used in Western Timor, in cotton, but it seems to be a relatively recent addition to the costume.

The woman of Central Sulawesi wear headbands, *tali bonito* or *tali walu*, across their foreheads to keep the hair off their faces. Various materials may be used : beads, bast cloth, or

rattan. Designs differ from village to village, although the range of colors is generally the same : red, yellow, black and white. Bast cloth headbands are painted with simple geometric designs and sometimes ornamented with embroidery stitches in colored cotton. On occasion, they may be decorated with strings of flowers, leaves or fringes.

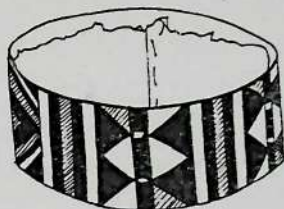
16687

HEADBAND

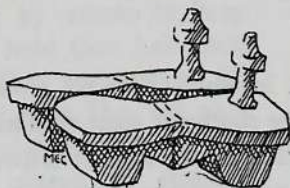
Bast cloth and bamboo

Diameter - 16.5 cm.; height - 7 cm.

Central Sulawesi



This headband is made of fine white bast cloth stuck to the outer surface of a thin piece of bamboo. The bast was probably applied to the bamboo when still wet, and it therefore appears to be glued on. It was then reinforced with stitching which perforates both layers and holds them firmly together. The band forms a continuous circle. It has been painted with black and red coloring matter, with a touch of yellow, in simple stripes, *tumpal*, and triangles.



27183

SANDALS

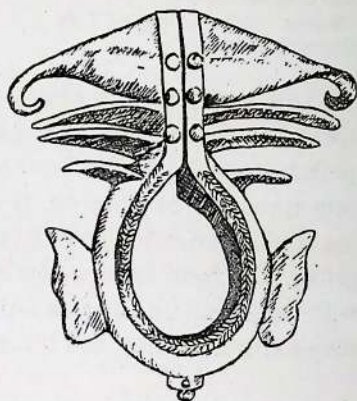
Wood, seeds

Length - 20 cm.; Width - 6 cm.; Height - 10 cm.

Bolaang-Mongondow, North Sulawesi

According to tradition, girls in Bolaang-Mongondow are

not permitted to touch the ground for four months after their front teeth are filed. Special wooden sandals are made for them with ten-centimetre-thick soles. The sandals are provided with a knob; they are worn by gripping the knob between the big toe and its neighbor. There is a hole under the heel which has been filled with seed and then plugged up. The shoes thus make a noise when they are worn.



8342 A & B

EAR ORNAMENTS

Copper

A: Height - 3.5 cm.; width - 3.5 cm.

B: Height - 5.5 cm.; width - 4.5 cm.

Bantik, Minahasa, North Sulawesi

These ear ornaments, locally known as *tembega*, were made by the Bantiks of the southeast coast of Minahasa. These ornaments were used in their rituals and for festive occasions, not daily wear. They were an indication of status.

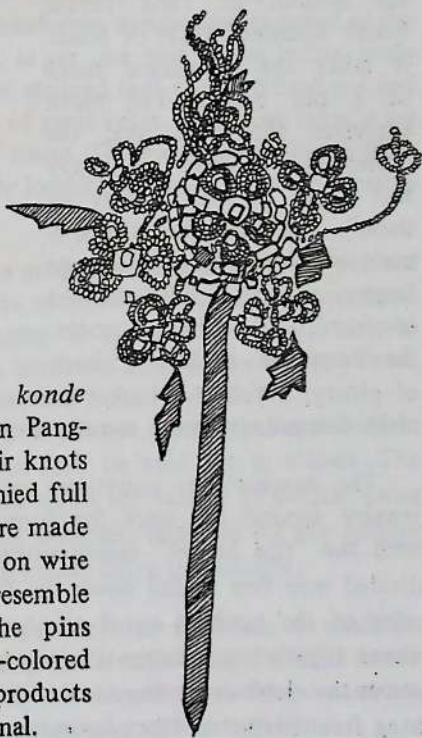
The ear ornaments were routinely hung from the earlobes, although on festive occasions they might have been hung from the whole shell of the ear. They were made of gold and gilt

as well as copper, and of a red-colored clay. The latter were probably used by slaves who may not have been permitted to wear metal jewelry. The shape of the ornaments is said to represent male and sometimes female genitalia. They were made by the lost-wax process.

A similar object for adorning the ears is found in parts of the Tana Toraja of Central and South Sulawesi, where it is called *tai ganja*.

16902
HAIRKNOT PIN
Beads, wire
Length — approx. 12 cm.
Pangkajene, South Sulawesi

These pins, *tusuk konde* were used by women in Pangkajene to hold their hair knots in place. They accompanied full ceremonial dress. They are made of beads of glass strung on wire and are shaped to resemble flowers and leaves. The pins are now imitated in gold-colored metal, but the new products do not resemble the original.



16715

ORNAMENT

Beads, cotton thread

Length of body - 44 cm.; fringe - 76 cm.

Makale, Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi

The *kandaure*, as this ornament is locally called, is an important ritual object and status symbol in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi. Made of beads, it takes the cylindrical shape of a rice basket. The motif expresses the hope that the owner may always be happy and come to own "many of these", and also that the owner's descendants may be as "many as the beads" in the *kandaure*. In other words, the *kandaure* is like a horn of plenty; a full rice basket and many beaded *kandaure*, or many descendants, mean security and prosperity.



The *kandaure* is sometimes worn by young women as jewelry around the neck for formal, ceremonial occasions, with the "rice basket" falling down the back. The fringe is divided into two to fall down the front on the left and right sides of the neck in equal numbers. The longer strings are woven together in a diagonal weave in bundles of two or three across the chest under the neck with the shorter strings left to hang free. Earlier in this century it seems that the more usual

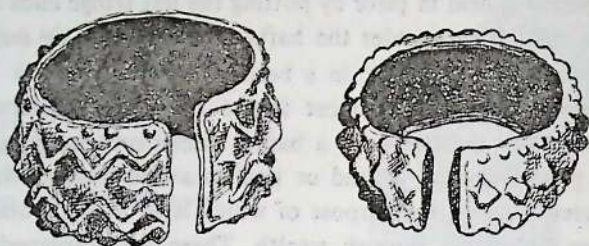
way of tying the fringe in front was by knotting. The whole garment is held in place by putting the left fringe ends over and the right fringes under the hafts of a pair of male and female *keris* which are stuck in a beaded waistband. This form of dress is used for the most festive occasions. Otherwise, the *kandaurE* is fitted over a basket frame on a long pole which is planted in the ground or tied to a line hung with various sacred banners, the purpose of which is to indicate one's greatness and status through wealth. These are displayed around the ceremonial arena.

KandaurE may be owned by the individual or the family. They are considered heirlooms and are not easily parted with; disposal of family-owned heirlooms require the approval of the entire family. The beads, *sa'api*, are said to be Indian trade beads, although it has been claimed that they are hand-cut and polished mountain stones of great value. The most value is set on the yellow beads, *alle' tivase*. The more yellow beads there are in the *kandaurE* and the longer the fringes, the more valuable the vestment.

Every *kandaurE* has a proper name, and many are deemed to have supernatural powers, as rain-bringers, for instance. Some of these *kandaurE* belonging to a particular family may be loaned out. In return, the borrower must do the lender a favor.

The value of *kandaurE* is always quoted in water buffalo although they may, in the end, be paid for in money. The number of buffalo depends upon the variety of buffalo being bartered. There are several varieties, classified by the pattern of their markings, and their values differ accordingly.

KandaurE are still being made, when the beads are available. Craftsmen will have nothing to do with today's smaller beads, but collect those which have come apart from older ornaments. Bead-stringing and bead-weaving is a man's occupation.



21577 A & B

BRACELETS

Silver

A. Height - 65 mm.

Diameter top - 7.7 cm.

Bottom - 8.5 cm.

B. Height - 71 mm.

Diameter top - 7.0 cm.

Bottom - 8.2 cm.

Pangkajene, South Sulawesi

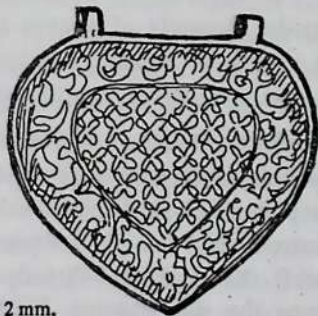
These silver bracelets are locally known as *tigero tedong* (Bracelet A - Bugis) and *ponto karro tedong* (Bracelet B - Makassar). They were made by the lost-wax process and are named after the neck vertabrae of the water buffalo, probably because of the spikes along their top and bottom circumferences. They were ornaments worn by important women and were usually gilded; the noble class of women would have had their bracelets made of solid gold. One is worn on each arm and they are always made and sold in pairs.

Such bracelets still form an essential part of dress in most of South Sulawesi, although they are usually made of less valuable metals at present. Each family endeavors to have a complete set of jewelry in as precious a metal as it can afford. Until they have their own, daughters may borrow from their mothers. For brides, 23 karat solid gold is preferred; it may come as a present from the groom's family before the wedding.

Metal smiths in South Sulawesi made puberty discs for girls who were unmarried; the position in which this ornament is worn suggests that it is a symbol of virginity. The puberty discs were also an indication of status; those for the nobility were made of gold and those of lesser metals for poorer families.

The discs come in pairs and are joined together with chains. One set of chains goes over the shoulders and the other is set around the hips, over the skirt. One disc falls exactly in centre front below the waist and the other, centre back below the waist. They are usually worn with full formal costume, the blouse, which is very sheer, being put on over them.

The puberty discs are still used as a part of formal dress by women of all ages throughout the Province of South Sulawesi in those districts which are of Buginese extraction. They have lost their symbolism and are used merely to complete the required set of jewelry. They are, today, usually made of inferior metals, except in a very few cases where they are still made of solid gold and passed from mother to daughter in the wealthiest of families. The ornament on exhibit is embossed and was probably gilded.



20903

PUBERTY DISC

Silver

Height - 7 cm.; Length - 6.5 cm.; Width - 2 mm.

Pangkajene, South Sulawesi



VIII. Textiles

With all its cultural and ethnic layering, the island of Sulawesi presents a particularly varied picture. Some internal contact and frequent foreign contacts have produced common trends, while relative isolation created by geographic factors has maintained pockets of uniqueness. The world of Sulawesi textile fabrication is as diverse as any element of the culture.

In the area of Minahasa, North Sulawesi, the women once made garments of beaten bark cloth and wove textiles from a variety of banana, bamboo and cotton fibres. These textiles often symbolized wealth and were used in rites to cure illness.

In the southern regions inhabited by the Bugis and Makasar people, cotton *sarongs* dyed in red and black were woven in a pattern of small plaids called *cara caddi*. After silk yarn was introduced, the plaid designs were transferred to silk. Later, weft ikat and gold-threaded floating weft were incorporated into the silk weaving. Wild banana, wild pineapple and wild orchid fibres were also used in Southern Sulawesi.

The most striking of the Toraja textiles are the warp ikats from Rongkong and Galumpang, in the southern region. Bark cloth was manufactured by the Toraja in the central part of Sulawesi, where weaving was rare.

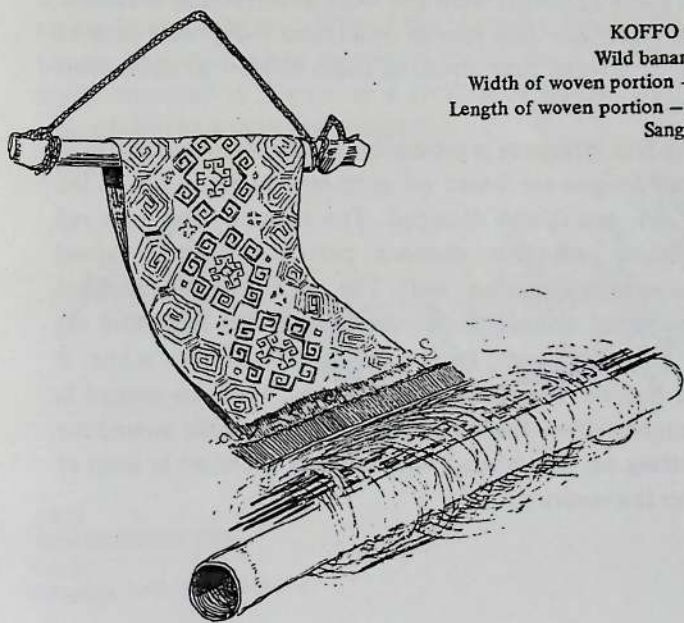
Articles of clothing made from these textiles were sarongs, the tubular skirt-wrapping worn by men and women in Asia, the thin *baju bodo* blouse of the Bugis women and the caftan-type tunic of the Sangir Talaud women. Burial shrouds, curtains, ceremonial hangings and blankets were among other items made.

Most weavings were made on back-strap looms, that is, weaving looms which are stretched between the weaver's outstretched feet and her back. Upright floor looms were adopted in a few instances during the late colonial era and are now becoming more popular. Small tablet looms were once used for weaving narrow ribbons,

Textiles also served other purposes. Token fabrics are known, particularly on the island of Buton, where they represented currency. When coins became more widely available, they were sewn into one side of these cloths, emphasizing the textile's basic function as a medium of exchange. Another type of token textile was thought to have magic powers and was used as an important gift in marriage exchanges. The concept of sacred textiles extended to the interior. Of these, the *sarita* and the *ma'a* of the Toraja people living near the Buginese borders were the most important. These two categories include a range of textiles, from locally woven *ikat* and batik and painted cottons to imported Javanese batiks, Indian patola and Dutch-made imitations. The people of Toraja believe that these sacred textiles were woven from yarn given to man by the gods, and they all play an important role in Toraja ritual.

The homespun-cotton weaving industry is dying out, being replaced either by imported, mechanically-produced fabrics or machine-spun yarn. The silk industry of South Sulawesi flourishes, but it is unable to fill the tremendous demand made on it by the Buginese and Buginese-related peoples living in and outside Sulawesi. The wild banana "silks" of Mandar are being mixed with synthetic threads, the orchid "silks" of Sengkang are becoming very rare, and the weavings of North Sulawesi are only a memory.

Objects



23752

KOFFO CLOTH

Wild banana fibres

Width of woven portion - 33 cm.

Length of woven portion - 110 cm.

Sangir Island

The weavers of Sangir and Talaud traditionally made use of the fibres of a variety of banana plant. These fibres, commonly known as Manila hemp, are called in Indonesia *koffo*. The

fibres were cleaned, dyed and woven on back-strap looms, just as cotton was elsewhere. However, when the *koffo* cloth was finished, it was beaten with a wooden mallet over a log to make it supple and then polished with a shell on one or both sides.¹

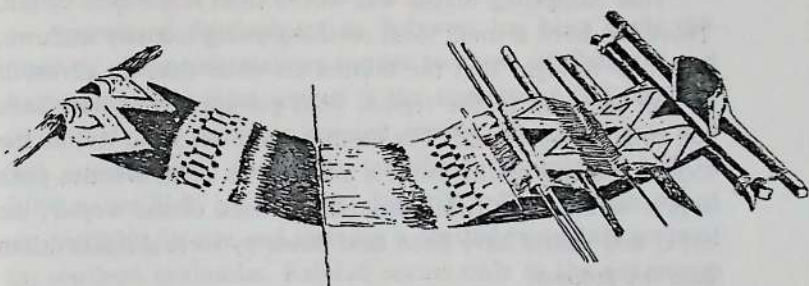
Koffo cloth was used for curtains, *sarongs*, tunics, and smocks. As late as the 1930's, these tunics were worn in the interior of Sangir. The length of the garment depended on the rank of the wearer, some being so long as to trail on the ground. These garments were also worn at ceremonial occasions. The flat rectangles one sees in collections today were parts of curtains or screens that served as room dividers or decorations for special occasions.²

Dong Son influence is prominent on the textiles of Sulawesi, and most designs are based on geometric patterns such as the rhomb, key, spiral and diamond. The example here has a red warp with a geometric diamond pattern worked in natural continuous supplementary weft. The cloth is half finished and is still wrapped around the breast beam of the loom with the pattern sticks in place. To put the loom back into action, it must be laid on the ground. The far end would be secured in some manner, then the weaver would fit the yoke around her back, sitting on the ground with her legs stretched in front of her under the weaving.

Warp *ikats*, mainly from Rongkong in Luwu and Gailumpang in Polewali-Mamasa, are the most famous textiles of the Toraja people living in the province of South Sulawesi. They were used in these regions as death shrouds or as hangings during funeral ceremonies, and were traded to other Toraja

groups where they were worn as clothing.³ The *ikats* were used in marriages, and a dowry always had to contain at least one piece.

The motifs of the Rongkong and Galumpang *ikat* cloths consist of highly-stylized ancestor figures. In some cloths arrow-like shapes are used to cover the whole area, and in others a hooked diamond called *sekon* is used. The *sekon* motif consists of a diamond-shaped belly with four limbs and is interpreted as a series of interlocking human figures. It is a typical feature of Dong son cultural influence. Spaces between zig-zag lines across the width of the cloth are filled with small crosses. The *doti* motif represents the speckled buffalo and is highly treasured in Toraja as a symbol of status. This motif is an allusion to wealth and prosperity.



20618
RONGKONG WEAVING
Cotton
Rongkong, Luwu, South Sulawesi

The striking colors on the *ikat* cloths are symbolic of Toraja belief. Black is associated with ashes and with the expiration of life and is thus the principal color used during death rites. Red signifies the blood of sacrificial animals, and white, the supreme god, Puang Matua.⁴

Warp *ikat* is a unique dyeing technique by which the pattern is dyed into the warp threads before weaving. The warp are the threads which are fixed to the weaving loom; they are made into cloth by passing the weft thread over and under the warp at right angles. The warp is first tied on a special frame and parts of it are wrapped tightly with a palm fibre in predetermined patterns. This prevents the warp from taking the dye. Blue-black is applied first by dipping the bound wrap in blue dye vats; repeated dippings and dryings are necessary to obtain a deep blue-black shade. Then some bindings are unwrapped to be dyed red and the blue parts are covered up to protect them. Again, repeated dipping in red dye is needed to acquire the right shade of red. When the dyeing is complete and the threads dry, all bindings are removed. This wrap is then fixed to the loom and woven into a cloth using a mono-colored weft.

This Rongkong textile was woven from home-spun cotton. There has been a small local cotton-growing industry in Luwu, but it is thought that the textiles are older than the advent of cotton growing in the region. Wild pineapple may have been the original fibre used. The cloth is unfinished and still on the loom. One end of the loom is attached to a fine wooden yoke which would have fitted around the back of the weaver; the other end would have been held down by vertical stakes driven into the ground.

Very few of these textiles are made today. Those that are still woven use commercially spun yarns and are attuned to the increasing tourist trade. Weaving takes place when women are free from their work in the fields.



IX. Agriculture

Agricultural development in Sulawesi has been made difficult by geographic realities similar to those of Sumatra and Kalimantan. The most serious is the scarcity of flat land for agriculture. The island is covered mostly in rain forests and high, uninhabited, non-arable waterland. Mountains, 1,800–3,000 metres high, are sliced by deep rift valleys. Coastal plains are negligible in size and farming is limited to certain parts of the southern peninsulas. Rainfall occurs only in the wet season and is not evenly distributed; the long dry season has restricted agriculture to the flatter and more fertile regions. Sulawesi's soil does not encourage intensive agriculture, nor is it conducive to wet-rice cultivation. It is, therefore, not surprising that the population density is low and packed into two small areas, the northern and the southwestern tips. However, with the use of new and better agricultural techniques, land is now being opened up in the interior of the island, and it is likely that these areas will increase in population.

Farming in the interior of Sulawesi is the slash-and-burn,

swidden type. The fields depend entirely upon rain for water. The farmer plants his crop and reaps his harvest until the soil's fertility has been depleted. Then he moves on to clear a new field, leaving the old one to lie fallow for fifteen to twenty-five years. In many areas, tree-protected shifting cultivation has replaced the slash-and-burn method. In semi-arid and temperate zones, Sulawesi's agriculture has developed into horticulture and market gardening, rather than production merely for the family's needs.

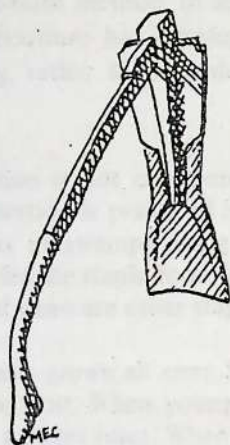
Wet-rice cultivation is not common in Sulawesi, and dry-field *ladang* rice cultivation is practiced in only a few locations. The *sago* palm grows in swamps along the coast of the low plains, and this provides the staple food for a great many people. Corn, millet, taro and yams are other staples grown in Sulawesi.

The coconut palm grows all over Sulawesi and produces a remarkably versatile fruit. When young and green, it gives an edible soft pulp and a sweet juice. When mature, a milky liquid called *santan* can be extracted from its shredded meat; *santan* is essential to Indonesian cooking. Oil is extracted from dried coconut meat and used to make soap, candles, cooking margarine, synthetic rubber, and cosmetics. Copra, the dried coconut meat, can also be processed into flour and pressed into copra cakes called *bungkil* or made into confections. The outer fibres of the husk, *sabut kelapa*, are used for doormats and brushes and as an abrasive material for scrubbing pots and pans. The shells are burned and used as charcoal or as active carbon. The flower can be tapped for a juice from which sugar is extracted, or it can be fermented and distilled into a wine called *nira*. Sulawesi is Indonesia's major copra producer, producing 20,000 tons of copra a month.

Manual workers and draught animals provide the main source of power for the farmer in many regions, where the use

of mechanized equipment such as tractors is impossible. Agriculture in Sulawesi will continue to be dependent upon these two power-sources for many years to come, oriented toward implements needed for simple dry-farming, rice-growing and raw-crop planting techniques.

Objects...

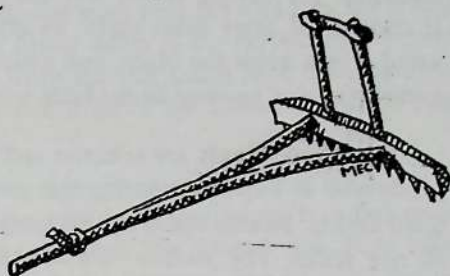


16851
HOE
Wood, steel
Model size
South Sulawesi

This agricultural implement is multipurpose. Mostly, it is used to plough the fields before harrowing and for other tasks related to farming: digging holes, maintaining irrigation channels, wet-rice cultivation. A narrow hoe is used on the hard, dry soil of the *ladang* fields and gardens. It is not used to move soil from one place to another. Inside the house, the hoe is sometimes used to chop up large chunks of meat and bone.

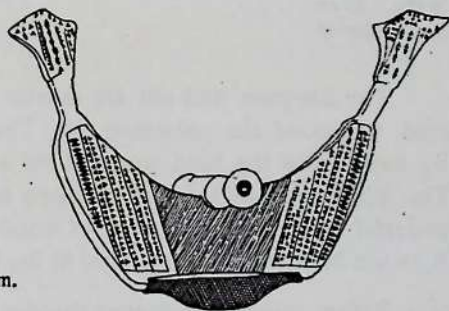
The long wooden handle is reinforced with a wooden joint pin, *pasak*, at the flat end over which a loop in one end of the steel blade has been fitted. Such a hoe may weigh up to 4 kilograms and last about seven years.

16798 A
HARROW
Palm-tree wood
Model size
South Sulawesi



This is a model of a harrow with wooden teeth made from palm-tree laths fixed to a rigid wooden framework. In use, it is pulled by two buffaloes, turning the soil after it has been broken with a plough-like instrument. The harrow serves to break up clods of earth, to level the tract, and bury the seeds in the ground. It is managed by one man who walks behind the harrow, regulating its depth, especially when working with wet soil. He operates it by stepping on the wooden frame, and pushing it forward by pressing on the centrally placed handle. The harrow is used throughout Sulawesi.

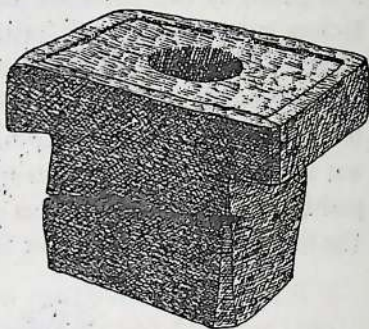
2697
REAPING KNIFE
Wood, bamboo, iron
Length - 22 cm.; Width - 15 cm.
South Sulawesi



The *pakato* are small hand tools used to reap the rice harvest. The reaping knife may vary in shape and size, but it never exceeds 25 cm. in length or 15 cm. in width. The tool is held in such a way that the blade is hidden so that, according to

tradition, the cutting action will not offend the rice goddess. It consists of three main parts: an iron blade, a thin piece of wood which holds the blade, and a handle formed by attaching a small piece of bamboo to the balsa wood.

These small tools are selective and efficient in areas where paddy-rice is harvested during the rainy season and has not dried evenly. Sickles would cut off everything, even the unripened rice stalks. The *pakato* are used in the lowlands and in the highlands, permitting a harvesting capacity of some 700 hours per hectare per person, and they last about one year. In Sulawesi, as in Bali and Java, 30% of the harvest is reaped with the little hand knives and 70% with sickles.



2802

RICE MORTAR

Wood

Length - 22½ cm.; Width - 11½ cm.

Height - 13 cm.

South Sulawesi

The *lumpang* and *alu* are mortar and pestle used, in this case, to pound the unhusked rice. They are usually fashioned by hand from the hard wood of the *nangka* or tamarind tree. The *lumpang* is rectangular in shape on a smaller, rectangular pedestal made from one piece of wood using a chopping knife. A round hollow has been gouged in the top.

Before using the *lumpang* the rice kernels must be separated from their straw stalks. For this another wooden mortar, *lesung*, is used. It is much bigger and is used only for this purpose. The stalks are placed, tied in neat bundles, in the *lesung*.

The woman who is to do the work puts one foot into the *lesung*, holding the rice stalks firmly down as she rhythmically pounds the rice with the *alu*. When the rice grains have been separated from their stalks, the rice is moved to the *lumpang*. At this stage the rice is called *gabah*.

The *lumpang* serves three purposes : to clean the husks off the rice, after which the mixture is transferred to a flat round basket for winnowing; to polish the cleaned rice, now called *beras* by pounding again in the *lumpang*; and to grind the rice into flour, *tepung beras*.

Rice-pounding is a woman's work. Two women may work on the same *lumpang* facing one another, and several on the larger *lesung*, pounding with a definite rhythm which is said to make the work easier and the atmosphere merry. Mechanical rice mills, mostly cooperatively purchased, are quickly replacing the ancient pestle and mortar.



X. Fishing

Indonesian expertise in the maritime sphere has not been without its influence on the outside world. Indonesian people started colonizing Madagascar many centuries ago, and introduced outrigger devices and fishing methods such as stake-traps along the way. Specialized fishing techniques have also been introduced from Indonesia to the south-western Pacific region. These include the use of kites, coconut-shell rattles for shark-fishing, traps made of rattan-leaf stems, and weighted fish lures.

Two peoples, the Buginese-Makasarese, whose homeland is in South Sulawesi, and the Bajau, a sea nomadic group of the eastern archipelago who may originally have come from around the straits of Malacca, were principally involved in early marine trade. The Bajau were primarily marine hunters and gatherers, while the Buginese-Makasarese were skilled navigators and long-distance traders. The sea nomads were and still are widely distributed.

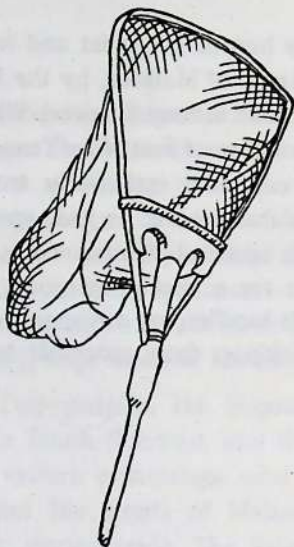
The intrepid Buginese-Makasarese, together with the Mandarese, Butonese and Madurese, penetrated most of the waters

of the archipelago and survived in the face of widening European and Chinese influence by trading in particular commodities and places. They brought gold dust, tortoise shell, turtle eggs, ambergris, pearls, bird's nests, shark's fins, *trepang*, (sea cucumber), and mother-of pearl shell to Singapore, all natural products to which they had priority of access through their contacts with people such as the Bajau.

Specialists in the exploitation of trade of fish for turtle and *trepang*, the Bajau Laut and the Buginese-Makasarese became especially prominent in the archipelago, both because of their skills and because of the aversion to seafaring found in many of the island peoples such as the Timorese, Sumbanese and Balinese.

Dugong, walrus-like mammals hunted for meat and ivory, are caught by the Bajau in the Straits of Malacca, by the Javanese, by the Aru and Kei islanders and around Sulawesi. Whales were caught particularly by the Solorese of East Nusa Tenggara. Flying fish were, and still are, exploited extensively around Sulawesi. Many of the larger creatures have, or had, specific values; the leather-back turtle has spiritual significance in the Kei Islands and its shell is used for a host of purposes; the Javanese used whale ivory as *keris* handles; ear ornaments were made from dugong ivory and necklaces from crocodile teeth.

Objects



2663

FISH SCOOP

Rope, bamboo and wood

Opening - 33 cm.

Diameter - 48 cm.

Length - 39 cm.

South Sulawesi

The most common and useful implement for collecting small fish in tanks or ponds is the *pasari* or *bolewang*, which is made of two bamboo laths and rope with a brown, wooden-handle. It is used to scoop the fish out of the water.

23041

FISH TRAP

Bamboo

Length - 15 cm.; Width - 15 cm.

Kampung camba Majene, Mandar, South Sulawesi



Fish-trap baskets are made from bamboo, rattan, *nipah* or lontar palm; they are square or round and have a small opening like the *boE*. Baskets which are used to hold fish, *boenre*, may have all kinds of shapes and are made of bamboo bark. In Minahasa, North Sulawesi, there are the *igi* traps for eels and the *sesahap* traps for shrimp. In Gorontalo and Limboto, North Sulawesi, the so-called *boeti* and *adidi* are closed fish baskets of rattan.

One example of a small fish trap is locally known as the *dao-rao*. It is square-shaped with a hole in the centre top, and is made of plaited bamboo. It is used to catch small fish between the reefs in the sea.

Turtles were caught with harpoons such as that exhibited under Number 2662 B. It is made of brown wood weighted with lead and has three iron points with barbed hooks and a short handle.



2662 B

HARPOON

Wood, lead and iron

Length of point - 6 cm.; total length - 57 cm.

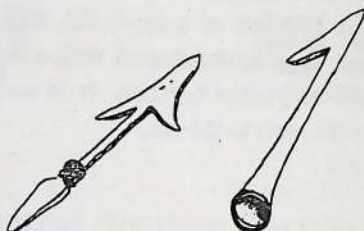
South Sulawesi



27031 A
FISH SNARE
Wood, stone, rattan
51 cm.
Gorontalo, North Sulawesi

This unusual implement for catching fish consists of a piece of uncolored wood, at the end of which is a stone tied with rattan. In the middle of the long piece of wood, a symmetrical rectangle of the wood has been carved out, which floats vertically when the object is thrown into the water. The float proper touches the water surface and is tied to the part lying under the water's surface.

2654 A-C
CROCODILE FISHING HOOKS
Iron
Length - A-31 cm.
 B-25 cm.
 C-24 cm.
South Sulawesi



Experienced fishermen in Sulawesi have a detailed knowledge of the migration of fish and other aquatic creatures, and have developed specialized unbaited, long-lining techniques for catching them. South Sulawesi fishermen specialize in crocodile hunting, selling the skins to Chinese traders.

The three iron points exhibited under Inventory Number 2654 (two of which are detailed above) are used for catching crocodiles. The centre part is roll-shaped; the flat sharp point has a barbed hook on the left and right; the other end is pointed and has a rectangular cross-section.



XI. Transportation and Navigation

The island of Sulawesi has a mountainous interior with shallow coastal lowlands. Until very recently this geographic configuration has proved to be a tremendous obstacle to communications throughout the island's history. As a result, all peoples except those with easy access to the coast have had to be fairly self-sustaining.

Along the coast, seagoing *proas* were man's means of transporting himself and his goods from one place to another. Small *proas* and dugouts served the same purpose on Sulawesi's many lakes and rivers, as the rivers are not deep enough to allow the passage of anything larger. Until the Spanish brought the horse to the island, man's only means of moving about inland was on foot. Later oxen were introduced by the Dutch. Today, the horse and boats are still the primary means of traveling in Sulawesi. The horse is used as a beast of burden and for hunting, a sport which is almost universal in Sulawesi.

Palanquins borne on the shoulders of men were also employed in a few cases, as we can see from the beautifully carved

model, Inventory Number 16744. The 20th century has added the horse or bullock-drawn wagon prominent in North Sulawesi, and small horse-drawn carriages of European origin and motorized vehicles where roads permit. Road building is being given substantial attention in the Development Era (1970's and 1980's) to permit more efficient modes of travel.

The primary means of carrying goods in Sulawesi, and that which has been most interesting to ethnographers, is the human-borne basket carrier. These baskets may be carried on the back, like a backpack, such as the rattan bag, Inventory Number 16711, which is carried by means of shoulder straps, and Number 20840 from Tana Toraja which was supported by a forehead strap. This latter basket is made from bamboo decorated with red, black and white motifs, identical to those on the beaded *kandaure* vestment. This motif is the symbol of fertility and plenty and indicates that the basket might have been used for carrying rice. Inventory Number 10853 from Bolaang-Mongondow, North Sulawesi, is another rattan shoulder pack. Very large loads, such as bundles of firewood can be carried in this *tongkolai*. Number 6374 is a hand basket used for carrying small items. Loads of fish kept alive in tarlined baskets, cassava roots, stones and other heavy goods were conveyed in twin baskets suspended from the ends of a springy bamboo yoke borne on the shoulders. Clay pots and calabashes, such as Inventory Number 2690 A, are used to carry liquids from their sources, as for example, palm wine from the trees and water from the well, to the house. Great ceramic *martavans* are used to store fermented drinks and rice. Bamboo tubes hold food to be cooked in hot coals, and are also used to carry documents, or such items as tobacco, water and palm wine on a long journey.

The importance of shipping as a means of transportation is easily understood when one considers that the Indonesian

Archipelago is a vast sea area containing more than 13,000 islands. These surround the large sheltered Java Sea, whose favorable condition for coastal travel are provided by daily land and sea breezes as well as seasonal east and west monsoons for long, offshore voyages. Furthermore, since the Java Sea is close to the Equator, there are no typhoons or really severe storms. These circumstances have provided ideal conditions for the development of many different types of vessels, ranging from the basic dugout canoes used in rivers, lakes and coastal areas to large seafaring cargo vessels. Boats have always played a very important part in the daily lives of most Indonesians, and in many areas they are of ritual and mythological significance.

Dugout canoes are the most widely used and the most primitive boats in Indonesia. They are made from a variety of trees; including the *sago* palm which was possibly one of the first forms of canoe in Indonesia. The *sago* palm grows near river banks and in swampy areas, and is harvested in situ. The large tree trunk is halved lengthwise; its pith is then removed and the *sago* flour washed out using the hollow trunk as a trough. The trunk is then converted into a canoe by sealing the open ends with clay.

Another primitive boat is made of tree bark, peeled off the trunk and folded lengthways. The ends are tied tightly together and sealed with clay. The hull is shaped by inserting spreaders across the centre.

The instability of the long narrow canoes led to two important developments in the evolution of boat building. First, floats were attached to the canoe's sides by means of booms, thus creating the double outrigger canoe which is typical in Indonesian waters. In some areas, such as northern Irian Jaya, only one outrigger is used. The second method of stabilizing

canoes was to widen the hull by using fire and spreaders, then increasing the height of the sides by building them up with various materials, such as tree bark, palm-leaf thatching, bamboo plaiting, the centre vein of the *sago* palm leaf, and, most effective and durable, planks of wood.

Wooden-plank boats are built without plans or mechanical tools in any place where timber, shipwrights and deep water are found in one location, usually near a village or town. A characteristic of Indonesian boat construction is that the planks are usually fairly thick, forming a self-supporting shell into which the timbers are then inserted. The various parts are fastened to each other in different ways, using wooden pegs or the thorns of the *cankring* tree, and, nowadays, iron nails. Seams are caulked with various fibres, coated with putty, or a mixture of resin, creosote and cotton wadding. This mixture is called *gala-gala*; it protects the wooden hull from woodworm.

Small boats and canoes are usually steered with a paddle. Larger boats or *perahu* have a large oar which is changed from side to side, depending on the tack. The big *perahu* have two rudders, of which the leeward one is effective. The centrally-placed single rudder operated with a tiller is a relatively recent introduction and is now widely used.

Except for the small fishing and river boats, most seagoing vessels are fitted with sails. Today, motors are being increasingly used in addition to, or instead of, sails. There are two main types of sail; the rectangular and the lateen or triangular sail. Before the introduction of cotton, canvas and nylon, sails were made of fibres such as jute, the woven fibres of the *gebang* tree, or the leaves of the *nipah* or *lontar* palms tacked together. These were particularly suitable, as they are seawater-proof. The first Indonesia sails were probably plain palm leaves held upright in the boat.

The traditional rigging of sailing boats was mainly made of rattan or plaited *ijuk*, the black fibre which grows between the trunk and leaf stalks of the sugar palm; or *sabut*, which is the outer husk of the coconut, also called *coir*. Finer ropes were usually made of *rami*, hemp from the *cannabis* plant.

Of the five main sea-faring ethnic groups in Indonesia, four come from Sulawesi: the Makasarese, the Buginese, the Mandarese and the Butonese. The fifth group is the Madurese from East Java. Because of their central location in the archipelago, the people of Sulawesi were able to take advantage of the monsoons, which dictated their trading pattern. At the end of the rainy season, in March, *perahu* sailed from South Sulawesi and Madura for Maluku, Nusa Tenggara and North Irian Jaya to collect jungle and sea products. With the onset of the east monsoon at the end of April, they returned westwards to Ujung Pandang, Surabaya, Jakarta and Singapore, trading their goods for textiles, tools, and other consumer goods. They returned to their villages with the west monsoon in November, where they rested until March then set out again with the unsold portion of their cargoes. Because of the introduction of auxiliary diesel engines of limited power, which give flexibility of speed, direction and timing, traders today are not so dependent upon the monsoon winds. The conversion to diesel power is being financially encouraged by the Indonesian government.

The Makasarese and Buginese have settled on the islands of Selayar, Jampea and Bonerate (between South Sulawesi and Flores), in Southeast Sulawesi, Sumbawa, East Kalimantan and in Jakarta and Surabaya, as well as in East Sumatra, Riau, Johor and Singapore.

The Mandarese, from the northwestern corner of South Sulawesi, have the reputation of being the most intrepid sea-

farers and traders. Before the First World War, they carried on monsoonal trade between Sulawesi, Maluku, Singapore and Padang in West Sumatra. During the 1920's this trade declined, and thier *perahu paduwakang* were replaced by the Madurese *lete. lete*, and the *lambo*, of European influence.

The Butonese, from the islands of Buton, Muna and Cabacna and the more distant Tukang. Besi islands off the south-eastern tip of Sulawesi, trade between Gresik (near Surabaya) and Maluku, Central Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara. Their vessels are predominantly the *lambo*, and they still follow the monsoonal trade pattern.

The Makasarese and Buginese voyaged eastwards to the Kei and Aru islands to trade for and collect trepang, sandalwood, tortoise shells, pearl shell, bird nests, bird-of-paradise plumes, and shark's fins, mostly for the Chinese market. They exchanged iron tools, cloth and other European and Chinese goods. Their *perahu* reached the northwestern coast of Australia where they collected and preserved trepang. On Arnhem Land they established relations with the Aborigine population, who traded tortoise shell with them. Some Aborigines even went to Makasar, where they settled. One Australian captain reported that there were some seventeen Aborigines in Makasar in 1876. The trepang trade died out early in the 20th century, when Australian restrictions were imposed.

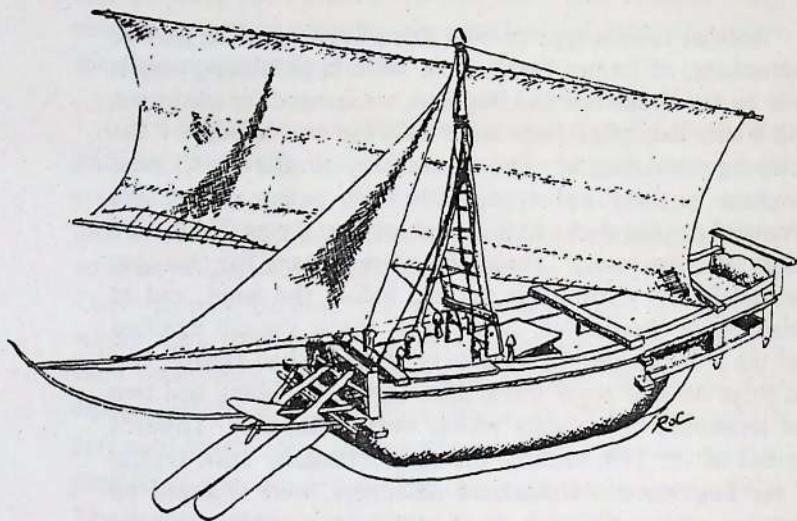
The Buginese and Makasarese were also active in the Philippines, and a parallel has been established between the ancient Philippine syllabary and the old Buginese script. A number of Buginese words are sprinkled throughout the dialects of the Philippines.

Of the sailing boats of South Sulawesi, the best known are the Makasarese and Buginese *perahu pinisi*, which dominate the timber and general cargo trade on the Surabaya/Banjarmasin

and Surabaya/Ujung Pandang routes. Makasarese *pinisi* are made in Bira and Bulukumba on the southern tip of South Sulawesi, while the Buginese *pinisi* are made on the west coast of the Gulf of Bone, at Sinjai, Kajuara and Bajoa. These are large sailing boats of about 200 cubic-metre capacity, with two tall masts and huge sail areas consisting of mainsail, mizzensail, two topsails and three jibs. Their hulls are short and wide in the beam, with long bosprits and square overhanging sterns with an aft cabin.

Another famous type of boat from Sulawesi is the *perahu paduwakang*, of former times; these were large trading vessels made by the Makasarese and Buginese, unchanged for centuries, with which they plied their trade between the islands of the archipelago and beyond. They were very similar to Chinese *wangkang* in name and type, with high, square sterns and downward-slanting decks ending in short, low stems. They were rather poor sea vessels. Their sails were rectangular, hanging horizontally on yards when running before the wind, and at a slant when close-hauled. A red strip across the sail signified that the boat belonged to a noble or distinguished family; two red strips denoted royal ownership. The *paduwakang* had two and sometimes three masts which were collapsible. Towards the end of the 19th century the old rectangular sails, typical of the Buginese and Makasarese schooners, were replaced by European schooner rigging, as is still seen nowadays on the *pinisi*.

Objects



22170
SAILING PROA MODEL
Painted wood, cotton
Height - 65 cm.
Length - 115 cm.
Width - 21.5 cm.
South Sulawesi

This is a model of a *perahu palari*, a cargo sailing boat or *proa* from South Sulawesi, as built by Makasarese and Buginese traders during the 1930's and 1940's. It is the forerunner

of the larger present-day Bugis or Makasar schooner, the *perahu pinto*, the widely known vessels used in Indonesia's sail-powered merchant fleet.

The *palari* was a trading boat similar to the larger and older *padukawang*. It usually had two masts, one of which was a collapsible tripod. Some versions had only one tripod mast, as seen on this model. In South Sulawesi and in the islands east of Madura they were used as traders, but smaller versions were also used for fishing. In Ujung Pandang, then called Makasar, *perahu palari* was the name of a two masted pleasure boat used by royalty or nobility. It has a nicely carved and decorated cabin and could be rowed by eight or twelve men when there was no wind. *Palari* means "fast sailer" in the local language.

The sail of the *palari* was traditionally made of *karoro*, a coarse but supple woven material made from palm-leaf fibre. The cotton sail of this model has two red stripes painted across it, perhaps a throwback to the tradition that the *paduwakang* owned by royalty or nobility had these distinguishing marks. This model is rigged with a triangular jib sail. Foresails are a relatively modern addition, having been introduced to Indonesia vessels only during the second half of the last century. The boat is steered by the old-fashioned system of two large paddles attached to each side of the stern.

There is a similarity between the *palari* as exemplified in this model, and the ships which are depicted in the panels of the Borobudur temple in Yogyakarta, in particular the single-masted vessel with a raked mast shown in the panel on the balustrade of the first gallery, upper row.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

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