

DANA RAPPOPORT

SONGS FROM THE THRICE-
BLOODED LAND

RITUAL MUSIC OF THE TORAJA
SULAWESI (INDONESIA)

translation from the Toraja poems
into English: LIZ COVILLE
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into Indonesian: STANISLAS SANDARUPA
translation from the French:
TIMOTHY SELLER

Foreword by
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ÉDITIONS ÉPISTÈMES
ÉDITIONS DE LA MAISON
DES SCIENCES DE L'HOMME

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 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

HEARTFELT THANKS TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN ME THEIR
AID:

In the Toraja mountains, all the singers and musicians too numerous to mention, the masters *indo' badong* and *indo' simbong*: Ne' Dekke, Ne' Salurante, Daut Puppung, Kumbun, the two sisters, singers of *marakka* of Paniki, Indo' Kalang, Indo' Sulu', their flautist Ne' Karre, Barto and Marten from Buntao', Bo'ti' from Baruppu' and his acolytes, the various families who welcomed me, all the valiant officiants with whom I shared days, nights, weeks and months:

To minaa Ambaa, Lo'ko' Lemo, Tallu Kalo'na (Rindingallo)

To minaa Mendolo, Kalimbuang, Ka'do, Tallu Kalo'na (Rindingallo)

To minaa Salombe', Rea Parodo, Baruppu' (Rindingallo)

To burake Sulo, To Barana', Tallu Kalo'na (Rindingallo)

To minaa Maron, Ta'ba', Tallu Kalo'na (Rindingallo)

To minaa Lumbaa, Se'pon, Tallu Kalo'na (Tikala)

To minaa, to menani Ne' Tato' Dena', Tallu Lembangna, Bungin (Ma'kale)

In Indonesia: *At Makale and Rantepao*, Luther Rape, Urbanus Tongli, Franz Dengen, all the Pong Masak family who welcomed me from Makassar to Makale, Damaris, the Pongsesa family at Pakkung-Baruppu', Pa' Rante Sulu, Hendra, Matteus Saranga', Pastor Tikurari, Pendeta Lebang, the Gereja Toraja (Badan Pekerja Sinode) Church,

Pa' Kadang Junior for having graciously lent me his father's unpublished texts, the retired school teacher Y. M. Paranoan, Pa' Sarira, Pa' Kila, Pong Minda, Pa' Bassongan, Pa' Pasolang and Pa' Malinga of Buntao, Agustinus Herianto, Yulius Paganggi, Ali Daniel, Pa' Pualilin of Mamasa, Pa' Demen Dolo; *at Makassar*, very warmly, the Sandarupa Family, the old doctor Werner Meyer, Petrus Tongli, Bishop Johannes Liku, Father Timang; *at Jakarta*, Jimmy and Ina Paat, Eric Leclerc and Florentius Stoffer, Atika Suri Fanani.

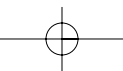
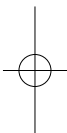
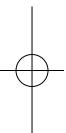
In Europe and the United States: Gabriel "Branch of Heaven" (*Tangke Langi*) and Philippe Blasco who always backed this work through thick and thin, my parents Jacques and Édith Rappoport, my children Gaïa and Kolia, Serge Sérafini, Joséphine Simonnot and Marie-Blanche Hannequin, Catherine Basset, Christian Pelras, Mireille Helffer, Anne-Florence Borneuf, Marie-Barbara Le Gonidec, The Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie (CNRS), Susanne Fürniss, Jean-Claude Gardin, Valentine Roux, Jeanne Blondel, Marc Chemillier, Philippe Jobet, Michèle Castellengo, Nicole Revel, Hetty Nooy-Palm, Natacha Horst, Gérard Nougazol and Martine Journet, Thomas Beaufiles, Pierre and Sophie Clément, Marc-François Deligne, Rémy Bruckert, Jean-Pierre Dalbera, Marc Geourjon, Alexandre Mourot, Ludovic Gaillard, Samuel Goldzsmidt, Yves Defrance, Patrick Kersalé, Eric Crystal, Roxana Waterson, Stanislas Morin, Etienne Charrié, James Temple, Julien Lorion, Catherine Ballardur, Andrée Feillard, Daniel Perret, Nathalie Fourrier, Emmanuelle Corne, Isabelle Cadet, Marc Kopylov, Elsa Lévy, Jeremy Elprin, and very especially Philip Yampolsky.

And particularly all the translators – of the Toraja poetry: Elizabeth Coville and Stanislas Sandarupa; of the book-DVD: Timothy Seller, Tanete Pong Masak and Ida Budipranoto.

This research project would not have been possible without the support of the National Scientific Research Centre with the Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie (CREM), the Cellule audiovisuelle du Centre Edgar Morin de l'Institut interdisciplinaire d'anthropologie du contemporain and the CNRS Images, the French Culture Ministry with the Centre National du Livre (CNL) and the Mission de la recherche et de la technologie, the French School of Asian Studies (EFEO), the Ford Foundation in Jakarta (Indonesia), the KODAK Foundation (France), the Institute of Research and Acoustic/Musical Co-ordination (IRCAM), the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) in Indonesia, the Société Française d'Ethnomusicologie (SFE).

Certain passages are modified versions of papers already published. My thanks go to the editors, Jean Jamin and Laurent Aubert, for allowing me to reuse certain passages in these articles (1999 "Chanter sans être ensemble. Des musiques juxtaposées pour un public invisible" (Singing without being together. Juxtaposed musics for an invisible public), *L'Homme* 152: 143-162; 2004 "Musique et morphologie rituelle chez les Toraja d'Indonésie" (Music and ritual morphology among the Toraja of Indonesia), *L'Homme* 171-172: 197-218; 2006 "De retour de mon bain de tambours. Chants de transe du rituel maro chez les Toraja Sa'dan de l'île de Sulawesi (Indonésie)" (Returning from being bathed in drum. Trance songs from *maro* ritual), *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 19: 93-116.

This book-DVD also has French and Indonesian versions.



 TRANSLITERATION

THE TORAJA SA'DAN SPEAK AN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE which was studied for more than sixty years by a linguist from Leyden in Holland, H. van der Veen, who lived and worked as a translator of the Bible for the Netherlands Bible Society in Toraja country for forty years (1916-1958) *. Thanks to his work *sa'dan toraja* is one of the best-known languages of Sulawesi. The first transcriptions and translations, made by Protestant missionaries, date from the beginning of the twentieth century. The first Bible in Toraja was published in 1960. The Toraja-Dutch dictionary was available from 1940 (Veen 1940); its translation into Indonesian appeared in 1972 thanks to the team (including Tammu and Pakan) who had been working for decades with H. van der Veen (1972). Studies in phonology, syntax and morphology were published from the 1970s onwards (Noorduyn 1991: 202).

Toraja is one of the languages of South Sulawesi, alongside Makassar, Bugis, and Mandar. It does not have its own alphabet; since the beginning of the century, it has been written with the Latin alphabet. According to the Toraja linguist Pr. Salombe' (1978), Toraja has 19 phonemes (5 vowels and 14 consonants).

* Two of his children were born in Toraja country in the 1930s. One of them, Jan Peter Hendrik van der Veen, born in 1930, told me about his childhood up to 1942, when the Japanese interned all Dutch people in detention camps on the island of Java for three and a half years. At this time, his father lost numerous documents. In 1946, he returned to Holland, before leaving again between 1950 and 1958 to finish the translation of the Bible at Malino with Pakan (Jan peter van der Veen, personal communication, 2005).

The vowels a, i, and o are pronounced as in French.
 e is pronounced as é in French.
 u is pronounced oo as in boot.
 toe is pronounced toè or toi

Unlike Indonesian the schwa does not exist in Toraja. Thus when a Toraja speaks Indonesian he transforms all the e's into é. The Toraja distinguish what they call a "strong" i and a "weak" i, the latter verging on an "ai", and also a "strong" e corresponding to è and a "weak" e corresponding to é, called *é tajam* ("cutting é").

	"Strong"	"Weak"
i	<i>iko</i>	<i>rintin</i> becomes <i>renten</i>
e	<i>peré</i> ' is pronounced peret (with Cockney t pronounced in the throat) <i>toe</i> is pronounced toè	<i>ke</i> is pronounced like French "quai" <i>toe</i> is pronounced toè

Two Toraja consonants require explanation: the glottal stop (Cockney "t") and the nasal consonant *ng*. The glottal stop is signified by means of the apostrophe.

indo' is pronounced inedoq by suppressing the q.

sangngalla' is pronounced sanggalaq.

sumanga' is pronounced sumangat (Cockney "t")

oyode is pronounced iodé

Certain consonants are doubled.

Toraja distinguishes neither gender nor number.

In Toraja the stress most often falls on the penultimate syllable –*uma*, *male*, *sule*, *manuk*, *kasera*, and *rekke*. For verbs, the enclitic does not modify the position of the stress; the stress of the verb *male* ("go") does not change position when the verb is conjugated –*malena'* ("I go"); whereas possessive suffixes do modify its position in nouns: e.g., the stress of the noun *tedong* ("buffalo") is shifted

in *tedongku* (“my buffalo”), and *uma* (“paddy field”) becomes *umanta* (“our paddy field”).

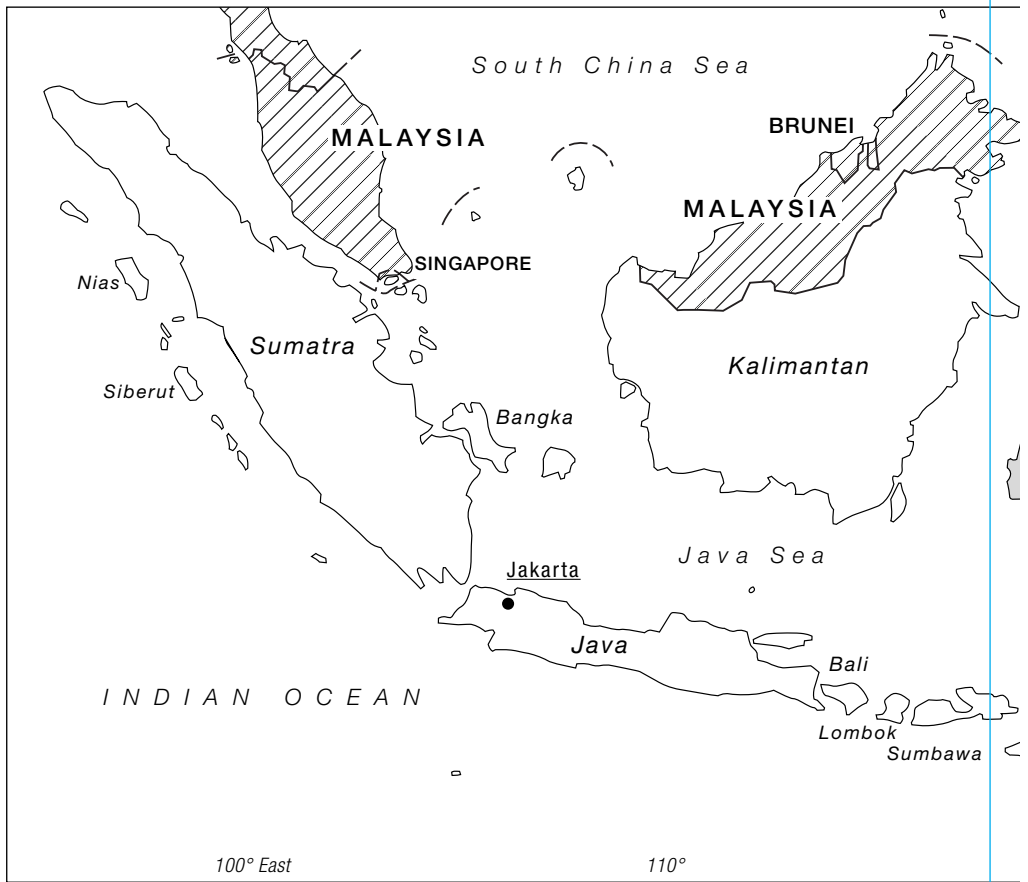
Words in Indonesian are marked with an asterisk (*) and follow pronunciation rules different from those of Toraja:

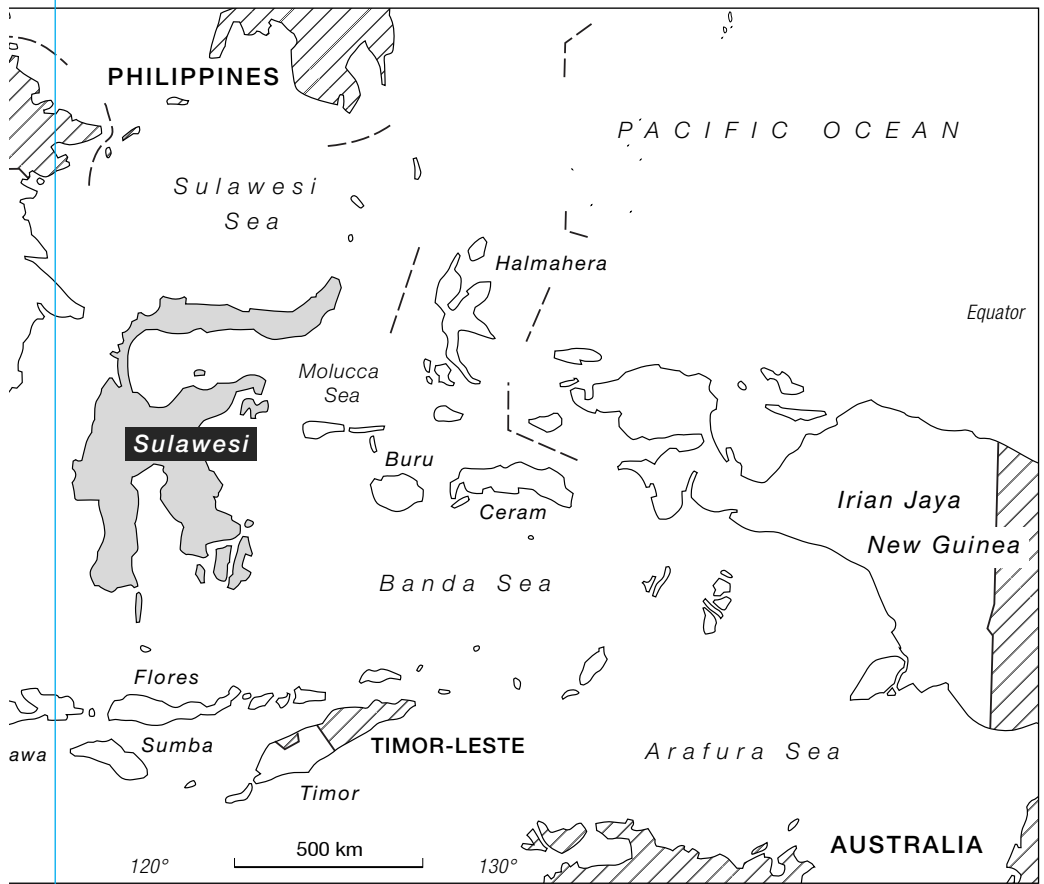
c is pronounced ch. *Calon* is pronounced “chalon”.

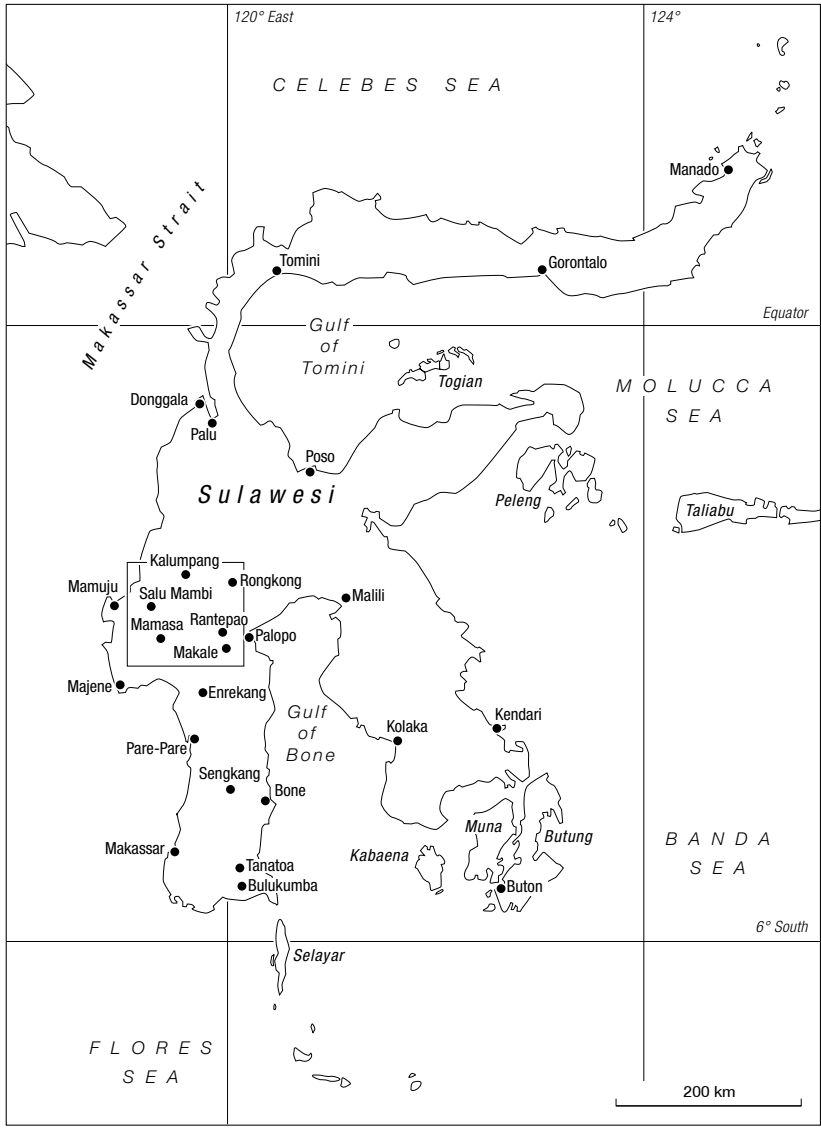
j is pronounced as in English.

sy is pronounced sh. *Syarat* is pronounced “sharat”.

u (formerly oe) is pronounced oo as in “boot”. *Dapur* is pronounced “dapoor”.







FOREWORD

THIS REMARKABLE WORK concerns itself with the traditional ritual, artistic, and social life of the Toraja people of the mountains of southern Sulawesi, in Central Indonesia. It is the fruit of a kind of research that few people today have the dedication, the determination, the endurance, the musical, anthropological, and linguistic skills, or simply the time to conduct. Dana Rappoport's initial, casual visit to the Toraja region in 1991 led to twenty-four months of field research in 1993-1994 and many shorter research trips over the next ten years. Add to this the tasks of analyzing the data, writing the text, translating the poetry, and preparing an enormous quantity of recordings and photographs for publication, and we can see why the present book has taken some eighteen years to complete.

In some respects, the book represents a return to a classical model of ethnomusicology, fusing ethnographic detail and musicological analysis to produce a comprehensive study of a culture's musical activity. Such a work requires years and years to complete, and researchers rarely attempt it any more. Where works of earlier decades had titles like *Music in Java*, *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*, or *Musique Dan*, more recent studies tend to focus on single genres or repertoires. Dana Rappoport's book is classical also in the sense that it concentrates on a traditional, geographically bounded, rural musical culture, not one that has developed in diasporic communities nor one that seeks to incorporate the aesthetics or impulses of urban popular music. Without disparaging the study of diasporic or popular musics, surely we can applaud Rappoport's effort to comprehend in full the musical logic and social and aesthetic concerns of a society very remote from the global mediascape.

In other respects, however, this is an experimental work situated near the outer frontier of scholarly publishing. Using an array of technological

resources unavailable even when she began her fieldwork, Rappoport has sought to achieve an ideal unattainable before now: to substantiate her observations and analysis by placing virtually the entire corpus of her data before the reader. When I first became acquainted with ethnomusicology (a few years before Dana Rappoport was born), there were no more than a handful of books that incorporated sound recordings. These were, in fact, marketed not as books but as recordings with unusually ample commentary. The next step, beginning in the late 1970s or early 1980s, was the publication of books with coordinated cassettes. The cassettes were not considered integral to the book; they had to be ordered separately from the publisher and cost as much or more than the book itself. As the 1980s progressed, associated cassettes became more common for ethnomusicological monographs, but they were still for the most part sold separately and were thus optional supplements. It was not until the mid-1990s, when the slim CD had replaced the bulky cassette, that publishers began to regularly include sound recordings as integral elements, mounted right inside the book—at first only one CD, as is still the norm, but later sometimes two or three.

But Dana Rappoport's offering here is on another scale altogether. Her DVD-ROM includes some 2000 still photographs, forty hours of audio, and two hours of video. This enables her to achieve another ideal that fieldworkers have rarely been able to attain: to make her field documentation available in extenso to the subjects of the study, the Toraja themselves. Moreover, she adds to her documentation an elaborate analytical and explanatory apparatus ("the Argument") that may be consulted or not, as the reader/viewer/listener (what is the right term for the user of such a multifarious work?) wishes. These features—a vast corpus of material and built-in but optional explication—are among the newest technological possibilities available to authors. They open a new dimension to ethnomusicological publications, analogous to the new dimension in cinema studies introduced by the director's (or actor's or critic's) commentary track that can be added to films on DVD.

This option to pass over the analysis indicates another unusual aspect of this book. The author and publisher have striven to make the work accessible to readers with disparate concerns: those who want just the poetry, those

who want just the music and video, those who want a vivid description of Toraja ritual but don't need the musical analysis or ethnographic detail, and those who want every gram of understanding they can get. Furthermore, the author, her colleagues Stanislaus Sandarupa and Elizabeth Coville, her translators, and her publisher have expended great effort to make the work available in multiple languages. It is no small task to provide careful translations of ritual poetry from Toraja into three other languages (two of them—with wholly different syntactical demands— consider, for example, that French and English require that verbs be fixed with regard to tense and pronouns be fixed with regard to gender, while Toraja and Indonesian require neither). Nor is it easy to translate anthropological and musicological terminology even from French to English, let alone into Indonesian, which in many cases has no common equivalents for these terms. But these labors were well worth it. In particular, the Indonesian edition will, I believe, serve as a model to Indonesian scholars for a deep and respectful study of traditional art and ritual in their ethnographic context.

*

Dana Rappoport's focus here is on Toraja in their Sulawesi homeland. Many Toraja have migrated out to other parts of Indonesia, where they may be found at all social levels, living lives resembling those of other Indonesians. But when they go home to the mountains and rejoin the Toraja still there, they participate in culturally specific practices that in Indonesia are termed "regional." Similarly, while nearly all Toraja under the age of fifty can speak Indonesian, the national language, when they are in the homeland most speak instead the "regional" language, Toraja.

What is the force of this notion of "regional" culture and "regional" language? Indonesian is the lingua franca of the entire country, and the metropolitan, consumerist life-style of Jakarta, the national capital, is depicted in Indonesian-language media as the mainstream life-style of Indonesia as a whole—even though, in fact, most Indonesians are rural and can never hope to live like the Jakartans they see on television. Regional culture is thus

by definition peripheral to the mainstream, and the more economically disconnected the regions are from Jakarta, or the more rural their way of life, the more irrelevant they are to Indonesia's Jakarta-based image of itself. For this reason, when foreign researchers come to Indonesia to study regional cultures, Indonesians themselves are often puzzled—why study in the backwaters, why concentrate on practices that modern society has left behind? Even the people in the regions may ask: why have you come to study us, when the people in the cities are so much more advanced and developed?

Indeed, why should one study the culture of a backwater? Such a question would not have been asked before the 1970s in anthropology or the 1980s in ethnomusicology. For many years, the focus of these disciplines was on cultural diversity and specificity, and isolated or narrowly localized societies were of great interest precisely because they offered instances of difference, information about the range of variation in human societies. But the contemporary focus of both disciplines is now very much on a new set of issues involving modernity, urban culture, globalization, diaspora, and the transnational flows of people and practices.

When these are the primary concerns, it may seem pointless to document the traditional practices of remote peoples, outside the modern networks of exchange and entertainment. But to dismiss the study of ways of life different from our own as “exoticism” or “nostalgia”—touristic visits to the human zoo, or sentimental reverence for an idealized past—is to reject both historical and anthropological perspectives on society. This disparagement is hegemony at work, persuading us that our own way of life is transparent and natural, the common-sense response to the way things obviously are, while those people dancing in a circle over there, singing in strange intervals and wearing odd clothing, are anomalous survivals from a vanished era. Toraja may be anomalous to many readers of this book, but they are not anomalous to themselves. Their ritual embodies and addresses issues and conditions of importance to them; it makes sense to them, emotionally and symbolically, even if they find the discursive meaning of its texts increasingly obscure. And Rappoport's portrait of Toraja society here is hardly, after many years of intense study, touristic; nor—awash in the blood of buffaloes, raucous

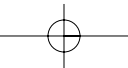
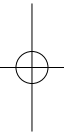
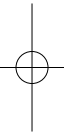
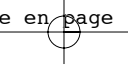
*with the squeals of pigs— is it idealized. Her work shows most readers, including those in Indonesia, a way of being in the world radically different from their own; but it is solipsistic arrogance to claim, in this time of environmental, economic, and societal crisis, that no different way of being is of any interest or relevance. At the very least, we can learn from the contrasts: if one values this instead of that, one lives this way, not that. The Indonesian catchword *kemajuan*, “progress,” does not denote a simple journey from not having refrigerators and televisions to having them; one may lose a whole system of cosmology and poetic symbolism, or a great choral and choreographic enactment and affirmation of community, along the way.*

What can Toraja themselves gain from Rappoport’s years of effort? One thing her work cannot do is preserve Toraja music. It documents in splendid detail the repertoire, texts, and manner of performance of Toraja music at a certain period of time, but preserving it—keeping it alive as an active and meaningful cultural practice— is not within the power of the outsider. Only Toraja can keep their music alive. What the ethnomusicologist can do is demonstrate to Toraja how rich, powerful, and meaningful their music is. In so doing, she may restore their respect for it, their willingness to resist the forces —“modernizing” pressure from the government, opposition from world religions, ridicule from the urban media— that encourage them to discard it. And even if these forces prove too strong to resist, Rappoport’s documents and analyses will enable Toraja to retain awareness of their cultural distinctiveness and of the practices and beliefs that informed the lives of their parents and grandparents and ancestors. Her work records with great comprehensiveness and sensitivity a central part of their own heritage—and one society’s answer to the universal human question of how to live in the world.

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PREFACE

*Mais tout n'est pas avantage pour le chercheur.
Plus il trouve, moins il a le temps pour connaître
sa nouvelle ignorance.* (But the researcher does
not have it all his own way: the more he finds,
the less time he has to appreciate his own igno-
rance.)

HENRI MICHAUX,
Passages, 1963

I ARRIVED FOR THE FIRST TIME among the Toraja in August 1991, in the company of a friend. I was 23. Having just come ashore on the island of Sulawesi (formerly known as the Celebes), after a month of travels in Java and Bali, we had wanted to avoid the tourist trap the Toraja country had become since the 1980s. Extolled in the tourist brochures for their “timeless rites, in the heart of an unspoiled isle, perpetuating every day the rites which bind them to the sun and their ancestor the buffalo” –the very image of an archaic people– the Toraja were idealised to satisfy commercial interests. We wished to evade these distorted and false clichés normally dressed up with a panoply of alluring adjectives, found even in serious works. There were no two ways about it: we had to set out for something different. However, it was in that same month, in the sweltering heat of Makassar, the capital of the province of South Sulawesi, that the old German doctor Werner Meyer¹, settled there for decades, told us about a matchless funeral

1. Deceased in 1995, an old acquaintance of the anthropologist Christian Pelras, this doctor had made his home in Makassar from the Second World War onwards.

ritual for the highest aristocracy. That was how we decided, almost by chance, and with the idle curiosity of laymen, to make a detour through the Toraja mountains—a step which would prove decisive for my future research. Engaged at that time in studies in musicology and comparative literature at the Sorbonne—my research concerned the influence of the Elizabethan theatre on the Decadent movement in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century—I had not yet become involved in ethnomusicology. In twelve days we would actively witness five funeral ceremonies in sundry regions and record funeral choruses throughout several nights². The intensity of these rituals wiped out in one go all my disgust for tourist traps.

It was not just the dramatic power of the Toraja funeral rituals that gripped me, but, above all, the collective excess—both in sacrifice and music: here it was not one but a hundred buffaloes that were slaughtered; singing lasted not for one hour but for seven days and seven nights; it was not three families but three thousand people who were invited. Total ceremony, potlatch, saturation of the senses, dazzling, lavish destruction—I went from the figurative excess of Elizabethan theatre I was then studying to the real excess of the Toraja hecatombs; from the French National Library to the field of sacrifice.

From then on a constant—almost self-evident—intuition guided me. I returned to spend a year and a half with the Toraja from 1993 to 1995. Despite my long preparation, the fieldwork proved surprising: having come with only a musicological perspective, I saw my plans turn upside down. Whereas I had thought I was going to work exclusively and at length with the singers, I found myself sitting with poets. The young singers did not know how to talk to me—I did not know how to

2. In the case of the Toraja, I extend the term “ritual” to that of “celebration” in the cases where the musical, animal and human expense is considerable. The Toraja use the word *pa'maruasan* (“noisy agitation”) to designate what I call “celebration”. Nowadays, the Indonesian term **pesta* (“celebration”), borrowed from the Portuguese *pista*, has entered the Toraja language (*pesta to mate, pesta bua*). The only non-celebratory ritual described in this work is the *pakorong* ritual as it does not imply a large overall expense. Although the Toraja “celebrations” are always rituals, not all the rituals are “celebrations”.

understand them. I naturally chose to listen to the last guardians of the ritual tradition; one of them, Lumbaa –a great master of ritual speech– adopted me.

Throughout the research I was filled with a strong desire: that the grandchildren of Lumbaa, one of the last officiants or *to burake* of the Toraja mountains, might one day read and understand what their grandfather used to sing, that a trace of the words sung by the Toraja might survive. These words are fated to vanish with the men who made them live. These words which are disappearing, no longer with a mouth to utter them, no longer with “quivering tongues” (*pandelo lila*) to sing them, are a religion that is dying. That is why practically all the songs I recorded –however incomplete they may be– are presented here. Between the beginning of my investigation and today, most of the men who helped me have already passed away. More than ever, these losses make me want to pass on what I have heard, seen and understood.

Throughout the twentieth century this religion underwent numerous adaptations. First of all, the Toraja highlands were invaded by Dutch colonists in 1906. The Toraja country was then organised in customary territories, some of which were called “place of song” (*penanian*). The latter comprised several neighbouring hamlets that respected religious rules and had a ritual calendar in common. Their union was consecrated by a celebration for the sake of human, animal, and vegetable fertility, and on this occasion a great song of praise (*nani*) was sung (Nooy-Palm 1979: 71). In this way, the expression “place of song” became a synonym for celebration and then union of customary territories. It was a way to structure space by marking at the same time a territorial, social, religious, and musical order. Then, in the 1950s, after the Dutch left, the Indonesian government cut the region up into new administrative units that no longer coincided with the customary ancestral territories. The “places of song” disappeared. Still today, place names indicate to the passer-by the presence of these “places of song”, whose meaning remains inscrutable for most Toraja. Indeed, the desire to interpret such vestiges has always stimulated my research.

The main task was to collect as carefully as possible both words and music; which I did as well as I could. I took my microphones and notebook and criss-crossed the mountains to witness the maximum number of rituals. But after 58 hours of recordings, 9 hours of film, and more than 2,000 photos, what conclusions can be drawn? According to what criteria? How can homogenous corpora be constituted when the collections remain diverse and fragmentary, when certain rites have completely disappeared, when others are rarely performed, and when certain recordings last seven days and seven nights without interruption? What is most important in the end? How to set about contemplating it all?

As all the data collected are part and parcel of a great process of exchange between living, dead, and divinities, I carried out my research by analysing the songs and their contexts; I succeeded in bringing to light a pairing of sound and ritual forms, reflecting a precise system of oppositions and equivalencies between rituals and music. I made a point of tracing the correspondences between the various musical, oral, and ritual forms.

When my thesis had to be edited, I was steeling myself to give up publishing all of the songs, music, poems, and images on which a system of thought was built; a whole collection of material, rich, zestful, eloquent, living, and exalting, a veritable memory in song which had to be left on one side, in archives, boxes and files separated from one another –for the sake of an intellectual construction some hundreds of pages long. Now writing a book on varieties of music while being unable to show properly any corpus (poetic, visual or sound) considerably reduces the intelligibility of the contents for the reader. It is difficult to explain how funeral dances work without showing them; to talk of songs without evoking them in their literary fullness, nor even in their performance; to describe rituals without reproducing their atmosphere. Finally, it is difficult to convey an appreciation of the musical performance with access to only short examples in sound and poetry or to musical representations that are frequently not easy to understand.

Our discipline –ethnomusicology– is constantly being confronted with issues of data representation and musicological models; it comes up against the difficulties of publishing an analytic and critical apparatus linked to audio-visual data –most often reduced to a few images and an audio-CD. It also finds it hard to deal with synthesising theoretical constructions borrowed from various fields of knowledge.

Then Philippe Blasco, my publisher, invited me to write for his new collection, founded on an innovative publishing model, inspired by the principles of logicism. The adventure was attempted –the madness of creating a composite work allowing the reader to see, hear, and penetrate in a different way the symbolic, acoustic, poetic, and visual riches of a music, while, at the same time, understanding its meanings.

The object you have in your hands is polymorphic and experimental: in print you will find an anthropological introduction to Toraja music and an anthology of chosen poems (*Toraja Florilegium*); on the disc, a monograph in the form of an interpretative construction resulting from ethnomusicological research (“The Argument”), the musical corpus in its entirety (“Musical Anthology”). By reading only the book, the reader will perceive the nature of the data indistinctly. By consulting only the DVD, the reader may prefer to understand them in a different way. Today there is one thing I am sure of: music makes sense as much through the eyes as through the ears, as much by poetry as by sounds; comprehension arises through several senses. This unity, for long dissociated, can now –thanks to new media– be re-presented in a different way. One of the aims of this publication is to unveil the interweaving of musical with ritual knowledge, the power of oral poetry and its performance, the memory in song of these “quivering tongues”.

* Logicism is the name given to an analytical mode of research that seeks to reveal the mechanisms and foundations of constructs in the social sciences. A construct is not presented through the rhetorics of traditional narratives, but is reformulated by reduction to its substantive base, while conserving the totality of elements constituting the cognitive construct per se.



DECEASED TAKEN TOWARDS ITS GRAVE, BOKKO, 2 OCTOBER 1993.

INTRODUCTION

Là où les rayons du soleil n'arrivent
plus, les sons parviennent encore.
(here the sun's rays can no longer
arrive, sounds can still reach.)

KIERKEGAARD

SULAWESI IS AN EXCEPTIONAL ISLAND. Not just musically but, strangely, geographically, too. Very early its originality was emphasised by the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) at the end of the nineteenth century, who, having listed the species, considered the island as a link between the continent of Asia and Australia, and who said, "There is no other example on the globe of an island so closely surrounded by other islands on every side, yet preserving such a marked individuality in its form of life; while as regards to the special features which characterise its insects, it is, so far as yet known, absolutely unique" (Wallace, *Island life*, 1880: 334).

The surface of the island is hardly larger than a third of France. However, with more than 114 languages of the Austronesian family³ it is a rich linguistic zone. The island has a population of 14 million (2000 census). Since 1950 it has been divided into administrative provinces, numbering six in 2009. The province known as Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi) has the largest number of inhabitants: 8 million. It bears

3. The Austronesian group, once called Malayo-Polynesian, is a family of languages spoken in all Insulindia, Madagascar, and a part of Oceania as far as Easter Island. It includes 270 million speakers (Bellwood, Fox, Tryon 1995) and more than 1262 languages (www.ethnologue.com). The Toraja are part of the western Malayo-Polynesian group.

witness to an ancient past, the unity of which is rooted in a reality that is political, economic, linguistic, and mythical. The peoples of South Sulawesi, united in the same cultural area, are divided into four main groups: Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, and Toraja.

The Toraja still live in the mountains of the southwest arm of Sulawesi. They number about 500,000⁴. In spite of their cultural relationship with their neighbours, they are distinguished from the lowlanders by the importance they give to ancestor worship, by the vigour of their ritual practices, and by an essentially choral music.

Unlike their neighbours, the Toraja did not convert to Islam. Before the arrival of Dutch Protestant missionaries in 1913, they freely practised their traditional religion, which still pervades their life today. During the twentieth century, Christianisation made steady progress. In the 1950s, the intensification of conversions was a result of the Indonesian government's repressive policies mandating monotheistic worship and discouraging the practice of native polytheist religions. So as to continue eating pork the Toraja chose Christianity (Bigalke 1981: 435). For a long time the external authorities refused to recognise the ancestral religion, which received no official status until 1970, and then merely as the local variety of a Hinduism of monotheistic tendencies –and by then most of the Toraja had already been converted. Today more than 95% of Toraja are Christians.

Nevertheless, despite these massive conversions, neither the missionaries nor the Indonesian State –whose independence was proclaimed in 1945– succeeded in stopping the Toraja from celebrating their dead with major funerals involving hecatombs of animals and extravagant expenses. With the substitution of Christian chorales for the former traditional singing at the place of sacrifice, these celebrations

4. Of the five languages spoken by the Toraja group (Sa'dan Toraja, Mamasa, Galumpang, Rongkong, Luwu'), the Sa'dan Toraja language has the greatest number of speakers (Grimes 1987; Friberg 1989). Situated in the actual department of Tana Toraja, the Sa'dan Toraja numbered 435,000 in 2005 (www.bps.go.id – consultation 2006).

were broadly remodelled in a Protestant version. All the same, Toraja identity persists not only through the vigorous survival of the language, the funerals, and the household ceremonies, but also through the great families' continuing attachment to social hierarchy. In this way, although the internal balance of the old system was upset by the change of religion, a certain number of practices, as will be seen, survive.

Toraja music is part of a very ancient indigenous heritage: the Austronesian stratum, one of the oldest cultural layers in Indonesia. It differs from the music of the Indianised cultures of Java and Bali, of certain parts of Sumatra and the south of Borneo, represented by gamelans and the various arts of the stage⁵. It is also distinguishable from the Islamised music on the coasts, commercial circulation points and in the Lowlands⁶; it is different from the gong orchestra culture found from Sumatra to Borneo and in the Philippines. With the preponderance of collective round dances and line dances, and with its choral music, Toraja music has points in common with the music of central Sulawesi, the eastern islands of Flores and Timor and the island of Nias in the far west of the country⁷.

If this Austronesian stratum cannot entirely be defined, these different kinds of music may still be identified by several features: the music is often sung collectively, or again dominated by orchestras of tuned idiophones (ensemble of xylophones, bamboo pounded or struck against the ground, gongs and drums), or again consisting of intimate

5. So, among the Toraja, no *wayang* shadow theatre, *topeng* masked dancing, *macapat* singing, or *ronggeng* dancing.

6. These varieties of Islamic music are distinguished by male or female devotional choirs accompanied or not by percussion (often including a frame drum such as *rebana*), solo singers accompanied on the *gambus* lute (from the Yemeni *qanbuz*), borrowed Arab instruments (oboe *sarunai*, spike fiddle *rebab*). The Arab origin of the fiddle is plausible for the diffusion of the term *rebab* but not necessarily for the instrument itself, which appears residually in the non-Islamic cultures of Indonesia, as for example the Toraja *geso'-geso'* in Sulawesi.

7. The similarities can be noted thanks to the sound sources recorded by Philip Yampolsky (1992, 1995a, 1995b).

songs accompanied by a relatively quiet instrument (including flutes of the *suling* type, tubular or stick zither, mouth-organ, jew's harp, and "boat" lute). In these Insulindian cultures, the "boat lute" is particularly original. Found throughout the region from Cambodia to the Philippines and passing through Indonesia, it may owe its origin to India, given the diffusion of the Sanskrit term *kaccapi vina* ("lute") and its derivatives in Insulindia (*kacapi*, *katapi*, *kecapi*, *sapel*⁸, for example) (Yampolsky, *Grove*, Rappoport 2003).

Above the Austronesian substratum, the island of Sulawesi was mainly influenced by Islamic music arriving around the seventeenth century, and Christian music from the nineteenth. In general the music of the coasts and the plains tends to be soloistic and instrumental whilst that of the highlands is more collective, vocal, and of religious origin. Today, in both cases they have been progressively replaced by modern varieties of Muslim, Christian, or secular popular music.

Among the Toraja, in spite of the Christian influence, the Austronesian stratum is still noticeable. The choral music still survives in an altered guise. It takes place at great rites that mobilise each region throughout the year, depending on the personages who die. This work is about these songs, about their place in the religion and the poetic art of this Austronesian people. It asks simple questions: For whom do they sing? What do they sing? What does the music say about Toraja society?

"Music is much more than sounds collected in a tape-recorder" (Seeger 2004: xiv). A Toraja song, for example, may contain words that are an address, made to someone visible or invisible. It relates something. And the way in which it is conveyed (in chorus or solo, in antiphony or unison), its musical grammar, the dance: all this creates meanings the ethnomusicologist must decipher. Why do they sing in a circle here, and in an arc there? Why is the chorus unmetred here? Behind the abundance of words, of modes of singing, of utterance,

8. The term *balikan* for the two-stringed lute of the Dayak Taman is one of the rare exceptions to the diffusion of the Sanskrit term *kaccapi* in Indonesia.



FRONT OF A HOUSE, MAMASA, 1993.

of playing, behind the complexity of the ritual system –quite apart from the labyrinth of regional variations– what are all these forms for? Why do Toraja sing?

The solution will be presented here in a light that is perhaps too schematic. It is the result of a process of understanding that led to the reconstitution of a *jigsaw* puzzle whose pieces were discovered very progressively. Four keys helped me decipher the existence of an extraordinary machinery: first of all, observing the two greatest rituals, the *bua' kasalle* and the two-stage *rapasan* funerals. Fifteen days after my arrival, in 1993, totally by chance, I found myself in the first phase of the greatest celebration called “that of the rising sun”. According to the anthropologists, this custom, which had last been described in 1966, was no longer practised. That both great festivals were closely connected I did not understand until much later. Although the music-collecting during these non-Christian rituals was not very fruitful, I was able, thanks to these rituals, to find the first key to the enigma. Then, the collection of matrix poems (*samparan simbong* and *ossoran badong*) gave me the second key: it allowed me to confirm the organisation of the cycle. The third key was presented to me by the officiants themselves during our numerous discussions. Finally, thanks to translations of the songs –the last key–, I succeeded in putting the puzzle back together. And a whole series of equivalencies was not only unveiled but also clarified afterwards by the officiants during my successive journeys. This work describes what the musical forms reveal, and the way in which they are woven together with other symbolic forms.

What were my research conditions in 1993? Ritual life being particularly intense, opportunities to record were frequent: from June to October –the funeral season; and from November to May –the season of the rites of life. My arrival at the rituals always went smoothly: not only does the stranger cause no trouble, but she honours the family and the deceased with her presence –relatives often come from islands, and even from the great island of Java, and the capital Jakarta. During field-work, the recording conditions could be rough. Deep in the mountains,

I would find my feet in a mixture of mud and blood; and having slept very little, I would wait for some fifteen buffaloes, or a hundred pigs, to have their throats cut so that the singing could start. I remember the long nights next to the deceased, among the bereaved in the middle of the chanting with the smell of congealed blood, sitting surrounded by chunks of hanging meat; and afterwards the contemplative calm at dawn, the worn-out singers, the recorder batteries exhausted, and then the voices rising again, more intense, flayed and naked.

What made this musical research with the Toraja special for me was the fact of collaborating –not at first with the singers– but above all with the officiants, because the music is rooted in their words. After some difficult starts, time and familiarity modified my relationship with these old men. What distinguished the fieldwork for me was this gradually developed proximity to these guardians of customary knowledge, who –let it be stressed– do not speak Indonesian but only Toraja.

So I was, as previously stated, adopted after a few years by Lumbaa, both a general officiant (*to minaa* “knowledgeable person”) and a specialist in the rites of the rising sun (*to burake*). I met him at my first celebration, the great *buu’ kasalle*. Generally, the *to burake*, in the south of the country, are women or homosexual transvestites; but, in the north, it has been possible for the title to be held by a married man. This was true in his case, as a *to burake tattiku’*, having inherited his knowledge from his paternal great grandmother. Lumbaa assigned us names, to me, *Rante Datu*, “Queen of the Ceremonial Field”, then later to Gabriel, *Tangke Langi’* “Branch of Heaven” and to Gaïa, our daughter *Lai’ Tasik* “Princess of the Seas”, lastly our son Kolia was called *Tandituku* “Great Inclined”, from the name of one of his ancestors. Lumbaa introduced us to the divinities, sacrificed a chicken and then anointed our foreheads with its blood. I followed him so often, as officiants’ children once followed their fathers, that our relations became closer. I had to learn the names of my brothers and sisters, nearly all emigrants to neighbouring islands. As Lumbaa did not speak Indonesian. I misunderstood him for a long time. I regretted my inability to use his

language well. One day he took me to task for my repeated questions. He told me: “Come, sit down, look.” To me he revealed another world, one I hope to give glimpses of here.

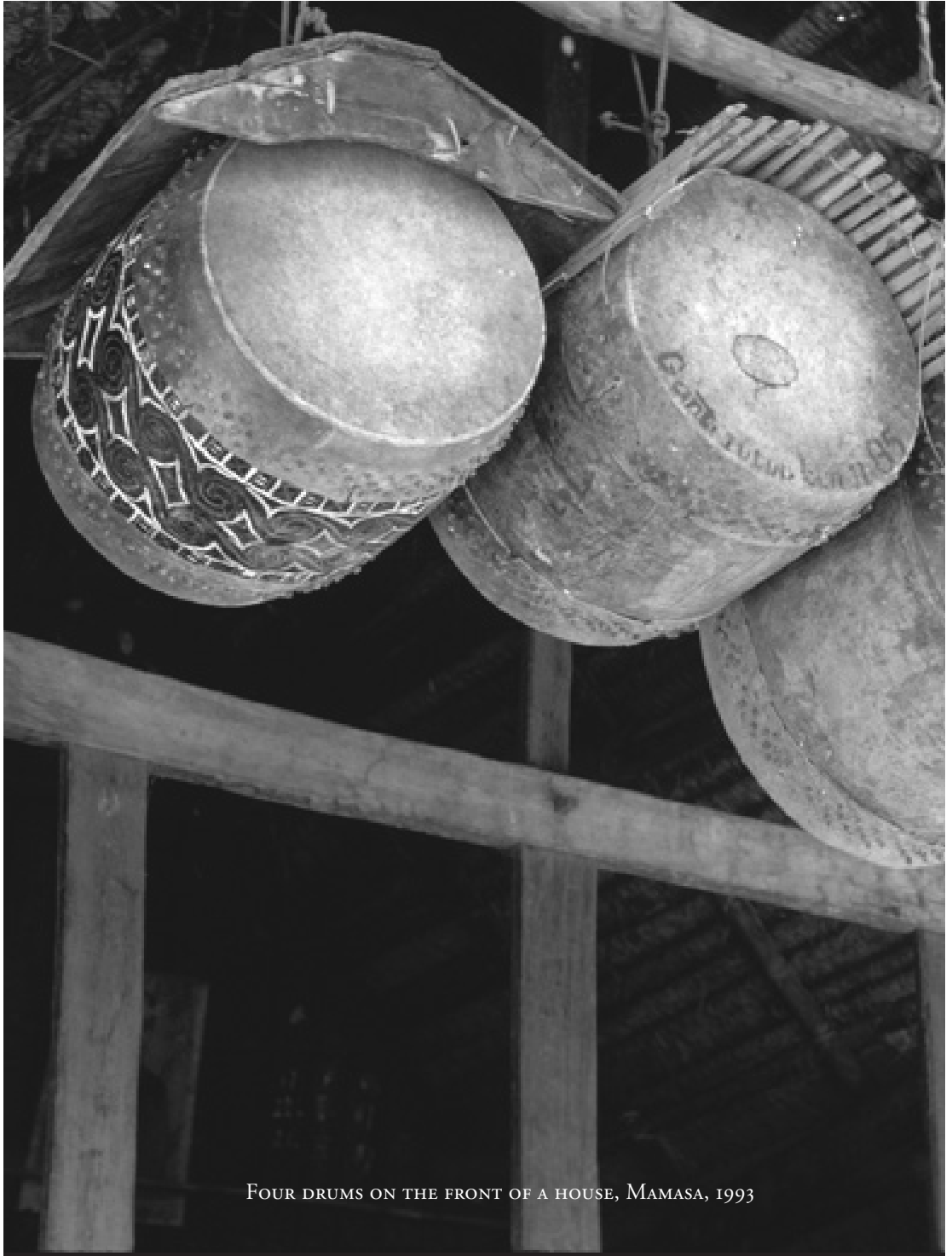
Another specificity of the Toraja country: it was necessary to understand at least two languages, Indonesian and Toraja. The national language, Indonesian, is taught from primary school. But when I had to conduct research intensively in areas where people did not speak Indonesian, I was forced to use Toraja. Additional difficulties stemmed from the language’s dialectal variety and the special nature of the ritual language. I had to dedicate a great deal of time –almost six months out of twelve– to translating the songs. In my work, I was assisted by five translators –two priests, a former school teacher trained by the Dutch during the colonial period who had translated the Bible into Toraja, a secondary school teacher, and an officiant of the old religion.

Lastly, I had not arrived in virgin territory. Thanks to an abundant anthropological literature Toraja society today is well described on various levels – including the socio-religious, psychological, historical, and musical⁹. All the same, despite all I had read, I quite often felt I was drowning in the complexity of the ritual variations.

9. See especially: Adams 1988, 1993; Biring 1985, 1986; Coville, 1988, 1989; Crystal & Yamashita 1987; Hollan & Wellenkamp 1994, 1996; Koubi 1982; Kruijt & Adriani 1912-1914, Kruijt J. 1921, Nooy-Palm 1979, 1986; Sandarupa 2004, Tsintjilonis 1993, 1997, 1999, 2000a and b, 2004; Veen 1924, 1965, 1966, 1979, Volkman 1985, Volkman & Zerner 1988; Waterson 1986, 1989, 1993, 1995a & b, 1997, 2009. The oldest written sources concerning the music of the South Celebes come from the Swedish scientist Waltern Kaudern (1927; 1929). Some general data on musical instruments and the dances are also presented in the writings of Jaap Kunst (1942, 1946), of Claire Holt (1939a, b and c) and Raymond Kennedy (1953). Certain of the great founding Toraja ‘texts’ have been collected and translated by the Dutch linguist H. van der Veen. Sent by the Dutch Biblical Society, not only did he write dictionaries: Toraja-Dutch (1940) and Toraja-Indonesian (1972), but above all, he collected and translated many ritual poems into Dutch and English. On the subject of Toraja music, collections of descriptive data are found in Kruijt A. C. 1912, Kaudern 1927, 1929, Holt 1939a, Kennedy 1953, Kunst 1946 and the recordings: Crystal 1973, Pelras & Koubi 1976, Rappoport 1995, Yampolsky 1997, 1999.

This work is divided into two parts: first of all, the description of the varieties of music, those of the family celebrations performed in the highest rituals, and those of the prophylactic rituals aimed at protecting or curing a locality from disease. This part is preceded by an introduction to the ritual cycle presented through the prism of the officiants' songs and narrations. The anthropology of this music will introduce the reader into a musical world the details of which will be found in the DVD. Here I have attempted to suggest the framework of the research.

In the second interpretative part, the work considers what might lie behind the musical performances: in the first place, it focusses on the modes of address used in song. This will show how they are organised in a vertical relationship to the world, how humans are carried upwards, towards the gods, how the words act. Next, the way of being together will be considered: the horizontal relation arising from the ways of singing, the ways of being in sound, the ways in which the Toraja answer one another, confront one another, submit to one another, complete one another, make a team through singing; the hierarchic organisation of the performing ensembles. Finally, the symbolic classifications suggested by the way the sounds are organised will be discussed. An epilogue will raise the issue of the part played by these traditions in Christian and Indonesian modernity.



FOUR DRUMS ON THE FRONT OF A HOUSE, MAMASA, 1993



PART ONE: MUSIC

*Gandang deata kiroke'
karongan kianggini*

Drum of the divinities we hang
little drum we air

*Tang kidedek anna noni anna
rumangga rumiak
anna ripasengo-sengo*

We do not strike it and it resounds
and sounds intensely
and sings without ceasing

From *masampa*
pronounced at the *bud kasalle*



THE FAMILY LAMENTATION, BEFORE THE DEPARTURE,
2ND OCTOBER 1993.

 THE CYCLE OF RITUALS

TORAJA MUSIC IS ESSENTIALLY CELEBRATORY AND RITUAL. The celebrations that occasion it last several days –even several months– intermittently. The solemnity and size of these ceremonies have several consequences: first of all, a suspension of time (in the past the Toraja worked ceaselessly except for these celebrations –very numerous, it is true– but now Sunday has broken their former rhythm). The ritual establishes another time, a time of myth, experienced not as free time, but as work of another kind. This suspended time, unlike the everyday, is a saturated time.

The extent to which the days of celebration are filled must be emphasised. Groups of musicians ready themselves before the celebration. Temporary villages are built. Time is reoriented towards an imminent concentration. The whole community becomes active, busy, and involved. During several days the greatest rituals are celebrated in grand pomp: a quantity of processions, speeches, sacrifices, songs, distributions, and collective nights. Space itself is also filled –suffused with crowds and sounds.

What distinguishes the great Toraja celebrations –from funerals to rites of healing– is the excess. The competitive excess of the Toraja ceremonies is apparent in the symbolic confrontation of great families by means of vertiginous, and sumptuous ceremonial performances. Here the obligation to give, receive, and return is really an obsession. Most apparent is the nobles' struggle to affirm a hierarchy –a struggle that will subsequently benefit their *rapu*¹⁰. This struggle is expressed at

10. *Rapu* designates a group of cognatic descent claiming a common ancestor, the founder of the house *tongkonan*; in fact it is a vast structure conspicuously present at the great rituals. About this words, see Nooy-Palm (1979: 26), Tsintjilonis (1999: 627) and Waterson 1989.

the great ritual cycle celebrations by an excess of sacrifices and sounds, and by the accumulation of animals, music, and words. The intensity of this piling-up is violent, bloody, noisy, and full of life. The atmosphere is often over-heated. The men bringing the pigs shout. The mortars resound. The loudspeakers screech, flayed by pre-recorded high-pitched dirges; the megaphones amplify to saturation point the little rice-stalk paddy-pipes. The guests are in an extraordinary state of excitement. There are constant fraught disputes for shares of the meat. For some twenty years, generators and megaphones have been widely used, whether by officiants charged with sharing out the meat, or by pastors and priests for sermons and prayers, or by an officiant directing the events, or even –though more rarely– by those chanting the account of the origins of the ancestors: sometimes the sacred resembles a Donnybrook Fair.

From the heart of this profusion arises the disconcerting beauty of the iridescent choruses resonating in the dark, the elegant insistence of the singers, and the delicacy of the flutes. I shall always remember Toraja celebrations for the brilliance of the rasping voices, the colour of the mixed voices, the astonishing intensity of the lamentations, and the power of the collective.

Every ritual is the occasion for reciting long narrative poems, performed by the officiants and then sung by the chorus¹¹. During the celebrations the musicians are strong enough to last until dawn; the officiants declaim for hours and days –six days and six nights without a break– often in dangerous positions, perched about thirty feet above the ground, “throwing” their dithyrambs over the assembly. The period of poetic declamations plunges individuals into another rhythm –the rhythm of the word.

11. Among these narratives let us mention: the *passomba tedong* during the *merok* ritual, the hagiography *osoran badong* (“narrative of the *badong*”) performed at the funeral ritual, the *gelong maro* during the *maro* ritual, the *samparan simbong* during the *bua' kasalle* celebration, and the *samparan bugi'* during the *bugi'* ritual.

Apart from this music performed exclusively during the rituals, no other musical forms exist in daily life. Myths, tales, and lullabies accommodate a few sung passages, but there is no other singing in traditional contexts. However, since the 1970s, Indonesian- and Toraja-language popular songs have been disseminated by the urban media, and people have begun to sing them informally and play them in tourist hotels and cafes; and Christian hymnody has also penetrated Torajan space, mainly in towns (Rappoport 2004b).

Like many peoples of Indonesia, the Toraja refer to the position of the sun, the mountain, and the course of rivers to orient themselves in space. In their region the rivers flow to the southeast and the mountains rise in the north. The world of the ancestors, death, and the colour black are associated with the setting sun (*matampu'*), the downstream (*sau'*), and the left (*kairi*). The world of the divinities, yellow, and life are associated with the rising sun (*matallo*), the upstream (*rekke*), and the right (*kanan*). The two axes west/east and downstream/upstream structure Toraja space as much concretely as they do symbolically. The axis upstream/downstream is stable in all the regions but a different preposition might be used depending on the position of the speaker in relation to the river and the mountain.

From these polarities ensue the orientations of the houses, beings, and rituals. The Toraja house, like many kinds of houses in the Austronesian area, is always more than just a material building; it is also a house-institution, representing a dominant family, a descent line, a power (Mac Donald ed. 1987: 196; Kis Jovak *et al.* 1988; Waterson 1991). These ancestral homes are built following two axes: the front of the house facing the rice granary, upstream (to the northeast), is turned towards the divinities, and the back of the house, downstream (to the southeast) points in the direction of the ancestors. North can always be found by using the position of the rice granary in relation to the house. In just the same way, in the Occident, a church indicates the poles. When an offering is made to the divinities, the *to minaa* ("knowledgeable person") sits facing east and upstream, whereas if an

offering is for the ancestor and the dead he sits facing west and downstream.

The divide between the living and the dead is also manifested by these directions: in the home, the kitchen is on the east side, the parents sleep in the room on the south and the children on the north; in contrast, only the dead rest with their heads downstream and their bodies lying along the west-facing partition, towards the place where they reside, down the river Sa'dan¹². The space outside is also oriented: to the east (to the right of the house) is the place for burying placentas, and farther away the ceremonial place for the rituals of life; upstream, the rice granary; to the west are located the graves and the funeral ceremony ground.

These axes also govern the socio-religious system, for the Toraja class their rituals in two groups: the West (setting sun) for funerals, the East (rising sun) for the fertility of the land, animals, and humans. A permanent to-and-fro exists between various types of spaces: mythical space governs social space (such as the positions of houses, beings, and cultures) and ritual space.

Upstream and downstream arise from a conception of the universe. Although the Toraja have no pantheon, the gods occupy different places in the cosmos: above, upstream, in the heavens (*langi*'), the divinities (*deata*), often undefined, are also called *puang* (god) or *datu* (sovereign); some reside on top of the mountains; only some gods are identified, as for example, the most important *Puang Matua* ("Old God"). In the middle level resides mankind of whom some ("descended beings" *to manurun*) originate from the heavens. Below, under the earth, live several gods, such as Pong Tulak Padang who holds up the earth with eight assistants at his sides in different places away from the centre. The place of the dead is on the earth, downstream, towards the world below (Nooy-Palm 1979: III-114). Sometimes, during trance rituals, the

12. The Sa'dan flows southwest. The dead reside down the Sa'dan in "Puya" between Kalosi and Enrekang in Tana Toraja (Nooy-Palm 1979: 112).

divinities can travel on earth and humans journey upwards. The rituals are also used to move the souls of the dead from one place to another according to a very precise cycle.

West and East¹³ form the two parts of a cycle named “rule of the graduated ladder of paired bamboos” (*aluk silau’ eran simuane tallang*)¹⁴. This ladder is divided in two. There are rungs on both sides that have to be climbed. All humans, whatever their rank, must go up this two-sided ladder, but not all will reach the top.

The higher the ritual on the ladder, the greater the ceremonial emphasis, according to a law of exponential progression –space, time, participants, music, sacrifices– with music appearing only above a certain level. The ladder is based on a hierarchy of sacrifices: the higher on the ladder, the more animals must be sacrificed. One of the smallest sacrifices is merely the symbol of the animal, a sound made from striking a pig trough. The greatest consists of twenty-four buffaloes, sixty pigs, five dogs, and countless chickens¹⁵.

The blood of the sacrifices is valued; it gives its name to certain rituals: “to blood the house” (*mangrara banua*) is the name for the house renovation; “to blood the rice” is the name for an agricultural rite (Nooy-Palm 1986: 158); “to blood the drum with three bloods” (*gandang ditallu rarai*) designates a rite taking place during the *maro* ritual. The land itself is called “the land of three bloods” (*padang ditallu rarai*)¹⁶.

13. Literally, *aluk rampe matampu* “rites on the side of the setting sun”; and *aluk rampe matallo* “rites on the side of the rising sun”.

14. From *aluk* “ritual, rule”, *simuane* “to marry”, *lau* “rung” and *eran* “ladder”, *silau* “in stairs”, *tallang* “bamboo”. In the Toraja’s material culture, two types of ladder exist: a step ladder for access to the house on piles, and a ladder carved in a trunk for access to the rice granary.

15. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Classification of Funerals.

16. Reference to the sound example: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua’ kasalle* ritual / The little Music of the Officials / *Singgi’* Eulogy / verse 15 ff.

*Bendan patukumo sando
tuo lampomo siura'
ilayan rante dibunna'
padang di tallu rarai*

The expert stands like a haystack
his counterpart like a pile of rice
on this sacred field
the land thrice sprinkled with blood

For blood flows at each ritual, not just one blood but several –most often three bloods. As an offering, blood purifies, washes, heals, and, above all, buys (*alli*) grace. Humans, by their sacrifices, buy immaterial benefits –prosperity, fertility– from the gods and ancestors. The place of the rituals is named “market” (*pasa*), “market of the descending smoke” (*pasa' rambu solo*) for the rites of the West, “market of the rising smoke” (*pasa' rambu tuka*) for the rites of the East (Tsintjilonis 1999: 638). In both cases, the smoke in question always comes from sacrificed animals (buffaloes, pigs, chickens, dogs), whose flesh is cooked and singed. This smoke of immolation is one of the links between the visible and invisible worlds.

The ladder's two sides correspond to the West and the East.

On the West side the funeral rites are only the beginning of a much greater process centred on the transformation of a “spirit of life” into “black shadow” and ancestor. After the funeral, whose purpose is to make “the shade of the deceased” descend to the West or the left, the rites of the East are celebrated to transform the shade into “vital energy” or divinity by making it remount to the East towards the right through a graded series of rites of passage (Tsintjilonis 1999: 622, Rappoport 2004a). This passage from one side to the other has become a rule, sometimes called by the officiants “rule of turnaround” (*aluk pembalikan*)¹⁷. The tranquillity of the deceased's spirit –and consequently that of the living– is only assured once this “turnaround” is effected: after the care given to the dead and ancestors in the West, and

17. *Pembalikan* comes from the root *balik* (Veen & Tammu 1972: 64) “opposite side, back; to come back, to turn around”. This idea, developed in the next song quotation, reveals a movement towards the opposite side.

then the celebration of the rituals of the East, filial duty is fulfilled, thus allowing the deceased to rest in peace beside the deified ancestors.

The turnaround is evoked through different Toraja terms: *sibali* (“get married”), *silopak* (“join together”, “answer”) and *simuane* (“get married”). The root *bali*, which might be linked with the root *balik*, is an old Austronesian term. It covers several realities¹⁸. Its meaning can vary from a notion of coupling (double, companion, friend, partner, adversary) to one of response (sending back, answer, return, turnaround) to one of passage and transformation¹⁹.

This movement –present in both roots *bali* and *balik*– is expressed either concretely by turning something or someone around (*e. g.* the deceased, his effigy, the offerings) or symbolically by the names given to certain rites (*e. g.* turn around the drum, or turn around the ceremonial mast). In the rites of the East, for instance, the officiants “turn around the offering” (*dibalikan pesungna*). A banana leaf is covered with rice, meat, and betel distributed precisely from the top to the bottom of the leaf. The leaf is turned in the opposite direction. The ancestors are fed at the bottom of the leaf and then the divinities are fed at the top (Nooy-Palm 1986: 152). In the rites of the West, one of the first rites of the great funerals is called “reorienting the deceased” (*ma’pabalik to mate*)²⁰. It consists of changing the body’s position, with the head downstream, towards the place of the ancestors. During the second funeral celebration, the effigy of the deceased is turned from the West to the East (*pembalikan tau-tau*), after which it is given animal and musical offerings. A long time afterwards, the “turnaround of the drum” (*pembalikan gandang*) takes place, the last funeral rite consecrating the

18. Veen & Tammu 1972: 64; Nooy-Palm 1986: 346, note 1; Blust 1980; Rappoport 1997: 394 ff.

19. This sense of transformation is found in the expression *membali puang* “be transformed into god”, an expression used in the south of the Toraja country to designate the transformation of the deceased into a divinity.

20. See the video in DVD / The Argument / Music of the setting sun / Music and funerals / The most sophisticated ritual / po 15 / Turning around the body.

transformation of the deceased's soul. The drum itself is not "turned around"; rather, the deceased's soul changes direction, passing from downstream to upstream so as to transform itself into divinity (Waterson 1993: 74). Another example of turnaround, certainly the most remarkable for its excess, is notable in the ritual of "turning around the mast" (*bate ma'pabalik*). An immense *bate* mast is erected during the *maro* ritual; it symbolises the inversion of the *bandera* mast erected on the funeral field of previous years. This rite is held for a deceased's "shade" to pass from downstream to upstream and from the low to the high (Rappoport 1997: 393-402)²¹.

The idea of inversion, sustained symbolically by an action, is always one of a passage to an inverse order. It is evoked in the ritual poems I have collected *:

<i>Puramo utang nabaa'</i>	All her debts are paid
<i>tinanggung nakamisai</i>	all her own commitments
	[are taken care of
<i>utangna rampe matampu'</i>	debts toward the rituals
	[of the setting sun ²²
470 <i>Nasulean dio mai</i>	She goes home from there
<i>napole sambali' mai</i>	she crosses back again ²³
<i>Umpemasero tondokna</i>	She cleanses her village
<i>umpepindan banuanna</i>	she purifies the house
<i>Ia nasembangan ongan</i>	She cuts the sheltering branch ²⁴

* To increase their readability I have gathered the lines into units of meaning: in all the sung repertoires the lines of fixed blank verse are always at least in couplets.

21. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of the Prophylactic Rituals / Music and trance of the *Maro* Ritual / Sequences of the *maro* ritual / po 32 / Bringing the masts.

22. The funeral that has been performed is associated here with ceremonial debts.

23. He returns from the Setting Sun (funeral rites) to the Rising Sun (rites for life).

24. From *sembang* "cut across" and *ongan* "sunshade". The expression designates a ritual which consists of cutting palm leaves to make little parasols while praying and sacrificing chickens.

<p><i>todio randanna betteng</i> <i>Iamo torro paria</i> <i>ia unnisung pataranak</i></p> <p><i>Umbaliangan ba'tangna</i> <i>umbibi' pa'inaanna</i> 480 <i>unsongle' pasiruanna</i></p> <p><i>Maluangan napoba'teng</i> <i>makengko anna panuru'</i></p> <p><i>Umpapada-pada sangka'</i> <i>umpasitinti bisara</i> <i>Napasiende-endeana</i> <i>noka' nakengkona kanan</i> <i>noka' natamben kairi</i> <i>sule napapada lando</i></p> <p><i>Unnola randanan dua</i> 490 <i>to kalo' patomalinna</i></p> <p><i>Menggirik tanda matallo</i> <i>laang kakendekan kulla'</i></p> <p><i>Iamo manglau' eran</i> <i>iamo patono' papa</i> 495 <i>ia patonda tarampak</i></p> <p><i>Untonno' tangkean suru'</i></p> <p><i>unttonno' sembangan ongan</i></p>	<p>at the edge of the fence She's the one who stays to look after and remains caring for as children</p> <p>She turns it over in her mind she considers it fully she thinks deeply</p> <p>One who is broad-minded more open than a master carver</p> <p>Balancing the ancestral model weighing together the ritual speech According to their respective ranking not only to the right side but also to the left side returning she brings it [into equilibrium]</p> <p>By way of the two edges of the channel both sides</p> <p>Turning to the rising sun to the place where the sun rises</p> <p>She builds the steps of the ladder she arranges the layers of the roof she orders the edge of the roof ²⁵The</p> <p>She selects “the handle [of the comb]”²⁶ she selects “the cutting [of the sunshade]”²⁷</p>
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25. The rituals will be ordered from the smaller to the larger, like piling up the bamboos of a roof.

26. *Tangkean suru'*, purification ritual through a chicken offering in the house.

27. *Sembangan ongan*: from *sembang* “to cut across” and *ongan* “sunshade”. The expression refers to the cutting of palm leaves in order to make sunshade with it, while praying and sacrificing chickens. This name refers to one of the first rituals on the side of the rising sun, of the lowest level.

<i>untonnò remmesan para</i>	she selects “the frontpiece [of the house]” ²⁸
<i>untonnò surasan tallang</i>	she selects “the carving [of the bamboo]” ²⁹
500 <i>untonnò bate manurun</i>	she selects “the banner descended [from the sky]” ³⁰
<i>untonnò tokonan tedong</i>	she selects “the spearing [of the water buffalo]” ³¹
<i>untonnò tananan bua'</i>	she selects “the planting [of the <i>bua'</i> celebration]” ³²

From *Ossoran badong*, “Narrative of *Badong'*”
for Indo' Serang,
lines 467-502, see *Florilegium*, p.@.

An officiant comments on turning around:

“When a man of our family dies, we are obliged to carry out funeral rites according to our means; after that we must ‘give a response’ to these rites by carrying out other celebrations on the side of the rising sun, on the same level as the funeral, in the hope that our sacrifices (animals, money) receive a response from the dead” (Officiant Tato' Dena', personal communication, 1993).

The “response” in question here is also called *bali*. Equalising the two sides means balancing a rite of the West with a rite of the East, each

28. This refers to a house ritual. *Para* is the triangular board on the house front (Kis-Jovak & al. 1988). An offering for the house is placed on a horizontal plank of this pediment.

29. Ritual with carved bamboo that will make the beginning of a ladder. During this ritual, small figures are carved into bamboos. The officiants make pig sacrifices and put out offerings (*piang*).

30. *Bate manurun*, ritual of the trident pole (*bate*) to which cloths and swords will be attached. *Bate manurun* takes place at the *maro*. Trident masts (*bate*) with ceremonial cloths and swords are planted on the ceremonial field.

31. *Tokonan tedong* is the other name for *merok*, a ritual where a buffalo is killed with a sword.

32. *Bua'* is the highest rising sun ritual.

rite requiring its “response” for the cycle to be completed and for the deceased’s soul to be transformed into divinity, full of vital energy (*sumanga*). If the funeral ritual is not “turned around” towards its equivalent in the East, if the offering is not turned around for the divinities, then the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor cannot take place, and the soul will haunt the village and seize the living.

“When someone dies, first of all the “smoke goes down” [funeral rites] then once the smoke has gone down, he is folded over [like two hands shaking] with the smoke going up [rites of fecundity]; here, [the rites] are associated, married, embrace each other (Officiant Mendolo, personal communication, 2001)³³.

The officiants affirm that the rituals must have a hierarchy, like the roofing of houses, with larger and larger bamboos, with more and more important rituals, a noticeable increase in the accumulation of seven rites, in growing order of importance.

“When one “comes back from the ancestors”, the *ma’bugi*’ (exorcism ritual) is done, to crown that [the rite restoring the graves *ma’nene*’]. After the *bugi*’, the *maro piong* is done, then the *maro*, the real *maro* [“mad”]. What is called the *maro piong*, it is the *maro* shoot, a rite of beginning. Only four chickens are killed. [...] It is arranged in corresponding layers, so once the *bugi*’, it is the “*maro* shoot” [literally shoot of madness] then next it is the great *maro*, it is turned the other way [...]. If possible, with seven, nine or twelve buffaloes, the rite with seven or nine buffaloes can be yoked with the “murder of the buffalo with the lance” [*diperoki*]. If one can afford it, the plantation rite of the *bua*’ is joined to the *rapasan pasarrin bone-bone* like the two sides of a roof. [...] (Officiant Lumbaa, personal communication, 2001)³⁴.

33. “*Apa napodadi na den to mate, ya dolote, rambu’ solo’ dolo, na mangka rambu’ solo’ to, anu dilopaki rambu’ tuká, inde te lako, a, silopaknamoto*” (Ne’ Mendolo, personal communication, 2001).

34. “*Yake suleki dio mai nene, den ma’bugi’, na dipalolokan. Mangka ma’bugi’ tau, maro piong omo, mane maro, maro tonganmo to. Disanga maro piong, disanga maro banne. Manuk*



*Construit les échelons de l'échelle
empilés tel un toit
ordonnés graduellement
telles les rives de toiture*

*Choisit la « tenne du peigne »
choisit les « parasols végétaux »
choisit la « planche du fronton triangulaire »
choisit les « bambous gravés »
choisit le « mât descendu du ciel »
choisit le « transpercement du baffle »
choisit la « plantation du bux »*



EMPILER
pour **CONSTRUIRE**

One of the principal ideas is completion:

“Thus, for us here, the humans, only once we have finished a series of actions can we be called ‘true nobles’, those who have finished, who have completed” (Officiant Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, 2001)³⁵.

The cycle is marked in ritual life by countless deeds. Inverting the direction of the banana leaf is the pivot –the sign of passing from giving to the ancestors to giving to the divinities. This passage must be strictly separated.

The two sides –Setting Sun and Rising Sun– never mix. Mixing them would be considered a major transgression.

For example, black and yellow cannot be mixed (black being reserved for the West and yellow for the East) it is not possible to eat meat killed in the East if someone has died in the village; it is strictly forbidden to mix music for the West with that for the East. This prohibition against mixing is rooted in the myth about the birth of the rituals. At Rura, the mythical site where the gods came down by a ladder, the land collapsed both because of sexual mixing –incest between a brother and sister– and ritual mixing –the humans mixed the rites of the West with those of the East³⁶. “It’s beautiful when it isn’t mixed, and ugly when it is”, the officiant Lumbaa told me.

manna ditunu sia'pa'. [...] Dikua dipasitono' anta mangka ma' bugi', yamote maro banne, mangka maro banne, e, maro kasallemoto, ma'balikmoto mai. [...] Yanna pariamote, ya te inde tedong pitu na tedong kasera na tedong sangpulo dua, tedong pitu na tedong kasera, bisa dilopak dibubungpa tokonan tedong (diperoki). Na paria, dibubung tananan bua' tu rapasan pasarrin bone bone [...]” (Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, 2001).

35. “*Jadi ia te, ke kami inde mai, tu to lino, yanna tappumo napogau te, mane disanga to makaka tongan, to gannda mo'*” (Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, 2001).

36. “*Tallan padang di Rura belanna napasipatu tu tang sipatunna. Dipasi tampak aluk rampe matampu anna matallo. Napasibaa tu tang sibaanna. Sipatumani, pemali. Melo yake tae' sipatu, yake sipatu kadake'*” (Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, 2001; see also Nooy-Palm 1979: 160).

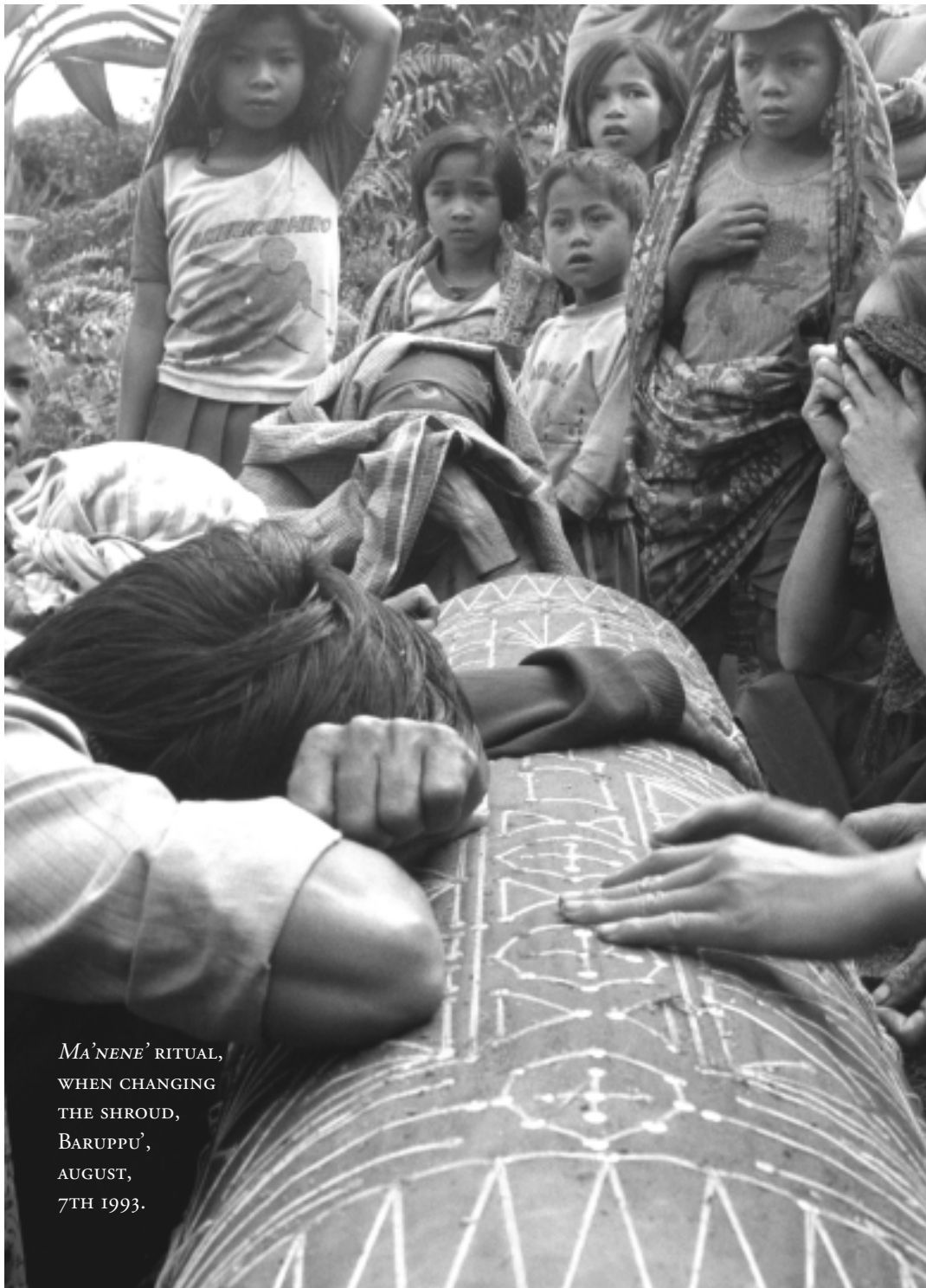
To sum up, turning around entails counterbalancing each rite of the West with one of the East; the principle of dynamic equilibrium implies balancing a ritual of death with a ritual of life of the same degree; the graded order structures the rituals according to a ladder rising from the smallest to the largest, following a principle of increasing complexity; finally, the whole forms a cycle founding the symbolic passage of a being from the West to the East. The rituals of the West are a phase for leaving the living and reaching the status of ancestor, while the rituals of the East enable the soul to ascend towards the divinities, so as to achieve divine ancestry. These four principles, established through studying both the songs and the ceremonies, are the basis for the ritual morphology. So religious life, insistent and complex, rests on the notion of turning around, of passing from one side to the other and from below to above.

Subordinate to this ritual cycle, music is also divided into two great families of sung repertoires: in the West, the “lamentation” (*bating*), and in the East, the “praise” (*nani*). Both bring together forms of expression, sung for the dead, the living, and the divinities – a triple relation made possible by the song, which passes over the word linking the three worlds, visible or invisible. During the celebrations of the West, poems are sung, most of all, to address the deceased, to bewail him, to raise him to the level of the gods by extolling his actions (through the *badong*, *retteng*, *dondi*, *marakka*, *katia* songs); again, during the celebrations of the East, lyrics are used to address the living – patrons, great nobles, stem family members (*rapu*), glorified by means of the *simbong*, the *retteng deata*, the *serang mundan*, the *singgi*’ – and the divinities, invited by the *gelong* song to come down to the celebration during the rituals *maro* and *bugi*’. Mediating between the different relationships (living/dead and living/divinities), the words connect and facilitate exchanges. Most often sung collectively, they aim to further the passage from one world to the other: the deceased’s passage into the world of the dead and then of the divinities, and the passage of the divinities called down to the earth to help protect the living. In exchange for these sung

words and countless sacrifices, the living are protected by deified ancestors. The music is at the heart of these relations, through which the transformations vital for maintaining being take place. It is at the centre of a vast system of exchange set in motion during rituals between the living, the dead, and the divinities, where the relations society uses to perpetuate itself circulate; unlike the other types of exchange, it is invisible and intangible.

Reinserted in the ritual ladder, these repertoires correspond to the animal offering and the grade of the ritual: like the animal hecatombs they match in the rituals at the summit of the ladder –the expense in animals corresponding in part to the expense in music.

To put some flesh on these principles, I will evoke the two great rituals at the summit of the ladder I was able to attend. Though seemingly very different, both are founded on an identical dramaturgy. The *rapasan* two-stage funerals in the West have as “response” the *bua’ kasalle* celebration in the East.



MA'NENE' RITUAL,
WHEN CHANGING
THE SHROUD,
BARUPPU',
AUGUST,
7TH 1993.

RITUAL MUSIC
 FOR THE HIGH FAMILIES

Music of "rapasan", great ritual of the setting sun

A commonplace of Toraja anthropology, the celebrations of the West have produced an abundant literature (Nooy-Palm 1986: 173). Those of the East, on the other hand, have been studied much less, probably owing to their complexity, rarity or infrequency. Today, funerals are for the Toraja what weddings are for Romanians: the festivity *par excellence*, the most frequent and the most seriously followed by the whole population.

All over the country, funerals share a common foundation: laborious preparation with expenses which put the families in debt; invitations addressed to all the relations and all the surrounding villages; the same sequence of rituals: wrapping the body, the arrival of the guests who bring pig(s) or buffalo(es), the dance of lamentation, the sacrifices, sharing out the meat, and the entombment.

Music has an important, indeed decisive, place in these celebrations, a place which is no smaller today as, even at Christian funerals, it is still frequently performed in the traditional manner. Of the thirteen funerals I attended (completely or in part), only three were celebrated for non-Christians following the ancient rite, with a two-stage funeral.

The two-stage funeral (*rapasan*) is the most elaborate funeral ritual, corresponding to the top of the ladder. It takes place in two phases, with two successive celebrations; that is why anthropologists talk of "two-stage funerals" (Hertz 1907). In the Toraja country, it has become extremely rare. This complex ritual can be summarised as the story of a separation followed by a journey: the separation of the deceased from the living and his journey towards the country of the ancestors. As this

category of ritual has already been described in detail (Koubi 1982, Volkman 1985, Nooy-Palm 1986), and as the DVD provides access to the ritual's various sequences, I should like to give the reader some keys to understanding, based both on my observations and on a hagiographic song collected during the funeral.

As is the case with other societies in the Malay world, the dead of the Toraja wait a considerable time before being given a final resting place. The deceased may stay in the family home for one or more years, wrapped up with bands of cloth. Throughout this time the community treats him as though he were a sick man waiting for a "real" death, to be able to pass into the world of the ancestors, a passage made official by the two-stage funeral celebration. During the period of mourning, between the corporeal death and the ritual, the living have to lavish all kinds of care on him: they speak to him with affection, and make sure he has the wherewithal to eat, drink, and chew. Once the family has collected enough money to buy the buffaloes his rank requires the first celebration can take place. One or more years later, the second will take place. Both the celebrations are managed by the deceased's children, who will have made the officiants responsible for directing the ritual.

The first celebration marks the symbolic death of the body—in other words, the separation of the body from its still-living "shade" (*bombo*). This lasts seven to nine days and takes place mainly between the house and the courtyard. From the beginning, the gong and drum are struck³⁷. "He is dead!", resounds the drum. After the officiant's first invocation, for the rite *ma' puli*, three types of animals—a chicken, a dog, and one or two buffaloes—are immolated at the sacrificial stake; thus three bloods are shed³⁸. Invocations, sacrifices, and cockfights take place. The meat of the sacrifices is portioned out among the guests. The third day, a large mast (*bandera* or *bate lepong*) representing the deceased is erected

37. Video: DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music and funerals / The most sophisticated ritual / po 15 / Day 1: *Ma' Puli*. Beating the drum.

38. *Ibid.*, Invoking and sacrificing.

in the courtyard (*ma'batang*) and then brought to the ceremonial field of standing stones where sacrifices take place once again³⁹.

The dances and vigils may involve singing but the songs do not at this stage have the ritual importance they take on in later phases of the funeral cycle. The words of the *badong* do not here relate the life of the deceased, as they do later, and in the hagiography, which describes the proper progress of this ceremony, the song is not listed as one of the requisite elements.

The corpse's sanies are collected by the funeral officiant *to mebalun* (*ma'pasusu* "gathering the milk")⁴¹. At the end of the first celebration the clothes of the relatives are dyed black (*ma'bolong*).

What, exactly, is the effect of these numerous acts and sacrifices? The celebration has made the "sick man" dead. The body has had its position changed, with its head turned downstream, but its "shade" has not yet set out on its great journey towards ancestorhood; it has yet to receive the necessary provisions. This is why the living continue to nourish the deceased's shade with offerings.

Napopaiman bombona It makes the spirit of the dead happy
naposende mendewatanna it pleases the one who will become *deata*

Ossoran badong Indo' Serang,
verses 793-794, p. @

Mendewatanna: is hard to translate. *Deata* means "divinity, life spirit". *Mendeata*: "to become a divinity". Living beings are endowed with a "life spirit" (*deata*) diffused throughout the body. This source of vitality can be released during an illness or sleep; it can temporarily take the form of an animal. At the start of the funeral rite, this life spirit

39. *Ibid.*, Day 3, *ma'batang*'.

40. During the first celebration of the officiant (female) *burake* Indo' Serang, in 1993, the dead woman was watched over every evening to the sound of the vigil song *dondi*, but the *badong* was not performed.

41. Video: DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music and funerals / The most sophisticated funeral ritual / po 15 / day 4.

becomes autonomous and turns into a “black shade” (*bombo lotong*) (Tsintjilonis 2000: 34).

The end of the first celebration is followed by an intermediary period, lasting from a few days to several years, until the second celebration begins. The children must search again for the largest possible number of provisions –buffaloes, choruses of singers– to give the deceased during the second celebration. The corpse is kept hanging from the ceiling of the house, the head pointing downstream; he “*goes in his carved vessel, in his gilded bark*” (*Ossoran badong*, lines 828-829, p. @). When the children have gathered together enough animals, the second celebration can begin, with the approval of the officiants.

This second celebration can last seven to nine nights and mainly takes place outside the house, on the funeral field (*rante*) in which temporary lodgings will have been built for the guests. Named “descend [in procession to the ceremonial field]”, it consists of displacing the body through a series of moves. The body is taken down from the ceiling to the floor, then from the house to the earth of the courtyard, then brought up to the rice granary, then carried again in procession to the ceremonial field, and finally taken to its tomb⁴². The celebration has to enable “the shade” of the deceased to leave for the country of the dead, down the river, accompanied by all the riches sacrificed during these seven days. In this way, it will be able to rest in the appropriate place and continue its journey later towards the right, when the celebrants perform the rituals of the East. Only at the end of this course will the deceased be transformed into an ancestor and then into a divinity or constellation. Today a deceased can become divine again (*membali puang*), but, according to the *to minaa* ‘Tato’ Dena’, a dead man can no longer become a star anymore (personal communication, 1993).

On the eve of the second funeral, the body “which dozes along the beam” is taken down from the ceiling (line 841). I remember the

42. *Rante pantunuan* “the field of slaughter” or *rante pedukuran* “the meat field”.

embarrassment of the deceased's children, already Christianised, and who had long ago emigrated to Palopo in the coastal plains, when summoned by their father –who followed the ancestral religion– to kneel down and cry together “*alas! Mother is dead*” (*matemo Indo*). In the evening, the officiants relate the hagiographic account of the life of the deceased (*Ossoran badong*, “narrative of *badong*”), then “*the lamenting starts*” (line 845). There, for several nights, the villagers sing of the deceased, in a round dance⁴³.

“If you keep sitting you are sad, while if we dance the *badong*, our sadness is soothed through playing” (Daut Puppung, *badong* singer, personal communication, 2005).

The song then inaugurates a real change. It is only from this moment that the hagiography can be pronounced, in order to distinguish the deceased from the other deceased. Through this second stage, the shade leaves the living at last for his long journey downstream:

1005

Messaile tang tondokna
mentiro tang banuanna
Messaile tumarantan
mentiro ma' rio-rio

She glances back, but it's not her home
 she looks, but it's not her house
 She glances back in tears
 she looks, full of sorrow

[...]

1041

Namasiang to makale'
male titengka lentekna
tirimba passoenanna

The next day in the morning
 she goes stepping with her feet
 she goes swinging her arms

Lao' tukaran situmpu

Down there are slopes leaning on each
 [other

lao' lombok sitadoan
Unnola pekkale' benan
lalan tae' liaranna

down there are valleys facing each other
 going along the steep edges
 a path without hardship

From *Ossoran badong Indo' Serang*

43. Video: DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music and funerals / The most sophisticated funeral ritual / po 20.

Here the song marks the passage from the cult of the dead to the cult of the ancestors. The final purpose of the funeral rites is the fulfilment of this passage, which depends on the quality of the rite. It determines not only the deceased's future life but that of the living, too.

The days of the celebration are very organised: on the first day, the guests are welcomed, and the body is taken down (*palao*) from the house to the sacrificial field (*rante*); on the second, the effigy of the deceased is made; on the third, a large monolith is dragged from the forest to be stood on the *rante*; the fourth and fifth are devoted to sacrificing buffaloes and sharing out the meat; the last day is taken up with bringing the body to its final resting place, a carved-out rock in the countryside (*ma'peliang*).

The two-stage funerals employ an elaborate dramaturgy, founded on varying space (the rite passes from the house to the sacrificial field and then to the tomb); on dramatising the entrances (the different groups in varied colours arriving on the sacrificial field according to locality, sex, and rank); and movements (circumambulation of the funerary tower, journey to the tomb); on the erection of symbolic objects (the effigy, the meat tree, the megalith, the trident mast, the platforms of invocation, the tower of the deceased); on animal sacrifices and meat sharing dances; and on vocal expression (invocations of all types, including dances and vigil songs).

The extravagance of these funerals can be seen from the incalculable number of ritual acts, with every act preceded by a speech and every speech accompanied by an animal offering; by the abundance of sacrifices of all kinds; by the number of guests (who come in thousands, not only from nearby villages, but also from all over Indonesia –many Toraja having migrated outside the region and to other Indonesian islands); and by the intensity of the sound produced by groups of singers in such numbers. A superabundance of offerings is essential. In addition to countless small animals, hecatombs of buffaloes are sacrificed. The two-stage funerals can only be performed with a minimum of twelve

buffaloes and sixty pigs (in the south, the minimum is twenty-four buffaloes). Nowadays, the very wealthy sacrifice more than a hundred buffaloes in three days. It takes hours to have them butchered, and portioned out.

Even the sounds are in profusion. On the day the guests are welcomed, the same process takes place: as soon as a group of relations arrive with animals to offer the family, the rice mortars are struck and the gongs resound. Squealing non-stop, the pigs are taken first to the field of celebration, their cries added to the noise of the mortars and gong; then a group of guests arrives preceded by female singers and flautists; the male chorus then sings in round-dance formation, and then it is the turn of the dancers accompanied by two flautists to entertain these guests⁴⁴. The latter are expected in a place where the family hands them areca nuts. Then, they settle down in the accommodation, reserved for them, bordering the sacrificial field.

This welcoming continues for hours. Later, in the night, several choruses perform the funeral *badong* dance in the same area, while in the houses the people watch over the deceased, singing *dondi*' lamentation poems. The whole space resonates with powerful laments. Day and night, "the festive excitation, the animation" (*kemaruasan*) is at its height. All are gathered together: the men, with towels around their foreheads, playing dominoes; the old women, wrapped in their *sarongs*, chewing their quids of betel; the children sleeping here and there; the semi-darkness, the insistent chants, the deceased laid out, and everywhere the smell of meat from the freshly slaughtered buffaloes; the mud mixed with excrement and viscera, and the prospect of continuing together until dawn, singing.

As a rite of separation between the deceased and the living, the funeral is also the special moment for contact between the two.

44. Sound references in DVD / Anthology / Music of the Setting Sun / Songs performed for the guests / Lamentation *marakka* and Sound references in context in DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Dances of welcome / The *marakka* elegiac lamentation.

The aim is to ensure the transformation of the dead into ancestors so that, in exchange, they may support the living. It is only the beginning of a lengthy transformation process.

It was thanks to a lamentation song (*dondi*) that I came to be an ethnomusicologist. It was the first funeral celebration we had attended:

FIELD NOTEBOOK. VILLAGE OF RANDANAN
(REGION OF MENGKENDÉK) - 12 AUGUST 1991

First day: Welcome of guests (family, affined relations, community, nearby villages, tourists). The presents never end: an office organises their reception: each person giving a present receives a printed receipt – “Mr So-and-so has offered x pigs, x buffaloes, or another”. We are given a ticket “*karcis penirimaan tamu pada upacara pemakaman*” (ticket of welcome for funeral guests). On it is written “French, tourists, 2 persons, cigarettes” [what we had brought]. The carpark’s packed. In a field, huge rocks, the guests watch the processions of offerings, the parade of women in black, the progress of the deceased – the corpse is carried on a palanquin by youths who run and shout on the rice paths. They take him across a river, then bring him finally to a platform in the centre of the sacrificial field.

For the first time, we witness something unprecedented: a funeral ceremony five days long on the occasion of the death of two Toraja raja. First of all, the buffaloes and pigs are slaughtered one by one. Buffaloes – enormous, glistening, like hippopotamuses, living pigs, tied to bamboos. Never-ending processions. A unique dance, slow, a sort of insistent swing all night long, young men, in circle, from 60 to 200, slowly, on a chanted pitch, *sarongs*. We are served pig, rice, coffee and cakes non-stop, and *tuak* [palm wine]. Everywhere, the smell of buffalo, of blood.

Luckily, once more we are introduced by Tanete (we meet him here accompanying a group of tourists for the afternoon). Introduced to a family to take part in the ceremony. The principle: uninterrupted ceremony for five days.

If the afternoon is disappointing due to the number of tourists, the evening proves surprising. The tourists left before nightfall; we’re the

only Europeans left. The mass is said without excitement in a low voice, followed by a very small number of participants (about a hundred), Occidental Christian chants (heptatonic, homophonic, syllabic, in a major scale) in Toraja. From 9 p.m. the dancing begins and doesn't stop. Round dance begins. Four men at first then four others opposite, then four more to the north, and finally another four to the south. Progressively, several circles are dancing simultaneously on the sacrificial field. Taken in a cycle that will not stop till three in the morning. Obsessive. We record, tracked, followed, ceaselessly interrogated. We have to use trickery all the time to stay alone. Serge returns to the centre of the circle. Polyphonic songs. The men don't look at us any more, and are highly concentrated. The women absent, behind, at the stove. The place is impressive. The dramaturgy well regulated.

At two in the morning, pause. The singers sit to drink coffee and eat cakes. Calm polyphony, simple, in fifths. The singing lasts ten minutes. Two parallel voices. The voices are tense, meticulous. The plenitude succeeds the silence, the verticality tangles the line, the envoy is flowery, the ritards and échappés create a four-voiced song. Then the dance starts again until dawn. The whole space resonates, all night. The great round dances turn endlessly till the small hours. I fall asleep. It is cold. The deceased is on top of his tower. The ceremony's going to start again today. [...]

These lines barely give an idea of the exaltation of those days. They fail to show the extent to which the funeral song is a song of the night, a song bringing bodies together⁴⁵. A body of singers, with foreheads encircled with bands or white towels around the head, a sign of mourning. Choruses in several areas; while some dance in the great sacrificial field, others sing and sit playing dominoes. Even in the middle of intense devotion, the Toraja show themselves to be distant and play

45. The collective funeral vigil song is or was extremely widespread in Indonesia. Louis Berthe (1972: 49) described funeral choruses similar in all points to the *dondi* (same responsorial form, same practice, same parallelism) sung in Eastern Indonesia: "... one night comes after another, played with ancestors, invited to the celebration by the singing."

tricks here and there, the sign of a contrast ranging from the joy of being together to the collective emotion, an emotion felt in the poetry sung:

*Ma' buda-buda ki' temo
makamban pada-pada*

*

We are many gathered here now
densely packed together

*

*Lino oya salinona
sabakaru-karunna*

*

The more the world is what the
[world is
the more the world is new

*

*Lenna'lenna'ko oinaya
ampako ma'balele*

*

Spread your heart
unfold your friendliness

*

*Rondonomo sa'pekomo
tangkena lemo datu*

*

It is shaking, it is torn off
this branch of magnificent lemons

*

*Dipadayo lolok pallan
disirodan-rodanni*

*

Put them on the top of the castor
[bean tree
and shake it hard

*

*Korong busa' dayo rante
bekak dao ampalla'*

*

White egret in the field upwards
kakatua bird in the fig tree

*

*Ia mamma' ia bosi
ia tallono-lono*

It lays down rotten
it is oozing

Verses of *dondi'*, recorded in 1991, Rindingallo⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Reference to the examples: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Setting Sun / *Dondi'* vigil songs.

Often sung in the pauses of the round dance, the *dondi*' is a vigil song, discontinuous both in sound and meaning, and interspersed with silences, which resounds in the depth of the night.

FIELD NOTEBOOK. BARUPPU'
THURSDAY 3 OCTOBER 1991

Soon night'll fall. I'm overwhelmed by what's happening to us. We're at Baruppu', very far –5 hours by bad road– from Rantepao. We go from Pangngala' to Baruppu', from one funeral celebration to another. In two days two children are watched over, dead of a disease. It helps to understand. Very poor region. The children are sickly and cough. Everything's greyer, less abundant. It's 6 p.m. I didn't sleep last night, watching over the dead man in the company of funeral singers (*pa'dondi*'). I keep going with sugared coffee swallowed every hour. Here, they like coffee with salt too. I'm given some to taste. The day comes to an end. No electricity, no candle, no telephone, no television. Serge goes away to recharge the batteries with the turbine.

There's another corpse to watch over at To' Ue. As a result we could record *dondi*'. I'm excited. Feel I have found a treasure, an aesthetic, something really unique that holds a community together.

I'm waiting for Berta who's to fetch me. It's started to rain, immense fog. I think I'm dreaming. Children wrapped up in sarongs. They spend endless time watching over and honouring their dead. Young children are playing in the kitchen. We don't know how long we'll stay here. Every instant takes me back to Bruegel, every instant's a tableau. Beating rain, candle light, oil lamps. Louis Le Nain in the evening, very often Rembrandt –in the day Hieronymus Bosch. Serge doesn't come back.

Here children die. Three or four per family. Before the funeral they get together to sing. The voice is placed very high, shrill. The rhythm's monotonous, the melody little varied. Only the timbre is specially worked on. The men try to reach a high tonality, the women sing gently. Every time these *a capella* songs give us a particular sensation, of intense meditation. First time perhaps I really feel the need to

search, to linger. I feel like recording, seeing what's behind. I hear people crying nearby. I'm exhausted. Plenty of children's noises.

BARUPPU', 5 OCTOBER

Yesterday evening, setback. We watched with them but they didn't sing because the deceased's children hadn't arrived from Irian Jaya. No right to sing the *dondi'* before the children have arrived. My first aesthetic response was linked to the mourning song *dondi'*. But this song is not the most valued in the repertoire.

The round-dance *badong* is the most important in the celebration. I had long wondered how the officiants remembered the order and number of ritual sequences. The key was given me by the dance of which I recorded the narrative matrix (*ossoran badong*) at a two-stage funeral in 1993⁴⁷. The words are vital: they permit the deceased to leave for the country of the ancestors to be metamorphosed into divinity. With this song, the living address the deceased; for several days and nights they tell of the beauty of his life. They eulogise the deceased's exemplary nature, enabling the deceased to assume the rank of ancestor⁴⁸. The narration is generally made up of five parts, common to each region: from conception to marriage to enrichment, to death, to the journey to the land of the dead, and finally to the ascension to heaven and the transformation into a constellation watching over the living. The hagiography first tells of the deceased's birth⁴⁹:

47. A linguist, Hendrik van der Veen, employed by the Reformed Church from 1912 to translate the Bible into Toraja, published a series of songs he presented in English in 1966. These songs are different in length and content from the matrix I recorded.

48. A model of narrative *ossoran badong* is translated in its totality in *Florilegium*, p. @.

49. See *Florilegium* Toraja, p. @; and Reference to the sounds example: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Setting Sun / The *badong* round dance / Narrative of the *badong*.

	<i>Marempa-rempa dadinna maka'kun mentolinona</i>	Her birth was delayed becoming human was difficult
	<i>Ditambahi tominaa diindan pandelo lila</i>	They called the ones who know they brought in the eloquent ones
	<i>Sae umbille alukna umpemangsan bisaranna Na tiborong tu alukna</i>	They came, selecting the ritual deeds determining the ritual speech So that the deeds are clearly [segmented]
65	<i>tikadaang bisaranna [...]</i>	and the speech ordered in rows
	<i>Malea rambu lolona borrong tabang taoninna sundallak rambo-rambona</i>	Her umbilical cord red like embers her afterbirth crimson like cordyline her placenta flashes like lightning
	<i>Di tampan pekali bassi rokko ditambuli langi' disu'bakan padang-padang</i>	An iron spade is forged a hole is dug in the sky the ixora is uprooted
	<i>Dipantananni lolona</i>	Place where the umbilical cord [is planted]
85	<i>osokan rambo-rambona</i>	where the placenta is placed [in the ground]
	<i>Dadi sarita lolona</i>	The umbilical transformed [into a <i>sarita</i> fabric]
	<i>kombong maa' taoninna</i>	the afterbirth assumes the form [of a <i>maa'</i> cloth]

After that, the narrative details the different stages of the deceased's life then continues after his death with the poetic description of the two-stage funeral rite, sung in verse day after day:

Namasiang to makale'
Bendan bandera leko'na
sola tombi kairinna

The next day in the morning
 the reversed banner is raised⁵⁰
 along with the left-handed
 [tombi cloth

sitanan tallu
Male rante kalua'

the three of them together
 They go to the spacious field

Ditaru-taru bombongan
 735 *diturirrik padalingna*
mematu-matu guntu'na

The drum is hammered
 the gong is beaten
 the thunder rumbles

Rampo tama rante kalua'
Natibulanteimi sarong
natikembongi kambuno

They arrive at the spacious field
 carpeted with women's sunhats
 sun shade spread out over the field⁵¹

Ma'ulang sibuntanmo
ma'kale'ke siambele'
rendenan tedong
lan rante kalua'

Again they exchange the rope
 the nasal rings are held
 the rope of the buffalo
 in the spacious field

By recalling the acts of the living on behalf of the dead, the poem serves as a manual or memento.

At the end of the narrative, the deceased is transformed into a star:

Daomo na oli' Lemba
na salungku' bunga lalan

She's up there now embraced
 [by the Great Bear
 clasped by the Pleiades

La lao langnanmo langi'
 1115 *la ma'tondok daomo*

She's ascending to the sky
 she's going to live up there

50. This is a trident mast, tied with a single long white cloth, to which various attributes of the deceased are attached (if a man: bird feathers *bulu dasi*, betel bag, umbrella). This trident mast, at this moment of the celebration, is first planted in the courtyard then in the ceremonial field; it will be taken down at the end of the day. It is also called *bate lepong* "round flag", as once a human head would have been fixed to the mast (Tsintjilonis 2000: 46). This mast must be 'turned around' by the mast *bate deata* or *bate dirangga* always turned to the East, in the rites of the East.

51. *Sarong* refers to women and *kambuno* to men.

<i>La ditiro ke mangngambo'</i>	We will see her when we broadcast [the rice
<i>ke diparokkoi banne</i>	when we sow the seeds
<i>ke disia-siaranni</i>	when we scatter the seeds

The coming of the Pleiades is always considered the beginning of a new agrarian cycle, the sign to prepare the nurseries for the rice. At the end of the hagiography, the living look to the stars, because the deceased, now a constellation, has become an indicator for sowing. In this way, the rice of the living is protected by the constellations, which come from the dead. Thus the veneration of the deceased in the song *badong* is linked to the culture of rice (Veen 1966: 36).

Once it has been recited by the *to mina*, this hagiographic poem is taken up in chorus by those who will sing it in parts for several days while dancing. Certain poems, for the less noble, are not hagiographic.

Compared to the round dances of other populations of Sulawesi, the *badong* has not yet been modified by modern music⁵². It was provisionally prohibited by the Christian authorities in the 1940s, an interdiction testifying to its religious implications. In a silent film of 1923, the circle is exclusively feminine, whereas nowadays it is above all made up of men⁵³.

Each *badong* circle is directed by two men: a “mother of lamentation” (*indo' bating*), the prompter who gives the words to sing; and a song leader, “mother of *badong* song” (*indo' badong*). Before it can start, the officiants must first recite the hagiography or “narrative of the *badong*” (*Florilegium*, p.@). Only then do the leaders take up again certain verses of the narratives following specific melodies and dances.

52. The original scales of the *badong* have been conserved; while today the *dero* of Central Sulawesi is danced to Christian heptatonic songs, and the *lulo* of East Sulawesi is danced to regional pop tunes.

53. The name of this film is *Doodencultus*. See DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music of the Most Elaborate Ritual / The *badong* funeral round-dance / p 20 / Male-female.

In 2001, Daut Puppung, a forty-nine-year-old peasant and a Christian of long standing, known under the names of Papa Dora and Ne' Salurante (the Toraja often have three names), told me about his life. His parents were converted to Christianity in 1948 and he himself in his childhood. That has not stopped him from attending all the funeral feasts. He is a *badong* song master, i.e., a funeral dance leader and soloist. He tells me clearly that he is not master of lamentation (*indo' bating*). Being expert in lamentation –knowing the verses and being able to organise them– is a hereditary skill. It is a risky profession: the choice of verses can provoke serious socio-political conflicts. If verses not matching the deceased's rank are pronounced, major quarrels might ensue (Sandarupa 2004). He only concerns himself with directing the song by choosing the dance, rhythm, gestures, and the title corresponding to a melody and a movement. In the dance, he is part of the directing team and is assisted by two associates. He knows how to embellish the unison by inserting other pitches. His group is invited to sing at funerals for the equivalent of one buffalo, never more; though not just any buffalo, but one worth four to five million rupiah. The group hardly ever share the money; they prefer to convert it into costumes, singing dress –tee shirts and sarongs. For a night and a day, they ask the family employing them for a buffalo with horns of 20 cm (*sanglengo*) as recompense; for two days and a night, a buffalo with horns not less than “from the end of the fingers to the middle of the arm” (*alla tarrin*). He tells me of his day as a singer:

“We're asked to start at 8 a.m. From 8 to 9 we 'get up' [to sing] then we eat at about 9. At 10 we get up again to welcome the guests and go on like that until 12 noon. Then we have dinner. It's possible to rest for an hour but we can't leave the festivities. As soon as the guests arrive we're asked to stand up [to sing]. At 3 p.m. we're standing. At 4 we have a coffee. At 6 we stand up again. From 7 to 10 we stand up. Sometimes we're asked to stop to let people sleep. At 4 a.m. we get up again to announce our departure. That's the *ma'pasakke*. Towards 6 a.m. one of us starts

singing the *retteng*⁵⁴, to provoke the family a bit for them to give us more money. There you are. We're invited to welcome the guests. That's what a commissioned round dance (*badong dipangindan*) is" (Daut Puppung, personal communication, 18 August 2001).

Such professional singing is undoubtedly of recent advent. For those involved, singing is experienced as a moment of excitement, intensity, and getting together, in contrast to the monotony of daily life. For the Toraja, the desire to sing goes beyond simple aesthetics. It means an opportunity to play, to combat, to dare, to challenge, to seduce, to conquer, to eat, to become intoxicated with palm wine, and to exceed one's limits.

FIELD NOTEBOOK
AUGUST 1993

Bo'ti', a young man from Baruppu' about twenty years old, is one of the most reputed round-dance leaders of the region. Pushed by one of his friends, I often take part in the dance at his side, even if it is deserted by young women. With him I learn the movement as he's got style –a swing, this very light bounce, a bit casual– and above all he has a deep voice, sizzling and powerful, slightly raw on the attacks. As Bo'ti' doesn't speak Indonesian we don't talk much for the time being. He's a handsome man, playful, a skirt-chaser, and young father already separated. He works in the coffee plantations and earns 3,000 rupiah a day (± 1 Euro). He goes to all the funeral celebrations. Going out to sing together is one of his main sources of excitement, cock-fighting excepted. He leads both the *badong* dance and the *dondi'* chorus. His father was himself a round-dance leader and his mother, a good singer, audacious, with no regard for propriety, has no qualms about taking part in the dance. In Bo'ti's home there are images of Christ, beer cans lined up, calendars with the faces of

54. Sound reference of the *retteng* in DVD / Anthology / Music of the Setting Sun / *Retteng* and *singgi'* solo songs.

modern Indonesian women, with very white skin and square glasses. Boti', who leads the *badong* in Baruppu', has been invited to another region in Tikala to sing with his group.

The groups of singers either come from the deceased's village or from more distant regions. The first, who are generally responsible for the burial round dance, participate without remuneration. In exchange, the family offer them food, clothes, coffee, and cigarettes. On the other hand, when the groups come from further afield, their contribution is considered to be a "debt". During funerals, two groups of donors are distinguished: blood relations (*pa'rapuan*: cousins or descendants of cousins belonging to the family) and the relations by marriage, affines (*to rampean*). When blood relations bring pigs or presents, these gifts are not considered debt: they are seen as "making a bridge between generations" (*ma'tete dadian bati*). On the contrary, the relations by marriage, under obligation, bring "presents" which are held to be debts: pigs, palm wine, rice or dancers. These gifts will be returned in exchange during other celebrations. The expression goes: "making a bridge between marriage relations" (*ma'tete rampeanan*) (Waterson 1993: 83). The *badong* represents in this case a form of debt. In this way, the singers – who also play a part in the economy of the celebration – are a currency much like offerings of pigs.

On the musical level, this dance is intriguing. Simple and primitive are the adjectives often attributed to it. In 1946, the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst evoked the "very uncomplicated round dances *ma' badong* of the Torajan death feasts (of the same character, though more primitive than the *maluaja* from Nias and the Middle Florinese gawi dances)⁵⁵". Apparently elementary, performed in unison, using one to three tones, and alternating crotchets (quarter-notes) and quavers (eighth-notes), this type of song still presents a complex antiphony and

55. See Kunst 1994: 183.

highly varied melodic combinations. In certain regions (at Baruppu'), the eighty *badong* melodies each correspond to a tempo (fast or slow), and thus to a type of step and arm-position (folded or unfolded) and a melodico-rhythmic organisation. To an unaccustomed ear, everything sounds as though the singers were intoning meaningless vowels at random, in a “monotonous” way as the anthropologist Walter Kaudern thought in 1929⁵⁶; the verse is in fact pronounced, but it is dismantled in a rigorous spatialisation⁵⁷. Though the words engender efficacy, they are dismembered as soon as sung –phoneme by phoneme; the words are atomised and the regularity of the octosyllable disappears. One’s comprehension of the verse is scrambled both by the melismatic style and by antiphonic play. Do the words indeed lose their ritual efficacy?

Depending on the time of the day, the dance can be performed in two ways. By day, whenever the music marks the displacements of the deceased, only one circle is sung in chorus, in unison, and without alternating soloists, as all the living wish to take part in the leave-taking (*badong pa'ondokan* “*badong* of the village”). The dance is then “open” to all. On the other hand, at night, when the deceased’s body is not moved, not one round dance is performed but several all at the same time. And each of them is arranged hierarchically. This type of dance is called *badong diono*; “*badong* structured in hierarchised parts” or chorus in alternate *solis* (*sibali-bali* “in response”), because the chorus is divided into several soloist groups placed at the cardinal points. It divides a verse of eight syllables into an antiphonic mode, by responding according

56. In *Games and Dances in Celebes*, the Swede W. Kaudern (1929:421) thinks the words of the song are only monotonous onomatopoeia: “The dances are accompanied by various songs nearly all beginning with a succession of minims: hé-é-é-é-é and ending in a powerful refrain hé-é-é-é-é. From a distance such a song, especially at night, is far from unmelodious, but if you are close by, it is ear-splitting and monotonous.”

57. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music of the Most Elaborate Ritual / The *badong* funeral round dance / po 25.

to two models of division. The verse is divided either into two groups, or into four soloist groups⁵⁸. This difference in sharing out the tasks in the song suggests the existence of distinct types of relation: a hierarchic relation and one that is more egalitarian. In both cases, the organisation of the song shows a relation of interdependence, a reflection of the reciprocity of groups of kinsmen among themselves: only during the funeral rituals are their relationships truly determined; only then do they give to their hosts, who thereby become indebted to them. In each case, the division of the words and the reconstruction of the verse by the whole suggest the idea of a community ethic founded on solidarity with collective and reciprocal participation.

What is peculiar to the *badong* is this dismemberment through redistributing the syllables according to a very stable method of division. However, this verbal dislocation is in contrast to the ordered weaving of the musical parts. While the verse is burst open, pulverised, and disarticulated, the melodic structure –shared between the various groups– allows its reconstruction in its very stability. Unity is found again progressively by the alliance of five entities: the four soloist groups and the rest of the chorus. What is the meaning of this procedure, which deconstructs and reconstructs the words? Whether it is a question of meat or of song, the same mechanism is set in motion in the same sacrificial area: the cutting up, the division, and the redistribution of these filleted vowels, torn from the unity of their words, is strangely analogous to the destiny of the buffaloes meticulously sacrificed, dismembered, butchered and redistributed in pieces from one kinsman to another. The redistribution passes by the mediation of the social group. The officiant Lumbaa (who comes from a region divided into three classes) explained to me how the buffaloes are shared:

⁵⁸. *Ibid.*

“Three parts of meat: a small one for the multitude, a medium for the middling people, and a large for the great. Three parts of meat for three types of people. To each his share” (Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, September 2001)⁵⁹.

This system of sharing into three parts is explained by the three-part division of society in Lumbaa’s region. The meat is shared out in accordance with the nature of the donors, who are generally divided into two types: the family (*pa’rapuan*) and “those on one side” or affines (*to rampean*), the relations by marriage who are not blood relations. The blood relations (children and grandchildren) bring buffaloes to be sacrificed and offered to groups of guests as food to be eaten together. Only the deceased’s children have to buy large imposing buffaloes that are not counted as debts. The number of buffaloes corresponds to the shares of paddy fields to be inherited. So, in effect, the paddy fields are exchanged for sacrificed buffaloes. If one gives three buffaloes for one’s deceased father, one will receive three shares of paddy fields. The relations by marriage, for their part, must give pigs to the deceased’s children. There are two types of pigs: *bai petua’*, given to the deceased’s family, and the *bai dipasisese*, shared in two (one part for the family, the other for the donors). Thus, if three groups bring one pig each, two will be given to be shared among the three groups (*bai dipasese*) and only one will be given to the family. Then each group kills two pigs separately, eats a part, and distributes it out among its members: an elementary sketch of a system of redistribution that is, in fact, quite complex.

Of all the funeral repertoires, two major types stand out: on the one hand, the most common, the collective song repertoires (*badong, dondi*) discussed above; and on the other, the welcoming music repertoires

⁵⁹ “*Tallu ira’ na tu duku’ : bitti’-bitti’ si’ di’ to makamban, kasalle-salle si’ di’ to tangnganna tau; kapua-pua to to kapuamoto (to minaa, ambe’ tondok)... tallu ira’ na duku’, tallu tau na basa. Pantan taa.*”

reserved for soloists (*marakka*, *katia*, *joge*). Whereas the first type is found all over the Toraja country, the second type is practised locally. While the first type of music corresponds to the primary purpose of the funeral (i.e., to facilitate the deceased's transformation and his departure towards ancestry), the second type corresponds to a political aim of social promotion: to acquire prestige and status by demonstrating to the other families and villages nearby one's worth to invite musicians. In both cases, the repertoires help "connect". *Badong*, *dondi*' and *marakka* put the world of the living in relation with that of the ancestors; *joge*' and *katia* put the living in relation with one another. Furthermore, the repertoires of the first type, in mixing villagers and professionals, foster the members' strong socialisation, which the second type does not allow.

The categorisation proposed here is based not only on a socio-religious distinction but also on musical oppositions. While the first communal type entails solidarity, unity and interdependence of members among themselves, the second type is performed by only a small number, select and remunerated. For the music, the most important result of this distinction is the way the sound fills the space: the repertoires of the first type (*badong* and *dondi*) are characterised by a strong harmonic density, by a powerful choral unity invading the totality of the courtyard whereas those of the second type are distinguished by a lesser degree of spatialisation and choral unity.

The most original, rich, and emblematic repertoire of the funeral rituals is, as I have attempted to show, the songs for the round-dance *badong*, owing to its particular treatment of the words made sacred by the music, and shared by the hierarchised choral ensemble.

Music of “bua’ kasalle”, the highest ritual of the rising sun

All the rituals that are not mortuary are oriented towards the East, the home of gods and divinities. They combine two objectives, one specific and the other more general. On the one hand, they must enable the deceased’s shade to be transformed into vital energy – and over several years. On the other, they generally aim to promote the fertility and prosperity of the fields, humans, and animals, and to repel sickness. The main objectives of the celebrations on this side, then, are to transform a shade into vital energy, to expel all sources of trouble, and to receive benefits by consecrating the nobility of one or more rapu (stem families). This quest is organised into two types of complementary and hierarchised rituals: the prophylactic and the propitiatory.

Forty years of Christianisation have sufficed to make them almost disappear. Nonetheless, I was lucky enough to witness certain of these rituals that subsist in some non-Christianised enclaves. Still, the music having lost the place it once had, I can only propose a somewhat reconstituted picture of the musical practices, based on what I have read and on my experiences of syncretic celebrations in which the music has kept its traditional place.

A range of rituals are distinguished on the side of the East: rites for rice (*alukna pare*); for vegetables (*alukna dua*); for the home (*alukna banua*); for animals, pigs and buffaloes (*alukna bai/tedong*); and for human beings (*alukna tau*). These prophylactic rituals (*bugi’*, *maro*, *pakorong*) and propitiatory rituals (*bua’*, *merok*) are connected to the life cycle (for instance, gestation, birth, marriage, teeth filing, scarifications), and aim to prevent sickness. Music only appears in certain rituals. In the propitiatory celebrations (*bua’*, *merok*), it celebrates and glorifies the nobility, amplifies, and solemnises the ceremony, whilst in the prophylactic rituals (*maro*, *bugi’*, *pakorong*), it implores the divinities to offer healing and to prevent sickness.

Here I should like to discuss *bua’ kasalle* (or *bua’ sang rapu*), the highest celebration I attended; the prophylactic rituals will be treated

in the following part. Just as with the highest funerals, excess is the characteristic feature of this ritual at the top of the ladder, performed when a family spends its surplus of wealth – extravagant spending being a way to consecrate its prodigality. This celebration is an illustration of the term *massebokan*, ‘to share when a glass flows over’.

The multitude of successive stages makes it extremely complicated to understand. Highly complex and rich, this celebration seeks to consecrate the ancestral house and its various branches, to protect, reinforce, and revitalise all that lives. It must be celebrated after a whole series of rituals aimed at transforming the deceased’s shade into vital energy. The rituals preceding it are hierarchised and increase in importance the further they progress up the ladder. In the same way the plants used in each of the rituals become bigger and bigger, ranging from a little branch for the lowest rite, to four sections of carved bamboos (*surasan tallang*), to the great ceremonial “mast” *bate*, to the immense bamboo *lumbaa langi* (“mast of heaven”), which at the end of the ladder links the officiants with the heavens.

The *bua’ kasalle*⁶⁰ is a comprehensive ceremony with a position at the top of the ladder. It was strictly prohibited by the Church because the divinities were invoked in it, because it was a pure exaltation of the nobles, and because it presented an opportunity for supposedly unbridled sexuality. Also called *penanian* (“place of singing, place of praises”) or *la’ pa’* (“liberated, completed”), the *bua’ kasalle* is peculiarly complex. A total social event, just like the highest funerals, it calls upon a network of interconnected of symbolic systems. It is the greatest celebration of fecundity, devoted to universal fecundity, the power of organised beings (humans, animals, plants) to reproduce themselves. It consecrates house, stem families, animals, and plants, by placing them under the sign of wealth, abundance, proliferation, production, and procreation.

60. *Kasalle* “great”, *bua’* “work”. The celebration I saw is also called *bua’ sang rapu’* (*bua’* of a stem family). Some *bua’* celebrations have been described by Volkman (1985: 56-58), Nooy-Palm (1986) and Waterson (2009: 332-51).

Only the noble families that have performed the greatest ritual of the West may perform the *bua' kasalle*, which crowns the celebration of a series of the East.

It lasts for a year, in stages, and just like the most elaborate funeral rites, it takes place on two occasions at two sites. It is led by two groups of people. The sponsoring families summon the officiants, the “valiant drums”, whose mission is to direct all the acts and sacrifices, and utter all the ritual words. Throughout the celebration, several extended family members and other persons will be assigned a role that will change their identity for life⁶¹.

FIELD NOTEBOOK

23 MAY 1993

First day. *Pa'gellu'*, the big attraction. The women dance to the sound of the drum. The most extraordinary thing is that they dance with thousands of rupiah on their heads, tens of 10,000 rupiah notes. This is the display of the family's wealth. At the end each of them recovers her money. The morning, *ma'kelong*, kind of incantation. The evening, *ma'serang mundan*, incantation in fours. They fire-walk. *Ma'dandan*, superb women's singing broadcast from a cassette. The family could not afford to invite a group: too expensive, they say. [...]

Attending a celebration does not mean understanding. In the end you only grasp a little because few people are in the know. Sharing out

61. Four aged women are called “the old *tumbang*” (*tumbang tua*); “the young *tumbang*” (*tumbang muda*) the one who lives with the officiants and must follow a series of diet prohibitions; *limbong bua'* and *pondok bua'*, two little girls and *tarruk bua'* or *lumbaa*, the *tumbang's* husband, the *to ma' patondon*...: all must wear yellow clothing. Others are called “the one who feeds the ancestors” (*to ma' pakande nene'*), “those who kill with the lance” (*to manobok*) wearing horns and introducing the dancers, “the one who recites the poem for the buffalo” (*to ma' surak tedong*), the dancers (*to manganda'*), “the one who strikes the drum”, (*to ma' gandang*), assistant of the officiant *burake*.

the pigs is at the heart of the celebration. I felt the madness, no, the extreme: rites going on forever for the gods. I find out the rites had started 10 days ago with the raising of the mast *bate*, a construction in bamboo adorned with cloths. My recordings are not very good because of the generator noise [...].

According to the creation myth (Veen 1965: 147-151, Nooy-Palm 1986: 11), this ritual was celebrated to atone for an incestuous marriage, to clean the land, and to restore the links between humans and the gods; and all this by means of presenting girls to the world above. Throughout the ritual, certain women and girls are celebrated, honoured, sung, and carried; one woman, the *tumbang*, is even shut up for several nights in a high tower. The officiants themselves are also the guardians of a great ceremonial mast (*lumbaa langi* “celestial bamboo”) which they climb via a platform⁶². During the ritual, which lasted nine months (from May to December), the house is considered to be pregnant (Waterson 1991: 89). A female effigy, called *anak dara* (“maiden”) or *tumba'* is built. Numerous blood, plant, and sound offerings are made to it. At the end of the celebration, charged with energy, it will be dismantled: its bamboo body will be placed in the paddy field fishpond to increase the fertility of the land, and its clothing hung from the banyan until it decomposes. For its sake the officiants implore the expulsion of diseases by singing:

62. The presence of a ceremonial mast in the rituals is certainly very ancient, since the South Sulawesi narrative *La Galigo*, undated but thought to come from the period of the eleventh to thirteenth century, mentions in several places a great mast surmounted by a large platform to which certain men climb (Hamonic 1987: 37).

Illnesses of all kinds are chased away. But these words will not be enough. Others will be needed – a flood of words exalting fecundity. The *bua*'s sound world is varied and multiple: the *gelong bate* songs, the rice-stalk wind instrument *pelle*, the unfettered shouting of the palanquin carriers; in the house, intimate songs for the effigy and celebrated women, great male and female choruses in the centre of the courtyard, nocturnal invocations, morning invocations, declamations from the top of the tower, amongst a host of others. In this long process the sung word plays a role throughout the celebration: in the house, in front of the house, all night, all day, from the bottom and top of the tower, solo, in trio, and in quartet, but also in chorus, as though the whole space had to resound with praise. These praises are addressed in all places and to all entities, to the officiants themselves, the officiated women, the stem-family members, the children, the slaves, and to the house itself.

It is on this occasion that the great choruses of men (*simbong*) and women (*nani*) come to sing. The names of these songs are significant. *Nani* (“praise”) is a category which includes all the versified words devoted to praise that are chanted or sung. Its field of meaning extends beyond the musical context⁶⁴. *Nani* is chanted praise lasting for hours on end, declaimed alternately by two officiants, perched on a high tower five metres above the ground. With the help of their bell, they deliver dithyrambs to the various families present. An officiant pronounces from the top of his tower: “I make praises fall upon him” (*la kuparokkoi nani*). It is also the great chorus of men and women.

Simbong, equivalent of *nani*, designates the masculine chorus. Its etymon refers to the sound of water⁶⁵. Once, the song could not be performed without an offering to the waterfall, guarded by the divinity

64. *Menani pare* “praising the rice” designates the blessing of the rice by an officiant. The *to menani* “the one who praises” designates the officiant of the celebration *bua*: not a specialist in singing but an expert in chanted praise. *Penanian* designates the “place of singing”, *i.e.*, the great celebration *bua* and by extension, a social unit whose union is consecrated by the song *nani*.

65. Veen & Tammu 1972. *Simbong, massimbong*: act of diving in water, noise of falling into water. *Pesimbongar*: diving basin, place for playing in water where one can dive.

Pong Pirik-Pirik. It was necessary to come “to buy the *simbong*” (*alli simbong*) and to sing:

<i>Sarambu indo'na simbong</i>	Waterfall, source of song
<i>katituen-tuenanna</i>	in its infinite rolling
<i>Sātiko-sātiko le</i>	Hold yourself in peace
<i>Sarambu indo'na simbong</i>	Waterfall, source of song
<i>darra' tipasengo-sengo</i>	the rapids sing without interruption
<i>Gandang deatamo le</i>	It's the drum of the divinities

It is said that if the waterfall sounded like tears, it was a very bad omen.

The waterfall imagery goes back to a principle of continuity, of permanence, of fecundity, of perpetual renewal of life, suggested by the musical aesthetic. These great songs have the specificity of being of unrolling in long uninterrupted sustained tones, like the continuous-sound of a river. The flow is coloured in places by contrasts of timbres, with an irregular, undetermined rocking, like the sun's caress on rushing water. Rooted in the water's flow the song is thus evocative of a permanent, uninterrupted fecundity –a metaphor for life's perpetual regeneration.

Apart from the waterfall and water, the great *simbong* song also constantly evokes birds: the singers' head-dresses are adorned with the feathers of rare birds, and more than twenty kinds of birds –egrets, hornbills, parrots, cocks, wagtails, woodpeckers, waders, crows, swallows, falcons, widgeons and others– are evoked in the songs. Coming from the world above, intercessors between men and gods, they are often the metaphor for the officiants, also perched atop platforms close to the heavens.

<i>Talao tama pangngala'</i>	Let's go inside the woods
<i>untiro redena dama'</i>	look at the flowing of the damar
<i>Marassanmo balittoto'</i>	The woodpecker already intently
<i>umponi-poni gandangna</i>	sounding its drum
<i>umparede tandilona</i>	flowing its zither
<i>Sāti-sātiko le</i>	Stay in peace

It is important to bear in mind the omnipresence of the cocks shown on the pediments of houses and facing the sun motif, and to remember that it is the cock's crow that allows rebirth after death (p.@).

Furthermore, the songs evoke gold and nuggets, sustained images of prosperity:

<i>Minda banua to daa ?</i>	Whose house is up there?
<i>minda tondok to sambalin ?</i>	whose village is that across there?
<i>Banuanna to manggembong</i>	The house of the searcher of nuggets
<i>tondokna to mebulan</i>	the village of the gold washer
<i>to mebatan-batan rana'</i>	of the jeweller of gold necklaces ⁶⁶

Owing to their musical form and themes the great choruses are an appeal to immortality, to the continuity of life, always reiterated in the songs' concluding verses: *kurre-kurre sumanga'* ("come here come here vital spirit")⁶⁷ / *sa'tiko-sa'tiko le* ("stay in peace, stay in peace")⁶⁸ / *saruran lenten lemo* ("a shower of rolling lemons")⁶⁹.

The great choruses are invited by the celebration sponsor to praise his house and his stem-family (*rapu*). They arrive in costume, conducted by the officiant who introduces himself in this way:

66. These two verses were collected from the *to minaa* Ne' Ambaa. I have never heard them in their sung version, nevertheless, a great number of similar examples exist. For numerous examples of these songs, see DVD / Anthology / Songs of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *buá kasalle* ritual.

67. According to Ne' Lumbaa, the formula most commonly used by the Christians.

68. According to Ne' Dena', *sa'ti-sa'ti* originates in a Hindu formula (from *shanti*) "*om santi santi om*", found on Bali, a kind of blessing: "may you stay in peace". Another officiant says it is an ancient cloth.

69. Since the *simbong* song is probably linked to gold, which used to be searched for in the rivers of the north (Kalumpang region), this verse probably designates the discovery of gold –the lemon, with its yellow colour, being an uncommon fruit in Toraja country. This verse is also sung by the chorus in the vigil song *dondi'*: *Salodon lenten lemo* is also placed at the end of the verse. *Salodon* is probably a deformation of *saruran* (water jet flowing from a bamboo).

*Gandang to apara tondo
bombongan umba nanai*

Whose drum is that?
from where is the gong?

*Sae urranda oninna
la ussearan gamaranna*

Coming to spread its sound
and broadcast its voice

*La naissan siaraka
la nakaratuiraka*

Will it be known?
will it have been reached?

*La ussanga-sanga bua'
la unggente' penanian
kada tongan toda tondo*

It will be called the *bua'*
its title will be *penanian*
those are indeed true words

*Inde'na' ummalesoi
umba tu nakua pia*

Here I affirm it
what the children say

*Nakua pa'kadananna
patananko talingammu
allenko pa'perangimmu*

The words say
turn your ears on
calmly listen

*Angku pokada tondokku
angku sa'bu banuangku*

So that I may speak of my village
and talk about my house

*Aku bombongan Sesean
aku gandang Bulumanuk
santungna to Lo'ko' Lemo*

I am the gong of Sesean
I am the drum of Bulu Manuk⁷⁰
the percussion instrument
[of Lo'ko' Lemo⁷¹

*Sae urranda oningku
ussearan gamarangku*

Coming to spread my sound
and broadcast my voice

From *Sode-sode to minaa* "Officiant's Pride",
collected from Ne' Ambaa, 1993, verses 1-18⁷²

70. Sacred mountains, residence of the divinities.

71. *Santung* may be either a small drum (according Ne' Lumbaa) or a tube zither or stick zither (according to Pa' Sarira). Although this instrument has disappeared, it is still present in the lyrics. Lo'ko' Lemo is the village from the one who speaks.

72. Reference to the sound example: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / Introductory speeches.

He presents the house being celebrated. The praise is inextricable from the utterance pronounced (“name” *sanga*, “praise” *gente*, “say” *kada*, “utter” *sa’bu*), from the song (“my song” *oningku*, “my voice” *gamarangku*) and from listening (“listen” *perangi*, “ears”, *talinga*).

Having presented himself to the guests, the officiant continues by declaiming the *samparan simbong*, a great panegyric which has all but disappeared since the 1950s. It was passed on to me by the old Ne’ Ambaa from Lo’ko’ Lemo. It unfurls over more than five hundred verses, half declaimed, half sung in chorus. Just as with the funeral hagiography, each panegyric differs in accordance with the aristocratic rank of the house⁷³. He praises the entirety of a stem-family *rapu* by glorifying everything that can be: the land, the region, the house, the kitchen, the man, his actions, his alliances, his descent line and his piety. In the following example, the words meticulously celebrate all the parts of the sponsor’s house (*sampa’ tongkonan* “praising of the house”):

<i>Umpoparandangan pindan</i>	The stone at the base of the front [post like a plate]
<i>Umpolentong kau asik</i>	The inner post made of the best wood
¹²⁰ <i>Pio kalando petolo’na</i>	The crosspiece like a long loincloth
<i>Pangdena pesuruk tedong</i>	The enclosure crosspiece, a perfumed [herb]
<i>Rara’ tibekka, eranna</i>	The ladder like a gold necklace
<i>Tangdo’ pangngalloan maa’</i>	The veranda where the <i>maa’</i> cloths dry
<i>Pangngamparan tuda-tuda</i>	Place where the fabrics are spread
<i>Sedanan sarong to lendu’</i>	Place where the visitors place their hats
<i>Umbaanni batu ianan</i>	Those who bring a blessing
<i>Giring-giring tarampakna</i>	The roof gables, a bouquet of bells
<i>Uang tibasse sengo’ papa</i>	The roof embrasures filled with coins
<i>Maa’ mangngimba longana</i>	The crossbeams where the <i>maa’</i> cloth [are hung]

73. It differentiates a noble’s house (*tongkonan to makaka*) from that of a great noble (*tongkonan layuk*).

	<i>Lotong boko' bubunganna</i>	The roof arch like the weaving [<i>lotong boko'</i>]
130	<i>Rara' sanglé'to talao</i>	The inside like half of a gold [necklace]
	<i>Ampang pembassean seleng</i>	The threshold a place for hanging [weavings]
	<i>Sali limbong tudo-tudo</i>	The room a pool of precious weavings
	<i>Kala'ka tandi ianan</i>	The longitudinal beam underneath, [a corner of wealth]
	<i>Gayang kumello patá'na</i>	The central beam an undulating [sword]
	<i>Bintoenra to rindingna</i>	The partitions like stars
	<i>Gayang ditakin, manangnga</i>	The panels krisses in bandoleer
	<i>Kaso manik dao mai</i>	The rafters like beads falling from [on high]
	<i>Bulian napomanete</i>	The ridgepole a blowpipe
	<i>Umpopara-para allo</i>	The triangular gable like the sun
140	<i>Umpopalangka bintoen</i>	The sleeping platform like the stars
	<i>Ma'dandananno bakana</i>	The baskets already in a row
	<i>Tibantuk baka banua</i>	The house baskets side by side
	<i>Ponno maa' i lan liu</i>	Full of <i>maa'</i> cloths
	<i>Tali to batu naanna</i>	Fabric <i>tali to batu</i> inside
	<i>Maa' mata pua manna</i>	<i>Maa'</i> cloths in abundance
	<i>Ue sitammu bukunna</i>	The rattan whose knots meet
	<i>Silanta' doke-dokena</i>	The pointed ends criss-cross
	<i>Ia ri bassean turruk</i>	The rack, weighed down, bends
	<i>Napennammu' to saena</i>	The visitors use it as a covering

Samparan simbong,
from Ne' Ambaa ⁷⁴

74. The audio reference of this song in: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / Narrative of the *simbong*.

Having described the house, the actions, and the sponsor's piety in detail, the officiant concludes his panegyric thus:

*Apa sanganna te tondok
genteranna te pangleon*

What's the name of this village?
the title held by this hamlet?

*La kusumbungngi sanganna
kuumpu' lando lelana*

I will add to its name
and extend the spread of its fame

*La kusanga limbong sugi'
kuganti lellua langngan*

I will call it the pool of riches
I will raise it above

*Masiri'ki' untiro'i
la umpata'pai mata*

We are awe-struck to see it
when it appears before our eyes

*Lalan rongko'namo ia
natalimbung danga-danga
napullen lengkuu' daa*

This is his nice path
encircled by hibiscus flowers
ringed by galangal upwards

Samparan simbong, from Ne' Ambaa, ll. 484-494,
recorded in 1993, see *Florilegium Toraja*, p. @75.

During this eulogy, the officiant is supported by the chorus who repeat certain verses. The singers then continue the great song on their own, throughout the afternoon and until late into the night. They are free to repeat the officiant's words or not. Sometimes several choruses simultaneously sing different parts of the panegyric in polymusic. The women sit on the side of the house (place of the ancestors) and the men on the side of the rice granary (place of the divinities). This custom probably explains the symbolism of a union between men and women during this ritual entirely devoted to fecundity. This union is also evoked in the panegyric's verses and in the many rites with a sexual character in the playlets displayed on the ritual site.

75. The audio reference of this song in: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *buu' kasalle* ritual / Narrative of the *simbong*.

In the second part of the *bua' kasalle*, the performance is centred around the tower, where various artistic forms are vividly put on display.

There is a singular and enigmatic dance called *manganda'*, in which seven dancers position themselves with their heavy imposing helmets and horns decorated with ancient metal coins, daggers, ancient cloths, and feathers. From time to time, the dancers shout (*tirrrrrra!*) and shake bells or bamboo clappers while turning around the tower *gorang*. In a crescent formation, led by the *burake* officiant, they revolve counterclockwise, bend their knees, shout, and raise and lower a palm leaf with their left hands.

A more informal repertoire is performed by the assembly around the tower. During my stay, I succeeded in recording only fifteen minutes of this repertoire, which, rarely performed today, is almost unknown. This repertoire, called *serang mundan* (“widgeon’s nest”), can be performed by anyone throughout the celebration in huts built for the occasion; it is not danced but sung, sitting or standing. It is a repertoire that borrows its words from the great *simbong* song. Responsorial, it is sung in mixed choruses, on a melodic-rhythmic recitative structure and interspersed with long silences.

*Taruk biang diong salu
rokko nakande mattedo'*

Orphan born down by the river
eaten by the water buffalo down there

*Talao tama Talodo
tuo langnganna sarambu*

Let us go to Talodo
and live above the waterfall

*Anta pangngan bua besse'
baulu lekko ura'na*

So we can eat the betel fruit
betel whose veins are backwards

Saruran lenten lemo

A shower of rolling lemons

*Serang mundan*⁷⁶

76. Reference to the sound example: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / Small chorus of widgeon’s nest.

Other words are exclaimed by various orators, experts in panegyric, in various modalities: from simple speech, to rhythmic speech, to chant, to song.

The day of the praise *singgi*, the officiants accomplish a *tour de force* for hours on end, perched on a high tower ten metres above the ground, they declaim the *singgi*. This is another type of solo praise, performed in alternation by two officiants, ringing a handbell and chanting their declamation to the stem-family members who are mounted individually in palanquins tied to the platform with a ceremonial cloth. The declamation lasts several hours. The words vary, depending on the person addressed. Not only are family members sponsoring the celebration praised but also the whole community. Each individual, in accordance with his status, is extolled –even the poorest and the children⁷⁷.

Musalla-musalla okan
muparamban bulu okan

What if you curse us?
what if you make our hair stand
[on end?

tang mu popentaauokan

what if you dehumanise us?

Padai' kita diindan
pada dilando lalanni

Both of us are brought in
both of us are summoned
[from afar

Napobelo-belo bua'
napomarongka samaya
napoamba penanian

To decorate the *bua'* ritual
to effect good fortune
to ornament the place
[of singing
partner of the bridge⁷⁸

77. H. van der Veen has translated in Dutch numerous *singgi* in 1979: *singgi' bua' padang, singgi' tondok*, praise of the village community, *urrodo bangkuli' to nakua* "one rings the bell and says...", *singgi' to barani*, song of the courageous man, *singgi' kaunan sola pia*, praise of slaves and children.

78. The great tower and platform *gorang* raised on the ceremonial field of the *bua' kasalle*.

*Bendan patukumo sando
 tuo lampo'mo siura'
 ilayan rante dibunna'
 padang di tallu rarai*

The expert stands like a haystack
 his counterpart like a pile of rice⁷⁹
 on this sacred field⁸⁰
 the land thrice sprinkled with blood⁸¹

*Ia nasang raka londong
 ma'dandan raka muane
 pada raka tau mata*

Are they all roosters?
 all in a row are they men ?
 are all the human beings the same?

*Ditangko-tangkoan singgi'
 te layan rante dibunna'
 padang ditallu rarai*

Given the song of praise
 on this sacred field
 on the land thrice sprinkled with blood

*Mulempe-lempei ona'
 kulempe-lempei oko*

If you observe me inclining your head
 then I observe you as well

*Butungki' sitiro bayan
 sitiro dassi londongna*

Like two cockatoos we watch each other
 like two male birds we watch each other

*Te layan rante dibunna'
 padang di tallu rarai*

On this sacred field
 on the land thrice sprinkled with blood

From *Singgi'*, declaimed by Ne' Lumbaa,
 from the top of the tower,
 at the *bua' kasalle* ritual in 1993,
 Deri, line 6 ff.⁸²

79. This dyad points out the humans praised on this field, seen as haystack of rice. *Ura'*: good fortune.

80. *Bunna'*: sign of interdiction on the sacred areas (habitually on the site of the *bua'*), so that unclean persons –such as widowers or widows, or those coming from a funeral– do not infringe them.

81. Blood from sacrificing three different animals: either a dog, a chicken and a pig, or a dog, a chicken, and a buffalo.

82. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / The Little Music of the Officiants / *Singgi'* eulogy.

On the side of the rising sun, the poetry lacks any emotive material –unlike on the West. Rather, it is determined by its verbal and rhythmic arrangement. By personifying humans as birds, it reveals a world made up of hierarchies and distinctions. The nobles –represented as solid and massive trees, sharp swords, and powerful birds– possess the riches (fabrics, houses, paddy fields); the common people –who are not personified– go to work in the nobles’ basin (the paddy fields) and come to offer service to the “people above”; the singers, –multi-coloured birds–ask permission to praise the nobles. Such poetry of personification manifests an immutable stability, a conformity to an order banding individuals together.

Yet again, profusion characterises this great ritual of the East: profusion of words and sacrifices, and of offerings with meanings still difficult to decipher.

This first chapter has discussed the range of music of the two greatest Toraja celebrations: that of the *rapasan* funeral and that of the *bua’ kasalle*. The purpose of contrasting them has been to show the extent to which they coexist on the same level; to highlight their similar structures and complementary natures. In these two rituals, the Toraja distinguish the requisite repertoires from the optional subordinate repertoires. The great danced and sung repertoires –*badong* and *simbong*– are valued because they entail a structured organisation with specialists, and above all, because they deliver words essential for the transformation of beings. The other repertoires are optional and less formalised. The musical repertoires are thus included in hierarchised categories (*badong* > *dondi*’ and *simbong* > *serang mundan*).

Apart from these two great celebrations, other kinds of music are performed at different rituals on the side of the East. These rituals may be called “subordinate”: they precede the *bua’ kasalle* and involve less expense. Unlike the higher-level celebrations, they concern not only one but several families to which the local collectivity is joined. They aim to re-establish an order, by preventing or eliminating an illness.

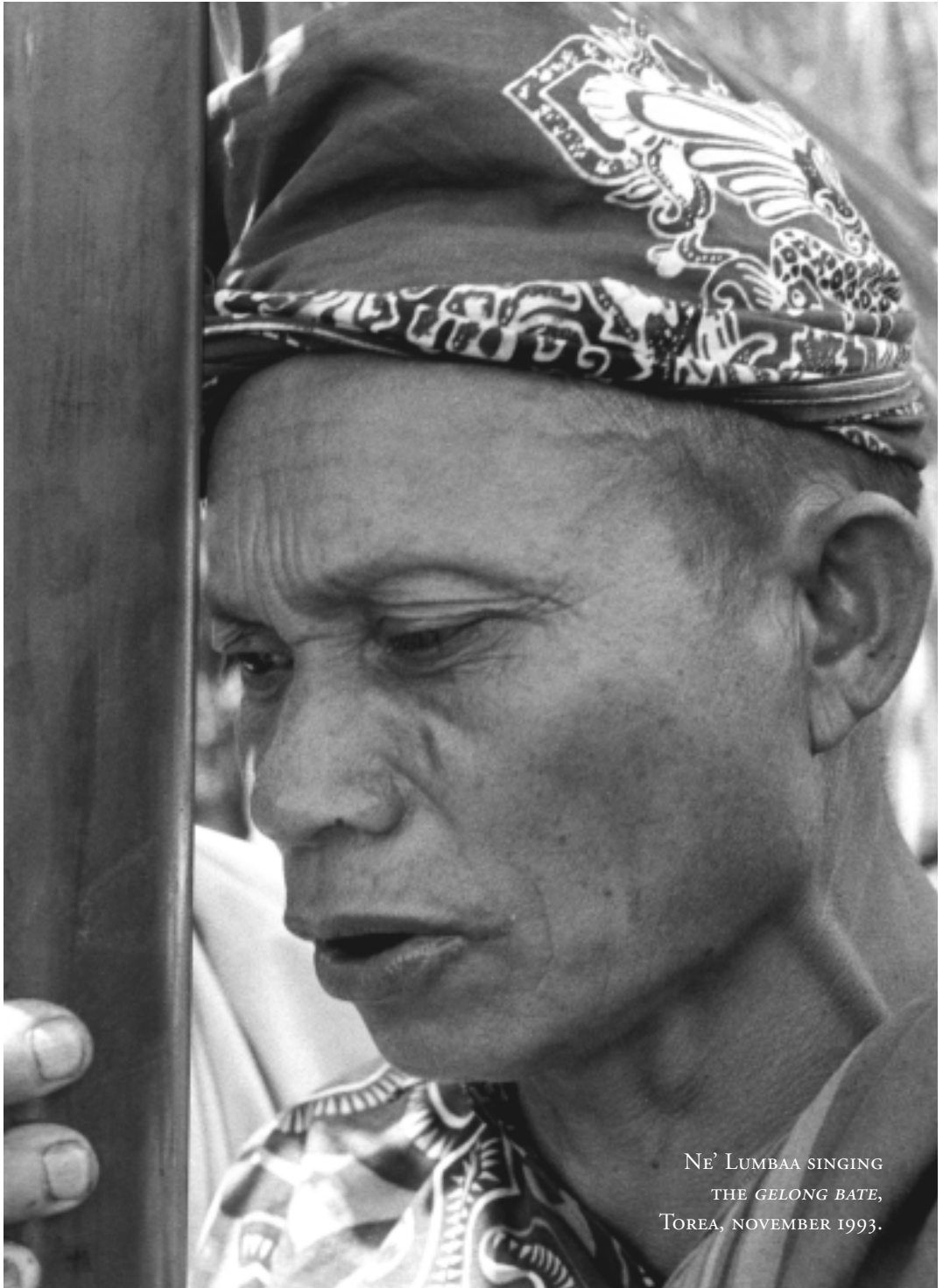
MUSIC
OF THE HEALING
RITUALS

The Toraja regularly feed and appeal to their divinities. The divinities always have the right to the best morsels of meat and the best flute pieces. I attended two rituals during, which the divinities were invited to eat and listen to the music: the *maro* ritual which I saw twice, and the *pakorong* ritual. The former was as lively and uninhibited as the latter reserved and restrained. With the first, only the voices appealed in chorus; whereas, with the second, only the instruments could express themselves. On other occasions, the officiants addressed the gods in speech or chant.

Songs of the maro ritual

FIELD NOTEBOOK. WEDNESDAY 17 NOVEMBER 1993
VILLAGE OF TOREA, SESEAN DISTRICT

For three days, the officiants, invited from the whole region, have come in small groups chanting night and day. Five groups officiate in five houses. In the completely packed central rooms it's impossible to stretch your legs. Luther, my assistant, has been recording the officiant, Ne' Mendo, in a house; as for me, in another house I observe the chanting of Ne' Sampe, who fails to carry out his task well and constantly interrupts his speech. The quality of the utterances is uneven. Some are too lazy to chant the verses but content themselves with saying the poem full speed, cut up what they say, fall asleep, then get up again to continue the recitation –an attitude held to be dangerous for the continuation of the ritual. In other houses the officiants, more conscientious, make a point of chanting the ritual words in their entirety –I have no idea what they mean. On the wrong track I rejoin Luther in another house. He hasn't slept. Thirteen cassettes



NE' LUMBAA SINGING
THE *GELONG BATE*,
TOREA, NOVEMBER 1993.

already full after three days. Great difficulty in finding someone who can explain to me what's going on.

Every morning, every evening, offerings to the divinities and ancestors. Before sacrificing you have to sing. And after too. Say and say again that the divinities have eaten well. At first slowly, then rapidly. It's the "kitchen song" (*gelong dapo'*) not only repeated every evening, but listing in series all the invisible entities to whom chickens have been given:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | <p><i>Mangka kumandemo puang
leu iru'mo deata
maimpunmo to menampan</i></p> <p><i>Mangka kumandemo nene'
leu iru'mo todolo
maimpunmo to matua</i></p> <p><i>Mangka kumandemo gandang
leu iru'mo bombongan
maimpunmo suling bulo</i></p> | <p>The masters have already eaten
the lords have already drunk
the creator has finished</p> <p>The ancestors have already eaten
the forebears have already drunk
the elders have finished</p> <p>The drums have already eaten
the gongs have already drunk
the flutes have finished</p> |
| 10 | <p><i>Mangka kumandemo datu
leu iru'mo karaeng
mangka kumandemo lalong
mangka kumandemo indo'
mangka kumandemo rara'
mangka kumandemo tumbang
mangka kumandemo londong
mangka kumandemo pasang
mangka kumandemo pia
mangka kumandemo bubun</i></p> | <p>The lords have already eaten
the nobility have already drunk
the brave ones have eaten
the mothers have eaten
the golden necklaces have eaten
trance-dancers have eaten
the roosters have eaten
the male swords have eaten
the children have eaten
the wells have eaten
the wells have drunk
the pure water is finished</p> |
| 20 | <p><i>leu eru'mo turunan
maimpun sakke malino</i></p> <p><i>Sorong soronganni dulang
poli'i kande'an datu
sola irusan bulayan</i></p> | <p>Pass the ceremonial bowl
scrape the dishes of the lords
and the golden glasses</p> |

*Mintu' siruk di garunggang
sarrini bota bulayan
la dipakandean manuk*

All the spoons in the mixing plates
collect the golden scraps
that will be eaten by the chickens

*Anna malompo a'rari
anna mo'te' kalong-kalong*

So that the locusts will be fat
and the flying ants plump

*Anna keanak kembati'
keampo kesalemberan
anna mamatana torro*

So that they produce many offspring
grandchildren and great grandchildren
so that they remain conscious

Gelong Dapo, "Kitchen Song",
18 November 1993⁸³

Every evening, scores of chickens with their throats slit, sought from everywhere hereabout for this 500 chicken ritual which aims to feed the divinities on the one hand and the ritual priests on the other. On Thursday healing the sick. Men and women flog themselves, sing and dance. A man steps out from the group, whips himself with red cordyline (*tabang*) leaves, drinks mud, and mutilates himself cutting his forehead with a dagger. The children are washed and carried by the man in trance. The chorus of women sing:

Tasirere'-rere' lendong

Let us cut each other like the way
[we do eels

tasi'pa'tallu masapi

let us sever into three the way
[we do large eels

tasiimpa' bale rante

let us slice the way we do the fish
[of the land

*Lendu' tamamoko bassi
kumande lannako liu
ma'kasolang-solanganko*

Come inside, iron!
eat deep inside!
destroy!

83. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Songs of the Rising Sun / Songs of the trance rituals / Song of the *maro* ritual / Kitchen Song: The divinities' meal.

*Tikalulunmoko bassi
tilu'pimoko mataran
patondon patomaliko*

Become wavy blunt iron!
fold up sharp one!
be dull on both sides!

*Gelong Kandeatan, 46-54,
Florilegium Toraja, p.@*

He then looks for someone wishing to heal through blood.

*Keden masaki ulunna
madaramban beluakna
makula' balla ulunna*

If anyone has a headache
or their hair is ruffled
or a feverish forehead

*Keden to makuyu manuk
sola to makuyu langkan*

If someone is all confused
disheveled like the feathers
[of a sick bird]

Mai-maimoko inde'

Come here, come here!

*Dipopedampi rara'na
dipotamba' kaisse'na*

The blood will be your medicine
the red fruit your remedy

*Gelong Kandeatan, 66-75,
Florilegium Toraja, p.@*

All the while, the women sing around the scarred man who is bleeding. The sentences are simple, slow, and melismatic, the ambitus restricted –one or two tones– the song homophonic, the rhythms elementary. Most often the ambitus goes no further than a semitone, which gives the song an insistent character. During the singing the blood, beginning to bead, stops immediately. I record outside, Luther is inside. A woman in trance asks for a drum, goes round it three times and climbs on top. The women's chorus sings:

*Daomo' tangkena gandang
mengurapkna tandilo
110 ma'tondon penainna*

I'm already on top of the drum
on the peak of a zither
on the point of the glorious knife

*Tondok boro toda dao
banua mapia toda
boro pangrantean toda*

A truly beautiful heavenly village
a wonderful house indeed
the glorious ritual grounds

*Kari' la sàtimo dao
kari' tang la sule lemno
tang la balik bulo lemno*

I'm almost at peace up there
I'm almost not returning
I'm almost not coming back

Napopedampi to tumbang

It becomes the medicine
[of the trancers
the remedy of the sky people
the spit of those taken by divinity

*napotamba' to malangi'
burra to kandeatan*

¹²⁰ *Nasule kale datunna
to kuli' ampu leembangna
Urruru tanpa dolona
sola tasim bulayanna*

So he returns to his kingly body
the skin of the owner of the land
Return to the form of its ancestors
with the energy of gold

Anna burinti tumende

So that the bird of the rice field

anna langkan boro tia'

[bounces
and the hawk soars gracefully

WHEN THE PERSON DESCENDS FROM THE DRUM,
THE CHORUS SINGS:

Sulemo' mendio' gandang

I've returned from being bathed
[in drumming
from being showered with zithers
shampooed with the flutes

*membollo-bollo tandilo
melangi'ri suling bulo*

¹³⁰ *Tàpa passakkemo gandang
bua uranmo tandilo*

Suddenly the drum gives good health
and the zither brings hail

Napopedampi to tumbang

It becomes the medicine
[of the trancers
the remedy of the sky people
the spit of those taken by divinity

*napotamba' to malangi'
burra to kandeatan*

*Gelong Kandeatan, Verses 108-133,
Florilegium Toraja, p.@.*

The trances occur for several days. I start getting used to it without really understanding. Often I despair. I record interrupted songs outside the houses and continuous ones inside. The data build up. I record everything, everything I see, and what I hear of this ritual now totally forbidden by the various Christian congregations.

FRIDAY, 6 A.M., we get up late, Lumbaa has already begun to chant again, starting at dawn. Day of offering chickens to the officiants. “Make eat” for the Toraja means “offer”. They have the officiants eat (*ma’pakande to minaa*), in other cases they offer food to the dead (*ma’pakande to mate*). In fact, what is offered is actually not eaten: the meat is thrown away to the dogs. I see hundreds of chicken livers extracted from the bodies, then smoked chickens are placed in baskets in the courtyard.

The last day, Saturday, is the apotheosis. It is the *ma’bate* “make the masts”, those immense masts loaded with ceremonial cloths, daggers, and cordyline leaves. The agitation is at its height. The mother with whom I am staying gets up at 3 a.m. to prepare the food. That day from each house come out the drummers and dancers, the officiants, and the long trident ceremonial masts loaded with rich ancient fabrics. Five times five (for the five houses) *i.e.*, five groups of drums, five groups of officiants, five masts, five groups of dancers. All assemble on the great field outside the village, towards the East. In an ineffable euphoria, the masts are planted, then sung to; the men jump frenetically, the women enter into trance. And in a joyous poly-music the divinities are invited for the last time to descend:

<i>Anna deatai tondok</i>	So that the village is taken [by the divinities
<i>anna puang di pangleon</i>	and the masters of the hamlet
<i>datu lan sa’de banua</i>	lords by the side of the houses ⁸⁴
<i>Mari’piko kuondo</i>	Be quiet, I am dancing
<i>rapa’ko kutarandakki</i>	be still, I am stamping

84. Request for permission from local divinities, so that they accept the foreign divinities who are about to descend into the bodies of those in trance.



PORTRAITS
MUSI-OFFICIANTS

kupembulisu-lisui
Penduan ponnomo tondok
pentallun kapalenanmo
ra'dak tandung sea-sea

I am spinning in circles
 Twice the village is full
 thrice it is overflowing
 the fullness of the wide land

La lao rokkomo mai
laomo sambalin mai
bu'tu lamban diong mai

They will leave from down there
 and go across the way
 and appear over there

Pealla'ko padang-padang
padang -padang tang kulese

Walk through the opening
 [in the ixoras
 ixoras that I don't step on

Lakkia' kipelalanni
botto kidakaran embe'

The thorny plants we climb up
 the violet plant we slide on

Sape-sape to Balanda

Paraphernalia of the people
 [of Balanda

sokko' to mappau-pau
inde to kandeatan

the hats of those who speak
 these people in trance⁸⁵

Tiro-tirooi lako
tungka para'pai mata

Look over there
 open your eyes

Borrong tongan dukku tongan
tipamian-mian tongan

It's truly bright, it's truly lit up
 truly it's flashing

Tiumba'mo sape-sape
dollokmo kundae pangka
kundae pangka to Bone

Rise up the ornaments
 arrive the extraordinary tissues
 marvellous *sarong* of those of Bone⁸⁶

Sape-sape to Balanda

The paraphernalia of the people
 [of Balanda

sumonglomo to Sesean
dollokmo to Lindo Tau

the people of Sesean march in
 the people of Lindo Tau appear

85. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the Trance Rituals / Songs of the *maro* ritual / Gelong maro trance song / Men's song at Torea / p. 117 ff.

86. Bone is a Buginese town, in the land of the Bugis people, neighbours of the Toraja.

*Anna deata di Limbong
anna puang dipangleon
datu disa'de banua*

Divinities of Limbong
masters of the hamlets
lords by the side of the houses

*Tang mondo-mondo disa'bu'
tang maundan dipokada
tang leluk dipau-pau*

The speaking isn't finished
the words are not hesitant
the saying hasn't been changed

*La kupokada rara' ko
la kusa'bu' bulayanko
kugente' kandaureko*

I will speak of your jewellery
I will mention your gold
I will name your necklace⁸⁷

Gelong maro, collected in November 1993

I have long searched for the hidden meaning of these acts, of this unique dramaturgy. It was not until recently that I caught even a glimmer of understanding, thanks especially to the songs –as much through the words as the music. Just as with the funerals, the sung words comment ritual action: what the officiants say inside the houses explains in part what is happening outside. So it is a monumental corpus of more than 25,000 verses divided between sixteen great songs that will give the keys to interpreting this ritual⁸⁸.

The vocabulary associated with the ritual throws some light on certain aspects of its performance. This great ritual has three names. The first, *maro*, means “mad, demented” –and I was certainly witness to a succession of demented performances and mad acts (including scarrings, flagellations, uncontrolled leaps, and falls); furthermore, at the end of the ritual an extremely brutal kick fighting (*sisemba*) is

87. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Songs of the Rising Sun / Songs of the Trance Rituals / Songs of the *maro* ritual / Gelong maro trance song / Men's song at Limbong / 40-58.

88. In its variations, the ritual was already observed by several researchers (Zerner 1981; Nooy-Palm 1986: 121-39, Volkman 1985, Volkman & Zerner 1988, Coville 1988, 1989). Elizabeth Coville devoted a thesis to it. Apart from the linguist H. van der Veen, who collected song extracts in the 1930s and translated them into Dutch (1979), no study has concerned the songs. Yet they are performed continuously from the first to the last day.

authorised –a last moment of formalised violence⁸⁹. The ritual is also called *sapean tabang* (“gathering cordyline”): throughout the ritual the red leaves of the cordyline plant are used both as whips for flagellation and remedies for healing. A third name for this ritual is *bate manurun* (“mast(s) descended [from heaven]”). Great masts are erected on the last day; some are raised to answer the funerals as a response to the great funeral mast⁹⁰; the ritual is then called *maro bate ma’pabalik* (“rite of the mad turned mast”) or *bate umpabalik bandera* (“mast turning around the deceased’s mast”). In effect, it is through the erection of these bamboo masts, which increase in size in accordance with the hierarchical order of the rituals, that the Toraja maintain the continuity between the rituals of the West (funerals) and those of the East (rites of life).

The songs designate the entranced individuals in three ways. The normal term is formed from the root “divinity” (*deata*). The person in trance “does divinity” (*to ma’deata*)⁹¹, is “taken by divinity” (*to kandeatan*). Two other terms, always coupled, are often used: *tumbang / malangi*. *Tumbang* (“dance and shake all over the place”⁹²) and *malangi* (*langi* “heaven”) are those who dance and turn while the men’s chorus sings a wild song. Often they are women⁹³. The song repeats:

89. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of the Prophylactic Rituals / Music and trance of the *maro* ritual / Sequences for the *maro bate ma’pabalik* / Kick fighting (*sisemba*).

90. In the greatest funerals, a mast called *bandera* in the north or *bate lepong* is erected for the deceased.

91. From the name *deata* “divinity” and from the verbal prefix *ma’* which indicates the action. There exists another expression suggesting the subject is passive: “he who is taken by his divinity” (*tonala deata’ na*).

92. In his Dutch-Toraja dictionary (1972), for the heading *tumbang*, Veen gives the following definition: “dance at the celebration *maro* to find the magic power under the command of the divinities”.

93. The term *tumbang* probably designates a woman. Three elements suggest this: one, at the great *buat kasalle* ritual, the title of *tumbang* is reserved exclusively for women; two, during the *maro* ritual, it is mainly women who revolve and who shake in every direction; and three, the principal mythical personage of the *maro* is the feminine divinity Indo’ Belo

<i>Napopedampi totumbang</i>	It becomes the medicine [of the trancers (<i>to tumbang</i>)
<i>napotamba' to malangi'</i>	the remedy of the sky people [(<i>to malangi'</i>)
<i>burra to kandeatan</i>	the spit of those taken by divinity [(<i>to kandeatan</i>) ⁹⁴

The person in trance is healed, the possessed is treated, the person in divinity “spits”. Who, actually, are individuals named in these songs? Are they the same or different?

The myth explains the origin of the rite:

The story is told in Verses 726 to 743 of *passomba tedong*, performed at the *merok* ritual (Veen 1965: 142-145). It is said the first *maro* ritual took place in heaven to heal the child of the “Old God” *Puang Matua*. In the myth, *Datu Baine* “Woman Queen” (or *Banno bulaan*), a child of the great god, fell sick. A messenger was sent to fetch the divinity –*Indo' Belo Tumbang* “Mother Ornament of the People in Trance” (she who protects the *tumbang*)– to cure the child. She set out with her remedies, which are spat (*ma'burra*) over the sick [at the *maro* ritual, the sick are cured by the healer’s “spit”, endowed with a supernatural power as tried by fire and iron]. She left for the centre of the heavens to discuss with the *Puang Matua* (also called *Puang Bassi-Bassian* or *Puang Ambo-Amboan*), she chewed betel with him and then said: “Here we are with the medicine, in order to spit it out, but our innermost being is bewildered, the kernel of our inwardness is confused. It is as though we are going into an impenetrable forest, it as if the path we are taking is in thick undergrowth” (733-734). She then demanded that *Kambuno Langi* [first officiant *to minaa* in the superior world] be called to perform an expiatory rite before curing the patient herself. He mounted on the “iron house” (*banua bass*)

Tumbang. According to H. Nooy-Palm, as well, (1986: 130), *tumbang* designates a person of feminine sex. She bases her position on a verse of *gelong maro* reproduced by H. van der Veen (1979: 52-3, verse 43).

94. *Burra* ‘spit, spray, sprinkle’.

and broke off pieces of the leaf ribs of the sugar palm to count the number of transgressions committed (*rebongan didi*), then collected leaves of red cordyline (*tabang*) [*sapean tabang* is the synonym of the *maro* ritual]⁹⁵. The officiant made the offering before the House of Iron. Then the divinity cured the child, by spitting well-chewed leaves, red as blood.

On the one hand, this myth suggests the importance of the woman in the healing process (a feminine divinity provides and applies the remedy); on the other the role of blood is evoked metaphorically through the red cordyline plant, the place of mouth spraying and finally the erection of the great mast (*bate, bandera*). The words of the songs endlessly repeat that blood, red leaves and mouth spraying are used as remedies to regain a perfect body.

The *maro* is at once curative and prophylactic at the same time. If blood, leaves, and mouth spraying are present in this ritual as it is performed today, the myth says nothing about the trances also largely present. For three days, some individuals might enter into trance and perform demented acts, a behavior which led the Protestant Church to say:

“As far as the celebrations *ma’bugi*’ and *maro* are concerned the pagans believe that with savage dances, and the games and tortures of Satan they will gain health and strength. You know that isn’t true [...]. Flee from these evil rites” (Kobong *et al.* 1992: 143) [Translated from Indonesian].

Health and strength are, indeed, the two objectives sought through this type of trance and simulated madness.

What is the role of song in the trances? The first type of song is performed in a fragmented, jerky manner. It is named either “song for leaping” (*gelong unnondo*), “men’s leaping” (*nondo muane*), or “song of

95. This method of counting out is used when tallying up the number of transgressions committed by a sick person. The consequent atonement offering is determined by divination, by the splitting of reed stalks (Veen 1965: 144, note 738).

the divinities' arrival" (*gelong ma'pasae deata*). Performed with intense excitement to the sound of drums, and the cracking of plant whips, it arouses in certain participants (*i. e.*, the dancers) an extreme emotional state and leads them to "do the divinity" (*ma'deata*). The tempo of utterance does not vary; there is neither an acceleration in tempo nor any musical progression. Rather, the song consists of constant repetition of a simple melodic phrase shouted as loudly as possible, in addition to the leaping, which produces the "madness" of the women "in divinity"⁹⁶. The divinities, once descended into the body of the living, incite them to do exceptional things that corroborate their presence. This first song thus summons the divinities to assemble at the ceremonial site.

The second song takes place during the delirium of the trance. It is called the "women's song" (*gelong baine*) or "song of scarring" (*sampa-sampa to mantere*). It accompanies a healer's "fakir" acts as he cuts a part of his body. The song is supposed to help stop the bleeding⁹⁷. If it is performed badly, the blood cannot stop flowing. In fact, just like iron and the leaf of cordyline, the song offers a mean of purification. Central to the ritual, the song initiates transformations: the divinities arrive, the blades of sharp knives become blunt and harmless, those in trance return to reality, and blood stops flowing⁹⁸.

During the trances, the *gelong* song takes two forms –first agitated, then calm– which determine two types of trance (fig. @). The first is an induced-inspiration trance: the "musicked" women are possessed by the divinity but do not identify with it. The divinities descend to the ceremonial site through the persons in trance; the women do not give up their identity but set out on a journey (Nooy-Palm 1986: 138).

96. DVD / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of the Prophylactic Rituals / Music and trance of the *maro* ritual.

97. In allusion to the verse of Homer: "At once the dear sons of Autolykos, crowding round the wound of the irreproachable and divine Odysseus, dressed it with care and stopped the black blood with an incantation", *Odyssey*, XIX, verse 457.

98. See photos in DVD / The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of the *maro* ritual.

	FIRST TYPE OF TRANCE	SECOND TYPE OF TRANCE
TRANCE FUNCTION	Make the divinities descend	Prophylactic or curative (treating with blood and iron)
WHO GOES INTO A TRANCE?	At the sound of the men's singing, the women beat and mutilate themselves, fire-walk, act demented, and go into trance before returning to normal with other people's help while a group of men sing a staccato song while jumping. At the end, some men begin to hurt themselves with iron (Beginning of second type of trance)	One or two men ("provisional healers") pierce their forehead, tongue or stomach, drink mud, apply their blood to children, and carry the children on their shoulders. Meanwhile a chorus of women sing slowly and very gently. No demented crisis Fakir's tricks
HOW TO RETURN TO NORMAL?	The person in trance demands something: flute, drum...	The blood stops flowing
NAMES OF PERSONS IN TRANCE	<i>to tumbang, to malangi,</i> <i>to karondonan, to naala deata</i>	<i>to ma' deata</i>
VOLUNTARY?	Involuntary but defined trance	Voluntary trance
MUSIC		
SONG NAME	"Song of the coming of the divinities" <i>gelong ma'pasa'e deata</i>	"Account of the self-scarifier" <i>sampa'-sampa' to mantere</i>
COMMON NAME OF SONG	"Men's leap" <i>nondo muane</i>	Song of the women <i>gelong baine</i>
TEXTUAL CONTENTS	Divinities' arrival on site	Description of the journey and return
SINGERS	Men's chorus	Women's chorus (plus a few men)
DANCERS	Several revolving women with undone hair	
Dynamic	Song – staccato, rhythmic, lively, shouted	Slow, incantatory, and whispered song
MUSIC and TRANCE		
FUNCTION OF THE MUSIC	The music sung by the men hastens the women's crisis	The music sung by the women-soothes the flowing blood
TYPE OF TRANCE	Inspiration (or possession?) "Musicked" women	Communion, voyage "Musicked" officiant voluntary trance

I. COMPARISON OF THE RELATION BETWEEN MUSIC AND TRANCE
IN THE TWO TYPES OF TRANCE IN THE MARO RITUAL.

The second type presents an intermediary stage between possession and shamanic trance. The divinities descend and at the same time – in an inverse movement – those in trance set out on a journey. The “healer” masters his trance. Unlike shamanic trances, the weight does not rest mainly on the healer but on the women’s chorus (*i. e.*, on the group that does not enter into trance). Thus, it is neither a trance of possession nor a shamanic trance. Could it be what G. Rouget calls a “trance of communion”, a meeting between the divinity and the subject, a form of non identificatory trance?

The power of the utterances sung at the *maro* recalls those made in now extinct, the ritual *bugi*, the choral music of which requires the participation of the whole village⁹⁹. Based on the energy and strength of leaping, and on the projection of the voices, the *bugi*’ song also expresses a form of collective excitement aimed at repelling disorder, illness, or an invader. The vocal aesthetic is the same: lively, collective, staccato, powerful, and wild singing, and a rhythmic dynamic founded on the importance of breaths, jumps, and offbeats. In addition, an auditory illusion of barking is produced, linked to the stresses, the rhythm, the voices’ fairly deep tessitura, and the restricted ambitus¹⁰⁰. The musical phrase is built on eight beats, the rhythm is ternary, the declamation staccato, and the tempo spirited. Towards the end, the rhythm accelerates and the jumps intensify. The *maro* and *bugi*’ songs have the same ritual efficacy: the chanting of poems, taken from narrative matrices, provides a catalyst for trances that connect the living with the divine.

Do the musical structures have an influence on the ritual? It is interesting to note that the songs of the *maro* give particular importance to the number three: unlike the other repertoires, the melodies sung by the women are constructed on three-beat measures. The fact that most of the

99. Sound references available in DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun ritual / Songs of the trance rituals / Songs of the *Bugi*’ ritual.

100. DVD The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of the Prophylactic Rituals / Music and trance of the *maro* ritual / Dance Residues in Modern Times / The Off-beats.

themes are stressed every three beats recalls the importance of the triad and the number three in the *maro*: in its visible manifestations (such as the erection of ceremonial trident masts); in its poetical structures (the stanzas sung are often tercets); in its sound organisation (the melodies are built on three-beat musical structures); and in the characters' literary presentations (the *gelong maro* song presents triads of characters). The anthropologist D. Tsintjilonis (1997: 253) associates the number three with mobility, development, and imminence, whereas the number four is associated with fixity. Maybe in this way it is possible to see in the *maro* a transitional passage to the following rite, towards the shade's conversion into vital energy (*deata*)? The division of the two types of singing highlights, on the one hand, two different trances, and on the other, a clear division in gender roles. The songs are sung first by men and then by women, whereas the trances are experienced inversely, first by women and then by men. What does this inversion reveal? Why is it the woman who heals in the myth, while the ritual presents a man as healer?

In the *maro* the living give vital energy and blood, the very manifestation of life. They obtain the divinities' protection and neutrality after giving them what is most precious. The way in which the compensation expected for this gift relates to existence becomes understandable: the divinities must not inhibit life and are obliged to cause neither illness nor disorder. What is offered at the *maro* must be valid for the entire period to come, which will be prolonged until the following ritual. Vital energy is expended by the singers, by those in trance whipping themselves, and through blood. Here, it is not only a specialist officiant who undertakes, through the gift of blood, communication with the divinities, but indeed all the celebrants; each individual embodies the whole. Through their bodies, a collective current of energy is symbolically transmitted. The importance of every family's participation becomes clear: the ritual provides the only means of collective exchange with the divinities.

As in all great rituals, the sung word is the key element: the song summons the divinities and sends them back to where they came from.

The ritual succeeds thanks to its participants' common faith –their belief in the power of the daggers, cloths, cordyline leaves, ceremonial masts, songs, trances, and drums. It takes part in the community's fight against a disorder caused by some illness, whether real or imagined. By re-establishing the socio-cosmic order the ancestral society is consolidated and perpetuated. The *maro* songs and recitations are necessary to enable the different worlds –visible and invisible– to interrelate.

Music of the “pakorong” ritual

One prophylactic ritual, extremely rare, connects men and gods by means of organised sound. It is performed only in the southwest of the region¹⁰¹.

WEDNESDAY, 27 OCTOBER 1993.

MAKALE

I've been in Toraja country six months already. The officiant Tato' Dena' invites me to go with him to listen to *suling deata* “the flutes of the divinity”. Long day's march with the officiant and his son Hendra, who's returned from Bali after a period of religious training. We go to the *ma'puang* or *ma'pakorong*, which is held here every six or twelve years. Tato' Dena' takes his time. The rain's falling and delays our departure. We start the climb on foot at midday, towards Bekak, near Bera. An 8 km walk in the rain. I force myself to keep up. The bag is heavy; Hendra carries the megaphone. Our host's come to meet us at the little town. Walk at first on the mountain-side, the valley bottom and then a steep climb. Arrival at Bekak having traversed immense pools of mud. Night falling. It is six o'clock.

101. This ritual was the subject of a very detailed article written by Roxana Waterson (1995). Recordings are available, as well as the LP of Eric Crystal and the CD Rappoport 1995. By southwest I mean the regions of Saluputti and Bonggakaradeng south of Makale, in the region of Bua' Ke'pe'. The *ma'pakorong* used to be performed in the north as well (Rindin-gallo, Sesean), with the following musical instruments: jew's harp *karombi*, fiddle *geso'-geso'* and zither *tandilo*.

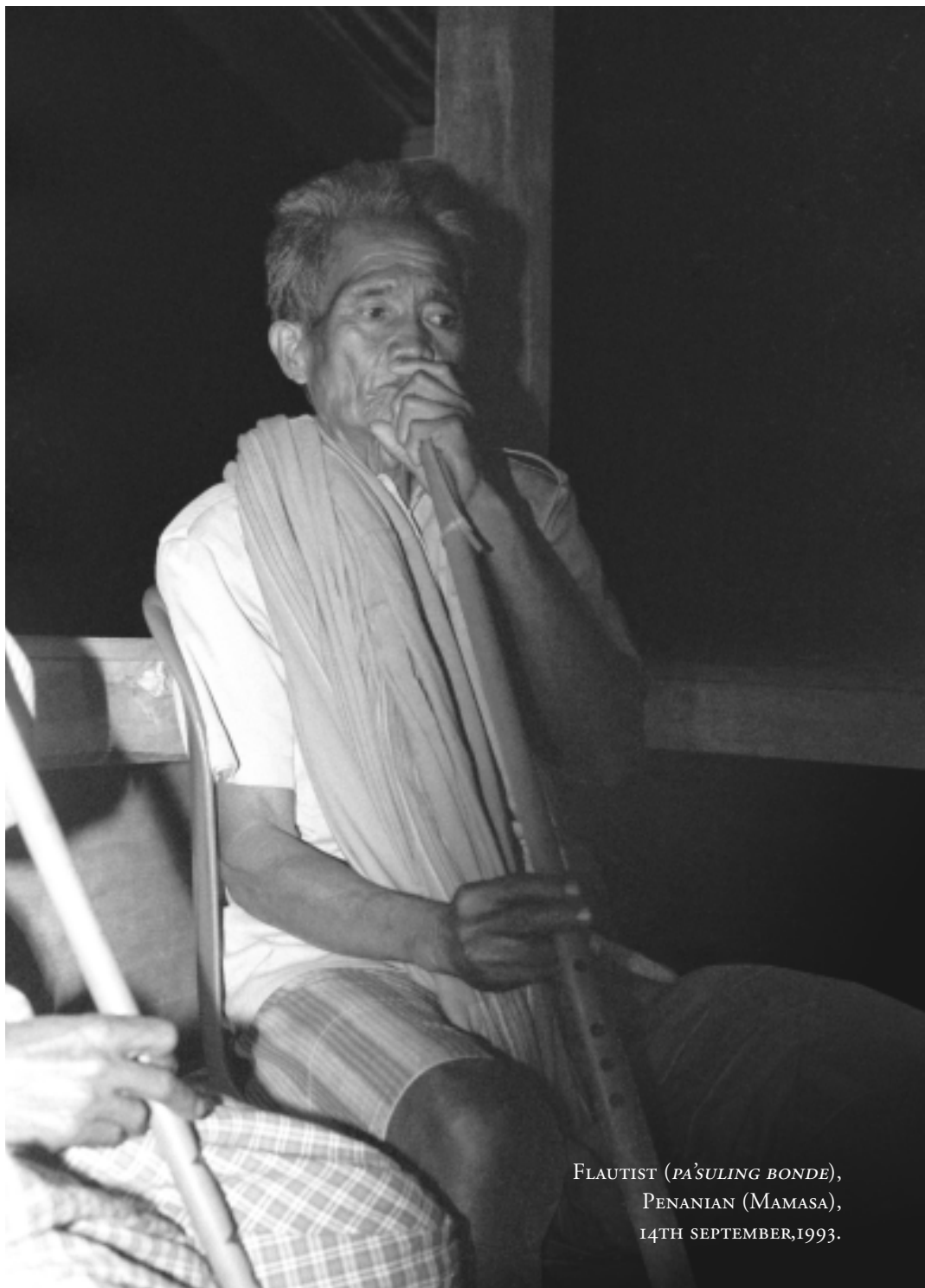
The place we arrive at is isolated and desolate, at a distance of four hours' walk along a road cars use only very rarely. Desolate, as there's only one house here, of Bugis type (on piles) and a small rice granary, unlike the rich villages in the centre and north of the country. This region has endured war with the Muslim neighbours to the south. The traditional houses with the roof curved towards the sky were burnt, I'm told, by the invading Bugis.

Still no one. We are received by humble and discreet hosts. Long discussion from 7 p.m. to midnight. Dinner served from ritual baskets (*rakki*) lined with *passakke* leaf (green leaves with red flowers) with woven stems, made for the offerings. The same are used in the rituals of trance (*maro* and *bugi*). They must be new for every ritual. Delicious rice. Small fish mixed with grated coconut. Our hosts tell us they are having to follow taboos: sexual abstinence, prohibition against eating peppers, meat (pig or buffalo), prohibition against eating outside the home, or work.

The ceremony begins towards midnight. To the east of the house, baskets for the offerings and new mats for the musicians are hung up. Seven groups of musicians take their positions on the ground. After long introductory speeches, the music begins. From midnight to five in the morning. Seven groups in shifts: flutes, fiddles, plucked lute, fiddles, flutes, flutes, flutes. And the cycle begins again. Four flutes, trios of fiddles, duo of plucked lutes. Ambience concentrated, reserved. Great silence of the listeners. The musicians don't smile. Some have come from afar – 10 km on foot in the mountains. The shifts are regulated: four turns from midnight to dawn, at the start, quick change over, after one or two titles, the group changes, but from the third turn, longer performance for each group. The music is strange, as is the atmosphere. It isn't festive at all. They call it "the game, the divinity's entertainment" (*paningoan Puang*)¹⁰².

This rite, 'Tato' Dena' tells me, consists of various offerings to the goddess Puang Maruru' (from *ruru* 'right, honest'). Divinity of

102. The whole recording can be consulted in DVD / Anthology / Songs of the East / Music of the *ma'pakorong* healing ritual.



FLAUTIST (*PA'SULING BONDE*),
PENANIAN (MAMASA),
14TH SEPTEMBER, 1993.

justice, she punishes the living by inflicting skin diseases on them. The rite is sometimes called *ma'pakande Puang Ruru'* ("have the divinity Ruru' eat") or *ma'pakorong* ("to make look like a heron"). It is linked to the smallpox epidemics that once affected children. The end of the epidemics goes back to the 1980s. If the ritual is not performed, dogs tear their skins and humans catch smallpox. The ritual is to appease the Divinity Ruru's anger with musical and animal offerings. The music must seduce the goddess and soothe the sick children's suffering by "enlivening them with little noises" (*ditalint-ingngi*) and sometimes cure them. In the south, the repertoire is called *passuling Puang* "the Goddess's flute" or *suling Datu Maruru'* "flutes of the Lady Maruru'".

THURSDAY, 28 OCTOBER 1993.

RANDAN BATU

It's the day to "make the goddess Ruru' eat" (*ma'pakande Puang Maruru'*). In the morning, before bringing the offerings, ceremony on the rice granary to the east. Gift of areca nut and betel leaf to the goddess. More than a hundred areca nuts are arranged in line on a ceremonial fabric *mawa*, laid on the rice granary. The officiant faces north. Next, the offerings are brought by eleven families still not Christian. Each family brings seven food offerings, 77 baskets, each filled with a rice cake with a hard-boiled egg and cleaned coconut on top, and sachets of boiled rice in braided coconut leaves (*katupa*) in the form of a chicken or buffalo.

Fourteen baskets are made, seven with a coconut with an egg on top and seven for the musicians and their divinities, with half a coconut. These baskets are on a floor of areca nuts. Each basket will be brought back to the house once consecrated (*didoaka*).

Each offering is laid on the "carpet" of areca nuts, cut or not. The families come a long distance across muddy paddy fields to bring their offerings. After the prayer, the families bring back the seven plates to the eleven respective families and eat the contents of the plates. Then return at noon to the valley.

Prepared months in advance¹⁰³, this ritual to prevent smallpox comprises three stages at one-month intervals. Music is present in the first two stages. On the eve, the musical offerings take place outside the house, from midnight to five in the morning. Fifteen to thirty days later, the second stage starts, known as *ma'pakorong* (“to make look like a heron”) or *manganta'* (“accompany”). Offerings of seven kinds of chicken are made for each child (called *anak dipakorong*) and for seven invisible entities (Waterson 1995: 88). The chickens are cooked without being cut up –just as in the *maro* ritual. During this second stage, the flautists and the fiddle players are invited again. The third stage, called *ma'roding*, is performed without music: the blood of a pig is painted on the children's faces –they are then called “the Divinity Maruru's children”. Throughout the ritual, numerous prohibitions have to be observed –prohibitions justified by the Divinity Ruru's foreign origin, associated with the Bugis and with Islam (Waterson 1995: 83).

Musically, the “flutes of the divinities” (*suling deata*) have pride of place, even if other instruments are present¹⁰⁴. In certain rituals, twenty flute quartets can play in turn. The seven groups are recompensed with the gift of chicken and rice. The preponderance of the number seven is not arbitrary: the number structures the whole ritual, since the offerings are made to seven divinities: thus, there are seven musical groups, seven kinds of chicken for offering, and seven offerings per family (i.e., seventy-seven baskets of offerings, with eleven families taking part in the ritual).

103. The Toraja have to procure the ritual ingredients (eggs and chickens) by going into each place with a bamboo fork (*dongga*), the sign their request is made for the rite *ma'pakorong*.

104. Other possible instruments: fiddles *geso'-geso'*, zither *tandilo*, stick zither *santung*, bamboo fork *dongga'* –a group of lutes *katapi* has even been added– imported from the Bugis country. The lute *katapi*, or *sudekan*, is a copy of the Bugis lute *kecapi*, with two strings tuned in an interval of a fourth. In their dictionary, Veen & Tammu (1972) describe the *katapi* as a three-stringed lute, played at certain celebrations, but the lutes I have seen and recorded were two-stringed. The Toraja musicians play Bugis tunes in Bugis language. These Bugis lutes have six finger posts and two strings (for the description of the lute *kecapi*, see Yampolsky 1997).

The quartets of flutes and trios of fiddles play alternately, following a very precise order, the aim being to distinguish one group's primacy (*umbawa ulunna* "take the head"). At the first (and second) turns, each group plays only a limited number of pieces; then, from the third; each can play more. Three pieces are compulsory: a base piece ("bone of the flutes" *buku' suling*), a piece in which the melodies alternate between two soloists ("alternating flutes" *suling ma'pasionda*), and a personal piece that must dazzle the following group (called "favourite air" from the Indonesian *lagu favorit*)¹⁰⁵.

The voices are organised in three ways –in unison, with drone, and in alternation (with one soloist succeeding another, using the same melodic phrase).

Three pieces are compulsory for each group: a basic piece ("flute bone" *buku' suling*), a piece in which the melodies alternate between two soloists ("alternating flute" *suling ma'pasionda*) and a personal piece "favorite air" from the Indonesian **lagu favorit*). For the third kind, each group tries to compete with the other, through music and through black magic also –the aim being for one group to appear clearly superior to the others (*umbawa ulunna* "take the head").

Some pieces are organised in pairs. The "fundamental repertoire" called "flute bone" (*buku' suling*) is made up of two groups of pieces: the "flute base" (*oto' suling*), formed of "four bones" (*a'pa' bukunna*) or four pieces, and the closure (*ma'passake*), also formed of "four bones". Each piece in the *oto' suling* has a corresponding piece in the *ma'passake*. These pieces are divided between the various groups of flutes. At each turn, each team plays two or three titles, but only the first has to belong to the fundamental repertoire (*buku' suling*). Each of the "bones" must in theory be announced from the first turn by each of the groups however, this is not always the case. If one piece is performed, it should be answered by its corresponding piece. Neither the performance nor the sequencing is fixed in advance.

¹⁰⁵. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of a Prophylactic Rite.

Other kind of pieces must respond to another (the flutes answer one another, the fiddles do the same). If certain pieces receive no “response”, then personal physical disorders may arise. Only equivalent groups (*i. e.*, of the same instruments) dialogue with each other by responding with suitable pieces. The flautists match seven pairs of pieces, shown and explained in the DVD. An interval of other pieces may separate the two pieces of a pair. For example, the “first flute bone” has the “second flute bone” as its match, though this will not be heard until 30 minutes later, after the fiddle and plucked-lute groups have played their pieces¹⁰⁶.

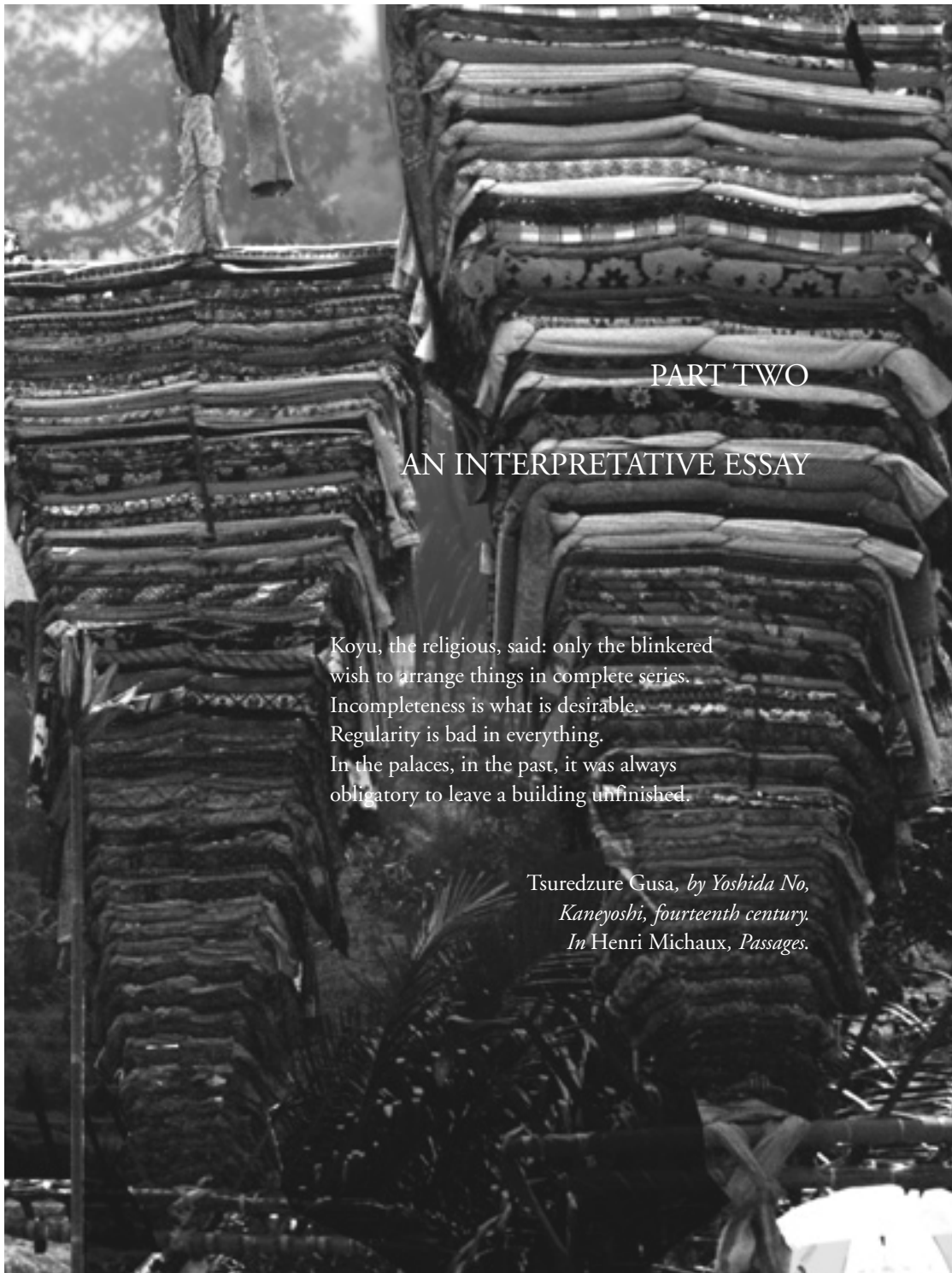
Knowledgeable flautists attribute a preeminent value to the pieces of the fundamental repertoire, for they are held to enhance ritual efficacy. In the past, the pieces were rigorously arranged; nowadays, however, new creations of Christian inspiration have been inserted between the important pieces, so that the responses have become harder to perceive. Many deplore the confusion in today’s performances which arises from the new generation of musicians being unaware of the importance of certain pieces. Nowadays, according to Ne’ Pollo (personal communication, 1996), a great disorder has replaced the old musical rules: the pieces are strung together chaotically and without pairs, and new pieces scramble the old order. Today’s young musicians, the Old Ones say, are very good technically but do not understand either the arrangement or the meaning of the pieces.

Just like the pieces of the fundamental repertoire, the pieces played alternately (*sikore-kore* “play alternately” or *sisonda* “alternate reciprocally”) function in pairs, in response (*bali*). The idea of pairing is founded on the principle of analogy: a pair is composed of pieces nearly identical in tempo, melodico-rhythmic form, and organisation of discourse.

106. See DVD / The Argument / Music of the East / Music of the Prophylactic Rituals / Instrumental Music of the *Pakorong* Ritual.

The songs of the *maro* ritual and the “flutes of the divinity” (*suling deata*) are part of the music of the rising sun. They are performed for a whole community –not just for a few important families. Here their function is not to praise nobles but to restore an order by preventing or eliminating sickness. In both cases, humans enter into communication with the divinities: in one case, the divinities are invited –by the voice in song– to descend to the ceremonial site, to enter the body of the possessed; in the other, the instrumental pieces are an offering to a particular divinity, but the divinity’s presence is not visible. In each instance, the sounds are a means to communicate with the invisible.





PART TWO

AN INTERPRETATIVE ESSAY

Koyu, the religious, said: only the blinkered
wish to arrange things in complete series.
Incompleteness is what is desirable.
Regularity is bad in everything.
In the palaces, in the past, it was always
obligatory to leave a building unfinished.

*Tsuredzure Gusa, by Yoshida No,
Kaneyoshi, fourteenth century.
In Henri Michaux, Passages.*



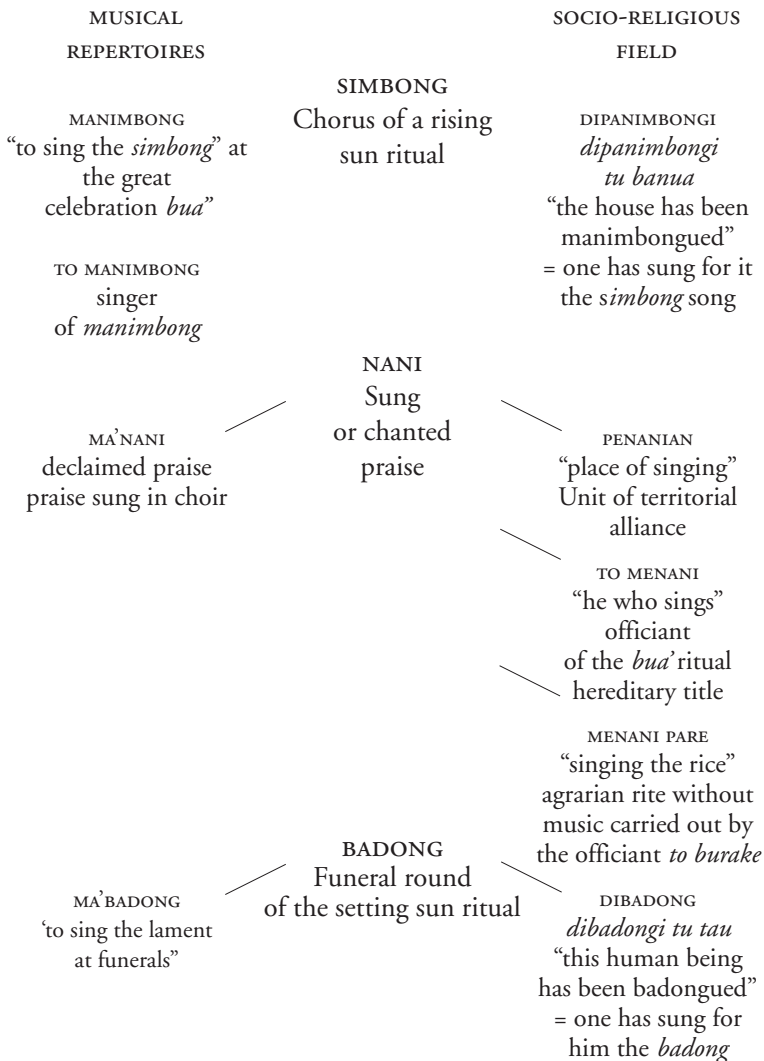
THREE OFFICIANTS DURING THE *MA'SINGGI'*,
AT THE *BUA' KASALLE* RITUAL, DERI, DECEMBER 1993.

PRAISING

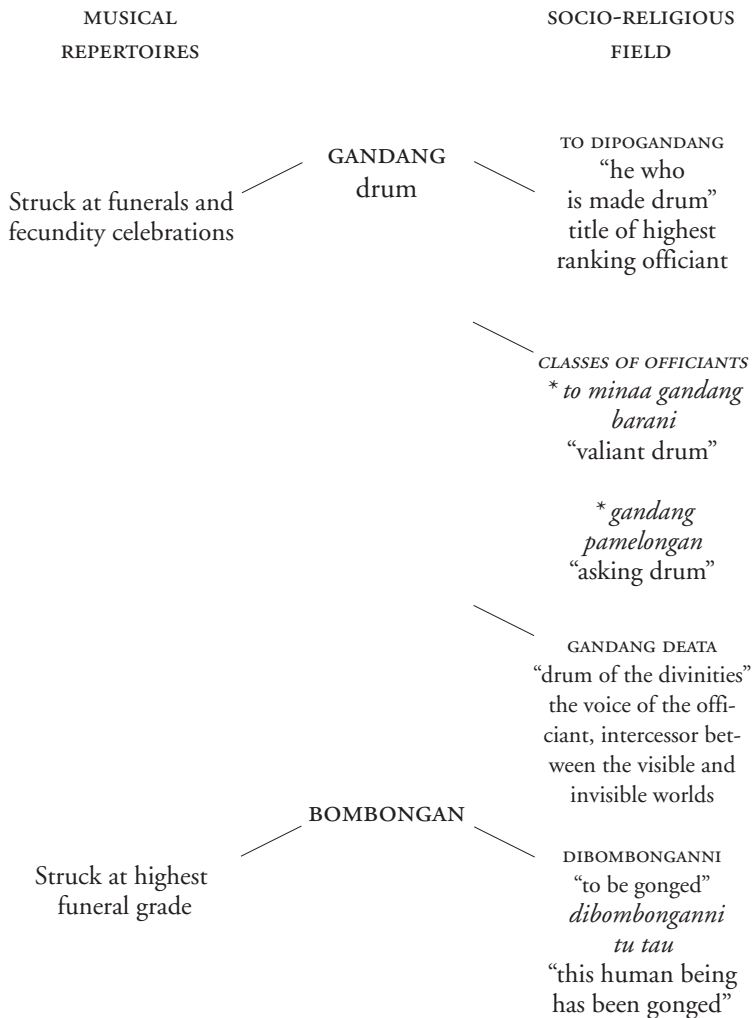
When the Toraja talk about music, it is in terms of efficacy. So, after singing the *simbong*, they say the house is “manimbongued” (*dipanimbongi tu banua*), the house is “praised, sung” (*dipenani'i*); after singing the *gelong*, they say it is “gelonged” (*digelongi tu banua*), that the village is “jumped” (*mangondo'i tondok*)¹⁰⁷. The nominal derivation underlines the sound's ritual efficacy. That the house is “manimbongued” is the sign of a trial, the sign of the song's effect on beings endowed with vital energy (fig. @). The house is transformed by the song; its new status is that of “celebrated house” –for it has acquired or maintained its superiority¹⁰⁸. For the Toraja, music is not just a simply ornament; it is a process that enables beings to be endowed with a new status. This parasynthetic derivation, which is also made from the names of musical instruments, entails a shift of meaning from the musical to the socio-religious. It manifests the dynamic role of the music: a veritable rite of passage, it vivifies and maintains the status of the houses; it allows the “shades” of the deceased to pass from the world of the dead to that of the divinities. This passage is realised by uttering the words –most often sung– required for proclaiming one's status. Music is one of the main-springs of this great enterprise of elevation.

107. *Mangondo'i tondok*: part of the *bugi'* celebration during which the inhabitants go round the village dancing wildly in the courtyard of every house to ask for a blessing (Crystal & Yamashita 1987: 54).

108. Nominal derivation is at work when it is applied to the names of rituals that become verbs in the past participle. It is said of a house that undergoes the greatest ritual of fecundity that it is *dibu'a'i* (“it has undergone the *bua'* ritual”; for the *merok*, *diperoki tu banua* (“the house has undergone the rite *merok*”) and for the *maro*, *dimaro'i tu banua* (“the house has undergone the rite *maro*”).



2. NOMINAL DERIVATION FROM REPERTOIRE.



3. NOMINAL DERIVATION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

This elevation is rooted in the social structure. Strongly hierarchic, made up of great families, Toraja society is organised in accordance with a scale of hereditary status, consisting of three or four levels (*tana*’ “boundary post”): nobles, commoners, and dependants. In the north, in the *tallu kalo’na* region, the nobles are commonly called “elder siblings” (*to makaka*) or “the rich” (*to sugi*) or “the great” (*to kapua*). A range of expressions exists for naming the various classes, and often the distinction is made between mineral and vegetable –gold designates the great nobles, iron the half-nobles and grass and breakable bamboo refer to the lower classes (Volkman 1985: 60).

As with many Austronesian peoples, status, an essential preoccupation for the Toraja, is maintained or promoted through life cycle rituals and marriages. In the great families, among whom reigns a strong sentiment of family membership, rank endogamy is constant. Status is expressed and reaffirmed through the quantity of animals sacrificed and the types of words declaimed. Just like the animal hecatombs, the words serve –in the greatest celebrations– the maintenance or elevation of status.

Versified or not, sung or not, poems are organised for nobility in two categories: words for the dead and words for the living. An accomplished noble is one who has completed his ritual career, who has carried out all the rites of the ritual ladder. Only then can it be asked: “Who can be compared to him? Who can reach his elevation?” (*Minda oya la susinna? La sipalin padaonna*).

The long poems are narratives. Only the officiants know them well, and, in the wake of Christianisation, the officiants have no successors. True guardians of the religious tradition, intermediaries between humans, spirits, and divinities, they preserve the memory of the ritual words and acts by hereditary transmission. Whether they officiate in the West or the East, or on both sides, they are called upon by the family or the village, and are remunerated accordingly, in meat, rice, or money. They are recognised by their head scarves, reserved for the men of knowledge. They are seconded in the transmission of the ritual words by the song masters, who oversee the musical direction of the singers.

Performed by one or two officiants before performing the sacrifices, songs, and dances, these poems act as preambles, like recitals and matrices for the songs. They are like recitals in the sense that, in these long poems, only the officiant chants the words, backed by the chorus, who sing the last lines of certain passages; and like matrices insofar as, for they form a stock of verses from which the singers choose. These poems have different names: *ossoran*, *samparan*, and *gelong*. They all have a narrative framework, doubtless constantly reorganised while uttered, following a set of metric and prosodic constraints. From the East to the West, certain motifs are common to the great narratives –especially all the verses concerning a being’s exemplary nature during his mortal life.

The rhetorical acts *ossoran* and *samparan* form founding narratives reserved for the nobility; some houses have no right to them. In these systems for reducing someone to a lower rank, what is significant is not the way in which status is automatically lowered but, rather, the ways in which status, in the various systems, is maintained or promoted. The anthropologist James Fox has shown that certain Austronesian cultures are centred on a single source. He has introduced the notion of “apical demotion” (reduction to a lower rank), which connotes an individual’s loss of status in relation to another in the upper class of the society. This system appears in societies with royalties –rulers, kings, chiefs, and lords. Fox explains:

“In such a system, only one line retains status; and within that line, in each generation, ultimately one individual. All other individuals are automatically demoted and thus lose status relative to a single apical point. Unless they can manage to reunite their line with that of the highest status line, they continue to decrease in status. Such a society has a single source of precedence with restricted modes of reckoning relationships to this source”¹⁰⁹.

109. In James Fox 1995: 223-224.

The two narratives, *ossoran badong* and *samparan simbong* (*Flori-legium toraja*, p.@ and p.@) establish an individual's exemplarity with a rhetoric of praise, a form of celebration implicitly demoting all those around.

In the case of funerals, how do the words act? The dimensions of a celebration match the deceased's status: the nobler the individual, the more splendid the celebration. The various types of funerals are distinguished by the number of buffaloes sacrificed, which determines the length and quality of the festivities. The quantity of sacrificed animals depends on the deceased's social rank and age. If twenty four buffaloes are sacrificed, the funeral ritual will last seven days and seven nights. If, because of the deceased's social or economic inferiority, no buffalo is sacrificed, the ritual lasts only one day and not even one night.

Thus, only the dead for whom a certain number of buffaloes have been sacrificed have the right to be honoured in song¹¹⁰. In the funerals, a family distinguishes itself and affirms its status not only by means of meat but also through singing and abundant music. Those who are celebrated without song are the foetuses, the stillborn, the children dead before acquiring their teeth, and the poor. If no buffalo is killed, the shade of the deceased will never be transformed into divinity.

“When only three or four pigs are killed, there's still no model (*sangka*) for him to be sung. He can be wept for but people won't get up to sing” (Officiant to *minaa* Tato' Dena', personal communication, 1993).

Only the highest nobility have the right to the greatest sung narrative. Not only are they sung, they also are hagiographed. The living are obliged to perform the *ossoran badong*¹¹¹, the narrative of a being who

110. In the regions of Saluputti (in the west) and Tallu lembangna (in the south), the seven types of funeral singers are only heard in the rituals lasting at least three nights and in which at least three buffaloes are sacrificed. In the region of Rindingallo (in the north), singing can take place once one buffalo is sacrificed.

111. The *ossoran badong* must not be confused with the *sampa' bating*, which only designates the preamble, the song's opening words.

–through pronouncing a eulogistic lamentation and the sacrifices made in his honour– will be raised to the rank of ancestor, an elevation analogous to beatification in the Christian world.

“In the region of *mādika*¹¹², with only two buffaloes, if one’s of noble rank, one has the right to the narrative (*diossoranni*). While even with ten buffaloes, if one’s middle class (*to biasa*), one isn’t praised with the words ‘golden chignon or horns’ (*tae’ dilokkon, ditanduk bulayan*). They’re only called old (*rimatua*)” (Daut Puppung, singing master, August 2001).

Praise, then, is exclusive –though there would seem to be nothing strange in that. Similarly, in the Occident, the great have a right to their biography. The difference is that, in the Torajan case, the biographic function is hagiographic, as well, consequently establishing a relation between words and religious efficacy.

The eulogy is stereotyped: all the dead of the aristocratic nobility have the right to a poem that is almost invariable, which tells of the accomplished man necessarily having fulfilled his ritual duty. The hagiographies are at least technically or superficially biographies in their literary form and, on the other hand –in terms of content– models of exemplarity (Mallison 1998). As with every hagiographic text, individuality counts for less than the general importance of the personage; the same episodes pass from one proper name to another. The model is more important than the proper name. The protagonist of the life described, a paragon of virtue, is depicted as a saint or a sacred person –in any case, born in heaven.

“Sainthood may be described as a religion’s acclamation of a person’s spiritual perfections, however this perfection is defined. Persons so acclaimed exemplify the religion’s highest values and thus function as models for others to follow... In other words, saints are recognised by their religions as both subjects for imitation and objects of veneration.

¹¹². *Mā dika* is a title of nobility, corresponding to one place (usually Saluputti). The whole region is divided according to different kinds of social stratification, with various names.

The tension between imitability and inimitability, between likeness to us and otherness from us, lies at the core of the saint's identity." (In Cohn 1987 "Sainthood", *Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade ed., pp. 1-6, vol. 13, New York, Macmillan and Free press).

The hagiographic narrative often comes close to the extraordinary and the marvellous, but only in as much as signs evoking divine power. It is characterised by the presence of small structured units, each referring to systems of representations; under the form of successive stages, it distinguishes the acts and power of an individual.

Through this narrative in song, a form of theology is affirmed. The first subject sung and recalled to the living is the divine descent of the nobility. The aristocratic nobility are born from the gods. Whereas biography aims to set out an evolution and therefore the differences of a life overtime, hagiography postulates that everything is given at the origin with a "vocation", with an "election" or, as in the lives of antiquity, an initial "ethos". The narrative is focused on a natural immutability. The end repeats the beginning. The adult saint is foreshadowed by the child, in which the posthumous effigy can already be recognised. The successive stages are essentially divided between a period of ordeals (solitary combats) and a period of glorification (public rituals) – a passage from the private to the public. The *ossoran badong* sacralises an established order. That is why today it is forbidden to pronounce it at Christian celebrations. This praise of the glorified deceased for his exemplary nature gives him the status of "superman" (*tau tongan* "true man"). For Christians, in contrast, all men are equal before God and only God can, according to the Church, be praised and taken as a model (Rappoport 2004b: 393).

In the *ossoran badong*, sung in a round dance, and more generally, in all Toraja culture, words carry a tremendous significance. Words alone have the power to distinguish, to elevate or to debase. The melodies do not distinguish the social classes, since the same melodies can be used for the noble and the less noble.

The importance of words seems even stronger to me in the rituals of the East, which have the purpose of inducing the vital energy, lost through death, to return. Most of the words are uttered during the *bua' kasalle*, the highest celebration of the East. The synonyms for praise used for these celebrations are numerous, and include: *gente'*, *nani*, *tendeng*, *singgi'*, *karombian*, *sode-sode*, *lolloan*, *somba*—more than eight distinct terms evoking in various ways the same idea of elevation through words. The praise is not exclusively human; the buffalo also has the right to its panegyric. The buffalo is said to be “celebrated” just before being slaughtered. *Somba*, which mainly means to “purify” designates the fact of being praised, celebrated by pronouncing the animal’s story (Veen 1965, Veen & Tammu 1972). For the Toraja, speech—and thus songs as well—seems to be an act of purification before the sacrifices, and a celebration of greatness and of social promotion.

In the *bua' kasalle*, praises are addressed to humans and divinities who are insistently implored through song to restore the general vital energy (*sumanga'*), prosperity, and fecundity¹¹³.

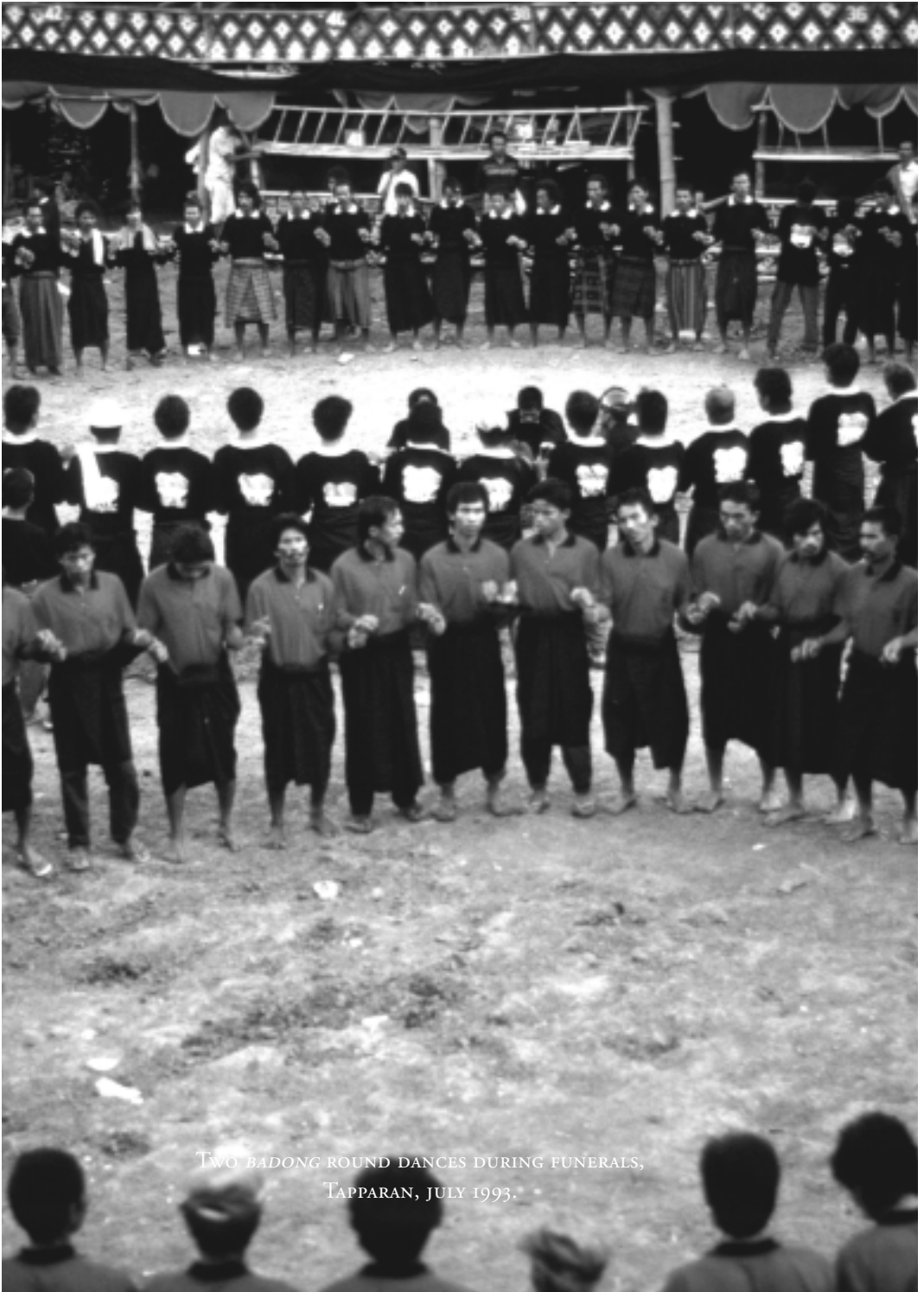
Sumanga' comes from the Austronesian *sunga'*, meaning “vital force”, “spirit”, and “energy”. Unlike in Christian teachings, the *sumanga'* is a favour, a blessing, a benefit, a supernatural aid coming not only from above but also from below. *Sumanga'* has the double nature of an impersonal force, the augmentation of which is synonymous with prosperity and the diminution with misfortune, and of an individual soul, whose presence assures life and departure causes ruin (C. Pelras, personal communication). In an article exclusively devoted to this notion, the anthropologist D. Tsintilonis, exploring the meaning of the concept, shows that for the Toraja two sources of vitality exist: *deata* (“life spirit”) related to the personal physical body and *sumanga'* (“life force”), more general, concerning every vital form¹¹⁴.

113. See DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / *Simbong* and *Nani* choruses.

114. “*Deata* is nothing more than embodied (that is, structured through joints and navels) *sumanga'*” (Tsintilonis 1999: 622).

This energy *sumanga'* is what the headhunters sought through capturing their trophies. Among the neighbours from Pitu Ulunna Salu –at the border between the Toraja and Mandar languages– the song *sumengo* evokes this search for energy through the ritual of headhunting *pangngae* (George 1996:119). Until the arrival of Dutch colonists in 1906, the Toraja Sa'dan were headhunters too. The officiant Salombe' from Baruppu' told me how, when the headhunters came home a rite was performed. During this rite, *bua' tammuan allo* (“*bua'*” meeting the sun”), the *nani* song was sung –by women only, singers of “praises”, their heads wreathed with a band of human hair, parrot feathers, and specks of gold.

Headhunting (*aluk mangaung*) took place, in certain regions, in the interim between the funeral and the rituals of the East. According to D. Tsintjilonis (2000a: 37), to transform the spirit of the dead first into ancestor and then into “life spirit”, rites for the ancestors had to be performed after the funeral. Through the funeral, the “shade” was progressively separated from the body, then guided downstream to the village of the dead. Meanwhile, the body was entombed. Then the “shade” became old and could attain ancestor status by winning through to the west of heaven. By nourishing it, the living hoped to gain their ancestors' protection and collaboration. A human head was then offered during the purification rituals that allowed the turn to the right. Having reopened the coffins and fed the ancestors (*ma'nene'* “to go to the grandparents, the forebears”), the living could facilitate the shade's transformation into ancestor through a series of sacrifices, including the purification of the human head. The skull was then reused during the greatest celebration of the East, when it was hoisted on the mast *bate lepong*. Today, no reminder of this use of the human head exists, even if certain great nobles willingly exhibit skulls in their houses. Only the call for vital energy persists in the words of the songs, nowadays put on stage.



TWO BADONG ROUND DANCES DURING FUNERALS,
TAPPARAN, JULY 1993.

Praise is just as structured in the *bua' kasalle* as in the *rapasan* ritual. First of all, the sponsoring nobility is exalted with the panegyric (*sam-paran simbong*). As the story of a model life, the words attest to the same value system as the funeral hagiography (see *Florilegium Toraja*, p.@). During the second celebration (*barru'i bua'*), two days are devoted to declaiming exceptionally long and elaborate praises. The officiants declaim words of blessing (*singgi'*), personalised for their addressee, for several hours from the top of their platform. A detailed analysis of these words is needed. From the examples translated¹¹⁵, they summon safety, prosperity, purification, and harmony both for the particular family (*rapu*) as well as the entire locality.

From the West to the East, the words are an address both to the invisible (the deceased's shade and the divinities) and to the visible (the celebration's sponsor, his house, the guests, and the families). The words are an injunction. If the music –in this dramaturgy built for the living, the dead and the gods, in accordance with a rigorous socio-religious order– is indeed a way to display wealth, it can be considered as an aid for passing from one world to the next, from the visible to the invisible.

115. See DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Little *Singgi'* Eulogy.

 BEING TOGETHER

Ways of singing and playing music reveal ways of interacting. Attacks, symbolic killings, partnerships, dual reciprocity, interdependence, and expertise, are many features that reflect a way of being together by being against, or of being together by being with.

ON POLYMUSICS

FIELD NOTEBOOK. December 1993

Bittuang, chaotic road. A Catholic *bua'* celebration, I'm told. I see candles, crucifixes, and a priest together with a meat tree and numerous decorative elements for a traditional *bua'* ritual. In the afternoon three great choruses of men and two of women from distant villages sing simultaneously and without coordination in the courtyard. Each sings a different song but of identical form (a drone embroidered by a solo voice). Till nightfall the songs of men and women resonate in several parts of the courtyard. Incredible density of this sound mixture invading the whole space. They're all dressed up in their best costumes. From time to time a soloist comes out from the group and starts a declamation facing a bank of nobles. He improvises. The audience are in raptures. Then, till midnight, male groups sing in turns.

In the great Toraja celebrations, several kinds of music can be played side by side but separately¹¹⁶. While they are not at all rhythmically coordinated, they are still performed simultaneously: they are juxtaposed. This juxtaposition is sustained and intentional. These practices

¹¹⁶. This passage repeats the contents of a paper already published in *L'Homme*, Rappoport 1999.

are also common among the neighbours of Salu Mambi (George 1996: 211). The musical resonance is particularly dense – a density caused not by an abundance of sounds different in nature but by sounds of the same nature vibrating together. The sound ambience is marbled; the sonorities are thick.

The juxtaposition of different music is recurrent in most of the great rituals, from both the West and the East. At the great funerals, more than six choruses of dancers can dance and sing side by side and simultaneously, at the same time as the vigil choruses. The same goes for the choruses of the *bua' kasalle* in the East, and the superposition of sounds is also characteristic of the *maro* ritual, where the officiants' songs accompany several groups of drummers.

The sound resulting from these different polymusics is different each time: it can be very homogeneous or extremely heterogeneous, depending on how close the musical timbres and fluxes are¹¹⁷.

The meanings of these juxtapositions are just as varied. The greater the number of choruses, the grander the celebration, and the more the family's status is enhanced. A great celebration without a chorus would be inconceivable; the celebration would be considered a failure and its efficacy thereby compromised, if not nullified. So this assemblage of different groups at the same place and time is a functional, rather than aesthetic, arrangement forming a conjunction with the other offerings. As in Bali, "the arrangement of symbolic expressions [...] corresponds to a search less for aesthetic harmony than for the magic efficacy of a combination of offerings" (Basset 1995: 103). The sound volume resulting from these polymusics is a manifestation of social prestige: it aims to satisfy the guests and to fix the family's power in the social hierarchy through the magnificence of the event. For the greater the number of "those sharing grief through singing", the more the family exhibits its power in the eyes of other regions and families. For the relations by marriage, the polymusic means the ability to bring

117. See DVD / The Argument / Musical Analysis / Polymusics.

together an abundance of musical offerings from different localities. The primary purpose of Toraja ritual celebrations –to guarantee the comfort of the deceased’s soul– is thus often supplanted by the political purpose of social promotion –the acquisition of prestige and status by the prodigious distribution of rice, meat, and music to the other families and neighbouring villages.

From the singers’ point of view, the superposition of the groups is not itself a desired end. It results from their refusal to mix. There are times when they could in fact sing together, since some songs are known throughout the Toraja country; but they do not do so, except at the important ritual stages, to mark their unity during the displacement of the deceased’s body. Gathered in the same place, the choruses sing simultaneously but separately. Their differences are expressed by their origins, which are indicated specifically by the colour of the clothing provided by the sponsoring family in exchange for their services. At the great celebrations, jealousy and competition are rife between groups of singers¹¹⁸. Their relations are conflictual, if we can believe the stories of witchcraft (called *rasun* “poison, venom, curse”), practised (or perhaps simply feared) both in the badong and the simbong. In certain places, every badong circle is guarded by several persons sitting in the centre to fend off evil intentions. These men are called “those who maintain the rear” (*pa’sande boko*), as others might want to sabotage a rival group’s performance¹¹⁹. “If no one sits in the centre, it’s less joyful, less exciting”, a singer told me.

118. One valley can be jealous of another ten kilometres away. But in general, disparaging judgments arise, above all, between regions further than about thirty kilometres. When I make a singer listen to a piece of *badong* performed outside his region, his reactions are most often negative. Some singers of the north (Pangngala’) find the region of Sillanan’s *badong* “sleepy” and “boring”. In terms of aesthetic judgments, I have rarely found a positive reaction to another group’s performance of a song –except for the performance of the *dondi*’ of Pangngala’, recognised by one and all as a model.

119 See Photo DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / The *badong* round dance / The different roles in the *badong*.

Every chorus leader needs his amulets to protect him. Thus, Ne' Dekke never leaves without his mixture of wild herbs, known only to him; though never harmed by any spell himself, he says he has seen a good many chorus leaders become suddenly incapable of “returning” the vowel in the song, fall brutally on their back, and start vomiting. Once, he tells, one arrived at the funeral with rattan tied round his head to show he was a song master. Stricken by a spell cast on him by another group, his tongue came out of his mouth and he collapsed with his tongue dangling; he was taken home at once and died.

Whilst black magic is widespread in the whole Toraja country, it only concerns certain repertoires, in the musical field. If this sorcery is exclusive to structured formations, it is probably because the great choruses and groups of flautists are the expressions of local identities. The groups are made up of people all from the same place; they comprise chiefs, assistants and a troop in a hierarchical relationship. They affirm an idea of prestige, competition, and power. Everyone wants the quality of his singing to be recognised as better than that of the others. On the contrary, the spirit of competition or of rivalry is absent from the choruses *dondi'* and *serang mundan*, which are not formally structured and allow relative mixing of families. *Badong* and *simbong*, on the other hand, are “territorialised” – each group has its own leaders, its protectors from evil spells, and its own way of singing. The polymusic is, therefore, the result of regional units simultaneously expressing themselves¹²⁰. So, just like birds singing to demarcate their territory, the local Toraja groups assert their identity through singing. The two great Toraja repertoires, in their closed form, define a logic of identity by rejecting otherness.

¹²⁰ “Doubtless, there is here less an intentional superposition than an indifference to letting things be superposed which do not overlap musically, but which serve as signs of identity or flags in sound for human groups. (...) Everything seems to let one suppose the first ‘polyphonies’ were produced between masses, each corresponding to a social unit” (Schaeffner [1936] 1968: 322).

The rivalry between the groups is paradoxical: whilst ritual gathers them together, at the same time it displays their separation. In fact, the villages gathered together by the same event enact at the same time a form of invisible and symbolic warfare with black magic attacks and ripostes. Through this juxtaposition, an agonistic relationship crystallises between contiguous territorial communities. The simultaneous interplay of connections and rivalries allows the music to transport a system of segmentation into the symbolic sphere, and dramatises the process of constructing units of local identity. Toraja ritual unites a double nature inside itself: a differentiated and an undifferentiated world. This is translated on the acoustic level by the juxtaposition of different repertoires and different groups, and, at the same time, by a sound synthesis of all the repertoires and groups which reveals –both sensorially and intellectually– either the groups’ differences or the achievement of a macro-unity expressing the festive animation.

Once again, a surprising analogy can be seen between music and meat. On the one hand, just like performing songs, killing buffaloes is subject to witchcraft –spells being cast to stop the animals from dying straightaway, as a slow death agony is a sign of malediction. On the other, in both cases, the same circulation process for the offering is enacted. Several donors present meat and songs to their addressees (the deceased, the ancestors, and the living). While sharing between the living is carefully codified, both for meat and music, the portion offered to the invisible is more difficult to perceive. In any case, the polymusic of the rituals, just like the accumulation of slaughtered buffaloes, could be explained by the need of the living to provide the deceased and their ancestors with the greatest possible number of offerings, altogether and at the same time. Juxtaposition, heaping up, and saturation nourish the divinities.

These ways of singing warrant a few observations. The “private” or family celebrations bring together the participants through singing according to contrary principles: a practice of exclusion, mustering several kinds of music of the same nature in the same space and at the



*Les buffles sont tirés
les porcs menés sur des litières
arrivent à la rigole*



*Deux fois le village a été rempli
trois fois il a débordé
le grand champ entièrement comble*



*Mille navires partent ensemble
trois cents démarrent en même temps
mille avancent simultanément*



SATURER pour
NOURRIR

same time, producing a polymusic that manifests distinct local identities; and a practice of inclusion, embracing and unifying individuals of diverse origins singing together, thereby manifesting a single identity, a sign of being part of a large group and no longer of a particular village. These two practices can occur at the same time. For example, in funerals, the great rounds *badong* are exclusive, while the choruses *dondi'* are inclusive. In the healing ritual *maro*—combining the double aim of purifying the village and of turning around the shade of the deceased—each mast, separately honoured in song, through the exhibition of the family goods hanging from it, symbolically represents a stem family. The masts are sung to individually—the polymusic lets separate identities be seen—whilst the trance songs, inclusive, are practised in the centre of the collective field, not by one house alone but by the whole community.

FROM OFFICIANTS TO SINGERS, A KNOWLEDGE SHARED

Among the Toraja, every ritual act, every sacrifice is preceded by “ritual” words, of poetic essence. The ritual *aluk* is always associated with the speech *bisara*. Singing is only one of the ways to utter a single set of words as part of the ritual. When these words are not versified they are said by one man alone, and when they are, they are then declaimed and/or sung by one or more persons. The knowledge of these words is divided between the officiants (*to minaa*) and the song masters (*indo' badong, indo' simbong, indo' gelong*). How does the link operate between the knowledge of the former, who are perfectly familiar with the verses, and that of the latter, who are the masters of its enunciation? How is the religious knowledge expressed by the singers?

In the past, all the words were chanted by the officiant, then repeated by a chorus led by the song master (*indo'*). Nowadays, only certain parts of the narrative poems are sung, and often in great disorder, so that each song is broken up at random into disjointed stanzas following the choices

of the leaders. The latter connect the officiants to the singers. They are the directors. For example, at first recited by one or two officiants, the hagiography is then sung in parts by the chorus, who repeat the last verse of some of the officiant's stanzas. Thus, when sung the hagiography is fragmentary. The poem is rarely sung in its entirety because the music considerably slows down the way it is expressed: one verse takes four minutes to sing, and an *ossoran badong* narrative can comprise five hundred to one thousand octosyllables, such as the one I collected in 1993 (see *Florilegium* p.@). In the celebrations of the East, the officiants also direct the way in which the words are expressed.

So the knowledge is shared: some master poetic, and others, musical knowledge. During the ritual, this oral expression of knowledge is performed in alternation. The religious words –pronounced by a few– always precede the words that are sung. The song springs out of the religious matrix only to free itself from it by deforming the words in countless ways. If the officiants chant, the singers sing as though the words had to be shaken or danced to in order to be really efficacious and, above all, shared and lived collectively. Singing, reserved for collective expression, is the unique means of oral expression for a large group.

Transmission from the officiants to the song masters used to be effected through permanent interaction and, above all, a regular presence at the rituals. This is not the case today, as the ritual masters are no longer invited to the celebrations.

THE VOICE OF THE OFFICIANTS

Nowadays, the Toraja make little use of instruments: out of twenty-four instruments I have listed, only eight are still used¹²¹. Different instruments are used in different rituals: some are exclusive to funerals, such as the gong and the rice mortar, and others, such as the fork

121. See DVD / The Argument / Musical Instruments.

and the jew's harp, to prophylactic rites. Paradoxically, in spite of this material absence, a singular extension of musical instruments exists in the words of the songs, where the officiants are always designated by names of instruments. At the beginning of the *gelong maro*, the officiants introduce themselves –for more than one hundred verses– with the names of instruments:

<i>Lembe-lembe kanni gandang leaka kanni bombongan</i>	We, negligent drums we, forgetful gongs ¹²²
<i>Kami gandang to Sesean bombonganna Lindo Tau santungna to Batu Busa</i>	We, drums of Sesean gongs of the Human Face ¹²³ zithers of the White Stone
<i>Kami gandangna to Ka'do bombonganna to Sarambu santungna bamba to Limbong</i>	We, drums of Ka'do gongs of the Waterfall zithers of Limbong
<i>Kami gandangna karau bombongan to siannanan santung tang dipelalanni</i>	We, the young drums jackfruits we, the six gongs the unlooked for zithers ¹²⁴
<i>Kami gandangna te tondok bombonganna te pangleon santungna sa'de banua</i>	We, drums of this village gongs of this hamlet zithers beside the house [...]

Song of the Encounter, (*Gelong maro*,
Gelong Unnala Lalan), *maro* ritual, 1993

Here, the triad “drum, gong, zither” is reiterated in series. The instruments, personified, are defined by places indicating the officiants' origin. Furthermore, the officiants are called to their task and invited to officiate in a dream:

122. The officiants admit their imperfections by criticising themselves –a good *to minaa* never forgets nor neglects any verse.

123. *Lindo Tau* (“Face of Man”) is a synonym of Sesean, name of place where divinities are supposed to live.

124. Not invited to the celebration by the family, they appear spontaneously.

*Sikita tindona' gandang
sipanggimpina' bombongan
sipotau-tau anna'*

*Mamma' rakanni saoki
matindokan banuangki*

*Untayan tindo kaboro'
sola mamma' rua dadi*

*Kendekkan naruang tindo
natundan kalo kamammaran
ilayan batunna bongi*

Nakua kadanna Rara'

*Eka gandang eka santung
ma'dinko dilando lalanni
dipa'luulu karuenni*

*Make millik moko gandang
palimbangunko bombongan*

*Rampo ma'toratu-ratui
dao bangunan banua*

In dream, I see the drum
in my dreams, I meet the gong
we are our own

We sleep turning over
we dream in our homes

Waiting for a splendid dream
while sleeping quite quietly

we are woken by the dream
made to get up by dreams
in the middle of the night¹²⁵

The Gold Necklace says¹²⁶:

Hey drum! hey zither!
can you take the road?
can you come this evening?

Go, get up drum!
stand up the gong!

They arrive in hundreds
on top of the house

*Gelong Unnala Lalan, ritual maro,
collected in 1993*

The dreams bring two things: the encounter with the instrument, and the announcement of the invitation to officiate. Why choose the metaphor of instruments? Because the officiants are the ones who speak, who are listened to, and who are valued for their sounds, words, and speech:

125. Literally: the "night stone".

126. Golden Necklace designates a being of noble rank.

<i>Unnampui gandang la'bi'</i> <i>bombongan kasodeanna</i> <i>santung kamasuliranna</i>	Choose a drum above all a very beautiful gong a very dear zither
<i>Anna la den la susimmu</i>	There's none like you
<i>Anna maleso mu rangi</i> <i>tilanta' lan talinganmu</i> <i>lele lan pa'perangimmu</i>	So that you listen clearly more precise in your ears more piercing in your listening

Tendeng pare ("Praise of rice"),
maro ritual, 1993

The officiant is almost always named after the drum *gandang*; he is "he who is made drum" (*to dipogandang*). The other names of instruments (gong *bombongan*, flute *suling bulo*, or zithers *santung* and *tandilo*¹²⁷) are, according to Lumbaa, all synonyms for drum. Only someone who has dreamed of carrying a drum, a gong, or a flute can become "the one who knows" (*to minaa*). Never at a loss for words, he "has a drum hanging between the jaws". The drum is the metaphor for a sonorous voice that carries over long distances. In certain verses, the "divinities' drum", nature herself, sings:

<i>Sarambu indo'na simbong</i> <i>darra' tipasengo-sengo</i> <i>gandang deata mo le</i>	The waterfall is source of the song the rapids sing constantly it's the divinities' drum
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Simbong, bua' kasalle ritual

Elsewhere, the hanging drum allows the link with the divinities¹²⁸:

<i>Gandang deata kitoke'</i> <i>karongan kianggini</i>	Drum of divinities we hang little drum we air
---	--

127. *Tandilo* designates a tubular bamboo zither.

128. Among the Wana, a population in the centre of Sulawesi, the sessions take place to the sound of gongs and drum. They are called *moganda* ("drum") or *momago* ("gong") or *mowalia moganda* ("spirit of the drum"). Gérard Nougarol, personal communication, 2003.

*Tang kidedek anna noni
anna rumangga rumiak
anna tipasengo-sengo*

We do not strike it and it resounds
and sounds intensely
and sings without ceasing

From *massampa* pronounced at the *bua' kasalle*, 1993

The attribute “drum” lends its name to other expressions, as well¹²⁹. That the drum and, sometimes, the gong are intercessors between men and gods is confirmed in the thought of many Austronesian peoples, who hold them to be the vehicles carrying the singer’s voice towards the spirits of the higher world¹³⁰. As the voice of divinities, the drum enables healing to take place –hence its importance in the songs, in the prophylactic ritual *maro*, and in the *bua' kasalle*¹³¹. From the Philippines, passing through Borneo, as far as Sumatra and Java, gongs and drums are the most widespread instruments. But, strangely, the gong-playing tradition –so present in Borneo– is rare in Sulawesi. Among the Toraja, the gong, with one exception, is used not as a musical instrument but as an attribute of nobility.

The officiant possesses other sonorous attributes, such as pellet bells (*giring-giring*), and clapper bells (*bangkula'*), mentioned recurrently:

*Giring-giring kupadalo
bangkula' kuparinai
santung ummatai lalan*

The pellet bells precede me
the clapper bell goes ahead of me
the zither opens the road

129. “He who drums” (*To ma' gandang*) is the ritual expert, he who possesses an important power, who comes not to beat the drum but to perform the rituals at the side of the officiant *burake*. “The Asking Drum” (*Gandang Pamelongan*) is either the nickname given the officiant *burake* who keeps asking for this and that in the *bua'* celebration, or the name given to him who must obey the *burake*, to the assistant commanded by the officiants at the celebration *bua'*. If the *burake* needs to cut a chicken’s throat for an offering, he sends for the “Asking Drum” to bring him a chicken and a banana leaf.

130. At Kodi, in the west of Sumba, Janet Hoskins underlines the journey of the drum rhythms through the six terrestrial and the seven celestial layers (Fox ed. 1988: 17). The couple gong-drum is also present among the Bugis (Hamonic 1987: 104).

131. Sound references in: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bua' kasalle* ritual / Drums of the *bua'* ritual.

*Giring-giring kipadolo
lale' ummatai lalan
tinti kanan kairingki
[...]*

The pellet bells go ahead of us
the laughs open the route
on our right and our left

*Giring-giring ma'pasugi'
karente mapa lellua
lale' ma'pakasea-sea
[...]*

The pellet bells make wealthy
the vibrations raise
the laughs go up

*Giring-giring ma'patumbang
karente mamalangi'
lale' mapasae padang*

The pellet bells make the trancers
the vibrations make the sky people
the laughs make come into the field

From *gelong maro*,
collected at Torea in 1993

Drum, gong, zither, flute, clapper bell, and pellet bell –so many instruments incarnating the one who is listened to, the one who knows, the officiant intercessor between the world of the living and that of the gods. The symbolic power granted to musical instruments no longer reflects musical practice.

RECIPROCITY

In Toraja, reciprocity is expressed by the prefix *si-*, which is used to designate numerous ritual games of confrontation (cockfights, *sisauung*, and kick fighting, *sisemba*, among others) but also marriage (*sipobaine* or *sibali*). In the same way, musically, returning the word is a founding principle of the repertoires *badong*, *simbong*, *dondi'*, *serang mundan*, and *retteng*. In the antiphonal *badong*, the words are sent back and forth within the same chorus, like a game of Ping-Pong with two or four players (*badong sibali-bali* "in response"), so as to reconstitute the complete verse. In the other repertoires, the antiphonal way of returning stanzas (*sisengo*, *siretteng*, *sisimbong*, *sidondi'*) is indicated by the same

prefix. For example, *sidondi'* designates the alternation of stanzas between two *dondi'* choruses in the same space. *Sisimbong* designates the alternation of *simbong* groups singing in the courtyard. At Mamasa, the *simbong* is sung alternately by two choruses (one of men and the other of women) facing each other and exchanging octosyllabic quatrains¹³². *Sikore* names the way flutists, in *suling deata*, take turns as they play. In these musical games there is an exchange of verses and sounds between persons of the same age. The point of the games is to make the other incapable of answering, just like cockfighting, so highly prized by the Toraja. In this musical tennis match, competition and rivalry are *de rigueur*—a rivalry which is expressed, as has been seen, in the way the groups hex one another. Responding brings into play principles of reciprocity, of alternation and opposition between groups, which enhance each community's sense of identity.

In certain repertoires, the exchange is tied to the content of the words. In the *dondi'*, the paired couplets are sent back or completed from one group to the other (*sisonda* “alternate reciprocally”). A group of singers sings a quatrain (two couplets), then a second group—or the same one—responds with a quatrain expressing the same idea or prolonging it (*sidondi'*). Each of the lines of the two quatrains is uttered with the same musical pattern; so music is not always pertinent for defining a pair. Semantic exchange is found as much in the *dondi'* as in the recited quatrains *londe*, *badong*, and *simbong*.

<i>Damu lamban-lamban lian</i>	Don't cross the river
<i>kemalutu uai salu</i>	if the water is muddy
<i>Lantangko pandin tatorro</i>	Go into the shelter, friend,
	[so we stay in
<i>tamale karuen ma'dondi</i>	let us go up singing <i>dondi'</i>
	[in the afternoon

132. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Songs of the great *bu'a kasalle* ritual / *Simbong* from Mamasa.

<i>Salu matumba to diong</i>	What's that river down there
<i>anna lolong lurekke</i>	that flows upstream?
<i>Lantangko pandin ta'torro</i>	Go into the shelter, friend,
	[so we stay in
<i>tamale rekke karuen ma'dondi'</i>	let us go up singing <i>dondi'</i>
	[in the afternoon

Example of quatrains “in response” (*sibali*),
collected at Panggala' in 1991.

This sending back does not concern vocal music only. Certain instrumental pieces for flutes addressed to a divinity function in “pairs” (*balinna*). The groups need to exchange pieces so as to form pairs *bali*. If the first piece does not get its “response”, then physical disorders can occur. For these repertoires, the pairs are composed of pieces identical in dynamic, tempo, *tessitura*, alternance of voices, and melodic-rhythmic form¹³³.

The extent to which stanzas, words, and melodies are “sent back” is astonishing. Why are these musical elements returned like this from one group to the other? Through this interplay, several values are expressed: from the playful to the agonistic, this sending back often has the character of a competition, if not of outright combat, in the form of a simulated battle to produce a winner; as a corollary, sending back implies an ideology of power, of dominating the other, indeed, of symbolically killing the adversary, thereby giving rise to a “hero”, a “model” (*sangka*). This notion of playing at killing is also found in the passion of the Toraja for different types of physical fights, such as cockfighting (*sisauung*), kick fighting (*sisemba*), and, nowadays, boxing, seen on television. The exchange of words between choruses has something of both a battle and an alliance. It often involves an ideology of completion by complementarity: things must fit together to form a whole.

133. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Rising Sun / Music of Prophylactic Rites / Instrumental Music for the *pakorong* ritual / po 50.

How is one to understand this progressive sharing of everything theatrically staged at the funeral rituals through the apportioning of buffaloes and words? In addition to the importance of sharing through gifts and counter-gifts during the exchanges of ceremonial debts, the myth of Tulangdidi offers a clue for interpreting the data. In this myth, Tulangdidi, a little girl, is punished for having unintentionally killed her father's dog. As punishment, she is sentenced to death. But her mother hands her an egg to plant before dying. The girl is killed and then cut into pieces by her father. Her flesh decomposes. Then, out from the egg springs a chick that will become a cock. The rooster starts to sing, and the young girl's body is gradually reconstituted: first, her little body's decomposed remains, then her flesh, bones, and marrow come back together. Through song, she is reborn¹³⁴.

Thus, the fragmentation of the sung verse could be interpreted as a metaphor for death by disintegration followed by rebirth through reconstitution: the principle of disintegration-reconstruction, separation-regrouping, enacted by the collectively sung word – as though collective singing enabled the deceased to be reborn, a belief evidenced by the rituals following the funeral, on the East side.

INTERDEPENDENCE AND SUBORDINATION

Within the various musical groups, there are implicit rules which join the musicians to one another with or without a pre-established hierarchy. Often, a principle of interdependence prevents individual expression; the singers never express themselves alone but always as members of a whole. This immutability of form consecrates the community's unity. A principle regulating musicians' roles determines

134. The myth is recounted in two books (Nooy-Palm 1979: 166; Koubi 1982: 369). The theme of the child cut to pieces and of the eviscerated body is, in any case, quite widespread in this cultural area stretching from the Philippines to Borneo (Macdonald 2005).

all the organisations of sound. The choral structures are closed: for those who are not members of the directing team, there is no possibility of making an individual contribution. The space for innovation –rather limited, as the musical form and the poems remain fixed– is the exclusive prerogative of the soloist: only he may change details in the ornamentation.

Thus, in the great choruses and instrumental ensembles, there is no "being together" without the "assisted chief". Subordination, interdependence, division into fours or twos, and regulation of the roles are the basis for the groups' organisation. The musical principles are reminiscent of the predominance of the number four in the socio-religious life: in certain regions, the villages, divided into quarters (*tepo*), are governed by four "fathers of villages"; the ritual meat is divided in certain places into four or five parts¹³⁵; the four large houses are subordinated to a single house, in the centre (Nooy-Palm 1979: 81). This hierarchical complementarity is reflected in the *badong*, sung antiphonally by four groups. Finally, of the four social classes, only the first two have decision-making tasks, the other two being subordinated. This subordination is thus analogous, in musical terms, to the organisation of the round dance in two groups.

Nevertheless, interdependence and subordination are not characteristic of all the groupings, since in the mixed-sex choruses (*dondi*, *serang mundan*) and in the trance choruses, also mixed (*maro*, *bugi*), there is no sharing of voices, and everybody sings the same part together.

135. Between the *gora tongkon* or the *to indo*, the ritual chief (*to parengnge*), the village headman (*ambé tondok*), and the multitude (*to buda*). The indecision between four and five is found in other types of enumeration, such as in the *badong*.



TORAJA HOUSE.

 SYMBOLIC CLASSIFICATIONS

MIRRORED MUSICAL FORMS

Associated on the ritual ladder, Toraja music is divided into two great families of repertoires, those of the West and those of the East. These kinds of music must never be mixed¹³⁶. However, despite this prohibition, formulated as a ritual requirement, analysis unveils some intriguing facts: ultimately, the two distinct families have more in common than such strict segregation might suggest. Certain songs of the East can be confused with those of the West. To the ear, certain *badong* seem to be *bugi*, certain *simbong* resemble *badong*, *dondi* can be confused with *serang mundan*, *retteng to mate* with a *retteng deata*. Not only do the musical forms resemble one another; certain words are also common to the West and the East. Where one would expect a definite opposition, one finds a continuity of musical aesthetics from the West to the East.

On both sides, the rituals are imbued with choral music –dense, with unified timbres and homogenous textures. The voices –resonant in texture, sizzling, metallic (*garasing*)– are amplified by the throats’ vigour to give sonorous, brilliant, ”clean” (*sero*), and ”smooth” (*malanak*) voices. The coloration is similar.

On both sides, it is said that the various voices must form a single voice: “A group carefully unifies or ’levels’ [extinguishes, calms, soothes] different voices” (**Kelompok mampu memadukan atau memadamkan suara yang berbeda beda itu dengan baik*); “Two voices must not be heard –if you can hear two voices, it’s noisy”. Unity, the singers say, can only be achieved by giving vowels a rocking motion to smooth out the

136. See p. @

different voices. *Bassenna allen* means “the song has to have its rocking, its turnaround”. Hence, this timbre rocking effect called *basse* is manifested in both great repertoires *badong* and *simbong*. When the singers “invert” the vowels, the “turnaround” is effected by ascending while passing from the *o* to the *é* (*dibasse ma'do*), then descending while returning from the *é* to the *o* (*dibasse ma'diong*). Acoustically, a modification of an aspect of the timbre is certainly recognisable: the brilliance, determined by the formants' frequencies (energy maxima on certain zones of harmonics). The *o*'s first two formants are brought together whereas the *é*'s are separated. In the *badong*, “once the change has been made, the *badong* is then articulated, and sung in chorus” (*yake puramo dibasse, dilesokanna, ditobuda'i*). The acoustic specificities of this vocalic rocking were clearly brought to light by the analysis¹³⁷, which shows a very definite spectral contrast. Passing from *o* to *é*, the spectrum widens letting three formant zones appear. The vowel change *o-é* corresponds to a spectrum variation, due to the inversion of the articulation points (front/back); “inversion”, for on the vowel triangle the relation between *o* and *é* does not just determine an opposition but a “turnaround” in the point of articulation. The function of this vocalic rocking in the musical discourse is, according to the Toraja, to unify the voices, to integrate the voices into the same mould. “If the singing doesn't undergo the *basse*, it's difficult to be covered all together in a single mould”¹³⁸. Practising this “sound turnaround” is, they say, a way of returning to a base, so as to find the union of timbres. After the alternance *o-é-o*, one says: “That's it, we're together” (*tibasemo rapasanna*). The union is achieved by turning around, by rocking. The inversion of the vowels unites the sound and, thus, the chorus, as well.

Another point common to numerous repertoires: the soloist sings (or plays) at an interval of a second, an interval prevailing not only in

137. DVD / The Argument / Musical Analysis / Pt-2. Certain repertoires use vowel-changing techniques.

138. *Yake taè dibasse, ma'susa dibalongo'i*, from the root *longo'*: “to be able to hold in the hollow of the hand, to close”.

the repertoires with drone but also in the funeral repertoires, such as *badong* and *dondi*, which have no drone. Found throughout the pieces, at the beginning, middle, and end of the passages, the second is clearly the most popular harmonic interval. To the ear, the soloist who sings in seconds must melt into a single homogeneous mass. According to certain Toraja intellectuals, singing in intervals of a second is of recent advent, since "before the Dutch came the choruses were not sung in diaphony" (*yake Balanda tae' pa na sae, tae' dikorok tu lagunna*)¹³⁹. *Korok*, literally "cluck", like a chicken calling her chicks, means "ornament the unison by singing above the chorus". In fact, this style was found throughout the region. In the west, at Mamasa, double flutes used to exist, formed of one five-holed tube and a second, holeless tube that serves as a drone (Kaudern 1927: 228-231). Thus, these drone techniques –still found in choral usage in *simbong* and *io-io*– suggest that polyphony in intervals of a second is very old¹⁴⁰. Polyphonies in intervals of a second are similarly found in other islands of the archipelago¹⁴¹.

Astonishingly, the Toraja choruses have a family likeness to a Bulgarian choral tradition –a similarity noticed by the Toraja themselves¹⁴². The mode of intonation, the timbre, the use of drones, the abrupt stops at the ends of melodic phrases, the iambic character of ornamentation, the tension of voices, the collective dynamic, the choral intensity, and, finally, the economy of means, are all features shared by Bulgarian and Toraja vocal aesthetics.

139. Polyphony is designated by the Indonesian phrase **suara rangkap* "voices in several thicknesses" (as opposed to unison **suara tunggal* "unique, single voice").

140. Sound reference: DVD / Anthology / Music of the Rising Sun / Court songs in the ricefields.

141. See Kunst, "Cultural Relations between the Balkans and Indonesia", 1954, note 1, p. 3 ("*Melodies of this kind, ending with a major second, I found later again on some phonograms received from the East Indonesian Tanimbar Archipelago and the island of Babar through the kind intermediary of Mr. J. Hobbel*").

142. Is it simply a matter of chance if, as far as aesthetic judgment goes, between Sardinian and Bulgarian polyphony, a Toraja friend travelling to Paris prefers the Bulgarian without hesitation?

However, on closer examination, one thing sets the great choruses of the rituals of the rising sun apart from those of the rising sun: the continuous drone is exclusive to the music of the East. It is found in the *simbong* and *nani* choruses and in flute playing (*suling deata*). It should be noted that drone polyphonies are extremely widespread in the Pacific (MacLean 1999: 414) but rather rare in Indonesia. They have been recorded only among the Toraja of Sulawesi, populations in Flores, Roti and West Solor, and among certain groups of Irian Jaya¹⁴³. Among the Toraja, the drone is often continuous and uninterrupted. This sustained sound sets the two sides in opposition. Where the *badong* is staccato and rhythmical, the *simbong* is sustained. Why the drone should be characteristic of rituals of the rising sun remains inexplicable. It would be presumptuous to conclude that the continuousness of a sound expressed the appeal for fecundity, the vital life principle, the perpetuation of life, or the image of immortality. It might be understandable, given the Toraja practice of making offerings to waterfalls, to suggest that falling water or the daily concert of buzzing insects could explain the drone's presence in the music of the rising sun; but the influence of nature on a given musical tradition is a separate subject for research.

Why are the sound forms so similar despite this difference? The dozen repertoires still in use are divided into two categories –either of “lamentation” (*bating*), or of “praise” (*nani*). Six repertoires out of this dozen are united by the link called *bali*; they are called “partners” (*balinna*). In an article giving the various meanings of this Austronesian term based on comparisons between the different Austronesian languages, the linguist Robert Blust shows that the meaning can be both positive and negative¹⁴⁴.

143. Philip Yampolsky, “Indonesia”, *Grove Music on Line*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 10 January 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

144. In this article, Blust (1980) examines the various meanings of the term *bali*. The first proposed is of transformation, or metamorphosis. The second is of opposite, partner, or friend (in proto-South-Celebes language). The third is “put on mourning clothes” and the fourth is of revenge to repair a loss.

The essential meaning seems to be to equalise. In fact, musical analysis reveals several types of relationships¹⁴⁵.

The repertoires concerned are two great dancing choruses *badong* and *simbong*, two declamations recto tono *retteng to mate* and *retteng deata* and two sitting choruses *dondi'* (or *sengo*) and *serang mundan*. The six repertoires linked together by the term *bali* are performed for rituals at the top of the ladder, and share—at least at first listening—a similar nature.

On a musical level, what does *bali* mean? A comparison of the two great dancing choruses (*badong* and *simbong*) shows they are not strictly homologous. They certainly have numerous similarities in their acoustic nature and on the contextual level, but they are distinguished by differences of a musical nature (temporality, treatment of text, accentual dynamic). In this case, the link *bali* means "couple". For the other forms, curiously, this link does not have the same meaning. For example, inside both of the great dancing choruses, chanted declamations are inserted momentarily by one or more soloists. As a form of personal homage they are reserved for individuals of high rank. The originality of these declamations, commonly called *retteng*, is in the way they are pronounced and in the contents of the verse. Here the chanting is marked by apocope and vocal baldness. The link *bali* associating these declamations actually signifies the idea of "pair". In the same way, the funeral song *dondi'* is held to be the *serang mundan's* "partner", sung at the *bua'*. To the ear, these repertoires seem to have nearly identical musical forms. So the link *bali* unites two repertoires with the same gestures and sound composition but different words. Once again—on the musical level—the link *bali* means "pair"¹⁴⁶.

These paired and coupled repertoires (*balinna*) correspond to each other within opposed and complementary wholes (West and East), and maintain homologous relationships of a musical, kinesic, and ritual nature. On a musical level, *bali* refers to different types of connection:

¹⁴⁵ See DVD / The Argument / Interpretation / The pairing of musics.

¹⁴⁶ See DVD / The Argument / Interpretation / Meaning of the Equivalencies / The *bali* link meaning pairing / p4.

the pair, when the repertoires are reproduced almost identically, and the couple, when the repertoires have both similarities and differences.

By its prevalence, the couple *badong/simbong* dominates and encompasses the pair *dondi'serang mundan*. This hierarchy gives pride of place to the two great dancing choruses and, thereby, to the two great ceremonies, which can be considered a couple and not a pair. James Fox's treatment of the subject (1988: 26), which shows that in the dualist systems of eastern Indonesia the dualist relationship consists of the hierarchy and asymmetry existing between two members of a pair, raises the question of what relation governs the couple *badong/simbong*, or links the repertoires with each other. Must –as the Toraja anthropologist, Urbanus Tongli (an heir to the thought of Louis Dumont, who uses hierarchic opposition as a tool for anthropological comparison) suggested to me– certain repertoires be considered superior to others? Of the great choruses –*badong* and *simbong*– which would be superior to the other? Certainly, on a narrative level, the content of the funeral song could be considered “superior” to that of the *simbong*: in the hagiography *ossoran badong*, it is recounted how the deceased is transformed into a star and how this constellation guides the living for sowing, whereas in the panegyric *samparan simbong*, only the living man's life is praised. In this sense, the *badong's* superiority would lie in its greater narrative depth. By extension, the West would be valued more than the East. However, the East is the side that expresses immortality and the permanence of vital energy. And the main movement is indeed from the left to the right, from the rituals of death to those of life, of renewal from death into life.

The only obvious fact remains that the couple, represented by this culture's most valued repertoires, dominates the pairs so that the principle of couple is accordingly both more basic and superior. Thus –as ethnomusicological analysis seems to imply– on the highest ritual level, the principles of “turnaround” and couple subsume the pairs. The importance of the ideas of rocking, turning around, alternation, and balance solidify the ritual cycle itself, founded precisely on these

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HOMOLOGIES
RITUELLES

principles, which make themselves felt in other forms, as well. This affirmation shows that the ritual music also marks certain places and moments, along the course of the journey from the body's dissolution to the attainment of vital energy, for a long period of suspension, involving both the stem family (*rapu*) and the village.

RITUAL HOMOLOGIES

*Umpapada-pada sangka'
umpasitinti bisara
napasiende-endeana*

Balancing the ancestral model¹⁴⁷
weighing together the ritual speech
according to their respective ranking

Ossoran badong for Indo' Serang,
Verses 483 ff., 1993

The classification of the oppositions and musical relationships between groups of musicians and between repertoires reveals the importance of the concept *bali*. This concept also makes it possible to understand the organisation of certain rituals. In other words, the idea *bali* not only unites aesthetic forms –whether musical, literary, or choreographic– but also determines a whole network of pairs structuring the ritual architecture and organising links between rituals. Each song, word, gesture, rite and so on in the West has its homologue in the East. The opposite of each term is both homologue and antithesis: similar in nature and opposite in function. Observation has allowed the discovery of several types of homologies: spatio-temporal, dramaturgical homology (*i. e.*, acts, settings, dances), and, finally, semantic, and in the heart of poetic discourse.

These homologies merit closer examination. The two greatest rituals, in the West and in the East, take place in two stages and in two spaces identically but inversely organised: as a cosmic and mythical

147. If he has performed the highest ritual in the West, he must balance his acts in the East by carrying out the *maro* or *bate* ritual.

order, the ritual order is expressed by coupling pairs of compass points (northeast/southwest), which become meaningful during the ancestral rites. The first celebration is held in the space of the house and the courtyard, and the second celebration, several months later, outside the household, either to the west or to the east. In each of these places, towers and platforms are built, banners and trident masts set up, and trees planted. Each place is delimited with woven material –red in the West, white in the East. As with many Indonesian cultures, the distribution of space provides a network of symbolic codes of which the house is the organising pole. The space is a vector of symbols, the operational zone of the functions of the ritual. The great choruses come to live in these spaces; they also contribute to writing in the symbolic space by marking out the space with opposite pairs.

The dramaturgic homologies are more surprising. For, examined point by point, a great many acts coincide: in both great celebrations, which take place years apart, the participants are led in procession onto the ceremonial field by a man wearing a horned headdress; extended family members are raised in palanquins and carried round a tower; an effigy is constructed and then dismantled at the end of the ritual; in both celebrations, the officiants go up towers to share (in one case, meat, in the other, words); the great choruses, often singing in poly-music, pronounce a narrative matrix; the small choruses, mixed-sex and often sitting –*dondi*’, *serang mundan*– match each other on the melodic and poetic level, all the songs sung by small groups at the same time; certain dances also match. The homology between the dances *randing* and *tenten* is not only illustrated by the costumes –the men wear a straw hat with stylised false horns, and hold a shield– but also by the gestures: the right hand is flung out, while the left holds the shield, and every dancer makes small jumps while advancing in file. In both cases, these dancers, in warrior guise, precede the participants’ entrance onto the ceremonial field¹⁴⁸.

148. Today the *tenten* has more or less disappeared. It has been possible to confirm the homology thanks to the film by Rolf de Maré (1938), preserved in Stockholm. The tow hats

ÉLÉMENTS	RAPASAN	BUA' KASALLE
Animal offerings	At least 24 buffaloes	80 pigs and 2 buffaloes
Banner	<i>tombi</i>	<i>laa</i> or <i>laja</i> , banner sign of joy
Circumambulation around the field carrying humans	<i>ma'aparando</i>	<i>mamulle</i>
Drum player	<i>to ma'gandang, slave</i>	<i>to ma'gandang</i> , honorary title
Effigy	<i>tau-tau</i> out of the house	<i>tumba'</i> , <i>anak dara</i> in the house
Erected stake	<i>lumbaa padang</i>	<i>lumbaa langi'</i>
First to come into the field	<i>to ussobo'i rante</i>	<i>peta' badamo</i>
Male war dance with men wearing horns	<i>ma'randing</i>	<i>manganda'</i> & <i>ma'tenten</i>
Megalith	<i>simbuang batu</i>	stone <i>parangka</i> or <i>patangdo</i>
Officiants	<i>to burake matampu'</i> the one who envelops the dead	<i>to burake matallo</i> priest of the East
Place	<i>rante pantunuan</i> field west of the house	<i>rante kala'paran</i> field east of the house
Platform	<i>bala'kaan</i> on which invocations and sharing of meat take place	<i>bala'kaan boro</i> or <i>gorang bulaan</i> from which the praise <i>singgi'</i> is given
Pole, mast	<i>bate lepong, bandera</i>	<i>bate</i>
Sedan chair	<i>bullean to balu</i> in the form of a traditional roof (widower or widow's palanquin)	<i>bullean</i> in the form of a boat (the praised sit in these chairs)
To enter the field in procession	<i>ma'pasonglo</i>	<i>kasongloran</i>
Tree	<i>simbuang kayu, sendana</i> <i>dongkasendana</i> white heart sandalwood	<i>bonga</i> red heart sandalwood
Dramaturgy	Two places, two times	Two places, two times

3. PAIRS (*BALINNA*) IN THE HIGHEST RITUALS,
WEST AND EAST.

MUSICAL CATEGORIES	LAMENTATION BATING	PRAISE NANI
Male dancing chorus	<i>badong</i>	<i>simbong</i>
Female chorus	<i>badong</i> (in older times)	<i>nani</i>
Mixed-sex sitting chorus	<i>dondi'</i>	<i>serang mundan</i>
Solo chanting	<i>retteng to mate</i>	<i>retteng deata</i>
Words to sing	<i>kadong</i>	<i>bue'</i>
Recitation to the buffalo before its sacrifice	<i>samparan tedong</i>	<i>samparan tedong</i>
Declamation	<i>singgi' to mate</i>	<i>singgi' deata</i>
Prayers	<i>kakarun</i>	<i>passampe, ma'kurre</i>

4. PAIRS IN MUSICAL CATEGORIES IN THE TWO HIGHEST RITUALS, WEST AND EAST.

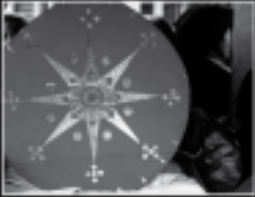
The table presents various categories which structure, by dyads, the two greatest rituals in the West and the East, from a scenic and musical point of view (space, decoration, actors, drama)

In summary, the comparative analysis of the music of the two great rituals of the West and the East makes it possible to draw a table of the main equivalencies. Within the two highest Toraja rituals, a couple produced by the religious rule generates a network of smaller pairs, both ritual and musical. The two rituals at the top of the ladder form a couple. A certain number of common elements match each other, different in name but similar in form. The sounds, like the rest, function in dyads (*bali*) differing in meaning and helping to structure the system. The music is only one of the morphological elements of the ritual. It constructs it acoustically. Through its organisation, it illuminates the representations, acts, material constructions, and spaces which sometimes –but not always– are also organised according to common principles.

of these dances are preserved at the Stockholm Dance Museum and the Jakarta National Museum. Only one of the hats is decorated with shells. The headhunters' jackets –also present in the National Museum– were also decorated with shells (see sketch in Nooy-Palm 1986: 314). The hats are conical in form, half covered in skin and bordered with hair (taken from headhunting?) decorated with white shells, surmounted with five ornaments of metal foil– the shortest, numbering three, stand in the middle, while the two longest are a stylisation of buffalo horns in brass.



*Voici une étape achevée
voici parcouru un tour d'or
une rangée de perles de collier*



LE CERCLE comme
MÉTAPHORE du CYCLE

However, the two great rituals do not match each other perfectly –far from it. Large numbers of elements separate them while bringing them together. The elements are either symmetric, when in pairs, or asymmetric, when in couple, in which case they form an inversion.

THE ATTRACTION OF OPPOSITES

All anthropological studies on Eastern Indonesia, without exception, confirm the prevalence and importance of dyadic structures, never organised in the same way (Fox 1988). Among the Toraja, binary organisations are noticeable on several levels.

Parallelism is already at the heart of poetic speech. The stanzas are formed of couplets, made by joining two lines repeating the same idea in a slightly different way (*Florilegium Toraja*, p.@). In addition, a great many categories are organised in complementary pairs: these include west/east, upstream/downstream, house/granary, *badong/simbong*, *dondi' / serang mundan*, *ossoran badong/samparan simbong*, officiant of the West/officiant of the East, funeral effigy/feminine effigy, mast of the West *bandera* / mast of the East *bate* (see DVD / The Argument / Interpretation / p4-1). These configurations vary depending on the society, but in each they constitute what Needham calls a collection of “prime factors” in the symbolic classifications of these cultures.

James Fox shows that:

In Eastern Indonesia the most important and recurrent complementary categories reflect a common Austronesian derivation and a historically shared inheritance of similar metaphors for living. The categories include a variety of directional and spatial coordinates such as north-south, east-west, inside-outside, back-front, right-left, and upward-downward. Equally important are colour categories (white-black, red-gold-blue-green), categories for parts of the body (head-tail, or head-buttock), categories for persons and gender (elder-younger, male-female), botanical categories (unripe-ripe,

trunk-tip, planted-harvested), and other categories for qualities (cool-hot, bland-bitter). Some of these categories are more than just symbolically associated: they are linguistically synonymous or even identical. Thus, left-right is, in some societies, synonymous with north-south. Similarly, botanical categories which provide the principal metaphors for growth and development may have color or spatial connotations. (Fox 1989: 44)

These categories function as operators of a symbolic system by organising the elements for classifying other categories. What is significant is the recurrence of these categories –the way in which they are successively used in different contexts and at different levels of meaning. Because of this principle of complementarity, no element is isolated; every thing categorised by a constituent of a complementary pair can potentially contain elements from its complement. The male contains the female; the female contains the male. The inside contains the outside. The *badong* contains elements of the *simbong*, and vice versa. The *dondi* has elements of the *serang mundan*.

The recurrence of the left and the right –metaphor for the balance of the rituals– is ceaselessly reiterated: the funeral rites are nothing without the rites of fecundity; the left has to be “turned around” by the right for the deceased’s shade to “become a divinity again” (*membali puang*):

<i>Umpapada-pada sangka’ umpasitinti bisara napasiende-endeane</i>	Balancing the ancestral model weighing together the ritual speech according to their respective [ranking]
<i>Noka’ nakengkona kanan noka’ natamben kairi sule napapada lando</i>	Not only the right side but also the left side returning she brings [it into equilibrium]

Samparan simbong, 427 ff.,
see *Florilegium Toraja*, p. @.

This complementarity, here put into words in poetry, can also be seen in the fitting and joining together of bamboos –the rule for Toraja roofing. Called male and female, these bamboos fit together the one alongside the other to roof the traditional houses¹⁴⁹. This idea of completion through complementary fitting together is precisely what gives its name to the ritual cycle named “rule of the ladder of joined bamboos” (*aluk silau’ eran simuane tallang*) or, even, “rule of the joined bamboos in the setting and the rising sun” (*aluk simuane tallang rampe matampu tanda matallo*). The rites must join or marry like the bamboos of a roof.

So the acts of joining (*silopak* “fit together, place side by side, fold up”), response (*sibali*), and marriage (*simuane*) are performed on several levels: architectural, musical, ritual. What is surprising is the recurrent application of a concrete principle to an abstraction, to a mode of conceptual thought constructing the life and death of beings, and organising the living around a cycle founded on the idea of completion. The objective of this movement, the officiant Lumbaa repeats to me, is the wealth of a *rapu* (stem family) and personal fulfilment:

“One is called ‘rich’ when one’s finished equalling the West with ma’bua’ or merok in the East –that’s what’s called being joined together”. Officiant Ne’ Lumbaa, personal communication, 2005¹⁵⁰.

This logic of completing everything by fitting opposites together is a metaphor, a scheme organising the totality of a ritual cycle, a cycle of death and life. Thus, the *bali* principle, with various meanings –couple, pair, sending back– constructs an order or a logic of reciprocity and inversion at work in the musical and ritual structures. This principle brings into play a duality, formed of pairs of elements which join

149. DVD / The Argument / Religious Principles / A Cycle in the Form of a Ladder / po / 16 video.

150. “*Disanga to sugi’ ke puwa mangrapa’ dio matampu na ma’bua’ dio matallo ba’ tu merok, disanga kelopakmo to*”.

together; ultimately, these pairs transcend the variability of the rituals, which never proceed according to a single immutable blueprint but, rather, exhibit strong individual characteristics each time. Thus, by considering a collection of actions (the rites, music, and dances) engraved in a mental representation, it is possible to understand a specific mode of thought, the stability of which depends on the practice of the rituals.

According to James Fox (1989: 47), another principle of these complementary pairs, real dualist structure operators, is their asymmetry. I have discussed above the asymmetry between the repertoires of music by suggesting, because of its narrative depth, the possible superiority of the funeral song. However, as the home of gods and divinities, the East might make an equally strong case for its superiority. It is the location of a termination, the metaphoric place of the rebirth of the dead into vital energy and divinity, the region of the eternal return of the day and of fecundity; whereas the West is only a place of transit for travelling souls. Moreover, the relative values in the East are "euphoric" –the poems recurrently invoke vital energy, fecundity, wealth, and prosperity.

Finally, the pairs work through analogy in the Toraja system of thought. For instance, the *simbong* is sung beside the granaries, and the *nani* beside the houses. This creates a new pair: men/granary, women/house.

Dualism is a classification method prevalent in Eastern Indonesian cultures, and can be used accordingly as a vehicle for structuring hierarchy. Dualist categories are used by the Toraja to underline their conception of the cycle and the performance itself of the ritual. The implications of such categories extend to all beings who divide their time and space into two throughout their lives.

ON THE MOVEMENT OF FORMS

One last notion, probably one of the most important: this conceptual architecture is not static. Whether of the West or of the East, the round dances all turn counterclockwise, from left to right. In addition to this rotation, a musical feature predominates: the journey or route. In the rounds, the syllables in the verses follow a four-point route. The continuity of the verse is broken by cutting it up into two, four, or five. Spatialisation, bipartition, and quadripartition are fundamental principles of Toraja musical aesthetics. Another corollary principle is the alternation and passage from one point to another, from one spectrum to another, swinging harmonic spectra, and an alternation of pieces from one group to the other. Finally, subordination, interdependence, division into two, three, four, or five, and regulation of the roles, form the basis for organising the musical groupings. To sum up, I discovered that the foundations of the musical dynamic rested on the ideas of rotation from left to right, dissolution-reconstitution of the verses, swinging from one vowel to another, sending back, path, route, sharing, and mirroring.

The spatialisation of the sound (rotation, passage, path, there-and-back) rises in a universe of representations, in which the directions define the types of space: mythical, social, and ritual. The funeral rites, it will be recalled, are only the beginning of a much vaster ritual process centred on the deceased's transformation into "life spirit" or "vital energy". A deceased noble's shade is transformed into ancestor and then into divinity, through a gradual series of rites of passage, oriented from the West to the East, from the left to the right: from the house to a terrestrial domain, downstream, where all the dead reside; afterwards, the shade passes to the west of heaven and then becomes an ancestor. Only the nobles are transformed into deified ancestors—slaves stay in the land of the shades in the west. Death, says D. Tsinjilonis, is a movement from the left (*lalan kairi*). Inversely, the propagation of life, of vital energy, seems to be from right to left (Tsinjilonis 2004: 434).

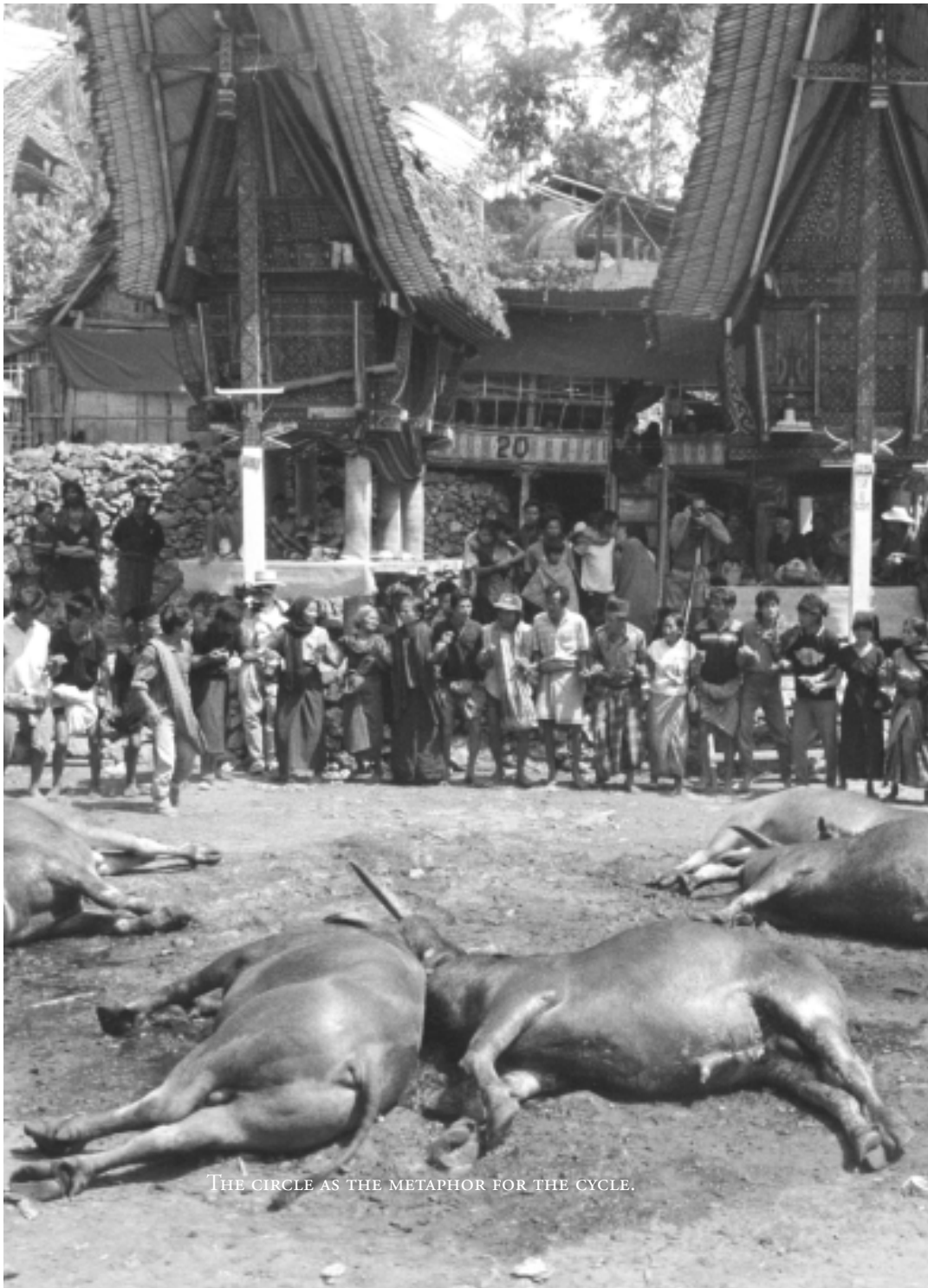
The ideas of dissolution and dispersion followed by reconstruction of the verse in the vocal music may refer, through the language, to the conception of death itself—a death resulting from the body's dissolution and from the dispersion of its constituent parts, followed by the reconstitution of vital energy replacing the dispersed elements:

Nevertheless, as life involves "ascent" (to live is to follow "the path of the rising sun") and death "descent" (to die is to follow "the path of the setting sun"), both types of movement are incorporated in a single anti-clockwise motion which manifests the overall flow of the creative energy and is known as *lalan sumanga'* ("the path/flow of vitality"). [...] In replicating the path from the left, the rites of death disperse the body and displace embodied *sumanga'*. In replicating the path from the right, the rites of life transform *sumanga'* into its original disembodied state, replace it within the germinal flow and, eventually, call it back.

(Tsintjilonis 1999: 625)

Accordingly, the whole ritual cycle aims at reunifying what has been taken apart: death in life, in an intermittent pendular movement. The cycle is built on gradually acting out this passage, collectively organised, through a succession of rituals, from the lowest to the highest, in which the growth of the bamboo and the passage from lamentation to praise reflect the renewal of the life which disappears and reappears like rice every season¹⁵¹.

151. DVD / The Argument / Interpretation / P5-2.



THE CIRCLE AS THE METAPHOR FOR THE CYCLE.



*BADONG ROUND DANCE BEFORE GOING TO THE GRAVE,
BOKKO, 2ND OCTOBER 1993.*

CLAUSULA

For scientists dawn and dusk are a single phenomenon, and the Greeks thought the same, for they designated them with one word which was qualified differently for the evening and the morning. This confusion surely expresses the predominant concern of theoretical speculations and a singular negligence for the concrete aspect of things. (...)

But in reality nothing is more different from the morning than the evening. The rising of the sun is a prelude, its setting an overture produced at the end instead of the beginning –like in the old operas. The face of the sun announces the moments that are going to follow –sombre and livid if the first hours of the morning are to be rainy, pink, light and sparkling if a clear light is going to shine. But the rest of the day is not determined at daybreak. It starts the meteorological action and says: it is going to rain, it is going to be fine. Sunset is another story: it is a complete show with beginning middle and end. And this spectacle is a miniature of the combats, triumphs and defeats that, palpably, but also more slowly have followed one another for twelve hours. Dawn is just the day's beginning –dusk its re-enactment.

Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, (1955)
translated from French by Timothy Seller

Though for the non-Christianised Toraja the West was once the beginning of a cycle and, in this sense, to follow Lévi-Strauss, an overture, for the Christianised Toraja the West seems to have become the last act of the play, since the idea of passing from one world to the other has disappeared. The fundamentals of the ancestral system no longer meet the requirements of Christianity, and the coherence that used to exist between musical and ritual forms is today destabilised by the intrusion of new power networks. In conclusion, it will be helpful to take a step back to reconsider the most general and important ideas underpinning this study.

Toraja music is wholly and exclusively integrated into two great families of rituals; each repertoire belongs strictly to either the West or the East. On either side, the rituals fit into a hierarchy according to a sacrificial ladder. The higher the ritual on the ladder, the greater the ceremonial emphasis, following an unbending law of progression.

The organisation of the rites is founded on principles which, in theory, are well-ordered: the cycle ("rule of turnaround" *aluk pembalikan*) constitutes a necessary passage from a ritual of the West to its pair, the ritual of the East, and which can only be attained after climbing up the ladder of the rituals of the East. This "turnaround" from one side to the other is marked in ritual life by inverting the offering leaf and turning around forms and elements in series. Founded on the notion of switching over from one order to another and on the binary principle *bali*, the cycle is built upon the correspondence of matching rituals, which let the shades of the deceased leave the world of the living, descend in the West to the world of the dead and the ancestors, and then reascend in the East to the world of the deified ancestors. Only the dead of the highest rank journey through the complete cycle, whereas the less noble, while still having to "turn the offering around", travel up the ladder to reach a slightly lower level.

Dependent on this ritual structure, the music is also divided into two families of repertoires. Elucidating the meaning of *bali* ("homologue") and *basse* ("turnaround") has clarified the connection

between certain musical forms. Six vocal repertoires are joined together by the link *bali*, which can mean either "couple", "pair", or "sending back". This principle also concerns an instrumental repertoire. That the musical repertoires should be organised according to the same principles as the ritual structures is scarcely surprising, given that the symbolic classifications work upon such a wide variety of objects; on the other hand, what is remarkable is the fact that the acoustical nucleus of the great repertoires is governed by a principle of vowel alternation, upon which the representative dynamic is precisely based. To sum up, what is surprising is the singular continuity between the concrete –the physics of sound-producing bodies– and the conceptual, the way of thinking which regulates the cycle from life to death and back to life. Unconsciously, the switching movement is enacted at different levels, in thought and in reality.

If there is one essential fact concerning Toraja music, it is this: the class of nobles cannot reign without it. Through the declamation of hagiographies and panegyrics, the two great choruses symbolise one of the aspects of power: exemplarity. They celebrate, state, and restate the grandeur of the nobility. They establish and reinforce their status. The singers, from every social class, come to support the aristocracy by offering them particular words. Although the words separate, the performance unites.

Through praise, singing glorifies certain individuals, and through trance songs and instrumental pieces, the music summons the divinities to protect the community from illness and misfortune –a double movement of both exclusion and inclusion, perhaps allowing Toraja society to maintain its differences of rank without disrupting its unity.

During the rituals, two ways of making music are enacted simultaneously: one, exclusive and polymusical, a manifestation of unique local identities; and another, inclusive, encompassing individuals of various origins all singing together and thereby manifesting a single identity, a sign of belonging to a wider group and no longer to a particular village. This double usage mirrors the exchanges of meat during the

celebrations: in accordance with a well-established ceremonial, the guests arrive in distinct groups and then mix once the animals have been slaughtered, so as to eat and sing together. Thus, paradoxically, the meat and the music separate the classes while bringing them together. The music helps to reinforce status, to distinguish the classes while assembling them in one place, and to protect the whole community.

Another type of simultaneous separation and reunification is manifested in the link between men and women in singing. It is interesting to observe a change in gender roles in relation to song. Whereas a 1923 video shows women singing, today, funeral singing is reserved for men¹⁵². In all celebrations, the great choruses physically separate the men from the women. In the West, the women no longer stand up to sing. Sitting, they join the men in a minor form, the *dondi*. In the East, the men sing from the rice granary side, the women from the house side. Curiously, although opposed in this spatial configuration, each faces the other, and, while the bodies do not touch, the voices interlace, melting together in a merged polymusic. Metaphorically, the inexorable call of vital energy and fecundity is almost fulfilled by the union of masculine and feminine voices producing sound, energy, and vocal intensity.

This choral intensity is what really characterises the Toraja –even their instrumental music has a choral aesthetic: responsorial funeral choruses (*dondi*, *serang mundan*) and antiphons (*badong*); music of the East using drones with a soloist embroidering in seconds (choruses *simbong nani*, music for flutes *suling deata*, *suling bonde*); strictly homophonic choruses (*maro*, *bugi*).

Between great choruses with drone, great heterophonic choruses, little choruses in fifths, and monodic choruses of trance songs, Toraja vocal art is essentially polyphonic. This quality is relatively rare in

152. DVD / The Argument / Music of the Setting Sun / Music of the Most Elaborate Ritual / The funeral *badong* round dance / po 20 / Male-Female.

Sulawesi; still, it is found in a population in central Sulawesi, the Uma-speakers of the Pipikoro region (Yampolsky 1999). This choral style, characteristic of the music of celebrations and of rejoicing, should not allow us to forget the highly skilled art of the soloists, the lamentation singers, the flautists, and the drummers.

The Toraja choral art takes different choreographic forms: rounds, rainbows, lines, ranks advancing and retiring. The rounds can be gentle, slow, and insistent, or wild and exalted. The bodies experience both restrained and wild, unbridled states.

Ultimately, the factor that animates all my research is the union of music and poetry. The introduction to the *Florilegium* shows that most Toraja music is rooted in speech. The words are the exclusive property of "those who know" (*to minaa*), officiants whose words are first declaimed and then sung in parts by singers led by leaders of song (*indo*). Thus, the knowledge is divided: some master literary knowledge, others musical. Giving voice to this learning is done alternately during the ritual.

The poetry displayed in these songs reveals a vision of the world, an ordering of things, a harmony between order and disorder, between reason and madness. The most baroque words make room for a topsy-turvy imagery in which beings have hair growing backwards, boats go uphill, and eels slide up slopes. The most enigmatic words leave their orators confused; the saddest bring tears to the eyes of those present.

The use of precise and finely sculpted diction and a taste for linguistic variety crop up time and again, with more and more zest, in the language of the Torajan officiants.

Today, these "quivering tongues" are libraries burning down. What mouths will carry on their art? How can this taste for metaphor and musicality be passed on in a Christianised society, which seems to have renounced this musical heritage?



BUGI' ROUND DANCE DURING A CHRISTIAN WEDDING PARTY, BUNTAO', 1993.

EPILOGUE

FROM THE SACRIFICIAL FIELD
TO THE STAGE

Let there be no mistake: understanding the pre-Christian Toraja musical tradition in a society which has now been Christianised for sixty years, has amounted, in effect, to recreating a painting of which a whole section has been effaced. The foundations of the ancestral ritual system no longer meet the demands of Christianity, and the coherence between music and ritual structures, which formerly existed, today is called into question by Christianisation, Indonesian nationalism, and migration.

For more than half a century, a movement decontextualising the traditional arts has been active in many parts of Indonesia. The artistic traditions have been secularised and integrated into the Indonesian State; converted into forms of entertainment, they have been detached from their religious origins to become instruments of national integration. Among various ethnic groups in the Indonesian archipelago, different types of identity-forging processes have emerged (Picard 2002).

On the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia, all the ethno-linguistic groups of the South –the Bugis, the Makassar, the Mandar, and the Toraja– have been affected by the desacralisation of the arts due to the breakdown of social, political, and religious structures and to Indonesianisation. Starting in 1940, a policy of folklorisation of the arts was pursued by the great Ibu Nani Sapada, who helped create a secularised and folklorised ritual art –especially to prevent the disappearance of forms threatened by religious changes. Then, from 1970 to 1990, at Makassar, the provincial capital of South Sulawesi, the musicians, the dancers, the public, and the intellectuals all acutely felt the loss of the “*sumanga*’ spirituality” (“vital energy”) in stage performance. In the cities, a period of re-ritualisation of the arts began, above all in the south

of the island, where groups of intellectuals tried to revitalise the performances by resacralising them through the creation of neo-rituals and through the juxtaposition of styles and genres, and of rural and urban musicians (Sutton 2002). In the 1990s, a folklore festival (**pekan budaya* “cultural week”) was created, with the aim of displaying the music and rituals of the four provinces. Today, certain local performance traditions that have vanished from the places where they originated survive better in urban zones, thanks to the folklore associations (**sanggar*). As with the Karo of Sumatra (Kipp 1993), historically, the Toraja’s cultural and religious identities have developed in response to the emergence of new external centres of power. In the pre-colonial period, the Toraja were on the margins of the external religious powers (Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity). At the beginning of the twentieth century, they were integrated into the Dutch colonial state, which subjected them to the Christian order; in the 1940s, they were involved in a revolution to forge a new nation. Since independence, they have joined other Indonesians as citizens of a great regional area. These shifting power centres have created new contexts in which the Toraja have come to rethink ethnicity, religion, and nationalism. They have had to reconsider their ethnic identity over the years, as a result of greater contact with people who have not been Toraja and who have considered themselves morally or culturally superior.

Toraja culture was made use of throughout the twentieth century by various powers. Certain forms were first prohibited, then displaced, manipulated, and reconfigured. Dancing, music, the plastic arts, textiles, and architecture were exploited for regional prestige. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the great Toraja forms were sung exclusively on the sacrificial field. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the music, reused in different networks by new powers, appeared in new contexts, often involving a performance on stage, without sacrifice. What are the consequences of the decontextualisation and recontextualisation of ritual music? How did the music leave the sacrificial field for the stage?

Today, most Toraja are officially Christian –mainly Protestants. Although many are affiliated with the Toraja Church (*Gereja Toraja*, Calvinist Reformed Church), for several years others have also left this congregation to join new communities, such as the Pentecostalist Church (**Gereja Pentekosta*), the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of Brotherly Love (**Gereja Kasih Persaudaraan*), the Bethel Church, and *Kibaid*. Deep in the mountains, Christian churches of every creed are solidly implanted, often built in the form of a traditional house with a curved roof and cement base. Ecclesiastic activities are numerous: celebrations of actions of grace, called "thanksgivings" (**pesta syukuran*), feasts of the Christian calendar, Church feasts.

Contrary to the radical prohibition of ritual music in Oceania, imposed by the Christians since the sixteenth century, the Dutch missionaries who arrived in the Toraja country at the beginning of the twentieth century did not insist on the eradication of the songs and dances. The decisions of the Church affecting the funeral music were laid down in texts in 1923:

Bewailing the deceased, singing lamentations and dancing dances of lamentation are not sinful, provided only that the deceased is not deified or elevated higher than God. Do not believe the deceased's soul will give you grace. Grace and happiness only come from the hands of God. Do not use the *pagans'* funeral songs. Change the words of the alternated songs, give the songs a Christian sense and praise the name of Allah [name of the Christian God for the Indonesians, also called *Tuhan*]. (From the conference of 1923, quoted in Kobong et al 1992: 140)

The *badong* is authorised for anybody having the right to be sung. Lamentation is authorised but it must be directed towards the Lord God and not for the deceased and not for the deceased who must not be venerated. (From *Conferentie, Toeanz Pendeta, Goeroez, Indjil, beberapa Goeroe Kepala Sekolah dan Beberapa Penatoea dari Res*—author's translation from the Indonesian).

This licence has allowed the funeral music to survive until today. As the Christian Church has forbidden the deceased's deification through song, the words have had to be modified. The long hagiographies have been prohibited; status is no longer distinguished by the utterance of particular words, but has become emphasised more by the quantity of components (*i. e.*, animals, singers, guests) involved in the celebration. Still, despite competition from Christian pop songs or flute and trumpet orchestras (**musik bambu*), the *badong* persists, albeit with unrelated words¹⁵³.

The music of the East, as far as it is concerned, has become either practically extinct or else displaced from its original context, since most of the rituals of the East (save house celebrations) have been unanimously prohibited by the Churches.

[...] The *pagan* celebrations such as *merauk*, *ma'parekke para*, and *massura' tallang*, in which numerous pigs are sacrificed to the divinities, these three celebrations must not be attended by Christians because these celebrations are ceremonies of veneration and adoration (Kobong 1992: 143).

Above all, it is the adoration and veneration of the divinities through the sacrificing of pigs which is proscribed. The celebrations *bugi'* and *maro*, prophylactic in nature, and giving pride of place to trance ("Satan's tortures"), are censured:

[...] The celebrations *mabate*, *ma'bugi* and *maro* must be abandoned by the Christians because they are against God's will. As for the celebration *mabate*, the pagans think the spirit of the deceased becomes a divinity who directs and controls nature. You must not believe in that any more, because this celebration does not agree with you. (*Ibid.*)

153. For the trumpets, see DVD / The Argument / Musical Instruments.

Which rituals survive today? Two types of rituals –funerals and house celebrations– involving strong local and family ties have been maintained, though often in altered versions. The officiants have been replaced by orators, invited and remunerated by the families. The singers have continued to be invited, as well. Although certain songs have been forbidden, others have been absorbed into Christian rituals, from which new songs have been created. Since the 1970s, the demand for progress, promoted by the government, and the attraction to the Occident have led the educated middle classes to lose interest in the pre-Christian traditions, deemed backward; Toraja intellectuals, who look at the traditional types of music under the influence of evolutionist aesthetics, consider them to be as yet unevolved.

In spite of the disappearance of the great rituals of the East (*bua'* and *maro*), new contexts have appeared. From time to time, the singers are called upon to dance before foreigners. And as it is not possible to sing funeral songs if there is no funeral, they draw upon their stock from the music of the East, displaced from their original context for the sake of the show. Nowadays, the songs of the East are sung at three types of ceremonies: house rites, church ceremonies, and governmental or tourist celebrations. On these occasions, the religious dignitaries ask the singers to modify the words, replacing them with new ones adapted for the event:

<i>Unnola padioran massalo'</i>	By the bath of baptism
<i>kadi dadian pole'</i>	life returns
<i>uranduk katuan ba'ru'</i>	to begin a new life
<i>umpotete' Puang Jesu</i>	Jesus becomes a crossing bridge
<i>Ta ampa' kasalamaran</i>	We are saved
<i>la tama bamba Suruga</i>	we re-enter in the region of Paradise
<i>kurre-kurre sumanga'</i>	Let the vital energy return

Chorus of Se'seng
recorded at Bittuang in 1993.

The singers, who would once praise the family, are now paid on the national holiday to praise development and the national principles:

<i>Umpanata kada misa</i>	Construct a common discourse
<i>untannun tengko situru</i>	braiding together
<i>Anna dadi *Pembangunan</i>	So that Development arrives
<i>na kombong Kamarampasan</i>	and Happiness is born
<i>Mennoto' lan *Pancasila</i>	Rooted in the Pancasila
	[Five Principles]
<i>siulang *kemerdekaan</i>	joined to Independence
<i>Kurre-kurre sumanga'</i>	Let the vital energy return

”Development”, **Pancasila*, and ”Independence” –such are three leitmotifs of Suharto’s Indonesia (1965-1998); and not only the music flies under Indonesian colours, as the tufts of hair from cut heads which used to decorate headdresses have been replaced by little Indonesian flags which float in the wind. In both cases –whether religious or political– the form of the song has survived, but the text and the contexts have changed. The singers are paid by the Church or State. The religious authority of the officiant has been replaced by the power of the pastor, priest, or prefect.

In 1993, I attended another occasion for singing the songs of the East: for the celebrations of August, on the occasion of the annual return of the emigrants who had gone to work on the other islands. In general, this celebration mixes three levels: the old religious heritage (the August restoration of the graves *ma'nene'*); the local celebration (the emigrants’ return bringing riches); and the national holiday (17 August), Indonesian Independence Day. This fusion of the religious, the local, and the national puts singing on the same level as sports competitions and family get-togethers.

Today, the rigid propriety of the ecclesiastic or governmental ceremonies contrasts with the joyous and bountiful disorder of their traditional equivalents. Whilst the ritual celebrations used to enable

local differences to be enveloped and integrated –which is what the juxtaposition of the groups of singers stood for– and whereas the ritual produced and guaranteed social and local cohesion, one cannot help but wonder if the rituals’ disappearance, along with the new musical practices, has not shifted the balance from the local to the national. These great songs do not play a part in sharing between local units; their dynamic comes no longer from the society itself but from an outside power.

Thus, with the coming of Christianity and Indonesianisation, the ritual structure has been turned upside down: the ”cycle of turning around” is now prohibited, and most rituals of the East have been eradicated. Once the dualism is broken, the relation of the living to their ancestors changes –the cyclical image dissolves and is replaced by a linear concept of irreversible transition from one life to another, altering the ancestral relationship between the living and the dead. The repertoires of the East, fallen out of use, have been taken over by the Church and the State, who ask the singers to keep the music but to change the words –giving the ancestral ritual music a new framework in which it can survive, but altered and emptied of its original efficacy, now that it is imposed by an external power. Though the music endures, it is no longer a medium favouring communication between the living, the dead, and the divinities; for the belief structure has been suppressed, the divinities replaced by the national principles, or by the figure of Jesus.

However, despite the changes brought about by religious conversions, Indonesianisation, and tourism, and although the relationships between the ancestors, the dead, and the divinities are now altered, the ritual continues to play a decisive role in the lives of the Toraja. With its partnership networks, the exchange economy renews itself endlessly –thanks to ceremonial debts, to the construction of reputations in local politics by means of ceremonial competitions, to the moral value still ascribed to the expression of reciprocal relationships between blood relations and affines, and, lastly, to the funeral and house rites.

Today, the continuation of the funeral ceremonies and the restoration of the houses of origin provide the Toraja emigrants with the elements for preserving an identity in modern Indonesia. The sense of family and community obligation continues to bind together the dispersed Toraja community and to maintain family reputation through ceremonial expenses, thereby reinforcing the links of descent and alliance. To give up these ties is a difficult step which few Toraja are prepared to take. For others, maintaining or establishing a reputation by means of funeral ritual is still a complicated issue –a challenge.

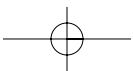
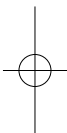
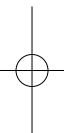
Of course, the varieties of traditional ritual music face competition from church music and from Christian choirs, but these are far from touching all of the remaining villagers. This is because the ritual perpetuates the ideals and the way of life that intensify the community spirit, as it enables members of the group gathered together for the occasion to become aware of their cohesion and common destiny –a destiny that, through the ritual, springs straight out of the past and opens on to the future. Despite its modifications, the ritual life, the permanent renewal of the display of status, remains one of the Toraja's obsessions. Since the rituals are still a fundamental social issue, it is hardly astonishing that the music –despite its devaluation and its transformations– continues to be performed, and plays a part in enhancing collective cohesion.

Is this really a desacralisation of the ancestral music, or, rather, a new kind of sacralisation? If it is not possible to give the answer here, it can at least be said that, deep down, one of the functions of ancestral singing (to praise the dead and the living) seems only to have been displaced: nowadays, the *simbong* no longer praises noble men but, instead, the new values imposed by the Church and the Indonesian government. It may be argued that the single God and the Lord Jesus, the government, and the idea of progress are presented to the eyes of the Toraja as factors for saving their souls and for improving their material lot, just as nature and the divinities were celebrated in song so as to favour the fecundity of humans, animals, and plants. However, the

Toraja singers distinguish folkloric and Christian performances from ancestral ritual performances: singing for tourists or the Church is no longer like going to a celebration –it is a professional obligation, no longer involving a complex system of exchanges and sacrificial sharing. The songs of the East are certainly maintained, but artificially; the singing is impoverished, standardised, sugared, sanitised, made to conform to a single model, shorter, lacking the joyous disorder and profusion of the old celebrations of the East.

Even if the order of the ancestral rituals has been ruptured, the links between the living persist all the same through the celebrations still in existence –funerals and house ceremonies, which still flourish. So long as the rituals survive, the music will continue to be performed, even if in an altered form. Since the funeral rituals persist, the *badong* also persists, and remains one of the manifestations of Toraja identity in the multi-ethnic culture of contemporary Indonesia. As for the *simbong*, it survives on life support, and is sometimes performed at great events other than funerals (for example, Christian ceremonies, folklore festivals, national holidays, and receptions of officials). For most Toraja today, music other than funeral music is little known. Apart from the *badong*, the young Toraja like music that makes them feel Indonesian, Christian, and like members of a wider group through the adoption of a uniform "transethnic" culture.

In the past, the lifeblood of Toraja music was its key role in three main facets of life: rituals, politics, and collective identity. It was used in the ritual cycle, necessary for the renewal of the society; it was a political tool indicating social prestige; and it was a marker of identity. Today, the music survives, but desacralised, stripped of the religious content which had joined together the living, the dead, and the divinities: the political and identity functions remain present in rituals in which the sacred often disappears.



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GLOSSARY AND INDEX

GLOSSARY OF TORAJA TERMS

Aluk : “Ritual, rule”; *aluk rampe matampu*’ : “rites on the side of the setting sun”; *aluk rampe matallo* “rites on the side of the rising sun”; *aluk silau’ eran simuane tallang* “rule of the graduated ladder of paired bamboos”; *aluk nene*’ “rules of the ancestors”; *aluk pembalikan* “rule of turnaround”.

Badong : “Funeral round dance sung by a chorus”.

Balanda : “Stranger, dutchman, white man”.

Bali : “Pair, double, answer, adversary, spouse”.

Balik : “To turn around”

Aluk pembalikan : “Rule of turnaround, of inversion”.

Bangkula’ : Formerly a kind of bamboo rattle, now a clapper bell, for the *manganda*’ dance or the *singgi*’ eulogy.

Basse : Oath; hanging down on both sides; passage; vowel change

Bate : “Ceremonial mast”.

Bating : “Lamentation”.

Bisara : “Ritual speech”.

Bolu : Fruit of the betel liana. Designates a small highly scented green shoot, broken to be chewed or offered to the divinities.

Bombo : “Shade”. Shade, image, phantom emerging from the human body after death, wandering without receptacle. The *tau-tau* effigies are called *bombo dikita* “shades that are seen”.

Bombongan : “Gong”. Medium sized kettle gong, hung, used at the most sophisticated funerals.

Bone : Old Bugis state in South Sulawesi.

* A detailed glossary is available in the DVD.

- Bua'* : 1. Customary territorial unit; 2. Ritual of the East; *bua' kasalle*: the greatest ritual on the side of the rising sun, synonyms *penanian*, *la'pa'*.
- Bugi'* : Prophylactic rite with trances; mixed-sex chorus; dance.
- Dandan* : Women's chorus with two vocal parts. See *nani*, *menani*, *ma'nani*, *pa'nani*, *ma'dondo*.
- Datu* : Honorary title found throughout the Austronesian world. In Toraja country, princess, queen or sovereign. The words *Datu* can be attributed to a God or to a noble person.
- Deata* : "Divinity". *Nene' mendeata*: ancestors sharing the essence and qualities of the divinities.
- Dondi'* : 1. North of Rantepao, nocturnal stanzas also called *londe* or *sengo*, sung in mixed-sex chorus with one or two vocal parts during funerals; 2. At Mamasa, polyphonic songs during paddy field cleaning, sung to favour the fertility of the fields.
- Gamara* : "Voice"
- Gandang* : "Drum". Double-headed cylindrical drum. By extension, officiant, specialist of ritual speech.
- Garatung* : "Small pellet drum". *Garatung*, *garapung*, *karatung*, *karatu*, *gamaru*. Two-skinned pellet hand drum made from python skin; the exclusive attribute of the to *burake*, female or male officiant of the rituals of the East.
- Garente*, *karente* : chirruping, chirping, bird song. Quivering, vibrant sound, staccato but pleasant to hear; *ma'garente* : to vibrate, tremble, shiver.
- Goa'* : Old Makassar kingdom.
- Gellu'* : Female dance to the sound of the drum, performed by young girls during the ritual *maro*. The dance is inspired by the pursuit of a sparrow, whence the names of the gestures corresponding to the birds.
- Gelong* : Rhythmically chanted narratives at the trance rituals *maro* and *bugi'*; *ma'kelong* : to pronounce these narratives; *gelong kandeatar*; *gelong ma'pasae deata* ; *gelong unnondo*.
- Geso'-geso'* : "Fiddle". One- or two-stringed, made from the sugar palm (*induk*), played at funerals to accompany the lamentations *marakka*, or in trio at the prophylactic *pakorong* ritual.
- Giring-giring* : Pellet bells; bells

Inaa : Soul, spirit, thought, heart, knowledge

Indo' : “Mother, chief”. *indo' gelong*, *indo' badong*, *indo' simbong* are leaders of musical groups; *indo' i*: to be responsible, *indo' i*: to fork, go out of the way, strike alternately, *mangindo' i*: beat the drum alternately (by marking the off-beat while the other marks the beat by example).

Io-io : Women’s chorus drone from the Mamasa region (west Toraja) performed in the paddy fields for the fertility of the soil during paddy field weeding. Syn. *dondi'*.

Issong : Mortar, rectangular and wooden (*issong pandan*) or made from stone, or round and flat (*issong batu*). *Sangissong badong* : “a circle of badong singers”.

Joge' : Dance sung by a chorus of young women for welcoming guests at funerals, only in a certain area, close to Luwu’.

Kacapi : “Plucked-boat lute”

Kada : “Word, speech”

Kala'paran : From *la'pa'* “free”. 1. Ceremonial site for the celebrations of the East; 2. Final act of a rite on this site.

Kalumpang : name of a region north of Baruppu’.

Karombi : “Jew’s harp”. In bamboo, played with a string.

Katapi : Long two-stringed-plucked boat lute of the Toraja region, once also called *su'dekan*.

Katia : Dance sung at funerals, in a certain area, around Rantepao.

A group of women accompanied by flautists sing and dance to welcome the guests.

Kore : To work alternately. *Sikore-kore*: alternating sounds with one another (ex: when the rice mortar is struck by several people).

Korok : Clucking of a chicken calling her chicks; to call to assemble;

pa'korok : the one who directs, who calls; in the song *simbong* designates the one who sings above or below the others. **Lagu dikorok* : song in which one or more soloists separate from the unison.

La Galigo : Epic written in old Bugis probably between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century.

La'pa'-la'pa' : “Clapper bird-scarer”.

Londe : Kind of pantun, said or sung between two or more singers during the rituals or in older times, in daily life. See *dondi'*.

- Londong*: “Cock”. Also, metaphor for a person of the male sex.
- Makaka*: *kaka*: “elder”; *To makaka*: people of middling or high nobility.
- Mamasa*: Toraja Region in the West near Mamuju.
- Mamulle*: To transport humans or animals on palanquins while shaking them.
- Manganda'*: Male dance, performed during the second part of the *buu' kasalle* ritual. Some men, wearing large heavy horned helmets, shake bells and shout.
- Manimbong*. See *simbong*.
- Marakka*: “Lamentation”. Solo song accompanied by one or more flautists, sung by one to three women for the arrival of the guests at the funeral rituals.
- Maro*: Name of a ritual giving rise to mutilations of the body (*mantere*), a ritual during which people enter into a trance after frenzied dances.
- Maro-marro* “idiot, simple”. *Puang Maro*: ancestor of the chicken, god of frenzy.
- Massarapa, sarapa*: “wash, purify by eliminating dirt”. Song chanted at the *buu' kasalle*, describing the expulsion of terrestrial illnesses.
- Nani*: 1. Praise, panegyric performed at the *buu' kasalle* celebration. To celebrate through a song; 2. *Menani*: to sing in female chorus at the *buu*; 3. *To menani*: male officiant of the *buu' kasalle* ritual. See *dondo, simbong*. Synonym: *karombian*.
- Ne'ne*: Grandfather, grandmother, ancestors. *Ma'nene'*: funerary ritual.
- Nondo*: “Leap”.
- Oni*: “Sound”. Sound of an animal or human being or musical instrument.
- Ono'*: From *tono* “compose with levels, from the smallest to the largest”; *mangono* “construct like a roof by piling bamboos in order of size”.
- Badong diono'*: song *badong* structured with groups of soloists.
- Ossoran*: “Narrative arranger in verse”. *Ossoran badong, ossoran bugi', mangosso'*.
- Oto' suling*: “Flute base”
- Padaling*: Gong-chime or kettle gong. Synonym *bombongan*.
- Pakorong*: Egret. *Ma'pakorong* “to make look like a heron”.
- Name of the healing ritual against the smallpox.
- Pasa'*: “Market”

- Penanian* : “Place of singing, customary territory”. See *Nani*.
- Puang* : God, divinity, lord, master, owner; title of nobility for members of princely families; *ma'puang* : another name for the *pakorong* ritual.
- Rampe matallo* : On the side of the rising sun.
- Rampe matampu'* : On the side of the setting sun.
- Rampean* : Affines.
- Randing* : Male war dance performed for the welcome of guests during the most elaborate funerals.
- Rapasan* : “Resting place, a hollowed out tree trunk”. Funeral of the highest degree performed in two stages; two-stage funeral.
- Rapu* : Group of cognatic descent claiming a common ancestor, family.
- Retteng* : Praise or satire declaimed, freely composed, introduced into the *simbong*, *nani* or *badong* choruses.
- Sampa'* : Part of narration. The *samparan simbong* is for example composed of the *sampa' kake'deran*: “narrative of the departure”, the *sampa' lalan* : “narrative of the road”, and the *sampa' tongkonan*: “narrative of the house”.
- Samparan* : “Narrative of presentation, introduction”. Narrative given by one or more *to minaa* officiants, sometimes supported by singers, before the sacrifices. Examples: *samparan tedong*, *samparan buru'*, *samparan bugi'*, *samparan bate'*, *samparan simbong*.
- Sanga* : To name, to praise.
- Sangka* : Model.
- Santung* : Tube zither or stick zither.
- Sapean, sape* : “collect, pluck the leaves from a stem”; *sapean tabang*: pick the leaves off the cordyline plant, expression used to designate the ritual *maro* in which the cordyline plant (*tabang*) plays a predominant role.
- Sara'ka'* : Comb used in loom; comb, look for dirt and fleas in the hair; atonement rite. Syn. *suru'*.
- Sarambu* : Waterfall.
- Sengo* : Song, sung tale, sung line, prayer. Sometimes synonym with *dondi'* or *londe*.

- Serang mundan* : “Widgeon’s nest”, mixed chorus during the *bua’ kasalle* celebration.
- Sibali* : To send something reciprocally back and forth (words, sentiments, etc.).
- Sikore, kore* : *Kore*: to work alternately. *Sikore-kore*: to alternate sounds with one another (e.g., when the rice-mortar is struck by several people); used in the pieces *suling deata*.
- Silopak* : “Join together”
- Simbong* or *manimbong* : In Sa’dan Toraja, male dance also called *manimbong*, sung in two vocal parts on drone on the occasion of the *bua’ kasalle* celebration. In Mamasa, two types of *simbong* existed: *simbong banua* for praising houses, or *simbong kura* for courting.
- Simuane, muane* : “man, male”; *simuane*: to get married.
- Singgi’* : Rhythmic praise declaimed by an officiant *to minaa* in the rites of the West (*singgi’ to mate*), or the East (*singgi’ bua*).
- Sisonda-sonda* : Alternate reciprocally. *Sisonda menaa*: “alternate breath reciprocally”, for singers when one breathes in the other continues to sing.
- Sode-sode, sode* : “happy time in a life”; *sode-sode* : praise, exalt.
- Suling* : Generic term for any bamboo flute. *Suling deata*: “flutes of the divinity”.
- Sumanga’* : “Vital energy, life-force”
- Suru’* : Comb; simple rite of atonement, commonly performed, called rite of the fine-toothed comb or rite of cleansing. In case of fault, to be purified a chicken should be sacrificed and its meat mixed with rice and offered to the divinities and ancestors. The chicken’s feathers are hung up in the home. See *Sara’ka*.
- Tandilo* : Stick zither, tube zither, or sometimes pellet drum in poetry.
- Tendeng* : “Praise”
- Tenten* : Parade of men armed with spears preceding the *manganda’* dancers at the *bua’ kasalle* celebration.
- To burake* : Female or male officiant of the rites of the rising sun, with attribute, the *garatung* drum.

To menani : “The one who sings”

To minaa : “The one who knows”. Officiant of the rites of the East and of the West, specialist of ritual speech.

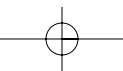
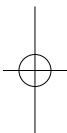
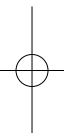
Toding : 1. Mark a human being’s forehead with the blood of a sacrificed animal; 2. Blood or earth taken from the ceremonial site and then applied to the forehead as a sign of the power of the divinities to repel maledictions; 3. Nowadays, gift of money placed on the body of singers, dancers or instrumentalists.

Tumangi’ : To cry.

Tumba’ : Effigy erected in the house during the *bua’ kasalle*.

Also called *anak dara*.

Tumbang : 1. “Dance leaping”; 2. Human into trance; 3. Woman obeying a series of interdictions during the *bua’ kasalle*.



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CREDITS

THE RECORDINGS (AUDIO, VIDEO) WERE MADE AND THE PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY DANA RAPOPORT IN 1991, 1993-1994, 2000, 2001, 2005. IN 1991, WITH SERGE SÉRAFINI; IN 1993, WITH THE HELP OF JOSÉPHINE SIMONNOT FOR THE VIDEO, AND LUTHER RAPÉ; IN 2001, WITH THE HELP OF GABRIEL CHABANIER.

THANKS TO ALL OF THOSE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO DOCUMENTING THE TORAJA CULTURE BY GIVING THEIR EXAMPLES FOR THIS BOOK-DVDROM:

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