

Holding Back the Mountain: Historical Imagination and the Future of Toraja-Bugis Relations¹

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Introduction

With the abrupt closure of the Suharto era in Indonesia, we have witnessed the sudden opening of debate on many long-suppressed topics, issues

¹ This article is a revised version of the paper presented at the panel of 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika': *Masih Mungkinkah* (Unity in Diversity: Is it Still Possible)? at the International Symposium of Journal ANTROPOLOGI INDONESIA 'The Beginning of the 21st Century: Endorsing Regional Autonomy, Understanding Local Cultures, Strengthening National Integration', Hassanuddin University, Makassar, 1-4 August 2000. This article was also published in Journal ANTROPOLOGI INDONESIA 24 (63): 65-81

which in several cases had been politically salient in the period of the 1950s, but which were left unresolved and which became emphatically undiscussable during the New Order. Foremost among such topics were those relating to the practice of democracy and the desirable extent of regional autonomy within this highly complex nation (Bourchier and Legge 1994). A historian might have felt a curious sense of *déjà vu* at witnessing student demonstrations in Makassar in October 1999, calling for an independent East Indonesia, an idea which recalls the divisive tactics of the Dutch during the struggle for Indonesian Independence of 1945-49—the last time such an entity had been proposed. What was more of a novelty was to see the issue immediately aired and given serious discussion on one of the new television talk shows which have proliferated in the newly liberalised political atmosphere of the post-Suharto era. The students' demands rapidly dwindled to a call for an independent Sulawesi, and then just South Sulawesi, before the movement was revealed for the distraction that it was.² Yet however implausible these proposals, one can see in them all the potential problems and dangers of ethnic diversity and competition in the new Indonesia, problems which would have been in no way eliminated by the progressive reduction of the geographical area for which independence was being demanded. While we can recognise, therefore, the urgent necessity for some degree of devolution in Indonesia, and the many positive benefits it can bring, we cannot help but be aware that it is not an un-mixed blessing. There are negative potentials, too, in the speed with which the new schemes for regional autonomy are to be implemented, and the many attendant uncertainties about exactly how, and by whom, the newly devolved powers and funds are to be administered at the local level.

The release of certain pressures under a new political regime will always allow for the surfacing of 'older issues, unfinished business' from an earlier time. Such issues often concern the construction of identities, the salience of which we can expect to be related to questions of competition over resources. Changes in the distribution of power may cause long suppressed rivalries to resurface, older power battles to be renewed. Local autonomy may provide the opportunity for a revival of 'old feudalisms'; 'horizontal conflicts' between ethnic communities may also become exacerbated, or take on a new colour as shifts occur in relations between majority and minority groups.³ At the least, the promise of

² A few days later, the newspapers reported that students had each been paid Rp. 50,000 per day to demonstrate. Some interpreted the events as a move by the Habibie faction to put pressure on the new president in order to ensure representation of Sulawesi in his cabinet lineup.

³ These terms were used by Cornelius Lay, political scientist of Gadjah Mada University, in his paper presented at a Seminar on 'Trends in Indonesia: Assessing Current Political Developments in Indonesia' held at ISEAS, Singapore, 28 April 2000.

autonomy raises new questions about wealth- and power-sharing at the local level. Increases in social tension are likely to accompany the assertion of local claims by specific groups, as other groups may fear becoming marginalized within a newly evolving power structure. In the above instance, the overwhelmingly Muslim identity of the students involved in the demonstrations was bound to raise questions about how ethnic and religious diversity would be accommodated even in an area as limited as South Sulawesi, whose highland peoples (notably those who now identify themselves as 'Toraja'), have maintained a largely non-Muslim identity, either as adherents of now dwindling indigenous religions of their own, or as Christians.

In this paper, I am concerned with the construction of ethnic identities as a historical process, which is always strongly influenced by the dynamic of interactions with other ethnic groups. One feature that strikes me as curious about the way this process has been enacted in Tana Toraja (the area of my own field research since 1978) is that the emergence of a 'Toraja' identity in the Sa'dan highlands is historically very recent, certainly not predating the 1930s (Bigalke 1981:16).⁴ It was therefore largely a consequence of the colonial experience, with all of the social transformations which that involved. Yet, at the same time, there is a much more ancient aspect to this identity, which is embodied in certain stories which have been passed down over generations. These stories appear to contain strong elements of myth, legend or what look like folktale motives; yet their possible historical basis can certainly not be dismissed. What I am interested in here is the particular form in which the most important of these stories has been transmitted, its connections (verifiable or otherwise) with actual historical events, and the reasons why it has retained such a strong significance up to the present day that it can be called upon even now to provide a template for action. Each time this happens, the tale gains renewed resonance and power, so that for all the unresolvable questions that surround its historical status, it can be seen to live in the present. Understanding this story may help to shed some light on how Toraja perceive themselves in relation to their Bugis neighbours in South Sulawesi, and the anxieties which they may feel in the context of present power shifts.

Historically, Toraja and Bugis peoples have been in constant contact with each other, and their languages and cultures are closely related. Although the highlands have had a marginal status in relation to more powerful lowland polities, for most of history they have co-existed peacefully, linked by shared myths, trade networks and the intermarriage of their aristocracies. However, in Toraja social memory, certain events stand out which concern occasions when the highlands were invaded by Bugis forces. They appear to have played a critical role in the development of a distinct identity, one which—as often happens—has been formulated partly in opposition to outsiders. One archetypal event, which en-

joys a mythologised significance, is sometimes claimed to have occurred during the reign of Arung Palakka of Bone, who, historical records confirm, led an expedition into the highlands in 1683. This campaign is recorded in Bugis sources as victorious, but is remembered by Toraja as a defeat for the forces of Bone.

The second important period, about which more direct memories have been passed down orally, was that of the 1880s and 1890s. In this chaotic period, forces from the Bugis kingdom of Sidenreng vied with the forces of Luwu' for control of the coffee trade out of the Toraja highlands. At the same time, they traded rifles to the Toraja chiefs and lured some of them into relationships of collaboration. Together they raided remoter Toraja districts for slaves, who were carried off and sold to become agricultural labour in the lowlands. It is estimated that perhaps as many as 12,000 Toraja were taken as slaves—or 10-15% of the total population of the Sa'dan highlands at this time (Bigalke 1981:68). A mania for gambling, apparently encouraged by the Sidenreng bands, also caused some people, who defaulted on their debts, to end up selling themselves, or their whole families, into slavery.⁵ Although ordinary people suffered terribly from the chaos that ensued, it was also a period of unprecedented interaction between highland and lowland elites. The possibility of exchanging either coffee or slaves for guns was altering the balance of power between ruling nobles and their commoners, with the result that some headmen had embarked on ambitious programmes of expansion, subduing weaker neighbouring communities and seizing their rice lands. Bigalke (1981:45) remarks that 'this trade was the original glue cementing the highland and lowland elites.' Toraja chiefs of the southern areas had begun to form closer ties with Sidenreng and with the Islamized states of Duri and Enrekang that lay between them. By the close of the nineteenth century, the leading Toraja chiefs could speak, read and write Bugis, some sent their sons to study the arts of war and etiquette at the court of Sidenreng, and a few were even toying with the possibility of a conversion to Islam (Bigalke 1981:69, 172). Whatever the cost to the more vulnerable Toraja communities, the collusion of Toraja nobles prevents us from describing this period as one of straightforward hostilities between Toraja and Bugis. These developments, however, were brought to an abrupt end by Dutch intervention and takeover in 1905.

In the 1950s, Toraja entered another troubled period, experiencing disruptions brought about by the activities of

⁵ In popular imagination, the Bugis are often held responsible for the introduction of gambling in Toraja, which is described as their revenge for the defeat at the hands of the Ancestors of the Same Dream. They probably did introduce dice and cards, though gambling is unlikely to have been entirely unknown before this. Cock-fighting is a truly indigenous Toraja past-time, one which, although it has important ritual connotations, almost certainly did include gambling in the past.

guerrillas of the separatist Muslim movement, Darul Islam, whose presence in Toraja was not eliminated until 1961. Moreover, in 1953 and 1958 there were two occasions when Bugis troops of TNI Battalion 720, under the control of Andi' Sose, caused trouble in the Toraja highlands and were rejected by Toraja forces backed by ordinary villagers. Given the way this chain of events seems to stand out in oral memory, one might well assume that hostility has been the dominant tone in relations with their neighbours. This would, however (as many Toraja have pointed out to me) be a gross distortion, since it would be to overlook the long historical periods (such as that from the late 17th to late 19th century) when relations were in fact peaceable.⁶ It would be mistaken, too, to assume that hostilities, when they occurred, have been the result of religious differences, since whatever the contrast that has been drawn historically in Sulawesi between those who accepted or rejected the pig, religion in earlier times was not the cause of dispute. In fact, it was only in the 1950s that aggressive proselytising by Muslim guerrillas (which sometimes included attacks on villagers' pigs, as well as threats to the life of villagers themselves, and forced recruitment into their forces), caused a rapid increase in Christian conversions in the highlands.⁷ Religion, then, has only in recent times become a potential source of tensions between the two groups. Even then, when tensions were running high in 1953 and a large number of Andi'Sose's troops were captured, older eyewitnesses recalled how they were not killed, but given a meal and sent back to Palopo, where they were put on a ship to Makassar. It must be stressed that on the whole, highlanders manifest a high level of religious tolerance. During the period of my first fieldwork, for instance, I myself lived in a multi-religious village household. The mother in this family adhered to the indigenous religion, Aluk to Dolo, while the father had converted to Islam as a result of his co-option into DI forces during the 1950s, during which period he had been away from home for a number of years. Of their ten children, some followed Aluk, some had converted to Christianity, while one daughter had been reared by her father as a Muslim. It should also be noted that a unifying thread in the oral memories we are considering is their defensive character. They are stories of resistance aroused in response to severe provocation—a theme which no doubt accurately enough reflects the marginality and vulnerability of the Toraja lands within the political landscape of South Sulawesi. No centralized kingdom ever formed

here such as had emerged over centuries in the lowlands, in fact Toraja seem quite successfully to have resisted being drawn into such larger political entities—but, just like other small-scale societies of Sulawesi, they were periodically at risk of being preyed upon by more powerful kingdoms (cf. Schrauwers 1997). Toraja like to characterise themselves as forbearing, slow to anger but courageous when driven to desperation. This image of themselves, idealised—like most self-images—though it may be, is partly rooted in collective memories of the past.

Arung Palakka and his Toraja adventure: a view from external sources

After the Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511, a significant part of the spice trade became diverted to the port of Makassar, enabling the Makassarese kingdom of Gowa to grow more powerful as a rival trading state. By the seventeenth century, up until the Dutch conquest of 1667, Gowa was extending its influence through other parts of Sulawesi, including northern Sulawesi and the Sa'dan highlands (Bigalke 1981:31). It also became a powerful force in other islands of Eastern Indonesia, as it attempted through repeated expeditions to secure bases by which to control the spice routes. The ruler of Luwu' had been the first to accept Islam in February of 1605, following the proselytising efforts of three Minangkabau clerics. He was followed only eight months later by the rulers of Gowa and its twin state of Tallo', who then used their conversion as an excuse to enhance their claims to leadership in the peninsula. In the next few years they went to war and by 1611—in the teeth of fierce opposition—had enforced the conversion of all the other Bugis states including Sidenreng, Soppeng, Wajo' and finally Bone (Pelras 1996:135-37). Bone in turn spread the new religion to its subordinate states in Enrekang and Duri to the north.⁸ Toraja was thus the only part of South Sulawesi that remained unreceptive to Islam, and where people continued to maintain their own indigenous religion.

Gowa in its period of glory had twice defeated Bone and driven into exile a group of Bugis refugees under the leadership of Arung Palakka. Their control of the spice trade however was an obstacle to the monopoly which the Dutch were determined to establish. When the Dutch wanted to attack Gowa in 1666, the Bonenese, resentful of the humiliations they had suffered, entered into alliance with them and played a decisive part in Gowa's ensuing defeat. Arung Palakka was later declared ruler of Bone in 1672, and set about consolidating his power throughout South Sulawesi. The Toraja highlands remained the last region to acknowledge his supremacy. Due to the Dutch involvement with Arung Palakka, quite detailed records of his doings have survived in Dutch

⁶ The Sa'dan highlands' entry into the commercial slave trade was a late development, which can be traced partly to particular political conditions elsewhere in the region at that time. It has not been a continuous feature of relations between the two groups.

⁷ Bigalke (1981:227) has shown that by 1930, less than 1% of the population had converted to Christianity; by 1950 the figure was still only 10%. The 1960 census, however, recorded nearly 40% as Christian.

⁸ This area at the time formed a federation known as Massenrempulu'.

colonial archives to provide corroboration of Bugis and other indigenous sources, and Andaya (1981:258-60) draws on these to describe several occasions on which punitive expeditions were sent to subdue the Toraja. 'Toraja' in these accounts, it should be noted, is used in a fairly broad way to include areas in Duri and Enrekang, which at that time were culturally still part of the Toraja world, but which lie outside the borders of present-day Tana Toraja and whose populations now are Muslim. Apparently Arung Palakka had received complaints from the residents of Sawitto, Batu Lappa and Enrekang about raids by the Toraja of Leta (an area now part of Enrekang), and this provided the excuse for him to raise an allied force of troops from all over South Sulawesi—proof in itself of the extent of his power. The people of Leta were duly overwhelmed and many of them brought back as slaves. The success of this expedition encouraged Arung Palakka to extend his campaign further into the highlands. His troops numbered around 50,000; in August 1683, he further requested, and was granted, the assistance of a small contingent of Dutch soldiers. It seems that Luwu' had also asked for Arung Palakka's help against the Toraja, from whom it could no longer command the respect it had formerly. An additional incentive was that Arung Palakka was hoping to marry his nephew and successor, La Patau, to the daughter of the Datu (ruler) of Luwu', with the promise that their offspring would become the next ruler of Luwu'. The Datu, however, had made Arung Palakka's participation in a war against the Toraja a condition for his consent. Dutch reports of the ensuing events from August to October 1683 reveal that the Toraja understood rather well how to mount an effective guerrilla resistance against the invading force. They drew the troops deeper and deeper into the mountains while making surprise attacks on their camps. Losses from poisoned darts and man traps, as well as some pitched battles, were heavy. Arung Palakka himself took bold risks and was himself twice nearly hit by poisoned darts. Eventually on 10 October the Toraja chiefs sued for peace and promised to pay 1,000 *gantang* (3,125 kg) of rice and 1,000 water buffaloes. 600 Toraja captives were taken away as slaves. In the following years up to 1694, at least four more punitive expeditions were sent into the highlands, though the areas explicitly mentioned are once again southern ones in Enrekang and Duri. Each time the Toraja were subdued and captives taken as slaves, but none of these campaigns united the Toraja in as memorable a fashion as in 1683.

According to Andaya's account, the areas which submitted to the might of Bone in that year were chiefly those of the southern 'Three Domains' of Ma'kale, Mengkendek and Sangalla. From the available details it is difficult to ascertain just how far north Arung Palakka's troops were able to penetrate. However, these events left indelible impressions in Toraja oral memory, being remembered as a Toraja victory. In fact it is recalled as the only time when the many small and autonomous communities of the highlands banded together

against an external threat. The alliance was short-lived, and failed to lead to any permanent political unity, but for that brief time, perhaps, people had sensed a common identity which gave rise to a poetic phrase still used to describe Toraja territory: *Tondok Lepongan Bulan, Tana Matarik Allo*, or 'Country as Round as the Moon, Land Circular like the Sun'—imagery intended to convey a sense of completeness. The warrior ancestors who united in order to 'hold back the mountain of Bone' (*untulak buntuna Bone*) were called the *Nene' Pada Tindo*, the 'Ancestors of the Same Dream'. They are still remembered by name in oral accounts all over Toraja, though, as we shall see, the vehicle by which they have been remembered is a story which bears little resemblance, if any, to the one in the history books. According to Toraja versions of events, after their defeat of the Bone troops, a great oath (*basse kasalle*) was sworn between Bone and Toraja that if either side should ever again disturb the peace between them, disaster would befall them. The oath can be ritually 'woken up' in time of need, as was done in the troubled days of the 1950s.

How far was Toraja really subjugated to Bone after these events? In spite of indemnities paid, and slaves carried off, Bone's presence in the highlands was certainly not continuous. Van Rijn (1902:349) writes that after the invasion, Toraja paid tribute to Arung Palakka in the form of a few bottles of gold dust. He could also raise troops there when required: a contingent of Toraja warriors was present as part of the massed allied forces raised throughout South Sulawesi by Arung Palakka to assist the Dutch East India Company in a war against Sumbawa in 1695, and took part in the oath-taking ceremony over which he presided in September of that year (Andaya 1981:291-3). The Bugis had their own strongly developed tradition of making treaties, and their version of the treaty drawn up with Toraja has survived in a palm leaf manuscript (*lontara*) cited by Andaya (1981:112). Interstate relationships, as Andaya explains, were generally cast in terms of clearly defined kin relationships, which metaphorically embodied different degrees of hierarchy. The two parties in an alliance of full equality were described as brothers who were 'equally great', but more often, inequalities of power and status were expressed in terms of a relationship between 'elder sibling' and 'younger sibling', or, more emphatically, between 'mother' and 'child'. At the very bottom of the hierarchy of possible relationships was that between 'master' (*puang*) and 'slave' (*ata*). After Arung Palakka's expedition, Toraja were considered to be 'slaves' of Bone. A vassal state in this unfavourable position, while supposedly totally at the mercy of the master, however, retained a surprising degree of autonomy, for the treaty reads:

Keep the land which is your land, the rocks which are your rocks, the rivers which are your rivers, the grass which is your grass, the water which is your water, the water buffaloes which are your water buffaloes, the *ipo*⁹ which is your *ipo*, the weapons which are your weapons, the *adat* which is your *adat*, and the *bicara* [legal process] which is your *bicara*.

Andaya concludes, 'Even a "slave" state in South Sulawesi treaty traditions retains its identity and its self-esteem'. Whether or not a copy of this treaty was ever kept in the highlands, it seems that no such memory of their newly subjugated status has been retained orally. On the contrary, what was kept alive in Toraja was a story of triumph, and the rout of invading forces. Existing evidence suggests that slave raids into the highlands continued only very intermittently during the remainder of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, and even through the first half of the rise to a poetic phrase still used to describe Toraja territory: *Tondok Lepongan Bulan, Tana Matarik Allo*, or 'Country as Round as the Moon, Land Circular like the Sun'—imagery intended to convey a sense of completeness. The warrior ancestors who united in order to 'hold back the mountain of Bone' (*untulak buntuna Bone*) were called the *Nene' Pada Tindo*, the 'Ancestors of the Same Dream'. They are still remembered by name in oral accounts all over Toraja, though, as we shall see, the vehicle by which they have been remembered is a story which bears little resemblance, if any, to the one in the history books. According to Toraja versions of events, after their defeat of the Bone troops, a great oath (*basse kasalle*) was sworn between Bone and Toraja that if either side should ever again disturb the peace between them, disaster would befall them. The oath can be ritually 'woken up' in time of need, as was done in the troubled days of the 1950s.

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Holding back the mountain of Bone: Toraja memories of Arung Palakka

A 'founding moment' in Toraja social memory seems to have been the struggle against the invading army of a king of Bone. He is identified in some—but by no means, all—versions as Arung Palakka.¹⁰ In response to this threat, the headmen of Toraja settlements formed an alliance and swore an oath to stand together, the *basse lepongan bulan* ('oath/alliance of the [region] as round as the moon'). These leaders are called the *Nene' Pada Tindo* ('Ancestors of the Same Dream')—the 'same dream' here having the sense of a shared destiny—or *to pada tindo, to misa' pangimpi* ('those of the same dream, those of the single destiny'). Their short-lived federation is often cited by Toraja as the original source of a 'Toraja' identity, but there is no evidence that it gave rise to any long-term political unity, in spite of living on in folk memory. It is clear that it did not produce any single leader,

⁹ *Ipo* is a forest tree whose highly toxic resin was used for blowdart and arrow-poison. Nooy-Palm (1979:227) identifies it as either *Strychnos nux vomica* (also called *ipo* by Borneo peoples), or possibly *Antiaris toxicaria* (Ind. *upas*)

¹⁰ As we have seen, Arung Palakka really did invade Toraja in 1683. Tangdilintin (1978:44) gives the date of the invasion as 1675, though no evidence is offered for it. Nooy-Palm (1979:60) makes brief mention of Toraja resistance to an invasion by Arung Palakka, but unfortunately does not mention her sources. Bigalke states his belief that the events described in oral memory are based on actual historical circumstances; but not all Toraja today seem convinced that the king of Bone who features in the story was necessarily Arung Palakka. Some place the story earlier, while others compressed or elided events and time frames so that the story of Pakila' Allo was merged with memories of the 'coffee war' of the 1880s and '90s.

either, which might have resulted in some more permanent move toward political centralization. Instead, it was an egalitarian alliance of dozens of village leaders—which, in the version I discuss below, was itself described as requiring prolonged negotiations, mediated by the *to minaa* (or traditional priest), in order to settle old feuds, before all could agree to act together. The more developed versions of the story typically list a hundred or more names, though the names themselves are subject to a certain amount of variation according to region (and have probably changed a little over time as well). Regional variation also tends to be closely linked to landscape, always giving precedence to local mountains and meeting-places. The memories take the form of a dramatic narrative, which tells how a misunderstanding arose between certain Toraja protagonists and the king of Bone. Perhaps it is significant that this story begins with the smithing of a sword, emblem of political power¹¹; and that the initial event is a misunderstanding over what is perceived to be an unfair exchange between highlanders and lowlanders. By far the most detailed version I have heard was told to me by Pak Paulus Pasang Kanan of Sangalla' in June 1996. In fact his account is held in place by such a tight web of genealogical information and local place names, that it is hard not to conclude that Sangalla' is indeed the place of origin of the tale. The Lord of Bone in his story is not identified as Arung Palakka; in his opinion this is a matter about which there is no certainty. Here is a summary of his story:

There was once a man called Porrade', who forged a kris in Sa'dan, called Gayang Mata I Pindan ('Kris with an 'Eye' of Porcelain').¹² Now Pong Barani of Marinding went to sell this kris in Bone. When he showed the kris at night, it shone because it had been rubbed with phosphorescent fungus (*ki'di*). The Arung Bone (the Lord of Bone) asked, 'Where is the kris you have brought?', and Pong Barani answered (somewhat enigmatically), 'This kris is what I get my fish and eels with' (meaning, that it was his livelihood, and that he intended to sell it, not give it away). The Lord of Bone misunderstood, and thinking the kris was a gift, he kept it. Pong Barani continued to stay in Bone, until eventually, he requested payment. This angered the Lord of Bone, who ordered him to be stabbed. At that, Pong Barani left Bone and returned home, and went to see Porrade' at Sa'dan. He told him what had happened, and they fell to thinking, how they could recover the price of the kris. And they had the idea that

they would buy rice and go down to Bone, and sell it very cheap, cheaper than the rice in Bone. The people down there would all come and buy their rice, and they would make enough money to recover the cost of the kris. So they carried out this plan.

When they began to sell the rice so cheaply, people were very surprised, and Pong Barani was summoned before the Lord of Bone. He asked, 'What is the reason your rice is so very cheap? Is there so much rice where you come from?' And Pong Barani replied, 'There's so much rice in Toraja, that every time we go out for a walk, we're knee-deep in it.'...The Lord of Bone agreed to send some people up there, to bring back some of this rice. When Pong Barani was ready to go home, some men of Bone were ordered to accompany him, 'seven helmets' (*pitu palo-palo songko*'), which means, as many men were ordered to stand up, as the number of grains of maize it would take to fill seven Bugis helmets made of woven bamboo. Now, when they arrived back in Toraja, some were seized and sold into slavery and others were killed. People in Bone awaited their return, but nobody came back, and then they received news that many had been murdered or sold into slavery. Then an army was raised in Bone, once again numbering 'seven helmets', and they set out to make war on Toraja. At Randan Batu (near Sangalla'), the home of Pakila' Allo, they did battle, and Pakila' Allo was captured alive. He could not be killed, because he had a magic stone (*balo'*) which made him invulnerable to iron. He was taken back to Bone, where the people tried to kill him. They drove a stake of guava wood up his anus and threw him into the sea. And he floated in the sea. When he had been in the sea a long time and still did not die, they took him out of the sea and removed the stake, and took him to the house of the Lord of Bone. The Lord of Bone adopted him and treated him like his own son. And because of the fondness that was shown him by the Lord of Bone, Pakila' Allo ended up becoming very friendly with the Lord of Bone, and hating his own people in Toraja. Once the Lord of Bone saw that he had Pakila' Allo's loyalty, he ordered him to return to Toraja.

When he came back to Randan Batu, Pakila' Allo married and settled at Lebani' (in an area known as the 'three districts'—Balik Bokko, Randan Batu and Mangape-Tambunan). At that time, he built a dam at Bolo', which to this day is called 'Pakila' Allo's dam'. And his plan was to rear, in the pond he had made, a baby crocodile which he had brought back with him from Bone. He intended to feed this crocodile, not on other animals but on people's first-born children. People were shocked, and they were afraid their first-born would be taken and fed to the crocodile. And at the same time, Pakila' Allo became a tyrant and began to exploit people and violate the *adat* (*ma'panggalogalo*) in the three districts. If anyone was holding a ceremony, they were not allowed to proceed without Pakila' Allo being present [this would mean he would have to be given a lot of meat from the sacrifices; according to another version, he also sinned by moving the boundary stakes in the rice fields in order to seize land belonging to his relatives]. And so, all his fellow-villagers and his relatives, even his own sister, began to hate him. Eventually, they plotted to kill him. So they gathered together a few warriors (*to barani*) and when night fell, they surrounded Pakila' Allo's house, and attacked him with knives. But because he fought back boldly, and could not be hurt by iron, they only managed to wound him in the head. He quickly got down into the undercroft of his house, and clinging to the neck of his buffalo which was stalled there, he let it out and made his escape. He swore to wreak vengeance, and in alarm, the people sent messengers to find Karusiak of Madandan and ask him to obtain dart-poison (*ipo*), for they planned to use it to kill Pakila' Allo. The poison was given to Pakila' Allo's sister, so that she should go and kill him with it, and stop him from causing a great disaster. Because this sister of his was also much upset by what Pakila' Allo was doing, and feared to see him become

¹¹ Sources of iron, and the skilled forging of weapons, have played a significant part historically in political developments in South Sulawesi. Large deposits of slightly nickelous iron ore in the Soroako region of Central Sulawesi supplied the raw material for the famous *pamor Luwu'*, an iron-nickel alloy used to make pattern-welded kris blades (Zerner 1981; Bronson 1992). As a valuable export to Java and other parts of the archipelago, iron played a part in the rise of Luwu' as a wealthy state in the C14th and C15th. Swords are treasured as heirlooms all over the region, and the skills of highland smiths were greatly valued. Pelras (1996:249) records a myth from Bone which ascribes the skills of forging to an original Toraja master smith, Panré Baka, said to have come from Sangalla'.

¹² The 'eye' refers to a circular ornament set into the hilt or sheath.

ing more and more cruel. And everybody in the three districts hated Pakila' Allo. She took the poison and went to visit her brother. On the pretext of dressing his head wound, she rubbed the poison into it and killed him.

Some time later, his daughter went and carried her complaint to the Lord of Bone, who had once taken Pakila' Allo as his own son. When he heard her story, the Lord of Bone promised her he would come and avenge Pakila' Allo. Pakila' Allo's daughter stayed a long time in Bone; her name was Bu'tu Bulaan ('Golden Dawn'). And when she finally reappeared in Toraja, the people there knew that the people of Bone would be coming to make war in retaliation against them. Once more their leaders held a meeting; Tumbang Datu of Bokko, Patana' of Tambunan, Mangape and Pong Kalua' of Randan Batu, met to consider what they could do against the forces of Bone who would come to avenge Pakila' Allo. And they knew that alone, they would never be able to hold out against them. So they called the leaders of other villages in the region of the Sarira mountains.¹³ And they began again to discuss what they should do. In the end they decided, that if they were to be strong enough to hold back the mountain of Bone, they would have to call all the leaders of the whole region. So they sent out word to every part of Toraja, and held a great meeting in the country around Sarira, and a night market was set up. They sacrificed a pig with no tail (*bai pokki'*), and [when examined as a form of augury] its gall-bladder turned to stone [which was interpreted as a good omen].

[There follows a list of all the leaders who attended; 116 persons are named, the list ending with the words 'and many others too']. They all came together on mount Sarira, when the night market was set up. This is where, so they say, cockatoos were sold as white chickens, and crows were sold as black chickens, because it was dark and people didn't realise. A unanimous decision was reached to hold back the mountain of Bone, to unite all the villages of Toraja against the enemy from Bone. And they decided, that each village would set up a great torch (*dama' banga*) as a warning signal, so that when the torch was lit in the south, down in Duri, it would be a sign that the enemy was in sight. And then another would be lit up on Sarira, and everyone who saw it would light their own torches on all the mountain tops of Toraja, as a sign that every Toraja should be ready to fight in defense of their land. It was also decided on Sarira, that if they were victorious against the army of Bone, they would hold a ceremony of thanksgiving (*surasan tallang*) and make offerings to Puang Matua (a creator deity) on Sarira. It was further decided, if victory was theirs, that afterwards anyone who was holding a funeral ceremony, whether of five nights, seven nights, or of the highest level (*dirapa'i*), would have all the names of those who had attended this meeting declaimed from the meat-dividing platform (*bala' kayan*), and each village that had sent a representative to Sarira would receive a share of meat. Then all of the leaders went back to their own villages to prepare their warriors to defend themselves against the mountain of Bone.

When the army of Bone came up into Duri, to Malua', it is said that their forces were divided into three: two 'helmets' (*palo-palo songko'*) went to the east, two to the west, and three came up through the middle of Toraja country. When the army was seen in Duri, the drums were beaten as a sign: wherever the drum was heard, people were to go there, because that was where the enemy was. The big torches were lit, to let people know that the enemy had entered Toraja.

And all the warriors were ready in the whole of the Country Round as the Moon. The enemy advanced directly north toward Rantepao, and headed toward Sa'dan. Before long, they were driven from Sa'dan and surrounded, and a fierce battle was fought. Soon, the Bone troops were driven out, and many were dead. The dead outnumbered the living, so that they retreated back to their own country. Once the army of Bone had gone back to Bone, the Toraja leaders fulfilled their promise and came together again on Mount Sarira to make offerings, before returning to their own villages. From that time onwards, Toraja and Bone no longer got on; you could say they had become enemies (*sisallang*), because they had quarrelled and fought to no good purpose. However, some of the headmen in Duri and Enrekang, the leader of Aman in Duri and Kabere' in Enrekang, sent messengers to Bone and to Toraja to see if they couldn't find a way to make peace between them. A big meeting was held, and so it came about that peace was restored between Bone and Toraja and there was a renewal of friendly relations. This meeting was held at Malua', in Duri, between the leaders of Bone and the leaders of Toraja. A sandalwood and a lamba' (figus) tree were planted; a buffalo of the kind called *teken langi'*, with one horn pointing up and one down, was sacrificed; and a bunch of alang-alang grass was burnt to ash. And they agreed that what was past, was past, and that it was necessary to restore peace. So an oath was sworn, that neither should henceforth harm the other. The to minaa (priest) spoke when the oath was made, and said: 'The people of Toraja and of Bone shall now be in agreement, and if either shall do harm to the other, whether Toraja or Bone, they shall be gored by the horns of this buffalo and tossed to the middle of the sky, and trampled by its hooves until the ground swallows them. They shall be totally destroyed like this burnt grass, they shall have no children or grandchildren.'

Pak Pasang Kanan's concluding words explained how the story has been passed on by word of mouth and establish that the story has an important place in Toraja oral traditions. I collected several variants of the same tale, though few were as detailed as this one. Other variants may be vaguer and briefer. But in this extraordinary story of cruelty and counter-cruelty, of treachery and betrayal, certain features always recur. One is the focus upon the problematic character of Pakila' Allo, a Toraja who, having been adopted by the Bugis, changes his loyalties and betrays his own people. Another is the idea of a night market, at which crows are sold instead of black cocks, cockatoos or egrets instead of white cocks, *kaloko'* (a black and red bird) instead of black and red cocks, and a poisonous leaf (*lelating*) woven into mats which cause the user unexpected irritation. In the above version, not much is made of this motif, and its significance is unclear. But it recurs so regularly in all the versions I have heard that one must see it as one of those narrative elements that, while it sounds more like a folk tale motif than a matter of history, has helped to carry the story over time (cf. Fentress and Wickham 1992:59). According to several versions, the Bone troops sent to occupy the highlands stayed there for almost a year, oppressing the people and taking their daughters in forced marriages, before the uprising was planned. This market is then described as a means by which the Toraja outwitted the Bugis (an inversion perhaps of the latter's historically dominant commercial role in the highlands); others say the market provided a distraction which

¹³ A ridge of mountains running north from Ma' kale, said to be the remains of the ladder that once joined earth and heaven, the *eran di langi'*.

prevented the Bugis from noticing the secret meetings of the Ancestors of the Same Dream as they planned their revolt. One person described the market as having been founded by Pakila' Allo himself as a way of enriching himself by attracting people to gamble all night. But a more intriguing explanation (provided by the head priest of the Aluk to Dolo, Tato' Dena') was that the market, organised by the Ancestors of the Same Dream, was intended as a warning to the deities, that unless they aided a Toraja victory, their offerings in future would be deliberately muddled up.

The third recurrent feature is the description of the Bone troops as a multitude, described as *pitu palo-palo songko*' ('seven helmets'). As they assembled for their assault on Toraja, each soldier placed a grain of maize into a large helmet, and they were so many that they filled seven helmets. Of the seven, only three (or, in some versions, one) of these *palo-palo songko*' lived to return home after the Toraja uprising. Pak Pasang Kanan's version is unique in describing how in fact, there were three separate occasions when such a large army of 'seven helmets' was sent—perhaps an echo of historically repeated raids and incursions, or perhaps merely an elaboration proving the power of the number three in the structure of folk tales (Propp 1968). A version from Sa'dan recalls further elements of trickery put to use against the Bone troops, when some Toraja approached the Bone camp and offered to guard the horses tethered outside. Then when night fell, they wrapped sugar-palm fibre around the horses and set fire to them, turning them loose in the camp and shutting the gate behind them, so that they charged about and trampled everyone, and many Bugis soldiers were killed as they tried to flee the ensuing confusion. At another place, the Toraja laid smooth leaf-spathes of the sugar-palm around their own encampment, so that when the Bone troops came to attack them, their horses slipped and fell, while the riders were picked off one by one. These techniques of warfare recall some of the real accounts given in the Dutch reports of Arung Palakka's Toraja campaign, and may well reflect memories of the guerrilla tactics which the highlanders have traditionally utilized against superior invading forces.

The telling of the story always includes a long list of local village leaders (other variants may also boast over a hundred names), with their places of origin, who attended the meeting and swore the oath to defend their homeland. My impression is that, while a small core of names (for instance, 'Karusiak of Madandan') recur across many versions, the rest may vary widely in different areas, with a concentration of local names being recalled in each place. Certain mountains are also recalled as the places where torches were lit to send the signal for the uprising against the Bone troops, with precedence generally given to local landmarks. Thirdly, the site of the swearing of a 'great oath' (*basse kasalle*) of peace between Bone and Toraja at the end of this war also differs. Some variants from the more central districts say that the oath was sworn at Bamba Puang in present-day Enrekang

(south of the present border of Tana Toraja), where there is a mountain peak associated with local origin myths. According to Tato' Dena', it was at a place called Pana'-Pana' in Duri. But on a visit to Simbuang in 1978, I was shown three small standing stones in front of the ancient *tongkonan* of Simbuang Tua which local residents say mark the spot.¹⁴ In the story as told by Pak Pasang Kanan, one would have to say that there were certainly faults on both sides. The oath curses either party, Bone or Toraja, who breaks the peace between them, and can be ritually 'woken up' (*ditundan basse*) to bring disaster on invaders if the promise is broken.

Pak Pasang Kanan added a coda to his story:

After being driven out of Toraja, the men of Bone held a meeting to discuss how they might be avenged, but they were unable to decide what to do. It was a woman who finally proposed a plan. She instructed them to kill a buffalo with downward-pointing horns (*tedong sokko*), and carve one of its bones into dice. In this way Toraja would be brought low, like the buffalo horns. From the skin of the buffalo, a set of playing cards were made. Hearing that a big ceremony was to be held at Sa'dan in the north of Toraja, the people of Bone went there via Palopo, bringing the dice, while the cards were brought into Mengkendek, in the south. The Toraja fell to gambling, as a result of which many who were unable to pay their debts were sold into slavery.

This motif acts as a connecting thread to real events remembered from the 1880s-1890s, when the Sidenreng bands made their presence felt in the highlands.

Fentress and Wickham (1992:59) have shown how epic stories may be passed on orally for centuries until they become fixed as a set of images which, while highly unreliable historically, may seem very lifelike and real to the audience. 'Social memory', they conclude, 'is not stable as information; it is stable, rather, at the level of shared meanings and remembered images.' I think it is impossible to say definitively what are the links between the narratives of the Ancestors of the Same Dream, and actual historical events in Sulawesi. Yet we are still left with the question of how, and why, the tale has been so tenaciously preserved, with all of its remarkable details, especially the huge list of names with their associated houses. The stories end by explaining that all those who trace descent from the Ancestors of the Same Dream were given the right to have the tale declaimed from the top of the meat-dividing platform at their highest-ranking funerals, with shares of meat to be distributed to the descendants of each named ancestor. It is this that has provided a regular occasion for retelling the story, while simultaneously giving it a continued relevance in terms of present social relations. The significance of the story must therefore

¹⁴ There is always the possibility that two or more oaths were sworn. Since Simbuang borders on the Bugis region of Sawitto, the part played by the Sawitto people in this war features more prominently in their memories. A recently published version of the story collected by a Toraja author (Tulak 1998:70) adds details of a second oath sworn in the reign of La Patau, Arung Palakka's successor, even specifying a date (c.1710), but it does not make clear what were the circumstances surrounding this event.

be seen to rest at least partly in its continued activation as a means of inscribing precedence and status *within* Toraja society, as much as it dramatizes the alliance forged by Toraja communities in the face of an external threat.

Conclusion: useable pasts and workable futures

'The past is not dead,' William Faulkner remarks in one of his novels, 'It is not even past.' Each time the past is invoked, it may be subject to reinterpretation, and gain renewed significance. The ritual 'reawakening' of the oath (*ma'tundan basse*) has occurred historically in connection with incidents relating to the presence in Tana Toraja of troops of the TNI Battalion 720 controlled by Andi' Sose, who until 1952 had been a lieutenant of Kahar Muzakkar. Andi' Sose was a Bugis aristocrat from Duri on the southern border of Tana Toraja, whose family have long-standing marriage connections with the aristocracy of the southern Toraja districts. Andi' Sose therefore can himself claim some Toraja ancestry, and in his youth attended the Dutch *Schakelschool* (or 'link school') in Ma'kale. In 1953, Andi' Sose's openly pro-Muslim stance, together with the increasingly undisciplined behaviour of his troops, caused a mounting sense of outrage among Torajans which culminated in a concerted attack on his battalion, which was driven out of the highlands (Bigalke 1981:380, 408-9). When his troops were again posted there in 1958 to replace Javanese forces relocated to North Sulawesi to deal with the Permesta rebellion which began in 1957, they were again opposed by a combined force of Toraja soldiers in the TNI, under the command of a local leader, Pappang, together with a motley collection of village defence units, students and ordinary villagers. Once again, Toraja drew effectively on collective memories of defensive warfare on their own territory, drawing Andi' Sose's troops far into the northerly mountains of Pangala' and cutting off their retreat in a narrow valley, where they were routed and obliged to withdraw. Thus they were once again ejected from the highlands. Andi' Sose's ambitions towards control of the highlands are sometimes consciously interpreted by Toraja as having been an attempt to continue the ancient 'Bone war' (*perang Bone*) and the 'coffee war' (*perang kopi*) of the nineteenth century by other means. What prevented him from succeeding, they say, was the oath, which doomed his enterprise to failure. But it is not only against Bugis troublemakers that the oath can be awakened; most recently of all, I was told, trouble had been anticipated when Toraja students held two demonstrations against the Bupati in October 1999, accusing him of corruption and other unspecified 'offenses'.¹⁵ Anxiously anticipating that disturbances might mount and get out of control, for a brief moment there was talk of awakening the oath then; but in the end matters

were resolved peacefully. This raises the question of who, in Toraja society, has the authority to have the oath awakened. In the 1950s, it was the Puang of Sangalla', a prominent noble, who ordered the performance of the ritual at the traditional site on Mount Sarira (though there are other sites in different districts where the rite can be, and was, also performed). I am not sure who, in the latter instance, may have mooted the awakening of the oath and what this might say about the internal politics of the moment. At the least, the report confirms that past and present events continue to resonate with each other.

At the present time, I observe that there is a heightened sense of anxiety on the part of Toraja about their safety in Makassar. It is not without some justification. Students say they frequently experience harassment in the University, and the consciousness of being a minority has become enhanced as the issues surrounding provincial autonomy come to the fore. In the current atmosphere in Indonesia, ethnic oppositions are all too easily presented as having a religious basis, as we see in Maluku, but closer inspection is much more likely to reveal historical and economic reasons for contestation between groups. There are certain reasons why Toraja may feel anxious about the possible jealousy of their neighbours. In terms of education, Toraja benefited from the Dutch colonial period because of the large number of mission schools that were established there. This in turn enhanced their opportunities for social mobility. In more recent times, the development of tourism in South Sulawesi has tended to focus heavily on Tana Toraja as a destination, with tourists transiting rapidly through the rest of the province, but spending their money in Tana Toraja. Actually there are many places of historic interest and great natural beauty in the province, which could become destinations for the more adventurous tourists. In time, this would help to spread the benefits of the new industry more evenly. As for the religious dimension, Toraja like other non-Muslim populations of the archipelago had begun to experience a feeling of becoming second-class citizens in the late Suharto and Habibie years, as they found themselves increasingly discriminated against for jobs, administrative positions and university places. The architects of this policy would have argued that they were merely redressing a historical imbalance. The tendency to ethnic or religious polarization only exacerbates issues like these, leaving both sides feeling they have not had a fair deal. The question of participation in new power sharing arrangements at provincial level will clearly have to be treated sensitively.

It is clear that, after its long suppression, the newly emergent discourse of ethnic identities and politics in Indonesia has gathered a powerful momentum, though since local conditions vary so widely, it will play itself out differently in every region. For the moment it is hard to predict what directions it will ultimately take, or what sort of new equilibrium might be reached in the future. This political watershed,

¹⁵ The Bupati at this time was a Roman Catholic of partly Bugis descent.

it seems, is as much about the past, and the reshaping of memory, as it is about the future. While suppressed aspects of the recent past can now be reinterrogated, communities are also looking to past traditions to make sense of present relations, or to provide justification for the transformation of existing structures. While the potential for tragedy has already manifested itself all too suddenly in regions like Maluku, in others people are struggling to prevent the escalation of tensions, or to find positive ways of utilizing past traditions to affirm their mutual commitment to peaceful relations (Acciaioli 2000). For Toraja, too, the story of the Nene' Pada Tindo is only one element of the past which can be drawn upon in the attempt to define relations with others. A number of other myths stress the descent from shared ancestors, such as Sawerigading, whose story is told throughout Sulawesi. A notable Toraja hero is Laki Padada, said to have been the father of three children who became the rulers of Gowa, Luwu', and Toraja. This link has traditionally been acknowledged by the ruling families of these areas, who have intermarried over generations with the Toraja aristocracy (Waterson 1997). In 1999, in an effort to pre-empt any worsening of ethnic relations, the Bupati of Tana Toraja convened a seminar drawing together representatives of the four commonly-defined major culture areas of South Sulawesi—Bugis, Makassar, Mandar and Toraja—to discuss these shared myths. The intention was to enhance mutual understanding by reinforcing the perception of common cultural traditions and historical ties.

The devolution of power, not only to the provinces, but right down to the *desa* or village level, opens up possibilities for the revival and reevaluation of local *adat* organisations, which are now being resituated within a rapidly growing discourse of *masyarakat adat* or 'indigenous peoples'. But given that these institutions themselves have often lapsed or undergone change within recent times, while the authority of traditional power-holders has also been eroded to greater or lesser degrees, new power struggles are bound to ensue. Toward the end of 2000, tension mounted in Tana Toraja over the election of a new Bupati by members of the local parliament (DPRD). Irregularities were alleged in the electoral proceedings, and many people were disconcerted by the news that the winner was an individual who had lived for years in Jakarta, was little-known locally, whose wife was a Muslim, and who appeared to be taking a hard line against the preservation of some aspects of Toraja custom. Those most vocal in disputing the result formed a committee which they initially named *Forum Komunikasi Pembela Aspirasi Masyarakat*, roughly translatable as 'Forum for Communication in Defence of the Aspirations of the People'. After deciding that this portentous-sounding title was too cumbersome, the group renamed itself *To Pada Tindo*, in yet another conscious reference to the Ancestors of the Same Dream. While some of the members do in fact claim descent from the original Nene' Pada Tindo, others are new to local

politics. In this new era, who will ultimately establish the best claims to represent the 'people's aspirations' remains to be seen. Even the matter of defending Toraja culture against perceived threats from outside is complicated by the fact that Toraja themselves are divided in their attitudes to cultural preservation and change. For many, Christianity has become a part of Toraja identity, while only a tiny minority still continue to adhere to the indigenous religion, *Aluk to Dolo*. Different views are voiced, too, with regard to cultural expressions that relate to a formerly rigid social hierarchy. While some defend this as intrinsic to Toraja culture, others condemn it as out of step with modern ideas of democracy. For the time being, the mood of exhilaration produced by the new possibilities for local self-determination is mingled with apprehension about a perceived renewal of the potentials for outside interference, as power shifts occur within the province.

In spite of the fact that mob violence in Indonesia has recently had a strongly religious colouring, perhaps there is some room for optimism in the long term development of political parties. Tana Toraja in the 1950s gave strong support to Parkindo, the Christian Party of Indonesia, which dominated Toraja politics for two decades; but after its eclipse at the polls in 1971, the overwhelming support in ensuing decades was for Golkar (Crystal 1974). Although Golkar just managed to cling to a majority in the 1999 elections, nobody I talked to in Tana Toraja at the end of that year thought that that party would have the faintest hope of success in the next election. The natural choice for Toraja now seems to be PDI-P, which already has quite a strong following there. This party presents a pronouncedly secular image—which is in certain ways a positive feature, even if it has been such as to cause a degree of distrust among Muslims (Azra 2000). Still, it has a lot of work to do to develop party discipline and convincing policies. Even the two most important parties of Muslim support, PKB and PAN, it should be noted, are not formally Islamic parties. Is there hope here for the development of a party politics that will eventually have the power to bridge potential cleavages of ethnic and religious identity?

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