R. Downs

Head-hunting in Indonesia

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 111 (1955), no: 1, Leiden, 40-70

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

HEAD-HUNTING IN INDONESIA

There have been many explanations offered in the past for the custom of head-hunting. These range from the theory, suggested by Tylor and Wilken, among others, that heads were taken for the services which their owners would henceforth perform for their vanquishers in this life or the next ¹⁾, and the "soul-substance" theory of Kruyt, according to which heads were taken for the ".... fine, etherial substance which animates, makes live, all nature...." contained in them ²⁾, to the more modern functionalistic approach, which offers no explanation of the customs as such, but confines itself to demonstrating the psychological and sociological functions of the activity ³⁾. The idea that the custom was animated by a desire to obtain spiritual servants seems to have lost its popularity. The "soul-substance" theory, however, in spite of its having been long since abandoned by Kruyt himself and a belief in the very idea of "soul-substance" not having been demonstrated for the Indonesian peoples, is still adhered to ⁴⁾. All of these approaches are unsatisfactory, I believe, in that they are "rationalistic" and one-sided, and thus fail to see the head-hunting ritual in its relation to the rest of the religious and social order. In the following pages, therefore, I should like to try to put it into what I think is its proper perspective by examining the custom as it appears among several Indonesian peoples ⁵⁾.

I shall begin with the Bare'e-speaking Toradja of Central Celebes,

¹⁾ E. Tylor, *Primitive culture*, 4th ed., London, 1903, I, p. 458ff.; G. A. Wilken, *Verspreide geschriften*, Semarang, etc., 1912, IV, p. 62f.

²⁾ A. C. Kruyt, *Het animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1906, p. 2, 17.

³⁾ Cf. for example C. Wedgwood, *Some aspects of warfare in Melanesia, Oceania*, I, p. 5-33.

⁴⁾ W. H. Rivers, *Psychology and ethnology*, London, 1926, p. 97-101; J. H. Hutton, in J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, London, 1926, p. 200 note; B. A. G. Vroklage, *De godsdienst der primitieven, Roermond en Maaseik*, 1949, p. 279f., 334f.; *Notes and queries on anthropology*, 6th ed., London, 1951, p. 177.

⁵⁾ Throughout this article I have used the modern Indonesian spelling for all place-names and words in the Indonesian languages. Thus the ch of the English transcription = tj, j = dj, y = j; Dutch oe = u.

for whom we possess the most extensive documentation on that subject ⁶⁾).

There were various motives for fighting, which apparently occurred frequently before the establishment of Dutch control in Central Celebes. Arguments about slaves, carbows, bamboo clumps, ill treatment of a member of another tribe, failure to pay fines, etc. were sufficient to start the hostilities. Sometimes unprovoked attacks were made to steal salt or to get a head when a party had failed to get one from their intended enemy. All attacks were, of course, avenged.

Heads were always taken in combat when possible, but raids were often made for the express purpose of obtaining them. A head was necessary for ending the mourning for an important person, and for the consecration of a temple. Young men took heads to prove their bravery to girls and it was sometimes done to prove one's innocence with regard to some accusation or other. Apart from such specific grounds, however, there was the general one that the well-being of the village as a whole and the success of its crops depended on the taking of heads.

The fighting usually took the form of feuds between villages or tribes which were suspended from time to time when the score between the two antagonists was considered to be approximately even. When it was necessary to take a head for some reason or other and there was no current feud which could be capitalized on, the Toradja could always fetch one from their traditional enemy to the east, the To Kinadu. We are assured, moreover, that no year went by without a raid on the latter, who were as keen on the rivalry as the Toradja ⁷⁾).

Fighting was always regarded as an ordeal. If the cause was just then the ancestors would help their descendants and give them the victory; if it was unjust the ancestors would let them be defeated. They were always assured of victory against the To Kinadu, however, because, according to the myth, the latter had once wantonly killed two of the Toradja's ancestors, which constituted an eternal grievance that the ancestors demanded be annually avenged ⁸⁾).

There was no set time for head-hunting, but it was usually done while the rice was ripening or during and after the harvest.

⁶⁾ For this section see N. Adriani and A. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1950, I, p. 236-368.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 238ff. A longer version of the myth is given by Kruyt in J. Gonda, *Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel*, Amsterdam, Brussel, 1947, p. 139ff.

Raiding parties usually consisted of about ten to twenty men, though sometimes small armies were assembled from large areas and often only a few individuals would set out on their own without even notifying the village elders. In general all able-bodied youths and men were eligible to participate and were expected to do so fairly frequently. Reasons for not doing so were various: fear, anger against one's fellow villagers, the existence of a relative in the village to be attacked, ominous dreams or signs, etc. If the whole village was involved then the elders decided who should go and who should stay behind to guard the village.

A raiding party from a single village had a single leader (*tadulako*), who directed the whole operation. Larger groups usually had two leaders, one who directed the raid as a whole and a second who led the actual attack. Sometimes a village chief went along, but then as the second leader. Most of the leaders of both kinds, however, were slaves. The *tadulako* was treated with great respect while in function and everything was done for him. He was responsible for all the members of the group and had to abstain from eating certain foods, doing certain things and using certain words when in enemy territory.

When a raid was decided upon the day for departure was fixed by the *tadulako* and the village chief on the basis of traditionally good and bad days. Food, including special rice used for trapping the souls (*tanoana*) of the enemy, was prepared by the women, who also gave the men presents to make them courageous in battle. Then followed a series of divinations to determine the success of the undertaking in advance. As the time for departure drew near close attention was paid to all kinds of signs and omens. On the day of departure an offering was made in the temple (*lobo*) to the ancestors (*anitu*) to acquaint them with the grievance against the enemy (*tadea*) and to ask their aid, without which there was no chance of success. Finally the priestess performed a ceremony to secure the warriors' (*tanoana*) to them so that they would not desert them in the heat of battle. Thereafter the *lobo* was closed for the duration of the expedition. It was now necessary to depart (usually at night) and if there was still some reason to wait, it had to be done outside the village in the smithy or in a hut set up en route.

No special dress was worn, except that particularly brave men took along a fighting cap with two copper horns on it which they donned in battle to attract the enemy to them. Each man carried a sword, a spear and a shield and a few had guns.

The women, who remained behind, had to adhere to a large number of restrictions and perform various ritual acts to ensure the safety and success of the men.

During the trip to enemy territory the *tadulako* watched various animals and birds for omens. Care was taken to avoid certain actions which would spoil the chances of success. While in enemy territory, for example, no food or water, etc. was taken without leaving behind "payment" for it to keep from giving the enemy a grievance (*tadea*) which could be used against them.

Once they had arrived at a point a half day's march from the enemy they built a hut and sent scouts out ahead to reconnoitre. The latter also had to bury the remains of the egg and the heart of the fowl used for divining purposes before the start of the expedition in or near the village to be attacked where the inhabitants would be sure to step on them. This was to trap their *tanoana*. They also made use of a special string of shells to divine the number of victims that would fall.

Once the scouts had returned and the decision to attack had been made, the men accused each other of various imaginary offenses for which they demanded the payment of fines. These disputes were then settled by the *tadulako*, who set the fines to be paid, all of them quite trifling. When they had been paid he would say: "Our homes are far apart, but now we are close together; we are again related." The ceremony is called *ulisi ngkoro*, "with which one's faults are made good".

After this the *tanoana* of the enemy were lured with the rice which had been specially prepared for that purpose. It was then cooked and divided among the men, who ate part of it on departure and the rest en route. Just before setting out the *tadulako* divined twice again with the shell string to see if the raid would be successful and if they would lose any of their own men.

Some of the men, including the *tadulako*, stayed behind to guard the camp. He "supported" the fighters by neutralizing unfavorable bird omens and confirming the favorable ones, and he continuously called on the gods for help and repeated the *tadea* while striking the ground as if calling it to witness.

The methods of attack varied with the circumstances. The usual practice was to ambush an enemy party, but a direct assault was sometimes made on a village if it was not heavily defended and sometimes large forces even laid siege to a village. Any kind of trickery used to obtain victims was justified. To keep their courage up the attackers

chewed certain herbs which made them "warm inside". They seem to have been very much afraid of particular forms of hysterical seizure (*tontoa*) which prevented the victim of it from fighting properly or defending himself.

Men, women and children were equally suitable as victims. Heads were taken when possible (it was usually necessary to get away as soon as possible to escape a counter-attack), though one head was considered enough for victory. The scalps were torn from the skulls and divided up among the raiders. Usually only one or two of the skulls were taken back, however, if several were taken. Sometimes a bit of the brains was eaten. At the same time it was strictly forbidden to look at, touch or mutilate the victim's genitals or breasts, as to do so would spoil one's own *tadea* and provide one for the enemy. Cutting a woman's breasts, moreover, would prevent one from getting any children, because one would have destroyed "the source of food".

If one of the attackers was killed and his head had not been taken by the enemy, his body was buried by his comrades on their way back or taken all the way home if it had been that of an important person. The bones of those buried en route were later fetched for the main burial feast. If the enemy had taken the head, however, most tribes did not bury the corpse, as its death had obviously been the punishment for some offense or other committed by its owner. It was examined, however, for a sign indicating whether or not its comrades would be successful in avenging it.

On the way back the troop would stop (if they were not being followed by the enemy) for a day or two at the attack hut. Just before leaving they would walk around it seven times to the right and seven times to the left, hack the roof seven times and give the victory cry. Then they would sing a few lines of the head-hunters' song (*ndolu*) and invite the *tanoana* of the enemy to accompany them so that they would have them in their power for the next raid and could easily defeat them.

The troop arranged to arrive in the morning at a point within shouting distance of the village, where they sat down and chewed sirih. The *tadulako* proceeded to erect a symbolic barrier across the path, spat some medicine on it and rubbed some on the foreheads of the men "in order that all the badness (*bui*) from the enemy country which might be clinging to the men shall remain behind at this barrier (*djompo*)⁹⁾".

⁹⁾ Adriani and Kruyt, op. cit., p. 345.

The *tadulako* then blew seven blasts on his trumpet, upon which the others would start shouting and stamping on the ground to announce their return to the villagers and the ancestors (*anitu*). Then they proceeded to the village, stopping repeatedly to sing a few lines of the *ndolu*, alternated with blasts on the trumpets.

Some of the villagers would come out to meet them and feed them ginger and throw rice over them. Then a fowl was killed. Closer to the village a dog was found tied up and was also sacrificed. Finally by the gate of the fortifications a pig, or sometimes a carbow, was found and killed. It is said that in the old days a human being was killed at this point if the raid had been particularly successful. In some districts those who had stayed behind would waylay the men and stage a mock battle with them, striking each other with head-cloths. Some of them (often the women) became possessed and would bite the skulls, and old men often fainted from the excitement.

The *towugi* was now prepared from a branch of the arenga-palm. The leaves were torn into strips, so that they hung as a fringe from the branch, and a piece of scalp was fastened to it. Each of the raiders tied a strip from the *towugi* to the scabbard or grip of his sword and the rest of the people, especially the sick, who expected a speedy cure from it, tied pieces around their necks. The *towugi* was then carried into the village by the boys. The boys from six to twelve years of age were assembled and struck seven times against the heart with a skull, whereupon they gave the victory cry. They then made six passes at it with a sword, striking it on the seventh.

Once inside the village the raiders first went to the rice barn, where the mourning was ended for the widow or widower. Then every one repaired to the temple (*lobo*), where an old man addressed the dead person for whom the mourning had just come to an end: "Do not come to us in the form of mice or pigs, because we have mourned your death. From now on we will be happy: we will play the drums and sing; you see to it that our rice succeeds." After a few strokes on the drum he would continue: "Any one who has anything to claim from others may demand payment from the debtor; he who wants to set out against the enemy or wants to marry let him go ahead, for the mourning period is over ¹⁰)."

The *moganda* ("to beat the drums") feast was then celebrated, at which the skulls were brought into the *lobo* and given a place near that of the ancestors (*anitu*) by the center pillar just under the roof.

¹⁰) Ibid., II, p. 527.

The nights during this and the following feast were spent in singing and dancing. An antiphonal song about the raid which had just taken place was sung (*merobu*, and alternative term for *menga'e*, "to take heads") with the girls taking one part and the youths the other. A second song (*ento*), accompanied by dancing, described the various stages of the raid.

The final feast was the *mompELELEka* or *montjojo*, which also took place in the temple and lasted two days. It chiefly served to allow every one who had not participated in the raid to do so symbolically by acting it out. At one stage of the proceedings the boys of an age to be incised had the operation performed while seated on a human skull or on the head of a slaughtered carbow. Towards the end of the feast the *anitu* were invoked by the heads of the various families and told of the crimes of the enemy and assured that there would be no end to the taking of heads.

The final ritual was the *moarosi* ("to strike with a leafy branch"), in which the family heads squatted on the ground in a row from east to west, holding bundles of slivers from the bamboo swords which the wives and children had used that morning to hack the skulls with during the re-enactment of the raid. A cloth was spread over them and a priestess went along the row from west to east seven times, striking continuously on the cloth with a bundle of herbs. Then rice was thrown over the men and they jumped up suddenly in a great tumult and stuck the bamboo slivers into the roof of the temple. The ceremonies were then closed with a huge banquet.

When peace was made between two warring parties with the help of mediators the discussions were sometimes opened with both parties cutting to pieces a human victim provided either by the mediators or one of the two parties. The latter divided the victim's scalp between themselves. When settling a minor war a buffalo was substituted for the human sacrifice. It was said that in the old days warring parties never demanded payments when making peace, though the stronger party now did this "to smooth the ground".

The ritual character of this activity is obvious, and so, I think, is the general purpose of the ritual performed. The connection between head-hunting and fertility and the general well-being of the village is quite clear. We are told in so many words by the Toradja that the latter depend on the regular performance of the former¹¹). The native

¹¹) Ibid., I, p. 246.

term for head-hunting (*menga'e*) is synonymous with that for harvesting (*menggae*)¹²⁾ and the two acts are likened to each other by the Toradja themselves¹³⁾. At the harvest feast the exploits of the women as priestesses and those of the men as head-hunters are celebrated. On returning from a raid the *towngi* is made from a branch of the arenga-palm and is used to cure the sick and to end the mourning period at the rice barn, after which the deceased is asked to make the crops succeed. The chief blessing bestowed on their descendants by the ancestors is that of good crops and health, and the best way to keep them well-disposed is to keep them supplied with heads. The temple, moreover, where the heads are deposited, is usually decorated with fertility symbols such as over-sized male and female genitals¹⁴⁾.

On the basis of the material presented so far, therefore, one is justified in considering head-hunting as it is practised by the Toradja as a ritual participated in by the whole community for the primary purpose of ensuring health and fertility in the widest sense of the word. In order to explain the nature of the ritual and just why it is effective, however, we must turn to the Toradja myths concerning head-hunting, some of which I should like to summarize briefly.

Ta ngKota Lolowe¹⁵⁾, a man who lived on the other side of the sea, attacked Ta Datu and Indo i Datu and murdered them and their fellow villagers. After Indo i Datu died a boy was born from her body and was found by Sumboli and Lagoni. The latter named him Tambuja and reared him. When he could barely walk he asked who his parents were, and on hearing their fate set out with Sumboli and Lagoni to avenge their deaths. When they arrived at Ta ngKota Lolowe's village, where he lived with seven wives and a daughter, Tambuja challenged him to a duel. After an heroic struggle with enormous weapons Tambuja was victorious and set out for home with Ta ngKota Lolowe's head and a bamboo flute in which the latter had put his daughter, Kota Lolowe, at her birth. She kept putting her hand out of the flute to give her father's head sirih and the head gave directions all the way back to the village and after their arrival there as to what was to be done with it. The head repeatedly asked Kota Lolowe to come out of the

¹²⁾ N. Adriani, *Bare'e-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, Leiden, 1928, p. 463, under *nga'e*.

¹³⁾ Adriani and Kruyt, *op. cit.*, III, 1914, p. 539, 543.

¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, 2nd ed., I, p. 192.

¹⁵⁾ N. Adriani, *Bare'e-verhalen*, II, The Hague, 1933, p. 157-160.

flute, but she refused until the head-hunters' feast had been celebrated. When Tambuja first saw her he fainted, but she revived him. Ta ngKota Lolowe's head was finally crushed on the center plank of the temple and sometime later Tambuja and Kota Lolowe were married.

This myth is interesting for several reasons. It represents first of all an initiation — when Tambuja sets out to avenge the death of his parents he is barely old enough to walk, but by the time he arrives at the enemy's village he has grown to heroic size. Secondly, his opponent lives on the other side of the sea. Thirdly, the hero acquires the daughter of his enemy as wife.

In almost all the Toradja head-hunting myths the hero's opponent lives either on the other side of the sea or in the Upperworld. In one story¹⁶⁾ the hero kills Ta Datu and Sumboli after reaching their village by riding through the sky on the rainbow, a standard means of getting to the Upperworld. He is then thrown by his grandmother into the Underworld, where he takes the heads of their ghosts. In another one¹⁷⁾ a hunchback, mistreated by his elder brothers, finds two girls in a bamboo. Later his brothers die and The King of the West, Bangka Rondo (whose body was red) and a woman "who lived in the Upperworld" attack him in turn and take away the two girls while he sleeps. He follows and successfully challenges them in each case and finally marries one of the girls, who straightens out his body for him, making him into a handsome young man. A man from the sea marries the other girl. In No. 87 of the same collection¹⁸⁾ Motanda Inta marries a girl from across the sea and is attacked by The King of the West, who kills him. His wife, however, kills The King of the West and those who come to avenge him: Fathom-Chest, Bangka Rondo, The Man with whom Rain Is, The King of the Horizon and The King of the East. In the meantime she has rubbed her body with oil, thereby impregnating herself, and has given birth to a son, Molana. He is now attacked and killed by With a Sun-Jacket, but is later revived by a girl in the form of a bird and takes With a Sun-Jacket's head in revenge. He later marries the girl.

In No. 88¹⁹⁾ a baby and his mother's brother kill Bangka Rondo, "who lived in the Upperworld", in revenge for the death of the baby's

¹⁶⁾ Adriani and Kruyt, op. cit., 1st ed., III, p. 424f.

¹⁷⁾ Adriani, Bare'e-verhalen, p. 131-135.

¹⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 137-142.

¹⁹⁾ Ibid., p. 142-145.

parents and take his seven wives, whom they divide up among themselves and their companions. The hero has in the meantime become a fullgrown young man.

In No. 92 ²⁰⁾ With a Moon-Body avenges his father by killing the Man with whom the Rain Is.

In No. 93 ²¹⁾ Motanda Wuja ("who has the moon as sign") is thrown into the Underworld at birth. He later returns with the help of a girl from another village and kills his father. Later on Motanda Wuja and his son kill Ta ngKato Udja ("Father (Uncle) of the Man with whom the Rain Is"). After a while his son kills Bangka Rondo, his grandfather's brother, and from a third expedition brings back the head of Mangge ngGoluku, his wife and many prisoners. Finally he marries Molemba Dolo from the east and Kota Lolowe.

In another myth ²²⁾ with an Oedipus theme Lae mPanjopu throws his new-born son into a river by a waterfall because he has a spot on his chest that shines like the moon. The son falls into the Underworld and is brought up by the Old Woman. When he has grown up his mother provides him with clothes and weapons and he returns from the Underworld, kills his father and takes his mother and the rest of his family to his home.

Finally, in the myth of Sese nTaola ²³⁾, obtained from the Moham-medanized Toradja of Todjo, along the coast of the Gulf of Tomini, the hero is a child with an enormous appetite who causes his parents so much trouble that they try to kill him. He soon leaves home, and after a series of adventures arrives at the sea with a number of followers acquired en route. After several months of swimming, and having killed the sea snake which blocked their way, they reach the other side. In the first village they overcome a cannibal couple and continue on their way, each of the followers finding a wife in successive villages. Sese nTaola goes on to a village whose inhabitants have been devoured by a Guruda (the Garuda of Hindu mythology). In a drum he finds a girl, Lemo nTonda, who had followed him from the village of the cannibal couple, and despite her warnings he challenges the Guruda and the other six members of his family. He kills the first six, but he and the father Guruda kill each other in the final duel. Lemo nTonda

²⁰⁾ Ibid., p. 150-152.

²¹⁾ Ibid., p. 152-156.

²²⁾ Ibid., p. 156.

²³⁾ N. Adriani, *Verhaal van Sese nTaola, Verhandelingen v. h. Bataviaasch Genootschap*, LV (1902), p. 1-124.

revives Sese nTaola, but shortly thereafter he goes to sleep for a month. While he is asleep Datu nTo Wawo Jangi (King of the Sky) abducts Lemo nTonda, and when Sese nTaola wakes up he follows them to the sky, kills him and returns with Lemo nTonda. This is repeated six times with her being taken successively by Datu nTo Mata Eo (King of the Sunrise), Datu nTo Kasojoa (King of the Sunset), Datu mPajompo Jangi Sambira (King of the North), Datu mPajompo Jangi Sambiranja (King of the South), Torokuku mBetu'e (The Star Bird) and Momata Tibu (Puddle-Eyes). Throughout these battles he is helped by the Wind King, his sister's husband. As in the fight with the Guruda Sese nTaola is killed by his last opponent and is once again revived by Lemo nTonda. She then also revives the inhabitants of the village, including her own parents, and a feast is given, after which Sese nTaola, his brother-in-law, their wives and their followers set out to visit Sese nTaola's parents. Each time he had slept between battles his soul (*tanoana*) had gone to his grandfather, To randa Ue (The Man who Lives in the Water), where he built a copper boat, which now served to transport them across the sea. En route they are attacked this time by the Man with whom the Rain Is, Ligi nToja, Bangka Rondo, Fathom-Chest, Mobangka Tae (Ebony-Back?), Mobangka Labu (Iron-Back?) and Steel-Pourer. Sese nTaola and his brother-in-law are both killed this time by the last of these, but are revived by the boat. Finally they arrive at Sese nTaola's village, where everybody has been dead during his absence. They come back to life at his return, however, pay him a fine for having mistreated him, shower him with gold and receive him and the others into the village, where various Islamic feasts are celebrated. The story continues with the exploits of his and his brother-in-law's sons.

The nature of the head-hunting ritual as presented in the above myths is, in its general lines I believe, quite clear. It is an initiation or "rite de passage" in which the hero passes from childhood to maturity by means of a struggle which takes place in the cosmic sphere. In this process he is usually pictured as dying (by being killed, descending into the Underworld — the abode of the dead, or going to sleep) and being revived in order to slay the enemy (generally "on the other side of the sea" or in the Upperworld) and as returning in triumph to his village with the head of the enemy and a wife. It will be remembered that in the myth of Sese nTaola the people in his village had been dead during his absence, too, and came back to life at his return (this is also the

case in No. 87 above, though omitted from the summary for the sake of brevity), which shows that it has also undergone the same rite of renewal. I suggest, therefore, that head-hunting is effective in bringing fertility and health because it represents a repetition of the cosmic cycle of life and death and struggle between the two halves of the universe, the Upper and Underworlds. This process can obviously not be allowed to stop — hence there must be no end to the taking of heads.

This interpretation would admittedly be much more satisfying if the Toradja had a socio-political organization corresponding to the mythical world outlined above — if, for example, instead of just intermittent feuds and traditional enemies like the To Kinadu, they had exogamous moieties that held regular combats for the purpose of supplying a human victim for the promotion of fertility. Unfortunately this is not the case, nor is it possible to say that such has ever been the case, though there are some indications that it may have been so ²⁴). I should like now, however, to briefly examine some data concerning a few other peoples in Indonesia which I believe support the point of view presented above.

The late Dr. Schärer provided valuable information on the religious conceptions and practices of the Ngadju Dajak of Borneo. Unfortunately he died before being able to publish all his material on that subject, but his account of the *tiwah*, or death feast ²⁵), is helpful in understanding the ritual significance of their head-hunting. This is not surprising considering the close connection in Indonesia between head-hunting and the custom of human sacrifices for the dead ²⁶). In recent times the principal act of the *tiwah* was the killing of a slave, but if one was not available an enemy head was used in his place, it being considered equivalent. I should add that this was also the case with the Toradja except that they killed a slave if there was no opportunity to get an enemy head ²⁷). Schärer, moreover, regarded the killing of

²⁴) Among the western tribes, for example, the agricultural spirits are divided into two groups, the *lamoa rawaja* and the worshipped in different ways. The former are considered superior to the latter and are called their older brothers and sisters. Some say that they are gods by nature, whereas the *lamoa rapampa* are of human origin. Adriani and Kruyt, op. cit., 2nd ed., II, p. 45.

²⁵) H. Schärer, *Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo*, Leiden, 1946, p. 148-158.

²⁶) Wilken, op. cit., III, p. 92-97, 437.

²⁷) Adriani and Kruyt, op. cit., 2nd ed., II, p. 523.

a slave by the Ngadju as a relatively recent innovation, the taking of a head for the ceremony representing the original practice ²⁸).

The purpose of the *tiwah*, according to Schärer, was to re-establish the cosmic order disturbed by the death of a member of the community (excluding slaves, however). This was accomplished by a re-enactment of the creation of this world in which two birds, representing the Underworld and the Upperworld destroy the Tree of Life and finally each other. From their destruction arises our world and all the things in it. In the ritual the Upper and Underworlds used to be represented by the two halves into which the tribe was divided, and the slave who was sacrificed represented the total community, which was recreated in the process of destroying itself. Nowadays, however, this tribal organization no longer exists, and the two rôles are taken by neighboring villages. This same ritual struggle is also repeated at birth, initiation and marriage ceremonies and in connection with the administration of justice ²⁹).

We find here, thus, the same association of head-hunting with the death feast and the re-creation of life as we did with the Toradja and, moreover, an explicit demonstration in the ritual of how this re-creation is brought about, namely by a fight between the two halves of the universe.

If the dualistic aspect has largely disappeared from the social organization of Borneo and Celebes a striking form of it is found on east Flores, Solor, Adonara and Lomblem, where the peoples of this area are divided into two groups called *Demon* and *Padji*. The former are made up of ten "kakangships", formerly under the radja of Laran-tuka on the easternmost part of Flores; the latter consist of five "radjaships" known as the *Padji lima pantai* or "Padji of the five shores" ³⁰).

²⁸) H. Schärer, Die Bedeutung des Menschenopfers im dajakischen Totenkult, Mitteilungen der Deutschengesellschaft für Völkerkunde, No. 10, Hamburg, 1940, p. 4.

²⁹) Schärer, Die Gottesidee, p. 40.

³⁰) In Solorese: *Padji Watan Lima* and *Demon Lewo Pulu*. J. D. H. Beckering, Beschrijving der eilanden Adonara en Lomblem, behoorende tot de Solor-groep, Tijdschrift v. h. Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (henceforth abbr. as T.K.A.G.), XXVIII (1911), p. 172. Cf. the map in E. Vatter, Ata Kiwan, Leipzig, 1932, p. 33. Vatter, however, includes Larantuka among the kakangships, making eleven of them. There is some doubt about Labala, which in Beckering's time was considered by the inhabitants and the radja to belong to the Padji, but would bring the total to six. Ibid., p. 187. Cf. also for this Demon-Padji grouping,

The relationship between the Demon and the Padji people is one of eternal enmity which finds its ritual expression in what is known in many parts of the area as the *perang tikar bantal* ³¹), or "mat(s) and pillow(s) war". The first account of it in the literature was given by Kluppel in 1873 ³²). A radja on Adonara had told him that his people were very tired (there had just been an epidemic of small pox) and had asked permission for the "tikar bantal". Kluppel at first thought the radja wanted to go to bed, but soon discovered what he had really meant and described the custom as follows: "In order to purify their village a strip of ground is indicated by the Radja close to their village, but belonging to another Radja. On this strip ten or twelve people, or as many as are ordered, must be killed and the heads brought into the village."

In 1911 Beckering defined the *perang tikar bantal* as follows ³³): "This is a war which is waged at fixed times, always between the same two villages, is bound by certain rules and is fought on a pre-determined terrain, whereby people are also killed."

This definition refers to Adonara, but Beckering also recorded a native account of the origin of Labala, a small kingdom in the southeastern part of Lomblem, in which such a war plays an important rôle ³⁴). This kingdom, it would seem, was formerly located on an island called Leping Batang (no such island is given on the maps, although there are two islands, Leping and Batang near Pantar). The coastal population crossed over to Tandjung Luki, on the southern coast of Lomblem, and the mountain people crossed by land (the islands were supposedly joined together at that time) to another point (Beckering gives "pantai Wato Téna", which is not on the map, but might be "pantai Waë Téna", on Labala's east coast) and settled in the mountains behind it. The coastal people's prahu turned to stone after they landed at Luki and they built a village nearby at Léwo Radja (now abandoned). "After they had established themselves a war broke out with Nua Léla [a settlement on the western shore of Labala Bay],

besides the authors cited below, H. F. C. ten Kate, T.K.A.G., XI (1894), p. 235-243 and F. C. Heynen, *Het rijk Larantoeke op het eiland Flores in N.I.*, in: *Studiën op godsdienstig, wetenschappelijk en letterkundig gebied*, VIII, opstel VI, p. 29.

³¹) In Malay.

³²) J. M. Kluppel, *De Solor-eilanden*, Tijds. v. Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde u.d.h. Bataviaasch Genootschap (henceforth abbr. as T.B.G.), XX (1873), p. 394.

³³) Beckering, op. cit., p. 182.

³⁴) Ibid., p. 187f.

which already existed at that time and was much more powerful than at present. In this war, the *ohong bēloné* — the war known on Adonara as *perang tikar bantal* —, which was fought on a terrain close to Tdj. Luki and not so very long ago took place at fixed times, but gradually seems to have ceased, they had to leave Léwo Radja, driven out by the stronger Nua Léla. Under the radja of that time, great grandfather of the present one, Labala was then founded. The mountain people of the territory lived too far away to render assistance quickly and came too late to be able to prevent the defeat of Léwo Radja. For years this war between Labala and Nua Léla was continued; lack of rain was also a reason to start hostilities again in order to be able to drench their *nuba nara* (holy stone) with the blood of the victims, whereby rain could be brought on." Nua Léla belonged to Tanah Demon and Labala to Tanah Padji.

P. P. Arndt, who made a special study of the subject, turned up much interesting material on its mythological background³⁵). According to one informant³⁶), "The enmity between the Demon and Padji began with the beginning of the world", and he recounted the story of Sira Demon and Sira Padji (the elder), who were sons of a brother and sister couple who were the only survivors of the great flood. When their mother gave birth to two girls they disputed as to who should get them — the elder brother wanted both of them and the younger thought each should get one. On account of this they separated, and their descendants are the Demon and Padji people of today. Another myth³⁷) has the two brothers fight over their mother's breasts. Both want to drink from the right one, but Demon wins. A third man gave the following account³⁸) : "Datong and Kapong Kia, two men from the Ledo clan, to which the informant also belonged, brought weapons — spears, swords, etc., with them when they arrived on Solor. Lera Wulan [the principal god] had ordered them: you take these weapons with you in order to till my field and to fill my barn. My barns are filled with human skulls. Datong brought the weapons of the Demon, Kapong Kia the Padji's. At the same time he explained to them: to till Lera Wulan's field means to make war. For this reason there is continual war between the two parties. If this were not so

³⁵) P. Arndt, *Demon und Padzi, die feindlichen Brüder des Solor-Archipels*, *Anthropos*, XXXIII (1938), p. 1-58.

³⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

³⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 8. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9 for a similar story from West Adonara.

Lera Wulan's granaries and barns would remain empty. Then there would be no rain, no vegetation, no crops; people would have nothing to eat, they would get sick and die; nor would they get any descendants. The heads of those who fall in war rise up to Lera Wulan, that is, their souls. For these reasons the two hostile parties never dare to make peace."

These myths correspond closely to the interpretation given above of head-hunting among the Toradja: two groups representing the two halves of the universe engaged in regular combat to produce human sacrifices for the securing of fertility and health. The details, however, of the classification of the two groups here are unfortunately not quite clear. The Padji's first radja was said to be the lord of death, elephant teeth and the shell necklaces worn in battle, which would associate their group with the Underworld³⁹). There is no definite statement, however, that the Demon are associated with the Upper world, though presumably they must be. Arndt attempts to interpret the myths entirely from the point of view of moon and sun mythology, connecting the Padji with the dark phase of the moon and the Demon with the light⁴⁰), but whether or not this is correct, the dualistic character of the religion of these people is beyond doubt. Lera Wulan, who instituted the perpetual war between Demon and Padji, is himself a dual figure (his name means Sun-Moon), and he has as his counterpart the female goddess of the earth, Tana Ekan, who lives in the Underworld⁴¹). They are invoked together after a successful head-hunt⁴²) and the temple (*Korke*) where the skulls are deposited belongs to them both⁴³).

In western Ceram a successful head-hunting raid is celebrated in part by the *maro* dance, which is performed at night by the men and un-married girls around the newly-taken heads. This dance would appear to be a re-enactment of a myth in which a young girl, Hainuwele, was murdered and from whose body various edible plants grew⁴⁴). The various versions of the myth⁴⁵) may be briefly

³⁹) Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁰) Ibid., p. 27f.

⁴¹) P. Arndt, *Religion auf Ostflores, Adonare und Solor*, Vienna, 1951, p. 1-22.

⁴²) Arndt, *Demon und Padzi*, p. 54.

⁴³) Arndt, *Religion auf Ostflores . . .*, p. 81.

⁴⁴) Ad. E. Jensen, *Die drei Ströme*, Leipzig, 1948, p. 169-185.

⁴⁵) Ad. E. Jensen, *Hainuwele*, Frankfurt am Main, 1939, p. 59-67; G. de Vries, *Bij de berg-Alfoeren op West-Seran, Zutphen*, 1927, p. 152-157.

summarized as follows. A man out hunting found a dead pig with a coconut on one of its tusks. He took the coconut home, wrapped it up carefully, and after a few days planted it. It grew quickly into a full-sized tree, and when the man climbed up it to cut off blossoms, from which to make wine, he cut his finger and a drop of blood fell onto a leaf, mixing with the sap from a blossom. A few days later he found that a child had appeared in the leaf. Within three days she was nubile, but her excreta consisted of precious objects, such as beads, plates, copper and silver bracelets, etc. The rest of the villagers became jealous of her, however, and decided to kill her. They did this by digging a hole in the dancing ground and then forcing her into it and stamping down the earth over her during the *maro* dance, in which the participants form a large spiral revolving counter-clockwise. The following day her foster father found her body, cut it up into pieces and buried them all over the dancing ground. From them grew various edible plants. The villagers then dispersed, some becoming Patasiwa, others Patalima (the two great traditional subdivisions of the people of central and western Ceram) and the remainder turned into spirits and animals.

In one version ⁴⁶⁾ the villagers are struck by the goddess of death with Hainuwele's arm as they leave and are thereby made mortal. Henceforth all people must make their way to this goddess when they die. In western Ceram the men must do this not only when they die, but as a part of their initiation into their so-called secret society, the *kakean* ⁴⁷⁾. A requisite part of this ritual, in which the initiates "died" and were "reborn" as adult members of society was the taking of one or more heads ⁴⁸⁾. The taking of a head was also a necessary prelude to the celebrating of the death feast, at which the *maro* was danced nightly ⁴⁹⁾. It will be remembered that the Toradja myths represented the head-hunting hero as going through the same experience of death and rebirth.

The murder of Hainuwele thus set the pattern of life henceforth — the alternance between life and death, the division of human society into two groups and the production of food by human sacrifice ⁵⁰⁾. Head-hunting, therefore, may be interpreted as a rite repeating this primeval act for the purpose of maintaining the order thus established.

⁴⁶⁾ Jensen, Hainuwele, p. 59, No. 11.

⁴⁷⁾ Jensen, Die drei Ströme, p. 252.

⁴⁸⁾ Cf. also Mededeelingen v. h. Encyclopaedisch Bureau, XXIX, p. 112ff.

⁴⁹⁾ Jensen, op. cit., p. 159f.

⁵⁰⁾ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252f.

Ideally this rite should be an affair between the Patasiwa and the Patalima, but in the last century, at any rate, this has apparently not been the case. Actually the Patasiwa are themselves divided into two groups, the Patasiwa *hitam* and the Patasiwa *putih* ("black" and "white" Patasiwa), the first living to the west of the Patalima and the second to the east of them. Moreover, the custom of head-hunting had died out among all but the Patasiwa *hitam*, where the *kakean* society is found. Although an attempt has been made to reconstruct the origin and development of these groupings⁵¹⁾ it is impossible to do this with any certainty. Traditionally, however, if not in fact, the Patasiwa and Patalima are eternal enemies⁵²⁾, and the fact that the same traditional division into "nine" and "five" groups is so frequent in that part of Indonesia⁵³⁾ makes it likely that they correspond to an earlier dual organization of some sort or other.

Southern Timor apparently offers an example of a dual organization in which the two halves engaged in mutual head-hunting. At least that is the opinion reached by Van Wouden after a thorough examination of the literature available on the two small states of Amanuban and Amanatun, which, it would seem, once constituted the two halves of a single state⁵⁴⁾. He concludes⁵⁵⁾: "Also the older report states that the two halves in which the original state was split took heads from each other. Probably we are thus here concerned with a traditional conception which is in complete agreement with the antagonism that is also expressed in the myths, and in which head-hunting appears as a ritual combat between phratries. That the royal houses could not be missed at each other's funerals and that at the death of a ruler a war in progress between the states was suspended indicate that despite all real and traditional antitheses the two states were considered parts of a higher unity whose cooperation was necessary."

A similar situation was found on Savu, to the southwest of Timor, where the inhabitants were divided into four related states: Seba, Timu, Liaai and Mesara (a fifth, Mania, was absorbed by Seba in the latter

⁵¹⁾ J. P. Duyvendak, *Het kakean-genootschap van Seran*, Almelo, 1926.

⁵²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 79; Jensen, *Hainuwele*, p. 387.

⁵³⁾ Duyvendak, *op. cit.*, p. 122f.

⁵⁴⁾ F. A. E. van Wouden, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, Lieden, 1935, p. 125-134.

⁵⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

half of the nineteenth century). Seba was located in the northern part of the island, Timu in the southeast, Liaai in the northeast and Mesara in the southwest ⁵⁶). All were descended from the five sons and five daughters of a certain Wai Wakka. The descendants of the first and second-born sons, however, who occupy Seba and Timu respectively, have always fought with each other, Timu never having been willing to submit to the authority of Seba. The other states joined sometimes the one side and sometimes the other ⁵⁷). These wars took the form, moreover, of head-hunting. "The Savunese were not 'head-hunters', but one did take the head of the defeated enemy in battle, more particularly if it concerned an enemy with whom one lived in long-standing enmity: 'keo kale wai', that is enemies of nine times nine years duration. If it concerned a conflict which suddenly broke out (due for example to jealousy or a quarrel, 'kebarah') or for some reason or other, then one killed that enemy and took away his heart, which was eaten by the victors ⁵⁸)." To illustrate this Van de Wetering gives an account of a 'keo kale wai' feud reported to have taken place between Seba and Timu ⁵⁹).

Speaking of head-hunting on Sumba Kruyt says: "In Laura I was told that the people there took the heads of the inhabitants of the district Tana riu, with whom they lived in hereditary enmity. Between these two districts there could never be any question of peace. When the people of Laura were at war with Wajewa, Kodi or Memboro (hostilities didn't extend further) and some one was killed neither side would ever take the head of the victim. There was also such a feud as that between Laura and Tana riu between Lewa and Tabundung; between Lamboja and Wanukaka ⁶⁰)." Both in Laura and Lewa, at least, head-hunting was associated with the fertility of the crops. The men of Lewa fetched heads in Tabundung for that purpose ⁶¹) and in Laura and Lewa annual feasts were held around the poles from which the heads were hung (*andung*) in order to gain wealth and a good

⁵⁶) J. J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, Breda, 1884, II, p. 628f.

⁵⁷) M. Teffer, *De Savoe-eilanden, Mededeelingen v.w.h. Nederlandsche Zendingenootschap* (henceforth abbr. as M.N.Z.G.), XIX (1875), p. 208-220.

⁵⁸) F. H. van de Wetering, *De Savoeneezen*, this periodical, LXXXII (1926), p. 565.

⁵⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 565f.

⁶⁰) A. C. Kruyt, *De Soembaneezen*, this periodical, LXXVIII (1922), p. 557.

⁶¹) *Ibid.*

harvest ⁶²). In Tabundung a myth tells of the origin of wet rice from the dead body of a girl married to her brother. Over her grave was hung the head of her brother, following the instructions of the lord of heaven ⁶³).

It has not been my purpose to gather together all the data on head-hunting in Indonesia, but to examine a few instances of it where there was sufficient mythological material to aid in its interpretation. The picture thus obtained of the custom as a ritual struggle between two groups representing the two halves of the universe, suggests that it is closely related to the less sanguinary one of "village wars" or mock combats so widespread in Indonesia. These are, of course, not peculiar to that region, being commonly associated with dual organization in many parts of the world. Often they would seem to have degenerated into mere sporting events indulged in at the time of general festivities, without any consciousness on the part of the participants of their religious significance, though just as often we are very likely the victim of poor reporters who have neglected to inquire into their purpose or even to record the specific occasions on which they were performed.

Two examples of such combats have already been discussed in this paper — that performed on the occasion of the Ngadju-Dajak death feast and the *tikar bantal* of the Solor islands — both of them being directly associated with head hunting.

On Savu a sham battle, called *pépahi*, was performed once a year, shortly before the beginning of the rainy season ⁶⁴). According to a later report ⁶⁵) it formed part of the *bagarae* ceremony, which served to "cool off" the hearths after the sirup had been prepared from the lontar palm, which not only constituted the inhabitants' main source of food, but provided material for posts, rafters, boards, roofing and basket work as well ⁶⁶). The trees were worked during August, September and October, and as the rainy season begins there in

⁶²) Ibid., p. 567.

⁶³) Ibid., p. 581f.

⁶⁴) W. M. Donselaar, Aanteekeningen over het eiland Savoe, M.N.Z.G. XVI (1872), p. 317.

⁶⁵) van de Wetering, op. cit., p. 546, 552.

⁶⁶) Donselaar, op. cit., p. 284; Teffer, op. cit., p. 228-232.

December ⁶⁷⁾ this would correspond to the earlier report. The following is an account of the *pépahi* obtained by Donselaar from native informants ⁶⁸⁾.

"The male population divides itself into two parties, at some distance from one another, on a hilly terrain covered with stones. The head is covered with a sturdy cap of buffalo hide and the left hand holds a shield of the same material, long or round in form. The *Dëo-râë* [= Malay Tuan Tanah, "owner of the ground"] has already made a sacrifice a few days earlier to *Munkia*, the god of war, and now that the combatants stand ready opposite one another he gives the signal to attack with a couple of strokes on a large drum. The fight consists in throwing stones, which lie ready at hand on the spot, and the purpose of the fight [is] to put the adversary to flight... Light wounds are not rare on these occasions, and heavy ones also occur now and then. And if one party succeeds in putting the other one to flight the air echos with the cheers of the winners and the tumultuous scene ends with the shouting and laughter of the crowd. The small-scale wars which sometimes occurred among the Savunese in earlier times were mostly waged by throwing stones."

Among the Manggerai, in western Flores, a whipping duel (called *tjatjik* according to Stapel ⁶⁹⁾ and Coolhaas ⁷⁰⁾, *parisé* according to Hoedt ⁷¹⁾) was performed at the planting and harvest festivals, whereby two groups of participants came out against each other from opposite sides of the village ⁷²⁾. The fighters wore imitation carbow horns on their heads and an imitation tail around the waist ⁷³⁾.

From West Lombok it is reported that: "A joint feast [annual sacrificial feast, *atji-atji*] was held at the dam near Datar. A small place of sacrifice (*sanggah*), very simply built, was near the dam, and at the feast the pedanda held a religious exercise, while a little lower down the Mohammedan Sasak offered their own doas [prayers] under their pengulu [head of the mosque]. Afterwards a general battle took

⁶⁷⁾ Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, The Hague, Leiden, 1918, III, p. 712.

⁶⁸⁾ Donselaar, op. cit., p. 317f.

⁶⁹⁾ H. B. Stapel, Het Manggëraische volk, T.B.G., LVI (1914), p. 175.

⁷⁰⁾ W. Ph. Coolhaas, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Manggaraische volk, T.K.A.G., LIX (1942), p. 161 and note 17.

⁷¹⁾ Verslag der reis van den controleur Hoedt naar de noordkust van West-Flores, T.B.G., XXXVI (1893), p. 287.

⁷²⁾ Ibid.

⁷³⁾ Stapel, op. cit., p. 175f.

place (*prang tupat*) where every one threw ketupat [cubes of steamed rice] and eggs at each other ⁷⁴)."

On Bali blood must flow to appease the "evil spirits" (*buta*) at certain times, as for example, during epidemics. Human beings are no longer sacrificed for this purpose, but there are indications that this was formerly done. According to Lieftrinck ⁷⁵), "There is a tradition in the desa Bulihan which could also be connected therewith, saying that in earlier times fights between human beings were held in the desa temple there which were continued until blood flowed, which satisfied the spirits. However this may be, at present they must be satisfied with less, for in the instances in which it is necessary to make a bloody sacrifice they just let a few cocks fight together, whereas on great occasions a couple of dogs or kidang [dwarf deer- *cervulus*] are killed."

In Tnganan Pagringsingan, the most conservative of the Bali-Aga villages on Bali and thus having retained many features of the original Balinese culture, a duel with thorned pandanus leaves is held as part of the ceremonies of the fifth month of their calendar. These ceremonies (*atji sasih kalima* or *usaba sambah*) constitute the high point of the ritual calendar, though Korn could not be sure of their significance. They seemed to him clearly in the nature, however, of a great "all souls" feast ⁷⁶).

"In the afternoon there is a great gathering in *tmu klod* ⁷⁷), where first mainly tuak [palm wine] is offered. Then the *prang pandan* (*gbug* or *maëndé*) begins. The men and youths of Ngis are obliged to come over for this *gbug*. They are challenged to a duel, whereby a young man from Tnganan, armed with a shield (*ëndé* or *presian*) and a bundle of thorned pandanus leaves, dancing and shouting scornfully, makes it known that he is ready to take on a suitable opponent. Then, while the *slonding* [an

⁷⁴) Adatrechtbundel XV (1918), p. 208.

⁷⁵) F. A. Lieftrinck, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali*, T.B.G. XXXIII (1890), p. 246.

⁷⁶) V. E. Korn, *De dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort, 1933, p. 188.

⁷⁷) One of the four youth organizations: *skaha truna njoman* (a training school for the three older ones), *skaha truna tmu kadja* (north), *skaha truna tmu tngah* (middle) and *skaha truna tmu kłod* (south). They help in the preparations for the *usaba* feasts, each has its own piece of ground, an assembly shed (*patmon*) and a *slonding*, or *selunding* (see below) (*ibid.*, p. 32f.). The *slonding* of *tmu klod* is particularly sacred, having descended directly from heaven (*ibid.*, p. 15). The *prang pandan* is held for each of the three in turn (*ibid.*, p. 188, 203).

ancient and sacred iron *gamelan*] gives forth rousing music, a young man from Ngis, who also provides himself with a shield and pandanus leaves, steps forward, and lets it be known by performing a few graceful dance steps that he accepts the challenge. If he is not judged to be too strong an adversary the duel takes place, and the two youths try to cut open each other's skin with the thorned leaves (*nganggèt anggèt*), whereby the attacks should be warded off with the shield. If the challenger considers the opponent too strong for him he can withdraw without shame, and a heavier fellow villager takes over his shield and weapon. The one who inflicts the first stroke wins the fight, and with a triumphant expression and dancing gracefully he turns his back on the vanquished fighter. If the latter is a calm person he throws his shield and pandanus leaves away, but sometimes such a person cannot control himself and runs after the victor so that he can also inflict a stroke, but then the referees immediately seize him. Except for the bleeding scratches, from which one immediately begins to pick the thorns and which one covers with a yellow paste, this fight makes a gay impression and the public follows it with cheers ⁷⁸).

Unfortunately the exact relationship between Ngis and Tnganan is not known, but the former was one of four villages (the others being Pakarangan, Tnganan Dauh Tukad and Sibtan) with which Tnganan had religious relations ⁷⁹). Both Pakarangan and Ngis were obliged to make contributions for the celebrations of the fifth month in Tnganan, and Ngis had to send two representatives to participate in them. Moreover, the *pura puseh* (temple of origin) of Tnganan was supposedly erected for Ngis and Tnganan and was still used by them both ⁸⁰). Dauh Tukad also used various temples in Tnganan ⁸¹). South of Ngis is a wood whence Tnganan fetched lumber for their public buildings ⁸²). Whereas Ngis and Pakarangan paid tribute to Tnganan the latter had to make a yearly contribution to Sibtan ⁸³).

Speaking of the neutral ground found between villages on Bali, Korn says: "Those pieces of no man's land probably served precisely to conduct the village wars (such as the *parang batu* [war of stones] in Minangkabau . . .), of which the custom of the inhabitants of two

⁷⁸) Ibid., p. 201. Cf. B. de Zoete and W. Spies, *Dance and drama in Bali*, London, 1938, p. 52, 256. They call it the *Karé* or *Prang Duri* ("battle of the leaves").

⁷⁹) Ibid., p. 96.

⁸⁰) Ibid., p. 65.

⁸¹) Ibid., p. 96.

⁸²) Ibid., p. 65.

⁸³) Ibid.

neighboring desa of attacking each other with stones, or, as in Klungkung, with burning torches, on the eve of the secluding of the land (manjepi)⁸⁴), lives on probably as a survival, while the prang pandan... between the youths of Tnganan and Ngis can also be a survival of earlier village warfare⁸⁵).

Something of the religious background of such a "war" is given in the following example.

„... the prang déwa, the war of the gods, which is fought every two years on the occasion of the usaba atji in the pura Guman, located in the territory of desa Bugbug. In that temple then is the Batara of Djasi, guarded by the Batara of Bugbug. Both desa are represented there by a whole row of thrones of gods (djampana), splendidly arrayed in antique cloths and flowers and attached to two sturdy bamboo carrying poles. And then a third bright row of such gods approaches over the tops of the hills, all carried and surrounded by sturdy fellows, some of them armed with ornamental lances. This column makes, after a few rounds, an unexpected attack on the gods of Djasi, which attack is, however, beaten off by Bugbug. One can again see thereby how violent the Balinese can be on such occasions. The collision of the gods' thrones is so violent that bamboo splinters fly about and many a brown back is colored red with blood. What is the origin of that fight? The god of Bebandem (Batara Déwa puseh) was formerly engaged with the daughter of Batara Bugbug, but this child of the gods was then abducted by the Batara of Djasi. Thence that enmity. Batara Bugbug is since then the protector of Batara Djasi⁸⁶).

Bloody battles were also a feature of the *bius* feasts of the Batak in Sumatra. The *bius* was a religious community on a territorial basis, grouping together several *marga*, or genealogical groups. It held a harvest feast (*mangase*) annually and also made sacrifices on the occasion of a serious drought or epidemic⁸⁷). Speaking of the *bius* feast Joustra writes: "At this a struggle takes place, first between the

⁸⁴) Cf. R. Goris, Bali's hoogtijden, T.B.G. LXXIII (1933), p. 441f. This is the Hindu-Balinese „New Year". Sacrifices are made in two distinct groups — for the uranic and for the chthonic gods. Hearth fire is distributed for the New Year along with sacred water and rice, followed by a fight with fire. The next day everything stands still. On the third day lights and fires may be lighted, though one may still not work.

⁸⁵) V. E. Korn, Het Adatrecht van Bali, The Hague, 1932, p. 437.

⁸⁶) Ibid., p. 91f.

⁸⁷) J. C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks, The Hague, 1933, p. 86-92.

mortally wounded animal [a carbow] and the leader of the feast along with the person who has given the buffalo the death blow, later between the two people. Sometimes this is followed by a kind of fight between the various tribes, who throw burning bundles of rice straw (*tulbu*) or even stones at each other. This struggle has a symbolic significance; it depends on the outcome who will receive the blessing of the revered ancestor. It sometimes leads to real battles ... ⁸⁸⁾."

A somewhat different description is given by Winkler ⁸⁹⁾:

"After the harvest a singular performance took place in many districts which probably represented originally a form of human sacrifice. A sacrificial animal was slaughtered; the offering was for the year conceived of as an astrological spiritual power (*mamele taon*, offer a sacrifice to the year). The related families presented each other with meat; then the youths of the sacrificial community formed two groups which executed a sham battle (*mortulbu*, *mordanggur*) on the stubble-fields, in which they threw reed lances at each other; in other districts even stones. Passions were thereby inflamed; married men also mixed with the youths. The women looked on, encouraging the fighters with cheers and hand-clapping. Blood finally had to flow or one of them even lose his life, and that on both sides, so that no hatred would remain which could have given occasion to a deed of revenge."

Ypes cites the following passage from Ködding in connection with the *bius* feast ⁹⁰⁾:

"After the usual sacrifice and the magical acts of the *Datu*, during which the *Sombaon* ⁹¹⁾ enters his medium and from there pronounces his wishes and his promises, a buffalo which had been bound fast was danced about and then stabbed. Along with this a battle was artificially forced for the purpose of taking a human life. Formerly a man was supposedly tied behind the buffalo to the same stake, but was chased away after the killing of the buffalo; no one dared to take him in, associate with him or give him food."

The resemblance between this ceremony and the killing of a slave

⁸⁸⁾ M. Joustra, *Batakspiegel*, Leiden, 1910, p. 158.

⁸⁹⁾ J. Winkler, *Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen*, Stuttgart, 1925, p. 144. Cf. *Adatrechtbundel XXVII*, p. 85f.

⁹⁰⁾ W. K. H. Ypes, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en het grondenrecht der Toba- en Dairibataks*, Leiden, 1932, p. 183n.

⁹¹⁾ The highest of the three categories of ancestors. Cf. L. J. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 17.

at the Ngadju-Dajak death feast (*tiwah*) is striking. The man tied to the stake here and later released is obviously considered to have been killed. It is also quite similar to the killing of carbows by the Nage (central Flores) at their harvest feast. There the animal was tied loosely to a stake and slowly stabbed to death by two double rows of celebrants on either side, the men in front, armed with guns, lances and *kléwang* [a kind of short sword], backed up by the women. The first carbow was offered by the spiritual chief, Rogo Wono, and the second by the political chief, Rogo Noli, his younger brother. This went on until eighteen carbows had been killed ⁹²).

To return to the Batak, at the *bius* feast in the sub-district Baligé the participants divided themselves into two groups, the descendants of two of the sons of Si Bagot ni Pohan, the tribal ancestor, forming one of them and the descendants of the other two forming the other. When the buffalo had been mortally stabbed each of the two groups, which had drawn themselves up on opposite sides of the animal, struggled to make it fall on its far side, which would bring prosperity to the winning party ⁹³).

Finally we read in Warneck ⁹⁴): "In Silindung, for example, the sombaon Siatasbarita is worshipped; all four tribes of Silindung pray to him and make him sacrifices. When a sacrifice is made to him a common feast must be organized, clubs and lances are thrown during it, and if some one is killed by it his death may not be avenged." In another place ⁹⁵) he records a tradition that four men must be killed on this occasion.

In Minangkabau *parang adat* (customary wars) or *parang batu* (wars of stones) were waged between adjacent *nagari* (villages) belonging to different *larèh* or federations of *nagari*. At the same time, these federations were composed of members of a single *adat*, of which there were two — *adat Katumanggungan* and *adat Parapatih*, which in turn were associated with the two Minangkabau phratries, Koto-Piliang and Bodi-Tjaniago. These "wars" were waged according to definite rules on neutral ground (*tanah kubu* or *tanah radjo*) between the *nagari* ⁹⁶).

⁹²) G. Beker, Het oogst- en offerfeest bij den Nage-stam te Boa Wai, this periodical, LXVII (1913), p. 625ff.

⁹³) Ypes, op. cit., p. 232.

⁹⁴) Warneck, op. cit., p. 85.

⁹⁵) Ibid., p. 107f.

⁹⁶) P. E. de Josselin de Jong, Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan. Socio-political structure in Indonesia, Leiden, 1951, p. 81.

In more recent times these fights were seldom bloody, but originally they are said to have been fought with sword and shield⁹⁷). Unfortunately, we are not told on what occasions these battles took place, though their ritual function of giving expression to the traditional antagonism of the phratries seems clear⁹⁸).

In the Lampongs, finally, a form of dueling called *menigël* is a necessary part of several ritual celebrations. It was always performed during the day, in front of the *sēsāt*, or council hall, and only by men, who always had to be of equal rank. "Two men begin and are relieved by other members of the group until all those present have had their turn. First, however, a tourney for the children takes place, then for the youths and after that for the oldest and at the same time highest in rank among the guests. It begins with two bared krisses, one in each hand, then with pike and shield and finally with drawn *kléwang* and shield⁹⁹).

These duels are reported to have been held on the following occasions: 1) At circumcision, when the boy concerned duels with a single opponent¹⁰⁰). 2) At marriage ceremonies, between the two-fathers-in-law and their respective parties. At the same time a cock fight was held between cocks also belonging to the fathers of the couple¹⁰¹). 3) At the *turun di wai*, at which a new bride descended to the bathing place at the river with her husband (this was required of every married woman of good standing, as she was not allowed to leave her house until she had done so)¹⁰²). 4) At the building of a house¹⁰³). 5) At the killing of an *irawan*¹⁰⁴). 6) At the *naik pepadon*¹⁰⁵). 7) At the funeral of a chief having *pepadon* status, by his successor¹⁰⁶).

An *irawan* was a living human being who was tied to a stake, slowly

⁹⁷) L. C. Westenenk, *De Minangkabausche nagari*, Med. Enc. Bur. XVII (1918), p. 10.

⁹⁸) P. E. de Josselin de Jong, op. cit., p. 81f.

⁹⁹) J. A. Du Bois, *De Lampongs*, in E. Francis, *Herinneringen uit den levensloop van een' Indisch' ambtenaar*, Batavia, 1856, I, p. 186f. It originally appeared in *Tijdschrift v. Nederlandsch Indië*, 1852.

¹⁰⁰) *Adatrechtbundel XXXV*, p. 398.

¹⁰¹) Du Bois, op. cit., p. 173f.; J. H. Hissink, *Het pepadonwezen*, T.B.G., XLVII (1904), p. 137, 142.

¹⁰²) Hissink, op. cit., p. 112f.

¹⁰³) *Adatrechtbundel XXXV*, p. 399.

¹⁰⁴) Du Bois, op. cit., p. 187, 189, 159.

¹⁰⁵) Hissink, op. cit., p. 110; Du Bois, op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁰⁶) Du Bois, op. cit., p. 184.

killed with pikes, krisses and kléwang and finally beheaded ¹⁰⁷). This was done at a ceremony avenging the death of a *mégâ* chief (the *mégâ* was the largest of the territorial and genealogical subdivisions of the Lampongs), whether it had been committed either by a member of the same *mégâ* or of another. At the same time two human heads had to be taken ¹⁰⁸). The killing of an *irawan* was also required for the *naik pepadon* ¹⁰⁹) and very likely the same ceremony was performed for the construction of a new house, it being reported that one or more slaves were killed on that occasion and their heads deposited under the main posts ¹¹⁰). The *irawan* were usually taken from "remote parts of the country", but rich people sometimes purchased slaves for the purpose ¹¹¹).

Naik pepadon is the term for the installation of a *mégâ*, *tjiuh* (village) or *suku* (village ward) head on a kind of low throne, the *pepadon*. This installation brought with it a large number of prerogatives and advantages and considerable prestige, and was expected of all such heads. It was a very costly affair, however, and various grades were established, forming a whole system of titles, honors and distinctions. Originally restricted to the above-mentioned heads, it came to be extended to other members of the community who could afford the expense, with the result that the acquiring of the various titles and ranks became the chief glory and occupation of the people in a manner strongly resembling the potlatch of the northwest coast Indians ¹¹²).

Not only was the killing of an *irawan* a necessary part of the installation ceremony, but another writer reports that a few heads had to be taken to serve as supports for the *pepadon*. If this proved too difficult slaves were killed for the purpose ¹¹³). In the light of these facts, together with the dueling, which also accompanied the ceremony and the marked potlatch character of the *pepadon* system as a whole, it is not surprising to learn that the word *pepadon* itself is derived from *adu*, meaning "fight" or "quarrel" ¹¹⁴).

¹⁰⁷) Ibid., p. 159f.

¹⁰⁸) Ibid., p. 159, 161f.

¹⁰⁹) Hissink, op. cit., p. 93, 100f.

¹¹⁰) H. F. W. Cornets de Groot, Nota over de slavernij en het pandelingschap in de residentie Lampongsche districten, T.B.G., XXVII (1882), p. 458.

¹¹¹) Du Bois, op. cit., p. 160.

¹¹²) See for this institution principally: Du Bois, op. cit., Hissink, op. cit. and R. A. Kern, Over 't Lampoengsche volk, Indisch Genootschap, Vergadering van 16 Maart 1923, The Hague, p. 70-102.

¹¹³) Cornets de Groot, op. cit., p. 458.

¹¹⁴) Hissink, op. cit., p. 92.

To be installed, thus, in his appropriate rank, the candidate must be victorious in battle. As the *pepadon* was formerly limited to the heads of the *mégâ*, *tjiuh* and *suku* that meant that these political divisions themselves were victorious. The question is, over whom? Unfortunately the Lampongs have been poorly studied and little is known with certainty of their political structure. Although since the beginning of the 19th century, at least, there has been no internal authority higher than that of the *mégâ chief* ¹¹⁵), there are indications, however, that the whole territory was once divided into two great phratries, the Abungs and the Lampongs. The Abungs (the term means "highlander" as opposed to "lampong" meaning "lowlander" ¹¹⁶), who live inland around the Wai Abung and Wai Rarem, though generally described as more primitive and wilder than the Lampongs living nearer the coast, belong nevertheless to the same people ¹¹⁷). An Abung myth confirms this and throws an interesting light on the relationship between the two groups ¹¹⁸). It runs briefly as follows:

A certain Menak Baginduh came to live in Gedung Njapar in Abung territory. Here he was killed by an unknown person and his sons moved after that with their followers to another village in the same territory near Tjaja Negri. After long searching one of the sons found his father's head in the house of a man of Malay origin called Radja di Laut (King of the Sea) at Denti on the Baladana. The brothers killed him and took both his and their father's heads to Tjanggok, where the oldest son, Unjai, gave a great feast and assumed the title of Radja di Putjak, from the height on which his house stood.

Menak Baginduh left behind three sons and one daughter, who were regarded as the original ancestors of the four Abung tribes: Unjai, Subing, Unji and Uban. He also had five adopted sons, however, whose descendants settled in various parts of Lampong territory. All nine tribes thus formed recognized the authority of Unjai (the eldest son of Baginduh), who, when he died, left three sons. The oldest of these, Menak Patih Tuah, lawfully inherited his father's position as head of the nine tribes, but this was disputed by Radja Pandjang Djungra, the eldest son of the eldest of Menak Baginduh's five adopted sons. Unjai's

¹¹⁵) Kern, op. cit., p. 74.

¹¹⁶) P. Veth, *Het landschap Aboeng en de Aboengers op Sumatra*, T.K.A.G., II (1876), p. 40f.

¹¹⁷) Ibid., p. 47f.

¹¹⁸) Ibid., p. 44f.

sons protested, but had to bow to Radja Pandjang Djungra's superior force.

This situation led Menak Paduka, the grandson of Menak Patih Tuah, and another Abung chief to seek the aid of the Sultan of Bantam, in return for which they offered him the recognition of his supreme authority and dominion over Tulang Bawang, a Lampong province. The sultan refused to accept while Radja Balau (in Kwala Teluk) lived. The two Abung chiefs returned and decided to overcome Radja Balau by trickery. They killed an old slave and pretended to eat him, which so frightened the Radja that he agreed to an alliance with them and gave his daughter in marriage to Menak Paduka's companion. They took advantage of the first opportunity to kill him, however, and took his wives, children and valuables to the Sultan of Bantam, who rewarded Menak Paduka and his companion with titles.

The similarity between the first part of this myth and the Toradja myths discussed earlier in this paper is striking. The father is killed by an obviously fictitious figure, The King of the Sea, corresponding to the arch enemies of the Toradja stories who live on the other side of the sea or in the sky, etc. and is avenged by his sons, who after long searching succeed in finding and beheading the enemy. The eldest of the sons then assumes the title of Radja, symbolizing the re-establishment of the group after its period of trial. The second part of the myth is largely a repetition of the first, except that the two groups of descendants of the original ancestor, Menak Baginduh, assume the rôles of the antagonists.

This antagonism also existed in fact as well as in myth. The Abungs were reported to have had the custom of taking heads among the Lampongs for various ritual purposes¹¹⁹) and there is a story of an expedition organized from Semangka to put an end to these raids¹²⁰). It seems also probable that the "remote parts of the country" from which the Lampong people fetched their heads coincided with Abung territory.

It is, I hope, clear from the examples given above that there is no sharp distinction to be made between ritual combats and head-hunting and that they both derive from a conception of the world which forms the basis for the entire social and religious order.

¹¹⁹) Ibid., p. 45f.

¹²⁰) W. Marsden, *A brief memoir of the late -*, London, 1838.

In discussing a myth of the Oirata people on Kisar De Josselin de Jong writes ¹²¹): "The taking of a head is celebrated as a religious act of the greatest moment, and the successful hunter is honoured as a tribal hero or rather as a tribal benefactor. Besides, headhunting is essentially reciprocal: a head is taken because a head has been lost. And this reciprocity is not founded in congenital emotions but in social and religious ideas. The loss of a head means a loss of supernatural power and of prestige, a disturbance of religious and social balance which, consequently, must be redressed. As in so many instances, the religious and the social aspects are not sharply distinguished; they are, on the contrary, one. The intrinsic value of the head itself is not due to its being laden with "soul" or with "power", but to its being the supernatural means of redressing the balance between the groups concerned or even of turning the scales to the advantage of one's own group. In short, head-hunting belongs to the socio-religious complex of "potlatch".

This statement is amply born out by the material presented in this paper. More specifically, the religious aspect was seen to be based on a conception of the division of the universe into two antagonistic halves, the struggle between the two corresponding to the alternance between life and death. In real life the killing of a member of the opposing group means the death and temporary eclipse of that group and the rebirth and ascendancy of the other. In most of the examples it was possible to associate the performance of head-hunting and mock combats with definite traces of dual organizations, and it would be tempting to speculate on the earlier forms and development of political organizations in connection with head-hunting in Indonesia. The data available, however, are far too scarce and unreliable for the purpose. It has only been my aim to establish, if possible, the fact that the two are related.

R. E. DOWNS.

¹²¹) J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Studies in Indonesian culture I, Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar*, Amsterdam, 1937, p. 164.