

CHAPTER III

THE CLASSES

“Then Datu Bakka’ and Pong Maleleong,
completely exhausted, bowed their bodies,
thereon they were treated like buffaloes
used for work on the ricefields,
they were handled like *kerbau*
used for labour on the *sawahs*.”

(Merok: 137)

III.1 Class division in Kesu’

III.1.1 *Kesu’*

In the district of Kesu’ the society of the Sa’dan-Toraja displayed rather sharp class divisions. The myth which relates how separation between the free and the unfree originated, is told in the *Passomba Tedong*, the chant recited at the consecration of the buffalo sacrificed at the *merok*-feast (Merok: 110). Pande Nunu (‘the skilful observer’) ¹ married Kandaibubun of Illin. This woman, also called Tumba Bollan, ² wore a bracelet made of clay, and an anklet fashioned of an alloy, probably not including gold, silver or brass; ³ these ornaments betray that she was a slave. Female slaves were not permitted to wear ornaments of such precious metals. Pande Nunu consumed the left-overs from his brothers’ meal, an act further associated with the class of the unfree. Two children were born to this pair, two sons, Datu Bakka’ and Pong Malaleong (though *datu* means ‘lord’, the title *datu* is not associated with nobility). When the ‘House of Iron’ in the upperworld had been completed (Merok: 132-133) and the buffalo for the primeval *merok*-celebration was about to be sacrificed, firewood had to be chopped, and branches which would cast dense shadows needed to be inserted in the earth. These tasks were assigned to Datu Bakka’ and his brother, ⁴ but they refused. What is more, they wanted to marry with women from the group which they considered as their equals; because, they replied to their brothers: weren’t they

all one big family, Datu Bakka' and Pong Malaleong and the rest who took part in the feast? Hadn't all their fathers originated from the cinders of Puang Matua's forge? The others conceded this point, but confronted the pair with the fact that their father had taken a wife from Illin who wore a bracelet of clay (in traditional Toraja society the children of the marriage between a free man and a slave, usually belonged to the class of their mother).

The two objectors did not want to be treated like buffaloes that had to work on the *sawah*. Then, from the center of the firmament, it was solemnly declared that they should give in; nevertheless, they remained headstrong, even after divine judgement was delivered through means of a cock-fight. Only after they were beaten in a fight did they yield. There were no women, however, who were willing to become their wives. Puang Matua then sculpted a doll from clay, calling it Potto Kalemang. The Prince of the Wind blew life into the image, however, only after he had been trapped in a net and persuaded by Puang Matua. Since Datu Bakka' and Pong Malaleong laboured in the *sawah* just like a buffalo; they bent under the yoke, even as animals. And in this way the division into classes became established almost immediately after the creation.

Since the nomenclature of the classes in Sa'dan-Toraja entails certain difficulties, translations of terms in common use are offered with reservations. One might classify the most important group of the *to makaka*, the *anak patalo*, as nobility, or else call the entire group *to makaka* ('free farmers'); my informant Bua' Sarungallo, however, speaks of the latter as 'noblemen', thus contradicting Van der Veen who has chosen for the less inflated term above. The lowest class seldom owns any land, yet someone who belongs to this class can have possessions of some other nature.⁵ The ownership (and use) of certain objects, however, was the privilege of the members of the higher classes. That this in general remains true today will become evident shortly.

The designation *slave* is perhaps more appropriate than *serf*. Many years ago, Fahrenfort contended that, in a certain sense, it mattered very little whether one spoke of slaves or serfs: the overriding criterium was that work was performed in bondage (Fahrenfort 1943: 31). Those in the Toraja society who belong (or belonged) to the lowest order did render labour under compulsion in the past. Accordingly, we refer to them as slaves; the Toraja term (which is still in use, although not openly) is *to kaunan*.⁶ In Buntao' the name *potto kalem-*

bang was also current (see the name of the clay doll in the summary of the *Passomba Tedong* already presented).

Different kinds of slaves existed:

1. slaves who were born as slaves;
2. those who were enslaved by being taken prisoner during war;
3. those who, either from anxiety or because adversely had plunged them into destitution, sought protection by allying themselves to a rich and/or powerful master; these slaves were called *kaunan mengkaranduk*. They had the right to buy back their freedom (see chapter V);
4. condemned thieves;
5. those who incurred debts which they were unable to pay off (*kaunan sandang*, *kaunan indan*). By meeting their debt they could reclaim their freedom without having to pay the one hundred head of livestock, etc. which an ordinary slave had to pay to gain his emancipation (see III.7).

(Note: no account was given whether slaves of category 4 could regain their freedom like other slaves.)

The status which a *kaunan* enjoyed varied. Household slaves, *kaunan garonto* or *kaunan bulaan*, could never be sold.⁷ Many of the masters of these *kaunan*, moreover, worked on the land themselves excessive efforts were not demanded of their slaves. Industry and obedience, however, were expected of the *kaunan*:

“Hail to the dutiful slaves,⁸
abundant be the blessing
upon the obedient members
of the house.”

(Merok: 22-23, verse 21)

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, coffee and slaves were the leading ‘export products’ of the Toraja lands. To threaten a *kaunan* to sell him into Buginese territory sufficed to induce him to work hard. Such a sale would land the unfortunate slave in alien surroundings. Slaves were exported to Luwu’ (Palopo) and Parepare. In 1969 people of Tana Toraja still enjoyed telling the story of Ne’ Pakunde, already a very old man at that time, who once had sold himself into slavery:

his friend delivered him to his owner, but then the very night of the transaction, Ne' Pakunde fled. Later he divided the profits of his sale with his friend.

The treatment of a slave depended on the nature of his master; there were good and bad slave-owners, and their conduct will explain why descendants of *kaunan* remain embittered or thankful even today. In gratitude for past benevolence, the descendants of former slaves are disposed to lend assistance during certain rituals, carrying out tasks considered as slaves' work.

In theory slavery passed into desuetude in 1906. Although the establishment of Dutch authority precluded further commerce in slaves, class divisions persisted without immediate disruption. Slowly, however, the formal abolition of slavery bore fruit. Children of slaves were afforded the opportunity of attending school and ascending the social ladder. Nevertheless, in certain cases dependency persisted in the form of patronage.

All restrictive regulations which previously obtained for members of the slave class have been abandoned today. Slaves were forbidden to wear ornaments of precious metal or brass; female slaves, moreover, were not allowed to adorn themselves with armlets made of shell. Nor might a *kaunan* eat from the dishes of his owner. They should never sit on the front part of the floor of the rice barn. The hairstyle of female slaves and their children differed from that of women and children of rank. Slaves had to forgo batiked headcloths and certain kinds of bamboo fillets. Those of the unfree class were not permitted to inhabit a house decorated with wood carving; nor might they use an oblong wooden rice pounder, or own one hewn from stone. Such limitations are a thing of the past, but although in principle all Toraja today may wear and use whatever cloths and objects they please, still, especially during rituals, descending of *kaunan* behave with caution. Heirlooms and regalia are only put on by those who belong to traditionally pre-eminent families in Toraja society.

It has become apparent, I hope, that all slaves were not equal. Some differences were of consequence. Household or compound slaves, the *kaunan garonto*, occupied a privileged position. Upon their death they were entombed in the cliff grave of their master, in the same cavern, although in a separate section. A master had not only rights over his slaves, he had responsibilities to them. He had to feed and clothe them. For his work in the fields, a *kaunan* received

every morning a coconut-shell full of boiled rice; for his family he was given every day a coconut-shell filled with uncooked rice (no mention is made how family size might affect this ration). Should a slave die and his family have no means to provide for his burial, his master came to their assistance. Such funerals never followed the procedures of the high orders of burial, but were restricted to, maximally, the *tallung bongi*, the mortuary ritual which lasts three nights (see Vol. II).

That slaves were cherished is amply demonstrated by the praise that is lavished on them during the *bua' kasalle*, a ritual of the highest order. The eulogy was recited by the *to minaa* (a category of priests) in a poem of set contents. This *singgi' kaunan sola pia* ('laudation of the unfree and the children') has been translated and annotated by Van der Veen (Van der Veen 1979: 276-296).

Many of those once classed as slaves have since worked their way up to prosperity. Even formerly, however, despite restrictions, a slave could manage to climb the social ladder. Though unfree he was permitted his own possessions; if he trived he could purchase his freedom, particularly if he had many children who also had property of their own. To become free he had to deliver a hundred items of everything to his master, a hundred buffaloes, a hundred agricultural tools, a hundred household effects, etc. The number *one hundred* should, however, be interpreted symbolically. The price of freedom could involve handling over as few as three buffaloes. Emancipation by purchase was marked with a feast, possibly even with a *merok*-feast (see Vol. II and Merok: 2). Buying one's freedom was called *talla'*.

A slave could never marry a woman of any class above him. Should he do so (and presumably sexual intercourse was included in the prohibition) the couple would be found guilty and sentenced to be burned to death. It is uncertain whether this penalty was ever actually carried out. Anyhow, today this taboo no longer retains its former force.

Kennedy (1953: 154) presents the following information about marriages between partners of different classes and the consequences for their children; he acquired his data from Mr. W. Papajungan:

- "1. Father noble — mother commoner: child commoner.
2. Father noble — mother slave: child slave.
3. Father commoner — mother slave: child slave.
4. Mother noble — father commoner: formerly taboo, now may be possible (I have one case): child noble.

5. Mother noble — father slave: formerly very taboo, now may be possible (I have no case of this): child slave. Formerly, partners in such a marriage were killed by drowning or burning.
6. Mother commoner — father slave: may be possible today, formerly taboo. Child slave."

It is not altogether clear to what part of Tana Toraja Kennedy's scheme pertains, to Tikala or Kesu' (as far as his *tongkonan* is concerned, W. Papajungan belongs to both areas). In any event, the information does not make mention of any resultant intermediate classes, and its emphasis falls on the matrilinear character of descent. Yet, we will soon find occasion to note that they sometimes deviated from the rule a mother's class defines that of her children.

A man of high rank might indeed marry a slave; according to a woman of the highest class, now living in Buntao' but native to Ranteballa, the children from their union would then belong to their mother's class. This informant told me that her half-brothers and -sisters, born from the marriage of her father with a *kaunan* woman, were not supposed to remain in the same place that she did during feasts: for example, they might never sit on the floor beneath the rice barn. An informant from Kesu', however, revealed that the descendants of a *to parengnge'* man and a *kaunan* woman were known as *to makaka direngnge'* and constituted an intermediate class (see below). This report contradicts the views proposed by Kennedy's source, W. Papajungan. The explanation for the clash of information lies in the fact that the children of a wealthy *to makaka* and a slave belong to the intermediate class while those of a poor, free farmer and a *kaunan* woman will be classified according to the class of their mother. Surely, the prosperous *to makaka* would not have found it to his liking should his offspring be classed with the slaves. Wealth often means influence; prosperity commands a certain respect.

As far as the free are concerned: the *anak pare pare nangka* (alternatively, *anak passasaran tuyu*)⁹ constitute an important group in the class of the *to makaka*. The group includes the *anak patalo* and the *to parengnge'*. The former are descendants of leading *tongkonan*. They have authority in such matters as: the maintenance of security in their settlement, the promotion of its progress and general well-being, the settling of disputes and the specification of the *kapa'* (see II.5.2 above). In time of war, they are commanders.

The name *to parengnge'* derives from *rengnge'*, the manner in which

women carry a load.¹⁰ The load is borne on the back by a rope which is looped around the woman's forehead so that part of the weight is effectively displaced onto her head. Metaphorically this stands for: bearing the responsibility for the ceremonies celebrated by the *tongkonan* (*Woordenboek v. rengnge'*). The *to parengnge'* are the ritual leaders of the rites of a *tongkonan* which has a title. According to Mangesu' Matandung (1973: 26-34) the term *parengnge'* refers to a class; according to Tangdilintin (oral information) the word alludes to a title, just as *puang* does. Although today members of the *puang's* ramage often are addressed or referred to as *puang*, Tangdilintin maintains that in former times only the ruler was called Puang. The point is that the *parengnge'*-ship always involves specific functions and thus is an office with diverse content. The occupancy of the office, however, is usually the prerogative of a certain class. The association with class is particularly striking among the *to makaka direngnge'* who can be regarded as an intermediate class between the *to makaka* and the *kaunan*.¹¹ Should something important be on hand in their family, they are obliged to bring news of it to the *anak patalo* and the *to parengnge'*. As mentioned above, the *to makaka direngnge'* sprung from marriages between *anak pare pare nangka'* men and *to kaunan* women. Their children did not belong to their father's class, yet they were not slaves either. It is true that upon their deaths the mortuary ritual observed is that which is customary for members of their mother's class. Nevertheless, should the deceased's father be an *anak patalo*, it is possible that he has his child buried in keeping with a more elevated ritual.

The *anak patalo* (and also the *to parengnge'*) wear special clothing on certain occasions. Also in daily life they wear distinctive ornaments, e.g. the *tali pakkaridi'*, a hair ribbon (*Woordenboek v. tali*). Their wives wear bracelets made of gold, silver or brass or crafted from shells. The small children of *anak patalo*, *anak pare pare nangka'* and other distinguished members of society have their heads shaved smooth except for a square tuft on their foreheads. With children of low station the hair around the top of the head was left unshaven.

The *anak patalo* have other privileges as well: only members of this class and *to parengnge'* are entitled to sit upon the floor under the rice barn. During the laudation (*ma'singgi'*) the *anak patalo* are the first to be praised, followed by their wives and children. Should a commoner be eulogized, this means that he had previously asked permission. On other occasions than a *bua' kasalle*-celebration it is

a rare exception for a slave to be lauded; if it happens it is upon his master's proposal. Women of high rank (*anak pare pare nangka'* or *anak passasaran tuyu*) were during *ma'singgi'* addressed by a special title: *simbolong manik* ('hairknot, shining like beads'), or, synonymously, *lokkon loë rara'* ('coil of hair, dangling like a golden neck ornament'). The same designations are used to refer to these women during large-scale gatherings.

With respect to rituals, class divisions have profound significance in Kesu' and elsewhere. The *to parengnge'* function during special feasts, serving the offerings and performing appointed tasks in the rituals of the feast, the rituals of the *deata* (see Vol. II). For this reason they are called the *to parengnge' aluk rampe matallo*. In most districts the death priests, however, come from the lowest class, the *to kaunan*. They are also known (in Kesu' and Buntao') as the *to parengnge' aluk rampe matampu'*, the *to parengnge'* of the ritual of the West. They perform their functions in that part of the mortuary rites which is looked upon as impure (in the sense of not yet having been purified).

In this context mention must be made of information contending that the terms *anak patalo*, *anak pare pare nangka'*, etc. originated after the war with Bone and that even the title of *sokkong bayu* dates from this period (information by Ne' Sangga, Ba'tan, Kesu'). This would imply that the *to parengnge' cum suis* are the descendants of those who, in this war, distinguished themselves meritoriously. The same informants added that, before that time, all authority (secular as well as sacral) was vested in the *to indo'*.¹² *To indo' padang* is the present term for rice priest. *Indo'* or *to indo'* is also used in the sense of a person bearing authority: see *indo' tondok* ('village head'), *indo' bua'* ('leader of a *bua'*-community'). *Pekaindoran* is the title of the chief of an *adat*-community.

The honorific designation *pekaindoran* is still in use today along with that of *pek(a)amberan*; the former title is, perhaps, the somewhat more exalted of the two. The terms are derived from *indo'* ('mother'), and *ambe'* ('father'). The persons of authority mentioned above are practically always males, and therefore *indo'* alludes not to his sex, but to the motherly care, which a leader is supposed to devote to the community. The title *indo'* has possibly been displaced by the titles *to parengnge'* and *anak patalo*; and has remained in vogue in the appellation *to indo' padang* ('the leader of the rice ritual'). Rice rituals belong to the *aluk rampe matallo*, whereas the

to mebalun ('the death priest') performs in the *aluk rampe matampu'*. The hypothesis suggests itself that, before the war with Bone, the Sa'dan had much simpler hierarchy, confined to the distinction of functionaries of the East from functionaries of the West. Informants are equally emphatic, however, that class divisions already existed in the upperworld, a point of view which clearly contradicts the hypothesis that social stratification is of rather recent origin! Equally inconsistent with this hypothesis is other information, confining that *to burake*, *to minaa* and *kaunan* were already extant before the *untulak Buntunna* Bone ('the war with Bone'). In death chants the *to burake* is invariably described as the one who preceded the *to manurun* in their way down to earth by rainbow (The Chant: 24-25).

Finally, for the identification of the classes with particular kinds of buffalo, the reader is referred to VII.1 and to Merok: 128-129.

In his discussion of class divisions, Kennedy prints the following absolute numbers and percentages for the different wards of the village of Marante in Kesu' (Kennedy 1953: 159, 160).

Marante:

<i>wards</i>	<i>Tondok</i>	<i>Bone'</i>	<i>Balatana</i>	<i>Linda</i>
<i>former slaves</i> (total)	86	82	119	207
men	(35)	(45)	(55)	(104)
women	(51)	(37)	(64)	(103)
<i>commoners</i> (total)	76	217	129	551
men	(36)	(109)	(66)	(279)
women	(40)	(108)	(63)	(272)
<i>nobility</i> (total)	97	80	10	30
men	(50)	(38)	(7)	(15)
women	(47)	(42)	(3)	(15)
% slaves				
(= former <i>kaunan</i>)	33	22	46	26
% commoners	29	57	50	70
% nobility	38	21	4	4

All in all 29 % of this village belonged to the previous slave class, 58 % to the class of commoners and 13 % to the nobility. While the former *kaunan* class had a surplus of women, there were more men

than women, by a small amount, among both commoners and nobility. The sexual imbalance suggests that males from the higher classes are impelled to find a marriage partner from women in the lowest class.

III.1.2 *Nonongan*

In *Nonongan*, part of the federation of *Kesu'* (see IV.1.6) and yet separate as far as social organization is concerned, the following classes are found:

- a. the *gora tongkon*, a category analogous to that of the *anak patalo* (in *Nonongan*, the latter term is used for young people of the noble class). A *gora tongkon* ('sitting crier') has expert knowledge of *adat*-regulations and sacrificial ritual; although he does not preside over offerings, he gives instructions. In meetings, whenever *adat*-affairs are discussed, he is one of the speakers;
- b. the *anak pare pare nangka'*, see *Kesu'*;
- c. the *to makaka*;
- d. the *to makaka direngnge'*;
- e. the *kaunan*;
- f. the *kaunan tai manuk*, the slaves of slaves.

Among the *kaunan* are those who fulfil specific functions in rituals for the dead. Besides there are the *to indo'*, the *to minaa*, the *to mebalun* and other functionaries. In this society a person of vast knowledge who occupies an important position is called a *manete patimmi'* (*manete* = ridge pole; *patimmi'* = ?).

Another significant division which slightly deviates from the class structure as sketched above is of particular importance in connection with the *kapa'*, the fine to be paid in the event of divorce (see II.5.2). The relevant terms refer to the number of buffaloes included in the *kapa'*:

- a. *tana' bulaan*, 24 buffaloes;
- b. *tana' bassi*, 6 buffaloes;
- c. *tana' karurung*, 2 buffaloes;
- d. *tana' kua-kua*, 1 pig.

Tana' denotes: 'to drive in a peg or stake'. Metaphorically this means, acknowledging a case as a precedent, a rule for future decisions. *Tana' bulaan* ('the golden stakes') are the rules applicable when a man of high nobility violates marriage regulations; *tana' bassi* ('the iron stakes') obtain when a member of the *to makaka* class breaks

the marriage laws. The *tana' karurung* ('stakes from the hard core of the sugar palm') determine the *kapa'* for persons of low rank (probably the *to makaka direngnge'*); the *tana' kua-kua* ('the stakes of reed') are in force for people of the slave class (see also *Woordenboek*: 674). Contradicting of the marriage is the right moment for fixing the number of buffaloes, i.e. for determining the level of the *kapa'*.

In this context mention must be made of the *tombang*, the sacrifice brought upon the occasion of a divorce which is accepted as legal. The abandoned party makes the sacrifice after having received the fine (*kapa'*) paid by the partner who sundered the relation; a basket filled with pieces of pork and boiled rice is sent by the recipient of the *kapa'* to his or her ex-mate (*Woordenboek*: 754 *tombang*).

A person of *tana' bulaan* standing who breaks his marriage bond thus pays 24 buffaloes to his wronged wife; or, if she is the guilty one, she indemnifies her husband with the same number of animals. When, later, the recipient of the *kapa'* dies, his or her family must send the head of a buffalo to the party who paid the fine (*baleatang*).

Kapa' is not the only indication of a person's class. Dining accessories are, too. An important *to parengnge'* has his own *dulang* (a dish on a high pedestal). No slave may eat from such a *dulang*. He may never, indeed, use any of the dining accessories of the upper classes. *To makaka kandeian* are *to makaka* who have their own dishes.

The subdivision of the *to makaka* class in Nonongan shows that, as in Kesu', it is not a homogenous group.

III.1.3 Titles and duties

The following information pertains primarily to Kesu'. Some of the titles about to be cited will be discussed more elaborately in IV.1.4 and IV.2.2. An important *tongkonan* has a specific function with a title attached to it. Should the titleholder die, then a new *to parengnge'* is proposed to fill the *to parengnge'*-ship. This can be the oldest son of the deceased *to parengnge'* but he is not necessarily the preferred candidate. He must be well informed on matters of *adat* and ritual, and be known as a man who displays the requisite character traits. Installation of the nominee takes place during a great feast, such as, for example, the *merok*. A village meeting (*kombongan*, *kombongan kalua'*: large, important village meeting) makes the final decision about who is to succeed to the post. The *sokkong bayu* runs the meeting, or, if this function is vacant, then the *datu baine* presides.

For the rest the *kombongan* is composed of the other *to parengnge'*, the *anak patalo*, the *to indo'* and the heads of wards and *saroan*.

The *sokkong bayu* is the highest titleholder in a particular area. The area can be a *patang penanian* (see IV.1.3) as in Buntao', for example, or of a village, or a stretch of territory which encompasses half a village, as, for example, is the case in Angin-angin, Kesu'. The term *sokkong bayu* is not used in Buntao'. Here the person who occupies the office bearing the title of *sokkong bayu* in Kesu', is called *issong kalua'* ('the great rice mortar'), just as in Pantilang.

In Tikala and in the *lembang* Sa'dan, the titles *sokkong bayu*, *issong kalua'*, etc., and other important titles, do not exist. At major feasts in Tikala e.g. *merok*, the buffalo is consecrated by the head of a *tongkonan* to which tradition entrusted this role.

The *sokkong bayu* (respectively, *issong kalua'*) is the head of the foremost ramage in the *adat*-region, the *bua'*-circle (*penanian*). He is the spiritual as well as the worldly leader of his cognatic descent group. He has an important function in rituals and a decisive vote in the settling of disputes. He often is a man of strong personality. Allo Rante (Ne' Sangga), the late *sokkong bayu* of Ba'tan in Kesu', was praised for his patience, his tolerance and his wisdom. He was thoroughly steeped in *adat*-regulations. The knowledge of a *sokkong bayu* can exceed that of a *to minaa* ('priest'). Then he is called '*sule to gandang*' or '*solonna tandilo rante*' (respectively: 'the substitute for the drum', or 'the companion of the *tandilo*').¹³ The function of *sokkong bayu* (or of *datu baine*, see below) often coincides with that of village head. For the *to parengnge'*, see also IV.2.

It is of importance that every *to parengnge'* has a particular task, a function described in detail in some of the more important rituals. In the *puang*-regions (the *Tallulembangna*) *puang* is the highest title (today used also to address the immediate male and female kin of the ruler, i.e. his siblings and children).

III.2 Classes in Sangalla'

For class divisions in Ma'kale, the reader should consult Nobeles (1926: 15-35). About slaves he writes: "Although officially they no longer exist, the *to kaunan* (slaves) still retain their name and place in Toraja society and most of them have remained voluntarily with their former masters because, gradually, they have come to think of themselves as members of his family and, as a rule, have not fared so poorly in their dependent state" (Nobeles 1926: 17).

For Mengkendek no relevant information is provided; yet the class divisions there are likely to agree with the pattern outlined below for Sangalla' which, in turn, closely resembles that obtaining in Ma'kale.

In Sangalla' the following classes are distinguished (informant Puang W. P. Sombolinggi):

- a. *Puang Massang* (*puang Ma'mimi*); (*Massang* = *Ma'mimi* = pure; *puang*: of pure blood). This is the highest class. Its members are said to have white blood (a way of speaking comparable to the western phrase 'blue blood');
- b. *anak disese* (*anak posese*) sprouted from marriages between members of the *puang massang* and *to makaka*;
- c. *to makaka*, free people;
- d. *to kaunan*, slaves, with the *kaunan tai manuk* as a separate category. There were various kinds of slaves:
 - slaves who had been purchased;
 - slaves who had sought a master for protection (*kaunan mengkaranduk* or *to umbang kalena*);
 - *kaunan bulaan*, whose position can be compared to some extent to that of the *kaunan garonto*' (see III.4 above).

The slaves came down from heaven together with the *puang*. The *kaunan tai manuk* ('chickenshit-slaves') were the slaves of slaves (according to information which I received in Nonongan, these lowest of the low existed also there). In the *puang*-regions (as elsewhere) it is impossible to ignore distinctions among the unfree. *Kaunan* who filled a particular function in the palace, the *tongkonan layuk* of the *puang*, held privileged positions. Their posts were hereditary.¹⁴ The *kaunan bulaan* are more reminiscent of court dignitaries than of slaves in the sense currently attached to that word. For further illustration, the reader may refer to the section in the following chapter dealing with the structure of the Sangalla' principedom.

The class division summarized above is, to an extent, affected by a person's wealth, a connection allowing for a certain kind of social mobility. One might possibly distinguish an intermediate class between the *to makaka* and the *to kaunan*. In Sangalla' *anak patalo* are found, too. They are either *anak disese* or *to makaka* and are socially influential. Just as in Kesu', Sangalla' also has its *to parengnge*' whose election follows the same procedure. The *anak disese* may be elevated to the rank of *puang* should no true *puang* exist. The people must

grant their approval for such promotion (the term 'the people' probably refers to a meeting of the *To A'pa'*, etc.; see IV.1.4 under Pantilang). In keeping with the *ma'talla'*, the process of buying oneself out of slavery, a slave could graduate to the class of the *to makaka*.

As far as *kapa'* is concerned:

1. the *puang massang* fell under the *tana' bulaan*;
2. the *anak disese* might abide by either the *tana' bulaan* or the *tana' bassi*;
3. the *to makaka* fell under the *tana' bassi*;
4. the *kaunan* fell under the *tana' karurung*;
5. the *kaunan tai manuk* also fell under the *tana' karurung*.

The *puang massang* are indeed the most important members of this society. The ruler, the *puang*, was highly respected. The same held true for other descendants from his ramage, who also were addressed with the term *puang*. Today, they continue to enjoy special prestige. The ruler was a charismatic figure. In the old days people believed that the *puang's* bathwater had healing properties. Although a *puang* was treated with veneration, he was nevertheless not untouchable like Polynesian princes. Ordinarily, he went about dressed simply, except on certain festival occasions. Since the Republic of Indonesia installed its authority in Tana Toraja, an end has come to the *puang's* official function as ruler. The way in which individuals belonging to this ramage nevertheless continued to exert their influence, can be gleaned from the article by Eric Crystal entitled 'Cooking pot politics' (Crystal 1974).

It goes without saying that changes have come about as a consequence both of the advent of effective Dutch authority and of Indonesia's achieving independence. Yet, many of the ways of the past have remained intact. The Toraja do not feel altogether at ease when they are questioned about former class divisions. Although these classes are officially a thing of yesteryear, at present it is still the members of the *to parengnge'*, *anak patalo'* or *puang*-classes who monopolize important positions in government employ (and in the army). To what extent lower administrative positions or army appointments present an opportunity for vertical social mobility, fell beyond the scope of my research (see Crystal 1974). Village heads currently in office are for the most part descended from the *to parengnge'*-class which made up part of the old *adat*-system.

III.3 Summary

The complexity of the situation is illustrated by the fact that siblings (in the sense of half-sisters and half-brothers) can belong to different classes. A *to parengnge'*, as far as inheritance and succession are concerned, has no rivalry to fear from his half-brothers and -sisters who belong to the slave class; he need compete only with those siblings who are of his own rank.

Classes originated, according to myth, in the upperworld. Yet, members of the lowest class, despite the fact that their ancestors, just like those of other classes, came from heaven, can never ascend to the upperworld to become a deified ancestor who keeps watch over mankind, over the animals and the plants (the rice crop).¹⁵

As a spirit of the dead person he will fulfil in the other world all the tasks which he fulfilled on earth, such as herding the buffaloes and doing chores which are regarded as humble or unclean.

The leading functionary during mortuary rites is the death priest, 'the lord of the West', he who attends to the rites of the still impure dead. In many districts the death priest belongs to the lowest class and in these territories he is considered as impure. He is diametrically opposed to the lords of the East, the *to parengnge' matallo*.

Yet there is still another boundary line within Toraja society, one dividing the rich and poor. Usually the wealthy belong to the uppermost class and it is they, the *to sugi'*, who are entitled, and financially able, to meet the costs of the major rituals. Only those who are members of the elite and are rich, who own *sawahs* and buffaloes, who are associated with the *sendana sugi'* ('the tree of heaven laden with riches'), who are permitted to wear jewelry of gold, silver, brass or shell, who enjoy sorts of prerogatives, are allowed to give great feasts. Just as in a play, those of high position, the feastgivers and titleholders, have their roles predetermined for them; among the numerous functionaries, however, there are also representatives of the lowest and intermediate classes. As the most prominent rituals in which the subramage plays the leading part, I have mentioned the *merok*-feast and the *bua' kasalle*; one might add as well the rituals for the dead and those feasts which have the *tongkonan* as their center. A description of feasts, to which relatives come from far and wide, will be given in chapter VIII.1 and in Vol. II.