

Rulers, Adat and Religion: The Impact of Dutch Rule on Ideas regarding Religion among the Toraja People

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Introduction

Early 20th century Dutch East Indies saw the progress of Christianization and this progress brought a great transformation to the native people's religious life. The backdrop of this transformation was the Ethical Policy installed by the Dutch government and carrying the banner for the improvement of the native people's welfare, the promotion of Christian missions, decentralization and the expansion of Dutch rule to the islands outside Java (outer possessions). The Dutch government relinquished its policy of non-interference in the outer possessions and began to pursue its new policies there during this period. In advancing there, the Dutch promoted Christian missions in order to interrupt the Islamic influence which existed along the coast. The expansion of Dutch rule promoted the progress of Christianity, and vice versa; the colonial government gained a foothold in their aim towards expansion of their rule with the aid of missionaries. Against this backdrop, native people experienced encounters with the colonial government, Christian missionaries and Christianity itself.

In this paper, I will explore the transformation of Torajan ideas concerning religion as a typical example of such encounters with Christianity.¹⁾ A. C. Kruijt (1869–1949), who was a missionary in the Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap) and a missionary pioneer in Central Sulawesi, was also a famous ethnographer. While Kruijt's knowledge of religion in Indonesia was formed through the interaction with the Toraja, the Toraja people's ideas concerning religion were also constructed through their experience of Dutch rule and the Christian missionaries. In this paper, I will show how the alternation of rulers fostered the formation and reformation of the concept of *adat* (custom, tradition) and the formation of religion among the Toraja people.

As for the relationship between *adat* and religion in Indonesia, M.

Ramstedt says that non-religious factors were abstracted from *adat* and regarded as culture in the course of the formation of the nation after Indonesia's independence [Ramstedt, 2005: 205–6]. One of the aims under the Suharto regime, was to achieve harmony between *adat*, or “traditional values,” and religion (*agama*). In the course of that process, *adat* was recognized as “local culture” [Ramstedt, 2004: 17]. However, the foundation of the relationship between religion, *adat* and culture was already prepared during the colonial period. A. Schrauwers examined how Dutch rule and Christian missionaries influenced the To Pamona culture and religion. The To Pamona, or Eastern Toraja people, were the people among whom Kruijt worked. The reorganization of village and administrative life and the establishment of schools by Christian missionaries changed the role and character of the traditional village head. The abolishment or modification of the Toraja people's *adat*, which was interwoven with religion brought a transformation of their identity and their notion of community. It was the religious studies, ethnographical studies of Kruijt and his partner N. Adriani²⁾ and the *adat*-law studies of Snouck-Hurgronje, a famous Islamist, during the period of the Ethical Policy that made a huge impact on this transformation. [Schrauwers, 2000].

Schrauwers does not show the process of the construction of the notion of “religion” among the Toraja people, saying that the process of the abstraction of the sphere of “religion” from *adat* was slow and that the sphere of religion and that of the secular was not clearly divided [ibid.: 81]. I am concerned with the problem of how the new idea of “religion” emerged among the Toraja people through their interaction with Dutch rule, missionaries and Christianity itself. It is necessary to pay attention not only to the formation of categories of religion, *adat* and culture by colonial authorities and political elite in the era of nation building, but also to the construction of ideas among the native people. In order to understand the movement of the people in the colonial period, I will explore how the native population constructed these ideas as well as examining the colonial policy itself, because it is necessary to trace the process of the formation of notions which became a backdrop of religion, *adat* and culture in contemporary Indonesia through examining the people's life during the colonial period.

1. Dutch Involvement in Sulawesi in the Late 19th Century

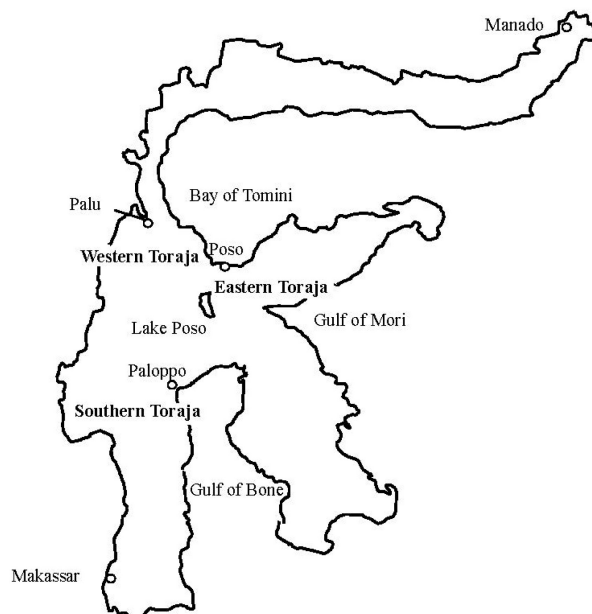
In the late 19th century, new thought which bore fruit for what was

later to become the Ethical Policy took hold in the Netherlands. The advocates of this thought insisted that the Dutch should protect the native people from exploitation and that they increase their sphere of influence and benefit from this. For example, C. Th. van Deventer's "Debt of Honor" was a typical work of the period that extolled these ideas. In 1901 Queen Wilhelmina officially accepted the Ethical Policy which was subsequently enacted in the Dutch East Indies. This policy aimed at improving the native people's moral and material welfare, the expansion of their education, the supervision of the administration of villages and decentralization. It is worth noting that Queen Wilhelmina supported the work of the Christian missionaries.

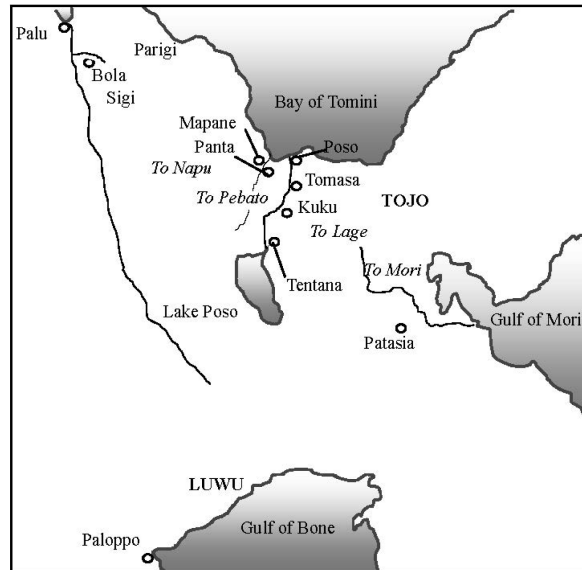
Under the Ethical Policy, the Dutch became eager to expand their rule to the outer islands [Klerck, 1938: 430–6]. The expansion of the mining industries and plantations accompanied with the development of capitalism, along with the fear that other countries may subdue the outer islands led to the Dutch government's eagerness to officially possess the outer islands. From 1890 until 1910, a gold rush got underway in North Sulawesi and large expeditions were conducted by Australian and Swiss groups. The fear among the Dutch caused by these events and the thought that they may lose their hold on Indonesia made them decide to officially obtain the outer islands by establishing government there [Schrauwers, 2000: 46]. The relinquishment of the policy of non-interference had been already planned in the middle of the 19th century, but the government in the Netherlands objected to the abolition of that policy because the maintenance of prospective possessions would involve heavy costs. Apart from the objections from the home government, a shortage of resources prevented the colonial government from enforcing the project of expansion of rule immediately [Klerck, 1938: 374]. Thereupon the Netherlands Mission Society was regarded as an important agent that would gain a foothold in establishing Dutch rule in Sulawesi. In 1889, W. R. van Hoëvell, the Assistant Resident of North Sulawesi, recommended that the Netherlands Mission Society undertake its work in Central Sulawesi [Schrauwers, 2000: 46]. Kruijt began his work in 1892. The first *controleur* was posted to Poso in 1894 in order to have jurisdiction over the Bugis and the Parigi who lived there. Contact with the Torajans was not important to them at that time [Adriani, 1932: 89]. This fact shows that the influence of the Dutch colonial government had not reached there.

The Torajans, among whom Kruijt worked, were from the eastern part of Toraja living in the Poso basin. Kruijt and Adriani categorized

the Toraja into three groups: the Sadang Toraja (the Southern Toraja) living in the Sadang basin, the Sigi-Toraja (the Western Toraja) living in the Palu basin and the The Poso-Toraja (the Eastern Toraja) mentioned above [Kruijt, 1921: 415]. However “Toraja” was a name given to them by outsiders; they had their own name for tribes such as the To Pebato and the To Lage etc. At the beginning of Kruijt’s work, the eastern Torajans were ruled by the kingdom of Luwu, which reigned in the north on the coast of the Gulf of Bone until it was defeated by the Dutch in 1905. Kruijt and Adriani reported that tribes living in Central Sulawesi were under the control of three kingdoms. The kingdom of Luwu, whose central city was Paloppo and whose king was called Datu, had an authority in the central area in the middle of which Lake Poso stood and which expanded from the Gulf of Bone to the Bay of Tomini. Sigi, whose capital was Bora and whose ruler was called Mangau, ruled the tribes living in the western area. The eastern area was ruled by the kingdom of Mori, whose capital was Patasia and whose king was Datu ri tana [Adriani and Kruijt, 1900: 135]. Luwu was also the king of countries such as Sigi, Paru and Parigi. Toraja (To Lage and To Ondae) were also under Luwu’s control because Wotu, their mother tribe was the oldest and strongest vassal of Luwu [Adriani, 1901: 154–5].



Map. 1 Sulawesi



Map. 2 Area of the Eastern Toraja

Since Luwu was not always sympathetic to missionaries, Kruijt visited that kingdom and tried to improve their relationship for the benefit of the mission [Kruijt, 1898: 1]. By 1898, he had visited not only Luwu but also Sigi and Tojo, to which Torajans had a sense of subordination. In doing so Kruijt tried to establish good relationships with those countries [Kruijt, 1898; Adriani and Kruijt, 1898; 1899; 1900]. This did not bear fruit immediately, but influenced the Toraja people's attitude towards the missionaries [Adriani and Kruijt, 1898: 371].

2. Kruijt's Description of Religion among the Toraja

Kruijt was famous as an ethnographer as well as a missionary pioneer in Sulawesi, whose ethnographic study was closely related to his Christian mission. In his chief work *Animism in the Indian Archipelago* (*Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*), he described religion in Indonesia utilizing not only the data of his own fieldwork but that of other areas. He criticized the conventional description of religion seen in Indonesia as "animism" and distinguished between two kinds of soul: soul-substance (*zielstof*) and the soul of the dead (*ziel*). While the former is impersonal and is the vitality which fills nature and plays a part in earthly life, the latter is the spiritual human and is not talked about until the owner's death. Kruijt called the

beliefs and rituals concerning the former, “animism” and those concerning the latter, “spiritism” [Kruijt, 1906: 1–2].

Kruijt believed that animism, and the character of soul-substance (*zielstof*) represented a stage of maturity of personality and community. When the community is seen as communistic, soul-substance is regarded as having an impersonal character, but when people emerge from that condition and find themselves to be individual, soul-substance came to be regarded as personal [ibid.: 66]. On the other hand, ‘soul’ (i.e. the soul of the dead) is thought to be kept in connection with its owner forever. Kruijt says that the relationship between the dead and the living is close and that there is frequent communication between them, which may be witnessed in their worship of the soul [ibid.: 386].

As mentioned above, Kruijt’s study was to be of benefit to the work of the missionaries. Kruijt described how Torajans have two kinds of gods: the gods representing natural phenomena and the gods that the dead become [Kruijt, 1903: 24]. Two of the religions among the Toraja were based on these ideas about gods. One of the religions emphasizes the worship of ancestors; the other is a religion which is specifically performed by priests. The former includes elements of sacrifice and prayer to ancestors and to people who were respected and feared during their lifetime; they were performed by family members. The latter signifies the communication with the world of gods as performed by priests. These gods were not actually the Toraja people’s ancestors, but was natural power itself which was thought to be a personal being. In other words, natural power was regarded as a god in the “animistic” manner. The Toraja believed that ancestor gods were concerned with matters regarding their descendants while natural gods covered all matters except for those that the ancestor gods were concerned with. However, ordinary Toraja people were not interested in the natural gods and left the communication with them to priests [Adriani and Kruijt, 1913: 147–8].

It is the ancestor gods that played a great role in the Toraja people’s life. However, as not all the dead could become gods, only the souls of brave and respected chiefs were worshiped as gods. The rituals for these gods were performed in a *lobo* (spirit’s house) [Kruijt, 1903: 24–6]. This worship of the dead and the custom of headhunting among the Toraja was closely connected since the head gained by headhunting was placed in a *lobo*. A lot of sacrifices were performed for these gods. For example, as the Toraja people’s main occupation was agriculture, they tried to please these gods via sacrificial offerings in order to bring about good crops

[Kruijt, 1901: 139].

The reason why Kruijt was concerned with the concept of soul was because the concept of soul was directly related to that of god among the Toraja. He said that as “natural people” were indifferent to others who did not belong to their own family or tribe, they thought the souls of their ancestors had nothing to do with strangers, and vice versa. Therefore “to be Christian” meant “to be Dutch” for them [Kruijt, 1906: 390–1].

However, Kruijt revised his theory of animism and suggested an alternative theory of dynamism instead. According to him, the Toraja paid attention more to an impersonal and magical power that was emitted from the body, which Kruijt had called “soul-substance.” Kruijt thought that the term “soul-substance” prevented him from understanding the Toraja people’s belief and was convinced that the belief in impersonal power was more primitive among the Toraja and was composed of a core of “heathenism.” This belief in impersonal and magical power was called dynamism [Kruijt, 1918].

Kruijt described that *adat* represented a heathen belief [Kruijt, 1925: 43]. As the Toraja was prepossessed with a fear of the power of nature, they regarded behavior which resulted in harmful effects brought about by such power, that is, behavior that went against *adat*, as a sin [ibid.: 100]. They believed that the punishment which resulted from such a sin was able to be compensated by sacrifices [ibid.: 35]. Kruijt thought that such a concept of sin and punishment resulted from the Toraja people’s trust in their own power and was completely different to Christianity because it was based on the dependence on God.

Kruijt thought that the adaptation of Christianity to the Torajan concept was necessary for the conversion of the Toraja people, that is, “the magicalization of Christianity” was essential. Since the Toraja could uniquely acquire their own Christianity through such a process, at first Kruijt permitted rituals for the sick by a priest (*mowurake*) to be performed, for example. He nevertheless disliked and tried to prohibit the practise of headhunting and second burial (washing of bones) and tried to convince the Toraja chiefs to refrain from them [Kruijt, 1900: 354; 1901: 143]. The prohibition of these customs followed the establishment of Dutch rule and the increase of Christian converts later.

3. Religion and the Impact of Luwu

In the previous chapter, we studied the general view of the Toraja

people's ideas of soul and gods. Because the center of the Toraja people's religious life was the worship of ancestors based on their concept of the soul, religion was seen as not a problem of the individual but of the whole tribe. The Torajans themselves as well as the missionaries knew that conversion was also a problem for the whole tribe. It was not easy for Torajans, who were ruled by the kingdom of Luwu, to convert to Christianity because to accept Christianity, which Torajans regarded as "Dutch *adat*," meant following Dutch edicts. Moreover, the relationship among some countries such as Luwu, Mori and Sigi affected the relationship among some Torajan tribes, as well as the relationship between the Toraja people and missionaries and the relationship between the people and rituals such as headhunting.

As mentioned above, since the Torajans believed they belonged to the kingdom of Luwu and to other kingdoms until 1905 when Dutch rule was established in all of Sulawesi island, the chiefs paid attention to them for fear that their relationship with them would become worse. For example, when Kruijt visited Buyumbayo, a new mission post, and informed Papa i Lupih, a village chief, about a plan to post a Christian teacher (*guru*) there, Papa i Lupih was hesitant in agreeing to the post. Kruijt asked Papa i Wunte, a village chief of Mapajawa, for help with this problem. Papa i Wunte was an influential chief among the Eastern Torajans, who later converted to Christianity and played an important role in the Christianization of Eastern Toraja. At a meeting with Kruijt, Papa i Wunte said that people were fearful of the king of Luwu, and that they believed their ancestors would suffer, that is, old religious beliefs were destroyed wherever Kruijt set foot [Kruijt, 1896: 202]. The king of Luwu was their ruler and their god at the same time. The king of Luwu, the traditional ruler, which the Toraja ancestors respected and were subject to, was regarded as a god by Torajan descendants later. Therefore, conversion meant estrangement from their master, and the Toraja believed that in so doing may make their ancestors angry [Kruijt, 1910: 21]. Because of these difficulties Kruijt promised the missionaries that they would take responsibility for the Luwu and Sigi problem which would also influence the Toraja, and tried to convince Papa i Lupih to agree with him concerning the posting of a teacher at Buyumbayo. Finally Papa i Lupih agreed and a mission at Buyumbayo was established [Kruijt, 1896: 204]. After this event, Kruijt began to visit countries such as Luwu, Tojo and Bone, which had a big influence on the Toraja, as mentioned above. Christian missions were established, beginning with the areas near the Bay of Tomini. Missionaries

had to wait longer before they could undertake missionary work in the inland area near Poso where the kingdom of Luwu was still an influential power [ibid.: 206].

Papa i Wunte made the acquaintance of Kruijt shortly after Kruijt arrived in Sulawesi and was interested in Christian thought. According to M. Hirosue, the important activity among the Toraja chiefs included mediation and the solution of disputes between their own village populations as well as those of other tribes. They also helped villagers who fell into debt. In the early 20th century, the number of debtors increased and were subsequently sold as slaves at the villages near the Bay of Tomini because of the expansion of business activity in this area. The chiefs were forced to rescue such people. Furthermore, To Pebato and To Lage had fallen into conflict with To Napu in Western Toraja because of the interweaving relationship between debit and credit and also suffered from raids which were initiated by them. Against such a backdrop, the chiefs attempted to contact the Dutch colonial government and the Chinese merchants with whom missionaries were familiar through the agency of missionaries, aiming at the reinforcement of their authority and economic power [Hirosue, 1981: 147].

However, Papa i Wunte was cautious in making a decision regarding conversion to Christianity. He was not only afraid of the kingdom of Luwu but also unwilling to abandon their *adat*. Because Papa i Wunte took on a role as both priest as well as village chief, it was not easy for him to dismiss their beliefs in *adat*. However he approached Kruijt in spite of the difficulty he faced. For example, he asked about what one should and should not do if one was contemplating becoming a Christian. He became the first person to understand that Sunday was a special day for Christians. Furthermore, Kruijt described that he seemed embarrassed when he performed sacrifices as a priest. Despite this, he continued the ritual of sacrifices and said that the time was bound to come when his folk would become Christian. He tried to leave the problem of conversion to Christianity for the next generation [Kruijt, 1900: 342]. Papa i Wunte and his wife wanted their son to be brought up Christian. After their son graduated from school at their village, he spent a year with Kruijt. His mother confessed that his parents were also Christian at heart, but she understood that if they had converted to Christianity, many villagers would have followed them. She was afraid that the king of Luwu would interpret their conversion as defiance towards him. She told Kruijt that if she and his husband became Christian, it would bring misfortune to their land

[Kruijt, 1905: 204–5]. This fact shows that they recognized conversion to Christianity accompanied by separation from Luwu and departure from *adat* as a problem for the whole tribe.

Moreover, the relationship between Luwu and other countries and the relationship between such countries and colonial government was represented in the practice of headhunting, which was an important part of the Toraja people's religious life. Headhunting was given validity by Luwu and Luwu in turn received benefits from the Toraja people. For example, there was traditional antagonism between Eastern Toraja and To Kinadu, which belonged to Mori. This antagonism persisted due to the influence of Luwu, since Luwu wanted to harm Mori by taking advantage of this antagonism [Adriani, 1932: 157]. Mori was a former vassal of Luwu. However, when Kruijt and Adriani visited there, the king of Mori said that he was not going to fulfill his duties for example of offering slaves in spite of his non-objection against the subordinate status of Luwu. The offering of slaves signified Luwu's control over the slave-offerer. Therefore, Luwu was trying to get Mori to accept its authority [ibid.: 160]. Luwu approved of Eastern Toraja's practise of headhunting and Eastern Toraja let it be known to the missionaries that they would not stop performing headhunting unless Datu of Luwu prohibited it [ibid.: 157].

In August 1899, by way of another example on the way to Mori, the missionaries including Kruijt saw large-scale headhunting being performed by the Toraja. That group headed for To Kinadu's domicile but on the command of Datu of Luwu they attacked a part of To Kinadu [Kruijt, 1900: 354]. Although Kruijt was against the custom of headhunting, the Toraja people insisted that such a command could only be issued by Datu [ibid.: 356].

We can also see in the example of To Napu, which was a rival of To Pebato and To Lage. To Napu was subjugated to Sigi, which was not in a good relationship with the Dutch colonial government. In 1904, a murder was committed: Sigi commanded To Napu to kill two Dutch civil servants. Kruijt thought that because To Napu could not distinguish between civil servants and missionaries, they may attack the first people who came into their sight. Therefore missionaries were worried that the inland post of Kuku would be attacked next by To Napu. Before Kruijt departed for Kuku, he asked the people of Buyumbayo what they would do if the religious teacher (*guru*) there faced danger. Many answered that they would protect the teacher because of their sense of solidarity [Kruijt, 1905: 193].

As Luwu was a traditional ruler to whom the Toraja's ancestors were also subordinate, it was difficult for the Toraja to separate from them and to follow the Dutch *adat*. The sovereignty of Luwu and the relationship between Luwu and other kingdoms affected the headhunting activity of the Toraja people. This shows that countries the Toraja were subjugated to had an influence on Torajan life and prescribed the relationship among the tribes of the Toraja and that of the relationship between the Toraja and the missionaries.

It seems clear that for them to disobey the Kingdom of Luwu and to abandon *adat* was regarded as a problem for all in the tribes. However, Papa i Wunte was not willing to dismiss *adat* whether acting as chief or as an individual. For example, he went headhunting for his own personal reasons in 1901. When the chief of Mapane died in July, Papa i Wunte went headhunting privately in order to offer a head to the grave of the chief of Mapane after *adat* was imposed there. He killed an old woman and offered that skull to the grave. Several days later, he attended the meeting with a teacher at Panta as though nothing had happened [Kruijt, 1902: 229]. Papa i Wunte was interested in Christianity and built a good relationship with the missionaries. Papa i Wunte knew that the missionaries hated headhunting because the missionaries tried to convince the Toraja to cease the practise at every opportunity³⁾. As headhunting was related to the rituals performed in the *lobo* and represented the relationship with their rulers and with other tribes, Papa i Wunte knew that it would be difficult to abandon such a custom. In this case, however, he chose to practise headhunting for personal reasons and could not understand why the missionaries criticized him. The problem of the relinquishment of *adat* which was inherited from their ancestors and the problem of the observance of "Dutch *adat*" were connected to the relationship with their ruler, other Torajan tribes and missionaries. While these problems were shared with all tribesman, the adherence to *adat* was also a personal problem.

4. Transformation and Maintenance of the Ideas about Religion among the Toraja after the Establishment of Dutch Rule

4.1. The Meaning of Following *Adat*

During the period of the Ethical Policy, the Dutch colonial government launched forth into an expansion of their rule to the outer pos-

sessions. J. B. van Heurtz, who directed the Aceh War, was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1904–1909 and established on-going Dutch rule. The Short Declaration (*Korte Verklaring*) which was initiated by Snouck-Hurgronje during the Aceh War was an effective way of achieving this. Since the Short Declaration was installed in Aceh in 1898, it became a standard form of declaration in the Dutch East Indies and the Sultans accepted suzerainty after this declaration was made.

Already in 1904, the posting of *controleur* Engelenberg was able to influence To Napu, who sometimes raided To Pebato and To Lage. The Dutch expedition in 1905 put an end to their plunder [Hofman, 1907: 343]. In the same year, the Dutch attempted to impose a uniform tax at all ports in the Dutch East Indies. When the kingdom of Luwu and the kingdom of Bone rejected it, the Dutch dispatched troops in order to suppress this rebellion [Schrauwers, 2000: 50]. As a result the Dutch colonial government took control of the kingdom of Luwu and at the meeting held in November in which Torajan chiefs attended, the king of Luwu was forced to declare that he was no longer their ruler [Kruijt, 1910: 32]. Dutch rule had been established in Central Sulawesi by January 1906.

From 1906 to 1908, the Dutch started a plan of mass settlement for the Eastern Torajans. Mapajawa (a village of Papa i Wunte) and several other villages were integrated and renamed Kasiguncu [Hofman, 1907: 340]. Taxation was imposed by the Dutch colonial government and in the same year brought about great changes to the lifestyle of the Toraja people. After the rice harvest the Toraja people went to the forests to cut rattan and then went to the coastal areas to sell it in order to earn money to pay tax. This change of lifestyle also influenced their religious life. The Toraja would spend less time performing rituals and “wastefulness” in sacrificial practices decreased. Less time was spent for funerals. Furthermore, headhunting was prohibited by the colonial government and the number of *lobo* decreased accordingly [ibid.: 345].

The relationship between the Toraja and the missionaries also changed; As mentioned above, when Kruijt was informed that To Napu was going to attack Kuku and Buyumbayo in 1904, the inhabitants tried to guard the Christian teachers. Kruijt said that this situation could not be expected six years ago. When the troops of Luwu came in February 1898, people thought that the troops came to drive the missionaries out of the village and the villagers would be punished. If the messengers of Luwu had been there with such a command, people would have followed it. When the troops of Luwu came to Tomasa, people actually became

confused as to how to act. [Adriani, 1907: 358–9].

Not only did the Toraja build a friendly relationship with the missionaries, but they became more and more dependent on them. The Toraja wanted a person who was able to function as an agent between the colonial government and themselves, because they were afraid of going against the “*adat* of government (*Koempania*)” due to the establishment of Dutch rule there. It was among Christian missionaries that the Toraja thought could fulfill the requirements for such an agent, since they understood the “*adat* of government” as well as Torajan *adat* [Hofmann, 1907: 338].

In 1908, missionaries stopped attending funerals, which they had once attended in order to understand the formality of Torajan *adat* [Hofman, 1909: 26]. At the annual meeting of missionaries held in the same year, they discussed which *adat* the Toraja converts needed to refrain from practising. Missionaries came to the conclusion that the following three customs should be prohibited: 1. *Mowurake*, which is a performance by priestesses to retrieve the soul of the sick. 2. Participation in *Molobo*, which is a ritual undertaken in a *lobo*. 3. Participation in *Mompemate*, which is a funeral feast [ibid.: 22]. Missionaries had previously tolerated rituals such as the *mowurake* but they became strict with converts regarding their participation in traditional *adat*.

However, Christianization took some time to establish itself after Dutch rule was established in Sulawesi. The first converts emerged on Christmas day in 1909. Among the To Pebato, 162 including Papa i Wunte and his wife were baptized during the Christmas period that year [Kruijt, 1910: 35; Schuyt, 1910: 46]. Converts increased soon after.

Rulers, *adat* and religion became interwoven for the Toraja people and the function of chiefs represented this connection. Still in 1909, Christianity and colonial government were thought of as one thing. Not only in the villages which had little contact with the colonial government, but even in Kuku Toraja which did not know the relationship between the missionaries and the colonial government [Schuyt, 1910: 40]. However, the recognition that the colonial government and Christianity were independent of each other spread gradually among the Toraja. For example, we can see from the following report.

The people of Kuku understand the colonial government (“*kompania*”) and Christianity were independent of each other. They began to realize that one could be an officer of the government without being a Christian. I witnessed this and heard from the chief of the village

when he talked to me about eight older students who were planning to be baptized. He said, "I will give these eight students to you, but we adults will not convert for the moment." This chief of the village nevertheless performed his duty to the government..... [ibid.: 40]

This example shows that the Toraja began to distinguish their conversion to Christianity from their subordination to the Dutch colonial government.

We can also point out such a separation from the example of Talasa, a district head in Tentena, and the Christianization process there. Missionaries wanted him to convert to Christianity, with the expectation that the chief's conversion would be accompanied with the other villagers' conversion. Although Talasa noticed that villagers waited for him to convert to Christianity, he was not willing to do so. Therefore he tried to put off the conversion by performing a "farewell ceremony" for the dead. Talasa kept silent at the meeting with the village chief to discuss their conversion. Moreover when Talasa received a rejection from the Dutch Resident to the demand to bury a child in another village, he postponed his conversion again on the grounds that they could not fulfill the responsibility for the dead. However people did finally start to register for the instruction of the Sacrament of Baptism [Schuyt, 1913: 124-5]. Up until then chiefs were regarded as religious leaders because they were familiar with *adat* of the tribe. Because the knowledge of the command by the Dutch colonial government was thought to be the same as the knowledge of "Dutch *adat*," Talasa was still thought of as a religious leader as well as a social one under the new circumstance after the establishment of Dutch rule. However, people hoped to convert to Christianity without waiting for the eventual example set out by Talasa. This means that the Toraja were aware that subordination to Dutch rule, observance of *adat* and following Christianity were separate spheres.

4. 2. The Retention of the Idea of God and the Explanation of Misfortune

The establishment of Dutch rule had a great impact on the Christianization of the Toraja. They had been under the control of the kingdom of Luwu until then, however tried to become acquainted with the "*adat* of the colonial government," which became the new ruler of the Toraja. Although the missionaries reported that *adat* and "religion" were

closely interwoven among the Toraja's daily life, the Toraja's observance of "Dutch *adat*" did not signify their following of a Dutch concept of God. Although the Toraja paid attention to the "Dutch *adat*" and tried to observe it, their conversion to Christianity did not follow their observance of *adat* and they also did not worship colonial government itself even though they began to observe the rule of colonial government. As the example of Talasa shows, under the new circumstance brought about by the establishment of Dutch rule, the Toraja distinguished between the observance of Dutch *adat* and the following of God. On the other hand, fear of the king of Luwu and their acceptance of the explanation for the misfortune of their own as well as that of others was maintained. This was sometimes presented as a "revival of heathen ideas." For example, one missionary reported the following event.

In October 1914, Andiliwo, the second in charge in Luwu appeared at Tentena. Villagers welcomed him and the Christian chief also behaved politely towards him. When Andiliwo asked the chief for fish, the chief tried to sell it to him for 25 cent. Andiliwo gave only 10 cent to the messenger who then sent it to him. The messenger had to be sent out again and finally the chief received 25 cent. However, the villagers blamed the chief for insulting Andiliwo and said that Andiliwo would bring about misfortune to them because of this affront. On the same day, the son of the village chief became sick and died on the following day. Inhabitants attributed this misfortune to the anger of Andiliwo. After that, a severe illness spread in the area between Lake Poso and the coast, which was associated again with the anger of Andiliwo in many villages. The building of a house of spirits and the performance of ritual there against this misfortune was planned in many villages. Talasa, a district head, was asked to agree with them, but he sent chiefs to Poso and had them ask whether the Dutch Resident agree to it or not. The building of a new house of spirit and the performance of ritual there was rejected, because it was felt that a house of spirit had no reason to exist. And so not only headhunting, but the performance of ritual in their house of spirits had been prohibited. [Schuyt, 1914: 256]

In spite of the prohibition of headhunting and rituals in the spirit houses the Toraja tried to deal with misfortune in the conventional way. They regarded the king of Luwu as a god and that their misfortune was attrib-

uted to their wrong behavior directed at him. In the same way, in years when crops failed in the area of Pebato, people attributed this poor crop to adultery. Some people believed that the gods were angry about adulterous activity and others suggested the undertaking of sacrifice in order to show respect for the dead [Wesseldijk, 1915: 366]. The Toraja people, who were engaged in paddy cultivation, slash-and-burn farming and fishery, and kept kinship and relationships among tribes, still attributed the cause of misfortune to wrong or immoral behavior. As Kruijt represented this belief as dynamism, such belief still continued after the Christianization progressed.

Conclusion

Although Dutch rule brought about a transformation of the Toraja people's ideas about religion, some elements of their previous beliefs remained. However, this maintenance only represented one aspect of that transformation. Among the Toraja the ideas regarding ruler, *adat* and religion had been interwoven until the establishment of Dutch rule. The idea that they had to follow the ruler's *adat* remained after the Dutch took over rule of the Toraja from the kingdom of Luwu, but the observance of *adat* and the following of Christianity was distinguished. Because conversion to Christianity did not follow immediately the Toraja people were willing to observe the *adat* of the Dutch, who were now their masters. As I mentioned above, although Talasa was a religious leader as well as a social one due to his knowledge of *adat*, people decided to convert to Christianity without waiting for Talasa's conversion. It is true that Christianity expanded prominently after the Dutch began to hold the reins in Sulawesi, however the Toraja distinguished between the sphere of *adat* and that of "religion." Although Kruijt, described that *adat* and "religion" were considered to be almost the same thing for the Toraja, actually they *did* distinguished between them. Even observance of their own *adat* was a problem both for the whole community and for each individual.

On the other hand, even after the establishment of Dutch rule and the king of Luwu's renunciation of his position as the ruler of Toraja, the Toraja people still recognized the king of Luwu not only as a ruler but as a god. Moreover the Toraja retained their habit of attributing misfortune to wrong or immoral behavior as it was against their traditional *adat*. This means that *adat* which was handed down from their ancestors and "religion" were considered to be the same thing for the Toraja. They did

not even have a word to represent “religion” and were not aware that it was called “religion” by Europeans. When we take into consideration the retention of these ideas and the distinction between the observance of “Dutch *adat*” and the conversion to Dutch religion, that is, Christianity, it can be said that the Toraja distinguished the new “religion,” i.e. Christianity, from the other two spheres: that of rulers and *adat*. The establishment of Dutch rule not so much transformed the Toraja ideas about religion as brought about recognition of a new “religion” abroad.

The separation of “religion” and *adat* under the colonial system was based not only on the colonial policy as previous studies pointed out, but also on the native’s formation of such recognition in the course of their reconstruction of their own ideas. It will be an important challenge to examine the process of the reconstruction of ideas among the people in other areas where the people also accepted Christianity and Islam society, where the policy aiming at separation of Islam and *adat* was installed.

Notes

- 1) The materials I use in this paper are mainly reports in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* written by missionaries such as A. C. Kruijt and N. Adriani.
- 2) N. Adriani was a linguist and missionary sent by Dutch Bible Society (Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap) in 1895 and help Kruijt’s work.
- 3) For example, Papa i Wunte asked Kruijt to give him a “letter of God” in order to guard against misfortune before he went headhunting. On this occasion Kruijt said the almighty of God and tried to prevent Papa i Wunte from going headhunting [Kruijt, 1896: 195].

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