

Publication of this book was made possible by a grant from

Bank Negara Indonesia



TORAJAMELO



Untannun Kameloan

Textiles of Toraja, Mamasa, Mamuju, Rongkong

Sulawesi, Indonesia

AMELO



Serving the Country, the Pride of the Nation

Toraja Melo



- Letter from the Jakarta Textile Museum, page 7
- Foreword from Toraja Melo Foundation, page 8
- Map of Indonesia, page 10
- Introduction by Judi Achjadi, page 11
- Clothing for Life, page 17
- Dressing for Death, page 43
- Cloth for Ritual and Trade, page 49
- Mud-Dyeing in Sulawesi
Ritual Cloths from Toraja, Mamasa, and Kalumpang
by Keiko Kusakabe, page 76
- The production team, page 89
- Acknowledgments, page 90

Picture on Page 2
Closeup of No. 46
showing the beautiful gradation of
color from red to pink to blue that
typifies some textiles from
Kalumpang.

TORAJA MELO

Letter from
The Jakarta Textile Museum

Greetings from the Jakarta Textile Museum!

Indonesia's traditional textiles are a national asset and have a special place in the international world. Their beauty, uniqueness, and variety have been attracting textile enthusiasts and researchers for almost a century now. The variety of the textiles is evident in the great diversity of techniques, materials, and motifs used, as well as in their function as clothing and in their role in traditional and religious life. It is these particular functions that have turned Indonesia's textiles into objects that must be conserved and preserved.

One of Indonesia's more unique textile traditions is that of a quartet of related people living in West Sulawesi and neighboring northern South Sulawesi: the people of Kalumpang (Mamuju), Mamasa, Toraja, and Rongkong. Their existence is worthy of note, especially by the Indonesians themselves, who are the owners of this significant cultural heritage. But behind the beauty of these unique weavings, not to mention the customs and traditions of the people who make and use them, concern is growing over the difficulty in locating good examples of the weavers' work, because they are mostly in foreign hands. Another worrisome matter is the decline in weaving skills among the women whose foremothers enthusiastically produced fine lengths of cloth for use in ritual performance.

This catalogue accompanies an exhibition of the same title mounted at the Jakarta Textile Museum on September 19-30, 2012. Hopefully, it will stimulate the encouragement of weavers and inspire continuing production, while also expanding the public's horizons and appreciation vis-à-vis Indonesian textiles.

We offer our deepest thanks to Ms Keiko Kusakabe of Japan for kindly giving her time and sharing her knowledge for the success of both exhibition and catalogue; to Ms Judi Achjadi for helping guide the project to fruition; to Toraja Melo for the initiative and passion in bringing the exhibition and catalogue to reality; to the collectors who graciously lent textiles for the show; to BNI for its most generous support; and to all those who contributed so readily to the success of the exhibition of Toraja, Mamasan, Mamuju, and Rongkong textiles at the Jakarta Textile Museum.

Let us preserve our nation's textiles!

Jakarta, September 2012
Indra Riawan
Head of The Jakarta Textile Museum

Close up of No. 5:
Man's loincloth,
pio 'uki/sukki/sungki'
Toraja, South Sulawesi

Foreword

Untannun Kameloan

I believe that there are no coincidences. Everything happens in its own time. The same is true with the birth of this book and the related exhibition: “Textiles of Toraja, Mamasa, Mamuju, Rongkong - Sulawesi, Indonesia” held at the Jakarta Textile Museum on September 19-30, 2012.

In our work since 2008, to take Toraja weaving into contemporary life, we have discovered that many people are not aware of the existence of Toraja weaving, especially that of the Sa’dan area in Toraja Utara Regency, South Sulawesi. In 2009, I met Keiko Kusakabe, an authority on Torajan textiles, at a conference in Rantepao in Toraja Utara. From her book “Textiles from Sulawesi in Indonesia, Genealogy of Sacred Cloths: The Keiko Kusakabe Collection”, I learned that many of Toraja’s beautiful and intricate weaving patterns and techniques have disappeared or are near to extinction. At the same time, the weavers that we have been meeting in our work are mostly elderly women. It became obvious that we were running against time! And so was born my dream to bring together an exhibition of Torajan textiles.

Then the angels started to appear. Last January, Pak Indra Riawan, head of the Jakarta Textile Museum, and his deputy, Ibu Mis Ari, asked if we could organize the first-ever exhibition of Torajan textiles. The date was set right there and then. Next, we met Ibu Judi Achjadi, an Indonesian textiles authority and writer: “Bu, please be our curator?” and her answer was “Yes!”. Out of nowhere, Toraja Melo was invited by the Ministry of Trade to do an exhibition in Tokyo, giving us an opportunity to meet Keiko Kusakabe in person. We had conversations over Japanese ramen. It did not take long for Keiko to agree to sharing some of her best Sulawesi textiles and her extensive knowledge. But we needed money! In a gathering of social workers in Bali, mbak Adila Suwarno took us aside and reconnected Toraja Melo with friends at BNI. The upshot of this was that, despite a rather lengthy process, BNI generously agreed to support the exhibition and a long-term collaboration in Toraja.

From the depths of my heart I would like to thank Pak Indra and Ibu Ari and the whole team of the Jakarta Textile Museum; Keiko san for her generosity and attention to detail; Ibu Judi for her patience in gathering textiles and agreement to help curate the show and edit the catalogue; mbak Dila who gave me encouragement and taught me about publication; and our friends in BNI, especially Ibu Felia Salim, Ibu Tunggadewi, Ibu Nancy Martasuta, Pak Asoka Wardhana, and the entire team in the Corporate Community Responsibility Division.

My gratitude also goes to my Torajan husband Danny Parura who sometimes does not understand my love for Toraja but helps me anyway, to my sister Nina Jusuf who understands me completely, to my mother-in-law Kristina Pongpadati who gave me her textile collection, to Protus Tanuhandaru who keeps us on track, to the whole team of Toraja Melo: Cici, Dewi, Tino, and Upik, who always manage to stay cool. And last, but not the least, thank you to all the weavers of Toraja.

Untannun Kameloan, which means ‘Weaving Compassion’ is the message we want to share. By working together, across communities, based on compassion, all dreams will come true!

Kurre sumanga’ buda!

Dinny Jusuf
mother-wife-dreamer
TorajaMelo



“Untannun Kameloan”
 Textiles of Toraja, Mamasa, Mamuju, Rongkong
 Sulawesi, Indonesia
 Judi Achjadi

The people covered in this exhibition are located in the regencies of Mamuju and Mamasa (West Sulawesi) and of Toraja Utara, Tana Toraja, and Luwu Utara (South Sulawesi). They are all closely related in linguistic and cultural terms, but there is a distinct difference in geological distribution of techniques and types of cloth woven, as they are known at this period in time.

We will be referring to them individually as the Kalumpang people (Mamuju Regency), the Mamasans (Mamasa Regency), the Rongkong people (Luwu Utara Regency), and the Torajans (Toraja

Utara Regency and Tana Toraja Regency). Collectively, this area is a delight for textile enthusiasts.

Studies of this remote area did not get published until the 1920s, by which time changes were already in motion with conversion to the world religions of Islam and Christianity and the encroachment of the Netherlands colonial administration. Trade was another important vector of change:

centuries of trade in which precious forest products and metals were exchanged for valuable foreign textiles, among other things, while locally woven ikat cloth was traded inland, to the surrounding areas,

for buffalo, gold, and bark-beaters, etc. Hence, the peoples inhabiting Central Sulawesi have no weaving tradition while Torajans and Mamasans appear to have no knowledge of the ikat-weaving technique.

Huge collections of local and foreign textiles were essential for use in ritual performance for the highlanders, especially for Torajans.

Moreover, large numbers of buffalo, as well as textile collections, were commensurate with a family’s high-standing. The impact of foreign textiles was such that it affected the patterning



of locally made textiles. At the same time, the size of trade with the non-weaving peoples to the north provided a huge stimulus for production in the Kalumpang and Rongkong areas in particular.

Foreign and certain local textiles were therefore viewed as heirlooms and stored in baskets in the attic for decades, and even centuries, brought out from time to time to curtain off sleeping areas for guests, decorate ritual arenas, and

adorn the persons of priests of the old religion, community elders, ritual dancers, and the deceased, until only shreds remained. With time, their origins became shrouded in mystery, so that some came to be deemed sacred for having 'heavenly' origins, as indicated in the following phrases from a Torajan ritual chant, the *pa'somba tedong*:

*"God enfolded in a a wall of old short wide cloth
Lord enclosed in a curtain with cross motifs on it"*
(Van der Veen 1965: stanza 83)

Weaving among these people almost disappeared in the mid-20th century, owing to several decades of war, socio-political upheaval, and lessening need for the rituals and ceremonies related to the old religion, but picked up again about 1970 when

government development programs arrived, providing assistance in the form of encouragement, materials, training courses, and advice on product improvement. The new clients were the tourists who were just beginning to discover the beauties of Torajan scenery and customs, bringing home souvenirs in the form of "Torajan-brand" textiles and hand-crafted goods that were actually being made throughout the highlands.

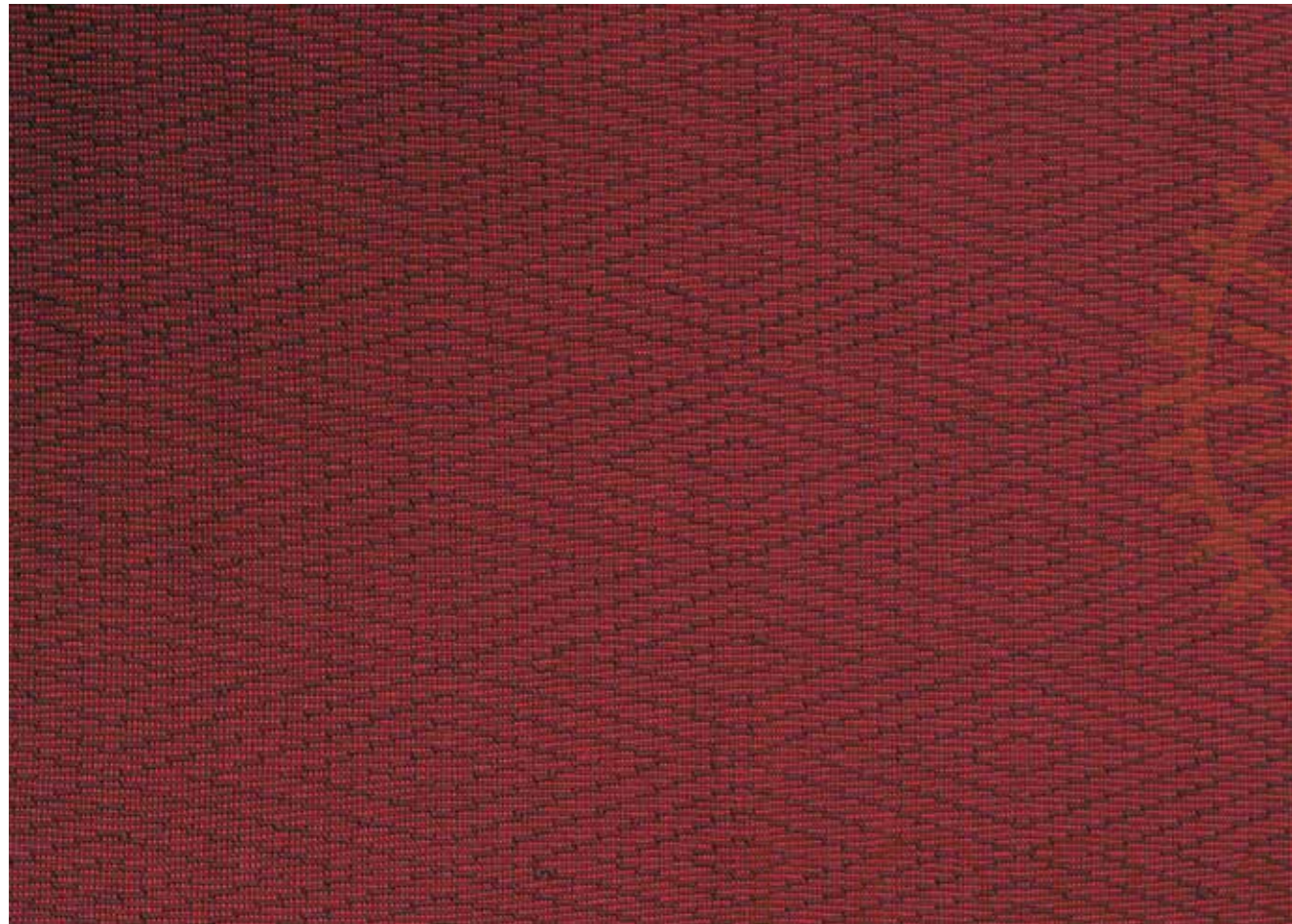
Weaving suffered another setback in the late 1990s, owing to the Asian monetary crisis and economic recession with the resultant dramatic drop in

tourist visits. As a result, today, the more exotic weaving techniques have been lost or are on the brink of extinction. The outstanding exceptions are the warp-ikatted hangings woven in the Kalumpang region and the plain striped cloths woven by the Torajans.

The exhibition upon which this catalogue is based was the dream of Dinny Jusuf, a woman with a background in banking and environmental and women's rights who was inspired to do something with Torajan textiles that would benefit the people. Her husband being a Torajan, Dinny chose to

work with the striped weavings of his people, which her business now turns into fashionable and well-made handbags, shoes, dresses, and jackets that are marketed in Jakarta, Bali and abroad.

Dinny took her exhibition proposal to the Jakarta Textile Museum which responded with enthusiasm. Judi Achjadi agreed to help with curatorship, while Japanese scholar Keiko Kusakabe generously accepted the role of expert consultant. While Ms Achjadi's long-standing interest is in traditional costumes, Ms Kusakabe has spent the past dozen years researching and



Plain-woven material with warp floats, *pa'bunga bunga*

writing about textiles from Sulawesi, especially Toraja's textiles. It was she who brought to light the complicated tablet-weaving and loop-manipulation braiding techniques still practiced by the Mamasans. Most recently, Ms Kusakabe has been examining mud-dyeing from the anthropological point of view, which is the topic of her essay in this book.

It has not been possible to cover the entire spectrum of textiles that have been produced by the people of Kalumpang, Mamasa, Toraja, and Rongkong, since there are so very few in local collections. However, with the help of a few

collectors in Jakarta and especially loans from Mrs. Kusakabe, along with generous assistance from BNI, it has been possible to bring together an interesting display of the handiwork of the women of Kalumpang (Mamuju), Mamasa, Toraja, and Rongkong at the Jakarta Textile Museum.

The title of this catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies is "Untannun Kameloan" which translates to "Weaving Compassion amongst Communities".

It is the goal of the Toraja Melo Foundation, with Dinny Jusuf at the helm, to bring complementary communities together to create

a climate conducive to mutual economic betterment. The Jakarta Textile Museum has strengthened this synergy by providing the space in which to display the work and celebrate the skills of the women of the area under discussion. The end-goal is to give these women a reason to continue weaving.

References:

Van der Veen, H.: The Merok Feast of the Sa'dan Toradja. Verhandelingen KITLV Vol. 45. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965.

Clothing for Life



Clothing among the people of Kalumpang, Rongkong, Mamasa, and Toraja up to the early 20th century consisted, for men, of a very long cloth wrapped around private parts and a sarong draped diagonally across the chest or wound around the waist like a sash, and for women, a tubular skirt and short blouse, with head gear for both adjusted to the occasion. After the arrival of the colonial administrators at the beginning of the 20th century, the man's loincloth was supplanted by knee-length pants and a jacket; women's dress remained unchanged. In earlier times, the thread for weaving these garments was supplied by the pineapple and other plants growing in the surroundings; they were gradually supplanted by cotton thread.

The techniques used to produce clothing could be figured out, plain weave being a basic one. Plain-woven white garments could be contrived with near-invisible warp-float patterns, *pa' bunga bunga*¹, or areas of ribbing, *bamban ke'de*². Edgings for ceremonial skirts and priestly garments were tablet-woven using a special little loom and a complex heddle-like system consisting of scores of little cards or tablets threaded with warps in holes in the corners of each, while cords and fringes were intricately loop-braided, *mangka'bi*³. These were passed down for generations and have become rare in recent years.

This body-tension loom is set up under the house floor, the warp stretched from a post supporting the house to the woman's waist. Instead of a strap at the woman's back, a board is used which is connected with cords to the cloth beam on both sides. Ca. 1925, photographer unknown.

¹ Dinny Jusuf, personal communication August 2012.

² Kusakabe, various personal communications.

³ All references to tablet-weaving and braiding, Kusakabe 2006.

Sirih bags, *sepu'*

were an essential part of traditional attire throughout the area under discussion, for a person had always to be ready to offer a quid of sirih as a sign of peace and harmony.

For grand occasions, these bags could be exquisitely decorated with expensive materials.

Often the cords, in Toraja and Mamasa, were braided and shoulder straps in Mamasa, made from tablet-woven bands.



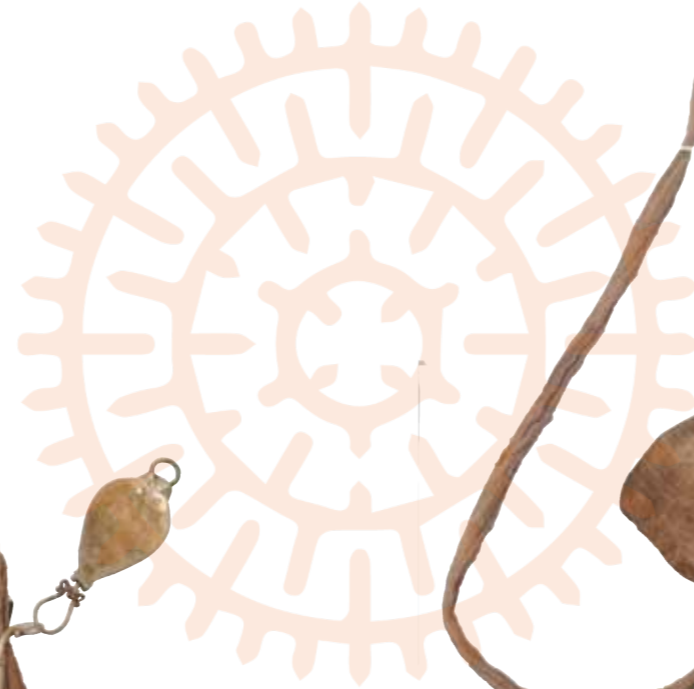
1. (opposite)
Woman's sirih bag, *sepu' susu*
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Cotton; plain weave,
 tablet-woven strap,
 braided drawstring,
 embroidered corners,
 hand-sewn.
Dinny Jusuf collection

2.
Woman's sirih bag, *sepu'*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Mixed thread, wool;
 plain weave
 with supplementary weft,
 braided strap, drawstring & casing;
 machine-sewn
Dinny Jusuf collection.





3.
 Man's sarih bag
 with horse's mouth opening,
sepu' sanga narang
 Found and used in Toraja,
 South Sulawesi.
 Cotton, mother-of-pearl, coconut
 shell, metal; plain weave, twined cord.
 The shape of the opening of this type
 of bag is seen to resemble a 'horse's
 mouth', *sanga narang* or *darang*.
 The bag was hung over the abdomen,
 from a belt.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



4.
 Man's sarih bag with horse's mouth
 opening, *sepu' sanga narang*
 Found in Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Cotton, mother-of-pearl, horn, wood;
 braided drawstring
 The white material appears to have
 been deliberately woven with a 'rib'
 by thickening the weft every so many
 rows.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

Pio 'uki/sukki'/sungki'

are long cloths decorated with supplementary weft patterning, that men formerly wrapped around their private parts on festive occasions.

The patterns were arranged in 3-5 rows on either end of the cloth, older patterns of a geometric nature that appear in relief on wooden walls of traditional houses, some decorated with scenes from pastoral life. When trousers were adopted, the pio uki' were raised to ceremonial and ritual paraphernalia and stood as a status symbol for the aristocracy.



5. Man's loincloth, *pio 'uki/sukki'/sungki'*

Toraja, South Sulawesi
Handspun cotton; plain weave with supplementary weft 636 x 47.5 cm.
5 pattern bands with geometric motifs on one end, 3 on the other end.
Note the hooked motif, *sekong*.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.



Two men wearing festive *pio 'uki* in front of a Torajan megalith or *simbuang*.
Circa 1935, Collection of G.L. Tichelman

6. Man's loincloth, *pio 'uki/sukki'/sungki'*
Toraja, South Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, chemical dyes; plain weave with supplementary weft 432 x 35 cm.
3 very wide bands of geometric motifs on each end. Note diamond and chevron motifs on both ends.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



Dodo is the Torajan term for a woman's tubular sarong. Traditionally, this was a simple affair woven with white thread for general use. Earlier *dodo* were made of natural fibers, especially *pondan* or pineapple which yielded a fine white thread. Two panels of cloth were sewn together to create a garment that would cover the woman's body from waist to ankles.



7. (opposite)
Woman's sarong, *dodo ampire*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Pineapple thread (*pondan*); plain
 weave, hand-sewn 142.2 cm
 (circumference) x 100.3 cm
 (two panels)
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

8.
Woman's sarong, *dodo pamiring*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Cotton; plain weave, machine-sewn
 156 cm (circumference) x 111.7 cm
 (two panels)
Pamiring is the term used for fabrics
 with stripes along the side.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



The *bayu pokko' / pongko'* is a long-sleeved, short pullover blouse worn by Torajan and Mamasan women.

Woven of white cotton, it may be provided with decorative bands of ribbing achieved by thickening the weft at regular intervals, which is known as *bamban ke'de'*.

For ritual dances, a young woman would pair this with a patchwork skirt, *dodo ampire*, trimmed with tablet-woven ribbon, *palawa*, and old Dutch coins, and a fantastic headdress.



9. (opposite)
 Woman's blouse, *bayu pokko'*
 Mamasa or Simbuang,
 West Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton; plain weave (very dense woven texture) with ribbing
 About 92 cm wide x 46.3 cm
 Keiko Kusakabe collection.

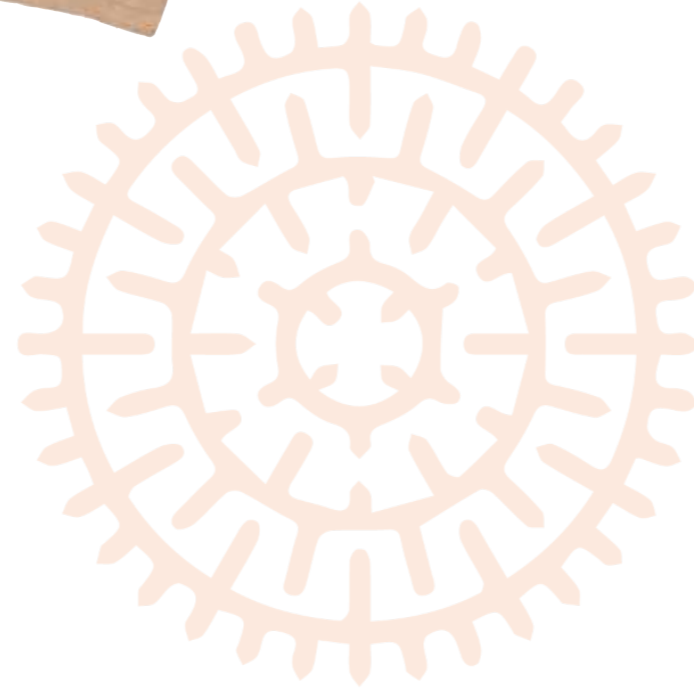
10.
 Woman's saron, *dodo ampire*
 (bottom half of saron)
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Cotton cloth, chemical dyes, coins;
 patchwork, applique, tablet-woven
 trimming 162 x 63.5 cm
Ampire means a square motif
 sectioned diagonally.
 Keiko Kusakabe collection.



Priests of the old religion wore special garments, the simplest of which was a long coat made of white handwoven material, using either pineapple or cotton thread, and the richest edged with colorful tablet-woven bands known as *kamandang* in Toraja.

They were worn with tubular sarongs, which likewise could be plain or, very rarely, elaborately decorated with *kamandang* and hand-embroidery⁴.

⁴Kusakabe 2006



11.
Priest's coat, *bayu lamba'*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton warp,
pondan (pineapple) weft; plain weave,
 hand-sewn.
 Approximate measurements
 117 cm (l) x 158 cm (w)
Lamba' is a species of very tall tree.
 Keiko Kusakabe collection

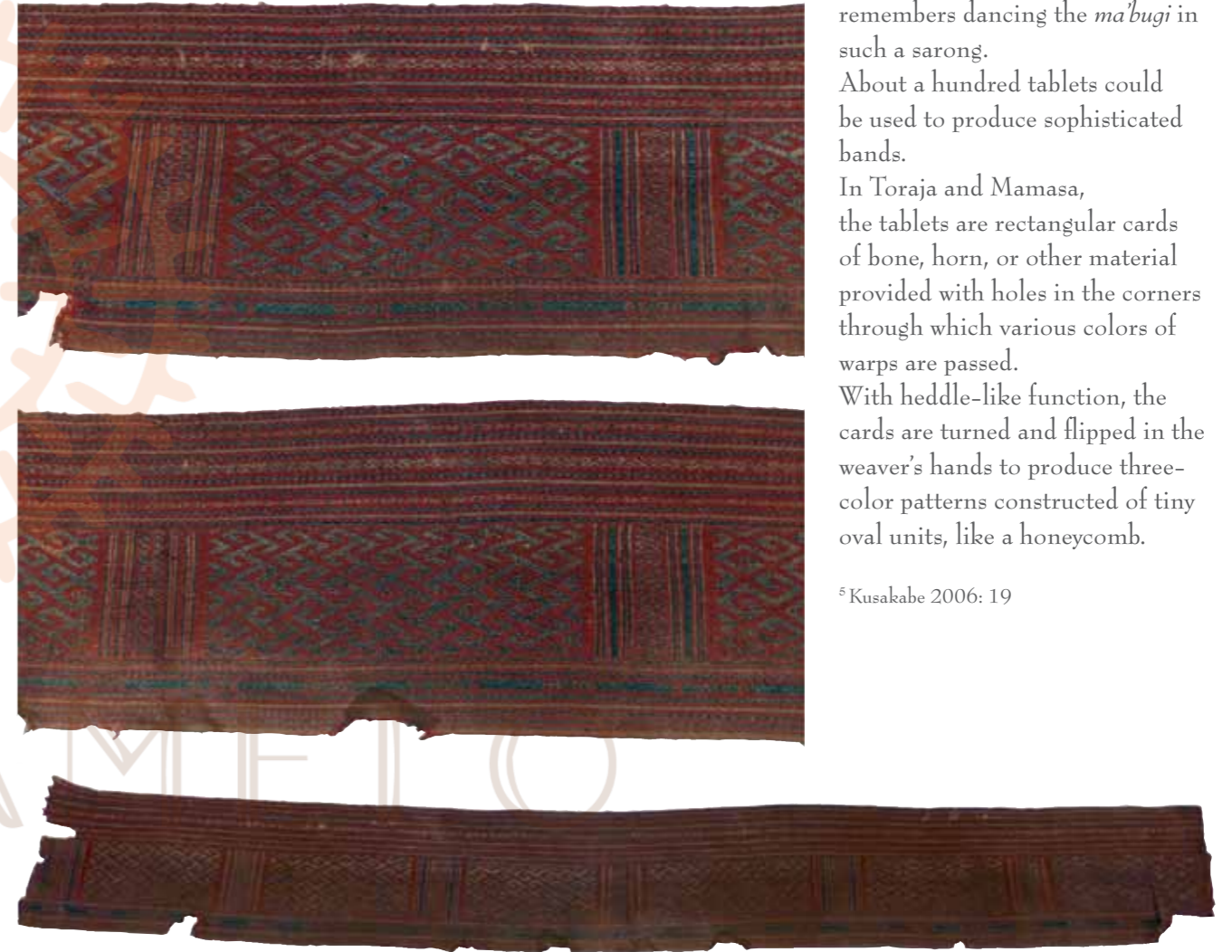
12. (opposite)
Priest's coat, *bayu lamba'*
 Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes; plain
 weave, tablet-woven trimming
 Approximate measurements
 120 cm (l) x 132 cm (w)
Bayu lamba' may be plain or partly
 striped, and in rare cases, given tablet-
 woven trimming.
 Keiko Kusakabe collection.





13.
Priest's sarong, *sambu'*
 Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Cotton, natural dyes; plain weave,
 hand-embroidery, tablet-woven
 trimming 177 cm (circumference) x
 175.7 cm
 This is a rare example of an
 embroidered piece in Toraja.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

14. (opposite)
**Trimming for Dancer's Skirt,
*kamandang***
 Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
 tablet-woven 154 x 19.7 cm.
 A central piece with narrower pieces
 sewn onto the sides. Remnants of
 stitching on one edge show that this
kamandang was formerly attached to
 a sarong.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.



Tablet-woven bands, *kamandang*,
 are also found on the edges of
 ritual or ceremonial skirts in
 Toraja.
 According to Kusakabe⁵, a woman
 remembers dancing the *ma'bugi* in
 such a sarong.
 About a hundred tablets could
 be used to produce sophisticated
 bands.
 In Toraja and Mamasa,
 the tablets are rectangular cards
 of bone, horn, or other material
 provided with holes in the corners
 through which various colors of
 warps are passed.
 With heddle-like function, the
 cards are turned and flipped in the
 weaver's hands to produce three-
 color patterns constructed of tiny
 oval units, like a honeycomb.

⁵ Kusakabe 2006: 19

Tablet-woven bands

in Mamasa are known as *palawa*. The basic structure is similar to that in Toraja, but the designs differ: they are much narrower and appear to be in more common use than the *kamandang* were.

As a consequence, *palawa* are still being made in Mamasa for use as straps for sirih bags and trimmings for modern-style clothing, such as office uniforms and ceremonial jackets.

Mamasa bands in this exhibition are made of cotton, but currently polyester yarn is being used in the villages.



15. (opposite)
Tablet-woven band, *palawa*
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Cotton, chemical dyes 159 x 3.6 cm.
 24 tablets were used to weave
 the central part.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

16.
Tablet-woven band, *palawa*
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton (densely woven)
 160 x 3.1 cm.
 28 tablets were used for the central
 part, the most tablets used among
 all bands found to date.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.



17.
Tablet-woven band, *palawa*
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
 tablet-woven 232 x 3 cm.; 2005
 20 tablets were used for the central
 part.
 The band was woven by a Mamasan
 tablet-weaver in the 2005 ASEAN
 Textiles Symposium in Jakarta.
Jakarta Textile Museum collection.



18.(opposite)
Tablet-woven band, *palawa*
 Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Cotton, chemical dyes; tablet-woven
 183.5 x 45.2 cm. 16 cards were used
 for the central part.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

T O R A J A M E I O

Plain weave with warp-float patterning is the strength of weavers in Mamasa and Toraja Utara. Over time, they have learned how to enhance a piece of plain cloth with simple warp stripes—by changing the colors of the warps—or with float patterning.

Warp-float patterning results when the relevant warp is made to ‘jump’ over several wefts at a time on a plain foundation weave, so that they appear to ‘float’ to form patterns.



19.
Plain-woven material with side stripes, *pamiring*
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Cotton, chemical dyes; plain weave on backstrap loom 380 x 56.5 cm;
Warp stripes are achieved simply by changing the colors of the warps when arranging them on the loom prior to weaving.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



20.
Plain-woven material with spaced-out stripes, *borong-borong*
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Polyester, chemical dyes; plain weave on backstrap loom 360 x 58 cm;
made in 2012
Dinny Jusuf collection.



21.
Plain-woven striped material, *paramba'*
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Polyester, chemical dyes; plain weave on backstrap loom 374 x 60.5 cm;
made in 2012
Dinny Jusuf collection.



22.
Plain-woven material with 'summer and winter' pattern, *ma' tapa'*
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Polyester, chemical dyes; plain weave on backstrap loom 359 x 59 cm; made in 2012
Dinny Jusuf collection.



23.
Plain-woven material with supplementary weft, *pa' ruki'*
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Polyester, chemical dyes; woven on backstrap loom 466 x 59.7 cm; made in 2012
Extra, colorful wefts float over 3 warps at a time to create the pattern. This extra or supplementary thread is purely decorative.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



24.
 Plain-woven striped material with
 warp floats, *pa' bunga bunga*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Polyester, chemical dyes; woven on
 backstrap loom 32 x 59 cm;
 made in 2012
 Warp floats over 3 wefts at a time.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



25.
 Plain-woven material with
 warp floats, *pa' bunga bunga*
 Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
 Polyester, chemical dyes; woven on
 backstrap loom 326 x 59 cm;
 made in 2012
 Warp floats over 3 wefts at a time.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



Dressing for Death



Death does not pass unnoticed in Toraja, but is occasion for series of rites that can take years to complete. Unhappy as a passing may be, it is a time for reaffirmation of family relationships, with members of the extended family converging on the ancestral home from their homes all over the country and abroad. Their attendance is absolute, as is their contribution, especially of sacrificial animals, as determined by tradition.

Clothing is a personal way of expressing bereavement. In funerals following the old religion, *aluk to dolo*, besides sarong and blouse or jacket today, the men of the immediate family wear a specially made fillet around their heads with long fringes hanging down on one side, while the women cover their heads in an elaborately woven cotton hood that also has long fringes along the bottom edge.

The body of the deceased is wrapped in meters and meters of cloth until it resembles a huge bolster that is encased in red cloth appliqueed with gold-paper patterns. An important person, a person of means, is preceded to the grave by a wooden figure, the *tau-tau*, carved in his/her likeness, and clad in the finest clothing of the deceased. This statue is placed in a gallery outside the rock tomb where the body lies with his/her antecedents.

A group of young women dance as part of funerary rites, wearing white sarongs tied around the waist and black blouses with wide girdles and a fillet of *tarrung* fruit.
Photo by R. de Maret, 1937.

Pote are headgear

used when in mourning.

The man's *pote* consists of a circular fillet that fits around his brow, with a fringed end that hangs over an ear. The woman's *pote* is a long scarf sewn into a hood and involves a complex of intricate weaving techniques.

It was the custom to make a new *pote* just before the entire series of mortuary rites were completed, as a sign of their end, and to dye them black in mud three days after the body was placed in the grave⁶.



⁶ All information on *pote* and mud-dyeing from Kusakabe 2006.



(Opposite)
Torajan men wear a special headband, called *pote* or *beke*, made of loop-braided cotton as a sign of mourning. Photograph Ir. L.V. Joeke's collection, circa 1935.

26. (Opposite)
Man's Mourning Fillet,
pote patallika/beke
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Cotton; braided cirlet, woven cloth, glass beads. 42 cm (circumference)
The braided cirlet has been wrapped in a worn fragment of a woman's *pote lullung* and nicely decorated with beads.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

27.
Man's Mourning Fillet,
pote patallika/beke
Toraja Utara, South Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, mud dye; plain weave with openworked pattern, duo loop-braiding/*mangka'bi*
116 cm in length. The braided knob is particularly finely done using the *mangka'bi* braiding technique.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

T O R A J A M E L O



28. (left)
Woman's Mourning Hood,
pote lullung or pote rundun
 South Sulawesi
 Cotton; plain weave with openworked
 pattern, loop-braiding/*mangka'bi'*
 205 x 31.3 cm.
 Note the fine braiding of the fringes.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

(right)
 Closeup of the black hood No. 29



29. (left)
Woman's Mourning Hood,
pote lullung or pote rundun
 Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, mud dye, pompons;
 plain weave with openworked pattern,
 spiraling weft, weft-twining, tablet-
 weaving, loop-braiding/*mangka'bi'*
 127 x 39 cm.
 This hood provides a perfect
 demonstration of the lacey openwork
 of the highest grade.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

30. (right)
Woman's Mourning Hood,
pote dipungu', pote diumpu'
 Possibly Mamasa, West Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, mud dye, glass
 beads; plain weave, macrame, loop-
 braiding/*mangka'bi'*
 104 x 25-29 cm.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

Cloth for Ritual and Trade



Cloth for ritual and trade was not made in the places where it was used. Thus, the great warp ikats woven in Kalumpang and Rongkong may have been used locally to cloak the deceased until his/her burial, but were more important to the people in Central Sulawesi who used them for various ritual purposes and as wide festive skirts for women. Warp-ikatted sarongs were traded in especially large numbers.

At first sight, the cloths from the two areas look the same, but there are fundamental differences. Rongkong ikats are generally much more loosely woven than those from Kalumpang, using softly twisted thread. Ikats from both areas are dyed natural red and indigo, but old ikats from Kalumpang may have black areas dyed in a combination of *bilangte* leaves and mud, which is never found on Rongkong's ikats for which indigo is the material used for a dark blue.

The ikats are woven on simple backstrap looms, even today, and tied and dyed by hand before weaving. Weaving is carried out under the floor of the raised house or on the balcony. In the case of very long cloths, the warps may be fixed to a pole inside the house and passed through a window to the breast beam in the weaver's lap at a distance that can reach up to 10 meters! The loom is easily put away for the night, despite the very long warp.

For the *manganda* dance as part of funerary rites, men wear real buffalo-horn headdresses bound to their head with sacred cloths and with a *maa'* hanging down behind—here a Javanese batik with Islamic inscriptions. Across the top and

hanging down the sides of the horns is a Balinese woman's tie-dyed breast-wrapper.

At the back on the right is a *pori situtu* with the hooked pattern *seko sirendeng* from Rongkong (Luwu Utara).
Photographer unknown, ca. 1920.

Keris belts,

which were made and used by the Buginese men as part of costume, were seen as important property and decorations by the Torajans.

Some were hung above the body of the deceased awaiting burial; others were displayed on a tower stacked with folded textiles or atop heirloom Indian cloths on the roof of the palanquin transporting pigs to the sacrificial arena.

They could be tablet-woven or fashioned from belts of gold-threaded brocade and were furnished with a loop on one end and long braided fringes on the other end.

Keris belts were especially treasured by the Torajans.



31.
Keris Belt, *tali benang*
South Sulawesi(?); used in Toraja
Cotton, chemical dye; plain weave,
braiding, machine-sewn 295 x 7.3 cm.
This belt is unusual in that it is not
tablet-woven, but has been made in
the style of a tablet-woven belt from
strong cloth. The plain-woven cloth
was wider than needed, so that one
side is hemmed, and the loop was
artificially fashioned. The fringes were
braided from three elements, like one
braids hair.
Private collection.



32.
Keris Belt, *tali benang*
South Sulawesi (Buginese people);
used in Toraja
Handspun cotton, natural dye; tablet-
weaving 123 x 5.6 cm.
A tubular tablet-woven belt with
one side double-faced and the other
warp-twined. The two were worked
separately with tablets for each side,
but spirally inserting one weft,
revealing an unimaginably
complicated process.
The belt is decorated with Islamic
script on one face that would have
been hidden against the body by a
Buginese user.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

Maa' constitute a special group of venerated textiles in the area under discussion.

Generally rectangular in shape with drawn or painted or printed patterns, they include imports from India and their imitations from Europe and have had substantially affected the shape of locally made cloths.

They may be the source of the terminating rows of triangles on the great warp ikatted textiles of Kalumpang and Rongkong, as well as of the tree (No. 34) found on locally made *maa'* and of the *patola* motif (No.33,35) or *pori dappu'* found on some Kalumpang ikats.



33. (opposite)
Ceremonial textile, *maa'*
 Gujarat, India; found and used in Indonesia
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes; stamped mordants and resist, vat-dyed
 287 x 100.5 cm.
 This cloth bears the VOC stamp, trademark of the Dutch United East Indies Company which exported Indian textiles to Indonesia in large quantities.
Suharnoko Family collection.

34.
Ceremonial textile, *maa'*
 Europe; found and used in Indonesia
 Cotton print 296 x 103 cm.
 Worked on one side only.
Suharnoko Family collection.





35.
Ceremonial textile, *maa'*
Europe; found and used in Indonesia
Cotton print 296 x 103 cm.
Worked on one side only.
Suharnoko Family collection.

Locally made *maa'*

can be quite scenic, with horizontal depictions of local scenery set in a scrolling frame or with a string of buffalos being led into a corral, surrounded by crosses, *pa'doti*, representing numerous herds and therefore wealth.

The *maa'* as well as the *sarita* are considered to be the most sacred of textiles by the Torajans and accorded heavenly origin and a place in harvest rites.

36.

Ceremonial textile, *maa'*

Mamasa, West Sulawesi
Cotton, mud; hand-drawn resist
87 x 45.5 cm.

This type of *maa'* could be described as the prototype of subsequent *maa'* and was made up to the beginning of the 20th century. Resist-dyed in a mixture of *bilangte* leaves and mud. *Keiko Kusakabe collection.*





37.
 Ceremonial textile, *maa'*
 Toraja, South Sulawesi
 Cotton; hand-painted 106 x 67 cm.
 From the aspect of fabric and dyeing,
 this *maa'* was made in imitation of
 locally made *maa'* with typical old-
 style composition and pattern.
 Many of this type were made in Toraja.
Dinny Jusuf collection.

TORAJAMELO

Sarita

are very long, narrow ritual textiles patterned with geometric figures found carved into wood in Mamasa and Toraja, and with charming images from local farm life. Resist-dyeing, hand-painting, and dyeing with stamps are known to have been used to create these images.



Sarita have been used as waist-cloths by men performing certain offices or ritual dances, as turbans by very powerful men, and hung as banners during ritual performance.



38.
Ceremonial textile, *sarita*
Unknown origin
Handspun naturally brown cotton,
natural indigo; resist-dyed
446 x 27.5 cm
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

Warp ikat

is the principle technique applied in Kalumpang and Rongkong for patterning great cloths that were used for purposes of ritual and trade throughout northern South Sulawesi, and West and Central Sulawesi.

Typically, they have a warp ikat-patterned central field and, especially the *ulu karua* type, striped sides or *kaki*.

Since World War II and civil war, when production diminished drastically, people strove to revive ikat production using industrial yarns, chemical dyes, and human-like motifs but without the striped sides, as souvenir textiles.



39. (opposite)
Ceremonial textile, *pori situtu'*
 Rongkong, Luwu Utara, South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
 warp ikat, plain weave 181.4 x 134 cm;
 2 panels hand-sewn together
 To be complete, this cloth should have
 4 panels and be identical on both
 sides.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

40.
Ceremonial textile, *pori situtu'*
 Rongkong, Luwu Utara, South Sulawesi
 Handspun and factory spun cotton;
 warp ikat, plain weave
 172.5 x 253 cm;
 4 panels sewn together
 Locally dyed handspun cotton was
 used for the central part of this cloth,
 factory spun chemically dyed cotton
 in the striped side panels or *kaki*.
Suharnoko Family collection.



TORAJAMELO

41.
Ceremonial textile, *pori lonjong*
Rongkong, Luwu Utara, South Sulawesi
Cotton, chemical dyes; warp ikat,
plain weave 978 x 178 cm;
2 panels sewn together.
Suharnoko Family collection.



42.
Ceremonial textile,
sekomandi/ulu karua
Kalumpang, West Sulawesi
Cotton; warp ikat, plain weave
210 x 144 cm;
2 panels sewn together
Dinny Jusuf collection.



Older, complete *ulu karua* from
Kalumpang have side panels filled
with warp stripes, as shown in this
photograph displayed in
Kusakabe 2006: 38, Fig.42.



43. (opposite)
Decorative textile of
the *sekomandi* type
Kalumpang, West Sulawesi
Cotton, chemical dyes; warp ikat,
plain weave 167 x 150 cm;
2 panels sewn together
The pattern may be a development of
the traditional *to so balekoan* motif.
Caecilia Papadimitriou collection.

44.
Decorative textile of
the *sekomandi* type
Kalumpang, West Sulawesi
Cotton, chemical dyes; warp ikat,
plain weave 176 x 120 cm;
2 panels sewn together
Pattern could be described as an
evolution of the traditional hooked-
X figure, *to noling*, and a newly
invented snake figure, intended as
a souvenir cloth.
Dinny Jusuf collection.



45.
(Sarong)
Kalumpang, Mamuju,
West Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, natural dyes; warp ikat,
plain weave 148.5 cm (w) x 132.5 cm (h);
2 panels
Black was achieved by dyeing plain and
ikatted thread in mud. Note the magnifi-
cent red color in the side stripes in combi-
nation with light blue⁷.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

⁷All information on mud-dyeing from
Kusakabe 2006.



Cloths were woven
in both Rongkong and Kalumpang
that were obviously intended to be
sewn into tubular sarongs.
It is not known how these textiles
were used or what they were named
by their makers, but they were
a major item bartered for gold and
buffalo raised by other people in
the north where they were known
as “*sora’ langi*”, which translates to
“Pattern from Heaven”.
There, they were not only worn in
ritual dances, but were also part of
traditional debt payments.

46.
(Sarong)
Kalumpang, Mamuju,
West Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
warp ikat, plain weave
137 cm (w) x 178 cm (h); 4 panels
Gentle graduation of color from red
to pink to blue is a characteristic of
some Kalumpang textiles, as well as
meandering white lines in narrow
stripes of ikat.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.



T O R A J A



AJJA



47. (opposite)
(Sarong)
 Kalumpang, Mamuju, West Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
 warp ikat, plain weave
 145 cm (w) x 161 cm (h); 2 panels
 Note the small *ulu karua* motif
 (*ulu karua barinni*) in red and clear
 blue outlined in white, which appears
 in the ikatted bands.
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

48.
(Sarong)
 Rongkong, Luwu Utara,
 South Sulawesi
 Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
 warp ikat, plain weave
 147 cm (w) x 244 cm (h); 4 panels
Jakarta Textile Museum



49. (opposite)
(Sarong)
Kalumpang, Mamuju, West Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, natural dyes;
warp ikat, plain weave
132.5 cm (w) x 135.5 cm (h);
2 panels
Private collection.

50.
(Sarong)
Kalumpang, Mamuju, West Sulawesi
Handspun cotton, natural dyes,
including mud; complementary
warp-pattern weave, variant⁸
Fragment. In this example, the white
pattern is created by floating white
warps, while black and red warps
construct the striped background.
Every second warp is white;

the white is a foundation warp and
not supplementary.⁹
Keiko Kusakabe collection.

⁸ Carson & Callander 1976.

⁹ Keiko Kusakabe would like to take this
opportunity to express her gratitude to Mme.
Nobuko Kajitani for her valuable advice in
determining the structure of this textile.

Mud-Dyeing in Sulawesi Ritual Cloths from Toraja, Mamasa, and Kalumpang

Keiko Kusakabe

Mud-dyeing has been found in many areas – some regions in Africa, Philippines, Japan, and so on, however the subject of mud-dyeing in Sulawesi has not been taken for discussion to this day. Mud-dyeing is a method for dyeing cloths to which tannic-acid contained in leaves is attached, reacting with iron in mud to produce black color in fabrics. In Sulawesi, *bilangte/bilatte*¹ leaves have been utilized for mud-dyeing.

Among textiles from four areas in this exhibition, mud-dyeing is observed only in three areas; those are Toraja, Mamasa, and Kalumpang. To discuss textiles in two regions, Toraja and Kalumpang, we cannot fail to notice those dyed using dye-stuff of *bilangte* leaves with mud, e.g. *sarita* and *pewo/pio*² *puang*,

and locally made *maa'*, which were made at an early date; hence, such kinds of cloths have played an important role in their cultures and communities, proving the existence of old textile strata in Sulawesi. In terms of dyeing technique, the above-mentioned black dyeing seems to have belonged to an older strata than blue indigo-dyeing, while the space-time distribution of dyeing techniques does not directly show this. For instance, the prototype of the *tali* to *batu*, which was resist-dyed red and blue after unique openwork-weaving³ in Rongkong up to the beginning of the 20th century, was recently proved to date back to the 16th or 17th century by radiocarbon-testing (*Barnes & Kahlenberg 2010:262*). In Toraja and Mamasa,

on the other hand, blue indigo-dyeing seems to have been unknown generally, other than in limited areas.

In this essay, I will mention my research first and then discuss how mud-dyeing has been practiced, as regards ritual cloths in each area. Following that, I will discuss the meaning and effectiveness of mud-dyeing in these areas of Sulawesi, based on analyses from my research. Through this pursuit, the production of textiles will reveal a close relationship with the culture and society to which it belongs. I believe that observation of textiles distributed in these areas from the aspect of mud-dyeing will create a renewed prompt to bring a new axis in the study of textiles in Sulawesi.

1. Outline of my research

I have been researching textiles in the highlands of Sulawesi since 1997, initially from the viewpoint of textile technique, and recently from the anthropological standpoint: the observation of cloths as an object capable of mediating human relationships in diverse cultural contexts, religious belief, custom, livelihood, and environment. It is through my long research in Tana Toraja that I came to realize how significant black-dyeing has been in relation to the funeral hood and headband, *pote*, which are worn by relatives observing the taboo on eating rice, who are called *to maro*'. Remarkably, in Toraja the mud-dyeing rite, *ma'bolong*, has taken place as a symbol of the turning-point from death to life. Also in 2002 in Mamasa, so-called West Toraja, I did an experiment in mud-dyeing with local weavers, while researching tablet weaving, *palawa*, since

Mamasa is the only place in Indonesia where tablet weaving has passed down for generations. In Mamasa, as well as Toraja, mud-dyeing has appeared after the burial rite of the funeral; the rite is called *ma'bolong* (*Kusakabe 2006:109-110*) in Toraja and *pa'lulukon* (*Buijs 2006*) in Mamasa. In Kalumpang, on the other hand, the mud-dyeing technique has been used for producing certain kinds of cloth: warp ikat (*ulu karua*), *sarita*, and *pewo puang*. Mud-dyeing is called *manao* in Kalumpang.

I visited Kalumpang on my recent research trip in 2010 and 2011 for the purpose of investigating mud-dyeing, followed by research on warp ikat on the north and south banks of the Karama River, which was initiated in 1997. In Kalumpang, mud-dyeing has been practiced using bees-wax as the resist material to draw motifs on *sarita* and *pewo puang*. Moreover, mud-dyed blackness appears on the striped side-borders of warp ikat, *ulu karua*.

Such distribution of the blackening of cloth using a mud-mordant dye should indicate a cultural exchange in these regions of Sulawesi, as well as give evidence of the old stratum of textiles.

This is evidenced in the fact that *sarita*, long narrow ritual cloths, appear in both Toraja and Kalumpang, as mentioned in the following sections of this essay. The above outline of my research shows that mud-dyeing is an intriguing subject in terms of 'adat', old religion, and ritual, as well as of cloth-dyeing techniques which must have constituted primary knowledge of chemical reaction for humankind.

2. Black-dyeing in Toraja

In this section, I deal with black-dyeing using *bilangte* leaves with mordant-mud (iron-rich mud) in Toraja. In Toraja, mud-dyed cloths appear in Rites of the East and of the West, that is in harvest rituals and funerals. Locally made *maa'*,

depicting Torajan life, are strongly connected to the harvest, whereas *sarita* have been used in both ritual systems. Meanwhile, in the funeral, the woman's funeral hood and man's headband, *pote*, were blackened as part of the *ma'bolong* rite.

• *Maa'* and *sarita*

Torajan sacred cloths, the *maa'* (pp. 52-59) and *sarita* (pp.60-61), are figurative heirlooms, made by resist mud-dyeing⁵ in early times, up to the beginning of the 20th century. These prototypes of locally-made *maa'* and *sarita* depicted actual life symbolically like a horizontal picture scroll (pp.56-57).

However, since the beginning of the 20th century, both cloths seem to have changed their style to a dynamic pattern in a vertical composition surrounded by a distinct frame, having been affected by patterns and compositions found on imported

Indian and European cloths (pp. 52-55). "*Maa'* and *sarita*", like a phrase, has been repeatedly sung in Torajan chants, *ma'somba tedong*, *ma'badong*, and so on (Veen 1965:88-89). Viewed from the myths, *maa'* were associated with God⁶ in heaven, while *sarita*, as shown in the term '*sarita to lamban*'⁷, were connected to the river and land, sometimes to a pair of originators.

Moreover, *sarita* is a questionable textile, appearing in Kalumpang as well as Toraja; I will discuss this question as a whole in the next section and now turn to mud-dyeing in the Torajan funeral.

• Funerary attire: *pote*

In Toraja, mud-dyeing has been closely related to mourning practices in the funeral, which are symbolized by the funeral hood and headband, *pote* (pp. 44-47). In the old religion, *aluk to dolo*, white cloths and *pote* are mud-dyed three days after the burial rite⁸, and then the period of mourning comes



to its end, *malolo*, followed by the making of new *pote* as evidence of having carried out a great funeral.

During the funerary feast, relatives observe a taboo on eating rice, wearing the *pote* which were handed down for generations. (pic. 1).

However, such practice has entirely diminished today, though a large number of buffaloes are still sacrificed traditionally, since most Torajan people have converted to Christianity or Islam and consider their old religious belief as an old-

fashioned way of thinking.

It was based on an agricultural cycle that divided a year into two periods: life and death.

In December 2005, I had an opportunity to document a blackening funerary rite, *ma'bolong* and *ma'pakatua*, in the south part of Toraja, which belongs to Tana Toraja regency at present. The deceased, a priest of the old religion, a *tominaa*, died in December 2004 and was kept in his house for a year, to give time to prepare for a high-ranking funerary feast. This was held at the level of a five-night funeral, from December 13-18, 2005.

On December 21, three days after the burial rite, the *ma'bolong* was executed by three relatives wearing *pote*. I was also able to document the *ma'pakatua* which is carried out to re-dye cloths black, several days after *ma'bolong*. Specifically, in the first blackening rite of the *ma'bolong*, white *pote* are dyed black; in the second rite of *ma'pakatua*,

black *pote* are over-dyed.

I especially marked the second rite, *ma'pakatua*, since it indicates that *pote* have been dyed over and over for generations during these rites. Following, I will describe the process of the blackening rite, but only the *ma'bolong*, due to the limited number of pages in this essay.

Process of the blackening rite: *ma'bolong*

- The first stage
Early in the morning of December 21, 2005, a pig was sacrificed and a branch of *bilangte* leaves was taken from a nearby field.
- 1. Two women pounded rice on a mortar as a symbol and then pounded the *bilangte* leaves in front of the house. (pic. 2)
- 2. A woman poured water over the pounded leaves in the container and extracted the juice from the leaves. A white cloth was put in the juice; it was crumpled and the juice rubbed in by hand.



3. Functionaries went to a specific place, like a wallow, one carrying white cloths, cobs of corn, roots of cassava, bananas in a bucket, and *bilangte* leaves in a basket, another with a terracotta pot on her head,

and another with rice-straw and charcoal⁹ taken from the kitchen, piled on a bamboo plate. (pic. 3)

4. At the site, women dug the muddy ground, making a pond and then soaked the cloth, taking the cloth up and down many times. (pic. 4)

5. Cloths soaked in the mud were dried in the sun on the ground, while two women chewed betel nut nearby. (pic. 5)

6. The dry cloth was washed in the pure water of the large pond. (pic. 6)

7. The washed cloths were dried again in the sun on the ground. (pic. 6)

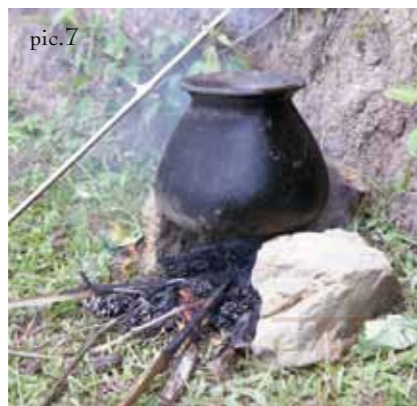
(pic. 6)

The first mud-dyeing is finished.

• The second stage

1. Three stones were placed triangularly, and a fire made with the straw and charcoal (pic.7). The pot with water inside was placed over the fire on stones and then *bilangte* leaves were put into the boiling water.

2. Dry cloths and boiled leaves



were first put into the bucket and then stirred.

3. The steaming cloths were

soaked in the muddy pond many times.

4. The muddied cloths were dried in the sun on the ground.

5. *Ma'rarang*¹⁰ rite:

all participants shared in grilled pork, corn, cassava, and bananas without salt or any seasoning, eating together.

6. The dry muddy cloths were washed in the pure water of the large pond.

7. The blackened cloths were brought back to the house and hung on the bamboo pole behind the guest space.

8. *Mangrara tuo*: blood taken from the head or legs of a chicken was sprinkled on the cloths, and mortar, and so on.

The *Ma'bolong* rite was finished.

Fire as a metaphor

In the above-mentioned two stages in the *ma'bolong* rite, I not only describe a process of mud-dyeing, but at the same time I describe *ma'bolong* which symbolizes a turn from death to life; fire and food seem to be used metaphorically in the rite. Namely, a fire is used not in the first stage of mud-dyeing but in the second stage. Meanwhile, I have never come across cold mud-dyeing, that is without fire, in my research in Mamasa and Kalumpang; in Mamasa, a dyer attached the pounded *bilangte* and juice, and then mud, to the cloth by hand. After that, she boiled the muddy cloth in the container of water.

In Kalumpang, every weaver told me that *bilangte* leaves are to be boiled first in water, without pounding. Accordingly, in the above-mentioned rite in Toraja, there must be a certain reason for avoiding the use of fire in the first stage, since fire could be a metaphor

of being alive. In the *ma'bolong* rite, the opposition of dyeing cold and hot suggests that of the dead and the living, the *ma'rarang* rite, meanwhile, represents a process of decreasing taboos on mourners, since according to tradition a leader of mourners, the *to makuasa*, must not eat any cooked food, such as hot water, grilled meat or, without question, rice. Mourners in the *ma'rarang* rite would have had the vicarious experience of decreasing the taboos on the *to makuasa* by eating food cooked on the fire in preparation for second mud-dyeing.

Such a metaphorical practice of *ma'bolong*, on one hand, forms a watershed of death and life; blackened *pote*, on the other hand, are objects bridging over geological times. Thus, mud-dyeing in Toraja implies axes of individual and ancestral flows in human life.

3. Mud-dyeing in Kalumpang

In Kalumpang, mud-dyeing has been practiced in Karataun valley on the south bank of the Karama River, where ikat production has flowered. In the villages of Bulo and Lebani, warp ikat is produced with the characteristic pattern, the *ulu karua* (pp. 66-67), in which wider mud-dyed stripes are placed among narrow red, pink, and blue stripes on the two side borders/*kaki* (p. 67).

In the modern ikats, however, such arranged borders are replaced by narrow ones with a cross, human, or other small repeated motif (p. 67).

In Malolo village¹¹, *pewo puang* and *sarita* are made through bees-wax resist mud-dyeing and mud-dyeing is called *manao*. In the first part of this section, I shall focus on *pewo puang* which are supposed to have been the origin of the *sarita* (pp. 60-61), according to Van Nouhuys who visited Sulawesi at the beginning of the 20th century;



then in the following part I refer to an interplay of both cultures, Toraja and Kalumpang, indicated by *sarita* and '*ulu karua*' legends common to them.

Pewo/pio puang

*Pewo/pio*¹² *puang* (pic. 8) is a huge loincloth which a *tobara*, a chief of Kalumpang in the old time, wore at significant rituals. In the center of the cloth, geometrical figures run warpwise, batikked in bees-wax resist and mud-dyed, with long and narrow red, deep black, and white cloths sewn together on both sides. On the end borders, zigzag lines run horizontally, which are executed in the tie-dye technique¹³.

Here, I take up Nouhuys' proposal with regard to *pewo puang* in his article 'Was Batik' (Nouhuys 1925/26).

In the first place, he identified *pewo puang* as one of three native types of batik in Indonesia: Javanese batik from Tuban, the *kain simbut* of western Java, and the *pewo puang* from the Upper Karama River district, that is, Kalumpang.

He called the cloth "native *kain sarita*" because he actually obtained the cloths there but did not know the name (ibid.:120,122).

He mentioned that features of these textiles suggest forgotten Indonesian culture underlying the old stratum, although Javanese batik has flourished, absorbing Indian, Chinese, and European cultural elements. Nouhuys asked for a chemical analysis of the resist stuff in the *pewo puang* and had the result that it was bees-wax; this corresponds to what many weavers witnessed when I visited Kalumpang in 2010 and 2011.

The process of mud-dyeing in Kalumpang is as follows:

Process of mud-dyeing in Kalumpang: *manao*

1. Beeswax/*patti* is warmed and motifs are drawn onto cloth using a vein or *lidi* of palm leaf or bamboo and beeswax.
2. *Bilangte* leaves are boiled in a substantial amount of water and then some banana tree trunk/*tambilao*, some *beuwa*¹⁴ root, and crushed lime are put into the boiled water and stirred.
3. The ground is dug to make *lombu* (probably muddy pond).
4. Boiled water with *bilangte* leaves in it is put into the *lombu* and then stirred.
5. The cloth drawn with bees-wax is put into the muddy pond and the whole stirred.
6. The cloth is washed in the river and the procedure repeated two times.
7. At the end, the mud-dyed cloth is put in water that is heated to

melt away the wax on the cloth, which is called *ma'loloi*.

**Instead of digging mud to make a pond, mud is now taken into a container.*

Only one family used the trunk of a banana tree, *beuwa* root, and crushed lime in the process [2], when a dyer boiled *bilangte* leaves in the water. This method has been passed down from the mother to her daughter M in B village. Apart from the details of the method, the process of hot mud-dyeing in both regions, Kalumpang and Toraja, is essentially the same. However, it is not known yet how mud-dyeing, *manao*, proceeded before in relation to the rituals of Kalumpang, as mud-dyeing is carried out in the *ma'bolong* rite in Toraja.

Recently, mud-dyeing seems to have revived in Kalumpang on the background of demand for antique textiles which has been aroused by a contemporary interest in forgotten techniques of artifacts. In my research, I met one weaver who had made four *pewo puang* to

pic.9



order from dealers in recent years. ***Sarita* from Kalumpang**

Secondly, Nouhuys found the obvious fact that *sarita* made in a Dutch factory (pic.9) had been exported to Toraja from 1880 to approximately 1930. (Nouhuys 1925/1926) (Nooy-Palm 1980, 1989). This early date of manufacturing "imitation blue *sarita*" gave rise to the question of what the prototype of Dutch-made *sarita* was. He assumed the central part of the *pewo puang* would have

pic.11



been the origin of the Dutch-made *sarita*. Nouhuys' view showed foresight, for some weavers attested that *sarita* originated in Malolo village in Kalumpang, as did *pewo puang*. The home of the *sarita* is questionable, whether Toraja or Kalumpang. No matter how it is, Dutch-made *sarita* present more fluent lines and more figurative motifs (pic.11) than *pewo puang* (pic.10). They were modeled after a vertical composition in stacks of square and rectangular partitions as



pic.10

shown in *pewo puang*. Later on, *sarita*, seem to have been made in blue utilizing various kinds of

materials and modeled after the Dutch-made *sarita*, as mythical cloths in Toraja (pp.60-61). As mentioned above, *sarita* suggest the cultural relationship between both regions. Kalumpang, as a fertile hinterland, seems to have applied cultural resources to the consumer-place, Toraja.

Ulu Karua

Thirdly, I give careful consideration to the origin of the *ulu karua*. The *ulu karua* pattern consists of arrow-shaped motifs organized along the length and breadth of the central field of a piece of cloth (pp.66-67), the *sekomandi*, the generic name for ikat¹⁵ in Kalumpang, which was used primarily for the dead and also for paying fines. Carl Schuster analyzed this pattern as indicative of a concept of ancestral descent, after the ornamentation depicted on a fragment of ancient pottery unearthed in Kalumpang. Moreover, Gerlings extensively

applied Schuster's concept of an 'anthropomorphic' figure to every pattern appearing in ikats found in Kalumpang (Gerlings 1952). However, other motifs or patterns, the *to noling*, *lelen sep'u*, *to so balekoan*, etc. do not contain any meaning of the human figure. In all analyses, local weavers give nicknames to parts of the *ulu karua* motif: 'a head/*ulu*', 'an eagle's feather/*pani surru*', 'a crab/*bukkang*' and 'a mallet/*belimbing*'. *Ulu karua* means 'eight heads' in local languages and both peoples have *ulu karua* legends, yet each 'eight figures' is different. In the Kalumpang version, it indicates 'eight important leaders' of the social system (Simanjuntak 2007:94-95), while in the Torajan version, it means 'eight prominent ancestors'¹⁶ descended from heaven as recited in Torajan chants (Veen 1965:88-89). In Toraja where there is no ikat technique, they love to display ikat cloths with *ulu karua* pattern, traded with Kalumpang people, at the

funerary site; it is likely to be seen as a part of culture for Torajans. My research shows there are some variations of the *ulu karua*: *ulu karua barinni*'/small (p.72,74) and *ulu karua kasalle*/ large (pp.66-67). A small *ulu karua* pattern appears in the old sarong-type of ikat which are shown in this exhibition under the name of 'sora langi'¹⁷ (pp.70-74); many of them have mud-dyed stripes among finely arranged warpwise stripes in transparent colors. These cloths in this exhibition were almost all found in the Palu valley in Central Sulawesi, since the large surplus of such sarongs seem to have been traded to the barkcloth-making area of the highlands. Finally, we must remark that mud-dyed barkcloth is found in Central Sulawesi although the dyestuff was not yet known. This suggests mud-dyeing has been widely distributed for a long span of time in Sulawesi.

4. Contemplation

At the end of this essay, I briefly present three issues regarding mud-dyeing beyond areas where each textile tradition has developed:

- 1) mud-dyeing as a technique in the textile field,
- 2) a prototype of mud-dyed cloths and transformation,
- 3) the practice of mud-dyeing as a symbol in ritual performance.

First of all, I will focus on an opposition of no-ikat and ikat areas: Toraja-Mamasa vs. Kalumpang-Rongkong.

In Toraja-Mamasa, a non-ikat weaving tradition follows lack of experience in natural dyeing, while in Kalumpang-Rongkong, rich ikat-production follows experience in natural dyeing, with *mungkudu* (red) and *tarun* (blue). These facts suggest that dyeing and weaving techniques are two sides of the same coin and cannot be separated. In the former area, the white color

indicates 'nobility' while 'dyeing black' had a specified meaning until chemical dye was introduced in the first half of the 20th century (pp.24-28). In the meantime in the latter area, abundant natural dyeing prompted the development of diverse weaving techniques (pp.62-75). Most intriguing is that in Kalumpang, after ikat production had begun with dyeing in natural red and blue, black cloths were still being attached to the borders of ikat weavings (p.67), also ikatted meander motifs were included in black stripes on old sarong (p.70).

Secondly, old mud-dyed ritual cloths have changed their style in composition and color during the 20th century, which is typified in the transformation of *sarita*. However vague the home of *sarita* may be, it is Dutch producers who established the *sarita* on an industrial scale, taken out of a local context; just as the gamelan or *kecak* was reorganized by

the German artist, Walter Spies, in theatrical performances. *Sarita*, ever since, have been made in diverse styles after the Dutch-made *sarita*, becoming more full of myths and stories on handspun fabrics (pp.60-61) or stereotyped motifs on coarse fabrics.

However, this essay is intended to bring a light on prototyped essences, such as mud dye, disclosing familiar images of *sarita*. Dutch-made *sarita* are, no doubt, a creation modeled after *pewo puang* and old Torajan-made *maa'* and *sarita*.

Finally, I will mention mud-dyeing in relation to rituals. I described the Torajan funerary blackening rite in detail, but have not obtained enough data on producing *pewo puang* with regard to ritual.

This is only a supposition, but mud-dyeing in Kalumpang, *manao*, must have been carried out in association with social relationships, since huge loin-cloths, *pewo puang*, must have been a symbol of political power in Kalumpang society, supported by

women's labor. It seems to be a different presentation of dyeing ritual cloth from the *ma'bolong*: dyeing attire in the funeral. Thus, we come to know that the practice of dyeing cloth can be associated with different aspects of our social life.

Footnotes:

- ¹ *Bilangte/bilatte*: Homolanthus Populneas.
- ² In Kalumpang, a loincloth is called '*pewo*' or '*peo*' and in Toraja, '*pio*.' Nouhuys called it '*pewo*' in "*Was Batik*". In this essay, I use the word '*pewo*'.
- ³ An example of *tali to batu* is not shown in this exhibition. The dyeing process is, contrary to warp ikat, to do openwork weaving first, then tie warp threads and dye them afterwards.
- ⁴ *Maa'* is a Torajan heirloom cloth

which involves bright Indian chintzes, European prints, and locally made cloths in monochrome.

⁵ In Toraja, rice paste was presumably used as resist material to draw lines on fabrics, for on old blackened *maa'* appear depictions of softly drawn lines.

⁶ See introduction.

⁷ *Lamban* means 'the river' in the Torajan language

⁸ In Toraja after the funerary feast, the dead body is placed in a tomb which is a room dug into rock

⁹ In Toraja, charcoal is made from the casuarina tree/*buangin*.

¹⁰ *Rarang* means a grill.

¹¹ Recently, most people left their village and moved to find good places for coffee planting; for them, production of coffee is very profitable.

¹² *Pewo/pio* means loincloth and *puang* means heaven in Kalumpang.

¹³ Tie-dye in the *pewo puang* context means to tie woven cloth and dye it to form motifs.

¹⁴ English name of this plant is unknown.

¹⁵ There are three categories, *seko-mandi*, *rundun lolo*, and *mari lotong* according to local researcher, Mr.S.who lives in Kalumpang.

The second is striped cloth with ikat parts, and the third, cloth for the world of death without red.

¹⁶ The eight beings are: an ancestress in the form of a human being and the ancestors of so-called poison tree, cotton, rain, fowl, buffalo, iron and cooked rice (Veen 1965:88-89)

¹⁷ The name "sora' langi" did not come from the place of production, Kalumpang, but is likely to have been from Central Sulawesi.

There are various pronunciations: *sora' lingi*' or *suro' langi*'.

References:

- Barnes, Ruth & Kahlenberg, Mary (ed.): *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles*. New York: Delmonico Books. 2010
- Buijs, Kees: *Powers of Blessing from the Wilderness and from Heaven*. Netherlands: *Verhandelingan van het*

Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkendunde. 2006.

- Carson, Marjorie and Callander, Adele: *The Art of Bolivian Highland Weaving*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications. 1976.

- Jager Gerlings, J.H.: *Sprekende Weefsel*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen. 1952 (English translation: Achjadi J.)

- Kusakabe, Keiko: *Textiles from Sulawesi: Genealogy of Sacred Cloth*. Japan: The Fukuoka Art Museum. 2006

- Nooy-Palm, Hetty: *The Role of the Sacred Cloth in the Mythology and Ritual of the Sa'dan Toraja of Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Tropen, Amsterdam. 1980.

- Nooy-Palm, Hetty: "The Sacred Cloth of the Toraja: Unanswered Questions" in *To Speak with Cloth: Studies in Indonesian Textiles*. Los Angeles: UCLA Museum of Cultural History. 1980.

- Nouhuys, J.W.van: "Was Batik in Midden Celebes" published in *Nederlandsche Indie Oud en Nieuw* 10:110-122. 1925/26

- *Simanjuntak, Truman: Kalumpang Kabupaten Mamuju Provinsi Sulawesi Barat*. Jakarta: Departemen OKebudayaan dan Pariwisata. 2007, pages 94-95

- Veen, H. van der: "The Merok Feast of the Sa'dan Toraja" in *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, deel 45*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965, pages 88-89



Triangular bamboo structures, the *bate manurun*, stacked with diverse precious textiles, are raised for various festivities celebrating life, such as the consecration of a house or harvest rites.
Photographer F. van der Kooi, 1937.

Production Team

Initiator : Dinny Jusuf
 Editor : Judi Achjadi
 Contributor : Keiko Kusakabe
 Publishing Coordinator : Adila Suwarmo
 Book Designer : Oky Arfie Hutabarat
 Photographers : Dinny Jusuf
 Singgih Prayogo
 Dicky Setiawan

Photo Stylist : Danny Parura
 Printed by : Indonesia Printer
 Publishing Date : September 2012
 Published by :

Toraja Melo Foundation
 Jalan Frans Karang 105,
 Rantepao, Toraja Utara Regency
 South Sulawesi, Indonesia 91831
 Phone: +62 87 888 772 196
 info@TorajaMelo.com
 www.TorajaMelo.com
 Facebook: TorajaMelo
 Twitter: @TorajaMelo
 : Toraja Melo Foundation

Copyright
 ISBN

:

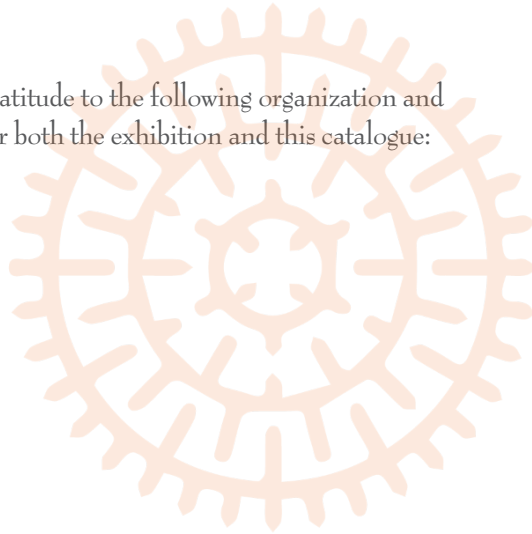
T O R A J A M E L O

Picture Credits.
 All photographs are by Dicky Setiawan and Singgih Prayogo, aside from the following:
 Pages 14, 21, 40, 42, 46, 73 courtesy of the KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
 Page 29, Item No. 14 and Page 44, Item No. 28 photographs by Dinny Jusuf
 Page 67, Textiles from Sulawesi in Indonesia, Genealogy of Sacred Cloths; The Keiko Kusakabe Collection, Fukuoka Art Museum, Japan, 2006: 38 Fig. 42
 Pages 78-84, courtesy of Keiko Kusakabe

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the following organization and individuals for lending their textiles for both the exhibition and this catalogue:

Barbara Johnson
Caecilia Papadimitriou
Daveny Soufyan
Dinny Jusuf
Judi Achjadi
Keiko Kusakabe
Sri Idham Fardella
Suharnoko Family
The Jakarta Textile Museum



T O R A J A M E L O