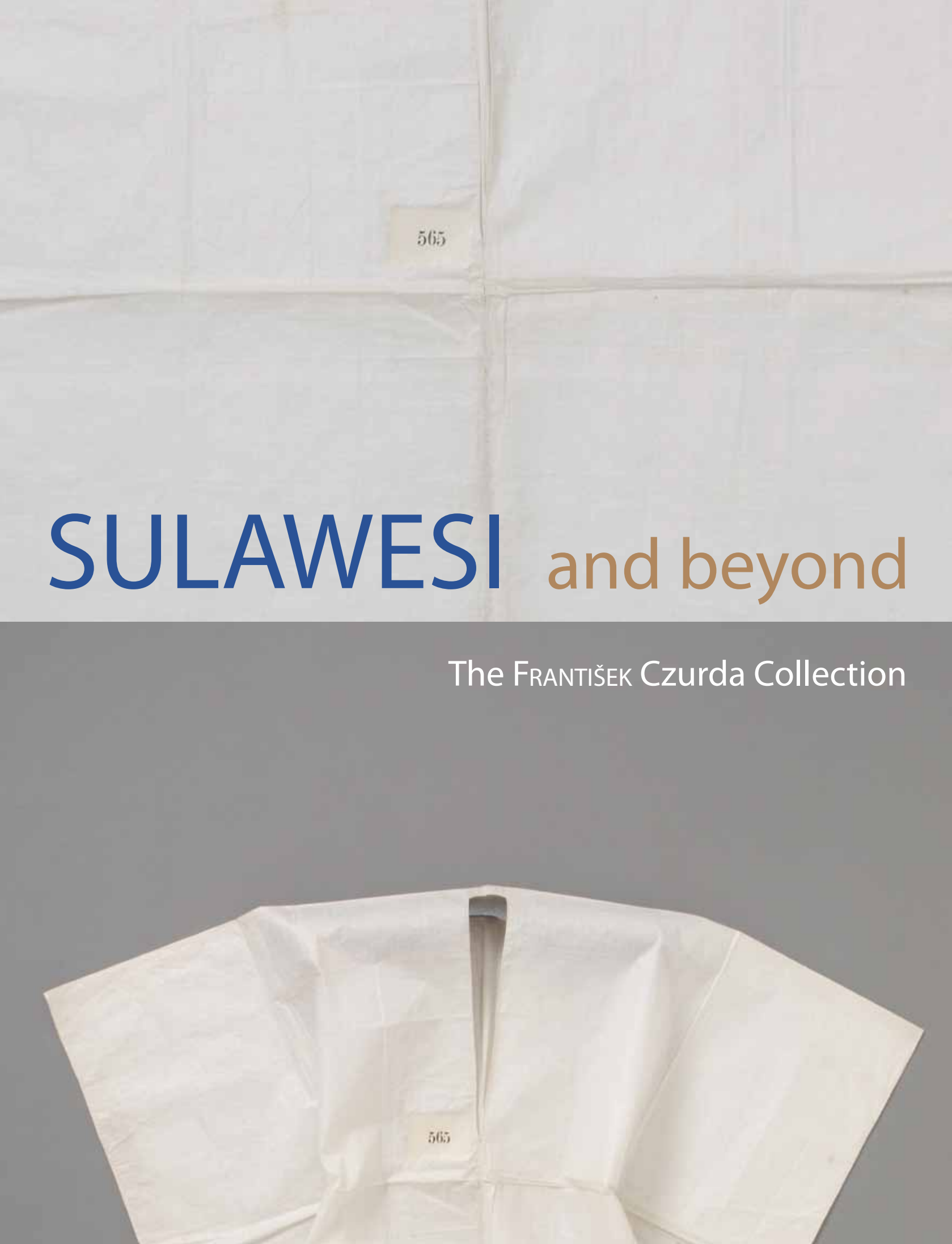
SULAWESI and beyond

The FRANTIŠEK Czurda Collection



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Front cover:
Ritual object | ***simpa***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17710
Bamboo, lontar leaves, cotton.
L 46 cm, W 25 cm, H 3 cm

Back cover:
Charm | ***simak***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17741
Cotton, paper.
W 15 cm x H 33 cm

507. Amulet (MVW 17741). Seven little sacks of different sizes made of red cotton, also holding paper strips with Arabic words, worn in the same manner around the neck and sold by the Hadjis like the previous ones (Czurda 1883: 123).

Frontispiece:
Blouse | ***waju malampe***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro
MVW 17794
Cotton; plain weave, hand sewn, chintzed. L 59.7 cm, W 91 cm

Below:
Fig. 01 **Charm** | ***kawari***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17852
Silver; cast, filigree.
H 0.1 cm, Ø 4 cm

LANGUAGE KEY:
(B) Buginese
(BI) Bahasa Indonesia
(M) Makassarese
(L) Latin
(T) Tiwi
(Y) Yolgnumatha

Descriptions and numeration of the objects are taken from Franz Czurda's original catalogue *Catalog mit Erklärungen der Etnografischen Privatsammlung des Dr. F. A. J. Czurda in Postelberg (Böhmen)*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, published in 1883. They were translated by Marian Pink.

ABBREVIATIONS:
MVW for Museum of Ethnology Vienna
NM-NpM for National Museum – Náprstek Museum

CONTENTS

PREFACE

As early as 2005, museums in Austria and Indonesia began to collaborate through a human resources exchange between the Museum Siwalima in Ambon and the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna. This continued with the exchange of knowledge in this *forMuse* project, which extended scientific collaboration between museums in Indonesia and those in both Vienna and in Prague, Czech Republic.

The publication of this catalogue, "Sulawesi and Beyond: The František Czurda Collection" continues the collaboration, introducing the reader to the collections of František Czurda from his time as a medical employee in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Experts in the various fields have written the explanatory texts and so brought Czurda's life and his collection into dialogue with the cultural history and traditions of the region of South Sulawesi.

I greatly welcome the final publication of this catalogue. Hopefully, it will arouse interest in visiting museums, in Indonesia, Vienna and Prague, more often and broaden the understanding of Frantisek Czurda, his life and, above all, the materials in his collections and the peoples who produced them.

Jakarta, November 2010

Dra. Intan Mardiana, M.Hum
Director for Museums
Ministry of Cultural and Tourism

Fig. 03
Rice pounding ritual during a wedding ceremony *('padekko').* Segeri.
Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

Opposite:
Fig. 02 **Ritual object** | ***pasili***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17733
Pandan leaves.
L 18 cm, W 7.5 cm, H 4 cm

501. Devil expeller – *Pasili*
A piece of basketry of straw in the form of leaves and flowers, made from lots of little knots, in which a pleasant smelling resin is enclosed. It is burned when there are sicknesses, births and other occasions (Czurda 1883: 22).

THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT SHARING CULTURAL MEMORY

Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo/Dagmar Pospíšilová

Ethnological collections evoke a world preserved in a certain context; they preserve the world in the time and place in which the collector lived. In some ways collections function as time capsules for this period. In addition the patterns of the collector's perceptions and beliefs about his own world and his fellow men are mirrored therein (ter Keurs 2007).

Dr. František Czurda acquired artifacts of the daily life of the people in South Sulawesi (formerly South Celebes). He described what made this collection so special as follows: "Because of its completeness, this collection from South Celebes has scientific value, and to my knowledge in no other museum in Europe is this part of island so richly represented as it is in the present one, with the possible exception of Leyden" (Czurda 1883: II). The collection, which Czurda himself described in detail in his *Catalogue of a Private Ethnographic Collection* published in 1883, is considered to be one of the most comprehensive records of the region's cultural inventory.

Czurda's publication is in fact one of the first ethnographic catalogues ever; it illustrates also Czurda's desire for proper scientific enquiry and representation revealing the approach of a passionate amateur in the emerging field of ethnography—though with a visionary sense of modern ethnography.

In this project, the descriptions by the collector have been brought into dialogue with modern research. In cooperation with one of the most respected researchers on the culture of the Bugis, Dr. Halilintar Lathief, who himself is also a Bugis, Czurda's descriptions have been analyzed and our knowledge about the objects has been complemented by an "insider's perspective". This form of contextualization of the artifacts opens up a possibility of interpreting this period, building a bridge between the past and the present.

Cooperation with a member of the indigenous culture also makes it possible to work on the cultural heritage together and in dialogue. Many of the artefacts are no longer in use today, but the most of them still can be found. "Cultural memory" is a process by which a society ensures cultural continuity by preserving, with the help of cultural mnemonics—in this case the artefacts—its collective knowledge from one generation to the next, making it possible for later generations to reconstruct their history or their cultural identity (Assmann 1992; Rodriguez/Fortier 2007). Here, we attempt to evaluate the common heritage in its historical context by using the artefacts. For this reason we have called the project "Sharing Cultural Memory". This illustrates our intention to make the project as a process of transmission and translation, as well as interpretation, of the past for the present by way of sharing culture heritage and sharing history (see Sleeper-Smith 2009).

The Museum für Völkerkunde Vienna has a policy and a project of cooperation with local, indigenous museums known as "Sharing Cultural Memory".[1] This has enabled a fruitful exchange of knowledge. As in similar previous cooperations, the project "Czurda" is also a part of "Sharing Cultural Memory" and is supported by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research (1 July 2009–1 June 2010).

A corresponding investigation is carried out at the National Museum-Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague as part of a larger research project called "Personalities of Czech Science and Culture" focusing on the origins of the museum's collections and their creators. In the case of the Náprstek Museum it is a continuation of the Náprstek's goal of "opening the window on the world" and learning about other peoples, something that is still a challenge today.

1 For example, cooperation with Museum Siwalima in Ambon, Indonesia and with the National Museum in Manila, Philippines.

Fig. 04 **Cooking pot with stand | *uring***
South Sulawesi, Jeneponto
NM-NpM 10476a, b
Clay; fired, rattan; plaited.
H 14.7 cm

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

"In 2008 the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research launched the new programme, 'Research in Museums', whose brief it is to create new initiatives and ideas. Scientifically demanding projects should strengthen their core activities and bring together both public and scientific discourse. […] The aim of the programme 'Research in Museums' is to strengthen scientific processing and documentation of collection assets. It is especially museums with research-intensive collections and scientific documentation that have the task of this most important, basic research, focusing on providing essential results. It is an indispensable requirement for any advances and will constitute a fundamental scientific background for many generations" (Programme forMuse 'Research in Museums').[2]

The scientific basis of the research is further formulated in the program to support research, "forMuse" (4.1) : "Recognition of the objects themselves as sources of information means an appreciation of their communicative and interpretive characteristics. These grow out of the interaction between object and subject, between specimen and human being. The objects in the museums refer back to their historical origins and domain and are in this way open to being perceived and interpreted by history."

This project is also intended to investigate the strategy of collecting that Czurda followed. Thanks to Czurda's extensive descriptions about the circumstances of his collecting in his catalogue, the reader is given an insight into the life of the population of that time. Questions that need to be asked include: Does the collection document daily life on Sulawesi at the end of the nineteenth century, or does it just mirror the observations and impressions as seen from the perspective of a European collector? Perhaps a partial answer can be found by reading the thoughts of the man himself in the many letters to his father and his travel reports published in the Prague daily newspaper *"Politik"*.

Czurda divided his collection between the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna and the Náprstek Museum in Prague. Research on both the collection and František Czurda, the man, was conducted in the Archives of the Natural History Museum, the Náprstek Museum Library, the Prague National Museum Archive, the National Archive, Prague and the administrative documentation of both the Museum für Völkerkunde and the Náprstek Museum. In this project, we also

2 In www.formuse.at: BMW_F, Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung.

Fig. 05 **Woman's jacket | *waju malampe***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro
MVW 17793.
Cotton; plain weave, hand sewn, dyed.
L 100 cm, W 154.5 cm

564–565. Woman's jacket – *Wadju-malampe*
Two long jackets, closed in the front, of dyed, European cotton. These jackets have very narrow sleeves with a number of double button holes in which more or less precious silver or gold buttons are put. They are only worn when the women leave the house, since the women usually leave their upper bodies naked in their houses or wear the large sarongs wrapped over their breasts (Czurda 1883: 146).

Fig. 06 *(from left to right)* **Water Container** | ***wanging kadoro***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro. MVW 17575
Coconut, carved; rattan, plaited.
H 18 cm, Ø 18.5 cm

Water jug | ***kendi mulut***
Java. MVW 17945
Clay; fired, brass; cast, chased, engraved
W 23.5 cm, H 27 cm, Ø 21 cm

Water container | ***bempa***
South Sulawesi, Jeneponto. MVW 17418
Clay; fired, painted and sunken relief. Handle: rattan; plaited.
H 30 cm, Ø 29 cm

Tea pot | ***cere***
Aceh. MVW 18070
Brass; cast, chased, engraved.
W 23 cm, H 22 cm, Ø 16.5 cm

Water container | ***wanging***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro. MVW 17581
Gourd, carved, string.
H 17 cm, Ø 16 cm

analyse the historical background of Czurda's decisions to divide the collection.
Through the virtual unification of the objects in Vienna and Prague, the objects provide a bridge between the Museum für Völkerkunde Vienna and the Náprstek Museum in Prague. A few objects from the collection of František Czurda are in the Museum of Ethnology in Dresden. They are there as a result of a larger exchange program in 1883 between the Königlich Zoologischens und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum Dresden ('Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnological Museum Dresden') and Königliches Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum Wien ('Royal Court Museum of Natural History') in Vienna. These objects have been included in the project as well.
Moreover, the project illustrates an example of collecting at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

AIM OF THIS UNDERTAKING

The following are the aims of this undertaking:
• Publication of a catalogue with the collections of both museums both as a book and also in CD-Rom format. The publication of the catalogue of the collections and the digital consolidation of the collections from the two museums, coupled with an "insider's perspective" on the objects, allows the public to learn about the history and strategies of collecting in the nineteenth century and also to illustrate the view of the world of both those being researched and the researcher.
• Creation of a "virtual museum". All objects are to be measured, described and entered in a data base ('The Museum System'). Through the digitization of the objects and publication on the internet, the collection can be made available world-wide to the scientific community as well as to an interested public.
• Making the common cultural heritage accessible by interconnecting the museums and exchanging information. This will lead to new scientific insights and is also a form of virtual repatriation of the collection to its country of origin. In this way, members of the cultures themselves can easily study this heritage. Cooperation with local museums in Indonesia underlines their common history and the relationships among the cultures.

IMPORTANCE OF THE EXPECTED RESULTS OF THE PROJECT FOR THIS FIELD OF RESEARCH

The Austrian Habsburgs held a significant position in the history of collecting because of their status as emperors who belonged to the most powerful dynasties of Austria, whose rule extended across many realms of Central Europe, additionally because of their personal interest and involvement (Kaufmann 1994: 137). The project will contribute to internationalizing research in Austrian museums with regard to the "Sammlung Österreich" ('Austrian Collections') as well as raising its visibility, and in addition, it will promote institutionalization and continuity of networking and of cooperative research projects.
In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, which was only a small region within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, collecting was an integral part of the struggle for national emancipation and the cultural identity of the Czech nation, activities that were connected with Vojta Náprstek and his museum. He and his wife befriended many individuals who played a significant role in the cultural and political life of Prague in the second half of the nineteenth century. In their house, a brewery, he established a first public library—a real centre of the cultural life of Prague—where educated and well-known people met. The Náprstek encouraged those who traveled abroad, especially the countries outside of Europe, to collect and send specimens to the newly established Náprstek Museum in Prague. He provided financial support not only for the collectors themselves but also for purchases for the museum. A sizable correspondence between the Náprstek and collectors and travelers has been preserved in the Náprstek's Museum library. These exchanges give us an insight into the process of establishing and expanding the museum's collections. In the case of František Czurda, unfortunately we have only a few letters between Czurda and the Náprsteks. We can, however, put them in context by consulting his articles in the Czech newspapers, other archival material and notes by his contemporary and colleague, another medical doctor in service of the Dutch East Indies Army, Pavel Durdík (1843–1903). In this way, we can get an overview of his stay and of his collecting activities in Indonesia.

The English translation of the catalogue of Czurda's collection should ensure it an international reception. Until now, written works by Czurda and about him have been either in German or in Czech. Both the Náprstek Museum and the Museum für Völkerkunde Vienna have access to information that others did not have. The printed and digital catalogues, hitherto unpublished, will also make possible multiple access to this historical collection.
This unique collection illustrates and represents the interest in foreign cultures at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Researchers will be able to study and reinterpret this culture of scientific and popular curiosity, thanks to the open access to the collection. In the framework of the project, workshops have also been conducted in local museums in Indonesia. A more intensive approach through cooperation with European and local museums will enhance research with new, interesting aspects and lead to new insights. Interlinking the museums should initiate a dialogue and make more research work possible.
Since the study of objects means the study of objects in their cultural, social and historical contexts, we have tried in this publication to make the readers better acquainted with the cultural and historical background at the time of Czurda and the present time. But the research is not done with this publication, it is rather intended as an impetus toward a dynamic, continuing process.

In this regard we would like to thank Prof. Christian Pelras, who has made available to us all his material about the culture of the Bugis for further use. This, too, will promote further research about the culture of South Sulawesi.

CONCLUSION

In Appadurai's *Social Life of Things,* he notes that objects acquire a biography as they are passed on to new owners or custodians from old ones. So, too, museum collections provide new contexts. Anthony Shelton describes this as a recontextualization, as opposed to decontextualization, which critics of museums often claim. Shelton instead talks about recontextualization in space, from source communities to museum (Shelton 1992: 11-16). We believe that by putting together our collections virtually, using new media as well as in a book, we are recontextualizing it beyond the constrictions of geographical space. New technologies have also enabled us to recontextualize our Czurda collections in time, contemporizing these historical objects for today's audiences.[3]

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3 Thanks to Ana Maria Labrador for discussions on this topic.

THE LIFE OF DR. FRANZ CZURDA

Philipp Hesser

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

František Jan Antonín August Czurda[1] was born on 20 August 1844, in Písek, South Bohemia, which was a kingdom and part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time. He was christened catholic the very next day. His father, Mag. pharm. Franz Czurda, Sr. (1806–1882), was a pharmacist and received official permission in 1850 to open a pharmacy in Postoloprty (Postelberg), about 70 km north of Prague. Along with his work as a pharmacist, Franz Czurda, Sr., was also a city counselor and the honorary captain of the volunteer fire brigade. On 24 August 1856, he bought a piece of land from Franz Wenzl and constructed a house at 172 Brückenstraße, where he then relocated the apothecary.

Since the young Franz Czurda was not having much success in the lower grades of the secondary schools that he had been attending in Žatec, North Bohemia and in Prague, he redirected his studies in 1857. He was given special permission from the relevant ministry (the proscribed entry age was 15, but he was only 13), and then began his studies at the school for pharmacy, from which he graduated in 1863 when he was 18 and a half years old. The death of his mother, Augustýna (1812–1863), in the same year, interfered, however, with his happiness. To cope with this difficult loss, the young Master of Pharmacy plunged into further studies. He attended grammar school in Prague for one year and passed the "matura" examinations with high marks. He then entered the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. After twelve additional years of study he completed his studies with diplomas in surgery, medicine, chemistry and philosophy.

During his years of study Franz Czurda undertook many journeys in Europe. He traveled to nearly all the university cities in Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland and Switzerland. While making these journeys he climbed 74 mountains from which he collected rock samples. Along with these 76 geological specimens, he made other systematic collections. Thus he collected about 370 minerals, about 1500 fossils and 1600 coins. Alongside all these activities he found time to write a four-volume work about infusoria (certain kinds of aquatic microorganisms) for which he made some 1000 illustrations. In 1875, when he had completed the period of his formal studies, he was drawn to Vienna where he worked under Professor Theodor Billroth (1829–1894) at the General Hospital. Billroth had been teaching in Vienna since 1867 and was one of the most influential and innovative medical doctors of the time. Czurda was able to learn a great deal about the care of wounds and about hygiene from him, methods he was soon able to use successfully and which brought him great admiration. His insatiable scientific interest and curiosity moved him to enter the service of the Royal Dutch East Indies Army (Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger; KNIL) in 1876 in order to travel to the distant East Indies. Travel at that time was impossibly expensive for ordinary people, so military service in a colonial army offered one of the few opportunities to travel beyond Europe. In May of that year he shipped out from Rotterdam to Batavia, which is now Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia.

During the following 6 years he was a Health Officer, 2nd Class, in different posts in the colonial Dutch East Indies. He treated wounded soldiers on the northern tip of Sumatra, the still-independent Aceh, in a war which would go on for over 30 years, and on South Sulawesi he documented the spread of diseases and epidemics. During this period Czurda used his free time to study and observe the local natural environment and the living conditions and cultures of the people there. He recorded these observations first in letters to his father and later in articles for the Prague-based German-language daily newspaper *Politik*. In order to further illustrate his experiences, he collected all sorts of objects of daily life that he could get his hands on—the material products of South Sulawesi—with the intention of creating his own East Indies Museum. He sent his collections, packed in crates, to his father in Postoloprty, who made two rooms in his pharmacy available in order to exhibit the collection to the interested public. In a catalogue that appeared in 1883, Czurda described this collection piece by piece in short entries, explaining the use of the objects and customs related to them, their origin and their indigenous names. Even now this collection is considered one of the most comprehensive and complete collections of the material culture of South Sulawesi.

FIRST STEPS IN EAST INDIA

After a six-week voyage on the coal steamer "Lorington" Franz Czurda reached the East Indian Archipelago in early July, 1876. Before the steamer arrived at Batavia on 3 July 1876, the passengers spent two days in Padang on the island of Sumatra. It was here that Czurda first wrote about a "(nature) which was overwhelming for the European" enthusiastically:

I saw the most varied, colorful plants, which I had admired in glass houses as dwarfs, in majestic dimensions; I regarded the fan palms, which stood in the little garden in front of my father's house, in their gigantic display, sheltering whole rows of houses with their leaves. And alongside this wealth of vegetation, a colorful world of birds hummed and chirped in all the tree branches and bushes, glistening insects of wonderful resplendence whirred through the air or sucked honey from the blossoms—as said, one believes himself to be in that glorious garden that was the cradle of the first humans (Von Rotterdam nach Batavia 2. *Politik* 195: 19 July 1878).

This enthusiasm for nature and its description carry through all of Czurda's letters and articles and are a general characteristic of travel literature of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Czurda was an open-minded observer who dedicated himself to describing the personal circumstances and living conditions in East India. Descriptions of the cities, of everyday life of the Europeans as well as of the Indigenous, impressions from social life as well as the political structure of the colonial government and the subject kingdoms comprised the environment that Czurda tried to represent. He described typical daily routines: from the wake-up calls of the cannon to breakfast, the working habits, the midday rice meal up to the receptions in the evenings. His descriptions convey the impression that the lives of the Europeans in Batavia were not particularly strenuous, on the contrary: probably, life in the colonies was extravagant and decadent.

European society consists of three classes, the class of colonial officials, the class of military officers and the merchant class. All have good incomes, live well—usually above their circumstance —so that the most well-to-do people are mired in debt. Large staffs of servants, horses, great dinners with expensive wines, sparkling soirees and the ladies' toilettes, games and other extravagances are responsible for the fact that the large incomes of the highest officials, who receive up to 50,000 Fl. [florint] *per year, and those of the greatest merchants, do not suffice. Money is easily made and just as easily thrown away, and nevertheless everyone is bored when they are not playing cards. Then, one regularly blames the climate, but I believe it is far more the lack of true education that is the greater cause of this boredom, since an understanding for all the intellectual pleasures, for art, science, music, etc. is lacking, and conversation is doomed to be limited to the daily city gossip* (Java und seine Bewohner: Javanesen und Sundanesen 4. *Politik*, no.172: 23 June 1880).

Czurda was also interested in the daily life of the indigenous local population, their culture, their conventions and customs. His descriptions begin with an overview of their physiognomy and typical character traits, followed by architecture, clothing, religion, culinary habits, agricultural production and illnesses.

Czurda reported only about those islands he had visited himself, but he also drew on available literature about other regions without, however, explicitly mentioning sources. Viewed today, this approach would be disqualified as unscientific, but at that time it was not absolutely necessary to provide all the sources in order to be recognized as a scientist. Of course it is unfortunate that Czurda did not disclose his sources, since a comparison with those texts would make it possible to show Czurda's approach in more depth, and his personal contribution to ethnology would become more apparent. In any case, one can assume that he did work conscientiously and scientifically, based on the science of that time, and that he had read all of the works available. By name, he only mentions the British historian John Crawfurd (1783–1868) and the German geologist Franz Junghuhn (1809–1864), who arrived in the Dutch East Indies about 40 years prior to Czurda. In his division of the population of the East Indian Archipelago into ethnic groups, for example, Czurda explicitly follows Junghuhn's observations:

Earlier, writers assumed that all of the natives from Dutch India belonged to the Malayan race, with the exception of the group that lived in New Guinea, whose origin from or connection with the Negro race is unmistakable. The thorough studies of the learned and tireless researcher of the Indian Archipelago, "Junghuhn", have shown that there is, in addition to the Malayan race, another quite different type living in the Archipelago, which has not come from any mixture of races. He called them "Battarazoe" after the main tribe of the same, the "Battak" on Sumatra. According to this, three different races can be differentiated in the Dutch East Indies: the Negro race, the Batta and the Malayan race (Niederländisch Ost-Indien 2. *Politik* 157: 4 August 1883).

From today's perspective, this division into "races" is obsolete and considered pseudo-scientific. There are no races of Homo sapiens, since humans are not bred as animals are. In cultural and social anthropology no connection is made between the ethnic background and cognitive capabilities or intelligence, as was propagated by many 19th century scientists. In Czurda's time, scientists tried to

Fig. 07 **Dr. František Czurda**
Pencil drawing reproduced in *Humoristické listy,* vol. 25, no. 23, 9 June 1883: p. 1

1 In the Register of Births (see Fig. 8) his name is written as František Jan Antonín August Czurda. What is peculiar about this spelling is that his first name is in the Czech form, whereas his last name is in the Germanised form of Čurda. Even though Čurda is considered the Czech form, it is not always used in Czech written materials, but often written Czurda. Czurda himself writes his name in this form, so it is the form we use throughout this volume. In his letters he never spells out his first name, so we do not know what he called himself. Probably he used the form appropriate to the situation. In most German newspaper articles he is referred to as Franz, whereas in most Czech articles he is named František.
In the articles in this volume we use the names Franz and František interchangeably.

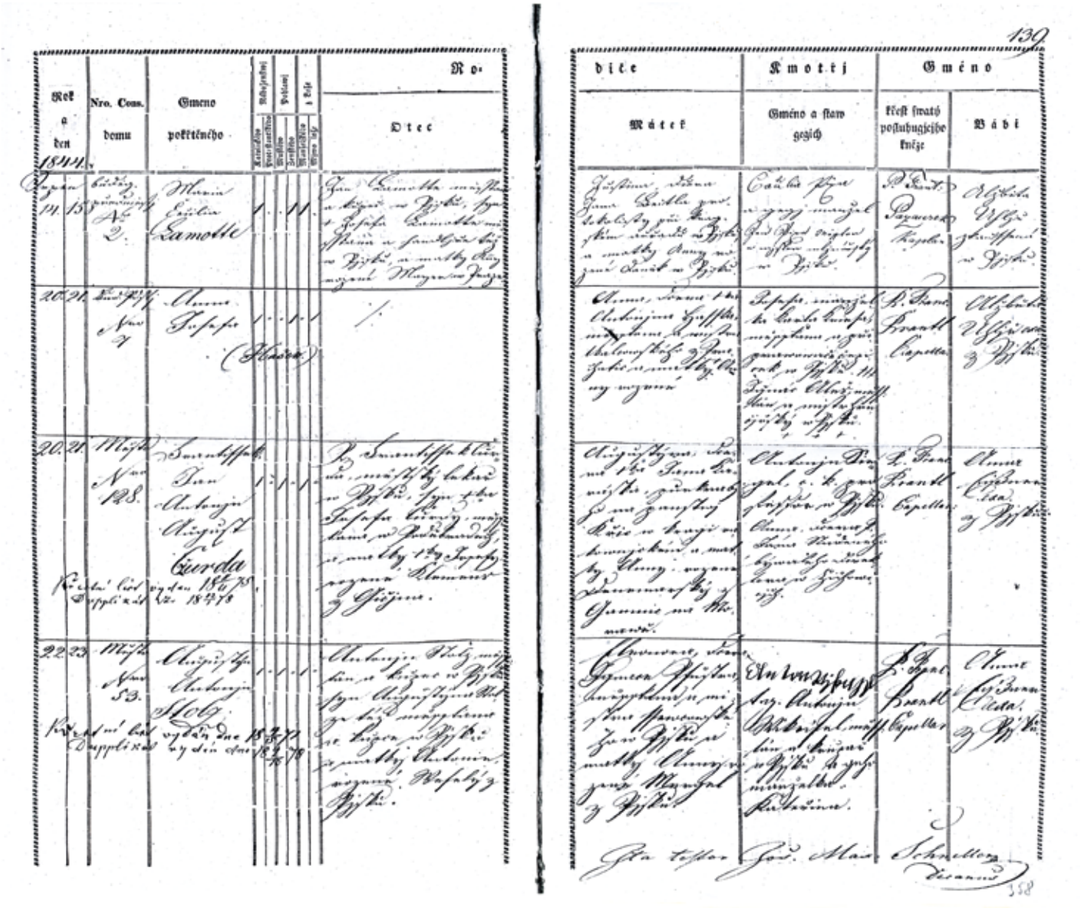


Fig. 08 Roman Catholic parish office, Písek,
Register of Births, vol. 16 (1842–1849), pp.138–9

divide human beings into races according to their physiognomy. They attributed certain character traits to each "race" and as a result, they compared, evaluated and ranked them according to intelligence and skills. At the top, was always the "white race" of the scientists themselves, followed by the *others*. This ranking also served to justify the necessity of colonizing these ethnic groups, since the scientists had "proven" the backwardness and superstitiousness of these ethnic groups that could make no progress by themselves and thus needed help to "civilize themselves" or "be civilized" by the colonists. This was then praised as an act of humanism and grace of charity. Along with above mentioned authors, Czurda had a critical interest in politics and colonial administration.

The people everywhere are allowed to be ruled by their own princes and chiefs according to their old laws and customs, so long as these do not contradict humanity and Dutch interests, and this is the great secret of the Dutch art of statesmanship, thanks to which such a small nation is able to rule 24 million. With no more than 40,000 men they are to keep the most diverse races and peoples in their limits, to cultivate lands and people, to calm the disagreements among the individual tribes, in a word in this huge island realm encompassing over 114,000 kilometers, to extend order and peace, blessings and prosperity, and at the same time to obtain the greatest material profits (Sumatra und das malayische Volk 2. *Politik* 4: 4 January 1880).

Along with the measuring and collection of skulls and photography, the description of the physiognomy and the character traits ascribed to it, as mentioned above, was common practice in comparative studies in anthropology at that time. In this sense Czurda is a typical scientist of his day, for he too collected skulls and described physiognomy and character. Nonetheless, from time to time he broke away from these perspectives, from the constraints or prejudices of his time and confronted racist tendencies with an unexpectedly open attitude and understanding of the "natives". He ascribes to them great human sympathy when he writes about his departure from Aceh:

Once more I visited my friends from Acheen, to say my farewells, and I understood then that these unhappy, crude people do not reject feelings of thankfulness. These brown, half naked beings clothed in their rags stood around me crying, each crowded close to me to press my hand and the farewell did not want to end (Der Krieg in Atschin 5. *Politik* 112: 23 April 1879).

Many researchers who traveled for years in foreign lands did not manage to get as close to the people of this region as Franz Czurda, and they probably did not even try. In this regard he can be considered a pioneer in the method of "field research" and "participatory observation", as Bronislaw Malinowski formulated it in the 1920s. More will be said about this aspect of his activities below, when his period in Sulawesi is described, as well as in the chapter on strategies of collection.
After this short excursion into the scientific realm, we will now return to Batavia, where Franz Czurda began his six-year stay. As said, Czurda was familiar with the literature about the East Indies and his articles can be understood as a summary of the knowledge of the region at that time. Perhaps these articles made this knowledge available in German, to an interested public in his home country of Bohemia, for the first time.

PADANG

After several weeks in Batavia, Czurda was relocated to the West Coast of Sumatra, to Padang, a trading centre and the capital of that island. Padang was a small military settlement at that time serving primarily as an intermediate staging post for troops on their way to the north, to the war in Aceh.

I am now completely a soldier and I must be so, because in a city like Padang, the soldier, or officer, is everything. This is just a garrison town with few other people than soldiers. Officers, officials, merchants, Chinese, natives, that is the population of Padang (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra. *Politik* 208: 1 August 1878).

In the hospital, too, Czurda could experience the proximity to the battlefields; the wounded soldiers were transported to this place from the front lines about 1200 km to the north for medical care in a safe location in quiet surroundings. Ten military doctors looked after about 1200 wounded and sick in this barracks hospital. By January of the year 1877, Czurda was caring for dozens of wounded soldiers. The most common cases he treated were either gunshot wounds or foot ulcers, but the soldiers were also plagued by infectious diseases. Czurda collected some of the bullets that he cut out of the soldiers' bodies as momentos. The pipes of the opium smokers that he had to treat eventually landed in his collection, too. These objects from the collection exemplify an approach to collecting that was not systematically guided but rather, as Czurda expressed it in his own words, objects which "*chance has played into my hands*" (Czurda 1883: IV). Czurda had already had experience in building collections systematically and later he used this especially on Sulawesi. But in Padang he still lacked an overview of the material culture, and besides, this was not an area where scientific work was possible. In Aceh, too, the situation was no better in this regard, although soldiers helped him to expand his collection, for example with weapons from the battlefields and booty from pillaging, but more on this later. For the time being Czurda was waiting impatiently for his orders to go to Aceh.

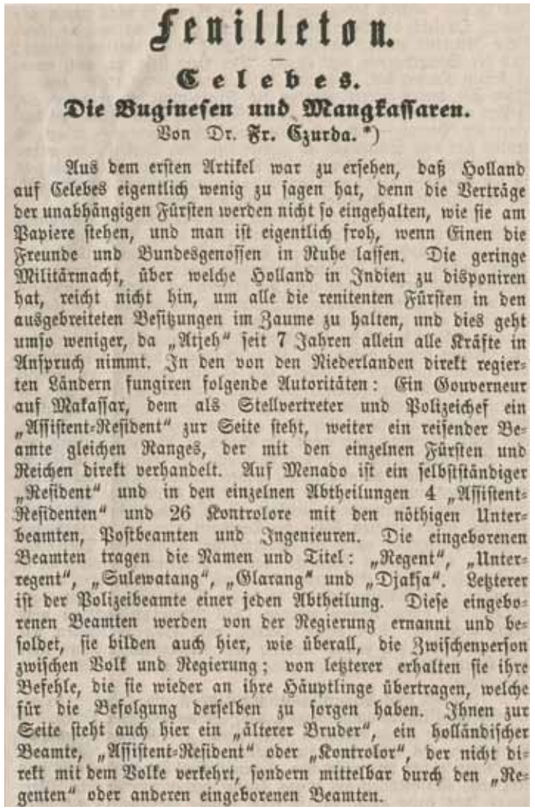
Fig. 09 Unidentified Photographer, **František Czurda** at the Age of 32.
Photographed in Žatec.
In: Kunsky, Josef 1961, Čeští cestovatelé 1, p. 79, Orbis, Prague

I will not stay here long, a few months, whence I will then immediately be transferred to Acheen, which I am awaiting with great impatience because life close to the battles here in India must be very interesting, according to everything I have heard, and yet it is not very dangerous for a doctor, since all of them return safe and sound (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra. *Politik* 208: 1 August 1878).

After just one month working at the hospital in Padang, Franz Czurda was assigned to Aceh. He traveled by ship to the coastal city of Oleh Leh, from where he went by train to the occupied capital of Aceh, the former royal city, Kota Radja, todays Banda Aceh.

THE WAR IN ACEH

The war, which the Dutch military had declared against Aceh in 1873, was one of the longest wars in history and only formally ended in 1904 (guerrilla fighting continued in the highlands of Aceh led by the religious *ulema* until 1910 and in some parts not until Indonesian independence in 1949). The Acehnese fought tirelessly against the colonial power and used a decentralized guerilla tactic which made it very difficult for the KNIL (Royal Dutch East Indies Army) to bring the area under their control. Czurda analyzed and criticized the military tactics of the Dutch in Aceh.



Feuilleton.

Celebes.

Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren.

Von Dr. Fr. Czurda. *)

Aus dem ersten Artikel war zu ersehen, daß Holland auf Celebes eigentlich wenig zu sagen hat, denn die Verträge der unabhängigen Fürsten werden nicht so eingehalten, wie sie am Papiere stehen, und man ist eigentlich froh, wenn Einen die Freunde und Bundesgenossen in Ruhe lassen. Die geringe Militärmacht, über welche Holland in Indien zu disponiren hat, reicht nicht hin, um alle die renitenten Fürsten in den ausgebreiteten Besitzungen im Zaume zu halten, und dies geht umso weniger, da „Atjeh" seit 7 Jahren allein alle Kräfte in Anspruch nimmt. In den von den Niederlanden direkt regierten Ländern fungiren folgende Autoritäten: Ein Gouverneur auf Makassar, dem als Stellvertreter und Polizeichef ein „Assistent-Resident" zur Seite steht, weiter ein reisender Beamte gleichen Ranges, der mit den einzelnen Fürsten und Reichen direkt verhandelt. Auf Menado ist ein selbstständiger „Resident" und in den einzelnen Abtheilungen 4 „Assistent-Residenten" und 26 Kontrolore mit den nöthigen Unterbeamten, Postbeamten und Ingenieuren. Die eingeborenen Beamten tragen die Namen und Titel: „Regent", „Unterregent", „Sulewatang", „Glarang" und „Djaksa". Letzterer ist der Polizeibeamte einer jeden Abtheilung. Diese eingeborenen Beamten werden von der Regierung ernannt und besoldet, sie bilden auch hier, wie überall, die Zwischenperson zwischen Volk und Regierung; von letzterer erhalten sie ihre Befehle, die sie wieder an ihre Häuptlinge übertragen, welche für die Befolgung derselben zu sorgen haben. Ihnen zur Seite steht auch hier ein „älterer Bruder", ein holländischer Beamte, „Assistent-Resident" oder „Kontrolor", der nicht direkt mit dem Volke verkehrt, sondern mittelbar durch den „Regenten" oder anderen eingeborenen Beamten.

Fig. XX **Excerpt from the Feuilleton of the newspaper *Politik,*** Dr. Fr. Czurda, Celebes. Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren. Politik, no. 353: 22 December 1880

The war in Acheen is the biggest mistake that Dutch diplomacy has made; instead of allying with the Sultan of Acheen in a manner of friendship, making a trade contract, they have succumbed to the temptations of annexation without knowing the enemy and his own strength (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra. *Politik* 208: 1 August 1878).

On 17 March 1824, the British and the Dutch governments agreed to a treaty in London giving the British sovereignty over the Malayan Archipelago and the Dutch over Sumatra. The Sultanate of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, was to remain independent, however, and the British were granted unrestricted trading rights on Sumatra. But since Aceh was an important staging post for the pepper trade and the Acehnese were trying to push the Dutch out of the business by building up direct trade agreements with other western countries, the treaty parties signed a new agreement in 1871. The British were granted free trading rights in the whole of the Dutch East Indian Archipelago and the Dutch were to have a free hand with regard to Aceh. When talks began in 1873 between the American Consul in Singapore and representatives of the Government of Aceh, the Dutch considered this an attack on their sphere of sovereignty and they sent troops to Aceh. The Sultan of Aceh requested help from Turkey as well as from Italy and Great Britain in Singapore. Aceh modernized its army and was able to repel the Dutch troops. During this first Dutch military campaign Major General Johan Köhler (1818–1873) was mortally wounded and the troops were ruinously defeated. A second expedition, under the command of General Jan van Swieten (1807–1888), attempted to conquer the capital and with it the whole land. While it was possible to take the royal city, the sultan had been warned and was able to flee. A guerilla war prevailed in the following years, during which the Dutch troops had few successes and many losses.

When Czurda arrived in Aceh in 1876, the battle was raging. He was first stationed in the capital, Kota Radja, before being assigned to Fort Lamyha, one of the many forts in the north. The strategy of the Dutch at the time was to set up posts all around the capital in order to conquer territory step by step. Since there was not an infirmary in every fort, it was the job of the military officer to ride daily from post to post to look after the wounded and check on the patients. The doctor, who on his rounds often had to ride to several forts in a row, was accompanied by about 40 soldiers, who were assigned to ensure that he was safe. This was not always successful, as Czurda relates:

A sad incident is the reason that I had to leave Fort Lamyha, which I described in my last letter. My transfer came completely unexpectedly and, although my current post is more pleasant, it came without my wanting it, since I benefited from the death of a colleague. My predecessor was ambushed in the forest by the Acheenese when he was on an inspection trip to Fort Lanyong, one of the forts assigned to him; he was killed along with seven men of his escort.
That is the fate that can befall everyone here at any hour. He who is spared by the creeping illnesses, who can prevail against the strenuous toils of this extremely difficult service, he is struck dead at the first chance by the treacherous bullet or the poisoned arrow of an enemy sharpshooter from an ambush. For the fact that I have not yet been taken ill, nor have I had to make the unpleasant acquaintance of the weapons of the Acheenese, I can thank, for the greater part, my luck, but also partly my very ordered life style and carefulness (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra 6. *Politik* 258: 20 September 1878.

It was not only the fighters and soldiers who decimated the troops of the KNIL, the creeping illnesses penetrated the forts and found fertile soil in the unhygienic conditions there.

Marching for hours under the harsh rays of the sun and in battle, in the night trying to find some kind of sleep on ground, which exhales poisonous gases, and having to drink foul water, our troops succumb to the most varied illnesses, which cause more gaps in their columns than the arrows and bullets of the bloodthirsty enemies (Der Krieg in Atschin 3. *Politik* 102: 12 April 1879).

Czurda was shaken by the bad sanitary conditions and the lack of consciousness of the importance of hygiene in the camps and military hospitals, and he tried to improve the conditions. In doing this he used methods he had learned during his short employment in the Vienna General Hospital under the direction of Theodor Billroth. The conditions in the camps improved thereafter. Slowly his reputation as a good doctor grew and he found recognition among his superiors. In his free time he went on hunts for wild boar and buffalo to enrich the menu, recommended quinine as a preventive measure and suggested ice baths against acute cases of malaria.

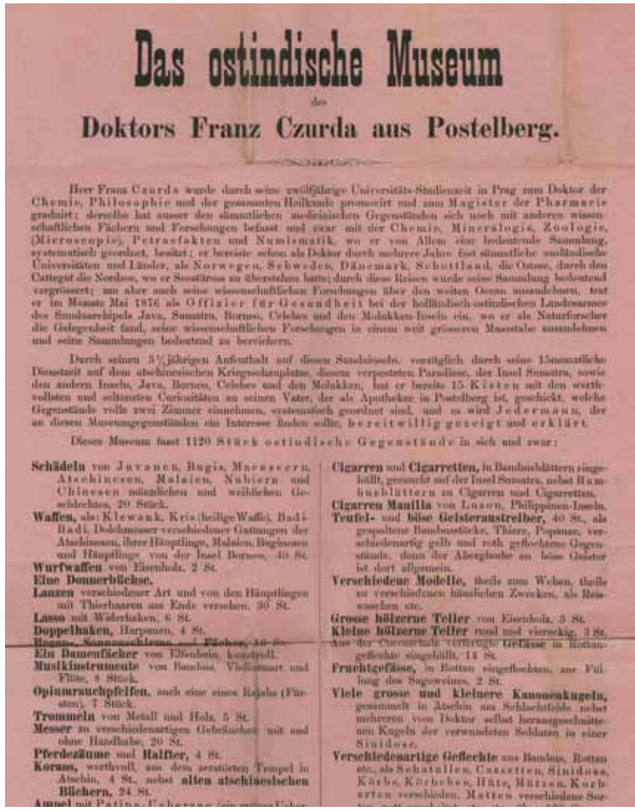
I was tireless in trying to improve the health of the troops and I must admit in all truth that I found willing and understanding co-workers in the commanders of the battalions as well as in the other officers. At my request the living conditions were improved, the men were given wine and the work was lightened as much as possible. At the same time I ensured that everything that might be infected was burned; I arranged games and amusements for the troops to raise the morale of the soldiers, to freshen their senses and cheer them up, and sent all of the sick men, if they were at all fit to be transported, to the hospital to avoid deaths in the fort. Three terrible weeks transpired, and finally the illness began to subside. The troops began to breathe more freely again, healthy reinforcements arrived to fill out the ranks and the old order returned to Lamyha (Der Krieg in Atschin 4. *Politik* 111: 22 April 1879).

After 15 months of service in Aceh, Czurda was to be transferred. He was hoping to be sent to a peaceful post in the interior of Sumatra, to an area which at that time had not been yet explored thoroughly, so that he could do scientific studies there and finally get to work on his research.

I decided to stick it out here, and when I look through my notes, which are beginning to become a respectable piece of work, when I read through the list of all the rarities that I have already collected and sent home, when I consider all the objects that I still have here with me, then I can say that all the trouble and dangers I have met in good spirits have not been in vain. And I always find new inspiration and I forget completely that the Damocles' sword is constantly hanging over my head. In the meantime my days in Acheen are now numbered, since the Dutch Government is not going to leave a military doctor here for more than one year, and I will soon have that behind me. Only the gods know where my fate, or rather my superiors, will send me. But be it one place or somewhere else, there will be new things for me to see everywhere, there will be new things to learn and so I am very much looking forward to my upcoming transfer (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra 6. *Politik* 258: 20 September 1878).

FIELD RESEARCH ON SOUTH SULAWESI

After his transfer from Aceh to Batavia, Czurda first remained for several weeks in the capital again before he was sent to his next posting, the port city of Makassar in the southwest of the island Celebes, today known as Sulawesi.
Sulawesi had been known to European traders since 1525 at the latest, when Portuguese seamen, coming from the Maluku Islands discovered the island in their search for gold. From 1605 onwards, Sulawesi was also visited by Dutch traders, followed by the British. In 1660 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) declared war on the Kingdom of Gowa, conquering it in 1669 with the support of the warlord Arung Palakka (1634–1696), ruler of the realm of Bone, and his army (see p. 42–47). In this way they forced the signing of the Treaty of Bongaya and secured control of trade. The Dutch Government built a fortress in Makassar, which they called Fort Rotterdam. The Kingdom of Bone became the dominant local power. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Dutch colonial power tried to control the island politically as well and to install a colonial administration. When, in 1878, Czurda arrived on Sulawesi, this had not yet been fully established. Only the areas surrounding the capital, the Makassar Kingdom of Gowa, had bowed to the military might of the Dutch crown. Only in 1905 did Sulawesi finally become an official part of the Dutch colony of the Netherlands East Indies.



Das ostindische Museum

des

Doktors Franz Czurda aus Postelberg.

Herr Franz Czurda wurde durch seine zweijährige Universitäts-Studienzeit in Prag zum Doktor der Chemie, Philosophie und der gesammten Heilkunde promovirt und zum Magister der Pharmazie graduirt; derselbe hat ausser den sämmtlichen medizinischen Gegenständen sich noch mit anderen wissenschaftlichen Fächern und Forschungen befasst und zwar mit der Chemie, Mineralogie, Zoologie, (Microscopie), Petrefakten und Numismatik, wo er von Allem eine bedeutende Sammlung, systematisch geordnet, besitzt; er bereiste schon als Doktor durch mehrere Jahre fast sämmtliche ausländische Universitäten und Länder, als Norwegen, Schweden, Dänemark, Schottland, die Ostsee, durch den Cattegat die Nordsee, wo er Sensationen zu überstehen hatte; durch diese Reisen wurde seine Sammlung bedeutend vergrössert; nur aber auch seine wissenschaftlichen Forschungen über den weiten Ocean ausgedehnet, trat er im Monate Mai 1876 als Offizier für Gesundheit bei der holländisch-ostindischen Landesarmee des Sundaarchipels Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes und den Molukken-Inseln ein, wo er als Naturforscher die Gelegenheit fand, seine wissenschaftlichen Forschungen in einem weit grösseren Massstabe auszudehnen und seine Sammlungen bedeutend zu bereichern.

Durch seinen 5½jährigen Aufenthalt auf diesen Sundainseln, vorzüglich durch seine 15monatliche Dienstzeit auf dem abschüssigen Kriegsschauplatze, diesem verpesteten Paradiese, der Insel Sumatra, sowie den andern Inseln, Java, Borneo, Celebes und den Molukken, hat er bereits 15 Kisten mit den werthvollsten und seltensten Curiositäten an seinen Vater, der als Apotheker in Postelberg ist, geschickt, welche Gegenstände volle zwei Zimmer einnehmen, systematisch geordnet sind, und es wird Jedermann, der an diesen Museumsgegenständen ein Interesse finden sollte, bereitwillig gezeigt und erklärt.

Dieses Museum fasst 1120 Stück ostindische Gegenstände in sich und zwar:

Schädeln von Javanen, Bugis, Mannesern, Atschinesen, Malaien, Nubiern und Chinesen männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes, 20 Stück.
Waffen, als: Klewank, Kris (heilige Waffe), Badi-Badi, Dolchmesser verschiedener Gattungen der Atschinesen, ihrer Häuptlinge, Malaien, Buginesen und Häuptlinge von der Insel Borneo, 40 St.
Wurfwaffen von Eisenholz, 2 St.
Eine Donnerbüchse.
Lanzen verschiedener Art und von den Häuptlingen mit Thierhaaren am Ende versehen, 30 St.
Lasso mit Widerhaken, 6 St.
Doppelhaken, Harpunen, 4 St.
Eine Damentischer von Ebenholz, kunstvoll.
Musikinstrumente von Bambus, Violinmark und Flöte, 8 Stück.
Opiumrauchpfeifen, auch eine eines Rajahs (Fürsten), 7 Stück.
Trommeln von Metall und Holz, 5 St.
Messer in verschiedenartigen Gebissscheiden mit und ohne Handhabe, 26 St.
Pferdezäume und **Halfter,** 4 St.
Korans, werthvoll, aus dem zerstörten Tempel in Atschin, 4 St., nebst **alten atschinesischen Büchern,** 24 St.
Cigarren und **Cigarretten,** in Bambushülsen eingehüllt, gerauscht auf der Insel Sumatra, nebst Bambushülsen zu Cigarren und Cigarretten.
Cigarren Manilla von Luson, Philippinen-Inseln.
Teufel- und **böse Geisteraustreiber,** 40 St., als gespaltene Bambusstöcke, Thiere, Pepanze, verschiedenartig gelb und roth gefleckene Gegenstände, dann der Abergläube an böse Geister ist dort allgemein.
Verschiedene Modelle, theils zum Weben, theils zu verschiedenen häuslichen Zwecken, als Reiswaschen etc.
Grosse hölzerne Teller von Eisenholz, 3 St.
Kleine hölzerne Teller rund und viereckig, 3 St.
Aus der Cocosnuss verfertigte **Gefässe** in Rottan geflochte eingehüllt, 14 St.
Fruchtgefässe, in Rottan eingeflochten, zur Füllung des Sagovemus, 2 St.
Viele grosse und kleinere Kanonenkugeln, gesammelt in Atschin am Schlachtfelde nebst mehreren vom Doktor selbst herausgeschnittenen Kugeln der verwundeten Soldaten in einer Schüssel.
Verschiedenartige Geflechte aus Bambus, Rottan etc., als Schatullen, Cassetten, Schüsseln, Körbe, Körbchen, Hüte, Mützen, Korbarten verschieden, Matten verschiedene Sor-

Fig. 11 **Das Ostindische Museum des Doktors Franz Czurda aus Postelberg.** Exhibition poster of the museum in Postoloprty. Náprstek Museum Library, Scrapbook 49

Long before the Europeans arrived there had been important trading ports on Sulawesi, among them the capital Makassar. Until the Dutch arrived, the Makassar kings had allowed free trade, and there was no distinction made among religions. Arabian and Chinese traders had long had trading relationships with the Bugis and the Makassar and sometimes had their own neighbourhoods in the port cities. Trade items included many varieties of sea food, as well as woven silk cloth. Macassar oil and Makassar wood became increasingly important for the trade in the colonial period.
Czurda's task as Health Officer was to travel through the southern regions and document the spread of diverse epidemics. He was always accompanied by a local regent, or reigning prince, and many soldiers. Indigenous doctors also took part in these inspection trips and they were tasked with the job of inoculations. These doctors, also called "doktor jawa" were necessary because, as Czurda himself had noticed, the mistrust of European doctors was so great among the ordinary population that they did not allow themselves to be treated by them.

When I arrived in a kampong with the officials and reigning prince, all the other followers having stopped in front of the kampong, everyone ran

away. These poor, fearful people did not know what the man with the big beard wanted from them. I wanted to convince myself that the vaccinator had done his job and vaccinated all the people everywhere here, but that was impossible. It is easier to catch cats and monkeys than one of these natives. In terror a 14-year old naked boy broke through the straw roof when I entered his house and escaped to the gable of the house. Most of them ran away up the trees, into the bushes, one man even jumped into a well. After such evidence of trust from the population I made no further efforts to appear personally (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Das Innere der Insel Celebes 1. *Politik* 340: 10 December 1879).

During these trips to the interior of Sulawesi Czurda was able to observe the simple life of the inhabitants. In addition, his acquaintance with an "impoverished prince" allowed him many insights into the life and cultures of South Sulawesi. If he was not on the road for an inspection trip, then he was stationed at a horse breeding farm of the Dutch military from where the entire East Indies army was supplied with horses of the Makassarian breed. He worked at this farm, close to the village of Mallasoro, as a doctor for animals and humans, but above all he had time here to apply himself to his records and his scientific studies. So it was that during the period when he lived here he wrote the articles published in the daily newspaper *Politik*. Besides writing these articles, Czurda attended to the systematic collection of items of the material culture of South Sulawesi.

During the many inspection trips to the interior of the country, mainly to South Celebes, where I stayed for three years, I became acquainted with the domestic life of the natives, primarily in areas that had only recently been conquered by the Dutch and so still were rather foreign to the Europeans, places where a private traveler could not go without being in mortal danger. During such trips I was not only given the necessary protection, I also was received by all the princes and privileged persons in the most hospitable manner and was given the necessary help for my collecting activities. I was traveling at the orders of the government in the interest of the population so as to report about fevers and small pox epidemics, I was to be supported in the most extensive manner by all the European and native officials in the region to which I was sent for inspection. Accompanied by the highest official of the district, a regent, who is usually the heir of a vanquished sovereign prince or one who has voluntarily abdicated, surrounded by a cavalcade of riders made up of followers of this prince, at the side of the Dutch official of the Department, I traveled for weeks through the region, from village to village, and in this way I had the best opportunity to get to know the domestic life of these children of nature. I was able to obtain the various pieces of equipment and weapons by trade or purchase (Czurda 1883: I f.).

The literature does not indicate exactly how Czurda obtained these objects, but it seems very probable that he bought them during his inspection trips and during his time in Mallasoro at the various markets. Nothing indicates that he participated in plundering, as he did while still in Aceh. It appears very likely that he was in contact with persons who knew the culture and who were able to advise him. Whether in the acquisition of the collection or in the identification and description—it is fairly unlikely that he did the research entirely alone. At least he knew the books of the well-known linguist and Bible translator, B.F. Matthes (1818–1908), who had been in the region since the 1850s, had done research and whose dictionaries of the Buginese and Makassar languages today are still considered useful reference books. It cannot be ruled out that Czurda and Matthes were in direct contact with each other, since the latter was active in

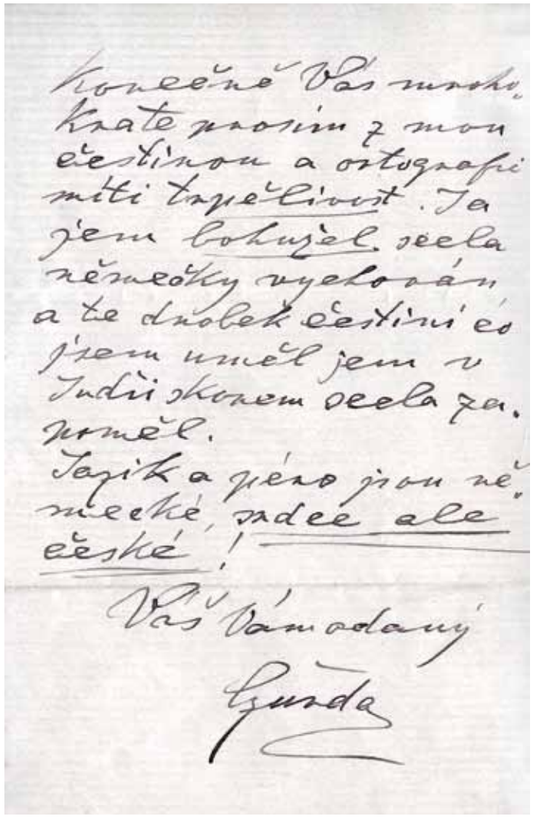


Fig. 12 František Czurda, **Letter to Vojta Náprstek**
"My tongue speaks German but my heart beats Czech"—Franz Czurda's last letter to his friend Vojta Náprstek
Cirebon, 25 November 1886, Náprstek Museum Library, Archive Náprstek 38/285ab

Makassar at the same time. Also Czurda exchanged thoughts with the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian (1826–1905) about the setting up of ethnographic collections (Bastian 1889).
As indicated above, Czurda was most importantly a gifted medical doctor and so it is interesting to know that he tried to bring his two interests together. Unfortunately his collections of prescriptions or recipes for making medicines can no longer be found or possibly no longer exists, but nonetheless they can be considered as an attempt to approach the subject in an ethno-medicinal manner:

The very widely distributed practice of the preparation of medicinal drugs consists of the boiling of leaves, rare roots and barks. In some cases very potent substances such as arsenic, mercury and copper are administered. The dosage of the individual components of a medicine is calculated on the number seven, whereby a number of prayers are said, for each illness a different prayer. […] There are a great number of specifications for all possible illnesses, I have collected over 200 recipes, a respectable pharmacopoeia. European medicines and doctors are not trusted, even the creoles and mulattos, yes even the Europeans who live here prefer Indian medicines (Sumatra und das malayische Volk 5. *Politik* 34: 4 February 1880).

Franz Czurda achieved considerable scientific accomplishment with his collection and his articles. He managed not only to have his articles published in a daily newspaper, but he was also able to assemble one of the largest and most comprehensive collections from one particular region that was ever made. New in his collection (or in his strategy for collecting) was his focus on everyday life. Collectors prior to him and afterwards have always been interested in that which is exceptional. Czurda, on the other hand, tried to capture life as it appeared to him and to reconstruct it in his home country. He himself wrote in the introduction to his catalogue:

I tried to assemble systematically a complete collection on South Celebes, to acquire objects that would teach us about domestic and social life, to bring a series of connected episodes before the eyes of the beholder, to teach us about the fantasy, the intellectual development as well as about the mechanical skills; in a word, the whole human being with everything that he can create. I believe I have achieved this aim because the present collection contains everything, arranged systematically, that is used by the native inside and outside his house that is created by him. We find ourselves in the midst of the quiet village life of the Buginese and the Makassars, we accompany them on the hunt, to the fields, to the fishing places, we follow them to the dangerous sea, we watch them on their battlefields, we listen to them at their domestic festivities as well as at the large public and princely celebrations, yes, we even enter into their souls and observe the multitudes of good and evil spirits "Rewatas" and "Dewatas", which frighten these poor children of nature, we follow the brown inhabitants of the evergreen forests and mountains from their birth until death, and in the midst of all these objects, which show us about their lives, there is nothing missing except the brown, half-naked beings themselves (Czurda 1883: II f.).

DEATH OF CZURDA´S FATHER

Czurda's father, who was very old, died in November, 1882, whereupon Czurda traveled back to Europe to see to the inheritance, since he was the only heir. The newspapers that had published Czurda's articles reported the tragic loss and the expected return of the author to his homeland. People speculated that he would be bringing many objects with him in his luggage, at the least there would be some interesting anecdotes and stories, and everyone was very much looking forward to that.

Dr. Czurda and his travels are very familiar to the readers of our newspaper; we have published a series of interesting columns penned by Dr. Czurda. Thanks to his ties with his home we have been able to enjoy some very new information that he has brought for us and for geographers, ethnologists and naturalists from those far off lands in a pleasing form. Dr. Czurda has always found the free time, despite his strenuous work, to write comprehensive travel reports and he has dedicated himself wholeheartedly to exploring that relatively unknown area. With his understanding and based on a truly scientific foundation, he has been able to make collections of objects, the results of which have in part already been brought to Bohemia. […] We hope that Dr. Czurda finds the time while he is here at home to make an appearance before the public, which holds the warmest admiration for the most excellent, but still very modest explorer (*Politik* 311: 16 November 1882).

Czurda's friend and supporter, Vojta Náprstek (1826–1896), was very much looking forward to the return of Franz Czurda. A colleague in the Dutch army, Pavel Durdík (1843–1903), who was also a medical doctor and scientist from Bohemia, noted in a letter to Náprstek, that Czurda would surely have lots to tell about and would give lectures about his experiences, since he was a good and conscientious scientist:

Dr. Czurda will certainly have lectures in Prague and will say everything about the [Dutch East] Indies, aiding me to stay in glorious shade; he has seen more of the country than I, has engaged in more detailed studies than I, and so it behoves him to move into the sunny foreground, while I prefer a calm and peaceful shade without lectures, for which I have no appetite at all. (Pavel Durdík to the Nápsteks, Fort de Kock, 25 February [18]83, Náprstek Museum library, archive Náprstek, 38/359a).

These expectations were disappointed. Franz Czurda tried to avoid meeting anyone and made the excuse that he was busy looking after his sick aunt. He explained to Náprstek that he had to work to put his collection in order. He would be sending the duplicates that he had promised Náprstek to Prague for his museum as soon as possible. This indeed happened during the same year, 1882. Then Czurda set himself to writing the catalogue. It was about June of 1883 when he was finished and, with the freshly printed catalogue in hand, he set about selling his collection. He first approached the director of the Royal Zoological Museum in Dresden, A. B. Meyer (1840–1911), and offered to sell him the collection. Meyer himself had been on Sulawesi and in the Philippines in 1870 and was a respected professor of anthropology. Although he himself did not have the financial resources to buy the collection, he recognized its importance and value and visited Czurda in his home town of Postoloprty. Together they went through the collection, piece by piece. In a letter to the Director of the Viennese Imperial and Royal Natural History Museum, Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884), a friend of Meyer, he told him about Czurda's collection and advised Hochstetter to buy it (see article by Petra Martin in this volume).

Concerning the collection itself, it is exceptionally good and I can testify to that since I am myself a traveler to Celebes. It would be a jewel and a valuable enrichment to our museum, since we only have a sixth or an eighth of the objects (Meyer to Hochstetter, Dresden, 3 July 1883, Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, Z.245.d/1883).

As a result, and with combined efforts of the many people involved in Vienna, and with the permission of the Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1828–1896) (Hochstetter to the Imperial Pay Office, 23 July 1883 in Archive NMW Z.245/1883), Franz Heger (1853–1931), Hochstetter's assistant at the museum, went to Postoloprty to take delivery of the collection. It was packed into 37 crates and put on a train to Vienna on the 19th of July (Heger to Hochstetter, Postelberg, 18 July 1883, Archive of the Museum of Natural History in Vienna, Z.245.k/1883).

RETURN TO JAVA

Only a few days after the sale and transfer of the collection, Franz Czurda left again for the Dutch East Indies. The house in Postoloprty and the apartments in Prague had also been sold. He now had no property that would bind him to his home country. On his way to Triest he visited Dr. Ferdinand Hochstetter in Vienna in the Museum. Together they went through the collection and completed it with

Fig. 13 **Betel set | *tampat sirih***
Java. MVW 17939. Brass; cast, chased, engraved.
26 x 21 cm;
10 x 7 cm;
5 x 6.3 cm;
5 x 6.5 cm;
4.7 x 3.8 cm;
10.5 x 6.7 x 8.5 cm

155. Betel set – *Tampat Sirih*
A large betel set made of several parts and containers, as was mentioned above when describing the small betel boxes; these are either carried behind the nobles and privileged persons or they are objects of pride in the house of a common man. The present one consists of ten parts, a large bowl-like container which has a lid, on which the smaller containers and bowls are placed. The large container is used to hold tobacco or the fresh betel leaves, while the smaller containers standing on the lid are used to hold the actual betel ingredients. Two of these bowls have lids and are in the form of an Indian fruit, mangosteen. All parts of this complicated betel canister set are nicely worked and decorated with rich engravings (Czurda 1883: 37).

the names of the places of origin of the objects. There is no record about whether Czurda intended to re-enter the service of the Dutch military, or if he wanted to become self-employed; at any rate he appears to have settled in the city of Cirebon on the northwest coast of Java, where he stayed for the next three years. Only two letters exist from this period. One is addressed to the Prague cloth merchant, Karl Henrik, the other to his old acquaintance Vojta Náprstek. The order that he gave to Henrik allows us to conclude that he wanted to set up a household. He seems to have decided to remain for a longer period in Cirebon and thus needed tablecloths, napkins and monogrammed shirts. The letter to Náprstek, written about half a year later, confirms the suspicion of a stay planned for a lengthy period, but it also communicated a feeling of loneliness and homesickness. He complains in badly written Czech (his mother tongue being German, he could speak but not write Czech fluently) to Náprstek about his poor health and the lack of intellectual challenges and cultural possibilities. Czurda missed his home country and requested from Náprstek that he send him a supply of books, adding to this letter a list of over a dozen books, among them Austria in Word and Picture, collected works of Hacklaender, and Schlosser's World History and he noted that he wanted the largest, newest editions and, if possible, everything bound in leather. A certain despondence, regret or even sadness permeates the letter. He constantly excuses himself for asking Náprstek for these things and for his bad Czech, expresses his gratefulness and promises to send a collection. "*My tongue speaks German but my heart beats in Czech*" (Czurda to Náprstek, Cirebon, 25 November 1886, Náprstek Museum Library, Archive Náprstek 38/285ab).

One week later, on 2 December, 1886, Franz Czurda died as the result of a lengthy illness. Whether Náprstek ever intended to fulfill Czurda's wishes is unknown. The package that Karl Henrik had sent, which arrived only after Czurda's death, was returned to Prague by the Austrian Consulate. His remaining possessions were offered at a public auction in the spring of 1887, and the proceeds were used to pay off Czurda's debts. In answer to the question from Franz Heger in Vienna, who became head of the department of Anthropology and Ethnography after the death of Hochstetter in 1884, whether an ethnographic collection had been among the belongings of Czurda, the same Consul wrote that Czurda had not collected very much any more, there was no significant collection. Attached to this short letter, there was a list of the private things that Czurda had had with him: in the pockets of his trousers, in his jacket, in his officer's map case and in his back pack. Among these were an edition of Homer's Odyssey and a small black diary (Imperial Austrian-Hungarian Consul in Batavia to Heger, Batavia, 26 August 1887, Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, 3 October 1887).

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Fig. 14 **Spitoon | *sudahan pira***
Aceh
MVW 18067
Brass; cast, chased, engraved.
H 20 cm, Ø 22 cm

SOURCES

Published in the newspaper *Politik* (Prague):
By Franz Czurda:
Von Rotterdam nach Batavia 2. *Politik* 195: 19 July 1878.
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra *Politik* 208: 1 August 1878.
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Sumatra 6. *Politik* 258: 20 September 1878.
Der Krieg in Atschin 3. *Politik* 102: 12 April 1879.
Der Krieg in Atschin 4. *Politik* 111: 22 April 1879.
Der Krieg in Atschin 5. *Politik* 112: 23 April 1879.
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien: Das Innere der Insel Celebes 1. *Politik* 340: 10 December 1879.
Sumatra und das malayische Volk 2. *Politik* 4: 4 January 1880.
Sumatra und das malayische Volk 5. *Politik* 34: 4 February 1880.
Java und seine Bewohner: Javanesen und Sundanesen 4. *Politik* 172: 23 June 1880.
Celebes. Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren. *Politik* 353: 22 December 1880.
Niederländisch Ost-Indien 2. *Politik* 157: 4 August 1883.

By an anonymous author:
Politik 311: 16 November 1882

LETTERS

Pavel Durdík to the Nápsrteks, Fort de Kock, 25 February [18]83, Náprstek Museum library, archive Náprstek, 38/359a
Adolf Bastian Meyer to Ferdinand von Hochstetter, Dresden, 3 July 1883. Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, Z.245.d/1883.
Ferdinand von Hochstetter to the Imperial Pay Office (Hofzalamte), 23 July 1883. Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, Z.245/1883.
Franz Heger to Ferdinand von Hochstetter, 18 July 1883. Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, Z.245.k/1883.
Franz Czurda to Vojta Náprstek, Cirebon, 25 November 1886. Náprstek Museum Library, Archive Náprstek 38/285a.
The Imperial Austrian-Hungarian Consul in Batavia to Franz Heger, Batavia, 26 August 1887. Archive of the Museum of Natural History Vienna, 3 October 1887.

VARIOUS

Roman Catholic Parish Office, Písek, Register of Births, vol. 16 (1842-1849), pp. 138-9
Dr. František Czurda, Pencil drawing reproduced in *Humoristické listy* (Prague), vol. 25, no. 23, 9 June 1883: p.1. Found in Náprstek Museum Library, scrapbook 49, the Dutch East Indies
Exhibition poster: Das ostindische Museum des Doktors Franz Czurda aus Postelberg. Printed by F. Böge, Most. Found in Náprstek Museum Library, scrapbook 49, the Dutch East Indies.

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Bastian, Adolf. 1889. *Indonesien oder die Inseln des Malayischen Archipels*. Band 4. Berlin: Dümmler Verlag.

Czurda, Franz. 1883. *Catalog mit Erklärungen der Etnografischen Privatsammlung des Dr. F.A.J. Czurda in Postelberg (Böhmen)*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller.

Kunský, Josef. 1961. Čeští cestovatelé I. (Czech travellers I.). Praha: Orbis.

SOURCES FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT ON DR. FRANZ CZURDA'S COLLECTION

Philipp Hesser

The collection consists of around 1200 objects from Indonesia which were collected between 1876 and 1882 on the islands of Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi. The collection is divided among the three ethnographic museums in Vienna, Prague and Dresden; whereby there are 855 objects in Vienna, 326 in Prague and 19 in Dresden. The collector himself donated the objects in Prague in 1882. Dr. Czurda sold the Viennese part of the collection in July 1883 for 4,000 florins and the museum assistant Franz Heger (1863–1931) inventoried them under the numbers 1013 and 1753 (today VO_17317–VO_18130). The objects that are now in Dresden were originally a part of the Vienna collection, traded with the museum there in 1883.

Besides dealing with the history of the collection and the biography of the collector, it is the aim of this research project to capture each individual object photographically and to document any gaps and irregularities in the holdings. Thus some objects were traded, others could not be found or lost in the Second World War.

The Viennese holdings in the collection were described and published in *Catalog mit Erklärungen der Etnografischen Privatsammlung des Dr. F.A.J. Czurda in Postelberg (Böhmen)* in 1883. This was written by the collector himself and published by Wilhelm Braumüller in Vienna. Along with the indigenous names, Czurda provided brief notes about the way the individual objects were produced and how they were utilized. By describing the objects he shined a light on the cultural and social contexts of their former use. The documentation in Prague is in the Czech language and in hand-written form and did not have the breadth of the printed catalogue (see pp. 30–37). As part of the research project, that Czurda's German catalogue was translated into English and Indonesian and is available for the first time in these languages.

Forty-five articles from the pen of Dr. Czurda were published between 1877 and 1883 in the Prague daily newspaper *Politik*[1], documenting his experiences in Dutch East Indies. These articles can be divided into two groups: the first seventeen were adapted from letters to his father, who made them available to the newspaper:

Von Rotterdam nach Batavia. I. 194: 18.7.1878
Von Rotterdam nach Batavia. II. 195: 19.7.1878
Das Leben auf Java. 203: 27.7.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Sumatra. 208: 1.8.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Sumatra. II. 214: 7.8.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Sumatra. III. 215: 8.8.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Sumatra. IV. 215: 8.8.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Atschin, Fort Lamyha. 231: 24.8.1878
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Sumatra. 258: 20.9.1878
Der Krieg in Atschin. I. 99: 9.4.1879
Der Krieg in Atschin. II. 100: 10.4.1879
Der Krieg in Atschin. III. 102: 12.4.1879
Der Krieg in Atschin. IV. 111: 22.4.1879
Der Krieg in Atschin. V. 112: 23.4.1879
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Das Innere der Insel Celebes. I. 340: 10.12.1879
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Das Innere der Insel Celebes. II. 341: 11.12.1879
Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Das Innere der Insel Celebes. III. 342: 12.12.1879

The rest of Czurda's writings in *Politik* are less personal and can be classified as popular science texts. They are constructed systematically and begin with an introduction to the geography, the climate, the flora and fauna, followed by descriptions of the different ethnic groups as well as their "customs and manners" in the context of Dutch colonialism:

Sumatra und das malayische Volk. I. [?]
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. II. 4: 4.1.1880
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. III. 13: 13.1.1880
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. IV. 27: 27.1.1880
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. V. 34: 4.2.1880
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. VI. 48: 18.2.1880
Sumatra und das malayische Volk. VII. 55: 25.2.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). I. 90: 1.4.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). II. 109: 20.4.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). III. 165: 16.6.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). IV. 172: 23.6.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). V. 230: 20.8.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). VI. 236: 26.8.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). VII. 248: 7.9.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). 256: 15.9.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). 262: 21.9.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). X. 276: 5.10.1880
Java und seine Bewohner. (Javanesen und Sundanesen). XI. 287: 16.10.1880
Celebes. Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren. 294: 23.10.1880
Celebes. Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren. 353: 22.12.1880
Celebes. Die Buginesen und Mangkassaren. 13: 13.1.1881
Niederländisch Ost-Indien. I. [?]
Niederländisch Ost-Indien II. 157: 4.7.1883
Niederländisch Ost-Indien III. 163: 11.7.1883
Niederländisch Ost-Indien IV. 172: 21.7.1883
Niederländisch Ost-Indien. V. 187: 8.8.1883
Niederländisch Ost-Indien. VI. 202: 25.8.1883
Niederländisch Ost-Indien. VII. 219: 14.9.1883

Most of these texts from *Politik* were collected in a scrapbook (SB)[2] of the Náprstek Museum library (KNpM) during Dr. Czurda's lifetime. The rest of the articles were found in the Austrian National Library. In the scrapbook there were several articles from other newspapers as was also a poster about Czurda´s Museum in Postoloprty.

Das ostindische Museum des Doktors Franz Czurda aus Postoloprty. Druck F. Böge, Brüx, KNpM, SB 49
Reisebriefe aus Indien. *Prager Tagblatt* (Prague) 335: 3.12.1879

Articles about the Museum in Postoloprty were:

Das ostindische Museum. *Prager Tagblatt* 48: 17.2.1880
Východoindické museum. České noviny 41: 18.2.1880
Dr. Franz Czurda. *Politik* 82: 23.3.1880
Vychodo-indicke museum p. dra. Frant. Čurdy v Postoloprtech. České novi*ny* 78: 1.4.1880
Návštěva v museum dr. Čurdy. České novi*ny* 86: 10.4.1880

Articles about Dr. Czurda's return to Prague and donation of a part of the collection to the Náprstek Museum in Prague include:

Unser Landsmann Herr MDr. Czurda. *Politik* 311: 16.11.1882
Nové obohacení českého průmyslového musea. *Národní listy* 308: 16.11.1882
Obohacení musea průmyslového. *Pokrok* 314: 16.11.1882

A review of the catalogue is:

Zur Culturgeschichte der malayischen Völker. Friedrich Müller. *Deutsche Zeitung* (Vienna), 10.7.1883, p. 4. Rubrik: Naturwissenschaftliche Zeitung, Archive NHM, Z. 245i/1883

An article about the transfer of the collection to Vienna was:

Dr. Czurda's ethnographische Sammlung. *Bohemia* 298: 27.10.1883

Obituaries of Dr. Czurda appeared in:

Politik 122: 3.5.1887
Úmrtí. *Národní listy* 121: 3.5.1887
Úmrtí. *Hlas národa* 123: 4.5.1887
Čtěme zásluhy zdejších rodáků. *Otavan* (Písek) 19: 7.5.1887.

Also from the archives of the Museum in Prague, there are letters by Czurda's father to Vojta Náprstek, founder of the Prague museum:

Czurda sr. to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 19.3.1880, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 47/626
Czurda sr. to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 3.8.1880, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 47/627

as well as letters addressed to Vojta Náprstek by Franz Czurda himself:

Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 6.11.1882, Náprstek Museum, administrative correspondence, file F. Czurda, kept in the Ethnological Department of the Náprstek Museum
Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 8.11.1882, Náprstek Museum, administrative correspondence, file F. Czurda, kept in the Ethnological Department of the Náprstek Museum
Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 12.11.1882, Náprstek Museum, administrative correspondence, file F. Czurda, kept in the Ethnological Department of the Náprstek Museum
Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 25.11.1882, Náprstek Museum, administrative correspondence, file F. Czurda, kept in the Ethnological Department of the Náprstek Museum

Czurda to Náprstek. 14.12.1882, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/284
Czurda to Náprstek, Cheribon, 25.11.1886, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/285ab

There are also letters from the medical doctor Pavel Durdík, who exchanged letters with Náprstek frequently and who was, like Czurda, also stationed in the Dutch East Indies as a doctor.

Fig. 15 **Wedding gifts.** Makassar. Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

Fig. 16 **Cover | *lobo ri jumpu***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17475
Lontar palm leaves, cotton; woven.
H 17 cm; Ø 43 cm

1 *Politik*, a German language newspaper, issued in Prague by J. Grégr, 1862–1919.

2 Scrap books contain press cuttings from the period, and other printed matter, such as invitations to lectures, various announcements and so on. Material on František Czurda can be found in scrap book no. 49, which he shares with another doctor in the Dutch East Indies, Pavel Durdík (1843–1903), under the title: *Dutch East Indies. Dr. Fr. Czurda* (in pencil added +2.12.86), *Dr. Pavel Durdík*.

Fig. 17 **Cloth | *beled, kain panjang***
Java
MVW 17985
Cotton; plain weave, batik.
258.3 x 106.7 cm

Facing page: Fig. 18 MVW 17985 detail

608–610. Cloth – *Beled*
Three "keins" [kain], just as large as the previous ones and also dyed in the same manner. The designs are different, and characteristic for the place where they were made. They come from the main city in East Java, Surabaya, where entire districts of town are occupied with the dying of these keins. The patterns, in which the un-dyed white background dominate, show nicely executed, blue and brown flowers or very naively drawn animals and people, and extended human hands, probably taken from living originals, directly traced onto the cloth (Czurda 1883: 153f.).

Durdík to Náprsteks, Fort de Kock in Central Sumatra, 2.3.1879, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 48/124b
Durdík to Náprsteks, Indrapuri, from a mosque, 10.7.1879, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/368abc
Durdík to Náprstek from Goenoeng Sitolie, 1.7.1881, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/353
Durdík to Náprstek from Goenoeng Sitolie, 21.6.1882, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/355a
Durdík to Náprsteks, Fort de Kock, 25.2.1883, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 38/359a

Furthermore there are postcards:
Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 4.11.1882, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 56/5a
Náprsteks to Czurda, 22.7.1883, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 56/5a
Náprsteks to Czurda, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 56/6
and telegrams:
Written by Pauli, Postoloprty, 1.11.1882, KNpM, Archive Náprstek 47/629
Czurda to Náprstek, Postoloprty, 3.11.1882, KNpM, SB 49

Finally, there is a letter from Czurda to a clothing salesman in Prag:
Czurda to Karl Henrik, Cirebon, 10.6.1886, KNpM, SB 49

as well as the letter from a notary public in Cirebon referring to that letter:
Wolverkamp to Henrik, Cirebon, 24.1.1887, KNpM, SB 49

and the cancellation of Czurda's subscription to the *Politik:*
Jobst to the *Politik*, Cirebon, 22.3.1887, KNpM, SB 49

To complete the information on František Czurda we made enquiries at three archives, the State Regional Archive in Třebon, which holds his birth record[3], and the State District Archive, Louny, part of the State Regional Archive in Litoměřice, which is the relevant archive for the town of Postoloprty, but it has no materials on Czurda. In the National Archive in Prague we found an entry on Czurda in the residence certificates from 1850-1914 declaring his residency in Prague.
In the Archive of the Natural History Museum Vienna (NHM) the file Z.245 is dedicated to the acquisition of the collection. Most of the documents included in this file are letters which mainly concern the sale of the collection, written from Czurda to Ferdinand von Hochstetter, director of the museum.
Czurda an Hochstetter, Postoloprty, 4. 6.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.b/1883
Czurda an Hochstetter, Postoloprty, 19.6.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.c/1883
Czurda an Hochstetter, Postoloprty, 7.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.e/1883
Czurda an Hochstetter, Postoloprty, 19.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.L/1883

In addition there are three telegrams from Czurda to F. Hochstetter
Two have a date that cannot be read, the third is dated 3 Juli 1883, Archive NHM, Z.245/1883 as well as two letters from A. B. Meyer in Dresden to F. Hochstetter.
Meyer to Hochstetter, Dresden, 3.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.d/1883

3 Register of births in the Roman Catholic parish office in Písek, vol. 16, covering the years 1842–1849, pp 138–139.

Postkarte Meyer to Hochstetter, Dresden, 10.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.j/1883
A letter from Franz Heger to Hochstetter from Postoloprty tells about the purchase, the packing and shipment of the collection to Vienna.
Heger to Hochstetter, Postoloprty, 18.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245.k/1883

Further letters document the communications with the Imperial Pay Office.
Hochstetter to the Imperial Pay Office (Hofzalamt), 23.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245
Allowance of purchase, 24.7.1883, Archive NHM, Z.245a
1883

The last letter that refers to Czurda is the reply from the Austrian Consul in Batavia to a request from F. Heger for information about the bequest of Dr. Czurda.
Consul an Heger, Batavia, 26.8.1887, Archive NHM, 3.X.87

There is little source material in Dresden, compared to the other two museums. Though the transfer from Vienna to Dresden can be traced back, there are no further letters or manuscripts, probably as a result of A.B. Meyers´s suspension from office and the disappearance of all his records (see pp. 38–41).
Finally the Dutch Colonial Governments yearly Registry, *Regerings-Almanak voor Nederlandsch-Indie 1883, Tweede Gedeelte: Kalender en Personalia, 1882, Landsdrukkerij Batavia*, found in the Arsip Nasional (National Archive) in Jakarta, has a marked entry on Czurda on page 401.

CZURDA'S STRATEGY OF COLLECTING AND THE CATALOGUE

Philipp Hesser

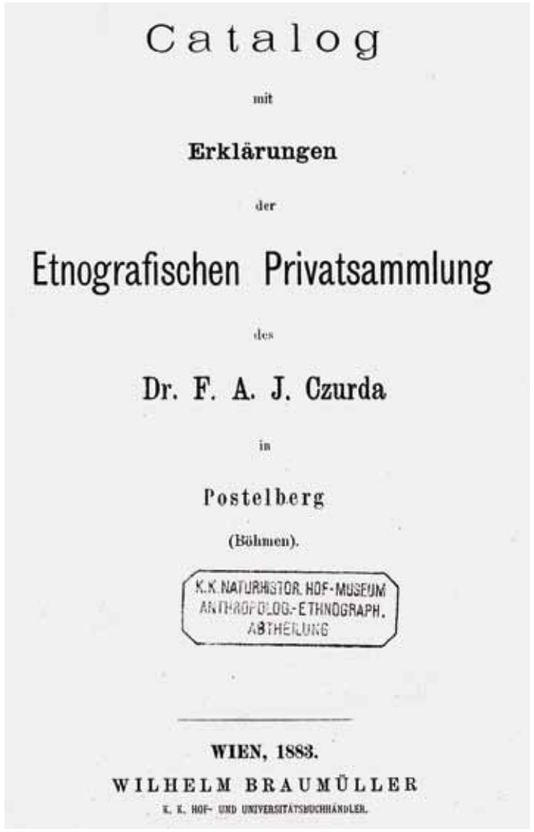
When the first departments for ethnology and anthropology were established in European natural history museums, the fields of ethnology and anthropology were still in their infancy as scientific disciplines. The public, however, showed great interest in these new sciences. Exhibitions displayed both scientific findings and the achievements of colonial policies, which the general public followed with great interest and enthusiasm.

As signs of an ever-expanding Europe, these ethnographic collections, along with travel descriptions frequently published in daily newspapers, were both indicators and proof of Europe's progress. The task of modern Europe was to bring "civilization" to the world.

The museums began to compete with each other to maintain and improve their reputations among the public and in the scientific communities. To enlarge the collections of the museums, the royal courts often awarded decorations and medals to travelers who gave their private collections to the museums. For collectors, this chance to win a royal decoration was an additional incentive, and in this way the museums were soon filled to bursting. The exhibitions and the storerooms were crammed full up to the ceilings and everywhere rooms and buildings were needed to provide new space. In Vienna in 1857, this resulted in the construction of the Museums of Art History and Natural History, which were ceremonially opened on 10 August 1889. Typically, the objects brought to Europe were mostly weapons such as spears, swords and knives, but sensational sculptures and ritual objects were also among them. The collector's interest was oriented to outstanding artifacts and aesthetic factors. This satisfied the expectations of the public looking for the curious and the exotic but not the scientific interest of the researchers and directors of the museums. For them, the value of their collections was in their comprehensiveness, in the way they could illuminate all the areas of human activity, and in their documentation. Since the museums' employees often did not travel, but only concentrated on the analysis and categorization of the collections in the museums, and thus were dependent on the collections left in their care, they had to find a way to raise the scientific level and to change the collecting habits of the travelers to meet their needs[1].

Although the museums had to wrestle with problems of space, curators and museum employees still wished to fill the existing gaps.

1 We know that in Prague Vojta Náprstek instructed travellers and collectors about his museums needs as is documented in his correspondence with travelling collectors. These are kept in the Náprstek Museums Library.


Catalog

mit

Erklärungen

der

Etnografischen Privatsammlung

des

Dr. F. A. J. Czurda

in

Postelberg

(Böhmen).

WIEN, 1883.
WILHELM BRAUMÜLLER
K. K. HOF- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBUCHHÄNDLER.

Fig. 19 František Czurda, **Catalog**
Published 1883 in Vienna.

In order to make scientific statements, they considered it crucial to examine and represent the "peoples" and "cultures" in all their material manifestations. This encyclopedic approach, this desire to encompass systematically all areas of life, is a method adopted from the natural sciences, in particular, classification and categorization as can be found in botany and the binomial nomenclature of Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778).

In order to convince traveling doctors, military personnel, traders, missionaries, colonial officers and civil servants to adopt more scientific methods, museums and associated institutions put out handbooks that were intended to enable the laymen to make appropriate contributions. These kinds of directives had already existed in other fields of science such as geology, zoology or astronomy, with explanations about technical equipment and methods of data collection, and were now extended to anthropology and ethnology.

The guidelines for the collecting of material objects also stipulated the importance of documenting the conditions of production and use, and even of the process of collecting itself. Collectors were to record the context of the acquisitions as well as observations about everyday living conditions, the *manners and customs,* as it was called.

Fig. 20 **Two Shields from Borneo** MVW 46257 and MVW 17408 (de-accessed)
MVW VF_13905; gelatin silver print, archive photo for Folkwang Verlag, Hagen. The shield on the right (upside down, Inventory Nr. 17408) was collected by Czurda. This item is no longer in the Museum as it was traded in 1973 for archaeological artifacts from Peru.

Examples of such handbooks are the two volumes by the Director of the Museum in Leiden, Lindor Serrurier (1846–1901), *Hints for Collectors* and *The Pioneer*. Serrurier wrote these for laymen, calling on them to support the ethnographic project, "[…] surely all who stay in the Eastern or Western Indies because of their office or profession can, with just little effort and good will, expand the sum of our knowledge of those territories in a considerable way" (Serrurier 1891: 8–9 in: Wengen 2002: 91).

The Director of the Museum in Berlin, Adolph Bastian (1826–1905), was a researcher who was especially enthusiastic about collecting ethnographic objects and was one of the most influential anthropologists of his day. He pointed out the danger of the loss of evidence from "primitive peoples" because of the constantly increasing influence of European culture on them, stressing the urgent need for collecting. Otherwise there would soon not be anything left from these native cultures, thus damning the project of comparative ethnology to failure.

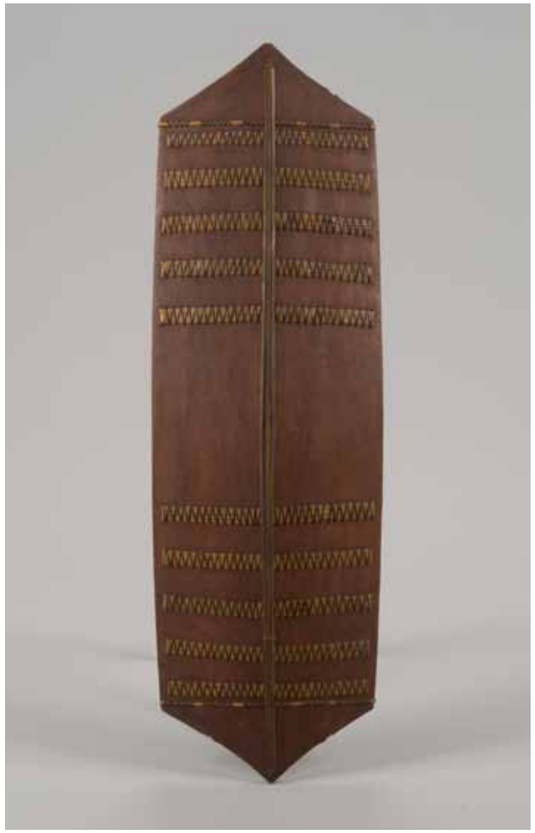


Fig. 21 **Shield | *kaliyawomalampe***
Borneo
MVW 17409
Wood, rattan, bamboo
L 118 cm, W 36.5 cm

And we are passively watching as if this does not affect us, — instead of a wild outcry of alarm being sounded by all those who have a right to the heritage of civilization, if not to stop what is unstoppable, at least to call for saving that which can be saved, since what is being destroyed here in furious haste is the intellectual property of humanity, which belongs to us and our descendents. At least we at have the duty to conserve, even if we cannot or do not want to use it (Bastian 1881: 179 f.).

When Bastian made a stop in Makassar, the capital of the island of Sulawesi, on one of his lengthy journeys (1878), he met our collector, Dr. Franz Czurda.

With Dr. Czurda it was possible to discuss the manner of collecting, and since then an extensively gathered [collection] *was brought back by him to Europe when he returned home* (Bastian 1889).

It is not known if this conversation impressed and influenced Dr. Czurda, or if on the other hand Czurda was able to supplement

Above:
Fig. 22 **Hat** | ***palo-nipa***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10229
Rattan, nipa palm leaves. -
H 23.5 cm, Ø 52.5 cm

Right:
Fig. 23 František Czurda, **Catalog,** p. 62–63
Published 1883 in Vienna.

Kopfbedeckungen.

303. **Hut** — **„Palo-nipa“**. Ein grosser aus Palmblättern verfertigter Hut mit breiter, radförmiger Krämpe, kegelförmig in eine Spitze zulaufend, vorzüglich bei der Feldarbeit, beim Reisbau zur Zeit der Reisernte getragen als Schutz gegen Regen und Sonne. Diese Hüte erreichen manchmal eine erstaunliche Grösse, sind oft grösser als ein Wagenrad. Beim Regen hockt der Eingeborne unter demselben auf dem Boden und ist so wie unter einem Dache vor der Nässe geschützt. — Süd-Celebes. Buginesen, Makassaren.

304—305. **Hüte** — **„Palo-nipa“**. Hüte von derselben Form, aus demselben Material verfertigt, doch kleiner und etwas feiner gearbeitet. Der eine an seiner Spitze mit einem Holzknopfe und einer braunen Wollquaste verziert. — idem.

306. **Hut** — **„Palo-nipa-rada“**. Ein kleiner, einfacher, kegelförmiger Hut aus Palmblättern verfertigt, mit mässig grossem Dache und meist nur bei der häuslichen Arbeit und im gewöhnlichen Leben gebraucht. Diese Form von Hut ist die meistverbreitete nicht nur auf Celebes, sondern auch auf den anderen Inseln des indischen Archipels. — idem.

307. **Hut** — **„Palo-nipa-rada“**. Ebenso gross wie der vorige, aus Palmenblättern verfertigt, doch in der Form von den vorhergehenden ab- — idem.

Dr. Bastian's knowledge through his practical, first-hand experience. The source for this meeting remains a single sentence. It is evident however, that Czurda fulfilled the expectations of his scientific colleagues and assembled a valuable collection, which even today compares favorably internationally. Czurda knew this, for he wrote in the introduction of his catalogue:

Because of its completeness, this collection from South Celebes has scientific value and to my knowledge in no other museum in Europe, with the possible exception of Leiden, is this island part so richly represented as it is in the present collection. The objects from Java were collected without plan, just as they were made available to me and I was able to purchase them. In Java I was primarily stationed in large places and always just for some months and thus was not in a position to observe the life of the people. However Java is already as well known as any province in the Netherlands (Czurda 1883: III).

Franz Czurda knew that the scientific value of his collection was due to the fact that he stayed for longer periods at the same place and so had the chance to come into contact with the local population. Indirectly, he describes here what is until today the most widely accepted method in ethnology: field research, long-term residence for the purpose of investigating social, economic and cultural relations and interconnections. His statement about Aceh makes clear, however, the fact that favorable circumstances for field research were not always given.

I was assigned to the expedition's troops on Aceh at the time of full military activity and it was not really the most auspicious time to put together an orderly ethnological collection. I found ravaged fields everywhere, woods that had been burned down, villages that had been destroyed by artillery or fire. Everything I acquired came to me by chance since there was not a trace of the local population. The men who were able to fight were our deadly enemies, and the women with their children and the old people had fled to the mountains in the interior. The weapons come from various battles, and were brought to me for sale by my servants or soldiers who had taken them as booty. This was also the case with the various objects that serve peaceful purposes, and that were found in the burned-down villages, where the population had not had enough time to take everything with them (Czurda 1883: IV).

The fact that he declared his collecting activities on Java and in Aceh to be less scientific, and did not pass over the matter in silence but on the contrary drew critical attention to the circumstances, corresponds on the one hand to his modesty and shows on the other hand a critical reflection of his role as researcher in the field.
Possibly, the handbooks and directives influenced Czurda, or he may even have studied them, but the catalog seems to indicate that he developed his methods by himself. Thus, he can be seen as a self-taught ethnologist who applied general scientific methods to his studies. Without doubt his pharmacological and scientific education gave him the methodological tools to go about collecting in a systematic manner; furthermore, in view of his coin and rock collections, collecting was nothing new to him. Nevertheless, his practices stand out in comparison with his contemporaries. Not only was he careful to document as much as possible all areas of life through artifacts, he also described these in a very understandable way, supplying the indigenous names of the objects concerned.
The thirteen categories Czurda used to classify the 747 objects of his collection are related both to the use of the objects and the material from which they are made. They result from the collection itself. It

Fig. 24 *Above left:* **Hat** | ***palo nipa***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17558
Rattan, nipa palm leaves.
H 21 cm, Ø 52.3 cm

Above center: **Hat** | ***palo***
North Sulawesi
MVW 17571
Rattan, lontar palm leaves
H 15 cm, Ø 36.3 cm

Above right: **Hat** | ***palo nipa***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17559
Rattan, nipa palm leaves.
H 17 cm, Ø 47.4 cm

cannot be assumed that Czurda took over the categories from one of the handbooks; rather he chose the classification himself[2]:

1. Weapons 1–129
2. Brass tools 130–161
3. Clay objects 162–186
4. Woven objects
5. Head coverings 303–330
6. Domestic utensils, fishing utensils 331–444
7. Musical instruments and shadow theatre puppets 445–472
8. Heathen-religious items 473–513
9. Models 514–525
10. Weaving loom, cloth and clothes 526–647
11. Jewellery and various objects 648–711
12. Books 712–734
13. Skulls 735–747

2 Compare, for example, the organization that Serrurier suggested in his handbook:
1. Food and drink, delicacies, stimulants (tobacco and opium), medicines
2. Clothing and jewelry, toiletries
3. Architecture, houses and bridges in a model form and furniture
4. Hunting and fishing
5. Gathering of food, agriculture and horticulture, forestry; cattle breeding, animals
6. Shipping and shipbuilding; vehicles
7. Trade, shops, measures and weights
8. Manufacture of products of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdom
9. Weapons, military dress and decorations
10. Dignity insignia of prominent persons
11. Products of art and art-manufacture, including calligraphy and batik
12. Religion and education (Serruier 1882: 5–9, 1891: 157–161 in Wengen 2002: 91 f.)

The individual chapters of his catalog are then divided according to the regional origin of the objects. This does not correspond to the practice of the large museums of that time, which arranged objects primarily according to regional origins and then in the second step according to function or material. This fact, and also because of the lack of a table of contents in the catalog, probably led to the criticism from Friedrich Müller, whose review of the catalogue in the *Deutsche Zeitung* in 1883 spoke of the inadequate organization of the collection.

Even if these descriptions are not in a completely systematic form and lack a perfection of style, one is, on the other hand, richly compensated by the unbiased portrayals, which are always based on a thorough autopsy by the author. One could call the entire matter a cultural history of the Malayan people in individual pictures (Müller 1883).

What did not bother Müller at the time, but may irritate the reader today, was the collection of skulls, which Müller only mentioned in an aside. In Czurda's time it was quite normal to collect and measure human remains. They served as illustrations for physical anthropology and the racialist theories that were being developed and established at that time. As a medical doctor, Czurda had learned to prepare bones and so it came to pass that through his work he was also active in that field.

The skulls of this small collection have all been prepared by me and come from persons who were known to me when they were alive, and whose nationality is unquestioned. Thus all these skulls are "pure race skulls", as

Above: Fig. 25 **Cap** | ***songko lotong***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 9558
Lontar palm fibre; woven.
H 6 cm, Ø 17 cm

Below: Fig. 26 **Hat** | ***topi***
Java.
NM-NpM 10715
Bamboo; woven, painted, lacquered.
H 12 cm, Ø 42.7 cm

Facing page: Fig. 27
Above: **Blouse** | ***waju rawang***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro
MVW 17797
Cotton; plain weave,
hand sewn.
L 57 cm, W 103 cm

Below:
Blouse | ***waju malampe***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro
MVW 17794
Cotton; plain weave,
hand sewn, chintzed.
L 59.7 cm, W 91 cm

far as one can speak about the purity of the race with these peoples who constantly intermix with each other and, besides, are so closely related to one another. I attempted, among the many corpses which were offered to me, to select only those with typical skulls for my purpose (Czurda 1883: 171).

When the Museum of Ethnology was split off from the Museum of Natural History in 1927, these objects were not taken along but remained in the Natural History Museum.
From today's standpoint this catalog is exceptional in the area of documentation of the collection. Usually this task was done by the museums themselves. Mostly the collectors provided only hand-written materials, which the curators used as a preliminary guide, but even the museums were often not interested in publishing catalogs. For instance, the director of the museum in Leiden, H. H. Juynboll (1867–1945) only published the first catalogue of its East Indian collections between 1909 and 1932. This encompassed the museum's entire East Indian holdings, thus it was far larger than the Czurda catalogue in its extent. Still, its individual entries offered less description; on the other hand perhaps they were more scientific.
Even if Czurda's catalogue could be seen deprecatingly as a work of popular science, it should be pointed out that the more scientific publications around the turn of the century, for example in Volume 14 of the *Publikationen aus dem Königlichen Ethnographischen Museum zu Dresden: Celebes I* (1903), the Czurda catalogue was at times cited. The two authors of the Dresden volume, A. B. Meyer and O. Richter, tried in that volume to compare the collection that the Sarasin brothers had brought from their first study trip to Sulawesi between 1893 and 1896, with collections on Sulawesi in the Museums of Dresden, Berlin, Leipzig and Rotterdam "in order to prepare the basis of an ethnography of Sulawesi" (Meyer et al. 1903: III).
In summary, it can be said that with his collection and his catalog Dr. Franz Czurda achieved a great contribution. Both the extent and the variety of the collection, in addition to the fact that he made these public in his catalog, bear witness to his scientific competence. Today they still comprise one of the most comprehensive collections that exist on the material culture of South Sulawesi.

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THE COLLECTION OF FRANTIŠEK CZURDA AT THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM, PRAGUE

Dagmar Pospíšilová

Top left:
Fig. 28 **Ritual object** | ***pasili***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10024
Lontar palm leaves
L 17 cm

Center left:
Fig. 29 **Ritual object** | ***sinto***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10021
Lontar palm leaves
L 12.6 cm, loop L 8 cm

Bottom left:
Fig. 30 **Ritual object** | ***pasili***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10023
Lontar palm leaves
L 30 cm

Fig. 31 **Water container** | ***lawo***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10243
Gourd, rattan; plaited
46 x 24 cm

331. Bottle – *Lawo*
A large bottle, about half a meter high, made from a calabash gourd by clearing out the inside. It is decorated with bands and has a base of woven rattan allowing it to stand and be carried. "Sagoweer", a type of wine made from the sago palm is stored and also carried to market in this (Czurda 1883: 69).

František Czurda's collecting activity was closely connected with the beginnings of the Náprstek Museum as an institution that gathered specimens of non-European material cultures.

THE HISTORY OF THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM

The Náprstek Museum, originally called the Industrial Museum, was created in 1862 on the initiative of Vojta Náprstek (1826–1894), a notable figure on the Czech cultural and political scene, and his mother Anna (1788–1873). It functioned as an unofficial centre of Prague culture and the political ambitions of the Czech nation in the second half of the 19th century. The house, which was home to both the Náprstek family and the museum, became an important centre of Czech intellectual life.[1] Leading Prague cultural and political figures met there, as did Czech travellers, who received moral support and frequently also material support for their ventures from Náprstek and his wife Josefa (1838–1907). Evidence of lively contact with Vojta Náprstek's nascent museum can be seen in the extensive correspondence between travellers and collectors and the Náprsteks, kept in the Náprstek Museum's library. From 1932 the museum was administered by the Land of Bohemia and its name was the Náprstek Museum of General Ethnography. After the Second World War, the Náprstek Museum was confirmed as part of the National Museum, with a special autonomous status. Thus far the museum's approach had been a mostly ethnographic one, but on its 100th anniversary in 1962 its focus was broadened to include art, crafts, archaeology and numismatics, and its name was changed to the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures (Guidebook 2000: 6–7).

HISTORY OF THE OLDEST MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The first systematic collections of the Náprstek Museum now form only a small part of the museum's collections, but are undoubtedly considered its cornerstone. From the presents and items bought by travellers, mostly friends of Vojta and Josefa Náprstek, a new museum department was formed. At the museum's very beginnings, the objects were kept where there was room, and in autumn 1874 the collections were presented to the public for the first time. During the first three years, when the museum opened to the public only twice a year, in spring and autumn, its objects were seen by approximately ten thousand visitors (Kodym 1955: 101). The first objects from Indonesia came to the museum in 1881–2, from two Czech doctors, František Czurda (1844–1886) and Pavel Durdík (1843–1903), who in the 1870s and 1880s served as army doctors *(Officier van Gezondheit)* in the Dutch East Indies Army in Java, Sumatra, Nias and Celebes. In addition to practicing as doctors, they spent their time collecting ethnographic objects for the Náprstek Museum. In this way the museum gained a collection relating to tribal cultures from Sumatra, including Nias (over 1200 objects) and Celebes (over 300 objects). Durdík's items entered the museum first, and were recorded in 1881. Czurda's collection followed in 1882.[2]

ORGANISATION OF THE COLLECTIONS

Since the original building premises were far from capable of even housing the objects, let alone displaying them, in 1885 the foundations were laid of a new museum building. The first part was finished in 1886, on the occasion of Náprstek's sixtieth birthday. However, it was not until the start of 1889 that objects started to be moved into the new premises, because the building was used for exhibitions of all kinds (Kottner 1898: 7). The arrangement and installation of the collections were not left to chance; the Náprsteks appear to have expended a great deal of care on it. In 1883 they travelled to Vienna and Germany, where they looked at collections and the way they were arranged (Kodym 1955: 109). The new museum building had ten display rooms and one study for the custodian. There were over 23,000 items by that time, kept in "129 large standing cabinets, 91 flat cabinets and 372 cupboards and wall cabinets" (Kottner 1898: 10). Each object was given a label indicating what it was, who had donated it and other information. Looking at the first *Guide to the Collections* (Kottner 1898) to see what collections there were and how they were divided up, we find that "ethnographic collections from Africa, Asia, America and Australia, consisting of various types of craftwork, jewellery, footwear and other things" (Kottner 1898: 39) formed section C on the first floor of the new display building. In room 9, cabinets 30–63 were items from the Dutch East Indies (Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Nias and Celebes; some of the cabinets also contained objects from the American Indians and Turkey). The composition of the original Indonesian collections has been preserved until today, as shown by the list of objects in the various cabinets—baskets, tools, amulets, pipes, various little boxes, sieves, ropes, bags, objects made from coconut shells, spoons and other kitchen implements, jewellery, fans, clothes and models of houses. It is interesting that the whole of cabinet number 57 was devoted to parrot-feather flowers, which are now missing from Czurda's collection. It is likely that long-term display took its toll on them. This system of storing and displaying the collections allowed them to be relatively easily identified. It was not disturbed until during the Second World War, when most of the objects were removed (and the original labels taken off), packed and sent outside Prague for safe storage.[3]

CATALOGUING AND PROCESSING THE OLDEST COLLECTIONS

When processing the museum's oldest collections, including those of František Czurda, we come across a whole range of problems with a single common denominator: the non-uniform way in which the collections have been catalogued and processed in the past. During the 130 years that the collections have belonged to the museum, various changes have taken place in the way the museum's collections are stored and catalogued. There was no unified system which would have guaranteed the identity of the objects in the collections. In the initial period, the identity of an object related to its original label, given it when the object was recorded in the catalogue made by Josefa Náprstková herself. The object was given a label with a number, which was also written on the object itself (some of these original numbers can still be seen on objects today, but others are no longer visible). The historical inventory registers, which represent the original collections of the Náprstek Museum, are our main evidence of the classification of an item in the museum's collections. It is clear, however, that until 1940 the original documentation, given to the objects by their collectors or the Náprsteks, still existed. "Numerous objects are labelled with their native names, backed up by photographs, sketches and a detailed description" (Műller 1940: 123). It is clear that until the Second World War the tradition started

1 The building was mainly used for business activity, however. It housed a brewery and a still. Vojta Náprstek's mother, Anna, was a successful Prague businesswoman.

2 In addition to the collections of Durdík and Czurda, the museum's oldest collections include objects sent from India in 1876–1883 by Otokar Feistmantel, items sent by Emil Holub (1847–1902) from Africa, by Václav Stejskal (1851–1934) from his journeys on the frigate Aurora to South East Asia, China and Japan in 1887–8, and by Enrique St. Vráz, (1860–1932) and Josef Kořenský (1847–1938), see Kottner 1898: 6–7.

3 On some issues of the administration of the Náprstek Museum during the Second World War see National Museum Archive, collection National Museum, carton 166, 1944, S/N2, Náprstek Museum and carton 171, 1945, S/N2, Náprstek Museum.

Fig. 32 **Cover** | ***lobo manra***
Maluku Islands
NM-NpM 10802
Lontar palm leaves; dyed, plaited.
H 15.5 cm, Ø 37 cm

Fig. 33 **Bowl** | ***anreng-kadoro***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
NM-NpM 10073 a,b,c
Coconut, rattan; plaited.
H 18 cm, Ø 14 cm

by the museum's founders, led by the Náprsteks, was still alive—the idea of the necessity of collecting, preserving and presenting foreign cultures in their entirety. Indeed, it was the nature of these ethnological collections that gave the Náprstek Museum its distinctive character. This was sometimes compared to collections in ethnological museums abroad, which were also created in the second half of the 19th century, but when they were made, *"in keeping with the aesthetic preferences of this or that traveller, regard was usually paid only to the art of the various tribes and to religious items, and in many cases typical items of everyday use were overlooked. Most of the Náprstek Museum's collections, however, have a universal nature that corresponds to modern-day scientific requirements and methods"* (Műller 1940: 123–124). Nevertheless, it was the scientific nature of the museum that in the 1960s became the justification for the disposal of many objects. From the records of the disposal committee we learn that *"the attached schedule of objects, with 54 pages and 935 items, consists mostly of objects of which the character does not correspond to the demands of a scientific museum"* (National Museum Archive, collection National Museum, carton 17, 1965, Náprstek Museum, inv.no.1081/65/A). They include objects from the original Náprstek collections made by the founder figures in the 19th century, including few items from František Czurda's collection.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF FRANTIŠEK CZURDA'S COLLECTION[4]

When identifying the oldest museum collections, we have to show a connection between the objects and all the available collection documentation belonging to the museum, including archives containing the papers of the various travellers (see the archives of the individual figures kept in the Náprstek Museum library). Given that only in a few cases have the numbers originally assigned to the objects when they came to the museum been preserved, the museum workers who from the 1950s onwards embarked on the classification and description of the museum's collections under new inventory numbers often had no idea what the origin of the objects was. The existing documentation was too disunified to provide easy orientation and a clear guide to the origin of an object. A number of objects that in the past had clear ties to their originators thus became objects with no originator, and thus with no history. In the case of Czurda's collection, this problem concerned a group of around 40 objects. In some cases it was possible to classify them by means of cross-checking, in which the objects were compared against the available documentation. A comparison with similar items in Czurda's collection in the Museum of Ethnology Vienna also helped. On the basis of photographs of the objects in Vienna, museum staff were able to work out the likely appearance of the objects that were missing from the Czurda collection in Prague, although the Náprstek Museum's original list of the objects showed them as having been in the museum. Some objects were traced to other museum collections, where they featured as items with no originator. In most cases a careful inspection of these objects yielded an original number, albeit often very hard to read.

The museum documentation that helped to identify Czurda's collection in its original form can be divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include the historical inventory registers, correspondence from the individual figures and original labels for objects in the collection kept in the Náprstek Museum library. Secondary sources are represented by various published materials on František Czurda. The most important are scrapbooks preserved in the Náprstek Museum library that contain press

4 For an inventory of the whole collection see pp. 121ff. I would like to thank the Náprstek Museum store keepers, Jitka Tymichová and Božena Kliková, for their precise work.

clippings from the period and other printed matter such as invitations to lectures, various announcements, as well as some letters. The Náprstek Museum's oldest inventory is a small-format book entitled *Ethnographical Department. Notes* (with 1–1854 added in pencil). In this book, Czurda's collection takes up numbers 1126–1436, in other words 310 items. These numbers have largely not been preserved on the objects. Czurda's collection follows on numerically from that of another doctor from the Dutch East Indies, Pavel Durdík, whose collection is entered under numbers 333–1125.[5] František Czurda's collection is entered on pages 41–53 under the title: *1882. Dr. Frt. Czurda ethnographical items.* Objects from this notebook were transcribed into the historical inventory registers made by Josefa Náprstková herself. There are six of them, and some of them have not been preserved in their original form but in transcription, such as volume 2. In this book Czurda's collection is listed on pages 1–9 under the title *Dr. František Czurda, sometime doctor in the islands of the Dutch [East] Indies, now of Postoloprty, 1882.* The objects were recorded under the numbers originally ascribed to them (1126–1436, see above), but in random order. They were then also given new inventory numbers, which were allotted to the objects in the subsequent renumbering of the collections that took place from the 1930s after the museum passed into state administration in 1931. In 1951 Professor M. Chmelař attempted to create a catalogue of the collection. His work, entitled *Ethnographic Objects from the Dutch East Indies, collected by Dr. František Czurda,* lists 260 items over 16 pages. For the objects up to number 146 in the list he gives the original and the newly-assigned inventory number, and a brief description of the item. From number 147 onwards he gives only the original number, with title. The list is imprecise, containing 26 items from other collectors. By comparing all three lists with the current state of the collection, it can be seen that of the original 310 items (not objects—there were more of these: item number 1432, for example, is a bundle of paper puppets, 19 in all) in the oldest, small-format inventory, 27 could not be identified with new inventory numbers. On the other hand, several inventory numbers were "left over", or the original number for them could not be found. Some of the items were removed from Czurda's collection after careful inspection, while others were successfully identified with their original number. Some objects could not be identified with the original number but were nevertheless left in the collection, because they fit in terms of their character and correspond to items in the Viennese part of the collection. Seven objects that still seem to have been in the collection in the 1950s, despite being recorded under new inventory numbers, are considered to have been lost. It is likely that they were disposed of in the 1960s.[6] The original 310 items were subsequently recorded under 326 new inventory numbers.

The primary sources that helped to identify the collection also include the original cardboard labels with which the objects were issued. There are over 18,500 of them in the Náprstek Museum library, and they are kept in 13 boxes. This method of labelling the objects (together with their display in labelled cases in the exhibition building) was sufficient to ensure the identity of the objects until the Second World War. The war saw a fundamental change in the organisation of the museum collections (see Kottner 1898), in that

5 The first 332 numbers consist of the African collection of Emil Holub. It is thus clear that these three collections were the foundation of the Náprstek Museum's ethnographical collections.

6 It will take some time before they can be found in the disposal records.

Fig. 34 **Bowl** | ***tempat cuci tangan***
Java
NM-NpM 11453
Brass; cast, chased, engraved.
H 11 cm, Ø 17.5 cm

the labels were removed from the objects. A total of 188 labels were preserved from Czurda's collections, and they can all be identified with specific objects.

REPORTS OF FRANTIŠEK CZURDA FROM HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Most of our information about Czurda comes from his contemporary, Pavel Durdík[7]. Durdík never met Czurda in person in the Dutch settlements, but they did meet quite by chance on Durdík's return journey to Europe in the Gulf of Bombay in 1883. Czurda was coming back from Bohemia to the Dutch East Indies. A report of the meeting even featured in a Prague newspaper:

Our countryman Dr. Pavel Durdík, who as a military doctor has spent five years in the service of the Dutch on the islands of Java and Sumatra, has asked to be released and is returning home. On his journey to Bohemia he met another countryman, Doctor Czurda, in Bombay. Czurda is returning from Bohemia to Batavia, where he is to undertake medical work (Pokrok, No 228, 26 September 1883).

During his time in Indonesia, Durdík did try to make contact with Czurda, as his correspondence with the Náprsteks shows:

At the request of Mrs. Náprstková, I sent Dr. Czurda from Aceh on 11 December [18]78 a bundle of various selected newspapers […] together with a letter in which I asked him to let me know when the parcel arrived, and he would receive more still. […] He was not moved to write back (Náprstek Museum Library, archive Náprstek, 48/124b, Fort de Kock, 2 March 1879, letter from Pavel Durdík to the Náprsteks).

7 For more on Pavel Durdík and his collecting in Indonesia see Pospíšilová et al. 2010.



Fig. 35–37 **Shadow puppets** | ***wayang***
Java, South Sulawesi (?)
NM-NpM 11020, 11010, 10998
Cardboard, painted, wood, thread.
H 27.5 cm, 11.2 cm, 14.5 cm; Stick L 34.5 cm, 37.5 cm, 33.5 cm

Durdík mentions Czurda in several places in his chapter on doctors in the Dutch East Indies Army in his book Five Years in Sumatra (see pp 116ff.).

There is also correspondence between Czurda and Vojta Náprstek. It is not extensive, however, consisting of occasional letters and cards with messages exchanged by Czurda and Náprstek when the latter was in Bohemia or in Prague itself. Náprstek repeatedly invited Czurda to visit him, but Czurda usually made excuses for not being able to come. Czurda was renowned for his eccentricity:

His melancholy character was generally conspicuous, even in Bohemia. He avoided contact both with people and the public at large. His only trusted friend was Vojta Náprstek [...]" (Česká politika, 3 May 1887).

However, Durdík had another explanation for his behaviour:
I often heard in Prague that Dr. Czurda shunned contact with people, that he avoided the public, was taciturn, distrustful, a recluse and so on—but he merely disliked our pitiful tavern life and idle political chatter. In the Indies this compatriot of mine was in his element. In the [Dutch East] Indies he loved society, and I believe he spent the last years of his life well and happily, insofar as his illness allowed it. He was used to a social life that [in Bohemia] we do not have, and which we do not even know how to replace [...] In Bohemia our home life invariably flows along a fixed channel of entertainments, celebrations, bazaars, memorials, trips, banquets, processions and addresses (Durdík 1893: 444).

Durdík had a great deal of respect for Czurda, not just because of his scientific and collecting work but because of his strong character. He valued the fact that Czurda had given Náprstek part of his Indonesian collection:

Dr. Czurda has been most chivalric in his gifts [...] acting as a model to many self-important bigwigs and lordly types. They are unable to appreciate something of this kind in Bohemia. […] A pity that I did not meet him here in the [East]Indies. [...] Dr. Czurda will certainly tell you many things about life here, making detailed letters unnecessary; finally, after several years of living here, the newness wears off, and what once charmed and attracted us now no longer interests us (Náprstek Museum Library, archive Náprstek 38/359a, Fort de Kock, 25 February [18]83, letter from Pavel Durdík to the Náprsteks).

CZURDA'S EAST INDIES MUSEUM AT POSTOLOPRTY

Czurda sent his collections from Indonesia to his father in Postoloprty in northern Bohemia, where his planned East Indies Museum started to take shape.

Following the pretty road into Louny, over the railway bridge to the gate […] we come across a house standing alone […] with the inscription 'Apoteke' (České noviny, No. 86, 10 April 1880).

There are enthusiastic descriptions of the museum in newspapers of the period. In addition to German-language Prague newspapers, the museum was also mentioned in Czech-language Prague dailies such as *České noviny, Národní listy* and *Pokrok:*
Dr. František Czurda […] sent his father, a pharmacist in Postoloprty, 1120 East Indian curiosities in 15 chests, which are now on display in his father's house. Among the items on display, which fill two rooms, are 20 skulls of the people of Java, Aceh, Malaysia, Nubi, China and others, both male and female, 40 weapons of all kinds, 4 valuable Korans from the demolished temple in Achin, 24 old Achinese books, 1 folio of Achinese prayers, 40 items for driving out demons and evil spirits, various yellow and red woven items; a finely-worked slipper belonging to a rich Chinese lady, and so on (České noviny, No. 41, 18 February 1880).[8]

The collection was generally considered a great peculiarity and rarity, as other newspapers indicate:

8 See CD-Rom, inventory number NpM 3447.



Fig. 38–40 **Shadow puppets** | ***wayang***
Java, South Sulawesi (?)
NM-NpM 11014, 11021, 11015
Cardboard, painted, wood, thread.
H 18.5 cm, 28 cm, 18 cm. Stick L 35.5 cm, 34.5 cm, 34 cm

Below:
Fig. 41 **Shadow puppet** | ***wayang***
Java, South Sulawesi (?)
NM-NpM 11019
Cardboard, painted, wood, thread.
H 37 cm. Stick L. 44 cm

Surveying this beautiful collection, we have to admire the skill and dexterity of the nations in those regions. In fabrics, carving, pearl inlay and metalwork above all they not only equal, but in many cases outshine our products (České noviny, No. 78, 1 April 1880).
The same newspaper returns to the collection ten days later:

And what of the collections? They contain riches of which we have hardly seen the like in Bohemia. The Industrial Museum in Prague has, of course, many similar items, carefully collected by Dr. [Otokar] Feistmantel and Dr. Pavel Durdík, but here we have several items in this field which can only be acquired in the happy circumstances in which Dr. Czurda collects them. His numerous contacts with native chieftains, his healing work in numerous families, his presence at the plundering of the temple in Achin, an abundance of finance and a love of collecting are circumstances that are favourable above all others […] It takes no small amount of energy to transport the huge models of houses of the Buginese on the island of Celebes[9]*, which Dr. Czurda has had made as faithful copies of the originals. […] One large consignment with pearls, pearl shells and other items sank with the boat carrying it on its way here. […] There can be no doubt that once the collections are completed and organised […] we will have one more specialist collection in Bohemia. […] We wish Dr. Czurda a safe return with much booty* (České noviny, No. 86, 10 April 1880).

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9 See CD-Rom inventory number NpM A19945.

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p. 36 right:
Fig. 42 **Ritual object** | ***sessunriwu***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10110
Lontar leaves, cotton.
L 83 cm, Ø 1.7 cm

p. 36 far right:
Fig. 43 **Nobles torch** | ***dama datu***
Belongs to 9976 and 10025.
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10129
Bamboo, lontar leaves, resin, cloth.
L 62.7 cm, Ø 6 cm

Above:
Fig. 44 **Ritual object** | ***pasili***
South Sulawesi
NM-NpM 10022
Lontar palm leaves.
L 30 cm

493 – 498. Devil expellers – *Pasili*
Small woven objects of lontar leaves representing spiders, flowers and all kinds of fantasy figures, which are used by the Bissus for various purposes. A large number of these pasalis are known, whose shapes are not random but rather always representative of something specific which must help against different spirits and illnesses. At weddings a number of these pasilis are thrown into the bath water in which the bride and groom will be bathed. The same is true for the new mother and the new-born child. The female doctors also use these as medicine to treat all imaginable illnesses and lay or tie these directly on the part of the body which is suffering; they are also thrown by the priestess over the head of the patient while the priestess dances and chants (Czurda 1883: 121f.).

THE COLLECTION OF FRANTIŠEK CZURDA IN DRESDEN

Petra Martin

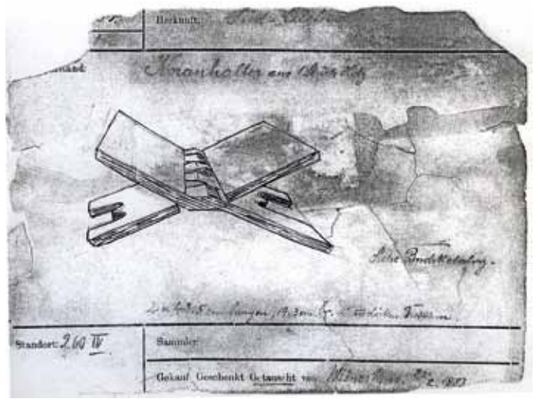

Fig. 45 Old inventory card at the Museum of Ethnology Dresden showing a Quran stand from the Czurda collection which went missing during the Second World War. SKD/SES/MVD 5134

The Museum of Ethnology in Dresden owns only a few objects from the extensive collection of František Czurda. Twenty-one objects came to Dresden in the framework of a larger exchange program in 1883 between the *Königlich Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum Dresden* ('Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnological Museum Dresden') and *Königliches Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum Wien* ('Royal Court Museum of Natural History') in Vienna, as the museums were known then. Among the objects were, according to the original information from Czurda, three silver buttons from Java, an arrow from New Guinea, a lance from Halmahera, as well as sixteen items of cultural documentation from the Bugis and Makassar, who lived in the south of the island of Sulawesi. Even these sixteen objects are so diverse (three ceramic pieces, two combs, three foot rings, two musical instruments and one fishing pole, a back scratcher, a pubic cover, a Qur´an holder, an instrument for cutting tobacco and a cotton beater, that they can hardly convey an idea of the complex culture of the southern Sulawesi's ethnic groups. Their significance is rather marginal in the Dresden Museum's collection of South Sulawesi objects, the catalogue of which comprises about 250 entries. This small group of objects does tell much more about the collecting strategy of that time.

Only in 1875 was an ethnological department created by the medical doctor and zoologist, Adolph Bernhard Meyer (1840–1911), who was the head of the Natural History Museum. Thereupon it was renamed *Königlich Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum zu Dresden.*[1] At the time of its founding, the section on ethnology had an inventory of about 2500 objects. Most of these had been transferred from other Dresden collections where the ethnographica had been kept—in previous centuries these had often been collected simply for their exotic nature. Meyer himself had brought back about 450 objects from research expeditions in the Dutch East Indies between 1871 and 1873. Among those were many cultural objects from Sulawesi, where he had spent about one year (Meyer 1876: 28).

It was the intention of A. B. Meyer, "[...] to give the collection in Dresden the stamp of a comprehensive South Pacific museum [including Southeast Asia; author's note], whose entire holdings could be fully used to allow a deeper understanding of the material culture of Eastern humanity" (Jacobi 1925: 38). His ambition of completeness contrast harshly with the limited financial resources available. Shortly after the founding of the museum, in 1882, it was declared "[...] that for the augmentation of the anthropological-ethnological collection not more than 2000 Marks should be spent annually" (Jacobi 1925: 40). Only years later would a patron be found who could make possible the acquisition of objects through generous donations. In this situation exchanging objects instead of purchasing them became a more and more important option. While only 5% of the new acquisitions in 1880 were obtained through exchanges, just two years later it was 20% (Bericht 1883: 31; Bericht 1885: 27). So-called duplicates were removed from extensive collections and then exchanged for duplicates from other institutions or private persons. The Viennese and the Dresden museums had especially close relationships for such exchanges. Their directors—Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884) and Meyer—enjoyed mutual, friendly contacts. Meyer was a member from the start, in 1870, of the Anthropological Society in Vienna, participated in its meetings and published regularly in its *Mittheilungen*. After 1879, these exchanges are documented.

In 1880 Meyer sent some objects from his own collection to Vienna. Besides that, both houses were "sector museums" with specialized programs, which proved advantageous for exchanges. Both zoological and anthropological items could be acceptable exchange goods. There is evidence, for example, of the exchange of duplicate specimens of certain kinds of beetles for human skulls or South Sea weapons (Bericht 1885: 27).

The friendship of the two directors also prevented them from becoming competitors for the Czurda collection. Czurda had offered to sell his collection to Dresden as well as to Vienna. In July 1883, Meyer traveled to Postelberg to inspect the collection, but withdrew from purchase negotiations when he learned that Vienna had also signaled its interest. Instead he advised Hochstetter to buy it: "Concerning the collection itself, it is exceptionally good and I can testify to that, since I am competent, being myself a traveler to Celebes. It would be a jewel and a valuable enrichment for our museum, since we [...] have a sixth or an eighth part of the objects" (Archive of the Vienna Natural History Museum, Z.245.d/1883: 2).

1 For more information on A. B. Meyer, see Martin 2005.

Fig. 46 **Quran stand**
South Sulawesi
MVW 17645
Wood; carved, painted.
L 41 cm, W 25 cm, H 21 cm

Quran
South Sulawesi
MVW 17854
Paper, leather.
L 25.3 cm, W 18.5 cm, H 3.8 cm

Oil lamp | *panjot dong*
Aceh
MVW 18064
Brass; cast, open work
H 30 cm, Ø 20.5 cm

He even provided his colleague in Vienna with a catalogue of the objects, which he had revised himself because, as someone who knew the region, Meyer was of the opinion that some of the notes about provenience were incorrect.

The twenty-one Czurda objects in the Dresden Museum remained for a long time without being inventoried. At the beginning there was a lack of trained personnel. From 1881 Max Uhle (1856–1944)[2], a trained linguist, was employed for some years as a scientific assistant in the museum and was responsible for the registration and cataloguing of the ethnological collection in book form. He created an impressive documentation of the collection with his meticulous descriptions of each and every piece, which he examined critically from both a scientific and a literary standpoint. The stock-taking progressed only slowly; in 1886 Uhle inventoried the first of the Czurda objects; the last ones were done 14 years later by his successors. Uhle consulted Czurda's catalogue for his own documentation but corrected some of the data about origins on the basis of comparisons with other pieces from the Dresden collection, and he showed relationships to similar objects from other regions.

2 Uhle later became director of the National Museum in Lima und acquired an international reputation as the founder of Peruvian archaeology.

Only a few of Czurda's objects and information were mentioned in the scientific publications of the Dresden Museum. In an art history study on the distribution and origins of brass in Sulawesi called "'Bronze´ Age in Celebes", Czurda's catalogue is quoted as a reference on the subject. Referring to the inclusion of the yellow metal anklets (cat. no. 5129–5131), the authors are cautious and point to the limits of the informational value of Czurda's objects: "[...] so it is advisable to refrain from speculation about the internal contexts because of the questionable origins of the material" (Meyer and Richter 1903a: 72).

The pubic cover (cat. no. 4999) and the flute (cat. no. 12814) are two further objects from Czurda that were used as objects of comparison in the published catalogue of the Sulawesi collections of the Sarasin brothers (Meyer and Richter 1903b: 119, 124).

A. B. Meyer and his assistant O. Richter worked on the collections of the Sarasins, publishing the results as "Celebes I" in 1903.[3] This shows that Meyer had planned to follow up this volume with "Celebes II" from the remarks, "[...] to follow up the current Celebes collection in Dresden consisting of 1200 pieces" and "[...] to set out the main features of an ethnography of Celebes, while the present work is only a collection

3 In thanks for its professional work on their collection and its publication, the brothers gave the Dresden Museum 103 objects, about one fifth of the collection, while the main part went to the museum in Basel.

Fig. 47 Inventory card at the Museum of Ethnology Dresden showing a pubic cover worn by little girls (*jempang*)
South Sulawesi
SKD/SES/MVD 4999
Coconut shell; carved
L 8.5 cm, W 6.5 cm

Facing page:
Fig. 48 A. B. Meyer 1890: pl. XXII

of materials. To attempt today to make such a representation appears to us to be premature, since the picture that might be drawn of the conditions of the population of that large island would still be too fragmentary" (Meyer and Richter 1903b: III). This publication, which would have surely included other objects from Czurda's collection, never came about because Adolph Bernhard Meyer was suspended from service in 1904.

Of the original 21 Czurda objects, there are now still 19 of them in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Dresden. A lance—according to Czurda (Czurda 1883: 1–2) from Halmahera—appears never to have been inventoried. Probably the weapon, which was most likely from New Guinea, was exchanged for zoologica by 1887 (Spezialberichte 1887: 7). A further object, the Qur'an stand, went missing during the Second World War. Only a pen- and -ink drawing on the index card and the extensive description in the main catalogue remain to give an impression of this piece (see fig. 45).

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SOUTH SULAWESI

Sirtjo Koolhof

Fig. 49 **Sulawesi** and the Indonesian archipelago
Graphics: R. Mittersakschmöller

The late nineteenth century, the period in which František Czurda lived in South Sulawesi, was an era of great changes in that region. The influence of the Dutch colonial government became increasingly important in the lives of, especially, the Bugis and Makassar population of the peninsula. However, that influence was mostly restricted to the town of Makassar and its immediate environment as well as to some small pockets around Dutch forts in the south. Most of the traditional kingdoms, or chiefdoms, were to all practical purposes independent and, despite treaties with the Netherlands Indies government, often opposed the Dutch fiercely. The Dutch took until the first decade of the twentieth century to conquer the whole area and to establish a more or less stable administration in the lowlands, while the upland region inhabited by the Toraja only came under the rule of the colonial government in the 1920s (Chabot 1996; Cummings 2002).

The first Dutch visitors to South Sulawesi had arrived there some 300 years previously. In the early seventeenth century traders of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, 'Dutch United East India Company') quickly realized the importance of Makassar in the interinsular trade of the archipelago. It was the access point to the eastern isles of the Maluku Islands where valuable spices grew. Cloves and nutmeg were the main objective of the VOC in undertaking the long journey from the Netherlands to the East Indian Archipelago in the late sixteenth century. Sailing to the Maluku Islands to obtain the much-wanted spices, the VOC ships regularly came across and had confrontations with Makassar traders who came to the eastern islands with the same purpose in mind.

In the early sixteenth century, Makassar, the harbour town at the southwestern tip of the southwestern peninsula of the island Sulawesi, in the early sixteenth century was a busy town at the center of a large international trading network. It was also the seat of the powerful twin kingdom named Makassar. With its origins in the kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq, Makassar had risen to power during the fifteenth century, and the first half of the sixteenth century saw it reaching its zenith under the reign of Sultan Alauddin of Gowa and his chancellor Karaeng Mattoaya of Talloq. At that time it basically ruled the waves of the eastern part of the East Indies. It was Sultan Alauddin who spoke the famous words : "God created the earth and the sea, distributed the earth among the people and gave the sea in common. Never has it been heard that somebody was forbidden to sail the seas. If you want to do that, you take the bread from the people's mouths. I am a poor king." This was his answer to the demands of the VOC that he stop Makassar spice traders from sailing to the Maluku (see Noorduyn 1965).

The kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq were two of the small states in the Makassar-speaking southern tip of the peninsula, the northern half being inhabited by the much larger group of Bugis-speaking inhabitants. Both ethnic groups have a very similar culture although their languages differ considerably. The political landscape of southwestern Sulawesi consisted of numerous small and a few somewhat larger chiefdoms and kingdoms. These were ruled by arung (B) and karaeng (M), whose ancestry went back to a first ruler who had descended from the upper world or ascended from the lower world. Around 1200 the intensification of rice agriculture had seen the formation of these chiefdoms that later grew into the larger political entities that came to be known as kingdoms.

The most well known of these are the Bugis kingdoms of Wajoq, Bone, and Soppeng and the aforementioned Makassar kingdoms of Gowa and Talloq. These states and their rulers were in a constant state of competition and often outright war with each other over resources, people and power. Throughout history power repeatedly shifted from one to the other, and alliances between them were seldom enduring. Makassar had taken over as the most powerful state from

Below left: Fig. 50 **A girl repairing a plastic fishing net**
Galesong, Takalar. Photograph by H. Lathief, 2007

Fig. 51 **Port of Paotere, Makassar, South Sulawesi**
Photograph by R. Mittersakschmöller, 2009

a Bugis kingdom named Siang, located to the north of the harbour. Makassar's power, however, would not be enduring either.

An alliance between the VOC, with its competing interests in the spice trade, and a prince from the east coast Bugis kingdom of Bone would defeat Makassar in the second half of the seventeenth century. Arung Palakka, the Bone prince, had been a prisoner of the Makassar rulers and felt deeply insulted by them. He was determined to bring them to defeat. He found a strong ally in the VOC, and in 1669 Sultan Hasanuddin of Makassar had to acknowledge his defeat. The treaty of Bungaya saw the rise of Bone as the most powerful kingdom in southern Sulawesi for the next centuries. That did not mean that Bone's alliance with the Dutch was more enduring than alliances between Bugis states. Bone was the last kingdom that surrendered to the Dutch in 1905, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had seen numerous conflicts and wars between Bone and the Dutch (Noorduyn 1961; Pelras 1996).

SOCIETY

Bugis and Makassar societies, although differing in language, share a common culture. The overwhelming majority of the Bugis and Makassar make their living in agriculture, mostly in wet rice cultivation. The lowlands along the coast and around the inland lakes of Tempe and Sidenreng are the sight of endless paddy fields. Trade, both local and with other regions, is also an important source of income. Along the coast, and also around the inland lakes, fishing is a main source of livelihood. Fish and rice are the staple food of the population. Villages usually lie along a road and consist of dozens to hundreds of wooden houses on stilts.

Their social hierarchy is an aspect Bugis and Makassar societies share with many other cultures in the Malay Archipelago. Three strata can be distinguished: nobility, commoners and slaves. Nobility, including royalty, trace their origins back to ancestors who in mythical times came to earth from the upper world or the underworld. The stories of how these ancestors came to live in the human world are found in many a local history, recorded in manuscripts. These stories recall the stories found in the epic of La Galigo in which the first human being Batara Guru descends to earth (see pp. 66–69). Nobility are 'white-blooded' according to tradition. Red-blooded commoners make up the largest social group in society. Slaves were often descendants of prisoners of war or people of other ethnic groups who had been taken captive in the past. Debts were also an important reason for people to end up in bondage. Those who were not able to repay their debts could become the property of somebody else.

People are very conscious of their social position. Especially in matters relating to marriage, one's social position and ancestry are of great importance. A woman is not allowed to marry a husband who is of lower descent than herself. Men and their families will do their utmost to find a woman of the highest possible descent. Nobles want to keep their blood as white as possible. The woman's family will have to wait until a proposal is made, but will always exert efforts to interest attractive partners in their daughters. Unsurprisingly, in Bugis and Makassar societies, weddings are the most important events in life. Elaborate ceremonies take place, usually lasting for days, and no costs are spared to make them as impressive as possible. Weddings are the occasion par excellence to demonstrate one's social position to the whole of society (Pelras 1996).

Marriage is thus clearly not only a union between two people, but between two families that confirm or enhance their social position within society. But groups larger than families also see marriage as a means to seal bonds. Intermarriage between the royal families of the various kingdoms was common. A well-known saying has it that Bugis and Makassar use the philosophy of the "three tips" to settle conflicts and establish social bonds. Firstly one uses the tip of the

Fig. 52 **Areas of major Bugis settlement. 17th–18th centuries.**
In: Robert Cribb 2010. *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History.* Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

tongue (talk). If that does not work, it is the turn of the tip of the penis (marriage) and as a last resort one turns to the tip of the kris (war).

RELIGION

In 1605 Sultan Alauddin of Makassar formally embraced Islam. Makassar had grown as a centre of international trade during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the people happily integrated foreign culture, knowledge and religion into their own lives. Karaeng Mattoaya's grandson Karaeng Pattingaloang surprised many a western visitor with his knowledge of European languages and his library containing western scientific publications. Concerning the formal conversion of Makassar to Islam, the story goes that both Catholic Portuguese and Muslim Malay traders wanted to convert Alauddin to their respective religion. Not wanting to choose between them, Alauddin proposed a contest. The Portuguese as well as the Malays were asked to bring one of their religious leaders to Makassar, and the belief of the one who arrived first in Makassar would be the new religion of the Makassar kingdom. As history has proven, it were the Malays who won the contest. The Portuguese catholic priest arrived too late, albeit only by a few days.
The conversion of the rulers and part of the nobility did not mean that the whole of Bugis and Makassar society suddenly became Islamized. That would be a process over centuries, and even nowadays many aspects of the pre-Islamic religion turn up in rituals and beliefs of the Bugis and Makassar peoples. The Bissu and their rituals are probably the most obvious example of this (see pp. 74–79). Their elaborate ceremonies are based on traditional indigenous beliefs with Austronesian roots that predate the coming of Islam to the island. The Bissu themselves, however, regard themselves as good Muslims, and some of them have performed the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, even more than once. Pre-Islamic beliefs also play an important role in the lives of ordinary people. Many an offering is made to the ancestors, to spirits, or to local shrines. In addition, the structure of Bugis and Makassar houses reflects traditional conceptions of the universe. The upper world, the middle world, and the lower world are represented in the attic, the living rooms and the space underneath the house (see pp. 70–73).

WRITING

A rather unique aspect of Bugis and Makassar societies is their rich written heritage. Various public collections in Indonesia, the Netherlands and other European countries—but also the people themselves—have preserved thousands of manuscripts written in the Bugis and Makassar languages. Indeed, one of the world's longest epics, La Galigo, is a product of the Bugis literary tradition (see p. 66–69).
Apart from this epic, and other literary genres like love poems and heroic poems, the manuscripts contain works on law, religion, divination, agriculture, medicine, magic, war, trade, seafaring and shipbuilding, and regulations for the behaviour of the rulers. A large proportion of the surviving manuscripts contain historical works. Most of the larger Bugis and Makassar kingdoms had their own chronicle describing the developments in the state starting with the first mythical ruler, to manurung. Genealogies—so important to tracing one's descent—of the royal lineage were also written down. Special mention should be made of diaries, or more exactly, daily registers. High court officials kept notes, in a matter-of-fact style, of large or small events taking place at the court and in the kingdom.
Exactly when writing was introduced in southern Sulawesi remains unknown. The oldest surviving manuscripts written in the indigenous script (known as lontaraq) date from the eighteenth century, but writing had been known hundreds of years earlier. The origins of the script, as of all known indigenous Indonesian scripts, can be traced back to an Indian model, but nothing is known about its closer ancestors. The script must have developed a considerable time before the introduction of Islam in South Sulawesi (around 1600 AD),

Fig. 53 **Lontar palm.** Makassar.
Photograph by S. Kuhnt-Saptodewo 2010

Fig. 54 **Bugis house.** Sanrobone, Takalar.
Photograph by S. Kuhnt-Saptodewo 2010

because otherwise it is very likely that these peoples would have adopted the Arabic script, as did the Malays (and to some extent the Javanese) (Caldwell 1988).
Like the other Indonesian writing systems the lontaraq script can be characterized as a semi-syllabary: each character represents a consonant followed by an inherent vowel. Diacritics placed under, above, before or after the character change the inherent vowel into another one. The script differs from other Indonesian indigenous scripts in that it lacks a way to indicate some sounds of the spoken language. These factors cause the script to be rather ambiguous, and texts written in it are multi-interpretable. The same script, with minor adaptations, is also used for the writing of the Mandar and Bima languages spoken on the island of Sumbawa.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While the town of Makassar and some other places along the coast of the peninsula had received visitors from abroad for centuries, the nineteenth century saw a much more intense contact with the outside world. Not only did the peoples of southern Sulawesi intensify their trade with the western part of the archipelago—after the establishment of Singapore as a free port in the early nineteenth century, Bugis traders even settled in large numbers there—but the colonial authorities also strove to expand their influence to the interior. No wonder the number of wars between the Indies government and the kingdoms saw a steep rise.
However, not only the colonial authorities showed their interest. Sulawesi also attracted the attention of European travelers, adventurers, scholars and entrepreneurs. They were usually genuinely interested in the peoples and their culture. James Brooke (1803–1868), for example, visited the kingdom of Wajo before he settled in Borneo and became 'rajah' of Sarawak. Some years later the Austrian Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858) visited the region on one of her trips around the world, and wrote a wonderful account of her travels and encounters with the people. Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), with Charles Darwin (1809–1882) the co-founder of the theory of evolution, was in Makassar in the 1850s, and the unique fauna of Sulawesi was an important source of inspiration for the theory. The scholar who spent the most time in the area was the Dutch Bible-translator B. F. Matthes (1818–1908), who from 1850 onwards spent decades in the area to study the Bugis and Makassar languages and literature. Up till today his works are indispensable for our knowledge about these languages.

From their accounts we know that life in nineteenth century southern Sulawesi was rough, and often dangerous. Conflicts, sometimes outright wars, thugs and diseases made life difficult. Westerners were met with suspicion. Matthes, for example, had wanted to visit the most powerful Bugis kingdom of Bone for years. When he finally set off, he was refused entrance and since nobody was allowed to assist him, he had to return to Makassar on foot, a journey of many days during which he had to sleep with two guns at his side for protection. Of course, the intrusion of foreigners into the life of the Bugis and Makassar did not always lead to conflicts. Matthes also had long-term friendly relationships with many of his informants. And Bugis and Makassar culture had always been fairly open to outside influences: from the acceptance of the script, to conversion to Islam and to interest in foreign knowledge. Frantisek Czurda's keen interest in the indigenous cultures must have met with a similarly keen curiosity of the Bugis and Makassar in his own culture and traditions.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The period Czurda spent in the Malay Archipelago also saw the beginning of a Dutch imperialist policy that aimed to expand the power of the colonial government to the 'outer regions' of the

Netherlands East Indies. Up to that time its rule had been restricted to Java, the most populous island, and some small pockets in the other areas, for example, Makassar and Manado on Sulawesi, and Ambon and Ternate in the Maluku. This desire of the colonial authorities provoked a number of wars against traditional powers all over the Archipelago. For example, the early years of the twentieth century saw the defeat of the rulers in Bali, Sulawesi and Aceh.
The main target in southern Sulawesi was the kingdom of Boné and its ruler La Pawawoi. In 1905 he was defeated and exiled to Bandung in West Java. The power of other indigenous rulers also came to an end. The colonial government became more and more involved in ruling the area, and various administrative measures put an end to traditional structures of government and the power of the nobility. Accompanying this was an increasing presence of modernist Islamic movements like Muhammadiyah that propagated the Islamic ideal of equality of all human beings. The rise of the Indonesian nationalist movement, which also aimed to abolish all kinds of 'feudalism' put even more pressure on their position, as did the spread of Western education.

When at the end of the Second World War nationalist leaders Soekarno and Muhammad Hatta declared the independent Indonesian Republic on 17 August 1945, South Sulawesi entered a period of widespread unrest that would last for almost twenty years. The war of independence against the Dutch colonial army KNIL during the late 1940s was a fierce struggle, which saw the summary execution of thousands of villagers by KNIL troops led by Captain Raymond Westerling. On 27 December 1949 the Netherlands finally accepted its defeat by the nationalist freedom fighters and handed over sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia. This, however, did not mean a return to peace for the inhabitants of the peninsula. Nor did it signal a return to their old standing for the nobility, many of whom had sided with the colonial government.
Shortly after independence a conflict arose about how the many freedom fighters from South Sulawesi would be integrated in the Indonesian national army. Abdul Qahar Muzakkar, a Bugis man from Luwu who had fought against the Dutch on Java, played a key role in this conflict. He demanded the formation of an army unit made up exclusively of former freedom fighters from South Sulawesi. When the central command refused, he withdrew into the jungle and began a guerilla war against the army. In 1953 he affiliated his organisation with the fundamentalist Darul Islam movement in West Java, and his struggle against the national army broadened to a battle against indigenous customs and traditions and their most manifest representatives, the nobility. For more than a decade the whole of South Sulawesi suffered because of the guerilla war. Traditional artifacts, including manuscripts, were burned and Bissu were killed. Only in 1965 did the situation return to normal and the civil war end after Qahar Muzakkar was killed by the Indonesian army (Harvey 1974, Van Dijk 1981).
In 1965 the situation changed radically, not only in South Sulawesi. In that year General Suharto began his more than 30-year military rule of Indonesia, after an alleged coup d'etat by the Indonesian Communist Party. His 'New Order' government began with the mass killing of hundreds of thousands supposed communists and their supporters, most of them on the islands of Java and Bali. The consolidation of power under the New Order regime from the 1970s onwards gave rise to a steady economic growth that lasted until the mid-1990s, from which South Sulawesi also profited greatly.

Fig. 56 ***Mappacci*-ceremony at the house of a groom**
Amparita. Photo by Sirtjo Koolhof, 1996

Cultural life and traditional ceremonies witnessed a rebirth, especially since the 1980s. For example, because of the booming economy more and more people could afford to organize elaborate, multiple-day wedding ceremonies, festivities that in the past were confined to members of the high nobility (Millar 1989). The study of traditional culture at Hasanuddin University in Makassar also became more popular during the 1980s and 1990s, resulting in a number of publications on aspects of Bugis and Makassar culture. Interest in the local traditional literature, mostly written down in manuscripts, also resulted in a large project of collection and preservation of manuscripts in private hands, which were dispersed all over the province (Mukhlis PaEni et al. 2003). Traditional architecture from the entire province—Mandar, Toraja, Bugis, Makassar and other—became the focus of a cultural theme park built at the site of Sombaopu, the fort from which Sultan Hasanuddin fought the combined troops of Arung Palakka and the VOC in the 1660s.

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Fig. 57 ***Mabbobboq tedong* ritual, the offering of a buffalo.**
Amparita. Photo by Sirtjo Koolhof, 1996

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Fig. 58 **Teakettle**
Aceh
MVW 18069
Brass
27.5 x 19 x 20 cm

135. Teakettle
A common teakettle, formed just like a European one; the outer surface decorated with smooth, lengthwise ribs, made by the natives themselves, as are all of the brass objects described here which were found on Aceh. Since tea is a favourite drink of all the natives of the Indian Archipelago, such a utensil as the tea kettle, made of more or less expensive materials, is to be found in every household. Pure water is drunk by the natives only rarely, they usually prefer cold or tepid tea, which stands drink-ready all day long. All the tea in Aceh is imported from China and sold by travelling Chinese salesmen. On Java there are large tea plantations which were planted by the Dutch. The tea plant is not native there and thrives only at an altitude of between 4 and 5,000 feet. The plantations on Java are now primarily in private hands: Europeans and Chinese (Czurda 1883: 32 f.).

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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF SOUTH SULAWESI

Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo

In the sixteenth century, when European traders, travelers and missionaries went to Southeast Asia, they brought back with them rich and vivid descriptions of life at the many courts and of ordinary people on their everyday activities in the port cities as well as in the countryside. These Europeans—Portuguese from 1509, Spanish from 1523, English from 1579, and Dutch from 1596 (Reid 1988: XV)—were surprised by the international outlook of the many seaports with foreign vessels from China and India, from Persia and from the Arab world harbouring there. One of the important trade centres was Makassar on the southern peninsula of Sulawesi. Together with some other minor port towns, Makassar developed into the centre it was for the following reasons: on the peninsula rice could be grown abundantly; on the northern edge of the gulf of Bone, forest products and nickelipherous iron were traded; on the southern coast of the peninsula the best wharfs of Island Southeast Asia developed, therefore Bugis seafarers are considered the best in this part of the world. Makassar was a perfect gateway en route from the Maluku spice islands to any of the Asian (and European) destinations.
It is no wonder that on this peninsula early metal-age drums, Buddha statues, medieval Chinese porcelain and pre-Islamic gold masks can be found. All these items reflect the glamour of international trade and power relations. Within the area, social life was marked by intermarriage as well as severe disputes, peace treaties and unfortunately war. Although there are four major societies—the Makasar, the Bugis, the Mandar, and the Toraja—inhabiting the peninsula, the material culture of the former three, and especially the Bugis and Makasar has almost become the same. The only difference is the language and so there are different words for (almost) the same objects.

Although places like Makassar became known to the "Western" world, the major part of the peninsula especially the interior remained widely unknown to the Europeans. While most areas became known to the European world only by the early twentieth century, some insight was given by visitors like Thomas Forrest (1729?–1802), Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), James Brooke (1803–1868), Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) and by the only lady in the group, Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858). Let us look into the diary of James Brooke, who became known as the "White Raja of Sarawak", published by Captain Rodney Mundy in 1848.

That portion of the Journals which is descriptive of Celebes will be found worthy of special attention, as it gives to Europe, for the first time, the history of the great independent kingdoms of a fine island, hitherto almost unknown, and whose native princes are most desirous of forming commercial relations with the English nation.
The constitution of these Bugis states is very remarkable, more especially that of Wajo, which, as Mr. Brooke observes, "bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather of that period in the history of the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were acknowledged;" and, strange to say, these are the only people we are acquainted with, professing the Mohamedan religion, who have emancipated themselves from the fetters of despotism (Mundy 1848: iv).

Fig. 59 From: Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, vol III, suppl. I, pl. II. Chromolithograph.

CLOTHING

The clothing worn in South Sulawesi has changed in various ways, mainly through contact with other cultures. The custom of wearing jackets or shirts came from the Portuguese and from Arab traders they adopted trousers and head coverings. Another main factor which led to these changes was due to changes in religious practices. Many foreign travelers spoke widely about the "nakedness" of the people in Southeast Asia, including those from South Sulawesi. What they meant, however, was that their upper bodies were naked and their feet bare. Only princes and nobles wore magnificent jackets, influenced by their European contacts. James Brooke describes a Bugis nobleman, dressed to receive a visitor, in 1840:

He is about forty-five or forty-eight years of age; of a melancholy countenance and grave demeanour. His dress was magnificent, composed of puce-coloured velvet, worked with gold flowers: the trousers, rather loose, of the same material, reached half-way down the calf of the leg, and were fastened by six or eight real gold studs. The baju (or jacket), buttoned close up, was fastened with the same material at the throat, and down the breast, and each sleeve had a row of golden buttons up the fore-arm. A blue gold-embroidered sarong, or kilt, was round his waist, over a handsome gold and jewelled kris; and on his head a light scull-cap of gold, neatly and elaborately carved (Mundy 1848: 57).

Fig. 60 **Blouse | *waju rawang***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro
Cotton; plain weave, hand sewn.
MVW 17795
H 58.5 cm, W 103 cm

Right:
Fig. 61 **Bugis woman wearing a *baju bodo***
In: Meyer 1889: pl. XXXVII, 2.

Thomas Forrest, who visited the region in about 1785, wrote about the dress of the Buginese:

The inhabitants of Celebes are very industrious, weaving a great deal of cotton cloth, generally cambays[1], which they export to all Malay countries; it is red chequered and mixed with blue; they also make beautiful silk belts, in which they fix their cresses. [...]
The Buggess cambay, though only one garment, which shrowds from head to heel when the wearer sleeps, is often sold from 6 to 10 Spanish dollars a piece; some are fine as cambric very strong wove, but dull coloured; being chequered, it much resembles tartan, and is often worn like a sash gathered up on one shoulder over a tight waistcoat, and breeches that reach within a span of the knee. Altogether a Buggess resembles much a Scotch highlander, when the ends of the plaid are sewed together; his arms are sword, lance, dagger (durk) and target, sometimes a musquet and bayonet, or blunderbuss, instead of the lance; but then he is attended by a lad, who, himself armed, carries several lances (Forrest 1792: 79–80).

1 Cambay is a general term from that time for all types of cotton cloth which looked like cotton from Cambay in India.

An innovation in the clothing of the Bugis men was the wearing of trousers *(sulara*, from Arabic: *sarwal)*. Pelras believes that this change, as has already been suggested, was definitely due to Arab influence (Pelras 2006: 270), so the people of Sulawesi could have copied these garments from the Arab traders who had visited the northern part of Sumatra since the thirteenth century. According to Marsden there was also already cultural interaction between the people of South Sulawesi and Sumatra in the sixteenth/seventeenth century:

The Macassars and Bugges people who come annually in their praws from Celebes to trade at Sumatra, are looked up to by the inhabitants, as their superiors in manners. The Malays affect to copy their style of dress, and frequent allusions to their feats and achievements of these people are made in their songs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly surpasses that of all others in the eastern seas, acquires them this flattering distinction. They also derive part of the respect paid them, from the richness of the cargoes they import, and the spirit with which they spend the produce in gaming, cock-fighting, and opium-smoking (Marsden 1784: 172).

Pelras suggests that this change began from the second half of the sixteenth century (2006: 270), and he reports that the Buginese had two different types of trousers: one knee-length, *sulara lampé* (B), the other was a kind of shorts, *sulara ponco* (B). In Czurda's description these are *saluwara maponco* and *saluwara malampe* (fig. 63 and fig. 64).
According to Lathief both of these types of trousers are still worn today throughout Sulawesi. The knee-length trousers are worn under a sarong. For official occasions, however, men also wear full-length pants, similar to those used in Europe. The sarong, which is either delicately draped crosswise from one shoulder or wrapped around the waist like a belt, continues to be worn today. Sarongs are worn in this way especially in their leisure time or for a visit to a mosque for the Friday prayer and on formal occasions traditional dress is very much favored. The multi-purpose sarong can also be converted into a kind of jacket when the upper body needs to be covered or pulled over the head during wet weather (pers. comm. Oct. 2009).

The tradition of wearing shirts and garments for the upper body goes back, according to Pelras, to the seventeenth century. The term *waju kameja* can probably be derived from the Portuguese term *camisa*, as the Portuguese were present in this region at that time.
The object in fig. 62 is a jacket that was probably worn by princes since it was intricately embroidered with gold threads. Such a jacket was surely cut out with scissors and then sewn together, which leads to the conclusion that it is not an old, indigenous tradition since indigenous clothing was made from whole cloths. The traditional garments were only wound around the body, as was, for example the women's *waju bodo* or a sarong. For this reason Lathief suspects that the jacket might have been a gift from a European. Nowadays these magnificent tailored jackets can no longer be found.

Fig. 62 **Man's jacket | *waju***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17803
Wool, cotton; printed, golden metal thread
67 x 163,5 cm

574. Jacket – *Wadju*
A man's short jacket, also with a standing collar, wide sleeves, made from green European cloth. The breast parts on both sides as well as the collar are decorated with short gold cords. This jacket is worn by nobles and privileged people in their daily lives, while at festivities and great ceremonies they prefer jackets which are made of European velvet or silk. Front, sleeves and collar are covered with rich embroidery. The buttons are of gold with precious stones, mostly diamonds (Czurda 1883:147).

On another occasion Brooke was greeted by the troops of a noble Bugis, who met his ship:

A body of 3000 or 4000 men were ranged within and without the courtyard, dressed precisely alike, in skull caps and blue sarongs over the kris. […]
Behind the monarch were half a dozen handsome boys, his own relations; and two rows of young rajahs were seated cross-legged on his right hand. Like those without, they were naked to the waist, wearing only skull caps and sarongs, and preserving a profound silence (Mundy 1848: 131–132).

What Brooke calls the skull cap was a *songko to Bone,* a head covering woven from wild orchid bark (*anemmi*). Noble women from Bone made these caps and only the nobles were permitted to wear them (Pelras 2006: 271). Even now the Bugis like to wear a hat (*songko*), which is usually woven from lontar palm. The nobles usually wear a *songko* in black with gold stripes. The higher the rank, the larger the stripes. In the shops in Makassar a *songko* of this type with golden threads can command a price of IDR 8 million (approx. € 800.-) today.

According to Lathief, in earlier times a Bugis man carried a knife (*kawali*) as his everyday attire. This is no longer possible since the carrying of weapons in public is forbidden by the Indonesian government. The men also carried a kind of bag, *purukang*, bound to their belt, which contained three basic luxuries, money, tobacco and betel. Czurda collected two such objects (fig. 67).
About the garments of the Bugis women, Brooke wrote:

The dress of the women is plain; and, in all respects, they appear less fond of ornamenting their persons than the men. A sarong reaching to the feet, and a muslin [sic!] bajo worn loose, and showing all the bust and bosom, compose the dress. The hair, long and black, is generally drawn tight off the face, à la Chinoise, and turned up behind. Women of rank, and females of their household, wear the thumb-nail long, and enclosed in a preposterously long case (Mundy 1848: 81–82).

Women in South Sulawesi traditionally wear two types of blouse: *waju bodo*, fine and transparent, is primarily worn by the Bugis, while the Makassars wear *waju labu* which resemble long shirts and are not transparent (fig. 5, for more see pp. 96–109).
South Sulawesi women have both autonomy and economic importance, a common pattern in Southeast Asia. Their reproductive role gave them magical and ritual powers that were difficult for men to match. Their roles included the transplanting and harvesting of rice, weaving and marketing (Reid 1988:146).
In his diary Brooke wrote about the Bugis women who accompanied him:

The Wajo women enjoy perfect liberty, and are free from all the restraints usually imposed by the Mahomedan religion. They are not handsome, but playful and good tempered — not modest, though very chaste. The ladies of high rank are as indolent and self-indulgent as ladies of high rank are apt to be (Mundy 1840: 89–90).

Andaya noticed that South Sulawesi women are regarded as the preservers of the family's good name and ranking, so a marriage between a woman of high status and a man of lower status is looked upon as an attack on her family's social position (Andaya 2004: 72–75). So this led to the intermarriage only among the noble and royal in the Sultanates in South, Middle and Northern Sulawesi (e.g. Tolitoli). Women had also a complementary role to that of men in warfare. They were present with their husbands during wars and played an important role.
Formerly a child wore a modesty plate or pubic cover (*jempang*) and a breast cloth, but nowadays this is no longer common (fig. 69). He or she is given an amulet, called *simak*, made from a little square sack of brightly colored cotton into which strips of paper inscribed with verses from the Koran have been sewn. This is hung by a string around the neck of the child (see fig. on back cover). Czurda wrote that these amulets were sold by the Haji for a high price (Czurda 1883: 123). According to Lathief the amulet was given to a baby to protect it from daily mishaps such as sickness, falling down or other minor accidents. Each patiently sewn bag was presented on a special occasion and at a certain time of a child's life that was significant for the person receiving it. The *simak* with seven little bags shows that its owner had already reached adulthood. Nowadays *simak* woven out of gold threads, are used as jewelry in dance performances or during festivities. There is also a *simak* which is circular in shape and does not contain Koran verses. This is worn on the upper arm along with the *waju bodo*, i.e., *simak taia*.
A Bugis child/girl can wear the *waju rawang* (a transparent blouse) without an undergarment, only until her breasts begin to develop. Then a ceremony called *repasang waju* ('wearing the blouse') is held, at which time she is presented with twelve *waju bodo.* This is a sign that they are of marriageable age and they may, or must, wear the *waju bodo.*

Above: Fig. 63 **Trousers | *sulawara maponco***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17790. Cotton, silk, bast, plain weave.
47 x 71.5 cm

558–559. Saluwara – *Mapontjo*
Two short trousers similar to our swim pants, which are worn under the sarongs by men and women. The material from which they are made is a beautiful silk, made by the natives, red, brown, yellow and black striped. The men, who only wear these short trousers, the sarong half folded around their chest and tightly wound under the armpits always appear with naked legs (Czurda 1883:145).

Left: Fig. 64 **Trousers | *saluwara-malampe***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17792. Cotton, plain weave, hand sewn, stitched. 103.5 x 102 cm

563. *Saluwara-malampe*
A long, wide pair of trousers, similar to the European type, of red, black-striped hand-made cotton, mostly only worn by Makassars and only by men. Probably copied from a European model, also only to be found in the areas close to the coasts where the people have had contact for centuries with Europeans and Chinese (Czurda 1883:146).

Following pages:
Fig. 65 **Sarong | *lipa***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17783. Cotton, plain weave, hand sewn, chintzed
L 150 cm, W 108 cm

Fig. 66 **Sarong | *lipa***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
MVW 17784. Cotton; plain weave, hand sewn, chintzed. L 145.5 cm, W 105.5 cm

554–555. Skirts – *Lipa*
Two large sarongs of smooth, simple fabric, one blue and white striped with a white chequered "head", the other red and white striped with a white chequered "head". Both are exceptional because they have been made extremely stiff and on the outer surface they are mirror-smooth. Such stiff sarongs are worn by both men and women and only for special occasions, they are thus, the festive clothing. They form very peculiar puffed out clothes in which the native moves very slowly, stiffly and elegantly. The clothes are stiffened with a plant slime; the cloth is painted on the outer side and then allowed to dry. Smoothing takes place with a smooth, round shell which is rubbed on the cloth that has been painted with the slime; this is done for a very long time, often it takes days and can only be carried out at all thanks to the indescribable patience of the natives who make such a complex procedure possible at all (Czurda 1883: 144).

Fig. 67 **Belt pouch | *purukang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17815
Velvet, silver, mother of pearl
31 x 27 x 7 cm

648. Belt bag – *Purukang*
A black bag the size of a plate made of European cloth; the top has a small neck that can be pulled together. On this neck there are two pieces of wood opposite each other which form the closing of the bag. This container is used to hold chewing tobacco, money and all sorts of small things that one needs to have at hand when leaving the house. It is either hung from the belt or fastened around the body with an elegant cord or silver chain. Hanging on one side of it there is a fist-sized box of chased silver, called "salapa". This holds the ready-to-chew betel balls or simply chewing tobacco. These belt bags are worn on South Celebes by every well-to-do man; they are part of the accessories of the clothes (Czurda 1883: 157).

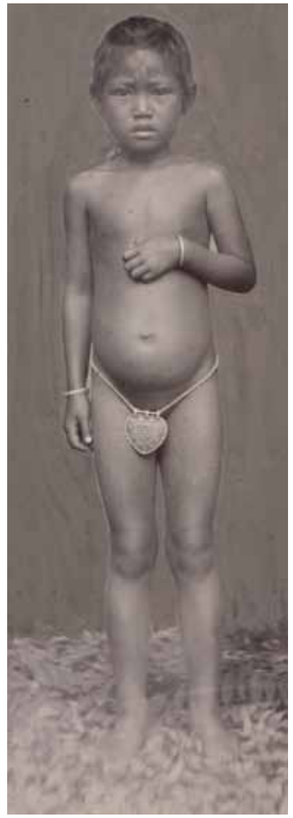

Fig. 68 **Girl from Makassar,**
Náprstek Museum Library, Photograph collection of Josef Kořenský (1892/93), 193.335, detail

When the spice trade began to flourish and grow in the seventeenth century, Makassar became an important port because of its strategic location between the Spice Islands of Maluku and mainland Asia. Various factors caused South Sulawesi to emerge as the leading cloth exporter of the Archipelago. As many districts of South Sulawesi are too dry and barren for rice growing; the women passionately devoted themselves to weaving and the men to shipbuilding. Another important factor was that the cloth of the Bugis and Makassar "achieved a unique reputation for fine, consistent weave and clear colours—mainly in the checked pattern favoured by Muslims" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Reid 1988: 95).
Its location between two important textile producing and trading countries, India for cotton and China for silk, gave Southeast Asia an advantage in acquiring textiles. Weaving of cloth is also a common practice in Southeast Asia. Cotton was more popular than silk in Southeast Asia, although mulberry trees and silk worms may have been indigenous to the region (Reid 1988: 93–98). The weavers of South Sulawesi produce both cotton and silk. The Bugis state of Wajo was and is an important source of silk, where the cultivation has continued into modern times. Nowadays Southern Sulawesi still produces beautiful intricately hand and machine woven silk.
A loom was part of the furniture in almost every household. As described by Czurda, the function of the bamboo at the top end of the loom (*tanrajeng*) is confirmed by Lathief. The two pieces of bamboo at the top of the loom hit each other causing a steady, regular rhythm supposedly to attract men. The rhythm is a reason for a man to fall in love and as explained by Lathief, the specific rhythm of the loom determines the character of the girl. For example, if she is patient and dainty, or coarse and arrogant, and so on (Oct. 2009).
The designs in weaving are called *balu* (B) and *curak* (M). *Curak caddi* (M) are geometric, rectangular plaids (fig. 130) which can be larger or smaller. In the past, each large family had its own design (see pp. 96–109).
Another type of cotton cloth used in South Sulawesi is *kain pali pa garusu*, which are rubbed with shells until they are smooth and shiny. Because of this painstakingly laborious process, these cloths are much more expensive and definitely more valuable than silk. Ritualistically they have the highest rank in importance for the wearer. Normally only the nobles or elderly, highly respected men or women wear them. During a ceremony, the wearer of this type of cloth stands right up front, which is another indicator of the high social status. Those who do not belong to this class or rank do not generally wear this kind of cloth (Lathief, Oct. 2009).

Fig. 69 **Pubic cover | *jempang***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17839
Coconut, silver. 7 x 6 x 1.2 cm

670. Pubic cover – *Djempang*
A small heart-shaped plate of chased silver about the size of the palm of a hand; two rings are attached at the top of the broader part by which the plate can be hung on cords or a silver chain around the hips of the child so that the plate can hang in front of the pubic area. These plates are worn by all girls throughout South Celebes until they have reached the age of puberty, about 12 years. Besides the breast cloth mentioned above, this is the child's only piece of clothing (Czurda 1883: 160).

The shine made by this technique does not last if the cloth is washed, therefore the garments of this material are always hung up after they have been worn (figs. 65, 66).

DAILY LIFE

South Sulawesi's staple food was and is rice, eaten three times a day. Other common foods are sticky rice and manioc. For ceremonies sticky rice is prepared in four different colors: white and black are natural colors of the rice; yellow is attained by cooking the rice with turmeric (*curcuma*) and red by using the leaves of *mengkudu* (*Morinda Citrifolia*) (fig. 72). A medley of other foods, mainly vegetables and fish, accompany the rice. Chicken, beef and goat are also favorites, but only for special occasions as meat is expensive for the normal population. This is why they consume a healthy amount of fish and vegetables. In principle, pork is never eaten on South Sulawesi, since the majority of the people are Muslims.
The specialties of Bugis cuisine appear in various travel descriptions. When Brooke visited one of the Bugis sultanates, Wajo, he was received with a sumptuous feast:

The cookery was excellent, and the native dishes served up in small saucers, as relishes. Each person has a salver covered with these dainties before him, with a quantity of rice, the only distinction being that the tray or salver of people of rank has a stand, whilst the crowd eat with them placed on the ground. These dishes are forced-meat balls of fowls or fish, broiled venison, buffalo flesh minced and richly cooked with cocoa-nut milk, a curry or stew, eggs prepared in various ways, omelettes, besides many others (Mundy 1848: 78).

Fig. 70 **Breast cloth | *boro***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17809
Cotton, patchwork, hand sewn. 38 x 36.5 cm

579–580. Breast Cloth – *Boro*
Two small breast cloths for children, fastened around the neck and body by ribbons. One of these cloths is made of triangular, variously colored pieces of European cotton; the other is of red silk hemmed with a gold-embroidered band. Worn from the time the girl is very small until puberty, this is the only piece of clothing besides a modesty plate (Czurda 1883: 148).

Today food is still eaten in the traditional manner, with the fingers. A small mouthful of rice is formed with the three middle fingers with some vegetables and/or fish. The food is then brought to the mouth with the help of the thumb, taking great care not to soil the palm. Only the right hand is used for eating.
As can be seen in the photo (fig. 16), the foods are presented on covered plates. The covers today are plastic, but previously they were made of leaves from lontar palms, using very complex weaving techniques, called *timpallang* und *calodung. Timpallang* is a method of weaving, which is a three to six sided pattern. This technique is very common in Southeast Asia. *Calodung* is a more complicated wrapping technique. The two techniques were often combined in South Sulawesi, so that the region became well-known for this specialty in the manufacture of food coverings (Jasper/Pringadie 1912: 52–63; 154–159). Sadly, these skills have been nearly forgotten. Most woven objects—as mentioned already—are made from the leaves of the lontar palms, sometimes from bamboo or rattan. Lontar palms grow all over South Sulawesi and they tower above the landscape (fig. 53). Today, because a few objects are still made from these palms, they grow everywhere. Legends tell us that the

Fig. 71 **Basket | *baku***
South Sulawesi, Bantaeng
MVW 17462
Rattan, brass wire, coins; woven.
H 23 cm, Ø 43.5 cm

Fig. 72 **Offering of rice in four colours and an egg during the rice planting ritual *('mappaliliq')* ritual.** Segeri.
Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

origin of the lontar palms is connected with the Sultanate of Gowa (one of the Bugis sultanates); for everywhere the lontar palms grow, those regions have something to do with that royal house (Lathief, July 2010). Bamboo, being the cheapest material is used for everyday objects. Rattan, on the other hand, is relatively expensive and more difficult to obtain. For this reason, valuable and long lasting objects are made of rattan.

The people in South Sulawesi drink a great deal of boiled water and tea. Water is fetched from a well or from a nearby river. They probably got the habit of boiling their water from the Chinese, since we know from travel accounts that the Southeast Asians were boiling their drinking water as early as the seventeenth century (Reid 1988: 38–39). Reid also claimed that the Europeans picked up this habit from the Southeast Asians. In South Sulawesi, Brooke was served hot, boiled water: "At our house the rajahs dismounted with us, and we underwent the ceremony of eating sweetmeats, and drinking hot water […]" (Mundy 1848: 77). Water from the well does not need to be boiled since it is clean and tastes best when kept in a clay jar. Czurda observed that a large container of unglazed, fired clay, with a clay lid for storing water could be found in every home (1883: 41). Till today, nearly every household has such clay jars, as people drink a great deal of water after a sumptuous meal.

Teapots made of copper and brass are common in the whole Archipelago, probably influenced by Arabian traders. This teapot is very similar to a European model. Czurda bought this teapot in Aceh, but pots just like this were also being used in South Sulawesi (fig. 58). The people ate sweets with their tea in the afternoons. During the fasting month of Ramadhan, women baked different types of cake and biscuits for the fast-breaking in the evenings. Traditionally rice flour and sticky-rice flour are used for the sweets, which are baked in clay ovens. Today there is a flour mill for wheat flour (*tepung terigu)* in Makassar, which of course is imported.

Czurda observed that in most Bugis houses there was a separate room for cooking where stones for cooking were placed on a layer of sand or dirt on the woven bamboo floor, to prevent the floor from catching fire. In the dry season, cooking was usually done outside, in front of the house. The cooking pot was set on three stones of equal height and the fire lit under it (Czurda 1883: 40). Today they also cook with gas ovens as well as open fires are used.

The people of South Sulawesi plant rice in *sawah* ('wet rice cultivation') and *tegal* ('dry rice cultivation'). They celebrate the harvest, which Czurda also observed. He described the use of the knife for harvesting rice and the use of a rice block, *palungang lampe*. The use of rice harvesting knife is very common in the Archipelago and in many regions is called *ani-ani*. In Java and Bali it is connected with the goddess of rice known as Dewi Sri. In Bugis the knife is called *rakapang*.

Czurda's interest in the social and cultural background of the people in South Sulawesi produced a very valuable record of the use of the objects within their social context, such as his description of the rice block:

The present rice block is the smallest of this kind that exists. Rice blocks are made from whole tree trunks, often three or four meters long. This one has only two depressions, like mortars, while the larger ones also have, besides these round cavities, elongated, trough-shaped cavities. In the latter the collected rice heads are separated from the grains by means of wooden pestles, a procedure which is like our threshing. In the bowl-shaped cavities, on the other hand, the rice grains are freed from their hulls by pounding and thus changed into edible rice. The rice block is the most typical implement of all the natives in the entire East Indian Archipelago, it is the most important tool that must be present in every household since with this the best food, rice, can be prepared for eating.
Only women pound the rice. They stand dressed only in their cotton skirts, "sarong", at the block, either with their whole upper body naked or the sarong tied simply under their arms above the breast. They are dressed as lightly as possible for this tiring work. Pounding requires that the pounder (large pestle), which is about one and a half meters long, be held in the middle. As it is thrust downwards, it is thrown from one hand to the other so that the hands alternately raise and lower the pestle: one hand works while the other rests. The pounding requires a certain rhythm and creates a peculiar sound which can be heard from far away.
Normally rice is pounded all through the year, as much as is needed for a short time, since the native is not a friend of great stores. After the harvest the pounding is done in great style in every village in every house since one not only needs the ready-to-cook rice for selling, but also for the preparation of many dishes for the now-numerous festivals and feasts. For the harvest time is the time of festivities, all religious and national celebrations have been transferred to this time, in this time most of the weddings are held, with magnificent celebrations.
Rice pounding normally takes place on moonlit nights. All of the women and girls gather around the rice block, shortening the time by chatting and singing, and here is the place where the girls from the farming community find their admirers and husbands. On such nights, the young men of the village swarm around in the village from house to house wherever young girls are standing at the rice block, and they begin making jokes and polite comments of all kinds in order to approach the girls. But never would one hear a rough word or frivolity, this is foreign to this nature-folk. Just as we do on the dance-floor, where girls will try to win a man by using the arts of coquetry, here too the half-naked child, following its natural drives, will know how to come closer to the other sex in a childish, naive way, and to join him.
But the rice block not only serves peaceful purposes, it is also the storm-warning bell of the villages in times of disturbance or danger. When the indescribable patience of the very good-natured native comes to an end because of unprecedented oppression of any kind, he reaches for his weapons to free himself from his shackles, to fight a fight of life and death. If they are urged on into the fight by fanatic priests or their prince, then both men and women stand in front of the rice blocks of their houses and by their pounding in the empty block and by cries of war give the signal to do battle. This spreads from house to house, village to village, in the whole region—often over the whole island, continuing day and night until the decision comes, which normally means the slaughter of thousands of these poor people.
And there is a third purpose of this simple household utensil. It is, namely, the best help in exorcising devils. Its voice drives out the evil spirit, the approaching danger. If there is an eclipse of the moon, during which the moon fights with the evil spirit who wants to destroy it, then people beat the rice block all night in every house in the whole village and throughout the whole island, everywhere where the spectacle is visible; and far and wide the peculiar sound rings through the magnificent night of this paradise. When there is an epidemic that decimates the population, as well as other elemental occurrences which threaten the defenceless people and their work, then they flee to the rice block. The monotone singing of the natives is silenced, one sees no happy faces, no romantic pairs standing by the blocks; visible is only fear and despair, and one hears only the dull thumping of the block […] (Czurda 1883: 75ff.).

The rice pounding had a ritualistic meaning as well. On the occasion of a wedding ceremony, it would act as a signal to the neighbours that a celebration would take place. So the pounding of rice was an invitation to the wedding. This ritual is called *padekko* (fig. 03).

SEAFARING

The Makassar and the Bugis were already trading world wide in the seventeenth century. They started out in December through to March for the Maluku with the west monsoon. With the east monsoon in April to June, they sailed back loaded with local products, reaching Singapore and getting back to Sulawesi with the first of the west monsoon in December. Their main imports were textiles from India, silver coins from Europe and Mexico, weapons from Europe and Japan, steel from India, gold from the Philippines, tin from Siam, copper from Japan and porcelain from China. In exchange they exported goods such as, spices from Maluku, pepper from Banjarmasin (Borneo) and Jambi (Sumatra), sappanwood from Sumbawa, cinnamon from Sumba. From Sulawesi itself, rattan, tortoise shell, beeswax and trepang (Holothurian L. species) were exported. Barrkmann has demonstrated that there was also trade with Australia at that time (see pp. 110–115).

After 1666, the Dutch monopolized trading rights with the Sultanate of Ternate, east of the island of Sulawesi, so the Makassar and the Bugis were forbidden to engage in any further spice trade with Maluku; they then focused trading toward the West. Anyhow, trade in the East never fully died out, as smuggling was still rife.

In 1834 Makassar was made a free port in competition with Singapore. An important part of the trade was also the export of silk Mandar sarongs from Sulawesi, and the carrying outward of tools, knives, matches, fishing lines and plaited ropes, returning with copra, turtle and pearl shell, horn, hides and birds of paradise to be sold to Chinese merchants in Makassar (Horridge 1979: 36).

From travel accounts we know that the Bugis and the Makassar traditionally had a large variety of boats and ships. James Brooke described his visit to a prince (*pangawa* or *raja*) as follows:

Fifty or sixty boats of various sizes, with a vast train of attendants, surrounded us; and, after a brief delay, our boat was taken alongside the pangawa's barge, into which I stepped. The usual opening compliments were exchanged, the usual nothings were gone through, and a pause took place (1848: 50).
Some of their boats, or rather, long canoes, pulled fifteen paddles, and were ornamented at the stern and bow with carved wood. The small sailing boats had outriggers of wood, which, weighted with men, enabled them to carry a sail of enormous size. The mass of men collected on the occasion gave me the impression of being stout and well-built, but not good-looking. Their number might be about 500 or 600, and the contrast to our small party was striking. Our long boat, armed with her two swivels loaded with grape and canister, blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, and cutlasses, would, however, have made sag havoc amongst them if they had attempted any treachery. A painter might have been pleased with the scene of our meeting. The number of native boats, some sailing, some paddling—the various flags—the dense group on the shore, and in the midst our little English boat, with her ensign flying, surrounded by dozens of the native prahus—the dark foliage of the trees, and the flitting and screaming of cockatoos, unaccustomed to this invasion of their resorts—presented to the mind the picture of a distant and little-known land (1848: 52–53).

In their centuries-old seafaring tradition, the Bugis and the Makassar have developed several different types of boats with specific terminologies that can be quite confusing for outsiders. The various names refer, for example, to the type of manufacturing of the boats, the different sizes of the hull, the different types of sails or the various functions of the boats themselves. A fishing boat has a different terminology from a boat used for the transportation of animals. Fishing boats also have different names; *pajala*: boat using a dragnet; *pakaja*: boat using basket traps; *patorani*: boat for catching flying fish (Pelras 1996: 260). Being traditional mariners they have different

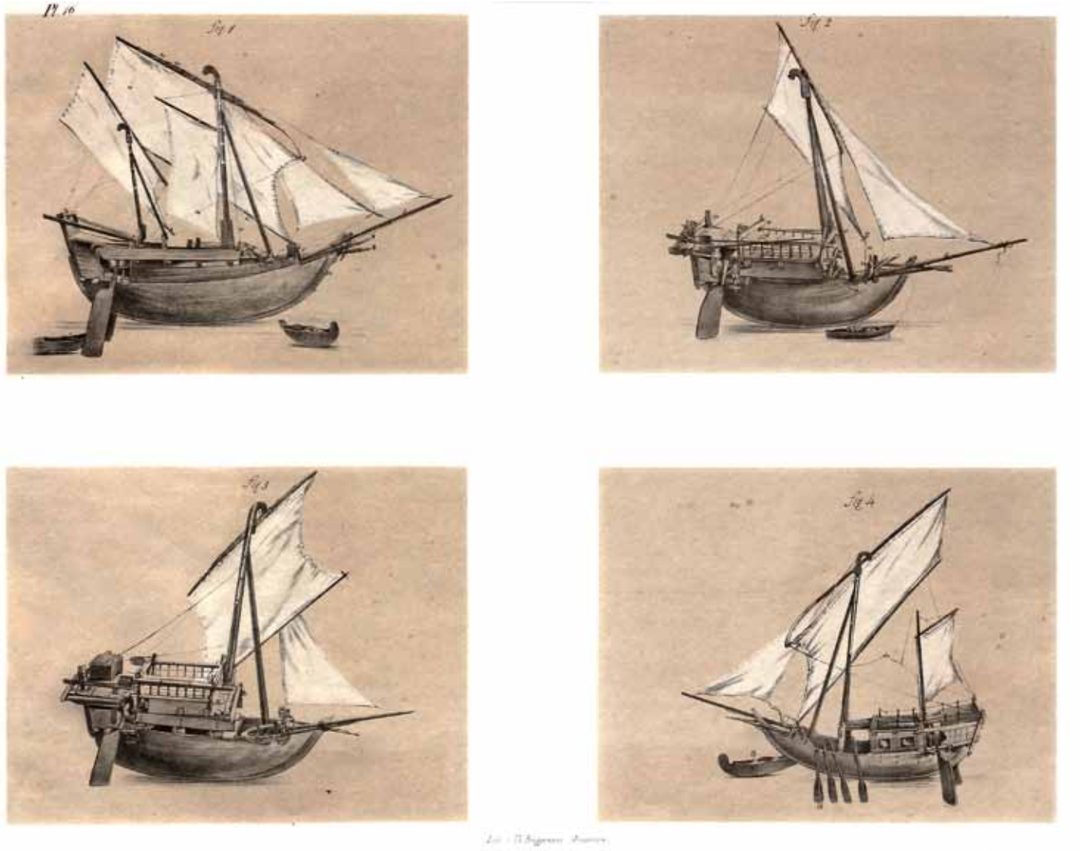

Fig. 73 Various boats.from plate 16. in Matthes 1874
"Ethnographische Atlas, […] der Boeginezen"

words for stars, wind directions and the various types of waves—all of which is important for seafaring.

According to Pelras, the original model of the boat used by the Bugis as described in the La Galigo text, was a type of canoe with outriggers (1996: 256). The typical boat model in Southeast Asia, however, does not have outriggers. So Pelras believes that the trading relationships with Java and Borneo before the seventeenth century were the reason that the boats in South Sulawesi were also used without outriggers. There are primarily two types of traditional boats for the Bugis and Makassar: dug-out canoes (*lépa-lépa or lipa-lipa*) with paddles and *prahu* (*lopi*), a boat whose sides are raised by planks that have been added. *Lopi* are used without paddles and are normally shorter than the *lépa-lépa.* Another typical characteristic is the half-moon shaped hull.

From the seventeenth century until the end of the nineteenth century a certain type of boat developed typical for Sulawesi, called *paduwakang* or *padéwakang.* This model was already mentioned in the travel account that Thomas Forrest published in 1792:

They build their paduakans (which in general we call prows at Bencoolen) very tight, by dowling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a cask, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which swells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at Bombay, but do not rabbet (as it is called) the planks, as at Bombay. In Europe we build reversely; we set up the timbers first, and fit the planks to them afterwards; the largest never exceeds fifty tons; they are bigoted to old models and fixtures in fitting their vessels.

The paduakans have their bow lowered or cut down in a very awkward manner; a bulk head is raised a good way abaft the stem, to keep off the sea, and the fore part is so low as to be often under water; they are unfit to encounter a gale of wind, not being decked (Forrest 1792: 80).

This category also includes two further types of boats, the *perahu panjang* ('long boat') and *perahu pendek* ('short boat'). The *perahu panjang* has a narrower hull, a sail and paddles. This was used for longer stretches and for wars. The *perahu pendek,* with its broader hull, was used for transporting animals, fishing, or for traveling from island to island.

In 1856 Alfred Wallace went by *perahu* from Makassar to the Aru Islands with the west monsoon. The trip took 4 weeks (Wallace 1856: 306–317). Wallace gives many details of the seventy-ton *perahu*, which was probably similar to one of the type shown by Matthes (1889).

This type is called padewakang abi jumpandan, probably similar to the one in which Wallace traveled from Sulawesi to the Aru Islands. The rig shows obvious Western features grafted on the traditional ones. (Horridge 1979: Fig. 22).

Czurda himself bought examples of the three different types of boats, an original dug-out (*balolang*), a *birowang* and a model of a *padéwakang*. There is also a good description to go with it:

420. Canoe – "Balolang" (MVW Inv. Nr. 17669)
The canoe is the typical means of transport of all of the inhabitants of the coastal areas of the Indian Archipelago. It is called "Lipa-lipa" and is carved and hollowed out from a tree trunk in a very tedious way. The present example belongs to the smaller type, only intended for two people. There are some that are only for one person, with which the natives, using a rudder, glide over the water as quick as an arrow. On the other hand there are large, beautifully worked canoes easily fitting twenty people, five to six meters long, again carved from a single tree trunk.
If such a canoe is used without a sail, then simple oars are used. The men must sit on the bottom either with crossed legs or they must crouch down. They must sit quietly and keep their upper bodies straight and in the middle line of the canoe, since by strong movements the center of gravity can be affected and the boat can begin to rock so that the simply built vessels will not only take water but capsize. Since the boat has been carved from a very light wood, it cannot ever sink even if it fills completely with water. In such a case the boatmen, who normally do not wear much clothing, spring into the water and swim around until, by rocking the boat back and forth, they are able to get all the water out of the boat, then all of the people climb back on board from both sides of the boat. If the boat turns over in bad weather, this is not too serious, it is quickly brought back to the proper position, bailed out, the floating oars gathered together again and the men retake their places; so in the majority of cases such an incident will occur without consequence. And when, from time to time, in very bad weather the people on the boat never return, no particular impression is made on the relatives and in the village because of the indolent character of this folk.

Fig. 74 **Canoe | *balolang***
South Sulawesi, Makassar.

Canoe oar
MVW 17669
Wood.
L 134 cm, W 8,5 cm, H 3 cm

Canoe
MVW 17669/a
Wood.
L 246 cm, W 50 cm, H 43 cm

Sail
MVW 17669/b
Bamboo, cloth, string.
L 240 cm, W 12 cm (rolled together)

Anchor
MVW 17669/c
Stone, wood, rope
L 62 cm, W 24 cm, H 22 cm

Bench
MVW 17669/d
Wood, bamboo.
L 54,5 cm, W 35 cm, H 4 cm

Rudder
MVW 17669/e
Wood.
L 88 cm, W 15 cm, H 5 cm

Base of rudder
MVW 17669/f
Wood.
L 60 cm, B 19 cm, H 8 cm

Bailer
MVW 17669/g
Sea shell.
L 23 cm, W 16 cm, H 10 cm

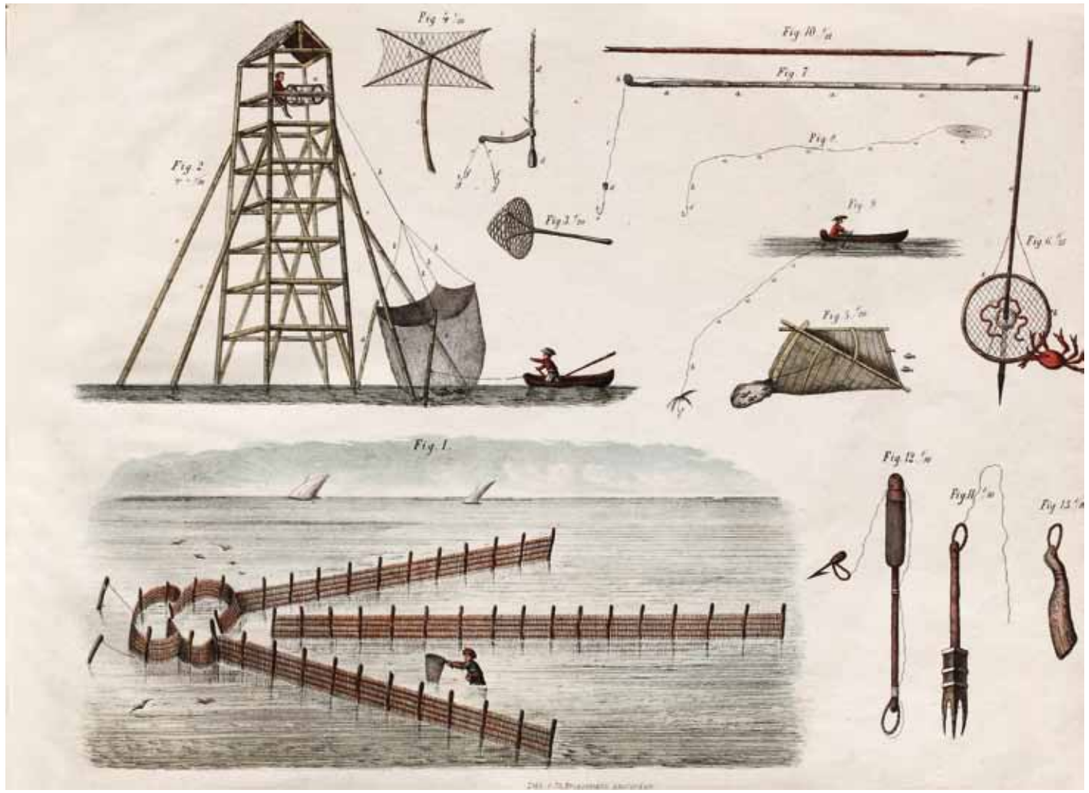

Fig. 75 Various fishing equipment. From plate 13 lett.a. in Matthes 1874 "Ethnographische Atlas, […] der Boeginezen"

To reach farther out to sea with this type of vessel and to utilize the wind, three-sided or four-sided sails are used. Since the wind would be too strong for these very large sails on such lightweight boats, they have outriggers on both sides: poles that are tied across the canoe and have large "balancing wood" pieces at their ends, thus preventing the canoes from turning over without affecting the speed of the boat. A canoe equipped with sails shoots like an arrow across the water in moderate winds and no European boat which is similarly equipped can catch it. For this reason pirates and beach wreckers, who are still plentiful in the waters of Celebes, are always able to escape their pursuers even if they have to leave their large boats behind. It is the duty of the Dutch East Indian Navy, which patrols the waters, to bring in the seagoing robbers and plunderers, something which almost never happens. Even though once in awhile they capture a large pirate boat the crew always knows how to escape with their little canoes.
The present example has a small triangular sail, a wide rudder fixed in the back on the left side, two oars, a small bench of bamboo, an original anchor made of a hook-shaped piece of wood on whose upper part a large stone is tied with rattan and finally a water scoop—in this case a large shell which has been specially prepared for this purpose. A native will often dare to go out to sea for miles with this small vessel with provisions of some drinking water, cooked rice, Spanish pepper, dried fish and the inevitable betel. He will go out for an entire day to the open sea and fish with long fishing lines. Usually he leaves the land with a wind which blows from the land to the sea and returns again to the land with a sea wind, loaded with large and small fish that will then be sun-dried, half-decayed and stinking, also fried in coconut oil or baked, his favourite dish (Czurda 1883: 95–97).

Today South Sulawesi is well known for its boat- and shipbuilding. The Bugis in the region of Bulukumba, or more precisely in Tanah Beru, build the *pinisi* schooners in the traditional manner, as an advanced type of *padewakang* (fig. 73). *Pinisi* schooners are about eight meters wide and thirty-four meters long. Horridge argues that the word is of European origin, meaning a ship's boat with schooner rig. The term is the modern one for the large *perahu* of 50–150 tons with ketch rigs of seven sails (Horridge 1979: 41).

FISHING—*by Philipp Hesser*

Considering that there are over 17,000 islands in the Indonesian Archipelago, it is not surprising that a main part of the daily diet is fish and sea food. Czurda took this fact into account by collecting artefacts that represent the fishing culture. Fishing nets (*jala-buwang*) and drag nets (*sodo*), spears and harpoons (*kanjai*), as well as fishing poles (*meng-lorongang*), hand-held lines (*meng-ripetape*) and individual fishing hooks (*meng*) showed the equipment with which fishing was done for the domestic needs on South Sulawesi.
The fact that these pieces of equipment did not represent the entire spectrum of the fishing activities is obvious when one compares Czurda's selection with the illustrations and descriptions about fishing in the ethnolgraphic atlas by B.F. Matthes (1874: Plate XIII).
Matthes shows a large number of woven (or basket-like) bamboo fish traps and other traps as well as bamboo platforms (*bagang*) for catching fish and other fishing equipment that shows their use not only for domestic needs but also for commercial fishing. Pelras also describes in his book about the Bugis the whole range of fishing activity in South Sulawesi from simple fishing with nets to the setting of traps and the use of rafts and platforms (Pelras 1996: 235–241).
Collecting these sea delicacies often led the fishermen way off course, even to the coast of northern Australia (see pp. 110–115). They often came into conflict with the colonial administration as well as with the traditional fishing rights of other ethnic groups (Schwerdtner Máñez and Ferse 2010). Czurda describes these trading journeys in his catalogue when he explains the model fishing boat:

525. Fishing boat – "Padewakang"
More than a vessel for trading, extremely solid and sea-worthy, with which the natives sail in all the waters of the East Indian Archipelago from China to Hindustan, where they trade everywhere or spend weeks or months on the high seas fishing for pearls and "Trepang", sea cucumbers. The Bugis are known for their good ships, they understand well how to build good and lasting ships. All Bugis are daring seamen and dangerous pirates who trouble the Dutch fleet that patrols the waters of the Archipelago all year long. The pirates only attack small vessels of the natives or Chinese, or they land at some coast where they attack the villagers and capture all the suitable individuals to sell later as slaves. The Bugis man is a good trader because of his extensive sailing and is always in lively trading contact with the peoples of the Asian continent. One is astounded at the assuredness with which these small boats are commanded in the worst weather, without compass, without nautical knowledge, only by means of a healthy understanding and courage. Of course each year there are many such boats that sink, something which does not frighten this brave people in their lust for adventure (Czurda 1883: 133–134).

Czurda spent a rather long time at a Dutch stud farm near the village of Mallasoro, which lay about 3 km inland from the Bay of Mallasoro. The population lived from fishing, but the main of income was the cultivation of rice (Caldwell and Bougas 2004). Czurda noted that there were no fishing platforms or other equipment that required constant maintenance, because the people of Mallasoros only fished for their domestic needs. This was represented in Czurda's collection. Even today many fishermen can be seen on the coasts of Sulawesi who set out to sea in their *lépa-lépa* or dugout canoes. They use nets and hand lines which are made of commercially available materials such as nylon.
There have been changes in commercial fishing and new methods have been found to raise the size of the catch. Fishermen now use dynamite to increase the catch and, for live fish for aquariums, cyanide (Pet-Soede and Erdmann 1998). The former was introduced at the time of the Japanese occupation in the Second World War and, although forbidden, it is still very popular, since the amount of work needed is considerably less compared to the older methods. Both methods however cause great damage to the coral reefs, from the force of the explosions in the former case, and in the latter, from the divers who damage the reefs in their search for and numbing of the fish. Initiatives are being made to set up protected areas in the reef to save the fish and coral population and to open up new sources of income by developing tourism for diving.

HUNTING—THE NOBLES' HOBBY

One of the most detailed entries in Czurda's catalogue, the description of the rope lance, *bassi wakko tado* (Czurda 1883: 10–14) describes the hunting of deer, a sport that was practiced in South Sulawesi by noblemen on horseback. Probably his acquaintanceship with an impoverished ruler made it possible for Czurda to participate in such hunting festivities.

The ruler, an old man with white hair but still a quick rider and hunter, only recently subjected and made poor because of the war against the Dutch which had gone on for years, welcomed me in the most friendly manner in his home where I even had to take a European breakfast. He was well informed about all the current political events but he did not want to admit that the Turks, the "orang Islam" had been beaten by the "Orang Russ". God knows what kind of a priest convinced him of the opposite, but he stubbornly held to this opinion (Reisebriefe aus Ost-Indien. Das Innere der Insel Celebes. I. 340: 10.12.1879).

The hunting hat described as *palo-cimpa* was probably a gift from this same prince. This hat, which is covered with yellow cloth, is similar "[…] to a soft European felt hat and it seems to have been copied from such a model. […] In some areas it is the head covering of nobles who love to wear it, especially for the deer hunt, thus it is a hunting hat. Yellow is the color of princes in Asia and also here in the archipelago, and such a hat covered in yellow cloth will make the high ranking wearer visible from far away" (Czurda 1883: 63). In South Sulawesi very few deer remain, so this hunt is no longer practiced. Even there one only finds the antlers of deer as trophies on the walls in *balla lompoa*, the former residence of the princes of Gowa in Makassar, which has now been converted into a museum. Czurda is one of the few European researchers who documented the hunt. A. B. Meyer mentioned several other authors who described this kind of hunt (1903), but Czurda's account is likely to be the most accurate. There also seems to be very little photographic documentation. For instance, not a single photograph of this kind of hunt is in the Museum für Völkerkunde Vienna. A single photo shows pupils of the *Kweekschool*, the normal or teachers' school of the Dutch government for noble indigenous children, dressed as "Makassar deer catchers" (see fig. 77). Other photos from the same collection (Dr. Schwarzwald) show pupils in different costumes, for example as Dayak, as Timorese or as a prince from Pare-Pare.
The fact that the teachers clad their pupils in regional costumes and let them pose for the camera, mirrors on the micro-scale the larger political situation. An ill-minded commentator could claim that the victory of the Dutch over the local kingdoms had degraded the ethnic identities to folklore.
In this case perhaps it was not the extinction of the deer that was responsible for the deer hunt's disappearance, but rather the subjugation of the kings and princes. Be that as it may, the staging of these hunting festivities was tied to the power of the monarchs and involved enormous costs. If we think about Czurda's impoverished ruler and ask ourselves why he presented Czurda with the hat, we might come to the conclusion that the nobleman foresaw the end of deer hunting.

56. Lance – Bassi wakko tado.
This lance, called rope lance, is only used at the big and authentic national deer hunts on South Celebes. It is unique and found in use by no other people. The shaft of this hunting lance is made either of a tough, elastic wood or of bamboo. It is very long, often three meters and more, and formed like a whip with a thick lower and a thin, very supple, upper end. On the lower, thick end there is a very delicate flat or chiselled lance head, which is long and narrowly formed, which, when not in use, rests in a simple wooden sheath. On the upper, thin end, a spring clamp made of horn and formed like a pincer is attached. About a meter below this clamp or bracket on the side of the thin shaft, a second bow-shaped horn clamp resiliently rests on the shaft. Into these two clamps is threaded the loop of a 3-meter long, elastic lasso rope, whose end is always fastened onto the halter of the hunter's horse. The lasso rope, "tado", is twisted from a strong, elastic bast fiber, similar to a wire noose, so that the loop fixed in this way always stays open. For the Bugis and Makassars the deer hunt is in every case a purely coursing hunt, and only princes, their relatives and privileged persons or, with permission from the prince, chiefs and their relatives may participate. The common folk only act as beaters of the game. The princes and privileged people are familiar with European firearms, many own expensive European hunting weapons, but they only use these to shoot birds, ducks, snipe or wild boar. The deer may only be killed by princes and only using the rope lance, following old laws. In the hunts, either only a few hunters participate and search for the game in the forest or in the fields, or large princely hunts are organized, where several hundred beaters flush the game out of the woodlands onto open terrain that is suitable for a coursing hunt.
The hunters—at such hunts their numbers can often be several hundred in number—comprise only invited guests and relatives of the prince who has organized the hunt. Such a hunt often turns into a folk festival for the whole region. Here follows a short description of one such event. For days prior, preparations are made; large open buildings of bamboo are built where the invited guests will gather days in advance of the hunt and they spend the night in these buildings. The open terrain for the hunt is fenced in with barriers so that the agitated game does not flee into an area that is too large. The barriers are constructed with wooden posts about one meter in height, which are driven into the ground and connected to each other with a bast rope that is bright yellow. And it is a very interesting and completely unexplained fact that the pursued and completely frightened animals never break through this simple, light fencing but rather prefer to run back to their deaths. I watched a deer that no longer saw an escape: in front of him was only the yellow barrier; he turned around and ran directly into the pack of hunters on horseback. It seems that the intense yellow color of the bast rope against the dark green background conveys an image, an irritation in the eyes of the animal, which causes it to be freightened back.
Some days before the hunt, the game is driven together by hundreds of beaters and small dogs into a small wood and held there by such a ring. The beaters, who have been provided in advance with rice, dried fish and some water in a bamboo box, must stay at their posts day and night until the signal is given for the coursing. On the day of the hunt, the hunting party goes to the hunting terrain before sunrise, positioning itself at the edge of the wood where the game has been confined. As soon as it is light, the beaters begin the beating with their dogs. Up until this time the party has looked very sleepy, the small and unimpressive horses hang their heads with their eyes half shut; the hunters crouch on their horses and have drawn their naked legs up under them and have covered themselves with wide cotton skirts, "sarongs", like coats: they too look dreamy, wads of betel in their mouths. All the hundreds of people and horses make up a stationary mass that appears quite strange in the early morning light. But then suddenly the sounds of the distant yelping of the dogs become clearer and clearer, the horses open their eyes, raise their heads and begin to paw with their hoofs. The rider binds his head band tight, winds the sarong around his body and sits up straight, checks his rope lance as well as his horse's primitive halter, spits out the wad of betel. The barking of the dogs comes closer and closer, the horses, which were so sleepy earlier, become so impatient that the whole party begins to move in a circular pattern, for the horses are just as passionate hunters as are their owners. A few hunters stand on the backs of their horses and stare into the wood. Now the sound of the game breaking through can be heard and now is the time for total readiness, for in just a few seconds the herds, which number in the hundreds, come thundering from the wood onto the open terrain. At this time a spectacle begins, which is so grand, so wonderful that it cannot really be described. A herd of many hundreds of deer running in panic on a green, pleasant field, followed by some hundreds of half naked, brown riders with long, flying hair and their heads adorned with red head scarves, their hips wound in red sarongs. Everything in the splendid light of the sun, surrounded by the eternally green forests and mountains; an overpowering sight. But one must bravely ride with them for if not, one easily loses sight of the hunt because of bushes and hills. The rider follows the animal so closely that he is able to put the open noose around its neck. When this is done, he pulls the lance back with a strong abrupt pull, whereby the elastic loop comes free from the two brackets described above. Now the horse and the deer are bound together by the rope, since the lower end of the rope, as described, is fastened to the halter of the horse. At the same time the hunter holds the lance ready for the kill. He frees his lance from its wooden sheath with the toes of his right foot. As soon as the noose is free from the lance, the rider stops his horse; a horse that has been used more often for hunting does this by itself. Since the horse is stronger than the deer, the animal is suddenly checked by the noose around its neck. This tightens, frightening the animal to such a degree that the animal, full of deadly fear, continues to try to run ahead and after just a few leaps it falls to the ground half strangled, where the hunter then makes the kill with his lance. In such a large hunt, quite a pile of game will be killed, which will then be distributed among the guests, the beaters and the common people who gather. The hunter himself may not taste any of the meat of the killed animal. After the hunt, the party returns to the bamboo huts

Facing page:
Fig. 76 **Lance** | ***basi wako tado***
South Sulawesi, Bantaeng.
MVW 17373
Rattan, iron, horn. Rope: bast; twisted. Sheath: wood, rattan.
L 275 cm, Ø 3 cm

Lance | ***basi wako tado***
South Sulawesi, Bantaeng.
MVW 17374
Rattan, iron, horn.
Rope: bast; twisted. Sheath: wood, rattan.
L 268 cm, Ø 2,5 cm

Hat | ***palo cimpa***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17563
Lontar palm leaves, cotton; woven.
H 14 cm, Ø 34 cm

Fig. 77 **Students of the teacher's school dressed as Macassarese deer hunters,** before 1913.
MVW VF_10946; collection Dr. B. Schwarzwald
Collodion print,
9.2 x 14.3 cm

where a great feast is prepared. The deer are roasted on an open fire and large stones that are glowing hot are placed in the belly of the animal, after removal of the offal, so that it is roasted from outside and inside. The natives know how to prepare a large number of hunting dishes and show themselves to be great gourmets.
The shaft of the present lance is of wood, the head is narrow and has double ribbing, the metal fitting is of brass (Czurda 1883: 10–14).

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Above: Fig. 78 **Carrying cage for fighting cocks | *tubanq manu***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17498
Bamboo, wood, cotton.
L 36 cm, Ø 19 cm

Cock spurs | *taji*
South Sulawesi
MVW 17646–17652
Iron.

MVW 17646. A pair: L 11.2 cm, W 1 cm
MVW 17647. L 11 cm, W 1 cm
MVW 17648. L 11.5 cm, W 0.5 cm
MVW 17649. L 11 cm, W 1 cm
MVW 17650. L 12 cm, W 1 cm
MVW 17651. L 9.5 cm, W 1 cm
MVW 17652a. L 12 cm, W 1 cm. MVW 17652b. L 9.7 cm, W 1 cm

404. Cock spurs – *Tadji*
Seven small knives about five cm long, two-edged and pointed, from finely ground steel which are tied onto the natural spurs of a cock that has been selected to fight.
Cock fighting is a sport which is practised by all the natives of the Indian archipelago with passion; where by wagering often the entire wealth, wife and child, even one's own freedom can be lost - when the loser has to serve the winner as a slave for his entire life. Cock fighting is forbidden in all of the areas of the islands which are accessible to the Dutch government; only for great festivals and special occasions can princes and privileged persons get official permission for these games. In all other parts, where the princes still rule independently and Holland may not concern itself with the internal affairs of the country, it is practiced by the lowly and the high standing on a great scale and this either privately in some house, or publicly at celebrations on the open village square or in front of the house of the prince, or finally, also in specially built fight-stadiums which are managed by speculators. The owner of such a fight stadium, where one always finds a great variety of fighting cocks, provides for the room and board of the fight-fans who come from near and far. For both as well as for the use of the fair ground the owner gets a portion of the profits. The duelling of the cocks takes place similarly to the way it took place in Europe, and in some places still takes place. The feet of the cocks are always armed with the sharp steel spurs and the fight often takes just a few minutes since the one or other of the animals collapses with a cut-open body. Special referees and experts look to keep the adherence to the fight rules, observation of the fighting laws and regulations of which there is a huge number. Superstition plays a large role here, of course, as it does everywhere with the natives. Not only does the laying on of the spurs need to be done adhering to different formalities, it is also necessary to take into consideration the marking and the lineage of the cock; the older the family of the fighting cock, the more victors there are in the long line of his predecessors, the more valuable is the animal. A cock with a pure family tree will often cost more than an Arabian stallion, many thousands of Guldens. The wagers at the princely cock fights will often go up to between ten and twenty thousand Gulden per cock […](Czurda 1883: 87f.).

THE MYTH LA GALIGO

Sirtjo Koolhof

The sun rises slowly in the Upper World, shining brightly over the celestial palace and its compound, when inside Patotoqé, the supreme deity, wakes up and opens the shutters of the palace windows to take a look at the activities outside. To his great surprise none of his servants is to be seen. When shortly afterwards they show up and Patotoqé asks them where they have been they answer that they went on a trip to the Middle World. They found it completely desolate, and tell their master, 'You are not a god, Lord, if there are no humans below the Upper World, above the Lower World, who call the gods "Lord"'. Following the conversation Patotoqé consults his spouse Datu Palingéq, and they decide that their son Batara Guru will be sent to the earth to become the first human being there.

This modest event sets in motion the sequence of events that form the story of Sureq Galigo. More than 6,000 folio pages written in the Bugis script and making use of a highly elevated language narrate the adventures of the first six generations of humans inhabiting the Middle World. Hundreds of characters, many of them addressed by several different names, come to populate the thus far empty Middle World. Their wars, travels, love stories, treachery, cock fights and elaborate wedding ceremonies, among others, are the events that make up larger part of the story and that are so appealing to the traditional audience listening to the mesmerizing, repetitious melody to which the story is read.

Fig. 79 **Enacting of a dialogue *(Dutana Sawerigading)* from the La Galigo epic by two storytellers as part of a wedding ceremony.** Amparita.
Photo by Sirtjo Koolhof, 1996

The core of the story is the genealogy; family relationships connect all the main characters and most of the more peripheral ones. That genealogy is the frame the whole epic is built around and it directs the protagonists' actions and adventures. The main theme and the driving force is the question of how to keep the divine pure blood of the family pure. Or, in Bugis terms, how to prevent mixing noble white blood with the commoners' red blood. A question that in present-day life in Bugis society also dominates many social relationships.

It is exactly that question which confronts the supreme deities of the Upper World after their decision to send Batara Guru to the Middle World: where to find a suitable wife for him. After they have consulted with their siblings in the Lower World, their choice falls on Batara Guru's full cousin Wé Nyiliq Timoq, daughter of the ruling deities of the Lower World. Batara Guru then descends to the earth in a bamboo vessel and during his journey to the Middle World creates mountains, valleys, woods, rivers, seas, lakes and various living creatures and plants. After some time Patotoqé sends his son a palace to live in, which is located in Luwuq. When the time comes for Batara Guru to get married to Wé Nyiliq Timoq, she rises from the waters, moves into his palace and becomes Batara Guru's main wife. His concubines all have already given birth to his offspring, Wé Nyiliq Timoq is in a sad mood because she still has not been able to bear a child for Batara Guru. With the help of bissu-priests who travel to the Upper- and the Lower World she becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son, Batara Lattuq.

Batara Lattuq reaches the marriageable age and his parents start to look out for an appropriate partner. Batara Guru is convinced that no human being with the same pure blood as his son can be found in the Middle World. Both he and his wife Wé Nyiliq Timoq travel to their parents in the Upper- and Lower World to ask for advice. Patotoqé informs Batara Guru that in fact there are two sisters with pure white blood living in the Middle World. They reside in Tompoq Tikkaq, 'The Land of the Rising Sun', and at that moment are wandering in the woods because a vicious aunt has taken all their goods after their parents passed away. On a ship built for him in the Lower World Batara Lattuq travels to Tompoq Tikkaq to meet his future wife. In her ramshackle palace he marries the younger of the two sisters, Wé Datu Senngeng, and brings her to his home. In Luwuq their marriage is celebrated again, and after the newly wed couple have visited their respective parents in the Upper- and Lower World to ask for a grandchild, Wé Datu Senngeng becomes pregnant and gives birth to the 'golden twins' Sawérigading, a boy, and Wé Tenriabéng, a girl. The delivery takes several days; blood of *bissu* has to be spilt, and human sacrifices have to be made. Finally the twins are born, Sawérigading seeing the light of day in full armour.

The birth of a golden twin, a boy and a girl, is an ominous sign in Bugis society. In the Bugis language the term 'golden twin' *(dinrulaweng)* also carries the meaning 'adulterous twin'. As in many other societies incest is not only strictly taboo, but it also has grave consequences for the wellbeing of the country: harvests fail and the land will fall prey to complete ruin. To prevent the twins from falling in love they grow up in separate sections of the royal palace, unaware of each other's existence. By the time they are grown up, their grandparents Batara Guru and Wé Nyiliq Timoq are called back to the Upper World and Batara Lattuq becomes ruler of Luwuq. On one of Sawérigading's numerous journeys a cousin informs him that he has a twin sister. Back home in Luwuq, Sawérigading one day climbs the roof-beams of the palace and observes his sister Wé Tenriabéng sitting in her room. At once he falls passionately in love with her. He insists on marrying her, but of course that is unacceptable for his parents, for such an incestuous relationship will have devastating consequences. They do not succeed in convincing their son of the impossibility of his intentions. Eventually, it is only Wé Tenriabéng, herself a bissu, who is capable of persuading her brother not to take her, but instead marry their full cousin I Wé Cudaiq, a princess of Cina, who is an exact look-a-like of herself. A ship is made in the Lower World from the wood of the sacred Wélenréng-tree, and Sawérigading, accompanied by a fleet of other ships, leaves Luwuq heading for Cina, vowing never to return to the land where he was born.

During the journey from Luwuq to Cina Sawérigading's fleet has to wage war seven times with different enemies, one of them being I Wé Cudaiq's fiancé. Wé Tenriabéng, who in the meantime has ascended to the Upper World and found a divine husband there, sometimes assists her brother in his wars. The fleet reaches the shores of Cina, or Tana Ugiq 'The Land of the Bugis' as it is also named, and after three months of trading activities Sawérigading sends his birds on a mission to the palace of Cina to verify if his sister has told the truth about I Wé Cudaiq, namely that she looks exactly like his twin sister. The birds find that I Wé Cudaiq indeed is an exact double of Wé Tenriabéng. Informed about this, Sawérigading decides to go to the palace to convince himself of I Wé Cudaiq's physical features. Disguised in the skin of one of his black-skinned slaves, who is especially killed and skinned for this occasion, Sawérigading visits the palace pretending to be a trader and is thus able to see with his own eyes that his sister's words were no lies. He returns to the harbour and the next day sends two of his most faithful servants to the palace to communicate his marriage proposal, which the Cina royal family accepts.

It takes three months to deliver the complete bride price to the palace, but unfortunately I Wé Cudaiq overhears fragments of a conversation between some of her court ladies, who talk about the people on the fleet being barbarians, hairy and dark-skinned. Disgusted, I Wé Cudaiq changes her mind, refuses to marry Sawérigading, and thereupon the bride price is partly returned. Sawérigading is furious and decides to wage war on Cina. Large portions of the country are destroyed and just in front of the gates of the palace Sawérigading stops his army to assure that I Wé Cudaiq will not be hurt. The princess of Cina is convinced by her mother to give in and to accept Sawérigading as her husband. She does so only, however, under the condition that all people killed in battle are brought to life again, the land is restored, and that there will be no large festivities. Sawérigading accepts her conditions; the dead are revived and the land restored. I Wé Cudaiq then hides in the palace, secluded by seven firmly locked chambers, seven bed curtains, and wrapped in seven sarong sewn together, as well as seven layers of clothing.

I Wé Cudaiq keeps refusing to face Sawérigading and he decides to marry another woman in Cina who perfectly resembles his favourite wife in Luwuq. In time I Wé Cudaiq becomes less unfavourable towards her cousin and after three months of Sawérigading visiting her secretly at night she becomes pregnant. Her son I La Galigo is born, but immediately rejected by her, and so he is brought up by Sawérigading's other wife. At the age of three I La Galigo finds out who his real mother is and after meeting her in the palace he stays there with her.

Fig. 80 **Ceremony at the house of a groom, one day before the actual wedding.** Amparita.
Photo by Sirtjo Koolhof, 1996

The episode of Sawérigading falling in love with his twin sister and eventually marrying his cousin I Wé Cudaiq is in many respects a core scene in the epic, which is echoed in numerous other episodes, featuring different characters. It is also a most puzzling episode. Does Sawérigading really avoid committing incest when he leaves Luwuq to meet his bride I Wé Cudaiq in Cina? At first sight that appears to be the case. However, at a later stage in the story it becomes clear that Luwuq is devastated, the crops fail and the people live in utter poverty: the ultimate consequence of incest occurring in the country. Sawérigading's vow not to return to his native country and Wé Tenriabéng's ascendance to the Upper World reflect the traditional punishment for committing incest, which is to be sent in exile. On the other hand, his marriage to I Wé Cudaiq, his full cousin, is regarded in Bugis society as the model marriage for nobles because it keeps white blood as pure as possible. That is the case, however, only if a nobleman disregards his theoretically more ideal partner: his own sister. Sawérigading's marriage to I Wé Cudaiq, who resembles his sister's physical features in the smallest details, is a solution to two strong but conflicting demands: keeping one's white blood pure, whilst avoiding a marriage with the best partner to comply with that demand. The Sureq Galigo offers an ambiguous way out of this situation: Sawérigading marries his sister in the shape of her perfect double, for which the country as well as the twins are punished, while at the same time incest is avoided and the white blood of the noble line is kept pure by his marriage to his cousin I Wé Cudaiq.

Traditional Bugis wedding ceremonies as they still take place today are reflections of Sawérigading's wedding in Cina. Of greatest importance is a—large—brideprice over which long negotiations take place between the families of the groom and the bride. During the ceremony the groom literally has to buy himself into the house of his bride. Only after presenting various gifts to his future wife he is allowed into the house. After officially being married to each other the groom's challenges are not yet over. When finally alone with his wife she refuses to be close to him. Every time he comes near to her, she will move away. Not only once, but many times. It can take days, and sometimes even weeks, before she allows him to touch her, a clear repetition of the trials and tribulations of Sawérigading in Cina.
With the growing up of I La Galigo the focus of the narrative moves from Sawérigading to his son, who has a much less noble character than his father. Following the birth of I La Galigo, I Wé Cudaiq gives birth to two daughters. One of them falls ill shortly after birth and I La Galigo is sent to Luwuq to collect materials needed for her treatment. In Luwuq he marries a woman whose husband has been forced to leave the country. Back home news reaches Cina that the king of Sunra plans to attack Cina because of I La Galigo's misbehavior. The latter decides to attack the impudent ruler in his own country. A sacred tree is felled and made into I La Galigo's flagship, and with his men he leaves Cina. He defeats the ruler of Sunra and brings him to Cina as a prisoner of war. On the journey back I La Galigo visits the country of Pujananting, where he marries the princess Karaéng Tompoq. He stays there for some time and Karaéng Tompoq becomes pregnant. Before her child is born I La Galigo sets sail to return to Cina, leaving his wife behind.

Back in Cina for some time I La Galigo is visited by his son, and some years after that by Karaéng Tompoq who wonders where her son is. In Cina, as in other regions, the children of I La Galigo and his cousins marry. Both Sawérigading and his son travel to different parts of the world to visit their distant relatives. Then one day an invitation from Batara Lattuq for a large family meeting reaches Cina. The ships are prepared and the whole family embarks, except for Sawérigading, who remembers the solemn oath he swore when he left Luwuq. His parents are disappointed that their son does not show up, whilst in Cina Sawérigading is torn by his desire to meet his family. So, he decides to set sail for Luwuq, despite his oath. Finally the whole family is gathered: the rulers of Upper- and Lower World, Wé Tenriabéng and all the others. During the family meeting it is decided that Sawérigading and I Wé Cudaiq will become the successors to the throne of the Lower World. The connection between the Upper- and Lower World, and the Middle World will be severed. On the way back to Cina the Wélenréng, the ship carrying Sawérigading and his wife, suddenly sinks to the Lower World, where the couple then are installed as rulers of that realm. I Wé Cudaiq in the Lower World, and Wé Tenriabéng in the Upper World give birth to a daughter and a son. In a scene that perfectly mirrors Batara Guru's and Wé Nyiliq Timoq's appearance on earth, they are sent to the Middle World where they marry and have a child. Soon after that the connection between Upper-, Under- and Middle World is indeed severed. The circle is closed and the mythical era of Sureq Galigo comes to an end, creating room for ordinary humans to inhabit the earth.

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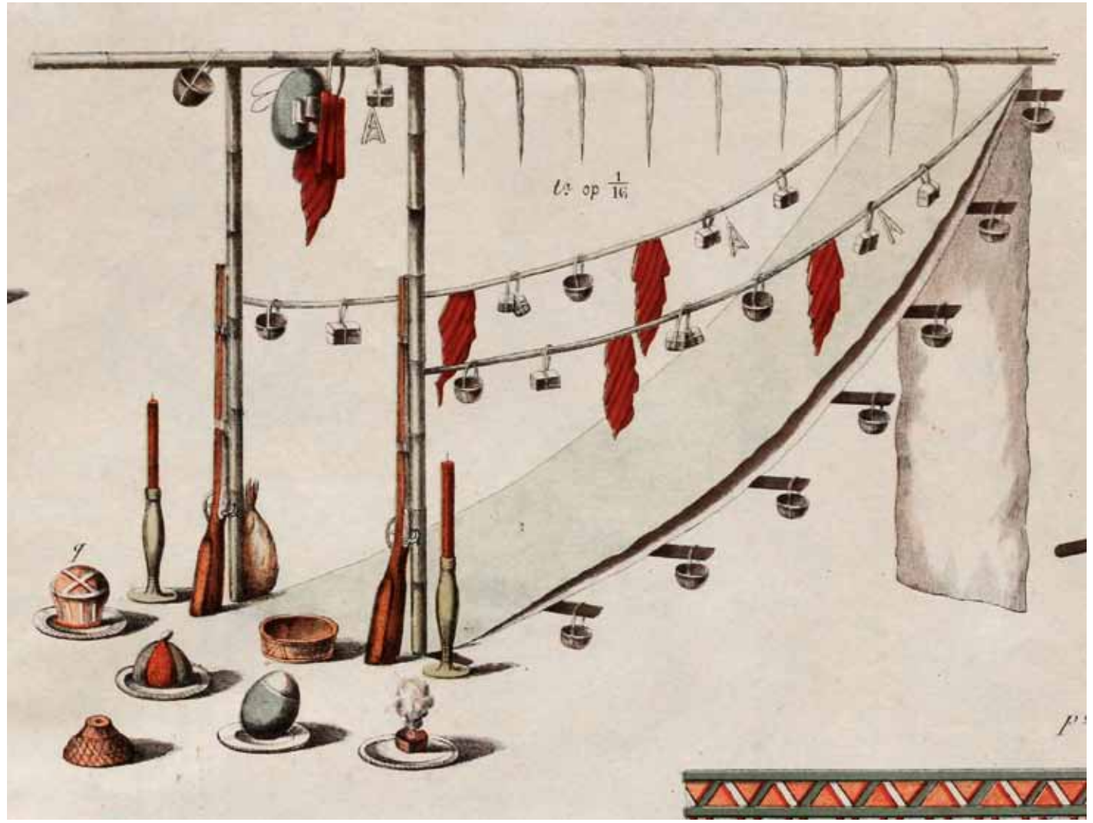


Fig. 81 Detail showing stairs on which the spirits descend.
From plate 9 lett.b. in Matthes 1874 "Ethnographische Atlas, [..] der Boeginezen"

BUGIS BELIEFS ABOUT THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE COSMOS

Halilintar Lathief

Bugis belief systems about the classifications of the world fall under four headings. The first concerns the symbolic and classifications of the world in Bugis beliefs, then follows an account of the Bugis view of the macro- and microcosmos, the order of the world and its contents, and Bugis *palakia* or Bugis astrology.

SYMBOLIC AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE WORLD

The world order spelled out by the ancient Bugis was not intended to improve the strucure of the world in order to make it more useful for humankind, instead it was designed to help them understand the world. The most general classifications are either bipartite (namely the split between vertical and horizontal) or quadripartite, like four corners of a square, or a combination of the two.

The harmony between humans and the world, is a well-known classification. It places human beings and their affairs, objects, stars, and spirits in a single group. This classification forms an artificial world order that is at odds with logic and thus often has higher magical significance. Hence, this system of classification is often used as an instrument in divining and magic.

VERTICAL BIPARTITION

The Bugis classify events vertically based on the two directions *ase* (above) and *awah* (below). A classification based on horizontal bipartition can be identified in the division of events according to *olo* (front) and *munri* (behind). Both of these classifications reflect a cosmic dualism and can be applied to humans, nature, animals, plants, work and games. The dual classification in humans is found in the divisions between *ulu* (head) and *aje* (feet), *waro* (chest) and *uri* (buttocks). In nature, this division occurs between *coppo* (peak) and *aje bulu* (foot of the mountain); *bulu* or *meru* (mountain) and *tasi* (shore); *ulu salo* (source of the river) and *toddang* (upstream/downstream on a river). Dual classification is also applied to animals, such as *ulu* or *tanru* (head) and *ikko* (tail) or *uri* (buttocks, hindquarter); *pitto* (beak) and *karameng* (claws); *baiccuk* (small) and *maloppo* (large); *meong* (cat) and *balao* (mouse); *lotong* or *bolong* (black) and *pute* (white).

This classification is also used for plants, for example, *uli* (skin or bark) and *ise* (substance); *raung* (leaf) and *ure* (root); *matase* (cooked) and *memata* (raw); *tebbu* (sugar cane) and *cempa* (tamarind).

The bipartite classification in work and play can be found in the following contexts, *tabbuka* (open) and *tattongko* (closed), *saliweng* (out) and *laleng* (in), *messu* (exit) and *mattamak* (entrance), *masuli* (expensive) and *masempo* (cheap), *ri ase* (on top) and *ri awah* (on bottom), *ri olo* (in front or in the past) and *ri munri* (behind or in the present).

The words *ri olo* and *ri munri* are an interesting study in that the Bugis equate the front with the past and the back with the present. This indicates that the Bugis' time orientation is towards the past, with the future behind, in a reverse of the usual order. This reflects the Bugis' heritage as seafarers who are afraid to lose sight of land, hence they always faced the mountain from where they were sailing. Their homeland was always the standard reference for their new home. If a Bugis had to leave his village to seek a better life elsewhere, he would take with him some soil from his old dwelling-place. Once he arrived at the shores of his new home, he would scatter the soil while saying "this is the soil from my former home, now I spread it here...thus this is where I reside now."[1] The Bugis' orientation to a future that is based on the past is also rooted in the way the younger generations idolize their ancestors, especially if their ancestors made great achievements or had special powers. Even the Bugis word for ancestor, *toriolo,* can be defined as someone who is in the forefront or a pioneer who deserves the respect of the current generation.

The *massompa* offering ceremony reflects the influence of vertical bipartition in Bugis rituals. Offerings to the gods of the upper world are called *mappaenre* (bring upward), while offerings to those of the lower world are called *mappano* (bring below). *Mappaenre* involves all that goes upwards, to the mountains and to the west, while *mappano* moves toward the sea, below and the east. Therefore, two halves of the world exist that complete with one another. Below is a table of this Bugis bipartite classification:

	Mappaenre	*Mappano*
people :	men, old	women, young
community:	*wanua* (royal village)	*kampong* (village)
place:	*posiq* (center)	*sumpang* (door)
time:	*ele* (afternoon)	*wenni* (night)
moon:	crescent	full moon
magic:	*toriolo* (white magic)	*parakang, poppo* (black magic)

THE QUADRIPARTITE CATEGORY

Most generally, this categorization applies to the world, time, events, and objects. This includes all four dimensions of space and the four directions of the wind. Together they form a whole, a basic union, which is the foundation of an ideal world order. A society guided by this principle will experience peace, stability and freedom from disturbances through change. This four-in-one principle is also used in the context of the universe, the state and criminal law, in making predictions, as well as in dealing with mystical forces and with evil.

This division of the cosmos is necessary to determine the place of humans and their behavior in a cosmic time and place to enable everything to run smoothly. Everything has its own respective place in the cosmic order, forming a union where nothing stands on its own. The Bugis apply this four-in-one pattern widely, for example in colors,

1 Interview with Prof. Dr. H. A. Rahman Rahim, Post-Graduate Studies, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, 2003 (Discography AV PD).

Illustration 1. **Chart of Bugis Cosmology**
(From various sources, chart by Halilintar Lathief)

Direction of wind	Color	Element	Direction	Place
North	Black	Earth	Left	*Peretiwi*
East	Yellow	Water	Front	*Burikliuk*
South	White	Wind	Right	*Embongtoja*
West	Red	Fire	Back	*Anja*
Center	Various	Metal	Middle	*Posi*

mysticism, government, customary law and literature, and call it *sulapa eppa* or *sulapa eppa walasuji. Sulapa Eppa* can be translated as the four directions of the wind (East, South, West and North), the four directions that can be faced (back, front, left and right), the four spaces of the unseen world *(anja, liu, embong toja,* and *peretiwi),* four elements of nature (earth, wind, water and fire) and the four basic colors (red, white, yellow and black). The following diagram reflects these basic principles. The chart in table form would be—see ill. 1.

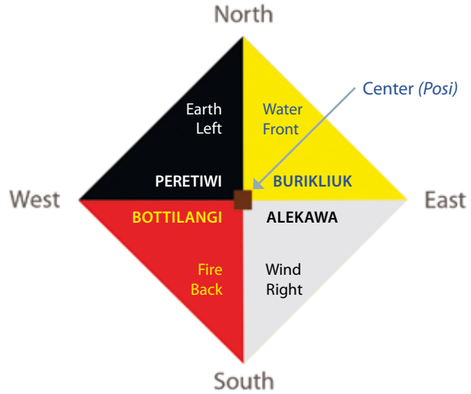
The four elements of *sulapa eppa*, with the addition of the center, form in a larger, concentric circle, the map of a state. At the village level, there is one village head with four "shoulders": *Tomatoa, Pabbicara, Sanro,* and *Jennang.* The four villages surrounding the central or royal village (*wanua*) form the ancient wanua system of the Bugis, in which all had their own market days, were obligated to help one another and were supposed to take responsibility for events in their own areas. This system is described by the saying *"mali siparappe, malilu sipakainge, rebba sipatokkong"*, which means drifting apart is breaking apart, everyone must remind one another not to forget something and if one falls, the others must hold him up. Outside of the wanua lies the outer, foreign world.

In viewing the universe, the Bugis refer to the order of five natural elements: fire, water, earth, air and sky. For the Bugis, water, earth, fire and air are the natural elements of their spirits, just as water, fire, rice, salt and chilis are their major necessities. The Bugis also know the division of the population into *eppa wanua* (four areas): *turilaleng* (rural person), *turisaliweng* (city person), *pabbulu* (mountain person), *tu puloE* (island person).

Things and objects that fall into one of the four groups are interconnected and interchangeable. Hence, this information can be used to determine the appropriate time to shop, travel, build a house, well or gate, wait for a guest, propose marriage, cure an illness, celebrate marriage, steal without getting caught, to seek the direction a thief ran to and to do anything to avoid *abala* (danger, desaster).

THE BUGIS IDEA OF THE MACRO- AND MICROCOSMOS

The *Attoriolong* Bugis ('Bugis believe the cosmos') know the four directions of the wind, namely North, South, East and West. West is *uluna lino* (the head of the world), East is *toddang lino* (feet of the world), South is right and North is left. Life is lived from the front (East) to the back (West), from the feet to the head, beginning from the sunrise in the East and sunset in the West. This accords with the fact that humans are born, reach the peak of their lives, descend from it, then die. The opposition of front (East) and back (West) or right (North) and left (South) reflects the aforementioned cosmic dualism. Space and time encompass all elements of the universe.



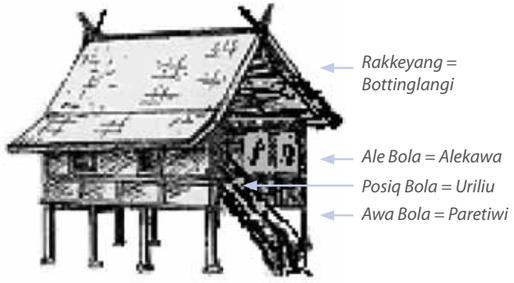
The Bugis worship and hold ceremonies for four kinds of beings, namely *Dewata SeuwaE* (deities), *Sangiang DewataE*, *TurioloE* (ancestors), and *Anutenrita* (spirits). Deities consist of four types: *Dewata Langi'E*, *Dewata UwaE*, *Dewata TanaE*, and *Dewata MallinoE*. They are worshipped according to their respective functions as human's efforts to seek the unseen world. The communication between the spiritual, the real world and the unseen world is intended to create a harmony between all opposites and all dichotomies. This means that the Bugis have many gods, to be found in every place, object, event and in natural phenomena. Each god is tasked to guard and maintain the whole universe and its contents, the creation of Dewata PatotoE.

Attoriolong was created by Dewata PatotoE for human's social life, while *sumange'* for the individual human. Once a man dies, his *sumange'* will return to the gods. This contrasts with the concept of *banapati* (ancestral spirit); if a man dies, a ceremony must be held for him to elevate him to become a *TurioloE*. Here the two exising poles are apparent, the first is that of Dewata PatotoE (who creates) and Sangiang-sangiang DewataE (who maintains and protects creation), while the second is that of humans, who endeavour to induct the spirits of their ancestors as *turiolo* to represent them in the unseen world. An opposition between the two poles is also apparent here. The opposition between top-bottom (West-East, that is, *ulunna lino-toddang lino*) and the opposition between the real and unseen worlds. These classifications have created a pattern of giving, reciprocity and exchange that have made community life dynamic.

West or *ulunna lino* is the abode of Dewata PatotoE, therefore the West is considered as the upper part of the heavens, while East is *toddang lino* (feet of the world), the abode of Bombo, spirits who haunt living people because they have yet to go through or will not go through a certain ceremony. Besides Bombo, the East is also believed to be the place of Anutenrita (evil spirits who can bring misfortune).

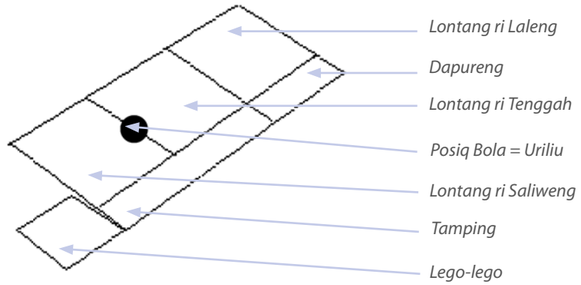
These four classifications are also reflected in Bugis architecture.[2] For example the structure of Bugis houses vertically consists of four levels and horizontally of four rooms. These houses are built on strong poles and consist of four levels: (1) *rakkeang* or top floor; (2) *ale bola*; (3) *posiq bola* or the center of house; and (4) *awasao* or lower area. Each

2 The most common classification, however, is the three-tier one, top, middle and lower. The *posi bola* and also the *lego-lego*, although important in Bugis architecture in a functional, philosophical and spiritual context, are rarely included in the three.



Graphics: Halilintar Lathief

Illustration 2. **Cosmology in Bugis Architecture Viewed Vertically**



Graphics: Halilintar Lathief

Illustration 3. **Cosmology in Bugis Architecture**

level has its own meaning and function. *Rakkeang* is used to store heirlooms, as well as rice and other food supplies; *ale bola* is the daily living area; *posiq bola* is the center of the nuclear family's rituals; and *awasao* is used to keep chickens or goat pens, as well as for storing objects such as farming tools. Horizontally, the rooms of the *ale bola* consist of *lego-lego* (front terrace)[3], *lontang ri saliweng* (guest/living room), *lontang ri tenggah* (bedroom), and *lontang ri laleng* (back room), where usually the *dapurent* (kitchen) is located. Those three rooms are connected to the kitchen by an open corridor, called *tamping*.

The above classification of Bugis architecture illustrates the Bugis cosmology of the inseparable four parts of the universe. The *rakkeang* indicates the world of the gods of the sky called *bottinglangi,* represented by white, the color of holiness. The *ale bola* is also called *alekawa,* meaning the surface of the heavenly world, filled with all types of living creatures with all their struggles. *Ale* means body, while *kawa* means what can be achieved, associated with red or fire. The level below the house is a symbol of the underground world or *peretiwi*, a symbol of eternity and of the human characteristic of patience, represented by black. *Posiq bola,* which connects the three levels of the house and is in its center, is considered the *uriliu*, home of underwater gods, associated with the color yellow. It also serves as a unifying element and a fertility symbol and thus is designated as the center for rituals of the nuclear family. From the early stages of constructing the house, special rituals are carried out for this central pole.

The stratification of Bugis society also influences traditional Bugis architectural forms. Based on the classification of the occupants, there are four different types of Bugis houses: (1) *Saoraja*; a large house that is the residence of aristocrats. This type of house usually has a set of stairs and the top part is covered with a *sapana;* (2) *Sao Piti'*, is a smaller-sized house with three ridges and no *sapana* covering; (3) *Bola,* the house of common people; and (4) *Para-para* or hut is used in farming for staying temporarily in the plantations and also as a dwelling by the poor people (*ata*).

3 The *lego-lego*, a porch or veranda in front of the entrance at the end of the stairs, functions as a waiting room for guests before they enter the living room, *lontang ri saliweng*.

A person's social stratification is apparent from the ridges of the roof of their house, which is called the *timpalaja* formation. For aristocrats, the *timpalaja* of their houses consist of three levels or ridges. Free people, *To Deceng*, have two ridges and common people have plain roofs. The palace of ruling kings has a *timpalaja* of four to five levels.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORLD AND ITS CONTENTS

The Bugis classify the world and its contents using four terms: (1) *Lino* (real world); (2) *Wajo-wajo* (shadow world); (3) *Makerre* (supernatural world); and (4) *Mallinrung* (unseen world). The real world *(Lino)* is further divided into four: (1) *Bottinglangi* (world above, sky, *bittara*) and all its contents that are protected by the gods of the sky and symbolised by the human head *(ulu)*; (2) *Alekawa* (middle world, surface of the earth), which is protected by the earth gods *(Dewata-dewata mallinoE)* and is symbolised by the human chest; (3) *Peretiwi* (underground, foundation of the earth) protected by the gods of the underground and symbolised by the human stomach and buttocks; and (4) *Buriliu* (underwater world, foundation of the ocean, the river mouth or *toddangtoja*) protected by the underwater gods and symbolised by human feet and hands.

The shadow world (*Wajo-pajo*) is a duplicate of the real world. Every natural element has a shadow made up of finest matter that follows the original. This world is not fictional or imagined, but can appear real to people who have reached a certain stage through meditation (*bettu*). The supernatural world (*Makerre*), is the sacred realm of supernatural creatures and forces, humans that are descended from gods (*Tomanurung*), gods and God. This supernatural image is represented by a mountain peak or a large tree and old heirlooms. These places and objects are where supernatural creatures reside, hence they are considered to be sacred places or objects. The unseen world (*Mallinrung*) is the world beyond human senses, a world beyond the limits of man's logic. The Bugis call this world *Pammasareng*, the realm of spirits (*banapati*), the ancestors' place of residence (*TaurioloE*), and that of other, invisible spirits (*Tautenrita*).

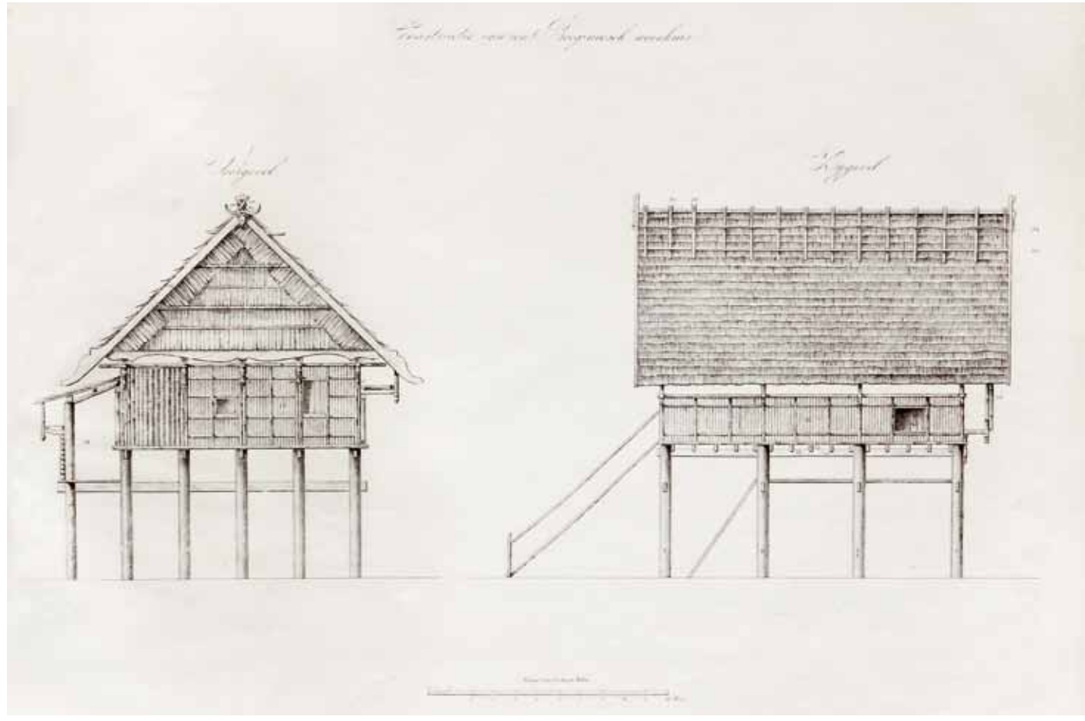


Fig. 82 Construction of a Buginese house (Side and back view). From plate 4 l.a. in Matthes 1874 "Ethnographischer Atlas, […] der Boeginezen"

PALAKIA OR THE BUGIS HOROSCOPE

Many people are fascinated by astronomy and the stars and adherents of astrology even believe that these determine their fates. Astrology developed when people began to believe that the orbits of the stars, the sun and the moon exercise an influence on their lives and in the need to live harmoniously with these elements. These matters are thought to influence one's behaviour, education, livelihood and marriage, among others. Guidance from the stars can fortell happiness, a good harvest, a happy marriage. For example, the appearance of the *tanra tellu* star indicates that dawn will soon arrive or when Orion rises in the East, it signals the time to begin plowing the rice fields.

Bugis astrology is called *palakia* and an astrologer a *toboto*[4] or *pa'kita-kita*. After the arrival of Islam, astrologers were called *panrita*, which is derived from the words *panre mita* meaning fortune teller. In the past, the *toboto* had the important task in the ruler´s court of determining auspicious days for special events, such as the inauguration of new buildings, the time to begin planting rice, or marriages. The main astrological findings are *mattiro esso madeceng* (selecting favorable days), *massappa esso* (seeking what kind of days), *kutika esso* (auspicious days), *kutika uleng* (auspicious months), *kutika taung* (auspicious years), and *nahese esso* (unlucky days). *Lontara'* (old texts, written on palm leaves) have been found containing predictions of fortunes and fates, such as those for farmers *(lontara´ pallaounruma)* or weather forecasts *(lontara' pananrang)*.

4 Nowadays the term *toboto* is used by the Bissu and Calabai community to refer to boyfriends or husbands of Calabai or Bissu.

THE BISSU: THEIR PAST AND THEIR CONTINUITY

Halilintar Lathief

Fig. 83 **Puang Lolo I Saidi at the *mappaliliq* ritual.** Segeri. Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

THE BISSU IN BUGIS CULTURE

The tradition of transvestites, or men who dress and behave as women, is recorded in centuries-old classical Bugis literature. These transvestites, who served as priests of the old Bugis religion and were called Bissu, were instrumental in maintaining the traditions of the ancient Bugis. The La Galigo text often mentions the existence of the Bissu in Bugis culture; they were said to have accompanied and completed the landing of the gods from the heavens. The Bissu were considered male-female priests who descended to earth, accompanying the eldest child of Batara Guru ('Great King of the Heavens'). He himself arrived on earth in a bamboo stick and was subsequently isolated from the local people. His isolation ended and the life of the Bissu began with his union with We Nyili Timo, the sister of the gods, who emerged from the sea.

The Bissu were obliged to know the norms, the views on life and the ancestry of the gods, as contained in the La Galigo text and the Bugis concept of cosmology that they obtained from their forefathers (see pp. 70–73). The Bissu maintained and applied the knowledge of the ancient Bugis both in daily life and in Bugis ceremonies. A story in the La Galigo epic relates that on a dark day, the imminent threat of a storm and hurricane was brought to a stop once Bissu leaders mobilized their respective powers (Kern 1989: 34).

Generally a Bissu is an effeminate man, popularly called in Indonesian *wadam* (*Wanita Adam* / 'Adam Woman') or *waria* (*Wanita Pria* / 'Female Man'). There have also been female Bissu who came from the aristocracy.[1] The male Bissu, like the *waria,* prefer to appear as women in daily life, for example by wearing a sarong and feminine attire.

The *wandu,* men who are in the process of becoming a Bissu, also choose to wear women's clothing. The Bugis call them *Calabai,* derived from the term *sala bai or sala baine* ('not female'). Because the Calabai performed crucial roles in ceremonies and weddings, they were also called *babuna pa'pestae* ('servant of people who celebrate'). Essentially all Bissu are Calabai, but a Calabai is not necessarily a Bissu. Bissu, who are never ordinary Calabai, are distinguished by their different appearance and characteristics from the greater Calabai community. While the ordinary Calabai are often the butt of jokes, the Bissu are highly respected for their powers and roles in ceremonies and rituals. The Calabai tend to wear feminine, sexy, revealing clothes, while the Bissu are prohibited from wearing "indecent" attire. The Calabai also tend to tease and be flirtatious, while the Bissu are ladylike and elegant or *malebbi,* which in the Bugis language is defined as noble.

The Bissu consider themselves holier and above other Calabai.[2] Rural Bugis believe that the word Bissu stems from the Bugis word *mabessi,* which means immaculate because they are holy, ritually "clean", without breasts and do not menstruate.

THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A BISSU

The Bissu of South Sulawesi have their own classification of the Bissu: Calabai Tungkena Lino, Paccalabai and Calabai Kedo-kedonami. For them, only the first kind can become Bissu. In fact, however, anyone can become a Bissu if he fulfills the rules of the Bissu community and Bugis customs. Although those from the Calabai Tungkena Lino classification have the best chances of becoming a Bissu, other Calabai can also become Bissu if they receive blessings from the gods. It is not easy to be accepted as a Bissu. Those who are interested must undergo a series of initiation processes, consisting of long and exhausting rituals. The Calabai who wishes to become a Bissu must receive the blessing of the Bissu leaders. They must also swear to obey all ancient customs and rules and refrain from cavorting in public places, as other Calabai often do.

An aspiring Bissu-Calabai first had to receive a magical calling known as the *arajang*. Once this calling was reported to Puang Matowa or Puang Lolo, that is, the elder or his deputy, the one aspiring to become a Bissu then would be given guidance on the initiation processes. The candidate-Bissu would subsequently be appointed as an apprentice in the *Bola Arajang* or Arajang-house, the building where the ruler's hierlooms were kept, to learn the *mabissu* ways for a period of time that varied according to the candidate's talents and the blessing of the gods. This time period could range from three years to a lifetime.

1 The twins called We Tenriabeng, Daeng Manutte and Sawerigading, were separated from birth and one was trained as a female Bissu at the Luwu Palace with the title Bissu Rilangi Mallajange ri Kalempina.

2 In Mamasa, West Sulawesi, the Bissu are called *Pompek* and *Burake* while in Tana Toraja they are called *Burake*.

Fig. 84 **Bissu during the *mappaliliq* ritual.** Segeri. Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

Fig. 85 **Bissu during the *mappaliliq* ritual.** Segeri. Photograph by S. Koolhof, 1995

Once the elder, Puang Matowa, deemed an apprentice ready to become a full-fledged Bissu, the initiation would take place at the Bola Arajang. The candidate had to first fast for one to forty days. The Calabai involved would be considered dead and treated as such by being placed to rest like a dead body for a number of nights. Then the Bissu candidate would be bathed, as a corpse is washed, and subsequently wrapped in a funeral shroud. Hence this ceremony was also called *riujuk* which meant to be wrapped like a dead person. During the *riujuk* ceremony the Bissu candidate would make a vow and his shrouded body would be placed in the front of the top floor of the house *(timpalaja)*. A jug containing holy water would be hung exactly over the top of the candidate Bissu's head and the roof of the building located directly above the wrapped Bissu would be opened. Drums and dances were played throughout the entire duration of this ceremony. On the third day, the jug was broken to wash the candidate Bissu with holy water. The entire initiation process was considered to be highly sacred. Due to the sanctity of the initiation process of the Bissu, any breach of these norms by a Bissu was believed to result in death.

Once a Calabai had undergone this sacred ceremony called *irebba*, he had officially become a Bissu and could don the special clothes of the Bissu.[3] From then on, he was entitled to guidance from the Puang Matowa and Puang Lolo on how to carry out his Bissu tasks and obligations. The fully initiated Bissu were considered more respectable and of higher status than ordinary Calabai.

HIERARCHY AMONG THE BISSU

The Bissu were grouped according to their capabilities and knowledge. Ordinary Bissu only had the task of with dancing at ceremonies, while those who were fluent in the Bissu language were given the title Bissu Dewata and were not obliged to perform dances. Based on their ranks, the Bissu were generally: (1) Puang Matowa; (2) Puang Lolo; and (3) Ana' Bissu.

Puang Matowa Bissu or Puang Towa (Eldest Master) was the title of the leader of the Bissu, with variations in the different Bugis regions. The ruler announced the person to receive the title and inaugurated him. He was a feminine, charismatic figure and was responsible for the maintenance of *arajang* (royal heirlooms) in the kingdom. He was popularly selected and must have been a Puang Lolo before becoming the leader of the Bissu.

3 A mere Calabai is not permitted to wear Bissu attire.

A Bissu had to surpass other Bissu in all aspects of Bissu life to obtain the title of Puang Towa. He had to be responsible at all times and constantly serve the kingdom and the people. In line with this, the selection of Puang Matowa and Puang Lolo in Segeri for example was conducted through a selection by the people that was initiated by the ruler. Once a Puang Matowa candidate was popularly chosen, he would then address the ruler and declare his commitment to taking care of the Arajang of Segeri and all its attributes. Then the ruler would announce to the people the results of the selection and the schedule for his inauguration in the markets, where a majority of the people congregated.

At the end of the inauguration ceremony, the new Puang Towa was carried by the people to the house used to keep the kingdom's heirlooms called Bola Arajang. In the description of La Galigo once the Puang Towa arrived at the *sapana* (stairs only to be used by the nobility) he was invited to step on the *tana manroja* and *umpa sekati*, representing the leader stepping on royal land *(tana manroja)* and kicking away *umpa sekati*.

The Puang Towa resided in the Bola Arajang with other Bissu. The funding of their daily expenses was paid for by the profits from the kingdom's rice fields, which were worked by the people communally. If the Puang Towa died, intentionally neglected his duties or was guilty of indecent acts, he would be replaced by his deputy, the Puang Lolo. If the Puang Lolo did not agree to be the new leader, a selection would be made among the other Bissu.

The Puang Lolo (Young Master) was the deputy of the Puang Towa. The selection of the Puang Lolo was conducted during the inauguration of the Puang Towa. Although Puang Lolo means Young Master, he was not necessarily young in age. The knowledge possessed by the Puang Lolo was only slightly less then that of the Puang Towa. The Puang Lolo accompanied the Puang Towa in carrying out his daily tasks and would replace the Puang Towa if he died. The Puang Lolo was the Puang Towa's most trusted associate, thus he received all of the Puang Towa's mantras.

An Ana' Bissu was a Bissu who was a follower and assistant of the Puang Towa and Puang Lolo and was often called the Ana' Guru Bissu meaning student of Puang Towa and Puang Lolo. Initially the Ana' Bissu was a holy Calabai from the general community who had received teachings and mantras from the Puang Towa. In accordance with their level of knowledge, the Ana' Bissu were divided into two main categories, namely Bissu Tanre (High Bissu) or Maojangka and Bissu Poncok (Low Bissu) or Core-Core.

Bissu Tanre (High Bissu) were Bissu with a high level of knowledge and only officiated at ceremonies in the rice fields. There usually were forty Bissu Tanre, while there were six Bissu Poncok. The Bissu Poncok participated in royal celebrations and other special ceremonies. If a Bissu was also a shaman he was given the title of Majaungeng. Other attendants included the assistant to the Puang Matowa, most often not a Bissu, who helped maintain the Arajang on a daily basis. He was called a Panati and had deep knowledge of the Arajang. Another was a woman called Jennang, who assisted the Puang Towa in taking care of the Bola Arajang.

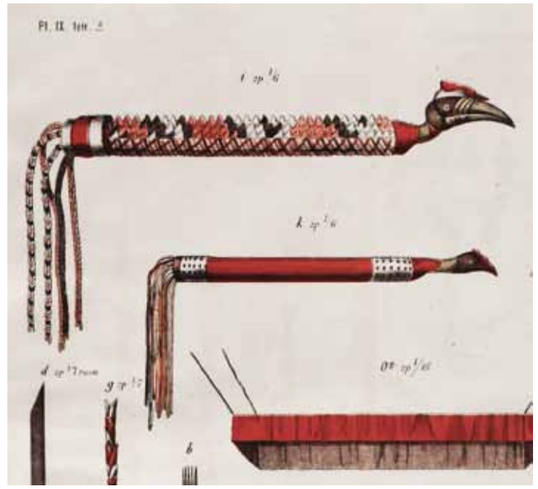


Fig. 86 Detail showing *alosu*.
From plate 9 lett.a. in Matthes 1874 "Ethnographischer Atlas, […] der Boeginezen"

THE ROLE OF THE BISSU IN BUGIS SOCIETY

The Bugis believe that through the Bissu they can communicate with the gods, because these have their own special language with which they can communicate both with the gods and among the Bissu themselves. This holy language is called *Basa Torilangi* ('language of the sky people'), Bissu language or simply the language of the gods. According to their belief, this language was sent from heaven by the gods, hence the Bissu could serve as a medium to convey people's offerings and prayers to the gods.

As a result, the Bissu were often used as mediums in festive and solemn religous ceremonies for the ancestors.[4] The Bissu were an integral part of these ceremonies through their role as conveyors of prayers and intermediaries between ancestors and descendants.

The Bissu also had an official position as spiritual advisors and guardians of royal state heirlooms, which were believed to contain the spirits of ancestors and gods. The heirlooms were kept in a special room for offerings within the palace and at times the Bissu conducted special ceremonies for these heirlooms. The heirlooms were given names and treated as more than mere objects, in the hope that the spirits of the ancestors would reside in the heirlooms or take on a special form when the owners needed them.[5]

The main duties of the Bissu were to conduct royal rites and preside over festivities commemorating life events, such as, births, a baby taking first steps on the ground, circumcisions, tooth filings, marriages. Apart from these ceremonies, the Bissu were heavily involved in royal activities, including the catering of food and its serving. They are also known for their talents in applying bridal make-up and for this they are called *indo botting* (bridal make-up artist).

The Bissu's elegant feminine character allowed them a great deal of freedom, even to enter the rooms of the young princesses within the palace. Many segments of Bugis society highly appreciated the Bissu

4 Ceremonies are expensive, hence the poor rarely approached the Bissu to conduct them and rather participated in the ceremonies of others.

5 In the 1930s, the Dutch colonial government confiscated the heirlooms of the King of Bone and King of Gowa. The heirlooms were then kept in Batavia. The control of these heirlooms was believed to have consolidated Dutch rule in those regions.

Above:
Fig. 87 **Ritual object | *alosu***
South Sulawesi. NM-NpM 10265. Lontar leaves, bamboo, cotton.
L 63.2 cm, Ø 8.8 cm

Below: Fig. 88 **Ritual objects | *alosu*** and ***tallo-tali***
South Sulawesi. MVW 17706.
Lontar leave, bamboo, cotton.
122 x 19 x 10 cm
MVW 17707a, b
Bamboo, lontar leaves; dyed, woven.
17707a: L 70 cm, W 4.5 cm, H 1.5 cm
17707b: L 65 cm, W 5.5 cm, H 1 cm

475. Devil expeller – *Alosu*
A bamboo box about half a meter long, filled with all kinds of sweets, encased in a delicately woven case of lontar leaves, which form many buttons, of superior workmanship. The basketry is dyed red and yellow. On the end of this box there is an appendage in the shape of a bird's head which is covered with red cotton. On the other end there is a tassel made from cords woven of lontar leaves. When the Bissu is dancing, this instrument is shaken over his head, bringing forth a rather loud noise (Czurda 1883: 119).

Fig. 89 **Ritual objects** | ***moro***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17715, 17716
Bamboo, cotton.
L 55 cm, 55.5 cm, Ø 5 cm, 4.5 cm

because of their wide knowledge in matters like customs and family geneaology. Thus, many people came to the Bissu to pose questions, ask for assistance and obtain information. Generally people who were planning to hold a special event or embark on a major endeavour would seek guidance from the Puang Matowa, particulary regarding auspicious days for these activities.

In the past, motivating factors for a Calabai to become a Bissu were the increase in social status (particulary due to the possibility of officiating at royal ceremonies and appointment as an officer of the court) and support for their daily expenses (the Bissu would receive support from the ruler and alms from the community who sought their assistance). The Bissu were considered to have a higher position than the ruler, even though they did not explicitly rule, due to the fact that the Bissu controled the *kutika* ('book of predictions') determining good and bad days. In addition, the Bissu connected the real world and the invisible world of the gods. They also served as advisors to the ruler and as members of governing councils, who obediently followed their words.

THE CURRENT POSITION OF THE BISSU

In certain parts of the Bugis region, where ancient traditions are still upheld, the Bissu still participate in ceremonies involving royal heirlooms. They are also responsible for the decoration of celebrations for the inauguration of a ruler as well as other celebrations. Furthermore, the Bissu also work for leaders of the ethnic Bugis, Makassar and Chinese communities in carrying out special events, especially in the current context where the palace is no longer the center of Bugis government and culture.

In the past, the implementation of ritual ceremonies was initiated by the noble and wealthy of Bugis society and the Bissu were in charge of vital roles in the ceremonies. During these ceremonies, the Bissu danced, chanted mantras and at times even served as a shaman. They sometimes healed illneses by conducting curing ceremonies before a shaman was consulted. These ceremonies were conducted lavishly, yet solemly.
Since 1966, however, such ceremonies have been simplified. Forty-day celebrations to have shrunk to seven days and now to just one day and night. There are a number of reasons for the change and adaptation of ceremonies involving the Bissu. One is the change of the system of government from local royal courts to the modern state of Indonesia. A government official, namely the sub-district head, has taken over the role of a commanding, charismatic and knowledgable ruler. Furthermore, the role of the traditional councils for preserving customs and of customary leaders have now disappeared.

The declining role of customary institutions has had a great impact on the Bissu community. At the apex of the era of the Bugis royal courts, the funding of ceremonies and the livelihood of the Bissu were covered by the profits from the kingdom's rice fields and contributions from traders, farmers and aristocrats. For example, in the Segeri Kingdom, five hectares of rice fields were assigned to the Bissu and the harvest was used to pay for ceremonies and living expenses of the Bissu community.
These rice fields were, however, traditionally owned and no property certificate ever legalised the kingdom's ownership. Hence, after the demise of Sanro Barlian (Beddu), Puang Matowa Bissu of Segeri, in 1979, the government gained control of these rice fields, in accordance with Indonesian national agrarian laws and given the absence of legal documents determining ownership.[6] As a result, the Bissu no longer had a regular source of income for the ceremonies and their own upkeep. In response to this situation, they turned to serve the needs of leaders of the ethnic Bugis, Makassar and Chinese communities for a livelihood, while also receiving alms from villagers. Currently, the fate of the Bissu and their ceremonies are entirely dependent on the dwindling support of their communities.

The spread of Islam also had a large impact on the ancient traditions of the Bissu. A number of Islamic leaders considered Bissu activities as incompatible with Islamic teachings. The Bissu traditions slowly faded out in line with the absorption of Islamic principles by the Bugis people. After Islam was adopted by the majority of the Bugis, the role of the Bissu in society slowly disappeared.

6 Parts of these rice fields are now the property of the regional government, were used for dykes or are without clear owners (Interview with Mr. Zainuddin, official of Segeri Mandalle sub-district, conducted in his house in Segeri in June 1999, with permission to quote).

The numbers and quality of the Bissu also declined. Now the Bissu can only be found in a few places in South Sulawesi like Bone, Wajo, Soppeng and Pangkep. The Bissu of today are old and no longer carry out their traditional tasks, including those involving the arts. The descendants of these Bissu also tend to be ashamed to acknowledge their elders' status, further preventing the continuation of the Bissu tradition.

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Fig. 90 **Case** | ***baku urang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17447
Lontar palm leaves, woven
35 x 25.5 x 19 cm

196. Chest – *Baku urang*
A middle-sized box of woven split lontar leaves, with a large number of smaller and larger compartments, divisions and drawers inside. This chest was used as a house apothecary, to store different, usually infallible wonder drugs. This is found in nearly every house. The whole chest is covered with a large lid which is inverted over it. On the outside the lid is decorated with delicate figures made of braided leaves colored red and black (Czurda 1883: 47).

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METAL-WORK IN AND FROM SOUTH SULAWESI

Wolfgang Marschall

Fig. 91 **Knife** | ***kawali***
South Sulawesi, Makassar. MVW 17401
Iron, wood, silver. Sheath: wood, silver.
L 41.5 cm, W 10.5 cm. Sheath L 34.5 cm, W 9 cm

Among the objects that found their way from Insular Southeast Asia to Europe starting in the sixteenth century, textiles and metalwork were among the most impressive. Indonesian concepts like *batik* and *ikat* from the textile sector and words like *kris* and *pamor* from the blacksmith's have become loanwords in many European languages, thus indicating the value of the signified items. But Europeans did not go to "Insulinde" to look for *batik* or *kris*. Their main commercial aim was to control the trade in spices. Two of theses spices, nutmeg and cloves, were endemic to Maluku, in the eastern part of the archipelago. For many centuries the trade routes to these Spice Islands ran along the north coast of Java, where ships could anchor and where traders could purchase food and other goods. When the Portuguese, the British, the Dutch and others joined this commerce in the sixteenth century and seventeenth century, they were latecomers in that trade. Yet they changed this commerce through their military force.

The region also experienced internal changes. The kingdom of Majapahit, with its political centre in Eastern Java, declined towards the end of the fifteenth century, and merchants looked for other places along the way to the Spice Islands to provide themselves with the necessary supplies. One of the new routes touched at the coasts of the southern peninsula of Sulawesi, where provisions could be bought, especially rice. Portuguese and later Dutch merchants and soldiers came to know Makassar, Bugis, Mandar and other societies that lived in centralized and stratified organizations und used their own India-derived script. They also became acquainted with a region where iron was produced from iron ore, where blacksmiths forged valuable weapons, and where a local ruler was known by the honorary title "Mister Blacksmith."

EARLY METAL WORK

South Sulawesi was certainly a member of the trade and exchange system of the first millennium A.D. that encompassed, besides Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent and China. Bronze and Iron Age objects like the bronze drum of Selayar, the "Macassar flask", and the ceremonial axe whose facial mask reflects Balinese *Pejeng* iconographies are witnesses to the involvement of the peninsula in this exchange, as is the Amaravati-style bronze Buddha from Sikendeng near Kalumpang on the lower Karana river. It was probably manufactured in the second or third century. Centuries later, Chinese Song Dynasty ceramics traded to South Sulawesi found their way into graves, as did locally made iron objects and a number of gold masks meant for the rulers and their wives.

During the fourteenth century at the latest South Sulawesi saw an intensification of several sectors of socio-political and—in the wider sense—cultural life. Three regions of the peninsula are mentioned in the *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, the court poem written by Prapanca in 1365 "[…] the land of Bantayan, led by Bantayan and Luwuk, including Uda, these being the foremost places in the island." And they belong to "the various islands that remember their duty," which means that they were paying tribute to Majapahit and that they were connected with this East Javanese realm. Especially Luwuk, situated at the head of the Gulf of Bone, seems to have entertained closer contacts with Majapahit as "indicated by the frequent use of Sanskrit names for the Luwuk rulers" (Bulbeck 1996/7). Thus Luwuk, although not the earliest Bugis kingdom, is important during the fourteenth century. Its importance most probably stems from its proximity to and control of the iron ore of the Lake Matano area. Yet it is not Matano itself where early iron processing began, it is

Left:
Fig. 92 **Dagger** | ***tappi lamba*** (detail)
South Sulawesi, Makassar.
MVW 17387

Below:
Fig. 93 **Dagger** | ***tappi lamba***
South Sulawesi, Makassar.
MVW 17387
Iron, wood, brass. Sheath: wood, string.
Dagger L 40 cm, W 2.5 cm.
Sheath L 35 cm, W 14.5 cm

places like Pontanoa Bangka, Sukoyu and Nuha on Lake Matano and Katue on the Cerekang river where "archaeological evidence from the Matano region suggests a knowledge of iron processing among the traditional inhabitants, the Mori, and their direct ancestors, as early as the mid-first millennium" (Bulbeck/Caldwell 2000). Seen against this background, and especially in view of the good quality of the iron exported, the demand for it is easily understandable. Not only is iron produced there in higher quantities than anywhere else in the Indonesian Archipelago, a certain amount of it contains so much nickel that this iron is well suited to forge *pamor* blades. No wonder that Majapahit was interested in obtaining this iron, be it in the form of ingots or already forged tools. For the wider Luwu area, the intensification of iron working added to a growth in agricultural productivity. Notable is that there seems to be a long-established connection between the Luwu area and the diverse Toraja societies, among which iron processing has such a high value (Zerner 1981).
The smelting of iron ore into lumps and the forging of iron, as well as the smelting and hammering of gold, seem to be relatively old activities in South Sulawesi, while the hammering of brass seems to be a much younger kind of work, connected mainly with the settlement of Muslim peoples.

METAL-WORKING

Processing iron is the most complex technique within traditional metal-work in Indonesia. To reach the necessary temperature to extract iron from iron ore, the blacksmith uses several pairs of piston-bellows, which consist of two cylindrical, hollow wooden pipes in which pistons are moved alternatively up and down. Feathers—quill upwards—are glued to the border of the piston as valves, and they spread as the piston is pressed down. When the piston is pulled up the feathers are tight and the air flows into the space below. Generating the heat needed to make the iron forgeable requires one person operating one pair of bellows. To extract iron from iron ore, several pairs of bellows have to be combined to attain the necessary heat. This process produces a lump of iron, left in the centre of the fireplace, which can then be forged into rectangular ingots. The temperature that would be needed to permit the casting of iron can hardly reached using this method.
The extraction of iron from iron ore almost came to an end when Europeans went to Sulawesi and brought with them scrap iron. Railway ties and rails, car springs and shock absorbers are now much sought after as raw material. In earlier times, the raw material to smelt iron from was bog iron ore. A specialty in South Sulawesi and in Central

Fig. 94 **Charm** | ***kawari***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17852
Silver; cast, filigree.
H 0.1 cm, Ø 4 cm
See also fig. 01 for a front view.

Fig. 95 **Tools to tweeze and clean the ears** | ***sike***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17845
Silver.
L 13 cm, W 4 cm, H 1 cm

Sulawesi is iron ore containing 1.5–2% nickel. This nickeloferous iron when welded with regular iron produces, under the hammer of a master blacksmith, *panre bessi* (B), *pande besi* (BI), *empu* (Jav) the famous *pamor*, a veining of the blade typical for the kris, but also used for other weapons. The blacksmith, by working several layers of iron and nickel iron, bending and twisting them and welding them again and again, creates fabulous patterns, which become visible only after a treatment with lime juice and other ingredients. During the forging process the pattern is invisible, and the blacksmith has to remember how he treated the worked article. When the forged and tempered blade is treated with the juice, this liquid will corrode the ordinary iron minimally and let the nickeloferous iron shine bright as silver. Indonesian kris and especially their *pamor* blades, when forged well, are the embodiment of excellent craftsmanship. This technical brilliance also supplies the kris with a supernatural quality, which causes the kris to be regarded as a personality, one which often bears its own name and leads its own life.

Best known among all kris are those from Java and Bali. Yet there are also many good kris that were made in South Sulawesi and they were exported to other regions of Indonesia. Since there are only a few sources of nickel on Java, especially a meteorite containing nickel that is kept at the court of Surakarta, many of the kris from Java and Bali could not have been forged without the nickeloferous iron imported from the Luwu area and its hinterland in South Sulawesi. So it is not surprising that relations between South Sulawesi and Java and other areas of Indonesia were quite close. The important item exchanged for this precious iron was cloth of high quality.

Blacksmiths had of course to forge everyday tools, especially for agricultural work. Seemingly, the process of producing something valuable out of a dirty lump or a blank surrounded the blacksmith with the aura of a magic person. Blacksmiths in Indonesia, especially the smiths who could produce *pamor*, were highly honored. People also made offerings to supernatural beings for providing humans with iron, the outstanding material.

Although gold is more valuable than iron, the goldsmith, who concentrated mainly on producing jewelry, could not achieve the same reputation as the blacksmith, while the brazier had even less. This may have to do with brass being a relatively late import to Indonesia. In addition, brass was never was made into objects that were at the center of attention and esteem like golden ornaments or kris pamor.

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Fig. 96 **Earrings** | ***bangkara***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
MVW 17837
Brass, silver.
2 pieces, each: L 3.5 cm, W 3.3 cm, H 1.3 cm

Anklet | ***ciccing***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
MVW 17819
Silver; cast, filigree, granulation
H 5 cm, Ø 7.8 cm

Ear ornaments | ***bangkara***
South Sulawesi.
MVW 17835
Silver, gilded.
2 pieces, each: L 6 cm, Ø 1.8 cm

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MODEL HOUSES IN THE CZURDA COLLECTION

Irene Doubrawa/Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

The model house owned by the Museum for Ethnology in Vienna and brought there by F. A. J. Czurda from South Sulawesi was most likely built in the early 1880s. The miniature model is a very important source of information because it shows a state of development that cannot be seen in real life any more. Most of the Bugis and Makassar houses we find today in South Sulawesi and along the north coast of Flores are not very old. The majority of them was built in the 1950s or later. Because wood is used as the main building material, destructive forces such as extreme humidity and torrential tropical rains usually affect the durability of their structures. We thus assume that houses have always been slightly remodelled and have thus changed a lot in the course of time, despite the fact that some elements of old houses were probably re-used when erecting new buildings. Therefore, it is even more important to use every possible source of information about building traditions that we can find in order to trace and understand changes in the vernacular architecture of the South Sulawesi people.

According to Pelras, there seems to be a tradition of producing miniature houses equipped with furniture and so on among the Buginese people. They can be found in the attics of traditional Bugis houses and usually act as residences for spiritual beings that visit the house during certain rituals and that have to be given offerings during these celebrations. Additionally, miniature houses are also brought to sacred places as offerings for newly-built houses (Pelras 2003: 272). Although the construction of miniature houses on demand appears to be a task well known among the Bugis, it is still unclear whether the house in the museum collection was made for such a purpose. The model might as well have been a small-scale model built on demand by a carpenter for its collector Dr. Czurda, who wanted to own an accurate copy of a traditional Bugis house. An accompanying note by Czurda only states that it depicts the most common way of building houses in Sulawesi during that time.

The model in the Museum is about 85 cm high, 95 cm wide and 115 cm long and rather well preserved. It is made of bamboo and wood with a thatched roof made of actual parts of palm leaves. The short text by Czurda in the catalogue of the collection describes the model and also gives additional information about real houses and settlements that could be found in South Sulawesi at the time of the model's acquisition.

Comparing the model house to life-size Bugis houses, we found out that it matches building in reality to a great extent. The post and beam structure is made of the same building elements that we find in real houses. The number of posts forming a rectangular floor plan and the attached covered veranda on the left side correspond to the most common way to build Bugis houses. The same applies to roofing material, the structure of the roof with its two gable panels on each side as well as to the position of the doors and windows. The facade panels are also very realistically made of split bamboo.

One major difference, however, is that certain structural parts of the miniature house are made of bamboo, which is not the case in real houses. For actual houses, builders prefer to use wood for important structural elements, i.e. for posts and roof trusses. Utilizing bamboo for tall posts in real life houses, especially in the same way it was used for the model, would most likely result in tearing or splitting

p. 84 above:

Fig. 97, 01a **South Sulawesi model house in the Museum of Ethnology, Prague**
Photograph by Irene Doubrawa and Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

Left:

Fig. 98, 01b **South Sulawesi model house in the Museum of Ethnology, Prague**
1 Detail of roof ridge.
2 Façade detail
3 Flower bud shaped "hanging posts" at the lower end of the gable panels
4 Entrance door to the house
5 Joint with miniature wedge at the eaves of the roof
6 Mortise and tenon joints are used for the main structure, floor boards and wall panels are fixed with nails.
Photographs by Irene Doubrawa and Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

of the post, especially around the mortises. Of course, examples of smaller huts can be found where the horizontal structural element is tied to a bamboo post instead of going through it. Yet, bamboo still does not seem to be a very suitable material for posts. Interestingly enough, Czurda's comment on the house model says that it used to be customary to make all the common houses entirely of bamboo. Yet, considering the fact that older houses used to raise their living platforms even higher above the ground than the houses today, where the floor is already raised about two meters above ground level, we are quite convinced that wood must always have been the regular material used for posts, even if the rest of the house was made of bamboo.

Examination of the techniques used for the model house of the Museum of Ethnology, Vienna, reveals that all main structural members (piles, roof truss, lateral and longitudinal beams) are joined together by mortise and tenon joints, even featuring little wooden

Below right:

Fig. 99, 02b **South Sulawesi house model in the Museum of Ethnology, Vienna.**
1 Detail of roof ridge
2 Side view
3 Main entrance to the side annex.
4 Tiered front gable
5 Back façade with two gable panels
6 Detail of the posts underneath the house
7 Detail of lashed roof construction elements
8 View of the interior of the house
Photograph by Irene Doubrawa and Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

Left:

Fig. 100, 02a **South Sulawesi model house in the Museum of Ethnology, Vienna**
View of the front façade
Photograph by Irene Doubrawa and Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

Fig. 101, 02c–f **Model house from South Sulawesi (Museum of Ethnology Vienna).** Computer drawings showing exterior views. Drawings by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

pegs and tusk tenons with proper keys. The only detail missing are miniature wedges. The only exceptions to this are the longitudinal ceiling and roof truss beams, which are made of bamboo and therefore lashed to the bamboo piles.
Although the model itself is over a hundred years old, the type of joints and the way they are used has not changed; they are executed today in the same way. What did change is the way of fastening the secondary members, which includes rafters, purlins and floor joists. In the model, they are lashed, a technique which has altogether disappeared from today's Bugis architecture, with the exception of the village of Tana Toa and maybe two other locations[1]. In these days, these parts of the structure are nailed or bolted to the main load-bearing members.
If we consider the overall proportions of the model, we can see that they are very similar to the proportions of real houses. The gap between the ground and the raised living platform, the height from there to the base of the roof construction, as well as the distance from there to the ridge, are all approximately the same. Even though some structural elements have larger dimensions, these were probably caused by the natural dimensions of the modelling material and the desire of the model's constructor to depict details just as they were in life-size houses.
The example of the Bugis model house from the Museum of Ethnology accurately demonstrates the difficulty of finding scientifically valid resources in ethnological research. Even though in this case we were lucky enough to deal with a miniature house that appears to be a rather reliable source, portraying real life architecture, we still have to bear in mind that some aspects might always be contradictory and invalid, even if the differences are as little as bamboo instead of timber posts. One simply will have to look critically at every model used in any research, especially if there are hardly any other sources from the same period for comparison. If these precautions are observed, small-scale models are invaluable tools that can close gaps in understanding historical and traditional developments.
The model house kept in the Czurda Collection in Prague shows all features of a typical South Sulawesi house, although it differs in several ways from the model found in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology Vienna. It is important to note, that, since both models were obtained by the same collector, Czurda, and are made of quite ephemeral materials, it is very likely that they were made and bought at more or less the same time and thus that both represent architecture that at that time could be found in South Sulawesi.
However, although the main layout of both models is very similar, the construction techniques and materials are different. While the model of the Museum of Ethnology Vienna is mainly constructed out of lashed bamboo parts with only a few carpenter-style joints, the model in Prague is a fine example of applied Indonesian carpentry techniques. Lashings are only used exceptionally and are restricted to the roof cover and its immediate sub-structure. The main frame of the building and even the walls are all made with the help of carpentry methods. Where this was not possible due to the scale of the model, the details clearly hint at the carpentry methods that were used in real life houses.
As do all South-Sulawesi houses, the Prague model has an internal supporting frame, which in this case is made entirely of wood. The main elements are the vertical house posts that are joined by horizontal floor beams and roof trusses to form a frame. In this frame, no diagonal struts are used, only vertical and horizontal structural members.
The house has a gabled roof with projecting, horn-like carved finials. The gable panel has three tiers, with three windows consisting out of three to four vertical slits. One window is located on the middle tier and two on the lower.
The frame is four house-posts wide; these form the main frame below the gabled roof. One extra house post allows the construction of an entrance and corridor area on the left side (seen facing the house). The living area is executed as a raised platform, as is the case with most Sulawesi houses, leaving the space underneath free for storage, work or the keeping of animals. The originals of these houses are likely to stand on stones as a foundation. The posts do not have to be buried in the earth. The depth of the house construction encompasses five frames, thus resembling a very common layout found even today in most places of South Sulawesi.
The inner layout of the house model is as follows: on the left side (seen facing the house) there is an entrance, which can be reached via a staircase that is now missing on the model. The insertion point of the stair construction and the banisters is well marked through slots on the remaining two banister posts in front of the door frame. The ends of these posts are carved, resembling the shape of a flower-bud. From the corridor a door opens to the right and leads into the main room of the house, positioned over a square of 4x2 post spacings. From this room two smaller rooms are separated by a dividing wall and can be reached by doors. The room that occupies the back-right section of the house is smaller, only 1x2 post spacings big, the other on the left

1 Karampang (Sinjai regency) and Cerekang (Ussu, Northern Luwu). See Pelras 2003: 265.

Fig. 102, 02c–f **Model house from South Sulawesi (Museum of Ethnology Vienna).** Computer drawings showing exterior views. Drawings by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

is 2x2 post spacings wide. The attic is closed off by floorboards from the living area of the house.
The frame of the house is covered by wooden wall panels. They are, as is also the case with the model in Vienna, not slotted or fixed between the posts, but applied on the outside, more or less "hung" in front of the load-bearing structure. In case of the Viennese model, the way of construction is very much evident, as the panels are really lashed and hung from beams and posts. In the case of the model in Prague, the panels are already nailed to the supporting parts. As structural joints mostly mortise and tenon joints are used, they are always secured by wedges. It is interesting to find this feature, which was essential for executing the original houses, in the model, as this shows the attention of the model-maker to fine details. It also underlines the importance of this feature, and the model builder's understanding of full-size construction. The wedges are not necessarily needed on the scale of a model, but a real house would collapse without them.
An interesting feature of the model house is that parts that are assembled out of several parts in real life are made in the model by sculpting them. The gable panels are a good example. In reality each of the panels is constructed separately out of smaller wooden parts, the whole triangle having a wooden substructure out of laths and battens. On the model the gables are carved or "sculpted" out of one single piece of wood. Elements of the substructure are largely omitted, and are only imitated where they can be seen from the outside and are thus important for recognising the structure. Also, two small, carved "hanging posts" with their ends shaped in form of flower buds are attached to the lower part of the lowermost gable panel. Up to today, such elements, crafted in much the same way, appear on some South Sulawesi houses.
The carving on the model was apparently done with different kinds of chisels (straight, hollow with different radius, etc.), their marks being partly recognisable on the decorations of the wall panels. On real houses these panels are constructed out of a frame and filled with wooden boards, upon which a second layer of decoratively formed elements is often placed. These decorations can either be cut out with the help of a fretsaw or can consist of a smaller panel with rounded or decorated edges. This principle of construction is quite similar to the way doors are or have been crafted in European carpentry. In the model, the walls consist of a single piece of wood, on which the outline and the different layers were carved, instead of a wooden frame filled with board(s). This way the method of construction of the original is abandoned for the sake of easier manufacturing.

Carving has a well founded tradition in South Sulawesi, as the motifs of gable finials are often sawn out of a piece of wood and their surface sculpted with chisels. These motifs are usually floral or organic, but the technique and tools used are the same, and we can imagine that for a man adept in carving it was no problem to craft a wall panel instead of a roof finial. However, some details on the model are very small and delicate and seem to have been executed by a hand not totally able to master this challenge. Some motifs are not cut exactly the same size or not in the intended regularity, some bear marks of chiseling too deep or are executed sloppily. On gable finials, which are crafted in the carvers' workshops today with essentially the same methods and tools that were used to make the model, fine and clear cuts can be seen, although in slightly larger dimensions. We can therefore assume that the craftsman building the model was familiar with these carving techniques, but perhaps not professionally trained in them. However, the joints and all other details are very finely executed. One important feature on the model is the use of metal nails and wooden pegs. They are used for fastening wall panels to the substructure and for securing joints and connections additionally.
If we consider the overall appearance of the Prague model, we can state that the features and the organisation of its ground plan are still typical for present day traditional architecture in South Sulawesi. In comparison with the model in Vienna it is clear that the Vienna model

represents an architecture that is only rarely found in South Sulawesi today. Local people in Sulawesi themselves considered it an "older style" as it uses bamboo as material and structural connections are mostly lashed. In present day South Sulawesi these materials and techniques are only used in places that consider themselves to be very traditional (like the village of Tanah Toa) or for buildings that are designed for a function of little importance, like a garden hut, where representation of wealth or prestige is not an issue. The Prague model on the other hand shows the implementation of the same house type by the use of wood and standardised carpentry joints and techniques. Layout and ground plan are very similar, but it exhibits a state of traditional architecture where standardised boards, laths and battens were easily obtainable (or carpenters possessed enough helpers and tools to make them). In fact this is proof of the existence of a thriving carpentry industry. Only if there is a constant production of wooden building material (boards, square posts, etc.) and only if there are enough trained carpenters it is reasonable to switch from a lashed frame and nearly unprocessed structural members to a very labour-intensive house like this. However, in many South Sulawesi villages, this way of building wooden houses still is state of the art and traditional carpentry remains a flourishing trade. Although some tools have been modernized (electric saws, planes, etc.), most work is still done in a relatively old-fashioned way. In some South Sulawesi villages on the coast, the shipbuilding tradition also contributes to the survival of traditional woodworking techniques.

So while we can consider the model in Vienna to represent a very archaic and today seldom encountered state of traditional architecture, the model in Prague shows construction methods that, although we do not know exactly when they developed, have probably been used for something more than the last hundred years. With only slight modifications, they are still in use today.

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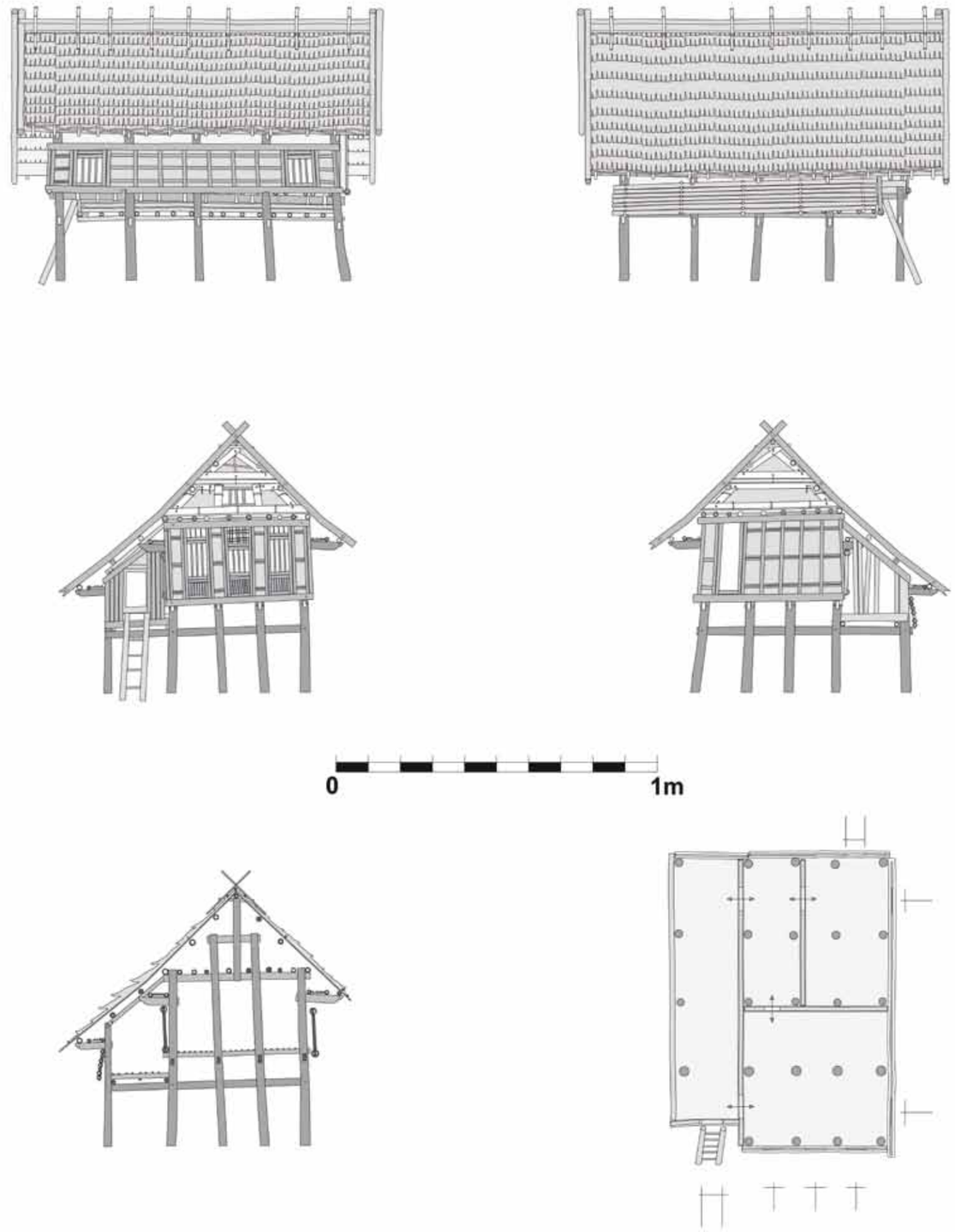
Above: Fig. 103, 02c - f **Model house from South Sulawesi (Museum of Ethnology Vienna)**
Computer drawings showing sections. Drawings by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

Facing page: Fig. 104, 02g **Model house from South Sulawesi (Museum of Ethnology Vienna)**
Draft showing lateral, front and rear views, section and floor plan. Drawings by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi



TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE IN BUGIS ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH SULAWESI[1]

Irene Doubrawa/Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

THE BUGIS HOUSE—A MALAY-STYLE BUILDING

The Bugis (and Makassar) house can be found all over South Sulawesi, which is the original homeland of the Bugis and Makassar. As the spread of this house type is closely connected to colonization movements by ethnic Bugis and Makassar people, scattered settlements with this building type can also be found on the coasts of islands around Sulawesi.

The Bugis and Makassar house is basically a type of house we would like to term *Malay-style* which has the following main characteristics:

1.) Raised on stilts[2] that form a so-called H-frame[3]
2.) Rectangular ground floor plan
3.) Gabled roof
4.) Various possibilities of enlargement through addition of modular annexes and lean-tos
5.) A very explicit spatial organisation dividing the house mainly into public and private areas

The term *Malay-style* does not, however, indicate that this house type originates directly from the area of today's Malaysia, but rather that it shares an architectural tradition with house types found in Malaysia and in some parts of the islands of Sumatra and Borneo. While no substantial typological link can be traced to other eastern Indonesian vernacular architecture, there appears to be a strong link between South Sulawesi and some western Indonesian building styles (with the exception of Java, central Borneo and central Sumatra). A look into the history of the South Sulawesi people reveals that the Bugis and Makassar kingdoms have always had close connections to the more western part of insular Southeast Asia, mainly through trade and politics. Although Bugis ships regularly visited the islands of present Nusa Tenggara Timur (Sumba, Sumbawa, Flores, Timor) or even more eastern areas, only a few settlements were established there. The main colonization movement focused on Borneo, Sumatra and the South Malaysian area (Pelras 1996).

1 This article is a shortened version of the article "Documenting the Past—Transformation and Change in South Sulawesi Architecture", which was originally published in 2007 in the series *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 57–58, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

2 Historically, Bugis and Makassar houses used to be pile dwellings. A pile in architectural terms is a post dug into the ground, while stilts stand without firm attachment on the ground (usually on stones).

3 An H-frame is a framed element using continuous posts that directly carry the load of the roof and transfer it to the ground.

SPATIAL ORGANISATION AND FLOOR PLAN OF BUGIS ARCHITECTURE

The Bugis house typically features a core unit with a gabled roof supported by four posts in a lateral direction and at least three posts in the longitudinal direction. The number of posts of the main house may vary slightly depending on the size of the house and, thus, on the rank of the house owner within the village community. Until about sixty years ago, only the nobility was allowed to use an odd number of posts. Their very elaborately designed houses were usually based on a five- or seven-post floor plan. The core unit of the Bugis house comprises a representational front area, which is used for receiving guests and makes up the common area for men during the daytime, and a private rear area that is reserved as a sleeping place, mostly for women and girls. This private sleeping area can feature a slightly elevated floor or even be separated from the main room by a light wall made of plaited bamboo or thin timber boards.

In addition to the central core, Bugis houses often feature side annexes that are usually built at the same time as the rest of the house and are integrated into the main structure in a way that suggests that they have evolved over a long period of time.[4] Written and other sources, such as miniature house models, confirm that these annexes have been an integral part of South Sulawesi architecture for at least 100 years. Side annexes often serve a private function; in many cases they are used for housework. The kitchen is also either in the side annex or in the back of the house (see for example Czurda 1883; Pelras 1996; historical house models Collection Czurda, Museum of Ethnology Vienna and Prague).

Interestingly enough, the extension of the floor plan creates a peculiar roof form with two different pitches. The main roof is generally steeper than the roof above the annex. Nowadays, some new houses even reproduce this roof shape without having annexes underneath, or the adjoining annex roofs reach well into the main roof of the core building. Seemingly, this peculiar roof form is simply being reproduced without any connection to the substructure or the floor plan underneath. Thus the roof must have gradually detached itself from its function and become a style we would like to term *Decorative Two-Sloped Roof*.

It is very likely that, after adding side annexes, home builders added a front veranda as a next evolutionary step in the enlargement of the Bugis house. The front veranda supposedly is a rather recent invention, as many houses still do not have one at all. Also, historical house models do not feature front verandas, nor are they mentioned in written sources (e.g. Czurda 1883). This might be due to conflicting interests between the practical and the decorative aspects of building a house. While a front annex offers the practical advantage of providing an ante-room where shoes or other belongings can be left, decorative elements like window designs and carvings tend to disappear behind the balustrade of a veranda or in the shadows cast by the attached roof of the veranda.

The area beneath the house is used to store firewood, construction material and, in villages near the shore, usually also a canoe. In settlements with a weaving tradition, the loom is installed between the posts and sometimes small working platforms can be found. In most cases, there is a strong tendency to wall in or enclose at least parts of the area with fences or timber boarding and sometimes even brick masonry in order to create space for a workshop. To this day

4 In most cases one annex with closed walls is built. There are only a few cases where an annex is open and veranda-like. In these cases, there are often two annexes.

Fig. 105 **Typical construction of a Bugis house from South Sulawesi.** Computer drawing by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi

bricks and concrete are mainly used to build sanitary blocks or kitchen areas that are added to the rear or lateral parts of the houses only. As sanitary or kitchen cells have been promoted by the Indonesian government as measures for "healthier living" since the 1960s, they are clearly a relatively recent interference with traditional Bugis architecture, introducing industrial materials and building practices that contrast sharply with techniques of traditional carpentry.

Nowadays it is also not uncommon to see whole wooden house structures placed on top of masonry ground floor walls, in which case the wall replaces the stilt structure and bears all the loads. In the rare case of a building made entirely out of masonry, it is more likely to be built on ground level with the floorplan resembling a traditional Bugis house but made of "modern" material. While side annexes are generally not built, the new and stylish *"decorative two-sloped roof"* mentioned earlier will usually be copied.

CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF HOUSE CONSTRUCTION DETAILS

The Bugis house with its modular post and beam structure can easily be adapted and extended, which has happened extensively over the course of time. One of the most notable changes concerns the way of anchoring the building into the ground. Until about the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bugis house was built of timber H-frames as the main structural component, which were made of piles dug into the soil. The resistance of the soil alone was enough to guarantee the stability of the lashed and fairly flexible construction and consequently made lower connecting beams redundant. Some examples of this kind of construction can still be observed in more ancient Sulawesi villages, such as the village of Tana Toa in the Kajang district. These days, however, the use of rattan or rope for the lashing has been replaced by wedged mortise and tenon joints[5] that not only make the overall structure of the building a lot more rigid, but also enable the posts to be positioned on stones above the ground. The evidence in Tana Toa and other places suggests that this, in fact, has been a gradual development. Since the piles of the houses will usually rot away with time and leave a gap between the earth and the wood, a good and simple solution to fill the emerging gaps is to wedge stones beneath the posts and, thus, to have stilts above the ground[6].

5 Today examples of buildings with horizontal structural elements being fixed to vertical elements with lashings from the sides can only be seen in the cases of very simple huts. There the poles have a round shape and very small diameter.

6 Adhering strictly to architectural terms, this means that in such a construction the former pile-structure has been converted into a building on stilts.

Fig. 106 **Typical South Sulawesi house,** seen from the front. Tana Beru village. The facade of the core house is symmetrical and the space on the main floor left open.
Photograph by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi, 2005

Fig. 107 **House made entirely of bricks,** Darubia village. A rare example of a house made entirely of bricks in Darubia, South Sulawesi, where a standard first floor without side annexes was transferred to ground level. The house features the typical "decorative two-sloped roof."
Photograph by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi, 2005

The same enhancement of rigidity can also be confirmed for the roof structure. The roof truss is usually made of two or three horizontal layers of lateral and longitudinal beams, arranged one above the other in vertical order. As long as the nodes where these beams meet are lashed, no real stability can be achieved, but when the technique is changed from lashing to jointing by means of wedged mortise and tenon joints, the connections and thus the truss itself become sufficiently rigid and guarantee the integrity of the whole structure. From this point on it is then possible to place the structure on stones. Houses built recently increasingly use posts that are placed on a concrete foundation with the end of the post being firmly placed into a block of concrete. While this solution may still resemble in appearance the previous method of putting stones underneath the posts, the new method actually works as a structural constraint, one that is even stronger than digging the post into the earth.

In terms of modernization of building techniques, in most cases, all mortise and tenon joints we observed were still fabricated in a proper, traditional manner. Sometimes nails or bolts were used to replace, or rather reinforce, the wedged joints. Yet, interestingly enough, the main load-bearing structure is usually not affected by any alteration—only secondary elements such as purlins or rafters are nailed or bolted.

While in most houses the original flexible floors of split bamboo were replaced by jointed wooden plank floors a long time ago, an additional "fixed" grid has been introduced as a new element for the floor joists only recently. This grid is made of perpendicular battens that rebate on each other, resulting in a number of tight-fitting halved joints. Thus a grid of inter-connecting joists that provide a certain rigidity can be formed, which acts as a stiffening plate that stabilizes against a horizontal torsion of the house frame.

CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE FACADE AND OTHER PRESTIGIOUS BUILDING ELEMENTS

Traditionally Bugis houses were oriented to geographical aspects. Houses were built irregularly on plots surrounded by trees and bushes, with only small paths between each plot. The former customary orientation of the houses was to the inland (*aja´*)—seaward *(alau´)* axis (Pelras 2003: 270), but was gradually replaced by a west-east orientation. The pressure by both colonial and Indonesian government administrations on the local people to move closer to the newly-built main roads changed the traditional settlement patterns of the Bugis. This eventually resulted in the re-orientation of the houses, which today mostly face the roads along which they are built, regardless of ordinal or geographical orientation.

As the front of a traditional Bugis house was not defined by a passing road but by the geographical direction and the house's position in the village, the house could be seen from various angles and there was a strong tendency to treat all four facades of the Bugis house alike in terms of material, which was mostly bamboo, and overall design. The slightly off-centre entrance door and the stairs leading up to this door probably were the most important elements for indicating the front side of a house. As ample light could enter through the plaited bamboo walls and smoke could escape through them, there was no real need for windows. In the cases of older traditional houses that did have 'windows', these were simple openings, usually placed symmetrically.

The development of street-oriented villages and the subsequent change of building layout toward the road drew attention to the front facade and generated the development of a proper street facade. While the main entrance may still be positioned on the front facade, in South Sulawesi, where a lot of houses have a covered side gallery, the door usually leads into that lean-to. The flight of stairs is peculiarly

Figs. 108–109 **Structural details of a 19th century house model** (Czurda collection, Museum of Ethnology Vienna) ***(left),*** and a **House in Darubia, South Sulawesi** ***(right)***
The main joints are executed in the same way today as they were when the house model was built, while secondary elements that used to be lashed, as can be seen in the house model, are presently jointed (or even nailed or bolted).
Photographs by Irene Doubrawa/Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi, 2005/2008

perpendicular to the street and shows the social rank of the owner of the house through its material and construction. As with all other symbols of prestige, only nobles were allowed to place the stairs at right angles to the front of the house[7] and only the highest officials were allowed to build a roof over them (Pelras 2003: 258). All the other people had to place the stairs parallel to the facade. With the Bugis and Makassar aristocracy's loss of influence in everyday affairs, the angle of the stairs became less important and finally was left to each owner's individual taste. Today, most stairs on Bugis houses are perpendicular to the front facade, and regional or class standards can hardly be found any more. Nearly all stairs in modern villages of South Sulawesi have a canopy and little platforms on either side of the stairs to sit on, applying the same materials and construction techniques that are used for the main house.

In the majority of cases, there are windows between all posts on the front facade. Windows on the side facades appear less frequently and are usually smaller and simpler than the windows on the front facade. The development of large windows reaching down to the floor in the front façade may partly be connected to the fact that the front of the house is the area where men and guests meet. They sit on the floor, from where they can watch the goings-on in the village through the large windows.

Nowadays the front facade also usually differs from the other facades in the materials used. It is very common to use wooden elements to cover the front facade, while the other facades are still made of plaited bamboo panels. In cases where the same material is used on all four sides of the house, there is usually at least a difference in material patterns or in color. Written and other sources suggest that color is most likely a relatively new element to express prestige. While more ancient structures do not show any traces of color, on newer houses color is applied to certain elements to enhance the prestigeous status of the building and its owners. Thus areas most likely to be painted are the front facade, gables, bargeboards and finials.

The roof and the attic, as is also the case in many neighbouring Southeast Asian cultures, are exceptionally important architectural elements of the Bugis house. The tiered gable typically found on Bugis houses is a prestigious element, which was traditionally reserved for the nobility: the larger the number of gable panels, the higher the social rank. Several prominently placed decorative elements can also be positioned on the roof. The most common motifs found in roof carvings are dragons, animals and plants that extend from the ridge and the eaves. Finials can also be formed by an extension of the two bargeboards that rim the verge of the roof. After Indonesia's independence, the new government strongly opposed the use of hierarchical symbols. In addition, the decreasing need to store food has led to a declining importance of the attic as the most sacred area of the house. Today the number of panels no longer is a strict expression of prestige or rank and sometimes the tiered gable, taken totally out of context, is turned into a mere stylistic element and considered to represent architectural identity. Apparently, the increasing significance of the facade as a building element and thus as an element of representation in recent times has gone hand in hand with a decreasing relevance of the gable area. At the same time all other facades and even the area underneath the house have gained more and more importance as status symbols.

7 Secondary back or side entrances for the female members of the family to access the rear part of the building have always been an exception to this rule because they usually are reached directly by a simple ladder, which could not be placed parallel to the facade without an additional platform or support.

Fig. 110 **House in the traditional village of Tana Toa, South Sulawesi**
Apart from the entrance door, the front and side facades look very similar.
Photograph by Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi, 2005.

Fig. 111 **Modern house, Wuring village, Flores island**
View of a relatively modern house in the village of Wuring, Flores. There is a clear distinction between the front and the side facade, especially at the main floor level.
Photograph by Irene Doubrawa, 2007.

CONCLUSION

All these developments of prestigious elements, of construction details and of spatial organisation show that Bugis architecture has undergone change. Traditional elements such as tiered gables or extended bargeboards are used to promote regional architectural identity but often seem to be taken out of their original context. At the same time new elements, like new materials or color appear to represent the owners' wealth and status, whether the choices are made consciously and deliberately or not.

The 1950s and subsequent years undoubtedly had a fundamental impact on Bugis society, causing the most notable changes in traditional village and settlement layout. Interestingly enough, the concept of the South Sulawesi house was not abandoned at all, but only slightly altered and adapted by successfully integrating new materials and structural details into the existing architecture. A flourishing carpentry industry has helped to preserve the knowledge of traditional construction techniques and there is still a large turnout of high quality buildings, often ornamented with elaborate carvings and decorated facades. Luckily, the basic layout of the house with a modular system of posts seems to be very suitable and adaptable to local needs. It also offers possibilities of prefabrication and standardization, attributes which are mainly used in industrial architecture, but can to a certain extent also be incorporated in the traditional ways of building. With a little effort from both government and local builders, these buildings could be adjusted to comply with 'modern' building codes, thus enabling vernacular architecture to continue as a living tradition.

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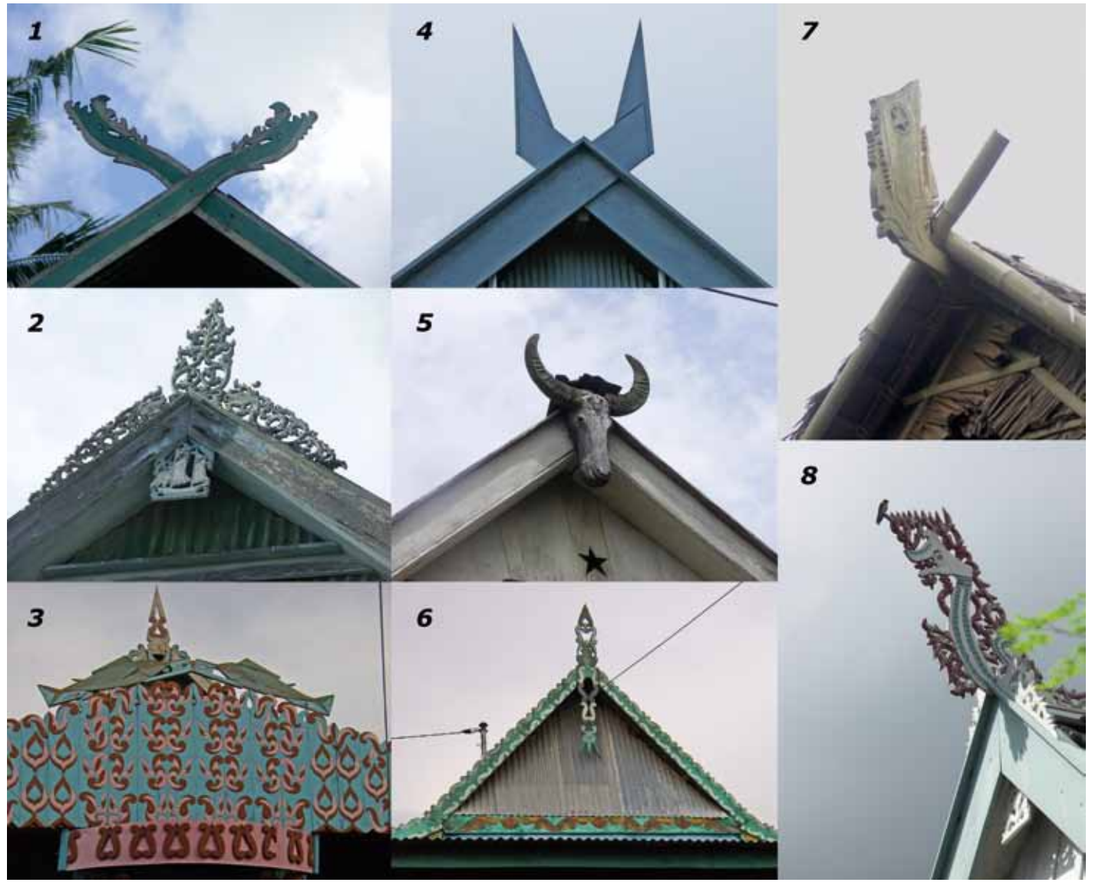

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Fig. 112 **Various gable finials from different parts of South Sulawesi, Flores and Bonerate**
1 Bonerate
2 Tana Beru (South Sulawesi)
3 Wuring (Flores)
4 Tana Beru
5 Ara (South Sulawesi)
6 Wuring
7 Tana Toa (South Sulawesi, Kajang district)
8 Tana Beru.

Photographs by Irene Doubrawa/Ferenc Gábor Zámolyi, 2005/2007

REVISITING THE COLLECTION OF DR. FRANTIŠEK CZURDA

Halilintar Lathief

Fig. 113 **Sword** | ***sundang*** (detail)
Sulawesi
MVW 17350
Iron, horn, thread.
L 65.5 cm, W 11 cm.

Astonished, proud, surprised, touched and sad, are all words to describe how the author felt, when in 2009, he received an invitation to view the Bugis and Makassar ethnography collection at the Museum für Völkerkunde of Vienna, Austria and the Náprstek Museum, in Prague, the Czech Republic. The author was invited to review the collection of Dr. František Czurda at the two museums and to take part in a research project entitled "Sharing Cultural Memory". This project provides for cooperation with Indonesian museums, not only to transfer knowledge on museums in general, but also to gain background knowledge and context for the collection, to establish a virtual museum accessible by internet and to publish a CD-ROM as well as a printed catalogue. Ultimately, the goal of this project is to recollect and to understand more deeply the past culture of South Sulawesi.

Dr. František Czurda (1844–1886), born in Bohemia and joined the Dutch East Indies armed forces in 1876 as a military doctor. After spending 15 months in Aceh, he was dispatched to the island of Sulawesi. Czurda, who mainly lived in the towns of Makassar and Mallasoro, traveled often to the interior of Sulawesi. During his stay in the Netherlands East Indies, Czurda collected objects used in all aspects of life, the majority of which originated from the Bugis and Makassar ethnic groups of South Sulawesi. Czurda also composed a 173-page catalogue of his collection, entitled *Catalog mit Erklärungen der etnografischen Privatsammlung des Dr. F. A. J. Czurda aus Postlberg, Böhmen* (Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller 1883). Czurda's catalogue divides the objects into thirteen categories: (1) Weapons, (2) Brass, (3) Pottery, (4) Basketry, (5) Hats, (6) Household Utensils and Work Equipment, (7) Musical Instruments, (8) Ceremonial and Religious Equipment, (9) Models, (10) Textiles and Weaving Equipment, (11) Jewelry, (12) Books and (13) Skulls.

Czurda made a number of oversights in recording the names and data of some of the objects he collected. The local terminologies of some objects are inaccurate (such as *saepu,* which should be *seppu*, *banranga* is *banrangang* (M) or *banrangeng* (B), *bangkong* should be *bangkung*, *manau* should be *mando*, and *kajijawo* should be *kaliao* or *kaliawo*. Besides that, Czurda also seemed to have difficulties in differentiating Bugis from Makassar names. Sometimes in his terminology he even combined words from the two languages. Yet, his collection and catalogue are priceless because they serve as a valuable archive of the material culture of the Bugis and Makassar people of the past, with items that have already disapeared or are unused today. This collection has objects such as the *seppu* (blow pipe), *kanjai* (hooked spear), *bessi pakka* (forked spear), *tarasulu Maponco* (wooden javelin), *waju rante* (chain mail armor), *kaliao* (armor), and *bessi wakka tado* (hunting spear), all of which are no longer part of daily life in South Sulawesi.

WEAPONS COLLECTION

Seventy-five of the 129 pieces of the Czurda weapons collection come from South Sulawesi. Many weapons appear the same but were named differently in differing commuities. The Makassar dagger *(keris)* is called *badik* but Czurda categorised it by using the Bugis word *kawali*, despite the fact that both objects do not even look the same. Czurda also did not notice details such as how the Bugis and Makassar ethnic groups identified their daggers, not only based on the curves but also their metallic luster or sheen and their material. The Bugis and Makassar know of at least 36 types of luster, each with its own characteristics that can influence its user or owner. For example, there is luster intended for war because its owner will not bleed, luster for trade or even to propose marriage to a girl. Therefore, most people have more than one dagger in their homes. Many daggers were given names as if they were people. Besides its powers, a dagger's value is also determined by the materials used to make and decorate it, such as silver, gold and ivory.

Fig. 114 **Dagger** | ***tappi sapukala***
South Sulawesi.
MVW 17391
Iron; forged, wood, brass. Sheath: wood, rattan, string.
Dagger L 42 cm, W 11.5 cm
Sheath L 37.5 cm, W 15 cm

The placement of weapons as the first section of the catalogue perhaps indicates Czurda's main interest, in accordance with his work as a military doctor in a time of confict. For the Bugis and Makassar of the past, sharp weapons were a sign of a person's courage, especially among the men. When a teenage boy set off on a journey for the first time, he was provided with advice as well as a dagger. The advice is for the boy to use three tips in socialising while on a journey: the tip of the tongue, emphasizing the use of good words when speaking; the tip of the genitals, meaning caution in handling lust and realizing that friendships can be forged through marriage; and the tip of the dagger, which is only to be used if the two previous tips have failed.

Fig. 115 **Sword** | ***sumara***
Sulawesi
MVW 17405
Iron; forged, horn. Sheath: wood, thread.
Sword L 53.5 cm, W 16 cm. Sheath L 52 cm, W 5 cm

BRASS COLLECTION

Only seven of the thirty-one brass objects from this collection originate from Sulawesi. This fact is a bit odd, considering that during the period Czurda amassed his collection brass was a popular material in South Sulawesi. Brass was used in the special clothes of the nobility and as the material for accessories in ceremonies. For example a king had to have between twenty and forty objects made of brass, each of them to be handled by one person. The king, whether sitting on his throne or traveling, was always accompanied by officials, each carrying a brass object.

The Bugis and especially the Makassar highly regard objects made of gold, or those similar to gold, both in material and spiritual terms. These peoples classify metals in a hierarchy, with gold at the highest level, followed by silver and other metals. For the Bugis, the order of hierarchy of metals used for ceremonies is: iron, copper, brass, *swasa* (mixture of quartz sand and gold), silver and gold. Most holy objects *(arajang)* are made of gold and silver and in religious ceremonies

Fig. 116, 117 **Vessel** | ***adupa-dupang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17425
Container to store incense
Clay; fired, glazed, sunken relief.
14 x 17 cm

177–178. Incense burners, bowls – *Adupa-dupang.*
Two little incense bowls, about the size of a child's head, with a quite peculiar balloon-like form, having at the top a very small opening, which is surrounded by a type of rim. Glazed brown on the outside and decorated with simple, engraved figures.

Fig. 118, 119 **Vessel** | ***adupa-dupang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17430
Container to store incense
Clay; fired, sunken relief.
16 x 20 cm

182. Incense burner – *Adupa-dupang*
A small incense burner in a form similar to that of the previous ones, but of rare beauty in its workmanship. The eight-sided, balloon-shaped container with a narrow mouth is made of very fine, intensely red clay and is decorated on the outside with the most beautiful, regular symmetrical figures in high relief.

Fig. 120, 121 **Vessel** | ***adupa-dupang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17427
Container to store incense
Clay; fired, sunken relief
16 x 20 cm

Below:
Fig. 122 **Basket frame** | ***asalakang*** (B); **salaka** (M)
MVW 17499 (+ MVW 17425)
Rattan; plaited.
H 27 cm, D 27 cm

Carrying basket | ***bantalang aperang***
South Sulawesi, Makassar
MVW 17492 (+ MVW 17430)
Rattan; plaited.
H 19 cm, Ø 18.5 cm

these are used as metals for the shamans, such as the gold coins that adorned the horns of sacrificial oxen or rice mixed with gold dust for ancient coronation ceremonies.

POTTERY

A very valuable part of the Czurda's collection is the ceramics, all of which originate from Sulawesi, because most of these objects are no longer in use. In the past, these ceramics were produced in limited quantities and only in certain places. Among the collection are ceramic hearths from Sulawesi *(dapo),* containers for cooking in various forms and motifs *(uring)*, frying utensils and utensils to make pastries, all of which are no longer used by the Bugis and Makassar. Nowadays the Bugis and Makassar peoples prefer to cook with factory-made utensils on kerosene or gas stoves.
An old form of ceramic that is still exists is that called *adupang-dupang,* which is used for ritual ceremonies. The Czurda collection has rare variations of *adupang-dupang*, which now can mostly be found in rural communities that have managed to preserve these objects by careful storage.

BASKETRY COLLECTION

The largest part of the Czurda's collection are the 115 woven objects from Sulawesi that are the more valuable because they are no longer being produced or used by the Bugis and Makassar. Among the Czurda's collection are a clothing trunk woven from stems of the areca nut tree and the rattan plant called *petti limbang, lombong,* and *bece.* These trunks are no longer in use and are foreign to contemporary Bugis and Makassar people. The Czurda's collection also consists of serving utensils and containers for food such as *rantang* (set of stacked containers for transporting food), *rantang penne* (place to store plates), *baki* (tray), *onrong pallullu* (place for hand towels), *assallakkeng* (food containers), *pajo, lobo* (protective cover for food), *lobo menrek, lobo rijumpu*, *battalang apperang* (plate for hot pots just off the stove), and *papi* (fly-swatter).
The Czurda's collection is also a repository for woven items from Sulawesi that are virtually unknown today.[1] Among these are the *baku,* containers in differing colors and weaving techniques, *balse,* sacks made of woven sugar palm leaves and *karoro,* woven material

1 In general, today's Makassar and Bugis people have lost their leaf-weaving craftsmanship, since traditional utensils are no longer in use. However, there are a few craftsmen who still carry-out the art of weaving, but they mostly use plastic materials, which are more readily available and more durable.

Fig. 123 **Basket** | ***baku bodo***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17460. Strips of lontar palm leaves, rattan; dyed and woven.
13 x 38.5 cm

209. Small basket – *Baku bodo*
A basket of this type, large, eight-sided. The basket itself also has a bowl-shaped rim, like the previous one. The basketry craftmanship in these baskets is extremely fine and artful and shows the admirable skills and industriousness and good taste of the natives. The lontar leaf which is used is extremely finely split, is colored red, brown and black and forms delicate, regular figures (Czurda 1883: 49 f.).

Basket | ***baku bodo***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17457
Strips of lontar palm leaves, rattan; dyed and woven.
H 12 cm, Ø 24.7 cm

Basket | ***rantang***
South Sulawesi, Bone
MVW 17452
Strips of *silar* and *lontar* leaves, rattan; dyed and woven.
H 26.5 cm, Ø 24 cm

used to make boat sails or coverings. There are also woven mats made of rattan, pandanus and lontar leaves, with colored patterns and decorated edges.
Some items of this material culture are still in existence because of their use in traditional Bugis and Makassar rituals. Objects that can still be found in present times are the *katumbu* and *baku urang,* which are containers to store a shaman's paraphernalias. These implements usually are the *sinto* (a musical instrument to exorcise spirits), *kancing* (musical instrument made of brass), *kalakatti* (tool to cut betel), *piso* (tool used for circumcisions) and small baskets called *lowa-lowa* to store medicine. Other precious objects in the Czurda's collection are various cords called *tulu,* made of, among other materials, coconut husk, palm fiber, leaf fiber, rattan, roots, the tails of animals. These cords are used to hunt, farm, or sail, to control horses or to tie objects.

HATS

The Czurda's collection has fifteen hats, most of which originate from Sulawesi. Czurda only mentioned two terms for these hats: *palo* and *songkoq*. In the textiles section, however, Czurda also included another type of hat. In this section, he catalogued hats according to their material, model, ornamentation and function. Among these are the *palo nipa* (made from nipah leaves), *palo cimpa* (open hat), *palo rada* (from *parada*; gold plated), *palo patteke* (hat worn when carrying goods by horsecart**),** *songkoq lotong* (black hat), *songkoq jala-jala* (hat plaited to look like a net), and *songkoq rijaiki* (hat decorated with embroidery).
Hats as head covering have a special significance to the Makassar and Bugis because these ethnic groups consider the head as the most important part of the body, that responsible for all. Touching someone's hat is often enough to cause offence or even a physical

Fig. 124 **Plate** | ***dulang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17587
Wood.
H 11.5 cm, Ø 59.8 cm

Basket | ***baku***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17501
Bamboo, woven.
H 19 cm, Ø 25.5 cm

Spoon | ***sanru***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17596
Horn, seashell.
L 24 cm, W 10.5 cm

Ladle | ***sanru***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17605. Wood, seashell, iron screw.
L 31.5 cm, B 13 cm

Broom | ***passaring aroho***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17638. Straw heads of the rice plants.
L 30 cm, W 16 cm, H 7 cm

fight.[2] The Bugis and Makassar also identify the head with respected qualities such as leadership, nobility and intellect. These are qualities usually found in community leaders, such as religious leaders and teachers, who are viewed as useful both in this life and in the afterlife.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND WORK EQUIPMENT

Out of the 113 objects of this section, only one is not from Sulawesi. Most of these household items, including kitchen utensils, are made of coconut shells, dried fruits and vegetables, bamboo and wood. The Czurda's collection again is a priceless repository of objects that are no longer used or known. Among these are water containers such as the *lawo* (made of pumpkin), *cerek junco* and *wanging kaddaro* (both made of coconut shell), and *timpo* (made of bamboo). There are also eating utensils such as the *anreng kaddaro* (plate made of coconut shell); *sanru* (spoon), and *dulang* (food tray). Czurda also collected dippers to take water from a well called *sero parombong,* made from the *maja* fruit, and a vessel to transport water called *bila*. One object of the Czurda's collection is still found in rural Sulawesi, namely the *apputung* equipment that is used to make pastries.

2 Perhaps this view of the head is relevant to another section of the Czurda's collection, namely the skulls.

These objects are a fascinating study in culinary technology, not only because little knowledge exists about Bugis and Makassar food traditions, but also because these ethnic groups could preserve food to last for months. This technology helped provide Bugis and Makassar sailors and travelers with the food supplies they needed to undertake long journeys. These ethnic groups also had special ways of fashioning pastries, each with its own meanings, and different methods of cooking rice for various purposes, whether celebrations, daily meals, ceremonies or travel.
During ritual ceremonies or festivities, food was served on the floor and placed on brass trays called *kappara.* Kings and nobility used to be served on *kappara makiaje* (tray supported with legs) and all dignitaries were presented with these trays, covered with *bossara***.** Five to twelve different types of food would be placed on a tray and the presentation of the food was led by an official called *pangulu bembeng*. A king used a *penne masusung* (stacked plate) to eat. In these functions, men still eat before the women. In the past, men would eat first, followed by children, then the women.
An amazing part of this collection is the opium paraphernalia Czurda accumulated called *atekkong* (Czurda recorded this as: *ateng kong*) or *assau-saungeng*, which disappeared with the implementation of strict prohibitions against narcotics by the government. In addition, Czurda also collected spurs for cockfights.

Right:
Fig. 125 **Conical drums with sticks | *ganrang***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17693a,b and 17694a,b
Alu. Wood, leather, rattan.
Drum (a): L 77 cm, Ø 39 cm. Drumstick (a): L 33,5 cm, Ø 2 cm
Drum (b): L 77 cm, Ø 38 cm. Drumstick (b): L 34,5 cm, Ø 2 cm

Facing page:
Fig. 126–127 **Spike bowl lute with bow | *gesong-kesong***
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
NM-NpM 10264 a,b
Wood, leather, hair. L. 68.6 cm, W. 15.2 cm

A set of betel chewing equipment, consisting of *panampu-nampu* (tool to pound the betel), *piso paselle* (knife), and *kalakatti* is part of the Czurda's collection. Currently the Bugis and Makassar have left behind their betel chewing traditions. In the past, the equipment used to prepare betel was an important personal possession that everyone owned. Betel was not only for personal consumption, but its presentation to guests was an indication of friendship and respect. The tradition of presenting betel is still part of Bugis and Makassar rituals as an offering to the gods and ancestors, although now the shaman no longer takes betel.

The work equipment section of the Czurda's collection can be divided into equipment used for 1) gathering, 2) hunting, 3) keeping animals, 4) farming, 5) fishing, 6) transporting goods and 7) tools for craftsmen. The equipment for gathering or collecting are *pangepe* (clamps) and tobacco cutters, which are still used in the regions of Mamasa and Soppeng to this day. The objects for animals are *sitakkeng galang* (grip to guide a horse) and *tado* (lasso). Farming equipment includes *kandao* (sickle), *subbek* (trowel), *rakkapeng* (knife to cut rice), *palungeng lampe* (long mortar to pound rice) and *palungeng* (mortar). Only women are allowed to harvest rice using the *rakkapeng,* in accordance to beliefs regarding *Sangiangserri*, the Goddess of Rice and her escort, a striped cat named *Meongpalo*. Before planting rice the *maddoja bine* ritual is conducted or farmers may stay awake all night to fulfill obligations and avoid prohibited activities. A farming husband and wife couple who intend to plant rice on the following day may not fry using oil, they must keep lights lit and customarily, the story of Meongpalo is sung (this type of storytelling is called *massurek*). In olden times, there were *massurek* specialists in every village, who were invited to participate in such farming rituals. A number of taboos existed as signs of respect to the Rice Goddess (in Bugis these taboos were called *pemmali*; in Makassar *kassipali*). Among these taboos were: it was forbidden to fetch rice from its storage place at night. Rice is believed to possess god-like characteristics, hence rice must be held in high esteem. Rice also had to rest at night, to worship or meditate to seek salvation for those humans who treated it well. Nowadays, people in the agrarian regions of Sulawesi are abandoning these rituals.

Fishing equipment includes the *bantalang* or *balolang* (boat), *jala buang* (thrown net), and *meng gellang* (brass fishing rod). Equipment for transporting goods includes: *lempa jappa* (carrying yoke), and *lempa cagowe* (carrying yoke)**.** Craft tools are: *uwase* (ax), *cobo* (knife), *alati* (broad bladed knife) and *renring* (bamboo mesh).

The equipment found in the Czurda's collection points to the professions of the Bugis and Makassar people of the past and present. Farming is still mainly traditional and relies on family farming methods. The fishermen are more sophisticated, since they already use motor boats. Yet, in general, these professions are still based on traditional systems.

The Makassar people's current seafaring activities cannot compare with the glory days of the Gowa Empire, when it was Eastern Indonesia's major maritime realm. Perhaps this setback began with the implementation of the Bongayya Treaty of 1667, which dictated that Gowa must become an agrarian kingdom like its neighbors.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Fifteen of the twenty-seven musical instruments in the Czurda's collection come from Sulawesi and sufficiently represent the musical instruments of the Bugis and Makassar peoples in general.[3] Among these is an idiophone in the form of a wooden drum called the *katto-katto*, which is struck to sound an alarm. Dr. Czurda called the alarm drum a *tong tong*. There is also a *ganrang bulo* (bamboo drum).[4]

In the museums in Vienna and Prague is also a string chordophone called the *gesong-kesong*. The string of the chordophone in Prague is made of brass, typical of original *gesong-kesong* musical instruments of Makassar called the *kere-kere gallang* that are no longer in existence. Modern *gesong kesong* have guitar strings. The *gesong-kesong* accompanies a narrator called a *passinrili*, who often tells epic tales of heroism or history. A famous epic is *Sinrili Kappala Tallumbatua* (Tale of Three Ships) about the Makassar War of 1666-1669 against the Dutch.

Sulawesi's wind instruments are represented by the flutes, both the ones played horizontally and vertical flutes**.** However, the Czurda's collection of wind instruments is not complete, because it does not contain the *puik-puik* instrument used by the Makassar people, especially in *bissu* rituals.

In general, Indonesian traditional music can be classified into two main groups: gong music and drumming. The music of South Sulawesi, particularly of the Makassar ethnic group, falls into the drum category. In South Sulawesi the drum is an important instrument used for music as well as a crucial element in spiritual and ceremonial life and can be found all over the region. The Bugis call the drum *genrang* and the Makassar *ganrang*.

At present, the people of Makassar have three types of tubular drums, namely *ganrang panca'*, *ganrang mangkasara* and *ganrang pakarena*. The *ganrang panca'* in the Bugis regions is used to accompany traditional martial arts and games. This drum is small and one set consists of two drums. *Ganrang pakarena* is used as accompaniment to the Pakarena dance and can be owned by anyone. In addition to being a tool for expression and entertainment, the *ganrang pakarena* is used to call people to assemble. They are still widely produced and since the 1970's were commonly painted red, blue or white. They now also accompany contemporary dances in South Sulawesi. The *ganrang pakarena* has a metal plate called *simpe*, usually taken from used cans or motorcycle registration plates, indicating the spot to be hit with the drumstick.

Other drums in the Czurda's collection are from Makassar, called *ganrang mangkasara*. They are convex and not symmetrical because one half is larger than the other. These are used in ceremonies to purify royal heirlooms called the *kalompoang* or *gaukang* ceremonies. Hence, this drum is also called *ganrang gaukang* or *ganrang kalompoang,* shortened to *ganrang lompo*. This type of drum, which is now only rarely produced, is larger than most Makassar drums and

3 It may be noted that there in the collection's ceremonial objects also various types of musical instruments which differ from those in this category.

4 A study by Halilintar Lathief in 1996 listed the following number of musical instruments from South Sulawesi: 15 membranophones, 72 idiophones, 59 aerophones and 23 chordophones (Halilintar Lathief 1990. Inventarisasi Alat Musik Tradisional Sulawesi Selatan. Surakarta: Masyarakat Musikologi Indonesia and 1996. Studi Eksploratif Aerofon, Alat Musik Tradisional Sulawesi Selatan. Ujung Pandang: Lembaga Penelitian IKIP Ujung Pandang).

is reserved for these special ceremonies and stored with the royal heirlooms. This drum is considered holy and only a certain segment of society may possess them. Nowadays this drum is more often played for the Pakarena dance.

Such drums are made from strong and durable wood, such as frangipani wood, wood from the jackfruit tree, mango tree and *banyoro* and *kanunang* trees. Frangipani wood is considered the best type of wood for crafting a drum. Drums made from frangipani wood is not allowed to be stepped on, stepped over, sat upon or used randomly. The belief is that if this drum is used not properly, the user will fall ill. Its 30-centimeter long drumstick is called the *babbala* and is made from ox horn or wood.

A special ceremony is conducted prior to the making of this drum. The wood is cut to a length of around 66 centimeters and hollowed out by piercing it, then carefully burning the inside. The color of the drum is the natural color of the wood or black, after polishing with a leaf.

The Makassar drum is personified as a human being. Its body, made of hollow wood in the form of a cylinder, is called *kale' ganrang,* meaning the body of the drum, or *bannena ganrang,* meaning the belly of the drum. The drum is covered with leather called *sanrangang ganrang* that consist of two layers that are of differing lengths, namely the *ulu ganrang* and the *paja ganrang*. These are made of goat hide that must have been dried for at least five months. The *ulu* layer is made from the hide of a male goat and the *paja* from a female goat to produce different sounds. This leather is then stretched on a frame of rattan and bound with rattan string. The border of the drum is framed with palm fiber or rattan, which enables the drummer to produce additional tones. This particular frame is in the form of a ring and is a new development.

The body of the drum is filled with beads that have been given a mantra. These beads are called *tau-tau* and may be rice, coins, lontar leaf weavings in the shape of humans, *siri* (betel) leaf, pits of palm sugar, wood, small stones or other elements. Where these beads come from and how they were procured has symbolic meaning.

When a drummer is resting, the drum is placed vertically on the floor with the *babbala* placed between the strings that adjust the drum's tension *(gantayang ganrang)*. The head of the drum is on the floor. This position indicates that no one is allowed to hit or to make a sound with the drum without the permission of the leaders of the musical group. Breach of these rules, it is believed, will cause the perpetrator to fall ill. When the drum is not in use for a performance it is stored in the attic of the house or on top of the hearth. At certain times, usually Thursday nights, incense will be burned and mantras read for the drum.

The drum is played by male players called *paganrang* and led by an *anrongguru*. In some performances a drum is played by three men or one *paganrang* will play three drums. The seating arrangement and body position of the drummers follow specific rules. The drums are held in an *anriwa ganrang* position, meaning setting the drum on one's lap, or they are placed on the shoulder when walking in a ceremonial procession. Drummers sit cross-legged on a stage *(lawa-lawa)* decorated with *bombong* (young coconut leaf), or on the floor *(dapara)* of a house. The strings of the drum are tied to the right knee, the edges of the *paja ganrang* rest on the sole of the left foot and the *ulu ganrang* is placed on the right thigh. The *kala ganrang* with the *simpe* is on top and the right hand holds the *babbala*. These positions ensure that the drum will remain stable when beaten. These positions are reversed for left-handed drum players.

The *ganrang mangkasara* is played in pairs of two drums. The first drum, called the *ganrang paulung* is slender and is considered male. The second drum is concave with a round center and is considered female. The opposition between male and female is a typical theme in South Sulawesi cosmology. Intercourse (*ganrang* in the Makassar language) or sacred marriage between these two drums is in line with the ancient belief of upper realm and lower realm manifested in the *appanaung* and *appanai* ceremonies. These ceremonies are, respectively, worship devoted to the upper and the lower realms.

Ganrang pattannang supplies the basic rhythm, thus the player of this drum controls the rhythm. This player sits behind the *pauluang* drummer and must master playing the *pattannang* drum before he may play the *pauluang*. Expert drumming skill is essential in playing the *anrang pattannang* because it must be done in a varied manner and leads the whole rhythm. The beats of the *pattannang* and *pauluang* drums must be in harmony.

In general there are two major techniques in playing Makassar drums, namely *tumbu* and *tunrung*. *Tumbu* is hitting the drum without a stick, but only using the palms of the hands and sometimes the elbow.[5] There are three types of *tumbu* as well as a "intermediate beat"*: tumbu se're* or (beat one), *tumbu ruwa* (beat two) and *tumbu tallu* (beat three). The following drum beats are the most popular among the Makassar people, because they are always played in every special event: *tunrung paturung, tunrung pabballe* and *tunrung pakanjara*. *Tunrung paturung* or *tunrung pole sumanga* is used to call Pakarena performers and the people in general to assemble. It starts softly with a slow rhythm until it is played loudly with a fast tempo. *Pole sumanga* means to stimulate enthusiasm. This beat in the Bugis region is called *tette pole sumange*, but with a meaning and function like the following *tunrung paballe* beat.

Tunrung pabballe means therapeutic beat. This stimulating rhythm begins with slow beats, suddenly followed by hard and fast beats. This rhythm is played during ceremonies involving therapy and circumcision, among others, through the night and day.

During the sacred *appilattu* ceremony to convey tribute to the One God this beat is played at night between 19.00 and 20.00, then between 24.00 and 1.00 and in the early morning, between 4.00 and 5.00. The *tunrung pabballe* in this ceremony (a) reminds people to not be careless or to sleep so soundly that a criminal can enter or that work is left unfinished; (b) enlivens the evening; and (c) fosters the sense of being a family.

Tunrung pakanjara (fluttering beat) is made with the *patannang* drum with a three-one beat, three *babbala* beats with the right hand to the *ulu ganrang* followed by one beat with the left hand to the *paja ganrang*.

CEREMONIAL AND RELIGIOUS EQUIPMENT

Most of the thirty-three objects out of the forty-four ritual objects of the Czurda's collection from South Sulawesi are the ritual tools of the *bissu*. The *bissu* are or were priests of the Bugis communities, before the advent of Islam (see pp. 74–79). Some of the ritual tools can also be categorized as musical instruments. This part of the Czurda's collection is highly significant because a number of these objects are no longer used by the current *bissu* or are even unknown to them. Among these objects are the *galappo* (a musical instrument made of bamboo used to shoo dogs from below the house), *moro* (also made of bamboo; now unknown, although a similar instrument called the *lea-lea* is still familiar), *tallu tali* (a baton to lead dancers), *damadatu* (candles for offerings), *pasili* (wrapped boxes containing medicines), *walida* (a weaving tool made of black wood, used as a weapon by women, which the leader of a ceremony holds), *batu laga* (special polished stone), *pinceng batu* (mother-of-pearl), dan *kajawo* (snails).

The collection also has a fossil of the head of the hornbill bird, called *alo* (B). This object is special because the hornbill is now extinct in South Sulawesi and the bird has special meaning in a complex and developed belief system.

Czurda also succeeded in collecting a number of charms and amulets, an achievement of itself. Charms and amulets are personal items and can only be possessed through the fulfillment of certain requirements. Some charms are made for a certain person and cannot be transfered. Other charms are only passed on through inheritance.

Simak is a charm made of sacred objects to protect its wearer from catastrophe. Czurda did not classify the *simak,* but there are three types of this charm. One placed at the waist called *simak pabekkeng*, one hung on the neck called *simak gattung*, and one kept in the pocket. In this collection, the latter is a *kulawu tude liu* used for immunity against sharp weapons.

COLLECTION OF MODELS

Dr. František Czurda collected eleven models, all of which originate from South Sulawesi. These models represent farming and fishing communities, complete with equipment and even the *ulereng tomate* (stretcher to carry dead bodies to the cemetery). This collection also has a model of the *padewakkang* boat which was used by the people of Makassar to conduct long, far-flung journeys to catch fish and also for war.

However, this collection does not have a stretcher to carry sick people. This is puzzling since Czurda was a doctor. Perhaps this is because this type of stretcher was very simply made, consisting merely of two bamboo poles and a sarong for the patient to lie or sit on. Also not represented in this collection is the sedan chair for a king.

TEXTILES AND WEAVING EQUIPMENT

The influence of many nations can be seen in the Bugis and Makassar attire in the Czurda's collection, for example, the use of European silk and organza as well as local silk. From the 121 items of this section, forty-eight come from South Sulawesi. Czurda managed to collect a complete set of tools to produce cloth: a tool to remove cotton seeds (*pangepe ape)*, a tool to roll cotton (*lalusang)*, a spinning wheel (*ganra),* a tool to clean cotton (*gama pasaring)* and a weaving implement called (*tannun)*.

In the Makassar and Bugis cultures women weave the cloth. Nowadays, weaving tools like those found in the Czurda's collection are no longer used, particularly because production of sarongs with these methods is costly and time-consuming in comparison with using machinery.

In the past every girl had to produce sarongs and they were secluded from men who were not their family members. The first thing a suitor's family would notice in a girl was the sound of her weaving. A musical instrument, called the *tenrajeng,* would be placed on the loom and when someone was weaving, a pleasant rhythm could be heard. The sound of the *tenrajeng* was also used to detect how diligent a girl was and also to provide her with some diversion while weaving. These objects, all parts of the Czurda's collection, can rarely be found in modern-day Sulawesi. Czurda also collected many pieces of clothing which, despite their age, still retain their original color.

Waju bodo

The *waju bodo* is short-sleeved blouse, with a square shape, made from sheer, transparent cloth. The sides are sewn together in a straight line, leaving only openings for the arms. The Bugis call this blouse the *waju poncok* which also means short-sleeved. It is also called the *waju kasa eja* or *waju eja*, which means red *(eja)* blouse, because it is usually made from red, gauzy material. Nowadays there are many variations to the *waju bodo.* This garment is also called *waju tokko* because customarily it must be starched (*ritokko)* before use.

There are three types of the *waju bodo* garment:

1) *Waju bodo rawang:* worn by children who have not reached puberty and is very thin.
2) *Waju bodo pattola rawang:* a thicker version of the garment, worn by girls who have reached puberty.
3) *Waju bodo dua lapis:* (two-layered blouse) worn by married ladies.

In the past *waju bodo* were only made in seven colors: white (*kebok*), dark yellow (*rappo teknek*), black (*lekleng*), chili red (*eja*), blood red (*sala eja*), green (*cambulo*), and purple (*kamummu*). Each color indicates the strata, status and age of its wearer, as follows:

1) Green *(cambulo)*, only for the daughters of high nobility.
2) Red (*eja*) is for teenage girls[6].
3) Dark red (*sala eja*) for married women.
4) Black (*lekleng*) for ladies aged forty and above or those who have grown children.
5) White (*kebok*) for elder ladies, over seventy. Also worn by the nannies and wet nurses of children of the royal family or nobility.
6) Purple (*kamummu*) for widows.
7) Dark yellow (*rappo teknek*) for girls below the age of 12.

The *waju bodo* evolved rapidly between 1945 and the 1960s. Global interaction influenced and changed the views and tastes of the women of South Sulawesi. Nowadays, the *waju bodo* does not reflect the status or age of its wearer but is determined more by her taste and color preference. Women in Indonesia continue to wear and to vary the *waju bodo.*

Waju labbu

The *waju labbu* is a loose-fitting, full length garment, consisting of a skirt and a blouse. Since this attire is generally used by the people of Makassar, it is a symbol of the Makassar ethnic identity. Czurda recorded this garment with the Bugis terminology of *waju malampe* (long dress). Its color is similar to the *waju bodo. Waju labbu* is worn in *Pakarena* performances on Selayar Island and in the district of Gowa Regency.

Tope and *Saluara*

Tope is a sarong similar in style to a woman's skirt. It is without any patterns and the color is only white or yellow. The edges of certain

5 Tumbu (M) means to hit, to strike or a hit.

6 The words *pabbaju ejayya* (the one wearing red) is often found in Makassar lyrics and allegories, meaning "girl".

Left: Fig. 128 **Buginese woman at the loom**
Náprstek Museum Library, Photograph collection of Josef Kořenský, 193.339

types of *tope* are decorated with gold or silver chains. Types of *tope*:

1) Regular *tope*; a plain white or yellow sarong. The white version is also used as a shroud *(widang)*.
2) *Tope aklonjo*; plain sarong with chain decorations on its edges, consisting of two or three layers (*aklonjo)*.
3) *Tope lalang;* dancer's pants in the same color as the outer *tope*.
4) *Saluara nikancing;* long pants with *rappo-rappo* buttons on the ankles.

Lipak

The people of Makassar call sarongs *lipak*; they are made of silk as well as other fabrics. There are also *lipak garrusu,* which are smoothed or ironed with *bole*, a type of oyster shell. The *lipak antallasa* is part of a royal dress and currently often worn as wedding attire.
One garment that must always be worn is a long sarong or *tope* that covers the toes. Even Pakarena dancers who are resting between scenes must cover their feet and toes. For the women of Makassar, it is taboo to show the feet, hence all sarongs and *tope* must cover the feet, both while standing and sitting. An elderly lady named Hadiyah Daeng Lala (78 years old), recounted that feet for Makassar women were like thighs in other cultures. Although Hadiyah Daeng Lala has lived in the city of Makassar for a long time, she still maintains traditional Makassar customs within her family[7]. These principles are also upheld by Pakarena dancers when performing on a stage before an audience. While dancing, they step on the edges of their sarongs that cover their feet.
In the past each king and official had their own sarong pattern, a symbol of their dynasty, that was not allowed to be used or imitated by others. Each family had its own pattern; hence the sarongs were indicators of the identity, background and status of the wearer. Thus in traditional Pakarena dance performances in the villages, the colors of the dancers' sarongs were not the same. The dancers wore their own sarongs to complement the color of their *waju bodo.*
Sarong patterns that are still in use to date are, among others,: (1) *curak caddi*, small square patterns; (2) *curak tangnga,* similar to the *curak caddi* with larger squares; (3) *curak labbak,* large square patterns; (4) *curak labba parang kebo*; the middle of the pattern is wide and white; (5) *curak labba parang lekleng*; the middle is wide and black; (6) *curak akkaluk,* a circular pattern following the thread of the material; and (7) *curak ammenteng,* horizontal patterns.
Many garments of the Czurda's collection are rare items that are no longer produced. Some sarongs and headbands *(passapu ulu)* of the Czurda's collection are still shiny because they were originally well ironed with tapioca flour and oyster shell.

527. Loom – *Tannungang maponjtjo*
This loom is nearly identical to the previous, but on its lower end, where the board with the spool of yarn is fastened into the two blocks, it has two vertical, standing poles as tall as a man, which have a peculiar "rattle-apparatus" of bamboo. These have been ingeniously and very simply constructed. When the weaving slat is struck, pushing the thread that has been thrown through onto the finished cloth, these "bells" make a rattling noise which can be heard from far away. Looms with such noise-makers only belong to unmarried girls and when they weave the clacking can be heard from a distance, signalling that in this house there lives an unmarried girl (Czurda 1883: 135).

Vessel | *guci*
South Sulawesi, Jeneponto.
MVW 17421
Clay; fired, painted, sunken relief.
H 21 cm, Ø 15 cm

Bowl | *agguoreng*
South Sulawesi, Jeneponto.
MVW 17432
Clay; fired.
H 10 cm, Ø 25 cm

Rack | *apajakoreng*
South Sulawesi.
MVW 17766
Wood.
L 33.3 cm, W 18 cm, H 24 cm

Brush | *jakka-sabu*
South Sulawesi.
MVW 17767
Bamboo, coconut, rattan.
L 56 cm, W 14.5 cm

Weaving coil | *ana-pelu*
South Sulawesi
MVW 17771
Wood, thread.
L 38 cm, Ø 1 cm

Weaving coil | *ana-pelu*
South Sulawesi
MVW 17772
Wood, thread.
L 38 cm, Ø 1.5 cm

Weaving coil in capsule | *ana-pelu*
South Sulawesi
MVW 17773
Wood, thread, bamboo.
L 57.5 cm, Ø 2 cm

7 Interview conducted in October 1999.

Facing page:
Fig. 129 **Backstrap loom** | ***tennungeng maponco*** (B) ***tannungang bodo*** (M).
South Sulawesi, Mallasoro.
MVW 17756 + MVW 17756/1–9
Wood, cotton.
L 112 cm, W 20 cm, H 86 cm

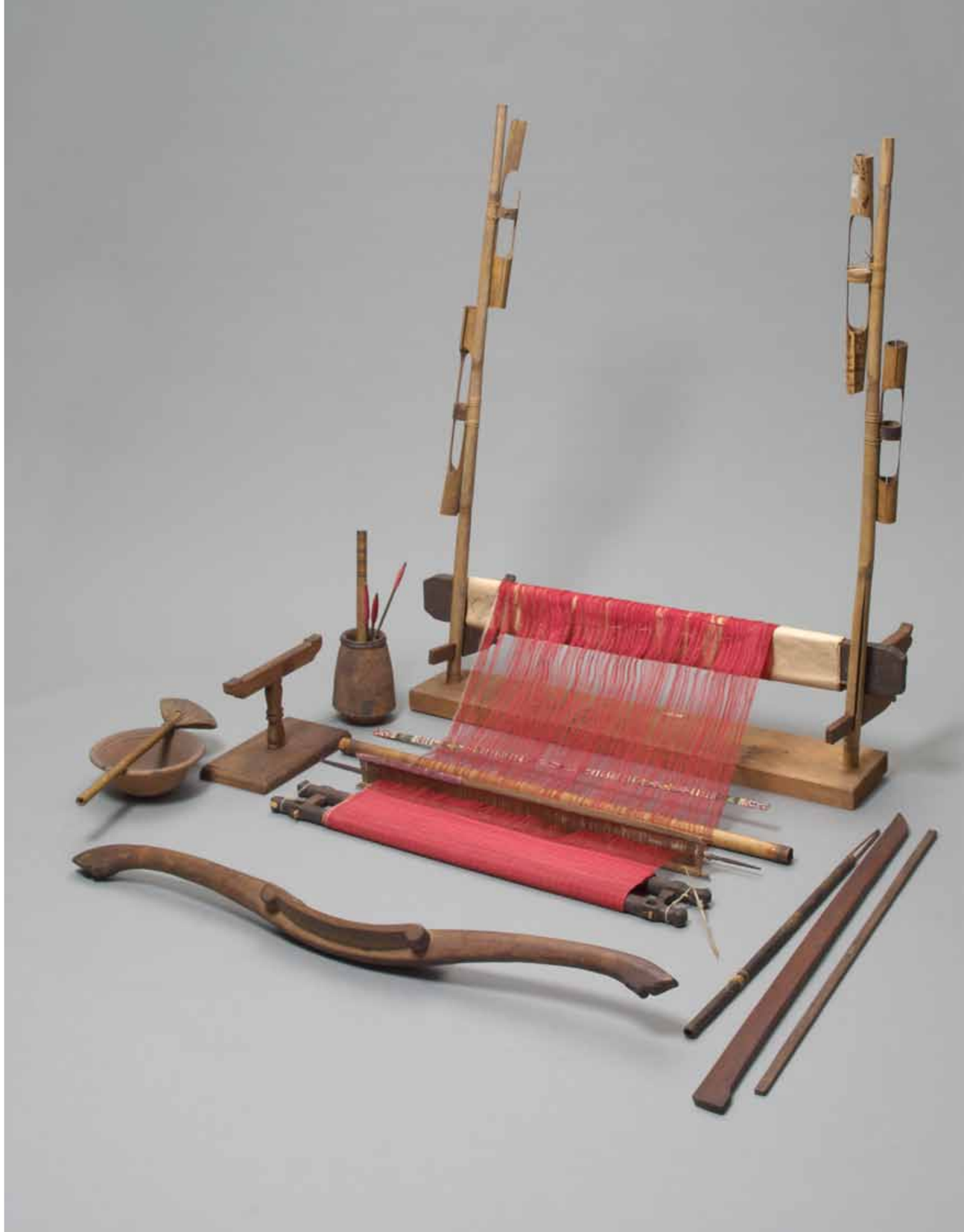

Fig. 130 **Sarong** | ***lipa***
South Sulawesi
MVW 17782
Cotton; plain weave, hand sewn.
117 x 93 cm

Passapu Ulu

The Passapu headband is worn only for war or in ritual activities. Its form and way it is tied reflect the position of the wearer and usage. Nowadays, wearing the *songkok* or *passapu* is still considered a sign of respect. There are still some segments of Makassar society who will cover their head with their hand if they are not wearing a head covering. Customarily, when a host receives a guest, he will invite the guest to sit, then fetch his *songkok* to show respect. The use of *songkok* in Pakarena performances also is a sign of respect to the audience, guests and organizers. Wearing the *passapu* conveys the wish that the organizers will receive a spiritually superior position.

The use of *passapu* in the culture of the Makassar people also has its own meaning. The height and the side on which the headband is tied indicate the ceremony or activity being undertaken. Wide *passapu,* called *patonro* or *patinra,* are usually used in hunts, war or outdoor performances. Meanwhile narrow *passapu* are worn for indoor events and, commonly, by older people. A *passapu* tied on the right means the user wishes well, as in wedding ceremonies or other celebrations. The *passapu* tied on the left is meant to avoid disaster or evil powers. A *passapu* tied in the front indicates that the wearer is courageous, a warrior ready for war or any challenge. A *passapu* tied in the back is worn for sailing or for *panggadakkang* ceremonies where a king, high ranking officials and respected guests will be in attendance.

Objects of the Czurda's collection that are no longer produced and used by the people of Sulawesi are: *waju rawang* (the transparent *waju bodo*); *tapong* (cape for men); *songko kape-kape* (hat for small children); *boru* (hat for girls); *songko ana* (hat for children); *unrai* (skirt); and *pabbekkeng ri singkerru* (belt used after giving birth).

JEWELRY

The Czurda's collection has sixty-three pieces of jewelry, with thirty-five of them originating from Sulawesi. The jewelry was used both as decoration and to enhance the wearer's status in society. Notable parts of this collection are the toe rings worn by unmarried girls, which are no longer used, indicating the wearer's social status. Others are the *purukang* waist bags, *sikke* (tool to tweeze and clean the ears) and various combs made from animal horns, all of which are also no longer used.

BOOKS

Czurda's collection has twenty-two books, but only one comes from South Sulawesi, namely an edition of the holy Al-Quran. The Czurda's collection also contains Islamic religious accessories, such as prayer beads the Bugis call *bilang pilang*, *rebana* (a percussion instrument), and prayer attire and other articles in the textile section.

SKULLS

The Czurda's collection has thirteen human skulls, which are an interesting study because they are of people of differing professions and backgrounds. Czurda's work as a military doctor provided him with easy access to skulls. Among the skulls are that of a person who was beaten, that of a poor hospital workers and one from a Bugis prostitute, who was working for a Chinese.

Fig. 131 **Brooch**
Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18044
Silver; filigree.
L 4.5 cm, W 2 cm

In connection with the skull collection, it is important to recall the importance the Makassar and Bugis assign to the head *(ulu).* The position of the head is an important sign in Makassar and Bugis behavior and customs. Honored guests in a festival are seated in the upper part of a house called the *ulu tudang*. A ceremonial official called an *ulu bembeng* (head of food serving) serves food beginning from the *ulu tudang.*

When eating fish, Makassar people, especially the men, try to get the head of the fish. Eating the head of the fish, they believe, will enable them to be the head or leader. In the game of *mancak baruga*, the player who succeeds in knocking off his opponent's hat or who touches his opponent's head is deemed the winner.

Up to today, the Makassar people still believe that touching someone's head is a sign of insult. Because of the significance of the head, they still commonly wear hats, although now the hats are of different styles and not only traditional. Covering one's head is viewed as a sign of respect towards other people, spirits and the Unseen God.

THE ENDURING LEGACY OF BUGINESE AND MAKASSARESE ENCOUNTERS WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF NORTH AUSTRALIA

Joanna Barrkman

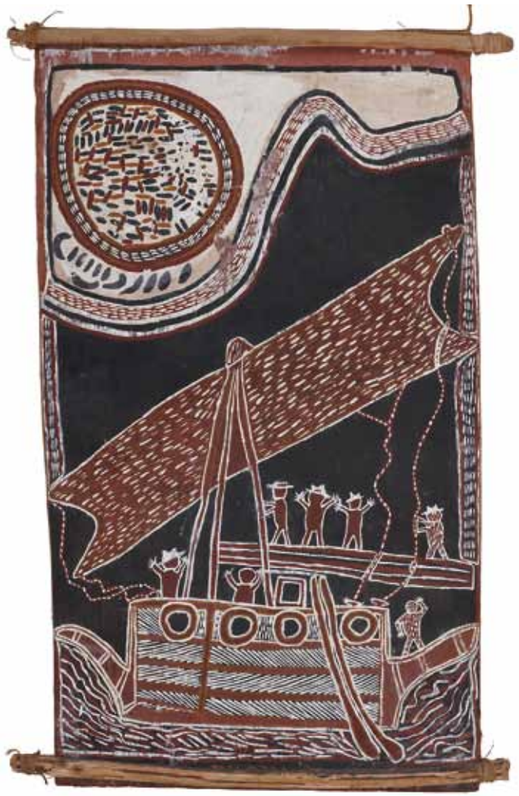

Fig. 132 Bugwanda Anantiliappa Mamarika, c. 1970,
Makassan Perahu
Museum and Art Gallery Northern Territory, Darwin
Natural pigments on bark.
77.5 x 50cm

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Buginese, Makassarese, Malay and Sama Bajau seafarers from South Sulawesi traversed the Flores, Banda and Arafura Seas in *padéwakang* (B), wooden boats, to visit the north coast of Australia in search of trepang (Holothurian L. species), mother of pearl and tortoise shell (see fig. 132).[1] In Australia these fishers, who have become colloquially known as 'Macassans'[2] had contact with the Tiwi people of the Tiwi Islands, the Yolgnu people of Arnhem Land, the Andindiliyakwa people of Groote Eylandt and the Murrinh-Patha people of Wadeye.[3] Sailing on the annual north-west trade winds, the crews of fishers arrived on Australia's north coast before the monsoon season commenced. There they stayed several months until the south-easterly winds arrived to usher them home to South Sulawesi with their valuable cargoes (see fig. 133).

Whilst in Australia, the Makassarese and Buginese fishers worked in tandem with local Indigenous people to harvest the plentiful trepang of Australia's coastline. Simple camp sites were established along the coastline where the fishers lived and processed the trepang for shipping back to the international entrepôt, Makassar. There the trepang was sold as a culinary delicacy destined for Chinese markets.

Although the nature of the contact between various Indigenous north Australian tribes and the fishers of South Sulawesi is recorded as harmonious in some instances and violent in others, significant and enduring exchanges of technologies, languages and goods occurred. The legacy of this contact is still evident in Indigenous ceremonial practices, particularly mortuary practices, which retain aspects directly attributable to the Buginese and Makassarese peoples.

Seafaring technology was introduced by the fishers of South Sulawesi to north Australia in the form of wooden dug-out canoes, known as *lepa-lepa* (B). Several *lepa-lepa* were carried aboard each padéwakang for use in the shallow waters where the trepang was collected using spearing, diving or dredging techniques (Macknight 1976: 49). Carved from tree trunks, the *lepa-lepa* enabled the indigenous Yolgnu to travel longer distances by water than their own canoe, the *warrawuku* (Y), which was customarily made by folding and latching together large sections of paperbark.

The Buginese term *'lepa-lepa'* was transferred also into the languages of the Yolgnu people and is one example among over five hundred Malay, Buginese and Makassarese words that entered Yolgnu vocabulary and remain in use today (Walker 1988). Makassarese naming conventions for tradewinds were incorporated into the terminology of the Anindiliyakwa (Enindhilyagwa) language. The loan word *'mamarika'* (M) for example, refers to the south-east wind and is a totem for the Warnungwamakwula (Amagula) and the Warnindilyakwa (Mamarika) clans of Groote Eylandt. The northwest wind is known as *bara,* an abbreviation of the Malay term *'barat'* meaning 'west' and these winds are a totem for the Warnungwadarrbulangwa (Bara) clan (Clarke 1994: 45). Symbols of these winds were depicted in the shape of *padéwakang* sails and drawn as sand paintings at the time of a clan member's death (Cole 1975: 16–17). More recently, such imagery has been depicted on bark paintings (see fig. 134).

In return for access to trepang and shells, the Buginese and Makassarese traded commodities such as iron, axes, tobacco, ceramics, pipes and cloth with Top End Indigenous Australians (Earl 1846: 245; Macknight 1976). The coastal Indigenous nations of Australia traded these foreign commodities with inland clans, giving them a position of economic superiority (Earl 1846: 245). The fascination for these foreign goods was in some instances recorded in the rock art sites of Arnhem Land. One example depicts a woman spirit wearing decorated cloth in the sarong style, typical of the Malay custom, presumably introduced by the Buginese and Makasarese fishers. Visual similarities between the chequered and linear patterning of Buginese, Mandar and Makassarese cloth resonate with the practice of *raark* cross-hatch painting in Arnhem Land.

Above:
Fig. 133 Map
© Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory

Right:
Fig. 134 Isaac Amagula, 1984, **Mamarika Southeast Wind**
Museum and Art Gallery Northern Territory, Darwin
Natural pigments on bark.
120 x 61cm

Buginese fishers in Australian waters wearing *sale'mpang* (B), draped shoulder cloths and *pa'sapu ulu* (B), headscarves, were recorded by the English artist William Westall (b.1781–d.1850) (see fig. 135). He created the earliest known images of the Northern Territory by a European in his capacity as the official artist on Matthew Flinders´ Expedition aboard the *Investigator* of 1802–03.[4] Westall and Flinders met Pobasso, a Buginese seaman, aboard his *padéwakang* in 1803 while he was on a trepang fishing expedition along the coast of northern Australia. Pobasso's name, which is a corruption of the Buginese name *Puang Basso* became immortalised when Flinders named a small island after him—Pobasso's Island—in the English Company Islands, located on north-east Arnhem Land, 600 km east of Darwin.[5]

Another work by Westall, *View of Malay Road from Pobasso's Island February 1803,* painted in 1809–1812, alludes to the use of cloth as flags (see fig. 136). This painting depicts Pobasso holding a vibrant red cloth in his hand, which appears as a billowing beacon in the vast land and seascape. This image is consistent with accounts by the Indigenous people of Groote Eylandt and the Sir Edward Pellew Group of islands, who recall the fishers giving them "[…] material to

1 Dalrymple (1769: 83) provides the earliest written reference to the trepang industry in north Australia, suggesting it was active in the early 1760's. The trade ceased in 1906 due to a decision by the South Australian government to cease issuing licences to South Sulawesi fishers, following the introduction of a trepang licensing system in 1882 (Macknight 1976: 100–126).

2 The term 'Macassans' has been in usage in Australia to denote all the cultural groups of fishers and sailors from South Sulawesi that voyaged to Australia seeking trepang. The orthography of the term is inconsistent with Malay and Indonesian languages, in which the word 'Makassar' is based on the root word 'kasar' meaning 'rough'. This term was applied to the Makassarese people due to their forthright characters. The term 'Macassan' used in quotes by Australian scholars does not specifically refer to the Makassarese people or the city of Makassar.

3 Contact occurred with other Indigenous Australians across the region of the Kimberly in Western Australia to the Gulf of Carpentaria, in northern Australia.

4 See Pelras, C. (1993: 398) for descriptions and terminology for Buginese attire and cloth styles. Macknight (1976: 29) stated that the clothing worn by the crew was relatively simple, with trousers, head scarves and thin cotton jackets in the evening.

5 According to Peter Spillett, the name Pobasso is a corruption of the term Puang Basso, which is a term of respect for older men in South Sulawesi (Letter to Paul Bruton, 18 January 2003, Darwin NT, Museum and Art Gallery Northern Territory files).

Fig. 135 William Westall, 1803, **The English Company's Islands: Probasso** [sic]**, a Malay chief**
National Library of Australia, Canberra
Pencil on paper. 27.7 x 17.6 cm

Fig. 136 William Westall, 1809–1812, **View of Malay Road from Pobasso's Island February 1803**
Ministry of Defence Art Collection, London
Oil on canvas. 87.5 x 100 cm

hoist flags when the boats were seen arriving, to guide the prows [sic] to land" (Cole 1975: 17).
Flags and pennants were flown aloft the *padéwakang* sailed by the visiting fishers as markers of political alliance and Islamic beliefs (Barrkman 2007: 12–14). This use of cloth as flags was to have an enduring resonance with the Indigenous clans of northern Australia where textiles became associated with transformative life-cycle rituals. Indigenous clans adopted flags into mortuary ceremonies in locations such as Wagait, Tiwi Islands, Elcho Island, and Numbulwar; all areas which had contact with South Sulawesi fishers for an estimated period of 200 years (Morris 2001; Issacs 1980; MacIntosh 2005).
The Indigenous Australian practice of erecting a memorial to the dead in the form of a flag is believed to have developed in Arnhem Land from the act of farewelling Buginese and Makasarese fishers (Isaacs 1980: 275)[6]:

The corpse is then carried as though it were a mast to the grave, where it is buried. Soon after this, a grave post is put up, and a mast of Macassan [sic] design is erected over the grave. The male relatives of the deceased paint themselves in his totemic design and sing the sacred songs of his clan. Putting up the mast symbolizes the final departure of the dead man, and the flags waving in the breeze farewell the spirits of the dead man on its journey to Badu[7] just as the Macassan flags fluttering on the masts of their praus signified their departure from the shores of Arnhem Land (Isaacs 1980: 276).

6 Also as part of the mortuary ceremony a song is sung about the ships mast and two men pick up the corpse and move it up and down in the same manner as if they were lifting a mast; which represents standing up, announcing departure, departing to beyond the horizon, and returning to their homelands and ancestors.

7 Badu refers to Badu Island, which is located between the tip of Queensland, Australia and New Guinea.

Historical images (circa 1880) of a group of presumed Wagait elders painted with ceremonial body-markings and carrying flag poles adorned with printed cloth substantiate the adoption of cloth flags by Indigenous Australians at that time (Jones 2005) (see fig. 137). A more recent image (1941) depicting a group of Tiwi Islanders sailing *lepa-lepa* dugout canoes to attend a *pukumani* (T), mortuary ceremony shows the use of chequered and mono-coloured fabric flags. Red triangular flags are found in Numbulwar today, well-known through the energetic performances of Yolla and the Red Flag Dancers. In oral narrative traditions, the people of Numbulwar attribute the introduction of these flags to the visiting Makassarese and Buginese (see fig. 138).

Over one hundred years since the contact between the fishers of South Sulawesi and the Indigenous peoples of north Australia ceased, seafaring technology, the vocabulary of Indigenous languages and the use of flags by Indigenous Australians remain as an evocative and enduring reminder of the historical relationship between Australia and South Sulawesi. They remind us that the seafaring ingenuity and entrepreneurship of the Buginese and Makasarese peoples of South Sulawesi led them to Australia well before the arrival of English discoverers. They also successfully established and maintained respectful trading relationships with the Indigenous peoples of Australia, which remain alive in the oral traditions and collective memories of the Indigenous tribes of north Australia.

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Fig. 137 **Presumed Wagait people with flags**
Unknown Photographer, c. 1880s,
The Phyllis Moyle Collection, Northern Territory Library, Darwin
Gelatin silver print, postcard-sized

Fig. 138 **The Red Flag dancers** performing at the Darwin Botanical Gardens, Darwin. Photo by Joanna Barrkman, 2005

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FIVE YEARS IN SUMATRA

Army doctors in the Dutch East Indies

Extract from Pavel Durdik, 1893. *Pět let na Sumatře. Vypravováni vojenského lékaře* ('Five Years in Sumatra. Tales of an Army Doctor'). Prague: F. Bačkovský, pp. 420–447

Fig. 139 C. Krüger, 1880, **View of the river near Kota Raja.** Kota Raja; Aceh. Albumen print.

[…]
Most of the doctors are scattered over the whole archipelago; it is the rule that each doctor must, to start with, spend a year at one of the main hospitals (Batavia, Padang, Kota-Radĵa, Samarang) after which they are sent to one of the above-named garrisons. If there is no doctor in the garrison, the soldiers are treated by an officer who is the local commander, and who obtains a supply of the most needed medicines and written instructions for treating the most common diseases etc. Most of the more distant garrisons in Borneo, Sumatra and Celebes have no doctor.
One doctor is frequently given several stations, which he has to visit monthly on certain days. […]

Doctors are left at distant garrisons for a year, sometimes even two years, for the law says that after a two-year stay, an official must not be left at distant stations. It is as well if a doctor is a nature-lover, if he engages in making scientific and historical collections, since this employment keeps his mind well-exercised and lively. If not, he runs the risk of becoming mentally stunted and of spending his valuable time in far niente, or wasting his money in gambling and dissolution. There are such garrisons on Borneo, Celebes and Nias; the post ship with letters and newspapers comes once, twice or three times a month. […]
The need for doctors to stay in distant garrisons is a highly unfortunate aspect of military service, but it cannot be avoided in any way. One person has the good luck to gain nothing but good postings, while another is given all the worst places. The decisive role is played by influence, good fortune and the luck of the draw with regard to which places come free. A healthy doctor is frequently sent to the worst places, places where fevers reign or which are very far from the main centres, whereas an ailing or weak doctor, a doctor who has influence or a married doctor gains postings that are better, with frequent and regular postal and telegraph communications. The lucrative postings are those where there are no civil doctors, or where there are few of them, so that a military doctor is also able to carry out a civil practice for money. In such a case he is able to earn between 200 and 500 guilders a month, in Batavia, Makassar etc. Such postings usually go to Dutch people; if one goes to a non-Dutch doctor, in 3–4 months' time they will transfer him again, and he is replaced by a Dutch colleague. […]

The continual moving of doctors from place to place is a source of great nuisance. From Java, for example, they are transferred to Borneo, from Java to the Molucca islands, to Celebes and so on. There is an apt saying: "Moving is half as bad as burning down." This continual moving, often on the basis of suddenly-telegraphed orders, is a real blow for the military doctor, especially for the married man, since he has to sell his furniture, household and kitchen utensils at public auction in the old place, and must then immediately purchase everything again in the new place in auctions when officials are leaving. It sometimes takes months to obtain the necessary furniture and household equipment, and these are often very expensive, especially if the buyers, who have to have furniture come what may, are outbidding each other.

During his six years of service (1876–1882) Dr. Czurda was transferred ten times, on the islands of Java, Sumatra and Celebes. I was transferred five times in five and a half years on the islands of Java, Sumatra and Nias. Another doctor was transferred to Kajutanam in central Sumatra, where he spent two months before being transferred to Aceh, again by telegraph from Batavia. A certain military doctor, was transferred eleven times during his ten years of service. Once again out of the blue, before he had been even six years in his new post at Samarang, he was transferred to marshy Tjilatjap. He telegraphed a request to the medical department in Batavia that he might remain in Samarang, given his frequent transferral, otherwise he would leave military service. The answer came that he should depart for the new place as soon as possible—he did so, since as a soldier he could not disobey orders, but at the same time he made an application to be dismissed.
The European staff in a given place is completely exchanged over a period of 4–5 years. After three years in the same place, you find not even one acquaintance from past years; all the people there are new. Many a military doctor has preferred to leave military service for good, not wanting to go from Batavia to Borneo, where the coastal places are very unhealthy, and has then settled in Batavia or Java as a civil doctor.
Of my twelve Danish colleagues, most were no longer in service after five years. Either they had returned home for reasons of illness, having been certified incapable of military service, or they had voluntarily returned home after five years of service. Only three Danes remained in service, and that was because they had married immediately. Their wives were born in Java of European parents, and do not want to leave the Indies. The male provider has to obey, or he will not manage anything!

Of the German doctors, some left the service, while others died of fever. Of the Bavarian military doctors, one was pierced by a pike by the Acinese; he was attacked as he was travelling with a military guard to visit the neighbouring garrison so that he could examine the sick there. Another doctor was killed together with a European sergeant and five soldiers from the Aceh base. Two, Dr. D. and Dr. N., shot themselves in a fit of melancholy. In the papers he left behind, Dr. Dörling called the station in Borneo, where he had spent a long time, the "Dutch Cayenne." Dr. N., who committed suicide, had become angry and dissatisfied with his new status and place of service (hat sich zu Tode geärgert, apparently). Colleague B. returned to Europe and was certified incapable of service; he had a huge splenic tumour from a fever that he had caught on the island of Onrust.
Of the Danes, two doctors also died of a fever. Another was sent to Europe to convalesce, with an abscess on his liver which fortunately burst through his lungs; on his return to the Indies, recovered, he was set to be stationed in the above-mentioned Rau, in extremely unhealthy country. It was by chance that they sent him to Rau again—the doctor there had died from a feverish seizure—and the person next in line had to be sent there, in other words the recovered Dane.
A particularly sad reputation attaches itself to Analabu, the coastal military station at Aceh, a truly murderous den, where over the course of a few years three military doctors died from fever (Schultz, Ingenohl and Warritsma)—not counting the many European soldiers. Another two Dutch colleagues (of the older ones) died from liver abscesses on the sea journey from Aceh to Batavia. They died suddenly when the abscess burst into the stomach cavity. I knew both of them, Ritsema and van Minkelen; they were healthy and robust people. Ritsema died before Batavia—the captain could at least hand over the body to the weeping wife of the dead man. Dr. van Vogelpoel, who treated me at Fort de Kock, also died of a liver abscess.
Anyone who looks at the list of military doctors after five years will find great gaps in the ranks of younger doctors dying from fever—and no smaller gaps in the ranks of older doctors, for they die of liver abscesses after 40 years of age. – Anyone who has survived past the five-year milestone will later have respite from fevers, but is threatened by another tropical disease, namely the ulceration and abscessing of the liver (abscessus hepatitis). It should of course be remembered that every European in the tropics may die of a fever, even in an otherwise healthy place, for example on Java in Buitenzorg or in the Moluccas or anywhere else. Some travellers and natural scientists have also died of fevers and liver abscesses, such as Dr. Schwaner, a German who was the first to travel across Borneo from south to north, and died in 1845 in Batavia; Dr. Bernstein, a traveller in the Molucca islands who died in 1865 of a liver abscess, and others. Their number is great. I saw several further names belonging to other courageous travellers who died suddenly—I regret that I cannot remember them. The death rate among doctors is noticeably large. Finally, it should also be added that a doctor who after 20 years of uninterrupted service returns to Europe in the autumn of his life, with a good pension, will often fall sick during his first three years in Europe. As a man who has aged considerably, he will find the new and unusual social situation burdens him and the harsh climate does not favour him. His prematurely aged body will have difficulty becoming accustomed to this new climate, and will long to return to the far-off paradise—for now this distant, eternally-green country will seem to him a true paradise.
Other military doctors from Bohemia during my term of service were Dr. Czurda and Dr. Krch. Both fell sick for a short time with fevers, but they soon recovered. I, however, survived a harsh, Aceh malarial fever. At the time I fell ill, frequently a third of soldiers suffered from fever, dysentery and exhaustion, and were continually being replaced by new soldiers. Fever is responsible for most deaths of all.
Finally, during the last earthquake in the Sunda strait, when the Krakatoa volcano started to erupt, two military doctors died together with the whole garrison—one in Anjer on Java and the other in Telok Betong in southern Sumatra; the earth fell into the sea with them. Such terrible earthquakes happen in the Malaysian archipelago once every hundred years, and by chance, doctors, too—for whom nature is not an excuse—fall victim to it.
In the Dutch East Indies archipelago there are also private doctors,

Fig. 140 C. Krüger, 1880, **The *Gunongan* in the garden of the palace.** Kota Raja; Aceh. Albumen print.

but only in larger towns or in the countryside, where there are many sugar factory owners and many European plantation-owners, who then pay doctors yearly. There are most of them in Java: when I was in in Batavia, there were 9 private doctors (including three town doctors), in Samarang there were six private doctors (including two town doctors), in Surabaia there are eight private doctors (including three town doctors). The others are spread about in other largish towns in Java. There are also some outside Java: one in Padang, two in Deli on the eastern coast of Sumatra, one on the island of Billiton and one in Minahassa (on Celebes), and so on. In all, there are around 90 of these private doctors. There are around 30 private pharmacists, of which most are on Java, in Batavia, Surabaija and Samarang.
Pharmacists' charges are not the same as in Europe; pharmacists charge what they like for prescriptions: 2–3 guilders for a mixture, around 25 kreutzers each for powders made up to prescription; about 20–30 kreutzers each for pills made up to a prescription; a quinine pill costs about 5–10 kreutzers, ointment made up to a prescription costs 1 guilder or more. A disease in the Dutch East Indies requires a lot of expenditure on the part of the sick person; each doctor's visit is charged at 2 guilders 50 kreutzers, a subcutaneous injection costs 5 guilders, having a tooth pulled costs 25 guilders, an abscess cut off costs 10 guilders, a wound sewn up 10–50 guilders, a dislocated limb put back into place 50 guilders, and attendance at a normal birth 100 guilders. In the English Indies, doctors' fees are much greater; in Singapore the fee for a doctor's visit is 5 dollars, while

Fig. 141 **A letter sent by Pavel Durdik to Vojta Náprstek.**
Fort de Kock, 24 March 1879

eye operations cost 400 to 2000 dollars. In Batavia in 1882, private doctors agreed that they would charge 6 guilders for a doctor's visit during the day, 25 guilders for a nighttime visit—and they also together increased the above-mentioned payments for individual smaller operations. The reason was that doctors have large outgoings for their accommodation, horses and carriages, as well as for their servants. I know that one practical doctor in Batavia had to maintain eight pairs of horses. Half of what his practice brought in was spent on equipping his household and on outgoings vital to the running of his doctor's practice. Higher civil officials in Batavia have such large salaries that they could pay doctors a fee at least ten times as large as they currently do.
A military doctor (including non-Dutchmen who have done their five years of service in the military) must ask the governor-general for a licence to practise as a doctor in the settlements, but may then choose to live wherever he likes, in any largish town in Java or anywhere else in the archipelago, and then receives a monthly contribution of 200 guilders a month from the government, as well as a certain yearly payment from the surrounding plantation-owners. Many such civil posts are unfilled in Java. Java has many sugar factories and many coffee and quinine plantations, planted by Dutch settlers who need doctors. Our countryman Dr. Czurda, after finishing his five years of military service, settled in Java again, in Cheribon, as a private doctor. The great majority of the private doctors now practising on Java were in military service, which they left either when they grew tired of it, or when they married.
The centre of all medical and scientific life is in Batavia on Java, where the "Society for the Promotion of Medical Sciences", founded in the year 1855, is active; it publishes a medical magazine, "*Geneeskundige Tijdschrift voor Nederlansch Indie*" three or four times a year. The annual subscription for members is 12 guilders. The society has a library and reading room, which contains mostly medical and chemical magazines.
On Sumatra, doctors working on the west coast (Sumatras Westkust) subscribe jointly to French, German and Dutch medical periodicals from Europe. The monthly subscription for the magazines is 2 guilders, and doctors send the journals from one station to another. After they have been read, they go to the library at the Padang military hospital. The Society for the Promotion of Medical Sciences in Batavia also encourages its members to contribute to the society's magazine each year, to observe tropical diseases and epidemics, and to study everything relating to the way of life of the natives, what plant medicines the natives use, and what they do with regard to serious surgical cases and complicated births. The author contributed his observations, in Dutch, to the 1882 volume of the above-mentioned *Geneesk Tijdschrift* on "Healthcare and Childbirth in Nias" (Geneeskundig en Verloskunde bij de Niassers, pp. 243–274). Dutch ethnographers have made reference to my article, even citing whole passages (q.v. "Globus" 1892 no. 18, C.M. Pleyte's polemic against Jacob's false theories concerning the significance of circumcision, p. 278).
Service in the Dutch East Indies has many unpleasant aspects. You are in a far-off country, you are living among Europeans, people who are definitely practical and calculating, for whom, as everywhere else, as with patriots and non-patriots, the important things in life are profit, benefit and advantage. However, it should also be said that you will not make yourself popular among the Dutch by flattery, obsequiousness and sycophancy. You are weighed upon by being cut off from the educated world and its social and generally human endeavours, and you are weighed upon by military service and its soul-destroying monotony and soul-destroying need for obedience. In exchange for that—something for something—you live in comfort and prosperity, and if you have a love of nature, then so much the better, this love will not allow you to become tired and stunted. From Europe you often long for countries that are rare and paradisaical, as well as for inhabitants that do not know the hypocrisy, shiftiness, half-heartedness and deceitfulness that you will find in civilised European society. […]

Dr. František Czurda, a native of Písek, served in the Dutch colonial army from 29 April 1876 until the start of 1882. The places where he was posted as a military doctor were: Batavia on Java, Padang and Aceh in Sumatra, and Macassar and Malassoro on the island of Celebes. He served in Aceh in 1878, as a doctor at the forts of Lamyha and Tadé, from which he also visited the surrounding military garrisons.
I never met Czurda in the Dutch East Indies. During my time in Batavia he was in Aceh, and by the time I reached Aceh he had long ago been transferred to the island of Celebes, initially in the capital, Macassar, and later at the Dutch stud farm in the interior at Malassoro. I heard at that time that he was a very social character, of pleasant appearance, assiduous in collecting and buying ethnographic objects; that he had also said, when he collected his first monthly salary in Batavia, that in Austria not even a minister received such a salary, although after two months he had realised that that was not the case. The reason for this is that outgoings in Batavia are considerable. (It is understood that an Austrian minister receives a larger salary, not to mention the difference in accompanying pensions.)

I first head the name of Czurda when a Dutch officer was talking about him. He said that in Bohemia there was no doubt great hatred of Germans, giving as proof the fact that Dr. Czurda, a man so educated and refined, had sharply criticised a colleague from Hungary, Ceb. The son of a Czech-German bureaucrat family from Hungary, this man had made himself out to be a Hungarian. "We Hungarians are born on horseback, it is our national characteristic," Ceb had boasted. "But you, my colleague, cannot even ride," Czurda replied, "What sort of Hungarian are you!" Ceb fell silent, and from then on did not boast of his birth. Dr. Czurda never made himself out to be an Austrian, but always gave his nationality as ours, although it was entirely unknown in the Indies archipelago. I consider it unseemly for a Czech to pass himself off as an Austrian abroad, and thus to hide his nationality—if only because Czechs know very well that there is no such thing as an Austrian nation. Such a Czech should not be believed, I would not trust him and I would not state that he was a countryman.
Later in Aceh I read Dr. Czurda's feuilletons in the Prague German-language paper *"Politik"* regarding his time in Sumatra and Celebes. While still in the Indies, I learnt that he had given many fine ethnographic objects to the Industrial Museum, which made him popular in Prague. I met him personally by complete chance on my return journey from Singapore to Europe, when he was returning to Java. It was just before Bombay in English India, in the Bombay Gulf on 27 August 1883. He had arrived on the Austrian steamship Lloyd Pandora, and would then sail to Singapore and from thence to Batavia. The Pandora anchored about five minutes away from our steamship, the Orion.
By chance the ship's lieutenant said in my presence that there was a doctor on the Pandora, returning to Java. What is his name? comes the question. – The lieutenant pronounced several mangled names, until I finally asked "Would it be Czurda?"—Yes! Yes!—I did not hesitate long. Tomorrow, early in the morning, our steamship was to continue its voyage to Ceylon. Although it was dark and the sea in the gulf was turbulent, I set off immediately for the Pandora. It really was he. He said that he had already heard my name. He told me that in Bohemia he had been permanently ill—it should have been the other way around, for usually those who come from the Indies to Europe at adult age are healthier—but he was indeed somewhat jaundiced, and I had imagined him to be younger and stronger. His eyes radiated a quiet melancholy—resignation, maybe? Or a symptom of his disease? Who knows.

> – Were you long in Prague? I asked. – I spent some time in Prague, but not long; I was plagued by a fever, so I hid myself from my friends and acquaintances, and did not even allow them in to see me because of my disease, although they sought me. I had a fever of up to 39°R!

He gave me a printed German catalogue of his rich collection, which had apparently cost him more than eight thousand guilders, although he had given it up for considerably less. Now he was going to Java in order to take up a position as a general practitioner. He has no relatives in Bohemia, apparently, and is little known in Prague. "I sold everything, the pharmacist's and the house in Prague." – From his speech I judged that he probably did not like the atmosphere in Prague, that he felt alone there, and therefore preferred to be abroad. I understood why he was returning, and now I realise very well... I said goodbye to him and that I hoped he might find in Java what he lacked in his own country.
That whole day it had poured with rain. Everything was now shrouded in a warm mist, and as I was returning in the dinghy to our steamship it began to rain. I felt sad. The man had sold everything at home, and had knowingly said farewell for ever to his Czech homeland. Did he have sufficient cause for that? Had his disappointment in the Czech lands been so great? I know many countrymen who have lived abroad for a long time, who say: I like going to visit Bohemia, but I would never go home for good – ever! - Clearly, a Czech used to a different, better and more sociable atmosphere is unlikely to feel at ease in Bohemia any more. To leave one's country for good, though, as this man had done, to burn one's boats, pull up the bridges behind oneself—that requires a desperate kind of heroism. But I have no right to judge anyone—everyone is responsible for his own deeds.

Fig. 142 C. Krüger, 1880, **House of the Acehnese Chief Toekoe Kali.**
One of the first Acehnese rulers to subject to the Dutch authorities. Albumen print.

I have kept the catalogue of his collection, with his autograph, as a memento. Its title is "*A catalogue, with notes, of the private ethnographic collection of Dr. František Czurda. Vienna 1883. Printed by the imperial library of V. Braumüller.*" The collection is thorough, and its completeness gives it a scientific value equal to that in Leyden. It provides an overview of the islanders' entire lives, their weapons, clothing, industrial and domestic products, tools and so on, and concerns mostly the inhabitants of southern Celebes from the Macassar area. There are also various items from Java and Aceh.
In the foreword to his catalogue, Dr. Czurda writes of Aceh: "I was in Aceh at a time of warfare, and the circumstances were not favourable to the foundation of a systematic ethnographic collection. Everywhere I saw fields lying bare, woods burnt down, villages shot at and burnt. Everything I saw I received by chance. Armed men stood against us as the main enemy, while women, children and old people had fled to the mountains, into the interior of the country. The weapons come from various brawls, and were brought to me by my servants or were offered for purchase from the soldiers who had seized them as booty. The same was true of the various domestic items which my servants and soldiers found in the burned villages; the inhabitants had had no time to take everything with them."

Dr. Czurda sold his ethnographic collection from Celebes in 1883 to the Imperial Natural History Museum in Vienna, where it is displayed in the ethnographic department. A condition of purchase was that the above-mentioned catalogue should be drawn up. I sometimes browse through this old catalogue, and find that many half-remembered events and old thoughts spring freshly from the recesses of my mind. As this happens, I realise the old truth, that a museum without a catalogue is a museum without a soul, like a corpse without a head, like the head of a living person without thoughts. Yes, a catalogue, like the sun, shines on and warms the ethnographic material that has

been collected, a catalogue brings light, life and order to the dead and almost unpleasantly unearthly silence of the objects displayed. A museum is for the public, and a catalogue tells the public what they should note, what value the objects have, what use, and what significance for domestic industry. Without a catalogue the public leaves the museum bewildered, confused and none the wiser, as if it had listened to a lecture in an unintelligible language; not even the more educated can form a good and methodical idea of what his eyes have seen—even less the ordinary person, for whose edification the museum has been set up, and who enters the museum in order to take a certain impression home and to remember something of it for life. A museum without a catalogue is like a pantomime, a deaf-and-dumb play, to which the public lacks a key. And yet the museum is supposed to be more than a dumb collection of objects set out with no rhyme or reason. Everywhere in a museum you have a catalogue that attests to the value of the collections, a catalogue put together by an expert. A catalogue is both a measure of the scholarship of its creator and a measure of the scholarship of the whole creation. And those who have never seen the collection may learn about it from the catalogue.

In this way Dr. Czurda left us the results of his collecting and scholarship, which he made accessible to all educated people, but in Vienna (at the Imperial Natural History Museum), since in Prague it is difficult to find a buyer for such a collection. His collection will certainly be appreciated by Czechs, given that it has an instructive and thorough catalogue—each item is simply and clearly labelled with the name of the place from whence it comes—and kept under the supervision of experts in a splendid and rich institution that will continue to perfect itself and will always have many visitors, not just those who gape, but those who are able to appreciate the collection properly. And this is, I suspect, an important thing. With this collection and Meyer's album of Celebes types (Album von Celébes-Typen von A.B. Meyer. Dresden, Stengel und Merkart, 1889, containing 37 pages of about 250 types of native with explanatory text) every educated person interested in natural sciences is able to gain a true picture of the Celebes islanders.

Dr. Czurda was a civil doctor in Java in Cheribon, and died here at 42 years of age after a long-lasting abscess disease of the liver (abscessus hepatitis) on 2 December 1886. His last letter to Prague, as far as I know, was dated 30 July 1886 to Prague merchant H. No one had known about his long-lasting and serious illness, and they therefore did not consider the first report of his death to be credible. It was only when the merchant H. in Prague received a letter sent to him by the Cheribon notary A.J. Wolvenkamp regarding what was to be done with the deceased's personal effects that there could no longer be any doubt as to the death of our countryman. The letter explicitly stated that Dr. Czurda had died on 2 December 1886, after a long illness. I have seen people waste away and die of a liver abscess. I therefore think that Czurda wrote his last letter in the grip of fever, when one has no idea that one is about to meet a sudden end, and the feverish brain and imagination are working at full tilt.

I have never been to Cheribon in Java. It is a coastal town, about a day's journey from Batavia and situated on the slopes of the still-active Cherimai volcano, which still on occasion emits sulphurous fumes. Cheribon is home to around 20 thousand Javanese, several hundred Chinese and Arabs, and around 30 wealthy Dutch families. Each European family has its evening once a week, when they meet for entertainment, dancing, parties, concerts, games and cards. Numerous factory-owners from the surrounding sugar factories and other plants come to these. Every family celebrates the name days of its members, and invites other well-known families from the city and the surrounding area to them. There are three New Year's celebrations; European, Javanese and Chinese, and on these occasions there is always a ball hosted by the resident, the oldest Dutch official, the Javanese sultan and, finally, the Chinese mayor, who is usually the richest of all the Chinese settlers. In the Indies no one will ask you about your religion, your political persuasion or nationality—you will be welcomed everywhere. The city is a rich one, and the gulf is always busy, teeming with Malaysian, Chinese, Arab and Dutch merchants' ships.

The coast of Cheribon is not healthy, however, and the officials, merchants, factory-owners and Europeans in general thus live about a mile from the coast in the village of Tankil, where they have lovely villas set amid the abundant tropical nature. The Cheribon residency is one of the most important, not only from the historical and natural science point of view, but also with regard to industry and trade. For doctors it was a highly financially-advantageous area.

I frequently heard in Prague that Dr. Czurda shunned social contact, that he avoided appearing in public, that he was taciturn, diffident, a loner and so on. The truth, however, was that he was merely not fond of our sad hostelry-based life and sterile political chatter. In the Indies our countryman was in his element. In the Indies he loved society, and I suspect that he spent the last period of his life well and happily, if his illness did not prevent him from doing so. He was used to a social life that we do not have, and do not know how to replace. Our small-town social relationships, bound by narrow selfishness, our tightly-closed cliques and inflated coteries would not have been attractive to him. No one can find such an atmosphere attractive who has lived for any amount of time abroad, where there is a more settled social life, a greater sense of the truth and less servility and mutual adulation, less malignant, thick-skulled envy and muddle-headed ostentation—and more social kindness and accessibility, a broader outlook than you find with many of our balding mandarins and their clever lackeys. Our Czech home life moves constantly along a brick-walled channel of entertainments, celebrations, bazaars, memorials, trips, banquets, processions and speeches. It is not to the liking of every mortal, especially one who has not grown up in this merry-go-round and hates debased patriotism of the loud-mouthed, flag-waving kind—all the more pointless and dangerous because it hinders serious political work and more sober opinions of reality.

Dr. Czurda worked, was active and left his countrymen the capital fruit of his work, a rare collection, scientifically constructed. This is enough for us to devote appreciative words of recognition to this assiduous worker... The European cemeteries in Java resemble a magnificent, splendid garden, adorned with bushes and flowers unheard of in this country. In such a garden he will sleep peacefully, even if no splendid marble memorial has been raised above his grave. […]

May his eternal dream be peaceful!

Fig. 143 **Jewelry from West Sumatra**

Necklace. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18040 Silver; filigree. L. 20 cm, W. 15.5 cm

Cross. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18041Silver; filigree. H. 5.5 cm, W. 4.5 cm,

Cross. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18042
Silver; filigree. H. 8 cm, W. 6.2 cm,

Hairpin. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18043
Silver; filigree. L. 9.5 cm, W. 2 cm

Brooch. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18044
Silver; filigree. L. 4.5 cm, W. 2 cm

Ornament in shape of fruit. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18045
Silver; filigree. L. 4 cm, W. 1.8 cm

Ornament in shape of fruit. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18046
Silver; filigree. L. 5 cm, W. 2 cm

Ear ornaments. Sumatra, Koto Gadang.
MVW 18047
Silver; filigree. H. 3 cm, W. 1.8 cm
9.5 x 2 cm