

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

TORAJA CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDONESIA
IN SYMBOLIC-ORNAMENTAL CARVINGS



NOVEL & NOBLE COMMUNICATIONS
HELSINKI 2018

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God endowed the meaning of life; Parent inspired it; Family supported it.

Foreword

A reason for writing this book can explain. During my research on ornamentation in religious architecture across Hindu-Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam in Indonesia (2003-7), my visit to Toraja was a surprise when I discovered precious ornaments. My wandering eyes caught an old book discarded by the book owner at a declining shop. I picked it up with humbleness. It was ‘*Toraja in Carvings*’, written by J. S. Sande.

Due to my specialisation on ornament as a means for connotation and beauty, I decided to re-edit this book with a new touch, adding information on Toraja and analysing Toraja patterns and colours in the hope of enhancing knowledge of cultural heritage among Toraja people and outsiders. As a tool for education and research, it is crucial to introduce the author’s preface in his book, particularly after my strenuous trial to contact him and learning of his death in 1980. In other words, this book can credit his effort to Toraja heritage in the world.

This work presents to support the growth of national culture as a national identity by protecting regional cultures. Although it is not complete yet, your advice still needed for completion. It consists of seventy Toraja people carvings of plants, animal, and sky matters which have specific meanings about the way if the life of Toraja people. I want to thank N. Bandaso Pasaka for his sympathetic encouragement in the development of this book. I should also like to thank Marthen Luther Manda for his help by translating this book. May this book be useful like a drop of water in the ocean’s midst of regional culture. Ujung Pandang, January 1991, Editor, J. S. Sande

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja, PhD

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ORNAMENT AS SYMBOLIC CONNOTATION OR VISUAL PLEASURE

As to the definition of art in general, and of decoration in particular, Collingwood (1883) argues that, if a man takes an interest instinctively in nature and imitates her work to reveal his pleasure, it is art. If his interest and pleasure in nature encourage him to work further, by lingering affectionately over the necessary form and colour and heightening the effect of strength or tenderness, it is decoration. Man adores nature and loves his work by adorning it. He treats nature by imitating her. Decorative art is the expression of man's interest or pleasure in nature and his work.

The English word "ornament", originated from the Latin "*ornamentum*", interprets to confer grace on the ceremonial object. It refers to decoration or embellishment. However, today, as an addition to their surroundings, objects of no particular use which give pleasure are called "ornament"⁽¹⁾. In the broadest and highest sense of the landscape, a city itself can be an ornament⁽²⁾. It has argued that ornament is how aesthetic beauty or symbolic significance imparts to the utility. Symbolic ornaments are composed of elements chosen for significance, while aesthetic ones for beauty alone⁽³⁾. Despite the correctness in general application, this definition does not fully satisfy the essential qualities of ornament. It is a complex subject and necessary to understand its origin in later artistic forms.

According to March's "*Evolution and Psychology in Art*", ornament rises from structural handicraft at first and then becomes fixed in mind by contiguity; thus its transformation is occasionally but increasingly expected. Hand and eye together grow familiar with certain geometric lines and forms. They are not an ornament due to the basic structure. When the mind is accustomed to the specific appearance of repetitions and searches for other things in them with a sense of absence, the ornament created.

The origin of ornament can also trace to a Greek term "*Kosmos*" which includes "universe", "order" and "ornament". Classical motifs, either realistic or stylised, were not originated from architecture but were from nature. Nature produces acanthus; the Ionic volute copies the helix of a snail or seashell. And symbolic motifs are related to social life and mythology, creating egg and dart ornaments to represent life and death. Various subjects of mythological motifs reflect the social relationship that people have taken towards nature and their gods.

All ritual processions, mythological figures, attributes, and images contribute to the iconographic heritage of ornaments. For example, a tattoo is a visible way to signalise their ranks and merits, to demonstrate their skills, and to protect against devils. For Kant, the German philosopher, ornament is ornament 'only when it suits the wearer'. It is part of the overall presentation of the wearer that carries it. Porphyrios (1991) argues,

Ornament, like language, is originally bound up entirely with myth. It is only much later that it achieves its purely representational, purely 'aesthetic' role, only as the magic circle with which mythical consciousness surrounds it is broken.

In opposition to the role of ornaments as significance, Trilling (2001) attempts it for beauty. As the basic art with its history, ornament contains all the shapes and patterns which humans have employed to their buildings. It connects content and form. It is elaboration in which the visual appeal of form takes precedence over the emotional or intellectual one of content. It is the primary appeal to stylised or non-representational form to be focused. Ornament is the only visual art for pleasure or beauty, imparting to the objects.

Whatever it defines, ornament serves architecture in the same way it helps other types of crafts. It links parts of an object to be the natural conclusion of the process-making, brings life to the empty spaces, and signifies the relationship of one part to another in a building. The church altar of the main focus for worship is mostly decorated⁽⁴⁾. A border between architecture and ornament is that anything above the strictly functional and necessary one classifies as an ornament. The most beautiful monumental ornament of columns in a Greek temple is a property of architecture, while ornamental cornices indicate the secondary role. Therefore, ornament should judge in conjunction with the whole building. Ornamentation had to base on the close relation to all elements - the function of the construction, material, elements of design and its principles⁽⁵⁾.

The meaning of ornament is changing along with the development and conditions of Western culture. Ornament incorporates with an inherent utilitarian form and acts as a visual system of configuration able to grasping and uniting multiple meanings. Focillon in his "*The Life of Forms in Art*" identifies ornament as 'the chosen home of metamorphoses'. Ornament lives a habitat that allows metamorphosis. Within the space of any practical objects, facts and expressions of the utility had to be transformed at first⁽⁶⁾.

Ornament evolves, sometimes slowly and incrementally, more really by quantum leaps, but even the slow evolution leads, in time, to something genuinely new. (Trilling 2001)[♦]

♦ (1) Bloomer 2002 (2) Smeets 1975 (3) Heath 1909 (4) Snodin 1996 (5) Smeets 1975 (6) Bloomer 2002

TORAJA, INDONESIA

The Toraja are a native tribal group in a mountainous region of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. It has a population of ca. 650,000, of which 450,000 still live in the regency of Tana Toraja (“Land of Toraja”). Majority of the population is Christian, while others are Muslim or have local animistic belief, known to be Aluk to Dolo (“Way of the Ancestors”)- The Indonesian government recognised it as a sect of the official name of Hinduism in 1965.



Bugis
Toraja
Makassarese

The word “toraja” derives from the Bugis language to “riaja” (people of the uplands), and the Dutch colonial government named the people Toraja in 1909. Toraja people are well-known for the sophisticated funeral rites, burial sites carved into rocky cliffs, massive peaked-roof traditional houses (tongkonan), and colourful wood carvings. The funeral ceremonies are important social events, attended by hundreds of people, lasting for many days.

Before the 20th century, Toraja people lived in autonomous villages unveiled by the outsider, practising animism. However, it was in the early 1900s that Dutch missionaries started to convert the Highlanders to Christianity. And when the Tana Toraja regency further opened to the world in the 1970s, the area became an ideal tourism and anthropology researches. By the 1990s, when tourism peaked, the society had drastically changed from an agrarian model of the animistic ancestor worship to a mostly Christian community.

AFFILIATION IN TORAJA SOCIETY

Family Affiliation

The family is the principal social and political grouping. Each village is one extended family, whose seat is the tongkonan, a traditional ancestral house. Each tongkonan has a name, becoming the name of the village. The familial dons keep village unity, and marriage between distant cousins (fourth cousins and beyond) is a common practice to strengthen kinship. Kinship is reciprocal that the extended family supports farm each other, shares buffalo rituals, and pays off debts. Such exchanges not only built political and cultural ties between families but also defined each person’s place and function in a social hierarchy.



Typical agricultural village

Each person belongs to both the mother's and the father's families, the only bilateral family line in Indonesia. Consequently, children can inherit household affiliation from both mother and father, including land and even family debts. Children's names are given based on kinship, usually chosen after dead relatives.

Class Affiliation

In early Toraja society, family relationships were tied closely to social class. There were three strata: nobles, commoners, and slaves (slavery was abolished in 1909 by the Dutch East Indies government). The class inherited through the mother. It was taboo to marry "down" with a woman of the lower class. On the contrary, marrying a woman of the higher class could improve the status of the next generation. The nobility's condescending attitude toward the commoners is still maintained today for reasons of family prestige.

Nobles, who were believed to be direct descendants of the descended person from heaven, resided in tongkonans, while commoners lived in less lavish houses (bamboo shacks called "banua"). Slaves lived in small huts, which had to build around their owner's tongkonan. Commoners might marry anyone, but nobles preferred to marry in-family to maintain their status. Sometimes, nobles married Bugis or Makassarese nobles. Commoners and slaves prohibited from having death feasts. Although there are close kinship and status inheritance, some social mobility could find because marriage or change in wealth affected an individual's status. The ownership of water buffaloes counted wealth.

Slaves in Toraja society were family property. Sometimes, Toraja people decided to become slaves when they incurred a debt, pledging to work as payment. Slaves could take during wars, and slave trading was common. Slaves could buy their freedom, but their children still inherited slave status. Slaves were prohibited from wearing bronze or gold, carving their houses, eating from the same dishes as their owners, or having sex with free women - a crime punishable by death.

Religious Affiliation

Toraja's indigenous belief system is polytheistic animism, called Aluk ("the way"). In the Toraja myth, the ancestors of Toraja people came down from heaven using stairs, which were then used by Toraja people as a communication medium with Puang Matua, the Creator. According to Aluk, the cosmos divided into the upper world (heaven), the world of man (earth), and the underworld (animal). At first, heaven and earth married, then there was darkness and separation, and was finally the light.

The underworld is represented by a rectangular space enclosed by pillars; the earth is for humankind; and the heaven world is located above, covered with a saddle-shaped roof. Other Toraja gods are Pong Banggai di Rante (god of earth), Pong Lalondong (god of death), Indo' Ongon-Ongon (goddess of the earthquake), and Indo' Belo Tumbang (goddess of medicine), etc.

The earthly authority, whose words and actions should be cleaved to life (agriculture) and death (funerals), is named to minaa (Aluk priest). Aluk is not just a belief system; instead, it combines law, religion, and tradition, governing social life, agricultural practices, and ancestral rituals. Although the details of Aluk can vary from one village to another, common law is a separation between death and life ritual. Toraja people believe that performing death rituals might ruin their corpses if combined with life rituals. The two rituals are equally important.

During the time of the Dutch missionaries, Christian Toraja people were prohibited from attending or performing life rituals but were allowed to perform death rituals. Consequently, death rituals are still practised today, while life rituals have diminished.

TORAJA CULTURAL HERITAGE

Tongkonan

Tongkonan is a traditional ancestral house. The word "tongkonan" originates from the Toraja language tongkon ("to sit"). The house stands high on wooden piles, topped with a layered split-bamboo roof in a shape of a sweeping curved arc. It incises with black, red, and yellow colours in detailed wood carvings on the exterior walls.

As tongkonan is the centre of Toraja social life, the rituals associated with the tongkonan are essential expressions of Toraja spiritual life. All family members are obliged to attend because it represents symbolical links to their ancestors and living and future kin. The construction of a tongkonan is laborious work and usually needs the help of the extended family. Three types exist. The tongkonan layuk is the house of the highest authority, used as the centre of government. The tongkonan pekamberan belongs to the family members who have some authority in local traditions. Ordinary family members reside in the tongkonan batu.

The roof, rearing up at either end, is the most striking aspect. Toraja myth describes that the first tongkonan was built in heaven on four poles with a roof made of Indian cloth by Puang Matua, the Creator. When the first Toraja ancestor descended to earth, he imitated the house and held a lavish ceremony. Others suggest that the roof resembles a boat and the raised ends as the bow and stem. The houses all face north - probably ancestors of the Toraja came from the north by boat which caught in a fierce storm, and their boats were so severely damaged that they inverted the boats to use as new shelters. Some believe that the house represents the head of a buffalo and the rising roof as the horns. Others maintain that the north (and east) regards as the sphere of life, the realm of the gods.



Tongkonan

Poles support the high gables, and the wall panels decorate with painted engravings. Each geometrical design has an individual name and meaning. On these panels, red (the colour of blood) symbolises human life, while white (the colour of flesh and bone) is the symbol of purity. Yellow represents God's blessing and power, and black symbolises death and darkness. Traditionally, the colours are all natural. Black is the soot from cooking pots; yellow and red are from the coloured earth; white is lime. Artisans who decorate the houses paid in buffaloes.

On the front part of each house, a naturalistic carving of a buffalo's head decorates. Numerous buffalo horns are attached to the front pole that supports the gable, indicating the wealth of the family. The beam and supports are cut, neatly slot or pegged together. No metal nails used. The older houses have roofs of overlapping pieces of bamboo, but newer ones use corrugated metal sheets. Standing on thick, solid piles, the rectangular body of the house is small in contrast to the roof and consists of two or three dark rooms with low doors and small windows.

The tongkonan is more than just a structure. As the focus of ritual life, it symbolises family identity and tradition ("adat"), representing all the descendants of a founding ancestor. It forms the most vital nexus within the network of kinship because Toraja people relate through the tongkonan bilaterally both in the male and female line. Membership of these houses only requires the kinsman's active participation at times of ceremony, the division of an inheritance or when a house rebuilt.

Tana Toraja is one of the few places in Indonesia, where traditional houses still build, and the skills to make them survive. The owners often live in modern houses, keeping the tongkonan for ceremonies and as a symbol of the family’s status. Most tongkonan have rice barns, surrounded by several ordinary bungalows.



Rice-Barn (Alang, Lumbung)

Toraja houses always face a line-up of rice-barns, a miniature of a tongkonan with the significant difference that the pillars on which the building rests are round. Pillars (“banga”) for the rice-barn fashion from the trunk of the smooth, polished banga palm for preventing rats climbing up

to find food. The rice storage chamber raises about 2 m off the ground. As a rule, a rice-barn (“alang” or “lumbung”) has six pillars. Beneath it, an elevated wooden platform about 60 cm from the ground lays (“sali”).

Rice-barns have a small door at one end, and the surface of the walls and the high gables decorate with similar ornaments from houses. The pa’tedong and pa’dau bolu motifs are common. The bottom of the sali often decorated with carved geometric designs in coloured paint. Even the boards have an extension carving. As the rice-barn is a status, the same as the tongkonan, the wealth of a family measures by the dimensions of the woodcarving of these buildings.



Rice-barns

Besides the primary function of storing rice, the rice-barn also serves other uses. It is a workplace or a place for people to sit or to sleep during mortuary feasts. When guests sleep there, cloths woven from fibres drape around the banga. Moreover, the sali is for a meeting place of fellow villagers, as well as a shelter from downpours. The rice-barn regularly situates opposite the tongkonan; thus the dignitaries sit in the southern part of the barn during ceremonies.

Tau-Tau (Wood-Carved Effigy of the Deceased)

The word “tau-tau” means ‘a little person’ or ‘like a person’. It is the image of the deceased, dressed in clothing, complete with accessories and jewellery. The effigy is more than a memorial statue because it is thought to have a soul, the soul of the deceased. The Toraja believe that the dead people go equipped to their graves as they can take possessions with them in the afterlife.

Since this fact led to grave plundering, the Toraja started to hide their dead in caves. The caves were hollowed out by specialists who traditionally paid in buffaloes, and since the building of a cave would cost many buffaloes, only the rich could afford it. Although the exterior of the cave grave looks small, the interior is large enough to entomb an entire family. The coffins go deep inside the caves. And sitting on balconies on the rock face in front of the caves is the tau-tau in life-size, carved wooden effigies of the dead. The making of tau-tau probably started in the late 19th century. The type of wood used reflects the status and wealth of the deceased; *nangka* (jackfruit) wood is the most expensive. After the deceased has been entombed and the tau-tau positioned in front of the grave, offerings placed in the palm of the tau-tau. Most tau-tau are in a

permanent state, but in a ceremony after harvest, their bodies are re-wrapped in new material and their clothes replaced.



Tau-lau and hanging coffins beside tau-lau on a rock-carved burial site

Funeral Rites

In Toraja society, the funeral ritual is the most elaborate and expensive event. The richer and more powerful the individual, the more luxurious is the funeral. In the Aluk religion, only nobles have the right to have a huge death feast, attended by thousands. A ceremonial site (“rante”) prepares in a large, grassy field where the deceased family makes shelters for audiences, rice barns, and other ceremonial funeral structures.

The death ceremony is often held weeks, months, or years after the death; thus the deceased’s family can raise funds to cover funeral expenses. A traditional belief is that death is not a sudden, abrupt event but a gradual process toward Puya (the land of souls, or afterlife). During the waiting period, the body of the deceased is wrapped in several layers of cloth and kept under the tongkonan. The soul of the deceased thinks to linger around the village until the funeral ceremony completes, after which it begins its journey to Puya.

Another element of the ritual is the slaughter of water buffalo. The more powerful person died, the more buffalo slaughtered at the death feast. Buffalo carcasses, including their heads, are lined up on a field waiting for their owner who is in the sleeping stage. Toraja people believe that the deceased will need the buffalo to make the journey and that many buffalos can make a quicker arrival at Puya. Guests give some of the slaughtered animals as “gifts” because they will be considered debts of the deceased’s family.

Slaughtering tens of water buffalo and hundred of pigs using a machete are the climax of the elaborate death feast, with dancing and music and young boys who catch spurting blood in long bamboo tubes. Flute music, funeral chants, songs and poems, and crying and wailing are traditional expressions of grief. The traditional *mabadong* song and dance is a ceremonial re-enactment of the cycle of human life and the life story of the deceased. It is a circular dance performed by men in black sarongs, who stand shoulder to shoulder and chant for hours. It also bids farewell to the soul of the deceased and replays the hope that the soul will arrive in the

afterworld safely. The performance at the burial service of a nobleman is to remind the people of his deeds, generosity and loyalty. A prominent attribute of Toraja language is the notion of grief; thus the importance of death ceremony has characterised their languages to express intricate degrees of grief and mourning. Many terms referring to sadness, longing, depression, and mental pain can lessen the psychological, physical effect of loss, and grief itself.

There are three methods of burial: the coffin may be laid in a cave or a carved stone grave, or hung on a cliff. It contains any possessions that the deceased will need in the afterlife. As mentioned, the wealthy often buried in a stone grave carved out of a rocky cliff. The grave is usually expensive and takes a few months to complete. In some areas, a stone cave can accommodate a whole family. A wood-carved tau-tau is generally placed in the cave looking out over the land. The coffin of a baby or child may hang from ropes on a cliff face or from a tree. This hanging grave usually lasts for years until the ropes rot and the coffin fall to the ground.



Coffin carving

Carvings

As the Toraja language is oral and no writing system exists, Toraja people carve wood, calling it “Pa’ssura” (the writing) to express social and religious concepts. Wood carvings are a Toraja’s cultural manifestation.



Each panel symbolises goodwill (left), pa’tedong-buffalo: prosperity/ritual sacrifice (right)

Each carving bears a unique name, and common motifs are animals and plants which symbolise goodwill and virtue. Water plants and animals, such as crabs, tadpoles and water weeds, often signify fertility and prolific rice fields. Tadpoles and water-weeds, both of which breed rapidly, represent hopes for many children. Moreover, buffalo (centre bottom) on the panel above means wealth, a wish for many buffaloes for the family. A motif of knot and box (centre) is a hope that all of the family’s offspring will be happy and live in harmony, the same as goods kept safe in a box. The squares (top left/right) represent an aquatic animal, indicating the need for fast and hard work, like moving on the surface of the water. It also describes the need for a specific skill to produce good results.

Many of the motifs that adorn the houses and granaries of Toraja are identical to those found on the bronze kettle drums of the Dong-Son. Others, such as the square cross motif, are thought to have a Hindu-Buddhist origin or to have been copied from Indian trade cloths. The Christian Toraja uses the cross as decorative design and an emblem of their faith. On the front wall of the most prestigious houses of origin is mounted a realistically carved wooden buffalo head, adorned with actual horns. This emblem may only be added to the house after one of the most essential funeral rites has celebrated.

Regularity and order are common features in Toraja wood carving, as well as abstracts and geometrical designs. Nature is frequently used as the basis of Toraja ornaments because nature is full of abstractions and geometries with regularity and order. Therefore, Toraja ornaments have been studied in ethno-mathematics to reveal their mathematical structure, but Toraja people base this art on approximations. Bamboo sticks are a geometrical tool to create an ornament.

The gables and the wooden wall panels incised with geometric, spiralling designs and motifs such as buffalo heads and cockerels painted in red, white, yellow and black. The colours represent

the various festivals of Aluk To Dolo ('the Way of the Ancestors'), the indigenous Toraja religion. Black symbolises death and darkness; yellow, God's blessing and power; white, the colour of flesh and bone, means purity; red, the colour of blood, symbolises human life. The pigments used were of readily available materials, soot for black, lime for white, coloured earth for red and yellow. Tuak (palm wine) was used to strengthen the colours.

The artists who decorated the house traditionally are paid with buffalo. The majority of the carvings on Toraja houses and granaries signify prosperity and fertility, and the motifs used are those important to the owner's family. Circular motifs represent the sun, the symbol of power. A golden keris (daggers) symbolises wealth, including buffalo heads which signify prosperity and ritual sacrifice. Buffalo horns hung in a vertical array on the front gable are a sign of prestige and customarily signify the wealth of the household.

Toraja society is hierarchical, composed of nobility, commoners and a lower class who were formerly slaves. Villagers are only permitted to decorate their house with the symbols and motifs appropriate to their social status. Most carvings on tongkonan represent prosperity and fertility with the individual designs meaningful to the particular family. Other houses have surfaces made of weather-worn timbers without any carving or painting.

WOOD CARVINGS

The following 70 carvings take from Sande's 'Toraja in Carvings'. They are re-organised, re-drawn, and re-coloured in black, red and yellow from the colour plate.

1. NE' LIMBONGAN



In Toraja's term "Limbong" (lake) is a source of water which never dries and gives life to its vicinity. Ne'limbongan is a person's name, said to be the first builder of Toraja and the discoverer of Toraja's carvings about 3,000 years ago. MEANING: Toraja family obtain a fortune from the four compass points (east/west/south/north) like the spring in a lake and give happiness to their offspring.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
------------------------	------------

2. PA'BARRE ALLO



Barre" (circle) and "Allo" (sun): "Pa'barre allo" means the sun and its rays. This type of carving is found in Toraja traditional house protruded upward in the form of a triangle, both at the front or at the back of the house. Usually, over this carving, another carving called "Pa'manuk Londong" symbolises knowledge and wisdom and has a sublime purpose (a sun gives life to the world). A common saying of "Barrena allo, lindona bulan" implies a title to a king regarded as the noble like the purity of the sun rays. From the word "allo", one can know the measurement of time: "Dellek allo" (6:00 am); "Kakumandean allo" (9:00 am); "Ma'tangnga allo" (12:00 pm); "Kapelayoan allo" (3:00 pm); "Lambun allo" (6:00 pm). MEANING: It symbolises the grandeur and nobility of Toraja people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
------------------------	------------

3. PA'KAPU' BAKA



"Kapuq" (knot) and "Baka" (basket or box): "Pa'kapu' baka" means knots in a box, which Toraja people keep their belonging before cupboards or suitcases are available. The knots are made tidy; thus the end of the knots is unseen. For the box owner, the knot is a secret one. If the hidden knot was already changed, someone took something from it. MEANING: 1. It hopes that all offspring become one and live together peacefully in society, like goods kept in one place. 2. All family live happily with peace in a community like goods kept safety and tidily in a box.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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4. PA'KADANG PAO



“Kadang” (hook) and “Pao” (mango): The carving looks like a tool used to hook mangoes. A hook without a user is worthless; thus the mutual help is necessary. MEANING: 1. Our goods should honestly obtain. 2. Good cooperation has a good result.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
------------------------	------------

5. PA'SULAN SANGBUA



“Sulan” means lace, embroidery, a fold for chewing betel. Mostly, old men chew sirih (betel), and chewing sirih is a means of communications among Toraja people to whomever, wherever they are. MEANING: It symbolises the grandeur of the nobles.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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6. PA'BULU LONDONG



“Bulu” (feather) and “Londong” (rooster): The carving resembles a loose tuft on the side of a rooster. A popular Toraja expression of “Londong pia muane” means a handsome man or a brave person. It signifies that as a nobleman, he is expected to be a good leader of the people. From the word “Bulu”, “Tangra’ban bulu mata” means awake all night. MEANING: It symbolises courage and wisdom.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/RED
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7. PA'TEDONG



“Tedong” (buffalo): The carving looks like the face of a buffalo. In Toraja, buffalo is the leading breeding cattle and is much cared. The buffalo has several functions: dowry, transaction, sacrificial offer to gods and ancestors, and plough of rice fields. MEANING: 1. It symbolises the wealth of Toraja people. 2. The family hopes to breed buffaloes because they are the symbol of wealth and life of Toraja people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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8. PA'TANGKI' PATTUNG I



“Pa’tangki” is derived from “Pa” (look like) and “Pattung” (bamboo). This type of carving is an ornament of a cup ear made of bamboo. Bamboo is the main plant in Toraja for its multiple uses. The bamboo shoot is for vegetable, while its stalk uses for handicraft, weaving, water container, and a place to cook the food, building material, and firewood. It is common for each family in Toraja to have a traditional glass made of bamboo for daily use and guests as well. MEANING: 1. It symbolises the grandeur of the Toraja noble family. 2. Strong union among the family must be maintained; thus all work can be done smoothly and efficiently.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/RED
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9. PA'TANGKI' PATTUNG II



This type of carving is the continuation of the previous one (no. 8). There is a difference in variation between the two carvings. In the first carving, centralisation of symmetrical lines is at the middle like circles, but in the second carving, it looks like four similar circles from number 8 and makes the sum of equals to $1+6=7$. Number 7 is the prime number in the life of Toraja based on the philosophy of life of 7777. MEANING: we have to foster the feeling of oneness based on the principle of togetherness and the philosophy of life as the principle of equality.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/WHITE
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10. PA'TANDUK RE'PE



“Tanduk” (horn) and “Rakpe” (bent as it bears much fruit): The carving resembles a buffalo’s horn. It locates on all sides of traditional houses as a reminiscence to the animal. A buffalo is a very valuable possession for Toraja people, becoming the symbol of life and social status. MEANING: It hopes that in the struggle for survival, one can find peace and valuable possession which has the same value as a buffalo.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/RED
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11. PA'POLLO' GAYANG



“Pollo” (tail) and “Gayang” (golden geese): “Gayang” usually uses during the death ritual of the nobleman and a thanksgiving ceremony. It is the most expensive one in Toraja and regarded as grand. The price is equal to 16 buffaloes, and other people can hire it. MEANING: People will have a peaceful life and can easily find a fortune to earn for a living.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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12. PA'ULU GAYANG



“Ulu”(handle) and “Gayang” (golden geese): The carving looks like a handle of the golden geese. MEANING: we have to struggle for peace in life and to collect as much wealth as possible, especially gold, in an honest way.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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13. PA'BOMBO UAI I



In general, “Bombo” means the spirit of the dying person, but here, “Bombo” (animal) and “Uai” (water) together represent an aquatic animal. This kind of animal can move very fast on the water surface. MEANING: 1. Man has to work quickly and to bring a good result on time. 2. Man must have skills in doing a job to give multiple yields and satisfy all people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/YELLOW
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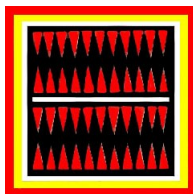
14. PA'BOMBO UAI II



This is the second type of carving as the previous (no. 13). It means insects are skating on water. MEANING: Man should be quick and exact in doing something, but has multiple results and satisfies all people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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15. PA'KOLLONG BU'KU



“Kollong” (neck) and “bu’ku” (pigeon): A Toraja expression of “Urrere kollong” means that he took an oath for not doing something wrong. As he was dishonest, he condemned. Therefore, if a bird walks, it always moves its heap up and down, according to “polo padang” folk story. MEANING: we have to lead an honest life and keep our promise.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK
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16. PA'ULU KARUA



“Ulu” (head) and “Karua” (eight): According to Toraja myth, eight Torajan ancestors were created by God in a miraculous twin bellow. Each has its version of life with knowledge and skill. The group of eight gave knowledge to Torajan descendants. This knowledge and skill are developed from time to time, today known as technology, hygiene, physics, economics, botany, etc. MEANING: It hopes that there will be a person in a family who possesses high knowledge for the sake of the people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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17. PA'MANIK-MANIK



“Manik-manik” (beads) is a traditional ornament. It is made of gold and worn by men and women. It usually arranged in the form of a chain by the traditional house as a remembrance for the family to obtain this thread, as the middle part is hollow. The carving finds on the wall of valuable good. MEANING: 1. A family will multiply like the number of beads. 2. A warning to descendants to work for a better life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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18. PA'SEKONG KANDAURE



“Sekong” (curve/circle) can bend in the form of a right angle. The carving looks like braid called “Kandaure” in Toraja. The materials consist of braid beads specific to Toraja, and if it sells, the price is equal to 16 buffaloes. MEANING: It symbolises happiness for the descendants like the glow of the ornament.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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19. PA'SEKONG ANAK



“Sekong” (bend/circle) and “Anak” (child): This type of carving finds in the traditional house. The end of the carving locates at the centre of the circle like a fetus in the womb. MEANING: We have to be straightforward and honest in every problem for all that can facilitate the solution of the problem.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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20. PASSEKONG DIBUNGAJ



“Passekong” means being made to look like a circle, and “Dibungai” means flower. The carving resembles four angles whose top covered in the middle. MEANING: We have to keep secret what must be kept as a secret, whenever it can damage another person or country.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/BLACK
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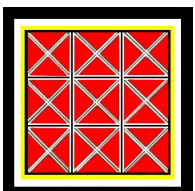
21. PA'SEPU' TORONG KONG



“Pa” (like), “Sepuq” (bag for betel), “To” (person), and “Rongkong” (a place in Luwu Regency): The carving looks like embroidery of a betel bag of Rongkong people who are one family with Toraja people. MEANING: Toraja people and Rongkong people share the same culture and ethnic group, called Toraja ethnic group.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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22. PA'SALA'BI' BIASA



“Sala'bi” (a fence made of bamboo cuts): Geographically, Toraja people live in a mountainous region and put a fence around their houses to prevent them from the attack of wild animals or anything regarded as dangerous. MEANING: In the struggle for life, we have to be alert to the sudden enemy's attack or diseases.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/RED
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23. PA'SALA'BI' DITO'MOKKI



“Sala’bi” (a fence made of bamboo cuts) and “To’mok” (press with a fingertip): The carving resembles embroidery made of bamboo and usually hung around the wall of the traditional house. “Sala’bi” is used to protect all evil. MEANING: it hopes that all descendants are free from deceases and all kinds of danger.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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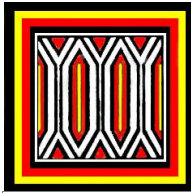
24. PA'TALINGA



“Talinga” (ear): The carving looks like an ear. An ear is one of the essential senses of hearing. The hearing is both good and bad in our life. Hearing something good or bad gives us a good example to arrange our experience in life. MEANING: 1. It reminds us that no one in the family is hard at hearing. 2. We have to listen to what is the best way to keep living.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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25. PA'BOKO' KOMBA KALUA'



“Boko” (back), “Kombo” (bracelet ornament), and “Kalua” (wide or big): The word together means bracelets made of gold beads. The beads made of gold arranged tidily, specific to Toraja artwork. If it sells, the price is equal to a thanksgiving ceremony for gods. MEANING: It symbolises the power and the grandeur of the nobility of Toraja people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/WHITE
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26. PA'ERONG



“Erong” is a kind of box or coffin which can be opened anytime, according to the custom of keeping skeletons and bones of a family group. It usually keeps in caves. When bones are put together with the old ones, it must precede by a traditional ceremony. The nobles only possess this box. Among its several types, an “Erong” looks like a buffalo or a pig or a boat. Buffaloes and pigs are animals bred, but the ancestors of Toraja people used the boat. “Erong” has 2 1/3 m length, 70 cm width, and 61 cm depth. MEANING: By carving “Erong”, the souls of the dead are taken off, hoping to receive a blessing to all the family.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/BLACK
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27. PA'SIBORONGAN



“Siborongan” means to do something in a group. The carving decorates Toraja people’s traditional house for a big family. MEANING: Unity in a family must foster, although every number has different means of living.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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28. PA'DOTI SILUANG I



“Doti” has three meanings: black magic, a spotted buffalo, and a type of carving. “Siluang” means being in one sarong. The carving regards as a spotted buffalo, which is very valuable in Toraja. It finds on the wall of the traditional house and the shroud of Toraja noblewomen. According to the customary law, only the woman’s corpse can decorate with a type of carving. MEANING: Toraja people believe that women are the symbols of elegance, but sometimes they also become the source of disaster if men are careless.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/YELLOW
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29. PA'DOTI SILUANG II



This type of carving has a similar meaning to Pa'doti Siluang I (no. 28). MEANING: A warning should be careful with the issues brought in by women since they might be the source of a problem.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/BLACK
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30. PA'RE'PO SANGBUA

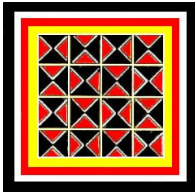


“Re’po” means dancing gracefully by folding the knee in the form of a right angle. “Sangbua” means one or single. This carving looks like slant right angle lines in layers and at the end form a unity which has architectural value for Toraja people. The carving usually finds in the rice barn around the poles where the walls stand. MEANING: It symbolises to sense the belonging and the mutual assistance of Toraja people. Many

hands will make the work light.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/BLACK
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31. PA'POLLO' SONGKANG



“Pollo” (tail): “Songkang” is a joint bamboo, used to milk buffalo (3-5 litres). It is also used to keep drinking water or “Tuak” (palm wine) by Toraja people. MEANING: A symbol of the dignity of the Toraja nobleness.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK=RED
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32. PA'PAPAN KANDAURE



“Papan” (a piece of timber): “Kandaure” is a traditional ornament specific to Toraja. Its price is high. “Kandaure” is owned by the noblemen and wealthy people. The material is colourful beads. MEANING: 1. It hopes that the parents in Toraja have a big family, where children and grandchildren live peacefully. 2. Unity in a family must be fostered like the beads united by a thread, hoping to please others.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/WHITE
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33. PA'SALA'BF DIBUNGAI



“Salaqbiq” (barrier/fence): The carving is in the form of crossed bamboo cuts. This type of carving usually puts in front of the house near the door. The ends of the bamboo cuts sharpen; thus, they look like spears, and no one will pass over them. This kind of fence is put around the house to protect the owner from those intending to do something wrong. “Rompo kale” expresses protection for oneself in the struggle for life. MEANING: It symbolises to protect the owner from any evil like plagues or the enemy’s attack. We must be alert to protect us from anything wrong in life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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34. PA'SEKONG SALA



“Pa’sekong Sala” means a cross (a hook) which both ends in the form of right angles never meet. The carving finds on the wall of the traditional house as a warning to the family to be careful in their life. MEANING: It hopes not to interfere in other’s affair which is dangerous for the third party.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/WHITE
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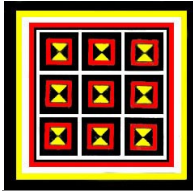
35. PA`SEMPA



“Sempa” (be crossed): The carving symbolises prohibition, usually found on the door of a house or the door of a rice barn. MEANING: Someone who steals things in the house or rice in the barn subjects to punishment according to the customary law.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/RED
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36. PA`DADU



“Dadu” (dice): Dadu game is a kind of gambling and is very popular among the people in the past. Accordingly, many of them became poor or suffered due to the game. MEANING: A warning to the offspring is not to play the game because of its negative effect.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK
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37. PA`BARRA'- BARRA'



“Barra” (rice) and “Barra’-barra” (a lot of rice): For Toraja people, rice is the prime need. According to a belief, their ancestor’s rice was the man of power and can only come into the house if the family members live peacefully and never say something taboo. MEANING: Peaceful life and abundant rice are the hope of society.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK=WHITE
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38. PA`TEDONG TUMURU



“Tumuru” means walk leisurely without paying attention to the surrounding. “Tedong tumuru” implies a buffalo is sitting or lying in a mud bath (the water) with its head appearing on the surface. MEANING: 1. It hopes that every family can have many buffaloes in their life. 2. We have to know the situation around us.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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39. PA'TANGKE LUMU



“Tangke” (branch) and “Lumu” (seaweed): The carving resembles branches of the seaweeds in the water. Metaphorically, seaweed regards as a vast rice field which gives multiple yields. Seaweeds are always bound together. MEANING: It hopes that the family always leads a peaceful life like a whole chain.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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40. PA'DON BOLU



“Don” (leaf) and “Bolu” (betel): Betel leaves used to chewing. Besides, it was applied in a traditional ceremony to ask for a blessing from the gods. MEANING: For those who still embrace “Aluk Todolo” (ancestral belief), it is a symbol of blessing and protection from their creator.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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41. PA'DON BOLU SANGBUA



“Don” (leaf), “Bolu” (betel) and “Sangbua” (one): A betel leaf has the dual functions in daily life, either used to chew betel or as an offering to the gods. MEANING: We should live a social life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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42. PA'TAKKU PARE



“Takku” (bend): “Pare” (paddy/rice field in the main crop) is regarded as grand because the first ancestor of paddy was a man. The carving looks like a bent paddy. MEANING: Arrogance should avoid, and we have to use to the philosophy of paddy: the more its content is, the more it bends.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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43. PA'BUA TINA'



This type of carving resembling a “waru” tree has double functions. Its bark can be woven to make a strong rope for the man’s need. Its leaf can be used to wrap brown sugar. It is also for shelter from the sun. MEANING: It symbolises unity and peace in the family.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/RED
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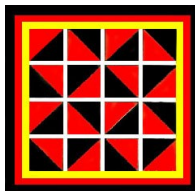
44. PA'BULITONG SITEBA'



“Bulitong” (tadpole) and “Siteba” (swimming here and there calmly): Usually tadpoles live in clear and still water. MEANING: The family hopes its offspring live peacefully and happily.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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45. PA'DON LAMBIRI



The word “Don” originates from the Indonesian word “Daun” (leaf). “Lambiri” is a kind of srenga-palm tree which has a four-sided leaf. The word is also a kind of disease on a pig, e.g. scabies. MEANING: Every parent hopes that their descendants may have divided the rice field like “Lambiri” tree leaf and avoided disease disturbances, such as plant disease.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK=RED
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46. PA'TOLO' PAKU



“Paku” vegetable grows wild stealthily in the bushes. Its top is not upright but an encircled wire. MEANING: One’s feelings should not be as a circle and a winding speaking, but is always hoped to be honest in everything.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
------------------------	------------

47. PA'KATIK



“Katik” (a sort of Enggeng bird): “Pa’katik” means Enggeng bird’s head, which usually installs in front and back of the Toraja traditional house as decoration. MEANING: As a symbol of the highest and an aristocratic family of the householder.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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48. PA'LAMBAM LALAN



“Lamban” (to cross) and “Lalan” (road): This plant belongs to a type of grasses, which has branches like sweet potatoes, usually grows on roadsides. MEANING: An advice for not meddling other person’s affairs when it is not needed, or it has nothing to do with it.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/BLACK
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49. PA'DAUN PARIA



“Paria” vegetable is a bitter plant. Either its leaf or fruit can eat. Besides, the leaf can be used as medicine for smallpox by pressing its water to bathe the sufferer. MEANING: We are not able to hurt a fellow creature. We also remind that life’s bitterness can be a pleasant experience for a better future.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/WHITE
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50. PA'ARA' DENA' I



“Araq” (chest) and “Dena” (sparrow): The carving looks like chest feathers of sparrows which are harmful to the rice plants. It also names as a “rice pest”. This bird regards as dishonest in the Toraja myth. Therefore, its crop lies in the back of the neck because it was cursed. MEANING: We have a fixed standpoint and should be honest in our life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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51. PA'ARA' DENA' II



The carving is similar to the previous one (no. 50) but is not identical. As sparrows are harmful birds for the paddy, they always soar in groups looking for the ripened paddy. A Toraja saying of “Dena’ko angku laparebang” means you still eat but never do the work. MEANING: Man should work hard and not loaf.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/BLACK=WHITE=RED
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52. PA'KANGKUNG



The carving resembles a type of plant called “Kangkung”. It is used as a vegetable and grows in water. It is a creeping plant. MEANING: 1. A man should not only live for himself but also others. 2. It hopes that the member of the family lives a healthy life and increases its standard of living.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/WHITE
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53. PA'BUNGA KALIKI



“Kaliki” (papaya): The carving looks like papaya flowers. Papaya is an edible fruit, and its leaf tastes bitter, used as traditional medicine for malaria. MEANING: Unpleasant remarks which do not always insult may be useful later in our life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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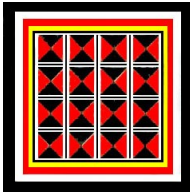
54. PA'BUNGKANG TASIK



“Bungkang” (crab) and “Tasik” (sea): The carving resembles a crab. Crabs live in salt water and usually large and noisy. MEANING: The family who lives in the high plateau will also have access to some fortune from the sea.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/BLACK=WHITE
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55. PA'DON LAMBIRI DITEPO



“Ditepo” means divided into four parts. Each part belongs to the square. It hopes that members of a family always possess large rice fields. MEANING: We have to be fair in dividing the inheritance, including the rice fields and dry field.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	TRIANGLE/BLACK=RED
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56. PA'BUNGA



“Bunga” (flower) has a connotation in Toraja language. “Bunga rangka” means a symbol of fortune as the result of one’s effort. Flowers symbolise beauty and goodness, spreading their fragrance. An expression of “Dipadudungi bunga” means assigned to a good position. MEANING: One’s popularity is due to one’s knowledge and ethical behaviour.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/WHITE
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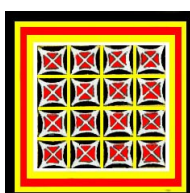
57. PA'BATANG LAU



“Batang” (stem) and “lau” (gourd) is a creeping plant that can reach hundreds of meter in length. From the stem grows another branch; from the branch becomes another twig, etc. Regardless of its length, the main stem is only one. MEANING: Kinship should be fostered as members of the community and maintain a good relationship within the group.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/BLACK
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58. PA'LALAN MANUK



“Lalan manuk” is a compound word (trail of a chicken leg). The carving looks like a square, and a cross-line in each square resembles chicken’s claws, called “Rakka”. An expression of “Umpotuo rakka’ sangpu lona” (live with ten fingers) means that we have to live on our own feet. “Mengkambu’ manuk” means that one must work hard for a living. MEANING: We have to inherit the philosophy of hard working and self-help and transfer the knowledge to our children.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/YELLOW
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59. PA'BARANA' I



“Barana” (banyan tree) provides a place for birds to perch because it is big and has leafy foliage. The carving looks like the end point of a banyan leaf. MEANING: 1. It hopes that a generation can have fortune and multiplicity. 2. It also hopes that a leader will appear from a family group who will lead and protect people.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/RED
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60. PA'BARANA' II



“Pa'barana” (banyan) is a shade tree which can grow in any place, either on soil or rocks. MEANING: There will be a leader coming from a family offspring.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/BLACK
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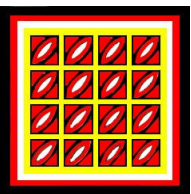
61. PA'LOLO TABANG



“Lolo” (sprout) and “Tabang” (a kind of plant): This kind of plant used as medicine. As the carving is similar to the plant, it acquired a name from it. This plant usually grows near the well as a source of life. MEANING: Old men in the past dreamed about a peaceful heart, physical health and freed from decease for all members of the community.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	OVAL/RED
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62. PA'KOSIK



This kind of animal, such as “Kosik” (bug) can only live in clean and clear water. Rice fields in Toraja are never dry but are fertile and vast. Toraja people always take care of large rice fields because they are the source of living and sometimes show one's prosperity. MEANING: A family is expected to live a happy life and success from the rice field products.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	SQUARE/RED
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63. PA'SISSIK BALE



“Sissik” (scale) is used by “Bale” (fish) as a shield. Colourful scales portray the beauty of the fish. MEANING: A group of family who is longing for wealth by collecting money and live a healthy life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	CIRCLE/WHITE
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64. TEDONG



“Tedong” (buffalo) is regarded as a big animal and a valuable property. Due to their high value, people usually keep buffalos in the shed bathed every day. A fat and good buffalo is worth seven to 16 small buffaloes. Its horn is 25-27 cm long. MEANING: It hopes for a family to breed buffaloes all his life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC/WHITE
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65. BAI



“Bai” (pig): Pig is a domestic animal bred with multiple functions besides for consumption. It also uses in the burial ceremony and thanksgiving ceremony. Breeding of pigs in Toraja means indirect saving in the traditional form. MEANING: It hopes for the siblings to breed pigs for their well-being.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC/YELLOW
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66. PA'MANUK LONDONG



“Londong” (rooster) is for consumption and offering to the gods, also used in burial ceremonies (cockfighting). According to Toraja folklore, a rooster regards as an intelligent and wise creature. There is a saying: “Londongna pongtulang didi’ manarang ussuka’ bongi, ungararoi, malillin” (Tulang Didi’s chicken knows when evening comes and dark ends.) MEANING: We have to be wise and able to adapt ourselves to the situation in life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC/YELLOW
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67. DARANG



“Darang” or “Narang” (horse): Horses are a healthy animal both for riding, carrying things and handling the cart. MEANING: 1. It hopes that one owns this animal in his life. 2. We always hope to be in good condition.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/ COLOUR	NATURALISTIC /YELLOW
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68. ASU



“Asu” (dog) is a faithful animal which always keeps its owner’s house. MEANING: Man must be honest and trustworthy.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC /YELLOW
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69. KOTTE



“Kotte” (duck) likes water and lays her eggs in a season. “Tomentallo’ kotte” means a man who is fond of many marriages and does not take care of his children or neglect them. MEANING: We have to be responsible for our work.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC /YELLOW
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70. KORONG



“Korong” (heron) is known as a skilful bird in catching fish and living in a group. When a group of herons finds in the rice field, it implies a lot of fish there. MEANING: We have to work and cooperate in our struggle for life.

FAVOURITE SHAPE/COLOUR	NATURALISTIC /YELLOW
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ELEMENTS OF DESIGN: SHAPE AND COLOUR

The researcher has a specific reason to use elements of design as an indicator in this paper. They are the basic components in art and architecture, discussed by Greek, Roman, medieval, Renaissance and modern philosophers. In his *Grammar of Ornament* (1856/2001), Owen Jones puts forward geometry as general principles for decoration: 'All ornament should be based upon a geometrical construction', praising Alhambra palace built by the Moors.

... every ornament contains a grammar in itself. Every principle which we can derive from the study of the ornamental art of any other people is not only ever present here, but was by the Moors more universally and truly obeyed.

Moreover, elements of design are a line, value, shape, form, space, texture, and colour, while its principles are unity-variety, balance, emphasis, rhythm, proportion, and size. Principles of the design show how the elements aesthetically combine to arouse a sensory response. Elements, the raw materials of works of design, are arranged to produce order in the composition, supported by principles. For the assessment in finding the favourite elements of design in Toraja motifs, shape and colour used as indicators because the motifs inspired from nature, but conventionalised in geometry, and painted in black, white, red, and yellow.

SHAPE (ELEMENT)

A shape is the outline of a plane figure or the surface configuration of a form. It is the primary means of providing recognition, identification, and categorisation for specific figures and forms. The perception of shape depends on the level of visual contrast between the outline which separates a figure from its ground. Positive and negative shapes and their interrelationships are a principle of composition. Positive shapes are the subject matter itself, becoming the centre of interest, while negative shapes are the areas surrounding the positive shape.

Although the negative shape is not always of equal interest with the positive figure, it is vital in providing an illusion of depth. Shapes can form by lines, areas of texture, value, and colour. The shape varies from simple circles, triangles, and squares to intricate silhouettes of nature and the human form. They have both two-and three-dimensional characters. Two-dimensional shapes border by lines and are perceived as a visual unit distinct from their background, while three-dimensional ones can extend in any perceivable direction, creating forms.

Four categories of shape exist: (i) natural, (ii) geometric, (iii) abstract, and (iv) non-objective. Natural shapes originate from nature and human figures. Geometric shapes arise from human-made construction. Abstract shapes are the outcome of reducing natural ones by stylisation. Non-objective shapes do not originate from any recognisable source.

According to the Gestalt psychology school, the mind makes the visual environment simpler to understand it. Given any composition of forms, the mind tends to reduce the image to the simplest and most regular shapes. Originated in Germany in the early 20th century, the school has been most influential in the field of perception. It formulated four laws for establishing a visual field: (i) Proximity, (ii) Similarity, (iii) Continuance, and (iv) Closure.

‘The Law of Proximity’ means the relative closeness of units in which they are seen together as a new entity. ‘Similarity’ is the tendency of commonalities in the attributes of separate elements to cause them to be seen as a group. ‘Continuance’ refers to the trend of similarities in changes of attributes, while ‘Closure’ deals with our perceptual tendency to group certain visual elements to establish one simple larger form.

Thus a shape is never perceived as the form of just one particular thing, but always as that of a kind of thing. Shape is a concept in two different ways: first, because we see every shape as a kind of shape compared with what was said about perceptual concepts; second, because each kind of shape is seen as the form of a whole kind of objects. (Arnheim 1974)

Shapes can be basic emotional symbols with a powerful impact. A clear, well-defined shape such as a cross or a key can generate a universal appeal as a symbol.

Circle:

As a universal symbol, it is totality; wholeness; simultaneity; original perfection; roundness is sacred as the most natural shape; the self-contained; the Self; the unmanifest; the infinite; eternity; time enclosing space, but also timelessness as having no beginning or end, and spacelessness as having no above or below; as circular and spherical it is the abolition of time and space, but also signifies recurrence. It is celestial unity; solar cycles; all cyclic movement; dynamism; endless movement; completion; fulfilment; God: ‘God is a circle whose centre is everywhere, and circumference is nowhere’. Like the sun it is masculine power, but as the soul or psyche and as the encircling eaters it is the feminine, maternal principle; also the circular or ‘infinite’ symbolises the feminine as opposed to the ‘bound’, straight, masculine, paternal creative power.

The circle also depicts the Precious Pearl or the Pearl of Great Price. Small circles on sacrificial vessels often represent the sacrificial wafer, cake or bread. The circle is typified by the number 10 which has one as the centre and nine as the number of the circumference. The circle is the formation of nomadic tents and encampments, symbolising the dynamic and endlessly moving as opposed to the square of houses, plots and cities of agricultural and sedentary people. Specific flowers, notably the lotus, lily and rose, are associated with the circle and share much of its meaning.

Square:

The earth, as opposed to the circle of the heavens; earthly existence; static perfection; immutability; integration; the quaternary under its static aspect; God manifest in creation; the totality of the Godhead, the three sides being its threefold aspect and the fourth totality. It also denotes honesty; straightforwardness; integrity; morality. It is the fixation of death as opposed to the dynamic circle of life and movement, while in architectural symbolism it represents the fixation of the buildings of agricultural and sedentary peoples in opposition to the dynamic and endlessly moving circular formation of nomadic tents and encampments. It represents limitation and therefore a form.

The square is the perfect type of enclosure, e.g. gardens, cloisters, courtyards, etc., symbolising permanence and stability. In sacred architecture, it signifies transcendent knowledge; the archetype controlling all works. Four-square is a talismanic assurance of permanence and stability. Squaring the circle or circling the square is the transformation of spherical form, the sky, the heaven into the rectangular form of the earth, and vice versa in a sacred building, temple or church. It is the mystical union of the four elements; the attainment of unity in return to primordial simplicity, the octagon, which often joins the square of the tower to the circle of the dome, being the halfway stage in squaring the circle.

Triangle:

The threefold nature of the universe; heaven, earth, man; father, mother, child; man as body, soul and spirit; the mystic number three; the ternary; the first plane figure, hence the fundamental representation of surface; 'Surface is composed of triangles' (Plato); the equilateral triangle depicts completion. The upward-pointing triangle is solar and symbolises life, fire, flame, heat (here the horizontal line represents air), the masculine principle, the linga, the shakta, the spiritual world; it is also the trinity of life, truth and wisdom; it denotes royal splendour and depicted as the colour red. The downward-pointing triangle is lunar, the feminine principle, the matrix; the waters, cold, the natural world, the body, the yoni, the skakti; it symbolises the Great Mother as genetrix. The horizontal line is the earth and is white.

In mountain and cave symbolism, the mountain is the masculine upward-pointing triangle, and the cave is the feminine, downward-pointing. The triangle in a circle depicts the plane of forms held within the circle of eternity. Plutarch says,

The area within this triangle is the common hearth of them all and is named "the Plain of Truth", in which the Reason, the forms and patterns of all things that have been, and that shall be, are stored up not to be disturbed; and Eternity dwells round them, from whence time, like a stream from a fountain, flows down upon the worlds.

COLOUR (ELEMENT)

Colour on colour from background cleareth
Where flower and fruit with trembling pearls are freighted
And all around a paradise appeareth
(Goethe- Faust, part 2, act 1)

Colour evokes the highest emotional response, suggesting a mood and depth of experience. Colour is both art and science. Physicists discuss abstract theories of colour concerning light and optical principles involved in colour sensation; chemists formulate rules for blending colours; psychologists preoccupy with emotional responses to colours. Colours have two primary meanings. Objectively and psychophysically, they explain the characteristics of light (wavelength, luminance, purity). Subjectively and psychologically, they are an aspect of objects, derived from one's perceptions (hue, lightness, and saturation).

Colour Meanings

Colour symbolism refers to the use of colour as a symbol throughout the culture. Symbolism is a contentious area of study based on anecdotal evidence, not by data. Colour symbolism is culturally constructed linkages that vary with time, place and culture. One colour may perform very different symbolic functions in the same place. For example, red in North America as a stop sign or danger symbolises love, as with Valentine's Day at the same time. Cross-cultural diversity finds in the symbolism of white, which historically has signified purity, virginity or death. In Western traditions, it is the colour worn at weddings. During specific periods in history, it was the colour worn at funerals in parts of Japan and China.

The symbolism is universal. The link between the symbol of colour and religion is visible. Mayan culture recognises the cycles of the creation in five symbolic hues (red: blood/birth; yellow: the nourishing corn; blue-green: water/fertility; black: death; white: mutation). The Chinese corresponded five primary colours to the five fundamental elements, the five directions, and the four seasons (blue/green: spring, wood, east; red: summer, fire, south; white: autumn, metal, west; black: winter, water, north; yellow: earth, millet, centre).

Among the sources of contradictory meanings, the logic one causes by (i) cultural associations - the colour of traditions, celebrations or geography; (ii) political and historical associations - the colour of political parties or royalty; (iii) religious and mythical associations - the colours of spiritual or magical beliefs; (iv) linguistic associations - colour terminology within individual languages; and (v) contemporary usage - objects generated by modern conventions and trends.

Each colour has a history and a set of meanings physically and emotionally. For example, red is the warmest with the longest wavelength, demanding attention and creating excitement. As a

bright and deep colour, red is a sacred religious colour in many cultures (positive red: excitement, richness, royalty, love, robes; negative red: fire, blood, the devil, adultery, revolution, danger). Red strikes a chord with more cultures than many other colours, due to its intensity, passion and invocation of an inherent physiological response. Red is the colour of celebration and good luck (China), purity and integrity (India), and mourning (South Africa).

Yellow is an intense, bright colour, and is expansive and stimulating. It has the highest reflective level of all the colours, perceived as cheerful (positive yellow: the sun, serenity, buttercups, warmth; negative yellow: cowardice, fever, jaundice, shame). Yellow echoes the dual nature of red. Though yellow evokes feelings of happiness in confronting with too much yellow, we become annoyed or angered. Yellow ribbons were worn as a sign of hope as women waited for their men to return during the war.

Black absorbs the most light of any colour and is opaque (positive black: night, coal, power, tuxedos; negative black: fear, death, blacklist, blackmail). Black is a multi-dimensional colour that can mean classic or new. Its ominous characteristic symbolises death in Western cultures for funerals. It has an air of intelligence, marked with rebellion, shrouded in mystery.

White reflects the most light of any colour (positive white: purity, angels, cleanliness, virginity; negative white: ghosts, death, sterility). White is often associated with cleanliness or sterility. Doctors wear white to convey these attributes. White is also associated with neutrality - a white flag for surrender. In the Western tradition, the bride wears white, a custom dating back to Ancient Greece. The temple for the goddess Athena was made of white marble, linking of the colour to virginity.

CONCLUSION

This section will examine the most favourite shape and colour in Toraja motif, following a conclusion.

List of favourite shape and colour in 70 motifs

No	NAME OF MOTIF	SHAPE	COLOUR	No	NAME OF MOTIF	SHAPE	COLOUR
1	NE' LIMBONGAN	C	R	2	PA'BARRE ALLO	C	R
3	PA'KAPU' BAKA	C	R	4	PA'KADANG PAO	S	R
5	PA'SULAN SANGBUA	S	R	6	PA'BULU LONDONG	O	R
7	PA'TEDONG	O	B	8	PA'TANGKI' PATTUNG I	O	R
9	PA'TANGKI' PATTUNG II	C	W	10	PA'TANDUK RE'PE	O	R
11	PA'POLLO' GAYANG	C	R	12	PA'ULU GAYANG	O	B
13	PA'BOMBO UAI I	C	Y	14	PA'BOMBO UAI II	C	R
15	PA'KOLLONG BU'KU'	T	B	16	PA'ULU KARUA	C	R
17	PA'MANIK-MANIK	S	R	18	PA'SEKONG KANDAURE	S	R
19	PA'SEKONG ANAK	S	R	20	PASSEKONG DIBUNGA	S	B
21	PA'SEPU' TORONG KONG	S	R	22	PA'SALA'BI' BIASA	T	R
23	PA'SALA'BI' DITO'MOKKI	S	R	24	PA'TALINGA	O	B
25	PA'BOKO' KOMBA KALUA'	S	W	26	PA'ERONG	C	B
27	PA'SIBORONGAN	C	R	28	PA'DOTI SILUANG I	S	Y
29	PA'DOTI SILUANG II	S	B	30	PA'RE'PO SANGBUA	S	B
31	PA'POLLO' SONGKANG	T	B=R	32	PA'PAPAN KANDAURE	S	W
33	PA'SALA'BI' DIBUNGA	S	R	34	PA'SEKONG SALA	S	W
35	PA'SEMPA	T	R	36	PA'DADU	T	B
37	PA'BARRA' - BARRA'	T	B=W	38	PA'TEDONG TUMURU	C	R
39	PA'TANGKE LUMU'	C	R	40	PA'DON BOLU	O	B
41	PA'DON BOLU SANGBUA	O	B	42	PA'TAKKU PARE	O	B
43	PA'BUA TINA'	O	R	44	PA'BULITONG SITEBA'	O	B
45	PA'DON LAMBIRI	T	B=R	46	PA'TOLO' PAKU	O	B
47	PA'KATIK	S	R	48	PA'LAMBAM LALAN	S	B
49	PA'DAUN PARIA	C	W	50	PA'ARA' DENA' I	S	R
51	PA'ARA' DENA' II	S	B=W=R	52	PA'KANGKUNG	C	W
53	PA'BUNGA KALIKI	O	B	54	PA'BUNGKANG TASIK	C	B=W
55	PA'DON LAMBIRI DITEPO	T	B=R	56	PA'BUNGA	O	W
57	PA'BATANG LAU	O	B	58	PA'LALAN MANUK	S	Y
59	PA'BARANA' I	C	R	60	PA'BARANA' II	C	B
61	PA'LOLO TABANG	O	R	62	PA'KOSIK	S	R
63	PA'SISSIK BALE	C	W	64	TEDONG	N	W
65	BAI	N	Y	66	PA'MANUK LONDONG	N	Y
67	DARANG	N	Y	68	ASU	N	Y

69	KOTTE*	N	Y	70	KORONG	N	Y
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C(CIRCLE) O(OVAL), S(SQUARE), T(TRIANGLE), N(NATURALISTIC), R(RED), Y(YELLOW), B(BLACK), W(WHITE)

Analysis

SHAPE	No	Sum
CIRCLE	1,2,3,9,11,13,14,16,26,27,38,39,49,52,54,59,60,63	18
OVAL	6,7,8,10,12,24,40,41,42,43,44,46,53,56,57,61	16
SQUARE	4,5,17,18,19,20,21,23,25,28,29,30,32,33,34,47,48,50,51,58,62	21
TRIANGLE	15,22,31,35,36,37,45,55	8
NATURALISTIC	65,65,66,67,68,69,70	7

Rank: SQUARE/OVAL/CIRCLE/TRIANGLE/NATURALISTIC

COLOUR	No	Sum
BLACK	7,12,15,20,24,27,29,30,31,36,37,40,41,42,44,45,46,48,51,53,54,55,57,60	24
WHITE	9,25,32,34,37,49,51,52,54,56,63,64	12
RED	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,10,11,14,16,17,18,19,21,22,23,27,31,33,35,38,39,43,45,47,50, 51,55,59,61,62	32
YELLOW	13,28,58,65,66,67,68,69,70	9

Rank: RED/BLACK/WHITE/YELLOW

As the Toraja language is oral and no writing system exists, Toraja people carved wood to express social and religious concepts. Wood carvings are the cultural manifestation in Toraja. In carving, regularity and order are common features, as well as abstracts and geometrical designs. The wooden wall panels incise with geometric, spiralling designs and motifs such as buffalo heads and cockerels painted in red, white, yellow and black, the colours that represent the various festivals of Aluk To Dolo ('the Way of the Ancestors'), the indigenous Toraja religion. Black symbolises death and darkness; yellow, God's blessing and power; white, the colour of flesh and bone, means purity; and red, the colour of blood, symbolises human life.

The analysis reveals that in decorating tonganan or rice-barns, Toraja people preferred geometrical to naturalistic shape. Within the geometry, "square" is the most favourite. Of colours, "red" is superior. Perhaps, they occupy with human life, both in this world and in the afterlife. Is it the reason for funeral rites which still perform in continuing life after death? Almighty God communicates with his Toraja people, regardless of the shape and colour. Whether Toraja people knew about the symbolism behind the 'circle' and 'red' can be another topic.

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