A. Schrauwers
Houses, hierarchy, headhunting and exchange; Rethinking political relations in the Southeast Asian realm of Luwu

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Houses, Hierarchy, Headhunting and Exchange

Rethinking Political Relations in the Southeast Asian Realm of Luwu'[1]

The kingdom of Luwu', the cradle of Bugis civilization, is the acknowledged 'elder sibling' of the other South Sulawesi kingdoms which came to overshadow it. A contemporary of Majapahit, it is mentioned in Javanese court chronicles as early as 1365 and reached its zenith in the sixteenth century (Van Fraassen 1991:3). Its suzerainty stretched across the northern end of the Bay of Bone, and extended far into the highlands of Tana Toraja, Central Sulawesi and Matano. The iron, bark cloth and dammar (an aromatic tree resin) it collected from its tributaries there were widely traded throughout the archipelago. According to Errington (1989), Luwu' is seemingly exemplary of the 'Indic states' or *'negara'* which blossomed in the region in status, size and trade before the advent of Dutch colonialism. The political relations of the *negara* challenge western concepts of power and the state: 'Court ceremonialism was the driving force of court politics; and mass ritual was not a device to shore up the state, but rather the state ... was a device for the enactment of mass ritual. Power served pomp, not pomp power' (Geertz 1980:13). This conceptualization of the political form of the *negara* has assumed a paradigmatic status only to be challenged, in the case of Luwu' and other South Sulawesi kingdoms, by a more refined historical analysis of the origins of these
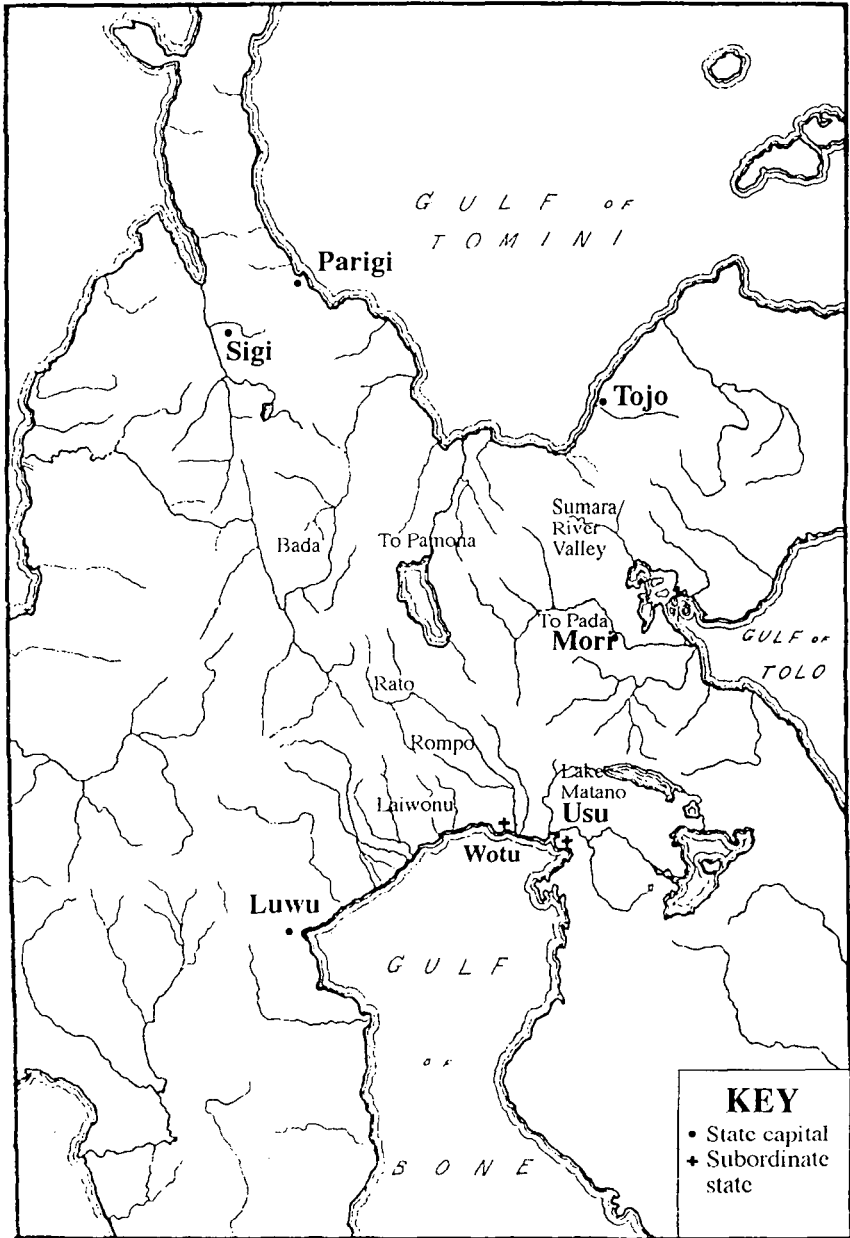

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states (Caldwell 1991, 1995). These 'Indic states' came to fruition, as it were, without the benefit of India.

The *negara* model of Luwu' is most forcefully presented in Shelly Errington's ambitious *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (1989), which seeks to link the hierarchical relations embodied in 'Houses' with the centrist, '*mandala*' form of the Indic state. The 'House' (used in the sense of the 'House of Windsor') is a hybrid, transitional form between kin-based and class-based social orders (i.e., it is not an 'elementary structure' of kinship). The term was introduced by Lévi-Strauss to replace the inadequate concept 'corporate kinship group' among the problematic 'cognatic' kinship groups found throughout the Pacific region. The socially significant groupings within these societies have variable membership (because kinship is reckoned bilaterally) and come together for only short periods, while neither property, genealogy nor residence are the basis for the group's existence (Errington 1989:236). Rather, these groups objectify their relations in a physical structure, a house, temple or regalia, which fetishizes and substantiates the transient marriage alliances which hold them together. The House embodies a seemingly diverse blend of 'patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage, heredity and election: all these notions which usually allow anthropologists to distinguish the various known types of society, are united in the house, as if, in the last analysis the spirit (in the eighteenth-century sense) of this institution expressed an effort to transcend, in all spheres of collective life, theoretically incompatible principles' (Lévi-Strauss 1982:184). The House utilizes these divergent kinship principles to perpetuate itself as a 'moral entity'. In Errington's reading, the 'deeply centrist' *negara* is a product of the kin relations between 'centrist' Houses.

Caldwell (1991) specifically challenges the root metaphor of 'centredness' that is said to underlie political and kinship relations within the kingdom of Luwu'. On the one hand, he questions whether the 'Indic state' model with its *mandala* symbolism can appropriately be applied to a realm untouched by Indian influence. Following Coedès, he defines the Indic state as having an Indian conception of royalty characterized by Hindu or Buddhist notions, familiarity with the mythology of the Puranas, observance of Indian law texts, and the use of Sanskrit (Caldwell 1991:114). None of this is evident in Luwu' or other South Sulawesi kingdoms. On the other hand, Caldwell questions the underlying political ontology of the *negara* model, noting that Luwu' was less a 'mystical, navel-gazing polity with ... a benign indifference to "real" power' than a realm wracked with 'interminable warfare, rapine and murder', which 'suggests that power was based less on concepts of potency and "centredness" than the ever-present threat of violence' (Caldwell 1991:113). He criticizes Errington for simply re-presenting 'an elite ideology divorced from its economic and political base' (Caldwell 1991:112).

GULF OF TOMINI

Parigi

Sigi

Tojo

Sumara/
River
Valley

Bada

To Pamona

To Pada

Morr

GULF OF TOLO

Rato

Rompo

Lake
Matano

Laiwonu

Usu

Wotu

Luwu

GULF

OF

BONE

KEY

• State capital
+ Subordinate
  state

Recentring our analysis upon the ruled rather than the rulers, however, is no easy task. Indigenous Southeast Asian historical sources, usually court records, almost always present an elite view of events. Anthropologists have frequently offered a corrective view through their analysis of peoples at the margins of state societies (Atkinson 1989; Tsing 1993, 1996). It is precisely these studies, however, which emphasize that power can only be interpreted in its cultural guises; it is culture, for example, which transforms seemingly 'senseless' violence into an 'act of terrorism' – a recognizable ploy with strategic ends. Among the peoples of Central Sulawesi, the 'interminable warfare, rapine and murder' which characterized Luwu' were not simply economic or political activities, but also comprised headhunting raids, part of a ritual complex which tied agricultural production, trade and warfare to the state (indeed, which constituted the form of the state). Elite 'ideology' is not irrelevant, even in the margins.

A unique opportunity to explore the state of Luwu' from the margins is presented by the work of Dutch missionary-anthropologists Albert Kruyt and Nicolas Adriani, who settled near Poso, in Central Sulawesi, more than a decade before the advent of Dutch administration in 1906. Between them, Kruyt and Adriani produced no fewer than four lengthy ethnographies of the 'To Pamona', an amorphous group whose settlements stretched from the Bay of Bone in the south, to the Bay of Tomini in the north (Kruyt 1895-1897; Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 and 1950-1951; Adriani 1919).[2] Kruyt and Adriani also produced theoretical studies on 'animism' (Kruyt 1906; Adriani 1932c), as well as numerous articles and travel diaries (see the bibliographies in Brouwer 1951, Adriani 1932f). These books, when held against the light of my own fieldwork, reveal the basic kinship structures of the Lake Poso area. Moreover, though Kruyt and Adriani's literary efforts cannot be divorced from the colonial project of which they were a part, it is possible to discern in their work the broad outlines of Luwu' 's cultural and administrative structure in the hinterland. Most revealing is the picture of state formation which emerges. At the end of the nineteenth century, an 'eclipsed' Luwu' was reasserting its control over the trade in coffee and slaves from Tana Toraja (Bigalke 1983) and dammar from Matano and Central Sulawesi (Robinson 1986:61-6). It was aggressively punishing erring vassals, and had embarked on a lengthy war of attrition with the neighbouring kingdom of Mori. This war of incorporation was fought almost entirely by means of headhunting raids and through groups like the To Pamona, at the margins of the state. 'Elite ideology' and the headhunting complex thus played a pivotal role in the establishment of rule in the hinterland.

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[2] The anachronistic form of the name To Pamona is used here to avoid potential confusion from direct reference to the plethora of named groups in the highlands. The ethnonym To Pamona is that currently adopted by the group referred to by Adriani and Kruyt (1912-1914) as 'Bare'e Speaking Toraja'.

Less clear is the role of the House, which Errington argues provided the administrative framework of the state. Errington's model of the 'centrist' House assumes a correspondence between the hierarchical noble institution and kinship relations in the periphery. Particularly problematic is the assumption that the 'House' among groups like the To Pamona is an enduring institution. Most analyses of House societies to date have accepted the enduring nature of the House as an objectification of alliances, an assumption frequently made in the contradictory context of 'genealogical amnesia' and lack of longitudinal data (see Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). By Lévi-Stauss' criteria, the To Pamona are not a 'House society', nor was leadership determined by rank, as in Luwu'. Rather, 'proto-Houses' were emerging in the specific context of state formation and incorporation. Although these 'proto-Houses' retained some features of noble Houses, they emerged out of competitions for status in a feasting complex, not through absolute distinctions of rank, or centredness. In the process of competing for status, the powerful 'elite goods' which formed the 'centre' of their proto-House were dispersed through ritual exchanges. I will suggest that a more appropriate metaphor for state-periphery relations is not the relatively passive notion of 'centredness' around immovable state regalia so much as exchange relations of the type characterized by Weiner (1992) as 'Keeping-While-Giving'.

Luwu', A Political Geography

A clear picture of the administrative structure of the realm of Luwu' does not emerge from Errington's work, and governance is too easily subsumed under kinship relations. In part, this is due to the influence of the generally acknowledged features of traditional Southeast Asian polities; they 'were pyramidal in form; they consisted of nested hierarchies of functionally undifferentiated social units. Different levels in the political hierarchy possess different amounts of power, but the power available to leaders at all levels was essentially the same' (Bentley 1986:292). The lowliest village headman, no less than the ruler of the realm, could declare a war. Despite its being nested like increasingly diminutive Russian dolls within dolls, the broad territorial and administrative outlines of the state should perhaps be quickly sketched before we proceed further, in order to more clearly distinguish the role of kinship in the governance of the periphery of Central Sulawesi.

At the turn of the century, the kingdom of Luwu' was composed of sixteen autonomous principalities, each of which was answerable to the ruler, or *datu*, in matters of tribute and war only (Van Braam Morris 1889:499). These principalities can be divided into those which were part of the central domain, each ruled by a *matoa* (headman), and the kingdom's subordinate domains, each ruled by a local *opu* or *arung* (lord) (Caldwell 1995:398). Each subordinate domain was itself internally

differentiated, being composed of its core domain and its own subordinate, nominally independent domains. Each level of the hierarchy is thus composed of the core domain from which it derives its name, and its peripheral, federated subordinate domains, among whom it acts as first among equals, receiving tribute because of its higher rank. This pattern of rights and responsibilities is reflected in the constitution of the ruling body of the realm as a whole: the *datu* of the kingdom ruled through a council of five related nobles, the *pakatenni adae*, one of whom was the *opu cenning*, or crown prince or princess. Power was shared between this council, which made most day-to-day decisions, and the *ada aserae*, a council composed of the rulers of the three neighbouring autonomous regions of Ponrang, Bua and Baebunta (the *pangaderreng macowae*, or 'senior council') and six court retainers (Van Braam Morris 1889:517, 540). These bodies ruled the central domain of the kingdom and regulated inter-domain relations. A major tool in the regulation of inter-domain relations was what Errington refers to as 'centripetal marriage', the constant remarriage of the rulers of lesser domains (*arung*) back into the *datu*'s 'House' (Errington 1989:232-72).

In Errington's interpretation of political and kinship relations within the realm, the *kapolo*, or House, is ideally endogamous; hence the royal House is itself synonymous with the realm as a whole. The 'centre' of the Luwu' House is defined by its *arajang*, its inheritance of spiritually powerful goods or regalia, held by its high-ranking core (Errington 1983). Rank was measured by the 'whiteness' of one's blood, which, like the 'blue blood' of European nobles, was inherited in proportion to the rank of one's parents. All 'white' blood ultimately derived from the divine *to manurung* attributed with having founded the kingdom. The *datu* of Luwu' was selected from among the highest-ranking persons in the realm, an individual of pure white blood considered a visible deity (*dewata mallino*) (Errington 1989:58). The descendants of those of mixed blood were systematically retied to the core through strategic marriage alliances. Those of white blood thus trace their unbroken descent from the *to manurung*, who descended from heaven and founded the kingdom; whereas cadet lines of mixed blood, more or less afflicted with 'genealogical amnesia', trace their links to these powerful patrons through strategic marriages. These clients themselves form the centres of lesser Houses, with their own lower-rank followings. It is these lesser Houses which become the rulers of subordinate domains within the realm, resulting in the 'functionally undifferentiated' form of the state, where each level of the hierarchy mirrors both the level above it and those below it. The state was thus segmentary in form (see Southall 1988).

Figure 1 attempts to capture the structure of the *datu*'s *kapolo* (i.e., the realm) as well as that of its constituent segments. Viewed as a *kapolo*, figure 1 depicts differences in rank through height (Errington's metaphor is 'centredness'). The lines linking members of the *kapolo* are marriage

Datu / To Matoa

Inter-domain marriages

high nobles

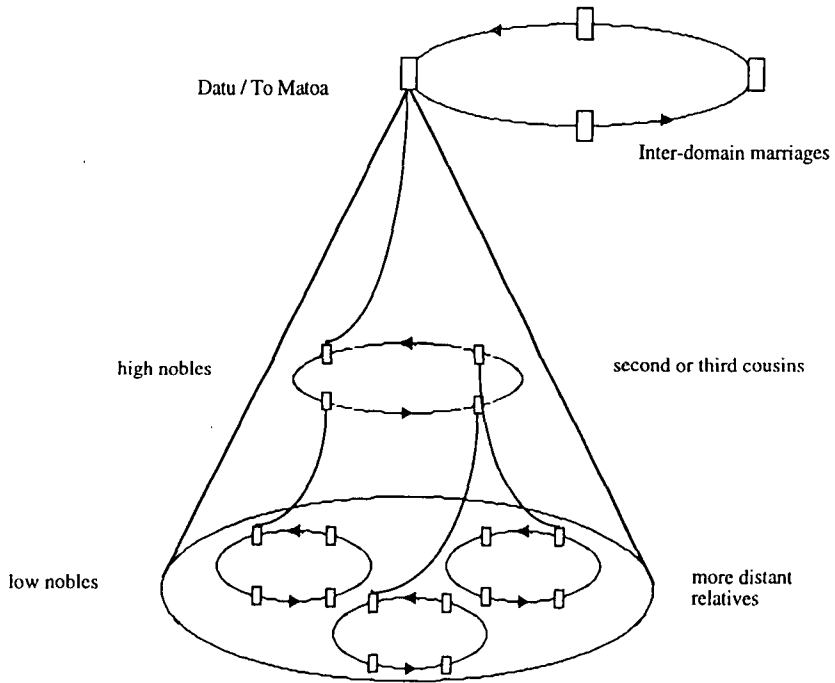second or third cousins

low nobles

more distant
relatives

Figure 1. The conical domain / *kapolo*

alliances. The ruler at the apex selectively arranges marriages to retie more distant relatives closer to the centre, thus raising the rank of the descendants of that marriage. These distant relatives, unsure of lines of descent due to the teknonymic system, will therefore calculate descent only through this newly established tie to the centre. These more highly ranked children will form the centre of their particular kinship segment, represented in the diagram by the smaller, encompassed marriage circles. Figure 1 can also be viewed as a diagram of the *kapolo* of the *datu* (i.e., the realm of Luwu'), in which the boxes represent the *kapolo* of nobles, the nobles marrying exogamously (outside their *kapolo*) to secure closer links to the centre defined by the *datu*.

The economic core of Luwu' was comprised of the districts of Palopo, which controlled the trade in slaves and coffee from the Sa'dan highlands, and Usu, on the east side of the Bay of Bone, which controlled the trade in iron from Lake Matano (Van Fraassen 1991:2-3). The 'To Pamona' of Central Sulawesi were integrated into the district of Wotu, which was strategically located to the immediate west of Usu. Wotu was a small, non-Buginese enclave[3] near the mouth of the river Kalaena, one of the few routes to the highlands of Central Sulawesi (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 II:392-421). The To Wotu numbered several thousand. They were ruled by the *opu mencara oge* (a 'nephew/cousin' of the *datu*, Kruyt 1898:73), whose core domain consisted of the Pamona speakers of the Kalaena river valley. The *opu* governed the peripheral settlements of his domain through the *matoa bawa lipu* ('he who carries the villages'). As noted earlier, the Buginese title *matoa* refers to a headman within the core domain. These *matoa* oversaw the two *paramata* (the Paramata Laiwonu and the Paramata Rompo), who formed the lowest level of the Wotunese noble hierarchy. These *paramata* oversaw the three regions of the principality, Laiwonu, Rompo and Rato, and their indigenous (i.e., Pamona-speaking) leaders, the *palimpang*. The *palimpang*, in turn, governed a number of *makole* (tribal chiefs), who each oversaw several villages. This segmentary hierarchy governed the Pamona-speaking groups along the Kalaena river basin, a group referred to collectively as the To Lampu (wild people) by the Wotunese. In contrast, most of the Pamona speakers north of the Takolekaju mountains (in what is now the province of Sulawesi Tengah) paid tribute through a *tongko* (intermediary)[4] to the *ampu lemba* (chief of the valleys), who answered to the Paramata Rompo. The areas where these more northerly groups of Pamona speakers live thus constitute the sub-

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[3] The exact origin of the To Wotu is difficult to establish, but their language is statistically related to one of the languages of Buton in Southeast Sulawesi, although it is also strongly influenced by Buginese (Noorduyn 1991:134)

[4] The title *tongko* may be related to the Toraja *tongkonan*, or House (Adriani 1928:898).

ordinate domains of Wotu, which they recognized only as first among equals. These northern To Pamona actively sought to preserve their independence and freedom from any further incursions. For example, they prohibited the To Wotu from passing Landea Ndopo, a beach on the south shore of Lake Poso to which they brought all their tribute. The To Wotu were fearful of entering the highlands to the north because of the To Pamona reputation as sorcerers (*to pokantu*, Kruyt 1898:50).

The relations between the *palimpang* and their *makole* were fundamentally different from that between the *ampu lemba* and his subordinate *tongko*, and this reflects the difference between political relations within the core domain and inter-domain ties. This is not to say that Wotu's demands upon the To Pamona north of the Takolekaju mountains differed. In both cases, the To Pamona were expected to pay a nominal annual tribute, to provide buffalo for all court celebrations against only nominal payment (*mobalu sala* 'not really to sell'), to request permission before they changed their *adat* (traditions), and to wage war against the enemies of the *datu*. They differed in that a To Lampu *makole* might raise the rank of his children through a strategic alliance with a Wotu noble, so that they constituted the ranked 'centre' of a House (see the example of Opu Toabeng, a 'nephew/cousin' of the *datu* who married among the To Lampu, cited in Kruyt 1898:54). In contrast, the groups north of the Takolekaju mountains were not integrated into the state through strategic marriage alliances with Wotu nobles, and hence lacked chiefly families.[5] The *tongko* differed from the *makole* in that they served only as an intermediary between the subordinate groups to the north and the lord whom they recognized, the *ampu lemba*. The Takolekaju mountains thus form the barrier between those groups that were integrated into the state through a ranked title-holder and those groups that were not.

Proto-Houses and Rank in the Periphery

The difficulty with applying Errington's formula of the 'centrist House' to the To Pamona north of the Takolekaju mountains lies in the hierarchical nature of this concept, in which closeness to the centre denotes rank. In contrast, the kinship groups of the To Pamona had no ranked centre and no enduring regalia or house to objectify their constituent alliances. To coin a new, and clumsy term, I would describe the constituent 'corporate kinship groups' of the To Pamona as 'proto-Houses'. The 'proto-House'

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[5] There is one notable exception. The To Onda'e in the upper Laa valley to the east of Lake Poso had a *karaja* (chief) to whom they paid a tax of 10% of all rice grown (Adriani 1932a:50). Kruyt provides almost no information on the *karaja* or his family, however, other than to tie their origins to the mythic *to manurung* who founded the kingdom of Mori to the east, in the lower Laa valley. This group paid its tribute direct to Luwu', not Wotu, and its *kabosenya* were called *mokole*. My own inquiries revealed that the function of *karaja* was not inherited through descent, but circulated among a wide group of *mokole* families.

attempts to assert its Household, to establish relations of absolute rank and hence a 'centre', but ultimately fails and breaks up into smaller egalitarian units linked only by ritual exchanges during feasts. It fails to maintain its cohesion as a House because feasting and the exchange of prestigious goods by which status is established and a political centre defined dissipates the very 'objectification' of its 'Household', its inheritance of spiritually powerful goods, before this status can be converted into rank.

The problematic 'corporate kinship group' of the To Pamona is called *santina*; it is a group which includes 'close' relatives up to third cousins. The *santina* is the kinship equivalent of the Luwu' *kapolo*, or House, except that its *arajang*, and hence its hierarchical 'centre', is absent. The *santina* is defined by common descent from an apical ancestor (usually a sibling set); this divides ego's kindred into numerous non-unilinear descent groups among whom he/she can claim membership. These *santina* are 'occasional' kinship groups which come together on specific occasions, such as marriages and funerals, to fulfil specific exchange obligations (*mosintuwu*). The *santina* ideally is corporate, holding an inheritance of prestigious exchange goods in common, but it is rarely so in practice. It is precisely those occasions that bring the *santina* together which dissipate its 'regalia' or centre through exchange obligations.

The actual 'communal' unit was a set of siblings (*to saana*, children of one mother) and their families who shared an undivided inheritance of exchange goods (*panta ndapojuyu*) (Adriani 1932d:36).[6] Such property remained undivided and was managed by the co-resident matrifocal stem family on behalf of its non-resident kin for several generations (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:151-3). Figure 2 attempts schematically to represent the process by which the 'proto-House', or corporate group, seeks to incorporate its wider *santina* through 'centripetal marriage alliances', in the same manner as the Luwu' *kapolo*. It represents the *santina* of a single apical ancestor (*anitu*) through time. Ego, when a junior, was a member of a proto-House objectified by a shared inheritance of prestigious goods controlled by his grandparents, whose ownership was limited to his first and second cousins (represented by the upper box). By the time Ego has become a senior (represented by the lower box), the corporate group's shared inheritance has been dispersed (most likely utilized in the secondary funeral of Ego's grandparents). The shared inheritance of his deceased parents forms the basis for a descendant proto-House, linking those who, at the most junior level, are second cousins. Related proto-Houses within the

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6 Kruyt's description of the 'communal group' is far less precise. He refers to this group as 'family', or '*maagschap*', which is the literal Dutch translation of the Pamonan word *kasangkompo* ('of one womb'). The word refers to those of the same descent, usually including third cousins and beyond, if the tie is remembered.
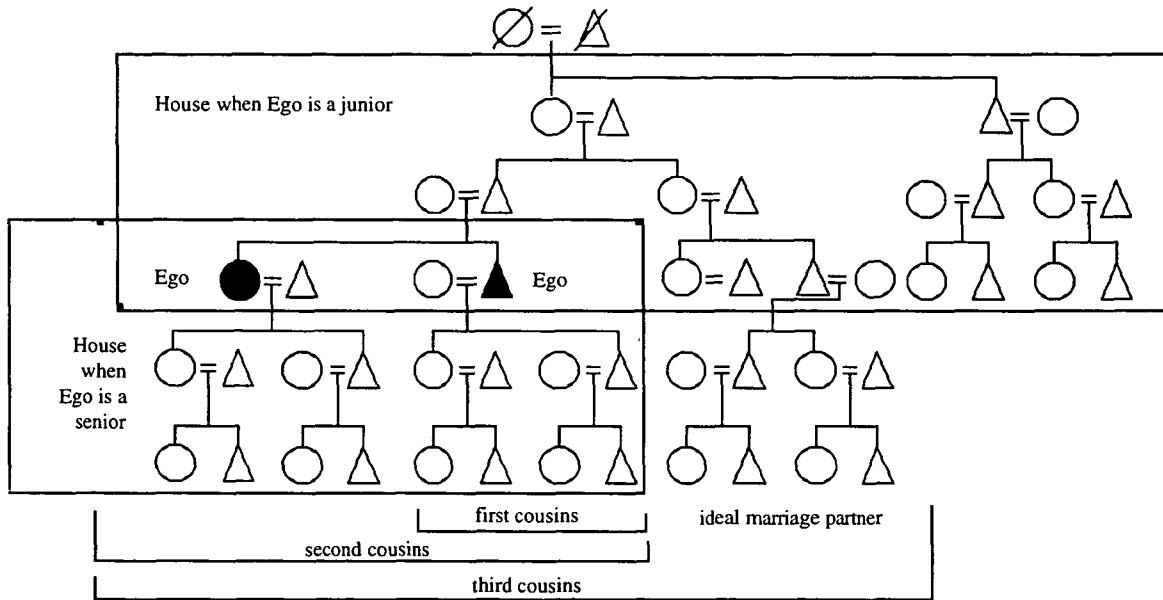
Figure 2. A Santina - Ego in black

wider *santina* maintain ties through exchanges at feasts and the renewal of marriage alliances.

Centripetal marriage, of the type practised by Luwu' Houses, ensures that recently divided proto-Houses re-establish their alliances within their *santina* (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:153). The *santina* ideally is an endogamous group; the closest permissible marriage (with payment of a fine) is with a second cousin (which would preserve a common inheritance). If second cousins are members of a single corporate group, marriage with third cousins is seen to rejoin two proto-Houses which have become divided only recently, in the previous generation. The key figures in re-establishing these ties through centripetal marriages are members of the senior living generation who possess the necessary genealogical knowledge to make a strategic alliance. These senior figures would include Ego and his cousins, who at one time were members of a single corporate group, but whose descendants (now third cousins) are not. The *santina* thus represents a source of bridewealth as well as of the ideal spouse.

These senior figures, no longer members of an enduring 'corporate group', maintain ties through exchanges (*posintuwu*) of the prestigious goods, for instance cotton cloth, water buffalo and brass trays, which they once owned in common. These goods were used primarily for two purposes: bridewealth and secondary funerals. In each case, the gift of these goods confirmed the kinship tie, reaffirming that the parties involved were members of the same *santina*. The continued exchange of these gifts (*posintuwu*) also was a sign that the exchange partners were living in harmony (*mosintuwu*) with each other. The *santina* thus can be contrasted with Errington's conception of the Luwu' *kapolo*, in that it is not a 'House' centred around its immovable regalia and its highly ranked custodians, but is rather an exchange group within which the regalia circulate. Whereas the *kapolo* is ranked because some prestige goods are 'inalienable possessions' (Weiner 1992), and hence establish differences, the *santina* is unranked because its exchange partners ultimately dissipate their regalia through 'Big Man' status competitions predicated upon giving more than one receives.

The Takolekaju mountain divide thus represents a political, kinship and exchange hiatus. On the one side were enduring ranked Houses marked by 'inalienable possessions', while on the other were fleeting proto-Houses locked in status competitions which squandered the very 'objectification' of their Household. Given this hiatus, how were the highlands incorporated into the realm of Luwu'? Why were the To Pamona so insistent that they were *palili* (vassals) of the *datu*? What led them to offer tribute to the *ampu lemba* and embark on dangerous and distant raids on the enemies of Luwu'?

Political Leadership and Feasting

The political system of the highlands was predicated upon acephalous endogamous federations of proto-Houses which established alliances and maintained internal harmony through exchange rather than rank. Each of these federations consisted of about three or four intermarrying villages with two to ten resident proto-Houses (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:117-8). Senior generations, knowledgeable about existing alliances between corporate groups within their *santina*, arranged marriages to renew specific ties between proto-Houses of which ego was unaware. Adriani noted that this set of marriage alliances was the *precondition* for leadership within the village federation:

> 'It is not actually the chief who brings about this unity between the otherwise loosely bound neighbouring, independent villages. If the closer family ties serve to strengthen relations between the villages, then the chiefs of these villages will also have more to do with each other. They will involuntarily organize themselves, and one will become first amongst them.' (Adriani 1932e:92, my translation.)

Political leadership within these federations was provided by the *kabosenya* (big ones), whom Adriani and Kruyt problematically refer to as 'chiefs' (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:124-8). The word *kabosenya* had multiple referents (Kruyt 1895-1897:116-23). It refers, firstly, to the set of senior siblings of a corporate group who manage its collective property, here distinguishing the rank of seniors from that of juniors within their own kin groups. Secondly, in an extension of this usage among slave-holding village federations, it refers to the rank of free-born, distinguishing them from slaves, or permanent juniors. Lastly, the term is an indication of status, referring to the one proto-House leader among the many in the village (*wa'a ngkabosenya,* council of elders) to whom most of the villagers turned for assistance. Those with little politically significant standing were derogatively called 'chief of their own house' (Adriani and Kruyt 1950-1951 I:114). Leadership *between* proto-Houses within a *santina* was dependent upon achieved status (or fame), distinguishable from the rank (*tuka, katuwu*) by which leadership *within* a proto-House was established.[7] Politically significant status accrued only to those of the rank of *kabosenya*, each of whom assumes a leadership role proportionate to their status. This status was acquired through feasting with the attendant exchanges of 'powerful' goods.

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[7] *Katuwu* is a derivative of the same root, *tuwu*, life, as is *mosintuwu/posintuwu.* *Katuwu* refers to rank (Dutch *stand*), hence *katuwu watua,* rank of a slave, or *katuwu kabosenya,* rank of a freeborn. There are only these two ranks. *Sintuwu* means 'from a similar background, of the same measure, to agree', hence *mosintuwu,* 'to live in friendship, harmony'. *Posintuwu* is the noun form of the verb *mosintuwu,* and means both 'friendship' and its physical manifestation, 'gift' (Adriani 1928).

Feasting was the arena in which 'power' (*tanoana*) was husbanded and was translated into leadership between *santina*. As in the Balinese case, political organization 'was a device for the enactment of mass ritual. Power served pomp, not pomp power' (Geertz 1980:13). *Tanoana*, like power in the Javanese conception, is that creative energy which suffuses the 'entire cosmos', including both 'organic and inorganic matter' (Anderson 1972: 7). *Tanoana* is 'that which animates', hence its absence results in illness and death (Kruyt 1906). The primary means of acquiring and maintaining one's stock of *tanoana* is through rituals such as initiation, marriage, and thanksgiving ceremonies, or secondary funerals. Although the liturgy of these rituals differs, the staging, staffing, and supplying of the events has remained the same: a feasting complex. Feasts utilized a standard ritual repertoire, increasing in proportion as the ritual beneficiaries progressed through life. The largest feast was that of the secondary funeral, by which the honoured dead became ancestors (*anitu*), and hence the apex of a *santina*. This series of feasts reproduced 'power' in ever larger units – proto-House, village and *santina* – in the specific context of production and social reproduction. Politically and economically, this graded set of feasts served to reproduce a proto-House's *posintuwu* network, the group of people with whom it lives in harmony, while simultaneously establishing a status hierarchy within that group.

During these feasts an 'occasional kin group' which did not otherwise exist came into being. The size of the feast was determined by the deceased's *posintuwu* network, thus indicating the breadth of their alliances. In celebrating a secondary funeral for such an individual, those who *mosintuwu* through attendance and material contributions established their *santina* as a group, with the deceased as the apical ancestor (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 II:118-21). An obvious parallel can be drawn with the typical secondary funerals of the Sa'dan Toraja highlands (Volkman 1985). In the Toraja feast, the greater one's material and organizational contribution to the feast, the higher one's status, and the greater the debts incurred for eventual repayment. Similarly, in the highlands of Central Sulawesi, each feast had a host, usually the proto-House of the deceased, whose *kabosenya* organized the construction of the feast huts for the guests, supervised the slaughtering and cooking, and oversaw the performance of the ritual. In organizing the ritual, the leader of the proto-House in question, its *kabosenya* (male or female), demonstrated that it was able to fulfil the *posintuwu* exchange obligations of the deceased. The demonstration of this ability is cardinal to the survival of the *santina* which is thus established as a group.

The *santina* established at a secondary funeral had to have its ties periodically renewed through these *posintuwu* exchanges. These ties are forgotten by those of younger generations if their *kabosenya* does not continue such exchanges with more distant relatives; a stingy *kabosenya* finds his family shrinking over time through 'genealogical amnesia'. If the

kabosenya has maintained relations with a broad network of relatives throughout their lifetime and keeps up exchange relations with the proto-Houses of their second, third and fourth cousins, however, these latter will attend this *kabosenya*'s secondary funeral and recognize their ties as *santina*. The funeral will be organized by one of their children, who must demonstrate the abilities by which their parent became prominent: organizational ability and generosity (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:117-8). Such a demonstration of ability is essential, since the inheritance of the proto-House, which ties the deceased's first and second cousins together, may be used up in meeting the onerous demands of the funeral. Referring to figure 2, the secondary funeral is the moment at which the proto-House as defined by Ego as a junior is reduced to the proto-House when Ego is a senior. The extended ties with those who are the deceased's first and second cousins (once members of the deceased's proto-House) are *now* maintained through *posintuwu* exchanges only. In establishing an apical ancestor for the *santina*, its very centre (its inheritance of powerful goods) is dissipated. Yet, because of the genealogical amnesia that is a concomitant of the teknonymic system, this ancestor soon becomes one of the nameless ancestors whom younger generations do not know, nor can trace their ancestry to. These ties will only be remembered through *posintuwu* exchanges maintained by Ego.

Power, Leadership and Headhunting

The political system of the highlands can be characterized less as a 'politics of Houses' than as a 'Big Man' system. The status and authority of a *kabosenya* depended upon the control of these persons over 'powerful' goods, such as those used as regalia, which they could use in *posintuwu* exchange. Greater attention thus needs to be directed to the underlying ideology of 'power' (*tanoana*) that served to link these *posintuwu* exchanges, by which status and leadership were acquired, with highland/lowland trade and headhunting. The connection between exchange and headhunting has been a dominant theme in the past in analyses of highland warfare in Southeast Asia (De Josselin de Jong 1937; Downs 1955; McKinley 1976; George 1991; see Kruyt 1899, 1906). A recent collection of essays on headhunting also emphasizes the role of headhunting in state formation (Hoskins 1996), a theme on which I would like to enlarge here.

The objects exchanged as *posintuwu*, such as cattle, metal plates (*dula*), and cotton cloth (*kolokompo*), were repositories of 'power' (Kruyt 1933). Both the cotton cloth and metal plates were obtained through trade with the lowland kingdoms. Cotton cloth was worn only by some men; it was primarily used in *posintuwu* exchange, to form the bridewealth, and in the payment of fines, and was buried with prominent *kabosenya* (whereby it ceased to circulate). As a relatively ephemeral article, cotton cloth rapidly disintegrated in the humid highlands. The process of loss was hastened by

the practice of burying large amounts of it with prominent individuals. Yet, this transience did not alter its source, and hence its power. This power made the *kolokompo* an essential medium in several rituals (Kruyt 1933: 178). Another object imbued with *tanoana*, and hence necessary for the secondary funeral of a *kabosenya*, was the scalp of an enemy (the latter's *tanoana*) collected through headhunting. The husbanding of 'power' through feasting was thus dependent upon trade with the lowlands, and tied in with the 'interminable warfare, rapine and murder' which marked the kingdom of Luwu' as a whole. Headhunting and trade, in other words, were the specific forms which linked the formation of proto-Houses with the ultimate source of power, the *datu* of Luwu', who was a visible deity (*dewata mallino*), that is, embodied *tanoana* (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:130-1).

Headhunting tied an essential element of highland life, necessitated by the secondary funeral, to the lowland polities and their trade policies. The souls of the recent dead were considered to be of great danger to the living until the secondary funeral had been performed for them. They frequently stole the *tanoana* of the unharvested rice or of their relatives, causing illness and death. Further, the ancestor spirits were thought to demand that headhunting raids be carried out against other villages which had breached the *adat* (Kruyt 1899). Should such a breach of the *adat* remain without punishment, then the spirits would punish not only the group which had transgressed against the *adat*, but also the cowardly group which refused to carry out a revenge raid. The performance of a successful raid was recognized by the victims as ancestral punishment indirectly inflicted through a human proxy. The spirits' direct punishment was effected by stealing the animating force (*tanoana*) of the victims' rice crop. A bad harvest was thus culturally construed as a sign of a breach of the *adat*, and hence a call to war. Sickness, bad crops, the need for a scalp for a secondary funeral, and breaches of the *adat* were sufficient reasons for launching a headhunting raid in an attempt at preserving one's 'power', as in feasting.

Internecine raiding, recognized as a form of divine punishment, served as a key link in the political system of the highlands by which Wotu maintained its hegemony. Headhunting raids linked the secondary funerals through which leadership was established between proto-Houses within a village federation with the larger political system of inter-federation and highland-lowland relations. Any village federation which failed to meet its *adat* obligation to pay tribute to the *datu* or to fight the *datu*'s wars was subject to 'divine punishment', or headhunting raids. Headhunting was one means by which the *ampu lemba* could divide, and hence rule. In fact, any inter-tribal dispute offered the *ampu lemba* a chance to strengthen his own position. Jan Kruyt noted a similar state of affairs in the kingdom of Mori to the east (see Adriani 1932a:52):

'Every tribe or clan has its own chief and elders, who settle all affairs among themselves; they are even entitled to take decisions about war and peace. They may act wholly independently of the *mokole* in both trivial and important matters.[8] In principle this latter figure stands above, but also outside the internal communal life of his subjects. That is how it is possible for two tribes, such as the To Molongkuni and the To Watu, to start a mutual war without informing the *mokole*. Every new conflict provides an opportunity for the *mokole* to increase his influence. For when neither of the parties voluntarily come to him for support, he will offer to mediate an amicable settlement. If both parties decline this, then he must wait for a more favourable moment. But as a rule one of the parties will be prepared to accept the offer; if the other rejects the *mokole*'s interference, the latter will then enter the fray on the side of the one who was prepared to accept his services.' (J. Kruyt 1924:56; my translation.)

Consistent with Caldwell's assertion, the kinship, exchange and political hiatus marked by the Takolekaju mountains was bridged by 'interminable warfare, rapine and murder', and not by the kinship strategies of 'centrist Houses'. However, this violence can only be interpreted in terms of an 'elite ideology', that is, the 'mystical' notions of 'potency' which linked the ancestors, agriculture, trade and the *datu* of Luwu' together. Head-hunting was interpreted within a cultural framework of 'power' which linked the trade in powerful goods between the highlands and the low-lands with exchanges of those goods between proto-Houses in secondary funerals, with the need for a scalp (*tanoana*) for that ritual.

Political Systems of Lowland Sulawesi

It is possible to shift one's focus, then, from the cultural interpretation of inter-federation violence among the To Pamona to the strategic mani-pulation of these conflicts by the kingdom of Luwu' in its quest to gain sole control over the economic products of the highlands of central Sula-wesi. The limits of the *ampu lemba*'s suzerainty north of Lake Poso and the lack of strategic marriage alliances between the highlands and the Wotu nobility did not mean that political relations between the lowland kingdoms and the highlands were invariable. Documented changes during the last 30 years of the nineteenth century cannot be understood without reference to wider patterns of international trade. In particular the trade in copal and dammar resulted in an extended conflict between the kingdoms of Luwu' and Mori which redrew the political map of the highlands in the late nineteenth century. Both states sought to rapidly extend their control over this profitable trade, resulting in widespread warfare, an acceleration in highland-lowland trade, and an increased stratification of the To Pamona as trade goods entered ritual exchange networks. An analysis of this

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[8]   In the kingdom of Mori, the *mokole* was the equivalent of the *datu* in the kingdom of Luwu'. The term is not to be confused with the To Lampu *makole*, 'tribal chief(s)'. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Mokole Marundu assumed the title *datu ri tana* ('ruler of the land').

period shows the dynamic nature of political relations in the highlands.

Dammar is a resin collected from the *soga* tree (*Dammara celebica*) which was used by Europeans in the manufacture of paints and varnishes at the time. The trade was initiated by the Dutch Moluccan Trading Company in North Sulawesi, but was eventually carried on in large part by small Chinese traders (Blink 1905 I:536). The richest source of dammar in Sulawesi was the Sumara river basin north of the kingdom of Mori. In 1900, more than 1,500 dammar seekers from as far away as the Bada valley to the west of Lake Poso made the yearly trip to the Sumara valley to tap dammar (Kruyt 1900b:461-2). A strong man could carry 40 *kati* (25 kg) of dammar to the coast (3 days' labour), for which he would receive 3 pieces of cloth from a Chinese trader (Adriani and Kruyt 1900:143). By 1900, 4,788,000 kg of dammar was exported from the Sumara valley per year, which was worth fl 1,915,200 on the international markets (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 II:306-8).

The trade in dammar in the Sumara river valley was taxed by the *datu ri tana* (ruler over the land) of Mori, who received one piece of cloth from every dammar seeker, totalling 1,500 pieces of cloth per year. This cloth, it should be re-emphasized, was used by the To Pamona primarily in *posintuwu* exchanges and the payment of *adat* fines. The trade in dammar thus provided an enormous source of 'ritual wealth', which could be utilized to expand one's *santina* through *posintuwu* exchanges on a grander scale. A direct result of the trade thus was increased political centralization, as this new ritual wealth was translated into larger, and more tightly related *santina* through marriage alliances and intensified *posintuwu* exchanges. The principal beneficiary of this process was the *datu ri tana*, whose ritual wealth exceeded all others. In the last 30 years of the nineteenth century the *datu ri tana* of Mori became increasingly powerful and utilized his new power to rapidly expand his kingdom. The thrust of this expansion was to the south, to Lake Matano, the source of Luwu''s iron trade.

The *makole* of Matano played a significant part in Mori's mythical history (J. Kruyt 1924:49-52). The people of Matano were culturally and linguistically related to the To Mori, rather than to the Buginese. By 1898, the *makole* of Matano had rebelled against Luwu', and his subjects attacked the To Lampu of Wotu (Kruyt 1898:115). There is some indication that Luwu' had initially instigated the attacks on Wotu itself, to punish Wotu for failing to assist it in another minor war (Kruyt 1898:35-6, 65-6). This strategy backfired with Matano's subsequent rebellion and alliance with Mori. The revolt of Matano gave rise to an extended conflict between Luwu' and Mori which radically changed the pattern of allegiances in the highlands.

In this war, the dominant figure was Ambe Ma'a, a Pamona-speaking Muslim trader and representative of Luwu' from Jalaja, to the east of Wotu.

Ambe Ma'a had wide influence in the highlands as a result of his trading expeditions.[9] He had been appointed as intermediary[10] with the highlanders by Luwu' as a further punishment of Wotu for failing to lend assistance in the earlier war, a move which Wotu actively resisted. It was Ambe Ma'a who led the Pamonan forces which in 1898 attacked Usu and sacked Matano (Robinson 1986:66). By 1899, a force of 136 To Pamona from north of Lake Poso was ordered to attack the peoples to the immediate north of Lake Matano so as to sever their link with the kingdom of Mori (Kruyt 1900a:353-4).

Other strategies were also adopted in this war. In 1900, the To Wotu attempted to re-subject the To Pada, a Pamona-speaking group in the Laa river valley, through a strategic marriage (Kruyt 1900b:209). The To Pada were located at the confluence of several major feeders of the Laa, and hence controlled the route from Lake Poso, Wotu's stronghold, to the lower Laa basin, the core of the realm of Mori. Although subject to Luwu' at some point in the past, the To Pada were then subject to Mori. Through a strategic marriage with a Wotunese noble, the To Wotu ruler hoped to re-establish control over this pivotal area. This attempt evidently failed, as Ambe Ma'a led a general revolt of all the upland peoples subject to Mori in 1903, when he led an army composed of To Pamona and To Bada to attack the still recalcitrant To Pada (Maengkom 1907:858). We can only wonder if the 1902 fire which destroyed the forests of the Sumara river valley, and hence the dammar trade there, was deliberately lit in an attempt to deprive the *datu ri tana* of a major source of ritual and hence political wealth.

By 1904, Luwu' had re-established its control over a large portion of the highlands formerly ruled by Mori, and given time, might have re-subjected Matano and Mori as well. This control, as explained above, was dependent upon playing the various segments of the kingdom off against each other: Ambe Ma'a was granted control of the highlanders as a punishment for Wotu and was used to punish Mori, while the highlanders were used to punish one of their own groups, the To Pada. The apparent weakness of the state and the many petty rebellions and lack of a stable ranked hierarchy of command in the highlands hide a period of rapid expansion and of centralization of power. Through a process of divide and rule and strategic marriage alliances, specific *santina* in some highland village federations came to achieve 'Household', i.e., they became chiefly Houses with ties to the *kapolo* of a Wotu noble. This process of incorporation was common in all the states of Central Sulawesi: in Mori, Tojo, Parigi

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[9]   Kruyt notes that Ambe Ma'a was known to 'trade by violence' in the highlands with about 200 armed retainers. He concluded that these traders made a 'handsome profit.' (Adriani and Kruyt 1950-1951 II:417-8).

[10] Ambe Ma'a's political title is difficult to determine, since Kruyt refers to him only as the 'gezant' (Dutch, 'ambassador, intermediary') of Luwu' (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:67).

and Sigi, which all made their mutually conflicting demands on the To Pamona.

The motor for much of this rapid expansion of the indigenous states was trade. Dammar, cotton cloth, iron and copper, coffee and slaves all provided an incentive for territorial expansion. In analysing this expansion, we need to note the *terms* of trade, the articulation of international commerce, and local forms of political incorporation. Mori's expansion, for example, was predicated upon the exchange of dammar for cotton cloth. The infusion of new ritual wealth made it possible for *kabosenya* to expand their *santina* through intensified *posintuwu* exchanges. A strategic marriage to a coastal noble would then allow this *kabosenya* to raise the rank of his children, who then became the ranked centre of the consolidated *santina*, establishing a chiefly line. Trade can be directly tied to indigenous state formation.

Such state expansion was, however, based upon the prior use of cotton cloth as bridewealth in the highlands. Cotton cloth, a 'spiritually powerful good', was originally accepted as payment for cattle for use in court rituals in Luwu' and Mori, an exchange called *mobalu sala* ('not really to sell') (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-1914 I:132, 136). The dammar trade was an extension of this earlier trade pattern, by which the lowland states acquired the buffalo they needed for expensive court rituals. The cotton cloth traded by Chinese merchants (*ayapa*) at the end of the nineteenth century originated from a different source. The subsequent dammar trade differed from *mobalu sala* because it was not under the direct control of the kingdoms themselves, but was conducted through Chinese traders and integrated into the international market via the Dutch Moluccan Trade Company. Although indigenous rulers retained control of the resultant state expansion by taxing the traders, the expansion of their states became dependent upon the vagaries of international trade, as the *datu ri tana* discovered after the destruction of the forests of the Sumara river valley.

A discussion of the political systems of lowland Sulawesi is not complete without an examination of Dutch influence. Such influence is usually downplayed because of the Dutch policy of 'abstention' in the Outer Islands (Borneo, Sulawesi, Sumatra and the Sunda Islands), which contrasts with the forced extraction of export commodities through government plantations on Java (Kuitenbrouwer 1991). Dutch trade in the Outer Islands was usually conducted through Chinese intermediaries, and as noted above, did not give rise to qualitative changes in indigenous political or trade patterns. When we compare Dutch 'abstention' with indigenous political strategies, however, a different picture emerges. For most of the nineteenth century the Dutch were concerned only with maintaining their trade monopoly over the island. Except in specific areas in North and South Sulawesi, the Dutch, like the *datu* of Luwu', were little concerned about the internal affairs of their vassal states in matters other than trade and war.

Luwu' governed by a process of divide and rule, and so too did the

Dutch. J. Kruyt's description of the means by which a Mori *mokole* gained power over his vassals shows these to be similar to the means employed by the Dutch in siding with the Bugis kingdom of Bone to halt the expansion of Goa (Makassar) in 1667. The Treaty of Bungaya, signed at the conclusion of the war, obliged the two kingdoms to use the Governor at Fort Rotterdam in Makassar as an intermediary in any further disputes (Andaya 1981). In time, similar contracts were signed with most of the other states of Sulawesi, making the Dutch key players in succession disputes and wars. While the Dutch did not qualitatively alter state formation in Central Sulawesi, they did manipulate the process, using both trade and interstate disputes to their own advantage. If the kingdom of Luwu', because of its policy of divide and rule, is dubbed a segmentary state, it is the Dutch, not the *datu*, who stood at the apex.

Conclusions

A parallel can easily be drawn between the situation described here and that of highland Burma (Leach 1964; Kirsch 1973; Friedman 1975; Nugent 1982); the *santina* is to the Luwu' *kapolo* what the *gumsa* polity is to the Shan state. The *santina*, like the *gumsa* realm, appears to unsuccessfully 'emulate' the more highly stratified bordering state; it is unsuccessful in translating itself into a ranked House, however, because the very means by which it establishes its 'Householood' – a secondary funeral – dissipates its centre, its shared inheritance which objectifies its marriage alliances. Its inheritance spent, the *santina* tends to disperse under the weight of genealogical amnesia, giving rise to an oscillation not unlike that between *gumsa* and *gumlao*.

   As in Leach's original formulation, a problem arises about where to draw the line between a hierarchical polity and its egalitarian periphery, and about how the two are related. Where do the 'politics of Houses' begin? Here, I have argued that the Takolekaju mountains represent a political, kinship and exchange hiatus between the hierarchical Houses of the kingdom of Luwu', and the subordinate village federations of the Lake Poso region. The village federations of the To Pamona were exchange groups; their constituent *santina* lacked an enduring centre and dissipated their shared inheritance in feasts through which they hoped to husband power and hence establish a political centre. Like Geertz's Balinese *negara*, 'power served pomp, not pomp power'. Nevertheless, the *santina* failed to successfully assert it's Householood, failed to establish stable relations of rank, precisely because no proto-House could afford to assert its difference by holding on to these powerful goods rather than exchanging them. No proto-House was able to withdraw enough 'powerful goods' from circulation to form an enduring ranked 'centre', since the withdrawal of these goods undermined the exchanges through which they gained political status. This failure to achieve Householood, to form an enduring

'centre', resulted from the circumstance that the ultimate source of the powerful goods they exchanged lay outside their boundaries. Cotton cloth and metal plates were acquired from the lowland kingdoms, which were able to enter these exchanges while simultaneously holding back their regalia, the most powerful goods of all, a process which Weiner (1992) dubs 'keeping-while-giving'.

'Keeping-while-giving' establishes absolute differences of rank, while also underscoring the wider processes of exchange through which sub-ordination is created. The To Pamona were not incorporated into the segmentary kinship network of the state; they were not directly incorporated into the ranked Houses of the realm through which rule was established. Rather, they were incorporated in the state through exchange. Errington's emphasis on the rather static notion of 'regalia' as the unmoving 'navel' of the House fails to take into account this second dynamic half of the equation, on which the greater 'power' of regalia depends. Regalia acquire their relatively greater power precisely because they are kept out of general circulation. Unlike the constantly increasing supply of cotton cloth and metal plates, regalia are acquired only through heredity, thus establishing absolute differences of rank between descent groups.

Viewed in the light of 'keeping-while-giving', many aspects of the 'centrist' House become explicable. Lévi-Strauss' original formulation of the House concept emphasized that it was not an 'elementary' kinship structure; it was rather an objectification or fetishization of marriage alliance. Yet, the 'centrist House' in Errington's reformulation is an object-ification of the sibling bond (see Gibson 1995). The centrist House is 'wishfully autonomous' and not predicated upon marriage alliance. Rather, it resolves the problem of alliance by overcoming the 'sibling incest' taboo. Through marriage within the House, the latter preserves its inherit-ance, its regalia, from exchange, and this is thus essential for maintaining differences of rank in the centripetal intermarriage of Houses that is typical of segmentary states like Luwu'. Only 'siblings' can be of the same rank and produce children of the same rank. 'Sibling' marriage thus preserves rank as well as preventing the regalia on which it depends from being exchanged as bridewealth between Houses. It is no surprise, then, that the higher the rank of the House, the closer will be the 'siblings' between whom marriage is permitted. Among the noble Houses of Luwu', first cousins are encouraged to marry, whereas among the more egalitarian To Pamona, third cousins are.

These differences in rank and the degree to which 'sibling intimacy' is permissible reflect the different political problems of the highlands and the lowlands. The centrist Houses of the kingdom of Luwu' which possess regalia, and hence rank, must seek to preserve these regalia despite their exchange commitments. They do so through sibling marriage, 'keeping-while-giving'. Lower-ranking (more distant) siblings are married out, while

higher-ranking (closer) siblings are married in. Power is preserved through sibling intimacy. The proto-Houses of the highlands, in contrast, have neither rank nor regalia to preserve. Their problem is the establishment of alliances between proto-Houses so that village federations can co-exist in harmony (*mosintuwu*). Marriage within the proto-House does not preserve significant rank or inheritance, hence siblings must marry farther out. The sibling bond here is subordinated to the alliances formed through marriage and perpetuated through *posintuwu* exchange.

A consequence of this difference in political and kinship strategies is that the highland village federation formed through these marriage alliances must be conceived as an exchange group rather than as a House. Exchange, rather than kinship strategies, ties the core domains of the kingdom of Luwu' together and bridges the hiatus between these core domains and the subordinate domains of the highlands. I have tried, throughout this article, to underscore the interrelationship between the acquisition of status through exchange between proto-Houses, the need to acquire exchange goods from the lowland kingdoms, and the link between these 'powerful' goods and headhunting. It is only by examining these complex exchange relations within their cultural context as a whole that we can gain a more accurate idea of political relations in the kingdom of Luwu'. It is evident, however, that Luwu' was neither a pristine 'Indic state' nor a rapidly crumbling state marked by anarchic despotism. Luwu' was rather a state based upon exchange which blossomed in the shade of Dutch commerce.

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