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Schrauwers, Albert 2016. Houses of Worship in central Sulawesi: Precedence, Hierarchy & Class in the Development of House Ideology. *Anthropological Forum*, 26(4): 333-354.

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Houses of Worship in central Sulawesi: Precedence, Hierarchy & Class in the Development of House Ideology

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Abstract:

The social and cultural complexity of the central portion of the island of Sulawesi was well documented by missionary ethnographers at the end of the nineteenth century. Drawing on this extensive corpus of historical material, I sketch out a comparative framework for the analysis of the development of House ideology there. The six coastal kingdoms that encompassed the highlands of central Sulawesi were politically organised in Houses, a kinship strategy first proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Here, I examine the factors that encouraged (or discouraged) the transformation of highland temples associated with headhunting (lobo) into the majestic Houses of aristocrats like the Tongkonan still seen in Tana Toraja. This comparative analysis points to the different political tensions created by the distinct systems of precedence, hierarchy and class in the dualistic Founders' Cult found across the island as the source of this transformation.

Keywords: Sulawesi, house societies, precedence, hierarchy, class

The role of the House as a centre of ritual action is a persistent theme in the burgeoning literature on House Societies.¹ The House, according to Roxanna Waterson, often “functions less as a dwelling (it may even be unoccupied) than as origin-place, ritual site, holder of ritual offices and storage place for heirlooms”; the physical structure of the House provides a critical link with group’s origins, the ancestors who “may be literally considered to be present in the house” (1995: 54). James J. Fox underscores that most Austronesian Houses have a “ritual attractor”, a part of the structure of the house such as a post, beam, platform or altar, that provides a direct link to these ancestors (1993: 1). In one of the most exemplary cases, the saddle-roofed aristocratic *tongkonan* of Tana Toraja described by Waterson and others, this centre post, the *a’riri posi*, is precisely what distinguishes an ‘origin House’ from a mere *banua*, or dwelling (Nooy-Palm 1979: 232). The House may come to be regarded “as the ancestral ‘embodiment’ of the group it represents... a combination of theatre and temple for the performance of the ceremonies of social life” (Fox 1993: 2). These aristocratic *tongkonan* were, then, the ritual centre of Toraja society.

The *lobo* (origin temple) of the East and West Toraja was also a house of sorts; it was home to the spirits (*anitu*) of the founding ancestors of the village who resided in its attic, next to the Temple’s ritual attractor, a centre post like the *a’riri posi*, thus symbolically connecting the living and the dead. This centre post distinguished the *lobo* from ordinary houses (*banua*) as well as other temporary ritual structures. Like the *Tongkonan* then, the *lobo* was an embodied symbol of ancestral origins, and a stage for the performance of ancestor oriented rituals, including the secondary funerals by which the souls of the dead were led to the ‘land of the dead’, and the headhunting rites this mandated. Given the broad similarities in culture and social organization across central Sulawesi among the groups defined as East, West and South Toraja, this comparative example provides an opportunity to ask, why do the South Toraja have Houses, but not temples? And why do the East Toraja have temples but not Houses? What factors, in other words, encourages the development of House ideology in which the House serves as origin temple?

Lévi-Strauss introduced the concept of ‘House societies’ (*sociétés à maison*) to account for those amorphous kinship groups found in Europe, aboriginal North America and Indonesia that seemed on the brink between kinship-based and class-based political orders; they seemed to use and misuse all the rules of the elementary structures of kinship. Lévi-Strauss most succinctly defined the House as “a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods and its titles down a real or imaginary line considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both” (Lévi-Strauss 1983:194). In other words, the House maintains the continuity of its estate by whatever legitimate kinship strategy it could. Houses are found in those kin and class based polities that are stratified by social rank, or Estates,² and hence have been characterized by

¹ I capitalize the word ‘House’ to differentiate the hierarchical noble institution from a mere dwelling, as suggested by Sellato 1987.

² In discussing hierarchy, I draw on Rousseau’s distinction between caste and estates: “Castes and estates are linked differently to the political structure. Estates constitute the political structure because they define relations of domination and subordination. The caste system defines only the social units involved in the political process,

some as feudal (Sellato 1987; Waterson 1995: 51; which Waterson objects to). Such hierarchical systems of Estates constitute political relations of domination and subordination and appear a critical condition for the development of House ideology. Here, in a comparative analysis of the societies of highland Sulawesi, I track the alterations in ancestral origin temples in marking out Estates, and differentiating some – like the *Tongkonan* of the Sa'dan Toraja, or the less well known *duhunga* of the To Bada – as Houses.

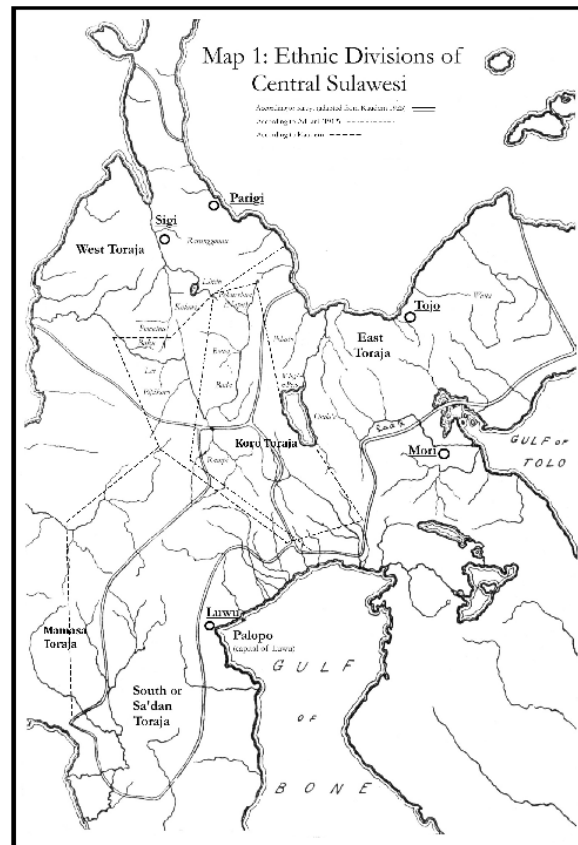
Such a comparative analysis is possible due to an extensive yet generally unanalyzed corpus of missionary ethnography. At the beginning of the 20th century Dutch colonial missionary ethnographers divided the diverse village confederacies of highland Sulawesi into three main groups, the East, West, and South (or Sa'dan) Toraja, although they could not agree on the boundaries (Pakan 1977). The basis of Albert Kruyt's classification was arbitrary, based on minor differences in shamanism, death rituals, and dental mutilation, even though "every custom or practice of a tribe can be found in most cases among the others, whether in rudimentary or in a reduced form exercised only in extraordinary circumstances" (Kruyt 1938 I: 8). Linguist Nicolaus Adriani set the border between the East and West Toraja considerably more to the west; and Swedish anthropologist Walter Kaudern incorporated a larger middle area in a fourth group, the Koro Toradja (see map 1). These colonially imposed ethnic divisions were meaningless, as the differences *within* these three broad groups were as large as the differences *between* them; rather, the focus of attention should be placed on the comparative study of the much smaller self-named village confederacies, as attempted here. A comparative analysis of this extensive corpus of ethnographic material does provide an opportunity to determine the conditions required for the development and perpetuation of House ideology. What I attempt here is not an evolutionary model as all of the village confederacies discussed have equally long and complex histories of development and interaction; this is, rather, like the comparative Austronesian project itself, a comparative exercise predicated upon the broad cultural commonalities between these groups that should highlight how hierarchy, precedence and class interrelate in the House dominated polities among them at the beginning of the twentieth century.³

not the nature of their interaction" (Rousseau 1978: 91). The reference point for members of the comparative Austronesian project is Dumont's analysis of caste.

³ Although this comparative project is based upon a broad range of archival sources, much of the material is infused with racist, evolutionary and diffusionist presuppositions. Kruyt and Kaudern, in particular, engaged in lengthy debate on the historical migrations of the peoples of central Sulawesi, with Kruyt imputing many cultural practices to a 'superior' invading race. I have attempted, where possible, to restrict analysis to reports of socially located practices evidenced in the period 1890-1920, and disregarded these conjectural histories.

Kaudern map.jpeg

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Map 1: Ethnic Divisions of Central Sulawesi

In the following selective comparative analysis, I first draw attention to the “founders’ cult” shared by most of the societies of central Sulawesi.⁴ This dualistic order is expressed across the island by the complementary opposition of rites of life (east, or rising sun), and rites of death (west, or setting sun), which are kept rigorously segregated (Waterson 1984). The rites of life are female focused, encompassing all aspects of agriculture, as well as shamanism; they take place in widely dispersed swidden field settlements. The rites of death are male focused, and include both headhunting and secondary funerals, and take place in ancestral ‘origin temples’ in nucleated villages that may draw many field settlements together seasonally. It is the role and permutations of this ‘origin’ temple that are critical to the development of House ideology.

⁴ By “societies of central Sulawesi”, I am referring to the groups defined as East, West and South Toraja in the Dutch colonial era occupying the current provinces of both Central *and* South Sulawesi. Only the “South (or Sa’dan) Toraja” of South Sulawesi retain the ethnonym today. Today, the East Toraja are generally referred to as the ‘To Pamona’ and the West and Koro Toraja as either ‘To Kaili’ or by their former village confederacy name. In order to simplify citations, I will primarily cite only the major works of missionary-ethnographer Albert C. Kruyt (1923, 1938, 1950), always listing them, and indigenous terms, in the order of South, West, East Toraja.

I then consider how these two ritual orders are related to precedence and hierarchy. A clear correlation is found between the rites of life, which entails a quest for potency,⁵ and the establishment of precedence and leadership in a competitive status-based political system. This can be contrasted with the manner in which the rites of death establish hierarchical Estates through a process of categorical exclusion of non-kin (commoners and slaves). A comparison of the manner in which these ritual orders are enacted among groups that swidden versus those with wet rice fields (and importantly, those with both) is then correlated with the complexity of Estate systems, orders of precedence, and of class tensions. This comparison produces a 4-fold typology of political relations among the village confederacies of central Sulawesi that helps delineate the conditions required for the development of House ideology in the period immediately prior to colonial rule. This typology underscores the social and cultural tensions that lead nobles with large estates of slaves and wet rice terraces to first monopolize village ‘origin temples,’ and then for some to transform them into ‘origin Houses’ under their control. Accompanying this appropriation is a parallel change in the nature of shamanship, as a new form of transgendered priests takes charge of the rituals now conducted in the House. The origin House is, I will argue, an appropriation of the origin temple that serves as the stage for swidders’ competition for precedence, and its transformation into a hybrid temple for deified ancestors that solidifies a hierarchical noble Estate.

An Overview of central Sulawesi

During the colonial era, the island of Sulawesi was bisected by a provincial border specifically meant to separate the marginal hill peoples of northern central Sulawesi (dubbed the East and West Toraja), from their nominal ruler, the Bugis kingdom of Luwu and the South Toraja in southern central Sulawesi (Coté 1996). This politically inspired colonial border, which has cemented current ethnic divisions, has served to limit comparison across the divide. Comparison has been further hindered by the complex linguistic and political situation before the colonial conquest. Six major indigenous coastal states ringed the region and claimed various degrees of suzerainty over the numerous village confederacies of the interior middle hills and mountains (Kruyt 1938; 1950). The region encompasses the speakers of ten different languages (Noorduyn 1991). Similar social and cultural diversity has been described on islands like Borneo and New Guinea, fostering extensive regional debate, such as the literature on social stratification on Borneo that I draw on in this article.

The region of central Sulawesi is crosscut by a series of mountain chains running in parallel from north-west to south-east. These mountains created deep valleys with a complex riverine system that is frequently forced to lap back on itself on its way to the sea. Most settlements were along these valleys and in the few small plains in between (see map) (Kaudern 1925: 10ff). The semi-permanent villages of swidders were constructed on hill-tops, although they remained uninhabited for large parts of the year as their occupants spread out to farm

⁵ I use the gloss ‘potency’ rather than ‘power’ to distinguish the South East Asian conception from secular Hobbesian conceptions of power as control of force, following a long line of scholars analyzing the ideological basis of indigenous states (see Errington 2012 for a summary discussion).

their shifting field complexes. Wet rice cultivation was largely limited to the plains although the largest, in the La river basin in the east, was only used for swiddening. In oversimplified summary, the East Toraja practiced only swiddening; the South Toraja only wet-rice cultivation; and the West Toraja one or the other and frequently both.

These river valleys tended to form the boundaries of the named village confederacies (*adat-law* communities; *landschappen* (Dutch); *lembang* (Sadan); *lemba* (Pamona)) with which we are concerned that claimed to share an *adat* (tradition) which they traced back to their shared origin in the ancestral village that gave the confederacy its name (Nooy-Palm 1979: 6); their unity was predicated upon shared kinship and frequent intermarriage. That name began with “To” meaning “people of” usually followed by the name of the origin village or some geographic marker (such as “To Onda’e”, “people from Onda’e” or “To Pipikoro”, “people of the river bank”). Among the East and West Toraja there were a limited number of confederacies with no hereditary stratification. However, the majority of swiddeners among the East and West Toraja distinguished between a commoner and slave Estate, and the wet rice cultivators among the South and West Toraja also recognized a noble Estate.⁶ Leadership within a confederacy varied according to its degree of stratification, with only those groups having a noble Estate having an inherited chiefly role. Leadership in the other confederacies was more akin to an agonistic gifting system like the ‘Big Man’ system of Papua wherein precedence was achieved through competitive feasting that ensured a community’s fertility and ‘potency’ (discussed below). This jump from precedence to chiefly systems of leadership parallels a shift to a House-based political order.

Although the East, West and South Toraja share very similar kinship systems, only some groups were dominated by Houses. I have argued elsewhere that the competitive struggle for precedence among swiddeners in central Sulawesi largely dispersed the estate of material wealth that would form the core of a House (Schrauwers 1997; 2004). In wet rice cultivating groups, in contrast, that core of wealth, whether of land, slaves or cotton cloth, was tied to a specific ancestor who served as the basis for an ancestor focused ramage that legitimated its precedence through its control of an ‘origin’ House; this ‘origin’ House is, I will argue here, an appropriation of the ancestral ‘origin’ temple through the denial of other groups (Estates) kinship.

These confederacies cannot be treated as social isolates as they experienced various degrees of subordination to more powerful neighbours, including the coastal kingdoms. These coastal kingdoms were generally composed of a core domain of their directly ruled village confederacies, and a periphery of tributaries (*palili*) who were required to provide contributions (*mepue*) to specific royal events such as funerals (Caldwell & Druce 1998). Many tributaries themselves had tributaries in the interior that they had subjugated through numerous petty raids; this was frequently the relationship between wet-rice cultivating village confederacies in the plains and their swiddening neighbours. In such cases, if the dependent groups were unable to pay the fines levied by the victors (usually in slaves), they might be declared ‘slaves’ themselves (*tau rapapotunda*, people allowed to sit, slaves one permits to

⁶ Kruyt 1938 I: 500-21; 1950 I: 136-49.

settle by themselves), or forced to recognize the neighbouring nobles as their leaders. Almost all of the coastal kingdoms had colonies of such debtors from the interior that they forced to move nearby (Kruyt 1950 I: 325).

Cosmological Dualism and Potency

The societies of central Sulawesi share a dualistic cosmology and ritual order that can be characterized as a ‘founders’ cult’, an example of the common Austronesian focus on origins.⁷ A founders cult is composed of a series of sacrificial rites that are believed to have been established by a settlement’s founding ancestors to placate the original spirit owners or territorial guardians of that village: “In return for regular offerings, the spirit/s ensure the fertility of the land in the form of bountiful crops and, in some cases, villagers in the form of many healthy children” (Kammerer and Tannenbaum 2003: 3). A founders’ cult is thus more than just ancestor worship. As has already been noted, this cult was dualistic, with the rites of life devoted to the territorial spirit guardians and rites of death devoted to founding ancestors.⁸ The guardian spirits (*deata*, *tampilangi*, *lamo*) included rulers who, possessing white blood, were considered descendants of the original spirits who descended to earth from the upperworld to found the coastal kingdoms (*to manuru*).⁹ It was the female focused rites of life that ensured the proper flow of potency or power (*sumange*’, *wao*, *tanoana*) from these spirits that fostered the fertility of both rice crops and villagers. In contrast, the rites of death, encompassing headhunting and funerals, placated the founding ancestors (*to dolo*, *anitu warani*, *anitu*) who established the original social contract with those territorial spirit guardians and set the ritual prescriptions (*aluk*, *ada*’, *ada*) and proscriptions (*pemali*, *kapali*) for their descendants to follow; these rites did not solicit potency, but ‘fed’ the founding ancestors in the ‘land of the dead’ so that they would do no harm.

The rites of life, or the rising sun, encompassed agricultural rituals and shamanism. Although different groups grew rice on either swiddens or wet rice terraces, they nonetheless shared a common concern for placating the spirit owners of the land who would ensure a bountiful crop by following the prescribed ritual order inherited from the original ancestral settlers.¹⁰ This knowledge was passed down from generation to generation, leaving the knowledgeable senior generation closest to the ancestors in positions of authority;¹¹ all agricultural rituals thus began in the central fields of these leaders, and then moved outwards to their juniors on

⁷ See Coville 2003 and Aragon 2003 for an application of the model to the South and West Toraja respectively. See Fox 2006 for a comparative perspective on the Austronesian focus on origins. Domenig (2014) has recently refined analysis of the ‘landtaking rituals’ by which contracts with spirits are made in a variety of indigenous Indonesian religions.

⁸ I have chosen the terms “rites of life” and “rites of death” as glosses for a wide range of alternate phrases. The South Toraja, for example, also utilize the phrase “smoke of the rising sun” and “smoke of the descending sun” (Waterson 2009). Kruyt did not record a label for these two ritual orders among the East or West Toraja, although he did note their segregation. In the social evolutionist spirit of the time, he interpreted the female focused shamanic tradition in terms of a matrilineal animism upon which a “more evolved” patriarchal “spiritism” had been imposed by immigrant invaders (1906; see 1938 III: 531 for an application).

⁹ Aragon (1996: 47) points out that the word for “owner” deities and lowland aristocrats was “*pue*” in many of the languages of central Sulawesi.

¹⁰ Kruyt 1923: 323-56; 1938 IV: 3-242; 1950 III: 3-168.

¹¹ Kruyt 1950 II: 72.

the periphery, establishing an order of precedence.¹² For those farming swiddens, this order of precedence was established seasonally, as each family could align itself with another, perhaps more successful leader in another field complex in subsequent years. Such movement was less possible among those who farmed wet rice terraces, and among slaves. Where such terraces existed (a point to which I shall return), they were largely owned by nobles with whom more permanent relations of domination and subordination were established.¹³ In other words, swiddeners can be characterized by the shifting order of precedence their agricultural rites establish, while wet rice farmers seek their livelihoods in a hierarchical system more akin to serfdom. It needs to be underscored, however, that most swiddeners also had slaves, and hence the appropriation of surpluses cannot be directly tied to the form of agriculture.

In the context of this article I would like to emphasize the political aspects that control of the flow of potency availed in the order of precedence established by rites of life. There is now an extensive literature on South Sulawesi and South Toraja conceptions of potency in relation to its Malay cognate (*sumange*’, *sumanga*’, *semangat*, respectively; see Tsintjilonis 1999, Waterson 2003 and Errington 2012 for summaries). Missionary ethnographer Albert Kruyt described similar conceptions among the East and West Toraja (*tanoana*, *wao*) (Kruyt 1906; Schrauwers 2000: 54-8). Kruyt initially characterized this potency as “soulstuff” to emphasize its materiality, its impersonal character, and its fluidity; it was loosely tied to both individuals and their rice crops, and could be easily separated, resulting in disease and death (1906). Tsintjilonis has similarly characterized potency among the South Toraja in terms of its materiality: “all activity and life is part of a single continuum, a single unfolding. To phrase it somewhat differently, *deata* [spirit] is nothing more than embodied... *sumanga*” (1999: 622). As this potency is embodied, there are some physical beings that are pure spirit such as the rulers of the coastal kingdoms said to have ‘white blood’ (*dewata malino* (Errington 1989: 58)). Here, however, I underscore potency as a source of political power in the periphery. In placating local spirits, the rites of life were an attempt to manage the flow of potency, and were hence the basis of leadership for those with the ritual knowledge and the resources to sponsor them on behalf of their communities as was indicated earlier.

The rites of death encompassed ritual headhunting and secondary funerals.¹⁴ Headhunting was mandated by the ancestors who resided in the ‘origin’ temple (*lobo*) of permanent villages. These rites were male focused hence the major participants were in-marrying males and slaves. Through these rites, these ‘outsider’ men sought to placate the matrifocal village ancestors of their wives with sacrificial offerings. They were a form of “sacred violence” for the reproduction of the social body which mirrored the harvesting rituals of the rites of life which were referred to with the same name.¹⁵ The men offered deference to the ancestors in an extension of the deference paid to their in-laws.¹⁶ They were sent off on headhunting raids

¹² Kruyt 1923: 346; 1938 IV: 32, 66-8; 1950 II: 55ff.

¹³ Kruyt 1923: 333; 1938 I: 501-3.

¹⁴ Kruyt 1923: 137-69, 259-74; 1938 II: 55-221; III: 339-562; 1950 I: 164-369; II: 447-552.

¹⁵ Tsintjilonis 2000: 44; George 1996: 61, 70-1; Kruyt 1942: 544.

¹⁶ The leader of each headhunting troop carried a fetish (*gongga*) by which the ancestors were carried along to battle. The fetish offered protection, but had to be offered sacrifices and treated with ancestral deference or would cause *buto/bunto*. If the enemy captured the *gongga*, it meant capture of the *anitu*, rendering them powerless and ending the attack (Kruyt 1938 II: 77-82; III: 130-2 1950 I: 265).

to obtain the scalps of victims that were used to both ‘feed’ those ancestors, and to lift the mourning period for the more recently deceased so they could enter the ‘land of the dead’.

The length of this mourning period varied depending on the degree of hierarchy in a particular group. The more stratified societies had prolonged periods of mourning for nobles during which large secondary funeral rites like those made famous by the South Toraja took place.¹⁷ These secondary funeral rites, organized by the Houses of the deceased, could involve the slaughter of hundreds of water buffalo and the attendance of thousands of House members and their affines. These funerals were a means by which the status of a House could be magnified; whereas the ordinary funeral rite ensured that the dangerous spirits of the recently deceased were led to the ‘land of the dead’ accompanied by the spirits of the sacrificed water buffalo, the larger more expensive secondary rites served to deify an ancestor, moving them from the ‘land of the dead’ to the upperworld, from the status of ancestor to guardian spirit (Nooy-Palm 1986). These secondary funeral rites, in other words, transformed the ancestors of nobles into deified spirits, a source of potency or power for their descendants. That these ancestors were able to make the transition indicated the degree of ‘white blood’ of the House, of the status of its ancestral founder as a *to manurun*, as a spirit descended from the upperworld.

The rites of life and death were rigorously separated (Kruyt 1923: 152, 157-8; Waterson 1984). In simplified form, the rites of life were generally held in the fields during the agricultural season. Shamanic rites, the largest of which was an initiation ceremony for new shamans, were held in houses or in specially constructed temporary structures which I will refer to as ‘spirit temples’ to distinguish them from ‘origin temples’ (see figure 1). The rites of death, in contrast, were held in the nucleated villages high atop hills to which members of the various field complexes would return, if only for specific rites, after the end of the agricultural season. For swiddeners, their hill-top villages offered some protection from the headhunting season that would follow. Each of these origin villages had a substantial village origin temple (*lobo*, *baruga*) in which the ancestors would come to reside and where the concluding headhunting rites and funerals would take place. The dualistic cosmology and ritual orders were thus marked out by the seasonal residential pattern. In House dominated polities, the House would serve the same function as the temporary structures built for rites of life.

¹⁷ Kruyt 1923: 137-72; 1938 III: 470ff; 1950 III: 517

Figure 1: Temple Typology

Structure	Origin Temple (<i>lobo, baruga</i>) heavy timber structure with centre post as 'ritual attractor' located in nucleated hilltop villages	Spirit Temple (<i>sou eo, banitaya</i>) temporary structures with no ornamentation found in scattered field settlements or attached to noble dwellings	House (<i>tongkonan, duhunga</i>) heavy timber structure with centre post as 'ritual attractor' located in nucleated wet rice cultivating villages
Spirits	Ancestors (<i>amitu</i>) located in the 'Land of the Dead' and attic of temple during rites	Territorial guardian spirits (<i>lamoa</i>) and potency (<i>Sumange', wao, tanoana</i>)	Deified ancestral spirits and potency
Organizational Principle	Solidifies Estates established through kin relations with founding ancestors	Legitimizes competitive leadership (precedence) by feasting to promote potency	Legitimizes class relationship between nobles and commoners/slaves
Rites	Rites of the West (care of the dead) Funerals Headhunting	Rites of the East (fostering potency) Agricultural rites Shamanism	Rites of the East Agricultural rites Funerals Shamanism

Figure 1: Temple Typology

Potency and Precedence, Exclusion and Hierarchy

This brief overview of the shared dualistic cosmology of central Sulawesi was meant to emphasize that control of the flow of potency was essential to ensuring agricultural fertility and human prosperity, and secondarily, in establishing an order of precedence and leadership. Jane Atkinson's ethnography of the egalitarian To Wana points to the shamanic quest for potency as an example of Wolters' "men of prowess" who acquired greater "soul stuff" through the rituals of life, "which explained and distinguished their performance from that of others in their generation and especially among their own kinsmen" (Wolters 1982: 6). These wo/men of prowess' quest for potency, among other things, "confers control over other people's souls" (Atkinson 1989: 259). Similarly, nobles, thought to be descendants of beings of embodied potency, sought to establish control over these shamanic quests through the hierarchical use of *to peligi* (west Tor., *to burake* among Sadan Tor.), lead shamans who organized other shamans to perform the rites that transformed the noble dead into spirits, the source of potency.¹⁸ Potency provided political power.

Potency, however, could be equally dangerous, and its control frequently meant denying others access; a form of exclusion that solidified the Estate system. Stereotyped forms of respect across central Sulawesi were intended to protect the weak from unintentional contact with the concentrated potency of wo/men of prowess by which they would be made ill. These practices enacted the order of precedence in daily life. For example, in-marrying men were expected to show respect to their parents and other in-laws by never contradicting, refusing a request, speaking their name, or pointing their feet at them among a long list of other more mundane service requirements (Kruyt 1950 II: 321). These same stereotyped forms of respect

¹⁸ Kruyt 1938 II: 500, 521-3, 585; Nooy-Palm 1979: 282-9.

were also practiced between Estates, by slaves towards their masters, as well as by commoners to nobles (Kruyt 1938 I: 503-5).¹⁹ The failure to observe these practices was viewed as resistance and thought to cause a swelling of the belly and a lingering disease that could only be cured by a ritual act of submission.²⁰ The supernatural consequences thought to stem from inadvertent contact or disrespect ideologically sanctioned deference to those with potency on an ongoing basis.

As this example shows, the same set of deferential practices sanctioned both an order of precedence, of son-in-law to father-in-law, as it did an hierarchical order of Estates, of slave to master; and both slave and son-in-law manifested their deference, in part, through labour services. This elision of precedence and hierarchy in practice points, as Helliwell has demonstrated, to the subtle means by which even an egalitarian struggle for precedence in conditions of ‘equality of opportunity’ can result in future structured inequalities (1995); ritual dependence can be frozen, becoming a permanent status for successive generations thereafter denied direct access to potency. Conversely, access to potency could be made heritable. The extensive literature on precedence and hierarchy developed through the Comparative Austronesian Project highlights the role of hierarchy in solidifying that control through the systematic application of categorical exclusions (Fox 1994; Vischer 2009; Rousseau 2001). Precedence systems, as Acciaioli notes, “are generated on the basis of measuring social distance from some origin line, or point” such as village ancestors (2009: 59) and its status distinctions are thus competitively established gradations. Hierarchy, however, is predicated upon creating categorical exclusions on the basis of an hereditary principle; while a son-in-law can narrow the gap with his father-in-law as he himself becomes a father, the slave can never become a master.

In central Sulawesi, slaves were non-kin outside the adat established by the ancestral founders and hence permanent dependents outside the order of precedence. In general, slaves lost their kin status in one of two ways. Only women and children were taken as war captives in headhunting raids; they were ‘socially dead’ outsiders with no rights to social relationships other than their relation of dependence to the sibling group that owned them.²¹ Slave women passed their status on to their children unless those children had a free father whose kin group would pay the brideprice to have them recognized. Slavery was thus “open” allowing for a kinship-to-slavery continuum with exclusion taking place at the discretion of the husband’s kin group (Watson 1980: 9-12). The free could thus expand their kin-group’s pool of slaves through their control of slave women’s sexuality. All aspects of slave social reproduction, including their ritual dependency in the rites of life, were controlled by the slave-owning group. Slave reproduction depended upon slave owners who paid their minimal bridewealth.

¹⁹ Kruyt (1923: 120) notes that these deference behaviors were weakest among the South Toraja, perhaps because the dependency of commoners and slaves was now ensured through nobles control of the wet-rice complex.

²⁰ This “disease” known as *bunto* is reported throughout Sulawesi, including the Bugis kingdoms to the south (*bunto/wunto* (Kruyt 1938 III: 130-1); *buto* (Kruyt 1923: 460; 1950 II: 323); *mabusung* Bug. (Errington 1989: 62)). Tsintjilonis highlights the importance of ‘place’ (*siri*) among the South Toraja and that transgressions of respect results in illness; this term is a cognate of the Bugis *siri*, transgression of which results in *mabusung* (2006: 266-7).

²¹ Kruyt 1938 I: 516; 1950 I: 339; cf. Graeber 2006: 78.

Jane Collier characterized this a key pattern of control characteristic of an “unequal bridewealth model” found in “ranked acephalous societies” (1988: 142-96). I, in large part, thus agree with Meillassoux that “slavery, in that it involves class relations, can emerge only 1) through the dislocation of the productive and reproductive cycles on which kinship is based, and thus through the emergence of the absolute alien, the non-kin; 2) through an incessant renewal of this social category excluded from kinship reproduction relations and thus through the creation of substitute apparatuses” (1991: 40).

In the model of slavery discussed so far, slavery is akin to affinal relations, where in-marrying men are social outsiders offering brideservice, gifts and deference to wife-givers in proportion to the size of the brideprice they pay.²² That is, slaves, having no kin or property with which to pay brideprice were the most deferent and dependent; in contrast, nobles marrying low status women may pay larger brideprices in order to demand high status virilocal marriages. The subordination of affines and slaves within the village was ideologically underscored through the degree of deference they showed in ancestral origin temple rituals. Since marriage was generally matrilocal across central Sulawesi, most villages were composed of sets of married sisters and their social outsider husbands, and social outsider slaves. Property, including slaves, remained the undivided inheritance of the sibling set, but under the control of the co-resident sisters. Out marrying sons received no property when they married, other than the bridewealth with which they acquired wives.²³

The exception to this general rule were those noble males who married low status women (including slaves) and settled virilocally where their inheritance was; or, who married matrilocally with a first cousin with whom he shared an undivided inheritance (and sometimes both). In either of these cases, this ‘insider’ marriage consolidated their control over his kin group’s estate. These marital strategies were only available to nobles who had the wealth to pay the substantial fines to either marry incestuously (first cousin), or have their slave children recognized as legitimate by their kin group.²⁴ These kinds of kinship strategies can be characterized as “centripetal marriages” which Shelly Errington cites as typical of the cognatic “Centrist Archipelago” House.²⁵ Since cognatic kinship systems do not assign members to discrete kinship units, such patterns of “sibling marriage” affirm the groom’s status as an insider who need not defer or offer service to his in-laws, and consolidates ownership of the kin group’s estate so that it is not dispersed over time.

²² Kruyt 1923: 99ff, 121ff; 1938 III: 117; 1950 II: 314ff. The South Toraja of the Mamasa and Masupu River basins did give bridewealth, but those in the Sa’dan River basin did not; where it was given, the bridewealth was presented to the married couple (i.e. was a form of indirect dowry). In the Sa’dan area, the couple received land from both sides (1923: 124), but this land was only inherited according to the number of cattle sacrificed at the parents funeral, thus encouraging competition between siblings for a greater share. The shift from swidden to wet rice cultivation was thus accompanied by a shift from bridewealth to diverging devolution/dowry (cf. Goody 1976).

²³ Kruyt 1938 I: 516; III: 154; 1950 I: 149-50.

²⁴ Nooy-Palm 1979: 32; Kruyt 1938 III: 27ff; 1950 I: 140. The West Toraja allowed only cross-cousin marriage, i.e. marriage between the children of a sister and an out-married brother, hence bringing back the brother’s share of the inheritance.

²⁵ For a discussion of these forms of ‘centripetal marriage’ see Errington (1989: 262ff) and Acciaoli (2009: 75ff).

The continuity of an estate, maintained by ‘contradictory’ kinship strategies such as these, was a key component of Levi-Strauss’ definition of the House. The Centrist House differs from that of the dualist societies of Eastern Indonesia through its focus on the ideal of “sibling” (i.e. cousin) marriage within a kin group rather than wife-exchange between kin groups. As Sather has argued in relation to the Iban, this concentration of wealth can be historicized, and linked to the past achievements of ancestral founders. They are able to freeze their achieved potency as property/slaves, and make it a reward to successive generations (1996: 75); the rest of this article focuses upon the means by which this was accomplished in the House societies of central Sulawesi. A House group with a large estate of land, cattle and slaves that it is able to preserve through hierarchical exclusions becomes a group that can consistently ensure community fertility through sacrifices and hence form a core group that provides community leaders on an ongoing basis. This group is able to draw followers, even from afar, through the competitive feasts that it hosts.

A Typology of Village Confederacies

Although this dualistic cosmology based on controlling the flow of potency was shared by all the societies of central Sulawesi, the manner in which their ritual orders were enacted among groups that swidden versus those with wet rice fields is correlated with the complexity of their Estate systems, orders of precedence, and of the class tensions that seem at the heart of the development of House ideology. So far, I have highlighted the difference in degree of social stratification with those groups who cultivated wet rice fields having nobles occupying chiefly roles, and those who swidden being ordered by precedence and competitive leadership systems. I have also pointed to the significance of slavery among both swidden and wet rice cultivators as the critical division in the Estate system by which class exploitation is introduced; slaves are dependent non-kin excluded from the order of precedence. A four-fold typology of these societies adds a great deal of nuance to this simple bifurcation and points to the conditions under which House ideology develops as a means of transcending the class tensions introduced by slavery in a kinship based polity.

Figure 2 summarizes the differences between the 4 categories of village confederacies, diagrammatically placing the emphasis on changes in settlement patterns, types of temples, and degree of stratification. Viewed in this way, there is a clear sequence of increasingly stratified settlements organized in more complex patterns. With each progression in the degree of stratification and settlement complexity there is a change in the ancestral origin temple until the final category, where ancestral and spirit temples combine to form origin Houses. There is a shift from unstratified swiddeners to a nucleated wet rice farming nobility.

Figure 2 Precedence.jpg

Tuesday, September 13, 2016

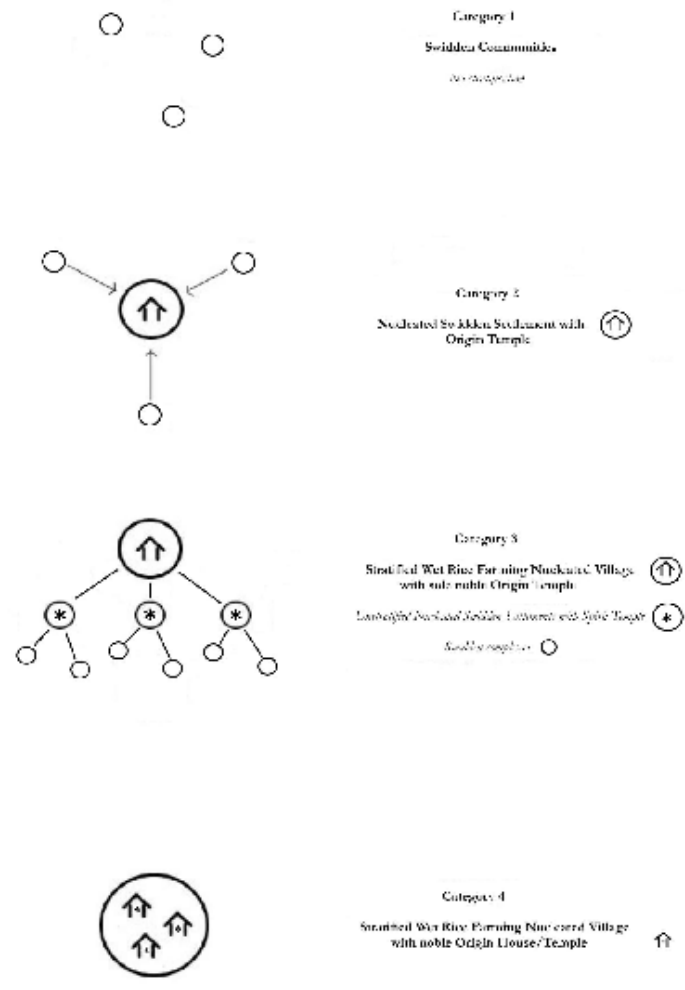


Figure 2: Graphic representation of the 4 categories of village confederacies

Figure 2: Graphic Representation of the 4 categories of village confederacies

Category 1: Swidden Field Complexes

The least stratified of the societies of central Sulawesi were relatively isolated groups of swiddeners found among both the East and West Toraja. The best documented of them are the To Wana (people of the forest), an East Toraja group described by Jane Atkinson (1989)

who live in the Bongka river valley of Northeast Sulawesi; even today they are regarded as “*suku terasing*”, a denigrated “isolated tribe.” They were similar to the To Raranggonau among the West Toraja; they were swiddeners who lacked a slave Estate or an ancestral temple in their ‘origin’ village.²⁶ Others, like the To Pebato and To Wingke mPoso of the Poso river basin, or the West Toraja To Lee were in a dependent relationship to highly stratified neighbours who considered them *palili* (tributaries); these last groups lacked slaves but did have a more permanent structure for shamanic rites of life. These groups can be characterized as lacking Estates and an ancestral origin temple. Their performance of the rites of life and death were fairly rudimentary.

Category 2: Nucleated Swidden Settlements with Origin Temple

The second category under consideration were swiddeners like the first group, although those in this category possessed a slave Estate. Most of the East Toraja fall in this category, as do the Tobaku and To Powatua of the West Toraja. These groups most closely followed the pattern discussed earlier, coming together in nucleated villages with ancestral origin temples (*lobo*) at the end of the agricultural season to conclude their headhunting and funeral feasts. For this category, swidden agriculture was a centrifugal force pulling villages apart into isolated field complexes where leaders could cultivate their and their community’s potency with the assistance of the spirit owners of the land. Once the harvest was completed, headhunting and funerals served as a centripetal force drawing these field clusters into a nucleated ‘origin’ village with ancestral temples where the many field leaders would compete in organizing the ritual feasts associated with headhunting and funerals.

The presence of a village origin temple for the conclusion of more developed ancestral rites is thus clearly correlated with a slave Estate. These ancestral origin temples and the rites celebrated in them ideologically separated insiders from outsiders, the matrifocal cognatic kindred from ‘strangers’, whether affines or slaves. The masculine gendered rites of death enmeshed these male strangers in offering ritual service and deference to the matrifocal ancestral spirits of the village temple. The primary means by which they did so was headhunting; it provided the scalps (considered embodied potency) that fed the ancestors, but was also the means of acquiring more slaves.

The slave stratified East Toraja possessed a more elaborate secondary funeral ceremony (*tengke*) which was only celebrated for those political leaders and shamans who had acquired great status during their lifetimes (Kruyt 1950 I: 527-30). Precedence thus entitled these community leaders to secondary funerals that could reach the size of those for nobles among the South Toraja, bringing together a number of village confederacies among whom the deceased had exercised influence (Kruyt 1950 II: 532).²⁷ As I have argued elsewhere, these

²⁶ Kruyt 1930: 459; Kruyt 1938 I: 512. Kruyt records that slavery had only recently been introduced to the To Wana after they were subjugated by the coastal kingdom of the To Bungku. The To Bungku appointed a regional chief (*basali*) who, in paying the fines of debtors in cases he adjudicated, could enslave them. The *basali* would then sell them to the To Bungku for the ritual wealth used to pay off debts (largely cotton cloth), which he then used to create more debt slaves in the same manner (1930: 460-1).

²⁷ Kruyt recorded that he had attended funerals with 2,500 guests hosted by a To Kadombuku leader, Papa I Melembo (Kruyt 1950 II: 535).

extensive funerals may have temporarily created an ancestor focused ramage; but in mounting the spectacle, the estate of that ancestor, which might otherwise form the core of a House, was used up (Schrauwers 1997, 2004). The ramage had no continuity; the funeral served only to raise the performers in the order of precedence as in a 'Big Man' political system.

Category 3: Stratified Wet Rice Farming Nucleated Villages with sole Origin Temple

The third category of this typology includes those societies with both swidden and wet rice producers. It includes groups like the To Napu, To Lindu and To Pipikoro and their swidden dependents, the To Lee (Kruyt 1938 IV: 20). This category includes groups with noble, commoner and slave Estates. The nobles tended to live in villages in the plains where they owned most of the slaves, cattle and wet-rice fields. This sawah-cattle-slave complex was attributed to the founding spirit-ancestor (*to manuru*) who taught the adat for farming sawah to his noble descendants (Kruyt 1938 I: 127ff, 175); according to David Henley, wet rice farming was widely introduced in many areas only in the 17th century (2005: 60-2). The swiddeners tended to be commoners possessing few slaves. These groups are thus complex chiefdoms with a combination of a predominantly 'feudal' wet rice farming core and a swiddening commoner periphery.

The relationship between nobles and their slaves remained little different from that found in the previous swiddening category; it was a class relationship between non-kin. Here however, commoners lacked access to noble property including wet rice fields, slaves and water buffalo, and farmed their own swiddens. The relationship between nobles and swiddening commoners was thus not a class relationship as it was with slaves, but remains one of ritual dependency only. Noble control over the means of production for wet rice cultivation offered no advantages in controlling a commoner. Establishing a relationship of dependency between nobles and commoners was also more problematic as swiddeners retained control of their shamanic rites through which potency was sought from local guardian spirits and agricultural success guaranteed in their spirit temple.

Nobles in these wet rice producing villages of the plains appropriated the origin temple (*lobo*). The villages of the swiddeners had only *sou eo* or *bantaya*, spirit temples for the celebration of shamanic rites of life (Kruyt 1938 II: 38ff). Whereas in the previous category there was a spatial divide between rites of life celebrated in swidden field complexes and the rites of death celebrated in nucleated villages with ancestral temples, in these more complex polities, swiddeners were deprived of their own ancestral temple and forced to celebrate their rites of death in the temple of the noble at the centre of this wider village confederacy. It is important to highlight that although swiddeners were denied a *lobo*, the villages of nobles also had *sou eo*, many of which were incorporated in the houses of nobles and subsequently referred to as 'great houses' (Kruyt 1938 II: 40).

The ideological solution to competition for leadership from swiddeners being invoked by these nobles by monopolizing the ancestral temple was to strengthen the Estate system, leaving commoner swiddeners with no origin ancestors, and hence ritually deferential to the

noble founding ancestors who had established the territorial *adat*. This was, as Accaiaoli argues in the case of the neighboring Bugis, the “recursive usage of a single idiom of differentiation” – founder descent – as a means of categorical exclusion that set commoners off as an Estate (not class) of ritually dependent non-kin (2009: 68). Among the swidders of the second category, the seasonal performance of rites of death in nucleated villages ideologically set masculine outsiders (whether affines or slaves) apart and offering deference to the village’s matrifocal founding ancestors. In this category, the same exclusionary principle is applied and nobles seized a monopoly on the ancestral origin temple, thus reasserting the demand for ritual deference onto the Estate of commoners; they were now required to seasonally collect and celebrate their ritual dependence on noble ancestors in the distant origin temples in the wet rice growing plains. Headhunting was now conducted at the behest of nobles to end mourning for noble funerals only. Nobles accompanied these raiding parties as its ritual leader, ensuring the safety of participants through magical means. Nobles appropriated any slaves acquired. This ideological transformation is similar to that noted by Friedman of the Kachin as they transitioned from *gumlao* to *gumsa* forms of political hierarchy (2013: 175ff).

An example of this process can be found with the wet rice cultivating To Pekurehua. They had one ancestral temple (*howa*) in their origin village of Lamba, and one spirit temple for rites of life for each of the other two village confederacies in their core domain (Napu). The nobles all originated among the To Pekurehua, and their origin temple served as the common temple for all in the Napu valley. Among the noble Houses was one descended from a legendary in-marrying To Pebato chief from the neighbouring Poso river area which had been slowly subjugated by the To Pekurehua over the previous 3 or 4 decades (Kruyt 1938 I: 246-50, 258). Although the swiddening To Pebato (like other East Toraja) had village origin temples, these had ceased to be used for ancestral rites of death; they were now used for the rites of life like a *sou eo*, an inversion that points to To Napu strategies of appropriation (Kruyt 1950 III: 530ff). The To Pebato, unlike their East Toraja neighbours, also lacked a slave Estate. Through a decades long process of subjugation, the wet rice farming To Pekurehua nobles (including at least one legendary Pebato leader) thus appear to have appropriated the ancestral origins linked to the confederacy’s sole origin temple, leaving To Pebato swidders as unstratified ritual dependents with only spirit temples (i.e. demoted *lobo*).

Category 4: Wet Rice Farming Stratified House Societies

It is the shift in focus from rites of death to rites of life that characterizes the final category, which encompasses the House societies of the South and West Toraja. This category includes village confederacies which are wholly dependent on wet rice agriculture that were frequently a part of more complex chiefdoms. Here, nobles control most of the wet rice fields leaving both commoners and slaves in varying degrees of dependency.²⁸ These groups lacked village temples for the celebration of rites of death and headhunting was marginalized and largely

²⁸ Kruyt 1923: 333; Kruyt 1938 I: 501-3.

replaced by the sacrifice of a slave for the death of a noble only.²⁹ Funerals were held in temporary structures, although they remain large and complex affairs. The architectural focus shifted to the shamanic rites of life. Whereas these rites were generally led by individual female shamans in isolated field huts during the agricultural season among swiddeners, they become far more complex among the wet-rice producing hierarchical societies. These female focused rites were now organized by a hierarchy of shamans (*to peligi*, *to burake*), who were usually male or transgendered like the royal priests of the neighbouring Bugis kingdoms (*to bissu*). These rites were focused on the Houses of nobles, now defined in terms of ancestral origins, and containing many of the characteristic architectural features of the village origin temple. They were also distinguished as places of asylum by which those sentenced to death could commute their punishment to slavery for the House (Kruyt 1920: 370; 1923: 276). The most significant of the rites of life were expensive conversion rites which transform the shades of deceased nobles in the 'land of the dead' into spirits (*deata*), a source of potency for their descendants. In this category, Houses both solidify founding ancestral origins in an order of precedence, but also mark off one Estate, nobles, as akin to the territorial guardian spirits from whom potency flows.

An example of this category among the West Toraja group would be the To Bada in the central mountain region of Lore. The To Bada were wet-rice cultivators and stratified into noble, commoner and slave Estates, with their nobles claiming descent from Manuru, a founding spirit who descended to earth (Kruyt 1938 I: 285-91). They were one of the largest highland groups with a population of over 5000 and numerous colonies spread across the island. They were closely allied with their neighbours, the To Besoa, with whom they intermarried, and had subordinated the To Rampi, their neighbours to the south; but were themselves tributaries to the lowland kingdoms of Sigi and Luwu. Like all villages in Bada, its origin village of Bulili had no ancestral temple for the rites of death, and headhunting and funerals were marginalized in comparison to the rites of life. These rites of life were organized by *to peligi*, the head shamans, and celebrated in one of 4 *duhunga*. These *duhunga*, according to the villagers, were the first named founding houses of the village, and as the families expanded, they constructed others, but retained ties and continued to be responsible for its upkeep (Kruyt 1938 I: 297). Bada had two shamanic traditions, but the tradition of the chiefs (*monuntu Bada*'), organized by the *to peligi*, was of greater prestige; its highest rite was a shamanic initiation (the equivalent of the South Toraja *Bua' kasalle* rite (Kruyt 1935)) which were sponsored by the noble Houses to ensure the potency of the entire village confederacy; 148 water buffalo were sacrificed the last time it was performed in 1905 (Kruyt 1938 III: 513-21). Bada had thus appeared to make the transition to being a House society where noble ancestral origin Houses resembled 'origin temples' but controlled the flow of potency through the rites of life celebrated in them.

Conclusions

This typology points to a number of factors that seem critical to the social and political tensions that could only be resolved through the development of House ideology, and the

²⁹ Kruyt 1938 III: 464ff, 478; Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II: 106.

transformation of ancestral origin temples into Origin Houses. I would again like to underscore that this typology does not represent an evolutionary progression, as the historical record provides many examples of wet rice farming groups that abandoned it (Kruyt 1938 IV: 18), and groups with temples or slaves that lost them through internecine warfare. Nor, for that matter, am I claiming this is some sort of tautological oscillation between *gumsa-gumloa* social formations driven by kinship principles as described by Leach. Rather, this typology provides a snapshot of this particular culture area at a single time, the end of the nineteenth century, as recorded by a single missionary, Albert Kruyt. The regularity of basic cultural patterns and kinship strategies reflect the frequent diffusion of practices across the region through warfare and subsequent relations of dominance and subordination. This typology thus highlights the ideological conditions that make the House a shared solution for a particular political problem in these societies on the brink of a class-based political order. Understanding the nature of this political problem entails attention to the differing tensions caused by orders of precedence, hierarchy and class.

A common Founders cult provided the shared ideological basis for the societies of central Sulawesi. Political power (potency) was an existential reality; physical beings such as spirits and rulers were embodied potency and hence both a source of blessings and fertility or a danger for those without protection who came in too close contact. Potency was sought from local guardian spirits and rulers alike through the rites of life; agricultural rituals and shamanism created an order of precedence in which wo/men of prowess sought “control over other people’s souls” in a competitive political system (Atkinson 1989: 259). Leadership established through this competitive system became less important with the development of an increasingly hierarchical Estate system that excluded the Estates of commoners and slaves from the competition for precedence.

This order of precedence was made manifest through daily acts of deference and service; yet the same acts of deference that marked precedence elided the hierarchical order established through the Estate system; as Accaiaoli noted of the neighbouring Bugis, the Estate system “operates as both a system of hierarchy and one of precedence” (2009: 68). The founding ancestors of the village confederacy sanctioned *adat* (traditional law) and the series of proscriptions and prescriptions that cemented those acts of deference, but were not a source of power or potency. Nucleated villages with ancestral origin temples were correlated with the existence of slavery; the rites of death in these temples sanctioned the warfare through which slaves could be acquired, and those same rites of death sanctioned hierarchy by marking slaves off as aliens without ancestors. The Estate system was thus predicated upon the basic principle of exclusion from ancestral founder descent by which hierarchical social categories were created.

This principle of exclusion could be recursively applied to create other Estates as nobles monopolized the control of ancestral temples. Swidders without wet-rice fields, cattle or slaves, became ritual dependents without direct access to noble founding ancestors except through noble origin temples in the valleys. However, while hierarchical Estate might freeze inequality, it was not a source of power or potency. Swiddening commoners in complex chiefdoms continued to prove a political problem as long as they controlled their own rites of

life by which they pursued potency, precedence and hence potential leadership in their peripheral spirit temples; the monopoly on ancestral origins could not provide nobles with a monopoly on potency or political power.

The Estate system, however, also hid the development of class tensions. Since class relations were masked by the ideology of Estate, changes in class relations could remain ideologically unmarked despite radical changes in relations of production. Slaves in swidden systems were allowed to farm their own fields; surpluses were extracted through their dependence on their masters for their social reproduction. As non-kin without ancestors, slaves depended upon their masters for both bridewealth and the rites of life that guaranteed fertility. However, in wet rice farming villages of the third category, the land and the water buffalo required to farm were owned by nobles such that the ritual dependency of swiddening forms of slavery now approached serfdom. In the fourth category, societies wholly dependent on wet rice cultivation, both commoners and slaves co-existed in similar forms of class dependency yet possessed different ranks (Kruyt 1923: 115). The Estate system elided this subtle shift in class relations and the tensions it created as commoners were increasingly subordinated and the society class stratified.

The changes in the function of the 'origin temple' in each of these four categories reflects the changing predominant political tensions. Among swidders, the 'origin temple' serves to ideologically establish the Estate system by denying slaves direct access to ancestors. This ideological move is repeated with swiddening commoners in the more complex wet rice producing areas, where only nobles have 'origin temples,' leaving them in command of the rituals of death. However, swiddening commoners were still free to pursue potency in the rituals of life in their own spirit temples. Control of the 'origin temple' was not sufficient to establish political precedence, hence some nobles also constructed spirit temples in their domiciles. These 'great houses' thus became sponsors of the major rites of life by which potency was cultivated and precedence earned. In the final category, when both commoners and slaves are class dependents, these two types of temple can be combined as there is no need to emphasize gradations of Estate among class dependents. These nobles 'freeze' their concentration of wealth and potency and make it heritable through the introduction of 'conversion rituals' (secondary funerals) that transformed their ancestral shades in the 'land of the dead' into spirits dwelling in the upperworld where they became a continuing source of potency for their descendants to be worshipped in the new hybrid 'origin House' where both rites of life and death are celebrated. They introduced a higher order of transgendered shamans, the *to peligi*, to organize these rituals and subordinate the shamanic quests of others.

It was at the point that House ideology solidified that the characteristic architectural features defining the ancestral origin temple were incorporated into the construction of noble Houses, transforming them into hybrid temples for now deified ancestor-spirits. These architectural features linked the House to the ancestral *to manuru* who descended from the sky, thus distinguishing it from a mere *banua* or dwelling; this difference was marked by the presence of a centre post or 'ritual attractor' that allowed those spirits free transit between the upperworld and the 'land of the dead', by means of the House. These deified noble ancestors

now needed to be appeased before potency would flow in the agricultural rites of life; these rites were the means of legitimating noble control of the means of production as only they could legitimately address these bountiful ancestors. It concomitantly legitimated their surplus extraction, as only nobles commanded the resources needed in order to mount these complex propiatiative rituals, a seeming surrender of their wealth for the benefit of the community as a whole. It is this class aspect of House ideology which is generally ignored in analysis that this typology of temples makes clear.

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