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The spirit of the gift, the price of potency: a Maussian model of the Southeast Asian state of Luwu

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This rereading of Mauss's *The gift* shifts the focus of discussion from the Maori *hau* to another example: *tanoana* (potency) among the Toraja (To Pamona) of Central Sulawesi. This potency animates an exchange with (human) gods that is at once gift and purchase (*maoli*). By tracing the intersection of this Maussian literature with that on the animist foundation of the Southeast Asian state, I analyse the nature of potent gifts that serve as a form of social currency in a 'spiritual economy' tying centre with (Toraja) periphery in the kingdom of Luwu. This 'money', imbued with royal potency, is a medium for the payment of debt only and not a medium of exchange, which gives 'purchases' made with it the characteristics of a 'gift' and also an opportunity to extract tribute. The Maussian analysis of the blurring of person and thing, and of persons and spirits, thus offers new insight into the nature of political power in the Southeast Asian state.

The kingdom of Luwu was founded in the fourteenth century and is frequently cited as the first and most high status of the Bugis states of South Sulawesi. At one time, Luwu ruled over much of South and Central Sulawesi, where it controlled the trade in locally mined iron with Java. The archaeological record of a trade-based polity engaged in a 'war of all against all' like that imagined by Hobbes as the origin of the European state (Bulbeck & Caldwell 2000; Henley & Caldwell 2008: 274) is considerably at odds with the models of cultural anthropologist Shelly Errington (1989), who portrays Luwu as an 'exemplary centre' of hierarchical order akin to a Geertzian 'theatre state' which governed through rituals and symbols rather than by force, and where 'power served pomp, not pomp power' (Geertz 1980: 13).

This article combines two anthropological literatures – one on indigenous conceptions of power or potency, and the other on gift exchange – in order to develop an exchange-based model of political relations in the late nineteenth century that can unite these two disparate views of Luwu.[1] The focus will be on the political relationship between the To Pamona (or East Toraja), a confederation of hill peoples in Central Sulawesi, and the kingdom of Luwu in the period 1890-1905 just before the area's incorporation into the Netherlands East Indies (Fig. 1).[2]

Central to those political relations is *maoli*, a Pamonan gift exchange process, one of many examples cited in Marcel Mauss's seminal book *The gift* (1950 [1925]: 16, 95-6).[3]

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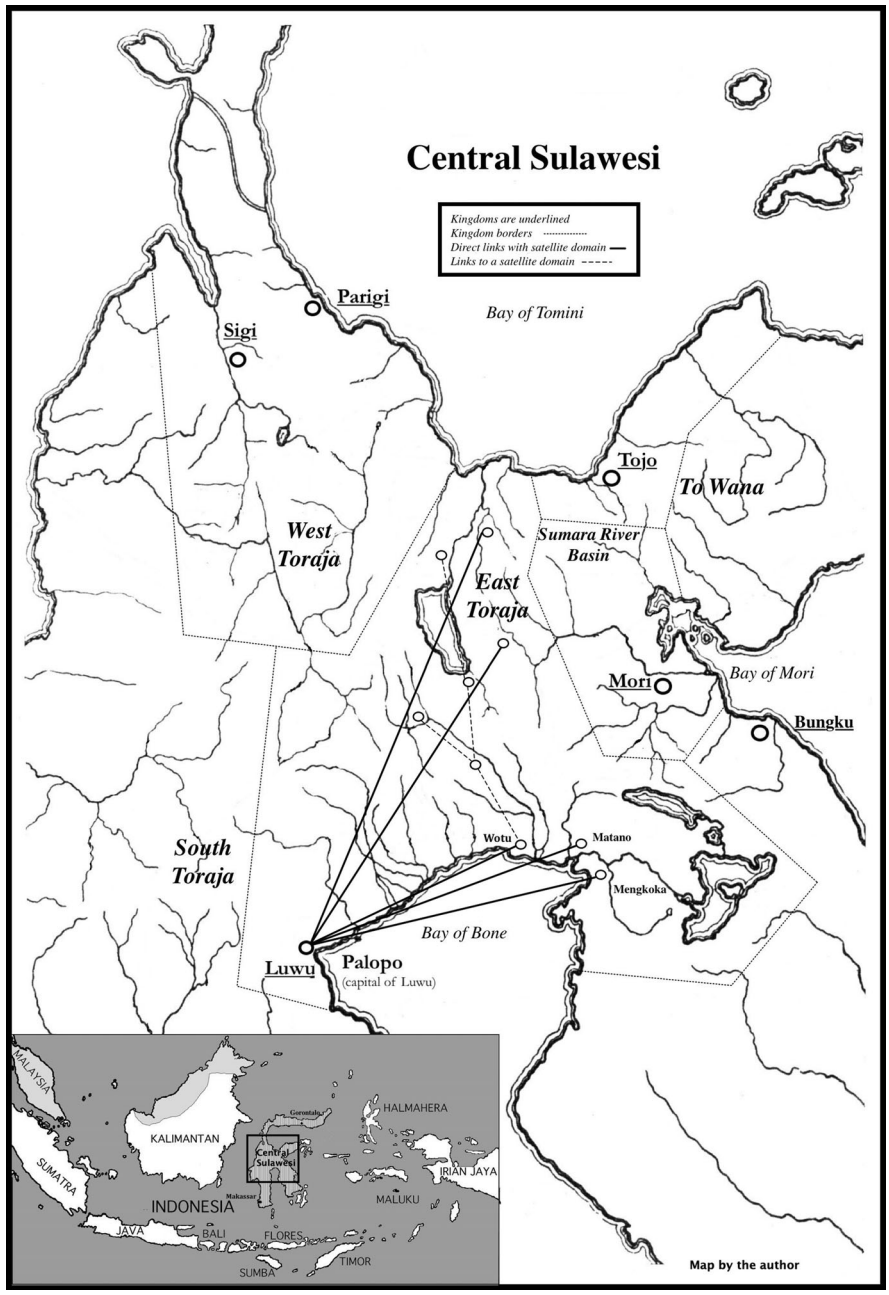

Figure 1. Map of Central Sulawesi, in context.

While Mauss's animistic reading of the role of the Maori *hau* ('spirit of the gift') has been extensively reinterpreted on numerous occasions, the subsequent section (1950 [1925]: 14-17) of that chapter has drawn much less attention (Godelier 1999: 29-31). This 'note' added a rarely discussed fourth theme to the obligations to give, receive,

and reciprocate. The series of ethnographic examples provided in that note include the case of *maoli* among the To Pamona, and extends Mauss's discussion on gifting to include exchange relations beyond the human realm, to the dead, to spirits, to gods (1950 [1925]: 12; cf. Howell 1989: 422). Mauss here contrasts gift exchange where humans stand in for absent gods with other cases where the human intermediaries are absent and the gifts to the gods take on the appearance of 'purchase' with 'powerful objects' that serve as 'money', the rudiments of what he called 'contract sacrifice' (1950 [1925]: 17).

Mauss unnecessarily isolated these religious examples from his previous discussion of the 'spirit of the gift' because he felt they contained 'a strongly marked mythological element we do not yet fully understand [that] prevents us from advancing a theory' (1950 [1925]: 14). As subsequent commentary has shown, even Mauss's basic case study of the *hau* of the gift was actually an exchange with the gods (Graeber 2001: 168-88; Weiner 1985: 215). His argument about the 'spirit of the gift' can thus be productively applied to the gift-like 'purchases' (*maoli*) made with potent goods among the To Pamona that he cites (1950 [1925]: 14, 16; see also Kruyt 1923).

Maoli (gift/purchase) was a cultural complex that included a diverse range of exchanges, including brideprice, the 'purchase' of land from spirits, and the offering of tribute to coastal kingdoms. Mauss's analysis (1923: 672) of this case emphasized that this 'purchase' from the gods had all the characteristics of the gift: that is, the obligation to give, receive, and reciprocate; there was no economic equivalence, the 'price' (*oli*) offered could not be refused, and had to be reciprocated with the desired object. Kruyt's description of a variety of examples emphasized that there was a 'magical force' (*tanoana, sumange'*) like *hau* in the 'price' that obliged acceptance and subsequent reciprocity (1923: 156-78). Here I emphasize the *paradoxical nature of a gift that is also a purchase, and the money used to do so*; and how this animistic gift/purchase formed the basis of a non-Hobbesian social contract with the indigenous state by which royal sovereignty was delineated. This social contract, unlike that of the European state, did not grant the sovereign the sole right to use force.

I invoke Mauss as one means of critiquing the static culturalist model of the Southeast Asian state (see Errington 1983; 1987; 1989; 2012; Geertz 1980; Tambiah 1985; Wolters 1982),[4] and refocusing attention on the local exchange practices through which potency is constituted. I do this by drawing attention to parallels between the Maussian literature on the gift and that emerging on 'potency' as political power in the Southeast Asian state. Here, the focus is on the way in which potency provided the shared cultural idiom that linked autonomous peripheries with domain centres through *maoli* exchanges in ways that allowed for both local autonomy and state appropriation. In the absence of a Western form of state, power as invoked by Mauss and vested in gifts played the same function, obliging reciprocity but without coercion; the use of an invisible force similar to the 'invisible hand of the market' (Smith 1987: 265). It is important to underscore the material aspect of this conception of potency (*sumangat, tanoana*) that transgressed Western naturalistic boundaries between person and thing, matter and spirit, which thus gave it the unique characteristics attributed to the Maussian gift. It is also important to underscore the paradoxical nature of these potent forms of 'money' that were 'gifted' but not used in trade. By noting the parallels between the spirit of the gift and political potency, I seek to further Mauss's original project to theorize an alternative to Hobbesian conceptions of power, the social contract, and the political economy of the non-Western state (Graeber 2001: 152ff.).

Exchange and the 'social contract'

The now widely cited dictum to attend 'to the social lives of things' as they are exchanged remains a theoretical conceit; most anthropologists, Appadurai included (1986: 5), continue to reject the animistic premise of Mauss's 'spirit of the gift' as illustrated by the Maori concept of the *hau* (spirit). According to Mauss, a part of the gift-giver's soul is entangled in the gift. Through its desire for reunification, it obliges reciprocity (Mauss 1950 [1925]: 13). Mauss felt he was simply reflecting his ethnographic material by siting agency in the gift object itself (Graeber 2001: 155). Subsequent theorists, such as Raymond Firth, Marshall Sahlins (1972: 160), and Claude Lévi-Strauss (Godelier 1999: 17-31), have dismissed the suggestion as a too-ready acceptance of Maori ideology as explanation. As a result, succeeding Anglo-American anthropological theorization of *The gift* has privileged the economic aspect of the exchange over Mauss's other religious and political concerns, reducing his complex argument to a simple opposition between commodity exchange (the West) and gift exchange (the Rest) (Hart 2007; Sigaud 2002).

Here, I place exchange relations in Luwu within the broader context of Mauss's larger political project. *The gift* places him in direct dialogue with Hobbes and hence the genealogy of the Western state. Sahlins (1972), Parry (1986), and Graeber (2001) emphasize this larger political project, *The gift* being a mere 'report' on 'archaic forms of contract' intended as a critique of the Hobbesian concept of the 'state of nature', its assumption of an original 'war of all against all', and hence the necessity of a 'social contract' that established the sovereign state with a monopoly on force (Graeber 2001: 152-5): 'For the war of every man against every man, Mauss substitutes the exchange of everything between everybody' (Sahlins 1972: 168). Rejecting the assumption that endemic violence begat the social contract that empowered the state, Mauss posits an ethnographically rooted alternative: 'archaic societies' in which exchanges, or 'total prestations' between groups ('clans, tribes, and families' [1950 (1925): 3]), were the first form of social contract solidifying peaceful relations. As expressed by Lévi-Strauss, 'Exchanges are peacefully resolved wars and wars are the result of unsuccessful transactions' (1969: 67).

'Total prestations', at once 'religious, legal, moral and economic', were agreements *not* to act in accord with one's economic self-interest with people towards whom one is indifferent. Here lies the platitude that gifts make friends. It is for that reason that Mauss chose to examine in detail just one extreme form of total prestation, the *'potlatch'* or agonistic exchange, in which these gifts were given in a spirit of competitive rivalry and hostility (1950 [1925]: 6); potlatch societies, he argued, substituted agonistic gift exchange for the 'war of all against all'. Agonistic gift exchange predicated on giving more than was received provided him with a 'self-sacrificing' basis for the social contract in keeping with his socialist politics (Godelier 1999: 4; Graeber 2001: 155ff.; Sahlins 1972: 172-3). Such agonistic giving is at the heart of *maoli* exchange and central to the 'spiritual economy' that results, substituting for that more general state of war; such gifts were essential to the social reproduction of Pamonan society.

In the remainder of this article I outline competing theoretical models of the indigenous Southeast Asian state, and relate them to the spiritual economy that tied coastal kingdoms and their highland peripheries together. This article is largely based on the large corpus of ethnographic work on the East Toraja (or To Pamona) covering the precolonial period from 1890 to 1905, which served as the basis for Mauss's arguments on gifts to gods that also seem like purchases (1923; 1950 [1925]: 16); drawing occasionally on comparative examples among the West and South Toraja. I discuss this spiritual

economy in terms of the political and theoretical conceptions of power and potency in Southeast Asian states as they have been used in the anthropological literature, before ethnographically locating that potency in particular kinds of spirits, people, and things. Potency bled from people into things, as in *ayapa lamoa* (cloth of the gods) in the coastal kingdoms, and when those objects circulated in the highlands they served as potent money, a social currency that, as a means of payment, was essential for all ritual aspects of social reproduction and the payment of fines. This potent money is necessary for *maoli*, the paradoxical 'gift/purchase' that Mauss remarked on. The means by which this potent money originally circulated from the coast was a form of *maoli*, *mobalu sala* ('not really to sell'), and was the means by which the Buginese state extracted tribute. I conclude that the regional exchange of potent gift objects structures the flow of power (or potency) allowing both state power and local autonomy, as well as providing the non-Hobbesian means of 'en-forcing' the social contract in the indigenous state systems of Central Sulawesi.

Luwu as problematic theatre state

The kingdom of Luwu, like other states in South and Central Sulawesi, has been described in a growing literature on the indigenous Southeast Asian state in terms of potent royal 'exemplary centres': according to Errington, 'The most hierarchical of these centrist societies include the so-called "Indic States", which aspired to have a single politically and symbolically hegemonic center defined by Ruler, Regalia, and Court' (1987: 405). These states assert only ritual authority to buttress 'a model of hierarchical order in social worlds characterized by intense status rivalry and the dispersal of political authority' (Day 2002: 7). These models of the Southeast Asian state sought to counter the image of the Oriental despotism, or the hydraulic state, through an emphasis on the wide diffusion of legitimate political violence throughout society countered only by the theatre state's charismatic assertion of hierarchical order:

> The state cult was not a cult of the state. It was an argument, made over and over again in the insistent vocabulary of ritual, that worldly status has a cosmic base, that hierarchy is the governing principle of the universe, and that the arrangements of human life are but approximations, more close or less, to those of the divine (Geertz 1980: 102).

As in Geertz's Balinese *Negara*, we see here an evocative image of the kingdom of Luwu, whose unmoving and silent ruler, a being of pure potency, claimed direct descent from heavenly spirits, but whose realm consisted of dispersed tributaries that exercised their legitimate martial rights against their fellow citizens without interference in a Hobbesian 'war of all against all' (Errington 1989; Henley & Caldwell 2008).

The 'exemplary centre' model of the Southeast Asian state as it applies to Luwu and other Bugis South Sulawesi kingdoms has been critiqued on a number of bases, including its principal assertion that the centre's authority was only ritual; in the Balinese (Hauser-Schäublin 2003; 2005; Macrae 2005; Schulte Nordholt 1996; Wiener 1995) and Javanese cases (Beatty 2012), opponents argue that this representation of a potent but powerless state is an anthropological reinscription of a colonial invention. Caldwell (1991) also questions the Indic nature of South Sulawesi kingdoms, although Gibson (2005) views it as a discrete historical influence. They question the absence of any analysis of the role of Islam in the kingdom. Others view the 'exemplary centre' model as a re-presentation of an elite ideology 'defined from the perspective of dominant political groups' whose 'top-down or center-out models ... reaffirm existing power

structures' (Tooker 1996; 2012: 324; see also Schrauwers 1997; 2004; Scott 2009: 59-63; Tsintjilonis 1999; Waterson 2003).

The alternative model of the kingdom developed by archaeologists and historians Bulbeck (2000; Bulbeck & Caldwell 2000), Caldwell (1995), and Druce (2017) is comparable to the 'contest state' model proposed by Schulte Nordholt for Bali (1996). Drawing on limited court documents, they describe Luwu as a confederative complex chiefdom with the common mandala pattern found in most Southeast Asian kingdoms with a core, directly ruled domain surrounded by relatively autonomous satellite domains where suzerainty if not sovereignty was exercised (see Fig. 1).[4] In 'Russian doll inside Russian doll' fashion, each satellite was itself composed of core and periphery; most of the Central Sulawesi highlands under consideration here were peripheral satellites offering tribute to the centre through appointive *tongko* (tribute collectors) subordinate to Wotu, a satellite domain of Luwu (Kruyt 1950 I: 120-33). Political authority was thus widely decentralized, and the courts claimed no monopoly on the exercise of violence. Although political authority in this multi-ethnic polity was widely dispersed, the region nonetheless shared a cultural complex rooted in the pre-Islamic mythological charter of the kingdom known as the *I La Galigo* epic. This shared, pre-Islamic cosmology provided a common political 'social contract' through which Luwu's suzerainty was asserted (Abidin & Macknight 1974).

The shared cosmology and ritual framework found throughout South and Central Sulawesi combined a form of 'hierarchical animism' (Århem 2016: 25) with a local 'founders' cult' (Tannenbaum & Kammerer 2003), thereby linking the transcendental animism of the court with local practices of social reproduction. In the form of 'hierarchical animism' that infused local highland practice, the ruler was considered embodied potency whose power radiated outwards, blessing the land and its people: 'The Ruler was the life-giving "soul" of the realm, and people and the land his "body"' (Århem 2016: 18). A recent collection edited by Århem and Sprenger (2016) has resulted in a generative debate around the 'new ontological turn' and animism as it applies to Southeast Asia (see also Tsintjilonis 2004). This article is part of a larger project to provide a political economy of hierarchical animism and the way in which it differentiated ranks of society as ontologically different kinds of people.

Local founders' cults were a means of managing the animistic flow of potency through its material forms so as to ensure health, fertility, and prosperity (Aragon 2003; Coville 2003). A founders' cult is composed of a series of sacrificial rites that were 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 & Tannenbaum 2003: 3). These rituals for the spirit owners (including rulers), and hence for controlling the flow of potency, can be characterized as 'rites of life'. These rites encompassed agricultural rituals and shamanship. The 'rites of death', encompassing headhunting and funerals, were devoted to village founding ancestors, and orientated villagers towards their highly localized territorial origins and its distinctive *adat* (tradition). Ancestors were not themselves a source of potency but established the prescriptions and proscriptions of the village *adat* for controlling the flow of potency from spirit owners. *Adat* was not a belief system, but a set of embodied practices.

The rites of life tied fertility to deified regional hierarchies through the exchange of potent objects. The East Toraja (To Pamona), for example, claimed a common origin

in the mythic village of Pamona on Lake Poso; when this village was said to have been conquered by the deified ruler (*pue*) of the Bugis kingdom of Luwu to the south, the peoples of Pamona were dispersed and founded seven origin villages, one for each of the village confederacies that later recognized Luwu's suzerainty (Kruyt 1950: 15-16). The ruler of Luwu, with other 'owner spirits' on whom the fertility of the land depended, bestowed potency in exchange for tribute (*mepue*). Aragon, in turn, also points out that 'owner deities' (*pue*') among the To Baku (of the West Toraja) controlled resources such as land, rivers, rice, and gold, and that 'veneration of both the guardian deities and the ancestral spirits who first successfully bargained with them has been entwined with the construction of community and regional hierarchies in western Central Sulawesi' (2003: 116). As we shall see, the most common regional exchange was a form of *maoli* (gift/purchase) known as *mobalu sala* (not really to sell), by which a potent cloth (*ayapa lamoa*, cloth of the gods) circulated in the highlands.

Potency and power

Given the weak hold of the Southeast Asian state over its tributaries, theoretical interest has turned from Geertzian appeals to the hierarchical animist cosmology of exemplary centres to the embodied practices by which political power or potency was accumulated in the relatively autonomous periphery, and the manner in which the two elide each other in political practice (Allerton 2012; Århem 2016; Beatty 2012; Hauser-Schäublin 2004; Schrauwers 2004; Tooker 1996). How, in other words, did the exchange of potent cloth with coastal states fit with local agricultural cults to (re)produce rule, both locally and in the state as a whole? This political literature has its roots in a seminal article by Benedict Anderson, who famously drew on the traditional Javanese concept of power in order to reframe the secular Western concept in its application to the Southeast Asian state:

> Power exists, independent of its possible users. It is not a theoretical postulate but an existential reality. Power is that intangible mysterious and divine energy which animates the universe ... This conception of the entire cosmos being suffused by a formless, constantly creative energy provides the basic link between the 'animism' of the Javanese villages, and the high metaphysical pantheism of the urban centers (1990: 22).

This conception of power or potency has been widely influential in the broader theorizing of the development of the indigenous Southeast Asian state (Atkinson 1989: 8-9; Errington 1989; Geertz 1980; Tambiah 1985; Wolters 1982). As elaborated by Errington on the kingdom of Luwu, power 'does not require belief: it is more like the law of gravity than like a religion' (2012: 21).

It is, I will argue, this conception of power that stands at the heart of Mauss's central question in *The gift*: '*What rule of legality and self-interest, in societies of a backward or archaic type, compels the gift that has been received to be obligatorily reciprocated? What power resides in the object given that causes its recipient to pay it back?*' (1950 [1925]: 3, original emphasis). The political reframing of *The gift* attempted here ultimately serves to place exchange at the heart of the model of the Southeast Asian state. The Geertzian emphasis on ritual performance as the source of a state's potency captures only half the dynamic I seek to explore. In its Western, Hobbesian sense, power is the product of the social contract by which the ruled voluntarily surrendered their sovereignty to the state, granting it the authority to enforce the terms of contractual exchanges, that is, trade (Graeber 2001: 152-3). The ontological status of Hobbesian secular power lies largely

unquestioned in anthropological debate on political power but continues to inform the anthropological critique of Mauss's animistic power enforcing gift exchange. Geertz, in contrasting the understanding of power in the theatre states of Bali, argued that the Hobbesian view

> was partial, and grows out of a specific tradition of interpretation of historical experience. It is not given in the sheer nature of things (whatever that may be), a brute fact brutely apprehended, but is an extended, socially constructed gloss, a collective representation. Other traditions of interpretation, usually less self-conscious, produce other glosses, different representations (1980: 135).

The Hobbesian conception of power 'arose historically from the need to interpret politics in a secular world' (Anderson 1990: 21). In the absence of Hobbesian power, power as invoked by Mauss and invested in gift objects must play the same function as the state, obliging reciprocity but without the luxury of coercion; a substitution of invisible for visible force more akin to the actions of the invisible hand of the market.

The ontological status of the Southeast Asian conception of power (or what anthropologists claim it to be) has been similarly critiqued (Caldwell 1991: 112-13; Henley & Caldwell 2008), leading to the substitution of the term 'potency' to prevent confusion with Hobbesian definitions of power as a monopoly on force. Anderson later emphasized that the potency underlying the Southeast Asian state was not meant to be exercised, but rather, to be accumulated (1990: 23); potency is divorced from force (Errington 2012: 22-3). Tooker adds that 'both forms (potency and power as rule by force) can be dimensions of political power. Thus, strictly speaking, potency cannot be contrasted with political power, but only with power as rule by force' (1996: 328). This work on potency asks us to re-examine the spatial metaphors of the 'centrist' *state* in terms of the embodied practices of 'centre (or navel) making' through which relations of power/potency are constituted at the level of the body, the kinship group, the village, and the region. This work rejects descriptions of potency as a 'mental construct' and hence as ideology and casts it instead as 'as a "way of being" rather than a "way of seeing"' (Tsintjilonis 1999: 622; 2004).

This article is thus concerned with the way in which potency provided the shared cultural idiom that structured exchange relations between the founders' cults in autonomous peripheries and the hierarchical animism of domain centres. Cognate terms for potency were recorded in the work of Dutch missionary Albert C. Kruyt, author of *Animism in the Indonesian Archipelago* (1906, my translation), and his linguist co-author, Nicolaus Adriani (1919), in their ethnographies of the peoples of Central Sulawesi at the end of the nineteenth century. Kruyt's work encompassed ten language groups living in a large, diverse range of constantly varying highland tribal confederations with varying degrees of social stratification, all of which recognized the suzerainty of one or more of six lowland states like Luwu, to whom they offered tribute and engaged in trade (Kruyt 1938; 1950). These groups were categorized into three primary ethnic groups, the East, West, and South (or Sa'dan) Toraja (Fig. 1).

All of these groups shared an animistic conception of *sumangat* that had its roots in the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian opposition of 'breath-soul' (**nawa*) and 'life-force' or spirit (**sumanged*) (Baldick 2013: 3). There is now an extensive literature on Bugis and South Toraja conceptions of potency in relation to its Malay cognate (*sumange'*, *sumanga'*, *semangat*, respectively; see Errington 2012 and Tsintjilonis 1999 for summaries). A similar foundational principle was described among the East and West Toraja (*tanoana*, *wao*), which was translated 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 (Kruyt 1906; Schrauwers 2000: 54-8). Since Kruyt wrote, there has been a hiatus in the literature on animistic religion (see Aragon 2000 and Atkinson 1989 for the exceptions), and this widely employed concept of *sumangat* has been most widely discussed instead as 'potency', the foundational basis for the traditional Southeast Asian state (Errington 1983; 1989; Tsintjilonis 1999).

These new, more robust analyses are thus better able to grapple with the ontological issues underlying 'potency' both as the animator of exchange ('the spirit of the gift') and as a source of political authority. Sprenger (2016), for one, has argued that exchange processes constitute the domains of the social, including relationships with spirits, through which they gain agency. Addressing these ontological issues thus requires special attention to potency's material forms and the practices by which it is socially situated. Tsintjilonis, for example, characterizes potency (*sumanga'*) among the South Toraja in terms of its materiality: '[A]ll 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); indeed, rulers were considered to be just that, *deata*, embodied potency. These diverse sources emphasize how the imminence of potency flows in and out of material forms like bodies, resulting in blurred boundaries between persons and the things they possess, and between spirits and persons such as the ruler of Luwu, a key aspect of Mauss's conception of the gift (Howell 1989).

In the rest of this article, I focus on the larger political role of potency in *maoli* (gift/purchase) exchanges with the state centre. I seek to highlight the 'social life of things' in the chain of potent gifts that tie centres to their peripheries in ways that allow for both local autonomy and state appropriation. How is it that groups on the periphery remain autonomous in the Southeast Asian state, yet nonetheless consistently provide the tribute that enables the hierarchical animism of the state rites that make the argument 'in the insistent vocabulary of ritual, that worldly status [i.e. potency] has a cosmic basis' (Geertz 1980: 102)? I will argue that a key ritual means for managing potency in the periphery is the regional exchange of a 'spiritual currency' which enables the Janus-faced gift-giving with gods (i.e. deified rulers) that could also be described as 'purchases' as originally cited by Kruyt (1923) and Mauss (1950 [1925]: 14). This might help explain why, for example, the South Toraja describe attending a ritual celebration as *ma'pasa'*, 'going to market' (Tsintjilonis 1999: 637).

The paradox of potent money

Although potency infused and flowed through numerous types of objects, controlling this flow in the rites of social reproduction required very distinctive kinds of potent goods: cotton cloth (*ayapa lamoa*), copper plates (*dula*), pigs, cattle, and beads. These specific goods constituted wealth (or defined value) and served as a limited form of 'social currency' (Graeber 2012) that was ultimately sanctioned by the sacred authority of the state as *adat* (custom). In the periphery of Luwu, each autonomous region inherited its own series of sanctions, prescriptions, and proscriptions by which the potency of local spirit guardians was managed through offerings in tribute or in exchanges. Potency was provided to humans and to the land through the correct adherence to these rules and rites (*adat*). If humans neglected to offer these goods, then a series of fines were required which were intimately tied to payment in these specific categories of exchange goods acquired in trade with state centres (Kotilainen 1992: 106-8). One such widely

used fetish of potency served as 'cloth money' throughout Central Sulawesi for these kinds of payment. Although cotton cloth was widely available and used as a store of wealth and a means of payment, it did not replace the bark cloth worn in daily life.

I wish to carefully situate the use of these potent exchange objects within the now generally accepted anthropological dictum on the multiple functions of money (Hart 2005). Whereas liberal economists view money as a generally untheorized '*medium of exchange*', a symbolic 'invisible veil' or lubricant that simplifies the exchange of 'real goods' that would otherwise be bartered, substantivist economic anthropologists, drawing on Polanyi, have emphasized money's other functions as a 'standard of value', and as a 'medium of payment of debts': that is, those aspects of money which have little to do with market exchange (Ingham 1996). Commenting on Malinowski's refusal to consider Kula valuables as money since they did not serve as a medium of exchange or standard of value, Mauss retorted,

> On this reasoning ... there has only been money when precious things ... have been really made into currency – namely have been inscribed and impersonalized, and detached from any relationship with any legal entity, whether collective or individual, other than the state that mints them ... One only defines in this way a second type of money – our own (1950 [1925]: 126-7).

In the Polanyian tradition, I place the emphasis on cloth money as a medium for the payment of debt, as a standard of value, and as a store of wealth rather than as a medium of exchange since there is no evidence of its use to enable trade. The cloth money at the heart of this discussion is thus largely used in *maoli* exchange in rituals of social reproduction (paradoxically both purchase and gift, as in brideprice) yet is *not* used as a medium of exchange to ease market transactions; its function is *not* economic in a Western economist's sense of the word.

This cloth money came from various sources: the original cloth money (*kolokompa*) was issued as currency by the South Sulawesi island kingdom of Buton (Gittinger 1979: 201; see Fig. 2) but had long been replaced by the more common manufactured cotton cloth obtained through barter called *bana*. *Kolokompa* and some *bana* were *ayapa lamoa* (cloth of the gods) (Kruyt 1933). *Lamoa* referred to personalized or embodied potency, hence was used to describe human consciousness, gods, and especially the ruler of Luwu, who was descended from a spiritual being that descended from the sky (*to manurung*). *Ayapa lamoa* were thus similar to Maori cloaks that absorbed the *mana* of their noble owners, which could then be transferred to a new owner by touch (Weiner 1992: 61). Beads, cotton cloth, and copper plates were of external origin, and served no practical purpose in daily life other than enabling the specific rites for which they were mandated by the *adat* (Kotilainen 1992: 76). They could be used to 'buy' (*maoli*) only a limited range of other potent objects but were utilized in all 'total prestations': that is, the payment of fines, bridewealth, funerals, and tribute as well as in sacrifices to the guardian spirits. As these cloths (including *bana*) were ritually gifted, they became 'heirloom fabrics' closely associated with the ancestors, through whose hands they had passed (cf. Weiner 1992: 83-94). *Ayapa lamoa* thus played a central role in all aspects of To Pamona social, political, and religious life but almost none in trade after having been obtained in barter on the coast.

Although considered potent goods, and critical in payment to spirits as well as humans, *ayapa lamoa* were not considered an impartible part of the giving subject, as objects bearing aspects of their owners' immortal soul, as one reading of Mauss

Figure 2. *Kolokompa* from Central Sulawesi, Collection Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, The Netherlands (© 2018 Wereldmuseum Rotterdam).

might imply. Potency was an impersonal force, not a personalized soul, and only loosely associated with an individual or his or her identity. These potent objects were primarily owned by extended families, not individuals; they were a familial inheritance (*panta ntau tu'a*) which remained undivided and managed by the senior sister of the extended family to meet that family's ritual needs (Kotilainen 1992: 80). These were, then, the fodder for 'total prestations' between 'clans, tribes, and families' which are at once 'religious, legal, moral, and economic' rather than a means for obtaining individual gain, power, or prestige; they were the means by which social reproduction

was achieved (or not). If these objects had the equivalent of a *hau*, it did not seek to return to an individual, but to this, its 'place of origin' (Mauss 1950 [1925]: 13). In other words, cotton, copper plates, and beads were externally sourced property of the extended family utilized in fulfilling its exchange requirements and debt payments in a way that linked localities to a regional 'spiritual economy' which was the source of the items.

Ayapa lamoa were received from the coastal states like Luwu and were preserved as inalienable family property stored at the bottom of the family cotton hamper in the rice barn, where they would 'call' more cotton (*bana*) (Kruyt 1933: 174); a clear expression of money's fetishized ability to grow and multiply (Taussig 1977). *Ayapa lamoa* must be distinguished from the more common pieces of 'cloth money' (*bana*) that were acquired through trade with coastal merchants. Most *bana* were obtained from coastal traders by means of bartering highland produce (*dammar*, a tree resin) (Kruyt 1950 III: 508-25). Once acquired through barter, these cloths could only be used for the narrow set of purposes outlined above, where they served as a means of payment in the settlement of fines, debts, and bridewealth, through which they were slowly transformed into 'heirloom cloth' (i.e. *ayapa lamoa*) infused with potency. They were not used as a medium of exchange in markets; external trade continued to depend upon the 'double coincidence of wants' of barter (*mosibolosi*). Although cotton cloth did appear to serve as a 'standard of value', allowing for the substitution of cloth for other items such as cattle and slaves at set conversion rates in fines, it was not used as a 'means of exchange' to purchase those items (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 II: 311).

The principal use of this cloth money was as a medium for the payment of debt or compensation, hence the Pamonan root for 'purchase' (*oli*) was synonymous with the payment of a fine or debt (*giwu*/*saki*), as well as meaning 'coercive gift obliging reciprocity'. This meant that *maoli* exchange paralleled local processes of dispute resolution through the application of fines; thus, the meaning of *bayari*, payment, also entailed 'that given in return for a gift' and 'retribution' (Adriani 1928: 35, 172, 516, 671). Carefully distinguished acts of 'sale', 'gift', 'fine', and 'payment' are thus all dependent upon specific kinds of cotton goods that blurred the boundaries between persons and these potent objects, and which served both as a kind of 'money' and as a 'gift, obliging return'.

Keeping-while-giving

A social contract grounded in the exchange of potent objects in total prestations appears at odds with the profoundly centrist state orientated around the immovable ancestral property (regalia) of the royal house proposed by Errington. Errington's 'exemplary centre' is, like the Datu (ruler) and his regalia, a 'fixed point ... and the symbolism surrounding him emphasizes his extreme restraint and physical impotence (combined with great spiritual potency)' (1989: 128). This static royal imagery points us towards another conjuncture between the literatures on the Maussian gift and that on the centrist state: Errington's portrait of potent immovable objects lending sacred ancestral authenticity to royal houses bears striking similarities with Weiner's discussion of the gift as an 'inalienable possession', as a potent object that conveys 'cosmological authentication' to kin group origins (1992: 51-2). However, whereas Errington's regalia are static, Weiner's 'inalienable possessions' achieve value precisely through their being preserved from circulation through a strategy of 'keeping-while-giving' of lesser items

(1992: 6-8). It is this strategy of 'keeping-while-giving' that bridges the exchange-based social contract I proposed above with Errington's static exemplary centre.

Weiner critiques prior analysis of *The gift* for failing to note that the kinds of objects that circulated as gifts (like the *ayapa lamoa* depicted in the previous section) were ironically described by Mauss as '"*immeuble*" [immoveable] in the sense that they were inalienable wealth that could not be detached from their origins' (1985: 210). They were not the kind of 'movable' property of everyday necessity that was subject to communistic redistribution of the kind described by Sahlins as generalized reciprocity (1972: 185-230); rather, the obligations to give, receive, and reciprocate applied only to that ultimately inalienable property (because it contained some essence of the giver) given in total prestations. The objects given in those prestations, like *ayapa lamoa*, had their value in being 'a vehicle for bringing past time into the present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles or mythological events become an intimate part of a person's present identity' (Weiner 1985: 210). Such objects were a sacred store of wealth essential for the 'cosmological authentication' of claims to rank and titles, and hence key to establishing hierarchy.

Inalienable possessions like Luwu's regalia are 'constitutive property': 'the badge *is* the office ... and whoever takes possession of it thereby accedes to it' (Graeber 2001: 212, original emphasis). Keeping such constitutive property out of exchange is thus imperative to maintaining hierarchical difference. Weiner's argument is that keeping such objects out of circulation is dependent on giving lesser-valued inalienable property in total prestations that successfully elicit their own return: keeping-while-giving. There is, then, a secondary class of inalienable possessions (*ayapa lamoa*) that do circulate that are meant to elicit a return (the spirit of the gift as described in the previous section), but only because of the potency of what has been retained (regalia); those with potency retain a right to demand gifts/tribute in return for unreciprocated gifts. The animacy of these lesser objects in their desire to return to their origin is entirely dependent upon the potency of that origin being preserved. Such regiftable replacements permit the future preservation of the most valued possessions from the constant press of total prestations.

Inalienable possessions with 'cosmological authentication' are thus fetishes of the ancestral origins of a group (Weiner 1992: 51-2). In Luwu, the royal heirlooms were known as *arajang* (regalia) and they were infused with the potency of the ancestral spiritual beings that founded the kingdom, not the individuals who currently possessed them; such was the potency of the *arajang* in the states of South Sulawesi that it was believed 'it is really the regalia which reign, the prince governing the state only in their name' (Heine-Geldern 1956: 10). While the *arajang* were particularly potent, every family had its similar inheritance of *mana*' which formed the core of its estate, although rather than being ancestral, these objects may have originated from the potent nobles with 'white blood' to whom recipients were tributary (Errington 1989: 123). *Mana*' might include the cotton cloth/clothing (*ayapa lamoa*), copper plates, and jewellery that circulated as currency by which brideprice and fines could be paid. In the highlands, these goods were clearly associated with particular families and the land they farmed, where they promoted fertility by being given in contract sacrifice with spirits (*maoli* exchange). Whereas coastal elites were able to keep their most valued possessions out of exchange, the To Pamona lost them through total prestations (such as brideprice), and hence the potency and fertility that they induced (Schrauwers 2004). Potent objects such as *ayapa lamoa* were largely utilized in the rites of the east (agricultural rituals),

where they were a critical means by which swiddeners could appropriate fertility from spirits through *maoli* exchange.

Maoli exchange as gift and purchase

A 'compulsory request' (*maoli*) was made by first offering a gift of a magically potent object (such as *ayapa lamoa*); this could not be refused, but allowed the giver to request objects of much greater economic worth. It was a widely used form of appropriation, as, for example, by the To Napu of their tributaries, the To Pebato, whom they gave small gifts 'out of the goodness of their hearts' only later to demand more substantial tribute that could not be refused. The To Pamona evidently expected the same when the Dutch also came bearing 'gifts' (Aragon 1996; Kruyt 1923: 155). Another example is found in agricultural rituals where a To Pamona 'purchased' (*maoli*) the land in order to clear the forest to open a swidden (Kruyt 1923: 159). This field was purchased from its spirit owner (*tumpu ntana*) by burying potent objects such as beads. We need to be careful, however, in characterizing these acts as a 'purchase', since the magical objects used were *not* a medium of exchange; they were, rather, a medium of compensation, or retribution (*saki*) as used in the system of retributive justice.

I have already indicated that *saki* (fine, compensation, retribution) was a synonym for *oli* (price, the root of *maoli*) (Kotilainen 1992: 67). The demand for retribution as expressed through *maoli* was, as among the Mauri, an expression of 'the law of the strongest' governed by a complex set of principles of 'who could demand, or give, what to whom under what circumstances' (Graeber 2001: 174-5). Kruyt records that no low-ranked person could successfully keep objects not possessed by those of higher rank, and that all new objects (including war captives) quickly made their way to the most senior (Kruyt 1950 I: 340). Refusing a request was only possible among near equals or strangers. It is only in those situations marked by relative equality that *maoli* ('compulsory request', 'gift', or 'sale') would be made. The multiple shades of meaning for the word need to be carefully unpacked and measured against Mauss's interpretation of the act as both purchase/gift and its theoretical import (1923: 672). Here I emphasize that *oli*, like *saki*, is a form of compensation.

Although *maoli* was a form of appropriation and of compensation, it was generally used in very specific kinds of cases that concerned the management of the flow of potency (*tanoana*). Kruyt's example was a warrior's 'purchase' of a woman's hair to decorate his sword hilt before going into battle (1923: 153-6).[5] Hair is the quintessential embodiment of potency as demonstrated by the object of battle, to obtain an enemy scalp. In cutting her hair, a woman both diminished her potency (*tanoana*), thought to be seated in her crown (also *tanoana*), and opened herself to sorcery. The potent 'price' paid for the hair, a part of the enemy's bloodied scalp that he 'harvests' in a subsequent headhunting raid, is a protective talisman against those (humans and spirits) who would take advantage of that weakening in her potency and any illness it might cause; the same is true of compensation payments ('wages') made to shamans seeking the lost potency of the sick in the underworld. Maoli as a practice thus entails a sacrificial offering of a potent object in order to compensate for/protect the potency of an injured other from whom something has been taken to prevent harm to them. Maoli is synonymous with the fine (*saki*) because they follow this same logic: a fine is paid *after* the offender has offended and thereby debilitated another's potency and makes them whole. The price paid in advance is a 'compulsory request' that serves the same protective purpose

as a fine in ameliorating the resultant weakening of another's potency (cf. Graeber 2001: 181).

This becomes clearer in one of the most important of the *maoli* exchanges, that of brideprice (*oli mporongo*). Brideprice was a total prestation paid by the groom's kin to the bride's family and consisted of two parts: the 'magical portion' (*au papitu,* 'the seven'), composed of items like *ayapa lamoa*; and the 'economic portion', largely composed of cotton cloth obtained through barter on the coast (*bana*) (Kotilainen 1992: 114-23). The transfer of the 'magical portion' of the brideprice clearly did not involve the purchase of the bride; rather, it was compensation intended to ensure the bride's fertility in the new marital union. But importantly, even the so-called 'economic portion' of the brideprice composed of 'cloth money' (*bana*) did not 'purchase' anything; the amount given, dependent upon the wife's status, was given at a later date so that the father's paternity was recognized. Brideprice paid in cloth money is thus akin to a sacrifice of magical objects in the hope of a larger return in blessings, or fertility; Mauss characterized this as an example of 'contract sacrifice' realized to the full 'because those gods who give and return gifts are there to give a considerable thing in the place of a small one' (1950 [1925]: 17). Dutch theologian Gerardus van der Leeuw rejected the implicit barter aspect of this formulation, and suggested an alternate formulation: *do ut possis dare* ('I give power in order that you may be able to give') (Keenan 2005: 20-1).

Maoli as a contract sacrifice with spirits meant to solicit fertility is exemplified by a mock wedding (*molinga*) held during the harvest ritual. As the principal part of any wedding was the gift of brideprice, so too the central act of this mock wedding was the erection of two 3-metre-high poles on which the brideprice was hung. The men erected a pole for the women on which they hung objects associated with women, especially the *ayapa lamoa* used in the rites for sowing rice. The women erected a pole for the men containing men's objects, including *ayapa lamoa* they wore conducting funerals. These poles were considered ladders down which spirits descended into the rice. The wedding was consummated with the exchange of the brideprice (*ayapa lamoa*) after a priestess claimed the women's pole, and a headhunter the men's pole, each proclaiming the heroic actions of their gender (Adriani 1928: 226; Kruyt 1950 III: 132-5). These sacred cloths, the 'property of the ancestors' (*panta ntau tua*), were thought to call the local spirits of these specific fields (which had been 'purchased' from these spirits by those ancestors); these cloths lost their power if brought to another village (Kruyt 1950 III: 274-5). This harvest ritual ensured the continuing potency of the land. It worked in the same manner that giving brideprice did, in that both fostered that kin groups' fertility.

Maoli obliged reciprocity, hence evoking Mauss's question 'What power resides in the object given that causes its recipient to pay it back?' – and in the kinds of agonistic situations described here, in far larger proportions than the original gift? When such acts of appropriation are directed at gods and spirits, it is easy to remain cynical about the 'power' that obliges those spirits to reciprocate with unseen boons; it is more difficult to understand the force obliging reciprocity when a *maoli* 'compulsory request' is made of a human equal, rather than a slave under their 'power'. The answer lies in the potent nature of the gift, which, if unreciprocated, allows for direct appropriation. For example, when a gift was pressed upon the To Pebato by the To Napu, the To Napu could demand anything in return; but if the recipient, the To Pebato, pressed that same gift onto a third party and received something in return, that thing would be the 'spirit of the gift' that had to be returned back to the To Napu so as to preserve To Pebato

autonomy. The original recipient, through regifting, is thus made a neutral middleman and spared the loss of their own valued property.

In addressing this point, Graeber points to the need to remain free of threatening debt as the critical element ironically leading to both accepting gifts of this kind and the obligation for reciprocity. Among the Maori, like the To Pamona, most goods were passed through one or another form of direct appropriation, not gifting; thus, to accept a gift of a potent heirloom opened the recipient to a demand for a return, which if unfulfilled could lead to the direct appropriation of any of their other possessions. Ironically, '[i]nsofar as [the gift] is about "creating social relations" it is really about creating relations of the most minimal, temporary kind: ones that can be completely canceled out' (Graeber 2001: 219), much like the market relations they are so often contrasted with; it is this ambiguity which allows translation of the *maoli* 'compulsory request' as both gift and market exchange. The recipient's autonomy is further preserved if the return gift exceeds the original, thus placing the original giver in debt even as it magnifies their potency. The agonistic potential of such gifts is thus rooted in the struggle for status and autonomy between hostile strangers yet results in generosity – or at least the appearance of such. It is through these longer chains of gifts that the gift obtains 'its' compulsion to return to its 'origin' and reciprocity is enforced.

While Graeber's insight that regifting encourages agonistic exchange while limiting relationships and preserving autonomy is a crucial corrective to the platitude that gifts build relationships, it leaves the animacy of the gift unaddressed. He questions the 'incoherence' in Mauss's analysis of the *hau* as containing some portion of the giver: '[I]f the gift I give you contains a portion of myself, one that wishes to return home, then why should it be satisfied by your giving me something else?' (2001: 184). Here, following Kruyt, I emphasize the impersonal nature of potency, which ebbs and flows in individuals and leaks from them into the objects associated with them. Potency is a quantitative factor (force), not a qualitative one (immortal soul), and can be returned in different embodied material forms, hence 'my' *tanoana* can be bolstered by payment of a fine of potent objects. Yet this in itself does not explain the role of potency in the *chain* of exchanges that linked sacred centres with their periphery into a spiritual economy by means of objects such as *ayapa lamoa*; for this, we must examine one last example of *maoli*, *mobalu sala*, the initial means by which these objects are circulated.

Appropriating gifts (*mobalu sala,* 'not really to sell')

These *ayapa lamoa* were obtained from royal centres through another type of *maoli* exchange, a form of appropriation called *mobalu sala*. *Mobalu sala* was practised throughout Central Sulawesi by the Bugis-influenced coastal states like Luwu in order to obtain the cattle needed for major state sacrifices such as a royal coronation, marriage, or funeral. The Bugis code of trade in South Sulawesi allowed the ruler the right to buy at favourable prices in markets (*mabbuluq sala*, 'wrong trading', cf. *mobalu sala*), and only afterwards were the common people allowed the secondary right to make their purchases (*mabbaluq samaq*, 'common trading') (Koolhof 1999: 377). When this royal demand was applied to their tributaries without markets, it took the form of a 'compulsory request' like other *maoli* exchanges in which a Bugis payment of magically potent objects such as a sarong, pants, and headcloth (*ayapa lamoa*) was presented to the To Pamona with the subsequent appropriation of the goods desired (Kruyt 1938 I: 144, 177, 183; 1950 I: 132, 136, 138-9). The practice was similar to the royal gifts to highlanders of 'potent' seed rice on which wet-rice cultivation was believed to depend, which were

given in exchange for tribute (*mepue*, to recognize as lord). These gift objects obtained their potency through their association with coastal nobles, themselves thought to be 'embodied potency' owing to their descent from gods, and who gifted part of their inner potency in the objects they gave. It is critical, I would argue, to keep 'potency' at the forefront of analysis in these exchanges. This cannot be reduced to a simple material exchange, as 'embodied potency' imbued a multitude of material forms, including bodies and cloth, thus blurring the boundary between persons and things, giving those things agency.

Mobalu sala thus initiates a chain of gifting and regifting that transmits potent goods from their Bugis royal source on the coast to their ultimate end: the 'compulsory request' of potency made to spirits in agricultural rituals in the highland periphery. The yield appropriated through this 'contract sacrifice' to guardian spirits, consisting of rice and cattle, must, like the *hau* of the gift, return to its royal origin or the swiddeners in the periphery open themselves to royal demands on all of their property. These swidden harvesters seek to remain neutral middlemen profiting from an exchange between these two spiritual entities: the royal guardian spirit in the centre and the local guardian spirits of the land. Tribute to the state is thus viewed as its just due, the 'spirit of the gift', as the very fertility of the soil is the product of its original potent gift of *ayapa lamoa*.

These chains of gift exchanges comprise what I refer to as a regional 'spiritual economy' in which gifts are Janus-faced and take on the appearance of 'purchase' with 'powerful objects' that serve as 'money', and yet remain an inalienable 'constitutive property' seeking a return to its origin. The constant qualification of terms highlights, as Mauss noted, that there is no economic equivalence implied by the 'price' and that, like any gift, it obliged acceptance and subsequent reciprocity (1923: 672). The lack of economic equivalence opened an opportunity for an act of appropriation. This spiritual economy tied the state to its periphery and served as the major means of appropriating tribute to stage the rituals through which a sacred hierarchy was performatively asserted. This makes potent exchange, not force, the basis of the social contract with the state.

In the absence of Hobbesian power, the potency invested in gift objects must play the same function as the state, obliging reciprocity but without the luxury of coercion; a substitution of 'invisible' for 'visible' force. The To Pamona remained autonomous defenders of their 'place', seeking their own retributive justice without the interference of the state, in return for being neutral middlemen, mediating the exchanges between the state and local guardian spirits through which tribute was extracted. It should be noted that both of these political processes, retributive justice and the extraction of tribute, involved the circulation of the same kinds of potent goods (*saki/oli*) that were restorative of individual potency; or one might say, autonomous action.

Conclusions

The literature on the indigenous Southeast Asian state has sought to root political power in a non-Hobbesian social contract predicated on potency, not force. Whether described as 'theatre state', 'mandala', 'exemplary centre', or 'galactic polity', these models have viewed the limited power of the indigenous state as deriving from an animistic potency that 'provides the basic link between the "animism" of the ... villages, and the high metaphysical pantheism of the urban centers' (Anderson 1990: 22; Århem 2016). Although theorists have emphasized the exemplary centre that potency legitimated, I have emphasized that, as an ontological principle, potency blurred the boundary

between persons and things, and persons and spirits, such that royal potency could infuse its material gifts, *ayapa lamoa*, which then served as a 'magical currency' in the periphery. A *maoli* exchange such as *mobalu sala* conducted with this spiritual currency could alternately be described as gift or purchase and provided a window on this alternate social contract. Potency is, I have argued, the same 'spirit of the gift' that Mauss suggested lay behind the obligations to give, receive, and reciprocate. These political models have provided a more complete ethnographic record of the 'archaic societies' that Mauss sought to incorporate in the evolutionary history of contract law recounted in *The gift*.

The *maoli* 'gifts' that were alternately purchases discussed in this article have the same ritual structure as Mauss's frequently discussed example of the *hau*. This substitution removed the discussion of the 'spirit of the gift' from further exegesis of Mauss's sole Mauri source, the elder Ranapiri's Ur text, and resituated it in a different literature, that of potency/power as the basis of an alternate social contract. As Sahlins (1972: 155-67), Parry (1986), and Graeber (2001: 151-63) have each emphasized in their own ways, Mauss's purpose in writing *The gift* was

> to construct a kind of prehistory of our *modern* kind of legal and economic contract ... Hobbes, who starts with the individual, was concerned with the creation of a wider unity out of an 'originally' atomised state of humanity; but Mauss, who starts with the group, has reversed the sequence – from an original holism, humanity and human institutions have *become* atomised (Parry 1986: 457, original emphasis).

We can see the outlines of this original holism in Luwu, where the royal gift of a potent 'social currency' enabled a socialized 'spiritual economy' in the highlands.

The chains of exchange set in motion to stage royal ceremonies through *mobalu sala* ('not really to sell') both accentuated the ritual power of the centre and provided the periphery with a 'spiritual currency' that could be used in 'purchases' with local guardian spirits, in the payment of fines, and in enabling total prestations between kin groups; all of which ensured continuing fertility in the rites of life of local founders' cults. The potent objects that were 'gifted' (*oli*) created debts (*saki*) and hence the obligation to reciprocate; *maoli*, as a compulsory request, was also a form of opportunistic appropriation of tribute. It is important to underscore that the 'money' enabling these prestations was a means of payment used in a restricted non-economic sphere that did not replace, or ease, the barter of everyday goods in distant markets. It is important to underscore, in other words, that the apprehension of the difference between market and gift exchange lies in the restricted nature of money used in 'compulsory requests' as strictly means of payment (compensation, retribution), not means of exchange.

Throughout this article, I have sought to place the Maussian literature on gift exchange at the heart of Errington's static model of the centrist state. The addition of Maussian analysis to the static imagery of timeless exemplary centres provides a clearer explanation of the ways in which political centres are constructed and peripheries incorporated in regional hierarchies in this alternate social contract through the management of potency. In so doing, I have argued that spiritual potency is the basis of an indigenous exchange-based social contract to counter Hobbesian conceptions of power based on state-sanctioned coercive force; which, with reference to the Smithian 'invisible hand of the market', I call a substitution of 'invisible' for 'visible' force. The ontological status of political potency in the Southeast Asian state is too often assumed to be 'merely' spiritual and its material referents as 'gift' and tribute are overlooked;

for which the blurring of persons and things, and persons and spirits, inherent in the Maussian analysis of the inalienable possession is a corrective. This reanalysis refutes the static 'centrist' assumption of the state's unmoving potency and redirects scholarship on the indigenous states of Southeast Asia to more carefully examine the role of exchange – and the circulation of potent social currencies like *ayapa lamoa* in particular – as a means by which peripheral peoples negotiate their autonomy and inclusion while acknowledging the sacred hierarchy of which they are a part.

NOTES

[1] For the literature on power/potency, see Allerton (2012); Anderson (1990); Caldwell (1991); Errington (1983; 1987; 1989; 2012); Geertz (1980); Tambiah (1985); Tooker (1996; 2012); Tsintjilonis (1999; 2004); Wolters (1982). For the literature on the gift emerging from Mauss's seminal work (1950 [1925]), see Appadurai (1986); Aragon (1996); Godelier (1999); Graeber (2001); Mauss (1923); Parry (1986); Sahlins (1972); Sigaud (2002); Weiner (1985; 1992).

[2] The ethnographic material that forms the basis of this article is largely drawn from the work of missionary ethnographers Albert C. Kruyt and Nicolaus Adriani (Adriani 1919; Adriani & Kruyt 1912; Kruyt 1906; 1938; 1950).

[3] Mauss's analysis (1923; 1950 [1925]: 16) was based on an article by A.C. Kruyt which used the Dutch gloss '*koopen*' (buy, purchase) for *maoli* (Kruyt 1923: 8). Kruyt also stated that the goods required to engage in *maoli* had '*magische kracht*' (magical force) or '*levenskracht*' (life force), without providing the indigenous term; although he uses these glosses in his major work (Adriani & Kruyt 1912 I: 248) for *tanoana* (cf. Buginese/Malay *semange'/sumangat*). See also Adriani (1928: 811), entry for *tanoana*.

[4] Although its component domains changed in name and relationship over Luwu's 600-year history, during the period 1890-1905 it was composed of its historical core, the Bugis directly ruled domains around the capital of Palopo (Ware, Panrang, Bua, Baibunta, and a number of smaller centres), and a series of non-Bugis tributary domains (*palili*), where suzerainty was exercised to the north and east of the capital, the most important of which were Wotu, Usu/Matano, and Mengkoka, which controlled important trade routes into the interior. Wotu's core domain directly incorporated the Toraja satellite confederacies to the north as far as the mountains, and exercised suzerainty over those north of the mountains through appointed figures called *tongko*, whose primary role was to collect tribute and transmit royal instructions.

[5] Kruyt (1950 I: 283-4) notes that the women's gift was also called '*tombo*' (reward), an archaic term only otherwise used in referring to the 'basis' of the brideprice (Adriani 1928: 888). See the discussion of brideprice following.

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L'esprit du don, le prix de la puissance : un modèle maussien de l'État de Luwu, Asie du Sud-Est

Résumé

Cette relecture de *L'essai sur le don* de Mauss déplace le centre de la discussion du *hau* maori vers un autre exemple : le *tanoana* (puissance) parmi les Toraja (To Pamona) de Sulawesi central. Cette puissance anime un échange avec des dieux (humains) qui relève à la fois du don et de la transaction marchande (*maoli*). En établissant le point de rencontre de cette littérature maussienne avec celle sur la fondation animiste de l'État en Asie du Sud-Est, l'auteur analyse la nature des dons aux puissants, qui constituent une forme de monnaie sociale au sien d'une « économie spirituelle » liant le centre à la périphérie (Toraja) du royaume de Luwu. Cet « argent », empreint de puissance royale, sert uniquement à payer une dette et ne constitue jamais un moyen d'échange, ce qui donne aux « achats » effectués avec cet argent toutes les caractéristiques d'un « don » et permet également d'obtenir un tribut. L'analyse maussienne de l'estompement de la frontière entre personnes et objets, ainsi qu'entre personnes et esprits, offre donc un nouvel aperçu de la nature du pouvoir politique dans l'État du Sud-Est asiatique.

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